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The Sovereignty of the War Dead:
Martyrs, Memorials, and the Makings of Modern China, 1912-1949

By

Linh Dam Vu

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Wen-hsin Yeh, Chair

Professor Peter Zinoman

Professor Thomas Laqueur

Professor Kevin O'Brien

Summer 2017

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Wen-hsin Yeh, Chair

The anti-imperial uprisings, the warlord power struggle, the War of Resistance, and the Chinese Civil War took twenty to thirty million lives. Half of the casualties were civilian. Republican China, not unlike the Union government during the American Civil War and the European states during the First World War, began to manage the war dead. My dissertation, titled “The Sovereignty of the War Dead: Martyrs, Memorials, and the Makings of Modern China, 1912-1949,” examines Republican China’s effort to collect, commemorate, and compensate military and civilian dead in the first half of the twentieth century. I analyze how various government policies, such as the construction of martyrs’ shrines in every county, the tracking of casualties by locality, the compilation of martyrs’ biographies, and the distribution of gratuities to families of the war dead, contributed to the processes of state-building and nation-making in China and shaped China’s social and cultural institutions in most profound ways. The toppling of the Manchu ruling class and the Confucian-educated elites did not lead to the construction of China as a nation of equal citizens. Republican China instead developed new political hierarchies through the promulgation of different regulations for compensating revolutionary predecessors, Party members, servicemembers, and bureaucrats, and their families exclusively. Conflicts of the unprecedented scale prompted the Nationalist state to extend its constituency by broadening the criteria for martyrdom to include civilians and pledging to provide for qualified bereaved family members. In exchange for recognition and compensation, family members had to demonstrate not only their allegiance to the party-state, but also their compliance to the moral codes prescribed by the state. As for the dead, their spirits dwelled in government-mandated Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines (*zhonglie ci*), where the living performed a combination of traditional and modern rituals to memorialize their untimely departure.

My dissertation advances our understanding of violence in the modern age. In twentieth-century China, conflicts were viewed as rational political choices, inevitable in the modern age, and inseparable from human experience, laying the rhetorical ground for further violence. Examining the changes in compensation and commemoration law from the 1910s to 1940s, I demonstrate that two processes – the *bureaucratization of death* (the construction of deaths with numbers and formulaic narratives) and the *civilianization of war* (increased presence of civilians

in war as victims, supporters and penetrators) – contributed to the routinization of violence in postwar China. Political struggles from the 1950s to the present testify to how wars of earlier decades have normalized death in the cultural, social, and economic realms. Furthermore, I propose that the dead have sovereignty as their oft-perceived formidable power in the afterlife necessitates that political, social, and cultural institutions develop the means to control the way by which they are remembered. The sheer number of the dead, the eerie specter of their wronged souls, and the multiplicity of their memorialized identities upset the core of human existence.

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I would like to acknowledge the following agencies for supporting my work. I conducted archival research in China, Taiwan, the U.S., and the U.K. with the support from the Fulbright IIE Commission, the Association of Asian Studies, the Taiwan's National Library Research Grant, and multiple grants from the University of California at Berkeley. In Taiwan, I accessed the Academia Historica (*Guoshiguan*) and Academia Sinica (*Zhongyang yanjiuyuan*) in 2014. I made use of the following archives in China from 2014 to 2015: the Beijing Municipal Archives, the Chongqing Municipal Archives, the Guangdong Provincial Archives, the Guangzhou Municipal Archives, the Jiangsu Provincial Archives, the Nanjing Municipal Archives, the Second Historical Archives, and the Shanghai Municipal Archives. I also used documents from the British Library and the British National Archives. In the U.S., I made use of the East Asian Library at University of California, Berkeley, the Hoover Institution, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives and Records Administration. The staff members at the archives and libraries were always helpful and tried their best to accommodate my requests for documents. After two years of research, I was able to complete my dissertation with writing grants from the University of California, Berkeley and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation.

My family has been incredibly patient with my long endeavor in academia. I want to especially thank Ben for reading and rereading my chapters, for listening to me thinking out loud at all hours, and for holding down the fort whenever I went on extended research trips.

Notes on Archival Sources

Academia Historica, Taipei & Xindian (AH)
Institute of Modern History Archives, Academia Sinica, Taipei (AS)
Australia War Memorial Collection (AWM)
Beijing Municipal Archives (BMA)
British Library, London (BL)
British National Archives, Kew (BNA)
Chongqing Municipal Archives (CMA)
East Asian Library, Berkeley (EAL)
Hoover Institution, Stanford (HI)
Gansu Provincial Archives (GSPA)
Guangdong Provincial Archives (GPA)
Guangzhou Municipal Archives (GMA)
Jiangsu Provincial Archives, Nanjing (JPA)
Library of Congress, Washington DC (LOC)
National Library, Beijing (NLC)
National Central Library, Taipei (NCL)
Nanjing Library, Nanjing (NL)
Nanjing Municipal Archives, Nanjing (NMA)
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Introduction

The anti-imperial uprisings of the late 1890s-1910s, the warlord power struggle of the 1910s-1920s, the War of Resistance of the 1930s-1940s,¹ and the Civil War in the late 1940s took twenty to thirty million lives. Half of the casualties were civilian. Republican China, not unlike the Union government during the American Civil War and the European states during the First World War, began to care for the war dead.

My dissertation, titled “The Sovereignty of the War Dead: Martyrs, Memorials, and the Makings of Modern China, 1912-1949,” examines the effort of the Chinese nation-state to record, commemorate, and compensate military and civilian dead and how such effort transformed social and cultural institutions. I analyze such Republican governments’ policies as the tracking of casualties, the compilation of martyrs’ biographies, the construction of county martyrs’ shrines, and the distribution of gratuities to bereaved families. The war dead, in the record number, played a critical role in the formation of the Chinese modern nation-state. From the 1911 Revolution to the beginning of the War of Resistance in 1937, “China” was made up of groups of leaders, their partisan supporters, commissioned combatants, and salaried bureaucracies. The “masses” were only included into the nation during the war with Japan. ‘China’ as a nation was reimagined in 1938 when the Nationalist government, while fleeing to the interior, assigned the duty of “protecting the homeland” to the general population and promised them status of martyrdom. China became a nation during the War of Resistance.

In the context of twentieth-century China, fallen soldiers and civilians gained posthumous significance by serving as intimate bonds between the new political regime and the old familial lineage, as haunting ghosts of the local community, as ancestral deities of the imagined nation-state, and as bones of contention in international disputes. My project challenges conventional notions about the secularity of modern China, martiality and violence as necessary features of the new republic, the historical discontinuities that delineate imperial, republican and communist eras, and the institutional legacies of the Nationalists. I demonstrate how the nation-state’s effort to *manage* the war dead and bereaved families touch upon multiple facets of China’s modernity, significantly altering the relationships between the state and society, the nation and the family, and the living and the dead. Seeking answers to how and why institutions and individuals of twentieth-century China constructed posthumous identities to deal with the astronomical number of war casualties, my research advances original knowledge by addressing our humanistic desire to reconcile with the afterlife, or the lack thereof. My study focuses on the unnatural dead because their violent departure elucidates and serves as a rhetorical device to reveal intricate patterns of the social fabric and profound currents of cultural transformation. The sheer number of the dead, the eerie specter of their wronged souls, and the multiplicity of their memorialized identities pose a great danger to the living. Communities and nations turn to rituals – secular and religious – to subdue the posthumous menace of the dead and to recreate social coherence and temporal continuity.

¹ The War of Resistance (against the Japanese) is also known as the Second Sino-Japanese War, World War II, and Pacific War. The standard dates for the War of Resistance have been 1937 to 1945; however, in recent years, the People’s Republic of China wants to push the beginning date back to 1931.

State-Making and Nation-Building

My dissertation first and foremost contributes to the understanding of Republican China's nation-building processes that elude a Westernizing discourse of modernity. After the 1911 Revolution, various provincial military governments were formed. Li Yuanhong 黎元洪 (1864-1928), a high-ranking Qing military officer, was named the military governor of China on November 30. The following year, Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (or Sun Zhongshan 孫中山, 1866-1925), an overseas Chinese with business acumen and political networking skills, set up the Provisional Military Government in Nanjing on January 1. Less than three months later, Sun yielded power to Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916), commander of the New Army founded by the imperial government after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Yuan's reign as president and emperor ended with his death in 1916. The Beiyang government lasted until 1928. Meanwhile various regional powers, including Sun Yat-sen's Guangzhou Military Government, continued contending for legitimacy. One of Sun's protégées, Chiang Kai-shek, with his cadets from the Huangpu Military Academy, consolidated power upon Sun's death in 1925. Even though there existed a relatively strong government in Nanjing from 1928 to 1937, China remained divided.

My research looks at not only state-making characterized by the “bureaucratization, penetration, differentiation, and consolidation of control,” but also nation-building manifested in “the creation of an identification of the citizen with the nation-state and an increase in his participation, commitment, and loyalty to it.”² Charles Tilly argues that these processes were separate in eighteenth-century Europe, with state-making coming before nation-building. In twentieth-century China, however, they complemented each other. After the Qing Empire collapsed, leaving China in fragments, Chinese leaders had to build a state and a nation at the same time. Nonetheless, unlike Benedict Anderson's model,³ the Chinese nation-building was rather a top-down process.

My research addresses the question of how the war dead and their representation contributed to state-making and nation-building in China. A few scholars of the Republican era have addressed war commemoration as part of state-making and nation-building developments. Henrietta Harrison, Rebecca Nedostup, Charles Musgrove, and Chen Yunqian in their research of the Nationalist regime touch upon various commemoration projects during the Nanjing Decade.⁴ The four authors discuss the political and cultural significance of Sun Yat-sen's Mausoleum and the military cemetery complex on Nanjing's Purple Mountain (*Zijin shan* 紫金

² Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900-1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 2, citing Charles Tilly, *The Formation of the National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nations* (London: Verso, 2006).

⁴ Henrietta Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009); Charles D. Musgrove, *China's Contested Capital: Architecture, Ritual, and Response in Nanjing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

山), new rituals to honor national ancestors, and newly constructed symbolism to demonstrate state power. Nedostup and Musgrove emphasize how the Nationalists created institutions of managing the symbolic power of the dead, which were later appropriated by the Communist counterparts. Chen Yunqian shows how the Nationalist Party molded popular memories of Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution through a new form of space and visualization: exhibitions, expositions, and museums.⁵ Texts and objectives in these newly created places “stimulated” visitors to form “indelible memories” of the revolution. The backdrop to these memories was a narrative concerning the source of the legitimacy of the Nationalist Party.⁶ My research on the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine (*zhonglie ci* 忠烈祠) project – the central government required every county to construct a shrine to honor the Republican war dead in the 1930s and 1940s – was a prime example of how the new Republic in China attempted to control localities and foster loyalty among the population.⁷ At the same time, processes of choosing and constructing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines showcased interactions and negotiations among citizens, local authorities, and the central government. Furthermore, the enshrined martyrs from various conflicts (some of which were not related to the Republican Revolution) demonstrate agency of local communities in creating national history.

Examining various attempts to appropriate the spirits of the war dead in state-building and nation-imagining, I contribute to two questions: whether China was a viable republic and how the Republican period shaped modern China. My dissertation on imagining and managing the necro-citizenry in China offers a new way to evaluate the Republican period. Some historians consider the end of the 2,000-year imperial system in 1911 as a turning point, in the sense that China had embraced the idea of becoming a nation-state with modern legal, social, and cultural institutions. On the opposite end of the spectrum, others view the Republican period as a time of fragmentation, an inconsequential interlude before the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949 that was to bring radical changes to a unified China under Communism. Scholars from the 1970s to 1990s, influenced by the optimistic view of the newly opened-up People’s Republic of China, portrayed the Nationalist government as repressive, corrupted, and failing to win the hearts and minds of the people unlike the Communist Party.⁸ Scholarship of the late 1990s-2010s however

⁵ Chen Yunqian 陳蘊茜, *Chongbai yu jiyi: Sun Zhongshan fuhao de jiangou yu chuanbo* 崇拜与记忆: 孫中山符号的建构与传播 (Worshipping and memory: The construction and propagation of Sun Yat-sen as a symbol) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2009);

⁶ Chen Yunqian, “Local Exhibitions and the Molding of Revolutionary Memory (1927-1949),” *Chinese Studies in History* 47 (2013), 47.

⁷ I specifically translate *zhonglie ci* as “Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine” instead of the more commonly translated term, “Martyrs’ Shrine.” “Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine” is a term consistently used during the Republican era to denote the government-mandated space devoted to Republican martyrs. “Martyrs’ Shrine” corresponds to *lieshi ci* (烈士祠).

⁸ For example, see Lloyd Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984); Parks M. Coble, *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University

has shown that the Nationalists accomplished several important tasks in state building, despite unfavorable circumstances.⁹ I similarly present evidence that the Republican era played a critical role in making modern Chinese institutions. Many historians have advanced this reassessment and explicated various transformations of twentieth-century China.¹⁰ Republican China's positions and policies concerning the war dead merit scholarly attention because they defied many assumptions developed out of Western case studies.

Press, 1991); Frederic Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

⁹ Julia C. Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State-Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Frederic Wakeman and Richard Louis Edmonds, eds., *Reappraising Republican China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Christian Henriot, *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, trans. Noel Castelino (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Michael Tsin, *Nation, Governance, and Modernity in China: Canton, 1900-1927* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Kristin Eileen Stapleton, *Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Rebecca E. Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Susan L. Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Andrew D. Morris, *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Culture in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Zwia Lipkin, *Useless to the State: "Social Problems" and Social Engineering in Nationalist Nanjing, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Margherita Zanasi, *Saving the Nation: Economic Modernity in Republican China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Xu Xiaoqun, *Trial of Modernity: Judicial Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China, 1901-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes*; Philip C.C. Huang, *Chinese Civil Justice, Past and Present* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010); Edmund S. K. Fung, *The Intellectual Foundation of Chinese Modernity: Cultural and Political Thought in the Republican Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Vincent Goossaert and David D. Palmer, *The Religious Questions in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); David Strand, *An Unfinished Republic: Leading by Word and Deed in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Tong Lam, *A Passion for Facts: Social Surveys and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Peter Zarrow, *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885-1924* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Janet Chen, *Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1953* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

While scholars of Republican China usually focus on successes and failures of institutional building judged by Western nation-state standards in the early twentieth century, such standards do not capture many secondary results and by-products of institutionalization. Julia Strauss demonstrates how the Xinzheng reformers of the 1900s, Beiyang centralizers of the 1910s-1920s, and the Nationalists of the 1920s-1940s attempted to bureaucratize, rationalize, and professionalize, but only achieved moderate success due to weak central institutions, a weak fiscal base, a hostile environment, limited control of territory, and divisions within the regime.¹¹ Along this line of analysis, the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine project, one of the major commemorative efforts of the Nationalist government, was an important measure of state capacity and local allegiance. While various Republican governments had grand visions for spacious and awe-inspiring shrines that would host loyal spirits, they usually had to settle with less-than-ideal choices. While the Nanjing Provisional Government (1912) and the Beiyang government (1912-1928) were not successful in establishing Loyal Martyrs' Shrines throughout China, the Nationalist government (1928-1949) received some enthusiastic responses to its "a-shrine-in-every-county" regulations. Over one third of counties in China – approximately 600 out of 1,400 – had some form of shrine to host the spirit tablets of local war heroes.¹² When a county established a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, it complied with the Nationalist authority and rhetoric. Even in the case that a county did not establish a shrine according to the regulations, but submitted a report stating its reason for failing to construct, it implies that the Nationalist government still had a certain level of control. A few counties in regions under the Japanese rule or regional power-holders that formed nominal alliance with the Nationalists also submitted their shrine surveys. Furthermore, communication among the National Government, provincial governments, and county governments was well documented. The sea of paperwork generated from the communication may well simply reflect nothing beyond the well-oiled bureaucratic machine. However, such pessimism undermines the sense of belonging and the community of interest fostered by the Nationalist government. At the very least, China was imagined in periodic and collective mourning of the local dead within the space of the government-mandated shrines.

Contrary to the assumption that the suffering of the Chinese people during the War of Resistance was "unrelieved,"¹³ the Nationalist government promulgated a number of regulations to compensate wounded and fallen combatants and civilians. My study reveals that the Nationalist government was rather conscientious and efficient in addressing petitions while red

¹¹ Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Politics*.

¹² The Harvard China Historical GIS project lists 1426 counties in China as of 1911. China Historical Geographic Information System (CHGIS), Version: 6. (c) Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies of Harvard University and the Center for Historical Geographical Studies at Fudan University, 2016. In 1949, there were 2,076 counties. Jae Ho Chung and Tao-Chiu Lam, eds., *China's Local Administration: Traditions and Changes in the Sub-National Hierarchy* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 157. A report from the Ministry of Interior in 1942 listed a total of 1,414 counties. "Ministry of Interior's 1942 Report," 1942, AH 026000013773A.

¹³ For example, "[there] was almost no government relief and no compensation for deaths, injuries, lost income, or property... The loss of a husband or father meant destitution; there were no state pensions for the injured or for the dependents of the dead." Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, eds., *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001), 5.

tape, corruption, logistical problems, and excessive demands undermined its efforts in implementing compensation regulations. Bureaucratic offices regularly disagreed on whether certain requests should be honored and the amounts of gratuity to which petitioners were entitled. Even if the verdict was in the favor of the petitioner, in many cases the stipend might never reach her/him as it depended on the provincial or county government to disburse the funds. Even when gratuities were received, additional appeals would be filed. Many petitions after traveling through the bureaucratic labyrinth were left unresolved.

Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that having to deal with conflicts for the most part of its history undercut the Nationalist government's potentials. The Nationalist government was faced with a very similar financial quandary that confronted the Ming and the Qing dynasties. In the late 1920s when the Nationalist government promulgated the compensation regulations for martyrs who died during anti-imperial uprisings from the late 1890s to 1910s, the number of eligible recipients was limited to a few thousands. In the 1920s and 1930s, the categories of people eligible for compensation were expanded to servicemembers, bureaucrats, and policemen that suffered injuries and deaths in the line of duty. A total war broke out in the late 1930s, leading to a record number of people requesting compensation. Hyperinflation forced the government to raise the amounts of gratuities up to a hundredfold or a thousandfold. Even though it was impossible at this point for the war-fatigued government to cater to all of the war dead and their bereaved families, Nanjing expanded the compensation regulations to include non-government employees, noncommissioned militias, and civilians (anyone from children to the elderly that reportedly displayed resistance to the Japanese invasion). By doing so, the Nationalists revealed that their military forces were incapable of protecting the people and that they were incapable of relieving its expanding constituency. These two issues seem to manifest during the People's Republic era. People were left fending for themselves in the chaos caused by factional politics within the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army. Veterans and military families have been poorly treated in the post-1949 era according to Neil Diamant's claim that "glory was sliced and diced into millions of little pieces and distributed widely, leaving many veterans vulnerable to political attacks against their status."¹⁴

In addition to building shrines and granting gratuities, Republican governments were engaged in collecting the names of the war dead and setting forth new discourses of martyrdom. Serious efforts in tracking the military dead began in the 1930s when the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek ordered military units to collect biographical data of the military dead during the Northern Expedition and the First Shanghai War. During and after the War of Resistance, the State History Bureau, the Nationalist Party's History Bureau, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the Military Affairs Commission, and the United

¹⁴ Neil J. Diamant, *Embattled Glory, Veterans, Military Families, and the Politics of Patriotism in China, 1949-2007* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 36. Diamant's works on veterans, the family, and war widows shed light on how state-citizen, military-civilian, and familial relationships were formed and transformed in the post-1949 period. See Neil J. Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949-1968* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Neil J. Diamant, "Between Martyrdom and Mischief: The Political and Social Predicament of CCP War Widows and Veterans, 1949-66," in *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*, ed. Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, 162-187 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001).

Quartermasters were among the offices that took charge of keeping records and rewarding the fallen and wounded and their families. These offices also produced volumes of biographical information of both military and civilian war dead, in which vivid portrayals of martyrdom served as reinforcements of anti-Japanese and pro-Nationalist sentiments among the population. A way of assessing the capacity of the Nationalist Government is to examine how petitioning for compensation consolidated the shared notion of martyrdom among the population. Narratives of these petitions show that there was a crucial change in the meaning of martyrdom during the Republican era. The increasing presence of such stock phrases as “dying for the nation and the party” (*xundang xunguo*) and “fighting for the Three Principles of the People” (*wei sanren zhuyi zhengdou*) in petition letters signifies a change in perception of those who wished to present themselves and their dead family members as revolutionary, republican, and loyal citizens.

All in all, the ability to “discipline” the tens of millions of war dead by creating new rituals to appease their souls and implementing new policies to help the bereaved was critical to the construction of the nation-state in China. The Republican Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine was an effective model because it combined ancestor worship with civilian revolutionary martyrdom. On days of national commemoration, in the ritualized space of county Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines, the departed were conjured as ancestral citizens of the new nation-state, lending legitimacy to the central government. Biographies of martyrs that celebrate heroic deaths furthered and legitimized the ideal of sacrifice for the new nation-state. Families of the dead reiterated the state-approved rhetoric of sacrifice in exchange for compensation and acknowledgement from the government. The Chinese nation-state was imagined through active, uniform remembrance of its war dead.¹⁵

Republican China’s Commemorative Mode

War commemoration in Republican China is a remarkable case study because it combined such practices as ancient ancestor worship, imperial commendation of the worthies, the Meiji-era

¹⁵ Among many others, one thing to be addressed is the question how other contending governments controlled regional power holders, such as Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (1875-1928), Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901-2001), Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883-1960), Wu Peifu 吳佩孚 (1874-1939), Sun Chuangfang 孫傳芳 (1885-1935), Bai Chongxi 白崇禧 (1893-1966), Li Zongren 李宗仁 (1890-1969), Ma Bufang 馬步芳 (1903-1975), Ma Hongkui 馬鴻逵 (1892-1970), Chen Jiongmeng 陳炯明 (1878-1933), Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882-1948), Cai E 蔡鍔 (1882-1916), Liu Xiang 劉湘 (1888-1938), and others commemorated their war dead. The body of evidence that I found in Taiwan and China has shaped my dissertation. Although regional governments might not have been diligent in keeping records or political turmoil might have destroyed much of their bureaucratic paper trails, I have found some references to their treatment of war dead in newspapers, gazettes, and published (but uncirculated) books in the archives in China. Furthermore, I have not explored contemporaneous war dead commemoration by the Communists, or burial of soldiers during the Korean War. Beyond the fact that Shintō priests attached to military units performed rituals for the dead, I have not attempted to find out more about how the Japanese troops in China cared for their dead. I have not tried to trace what happened to martyrs’ families after the Nationalists retreated to Taiwan. While the scope of my research is limited to the Republican era from 1911 to 1949, future works on the directions listed above will provide me with new comparative and analytical angles.

Yasukuni Shrine, and secularist rituals of remembrance. A few scholars have addressed the political, social, and cultural history of memorializing the war dead in Qing and contemporary China: Tobie Meyer-Fong's study of local commemoration in the post-Taiping society, James Bonk's study of Qing's Manifest Loyalty Shrines to the military dead, Kirk Denton's commemoration in postsocialist museums, and Chang Jui-te's comparative commemoration in China and Taiwan. Meyer-Fong explores how the literati reconciled with the world being turned upside down by the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1964), which resulted in casualties around 20 to 30 million.¹⁶ While she employs the writings of a few Qing male elites in the aftermath of the Taiping, my sources include hundreds of petitions, many of which were penned by women in order to reflect more faithfully the diverse experiences of the population. While Meyer-Fong examines the construction of memorial shrines to the loyal dead by local communities in the post-Taiping world, James Bonk focuses on the Beijing-mandated shrines to military dead during the reigns of the Yongzheng and Qianlong Emperors (1723-1796).¹⁷ The two authors' depiction of the ideologies and practices of offering sacrifices to the war dead in the late imperial era allows me to discern the continuities between the imperial era and the Republican era, and to highlight the exceptional scale of twentieth-century memorialization projects. The Republican governments built significantly more shrines and commemorated more martyrs than their imperial counterparts, which required both quantitatively and qualitatively different technologies of governance.

While death is a definite event, memories of the dead continue to transform, multiply, and compete with one another. A parallel can be drawn between Denton's discussion of contemporary commemorative structures and the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in Republican China in the crafting of a national discourse of martyrdom and various localizations of the central government's visions. On the museumization of historical memories of revolutionary socialism in the post-1970s neoliberal era, Denton demonstrates how visitors encountered the state's mixture of "socialist discourse" and "market ideology" in the space of museums and exhibitionary sites.¹⁸ Denton argues how China's "ambiguous ideological space" nonetheless monopolizes historical narratives and legitimizes the state. Moreover, Chang Jui-te presents how the ways of contemporary China and Taiwan celebrate the victory of World War II converge (in terms of nationalist favor) and diverge (China: commemorative, statist vs. Taiwan: anti-commemorative, diverse opinions).¹⁹ My work adds new depth to our understanding of the commemoration competition between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China.

¹⁶ Tobie Meyer-Fong, *What Remains: Coming to Terms with Civil War in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ James Bonk, "Chinese Military Men and Cultural Practice in the Early Nineteenth Century Qing Empire (1800-1840)" (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 2014).

¹⁸ Kirk A. Denton, *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

¹⁹ Chang Jui-te, "The Politics of Commemoration: A Comparative Analysis of the Fiftieth-Anniversary Commemoration in Mainland China and Taiwan of the Victory in the Anti-Japanese War," in *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*, ed. Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, 135-160 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001).

My research on the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines addresses the nature of worship as part of the Republican commemorative mode. The Chinese war dead are not *worshipped*, but they receive sacrifices from the living.²⁰ My study benefit from studies of the Yasukuni Shrine and war commemoration in Vietnam. The 150-year-old Yasukuni Shrine, which has undergone various forms in the Meiji, prewar, World War II, and postwar periods, has generated much discussion on war commemoration in the context of state religion. John Breen points out the ambiguous subject of worship (whether they are the spirits of the dead or the imperial values that the dead embody) and the paradoxical relationship between the dead and the empire (whether the dead worship the emperor in their afterlife or the emperor prays to the dead).²¹ Similar questions could be posed to the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Unlike the deified spirits in the Yasukuni Shrine, the spirits of the war dead enshrined in the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines did not become gods, or objects of worship, but took the place of the ancestors. In the Chinese model, the living made regular sacrificial offerings to feed and comfort the spirits. Enshrinement was not simply a posthumous honor, but a necessity to ensure a proper afterlife.

While the official memory dictates solemn remembrance and grief, the local, familial, and individual memories of the dead are multifaceted. This was the case in many parts of the world. Akiko Takenaka shows how the Yasukuni Shrine was also a festival site and a tourist spot that allowed families of the enshrined to enjoy the capital. Temples in China were similarly places crowded with religious and secular activities. Takenaka also captures the institutionalization of emotions at the Yasukuni Shrine, where bereaved family members were instructed how to express their grief.²² With regard to the Vietnam War, Heonik Kwon's work addresses the tension between the Vietnamese government and local modes of commemoration. The government denies civilians' deaths in such massacres as Ha My and My Lai into the pantheon reserved for the military dead. Many bereaved families could not find the bodies of their loved ones in order to perform worship. Families turned to rituals and practices, such as spirit mediums, which are deemed "superstitious" in the eyes of the state, to bring closure to the past.²³ Kwon also presents how the dead and the living forged a new kinship in the aftermath of war.²⁴ While both Takenaka and Kwon rely on bodies of Western literature on memory and trauma, their works imply that war memorialization in non-Western contexts is beyond theories on mourning and remembrance developed out of European and American experiences. My study offers an understanding of war commemoration in China that eschews Western theories of memory, and focuses on the particularities of the Republican era.

²⁰ The phrase, "ancestor worship," is misleading. Descendants offer sacrifices to their ancestors.

²¹ John Breen, "Yasukuni and the Loss of Historical Memory," in *Yasukuni, the War Dead and the Struggle for Japan's Past*, ed. John Breen, 146-147 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

²² Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).

²³ Heonik Kwon, *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolation in Ha My and My Lai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

²⁴ Heonik Kwon, *Ghosts of War in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Violence

The Republic of China was founded in the midst of scattered uprisings in the provinces with casualties in the thousands.²⁵ Such a relatively bloodless birth failed to signal that prolonged disastrous wars came to define Chinese history in the first half of twentieth century. Scholarship on war in the China field has followed two main trends. The first one focuses on top-level political actors and military maneuvers, examining the origins and the outcomes of wars.²⁶ The second trend is driven by the desire to illustrate suffering of victims at the hands of modern weaponry, multiple-allegiance armed forces, and consequential economic disasters.²⁷ While it is crucial to acknowledge that twentieth-century conflicts caused tremendous damage to China and her people, these works fail to address human agency among other nuances of war. Instead of viewing civilians as hapless victims, I focus on their active participation in the formation of the nation, the cultivation of citizenship, and the making of profound social changes through petitioning the government and participating in public memorial services. I address how individuals experienced, remembered, and recounted losses, rather than simply “suffered.” I examine how behind stylized expressions of sacrifice and suffering in petition letters, martyrs’ biographies, and elegies are individual voices, unique circumstances, and uncommon dilemmas arising from modern wars. A major part of my dissertation addresses how war widows and mothers who lost their husbands and sons in the battlefield, though usually considered the victims of war, gained significant social and political capital, shaped the domestic hierarchy and the family-state relationship, and dictated the way that wars were remembered.

My research looks beyond the obvious manifestations of violence. I add a new facet to the study of militarization by introducing “civilianization.” Joanna Waley-Cohen argues that from

²⁵ Henrietta Harrison, “Militarism and Martyrs in Early Republican China,” *Twentieth-Century China* 23 (April 1998): 41-70.

²⁶ Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978); Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Mark Peattie, Edward J. Drea, and Hans van de Ven, eds., *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); S. C. M. Paine, *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally: China's World War II, 1937-1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013); Hans van de Ven, Diana Lary, and Stephen MacKinnon, eds., *Negotiating China's Destiny in World War II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015); Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

²⁷ James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory: War with Japan, 1937-1945* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992); Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., *China at War: Regions of China, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). Lary and MacKinnon, eds., *Scars of War*; James Flath and Norman Smith, eds., *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011); Li Danke, *Echoes of Chongqing: Women in Wartime China* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Lo Jiu-rung, et al., eds., *Fenghuo sui yue xia de Zhongguo funü fangwen jilu* 烽火歲月下的中國婦女訪問紀錄 (20th-century wartime experiences of Chinese women: An oral history) (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo, 2004).

the beginning of the Qing Dynasty (1636) to end of the Qianlong reign (1799), China witnessed the rise of “militarization of culture” – “the injection of military and imperial themes into almost every sphere of cultural life, broadly conceived.”²⁸ The militarization trend became even more prominent during the Republican period with numerous regional armed forces fighting for dominance. My dissertation addresses one aspect of the “militarized culture” – the political, social, and cultural power of the war dead. Furthermore, I emphasize how the increased presence of civilians in war and the decreased distinction between formal armed forces and civilian militias – civilianizing war – is another dimension related to militarization. I also argue that the state of war in the first half of the twentieth century created a culture of violence in China.²⁹ World War II appeared to be a precursor to even larger-scale violence in later decades in China while Europe was relatively peaceful after 1945.³⁰ The two World Wars transformed glory into sorrow in European literature. Wars of the twentieth century, according to Paul Fussell, shattered Homeric traditions of heroism and individualism in Europe and embraced the ironic modes of literature and the arbitrary nature of battles.³¹ Jay Winter argues that the mourners of the First World War revived traditional modes of expression in search for consolation, yet such expressions failed to capture the sentiments of the Second World War.³² Wars similarly ushered China into a new rhetorical epoch. While conflict had always been deemed tragic and sorrowful in traditional Chinese literature, the conflicts stretching from the 1910s to the 1940s altered such views. While the Chinese state began to care for the war dead during the height of Qing military campaigns in the eighteenth century, Republican governments, especially the Nationalist one, took the commemoration to a far higher level. Moreover, violent deaths of young men were no longer lamented, but celebrated as a righteous way to die. Writings on war from individuals, organizations, and the government hailed violence as a necessity, dwelled on gory details of abrupt demise, and celebrated the war dead as selfless martyrs. The modern Chinese state normalized wars as it sought to commemorate both civilian and military war dead. Conflicts were viewed as rational political choices, inevitable in the modern age, and inseparable from human experience, which laid the rhetorical ground for new levels of violence in the later decades.³³

²⁸ Joanna Waley-Cohen, *Culture of War in China: Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), xii.

²⁹ Scholars of late imperial China argue that China had descended into the state of war since the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-1800s.

³⁰ James J. Sheehan, *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone? The Transformation of Modern Europe* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2008).

³¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

³² Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³³ Hans van de Ven similarly argues that the “Nationalists and Communists alike believed not only in the inevitability of war but also in its positive potential.” Hans van de Ven, “The Military in the Republic,” in *Reappraising Republican China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman and Richard Louis Edmonds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 98.

While I agree with many historians that see the War of Resistance as “the nadir of civilian suffering in modern China” with roots in mid-nineteenth century rebellions,³⁴ my study emphasizes the War of Resistance as a crucial conditioner for further violence. Political struggle continued during the Korean War and the Taiwan Strait War of the 1950s. More importantly, the Great Leap Forward (1959-1961), the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and endless purges of the 1970s to the present testify to how mid-century wars have normalized death and violence in the cultural, social, and economic realms. Violence was escalated into the social, cultural, and economic spheres, manifesting in tens of millions of deaths in the 1950s-1980s.

War Dead

Who are the war dead? ‘War deaths’ cover both battle and non-battle deaths, including people who die due to war-related disasters, disease, lack of care, etc. ‘Combatant deaths’ refer to soldiers who are killed in battle. ‘Battle deaths’ or ‘combat deaths’ refer to combatants and civilians killed during hostilities.³⁵ In the Chinese language, the war dead of the “right side” are regarded as “national martyrs” (*guoshang* 國殤), “loyal martyrs” (*zhonglie* 忠烈), and “martyrs” (*lieshi* 烈士). The war dead include those who are “killed in action” (*zhenwang* 陣亡), or “killed in battle” (*zhansi* 戰死). In the context of Republican China, war deaths also included fatalities from falling ill or from exhaustion while on official duty during wartime. During the War of Resistance, the Nationalist government also included deaths of civilians who opposed the Japanese invasion either by organizing armed groups or by defying the enemy as weaponless individuals.

The war dead, in the tens of millions, with intractable political affiliations, and of premature, violent demise, posed a great challenge to the nascent Republic. Unlike European and American states, the Chinese state cared about the spirits of the dead – not in the religious or secular, but *transcendental* sense. The spirits require proper sacrifices. My research in the archives yields little reference to the management of corpses. The bodies remained within the management of individuals, families, and social organizations. In urban settings, corpses were often disposed of unceremoniously because there was a sense of urgency in dealing with decomposition and promoting morale among the survivors.³⁶ Philanthropist organizations, religious groups, local communities, and individuals were also involved with disposal of corporal remains. Christian Henriot shows that Shanghai’s wartime dead were collected, stored, transported, and buried by families, native-place or benevolent associations, religious organizations, and funeral companies.³⁷ J. Brooks Jessup examines how lay Buddhist associations were actively responsible

³⁴ Lary and MacKinnon, eds., *Scars of War*, 6.

³⁵ Andreas Wenger and Simon J. A. Mason, “The Civilianization of Armed Conflict: Trends and Implications,” *International Review of the Red Cross* 90 (December 2008): 836, n2.

³⁶ The corpses from Japanese air raids in Chongqing were “shoveled into trucks by metal rakes and dumped in a massive burial hole on the south bank of the city.” Li Danke, *Echoes of Chongqing*, 92-93.

³⁷ Christian Henriot, *Scythe and the City: A Social History of Death in Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

for burying the urban dead.³⁸ Caroline Reeves demonstrates how international organizations, such as the Red Cross, were involved in handling battlefield casualties.³⁹ I find that the Chinese state however was keen on harnessing the sovereign power of the war dead by interpreting their violent demise and attributing meanings to their spirits.

I draw upon Drew Gilpin Faust's the "work of dying" and Thomas Laqueur's cultural and social "work of the dead,"⁴⁰ both of which discuss the desire of the living to ascribe meanings to moments of death, the afterlife, and corporal remains, and to treat them accordingly. I propose the concept "sovereignty of the war dead" – the dead exerting influence over the living as the latter believe in their potency – to conceptualize the relationship between the modern Chinese state and its postmortem citizens. I argue that the dead have sovereignty, as their oft-perceived formidable power in the afterlife necessitates that political, social, and cultural institutions develop the ritual and rhetoric to control the way by which they are remembered. When the spirits of fallen combatants and civilians were enshrined in the government-mandated Loyal Martyrs' Shrines, this sovereignty is conceptualized within the secular-religious-transcendental space. The state regulated how memorial services had to be performed with recalling-the-soul elegies from ancient Chu culture, sacrificial items reserved for Song-dynasty ancestor worship, and Republican rites, such as raising the national flag, bowing to Sun Yat-sen's image, and playing military music. In many cases, the sovereign power of the war dead is also territorial, as their native counties and locations of death – once recorded by the state – became the boundary of the political reach. For example, a record of a Nationalist soldier from Guangdong, a southern province, died while fighting the Japanese in the northeast invested the Chinese state with sovereign power, albeit contested, over this stretch of territory. During the Second World War, the graves of Chinese soldiers buried in Burma, India, and Papua New Guinea provided another dimension to the sovereignty of the war dead.

Chapter Summary

My dissertation begins with an introduction to historiographies on state- and nation-building in Republican China, war commemoration, violence, and the war dead. The main content is divided into three parts, which follow a chronological order. Part I addresses the beginning of the Republican era in 1911 until the establishment of the Nationalist government in Guangzhou in 1925. Part II picks up from 1925 and continues until the beginning of the War of Resistance in 1937. The final part covers the War of Resistance (1937-1945) and the Civil War (also known as the Nationalist-Communist War, 1945-1949).

³⁸ J. Brooks Jessup, "The Householder Elite: Buddhist Activism in Shanghai, 1920-1956" (PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2010).

³⁹ Caroline Reeves, "Grave Concerns: Bodies, Burial, and Identity in Early Republican China," in *Cities in Motion: Coast and Diaspora in Modern China*, ed. Sherman Cochran and David Strand, 27-52 (Berkeley: Institute for East Asian Studies, 2007); Caroline Reeves, "The Power of Mercy: The Chinese Red Cross Society, 1900-1937" (PhD Diss. Harvard University, 1998).

⁴⁰ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008); Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Part I, “Imperial Origins, Republican Visions, and Nationalist Ambitions, 1911-1925,” concentrates on how the unique combination of ancestor worship, spiritual cosmology, descent-group solidarity, and ethno-nationalism constituted early twentieth-century China’s commemoration of the war dead. This part compares and contrasts multiple narratives of Republican martyrdom promoted by the Nanjing Provisional Government, the Beiyang government, and the Nationalist Party’s faction under Sun Yat-sen. I reveal how the model of Republic martyrdom promoted by Sun Yat-sen’s faction took hold because it reflected the popular sentiments, which allowed the Nationalists to triumph in later decades.

Chapter 1, “Great Han Revolutionaries and Pro-State Martyrs,” traces the continuity of war memorialization shrines and elegies in the Qing and early Republican eras. Imperial governments promoted construction of temples and shrines, creating a large number of religious structures throughout China. Military campaigns during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century propelled the empire to build Manifest Loyalty Shrines (*zhaozhong ci* 昭忠祠) in the capital and provinces for its war dead. Local commemoration projects replaced this government-led effort to worship the loyal dead in the aftermath of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). Both the Nanjing Provisional Government’s vision of the “great Han martyrdom” and the Beiyang government’s attempt to promote pro-state militaristic martyrdom did not hold out for long.

Chapter 2, “Republican Martyrdom,” examines the commemorative rhetoric of the 1911 Yellow Flower Hill (*Huanghuagang* 黃花崗) Uprising promoted by a few Nationalist Party members in southeastern China. Biographies of young men meeting an untimely demise served as a powerful rhetorical tool in asserting power over the living. Zheng Lie 鄭烈 (1888-1958), assembling newspaper reports and rumors, published the *True Tales of the Ten Yellow Flower Hill Uprising Martyrs from Fujian* in 1912. “Lifting” Fujianese martyrs’ biographies from Zheng Lie’s *True Tales* and “shuffling” them in with biographies of martyrs from other provinces, Zou Lu 鄒魯 (1885-1954) edited the *Biographies of the Seventy-Two Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs* in 1922. I argue that the contributors of the 1922 volume ascribed temporal and spatial significance to this local small-scale uprising by hailing it as a national event and a watershed moment in history. Sun Yat-sen’s faction of the Nationalist Party constructed an enduring historiography that projects the 1911 violent outburst as a “revolution,” and endorses the unfortunate participants as “revolutionary predecessors” of the Chinese Republic. As the 1922 *Martyrs’ Biographies* successfully disseminated the “Republican revolutionary martyrdom” – an unprecedented ideal that combines Republican citizenship and Confucian sagehood, it helped Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 蔣介石 (1887-1975) further the Nationalist influence in the mid-1920s.

If the early Republican states settled for small-scale commemorative projects, the Nationalist government harbored more ambitious visions and aimed at grandiose undertakings. Part II, “The Guangzhou-Nanjing Era, 1925-1937,” examines the formation of a “Nationalist state” by imagining a new exclusive community of the dead. This part focuses on commemorative projects of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government, particularly the construction of county Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines prior to the War of Resistance. Furthermore, the Guangzhou-Nanjing era witnessed the Nationalist Party forming a nation-state by expanding the sphere of belonging, previously limited to Party members, to servicemembers and bureaucrats by changing the standards of martyrdom. Martyrdom was no longer limited to the revolutionary martyrs of the

early 1910s, but was extended to those who died “for the Republic of China” (*wei Zhonghua minguo xisheng* 為中華民國犧牲).

Chapter 3, “Martyr Enshrinement and Nationalist Religiosity,” begins by examining three major commemorative visions, the Yellow Flower Hill Commemorative Park in Guangzhou, the Public Cemetery for the Fallen National Revolutionary Army Officers and Soldiers in Nanjing, and Beijing memorial shrines to anti-Japanese martyrs. This chapter also illustrates how the onset of Japanese invasion, signaled by the Mukden Incident in 1931 and the First Shanghai War in 1932, rendered the centralized worshipping of the dead inadequate. The second half of this chapter examines the government’s plan to establish a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in every county under the Nationalist control to offer sacrifices to Republican revolutionaries and fallen soldiers of anti-warlord, anti-communist military campaigns. The Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine project remained provincial prior to the War of Resistance, but took off during wartime. The project was propelled less by the pressure from the central government, and more by the desire to honor local heroes. The last part shows the maturation of the “Nationalist religiosity” – the forging of a relationship between the state and its necro-citizenry.

Chapter 4, “The Makings of the Nationalist State,” addresses the regulations for compensating and commemorating those who died for the Republican Revolution and the Nationalist Party. The central government promulgated specific regulations for the three pillars of the Nationalist state: Party members, bureaucrats, and servicemembers. The common people (*min* 民) were not included in the compensation regulations for martyrs in the 1920s. China became a welfare state for small, privileged groups. This chapter and the next make extensive use of petitions – a unique primary source material that occupies an ambiguous place between the private and public spheres, local and national reaches, and written and oral records. The National Government received thousands of petitions requesting that the compensation for deceased family members. I trace the bureaucratic journeys of these petitions for gratuities, revealing an unexplored aspect of Chinese legal system – the bargain of life between the citizenry and the nation.

Chapter 5, “Patriarchal State, Gendered Republic,” making use of petitions filed by widows, elaborates how the body and memory of the war dead of twentieth-century China became the field in which the state and the family negotiated a new, more intimate, relationship. Family members of the dead referenced these regulations, cited special circumstances, and appealed on the basis of virtue. I reject the cynical assumption that these petitions were largely attempts to acquire financial and social capital. These petitions also revealed complex motives and sentiments of bereaved families when they interacted with state authorities and faced the violent death and the new martyrization of their loved ones. Moreover, I demonstrate how consanguine and affinal relations were critical to the Republican Revolution. As kinship played a crucial role in the organization, membership, and sponsorship of republicanism, the modern Chinese state was cast in familial terms. The culture of consanguinity and conjugality posed a challenge to the government in imposing legal frameworks over family matters. Furthermore, I argue that martyrs were celebrated not as heroic combatants but as virtuous family and community members, setting the stage for a moral – instead of legal – form of citizenship and affective nationalism in modern China.

Part III, “Global Wars and the Makings of Modern China, 1937-1949,” examines the efforts to commemorate the war dead during wartime and postwar periods. The Nationalist government

created new semantics of death. It was not only the organizational power of the modern state, but also the *ideological innovation* that created the “Chinese nation.” Violent departures were not a matter of fate, a random happenstance, or act of the unknown. The Nationalist government celebrated deaths, including those of civilians, as heroic consequences of “resisting the enemy” (*kangdi*) and “protecting the homeland” (*shoutu*).

Chapter 6, “Bureaucratization of Death, Civilianization of War,” addresses how Republican governments compiled biographical information of the war dead, and celebrated both combatants and civilians as martyrs. It also demonstrates how organizations and individuals collected their own versions of history and challenged official biographies of the dead. I trace the development of various institutions that kept biographical records of fallen servicemembers and civilians, and printed heroic life stories. I demonstrate how martyrdom was monopolized by the rhetoric of the ideal Republican citizenship and was extended to civilians in an attempt to rally more support for the war effort. Although martyrs’ biographies have imperial precedents, the rhetoric changed significantly with the 1911 Revolution. Narratives of patriotic service were published in gazettes, newspapers, and books. The martyr’s characteristics faithfully reflect the Republican ideals of male citizenship: diligent, filial, educated, martial, enlightened (by Sun Yat-sen teachings), and willing to sacrifice himself and welfare of his family for the nation and the party. Instead of otherworldly rewards, the martyr is promised an eternal existence in local history books, and sometimes, stone tablets.

Chapter 7, “A Shrine in Every County,” demonstrates how the scale and scope of war commemoration developed during wartime and in the postwar era. Counties in distant provinces under nominal influence of the Nationalist government also began constructing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines. As military parades in open space began to replace sacrificial rites within the confines of temples, more people could participate in public rituals. Memorial services were no longer limited to political and social elites. New forms and practices in commemoration took place. For example, glass windows were installed in some shrines in Jiangsu, creating a more modernist and inclusive ambiance. Traditional dates for the spring and autumn sacrifices were abolished in favor of anniversary dates of the War of Resistance. Similar to Henrietta Harrison’s discussion of the making of Republican citizenship via such everyday habits as having short hairstyles, handshaking, and wearing Sun Yat-sen suits,⁴¹ my study illustrates how the new rhetoric and practice of honoring the war dead made ubiquitous in newspapers and public places were crucial in cultivating Republican citizenship.

Chapter 8, “Mobilizing the Dead in Wartime Chongqing” analyzes the efforts of the Nationalist government to convert the Guan-Yue Temple into the capital Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. Fleeing from Nanjing where Sun Yat-sen’s body and thousands of Northern Expedition soldiers were buried, Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist state lost its spiritual center to the collaborationist government. The Nationalist government in exile thereupon viewed the establishment of a new altar to the national dead an absolute necessity. In the process of evicting people from the Guan-Yue Temple, the state attempted to monopolize the memorialization of war and deprived social groups of physical spaces and of having their own versions of understanding the past. Using materials from the Chongqing Municipal Archives, I depict how local governments came into conflict with social organizations over the conversion of existing religious structures into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines. The postwar period also witnessed the faded significance of the

⁴¹ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*.

Republican Loyal Martyrs' Shrines and traditional modes of remembrances as military participation in the first global war altered China's ways of commemorating the dead.

Chapter 9, "Bones of Contention: Soldiers' Cemeteries in India, Burma and Papua New Guinea," explores the diplomacy over the maintenance of China's overseas military graves during the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949), shedding light on how the late-1940s power dynamic determined China's position with its neighbors and the West. The Burma Campaign of 1942-1943 was the first time that China participated in a world war. From 1942 to 1944, Chiang Kai-shek sent close to 90,000 soldiers to be trained in Ramgarh, India, and to be subsequently integrated into the Allied Forces under U.S. General Joseph Stilwell (1883-1946). While all sides agreed that these soldiers' mission was to halt the Japanese advances and reoccupy Burma, correspondences from the Allies showed less favorable perceptions. The Americans suspected Chiang's plan to have his troops trained and equipped to fight the Communists. The British feared Chinese arrivals would create chaos and heighten ethnic conflicts that had already existed in Burmese society.⁴² Former Allied officers in interviews conducted by the Imperial War Museums viewed Chinese soldiers as obedient, but mindless and without the idealistic ambition of the Allies. Even though Chinese soldiers fought alongside the Allies and shielded its neighbors from Japanese aggression, the China of the Nationalists did not gain footing in the great power arena. China's failure to negotiate with the Allies and postcolonial neighboring states over the proper care for its war dead during the Chinese Civil War demonstrates China's continued sufferance of international prejudice that had been formed by the Opium Wars. Instead of being incorporated into the postwar world order as a triumphal ally, China has remained politically marginal. Analyzing archival documents from China, Taiwan, Britain, and the United States, my research uncovers how expeditionary soldiers in their afterlife mattered in the creation of the Chinese modern state and its international status.

Finally, the epilogue touches upon the commemoration of Chinese soldiers buried in foreign lands in contemporary China and Taiwan. The dead never cease to matter because unlike the state, the nation needs the dead for its imagined community.

⁴² For description of colonial Burmese society, see J.S. (John Sydenham) Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and the Netherlands East Indies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

Part I

Imperial Origins, Republican Visions, and Nationalist Ambitions, 1911-1926

Chapter 1

Great Han Revolutionaries and Pro-State Martyrs

Why did the revolutionary republican state in China build local shrines for the spirits of the war dead? I shall not dwell onto whether the people or the state “believed” in the existence of spirits. The question that I address is how and why spirits of the war dead were *visible* to the Chinese state. The short answer is twofold. First, with the intensification of war in the twentieth century, each government (re)created the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine to anchor the political legitimacy in the ritual center of each locality. Second, the nation gradually expanded its membership to the general population by incorporating them into sacrificial rituals and allowing their lives to be remembered. In Chapters 1, 3, and 6, I examine how the rhetoric of war dead commemoration changed over time. In particular, how did the Republic of 1912 embodied by the iconoclastic and Christian Sun Yat-sen, the 1928 Republic of the militarily powerful Nationalists, and China as one of the triumphant allies of 1945 execute their visions of nationwide Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and civilian martyrdom? Why did Republican China keep track of its dead citizens? How were biographies of the war dead collected, constructed, and maintained during the Republican era? What did the government want to know about its dead combatants and civilians? How did posthumous identities factor in history?

This chapter explores effort to commemorate the war dead by the Nanjing Provisional Government and the Beiyang government in the aftermath of the 1911 Revolution within the long historical context. First, I examine the imperial origins of building shrines for the worthy. Beginning with the Song dynasty (960-1279), the imperial government was engaged in constructing shrines for the virtuous men and women of the empire, creating the physical and rhetorical infrastructure for the Republican-era Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines. During the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735), the government began to commemorate war dead empirewide. This High Qing project later inspired Republican governments to order counties under its (nominal) control to construct a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. Second, I analyze how the millennium-old practice of offering sacrifices to spirits of the dead factored in the twentieth-century nation-forming rhetoric, especially evidenced in various decrees of war commemoration passed by the early Republican states of Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shikai in the 1910s. Republican war memorials were to extol the loyal dead while depriving the ‘enemy’ dead of the proper afterlife and rendering them as wretched ghosts. This chapter explicates ideologies and political circumstances of the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines under the Nanjing Provisional Government and the Beiyang government, and evaluates their roles in creating new ideals of citizenship and gaining allegiance from contested territories.

A way to understand the nature of state commemoration of war dead is to conceptualize the Chinese state as an undifferentiated mixture of religion, politics, and lineage, which David Keightley demonstrated in his study of the earliest Chinese polity with written records. Keightley argues that the Shang king and heads of all powerful lineages “had access to the independent and friendly religious power of their own ancestors without the mediation of other religious specialists,” “the way in which the values of kinship obligation, ancestor worship, and dynastic service reinforced one another led to an enduring unitary conception of the state as a religio-familial-political institution,” and the Chinese humanism (represented by Confucius) “did not see

any opposition between secular and religious values” and were able to treat “the secular as sacred.”⁴³ Keightley emphasizes that “[the] cultural traditions established in the Neolithic and the Bronze Ages of China were ancestral to all that followed, continuing to exert their influence down to the recent, if not contemporary, times.”⁴⁴ The rhetoric of various Republican measures on the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine follows this religio-familial-political triad.

Commemorating the War Dead in Imperial China

Imperial Shrine Fever

Commemoration of the war dead by the Chinese imperial government took different shapes depending on the influence of religion. In the *Commentary of Zuo* (*Zuozhuan* 左傳) composed around fourth century BCE, unclaimed dead bodies were treated similarly and victims of natural disasters and the war dead were not distinguished in edicts.⁴⁵ From the Han dynasty (206 BCE - 220 CE) to the Song dynasty (960-1279), emperors often constructed burial mounds (*jingguan* 京觀), on which dead enemies were piled up indiscriminately, to announce their triumph, to sustain the disgrace of the defeated, to prevent their next of kin from properly carrying out filial duties, and to warn wrongdoers.⁴⁶ A transformation in treatment of battlefield casualties took place in the sixth century with the influence of Buddhism. During the reign of Emperor Weidi of Sui (r. 581-604) and Taizong of Tang (r. 626-649), the imperial government took up Buddhism to pacify the ghosts of the defeated.⁴⁷ The Song state often assisted burying the war dead and commissioned Buddhist monasteries to salve their souls, rendering them part of the imperial body politic and turning them into “recipients of state displays of conscious solicitude.”⁴⁸ A scholar of Song Buddhism, Mark Halperin, describes the nature of Song government’s policy regarding the war dead as twofold: “[the selfless quality of institutional mourning and the massive scale of its offerings earn the dynasty merit for its liberation of the suffering from torment after death and prevention of their reincarnation in some dire existence. The imperial house thus extends its power beyond the terrestrial bureaucracy and into the afterlife.”⁴⁹

Buddhism however went out of favor with the rise of Neo-Confucianism. The Song Neo-Confucian, Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), argued that as Buddhist rituals are to obliterate sins of the deceased and rescue them from the torments of hell, performing such rituals implies that the dead are sinful and immoral. Zhu Xi also emphasized how one can only feel pain when he is filled

⁴³ David N. Keightley, *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China* (New York: SUNY Press, 2014), 51.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁵ Mark Halperin. “Buddhist Temples, the War Dead, and the Song Imperial Cult.” *Asia Major* Third Series 12 (1999): 76.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

with “blood and breath,” and thus the tortures in Buddhist hell have no effect on the corpses.⁵⁰ Moreover, its otherworldly concepts of hell, the afterlife, and reincarnation were deemed unsuitable for the modern nation-state. Neo-Confucianism, a metaphysical and ethncial interpretation of Confucianism, became the state ideology and dominated the policy toward the war dead.

A critical development in the Ming was the incorporating of the war dead into the Confucian state cult and the move away from Buddhism. The Ming dynasty did not employ Buddhist clergy, but sought to impose a state-sponsored religion, marking the beginning of the state’s attempt to monopolize the afterlife. In 1371, the Hongwu Emperor ordered capital and local governments to establish altars and provide sacrifices for the untended souls of dead soldiers in every rural community.⁵¹ These altars were often hosted within the City God Temples, which served as part of the state cult. The move toward creating an imperially dictated space for the war dead was furthered by the Manchu successors. State effort to commemorate the loyal war dead became increasingly prominent in the Qing as it was a conquest dynasty, which was constantly expanding. The Qing, a modern state by many criteria, created many institutions that the Republican government later used. Among them was how the state took care of the war dead, especially by authorizing local commemorative shrines.

The late imperial tradition of shrine building for the virtuous provided the rhetoric and infrastructure for the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines during the Republic era. Shrines were chosen to commemorate the war dead in Republican China because there was an established tradition of shrine building for significant individuals throughout imperial China. The Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine undertaking in Republican China was no doubt an expansion of imperial governments’ attempts to supplant local cults with state-sponsored shrines and reorient the public toward civic virtues by evoking exemplars of extreme loyalty and sacrifice. In addition, shrine fever throughout imperial China created a large population of public structures, enabling each locality under the Nationalist government to designate one space to commemorate Republican martyrs.

Commemoration for the notable war dead throughout imperial and Republican China was tied to other commemoration of virtuous people. Moreover, beginning in the Song dynasty, as the central and local governments emphasized virtues in their undertakings, such commemorative shrines as those for the chaste and the filial (*jiexiao*), eminent officials (*minghuan*), local worthies (*xiangxian*) were built in many localities. From 1470 to 1550, two provinces in the Lower Yangzi, Zhejiang and Jiangsu, saw a burst of Local Worthies’ Shrines (for male exemplars of Confucian virtues)⁵² and Eminent Officials’ Shrines (men with achievements in the public sphere, such as administration, water control, or disaster relief).

⁵⁰ Patricia Ebrey, trans., *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 80.

⁵¹ Richard von Glahn, “The Enchantment of Wealth: The God Wutong in the Social History of Jiangnan,” *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 51 (1991): 679, n. 92.

⁵² For more on Local Worthies’ Shrines, see Ellen Neskari, *Politics and Prayer: Shrines to Local Former Worthies in Sung China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), and Ellen Neskari, “Shrines to Local Former Worthies,” in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., 293-305 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

These shrines, often paired together, “communicate a model of secular social power” as none of them is efficacious (*ling*), that is, able to grant prayers with miraculous favors.⁵³ These “secular” shrines replaced the “efficacious” shrines, “replacing supernatural power with the social power of the resident elite.”⁵⁴ The Temple of Literature compound often hosted a school as well as altars to the sages (*chongsheng ci*), eminent officials, and local worthies.⁵⁵

Imperial China witnessed many empire-wide shrine construction projects. The Ming government commanded the construction of the City God Temples (*chenghuang miao*) in every locality to supplant local shrines of granary spirits.⁵⁶ The City God was “conceived as a nature spirit as opposed to a deceased human with a name and history.”⁵⁷ Although it was a government-mandated cult, during the Qing, various actors, such as local officials, Daoist clerics, *yamen* staff, incorporated neighborhoods, devotional voluntary associations, merchant guilds, gentry-run charitable halls participated in managing and organizing worship at City God temples.⁵⁸

In the first year of his reign, the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1722-1735) ordered every administrative seat, including military garrisons, to construct a Shrine to the Chaste and Filial (*jiexiao ci* 節孝祠) where the ancestral tablets of officially canonized women would be placed and sacrifices would be held in the spring and autumn.⁵⁹ The Emperor did set guidelines for the location and design of the shrine, designated local taxes for construction and maintenance, and ordered the Board of Works to supervise.⁶⁰ These shrines were somewhat subsidized by the central and local governments, yet most of the construction costs and sacrificial goods were borne by families of those who were enshrined.⁶¹ Yongzheng also ordered local governments to collect cases of virtuous women and send them to be approved. Finally, he set out procedures for families who wished to apply for their women to be enshrined.⁶² The shrines served to

⁵³ Katherine Carlitz, “Shrines, Governing-Class Identity, and the Cult of Widow Fidelity in Mid-Ming Jiangnan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 56 (1997): 631.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ William T. Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 440.

⁵⁶ Carlitz, “Shrines, Governing-Class Identity,” 628-629.

⁵⁷ Vincent Goossaert, “Managing Chinese Religious Pluralism in Nineteenth-Century City God Temples,” in *Globalization and the Making of Religious Modernity in China: Transnational Religions, Local Agents, and the Study of Religion, 1800-Present*, ed. Thomas Jansen, Thoralf Klein, and Christian Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 33.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Susan Mann, “Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (1987): 42.

⁶⁰ Janet M. Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters: The Politics of Chastity in Eighteenth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 30.

⁶¹ Mann, “Widows in the Kinship,” 42.

⁶² Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 31.

“illuminate hidden virtue and pass it on forever.” Arches and shrines were constructed in unprecedented numbers across the empire. Thousands of chaste widows and martyrs were awarded every year. Tens of thousands more were recognized locally.⁶³ The eighteenth century witnessed a boom in commemorative activities at both the central and local levels.

High-Qing Manifest Loyalty Shrines

Prior to the Yongzheng reign, there had been no empire-wide attempt to enshrine all officers, let alone soldiers. With the construction of Beijing’s Manifest Loyalty Shrine (*zhaozhong ci* 昭忠祠) to the east of the Forbidden City in 1724, the empire began to enshrine all fallen military men and irregulars, regardless of rank and to have their biographies composed by Hanlin (翰林) academicians. The government even extended eligibility of hereditary titles to Chinese officers. These policies gave rise to a more inclusive military culture. The Manifest Loyalty Shrine included not only civil officials and high-ranking military officers, but also lower-ranking officers and common soldiers who “repaid the country whole-heartedly without any thought of self” (*chixin baoguo fen bu gushen zhe* 赤心報國奮不顧身者).⁶⁴ Yongzheng asserted that the audience at the shrines would be filled with loyalty and righteousness (*boran sheng zhongyi zhi xin* 勃然生忠義之心).⁶⁵ The Board of War (*bingbu* 兵部) was in charge of reviewing requests to enshrine fallen combatants from field officers. If a dead person was deemed eligible for enshrinement, the Board of War would ask for biographical information and forward it to the Hanlin Academy. The Hanlin Academy would compose a martyr’s biography and send the person’s name in both Chinese and Manchu to the Board of Works (*gongbu* 工部). The Board of Works would inscribe his name on the tablet, which would be installed in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine.⁶⁶ In 1732, there were 10,307 soldiers and 799 officers who died since the conquests of 1630s and 1640s entered into the capital Manifest Loyalty Shrine. Sacrificial rites were held in the spring and autumn with or without the presence of the emperor.

Yongzheng’s successor, the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735-1796), carried a multitude of military campaigns himself, ordered shrines for officers and officials built throughout the empire by the end of the eighteenth century, and commissioned other war commemorative mementoes, such as steles, paintings, and carvings. According to Tobie Meyer-Fong, in post-Qianlong documents, “comforting the loyal souls” became more frequently used as the rationale for enshrinement and sacrifices. This signifies a rhetorical shift from viewing the war dead as heroes to viewing them as victims, “to whom the dynasty and its local agents owed compensation and comfort.”⁶⁷

Under the Jiaqing reign (1796-1820), war commemoration moved beyond the upper tiers of officialdom and was made known to local audiences through the expansion of prefectural Manifest Loyalty Shrines. This expansion of war commemoration was largely due to the

⁶³ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁴ Bonk, “Chinese Military Men,” 28.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁷ Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 142. The rhetoric of “comforting the souls” continued to dominate war commemoration in the Republican era.

unprecedented level of casualties in the White Lotus War (1794-1804).⁶⁸ The number of deaths among Qing forces during the White Lotus War was greater than any military campaigns in the eighteenth century, factoring in a change in the way the war dead was commemorated. The official count of those enshrined for death in battle (*zhenwang*) was over 87,000 (out of 600,000 Green Standard troops and 200,000 bannermen based on Mark Elliot's and Nicola di Cosmo's estimates).⁶⁹ As the result, in 1802, the capital Manifest Loyalty Shrine was reported to have run out of room to host memorial tablets of the military dead. The shrine capacity was to host tablets for 1,700 officers and 15,000 soldiers. However, 42,000 tablets were added within 60 years, enshrining not only those who died in battle but also those who had substantial merits.⁷⁰ Tablets were stuffed into the niches of the shrine. From 1796 to 1802, casualties from the White Lotus War resulted in approximately 60,000 tablets enshrined.⁷¹ The Jiaqing Emperor ordered prefectural shrines to be built not only to solve the overcapacity problem but also to "activating relations between the shrines and local society."⁷² The state was increasingly relying on Han Green Standard troops and also local militia (*xiangyong*), the latter of whom had a varied reputation.

According to the Jiaqing Emperor's 1802 edict, the shrines and rituals provide residence for the loyal souls and allow them to remain in their native lands, as well as produce shared sentiments among the townspeople and family members who came together to observe and listen. The gathering of community and family at the shrine for sacrifices to the dead could bring awareness of the "beauty of the dynasty's principles and clarity of its grace."⁷³ The Jiaqing Emperor asserted that the shrines would best be installed within the ground of the Lord Guan (*Guandi miao* 關帝廟) or City God temples (*Chenghuang miao* 城隍廟).⁷⁴ These two temples were among those that were more often sponsored by commoners than officials and gentry.⁷⁵ Lord Guan "symbolized the relationship of the village with the outside- with wider categories, such as the state, empire, and national culture"⁷⁶ while the City God not only was the protector of

⁶⁸ In the late 18th and early 19th century, impoverished populations in northern and central provinces under the influence of the millenarian folk-Buddhist cult (the White Lotus), aimed to overthrow the Qing government and restore the Ming Dynasty. See B. (Barend) J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).

⁶⁹ Bonk, "Chinese Military Men," 33-34.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Stephan Feuchtwang, "School-Temple and City God," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 585, 589.

⁷⁶ Prasenjit Duara, "Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (1988): 786.

the local community, but also was closely associated with local officials.⁷⁷ Under the Jiaqing Emperor, local militias that had fought against the White Lotus sectarians were also eligible for enshrinement.⁷⁸ The war dead hence were viewed as protective spirits of the local communities and connection between the population and the officialdom.

With this 1802 policy, “[the] emperor did not simply hand commemoration of the war dead over to community leaders and local officials, but rather seems to have seen commemoration of the war dead as a way to integrate communities with the center through the framework of the state cult” according to James Bonk.⁷⁹ At the local level, provincial officials were inclined to make these shrines serve local interests and many did not build them where Jiaqing’s order stipulated. Many county shrines disregarded the required proximity to the Lord Guan and City God Temples. A few petitions from local governments to enshrine dead soldiers from wars other than the White Lotus War within their localities were approved.⁸⁰ At some localities, not only military regulars and auxiliaries but also gentry, local militias, and civilians were enshrined.⁸¹ Provincial and prefectural officials endorsed county shrines and expanded the categories to include various types of loyal subjects, sometimes with the disapproval and objection from the central government. Statistics compiled by Bonk from local gazettes shows the distribution of county Manifest Loyalty Shrines around 1805: 42 in Sichuan, 14 in Hubei, 13 in Guizhou, and nine in Shaanxi.⁸² The construction of capital and prefectural shrines in the first half of the eighteenth century manifests the imperial effort to broaden the culture of war to a larger audience and strengthen the ties between the state and local society with less desirable success due to the constraint of space. By adding their own martyrs from pre-Qing dynasties, prefectural governments attempted to appropriate these shrines for their own purposes illustrate “expressions of heterogeneous local perspectives on the military and war dead.”⁸³ In some cases, county governments built unsanctioned shrines to martyrs of the Ming-Qing transition.⁸⁴ Shrine building was interrupted by the Taiping Rebellion in the mid-1800s.

Late-Qing Memorial Shrines

The imperial attempt to establish Manifest Loyalty Shrines in the prefectures and county seats signifies the *spatial localization* of war commemoration.⁸⁵ The government ordered the hometowns or locales where they died to build shrines. Those shrines were to be financed locally

⁷⁷ Angela Zito, “City Gods, Filiality, and Hegemony in Late Imperial China,” *Modern China* 13 (1987): 334-5.

⁷⁸ Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 140.

⁷⁹ Bonk, “Chinese Military Men,” 48.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 59, 61.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 141.

with some contributions from the Provincial Government or the Board of Rites.⁸⁶ Major threats to the imperial sovereignty in the form of political-religious armed movements, such as the White Lotus Rebellion, the Taiping Rebellion, the Nian Rebellion, since the turn of the nineteenth century furthered the localization in worshipping the war dead. As provincial and county authorities and local gentry organized their own defense forces against the rebels, these regional leaders and local communities sought to commemorate their own dead in the aftermath of war.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, regional leaders were keen on building shrines to honor local martyrs. In 1858, Zeng Guofan contributed to the shrine for loyal and righteous officials, gentry, and militiamen from his hometown.⁸⁷ In 1865, Li Hongzhang petitioned to build a Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Wuxi for officers of the Hunan and Anhui Armies who martyred during the recapturing of Jiangsu from the Taipings.⁸⁸ The *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette* and the *North-China Daily News* reported 31 petitions (translated from Beijing Gazette) from local gentry from 1876 to 1905 requesting permission to build memorial shrines (*jinian ci*) to native martyrs. In July 1888, the Governor of Shantung forwarded a petition by local gentry requesting permission to build a memorial to Fu Chenbang who fought against the Taipings and Nian rebels and died from injuries and excessive zeal for the public service.⁸⁹ In 1892, some local gentry in Zhejiang petitioned to build a temple for a circuit attendant named Ye Kun, who defended Hangzhou against the Taiping rebels. Ye led his troop to fight in the midst of heavy rain and without outside assistance. Seeing that his “starving and outnumbered soldiers” could no longer hold out, Ye returned home and declared that “it was the duty of an officer to perish with all his people when a city fell.” He drowned himself in a well in the courtyard and was followed in death by a son and a servant.⁹⁰

The War Dead in the Early Republics

The localization trend in memorializing the war dead during the late imperial was replaced by the attempts to centralize during the Republican period. While the Qing Empire operated as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-national entity,⁹¹ the Republican nation-state sought to create a nationally coherent body of the living and the dead. In the late nineteenth and early

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 144.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 195.

⁸⁹ *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, August 4, 1888, 131.

⁹⁰ *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, June 10, 1892, 781.

⁹¹ Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

twentieth century, discourses of race, social Darwinism, and nation-state influenced many leaders in China. The dead were no longer just the righteous subjects of the past; they became the ancestors of the new nation. While the ritual of sacrifice to the loyal dead in the early twentieth century remained similar to early eras, the meaning of sacrifice transformed.

Ancestor Worship in the Imagined Nation

This chapter shows how the manner of worshipping the war dead in Republican China, distinct from any Western model, was an extension of traditional concepts and practices of spirits, ancestor worship, and lineage. I discuss the history of these concepts and practices and how they mattered in the formation and construction of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in the 1910s. According to the Chinese belief, the dead manifest in spirits. Praying to the ancestral spirits allowed one to indirectly influence deities and also maintain a unit/alliance/community. Such unit was extrapolated to be the "nation-state" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The nation-state was formed via the same belief and practice of worshipping the dead. The Chinese nation-state sought to impose its presence through the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines (among other forms of national shrines), which drew upon the rhetorical power of spirits, ancestor worship, and lineage. Analyzing the nature of Republican regulations concerning Loyal Martyrs' Shrines furthers our understanding of how Chinese statesmen of the twentieth century conceptualized and presented the nation-state to the public. Before the age of museums, these shrines played an essential role in crafting national identity. The shrines and their exhibitions shape the way the nation narrates its *national* past, imagines its geographical extent, and defines the qualifications for citizenship.

Belief in ancestors as a spiritual medium between the human world and the gods has evidently existed since the Bronze Age.⁹² In later periods, ancestor worship not only ensured the wellbeing of the dead and positive disposition toward the descendants, but also facilitated the cultivation of kinship values.⁹³ In imperial China, ancestor worship became a common practice and sacrifices were made with household provisions and utensils. Worship of the dead was not only to communicate with Heaven, but also to maintain ties within a community. Confucius

⁹² The Shang kings during the second millennium BCE requested favors, such as bumper harvests and military successes, from the high god, Di, through their ancestors. Offering sacrifices to ancestors "provided powerful psychological and ideological support for the political dominance of the Shang kings." During the Western Zhou, kings consulted oracle bones to figure out to which ancestors they needed to offer sacrifice in order to alleviate personal illnesses or calamities. David N. Keightley, "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture," *History of Religions 17 Current Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Religions* (1978): 211-225; David N. Keightley, "The Making of Ancestors: Late Shang Religion and Its Legacy," in *Religion and Chinese Society, vol. I: Ancient and Medieval China*, ed. John Lagerwey, 3-64 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004); David N. Keightley, "The Religious Commitment: Shang Theology and the Genesis of Chinese Political Culture," *History of Religions 17, Current Perspectives in the Study of Chinese Religions* (1978): 211-225.

⁹³ C. K. (Ch'ing-k'un) Yang, "The Functional Relationship between Confucian Thought and Chinese Religion," in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. John King Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 278.

advocated for ancestor worship as an important aspect of filial piety and as a way to maintain political and social harmony.⁹⁴ The Song-dynasty Confucian elites placed a renewed emphasis on ancestor worship, and attempted to displace Buddhist and Daoist death rites with Confucian ones.⁹⁵ They also promoted descent-group solidarity by proposing to revive the descent-lines (*zong* 宗) as administrative units, crafting genealogies, and building communal ancestral halls.⁹⁶ Benjamin Schwartz argues that ancestor worship has been an “omnipresent” and “central” component during “the entire development of Chinese civilization” since ancient times.⁹⁷

Ancestor worship is performed to distinguish one’s ancestry or lineage (*zu* 族) from others. *Zu* dates back to the first millennium BCE, is translated as “kinship,” “clan,” “descent-line,” or “lineage,” and later appears in the compound for “nation” – *minzu* 民族, or “people’s lineage.”⁹⁸ The concept of a lineage (*zu*) as being created by people of the same substance (*qi* 氣) and maintained through regular sacrifices (*si* 祀) was emphasized by a Song Neo-Confucian scholar, Chen Chun 陳淳 (1483-1544). In his work “Master North Stream’s Meaning of Words” (*Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義), Chen elaborated on the nature of worshipping of the spirits: “The gods do not savor (the fragrance of) sacrifices from those who are not of the same nature, and persons who are not of the same nature do not worship those who are not of the same *zu*.”⁹⁹ In addition, the lineage (*zu*) is maintained without separation by unifying “the common pulse of breath (*qi* 氣)” with “a commonality of sentiment (*gan* 感).”¹⁰⁰ The lineage (*zu*) “represents a moral community of beliefs and sentiments [that]... must be achieved and routinized through the sincerity or intentionality of material acts of sacrifice.”¹⁰¹ By the sixteenth century, neo-Confucianism, the official ideology of the imperial state, established that by performing sacrificial rituals for the dead, one came to align their intentions and sentiments with the ancestors and thus became part of a vertical community.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, ancestor worship, filial piety, and kinship terminology reserved for the lineage (*zongzu* 宗族) were “turned outward to the race and nation

⁹⁴ D.C. (Din Cheuk) Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), II.5, II.21, and II.24.

⁹⁵ Patricia Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Society History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 68-102.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 20-21 and chapter 1.

⁹⁸ *Zu* appears in the *Zuozhuan* as the lineage of local rulers. *Minzu* can also mean “race,” “ethnicity,” “nationality,” etc. See Lydia Liu, *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 72.

⁹⁹ Allen J. Chun, “Conceptions of Kinship and Kingship in Classical Chou China,” *T’oung Pao* Second Series 76 (1990), 18. (神不歆非類民不祀非族)

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. (取其一氣脈相為感通可以嗣續無間)

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 22.

(*zhongzu* 種族 and *minzu* 民族).¹⁰² *Minzu* comes from the Japanese neologism *minzoku* coined in the late nineteenth century, which has a German connotation of the *Volk*, Russian *narod*, and Greek *ethnos*. Such prominent intellectuals and statesmen as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) and Sun Yat-sen repeatedly evoked *minzu* in their discussions of the people and the nation.¹⁰³ Sun promoted the Three Principles of the People, one of which is nationalism, or *minzu*-ism, he was thinking of *zu* as lineage. Sun claimed that the Manchu rulers were of an “alien lineage” (*yizu* 異族), a concept first appearing in the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li* 周禮, third century BCE) to denote those of a different surname (*xing* 姓) and being used to refer to “barbarian” tribes lacking the Sinic culture in the Song dynasty (960-1279).¹⁰⁴ More significantly, in a speech delivered in Japan in 1906, Sun conflated “nation” with “ancestry”: “A person always recognizes his parents and never confuses them with strangers. Nationalism is analogous to this. It has to do with human nature and applies to everyone.”¹⁰⁵ It was the vertical community rather than the horizontal community that was important to the imagined Chinese nation. Such ideas concerning lineage and nation appeared in official documents of Nationalist Party in the 1920s. For instance, the “alien lineage,” which appeared in a telegram about the borderline politics sent by the Xinjiang Nationalist Party branch to the National Government in 1928, referred to the Russians and the British in India.¹⁰⁶

The connection between making sacrifices to the dead and forming a community is crucial to the conception of the nation in twentieth-century China. Making sacrifices to a common group of the dead allows the living to imagine being part of a collective. In the first half of the twentieth century when the horizontal/geographical imagining of the national community was undermined by the fragmented reality of “China,” the vertical/historical imagining, aided by the long history of written records and cultural unity, was further emphasized. The vision of nationwide Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines ideally provided all citizens of the Republic to perform worship of the same group of revolutionary predecessors at the same time every year. Public sacrifices were announced in advance in official gazettes to urge the public to attend and were also reported (sometimes with photographs) once completed. These depictions of public sacrifices served the role of connecting the readership not only to one another but also to the past. While Benedict

¹⁰² Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 76; Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Don C. Price, “Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Autonomy, Family, and Nationalism,” in *Family Process and Political Process in Modern Chinese History*, Volume 2, ed. Institute of Modern History, 1015-1053 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1992).

¹⁰³ Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁴ James Leibold, “Positioning ‘*minzu*’ within Sun Yat-sen’s Discourse of *Minzuzhuyi*,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 38 (2004): 167.

¹⁰⁵ Julie Wei, ed. *Prescriptions for Saving China: Selected Writings of Sun Yat-sen* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 42.

¹⁰⁶ “Telegram from Xinjiang National Party branch to National Government,” September 19, 1928, AH 001-036000-0003, file 50002266. (一片大好山河不至淪為遺族所有)

Anderson argues that print capitalism creates the nation,¹⁰⁷ the Chinese nation to a certain extent was spatially and temporally constructed by the government-sponsored print culture.

Arthur Waldron argues that unlike the West, China “lacks an ancient concept of *patria*,” and Chinese religion “lacks the explicit dimension of transcendence.”¹⁰⁸ *Patria* is “defined through the common experience of people from the same place and strengthened through history as group genealogy and sanctified by the transference of values from the religious realm.”¹⁰⁹ On the contrary, the ‘community’ in Chinese history is defined by “a set of moral imperatives grounded in faith,” and not ‘national.’¹¹⁰ Waldron further argues that there is no universal patriotism, but only “individual patriotisms, each inescapably linked to some specific place or group.”¹¹¹ Elegies for war heroes often refer to virtues in Confucian classics, such as righteousness (*yi*), following in death (*xun*), loyalty (*zhong*), and humaneness (*ren*).

Nanjing Provisional Government's Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines

The rhetoric of the decrees passed by early Republican governments centers on the souls or spirits (*hun* 魂 and *po* 魄) and proper worship of revolutionaries as fictive kin. Official documents concerning the war dead frequently referred to the compound *xianlie* 先烈, which is simply translated “martyr” but literally means “the sacrificed/martyred ones that precede us.” The martyrs were considered not only those who sacrificed their lives for just causes, but also the ancestors in the newly formed revolutionary and national lineages. A nation-state, like a familial lineage, needs an origin and an ancestral altar for its past members. This belief foreshadowed the construction of all war memorials in Republican China.

In February 1912, Sun Yat-sen Nanjing Provisional Government's Ministry of the Army (*Lujun bu* 陸軍部) ordered provincial military governments to convert shrines built to honor late nineteenth-century military leaders, especially those who fought the Taiping rebels, into Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines (*Da Han zhonglie ci* 大漢忠烈祠).¹¹² There are two notable points in this decree: first, the emphasis on the racial ethnicity by referring to “Han” or “Han ethnicity”

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

¹⁰⁸ Arthur Waldron, “China's New Remembering of World War II: The Case of Zhang Zizhong,” *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 4 (1996): 947.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 963.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 961.

¹¹² “Ling shi: Lujun bu tonggao gesheng xun jiang qian Qing Xiang Chu Huai jun zhaoshong ge ci gaijian wei da Han zhonglie ci wen 令示：陸軍部通告各省迅將前清湘楚淮軍昭忠各祠改建為大漢忠烈祠文” (Decree: Ministry of the Army's communication: Provinces shall convert Qing Hunan-Hubei-Huai River Armies' Loyalty Shrines and the likes into Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines), *Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 臨時政府公報 (Provisional Government Gazette) 22 (1912): 2-3.

(*Hanzu* 漢族), and second, the act of appropriating old shrines for new deities.¹¹³ The connection between ancestral spirits, lineage, race, and the nation became evident in the selection of those who were considered national martyrs and in the way by which the Nanjing republic commemorated the loyal dead.

The Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were meant to individually honor both military and civilian martyrs of the early 1900s and 1910s, such as Zou Rong 鄒容 (1885-1905), Yu Zhimo 禹之謨 (1866-1907), Shi Jianru 史堅如 (1879-1900), Yang Zhuolin 楊卓林 (1876-1907), Wu Yue 吳樾 (1878-1905), Xu Xilin 徐錫麟 (1873-1907), Wu Luzhen 吳祿貞 (1880-1911), Wen Shengcai 溫生才 (1870-1911), and Peng Jiazhen 彭家珍 (1888-1912). They would also honor the collective dead of uprisings in Pingxiang 萍鄉, Qin-Lian 欽廉, Zhennan Pass 鎮南關, Yellow Flower Hill 黃花崗, and Wuchang 武昌. The shrines would celebrate events, such as the Jinling Restoration (金陵光復), which referred to Sun Yat-sen's takeover of Nanjing in 1911, and the Beijing assassinations (北京暗殺), which included various attempts of revolutionaries to murder Qing officials in Beijing in the early 1900s.

The list of the martyrs revealed the Nanjing Provisional Government's agenda with regard to race, nation, and political party. Although not all of these martyrs were members of Sun's political parties, Sun Yat-sen approved of their anti-Manchu activities and choice of armed attacks. Zou Rong, an anti-Qing intellectual and revolutionary from Sichuan, who wrote a political treatise called *The Revolutionary Army* (*Geming jun*) and died in a Qing government's prison.¹¹⁴ Shi Jianru was a revolutionary from Canton and a member of the Revive China Society (*Xingzhonghui* 興中會), which was founded by Sun Yat-sen. After plotting a bomb attack on the governor of Guangdong, Shi was arrested and quickly beheaded in 1900.¹¹⁵ Wu Yue, a native of Zhangjiakou, Hubei, was a member of the Restoration Society (*Guangfuhui* 光復會). Expressing strong anti-Manchu sentiments and promoting assassination as the means, Wu was killed while attempting a bomb-suicide attack on Qing commissioners. His testimony was published in the *Heavenly Punishment* (*Tiantao* 天討) supplement to the *People's Journal* (*Min bao* 民報), the Revolutionary Alliance's organ.¹¹⁶ Xu Xilin, from Zhejiang province, was arrested and executed after having assassinated Enming, a Manchu bannerman.¹¹⁷ In his confession, which was widely published in newspapers, Xu "freely acknowledged his thirst for racial vengeance."¹¹⁸ Peng Jiazhen, a Sichuanese, made various assassination attempts with explosives on Beiyang officials. Peng perished by his own weapon during his last attempt at the life of Liangbi 良弼, a Manchu official.¹¹⁹ Yang Zhuolin, a Hunan native, was arrested and executed for attempting to murder

¹¹³ I use "racial ethnicity" because the character *zu* has been translated as both "race" and "ethnicity."

¹¹⁴ Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 108-111.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹¹⁶ Rhoads, *Manchus and Han*, 97-98, 104-106.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 104-106.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹¹⁹ Edward S. Krebs, *Shifu, Soul of Chinese Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield,

Duanfang 端方, the governor-general of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui. Although Wen Shengcai joined the Revolutionary Alliance during his time in Southeast Asia, he acted alone. Unable to obtain bombs, he opted for a pistol to kill a Manchu general. Wen was arrested and beheaded thereafter.¹²⁰

By organizing the presence of these martyrs, who were hailed from various provinces and died in other parts, within the same space, Sun made the idea of China as a collective whole viable and his inclusive philosophy of republicanism appealing to many political groups. Many martyrs were provincialist rather than nationalist. Yu Zhimo, a native of Hunan, was a business and educator. He was arrested for inciting anti-government activities and executed.¹²¹ The Pingxiang uprising, led by Ma Fuyi 馬福益 (1865-1905) and Huang Xing 黃興 (1874-1916), took place in Hunan in 1904. Ma was a member of the Society of Elders and Brothers (*Gelaohui* 哥老會), a secret society in Pingxiang County. Ma was recruited by the Revolutionary Alliance to organize armed rebellions against the Hunanese Provincial Government. After the Pingxiang uprising failed, Ma was captured and executed by the Qing government. Furthermore, these revolts were neither the sole working of the Revolutionary Alliance, nor toward the creation of “China.” Pingxiang Uprising took place in Hunan in 1906. The Zhennan Pass Revolt was led by Sun Yat-sen near the Sino-Vietnamese border in 1907. Huang Xing led the Qin-Lian Uprising from March to May of 1908. Nonetheless, these scattered and small-scale uprisings were strung into a coherent movement in Sun’s commemorative narrative.

The Nanjing Provisional Government emphasized the unity in these assorted political activists and movements. According to the decree, these martyrs “did not hesitate either to toss away their bones and flesh in the ultimate sacrifice of life, or to calmly face death while unyieldingly establishing the new form of government, or to enthusiastically abandon their own existence as they suffered from illnesses and political party disasters.”¹²² Such characterization erases geographical and ideological differences of these martyrs. The decree also ordered provinces to “meticulously survey other martyrdom tales of the Great Han superior men”¹²³ and enter them into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines within their jurisdiction. Commemorating these men that had participated in dispersed anti-imperial movements at the turn of the twentieth century as Republican martyrs, legitimated the nascent Republic, which itself did not organize these uprisings. Evoking the Confucian “superior men” (*junzi* 君子), the Nanjing Provisional

1998), 73-74; Hu Ying, “Enemy, Friend, Martyr: Commemorating Liangbi (1877-1912), Contesting History,” *Late Imperial China* 38 (2017): 1-45.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 65-66. Wen was buried at the Red Flower Hill Martyrs’ Tomb together with Lin Guanci, Chen Jingyue 陳敬岳 (1883-1911), and Zhong Mingguang 鐘光明 (1881-1915).

¹²¹ Stephen R. Platt, *Provincial Patriots: The Hunanese and Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 137-138.

¹²² “Ling shi: Lujun bu tonggao gesheng xun jiang qian Qing Xiang Chu Huai jun zhaoshong ge ci gajian wei da Han zhonglie ci wen” (Decree: Ministry of the Army’s communication: Provinces shall convert Qing Hunan-Hubei-Huai River Armies’ Loyalty Shrines and the likes into Great Han Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines), *Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 22 (1912): 2-3. (不惜犧牲性命拋棄骨肉, 或抗節虜廷從容就義, 或橫罹黨禍慷慨捐生)

¹²³ (詳細訪查各省盡忠大漢死事諸君子)

Government emphasized the possession of virtuous superiority and leadership of the Republican martyrs.

According to the decree, the Ministry of the Army would also dispatch representatives to organize spring and autumn sacrificial rites as well as the annual memorial ceremony. These activities were meant not only to comfort the martyrs' spirit in heaven (*yi wei lieshi zai tian zhi ling* 以慰烈士在天之靈), but also to deprive the souls of the traitors of the Han race [of recognition]" (*yi chi Hanjian si hou zhi ling* 以褫漢奸死后之魄). They would be conducive to "encourage the military aspiration, foster martial spirit, turn republicanism into a popular cause of no temporal and spatial limits."¹²⁴ Here the Han ethnicity, which preceded and gave rise to Chinese nationalism, was played out in the realm of the dead. Another decree in 1912 stipulated that commemoration be held on the lunar date of Wuhan uprising (the nineteenth of the eighth month) and the solar date of the Republican Unification (*minguo tongyi* 民國統一) (February 15) in order "to console the spirit of the dead, to create the energy of the living, and to shed light on the righteousness of illuminating the martyrs and punishing the traitors" (*yi wei sizhe zhi ling, yi zuo shengzhe zhi qi, yi ming zhaolie zhujian zhi yi* 以慰死者之靈, 以作生者之氣, 以明昭烈誅奸之義). After capital and provincial Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were established, fallen officers would be nominated for enshrinement.¹²⁵ The most important matter of human beings in the afterlife is to receive sacrificial rites and goods from the living. Denying dead foes of a proper afterlife was thus a form of eternal punishment and an attempt to reduce the potency of living enemies. Death was not imagined as an eternal, peaceful respite. The dead were considered lifeless bodies but restless spirits. The transition from empire to nation in the ideological sense was not a rejection of traditional "culture" as Joseph Levenson and Myron Cohen proposed.¹²⁶

Another notable matter is the attempt to convert existing shrines into new ones. Sun was iconoclastic but not to the extent of tearing down temples like what would be seen in the 1960s-1970s. Besides, these temples, often built on auspicious grounds to awe and to last, provided an ideal space for worshipping the dead. In 1912, the Ministry of the Army ordered all provinces to convert Qing Manifest Loyalty Shrines into Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines so that the local

¹²⁴ (於以激勵軍志, 發揚武氣, 蔚成民國無疆之盛業, 達於四裔, 豈不懿歟)

¹²⁵ "Ling shi: Lujun bu tonggao gesheng dudu jiang qian-Qing zhongyi ge ci fenbie gaijian da Han zhonglie ci dianwen" 令示: 陸軍部通告各省都督將前清忠義各祠分別改建大漢忠烈祠電文 (Decree: Ministry of the Army's telegram to all provinces to convert Qing Manifest Loyalty Shrines and the likes into Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrines), *Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 臨時政府公報 (Provisional Government Gazette) 20 (1912): 4.

¹²⁶ Joseph Levenson argues that in the 19th and 20th century, China witnessed the discursive rupture from "culturalism" to "nationalism." Joseph Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate, Combined Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), Chapter VII. Myron Cohen argues that the concept of Han ethnicity as the "traditional and culturally elaborated sense of nationhood" was rejected by modern Chinese elites in the 20th century. Myron Cohen, "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity," in *The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today*, ed. Tu Wei-ming (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 88.

governments could “promptly and perpetually make offerings” (*jiyi qianqiu zudou* 亟宜千秋俎豆) to the Republican martyrs and “give solace to their loyal souls for eternity” (用妥百劫忠魂). The decree proclaimed that the Qing rule was tyrannical and violent, and constructed “excessive” shrines (*lanqi* 濫祠) everywhere. Now that the territory was recovered, the Qing “heretical,” or “superfluous” shrines (*yin ci* 淫祠) had to be replaced.¹²⁷ The Republican government’s rhetoric of replacing heretical sacrifices with proper worship of loyal souls was not far from imperial-era categories of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.¹²⁸ Justifying its conversion plan by declaring the imperially commissioned shrines for the war dead “deviant,” the 1912 republic in Nanjing ironically resorted to the rhetoric of the imperial state to condemn religious cults, while eschewing the religion/secularism dichotomy commonly used by the “modern secular” state. The act of appropriation was not radical considering that temples in China often underwent similar changes with deities added or removed over time.

The Nanjing Provisional Government’s radical plan received mixed responses. The capital Manifest Loyalty Shrine in Beijing was spared of being converted and was maintained well into the 1930s. In the provinces, the 1912 conversion plan was not implemented. Anhui and Hunan Provincial Governments converted different shrines into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines.¹²⁹ On the contrary, Jiangxi responded unfavorably to the request, arguing that because the Qing Dynasty did not seek to abolish shrines built to honor Song, Yuan, and Ming loyal and righteous people, the Republic, as the new dynasty, should not abolish Qing shrines to the worthies, such as Zeng Guofan and Zuo Zongtang, two leading figures of the Hunan Army. Regime change should not necessitate destruction of the past. The Republic “should not arbitrarily destroy” (*bu de renyi xiaohui* 不得任意銷毀) shrines to loyal officials of the previous dynasty in order to “preserve propriety” (*chong titong* 崇體統) and “protect civilization” (*bao wenming* 保文明).¹³⁰

¹²⁷ “Jishi: Lujun bu qing jiang qian-Qing zhaozhong ge zhuanqi fenbie gajian da-Han zhonglie ci cheng 紀事：陸軍部請將前清昭忠各專祠分別改建大漢忠烈祠呈” (Record: Ministry of the Army’s request Qing Manifest Loyalty Shrines and similar shrines to be converted into Great Han Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines), *Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 51 (1912): 15-16.

¹²⁸ See Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

¹²⁹ Wang Nan 王楠 and Chen Yunqian 陈蕴茜, “Lieshici yu minguo shiqi xinhai geming jiye 烈士祠与民国时期辛亥革命记忆” (Martyrs’ Shrines and commemoration of the 1911 Revolution during the Republican Era), *Nanjing daxue minguo dang’anguan* 南京大学中华民国史研究中心 (Nanjing University Republican China’s History Research Center) 3 (2011): 72-82.

¹³⁰ “Fulu: Nanjing Sun dazongtong Wuchang Li fuzongtong jun jian qian zhun Lujunbu dian zhi congqian ge zhaozhong nai geiwei Dahan zhonglie ci (Jiangxi lai dian) 附錄：南京孫大總統武昌黎副總統鈞鑒前准陸軍部電知從前各昭忠耐改為大漢忠烈祠(江西來電)” (Supplemental Section: Telegram from Jiangxi with regard to the proposal of the Ministry of the Army to convert Manifest Loyalty Shrines to Great Han Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines as previously approved by President Sun in Nanjing and Vice-president Li in Wuchang), *Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 31 (1912): 24. (光復以來此間如曾文正左文襄各位祠有任意銷毀者，咎其當時不應助滿。然平情而論。時勢各有不同。易地則皆然也。若以此而責賢者，是宋明之忠良至元代清時而必改

There was little development about the Great Han Shrines after 1912 for the Han-Manchu ethnic tension receded when the Communists, regional power holders (the so-called warlords), and the Japanese replaced the Qing as formidable enemies. Most localities left their Qing-era Manifest Loyalty Shrines untouched until the new Nanjing government of 1927 began a new conversion campaign. The Nationalist government repeatedly demanded the abolition of shrines to non-Republican martyrs. Even so, many Qing-era Manifest Loyalty Shrines in the provinces continued to exist throughout the Civil War even if they were not actively maintained.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the 1912 Nanjing Provisional Government created itself on anti-Qing sentiments, setting in motion the formation of a Han-majority Republic.

Republican Military Martyrdom

The Beiyang government's Premier (*Guowu zongli*), Sun Baoqi 孫寶琦, issued the "Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats" (*Wenguan xujin ling* 文官卹金令) on March 11, 1914, specifying three forms of stipends: lifetime, one time, and for remaining relatives.¹³² On March 28, the "Implementation Details on the Gratuities Decree for Civil Bureaucrats" (*Wenguan xujin ling shixing xize* 文官卹金令施行細則) was issued.¹³³ These regulations provided the foundation for the Nationalist government's compensation law.

For military servicemembers and police officers, the Ministry of the Army (*Lujun bu*) of the Qing government issued the "Commendations and Rewards" (卹廕恩賞章程) in 1910, for those who died on battle (*zhenwang* 陣亡), died from injuries (*shangwang* 傷亡), lost life while on duty (因公殞命), died from illness caused by overexertion (積勞病故), and suffered from battle injuries (*linzhen shoushang* 臨陣受傷) during the time of international war (國際戰爭之時).¹³⁴

削其牒，今值民國統一鼎革之初，擬請令行各省，將前清顯宦專祠如舉建設，不得任意銷毀以崇體統，而保文明是否之處敬乞)

¹³¹ For example, it was not until 1947 was the Manifest Loyalty Shrine dedicated to the anti-Taiping Xiang Army in Hukou, Hunan converted into an elementary-secondary school by the county government. "Dian neizhengbu deng qing weihu Jiangxi Hukou Xiangjun zhonglie ci chanquan 電內政部等請維護江西湖口湘軍忠烈祠產權" (Telegram from the Provincial Assembly to the Ministry of the Interior: Petitioning to protect the property of Jiangxi Hukou's Xiang Army Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Hunan sheng canyihui huikan* 湖南省參議會會刊 (Hunan Provincial Parliamentary Journal) 6 (1947): 8.

¹³² *Wenguan xujin ling* 文官卹金令 (Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats), *Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公報 (Government Gazette) 653 (1914): 1-5.

¹³³ "Wenguan xujin ling shixing xize 文官卹金令施行細則" (Implementation Details on the Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats), *Zhengfu gongbao* 679 (1914): 3-6.

¹³⁴ "Lujun bu hui zou zun xian liding xuyin enshang zhangcheng zhe" 陸軍部會奏遵限釐訂卹廕恩賞章程摺 (Ministry of War memorializing about the compensation and reward procedure), *Guofeng bao* 國風報 29 (1910): 43-49. *Guofeng bao* ran from February to the end of 1910 with a total of 32 issues.

Sun Yat-sen's government issued the "Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Commending Army Servicemembers" (*Lujun xushang zhanxing jianzhang* 陸軍卹賞暫行簡章) in 1911. During his short tenure as premier of the Nanjing Provisional Government, Sun Yat-sen issued a series of commendations and compensation decrees (*ling*). On March 4, 1912, Sun approved the petition from the Ministry of the Army to award three officers: Wu Luzhen, Zhang Shiying 張世膺 (1884-1911), and Zhou Weizhen 周維楨 (1880- 1911)¹³⁵ with one-time payments and annual gratuities based on their ranks. Huang Xing, the Minister of the Army (陸軍部總長), petitioned to award Wu, as a generalissimo (*da jiangjun* 大將軍), a one-time stipend of 1,500 *yuan* and his family an annual stipend of 800 *yuan*; Zhang, as the general of the right (*you jiangjun* 右將軍), 1,100 *yuan* and 600 *yuan*; and Zhou, as a captain (*da duwei* 大都尉), 900 *yuan* and 500 *yuan* respectively. Huang Xing argued that the rewards would "set the standards of rewards for the new republic, announced the republic to the world, and compensated loyal and sacrificing intentions."¹³⁶ Sun agreed with the amount of compensations since there were "no standards" (撫卹之典, 尚爾確如). As the proposal from the Ministry of the Army "truly showed great understanding, I [i.e., Sun] approve as it is. Let it be known widely."¹³⁷ As military officers, none of these three died in combat. As they were murdered by Yuan Shikai's orders, celebrating their deaths and making the commemorative decrees known among the people was an effective way to denounce Yuan.

In addition, Sun personally issued commendation decrees to a Shanxi Army's advisor (山西軍參謀), Wang Jiaju 王家駒 (1881-1911), at the level of the general of the left with a one-time payment of 1,200 *yuan* and an annual gratuity of 700 *yuan*.¹³⁸ Sun issued another decree to compensate a second-grade aide-de-camp (二等副官), Chen Lu 陳魯, who was hit with a bullet and died quickly of the injury, with a one-time payment of 800 *yuan* and an annual gratuity of 450 *yuan* – the level reserved for a captain (*da duwei* 大都尉).¹³⁹ Sun also issued compensation decrees to revolutionaries of late-Qing uprisings. The two brothers, Liu Daoyi 劉道一 (1884-

¹³⁵ Born into a wealthy mercantile family, Zhou Weizhen studied in Japan, where he joined the Revolutionary Alliance. He participated in and organized various revolutionary activities all over China. On November 6, 1911, he was captured and executed by Yuan Shikai's agents. William T. Rowe, *Crimson Rain: Seven Centuries of Violence in a Chinese County* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 228.

¹³⁶ (以為我共和開國報功酬勛之先表, 宣示天下, 以不負忠烈之意)

¹³⁷ "Provisional President's decree," March 4, 1912," in *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian di erkan, Nanjing linshi zhengfu 1912* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 第二輯《南京臨時政府》(1912年) (Collection of the Republic of China's Archival Documents, Second Compilation: Nanjing Provisional Government 1912), ed. Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan 中國第二歷史檔案館 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991-1999), 268-269. (實屬聲明大體, 應準如所請。風示天下)

¹³⁸ "Provisional President's decree," March 19, 1912," in *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian di erkan, Nanjing linshi zhengfu 1912*, 270-271.

¹³⁹ "Provisional President's decree," March 23, 1912," in *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian di erkan, Nanjing linshi zhengfu 1912*, 271-272.

1906) and Liu Kuiyi 劉揆一 (1878-1950) organized uprisings in the Ping-Liu-Li 萍瀏澧 region in 1906-1907. Liu Daoyi was captured and executed in Changsha. Sun approved for Liu Daoyi to be honored as a martyr in the Great Han Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and his biography entered the State History Academy (*Guoshi yuan*).¹⁴⁰

The Zhejiang Provincial Government, in support of the Yuan Shikai's government,¹⁴¹ issued the "Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Commending the Republic of China's Zhejiang Army" (*Zhonghua minguo Zhe jun xuchang zhanxing zhangcheng* 中華民國浙軍卹賞暫行章程) in 1912.¹⁴² Like the 1910 ones, these 1912 regulations mentioned "international wars."

Considering the war to be over, the Beiyang government issued new compensation regulations. On September 12, 1912, the Ministry of the Army (*Lujun bu*) petitioned the Beiyang President to review and approve the "Provisional Brief Regulations for Compensating the Army during Peacetime and Wartime" (*Lujun pingshi zhanshi xushang zhanxing jianzhang* 陸軍平時戰時恤賞暫行簡章). These regulations added articles with regard to peacetime compensation because the "Provisional Brief Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers" previously issued by Sun Yat-sen's government only covered war-related situations. During wartime, five circumstances eligible for compensation were the same those in the 1910 Regulations. During peacetime, those suffering from injuries or death while "suppressing bandits and "domestic turbulences" (*jiaofei neiluan* 剿匪內亂) or while "on duty" (*yingong* 因公) would be compensated.¹⁴³ The Beiyang government demoted revolutionary activities to be acts of banditry and disturbances.

Beiyang Militaristic Martyrdom

At the beginning, because Chinese scholars in Japan at the time were impressed with this model of the Yasukuni Shrine where patriotism and disciplined militarism were celebrated bi-annually The Beiyang government modeled the new capital shrine to the loyal dead upon the Yasukuni Shrine built in Tokyo in 1871.¹⁴⁴ In the late nineteenth century, hundreds of war

¹⁴⁰ "Provisional President's decree," March 27, 1912," in *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian di erkan, Nanjing linshi zhengfu 1912*, 272.

¹⁴¹ When Sun Yat-sen stepped down and Yuan Shikai was elected as the new president of the Republic, local governments went through changes. Zhu Rui, a support of Yuan, became the new military governor of Zhejiang in August 1912. Yeh Wen-hsin, *Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 125-126.

¹⁴² "Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Commending Republic of China's Zhejiang Army," *Zhejiang junzhengfu gongbao* 浙江軍政府公報 (Zhejiang Military Government Gazette) 14 (1912): 3-13.

¹⁴³ "Ministry of Army to President, including 陸軍平時戰時恤賞暫行簡章," September 12, 1912," *Zhengfu gongbao* 141 (1912): 4-26.

¹⁴⁴ Henrietta Harrison, "Martyrs and Militarism in Early Republican China," *Twentieth-Century China* 23 (1998): 54-55.

memorials and local shrines for the war dead (*Shokonsha*) were built in Japan. Some originated from burial grounds for the war dead. At the turn of the twentieth century, these shrines were officially sanctioned by the government and renamed the National-Protecting Shrines (*gokoku jinja*).¹⁴⁵ However, many Beiyang politicians chose to emphasize the Chinese tradition of worshipping the worthy. According to the proposal by Xu Shichang 徐世昌 (1855-1939)¹⁴⁶ in 1914, the Beiyang government intended to build the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines based on China's imperial model rather than the Japanese one. In later decades, the Japanese way of worshipping the loyal dead was performed in various parts in China. The Yasukuni Shrine remained an inspiration for Chinese politicians and intellectuals with regard to the issue of appropriately worshipping the war dead.¹⁴⁷

After Sun Yat-sen's government yielded its power to Yuan Shikai, the Beiyang government continued conducting regular sacrifices to martyrs of the Republican cause. Although Yuan suppressed anti-Qing revolutionary activities prior to 1912, he quickly turned around and used these revolutionaries as tools to legitimate the new government. The Beiyang government set up an Honors Bureau in Beijing to investigate the names of those who sacrificed for the anti-imperial revolution, and a Ritual Bureau to make arrangements for the spring and autumn sacrifices.

The Beiyang government shared the Manchu ideology of promoting the war dead as martial warriors. During the 1910s to the 1920s, while the official ideology concerning martyrs' shrines was to promote the concept of "martyrs as citizen soldiers," the public celebrated anti-state civilian martyrdom.¹⁴⁸ The government planned to build a Beijing Martyrs' Memorial Shrine (*Beijing xianlie jinian ci* 北京先烈紀念祠) and appointed an office to take charge.

The Beijing Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee (*Beijing xianlie jinian ci shiwu suo* 北京先烈紀念祠事務所) headed by Guo Baoyuan 郭寶怨, petitioned in 1913 to specifically enshrine two military and civilian martyrs, Wu Luzhen 吳祿貞 (1880-1911) and Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882-1913).¹⁴⁹ This 1913 petition, emphasizing multiple times the need to honor these two

¹⁴⁵ Hardacre, *Shintō and the State, 1868-1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 90-92.

¹⁴⁶ Xu Shichang, a *jinshi* from Henan, was one of the Chinese members of the Manchu-dominated cabinet of May 1911. He served as the governor-general in northeast China (1907-1911). Xu was a peacemaker, seeking reconciliation between factions in the Beiyang government and between power holders of the North and the South. Xu Shichang was one of the Chinese members of the first imperial, Manchu-dominated cabinet of May 1911. Xu resigned during Yuan's reign as emperor. He was elected as the President of the National Assembly in October 1918. Jack Gray, *Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), xxxiii, 178-182; Esherick and Wei, *China: How Empire Fell*, xxi.

¹⁴⁷ Feng Yuxiang brought up the Yasukuni Shrine in 1940.

¹⁴⁸ Harrison, "Martyrs and Militarism," 53.

¹⁴⁹ "Jingshi jingcha ting zhi yin zhu ju chao song ling Beijing xianlie jinian ci shiwu suo ji faqi ren Guo Baoshu dengchu fen ling qing chi deng gongbao han (fu ling) 京師警察廳致印鑄局鈔

political figures, proved to be a deliberate effort of the Shrine Construction Committee to defy the Beiyang government. A New Army officer, Wu Luzhen, was however associated with anti-imperial revolutionaries and revolted against the government.¹⁵⁰ Wu came from a declining literati family and was selected by Zhi Zhidong to study at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy.¹⁵¹ Although Wu attended a military academy, he was referred to as one of the “non-commissioned officer heroes.”¹⁵² Song Jiaoren was one of the most prominent Revolutionary Alliance leaders and on the way to become China’s first premier. Yuan Shikai’s government reportedly murdered both. The Shrine Construction Committee purchased the Huayan Temple and drafted a blueprint of a Western-style stone monument in 1914. Due to the conflict over the martyrization of Wu Luzhen and Song Jiaoren, Yuan government’s Ministry of Internal Affairs confiscated the Huayan Temple and dissolved the Shrine Construction Committee.

The Beiyang government failed to construct a national shrine to military martyrs not only because its desire to instill martial values was trumped by flamboyant heroism, but also because of its lack of legitimacy at the national level. Yuan’s political struggle with Sun turned into a civil war, draining the source of legitimacy that would come from defending the nation against foreign invaders. The self-crowning act by Yuan in 1915 further tarnished the Beiyang government’s image. The Beiyang government’s failure to construct a commemorative narrative that would legitimize its sovereignty contributed to the lack of influence beyond its northern base and subsequent loss of power to the Nationalists. In Chapter 2, I discuss how supporters of Sun Yat-sen in the 1910s and 1920s diligently cultivated the ideal of Republican martyrdom and a revolutionary narrative, setting the ideological grounds for the rise of the Nationalist party-state.

After its vision for a grand shrine at the site of the Huayan Temple was thwarted, the Beiyang government ultimately converted part of the Altar of Agriculture (*Xiannongtan* 先農壇) into Beijing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in 1914. The Altar of Agriculture was built in the fifteenth century in the proximity of the Temple of Heaven.¹⁵³ A more radical measure would have been to transform the imperial Manifest Loyalty Shrine into a Republican one. Nonetheless, the Beiyang politicians had strong ties with the Manchu past and would have rejected to such a plan, if ever brought up. Once completed, a ceremony to commemorate the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising (the

送令北京先烈紀念祠事務所暨發起人郭寶恕等處分令請飭登公報函(附令),” *Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公報 652 (1914): 17-18.

¹⁵⁰ Joseph W. Esherick and C. X. George Wei, *China: How the Empire Fell* (New York: Routledge, 2014), xxi.

¹⁵¹ Hu Ying, “Enemy, Friend, Martyr,” 29-30.

¹⁵² Esherick and Wei, *China*, 231.

¹⁵³ *Xiannongtan* literally means Altar to the First Husbandman. I follow Susan Naquin to translate it as “Altar to Agriculture.” Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 324, n. 76. For a visual and description of an imperial sacrifice at the Altar of Agriculture in the Qing dynasty, see Anita Chung, *Drawing Boundaries: Architectural Images in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 77-79.

twenty-ninth day of the third month in the lunar calendar) was organized. The date for the public sacrifice however was chosen to be October 10 as proposed by Xu Shichang.

Rites for the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines

On October 2, 1914, Xu Shichang, as the Head of the Office of Rites (*lizhiguan* 禮制館館長) of the Chamber of Political Affairs (*zhengshi tang* 政事堂), raised the matter of building a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine to the President (*Da zongtong* 大總統), and was approved.¹⁵⁴ The proposal for the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was then published in government gazettes and also as a booklet.¹⁵⁵

According to the proposal, the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine would be used to worship officers and soldiers who died in battle (*zhenwang jiangshi* 陣亡將士) and “others who died because of warfare” (*qita yin zhan xiaosi zhi ren* 其他因戰效死之人). Xu presented that the Hongwu Emperor of the Ming dynasty, in his third year of reign (1371) initiated the Meritorious Official Shrines for those who rendered great service to the shrine and died during the war (*zhanyi gongchen* 戰沒功臣). This, according to Xu, was “the beginning of offering sacrifice to the war dead” (*song si sushu jiangshi zhi shi* 叢祀死事將士之始). The Ming shrine building tradition was continued in the Qing government, which built Manifest Loyalty Shrines exclusive to the war dead. Xu suggested employing these imperial precedents as models to construct the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Xu also proposed to set October 10, the anniversary of the Wuchang Uprising, as the National Day (*Guoqing* 國慶), on which sacrifices would be offered to the war dead.

The petition proposed that in addition to the capital, Provincial Governments would be required to collect names of those who died in battle and submitted them to the president for approval before being entered into the shrine. Sacrifices were to be made to all the martyrs as a collective body, not as individuals. Each locality would build their own shrine for local martyrs while the capital shrine in Beijing would be dedicated to all national martyrs. Accordingly, various provinces, such as Jiangxi and Anhui, began to build their shrines in accordance with the central government's order.

The “Capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Rites” (*Jingshi zhonglie ci zhui jili* 京師忠烈祠追祭禮) prescribed rituals and sacrificial items for the ceremony. The list of indispensable sacrificial goods (*ruci gongju* 入祠供具) is as follows. An *an* 案 (rectangular stand for supporting a wine vessel) shall be placed in the middle of the hall. On the *an*, there shall be a *xing* 銅 (tripod with two handles and a lid) that contains a *dui* 敦 (round or oval vessel with a lid) of soup (*shu geng* 實羹), a *bian* 籩 (bamboo bowl) of real cooked rice (*shi fan* 實飯), four *dou* 豆 (flat, stemmed, and covered saucer) of a variety of real fruits, pastry, cured fish and meat (*shi guo bing e yu la shou la* 實果餅餌魚臘獸腊), and four types of “real roasted meats and vegetables” (*shi zhi zi shi*

¹⁵⁴ *Zhonglie ci jili* 忠烈祠祭禮 (Sacrificial Rites of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine) (Beiping [Beijing]: Zhengshi tang li zhi guan 政事堂禮制館, 1915).

¹⁵⁵ I found this booklet in the Nanjing Municipal Library. It was also published in *Zhengfu gongbao* and *Jiangsu sheng zhengfu gongbao*.

shu 實炙載時蔬). In front of these a *zu* 俎 (rectangular table with square legs for animal sacrifice) with a sheep and a hog shall be installed. Further to the front shall be an incense table (*xiang'an* 香案) and a *ludeng* 鑪鐙 (ancient furnace or vessel to keep food warm).¹⁵⁶ The list goes on about the setting of furniture in the sacrificial hall and the arrangement of participants.¹⁵⁷

The proposed elegy exhorts the martyrs as “loyal, sacrificing, and in accordance with moral integrity” (*zhonglie bingjie* 忠烈秉節). They did not fear death. Their “life and essence became the [national] mountains and rivers” (*shouming qi zuo shanhe* 授命氣作山河). Their “absolute loyalty and supreme courage” (*bixue danxin* 碧血丹心, literally, their “verdant blood and crimson heart”) “spread among countless people” (*liuzhuan wankou* 流傳萬口). Their “bodies became national martyrs” (*shen wei guoshang* 身為國殤). Their names are bequeathed to posterity for eternity (*ming chui yongjiu* 名垂永久).¹⁵⁸ While none of these terms, which come from the *Book of Rites* and the *Book of Poetry*, seems to embody a new rhetoric of martyrdom, they were de-contextualized and re-contextualized. In other words, they were taken out of the classic texts and used to describe twentieth-century revolutionaries.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzes how commemoration of the war dead in Republican China was tied to traditional practices of ancestor worship, offering sacrifices to the spirits, and shrine building for people of virtues, as well as modern ideals of Republican civic virtues and the imagined nation-state. While Republican governments referred to the Qing-era Manifest Loyalty Shrines as a model for war memorials, the astronomical rise in casualties from twentieth-century warfare and influence from Japan and the West altered some of the ways by which the dead were commemorated in twentieth-century China. Commemoration of the war dead was delegated to the local government that was responsible for finding an appropriate site, financing the conversion, collecting martyrs’ names, and organizing activities. Nevertheless, as I demonstrate in later chapters, the idea of offering sacrifices to the spirits remained the defining feature of Republican China’s commemorative mode.

I examine various efforts of the Republican governments to use the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines as means to regulate how the public should make sense of mass violent deaths. Control of the meaning of the dead is a critical component in establishing legitimacy. Sun Yat-sen strategically

¹⁵⁶ *Zhonglie ci jili*, 5-6.

¹⁵⁷ These ritual utensils can be traced back to the Bronze Age, first appearing in the Xia Dynasty (c. 2000-1600 BCE) and developed in the Shang dynasty (c. 1600-1046 BCE) and Zhou dynasty (c. 1046-256 BCE). The Neo-Confucians of the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE) and Ming dynasty (1368-1644 CE) promoted the use of such rituals and ritual utensils among the population. The officially sponsored *Family Rituals* by Zhu Xi dictates the proper amounts and order of various sacrificial provisions (dried meat, animal organs, fish, vegetables, fruits, etc.) and utensils (bowls, cups, decanters, saucers, chopsticks, etc.) placed before the ancestors’ spirit tablets. The spirits are invited by the presiding man or woman to partake in the essence of the offerings, which would then be shared among the participants. Ebrey, *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals*, 160-161.

¹⁵⁸ *Zhonglie ci jili*, 5-6.

included those that carried out violent attacks on members of the Qing government into his Republican government's pantheon. These revolutionaries enshrined by the Nanjing Provisional Government were, in many ways, "terrorists" as they created lasting impressions on the people with their acts of brutality in public places. In addition to their assassination attempts with explosives and firearms, their subsequent arrests, tortures, and executions were well captured in newspapers and books.¹⁵⁹ Tapping into the public sentiments with regard to these political activists, Sun elevated them to "national martyrs" and "revolutionary predecessors" of the Chinese Republic. Yuan Shikai however could not make the dead work for either his nation or empire. In their afterlife, the dead, many of whom were put to death by Yuan's orders, eventually bought down the Beiyang government. Although Sun's supporters in the 1910s and 1920s were exiled from the political arena, they continued to exhort these turn-of-the-century flamboyant agents of violence. The dead were put to work again, that is, to build ideological grounds for the Nationalists. This is the topic of the next chapter.

¹⁵⁹ For example, Gengfu 耿夫, "Geming renwu shi: Peng lieshi Jiazhen mou zha Liangbi shimo (fu zhaopian) 革命人物史: 彭烈士家珍謀炸良弼事始末(附照片)" (Biography of a revolutionary figure: The whole story of martyr Peng Jiazhen attempting to kill Liangbi (Photograph Attached)," *Minyi* 民誼 3 (1913) 85-91.

Chapter 2

Republican Martyrdom

On April 27, 1911 (March 29 in the lunar calendar), a group of local gentry, businessmen, overseas students, and secret society members from Guangzhou and other southern provinces under the command of Huang Xing 黃興 (1874-1916) staged an armed revolt aiming to capture the governor-general of Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi) Provinces. Leaders of these insurrectionists were affiliated with the Revolutionary Alliance founded by Sun Yat-sen in Japan in 1905. The revolt leaders were expecting the New Army troops¹⁶⁰ to mutiny and reinforcements led by Zhao Sheng 趙聲 (1881-1911) and Hu Hanmin 胡漢民 (1879-1936) to arrive in time. Neither materialized. The governor-general Zhang Mingqi 張鳴岐 (1875-1945) escaped and the imperial troops crushed the uprising. About 86 of these rebels were killed in battle, or were captured and executed immediately afterwards. The body count was 86, but only about 72 of them could be identified. The local county magistrate planned to bury their remains on the aptly named Stinking Hill, where corpses of criminals were customarily abandoned in large pits. However, Pan Dazheng 潘大徵, a Republican revolutionary, and Jiang Kongyin 江孔殷, a member of the Hanlin Academy, raised money to bury them in a mound, which Pan gave an elegant name of “Yellow Flower Hill” (*Huanghuagang* 黃花崗).¹⁶¹ Survivors and sympathizers of the uprising carried out various commemorative activities despite being interrupted by the rise of the Beiyang government and political tension among the southern revolutionaries.

¹⁶⁰ After its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Qing Dynasty established the Self-Strengthening Army in Hubei according to European models. Zhang Zhidong, who was in charge of this movement, also opened a new military academy in Nanjing and Wuchang (Hubei). Yuan Shikai also established a New Army and officer training schools in Hebei. Li Xiaobing, *A History of the Modern Chinese Army* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 26. These modernized armies were better-trained and better-equipped than the Manchu Eight Banners or Han Green Army. A discussion of the New Army can be found in Chapter 2 of Edward A. McCord, *The Power of the Gun: The Emergence of Modern Chinese Warlordism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). New military troops were formed and trained other provinces including Guangdong. Quite a few martyrs of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising attended these new military academies and held positions in the New Army.

¹⁶¹ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 153. Virgil Kit-Yiu Ho maintains that Pan’s account was inaccurate based on newspaper reports in the aftermath of the uprising. The Yellow Flower Hill existed before it became the gravesite of the 1911 martyrs. Virgil Kit-Yiu Ho, “Martyrs or Ghosts? A Short Cultural History of a Tomb in Revolutionary Canton, 1911-1970,” *East Asian History* 27 (2004): 99-138. In addition, “Yellow flowers” symbolize youth the way cherry blooms do in Japanese culture. March 29 is celebrated as Youth Day (*Qingnian jie* 青年節) in Taiwan.

In this chapter, I focus on a particular commemorative book named *Biographies of the Seventy-Two Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs* (*Huanghuagang qishier lieshi shilüe* 黃花崗七十二烈士事略, hereafter, *Martyrs' Biographies*) compiled by Zou Lu 鄒魯 (1885-1954) in 1922. This volume was evidence of how Sun Yat-sen's supporters built rhetorical grounds for the 1928 Nanjing nation-state by constructing a day-long event that involved about under a hundred deaths as the founding moment of modern China.

The contributors of this 116-page volume were major politicians. The two editors were Zou Lu and Zhu Zhixin 朱執信 (1885-1920). Zou Lu held various positions in the Nationalist government. He received most credits for compiling volumes of the Republic and the Nationalist Party histories until his death in 1954. When the Nationalists came to power in Nanjing, he was selected to write the history of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Zou Lu compiled the 1929 *Draft History of the Chinese Nationalist Party* (*Zhongguo Guomindang shigao* 中國國民黨史稿), covering the organization, propaganda, and biographies from 1894 to 1925. The second editor, Zhu Zhixin, was a participant in the uprising and added his personal knowledge about the event to the compilation.¹⁶² Zhu taught at the Academy of Law and Political Science in Guangzhou.¹⁶³ Like Zou Lu, Zhu Zhixin was a trusted follower of Sun Yat-sen. During Sun's brief presidency in 1912, he nominated Zhu and others to be candidates for the Guangdong military governorship after Wang Jingwei had refused to take the position.¹⁶⁴

The *Martyrs' Biographies* contains prefaces by Sun Yat-sen, Hu Hanmin 胡漢民, Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883-1944), Yao Yuping 姚雨平 (1882-1974), and Zou Lu, all of whom were key figures in revolutionary movement in the south and core members of the Revolutionary Alliance, and took prominent political roles until their deaths. Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin, who were classically educated and studied in Japan, were part of the Cantonese group that constituted Sun's power base in the Revolutionary Alliance.¹⁶⁵ During the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937), Hu criticized Chiang Kai-shek's policy toward the Japanese, and Wang rivaled Chiang in leadership. During the Japanese occupation, Wang became the head of the puppet government. Yao Yuping was a prominent military general who organized the northern expedition army under Sun Yat-sen in the 1920s. Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868-1936), Yang Shukan 楊庶堪 (1881-1942), Chen Rong 陳融 (1876-1956), Zou Lu, and Qiu Zhe 丘哲 (1885-1959) were authors of one biography each. Tianxiaosheng 天嘯生 (1888-1958) wrote ten

¹⁶² Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

¹⁶³ Leslie H. Dingyan Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement: Regional Leadership and Nation Building in Early Republican China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, Center for Chinese Studies, 2000), 12, 23.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁶⁵ Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 145.

biographies. Tie Ya 鐵崖¹⁶⁶ and Zhang Genren 張根仁 (1880-1944) authored two biographies each.¹⁶⁷

The main content of the *Biographies of the 72 Huanghuagang Martyrs* draws heavily upon the *Biographies of the Ten Huanghuagang Martyrs from Fujian* (*Huanghuagang Fujian shi jie jishi* 黃花崗福建十傑紀實), which was compiled by Zheng Lie 鄭烈 (1888-1958) in 1912.¹⁶⁸ In Fig. 2-3, I show that Zheng Lie's compilation accounted for over 60 percent of Zou Lu's *Martyrs' Biographies*. This percentage is furthermore significant given Zheng Lie's version contained only ten biographies.

Zheng Lie 鄭烈 was a Revolutionary Alliance member when he studied abroad in Japan and became a close friend of Lin Yimin and Lin Juemin from the time there.¹⁶⁹ Later, Zheng Lie became an official in the Nationalist government. According to his prefaces, Zheng Lie was from Fujian and also studied in Japan like many of the Fujianese martyrs in his volume. He could not arrive in Guangdong to take part in the uprising and chose to compose these biographies to make up for his absence. The 1912 volume was printed with woodblocks. Based on the two prefaces, it was first printed in the third month of the first year of the Republic and then in the fifth month. The frequent reprints indicated the book's popularity. The version that I found was reprinted in the *Unofficial History of the Late Qing* (*Man-Qing baishi* 滿清稗史) published in the same year. Although the biographies in this earlier version from 1912 in were almost identical to those in Zou Lu's 1922 compilation, the former includes many poems written by the ten martyrs that Zou omitted. Zou Lu "lifted" Zheng Lie's biographies and inserted them in between biographies of martyrs from other provinces, effectively downplaying the "native place" bias and emphasized how these 72 men of different provinces, backgrounds, and professions came together under the guidance of the Revolutionary Alliance. Zou Lu's decision indicates that the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was a *regional* one in 1912, but a *national* one in 1922.

The volume opens with photographs of some of the martyrs, prints of their final letters to family members (illegible), and various views of the Yellow Flower Hill Commemorative Park

¹⁶⁶ Tieya may have been Lei Tieya 雷鐵崖 (1873-1920), a Revolutionary Alliance member from Sichuan. Lei Tieya served as Sun Yat-sen's secretary during his provisional presidency.

¹⁶⁷ Zhang Binglin wrote Yu Peilun *zhuan*. Tieya wrote the biographies of Yu Peilun (*shilue*) and Luo Zhonghuo. Yang Shukan authored Yu Peilun's *mubiao*. Tianxiaosheng wrote the biographies of Lin Wen, Fang Shengdong, Lin Yimin, Chen Yushen, Chen Kejun, Chen Gengxin, Feng Zhaoxiang, Liu Yuandong, and Liu Feng. Zhang Genren wrote Shi Jingwu's and Cheng Lang's biographies. Chen Rong wrote the biography of Liu Wenpu. Zou Lu authored the biography of Chen Wenbao. Qiu Zhe wrote the biography of Rao Fuyan.

¹⁶⁸ Zheng Lie 鄭烈 (Tianxiaosheng 天嘯生), *Huanghuagang Fujian shi jie jishi* 黃花崗福建十傑紀實 (True Tales of the Ten Yellow Flower Hill Uprising Martyrs from Fujian Provinces) (Unknow: Unknown, 1912). This volume was reprinted in Lu Baoxuan 陸保璿, ed., *Man-Qing baishi* 滿清稗史 (Unofficial History of the Late Qing), Vol. 11 (Shanghai: Xin Zhongguo tushuju, 1913) [First edition, 1912].

¹⁶⁹ Not to confused with another Tianxiaosheng 天笑生 (or Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, 1875-1973), a Shanghai novelist.

built in the late 1910s. The *Martyrs' Biographies* ends with appendices of provincial and county government's decrees concerning commemorative activities and structures, as well as testimonies from witnesses elaborating on the uprising. The content of the *Martyrs' Biographies* does not fit in the established genre of Chinese funerary commemoration, which usually contains eulogy phrases, couplets, and poems presented by friends, acquaintances, prominent figures, etc. Instead, the testimonies from witnesses took the place of these conventional eulogies, lending more factual credibility to the volume.¹⁷⁰

The main body of the book contains 35 individual biographies of various lengths (from a quarter of a page to over four pages), one dual biography, two joint biographies, and two lists of names of those without biographies.¹⁷¹ For the sake of lucidity over precision, I use the word “biography.” However, the book contains various literary and historiographical forms and genres: transmitted biographies (*zhuan* 傳),¹⁷² commentaries (*pingzan* 評贊), transmitted biographical sketches (*zhuanlüe* 傳略), transmitted biographies of a martyr (*liezhuan* 烈傳), biographical sketches (*shilüe* 事略), records (*ji* 記), and gravestone inscriptions (*mubiao* 墓表). Many biographies only have the names of the martyrs as their titles without referring to any form or genre. Of the 35 individual biographies, three (a transmitted biography, a biographical sketch, and a gravestone inscription) are about the same person, Yu Peilun 喻培倫 (1887-1911).¹⁷³ The first joint biography is entitled “Tale of Eighteen Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs of the Hua County Sacrificing for the Nation” written by Xu Jiyang. No author was listed for the second joint biography, the “Biographies of Nine Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs of Lianjiang, Fujian.” Three martyrs from the first joint biography also have their individual biographies.

What further separates the 1922 commemorative volume from similar works is Zou Lu's professed desire to write a “history,” not a “eulogy” – the distinction mattered greatly in comparison with the 1919 compilation of eulogies delivered at the memorial service for the

¹⁷⁰ Lin Sen collected mourning texts (including eulogies, poems, prose pieces, and couplets) from the “elites of Canton,” and published them in a compilation entitled *Record of Yellow Flower Loyal Blood* (*Bixue Huanghua ji* 碧血黃花記), in 1919. Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming each contributed a eulogy. See a summary of the eulogies in Ho, “Martyrs or Ghosts,” 120-121.

¹⁷¹ The table of content of the book skips two biographies.

¹⁷² *Zhuan* was first used by Sima Qian for recording the biographies in the *Records of the Grand Historian*. Later historians adopted *zhuan* to compile dynastic histories. Pre-modern biographers of *zhuan* shunned personal observations and first-hand knowledge while relying on archives and second-hand materials even if they were familiar with the subjects. Li Hua, *Contemporary Chinese Fiction by Su Tong and Yu Hua* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 34-35.

¹⁷³ Like many other revolutionary martyrs whose biographies were included in this compilation, Yu Peilun studied abroad in Japan where he joined the Revolutionary Alliance. Yu and others were responsible for making the explosives for the uprising. He was arrested and executed afterwards. It is not clear why he has three biographical pieces. However, it should be noted that each of these pieces is approximately two pages long. Some biographies, such as of Lin Juemin 林覺民, Li Deshan 李德山 and Chen Gengxin 陳更新, take up five to six pages each.

Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs.¹⁷⁴ Zou Lu, by expressing his desire to create an objective, comprehensive, and reliable account of the founding moment of the Republic, sought to ascribe historical significance to the April 27 uprising and its martyrs. The account situated the 1911 Yellow Flower Hill Uprising in Guangzhou as the temporal and spatial origin of the Chinese Revolution and the new Republic. The project was crucial in promoting “Republican revolutionary martyrdom” – an unprecedented ideal. Nevertheless, this ideal was built upon blocks of existing systems of thought that attracted members of the generation growing up at the turn of the century. Furthermore, I make use of Reinhart Koselleck’s idea of “the history of the victors” and “a history of the vanquished,”¹⁷⁵ and Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s “culture of defeat”¹⁷⁶ to elucidate the historiographical and cultural implications of Zou Lu’s work. In more than one way, Zou Lu and his alliance were the losers when the compilation was produced in the early 1920s. Yet, less than a decade later, they emerged as the strongest force with a functional government and international recognition of sovereignty. While this commemorative volume represents a failed attempt at reconciliation of the political and ideological tension in southern China in the 1920s, it set the ideological stage for Nationalist government by creating a new way to comprehend violent deaths.

Factional Politics

In this section, I explore important political agenda regarding the compilation of the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs’ biographies. The compilation was an attempt of Zou Lu and his comrades to claim legitimacy within the Revolutionary Alliance, to struggle for power on the southern Chinese political arena, and to contest ideologically with the newly established Communist Party. Supported by Zou Lu, Sun Yat-sen used his preface to assert his Republican ideals and to promote his northward military campaigns against other regional power holders and the new alliance with the Chinese Communist Party. Furthermore, the presence of idiosyncrasies in some prefaces and the absence of endorsements from certain prominent figures illuminate the political strain surrounding the commemoration of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising.

Sun Yat-sen, elected as president of the new Republic in January 1912, yielded his provisional presidency to Yuan Shikai immediately and returned to his southern base due to his lack of military power to back up his political authority. Yuan Shikai’s Beiyang government sought to suppress members of the Revolutionary Alliance vehemently after they organized the Second Revolution against him in 1913. In 1919, Sun had long given up on peaceful negotiation with the Beiyang government and began to organize an army and carry out his “Northern Expedition” to spread the Republican Revolution up north. The compilation of the commemorative biographies was likely part of a larger project to tell the story of the 1911 Revolution as a result of events led by Sun and his followers; that with this telling of the story the Guangzhou revolutionaries would then justify their Northern Expedition against the Beijing militarists. However, Sun’s Republicanism was not being as welcomed as he wished. He was

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of this compilation of eulogies, see Ho, “Martyrs or Ghosts,” 120-122.

¹⁷⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁶ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Picador, 2004).

also pushed back by various strong forces of regional leaders. Sun's preface vividly captures his intention and action in the early 1920s:

Mr. Zou Haibin [Zou Lu] has put these biographies in order and asked me to write a preface. At that time, I was preparing to attack the enemies and commanding the troops in Guilin [in Guangxi]. I gazed around at the domestic condition of our nation, [and saw] the enemies rising up like flames. The danger is even graver than during the late Qing. However, the Three Principles of the People and Five-Power Constitution, which I have been advocating for 30 years, have been fought for by the revolutionary elders who were without hesitation in sacrificing their lives. They however have not been carried out as my wishes. My duty this time is manifold heavier than that of 30 years ago. If only our citizens (*guoren* 國人) can all emulate on the sacrificing spirit of the revolutionary martyrs in their struggle for the nation, assist me in completing this great task, that is, to realize the genuine Republican state of my ideal. This [volume of martyrs' biographies] is to launch our national history of tremendous struggles that will be transmitted and will never be lost.¹⁷⁷

Sun connected the uprising to his ongoing armed revolution and used the opportunity to promote his cause, despite the fact that the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was led by Huang Xing (1874-1916), one of principal leaders of the Revolutionary Alliance and Sun's rival, and that Sun was in Japan when it took place.¹⁷⁸ Sun and Huang clashed over various issues immediately after the foundation of the Revolutionary Alliance from the design of the national flag to Sun's receiving monetary compensation from the Japanese government and especially Sun's pursuit of southern uprisings.¹⁷⁹ With Huang Xing's death in 1916, Sun appropriated Huang's armed struggle as a manifestation of Sun's own ideology. In his preface, he took a lot of credit for himself, claiming that the Yellow Flower Hill revolutionary martyrs were all members of the Revolutionary Alliance and they fought for the Three Principles of the People and the Five-Power Constitution.¹⁸⁰ In reality, the organizers gathered all sorts of people, from gang members to businessmen, to participate in the uprising. Sun's model of government was carried out when the Nationalists established their control in 1925, but these ideals had only a few followers and little chance to compete with others, such as regionalism, federalism, and anarchism in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1. (鄒君海濱，以所輯黃花岡烈士事略丐序於予。時予方以討賊督師桂林。環顧國內，賊氛方熾，杌隉之象，視清季有加，而予三十年前所主唱之三民主義、五權憲法，為諸先烈所不惜犧牲生命以爭之者，其不獲實行也如故。則予此行所負之責任，尤倍重於三十年前。倘國人皆以諸先烈之犧牲精神為國奮鬥，助予完成此重大之責任，實現吾人理想之真正中華民國，則此一部開國血史，可傳世而不朽！)

¹⁷⁸ Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 104.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁸⁰ Sun added two branches of China's imperial government – Examination and Censorate – to the three branches of the American model – Executive, Legislative, and Judicial.

¹⁸¹ Chen, *Chen Jiongming*; Platt, *Provincial Patriots*; Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Sun Yat-sen's preface placed at the first and foremost opening of this compilation was to summon support of politically conscious males in their late teens and early twenties to give up their lives for the ongoing military campaigns. The May Fourth Movement in 1919 was signal for the young generation to carry on the revolution started in 1911. The Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs were involved in political activities when studying abroad in Japan during their youth and were mostly in their early- and mid-twenties when they died. As arranged marriages at young ages were common (in fact it was mentioned frequently in the biographies), these revolutionaries fathered children in their late teens and early twenties, hence the generation gap was around 15-20 years. This compilation in 1922 was a call to arms by surviving revolutionaries of the 1911 moment (except for Sun Yat-sen, the contributors were in their late thirties and early forties), aiming to rouse young men of their children's age to act.

The founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the increasing influence of the Comintern in China around the same time as Sun Yat-sen composed his preface had further significance. Sun was communicating with Russian Communist representatives and seeking their help in building the First United Front. In December 1921 when Sun was composing his preface to this volume, he received a visit from Hendricus Sneevliet (Maring), the official representative of the Comintern.¹⁸² Russia forfeited extraterritorial rights soon after its Bolshevik Revolution. In 1920 Russia was among the first Western nations giving up extraterritorial privileges in China, after Germany and the Austria-Hungarian Empire lost their rights when China joined the Allies in World War I. In 1922, Sun had just turned away from Japan and toward Russia for political guidance. This critical moment affected the course of history decades after.

The volume came out in 1922 was not a coincidence, but a major move by Zou Lu, a rightist, to claim legitimacy for his political clique within the Revolutionary Alliance. After the Republic was founded in 1912, the membership of the Revolutionary Alliance expanded greatly and split into various factions. Harrison puts it precisely that "[the] Seventy-Two Martyrs became one of the symbols used by competing groups within the Nationalist Party to lay claim to the historical legitimacy of the party."¹⁸³ Harrison notes the Zou Lu was a leading member of the anti-communist wing of the Nationalist Party.¹⁸⁴ The emergence of Chinese Communist Party in 1921 further propelled Zou to publicize this compilation immediately after.

Other contributors of the *Martyrs' Biographies* felt less inclined to pepper their prefaces with Sun's ideologies and some even challenged Sun's leadership. Wang Jingwei made no reference to the Three Principles of People or other Republican catchphrases. This deliberate omission is even more noteworthy given the fact that Wang Jingwei, Hu Hanmin, and Zhu Zhixin were among the most "prolific polemicists on the *People's Journal (Guomin ribao)* and "played an essential role in the creation of the ideology of the People's Three Principles."¹⁸⁵ Although Wang Jingwei did not mention Sun Yat-sen's political ideology, he added at the end of the preface: "I don't have anything to add to this preface except for one sentence: "The vital spirit of the revolutionary party is the sacrifice of one's life for the ideology at the opportune moment." This

¹⁸² Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 301.

¹⁸³ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 154.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 145.

is the everlasting essence of these new biographies.”¹⁸⁶ This attitude does not seem to contradict Wang’s plans to murder Manchu royals with bombs and his defiant attitude before the judge, Prince Chun – the target of his assassination, during his trials in Beijing.¹⁸⁷ Wang, similar to Sun, did support the suicidal and violent nature of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. Wang supported the Revolutionary Alliance and its ideologies, but not Sun’s leadership or Zou Lu’s faction. Such attitude manifests in Wang’s preface.

Using a colloquial style, Wang Jingwei began the narrative with his plan to assassinate a Manchu prince in Beijing in 1909. His preface was in stark contrast with Sun’s metaphors-ridden piece. Wang Jingwei emphasized in his preface that he neither participated nor knew about the event. Wang asserted that he had been jailed for plotting an assassination of the Prince Regent Zaifeng 載灃 (1883-1951), until November 1911. He was planning a revolution of his own in the north:

It was three years before the Republican era. In the winter of the *yiyou* year [1909], Yu Yunji, Li Zhongshi, Huang Fusheng, Chen Bijun, and I entered Beijing one by one. Before long, we heard about Xiong Chengji’s death in Liaodong. In the next year, that is the *gengxu* year [1910], we again heard about the failed uprising of Guangzhou’s New Army. During that time, I was pouring my heart and mind into planning a revolution in Beijing. So, as for other matters, I did not try to find out. There was no opportunity to catch wind of the uprising anyway.¹⁸⁸

Wang’s narrative undermined the temporal and spatial significance of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. As he pointed out, there had been quite a few revolutions going on at the same time all over China, and the uprising of the New Army in Guangzhou took place prior to the Yellow Flower Hill one.

Wang Jingwei then discussed how he first came to know about the uprising, through a few pages of newspapers surreptitiously obtained in prison:

Roughly two, three months later, one day, a warden named Liu came to watch over us. This warden normally liked to read newspapers. When he was rotated to watch over us, he always asked all sorts of questions. Talking about that day, he quietly told us, “Hey, your people just revolted in Guangzhou and killed quite a few guys!” I heard that and became anxious. Repeatedly, I asked him to give me one or two pages of a Beijing newspaper. Even though the prison regulations did not allow that, I pressed him into lending me the newspapers. Thereupon I learned that Yu Yunji just died during this campaign. There were also Lin Shishuang and Li Wenpu, who were part of my group of good friends. They also perished. I was very saddened. However, I cannot say that I know at all about the Guangzhou April 27 event from the beginning to end. There were just a few newspaper pages of material. I need not say that myriad details [of the event] but a few were lost. Only until after the Xinhai

¹⁸⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 6.

¹⁸⁷ Krebs, *Shifu*, 64.

¹⁸⁸ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 5. (民國紀元前三年歲在己酉冬末，我和喻雲紀、黎仲實、黃復生、陳璧君幾個人先後入了北京。不久便聽見態成基在遼東死事。明年庚戌春初又聽見廣州新軍起事不成。那時候我們專心致志要在北京起個閩雷，別的事情都不去打聽也沒打聽的機會。)

[uprising] of October 10 did I emerge from prison and bump into a group of friends. We discussed the righteous uprising in Guangdong on April 27. Because they were personally involved in this event, in the future if you want to record this battle, naturally you should go and ask them. It is not worthwhile to ask me to participate.¹⁸⁹

In his narrative, Wang was thrown into prison and lost track of what happened outside the walls. He thus justified why no word about the Yellow Flower Hill heroic deaths was uttered in his preface. In fact, it appeared as one of the tragedies, failed revolts, and events with which Wang was unfamiliar during the 1909-1911 period of his life. He lost track of time and thus justified his undermining the dates of the Yellow Flower Hill and the Wuchang uprisings. The uprising was one of the events that took place outside the temporal and spatial sphere of the vast majority of Chinese people. He then had a delayed experience of these two uprisings when he discussed them with some friends in late 1911. By mentioning that he had to find out the details through some friends, Wang effectively denied the political significance of the April 27, 1911 uprising. In his narrative, it neither affected the Qing government nor brought forth the Republic. Its obscurity was proof of its inconsequentiality. In contrast, Wang received a lot of publicity for his eloquence during his trial in Beijing and when he emerged from prison, he was hailed as a hero.¹⁹⁰ Wang appeared rather disingenuous in promoting his own revolutionary activities in his preface to this commemorative volume.

Wang also pointed out that there were certain people who knew a lot more about the uprising and Zou should go and inquire them instead. He could very well have referred to Chen Jiongming. Although Wang was not a prominent Guangdong official when the volume was published, he was invited to write a preface while Chen Jiongming, one of the leaders and incumbent governor of Guangdong, did not contribute one. Neither did Lin Sen, who was Sun's follower and head of the provincial parliament, present his words in this volume. Lin Sen released his own compilation of eulogies for the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs in 1919.

In his preface, the chief editor, Zou Lu, related that the coming to power of Hu Hanmin and Chen Jiongming, members of the Revolutionary Alliance, created a favorable circumstance for him to compile this history. As part of the new Guangdong government, Zou planned to "carry out secondary burials,¹⁹¹ enlarge their tombs, and establish a Yellow Flower Hill library in order

¹⁸⁹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 5-6. (約莫的又過了兩三個月了, 有一日有一個獄卒姓劉的來看守我。這獄卒平日頗肯看看報紙。輪著他來看守我的時候他總是問常問短的。言一日他悄悄的和我說道「喂、你們的人、又在廣州起事了、殺了不少的頭呢。」我聽了當然耽憂, 再三的託他借進一兩張北京新聞紙來給我看看。這可是獄中所不許的, 難為他竟悄悄的給我借來。方纔知道喻雲紀已死于此役。還有林時爽、李文甫一班好朋友也都死了。我的傷心可不必說。我所知的廣州三月廿九日的始末, 就不過這一兩張新聞紙, 掛一漏萬, 更不必說及至辛亥九月十六日以後, 我出了獄見了一班朋友, 說起廣州三月廿九日的事, 我因為他們是躬與其事的。將來紀戰此事自然要煩他們。用不著我來參與。)

¹⁹⁰ The regent, who was the target of Wang's assassination scheme and his judge at the trial, did not allow Wang's testimony to be published; however, accounts of the story were sufficient to make Wang a national hero. Krebs, *Shifu*, 64.

¹⁹¹ Secondary burial is practiced in southern China. About seven to ten years after the initial burial, bones are exhumed, placed in large pots, and reburied in permanent tombs. James L.

to commemorate this nation-founding bloodshed.”¹⁹² The Provincial Government approved a budget of 100,000 *yuan*. Surviving participants of the uprising also contributed large sums of money. The governor’s office assigned special agents to supervise the construction. However, the plan was interrupted by “domestic turbulences,” referring to the ascendance of the Beiyang government, the suppression of Nationalist Party members, and the political tension in Guangzhou.

At the end of 1919, the two editors, Zou and Zhu, in Zou’s words, “could not stay put in Guangdong.”¹⁹³ He did not mention the reason directly, but they went into exile due to the Guangdong-Guangxi War from 1917 to 1920. Chen Jiongming backed Sun’s Constitutional Protection Movement (*Hufa yundong* 護法運動) with his troops from 1917 to 1920.¹⁹⁴ In his preface written in 1921, Zou did not give Chen credit for his support because Chen-Sun relationship went sour after Sun returned to Guangdong.

Although the compilation process was interrupted, less than a year later, Zou and Zhu were able to return to Guangzhou. Zhu died of illness in October 1920. Two important leaders, members of the Revolutionary Alliance and conspirators in armed insurrections in southern China, Zhao Sheng and Huang Xing, had already died in 1911 and 1916. Zou lamented the fact that “while the compilation was only half finished, half of the veterans of the uprising had died and half of those who were still living were scattered all over China.”¹⁹⁵ Zou thus could not reach them to gather their recollection of the uprising. In addition, the part compiled by Zhu Zhixin was still incomplete. Zou expressed his regret that as the process had taken too long and perfection was impossible, he decided to go ahead and publish what he and Zhu had compiled so as “not to let this grandiose bloodshed history of the nation-founding moment fall into obscurity again.”¹⁹⁶ He commented that he had to be content with having covered Details on just over 50 martyrs. The compilation was printed when Sun Yat-sen’s followers and Guangdong provincial power headed by Chen Jiongming reconciled. Chen invited Sun, who had fled to Shanghai in 1918 due to the Guangdong-Guangxi war, to return to Guangdong in November 1920.¹⁹⁷ Sun was inaugurated as president-extraordinary in Guangdong in May 1921. Half a year later, Sun led his troops on the Northern Expedition. As Sun sought to carry out an armed revolution while

Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 16.

¹⁹² Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 9.

¹⁹³ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

¹⁹⁴ The Constitutional Protection Movement was anti-Beiyang government campaigns led by Sun Yat-sen. The referred constitution is the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China drafted by the Provisional Government.

¹⁹⁵ Such lamentation evokes a literary formula of mourning one’s youth and the passing of time. Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

¹⁹⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

¹⁹⁷ After the 1911 Revolution, Sun Yat-sen was supported by the Guangxi and Yunnan local power holders. However, in 1917, Guangxi power leader, Lu Rongting, turned against Sun and attacked Guangdong. Sun fled to Shanghai. Power holders in Guangdong and Yunnan were able to drive Lu away from Guangdong in 1920.

Chen was reluctant because of the rising costs of extended military campaigns and an even smaller chance of beating the well-trained northern military, the alliance fell apart. In April 1922, Sun returned to Guangdong with troops and forced Chen to retire to East Guangdong. War broke up in June 1922 between Sun's troops and the Guangdong Army. Sun was forced to leave Guangdong in August 1922 and Chen was restored to power thereafter. War continued in January 1923 when Sun's mercenary troops invaded Guangdong forcing Chen to flee one more time.¹⁹⁸

Even though Chen Jiongming did not contribute a preface due to his conflict with Sun Yat-sen, his various official statements were included at the end of the compilation. One particular chain of correspondences between Chen Jiongming and Lin Sen reveals their view towards the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. Lin Sen, head of the provincial parliament, and Chen, as the governor, wanted the Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs' Park to be a place of "grandiose structures for Chinese and foreigners alike to admire when they visit Guangdong."¹⁹⁹ In December 1921, based on Lin's communiqué, Chen passed a decree on the matter of the grandeur and solemnity of Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs' Tomb being compromised by the presence of fruit trees grown just outside the area. Lin suggested purchasing the farmland and replacing fruit trees with perennial trees in order to preserve a formal-looking atmosphere for visitors. Chen agreed with the proposal, and suggested that they investigate the prices before offering to purchase the land. The project created issues with the landowners because not only the prices of land but also the currency and monetary rate had changed from the late Qing to the Republican periods.²⁰⁰ Chen's and Lin's vision was to promote the commemorative park as a provincial treasure. They viewed these martyrs as part of Guangdong's history, not of China's history. Chen's idea was contrary to Sun Yat-sen's dream of a unified China.

I have yet to determine whether Chen refused to contribute a preface or whether Zou did not ask him to write one. Nevertheless, the fact that Zou included these government documents from the governor's office and the parliament head shows that Zou wanted to reconcile the two factions and acknowledge Chen's contribution to the commemoration project. However, such effort turned out to further highlight the political tension caused by Sun's assertion of power in southeast China, where Chen had already established a functional government.

The Birth of the Chinese Republic

Zou Lu expressed a great concern with maintaining historical accuracy in compiling these biographies. According to his preface, because he and Zhu Zhixin, as two Revolutionary Alliance veterans and Republican revolutionaries, wanted to record the history truthfully, in 1919 they drafted a request-for-information form and sent copies to those who lived during the time of the uprising. After they sent out the forms in the spring, they received 50-60 percent reply rate by the winter. Relying on the information collected during this process, they compiled "reliable history" (*xinshi* 信史). Zou Lu lamented that biographical Details on comrades from Sichuan and Guizhou were the sparsest because of their geographical distance from Guangzhou. However, he

¹⁹⁸ Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement*, xvii-xviii.

¹⁹⁹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Appendix, 1.

²⁰⁰ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Appendix, 3-5.

assured the reader that the narratives regarding the attack on the governor-general's office were more extensive.²⁰¹

Yao Yuping expressed similar concern for the truthful recording of this part of the history. In his preface, Yao noted that in 1913, Hu Hanmin and Chen Jiongming advocated for the reburial of the martyrs and compilation of the history of the uprising. Their projects were interrupted by the war, referring to the Second Revolution in 1913 to overthrow Yuan Shikai. In 1919, Zhu Zhixin and Zou Lu planned to compile biographies of the 72 martyrs. However, Zhu died in 1920 before the compilation could be completed. Finally, in 1921, Zou Lu finished recording the information of each martyr. He then compiled the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs' biographies, and edited details all the while searching for even more information. After that Zou also added appendixes and turned it into, in his words, "a complete history" (*quanshi* 全史).²⁰² To address Zou Lu's concern that the history could not be "complete," and Sun cited a historical precedent to validate his claim. Referring to an event 2,000 years prior, Sun compared Zou Lu's project of compiling the biographies to Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記): "Although these 72 martyrs all have their life stories, some are not thorough. Some have names without biographies. Others have names, yet they cannot be verified. The biography of Tian Heng²⁰³ was recorded in history. Yet, even with [Sima] Qian's adeptness at transcribing knight-errant's stories, biographies of his 500 followers could not be completed. Such a pity!"²⁰⁴ In short, the incompleteness of history writing was to be expected. The editors and contributors made it clear that this compilation was intended to be a work in Sima Qian's historiographical genre, not a eulogy, epic, or fiction.

In the guidelines on reading the volume (*fanli* 範例), Zou Lu further emphasized the authority of this compilation. The Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs' Investigation Committee approved the biographies and names of martyrs in this volume in 1919, 1921, and 1922. The investigation in 1919 yielded only 56 martyrs. The investigation from 1921 and 1922 recorded another 16 names. Therefore, the number was set at 72.²⁰⁵ However, the editor, Zou Lu,

²⁰¹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

²⁰² Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 10.

²⁰³ Tian Heng 田橫 (?-202 BCE) a descendant of Qi royal lineage, who committed suicide when Liu Bang summoned him to court. His 500 followers followed him in death. Sun compared the Yellow Flower Hill revolt to the suicides of Tian Heng, former king of Qi, and his 500 followers in defiance of Liu Bang, the newly self-enthroned Emperor of China and founder of the Han Dynasty. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty, Volume I* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 201-202. Liu Bang who seized power by arms was no doubt a reference to Yuan Shikai and his proclamation as Emperor Hongxian and founder of a new dynasty in 1915. Unlike the Han dynasty, Yuan's dynasty lasted less than a year.

²⁰⁴ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1. (而七十二烈士者，又或有紀載而語焉不詳，或僅存姓名而無事跡，甚者且姓名不可考，如史載田橫事，雖以史遷之善傳遊俠，亦不能為五百人立傳，滋可痛已。)

²⁰⁵ A few petitions from the 1920s and 1930s contested that there were more than 72 martyrs. For example, Mrs. Guo *née* Wang petitioned for her father-in-law Guo Dawang to be included as one of the martyrs even though his name did not appear among the 72. "Petition from Fujian

acknowledged that the biographies of the 72 martyrs were incomplete, and thus the work should be named *Yellow Flower Hills Martyrs' Biographies* to allow for the possibility of later inclusions. Zou Lu also assured that the volume includes original writings of martyrs without any alteration and that the original authors were responsible for their information in this compilation. Zou also suggested that when in the future people of various regions compile local histories, they should take the content of this book as the standard. The editor concluded that the book provided reliable references because it included the replies collected from those who lived during that time and responded to the request-for-information forms.²⁰⁶

After deliberate establishing itself a “reliable history,” the editors of *Martyrs' Biographies* set the stage for a specific historiographical project, that is, to situate the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising as the launching moment of modern Chinese history. The contributors of the *Martyrs' Biographies* situate the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising as the birth of the Chinese Republic. Zou Lu placed the uprising in the same trajectory with the Wuchang revolt, which led to negotiations between the imperial government and the mutinous New Army and the foundation of the Republic thereafter:

On the 29th day of the third month of the Xinhai year [April 27, 1911], the revolutionary Party members attacked the governor-general's office and failed. The remains of those who died, a total of 72, were buried at the Yellow Flower Hill. Therefore, they are known as the 72 Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs. Time passes in a flash. 11 years have gone by. In the ninth month of the year of the [Yellow Flower Hill] uprising, the Wuchang revolt took place. Fewer than 100 days later, the Republic of China was established.²⁰⁷

Around the same time of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, there were four other assassins who plotted against the Qing government. Zou Lu edited *The Four Martyrs of the Red Flower Hill*, a 56-page booklet containing biographies of four martyrs, Wen Shengcai 文生財, Liu Guanci 劉冠慈, Chen Jingyue 陳敬岳 (1867-1911), and Zhong Mingguang 鐘明光 (1881-1915), and published it a middle-school textbook in 1927. These four martyrs were not participants of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising on April 27 but took part in the general scheme to overthrow the Qing government in Guangzhou.²⁰⁸ Although they were widely known (as their funerals were attended by thousands of people), they were not among the Revolutionary Alliance members. The Nationalist Party largely ignored their role in history in the late 1910s to 1920s.

While Zou Lu did not explicitly claim that the uprising catalyzed the mutinies of the New Army in Wuchang – the event eventually that led to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, he began

Province,” August 29, 1931, AH 001-036000-0064, file 50004853. In addition, a volume by Luo Jialun listed names, hometowns, pictures, and the cause of death of 85 martyrs was published in Taipei in 1952. Luo Jialun 羅家倫, ed. *Huanghuagang geming lieshi huashi* 黃花岡革命烈士畫史 (Pictorial History of the Yellow Flower Revolutionary Martyrs). Taipei: Zhongyang dangshi shiliao bianzuan weiyuanhui, 1952.

²⁰⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 11.

²⁰⁷ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 9.

²⁰⁸ Wen Shengcai was executed after successfully assassinating the Manchu general Fuqi with a pistol. His attack apparently helped alert the Manchu government about the uprising planned by the Revolutionary Alliance. Krebs, *Shifu*, 66-67.

the narrative with the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, and thus marked it as the turning point of history. The Uprising became the chronological mark, from which later events were calculated. In his narrative, the new era was marked with a failed uprising (Yellow Flower Hill), not a successful one (Wuchang). More importantly, Bergère's research shows that "[the] failure of the uprising of April 1911 in Canton marked the end of the string of insurrectional attempts made by the Revolutionary Alliance under Sun Yat-sen's leadership. After this, the initiative slipped away from the Cantonese, and the center of revolutionary action shifted to the Yangzi valley."²⁰⁹ Undoubtedly, in the early 1920s, the Cantonese Revolutionary Alliance attempted to construct their province and activities as the spatial and temporal origin of the Chinese Revolution despite the prospect of leading the revolutionary having escaped them in late 1911.

Preface authors emphasized that the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was tragic. Sun wrote:

During the late Qing, our revolutionary party experienced great toils and precipices; relying on our unyielding and unfaltering spirit, we fought enemies who harmed the people. We stumbled time and again. Our sacrifices were tragic. Take the April 27, 1911 attack at the governor-general's office to be the utmost example, our party's best people all sacrificed their lives. These were such great losses.²¹⁰

As Sun was a major coordinator and organizer of such attempts to overthrow the government, he situated the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising as part of late-Qing revolutionary activities. He raised funds from overseas Chinese communities, smuggled arms from Japan, and organized many terrorist attacks on the Qing government during the late 1890s until 1910s.²¹¹ Sun Yat-sen's preface made it clearer how Revolutionary Alliance leaders in southern China were painfully aware of their declining significance and power in the 1920s. Sun continued,

In this battle, the blood that we shed for the great cause overflowed and our grand spirit gushed in all directions. [To the point that] nature transformed in response [literally, "grass and trees became vessels of sorrow, and wind and cloud changed their hue"]. As the mind of the people throughout the nation has been long suppressed, this [uprising] stirred up their spirit a great deal. The accumulated anger was like giant waves overflowing the gully. Nothing could restrain them. Less than half a year later, the Wuchang uprising was a success. This military campaign has great significance. Simply speaking, it shook heaven and earth, and reduced ghosts and deities to tears. [The Yellow Flower Hill Uprising], like the Wuchang one, are immortal.²¹²

²⁰⁹ Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 201-202.

²¹⁰ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1. (滿清末造，革命黨人，歷艱難險巇，以堅毅不撓之精神，與民賊相搏，躡踏者屢，死事之慘，以辛亥三月二十九日圍攻兩廣督署之役為最。吾黨菁華，付之一炬，其損失可謂大矣！)

²¹¹ For more on Sun's activities, see Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 186, 190-191.

²¹² Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1. (然是役也，碧血橫飛，浩氣四塞，草木為之含悲，風雲因而變色，全國久蟄之人心，乃大興奮。怨憤所積，如怒濤排壑，不可遏抑，不半載而武昌之大革命以成！則斯役之價值，直可驚天地，泣鬼神，與武昌革命之役並壽。)

Sun also wrote four other eulogies from 1911 to 1924 on the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs. See Ho, "Martyrs or Ghosts," 119-120.

Sun portrayed the Yellow Flower Hill incident as one activity among many others organized by the Revolutionary Alliance, positioning it within the “waves” of revolution that would soon crash the 2,000-year-old imperial rule. In other words, Sun regarded the founding of the Republic in 1912 not as an accomplishment, but as a paradox. The Republic was formed but the waves of revolution continued even more violently. At the end of 1921 when he was writing this preface, he had witnessed the failure of the nascent Republic when Yuan Shikai turned against him cracking down on the Revolutionary Alliance members and crowned himself emperor – a move reminiscent of Napoleon in 1804. Sun laid emphasis on the future. He was hoping with a revolutionary party modeled after Lenin’s vanguard party and military power, he could carry out a true Republican Revolution to unify China. Positioning the uprising as a timeless historical event (an immortal one), Sun nevertheless emphasized how the heroic spirit (not its practical result) of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising led to historical transformation thereafter.

Yao Yuping’s preface also begins with April 27, 1911, but then reverses back to the First Sino-Japanese War in the late nineteenth century:

Xinhai the 29th day of the third month was the day when 72 Yellow Flower Hill martyrs sacrificed their lives for the nation. It was also the day when they sacrificed for the Three Principles of the People. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the scholar-gentry (*shidafu*) of the mainland knew that revolution was the only means to save the lost [nation]. The royalists advocated the late Qing government to transform into a constitutional monarchy. The Revolutionary Alliance advocated for a revolution to establish a government based on the Three Principles of the People. The 72 martyrs were all the vital members of the Revolutionary Alliance. Loving the nation and saving the people, they did not hesitate to be the leaders surging in mighty waves with weapons. [...] Only a few months later, Wuchang uprising broke out. The whole nation responded. The Republic was founded.²¹³

In his chronology, the war of 1895 determined the changed course of history and 1911 was an inevitable manifestation of the new trajectory. Yao’s reference of the First Sino-Japanese War befits his military career, as 1895 was the moment when the Qing government realized that a modern military was urgently needed. Although modernizing the military had already been initiated in 1861 as part of the Self-Strengthening Movement. Several prominent leaders, Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, and Zuo Zongtang began building shipyards and arsenals but the lack of financial support, court politics, and bureaucratic inefficiency left these projects unfinished, curtailed, or abandoned.

Yao’s preface bore great similarity to Sun’s in their rather clichéd depiction of the spiritual and universal transformative power of the Uprising. Yao extolled: “How is it not enough to cause even the corrupt to be become honest and the drifters to be filled with ambition? From then, the people from within and without the sea heard the news and rose up.”²¹⁴ It came as no surprise

²¹³ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 7. (辛亥三月二十九為黃花崗七十二烈士以身殉國之日亦即以身殉三民主義之日。甲午中日戰後，海內士大夫知非改革不足以求亡，主張由滿清政府行君主立憲者，保皇黨是也。主張以三民主義根本革命者，同盟會是也。七十二烈士盡屬同盟會之優秀分子，以迫於愛國求民之故，不惜以最有價值之頭顱而行其轟轟烈烈，肉薄監督之舉。儒家所謂殺身成仁。佛家所謂捨身教世。實足警風雨泣鬼神。豈僅使頑廉懦立已哉。自是海內外聞風興起，不數月而武昌起義，全國響應，共和告成。)

²¹⁴ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 7.

because Yao was the organizer of Northern Expedition Army, of which Sun was in command. Both emphasized the absolute necessity for an armed struggle and gloried the violence of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising.

In many ways, the experience of the Revolutionary Alliance in southern China was similar to American South after the Civil War, France after the Franco-Prussian War, and Germany after World War I as addressed in Wolfgang Schivelbusch's *The Culture of Defeat*. Schivelbusch demonstrates how the vanquished created narratives to condemn their enemies as cowards hiding behind their advanced weaponry and claim a spiritual superiority as responses to their traumatic loss. As Yuan Shikai's Beiyang government was the "winner" of the 1911 Revolution, the southern Revolutionary Alliance, as the "loser," had to come up with a new historical vision to justify themselves. The legitimacy of the Beiyang government was unquestionable as it inherited the power from the Qing dynasty and Yuan was lawfully elected as the second president of the Republic. The Beiyang leaders, as victors, were not confronted with the need to invent their version of history. Northern revolutionaries did not compile such martyrologies or construct monuments for its war martyrs. In the aftermath of the 1911 Revolution, the Revolutionary Alliance in Guangdong aimed to exhort a new vision of patriotic martyrdom and adorn their territory with a Western-style monument commemorating liberty. All the while in Beijing, Yuan Shikai in a German-style military uniform, as the President of the Republic of China, arrived at the Temple of Heaven where he changed into an imperial robe with dragon designs and performed a Ming-dynasty sacrificial ceremony pleading for cosmic blessings for the new nation.²¹⁵ The Revolutionary Alliance, though without much political ground in the late 1910s and early 1920s, seemed to have the advantage of the loser, that is "in terms of knowledge and insight, a step ahead of or, rather, a half-turn further on the wheel of fortune than the victor."²¹⁶ Guangzhou political leaders and historians outdid its northern rivals by inventing itself as a progressive force in history. Yuan Shikai unfortunately cast himself as a monarch with obsolete visions. While Sun Yat-sen turned to the United States and Russia for models of Republican governance, vanguard party leadership, and bourgeois revolution, Yuan Shikai looked towards Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Japan for military reforms and constitutional monarchy in China. Sun has been proven by history to be the more visionary one, perhaps due to his status as the vanquished in the early 1920s. The success of the Revolutionary Alliance in 1927 may have had roots in its defeat moment from 1911 to 1925. Needless to say, the defeat of the Chinese communists during the Republican era may have allowed them to come back triumphal in 1949.

Reinhart Koselleck's idea illuminates the historical and historiographical significance of this compilation. Koselleck claims that "[if] history is made in the short run by the victories, historical gains in knowledge stem in the long run from the vanquished" and that "[historical] change feeds upon the vanquished. Should they survive, they create the irreplaceable primary experience of all histories: that histories that another course than that intended by those involved."²¹⁷ Zou Lu's faction was not only almost vanquished by Yuan Shikai, but it was also at the mercy of Chen Jiongming's Guangzhou Provincial Government. Nevertheless, Zou Lu and

²¹⁵ For particulars of this ceremony, see Peter Zarrow, *After Empire*, 1-2; Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 81.

²¹⁶ Schivelbusch, *Culture of Defeat*, 20.

²¹⁷ Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, 76, 83.

his coalition embarked on, in Koselleck's words, "a search for middle- or long-range reasons [that] might be initiated to frame and perhaps explain the chance event of the unique surprise."²¹⁸ For contributors of the *Martyrs' Biographies*, the Yellow Flower Hill defeat was a painful birthing moment of the nation. While only a few during the mid-1910s to the early-1920s could have foreseen republicanism and nationalism, a republic, exhorted by Zou Lu and Sun Yat-sen, would eventually constitute China in just a decade to come. In the next section, I will analyze how Zou Lu and his collaborators turned the military defeat of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising into an epistemological success. They exhorted the Republican revolutionary martyrdom that merges the timeless universal Confucian and Buddhist values with the twentieth-century political ideals of people's sovereign, revolution, and youth culture.

Creating Chinese Republican Revolutionary Martyrs

Lieshi/Martyr

The Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was one among a dozen others that took place in southern China from 1907 to 1911. The contributors of this commemorative volume, who were or were becoming prominent political leaders, taking advantage of the temporal proximity, linked the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising with the more successful uprising in Wuchang in October 1911 that eventually led to the overthrow of the Qing Empire and the subsequent founding of the Republic in 1912. By so doing, they successfully created a narrative that places the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, a fight that lasted less than one day with a relatively small number of casualties and no real immediate impact on the Qing Provincial Government, as the first battle in the revolution against the Qing imperial court.

Equally important was the rise of a new concept: "martyr" (*lieshi*) in its association with death and ethno-nationalism. Henrietta Harrison notes that "[m]artyrs and martyrdom are an ancient theme in Chinese history [...] *lieshi*, is used in ancient texts to describe men who do not bend even in the face of death."²¹⁹ In other words, *lieshi* previously meant "brave." Harrison neither provides citations for these ancient texts nor analyzes nuances in pre-twentieth century meanings of *lieshi*. The characters 烈士 or 列士 *lieshi* appearing in writings dated back to the third century BCE did not necessarily mean "martyr," that is one who died for a belief. *Lieshi* meant one who is brave and not afraid of difficulty and death,²²⁰ or one who is fierce and

²¹⁸ Ibid., 76.

²¹⁹ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 106-107.

²²⁰ From "The Floods of Autumn" of the *Zhuangzi*: "To travel across the water without shrinking from the sea serpent or the dragon—this is the courage of the fisherman. To travel over land without shrinking from the rhinoceros or the tiger—this is the courage of the hunter. To see the bare blades clashing before him and to look on death as though it were life—this is the courage of the man of ardor. To understand that hardship is a matter of fate, that success is a matter of the times, and to face great difficulty without fear—this is the courage of the sage (視死若生者, 烈士之勇也)." Watson translates *lieshi* as "sage." Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Zhuangzi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 134.

violent.²²¹ In the *Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji)*, the first comprehensive history of China from the mythical Yellow Emperor (third millennium BCE) to the first century BCE, by Sima Qian (109 BCE-91 BCE), *lieshi* was used to describe Boyi²²² who died for a good name.²²³ In addition to these meanings, the Kangxi Dictionary (during the eighteenth and nineteenth century) defined the character 烈 *lie* as “loyal” (*zhonglie* 忠烈), “upright” (*gangzheng* 剛正), and other related characteristics.²²⁴ Furthermore, female martyrdom was a significant trope in Chinese literature well into the twentieth century. Katherine Carlitz translated *lie* as “ardently heroic” or “heroically virtuous,” which exclusively denotes women who die young, defending their virginity or widow-chastity.²²⁵ *Lienü* 烈女 and *liefu* 烈婦 denote unmarried girls and married women who remain chaste (or commit suicide) after their fiancés and husbands die, or kill themselves after being sullied.²²⁶ The narrowing meaning of *lieshi* as someone who sacrificed his/her life for a righteous cause is no doubt a Republican-era invention. Such works like the *Biographies of the Seventy-Two Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs* gave rise to new meanings of “martyrdom.” It should be noted that in the title of Tianxiaosheng’s book on the same event published in 1912, he used “heroes” (*jie* 傑), not “martyrs” (*lieshi*).

The new meaning of *lieshi* during the Republican era as “one who dies for a righteous cause” is similar to the connotation of Christian martyrdom. “Martyr” originates from the Greek word *martus*, meaning “witness.” With the rise of Christianity, “martyr” came to denote a witness of Jesus who could later give testimonies to audiences. Before long, “martyr” became one who would rather die than deny the faith.²²⁷ In other words, death for the sake of a faith became the first and foremost characteristic of *martyr/lieshi*.

There are two other related words, *zhonglie* and *xianlie*. During the Republican era, *zhonglie* and *xianlie* assumed association with (Han) ethno-nationalism (as opposed the Manchu imperial rulers) and republicanism. Harrison defines two related terms to *lieshi*: (1) *zhonglie* – “those who met their deaths as a result of their loyalty to the Han people or the Republic,” and (2) *xianlie* –

²²¹ “For those who betray their lords and served the enemies, their behaviors are like those of dogs and swine. But they sacrifice their dignities to be loyal; they can be called ‘fierce.’” (故此一豫讓也，反君事讎，行若狗彘，已而折節致忠，行出乎烈士，人主使然也。) Jia Yi 賈誼, *Xinshu jiaozhu* 新書校註 (The *Xinshu* with Annotations) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 56.

²²² Boyi starved himself to death because he wanted to show loyalty to the Shang dynasty by not eating anything that belonged to the new Zhou dynasty.

²²³ Master Jiazi said, “The covetous run after riches; the impassioned pursue a fair name; the proud die struggling power; the people long only to live.” (賈子曰：貪夫徇財，烈士徇名，夸者死權，眾庶馮生。) My translation is adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty, Volume 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 449.

²²⁴ *Kangxi cidian*, from *Chinese Text Project* ctext.org. Accessed May 4, 2014.

²²⁵ Carlitz, “Shrines, Governing-Class Identity,” 614, 635.

²²⁶ Paul Stanley Ropp, Paola Zamperini, Harriet Thelma Zurndorfer, eds., *Passionate Women: Female Suicide in Late Imperial China* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 55-56.

²²⁷ Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason, and Hugh Pyper, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford Companions) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 411.

“those who died to bring about the Republic.”²²⁸ She argues that while it had not previously been true, such words became strictly associated with patriotism during the Republican era.²²⁹ These two character combinations appeared in the *Martyrs' Biographies*. One biographer, Zhang Genren, in the commentary, extolled Shi Jingwu, one of the martyrs, as one who fought against the notorious Manchu army with “patriotic fervency (*zhonglie*) and righteous spirit (*yiqi*)” until his body was no longer whole.²³⁰ Sun Yat-sen wrote in his preface: “This [volume of martyrs' biographies] is to launch our national history of tremendous struggles that will be transmitted and will never be lost. Otherwise, we would not be able to inherit the will of our revolutionary predecessors (*xianlie* 先烈) and bring it to fruition, and we could only read their stories and lament [our fate].”²³¹

It is also significant to note that the equivalent of the verb “to martyr” is *xun* 殉 (same as 徇 and 殉), which literally means “to follow in death” or “to die for something whether it is fame, fortune, or righteousness.”²³² *Xun* was also used to describe women following their dead husbands to the netherworld. In the *Book of Rites*, the practice of burying family members (particularly concubines) with the dead masters was carried out by some, but considered contrary to propriety by others.²³³ However, beginning with the Song dynasty (960-1279) and especially during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), widows who committed suicide to follow (*xun*) their husbands (*fu* 夫) in death were honored by the imperial government and celebrated as

²²⁸ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 107.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

²³⁰ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 24.

²³¹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1.

²³² Zhuangzi's “Webbed Tones”: “Small men for the sake of gain have sacrificed their persons; scholars for the sake of fame have done so; great officers, for the sake of their families; and sagely men, for the sake of the kingdom.” James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Taoism, Volume 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), 272.

²³³ Two anecdotes from the Tan Gong II section, *The Book of Rites*: “Chen Zi-ju having died in Wei, his wife and the principal officer of the family consulted together about burying some living persons (to follow him). When they had decided to do so, (his brother) Chen Zi-kang arrived, and they informed him about their plan, saying, “When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourishment in the lower world; let us bury some persons alive (to supply it).” Zi-kang said, “To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be the parties for it.’ On this the proposal was not carried into effect.”

“When Chan Gan-xi was lying ill, he assembled his brethren, and charged his son Zun-ji, saying, ‘When I am dead, you must make my coffin large, and make my two concubines lie in it with me, one on each side.’ When he died, his son said, “To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!” Accordingly, he did not put the two ladies to death.” James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*: (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1990), 182, 184.

paragons of chastity.²³⁴ This practice continued into the twentieth century. Additionally, various compositions of *xun* were used during the Republican period, including *xunnan* 殉難 (to die for a righteous cause), *xunguo* 殉國 (to die for the country), and *xundang* 殉黨 (to die for the party). In *Martyrs' Biographies*, Yao Yuping's preface begins with: "April 27 1911 was the day when 72 Yellow Flower Hill martyrs sacrificed their lives (*xun*) for the nation (*guo*). It was also the day when they martyred (*xun*) for the Three Principles of the People."²³⁵ The *Martyrs' Biographies* marked the rise of martyrdom as an act of sacrifice by a nationalistic revolutionary.

Three Principles of the People

Except for Wang Jingwei, contributors to the *Martyrs' Biographies* declared that the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was to carry out the "Three Principles of the People" (*sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義). The Three Principles are ethno-nationalism (*minzu* 民族), democracy (*minquan* 民權), and people's welfare (*minsheng* 民生). Sun Yat-sen, creator of this ideology, was the most adamant in ascribing it to the uprising: "...even though the Three Principles of the People and Five-Power Constitution, which I have advocated for 30 years have been fought for by the revolutionary elders without hesitation in sacrificing their lives, they have not been carried out as my wishes."²³⁶ Other contributors tied Sun-ism to other traditions.

Hu Hanmin ascribed the Three Principles of the People to the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs, but it was buried in the middle of a lengthy discussion of Confucian texts on virtue and life:

Ignorant people only know to seek the utmost pleasures in life, [desiring] all the instruments to enrich their life. They fear when such [life] is over. Their hearts are formed by such existence. They violate humanity and righteousness. They do not know about what is wrong. I heard that those who only know to seek the utmost pleasures in life are not enlightened. They assume the appearance of virtue [missing the word, "virtue," in the original text] but their actions are opposed to it. They deceive the people to win the reputation [of being virtuous]. When they are finally exposed or are faced with opposition, they abandon all these everyday pretenses. When those that value the spiritual being over the material being meet with opposition, they are able to let go [of the material body] ... The 72 gentlemen upheld the Three Principles of the People. They wanted to overturn the autocratic government by a foreign ethnic (*yizu*) in order to rescue our people. This shows that their hearts were the utmost humane. The attack of April 27 was known to be impossible and yet it was carried out. This is called "calmly dying for the great cause." This is also called, "the worthy vehemently march toward death." I beg to presume that it is the death of the worthy. The remnant of their virtuous body remains in the human world [literally, the middle world between heaven and earth]. Because their bodies have not completely depleted, they did not really die.²³⁷

²³⁴ Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 33-34.

²³⁵ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 7.

²³⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 1.

²³⁷ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 3.

In this passage constituting a fourth of his preface, Hu referred to the Yellow Flower Hill martyrdom, but through offering commentary on the Confucian and Mencian texts. Writing commentaries on Confucian canons as early as the Han Dynasty was a common mode of scholarly and philosophical discourse for Chinese literati. The commentators “offer their reflections on the meaning of Confucian doctrine as it had evolved through the centuries and attempt to construct a philosophical or moral vision meaningful in a world far removed from that of the classical age.”²³⁸ Hu’s exegesis on a passage from *The Analects* elaborates on two critical Confucian values: humanity and righteousness. The martyrs of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising were of the utmost humane and righteous as they disregarded their own lives in order to rescue the enslaved Han people from the Manchus. As the act of burying and preserving their bodies would keep their spirit alive, such commemoration was necessary.

Hu Hanmin validated the deaths of the Yellow Flower Hill rebels by citing from *The Analects*: “Confucius said, “Men of integrity and men of virtue do not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They may even sacrifice their lives for the sake of preserving their virtue (*shashen yi chengren* 殺身以成仁).”²³⁹ Hu continued with a quote from *The Book of Mencius*: “Mencius said, “what I pursue is far more than life itself, so I will take righteousness at the expense of my life.””²⁴⁰ Hu alluded to the reason why these martyrs were capable of facing a sure death in their fight is that they value the spiritual existence over the physical existence. They fought, not exactly for the Republican ideals, but for a cosmological “righteous cause.” As such, the death of the Yellow Flower Hill was an act that could have taken place in any historical time, not the particular transformative moment of 1911.

Contributors also projected Confucian and Buddhist notion of virtuous and selfless sacrifice upon these martyrs. Yao Yuping lauded the Yellow Flower Hill martyrdom: “The Confucianists call this “sacrifice one’s life for the sake of preserving virtue.” The Buddhists call this “abandoning one’s life to teach the world (*sheshen jiaoshi* 捨身教世). This [sacrifice] is enough to distress nature and reduce ghosts and spirits to tears.”²⁴¹ The Buddhist phrase that Yao used refers to the story of Prince Siddhartha Gautama (fifth century BCE) abandoning his privileged

²³⁸ Daniel K. Gardner, “Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 57 (1998): 397.

²³⁹ This is taken from Book 15: Wei Ling Gong of *The Analects*. My translation is adapted from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Volume 1: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean* (London: Trübner & Co., 1861), 161. I slightly modified the translation.

²⁴⁰ Hu Hanmin condensed Mencius saying from the Gaozi I section: “Life is what I cherish. So is righteousness. But if I cannot get both, I will take righteousness at the expense of my life. Life is I value, but what I pursue is far more than life itself, so I will not live humbly for the sake of living. Death is what disgusts me, but there is something more disgusting than death itself, so I will not avoid some inevitable disasters.” (生亦我所欲也，義亦我所欲也，二者不可得兼，舍生而取義者也。生亦我所欲，所欲有甚於生者，故不為苟得也。死亦我所惡，所惡有甚於死者，故患有所不辟也)， adapted from James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Volume 2: The Works of Mencius* (London: Trübner & Co., 1861), 287.

²⁴¹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 7.

life, status, wife, and children to become a thinker and teacher. Yao may have alluded the fact that many of the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs came from wealthy merchant, gentry, and official families, received education from prestigious institutions in China and Japan, and enjoyed the company of wives, concubines, and children, yet they abandoned everything to awaken the masses to the Republican cause. This act constituted the Republican revolutionary martyrdom, that is, using one's death to help other achieve political/spiritual awakening.

The "New Youth"

This compilation would resonate greatly with the young middle-class males as it addressed their various desires for adventure, independence, respect, friendship, and love. Each individual biography represents a synopsis of a *bildungsroman* novel,²⁴² in which the protagonist grows up and fulfills his duty to the family and the community. As such, these biographies were easily turned into school textbook materials. It resonates the spirit and dispirit of World War I, which was contemporaneous with the first decade of Republican China. The period was permeated with youth and camaraderie.

In many martyrs' biographies, there was scorn towards the obsolescence and uselessness of civil service examinations but a high regard for Confucian and Buddhist values. The youth did not break with the traditional past but only sought to enhance it with martial spirit. In Feng Zhaoxiang's biography, the author, Tianxiaosheng wrote, "He [Feng] threw down his pen and exclaimed: "My seven-foot body was born when the nation was in great danger..." Thereupon, he gave up both seeking an official career [through studying Confucian classics] and learning a trade, but devoted himself to martial arts and joined the Nanyang Naval Academy.²⁴³ In Song Yulin's biography, he was portrayed as a young protégée of Confucian learning but rejected it at the same time:

When he was 12, he began studying at private school. As he read competently and composed excellent essays, he was known as a child genius. When he was 15 years old, he followed his father's order and took the practice examination for children. He won the first place, and was named a "young doctoral student." He yet often told people, "The gentleman should die wrapped in horse skin [that is, he should die on the battlefield without burial and his body is wrapped by the skin of the horse that he rode]. He should not follow those bookworms who study in order to enter the imperial court [as an official]." From there we can now know his character.²⁴⁴

²⁴² For more on *bildungsroman* novels, see Song Mingwei, *Young China National Rejuvenation and the Bildungsroman, 1900-1959*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

²⁴³ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 51-52. (君獨投筆嘆曰「昂藏七尺軀。生此國破家亡之日。當赴戰場執銳殺敵。其幸立馬崑崙。揚國威武。不幸玉碎。亦固男兒事也。何能啣舌作孱書生酸腐態。坐待為奴乎。」)

²⁴⁴ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 10. (年十二讀書私塾，一目十行，其為文章，操紙筆立就，一時有神童之譽。十五歲迫於父命，應童子試，府試冠軍。補博士弟子員。非所願也。嘗語人曰「大丈夫當馬革裹尸。安能隨諸磕頭蟲後學趨踰耶。」可以知其志矣。)

The martyrs were portrayed as transitioning smoothly between worlds of Chinese and Western learning, and thus were able to capture sympathy of the social elite of their generation. Lin Wen's biographer wrote that he attended a law university in Japan, studying national laws and also researching the sixteenth-century Neo-Confucianist Wang Yangming and Chan Buddhism. The biographer added that Lin Wen was capable of writing poems in the style of Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), a famous Tang-dynasty poet, and producing beautiful calligraphy comparable to those of two great calligraphers, Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785) and Liu Gongquan 柳公權 (778-865).²⁴⁵ The Confucian gentleman and the Republican revolutionary converged in one identity.

Another trope in these biographies is the celebration of youthful beauty and intellect. For example, the biographer, Tianxiaosheng, described Chen Gengxin as a fine-looking and intelligent boy who made friends with others of his caliber. Chen was born with "great intelligence." Even at a young age, he had "principles and motivations." He only had to "glance at books in order to remember them." He was charming with teeth as white as jade, eyebrows as lovely (literally "kingfisher green") as in a painting, and gleaming eyes. His body was as light as a leaf and he walked as nimbly as the wind. He had extraordinary talents in sword fighting and shooting guns while riding horses. He was brave and familiar with danger. He was apt at talking and laughing. He had a lot of wisdom and stratagems. His spirit was unbridled. He liked talking about great matters concerning the military and the nation. His character was unpolluted. His countenance was radiant. His demeanor was elegant just "as beautiful as the jade tree in the wind."²⁴⁶ Chen appeared as one of the "talented scholar" in Ming-Qing novels with unmatched grace, morality, and intelligence.²⁴⁷

The sight of Chen dazzled government troops, who suddenly became sympathetic of his cause:

The government troops, seeing that Chen were dressed differently from others, his hair was cut short, and he had light shoes on, knew that he was the leader. They formed several circles around him. Chen ran out of both bullets and arrows. He was completely exhausted. He was soon to be captured. The government officials, seeing a beautiful young man as he was, called out to address him: "Hey you, young one, why do you cause trouble and seek your own demise?" Chen answered sternly, "I righteously revolt in order to wake my fellow countrymen up from their pipe dream. Why do you call it "causing trouble"? I sacrifice my

²⁴⁵ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 7. (能時音節悲壯逼肖少陵，書法出入顏柳間後益超脫入神。)

²⁴⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 46-47. (美豐姿，齒白如玉，眉翠入畫，目有精光，身輕如葉，履險蹈危，趨捷如風，負殊力，尤善擊劍，精馬術，兼能鎗，發無不中，驍勇絕人，善言笑，多智略，意氣縱橫，好談論軍國大事，性好清潔，神彩奕奕，風度翩翩，玉樹臨風不啻也。)

²⁴⁷ The "talented scholar and the beautiful woman" is a trope in Ming-Qing literature, in which the protagonists are a young man and woman who "represent the best in intelligence, looks, and moral character." Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

life for a righteous cause. The sages have clearly instructed. Your lifetime is spent like a rat not knowing a great cause. Now I am about to be captured. For a quick death, I would rather be executed at the marketplace.” He turned his face upward to laugh as if there were no one around. He extended his neck, plunged his knife in, and expired. The observers all shed tears.²⁴⁸

Chen Gengxin’s biography embodies the vision of bravery. His ideals emitted from his final act of resistance that turned the enemies and bystanders into alliances. The qualities shone through. Thought and action are one. Bravery resonated through the air. Chen defended his acts of terrorism against the Manchu rulers as acts of being awakened to the truth and standing up against injustice. Chen appeared as a radiant paragon of virtue and courage. He first struck the government troops with his youthful charm and then with his eloquence and virtue. He criticized the Qing government troops as vermin not knowing virtue of the sages and not being able to understand his act of sacrifice. In the narrative, he lectured them and they duly took the lesson. This fits in with what Schivelbusch calls myth-making projects of the defeated that often include portrayal of the enemies as savage and amoral.²⁴⁹ Tianxiaosheng sought to establish the martyr’s physical beauty, cultural refinement, and moral superiority over the undistinguished, barbarian, and ignorant government troops.

Most martyrs were in their mid-20s. The youngest was 18 and the oldest 45. Among 44 martyrs whose ages were known, twenty-five were under 30 and only three were over 40. The majority of martyrs were in their mid-20s to mid-30s. The people involved in compilation of these biographies were of the same age group.

Name		In 1911	In 1921
Sun Yat-sen 孫中山	(1866-1925)	45	55
Lin Sen 林森	(1868-1943)	43	53
Huang Xing 黃興	(1874-1916)	37	(died in 1916)
Chen Jiongming 陳炯明	(1878-1933)	33	43
Hu Hanmin 胡漢民	(1879-1936)	32	42
Yao Yuping 姚雨平	(1882-1974)	29	39
Wang Jingwei 汪精衛	(1883-1944)	28	38

²⁴⁸ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, 48-49. It is unclear who else were the audience in addition to the government troops and the revolutionaries. (官軍望陳服裝殊異，短髮輕鞵，知為首領。環之數匝。陳彈盡矢窮，神疲力儘，始見獲。官吏見為美少年，謂之曰「子齒穉，何故倡亂，自罹殺身之禍。」陳厲聲曰「吾起義。所以破醒同胞迷夢。何謂倡亂。殺身成仁。古聖明訓。爾輩鼠耳。甯知大義。身既見獲。其速死。我於是乃赴市死。」神色自若，仰天大笑，傍若無人，遂廷頸飲刀而死。觀者咸為垂涕。)

²⁴⁹ Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 19-20.

Zou Lu 鄒魯	(1885-1954)	26	36
Zheng Lie 鄭烈	(1888-1958)	23	33
Median/Medium Age of Fujianese martyrs		27/29	
Median/Medium Age of Guangdong martyrs		26.7/27	

Fig. 2-1: Age Distribution.

Another sign of youthfulness is the fact that biographies of younger martyrs tend to be longer. This observation is most applicable among Fujianese martyrs. The below graph shows the home provinces of the martyrs featured in the *72 Martyrs' Biographies*.

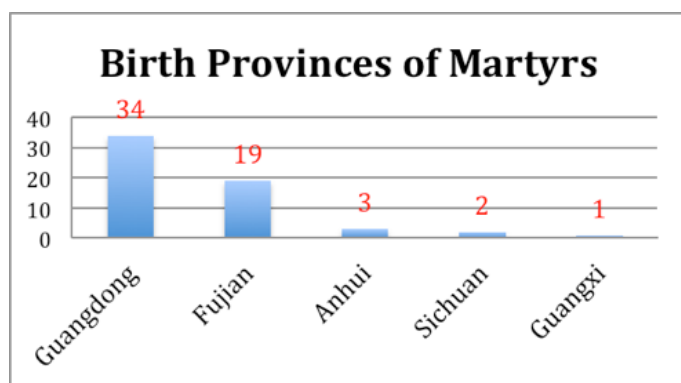


Fig. 2-2: Birth Provinces of Martyrs.

The total number of characters for 34 martyrs from Guangdong is less than that of Sichuan's two martyrs, about the same as the number of characters in Guangxi martyr's biography. Fujian martyrs are the most represented in terms of length. Almost two thirds of the total length is dedicated to Fujianese martyrs. It is because Zou Lu lifted these biographies from Zheng Lie's 1912 version and "shuffled" them in with biographies of martyrs from other provinces.

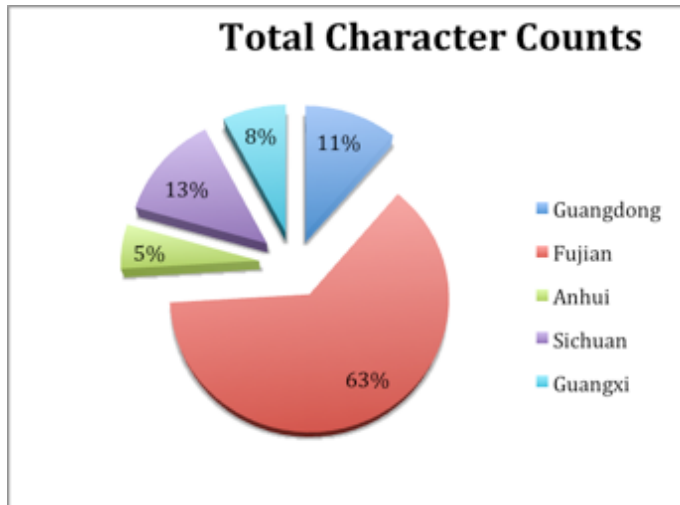


Fig. 2-3: Total Character Counts.

Youth is a prominent theme in the two compilations of biographies for not only young men symbolize the nation's youthful spirit but also the immature death strikes a more heartrending score. I speculate that the younger the martyr, the longer his biography is. This is noteworthy, as one would expect the more years one has, the more his biographer has to say about him. In order to make this point, I use Strata to demonstrate the correspondence between age and character count.

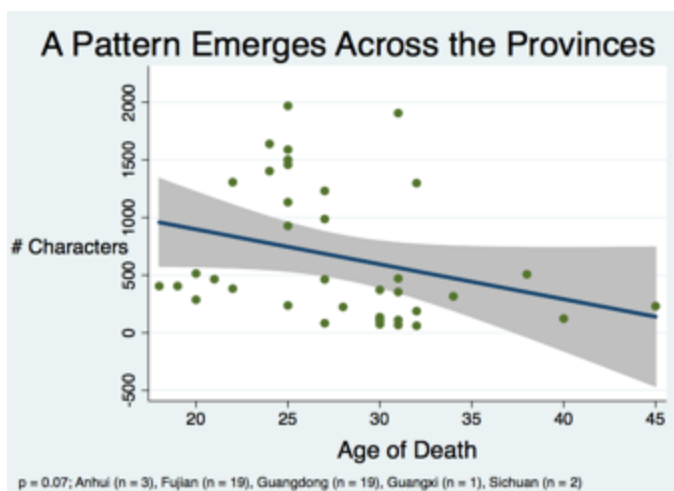


Fig. 2-4: Age of Death and Number of Characters.

The horizontal axis is the age of the martyr at the time of his death. The vertical axis is the number of characters in each biography. This scatter plot contains 44 individuals that have biographies. These individuals are from Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Sichuan. There is a noticeable inverse relationship between the length of the biography and the age of the martyr as represented by the blue line. The blue line represents best statistical estimates of the

relationship, which is the older the individual, the fewer characters in his biography. The grey area is a 95 percent confident interval. Because within the grey area, you could draw a flat line, which means there may be not a relationship between the age of the martyr and the length of his biography.

The p-value is a standard measure of the statistical significance of the estimated relationship shown here by the blue line. STATA automatically takes into account the number of degrees of freedom and tells us at what level our coefficient is significant. If the P value is less than or equal 0.05, then the significance level is at 95%. Here I have $P = 0.07$, which may be considered not meeting the standard of significance.

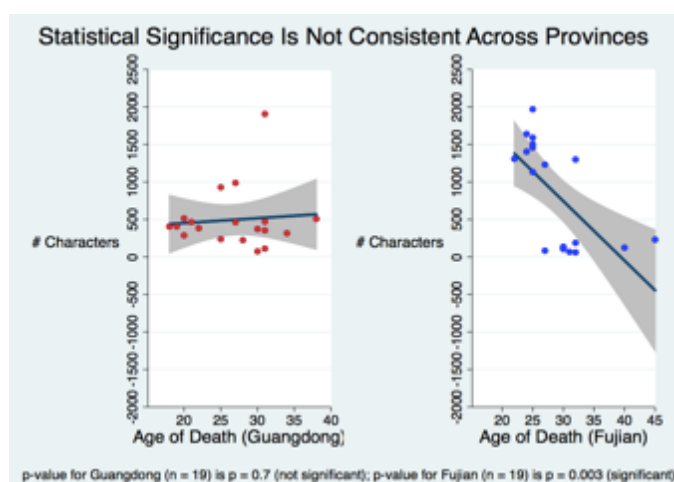


Fig. 2-5: Statistics from Guangzhou and Fujian.

Examining Guangdong and Fujian separately, I show that the age of martyrs in Guangdong does not correspond to the length of their biographies. However, in Fujian, there is a strong correlation between the age and the length. It is indeed, the younger the martyr was, the longer his biography. Celebrating youth is a way to emphasize the revolutionary spirit as an innate (and thus pure and justified) character, rather than a politically motivated one.

Friendship and Camaraderie

There are two dimensions of friendship in these biographies. One is the friendship among the martyrs as described by their biographers. According to his biography, at 11 years old (10 by Western counting), Chen Gengxin entered middle school where he became close friends with Yuxin and Xiwu. Yuxin was a style name of Chen Yushen, also a Yellow Flower Hill martyr. “They respected one another and over time they became the kind of friends that would live and die together. “They, smearing their own blood and pointing at their hearts, cried and made an oath: “In this life of mine, if you did not keep our promise, I would kill you. If I did not keep our promise, you could kill me. This ceremony is to establish this [oath]. Even when seas dry up and rocks dissolve, this [oath] will not change.”²⁵⁰ The blood oath of brotherhood was appropriated

²⁵⁰ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 46-47.

from the well-known Oath of the Peach Garden taken by the three heroes, Liu Bei, Guan Gong, and Zhang Fei, from *The Romance of the Three Kingdom* to form a brotherhood in order to rescue the emperor and protect the people. Their oath goes, “We dare not hope to be together always but hereby vow to die on the selfsame day. Let shining Heaven above and the fruitful land below bear witness to our resolve. May Heaven and man scourge whosoever fails this vow.”²⁵¹ Like the *Three Kingdoms* heroes, the trio Gengxin, Yuxin and Xiwu formed a blood brotherhood. According to the biographer, Tianxiaosheng, “together, they made quite a sight: “Bright and agile, they were all outstanding people of Fujian of that generation. Chen was also at the top of his class every year and soon emerged among the crème a la crème of the academic world. People regarded him as a prodigy. Anyone who met these students could not help but marvel at them.”²⁵²

Romantic love and freedom in marriage were critical issues in early twentieth-century China. The *Martyrs' Biographies* presents many perfect settings and endings. Chen Gengxin was “engaged at an early age. When the bride came of age, the Yue family urged the wedding. He married at 19. As the relationship of husband and wife was harmonious, a son was born a year later. The son had his father’s disposition. Chen adored him.” Although it was an arranged marriage, the martyr was depicted as having such conjugal bliss with his wife that the first child was born very soon after their marriage.

Lin Juemin, though not a leader of the uprising, was widely popular because of his love letter to his wife before the attack. His heirless uncle adopted Lin as son. Lin was arranged to get married at 19 years old, but the conjugal relationship was utmost harmonious. His wife gave birth to a daughter and was pregnant with another child when he decided to participate in the uprising. The letter revealed his determination to die.²⁵³ A few months after his death, Lin’s wife gave birth to a son; the family lineage was preserved. Lin’s biographer assured that Lin fulfilled both the filial duty (of begetting a male heir) and the revolutionary duty. Motifs of romantic love, filial piety, virtue, and chastity appear in Lin’s biography, making it fit into the realm of popular literature.

Another particularity of these martyrs’ biographies is the close relationship between the contributors and the martyrs. In many cases, they were from the same village, members of the same clan, attended the same school, and gathered in the same social circle. In addition, the compilation project began less than 10 years after the uprising, allowing memories of these martyrs to remain rather fresh. Such familiarity and temporal proximity influenced the narrative of the *Martyrs' Biographies*, one of the first revolutionary martyrologies in China. The martyrs appeared, though as paragons of virtues, genuine and relatable.

Zou Lu, added some remarks about the unusual personality of his fellow villager and comrade, Chen Wenbao. The comment testifies to Chen Wenbao’s misunderstood character. Chen was not well liked by his own people because of his idiosyncrasies. According to the biographer, Zou Lu, Chen was a merchant doing business in Southeast Asia. Because he loved to drink and eat, Chen often took the boat down the Han River and stopped at various places to load

²⁵¹ Luo Guanzhong, *The Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel, Part I*, trans. Moss Roberts (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 8-9.

²⁵² Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 46-47.

²⁵³ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 18-22.

up on food and alcohol until completely satiated. He “liked to laugh boisterously. His laughs “shook the roof tiles.”²⁵⁴ Yet to be 30 years old, he already grew a luxuriant beard, which his wife hated. Few younger than 50 years old grew their beard. The wife could not bear this violation of the village custom. He then told her, “I hate your hair bun. You hate my beard. If you change your hairstyle, I will cut off my beard.” His wife had no other choice but complied. Yet, after cutting her hair, she was unable to bear the criticisms of others. When she grew back her hair bun, Chen also grew back his beard. Finally, his wife cut her hair bun. Chen succeeded in changing his wife’s attachment to her old hairstyle, and shaved off his beard to meet his part of the bargain. Women from the city began to change their hairstyles as well.²⁵⁵ This anecdote about his conjugal frivolity does not seem to contribute to the portrayal of Chen as an ardent revolutionary and selfless martyr. Nevertheless, Zou Lu demonstrated that even though the women in their town were “stupid and crude” (*ben qie lou* 笨且陋), Chen was able to change their hairstyle, and thus their view of tradition. It was not a small task.

In his narrative, Zou Lu was able to look beyond Chen Wenbao’s surface to understand his true nature - a plot resonating Bao Shuya and Guan Zhong’s friendship. The latter was seen by others as corrupted, coward, and ungrateful, while the former knew his abilities would surface given a proper condition.²⁵⁶

The ideal of friendship also appeared in Wang Jingwei’s preface:

When I read the compilation, I felt extreme sorrow in my heart, as well as extreme shame. Sorrow was because my teachers and friends of ten years seemed to appear in front me one by one. Initially I was determined to die with them. When I was thrown into prison, they had shed countless tears for me. Yet now they already died before I do. Shame was because what I know about the event of April 27 in Guangzhou was so meager. How could I write a preface to these biographies?²⁵⁷

It is likely that the compilers intended to have the volume circulated among the survivors as a memento, to see dead teachers and friends appearing on the pages as Wang Jingwei expressed here. But more importantly, the lamentation about friendship bonds resonates with youth who thrive on company of like-minded friends and who view their parents as the authority to be challenged.

²⁵⁴ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 30. (好狂笑。聲震屋瓦)

²⁵⁵ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 30. (烈士未三十即蓄鬚。復高翹之。邑俗純謹幾無五十以下蓄鬚者。妻厭。勸去之曰「我厭汝髻。猶汝厭我鬚。汝能易髻。我即去鬚。」妻無奈從之。已而妻以眾咻復舊髻。烈士亦復鬚。卒易其妻之髻而始去鬚。邑中婦女自後始有易髻者。)

²⁵⁶ Michael Nylan, *The Five Confucian Classics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 106.

²⁵⁷ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Preface Section, 6. (我看了幾遍，非常傷感，非常慚愧。傷感的是十年師友一一如在眼前我本來立意先他們而死的。我入獄時，他們為我灑過不少的淚，如今他們都反先死了。慚愧的是。我所知的廣州三月廿九日的事，如此疏略，拿什麼來做這事略的序呢。)

Henrietta Harrison argues that the commemoration of Xu Xilin, who were executed for attempting to assassinate the Manchu governor Enmin, “provides a vivid example of the way in which martyrs could be used to create family-like relationships among a group of people” and this sense was strengthened by the fact that early revolutionaries were a very small group of acquaintances. Citing a request to commemorate martyrs by Huang Xing, Harrison emphasizes that “the florid language conveys the strength of feeling that was natural in a man who was speaking of the deaths of comrades and close personal friends.”²⁵⁸

There are many melodramatic tales of friendship described in the biographies. For example, in Song Yulin’s biography, the author spent half of the space describing another martyr, Fan Zhuanjia, who died in an earlier uprising. The reason is that Song Yulin and Fan Zhuanjia were great friends. When Fan died, Song climbed up the Dragon Mountain and swore to avenge his friend’s death.²⁵⁹

In Lin Wen’s biography, the term “common purpose” (*tongzhi* 同志) and “shared heart” (*tongxin* 同心) appeared multiple times. In the Qing period, circles of friends bound by a common purpose were frequently suspected and persecuted by the emperors who had been warned about the danger of political factions in the late Ming court.²⁶⁰ The rise of male bonding began with the foundation of political parties and revolutionary activities. The Communist Revolution and the cult of Mao further benefited the macho-military culture among village males.²⁶¹

Justification of Violence

In the late Qing, violence was no longer prerogative of the state. Military schools and military education were sprouting especially after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. In the 1900s, primary school textbooks show children in military-inspired uniforms and playing mock battles.²⁶² Militarist values became widely popular and major educated young men were enticed to a new career. Military violence was no longer seem as the means to maintain peace, but as a necessity of society and state. The glorification of violence in these biographies is in stark contrast with the non-existence of military literature in early periods.

It could be said that these martyrs were modern-day terrorists. They made explosives and smuggled weapons in order to assassinate or kidnap government officials. Their plans were often shoddily executed. Even against a relatively weak military, they did very little harm to the government. They were depicted as ideal martial men who gave up civil careers and took up arms. However, that their acts of causing terror were celebrated was novel. Yu Peilun’s biographer remarked that Yu experimented on explosives so intensely that he forgot to eat and sleep. Although he was very careful, one time he caused an explosion and was knocked

²⁵⁸ Harrison, “Martyrs and Militarism,” 50.

²⁵⁹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 10-11.

²⁶⁰ Mann, “Male Bond,” 1608.

²⁶¹ Edward Friedman, Paul G. Pickowicz, and Mark Selden, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 271-272, 277-278.

²⁶² Harrison, “Martyrs and Militarism,” 45.

unconscious. When he came to, his body was covered with blood. He thought that government spies might come knocking, so he fled the scene.²⁶³ In another episode, Yu Peilun, together with Wang Jingwei and Huang Fusheng planted a bomb under a bridge to be activated by electricity. However, on the bridge there were a lot of people and dogs. The dogs started barking at the movements under the bridge, causing Peilun to withdraw. The planted bomb did not explode. But the locals told each other, “Luckily it did not explode. Otherwise, everything within 20 *li* (seven miles) would be destroyed.”²⁶⁴

In the words of their biographers, their violent acts were justified by the violence surrounded them, imposed on them by the Manchus since the mid-seventeenth century and by the Westerners since the mid-nineteenth century. The martyrs’ education included tales about the massacre when the northern barbarians flooded China, subjugating its people, flora and fauna, and culture to the martial prowess and cruelty of the horse-riding nomads. Chen Gengxin’s education was described as being saturated with anti-Manchu nationalism:

When he grew up, he read Ming and Qing histories. Each time reading about the tales of Yangzhou and Jiangyin [the places where massacres of residents by Qing troops took place in 1645 when the Ming dynasty was overthrown by the Manchus], his tears overflowed. He was angered to the point of not wanting to live. Ethno-nationalist thoughts penetrated deeply into his brain. He did not forget, even for a day.²⁶⁵

Chen Gengxin, despite his portrait as a graceful young man holding a flower bouquet, was a terror to the government troops:

Chen’s eyes were acute and hands were swift; therefore, he killed a lot of people. Their blood splashed all over his body. But his body was not majorly wounded. Other people [from Chen’s group] were scattered or captured. Most were wounded or killed. Yet Chen fought by himself. Government troops did not dare approach [him].²⁶⁶

The act of violence by these young men was justified by the wholesomeness of their characters. They were first and foremost Confucian scholars, well versed in the classic literature and poetry. They were good sons, husbands, and fathers. In Lin Yimin’s biography, he was a filial son who continued to mourn his mother long after death:

When his mother died, he took care of his father and respected his elder brothers. His filial piety and brotherly love were well known... He liked to drink. He could drink a few bowls

²⁶³ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 6. (研精藥學。輒覃思廢食寢。嘗密鍛為銀藥。小不謹。一爆幾絕。蘇時血浴其軀。)

²⁶⁴ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 48. (與兆銘、黃復生等謀擊載澧。造爆彈重而是餘斤。夜匿橋下。俟明載澧車過。以電發之。未及期。橋多犬吠。驚居人。起視。覺有物。培倫跳得去。而兆銘復生以故入獄。外人視其爆彈曰「幸不發。發則二十里中無噍類矣。」)

²⁶⁵ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 48. (稍長。讀明李清初歷史。及揚州江陰諸記。則涕淚交流。憤不欲生。於是民族思想。深印入腦無一天忘。)

²⁶⁶ Zou Lu, *Martyrs’ Biographies*, Biography Section, 48. (陳目明手捷。雖力殺多人。血濺遍體。而身不被大創。既而諸人或被衝散。或被擒獲。傷亡略盡。而陳猶孤身戰。官軍不敢進。)

without any problem. When he drank, he looked at his mother's worship altar and cried about his deceased mother. It was extremely distressful.²⁶⁷

The soldierly/martial part was a temporary identity taken up by the force of history. One of the martyrs was reported to say: "The gentleman should die wrapped in horse skin," that is, he should die on the battlefield without burial. They condemned the civil service examination system that corrupts the strength of the Han ethnicity. They turned to Japan for schooling. Japan at the turn of the twentieth century was the center of Western learning and militarism. Japan began to impose universal conscription in 1873. It then quickly built modern military schools and developed similar military organization and training to Germany's. Japan annexed Taiwan in 1895 after the First Sino-Japanese War's victory, defeated Russia in 1895, and formally colonized Korea in 1910. Civilian school uniforms in Japan adopted from military uniforms, which were donned by many of the Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs in their portraits.

Zou Lu added some remarks about the unusual personality of his fellow villager and comrade, Chen Wenbao:

The martyr and I were from the same village. The villagers detested his "fervent attitude" [狂 *huang*, literally, insane, ardent, violent]. I was the only one who cherished his honesty and goodness. He also especially respected me. When he joined the Revolutionary Alliance, he had mutual love for his comrades. But he was still close to me the most. If he thought that something was possible, he would act upon it. He surpassed me with each day passing. Each time he heard about [a duty], he would tread outside in inclement weathers to do it. He was trustworthy and free from jealousy. He only followed what he believed, and he acted upon what he believed. He cared for neither self-destruction nor magnificence, neither fame nor disgrace. It was his innate nature. He saw death as return. He died for his ideology.

Confucius says, "The ardent one will act."²⁶⁸ The martyr had that in him.²⁶⁹

These remarked idiosyncrasies of Chen Wenbao bespeak the twentieth-century transgression. Revolutionary activities broke away from normative behaviors of the Confucian order. Wenbao

²⁶⁷ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 48. (君生呱呱即喪母。比長事父奉兄。以孝悌聞。倜儻有大志。喜揮霍。見吝嗇者。輒言儉氣逼人。俗不可耐。屏不與交。素嗜飲。數斗不亂。顧每逢伏臘。飲後輒搥腦哭母。極其哀痛。)

²⁶⁸ From the Zilu section of *The Analects*: "The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent will advance and lay hold of truth; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong." (子曰:不得中行而與之,必也狂狷乎!狂者進取,狷者有所不為也。) James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Volume I: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean* (London: Trübner & Co., 1861), 272.

²⁶⁹ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 31. (鄒魯曰「余與烈士同里。里人多厭其狂。余獨喜其真而與之善。烈士對余亦敬謹有加。及入同盟會。遇同志皆親愛。而於余尤切。凡事皆得可而行。日必過余。每聞戶外步履挾風沙而奔者。必烈士無疑。性無所忌。惟求其信。既信而行。不知毀榮譽辱艱險。卒本此天真。親死如歸。以徇主義。孔子曰「狂者進取。」烈士有焉。無惑乎世人咸以狂目之也。」)

was praised for being fervent instead of being calm. He cared about his comrades instead of his family. He was a man of action, instead of the man of thought.

Because violence is so entrenched with the ideal warrior, the most celebrated death appears to be the death on battlefield or execution, which happened to most of these martyrs. In Song Yulin's biography, the commentator wrote: "The military men's nature is to advance, not to withdraw."²⁷⁰ The military men were also supposed to curse the enemy and refuse to surrender. "Cursing the bandits" (*ma zei er si* 罵賊而死) was an act of provoking further violence from the enemy and not fearing the dire consequences.

Conclusion

On the one hand, the *Biographies of the Seventy-Two Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs* was timed to come out on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic in 1912. On the other hand, the compilation *founded* the Republic and set the foundation for the Nationalist state. The significance of the compilation lies in its documentation of new forms of commemoration, revolution, and martyrdom, and by extension, the process of nation building, identity construction, and historical perception.

The rather bloodlessness of the Chinese Revolution in 1911 compared with its the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1964) or the War of Resistance (1937-1945) created the need to lionize deaths, such as in the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. The martyrs were to be the forerunners of a new line of Republican revolutionary heroes – the youth whose lives were cut short so as to become "fathers" of a new nation. The act of valor in these biographies is the act of political awakening, illustrated by the final words of the martyrs. While traditional Chinese literature has no epic of battles, it is full of defiant acts of individuals against corrupted authorities. The *Biographies* therefore did not describe the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising as an "epic battle" between the revolutionary force and the Manchu soldiers. The compilation is fundamentally a series of *theatrical* individual confrontations, during which each participant was given an audience to explain his thought and act. Death was the means and the end of the uprising. Paradoxically, death was not the *end*, as posthumous identities were mobilized, constructed, and featured time and again.

The compilation had a didactic purpose in presenting a model of male Republican citizenship. In each individual biography, the protagonist grows up, becomes awakened to the revolutionary cause, and fulfills his duty to the family and the nation. These biographies acted as "life manuals" for the middle-class youth. While description of the battle and the act of martyrdom takes up about one-tenth to one-fifth of each individual biography, the majority of space was dedicated to demonstrate martyrs' formative years, education, friendships, and marriages. This compilation resonated greatly with the young middle class for it addressed their desires for adventure, independence, respect, friendship, and love.

These "life manuals" advocated for outbursts of violence. Such glorification of death characterized a culture of violence and martiality in the early decades of the twentieth century. One element of this culture is discussed in the first chapter. The Beiyang government promoted pro-state militarism while the Nanjing Provisional Government idealized anti-state civilian

²⁷⁰ Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Biography Section, 12. (軍人性質有進無退)

martyrdom. The Sun Yat-sen's faction of the Nationalist Party in the late 1910s and early 1920s however sanctioned *partisan* violence. As long as one belonged to the Revolutionary Alliance, which transformed itself into a political party in 1912, one's enactment of violence was justified. From the Northern Expedition to the Japanese invasion in 1937, the Nationalist government on the one hand continued to support this vision of partisan violence, and on the other hand tried to rein in and monopolize violence with the formally-sanctioned military and police force. The Nationalists attempted to make violence prerogative to the state and no longer sought to glorify flamboyant acts of disruption. The regulations to construct shrines to Republican martyrs next to Confucius temples and shrines for local worthies in 1933 and 1936 signified a transformation in the perception of violence. Republican martyrs and fallen combatants were viewed as having affinity with Confucian virtues. Nonetheless, the war with Japan led the Nationalist state back to the exaltation of the use of force and even further delegate violence to the general population. I address these transformations in Parts II and III.

Part II

The Guangzhou-Nanjing Era, 1925-1937

Chapter 3

Martyr Enshrinement and Nationalist Religiosity

This chapter analyzes the expansion of the necro-constituency during the Guangzhou-Nanjing era (1925-1937) manifested by various commemorative activities in major cities, the expansion in the criteria of martyrdom in the commendation and commemoration law, and the propagation of the “Nationalist religiosity.” I maintain that war commemoration was rather *uneven* due to not only the unevenness in the Nationalist political influence, but also the distinctive historical and spatial contexts, in which commemorative activities took place. In the first section, I look at various efforts by national and local authorities as well as social groups to commemorate the loyal dead in Guangzhou, Nanjing, and Beiping. Major cities with strong ties to Republicanism, such as Guangzhou, Nanjing, and Beiping, developed vibrant commemorative scenes. While the Xinhai Revolution in Wuchang played a far more critical role in overthrowing the Manchu government and paving the way for the Republic, local authorities in Hubei failed to commemorate the event in its immediate aftermath. On the contrary, the Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs’ commemorative complex began to take form as early as 1912 thanks to the domination of Nationalist Party members and Republican supporters in southern China. The commemorative complex reflected the history and character of the Revolutionary Alliance and the Nationalist Party in its first decade. The Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers in Nanjing was the first of its kind in China. Completed in the mid-1930s, the Cemetery marked the shift to combatants and the rise of military martyrdom. The Nationalist military campaigns against warlord and Communist forces and clashes with the Japanese were reasons behind the expansion of martyrdom to combatants. Various Republican memorials and memorial services dedicated to Chinese soldiers fighting Japanese in northern China illustrated the commemorative scene in Beiping. No longer the national capital, Beiping’s commemoration was less of a state initiative, and more of a civilian movement.

The second part of this chapter demonstrates that while the revolutionaries of the turn of the century continued to be exclusively honored, the Nationalist government during the Nanjing Decade began to extend the possibility of becoming a martyr to a larger population. The state ordered construction of shrines, collection of martyrs’ biographies, and organization of regular memorial services to honor revolutionaries, National Revolutionary Army servicemembers, and dedicated civil bureaucrats. The Nationalist state, following its imperial predecessor, simply created a set of criteria, and encouraged the general public to identify those who were qualified and apply for the martyrdom status on their behalf. The Nationalist government also prompted authorities at the provincial, municipal, and county levels to build shrines to the local war dead, creating a community of worship as well as a hierarchy of martyrdom in areas under its direct and nominal control. Furthermore, I pay particular attention to the political circumstances under which the Nationalist government ordered all counties, municipalities, and provinces under its control to establish a shrine to eligible war dead.

In the final part, I analyze the development of the “Nationalist religiosity,” a term that I use to capture the particular relationship between Nationalist China and its dead. On the one hand, dimensions of this relationship included the appropriation of traditional religious structures and symbols in the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines, and of traditional images and phrases in Nationalist

elegies to the war dead. On the other hand, the Nationalists attempted to use modern rituals and Republican slogans in public memorial services. In addition, sacrifice of life took on new meanings because of the mounting number of casualties and changes in nature of war especially during clashes with the Communist and Japanese forces. Such developments demanded the Nationalist state to invent new logistical and rhetorical solution to appease the aggrieved spirits and gain allegiance from the living.

Three Forms of Commemoration

Commemorative Monument of Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs in Guangzhou

After the uprising of April 27, 1911 failed, no one knew the exact number of the dead. The Guangdong Provincial Government collected seventy-two corpses, one of which dressed in a Confucian long blue robe was rejected for not looking revolutionary enough. Two county magistrates planned to dump them on the Stinking Hill where criminals had been buried. However, Pan Dazheng, a revolutionary, and Jiang Kongyin, a Hanlin Academy member, intervened and had them buried in a hill outside the city center. The site with simple graves became the Yellow Flower Hill. When the Republicans came to power in Guangzhou in 1912, Hu Hanmin, one of the uprising organizers and now the governor, organized a grand public sacrifice. When Yuan Shikai came to power, his government did not approve the proposal to make the anniversary of the uprising a national holiday. Commemoration activities and further plan for the Yellow Flower Hill monument were halted after the 1913 Second Revolution.

It was not until the fall of 1918 did Fang Shengtao 方聲濤 (1885-1934) begin building the tomb.²⁷¹ Fang Shengtao was a native of Fujian, an army general, and a member of the Revolutionary Alliance. His brother was Fang Shengtong 方聲洞, one of the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs. After Fang Shengtao finished studying at a military school in Japan, he taught at the Yunnan Military Academy and became a general. The Chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Parliament, Lin Sen 林森 (1868-1943), raised money to build a visiting pavilion. Lin Sen, a member of the Revolutionary Alliance since 1905, fled to Japan with Sun Yat-sen after the failed Second Revolution of 1913 and only returned to Guangzhou in 1917. Lin Sen set up the martyrs' tablets, on which names of those who had been identified were inscribed. Fang Shengtao's and Lin Sen's commemorative projects took two years to be completed.²⁷² The photographs included in the Zou Lu's *Martyrs' Biographies* show a large magnificent structure, which remains structurally the same nowadays. On the very top is the Statue of Liberty holding a book and a mallet, bearing great resemblance to the one in New York. The Statue of Liberty signified that these martyrs fought for Han Chinese people's freedom from the Manchus. Other photographs of the complex show a distinctly Western taste in architecture of the Martyrs' Tomb. In addition to incense burner columns with the swastika sign, the Statute of Liberty, iron-cast skulls, the Nationalist symbol was plastered throughout the complex.

²⁷¹ Fang Shengtao, his brother, sister, wife, and sister-in-law were all members of the Revolutionary Alliance. Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson, eds., *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial Chinese* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 125.

²⁷² Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Preface Section, 9.

After the Nationalist Party gained power in Guangzhou, Lin Sen collected funds from overseas Chinese to build an arch, a pavilion, and a stele. A group of fifty-six previously unknown martyrs was included at the new monument. In 1922, a meeting of some past participants in the uprising uncovered another 16 names.²⁷³ During the Republican period, the tomb was renovated multiple times in 1922, 1924, and 1934. New decorative structures were added to the old ones and the gravesite was expanded into an impressive monument in the middle of a large park by 1935.²⁷⁴ The top of the main monument is adorned with decorative bricks carved with names of overseas Nationalist branches, which contributed financially to the construction. The same monument appeared on a regionally circulated currency in the 1930s.

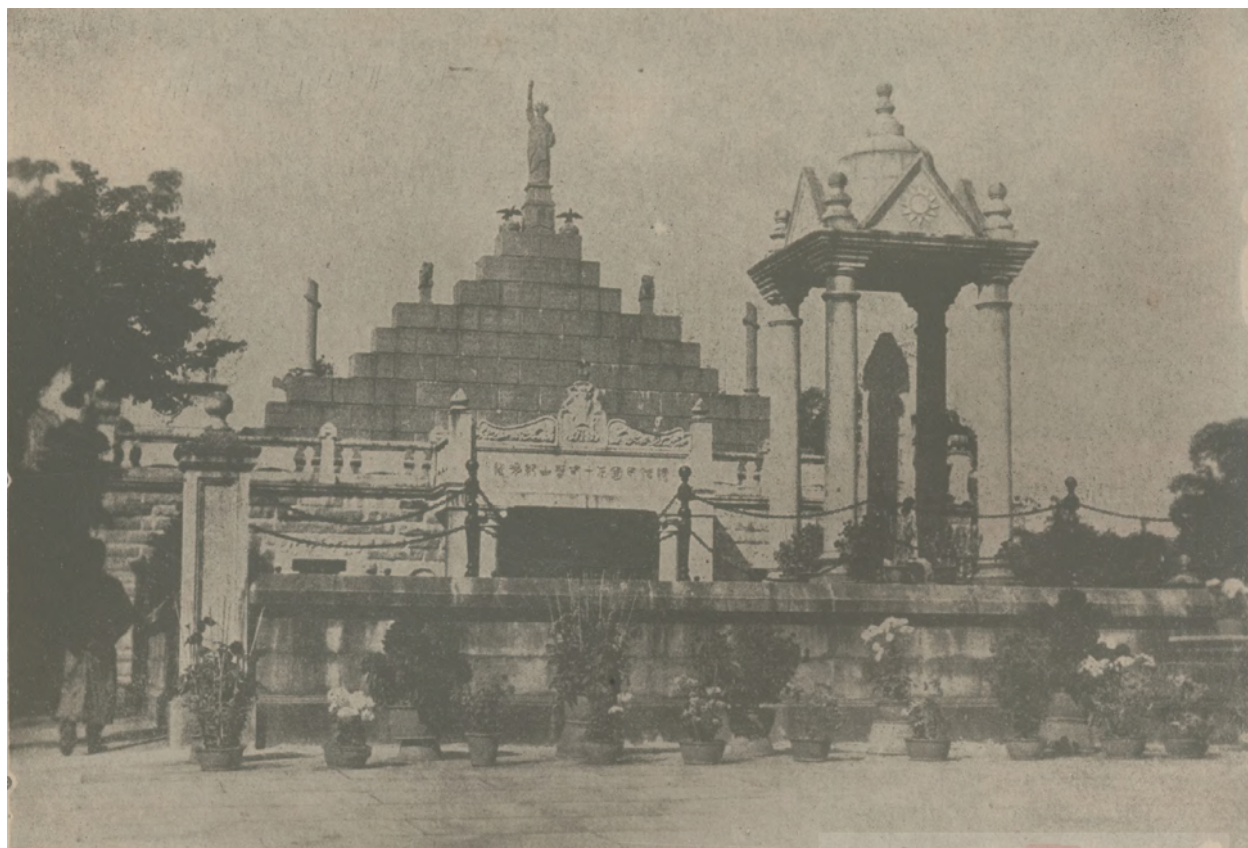


Fig. 3-1: Front View of the Seventy-Two Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs' Tomb. From Wang Xiaoting 王小亭, "Guangzhou Huanghuagang qishier lieshi zhi mu 廣州黃花崗七十二烈士之墓," *Liangyou* 良友 36 (1929): 10.

²⁷³ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 153-154.

²⁷⁴ Ho, "Martyrs or Ghosts," 103-104.



Fig. 3-2: (Left) Incense Burner with Buddhist Swastika (Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs' Tomb). Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Photograph Section, np.

Fig. 3-3: (Right) Iron-cast Skulls along the Spirit Way. Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, Photograph section, np.

During the Nanjing Decade, major municipal governments commemorated the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising as reported by *The North China Daily News*. For instance, in 1933, in Nanjing, entertainment centers, government offices, public organizations were closed in observance. In Shanghai, only cinemas and amusement centers in the Chinese-controlled area were closed, government offices remained open, and the Nationalist Party held a memorial service attended by representatives of public offices in its headquarters near the West Gate. Guangzhou, the site of the Uprising attracted “tens of thousands of pilgrims, including many officials and students” reportedly flocked to the Yellow Flower Hill to pay respects to the martyrs.²⁷⁵ In 1937, Lin Sen led the commemoration with “solemnity and military pomp” in Guangzhou. In Nanjing, about 800 government officials, including the highest-ranking ones, attended a public service at the Nationalist Party’s headquarters. Zou Lu, presiding over the ceremony, declared how spiritual strength overcame the lack of materials and led to the successful Revolution. Over 400 people from all walks of life attended the memorial in Shanghai. The Beiping Municipal Government mandated a public mourning on March 29 by shutting down amusement resorts and flying the national and party flags half-masted.²⁷⁶

National Military Cemetery in Nanjing

Unlike Europe and North America, China did not make a lot of efforts to build public cemeteries. Without the tradition of burying the dead in or near the church, the idea of collective

²⁷⁵ “Party Memorial Day,” *The North China Daily News*, March 30, 1933, 10.

²⁷⁶ “Death Anniversary of 72 Martyrs,” *The North China Daily News*, March 30, 1937, 11.

burial was foreign in China. Chinese families buried their dead in the fields on which they farmed. Upon death, urban dwellers and sojourners were transported back to their hometown. This practice was continued into modern China. After the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek established the capital in Nanjing in 1928, a monument and a public cemetery were built for fallen soldiers and officers of the Northern Expedition. The Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers was the first national military cemetery in China. The Cemetery complex was built on Purple Mountain (*Zijin shan* 紫金山), where Sun Yat-sen's body was reburied in 1929. In 1929, Chiang Kai-shek employed an American architect, Henry K. Murphy, to design a nine-tower Linggu Pagoda (*Linggu ta* 靈谷塔).²⁷⁷

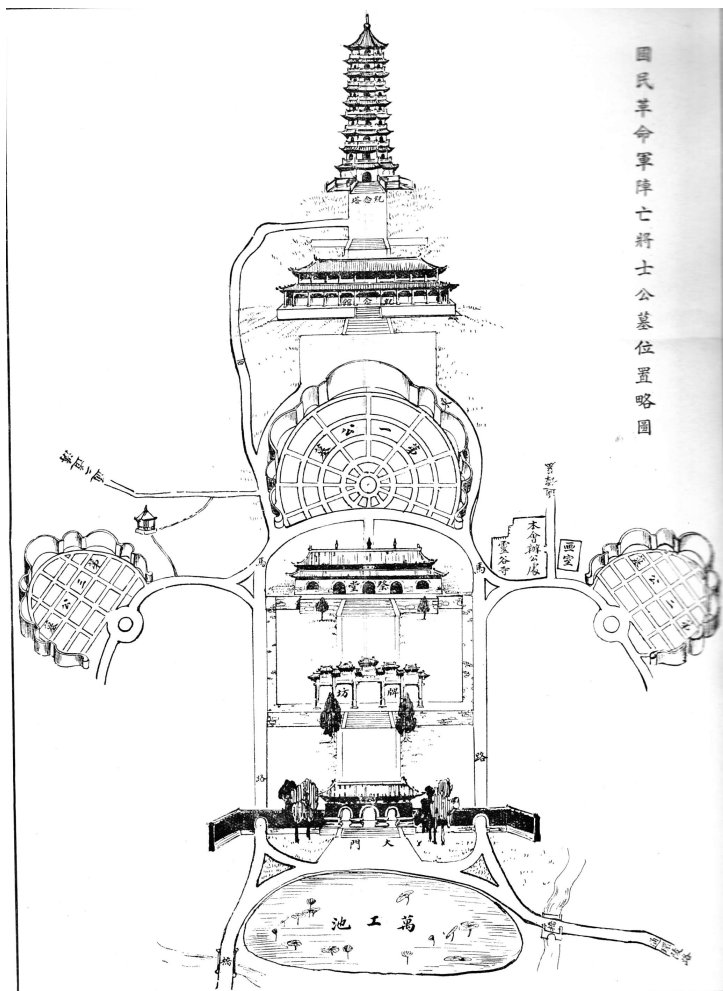


Fig. 3-4: Outline of Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers. From *Commemorative Print on the Completion Ceremony of the Public Cemetery for the National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, np.

²⁷⁷ Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914-1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 191.

The Preparation Committee for the Construction of the Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers under the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee (*Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui* 中國國民黨中央執行委員會建築陣亡將士公墓籌備委員會) in 1935 and 1936. These volumes document the construction of the cemetery and processes of collecting the remains for reburial. This Committee consisted of nine members: Chiang Kai-shek, Chen Guofu 陳果夫 (1892-1951), Liu Jiwen 劉紀文 (1890-1957), He Yingqin 何應欽 (1890-1987), Lin Huanting 林煥庭 (?), Xiong Bin 熊斌 (1894-1964), Liu Puzhen 劉樸忱 (?), Li Zongren 李宗仁 (1891-1969), and Qiu Bohuan 邱伯衡 (?). These were veteran members of the Revolutionary Alliance, generals of the Northern Expedition, and major political figures in the Nationalist government.

Chiang Kai-shek composed a preface to the commemorative volume in November 1935, noting that the purpose of the Public Cemetery was to celebrate the victory and honor the fallen:

Our National Revolutionary Army under the command of the Party executed the Northern Expedition. Within two years, we have succeeded. Our late Premier's unfulfilled goal was quickly achieved, all due to the sacrifice of our loyal and valorous officers and soldiers. In November 1928, the Central Executive Committee, hoping to praise and commemorate the loyal and the sacrificing, especially by constructing a public cemetery for fallen officers and soldiers, ordered Zhongzheng [Chiang Kai-shek] and others to be members of the Preparation Committee in charge of this matter.²⁷⁸

This project further consolidated and legitimized Chiang's power. Sun Yat-sen carried out several northern expeditions during his lifetime, yet with limited success. Chiang emphasized that he had completed Sun's dream. Chiang also bestowed on these war dead the phrase "national martyrs" (*guoshang* 國殤), maintaining that they fulfilled the destined duty of dedicating one's utmost to the nation (*zijin baoguo zhi tianzhi* 自盡報國之天職).²⁷⁹

The Nationalist government engraved names of deceased combatants on 97 stone tablets, which were organized into four rows and placed in the offering hall (*jitang* 祭堂). Tablets no. 1 to 61 contain 35,228 names of fallen Northern Expedition servicemembers. Tablets no. 61 to 67 contain 4,031 names of the dead from the First Shanghai War of 1932. Tablets no. 67 to 82 contain 11,413 names of anti-Japanese war casualties. Names of fallen soldiers that died during

²⁷⁸ *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui*, *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui zongbaogao* 中國國民黨中央執行委員會建築陣亡將士公墓籌備委員會總報告 (General Report from Preparation Committee for the Construction of the Public Cemetery for Fallen Officers and Soldiers under the China's Nationalist Party Central Executive Committee) (Nanjing: *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui*, 1936), Preface, 1.

²⁷⁹ *Guoshang* appeared in the *Jiu ge* 九歌 (Nine Songs) attributed to Qu Yuan from the Warring States era.

anti-bandit (*jiaofei* 剿匪) campaigns²⁸⁰ from July 1934 to June 1935 were in the process of being carved.²⁸¹ In total, over 50,000 war dead were commemorated at the Public Cemetery for the National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers.

The number of bodies buried at the Cemetery was far fewer, about 2,590, or five percent of the 50,000 names. The selection procedure was formalized in the “Revised Regulations for Burying at the Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers” (*Guomin gemingjun zhenwang jiangshi gongmu xiuzheng yingzang tiaoli* 國民革命軍陣亡將士公墓修正營葬條例), promulgated by the Military Affairs Commission in July 1935.²⁸² The regulations stipulated “representative burial” (*daibiao zang* 代表葬) by drawing lot (*chouqian* 抽籤). In the first lot drawing on March 18, 1932, the Military Affairs Commission chose 603 names from the Northern Expedition, and later decided to add another 522 individuals. The total known casualties during the Northern Expedition were over 35,000. It would be hard to recover the bodies as they had been buried *in situ* for too long. In the second drawing on September 6, 1934, the Military Affairs Commission chose 281 names from anti-Japanese campaigns in Northern China and 128 names from the First Battle of Shanghai of 1932. With the third drawing, 525 names were chosen from various anti-bandit campaigns. Another 427 names were added later. Although there were over 7,000 deaths recorded thus far, only a small fraction of bodies could be recovered due to the fact that anti-bandit campaigns were still ongoing. When the Fourth Army submitted another 312 casualties from the Northern Expedition and 187 from the anti-bandit campaign in October 1935, the Preparation Committee only selected eight and six from two respective groups.²⁸³

However, the remains recovery processes appeared to be more strenuous than what the Preparation Committee had planned. Investigators were sent to 284 burial sites in 17 provinces to find Northern Expedition fallen officers and soldiers. They ended up finding 414 coffins. In addition, the investigation team uncovered 291 coffins from anti-Japanese campaigns in northern China, yet they could only transport 188 coffins to Nanjing. The team also shipped 261 coffins of Nationalist’s army casualties during the First Battle of Shanghai of 1932 to Nanjing. In total,

²⁸⁰ Besides gangs of outlaws, “bandits” (匪) could refer to regional armies, Communist forces, and other anti-Nanjing government forces.

²⁸¹ Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui. *Guomin gemingjun zhenwang jiangshi gongmu luocheng dianli jiniankan: timinglu* 國民革命軍陣亡將士公墓落成典禮紀念刊: 題名錄 (Commemorative Print on the Completion Ceremony of the Public Cemetery for the National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers: Records of Names). (Nanjing: Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui, 1935), the first page after the front cover.

²⁸² “Ministry of Defense to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including various regulations for constructing shrines and burying the war dead,” October 28, 1953, AH 020-010199-0140.

²⁸³ “Zongwu baogao 總務報告,” in *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui*, 3-5 (pages 76-78 counting from the front cover).

only 863 coffins were interred at the Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers.²⁸⁴

Diverse Commemoration Scene in Beiping

When the center of power shifted to Nanjing, Beiping maintained its own version of war commemoration. The Qing Manifest Loyal Shrine's imperial patrons were no longer in any position to prevent the Shrine from being converted for secular uses. The Republican Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was established at the Temple of Agriculture, where various commercial and cultural activities took place. Commemorative efforts for the March 18, 1926 Massacre, when Beiyang military police clashed with anti-imperialist protestors in Tiananmen, demonstrated that the northern capital continued to play an important role in shaping modern China's ways of remembrance.

In the 1930s, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine, located on the Zhangyi Gate 彰儀門 Street, was gradually converted to meet the secular needs. In 1932, the shrine compound, except for the back hall where ritual goods were stored, was utilized as classrooms and dormitories for Huigong 惠工 School, which was originally hosted at the Tieshan Temple 鐵山寺.²⁸⁵ A Zhixing 知行 Middle School moved into the Manifest Loyalty Shrine compound. The Beiping Temples and Shrines Management Office (*Beiping tan miao guanli suo* 北平壇廟管理所), in charge of the Manifest Loyalty Shrine, negotiated lease contracts between these schools and the Social Affairs Bureau. The Office and the Bureau agreed that the sacrificial goods would be catalogued and safely stored, the gate plaque would be kept in its original place, the existing structures would not be altered (*biangeng* 變更), and the plants in the compound would be catalogued and maintained. In addition, any new construction had to be submitted via the Social Affairs Bureau and approved by the Temples and Shrines Management Office. As long as these conditions were met, organizations could rent parts of the Shrine for long-term use.²⁸⁶

In June 1932, two representatives from the Social Affairs Bureau reported that all the sacrificial goods had been properly inventoried, stored, and sealed in the backroom. According to the report, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine had five large gates, two small gates, nine rooms in the main hall, five rooms each in the west, east, and back halls, three rooms each in the smaller east, west, back east, and back west halls, three storage rooms for sacrificial goods, three rooms for night guards, three rooms for livestock, two open sheds, and one screen wall (*zhaobi* 照壁). The list of sacrificial goods included iron trays, cloths, incense pots, candles, tables, caskets, boxes, Buddhist scrolls (*Fotu* 佛圖), etc. Nothing was exceptionally high-valued. In addition, 51 elm,

²⁸⁴ “Zongwu baogao 總務報告,” in *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubei weiyuanhui*, 5-8 (pages 80-83 counting from the front cover).

²⁸⁵ “Beiping Temples and Shrines Management Office to Ministry of the Interior,” May 16, 1932, BMA J057-001-00262, 5-9.

²⁸⁶ “Regulations for Leasing Beiping Temples and Shrines to Offices and Schools” (*Ge jiguan xuexiao zujie Beiping tanmiao banfa* 各機關學校租借北平壇廟辦法), July 27, 1932, BMA J002-008-01397, 57-59.

locust, pine, mulberry, and ailanthus trees were recorded to prevent loss. There was no mentioning of spirit tablets of Qing soldiers.²⁸⁷ They might have been thrown away when the Empire fell. Without the spirit tablets, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine was just an ordinary temple.

The Manifest Loyalty Shrine was immediately transformed despite the agreement between the Temples and Shrines Management Office and the Social Affairs Bureau. In August 1932, the president of Huigong School requested to open more windows in the main hall and cut down some trees for more sunlight. In early 1933, Zhixing Middle School president wanted to erect proper barriers between female and male students' dormitories, install glass windows for classrooms, and use spirit altars (*shentai* 神台) as podiums in the converted lecture halls. The school president also asked for permission to install modern amenities, such as washrooms, telephones, electric lamps, fans, ceilings, and wallpapers.²⁸⁸ The Temples and Shrines Management Office disapproved these requests, citing both the lease agreement and Article 4 of the "Regulations for Leasing Beiping Temples and Shrines to Offices and Schools" (*Ge jiguan xuexiao zujie Beiping tanmiao banfa* 各機關學校租借北平壇廟辦法). The schools had to "absolutely preserve the structures in their original condition without any change or alteration."²⁸⁹ Although the paper trail ended here, it seemed these changes would eventually take place.

In addition, a theft took place in 1932. After Shibo 石鉢, a monk that had been in charge of the temple, died, his successor, Huiming 惠明, took over. According to the police investigation, Huiming stole various valuables, such as iron trays and cloths, from the shrine and ran away. He also left the shrine in disarray. The name plaque fell off the main gate. After this fiasco, the shrine was put under management of the Police Bureau.²⁹⁰ In 1940, the Beiping Municipal Government noted that thirty rooms of the Manifest Loyalty Shrine were empty and should be utilized in some way.²⁹¹ In 1948, a private middle school rented the Manifest Loyalty Shrine to be a dormitory.

The Qing Manifest Loyalty Shrine was not converted into the Republican Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Instead, the Nationalist government continued to use the main hall of the Temple of Agriculture as the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine for over a decade. According to the announcements in the *Government Gazette* (*Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公報), public sacrifice for the war dead was

²⁸⁷ "Beiping Temples and Shrines Management Office to Beiping Municipality," 1932, BMA J002-008-01397, 32-36.

²⁸⁸ "Zhixing Middle School to Beiping Temples and Shrines Management Office," 1932, BMA J002-008-01397, 82-87.

²⁸⁹ "Beiping Temples and Shrines Management Office to Zhixing middle school," 1932. BMA J002-008-01397, 56-57; BMA J002-008-01397, 85-86, "Beiping Municipal Government to Zhixing middle school," 1932, BMA J002-008-01397. (絕對保持原狀不得變動或改造)

²⁹⁰ "Beiping Police Bureau's reports," March 27, 1932 and April 5, 1932, BMA J181-021-12810, 3-29.

²⁹¹ "Municipal Office of Temples and Shrines Management to Beiping Municipal Government," 1940, BMA J057-001-00732.

held without fail every year at the Temple of Agriculture on October 10 from 1914 to 1927.²⁹² For instance, on October 8, 1921, the Ministry of the Interior announced that the ceremony would be held at the middle of the fourth watch (6 o'clock) and representatives had to gather in their ceremonial clothes during the fourth watch (5 o'clock).²⁹³

After Chiang Kai-shek established the capital of the Republic in Nanjing in 1928, Beijing's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine lost most of its shine and had to share its sacred space with businesses and offices. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Temple of Agriculture was a place with a lot of activities. Open or idle space in the temple was leased to individuals who used it raise deer, rabbits, bees, and chickens,²⁹⁴ and to plant medicinal herbs.²⁹⁵ People also rent the space for leisure gatherings,²⁹⁶ exercise,²⁹⁷ ball games,²⁹⁸ and garden parties.²⁹⁹ Businesses like tea stands

²⁹² See *Zhengfu gongbao* 873 (1914): 26, 1232 (1915): 37, 274 (1916): 35, 623 (1917): 17, 968 (1918): 11-12, 1321 (1919): 18, 1666 (1920): 7, 2019 (1921): 16, 2370 (1922): 16, 2719 (1923): 14, 3069 (1924): 9, 3419 (1925): 13, 3768 (1926): 3, and 4115 (1927): 17.

²⁹³ *Zhengfu gongbao* 2019 (1921): 16.

²⁹⁴ "Liu Youfu petitioned to use empty land of Qingcheng Temple inside Temple of Agriculture to raise deer, 1929, BMA J057-001-00085; "Sun Yunwu's and Zhang Juchen's petition to rent public land inside Temple of Agriculture to raise rabbits, bees, and chicken, contract included," February 1931-July 1932, BMA J057-001-00198.

²⁹⁵ "He Wencheng purchased firewood, straw, medicinal herbs, and vegetables from Temple of Heaven and Temple of Agriculture and petitioned to drive out herds of goats from College of Agricultural Studies; communication from Shrines and Temples Administration Office," 1931-1934, BMA J057-001-00204.

²⁹⁶ "Beiping Northern Citadel People's School (北平城北民眾學校) and Beiping Literature School (北平國文學校) petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to use the Temple of Agriculture for a fund-raising performance," July 1929, J057-001-00072; "Various tea houses petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine within the Temple of Agriculture for an acrobatic school and its performances," August-September 1929, J057-001-00105; "Beiping trade union (總工會), rickshaw pullers' union (人力車夫工會), women's public nursing home (女子民眾教養院) petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent the Temple of Agriculture for a performance," October 1929, J057-001-00120; "China's Business School (中國實業學校) petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent the Temple of Agriculture for a performance," July 1930, J057-001-00122; "Beiping Hongwen Elementary School petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent Temple of Agriculture for a performance," August 1930, J057-001-00133.

²⁹⁷ "Bureau of Social Affairs (社會局) petitioned to build a public sports stadium, including detailed plan from Bureau of Public Works," December 1933, BMA J017-001-00884. The stadium was built in 1934 and renovated in 1946. "Bureau of Public Works petitioned about renovating public sports stadium," March 1946, BMA J017-001-03068.

²⁹⁸ "Yanji 燕冀 Middle School petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent empty land of Temple of Agriculture for practicing soccer," October 1928, BMA J057-001-00042.

(*cha tan* 茶攤)³⁰⁰ and porridge factory (*zhou zhang* 粥廠)³⁰¹ also rented rooms in the Temple. The government also rented rooms to be used as temporary military barracks (*jundui zan zhu* 軍隊暫駐),³⁰² for school meetings,³⁰³ for political training (*xunlian* 訓練),³⁰⁴ and as an epidemic prevention office (*fangyi chu* 防疫處).³⁰⁵ The Beiping Municipal Archives also contained various contracts of individuals who rented parts of the Temple of Agriculture. All these activities took place next to the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine despite the fact that the Republican government wanted to create a sense of solemnity and awe. During the War of Resistance, the Japanese also used the temple for political purposes.

²⁹⁹ “Guangyi 廣益 School petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent Temple of Agriculture for garden party,” July 1930, BMA J057-001-00142.

³⁰⁰ “Huang Shunxing and Bai Delin petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent empty land of Temple of Heaven and Temple of Agriculture for setting up tea stand and soccer field,” March 1931, BMA J057-001-00183.

³⁰¹ “Temple of Agriculture’s Porridge Factory’s personnel and inventory reports,” 1948, BMA J002-006-00405.

³⁰² “Shrines and Temples Administration Office petitioned Ministry of the Interior (via Beiping Municipal Government) regarding accommodation issues of military troops stationed at Temple of Heaven and Temple of Agriculture,” July 1931, BMA J057-001-00214.

³⁰³ “Yicheng School for the Masses (毅成平民學校) petitioned Shrines and Temples Administration Office to rent Temple of Agriculture for fund-raising event,” 1930, BMA J057-001-00165.

³⁰⁴ “Beiping Special Municipal Government approved Central Training Office’s petition to rent Temple of Agriculture’s Taisui Hall (太歲殿),” 1939, BMA J057-001-00696.

³⁰⁵ “Beiping Special Municipal Government’s Public Office: Association of North China Central Epidemic Prevention Department (同仁會華北中央防疫處) petitioned to exchange the use of Temple of Agriculture’s Space with New Citizen Central Training Office (新民會中央訓練所),” May 1, 1940, BMA J057-001-00764.



Fig. 3-5: New Citizen Committee's Training and Practicing Farming (Temple of Agriculture) (Xinminhui zhongyang xunlian suozai Xiannongtan zhonglie ci qian meiri juxing zhaogui, xai nongyuan shixi gongzuo 新民會中央訓練所在先農壇忠烈祠前每日舉行朝會、在農園實習工作). *Huawen daben meiri* 華文大阪每日 (Osaka Daily in Chinese) 3.8 (1939): 1.

While Nanjing was the capital of the Nationalist government, Beijing with its proximity to the northern borders and hotbed of anti-imperial activities possessed a level of legitimacy in commemorating events related to China's international status. In February 1929, the Beiping Special Municipal Government (*Beiping tebie shizhengfu* 北平特別市政府) planned to build a commemorative tower and a shrine at the back entrance of the Summer Palace (*Yiheyuan* 頤和園) to memorialize victims of the March 18, 1926 Massacre.³⁰⁶ The March 18 (3.18, or 三一八) Massacre took place at Tiananmen, where Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1888-1927) called for an end to the unequal treaties between China and the foreign powers. The Beiyang government was unwilling to support the protesters. The demonstration led to about 50 deaths.

In the aftermath, the Nationalist Government's Ministry of the Interior awarded some families of these martyrs the second-rate annual gratuities for Party members (400 *yuan*).³⁰⁷ The Beiping Municipal Government also enshrined 42 martyrs. All except for three were in their teens and

³⁰⁶ "Beiping Special Municipal Government to Military Construction Committee (*Bingong weiyuanhui* 兵工委員會), April 10, 1929, BMA J017-001-00354.

³⁰⁷ "Announcements (*tongzhi* 通知)," *Hebei sheng zhengfu gongbao* 河南省政府公報 (Hebei Provincial Government Gazette) 500 (1929): 27-28.

twenties. Out of 42, 25 were students in Beiping. Seven were workers and artisans. Two were enshrined as “unnamed males” (*wuming nanzi* 無名男子). Two of the victims, Chen Guishen 陳桂深 (31 years old) and Lie Bing 列炳 (51 years old), were delegates of the Foreign Affairs Delegation (*wajiao daibiaotuan daibiao* 外交代表團代表). Chen and Lie were also the only two martyrs from Guangzhou.³⁰⁸ In May 1929, family members of these two martyrs wanted to bring the bodies back to their hometown for burial, and to establish memorial tablets with their names at their burial site in Beiping. The requests were approved and the Police Bureau issued transportation permits to the two families.³⁰⁹ When the Municipal Government tried to gather bodies of martyrs and bring them to the Summer Palace site, it ran into other issues. The Police Bureau had trouble finding family members of Wang Qingzhu 王慶竹, whose coffin was buried at Dongzhi Gate. In order to transport his body to the Summer Palace, the city needed approval from Wang’s relatives. The family was no longer at the address stated on the gratuity certificate.³¹⁰ The paper trail ended here.

Even though the Municipal Government could not gather all bodies of the massacre victims at the chosen site, it went ahead with the commemoration. A commemorative structure in the Summer Palace was completed in mid-1929.³¹¹ However, when the Summer Palace Management Office (*Yiheyuan shiwusuo* 頤和園事務所) conducted the final inspection, the structure was deemed subpar. The inspectors reported that it was indeed finished, yet the stone monument (*shi ta* 石塔) did not have the required inscription of “March 18 Martyrs’ Public Cemetery” (*San yi ba lieshi gongmu* 三一八烈士公墓). In fact, there was no sign or marker for visitors to know the site was a martyrs’ cemetery.³¹² The problem was quickly addressed for an additional fee. Annual March 18 commemoration events drew a large number of people as seen from a 1936 report. The commemoration was attended by a large group of people in civilian clothes (supposedly students according to the caption).³¹³

³⁰⁸ “Ministry of the Interior to Executive Yuan, including the March 18 Massacre Martyrs’ Name List,” June 1929, BMA J001-001-00031.

³⁰⁹ “Petition from Lai Dasheng 賴達生 to Beiping Special Municipal Government,” May 21, 1929, BMA J001-001-00031.

³¹⁰ “Police Bureau Chief Zhao Yikuan to Beiping Municipal Government,” August 15, 1929, BMA J001-001-00031.

³¹¹ “Executive Yuan to Beiping Special Municipal Government,” May 25, 1929, BMA J001-001-00031.

³¹² “Summer Palace Management Office to Beiping special Municipal Government,” June 2, 1929, BMA J001-001-00031.

³¹³ March 18 Massacre, Sun Yat-sen’s death on March 12, and International Women’s Day on March 8 were celebrated. “Sanyue jinian: Yuanmingyuan nei zhi sanyiba lieshi gongmu 三月紀念: 圓明園內之三一八烈士公墓” (Remembering March: March 18 Martyrs’ Public Cemetery), *Liang You* 良友 115 (1936): 3; “Beiping minzhong jinian sanyiba: Daibiao xiang lieshi gongmu zhi du jiwen 北平民眾紀念三一八: 代表向烈士公墓致讀祭文” (Beiping Masses Remembering March 18: Representatives Read Elegies in Front of Martyrs’ Graves), *Yongsheng* 永生 1.4 (1936): 4.



Fig. 3-6: Commemorative Activities in March. “Sanyue jinian 三月紀念,” *Liangyou* 良友 115 (1936): 4.

The Beiping Municipal Government paid particular attention to casualties from conflict with Japan in the early 1930s. It turned a former imperial garden in the southwest of the Forbidden City into Zhongshan Park (中山公園), where memorial services were held. The chosen site had been the ground for various temples, such as the Altar of Soil and Grain (*Shejitan* 社稷壇) where the Ming and Qing emperors offered sacrifices to the gods of agriculture. The place became a public park in 1914 and was renamed after Sun Yat-sen in 1928. The Park served as the site for public memorial services. On August 24, 1929, the Municipal Government organized a memorial service for fallen officers and soldiers. On June 18, 1931, the government organized a commemorative event for soldiers and civilians killed by the Japanese in Jinan, Shandong, in May.³¹⁴

Furthermore, having served as the capital for several dynasties, Beiping was teeming with temples and shrines that could potentially be converted into war commemoration venues. One of them was the Shrine for Rewarding Bravery (*Jingyong ci* 旌勇祠), dedicated to those who died

³¹⁴ “Beiping’s Nationalist Party Affairs Management Committee (*Dangwu zhengli weiyuanhui*) to Beiping Municipal Government,” June 1931, BMA J004-001-00404.

in the Burma campaign of 1768, including Mingrui 明瑞, a Manchu general.³¹⁵ In February 1933, the Northeastern People's Anti-Japanese and Saving-the-Nation Committee (*Dongbei minzhong kangzhan jiuguo hui* 東北民眾抗日救國會) petitioned the Beiping Shrines and Temples Administration Office (*Beiping tanmiao guanli suo* 北平壇廟管理所) to use the Shrine for Rewarding Bravery to commemorate soldiers that had been fighting in the Northeast since the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931.³¹⁶ The petition was forwarded to and approved by the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of the Interior also suggested that the Municipal Government use two lots of land in the western suburb of the city as burial grounds for these soldiers.³¹⁷ In addition, the Military Affairs Commission's Beiping office printed the *Commemoration of Fallen Officers and Soldiers in the Jiyi Region* (*Zhuidao Ji Re yidai zhanyi zhenwang jiangshi dahui jishi lu* 追悼冀熱一帶戰役陣亡將士大會記事錄) in 1934.³¹⁸ The ceremony for these soldiers was previously held at the Heavenly King Temple (*Tianwang miao* 天王廟) on September 4, 1933.

Guangzhou, Nanjing, and Beiping represented three symbolic systems of commemorating the war dead in the early Republican era. These three major centers of the Republican era honored different groups of martyrs. Guangzhou with its overseas and business connections aligned its martyrs with global ideals of liberty, youth, glory. Nanjing's cemetery for soldiers was nested within the 2,000-year old spiritual and political complex. In the southern capital, there are tombs of Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252), founder of the Eastern Wu state, and of the first Ming Emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398). While Nanjing asserted itself as the political center of the Republic, Beiping's commemorative scene was bottom-up. Beiping during the Republican era did not witness large-scale commemorative projects, yet there were multiple significant memorial services organized by social groups rather than political authorities.

Nationalist Party-State's Martyrdom

During the Nanjing Decade, debates took place among the highest branches of the Nationalist state over who were eligible to be enshrined as martyrs. Enshrinement was reserved for Party members in 1928. The Japanese invasion prompted the Nationalists to extend martyrdom to combatants in 1933. In 1936, the government ordered every county to build a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. While these regulations did not have much impact due to the imminent Japanese invasion, they illustrated the development of the Nationalist religiosity and set in motion the localization of government-mandated war commemoration.

³¹⁵ Naquin, *Peking*, 406, n67. Mingrui committed suicide.

³¹⁶ "Northeastern People's Anti-Japanese and Saving-the-Nation Committee to Beiping Shrines and Temples Administration Office," February 12, 1933, BMA J057-001-00255.

³¹⁷ "Ministry of the Interior to Beiping Special Municipal Government," March 12, 1933, BMA J057-001-00255.

³¹⁸ Li Qiang 李强 and Ren Zhen 任震, eds. *Kangzhan zhenwang jiangshi ziliao huibian* 抗戰陣亡將士資料彙編 (Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers during the War of Resistance) (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2012), vol. 12, 279-587.

The 1928 Revolutionary Memorial Measures

On October 8, 1928, the Central Executive Committee approved the general guidelines to compensate families of fallen Party members, provide for wounded and disabled Party members, and enter martyred Party members into the Revolutionary Memorial Shrine (*geming jinian ci* 革命紀念祠). The general guidelines aimed at creating an exclusive community of the dead based on Sun Yat-sen's ideology. Article 1 stipulated that "those that are killed while fighting for the Three Principles of the People and the National Revolution³¹⁹ shall be enshrined in the Revolutionary Memorial Shrine." According to Article 2, the Revolutionary Memorial Shrine would be established in the national capital for the purpose of "exclusively worshipping the party-state revolutionary predecessors" (*zhuan si dangguo xianlie* 專祀黨國先烈). Article 3 added that local authorities had to set up memorial shrines to those that "lost their lives while on special missions for the party-state" (*yin dangguo texiang shiming er yunming* 因黨國特項使命而殞命), and those that had significant contributions to both the party-state and particular localities."³²⁰ The Revolutionary Memorial Shrine did not materialize.

1929 Commemorative Activities in Jiangsu

Prior to promulgation of commemoration regulations, a few counties in Jiangsu Province already organized memorial services to Republican war dead. For example, Huishan 惠山 County converted its Manifest Loyalty Shrine to Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and organized a spring sacrifice to revolutionary predecessors (*xianlie*) on April 27, 1929,³²¹ which is the solar anniversary of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. Conveniently, the spring sacrifice date often falls in the early April. By holding the spring sacrifice at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine during the traditional Clear and Bright Festival, the county government aligned its modern calendar with traditional temporality. While some counties demonstrated more affinity for traditional verses and practices, the ceremony in Huishan County was "modern" and "political." Huishan authorities described the seven steps of the 1929 spring sacrifice: (1) Everyone assumes solemnity and (2) bows three times while facing the national flags, party flags, and Sun Yat-sen's portrait. (3) The master of ceremonies reads Sun Yat-sen's Last Testament.³²² (4) Flowers

³¹⁹ (為三民主義國民革命奮鬥而犧牲)

³²⁰ "Records of the Second Central Executive Committee's the Central Standing Committee's 173th Meeting," October 8, 1928, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148276. (其死關係某一地方之大局，於黨國有特殊勳績者)

³²¹ "Gongji Huishan zhonglie ci geming zhu xianlie ji 公祭惠山忠烈祠革命諸先烈記" (Record of Huishan's Public Sacrificial Ceremony at Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Wuxi xian zhengfu gongbao* 無錫縣政府公報 (Wuxi County Government Gazette) 2 (1929): 3-5.

³²² Sun Yat-sen reportedly composed a short note on March 11, 1925, a day before his death. This document became known as the "Premier's Last Testament" (*Zongli yishu* 總理遺囑). The text was printed on many official documents of the Nationalist government. It reads, "I have devoted myself to the cause of the National Revolution for forty years with only one goal, which is to search for China's freedom and equality. My experiences during these forty years have convinced me that we shall elevate our nation to be equal to others in the world. In order to attain

are presented. (5) Everyone following the master of ceremonies faces the martyrs' spirit tablets and bows three times. (6) Speeches are delivered. (7) The ceremony concludes.³²³ Sun Yat-sen became the meta-ancestor in the ceremony. Symbolically modern flower wreaths replaced actual food sacrifice and incense. Bowing replaced prostrating.

Political speeches became a staple. Huishan county magistrate and party chairman both delivered speeches at the public sacrifice in 1929.³²⁴ The county magistrate, surnamed Sun, described revolutionary predecessors in a rather mournful tone. Some “plotted to revolt,” yet their plans were divulged and they were punished. Other died in battle before their will could be realized. Nonetheless, their fearlessness when facing death “inspired respect and admiration.” As “in ancient times, benefactors of the people shall be worshipped,” offering sacrifices to Republican martyrs was a must. He maintained that in addition to being benefactors of the common people, these revolutionary predecessors “contributed to the party, contributed to the nation, and eliminated suffering for the whole race.”³²⁵ He rhetorically questioned, “as they created inexhaustible happiness, would they not deserve receiving sacrificial rites for a thousand years?”³²⁶ With this, the county magistrate elevated the Republican martyrs to a plane of eminence above that of the traditional deities. The National Government however did not seem to approve of such praises, and sought to standardize sacrificial ceremonies and elegies in 1933.

The 1933 Measures to Offer Sacrifices Martyrs

The National Government issued the “Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs” (*Lieshi fusi banfa* 烈士祠祀辦法) on September 13, 1933 and a revised version, “Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs and Construct Loyal Martyrs' Shrines and Memorial Steles,” in December 1933. Similar to the guidelines of 1928, the 1933 Measures established a selective community of the loyal dead, and signaled to the living that the afterlife was linked to this-worldly life. Those who died a worthy death would enjoy honors posthumously. The 1933 Measures ordered

this goal, we shall awaken our people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with nations that treat us with equality. The revolution has not yet succeeded. Let all fellow comrades follow my “Plan for National Reconstruction” (*Jianguo fanglüe* 建國方略), “Fundamentals of National Reconstruction” (*Jianguo dagang* 建國大綱), “Three Principles of the People,” and the “Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Nationalist Party” (*Diyici quanguo dabiao ren dahui xuanyan* 第一次全國代表大會宣言), and diligently strive to realize them. Recently, I promote to inaugurate the National Council (*Guomin huiyi* 國民會議) and abolish unequal treaties, which should be accomplished in the shortest time possible. These are my last words.” *Guangdong sheng zhengfu tekan* 廣東省政府特刊 (*Guangdong Provincial Special Issue*) 1 (1926): 1. According to Bergère, this political testament and his private will leaving a few personal possessions to his wife were drawn up by Wang Jingwei. Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 405-406.

³²³ “Record of Huishan’s Public Sacrificial Ceremony at Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine,” *Wuxi xian zhengfu gongbao* 2 (1929): 3-5.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ (況且有功於黨，有功於國，為全民族解除痛苦)

³²⁶ (造福於無窮的，怎不應該受千秋俎豆的呢)

counties and municipalities to enshrine “martyrs who sacrificed for the National Revolution” (*wei guomin geming er xisheng zhi lieshi* 為國民革命而犧牲之烈士).³²⁷ Unlike the 1928 guidelines, the 1933 Measures did not include “Three Principles of the People,” signaling a gradual departure from Sun’s ideology.

The Nationalist government’s discussion about establishing new standards of martyrdom began with a petition from a Mrs. Xiao *née* Wu from Changsha, Hunan, with regard to the enshrinement of her son, Xiao Hanjie 蕭漢傑, who died fighting the Japanese in northern China.³²⁸ Addressing the petition, the Ministry of the Interior reasoned that the category of “martyrs who sacrificed for the Nationalist Revolution” (Article 1) “definitely could include commissioned combatants” (*dangran keyi baokuo congjun zuozhan renyuan* 當然可以包括從軍作戰人員). However, the Ministry argued that in order to be enshrined, those commissioned combatants had to “render such extraordinary services to the party and the nation, and die in such a heroic manner that their examples can instruct later generations as well as deeply and substantially inspire respect and admiration.”³²⁹ Martyrs “could not be just ordinary fallen-in-battle or killed personnel” (*jue fei putong zhenwang huo sinan renyuan* 絕非普通陣亡或死難人員).³³⁰ Nevertheless, the Ministry of the Interior cautioned that its own reasoning was rather farfetched (*bifu* 比附) and the “exact standard for martyrdom” (*lieshi yiding zhi zhunze* 烈士一定之準則) was difficult to follow. In addition, the 1933 Measures were based on the 1928 general guidelines, which, according to the Ministry of the Interior, were “incomplete” (*gualou* 掛漏). The Ministry of the Interior requested that the Legislative Yuan draft new measures.

Wang Jingwei, President of the Executive Yuan, in response to the petition from the Ministry of the Interior, proposed to the National Government to preserve “dying for the National Revolution” as the requirement for martyrdom. Wang reasoned that “soldiers and officers that are killed in battle while fighting the Japanese” (*yin kang-Ri er zhenwang* 因抗日而陣亡) would fall under this category of “dying for the National Revolution,” and thus would be qualified as martyrs.³³¹ Wang did not agree to abolish the 1933 Measures to establish a new one. Instead, Wang proposed a few technical changes and clarified the measurements of the spirit tablets in order to accommodate a larger number of martyrs.³³² The motive behind Wang’s insistence to *reinterpret* what the “National Revolution” entailed is obvious. As I showed in Chapter 2, Wang had participated in anti-Qing activities during the early twentieth century and had gained a great deal of political stature as one of Sun Yat-sen’s protégés. Even though he was imprisoned during

³²⁷ Executive Yuan to National Government,” December 23, 1933, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148278.

³²⁸ The given name aptly means “a Han hero.”

³²⁹ Executive Yuan to National Government,” December 23, 1933, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148278. (須有殊勳於黨國，而其死事之壯烈，又足以昭垂後世，而深資景仰者)

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ *Ibid.* (所有因抗日而陣亡之將士，自不得為其非為國民革命而犧牲，應認為於「烈士祠祀辦法」第一條的規定相合)

³³² *Ibid.*

the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising and the Wuchang Uprising, he was hailed as one of the revolutionary elders in the Revolutionary Alliance, and later in the Nationalist Party. The cachet of the “National Revolution” impacted Wang Jingwei’s political position. Banishing “fighting for the National Revolution,” a Sun Yat-sen’s proclamation, in favor of “fighting against the Japanese invasion” would have allowed military leaders, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang’s archrival, to rise in prominence.

As a result of Wang’s insistence, the December 1933 “Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs and Construct Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and Memorial Steles” was implicitly extended to cover servicemembers that fought the Japanese. However, by keeping the martyrdom requirement of “dying for the National Revolution,” the 1933 Measures emphasized that the ideological prerequisite was more fundamental than the manner of death. Mercenaries and former warlord soldiers incorporated into the Nationalist military without professing devotion to the National Revolution and the Nationalist ideologies would be therefore disqualified even if they were killed in action.

The 1933 “Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs and Construct Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and Memorial Steles,” sought to integrate communities into one that shared the same political interest. They allowed families, friends, and neighbors of the dead to initiate processes that would lead to the granting of the status of martyrdom. The measures also set up a hierarchy of recognition for heroic deeds, awarding martyrs with various levels of national and local commemoration. Furthermore, the measures aimed at creating a network of commemoration. Apart from dedicated shrines, local authorities were ordered to “create ancillary shrines joined to the martyr’s shrines at places where their deeds had gained prominence, where their martyrdom had taken place, or where that they had considered as their places of origin” (Article 1). A prominent martyr like Lin Juemin of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising (see Chapter 2) could be commemorated in his native place in Fujian and in Guangzhou where he was martyred. The measures also required that “martyrs’ biographies be submitted to the Ministry of the Interior for approval and only thereafter can their spirit tablets be placed in the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine.”³³³ In order to ensure the enshrined martyrs were those that died for the National Revolution, the Ministry of the Interior demanded to review all the biographies. Nevertheless, the bottom-up process of martyr commemoration allowed local authorities to enshrine other military figures that had fought in pre-Republican wars. While the central government aimed to create a nationwide community of political interest, local authorities chose to prioritize their smaller communities of belonging. Making an effort in commemorating the loyal dead was a way for the Nationalist government to maintain legitimacy. By making every community, including those far away from the actual battlefield, to experience death through publicly commemorating their deceased members, the Chinese government made war a shared and ritualized tragedy of the whole nation.

The reason for this lean toward decentralization in commemorating the war dead is that the early 1930s witnessed the increase in the scale of conflict on multiple fronts with high casualties and serious threats to the Nanjing government’s legitimacy. Between 1930 and 1934, Chiang Kai-shek launched five large-scale campaigns against the Communist base in Jiangxi. Two of these “encirclement and suppression” campaigns were aimed at the second largest communist stronghold in the Hubei-Hunan-Anhui region and resulted in great losses. The third one in April

³³³ Ibid.

1932 forced the Communists to march west into Sichuan. The two other suppression campaigns against Soviet Jiangxi caused thousands of casualties on both sides. In the north, following the Mukden Incident in September 1931, Japan's Kwangtung Army invaded Manchuria and established the puppet state of Manchukuo. As the Japanese generals commanded tens of thousands additional troops from Korea, the Nationalist army and Zhang Xueliang's force were unable to forestall the total occupation of Manchuria and retreated to the south of the Great Wall. In January 1933, Japanese troops marched out of Manchuria and pushed further toward Beijing and Tianjin.³³⁴

The First Battle of Shanghai (*Song-Hu kang-Ri* 淞滬抗日), a month-long fight from January 28 to March 3, 1932, was the event that propelled the Nationalists to regulate commemoration of its war dead. Even though war was still localized in the early 1930s, the clash with the Japanese troops – foreign (unlike the Communists and warlords) and powerful – on the Yangzi was extremely close to the Nationalist center of power that it led to the urgent need to commemorate the war dead. Wang Jingwei proposed to use the Battle of Shanghai as an example of how names should be carved on spirit tablets (Article 4 of the 1933 “Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs”).

The 1936 Commemoration Measures

Unfortunately for Wang Jingwei, Chiang Kai-shek took over the Executive Yuan. In May 1936, the Military Affairs Commission under Chiang drafted three sets of measures to specially honor the fallen and wounded members of the National Revolutionary Army. The “Measures to Construct County Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” (*Ge xian sheli zhonglie ci banfa* 各縣設立忠烈祠辦法), the “Measures to Locally Construct Public Cemeteries for Fallen Officers and Soldiers” (*Ge di jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu banfa* 各地建築陣亡將士公墓辦法), and the “Measures to Organize Public Banquets for the Wounded and the Exceptionally Meritorious” (*Shoushang ji you teshu xunlao zhe zhi gongyan banfa* 受傷及有特殊勳勞者之公宴辦法) were submitted to the National Government by way of the Executive Yuan.³³⁵ The National Government approved the new measures on May 1, 1936.³³⁶

The Military Affairs Commission under Chiang proposed these 1936 Measures, maintaining that the nation had to rally its people to its cause. The Commission suggested the National Government promulgate new compensation regulations that the Party's ideology could “satisfy the people's hearts” (*yanyu renxin* 饜餮人心) and the “sacrificing spirits” (*xisheng jingshen* 犧

³³⁴ Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 98-99.

³³⁵ “Draft measures included in communication from President of the Executive Yuan, Chiang Kai-shek, to National Government,” April 30, 1936, AH 001-012049-0018, file 50050101.

³³⁶ “National Government's comment on communication from President of the Executive Yuan, Chiang Kai-shek, May 1, 1936, AH 001-012049-0018, file 50050101.

牲精神) of officers and soldiers could “achieve great feats.”³³⁷ The Military Affairs Commission added that because “the country has yet to be at peace, we shall seek to rejuvenate the nation (*minzu*) and particularly count on the hearts of all that dare to die to follow the revolutionary predecessors and to rise up. That will be enough to effectively defend us from foreign invasion.”³³⁸

This 1936 proposal overturned Wang Jingwei’s objection three years earlier to the removal of the single standard for martyr enshrinement – “dying for the National Revolution.” After Wang was forced to resign from the Nationalist government and had to leave Nanjing for medical treatment, Chiang Kai-shek replaced him as the President of the Executive Yuan in December 1935. Even though he was a founding member of the Nationalist Party, Chiang’s credentials as a revolutionary elder were far less compared to Wang’s. Chiang stayed in Japan from 1907 to 1911, the critical revolutionary period leading to the fall of the Qing government, and returned to China only after the Wuchang Uprising. As his power rested on the Huangpu Military Academy cadets, his National Revolutionary Army, and his successful Northern Expedition, Chiang wanted to downplay the prestige of “revolutionary predecessors” and elevate that of “servicemembers.” As Chiang headed the Military Affairs Commission during the 1930s and 1940s, the proposal to issue new compensation regulations might as well have been Chiang’s idea. As Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, was an elder statesman with no real power, Chiang’s proposal was approved on the following day after being submitted.

The 1936 “Measures to Locally Construct County Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” broadened the categories of martyrdom to include Nationalist combatants, who fought in conflicts after the 1911 Revolution. Accordingly, the community of loyal dead was *legally* – not just *interpretively* as with the 1933 Measures – extended to include “officers and soldiers who died in defense campaigns against foreign aggression (*diyü waiwü* 抵禦外侮), the Northern Expedition, and anti-Communist campaigns (*jiao chi* 剿赤)” (Article 4). By the mid-1930s, the Northern Expedition gained more historical significance. July 9, the anniversary of the oath-taking ceremony, became the date for the annual sacrifice (Article 8). These changes not only boosted Chiang’s authority, but also signaled a new era for Chiang’s Nationalist state.

In 1936, the National Government was at its peak. The Nationalist state urged the construction of shrines at the county level after it had made significant advances in consolidating power, yet was facing serious threats. By 1936, with the German weapons, machine tools, and advisers, the Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek were able to centralize “the power and authority greater than any time since the Taiping Uprising.”³³⁹ Nanjing was ably coping with the prolonged civil war, economic depression, and Japanese threats. Chiang was also able to quench political unrest among the Nationalist Party’s political circles in Guangxi and Guangdong. Hu Hanmin, a political opponent of the Nanjing government, died in May 1936, stimulating an

³³⁷ “Military Affairs Commission’s Communication no. 6629,” summarized in communication from President of the Executive Yuan, Chiang Kai-shek, to National Government,” April 30, 1936, AH 001-012049-0018, file 50050101.

³³⁸ (方今國難未紓，欲圖民族復興，尤賴人人敢死之心，繼諸烈士而興起，方足以收禦侮救亡之效)

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

upswing in anti-Japanese and anti-Nanjing sentiments. The Guangdong and Guangxi political leaders blamed Chiang Kai-shek for being soft with the Japanese and organized the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Army.³⁴⁰ Mao Zedong was also receiving significant aid from the Soviet Union, forcing Chiang to reconsider making an alliance with the Communists. As Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, dominant as it was in its day, confronted its various opponents, the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine project was implemented to test the loyalty of the provinces and to prove Nanjing's authority. Nanjing sought the popular sovereignty by proving that it took care of the afterlife of the citizenry.

According to the 1936 "Measures to Locally Construct County Loyal Martyrs' Shrines," counties and other sub-provincial administrative divisions would build the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines next to the local Temple of Literatures (*wenmiao* 文廟) or the Village's Sage Shrines (*xiangxian ci* 鄉賢祠). The Loyal Martyrs' Shrines should be converted from the Manifest Loyalty Shrines, the Loyalty and Righteousness Shrines (*zhongyi ci* 忠義祠), or other shrines of similar nature. If none were available, counties had to construct new ones. These guidelines indicate how the state imagined its war dead as the epitome of timeless loyalty and virtue, and in affiliation with the written civilization and ancient sagehood. If the county did not have any war dead, it would make offerings at the Guan-Yue Temple or a similar temple dedicated to ancient well-known generals. The 1936 Measures also required local authorities to negotiate and seek approval from the people that were in charge of the temples or local Buddhism societies.³⁴¹ Undoubtedly, many county governments encountered opposition from local communities and individuals over the appropriation of their worshipping spaces.³⁴² The Nationalist dead asserted their presence in the traditional deathscape. The Nationalist religiosity sought to dominate the world of beliefs.

The dead became neither deities nor subjects of worship. Upon obtaining the status of martyrdom, the spirits of the dead, inhabiting spirit tablets, become recipients of sacrificial offerings. The use of wooden spirit tablets in making offerings to the dead had been practiced since the Han dynasty if not earlier. Spirit tablets are tied to the Confucian spirit cult, and popularized and standardized by the Song Neo-Confucian, Zhu Xi. In his 14th-century *Family Rituals (Jia li)*, spirit tablets of ancestors occupied a prominent place in the house and received regular reverences, food offerings, and reports of important events.³⁴³ According to the *Family Rituals*, spirit tablets, inherited manuscripts, genealogies, and sacrificial utensils are the first

³⁴⁰ Diana Lary, *Region and Nation: The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 197.

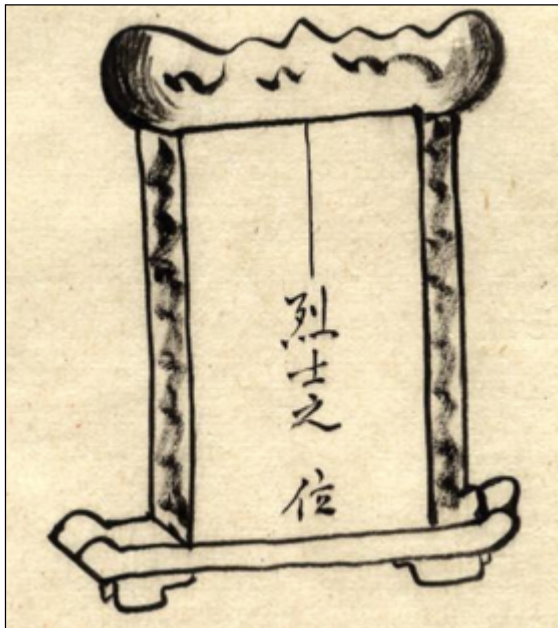
³⁴¹ (各縣設立忠烈祠如須就公共廟宇改建時，應事先商得該廟宇負責人或當地佛教會之同意)

³⁴² For example, in 1943, Daoism Society relentlessly opposed the Chongqing Municipal Government's plan to convert the city's Guan-Yue Shrine. *Chongqing shi dang'anguan* (CMA), 53-20-409.

³⁴³ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, 11.

items that have to be protected during the case of flood, fire, robbery, or banditry.³⁴⁴ Spirit tablets are used in contemporary China.³⁴⁵

The National Government regulated the spirit tablets in great detail: The tablet bears the martyr's name in the middle in a vertical line, framed by decorative patterns. A band is added to the top. The bottom has a base that shapes like the character 几 (that is, with extending legs for stability). The tablet follows the nationally standardized measurements. The main frame is about 2 *chi* 尺 (2 feet) tall and 5 *cun* 寸 (6.3 inches) wide. Each of the side frames is 1 *cun* 5 *fen* 分 (2 inches) wide each. The top band is 2 *cun* (2.5 inches) high. The base is slightly less than 3 *cun* (4 inches) high.³⁴⁶ The tablet has to be uniform with the blue (*lan* 藍) bottom and golden (*jin* 金) characters that say “Martyr So-and-So's Tablet (*wei* 位).” Place and date of death may also be added. If there are a large number of the dead, then the tablet omits the individual names of the martyrs, which are substituted with the name of the incident, such as “the spirit tablet of the fallen officers and soldiers of the Battle of Shanghai against the Japanese.”³⁴⁷



³⁴⁴ Ibid., 20.

³⁴⁵ For more on the use of spirit tablets in contemporary China, see H.G. Nelson, “Ancestor, Worship and Burial Practices,” in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed. Arthur P. Wolf, 263-273 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); William Parish and Martin King Whyte, *Village and Family in Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 263-264; Emily Ahern, *Cult of Dead in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973).

³⁴⁶ One *chi* = 13 inches. One *cun* = 1.3 inch. One *fen* = 0.13 inch.

³⁴⁷ National Government to Executive Yuan,” August 17, 1933, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148277.

Fig. 3-7: Template for Spirit Tablets. From National Government to Executive Yuan: “Decree to approve the Martyr’s Shrine and Construction of Commemorative Tablet Regulations,” August 17, 1933, Academia Historica (AH) 001-012100-0006, file 50148277.

In addition to the use of spirit tablets – the medium for ancestor worship, the Nationalist government infused new meanings into traditional dates of worshipping the dead. In 1933, the National Government set the spring and autumn sacrifices on July 9 and on October 21 respectively. Spring and autumn sacrifices are traditionally organized on the Clear and Bright festival (*qingming jie* 清明節), on the first day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar, and the Ghost festival (*zhongyuan jie* 中元節 or *yulan jie* 盂蘭節), on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. During these occasions, offerings were made to the dead at gravesites and household altars. Because these dates are not fixed in the solar calendar, the government could designate anniversaries of important events in the history of the republic to be the dates of the spring and autumn sacrifices. After the Executive Yuan mentioned that these two dates were too close to each other, and that the costs associated with biannual commemoration would be too strenuous, in 1936 the National Government decided on the annual commemoration and set the date to be July 9, the anniversary of the Northern Expedition’s oath-taking ceremony in 1926.³⁴⁸

The nationwide measures in 1936 to establish county shrines had only regional impacts. The Nationalist influence was limited to its core provinces in the southeast. Given their proximity to the capital government, Jiangsu’s counties were rather responsive to the regulations on organizing commemorative and condolence activities. I found reports from 55 counties (out of 62 counties in Jiangsu in 1936), which documented local efforts to commemorate the war dead.³⁴⁹ These reports were filed between July and November 1936, indicating that almost 90 percent of counties responded to the government’s new policy concerning the war dead. Fourteen counties (or 22 percent) had established Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines, or designated spaces within existing religious structures as altars to Republican martyrs. 46 counties (or 74 percent) reported that they had organized at least one of three required events (public sacrifice, public banquet, and consolation visit). The “Measures to Locally Construct Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” were publicized on May 22, 1936, affording counties a month and a half to prepare. Understandably, only four counties (or six percent) had organized all three events.

The nine counties that failed to hold any event provided different reasons. Jiading 嘉定, Wujiang 吳江, Piaoshui 漂水, Feng 豐, Baoshan 寶山, Shanghai 上海, and Haimen 海門 county governments reported that they had neither wounded nor fallen military men for whom to organize activities. Jiangdu 江都 County petitioned that it was so swamped with bureaucratic duties during this meeting section that it could not discuss organizing any commemoration and consolation activities. Chongming 崇明 County reported that it had not gathered sufficient information about battle achievements of local martyrs, and thus it did not organize any activities.

³⁴⁸ “Draft measures included in communication from President of the Executive Yuan, Chiang Kai-shek, to National Government,” April 30, 1936, AH 001-012049-0018, file 50050101.

³⁴⁹ I compile information from JPA 1001-yi-75.

The following three counties reported to having organized all three events. Jiangpu 江浦 County organized a public sacrifice, public banquet, and consolation visit for its four military casualties and four wounded servicemembers. Dongtai 東台 County held a solemn (*longzhong* 隆重) public sacrifice, conducted a public banquet, ordered district heads to visit families of fallen combatants within their jurisdiction. Jiangyin 江陰 County was exceptional in providing evidence of its activities. As soon as receiving the measures in May, the county formed a shrine conversion committee consisting of Party members and local gentry. With the money raised domestically and from overseas, the committee had completed the shrine by the end of June 1936. Jiangyin County enshrined martyrs of anti-Japanese campaigns, the Northern Expedition, and anti-communist campaigns on the day of the public sacrifice. The county magistrate personally led the public banquet and brought large boxes of cakes and sweets to the relatives of the martyrs. The county also submitted photographic prints of its public sacrifice, in men, women, and children in various attires from traditional long robes to military uniforms and western suits gathering in front of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. According to the caption, bereaved family members and government representatives were present.

The report from Jinshan 金山 County was similarly extensive. It contained full biographies of four local martyrs prepared by a named biographer. Stone tablets and towers had been erected in their honor and installed at the First Public Park in order to “perpetually memorialize” (*yongliu jinian* 永留紀念) the fallen. The report also noted that one of the martyrs, Xu Shangzhi 徐上致 (1889- 1921), had been killed by bullets in Gaozhou 高州 and buried in Guangzhou Nine Hills Martyrs' Graves (*Guangzhou Jiugang lieshi mu* 廣州九崗烈士墓) in 1921. Since his body had not been transported back to Jiangsu, people in Jinshan County buried his clothes in a grave on the side of Happy Garden (Leyuan 樂園) Road. The County Government organized a public sacrifice attended by representatives of all social and political groups on July 9 at the First Public Park. As families of these martyrs either had moved out of the county or had moved to unknown addresses, the local authorities omitted condolence visits from the commemoration program.

Most counties organized only one required event. Wujin 武進 County informed that it was in process of finding suitable sites for the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and the public cemetery. Occupied with such matter, it had difficulty in organizing proper public banquets and consolation visits. The county, however, organized a solemn public sacrifice at the Zhongshan Memorial Hall on July 9. Yangzhong 揚中 County reported that it did not organize a public sacrifice because it did not have any war casualty. However, it did hold a public banquet for two wounded district heads (*quzhang* 區長). County governments of Taicang 太倉, Rugao 如皋, Siyang 泗陽, and Jurong 句容 made similar reports that representatives from the government, military, academia, and commerce had gathered at the local Loyal Martyrs' Shrines for the public sacrifice on July 9. Nantong 南通 County only organized a public sacrifice because it was still trying to gather information about its fallen, wounded, and disabled soldiers. Even though Yancheng 鹽城 County did not have any fallen or wounded soldiers, the party branch organized a public sacrifice according to rituals (*gongji ru yi* 公祭如儀) and with about 200 attendants.

Some counties did not organize any event, yet they had been collecting extensive biographical information of local war heroes and in the process of preparing for more activities in the following year. Yixing 宜興 County reported that it had gathered information about the military achievements (*zhanji* 戰績) of three killed and five wounded servicemembers. County

representatives also visited and consoled families of these men. The county informed the Jiangsu Provincial Government that it would complete its Martyrs' Shrine (*lieshi ci* 烈士祠) and organized a public memorial service and banquet by the next annual meeting.³⁵⁰ Gaochun 高淳 County reported that it had paid homage to its four fallen officers and soldiers, and had paid a visit to families of two wounded soldiers on July 9. Qigong 啓東 County ordered representatives to pay visit to two local wounded and fallen officers. One was a company commander (*lianzhang* 連長) of the 88th Division who was wounded in the First Shanghai War of 1932. The other was the head of the intelligence unit (*tewu zhang* 特務長) of the First Army Division who died from illness caused by overwork (*jilao binggu* 積勞病故) while fighting the Communist forces in Sichuan.

Several counties offered exhaustive explanations and excuses for their lack of compliance to the regulations, and demonstrated their effort, albeit unsuccessful, to comply with the central government's measures. Fuming 阜甯 County reported that because its territory was rather vast and some parts were remote, it could not survey the whole area in such a short time. Therefore, instead of directly carrying out commemoration and consolation activities, the county ordered district authorities to gather information and hold memorial services locally. Donghai 東海 County reported that it had quite a few wounded and fallen servicemembers that had yet to be fully documented. The county could not organize any event, but the magistrate had ordered districts to gather information and had raised funds to compensate the fallen and the wounded ones. The magistrate noted that although the county's population suffered from natural disasters and banditry, he could not "give up at the slightest obstacle" (*bugan yinye feishi* 不敢因噎廢食) and would continue to deliberate fundraising and renovation measures with the district heads. Tongshan 銅山 County complained that the items required of local government were rather plenty (*anlie banfa xiangmu shenduo* 案列辦法項目甚多), including building a shrine, building a fallen soldiers' public cemetery, and paying consolation visits to relatives. All these activities required the county to gather identities of the war dead and to conduct "detailed and accurate survey" (*xiangque diaocha* 詳確調查) of their biographical information and military achievements (*nianji zhanji* 年籍戰績). With such a short notice from the central government, the Tongshan County Government organized a public sacrifice and sent consolation presents to the already documented fallen, wounded, and disabled servicemembers of the Fourth Army. In addition, the county celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Northern Expedition with a grand rally on July 9. County government representatives also held a public sacrifice at the cemetery for fallen officers and soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army's First Division with flower wreaths and a eulogy.

At commemorative events, the local authorities offered sacrifices to and read elegies in front of spirit tablets of the dead. Elegies, written in rhythmic prose, contained praises for the virtues of the dead and summons of the spirits to come enjoy the sacrifices – a 1,000-year-old practice originating from southern China's shamanism. Such elegies however did not prominently feature elements of militarism and patriotism. For example, the requiem read at the July 9, 1936 public

³⁵⁰ Even though the use of "Loyal Martyrs' Shrine" was consistent in government documents, Yixing County used "Martyrs' Shrine" instead. This indicates that the county might not have paid attention to the distinction between shrines exclusively built for Republican martyrs and shrines dedicated to pre-Republican martyrs.

sacrifice in Xuzhou County, Jiangsu, praised the “chivalrous nature and dashing appearance” (*xiagu yingzi* 俠骨英姿) of the officers and soldiers who had joined the Nationalist Party and had fought courageously since the Northern Expedition. The elegy invoked traditional images of soldiers: “fighting in border battlefields” (*jiangchang zhuanzhan* 疆場轉載), “pouring all of their energy in battle cries” (*lijie shengsi* 力竭聲嘶), “quelling the Hu barbarians of the northern and western regions” (*huchen shijing* 胡塵始靖), and “being wrapped in horse’s trappings” (*ma ge li shi* 馬革裹尸) after death. The elegy also focused on contemporary values: “Hail officers and soldiers! You have contributed to the Party and the nation (*gong zai dangguo* 功在黨國) and died for the righteous cause (*quyi chengren* 取義成仁). You will shine on for eternity. You are the flowers of the revolution (*geming zhi hua* 革命之花) and the blood of ancient worthies (*xianmin zhi xue* 先民之血).”³⁵¹ Combining the traditional and revolutionary imageries to praise the dead, the elegy called the spirits to manifest themselves: “[We establish] bronze statues and luxurious steles to record your virtues. [We use] the Great Summon in this rhymed prose. Oh, cloud-souls, please come back.” Here the elegy referred to the *Great Summons* (*Da zhao* 大招) in the *Songs of Chu* (*Chu ci* 楚辭), which was used to guide the souls. Along this line, the elegy depicted the dangerous landscapes that the soul has to travel:

The bronze zither has begun to play. The fine wine has been poured. The sound of the songs travels to the land of Chu. The beauties of the land of Yue reluctantly leave. The howls of apes and cries of cranes are overwhelmed with sorrow. The surging waves of the Eastern Sea and the luxuriant magnificence of the Dragon Mountain manifest the soaring vital energy and the eternal bravery.³⁵²

The elegy concluded with expressions of modesty and the appellation of the spirits: “We feel the responsibility of the survivors. We share the remorse. We wipe away our tears and compose this elegy to expose our ignorance. Alas! Alas! Please enjoy the sacrifices.”³⁵³

Jinshan county magistrate delivered an elegy to representatives of all social, political, and economic categories (*dang zheng xue jun jing nong gong shang gejie* 黨政學軍警農工商各界) on July 9, 1936. He presented offerings of “yellow sandalwood, white cured meat, crimson litchi, and green bananas” before the spirit tablets (*lingqian* 靈前) of the soldiers who were born in the county and died in 1936.³⁵⁴ In funeral rites prescribed in Zhu Xi’s *Family Rituals*, after burial and the spirit tablets are completed, the souls are asked to dwell in the spirit tablets and called

³⁵¹ “District 9 to Jiangsu Province,” July 13, 1936, JPA 1001-yi-75.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.* (粵維將士，俠骨英姿，贊襄吾黨，北伐誓師，疆場轉載，力竭聲嘶，胡塵始靖，馬革歸尸，倚歟將士，功在黨國，取義成仁，千秋凜烈，革命之花，先民之血，銅像豐碑，胡能報德，大招在賦，魂兮歸來。銅琴始奏，美酒如淮。映飲激楚，越艷低徊，猿啼鳥啞，迄有餘哀。東海揚波。龍山蔚秀。浩氣憑臨。英威如舊，後死之責。吾徒內疚，揮淚陳詞，抒其固陋。嗚呼。哀哉。尚饗。)

³⁵⁴ “Jinshan County Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government,” July 18, 1936, JPA 1001-yi-75.

upon to receive regular sacrifices.³⁵⁵ The county magistrate extolled these martyrs who “sacrificed their lives for the nation.” They ventured into “the tiger dens and the whale caves” and trod through “hails of bullets and forests of guns.” They “had their heads severed, their legs broken, their arms snapped, and their chests penetrated” (*qiangshou duanzu zhebi dongxiong* 戕首斷足折臂洞胸), yet they never ceased to “value the nation over their lives and view death the same as life” (*shi si ru sheng* 視死如生). “Human life is seldom over 100 years, flesh rots just like plants, and nothing is left to be transmitted. Would it better to be the gentlemen (*zhugong* 諸公) who died for the nation? Their deaths are as heavy as Mount Tai. Their names are forever recorded in history.” The elegy lamented the loss of northern China to foreign invaders: “Where might there come forth the brave ones who guard the four corners of the land? Who cleanse this land of the taint of barbarism and restore our country to its rightful boundaries?”³⁵⁶

Nationalist Religiosity

The Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine project, one of the most extensive shrine conversion/war commemoration projects in world history, attests to the vision, capacity, and influence of the Chinese Republic. China under the Nationalist was the only government in the twentieth century that mandated the construction of war commemorative shrines in all lowest administrative units. Within two decades, over 600 out of approximately 1,400 counties,³⁵⁷ most of which were under the Nationalist Party’s nominal rule, had some form of Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines through construction or conversion of existing religious structures. Taiwanese scholars, such as Cai Jintang, were skeptical about the Nationalist capacity, arguing that most of these shrines during the Republican era existed in names only.³⁵⁸ Using only archives at the National Government level, Cai Jintang fails to note that local initiatives in honoring their dead according to the Republican rhetoric of martyrdom and the increasing responsiveness of county governments to the central government’s regulations signified, to a certain extent, the mounting influence of the Nationalist Party. I argue that while the various attempts to appropriate religious structures for national and Republican purposes were not successful due to the lack of funds and resistance from local communities, it is unlikely to find elsewhere a comparable mass conversion of

³⁵⁵ Ebrey, *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals*, 123.

³⁵⁶ “Jinshan County Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government,” July 18, 1936, JPA 1001-yi-75. (中華民國二十五年七月九日，金山縣長，向大廷敬代表，黨政學軍警農工商各界，寅具黃檀白臘，丹荔清蕉，致祭於歷次陣亡本縣諸烈士之靈前，嗚呼，肇造民國已念五年，內亂外侮，交煎於前，安內攘外，北討南征，以身許國，曰維諸公，嗚呼，虎穴鯨窟，彈雨槍林，履限如夷，主義是從，戕首斷足，折臂洞胸，命輕國重，視死如生，嗚呼，人生朝露，鮮有百年，草木同腐，沒世無傳，孰若諸公，捐軀為國，死重泰山，名垂史冊，嗚呼，白山黑水，薊門姑站，錦繡河山，或殘或陷，安得猛士，守在四方，掃除腥羶，復我國疆，哀哉尚饗。)

³⁵⁷ See footnote 12 for an explanation with regard to the exact count of the counties.

³⁵⁸ Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂, “Baoyang ji zhonglie ciji rongdian zhidu de yanjiu” 褒揚及忠烈祠祀榮典制度之研究 (Research of the Honor System Including Commemoration and Martyrs’ Shrines), *Neizhengbu weituo yanjiu baogao* 內政部委託研究報告 (Research Reports Commissioned by the Ministry of the Interior) (March 2008): xii.

existing religious structures into shrines for national(ist) war dead. In comparison, Japan had constructed about 50 Shintō shrines for the war dead by 1945. Contemporary North American and European states tended to construct singular large-scale memorials anew, such as the Cenotaph, the Tomb of Unknown Soldier, the Arch of Remembrance, and the *Arc de Triomphe*. While many localities throughout the world built memorials to the war dead, the ambiguously political and religious nature of war dead shrines in China in the 1930s-1940s was intriguing.

Mainland Chinese scholars usually associate the Nationalist Government's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine project with China's effort to rally the population in the War of Resistance. Zhu Jiguang emphasizes how Jiangsu shrines were a critical component of the war effort.³⁵⁹ Feng Yuhui examines how the wartime Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in Nanyue, Hunan province was built at the critical point of the War of Resistance.³⁶⁰ However, as Chinese scholars avoid bringing up the contentious past between the Nationalists and the Communists, they deemphasize the fact that the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were to worship Nationalist martyrs that died fighting the "bandits" – referring to both warlord and Communist forces.

The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine project brings forth the complex relationship of politics and religion in twentieth-century China, which has been explored in many works. For instance, in her study of temple riots in Jiangsu province in the 1920s-1940s, Rebecca Nedostup explores the paradox of the "superstitious regimes" – how the political leaders condemned religious affiliations and ties as superstitions, while convincing the public to adopt nationalistic feeling and loyalty to the party. Nedostup asserts that the Nationalists and their Communist successors, like modernizing elites in other countries, went after various traditions viewed as impeding nation building and modernization. The Nationalist bureaucrats drafted various regulations and standards to separate "proper religions" from "improper cults," "former worthies" from "ancient gods," and "true faiths" from "superstitious beliefs." Nevertheless, the Nationalists failed because of the incoherent and unconvincing critique of religion, the lack of resources, strong and creative responses from the affected population, and the dispersed nature of Chinese religion in practice.³⁶¹

My study on commemoration of the war dead similarly demonstrates that while the Republican state sought to reject religion from politics by secularizing death, it created new rituals and beliefs for its new cult of nationalism. The government's Loyal Martyrs' Shrines project aimed at mobilizing the population for its war effort through the creation of rhetoric of celebrating patriotic citizenship and party loyalty. The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine project was to establish the Nationalist Party's legitimacy and instill patriotism in local communities through the display of martyrs' biographies in the shrines and via regular commemorative events held on the anniversaries of the Northern Expedition (July 9, 1926) and the Marco Polo Bridge Incident

³⁵⁹ Zhu Jiguang 朱繼光, "1939-1942 nan Jiangsu difang zhonglie ci de choujian" 1939-1942 年江蘇地方忠烈祠的籌建 (Construction of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in Jiangsu, 1939-1942), *Jiangsu difang zhi* 江蘇地方誌 (Jiangsu Local Gazette) 6 (2007), 55.

³⁶⁰ Feng Yuhui 馮玉輝, "Nanyue zhonglie ci 南嶽忠烈祠" (Nanyue Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Kangri zhangzhen yanjiu* 抗日戰爭研究 (Anti-Japanese War Studies) 2 (1995): 229-230.

³⁶¹ Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 5-11.

(July 7, 1937). Commemorative objects – in particular spirit tablets of martyrs – were visual aids connecting audience that were required to participate in regular sacrifices to the history promoted by the Nationalist state. The shrines created a historical time that began in the *xinhai* year (1911), and a coherent community that underwent episodic obstacles marked by the dates, places, and circumstances of death inked on these tablets. Furthermore, I agree with Henrietta Harrison’s study of early Republican martyrdom, which argues that when “national and Provincial Governments held sacrifices to the revolutionary dead... they were presenting a model of citizenship to the people.”³⁶² However, different from the models of virtuous men and chaste women in imperial China, this model did not prescribe how one should lead one’s life, but how one should die.

While the material manifestation of the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine project was limited, the principle behind it was prominent. The Chinese way of worshipping the dead was distinctive, as it focused on spirits than bodies. It is striking in comparison to Christianity, for instance, in which the flesh of the eminent dead bears extraordinary powers.³⁶³ Unlike how the painted ghostly soldiers in Will Longstaff’s *The Menin Gate at Midnight* triggered debates about psychic and spiritualist influences in the 1920s-1930s,³⁶⁴ references to “loyal spirits” (*zhonghun*) frequently appeared in Republican China’s government documents, newspapers, and other publications without controversy. While the Chinese government built some public cemeteries during and after World War II, they were scattered and of a smaller scale in comparison to those that are organized by national war graves commissions in America and Europe. Moreover, in China, families of the fallen frequently tried to transport their bodies back to their home counties for burial. The government-mandated Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines were dedicated to the loyal spirits and contained no actual bodies. In China, each person is believed to have multiple souls that simultaneously stay with the body in the grave, go to the underworld, and dwell in the tablet and altar bearing his/her name.³⁶⁵ As such, the state or a single institution did not and could not monopolize the posthumous life. Families of the war dead could continue to offer sacrifices at the ancestral altars and visit the graves, as well as pray at Buddhist temples for their salvation or the souls’ smooth trip through the purgatory. At the same time, county governments organized public sacrifices for the same dead at the local Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and conjure their presence by reciting their names and deeds. These spirits were then paid reverences to and fed with sacrificial provisions in exchange for their moral power (*de*).³⁶⁶

In studies of rituals and ceremonies, some argue that spirits and belief in spirits are not strictly religious.³⁶⁷ Therefore, the worship of spirits in twentieth-century China could be

³⁶² Harrison, “Martyrs and Militarism,” 41.

³⁶³ Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 3.

³⁶⁴ Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 60-61.

³⁶⁵ P. Steven Sangren, “Chinese Ghosts: Reconciling Psychoanalytic, Structuralist, and Marxian Perspectives,” in *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions*, ed. Mu-chou Poo (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 302-303.

³⁶⁶ Roel Sterckx, *Food, Sacrifice, and Sagehood in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁶⁷ See Thomas Wilson, “Spirits and the Soul in Confucian Ritual Discourse,” *Journal of*

considered a secular rite without religious implication, at least in the mind of Republican statesmen, who did not view the construction of these shrines as promotion of some sort of state religion, but of civic virtues. The effect of these shrines was what Emile Durkheim described as “collective effervescence” of emotions, which are produced in rituals as a way of unifying a group.³⁶⁸ Enshrinement ceremonies and public sacrifices are political performances, not unlike Clifford Geertz’s concept of the “theater-state,” in which ritual is an end in itself.³⁶⁹ These rituals taking place within the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines created communities and hierarchies of power.³⁷⁰ This point is especially relevant when it comes to excluding the enemies from partaking in the proper sacrifices.

Different from the Unknown Soldier Tombs or the Cenotaphs, the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines did not aim for universality or anonymity as they hosted wooden tablets or paper rosters of names of the dead.³⁷¹ In the Unknown Soldier tomb, which has become an established convention in many parts of Europe and America after the First World War, there is a body without identification. Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines however contained no physical body but identities (representing the spirits) of the dead. Their bodies were probably buried where they had died or in their ancestral burial grounds, but their spirit tablets were enshrined in the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines of their native towns. Yet, unlike the post-Great War Cenotaph, an empty tomb erected in honor of those who were buried elsewhere, the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine contained spirit tablets with individual and/or collective names of the dead who could be summoned by offering sacrifices and reading elegies. Unlike the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens in 1919 and engraved with the words “The Glorious Dead,” glory, of either military or religious nature, did not appear in the rhetoric of the Chinese Republican governments.

Conclusion

This chapter continued the discussion of martyrdom from the two previous chapters. In Chapter 1, I examined how commemoration in the aftermath of the 1911 Revolution hastily turned away from anti-Manchu rhetoric and toward the rhetoric of loyalty in a modern Republic. Similarly, the anti-imperial, mutinous spirit of the New Army in the 1910s and the Yellow Flower Hill Monument’s rhetoric of students and martial youths dying for freedom in the 1920s, as depicted in Chapter 2, were replaced by the Nanjing’s vision of disciplinary, martial loyalty to the state in the 1930s. The Nationalist Party moved from Guangzhou, one of the most glorified birthplaces of the 1911 Revolution, to Nanjing, chosen by Sun Yat-sen to be the capital of the

Chinese Religions 42 (2014): 185-212.

³⁶⁸ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1947, [1912]).

³⁶⁹ Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

³⁷⁰ Harrison, *Making of the Republican Citizen*, 3.

³⁷¹ The names were not usually carved in stone, for financial reason, but more importantly for the fact that the dead, as ancestors, would finally fade in memory. According to tradition, ancestors receive offerings for about five generations. Afterwards, their tablets are removed from the altars to make space for new ones.

Republic. Chiang Kai-shek took Sun Yat-sen's body to be buried in the Purple Mountain in Nanjing, and constructed the Public Cemetery of National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers. Nanjing, as a burial site of the founding fathers and the Northern Expedition military dead, became the new mecca of the Republic. To the north, Beijing's proximity to Manchuria where Japanese aggression began in the early 1930s allowed the Qing-era capital to remain an important site of commemoration.

The new measures for martyr enshrinement, public cemeteries for the military dead, and compensation for the wounded and grieving families were proposed and approved in 1936 because of Chiang Kai-shek's regained control of the Executive Yuan and the looming threat of the Japanese encroachment on China's heartland. Chiang rose in prominence while other revolutionary elders, such as Lin Sen, Hu Hanmin, and Wang Jingwei, sank. Wang Jingwei's 1933 attempt to preserve the revolutionary exclusivity was unsuccessful. As time progressed, the party that created Chinese nation-state could not be sustained on only its founding members and the revolutionary moments decades prior; it had to open the membership of the nation to other interest groups and incorporate new historical developments.

The 1936 measures made the Nationalist government less of a party-state dyad, and more of a party-military-state triad. Even though the Northern Expedition established the authority of the Nationalists vis-à-vis other power holders, the fallen officers and soldiers of Chiang's military campaigns were buried, or rather, in many cases, their names were honored and their spirits were comforted, at the public cemetery in Nanjing. It was only in the 1930s that these military dead, that is, those who were "killed in battle" (*zhenwang*) were eligible for enshrinement in the same space as the revolutionary predecessors. Their multitudinousness required their individual names to shrink in order to fit the surface of the spirit tablet, or allowed just the carving of the name of the battle in which they died. The military dead could have enjoyed the same sacrificial goods and reverence previously reserved for the utmost hallowed revolutionaries.

In addition to the expansion of martyrdom eligibility, another development during the Nanjing Decade was the process of localization the commemoration of the war dead. The Nationalist government aimed at cultivating a "Republican state" with "Nationalist religiosity" through county-level shrines. Shrines and ceremonies, combining traditional and modern practices, were meant to inspire the participants to emulate the dead, that is, to die for the nation. During the pre-war period, the general sentiment during public memorial service at the local level was lamenting and sorrowful. The martyrs were men whose bodies and even names often were irretrievable. The martyrs were men whose lives were cut short ambitions while their ambitions remained unfulfilled. The martyrs, as victims of violent deaths, were the wandering souls in desperate need of the final rest and of sacrificial offerings. This overwhelming apprehension over the war dead reflected the restless mind of the living in the mid-1930s. Nothing was there to assure them that such sacrifices of lives would have been sufficient. The Mukden Incident in 1931 and the confrontation with the Japanese troops in Shanghai in 1932 foreboded an all-out war. It was impossible for the living, who were anxiously watching the ominous shadow of war spreading over China, to hail martyrs of the past as heroic, triumphal, or glorious.

The center of the Nationalist power soon switched to the mountainous interior following the Japanese invasion of southeastern provinces. For the Nationalist leaders at least, the National Revolution finally came to an end with the penetration by the "Eastern bandits," to quote Chiang Kai-shek. The late 1930s and 1940s would be about civilians rather than the party-military-

bureaucracy triad. Part III explores how martyrdom was extended to those that died while “protecting the homeland,” a task delegated to them by the retreating party, bureaucracy, and formal military.

Chapter 4

The Makings of the Nationalist State

“To the extent that the state is able to confer prestige on some of its subjects, and by implication, to withhold it from others, it has a powerful means of influencing social and political behavior. Conversely, it probably draws some of its own legitimacy from its association, through a system of such awards, with persons popularly regarded as of exemplary character.” (Mark Elvin)³⁷²

In this chapter, I examine the transformation of China into a modern nation-state with particularities by analyzing whose deaths were deemed eligible for commendation and compensation and under which circumstances. Who were eligible to be enshrined as “martyrs,” and by extension, “national ancestors” of the Chinese nation-state in the 1930s and 1940s? Furthermore, I examine how commendation and compensation law created a new hierarchy within the nation. While the nation-state theoretically abolishes the nobility and creates a nation of equal citizens, in the case of China, the Republic accomplished only the former. Three major changes took place during the Guangzhou-Nanjing era. Nationalist state was constituted of four groups in the following order of prominence: the party, the military, the government bureaucracy and the rest of the population. Nationalist Party members became a separate social and political group despite intervention from pro-egalitarian legal specialists, such as Wang Shijie. The general population was excluded in the sense that their deaths were not eligible to be celebrated as sacrifices for the nation. Furthermore, conflicts in the early 1930s began to blur the military and civilian distinction. For instance, in certain combat-related circumstances, civil government officials could be rewarded as combatants. This development would intensify after 1937.

Republic of Virtues

Beiyang Government's Commendation Law

Compensation for the war dead was part of the commendation and compensation regulations (*Baoyang fuxu tiaoli* 褒揚撫卹條例). The commendation and compensation regulations were to honor those who contributed to the nation and state, and to the general moral wellbeing of the community. Therefore, the war dead were commemorated for their virtue, their sacrifice of life being considered to be the utmost manifestation of virtue.³⁷³ The Nationalist government enshrined martyrs not simply for their sacrifice of life, but more importantly for the life of proper behaviors that they led before death. The Chinese modern state emphasized exemplars with absolute moral constancy that transcends mortality.

³⁷² Mark Elvin, “Female Virtue and the State in China,” *Past & Present* 104 (1984): 111.

³⁷³ This is consistent with the Nationalist vision of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines, which I will demonstrate in Chapter 3.

After crushing the Second Revolution led by the Nationalists, the Beiyang government crafted new regulations. The newly created republic nonetheless did not change the criteria for commendation established by the imperial government. The Beiyang government commended civilians with moral behaviors and benefited local communities. Article 1 of the “Commendation Regulations” (*Baoyang tiaoli* 褒揚條例) issued by the Beiyang Ministry of Interior Affairs (*Neiwu bu*) on March 12, 1914 listed the following categories of commendation. The first half emphasized traditional virtues: filiality, chastity, righteousness, and virtue. The second half focused on actions: assisting fellow villagers in need, establishing public charity causes or contributing over 10,000 *yuan* to public charity, compiling books, manufacturing farm instruments, originating ideas in academic and artistic fields, and making improvements on existing ones, promoting laudable customs and behaviors, committing deeds worthy of honor, and living to 100 years old.³⁷⁴

The June 1914 “Implementation Details on Commendation Regulations” (*Baoyang tiaoli shixing xize* 褒揚條例施行細則) provided clarifications. “Filiality” in the first clause of Article 1 was limited to direct lineal descendants (*zhixi bei shu* 直系卑屬). “Chastity” in the second clause included chaste women, who began preserving their chastity after their husbands’ deaths prior to 30 years old, and remained chaste beyond 50 years old. “Chastity” was also applicable to widows who died before 50 years old and had remained chaste for at least 10 years. It included martyred young girls and mature women who committed suicide to avoid being raped or committed suicide afterward out of shame and outrage (*xiufen zijin* 羞忿自盡), and who committed suicide after their husbands’ deaths. It was also pertinent to other cases of chaste virgins and widows who died before having met the above-mentioned requirements. “Righteousness” included loving brothers, virtuous masters, faithful servants, and others. “Virtue” referred to elders whose behaviors served as models for people in the village.³⁷⁵ Revised versions with minor changes were promulgated in 1917³⁷⁶ and 1923.³⁷⁷ The Beiyang government continued emphasizing traditional virtues as grounds for commendation. The Nationalist government nonetheless attempted a few fundamental changes.

Wang Shijie’s Proposal

³⁷⁴ “Baoyang tiaoli 褒揚條例” (Commendation Regulations), *Zhengfu gongbao* 662 (1914): 20-22.

³⁷⁵ “Baoyang tiaoli shixing xize 褒揚條例施行細則” (Implementation Details on Commendation Regulations), *Zhengfu gongbao* 767 (1914): 25-26.

³⁷⁶ “Xiuzheng baoyang tiaoli 修正褒揚條例” (Revised Commendation Regulations) (November 20, 1917), *Zhengfu gongbao* 664 (1917): 8-10.

³⁷⁷ “Baoyang tiaoli shixing xize 褒揚條例施行細則” (Implementation Details on Commendation Regulation) (August 1, 1923), *Zhonghua minguo shi dang’an ziliao huibian 3, zhengzhi 1* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 3, 政治 1, 338; “Baoyang tiaoli ji shixing xize jieyao 褒揚條例暨施行細則解要” (Essential Details on Commendation Regulations and on How to Implement Them), 1923, *Zhonghua minguo shi dang’an ziliao huibian 3, zhengzhi 1*, 341.

In a 1927 memorandum, Wang Shijie 王世杰, head of the Office of Legal Affairs (*Fazhi ju* 法制局) opposed the National Government's order to create a new system of commending and compensating people on the basis that such system would be incompatible with modern republicanism. Wang Shijie earned a Bachelor of Science from the London School of Economics and a Law Doctorate from the University of Paris. Wang served as a professor of law at Beijing University from 1920 to 1927, and as the Chancellor of Wuhan University from 1929 to 1932.³⁷⁸ Wang also held various high-level posts in the Nationalist government, including Minister of Education (1933-1936), Secretary of the People's Political Council and Minister of Information (1938-1943), and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1945-1948).³⁷⁹ As one of the most important legal specialists in Republican China, Wang critiqued many aspects of the Chinese state's legal system, especially when he compared them with laws in contemporaneous Western democracies. Wang promoted individual rights vis-à-vis the state, and tried to curb authoritarian tendencies of the government.³⁸⁰ Wang's interest, support, and up-to-date knowledge of Western states were apparent in many of his writings.³⁸¹ Wang's vision for China was that of an egalitarian republic, a vision not shared by other Nationalist leaders.

In this particular communication, Wang Shijie maintained that commendations and rewards of the previous governments have been doing more harm than good to the new Republic. Wang presented that there was an increasing number of petitions from the populace asking for commendations and compensation while the law of the Republic (*gonghe guojia* 共和國家) so far had merely emulated (*chengxi* 承襲) that of the overthrown monarchy (*junzhu zhidu* 君主制度). When the Republic was established by Sun Yat-sen, Republican medals were awarded to the worthy. However, when Yuan Shikai came to power and reverted to the monarchical rule, he used the law to control people (*longluo renxin* 籠絡人心) and the Republican law lost its worth. Wang Shijie urged the new Nanjing government to abandon the metrics for evaluating commendations from the old imperial days and to create new Republican standards.

Wang acknowledged that commendation was crucial to the promotion of morality and nobility in thought and action among the citizenry:

For those who possess noble thoughts, then morality and merit would have almost nothing to do with the existence of commendation law. Moreover, things, such as merit badges and certificates, as well as medals and medallions, would probably be spurned by the people, and avoided as if they were the plague, implicitly diminishing the sanctity of the national legal system. As for those of outmoded thinking and deficient intellect, a commendation system

³⁷⁸ Xiaoqing Diana Lin, *Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1898-1937* (New York: SUNY Press, 2005), 164.

³⁷⁹ Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Volume III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967-1971), 395-397.

³⁸⁰ Lin, *Peking University*, 164-166.

³⁸¹ For example, see Wang Shijie's 1932 commentary on *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government* by Herman Finer (1932) and *Modern Democracies* by James Bryce (1921). Wang Shijie, "The Theory and Practice of Government by Herman Finer," *Guoli Wuhan daxue shehui kexue jikan* 國立武漢大學社會科學季刊 (Wuhan University's Quarterly Journal of Social Science) 3 (1932): 703-706.

indeed can have consideration impact [in promoting such], but it also depends on which types of virtue and meritorious acts are commended.³⁸²

However, according to Wang, there had been a flawed tradition of awarding people with distinctions. First, honors were useful to temporarily win some people over.

Our nation has hitherto used precious objects as a tool to incentivize the order of human relationships; there are especially many forms of conferring noble honors. In the former Qing dynasty, besides the emperor's conferring titles on people, there were citations, awarding official positions to officials' relatives (*fengzeng*), enfeoffment (*chongsi*), rewarding people with certificates and medals, and so on. These types of honors conferred on the people were enough to reward their sense of honor and hierarchy, in turn consolidating the foundation of the monarchical system and to sufficiently curry the people's favor and win them over.³⁸³

Second, Wang argued that the new honor and reward system established by the Beiyang government could not change people's mindset. He therefore advocated for general education. Wang's vision was to discipline people's everyday behaviors so that good acts would be the common standards, instead of treating good behaviors as praise-worthy rarities.

If the current national law is based on the old-styled loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness (*zhong xiao jie yi*), the commendation system can indeed encourage the so-called ignorant people. If the nation promotes new forms of morality and merit, the establishment of new commendation standards also may not necessarily be of any effect on these people. Therefore, the modern nation seeking to promote social morality has to emphasize civic and civil education.³⁸⁴

Wang maintained that other Republican states in the world did not offer titles and honors. If they did, honors were reserved for academic achievements only:

In Republican states, the system of nobility naturally does not exist. Among the newly established nations, such as postwar Germany, their constitutions even clearly specify that except for academic achievements, such nations shall confer no other honors. Furthermore, the constitutions of nations like Switzerland forbid their citizens from accepting medals and

³⁸² "Wang Shijie's Petition to National Government," November 19, 1927, AH 001-012049-0001, file 50102328. (蓋凡具有高尚思想之人，其德行事功與褒揚制度之存與否殆無何等關係，甚焉者，對於褒章褒狀與夫勳章勳位等物，尤或群懷鄙薄之見，避之若浼，而使國家法制隱隱失其尊嚴。至對於思想陳舊、知識薄弱之人，褒揚制度誠然可以發生相當效力，然亦視所褒揚者為何種道德與何種事功)

³⁸³ *Ibid.* (我國歷來以名器為鼓舞人倫之具，榮典之形式尤為眾多，在前清時代，君主之褒揚於授爵而外，亦尚有旌表、封贈、崇祀、賞給功牌、賞給寶星種種名目，蓋榮典之頒給，既足獎進榮譽心與階級思想，而使君主制度之基礎隨而鞏固，且足為君主個人市恩鬻惠之工具故也。)

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.* (國家之所崇尚倘為舊式之忠孝節義，褒揚之制誠尚不難使歷來之所謂愚夫愚婦有所自勉，國家之所崇尚倘為新道德新事功，褒典之設對於彼輩亦未必有何等效力，以故近代國家為提高社會道德起見，群注重公民教育與平民教育。)

honors from other nations. Evidently, modern Republican states have already changed from “upholding glory” (*chongshang rongyu*) to “upholding the ordinary” (*chongshang pusu*).³⁸⁵

Wang argued that that “in line with this trend of the state legislation, my office realizes that it is inappropriate to set up the commendation regulations.” Wang further lamented that in China, the honor system was “to constrain people’s hearts,” and medals and plaques were “to tame the miscellaneous warlords.” “Because all discreditable politicians and corrupted officials display their honorary awards, the national honors have become a social disgrace.” Wang offered two proposals. Instead of giving honors and rewards, there should be some form of fixed compensations. Those who were devoted effort to the revolution, regardless their Party membership or official capacity, should without exception be given stipends from the state. When they were discharged from the military, they should receive pensions pursuant to the regulations. Military officers and civilian officials who contracted or died from illness while on official duty should receive gratuities according to the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating National Revolutionary Army Servicemembers during Wartime” (*Guomin geming jun zhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 國民革命軍戰時撫恤暫行條例) and the “Regulations for Compensating National Government Officials” (*Guomin zhengfu guanli fuxu tiaoli* 國民政府官吏撫恤條例) respectively. The compensation may be extended to their family members as well. Party members should be compensated according to the “Gratuities Regulations for Chinese Nationalist Party Members” (*Zhongguo Guomindang dangyuan xujin tiaoli* 中國國民黨黨員卹金條例). Wang argued that such “flat-rate” compensation would be sufficient to motivate people to sacrifice lives for the nation, rendering honorary rewards unnecessary.³⁸⁶

Wang Shijie’s vision had some impact, yet he eventually had to join the Minister of the Interior to create the new commendation law. The National Government nonetheless created exclusive commendation policies for Party members and revolutionary martyrs. During wartime, titles, honors, and government posts were used as rewards for civilians who resisted the Japanese.

Xue Dubi’s Counterproposal

In August 1928, the Minister of the Interior, Xue Dubi 薛篤弼 (1892-1973), requested that the National Government promulgate commendation law. Xue joined the Revolutionary Alliance in 1911, and later served as Vice Minister of Justice and Mayor of Beijing under the Beiyang government. He held various posts in the Nationalist government, as Minister of the Interior, Minister of Health, and others.³⁸⁷ Xue explained that he had received various petitions from

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (在共和諸國授爵之制自然不復存在, 在新興國家, 如戰後之德意志等, 其憲法甚至以明文規定, 除表示一種學術資格之學位外, 國家不得頒給任何其他榮典。此外如瑞士等國憲法, 並且禁止本國人民承受他國政府之爵位勳章或其他榮典。足見現代一般共和國家已由崇尚榮譽進於崇尚樸素。)

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.* (凡斯實惠應足使有志者拋棄一切顧忌獻身黨國, 褒典之設已無必要。)

³⁸⁷ Xue advocated for the use of past rituals and figures in the Republican context. For a discussion on Xue’s political ideology, see Rebecca Nedostup, “Civic Faith and Hybrid Ritual in

provincial governments, requesting to commend cases of filial piety. Xue maintained that the government only had legal standing to punish the evil-doers (*cheng'e zhi fa* 懲惡之法), but not legal standing to commend those who do good deeds. Xue argued that “having only punishment without reward seems to be insufficient to initiate and promote impressions. In addition, rewarding loyalty and filial piety, as result, rectifies people’s minds and upholds good faith.”³⁸⁸ Xue acknowledged that while the award and commendation system might have had unexpected impacts, one should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. Directly countering Wang Shijie’s proposal, Xue argued that “loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, trustworthiness, righteousness, harmony, and peace” (*zhong xiao ren ai xin yi he ping* 忠孝仁愛信義和平) were the virtues (*meide* 美德) that Sun Yat-sen had promoted as part of his nationalist ideology, and thus should be promoted. Evoking Sun Yat-sen was a sure way to win an argument. Xue then sent another memorandum in December 1928, complaining that his office was still unable to address existing requests for commendation because there was no regulation. Xue then suggested retaining and slightly modifying the five categories of commendable behaviors from the 1917 “Commendation Regulations,” which were (1) earnest and unsullied filial behaviors (*xiaoxing chundu* 孝行純篤), (2) outstanding righteous behaviors (*tezhe yixing* 特著義行), (3) devotion to the public good (*jinxin gongyi* 盡心公益), (4) contribution to scholarship (*yougong xueshu* 有功學術), (5) profound virtue and righteous conduct (*shuode yixing* 碩德懿行). Xue added that the commendation regulations should only be applicable to “citizens of the Republic of China.”³⁸⁹

Thereupon, in September 1928, Xue Dubi assembled Wang Shijie and three members of the Inspection Committee (*Shencha weiyuanhui* 審查委員會), Song Yuanyuan 宋淵源 (1882-1961), Zhang Zhijiang 張之江 (1882-1966), and Niu Yongjian 鈕永建 (1870-1965) drafted the new commendation regulations. The new draft had four categories: “greatly virtuous conducts” (*dexing youzhe* 德行優著), devotion to the public good (*jinxin gongyi* 盡心公益), contribution to scholarship (*yougong xueshu* 有功學術), and contribution to construction (*yougong jianshe* 有功建設).³⁹⁰ The National Government forwarded Xue’s proposal to the Ministry of Military Administration, which replied that it did not have any reference to go by (*wusuo yiju* 無所依據)

Nationalist China,” in *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology, and Transformations of Modernity*, ed. Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart, 27-56 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

³⁸⁸ “Minister of the Interior to National Government,” August 23, 1928, AH 001-012049-001, file 50102329. (如有懲無獎似不足以資倡導而興觀感，且獎忠孝所以正人心崇信義)

³⁸⁹ “Minister of the Interior to National Government,” September 5, 1928, AH 001-012049-001, file 50102331. The third category in the 1917 “Commendation Regulations” used “virtuous” *shu* 淑, instead of *yi* 懿. The fourth category was “contribution to the arts.” Xue excluded the last three categories from the 1917 “Commendation Regulations”: those who aid relatives, in-laws, friends, and villagers in need (*mu yin ren xu* 睦嫻任卹), chaste women (*jielie funü* 節烈婦女), and 100-year-old people (*nian deng baisui* 年登百歲).

³⁹⁰ “Song Yuanyuan and others to National Government,” October 1, 1928, AH 001-012049-001, file 50102333.

and thus it would be up to the Ministry of the Interior to draft new regulations.³⁹¹ The commendation regulations hence did not contain any special clauses about the military.

The Nationalist Government finally promulgated new regulations in 1931.³⁹² The major change was the categories of commendations. The 1914 “Commendation Regulations” specified nine categories for honors. The 1917 regulations contained eight. The 1928 draft regulations included four. The 1931 regulations however only contained two categories: “moral behaviors of extraordinary quality” and “devotion to the public good.” Article 2 of the 1931 “Commendation Regulations” specified that “moral behaviors of exceptional quality” include being “loyal (*zhong* 忠), filial (*xiao* 孝), humane (*ren* 仁), compassion (*ai* 愛), trustworthy (*xin* 信), righteous (*yi* 義), harmonious (*he* 和) and fair (*ping* 平),” which are “sufficient to protect innate morality” (*zu yi baocun gongyou zhi daode* 足以保存固有之道德). “Devotion to the public good” included outstanding achievements in and substantial contributions to educational or charity facilities.

Following the new regulations, throughout the 1930s, local authorities submitted names of people with moral behaviors for commendation. The Jiangxi Provincial Government petitioned for permission to award commemorative tablets to two men who were “unyieldingly loyal” (*zhonglie bunao* 忠烈不撓) and a woman who taught her son to die for the nation. Their behaviors were sufficient to serve as examples for the populace (*jinshi renqun* 矜式人羣) and thus they should be commended according to Article 1 Clause 1 of the 1931 “Commendation Regulations.”³⁹³ In 1936, Wanzai 萬戴 County in Jiangxi petitioned to award a plaque to a Mrs. Lu *née* Huang, who died in a struggle to save her husband. Mrs. Lu was hiding from the bandits when she heard her husband being carried away. She hastily came to rescue him, and was shot. She nonetheless continued to struggle and died soon after. The Wanzai County Government praised her as a female martyr (*liefu* 烈婦).³⁹⁴ The term *liefu* was used to denote a woman who kills herself after her husband’s death or in defense of her chastity. The National Government awarded Mrs. Lu with a plaque that reads “Exemplary Righteousness and Chastity” (*yilie kefeng* 義烈可風).³⁹⁵ Even though there were other compensation regulations specifically reserved for wartime, the 1931 “Commendation Regulations” continued to be used in the late 1930s to late 1940s. The Civil War period witnessed a large number of petitions submitted by local governments, requesting commendations for those who died during the Japanese invasion.

The Republican governments published commendation decrees, showcasing the state’s competence, enhancing the reputation of the commended, and allowing the public to access

³⁹¹ “Ministry of Military Administration to National Government,” January 18, 1930, AH 001-012049-001, file 50102335.

³⁹² “Baoyang tiaoli 褒揚條例 (Commendation Regulations), *Sifa gongbao* 司法公報 (Judicial Gazette) 132 (1931), page unknown.

³⁹³ “Executive Yuan to National Government, including Jiangxi’s petition submitted via Ministry of Interior,” July 27, 1937, AH 001-036180-0005, file 500009539.

³⁹⁴ “Executive Yuan to National Government, including Wanzai county’s petition submitted via Ministry of Interior,” September 13, 1937, AH 001-036180-0005, file 500009541.

³⁹⁵ “National Government’s draft decree,” September 17, 1937, AH 001-036180-0005, file 500009542.

information about implementation of the regulations. From January 1, 1911 to October 9, 1928, these decrees were published in the *Provisional Government Gazette* (*Linshi zhengfu gongbao* 臨時政府公報), the *Government Gazette* (*Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公報), the *Military Government Gazette* (*Jun zhengfu gongbao* 軍政府公報), the *Armed Forces Great Marshall's Supreme Headquarters Gazette* (*Luhaijun dayuanshuai dabenyng gongbao* 陸海軍大元帥大本營公報). They were published in the *Republic of China National Gazette* (*Zhonghua minguo guomin gongbao* 中華民國公報) and *National Government Gazette* (*Guomin zhengfu gongbao* 國民政府公報) from October 10, 1928 to May 19, 1948. After 1949, these decrees continued to be printed in the *Presidential Office Gazette* (*Zongtongfu gongbao* 總統府公報) of the Nationalist government in Taiwan.³⁹⁶

The Party-Military-Bureaucracy Triad

While the 1931 “Commendation Regulations” were applicable to the general population, three privileged groups within the Nationalist state were exclusively compensated. After the National Government under the Nationalist Party was established in Guangzhou on July 1, 1925, as part of the nation building process, within three years, the National Government promptly drafted and promulgated various compensation measures for those who died for the Nationalist cause, even retroactively. This was a partisan move to incentivize supporters of the Nationalists. Three sets of regulations divided the nation into four classes: Party members, bureaucrats, commissioned servicemembers, and the rest.

The Party

Even before issuing new compensation law, the Nationalist government in Guangzhou began to compensate revolutionary martyrs or revolutionary predecessors (*geming xianlie*, or *xianlie*) that had died even decades prior. “Revolutionary martyrs” referred to members or alleged members of the Revolutionary Alliance, who died in anti-imperial and anti-Beiyang movements during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They also included Nationalist Party members of Sun Yat-sen’s faction who died during intra-party conflicts in the late 1910s and early 1920s (prior to the Northern Expedition). Within the party hierarchy, revolutionary martyrs, sometimes considered as proto-party-members, were the nobilities of the Nationalist state and received special levels of compensation.

For instance, in April 1926, Chiang Kai-shek and Zhang Renjie 張仁傑 (1877-1950), who was one of the esteemed revolutionary elders in the Nationalist Party and a member of the Nationalist Party’s Central Executive Committee, jointly proposed to the National Government with regard to the case of Fan Hongxian 范鴻仙, also known as Fan Guangqi 范光啟 (1882-1914). After the Second Revolution in 1913 failed, Fan followed Sun Yat-sen to Japan. When the Beiyang government’s persecution of Nationalist Party members subsided, Fan returned to Shanghai to carry out revolutionary work. Before long, Yuan Shikai’s agents assassinated Fan.

³⁹⁶ Ni Baokun 倪寶坤, ed. *Zhonghua minguo baoyang lingji chubian: fu youguan shiliao* 中華民國褒揚令集初編: 附有關史料 (Compensation decrees of the Republic of China, including relevant historical materials, first set) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1985), 1.

As a revolutionary elder with a close tie to Sun, in May 1926, the National Government awarded Fan's family 5,000 *yuan* and ordered the Ministry of Finance to distribute the amount.³⁹⁷

Throughout the Guangzhou-Nanjing era, the compensation regulations for Party members underwent few changes. The "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" (*Dangyuan fuxu tiaoli* 黨員撫卹條例) was approved at the 70th Regular Meeting of the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee (*Guomindang Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui zhengzhi huiyi* 國民黨中央執行委員會政治會議) on November 16, 1926. The Regulations were then passed by the National Government on May 9, 1927.³⁹⁸ The "Implementation Details on Regulations for Compensating Party Members" (*Dangyuan fuxu tiaoli shixing xize* 黨員撫卹條例施行細則) were subsequently issued on October 2, 1929.³⁹⁹ These two sets of regulations served as the basic foundation for other regulations concerning Republican revolutionaries.⁴⁰⁰

According to the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members," Party members would receive gratuities if they were killed, died from illness, or became disabled. Those who were killed were divided into two categories. The first included "Party members who are killed while engaging in various kinds of activities within the party principles and the perimeters of the party."⁴⁰¹ The second included "Party members who are killed while being assigned by any branch of the Party to propagandize the Party ideologies and perform Party-related duties either clandestinely or openly."⁴⁰²

A critical issue arising from the compensation regulations is how to determine from the gratuity scale the amount that befitted a deceased Party member's contribution. How did the government translate the act of sacrifice into monetary terms? The "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" presented a scale for annual gratuities (600, 400, 200, 100, and 50 *yuan*) and a scale for one-time stipends (1,000, 800, 500, 300, 200, and 100 *yuan*).⁴⁰³ There

³⁹⁷ "Zhang Renjie and Chiang Kai-shek to National Government," April 29, 1926, SHA 6-19-341.

³⁹⁸ "Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee to National Government," May 9, 1927, AH 001-014000-0016, file 50168431.

³⁹⁹ "Implementation Details on Regulations for Compensating Party Members" (*Dangyuan fuxu tiaoli shixing xize* 黨員撫卹條例施行細則), *Zhongyang dangwu yuekan* 中央黨務月刊 (Central Party Affairs Monthly) 15 (1929): 18-24.

⁴⁰⁰ They were circulated intra-party and were printed in official gazettes, such as the *Judiciary Gazette* (*Sifa gongbao*), the *Internal Affairs Gazette* (*Neiwu gongbao*), the *Executive Yuan Gazette* (*Xingzhengyuan gongbao*), the *Central Weekly* (*Zhongyang zhoubao*), and the *Military Administration Gazette* (*Junzheng gongbao*). In the late 1920s, only Provincial Government gazettes of Guangzhou, Jiangxi, and Hebei referred to the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members," showing the limited geographical reach of the Nationalist Party. *Jiangxi sheng zhengfu gongbao* 江西省政府公報 (Jiangxi Provincial Government Gazette) 18 (1928): 43; *Guangdong sheng zhengfu gongbao* 廣東省政府公報 (Guangdong Provincial Government Gazette) 24 (1929): 13-14; *Hebei sheng zhengfu gongbao* 585 (1930): 18-19.

⁴⁰¹ (在本黨主義及黨綱範圍內從事於各種運動而被殺害)

⁴⁰² (受本黨各級黨部之命令秘密或公開為本黨主義之宣傳及黨務活動而被敵人殺害)

⁴⁰³ *Yuan* was Mexican silver dollar during this period.

was little insight into the deliberation process; it appeared to be determined case by case. For instance, in 1928, the Party branch at Zhongshan University petitioned the National Government to compensate four students killed in a skirmish with members of the Communist Party. Citing Article 7, Clauses 1 and 2, the petitioners requested a second-rate one-time gratuity of 800 *yuan*.⁴⁰⁴ Even with these regulations, the National Government awarded special cases, such as those of high-ranking members of the five Yuans, with 5,000 to 20,000 *yuan*.⁴⁰⁵

Another question is how to distinguish dying from natural causes from dying from zealous devotion. “Dying from illness due to overexertion” included those that expired from illness as a result of (1) “exerting themselves after three years or more of working for the party,” (2) being “assigned to work and achieving significant results in agricultural or industrial movements or popular movements,” or (3) “working diligently and contributing greatly to the party.”⁴⁰⁶ It was then up to the petitioner to argue the case. Later in this chapter, I will present a few examples of petitioners providing evidence that their family members died from overworking for the party-state, and thus deserved compensation.

According to the “Jiangsu Province’s Provisional Regulations for Compensating Revolutionary Martyrs” (*Jiangsu sheng jingxu geming xianlie zhanxing tiaoli* 江蘇省旌卹革命先烈暫行條例) disseminated on March 6, 1928, each martyr’s family would be awarded the highest annual gratuity reserved for Party members of 600 *yuan* regardless of circumstances.⁴⁰⁷ The “Regulations for Compensating Family Members of Revolutionary Martyrs of the March 29, 1911” (*Fuxu xinhai sanyue ershijiu xunguo lieshi jiazhu tiaoli* 撫卹辛亥三月二十九殉國烈士家族條例), promulgated in December 1928, similarly stipulated that all martyrs’ households be given the highest amount of compensation for Party members of 600 *yuan* per year.⁴⁰⁸

The Guangdong Provincial Government was particularly active in commemorating the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs. It set up the Revolutionary Commemoration Committee (*Geming jinianhui* 革命紀念會) and asked other provinces by way of the National Government to investigate whether there were families of the Yellow Flower Hill martyrs living in their

⁴⁰⁴ “Ni qing fuxu Gongdang jiahai yuansheng banfa 擬請撫卹共黨加害員生辦法” (Draft measure to petition for compensation for staff harmed by Communist Party), *Guoli Zhongshan daxue xiaobao* 國立中山大學校報 32 (1928): 37-38.

⁴⁰⁵ SHA 1-711-208.

⁴⁰⁶ (一、服務於本黨各級黨部三年以上，因公積勞病故。二、黨員受本黨各級黨部之命令在各地從事農工運動及民眾運動已有成效而積勞病故者。三、黨員因努力於黨之工作曾有著作闡明主義對於本黨有特別貢獻而病故)

⁴⁰⁷ Jiangsu Province to National Government: “Jiangsu Province’s Provisional Regulations for Compensating Revolutionary Martyrs,” March 7, 1928, AH 001-012049-0007, file 50124816.

⁴⁰⁸ “Revolutionary Commemoration Committee to National Government,” July 11, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124825. In addition, in August 1928, the National Government issued that “Supplemental Clauses to the Regulations for Compensating Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs” (*Fuxu Huanghuagang xianlie geikuan buchong tiaoli* 撫卹黃花崗先烈給款補充條例).

jurisdiction.⁴⁰⁹ The investigation yielded 39 family members in Guangdong and six in Guangxi.⁴¹⁰ The Revolutionary Commemoration Committee received acknowledgements from Jiangsu, Henan, Jiangxi, Anhui, Hebei, and Fujian.⁴¹¹ The Anhui Provincial Government reported that relatives of two martyrs, Song Yulin 宋豫琳 and Cheng Liang 程良, were living in the province.⁴¹² Another 28 martyrs' families were discovered in provinces other than Guangdong and Guangxi. As the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising was critical to the Nationalist state, the government was actively trying to compensate these martyrs. Families of these martyrs could seek compensation through the National Government and the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee. The reward for those who died for the nation-state was now doubled. In addition to the spirits receiving proper sacrifices, there was monetary compensation.

The Military

At the end of the Qing rule, military service began to attract members of the Confucian educated class, especially those who were disenfranchised by the lack of career opportunities and the abolition of the civil service examination, and were drawn to revolutionary ideas. This new attitude led to many young men (and women) volunteering for the army.⁴¹³ Graduates of new military academies, such as Baoding 保定, facilitated the overthrow of the Qing government in 1911. The Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy (*Huangpu junxiao* 黃埔軍校) since its establishment in 1924 played a critical role in establishing the Nationalist government in 1928. The National Revolutionary Army (NRA, also known as the Revolutionary Army, or the National Army) was founded in 1925 to carry out the Northern Expedition under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. Servicemembers therefore constituted the second most privileged group in the Republic behind Party members.

In the first few years after the NRA's formation, the Nationalist government was financially generous towards certain fallen servicemembers, hoping to incentivize members of the professional armed forces. The Second Historical Archives contained 24 compensation cases submitted to the National Government in Guangzhou from 1925 to 1927, six of which were awarded extraordinary amounts of gratuities. For instance, Liu Yaochen 劉堯宸, the regiment commander of the Fourth Regiment of the Second Division of the NRA First Army (國民革命軍第一軍第二師第四團團長), was hit by bullets and died instantly. The National Government

⁴⁰⁹ "Revolutionary Commemoration Committee (Deng Zeru 鄧澤如) to National Government," July 25, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, files 50124825.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ See AH 001-012049-0008, files 50124827, 50124828, 50124829, 50124830, 50124834, and 50124836.

⁴¹² "Anhui Provincial Government to National Government, including biographies of Song Yulin and Cheng Liang," October 29, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124839.

⁴¹³ Feng Tianyu, "The New Policies in Hubei," in Esherick and Wei, *China: How the Empire Fell*, 116-117. For more on the promotion of military masculinity in the late Qing era, see Nicolas Schillinger, *The Body and Military Masculinity in Late Qing and Early Republican China: The Art of Governing Soldiers* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016).

awarded his family 5,000 *yuan* and organized a memorial service for him in October 1925.⁴¹⁴ Such treatment demonstrates that Chiang Kai-shek, Supreme Commander of the NRA, tried to make the association with the military as equal as, or even more prestigious than the Party membership.

In May 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, petitioned the National Government to revise the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Commending Army Servicemembers,” previously issued by Sun Yat-sen. Chiang proposed to create a new gratuity scale to compensate more than 20,000 wounded and fallen soldiers of the Northern Expedition.⁴¹⁵ The “Provisional Regulations for Compensating National Revolutionary Army Servicemembers during Wartime” (*Guomin gemingjun zhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 國民革命軍戰時撫卹暫行條例) were subsequently promulgated.⁴¹⁶ In addition, the Nationalist government issued the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Army, Navy, and Air Force during Peacetime” (*Luhai kongjun pingshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 陸海空軍平時撫卹暫行條例) in 1927.⁴¹⁷

Unlike the compensation regulations for Party members, which were task-oriented, that is, working for the Party was the primary requirement to receive gratuities, the compensation regulations for members of the armed forces used circumstances of death to determine one’s eligibility. The “Provisional Regulations for Compensating National Revolutionary Army Servicemembers during Wartime” specified the following circumstances that make one eligible for compensation. Injuries and deaths of wartime officers and soldiers were divided into five categories: (1) death in battle (*zhenwang* 陣亡), (2) fatal wound(s) leading to the loss of life, (3) injury in combat that leads to death within a certain time frame, (4) death while on official duty (*yin’gong* 因公), (5) illness leading to death due to relentless work (*jilao binggu* 積勞病故). Death in battle included three circumstances: (1) being killed in combat, (2) being injured from engaging with enemies or from performing duty on the battlefield that later leads to loss of life, and (3) engaging in a special task or encountering an incident in a dangerous place during wartime that led to the loss of life. The “Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Rewarding Military and Auxiliary Servicemembers of the National Revolutionary Army, Navy, and Air Force during Peacetime” prescribed in detail eligible circumstances of death, which included (1) being wounded and killed while participating in resolving domestic turbulence, (2) being wounded and killed while on official duty, and (3) dying from illness due to relentless work.

⁴¹⁴ “Zhonghua minguo guomin zhengfu ling 中華民國國民政府令” (National Government’s decree), October 17, 1925; “Zhuidiao Liu zhongjiang Yaochen dahui choubei chu 追悼劉中將堯宸大會籌備處” (Preparation office for the memorial service of Lieutenant General Liu Yaochen), October 26, 1925, SHA 6-19-343.

⁴¹⁵ “Chiang Kai-shek to National Government,” May 25, 1927, AH 001-012049-0020, file 50050152.

⁴¹⁶ “Chiang Kai-shek to National Government,” June 30, 1927, AH 001-012049-0020, file 50050154.

⁴¹⁷ “Chiang Kai-shek to National Government,” May 5, 1927, AH 001-012049-0020, files 50050152; “Chiang Kai-shek to National Government,” June 30, 1927, AH 001-012049-0020, file 50050154.

The compensation regulations for the military were thorough in terms of categorizing circumstances of injury and death. In the case of fatal wound(s) leading to the loss of life, one has to die within six months for the first-grade injury, within four months for the second-grade injury, and within two months for the third-grade injury to be eligible for a death gratuity. First-grade injuries include the loss of both eyes, the loss of at least one foot or one hand, the loss of the abilities to chew and speak, the loss of genitalia, the loss of control over basic bodily functions and the loss of the ability to move without help, and injuries equivalent to these categories. Second-degree injuries include the loss of ability to use one limb (arm or leg), the loss of two or more digits of one hand, the loss of hearing in one ear or seeing in one eye, the degradation in one's ability to chew and speak, the loss of control over bodily movements, and injuries equivalent to these categories. Third-degree injuries include the loss of one or more digits in one hand, the loss of three or more digits in one foot, the loss of hearing in one ear (or one ear or nose being stripped off), the degradation of visual capacity, obstructed movements of the head and waist, and injuries equivalent to the categories above. These specifications did not change throughout the Nationalist era. However, there were other transformations.

After the National Government was established in Nanjing, it implemented major changes to the military. First, the Ministry of Military Administration (*Junzheng bu* 軍政部) was formed in 1928, supervising five bureaus, army, navy, air force, supplies, and ordnance. Second, the National Government issued the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Army, Navy, and Air Force during Wartime” (*Luhai kongjun zhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 陸海空軍戰時撫卹暫行條例) and the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Rewarding Military and Auxiliary Servicemembers of the National Revolutionary Army, Navy, and Air Force during Peacetime” (*Guomin gemingjun luhaihangkong junren junshu pingshi xushang zhanxing zhangcheng* 國民革命軍陸海航空軍人軍屬平時卹賞暫行章程) in 1928.⁴¹⁸ The third issue was how to compensate NRA soldiers who were killed or injured prior to the Northern Expedition. Various offices proposed different solutions. The Ministry of Military Administration proposed to compensate all NRA soldiers regardless their time of death. The Jiangsu Provincial Government petitioned via the Ministry of the Interior to compensate pre-oath NRA soldiers as Party members, which would make servicemembers as prestigious as Party members. The Executive Yuan however decided to compensate for NRA soldiers who died before July 9, 1926 according to the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the National Revolutionary Army during Wartime,” which elevated their status in a way. Wartime compensation was more generous than peacetime compensation. In 1930, the Executive Yuan however added the “Measures to Compensate the National Revolutionary Army's Pre-Oath Servicemembers Who Died for the Revolution” (*Guomin gemingjun shishi ri yiqian wei geming xunnan junren zhi fuxu banfa* 國民革命軍誓師日以前為革命殉難軍人之撫卹辦法). The gratuities would come from the National Treasury and be distributed by local civil affairs offices (*minzheng jiguan* 民政機關).⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ “Office of Legal Affairs to National Government,” July 16, 1928, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050168.

⁴¹⁹ “Ministry of Military Administration to National Government via Executive Yuan,” December 13, 1930, AH 001-012049-0021, file 50050220.

Huangpu Military Academy cadets could be likened to the revolutionary predecessors because they were trained in military tactics and political principles and helped Sun Yat-sen's faction defeat the archrival in southern China, Chen Jiongmeng. The Huangpu Military Academy Comrades-in-Arms Compensation Committee (*Huangpu junxiao tongxuehui fuxu weiyuanhui* 黃埔軍校同學會撫卹委員會) was founded in 1928 and chaired by the 29-year-old Lieutenant General Tian Zailong 田戴龍 (1894-1950). The Committee tracked the dead and the wounded among the Academy graduates.⁴²⁰ The *Huangpu Xue* (黃埔血) published reports compiled by the Committee.⁴²¹ In 1929, it reported 802 wounded and deceased cadets.

Circumstances	Dying in battle or from injuries	Dying on duty or from illness caused by overexertion	Being Injured	Total
First Class	47	10	62	119
Second Class	18	4	41	63
Third Class	52	14	88	154
Fourth Class	46	7	130	183
Fifth Class	32	11	88	131
Other Campus Branches 分校班科	29	3	120	152
Total	224	49	529	802

Fig. 4-1: Numbers of the Dead and Injured, and of Gratuity Recipients during the First Round of Dispensing Stipends. Compiled by the Huangpu Military Academy Comrades-in-Arms Compensation Committee. “Huangpu tongxuehui fuxu weiyuanhui diyi nian yi fa xujin tongji shuomingbiao 黃埔同學會撫卹委員會第一年已發卹金統計說明表,” *Huangpu xue* 1 (1929): 81.

Circumstances	Dying in battle or from injuries	Dying while on duty or from illness caused by	Being injured	Total

⁴²⁰ “Huangpu tongxuehui fuxu weiyuanhui zuzhi tiaoli 黃埔同學會撫卹委員會組織條例” (Huangpu Military Academy Comrades-in-Arms Compensation Committee), *Huangpu xue* 黃埔血 (Huangpu Blood) 2 (1929): 12.

⁴²¹ I have only found two issues of this journal from 1929.

		overexertion		
First Round	191 cadets 38,200 <i>yuan</i>	32 cadets 3,200 <i>yuan</i>	462 cadets 34,200 <i>yuan</i>	685 cadets 75,600 <i>yuan</i>
Second Round	101 cadets 20,200 <i>yuan</i>	44 cadets 4,400 <i>yuan</i>	150 cadets 10,650 <i>yuan</i>	295 cadets 35,250 <i>yuan</i>
Third Round	174 cadets 34,800 <i>yuan</i>	26 cadets 2,600 <i>yuan</i>	363 cadets* 21,780 <i>yuan</i> *	563 cadets* 59,180 <i>yuan</i> *
Total	466 cadets 93,200 <i>yuan</i>	102 cadets 10,200 <i>yuan</i>	975 cadets* 666,630 <i>yuan</i>*	1,543 cadets* 770,030 <i>yuan</i>*

Fig. 4-2: Numbers of the Dead and Injured, and of Gratuity Recipients during Three Rounds of Dispensing Stipends. Compiled from *Huangpu xue* 1929 (nos. 1 and 2). *The record is missing a few pages. I estimate that there might be 50 names listed on the missing pages, which means an additional amount of 3,000 *yuan* awarded to them.

Comparing the compensation regulations for revolutionary predecessors and Party members to those for servicemembers, there was a major difference in the amount of gratuities. In terms of annual gratuities, while deceased Party members could be awarded up to 600 *yuan* each, deceased Huangpu cadets were awarded only 100-200 *yuan* each. From the beginning of September 1928 to the end of February 1929, the Compensation Committee awarded 38,200 Mexican dollars (*dayang* 大洋) to 191 cadets that died in battle or from injuries. Each was given 200 *yuan*. Thirty-two cadets that died while on duty or from overwork were awarded 100 *yuan* each, totaling 3,200 *yuan*. Four hundred and sixty-two injured cadets were given 34,200 *yuan*. Twenty-three cadets with first-degree wounds were given 120 *yuan* each, totaling 2,760 *yuan*. Fifty-nine cadets with second-degree wounds were given 90 *yuan*, totaling 5,310 *yuan*. Two hundred and two cadets with third-degree wounds were given 60 *yuan* each, totaling 12,120 *yuan*. Sixty-seven with injuries of other degrees were given 60 *yuan*, totaling 4,020 *yuan*.

The Huangpu Military Academy Comrades-in-Arms Compensation Committee also compiled biographical data, including native places, places of death, dates of death, and burial places, of gratuity recipients. With the first year (1928), the Committee dispensed a total of 76,800 Mexican dollars, including administrative expenses of 1,200 *yuan*. Eligible cadets that had not received gratuities in the first round would wait until the second round.⁴²²

Specialists within the armed forces also sought to establish compensation measures for their particular occupations. In 1930, the Head of the Military Medical Department (*Junyi chu* 軍醫

⁴²² “黃埔同學會撫卹委員會第一年已發卹金統計說明表,” *Huangpu xue* 1 (1929): 69.

處), Hao Zihua 郝子華, petitioned to draft the “Measures to Compensate, Reward, and Discipline Epidemic Prevention Army Personnel” (*Lujun fangyi renyuan fuxu banfa ji jiangcheng banfa* 陸軍防疫人員撫卹辦法及獎懲辦法).⁴²³ Hao Zihua graduated from the Army Medical School, joined various warlord armies, and served as surgeon general and chief to a field hospital in the Northern Expedition.⁴²⁴ Hao argued that epidemic-prevention military staff working in high-risk zones experienced conditions equally hazardous to battlefields.⁴²⁵ The Executive Yuan’s Legal Editing and Inspecting Committee (*Falü bianshen weiyuanhui* 法律編審委員會) deliberated and found Hao’s proposal appropriate. The Executive Yuan then sent legal representatives to meet with the Ministry of Military Administration and the Ministry of Health in order to draft the compensation measures as well as the reward and punishment measures for epidemic-prevention military staff.⁴²⁶

Japanese aggression in China prompted new regulations for servicemembers who fought to defend the nation (*weiguo* 衛國) in “international wars” (*guoji zhanzheng* 國際戰爭). The “Measures to Compensate and Encourage Meritorious Servicemembers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force in International Wars” (*Luhai kongjun guoji zhanzheng yougong jianshi jiangxu banfa* 陸軍空軍國際戰爭有功將士獎敘辦法) and the “Measures to Preferentially Compensate Army and Air Force Servicemembers in International Wars” (*Lujun kongjun guoji zhanzheng fuxu congyou banfa* 陸軍空軍國際戰爭撫卹從優辦法) were issued in 1932.⁴²⁷ Xu Shiyong 許世英 (1873-1964), who was in charge of economic relief, led a group of politicians to form the Defending-the-Nation Fallen Officers’ and Soldiers’ Family Members’ Compensation and Education Committee (*Weiguo zhenwang jiangshi yizu fuyuhui* 衛國陣亡將士遺族撫育會) in February 1932. The committee’s mission was to raise money to provide for relatives of the 88th Division of the 5th Army that died during the First Shanghai War, which took place from January 28 to March 3, 1932.⁴²⁸

The First Battle of Shanghai led to new developments in compensation policy.⁴²⁹ Particularly, the Nationalist state’s capacity and technology of tracking their military dead were

⁴²³ “Ministry of Military Administration to National Government via Executive Yuan, citing Hao Zihua’s petition about compensation for the Army epidemic prevention personnel,” May 30, 1930, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050064.

⁴²⁴ John R. Watt, *Saving Lives in Wartime China: How Medical Reformers Built Modern Healthcare Systems amid War and Epidemics, 1928-1945* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 116, n2.

⁴²⁵ (其工作之重要危險之程度殊與臨陣之將士無異)

⁴²⁶ “Ministry of Military Administration to National Government via Executive Yuan, citing Hao Zihua’s petition about compensation for the Army epidemic prevention personnel,” May 30, 1930, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050064.

⁴²⁷ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” March 11, 1932, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050081.

⁴²⁸ “Protecting-the-Nation Fallen Officers’ and Soldiers’ Compensation and Education Committee to National Government,” May 7, 1932, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050083.

⁴²⁹ For more information about this conflict, see Donald A. Jordan, *China’s Trial by Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

put to test. It seems the Nationalists performed rather poorly. While the officially estimated military casualties, mostly from the German-trained 87th and 88th divisions, were over 4,000,⁴³⁰ only about 1,000 were recorded in the 1932 *Biographies of the Shanghai Anti-Japanese Killed-in-Combat Martyrs of the 259th Brigade of the 87th Division of the 5th Army* (*Diwujun dibashiqishi dierwujiulü Shanghai yu Ri zhenwang lieshi zhuanji* 第五軍第八十七師第二五九旅上海禦日陣亡烈士傳記). This compilation of casualties was printed by the 5th Army the 87th Division (第五軍第八十七師) and signed by Sun Yuanliang 孫元良 (1904-2007), a graduate of the Huangpu Military Academy and an army commander in the War of Resistance and the Civil War.⁴³¹ The volume contains five prefaces, 43 biographies, and 230 names with biographical data. Sun Yuanliang, Zhang Shixi 張世希 (1903-1990), Chen Ruihe 陳瑞河 (1904-1962), Wu Qiujian 吳求劍 (1902-1995), and Zhao Hanxing 趙寒星 (?) contributed prefaces. The 88th Army Division Special Party Branch also published *Our Division Song-Hu Anti-Japanese Killed-in-Combat Martyrs' Biographies* (*Benshi Song-Hu kang-Ri zhenwang lieshi zhuanji* 本師淞滬抗日陣亡烈士傳記) in 1932.⁴³² The first section contained 72 long biographies, most of which were accompanied by portraits. The second section listed names, ages, schools, ranks, places and dates of death, and information about remaining relatives of 1,120 fallen servicemembers of the 88th Division.

In the early 1930s, the Nationalist government began streamline the process of collecting and tracking military dead of past conflicts. In order to collect information about fallen officers and soldiers, the United Quartermasters sent survey forms to the General Headquarters of the Army, Navy, and Air Force (*Luhai Kongjun zongsilingbu* 陸海空軍總司令部) and the Ministry of Military Administration. The lowest unit, the battalion (*ying* 營), would fill out these forms. The “National Revolutionary Army...Division (*shi* 師) ...Brigade (*lu* 旅) ...Regiment (*tuan* 團) ...Battalion (*ying* 營) Fallen Officers and Soldiers Survey Form” contains 13 items: rank, duty, name, age, hometown, time and place of death, current burial place, burial by individual or office, individual or common burial, grave marker, and additional notes.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Jordan, *China's Trial by Fire*, 188.

⁴³¹ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 12, 1-96.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 97-278.

⁴³³ Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui jianzhu zhenwang jiangshi gongmu choubai weiyuanhui, *Guomin gemingjun zhenwang jiangshi gongmu luocheng dianli jiniankan* 國民革命軍陣亡將士公墓落成典禮紀念刊 (Commemorative Print on the Completion Ceremony of the Public Cemetery for the National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers) (Nanjing: Rente chubanju, 1936), 69.

國民革命軍 師 旅 團 營 連 陣亡將士調查表			
1.所屬部隊			
2.職務			
3.階級			
4.姓名			
5.年齡			
6.籍貫			
7.陣亡地點	省	縣	村
8.陣亡時日	年	月	日
9.現在埋葬地點	省	縣	村
10.埋葬者 個人或機關			
11.叢葬或單葬			
12.葬地有無標識			
13.附記			

中華民國 年 月 日 部隊長官 師 呈報

Fig. 4-3: Survey Form for Fallen Officers and Soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army. From *General Report from Preparation Committee for the Construction of Public Cemetery for Fallen Officers and Soldiers*.

According to these surveys, during the extended Northern Expedition from 1925 to 1930, the NRA lost 35,260 men of 58 units (*budui* 部隊). The survey for the First Shanghai War in 1932 against the Japanese (*Song-Hu kang-Ri* 淞滬抗日) recorded 4,031 names of nine units, a major change as the compilation in 1932 only contained 1,120 names. Survey forms collected from anti-Japanese conflicts in northern China since the 1931 Marco Polo Bridge Incident put the figure of military casualties at 11,413 from 38 units. From 1932 to June 1934, the first anti-bandit (*jiaofei* 剿匪) campaign resulted in 7,229 deaths of 74 units. From July 1934 to June 1935, the second anti-bandit campaign was won with 11,171 fallen Nationalist officers and soldiers from 81 units.⁴³⁴ In total, this project obtained the biographical information of 69,104 individuals. By the mid-1930s, the Nationalist government had become significantly more efficient in managing its military dead, at least their biographical information.

⁴³⁴ *Luocheng dianli jiniankan*, Report section, 8-9.

On April 24, 1935, the government abolished previous regulations and established three separate regulations for each branch of the military and merged wartime and peacetime conditions: the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Army during Wartime and Peacetime” (*Lujun pingzhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 陸軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例),⁴³⁵ the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Air Force during Wartime and Peacetime” (*Kongjun pingzhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 空軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例),⁴³⁶ and the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Navy during Wartime and Peacetime” (*Haijun pingzhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 海軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例).⁴³⁷

The Bureaucracy

On March 11, 1914, Sun Baoqi 孫寶琦, Premier (*Guowu zongli* 國務總理) of the Beiyang government, issued the “Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats” (*Wenguan xujin ling* 文官卹金令), specifying three forms of stipends: lifetime gratuity, one-time gratuity, and gratuity for family members of the deceased.⁴³⁸ On March 28, the “Implementation Details on the Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats” (*Wenguan xujin ling shixing xize* 文官卹金令施行細則) were issued.⁴³⁹ These regulations served as the foundation for the Nationalist government’s compensation law for government employees. Under the Nationalist rule, the “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” (*Guanli xujin tiaoli* 官吏卹金條例) was promulgated by the National Government on September 9, 1927.⁴⁴⁰ The National Government issued the “Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” (*Guanli xujin tiaoli shixing xize* 官吏卹金條例施行細則) on April 27, 1929 and subsequently revised it on July 8, 1930.⁴⁴¹ These regulations were reserved for civilian bureaucrats (*wenguan* 文官), judicial bureaucrats (*sifaguan* 司法官), and police officials (*jingcha guanli* 警察官吏). This was a major change as the police force and the civil bureaucracy had been considered to be separate

⁴³⁵ “Ministry of Military Administration to National Government via Executive Yuan,” September 26, 1934, AH 001-012049-0022, file 50050223.

⁴³⁶ “Executive Yuan to National Government, including drafted regulations” June 21, 1934, AH 001-012049-0022, file 50050209.

⁴³⁷ “Haijun pingzhanshi fuxu zhanxing tiaoli 海軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例,” *Haijun gongbao* 海軍公報 (The Navy Gazette) 71 (1935): 8.

⁴³⁸ “Wenguan xujin ling 文官卹金令 (Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats), *Zhengfu gongbao* 653 (1914): 1-5.

⁴³⁹ “Wenguan xujin ling shixing xize 文官卹金令施行細則” (Implementation Details on Gratuities Decrees for Civil Bureaucrats), *Zhengfu gongbao* 679 (1914): 3-6.

⁴⁴⁰ “Central Executive Committee to National Government, including draft regulations,” September 5, 1927, AH 001-012049-0005, file 50102346.

⁴⁴¹ “Xiuzheng guanli xujin tiaoli shixing xize 修正官吏卹金條例施行細則” (Revised Implementation Details on Regulations for Government Officials), *Fujian sheng zhengfu gongbao* 福建省政府公報 (Fujian Provincial Government Gazette) 161 (1930): 9-14.

by the previous governments. In 1934, the term “civil servant” (*gongwuyuan* 公務員) replaced “government official” (*guanli* 官吏). The “Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants” (*Gongwuyuan xujin tiaoli* 公務員卹金條例) were issued on March 26, 1934, covering civilian bureaucrats (*wenguan* 文官), judicial bureaucrats (*sifa guan* 司法官), and policing officials (*jingguan* 警官), and police officers (*zhangjing* 長警).⁴⁴² The “Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants” (*Gongwuyuan xujin tiaoli shixing xize* 公務員卹金條例施行細則) were issued on February 20, 1934.⁴⁴³

According to the 1927 Regulations, there were three eligible circumstances for government officials: (1) death while on official duty (*yingong wanggu* 因公亡故), (2) dying from illness after 15 years on the job, and (3) dying within five years of being physically and/or mentally harmed while on official duty or after being on the job for ten or more years. The 1934 “Regulations for Compensating Civil Servants” stipulated the same three categories of eligibility for compensation.

Although the regulations for the armed forces and the regulations for civil servants used the same phrase “death while on official duty,” it had different meanings across regulations. The 1927 “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” did not specify circumstances that qualified as “death while on official duty.” The 1934 “Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants” however listed three: (1) “encountering dangers on duty leading to illness and then death”; (2) “while on official business, due to either encountering danger, or falling ill, leading to death”; (3) “while in office, encountering unexpected danger leading to death.” For servicemembers, “death while on official duty” was defined as (1) encountering disasters, such as fire or flood, or being hit by random bullets while on duty during wartime, and (2) losing life in an accident while performing a special task during wartime.

In the 1930s, the government began to entrust civil bureaucrats with tasks related to armed combat, and would reward them in the same manner as military personnel. The Nationalist government’s intensifying conflicts with the Communist, warlord, and Japanese forces prompted it to seek support beyond its formal armed forces. In 1933, Chiang Kai-shek, as Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, proposed the “Regulations for Rewarding Anti-Bandit Civilian and Military Officials and Servicemembers in Bandit-Infested Areas” (*Jiaofei qu nei wenwu guanzuo shibing jiaofei chengjiang tiaoli* 剿匪區內文武官佐士兵剿匪懲獎條例).⁴⁴⁴ Both military and civil bureaucrats would be compensated for diligently engaging in anti-bandit

⁴⁴² “Gongwuyuan xujin tiaoli 公務員卹金條例” (Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants), *Henan sheng zhengfu gongbao* 河南省政府公報 (Henan Provincial Government Gazette) 1081 (1934): 1-4.

⁴⁴³ “Gongwuyuan xujin tiaoli shixing xize 公務員卹金條例施行細則” (Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants), *Henan sheng zhengfu gongbao* 1081 (1934): 5-12.

⁴⁴⁴ “Xunling wu sheng junzheng ge jiguan ling fa jiaofei qunei wenwu guanzuo shibing jiaofei chengjiang tiaoli yiti zunzhao 訓令五省軍政各機關令發剿匪區內文武官佐士兵剿匪懲獎條例一體遵照,” *Junzheng xunkan* 軍政詢看 (Military Administration Journal) 2 (1933): 135-136; “Jiaofei qu nei wenwu guanzuo shibing jiaofei chengjiang tiaoli 剿匪區內文武官佐士兵剿匪懲獎條例,” *Hebei sheng zhengfu gongbao* 932 (1934): 1-5.

campaigns, or would be punished for the opposite (Article 1).⁴⁴⁵ In addition, civil bureaucrats who were acting leaders of military units were considered as holding military posts (Article 2). Civil bureaucrats would be subjected to military disciplinary actions, including facing the firing squad (*qiangjue* 槍決) (Article 6, Clause 1). The extension of military duties to civil bureaucrats was part of the civilianization of war, which I will discuss in Chapter 6. This development also eliminated the neutral stance that one might have been able to take during wartime.

Local authorities were also expected and required to participate militarily. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek proposed to draft special measures to compensate county magistrates that died while defending county seats (*yishen xuncheng zhi xianzhang* 以身殉城之縣長).⁴⁴⁶ The existing “Reward and Penalty Regulations for Anti-Bandit Civilian and Military Officials and Servicemembers in Bandit-Infested Areas” had six levels of reward: advancement of responsibilities (*shengyong* 升用), promotion (*jinji* 進級), medal (*jiangzhang* 獎章), citation of merits (*jigong* 記功), monetary rewards (*jiangjin* 獎金), and commendation and reward (*baojiang* 褒獎). There was no specific clause for killed county magistrates.⁴⁴⁷ In response to Chiang’s idea, the Military Affairs Commission suggested that “county magistrates who tried their utmost to defend the counties and were martyred when the counties were taken over” be compensated according to Article 2, Clause 1, “Being killed in battle” of the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating National Revolutionary Armed Forces Servicemembers during Wartime.” Martyred magistrates would be given a one-time gratuity at the grade of an Army Colonel’s or a Navy Captain (1,000 *yuan*), and an annual stipend of 500 *yuan*. In addition, the amounts could be increased by one grade according to the “righteous compensation” (*yixu* 議卹) of Article 21 of the same regulations.⁴⁴⁸ In other words, martyred magistrates with exceptional circumstances could be compensated as an Army Major General or a Navy Rear Admiral. The government incentivized the local authorities to take on the responsibility of the armed forces in defending themselves and their communities.

Petitioning

Petitioners

Regardless of one’s relation to the dead, he/she could submit a petition. Family members, comrades, friends, acquaintances, subordinates, supervisors, and village leaders could submit petitions. The content of the compensation regulations was made known to the public through

⁴⁴⁵ (凡剿匪區內文武官佐士兵之懲獎，除其他法另有規定外，依本條例行之。)

⁴⁴⁶ “Cheng guomin zhengfu jin ni ju youxu jiaofei xun cheng xianzhang banfa chengqing jianhe ling zun 呈國民政府謹擬具優恤剿匪殉城縣長辦法呈請鑒核令遵” (Petition to draft measures to compensate martyred county magistrates), *Junshi xunkan* 軍事旬刊 (Military Affairs Journal) 37/38 (1934): 49-50.

⁴⁴⁷ (無撫卹死事縣長專條)

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.* (陣亡各軍官佐如有生前功勳卓著者，或臨陣率先遇害，或死事極慘被害極烈等情均得分別，按照卹金表，呈請從優議卹，但祇准照其原級加一級以表示限制，起逕由國民政府，或總司令呈請特別議卹者，不在此限。)

official gazettes and major newspapers, providing the legal foundation for many families of the war dead to seek commendation and compensation from the state. The use of representatives and letter writers was common, especially when the bereaved family was illiterate. Oftentimes, when petitioners signed them with crosses or fingerprints, it was highly probable that they did not write their petitions without significant help.

Petition letters were usually composed on long pieces of paper, which were then folded up in accordion form and submitted to the authorities in person or by post. The petitioner had to purchase government-issued stamps as a form of payment and affix them to the petition. Petitioners often cited specific regulations for which their cases qualified. The petitioner identified him/herself and went on narrating the circumstance. In most cases, the complexity corresponds with the length of the petition. The content covers the circumstance of death to the current livelihood of the living. Usually if petitioners were literate, their letters were signed with their personal seals. In some cases, the *bao* and *jia* heads of petitioners' community also affixed their seals as guarantors. When the provincial government could not decide on a case or deemed a case to be important, it forwarded the petition to the National Government. I found the bulk of complex petition cases at the national level. Petitions found at the municipal and provincial levels are much less extensive in detail and complexity.

Petitions traveled to many bureaucratic offices. Petitioners submitted their letters to their county or municipal government. If the case was deemed important, it was forwarded to the National Government by way of the provincial government. The National Government then sent the petitions to the Ministry of the Interior by way of the Executive Yuan. The Ministry of the Interior ordered local authorities to conduct investigations to verify the petitions' claims. The inquiry process was intensive, frequently requiring the county officials to visit the martyrs' hometowns to crosscheck the statements against information from *bao-jia* captains (a form of communal governance), neighbors, and other relatives. If the local government confirmed the truthfulness of the petition with the Ministry of the Interior, the latter requested that the Ministry of Finance or the provincial or country treasury disburse fees for burial, commemorative plaques, and/or stipends for living relatives according to the current regulations. Depending on whether the deceased was a Nationalist Party member or a serviceman, the National Government also sent the petition to the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee or the Ministry of Military Administration (or Military Affairs Commission). The process took at least a few months and often dragged on for years. Backlogging was also an issue. Upon approval, beneficiaries or their guardians received gratuity certificates, which were used to receive one-time or annual gratuities from provincial or municipal governments. Each certificate has three panels. The family, the National Government, and either the provincial or county government kept one segment.

The volume of paperwork continued to increase even after cases were decided upon by the National Government. Petitioners whose letters were denied could appeal multiple times. Even after petitions were approved, petitioners might continue to appeal on the basis of their changed circumstances, such as death, remarriage, financial difficulties, etc. Entitled families who did not receive the gratuities would continue to appeal.

Beneficiaries

Compensation regulations under the Nationalist regime extended eligibility to relatives within the first or second degree of separation: parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren, and siblings.⁴⁴⁹ However, the government did not establish a consistent sequence across compensation regulations. The government's policy reflected the traditional patriarchy. "Spouses" (*peiou* 配偶) in most cases meant "wives" and "concubines." Only patrilineal underage siblings and underage children and grandchildren were eligible. The 1930 Civil Code (*Xin min fa* 新民法) led to new changes and challenges.

Compensation regulations for Nationalist Party members considered the bereaved family as a unit. The 1927 "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" stipulated only three relations as eligible to receive gratuities: children, spouses, and parents. There was however no clear order. Children would receive gratuities until coming of age, widows until death or remarriage, and parents until death (Article 9). The 1928 "Compensation Regulations for Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs" included parents, children, wives, and siblings. There was no clear hierarchy. Article 2 stipulated that each martyr's family should receive an annual stipend of 600 *yuan* from the provincial treasury. If the number of family members including parents, wives, concubines, and children is over five, the government might consider increasing the amount. Family members eligible to be in charge of martyrs' death gratuities included parents, wives, concubines, children, adopted heirs (*chengji zi* 承繼子), heads of the martyrs' families, and guardians (*baozheng ren* 保護人). In addition, children and adopted heirs attending school up to the university level would be given tuition waivers. The 1928 "Compensation Regulations for Jiangsu Revolutionary Martyrs" included grandparents and grandchildren, but not siblings. These regulations specified an order: (1) spouses, (2) children, (3) grandchildren, (4) parents, and (5) grandparents. However, this order was not firmly set. Instead, each martyr's family would receive 600 *yuan* (Article 2, Clause 5). According to Article 5, if there were multiple relatives eligible for compensation, the gratuity would be divided among them equally.

These compensation regulations for Party members paid great attention to the families of the deceased. In addition to the death circumstances, the situation of eligible beneficiaries determined the length and types of gratuities according to Article 16 of the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members."⁴⁵⁰ According to Article 14 of the same regulations, fallen Party members would be awarded one kind of gratuities only. One-time gratuity recipients would not receive annual gratuities. However, if their families were impoverished, the Central Executive Committee would decide whether to accommodate them.⁴⁵¹ Article 15 demanded detailed information of the families that were awarded with gratuities. Families had to report the number

⁴⁴⁹ The current U.S. military compensation policy covers spouses, children, parents, and siblings, either biological or adopted. The policy was recently reformed. It now pays a lump sum of 100,000 dollars to the next of kin if a servicemember dies on active duty or within 120 days of separation due to service-connected injury or illness. Office of Public and Intergovernmental Affairs, Federal Benefits for Veterans, Dependents and Survivors, Chapter 13 Dependents and Survivors Benefits <https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/benefits_book/benefits_chap13.asp> Accessed May 15, 2017.

⁴⁵⁰ (年撫卹金之數得依受撫卹者，家庭狀況之變更由中央執行委員會議決增減之)

⁴⁵¹ (遇難之黨員祇受一種撫卹(如受一次撫卹金者不得再受年撫卹金)若家道過寒者，得由中央執行委員會議決通融之)

of members and their ages, properties, their household expenses, and their economic classification of the year prior. In addition, if there were children of school age, the families would also report their schools, grades, and graduation dates to the state.

Compensation regulations for members of the military on the contrary prescribed a clear order of relatives to receive gratuities. Article 15 of the 1927 “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the National Revolutionary Army Servicemembers” included grandparents, grandsons, and siblings. Children were prioritized over spouses as beneficiaries. Parents were placed after grandsons, but before underage paternal siblings.

Clause 1: Son(s) and daughter(s) of the deceased , except married daughters, shall receive the gratuities (死亡者之子女, 出嫁者不在內下倣此)

Clause 2: When there are no children, [the gratuity] shall be distributed to the wife. (無子女給其妻)

Clause 3: When there are no child and wife, [the gratuity] shall be distributed to a grandson. (子女妻俱無時給其孫)

Clause 4: When there are no child, wife, and grandson, [the gratuity] shall be distributed to the parents. (子女妻及孫俱無時給其父母)

Clause 5: When there are no child, wife, grandson, and parent, [the gratuity] shall be distributed to [paternal] grandparents (子女妻及孫即父母俱無時給其祖父母)

Clause 6: When there are none of the above-mentioned relatives, [the gratuity] shall be distributed to underage younger brothers and sisters. (右列各遺族俱無時給其未成年之胞弟妹)

	5-grandparents	
	4-parents	
2-wife	The Dead	6-paternal siblings
	1-children (sons and unmarried daughters)	
	3-grandsons	

Fig. 4-4: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (National Revolutionary Army, 1927).

Compensation regulations for bureaucrats varied according to the gender of the deceased. The 1927 “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” distinguished between male and female bureaucrats.⁴⁵² First, for a male bureaucrat, his wife and children were of the first and

⁴⁵² “National Government issuing “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials,”” September 9, 1927, AH 001-012049-0005, file 50102345.

second priorities to receive gratuities.⁴⁵³ A female bureaucrat's children and grandchildren were of the first and second priorities to receive gratuities; her husband came in third (Article 10). Second, if the deceased government employee was male, compensation was paid first to his spouse regardless of her profession. The assumption was that she did not have one. However, in case of a female employee, her husband was only compensated if he was disabled and could not earn a living. Third, the widow of a male bureaucrat lost her right to the death gratuity if she died or remarried (Article 11). The widower would lose the gratuity if he died or became able to self-support. This means that the widower could remarry and continue receiving the death gratuity for his former wife. Fourth, a female bureaucrat's natal family was only eligible to receive gratuities if their husbands' parents and grandparents were deceased. In other words, her parents-in-law and grand-parents-in-law were entitled to receive compensation before her parents and grandparents. Last, a male bureaucrat's paternal underage siblings were eligible to receive compensation while a female bureaucrat's ones were not.

	5-grandparents	
	4-parents	
1-wife (<i>qi</i>)	The Dead	6-paternal siblings
	2- underage children	
	3-grandchildren	

Fig. 4-5: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (Male Government Officials, 1927).

5-grandparents-in-law	7-grandparents	
4-parents-in-law	6-parents	
3- husband	The Dead	
	1-underage children	
	2-grandchildren	

Fig. 4-6: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (Female Government Officials, 1927).

In the 1930 Civil Code, properties were granted in multidirectional: from parents to children (downward), from children to parents and grandparents (upward), and from one sibling to another (lateral). Such “generational hopscotching would have been utterly unthinkable in

⁴⁵³ Unlike the “Regulations for Compensating Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs,” which explicitly included wives and concubines (*qiqie* 妻妾), the “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” specified only wives (*qi* 妻) were eligible.

imperial times.”⁴⁵⁴ The Civil Code also collapsed all consanguineous kinship into “relatives by blood,” extinguishing the differences between maternal and paternal lineage. Kin consists of blood relations, affinal relatives, and spouses.⁴⁵⁵ This change was reflected in the compensation regulations that extended eligibility to grandparents. There was distinction between maternal and paternal ones. However, siblings had to be paternal to be eligible.

Lineal relatives	Degree	Collateral relatives	Degree
Great-great-grandparents	4		
Great-grandparents	3		
Grandparents	2	Great-uncles/aunts	4
Parents	1	Uncles/aunts	3
Self		Siblings	2
Children	1	First cousins	4
Grandchildren	2	Nephews/nieces	3
Great-grandchildren	3	Grandnephews/grandnieces	4
Great-great-grandchildren	4		

Fig. 4-7: Degrees of Kinship Under the 1930 Republican Civil Code. Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*, 108.

The 1930 Civil Code changed the status of concubines. In 1932, the Ministry of Military Administration submitted a compensation case involves a wife and a concubine to the National Government via the Executive Yuan. A military officer (*junguan* 軍官) from Jiangsu died in an anti-bandit campaign. He left behind a wife and a concubine, each of who had a son. According to Article 15 of the 1928 “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Army, Navy, and Air Force during Wartime,” only wives and children were entitled to a gratuity. However, as the concubine was taken before the Civil Code was promulgated, the question was whether the concubine was eligible to share the gratuity. The judgment was in favor of the concubine. Since the concubine did not “remarry” (*zaijiao* 再醮, literally “having a second nuptial ceremony”), she was given a share of the gratuity according to Article 12 of the “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials.”⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ Kathryn Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China, 960-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 109.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴⁵⁶ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” January 26, 1932, AH 001-012049-0017, file 50050074. Article 12: “If there are multiple people eligible to receive a gratuity, the amount shall be divided equally. If one or multiple people give up their shares, the amount shall be divided equally among the rest.”

The New Civil Code elevated status of women. Wives were promoted to first in line to receive stipends. The 1935 “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” included grandparents, grandsons, and siblings. Spouses and children were both first in line as beneficiaries. Parents were placed at the same level as underage grandsons.

	5-grandparents	
	3-parents	
1-wife	The Dead	6-paternal siblings
	1-children (sons and unmarried daughters only)	
	3-grandsons	

Fig. 4-8: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (Army, 1935).

The 1935 “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Air Force Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” and “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Navy Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” included grandparents, grandsons, and siblings. However, these two regulations stipulated that children were second in line and grandsons were prioritized over parents.

	5-grandparents	
	4-parents	
1-wife	The Dead	6-paternal siblings
	2-children (sons and unmarried daughters)	
	3-grandsons	

Fig. 4-9: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (Air Force and Navy, 1935)

Like the 1927 ones, the 1934 “Compensation Regulations for Civil Servants,” applicable to police officers and civil bureaucrats, made a distinction between male and female bureaucrats. Only disabled husbands would be compensated.⁴⁵⁷ The 1937 “Regulations for Compensating Police Officials” similarly stipulated that only disabled husbands are eligible for gratuities. The order of relatives to receive gratuities remained the same: wife (or disabled husband), underage children, underage grandchildren, parents, grandparents, and paternal underage siblings.

⁴⁵⁷ “Regulations for Compensating Civil Servants,” March 26, 1934, JPA 1001-yi-74.

In the case of an unmarried female civil servant, her parents would be entitled to the death gratuity. In November 1939, a 22-year-old female police officer, Wang Ding'e working for the Wang Jingwei's government was gruesomely murdered. She was killed when going on a night duty. Her body was found covered with blood with a broken neck, a 2.5-inch cut on the left hand from the struggle, and a 4-inch gape on her right chest.⁴⁵⁸ Based on Articles 3 and 8 of the "Special Compensation for Civil Servants" (*Gongwuyuan tezhong fuxu tiaoli* 公務員特種撫卹條例), her 53-year-old father was granted a one-time gratuity of 864 *yuan*. This amount was six years' worth of her monthly salary of 12 *yuan* as a third-grade female officer.⁴⁵⁹ According to Article 3, those who die while on duty are granted one-time gratuities equivalent of five to eight years' worth of their salaries at the time of death. The death gratuity for Wang Ding'e was in the lower half. This is one of the rare recorded cases when a female government employee was killed in the line of duty.

Bureaucratic Journeys of Petitions

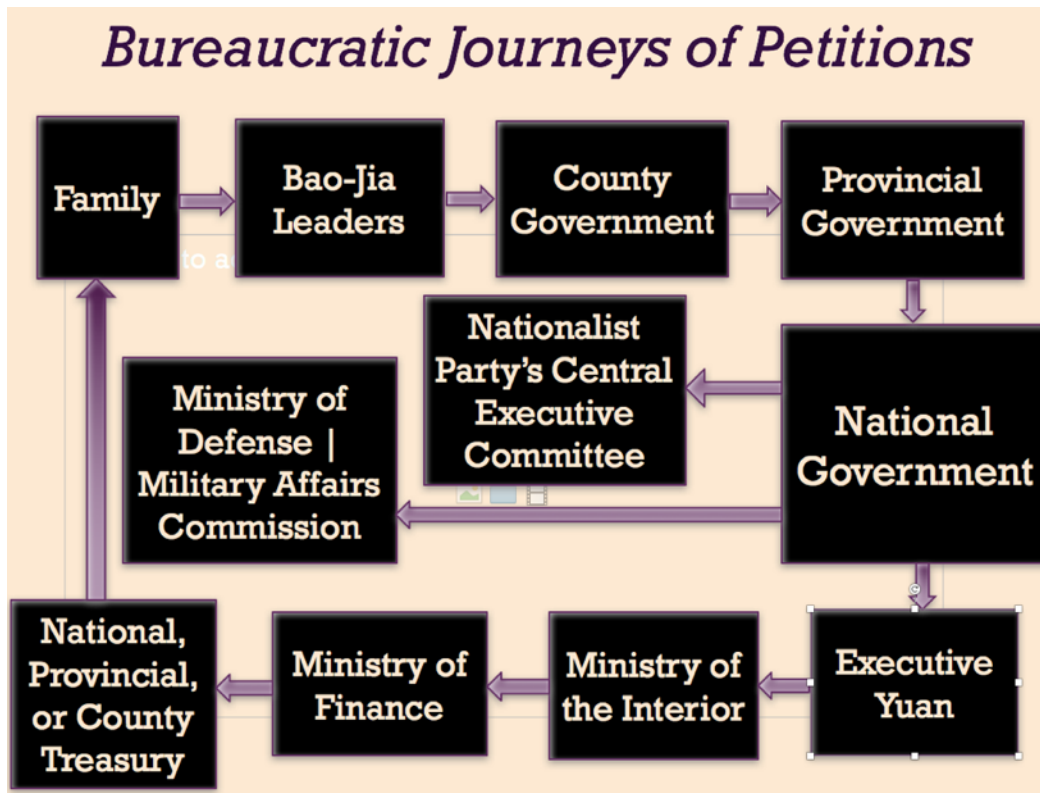


Fig. 4-10: Bureaucratic Journeys of Petitions.

⁴⁵⁸ "Yuhang district police bureau's report on a former female policeman," November 28, 1939, SHA 1-2003-108.

⁴⁵⁹ "Police Administration Bureau (*Jingzheng ju*) to Executive Yuan," September 13, 1940, SHA 1-2003-108.

In order to illustrate the complexity of the petitioning process, I examine four cases of Wei Tongling, Chen Kai, Lu Weiye, and Li Tang. These cases illustrate form and content pertaining to petition letters, responses from the authorities, and judgments.

Case 1: As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the National Government in earnest sought to commemorate Nationalist Party members and revolutionary predecessors. The Revolutionary Commemoration Committee was active in collecting information from the provinces and compiling lists of martyrs of the 1911 Revolution. In 1928, three sons Wei Xuxin 韋緒信, Wei Yizhou 韋益周, and Wei Xuye 韋緒業, of a Yellow Flower Hill martyr, Wei Tongling 韋統鈴 petitioned with regard to their insufficient gratuities. The Guangxi Provincial Government forwarded their petition to the National Government. According to the petition by three sons of Wei Tongling to the National Government, the “Regulations for Compensating Party Members” specified that they would be given 600 silver dollars (*dayang* 大洋) as the annual stipend. However, the Guangxi government only gave them 300 silver coins (*xiaoyang* 小洋).⁴⁶⁰

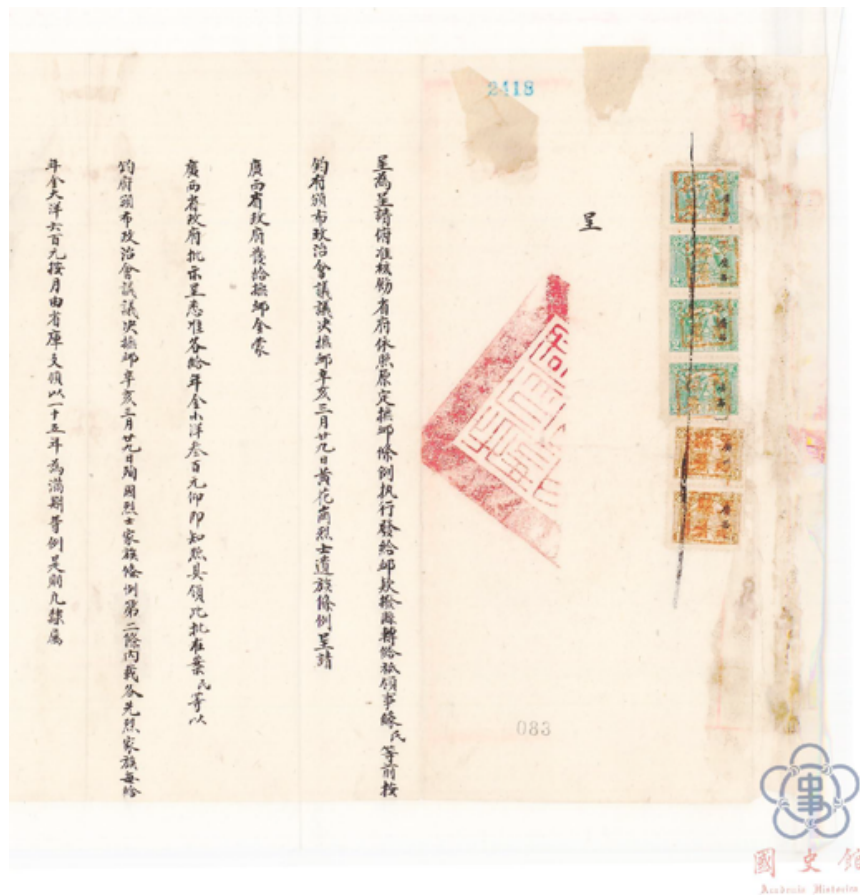


Fig. 4-11: Petition from Wei Xuxin, Wei Yizhou, and Wei Xuye to National Government. December 8, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124852.

⁴⁶⁰ “Guangxi Provincial Government to National Government, including petition from martyr Wei’s family,” December 8, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124852.

The petition, received on December 8, was acted upon quickly. On December 13, the National Government drafted an official communication (*gonghan* 公函) to the Guangxi Provincial Government, asking the latter to address the complaint and also attached a copied version of the Wei family's petition.⁴⁶¹ The drafted communication was kept at the Secretariat of the National Government and the official version was sent to Guangxi. Before photocopiers, one of the tasks of the government clerks was to reproduce faithfully these documents by hand.

The Guangxi Provincial Government replied on January 13, 1929 that Yellow Flower Hill martyrs had previously been awarded 300 silver coins a year. With the revised regulations that increased the amount to 600 *yuan*, Guangxi government would comply. Between postal service and investigation, the Guangxi Provincial Government's reply was received on January 28, 1929, approximately one and half month after the Wei family's petition was filed at the Secretariat (*wenguanchu*) of the National Government.⁴⁶² The case appeared to be resolved within two months.

Case 2: In 1928, Guo Ding 郭定, a former representative of Pingyu (Henan) assembly petitioned for his nephew, Chen Kai 陳凱, to be recognized as a martyr, and requested financial assistance for Kai's remaining family.⁴⁶³ As a maternal uncle, Guo Ding's link to Chen Kai was of the fourth mourning degree.⁴⁶⁴ While Guo Ding did not raise his nephew, he petitioned on behalf of Chen Kai's stepmother and (half-)brothers.⁴⁶⁵ Retired from his post, Guo Ding referred to himself as "citizen" (*min* 民). His petition was sent on October 26, 1928 and filed at the Secretariat three days later.

According to Guo Ding's, Chen Kai's parents died before he came of age. His father remarried and the stepmother probably raised Chen. Chen Kai studied to be a lawyer, but seeing the corruption of the Qing, he became a revolutionary instead. He founded the Revolutionary Alliance's Yan-Jin Beyond the Pass Branch (*Yan-Jin Guanwai tongmenghui* 燕晉關外同盟會)⁴⁶⁶ and the *Beyond the Pass* (*Guanwai* 關外) newspaper to promote education and broadcast revolutionary ideas. As the vice-chair of the Nationalist Party's Zhangjiakou branch, during the Second Revolution of 1913, Chen was captured and executed in Beiping, and thrown unceremoniously into a pit without being encoffined. He emphasized the virtues of the family as the rationale for the government's assistance. According to his petition, his sister (Chen's birth mother) exhausted herself from educating the children and managing the household, she soon

⁴⁶¹ "National Government to Guangxi Provincial Government," December 13, 1928, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124854.

⁴⁶² "Guangxi Provincial Government to National Government," January 28, 1929, AH 001-012049-0008, file 50124855.

⁴⁶³ "Petition from Guo Ding," October 29, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002448.

⁴⁶⁴ For more on mourning rituals, see Arthur P. Wolf, "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman, 189-208 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970).

⁴⁶⁵ The petitioner did not make it clear whether Chen Kai's brothers were of the same or different mother. Such distinction did not matter.

⁴⁶⁶ Yan 燕 and Jin 晉 refer to Hebei and Shanxi respectively.

succumbed to illness and passed away. A paternal uncle of Chen Kai's raised him until he came of age. Apparently, Chen Kai's stepmother, *née* Zhao, pained by her stepson's violent death, lost her eyesight. Kai's fiancée, a Ms. Fan 樊, was described as "a chaste lady from a major family" (*dajia nü zhenlie* 大家女貞烈).⁴⁶⁷ His two younger brothers, Chen Yi 陳義 and Chen Li 陳禮, whose names mean "righteousness" and "propriety," chose to remain at home taking care of their elders. Guo Ding sought to reinstate his nephew's heroic act (*zhaoxue* 昭雪) and entered his name in history (*lie ru shizhuan* 列入史傳) and to provide for the Chen household. The family resided in Jiangsu.⁴⁶⁸ Guo Ding included several items as proof of Chen Kai's identity, including sketches (*shulie* 述略) of his family ancestry (*jiashi* 家世) and painful history (*tongshi* 痛史), provided by Chen's family. Guo included the Constitution of the Yan-Jin Beyond-the-Pass Unification Committee and the Detailed Regulations sent to him from the Committee. There was a Qing memorial of the Ye family from Dalin, Gansu, arriving in Shanghai,⁴⁶⁹ which Chen Kai handed to Guo Ding when Chen was in Zhenjiang. This memorial was to prove that ancestors of Chen Kai belonged to the Ye clan from Dalin, Gansu, who migrated to Jiangsu during the imperial time. The document therefore established Jiangsu as Chen Kai's native place although his revolutionary activities took place in the far north. Being a native of Jiangsu allowed Chen Kai to be eligible for compensation benefits exclusive to revolutionaries coming from Jiangsu. Additionally, there was a portrait of Chen Kai taken in Shanghai. The four items were mentioned in Guo Ding's petition, but I did not personally see them in the archival folder. Guo Ding signed the petition with his personal seal.

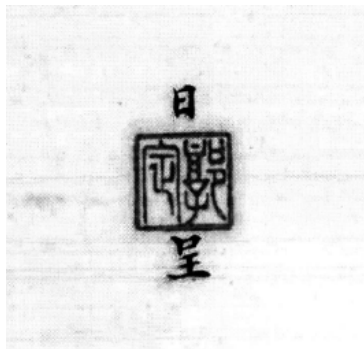


Fig. 4-12: Guo Ding's Seal on his Petition. AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002448.

Within two weeks, the National Government then ordered the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee to investigate Chen Kai's martyrdom⁴⁷⁰ and also ordered the Jiangsu

⁴⁶⁷ *Zhenlie* 貞烈 means (a lady) willing to die to preserve her chastity.

⁴⁶⁸ "Petition from Guo Ding," October 29, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002448.

⁴⁶⁹ (代表甘肅大林業家抵滬清摺)

⁴⁷⁰ "National Government to Central Executive Committee," November 2, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002451.

Provincial Government to investigate his family's circumstances.⁴⁷¹ The National Government made copies of the four items submitted by Guo Ding and forwarded to Jiangsu as well. The Jiangsu Provincial Government then ordered its Department of Civil Administration (*Minzheng ting*) to take charge of the investigation at county level.⁴⁷²

Jiangsu Provincial Government verified Chen Kai's biography and reported back to the National Government on November 14, 1928. Since the central government was located in Nanjing, the document was received just a day later. After conferring with the Ministry of the Interior, the Executive Yuan proposed the following. Chen Kai's family was to be awarded an annual gratuity of 600 *yuan* per year according to the "Provisional Regulations for Compensating Jiangsu Revolutionary Predecessors" (*Jiangsu zhanxing geming xianlie shixu tiaoli* 江蘇暫行革命先烈施卹條例). Chen Kai was enshrined at the local Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, and entered into the Nationalist Party's repertoire of revolutionaries. In addition, the Provincial Government acknowledged Chen Kai's stepmother's "steadfast loyalty" and supported her for life (*zhongshen weizhi* 終身為止).⁴⁷³ The National Government approved the proposal from the Executive Yuan and notified the parties involved.⁴⁷⁴ It took about four months from when the petition was filed until it was approved.

Case 3: Mrs. Li 李 *née* Jiang 蔣 petitioned for her son Li Tang 李唐, who died in an anti-Yuan Shikai movement in 1916. Mrs. Li, who lived in Anhua 安化 county of Hunan, submitted her petition by way of the Hunan Provincial Government. Li Tang was captured while organizing revolutionary activities against Yuan Shikai. After three days of imprisonment, he was executed and his body was deposited at the dilapidated temple (荒寺) in Changsha waiting to be transported and buried. The distance from Changsha to Anhua is about 170 miles.

Her petition was forwarded to the Executive Yuan, which delegated the deliberation to the Ministry of the Interior. The Premier of the Executive Yuan, Tan Yankai, then delivered the verdict to the National Government and included a copied petition. According to Article 3, Clause 2 and Article 7, Clause 2 of the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members," Mrs. Li would be awarded the second-rate annual stipend of 400 *yuan*. According to Article 9, the stipend would be given until her son came of age. However, Mrs. Li's request for coffin transportation fee (*bangui fei* 搬櫃費) was denied because the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" did not cover such expenses. In the scribbled comment on the communication from the Executive Yuan, the National Government however decided to make an exception for

⁴⁷¹ "National Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government," November 7, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002449.

⁴⁷² "Jiangsu Provincial Government to National Government," November 15, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002450.

⁴⁷³ "Executive Yuan to National Government," February 28, 1929, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002453. Families of Jiangsu martyrs were equally awarded annual stipends of 600 *yuan*.

⁴⁷⁴ "National Government to Executive Yuan," March 5, 1929, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002454; "National Government to Central Executive Committee," March 4, 1929, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002455.

Li Tang's family and award them coffin transportation expense.⁴⁷⁵ The National Government forwarded the case to the Central Executive Committee, which approved a stipend of 300 *yuan* for Mrs. Li to transport Li Tang's body back to his native place for burial.⁴⁷⁶ The Executive Yuan sent the middle panel of Li Tang's gratuity certificate, prepared by the Minister of the Interior, to the National Government.⁴⁷⁷ After the case was received by the National Government, it was resolved within a month.



Fig. 4-13: Gratuity Certificate of Li Tang's Family. AH 001-036000-0011.

The certificate indicated the martyr was Li Tang, who died on January 19, 1916. He was either “killed by the enemy” or “died of exhaustion while on duty.” The bureaucrat in charge forgot to cross out one of the two categories. However, it was effortless to figure out even for the

⁴⁷⁵ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” April 3, 1929, AH 001-036000-0011, file 50002537.

⁴⁷⁶ “Central Executive Committee to National Government,” April 24, 1929, AH 001-036000-0011, file 50002540.

⁴⁷⁷ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” April 29, 1929, AH 001-036000-0011, file 50002542.

bureaucrats who were not familiar with the case. Judging from the amount of 400 *yuan* awarded to his family (the second-rate annual gratuity), Li Tang must have been killed by the enemy. The certificate was issued on April 8, 1929. The number of the certificate indicated it was the 28th one in the “Party” category.

Case 4: A Mrs. Lu 陸 *née* Gan 甘, together with two men, Lu Xianzhang 陸憲章 and Lu Zhiyun 陸志雲, composed a joint petition with regard to two martyrs, Lu Renyu 陸任宇 and Lu Weiye 陸偉業. Chen Jiongming executed these three men in the eastern suburb of Guangzhou on July 17, 1922.⁴⁷⁸ There was the third martyr who died in the same event, Gan Xichu 甘熙初, yet no one petitioned on his behalf. Lu Xianzhang was Lu Weiye’s father. Lu Renyu was Mrs. Lu’s husband and Lu Zhiyun’s younger brother. The petition also listed four witnesses (*jianzheng ren* 見證人). According to the joint petition, Sun Yat-sen had already honored these martyrs with gratuities. However, as the Nationalist government moved from Guangzhou to Nanjing, Sun’s decree was not carried out. In 1927, after the Party purification (*qingdang* 清黨) campaign, the families presented their case at the Guangzhou Political Council (*zhengzhi huiyi* 政治會議). Nevertheless, they could not receive the gratuities due to the impact of the ensuing political unrest. In 1928, as the Nationalist government had been secured in Nanjing, the families hoped to be finally compensated for the deaths of their loved ones.⁴⁷⁹

As these martyrs were in the Sun Yat-sen-led army, the Executive Yuan forwarded to the Ministry of Military Administration for further examination.⁴⁸⁰ According to its investigation, the Ministry of Military Administration did not have records (*wu an keji* 無案可稽) of compensation decrees issued by Sun Yat-sen to these three men. Therefore, the families of these martyrs should fill out the survey form (調查表 *diaocha biao*) in order to be compensated.⁴⁸¹ The families completed and submitted the forms to the National Government.

⁴⁷⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 3, Chen Jiongming turned against Sun in June 1922, sending him fleeing in a warship. Six months later, Sun’s forces removed Chen Jiongming. The Nationalist forces finally defeated Chen Jiongming’s forces in the summer of 1925. Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, 424.

⁴⁷⁹ “National Government to Executive Yuan, including petition from Lu Zhiyun and others,” July 8, 1929, AH 001-036000-0004, file 50002314.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸¹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” July 13, 1929, AH 001-036000-0004, file 50002315.

備 考	遺族領卹人 名號及住址	相親或持徵 遺族領卹人	死亡地點	死亡年月日	履 歷	出 身		家 族		年 籍	姓 名	職 務	階 級	隊 號	
						子	女	妻	親						父
中華民國 年 月 日 機關	廣州市迴龍下街十一號二樓	陸憲章	廣州市東郊	民國十一年七月十七日	曾任潮梅海山鹽場和事大本營少校副官	廣生	慶珍	梁氏	無	憲章	茲慶	陸任宇	廣東省信宜縣	三十歲	陸海軍戰時死亡官佐調查表甲

Fig. 4-14: Completed Survey Form of Lu Renyu. "Lu Zhiyun to National Government," March 28, 1930, AH 001-036000-0004, file 50002318.

According to the form, Lu Renyu was an aide-de-camp (*fuguan* 副官) with the rank of major at the supreme headquarter (*dabenyng* 大本營). His native place was Xinyi County in Guangdong. The form recorded his grandfather, Lu Ziqing 陸茲慶, his wife, *née* Liang 梁, and his two children, Fusheng 福生 and Qingzhen 慶珍. Lu Renyu held a law degree from a Japanese university. Lu Weiye was the head of the quartermaster office with the rank of major. The form listed Weiye's daughter and father. Lu graduated from Guangzhou Army Academy's Cartography Department (*cehui* 測繪).

The Executive Yuan decided to compensate Lu Renyu and Lu Weiye according to the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" (*Dangyuan fuxu tiaoli*) (Articles 3, 6, and 7) instead of the regulations for compensating members of the armed forces. Both were given the second-rate annual stipend of 400 *yuan* until their children came of age.⁴⁸² The National Government informed the Ministry of Military Administration and the Central Executive Committee of its approval.

⁴⁸² "Executive Yuan to National Government," December 16, 1929. AH 001-036000-0004, file 50002319.

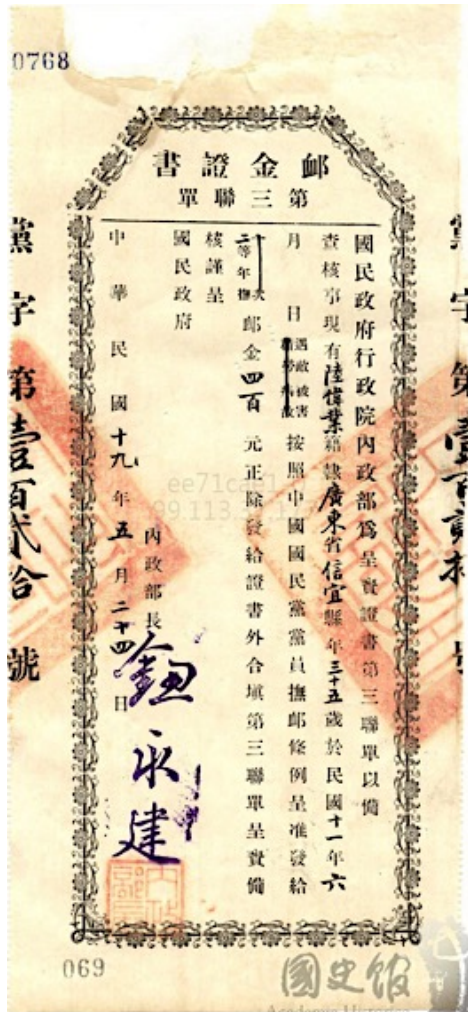


Fig. 4-15: Gratuity Certificate for Lu Weiye’s Family. “Executive Yuan to National Government,” June 14, 1930. AH 001-036000-0004, file 50002324.

According to the certificate, Lu Weiye was “killed by the enemy” in June 1922. The survey form however listed his death in July. His family was awarded 400 *yuan* a year. The Minister of the Interior, Niu Yongjian, issued the certificate on May 24, 1930. The number on the form indicated that it was the twentieth certificate in the “Party” category. This case lasted seven years. The petition took a six-month journey before being addressed.

Some Dimensions of Republican China’s Compensation Law

Petitions from families of deceased Party members to the National Government took up 85 percent (303 out of 352 cases) of all cases that I found at Academia Historica. A case forwarded all the way to the National Government was usually about someone of significance and his circumstance was too complex to be decided based on the regulations. These petitions as far as I know have not appeared in any work. They are a great venue that I hope to continue examining.

Culture of Consanguinity and Conjugalinity

The pervasive culture of extended consanguine and affinal relations was critical to the Republican Revolution. If the early Chinese Communist Party, as argued by Hans van de Ven, was made of friends who shared ideas through study societies in an egalitarian manner,⁴⁸³ early Republican uprisings were composed of lineage members and villagers, who related to one another within the familial hierarchy. Existing kinship relations played a crucial role in the organization, membership, and sponsorship of republicanism. Although nuclear families increased their present, especially among the middle and upper classes in early twentieth-century China, relationships with relatives of several degrees of separation continued to matter greatly. There was a substantial number of petitions submitted by uncles, cousins, nephews, and other distant relatives of the martyrs. Literature on Republican revolutionaries often emphasizes familial and hometown ties among its members as seen in various publications of martyrs' biographies in the 1910s and 1920s. The cases below illustrate how the culture of consanguinity and conjugalinity required the government to look beyond its legal framework for judgment.

In Li Guozhu 李國柱's appeal for his twenty fellow comrades who died during the Second Revolution (1913) in Hunan, he specifically mentioned the deaths of five paternal kinsmen. His first-degree elder male cousin (*ditangxiong* 嫡堂兄), Li Guoxi 李國璽, third-degree elder male cousin (*zuxiong* 族兄), Li Changjun 李昌俊, and second-degree granduncle (*zushu* 族叔), Li Dexing 李德興, were brutally killed (no specificities).⁴⁸⁴ His two 70-year-old great granduncles (*zushuzu* 族叔祖), Li Xianglan 李湘蘭, and Li Qiancheng 李筆城 were shot to death. Although these men who were distantly related to Guoshu, being of the paternal side, they were still within the five degrees of mourning. Being Party members did not lessen the importance of consanguinity between these men. The fact that Li Guoshu went to such length to identify his familial relationships with these murdered men shows how kinship played an important role.

The government however did not respond positively to the appeal of kinship. It did not grant exceptions to the following cases that involved the transference of benefits to close relatives. Two sons, Wen Jian'gang 溫建剛 and Wen Kegang 溫克剛, requested that the government commend their father, Wen Jiwen 溫季文 and compensate (*jingxu* 旌卹) the family for his death. Jiangang was a former Nanjing Special Zone Police Bureau chief and commander of the Shipping and Transportation Bureau. Wen Kegang was the chief strategy adviser (*canmou zhang* 參謀長) of the 10th Division of the 11th Army. The Communists arrived at the Wen residence in Dapu village, Huzhou, Guangzhou robbed them of money, land deeds, valuables, arrested other family members who were staying behind to take care of the petitioners' paternal grandmother, and kidnapped their nephew. Because Jiangang had been engaged in communist extermination campaigns in Nanjing, his father, Caitang, was killed as revenge in 1927. According to the report, Wen Caitang was someone who was always content with his life in Shantou, Guangzhou,

⁴⁸³ Hans J. van de Ven, *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920-1927* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁴⁸⁴ "Petition from Li Guoshu," May 5, 1937, AH 001-036000-0014, file 50002663. For more on kinship terms, see John McCoy, "Chinese Kin Terms of Reference and Address," in *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*, ed. Maurice Freedman, 209-226 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970).

serving in the educational circle of the village. He was “a village man with single-minded loyalty and willingness to suppress his indignation and sacrifice himself for the nation” (*guzhong youfen xunguo wangshen xiangren* 孤忠幽憤殉國忘身鄉人). The sons requested permission to erect a memorial tablet (*biaozhong zhi bei* 表忠之碑) for him in his native village, in order to “elucidate complications [of his life] and encourage the laudable customs” (*chan you li su* 闡幽勵俗).⁴⁸⁵ The petition was forwarded to Guangdong. The Guangdong Provincial Government ordered the county magistrate to investigate the events narrated in the petition. The county magistrate confirmed the circumstance of Liwen’s death; however, he noted that this kind of incident “had no precedent to go by” (*wuli keyuan* 無例可援), and asked for instructions on how to commend and compensate Liwen’s unfortunate death.⁴⁸⁶ Receiving the investigation report from Guangdong, the Minister of the Interior recommended to the Nationalist Government that Liwen should be commemorated according to his son Jiangang’s contribution to the Party and the nation. Liwen’s death should be compensated as if he had been a Nationalist official and had fallen in the line of duty. However, the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee (*Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui* 中央執行委員會) disapproved, saying that treating Liwen as a government official was not appropriate (*bufu* 不符).⁴⁸⁷

In 1928, a Wang Qingwei 王清渭 petitioned on behalf of the family of a martyr Yang Xuchang. Yang died during anti-Yuan campaigns. His father, Dingchen, and mother *née* Ye went to Beijing to retrieve his body. However, during the trip, the father died from melancholy (*yu* 鬱) while the mother was stranded in Beijing working as a hired help to survive. Wang petitioned for Xuchang’s mother to receive an annual stipend of 600 *yuan* for life. Wang added that Xuchang was entitled to a one-time stipend for grave reparation and stone tablet establishment, yet he was already buried in Beijing. Therefore, the one-time stipend should be allocated on transporting his father Dingchen’s body back home for burial instead. The Yang family also included a younger brother, a wife, and a son who worked the field in Sichuan. They were too poor to afford the transportation fees.⁴⁸⁸ The Nationalist Party’s Central Executive Committee classified Xuchang’s death as “being killed when encountering the enemy” (*yudi beihai* 遇敵被害) and rewarded his family with the first-rate annual stipend of 600 *yuan* for deceased Party members. No extra payment was made.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁵ “Wen Jian’gang and Wen Kegang to National Government,” October 17, 1927, AH 001-036000-0017, file 50002719; “Wen Jian’gang and Wen Kegang to National Government,” February 13, 1928, AH 001-036000-0017, file 50002721.

⁴⁸⁶ “Guangdong Provincial Government to National Government via Ministry of Interior,” April 27, 1928. AH 001-036000-0017, file 50002725.

⁴⁸⁷ “Nationalist Party Central Executive Committee to National Government,” July 6, 1928, AH 001-036000-0017, file 50002730.

⁴⁸⁸ “Petition from Wang Qingwei to National Government,” October 30, 1928, AH 001-036000-0086, file 50005869.

⁴⁸⁹ “Nationalist Party to National Government,” December 6, 1928, AH 001-036000-0086, file 50005873.

Retroactive Application and Grandfathering

Martyrs that died in the late nineteenth century until the establishment of the National Government in Guangzhou in 1925 were considered revolutionary nobilities. During its time in Guangzhou, the Nationalist government was eager to compensate these martyrs' families and many were compensated above the scale set by the regulations promulgated in 1927 and 1928. Although most regulations ended with stating that they become effective since the date of announcement, the government could choose to apply the law retroactively in many cases. The Beiping Special Government petitioned the National Government with regard to Zhang Zhicheng 張志成 and 40 other martyrs of the March 18 Massacre. The massacre took place in 1926 amid an anti-warlord and anti-imperialist demonstration in Beijing.⁴⁹⁰ Out of 41 victims, the Executive Yuan determined that 38 were Party members. Based on Clauses 3 and 7 of Article 1 of the "Regulations for Compensating Nationalist Party Members," each of the 38 members was rewarded the second-rate annual stipend of 400 *yuan*.⁴⁹¹ The victims died in 1926. The regulations were passed in 1927. The massacre victims received compensation in 1929.

In March 1926, Mrs. Zhang 張 *née* Deng Shuxian 鄧淑賢 petitioned the government with regard to her deceased husband, commander of the second division of the Canton Revolutionary Army (*Jianguo Yue jun di'er shi shizhang* 建國粵軍第二師師長), Zhang Minda 張民達 (1885-1925), who died during the Northern Expedition. On April 25, 1925, when passing through the East River (*Dongjiang* 東江), a tributary of the Pearl River in Guangzhou, his boat was overturned by a storm. His body and some personal effects were retrieved and positively identified by his brothers. Mrs. Zhang's petition was forwarded to the National Government by Zhang's subordinate, a regiment commander of the second division, Ye Jianying 葉劍英. Mrs. Zhang's petition included a professional biography of Zhang. The Military Affairs Commission and the Guangdong Provincial Government verified her case. However, the National Government was not responsive. Ye Jianying and other comrades of Zhang Minda organized a committee responsible for Zhang's memorial service, and petitioned the government for 8,600 *yuan* in burial and funeral expenses and 3,000 *yuan* for the transportation of the body.⁴⁹² After the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee urged the National Government, the latter ordered the Ministry of Finance to dispense 10,000 *yuan*.⁴⁹³ His funeral took place in November. Even though Zhang did not die in battle, the National Government honored him as a "loyal

⁴⁹⁰ This is part of the anti-Fengtian war in 1925 when the Soviet-backed Feng Yuxiang's *Guominjun* fought against the Japanese-backed Fengtian clique. On March 18, a demonstration took place in Tiananmen. Li Dazhao was the leader and called for the end of unequal treaties. The confrontation led to 47 deaths. The remainder of Feng's *Guominjun* folded into the National Revolutionary Army.

⁴⁹¹ "Executive Yuan to National Government," July 11, 1929, AH 001-036000-0016, file 50002699.

⁴⁹² "Commander Zhang Minda Funeral Organization Committee to National Government," July 5, 1926. SHA 6-19-343.

⁴⁹³ "Central Executive Committee to National Government," July 16, 1926, SHA 6-19-343; "National Government to Ministry of Finance," July 1926.

spirit” (*zhonghun* 忠魂) and ordered his biography to be compiled by the State History Bureau.⁴⁹⁴

In 1930, Mrs. Zhang again petitioned the government that she did not receive the gratuity in full. The Ministry of Military Administration proposed to compensate the Zhang family with a monthly stipend of 200 *yuan*, which would be dispensed by Guangdong’s Mei County. This amounted to 2,400 *yuan* a year. However, Mrs. Zhang only received 1,600 *yuan* in 1926, 1,450 *yuan* in 1927, 800 *yuan* in 1928, and 1,200 *yuan* in 1929. Mrs. Zhang complained of a difficult life without a husband, especially when the price of basic necessities had significantly risen because of inflation and her children needed schooling. She petitioned to receive the rest of the guaranteed stipend. The National Government forwarded Mrs. Zhang’s petition to the Guangdong Provincial Government. The latter responded that in March 1926 it had ordered Mei County Government to disperse 200 *yuan* each month to Mrs. Zhang, her son, and her daughter as directed by the Ministry of Military Administration. Mei County responded that since it was experiencing financial difficulties, it could not dispense the whole amount. The Provincial Government suggested granting Mrs. Zhang a stipend of 600 *yuan* a year (the first-rate annual gratuity for deceased Party members according to the 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members”). However, Mrs. Zhang expected to be grandfathered in and thus receive the 2,400-*yuan* annual stipend.⁴⁹⁵

Compassion as Legal Ground

Peng Jiazhen was a Sichuan native who tried to assassinate Yuan Shikai and other high-ranking Manchu officials. Peng graduated from a provincial military school and became an officer. Peng died during the assassination attempt. Sun Yat-sen bestowed on him the title of “General” and promised to build a tomb and a monument in his honor. Peng’s family was rewarded with the first-rate annual stipend of 600 *yuan*. His father would receive the gratuity until he died. Peng’s children’s school tuitions would be waived. However, in November 1928, his wife and son made the trip from Sichuan to Beiping, requesting that an annual stipend of 1,000 *yuan* be divided equally between two parties: his father, and his wife and son. They also petitioned to receive the stipend even after Peng’s father died. In a memo on December 21, 1928, the Beiping governor, He Qigong 何其鞏 praised Peng’s death as “glorifying the nation” (*guanghui minzu* 光輝民族), and thus he deserved extraordinary commemoration. The governor added, “as Beiping was the capital of the imperial times, the people’s knowledge is shallow, and there is indeed no revolutionary architecture to speak of.”⁴⁹⁶ In the 1920s and 1930s, the Beiping

⁴⁹⁴ “National Government to Military Affairs Commission and State History Bureau,” March 17, 1926.

⁴⁹⁵ “Petition from Mrs. Zhang Deng and others to National Government,” March 15, 1930, AH 001-036000-0005, file 50002341.

⁴⁹⁶ Bai Shulan 白淑兰 and Zhu Lijun 祝力军, “1929 nian qianhou wei Peng Jiazhen lieshi xiumu jianci shiliao xian 1929 年前后为彭家珍烈士修墓建祠史料选” (Historical Materials of Grave Repair and Shrine Construction for Martyr Peng Jiazhen Before and After 1929), *Beijing Dang’an Shiliao* 北京档案史料 (Beijing Archives Journal) 3 (2011): 467-473. (北平歷代帝都, 民智鄙陋, 革命建築寂焉無聞)

Municipal Government planned to build him a monument in Beijing. However, the plan remained on paper because of the lack of funds. In 1930, Peng's son and wife travelled to Beijing and raised their own money to purchase a private temple for him. In 1931, Peng's coffin was moved in a government-built grave.⁴⁹⁷ Peng's nationwide fame influenced the case of Zhang Rulin 張如鑲.

In late 1913, Mrs. Zhang, *née* Li, the widow of Zhang Ruling, who was killed while shielding Peng Jiazhen from the car bomb explosion, petitioned the Beiyang government for compensation.⁴⁹⁸ Zhang died without having his body transported back to his hometown for burial. The petition was forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior Affairs (*neiwubu* 內務部), which replied that Zhang Ruxiang was Martyr Peng's servant, and consequentially "did not intentionally support righteousness" (*fei youxin dongyi* 非有心助義). There was "no applicable compensation precedents" (*wu fuxu chengli ke yuan* 無撫卹成例可援). However, as his family was "miserable" (*qingshu kemin* 情殊可憫) and Zhang indeed "responded on his own" (*shushi ziying* 屬實自應), the Ministry ordered the Capital Police Department (*Jingshi jingcha ting* 京師警察廳) to reward his family with a one-time payment of 200 *yuan* to "show compassion" (*yi shi guan xu* 以示矜恤).

Debt of the Nation

The following case that spanned decades shows how the state became indebted to the family when the nation recognized the martyred patriarch as the national ancestor. A Mrs. Xia 夏, *née* Deng 鄧, Huifang 蕙芳, who signed the petition with her personal seal, appealed on behalf of her deceased husband, Xia Zhongmin 夏重民. After a decade of participating in Republican uprisings, Zhongmin died at the hands of Chen Jiongming in 1922. In 1929, Mrs. Xia reasoned that even though the family had been awarded with 5,000 *yuan* to establish a commemorative tablet for the martyr, his 10-year old son and 39-year old widow were not provided for. Since the son had begun attending school, she requested a tuition waiver for his education. The "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" specified the need to provide an education to revolutionary martyrs' offspring. The Executive Yuan awarded a monthly stipend of 600 *yuan* and 300 *yuan* for tuition.⁴⁹⁹ However, the National Government decided on a monthly stipend of 300 *yuan* and a gratuity certificate was issued on May 22, 1929. Zhongmin fought for the Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist faction in Guangzhou, making him one of the revolutionary nobilities. Therefore, the Xia family was awarded a much higher gratuity than the highest amount (600 *yuan* a year) stipulated in the 1927 "Regulations for Compensating Party Members." Soon after, the Japanese invaded Guangzhou and the Provincial Government evacuated. Mrs. Xia and son took refuge in Hong Kong in 1938. Her son, who had been attending Zhongshan University and

⁴⁹⁷ Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories, 1911-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 88.

⁴⁹⁸ "Ministry of Interior Affairs to Beijing Police Bureau, containing petition from Mrs. Zhang Li to Beijing Municipal Government," January 16, 1914, BMA J181-018-03702, 2-4.

⁴⁹⁹ "National Government's Secretariat to Executive Yuan: Compensating Xia Zhongmin, including Mrs. Xia's original petition" May 1, 1929, AH 001-036200-0024, file 50012061.

joined a local militia, fell ill during the passage to Hong Kong due to an intriguing “water poison” (*shuidu* 水毒). The family was in need of support, especially to pay for the son’s medical expenses. Mrs. Xia requested that the Ministry of Finance temporarily dispense the gratuity via the Bank of China’s Hong Kong branch.

Conclusion

In the 1930s, the revolutionary predecessors (*xianlie*) and the National Revolution (*guomin geming*) diminished in their significance.⁵⁰⁰ A new crop of leaders, who did not participate in the 1911 Revolution, joined the Nationalist government. In addition, the war against Japan loomed large. A new Nationalist state was taking shape in the mid-1930s, evidenced by a number of legal changes with regard to compensating families of the war dead. This chapter has only offered glimpses of the Republican compensation law. I hope to offer a more thorough treatment of compensation cases.

Compensation law constitutes an important aspect of the legal system. The majority of works on legal history in the China field focus on criminal, property, and family law.⁵⁰¹ Compensation law represents a relationship between the state and its citizenry. In exchange for sacrifice, the state would take care of the afterlife and bereaved families. With casualties in the thousands during the 1911 Revolution and casualties in the tens of thousands, the Nationalist Party could afford to actively seek out and compensate these revolutionary predecessors. During the Northern Expedition, the Nationalist state would attempt to bury them and reward their families. The financial and logistical burden associated with casualties in the tens of millions in the anti-Japanese war, as I show in Part III, made this compensation policy impossible to implement for any state, let alone the economically devastated one like the Republic of China. Hyperinflation forced the government to increase the gratuity amounts to match.

During the Republican era, compensation law provided welfare to citizens. However, unlike the principle of “people’s welfare” (*minsheng*) promoted by Sun Yat-sen, the form of welfare in practice was political, rather than social, and limited to three groups, the party, the military, and the bureaucracy. The deaths of those in these groups were commended and their descendants were provided for by the state. The formation of privileged groups under the Nationalist state was similar to the banner system under the Qing rule. The Communist government followed a similar model, establishing compounds for members of the Party and the military and providing them with exclusive access to goods and services.

By reconfiguring the compensation law, the state restructured the family and kinship. It is noteworthy that the Nationalist government did not have one single vision of what constituted

⁵⁰⁰ The National Revolution, as reiterated in Sun Yat-sen’s last testament, refers to the elevation of China’s status in the world. More broadly, it refers various revolutionary movements from the mid-1900s to early-1920s, including the 1911 Revolution, the Second Revolution, the 1917-1919, the 1921-1922, and the 1924-1925 Northern Expedition attempts led by Sun.

⁵⁰¹ For example, Robert Hegel, *True Crimes in Eighteenth-Century China: Twenty Case Histories* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009); Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*; Madeleine Zelin, ed. *Contract and Property in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

the Republican family, which is evidenced by the differences in the order of relatives across regulations. Furthermore, the New Culture Movement and the New Civil Code in the early twentieth century appeared to have some influence. In all regulations, wives and children, components of the nuclear family, were first and second in line to receive gratuities. Parents and siblings, though of the second decrees as stipulated in the 1931 Civil Law, were fourth, fifth, or sixth in line. Within the model of the nuclear family, the death of the patriarch had a significant impact on its integrity. The next chapter will address this topic.

Chapter 5

Patriarchal State, Gendered Republic

“This *yet-to-die* person (*weiwang ren* 未亡人, a traditional term that widows used to refer to themselves) wanted to follow my husband in death. Yet, he left behind an heir who must carry on his father’s ambitions by studying and contributing to the party and the nation,” wrote a Mrs. Wu *née* Li in 1930. She just read about the new compensation law in the *Government Gazette* and decided to petition for her husband to be enshrined as a martyr and her son to attend school free of charge. Mrs. Wu asked nothing for herself because, as she put it, she had “spiritually died” after her husband sacrificed his life a few years prior. In her words, she “barely held on to life” (*gouyan canchuan* 苟延殘喘) so as to fulfill her duties of raising and educating the martyr’s heir.⁵⁰² Even though most compensation regulations stipulated that widows were first or second in line to collect death gratuities, Mrs. Wu chose to emphasize her virtue as the basis for receiving assistance from the state. Women’s agency in the field of modern China is a well-researched topic; however, petitions like that of Mrs. Wu, a “middling” sort of woman, promise an original perspective. Mrs. Wu and the many female petitioners I discuss in this chapter were neither among those who drew an audience with their radical ideas, nor those without any historical footprint. They were among the small percentage of the population that made their ways into the bureaucratic records, and thus offered insights into their personal experience and thought. Furthermore, petitions like Mrs. Wu’s constitute a genre of archival materials that offer a new understanding of family-state relations in the modern Chinese state.

This chapter demonstrates the formation of China as patriarchal and gendered Republic. First, the negotiation between the state and the family of twentieth-century China over the body and memory of the war dead consolidated the “patriarchal state.” The Nationalist Government (1925-1949) received a large number of petitions from relatives of revolutionaries and soldiers who had died during various conflicts throughout the first half of the century. These petitions and responses from the bureaucracy provide insights into on which grounds relatives appealed to the government when requesting compensations for the dead. The state not only changed death from being a family affair to a public affair by taking charge of burying and commemorating the war dead, but it also replaced the patriarch by taking up his role in promising welfare and education for his widow and orphans. That the Nationalist regime was eager to make accommodations to these petitioners demonstrate how the war dead present a legal ground on which the modern state competes with societal forces for domination. My research of petition cases also reveals that with the family inviting the state into the domestic sphere by documenting and revealing their lives, the Republican state, and later its Communist counterpart, had the justification to intrude into the private life.

Second, the Nationalist government’s compensation law created a “gendered republic.” By declaring a fallen man ‘martyr’, the state effectively removed the patriarch from the everyday conflicts of the familial life, reverently placing him on the ancestral altar where he cannot

⁵⁰² “Wu Li Yuanwen’s petition to National Government,” April 4, 1930, AH 001-036000-0005, file 50002340.

possibly be hated or challenged like the living grandfather in Ba Jin's novel, *The Family*.⁵⁰³ The death of the patriarch and his replacement by the Nationalist party-state – a powerful and distant authority – made the family less of a “terrain of struggle” that could allow for more independence and radical thoughts among female and younger male members. Despite the New Culture Movement of the late 1910s and the early 1920s, which condemned Confucian gender ethics and advocated for women's liberation, moral norms, such as leading a life of a widow and maintaining the patriline, became legal institutions of the new Republic. That martyrs' wives, and in many cases, concubines, petitioned for financial assistance on behalf of their late husbands' male heirs and elderly parents, but never for themselves, represented an acknowledgement of the traditional feminine virtues of sacrifice and diligence. Nevertheless, once women demonstrated their allegiance to the “republic of virtue” in their petitions, they were able to manifest their agency. Even if their cases failed to qualify in accordance with the compensation regulations, the state acknowledged their rhetoric of sacrifice for the patriline and thus was more likely to make exceptions to the law and approve their requests. By doing so, the new Republic further institutionalized virtues.

The main part of this chapter utilizes a number of petitions from relatives of revolutionaries who died during various early twentieth-century Republican uprisings, anti-Yuan Shikai movements, the Northern Expedition, and the war against the Communists to illustrate a significance reflected in Republican commendation policy: the relationship between the family and the state. These petitions, submitted to the Nanjing government (1928-1937), place the dead in a web of familial relationships.⁵⁰⁴ The martyr was almost always the patriarch of the family as the father, husband, son, elder brother, father-in-law, elder male cousin, and granduncle to the petitioner or the beneficiary named in the petition. My research reveals that with the family inviting the state into the domestic sphere by asking it to take the patriarch's role, the Republican state and its Communist successor had the opportunity to intrude further into the intimate life and turn the family into a training ground for citizens and Party members. In addition, if the petitioners could challenge the official information with their personal memory of the martyrs, the state's power lay in its decision to grant or refuse their requests. That the Nationalist regime bequeathed commendations to the martyrs and made various accommodations to the petitioners showed how the dead present a ground on which the modern state competes for influence.

Furthermore, the memory of the patriarch, portrayed as the martyr sacrificing for the nation and the party, bound his family members to the ideology of nationalism and to the legitimacy of the party-state. Conversations with the martyrs recorded by petitioners were often infused with revolutionary passion that displayed the supremacy of the party and the devotion to the new nationalism “cult.” The stock phrase “die for the party and the nation” became the node of

⁵⁰³ Ba Jin, *The Family* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1972). The novel captures the quintessential familial dynamic of the upper class at the turn of the century. The young characters' lives are subjected to decisions arbitrarily made by the head of the family, Master Gao.

⁵⁰⁴ Petitioners might have used or consulted professionals, but they surely supplied their own distinctive narratives of how their family members sacrificed for the nation and how their current difficult circumstances necessitated financial support. The fact that many petitioners, including women, signed the documents with their own seals indicated their literacy and control over the content of the complaint letters.

connection between the family and the state in the sense that both sides acknowledged it as the legitimate rationale for the death of the patriarch. Moreover, martyrdom became the binding agent when blood and conjugal relationships between the martyr, the petitioner, and the beneficiary were beyond “fictive.” While young widows with underage children were often seen in the role of the petitioner, in many cases, the adult son, daughter-in-law, maternal uncle, stepmother, and even more distant relatives submitted petitions. The requests varied from financial assistance for immediate kin and recognition for forgotten martyrs to burial expenses for martyrs’ parents and educational fees for their heirs. Petitioners persuaded the state to fulfill their requests by emphasizing the personal connections to specific martyrs. Such connection became devotion to nationalistic martyrdom, and to the idea of nationalism. The far-fetched ties that the petitioners claimed to have with the martyrs are similar to the fictive connection that people of the same nation-state share with one another.

Women, Family, and the State

Chastity as a Governing Tool

Since the tenth century, female chastity had served the economic interests of the state and the social elites. As widows could return to their natal families with their original dowries and the properties accumulated during marriage, Neo-Confucian scholars celebrated the virtues of those who remained in their late husbands’ homes and used their dowries for their husbands’ families. During the Yuan Dynasty, the idea that a widow should remain with her husband’s patriline until death became applauded for the first time when Mongolian levirate marriage and the Neo-Confucian principle of widow chastity converged. The social upheaval from the Mongol invasion in the 13th century and the practices from the steppe that challenged the Chinese family hierarchy prompted a radical rethinking of traditional Chinese notions of women, marriage, and property. The Yuan government (1271-1368) institutionalized marriage as a permanent transfer of a woman and her property to her husband’s lineage, rewarding widows’ chastity with support while prohibiting widows from taking any property with them when they returned to their natal homes or remarried.⁵⁰⁵

This institution became even more prominent in the Ming, creating cults of chaste widowhood throughout China. Extreme practices, such as following a husband in death, were also widespread. Literati composed biographies and eulogies of chaste women. At the end of the Ming, literature about suicidal widows and maidens became infused with *qing* (passion or sentiment), an ideal of cultural sensibility. These women were celebrated for their defiance of the family elders (by relinquishing their lives and responsibilities) and romantic devotion to their husbands or fiancés. Female chastity gained further political importance in the early Qing (1644-1911), when the “passionate conjugal devotion of the chastity martyr had become the dominant metaphor for literati loyalty to the dying Ming regime.”⁵⁰⁶ The culture of *qing*, which dominated the late Ming culture (the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century), was suppressed by the state-sponsored “familistic moralism” in High Qing (the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth

⁵⁰⁵ Bettine Birge, *Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yuan China (960–1368)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 200–282.

⁵⁰⁶ Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 27.

century).⁵⁰⁷ The Qing government took aim at “family relations,” promoting female chastity and curtailing many erotic arts and trade from the Ming era. Early Qing rulers “attempted to refocus expressions of chastity on the more prosaic practice of lifelong widowhood by issuing the first of many bans on widow suicide and prohibitions of its canonization.”⁵⁰⁸ However, the state continued to enshrine and memorialize chaste women with commemorative tablets and regular sacrifices. Within the shift towards patrilineal familism, women gained a new form of agency by using “dominant precepts about their educational and moral roles in the family to shape emotionally and intellectually fulfilling lives for themselves.”⁵⁰⁹

While in the second half of the nineteenth century, chaste women were no longer symbols of community pride and their names appeared in local gazettes without much elaboration,⁵¹⁰ the formation of the Republic in 1912 marked a renewed emphasis on chaste widows. In the 1914 “Commendation Regulations,” “women whose chaste behaviors are sufficient to inspire others [to emulate]” was one of the nine award categories.⁵¹¹ Even when chaste women were no longer explicitly commended post-1930, petitions from local government relying on the first category – “moral behaviors of extraordinary quality” – of the 1931 “Commendation Regulations” to request commendation tablets for steadfast widowhood and other forms of chastity.⁵¹² Throughout the 1920s-1930s, the Nanjing government published countless episodes of widows that remained chaste or committed suicide to their husbands in death.⁵¹³ Widow chastity was further heightened in Republican China in conjunction with the emphasis on male martyrdom. Feminine virtues of celibacy and commitment to the offspring were now ever more desired as to match the masculine sacrificial acts on the battlefield.

Trading the Familial Patriarch for the Political Patriarch

In many imperial-era tales of virtue and chastity, women frequently defied the familial authorities and appealed to the state in order to maintain their integrity. For example, an account from the eighteenth century describes an heirless widow who tried to hang herself but was deterred by her father-in-law. She did not obey but reported it to the magistrate as a case of attempted suicide for the sake of fidelity.⁵¹⁴ In 1744, a woman who drowned herself to escape rape was publicly commemorated in the county Shrine to the Chaste and Filial, built near the

⁵⁰⁷ Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 22, 27.

⁵⁰⁸ Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 27.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵¹⁰ Susan Mann, “Widows in the Kinship, Class, and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty China,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (1987): 37-56, 51.

⁵¹¹ “Baoyang tiaoli 褒揚條例” (Commendation Regulation), *Zhengfu gongbao* 290 (March 1914): 20-22.

⁵¹² *Sifa gongbao* 132 (July 1931), *fagui* section.

⁵¹³ Ni Baokun, ed. *Zhonghua minguo baoyang lingji chubian: fu youguan shiliao*.

⁵¹⁴ Elvin, “Female Virtue and the State,” 138.

Confucius Temple (*wenmiao*) in 1733.⁵¹⁵ When chaste women were enshrined, their names carved in stone, their deeds commemorated with twice-yearly sacrifices, and their families rewarded. This demonstrates how the state's system of reward and honor was more appealing to individuals disenfranchised by the patriarchal authority. Many were willing to subject what we may consider private matters to the authorities for scrutiny. While this institutionalization of virtues set limits on women's role in society, it did not indicate that women's agency had diminished. The women petitioners in Republican China engaged in "patriarchal bargains," "[strategizing] within a set of concrete restraints."⁵¹⁶ Aiming at "a more culturally and temporally grounded understanding of patriarchal systems,"⁵¹⁷ Examining cases of female petitions in detail, I argue that petitioners exchanged their demonstration of virtue for the recognition by the state. In short, petitioning was a transaction in virtue.

Susan Mann explicates the complicity of women's role in patriarchal family systems that Chinese women had power to undermine the familial stability as liminal and marginal members. They entered and existed as brides, produced future generations, and potentially undermined bonds between brothers and between parents and sons. Compared to her Chinese counterpart, the widow in European states enjoyed an unusually strong position as she not only could inherit parts or all of the deceased spouse's property but also could give her second husband the right to her own heir's estate.⁵¹⁸ Chinese widow's marginality within the family became her motivation to ally with the state. She became the head of the household in the eyes of the state.

Although the early twentieth century witnessed a rise in the nuclear family, love marriage, and women's education in coastal cities, conservative visions of patriarchal gender roles continued to dominate in China's vast hinterland and to be supported by the state. Contrary to the view that the New Culture Movement of the 1910s and 1920s was a nation-wide revolution of Chinese traditional society, I show that such traditional virtues as maintaining the patriline and leading a widow's life became part of the legal institutions of the new republic.

Petition cases advanced the understanding of the paradoxical gender relations in twentieth-century China. On this paradox, Joan Judge maintains that although the "appropriation of nationalism does enable women to carve out new subjectivities and act on them in society and politics," it also "yokes them to the demands of the larger national project."⁵¹⁹ Promising welfare for widows and orphans and securing their devotion to the family lineage were effective ways to fortify allegiance to the party-state and morale in the battlefield. In Republican China, while

⁵¹⁵ Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 21.

⁵¹⁶ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender & Society* 2 (1988): 274.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ Lutz K. Berkner, "Inheritance, Land Tenure and Peasant Family Structure: A German Regional Comparison," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, 71-98 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); E. P. Thompson, "The Grid of Inheritance: A Comment," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, 328-60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

⁵¹⁹ Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *American Historical Review* 106 (2001): 765-766.

military martyrs served as models for male citizenship,⁵²⁰ female citizenship was modeled upon the “good wives and wise mothers” in the spirit of Japanese reformers.⁵²¹

Susan Glosser demonstrates that as the young urban intellectuals of the New Culture Movement intended to reform the family to strengthen the nation, their political end ironically turned their attempt to restructure Chinese culture into a recycling of existing traditional cultural elements.⁵²² This chapter confirms Glosser’s thesis by illustrating that petitioners seeking compensation portrayed themselves in line with the state’s rhetoric of the virtuous. Even if their cases failed to qualify in accordance with the regulations, the state acknowledged their display of virtues and was more likely to reward them. Signing this “contract of virtue” with the state, Chinese women allowed their status in the new nation-state to be defined by traditional virtues, not legal institutions. This intensification of conservatism was amplified in the Communist era. Edward Friedman, et. al. confirm that the Communists perpetuated the highly patriarchal mode of social transactions already embedded in Chinese rural culture and that Mao Zedong promoted a politics of super-patriotic “macho-ness” embodied by poor, male peasants who were initiated by the army-militia and later ran the village bureaucracy.⁵²³ I disagree, however, with scholars who view such penetration of the state and perpetuation of Confucian ethics as effecting the subjugation of Chinese women. Similar to how Gail Hershatter argues that rural women carried out Communist campaigns in the community and the family during the 1950s and 1960s,⁵²⁴ Republican-era women, in the absence of their fathers, husbands, and sons, engaged with the state, navigated its bureaucracy, and facilitated the reach of the political power in the familial and personal spheres.

Petitioners often described revolutionaries as forgetting about their families while contributing their utmost to the nation. These martyrs were overwhelmingly young, in their teens, twenties, and early thirties, which means they were likely to be married, with underage children, and living parents. Being in the middle and upper classes means that these men were married early, and that their wives, children, and parents had longer lives due to better nutrition and health care. This led to a particular family dynamic. The Nationalist government’s vision was the middle-class father who provided for his home-making wife and children in exchange for loyalty and deference. When the father was absent, the state took over, extracting the exact paternal affection and obedience, and dispensing allowances and bonuses. This creates a sort of ruling class that is bounded by moral and financial interdependence. The “patriarchal state” became even more prominent in the early People’s Republic era, when families of cadres were provided with housing, nannies, education, food, entertainment allotments to the point that the younger generation failed to function in society.

⁵²⁰ Harrison, “Martyrs and Militarism.”

⁵²¹ Judge, “Talent, Virtue, and the Nation,” 771.

⁵²² Glosser argues that this vision of the family as part of the social and political order originated from the imperial era as demonstrated by Susan Mann’s research of the inner quarters in eighteenth-century China. Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State*, 4-6.

⁵²³ Friedman, Pickowicz, and Selden, *Chinese Village, Socialist State*, 272.

⁵²⁴ Gail Hershatter, *The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China’s Collective Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

While Europe, America, and Japan greatly influenced twentieth-century China's political culture, the emphasis on Confucian virtues remained. I agree with Henrietta Harrison that unlike the imperial government, the Republican government "drew on Western and Japanese influences to initiate a cult of the revolutionary martyrs as models for citizenship."⁵²⁵ However, my research result contradicts Harrison's argument that the Qing government's building of arches, temples, and memorials "differed from the Republican honors to the revolutionary dead in that the emphasis was placed on the moral value presented rather than on the death of the person to be honored."⁵²⁶ I maintain not only that the rhetoric of commemorating martyrs in Republican China followed closely the imperial one of celebrating moral values, but also that the Republic laid even stronger emphasis on virtues of both the dead and the living. The heroism and terrorism of the late imperial and early Republican decades were no longer popular during the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937). The Nationalist government wanted to monopolize the use of force and prevented outbursts of violence among the people. Hence, the state chose to commemorate the maintenance of virtues in the face of adversity.

Women were supposed to be "repository" of the traditional values,⁵²⁷ which was even more crucial in the revolutionary era in China. As the men were challenging the millennia-old imperial system, women were encouraged to be the anchor in the past values. Women play the role of the stabilizer in the time of change. I go beyond formulaic phrases of sacrifice and suffering in these petitions to uncover a gendered mode of recording war and dealing with death from widows of the Republican time. I, collecting petitions over four decades, am able synthesize from thousands of case studies from urban, provincial town, and rural people from a much wider geographical range. The number of widows petitioning is overwhelming for a number of reasons. Statistically, there were more widows than widowers as men often had multiple conjugal partners. In addition, late Qing and Republican revolutionaries, military service members, and government officials were mostly men.

Women's Agency

Many studies that address the dynamic of women's agency in traditionally conservative societies and traditions further inform my research of modern Chinese women. Jisoo Kim, in her study of women's petitions in early modern Korea, argues that by petitioning, "women gained a sense of personhood constructed around the Confucian patriarchal system."⁵²⁸ Kim captures the tension in narratives of women's petitions: "[a]ppealing to redress grievance at some times reinforced the gender hierarchy but at other times manifested in a powerful form of female agency."⁵²⁹ Women were knowledgeable of narratives that reinforced gender norms and made use of them in order to take advantage of the legal system. Women narrated grievances in terms

⁵²⁵ Harrison, "Martyrs and Militarism," 42.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Hanna Papanek, "Development Planning for Women," *Signs 3* Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change (1977): 14-21.

⁵²⁸ Jisoo M. Kim, *The Emotions of Justice Gender, Status, and Legal Performance in Choson Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 101.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

of “pain” while men displayed grievances in relation to “anger.” Women constructed their narratives to show that they appealed for the sake of their husbands or the whole families (while appearing to neglect their own interests), while men’s petitions did not always articulate family connections.⁵³⁰ Women in Republican China engaged the same strategies of performing gender in their petitions. Philip Huang points out the morality element in Chinese law.⁵³¹ He argues that the legal insistence on chastity for women indicted women in the Qing Dynasty had “passive agency,” that is, “neither independent nor devoid of choice.”⁵³²

Chinese women during the Republican period relied on the rhetoric of traditional and Republican virtues to assert their agency. This view of these women follows Saba Mahmood’s argument that the agency of the Muslim women who participate in contemporary Islamist movements: “does not belong to the women themselves, but is a product of the historically contingent discursive traditions in which they are located. The women are summoned to recognize themselves in terms of the virtues and codes of these traditions, and they come to measure themselves against the ideals furbished by these traditions; in this important sense, the individual is contingently made possible by the discursive logic of the ethical traditions she enacts.”⁵³³ Women in Republican China supported the state-sponsored Confucian moral universe because Confucian ethics award women a sense of personhood and set perimeters for them to achieve exaltation.

Lila Abu-Lughod cautions that the desire to find resistance has made some scholars romanticize resistance as “signs of the ineffectiveness of systems of power and of the resilience and creativity of the human spirit in its refusal to be dominated.”⁵³⁴ Resistance in the context of women’s studies is often imagined as the ideal of female emancipated consciousness. While presenting themselves according to the ideals of virtuous women and female citizenship, they ventured into politics, navigated the bureaucratic maze and asserted their legitimacy. Petitions were legal and rhetorical space for women to discuss their cases at length. Proficient in China’s legal-moral traditions, they managed to gain a significant foothold in the new republic. Although those petitioners may have physically remained in the inner realm of their household compounds, the act of petitioning, and by extension, their political participation and bureaucratic paper trails, extended their temporal and spatial presence. Relying on state rhetoric to argue for their claims may have limited the female petitioners’ subjectivities, but it did not erase them. I agree with Joan Judge’s point about the early twentieth-century female overseas students whose subjectivities “were structured by the symbolic codes of existing narratives but not determined by them” because feminism was tied to nationalism.⁵³⁵ I similarly argue that the female

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 76, 79, 81, 82.

⁵³¹ Philip C.C. Huang, “Morality and Law in China, Past and Present,” *Modern China* 41 (2015): 3-39.

⁵³² Ibid., 21.

⁵³³ Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 32.

⁵³⁴ Lila Abu-Lughod, “The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women,” *American Ethnologist* 17 (1990): 41-55.

⁵³⁵ Judge, “Talent, Virtue, and the Nation,” 802.

petitioners could indeed challenge the official ideology by recounting their unique experiences. This is especially true when we acknowledge that nationalism, virtue, and other ideas can never be neatly packaged and delivered.

Analyzing petitions allows us to witness the transformation toward a stricter gender hierarchy in modern China. The state was responsive to women's voices as it investigated and responded to these petitions. The reception and outcome of these petition nevertheless explains why wives, mothers, daughters, and daughters-in-law with no independent social status (other than the affiliation with their male relatives) submitted petitions under their names. Nevertheless, it reinforced the familial and social division of male and female citizens in the new republic. Most compensation regulations placed widows first or second in line to receive gratuities and granted unmarried daughters the same share as sons. Such legal developments allowed women to engage more with the state.

Institutionalization of Virtues

As the death of the patriarch was detrimental to his family's finance and stability, a large number of petitions from the Republican period were written or commissioned by widows. In her research of late imperial "litigation masters" (*songshi*), Melissa Macauley shows that widows were among the most frequent users of their service in the local court to challenge the established power of male relatives.

This section demonstrates how the Republican ideal for women revolved around their reproductive power, which was morally mandated by the mass sacrifice of lives by men in the tumultuous twentieth century. The long-term absence due to revolutionary activities and the final passing of the patriarch demanded display of virtues of female and younger male members. Such display was reinforced by the ideology behind rewards and honors from imperial China. The government was more responsive to petitions with the oft-seen tropes of women as steadfast widows and sacrificing mothers who devoted the rest of their lives to preserving the patriline and educate their children.

The virtuocratic structure was a vital component of the Nationalist state, which, like its imperial predecessor, used rewards and honors to consolidate its legitimacy.⁵³⁶ Mark Elvin argues that the unique feature about late imperial China was not the presence of socially admirable individual or the bestowal of honors by the state, but it was the "use of the *political* system to confer explicit honors for the behavior defined as virtuous in *private, everyday* life."⁵³⁷ In China, awards were given for normative and normal behaviors conducted under difficult circumstances; honors were this-worldly and potentially open to a large number in contrast with the Catholic canonization; and awards were given to "certain kinds of passive disobedience and protest."⁵³⁸ Elvin rhetorically asks whether the Chinese award system played "a psychological balancing role," that is, "a public affirmation of private self-denial, a social immortality

⁵³⁶ Mao, like many political thinkers before him, viewed "the moral reform of citizens as the province of political leadership." Susan Shirk, *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 1.

⁵³⁷ Elvin, "Female Virtue and the State," 151.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

bestowed on those who had died early or unfulfilled, and a posthumous symbolic exaltation of those who, when alive in the real world, had been subordinates?”⁵³⁹ According to Janet Theiss, the cult of chastity and its political and practical implications were present in everyday life. Social and political processes, through which female virtue was defined, enforced and contested such virtue.

Selfless Widowhood

Most petitions requested stipends not for widow-petitioners, but for heirs of the martyrs. In a government survey, out of 255 cases of deceased Nationalist Party members collected from 1937 to 1940, only five childless wives (2 percent of the cases) received lifelong annual stipends. Ten cases of aging parents of martyrs were granted gratuities, accounting for just four percent. In 141 cases (or 55 percent), the annual stipends were given to children either until they came of age, or for duration of five, 10, or 15 years. The rest – 99 cases or 39 percent – received one-time payments.⁵⁴⁰ I did not come across any petitions by childless widows requesting assistance for themselves, even though widows were eligible and had first or second priority to receive gratuities per all compensation regulations.⁵⁴¹ Requesting a stipend for themselves would make widows appear selfish to society and useless to the state.

Widows rarely remarried because doing so would mean losing the benefits bestowed on the widows of martyrs. Most compensation regulations stipulated that stipends be provided until children came of age or widows remarried. In a collective petition for 61 revolutionary martyrs, almost half of these martyrs had living widows. More than a decade after their husbands' deaths, only one of these 29 widows had remarried. Leaving their deceased husbands' households deprived widows not only of financial support from the state, but also everything else, including their children. The high stakes of remarrying were evident in the case of a Mrs. Gao *née* Tao She petitioned for her late husband, Gao Renshan, and was awarded gratuities, coffin transportation, and burial fees. However, she left her husband's family a few years later to remarry. Her father-in-law took custody of her children and petitioned to be the designated recipient of the annual stipend. He stated that as Ms. Tao had remarried, “she and the Gao family had nothing to do with each other (*wuguan* 無關).”⁵⁴²

Maintaining the Patriline

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 151-152.

⁵⁴⁰ I compile data from SHA 1-711-208.

⁵⁴¹ For example, the 1927 “Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials,” the 1935 “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Navy Servicemembers,” the 1937 “Gratuities Regulations for Police Officers,” and the 1938 “Measures to Compensate Citizens Wounded or Killed When Protecting the Homeland” list wives as first in line to receive compensation. The 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members” and the 1927 “Provisional Compensation Regulations for the National Revolutionary Army” list wives as second in line.

⁵⁴² “Gao Jie’s petition,” July 14, 1932, AH 001-036200-0010, file 50011494.

Female family members were portrayed as steadfastly upholding feminine virtues, which were now ever more desired as to match the masculine acts of martyrdom. The following cases embodied of maternal virtue in their effort to ensure the education of male heirs. Their requests seemingly echoed the iconographic act of moving her house three times by Mencius's mother to ensure a suitable environment for her son's intellectual growth. Political education however was the duty of elder kinsmen: father-son, uncle-nephew, and brothers as seen in petitions by politicians and Party members, such as in those by Li Guoshu and Guo Ding. The mother was to provide the condition for education, but the patriarch was to provide the content of an education that focused on patriotism and party loyalty.⁵⁴³ The absence of the patriarch did not result in a revolution in women's life and perspective, but the law further institutionalized and incentivized female virtues.

As suicide was forbidden among widows since the late imperial time, widows were expected to remain chaste and fulfill their filial duties, which include maintaining the patriline. As having an heir was the priority in the traditional Chinese family,⁵⁴⁴ many of the petitions mentioned the need to raise the heir to the patriarchal lineage. Widows in most societies had a harder time in maintaining their families even if they were wealthy. Because sons were the only means for women to benefit morally, socially, and financially, most widows were anxious to provide education for their male offspring. Moreover, the experience of hardship gave rise to more intimacy between mothers and sons. Fathers may have served as distant political role models, but widow mothers may have provided the necessary financial and emotional support.

A Mrs. Jin 金, *née* Gan 甘, whose husband was martyred during anti-Yuan campaigns, requested financial support for her son to attend middle school.⁵⁴⁵ In the petition, she described herself as “a woman having no entreaty for herself before her last breath,”⁵⁴⁶ and emphasized that her late husband wanted his sole heir to advance through his study.⁵⁴⁷

In the petition by Pan Shaolou 潘少樓, a young Nationalist Party member, his young widowed mother “drowned herself in sorrowful tears.” While the mother and son drifted about and the father's grave was “desolate and uncared for.”⁵⁴⁸ She embodied the conventional roles of wives and mothers. Her emotions, like those of traditional widows, were depicted as sorrowful and acceptant, not indignant or inspired like what is seen in petitions composed by young Party

⁵⁴³ Glosser makes a similar point about the Nationalist government's vision of the ideal motherhood. Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State*, Chapter 2.

⁵⁴⁴ Susan Mann, “The Male Bond in Chinese History and Culture,” *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1603.

⁵⁴⁵ “Zou Lu to National Government, including original petitions by Mrs. Chen and Mrs. Gan,” July 24, 1937, AH 001-36000-0014, file 50002665.

⁵⁴⁶ (民以一介婦人本無苟延殘喘之必要)

⁵⁴⁷ (先夫遺此一線之嗣, 願其得以求學 上進)

⁵⁴⁸ “Petition from Pan Shoulou, political tutelage secretary (*xunzheng ganshi*) of the Nationalist Party Executive Committee (*dangwu zhidao weiyuanhui* 黨務指導委員會) in Wuhe County, Anhui,” October 19, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002426.

members.⁵⁴⁹ The venerable male figure of the family, the grandfather of Pan Shaolou, being alive only appeared briefly, as a temporary source of financial help. The grandfather, the patriarch of this family, was upstaged by the state. Pan Shaolou went on to say that to raise her son, Mrs. Pan took up needlework, one of the few respectable women's arts, to earn a livelihood. The reference to needlework may have been realistic, yet the metaphorical power is more noteworthy. Needlework allows women to remain inside the home. The low profit margin, the incessant and repetitive motions, and the devotion to minute detail that characterize sewing and embroidery serve well as allegories for the cultivation of feminine virtues.⁵⁵⁰

In another instance, Mrs. Chen *née* Wang (Bi 碧), wife of a 1911 Yellow Flower Hill Uprising martyr, Chen Gengxin, petitioned for her “young son” (*xiao'er* 小兒), Chen Yongjian 陳永建. Chen Yongjian who was studying at Tongji University's Medical Department in Shanghai.⁵⁵¹ According to the petition, in 1937, Yongjian transferred to take classes at Shanghai Baolong Hospital. Yongjian was receiving from the Central Compensation Committee (*Zhongyang fuxu weiyuanhui* 中央撫卹委員會) 400 *guobi* 國幣 for education fees each year. During the previous year, the Committee requested that the Ministry of Finance order the Shanghai Municipal Government dispense the money. However, Shanghai came under the Japanese occupation and the Municipal Government ceased to function. The student dormitory organization had also submitted a petition to the school management so that Yongjian would pay tuition at a discounted rate. Mrs. Chen requested that the Ministry of Finance deliver the stipend directly to Yongjian “so that he could continue to study for the sake of saving the nation.”⁵⁵² Why did Chen Yongjian, a doctor in training and legitimate heir of a revolutionary martyr, not petition for himself? It is because having his mother petition on his behalf and incorporate the proper sentiments helped strengthen the claim. In fact, as a university student and being of age, Chen Yongjian was ineligible to receive a gratuity and tuition waiver, despite the revolutionary prestige of his father. Hoping her petition would be addressed, the widow, by portraying herself as a mother devoted to the wellbeing and education of her son. She successfully persuaded the law to be on her side. Like other petitioners, she was apparently aware of the unwritten law that incentivized demonstration of virtues.

In 1937, Mrs. Xu 徐, *née* Yang 楊, petitioned for her adopted grandson's education fee. She signed it with her own seal. Her husband, Xu Yangshan 徐仰山, had participated in overthrowing Yuan Shikai and died in the Second Revolution of 1913. During his revolutionary years, her husband had sold most of his private properties and the family became impoverished. The son, Xu Zezhou 徐澤周, who was then accompanying her husband, managed to obtain the

⁵⁴⁹ Margery Wolf argues that the patriarch's role diminishes as his sons grow up and “by the time a man is a grandfather, he is well on the road to be a marginal member of the family so far as authority and decision making are concerned.” Maurice Freeman, ed. *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 5.

⁵⁵⁰ Women's work (*nügong*) was defined as “the production of textiles,” including spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidery. Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 184.

⁵⁵¹ “Petition from Mrs. Chen *née* Wang Bi,” June 20, 1938, AH 001-036000-0065, file 50004906.

⁵⁵² (俾收讀書救國之效)

corpse of his martyred father, yet he had to wait until 1921 to take his coffin out of Hangzhou and back to their hometown in Zhejiang's Longquan county. Zezhou later joined the Nationalist Party (as his father had wished!). Unfortunately, he contracted tuberculosis (*bingzhai* 病瘵) and died, leaving behind his wife. The government had given the family an annual stipend of 400 *yuan* - the second level of the annual stipend for deceased Party members. However, because Mrs. Xu had no grandson, she adopted a son of a man named Wu Wenchun (with an unclear relation to the Xu family), and renamed him Xu Jingchuan 徐敬傳.⁵⁵³ When he was 16 years old, Mrs. Xu arranged his marriage to a 15-year-old girl. Career-wise, he had graduated from middle school (*gaoji xiaoxue* 高級小學) and had the ability to advance his studies. However, the expenses had increased and Mrs. Xu could no longer afford his education. She requested that the government reconsider her case based on the 1927 "Regulations for Compensating Party Members," which waived education fees for martyred party-members' children up to high school. The annual stipend of 400 *yuan* was supposed to sufficiently provide for her and the daughter-in-law.⁵⁵⁴ Her adoption of a grandson and arrangement of a marriage for him when he was just 16 years old – a behavior on the conservative side in the late 1930s – showed that Mrs. Xu was determined to secure the Xu patriline. However, her request was approved after having passed through a few bureaus and departments.⁵⁵⁵

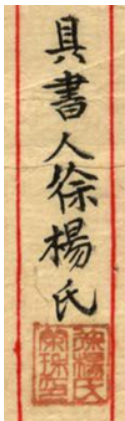


Fig. 5-1: Personal Seal of Mrs. Xu née Yang. "Petition from Mrs. Xu née Yang," July 2, 1937, AH 001-036000-0010, file 50002524.

⁵⁵³ Adopted heirs usually came from the same patriarchal lineage. Mrs. Xu however adopted a grandson of a different last name.

⁵⁵⁴ Wage laborers made about 15 to 17 *yuan* per month, while the middle class had an income ranging from 30-40 *yuan* to 100-120 *yuan* per month. Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968), 83, 92.

⁵⁵⁵ "Petition from Mrs. Xu née Yang," July 2, 1937, AH 001-036000-0010, file 50002524; "Summary of Mrs. Xu née Yang's petition," October 23, 1937, AH 001-036000-0010, file 50002527.

Why did the state find Mrs. Xu's petition insufficiently compelling, even though her request was justified according to the "Regulations for Compensating Party Members" and even though adoption to maintain the lineage is very common in China? One problem was that the adopted son was too far removed from the lineage of the martyr. Even though adoption to maintain the patriline is very common in China,⁵⁵⁶ the state in this case was reluctant to providing further assistance to Mrs. Xu. The problem here was that the 16-year-old beneficiary named in the petition joined the martyr's family posthumously and was not sufficiently related to the Xu patriline. Heirs adopted postmortem were not granted the same rights as those adopted while the sonless patriarchs were alive. If Xu Jingchuan had been adopted during martyr Xu Yangshan's lifetime, the government would have supported his education just as if he had been a son. If this boy Jingchuan were a son of the martyr's brother (a patriarchal nephew) and shared the Xu surname, it would make a stronger case.⁵⁵⁷ Kathryn Bernhardt shows that with the Civil Code of 1930, any child adopted by a widow after her husband's death would be her child and heir only, not his.⁵⁵⁸ However, Mrs. Xu may not have wanted to adopt someone close to the family as it may have led to contention over properties. The second reason is the lack of demonstration of virtues in Mrs. Xu's petition. In addition, Mrs. Xu signed the petition with her own seal and took various initiatives in her widowed life. She did not appear to the state as a sorrowful widow, but a competent woman. She described the family's poverty, yet she failed to resort to the rhetoric of feminine virtues.

The Nationalist state chose not to enforce the law, yet ruled on the basis of virtue, which reveals a continuing influence of traditional notions. This continuity is not surprising according to Bryna Goodman, who analyzes how the popular press during the Republican era focused on notions of virtue, rather than legal codes and procedures.⁵⁵⁹ Nevertheless, in these petition cases, it was the government that fell under the sway of notions of moral values and reinforced such rhetoric of virtues by deciding when to make an exception to the law.

Mrs. Xu, Mrs. Lin, and other petitioners lived in a different era than radical feminists and suffragists like Tang Qunying 唐群英 (1871-1937) and He Zhen 何震 (1884-1920). During the reform movement of the mid-1890s, the plight of Chinese women caught the interest of the growing group of feminist men and women, who linked women's liberation to the wealth and

⁵⁵⁶ For a discussion on adoption practices, see Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980). For multiple examples of adoption within close relatives and between families without blood relations, see Chen, *Daughter of Good Fortune*, Chapter 1.

⁵⁵⁷ Arthur P. Wolf and Chieh-shan Huang, *Marriage and Adoption in China, 1845-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980).

⁵⁵⁸ In the late imperial era, widows had the obligations to establish heirs to maintain their husbands' lineages. In the early Republic, widows had the right to choose heirs even after their husbands died. However, with the 1930 Civil Code, only the heir established by both husband and wife had the right to the family's property. Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China, 960-1949*, 106.

⁵⁵⁹ Bryna Goodman, "'Law is One Thing and Virtue is Another': Law and Legal Process," in *Chinese Law: Knowledge, Practice, and Transformation*, ed. Li Chen and Madeleine Zelin, 148-175 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

power of the nation.⁵⁶⁰ The revolutionary moment of 1911 opened up possibilities for a political and cultural overhaul, creating opportunities for advocates of women's rights to pressure Republican leaders to meet their demands.⁵⁶¹ By 1928, however the reformist and revolutionary dynamic of earlier decades had succumbed to a relatively stable and centralized domination in the southeastern coast, the most progressive region of China. The Japanese threats in northern China and Shanghai in the early 1931 undermined the urgency of the women's rights movements. The intellectual-led New Culture Movement was replaced by the government-led New Life Movement, which promoted modern civic behaviors and ways of thinking. The subsequent total war throughout China further dampened the fire of radical social and cultural reforms.

Getting Intimate with the State

The following cases reveal various levels of accomplishments and obstacles for widows and daughters in and outside the home in the absence of their patriarchs. It turns out that some navigated the bureaucracy better than others. In some cases, the state was the lesser evil than the familial institutions that could legally sell younger and female members into slavery, indentured labor, concubinage, and prostitution. Widows and orphaned daughters reached out to the political institutions to counter the pressure from their families and communities. The 1931 Republican Civil Code granted daughters the same inheritance rights as men, granted widows full ownership of a share of the estate, and granted concubines rights as mothers.⁵⁶²

Navigating the Bureaucracy

Navigating the Chinese bureaucracy is no easy task especially for women, yet one Mrs. Zhao managed it. In 1929, a Mrs. Zhao, *née* Xia, Guangguo 趙夏光國 from Zhenjiang 鎮江 County, Jiangsu, petitioned for her son Zhao Junlong to attend school free of charge.⁵⁶³ Mrs. Zhao's first name, meaning "glorifying the nation," was popular during the revolutionary era, although it was usually reserved for sons. Her parents' use of this name for a daughter indicates their political awareness and social status, which were passed on to her.

Guangguo's late husband, Zhao Guang 趙光, had been a revolutionary since the founding of the Republic and a faithful follower of Sun Yat-sen. Zhao Guang graduated from Ningxia's New Army school and Guangzhou Military Academy. According to his wife, he was strong and full of passion as a young man. With encouragement Zhaosheng, a senior Party member, he joined the Nationalist Party and Sun Yat-sen's cause. After many party assignments and battles in remote areas, his health quickly declined. She explained that he had died the previous year from exhaustion caused by working for the revolution and experiencing hardship throughout his

⁵⁶⁰ Peter Zarrow, "He Zhen and Anarcho-Feminism in China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 47 (1988): 796-813.

⁵⁶¹ Strand, *An Unfinished Republic*, 18-19.

⁵⁶² Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*, 5.

⁵⁶³ "Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Jiangsu Province," December 11, 1929, JPA 1001-yi-76.

decades-long career. She attached his revolutionary biography and pointed out extended periods when his activities led to his exposure to unfavorable living conditions, which resulted in his premature death. Mrs. Zhao had been awarded 300 *yuan* for funeral and burial fees of her late husband. However, she petitioned again to receive her husband's November salary, as he had died late in that month without collecting his pay. His salary was 100 *yuan* per month.⁵⁶⁴ Mrs. Zhao was well informed about any amount of money to which her family was entitled and determined to wrestle it from the government.

Her subsequent petitions revealed her struggle to secure the son a spot in middle school and by extension her future. When 15-year-old Junlong graduated from elementary school in the spring, no schools in the region were accepting students. He had to apply for the middle school in Yangzhou. However, when the time came, Junlong was sick and could not take the test. Guangguo then traveled to Yangzhou (a city about 22 miles from her home in Zhenjiang) to talk to the school president, he suggested that Junlong enter the examination preparation class (*buxiban*) and she should apply for financial assistance to cover the preparation class fees. Because enrollment in this class was not the same as enrolling in a school, the Jiangsu Provincial Government denied him the tuition waiver reserved for a revolutionary martyr's heir.⁵⁶⁵ Mrs. Zhao mobilized her social and political capital to overturn the decision on her son's case.

Various details in her petitions demonstrate her increasing political awareness. In the first petition, she used "the late elder brother Baixian" (*Bai xianxiong zhang* 百先兄長) "Mr. Zhongshan" (*Zhongshan xiansheng* 中山先生) to refer to Zhao Sheng 趙聲 (1881-1911), a revolutionary martyr killed in the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, and Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic, respectively. Making reference to her husband's association with these two legendary political figures gave her petition tremendous weight.⁵⁶⁶ In the fourth petition, which was forwarded to the Executive Yuan, she used the more proper term "the late premier" (*xian zongli* 先總理). "The late premier" was the official term used to address Sun Yat-sen in government documents during this period.⁵⁶⁷

After months of no reply to her first three petitions, Guangguo wrote another one addressed to the Premier Tan Yankai. Her case received further attention when the Provincial Government forwarded her fifth petition to the Executive Yuan for a decision. Moreover, in her fourth and fifth petitions, she used paper with the letterhead of the Jiangsu Aid Committee's Women Office, showing that she held a position in this organization.⁵⁶⁸ All this evidence indicates that Mrs. Zhao was a capable and educated woman who was becoming more and more familiar with the bureaucracy. Furthermore, she resorted to more affected language in the second petition addressed to the Jiangsu provincial governor and the third petition to the President of the

⁵⁶⁴ "Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Premier Tan Yankai," December 1929, JPA 1001-yi-76.

⁵⁶⁵ "Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Executive Yuan via Jiangsu Province," January 1930, JPA 1001-yi-76.

⁵⁶⁶ "Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Jiangsu Province," December 18, 1929, JPA 1001-yi-76.

⁵⁶⁷ "Petition from Mrs. Zhao Xia to Executive Yuan via Jiangsu Province," January 1930, JPA 1001-yi-76.

⁵⁶⁸ "Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Jiangsu Province," April 1930, JPA 1001-yi-76.

Executive Yuan Tan Yankai in 1929.⁵⁶⁹ Mrs. Zhao cited her widowed life was “desolate beyond words.” She signed her petitions with “weeping” (*qi* 泣) and “bowing” (*jugong* 鞠躬) instead of the neutral term “petitioning” (*jucheng* 具呈).

All these evidence shows that Mrs. Zhao was a capable and educated woman, and she became more and more familiar with the bureaucracy. Yet, her capability was not well received. The Executive Yuan dictated that according to the regulations for revolutionaries’ children, as she was able to support herself then only her son’s tuition should be waived (no other payment would be made). This judgment was not based on the 1927 regulations for compensating martyrs or those who died in the line of duty, which makes no distinction between working and nonworking widows.

In 1929, a 27-year-old Mrs. Gao 高 *née* Tao 陶 Cengke 曾殼 petitioned for her husband, Gao Renshan, who had died during his revolutionary career. She signed her petition with her personal chop, which indicates a high possibility that she authored the letter. According to the petition, Gao Renshan’s son and daughter were given 600 *yuan* and their tuition was waived until they came of age.⁵⁷⁰ However, his body had not been transported back home. Mrs. Gao continued to petition for transportation fees. When Renshan was alive, he had not saved up much. As he was too busy with revolutionary activities, his family had no money. His corpse was temporarily placed a charity house for Jiangsu natives (*Jiangsu yituan* 江蘇義團) and had yet to be interred. His wife wanted another 1,600 *yuan* because she looked up in *Government Gazette* (*Zhengfu gongbao*) no. 227, which posted that Martyr Cheng Lü 成律 from Hunan and Martyr Wu Guangtian 吳光田 from Songjiang were awarded 1,000 *yuan* each for burial fees in addition to their first-rate gratuities. They were also commemorated with commemorative tablets at the Capital Number 1 Park (首都第一公園). Forever, she also found that Martyr Yu Chang 禹昌 from Sichuan was given 600 *yuan* as coffin transportation fee (*yun gui fei* 運櫃費), and such and such cases. Referencing these cases, Mrs. Gao petitioned for 1,000 *yuan* as burial fees (*ying zang fei* 營葬費) and 600 *yuan* as coffin transportation fees, and for a commemorative tablet to be established in the Beiping Number 1 Park.⁵⁷¹

As the 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members” (slightly revised in 1929) did not specify anything about the burial fees. In fact, when the National Government awarded a widow encoffining, transportation, and burial fees for her husband who had died during an anti-imperial campaign, Tan Yankai, President of the Executive Yuan, protested that there were no regulations for paying for burial in effect. Such payments were awarded only in exceptional cases.⁵⁷² Because Mrs. Gao was knowledgeable about the compensation regulations and up to

⁵⁶⁹ “Petition from Zhao Xia Guangguo to Premier Tan Yankai,” December 1929, JPA 1001-yi-76.

⁵⁷⁰ “Jiangsu Province to National Government,” October 30, 1928, AH 001-036200-0010, file 50011482.

⁵⁷¹ “National Revolutionary Army’s Supreme Command to National Government, including Mrs. Gao *née* Tao’s original petition,” August 21, 1928, AH 001-036200-0010, file 50011472.

⁵⁷² See an example discussed in Chapter 4, “Executive Yuan to National Government, including Ministry of Interior’s proposal to compensate Li Tang,” April 3, 1929, AH 001-036000-0011, file 50002537.

date with changes, she was able to extract the burial and coffin transportation fees from the government.

In the case of martyr Peng Jiazhen, his wife and son travelled from Sichuan to Beiping to petition. Peng died in 1912 in his attempt to assassinate Yuan Shikai. While Peng's family was awarded first-rate annual stipend of 600 *yuan*, the money went to Peng's father. In 1928, his wife, *née* Wang, and son, Zhuandong 傳棟, requested that a 1,000-yuan stipend be divided equally between them and Peng's father. In addition, they continued to urge the Beiping Municipal Government to build a shrine and a monument in the martyr's name. When the government failed to deliver due to financial reason, Mrs. Peng and son raised the money themselves to purchase and renovate a private temple into a shrine to Peng Jiazhen in 1930.⁵⁷³

In cases of sons signing off the petitions instead of widowed mothers, it was often that the mother had deceased. An 18-year-old Chen Jishun 陳繼舜 petitioned for assistance to transport the body of his father, a revolutionary martyr, back to Guangdong for burial. It turned out that his mother had died earlier. It points to the fact that widows, rather than sons, were more likely to act as petitioners. There appeared a contradiction. Widows seemed to gain social standing in case of dead husbands since they were valuable to the state as upholder of normalcy and virtues during times of chaos. However, their petitions were to benefit the offspring, especially male heirs.

State as Alliance

If Mrs. Zhao and Mrs. Xia proved that death of familial patriarchs allowed women to showcase their capability beyond the walls of their household compounds, the following cases demonstrate how widows were faced with more challenges at home. In these cases, the state appeared as an ally and provided leverage for widows to deal with harassment from relatives. New legal developments in the twentieth century granted women more legal ground to reach out to political institutions to counter the pressure from their families and communities.

In 1928, the Nationalist Party's Beiping Steering Committee (*Zhongyang Guomindang Beiping tebie shi dangwu zhidao weiyuanhui* 中央國民黨北平特別市黨務指導委員會) petitioned the Central Executive Committee to order the Yunnan Provincial Government to look into the family circumstance of a March 18 Massacre martyr, Fan Rong 范融. According to the petition, after the martyr died, his uncle took over the family affairs and deprived Fan Rong's wife and daughter of resources. The petitioner requested that the Central Executive Committee arbitrate the family's matter.⁵⁷⁴

In a petition submitted in November 1928, one Mrs. Zang 臧 *née* Chen 陳, 46 years old, from Jiangsu claimed that a distantly related nephew was pretending to be her late husband's heir in

⁵⁷³ Bai Shulan 白淑兰 and Zhu Lijun 祝力军, "1929 nian qianhou wei Peng Jiazhen lieshi xiumu jianci shiliao xian 1929 年前后为彭家珍烈士修墓建祠史料选" (Historical Materials of Grave Repair and Shrine Construction for Martyr Peng Jiazhen Before and After 1929), *Beijing Dang'an Shiliao* 北京档案史料 (Beijing Archives Journal) 3 (2011): 467-473.

⁵⁷⁴ "Nationalist Party's Beiping Steering Committee to National Government," October 20, 1928, AH 001-036000-0015, file 50002676.

order to claim her and her daughter's compensation privileges.⁵⁷⁵ Unlike, Mrs. Zhao, Mrs. Zang did not include her first name and signed it with a cross, signifying her more modest upbringing. Being illiterate, Mrs. Zang had a harder time navigating the bureaucracy when her husband, Zang Zaixin 臧在新, a follower of Sun Yat-sen since the revolutionary years, was captured and executed at Nanjing's Yuhuatai in 1916.

Mrs. Zang's petition opened with details about the family lineage her predicament lay at home. Her late husband, Zaixin, had three brothers. The eldest brother, Zaiqun 在羣, had two sons, Xiabiao 遐彪 and Xialing 遐齡. The second brother, Zaishan 在山, had one son, Xiayan 遐延. The youngest brother, Zaitong 在同, had two sons, Xiakang 遐康 and Xiafu 遐福.⁵⁷⁶ Unfortunately, Zaixin himself only had two daughters by Mrs. Zang. The elder daughter, Xiazhen 遐珍, was already married and left the Zang household. The younger had died of illness at seven years old. Mrs. Zang was living with another daughter named Jiesheng 結生, who was born to Zaixin's concubine, *née* Mao 毛. When Jiesheng was one year old, the concubine remarried. As a concubine who failed to produce a male heir and was widowed quite early, she would be better off seeking a new life elsewhere. Mrs. Zang then raised Jiesheng "as her own child," which is evidenced by the fact that this daughter, who was 14 years old at the time of the petition, was attending a private higher primary school.

According to Mrs. Zang's petition, after Zaixin died, his parents grieved so much that they became ill and soon followed him one by one. The widow took care of them as if she were their son (*dai fu zuo zi* 代夫作子) when they were alive and later arranged for proper funerals. It was considered an extraordinary act of filial piety when a daughter-in-law mourned the deaths of her parents-in-law in the same manner as that of a son. Despite her flawless conduct, however, she was unable to live in peace. Zang Xiajin 臧遐進, a distant nephew, showed up and claimed to be Zang Zaixin's heir. He offered to bring the martyr's body from out of the province back for burial. This proposal was significant because the martyr's illiterate widow and underage daughter could not carry out this task alone, and Zaixin's brothers and their sons were not sufficiently versed in the world to travel outside their village. As there was no mentioning of their education or profession, one can infer that they were farmers, or held some sort of manual jobs.

However, Mrs. Zang disputed Xiajin's claim, pointing out that in terms of blood relationship, her husband had two daughters and five nephews, who were much closer. In terms of family lineage, Zaixin had countless male relatives within the five degrees of mourning. In terms of affection, being in the military, her husband was seldom granted leave to go home and did not

⁵⁷⁵ "Petition from Mrs. Zang Chen to National Government," November 29, 1928, AH 001-036000-0007, file 50002412.

⁵⁷⁶ In the early 20th century, families with only daughters conventionally offered their nephews their properties in exchange to be taken care of in the old age. Chen Huiqin attributed the change in this practice in her village to the Communist Revolution of 1949 and the New Marriage Law of 1950. Chen Huiqin, *Daughter of Good Fortune: A Twentieth-Century Chinese Peasant Memoir* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 53-55. However, such changes could be seen much earlier with the Nationalist compensation law.

personally know this “imposter” heir, who lived 20 miles away. Given all these reasons, there was no reason for Xiajin to be the legitimate heir.

Mrs. Zang’s petition was addressed to the National Government and the Ministry of Military Administration, which forwarded it to the provincial level for clarification. The Jiangsu Provincial Government sent investigators to the village and summoned Mrs. Zang, Zang Xiajin, and Zang Guobin 臧國賓, a clan elder, to the government office for questioning.⁵⁷⁷ The conclusion was that it was a “misunderstanding” (*yin wuhui er qi* 因誤會而起) and all sides left in harmony with four resolutions. The first resolution was to make Jiesheng, the daughter by Zaijin’s concubine, the legal heir (*fading jicheng* 法定繼承), and both Xiajin and Xiabiao, the martyr’s eldest brother’s eldest son, the adopted heirs (*sizi* 嗣子).⁵⁷⁸ This was certainly a strange setup for two reasons. First, Mrs. Zang did not need three heirs. Second, Mrs. Zang had not initially adopted any of her nephews, perhaps for fear of losing her rights over her late husband’s properties. If she had, it would have been a younger nephew, rather than Xiabiao, who as the eldest son of the eldest son held an irreplaceable role in the clan. The adoption of the eldest nephew was thus nominal. The second resolution was to divide the gratuities equally between Jiesheng and Xiabiao after paying for expenses in Mrs. Zang’s household. Even though the 1928 “Jiangsu Revolutionary Martyrs’ Compensation Regulations” dictated that spouses were at the first place in line to receive gratuities, in reality widows were bypassed by heirs. The third was to make Xiajin be in charge of bringing the martyr’s body back for burial and make Mrs. Zang be in charge of the funeral and burial ceremonies. The last was to allow Xiajin and Mrs. Zang to jointly receive the one-time gratuity payment from the Provincial Government. The latter would take the money home. The annual stipend would be dispensed directly to Mrs. Zang and her daughter. Yet the narrative did not end here. The resolutions left Xiajin with no financial gain, yet he was now a recognized heir of a martyr and he decided to try to use the political capital associated with martyrdom.

In April 1929, Xiajin submitted his own petition to the National Government. He was literate and signed it with a personal seal.⁵⁷⁹ This 27-year-old man claimed that the previous year the Ministry of Military Administration had promoted his late father, Zaixin, to the rank of lieutenant general, posthumously, and promised to assign Zaixin’s heir to a comparable official position in the Military Affairs Commission. The 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members” did not include granting postings to children of deceased Party members. Hence, half a year later, Xiajin had still not received a government job. He submitted another petition in October claiming his “household was in extreme poverty” (*jia pin ruxi* 家貧如洗) and asking for a post in

⁵⁷⁷ Mediation, often conducted by community and kin group leaders, was a popular mode of conflict resolution in pre-Communist era. Huang, “Morality and Law in China,” 8. In this case, the Nationalist government provided mediation.

⁵⁷⁸ “Jiangsu Provincial Government to National Government,” January 26, 1929, AH 001-036000-0007, file 50002418.

⁵⁷⁹ “Petition from Zang Xiajin to National Government,” April 9, 1929, AH 001-036000-0007, file 50002420.

the bureaucracy. The National Government ordered the Jiangsu Provincial Government to investigate.⁵⁸⁰ The paper trail ended here.

This is a typical legal quandary in which widows, especially those without male heirs, found themselves. They were vulnerable to the exploitation of their extended families on both sides. As widows could be denied the right to their original dowries and conjugal properties and their families could fetch a bride price for them, they were often forced to remarry or leave the late husbands' households by affinal relatives. Mrs. Zang had to struggle against all these men in the affinal family. She had no ally particularly after her parents-in-law had died and while her legal daughter was underage. Her husband's concubine left the household after his death. Her husband had three male siblings who had a total of five sons. However, because the 1928 "Jiangsu Revolutionary Martyrs' Compensation Regulations" did not discriminate between sons and daughters (Article 3), having a daughter entitled Mrs. Zang to an annual stipend. She did not adopt one of the nephews as her heir because it would mean signing over her properties and rights to him. In the end, however, she had to share part of the gratuities with her eldest nephew (and by extension her affinal family) because she needed their protection. Besides, there were other relatives like Xiajin, who wanted to take advantage of a lone widow. The distant relative Xiajin, who had a middle school education and was capable of dealing with the bureaucracy, posed a different kind of threat to Mrs. Zang. She could not get rid of him.

The issue of heir and adoption should be further illustrated. In her work on women's rights to properties from the Song dynasty to the Republican era, Kathryn Bernhardt documents the legal changes. While Song women had rights to their husbands' properties, the Ming emperors dictated that widows had to adopt their husbands' closest nephews to be heir and remained only as custodians of the properties. However, the rise of female chastity in the late Ming and the early Qing granted widows more rights in practice. During the Qing, such requirement to adopt a nephew was abolished; widows could choose their own heirs. Such development was further codified in the interim period and the subsequent Republican era. Concubines were allowed the same rights as wives as chastity was "the great equalizer." The Republican Civil Code of 1929-30 did not mandate adoption of male heir or recognize the property claims of patronal kin, and granted women the same inheritance rights as men in principle.⁵⁸¹ Bernhardt emphasizes that the conflict between the new law and the old tradition had "varied implications for women in their different capacities"; in other words, "women lost old powers even as they gained new ones."⁵⁸²

In the case of Mrs. Zang, the government applied a mixture of imperial and Republican laws. Mrs. Zang was made by the authority to "adopt" an heir even though her daughter was legally entitled to all of her late husband's properties. Even though Mrs. Zang had the right,⁵⁸³ the elder representatives of the lineage chose the heir.

⁵⁸⁰ "Petition from Zang Xiajin to National Government," October 22, 1929, AH 001-036000-0007, file 50002423.

⁵⁸¹ Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*, 4-5.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁸³ Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*, 1999, 78. The Daluyuan in the early 1900s made the right to choose heirs exclusive to widows. In late imperial Chinese law, choosing heir was an obligation of widows and had to be in consultation with the lineage heads.

Daughters, like one in the case of Mrs. Zang, showed up much less frequently in petitions. Daughters born to concubines, especially if they had many siblings, were not usually given such attention and educational opportunity as what Jiesheng received. Her fate was greatly improved by her blood relation to a martyr whom she did not know as he was killed either before or soon after she was born. Although she was marked at birth as a lesser family member: the second character Jie of her name was not the generational marker, Xia,⁵⁸⁴ in the eyes of the law, she was recognized as equal to any of her siblings as a martyr's heir. Her tuition was waived per Clause 6 of Article 2 of the 1928 "Jiangsu Revolutionary Martyrs' Compensation Regulations."

Mrs. Chen 陳, *née* Li 李, Peiyu 佩玉 petitioned for her husband Chen Juhai 陳鉅海, a Hunan native who participated and martyred during the Second Revolution of 1913. Mrs. Chen now lived in Guangzhou with her daughter named Weilian 偉蓮. Juhai's old comrades had assisted her so far. However, her daughter, who had been attending Zhongshan middle school, wanted to advance to high school. The family was "too poor" to allow the daughter to continue her study.⁵⁸⁵ Both daughters and sons were treated equally in all compensation regulations.⁵⁸⁶ However, in practice, they were not.

Based on the above-mentioned set of 255 compensation certificates issued from 1937 to 1940, 81 cases, or 32 percent, included both daughter(s) and son(s), 49, or 19 percent, included only son(s), and 18, or seven percent, included only daughter(s).⁵⁸⁷ Adding these statistics to the much smaller number of petitions involving daughters that I found, I maintain that daughters were not socially equal to sons although they were equal in the eyes of the law. Besides female infanticides and gender-based negligence, daughters were likely married off early (in many cases, even before they came of age) and thus were not able to benefit from their fathers' heroic deaths.

At the Second National Congress of the Nationalist Party held in Guangzhou in January 1926, issues of gender equality were raised. Representatives called for liberation of their persons, equality in the legal, economic, educational, and social realms, an end to polygamy, and property rights for daughters. In October 1926, the Judicial Executive Committee of the National Government (*guomin zhengfu sifa xingzheng weiyuanhui*) ordered provinces under the Nationalist rule to implement daughters' inheritance rights. The Supreme Court in 1928 however dictated that only unmarried daughters were entitled to equal inheritance rights. In 1929, the

⁵⁸⁴ In the Zang clan, Zaijin's generation was marked with the character "Zai." The children of the Zai generation were marked with "Xia."

⁵⁸⁵ "Zou Lu to the National Government, including original petitions of Mrs. Chen and Mrs. Gan," July 24, 1937, AH 001-36000-0014, file 50002665. Her name, Weilian "Grand Lotus" mirrors her father's name Juhai (Grand Sea). Both *ju* and *wei* mean "great." "Grand Lotus" is rather unusual for a girl's name and seems to denote the prospect the parents had for her. Being "poor" (*pinhan* 貧寒) did not necessarily bring to mind the lack of nourishments or shelter. "Poverty" among the middle-class meant limited access to modern-school education or imported consumer goods.

⁵⁸⁶ Most compensation regulations specified that only unmarried daughters were eligible for gratuities.

⁵⁸⁷ I compile data from SHA 1-711-208.

Judicial Yuan appealed to the Nationalist Party's Central Political Council about equal rights to properties for both unmarried and married daughters. The proposal was approved and went into effect in May 1931.⁵⁸⁸

Redemption by the State

The state also took the initiative in compensating families that truly fell into hardship after the death of their patriarch. In the following case, the state stepped in and restored life to a widow. Huang Guilin 黃桂林 and his second son, Huang Yushan 黃玉山, were executed while working underground for the Nationalist Party in 1914. In addition, Guilin's first son, Yuming 玉明, was able to escape, leaving behind Guilin's wife, *née* Deng 鄧, and daughter-in-law, *née* Xuan 旋. The elder Mrs. Huang currently living in a charity house 養濟院 applied to the government for compensation.⁵⁸⁹ Mrs. Huang was likely placed in one of the charity halls for widows, which were a new initiative beginning in the Daoguang reign (1820-1850). In the mid-nineteenth century, community leaders started building public houses for indigent widows as a sign of public-mindedness and philanthropic investment. Hundreds of chaste widows were removed from domesticity and institutionalized.⁵⁹⁰

In January 1929, the central government ordered the Anhui Provincial Government to investigate the whereabouts of relatives of the Huang martyrs. As there was no official record about these two men, the investigators visited Mrs. Huang *née* Deng at the charity house to uncover the circumstance of death of her husband and son. What they were about to find out was even more tragic. When the Huang father and son were publicly condemned and shot by the Beiyang government (1912-1927, capital: Beijing), both the mother and daughter-in-law were pregnant. The former gave birth to a girl and the latter to a boy. The Beiyang police also confiscated the family's properties including a guesthouse business. With too much suffering within a short time and no financial support, the daughter-in-law could not bear it and hung herself before long. Without the motherly care, the newborn son weakened and expired. There was no mentioning of the daughter, who likely died or was sold off. After 15 years of suffering, the National Government compensated her with the second-rate annual stipend of 400 *yuan*. However, it could not fulfill Mrs. Huang's final wish of finding her eldest son, Yuming. Such cases like that of Mrs. Huang exemplify the unrivalled organization and capacity of the modern nation-state enabled it to be the redeemer.

With various compensation regulations that aimed to support widows and orphans, we hear more women's voice, much of which reflects an increased political awareness. In the imperial era, women were not unfamiliar with the court of law. Many widows sought the state's protection in the name of chastity when it came to dealing with family members trying to rob them of their dowries or sell them off. The Republican period witnessed a far higher number of widows due to war, population density, and advances in weaponry. In addition, schools open to women in Republican China gave rise to significantly more education opportunities for women.

⁵⁸⁸ Bernhardt, *Women and Property in China*, 134-5, 137.

⁵⁸⁹ "Executive Yuan to National Government, including correspondence from Anhui Province," February 7, 1929, AH 001-036000-0009, file 50002472.

⁵⁹⁰ Mann, "Widows in the Kinship," 51.

These developments drew more women to the state apparatus and allowed them to join the political sphere. Many petitions submitted by widows, like one by Mrs. Zhao *née* Xia above, detailed the revolutionary careers of their fathers, husbands, and sons, proving the women's exposure to and support for political ideologies, albeit indirectly and unofficially.

Gendered Memory and Allegiance

Contrasting narratives in petitions presented by women with those by men, I demonstrate the gendered modes of recollection. Women drew upon intimate interactions with the dead while men presented matter-of-fact publicly known accounts. In this section, I present the contrast in four petitions, written by a martyr's alleged stepmother (Mrs. Lin *née* You), a martyr's daughter-in-law (Mrs. Guo *née* Lin), a martyr's son (Pan Shaolou), and a martyr's brother (Yang Guanwu).

A Martyr's Adopted Father's Concubine

In 1937, a Mrs. Lin 林, *née* You 尤, Shangying 尚英, wrote a petition and signed it with her own seal to request assistance in preparing the final resting place of her husband, Lin Xiaoying 林孝穎, who had died in 1928 and her daughter-in-law who had died in 1912.⁵⁹¹ The petitioner was a secondary wife (*ceshi* 側室),⁵⁹² and she addressed herself in the petition as “a lowly concubine” (*qianqie* 賤妾). According to the petition, the Lin family had to take refuge away from their hometown after the failed revolution, the two coffins were placed in a temple waiting to be interred. The petitioner revealed that Lin Xiaoying was the adoptive father of a Yellow Flower Hill martyr, Lin Juemin 林覺民, one of the most esteemed revolutionary figures in Republican China. Xiaoying was an heirless uncle who adopted his nephew, Juemin, as his legitimate heir.⁵⁹³ Lin Juemin died in the 1911 Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. After giving birth to a son named Lin Zhongxin 林仲新, the forlorn wife of Juemin died in 1912. Mrs. Lin decided to spend most of the compensation money – 1,000 *yuan* a year – to pay for the education of Juemin's son and daughter, who had been diligent in their studies since they were young. Now that Zhongxin was studying in the capital where living expenses were high, the generous allowance was quickly exhausted. Mrs. Lin, nearing 60 years of age, feared that she would not be able to bring the corpses of her husband and daughter-in-law to their final resting place before her death. She asked the government to help her properly bury the martyr's father and wife. The fact that the grandson, though a legitimate heir and had already come of age (he was 25 years old), did not petition further emphasized Mrs. Lin's role in preserving the patriarchal lineage.

⁵⁹¹ “Petition from Mrs. Lin *née* You from Fuzhou addressed to National Government,” May 25, 1937, AH 001-036000-0065, file 50004896.

⁵⁹² *Ceshi*, which means “side room,” was used to denote a relatively high-status concubine, “stressing her role as a companion and sexual partner.” A concubine “does not seem to have had the right to appoint a posthumous heir.” Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Women and the Family in Chinese History* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 45-46.

⁵⁹³ Lin Juemin's biography in Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*. Juemin was famous for his touching letter to his wife (*yu qi shu* 與妻書) days before his death in 1911, which became the symbol of conjugal love. He sent a briefer note to his adopted father.

Mrs. Lin's evidence of feminine virtues and downplaying of her management of the household were positively received by the National Government. Her petition was approved despite the absence of laws concerning burial fees for relatives of martyrs.

Despite Mrs. Lin's lack of biological and legal relationship with the martyr, she described her memory of her "son" emotively: "the day I witnessed (*dangri mudu* 當日目睹) Juemin being martyred for the nation, so much did I grieve. He left behind an orphan and a widow to Xiaoying who, already in his twilight years, had to single-handedly provide for them. [Thinking about this,] I earnestly could not carry on with my letter and grievously cried."⁵⁹⁴ Although his patrilineal lineage was secured with the survival of the second son, the heir had no experiential connection with the martyr-father. The only holder of memory was Mrs. Lin, the secondary mother. Motherhood is not only culturally and socially constructed,⁵⁹⁵ but also politically motivated as seen in this case. The casualties of revolutions that weighed heavily on men emphasized the role of women as keepers of the past.

A Martyr's Daughter-in-Law

A Mrs. Guo 郭, *née* Lin 林 petitioned for her father-in-law, Guo Dawang 郭大旺, a Yellow Flower Hill martyr, who participated in the 1911 uprising in Guangzhou.⁵⁹⁶ Although Guo was one of the martyrs of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, his name was the only one that was excluded from the officially recognized 72 Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs. The reason, according to the petitioner, was that the Huabao 華報 issue from 1931 listed the seventy names, only to discover later that Guo Dawang was not included. When discovered, it was too late, as the number 72 had become part of the standard history. The petitioner noted that fortunately, the Fuzhou Martyrs' Shrine did contain a thirty-character biography of Guo alongside those of other Yellow Flower Hill martyrs. The seventy-two names were those who could be identified from 86 bodies found after the massacre. Dead bodies in their transient and undistinguished state could invite different narratives. The local community and families were not satisfied with an unambiguous history adopted by the state. Mrs. Guo challenged official history by her personal connection to the forgotten martyr Guo Dawang. Mrs. Guo later adopted a son named Guo Shizhong 郭時忠, whom was awarded with an annual stipend of 900 *yuan* as of 1943.⁵⁹⁷

How did the daughter-in-law claim the knowledge of her deceased father-in-law's revolutionary activities and posthumous circumstances? According to the petition, the father in fact died when his son, Guo Meiti 郭妹弟, was still a young apprentice in the bamboo trade (*zugong* 竹工). With prudence, Guo Meiti supported himself, and married Miss Lin in 1928. He often told his wife his father's history in detail and said, "I regret that I cannot emulate father's will, to serve the nation in order to console his spirit." When he uttered these words, he was

⁵⁹⁴ (鉛槧懇懇勲勲卒至憂傷哭泣)

⁵⁹⁵ Hsiung Ping-chen, "Constructed Emotions: The Bond Between Mothers and Sons in Late Imperial China," *Late Imperial China* 15 (1994), 88.

⁵⁹⁶ "Fujian Provincial Government to National Government," August 29, 1931, AH 001-036000-0064, file 50004853.

⁵⁹⁷ SHA 1-711-781.

“drenched in tears and sobbed with abandon.”⁵⁹⁸ His wife also “wept her heart out, committed it to memory, and did not dare forget.” In 1933, the husband fell ill and died, leaving her pregnant with a child (of unknown sex) and with a two-year old daughter. This misfortune prompted her to demand recognition and compensation from the government. It was Mrs. Guo, the daughter-in-law, not the martyr’s son, who took the initiative to seek restitution and to challenge the official history. Furthermore, the memory of the martyr was passed down to his daughter-in-law and now to the granddaughter, signifying a gendered mode of memory.

Gail Hershatter’s research on the Shaanxi rural women shows that in their memory, various political campaigns with much more significant impacts on their life were nonetheless overridden by personal experiences, such as childbirths and famines. My research of Republican women makes similar discoveries of gendered memory. In these two petitions, both Mrs. Lin and Mrs. Guo referred specific times and settings of their acquisition of the memory about the martyrs’ lives and death circumstances. Mrs. Lin discussed the moment of Juemin’s death and her reaction, not only to his martyrdom but also to her husband’s sudden emotional and financial burdens. The death of the revolutionary became more real to her when its impact was felt among remaining family members. Mrs. Guo referred to an objective account of her father-in-law as published in newspapers. She also claimed her emotional attachment, albeit through her husband, to the martyr. In the family, the relationship between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is usually the weakest.⁵⁹⁹ In Mrs. Guo’s family, it was even more distant as Guo Dawang died even before she married into the Guo family. Dawang’s martyrdom bound her to his political conviction, and to the party and nation for which he died.

A Martyr’s Son

The particularities of female petitioners were further highlighted in comparison with those of male counterparts. In October 1928, Pan Shaolou 潘少樓, a Nationalist Party member, petitioned for his late father, Pan Yuelou 潘月樓, who participated in the Revolutionary Alliance during the late Qing and died during the anti-Yuan movement of 1913.⁶⁰⁰ Shaolou was only six years old when his father died. His family’s fortune declined to the point that it was “empty like an upturned bell.” Shaolou wrote of his sorrow: “each time I think of my father’s being wronged, I cannot help but burst into tears,” and “whenever I think about my father, I cry until I lose my voice.” Ni Sichong, despite his extreme wickedness, lived above the law.

Shaolou’s petition describes in great detail the circumstance of Pan Yuelou’s death. When the Second Revolution failed, Yuelou returned to his native place. Together with some other Party member, he engaged in clandestine activities waiting for the next opportunity to rise. At that time, Ni Sichong 倪嗣冲, governor of Anhui,⁶⁰¹ sent out thugs like Ge Hongbiao and Zhu

⁵⁹⁸ (淋漓慷慨涕淚縱橫)

⁵⁹⁹ Mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law generally shared a lot of time together in doing or managing housework.

⁶⁰⁰ Petition from Pan Shoulou to National Government,” October 19, 1928, AH 001-036000-0008, file 50002426.

⁶⁰¹ Ni Sichong was a leading general of the Anhui clique and among close allies of Yuan Shikai. He was active in many suppression campaigns against anti-Yuan movements in Anhui. After the

Yaoguang to secretly arrest Party members in hiding. After the scout captain, Cheng Tanxun, caught wind of Yuelou's hiding in his hometown, he ordered Ge and ten soldiers to pillage the Pan residence and took Yuelou to Anhui's city of Liuan 六安 where he was tortured in public. Hearing about Yuelou's "spattered blood and torn flesh," none of the Liuan inhabitants could hold back their tears. Such metaphorical tears validated the righteousness of this revolutionary martyr. Yuelou became known as a martyr (*shi* 士) among all walks of life in Liuan, from the gentry to the merchants and the learned. They could not bear to witness him dying a violent death and were willing to stake out their own and their families' lives in order to rescue him. However, because Cheng Tanxun was afraid that if he did not deal with the Party members heavy-handedly, he would lose Ni Sichong's favors, he telegraphed the order to execute Yuelou immediately. On May 13, 1914 when Yuelou was about to be executed, he was all smiling and shouting, "The Revolution will succeed!" "With a bang, his brain burst and drops of blood spattered all over the ground - such a tragic scene." Cheng Tanxun was subsequently promoted to police bureau chief of Anhui Province and his household grew wealthier. The news of Yuelou's execution was spread throughout Anhui; everyone could retell it. Adding this detail, Shaolou conveniently explained how the memory of his father came to him. The memory of the martyr became public knowledge – everyone in Anhui was talking about his father's martyrdom. His family's history became linked with the national history.

A Martyr's Brother

Yang Guanwu 楊冠五 in 1928 petitioned for his brother, Yang Bolin 楊柏林, to be recognized as one of the revolutionaries.⁶⁰² Yang Guanwu, unlike Shaolou, was not a Party member and it showed in his petition. He did not submit his letter directly, but attached it to a petition penned by the Anhui Provincial Nationalist Committee (*Guomindang Anhui sheng dangwu zhidao weiyuanhui* 國民黨安徽省黨務指導委員會). Yang Guanwu began his narrative with the childhood of him and his three brothers. Their mother, near death, said: "You all should study hard" (*ru deng hao dushu* 汝等好讀書) and made them all tearful. The official petition omitted the mother's instruction while retaining other Details on the martyr's younger years. "The village tutors infused in them a sense of patriotism (*zhong yu guo* 忠於國) and taught them literature from Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties" (note that the Yuan and Qing dynasties are not included as they were considered foreigners who invaded China). Education was an important virtue of Republican revolutionaries, yet maternal instructions somehow were not a proper source of political rectitude according to the Anhui party committee.

Yang Guanwu recorded his brother's thoughts in great detail and presented them verbatim. Following his motto: "Politics can only be made by military action," Yang Bolin attended Anhui Army Elementary School in 1906. Afterwards, he was accepted into the Beiyang Army Academy in 1909 and graduated in the spring of 1911. At the dawn of the Xinhai Revolution, he and a classmate formed the Iron Blood Army (*Tiexuejun* 鐵血軍) planning to spread the

defeat in the Zhili-Anhui war in 1920, he retired from politics and engaged in banking and mining industries in Tianjin where he died in 1924.

⁶⁰² "Anhui Province to Central Executive Committee," October 9, 1928, AH 001-036000-0014, file 50002645.

revolution in the north (*beifa* 北伐). When Yuan Shikai rose in power, Bolin said, “Instead of supporting Yuan, we would rather make a revolution” (*yu qi ju Yuan wuning geming* 與其舉袁毋甯革命). Shortly after, he felt sick and had to return home in spring 1912, yet soon went back to Beijing in the fall. Bolin and his comrades organized armed resistance against the Hongxian emperor (Yuan Shikai) in Shanghai. Bolin said, “This is to fulfill the wish of those who relatives were killed by Yuan.” Bolin’s revolutionary career came to an end in 1916 during the battle at Wusong fort when he was just 31 years old. Yang Guanwu recalled his brother once told him, “Never share the same sky with Yuan” (*bu yu Yuanshi bing sheng* 不與袁氏並生). Despite all his activities, Bolin’s life had been in obscurity for over ten years. His brother desired to have him entered the Martyrs’ Shrine in order to comfort his spirit. The conversations between Yang Bolin and his brother were reiterations of political convictions, not statements of familial bonds. Petitioners submitted by women did not contain many statements fused with revolutionary ardor.

Gendered Memory and Beyond

The omission from the official petition of Yang Guanwu’s anecdote about his mother who encouraged her children to learn makes it clear how the party-state maintained that even though her role as an educator of young children was an ideal of Republican motherhood, the mother neither should nor could play an important role in the formation of correct political direction. Moreover, the account of Shaolou, a Party member, stood apart from others in its matter-of-fact discussion of the circumstance of the martyr’s death and the specific identification of the enemies. His account reads more like a chapter from the history of the party. As Shaolou’s narrative did not mention his personal connection to his father (which could have been through his mother or grandfather) or contain direct speeches (except for the cliché revolutionary yell) from his father, he aimed to produce not his own *unique* account of his father, yet a portrayal of the *ideal* conduct of party-members when faced with execution.

In the petitions of Pan Shaolou and Yang Guanwu, the patrilineal bond was strong and secured as Shaolou was the legitimate son and Guan was a blood brother and both had personal interactions with their revolutionary elders. For Mrs. Lin and Mrs. Guo, the relationship between the petitioner and the martyr was much less intimate: between the secondary mother and her husband’s adopted son, and between the daughter-in-law and her father-in-law. Furthermore, having a daughter and an unborn child whose sex was yet to be determined, Mrs. Lin could not promise to preserve the lineage. Mrs. Guo’s memory was not “legitimate” as it was not patrilineal. Neither was Mrs. Lin’s memory “legitimate” as she was not the legal wife per the 1930 Civil Code.⁶⁰³ The two women shored up their claims by narrating their relationships with the martyrs, and by matching their male counterparts’ martyrdom with their own feminine virtues in managing the household and maintaining the patriline. Even though we hear voices from the female family members, these voices were not to protest the patriarchy, yet support its existence.

Conclusion

⁶⁰³ Despite the efforts of the Nationalists to promote monogamy, it was not until the 1950s did the Communist government successfully enforce this policy.

My research demonstrates how the bodies and identities of fallen revolutionaries and soldiers weigh heavily in relationship between the state and the family. Although I use state archives, the individual and nuanced narratives in the petitions uncover the dynamics of state-family and gender relations. Female petitioners performed their gender by manifesting their feminine virtues and their male counterparts' Republican martyrdom in appeal letters. Providing intimate particulars about war heroes' lives and their own to the authorities, women became nodes of the shared memory that creates the national history. Nevertheless, they were only the narrators, not the protagonists. When they narrated such acts of masculine martyrdom and feminine domestic virtues, the state encouraged them by making accommodations and commendations. Unlike feminine virtues in the imperial era, which were revered independently, the Republican woman's chastity was associated with masculine martyrdom. Like their imperial-era counterparts, Republican women appealed to the state on the account of their duties, as daughters, wives, and mothers. This precedent explains why women were proclaimed as "holding up half the sky" during the Mao (Zedong) era (1949-1976) while contemporary feminist movements were heavily suppressed. The former alludes to the responsibilities of women, while the latter demands rights.

The petitions discussed in this chapter demonstrate how compensation regulations allowed the state to step into the private sphere by taking the place of the deceased patriarch. Although Janet Theiss addresses the intimate involvement of the state in familial affairs, especially with regard to disputes concerning chaste widows, during the imperial era, the political intrusion was far more extensive during the Republican era, reaching a larger constituency than the elite in the population and being carried out more methodically, financially, and institutionally. The death of the patriarch reinforced the patriarchal order because of his placement on a pedestal as a martyr and his replacement by the exclusive party-state. The departure of the patriarch allowed female family members to emerge (from the bounds of the household and in historical accounts), yet their function was to ensure the familial hierarchy and patrilineal continuance. At the same time, my research demonstrates how the people themselves negotiated and challenged the state's centralizing and narrowing visions of what religion, society, family, and citizenship ought to be through the acting of narrating their knowledge and experience in petitions to the National Government. By linking the body familial with the body political, the domestic sphere subjected itself to political ends. Private choices including reproductive ones became tied to the fate of the nation, allowing the Communist government that succeeded the Republican government to restrict the number of births per family by applying severe preventive and punitive methods. It history also allows the contemporary Chinese government to shame women in their late 20s who choose not (yet) to fulfill the wifely and motherly duties as "leftover." The state-run All-China Women's Federation invented and propagated the term "leftover women" to demote single women's social status although many such them are highly educated and successfully employed.⁶⁰⁴ Nevertheless, these women, though in the minority, attempt to render void the "contract of virtues" signed by their imperial and Republican counterparts, signaling a new era.

In the next chapter, I will discuss how during wartime, the Nationalist state changed the compensation regulations for the armed forces, placing parents before spouses and children as recipients of death gratuities and stipulating that the gratuities be shared among members of the household. In addition, various compensation committees and offices took over the task of

⁶⁰⁴ For more on "leftover women," see Sandy To, *China's Leftover Women: Late Marriage among Professional Women and Its Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1.

recording the dead. Widows' petitions appeared far less frequently in the 1940s compared to 1920s and 1930s. Both of these developments as consequences of the democratization of war and increased state capacity (especially with respect to bureaucratization) further reduced women's role. They lost the exclusive rights to gratuities, to patronage of the martyrs' children, and to custody of the patriline. They had to share these with their parents-in-law and children. They became less of the narrators of martyrdom, sacrifice, and loyalty as lengthy, individualized petition narratives yielded to concise, standardized forms. The dead left the realm of the family and enter the realm dictated by the state.

Part III

Global Wars and the Making of Modern China, 1937-1949

Chapter 6

Bureaucratization of Death, Civilianization of War

Many projects to commemorate the war dead initiated by the Nationalists during the 1920s and 1930s expanded during the 1940s despite the destruction of war. Many shrines were destroyed while some others were reconstructed, oftentimes by refugees seeking shelter. Biographies of war heroes were published in newspapers and collected by government offices. Payments to families of revolutionary predecessors and fallen combatants were disrupted, yet the state continued to receive and respond to petitions.

The War of Resistance prompted two major developments in modern China. The first critical change was the *bureaucratization of death* – the state became significantly more involved with tracking war casualties. The Nationalist government had exerted considerable effort to collect biographical information of military and civilian casualties during the Northern Expedition, anti-bandit campaigns, and early armed clashes with the Japanese army. The War of Resistance pushed the collection effort even further. One of the purposes of these projects was to properly commemorate and compensate those who risked their lives for the Nationalist regime. The second aim of compiling biographies was to publicize tales of exemplary citizens.

The second development is the *civilianization of war* – the increasing incorporation of the general population into the war effort, which is different, but interrelated with militarization. Scholars of late imperial and modern China have explored processes of militarization, which began with the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). The Taiping leaders, provincial governors, and local governments raised full-size and increasingly professionalized armies and engaged in a 15-year civil war that cost about 20 million lives. This mid-nineteenth century local militarization was part of “early stages of a larger process of militarization that has lasted into the present century.”⁶⁰⁵ Militarization allowed the emergence of warlordism in early twentieth-century China.⁶⁰⁶ During the Cold War, militarization, defined by Cynthia Enloe as “the step-by-step process by which something becomes controlled by, dependent on, or derives its value from the military as an institution or militaristic criteria,” transformed all aspects of life in the tiny island of Quemoy (Jinmen) located in the Taiwan Strait.⁶⁰⁷

I argue that there has been another parallel development: war became civilianized. In China, the civilianization of war, defined as the increasing presence of civilians as not only victims, but also participants and supporters, began with local initiatives the late Qing and became institutionalized during the Republican period. This increase in presence of civilians was reflected by a number of regulations compensating civilian deaths in combat or in war-related situations, as well as published biographies of heroic civilians who engaged with the enemy.

⁶⁰⁵ Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China, Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 9.

⁶⁰⁶ McCord, *Power of the Gun*.

⁶⁰⁷ Cited in Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island: Quemoy on the Front Line* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.

Tobie Meyer-Fong shows that by the 1820s, military and civilian martyrs that were killed or committed suicide when in encounters with rebels were enshrined at local Manifest Loyalty Shrines.⁶⁰⁸ Similarly, many Republican-era Loyal Martyrs' Shrines contained spirit tablets and biographies of civilian martyrs.

Within the nation-state's social contract, the political authority monopolizes the use of force and protects civilians against violence. War is supposed to take place within certain rules, one of which is the clear distinction between combatants and civilians. The elimination of such distinction has had profound implications for not only modern China, but also our contemporary world.

Bureaucratization of Death

Four major units of the Nationalist government during the 1930s and 1940s were in charge of collecting biographies of the war dead. Each of them covered different dimensions. First, the State History Bureau (*Guoshiguan*) compiled *official* biographies of notable people, based on recommendations from individuals and groups. Second, the Ministry of the Interior compiled biographical data (names, native places, ages, economic groups, etc.) of civilian dead from reports from Provincial Governments. Third, the Nationalist Party collected biographies of not only deceased Party members, but also some servicemembers that participated prior to 1928. Finally, offices in charge of the armed forces – the United Quartermasters, the Ministry of Military Administration, and the Military Affairs Commission (*Junshi weiyuanhui* 軍事委員會) – and the Ministry of Defense were in charge of collecting the information of combatants via reports from newspapers, local authorities, military units, and acquaintances of the dead. Biographical information served three purposes: first and foremost, record keeping; second, compensation and commendation; third, propagandizing.

State History Bureau

The State History Bureau, as the bureaucratic unit in charge of recording official history, has its origin in imperial China. Sima Qian (c. 145-85 BCE) was the first to compile official history from the beginning until his time. An official History Office (*shiguan* 史館) was set up by the Tang in 629 to maintain historical archives. During the Song Dynasty, the History Office was renamed the State History Office (*guoshi guan* 國史館).⁶⁰⁹ Hong Taiji established the Literary Office (*Wenguan* 文館) in 1629 to “record affairs of the kingdom, understand past kingly experience, and produce reliable histories.”⁶¹⁰ When the Qing Dynasty was officially established

⁶⁰⁸ By the early Daoguang period, the boundary between martyred civilians and soldiers became blurred, and gives an example of Shaanxi's Manifest Loyalty Shrine, where nearly five thousand gentry, commoners, and women were enshrined. Meyer-Fong, *What Remains*, 142.

⁶⁰⁹ Achim Mittag, “Chinese Official Historical Writing under the Ming and Qing,” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800*, ed. José Rabasa, et. al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 24.

⁶¹⁰ Angela Zito, *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 62.

in 1636, the Literary Office was organized into the Three Inner Courts (*nei sanyuan* 內三院). One of the Three Inner Courts was one the Imperial Office of History (*guoshi yuan* 內國史院), which recorded and collected documents about the political history.⁶¹¹

During the Qing dynasty, the Imperial Office of History (and later renamed the State History Bureau) also stored biographies of worthy commoners. For example, in 1909, Zhang Yao memorialized to the Emperor about entering a biography of a worthy man into the state history. Wu Qi 武七, who was later known as Wu Xun 武訓, lost his father when he was young. Wu Qi then followed his mother to beg to survive. They continued begging after she died of illness. Saddened by the lack of education due to his poverty, he worked day and night and accumulated thousands of strings of cash. He used the wealth to build a charity school (*yibi* 義壁) so that more people would be able to receive schooling. Wu remained a bachelor so that he could donate all his property to the public good. After Wu passed away in 1905, he was honored as a virtuous man.⁶¹²

Hu Hanmin, Huang Xing and 95 others proposed to Sun Yat-sen's Provisional Government in Nanjing to establish the State History Academy (*Guoshiyuan* 國史院).⁶¹³ The plan was unrealized when Sun gave up his presidency in March 1912. In October 1912, the State History Bureau (*Guoshiguan*) was created under the Office of National Affairs (*Guowuyuan* 國務院) of the Beiyang government. The Beiyang's State History Bureau operated from 1914 to June 1928.⁶¹⁴

In 1940, the National Government in wartime capital Chongqing established the State History Bureau Planning Committee (*Guoshiguan choubei weiyuanhui* 國史館籌備委員會). On November 23, 1946, the "State History Bureau Organization Regulations" (*Guoshiguan zuzhi tiaoli* 國史館組織條例) was issued, placing the State History Bureau under the National Government in Nanjing.⁶¹⁵ After the Nationalists fled to Taiwan, the State History Bureau was placed under the Presidential Palace (*Zongtong fu* 總統府). While the State History Bureau has had a much larger function, one of its duties has been to compile biographies of important figures, including martyrs.

The State History Bureau became the most active office in collecting data after the War of Resistance ended. The "Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs," issued on February 28, 1946, dictated that loyal and sacrificing acts shall be recorded by the State History

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 63.

⁶¹² "Xuanfu guoshiguan lizhuan zhe 宣付國史館立傳摺" (Memorial to the Emperor to enter biographies into the National History Bureau), *Zhejiang jiaoyu guanbao* 浙江教育官報 (Zhejiang Education Official Gazette) 13 (1909): 114-116.

⁶¹³ "Academia Historica," <http://www.drnh.gov.tw/Content_Display.aspx?MenuKey=156> Accessed May 10, 2017.

⁶¹⁴ "Falü: Guoshiguan guanzhi 法律:國史館官制" (Law: National History Bureau System), *Zhengfu gongbao* 181 (1912): 5.

⁶¹⁵ "*Guoshiguan zuzhi tiaoli* 國史館組織條例" (State History Bureau Organization Regulation), *Faling zhoukan* 法令週刊 (Decrees Weekly) 50 (1946): 4.

Bureau and local gazettes. Article 4 of the Regulations urged “neighbors or fellow villagers of those who are entitled to commendation or fair-minded members of the gentry who are well-informed of the heroic deeds likewise should join together and collectively inform their local government to forward their petitions for commendation.”⁶¹⁶

Some local governments organized committees to collect martyrs’ biographies and took initiatives to print their own compilations of martyrs’ biographies. For example, Wu 吳 county in Jiangsu organized a public memorial service in December 23, 1945. For this occasion, Wu County’s War of Resistance Material Compilation Committee (*Wu xian kangzhan cailiao bianzuan weiyuanhui* 吳縣抗戰材料編纂委員會) compiled a special edition of local martyrs’ biographies. The committee printed these biographies in the *Wu County’s Tales of the Fallen during the War of Resistance* (*Wu xian kangzhan xunnan shilüe zhuankan* 吳縣抗戰殉難事略專刊) and submitted a copy to the State History Bureau in the hope of having them entered into state history.⁶¹⁷ The act of producing their compilation in print instead of simply submitting drafts of biographies to the State History Bureau allowed local communities to claim their own version of history. Even if the central government edited the submissions to fit their agenda, there were still locally produced versions in circulation.

From December 1947 to 1949, the State History Bureau published a total of seven issues of its institutional periodical, *State History Bureau Quarterly* (*Guoshiguan guankan* 國史館館刊) while moving from Nanjing to Guangzhou and eventually to Taipei. The journal contains 142 biographies in forms of draft biography (*nizhuan* 擬傳), epitaph (*mubei* 墓碑), stele inscription (*bei zhuan* 碑傳) of prominent authors and politicians. A small number of biographies were of well-known martyrs, such as Peng Jiazhen,⁶¹⁸ Deng Keng 鄧鏗 (1886-1922),⁶¹⁹ Zhao Boxian 趙伯先 (1881-1911),⁶²⁰ Xie Jinyuan 謝晉元 (1905-1941),⁶²¹ Fu Huidi 傅徽第 (1912-1945),⁶²² Tang Shaoyi 唐紹儀 (1862-1938),⁶²³ Wang Guozhen 汪國鎮 (1889-1938),⁶²⁴ Song Jiaoren,⁶²⁵ Wu Luzhen,⁶²⁶ Xu Shuzheng 徐樹錚 (1880-1925),⁶²⁷ Lin Wen 林文 (1877-1911),⁶²⁸ Yao

⁶¹⁶ “Legislative Yuan to National Government: Promulgating the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs,” March 8, 1946, AH 001-012049-0002, file 50102337.

⁶¹⁷ “Wu County’s War of Resistance Material Compilation Committee to National History Bureau,” January 8, 1946, SHA 1-34-1645.

⁶¹⁸ Feng Ziyou 馮自由, “Peng Jiazhen zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 2.1 (1949): 90-92.

⁶¹⁹ Wang Yugao 王宇高, “Deng Keng zhuan” 2.1 (1949): 61-63.

⁶²⁰ Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵, “Zhao Boxian zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.1 (1947): 93-98.

⁶²¹ Wang Lijiang 汪辟疆, “Xie Jinyuan zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.1 (1947): 77-79.

⁶²² Wu Zongci 吳宗慈, “Fu Huidi zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.2 (1948): 101-102.

⁶²³ Xia Jinguan 夏敬觀, “Tang Shaoyi zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.2 (1948): 79-80.

⁶²⁴ Wu Zongci 吳宗慈, “Wang Guozhen zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.2 (1948): 102.

⁶²⁵ Xia Jungian, “Song Jiaoren zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.3 (1948): 86-87.

⁶²⁶ Yuan Huichang 袁惠常, “Wu Luzhen zhuan,” *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.3 (1948): 98-99.

Mingda 姚名達 (1905-1942),⁶²⁹ and Chen Bulei 陳布雷 (1890-1948).⁶³⁰ Except for Peng Jiazhen and Wu Luzhen, this list of martyrs did not overlap much with the one proposed by the Nanjing Provisional Government in 1911. The rest were mostly high-ranking military officers, such as Deng Keng, Xie Jinyuan, and Yao Mingda. Others, such as Tang Shaoyi, died at the hands of the Nationalists.

Nationalist Party

There were two committees in charge of compensating revolutionary elders and Party members. The Nationalist Party Revolutionary Martyrs' Compensation Committee (*Guomindang geming xianlie fuxu weiyuanhui* 國民黨革命先烈撫卹委員會) was founded in 1928. The Central Executive Committee's Compensation Committee (*Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui fuxu weiyuanhui* 中央執行委員會撫卹委員會) was approved by the Second Plenary Meeting and established in 1929.⁶³¹ The National Party's Central Executive Committee was in charge of compiling, composing, and storing biographies of those who received commendations. The Nationalist government essentially composed "the history of China" as series of biographies of its Party members. A compilation in 1938 contained 101 detailed biographies ranging one to five pages long. Individuals (such as relatives, friends, and comrades) and government offices supplied these biographies.⁶³²

While I have not been able to find complete records of gratuities paid to the families of the war dead, there were some statistics from the Second Historical Archives. In 1941, the Central Executive Committee's Compensation Committee approved 257 compensation cases for Party members that died from October 1937 to December 1940. Of 242 Party members with recorded native places, 63 came from Hebei, 37 from Zhejiang, 22 from Hunan, 19 from Jiangsu, 15 from Guangzhou, and 11 from Fujian. Anhui, Hubei, Jiangxi, and Shandong had eight Party members each. Out of 257 cases, 239 cases involved civilian officials, 15 were of military personnel, and three were unknown. Many were awarded both one-time and annual gratuities. The youngest person was 21 years old and the eldest was 75 years old. The average age was 39. All were male, except for two unmarried female Party members, who were 20 and 21 years old and came from Zhenjiang.⁶³³

⁶²⁷ Xin Lantian, "Xu Shuzheng zhuan," *Guoshiguan guankan* 1.4 (1948): 86-88.

⁶²⁸ Wang Yugao 王宇高, "Li Wen zhuan," *Guoshiguan guankan* 2.1 (1949): 58-59.

⁶²⁹ Wu Zongci, "Yao Mingda zhuan," *Guoshiguan guankan* 2.1 (1949): 87-88.

⁶³⁰ Sha Wenruo 沙文若, "Chen Bulei zhuan," *Guoshiguan guankan* 2.1 (1949): 81-83.

⁶³¹ "Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui fuxu weiyuanhui zuzhi tiaoli 中央執行委員會撫卹委員會組織條例" (Regulations for Organizing Central Executive Committee's Compensation Committee), *Zhongyang zhoukan* 中央周刊 (Central Weekly) 389 (1936): 343-345.

⁶³² AH 001-036001-0001 and AH 001-036001-0002.

⁶³³ I compiled data from SHA 1-711-208.

In terms of one-time stipends, the committee would dispense 195,000 *yuan* to 139 families. The majority received between 200 *yuan* to 1,000 *yuan* as stipulated by the 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members.” Two cases were awarded 5,000 *yuan* each, seven cases 10,000 *yuan* each, and three cases 20,000 *yuan* each. Out of these 12 cases, seven were high-ranking officials with posts in the Legislative Yuan, the Control Yuan, Provincial Government councils, etc. and who “died from illness as a result of national defense work” (*weiguo gongzuo xunnan* 衛國工作殉難). The rest were two newspaper reporters and three municipal bureaucrats that were “murdered by the Wang Jingwei’s bogus organization” (*bei Wang ni wei zuzhi cansha* 被汪逆偽組織殘殺).⁶³⁴ These special cases were all civic bureaucrats or civilians.

In terms of annual stipends, the committee approved 154 cases, requiring 60,500 *yuan* per year. Except for a former member of the Judicial Yuan that was awarded 1,500 *yuan* for 10 years, all were given from 300 to 600 *yuan* per the 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members.”⁶³⁵ The annual gratuities would have been paid until children came of age, or until wives or parents died. If the government had paid each case for an average of 10 years, the total would have been 600,500 *yuan*. If we assume that the approved cases in 1941 represented the annual average during wartime, there would have been approximately 2,056 cases for the duration of the War of Resistance. Each year, the government would have paid an increasing amount. In addition, from 1941 to 1945, to combat inflation, the government increased the gratuities by thirtyfold, from 1945 to 1946, hundredfold, from 1946 to 1947, five hundredfold, and from 1947-1948, thousand-fold. The total of eight years’ payments would have been 3,327,500 *yuan* without any increase, and roughly one billion given the inflation adjustments.⁶³⁶ As these gratuity decrees were issued in 1941, wartime inflation had rendered the worth of these amounts of money much less in comparison to 1927. Nevertheless, an annual income of 300-600 *yuan* would have been sufficient for a family of four to six members given the average annual income per person was about 100 *yuan*.⁶³⁷

Post / Category	Killed while Engaging in Battle (參加戰鬥殉難)	Captured and Executed for not Surrendering (被捕不屈遇害)	Killed by Han Traitors (被漢奸所害)	Killed by Other Parties (被某黨殘殺)	Die from Illness while Contributing to Resistance War (有功抗戰病故)	Others	Total
Central					2		2

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ The government would have paid 60,500 in 1938, 121,000 in 1939, and so on.

⁶³⁷ China had 430 million people in 1912, 500 million in 1933, and 580 million in 1953. The gross domestic expenditure (GDP) in 1933 was estimated to be between 22 and 30 billion. Using these numbers leads us to an estimate GDP per capita of 113, 123, and 115 *yuan* (in 1957 prices) in 1912, 1933, and 1953 respectively. Albert Feuerwerker, “Economic Trends, 1912-1949,” in *Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12*, ed. John K. Fairbank and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 35, 37, 38.

Provincial / Municipal	1		1		4		6
County / Municipal	5	1	3	4	12	2	27
Sub-County	8	5	4	13	18	2	50
Others	30	6	3	6	27	4	76
Total	44	12	11	23	63	8	161

Fig. 6-1: Table of Deceased Party Members by Categories and Postings, Approved by the Central Compensation Committee from March 1938 to October 1939.

Post / Category	Killed while Engaging in Battle (參加戰鬥殉難)	Captured and Executed for not Surrendering (被捕不屈遇害)	Killed by Enemy Bombing (被敵機炸斃)	Killed by Other Parties (被某黨殘殺)	Murdered by the Collaborationist Government (被逆偽殘殺)	Die from Illness while Contributing to Resistance War (有功抗戰病故)	Others	Total
Central								
Provincial / Municipal			2	1	3	5		11
County / Municipal	4	10		18	2	19		53
Sub-County	4	1	6	27		20	4	62
Others		3	5	23	5	10	3	49
Total	8	14	13	69	10	54	7	175

Fig. 6-2: Table of Deceased Party Members by Categories and Postings, Approved by the Central Compensation Committee from December 1939 to December 1940.

From 1928 to 1948, the Central Compensation Committee approved 1,287 compensation cases of Party members, 912 of whom were killed and 375 were wounded and disabled. 119 cases of deceased members were awarded from 750 to 1,000 *yuan* a year, which were above the scale specified in the 1927 “Regulations for Compensating Party Members.” Two cases were

given a one-time payment of 180,000 *yuan* each. The records included Yellow Flower Hill martyrs and revolutionary predecessors, such as Peng Jiazhen, Liu Yuandong 劉元棟 (1884-1911),⁶³⁸ Lin Guanci 林冠慈 (1883-1911),⁶³⁹ and Yin Shenwu 尹神武 (1890-1918).⁶⁴⁰

Provincial governments were in charge of dispensing gratuities. For instance, the Department of Finance of the Jiangxi Provincial Government reported that in 1948, annual gratuities to civil servants increased 100,000-fold. The province paid 22 million *yuan* to new and existing compensation cases.⁶⁴¹

In addition to annual or one-time condolence gratuities, many deceased Nationalist Party members were granted the honor of having their biographies compiled and kept at the Party Historical Commission (*Dangshihui* 黨史會), abbreviation of the Party History and Historical Materials Compilation Commission of the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee (*Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui dangshi shiliao bianzuan weiyuanhui* 國民黨中央執行委員會黨史史料編纂委員會).⁶⁴² This commission was established in May 1930 and was in charge of collecting photographs, writings, possessions, and other mementos of revolutionary

⁶³⁸ Liu Yuandong was a member of the Triad Society (天地會 *Tiandihui*). He was influenced by revolutionary ideas and studied assassination techniques. Liu became a leader among the lower social classes through his generosity. Liu was killed in the 1911 Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. Lee Kam-keung, "The Fujianese Revolutionaries, 1895-1911," in *Power and Identity in the Chinese World Order: Festschrift in Honour of Professor Wang Gungwu*, ed. Billy K. L. So, et al., 35-64 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003). For more, see Liu Yuandong's biography in Zou Lu, *Martyrs' Biographies*, 55-58.

⁶³⁹ Lin Guanci, a native of Guangdong, joined the Revolutionary Alliance's assassination squad. After failing repeatedly to assassinate Zhang Mingqi, the governor-general that escaped the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising in April 1911, the assassination corps changed its target to Li Zhun, the Qing naval commandant. On August 13, Lin and three comrades disguised as street peddlers and carried two bombs in their baskets. The first bomb injured Li Zhun. Li Zhun's body guards opened fire on Lin Guanci, who was still able to toss the second bomb. Lin was killed on the spot either by shrapnel or bullets. Krebs, *Shifu*, 67-68. Afterwards, Lin was buried at the Red Flower Hill Martyrs' Tomb (*Honghuanggang si liershi mu* 紅花崗四烈士墓).

⁶⁴⁰ Yin Shenwu 尹神武, from Liaoning, joined the Chinese Revolutionary Party (*Zhonghua geming dang* 中華革命黨) while studying at Meiji University in Japan. When Yin returned to Shanghai in 1915, he tried to assassinate a Beiyang government official. He was captured and executed in Shanghai in 1918. Wang Nai 王耐, "Yin Shenwu hanxiao jiuyi 尹神武含笑就义" (Yin Shenwu Martyred with a Smile on His Face), *Huizu wenxue* 回族文学 (Hui Literature) 5 (2011): 65-67.

⁶⁴¹ "Department of Finance to Jiangxi Provincial Government: 本年度依公務員卹金條例核定之年卹金(即舊案)准照原額十萬倍並加基本數二千二百萬發給等因到府," August 17, 1948, *Jiangxi sheng zhengfu gongbao* 1643-1644 (1948): 15.

⁶⁴² SHA 1-711-208.

martyrs.⁶⁴³ In addition, the Propaganda Department of the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee (*Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuan bu* 國民黨中央執行委員會宣傳部) published the *Records of War-of-Resistance Heroes, First Compilation* (*Kangzhan yingxiong timinglu: diyiji* 抗戰英雄題名錄:第一集) on July 7, 1943.⁶⁴⁴ This date was the sixth anniversary of the "War-of Resistance National Building Anniversary" (*kangzhan jianguo jinian* 抗戰建國紀念). The volume contains 182 brief biographical narratives, most of which are just a few columns in length.

The Military: Historical Material Bureau and Compensation Committees

The Ministry of Defense established the Historical Material Bureau (*Shiliao ju* 史料局) in April 1946, and renamed it the Historical Administration Bureau (*Shizheng ju* 史政局) a year later. The Bureau was responsible for collecting and storing historical materials and objects. In October 1946, the Ministry of Defense issued three sets of regulations: the "Measures to Collect Servicemembers' Loyal and Sacrificing Records during the War of Resistance" (*Kangzhan junren zhonglie lu zhengji banfa* 抗戰軍人忠烈錄徵集辦法),⁶⁴⁵ the "Measures to Collect Historical Materials of the War of Resistance" (*Kangzhan shili zhengji banfa* 抗戰史料徵集辦法)⁶⁴⁶ and the "Measures for Collecting Historical Materials for Rewarding and Encouraging Purposes" (*Zhengji shiliao jiangli banfa* 徵集史料獎勵辦法).⁶⁴⁷

According to Article 1 of the "Measures to Collect Resistance War Servicemembers' Loyal and Sacrificing Records," "the biographies of servicemembers of meritorious service, who are either missing or died during the War of Resistance, shall be collected and preserved for eternity (*bi chui jiuyuan* 俾垂久遠)."⁶⁴⁸ Representatives of the Bureau would collect biographical information and mementos, such as photographs, bloodstained garments (*xueyi* 血衣), and the like from family members, acquaintances, and offices where the fallen ones had served. These materials would then be sent to the Historical Administration Bureau located at Huangpu Road in Nanjing. Because the Bureau did not have access to military information, it collected information

⁶⁴³ "Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui dangshi shiliao bianzuan weiyuanhui zhengji dangshi shiliao jihua dagang 中國國民黨中央執行委員會黨史史料編纂委員會徵集黨史史料計畫大綱" (General plan to collect Party historical materials by the Chinese Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee's Party Historical Material Compilation Committee), *Suiyuan sheng zhengfu niankan* 綏遠省政府年刊 (Suiyuan Provincial Government Yearbook) (1932): 164-165.

⁶⁴⁴ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 11, 439-542.

⁶⁴⁵ "Kangzhan junren zhonglie lu zhengji banfa 抗戰軍人忠烈錄徵集辦法" (Measures to Collect Servicemembers' Loyal and Sacrificing Records during the War of Resistance), October 1946, CMA 60-140-93.

⁶⁴⁶ *Gansu sheng zhengfu gongbao* 681 (1947): 11-12.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁴⁸ "Kangzhan junren zhonglie lu zhengji banfa, October 1946, CMA 60-140-93.

from major newspapers, such as the *Justice* (*Dagong bao* 大公報), *Central Daily* (*Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報), *Shen Bao* 申報, and *News* (*Xinwen bao* 新聞報). One outcome of the Bureau was the “Clipping Materials of the Historical Administration Bureau and Historical Material Bureau” (*Shizhengju ji shiliaoju jianbao ziliao* 史政局暨史料局剪報資料). This collection, containing 257 items (*ce* 冊), mostly information about the military in 1946 and 1947, is now stored at Xiamen University.⁶⁴⁹

Soon after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee (*Junshi weiyuanhui fuxu weiyuanhui* 軍事委員會撫卹委員會, MACCC) was formed to take over the task of compensating the war dead. In its third-year report, the MCACC summarized the amount of paperwork processed by its offices, as well as the number of cases and the amount of gratuity from 1938 to 1941.⁶⁵⁰ The MCACC provided two sets of figures. The first is by the yearlong period counting from the founding of the Committee.

Time Period	Issued Compensation Decrees	Issued Gratuities
August 1, 1938 to July 31, 1939	26,502 files	225,077.61 <i>yuan</i>
August 1, 1939 to July 31, 1940	111,038 files	2,499,300.7 <i>yuan</i>
August 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941	100,015 files	11,563,002.21 <i>yuan</i>
Total	237,555 files	14,287,380.52 <i>yuan</i>

Fig. 6-3: Compensation Decrees and Gratuities Issued from 1939 to 1941. *Third-year Report of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee*, 6-7. CMA 53-9-71.

The second set of numbers is by calendar year beginning with January 1. In 1940, the MCACC received 41,950 files (*shouwen* 收文), which included documents concerning injury inspection, continued compensation cases, disputes among relatives, and investigations of compensation cases. It processed and sent out (*fawen* 發文) 41,951 files. The MCACC issued 130,847 gratuity decrees (*xuling* 卹令).⁶⁵¹ In 1941, the MCACC reported to dispense 3,780,245 *yuan* in the first quarter and 2,970,490 *yuan* in the second quarter. From January to March 1941, the Committee registered 25 cases (*jian* 件) of special compensation (*texu* 特卹) and approved 110,270 *yuan* for these cases. In addition, 20,543 “cases of wartime and peacetime wounded and

⁶⁴⁹ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 1, preface, 3.

⁶⁵⁰ *Guomin zhengfu junshi weiyuanhui fuxu weiyuanhui chengli sanzhounian jinian ce* 國民政府軍事委員會撫卹委員會成立三週年紀念冊 (Third-year Report of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee), August 1, 1941, CMA 53-9-71.

⁶⁵¹ *Third-year Report of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee*, 126-133, CMA 53-9-71.

fallen bureaucrats and servicemembers” (*ping zhan shi shangwang yuan bing xu an* 平戰時傷亡員兵卹案) and approved to disburse 4,353,530 *yuan*. For April to June 1941, the Committee approved 54 files and 2,004,538 *yuan* for special compensation cases. It registered 14,453 cases of wounded and fallen regular bureaucrats and servicemembers and approved 2,837,435 *yuan*.⁶⁵²

In August 1946, the Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee was replaced by the Compensation Department of the United Quartermasters’ Supreme Command (*Lianhe qinwu zongsiling bu fuxu chu* 聯合勤務總司令部撫卹處).⁶⁵³ The Compensation Department was organized into three offices. The first office was in charge of registering, counting, and recording fallen members of the army, navy, and air force and distributing gratuities to bereaved families. The third office dealt with dispensing the gratuities and submitting expenses.

The United Quartermasters’ Supreme Command was in charge of recording classified information about the military. In 1947, the United Quartermasters compiled the most extensive record: *Records of Names of Loyal and Sacrificing Officers and Soldiers of the Republic of China* (*Zhonghua minguo zhonglie jiangshi xingminglu* 中華民國忠烈將士姓名錄), which listed over 183,000 deaths by home provinces, municipalities, and counties from 1926 to 1947. A total of 273 counties from Rehe, Jilin, Songjiang, Zhejiang, Anhui, Jiangxi, Shandong, Hubei, Hunan, Guangxi, Yunnan, and Shaanxi submitted surveys.⁶⁵⁴ The lists were divided into three parts: from the Northern Expedition to pre-WWII (1926-1937), during the War of Resistance (1937-1945), and early Civil War (1945-1947). Deaths from the Northern Expedition accounted for six percent. The wartime deaths accounted for 94 percent. The civil war period had only one record of death. Each county with martyrs submitted names in a booklet (*ce*). These booklets, ranging from a few pages to over a hundred pages, contain names, ranks, units, offices, ages, categories of death, dates of death, and places of death. These lists were compiled in order to compensate the loyal dead.

In most provinces, recorded wartime casualties were in the tens of thousands. Zhejiang Province had 17,291 deaths, nearly 98 percent of which took place during wartime. Jiangsu Province had 5,140 deaths, over 90 percent of which happened during wartime. These records do not come close to the actual deaths, yet they served as evidence for compensation claims.

Province	1926-1937	1937-1945	1945-1947	Total
Hebei	2,174	9,466	0	11,640
Rehe	91	302	0	393
Jilin	126	130	0	256

⁶⁵² *Third-year Report of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee*, 141-149, CMA 53-9-71.

⁶⁵³ “Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Finance,” September 28, 1946, CMA 57-7-164, 45.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Songjiang	46	37	1	84
Jiangsu	477	4,663	0	5,140
Zhejiang	397	16,894	0	17,291
Anhui	810	12,280	0	13,090
Jiangxi	270	8,272	0	8,542
Shandong	1640	18,265	0	19,905
Hubei	601	18,499	0	19,100
Hunan	4,014	39,741	0	43,755
Guangxi	91	12,799	0	12,890
Yunnan	41	20,548	0	20,589
Shaanxi	253	10,358	0	10,611
Total	11,031	172,254	1	183,287

Fig. 6-4: Military Casualties by Province. Compiled from *Records of Names of Loyal and Sacrificing Officers and Soldiers of the Republic of China*. Li Qiang 李强 and Ren Zhen 任震, eds., *Kangzhan zhenwang jiangshi ziliao huibian* 抗戰陣亡將士資料彙編 (Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers during the War of Resistance), Volumes 1-10 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan, 2012).

The following tablet contains over 5,000 casualties in Jiangsu Province catalogued by counties. This number was far too low to be complete.

County		1926-1937	1937-1945	1945-1947	Total
Nanjing	南京	4	73	0	77
Zhenjiang	鎮江	8	94	0	102
Shanghai	上海	4	148	0	152
Suqian	宿遷	16	187	0	203
Haimen	海門	3	33	0	36

Guanyun	灌雲	4	50	0	54
Siyang	泗陽	11	97	0	108
Pi	邳	14	139	0	153
Liuhe	六合	4	22	0	26
Baoshan	寶山	1	33	0	34
Yizheng	儀徵	1	12	0	13
Weining	唯甯	12	98	0	110
Jurong	句容	0	25	0	25
Chuansha	川沙	1	14	0	15
Lianshui	漣水	2	64	0	66
Taixing	泰興	1	50	0	51
Jingjiang	靖江	1	43	0	44
Huaian	淮安	5	62	0	67
Yancheng	鹽城	2	87	0	89
Qingpu	青浦	0	12	0	12
Baoying	寶應	0	28	0	28
Ganyu	贛榆	5	42	0	47
Piaoshui	漂水	0	14	0	14
Wujiang	吳江	1	10	0	11
Rugao	如皋	0	43	0	43
Nanhui	南匯	1	25	0	26
Huaiyin	淮陰	10	104	0	114
Jiangyin	江陰	5	79	0	84

Taicang	太倉	0	13	0	13
Jintan	金壇	3	25	0	28
Jiangpu	江浦	1	10	0	11
Pei	沛	57	528	0	585
Wujin	武進	4	107	0	111
Wu	吳	3	65	0	68
Xinghua	興化	2	31	0	33
Piaoyang	漂陽	5	75	0	80
Kunshan	昆山	0	24	0	24
Changre	常熟	0	18	0	18
Jiangning	江寧	8	77	0	85
Wuxi	無錫	3	115	0	118
Feng	豐	36	163	0	199
Danyang	丹陽	6	47	0	53
Shuyang	沭陽	10	65	0	75
Songjiang	松江	2	24	0	26
Funing	阜寧	5	71	0	76
Xiao	蕭	27	149	0	176
Dongtai	東台	3	62	0	65
Jiangdu	江都	7	88	0	95
Yixing	宜興	0	68	0	68
Gaoyou	高郵	3	30	0	33
Tai	泰	3	64	0	67

Gaochun	高淳	2	11	0	13
Nantong	南通	3	39	0	42
Tongshan	銅山	112	500	0	612
Donghai	東海	5	74	0	79
Fengxian	奉賢	3	5	0	8
Qidong	啟東	0	1	0	1
Jinshan	金山	0	12	0	12
Chongming	崇明	3	19	0	22
Xuzhou	徐州	0	0	0	0
Jiading	嘉定	0	0	0	0
Dangshan	殤山	45	395	0	440
Total		477	4,663	0	5,140

Fig. 6-5: Military Casualties by Counties in Jiangsu Province. Compiled from *Records of Names of Loyal and Sacrificing Officers and Soldiers of the Republic of China*. Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 1, 212-215.

Besides the United Quartermasters' *Records of Names of Deceased Officers and Martyrs of the Republic of China*, there are other sources that contained extensive records of the war dead. Li Qiang and Ren Zhen assert that the record cards (*ka pian* 卡片) of fallen soldiers and officers at the Second Historical Archives recorded 200,000 deaths. Local gazettes also contained information of the war dead, which may not be included in the official tally.⁶⁵⁵

The United Quartermasters also produced other volumes, such as the *List of Names of War of Resistance Wounded and Fallen Officers and Soldiers in the Nankou Campaign* (*Nankou kangri zhi yi guanbing shangwang mingce* 南口抗日之役官兵傷亡名冊), hereafter *List of Names*.⁶⁵⁶ Nankou was the Great Wall pass located at the border of Hebei and Chahar, where a month-long battle took place between the Japanese and Chinese armies in August 1937. During the Nankou Campaign (also known as Operation Chahar), the Japanese used advanced weaponry and overwhelmed the Chinese side. The Japanese forces included the units of the Japanese Kwantung

⁶⁵⁵ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Preface, 1-4.

⁶⁵⁶ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 13, 11-290.

Army and the Mongolian Army of Prince De (Demchugdongrub, 1902-1966).⁶⁵⁷ The Chinese forces included the NRA under the Nationalist General Tang Enbo (1898-1954) and several armies under regional leaders, such as Fu Zuoyi 傅作義 (1895-1974), Liu Ruming 劉汝明 (1895-1975) and Yan Xishan.⁶⁵⁸ The extant part of the *List of Names* contains approximately 9,000 names of fallen servicemembers of the 13th Corps (the 89th and 4th Divisions) and the seventeenth Corps (the 21st Division) under Tang Enbo. The last extant page began with the casualties of the 72nd Division of the 19th Corps under Fu Zuoyi. The rest of the volume was lost. The lost part of the *List of Names* might contain information of servicemembers of other armies.

Ministry of the Interior's Data by Provinces

From 1942 to 1943, the Ministry of the Interior compiled information concerning the construction of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines and worship of martyrs based on reports from provincial and municipal authorities. The chart includes ranks, education levels, circumstances of death, family members, and economic condition. Nearly 4,000 martyrs were enshrined by 1941. In 1942, there were additional 1,922 enshrined martyrs.⁶⁵⁹ The war generated more martyrs, yet logistical issues prevented them from being enshrined promptly. Out of the 1,922 martyrs enshrined between 1941 and 1942, there were 21 bureaucrats (*wenguan*), 80 civilians (*min*), and 1,356 soldiers. About 30 percent of the fallen combatants attended elementary school. Less six percent attended military academies. About 95 percent (1,822) were confirmed to die in battle, 2.5 percent (48) were killed for refusing to surrender and the rest died under unknown circumstances (52). There was no information on relatives of approximately one third of the martyrs. Over 40 percent of martyrs had one or two remaining relatives. In terms of economic background, only three were classified as "well-to-do" (*fuyu* 富裕), 86 had "a comfortable living standard" (*xiaokang* 小康), 40 percent (or 777 households) were "poverty-stricken" (*pinku* 貧苦), and the situation of the remaining 55 percent was listed as unknown.⁶⁶⁰

Martyrs were organized by home provinces. The largest numbers of recorded martyrs came from Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, and Guangxi. Naturally, northern provinces under the Japanese control reported few casualties.

⁶⁵⁷ Prince De, or Demchugdongrub, was a Mongolian prince and leader of an independent movement in Inner Mongolia. During World War II, he served as the chairman of the Mongol Military Government and the Mengjiang state, both of which were controlled by the Japanese. For more on Prince De, see Lu Minghui, "The Inner Mongolian "United Autonomous Government," in *China at War: Regions of China, 1937-1945*, ed. Stephen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel, 148-171. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁶⁵⁸ Hans J. van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 193-196.

⁶⁵⁹ "Ministry of Interior's draft report, *jia*-copy by home provinces," 1942, AH 026000013773A.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Province	Up to 1941	1942
Jiangsu	42	15
Zhejiang	135	202
Anhui	141	46
Jiangxi	756	397
Hubei	50	23
Hunan	212	249
Sichuan	177	39
Xikang	5	0
Fujian	42	97
Guangdong	93	29
Guangxi	1,581	643
Yunnan	9	6
Guizhou	13	5
Hebei	58	19
Shandong	80	16
Henan	356	95
Shanxi	12	3
Shaanxi	141	2
Gansu	3	1

Ningxia	1	0
Charhar	0	1
Liaoning	2	18
Jilin	2	1
Heilongjiang	0	1
Rehe	0	2
Beiping Municipality	0	1
Unknown	6	11
Total	3,917	1,922

Fig. 6-6: Number of Enshrined Martyrs by Province. From “Ministry of the Interior’s report, *jiacopy* by provinces,” 1942, AH 026000013773A.

After the War of Resistance, the Nationalist Ministry of the Interior ordered provinces to collect information of civilians that were “injured or killed while resisting the enemy” (*kangdi shangwang renmin* 抗敵傷亡人民) and “civilians injured or killed while protecting the homeland” (*renmin shoutu shangwang* 人民守土傷亡).⁶⁶¹ The Academia Historica contains records from Hebei,⁶⁶² Henan,⁶⁶³ Shanxi,⁶⁶⁴ Jiangxi,⁶⁶⁵ Hunan,⁶⁶⁶ Zhejiang,⁶⁶⁷ Guangdong,⁶⁶⁸ and

⁶⁶¹ “Tigao renmin shangwang xujin an 提高人民守土傷亡卹金案” (Case of promoting compensation for protecting-the-homeland wounded and fallen civilians), 1946-1947, AH 026000014409A; “Renmin shoutu shangwang xujin ruhe fafang an 人民守土傷亡卹金如何發放案” (How to distribute gratuities to protecting-the-homeland wounded and fallen civilians), 1946-1947, AH 026000014417A; “Tigao renmin shoutu shangshang xujin 提高人民守土傷亡卹金” (Promoting compensation for protecting-the-homeland wounded and fallen civilians), 1947-1948, AH 026000014419A; and “Diaocha remin shoutu xujin geiyu 調整人民守土卹金給予,” 1948, AH 026000014420A.

⁶⁶² “Hebei shengshi kangdi shangwang remin diaocha an 河北省市抗敵傷亡人民調查案,” 1945-1946, AH 026000013842A; “Hebei sheng renmin shoutu shangwang 河北省人民守土傷亡,” 1947, AH 026000014347A; “Beiping shi renmin shoutu shangwang an 北平市人民守土傷亡案,” 1946, AH 026000014385A.

Guangxi.⁶⁶⁹ County governments collected names, gender, age, occupation, hometown, death, place and circumstance of death, educational level, remaining relatives, familial situation, and whether their families received compensation. In some cases, family members and fellow villagers of the dead reported them; in other cases, *bao-jia* captains and local police bureaus gathered the information. The information was sent to the county government, which then submitted it to the Ministry of the Interior by way of Provincial Governments.

According to these reports, socio-economic background and education levels of bereaved families were among characterizations. The dead were classified as merchants (*shang* 商), peasants (*nong* 農), spinner (*fang* 紡), scholar (*xue* 學), soldier (*bing* 兵), bureaucrat (*gongwu* 公務), artisan (*yi* 藝), physician (*yi* 醫), independent (*ziyou* 自由). Families of the dead were described as “ordinary” (*pingchang* 平常), “self-sufficient” (*zigei* 自給 or *zizu* 自足), “still sufficient” (*shangke weichi* 尚可維持), “straitened” (*kunnan* 困難), “without resources” (*wuzhuo* 無著), “especially straitened” (*tebie kunnan* 特別困難), “without means of livelihood” (*wufa shenghuo* 無法生活), incapable of sufficiency” (*wuneng weichi* 不能維持), “suffering” (*ku* 苦), or “without family members” (*jiazhong wuren* 家中無人). Very few were described as being well off (*fu* 富). Wealthy families might have been able to take refuge in the interior and thus survived the war. However, the fact that economic situation was added showed that economic class became associated with martyrdom and virtue.

Take Hebei as an example, 22 counties and municipalities out of over 100, or about 20 percent, submitted their surveys: Xingtai 邢台, Cheng'an 成安, Jinghai 靜海, Miyun 密雲, Qing

⁶⁶³ “Henan sheng xian shi kangdi shangwang renmin diaocha 河南省縣市抗敵傷亡人民調查,” 1945-1946, AH 026000013851A.

⁶⁶⁴ “Xishan sheng xian shi kangdi shangwang renmin diaocha an 山西省縣市抗敵傷亡人民調查案,” 1946, AH 026000013857A.

⁶⁶⁵ “Jiangxi sheng kangdi shangwang renmin diaochabiao 江西省抗敵傷亡人民調查表,” 1948, AH 026000014364A.

⁶⁶⁶ “Hunan sheng kangdi shangwang renmin diaochabiao 湖南省抗敵傷亡人民調查表,” 1946, AH 026000014366A.

⁶⁶⁷ “Zhejiang sheng zhengfu qing jieshi renmin shoutu shangwang faling 浙江省政府請解釋人民守土傷亡法令,” 1940, AH 026000014362A.

⁶⁶⁸ “Guangdong sheng kangdi shangwang renmin diaochabiao 廣東省抗敵傷亡人民調查表,” 1946-1947, AH 026000014373A; “Guangdong sheng kangdi shangwang renmin diaochabiao 廣東省抗敵傷亡人民調查表,” 1946-1947, AH 026000014374A; and “Guangdong sheng kangdi shangwang renmin diaochabiao 廣東省抗敵傷亡人民調查表,” 1947-1948, AH 026000014375A.

⁶⁶⁹ “Guangxi sheng zhengfu han wei renmin shoutu shangwang fuxu jin yin bizhi gaige ying ruhe zhigei yi an 廣西省政府函為人民守土傷亡撫卹金因幣制改革應如何支給一案,” 1948, AH 026000014378A; “Renmin shoutu cansi fuxu anjian yue baobiao 人民守土慘死撫卹案件月報表,” 1947-1948, AH 026000014421A.

青, Beiping, Ji 冀, Pinggu 平谷, Tianjin 天津, Lecheng 樂城, Wangdu 望都, Jingjing 井陘, Qingyun 慶雲, Liangxiang 良鄉, Zhuo 涿, Ding 定, Jing 景, Changping 昌平, Hejian 河間, Zhengding 正定, Baochi 寶坻, and Fangshan 房山. In the 1930s and 1940s, Hebei was established as the buffer zone between the Nationalist China and Manchukuo. The Nationalists in Nanjing attempted to extend their influence in parts of northern China being holding elections to a national assembly in 1935. An autonomous government was established in east Hebei for a short while before being absorbed into the collaborationist government under the Japanese control.

Many county surveys only listed the dates of death and some generic descriptions, such as “being killed for resisting the enemy” (*kangdi beisha* 抗敵被殺). This term indicates that deaths naturally were results of acts of defiance. Counties that listed a large number of casualties in the tens and hundreds, such as Zhengding (with 238 deaths), tended to be sparse in description, while counties with fewer deaths provided more detail. Xingtai County reported 48 deaths, ten of which were shot to death in October 1937. 35 were killed when the enemy invaded the county in 1938. Three were murdered at the hands of military police (*xianbing* 憲兵) in 1939. Except for a twenty-one-year-old merchant, everyone else belonged to the peasantry (*nong*). The report added that people in the county did capture one Japanese soldier and executed him the next day.⁶⁷⁰ Unlike Xingtai, Cheng’an County Government included gender and levels of schooling (illiterates, literates, elementary school graduates, secondary school graduates, elementary normal school graduates, students of Japanese universities, etc.) on the survey form. Cheng’an County had 165 cases of deaths and injuries. Some counties informed the existence of their local militia forces. Liangxiang County listed four dead, who were socially and economically categorized as “peasants,” they were part of the local militia and died in combat.⁶⁷¹ Zhuo County reported seven dead, three of which were militia soldiers.

A few reports presented detailed evidence of acts of resistance. Miyun County provided biographical narratives of its 15 casualties. In July 1943, a 32-year-old man named Yi Zhengru 伊正如, with an elementary school education, was beaten to death by the Japanese police because he “always harbored feelings for the homeland.”⁶⁷² A 44-year-old Hu Wenfu 胡文福 with three years of private tutoring education was arrested by the Japanese intelligence, transferred to Rehe, and shot. A 26-year-old Zhu Xianzhang 朱顯章 defended the township against the Japanese and was captured, sent to Rehe, and executed in 1941.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷⁰ “Xingtai County’s survey submitted to Ministry of Interior by way of Hebei Provincial Government, 1946, AH 026000013842A.

⁶⁷¹ “Liangxiang County’s survey submitted to Ministry of Interior by way of Hebei Provincial Government, February 1946, AH 026000013842A.

⁶⁷² (因素日有傾向我祖國之念)

⁶⁷³ “Jinghai County’s survey submitted to Ministry of Interior by way of Hebei Provincial Government, May 1946, AH 026000013842A.

While the vast majority of the reported dead and wounded had not received compensation, Jinghai County reported that a man and a woman, injured by the Japanese in 1939, were given 5,000 *yuan* and 10,000 *yuan* respectively in December 1945.⁶⁷⁴

Standardized forms were introduced and more widely used. Petitioners continued to write long letters, yet they also completed survey forms. In the form below, the martyr was Liu Bingduo 劉秉鐸, a fifty-eight-year-old teacher who fought against the Japanese with a knife. His eldest son, Liu Jiwen, who signed the petition with his personal seal, was well informed about the new regulations. He completed the “Survey Form for Protecting-the-Homeland Civilians to Apply for Commendation and Compensation” (*Zhandi shoutu renmin shenqing jiangxu shishi biao* 戰地守土人民聲請獎卹事實表). When the enemy struck him, he yelled “Long Live the Republic of China!” and then expired. The accompanying petition letter illustrated a more detailed biography of Liu Bingduo, who harbored nationalist ideals at the young age. Bingduo became a teacher and also served in the County Government. Bingduo’s grandparents, parents, brother, wife, and children were listed on the form.⁶⁷⁵ The use of such survey forms became increasingly common in the postwar era. These forms could be filled out more quickly and submitted to the government with no petition fees. Survey forms allowed bereaved families previously deterred by the cost of pursuing their cases – in terms of time and money – to appeal to the state.

⁶⁷⁴ “Miyun County’s survey submitted to Ministry of Interior by way of Hebei Provincial Government, AH 026000013842A.

⁶⁷⁵ “Liu Jiwen to the National Government,” June 12, 1946, AH 001-0360000-0156, file 50009028.

中華民國三十五年五月二十五日呈	考	備	法	辦	核	審	死	亡	情	加之二抗敵 組織及抗敵 情形	祖父母 純一 慈氏	父雲漢年八十四歲 弟東貴年四歲 子紀文二六 母全氏年八十三歲 妻楊氏年五六歲 女翠華一六	現住地 河南新縣平寧鎮南街	職業 教	姓名 劉東輝	年齡 五八	籍貫 河南新縣平寧	戰地守土人民聲請復職事實表
							依舊法之規定 依舊法之規定	復揭辦法	給卹種類									

Fig. 6-7: Survey Form Filed by Liu Jiwen. "Liu Jiwen to the National Government," June 12, 1946, AH 001-0360000-0156, file 50009028.

Many offices also collected war-related materials. For instance, the "Ministry of Education's Measures to Collect Historical Materials of the War of Resistance" (*Jiaoyubu zhengji kangzhan shiliao banfa* 教育部徵集抗戰史料辦法), issued in 1941, aimed to collect materials of students and teachers who fought and died during wartime.⁶⁷⁶

Although the data were incomplete and sparse, they indicate the Nationalist attempt at collecting biographical information of civilian dead and providing compensation during the postwar period. By extension, the Nationalist government evaluated acts of compliance with the Japanese or other leaders or treason against the Nationalist troops. While in 1928, the Nationalist government limited the reparations to a limited number of Party members, in 1946, the membership within the modern nation-state was extended to civilians in areas previously not under the Nationalist control. This development is further discussed in the next section.

Civilianization of War

I argue that there were three dimensions to the civilianization process in Republican China. The first dimension was the inclusion of the whole family into the war effort. One of the most

⁶⁷⁶ *Zhejiang jiaoyu* 浙江教育 (Zhejiang Education Gazette) 3.7 (1941): 98-99.

critical developments was a change in compensation regulations for the armed forces. Prior to the Japanese invasion of 1937, spouses and children of killed soldiers were first and second in line to receive gratuities. Attempting to broaden the base of support for the escalating war and reduce cases of financial disputes, the Nationalist government made the household an eligible unit to receive the death gratuity. In the 1940s, the Nationalist government issued three compensation regulations for the Army, Navy, and Air Force, placing parents before widows and children as recipients of gratuities. In addition, compensation stipends shall be administered by the parents and shared equally within the household, which might include other relatives. These regulations discouraged widows from remarrying and prevented them from taking in bachelors as husbands without legally remarrying, as a survival strategy especially in hard times. However, knowing that their interests and the integrity of their households would be better protected by the state would make soldiers going into battle with less hesitation. In addition, households with members contributing to the War of Resistance became entitled to assistance from the government.

The second dimension is the *mass martyrization*. The war became encompassing, evidenced in the use of “extraordinary time” to characterize wartime and the expansion of war-related deaths eligible for compensation. Furthermore, I demonstrate how martyrdom was extended to civilians in the attempt to justify the unprecedented scale of war in the late 1930s and 1940s. As martyrdom was linked to the ideal Republican citizenship, the inclusion of civilians into the pantheon of Republican martyrs signifies the incorporation of the general population into the nation-state.

The third dimension how war was envisioned to be not only as a catastrophic event, yet a routine that required and strenuous effort. One particular aspect of compensation regulations was the category of “illness caused by overexertion leading to death.”

The final dimension was narratives and graphics of martyrdom. Prior to the Japanese invasion, martyrs’ biographies were limited to revolutionary martyrs of the 1910s and Northern Expedition officers (and some exceptional soldiers) of the 1920s. In the 1930s-1940s, the Political Committee of the United Quartermasters published volumes of “heroic deeds,” which contain biographies of students, peasants, and workers whose deaths were deemed to be acts of patriotism alongside those of servicemembers. In addition to examine such transformation, my work questions how the public participated in creating and consuming these biographies, as well as negotiated their own visions of martyrdom with those of the state and the party via the submission of petitions to the government and letters to newspapers. In particular, my primary analysis of the biographies of fallen soldiers and civilians reveals how the state shrouded the war dead in the imagery of religious fanaticism by constructing a Republican vision of the ideal citizen offering his or her life in the name of the state. In addition, there was the *visual fetishization* of death. Wartime deaths became commonplace; people were visually exposed to deaths – not as gruesome, yet celebrated events. Soldiers’ studio portraits taken before going to war were publicized in periodicals and books. Photographs of the dead taken before encoffining were publicized. Those prints authenticated and visualized acts of martyrdom, infusing sentiments of loyalty in ways that are only possible in the modern age.

During the War of Resistance, the government made a major change to the compensation regulations, placing parents before spouses and children as recipients of death gratuities and stipulating that the gratuities be shared among all eligible members of the household.⁶⁷⁷ This legal change made the family more intertwined with the state and allowed the state to regulate individual behaviors through the family. We already saw the encroachment of the state in the familial sphere in widows' petitions during the Nanjing Decade (Chapter 5). The family as the collective unit to receive the death gratuity, a development during wartime, set up an internal surveillance among members of the household.

In 1940, the Military Affairs Commission, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, petitioned the National Government to revise the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Army” (*Lujun fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 陸軍撫卹暫行條例). The Commission deliberated on eliminating five articles and removing redundant phrases.⁶⁷⁸ The “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Navy” (*Haijun fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 海軍撫卹暫行條例) was revised in 1942.⁶⁷⁹ The “Provisional Regulations for Compensating the Air Force” (*Kongjun fuxu zhanxing tiaoli* 空軍撫卹暫行條例) was revised in 1943.⁶⁸⁰ These three regulations placed parents first in line to receive death gratuities, which may have reflected the declining age of the recruits as the war progressed. In addition, despite the increasingly large number of people qualified to receive compensation, the Nationalist government continued to include grandparents, grandsons, and siblings as eligible recipients. This would lead to a crisis of compensation once the war against the Japanese ended.

	4-grandparents	
	1-parents	
2-wife	The Dead	6-paternal siblings
	2-children (sons and unmarried daughters only)	
	4-grandsons	

Fig. 6-8: Sequence of Relatives Eligible to Receive Death Gratuities (Armed Forces, 1940s).

⁶⁷⁷ It should be noted that after World War I, the French government gave the parents over the widow the right to the body, citing the filial tie could not be broken. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 27.

⁶⁷⁸ The petition included line-by-line proposed revisions. “Military Affairs Commission to National Government,” July 22, 1940, AH 001-012049-0024, file 50050244.

⁶⁷⁹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” April 14, 1943, AH 001-012049-0025, file 50050276.

⁶⁸⁰ “Legislative Yuan, Executive Yuan, and Military Affairs Commission to National Government,” July 14, 1942, AH 001-012049-0025, file 50050267; “National Defense Supreme Committee to National Government,” April 20, 1943, AH 001-012049-0025, file 50050278; “Legislative Yuan to National Government,” August 12, 1943.

With the intensification of war and the rise of casualties, it became increasingly difficult for the government to address petitions and dispense stipends. The state had to rein in this culture of extensive consanguine and conjugal relations, limiting the number of eligible petitioners. In the early years of the Nanjing Decade, the National Government and the Party Central Committee were in charge of compensation. The Military Affairs Commission Compensation Committee (*Junshi weiyuanhui fuxu weiyuanhui*) (MCACC) was formed in 1938 to deal with compensating the war dead. The MCACC attempted to impose a legal framework over the traditional customs and practices of kinship. In the first section of this chapter, I discuss the MCACC's compilation of data. The 1941 MCACC's three-year report summarized various disputes over compensation stipends.⁶⁸¹ Three categories of relatives of those who died in battle: parents, children, and wives. It was not the parents or orphans, but widows that were “the most problematic” (*zui cheng wenti de* 最成問題的) in terms of providing them with a livelihood (*zhiye* 職業) and settlement (*anzhi* 安置).⁶⁸²

The author of the report, Lai Mingyun 戴明允, presented a few cases of disputes over gratuities that arose from the “Regulations for Compensating the Army.” Its Article 12 stipulated the order of receiving gratuities as: first, parents; second, wives and children (excluding remarried ones). If these relatives were alive, they should “depend on one another” (*huxiang fuyang yiwu* 互相扶養義務) and “divide the stipend equally” (*ling xujin ying yu ji kou jun fen* 領卹金應予計口均分). The regulations further emphasized the familial hierarchy: “If the parents are alive, they are in charge of keeping the gratuities. If the parents are no longer alive, wives and children shall be in charge of the gratuities. If the parents have other children to care for them, the former shall hand the compensation decree over to the latter to preserve.” If the first group (parents, wives, and children) was no longer alive, the stipend would be given to members of the second group (grandparents or grandsons). If the second group did not exist, then the stipend would be given to underage biological younger siblings until they came of age.⁶⁸³

Lai demonstrated that these regulations had created many uncertain cases and disputes among relatives. The first question was when those eligible to receive gratuities had died except for the biological mother. Should she be compensated? The Judicial Yuan explicated the law that there were legal (*falü* 法律) and moral (*daode* 道德) aspects when it came to gratuities for surviving relatives. Adopted children were not legally bound to support adoptive parents, yet they were bound morally. Therefore, if there was only one surviving parent (biological or not), he/she should be able to receive gratuities. The Judicial Yuan emphasized that parents and biographical parents (*fumu yu benshen fumu* 父母與本身父母) had first priority to receive gratuities per the revised 1940 “Regulations for Compensating the Army.” This covered widowed mother who lost her biological son.

The second question involves remarriage and cohabitation. After the husband died, the wife “cohabited with another person” (*yu ren tongju* 與人同居). In case of having no other legal relative, would the widowed mother be eligible to receive a stipend? The Judicial Yuan stated

⁶⁸¹ *Third-year Report of the National Government's Military Affairs Commission's Compensation Committee*, CMA 53-9-71.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*, 39-41.

that “to have the second nuptial ceremony (*zaijiao* 再醮) is equivalent to remarry (*zaihun* 再婚). In reality, cohabiting (*tongju*) with someone while not remarrying (*zaihun*) is not considered having the second nuptial ceremony.”⁶⁸⁴ Although the law stipulated that wives of martyrs that remarried lost their right to receive a stipend, there were various kinds of arrangements that merit further exposition. The Judicial Yuan explicated that according to the compensation regulations for Army servicemembers, not having the second nuptial ceremony was the condition to receive gratuities. A widow that did not have the second nuptial ceremony, yet in reality cohabited with another person, was not eligible to receive gratuities for surviving relatives. It is because from the customary perspective, having the second nuptial ceremony was to remarry. These compensation regulations relied on the common perception of remarriage, not the Civil Law’s delineation of having the second nuptial ceremony. Widows that cohabited with men in the same manner as husbands and wives *with the intentions of cohabiting forever*, even without the legal term of marriage, were considered having the second nuptial ceremony. Widows that bore children to the men cohabiting with them and had the intention to live together forever in the manner of husband and wife might not be considered not having the second nuptial ceremony.⁶⁸⁵

By not formally remarrying, widows enjoyed power over their second mates, children, and properties. Widows who cohabit with men are considered having the second nuptial ceremony, or remarrying, according to customs, yet not according to the law.⁶⁸⁶ The Civil Law only recognizes legal (re)marriage, not any other form. However, the Judicial Yuan’s judgment was that cohabiting is remarriage, as the government considered cases customarily. Therefore, a martyr’s widow who cohabited with another man was considered as being remarried and thus ineligible to receive gratuity for the martyrdom of her late husband.⁶⁸⁷ To prevent widows from taking advantage of the legal loophole, the government chose not to follow its own legal regulations, but social conventions.

The third question involves adoption, which falls into two cases. The first scenario concerns adoptive parents. The Judicial Yuan explicated that according to the Civil War, adopted children

⁶⁸⁴ (再醮係指再婚而言，僅事實上與人同居而未再婚者，不能認為再醮)

⁶⁸⁵ (一、陸軍撫卹條例，係以妻未再醮為其應受卹金之條件，妻未再醮者，雖事實上與人同居，亦雖謂非應受卹金之遺族。二、陸軍撫卹條例所謂再醮，係指通俗觀念之再婚而言，不以民法上之再醮為限。妻於夫死亡後，以永久共同生活為目的，而與他男為類於夫妻之同居者，雖未具備結婚之法律上條件，亦應認為再醮。其與他男同居而生有子女者，如係以永久共同生活為目的，而與之為類於夫妻之同居，即不得謂非再醮。)

⁶⁸⁶ It was not uncommon for widows to invite bachelors into their households without formally married. This practice afforded widows control over their late husbands’ households. See a case in Chen Huiqin, *Daughter of Good Fortune*, 14.

⁶⁸⁷ Similarly, in the U.S., surviving spouses lose eligibility if they remarry before age 57 or live with “another person who has been recognized publicly as their spouse.” Office of Public and Intergovernmental Affairs, Federal Benefits for Veterans, Dependents and Survivors, Chapter 13 Dependents and Survivors Benefits

<https://www.va.gov/opa/publications/benefits_book/benefits_chap13.asp> Accessed May 15, 2017.

had to treat parents and adopted parents alike. Therefore, if an adopted child died in battle, the adopted parents had the same right to the gratuities. In this case, the government applied its law.

The second case concerns “heir of two branches” (*jian tiao zi* 兼祧子). An adopted son had to be the only son of the adopting parents and closely related to the patrilineal side. Those who adopted out their son and those whose adopted him in had to agree with the adoption. In addition, the clans had to support the adoption. Adopted sons were considered the same as sons born “within wedlock” (*hun sheng zi* 婚生子).⁶⁸⁸ In the case that a biological daughter and an adopted son existed, the annual stipend would be equally divided.

If the heir of the martyr came to live with his remarried mother’s household and adopted a new family name, was he still eligible to receive gratuity from the death of his father? The Legislative Yuan ruled that if he remained heir to both families with the agreement from all parties involved, he would be allowed to benefit from being a martyr’s son while living with his adoptive father. The Judicial Yuan further cautioned:

One shall not set up an adopted heir for the sole purpose of collecting gratuities. However, such cases of adoption are legal and do not violate the law. There are many cases of setting up heirs due to disparate circumstances. We have to follow both the regulations and the law while investigating the customs and Details on these cases in order to process them with goodwill and care. Only that way would we avoid disputes and resolve cases smoothly.⁶⁸⁹

Extending compensation regulations to cover a larger constituency contributed to the increase in tricky cases. Undoubtedly, widows of revolutionary martyrs in the 1910s whose families afforded their education in Japan or modernized academies in China were in a better position to uphold their virtue than widows of enlisted soldiers in the 1930s-1940s. Wartime shortages and delays in dispensing stipends were among many other reasons that explain why some families tried to maximize their chance of survival by informally taking in new partners and adopting heirs. Such behaviors are similar to the practice of polyandry in the late imperial era, though considered to be an abomination, was common among the lower classes who in most cases tried to survive difficult times.⁶⁹⁰

I argue that the War of Resistance furthered the state-family relation through acts of petitioning and compensating for the war dead. Such relation was developed during the 1920s and 1930s as discussed in Chapter 5. While petition letters were less common during wartime, they showed how the family, weakened and separated by war, became more dependent on the state. The family expected the state to take care of its members affected by war.

A Mrs. Fan *née* Liu, whose son Fan Xuejun 范學君 was a soldier in the 87th Division, appealed to the Municipal Government for financial assistance. As her son was fighting in the frontline, Mrs. Fan and her daughter-in-law lived by themselves. In May 1944, a wall of a grain factory collapsed on Mrs. Fan’s house. Her daughter-in-law, *née* Wang was at home and was

⁶⁸⁸ *Third-Year Report of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission’s Compensation Committee*, 40, CMA 53-9-71.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁶⁹⁰ Matthew H. Sommer, *Polyandry and Wife-Selling in Qing Dynasty China: Survival Strategies and Judicial Interventions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

severely injured. After spending thousands of *yuan* on medical fees, the daughter-in-law died on July 31. Unable to find the money for burial, the corpse was decomposing (*shi fuchou* 屍腐臭) in the scorching heat of Chongqing. Mrs. Fan petitioned twice, yet received no help. Her daughter-in-law made a living from washing clothes. Her death meant that no one was providing for Mrs. Fan. As her son had been fighting at the front for years, the government should provide for the widow. In the absence of her son, the distant war had a direct impact on Mrs. Fan. It was unclear if Mrs. Fan's third petition was heeded.⁶⁹¹ Mrs. Fan's rationale, which was that having a son in the military entitled her to be taken care of by the government, was in fact in line with the Nationalist vision. As I examine in the next section, the Military Affairs Commission produced tales of martyrdom, many of which involved parents whose sons were in the Nationalist armed forces. These parents, targeted by the enemy, chose death. The war was no longer fought between armed forces, yet the whole population participated. Such expectation with regard to civilian roles in war was normalized in the 1940s.

In 1946, a junior bureaucrat working for the Yizheng 議政 County Government in Jiangsu, Huang Zhendong, petitioned on behalf of his family members being killed and forced out of their home during wartime. He filled out two request-for-compensation forms, one for his father Huang Jun 黃鈞's household and one for his uncle Huang Jian 黃鑑's household. Huang Jun was the president of No. 7 Middle School in Jiangsu and Huang Jian was a village physician (*xiang yishi* 鄉醫師). The two patriarchs were killed in a massacre together with eight other family members. In Huang Jun's family, his 70-year-old mother-in-law and his 46-year-old wife escaped to Tai 泰 County, his eldest son, Huang Zhendong (23 years old) and his wife (aged 23) escaped to Yizheng County. His second son (21 years old) had been missing since January 1945). His third son (four years old) and daughter (aged eight) escaped to Tai county. In Huang Jian's family, his mother (63 years old) and second son (aged 21) took refuge in Tai county. His wife (aged 49), eldest son (aged 23) and his wife (aged 24), third son (aged 16), second, third and fourth daughters (aged 19, 18, and 9), and nephew (aged three) escaped to Dongtai 東台 County. In addition, his family's nine-acre (54 *mu*) field was confiscated and forcibly redistributed. The Communists destroyed his six-room house as retaliation for the family members' affiliation with the Nationalist Party.⁶⁹²

Mass Martyrization

In September 1937, the Ministry of the Interior proposed to the National Government via the Executive Yuan to promulgate the "Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Rewarding the Police Force during Extraordinary Time" (*Feichang shiqi jiangxu jingcha zhanxing banfa* 非常時期獎卹警察暫行辦法). The Ministry of Interior reasoned that the warzone had become expansive and was no longer limited to just one area, thus regulations that covered situations in

⁶⁹¹ "Mrs. Fan *née* Liu to Chongqing Municipal Government," October 13, 1944, CMA 53-13-34, pp. 3-8.

⁶⁹² "Petition from Huang Zhendong to Jiangsu Province," September 1, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-591. Because Huang's petition was not sufficiently addressed by the Provincial Government, a few months later, he submitted another one to the National Government. "Petition from Huang Zhendong to Chairman Chiang Kai-shek," November 24, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-591.

the war zones were insufficient. In addition, the police force became critically important during wartime and should be compensated separate from the rest of the civil bureaucrats. The Regulations was promulgated on October 14, 1937.⁶⁹³ The war continued to engulf China. Compensation during exceptional time was extended to the rest of the bureaucracy. In 1940, the “Regulations for Specially Compensating Civil Servants” (*Gongwuyuan tezhong fuxu tiaoli* 公務員特種撫卹條例) was promulgated in June 19, 1940.⁶⁹⁴ These regulations covered civil servants “who were killed or injured during the extraordinary time.”⁶⁹⁵ Changing from “war zones” to “extraordinary times” signified the encompassing nature of war. As the Nationalist government saw there was no longer a geographical limit to the Japanese invasion, they became hopeful for a temporal limit, that is, the war would end in a foreseeable future.

Soon after the Japanese invasion of southern China, the National Government issued two critical regulations that rewarded anyone that reportedly resisted the enemy, regardless of military or civilian status. In early 1938, the Ministry of Military Administration drafted the “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones” (*Zhandi shoutu jiangli tiaoli* 戰地守土獎勵條例). In March, the National Defense Supreme Council (*Guofang zuigao huiyi* 國防最高會議) and the Executive Yuan approved the regulations, which were applicable to everyone regardless of occupation and rank, including civil and military officials and common people (*wen wu guan min* 文武官民).⁶⁹⁶ By allowing individual civilians, who were wounded and killed in war, eligible to be honored, and promoted to civil and military officialdom, the regulations assigned the general population with the task of defending the nation.

Article 1 of the regulations specified six categories: (1) Those who tried their utmost in protecting the homeland in order to reverse a critical situation; (2) Those who did not withdraw from defensive structures, such as citadels and forts, and protect the areas; (3) Those who died while protecting the homeland; (4) Those who burned their houses to protect the homeland; (5) Those who made contributions by donating or planning the protection of the homeland; (6) Those who were injured or disabled due to protecting the homeland.⁶⁹⁷

Article 2 listed seven forms of rewards: promotion (*jinji* 晉級), official status (*shouguan* 授官), official posts or titles (*guan zhi* 官職 or *guan xian* 官銜), commemorative structures (*jinian*

⁶⁹³ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” October 8, 1937, AH 001-012049-0003, file 50102339.

⁶⁹⁴ “Regulations for Compensating Civil Servants during Extraordinary Time,” *Guomin zhengfu gongbao* 37 (1940): 4-11.

⁶⁹⁵ (在非常時期因公遇害致傷或死者)

⁶⁹⁶ “National Defense Supreme Committee to National Government: “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones,” March 22, 1938, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102242; “National Government to All Subordinate Offices,” March 25, 1938, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102243.

⁶⁹⁷ (一、盡力守土賴以挽危局者。二、構築城牆堡壘及其他防禦事固守不屈地方賴以保全者。三、因守土死亡者。四、毀家守土者。五、損資或計劃守土者有功績者。六、因守土受傷殘廢者。)

fangta 紀念坊塔), medals (*jiangzhang* 獎章) and honor tablets (*bian'e* 匾額), gratuities (*fluxu jin* 撫卹金), and tuition waivers for remaining relatives (*mianchu yizu xuefei* 免除遺族學費). Article 3 stipulated that only civil and military officials would be officially promoted (Clause 1). Besides military bureaucrats, only those with appropriate military training would be awarded military official status (Clause 1). Only those with appropriate background and education would be given civil bureaucratic postings (Clause 3). Those who were not qualified for actual postings would be given official titles (*guanxian* 官銜) in the military or bureaucracy. Civil bureaucrats willing to accept military officer titles would be conferred military officer titles equivalent to those of the civil bureaucratic scheme (Clause 4). Commemorative structures would be built in local parks, city squares or similar places (Clause 5). Medals and commemorative tablets would be conferred according to the “Regulations for Compensating Servicemembers of the Armed Forces” (Clause 6). Incumbent civil bureaucrats and military officers and soldiers would be compensated based on various current compensation regulations. Civilians would be conferred official posts or official titles. For those who were not qualified for official posts or titles, they would be compensated at the same level as common soldiers (*shibing li* 士兵例) (Clause 7). The division between military and civil bureaucrats became less legally distinctive. So was the division between the armed forces and the general population.

The 1938 “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones” generously granted tuition waivers to remaining relatives according to the regulations of waiving tuition for children of contributors to the Revolution (革命功勳子女就學免費條例). By extension, protecting-the-homeland civilians were able to partake in the benefits previously reserved for revolutionary martyrs. The Legislative Yuan endorsed (*zhui ren* 追認) the regulations.⁶⁹⁸ The Executive Yuan proposed to change “remaining relatives” to “children,” limiting tuition waivers to a smaller set.⁶⁹⁹ The revised version in 1945 removed the clause on tuition waivers.⁷⁰⁰

According to Article 5, the supervising official or county (or municipal) government would collect the protecting-the-homeland narratives, and respectively report to the central supreme military affairs office for approval. Local self-governing personnel and relatives of commendation recipients, or four or more colleagues, or ten or more local inhabitants could jointly petition the direct supervising authority. The county (or municipal) government could petition on behalf of reward-worthy citizens. The direct supervising authority and county (or municipal) government would carefully inspect, verify, and address the case. In addition, “those who protected the homeland in exceptional ways, besides commendation, their narratives shall be recorded in national history, or provincial or county gazette” (Article 8). This further illustrates the process of bureaucratizing death, which I discuss in the first half of this chapter. I address a few of these narratives later in this chapter.

⁶⁹⁸ “Legislative Yuan to National Government,” May 11, 1938, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102245.

⁶⁹⁹ “Legislative Yuan to National Government,” November 1, 1938, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102247.

⁷⁰⁰ “Legislative Yuan to National Government: Revising Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones,” March 22, 1945, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102260.

If the “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones” placed civilians in the same space as bureaucrats and servicemembers, the 1938 “Measures to Compensate Citizens Wounded or Killed When Protecting the Homeland” (*Renmin shoutu shangwang fuxu shixing banfa* 人民守土傷亡撫卹實施辦法) was exclusive to civilians. These Measures were drafted by the Executive Yuan under Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙 (also known as H. H. Kung, 1881-1967).⁷⁰¹ It covered collective and organized resistance, including able-bodied man bands (*zhuanding dui* 壯丁隊), voluntary able-bodied preparatory bands (*yi Yong zhuangding dui* 義勇壯丁準備隊), special detachments (*biedong dui* 別動隊), plainclothes bands (*bianyi dui* 便衣隊), volitional corps (*yi Yong jun* 義勇軍), civil defense groups (*fanghu tuan* 防護團), civilian self-defense corps (*renmin ziwei jun* 人民自衛軍), and other armed resistance civilian organizations (一切人民武裝抗敵組織) (Article 1).

The regulations legitimized and incentivized organized resistance by civilians. It awarded those who were wounded or killed when (1) participating in battle against the enemy, (2) harassing the enemy in the rear or investigating the enemy’s movements, (3) aiding military duties or carrying out military orders, (4) protecting the village and town against the enemy, (5) engaging in any other resistance activity. The 1938 regulations stipulated spouses and children equally eligible to receive gratuities. Next in line were parents. If the parents were not present, grandparents and grandsons would be equally eligible. Last in line were underage younger siblings.

Those who perished would be given a one-time gratuity of 80 *yuan*, and an annual gratuity of 50 *yuan* for ten years. Those with first-rate, second-rate, and third-rate injuries would be given respectively a one-time gratuity of 70, 60, and 40 *yuan* and an annual gratuity of 40, 35, and 30 *yuan* for five years. The classification of injuries was based on Article 12 of the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” (See the “Categories of Death” section below). The revised regulations issued in December 1948 doubled the gratuity amounts due to inflation.⁷⁰² For matters not prescribed in these regulations, the “Provisional Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” would be consulted (Article 14).

These 1938 regulations were drafted in haste and left significant room for debate. Most compensation regulations were accompanied by “implementation details” (*shixing xize* 施行細則), while the 1938 “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones” and the 1938 “Measures to Compensate Citizens Wounded or Killed When Protecting the Homeland” were not. Consequently, the Head of the Examination Yuan, Dai Zhuanxian 戴傳賢 (1891-1949),⁷⁰³ complained that the regulations did not specify what kind of promotion would be

⁷⁰¹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” October 14, 1938, AH 001-012049-0028, file 50124939.

⁷⁰² “Executive Yuan to Beiping Municipal Government,” December 24, 1948, BMA J181-014-00396.

⁷⁰³ Dai Zhuanxian 戴傳賢, also known as Dai Jitao 戴季陶, a member of the Nationalist Party since the early years. He held various posts in the Nationalist government and committed suicide in 1949.

conferred in Article 2, Clause 1. Dai suggested adding that second-rank government officials (*jianren* 簡任) would be promoted from the second to third grade, third-rank officials (*jianren* 薦任) from the third to fourth grade, and fourth-rank officials (*weiren* 委任) from the fourth to fifth grade.⁷⁰⁴

In addition, the war prompted questions about the status of social groups, such as schoolteachers. In December 1938, the Ministry of Education petitioned the National Government by way of the Executive Yuan. The petition requested approval for the “Special Measures to Compensate Teaching Staff Wounded or Died While Protecting the Homeland during Wartime” (*Kangzhan shoutu shangwang jiaoyu renyuan congyou hexu banfa* 抗戰守土傷亡教育人員從優核卹辦法).⁷⁰⁵ The Minister of Education presented that all three regulations in effect, the “Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones,” “Measures to Compensate Citizens Wounded or Killed When Protecting the Homeland,” and the “Pension and Gratuities Regulations for School Teaching and Administrative Staff” (*xuexiao zhiyuan yanglao ji xujin tiaoli* 學校職教員養老金及卹金條例), did not cover educational staff who participated in war. The Minister proposed to award families of teachers that died protecting the homeland one-fifth, one-fourth, or one-half of their last salaries. Kong Xiangxi, President of the Executive Yuan, approved these measures and sought the final approval from the National Government. This particular petition from the Ministry of Education demonstrates that social groups viewed themselves within the Chinese modern state. Teachers were not part of the “three pillars” of the Nationalist state during the Nanjing Decade, which I discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, teachers did not want to be indistinguishable from the general population. They saw their deaths as being more significant and worthwhile. On June 22, 1944, the “Compensation Regulations for School Teaching and Administrative Staff” (*Xuexiao jiaozhiyuan fuxu tiaoli* 學校教職員撫卹條例) were promulgated to cover three circumstances of death: (1) from illness after working for 15 years, (2) while receiving a pension, and (3) while on official duty (*yingong xunnan*).⁷⁰⁶

In 1939, the Ministry of Civil Service (*Quanxu bu* 銓敘部) proposed to the National Government by way of the Examination Yuan to add a gratuity scale to compensate local militia forces organized by *bao-jia* captains. The proposal was approved in November 1939. According to the “Provisional Standards for Compensating *Bao-jia* Captains and *Lian-jia* Chairmen Injured or Killed while on Duty during Wartime” (*Zhanshi xiangzhen baojia zhang ji lianbao zhuren yingong shangwang geixu zhanxing biao zhun* 戰時鄉鎮保甲長暨聯保主任因公傷亡給卹暫行標準), *bao-jia* captains who encounter unexpected incidents while on official business leading to being wounded, disabled, or mentally disabled are rewarded from 10 to 100 *yuan*. If they died,

⁷⁰⁴ “Examination Yuan to National Government,” April 19, 1943, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102251.

⁷⁰⁵ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” December 9, 1938, AH 001-012049-0013, file 50124926.

⁷⁰⁶ “Regulations for Compensating Schoolteachers” (*Xuexiao jiaozhiyuan fuxu tiaoli* 學校教職員撫卹條例), *Jiaoyubu gongbao* 教育公報 (Ministry of Education Gazette) 16.6 (1944): 2-3.

their families would be given from 60 to 200 *yuan*.⁷⁰⁷ The Jiangsu Provincial Government petitioned via the Ministry of the Interior to increase the amount of reward with regard to exorbitant prices during wartime. When the National Government revised these regulations in 1943, the gratuities were increased multiple times due to gross inflation, from 30 to 300 *yuan* for the wounded, and from 180 to 600 *yuan* for the dead.⁷⁰⁸

On October 4, 1939, the Ministry of Military Administration ordered counties and municipalities to form citizen militia groups led by magistrates and mayors.⁷⁰⁹ The “Differential Measures to Compensate Citizen Militia Soldiers” (*Guomin bing fuxu huafen banfa* 國民兵撫卹劃分辦法) was proposed by the Military Affairs Commission in November and approved by the Executive Yuan in December 1940. It covered citizen militia corps (*guomin bingtuan* 國民兵團), as well as regularly trained (*changbei* 常備), self-defense (*ziwei* 自衛), reserve (*houbei* 後備), and preparatory (*yubei* 預備) groups.⁷¹⁰ They would be compensated according to the

⁷⁰⁷ “Examination Yuan to National Government, including “Provisional Standards for Compensating *Bao-jia* Captains and *Lian-jia* Chairmen Injured or Killed while on Duty during Wartime,” December 28, 1939, AH 001-012049-0015, file 50124928.

⁷⁰⁸ “Examination Yuan to National Government, including “Revised Provisional Standards for Compensating *Bao-jia* Captains and *Lian-jia* Chairmen Injured or Killed while on Duty during Wartime,” January 6, 1943, AH 001-012049-0015, file 50124931.

⁷⁰⁹ “Xian shi guomin bingtuan zuzhi zhanxing tiaoli 縣市國民兵團組織暫行條例” (Provisional regulations for organizing county and municipal citizen militia corps), *Junshi zazhi* 軍事雜誌 (Military Affairs Journal) 122 (1940): 112-113. There were many measures regarding the citizen militia corps, for example the “Executing Principles for the Organization, Management, and Education of Citizen Militias” (*Guomin bing zuzhi guanli jiaoyu shixing gangling* 國民兵組織管理教育施行綱領), the “General Guidelines to Implement Management and Education of Citizen Militias” (*Guomin bing zuzhi guanli jiaoyu shishi banfa dagang* 國民兵組織管理教育實施辦法大綱); the “Measures to Organize Civilian Militias to Assist Party, Administration, Military, Police, School Units” (*Dang zheng jun jing jiguan budui ji di fangfa tuan xuexiao xiezhu guomin bingtuan zuzhi banfa* 黨政軍警機關部隊及地方法團學校協助國民兵團組織辦法); the “Guidelines to Select Leaders of County and Municipal Citizen Militia Corps” (*Ge xian shi guomin bingtuan fu tuanzhang kaoxuan guize* 各縣市國民兵團副團長考選規則); the “Measures for Serving in Citizen Militia Corps in War Zones” (*Zhandi guomin bingtuan fuyi banfa* 戰地國民兵團服役辦法). *Zhejiang sheng zhengfu gongbao* 浙江省政府公報 (Zhejiang Provincial Government Gazette) 3187 (1939): 2-17. During wartime, some citizen militia corps used militarized management to lead civilian workers for dike repair work. Micah S. Muscolino, *The Ecology of War in China: Henan Province, the Yellow River, and Beyond, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 125.

⁷¹⁰ “Guomin bing fuxu huafen banfa 國民兵撫卹劃分辦法” (Differential Measures to Compensate Citizen Militia Soldiers), 1940, AH 014000002929A. “Differential Measures to Compensate Citizen Militia Soldiers,” *Zhejiang sheng zhengfu gongbao* 3070 (1941): 4.

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime.” The citizen militias were abolished in 1945.⁷¹¹

In 1940, Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist government issued new measures about war dead commemoration, expanding the categories of martyrdom to civilians. In September, the National Government publicized the “General Guidelines for Offering Sacrifices to Officials and Civilians Who Loyal Sacrificed Their Lives during the War of Resistance and Constructing Commemorative Tablets” (*Kangdi xunnan zhonglie guanmin cisi ji jianli jinian fangbei banfa dagang* 抗敵殉難忠烈官民祠祀及建立紀念坊碑辦法大綱).⁷¹² The guidelines listed five categories of circumstances that qualify ones as military martyrs: those who die while (1) charging forward on the battlefield, (2) killing enemies and bringing exceptional results, (3) in an extraordinarily brave manner exhausting themselves to protect the homeland, (4) refusing to surrender when faced with danger or refusing to seek treatment when wounded in battle, and (5) resisting the enemies in remarkable manners. For civilians, there are ten categories of martyrdom: those who die while (1) obtaining crucial intelligence from the enemy, (2) organizing civilian support groups for the military or to carry out military orders, (3) uncovering the enemies or Chinese collaborators, (4) damaging the enemies’ transportation and communication lines, (5) destroying the military’s warehouse, (6) uncovering spy organizations of the enemies or collaborators, (7) refusing to surrender when captured, (8) rescuing officials or civilians who are resisting the enemies, (9) organizing civilian to whole-heartedly carry out the Republic’s conventions, (10) resisting the enemies in other loyal and brave manners. The 1940 general guidelines signified a critical turn, since for the first time the categories of martyrdom eligible to be enshrined were broadened to include civilians of post-1911 revolutions. The 1940 measures placed servicemembers and civilians in the same legal space.

On September 20, 1940, the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission passed the “Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” (*Zhonglie ci sheli ji baoguan banfa* 忠烈祠設立及保管辦法) to commemorate “loyal and sacrificing officials and civilians who died in the War of Resistance.” The 1933 “Measures for Martyrs’ Commemorative Ceremony and Construction of Commemorative Shrines and Plaques” was subsequently abolished on October 30, 1940.⁷¹³ Article 2 of the 1940 measures stipulated that “provincial, municipal, and county governments all shall set up Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines within their jurisdictions. Villages (*xiang*) and towns (*zhen*) only have to set up Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines if

⁷¹¹ The Minister of the Ministry of Military Administration, Chen Cheng 陳誠, petitioned at the 1945 Nationalist Party’s Sixth Congress (*Guomindang diliuci quanguo daibiao dahui* 民黨第六次全國代表大會) to abolish the civilian militia corps and revive the military administrative units (*junshi ke* 軍事科) as the militias imposed a financial burden on the budget of provincial governments. “Chen Cheng to National Government,” June 27, 1945, AH 001-014153-0007, file 085001887; “Chen Cheng to National Government,” July 13, 1945, AH 001-014153-0007, file 085001888.

⁷¹² “Executive Yuan to National Government,” December 23, 1940, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148278.

⁷¹³ “Jiangxi Provincial Government to Department of Civil Affair (September 30, 1940),” *Jiangxi sheng zhengfu gongbao* 64 (1933): 69.

they have public temples or pagodas (*gongong simiao* 公共寺廟) under their jurisdictions.”⁷¹⁴ This was meant to lighten the burden of constructing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines for many villages and towns that were either impoverished or damaged by wars. Article 3 emphasized: “If a public temple is to be converted into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine, the local government shall negotiate to obtain approval from the people in charge of the temple, and also report to the Ministry of the Interior for permission before executing [the conversion].”⁷¹⁵ While in 1936 county governments only had to seek approval locally, in 1940 they had to report to the central government for approval. The central government sought to monitor these shrines more closely. Article 4 stated that “after the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine is established, if there are existing structures of a similar nature to the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine, then the local authority shall consider retiring them [from their function] and report such to the Ministry of the Interior so as to be recorded.”⁷¹⁶ This article prohibited the coexistence of multiple loyalties, which means that Qing-era Manifest Loyalty Shrines should not exist alongside Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines.

In 1940, the Military Affairs Commission drafted the “Provisional Measures to Compensate and Dispense Burial Expenses to Militarily Recruited Workers Wounded and Fallen during Wartime” (*Zhanshi junshi zhenggu minfu shangwang fuxu ji maizang fei zhanxing banfa* 戰時軍事徵僱民伋傷亡撫卹及埋葬費暫行辦法). The Executive Yuan approved it and ordered military units and Provincial Governments to identify and compensate those who qualified. The measures stipulated that lightly wounded (*qingshang* 輕傷) workers be given a one-time stipend of 100 *yuan*, heavily wounded 200 *yuan*, and permanently disabled 300 *yuan*. Cases of overexertion leading to illness and death would be awarded 300 *yuan*, and death while on official duty 400 *yuan*. The last two categories would also be given 100 *yuan* for burial.⁷¹⁷ Due to inflation, the Fujian Provincial Government proposed to award workers with first-degree wounds a one-time stipend of 19,000 *yuan*, second-degree wounds 7,500 *yuan*, third-degree wounds 3,500 *yuan*, and light wounds 2,000 *yuan*. Those who died from overexertion or while on official duty would also be awarded 20,000 *yuan* and 10,000 *yuan* burial fees.⁷¹⁸

The “Regulations for Compensating Hired Workers for Public Service during Wartime” (*Zhanshi guyuan gongyi geixu banfa* 戰時僱員公役給卹辦法) were issued by the National

⁷¹⁴ “Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines,” September 20, 1940, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148281.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

⁷¹⁷ “Zhanshi junshi zhenggu minfu shangwang fuxu ji maizang fei zhanxing banfa 戰時軍事徵僱民伋傷亡撫卹及埋葬費暫行辦法” (Provisional Measures to Compensate and Dispense Burial Expenses to Militarily Recruited Workers Wounded and Fallen during Wartime), *Sichuan sheng zhengfu gongbao* 85 (1940): 32-33.

⁷¹⁸ “Zhanshi junshi zhenggu minfu shangwang fuxu ji maizang fei zhanxing banfa di sansi liangtiaoxiuzheng tiaowen 戰時軍事徵僱民伋傷亡撫卹及埋葬費暫行辦法第三四兩條修正條文” (Revised Articles 3 and 4 of the “Provisional Measures to Compensate and Dispense Burial Expenses to Militarily Recruited Workers Wounded and Fallen during Wartime”), *Fujian sheng zhengfu gongbao* 1785 (1946): 13242-13243.

Government on June 10, 1943. It was applicable to civilians hired during wartime by all government offices, not only those hired by the armed forces.⁷¹⁹ For those who were mentally or physically disabled to the point of no longer being able to work, they would receive a one-time gratuity worth 10 months of their current wages. If they were wounded, yet not to the point of being disabled, they would be given a medical stipend worth two to four months of their current wages. If they died while on duty, they would be given 14 months' worth of their current wages as death gratuities. If they died of illness while on duty, they were given four months' worth of their current wages. In addition, hired workers and custodians entitled to injury gratuities, medical fees, and death gratuities, would be given 30 percent of what officials would receive. The supervising offices would pay the stipend for hired workers. However, if the offices that hired the workers encountered financial difficulties and could not pay, the supervising offices would.

In 1944, Sun Ke 孫科 (1891-1973),⁷²⁰ the President of the Legislative Yuan, suggested adding “monetary reward” (*jiangjin* 獎金) to the list of rewards for those who contributed to the War of Resistance, yet were ineligible to receive an official promotion, status, or title. County and municipal governments would investigate these cases and present them with one-time stipends. In addition, the Ministry of the Interior would be in charge of compensating civil bureaucrats, police officers, and civilians. The Judicial Yuan would be in charge of judicial staff.⁷²¹

After the War of Resistance, the Nationalist government sought to reward both military and civilian heroes. The Enlistment Office's Military Affairs Bureau (參軍處軍務局) drafted a proposal to award to fallen officers and soldiers during the War of Resistance with “victory gratuities” (*Kangzhan zhenwang jiangshi shengli xujin* 抗戰陣亡將士勝利卹金). In reviewing the proposal, the Ministry of Military Administration calculated that over 47.1 billion (471 億) needed would severely strained the national treasury and approved a lesser scale that would require 10 billion (almost five times less).⁷²²

General 上將	100,000 <i>yuan</i>
Lieutenant General 中將	85,000 <i>yuan</i>
Major General 少將	75,000 <i>yuan</i>

⁷¹⁹ “Zhanshi guyuan gongyi geixu banfa 戰時僱員公役給卹辦法” (Regulations for Compensating Hired Workers for Public Service during Wartime), *Xichang xianzheng banyuekan* 西昌縣政半月刊 (Xichang County Government Bimonthly) 3-4 (1943): 6-7.

⁷²⁰ Sun Ke was the son of Sun Yat-sen and his first wife.

⁷²¹ “Legislative Yuan to National Government,” April 24, 1944, AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102254.

⁷²² “National Government to Ministry of Interior,” February 28, 1946, AH 014000000678A, file 0231.06.

Colonel 上校	65,000 <i>yuan</i>
Lieutenant Colonel 中校	55,000 <i>yuan</i>
Major 少校	45,000 <i>yuan</i>
Captain 上尉	35,000 <i>yuan</i>
Lieutenant 中尉	30,000 <i>yuan</i>
Second Lieutenant 少尉	25,000 <i>yuan</i>
Warrant Officer 准尉	20,000 <i>yuan</i>
Sergeant 上士	5,500 <i>yuan</i>
Staff Sergeant 中士	4,500 <i>yuan</i>
Corporal 下士	3,500 <i>yuan</i>
Lance Corporal 上等兵	1,800 <i>yuan</i>
Private First Class 一等兵	1,600 <i>yuan</i>
Private 二等兵	1,400 <i>yuan</i>

Fig. 6-9: Victory Gratuities for Fallen Officers and Soldiers during War of Resistance. “Head of Ministry of Military Administration, Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1898-1965), to President of Executive Yuan, Song Ziwen,” December 1945, AH 014000000678A.

Several elder members of the Legislative Yuan, Liu Guanxun 劉盥訓 (1876-1953), Ling Yue 凌鉞 (1882-1946), Zeng Yan 曾彥 (1886-1959), Zhang Fengjiu 張鳳九 (1882-1947), Peng Yangguang 彭養光 (1873-1946), presented to the National Government that there were “countless accounts of civilians from various places voluntarily fought the enemy.”⁷²³ Furthermore, “such patriotism demonstrates the quintessence of our five-thousand-year civilization.”⁷²⁴ While there existed compensation regulations for government officials that gave up their lives in war, there was no law for the “loyal and righteous citizens” (忠義之人民). The elder members of the Legislative Yuan argued that as the future of the nation relied on loyal and righteous citizens, a particular law was needed to acknowledge their contributions. The Legislative Yuan’s Legal System Committee (*Fazhi weiyuanhui* 法制委員會) drafted the

⁷²³ (各地人民自動與敵奮鬥多有壯烈事實)

⁷²⁴ (此種愛國心所表現五千年文化之結晶)

regulations in February 1946.⁷²⁵ Subsequently, the National Government promulgated the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs” (*Baoyang kangzhan zhonglie tiaoli* 褒揚抗戰忠烈條例) to commend “anyone who resisted foreign enemies regardless of being a serviceman or a civilian.”⁷²⁶ There were eight categories of martyrdom:

(1) Those who killed the enemy, and archived results and distinguished themselves (殺敵致果, 建立殊勳者)

(2) Those who exerted themselves in protecting the homeland and with extraordinary bravery and loyalty (盡力守土, 忠勇特著者)

(3) Those who did not capitulate in the face of danger and who sacrificed their lives, or those who suffered from injury, death, capture, or imprisonment while refusing to be threatened or beguiled by the enemy (臨難不屈, 以身殉國, 或不受敵人利誘威脅, 致傷亡或囚者)

(4) Those who led their villages to revolt against the enemy, resist the enemy, or destroy the enemy’s strategic weapons (舉義鄉里, 抵抗敵人, 或毀壞敵用重要戰具者)

(5) Those who destroyed their home in order to alleviate a difficult situation, or those who made preparations in order to protect the homeland and achieved notable results (毀家紓難, 或計劃守土, 著有功績者)

(6) Individuals, families or villagers who were injured, killed, or burned down due to resisting the enemy (個人或全家或全村與敵人搏鬥, 致傷亡或被燬者)

(7) Those who were injured or killed while protecting the homeland (因守土傷亡者)

(8) Other cases of bravery and loyalty, which sufficiently serve as exemplars.

According to the 1946 Regulations, both military and civilian martyrs would receive commendation tablets (*bian’e* 匾額). They would be given a state burial (*guozang* 國葬), public burial (*gongzang* 公葬), or burial at the national martyrs’ cemetery (*guoshang muyuan* 國殤墓園). Their names would be entered into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines (*zhonglie ci* 忠烈祠), or bestowed commemorative steles (*jinian fangbei* 紀念坊碑). Their contributions would be recorded in the national historical archives (*guoshiguan* 國史館) or provincial gazettes and county gazettes. For servicemembers and civilians entitled to receive commendation, offices in charge should compile details about their heroic deeds and examine testimonies, and forward

⁷²⁵ “Legislative Yuan to National Government,” March 8, 1946, AH 001-012049-0002, file 50102337.

⁷²⁶ “Legislative Yuan to National Government: Promulgating the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs,” March 8, 1946, AH 001-012049-0002, file 50102337. (此次對日抗戰八年之久, 我軍政各界不乏慷慨死節、從容就義之士, 為國家伸正義、增光榮, 惟以本席所聞不僅此也, 各地人民自動與敵奮鬥多有壯烈事實, 此種愛國心所表現, 實五千年文化之結晶, 非流亡避難與食祿死事者所可比擬。現在宣告勝利, 政府屢褒恤有功及死事之官吏, 而窮鄉僻壤忠義之人民尚無特別條例為之褒揚, 似未公允, 況我國前途尤有賴於忠義人民穩固國基, 褒揚已往, 可勵將來, 為此擬一褒忠條例, 請鑒核後, 提交院會公決施行, 裨益非淺。)

them to the Ministry of Interior Affairs for approval, or the pertinent office for approval. Neighbors or fellow villagers of those who were entitled to commendation or fair-minded members of the gentry who were well informed of the heroic deeds likewise should collectively inform their local government. Local governments were responsible of forwarding their petitions to the provincial and national authorities for commendation. For those who received commendations, besides reward certificates, if necessary, they would also receive reward stipends or compensation allowances. The mentioned reward stipends and compensation allowances would be taken out from the national treasury. There were however no specificities regarding the amount of gratuity. In the majority of cases, the National Government did not give monetary awards.

The Henan Provincial Government petitioned the National Government to commend Feng Rongyao 馮榮耀, a district head and detachment leader of Yiyang 宜陽 County militia. The petition, which was composed by the Yiyang County Government, presented a detailed narrative about Feng's military leadership. After being surrounded and shot by the Japanese, Feng reportedly said, "You must try to kill the enemy and defend every inch of our homeland" (*nuli sha di cuntu bishou* 努力殺敵寸土必守). The Ministry of the Interior and the Executive Yuan addressed the petition. The Ministry of the Interior proposed to apply Article 1 Clauses 1, 3, and 4 of the "Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones" to Feng's case.⁷²⁷ Since Feng was not an appointed civil servant, the Ministry of the Interior recommended using the survey form used for requesting gratuities for officers and soldiers (*guanbing qingxu diaochabiao* 官兵請卹調查表) and the survey form for servicemembers on active duty (*xianyi junren diaochabiao* 現役軍人戶籍調查表). Accordingly, Feng's death was treated as that of a commissioned combatant. The Executive Yuan under Song Ziwen however proposed to apply Article 1 Clauses 2 and 7 of the "Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs" to Feng's case.⁷²⁸ The Executive Yuan suggested awarding his family with a special gratuity of 20,000 *yuan* and a commemorative plaque according to Article 2, Clause 2 and Article 5 of the same regulations.⁷²⁹ It appeared that the National Government instead awarded him with a plaque inscribed with "Defending for the Homeland and Achieving Martyrdom" (*shoutu chengren* 守土成仁).⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ Article 1: During the resistance against foreign invasion, civil and military officers and civilians who fall into one of the following categories shall be compensated according to the regulations except otherwise stipulated in laws; Clause 1: Those who exert their utmost in protecting the homeland in order to save a critical situation; Clause 3: Those who die due to protecting the homeland; Clause 4: Those who burn their houses to protect the homeland.

⁷²⁸ Article 1: Regardless of being a serviceman or civilian, anyone who resisted foreign enemies shall be commended Clause 2: Those that exerted themselves in protecting the homeland and with extraordinary bravery and loyalty; Clause 7: Those who protected the homeland and as a result were injured or killed.

⁷²⁹ "Executive Yuan to National Government," July 15, 1946, AH 001-036180-0006, file 50009580.

⁷³⁰ "National Government's draft decree," September 24, 1946, AH 001-036180-0006, file 50009581.

In the case of the chairman of the Bureau of Health in Beiping Xie Zhenping 謝振平, who died after being captured by the Japanese, the Executive Yuan suggested awarding him 30,000 *yuan* as compensation.⁷³¹ The National Government awarded Xie with a plaque inscribed with “Devoted and Loyal” (*kexiao zhongzhen* 克效忠貞).⁷³² It is not possible to find the complete statistics. Out of 18 compensation cases that involved 27 people submitted to the National Government from May to December 1946,⁷³³ only one case (two people) was awarded with 100,000 *yuan*. The case was of a father and son, Shi Yuting 史玉亭 and Shi Xuzhen 史儒珍, who led local troops in a number of battles against the Japanese and were killed in their last one.⁷³⁴ Out of 15 cases that involved 22 people submitted to the National Government from December 1946 to February 1948, none was given a monetary award.⁷³⁵

There were a large number of cases of women who committed suicide to avoid the Japanese. These women were not awarded according to the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs,” but Article 1, Clause 1 of the 1931 Commendation Regulations, “moral behaviors of extraordinary quality.” This is illustrated by the cases of female schoolteachers that I present above.

The Nationalist government included overseas Chinese into its pantheon of martyrs. In 1946, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (*Haiwai qiao wu* 海外僑務) reported that three Party members in the Philippines, Zhan Mengshan 詹孟杉, Wu Binqiu 吳濱秋, Su Caian 蘇才安, were imprisoned by the Japanese for their anti-Japanese activities. Their bodies were weakened from torture, and they died soon after being released. The Ministry of the Interior examined their cases and concluded that the three men “died for the nation” (*weiguo juanqu* 為國捐軀) and should be commemorated according to the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs.” The Executive Yuan agreed with this assessment, and petitioned the National Government to grant them enshrinement as martyrs and commemorative tablets.⁷³⁶

The 1946 “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs” specified that military staff and civilians qualified as martyrs would be honored with certificates and plaques and enshrinement in the local Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine.⁷³⁷ These regulations promulgated during the War of Resistance further demonstrate how death was “democratized,” as civilians being

⁷³¹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” August 15, 1946, AH 001-036180-0006, file 50009582.

⁷³² “National Government’s draft decree,” September 24, 1946, AH 001-036180-0006, file 50009583.

⁷³³ These cases are from AH 001-036180-0005 and Ah 001-036180-0006.

⁷³⁴ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” November 20, 1946, AH 001-036180-0006, file 50009596.

⁷³⁵ These cases are from AH 001-036180-0007.

⁷³⁶ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” June 21, 1946, AH 001-036000-0156, file 50009036.

⁷³⁷ “Legislative Yuan to National Government: Promulgating the “Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs,” March 8, 1946, AH 001-012049-0002, file 50102337.

included as participants and supporters no matter how reluctantly. This *democratization* of death signaled the beginning of people's war in China and other nations.

In 1946, Zhongshan University petitioned to compensate two teachers, a 58-year-old Wei Zisong 衛梓松 and 40-year-old Lu Xingyan 陸興燄, who taught at the university-owned middle school. In addition to petition letters, Zhongshan University completed a survey form for each teacher. According to the petition, Wei committed suicide by poison when the Japanese invaded Shanghai. Lu was shot dead by the Japanese. Both Wei Zisong and Lu Xingyan were considered “to die while on official duty,” and thus were compensated according to Article 2 Clause 3 of the “Compensation Regulations for Schoolteachers.” Wei's family was given an annual gratuity of 99,000 *yuan*, which was 55 percent of Wei's nine-month salary and living stipend (*shenghuo buzhu fei* 生活補助費) at the time of his death.⁷³⁸ Lu Xingyan's family would receive an annual gratuity of 45,4392 *yuan*, which was calculated as 30 percent of Lu's ten-month salary and living stipend.⁷³⁹ The percentage was based on the years that each had worked. The National Government approved both compensation cases.⁷⁴⁰

There were other factors that determined the compensation for martyred schoolteachers. In the case of a female teacher Li Minghui 李明輝, who committed suicide by jumping into a river to avoid the Japanese, her family did not receive a gratuity. Unlike the Wei Zisong and Lu Xingyan, who were affiliated with a major municipal university, Li Minghui taught at a county school in Henan. Her biography traveled from the lowest extra-bureaucratic authorities (the *bao-jia*) to the highest-level office (the National Government). The local *bao-jia* captains compiled Li's biography from eyewitnesses, and petitioned the county's education bureau, which forwarded it to the province's Department of Education. The provincial government then sent the petition to the Ministry of the Interior, which submitted it to the Executive Yuan. The Executive Yuan recommended the commendation and sought approval from the National Government. The petition took four months to reach the highest authority. The petition from the *bao-jia* captains described her as being a chaste and refined (*zhenshu* 貞淑) woman with “superior conduct and knowledge” (*jianyou pinxue* 兼優品學). In September 1939, the Japanese entered the county. Li became pregnant and returned to her husband's village. The Japanese burned the village, killed farm animals, and raped the women. Li, heavily pregnant, could not run fast. Unwilling to be disgraced, Li committed suicide. Li, “at the moment of between life and death, ground her teeth and cursed the bandits” (*dang xunnan zhi ji yaochi mazei* 當殉難之際咬齒罵賊). Because Li died while on leave, the local leaders petitioned for her case based on the 1931 “Commendation Regulations,” instead of the 1938 “Special Measures to Compensate Teaching Staff Wounded or Died While Protecting the Homeland during Wartime.” Although both Lu Xingyan and Li Minghui committed suicide, the former was deemed to have died while on official duty and the latter for chastity. In fact, the same expression was used at all levels of authorities. The local

⁷³⁸ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” October 29, 1946, AH 001-036000-0156, file 50009039.

⁷³⁹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” November 28, 1946, AH 001-036000-0156, file 50009041.

⁷⁴⁰ “National Government's draft decree,” November 4, 1946, AH 001-036000-0156, file 5000940; “National Government's draft decree,” December 6, 1946, AH 001-036000-0156, file 5000942. There are ten other cases in AH 001-036000-0156.

leaders praised her for “dying as a martyr” (*zhuanglie xunnan* 壯烈殉難). The Henan Provincial Government commended her for “unyieldingly guarding her chastity” (*kangjie buqu* 抗節不屈) and “dying for a cause” (*shashen chengren* 殺身成仁).⁷⁴¹ The Executive Yuan praised her for “keeping her chastity intact” (*wan zhen* 完貞). The National Government awarded her with a plaque inscribed with “Long-lasting Chastity and Loyalty” (*zhenlie liufang* 貞烈流芳).⁷⁴²

Another female schoolteacher from Hubei, Lai Jiaqi 來家祺, from Jiangling 江陵 County, Hubei, was shot dead by the Japanese while resisting and cursing them. Lai was also awarded with a plaque inscribed with “Upright Spirit of the Southwest” (*kunwei xinqi* 坤維正氣).⁷⁴³

Death Caused by Illness due to Relentless Work

“Illness leading to death due to relentless work” is a puzzling category that calls for further examination. According to the 1940 “Provisional Measures to Compensate and Dispense Burial Expenses to Militarily Recruited Workers Wounded and Fallen during Wartime,” those who “contracted illness due to overwork leading to death” would be given 300-*yuan* gratuity and 100-*yuan* burial fee. Those who died while on official duty would be given 400-*yuan* gratuity and 100-*yuan* burial fee. The 1943 “Regulations for Compensating Hired Workers for Public Service during Wartime” stipulated two circumstances qualifying recipients to receive gratuities: illness from overexertion leading to death (a one-time gratuity equivalent of four months of salary) and death while on duty (a one-time gratuity equivalent of 14 months of salary). The 1944 “Compensation Regulations for Civil Servants” stipulated five circumstances: (1) “danger generated from conducting business leading to death”; (2) “overexertion due to work in the office leading to illness and death”; (3) “while on official business, encountering danger or falling ill, which leads to death”; (4) “while at work, encountering unexpected danger leading to death”; (5) “during extraordinary time, encountering unexpected danger while in office, leading to death.” The significance of this category, death caused by illness due to overexertion, lies in the implication that one was supposed to devote to the nation. The nation is many ways similar to the church, dictating both life and death.

“Death by overexertion” category covers various circumstances, from heart disease and lung disease to mental illness. The most common illness was tuberculosis, which was viewed as infecting the weakened body. While some scholars argue that tuberculosis was constructed as a disease caused by unhygienic practices specific to the Chinese family and society,⁷⁴⁴ the below examples show that tuberculosis was also viewed as a disease of dedicated citizens. The body was consumed by duty to the nation. Even though there was some mentioning of the bacteria, the

⁷⁴¹ “Executive Yuan to National Government, including petition from Pingjiang County, Henan,” July 17, 1940, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009543.

⁷⁴² “National Government’s draft decree,” July 24, 1940, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009544.

⁷⁴³ “Executive Yuan to National Government, including petition from Jiangling County, Sichuan,” March 10, 1941, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009545; “National Government’s draft decree,” March 19, 1941, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009546.

⁷⁴⁴ Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “Habituating Individuality: The Framing of Tuberculosis and Its Material Solutions in Republican China,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 84 (2010): 248-79.

primal cause of contracting the disease was still “overexertion.” While research on tuberculosis in the early twentieth century shows that people who worked mostly indoors in crowded environment (professionals and artisans, for example) were likely to contract tuberculosis,⁷⁴⁵ the cases presented above were of servicemembers and patrolmen, who worked outside.

A 51-year-old army soldier named Lin Huanqing from Nanhai, Guangzhou died from “dysentery in the large intestine” (*dachang xiali* 大腸下痢) and “sores in the buttocks” (*tunbu sheng chuang* 臀部聲瘡). He was first treated with Chinese medicine, and then with Western medicine after sores began to appear. Within less than a month, he died.⁷⁴⁶ Qu Guoliang 區國樑, a 40-year-old army captain, came down with dysentery and a heart disease (*xinbing* 心病). After over a month of being treated with acupuncture and Chinese medicine, he died.⁷⁴⁷ Chen Tong 陳彤, a 32-year-old major in the Special Force (*tewutuan* 特務團) was infected with *mycobacterium tuberculosis* (*fejiehe ganjun* 肺結核桿菌). He was administered fish liver oil (*yugan you* 魚肝油) and doses of cough suppression (*zhenke ji* 鎮咳劑), and injected with glucose calcium (*putaotang suan gai* 葡萄糖酸鈣). The cause of death was listed as “mental debilitation leading to paralysis and subsequent death” (*xinli shuairuo er zhi mabi er si* 心理衰弱而致麻痺而死).⁷⁴⁸ Lü Zhenbang 呂振邦, a second-rank lieutenant, died from pulmonary disease (*feibing* 肺病) after a few months of ineffective Chinese medicinal treatment.⁷⁴⁹ Luo Rongxun, sergeant, overexerted at work (*jilao guodu* 積勞過渡) and developed ulcers all over his limbs (*sizhi nong yang* 四肢濃瘍). He was hospitalized for three weeks in both Western and Chinese hospitals, yet did not survive.⁷⁵⁰

A Lieutenant Colonel named Zeng Kai 曾凱 exerted himself while on duty, leading to the weakening of his body. He contracted both tuberculosis and diabetes. After receiving symptomatic treatment (*duzheng zhiliao* 對症治療), the diseases did not subside.⁷⁵¹ 26-year-old lieutenant Lin Zhaohai 林兆海 “developed tuberculosis from overwork.”⁷⁵² He was treated symptomatically using medicine for cough suppression and fever reduction to no avail. Yet, he “coughed intensely, lost a lot of blood, his body wasted away, and his mental state declined, leading to death.”⁷⁵³ Lin Huanqing, Qu Guoliang, Lü Zhenbang, Chen Tong, and Luo Rongxun

⁷⁴⁵ Zhang Yixia and Mark Elvin, “Environment and Tuberculosis in Modern China,” in *Sediments of Time: Environment and Society in Chinese History*, ed. Mark Elvin and Ts’ui Liu, 520-543 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷⁴⁶ Lin Huanqing case, November 7, 1942, SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁴⁷ Qu Guoliang case, March 1943, SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁴⁸ Chen Tong case, May 15, 1944, SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁴⁹ Lu Zhenbang case, 1943. SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁵⁰ Lü Rongxun case, July 19, 1943, SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁵¹ Zeng Kai case, August 2, 1943, SHA 6-2002-1454.

⁷⁵² (染病甚久因積勞病故)

⁷⁵³ Lin Zhaohai case, March 29, 1944, SHA 6-2002-1454. (咳嗽強劇咯血全身削瘦心力衰弱而死)

were deemed to not have special achievements in their military careers. They were given one-time payments. Zeng Kai and Lin Zhaohai were more distinguished in their service and were rewarded with both one-time payments and annual gratuities for five years.

In December 1940, a Mr. Wang Boxiang 王伯鄉 from Sichuan petitioned for his son Wang Jiyun 王集雲, a government official. Mr. Wang's petition was composed by a representative guaranteed with a personal chop of a *jia* captain. Mr. Wang, an illiterate farmer, had four sons. The eldest was disabled. The second and third sons had died. The youngest son, Jiyun, joined the air defense corps in Sichuan and suffered from a knee injury due to the Japanese bombing. After recovering, Jiyun worked for the Economic Bureau (*Jingji bu* 經濟部) located inside the Big Buddha Temple (大佛寺). Before long, a bomb fell close to the temple, causing Jiyun to suffer severe distress. The bomb did not hit him, yet the strength of the vibration caused his "spirits to scatter" (*hundun yi shi* 魂膽已失) and "impeded his speech capacity" (*kou ya bu yan* 口啞不言). Jiyun nonetheless continued exerting himself day and night, causing the internal wound to exacerbate. Finally, his illness forced him to quit working at the Bureau. On the journey home, Jiyun died. Mr. Wang's petition was approved.⁷⁵⁴

A man named Mao Shouyi 毛壽頤 petitioned for his father Mao Hezhuan 毛鶴傳 who exerted himself as a patrol policeman. Exposed to inclement weather for long, he died. On January 21, 1943, Hezhuan was assigned to a night patrol from midnight to six o'clock in the midst of snow and cold wind. Mr. Mao did not pay attention to his declining health and was soaked when he finally finished his night duty. He developed a fever and was treated with Chinese medicine. The East Asia Hospital diagnosed him with "illness entering vital organs due to long-term exertion" (*jilao yijiu bing ru gaohuang* 積勞已久病入膏肓). The hospital therefore concluded that the medicine was ineffective (*yi yao gang xiao* 醫藥罔效). Hezhuan's death happened three days after his exposure to the elements. Hezhuan's father at 60 years old, hearing the sad news, was inconsolable to the point of losing his eyesight and then his life. The uncles and brothers "cried to heavens, not knowing what to do with their accumulating misfortunes." The family was "impoverished and completely unraveled from the two untimely deaths."⁷⁵⁵ The petitioner Shouyi requested compensation according to the 1942 "Compensation Policy for Police Officers and Officials." Though Hezhuan's death was considered duty-related (he caught a cold while patrolling), the Ministry of the Interior recommended that the Executive Yuan compensate the Mao family according to Article 9, Clause 1.⁷⁵⁶ The Mao family would be entitled to a one-time payment equivalent to three months of Mao Hezhuan's salary since he had served for just over three years.

War Narratives and Graphics

⁷⁵⁴ "Wang Boxiang's petition to the Economic Bureau," December 10, 1940, CMA 20-8-2, 168.

⁷⁵⁵ "Ministry of the Interior to the Executive Yuan" (Wang Jingwei's government), May 18, 1943, SHA 1-2003-218.

⁷⁵⁶ "Regulations for Compensating Police Officers and Officials" (Wang Jingwei's government), April 28, 1942, SHA 1-2003-35.

Most striking example was biographies accompanied by photographs. For example, the *Photographs of Xinhai Martyrs from Shandong Province* (*Xinhai geming shiqi Shandong Sinan lieshi yizhao* 辛亥革命時期山東死難烈士遺照) contained many photographs staged and taken in a studio, either head shots or in the portrait style of men in uniform (the photograph on the left).⁷⁵⁷ A few however were as gruesome as the photograph on the right showing a martyr named Sun Dingchen on a makeshift frame made up of two chairs and a plank. The body was likely covered in mud, gunpowder, and dried blood. His face was not visible. It is impossible to identify him visually. The shroud covering his body was temporarily pulled away for the photograph to be taken. Part of the burial garment was somehow caught on his fingers in *rigor mortis*. Two inscriptions provided the background. Martyr Sun Dingchen was in his state of death (*si zhuang* 死狀), whose body was being prepared for burial by his university. Photography and printing captured, preserved, and distributes images of death.⁷⁵⁸



Fig. 6-10: (Left) Portrait of Unknown Martyr. From SHA 1-711-268. Undated

Fig. 6-11: (Right) Photograph of Martyr Sun Dingchen 孫鼎臣. From SHA 1-711-268. Undated

The *Zhenglu Weekly* 正路週刊, a periodical that supported the right-wing alliance within the Nationalist Party,⁷⁵⁹ published a special issue on the November 22 Massacre in 1927.⁷⁶⁰ One

⁷⁵⁷ SHA 1-711-268.

⁷⁵⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador, 2001); Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010).

⁷⁵⁹ The cover printed two slogans: “Extinguish the Chinese Communist Party” (撲滅中國共產黨) and “Eradicate the Western Hills Faction” (剷除西山會議派).

⁷⁶⁰ *Zhenglu Weekly* 正路週刊 4 (1927), the fourth page from the front cover to the tenth page

page shows two angles of Deng Tingchen 鄧廷楨 lying dead on the ground. Another page shows two men in two separate frames, Fan Shilin 范士林 and one surnamed Yuan 袁. Fan was shown lying on a wooden frame with his jacket opened and his right arm dangle on the side. One could not mistake him for sleeping because there was no pillow under his head. Yuan on the other hand seemed to be alive in a hospital bed. His right arm was placed on his chest. His blanket was pulled back to show his injured left leg. However, he was looking away from the camera. By not looking at the audience, he called more attention to his wounded leg. There are ten pages of such photographs. Instead of posing of the dead as having an eternal peaceful rest, photographers emphasized the imprint of violent departures on the bodies and expressions of young men.

A number of commemorative volumes were produced by various organizations during wartime. For example, the Guangdong All-Walks-of-Life Commemoration Committee printed the *Special Issue to Mourn Air Force Patriotic Martyrs (Zhuidao kongjun xunguo lieshi tekan 追悼空軍殉國烈士特刊)* in 1938.⁷⁶¹ The Shanxi Province's All-Walks-of-Life printed the *Special Issue of Fallen Cadre and Education Corps in Baoshan (Ganbu jiaoyu zong duituan Baoshan zhenwang 幹部教育總隊團寶山陣亡將士紀念專刊)* in 1939.⁷⁶² The *Commemorative Volume of Fallen Officers and Soldiers of the Fifth Army in Guinan Kunlun (Lujun di wu jun Guinan Kunlun guan zhanyi zhenwang jiangshi zhuidao dahui jinian ce 陸軍第五軍桂南崑崙關戰役陣亡將士追悼大會紀念冊)* was printed in 1940.⁷⁶³

Individuals also printed commemorative volumes. For example, five sons printed a ten-page pamphlet of their martyred father's biography, entitled *Dying-for-the-Nation Tale of Martyr Liu Lin from Qingjiang (清江劉烈士霖殉國事略)*. Liu Lin 劉霖 (1870-1916) came from Qingjiang County in Jiangxi. After graduating from Jiangxi Excellent Grade Normal University, he became an education staff of the provincial council in Nanchang. He became involved in revolutionary activities and opposed both the Qing and Yuan Shikai governments. Liu Lin held various posts in local party branches and organized armed resistance against the Beiyang government. He was then captured and executed in 1916. He was 47 years old. His family was awarded the highest-level one-time gratuity of 1,000 *yuan* according to Article 6, Clause 2 and Article 7, Clause 2.⁷⁶⁴ Liu Lin's children might have collected and compiled information. The pamphlet was likely printed and distributed by the five sons to commemorate their father's death anniversary. This showed that not only the government, but also individuals, were involved in the production of tales of martyrdom.

The 1938 "Regulations for Rewarding Homeland-Protecting Civilians in War Zones"⁷⁶⁵ and the 1946 "Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs" expanded compensation

(unnumbered in the periodical).

⁷⁶¹ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 13, 291-346.

⁷⁶² Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 13, 347-480.

⁷⁶³ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 13, 481-596.

⁷⁶⁴ SHA 1-34-1561.

⁷⁶⁵ Supreme Defense Council (*Guofang zuigao huiyi*) to National Government: "Regulations for Rewarding Homeland-Protecting Civilians in War Zones," March 22, 1938; file 50102254, Legislative Yuan to National Government: "revised regulations," April 15, 1944 (date of

and enshrinement to wounded and fallen civilians who organized military resistance against the Japanese. Protecting the nation was now the responsibility of the general population. From local organizations (same-village associations (*tongxianghui* 同鄉會) and *bao-jia* leadership) to municipal and provincial governments submitted narratives of heroic defiance to the National Government, requesting commendation. Furthermore, with its increased capacity and technology, the state systematically and efficiently collected and crafted biographies of the loyal dead, furthering its rhetoric of war death as the worthiest sacrifice of body and spirit for the nation.

In many instances, the local authorities used tales of martyrdom that took place in their jurisdiction to appeal for support from the National Government. In 1941, the Shanxi Provincial Government requested financial assistance for the village in Wanquan 萬泉 County, Shanxi, where a mother and daughter courageously died at the hands of the Japanese invaders. The petition went into great detail about how the daughter cursed the Japanese and angered them. They tied her up and burned her alive. Unable to bear seeing her daughter die, the mother threw herself into the fire. Such acts turned the villagers to tears and their anti-Japanese sentiments surged. The petitioner thereupon requested that the National Government commend the two women and also allocate funds to relieve the attacked village in order to “win over the people’s hearts” (*zhengju renxin* 振取人心).⁷⁶⁶ There was no indication of relief, yet the National Government honored the two women with a plaque inscribed with “Loyal and Chaste” (*zhongzhen jielie* 忠貞節烈).⁷⁶⁷ The central government was in exile in Sichuan and under heavy bombardment from the Japanese air force.

The two volumes of *Compilations of Outstandingly Courageous Servicemembers and Civilians during the War of Resistance* (*Kangzhan teshu zhongyong jun min timinglu* 抗戰特殊忠勇軍民題名錄) were compiled by the Political Department of the National Government’s Military Affairs Commission.⁷⁶⁸ These lists contain names and brief narratives of courageous acts. Most of them included those who were killed by the enemy, and others were about tales of capturing enemies or collecting war spoils. The first compilation was printed in January 1941. It was organized into three groups: combatants, officials, and common people. In the first group, there were biographies of 318 officers and soldiers (*jiangshi*). The names were organized by war zones, instead of by home provinces and counties. The second group includes 18 administrative and supervisory officials (*xingzheng ducha zhuan yuan* 行政督察專員), county magistrates (*xianzhang* 縣長), community instructional officials (*she xun jiaoguan* 社訓教官), and political staff (*zhengzhi gongzuo renyuan* 政治工作人員). The third group includes biographies of 37 “common people” (*minzhong* 民眾). The second compilation was printed in 1943. It was divided into military (439 record cards) and civilian (34 record cards). In addition, the volume contains one civilian and 12 military collective biographies.

announcement: March 30, 1945), AH 001-012047-0021, file 50102249.

⁷⁶⁶ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” June 24, 1941, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009549.

⁷⁶⁷ “National Government’s draft decree,” June 28, 1941, AH 001-036180-0005, file 50009550.

⁷⁶⁸ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 10, 233-626, and Vol. 11, 1-438.

Distinct narratives of martyrdom, sacrifice, and loyalty in petitions yielded to standardized forms with set phrases. For example, an entry from the *Compilations of Outstandingly Courageous Servicemembers and Civilians during the War of Resistance* contains two biographies of a villager and a student. An elderly villager from the Zhou clan was taking shelter in the ancestral temple when the enemy arrived and burned it down. Zhou exclaimed: “My head can be cut off, yet it cannot be dishonored.” He resisted the enemy’s order to work and was shot dead. A 14-year-old student refused to lead the way for the enemies. He yelled, “Long live China!” while being stabbed to death. Both were recognized as martyrs at the national level and their families awarded compensation.⁷⁶⁹ A university student, called Zhao Zhishan 趙至善 from Shanxi, was martyred in 1939. His last words were, “I am a Chinese man (*Zhongguo ren*). I am not a traitor (*Han jian* 漢奸). I will not be a slave of a subjugated nation (*wangguo nu* 亡國奴). I protest the dwarf bandits! (*Fandui wokou* 反對倭寇) Down with the dwarf bandits! (*Dadao wokou* 打到倭寇).” With such derogatory words, he angered the Japanese soldiers, who took out their swords and stabbed Zhao indiscriminately.⁷⁷⁰

Some biographies portrayed ideal civilians as supporters of war and defenders of the cause even when facing violent demise. For instance, a peasant (*nongmin* 農民) named Zheng QiuJun 鄭求君 from Jiangu’s Gaoan County, hating the enemy’s brutality (*hen diren canbao* 恨敵人殘暴), voluntarily (*zidong* 自動) joined the 51st division. Zheng showed the way for the Chinese troops to get behind the enemy line and helped kill over 200 enemy soldiers.⁷⁷¹ Another peasant named Zhang Quanshen 張全申, who informed the Nationalist troops about the enemy’s movements in the village. He was captured, and then tortured for sensitive information about the Chinese troops. He was killed for not divulging any intelligence to the Japanese.⁷⁷² The war rhetorically incorporated the peasantry into the nation-state.

Many of these biographies of civilians portrayed them as being awakened to the political cause of the Nationalist government and subsequently joining the war effort. Sun Futang, head of a manor (*zhuang* 莊), was coerced by the Japanese to inform on the Chinese encampments. Yet, he was someone with “profound consciousness of the righteous cause” (*shenming dayi* 深明大義). Sun turned against the Japanese captors and provided intelligence of Japanese movements to the Chinese troops instead. While leading the way for the Chinese army, he was killed by aerial bombing.⁷⁷³ A 47-year-old cook (*chufu* 廚夫) from Shandong, armed with his kitchen knives,

⁷⁶⁹ *Kangzhan teshu zhongyong jun min timinglu: diyi ji, diyi ji* 抗戰特殊忠勇軍民題名錄：第二輯 (*List of Outstandingly Courageous Servicemembers and Civilians during the War of Resistance, Second Compilation*), 381 (reprinted in Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 11).

⁷⁷⁰ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 10, 596.

⁷⁷¹ *Kangzhan teshu zhongyong jun min timinglu: diyi ji* 抗戰特殊忠勇軍民題名錄：第一輯 (*Compilations of Outstandingly Courageous Servicemembers and Civilians during the War of Resistance*), 375, printed in Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 10, 623.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 589.

⁷⁷³ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 11, 418.

entered the enemy's encampments and slaughtered seven of them. Later, he joined the 81st Division trying to capture the enemy's weapons. Caught in the crossfire, he was killed.⁷⁷⁴

Some biographies portrayed involvement in the war effort in the capacity of family members of servicemembers. A man named Wang Guozheng 王國正, who was from a village in Henan and of "moderate wealth" (*xiaokang* 小康), sent four sons and a grandson into military service. Being moderately well-off meant that Wang did not really have to force his many sons into military service out of necessity or for survival. A career in the military was a choice for Wang's sons. The first son was severely injured by explosives, the second and the fourth were killed in action, and the third was wounded in the head. The government awarded Wang Guozheng with the plaque that reads "A Loyal Household."⁷⁷⁵ Another father donated the gratuity that he received for his son's death to the war effort.⁷⁷⁶ The underlying implication was that the father selflessly donated the child's life to the nation without expecting anything in return. Other fathers were killed as the result of having sons in the Chinese military. Despite being threatened by the Japanese, a man from Hubei refused to persuade his son, a guerrilla in the Chinese army, to surrender. The father's subsequent death at the enemy's hands "emboldened his son to kill more enemy soldiers." The father, indirectly sacrificing his life for the nation, was praised for "vehemently dying as a martyr" (*kangkai jiuyi* 慷慨就義) and for manifesting "exemplary martyrdom" (*zhuanglie kefeng* 壯烈可風).⁷⁷⁷ This was a new development. In the 1920s, Nationalist government did not approve the petition of two Nationalist Party members whose father was killed by the communists (See Chapter 4). In the 1940s, the Nationalist government eagerly commemorated these fathers executed for having their sons fighting the Japanese.

Women were represented as contributing to the War of Resistance in the role of mothers. Women were no longer just petitioners on behalf of their male relatives and their heirs (as discussed in Chapter 5), but they could also become martyrs. In a biography titled, "A virtuous mother from the house of Hu deeply conscious of the righteous cause" (*Humen xianmu shenming dayi* 胡門賢母深明大義), Mrs. Hu *née* Li refused to persuade her son to surrender to the Japanese. Mrs. Hu had a son, who was a Private First Class in the Chinese Army. The enemy arrested her and forced her to persuade her son to betray the nation. She did not comply and was killed in June 1942. In peril, Mrs. Hu remained calm (*congrong* 從容) and displayed awe-inspiring fortitude (*dayi bingran* 大義凜然). The committee chief, who recorded her story, petitioned for Mrs. Hu to be awarded with a plaque commemorating her "exemplary loyalty and chastity" (*zhongjie kefeng* 忠節可風),⁷⁷⁸ which was also a commendation reserved for chaste widows.⁷⁷⁹

Even children were portrayed as participants in the war effort. According to a biography, when a nine-year-old boy from a town in Hunan encountered a 300-strong Japanese detachment

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., 419.

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 416.

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., 420.

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., 427.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., 436.

⁷⁷⁹ Theiss, *Disgraceful Matters*, 217.

in 1941, he bravely yelled, “Down with the Japanese imperialism! Long live the Republic of China!” He intentionally angered the Japanese and was subsequently shot.⁷⁸⁰ Such tales of precocious nationalism indicated that families and communities fostered and instilled patriotism in the younger generation. They might as well imply that nationalist sentiment and hatred for foreign invaders are innate. From both perspectives, children were not lamented as innocent victims, yet celebrated as active contributors to the war. Encouraging perilous and futile displays of resistance bespoke the nature of nationalism as a religiosity. These snapshots of lives were what the state instructed its citizens to act during wartime: contributing to the war effort in various capacities, whether by supporting the military, voicing their hatred for the enemy, or actively taking up arms.

Conclusion

The war engulfed and consumed China. As a way of coping the mass death, the state created various organizations to manage the information about death. In the imperial era, civilian deaths were not of the government’s concern. However, as the Nationalists sought to rely on the general population for carrying on the resistance against the Japanese, civilian deaths generated vital information to demonstrate the extent of destruction, to broadcast the expected sacrifices of the ideal citizen, and to ensure the proper compensation. There were multiple offices to keep records and compile biographies of the war dead, each focusing on some facets of the posthumous identities. The government categorized the dead in terms of economic background, education level, native county, age, gender, family members, etc. The bureaucratic desire to classify the living is intrinsic to the state for revenue. The bureaucratic desire to classify the dead is intrinsic to the modern state for information. It is the desire to gather information for the sake of gathering information. Such desire could not be fulfilled by the bureaucratic structure, especially during the most disastrous war of human history. The government records only contained a small fraction of real casualties, and the biographies reflected a small, and perhaps not at all representative, fraction of confrontation between Japanese soldiers and Chinese civilians. Deaths were politicized. Even for the civil bureaucrats, their deaths due to illness or disease were viewed as consequences of their dedication to the nation at war. The bodies were politicized as evidenced in photographs of corpses. Furthermore, the glorification of acts of defiance by old men, women, and children leading to gruesome deaths legitimized civilians as participants of war. Consequently, beyond “collateral damage,” civilians became potential threats to be eradicated.

⁷⁸⁰ Li Qiang and Ren Zhen, *Materials on Fallen Officers and Soldiers*, Vol. 11, 415.

Chapter 7

A Shrine in Every County

A visitor to any major town or village in twentieth-century Europe would encounter a *monument aux morts* built within the French tradition of suffering and sacrifice, a war memorial permeated with the ambiguous subject of remembrance in Britain, or a *Kriegerdenkmal* commemorating more than just the loss of life in Germany and Austria.⁷⁸¹ A visitor to southeastern China around the same time would find in many counties a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine (*zhonglie ci*) with the names of martyrs carved on wooden tablets, sacrificial meats on the altar, and clay statues of ancient heroes in the corner, all of which were to manifest nationalism, party loyalty, and traditional reverence for the spirits. In the first half of the twentieth century, China's war memorialization continued to employ traditional modes of commemoration and the universal reverence for the dead. Unlike how the "Second World War helped put an end to the rich set of traditional languages of commemoration and mourning which flourished after the Great War,"⁷⁸² Chinese leaders read elegies and fed the war dead in the same manner as what had been for thousands of years.⁷⁸³ China, being semi-colonized, did not overhaul its cultural system, but constructed a cultural past with mythical heroes and appropriated imperial symbols to display alongside its own martyrs.⁷⁸⁴

With conflicts raging on many fronts, the Nationalists mobilized the spirits of the dead in the struggle for control and legitimacy. Furthermore, it was increasingly different for individuals and non-state organizations to care for the dead. This chapter explicates ideologies and political circumstances of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines from 1937-1949, focusing on how local authorities implemented the Nationalist government's regulations. Besides numbers, I evaluate the effectiveness of these shrines in creating new ideals of citizenship and in gaining allegiance from contested territories. The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine conversion project demonstrates how the Nationalists gained significant ground in establishing itself as the legitimate government. Although local governments did not faithfully follow the central government's policies, by the early 1940s, many had picked from the multitude of temples, shrines, and pagodas constructed locally during the imperial millennia to convert into Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The Communist and the Japanese threats, conflicts, and outrageous inflation however hindered the construction and conversion of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The Republican-era Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were repurposed or destroyed during the Civil War and even more so after the Communist takeover. While the vast majority of these shrines did not survive, the rhetoric of loyalty and sacrifice underlying their establishment had a lasting impact on the Chinese modern state.

⁷⁸¹ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78.

⁷⁸² Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 9.

⁷⁸³ The *Zuozhuan* mentions that even ghosts need to be fed. See Mu-chou Poo, ed. *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 238.

⁷⁸⁴ Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 4-5.

Continuing the discussion in the previous chapter, I maintain that the Japanese invasion and the Nationalist-Communist conflict spurred the Republican government to expand its capacity for total mobilization, and thus necessitated the effort to collect detailed information about the population, to rally the citizenry by making the war dead visible to the public, and to turn communities into a training ground of patriotism. This chapter continues to address the question of the extent to which the new religiosity of nationalism came at the cost of existing religiosities. On the one hand, we may conceive of significance in death as zero-sum, that is, by triumphing death for the nation as the only honorable and meaningful way of dying, the state deprived other belief systems of their function in providing meanings to unfathomable destruction of human lives. On the other hand, I argue that the “secularized” form of memorialization was only a form of public performance, and thus it could not eliminate other religiosities as lived experience. In fact, people countered the singularity of commemoration in their own ways of remembering the dead.

Surveys of County Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines

Throughout their history, the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines remained a critical feature of the republic. A shrine to political martyrs was critical to the legitimacy of each government domestically and internationally. As discussed in Chapter 1, beginning in the High Qing, war heroes were enshrined at the seat of the government. As examined in Chapter 2, Guangzhou secured significant footing in the late 1910s and early 1920s by burying the 72 Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs of the April 27, 1911 uprising in a grandiose memorial park. Chapter 3 focused on how the Nationalists buried its Northern Expedition Soldiers and Sun Yat-sen at Purple Mountain in Nanjing. In this chapter, I examine how the county-level Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine campaign turned out to be reasonably successful given the intensification of war and the Nationalist Party having only nominal control over most provinces. Hundreds of counties allocated places to function as Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and organized annual ceremonies as required by the central government. Out of the complying counties, most converted parts or the whole of an existing temple to be a space for spirit tablets of their county’s martyrs. Only a few Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines were constructed anew. The major reasons for the lack of shrine are finance and wartime destruction. Many counties admitted that they neither had the fund to build ones nor converted existing structures into shrines. Other counties claimed that the Japanese had destroyed the shrines and that being occupied by the enemies made it impossible to carry out maintenance and worshipping activities.

At the wake of the Japanese invasion in July 1937, the Ministry of the Interior repeatedly urged provinces to report on the conditions of county shrines under their jurisdiction. Hundreds of reports rolled in from July 1937 to 1942. There were only a few reports from 1943 to 1945 as war intensified. After August 1945, the Executive Yuan once again ordered shrines renovated and memorial services organized, which I suspect led to a large number of reports. The Academia Historica (Taipei) has two sets of surveys: one is from 1938-1940 and the other is from 1942-43. The Nationalist Party Archives (*Dangshiguan*, Taipei) contain a set of surveys dated from 1938 to 1943. As surveys for the 1945-1949 period are only found at the provincial level, it would require trips to provincial archives. For the 1945-1949 period, I was able to collect materials for counties and cities in Jiangsu, Sichuan, and Guangdong.

County governments completed most reports, yet county education bureaus or police bureaus filled out some of them. Each county, town, and special division (such as, bureau, or *ju* 局) reported to the Provincial Government, which then compiled and forwarded the surveys to the Ministry of the Interior. The survey form asked each county to report on the location, size (numbers of rooms and size of the estate), property (estate and non-estate), finances (construction, renovation, and maintenance fees), management (who was in charge of security and cleaning and whether the shrine was open to visitors around the clock), number of spirit tablets, worshipping activities, and whether there were other deities in the shrine. The Ministry of the Interior also required biographies of those who were enshrined to accompany these forms.⁷⁸⁵ Such reports showed that unlike what earlier scholarship depicted, the Nationalist government did try to reach the countryside and received responses.

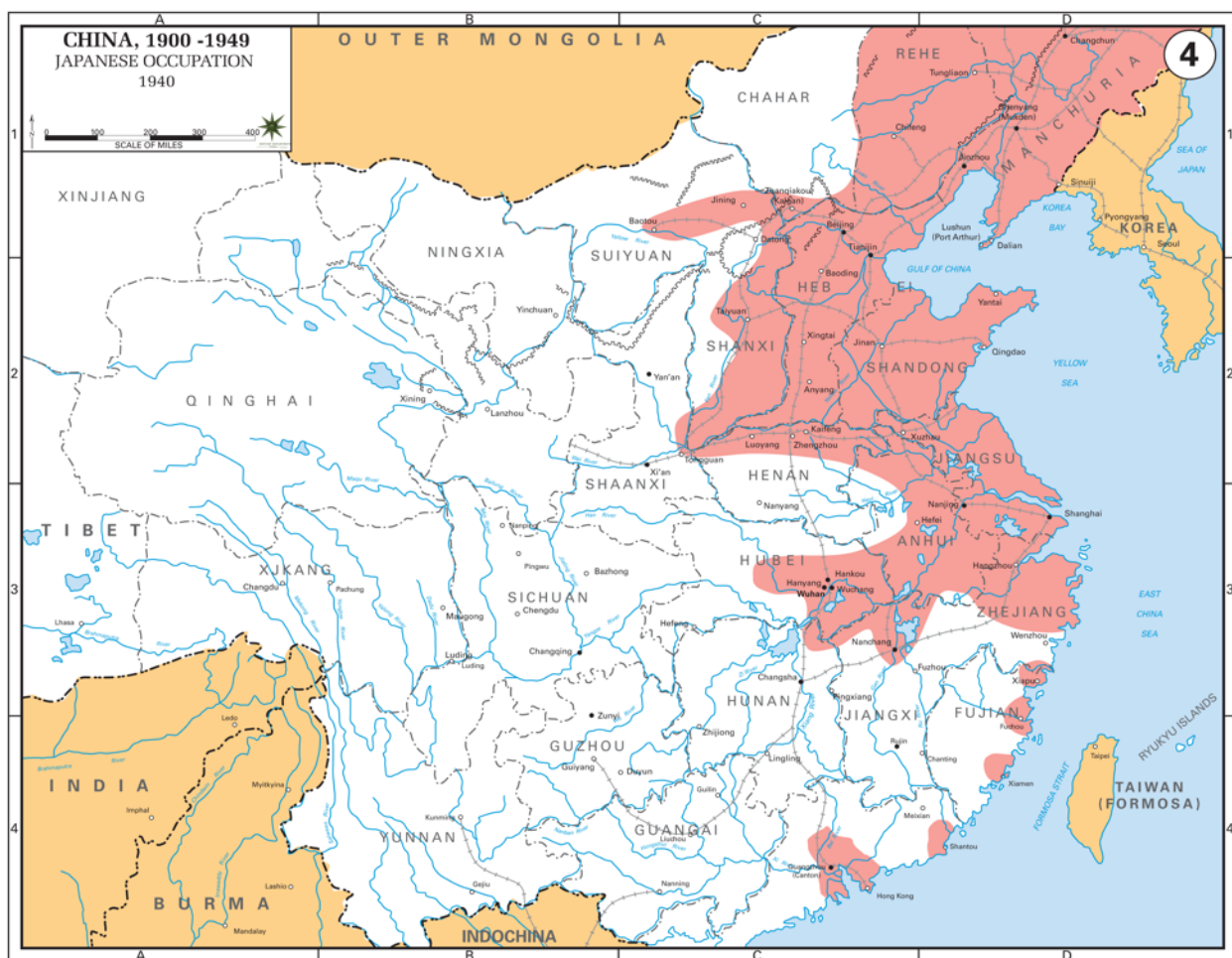


Fig. 7-1: Map of Provinces. Courtesy of the United States Military Academy Department of History. <<http://www.usma.edu/history/sitespages/chinese%20civil%20war.aspx>> Accessed May 15, 2017.

⁷⁸⁵ “Ministry of Interior’s 1944 Report,” 1944, AH 026000013773A.

After the Northern Expedition, Chiang Kai-shek had authority over four provinces: Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi. In 1936, when the two measures concerning local Loyal Martyrs' Shrine were passed, Nanjing had further control over 11 provinces to varying degrees: Henan, Hubei, Fujian, Guangdong, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Gansu, Shaanxi, Guangxi, and Hunan. All of the northern provinces, as well as Xinjiang, Xizang, Hainan, and Taiwan, were under the Japanese control. I found surveys from 18 provinces out of a total of thirty-five provinces and three special administrative regions. All 15 provinces under the Nationalist control of varied degrees submitted their survey forms in 1942. In addition, three northern provinces under Japanese control also submitted their forms: Suiyuan 綏遠 (now part of Inner Mongolia), Xikang 西康 (now part of Tibet and Sichuan), and Qinghai 青海. Reports from the four core provinces under firm control of the Guomindang (Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi) were rather sparse because of the Japanese invasion. By 1942, Henan submitted 83 forms, Fujian (66), Guangdong (96), Sichuan (116), Guizhou (56), Yunnan (60), Gansu (68), Shaanxi (66), Guangxi (99), and Hunan (116). Provinces with the most numbers of shrines were Guangxi, Hunan, Henan, and Yunnan.

The Jiangsu Provincial Government submitted surveys from eight counties, two of which did not have Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Just over half of the counties in Zhejiang submitted reports and had shrines. Fewer than half of the counties in Jiangxi submitted reports and fewer than one third of the counties had constructed Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. However, documents from the Jiangsu Provincial Archives show that from July to December 1936, fifty-five counties submitted reports to the Provincial Government. Fourteen Jiangsu counties, Taicang, Jinshan, Xinghua, Jiangyin, Jintan, Jiangning, Huainan, Baoying, Ganyu, Wuxi, Haimen, Tai, Suining, and Guanyun, had some sort of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines or dedicated spaces within existing temples to worshipping Republican martyrs.⁷⁸⁶

Anhui Provincial Government submitted reports from six counties, all of which had constructed their Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The survey forms provided some glimpses into these shrines. Woyang County constructed one anew in a public park and enshrined 143 martyrs. The Japanese destroyed Liu'an County's shrine in 1938, yet the county rebuilt it in 1941 by converting another local temple. Qimen County's shrine was built by contributions from families of martyrs at the county's three-eye well (a common well with three openings allowing for people to draw water simultaneously). Although Mengcheng County decided to house the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in its Confucian Hall (*minglun tang* 明倫堂), it honestly admitted that it had made "no progress beyond hanging up a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's sign."⁷⁸⁷ On the contrary, She County Government followed the regulations exactly and converted the county's Manifest Loyal Shrine into Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.

Distant provinces, such as Suiyuan, Xikang, Qinghai, Rehe, and Ningxia, under nominal Nationalist control also submitted a substantial number of surveys and even managed to construct a few Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Suiyuan submitted four survey forms from the Anbei Administrative Bureau (*Anbei shezhiju* 安北設治局), Wuyuan County, Linhe County, and Dongsheng County. None had a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine for various reasons. Anbei noted that it did not have a shrine because it had since been such a remote place without convenient

⁷⁸⁶ "Jiangsu Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior," December 1936, JPA 1001-yi-75.

⁷⁸⁷ (忠烈祠監牌外餘無所有)

transportation that its people had not participated in national defense. Without any martyrs, it did not have a reason to build a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Wuyuan County Government explained that it could not follow the directive to build one because of extreme financial difficulty. Linhe authority lamented that the difficulty in transportation made it impossible for news of wounded and deceased soldiers to reach the county. The county thus had not built its Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. However, the Linhe authority promised that the county was planning to construct a shrine and enshrine its honorable dead all together once the War of Resistance succeeded. The Dongsheng County Government clarified that its Loyal Martyrs' Shrine suffered from multiple fires as result of war since 1936 and had not yet been rebuilt as of 1939.

According to the Ministry of the Interior's records, over two-thirds of the counties (33) in Xikang Province submitted survey forms in 1939. 11 of these counties reported to have constructed Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Out of ten survey forms found in the archives, all except one noted that the counties have some form of Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Three counties, Baan, Lushan, and Yuexi, converted Qing-era Manifest Loyalty Shrines into Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Ganmou, Hanyuan, and Yingjing counties borrowed several rooms from their Guan-Yue Shrines for their Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Mianning County placed its Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in the Guanyin Hall Pagoda (*guanyin tang an* 觀音堂庵). Xichang County established its Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in the public exercise field (*gonggong tiyuchang* 公共體育場). Kangding county's shrine was located on the aptly named Zhongzheng 中正 Road.

Qinghai Province, with 20 counties, submitted reports from ten counties. Six counties had constructed their Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Two were converted Manifest Loyalty Shrines; one used to be a Loyalty and Righteousness Shrine; and another used to be the county's Drum Tower. The fifth shrine was housed in the western hall of the City God Temple. Detail of the last one is unclear. Rehe Province replied negatively to the order to construct Loyal Martyrs' Shrines, explaining that its government was being held up in the provisional capital (*peidu* 陪都), and thus was unable to administrate (*xingshi zhiquan* 行使職權) their jurisdiction (*xiajing* 轄境).⁷⁸⁸ Ningxia replied in 1940, stating that it could not build any Loyal Martyrs' Shrine while the province was under occupation.⁷⁸⁹

In 1942, the Ministry of the Interior compiled data on Loyal Martyrs' Shrines nationwide. According to the compilation, by 1942, out of 1414 administrative units in 18 provinces, there were county and municipal 624 Loyal Martyrs' Shrines and 33,881 spirit tablets. Three hundred counties informed that they did not have a shrine, which leaves 490 non-reporting counties. Collectively, these shrines had 2,833 rooms and 1,108 *shimu* (about 182 acres). The total cost of renovation was estimated at 232,031 *yuan*. Maintenance for all the shrines came up to 20,451 *yuan* annually. The funds came from leasing of land and rooms, public pocket, interests, and fund-raising from the public.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁸ "Rehe Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior," 1943, AH 026000013705A.

⁷⁸⁹ "Ningxia Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior," April 29, 1940, AH 026000013709A.

⁷⁹⁰ "Ministry of Interior's 1942 Report," 1942, AH 026000013773A.

Province	Total Numbers of Counties	Numbers of Counties that Submitted Surveys	Numbers of Counties with Shrine	Numbers of Counties that Did Not Build Shrines
Jiangsu	62	8	6	2
Zhejiang	77	37	36	1
Anhui	62	6	6	N/A
Jiangxi	84	43	24	19
Hubei	72	5	5	N/A
Hunan	76	69	68	1
Sichuan	144	116	53	63
Xikang	48	33	11	22
Henan	111	83	62	21
Shaanxi	93	66	61	5
Gansu	71	68	39	29
Qinghai	20	10	6	4
Fujian	65	66 ⁷⁹¹	50	16
Guangdong	99	96	51	45
Guangxi	100	99	72	27
Yunnan	128	60	60	N/A

⁷⁹¹ As counties were merged and split frequently, the number of counties in Fujian that submitted reports somehow outnumbered the recorded number of total counties.

Guizhou	81	56	14	42
Suiyuan	21	4	N/A	4
Total	1,414	924	624	300

Fig. 7-2: Numbers of Shrines and Reports by Province in 1942. I compile data from “Ministry of the Interior’s Report on Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines,” 1942, AH 026000013773A.

Compared to the report of May 1941, there was a major increase in 1942. In 1941, there were only 426 shrines. Counties that promptly established their Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines between 1941 and 1942 are mostly from Hunan (18 counties), Shaanxi (27), Guangxi (42), and Fujian (31). There is no compilation by the Ministry of the Interior in 1943, yet my own compilation shows an increase of four shrines (Longmen 龍門, Fangcheng 防城, Haifeng 海豐 in Guangdong, and Yunxi 鄖西 in Hubei). Another shrine was built in Lanzhou in 1944.⁷⁹²

Shrine Conversion

The surveys showed that the vast majority of Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines were renovated from existing temples and shrines. As discussed in Chapter 1, the imperial shrine fever created a large number of religious structures that were appropriated by the new government. Was there a rationale to which temple or pagoda was to be converted? Many county governments picked sites with no relation to loyalty or martyrdom to convert instead complying with the 1936 measures.

Temples selected for conversion belonged to two groups. The first has strong affinity with the sacrifice of life, valor, loyalty, martial spirit, and war. The second group has no obvious connection to ideals of martyrdom, war, or martiality. In many cases, the meaning of existing structures was extremely close to the values of valor, sacrifice, and loyalty as intended by the National Government in its policy. These structures include Martyrs’ Shrine (*lieshi ci* 烈士祠), Manifest Loyalty Temple, Loyalty and Valor Temple (*zhongyong ci* 忠勇祠), Double Loyalty Temple (*shuanglieci* 雙烈祠), Righteousness and Valor Temple (*yiyong miao* 義勇廟), and Loyalty and Virtue Temple (*zhongjie ci* 忠節祠), Illustrating Loyalty Shrine (*biao zhong ci* 表忠祠), Military Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine (*zhaojun zhonglie ci* 肇軍忠烈祠), Shrine to the Heroic and Sacrificing (*yinglie ci* 英烈祠), Shrine to the Loyal and Filial (*zhongxiao ci* 忠孝祠), Two Loyalists (*Erzhong ci* 二忠祠 and *Shuangzhong ci* 雙忠祠), and Shrine to the Loyal, Virtuous, and Filial (*Zhong yi xiaoti ci* 忠義孝悌祠). The Righteousness and Valor Temple of Yichuan 伊川 County (Henan) was also called Master Ding Temple (*Ding gong ci* 丁公祠) who died in May 1913 while leading the local militia to fight against bandits. The temple was then dedicated to all men of the militia who died that year. In Lushi 廬氏 County (Henan), the Shrine for Local Residents Who Sacrificed for the Public Good (*yingong xunnan yiren zhu ci* 因公殉難邑人築

⁷⁹², “Ministry of Interior’s 1941 and 1942 Reports on Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines,” 1942, AH 026000013773A.

祠) was converted into Martyrs' Shrine, and then in 1939 was renamed Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. These shrines were dedicated those who were loyal and sacrificed their lives for the county, province, or empire, and thus were aptly appropriate to be converted into Loyal Martyrs' Shrines.

Other structures that bear meaning close to martial valor and loyalty include Guan Temple (*guanmiao* 關廟), Lord Guan Temple (*guandi miao* 關帝廟), Guan-Yue Temple (*guanyue miao* 關岳廟), Integrity and Loyalty Temple (*jingzhong miao* 精忠廟), General Liu Meng Shrine (劉猛將軍祠),⁷⁹³ and Martial Spirit Temple (*wu miao* 武廟). In the historical-mythological world, Yue Fei and Guan Yu became the two most legendary generals and were often worshipped together since the cult took roots in the Yuan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, the cult of military heroes reached its height, as foreign invasion was a serious threat.⁷⁹⁴ Guan Yu and Yue Fei were two popular deities embodying martial spirit, Confucian loyalty, and tragic death. Lord Guan (Guandi), originating from the historical general Guan Yu (c. 162-220 CE), was usually celebrated because of his martial skills and valor in battles, loyalty to the Han dynasty, and tragic death. Guan Yu was often depicted with a long beard and red face, carrying a long blade, and riding a black horse. According to Susan Naquin, “[the] man and the god were principally identified with the bravery, loyalty, and uprightness enacted in his life, but different temples emphasized other episodes and qualities.”⁷⁹⁵ Lord Guan was commonly associated with the value expressed through the death of those who had died in battle, “loyalty” (*zhong*).⁷⁹⁶ Prasenjit Duara argued that “of all the possible interpretations of Guandi ... the most common was the one that invested him with Confucian virtues and loyalty to established authority.”⁷⁹⁷ “As a symbol of righteousness, loyalty, and trust, the image of Guan Yu provided an ethic of camaraderie (*jiaoyou*) to hold together “a society of strangers.”⁷⁹⁸ Guan Yu were captured alive with his son and executed by Sun Quan in 220. Besides eponymous temples, Guan Yu was also worshipped in Loyalty and Righteousness Temple (*zhongyi ci*), Three Sages Temple, and Five Sages Temple.⁷⁹⁹

Yue Fei was considered one of the most capable generals in the Southern Song, commanding large troops against the Jurchens. He was known for being an innovative leader who instilled discipline among the troops and treated soldiers like family. Yue Fei died a tragic death of being poisoned in prison under Emperor Gaozong in 1142. He was granted posthumous pardon and his honors and properties restored by Emperor Xiaozong. His wife and son were also rehabilitated. The Yue family became wealthy and prestige, allowing them to restoring Yue Fei's status in

⁷⁹³ Liu Meng 劉猛, or Liu Qi 劉錡, a Song general, who became a patron for peasants against locusts.

⁷⁹⁴ Frederick Mote, *Imperial China, 900-1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 305.

⁷⁹⁵ Naquin, *Peking*, 501.

⁷⁹⁶ Duara, “Superscribing Symbols,” 786.

⁷⁹⁷ Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power and the State*, 144.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁷⁹⁹ Naquin, *Peking*, 502.

history through official documents and literature.⁸⁰⁰ Two decades after his death, Yue Fei “had acquired very large symbolic importance as a loyal and upright military leader who had suffered unjustly.”⁸⁰¹ Arthur Waldron argues that Yue Fei becomes “China’s patriotic proto-martyr.”⁸⁰² Guan-Yue Temples were usually sponsored by the government. Being large and centrally located, they were often appropriated for various purposes. The one in Nanjing was converted into the Executive Yuan’s office in 1928.

About 35 percent of converted temples had less to do with the idea of martyrdom or loyalty. There seems to be no discrimination in converting. That the counties did not explain why they chose such sites without regard to the 1936 Measures showed that local authorities chose to interpret the central government’s regulations as “suggestions.” Anything would “fit the bill,” including God of Wealth Temples (*caishen miao* 財神廟), Drum Towers (*gulou* 鼓樓), and Grandmother Temples (*popo miao* 婆婆廟), meanings of which are distant from martyrdom and war. Some structures were modern, such as public parks (*gongyuan*), general public’s education halls (*minzhong jiaoyuguan* 民眾教育館), and public exercise fields (*tiyuchang* 體育場).

Many converted shrines only occupied part of the existing religious structures, oftentimes the unused rooms. In Li County (Gansu), the authorities converted three rooms of the Wind God Temple (*fengshen miao* 風神廟) into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. In Zhongmou County (Henan), three rooms of the Guan-Yue Shrine were reserved for the worshipping of Republican martyrs. In Nanshao County (Henan), an empty chamber of the Guan-Yue Shrine was converted into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. In 1941, Jiangxi Province’s Hengfeng 橫峯 County wanted to convert the land that the martyrs’ shrine sat on into a middle school.⁸⁰³ Guizhou’s Zunyi 遵義 County converted Jade Emperor Pavilion into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine.⁸⁰⁴

In thirty percent of all the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines (217 out of 624 as of 1942), statues of deities were not removed when the space was appropriated.⁸⁰⁵ In Xin’an County (Henan) where the Master Tong Temple (佟公祠) was converted into Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine, the Master Dong effigy was allowed to remain. In Xingyang, Ye, and Huangchuan Counties of Henan, statues of Guan Yu and Yue Fei were left inside the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines. In Guangwu County also in Henan, the God of the Eastern Peak Statue was preserved after the conversion. In Henan’s Neixiang County, the shrine continued to host a statue of Master Qiu 邱公. Instead of demanding absolute loyalty from the public, the central government was content with having Republican martyrs enshrined together with established spiritual figures. Trying to remove these statues would have created more political friction.

⁸⁰⁰ Mote, *Imperial China*, 300-304.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁸⁰² Waldron, *China’s New Remembering of World War II*, 957.

⁸⁰³ “Jiangxi Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior, including a report from Hengfeng County,” April 22, 1941, AH 026000012768A.

⁸⁰⁴ “Guizhou Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior including Zunyi County’s report,” February 20, 1941, AH 026000013062A.

⁸⁰⁵ “Ministry of Interior’s 1942 Report,” 1942, AH 026000013773A.

Disputes were commonly seen on the ground of each temple slated for conversion. The Nationalists had a specific vision of aligning Republican martyrs with traditional exemplars of virtues and decreed local governments to convert shrines originally dedicated to ancient heroes. More often than not, county governments chose sites that saved them from having to wrangle with social and religious groups rather than picking the best candidates. Nevertheless, the number of shrines constructed throughout China demonstrates an enthusiastic response to the Nationalist commemorative project. While the Nationalist government envisioned an exclusive space infused with virtues of martiality and loyalty, such sentimentalities were not shared by local authorities for reasons of finance, convenience, and others. County governments placed Republican martyrs together with traditional deities, heroes of other ages, and mundane entities.

Case Study: County Shrines in Sichuan

My archival research in Chongqing, the wartime capital of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government yielded significant information about the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in Sichuan. The Chongqing Municipal Archives contain documents about Sichuan during the war. None of the counties met all the requirements listed in the 1936 Regulations, yet most of them attempted to meet some of the requirements. The 11 counties mentioned below only constituted fewer than one tenth of all administrative units (about 100) in Sichuan, yet they demonstrate a wide range of scenarios.

Hechuan 合川 County reported in October 1939 that it had not built a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, yet it had offered sacrifices to its native fallen heroes of pre-1937 anti-Communist campaigns and the Northern Expedition in two temples dedicated to Guan Zhangmou 關壯繆 (also known as Guan Yu) and King Hou Yue Wu Mu 侯岳武穆王 (also known as Yue Fei). In addition, because the county's Local Worthies' Shrine (*xiangxian ci*) was utilized by the military, the local government commissioned a collective spirit tablet for war-of-resistance fallen officers and soldiers and temporarily enshrined it at the Guan-Yue Temple.⁸⁰⁶

A few other counties resorted to co-opt existing shrines to worship Republican martyrs without physically converting them. This method spared wartime counties not only the financial struggle, but also grievances from locals. Tongliang 銅梁 County petitioned in 1939 that although there was no suitable place near their Local Worthies' Shrine and Temple of Literature per the 1936 Regulations, the Manifest Loyalty Shrine inside the county wall was spacious enough to be converted. However, instead of converting it outright into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, the county simply placed spirit tablets of Republican soldiers who died in battle there.⁸⁰⁷ Bishan 璧山 County reported that they put spirit tablets of fallen soldiers in the Local Worthies' Shrine, which was part of the Literature Temple and changed the sign from "Loyal Worthies' Shrine" to "Loyal Martyrs' Shrine." During the autumn sacrifice for Confucius, Bixiang county

⁸⁰⁶ "Hechuan county government to Chongqing Municipal Government," October 2, 1939, CMA 55-30-310, 91-92.

⁸⁰⁷ "Tongliang County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," October 1, 1939, CMA 55-30-310, 93-94.

officials organized the entering-the-shrine ceremonies for the war dead.⁸⁰⁸ The town of Jialing River 嘉陵江's Three Gorges Village 三峽鄉村 renovated and expanded the Lord Guan Temple in Beibei 北碚 to honor the fallen officers and soldiers.⁸⁰⁹ Qijiang 綦江 County reported in February 1941 that their Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was constructed at the site of the Stone Buddha Mound (*Shifu gang* 石佛崗).

Dazu County submitted an estimated cost of 2,646 *yuan* to convert its Dragon King Temple (*longwang miao* 龍王廟) into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in December 1939. In June 1940, the county submitted another estimate of 2,740 *yuan* for conversion citing that prices of labor and materials had increased since the last estimate. However, the Municipal Government only pledged 600 *yuan* and the county meeting agreed to a total budget of 1,200 *yuan*.⁸¹⁰ The County Government also reported that it had enshrined its Republican war dead in the Manifest Loyalty Shrine and provided a list of 272 martyrs who had died in battle from the first year of the Jiaqing reign (1796) to the anti-Japanese era. The County made a special mention of its most famed martyrs. One was Rao Guoliang 饒國梁, one of the 72 Yellow Flower Hill martyrs, who was commemorated with a memorial tower (*jinian ta* 紀念塔) built at the eastern gate of the county's walled city. The other notable martyr was Wang Jiaxiu 王家修, who had died while on official duty (*yingong yuhai* 因公遇害). Rao was commemorated with a memorial tower constructed on top of the county's gate (*mentou* 門首).⁸¹¹

Three counties cited political reasons for not building their shrines. At the end of 1939, Ba 巴 County petitioned that its Temple of Literature was destroyed and the local government was still in the process of reorganizing.⁸¹² Half a year later, Ba County government reported that its government was still unsettled and thus it could not build a shrine. Two counties of Jiangbei 江北 and Jiangjin 江津 presented the very same reason.⁸¹³

While some counties, such as Ba, Jiangbei, and Jiangyin, seemed to have more urgent matters to deal with than the establishment of a memorial space for the dead, other communities were motivated to honor their local heroes. In 1940, the mayor, the vice-mayor, and several citizens of Nanbai 南白 Town in Zunyi 遵義 County requested permission from the Ministry of

⁸⁰⁸ "Bishan County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," October 1939, CMA 55-30-310, 95-96.

⁸⁰⁹ "Jialing River Three Gorges Village to Chongqing Municipal Government," February 22, 1940, CMA 55-30-310, 108-109.

⁸¹⁰ "Dazu County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," December 15, 1939, CMA 55-30-310, 99-106.

⁸¹¹ "Dazu County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," February 1940, CMA 55-30-310, 138-154.

⁸¹² "Ba County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 24, 1939, CMA 55-30-310, 97-98.

⁸¹³ "Jiangbei County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," April 19, 1940, CMA 55-30-310, 115; "Jiangjin County Government to Chongqing Municipal Government," April 1940, CMA 55-30-310, 116-117.

the Interior via Guizhou Provincial Government to convert its Jade Emperor Chamber (*yuhuang ge* 玉皇閣) into Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁸¹⁴ This request was received on February 20, 1941 and forwarded to Chongqing (as Zunyi county lay in the border between Sichuan and Guizhou). The County was to commemorate Liu Junmei 劉君眉, a Huangpu Military Academy graduate and regimental commander, who died in an anti-Japanese campaign in northern China in 1937. Citing Articles 2 and 3 of the 1940 "Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs' Shrines," the petitioners noted that Nanbai Township met the requirement for a local Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. The town had a public shrine that could be converted and it had obtained permission from all concerned parties (*gefang tongyi* 各方同意). The petitioners also cited Clause 3 of Article 6 of the 1940 "General Guidelines for Offering Sacrifices to Officials and Civilians Who Loyal Sacrificed Their Lives during the War of Resistance and Constructing Commemorative Tablets," which stipulated that local government was responsible for the conversion fees. The petitioners, citing financial difficulty, noted that they would like to save by retaining the maintenance folks of the Jade Emperor Chamber to take care of the conversion and upkeep of the new shrine.

Due to inflation, large sums were needed for conversion. In May 1944, Chaoyang 朝陽 town raised 35,800 *yuan* and requested an extra 10,000 *yuan* from the Beibei 北碚 district government to convert its Temple of Guan Wang Yu Xiao (關王禹肖四廟) into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. However, the request was denied.⁸¹⁵

Finance and Management

According to the Ministry of the Interior record in September 1942, collectively 624 Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were worth 23,393 *yuan* in movable assets, 577,641 *yuan* in buildings, and 78,802 *yuan* in land. Most shrines did not have or did not report movable assets. 86 percent were from the 72 shrines in Guangxi Province. In terms of construction, the highest numbers came out of Yunnan, Gansu, and Hunan. In terms of land, shrines in Hunan and Yunnan took up 29,520 *shimu* (4,863 acres) and 22,966 *shimu* (3,783 acres) respectively, and collectively 67 percent of the total figure.⁸¹⁶ Interestingly, provinces that spent the highest amounts in maintenance and other activities were Xikang (11 shrines, 4,310 *yuan*), Sichuan (53 shrines, 3,902 *yuan*), and Hunan (68 shrines, 3,189 *yuan*). These numbers were difficult to interpret, yet they represented how the government evaluated its success.

The central government did not provide financial support to these counties for the conversion, yet it ordered them to raise money locally. Most counties raised money from their subordinate villages and towns (*you ge xiangzhen mujuan* 由各鄉鎮募捐) or from social and economic groups (*xiang gejie choumu* 向各界籌募). Jiangxi Provincial Government ordered its 69 counties to "assess their own finances" and allocate money to the construction and maintenance of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines.⁸¹⁷ Other counties were creative in collecting funds for

⁸¹⁴ "Guizhou Province to Ministry of the Interior," February 20, 1940, AH 026000013062A.

⁸¹⁵ "Chaoyang Town to Chongqing Municipal Government," May 25, 1944, CMA 81-4-2865, 39.

⁸¹⁶ "Ministry of the Interior's 1942 Report," 1942, AH 026000013773A.

⁸¹⁷ *Jiangxi sheng zhengfu gongbao* 1249-1250 (1942): 52. (由各縣斟酌地方財力)

their shrines. To construct a new Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, Jiuquan County of Gansu Province raised 1,350 *yuan*, which was more than a third of the required money (3,248 *yuan*), from anti-smoking fines, 100 *yuan* from the Provincial Government, and 2,000 *yuan* from donations. Gansu's Pingliang 平涼 County used the money from confiscating mercenaries (*moshou gubing* 沒收僱兵).⁸¹⁸ The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in Dihai 荻海 town in Wuhan received donations from overseas: 300 U.S. dollars and 1,200 Hong Kong dollars.⁸¹⁹ The Beiping Municipal Government raised funds from locals and families of martyrs to renovate the funeral hall (靈堂 *lingtang*).⁸²⁰ In other instances, the government subsidized some costs. A decree issued by Sichuan Provincial Government on April 12, 1943 dictated the amount spent on maintenance of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines: first- and second-class counties: 200 *yuan*, third- and fourth-class counties: 160 *yuan*, and fifth- and sixth-class counties: 120 *yuan*.⁸²¹

In many shrine reports from 1938-1939, the people who had been taking care of the original temples continued to work at the converted shrines. Some shrines were secured by the local police station, which complies with the regulations concerning religious structures in Republican China. Renters who took residence in part of the structures were tasked with the sweeping, incense burning, opening, and closing. The National Government did not seem happy with eclectic sources of management. The 1940 measures specified: "the Ministry of the Interior shall manage the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Departments and bureaus of civil administration respectively shall manage provincial and municipal Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Loyal Martyrs' Shrines of counties, special administrative divisions, villages, and towns shall be managed by respective local authorities." Article 11 stipulated that local authorities submit annual reports on their Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Special situations had to be reported to the Ministry of the Interior, which would forward them to the Executive Yuan and the National Government. The 1942 report showed that out of 624 shrines, about one-third or 246 had professionally commissioned management offices (*zhuanyuan guanli chu* 專員管理處), one-sixth or 111 had local management offices, 34 had local organizations as management, 173 had no form of management, and the rest (58) were unclear.⁸²²

Ceremonies

Crisis of Space

⁸¹⁸ "Gansu Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior, including Pingliang County's report," April 9, 1940, AH 026000013582A.

⁸¹⁹ "Zuwen: Dihai zhonglie ci diyiqi gongcheng yi wancheng 族聞: 荻海忠烈祠第一期工程已 完成" (Dihai Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's construction completed first term), *Dunsi yuebao* 敦思月 報 (Dunsi Monthly) 2, no. 3 (1948): 12.

⁸²⁰ "Beiping Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," n.d., BMA J001-007-00655.

⁸²¹ "Sichuan Provincial Government to all county governments in the province," April 12, 1943, CMA 008-004-02865.

⁸²² "Ministry of Interior's 1942 Report," 1942, AH 026000013773A.

In the 1940 “Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines,” the central government regulated: “The tablet shall contain the martyr’s name in the middle, if available. The left side is inscribed with the age and hometown, and the right side with the circumstance of death.”⁸²³ In addition, “[if] there are a large number of martyrs, then the tablet shall be divided into ten rows with each row containing ten names.”⁸²⁴ The 1940 measures added that the local authorities had to collect martyrs’ portraits (*yixiang* 遺像) and mementos (*yiwu* 遺物) as well as writings and photographs related to martyrs for the visitors to revere. The suggested use of portraits in public worship was a new development. Nevertheless, none of the survey forms hinted at the presence of such things in the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine.

Many counties had their spirit tablets made according to the measures while others did not. In 1943, the Jiangxi Provincial Government expressed concern to the Ministry of the Interior that carving 100 names on a single tablet of the required measurements was difficult. The Provincial Government proposed to carve a collective name on a tablet.⁸²⁵ Qimen 祁門 County’s shrine in Anhui Province established one giant tablet on which all martyrs’ names were carved.⁸²⁶ Gansu’s Yuzhong 榆中 County did not have spirit tablets, but eight lists (*ce* 冊) of martyrs’ names in its shrine.⁸²⁷ Yu 禹 County’s shrine in Henan installed three statues of martyrs in addition to 39 tablets.⁸²⁸

Standardized the Elegies

The Ministry of the Interior’s May 27, 1941 decree provided two standard elegies to be read at local sacrifices. These two elegies were first used in 1938 at the Nanyue Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine dedicated to wartime fallen soldiers. The first was supposed to be read when the “martyrs’ tablets” (*lieshi paiwei* 烈士牌位) of “loyal and sacrificing officials and civilians who fought during the War of Resistance” (*kangzhan xunnan zhonglie guanmin* 抗敵殉難忠烈官民) were placed into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine (*rusi anwei* 入祀安位). Specifically, the enshrinement ritual was to invite the martyrs, or rather their souls, to return from wherever and take residence in the spirit tablets bearing their identities in the shrine. This is clarified by the enshrinement text that reads:

The nation has traversed multiple obstacles. The barbarians invaded China and posed threats to the integrity of our territory. Those who were sincere and strong fought battles that shook

⁸²³ Ibid.

⁸²⁴ Ibid.

⁸²⁵ “Jiangxi Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior,” May 8, 1943, AH 026000013760A.

⁸²⁶ “Anhui Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior,” July 5, 1943, AH 026000013601A.

⁸²⁷ “Gansu Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior including Yuzhong County’s report,” April 9, 1940, AH 026000013582A.

⁸²⁸ “Henan Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior including Yu County’s report,” March 31, 1940, AH 026000013552A.

heaven and earth. They killed the enemies and died as national martyrs (*guoshang*). The heaven and earth are so vast, so we establish the tablets to summon the cloud-souls (*zhao hun* 招魂). Oh luminous [souls], please dwell here. You were respected in life and are mourned in death. We praise your merits and revere your virtue. [Please partake in] these sacrifices and shrine upon us for eternity.⁸²⁹

The spirits of the war dead were asked to dwell in the shrine where sacrifices were made to them in exchange for their moral power. The requiem draws upon traditional imageries and spiritual practices. In the Chinese belief system, humans have the airy cloud-soul, which can travel and the earthly white-soul, which stays with the body after death. In the *Songs of Chu* (*Chu ci*) dated back to the third century BCE, the “Summons of the Soul” described a custom in southern China of shamans waiving the clothes of the dead and calling for the cloud-soul to return. After leaving the body, the cloud-soul is lost among dangerous terrains and sensual temptations and thus has to be guided to the final destination.⁸³⁰

The second text would be recited at the annual public sacrifice on July 7.⁸³¹ The spirits were praised and called to the shrine to enjoy the sacrificial foods and drinks. It reads:

For the spirits of so-and-so, who died from resisting the enemy and who died for the nation, your martial merits are glorious and permanent like rivers and mountain peaks. Your highly moral character instructs [others] and radiates like suns and celestial bodies. [We offer you] the sacrifice of bumper harvests of all seasons and our sincerity in recording [your] merits and virtues. Alas! Here are the Huangfeng wine and the three kinds of sacrificial utensils⁸³² to encourage the loyal and virtuous hearts of the six armies.⁸³³ Their crimson blood for eternity will make upright the weaklings and the cowards of generations. Here are the

⁸²⁹ *Zhejiang sheng zhengfu gongbao* 3305 (1941): 17-18. (國步多難，蠻夷猾夏，衛我河山，實惟健者，風雲慘淡，龍戰玄黃，殺敵致果，允為國殤，天地廖廓，設位招魂，靈兮是託，報功崇德，生榮死哀，馨香俎豆，萬古昭回。)

⁸³⁰ Michael Loewe, *Ways to Paradise: The Chinese Quest for Immortality* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1979), 33. For more, see David Hawkes, trans. *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1985); Constance A. Cook and John S. Major, *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); K. E. Brashier, “Han Thanatology and the Division of ‘Souls’,” *Early China* 21 (1996): 125-58.

⁸³¹ *Zhejiang Provincial Government Gazette* 3305 (1941): 17-18. (入祀忠烈祠烈士公祭文)

⁸³² These are sacrificial goods bestowed upon loyal ministers by emperors. Here they are probably referred to as metaphors.

⁸³³ Six armies refer the number of troops that a state had. Each army had 12,500 soldiers, which makes it equivalent to a modern-day division. The king had six armies. A large state (*guo*) had three armies. A medium had two. A small had one.

sacrificial wine and food vessels. Please come to this temporal world and savor the sacrifices.⁸³⁴

These two elegies had similar themes as those seen in the prewar period. The elements from the *Songs of Chu* were less prominent, yet the general idea of recalling souls is the same. The war dead were conjured up with the sacred texts and rituals during memorial services to temporarily join the living and take their sacrificial nourishments.

Feng Yuxiang's Proposal

Feng Yuxiang, member of the Military Council, sent his “Draft Measures to Implement Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” (*Caoni zhonglie ci shishi banfa* 草擬忠烈祠實施辦法) to the Supreme Defense Committee (*Guofang zuigao weiyuanhui* 國防最高委員會) in October 1940. Feng argued that while the Japanese were the enemies, their way of commemorating the dead was worthy of emulation. It includes photos of Japan’s Martyrs’ Shrine as example of how the entering-the-shrine ceremony should be carried out, that is, by parading the spirits in public. The caption reads: “Ashes of the dead are carried through the streets of Tokyo to the Yasukuni Shrine where they will be sanctified. Some 150,000 sets of ashes have so far been deified at Yasukuni, which means in Japanese, “Shrine which guards the tranquility of the Empire.””⁸³⁵

On the one hand, Feng Yuxiang recommended adopting traditional practices in worshipping at Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines, such as the use pigs and goats, as dictated in the sacrifices to Heaven (*jipin yong tailao zhuyang* 祭品用太牢猪羊) and the procedures of the spring and autumn sacrifices at the Guan-Yue Temple (*fang zhao Guan-Yue miao chunqiu wuji zhi banfa* 仿昭關岳廟春秋戊祭之辦法).⁸³⁶ On the other hand, Feng hoped to cultivate municipal and county-level Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines into “spaces for public gathering” (*gongyuan* 公園) so that the citizens could subsequently develop reverence for the new sites.⁸³⁷ Thereupon, important gatherings of the city or county could be held at the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines in order to display the popular respect for martyrs.⁸³⁸ Feng envisioned the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines to be an inclusive space, which constituted a new development in wartime China. The space of the dead was no longer confined to household altars and local temples, but expanded to include the national community.

Feng emphasized that ceremonies at the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines had to be “well organized” (*zhengqi* 整齊), “solemn” (*yansu* 嚴肅), and “extremely ceremonious” (*yijie xu ji longzhong* 儀

⁸³⁴ *Zhejiang sheng zhengfu gongbao* 3305 (1941): 17-18. (惟。。。靈，抗敵效命，為國捐軀，武功彪炳，麗河嶽而常新，大節昭垂，與日星而并耀，宜肅歲時之祀，用申崇報之誠，嗚呼！黃封三錫，勵六師忠義之心，碧血千年，立百世懦頑之志，載陳尊簋，來格凡筮，尚饗。)

⁸³⁵ “Feng Yuxiang to Supreme Defense Committee,” October 1, 1940, Kuomintang Party Archives (KMT) (Ministry of Defense) MOD 003/0687.

⁸³⁶ “Zhonglie ci shishi banfa 忠烈祠實施辦法” (Measures to Implement Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines), September 1940, KMT MOD 003/0687.

⁸³⁷ (最好能作成公園形式，以便公民得隨時瞻仰)

⁸³⁸ (無論首都及各省市縣有重要集會時，均可在忠烈祠行之，以彰民眾對烈士之崇敬)

節須極隆重). They could not a bit simple or crude (*jianlou* 簡陋). Participants should come in one by one and exit in an orderly manner. Feng also added that at the ceremony, drums and musical instruments should be used so that the sounds could alert and incite the masses, and lure them to eagerly come over and observe.⁸³⁹ The ceremony should also be photographed and the pictures should be disseminated widely by publishing them in the newspapers. Violent deaths were no longer tragedies, but lessons and spectacles. All in all, Feng's proposal embodied the nation-building vision of the mid-twentieth century – a mixture of elements from imperial China, Meiji Japan, Protestantized religiosity, militarism, modernism, and Republicanism.

Public Sacrifices

According to the 1942 report, 444 out of 1,414 counties organized public sacrifices.⁸⁴⁰ These events require participants from local communities. Each event had to be widely broadcast and all villagers were urged to attend.⁸⁴¹ Many counties simply noted that they “organized a memorial service according to regulations” (*zunzhao guiding juxing gongji* 遵照規定舉行公祭). Others presented more details on their dedication to these ceremonies. Most counties just converted their local temples into Loyal Martyrs' Shrines right before the date of survey submission, and thus they could only hold one commemoration ceremony so far. Henan's counties, such as Zheng and Weishi, noted that they had not held any ceremony because they only built the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in August 1939 and missed the July deadline. However, some counties carried out elaborate activities. Gushi 固始 County (Henan) noted that the ceremony at its memorial service held according to the regulations was “heartfelt and solemn” (*qingji longzhong* 情極隆重). Shangcheng 商城 County (Henan) had organized public memorial service every fall since the shrine was constructed in January 1935, and had had incense burnt on the first and the fifteenth days of every (lunar) month.

Changes in the date were not consistently followed at the local level, reflecting both the varying control of the Nationalist government and the localized meaning of war. According to the 1936 “Measures to Construct County Loyal Martyrs' Shrines,” public banquets should be organized annually on July 9, the anniversary of the Northern Expedition. In 1939, in Henan Province, counties, such as Lingbao 靈寶, Lushi 盧氏, Gong 鞏, Yanshi 偃師, Changge 長葛, Xinzheng 新鄭, Rongyang 滎陽, Guangwu 廣武, Deng 鄧, Xihua 西華, Yan 偃, Ye 葉, and Gushi, reported that they had been holding the annual ceremony on July 9 while others such as Xin'an 新安, Xuchang 許昌, Yu 禹, Xichuan 淅川, and Zhumadian Town 駐馬店鎮 on July 7. This means some counties were updated on the change while most were not or chose not to follow the revised date. It could also be because these counties had more martyrs who died in the Northern Expedition than in the Japanese invasion, and thus they chose to commemorate July 9

⁸³⁹ (並多用鼓樂, 如國樂軍樂以多為善, 必使鑼鼓喧天, 俾全境民眾聞風興起, 爭先恐後而參觀之)

⁸⁴⁰ “Ministry of Interior's 1942 Report,” 1942, AH 026000013773A.

⁸⁴¹ “Zhonglie ci shishi banfa,” September 1940, KMT MOD 003/0687.

instead of July 7. Gansu's Lingtai 靈台 County reported in 1942 that it had been organizing ceremonies for both the July 7 and July 9 occasions.⁸⁴²

Furthermore, some counties organized memorial services on completely different dates. Yichuan 伊川 County and Qinyang 沁陽 County (Henan) instead of having the prescribed July 9 memorial service held the entering-the-shrine (*ruci* 入祠) ceremony during which spirit tablets of martyrs were placed onto altars. Fangcheng 防城 County in Guangdong reported in 1942 that its annual ceremony was carried out on May 5. Yangzhong 揚中 County in Jiangsu organized the memorial service on the Double Ten (October 10), anniversary of the Wuchang Uprising in 1911. Lingbao County (Henan) organized a ceremony on July 9, 1937 and another on October 21, 1938 while Luoning 洛寧 County (Henan) organized one on December 6, 1938 and another on January 2, 1939. Yichuan County in Henan followed the traditional custom and held memorial service during the spring and autumn sacrifices.

In December 1940, the National Government drafted the “Enshrinement Ceremony for Loyal and Sacrificing Officials and Civilians Who Died While Resisting the Enemy” (*Kangdi xunnan zhonglie guanmin ruci zhonglie ci yishi* 抗敵殉難忠烈官民入祠忠烈祠儀式). The procession is led with the Party's flag, banner bearing “Resisting-the-Enemy Military and Civilian Martyrs Entering Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Ceremony” (*kangdi xunnan zhonglie guanmin ruci dianli* 抗敵殉難忠烈官民入祀典禮), music band, military troops and police troops with guns pointing down, martyrs' relatives, and local authorities and people of various social classes (students, merchants, etc.). The ceremony had to be carried out in the following sequence: (1) the ceremony begins, (2) everyone stands solemnly, (3) music is played, (4) the chair takes his place, (5) flowers are presented, (6) eulogies are read, (7) everyone performs three bows towards the martyrs' spirit tablets, (8) everyone stands in silent tribute (*moai* 默哀), (9) the chair reads biographies of martyrs who died fighting the enemies, (10) music is played, (11) the ceremony concludes.⁸⁴³ The shrine was the place for collective mourning where expressions of grief, and by extension, modes of loyalty could be dictated. Mourning for the war dead at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was regulated and made solemn. Sacrifices of food and utensils were dispensed with, or rather were replaced with flowers. The use of flowers in worship was a new invention.⁸⁴⁴ While the public sacrifice no longer entailed a long list of various cuts of meats and sets of vessels as dictated by the Beiyang government, the Chinese Republic continued to follow the custom of making sacrificial offerings.

During the War of Resistance, the spring and autumn sacrifice dates were set to be March 29 and September 1. March 29, the date of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising, was considered the

⁸⁴² “Gansu Province to Ministry of the Interior,” 1942, AH 026000013582A.

⁸⁴³ Executive Yuan to National Government,” December 23, 1940, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148278.

⁸⁴⁴ According to a late nineteenth-century account, no flowers were presented to the dead. The offerings are foods, wine, paper money, and *papier-mâché* items. John Henry Gray, *China: A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People, Volume 1* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1878), 320-1. Flowers are often seen in Buddhist temples, in contrast with foliage and cooked meat in Confucian and Daoist temples. Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 381.

anniversary of sacrificing revolutionary elders (*geming xianlie xunnan ri*). September 1 was the anniversary of the beginning of World War II. In 1940, the Ministry of the Interior brought up the issue of the commemoration date, proposing July 7, the anniversary of the War of Resistance, also known as the Marco Polo Bridge (*Lugou qiao* 盧溝橋) Incident in 1937.⁸⁴⁵

In 1947, the National Government changed the autumn memorial service to September 3, the date after the Japanese surrendering on USS Missouri, which was made the victory day of the Anti-Japanese War (*kang-Ri zhanzheng shengli jinianri* 抗日戰爭勝利紀念日).⁸⁴⁶ These dates were chosen not only because of their historical significance, but also because they coincide nicely with the traditional spring and autumn offerings for the dead. The Nationalists tried to fuse traditions and new historical developments.

In the postwar period, commemorative events expanded to include more of the population. Feng Yuxiang's proposal from 1940 seemed to foresee the new way of commemorating war. The setting of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines was no longer adequate. The *Tianjin Municipal Weekly* published a report on the spring sacrifice of March 29, 1948, which was also the youth day (*qingnian jie* 青年節) and Revolutionary Predecessors' Memorial Day (*geming xianlie jinianri* 革命先烈紀念日). Hundreds of people from political offices, schools, and family members of martyrs attended the nine o'clock ceremony at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine on Dihua 迪化 Street. The commemoration then moved to People's Park Square (*Minyuan guangchang* 民園廣場) at 10 o'clock to accommodate over 2,000 participants. The article sums up the ritual setting and performance, and it prints in full the speech delivered by Tianjin mayor exhorting youth to emulate martyrs of the past and take up nation-building responsibilities.⁸⁴⁷ In addition to the spatial shift from being exclusive to inclusive, the rhetoric became more future-oriented.

In 1948, Beiping police bureau organized a public sacrifice for police officers that died in the line of duty. Since this public sacrifice was organized in March and coincided with the Qingming Festival, the authority included tree planting in the ceremony. The estimated cost included 650,000 *yuan* for posters, 1 million *yuan* for flower wreaths, 2.5 million *yuan* for trees, 2.5 million *yuan* for sacrificial goods, 1.6 million *yuan* for photographs, and other smaller expenses.⁸⁴⁸ The Municipal Political Council (*Zhengzhi hui* 政治會) declined the Police Bureau's request of over 26 million *yuan* from, noting that the Municipal Government only spent half a million on relief for families of martyrs during the public sacrifice in 1947. The expenses for the public sacrifice were shouldered by the police bureau the previous year and would be similarly arranged this year. The political assembly however offered to dispense 10 million *yuan*

⁸⁴⁵ "Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs' Shrines," September 20, 1940, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148281.

⁸⁴⁶ "Executive Yuan to Chongqing Municipal Government," September 20, 1947, CMA 53-20-410.

⁸⁴⁷ *Tianjin shi zhoukan* 天津市週刊 (Tianjin Municipal Weekly) 6.9 (1948): 4.

⁸⁴⁸ "Office of Accounting and Police Bureau to Beiping municipality," March 27, 1948, BMA J001-005-01562.

to martyrs' relatives this year.⁸⁴⁹ In response, the police bureau chief, Tang Yongcheng 湯永成, agreed to shoulder some of the costs for the public sacrifice, yet he cited the gross inflation of the postwar economy and asked for 7,434,000 *yuan* – less than one third of the original request.⁸⁵⁰ The Municipal Government approved this revised budget in May 1948.⁸⁵¹

Martyrs Surveys from Henan

I sample data from Henan because I found a complete set of survey forms from this province in the Academic Historica and the information included is rather extensive compared to those from other provinces. Throughout 1939, the Henan Provincial Government submitted 83 survey forms of country-level martyrs' shrines, many of which are accompanied by lists of martyrs having been entered the shrines. Only 28 counties did not submit survey forms. Out of 83 counties that reported to the Provincial Government, 62 (about 74 percent) had some form of loyal and sacrifice shrines and included lists of enshrined martyrs. Of these 62 counties with shrines, there were substantial differences in the lists submitted to the Provincial Government. Some counties only listed their martyrs whose spirit tablets were entered in the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in the current year. Some other counties provided names and ranks of all martyrs enshrined in the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Others included those who died for the county from pre-Republican era and those who did not die on the battlefield, but from overwork and illness. Some counties made additional remarks on the status of remaining relatives, while other omitted most biographic information including the dates of death.

The Japanese invasion in 1937 was a determining factor in the construction of these shrines evidenced by the listed causes of death in shrine survey forms. Take Weichuan 洧川 County of Henan as example, its survey form listed twenty martyrs, 11 of whom were killed from 1937 to 1939 in anti-Japanese (*kang-Ri*) campaigns or bombing, and nine from 1931 to 1936. One martyr died in 1933 in Huabei 華北 in anti-Japanese campaign. The list from Nanyang 南陽 County reveals how these soldiers and officers were fighting in various locations: Shanghai, Jiangxi, Hubei, etc., not necessarily in their home provinces or locations close to their home towns. A few cases noted that the martyrs were from different counties or provinces, yet the counties where they had died worshipped them. Worshipping martyrs in their hometowns gave the illusion that they died for their home counties while in fact they were mobilized by the Nationalists to fight in many parts of China.

Most are described as “death in battle” (*zhenwang* 陣亡) with some slight variations: “died in battle at so-and-so place” (*zai... kangzhan zhenwang* 在...抗戰陣亡), “died in battle in an anti-bandit campaign” (*jiaofei zhenwang* 剿匪陣亡), and “died in battle while resisting the Japanese” (*kangri zhenwang* 抗日陣亡). Although “died in battle” is the most commonly listed reason of

⁸⁴⁹ “Beiping municipality’s draft order to Police Bureau and Office of Financial Administration (*caizheng ju*),” April 5, 1948, BMA J001-005-01562.

⁸⁵⁰ “Office of Accounting and Police Bureau to Beiping municipality,” May 17, 1948, BMA J001-005-01562.

⁸⁵¹ “Beiping municipal governor’s comment on Office of Accounting’s report,” May 22, 1948, BMA J001-005-01562.

death, the list from Mianchi 滎池 County in Henan Province includes other variations, such as “lost one’s life while engaging in fighting” (*linzhen xunming* 臨陣殉命) and “lost one’s life from being hit by bullets while exerting oneself to resist the enemy” (*jieli kangdi zhongdan xunming* 竭力抗敵中彈殉命). These could have been the very manner in which these soldiers died, or they could have been how heroic deaths were perceived. Most likely, they were both.

While “being killed in battle” was arguably the most common cause of death according these reports, perhaps this generic phrase indicates that little knowledge was known about circumstances of death. The war dead were worshipped in their home counties, which may have been far away from their battlefields. Only when more information was acquired did variation was included. For example, from the list of martyrs submitted Mianchi County, the entry of a man named Wang Yuting 王玉琹, who was a private first class of the Army Fourth Division (*lujun disishi yidengbing* 陸軍第四師一等兵), contains a more specific note: “die from a head wound caused by a bullet” (*dan shang toubu siwang* 彈傷頭部死亡). His sophisticatedly crafted name (three characters of his names all contain the radical 王/玉 and the last character is uncommon) likely indicates his privileged family background. Since the late nineteenth century, with the rise of military professionalization and modern officers’ schools, a career in the armed forces was no longer frowned upon or reserved for the lower class.

Lists of names on the other hand vary greatly. One noteworthy feature is that the list of names is not organized by last name, date of death, rank, or division/company/platoon like what we have seen at the Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers in Nanjing. If there was an internal structure to these lists, it may be the order by which their names were enshrined.

More importantly, the enshrined ones were not just martyrs of the Republican revolution and the Nationalist regime. Lists of names were not limited to those who died heroically on the battlefield, yet included those who died from battle wounds or illness and even those who died from overwork or illness while working for the public good. In many cases, Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines included those who died protecting the county prior to the presence of Republicanism. For instance, Nanyang County’s shrine had 26 tablets of anti-bandit militia (*zhuangding* 壯丁) and Lushi County had 55 tablets of county’s protecting-the-citadel anti-bandit martyrs at the turn of the century. While many were killed at the onset of the War of Resistance, other enshrined martyrs died in previous conflicts. Besides the National Revolutionary Army, local militia and self-defense forces were also commemorated in Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines.

Jiangsu’s Postwar Provincial and County Shrines

In December 1945, the National Government on behalf of the Military Affairs Commission decreed that all liberated (*guangfu* 光復) provinces, municipalities, and counties establish Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines by following the 1940 measures.⁸⁵² During the 1946-1949 period, the

⁸⁵² “一般行政：遼寧省政府訓令：瀋民字第二五〇號（中華民國三十五年五月四日）：令各縣、市政府：奉令光復各區應籌設忠烈祠仰迅遵照辦理具報由” (General Administration: Liaoning Provincial Government ordered (May 4, 1946, *shenmin* no. 250) County and Municipal

Nationalist government did not pass new regulations concerning Loyal Martyrs' Shrines, yet it continued to use the 1940 ones as the guidelines.

In March 1946, Jiangsu government issued measures concerning the construction of a new provincial Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁸⁵³ The location was chosen to be the outskirts of Zhenjiang 鎮江 County. The shrine would be converted from an existing structure or built anew if none was found. The main hall would display extraordinary martyrs' spirit tablets and portraits while the two wings would be reserved for those of lesser martyrs. The shrine would include a monument, stone tablets, martyrs' tombs, exhibition halls (to display martyrs' works and commendation articles), pavilions, gardens, stone platforms and benches, and sacrifice utensils. The construction would be completed within six months. The counties would supply craftsmen for the construction and mementoes of martyrs for exhibition.

A few months later, the Jiangsu Provincial Government drafted the construction plan for its provincial Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. The old education department of the former Qingyun township (青雲鎮) in Zhenjiang was first picked to be the site for the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. However, the Zhenjiang county magistrate pointed out that the place apparently was in the middle of nowhere and without an existing religious structure. Zhenjiang County nominated the Zhaoyin Temple 招陰寺 on Mt. Deli 德鷗山 to the south of the county's walls.⁸⁵⁴ The total cost was estimated at over 139 million *yuan*.⁸⁵⁵ This was a colossal amount given that a document from the Accounting Office (*kuaiji chu* 會計處) dated May 3, 1947 showed that the revenue of Jiangsu Province from January to April was 586 million *yuan*.⁸⁵⁶ The Department of Construction (*jianshe ting* 建設廳) asked which funds would be used for the shrine conversion, to which the Office of Accounting replied: "per Jiangsu's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Measure's Article 9, the expenses for the construction of the provincial shrine shall be paid by the province."⁸⁵⁷ The paper trail ends here, which seems to indicate that no further step was taken.

The situation was more hopeful at the county level. Fifteen counties in Jiangsu had established some form of Loyal Martyrs' Shrine by 1948. Eight were in the process of building theirs, which means having formed construction committees, having drafted blueprints, or in the midst of construction. Out of the 19 counties without shrines, four however did compile and submit lists of local martyrs. Most counties cited the fact that the Japanese invasion had left them

Governments to report on construction of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in their jurisdiction), *Liaoning sheng gongbao* 遼寧省政府公報 (Liaoning Provincial Government Gazette) 4 (1946): 1.

⁸⁵³ "Jiangsu Provincial Government to all county governments," March 27, 1946, JPA 1004-yi-1711.

⁸⁵⁴ "Zhenjiang County Government to Jiangsu Department of Construction," 1946, JPA 1004-yi-1711.

⁸⁵⁵ "Zhenjiang County Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government," August 16, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2935.

⁸⁵⁶ "Office of Accounting (*Kuaiji chu* 會計處) annual report," May 3, 1947, JPA 1002-yi-2936.

⁸⁵⁷ "Office of Accounting to Department of Construction (*Jianshe ting*)," 1946, JPA 1004-yi-1711. (本祠建設經費由省支援)

penniless. Other countries petitioned that they either had just been liberated by the Nationalist Party and thus were in the process of administrative reorganization (Huaiyin 淮陰 and Pi 邳), or had come under the Communist control (Dongtai 東台, Donghai 東海, Pei 沛, and Dangshan 礪山).

While converting a shrine in 1936 cost in the tens to hundreds of *yuan*, constructing a new shrine after the war cost in the millions to the hundreds of millions of *yuan* due to hyperinflation. Jiangpu 江浦 County estimated its construction at 400 million (四億) *yuan* in September 1947. However, the estimated cost doubled at 800 million (八億) *yuan* in January 1948 leaving the construction forever in the planning state. As Jiangpu had to request a subsidy from the Provincial Government, the project was delayed.⁸⁵⁸ Reporting such a skyrocketing ticket price on a shrine might have been a strategy of Jiangpu county magistrate to avoid building one altogether. Given such high estimates, it was likely that the Provincial Government would order Jiangpu County to change the plan to utilizing one of its existing structures.

Even though converting existing structures was far less costly, it posed a considerable financial burden to postwar governments. From 1946 to 1948, prices of materials doubled and tripled every few months. Baoshan 寶山 County planned to convert a Shintō Myriad Soul Temple (*wanling ta* 萬靈塔) built during the Japanese occupation into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. The County Government estimated the reconstruction cost at 1 million (一百萬) *yuan* on March 23, 1946 and allocated 854,700 *yuan* to the project. In May, while in the middle of construction, the county government reported to the province that the price of construction materials had since doubled. The estimated cost submitted the previous year was no longer valid. In the new petition, the Baoshan County Government listed three items that went over budget. Another 290,000-*yuan* was required for the main stone monument (*shibei* 石碑), which bears 1,400 carved and inked characters (*shui kuang ke* 水況刻). In order to chisel (*zao yinwen* 鑿陰文) the 22 larger characters on the facing stone tablet (*shidui* 石對), it would cost an additional 10,000 *yuan*. For the victory tower with four sets of flights, three sides of polished stones, and five big characters and four small characters, the cost rose up to 200,000 *yuan*, ten times more than the original estimate of 20,000 *yuan*. In addition, Baoshan asked for 788,800 *yuan* for glass masonry (*shigong poli* 石工玻璃), 580,000 *yuan* for stonework labor and materials (*shizuo gongliao* 石作工料), and 208,000 *yuan* to install glass panels to doors and windows (*menchuang poli* 門窗玻璃).⁸⁵⁹ The county urgently needed more fund to complete its project. Either the fund was delivered or the furnishing plan was modified somehow because the construction was finished in July 1946. When the Provincial Government's accounting office came for inspection (*jianshou* 驗收) on the finished shrine, everything was in order except for the shrine tablets, which had the white background and black characters, instead of gold background and red characters.⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁸ "Jiangpu County Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government," September 3, 1947, JPA 1002-yi-2938.

⁸⁵⁹ "Baoshan County to Jiangsu Province," May 29, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2937.

⁸⁶⁰ "Office of Accounting's Inspection Report," August 6, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2937.

Judging from the Baoshan case, the aesthetic for war dead shrines seemed to transform in major ways, especially with the furnishing of glass and the favoring of black and white over gold and red. Glass allows more penetration of light during the day, makes the interior appear larger, and affords outsiders a clear view of the inside. Glass was also a symbol of modern buildings. With glass panes, the ritual space became more open and inclusive. One can imagine during commemorative events, government officials and martyrs' relatives were allowed in the shrine while hundreds of locals could effectively participate by gathering outside the shrine and observing the ceremony inside. With more light from glass openings came the choice of black and white colors for the spirit tablets. This black-white color scheme rejects both the traditional and the Nationalist aesthetics. The 1933 regulations dictated spirit tablets to have blue bases and gold letters as blue represents the sky in the Nationalist Party flag.⁸⁶¹ Gold and red, as auspicious colors, are favored in religious structures as they are more noticeable especially in low light. Black and white colors create an atmosphere of austerity and solemnity.

Renovation also took place in other counties, yet I do not find the same amount of detailed information as Baoshan County. In District 2 (二區區分所), the authorities spent 300,000 *yuan* on the renovation of the Taiqing Temple 泰清寺 to commemorate its 125 martyrs, one of who was a county magistrate. The shrine had one building priced at 300,000 *yuan* and five *shimu* of estate (about 0.8 acre) priced at 750,000 *yuan*. During the Japanese occupation, private worship activities (*siji* 私祭) were held. One person was posted to take care of materials in the shrine.⁸⁶² Wuxi 無錫 County reported in 1948 that it decided to convert the Mingxing Temple 明行寺 into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. In the spring of 1947, it had obtained approval from the monks in charge of the temple, and by summer it had finished the renovation.⁸⁶³

Some places were fortunately spared from the destruction of war. In District 3 (三區區分所), the authorities reported that it had converted the Great Sage Hall (*Dasheng dian* 大聖殿) of the local Lord Guan Temple into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in 1922. The conversion only cost 9,000 *yuan* then. It collected money from the people (*minjian* 民間) for the construction. The local shrine had 15 buildings, valued at 1,500,000 *yuan* as of 1946, sat on a five-*shimu* lot of land, valued at 400,000 *yuan*. The shrine contained 20 spirit tablets as well as tablets of Guan Yu and the Great Sage (Da Sheng 大聖, also known as the Monkey God). There was no management however.⁸⁶⁴

Jiangyin 江陰 County was exceptional in its state of affairs. The county had three Loyal Martyrs' Shrine according to its reports in 1946. In District 1, the authorities raised 800,000 *yuan* for the renovation of a former Manifest Loyalty Shrine built during the Tongzhi reign. The shrine had three buildings, estimated value 15 million *yuan*, but no arable land. The shrine stored 146 spirit tablets for martyred military men (*sinan jiangshi* 死難將士) and 135 ones for righteous

⁸⁶¹ Executive Yuan to National Government: "Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs and Construct Loyal Martyrs' Shrines and Memorial Steles," December 23, 1933, AH 001-012100-0006, file 50148276.

⁸⁶² "District 2 to Jiangsu Province," 1947, JPA 1002-yi-2939.

⁸⁶³ "Wuxi County to Jiangsu Province," January 5, 1948, JPA 1002-yi -2938.

⁸⁶⁴ "District 3 to Jiangsu Province," 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2939.

civilian (*yimin* 義民). The county held sacrificial activities regularly. The county directly managed the shrine and guards were posted at the gate.⁸⁶⁵ In addition, Jiangyin 江陰 County estimated over four million *yuan* to build a Resistance War Martyrs' Cemetery (*kangzhan zhonglie ci gongmu* 抗戰忠烈祠公墓) and commemorative memorial (*jinianbei* 紀念碑) in its Zhongshan Park. Over one million *yuan* was spent to excavate, enclose, and rebury its fallen officers and soldiers, and three million for the construction. The Department of Civil Affairs (*minzhengting* 民政廳) approved of the project and ordered the market prices be verified.⁸⁶⁶ The sense of urgency with regard to these projects was largely financially related.

Neither the National Government nor the Provincial Government dictated the exact format of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. It was really up to the county governments to improvise. Wu 吳 County reported that immediately after the war, it planned to convert an old imperial building (*huanggong* 皇宮) into Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. However, the Provincial Government disapproved the conversion plan because the building belonged to the national government (*guoyou* 國有). Only public structures (*gongyou* 公有) could be converted. The county since then could not find suitable structures and temporarily halted its plan.⁸⁶⁷

There were attempts by various groups to commemorate its dead. In May 14, 1946, Shanghai Municipal Committee of War-of-Resistance Martyred Comrades (上海市抗戰蒙難同志會) requested permission to build an Unnamed Hero Commemorative Tower (*wuming yingxiang jinian ta* 無名英雄紀念塔) to the nearly 100 revolutionaries who were starved to death in a Zhenjiang prison during the Japanese occupation and buried in unmarked graves on a small mound just outside the prison wall.⁸⁶⁸ The problem, however, as pointed out by the Zhenjiang 鎮江 County Government tasked by the Jiangsu Provincial Government to investigate the area, a pottery kiln (窯) had been built on the mound and could not be disassembled immediately to build a commemorative memorial.⁸⁶⁹

Wartime and Postwar Shrines

Similar to counties in Henan and Jiangsu, many localities built Loyal Martyrs' Shrines during the wartime and postwar periods. Without going into the local archives (except for Shanghai and Nanjing), I can only uncover few details about these shrines. Nonetheless, a brief summary of these shrines show the reach of the Republican martyrdom rhetoric and the Japanese influence.

⁸⁶⁵ "Jiangyin County to Jiangsu Province," September 4, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2939.

⁸⁶⁶ "Department of Civil Administration to Jiangyin County via Jiangsu Province," 1946, JPA 100-yi-2937.

⁸⁶⁷ "Wu County to Jiangsu Province," June 21, 1947, JPA 1002-yi-2937.

⁸⁶⁸ "Shanghai War-of-Resistance Fallen Comrade Committee (*Shanghai shi kangzhan mengnan tongzhi hui* 上海市抗戰蒙難同志會) to Jiangsu Provincial Government," May 14, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2935.

⁸⁶⁹ "Zhenjiang County Government to Jiangsu Provincial Government," August 16, 1946, JPA 1002-yi-2935.

Military Wartime Shrines

Wuhan was the center of the 1911 Revolution, the base of Wang Jingwei's leftist fraction of the Nationalist Party in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and the wartime capital for a few months in late 1937 and early 1938. One of the earliest efforts was when Sun Yat-sen as the first president of the Chinese republic ordered the four thousand martyrs of the October 1911 uprising in Wuhan commemorated. However, the battlefield was abandoned and became farmland after two decades.⁸⁷⁰ During its brief stint as the temporary capital of the Nationalists, the National Revolutionary Army turned the local Manifest Martyrdom Shrine (*biaozhong ci* 表烈祠) into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine to honor the fallen of the 13th Division. Spirit tablets were placed and sacrifices were made.⁸⁷¹ After the War of Resistance, Wuhan government renovated the shrine and performed a public sacrifice on July 7, 1947.⁸⁷²



Fig. 7-6: Wuchang's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. *Da Ya huabao* 大亞畫報 (Great Asia Pictorial) 311 (1931): 1.

⁸⁷⁰ Harrison, "Martyrs and Militarism," 41.

⁸⁷¹ "Guojun shisan shi zai Wuchang zhonglie ci zhuidao zhenwang jiangshi zhi jingtang: zhaopian 國軍十三師在武昌忠烈祠追悼陣亡將士之經堂: 照片" (National Army's 13th Division at Memorial Service for Fallen Officers and Soldiers at Wuchang Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's Hall), *Da Ya huabao* 大亞畫報 (Great Asia Pictorial) 311 (July 15, 1931): 1.

⁸⁷² The shrine still exists today.

Built in the early 1940s, Hunan's Nanyue 南岳 Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was modeled upon the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in Nanjing with the memorial arch and memorial halls lined up along a central axis. The road led to the Nanyue Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was also planked with cypress. It was the biggest Loyal Martyrs' Shrine built during wartime. There were 12 individual graves of generals and seven communal graves. In 1943, Chiang Kai-shek, Lin Sen, Kong Xiangxi, Li Zongren, Bai Chongxi, and other Nationalist members participated in the inauguration ceremony on July 7, the anniversary of the War of Resistance. In 1944, Hunan fell under the Japanese control and the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine suffered from damage.⁸⁷³ After the war, the government sought to add a victory monument to the complex. The 1946 *Nanyue War-of-Resistance Victory Monument Project Manual* (*Nanyue kangzhan shengli jinianbei gongcheng zhaiyao shuomingshu* 南嶽抗戰勝利紀念碑工程摘要說明書) shows a new sensibility.⁸⁷⁴ According to the *Manual*, a victory tower would be built on Mt. Zhurong 嶽祝. The structure would resemble a giant cross, or the character for 10 (十), (un)intentionally creating a Christian aesthetics. It was unclear if the plan was carried out.



Fig. 7-8: Nanyue Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. *Zhongguo kangzhan huashi* 中國抗戰畫史 (Chinese War of Resistance Pictorial History) (May 1947): 354.

In addition to shrines built by county governments, there were shrines built by the armed forces to commemorate particular military campaigns or divisions. In 1939, Changsha's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was built at the site of Lord Yue Pavilion (*Yuewang ting* 岳王亭) at the Heshi Slope 赫石坡 of the Yuelu Mountain 岳麓山 to commemorate the fallen of the Fourth Army (第

⁸⁷³ “Nanyue zhonglie ci 南嶽忠烈祠” (Nanyue Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Zhongguo kangzhan huashi* 中國抗戰畫史 (Chinese War of Resistance Pictorial History) (May 1947): 354.

⁸⁷⁴ “Hunan Provincial Governor, Wang Dongyuan, to the National Government,” October 9, 1946, AH 001-036000-0022, file 085003394.

四路军) who died in the Second Battle of Shanghai of 1937. In 1942, Henan's Shangcheng County 商城 built a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine to commemorate the 84th Army. In 1944, several generals of the NRA including He Yingqin commissioned a cemetery in Tengchong 騰衝, Yunnan, for the 50th Army and 54th Army of Chinese Expeditionary Forces during World War II. The Yunnan National Martyrs' Cemetery (*guoshang mu* 國殤墓) was completed in 1945.⁸⁷⁵

Conversion of Shintō Shrines in Postwar Nanjing, Shanghai, and Taipei

After the War of Resistance, the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek retook Nanjing and converted the Japanese Shintō shrine in Wutai Mountain 五台山 into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in order to worship "our war-of-resistance fallen soldiers and officers as well as civilians of the whole nation who died."⁸⁷⁶

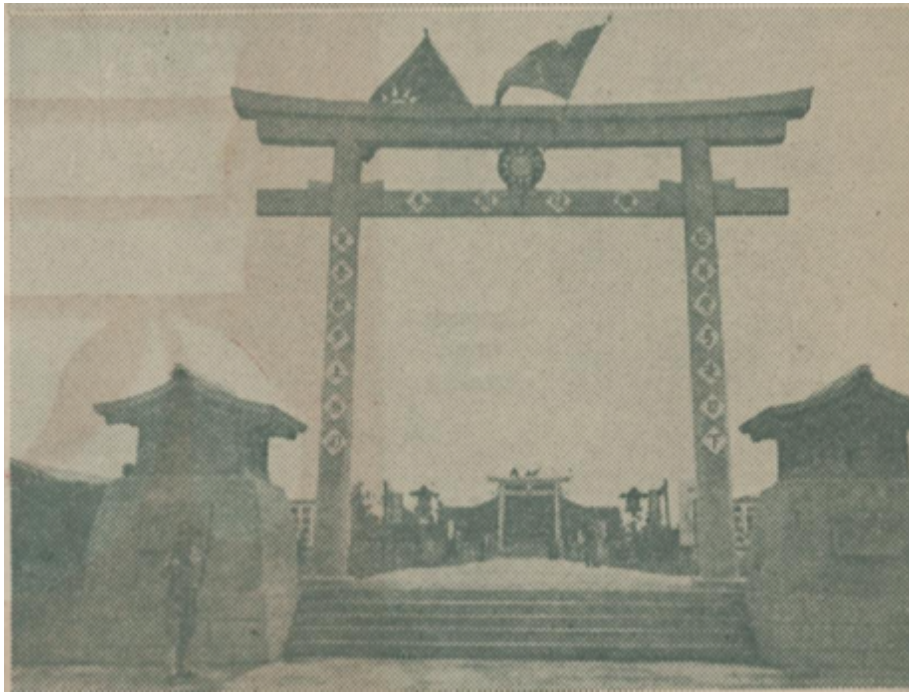


Fig. 7-3: Nanjing's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Converted from Japanese Shintō Shrine. *Zhihui* 智慧 (Knowledge) 3 (1946): 1.

The photo above shows the extent of the conversion. The *torii* gate and *tōrō* stone lanterns were preserved, and the Nationalist flags and emblem were added. In May 29, 1946, the government organized a display of war spoils (*zhanlipin* 戰利品), including Japanese airplanes

⁸⁷⁵ "Tengchong guoshang mu 騰衝國殤墓," *Yanjie* 眼界 (Field of Vision) 1 (1947): 75-77.

⁸⁷⁶ *Zhihui* 智慧 (Knowledge) 3 (1946): 1.

and military trucks, at the shrine as sacrifices to the fallen servicemembers and civilians of the war. Sacrificial provisions were replaced by machinery ones.⁸⁷⁷

In Shanghai, the government also appropriated the Shintō Shrine. In the winter of 1946, the Police Bureau and the Office of Civil Administration (*minzhengchu* 民政處) jointly took over the custody of the Japanese Shintō Shrine on Jiangwan 江灣 Road. The Municipal Government sought permission for the reconstruction plan from the Jinghu Garrison Command (*Jinghu weishu silingbu* 京滬衛戍司令部), yet no progress had been made.⁸⁷⁸ In March 1947, Shanghai Municipal Government wanted to convert the Japanese Shintō shrine into the city's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁸⁷⁹ However, because the government had yet to take over enemy's religious structures, the plan was delayed. The shrine was not unoccupied. According to the report by Shanghai Municipal Cultural Movement Committee (*Shanghai shi wenhua yungong weiyuanhui* 上海市文化運動委員會) to the Municipal Government, since January 1947, the Central Cultural Movement Committee had been granted the permission to use the Shintō Shrine from the Ministry of Defense. If the Municipal Government desired to retrieve this space, it would have to purchase it through the Bureau of Trust and Investment (*zhongxin ju* 中信局). In addition, as the lease was made with formal reception procedures (*zhengshi jieshou shouxu* 正式接收手續), which granted not only the use, but also the responsibility of protecting the space, formal transfer procedures (*zhengshi yijiao shouxu* 正式移交手續) had to be executed so as to make it legal (*fang wei hefa* 方為合法). The Bureau of Trust and Investment also used the auditorium (*yanjiang ting* 演講廳) as temporary dormitories for its staff. This arrangement was not on paper however.⁸⁸⁰ The Municipal Government moved forward with the shrine conversion plan, but was met with passive resistance from the districts.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸ "Shanghai Municipal Government to Police Bureau and Office of Civil Administration," 1946, Shanghai Municipal Archives (SMA) Q215-1-3729.

⁸⁷⁹ "Shanghai City Council (*canyihui*) to Shanghai Municipal Government," March 3, 1947, SMA Q109-1-769.

⁸⁸⁰ "Shanghai Municipal Cultural Movement Committee to Shanghai Municipal Government," August 1947, SMA Q119-5-145.



Fig. 7-4: Shanghai Shintō Shrine, c. 1930. Postcard.

In February 1947, the Municipal Government also ordered all districts to report whether their jurisdiction had a war dead monument to be converted and to gather mementos of war martyrs to be displayed at the new Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. Fourteen districts replied that they had none of shrines or martyrs-related items. In June 1947, the Municipal Government appealed to the Ministry of the Interior that because Shanghai was a “number one city in the nation” (*benshi wei wuguo diyi dushi* 本市為吾國第一部市), which was “looked up to both domestically and internationally” (*zhongwai guandu* 中外觀瞻), building a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was an urgent task.⁸⁸¹ However, the Shintō Shrine was still occupied by various organizations. The Shanghai Municipal Cultural Movement Committee then proposed to convert just the back of the Shintō Shrine, which contained the spirit hall (*shendian* 神殿), into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁸⁸²

On September 25, 1947, the Bureau of Public Works submitted estimated costs to the Municipal Government's Accounting Office (*kuaiji chu*). For a Western-style (*Xishi* 西式) shrine, the estimated cost was about 3,77 billion *yuan*, which breaks down to: 3.3 billion *yuan* for material, 330 million *yuan* for transportation, and miscellaneous costs just shy of 164 million *yuan*. The blueprint shows a model resembling a neoclassical mausoleum. The calculated cost for a Chinese-style (*Zhongshi* 中式) shrine was much higher: over 5.3 billion *yuan* with over 4.6

⁸⁸¹ “Meeting procedures of Shanghai Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's Construction Committee” (籌建上海忠烈祠會議程序), June 1947, SMA Q201-2-406.

⁸⁸² “Report from Zhang Che, representative of Shanghai Municipal Cultural Movement Committee,” June 24, 1947, SMA Q201-2-406.

billion *yuan* for materials, 464 million *yuan* for transportation, and miscellaneous costs of 232 million *yuan*. The projected shrine resembles a pagoda with tiles and sloping roofs.⁸⁸³

In June 8, 1948, the Bureau of Public Works reported to the Shanghai Municipal Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee that it had received the order to investigate the Japanese Temple of the Primal Vow (Hong'an-ji) at the intersection of Zhapu 乍浦 and Wujin 武進 Road. The Construction Committee in its fifth meeting had agreed to pick this temple because as a religion-style structure (*zongjiao shi jianzhu* 宗教式建築), the Temple was usable (*ke shiyong* 可適用) for conversion and the transportation was convenient. The Bureau's investigators reported that the Navy had taken over the Temple's dwelling place (*gongyu* 公寓) and used it as their social club (*jule bu* 俱樂部) and housing for the naval workers' union (*hai yuan gonghui* 海員工會). The worship buildings (*miaoyu* 廟宇) could be converted into a shrine even though parts of them were being used as the Central Library (*Zhongyang tushuguan* 中央圖書館) and Central Museum (*Zhongyang bowuguan* 中央博物館). The investigators could not inspect other parts that were being sealed up. If the government desired to convert them into the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, it would "have to deal with the issue of property rights first."⁸⁸⁴ The Bureau of Public Works also hired Zhengchang Engineering Corporation (正昌工程公司) estimated cost was over 1,4 billion *yuan*.⁸⁸⁵ The paper trail ends here, undoubtedly due to the retreat in the horizon for the Nationalists.

In Taiwan, eight Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were built during the 1930s-1950s. The majority of them were constructed during the Civil War. Taoyuan 桃園, Jilong 基隆, Hualian 花蓮, and Jiayi 嘉義 counties built their shrines in 1946. Taidong 臺東 built its in 1947. Zhanghua 彰化's shrine was built in 1930, Taipei 臺北 County's in 1953, and Yilan 宜蘭 County's in 1954. There were reportedly 16 Loyal Martyrs' Shrines throughout Taiwan that were converted from Shintō Shrines.⁸⁸⁶ In a rare footage showing the ceremony at Xinzhu 新竹 County's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in 1946, the master of ceremonies burnt incense and read elegies in front of martyrs' spirit

⁸⁸³ "Shanghai Bureau of Public Works to Office of Accounting," September 25, 1947, SMA Q215-1-3729.

⁸⁸⁴ "Shanghai Bureau of Public Works to Shanghai Municipal Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee," January 6, 1948, SMA Q119-5-145. (須先行解決產權問題)

⁸⁸⁵ "Estimated costs submitted by Zhengchang Engineering Corporation," July 4, 1948, SMA Q119-5-145.

⁸⁸⁶ Cai Jintang, "Taiwan de zhonglie ci yu Riben de huguo shenshe jingguo shenshe zhi bijiao yanjiu 臺灣的忠烈祠與日本的護國神社。靖國神社之比較研究 (A Comparative Study on Taiwan's Martyrs' Shrine versus Japan's Gokoku Shrine and Yasukuni Shrine), *Shida Taiwan shixue bao* 師大台灣史學報 (Taiwan Normal University's Taiwanese History Journal) 3 (March 2010): 3-22.

tablets.⁸⁸⁷ According to the caption, the site used to be a Japanese Shintō Shrine, and several hundred people reportedly attended the 1946 public sacrifice.

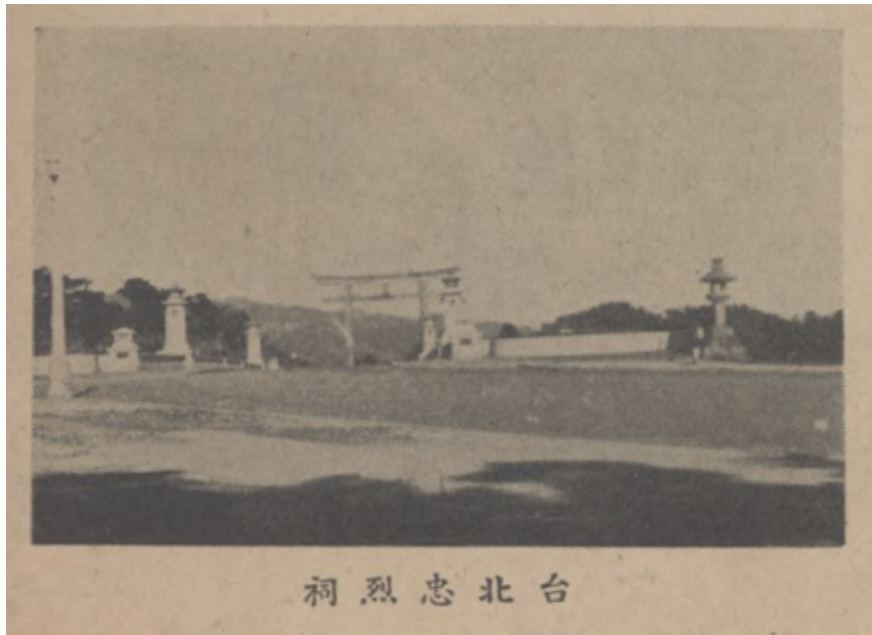


Fig. 7-5: Taipei's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Converted from Japanese Shintō Shrine. "Taipei zhonglie ci," *Taiwan gongye* 台灣工業 (*Taiwan Industry*) (January 1947), n.p.

Taipei's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was built upon Taiwan's Protecting-the-Nation Shrine (*Taiwan huguo shenshe* 台灣護國神社) in 1969. The original Shintō shrine was constructed in 1942 during the war to commemorate soldiers who died for the Japanese Empire, including the Taiwanese aborigines. The Nationalists in exile named the newly converted shrine the National Revolutionary Loyal Martyrs' Shrine (*Guomin geming zhonglie ci*) and made it as the "temporary" capital shrine. Chiang Kai-shek ordered martyrs of Taiwan, such as Qiu Fengjia 丘逢甲 (1864-1912), Luo Fuxing 羅福星 (1886-1914), Mona Ludao 莫那魯道 (1880-1930), Hanaoka Ichirō (花岡一郎, Dakis Nomin, 1908-1930), Chiang Wei-shui (Jiang Weishui 蔣渭水, 1890-1931), and Yu Qingfang 余清芳 (1879-1915), to be enshrined. These martyrs were Hakka, indigenous, and overseas Chinese, who fought for the Qing government during the First Sino-Japanese War and resisted the Japanese colonialism.⁸⁸⁸ The conversion of Shintō shrines into

⁸⁸⁷ Video of the ceremony: "Xinzhu xian zhonglie ci juxing dianli liuying 新竹縣忠烈祠舉行典禮留影" (Record of the Ceremony at Xinzhu County's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), 1946. <<http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/31/98/80.html>> Accessed May 15, 2017.

⁸⁸⁸ The Shrine nowadays honors martyrs from the early twentieth century including those of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising. Tourists visit the Shrine for the spectacular change-of-guard ceremony inside the front gate. Only a few visitors make their way to the two main halls, one for civilian martyrs and the other for military martyrs.

Loyal Martyrs' Shrines was not only to deprive the enemies' souls of a proper afterlife, but also to appropriate the sites' spiritual power.

Beijing/Beiping Eight Treasures Mountain

Besides the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine within the Altar of Agriculture, Republican-era Beiping established another Loyal Martyrs' Shrine by converting the Loyal Spirit Tower (*Zhongling ta*) built during the Japanese occupation. The site was located at the western suburb, at the foot of the Eight Treasures Mountain (*Babao shan* 八寶山). According to the introduction plaque at the site, the Eight Treasures Mountain was populated with religious structures. Although it was called "mountain" in Chinese, the site is only slightly elevated. During the Yuan era, the Efficacious Prosperity Temple (*Lingfu si* 靈福寺) was built at the foothill. There was also an Extending-Longevity Temple (*Yanshou si* 延壽寺). The Yongle Emperor 永樂 (r. 1402-1424) built an ancestral hall to General Gang Bing 剛秉 (? - c. 1411), who, according to legend, castrated himself to display his loyalty. Gang Bing became the patron saint of eunuchs and the temple estate became a livelihood for retired eunuchs as well as their burial ground. It was also known as Eunuchs' Temple (*Taijian miao* 太監廟). The Lingfu Temple was burnt during the middle Ming and no longer existed afterwards. The Extending-Longevity Temple was then expanded and renamed the Maintaining-Loyalty Protecting-the-Country Temple (*Baozhong huguo ci* 保忠護國祠). Archival materials at the Beijing Municipal Archives reveal that when Japan invaded in 1937, they renovated this temple into the Loyal Spirit Tower (*Zhongling ta* 忠靈塔) to worship Japanese fallen soldiers.⁸⁸⁹ The space was extended and more buildings were added during 1937-1945.

The Eight Treasures Mountain was under the jurisdiction of Wanping 宛平 County, west of Beiping. As the Eight Treasures Mountain is located outside the urban center, the religious site sits on a vast amount of land. Each county-level Loyal Martyrs' Shrine usually occupied less than 10-*shimu* (1.7 acre) lot.⁸⁹⁰ The Municipal Government planned to put the 540-*shimu* (89 acre) lot of land that belonged to the Eight Treasures Mountain religious complex to good use. In 1946, Beiping proposed to either collect rents from the land or construct a martyrs' cemetery.⁸⁹¹

After the War of Resistance, the shrine was abandoned without a custodian, allowing it to be easily appropriated.⁸⁹² The National Government in 1946 turned it into a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine

⁸⁸⁹ "Report on *Zhongling ta*, including the construction plan in Japanese," 1937, BMA J017-001-03270.

⁸⁹⁰ "Henan Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior," 1941, AH 26000013552A. According to Henan's surveys, the vast majority of shrines sat on one or two *shimu* of land (0.165-0.33 acres). Only one had 40 *shimu* (6.6 acres) and a few had five to nine *shimu* (0.8-1.5 acres).

⁸⁹¹ "Beiping Municipal Government to Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Management Bureau," October 14, 1946, BMA J001-007-00655.

⁸⁹² "Police Bureau to Beiping Municipal Government," 1946, BMA J185-002-05069.

for 38 National Revolutionary Army generals and political martyrs.⁸⁹³ Among them are Zhang Zizhong 張自忠 (1891-1940), a Commander in Chief and the highest-ranked officer to die in battle, Tong Lin'ge 佟麟閣 (1892-1937), the Deputy Commander of the 29th Army in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and the Battle of Beiping-Tianjin in 1937, and Zhao Dengyu 趙登禹 (1898-1937), a division commander in the 29th Army, who displayed great valor in various battles. All three were killed in action during the War of Resistance.

The Municipal Government held a shrine completion ceremony, and several public memorial services until the end of the Republican era. In 1946, a memorial service was organized on June 1. It was not clear why June 1 (Saturday) was chosen. In 1948, a memorial service took place on February 1 (Sunday), probably facilitated participation.⁸⁹⁴ A 1946 photographic report describes how the 76-foot white pagoda lent a feel of magnificence to the shrine and the three-story sacrifice hall (*jítáng* 祭堂) was accessible by stone staircases. Relatives of martyrs, mostly women, were shown weeping at the shrine. General Li Zongren and Beiping mayor, Xiong Bin 熊斌 attended the ceremony.⁸⁹⁵ Interestingly, evidence of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine came from a pictorial documentary on Beiping's culture published in the *United Pictorial* (*Lianhe huabao* 聯合畫報). The newspaper spread juxtaposed the public sacrifice at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine with the spirit dance at the Yonghegong in which people in the masks of the heavenly gods performed to a cheerful crowd.⁸⁹⁶

On September 20, 1947, the Education Bureau organized an enshrinement ceremony for 13 martyrs who had died during the War of Resistance.⁸⁹⁷ Twelve martyrs were hailed from different provinces and would be also commemorated at their home counties' shrines. One martyr, named Yue Kui 樂夔, from Beiping who worked in a pharmacy within the French concession in Tianjin and committed suicide in order to avoid collaborating with the Japanese, would be enshrined in both places. His biography was a page long while others were allotted just one line each.⁸⁹⁸ In 1950, the shrine became Revolutionaries' Cemetery (*Geming gongmu* 革命公墓) where high-ranking politicians of the Communist Party were buried.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹³ "Beiping Municipal Government to Police Bureau," February 1, 1946, BMA J017-001-03115.

⁸⁹⁴ "Beiping Municipal Government to Police Bureau," October 11, 1948, BMA J181-016-00412.

⁸⁹⁵ "Kangzhan zhu xianlie ruci zhonglieci dadian 抗戰諸先烈入祠忠烈祠大典 (Enshrinement Ceremony for War-of-Resistance Martyrs at Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Lianhe huabao* 聯合畫報 (United Pictorial) 171-172 (1946): 16.

⁸⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸⁹⁷ "Education Bureau to Beiping Municipal Government," September 30, 1947, BMA J004-004-00226.

⁸⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹⁹ Another cemetery for civilians was constructed adjacent. Because of its transformation, the shrine survives until today. One can take Beijing Subway westward to the end of Line 1. The place is teemed with flower wreaths, coffins, embalming, and cremation shops. From the Eight Treasures Mountain Station, one can walk up the hill into the cemetery compounds, where many layers of tile-roofed buildings with blue and red-glazed decor show their Republican-era imprints.

In 1947, the municipal Civil Affairs Bureau reported that several villages adjacent to the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine had petitioned to build an elementary school for children of martyrs within the shrine's estate and sought financial support from the municipality.⁹⁰⁰ The school would provide tuition-free education to offspring and siblings of those that died in the line of duty. Although the Education Bureau initially contemplated about building the school as a public one, it decided to privatize. The cost of building the school would be raised independently and without government funding (*zizu zigei, bing wugongjia buzhu* 自足自給, 並無公家補助).⁹⁰¹ However, in order to offset its operation costs, the school requested to receive the fund initially slated for a martyrs' cemetery from the Bureau of Public Works (*Gongwu ju* 工務局).⁹⁰² According to the Beiping Private Loyal and Sacrificing Elementary School Brief Regulations, the school would be operated with the rent collected from the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's estate and with sponsorship from local offices and businesses. Students would not have to pay tuition, yet they would have to make a deposit of 20,000 *yuan* in order to prevent dropouts.⁹⁰³

All over China: Postwar Shrines

After the War of Resistance, distant places in the far north and west, such as Heilongjiang, Chahar 察哈爾, and Gansu, also built their Loyal Martyrs' Shrines built during the Chinese Civil War.⁹⁰⁴ The *Tianshan Pictorial* reported that Zhang Zhizhong 張治中 in 1948 organized a public sacrifice at Lanzhou's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁹⁰⁵ On October 9 and 10, 1947, General Fu Zuoyi 傅作義 (1895-1974) held commemoration for the war dead at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in Zhangyuan 張垣, the capital of Chahar Province (1928-1936).⁹⁰⁶ Fu was an officer under Yan Xishan, and served in the Northern Expedition after Yan pledged allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek. Fu then fought the Manchukuo and Japanese troops in Jehol (Rehe), Chahar, and Suiyuan

⁹⁰⁰ "Civil Affairs Bureau to Beiping Municipal Government," August 30, 1947, BMA J004-003-00660.

⁹⁰¹ "Education Bureau to Beiping Municipal Government," 1947, BMA J004-003-00660.

⁹⁰² "Beiping Municipal Government to Education Bureau," February 16, 1948, BMA J004-003-00660.

⁹⁰³ "Bureau of Civil Administration (*Minzheng ju*) to Beiping Municipal Government," September 1947, BMA J004-003-00660.

⁹⁰⁴ "Gansu Provincial Government to Ministry of the Interior," 1947, Gansu Provincial Archives (GSPA) 59-002-0020.

⁹⁰⁵ "Zhang zhuren zhi zhong fan Lan: Zhang zhuren zai Lanzhou gongji zhonglie ci 張主任治中返蘭: 張主任在蘭州公祭忠烈祠" (Chairman Zhang Zhizhong returned to Lanzhou: Chairman Zhang at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine's public sacrifice in Lanzhou), *Tianshan huabao* 天山畫報 (Tianshan Pictorial) 6 (1948): 27.

⁹⁰⁶ Zhangyuan is also known as Kalgan from the Yuan to the Qing dynasty, and as Zhangjiakou now in Hebei province.

throughout the War of Resistance.⁹⁰⁷ With such victories in 1936, Fu Zuoyi erected a Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in Zhangyuan and ordered coffins (*linggui* 靈櫃) of fallen officers placed there. The newspaper spread also contained photographs of General Fu Zuoyi with a Nationalist Party's flag flying in the background, a stony-looking tablet inscribed with names of martyrs on one side and Japanese surrender document on the other, caskets paraded through the streets, and troops and civilians at the public sacrifice.⁹⁰⁸ Such commemoration in accordance to the Nationalist government's guidelines attested to the authority of the Nationalist Party, or more credibly the Nationalist influence with regard to the commemoration mode, outside its southern base.



Fig. 7-9: Zhangyuan Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, 1947. Li Yaosheng 李堯生, “張垣忠烈祠落成典禮 The Patriots' Temple at Chang-hua Founded,” *Huanqiu* 寰球 (The Universe) 25 (1947), n. p.

The report on Zhangyuan Loyal Martyrs' Shrine came from *Huanqiu*, a bi-lingual newspaper, was published from 1945 to 1949 out of Shanghai. It contained news and photographs of the War of Resistance, emphasizing the connection between China and the world.

In Guangdong, the plan for a new provincial shrine was discussed as early as December 1945. The Guangdong Provincial Shrine Construction Committee met twenty-two times from

⁹⁰⁷ Fu surrendered to the Communist forces and later held offices in the People's Republic of China.

⁹⁰⁸ Li Yaosheng 李堯生, “Zhangyuan zhonglie ci luocheng dianli 張垣忠烈祠落成典禮 The Patriots' Temple at Chang-hua Founded,” *Huanqiu* 寰球 (The Universe) 25 (1947), n. p.

late-1945 to mid-1947, and raised over 55 million *yuan* from politicians, local gentry, and overseas Chinese.⁹⁰⁹ The photograph below shows the shrine having been completed on May 5, 1947.



Fig. 7-7: Guangdong Provincial Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. *Zhong-Mei Zhouhai* 中美周報 (*Sino-American Weekly* 239 (1947): 1.

A brief from 1948 showed that citizens supported the war commemorative project. In 1948, a relative of a martyr enshrined in Tianjin Loyal Martyrs' Shrine submitted a complaint to the municipal Weekly's citizen mailbox (*shimin xinxiang* 市民信箱) complaining that each time he passed by the shrine, he saw the management staff playing a reed and singing opera for their own amusement (*lahuang changxi zuole* 拉簧唱戲作樂) at the back of the shrine. The complainer was indignant as the shrine was supposed to be an esteemed sacred place (*chongjing zhi shengdi* 崇敬之聖地) and such act of amusement in its vicinity disrespected the martyrs who died for the nation. The *Tianjin Municipal Weekly* editors also sent another host of complaints to the Bureau of Civil Administration (*Minzheng ju*) about how the management staff polluted the shrine with merriment and bought electricity line for their light bulbs even though the coal-lit lamps were sufficient.⁹¹⁰ In this case, citizens policed the shrine.

⁹⁰⁹ "Report of the 12th meeting of Guangdong Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee," November 29, 1946, Guangdong Provincial Archives (GPA) 6-2-2069, 54-58; Report of the 15th meeting of Guangdong Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee," January 13, 1947, GPA 6-2-2069, 87-88.

⁹¹⁰ "Shimin xintong: Zhonglie ci nei bu ying la chang: Minzheng ju cheng guanli zhonglie ci zhiyuan bing wu la chang zhi ju 市民信箱: 忠烈祠內不應拉唱: 民政局稱管理忠烈祠職員並

Conclusion

While the Nationalist government was particularly concerned with and commemorating its citizens who died for its existence, it only provided a broad template for constructing Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The central government allowed local authorities to manage within their own financial resources and allegiance to Nanjing. Certainly, not all counties followed order and only a few executed exactly according to the regulations. Many counties had some form of Loyal Martyrs' Shrines, yet local authorities included more than just Nationalist soldiers. Martyrs that died during the Ming-Qing transition and local heroes protecting villages from bandits continued to inhabit the same space as anti-Japanese fallen soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army.

There was a shifting centrality in the context of multiple active wars on a massive scale. Counties in Jiangsu were active in building shrines in 1936. However, following the Japanese invasion, only a few counties in Jiangsu had Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in the early 1940s. After the Nationalists moved their capital to the southwest, provinces like Sichuan and Gansu became more active in establishing Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The War of Resistance and the subsequent victory allowed the Nationalist government to gain allegiances from distant provinces, such as Heilongjiang, Charhar, Xikang, Suiyuan, and Qinghai.

Did the project of constructing Loyal Martyrs' Shrines throughout the territory that it controlled help unify China under the Nationalist Party? First, the common presence of such structures as Manifest Loyalty Shrines, Confucius Temples, and Guan-Yue Shrines indicated that these provinces were already sharing similar political, social, cultural repertoires. The Nationalists did not attempt to overthrow these physical structures, yet sought to insert its political agenda of the national revolution in the existing deposits. Second, the experience of unprecedented warfare throughout China during the first half of the twentieth century added further layers to the shared history. Therefore, the act of commemorating the war dead deepened the tie between the state and the community. Third, there was no explicitly stated punishment for counties that failed to build Loyal Martyrs' Shrines or to submit reports, or to include martyrs' biographies. Nevertheless, what was the initiative for local governments other than that they wanted to commemorate their own dead and wanted their residents to enjoy the recognition of the dominant authority? Last, the National Government's policy to build Loyal Martyrs' Shrines of was not likely met with enthusiasm, which is understandable given the expenses. Even though many counties were lukewarm in their response and many Loyal Martyrs' Shrines were rather makeshift, the presence of reports from these counties showed their recognition of a central government. It is because the central and the local interests met each other halfway. The former sought to legitimize its power through monopolizing the value of death in each locality. The later confronted with massive loss of life clung to the new meanings offered by the central government. It is safe to say that the Japanese invasion created the Chinese nation-state in the sense that the massive level destruction made people look for ways to comprehend their experiences. The Nationalists, who since the Mukden Incident in 1931 had been anxiously waiting for the Japanese aggression to materialize, prepared its base of support by implementing the a-shrine-in-every-county policy. By doing so, the central government further infused the

無拉唱之舉” (City dwellers' mailbox: One should not play music or sing inside the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine), *Tianjin shi zhoukan* 6.10 (1948): 13.

notion of nationalism. Such rhetoric of patriotism was substantiated by such extensive commemoration of the First Shanghai War of 1932. The Nationalists were to some extent able to rally the popular support for its war effort. When they had to retreat from the Japanese advances into China's interior, the Nationalists crafted new ideal of heroic civilians fighting the Japanese behind enemy lines.

Chapter 8

Mobilizing the Dead in Wartime Chongqing

Extreme poverty, air raids, refugees, and public health crises feature prominently in the majority of scholarship on wartime Chongqing.⁹¹¹ The China scholar Chang Jui-te emphasizes the figures: 9,000 bomb sorties, 20,000 bombs, 30,000 injured or killed people, 20,000 destroyed buildings, and countless other damages.⁹¹² Such estimates, however shocking, reveals little about the human agency in the mountainous interior of China.

One aspect of the wartime capital is the mobilization of the war dead. This section analyzes the effort to commemorate the war dead in Chongqing during its tenure as the wartime capital (1938-1945) of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government. By focusing on the interaction among the central government, the Chongqing Municipal Government, and various social and religious groups over the construction of the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine to commemorate Nationalist soldiers, I highlight the changing ways of worshipping the war dead. I characterize this tension over the shrine construction as a battle between the living and the dead over whom contributed more to nation-building and the war effort. War needs to be endowed with meaning, and the dead, silent but potent, can be crucial to crafting a narrative of national sacrifice. The dead might have lost their lives, but posthumously won the battle of significance. The living benefit the state, yet the dead make the nation.

This chapter traces the history of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines in Chongqing. The municipal Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, which had been built in the mid-1930s, suffered damage during the War of Resistance and could no longer served its purpose. The National Government, having evacuated to Chongqing in 1938, wanted to build a provisional capital shrine to affirm its status against Wang Jingwei's (1883-1944) collaborationist government in Nanjing. After reviewing public religious structures in the city, the Ministry of the Interior chose the Guan-Yue Temple for conversion.⁹¹³ This decision led to various spatial, financial, and political issues. The Guan-Yue Temple and its estate provided islands of normalcy and livelihood for over 100 Daoist followers, spirit-molding advocates, small business owners, and refugee farmers, whose presence and memories of war were erased by the central government's urgent need to monopolize religiosity and power. Ironically, after the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine of the "complementary capital" was

⁹¹¹ Li, *Echoes of Chongqing*; Lee McIsaac, "The City as Nation: Creating a Wartime Capital in Chongqing," in *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Joseph W. Esherick, 174-191 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Nicole Elizabeth Barnes, "Protecting the National Body: Gender and Public Health in Southwest China during the War with Japan, 1937-1945" (PhD Diss., University of California, Irvine, 2012).

⁹¹² Chang Jui-te, "Bombs Don't Discriminate? Class, Gender, and Ethnicity in the Air-Raid-Shelter Experiences of the Wartime Chongqing Population," in *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China*, ed. James Flath and Norman Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 59.

⁹¹³ Guan-Yue Temples are dedicated to Guan Yu and Yue Fei, two mythologized general worshipped for their loyalty.

completed, it immediately fell out of use. In 1945, Chongqing held the victory celebration at the Fuxing Pass Stadium, a vast space, signaling the need to build a different kind of shrine that could resonate more with the role of the Chinese military during World War II. After Chiang Kai-shek's government moved back to Nanjing in 1945, Chongqing sought to retain its political position by planning to construct another shrine as memento of its wartime capital status. The plan however remained unrealized. This microhistory of the construction of shrines for the dead in wartime China illustrates how war transformed the relationship between the living and the dead. The fleeing officials could not bring to Chongqing the founding father, Sun Yat-sen, and Northern Expedition soldiers, which fell into the hands of the collaborationist government of Wang Jingwei. It was thus critical to the Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government to sanctify its wartime capital with the spirits of its loyal dead.⁹¹⁴

This chapter also illustrates how war slowly eroded the social fabric. In Chongqing, the two mythologized generals, Guan Yu and Yue Fei, were appropriated to serve as paragon of patriotism, and then discarded when the Nationalist government wanted to emphasize its military alliance with the Allies rather than its connection with the past. Despite protest from local groups, the government went on to destroy the final remnants of the Guan-Yue Temple for its Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. The effigies of Guan Yu and Yue Fei, being removed from the main hall to the corner of the back hall and then almost evicted, symbolized the gradual diminution of traditional forces. This process foreshadowed the overhaul of culture in later decades.

A Shrine for the Capital-on-the-Move

The desire to create a spiritual center in the wartime capital came from the central government. After Chiang Kai-shek relocated the Nationalist government from Wuhan to Chongqing in late 1938, the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was not on the agenda until a year and a half later. In June 1940, the Executive Yuan proposed building a "moving capital" (*xingdu* 行都) Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in Chongqing.⁹¹⁵ This was a critical political move to establish Chongqing as the legitimate capital of the Republic in response to Wang Jingwei's establishment of a collaborationist government in Nanjing in March 1940. Wang's government in Nanjing inherited Sun Yat-sen (*Zhongshan*) Mausoleum and the Public Cemetery for National Revolutionary Army Fallen Officers and Soldiers, both of which embodied the spiritual legitimacy of the Republic and the Nationalist Party. Furthermore, after Chongqing had just experienced a massive air battle on May 22, the Nationalist leaders felt an absolute need to reinforce its spiritual center.

⁹¹⁴ Andrew Barshay offers comparative insights into the evacuation of the gods and the living when the Japanese Empire disintegrated. When Japan lost the war in 1945, the spirits of the sun goddess Amaterasu and the emperor Meiji were ritually hurried back to the imperial palace in Tokyo. The gods at local shrines were buried by their fleeing worshippers. High-ranking military officers and civil officers, as the human "gods," were promptly evacuated while the rest of the colonial society were left to their own device. Andrew E. Barshay, *The Gods Left First: The Captivity and Repatriation of Japanese POWs in Northeast Asia, 1945-1956* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 1-2.

⁹¹⁵ "Executive Yuan's decree (陽字 no. 12437)," June 6, 1940 and "Ministry of the Interior's decree (渝禮字 no. 828)," June 27, 1940, Chongqing Municipal Archives (CMA) 60-1-190, 1.

The Executive Yuan ordered the Chongqing Municipal Government to organize a shrine conversion committee with representatives from the Executive Yuan, the Ministry of the Interior, the Military Affairs Commission, and the Ministry of Education. The June 1940 decree referred to a line from the *Book of Rites* as grounds to construct a shrine “benefactors of the people are worthy of worship”⁹¹⁶ as the reason for building a shrine. It mentioned examples of Zhang Xun 張巡 (709-757), who defended the Tang Dynasty at the Battle of Suiyang during the An Lushan Rebellion, and Zhou Yuji 周遇吉 (?-1644), who fought against Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606-1645), the rebel that brought down the Ming Dynasty. The choice to celebrate these two generals, known for maintaining the utmost loyalty to their respective collapsing empires, no doubt alluded to the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek’s army by the Japanese and condemned Wang Jingwei’s collaborationist government in Nanjing. Accordingly, Republican government officials and servicemembers who died heroically should be ritually comforted. The decree further proclaimed that Republican government officials and servicemembers who died heroically should be worshipped because their “essence and sincerity reached heaven and earth, and moved ghosts and spirits to tears”⁹¹⁷ ... A shrine shall be built so that their names will be stored, their tablets established, and sacrificial provisions and incense offered to their everlasting spirits.⁹¹⁸

From June 1940 to June 1942, representatives from the Ministry of the Interior, Chongqing Municipal Government, Police Bureau, and Social Affairs Bureau held multiple meetings and sent countless documents on the subject of choosing a site for the capital-on-the-move’s Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. The process was delayed for various reasons at both the central and local levels. From June to November 1940, the shrine construction committee (*zhonglie ci jianshe weiyuanhui* 忠烈祠建設委員會) met over a dozen times, yet no real progress can be seen in the meeting records. In September 1940, the Public Work Bureau reported to the Municipal Government that the representatives (*paiyuan* 派員) from the Executive Yuan had not shown up on August 12 as scheduled.⁹¹⁹ The Municipal Government was not impressed by the absences, especially when it was under the pressure to comply with the “Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” (*Zhonglie ci sheli ji baoguan banfa* 忠烈祠設立及保管辦法) and the “General Guidelines for Offering Sacrifices to Officials and Civilians Who Loyal Sacrificed Their Lives during the War of Resistance and Constructing Commemorative Tablets” (*Kangdi xunnan zhonglie guanmin cisi ji jianli jinian fangbei banfa dagang* 抗敵殉難忠烈官民祠祀及建立紀念坊碑辦法大綱). Both were issued on September 20, 1940.

At the central level, Feng Yuxiang, chairman of the Henan-Shanxi-Gansu Political Subcouncil and member of the Military Affairs Commission, also proposed to the Ministry of Defense a model of the capital (*shoudu* 首都) Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in 1940.⁹²⁰ Kong Xiangxi,

⁹¹⁶ (禮曰「有功德於民者則祀之」)

⁹¹⁷ (精誠所感動天地而泣鬼神)

⁹¹⁸ “Executive Yuan to Chongqing Municipal Government,” June 6, 1940, CMA 53-20-409, 12-13.

⁹¹⁹ “Bureau of Public Work to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 17, 1940, CMA 60-1-190, 4.

⁹²⁰ Feng’s proposal was discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Vice President of the Executive Yuan also proposed to build a capital-on-the-move (*xingdu* 行都) shrine.⁹²¹ In February 1941, Wu Guozhen 吳國楨 (1903-1984), Chongqing Mayor, proposed to the Ministry of the Interior that the Municipal Government could establish an alternate or provisional capital (*peidu* 陪都) shrine by renovating the existing, yet dilapidated, shrine.⁹²² As Chongqing was officially recognized as the “provisional capital” as of September 1940, the Executive Yuan agreed that it should have its own “permanent” (*yongjiu cunzai* 永久存在) shrine. The aspiration for permanence stood a deep contrast to wartime destruction. By 1941, Japan had occupied major parts of China’s northern and coastal provinces. Chongqing was bombed heavily in August of the same year. Wu hoped that after the war ended and the central government moved back to Nanjing, this provisional capital shrine would not be reallocated to the official capital.⁹²³ Nevertheless, despite all the committee meetings during the early 1940s, issues of planning and financing kept the project from moving forward.

In 1941, the National Government set up the guidelines for the provisional capital shrine. The budget was capped at 65,000 *yuan* and would come from the National Treasury. The chosen site should be within 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) of the municipal boundary. The structure would have the following items: one large hall, one back hall, two side halls for the display of martyrs’ mementos and portraits, a reading room, a resting room for visitors, a gatehouse, and two lodging rooms. The site would also have flowerbeds or a small garden. The project would begin in May 1941 and be finished by the end of June 1942.⁹²⁴ This plan, conceived and approved in the midst of the Japanese air attack on Chongqing, appeared reasonable and achievable. Meanwhile, from April to August 1941, the Japanese bombardment of Chongqing killed thousands of civilians.⁹²⁵ According to the Chongqing Municipal Government’s record, the city had about 476,000 people in 1937 and over one million in 1945.⁹²⁶ Sheltered space was scarce in the heavily bombed city of Chongqing with its hundreds of thousands of refugees. People had to take shelter in caves.⁹²⁷ Where could the state find a site for its new shrine?

Finding a Stately Site on a Wartime Budget

In early 1942, the Ministry of the Interior once again reminded the Chongqing Municipal Government to find a suitable public-owned temple to convert into the capital Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. At this point, the “capital on the move” (*xingdu*) had become the “proper capital” (*shoutu*) as the war dragged on with no end in sight. In response, the Municipal Government

⁹²¹ “Executive Yuan to National Government,” 1940, KMT MOD 003/0687.

⁹²² “Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of the Interior,” February 1941, AH 026000012886A.

⁹²³ “Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of the Interior,” 1941, AH 014000003542A.

⁹²⁴ “National Government to Chongqing Municipal Government,” 1941, AH 014000003542A. The document is missing the second page.

⁹²⁵ Peattie, Drea, and van de Ven, ed., *Battle for China*, 15-16.

⁹²⁶ Li Danke, *Echoes of Chongqing*, 18.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 69, 89, and 108.

ordered the Police, Social Affairs, and Public Works Bureaus to investigate a suitable structure. On a May 22 report, the Police Bureau explained to the Municipal Government that there had been delay in choosing a proper site because some districts (*qu* 區) had not submitted reports. The surveying task was passed onto bureaucrats at police substations (*fenju* 分局) who dragged their feet as none was excited about taking over the task of building a shrine in their jurisdiction.⁹²⁸

Chongqing was finally able to propose a few options. Based on information from the police substations, the Social Affairs Bureau and Police Bureau suggested four places: a temple (name unknown as indicated in the report) on Three-Peaked Mountain (三峯山), Cloudtop Temple (*Yunding si* 雲頂寺) on Geyue Mountain 歌樂山, Baolun Temple 寶輪寺 in Ciqikou 磁器口, and the God of War Pagoda (*zhenwu miao* 真武廟) at Clear Water Creek (*Qingshui xi* 清水溪).⁹²⁹ The shrine conversion committee sent representatives to check out these places to make sure they meet the following three criteria for the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine: belonging to the public, having convenient transportation, and having a serene (*youmei* 幽美) surroundings. The Three-Peaked Mountain was too far away from the city center. Cloudtop Temple was so high up on a mountain that it was difficult to reach despite having the best scenery in Chongqing. As annual memorial service was held at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, it had to be conveniently located to allow government officials and other social representatives to attend. The last two were described as good fits. Baolun Temple could be conveniently reached by both automobiles and motorized boats (*qi chuan* 汽船) via the Yangzi River, but it had suffered some damage from the Japanese bombing. The God of War Pagoda, in particular, appeared to have the closest meaning to the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, and its gate was reachable by car and close to the Yangzi River.

Since the task of nomination lay with local authorities, it was in their interest to choose a "safe bet." While the central government likely wanted a shrine with the best location, the grandest buildings, and the most awe-inspiring view, the district government might have shied away from nominating the best candidate for various reasons. Temples in China were not empty spaces waiting to be appropriated, especially during wartime when offices, businesses, and displaced families were in dire need of sheltered space. The shrine slated for conversion may have been strongly embraced by the local community who opposed the renovation. Moreover, while having a shrine worthy of conversion into the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine within their jurisdiction might have enhanced the local community's status, the efforts and finances required for the construction, maintenance, security, and annual memorial service were not entirely provided by the central and municipal governments. A shrine would be a white elephant.

While I did not find out exactly what bureaucrats at the sub-county level discussed among themselves, it seems clear that for this particular case, they did not present the best option to the central government. Local authorities in Chongqing took over a year to complete their reports. In addition, two weeks after the Municipal Government forwarded these two options to the Ministry of the Interior, the latter came up with a different and apparently better option for the capital shrine: The Guan-Yue Temple (*Guan-Yue ci* 關岳祠) located right in the city with an estate of

⁹²⁸ "Ministry of the Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government," March 21, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 71-75.

⁹²⁹ "Police Bureau to Chongqing Municipal Government," May 30, 1942, CMA 60-1-190, 18.

over 400 square *zhang* (about one acre). Shrines to Guan Yu and Yue Fei, two symbols of loyalty and martiality, were considered to be closely aligned with the Loyal Martyrs' Shrines. The local authorities' deliberate omission of the most appropriate candidate to be converted into the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine might have worked if the National Government offices had not been based in Chongqing for a few years. Given the circumstance, it was hard for Chongqing local authorities to monopolize knowledge of the city and conceal it from the central government. The Ministry of the Interior was aware of the possibility of receiving only half-truths from reports by local authorities, and gathered intelligence from its own representatives.⁹³⁰

It appears that the Ministry of the Interior had its eyes fixed on the city's 900-year-old Guan-Yue Temple, arguing that the place not only had the most convenient transportation, but also belonged to the public (*gongchan* 公產). It thus was eligible for conversion per the 1940 "Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs' Shrines." The Ministry had already notified the Military Affairs Commission and Ministry of Military Administration to relocate the 23rd and 28th regiments stationing at the temple.⁹³¹ Nevertheless, the Guan-Yue Temple turned out to be hosting much more than just these troops. Perhaps, the district government did not nominate the Guan-Yue Temple for very good reasons.

The Ministry of the Interior formed the Capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee (*Neizhengbu shoudu zhonglie ci choujian weiyuanhui* 內政部首都忠烈祠籌建委員會) to be in charge of the renovation. According to a report on October 6, 1942 by the Minister of the Interior, Zhou Zhongyue 周鐘嶽 (1876-1951), to Chiang Kai-shek and Kong Xiangxi, the Premier and Vice Premier of the Executive Yuan respectively, inflation was an insurmountable struggle for a government in exile and at war. When the construction plan was drafted in 1942, the estimated cost, based on March 1941 prices, was 64,000 *yuan*. In July 1942, when the Guan-Yue Temple was chosen to be the site of the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, the estimated cost increased by 10,000 *yuan*. In August, the Executive Yuan approved an increase of 6,000 *yuan*, which was insufficient. Zhou Zhongyue emphasized that the construction of the capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine had to be worthy of "the national grand ceremony of a generation" (*guojia yidai dadian* 國家一代大典). The structure shall be stately (*tanghuang* 堂皇), the facilities could not be simple and crude (*jianlou* 簡陋). The layout shall be "sufficient to inspire respect for the government and to produce impressions" (*zu yi zunchong* 足以尊崇體制而資觀感). This vision was far more ambitious than the moderate four-hall model proposed in 1941. Undoubtedly the military presence of the Allies in Chongqing since December 1941 steered the central government toward a more ambitious plan for its capital shrine.

On August 31, 1942, the Chongqing mayor, Wu Guozhen visited the Guan-Yue Temple and confirmed the site's appropriateness and the necessary budget at 80,000 *yuan* as the costs of materials had been skyrocketing. Wu assured the Ministry of the Interior that such estimate was

⁹³⁰ "Ministry of Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government," July 1, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 96-98.

⁹³¹ "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," June 18, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 94-95.

absolutely the lowest (*zuidi guji* 最低估計).⁹³² Even though constructing this shrine was an urgent task, a few additional delays created further financial problems. It would be a major project in the heavily bombed city of Chongqing. Less than two months later, the price tag on a new shrine became ten times higher. In addition to the approved budget of 124,000 *yuan*, the shrine needed an additional 676,000 *yuan* per the October 1942 report, which included blueprints and a breakdown of materials and labor.⁹³³ Inflation continued to rise. In February 1943, the Ministry of the Interior and the Military Affairs Commission presented the final and itemized financial report. Within less than half a year, the conversion cost climbed up to a total of 5,704,628 *yuan*. The Shrine Construction Committee received 1,022,126.6 *yuan* from the Executive Yuan, and still needed 977,873.4 *yuan* to balance the books. The rest was supposed to come from the Chongqing Municipal Government.⁹³⁴ Wartime shrine building was met with a dilemma. The government had a tight budget. However, the longer it waited, the higher the cost due to inflation. Time was not in their favor. However, the difficulties were not just financial.

Commemoration was held at the Huifu Street Loyal Martyrs' Shrine while the new shrine at the Guan-Yue Temple was under construction. Memorial service was held twice on July 7 in 1943 and 1944. A survey provided the list of spirit tablets within the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. As the Huifu Street Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was the municipal one, a strong regional bias can be seen in the group of enshrined martyrs. Ten martyrs from Sichuan had their own tablets: Zou Jie (鄒傑 1875-1915), Qin Bing (秦炳 1883-1911), Rao Guoliang (饒國梁, 1888-1911), Zhang Peijue (張培爵, 1876-1915), Xie Fengqi (謝奉琦, 1882-1908), Yu Peilun (喻培倫, 1882-1908), Zou Rong (鄒容, 1885-1905), Peng Jiazhen, Chen Xianliu (陳先流, ?), and Guo Tianjun (郭天鈞, ?). Zou Jie, a member of the Revolutionary Alliance, planned numerous uprisings in the early 1900s and consequently was executed by Yuan Shikai in 1915. Qin Bing, Rao Guoliang, and Yu Peilun were martyrs of the Yellow Flower Hill Uprising in April 1911. Zhang Peijue, a Chongqing native, a Revolutionary Alliance member, and a general, was captured and executed by Yuan Shikai. Xie Fengqi joined the Revolutionary Alliance while in Japan. After failing to launch an uprising in Xuzhou, Xie was arrested and executed by the Qing government. Chen Xianliu and Guo Tianjin were two army generals. These Sichuanese martyrs participated in uprisings all over the country and most had died in their 20s or 30s. In addition, there were three collective spirit tablets for "war-of-resistance deceased country fellowmen" (*kangzhan sinan tongbao* 抗戰死難同胞), "war-of-resistance fallen officers and soldiers" (*kangzhan zhenwang jiangshi* 抗戰陣亡將士), and Republic of China's Martyred Revolutionary Forefathers (*Zhonghua minguo jianguo zhuxian lieshi* 中華民國建國諸先烈士).⁹³⁵ Spirit tablets for Sun Yat-sen, as the Premier (總理 *zongli*), and Confucius, as "the sageliest meta-teacher" (*zhisheng xianshi* 至聖先師), were also

⁹³² "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," Aug. 29, 1942, AH 014000003542A.

⁹³³ "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," Oct. 1942, AH 014000003542A.

⁹³⁴ "Ministry of the Interior and Military Affairs Commission to National Government," February 1943, AH 014000003542A.

⁹³⁵ "Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government," May 31, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 315-323.

installed in the Shrine. Within the shrine, the local heroes, the national “dead,” the “father of nation,” and the “meta-teacher” coexisted in the afterlife.

A report from the Bureau of Social Affairs on May 31, 1945 noted that the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine at Huifu Street was in need of renovation as “the rooms were destroyed and the lot of land was narrow.” The process would take two months if the Ministry of the Interior provided the funding in time.⁹³⁶ In response, the Ministry agreed to continue to be in charge of the municipal shrine.⁹³⁷ According to the April 6, 1946 survey, the Chongqing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine at Huifu Street did not have any commissioner (*zhuan yuan* 專員) onsite and relied on local gentry and the Three Principles of the People Youth League to provide security.

A Plethora of Squatters

As the Ministry of the Interior wanted to choose the Guan-Yue Temple located within the city as the site to worship the war dead, it had to deal with various offices and shops that had been occupying this religious structure and the surrounding land.⁹³⁸ The two military groups (*jituan jun* 集團軍), the 23rd and 28th, were notified to move out. The Finance Administration Bureau’s Dispute Settlement Office (*jizheng suo* 稽徵所) and the police station on Osmanthus Street (Guihua Jie 桂花街) were also using rooms in the shrine. The first deadline was optimistically set for July 20.⁹³⁹ Five days after the deadline, the Osmanthus Street police station petitioned the Municipal Government via the Police Bureau, stating that since bombing had destroyed its former base on June 7, 1941, the station had spent 13,000 silver dollars (*yangyuan* 洋元) to repair damaged parts of the Guan-Yue Temple so as to continue its operation. Record of the renovation expenses could be found at Ba County government. In addition, the Osmanthus Street station had signed a land use contract (*tianyue* 佃約) with Ba County.⁹⁴⁰ Since neither the municipal nor the central government had not dispensed any money for reconstruction, the station with a staff of over eighty made use of the empty land (*kongdi* 空地) within the Guan-Yue Temple’s lot. Since its duty was to maintain security, the police station had a significant leverage. The station headmaster (*suo zhang* 所長) pointed out in the petition that “the shrine has hundreds of square *zhang*, there is plenty left to build a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine... We would move if the [Chongqing Municipal] Government could rebuild our former office.”⁹⁴¹ The

⁹³⁶ “Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government,” May 31, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 315-323.

⁹³⁷ “Ministry of Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government,” June 15, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 332-333.

⁹³⁸ “Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior,” June 18, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 94-95.

⁹³⁹ “Ministry of Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government,” July 1, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 96-98.

⁹⁴⁰ “Osmanthus Town’s Mutual Fund to Bureau of Social Affairs,” August 8, 1942, CMA 60-1-190, 25.

⁹⁴¹ “Police Bureau to Chongqing Municipal Government,” July 25, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 105-107.

Municipal Government petitioned the Ministry of the Interior to exempt these two offices from moving because they had no other place to relocate.⁹⁴² The Ministry of the Interior replied with disapproval that the two military groups had obeyed the decree and vacated the premises, and there was no reason why the Dispute Settlement Office and Osmanthus St. police station could not follow suit.⁹⁴³ After a month of communications back and forth, these two civil offices were finally granted exemptions. The rest of the businesses, however, were made to move out.⁹⁴⁴ Although temples were traditionally places of commerce, lodging, and worship that generated income for monastic orders, the Nationalist government was determined to reserve the Guan-Yue Temple for its singular use.

Besides these offices, the Municipal Government had to persuade the Reliable & Fast Photography Studio (*Liankuai zhaoxiangguan* 廉快照相館), the Bamboo Forest Teahouse (*Zhulin chashe* 竹林茶社), a French shop (*Faguo shangdian* 法國商店), the Osmanthus Town's Mutual Fund (*Guihuazhen sheng hezuoshe* 桂花鎮省費合作社), the Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society (*Zhongguo zhuhun xueshe* 中國鑄魂學社), the Chinese National Art Society (*Zhongguo guoshu xueshe* 中國國術學社), the Confectionery Trade Union's All-Natural Tangerine Factory (*Tianshi gonghui tianran ju gongchang* 甜食業公會天然橘工廠), and the Great Harmony Society (*Datong xuehui* 大同學會). The fact that these businesses and organizations persisted during wartime showed the resiliency of the fulfillment of economic, social, and cultural needs, no matter how obstructive their existence in the eyes of the government. The first deadlines for the businesses and societies to vacate were set as August 20 and 25, on which nothing happened. Even when the second deadline was pushed back to the end of August, none moved out.⁹⁴⁵ Even after the police finally forced these offices out of the Shrine, one particular organization – the Daoist Society – hung on to its space with desperation.

A Relentless Daoist

One of the toughest obstacles to the Shrine Conversion Committee was brought about by a man named Zhang Yuanjiang 張園江. Zhang founded the Daoist Society (*Daojiao hui* 道教會) in May 1941 with the approval of Nationalist Party's Chongqing branch.⁹⁴⁶ As the Republican state adopted the Christian-secular normative model, lay and ordained followers of Chinese traditions, Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian had to organize themselves into “religious” groups recognized by the state and protected by law.⁹⁴⁷ Zhang Yuanjiang's Daoist Society was one

⁹⁴² “Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior,” July 28, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 108-109.

⁹⁴³ “Ministry of Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 3, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 110.

⁹⁴⁴ “Police Bureau to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 8, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 113-116.

⁹⁴⁵ “Chongqing Municipal Government to Police Bureau,” August 28, 1942, CMA 61-15-3367, 75.

⁹⁴⁶ “Nationalist Party's Chongqing Branch to Zhang Yuanjiang,” May 1941, CMA 60-8-2, 3-4.

⁹⁴⁷ For more on the formation of religious associations in Republican China, see Vincent

example of such religious organizations. The Society was run by a group of men with dissimilar backgrounds. Some were literate while others were not, as shown by the fact that they signed the petition with their personal seals, fingerprints, and crosses. As the Chongqing Daoist Society's headquarters were located in the Guan-Yue Temple, the existence of the temple guaranteed the relevance, protection, and livelihood of the society.

When the Guan-Yue Temple was chosen to be the site of the new Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, Zhang, the Daoist Society chairman, submitted an appeal to the Municipal Government via the Chongqing Provisional Municipal Council (*Chongqing shi linshi canyihui* 重慶市臨時參議會). Zhang adamantly opposed the temple conversion on the ground that the Guan-Yue Temple represented the loyal and sacrificing figures of ancient times while the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was dedicated to the contemporary heroes. Therefore, "abolishing the loyal martyrs of previous eras in order to offer sacrifices to the contemporary ones does not seem appropriate."⁹⁴⁸ Zhang even went so far as to call the conversion non-compliant with the Republican law because the Guan-Yue Temple, which had existed for a thousand years, had been properly registered according government regulations (*lieru fading sidian* 列入法定祀典) on religious structures and it should be protected accordingly.⁹⁴⁹ Zhang also noted that there was no actual need to convert the Guan-Yue Temple because the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine on Huifu Street 會府街 in the vicinity of Chongqing, though destroyed, could be renovated.⁹⁵⁰ Zhang also mobilized support by asking the Sichuan Daoist Union (*Daojiao lianhehui* 道教聯合會) to petition for his cause. The petition, submitted in August 1942 by Daoist leaders from Jiangbei and Ba counties, argued that destroying the Guan-Yue Temple would violate the "Temple Protection Regulations" (*baocun simiao tiaoli* 保存寺廟條例).⁹⁵¹

Replying to both Zhang's and the Sichuan Daoist Union's petitions, the Municipal Government dismissed the complaints by citing Article 9 of the 1940 "General Guidelines for Offering Sacrifices to Officials and Civilians Who Loyally Sacrificed Their Lives during the War of Resistance and Constructing Commemorative Tablets." It stated that the shrines were "reserved for both contemporary and ancient loyal martyrs."⁹⁵² While the state presented itself as

Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Chapter 3. For a definition of the Christian-secular model, see Goossaert and Palmer, *Religious Question*, 68.

⁹⁴⁸ "Daoist Society's Chairman, Zhang Yuanjiang, to Chongqing Municipal Government," September 2, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 150-152. (若因奉祀現代忠烈而廢前代忠烈之廟似不相宜)

⁹⁴⁹ In 1928-1929, the Nationalist government passed three major laws on religious structures. The government required temples to register their existence, real estate, properties, and population. See Nedostup, *Superstitious Regime*, 295-300.

⁹⁵⁰ "Daoist Society's Chairman Zhang Yuanjiang to Chongqing Municipal Government," September 2, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 150-152.

⁹⁵¹ "Sichuan Daoist Union to Chongqing Municipal Government," August 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 147-149.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.* (忠烈祠應並祀古代名將及革命先烈)

an entity having existed since time immemorial and as a political authority with unquestionable legitimacy, the Daoist Society pushed forward a counter-narrative to this vision. The Daoist Society resisted the conflation of history with that of the modern nation-state by pointing out that the shrine with its deities had been there for longer than the Nationalist Party and the Republican soldiers and that the government could neither remove the old deities to replace with new ones nor equate the ancient with the contemporary.⁹⁵³ Undeterred, the chairman of the Daoist Society, continued to send petitions to the Municipal Government, which was unamused if not thoroughly irritated.

In a petition dated from January 1943, Zhang Yuanjiang interlaced the history of the shrine with that of the Nationalist nation-state and emphasized the political mission of the Daoist Society. Here Zhang changed his tone, arguing that because the Guan-Yue Temple was aligned with the political ideologies of the central government, it would be preserved. He began by contending that Guan Yu and Yue Fei were ancient famous figures whose spirits resonated throughout history and came to represent the people's spirit (*minzu jingshen* 民族精神). There had been multiple shrines established in their names, and the particular shrine in Chongqing was first built in the Song dynasty. The narrative then switched to the founding of the Republic, after which political turmoil led to the decline of the faith. Even when followers were scattered, a few members resolved to live in the shrine to project and maintain its existence. Soon after "our leader," Mr. Chiang (*wo lingxiu Jiang gong* 我領袖蔣公), united China and established a new government, the Japanese invaded in 1937. Mr. Chiang "ordered to mobilize all walks of life, to organize training, to reinforce the national power, and to prepare for an extended war." "Because our organization wants to generate and convene Daoist followers, according to the national policy, we established our society at the site of the Guan-Yue Temple to accomplish our duties."⁹⁵⁴ In addition to making offerings to Lord Guan and Yue Fei, the Daoist Society at the Guan-Yue Temple maintained that its task of narrating these legendary lives, personalities, and spirits "helped excite nationalist ideology among the common people" (*li qunzhong jifa qi aiguo sixiang* 勵群眾激發其愛國思想) and "encourage them to contribute to the war effort" (*ji zuo kangzhan shiye zhi beizhu* 冀作抗戰事業之臂助). This was called "using ancient examples to reflect" (*yi gu zuo jian* 以古作鑑).⁹⁵⁵ With such a relevant presence in wartime politics, the chairman maintained that the Guan-Yue Temple should not be abolished and replaced with the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. Furthermore, Zhang relied on the rhetoric of the anti-superstition campaign, which had its root in the imperial era: "other heterodox shrines and temples cannot describe [their goals] in similar words" (*fei qita yinci shenyu* 非其他淫祠神宇所可同曰語也). In contrast to the adamant attitude in his earlier petitions, Zhang phrased his arguments diplomatically: "That during the summer this year the Ministry of the Interior sent representatives to draft a plan to appropriate the temple for the commemoration of loyal martyrs is not a bad thing (*weichang bushan* 未常不善). However, in the age of war, the Guan-Yue

⁹⁵³ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁴ "Zhang Yuanjiang to Chongqing Municipal Government," January 6, 1943, CMA 53-20-409, 181-2. (屬會因由產生召集道眾，根據國策，就關岳廟地點成立道教會，分派職事)

⁹⁵⁵ Ibid.

Temple, representing martial exemplars, is already under the protection of the regulations issued by the Executive Yuan.”⁹⁵⁶

In response to this petition, the Municipal Government commented: “[Petition is] not granted. Do not trouble again!” (*bu zhun wu zai du* 不准。毋再瀆).⁹⁵⁷ One can discern the frustration of bureaucrats in these scribbled comments. Since the Daoist Society allowed itself to be authorized by the Nationalist government, it had no choice but to continue subjecting its existence to the whims of the state. The Society faced a losing battle. By demonstrating how much the Daoist Society contributed to the political propaganda, Zhang unwittingly further subjected his organization to manipulation by the state.

With the conversion plan inching forward, the Municipal Government had to take extra action to remove one particular business outside the gate of the Guan-Yue Temple. Four months after the deadline in August, the Police Bureau sealed up the Bamboo Forest Teahouse and marked it for demolition. The Daoist Society claimed in a petition that the teahouse provided Society members residing in the temple with a livelihood (*shenghuo* 生活) and cultivation of health (*yangsheng* 養生), and contributed to defraying the expenses of the temple. Although it had been damaged multiple times in the past year, its members had just fixed it up. The teahouse was planning to hold a joint grand opening with the Paris Barbershop (巴黎理髮廳).⁹⁵⁸ The Municipal Government did not heed Zhang’s insistence that removing the teahouse would push its members to desperation (*quanti ai yu juejing* 全體隘於絕境). However, it at least agreed to leave the statues of Guan Yu and Yue Fei so as to respect the people’s belief (*minzu xinyang* 民族瞻仰). Not until February 1943 did the Police Bureau demolish the teahouse.⁹⁵⁹

After the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine was built, the street on which it was located was changed from Guan-Yue Temple Street to Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine Street. Nonetheless, the Daoist Society Chairman continued to treat the newly converted Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine as the Guan-Yue Temple and the Republican government was simply borrowing it to carry out the spring and autumn sacrifices. He referred to the shrine as the Guan-Yue Temple in his petitions in 1943.⁹⁶⁰

Once the government took over the space, more bureaucratic offices soon moved into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine, leading to reconsideration of the spatial arrangements. The past had to make space for the present. Although in 1943, the government agreed that Republican martyrs, the two deities Guan Di and Yue Fei, and other ancient famed generals would be collectively worshipped (*hebing fengsi* 合併奉祀) in the renovated shrine, this arrangement lost grounds two

⁹⁵⁶ Ibid. (不過關岳聖廟當此國家用武之秋足為武人典型經行政院通令保護)

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁸ “Bureau of Public Works to Chongqing Municipal Government,” November 24, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 166-172.

⁹⁵⁹ “Police Bureau to Chongqing Municipal Government,” January 30, 1943, CMA 53-20-409, 184-187.

⁹⁶⁰ “Zhang Yuanjiang to Chongqing Municipal Government,” January 6, 1943, CMA 53-20-409, 181-2.

years later.⁹⁶¹ Learning that the Guan Yu and Yue Fei statues, the final remnants of Guan-Yue Temple, would be completely removed to make space, Zhang Yuanjiang petitioned the National Government by way of the Chongqing Municipal Government to keep these effigies in the temple. In his February 1945 petition, Zhang presented them as invaluable nine-hundred-years-old treasures of the people (*minjian* 民間). Although the government temporarily had placed the spirit tablets of fallen officers and soldiers in the space, it remained a sacred temple that embodied traditional values of loyalty and sacrifice. Therefore, the statues of the two deities should be kept together with these spirit tablets.⁹⁶² By this time, Zhang had lowered his demands, as he was losing more and more ground. The conversion plan would definitely proceed, and by now neither the temple nor its traditional substance could be saved. Even the effigies of the ancient heroes were facing eviction. Instead of claiming the incompatibility between these ancient deities and modern heroes, Zhang protested that their values were aligned. His gods had to claim an affinity with the modern nation-state to survive.

The National Government forwarded the petition to the Ministry of the Interior, which in turn asked Chongqing to investigate the complaint. The Chongqing Municipal Government replied in May 1945 that this Zhang Yuanjiang person was indeed a major nuisance and had been repeatedly filing petitions about retaining the Guan-Yue Temple. However, this time there was a quick resolution to his pleading. According to the Chongqing Finance Administration and Land Administration Bureaus, which had recently set up their offices in the shrine, because these statues “did not interfere (*wuai* 無礙) with the rearrangement,” they were allowed to remain.⁹⁶³

The Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society

Another challenge to the government’s plan to build a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in Chongqing came from a society that promoted similar ideals to those of the government. The Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society in Chongqing (*Zhongguo zhuhun xueshe Chongqing fenshe* 中國鑄魂學社重慶分社, henceforth CMSSS) was an organization comprised of graduates from universities in and outside China.⁹⁶⁴ It was founded by An Ruoding and 38 others under the

⁹⁶¹ “Jianshe shoudu zhonglie ci jihua 建設首都忠烈祠計劃” (Plan to Build Capital Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine), 1941-1946, AH 014000003542A.

⁹⁶² “Zhang Yuanjiang to Municipal Government,” February 8, 1945, CMA 53-20-620, 23-26.

⁹⁶³ “Finance Administration and Land Administration Bureaus to Municipal Government,” April 22, 1945, CMA 53-20-620, 17.

⁹⁶⁴ The Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society’s chairman was An Ruoding 安若定, a social scientist of Shanghai University and native of Wuxi, Jiangsu. Among its core members, there were graduates from Purdue University, the School of Law of the University of Paris, and Moscow Sun Yat-sen University (Communist University of the Toilers of China). One member died during a battle against the Japanese in 1938. “Zhongguo zhunhun xueshe zuigao ganbu renyuan biao 中國鑄魂學社最高幹部人員表” (List of highest-ranking members of the Chinese spirit-molding scholastic society), *Da xia hun zhoukan* 大俠魂週刊 (Weekly Journal of Grand Chivalrous Spirits) 8, no. 9 (1939): 12. The *Da xia hun zhoukan* was the official publication of the Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society. It was published biweekly or weekly from 1932 to 1940 in Nanjing and Chongqing.

name of China's Lone Star Society (*Zhongguo guxing she* 中國孤星社) in 1923. By 1932, this Nanjing-based organization with over 500 members was renamed the Spirit-Molding Society. The Society officially registered with the government in 1936. Due to the Japanese invasion, its headquarters moved to Chongqing in 1939, attracted over 105,000 members, and opened branches in Hankou, Sichuan's Wan County, and other localities. The Society was involved in wartime activities including propaganda and informing against collaborators. The Society was a semi-independent organization that advocated for a philosophical mixture of modernism and nationalism, and collaborated with the government. It sent meeting minutes and reports on its members to the Ministry of Social Affairs.⁹⁶⁵ After the War of Resistance, the Society became China's Youth Labor Party (*Zhongguo shaonian laodong dang* 中國少年勞動黨).⁹⁶⁶ The CMSSS also published articles that placed its "Grand Chivalrous Spirit-ism" (*Da xiahun zhuyi* 大俠魂主義) on the same level as Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People.⁹⁶⁷

Like two merchants competing to sell the same product, the Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society in Chongqing and the National Government fought over the mission of cultivating spiritual life of the citizenry. Alarmed by the government's plan to convert the Guan-Yue Temple, the Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society in Chongqing submitted a petition to the Bureau of Social Affairs on August 6, 1942. After organizing an emergency meeting among its members, the CMSSS concluded that it "cannot cooperate" (*buneng xiezhu* 不能協助) with the government's eviction order and simultaneously "expressed its regrets" (*biaoshi yihan* 表示遺憾). The petition presented numerous reasons why the government should allow the CMSSS to remain, and also collaborate with it.⁹⁶⁸

In fact, after the government moved to Sichuan, the Society chose the Guan-Yue Temple as its location because it was an ideal site for all of its purposes. Its followers could easily reach the Guan-Yue Temple, located in the heart of the Chongqing municipality. Furthermore, the two military figures, Guan Yu and Yue Fei, were "model personalities of the wartime spirit-molding movement" (*zhanshi zhuhun yundong zhongdianxiang renwu* 戰時鑄魂運動中典型人物), befitting the mission of the Society. In its petition, the CMSSS claimed that its function had been

⁹⁶⁵ *Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan* 中國第二歷史檔案館, *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian diwuji di'erbian zhengzhi san* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編第五輯第二編政治三 (Collection of the Republic of China's Archival Documents), Volume 5, Compilation 2, "Politics," 3 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991-1999), 459-500.

⁹⁶⁶ Zhang Xianwen 張憲文, Fang Qingqiu 方慶秋 and Huang Meixi 黃美真, ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi da cidian* 中華民國史大辭典 (Republic of China Historical Dictionary) (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2002), 415.

⁹⁶⁷ Xu Lin 徐霖, "Da jingwu zhuyi, daxia hun zhuyi, sanmin zhuyi zhi guanxi 大精武主義大俠魂主義三民主義之關係" (Relationships among Great Elite Martialism, Great Chivalry-ism, and Three Principles of the People), *Da xia hun zhoukan* 20 (1932): 5-6.

⁹⁶⁸ Ministry of the Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government in reply to petition submitted by Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society," August 25, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 138-139.

“promoting the cultural movement of chivalrous spirit” (*fayang daxia hun wenhui yundong* 發揚大俠魂文化運動) for over a decade.⁹⁶⁹ The Society elaborated on its mission:

Our mission is to view life and death lightly, to love the nation and to protect the nation. Our purpose is to transform the national temperament and to construct the human mind. Our knowledge is based on passionate drive and aesthetics. Our theory is to harmonize nature and humanity, and civility and martiality. Our spirit is based on true emotion, enthusiasm, and fearlessness. Our method is to follow the good, be self-content, and shoulder serious responsibilities.⁹⁷⁰

This mission statement echoed the many goals of the state-sponsored Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine and was in line with the government’s social and cultural guidelines. The CMSSS also planned to raise money to renovate various structural parts of the Guan-Yue Temple after the autumn, refashioning the interior décor to match the Republican spirit of the day with oil paintings of historical martyrs and maps of significant battles. The CMSSS did not oppose the conversion of the Guan-Yue Temple into the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. In fact, it pointed out that because the Society, among other political and social groups, was specifically tasked by the government to “use the rhetoric of chivalry to cleanse people’s intentions”⁹⁷¹ during wartime, the Society deserved a space within the would-be Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine. The CMSSS then presented a pragmatic bargain. It demanded repayment of the money that it had spent to renovate the main and side halls back if the government did not heed its plea to remain at the shrine. However, if the government cooperated, the CMSSS would provide artisans and laborers for the renovation and assist in the task of promoting Republican martyrs. Finally, the CMSSS mentioned the existing Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine on Huifu Street, which could be fixed up.⁹⁷²

In August 25, 1942, the Ministry of the Interior replied to the CMSSS via the Municipal Government that while there was a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in Chongqing, the road leading to it was too narrow and thus unsuitable for the planned capital shrine. The Guan-Yue Temple was decidedly slated for conversion. Like other private businesses on the site, the Spirit-Molding Society was forced to vacate the Guan-Yue Temple. The Ministry of the Interior did not engage in theoretical debates with the petitioners over why the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine had to be built regardless of spatial constraints and at the expense of other organizations and individuals. It did not seek to convert the petitioners to the absolute necessity of having a proper shrine to Republican martyrs.

⁹⁶⁹ “Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government, including petition from Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society,” August 12, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 117.

⁹⁷⁰ “Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government, including petition from Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society,” August 12, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 117. (以輕生死，愛國家，保民族為使命。改造民族氣質，建設人類心理，為宗旨。以怒觀美觀為認識。以天人合一，文武合一為學說。以真情、熱腸、無畏為精神。以擇善自得任重為方法。)

⁹⁷¹ (以行俠報國之言論洗滌其心腸)

⁹⁷² “Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government, including petition from Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society,” August 12, 1942, CMA 53-20-409, 117.

The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine at the Guan-Yue Temple

After the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine was established at the site of the Guan-Yue Temple, it ironically witnessed little action as the war entered its final phase and, more importantly, as the nature of war commemoration in the Republic of China was transformed by the military alliance with the West. Due to contact between Nationalist China and the Allies, the renovated Guan-Yue Temple's mode of commemoration had become outmoded. In 1944, the Military Affairs Commission notified the Municipal Government that it would organize a memorial service for Allied and National Fallen Soldiers on November 29 at the Fuxing Pass Stadium (*yundongchang* 運動場), instead at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.⁹⁷³

In October 1943, the Executive Yuan formed the Capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee (*Shoudu zhonglie ci choujian weiyuanhui* 首都忠烈祠籌建委員會). The Committee would be in charge of the planning and construction, as well as the collection of mementos, writings, and photographs of martyrs. The Committee consisted of high-ranking officials from the Ministry of the Interior.⁹⁷⁴ In November 1943, the Party Central Committee decreed through the Executive Yuan that those who qualified as wartime martyrs according to the 1940 "Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs' Shrines" would be promptly entered into Loyal Martyrs' Shrines throughout the country. In addition, local authorities had to organize another annual sacrifice on March 29.⁹⁷⁵ There are 11 files missing from this set of documents (*juan*), which results in our not knowing what happened on March 29, 1944. In November that year, the Military Affairs Commission communicated to the Municipal Government that the spring and autumn sacrifices were again delayed until the following year. Moreover, instead of holding two ceremonies on March 29 and November 11, the Military Affairs Commission ordered the city to hold a ceremony on November 29 to commemorate the fallen of both the Allies and National militaries (*Mengjun guojun kangzhan jiangshi dianli* 盟軍國軍抗戰陣亡將士典禮).⁹⁷⁶ The ceremony in 1944 took place at Fuxing Pass 復興關, which was originally known as Futu Pass 浮圖關 and located on the peninsula in between the Jialing and Yangzi Rivers.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷³ "Military Affairs Commission to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 11, 1944, CMA 53-20-409, 223-224.

⁹⁷⁴ "Executive Yuan to Ministry of the Interior: Capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine Construction Committee Formation Procedure," October 1943, AH 014000003539A.

⁹⁷⁵ "Executive Yuan to Chongqing Municipal Government," October 27, 1943, CMA 53-20-409-01, 193-194.

⁹⁷⁶ "Military Affairs Commission to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 27, 1944, CMA 53-20-409-01, 225-229.

⁹⁷⁷ "Junzhengbuzhang He Yingqing yu ershibanian guoqingri jianyue Chongqing jundui yu Futuguan shang 軍政部長何應欽於二十八年國慶日檢閱重慶軍隊於浮圖關上" (He Yingqin reviewed the Chongqing's troops at Futu Pass on the National Day in 1939), *Zhongyang xunliantuan tuankan* 中央訓練團團刊 (Central Training Group Journal) 55 (1940): 435.

In March 1945, the Military Affairs Commission again waived the spring and autumn sacrifices, and changed the annual commemoration date to March 29.⁹⁷⁸ During the event, various banners celebrating Chinese and Allies fallen servicemembers' "undying spirit" (*jingshen bu si* 精神不死), and blood footprints (*xueji* 血蹟), draped the city. Some banners resorted to visceral metaphors: these martyrs' "warm blood" (*rexue* 熱血) irrigates the blooms of freedom" (*guangai ziyou zhi hua* 灌溉自由之花) and "nurtures the fruits of victory (*peizhi shengli zhi guo* 培植勝利之果). Other banners emphasized the alliance in no less graphic ways: "the intermingling of the Allies and Chinese troops' blood (盟軍國軍血的交流) sets the foundation of world peace."⁹⁷⁹

Having received the decree, the Municipal Government ordered various offices to send representatives from political, social, economic, and military groups to attend the ceremony. The Ministry of Education ordered 500 students to arrive at the shrine at two o'clock.⁹⁸⁰ The ceremony likely involved several thousands of participants. The order to attend was strictly obeyed. Those who did not come because of illness, wound, or security work had to submit petitions to be excused.⁹⁸¹ The Air Raid Shelter Management Office (*fangkong gong guanli chu* 防空洞管理處) had to appeal to the Chongqing Municipal Government, asking for its staff to be excused from attending the ceremony on the basis of its critical duty.⁹⁸² Meanwhile, the Party Central Committee urged the Chongqing Municipal Government to hurry up with the renovation and collect martyrs' biographies in preparation for this domestically and internationally significant event.⁹⁸³

By the end of the Second World War, Loyal Martyrs' Shrines for Republican martyrs began to lose traction for various reasons. A shrine solely dedicated to domestic heroes, an idea that was revolutionary during the Nanjing Decade, did not fit into the political arena of the mid-1940s. Moreover, the spring and autumn sacrifices were replaced by parades in a stadium-like field where military spectacles could be more impressively displayed. The photograph below shows the vast space at Fuxing Pass.

⁹⁷⁸ "Military Affairs Commission to Chongqing Municipal Government," March 5, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 230-248.

⁹⁷⁹ "Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee to Chongqing Municipal Government," March 23, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 287.

⁹⁸⁰ "Bureau of Education to Chongqing Municipal Government," March 26, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 249-250.

⁹⁸¹ "Bureau of Education to Chongqing Municipal Government," April 19, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 274-275; "Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government," March or April, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 276-277; "Air-raid Shelter Administration Office (防空洞管理處) to Chongqing Municipal Government," April 12, 1945, CMA 53-20-409-01, 278-284.

⁹⁸² "Chongqing Air Raid Shelter Management Office to Municipal Government," April 12, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 278-284.

⁹⁸³ "Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee to Chongqing Municipal Government," March 21, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 304.



Fig. 8-1: Military Training at Fuxing Pass, October 10, 1939. From *Zhongguo kangzhan huashi* 中國抗戰畫史 (China War Pictorial), unknown issue (May 1947): 244.

Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrines and Graves Administration Committee (SGAC)

After the renovation, Chongqing's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine came under the administration of the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance Commemoration Committee's Sichuan Branch (*Zhonghua geming tongmeng jinianhui Sichuan fenhui* 中華革命同盟紀念會四川分會) in 1942. This organization became the Nation-building Chongqing Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrines and Graves Administration Committee (建國先烈重慶祠墓管理委員會, henceforth SGAC). The SGAC was tasked with managing the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and the Sun Yat-sen Shrine (*Zhongshan ci* 中山祠) since 1943. Two years after its takeover, the SGAC organized a memorial service on the anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident per the revised 1940 "Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs' Shrines." The event cost about 10,000 *yuan* in 1943 and 300,000 *yuan* in 1944 due to severe wartime inflation.⁹⁸⁴ Annual memorial service was changed to biannual spring and autumn sacrifices in November 1944.⁹⁸⁵

In 1944, the tax collection bureau reported the SGAC of making money from renting out the shrine without paying taxes to the Municipal Government. The SGAC reasoned that it had to organize memorial services, maintain the shrine, and run the Glorifying the Nation (*guangguo* 光國) school for the children and younger siblings of revolutionary martyrs. In addition, the school was destroyed by the Japanese bombing in 1940 and forced to relocate to the countryside. Except for the village hall (*xiangtang* 鄉堂) and the school building, everything was destroyed. The

⁹⁸⁴ "Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government," August 7, 1943, CMA 53-19-1144, 27; "Bureau of Social Affairs to Chongqing Municipal Government," June 30, 1944, CMA 54-1-593, 56; "Report on Expenses for July 7 memorial service at Chongqing Loyal Martyrs' Shrine," July 31, 1943, CMA 60-1-242, 23-24.

⁹⁸⁵ "Military Affairs Commission to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 27, 1944, CMA 53-20-409, 225-229.

Military Telegraph Unit occupied a few intact rooms in the back of the shrine. As the shrine was not a private property, it should be exempted from paying taxes. The SGAC had petitioned for tax-free status according to Clauses 1, 2, 7, and 9 of Article 327 of the Tax Law and Clauses 4, 10, and 12 of the Revised Tax Exemption and Deduction Section.⁹⁸⁶ The Financial Administration Bureau stated that the Military Administration Ministry had rented parts of the shrine to individuals to be used as housing from 1939 to May 1943. Moreover, since June 1943, the SGAC had been renting the Shrine's land to civilians as fields with a monthly rent of 80 *yuan*. This means the SGAC had to pay tax on the amount collected from farmers.

In early May 1945, the issue of maintenance came up. Because the Ministry of the Interior was in charge of choosing the site of the new Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and, having chosen it, renovating the Guan-Yue Temple, the Bureau of Public Works petitioned the Municipal Government that the Ministry should continue sponsoring its maintenance.⁹⁸⁷ The departure of the central government from Chongqing reduced the importance of the shrine. Yet, it was still in need of repair.

In 1946, the Bureau of Social Affairs transmitted a petition from the SGAC to the Municipal Government stating that it could not organize the July 7 commemoration given the fact that renovation was still unfinished. On October 31, 1946, the SGAC asked for 35 million *yuan* in order to renovate the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, which had been converted from the Guan-Yue Temple, as the Japanese bombing had damaged it. The Municipal Government agreed to give 35 million *yuan* if the committee first tried to raise as much of the needed funds as possible. In February 1947, the Municipal Government forwarded the Committee the estimated cost of renovating the shrine at just over 10 million, which was drafted by the Public Work Bureau half a year prior. The Committee argued that not only this was an impossibly low estimate for the previous year, but also the prices of materials had significantly increased. The SGAC reported that it had raised 15 million *yuan* and was waiting for the promised 35 million *yuan* from the Municipal Government. The Municipal Government finally agreed to allocate the amount. SGAC then presented an estimated expense of 40 million *yuan* for the renovation and a timeline of forty days in June 1946. Earlier in 1947, the National Government had changed the date of commemoration from July 7 to September 3 (the day of the Japanese surrender). The Municipal Government was in a hurry to have the shrine fully renovated for this date.⁹⁸⁸

However, the difficulty was not just the financial support. It was once again the issue of spatial competition between the living and the dead. According to the SGAC's report to the Chongqing's Garrison Headquarters (*jingbei silingbu* 警備司令部) on August 3, 1947, during the war, the committee had leased the field to eight households to plant crops and collected rent from six of them until the end of 1946 and from the other two until October 1947. In addition to these eight households, over twenty other households moved into the shrine's rooms with rental

⁹⁸⁶ "Nation-building Chongqing Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrines and Graves Administration Committee (SGAC) to Chongqing Area 2 Tax Collection Agency (重慶市第二地價稅徵收區), February 11, 1944, CMA 64-8-1192, 385-387.

⁹⁸⁷ "Bureau of Public Works to Chongqing Municipal Government," May 8, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 312.

⁹⁸⁸ "Executive Yuan to Chongqing Municipal Government," September 20, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 62-66.

agreements that stipulated no end date.⁹⁸⁹ The eight households renting the field collectively pleaded to delay the demolition until the end of their rent as the war had destroyed their previous dwellings. They were “toiling in the fields day and night rain or shine to survive.”⁹⁹⁰ It was unclear exactly how many households were taking refuge at the Shrine. The SGAC belatedly forwarded a petition from twenty-nine households to the Municipal Government on August 5 seeking financial support in finding new shelters. The Bureau of Public Works reported that there were thirty households onsite when they arrived to demolish in August.⁹⁹¹ The head of a household renting land from the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine pleaded with the Municipal Government to delay the renovation and give them more time. However, by the time the petition was received on August 4, the demolition had already been completed.⁹⁹² In response to the eviction note in June 1947, twenty-seven households taking shelter at the Shrine hired a lawyer named Lei Lijin 雷利金 to present their case. The lawyer’s letter submitted on July 12 referred to the possession of records of rent (*zulin shoulü* 租賃收錄) and rent receipts (*dizujin shouju* 地租金收據) by these households. The lawyer argued that the SGAC did not have the right (*wuke youquan* 無可有權) to evict these dwellers. The residents at the shrine would be making spring and autumn sacrifices to enshrined martyrs and would not obstruct the renovation (*wu fanghai* 無妨害).⁹⁹³

The Shrines and Graves Administration Committee, while urging on the renovation, appealed the Municipal Government to compensate the field-renting households as it was the government’s side that would breach the contract and also the room-renting households as they would suffer great economic hardship with the move. The SGAC tried to mediate by stating that although the action of the renters and squatters was “despicable” (*kebi* 可鄙), their condition was truly “pitiable” (*kemin* 可憫).⁹⁹⁴ It was disregarded. From August 1 to 4, the Bureaus of Police Administration, Social Affairs, Public Works, and Civil Administration teamed up and forcefully evicted these households.⁹⁹⁵ Except for the household of a Mr. Zhang who had already moved out, twenty-eight other households received compensation on August 19, 1948. Three households received 150,000 *yuan* each, 18 received 100,000 *yuan* each, and seven received

⁹⁸⁹ “SGAC to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 3, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 51.

⁹⁹⁰ “Representatives of households renting the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine to Chongqing City Council,” May 1947, and “Verdict from the Chongqing Municipal Government,” June 29, 1929, CMA 53-20-410, 24-29.

⁹⁹¹ “Bureau of Public Works to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 13, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 61.

⁹⁹² “Chongqing Municipal Government to Police Bureau and Bureau of Social Affairs,” August 5, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 52.

⁹⁹³ “Letter from Lei Lijin Litigation Agency to Chongqing Municipal Government,” July 12, 1947, CMA 61-15-3556.

⁹⁹⁴ “Chongqing Municipal Government to Police Bureau and Bureau of Social Affairs,” August 5, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 53-56.

⁹⁹⁵ “Bureau of Public Works to Chongqing Municipal Government,” August 13, 1947, CMA 53-20-410, 61.

50,000 *yuan* each.⁹⁹⁶ This quick settlement occurred partially because the Municipal Government was trying to organize the autumn sacrifice date on September 3.⁹⁹⁷

The eviction of legal renters and squatters from the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine in order to renovate it and restore its original purpose raises the question of who should be prioritized, the living or the dead. Just when the War Resistance against the foreign invaders ended, the living and the dead of the defenders' side began their own struggle for space. The dead, though immobile and silent, had more power over the living. If the dead were not allowed to take up space in the present, none would remember the past.

The Loyal Martyrs' Shrine also hosted the Glorifying the Nation (*guangguo* 光國) elementary school, which had been built for offspring of martyrs and later was expanded to include other children in the district. The school was ordered to vacate in 1947. When a *bao* head (leader of ten households) petitioned in 1947 to say that the school was sorely needed as the population increase and wartime destruction, and that several hundred children would miss school because of the eviction, the Municipal Government yielded.⁹⁹⁸ The matter, however, was not settled. In August 1948, the Police Bureau came over, put in notice requiring everyone to evacuate, and attempted to take over the schoolhouse (*xiaoshe* 校舍) to use as government office. The SGAC intervened immediately, arguing that after the war it had raised money from the community to fix up the Banquet Hall (*xiangtang* 饗堂) and the class building in the hope of relocating the school back from its dilapidated wartime location in the countryside. The Municipal Government finally ordered the Police Bureau to remove the notice, leaving the school as it was.⁹⁹⁹

In 1947, some progress was made in renovating the Guan-Yue Temple/Loyal Martyrs' Shrine to the dismay of the shrine residents. The residents submitted their last appeal, lamenting that "we do not oppose the conversion, but we have no home to return to (*wujia kegui* 無家可歸). The eviction would turn us into refugees (*liunan* 流難)." ¹⁰⁰⁰ In July, the residents were finally evicted in spite of their heartfelt words. Houses impinging on the shrine walls were also removed. The fund raising was well underway. In November, the SGAC confirmed that it had received over 50 million *yuan* from over 75 banks, organizations, and government offices contributed. Sichuan Provincial Bank contributed 761,390 *yuan*, large private banks, such as Meifeng, Chuankang, Chuanyi, 609,130 *yuan*, and other smaller banks 456,855 *yuan*. The Gansu

⁹⁹⁶ "Settlement certificates of 28 people from 24th *bao* and 26th *bao*, August 1947, CMA 57-7-172, 129-164.

⁹⁹⁷ "Chongqing Municipal Government to Bureau of Social Affairs," August 19, 1947, CMA 63-1-379, 85-86.

⁹⁹⁸ "Chongqing District 4's Public Office to Chongqing Municipal Government, including the petition from Cheng Yuguang, 24th *bao* captain," 1947, CMA 63-1-110, 130-132.

⁹⁹⁹ "SGAC to Chongqing Municipal Government," August 10, 1948, CMA 53-22-228, 1-2.

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Representatives of households dwelling at the Guan-Yue Temple to Chongqing Municipal Government," July 27, 1947, CMA 60-8-35, 25.

and Jiangxi Provincial Governments contributed 152,285 *yuan*.¹⁰⁰¹ The Shrine was not ready as expected for the autumn sacrifice of September 3.¹⁰⁰²

It appeared that the shrine was completed at a later date. The Municipal Government confirmed that the autumn sacrifice would be organized on September 3, 1948.¹⁰⁰³ Lists of martyrs from Sichuan was compiled by the Compensation Office of the United Quartermasters' Supreme Command (*Lianhe qinwu zongsilingbu fuxu chu* 聯合勤務總司令部撫卹處), and some were enshrined.¹⁰⁰⁴ In 1948, Li Jiayu 李家鈺, a Nationalist Party member and general from Pujiang County in Sichuan, was wounded by bullets, but refused to surrender. After he had committed suicide, he was enshrined at the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine.¹⁰⁰⁵

There is more to compare between the two governments of 70 years apart. Unlike the Chongqing government of 1947, the Beijing government of 2015 was able to organize a spectacle. However, unlike the Beijing government, the Chongqing government actually fought the Japanese. The first commemoration of September 3 in Chongqing was held in 1948, not only as a victory day, but also as an autumn sacrifice.¹⁰⁰⁶

A Short Tale of the Third Shrine

When the War of Resistance ended in 1945, the Ministry of the Interior also suggested that a capital (*shoudu*) shrine be built on the empty lot at the southwestern corner of Fuxing Pass by June 1945.¹⁰⁰⁷ The idea of building a third Loyal Martyrs' Shrine at Fuxing Pass began to take shape at the local level soon after the Japanese surrender and the Nationalist government's return to Nanjing. Perhaps unwilling to relinquish its status as the wartime capital, the Chongqing Municipal Government ordered the Land Administration Bureau (*dizheng ju* 地政局) to find a suitable temple near Fuxing Pass to convert. The investigators reported on two candidates, the Cultivating Charity Hall (*Peishan tang* 培善堂) and the Buddha Pagoda (*Fotuo ci* 佛陀祠). The Municipal Government picked the former because it was located in the city and thus convenient

¹⁰⁰¹ "SGAC to Chongqing Municipal Government, including list of organizations that donated to Loyal Martyrs' Shrine and Zou Rong Middle School," November 6, 1947, CMA 86-1-67, 111.

¹⁰⁰² "Police Bureau and Administrative Department (*Xingzheng ke* 行政科) to Chongqing Municipal Government," September 2, 1948, CMA 63-1-379, 81.

¹⁰⁰³ "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," September 2, 1948, CMA 63-1-363, 24.

¹⁰⁰⁴ "SGAC to Chongqing Municipal Government," December 1947, CMA 60-8-35, 53. (四川省各縣各期忠烈將士人數一覽表)

¹⁰⁰⁵ "Biography of Li Jiayu," December 1948, CMA 81-4-5784, 2.

¹⁰⁰⁶ "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," September 2, 1948, CMA 63-1-363, 24.

¹⁰⁰⁷ "Ministry of the Interior to Chongqing Municipal Government," June 15, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 332-333.

for people attending the annual memorial service.¹⁰⁰⁸ The plan, however, was not moved forward until a year later.

In 1946, the Committee for the Construction of the Provisional Capital's Loyal Martyrs' Shrine under the combined direction of the Ministry of the Interior and the Military Affairs Commission suggested to the Executive Yuan that another Loyal Martyrs' Shrine should be built in Chongqing even though the capital was to be moved back to Nanjing. It was "for the sake of leaving a memento of the war in the provisional capital" (*wei zai peidu liu kangzhan jinian qijian* 為在陪都留抗戰紀念起見). The Committee asked the Central Training Corps (*Zhongyang xunliantuan* 中央訓練團) to investigate whether any temple site could be appropriated to set up the new Shrine. The Central Training Corps under Chiang Kai-shek recruited and offered training to intellectuals, officials, and other important members of society at Fuxing Pass. Leaders of the Corps recommended the rooms in the two abandoned structures located near Fuxing Pass: The Cultivating Charity Hall and the Buddha Pagoda. However, the Committee found these abandoned temples too run-down and requested that the National Government and the Municipal Government find a new place and provide adequate funding.

In a report on April 20, 1946 the Military Affairs Commission and the Ministry of the Interior reported to the Executive Yuan that although they found both sites too cramped and the structures dilapidated, the budget to build a new shrine was too high and unaffordable. Therefore, the Chongqing Municipal Government should take over the project with partial financial help (*yibufen jingfei* 一部分經費) from the central government. The Municipal Government should somehow create a new shrine by merging (*hebing* 合併) its municipal shrine (built in the 1930s) and the provisional capital shrine (built at the Guan-Yue Temple). The Ministry of the Interior would send the blueprint drawings for reference.¹⁰⁰⁹ The paper trail ends here.

¹⁰⁰⁸ "Bureau of Land Administration to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 17, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 343-345; "Chongqing Municipal Government to Ministry of Interior," December 10, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 346; "Bureau of Education to Chongqing Municipal Government," December 12, 1945, CMA 53-20-409, 347-349.

¹⁰⁰⁹ "Military Affairs Commission and Ministry of the Interior to Executive Yuan," April 20, 1946, AH 026000013716A.

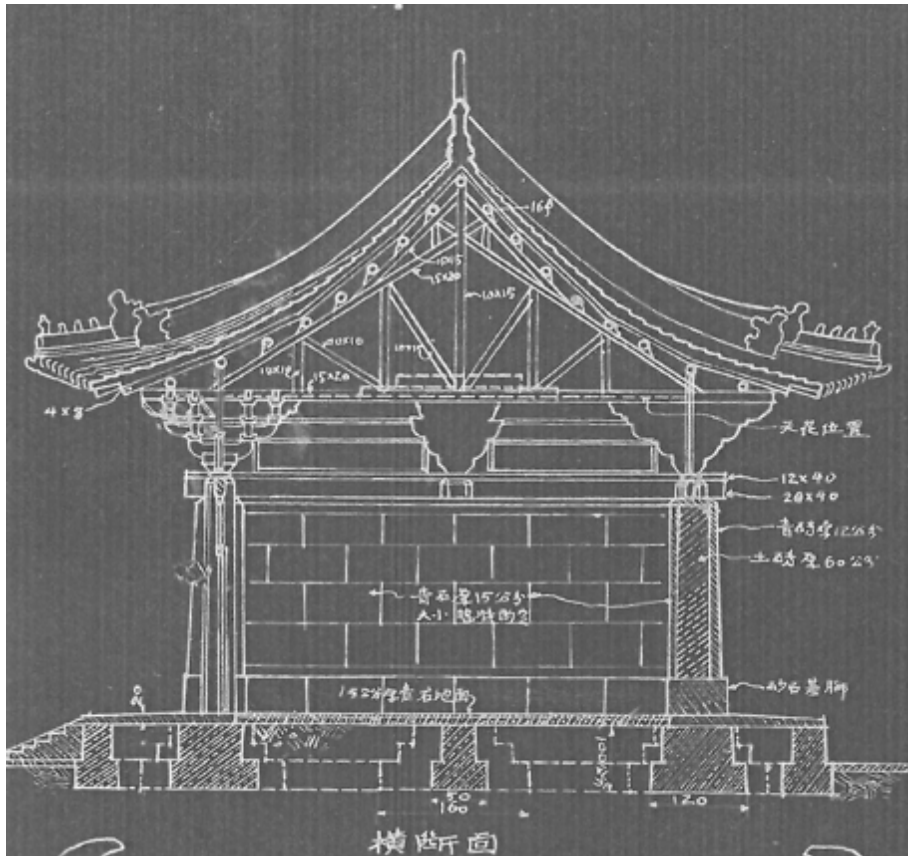


Fig. 8-2: Blueprint of Capital Loyal Martyrs' Shrine, Chongqing, 1946. AH 014000003542A.

Conclusion

Chongqing, as the wartime capital, needed to secure its spiritual legitimacy with a shrine to war dead. Chiang Kai-shek's government, failing to protect the spirits of its founder (Sun Yat-sen) and defenders (the Northern Expedition officers and soldiers) from the "control" of Japanese and Wang Jingwei's collaborationist regime. The whole lengthy process that I discussed in this chapter illustrates the significance of having an altar to national heroes in the capital. The spirits of the national dead cannot be deprived of sacrificial nourishments.

This chapter also explores the issue of allocating resources. Nevertheless, the whole project of state war commemoration managed to further deprive social and religious groups and communities of their limited resources. With hundreds of thousands of refugees, government officials, and soldiers cramped into Chongqing, space for the living was extremely restricted, and yet they had to make space for the dead. War, in this context, did not involve two armed forces attempting to subdue one another, but a desperate struggle over scarce resources. There was the war fought in battlefield and another war fought in everyday life. The triumph against Japan helped consolidate the power of the political over the social, allowing the state to prioritize its demands over welfare of social groups and citizens. This state of affairs would intensify in later decades.

Furthermore, I demonstrate how society, organizations, and individuals operated during the most destructive conflict in history. I focus not on the daily struggles over safety and provisions,

but on the weekly and monthly struggles over space and ideology. The presence of a photography studio, a barbershop, a lawyers' agency, and a confectionary factory in wartime Chongqing in the archival sources proves that life in China's interior region in the 1940s was not limited to the two modes of survival or expiration. Despite being deprived of the ideal space in the large and conveniently located Guan-Yue Temple, the Daoist Society, the Chinese Spirit-Molding Scholastic Society, and the Great Unity Scholastic Society (*Datong xuehui* 大同學會),¹⁰¹⁰ continued to function, opening new branches and publishing journals. The named individuals behind these organizations, such as Zhang Yuanjiang, An Ruoding, and Lei Lijin, did not fail to exert their agency even though they lost the battle to the dead.

In the age of global wars, proper treatment of fallen soldiers' bodies became an important criterion of a modern nation-state. In this chapter, I have examined how the nature of war commemoration was changing in Europe and as China militarily entered a global war for the first time, making the Loyal Martyrs' Shrine outdated as soon as the Nationalist government managed to build one. In the next chapter, I will continue pursuing the changing nature of memorializing the war dead in the era of global wars. While the victory in the War of Resistance gave the Nationalist legitimacy domestically, its international war effort did not enhance China's status in the Western world. I will analyze the commemoration of the Nationalist expeditionary forces in Burma and India and prisoners of war in Papua New Guinea after World War II.

¹⁰¹⁰ The Great Unity Scholastic Society did not leave much information in the Chongqing Municipal Archives, yet it was a large organization with branches all over China.

Chapter 9

Bones of Contention: Soldiers' Cemeteries in India, Burma, and Papua New Guinea

This chapter explores the international necro-politics over China's overseas military graves during the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949), shedding light on how the late-1940s power dynamic determined China's position with its neighbors and the West. Even though Chinese soldiers fought alongside the Allies and shielded its neighbors from Japanese aggression, China under the Nationalists did not gain a foothold in the arena of great powers. China's failure to negotiate with the Allies and postcolonial neighboring states over the proper care for its war dead during the Chinese Civil War demonstrates China's continued endurance of international prejudice since the Opium Wars. Analyzing archival documents in China, Taiwan, Britain, and the United States, my research uncovers the role of expeditionary soldiers in their afterlife in the making of the Chinese modern state and its international status.

My research shows that historical precedents in international politics played a key role in determining the fate of the Chinese expeditionary forces, and that the absence of care for these war dead in turn influenced the status of China in the postwar era. First, building cemeteries for the war dead was not part of the Nationalist agenda. Article 1 of the 1936 "Measures to Locally Construct Public Cemeteries for Fallen Officers and Soldiers" stipulated that localities with fallen servicemembers build their own public cemeteries "in order to bury the loyal bodies."¹⁰¹¹ Nationalist China did not establish an organization similar to the American Graves Registration Service (AGRS)¹⁰¹² or the British Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC),¹⁰¹³ which had

¹⁰¹¹ (凡陣亡將士損軀地點，應由當地地方建築公墓，以瘞忠骸。)

¹⁰¹² The American Graves Registration Service (AGRS) was created shortly after the United States entered World War I. Prior to the establishment of the AGRS, Quartermaster officers made efforts to bury battle casualties and mark burial sites. The level of deaths during the American Civil War demanded more large-scale efforts to handle the dead. From 1866 to 1870, the Union's Quartermaster Cemeterial Division uncovered nearly 300,000 war dead and buried them in 73 newly-created national cemeteries. By the end of the First World War, the AGRS established six cemeteries in Europe for approximately 30,000 fallen Americans and transported 47,000 bodies to the United States. During World War II, the AGRS took care of more than 250,000 Americans in cemeteries around the world. Its name was changed to Mortuary Affairs in 1991. Steven E. Anders, "With All Due Honors: A History of the Quartermaster Graves Registration Mission," *The Quartermaster Professional Bulletin* (September 1988) <<https://www.qmfound.com/article/with-all-due-honors-a-history-of-the-quartermaster-graves-registration-mission/>>. Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁰¹³ According to the official website, the enormous casualties of the Great War propelled Sir Fabian Ware, commander of a Red Cross unit, to record and care for the graves. The Imperial War Graves Commission (IWGC) was established by Royal Charter in 1917. It identified 587,000 graves and registered a further 559,000 casualties without known grave. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Commission built over 2,400 cemeteries in France, Belgium, and other parts of Europe. During World War II, the Commission at the request of Winston Churchill

been developed during the First World War to handle war cemeteries in foreign territories. The Nationalist government hence had to rely on local Chinese migrants' groups and former soldiers to provide information and care for its overseas graves. These informally arranged agencies lacked not only the official recognition and protection from local authorities, but also the administrative stability and integration of government offices. Second, both sides of the Sino-Indian border were experiencing great turmoil and transitioning into new forms of government. The formation of postcolonial states along China's borders, the Chinese Civil War, and China's border wars of the 1950s and 1960s dimmed the significance of the Chinese war graves. Third, international laws concerning overseas graves agreed by the Triple Entente required complying nations to administer war graves of foreign nationals within their boundaries. As China was not part of these sorts of agreements, the Allies were not obligated to make final arrangements for fallen Chinese soldiers. Because of "legal Orientalism," which implies the lack of so-called universal and natural law in non-Western societies,¹⁰¹⁴ no effort to establish legal arrangements for the Chinese war dead was made. Last, in the late 1940s when the financial support for maintaining these heroes' graves no longer came out of the fleeing Nationalists, some Chinese veterans and migrants chosen to guard the graves left on their own accord. Others were murdered or arrested by local authorities on charges of criminal activities and disputes with local communities.

As with the soldiers themselves, the memory of Chinese involvement in this conflict has recently been brought to light through the contentious commemoration between Mainland China and Taiwan over the right to these war heroes. In recent decades, news about these graves resurfaced in both Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese media. A few groups went after old maps and stories to uncover graves long swallowed by tropical jungles. This new interest in the overseas graves of fallen Chinese soldiers signifies larger questions, particularly with regard to the notion of sovereignty and relationships between nation-states. With the fading memories of the Civil War, both the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China reach into their common past for an episode of the "united front" and acknowledge the symbolic power of these dead Chinese soldiers.

China's First Global War

After becoming a republic in 1912, China actively sought to enhance its legitimacy domestically and regain its national sovereignty damaged by the Opium Wars.¹⁰¹⁵ The Beiyang government offered Chinese soldiers to the Triple Entente. Nevertheless, the offer was declined. Nevertheless, Beijing formally declared war against Germany. About 140,000 Chinese laborers

commemorated 67,000 civilians who died as a result of enemy action. The Commission built 559 new cemeteries and 36 memorials for casualties of the Second World War. In the 1960s, its name was changed to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. The Commission continues to maintain cemeteries and build new ones with new discoveries of war casualties. "History of CWGC" <<http://www.cwgc.org/about-us/history-of-cwgc.aspx>> Accessed May 17, 2017.

¹⁰¹⁴ Teemu Ruskola, *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States, and Modern Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

¹⁰¹⁵ This point is made in Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

working for the Triple Entente neither won China a seat in the postwar conference table, nor granted its demands for territorial integrity. At the Versailles Treaty of April 1919, the Triple Entente did not grant China's requests for the abolition of extraterritoriality, for the elimination of the "Twenty-One Demands," or for the returning of Shandong Province. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Nationalist government reiterated Sun Yat-sen's alleged dying wish of carrying out the National Revolution, which was to enhance China's status among allying nations (see Chapter 3). Although Japan's military advances threatened China's sovereignty, they allowed the Nationalists to forge new alliances with China's former foes.

Chiang Kai-shek offered Chinese troops to the British for the defense of Burma several times in 1941 and 1942 in exchange for material support.¹⁰¹⁶ The British side finally accepted help from the Nationalist forces, yet with reluctance. Nevertheless, the British and Chinese forces lost Rangoon to the Japanese in February 1942. In March 1942, the Chinese Expeditionary Force slowly entered Burma while the British forces evacuated from Rangoon. Joseph Stilwell arrived and led the Chinese 200th Division in the defense of Toungoo, a town in between Mandalay and Rangoon. The battle ended with the retreating Chinese troops. While the Chinese troops continued to fight in Burma, both the American and the Chinese sides were suspicious of each other's intentions. Stilwell felt that he was not given the full command of the Chinese troops while Chiang ordered his army to exert self-preservation and avoid casualties. By the end of the summer of 1942, the Japanese completed its invasion of Burma, occupying three-fourths of the country.¹⁰¹⁷

For the second attempt to reoccupy Burma, the Chinese troops were trained in British-operated and American-sponsored training camps in Ramgarh from 1942 to 1945. As of October 1942, there were over 10,000 Chinese soldiers in India and plans were in place to accept up to 18,000.¹⁰¹⁸ The British confirmed that they would be comfortable with 20,000 Chinese soldiers for logistical reasons.¹⁰¹⁹ The India Office pointed out numerous reasons for limiting the number of Chinese troops. The Chinese migrants did not get along well with the Burmese locals. The Government of India conveyed that "the Generalissimo is naturally anxious to have as many Chinese troops as possible properly fed, equipped and trained; ... he has in mind far more the value of a strong army at his own personal disposal after the war than the more immediate purpose of recapturing Burma."¹⁰²⁰ Nevertheless, the number of Chinese soldiers flown to Ramgarh Training Center kept rising because Stilwell pressured the British to bring in more

¹⁰¹⁶ Chiang "repeatedly offered" Major General Lancelot Ernest Dennys and General Archibald Wavell, British Commander-in-Chief in India to send two Chinese army corps to reinforce Burma. However, his offers were declined with the excuse that Burma only needed three regiments. "Madame Chiang Kai-shek to Mr. Lauchlin Currie, Administration Assistant to President Roosevelt," January 18, 1942, in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1942, China, Volume* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 5.

¹⁰¹⁷ Alan K. Lathrop, "The Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops in the First Burma Campaign," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12 (1981): 403-432.

¹⁰¹⁸ General Staff, Allies Liaison Section, October 13, 1942, British Library (BL) L/PS/12/2320.

¹⁰¹⁹ "Minutes of meeting held at India Office on 2 October 1942," WS/33213: Operations: Chinese troops in India, 1943-1944, BL L/WS/1/1363.

¹⁰²⁰ "Viceroy of India to Secretary of State for India," June 13, 1943, BL L/PS/12/2320.

Chinese soldiers. In May 1943, Chinese soldiers amounted to 23,722 in Ramgarh and 10,663 in Ledo.¹⁰²¹ In early 1944, Stilwell, as the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander, demand an increase of Chinese troops from 76,000 to 102,000, to which the British reluctantly agreed.¹⁰²² The highest number of Chinese troops in the India-Burma Theater reached the highest of approximately 90,000 in November 1944.¹⁰²³

After the first attempt, the British side realized that they could not retake Burma without help. The British admitted that they had to depend on the Chinese troops. Yet, it did not refrain them from feeling chary of China's presence in their part of the world and China's demands in exchange for military support.¹⁰²⁴ The Governor of Burma, Colonel Reginald Hugh Dorman-Smith (1899-1977), was anxious that China was using the Burma Campaign as an opportunity to gain standing in the global arena.¹⁰²⁵ The report on February 6, 1946 emphasized the British concern: "Chiang Kai Shek is now inclined to enter our political sphere."¹⁰²⁶ Later reports were along the same line: "the Chiangs were very sharp in their dealings. While offering military aid, Madame Chang insisted on air support for the Chinese troops. Furthermore, Song Meiling reportedly remarked on the British "selfish policy of over concentration on defence of her own island."¹⁰²⁷

The Burma Office similarly expressed suspicions about the Nationalist government's plan. In a report on August 4, 1942, the Burma Office insinuated, in the most diplomatic way, about a possible extortion scheme:

We lunched with Chiang Kai-shek today. He was even more charming than ever and said he fully appreciated our difficulties. He is still worried about rice and distressed about lack of air support. I think that rice situation is sound but General Yu suddenly demanded 30,000 tons for use inside China. I told Chiang Kai-shek that we looked upon our supplies as part of a common pool and will certainly do all we can to help him... [Major-General T.J.W, Burma Army's Chief of Staff] Winterton hopes that the advent of new Chinese division may give them some relief. Anyway, he is convinced that they can and will put up a good show still.¹⁰²⁸

The mistrust of Chinese military was also reflected in perception of some British servicemembers of their Chinese counterparts. From the collection of oral interviews conducted

¹⁰²¹ "Commander in Chief (India) to War Office," May 17, 1943, BL L/PS/12/2320.

¹⁰²² "Government of India to Secretary of State for India," May 24, 1944, BL L/PS/12/2320.

¹⁰²³ "Arminia to Indian Army Liaison Mission," November 19, 1944, BL L/PS/12/2320.

¹⁰²⁴ Burma Office Annual Files 1937-48, February 6, 1942, BL India Office Records (IOR) M/3/776.

¹⁰²⁵ Dorman-Smith was the Governor of Burma from May 6, 1941 to August 31, 1946. The Government of Burma was in exile at Simla, India, during the Japanese invasion (May 1942 to October 1945).

¹⁰²⁶ "Governor of Burma to Secretary of State for Burma," February 6, 1942, BL IOR/M/3/776.

¹⁰²⁷ "Governor of Burma to Secretary of State for Burma," July 4, 1942, BL IOR/M/3/776.

¹⁰²⁸ "Governor of Burma to Secretary of State for Burma," August 4, 1942, BL IOR/M/3/776.

by the Imperial War Museums, Jack McFarlane, liaison officer to Chinese Expeditionary Force with British Staff Mission in Burma and India in 1941 and 1942, described the Chinese as being “brave,” yet “mindlessly following orders.”¹⁰²⁹ Such unfavorable views by British politicians, military leaders, and officers determined the posthumous fate of these soldiers.

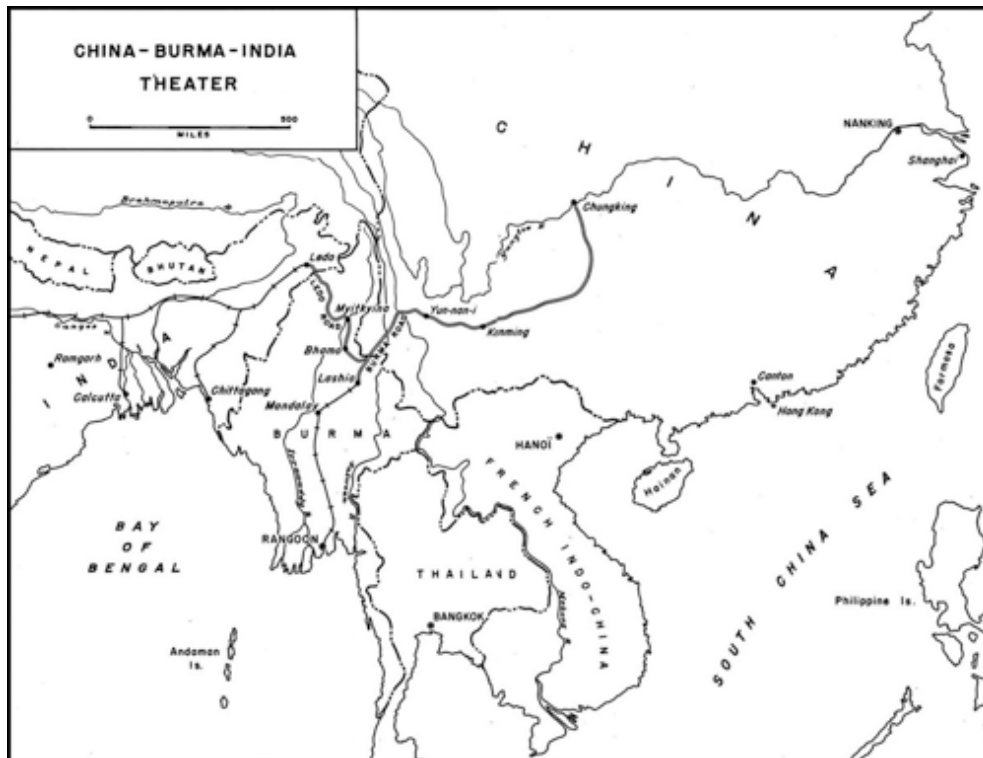


Fig. 9-1: China-Burma-India Theater. Courtesy of U.S. Army in World War II: Pictorial Record. <<https://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/USA/USA-PR-Japan/USA-PR-Japan-5.html#fn1>> Accessed May 15, 2017.

The second reoccupation of Burma resulted in nine major Chinese soldiers' graves and other smaller burial sites along the Burma Road that stretched from Kunming to Lashio. From my research, I have found the following sites of burials though there might be more. Approximately 2,000 Chinese officers and soldiers were buried in five sites in India. The cemetery in Ramgarh 蘭伽 contained about 500-600 graves. There were two sites in Ledo 列多 or 雷多, where 1,200 bodies were buried. In Talap (in Chinese, 灘(勤)浦), there existed 300 graves. A small site in Gaumate (in Chinese, 高(赫)店) contained 20 graves with bodies of 27 soldiers. Remains of 20 Chinese soldiers were buried in the American Military Cemetery in Barrackpore. In addition, there were bodies in some scattered gravesites. One known site was Tistamukh Ghat. In Burma, there were six locations with over 2,300 Chinese soldiers' remains. Myitkyina 密支那, with two adjacent sites containing over 1,700 bodies. One was built by the 6th Army and the other by the

¹⁰²⁹ Imperial War Museums, Oral history 9782, reel 1.

<<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80009566>> Accessed May 16, 2016.

New First Army.¹⁰³⁰ The cemetery in Bhamo 八莫 contained 198 bodies. At the cemetery in Namhkam 南坎, 383 bodies were buried. Cemeteries in Mongyu 芒友, Lashio 腊戍, and Hsipaw 昔卜 had unknown numbers of graves and bodies. Hsipaw had two adjacent burial sites, built by the New First Army and the Independent Infantry First Regiment (步兵獨立第一團).¹⁰³¹

There were also a number of monuments constructed in the late 1940s. In 1945, to commemorate the end of World War II, the New First Army erected a commemorative tower in Banghai 邦海, Yunnan, and the Independent Infantry First Regiment erected one in Kyaukme 皎脈, Burma.¹⁰³² In 1948, a local Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group informed the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon that they would build a monument in Katha 杰沙, a small town at the border between Burma and China, to commemorate the fallen and missing expeditionary soldiers that fought the Japanese in 1941.¹⁰³³ For this purpose, the Mutual Aid Group asked the Ministry of Defense for the list of names of killed or missing combatants. The latter responded positively and ordered its Historical Administration Office (*shi zheng ju* 史政局) to provide the information.¹⁰³⁴

In addition to the graves in Burma and in India, during the Second World War, Japan took over 1,500 Chinese prisoners-of-war to Rabaul 拉包爾, Papua New Guinea, where hard labor, torture, and execution led to deaths of about 600 people. What is the fate of these corpses and cemeteries in the thicket of jungles and political intrigues?

Grave Concerns: Chinese Military Cemetery in Ramgarh, 1945-1947

After the reoccupation of Burma, China, as an Ally and a key actor in the China-India-Burma Theater, suffered casualties in the tens of thousands. The duty of caring for the Chinese war dead was never settled. Reports from the Military Administration Bureau revealed that the Chinese Army in India actively sought financial support from the American forces to build a military cemetery in Ramgarh. On February 18, 1944, the Second-in-Command Zheng Dongguo 鄭洞國 of the New First Army estimated the construction of the cemetery in Ramgarh in the vicinity of 70,000 rupees, and requested that General Stilwell (in Chinese documents, *Shidawei* 史迪威) account for the actual cost. This amount was about 23,000 US dollars in 1944, and

¹⁰³⁰ The New First Army was formed in 1943 from the New 22nd Division, the New 38th Division, and the New 30th Division.

¹⁰³¹ There was little information concerning the graves in Hsipaw. Most documents of Chinese government mentioned only five sites in Burma: Myitkyina, Namhkam, Bhamo, Mongyu, and Lashio. For example, see “Chinese Consulate in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 19, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰³² “Chinese Consulate in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 19, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰³³ “Chinese Consulate in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be forwarded to Ministry of Defense,” August 27, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹⁰³⁴ “Ministry of Defense to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” October 18, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

approximately 320,000 US dollars in 2017. Given that the Marshall Plan cost the United States 13 billion US dollars, 23,000 US dollars to properly these Chinese soldiers was a very small amount. From March to August, Zheng Dongguo urgently and repeatedly asked for the fund, citing the Lend-Lease deal (*zujie an* 租借案) in his communications to Stilwell.¹⁰³⁵ Later in August, Zheng reported that he was raising money for the cemetery while continuing the negotiations with Stilwell over who would be the financier for the fallen Chinese soldiers' cemeteries.

In October 1944, the American leadership in India finally informed the Chinese government that the Government of India would follow "the normal procedure" (*zhengchang shouxu* 正常手續) and procure funds from the Lend-Lease policy. The Government of India appointed a financial adviser to be in charge of the construction. However, the Military Affairs Finance Counsellor of the Government of India was doubtful that the British would follow through with the agreed-upon treaty. The Counsellor suggested that the Chinese government confirm directly with the British about the cemetery's expenses.¹⁰³⁶

Communications among American and British military leaders in Burma and India further revealed that both the U.S. and Britain tried to pass the task of financing the Chinese Military Cemetery in Ramgarh to each other. According to a communication sent on December 21, 1944 from Colonel Arcadi Gluckman in Ramgarh to General Haydon LeMaire Boatner in Ledo, the British disapproved to pay the 70,000 rupees required for the construction of the Chinese cemetery in Ramgarh and refused to honor the land lease deal with China. As for the Americans, they unhappily speculated that "the responsibility of procuring the fund would be on them while the Chinese generals would keep the money for themselves."¹⁰³⁷

In early 1945, Zheng Dongguo again asserted that the cemetery had to be completed before the impending departure of the Chinese Army from India.¹⁰³⁸ On February 1, 1945, Zheng telegraphed Chiang Kai-shek, informing the Generalissimo that the construction of the cemetery

¹⁰³⁵ The Lend-Lease policy, or Act to Promote the Defense of the United States, was enacted on March 11, 1941. Under this program, the United States supplied the Allied nations with provisions, oil, and weaponry. Roosevelt agreed to extend the Lend-Lease to China a few days of the Act was passed. China received 15 million dollars in 1941 for the construction of a railroad from Burma into China. After the Japanese seized the Burma Road, China received over 30,000 tons of supplies by air. From 1941 to 1943, the value of aid transferred to China amounted to 201 million dollars, and another 191.7 million dollars were consigned to the American commanding general in the China-Burma-India Theater for transfer to China. *The China White Paper, August 1949, Volumes 1 and 2* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), 26-28.

¹⁰³⁶ "Military Affairs to Governor of India," October 1944, AH 002-060100-00197-010; also found in AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰³⁷ "Gluckman to Boatner," December 21, 1944, Outgoing Messages 1944-1945, Box 56, U.S. Forces in the China-Burma-India Theaters of Operations, the Chinese Army in India (CIA) Records of the Sub-Headquarters, RG 493, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

¹⁰³⁸ "New First Army to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," May 1945, Academia Sinica (AS) 11-EAP-02675.

for officers and soldiers in Ramgarh was delayed due to the lack of funds. Zheng requested that the Nationalist government dispense 80,000 rupees (about 27,000 US dollars in 1944, or approximately 370,000 US dollars in 2017) for the construction.¹⁰³⁹ This figure was 10,000 rupees more than Zheng's estimate to Stilwell in February 1944. The reason might have been inflation. In 1946, Zheng submitted to the United Quartermasters Headquarters a construction plan for the cemetery, which included a three-segment stone gate and a stone commemorative tower.¹⁰⁴⁰

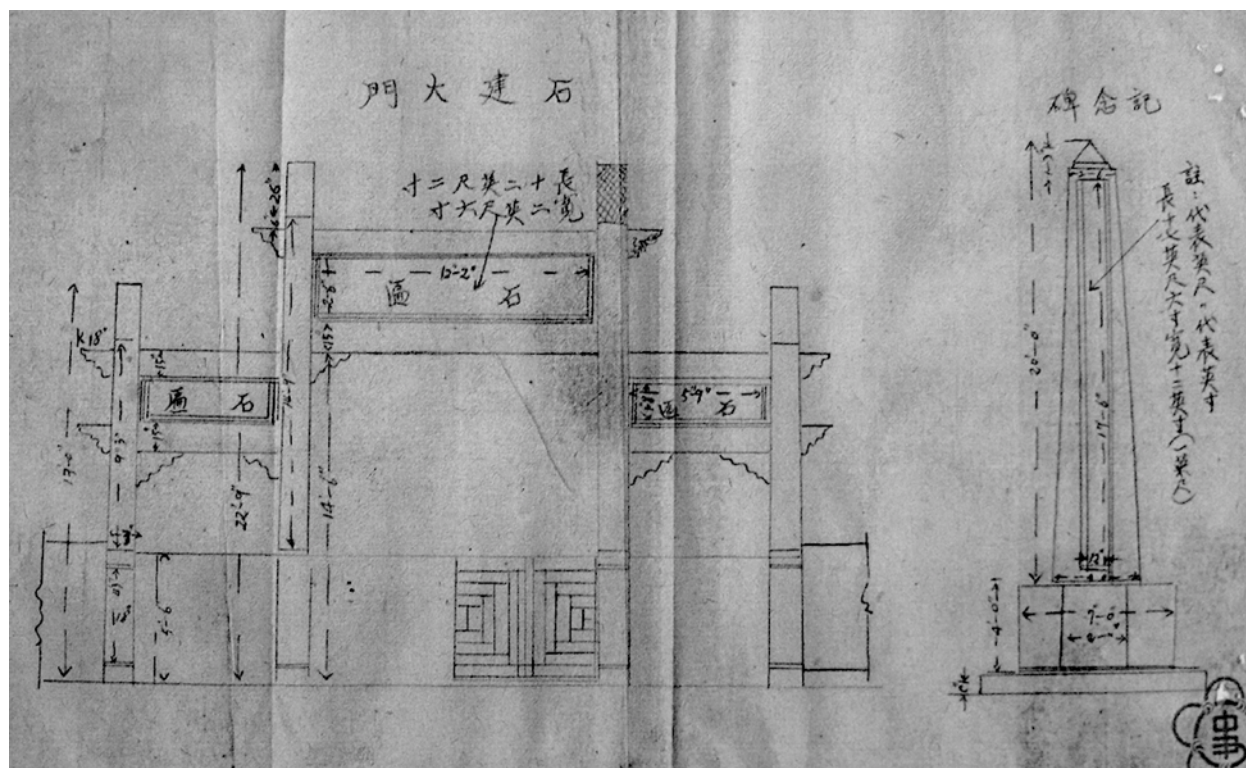


Fig. 9-2: Construction Plan for Cemetery in Ramgarh, 1946. AH 002-060100-00197-010.

In addition to Zheng's effort, the American commanders were involved with the Chinese military cemetery project. In February 1945, Brigadier General John A. Warden of the U.S. Army telegraphed Shen Shihua, the Chinese Commissioner to India, to request further instructions concerning Chinese war dead in Burma and India.¹⁰⁴¹ The issues include cremation or interment options, burial location, types of containers, and the party that would be responsible

¹⁰³⁹ "Zheng Dongguo to Chiang Kai-shek," February 1, 1945, AH 002-060100-00197-010.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "United Quartermasters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including a telegram from Northeastern Security Command (東北保安司令部)," March 11, 1947, AH 002-060100-00197-010.

¹⁰⁴¹ Chiang sent Shen Shihua as China's special commissioner to India to strengthen ties with Indian leaders in 1942.

to carry out the task.¹⁰⁴² The Chinese Ministry of Military Administration agreed to the plan of cremating the bodies, placing them in earthen urns (*yaoqi* 窯器), burying them locally, and adding some signage (*jia biao zhi* 加標識) on their graves. The Ministry of Military Administration asked if the U.S. Army could supply the urns and confirmed that the Chinese side would take care of the rest of the burial task.¹⁰⁴³

Further communications revealed some changes. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs forwarded the Ministry of Military Administration's request to the U.S. Army, and revised that both the Chinese Army authorities and the Commissioner in India would accomplish the burial task together. The Chinese agreed with Warden's suggestion that "a priest (*mushi* 牧師) or Army Chaplain shall officiate at the time of burial." Cremation and blessing from a priest were rather uncommon for Chinese people. There was however another important modification proposed by the Chinese side. Replying to the U.S. Army in April 1945, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that the interment of these urns be accompanied with "tombstones or other identification posts duly erected."¹⁰⁴⁴ Referring to the possibility of marking the graves with tombstones, the Chinese leaders perhaps hoped to bargain for a permanent arrangement for the afterlife of the Chinese forces in India instead of having to transport the remains to China.

The American side did not share this expectation, but emphasized that the burials were to be only temporary. The American leadership subsequently provided fees for the cremation and burial. Colonel Frank Milani of the U.S. Army reported to Shen Shihua in April 1945 that the U.S. Forces could only carry out the cremation and temporary internment of the remains in earthen urns. Milani assured Shen that the remains were "neatly arranged and aligned" in temporary cemeteries, and that these "temporary cemeteries have been well cared for and their conversion into permanent cemeteries with individual graves can be readily accomplished."¹⁰⁴⁵ Milani confirmed that both the Commanding General of the U.S. Forces in the India-Burma Theater and the Commanding General of Chinese Army in India would be responsible for the construction of the permanent cemetery. Furthermore, the British side would be called upon to supply necessary funds through the Lend-Lease program to China.¹⁰⁴⁶

In reply, Shen Shihua informed Milani that the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs insisted on converting the temporary burials into permanent ones by building concrete and brick individual graves with permanent tombstones.¹⁰⁴⁷ There would have been no possible arrangement for these Chinese soldiers if they had been transported back to China. China had only one national military cemetery, located in Nanjing and dedicated to the Northern Expedition officers and soldiers. Moreover, the task of tracking down and returning the remains to families of these expeditionary soldiers, the majority of who came from extremely low social strata, would be a laborious task.

¹⁰⁴² "Warden to Chen," February 6, 1945, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁴³ "Telegram from Ministry of Military Administration," March 31, 1945, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁴⁴ "Shen to Covell," April 2, 1945, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁴⁵ "Milani to Shen," April 9, 1945, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁷ "Shen to Milani," April 24, 1945, AS 11-EAP-02675.

The financial and communication difficulties were finally worked out. According to Colonel Kernan's report from Ramgarh, the construction of Chinese cemetery would be completed by May 10, 1945.¹⁰⁴⁸ The New First Army was able to raise money among its ranks and Chinese migrants to finish the cemetery. However, after the construction was done, the task of maintenance was yet to be claimed by any party. According to Colonel Kernan, eventually the British IWGC would assume responsibility for maintenance of Chinese cemetery. However, until then he had found Chinese Buddhist monks to live at the cemetery providing the upkeep and provided them with a 150-rupee check each month. This was only a temporary arrangement as the American forces were about to depart, leaving the maintenance of these graves to the British authorities. However, the British here at Ramgarh would rather "have nothing to do with it."¹⁰⁴⁹ The desire of the British colonial government to simply shrug off responsibility for Chinese war graves was well known even among the American military leadership in Ramgarh. The issue was not financial, but political. Permanent graves of Chinese soldiers would boost China's sovereignty in the Sino-Indian border and sanctioned the presence of Chinese veterans and migrants in India.

Without having to deal with contested territories and sovereignties, the American military in India was more willing to provide help, albeit limited, with the afterlife of the Chinese expeditionary forces in reciprocity. Furthermore, across the border, the U.S. government was simultaneously making arrangements to collect bodies of their soldiers. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered municipal governments of Kunming, Chengdu, Shanghai, Tianjin, Qingdao, and Shenyang by way of the Executive Yuan to assist the U.S. agents with the excavation and transportation of 2,028 bodies to Shanghai and from there to America via air.¹⁰⁵⁰ The American Graves Registration Service, with a history of caring for the war dead in foreign territories, completed the task quickly.¹⁰⁵¹ After the AGRS had collected the American remains, China had no leverage to ask the United States for help with its war dead in India.

The Chinese military cemetery in Ramgarh became the responsibility of the Government of India from 1945 to 1947. In a report sent to the India Office on January 22, 1946, the Government of India complained that the Chinese army in India had begun construction without consulting the local authorities. In addition, the Chinese army demanded that the IWGC be

¹⁰⁴⁸ Kernan to Breidster (copied Larson), May 6, 1945, Outgoing Messages 1944-1945, Box 56, U.S. Forces in the China-Burma-India Theaters of Operations, the Chinese Army in India (CIA) Records of the Sub-Headquarters, RG 493, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

¹⁰⁴⁹ Kernan to Sultan (Delhi) informing Breidster & Larson, May 17, 1945, Outgoing Messages 1944-1945, Box 56, U.S. Forces in the China-Burma-India Theaters of Operations, the Chinese Army in India (CIA) Records of the Sub-Headquarters, RG 493, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

¹⁰⁵⁰ "Executive Yuan to Chongqing Municipal Government," November 4, 1946, CMA 53-20-409, 361-363. There were 2,028 bodies, Kunming: 856, Chengdu: 313, Shanghai: 519, Tianjin: 43, Qingdao: 37, and Shenyang: 260.

¹⁰⁵¹ Reports on recovering remains of American combatants and civilians from China can be found in "American Graves Registration Service-China Zone," January 7, 1946-November 6, 1947, NARA 92-AGRS-0.1.

responsible for maintaining the Ramgarh cemetery. In Ledo, the Chinese military nonetheless asked for a rent-free lease of the burial ground and posted its own caretakers for its military graves. While the Government of India preferred the arrangement at Ledo, it could not simply decline China's request with regard to the cemetery in Ramgarh. Britain was concurrently asking the Chinese government to arrange maintenance for the British cemeteries in China.¹⁰⁵² When the American forces withdrew from India in April 1946, the task was transferred to the British administration in India, which delegated it to the military. The Military Engineering Services (*Junshi gongcheng chu* 軍事工程處), which was responsible for construction and maintenance work for the armed forces, posted caretakers at the Chinese cemetery. The Eastern Command (*Dongfang junqu* 東方軍區), one of the four commands of the Indian Army, paid the caretakers annual salaries from April 1946 to April 1947, which totaled 544 rupees.¹⁰⁵³ Neither side offered a permanent solution.

The Chinese military graves in Ramgarh were unlikely to be maintained after 1947, due to lack of financing and the change in the local administration. On August 14 and 15, 1947, the last governor-general of India partitioned British India into India and Pakistan, and declared both of them independent. In January 1948, the Government of India notified the Chinese government that Ramgarh had become part of Pakistan, and the Government of Pakistan should be consulted on the matter of the Chinese military cemetery there. A scribbled note by the Chinese officials showed that they had been further updated on the politics in the region. Ramgarh was in fact part of Bihar's territory, a state in the new Dominion of India.¹⁰⁵⁴ If the British did not feel obliged to provide the afterlife arrangement for the Chinese soldiers, the new administration in India felt even less willing to care for them.

Nonetheless, amidst the Civil War, the Nationalist government continued to care for its fallen soldiers in India. In December 1947, the Acting Consul General for China, W.P. Tsai (蔡), sent a communication to the Government of Bihar, requesting that new arrangements be made for the cemetery in Ramgarh now that the Chinese monks posted by American leaders in 1945 had been long gone. Tsai requested that the Government of Bihar employ two people to mow the lawn, repair the damaged tombs, and supervise the maintenance of the cemetery. The Chinese government promised to pay all the expenses on the annual basis once the Government of Bihar provided the estimated cost.¹⁰⁵⁵ The Assistant Adjutant General in New Delhi Army notified the Chinese government via Major Y. N. Loh (Luo 羅) that the Military Engineer Services could assume the responsibility for maintaining the cemetery in Ramgarh for an annual fee of 1,500 rupees. In addition, any special repairs and renewals, and new construction would be calculated

¹⁰⁵² "Deputy Secretary to Government of India, External Affairs Department, (New Delhi) to Secretary of State to Government of Burma, Defence and External Affairs Department (Rangoon), January 22, 1946, BL IOR/M/4/3072. In addition, the British were eager to identify their fallen soldiers in the Chinese territory. The Chongqing Police Bureau reported to the Municipal Government in November 1946 that they did not find any soldiers' graves in the city. CMA 53-20-409, 365.

¹⁰⁵³ Chinese Embassy in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Government of India to Ambassador of the Republic of China in India, January 28, 1948, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁵⁵ "Tsai to Government of Bihar," December 29, 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

at the beginning of each year and fees would be added. Each of the *chowkidars* (watchmen) would be paid 35 rupees per month, which came to a total of 840 rupees a year. The telegram also informed the Chinese government of the existence of three burials at Tistamukh Ghat, which had never been maintained ever since.¹⁰⁵⁶ In May 1947, the Government of India notified the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs that there were also 300 graves in a Chinese cemetery in Talap, Assam, for which no arrangements for maintenance was made.¹⁰⁵⁷ The Chinese Army and the local Chinese migrant community had built this cemetery after the war. The Nationalist government was in a costly struggle with the Communists. Their preference was the “most economical” way (*zui jingji* 最經濟), that is, to pay local authorities to care for the graves in Ramgarh, Ledo, and Talap.¹⁰⁵⁸ However, the communication and payment became erratic.

In January 1948, the Chinese Government requested a “package deal” for all of its cemeteries in India, which was impossible as these cemeteries were under different jurisdictions. The Chinese government tried to drive a hard bargain by suggesting that the arrangements made for Ramgarh should not be too costly as the cemetery only contained 500 graves, far fewer than cemeteries in Ledo. The Embassy of China in India agreed in June 1948 to pay 3,000 rupees for the two cemeteries on the Ledo Road and 2,340 rupees for the one in Ramgarh. As for the renovation fees, the Embassy was still in the process of seeking approval from Nanjing.¹⁰⁵⁹

During 1948-1949, the Ministry of External Affairs of India repeatedly requested instructions from the Chinese government with regard to the cemetery in Ramgarh and received no reply.¹⁰⁶⁰ In March 1949, the India’s Army Headquarters notified the Chinese Embassy that the Military Engineering Services would be in charge of the cemetery in Ramgarh starting in July.¹⁰⁶¹ The Indian Ministry of External Affairs notified the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi on July 1, 1949 that it had received the total estimated expenditure on the maintenance of the Chinese War Cemetery at Tippuk (Talap). Extensive construction was necessary for jungles and debris had already covered the cemetery. The wire fencing no longer existed. The concrete pillars were completely broken. The plan was to clear the jungle, install brick pillars all around the cemetery, put in wire fencing, and build a wooden gate. The total cost came up to 3,761 rupees.¹⁰⁶² There

¹⁰⁵⁶ “Assistant Adjutant General of the Army Headquarters, India to Loh (Luo), January 29, 1948, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁵⁷ “Government of India to Ambassador of the Republic of China to India,” May 27, 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁵⁸ “Yao to Shen,” 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁵⁹ “Embassy of the Republic of China in New Delhi to External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations of Government of India,” June 26, 1948, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁶⁰ “India’s Ministry of External Affairs to Chinese Embassy,” March 23, 1949, AH 020-011903-0014. This correspondence also mentioned an unanswered telegram sent on June 26, 1948.

¹⁰⁶¹ “Adjutant General, Army Headquarters, India to Military Attaché, Embassy of the Republic of China, New Delhi,” March 5, 1949, AH020-011903-0014.

¹⁰⁶² “Government of India’s Ministry of External Affairs to Chinese Embassy in New Delhi,” July 1, 1949, AH 020-011903-0014.

was no record of the Nationalist government paying this amount. However, the Nationalist government had made earnest efforts to take care of its dead soldiers.

Bones of Contention: Barrackpore, 1946-1947

The British Embassy notified China that in 1946, the U.S. government had just issued an act to collect all American citizens' bodies and transport them to the U.S.¹⁰⁶³ The AGRS representatives in the India-Burma Zone also sent a telegram to Nanjing via the American Consulate in Calcutta on May 27, 1947. The telegram informing China that there were some remains of Chinese soldiers buried in the U.S. military cemetery in Barrackpore, India. The American government planned to have all the remains of U.S. servicemembers reburied in the U.S. Military Cemetery, Barrackpore, India, repatriated to the United States by the end of 1947. Therefore, the AGRS wanted to consult Nanjing on which kind of arrangement would be proper for these remains of Chinese soldiers.¹⁰⁶⁴ Correspondence revealed that remains of at least twelve Chinese nationals were buried in the U.S. Military Cemetery in Barrackpore, India. Four were Chinese Army personnel who lost their lives during World War II and presently buried in Barrackpore U.S. Military Cemetery.¹⁰⁶⁵ In addition, eight Chinese soldiers were buried in communal graves with American soldiers, all of who were victims of a plane crash.¹⁰⁶⁶

The policy of the U.S. War Department in the case of communal burial of Allied war dead is clear: "If the Allied deceased cannot be segregated, the Allied Governments concerned will be asked whether or not they would interpose any objection of the shipment of the group to the United States. If no objection is forthcoming, all the remains in the group will be returned to the United States. For objection to such removal, the remains of the entire group will be finally

¹⁰⁶³ "British Embassy to China Consulate," 1946, British Archives (BA) FO 371/51699,

¹⁰⁶⁴ "American Graves Registration Service to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs via American Consulate in Calcutta," May 27, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014.

¹⁰⁶⁵ The first was C. F. Chang, Co-pilot who was killed in the crash of Plane C47-56. The second was P. P. Wen, Flight Operator of China National Aviation Corporation (CNAC) Plane, died on November 30, 1944 at coordinates 96d 00' 15" E-27d 18' N. His remains buried as Unknowns X-69 and X-70 in Plot 2, Row E, Grave 63, since individual identification was impossible. The third was C.N. Chang, a Navy cadet, died of pulmonary tuberculosis on April 11, 1945 at the 142nd General Hospital in Barrackpore, and buried in Plot 3, Row Q, Grave 37. The last one was V.K. Hon, of the Chinese Army Second Combat Engineer Battalion of the New 30th Division, Ramgarh, died of relapsing fever on February 9, 1944 and was buried in Plot 3, Row Q, Grave 39. "American Graves Registration Service to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs via American Consulate in Calcutta," May 27, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Six Chinese soldiers were buried in a communal grave with three Americans in Plot 3, Row Q, Grave 25, and two other Chinese with one American in Plot 2, Row F, Grave 44 of the U.S. Military Cemetery in Barrackpore. The first six were unknown Chinese passengers aboard U.S. Plane C-47-43-789, which crashed on April 22, 1945, about 10 miles north of Lashio, Burma. The latter two were aboard CNAC plane C-47-72, which crashed on October 13, 1943 at coordinates 97d 38' E-26d 53'N. "American Graves Registration Service to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs via American Consulate in Calcutta," May 27, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014.

interred in a permanent overseas American Cemetery.”¹⁰⁶⁷ The U.S. government “strongly requested permission to transport these communal burials to National Cemeteries in the United States since there would be no permanent U.S. national cemetery located in India.”¹⁰⁶⁸

In response to the inquiry from the American side, W. P. Tsai, Acting Consul General for China, requested that the AGRS cremate all the remains of the Chinese soldiers, and transfer the ashes to the Chinese Military Cemetery in Ramgarh. Although China did not have field personnel in charge of the war dead and their graves in India, the Chinese consulate “would like to contact the designated officer in charge of this matter” and “to meet all the expenses involved.”¹⁰⁶⁹ Tsai did not explicitly address the mixed remains of Chinese and American soldiers, acquiescing to whichever decision made by the AGRS. Thereupon, the AGRS gifted the Chinese government implements for cremation and urns, and offered to pay 350 Indian rupees toward the cremation.¹⁰⁷⁰ The mixed bones of American and Chinese soldiers were transported to the U.S., likely to be interred in the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific (Punchbowl, Hawaii).

While other options with regard to mixed burials existed, they were not brought up by either side. When the United States entered World War I, the British and American governments signed an agreement over cases of intermingled remains. If the majority of the remains were of British personnel, then the whole lot would be buried in a Commonwealth cemetery, and vice versa.¹⁰⁷¹ Though not mentioned by either side, a possible solution for the mixed bones would have been dividing them in equal halves to be in respective cemeteries.

The Chinese government did not contend for the mixed bones, not because it did not value its fallen soldiers the same way as the American or the British governments. There were multiple reasons for the lack of effort to claim these indistinguishable remains. First, China lacked the institution and precedents for such matter. China had no designated office to pursue the issue of mixed burials and graves in foreign jurisdiction. Because World War II was the first international war for China to participate as the nation-state, the Nationalist government had no practical experience or legal framework to deal with overseas burials. Second, China did not lack war heroes to celebrate. The Nationalists could find heroic narratives among its tens of millions of military and civilian casualties. Third, as I demonstrate in Chapters 3 and 7 the worshipping of martyrs in China was organized locally. The Nationalist government ordered each county and municipality to build a Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine instead of building *national* shrines and cemeteries. Last, China’s military participation in the Burma Campaign did not serve as good

¹⁰⁶⁷ “American Graves Registration Service to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs via American Consulate in Calcutta,” May 27, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014. Also found in AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁹ “Chinese Consulate (W.P. Tsai) to American Graves Registration Service c/o American Consulate General,” June 5, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014.

¹⁰⁷⁰ “Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Interior,” August 15, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁷¹ G. Kingsley Ward and T.A. Edwin Gibson, *Courage Remembered: The Story Behind the Construction and Maintenance of the Commonwealth’s Military Cemeteries and Memorials of the Wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945* (London: H.M.S.O., 1989), 81.

propaganda domestically. The general public were not particularly enthused about China defending a colonial administration of a state that in the past had impinged upon China's sovereignty. In English-language documents, Dr. T.V. Soong (Song Ziwen 宋子文, 1894-1971), Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, claimed that these soldiers died for the international alliance with the Allied nations.¹⁰⁷² In Chinese-language documents, these soldiers were portrayed as "heroically sacrificing for the nation" (*zhongyong weiguo xisheng* 忠勇為國犧牲), according to a communication from Song Liren, the deputy commander of the New First Army, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁰⁷³ In short, while it might have been that these fallen soldiers were from low social strata and thus did not receive proper recognition for their sacrifice of life from the Nationalist government, institutions and precedents, or rather the lack thereof, explained the absence of posthumous care for these soldiers.

Sovereignty of the Chinese War Dead in Burma

In 1945, the Chinese military established permanent cemeteries in Ledo, Myitkyina, Bhamo, Namhkam, Mongyu, Hsipaw, and Lashio. Information about these cemeteries came from various sources. In September 1945, Hu Weihua 胡蔚華, a Chinese army veteran and caretaker of the Lashio cemetery provided a report, which included a pictorial map of the cemetery in Lashio. The three-acre cemetery, located on a hill at a road junction, was enclosed with posts and fences. The gate led to a monument in the center, flanked by two towers and two graveyards.¹⁰⁷⁴

After the construction, the issue then was how to formalize the presence of these cemeteries in China. In a letter from Song Ziwen, to the British Embassy on August 1, 1945, he insisted that:

Chinese and British troops, fighting side by side in the counter-attack on Burma over a period of years, have conquered the enemy and won the victory, till now the greater part of the lost territory of Burma has happily been recovered. In these united operations casualties among the brave and self-sacrificing Chinese troops have been very heavy, and it is only proper that their bodies should be interred together in selected places along the route followed by them, and that monuments should be erected to commemorate the loyalty of the dead... In consideration of the friendship between China and Great Britain, allies in the common struggle, the land for these six cemeteries may be presented to the Chinese Government, that the officers and men acting as care-takers referred to above may be permitted to reside there in perpetuity, and that permanent resident certificates may be issued to them.¹⁰⁷⁵

Song did not refer to any international laws or regulations because there was none. He insisted on the friendship and alliance, which, judging from Britain's repeatedly expressing hesitance

¹⁰⁷² "T.V Soong to British Embassy," August 1, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁷³ "Ministry of Military Administration to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Song Liren's report," July 1945, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁷⁴ "Military Affairs Commission to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," including a report from Hu Weihua submitted to the New First Army commander Sun Liren," January 25, 1946, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁷⁵ "T.V Soong to British Embassy," August 1, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

over the flood of the Chinese troops and civilian migrants into Burma and India, were not particularly strong. When Chiang Kai-shek tried to send more soldiers to Ramgarh to be trained for the Burma Reoccupation Campaign, the India Office exhibited skepticism over the Nationalists' intention. They rightly assumed that Chiang was seeking to have his troops trained, outfitted, and armed for the upcoming civil war with the Communists. When the Chiangs pushed Britain to provide air support for the Chinese army, the India Office was more concerned with the lack of fuel than Chinese lives on the ground.¹⁰⁷⁶ Besides, now that the Second World War was over, China did not have much bargaining power.

The British Embassy in Chongqing communicated with Dr. K. C. Wu (Wu Guozhen), mayor of Chongqing and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, promising that permission would be “granted to the caretaker and his dependent(s) to reside on the land comprising the Chinese War Cemetery for so long as he is employed by the (formally constituted body) as official caretaker of that cemetery”¹⁰⁷⁷ The British Embassy also emphasized that this permission would be granted on the condition that the caretaker “does not engage in any private occupation for gain and that his conduct is satisfactory, and will be revoked in the case of a breach of either of these conditions.” However, there was no “formally constituted body” of the Chinese government to be in charge of hiring and paying the caretakers.

According to a report on August 7, 1945 by the British Consul General in Chongqing, Horace Seymour, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had acted accordingly. The Chinese government requested that land for six cemeteries be presented to the Chinese government, that two or three disabled officers and men already be sent to each cemetery as caretakers may be permitted to reside there in perpetuity, and that permanent resident certificates be given to them. The China side insisted that the land should be granted (*juanzu* 捐租) as a “courteous gesture to an Ally” and some sort of legal residency granted to the caretakers.¹⁰⁷⁸ In addition, Seymour called attention to the fact that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs intentionally did not use the phrase “overseas Chinese” to refer the caretakers, which indicates that China and Britain had different views about the legal status of these caretakers in Burma.

The War Office in London communicated on August 20, 1945 to the Foreign Office, the India Office, the Burma Office, and the IWGC, citing the agreement signed between the French and English governments during the First and Second World Wars:

... the Chinese are in very much the same position vis-à-vis the Governments of India and Burma as was His Majesty's Government vis-à-vis the Governments of certain Allies after the last war. In the latter case the difficulty of a Government holding land in the territory of another Government was overcome by the conclusion of a series of enactments and

¹⁰⁷⁶ “Burma Office Annual Files,” April 7, 1942, IOR/M/3/776; “Minutes of a meeting held at the India Office on October 2, 1942,” BL L/WS/1/1362.

¹⁰⁷⁷ “British Embassy (Chongqing) to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 1946, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁷⁸ “Seymour (Chongqing) to Foreign Office, repeated to Supreme Allied Command South East Asia, Government of India, and Government of Burma,” August 7, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

agreements of which the French Law of the 29th December 1915 and the Anglo-French agreement of the 26th November 1918 are typical.¹⁰⁷⁹

The results of that Law and Agreement were that France bought the land on which the British cemeteries stood and granted the IWGC the right to construct and maintain in perpetuity the cemeteries on that land. The agreement also stipulated that maintenance might be entrusted to “*associations régulièrement constituées*.” The IWGC was recognized as a “duly constituted association.” In its relations with the French civil and military authorities, the IWGC was represented by a mixed Anglo-French Committee, which meets occasionally to settle matters of policy. The law was re-enacted with minor amendments in February 1940, and the agreement was extended to cover war graves of World War II. The War Office suggested that the status of the Chinese Cemeteries in question be the subject of similar arrangements.¹⁰⁸⁰

However, a telegram from the Government of Burma that arrived three days later (August 23) offered a different opinion. While the cemetery in Ledo was within the jurisdiction of the Government of India, there were five Chinese cemeteries in Burma. With regard to these, the Government of Burma recommended a limited option: a land grant and restricted number of caretakers. The telegram also noted that the colonial government did not have complete control at the local level over the ethnically diverse and divided Burma:

Our preliminary views are that a revenue free grant could be made to Diplomatic Representative of Chinese Government in Burma with special provision that only specified number of persons appointed as caretakers could live within limits of grant and that no trade or profession should be carried on within these limits. This we consider very necessary in view of expansionist tendencies of Chinese in North Burma. Three cemeteries are probably on land within the state of North Hsenwi but no difficulty with Sawbwa is expected. We are opposed to conferring extra territorial status or any degree of Chinese sovereignty over these areas.¹⁰⁸¹

To the above communication, the Foreign Office responded that despite “concerns about Chinese encroachment, this land grant should be made promptly as a courtesy to an ally and also because similar requests were made by the Her Majesty’s Government with the Chinese government.”¹⁰⁸²

After consulting the Government of Assam over the Chinese cemetery in Ledo in August, the Government of India finally received a reply in November. The Governor of Assam pointed out that “request of Chinese relates only to cemeteries on Stilwell Road, and not to others, but [we

¹⁰⁷⁹ War Office (London) to Foreign Office, India Office, Burma Office and Imperial War Graves Commission, August 20, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹ Government of Burma to Secretary of State for Burma, August 23, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072. North Hsenwi was a Shan state in Burma. Sawbwa was a royal title used by rulers of the Shan States. Under the British colonial administration, the Shan States were considered sovereign entities ruled by local monarchs (*sawbwa*), yet administered by British commissioners.

¹⁰⁸² Foreign Office (London) to Government of Burma, November 20, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

agree] that lease of the land in perpetuity is best course and has no objection to grant of residential permits to suitable caretakers.”¹⁰⁸³

In the communication on January 24, 1946 addressed to Wang Shijie, China’s Minister for Foreign Affairs, Horace Seymour from the British Embassy asserted that:

In the case of the five war cemeteries situated in Burma the Government of Burma will, in accordance with international usage in these matters, be happy to make a rent-free grant of land to a formally constituted Chinese body, with the right to construct cemeteries thereon and maintain them in perpetuity. The Government of Burma will further be willing to allow a specified number of persons appointed as caretakers to live within the limits, of each such grant, accompanied, subject to the prior approval in each case of the Government of Burma, by their families. The Chinese Government will, however, appreciate that no trade or profession can be carried on within the limits of the territory granted. The Government of Burma would issue to each caretaker a certificate in the form indicated by the enclosed specimen.¹⁰⁸⁴

In a correspondence to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Quartermasters acknowledged that the Ministry of Defense did not have an office to deal with public cemeteries located out of the country. Therefore, the management of Chinese military cemeteries in India and Burma would depend on the Consulates in these areas.¹⁰⁸⁵ As the Chinese Consulates were located in major cities, such as Rangoon, Calcutta, and New Delhi, local Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid groups (*Huaqiao xiangzhuhui* 華僑相助會) handled various management aspects of the cemeteries in remote towns. After the majority of the Chinese military had withdrawn, the role of Chinese communities was critical in maintaining these gravesites. A few veterans and Chinese migrants were subsequently appointed as grave keepers. Grave keepers in far-flung parts of Burma frequently turned to the local Chinese communities for financial and bureaucratic assistance.

In June 1947, the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon provided a list the numbers of graves and bodies that had been buried in the five cemeteries in Burma to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Myitkyina cemetery contained the remains of two commanding officers (*xiaoguan* 校官), 116 junior officers (*weiguan* 尉官), and over 1,600 soldiers (*shibing* 士兵). The cemetery in Namhkam contained 383 bodies, and the one in Bhamo 198 bodies. Numbers of bodies in the cemeteries in Mongyu and Lashio had not been obtained as of 1947.¹⁰⁸⁶ There were two graveyards in Ledo – one at Mile 3 and another at Mile 19 – on the Stilwell Road.¹⁰⁸⁷ The Mile 3

¹⁰⁸³ Government of India to Foreign Office, November 20, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁸⁴ “Seymour (British Embassy) to Wang Shih-chieh (Minister for Foreign Affairs),” January 24, 1946, British National Archives (BNA) Foreign Office (FO) 371/51699.

¹⁰⁸⁵ “United Quartermasters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 11, 1947, AH 020-011903-0014.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “Chinese General Consulate (Rangoon) to (China’s) Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” June 9, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ledo Road and the upgraded portion of the Burma Road from Mongyu to Kunming were later named Stilwell Road. The Stilwell Road covered 1,079 miles from Ledo to Kunming.

site, a continued compound of about one square acre, had approximately 375 graves containing approximately ten bodies each. There were no headstones. The cemetery was under the care of the Garrison Engineer for the Indian Army Headquarters at Margherita. The cemetery was in “a very bad state of repair.” The Mile 19 cemetery contained approximately 650 graves containing about ten bodies each according to the headstones. No disabled Chinese soldiers were posted as guards at both locations as indicated in communications in 1945. The British military authorities in Ledo inspected the area and recommended that the cemeteries could be maintained by the Public Works Department under the Political Officer of the Tirap Frontier Tract as this office was in charge of the road passing these graves.¹⁰⁸⁸ The Chinese government however had to provide the fund.¹⁰⁸⁹ Photographs included in this communication show rows of graves with stone slabs on which stone tablets were erected. Some tablets had already collapsed to one side. The jungle slowly swallowed these grave markers.

The Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations of the Government of India added in a communication dated October 6, 1947 that the Political Officer estimated annual upkeep by local caretakers would cost 3,000 rupees, which could possibly be reduced later. The Government of India suggested that China follow this course of action as it “obviate the necessity of the maintenance of special staff by the Chinese government.”¹⁰⁹⁰ The colonial government did not want to deal with Chinese veterans or migrants. In reply, the Chinese government did not give a definite answer and tried to strike a better deal by asking whether this arrangement and cost also included the cemeteries in Talap and Ramgarh.¹⁰⁹¹ The Government of India sent another communication on April 5, 1948 complaining that China had not replied to its note from January 28, 1948 and urging China to make a decision concerning its two cemeteries in Ledo. As the jungle had covered the cemeteries and the rain season was approaching, the

¹⁰⁸⁸ When the British came to Assam, they were confronted with multiple sovereignties claimed by various hill tribes. To prevent hostilities, in 1884, they designated lines around these areas and forbade villagers to cross. In 1914, the Government of India divided them into three tracts: The Central and Eastern Tracts (renamed Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts in 1919), the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, and the Western Section. The first and third were placed under the charge of Political Officers while the second under the Deputy Commissioner of Lakhimpur District. In 1943, certain sections of the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts were formed into the Tirap Frontier Tract with headquarters in Margherita and placed under the governance of a Political Officer. Manilal Bose, *Social History of Assam Being a Study of the Origins of Ethnic Identity and Social Tension During the British Period, 1905-1947* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 24-25. Given these complex and shifting colonial rule and presence of multifarious communities, it was difficult for China or any party to make proper arrangements for its overseas graves.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “Thompson to Tsai,” June 12, 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675,

¹⁰⁹⁰ “Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (Government of India), to Charge d’Affaires (Republic of China),” October 6, 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁹¹ “Chinese Charge d’Affaires (Republic of China) to Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (Government of India), October 6, 1947, AS 11-EAP-02675.

Chinese government needed to decide soon whether they would like to spend 3,000 rupees to repair these cemeteries.¹⁰⁹² There is no record of a reply.

Making a Living out of the Dead: Cemetery Caretakers in Burma

According to correspondence between the Headquarters Major General Chief of Staff and Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 8, 1945, the cemeteries in Ledo, Myitkyina, Bhamo, Namhkam, Mongyu and Lashio had been constructed and retired soldiers had been posted as caretakers. On July 24, 1945, the Supreme Allied Command South East Asia (SACSEA)¹⁰⁹³ sent a document marked “Secret” to Britain’s Foreign Office and repeated it to Chungking, Government of India and Government of Burma. According to this document, the Chinese New First Army in India had requested permission from the Commanding General of the India-Burma Theatre to employ 15 permanent cemetery caretakers. The caretakers would be ex-soldiers deemed “unfit for military duty on account of wounds incurred on active service when in the employ of the Chinese government.” The governments of India and Burma would register the veterans as “Overseas Chinese” so that they could be legal residents. In addition, the Commanding General requested on behalf of the Chinese Government that the ground occupied by these cemeteries be presented “as a gift in perpetuity to the Chinese Government.” The Commanding General also requested the SACSEA headquarters to begin to facilitate between the governments concerned. The SACSEA however suggested that “action towards the governments concerned should be initiated officially by the Chinese Government.” The SACSEA assured the Chinese government that in the meantime the care of these graves was provided by the Allied Land Forces South East Asia.¹⁰⁹⁴

In a telegram dated August 1, 1945, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs updated the status of cemetery caretakers, listing in detail the weaponry these ex-soldiers had in their possession. Three former servicemen of the 6th Company, 113th Regiment, 38th Division were posted as guards at the Ledo Cemetery. Zhang Lequn was a 28-year-old Corporal and a native Yongchuan, Sichuan. Two were First-Class Privates, Zhao Jincheng, 37 years old, from Shangqiu, Henan, and Chen Shaoming, 28 years old, from Mishan, Sichuan. The Lashio Cemetery had one guard, named Hu Weihua 胡蔚華, a 35-year-old Guizhou native without family and unarmed. The three guards at Mongyu Cemetery were two former Sergeants of the 7th Company, 112th Regiment, 38th Division: Zhou Zhiming 周智明, 32 years old, native of Hunan and Huang Renxun 黃仁訊, 27 years old. The third was Yuan Guanghui 袁光輝, 25 years old, from Hunan, former Sergeant of the 114th Regiment, 38th Division. At Bhamo Cemetery, there were three guards. Zhou Bin 周斌, a 38-year-old native of Baoxing, Hunan, was a Warrant Officer of the 6th Company, 114th Regiment, 38th Division. Huang Qianfeng 黃千峰 was 28 years old, from Lixian, Hunan, He was a Sergeant Major of the 8th Company, 112th Regiment,

¹⁰⁹² “Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations (Government of India) to Chinese Charge d’Affaires (Republic of China),” April 5, 1948, AS 11-EAP-02675.

¹⁰⁹³ Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia Command, from 1943 to 1946 was Lord Mountbatten (1900-1979). Stilwell was the Deputy Supreme Allied Commander.

¹⁰⁹⁴ “Supreme Allied Command South East Asia to Foreign Office,” July 24, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/307.

38th Division. Yang Jidong 楊濟東 was a 50-year-old overseas Chinese from Dengyue. All three guards had families. Yang had two daughters, Yuan Huan and Yuan Sunxing. Neither of the guards at the cemeteries in Ledo, Lashio, and Bhamo carried arms.¹⁰⁹⁵ In September 1945, the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group in Burma notified the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the three Zhou Zhiming, Huang Renxun and Yuan Guanghua were having a hard time getting by at the cemetery in Mong Yu.¹⁰⁹⁶

The Government of Burma on March 11, 1946 again expressed concern about jurisdiction over Chinese nationals and of the Chinese Consul General in Rangoon over Chinese outside Rangoon.¹⁰⁹⁷ In September 1946, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs forwarded a complaint to the British Embassy in China that the Government of Burma had failed to prevent indigenous troops (*shantou bing* 山頭兵) from destroying the visitors' pavilion of the Chinese War Dead Cemetery at Mongyu and harassing the Chinese migrants that wanted to pay homage and sweep the graves.¹⁰⁹⁸ Over six months later did the reply from Burma came. The Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, U Shwe Baw, sent a reply via the British Embassy in Nanking on April 4, 1947. U Shwe Baw argued that it was the Chinese government that had "not availed themselves of the facilities relating to caretakers and administrative committees for the five cemeteries in Burma (including that at Mongyu) offered by the Government of Burma."¹⁰⁹⁹ U Shwe Baw stressed that no caretakers had been appointed for the Chinese War Dead Cemetery at Mongyu and that there were traces of minor damage to the cemetery, namely, the removal of about 20 bricks. No suspect was identified. However, the cemetery was open to the public and no complaints made by anyone of having been stopped, molested or interfered with in any manner when visiting the cemetery was filed.¹¹⁰⁰ Despite the reassurance from the Government of Burma, the Mongyu cemetery suffered from disorganization and damage in 1947. Report from the Chinese military in Burma to the United Quartermasters indicated that the graves had not been renovated in a long time and many had simply collapsed. Since the raining season just began, the condition of these graves worsened. Even though the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon encouraged local overseas Chinese organizations to help with the repair, the results were insufficient.¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁵ "T.V Soon to British Embassy," August 1, 1945. BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁹⁶ "Draft correspondence from China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to China's Ministry of Defense and British Embassy," September 5, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Government of Burma to Foreign Office," March 11, 1946, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹⁰⁹⁸ "British Embassy (Nanjing) to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (with Chinese translation)," April 28, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "U Shwe Baw, Secretary of Department of Foreign Affairs (Government of Burma) to British Embassy (Nanjing)," April 4, 1947, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹ "Draft reply from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to earlier reports from United Quartermasters' Supreme Command (*Lianhe qinwu zongsiling bu*) and Chinese General Consulate in Rangoon," April 11, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

The United Quartermasters urged the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promptly renovate the cemeteries. The United Quartermasters proposed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to pay each caretaker a minimum salary of 170 rupees a month because most of them had to support their families.¹¹⁰² After receiving a complaint from Chinese Consulate in Rangoon that the 12 caretakers had financial difficulty, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved the amount.¹¹⁰³ They would receive salary for the period of January to July 1947, totaling 14,280 rupees, to be sent through Central Bank (*zhongyang yinhang*).¹¹⁰⁴ However, reports from the local Overseas Chinese Support Group in 1947 confirmed that these three caretakers at Mongyu cemetery had already left the cemetery in Mongyu for the area of Wanting 畹町 (near Mongyu to the east, and about half way between Ledo and Kunming) and Muse 木姐 due to financial difficulties.¹¹⁰⁵

Weapons of Tension: Namhkam and Myitkyina

At Namhkam and Myitkyina, all the guards were armed. The two guards at the Namhkam cemetery were Corporal Wang Shaowu 王少武, a 27-year-old Sichuanese, and Lance Corporal Li Guosen 李國森, a 25-year-old Hunanese. Wang had a riffle and 60 rounds of ammunition. Li had a rifle and 160 rounds. Both were former servicemen of the 30th Division and were married. The Myitkyina cemetery had three guards, all of who were bachelors. Liu Long 劉龍, 25-year-old Hunanese and Sergeant of the 4th Company, 113th Regiment, 38th Division, had a registered rifle and 20 rounds. Zhou Chaogui 周朝貴, a 30-year-old Sichuanese and Lance Corporal of the Mortar Company of the 112th Regiment, 38th Division, carried a 1.38-caliber rifle and 20 rounds. Deng Minghui 鄧明輝, a 33-year-old Cantonese and Private First Class of the 5th Company, 89th Regiment, 30th Division, carried a registered rifle and 20 rounds. All these rifles were American issued.¹¹⁰⁶ The possession of arms by Chinese military men in Myitkyina and Namhkam gave rise to serious problems. The Governor of Burma expressed to the Foreign Office that it did not approve the possession of arms because weapons would cause tension between the Chinese and local communities, which were not getting along.¹¹⁰⁷

In mid-1946, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a troublesome report from the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group by way of the New First Army Command and the Chinese Embassy in Rangoon. On July 10, 1946, the local authority of the Shweli Valley confiscated two

¹¹⁰² “Draft reply from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to United Quartermasters’ report dated July 17,” July 24, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010. Burma used Indian rupees until its independence in 1948.

¹¹⁰³ “Chinese Consulate (Rangoon) to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” May 30, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹⁰⁴ “Draft reply from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Chinese Consulate (Rangoon), copied Ministry of Defense and Ministry of the Interior,” August 15, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹⁰⁵ “China’s United Quartermasters’ Supreme Command to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” May 11, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹⁰⁶ “T.V Soon to British Embassy,” August 1, 1945. BL IOR/M/4/3072.

¹¹⁰⁷ “Foreign Office (London) to Government of Burma, (addressing the previous report by Government of Burma),” November 20, 1945, BL IOR/M/4/3072.

rifles of two guards at Namhkam cemetery. On July 16, the weapons of the New First Army's assigned guards at the Cemetery were seized by the local police force without advanced notice. For the report, it was clear that the guards at these cemeteries had hoarded more weapons than what was reported and registered. Besides the three American rifles with proper registration numbers, the guards concealed four Japanese-style rifles with 180 bullets and three American-style grenades. Being accused of violating the law, one of the guards, Liu Long, was thrown into jail with no means of being released. On July 18, several Tommy guns were also confiscated from the Chinese cemetery. The other two guards at Myitkyina, Zhou Hugui and Deng Minghui, had already abandoned the cemetery on their own to open a guesthouse. The cemetery was left unattended.¹¹⁰⁸

The Chinese military's presence in Burma was negatively perceived due to a number of incidents caused by deserters. In January 1946, a Chinese gang of deserters reportedly murdered a rice mill owner and his servants.¹¹⁰⁹ In June 1946, the leader of the newly formed Pacific Ocean Flying Tigers Gang was captured in Myitkyina and imprisoned in Myingyan. He then escaped to Rangoon.¹¹¹⁰ A gang of about 25 Chinese deserters opened fire at civilians on the Myitkyina-Bhamo Road. In November 1946, the Government of Burma captured and sent 217 Chinese deserters and criminals on a boat to Shanghai.¹¹¹¹ In 1947, Reuter reported that the Burmese police was holding about 2,000 Chinese deserters.¹¹¹² These were just a few cases out of many reported to the Government of Burma. In the eyes of the Burmese authorities, Chinese soldiers became prime suspects in crimes. With such a reputation, the Chinese veterans posted as cemetery guards faced plenty of local hostility.

Nanjing tried its best in negotiating with Burma. On July 10, 1947, Xu Shaochang (1913-1999) sent a formal complaint to U Shwe Baw, Burma's Secretary of Department of Foreign Affairs, demanding the return of three rifles and ammunitions to the guards at the Myitkyina cemetery. Xu added that in the case the Government of Burma deemed inappropriate for these guards to be armed, the confiscated weapons should be handed over to the Chinese government.¹¹¹³

However, the Chinese government found it increasingly difficult to "tele-manage" the cemeteries. In September 1947, the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group in Namhkam reported that the families of the two cemetery guards, Li Guosen and Wang Shaowu, at the Namhkam Cemetery lacked means of living. Wang had already asked the Aid Group to help relocate his

¹¹⁰⁸ "Chinese Embassy in Rangoon to China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs," September 16, 1946, AH 020-011103-0010. This report on disturbance in Burma was also sent to the Ministry of Defense. "Draft correspondence from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Defense," November 13, 1946, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹⁰⁹ "Secret telegram from Governor of Burma to Secretary of State for Burma," February 12, 1946, BL IOR/M/4/2942.

¹¹¹⁰ Weekly Intelligence no. 26, BL IOR/M/4/2942.

¹¹¹¹ Weekly Intelligence no. 45, BL IOR/M/4/2942.

¹¹¹² Report from Reuter, Rangoon, July 4, 1947, BL IOR/M/4/2942.

¹¹¹³ "Shao-Chang Hsu to U Shwe Baw, and copied Home Department," July 10, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

family to the Huaxia 華夏 Elementary School. An overseas Chinese named Tan Yuzhi 譚裕之 and his wife moved to the cemetery in Wang's place. In the early morning of August 20, Wang Shaowu suddenly appeared at the Mutual Aid Group office with a horrific news that the cemetery guards, Li and Tan, and their wives had been viciously murdered. The Mutual Aid Group chairman and some members brought the matter to the local police. When they arrived at the scene, they found that the two guards had been stabbed multiple times while their legs and arms had been restrained. Their wives were found dead in the bedrooms. Their heads and faces had multiple stab wounds.¹¹¹⁴ Further examination showed that Li Guosen suffered four cuts on the neck, chest, and arms. His wife suffered six cuts on the head, three on the back, and six more all over her body. Tan Yuzhi's head was severed from his body and his face was cut two times. His wife suffered five cuts on the head and five more on her neck, hands, and thigh. Each couple had one son. The children appeared to be unharmed.¹¹¹⁵ That the two women received significantly more wounds and their faces were specifically targeted indicated it was not a simple robbery.

Upon receiving the report from the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group, the Chinese Consul General, Xu Shaochang, hurriedly brought the issue to the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Frontier Areas Administration of the Government of Burma. Xu maintained that the unfortunate incident was due to the confiscation of weapons. The Namhkam guards could have defended themselves if they had been allowed to keep the U.S.-issued rifles. Xu asked the Burmese authorities to give immediate attention to the crime, return the seized weapons to the cemetery guards in Namhkam and other places, and compensate the families left behind by the victims.¹¹¹⁶

Around the same time as the slaughter of the Namhkam caretakers, news emerged about Liu Long, the guard from the cemetery in Myitkyina, who was arrested in 1946. The Chinese Army Training Headquarters (*Lujun xunlian silingbu* 陸軍訓練司令部) forwarded a report from General Sun Liren, who was in charge of the compensation committee for fallen and wounded soldiers of the New First Army, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The report contained Liu Long's petition. On January 4, 1948, Liu Long filed a report about his arrest one and a half years earlier. According to the report, the Burmese local authorities seized all the spoils of war (*zhanlipin* 戰利品) and other practical items from the cemetery in Myitkyina. Liu Long then went to court to inquire about the confiscation. He was not given an explanation, yet was held in jail for over 40 days. Liu pleaded with the Chinese Embassy to intervene, but to no avail. Thereupon, Liu sought help through the Chinese military. Sun Liren added that the matter concerning Chinese fallen soldiers and veterans serving as cemetery guards was related to the "national dignity" (*guojia timian* 國家體面) and thus it had to be promptly addressed.¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹⁴ "Chinese Consulate (Rangoon) to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," September 8, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹¹⁵ "Consul General for China, Hsu Shao-Chang, to the Government of Burma's Department of Foreign Affairs," September 4, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹¹⁶ "Consul General for China, Hsu Shao-Chang, to the Government of Burma's Department of Foreign Affairs," September 4, 1947, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹¹⁷ "Chinese Army Training Headquarters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including a communication from Sun Liren," February 3, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

The Burmese authorities nonetheless argued that such murders committed with brutality and no evidence of properties taken from the victims' homes indicated that these killings might have been a personal vendetta within the Chinese community. The Burmese Minister of Foreign Affairs added that "[the] deceased had no quarrel with anyone in this state, and the local officers are of the opinion that the assailants came from the China side of the frontier." As the case involved Chinese victims and assailants, Burma suggested that the Chinese authorities conduct their own investigation. The Burmese authorities underlined that "90 percent of the serious crime in the Northern Shan States occur in the area adjacent to the Chinese border, and that the persons responsible either originate from China or take refuge there after commission of the crime." As for the weapons, local officials returned one of the rifles to Chinese caretakers and promised to transmit the rest to the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon. In addition, Burmese Minister of Foreign Affairs noted that the caretakers did not require weapons since there was "nothing except graves" to attract criminals.¹¹¹⁸ From Liu Long's report above, there were weapons and other kinds of war spoils stored at these cemeteries, turning them into robbery targets.

Xu Shaochang, acting on behalf of the Chinese government, sent a memorandum to the Burmese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 29, 1948, repudiating every claim made by the Burmese side. Xu argued that the crime took place within Burma's territorial jurisdiction and thus "the responsibility of the Government of Burma in its failure to provide adequate protection for the victims who were specifically permitted by your government to remain in Burma to perform official duties on behalf of the Chinese Government could not be denied."¹¹¹⁹ Xu refused to exonerate Burma, citing that the Government of Burma had no evidence of the crime being committed by Chinese nationals and had waited five months before investigating the homicide case. Xu challenged Burma to find concrete data to support the claim that the Chinese side of the border was responsible for 90 percent of the crimes in the Northern Shan States. He also pointed out that all the rifles of Chinese caretakers were properly documented and the information had been conveyed to the Burmese government in 1947. Xu advised Burma to follow the international convention with regard to military cemeteries and extend the common courtesy to the Chinese soldiers' cemeteries.¹¹²⁰

The Chinese government continued to manage the cemeteries in Burma via the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon. The Chinese Embassy in Rangoon also reported that after the killings of two caretakers' families, no one wanted to take their place because Namhkam was located far from the urban area. Huang Yongshun 黃永順, a caretaker from the cemetery in Mongyu, volunteered for the transfer. The Embassy therefore sought for approval from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Huang's new appointment.¹¹²¹

¹¹¹⁸ "Union of Burma's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs," January 19, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹¹⁹ "Consul General for China, Shao-chang Hsu, to Secretary to Union of Burma, J. Barrington, Esq. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)," January 29, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹¹²¹ "Chinese Embassy in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," March 13, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

Sun Liren appealed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs via the Ministry of Defense, requesting that the Chinese government apply pressure on the Burmese government to protect the six Chinese military cemeteries and their guards. Sun listed all the incidents – confiscations, arrests, damages, and murders – at the cemeteries in Burma. Sun Liren insisted that the weapons should be returned to the caretakers for self-defense. Sun also requested that the Chinese Embassy in Rangoon establish a grave management committee. The committee would be constituted of authorized caretakers that were Chinese citizens and legal residents of Burmese (*hefa liu Mian zhi woguo zhengfu renyuan* 合法留緬之我國政府人員).¹¹²² The Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1945 to 1948 was Wang Shijie, a law graduate, who surely understood the importance of setting legal terms among nation-states. However, the Chinese government’s plan was not to establish a government office to manage these cemeteries, but to engage the local Chinese migration communities.

Overseas Chinese Communities

In late 1948, the Chinese Embassy in Burma in Rangoon¹¹²³ proposed the “General Guidelines to Maintain and Manage the National Army’s Cemeteries in Northern Burma” (*Mianbei Guojun gongmu xiuzheng guanli jihua dagang* 緬北國軍公墓修整管理計畫大綱) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The proposal included setting up a committee headed by the Chinese Consul based in Lashio or by a representative from the Ministry of Defense based in northern Burma. Membership would be picked from leaders of local overseas Chinese mutual aid groups and approved by the Consul General. Each locality with a Chinese soldiers’ cemetery would organize a sub-committee consisting of four members to be in charge of all management and maintenance businesses. Instead of Chinese army veterans, local Chinese communities would be in charge of maintaining these graves. These communities had been contributing a great deal to the maintenance of the five cemeteries in Burma, and were able to conduct businesses efficiently and responsibly.¹¹²⁴

The Chinese Embassy in Burma emphasized that the current arrangement at these cemeteries was problematic. Issues with caretakers continued, and filling the vacancies was difficult. Some caretakers were criminals, while others were unmanageable. Some posed financial burdens on local Chinese communities. The Ministry of Defense sent the salaries to the Consulate to distribute to the caretakers. Because they received lump sums of money, they quickly squandered it on prostitutes and gambling. Local overseas Chinese groups could not always cooperate in supervising these guards. A recent incident involved, Zhou Bin, a veteran and guard at the cemetery in Bhamo, who was arrested for dealing in opium and sentenced to prison. Such cases

¹¹²² “Chinese Ministry of Defense to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Sun Liren’s report,” March 21, 1948, AH 020-011103-0010.

¹¹²³ In 1948, there were two Chinese Consulates in Burma, one in Rangoon and the other in Lashio.

¹¹²⁴ “Chinese Consulate in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” September 25, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

damaged the “national prestige.” The Chinese Consulate recommended ordering all the cemetery caretakers, except those that had settled down with families, to return to China. Before dismissing the veterans, the Chinese Consulate asked the Ministry of Defense to pay 11 caretakers’ salaries for 1948, which amounted to 2,240 rupees. The number of caretakers could be reduced to one Chinese migrant per cemetery and the salary could be reduced from 170 rupees to about 100-120 rupees. Even with the lower salary, new migrants to the area that needed shelter would be willing to set up thatched cottages at the cemeteries and to take up custodial jobs. Given their circumstances, they would even take a lower pay. The new plan would cost the Ministry of Defense only 1,000-1,240 rupees a year. The extra could go toward repairing the graves.¹¹²⁵

The Minister of Defense, Xu Yongchang 徐永昌 (1885-1959), agreed with all the points in the proposal from the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon. The proposal allowed consulate representatives and local overseas Chinese mutual aid groups to form cemetery management committees and to replace veterans with civilians as caretakers. The Consulates would give the original caretakers their back pay, and encourage them to disband. They could remain in Burma, or return to China. Furthermore, the Ministry ordered the Chinese Consulates and local overseas Chinese communities to organize the spring and autumn sacrifices on March 29 and September 3.¹¹²⁶

In November 1948, the Chinese Embassy also forwarded a number of complaints from the caretakers in Bhamo and Lashio, who had not received salaries for the first half of 1948.¹¹²⁷ The Ministry of Defense replied that it was to pay the caretakers’ allowances; however, there was an unavoidable delay due to the Executive Yuan having to issue payment in foreign currencies.¹¹²⁸ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified Rangoon that the United Quartermasters would take care of the back pay.¹¹²⁹ The pay had been half a year late at this point. In March 1949, the Chinese Consulate in Burma once again appealed to the United Quartermasters by way of the

¹¹²⁵ “Chinese Embassy in Burma to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” September 25, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹²⁶ “Ministry of Defense to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” November 27, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹²⁷ “Two reports from Chinese Embassy in Burma (*zhu Miandian dashiguan* 駐緬甸國大使館) to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including petitions from Zhou Bin, Huang Qianfeng, and Yang Jidong (Bhamo) and from Hu Weihua (Lashio),” November 17, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹²⁸ “Ministry of Defense to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” December 8, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹²⁹ “Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Chinese Consulate in Rangoon,” December 19, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the salaries for the second half of 1948 had not been received.¹¹³⁰

Without regular pay from the Nationalist government, the local Chinese communities in Burma became further involved in managing the military cemeteries. In November 1948, three guards at the cemetery in Myitkyina, Liu Long, Zhou Chaogui, and Deng Minggui informed the Chinese Army Training Headquarters that the Overseas Chinese Mutual Aid Group leaders, Pan Fuguan 潘福官 and Chen Mengmin 陳夢民, had mandated that every new member should pay five rupees as the initiation fee. The collected fund would be used to maintain the cemetery.¹¹³¹ The plot thickened. In August 1949, the Chinese Army Training Headquarters reported that the money raised for repairing the cemetery, about 300 rupees, had been stolen by Chen Mengmin.¹¹³² Liu Long was again arrested by the Myitkyina police as a suspect after a Burmese chauffeur, named Maung Aung, was found dead near the Chinese military cemetery.¹¹³³

The United Quartermasters suggested setting June 31, 1949 as the last date of engagement for the original caretakers. They would receive salaries for their duty from July 1948 to June 1949, and ordered to disband.¹¹³⁴ The Chinese Embassy offered to issue passports for the caretakers who wished to return to China and ordered those who wished to stay in Burma to seek alien registration.¹¹³⁵ A receipt showed that 17,280 rupees was transferred to the Chinese Consulate in Rangoon and 5,340 rupees to the Chinese Consulate in New Delhi via the Bank of China, Calcutta.¹¹³⁶ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also agreed with the Consulate's request to transfer the salary of Li Guosen, the guard that had been murdered in 1947, to his son.¹¹³⁷

¹¹³⁰ "Chinese Consulate in Rangoon to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," March 16, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³¹ "Chinese Army Training Headquarters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," December 1, 1948, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³² "Draft reply from Ministry of Foreign Affairs," September 29, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³³ "Chinese Embassy in Burma to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," August 20, 1949.

¹¹³⁴ "United Quartermasters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," April 13, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³⁵ "Chinese Embassy in Burma to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," April 17, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³⁶ "Central Bank of China, Canton Branch, to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Canton," May 17, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³⁷ "Draft communication from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Chinese Embassy in Burma," June 14, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011. The Ministry of Defense wanted to transfer Li Guosen's salary to his relatives in China. However, the Chinese Embassy reported that Li Guosen had a son who was taken in by someone in the Namhkam overseas Chinese community. A portion of Li's salary should be given to Li's son if he was still in the area. If no relative could be identified, the money should be given to other caretakers. "Chinese Embassy in Burma to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," July 6, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

Unfortunately, no information about his son was gathered. Li's back pay of 4,216 rupees was then divided among other caretakers.¹¹³⁸

Even when the Nationalist government was on the run, it managed to provide for the war dead.¹¹³⁹ By late 1949, all veterans had left except for Hu Weihua at the cemetery in Lashio because the new management had not been set up.¹¹⁴⁰ Each of the five cemeteries had one caretaker, who was paid 120 rupees per month. With the overseas Chinese mutual aid groups taking over the cemeteries, these cemeteries appeared to be properly maintained after the Nationalists' retreat to Taiwan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also continued to negotiate with the Burmese government to acquire permanent ownership of the land where the cemeteries were situated.¹¹⁴¹ Similar to what was arranged in China, the war dead were looked after by local communities. The fallen China's expeditionary soldiers were honored neither internationally nor nationally, but locally.

From Heroes to Zeroes: Rabaul

During World War II, hundreds of Chinese soldiers and civilians were captured and sent to Rabaul by the Japanese. The number varies in different sources. According to the *North-China Daily News*, after the Japanese surrender, over 800 Chinese forced laborers in Rabaul were sent back to their native places in Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and North China. The Australian government and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) arranged the repatriation.¹¹⁴²

A war correspondent in Rabaul reported a total of over 1,500 Chinese forcibly moved to Rabaul:

Heroes of Nanking in 1937 and of the crack 88th Division which made a suicide stand at Shanghai... by devious ways were brought to Rabaul – together with other Chinese captured at Malaya. More than half of 1,504 Chinese soldiers drafted to Rabaul are dead. Some died from ill-treatment, others took their own lives... Proud, defiant, the Chinese never yielded to the Japanese. They stoically awaited the day of their release.¹¹⁴³

The article did not specify whether the Chinese captured in Malaya were military personnel. However, it praised them as heroic and unyielding in spite of the Japanese cruelty. Subsequently

¹¹³⁸ "Chinese Embassy in Burma to Ministry of Foreign Affairs," November 14, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹³⁹ The Communist forces chased the Nationalist government out of Nanjing in late April 1949. The Nationalists retreated to Guangzhou until mid-October, and to Chongqing and Chengdu until early December when they made it to Taiwan.

¹¹⁴⁰ "Draft communication from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Ministry of Defense," December 19, 1949, AH 020-011103-0011.

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁴² "Repatriation of Chinese from Rabaul," *The North-China Daily News*, November 10, 1946, 3.

¹¹⁴³ M. C. Warren, "Chinese 'Lost Army' Found," *The Daily News*, September 18, 1945, 7.

with war crimes trials organized by the Australian government, details about these imprisoned Chinese came to light. Nine Japanese servicemen were convicted of the mass murder of 30 Chinese at Rabaul. According to a testimony by a Chinese Army officer, he “witnessed the killings of 30 Chinese by two Japanese and seven Formosans [Taiwanese]. The Chinese were taken from their sick beds, marched to newly dug mass graves, and bashed and beaten, into the W holes. When they refused to enter them, they were shot.”¹¹⁴⁴ In another trial, under the command of General Murayama Hirota, Sergeant Tozaburo Matsushima, Private Harimoto Ayizama and seven Japanese civilians at Rabaul were convicted of murdering 24 Chinese war prisoners by “pushing them into a hole and mowing them down with bullets” on March 3, 1941. There were also other charges related to the murder of 46 other Chinese war prisoners on different occasions.¹¹⁴⁵ Another newspaper article in 1947 similarly reported from the trial of Major-General Akira Hirota that “statements by Chinese soldiers were tendered, describing how parties of their sick compatriots were forced to dig large pits, and were then pushed into the pits and shot dead.”¹¹⁴⁶

The Australian War Memorial reported that in March 1946, out of the 653 Chinese captives that died under the Japanese occupation, 259 were reinterred in marked graves arranged in neat rows in a Chinese cemetery at Rabaul. A memorial monument was erected. A ceremony was organized with the attendance of representatives of the Australian Army, Chinese Army, and Chinese Community.¹¹⁴⁷ Food, candles, flowers were presented as offerings at the memorial monument that bears the inscription “Memorial to the Fallen Chinese Cantonese People” (*Zhongguo Guangdong minzhong siwang jinianbei* 中國廣東民眾死亡紀念碑).¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴⁴ “Ten Sentenced to Death,” *Cairns Post*, April 17, 1946, 1.

¹¹⁴⁵ “Murder of Chinese,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 19, 1947, 5.

¹¹⁴⁶ “Japs Made Chinese Dig Own Graves Allegations at Rabaul,” *The Argus*, March 20, 1947, 5.

¹¹⁴⁷ “Australia War Memorial (AWM), Collection Item 099922”
<<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/099922/>> Accessed May 10, 2017.

¹¹⁴⁸ “AWM, Collection Item 099921” <<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/099921/>> Accessed May 10, 2017.



Fig. 9-3: Chinese Cemetery's Memorial Monument, Rabaul, Papua New Guinea. Courtesy of the Australia War Memorial (AWM). <<https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/099922/>> Accessed May 15, 2017.

In addition, from March to December 1946, remains of 377 Chinese soldiers were exhumed from various parts in Rabaul and reburied in the Rabaul War Cemetery. The cards contain names, ranks, original burial places, new burial places within the Rabaul War Cemetery, and the dates of reburial. Three of who were unnamed. None except for one soldier, Wong Wing Sang, had a known date of death in 1944. One private, Wong Tse Shin, died in October 1947, and thus was buried at the War Cemetery in November 1947. The remains were reburied on four occasions, March 27, April 12, May 8, and October 25.¹¹⁴⁹

Around the same time as the World War II crimes trials, the Australian government sought to settle the fate of the Chinese prisoners, both persons and remains. The Australian Legation in Nanjing reported to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on March 29, 1947 that after the Japanese in Rabaul recapitulated and the Australian Army occupied the area, approximately 400 Chinese prisoners of war, transported to Rabaul from the battlefields of China, had died during imprisonment. The Australian War Graves Service, Department of the Army located the graves of these deceased Chinese servicemen. In consultation with the Senior Chinese Military Officer in the area, the remains were then transferred to a war cemetery, which was adjacent to the British Empire War Cemetery at Bita Paka, near Rabaul. The Australian Army undertook the maintenance of the cemetery and the markings of all graves. When the responsibility for maintenance was transferred from the Army to the IWGC, the future maintenance of the Chinese cemetery was in question. The question turned out to be of a financial nature as while “the Charter of the IWGC does not permit expenditure of Commission funds on the maintenance of

¹¹⁴⁹ National Archives of Australia (NAA) A8234 30A Rabaul War Cemetery Chinese troops.

graves of other than British Empire dead...the Commission, on the request of the Chinese Government, might undertake the maintenance of the Chinese War Cemetery at Bitapaka, on a basis of repayment of all costs incurred, including administrative charges.”¹¹⁵⁰ Upon receiving the telegram, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs swiftly translated and forwarded it to the Ministry of Defense.¹¹⁵¹ Informed by the Minister of Defense, the United Quartermasters asked the Chinese Consulate in Australia to investigate.¹¹⁵²

For over nine months, the Australian Legation did not receive an answer from China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sent another reminder on January 3, 1948.¹¹⁵³ The Chinese government delayed their reply in order to discuss whether these graves should be converted into a permanent cemetery.¹¹⁵⁴ A telegram from the Chinese Embassy in Australia in August informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the 377 graves of Chinese soldiers in the Rabaul War Cemetery. The plan was to have bodies exhumed, cremated, and transported back to China. The telegram included the breakdown of costs for exhuming, encoffining, and transporting the ashes to Hong Kong. The total cost was 3,468 pounds.¹¹⁵⁵ The plan fell through. As of March 1949, the Australian government was still waiting to be informed by the Nationalist government regarding the Chinese graves in Rabaul.¹¹⁵⁶

In April 1964, W. J. Chalmers, Director General of the Australian War Graves Commission, stated in a meeting of Kokopo Town Advisory Council that they would “not do anything about the marking of the graves of about 400 Chinese buried next to the Commonwealth War Cemetery at Bitapaka near Rabaul” when they visited the area. Although archival documents from 1946-1947 demonstrate that these graves were of the Nationalist Chinese troops, captured by the Japanese and brought to the town as slave laborers, Chalmers was reported to claim that the Chinese were not soldiers, but civilians.¹¹⁵⁷ The Australian War Graves Commission thereupon denied the deceased Chinese prisoners of proper recognition.

¹¹⁵⁰ “Australian Legation (Nanjing) to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” March 29, 1947, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵¹ “Draft of Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to Ministry of Defense,” April 2, 1947, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵² “United Quartermasters to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” April 1947, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵³ “Australian Legation (Nanjing) to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 3, 1948, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵⁴ “Chinese Embassy in Australia to Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” January 14, 1948, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵⁵ “Australian Legation (Nanjing) to Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” August 21, 1948, AH 020-011503-0001.

¹¹⁵⁶ “Department of External Affairs to Department of the Interior,” March 29, 1949, National Australian Archives (NAA) A1838 494/2/5.

¹¹⁵⁷ “Australia Refuses to Mark Chinese Graves,” *The Canberra Times*, April 4, 1964, 14.

Conclusion

In this final chapter, I focus on the emplacement and displacement of the Chinese war dead in post-World War II era. In Europe, while the dead were primarily buried in the churchyard throughout the Middle Ages, the modern era witnessed the dominance of the cemetery as the final resting place.¹¹⁵⁸ In China, bodies of the dead had been taken care of by the family or lineage until the twentieth century, when the Nationalist and the Communist governments began building cemeteries for those of their inner groups (revolutionary martyrs and fallen combatants of the armed forces), albeit at a far smaller scale than governments in Europe and America. The Nationalist government did not plan to centralize the care of dead bodies, but considered local communities where the bodies were located to be responsible for them. Only a few military cemeteries were built by local authorities after the War of Resistance. Without a centralized office of mortuary care, the Nationalists relied on informal institutions. Seeing the growth of the Chinese communities in India and Burma, the state entrusted them to care for the deceased expeditionary soldiers. Such arrangement was not only a matter of logistical convenience, but also a way to strengthen the tie between the overseas Chinese community and the motherland. The British authorities were not mistaken about China's expansionist intentions in the border region, and were reluctant in allowing the Chinese, dead or alive, to remain in Burma. Money was not an issue as the construction and maintenance expenses for these graves were relatively low. Nonetheless, both the American and British authorities tried to displace these bodies from Burma and India by refusing to construct the cemeteries and offering only temporary burials and maintenance plans. As for the Nationalists, emplacing the Chinese military dead within Indian and Burmese territories certainly aided China's encroachment. With Chinese communities of both the dead and the living embedded along the Burma Road, China encroached upon its neighbors' sovereignty. Such intention was not well received and left consequences. Unfortunately, developments in the 1950s and after are not part of my dissertation. It is however critical to trace how the history of Chinese migrants and Nationalist veterans in India and Burma influenced the fate of the Chinese war graves.

This chapter has addressed the role of the war dead within the world order of nation-states. Nation-states, unlike their monarchical and imperial counterparts, care about the dead and make them work for the nation. As the rhetoric of China's being an Ally was insignificant in the decades-long hostilities between the Nationalist and Communist Chinas, both ignored the Chinese soldier's graves in Burma, India, and Rabaul for 60 years. Since the early 2000s, both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China experienced transformative moments, such as extraordinary economic growth and new political leadership. These long-forgotten war dead were put to work by both sides of the Strait who have been looking to craft new identities and finding their new status in the twenty-first-century world order.

¹¹⁵⁸ Laqueur, *Work of the Dead*.

Epilogue

“Where have all the war dead gone?” Tens of millions of dead bodies were swallowed up by historical currents.

“Where are the spirits?” The spirit tablets were discarded long ago. Very few Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines are left in Mainland China. Except for the Yellow Flower Hill Martyrs’ Park in Guangzhou, the Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine at the Eight Treasures Mountain, and the Nanyue Loyal Martyrs’ Shrine in Hunan, I have not physically come across other Republican-era memorials in China.

“Whose dead?” has become the most important question for both the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China. There have been multiple efforts from governments from both sides of the Taiwan Strait regarding the Chinese soldiers’ graves in foreign territories. In 2008, the Republic of China’s Ministry of Defense set up a task force to investigate the fate of Nationalist soldiers in Rabaul. In 2009, it sent a mission to Papua New Guinea to identify and restore the gravesites of Nationalist soldiers.¹¹⁵⁹ The history of Chinese soldiers sent to Rabaul was even more complex when it was uncovered that Taiwanese colonials might have been employed not only to interpret for the Japanese occupiers, but also to “control” the Nationalist Chinese prisoners of war.¹¹⁶⁰

¹¹⁵⁹ Shi-chi Mike Lan, ““Crime” of Interpreting: Taiwanese Interpreters as War Criminals of World War II,” in *New Insights in History of Interpreting*, ed. Kayoko Takeda and Jesús Baigorri-Jalón (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016), 209-210. Reports of the attempt can be found in Lu Junsheng 陸軍聲 and Ceng Xiaowen 曾曉雯, eds., *Nanyang yinglie: Erzhan qijian Babuyaniujineiya jingnei guojun jiangshi jilu* 南洋英烈：二戰期間巴布亞紐幾內亞境內國軍將士紀錄 (Martyrs of the Southern Sea: Records of officers and soldiers of the National Army in Papua New Guinea during World War II) (Taipei: Guofangbu shizheng bianyi ju, 2009).

¹¹⁶⁰ Lan, ““Crime” of Interpreting,” 208-219.

In 2012, the Republic of China government renovated Chinese graves in Ramgarh, India. The cemetery is about three miles outside Ramgarh. The main gate bears some resemblance to the gate of a temple, yet it was simply painted white and decorated with the Republic of China's flag. There is a statue of Chiang Kai-shek.¹¹⁶¹ According to the *Chinapost*, the cemetery had been maintained by a Republic of China expatriate in India since 2006. In 2011, Taiwan's Ministry of Defense approved a budget of quarter million dollars for the renovation.¹¹⁶² The photographs at the construction site show an attempt at creating a miniature version of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum. The road to the main building is lined with conifer-looking trees. The top spots the Buddhist symbol.

In July 7, 2013, the People's Republic of China organized an entering-the-shrine ceremony for the 202 expeditionary soldiers who died in Burma during World War II at the Nanyue Loyal Martyrs' Shrine. The report by *China Daily* asserted that these Chinese soldiers sacrificed to save 7,000 British soldiers and 500 prisoners from the Japanese in Burma. The photographs accompanied the article show local people dressed in white – the color of funerals – bowing to a sizable collective spirit tablet. Surviving comrades were also shown saluting the spirit tablet.¹¹⁶³

In August 27, 2014, an enshrinement ceremony was organized at the Taipei Martyrs' Shrine for the fallen Chinese soldiers in the Burma Campaign of 1942-1943. The spirit tablet at the center (below) is to commemorate soldiers who died in the Burma Campaign during the Second World War. The wooden tablet carrying the collective souls of tens of thousands of Chinese expeditionary soldiers was placed on the altar among others by the ceremonial guards.

¹¹⁶¹ "China Cemetery" <<http://ramgarh.nic.in/chinacemetery.htm>> Accessed May 15, 2017.

¹¹⁶² "India Re-dedicates Cemetery to ROC Troops," December 10, 2011, <<http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/foreign-affairs/2011/12/10/325498/India-re-dedicates.htm>> Accessed May 10, 2017.

¹¹⁶³ "Chinese Soldiers' Shrine Home after 71 Years" (*sic*), July 8, 2013, <http://www.china.org.cn/china/2013-07/08/content_29357024.htm> Accessed May 10, 2017.



Fig. 10-1: Spirit Tablets at Taipei Martyrs' Shrine. Photograph by author.

The Republican legacies loom large. When I was in Chongqing in September 2015, the same time as the 70th Anniversary of Victory Against Fascism, the Municipal Archives were closed for three days, and so were the rest of the country. The Internet slowed to a crawl, and all television channels live broadcast the same scene of world leaders shaking hands and military parades at the Tiananmen Square. China-wide social media (as almost all Western platforms were blocked in China) were buzzing with posts about the event. It seemed as if everyone in China was participating in Beijing's war commemoration. Turning off the television, shutting down the computer, and throwing out the newspaper did not guarantee isolation from the event. One could still learn about the commemorative event through street posters and communal broadcast. It was the apex of the civilianization of war.

In 2015, the People's Republic of China sent representatives to Rabaul to perform a memorial service at the "Cemetery of War Veterans and Victims in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression." Local Chinese landowners have maintained the Cemetery. The People's Republic of China maintained that there were at least four Communist soldiers among the Chinese prisoners of war that had died in Rabaul.¹¹⁶⁴ It is important for Communist China to demonstrate its participation in the War of Resistance.

My argument that the dead have sovereignty is particularly relevant in conceptualizing the Chinese war dead buried overseas. Both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of

¹¹⁶⁴ "Chinese Delegation Held Memorial Service at the Cemetery of WWII Veterans and Victims in Rabaul, Papua New Guinea," August 28, 2015, <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zwjg_665342/zwbd_665378/t1291975.shtml> Accessed May 10, 2016.

China have recently engaged in a war over sovereignty. As they are becoming less likely to pose armed threats to each other, they pick a new venue for their rivalry. They choose to fight over past wars. The forgotten war graves have become the sites of contestation. The spirits of these soldiers and civilians have become sources of sovereign power. Furthermore, they allow both the People's Republic and the Republic to re-envision their common history prior to the civil war, and to promote a China as an ally with the Western world. These soldiers gain layers of significance long after their demise.

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Appendix

Major Commemoration and Compensation Regulations

1914

“Commendation Regulations” 褒揚條例 (revised in 1917, 1923 and 1931)

“Implementation Details on Commendation Regulations” 褒揚條例施行細則 (revised in 1917, 1923 and 1931)

1927

“Regulations for Compensating Party Members” 黨員撫卹條例

“Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” 官吏卹金條例

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating National Revolutionary Armed Forces Servicemembers during Wartime” 國民革命軍戰時撫卹暫行條例

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating Armed Forces Servicemembers during Peacetime” 陸海空軍平時撫卹暫行條例

1928

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Rewarding Military and Auxiliary Servicemembers of the National Revolutionary Army” 國民革命軍陸海航空軍人軍屬平時卹賞暫行章程

“Jiangsu Province’s Provisional Regulations for Compensating Revolutionary Martyrs” 江蘇省旌卹革命先烈暫行條例

“Regulations for Compensating Families of the 1911 Huanghuagang Martyrs” 撫卹辛亥三月二十九殉國烈士家族條例

1929

“Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” 官吏卹金條例施行細則

1930

“Revised Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Government Officials” 修正官吏卹金條例施行細則

“Measures to Compensate Epidemic Prevention Army Personnel” 陸軍防疫人員撫卹辦法

1933

“Measures to Offer Sacrifices to Martyrs and Construct Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines and Memorial Steles” 烈士祠祀及設立忠烈祠紀念坊碑辦法

1934

“Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants” 公務員卹金條例

“Implementation Details on Gratuities Regulations for Civil Servants” 公務員卹金條例施行細則

“Regulations for Rewarding and Punishing Anti-Bandit Civilian and Military Officials and Servicemembers in Bandit-Infested Areas” 剿匪區內文武官佐士兵剿匪懲獎條例

1935

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating Army Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” 陸軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating Navy Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime” 海軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例

““Provisional Regulations for Compensating Air Force Servicemembers during Wartime and Peacetime”” 空軍平戰時撫卹暫行條例

1936

“Measures to Construct County Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” 各縣設立忠烈祠辦法

“Measures to Locally Construct Public Cemeteries for Fallen Officers and Soldiers” 各地建築陣亡將士公墓辦法

“Measures to Organize Public Banquets for the Wounded and the Exceptionally Meritorious” 受傷及有特殊勛勞者之公宴辦法

1937

“Provisional Regulations for Rewarding and Compensating for Police Force during the Extraordinary Time” 非常時期獎卹警察暫行辦法

1938

“Measures to Compensate for Citizens Wounded or Killed When Protecting the Homeland” 人民守土傷亡撫卹實施辦法

“Regulations for Rewarding Homeland Protectors in War Zones” 戰地守土獎勵條例

Special Measures to Compensate Teachers Wounded or Died While Protecting the Homeland during Wartime” 抗戰守土傷亡教育人員從優核卹辦法

1939

“Provisional Standards for Compensating *Bao-jia* Captains and *Lian-jia* Chairmen Injured or Killed while on Duty during Wartime” 戰時鄉鎮保甲長暨聯保主任因公傷亡給卹暫行標準 (revised in 1943)

1940

“Measures to Establish and Maintain Loyal Martyrs’ Shrines” 忠烈祠設立及保管辦法

“General Guidelines for Offering Sacrifices to Officials and Civilians Who Loyalily Sacrificed Their Lives during the War of Resistance and Constructing Commemorative Tablets” 抗敵殉難忠烈官民祠祀及建立紀念坊碑辦法大綱

“Enshrinement Ceremony for Loyal and Sacrificing Officials and Civilians Who Died While Resisting the Enemy” 抗戰殉難忠烈官民入祀忠烈祠儀式 (revised in 1942)

“Regulations for Compensating Police Officers and Bureaucrats” 警察官吏撫卹條例

“Differential Measures to Compensate Citizen Militia Soldiers” 國民兵撫卹劃分辦法

“Provisional Regulations for Compensating and Dispensing Burial Expenses to Wounded and Fallen Militarily Recruited Workers during Wartime” 戰時軍事徵僱民伕傷亡撫卹及埋葬費暫行辦法 (revised in 1946)

1943

“Measures to Compensate Hired Workers and Custodians during Wartime” 戰時僱員公役給卹辦法

1946

“Gratuities for Fallen Officers and Soldiers during War of Resistance” 抗戰陣亡將士勝利恤金

“Regulations for Commending War of Resistance Martyrs” 褒揚抗戰忠烈條例