The Householder Elite:
Buddhist Activism in Shanghai, 1920-1956

by

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Committee in charge:

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a social history of the urban community of lay Buddhist elites, known as "householders," that vigorously pursued a mission of Buddhist activism in Shanghai during the first half of the twentieth century. The Shanghai householders were capitalists, doctors, lawyers, intellectuals and party members who chose to make a formal commitment to Buddhism and its goals of salvation yet retained their status as regular members of society with families and careers. They comprised the largest and most influential of the elite lay Buddhist communities that sprang up in cities across China during the Republican era. This study analyzes the social significance of the Shanghai householder community as it transitioned through a series of social and political upheavals from its emergence in the 1920s to its eventual demise amidst the transition to socialism in 1956. I argue that throughout these years Buddhist activism constituted an arena of civic culture in which urban elites were able to establish a durable source of moral authority and social legitimacy.

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INTRODUCTION

> Most of the large cities in China have at least one Chü-shih Lin (Forest of Laymen), the name given to the regular meeting places of the laymen… As the chü-shih are often men of considerable learning as well as faith and piety, they sometimes exhibit a more profound understanding of Buddhist philosophy than many of the monks and nuns. To this learning they add active observance of the teaching that the utmost compassion should be shown to all sentient beings… The chü-shih is usually a cultured person. He prefers to wear the dignified Chinese gown of blue, grey or bronze-coloured silk, and by his habits and gestures, exhibits his fondness for and understanding of the traditional culture of his country. He is often a poet or painter as well as a philosopher and metaphysician, and may be something of a historian or possess a knowledge of Chinese herbal medicine in addition… To see the chü-shih gathered together at a meeting, the rich colours of their gowns blending together, their fans fluttering in response to a hundred charming gestures, and the quiet benevolence of their facial expressions, creates a picture not easily forgotten.[1]

John Blofeld's portrait of a particular type of Chinese Buddhist, the "chü-shih" (p. *jushi* 居士), was based on his own avid observation of religious life in China during the 1930s and 1940s. As Blofeld's description implies, the *jushi*—which I translate as "householder(s)"—were neither the monks and nuns who left their families behind to take up the disciplined spiritual life of the monastery, and nor were they the common worshippers who occasionally offered incense to the Buddha as they would to any other Chinese deity. By contrast, the householders made a formal commitment to Buddhism and its goals of salvation yet retained their status as regular members of society with families and careers. Blofeld's portrait aptly captures the distinctive cultural air of the householder as conveyed through habits, gestures, expressions, and dress. Although he apparently intended to portray them as an authentic vestige of an ancient and timeless China, the householders observed by the British writer were in fact products of a new age. The urban elites of early twentieth-century China who chose to become householders did so amidst political revolution, economic industrialization, modern warfare, and the fundamental changes that these brought to society and culture. It was the entrepreneurs, doctors, lawyers, party officials, and so forth who developed new organizations and institutions to form themselves into activist religious communities in cities across the country. The largest and most influential of these householder communities was located in Republican China's premier modern metropolis of Shanghai. This dissertation reconstructs the historical experience of the Shanghai Buddhist householder community across four decades of political and social upheaval, from its emergence in the 1920s to its eventual demise in the 1950s.

Twentieth-century Buddhist householders have primarily been studied within the growing field of scholarship on Chinese Buddhism in the Republican era (1912-1949). Influenced by the Christian missionary reports that preceded them, the earliest works in this field—most notably by Holmes Welch and Wing-tsit Chan—characterized the Buddhist developments of the period as a "revival" defined by a general reorientation from other-

[1] John Blofeld, *The Jewel in the Lotus: An Outline of Present Day Buddhism in China* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1948), 57-59.

worldliness to this-worldliness.[2] One major component of what might be called the "Reformation" thesis was to interpret the rise of an organized householder movement as a shift in religious leadership from the clergy to the laity. Although Welch—whose monumental trilogy on twentieth-century Chinese Buddhism has done more to open up the field than any other piece of scholarship—criticized the so-called "revival" for taking a secularizing path leading Buddhism toward its "eventual demise as a living religion," he nevertheless declined to challenge the idea that such a reorientation was underway.[3] Over three decades later, Don Pittman's study of the leading monastic reformer of the era, Taixu, likened to Martin Luther, rekindled the field by casting the Reformation thesis in a more positive framework as the modernization of Chinese Buddhism.[4] Most recently, a surge of new scholarship has begun to take more nuanced approaches to the modernization process that move beyond Protestant models of religious development and reveal Buddhist householders in a different light. Erik Hammerstrom shows the centrality of householder intellectuals like Wang Xiaoxu to the Buddhist discourse on science.[5] Eyal Aviv examines the contribution of Ouyang Jingwu's Buddhist scholasticism to the reinterpretation of the East Asian Buddhist tradition for the modern period.[6] Francesca Tarroco departs from the emphasis on intellectual history to trace how lay and monastic Buddhists appropriated the cultural practices of Chinese modernity such as radio broadcasting and sound recording.[7]

While acknowledging the important contributions of householders to the modernization of Chinese Buddhism, this dissertation takes a new direction by focusing on the social significance of the foremost urban householder community in Republican China. A rich body of scholarship has reconstructed many of the fault lines such as occupation, class, nationality, native place, gender, politics and so forth that ran through Republican Shanghai's complex social landscape and shaped the experience of the individuals who lived within it.[8] Despite the large number of studies that have helped to build our understanding of the cosmopolitan metropolis, few have had much to say about religion. Yet Republican Shanghai was in fact a city humming

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[2] Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Wing-tsit Chan, *Religious Trends in Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

[3] Welch, *The Buddhist Revival*, 264. The other two books in Welch's trilogy were *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), and *Buddhism Under Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

[4] Don A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

[5] Erik J. Hammerstrom, "Buddhists Discuss Science in Modern China (1895-1949)" (PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2010).

[6] Eyal Aviv, "Differentiating the Pearl from the Fish Eye: Ouyang Jingwu (1871-1943) and the Revival of Scholastic Buddhism" (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008).

[7] Francesca Tarroco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (London: Routledge, 2008).

[8] The scholarship on Republican Shanghai is too voluminous to cite here exhaustively. A few of the representative works that have influenced this dissertation are: Wen-hsin Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China, 1843-1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912-1937* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, eds. *Shanghai Sojourners*, (Berkeley: University of California Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992); Marie-Claire Bergère, *The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie 1911-1937*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Leo Ou-fan Lee. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).

with religious activity. Protestants, Catholics, Muslims, Jews, Daoists, and a wide range of redemptive societies all erected institutions that promoted their respective faiths and added to the cultural life of the urban environment.[9] Buddhists stood out within this field of religious activity due to the enthusiastic participation of some of the city's most prominent elites, who rapidly established Shanghai as the national center of Buddhist activism.

In order to capture its social significance, I approach the Shanghai householder community and its Buddhist activism as a distinctive arena of "civic culture." Recent scholarly consensus has judged the concept of "civil society," and its oppositional dichotomization of the relationship between state and society, to be a poor lens for understanding Republican China. A number of studies have sought a more fluid perspective on state and society as mutually interpenetrating by employing constructs such as the "third realm," "public sympathy," and social networks.[10] This dissertation proposes the notion of civic culture as an alternative that accounts for the particular types of social roles played by religious groups like the Buddhist householder community. By civic culture I refer to the various arenas of social and cultural activity through which Shanghai elites built the networks, reputations, and prestige that legitimated their status and facilitated their effective execution of positions of leadership within the city. Because most elites participated simultaneously in multiple arenas of civic culture, they tended to overlap and reinforce each other to weave a solid basis for social power. This dissertation argues that, as surely as native place associations or charities, Buddhist activism constituted a significant arena of civic culture in this sense. More specifically, the householder elites derived from their religious leadership a moral and spiritual authority that could weather political upheaval because it claimed to transcend such worldly concerns. However, this Buddhist arena of civic culture was not constructed as a basis for autonomy from the state, but rather as a flexible vehicle for accommodating to each successive regime that came to govern Shanghai during the first half of the twentieth century.

Chapter one traces the emergence of the Shanghai Buddhist householder community in the 1920s through the formation of its two central organizations, the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society. Chapter two argues that the rise of the community to a position of national leadership under the Nationalist regime of the Nanjing decade from 1927 to 1937 was predicated upon a "charitable turn" that demonstrated the willingness of the householder elite to serve the interests of the state. Chapter three looks at the community's use of industrial technology and corporate business models to expand its influence during the Nanjing decade with the establishment a modern publishing house. Chapter four demonstrates that although war with Japan from 1937 to 1945 deprived the householders of their national leadership it enhanced the community's engagement in social welfare. Chapter five chronicles the post-war rejuvenation of the community through the emergence of a vibrant Buddhist youth movement that continued after the Communist victory in 1949 but eventually

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[9] For a general survey of religion in Shanghai, see Yuan Renze 阮仁澤and Gao Zhennong 高振農, eds. *Shanghai zongjiaoshi*上海宗教史 [The History of Religion in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992). For a recent study of Shanghai's Daoist community and its encounter with modernity, see Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

[10] Philip C. Huang, "'Public Sphere'/'Civil Society' in China?" *Modern China*, 19:2 (April 1993), 216-240; Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007); Nara Dillon and Jean C. Oi, ed., *At the Crossroads of Empires: Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

met its demise as the party methodically undercut the social influence of urban elites to make way for socialism.

CHAPTER ONE:
ASSEMBLING HOUSEHOLDERS, 1920-1927

One of the primary aims of the Chinese Buddhist revival that had begun around the turn of the twentieth century was to more effectively promote and propagate Buddhism in society through organizational innovation. As an increasing number of urban elites in Shanghai joined the revival in the late 1910s and early 1920s, they established some of the earliest independent lay Buddhist associations that soon projected influence throughout the country and inspired the proliferation of numerous imitators. The largest and most important of these associations were the World Buddhist Householder Grove (*Shijie fojiao jushilin* 世界佛教居士林) and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society (*Shanghai fojiao jingyeshe* 上海佛教淨業社). These two associations were at the center of a successful effort to organize and mobilize a lay Buddhist community in Shanghai that flourished into the 1950s.

This chapter traces the emergence of the Shanghai lay community through the establishment and early development of the Grove and the Pure Karma Society from 1920 to 1927. The first section examines the parent organization of the Grove and the Pure Karma Society against the background of lay activism in the Buddhist revival, arguing that its primary innovation was to envision a unified community based on a collective "householder" identity instead of a particular practice. The second section argues that the organizational apparatus developed at the Grove and the Pure Karma Society for constructing the householder community was drawn from the model of Shanghai's powerful civic associations. The third section shows how the associations constructed new religious spaces in which collective identity could be articulated and enacted. By the time Nationalist forces on the Northern Expedition swept into Shanghai in 1927 with policies of secularization, the community was already well established under the leadership of politically-connected householder elites.

I. THE MISSION TO ASSEMBLE HOUSEHOLDERS

The origins of the Chinese Buddhist revival are typically traced to Yang Wenhui楊文會 (1837-1911), a former civil engineer and staff member of the Qing legation in London who, beginning in about 1895, had gathered around his famous scriptural press in Nanjing a network of intellectual elites interested in the study and practice of Buddhism.[1] Yang advocated the "development" (*zhenxing* 振興) of Chinese Buddhism by borrowing methods from Christian missions, Meiji Japanese Buddhists, and various other organizational models to propagate Buddhism in Chinese society and even abroad.[2] In 1910 he set an important precedent for modern lay Buddhist organizations that diverged from the traditional Pure Land society model by organizing his students into the Buddhist Studies Research Society (*Foxue yanjiuhui* 佛學研

[1] His circle included such prominent figures as Liang Qichao and Tan Sitong. On Yang Wenhui, see Zhang Hua 張華, *Yang Wenhui yu Zhongguo jindai Fojiao sixiang zhuanxing* 楊文會與中國近代佛教思想轉型 [Yang Wenhui and the Transformation of Buddhist Thought in Modern China] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2004); Yu Lingbo 於凌波, *Yang Renshan jushi pingzhuan*楊仁山居士評傳 [A Critical Biography of Householder Yang Renshan] (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1995).

[2] Yang Wenhui楊文會, "Zhina Fojiao zhenxing ce yi" 支那佛教振興策一, in Zhou Jizhi周繼旨, ed., *Yang Renshan quanji*楊仁山全集 [The Complete Works of Yang Renshan] (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000), 331-332.

究會), which met regularly for lectures and discussion of Buddhist doctrine oriented toward religious practice and realization.[3] For the next years after Yang passed away on the eve of the 1911 revolution, the trend for Buddhist activism continued largely along the lines that he had set out, with the aim of propagating Buddhism effectively in the shifting environment. More scriptural presses were opened, while Buddhist study societies and public lectures proliferated. Publishing houses owned by lay Buddhists began to print the first Buddhist periodicals and distribute non-scriptural Buddhist texts.[4] Lay Buddhists became centrally involved in the effort to set up a national Buddhist association and lobby the government for the protection of Buddhist institutions.[5] Meanwhile, traditional Pure Land societies sprung up as imperial proscription was replaced by constitutional freedom of organization and religious belief. Centered in a few major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin, all of these efforts represented the building of momentum for Buddhist activism in urban society, but at this point they remained of a preliminary, fragmented and fleeting nature, limited to a relatively small group of Buddhist elites.

The establishment in 1920 of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove (*Shanghai fojiao jushilin* 上海佛教居士林)—predecessor to both the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society—was a new development in the context of this budding urban lay Buddhist activism. The principal founder, Wang Yuji 王與楫 (b.1883), was a native of Hunan province where he had received a modern education in law, government, physics and chemistry before entering the circles of leading provincial gentry reformers in Changsha and eventually participating in the 1911 Revolution. It was just after the revolution that Wang became involved in Buddhist activism and founded the Changsha Buddhist Study Society (*Changsha foxuehui*長沙佛學會). In 1913 he moved to Beijing where he deepened his study of Buddhism under the guidance of the respected monks Qingyi and Dixian, and soon began publicly preaching at temples, study societies, orphanages, media organizations and other venues.[6] Hence, by the time he moved to Shanghai in 1917, the energetic lay preacher had already established a reputation for himself as "a great master of Buddhist study."[7]

In Shanghai, in addition to his preaching, Wang Yuji also set up a number of Buddhist organizations. One of the main venues at which he had been preaching was the Aiding Life Association (*Jishenghui* 濟生會), which was a Buddhist-influenced religious society that engaged in spirit writing and disaster relief, and included some of Shanghai's most prominent social elites. Of the opinion that the participants at the Aiding Life Association were numerous but disorganized, in early 1919 Wang founded the Chinese Buddhist Study Society (*Zhongguo foxuehui* 中國佛學會) within the Xijin gongsuo (錫金公所), a native place association for sojourners from the nearby city of Wuxi, on Haining Road in what was then known as Shanghai's American concession.[8] There he delivered regular lectures alongside such prominent

[3] "Yang Renshan jushi shilüe" 楊仁山居士事略, in Zhou, *Yang Renshan*, 584.

[4] The two most important examples are Di Chuqing's Youzheng shuju 有正書局 and Ding Fubao's Yixue shuju 醫學書局, both of which were located in Shanghai.

[5] See Vincent Goossaert, "Republican Church Engineering: The National Religious Associations in 1912 China," in *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, ed. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 209-232; Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 33-38.

[6] "Zhina dajue jingshe shezhang Wang Yuji" 支那大覺精舍舍長王與楫, *HCY* 7:4 (May 31, 1926) [*MFQ* 165:121].

[7] "Ji bentang jiaowu lianhehui kaihui shi" 紀本堂教務聯合會開會事, *Shangxiangtang jishi* 8:20 (December 1917).

[8] "Fojiao nianjian"佛教年鑒, *HCY* 1:1 zengkan (March 10, 1920).

Buddhist figures as Zhang Taiyan and Ding Fubao.[9] According to some sources, Wang had also begun planning the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove as early as 1917.[10] However, the Grove was not officially founded until April 1920 at the Xijin gongsuo, apparently as a transformation of his Chinese Buddhist Study Society.[11] During the winter of 1920 the organization moved to a new independent location at 64 Avenue Road, at the intersection with Myburgh Road in Shanghai's British concession, where it continued to grow steadily. Nevertheless, a shift in leadership began in 1921, when Wang Yuji's energies were both depleted by an illness and increasingly occupied by his new appointment as a reform instructor at the Zhejiang Number One Prison.[12] Finally, in the spring of 1922, two years after its founding, the organization was split and reorganized into the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society. [13]

The Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove figured as a new development in the organizational practices of lay Buddhist activism during the early twentieth century by combining many previously distinct types of institutions and activities into an integrative organizational framework. This broad scope of activities was already indicated in the original organizational charter,[14] though the various individual enterprises were not established all at once but rather added to the organization as it grew over the period from 1920 to 1922 (see table 1). In the first place, the Grove functioned as a Buddhist study society of the type that had become popular over the previous decade. Regular lectures were given, first by Wang Yuji and later by other leading householders and invited monks. These took place in the Grove's Dharma Lecture Hall on most evenings of the week and were often followed by an hour of communal Buddha-recitation practice.[15] The lectures were the core activity of the organization, which had initially grown out of Wang Yuji's preaching career. Additionally, the organization offered a Special Course in the Study of Consciousness-only, the classes which Wang led as well.[16] At the same time, the Grove engaged in the sorts of printing and circulation activities that had also spread since the time of Yang Wenhui. For example, the group's Scriptural Press had a five person staff working at its location in the Xijin gongsuo and opened a carving workshop in the

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[9] *SB*, March 13, 1919; "Wang Yuji xuanjiang foxue" 王與楫宣講佛學, *Jueshe congshu* 3 (April 1919) [*MFQ* 7:310].

[10] The reformist monk Taixu claims in his autobiography that Wang had raised the matter to him at their meeting in Shanghai in December 1917. This is sometimes cited to support the claim that Taixu played an instrumental role in the establishment of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove, but I have come across no evidence that he was directly involved in any of the organization's activities until years later. Taixu 太虛, *Taixu Zizhuan* 太虛自轉 [Autobiography of Taixu], in *Taixu dashi quanshu*太虛大師全書 [The Complete Works of Grand Master Taixu], vol. 19, electronic edition (Zhubei, Taiwan: Yinshun wenjiao jijinhui, 2005), 225. This quote is sometimes used to support the claim that Taixu was instrumental to the establishment of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove, but in fact there is no evidence that he was directly involved in the organization's activities until years later.

[11] "Fojiao gengshen nianjian zhiyi," 佛教庚申年鑑之一, *HCY* 2:2 (February 20, 1921).

[12] "Shanghai fojiao jushilin jinkuang," *HCY* 2.4 (April 20, 1921).

[13] Some sources claim that the organization halted activities toward the end of this period. For example, Zhong Qiongning 鐘瓊寧, "Xing zaijia dao: Minchu de Shanghai jushi fojiao (1912-1937)" 行在家道: 民初的上海居士佛教 (1912-1937) [Practicing the At-home Way: Shanghai Lay Buddhism in the Early Republican Era (1912-1937)] (MA thesis, Taiwan National Politics University, 1997), 86.

[14] "Shangha fojiao jushilin zanxing guiyue"上海佛教居士林暫行規約, *HCY* 1:5 (July 10, 1920).

[15] "Shanghai fojiao jushilin quanxue fofa liyou qi"上海佛教居士林勸學佛法理由啟, *HCY* 1:12 (December 10, 1920); "Shanghai fojiao jushilin jinkuang" 上海佛教居士林近況, *HCY* 2:4 (April 20, 1921); "Shanghai fojiao jushilin yanfatang xiaoxi"上海佛教居士林演法堂消息, *HCY* 3:3 (April 16, 1922).

[16] "Fojiao jushilin fushe weishi zhuanxike kaijiang jishi" 佛教居士林附設唯識專習科開講紀實, *HCY* 1:5 (July 10, 1920).

nearby Zhejiang city of Wenzhou.[17] Furthermore, through the disaster relief campaign of its Charitable Giving Corps and the vernacular, popularized preaching of its Propagation Corps, the Grove participated in another major aspect of the new Buddhist activism, namely the attempt to actively reach broader segments of society and publicly demonstrate that Buddhism played a positive social role.[18] Finally, even more recognizably traditional institutional forms of communal lay activity, a lotus society and a releasing life association, were incorporated into the Grove's integrative structure. The Lotus Society was a complete subsidiary organization unto itself with its own charter and Buddha-recitation Hall (*nianfotang* 念佛堂), where members were required to attend communal Pure Land practice on the weekends in addition to the prescribed regimen of daily self-practice during the week.[19] As broad as this range of activities at the Grove already was at this early stage, in principle it was by no means limited to these particular enterprises. The open structure of the organization, into which nearly any new lay Buddhist activity or institution could be integrated, bestowed it with a certain fluidity and potential for growth and adaptation.

The integrative, open nature of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove derived from the fact that its mission was not to carry out any particular activity but rather to organize a unified lay community in which any number of various activities could be coordinated. This was clearly expressed in the organization's mission statement: "The mission is to assemble at-home devout men and women (*ji zaijia shanxin*集在家善信) to deeply practice the Buddha-dharma, energetically carry out good works, support the Sangha, propagate Buddhism, and save oneself and others."[20] However, the concept of forming associations for the purpose of unifying Buddhists was not entirely new. It had been prominent in the national Buddhist associations founded to compete for state sponsorship when the new Republic was established in 1912.[21] For example, the organizational charter of the first of these national associations, founded by a group of Yang Wenhui's lay followers, opened by declaring, "The association is named the Buddhist Association (*fojiaohui* 佛教會) because it raises Buddhism by assembling the believers of the fourfold Buddhist community (集合佛教四眾信士) to collectively strive to advance the enterprise of spreading the Dharma and benefiting sentient beings, to integrate viewpoints, and to authentically practice in accord with the original intentions of the Buddha."[22] Although the various national Buddhists associations had become defunct by 1920, the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove apparently borrowed their concept of "assembling" believers, reorienting it from the national to the local level and narrowing its scope from the fourfold community (monks, nuns, male lay adherents, and female lay adherents) to just the laity. Unlike the national Buddhist associations, the Grove was to be exclusively managed by and composed of lay adherents independent from the monastic community.

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[17] "Shanghai fojiao jushilin kejingchu chengli"上海佛教居士林刻經處成立, *HCY* 3:1 (February 16, 1922).
[18] "Shanghai fojiao jushilin yanxi chouzhen lüezhi"上海佛教居士林演戲籌賑略志, *HCY* 2:5 (May 20, 1921); "Shanghai fojiao jushilin bujiaotuan xiaoxi"上海佛教居士林布教團消息, *HCY* 3:1 (February 16, 1922); Shanghai fojiao jushilin bujiaotuan xiaoxi"上海佛教居士林布教團消息, *HCY* 3:3 (April 16, 1922).
[19] "Shanghai fojiao jushilin lianshe jianzhang" 上海佛教居士林蓮社簡章, *HCY* 2:2 (February 20, 1921).
[20] "Shangha fojiao jushilin zanxing guiyue"上海佛教居士林暫行規約, *HCY* 1:5 (July 10, 1920). The adjective *zaijia* "at-home" describes lay adherents in contrast with monastics, who had "left the home" (*chujia* 出家). The term *shanxin*, a conventional abbreviation of the term *shanxin nannü* "devout men and women," was a common way to refer to Buddhist lay adherents.
[21] Goossaert, "Republican Church Engineering."
[22] "*Fojiaohui dagang*"佛教會大綱, *Foxue congbao* 2 (November 1, 1912) [*MFQ* 1: 277-289].

Table 1. Chronological accretion of Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove enterprises, 1920-1922

Enterprise name	Date formed
Dharma Lecture Hall (*yanfatang*演法堂)	May 1920
Special Course in the Study of Consciousness-only (*weishi zhuanxi ke*唯識專習科)	June 1920
Lotus Society (*liansh*e 蓮社)	1920*
Releasing Life Association (*fangshenghui* 放生會)	1920*
Propagation Corps (*bujiaotuan*布教團)	1921*
Charitable Giving Corps (*cishan bushituan*慈善布施團)	March 1921
Scripture Circulation Office (經典流通所)	April 1921
Canon Reading Room (*yuezangshi* 閱藏室)	1921*
Scriptural Press (*kejingchu* 刻經處)	February 1922

* Precise dates for the start of these enterprises are unavailable. Their order in the list has been determined based on when they are first referenced in the sources.
Note: The Grove also apparently planned to add a library, editing and translation society, museum, and social club.[23]

The fundamental organizing principle of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove was therefore the common identity of its members. As the name of the organization prominently indicated, members were to be collectively identified as Buddhist "householders" (*jushi* 居士). The Chinese term *jushi* 居士, for which "householder" is the standard English translation when it is used in a Buddhist context,[24] actually predated the introduction of Buddhism to China. In its pre-Buddhist usage the term meant a gentleman of virtue and talent who had withdrawn from public life and service. However, *jushi* took on new layers of meaning once it was used in Chinese translations of Buddhist texts to render the Sanskrit terms *grhapati, kulapati*, and *vaiśya*, which, although they had distinct referents in ancient Indian society, all indicated the head of a household, or "householder."[25] Probably because many of the Buddha's lay followers that appear in popular Mahayana texts such as the *Vimalakirti Sutra* were referred to by this social position, over time *jushi* evolved into a broad category for anyone who practiced the Buddha's teachings "at home" (*zaijia* 在家), that is, without renouncing their secular life in the household to "leave home" (*chujia* 出家) and join the Buddhist monastic order. However, as Pan Guiming demonstrates in his history of Chinese lay Buddhism, in practice the term was used in a more narrow sense to indicated only those at-home Buddhist adherents who possessed wealth and social influence.[26] Both the broad and narrow senses of the term continued to be used into the twentieth century, but not before another layer of meaning was added in the mid-Qing dynasty by Peng Shaosheng's彭紹升 (1740-1796) influential compilation entitled *Householder Biographies* (*Jushi zhuan* 居士傳). This important text promoted an ideal of the *jushi* as an exemplary adherent whose dedicated study of Buddhist teachings was thoroughly put into

[23] *SZH*, 189.
[24] *Jushi* is sometimes rendered in English simply as "lay Buddhist." However, for the reasons explained below, this translation fails to convey important layers of meaning that are essential to understanding what the term *jushi* connoted in Chinese during the early twentieth century.
[25] Pan Guiming 潘桂明, *Zhongguo jushi fojiaoshi* 中國居士佛教史 [A History of Chinese Householder Buddhism] 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2000), 1:1-4; *FDC*, 1:1257-1258.
[26] Pan, *Zhongguo*, 1:4.

practice and applied to society.[27] Therefore, by the turn of the twentieth century, this term, used either as an abstract category or as a title or term of address for an individual, denoted a non-monastic Buddhist adherent often with the prestige of both social position and religious attainment.

Yang Wenhui, who was himself a great admirer of Peng Shaosheng, was revered among the lay community of Republican-era Shanghai as a model householder. At a time when Chinese public opinion railed against Buddhist monks and their temples as social parasites and the carriers of superstition,[28] Yang had accepted much of the criticism but recast it as the decline of the Sangha rather than the essence of Buddhism. He issued a scathing critique of the contemporary monastic community as ignorant of the very teachings of their own tradition, not to mention the new Western learning, and therefore not only unwilling but also unable to effectively propagate Buddhism in educated society.[29] Although he sought to initiate a reform and revival of the monastic community, in the meantime Yang urged his lay students not to ordain, because they could better study Buddhism as householders outside the Sangha, without the misguidance of monastic teachers.[30] Yang's reason for founding his Buddhist Studies Research Society was that, because the contemporary temples and monasteries found everywhere in China possessed merely the appearance of Buddhism, there was nowhere for a cultured individual to encounter the true Dharma.[31] Although Yang never framed such statements as anticlericalism or as a householder ideology, his example was followed in the subsequent Buddhist activism of the 1910s by the prominent new roles played by lay adherents vis-à-vis monastics in the Chinese Buddhist community.

The Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove was an institutionalization of this new position of the householder within the Chinese Buddhist community. Echoing the words of Yang Wenhui, Wang Yuji declared in 1920, "Our country's monasteries, classified into *zong*, *jiao*, and *lü*, are the [traditional] sites for the propagation of Buddhism. The establishment of the Householder Grove is to assist our monastic comrades where they cannot reach."[32] Where they could not reach was into the urban milieu of a metropolis like Shanghai, the very heart of secular society. According to Wang, the monastic community in China had given up the use of worldly methods (*shijianfa* 世間法) in their task of propagation, thereby inviting criticism as "passive," "escapist" and "superstitious."[33] Indeed, Shanghai was home to the anti-religion movement of the early 1920s,[34] and public opinion toward Buddhist monks was highly cynical. A 1921 editorial in Shanghai's leading newspaper, *The Shanghai Daily* (Shenbao), read, "The Buddhist monks of our nation have never had a proper profession. Their only way of making a living is to officiate funerals, request donations, hold ceremonies, and manufacture superstition. Due to this

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[27] T.1646:180a18-181a9.

[28] Vincent Goossaert, "1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65:2 (May 2006), 307-326.

[29] "Banruo boluomiduo hui yanshuo yi" 般若波羅密多會演說一, Zhou, *Yang Renshan*, 340; "Shishi xuetang neiban kecheng chuyi" 釋氏學堂內班課程芻議, Zhou, *Yang Renshan*, 333.

[30] "Yu Gui Bohua shu yi" 與桂伯華書一, Zhou, *Yang Renshan*, 450-451.

[31] "Foxue yanjiuhui xiaoyin" 佛學研究會小引, Zhou, *Yang Renshan*, 337.

[32] "Fojiao jushilin fushe weishi zhuanxike kaijiang jishi" 佛教居士林附設唯識專習科開講紀實, *HCY* 1:5 (July 10, 1920).

[33] Wang Yuji王與楫, "Pujian fojiao jushilin liyou shu" 普建佛教居士林理由書, *Dayun* 76:10 (March 18, 1927) [*MFQ* 138:150-154].

[34] See Jessie Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-1928* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988).

our nation's society and religion are increasingly spoiled."[35] According to Wang Yuji, particularly under such conditions as existed in Republican Shanghai, regular members of society should be taught Buddhism by householders, who had more prestige and respect in society than their monastic counterparts.[36] Again, the Grove was not overtly anticlerical, but it did account for the alleged failings and pervasive criticisms of the monastic community by setting up a lay institution that suited urban society and, it was hoped, could be successful in propagating Buddhism there.

In point of fact, the achievements of the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove from 1920 to 1922 were relatively modest. However, it had evidently attracted a growing number of householders from the elite ranks of Shanghai society into its leadership. Once the presence of Wang Yuji, whose vision and leadership had initially dominated the organization, began to diminish by 1921, it appears that other leaders raised differing opinions on its future development. According to a later official narrative, some of the leaders thought that Shanghai needed an exclusively Pure Land organization in addition to the more trans-sectarian Householder Grove, and everyone agreed to split the original organization in two.[37] Thus, in spring 1922, the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society was established at the location on Avenue Road, and the reorganized World Buddhist Householder Grove was moved back to the Xijin gongsuo. A degree of suspicion is cast on this story of a peaceable split by a hostile letter written to Wang Yuji (who did not participate in the Pure Karma Society though he was an avid Pure Land propagator) by the monk Yinguang in reply to the World Buddhist Householder Grove's invitation that he become its first "honored guiding teacher."[38] Yinguang, who at the time was rapidly becoming the most revered figure among Shanghai's Pure Land lay Buddhists, turned down the request in no uncertain words.

> The kind of precedent-breaking organizational charter that you have drafted could not be accomplished even if the country was thriving and the people were in a plentiful time. How could it work in an age when the fate of the nation is in crisis and the people cannot make a living? ... Conscientiously carrying out all the activities listed in the charter, even if you had millions [of *yuan*], they would not be enough for the task. If you can turn the earth into gold, then what I am saying is truly ignorance. But if you wish to rely on donations to accomplish this enterprise of cosmic proportions, then it is like a springtime dream with no basis in reality…. I truly worry that if you have no supernatural powers to subdue them, there will inevitably be villains who enter and ruin things, or those harboring envy will defame you. Then we will not see the benefit of a flourishing Dharma, but rather be caught in the calamity of the Dharma's destruction.[39]

It seems more likely that the hostility expressed here by Yinguang, who soon became intimately involved in lay Buddhist organizations including the Pure Karma Society, derived more from some personal conflict with Wang Yuji than from a genuine opposition to the

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[35] Jing'an 經厂, "Senglu zhi shiye wenti" 僧侶之職業問題, *SB* (September 26, 1921).
[36] Wang Yuji, "Pujian."
[37] Jichen寄塵, "Shu Jingyeshe zhi yinyuan" 述淨業社之因緣, *JK* 1 (May 1926) [*MFQ* 124: 390-392].
[38] The letter of invitation, which was sent to other monks as well, was published in the Grove's periodical along with many replies, though not the one received from Yinguang. *LK* 1 (1923).
[39]Yinguang印光, "Fu Wang Yuji jushi shu" 復王與楫居士書, *Yinguang fashi wenchao* 印光法師文鈔 [The Collected Writings of Dharma Master Yinguang] 3 vols. (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2000), 1:216-217.

organization of lay Buddhists, as the letter as a whole implies. Whatever his reasons, it is certain that Yinguang had a powerful influence among the Shanghai householders who broke away from the Grove to found the Pure Karma Society, and this may have been a factor in the split. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the fact that they both saw remarkable development over the next few years, there was more than enough room in Shanghai for the two organizations. Cooperation was facilitated by the fact that they shared the same mission inherited from their common origins in the original Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove. Almost immediately there was considerable cross-membership and leadership between the two, and eventually they became a pair of complementary flagship institutions for the Shanghai lay Buddhist community, with a reputation known widely throughout the country and even abroad.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF A HOUSEHOLDER COMMUNITY

Particularly after the split of 1922, the development of Shanghai's householder associations must be understood not only from the perspective of the twentieth century Buddhist revival and its growing activism, but also within the context of the concurrent explosion of urban voluntary associations in Shanghai that was stimulated by republican ideals of popular representation and self-government. As Xu Xiaoqun has shown for professionals, the emergence of new social groups in modern Shanghai was attended by the establishment of associations to organize and represent them.[40] This could equally be said of the growing Buddhist householder community in the 1920s. The distinctive character and role of Shanghai's householder associations within the wider trends of Buddhist activism derived in no small part from their participation in the city's evolving culture of associational practices.

The type of Shanghai voluntary association that had the greatest impact on organization of Buddhist householders was the native place association, which organized and provided services for communities of individuals who shared the identity of common place of ancestral origin. In a city where much of the population was comprised of sojourners from other areas of the country, Shanghai's native place associations formed a prominent and powerful set of social organizations.[41] Overwhelmingly dominated by merchants, native place associations in Shanghai were, in the words of Guo Xuyin, "a product of the development of the commercial goods economy and the transformation of society."[42] The connection between native place associations and householder organizations is suggested first of all by the fact that it was a native place association, the Xijin gongsuo, that initially provided Wang Yuji with the space to independently establish the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove outside the wall of monastic institutions. Once the Grove and the Pure Karma Society split, they were reorganized to facilitate and manage an expanding community by adopting many of the structures and practices that were in use at native place associations. This was particularly true of the Grove, which developed more quickly in the first years after the split.

In the spring of 1922 the Grove was moved back to the borrowed premises of the Xijin gongsuo. Although Wang Yuji was made provisional manager, he soon departed on a propagation mission in Beijing. The widely respected Tiantai monks Dixian and Nengchan

[40] Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals*.
[41] Bryna Goodman, *Native Place*.
[42] Guo Xuyin 郭緒印. *Lao Shanghai de tonxiang tuanti* 老上海的同鄉團體 [Native-place organizations of old Shanghai] (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2003), 21.

accepted invitations to give regular lectures during the hot summer months.[43] When officer elections were finally held in August, it was clear that the reorganization of the World Buddhist Householder Grove would proceed under a new leadership.[44] At the core was a group of employees from the Shanghai-Nanjing Railroad led by Zhu Shiseng 朱石僧 (1887-1942) and Li Jingwei 李經緯, who swelled the ranks of the organization with their co-workers at this critical juncture. They shrewdly elected the silk manufacturing magnate Zhou Shunqing 周舜卿 (1851-1923) to replace Wang Yuji as the new president, thereby cementing the relationship with their wealthy host institution, the Xijin gongsuo, of which Zhou was also the founder and president. The welcome ceremony that was held for President Zhou on September third was essentially the opening celebration for the newly reorganized Grove. An audience of reportedly over two hundred people, including such local notables as the prominent business leader and revolutionary veteran Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867-1938) listened to Li Jingwei report on the history of the organization and President Zhou announce the future direction it would take, followed by talks from a principal donor and board member, Cai Yousheng, and the famous scholar, Zhang Taiyan, who had supported the organization from its inception and was now made an "honored lecturer."[45] Two weeks later, the new leadership met to overhaul the organization's structure and methods in a revised charter.

The new charter of the World Buddhist Householder Grove retained the basic concept pioneered by the original Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove. Accordingly, the declared mission was to "assemble at-home devout men and women" both for the practice and study of Buddhism as well as for its effective promotion and propagation,[46] which was still conceived of as "assisting the Sangha and its monasteries where they cannot reach."[47] However, the new leaders also infused the organization with a grander vision, signaled most saliently by the change in name from "Shanghai" to "World." According to the Grove's official explanation of the new name, "Among the people of the entire world, anyone who belongs to those who believe in the Buddha-dharma, without [regard to] the distinctions of nationality and race, and without [regard to] the stratifications of high and low or rich and poor, may join the Grove and practice the Way. For this reason it is called 'World Buddhist.'"[48] This statement and others like it were reflective less of the nature of the Grove's actual membership, which never became particularly international or egalitarian, than of how its leaders conceptualized their religion and presented it to a domestic audience. Indeed, what such rhetoric indicated was a deliberate recognition and declaration, on the part of the Grove's leaders, that Buddhism was a "world" or "universal" religion that transcended the modern categories of nation, race and socio-economic status. This not only meant that they imagined their organization as part of an international Buddhist community working to spread a universal religion across the globe, it also had the benefit of rhetorically elevating their practices above the suspect realm of local "superstition" in eyes of the Chinese public.

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[43] "Huanying huizhang ji" 歡迎會長記, *LK* 1 (1923); Zhou Shunqing周舜卿, "Ganyan" 感言, *LK* 1 (1923); "Shijie fojiao jushilin zhi jishi" 世界居士林之紀事, *HCY* 3:8 (October 20, 1922); *SB* (June 20, 1922).

[44] "Diyijie zhiyuan biao" 第一屆職員表, *LK* 1 (1923).

[45] "Shijie fojiao jushilin kaimu ji" 世界佛教居士林開會紀, *HCY* 3:11 (February 5, 1923); "Huanying huizhang ji" 歡迎會長記, *LK* 1 (1923).

[46] "Shijie fojiao jushilin zuzhi gangyao" 世界佛教居士林组织纲要, *LK* 1 (1923).

[47] Xianyin 顯蔭, "Shijie fojiao jushilin shuo" 世界佛教居士林说, *LK* 2 (1923).

[48] Ibid.

Although the designation "World" did not signal a serious intention to establish an international organization, nevertheless, as Yinguang's letter highlighted in satirical tones, the Grove's new charter did outline a far more elaborate and ambitious organizational structure than that of the original Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove. The new elaborations generally conformed with the organizational practices of native place associations. Whereas the original Grove had added its affairs and enterprises on an ad hoc basis in a simple horizontal arrangement, the new Grove, like a large native place association, instituted a two-tier structure in which individual offices and societies were grouped under the management of categorically discrete departments. While the Propagation Department absorbed most of the old Grove's enterprises, the General Affairs Department resembled its counterpart in the native place association by including separate offices for funds and property, accounting, communications, correspondence, and administrative affairs. There had only been one type of membership at the original Grove and it had been free. The new Grove enhanced its revenue by following native place associations in creating a hierarchy of membership based primarily on levels of donation. The original Grove had been run by a director and a vice director, chosen by the founders. By contrast, as with the native place associations, the central decision-making organ in the new Grove was a committee—initially an eleven-member advisory council (*pingyihui* 評議會) that was reformed into an executive council (*lishihui* 理事會) in 1926—democratically chosen in ballot elections by the higher level members. The affairs of the new Grove were managed by three tiers of officers: a president and two vice presidents, department heads, and office and society managers. Most offices and societies also had voluntary workers and a few had hired laborers to carry out their affairs. Already in 1922, the Grove bureaucracy was composed of nearly seventy positions. Whereas the funding of the original Grove came exclusively from its founders and special donations, the tiered membership fees of the new Grove ensured a more steady source of revenue. Financial matters were strictly regulated, managed and regularly reported to the membership. Although all members were issued a certificate with the emblem of the Grove, only those with special permits were authorized to engage in fundraising on its behalf.[49]

By absorbing the organizational practices of Shanghai's native place associations, the Grove built a bureaucratic apparatus that could more effectively promote and accommodate the growth of a householder community within Shanghai's complex urban environment. In 1923 and 1924, membership was quadrupled to 671,[50] and annual income was elevated to nearly seven thousand *yuan*.[51] Although these figures were still relatively small in comparison with a large native place association, they showed steady development and supported an expanded range of offices, groups and activities. The Meditation Hall, Research Society, and Prayer Society were all new additions to the Propagation Department. Of particular importance was the work of the new Editorial Office, which began publishing the seasonal *World Buddhist Householder Grove Journal* (*Shijie fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊) in 1923. At the early end of the Buddhist publishing explosion that would reach its heyday in the 1930s, the *Journal* helped establish a prominent place for the Grove in the larger Chinese Buddhist community that such periodicals led their readers to imagine. On the one hand, it featured essays, lectures, and other writings by well-known Buddhists, and kept its audience informed of domestic and foreign Buddhist news items. Yet, as the full title suggested, it also gave considerable space to promoting

[49] "Shijie fojiao jushilin gangyao" 世界佛教居士林綱要, *LK* 1 (1923); "Benlin gexiang zuzhi gangyao (chongding)" 本林各項組織綱要(重訂), *LK* 13 (August 1926); Guo Xuyin, *Lao Shanghai*, 10-60.
[50] *BGS*, 88.
[51] Ibid., 90-93.

the Grove itself, by publishing its correspondence, announcing its events, listing the names of its donors, including eulogies and biographies along with photographs of its members and leaders, and so forth. With prominent Buddhist figures like Ding Fubao, Fan Gunong, Nie Yuntai, Tang Dayuan, and Mei Guangxi on its editorial staff, the *Journal* quickly became one of the most widely read Buddhist periodicals of the time, distributed to as many as fifteen different cities in China and Southeast Asia by the end of its first year.[52] The success of the *Journal* therefore did much to spread the reputation and enhance the influence of the Grove itself.

The Grove's steady growth during its first years of operation—membership increased from 170 in 1922 to 957 by the end of 1925[53]—made its borrowed quarters feel cramped and placed a strain on the generosity of the Xijin gongsuo. Moreover, in late 1923 the Grove had held funerary rites for President Zhou, who had been the key figure in its relationship with the guild.[54] His oldest son, Zhou Zhaofu, provisionally took his place but only until the second term officer elections were held in 1924. The new president, Shi Xingzhi 施省之 (1865-1945), was from a prominent gentry family of Hangzhou in nearby Zhejiang province and had been a Qing consul-general in the United States before returning to China to take up official posts in transportation, including general director of the Shanghai-Nanjing railroad. Having become a devout lay Buddhist in mid-life and taken refuge with Yinguang, once he retired to Shanghai in 1922 Shi had participated in the founding of the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society and been named the first chairman of its board.[55] His election to the presidency of the World Buddhist Householder Grove in 1924 strengthened the alliance between Shanghai's two premiere lay organizations, but did not solve the Grove's growing problem with its host institution. The Wuxi Guild soon gave notification that it had decided to take back the buildings being lent to the Grove, touching off debate among the Grove's leaders about how to handle the looming crisis. Proposals to erect a new compound exclusively for the Grove's purposes were initially met with objections that current finances were entirely unequal to such an expensive undertaking. However, Zou Meisheng 鄒梅生, a trustee who had been an active leader since before the 1922 reorganization, enthusiastically pledged one thousand *yuan*, and this was followed by a donation of ten thousand more from another trustee, Guo Maozhi 郭懋之, on his birthday. These funds were enough to convince the doubters on the executive council to approve the creation of a special construction committee to oversee the project. They purchased an empty lot of 2.6 *mu* of land and Li Jingwei, currently head of the Grove's General Affairs Department, designed the new compound himself in cooperation with a professional architect. Meanwhile, they orchestrated a massive, one hundred day fundraising drive from April to June of 1925 in which more than thirty individual teams, staffed by a wide swath of the organization's officers and trustees, collected more than forty thousand *yuan*. Construction began in October and, after more

[52] *LK* 4 (1924).
[53] *BGS*, 88.
[54] "Benlin guihainian dashiji" 本林癸亥年大事紀, *LK* 3 (1923); Li Jingwei李經緯, "Benlin Zhou qianlinzhang Mingjue jushi zhuanzan" 本林周前林長明覺居士傳讚, *LK* 3 (1923).
[55] *XFC*, 1:758-759; *ZJD*, 930; Wu Chengping, ed., *Shanghai mingren cidian 1840-1998* 上海名人辭典 1840-1998 [Biographical Dictionary of Famous People in Shanghai, 1840-1998] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2001), 378-379.

rounds of fundraising, the new compound was completed by the end of March the following year.[56]

The Grove's new compound was located at the intersection of Xinmin Road and Guoqing Road, not far from Shanghai's main railway station, at which so many of its members worked. Although this new location was only a short walk from the Wuxi Guild, one would have to pass across the border from the International Settlement into the district of Zhabei. Unlike the International Settlement, which was governed by a council of foreigners under the terms of the unequal treaties, Zhabei was administered by Chinese authorities together with Shanghai's Southern Market and Wusong districts. These Chinese portions of the city had been under martial law since the May 30th Incident in 1925. In October of the same year, they had been seized by Sun Chuanfang, a warlord whose armies now controlled five provinces in southeastern China. In early 1926 Sun was setting up his new administration of Shanghai, under the management of the famous geologist Ding Wenjiang, at precisely the same time that the World Buddhist Householder Grove was completing the construction of its new compound in Zhabei and planning its opening ceremony.[57] No longer sheltered by the relatively stable environment of the International Settlement, in Zhabei the Grove would now be exposed to the vicissitudes of warlord politics. It therefore immediately secured public declarations from Sun himself as well as his administration that the Grove was not only to be granted official approval but also the full protection of the new regime.[58]

Having secured the blessing of the new authorities, the Grove could safely celebrate the proud opening of its new compound. The number of people who had made donations for the construction was so large that, rather than sending out personal invitations to each of them, the Grove had to take out a newspaper advertisement to express its gratitude and invite them to its opening ceremony on May 16, 1926, a few days before the annual celebration of the birthday of Sakyamuni Buddha.[59] Due to the fact that many of the invited guests were coming from the International Settlement, arrangements had already been made with the police to allow their cars to cross the border into Zhabei even without a Chinese license.[60] To aid the arriving guests in recognizing their destination, a large yellow banner was suspended across Xinmin Road displaying the words, "World Buddhist Householder Grove." Since the main door had not been installed yet, the otherwise unremarkable street entrance was also draped with yellow cloth and guarded by two policemen. Passing inside, the guests entered a large courtyard facing a four-story Western style building, with a large clock prominently visible at its center, flanked by two side buildings. On the first floor of the main building was the "great hall" (*dadian*), where an altar had been installed with incense and flower offerings to large statues of the "three honored ones," Amitābha (Ch. Amituo), Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanyin), and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Ch.

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[56] "Linsuo zhi jianshe" 林所之建設, *BGS*, 21; Wang Zhen王震, "Shijie fojiao jushilin jianli ji" 世界佛教居士林建立記, *LK* 36 (December 1933); Zhang Xingren張性人, "Benlin diyici linyou dahui baogao" 本林第一次林友大會報告, *LK* 21 (November 1928); "Diyici linsuo jijin zhi quandong" 第一次林所基金之勸動, *BGS*, 7-13.

[57] Tang Zhenchang 唐振常, ed. *Shanghaishi* 上海史 [History of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989), 607-609.

[58] "Dengji yu li'an" 登記與立案, *BGS*, 29-30; "Fojiao jushilin xinzhu linsuo qing beian" 佛教居士林新築林所請備案, *SB* (April 27, 1926); "Yansiling pizhun fojiao jushilin beian" 嚴司令批准佛教居士林備案, *SB* (April 30, 1926); "Sun Chuanfang baohu fojiao jushilin zhi bugao" 孫傳芳保護佛教居士林之布告, *SB* (May 31, 1926).

[59] "Shijie fojiao jushilin xinwu luocheng juxing kaimu li" 世界佛教居士林新屋落成舉行開幕禮, *SB* (May 14, 1926).

[60] "Fojiao jushilin jinri juxing kaimuli" 佛教居士林今日舉行開幕禮, *SB* (May 16, 1926).

Shizhi).[61] The walls of the great hall displayed verses written by prominent figures to honor the occasion. Special seating was set up to the left of the altar for government officials and the Grove's trustees, and to the right for monastics. The rest of the guests took seats lined up in rows in front of the altar, with men separated to the left and women to the right. As the guests filtered in they were attended by Grove officers and tea servers wearing yellow ribbons for ready identification. It was reported that, in all, more than one thousand guests were in attendance.[62]

At precisely 2 pm a bell was struck to signal the start of the ceremony. The guests joined their voices in singing a hymn that had been composed by the head of the Grove's Pure Karma Department, Huang Haishan 黃海山:

> A jade palace rises up to the sky, and the vows of the multitude are fulfilled;
> Carrying out Buddhist affairs to repay compassionate blessings, the great earth gives allegiance;
> Universally transforming the ethical norms of society, in peaceful cultivation [we] joyfully ascend together.
>
> Praise to the bodhisattva-mahasattvas that gather like the clouds!
> Praise to the bodhisattva-mahasattvas that gather like the clouds!
> Praise to the bodhisattva-mahasattvas that gather like the clouds![63]

At the end of the singing, everyone joined their palms and bowed their heads. President Shi then welcomed the guests and delivered a speech on the history of the World Buddhist Householder Grove, the construction of the new compound, and the direction for future development. This was followed by a talk on karmic retribution and the path of practice by Yinguang, who had now accepted the Grove's invitation to serve as its "honored guiding teacher." Yinguang concluded his talk by making full-body prostrations before the Buddha images. Next, Zhang Taiyan and Shen Siqi 沈思齊, secretary of the provincial government, recited verses they had composed for the occasion. The final speaker was Wang Yiting, now a vice president of the Grove, who expressed the organization's gratitude to its supporters. When Wang had finished, the ceremony was concluded with another hymn by Huang Haishan:

> The Householder Grove is a great place of the Way (*daochang*道場), and its dignified temple buildings stand majestically;
> This achievement has entirely relied on the compassionate radiance of the Buddha, [whose] vow to protect sentient beings must be repaid;
> As a model for the many nations across the five continents, [we strive to] transform the great earth into purity;
> [We] pledge to promote the wondrous Dharma of the Tathagatha, [so that] the Way of the Buddha will forever prosper far and wide;

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[61] The "three honored ones" (*sanzun*) are associated with Pure Land Buddhism. The bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta are said to attend Amitābha in his pure Buddha land, known as the Western Paradise.

[62] "Linsuo kaimu zhi shengkuang" 林所開幕之盛況, *BGS*, 21; "Shijie fojiao jushilin kaimuli jixiang" 世界佛教居士林開幕禮記詳, *SB* (May 17, 1926).

[63] "Linsuo kaimu zhi shengkuang" 林所開幕之盛況, *BGS*, 22; "Shijie fojiao jushilin kaimuli jixiang" 世界佛教居士林開幕禮記詳, *SB* (May 17, 1926).

> Collectively extolling the sacred name of Amitabha, together [we will be] reborn in his kingdom of paradise.[64]

The ceremony ended with another ringing of the bell, followed by refreshments and group photographs as the guests departed.

The opening ceremony of the Grove's new compound in 1926 has been described here in some detail because it was a momentous occasion in the organization's history. The construction campaign had successfully overcome a potential crisis and established a solid basis for the Grove's continued existence and further development. This was true not only in the sense that it had acquired an independent and permanent physical space for itself. The construction campaign had entailed a full mobilization of the organization's resources and, in fact, stimulated a significant expansion of those resources. In 1926 alone, membership had nearly doubled from 957 to over 1700. Annual income had also been catapulted to a new level, increasing more than tenfold from around six thousand *yuan* per year in 1923 and 1924 to over sixty thousand in 1925 and 1926, and subsequently settling at around thirty thousand even after the construction campaign had ended.[65] These figures indicate that the Grove had established a strong basis of support in Shanghai society. Furthermore, this social basis had also translated into political influence, as evinced by the public declarations of Sun Chuanfang's regime and the prominent cooperation of the local police force. Indeed, as a voluntary association akin to Shanghai's native place associations, the Grove had reached a stage of maturity and stability, and acquired a momentum for future growth that was palpable for the guests at its opening celebration.

In comparison with the Grove, the Pure Karma Society appears to have achieved far less during its first years of operation. When Wang Yuji and others left the location on Avenue Road to reorganize the Grove in the spring of 1922, the group of householders who had supposedly initiated the split, led by Guan Jiongzhi and Shen Xingshu, remained behind to set up the Pure Karma Society.[66] The name they chose, *Jingyeshe* (淨業社) did not evoke the cosmopolitanism of world Buddhism in the twentieth century, but rather associated their organization with a tradition of Pure Land societies that stretched back to China's Song dynasty.[67] The "brief charter" that was drafted more than a year after the split stated that the organization's mission was "to assemble at-home devout men and women for taking refuge in Buddhism, specially practicing the *nianfo* dharma-gate, as well as studying doctrinal texts, broadly carrying out good works, and so forth, without involving other external affairs."[68] Although this statement represented an intentional break with the trans-sectarianism of the Grove to focus specifically on Pure Land practices like Buddha-recitation (*nianfo* 念佛), it did keep intact the Grove's fundamental mission to assemble householders. The charter laid out only the most minimal and rudimentary of organizational structures—only four enterprises were listed and aside from a committee style leadership (in this case, a board of directors) none of the other institutional reforms undertaken by the Grove could be found at the Pure Karma Society in the years from 1922 to 1926.

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[64] "Linsuo kaimu zhi shengkuang" 林所開幕之盛況, *BGS*, 23; "Shijie fojiao jushilin kaimuli jixiang" 世界佛教居士林開幕禮記詳, *SB* (May 17, 1926).

[65] *BGS*, 88, 90-93.

[66] Jichen寄塵. "Shu jingyeshe zhi yinyuan" 述淨業社之因緣, *JK* 1 (May 1926) [*MFQ* 124: 390-392].

[67] For a Song use of this name, see Daniel A. Getz, Jr. "T'ien-t'ai Pure Land Societies and the Creation of the Pure Land Patriarchate," in Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr., eds. *Buddhism in Sung* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 510.

[68] "Fojiao jingyeshe jianzhang" 佛教淨業社簡章, *JK* 1 (May 1926) [*MFQ* 124: 463-465]

Nevertheless, it began to attract a following by holding lectures by some of the most famous monks of the time and organizing popular public ceremonies, particularly for releasing life (*fangsheng* 放生會), on Buddhist holy days.[69] The strength of the Pure Karma Society apparently lay not so much in its organizational development as its facilitation of large public events.

The Pure Karma Society began to develop a more robust organization in 1926, when one of its board members, Jian Yujie 簡玉階 (1875-1957), donated part of his large family garden to become the association's new premises. Originally from Guangzhou province, Jian Yujie and his older brother, Jian Zhaonan 簡肇南 (1870-1923), were the founders of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, the largest Chinese-owned cigarette manufacturer in the 1920s.[70] When the wealthy brothers moved from Hong Kong to Shanghai in 1918 along with the headquarters of their company, they built a large residential estate at the intersection of Heart Road and Avenue Road in the International Settlement. The estate was named Southern Garden (*Nanyuan* 南園) and they turned a major portion of it into an idyllic garden in the traditional style of late imperial literati culture. Among the rocks, pools, pavilions and other features of the artificial natural landscape in Southern Garden, the Jian brothers installed a Buddha hall where they regularly chanted scriptures. They soon entered Shanghai's lay Buddhist networks by contributing to Buddhist efforts for disaster relief in 1918, and eventually participated in the founding of the Pure Karma Society in 1922. Jian Zhaonan had raised the idea of donating a section of Southern Garden for communal Buddhist practice as early as 1919,[71] but the details had not been worked out before his early death in 1923. Jian Yujie finally fulfilled his older brother's wish by signing a sizable portion of the estate over to the Pure Karma Society in 1926.[72]

Acquisition of such a premium space spurred a flurry of organizational development at the Pure Karma Society. The first issue of the association's journal, *Pure Karma Monthly* (*Jingye yuekan* 淨業月刊) appeared in May. Then, as construction at the new location got underway over the summer, a new charter was drawn up.[73] The name "Southern Garden" was changed to "Enlightenment Garden" (*Jueyuan* 覺園) to reflect its new function. The four enterprises of the original "brief charter" were now expanded to fourteen departments. A supplementary charter was dedicated entirely to stratifying membership into donation-based tiers that corresponded to perks such as election rights, use of association spaces for private events, and the installment of ancestor tablets.[74] The board of directors now selected a president and two vice presidents to oversee a bureaucracy of enterprise managers and workers. The expanded organization scheduled its opening ceremony at Enlightenment Garden for the birthday of Amitabha, Buddha of the Western Paradise in which Pure Land practitioners aspired for rebirth. On December 21, 1926, about two thousand people attended a ceremony that was similar in many ways to that held at the Grove some months earlier. Here too it was Shi Xingzhi who gave the opening speech,

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[69] Jichen, "Shu jingyeshe."
[70] On the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, see Sherman Cochrane, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).
[71] Gao Henian 高鶴年, *Mingshan youfangji* 名山遊訪記 [A Record of Visits to Famous Mountains] (Taipei: Guanshiyin zazhi she, 1975), 398-399.
[72] "Fojiao jingyeshe yuanqi" 佛教淨業社緣起, *JK* 6 (October 1926) [*MFQ* 125: 61-62]; *XFC* 2: 1684-1687.
[73] "Shezhang" 社章, *JK* 6 (October 1926) [*MFQ* 66-71].
[74] "Zhengqiu sheyuan jianzhang" 徵求社員簡章, *JK* 6 (October 1926) [*MFQ* 125:62-66].

followed by remarks from Honorary President Cheng Xuelou, former governor of Jiangsu province, and a lecture by the eminent Tiantai master and Pure Land advocate, Dixian.[75]

Therefore, the development of the Grove and the Pure Karma Society had reached a measure of convergence by the end of 1926. They now both projected their influence in published journals, managed their membership and activities with bureaucratic structures, operated newly constructed compounds in the center of the city, and were further connected through common mission and leadership. In both cases, the resources of Shanghai's commercial society had been instrumental to the establishment of community organizations for householders that were independent of existing monastic institutions and superior to traditional lay societies. At the Grove, the adaptation of effective organizational practices originally used for the unification of sojourning merchant communities had facilitated growth and culminated in the acquisition of a new compound. This process was somewhat reversed at the Pure Karma Society, where organizational growth along similar lines only occurred after the acquisition of a premium location donated by a pair of the most successful business entrepreneurs in Shanghai. By 1927 it was clear that, despite differences in their cultural styles and paths of development, these were complementary organizations providing the institutional basis for a single householder community with close ties to commercial society in Shanghai.

III. SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER COMMUNITY

Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the spatial dimensions of modernity in Shanghai. The appearance of public parks, cinemas, coffee houses, dance halls, and even shanty towns and alleyway neighborhoods all opened up new modes of cultural activity and social interaction.[76] This new urban spatiality was, in fact, not limited to sites of recreation, consumption and residence, but extended to religious sites as well. As we have seen, during the year 1926 both the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society constructed and unveiled new communal spaces in which Shanghai's urban elites could enact their collective identity as Buddhist householders.

The opening ceremony for the Grove's new compound gave indications that it had become more than a Buddhist voluntary association. The hymns composed for the occasion by Huang Haishan extolled the Grove as a *daochang* (place of the way), a term that called attention to its status as a sacred space. In the Buddhist context, *daochang* was originally a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term, *bodhi-manda*, which could refer specifically to the seat of power under the bodhi tree where Siddhartha Gautama attained his full awakening, or more generally to a place where awakening is achieved. In Chinese Buddhist usage it also commonly denoted a sacred space constructed for the performance of a ritual.[77] However, by the twentieth century it could indicate more generally any sacred space for the practice and study of Buddhism, which included temples and monasteries but was also flexible enough to encompass new types of institutions like the Grove. Indeed, the comparison with temples that was implied in Huang's hymn was drawn explicitly in the speech by President Shi.

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[75] "Fojiao jingyeshe kaimu zhisheng" 佛教淨業社開幕誌盛, *SB* (December 22, 1926).

[76] Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*; Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Hanchao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[77] *FDC*, 2:2368.

> Shanghai is a place of ostentatious luxury and sensational tumult. If one wishes to practice pure karma, unfortunately there is no pure place [to do so]. Although there are ancient temples here, if we wish to use them as sites for the serious practice of householders (*jushi*), there are many ways in which [the temples] are unsuitable. This is the reason for which the World Buddhist Householder Grove was established.[78]

In a way, Shi's statement was accurate in that the Grove had always included religious practices like Buddha-recitation and meditation as part of its activist mission to promote Buddhism, and an important rationale for its mission had always been to make up for the deficiencies of the monastic community. Yet his emphasis on the Grove as a replacement for the monastic temple as a sacred site of communal practice (i.e. as a *daochang*) for committed householders was something new that had evolved with the construction of the Grove's own compound. Indeed, the new compound had been designed by Li Jingwei and other leaders as a new kind of urban religious space that combined many of the traditional characteristics of a Buddhist temple or monastery with the cosmopolitan culture of Republican Shanghai.

Viewed from the street, there was little to suggest that the Grove was a sacred space. Barred windows, a brick façade, street lamps and an iron door hardly marked the location off from its surroundings. As noted above, upon entering the compound, the visitor was immediately confronted by three "Western-style" buildings with straight roofs and stone columns that clearly evoked the neoclassical buildings of the International Settlement and paralleled a trend in the architecture of native place associations. Whereas older native place associations (*gongsuo* and *huiguan*) were often designed in the cultural style of the group's home province or city, the new native place associations that proliferated in the 1920s chose Western-style buildings to express their "modern spirit."[79] As at the native place associations, the Grove's prominent Western architectural features clearly and purposefully identified it with the culture of Shanghai's cosmopolitan elite, and distinguished it from the elaborate curved roofs and wooden columns of a recognizable Buddhist temple. However, just behind the stone columns on the ground level of the main building, the visitor would notice a stretch of wooden doorways in the style commonly seen marking the entrances to temple worship halls. Indeed, beyond these doorways was the "great hall" (*dadian* 大殿), traditionally the central feature of any Buddhist temple or monastery. As the Grove's main ritual space, the great hall was oriented toward a large altar with statues of the Tathāgatas of the Three Times (*sanshi rulai*三世如來). Other rooms in the Grove's buildings also paralleled what was typically found in a temple, such as a meditation hall (*chanding shi*禪定室), Buddha-recitation hall (*nianfo tang* 念佛堂), canon room (*zangjing shi* 藏經室), and reliquary room (*sheli shi* 舍利室).

However, the cosmopolitan aspect of the Grove was not simply a cosmetic overlay to its temple or *daochang* aspect. The cultural influences of the Grove's designers permeated the inner ritual spaces as well. An example of this was the reliquary room. Temples often had such chambers to house and worship the bodily remains (sk. *śarīra*, ch. *sheli* 舍利) of the Buddha or an enlightened follower, which were typically installed in stupas. The Grove had been given three such relics by one of its supporters and enshrined these in a jeweled stupa that resembled a miniature Chinese pagoda. The stupa was placed in the center of a specially designed room with

[78] "Linsuo kaimu zhi shengkuang" 林所開幕之盛況, *BGS*, 22; "Shijie fojiao jushilin kaimuli jixiang" 世界佛教居士林開幕禮記詳, *SB* (May 17, 1926).
[79] Goodman, *Native Place*, 220-221; Guo, *Lao Shanghai*, 49-50.

all its walls covered in mirrors, and numerous small electric lights suspended from the ceiling. This setup produced countless images of the stupa surrounded by dazzling lights in every direction the worshipper turned, which was meant to elicit a feeling of wonderment and piety.[80] As Leo Ou-fan Lee and others have pointed out, Shanghai's modern urban culture was produced precisely around such material aspects of the city as running water, telephones, automobiles, and electricity.[81] From this perspective, electric lighting symbolized the flow of modernity throughout the urban environment, illuminating new spaces of cultural activity and production. The Grove's reliquary room demonstrates how this was true not only of sites for leisure and entertainment such as department stores and cinemas, but also of religious sites as well. The room's design saliently deployed the electric light not to promote consumerism, nor even for a more simple utilitarian purpose, but rather to enhance the religious effect of a traditional sacred space.

One of the primary ways in which the compound functioned as a *daochang* was by holding an annual cycle of major Buddhist ceremonies, the dates for which were determined according to the traditional lunar calendar. These ceremonies included celebrations for the birthdays of twelve buddhas and bodhisattvas; fourteen offering ceremonies such as the ghost festival (*yulanpen gong* 盂蘭盆供); four seasonal seven-day recitation retreats (*foqi* 佛七); and at least one releasing life ceremony (*fangsheng hui* 放生會) every other month.[82] Beyond this set schedule, other ceremonies were often held when a special need or request arose, such as to hold funerary rites for a recently deceased member or to confer lay ordination on new members. Typically, a householder would have had to visit a temple to observe such ceremonies, which were often quite tumultuous affairs. According to the reports from *The Shanghai Daily*, the annual celebration of Sakyamuni Buddha's birthday at Jing'an Temple, perhaps the most popular Buddhist temple in the city, was overrun with "common superstitious men and women [who] all went to burn incense and pray for blessings."[83] Police were routinely dispatched to keep order and deter the thieves who were feared to be at work among the teeming mob of worshippers. As President Shi had implied, such scenes were hardly suitable for the more cosmopolitan member of Shanghai society with a serious interest in the practice of Buddhism, and were grist for the mill of Buddhism's detractors. By contrast, at the Grove much attention was given to strictly upholding the solemn decorum (*zhuangyan* 莊嚴) of the sacred space, particularly during ritual performance. Although visitors were welcome to participate in the ceremonies, order (*zhixu* 秩序) was maintained by Grove officers wearing yellow ribbons, who made sure that everyone obeyed rules such as sitting in the proper locations, dressing appropriately, correctly following the procedures of the ceremony, not distributing pamphlets, not talking loudly, spitting, littering, or using tobacco products, and not mixing men and women.[84] Unlike at the temple celebrations described by *The Shanghai Daily*, within the sacred space of the Grove's *daochang*, the strictures of religious decorum and discipline reflected the cosmopolitan values of being a civilized citizen. Underlying both was not only the sensibilities of the urban elite, but also their concern for maintaining social order.

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[80] "Sheli shi ji" 舍利室記, *BGS*, 134.
[81] Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 6-7.
[82] *Shijie fojiao jushilin kecheng guiyue* 世界佛教居士林課程規約 [World Buddhist Householder Grove Schedule and Regulations] (Shanghai: Foxue shuju), 31-33 [*MFQ* 129: 268-270].
[83] "Jing'an si dafohui zhi renao" 靜安寺大佛會之熱鬧, *SB* (May 8, 1919); also see similar reports in *SB* (May 15, 1920) & (May 5, 1922).
[84] *Shijie fojiao jushilin kecheng guiyue*, 27-28 [*MFQ* 129: 264-265].

According to traditional Buddhist regulations, lay people did not have the authority to themselves officiate the kinds of ceremonies that were performed at the Grove. This was a sensitive matter because the performance of ritual services for the lay community in exchange for donations was an important source of financial support for the monastic community, particularly in urban settings where it was less likely for temples to earn income from landholdings. Although the householders at the Grove often joined their voices in the critique of monks who did little more than maintain their livelihoods through the performance of such ritual services, they also continued to respect the principle of monastic ritual authority. The Grove therefore invited a few chosen monks to live at the compound as in-house ritual specialists. The most important of these was the "permanently stationed lecturer" (*changzhu jiangshi* 常駐講師), who both officiated the major ceremonies and delivered regular lectures on scripture. The others were given ranks and offices the same as if they were living in a monastery, although none of them were allowed to hold positions of management within the Grove's organizational administration.[85] In some cases, visiting monks would also officiate ceremonies, as was the case with whichever particularly eminent monk was currently serving as the "honored guiding teacher" (*shangzuo daoshi* 上座導師). For the monks involved, it was a valuable opportunity to build relationships with some of the most affluent and influential lay devotees in the country. For the Grove's householders, this was a way to hold ceremonies on their own grounds and their own terms while preserving traditional orthopraxy.

Like a temple or monastery, the Grove operated a daily ritual schedule. The day began at 4:30am with three strikes to the great bell. This was followed by communal morning recitation (*zaoke* 早課) of a standard set of scriptures for one hour in the great hall. During the day, vegetarian breakfast and lunch were served in the Grove's dining hall. At 4:45pm the great bell was struck again to signal the beginning of evening recitation (*wanke* 晚課). Part of the evening ceremony was to recite the formula for taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, the basic affirmation of a devotee's commitment to and faith in Buddhism. Whereas for the monastic community these morning and evening recitation practices were part of their lifestyle in the monastery, householders, if they were dedicated enough to do so at all, typically performed them at home in front of a personal altar. However, the Grove provided an alternative religious space, outside of the home, where householders could practice them communally on a daily basis. On the weekends, when more working householders could participate, the basic schedule outlined above was expanded to include an hour in the morning of Buddha-recitation (*nianfo*) in the recitation hall, an hour and a half in the afternoon of recitation and singing in the great hall, and two more hours of Buddha recitation in the evening. Thus on Saturdays there was a total of seven hours of recitation and singing carried on throughout the day. The utilization of the Grove's compound as a sacred space was therefore continuous throughout the week and intensified on the weekends. Within this space the householder was not simply another visitor among the teeming masses, but rather an insider engaged in serious practice as part of a religious lifestyle.[86]

Whereas the ringing of the great bell regulated the daily ritual schedule and the various ceremonies according to the lunar calendar and a traditional conception of time, the presence of another conception of time was symbolized by the large clock commanding a panoptic view from the center of the main building, directly above the entrance to the great hall. In her study of Shanghai's middle class, Wen-hsin Yeh has pointed out that the mechanized clock, although

[85] *BGS*, 39.
[86] *Shijie fojiao jushilin kecheng guiyue*, 3-5 [*MFQ* 129: 239-242].

originally only a foreign curiosity, by the early twentieth century had become a defining feature of Shanghai's modern, urban culture. Far from unique to the Grove, the prominent placement of similar clocks could also be found at Shanghai's factories, office buildings, department stores, and train stations; in fact, the towering four-faced time piece that overlooked the international trade flowing through Shanghai's waterfront was the largest clock in Asia. Yeh observes that, "Modern Shanghai business organizations delineated their singular corporate space with the synchronizing power of the organizational clock. For the ordinary urbanites who made their living as white-collar employees in Republican Shanghai, mechanical clocks created the temporal frame in which their everyday life was to be lived…"[87] As surely as the bell linked the Grove to the ritual rhythms of the Buddhist temple, the clock synchronized its activity with the urban lifestyle of Shanghai's cosmopolitan commercial culture. It ensured that the Grove was running on the same public time as the banker, factory manager, or office clerk. Unlike the monk living in a monastery, always within earshot of the bell, these urbanite householders relied on the synchronization of clocks to participate in the Grove's activities. The timing of all of these activities, including even the ceremonies and practices announced by the bell, conformed to the discipline of the clock by following a schedule divided into standard hours and minutes as precisely as the trains that could probably be heard on their way to and from the station located less than a mile away.

Moreover, the scheduling of many of the Gove's activities was shaped around the corporate work week. For highly committed householders who wished to devote themselves temporarily to a continuous religious lifestyle dorm rooms were available at the Grove for a period of least a one month.[88] But for the vast majority of householders not living on the premises, most activities were arranged in the evenings and particularly on the weekends. Every Saturday and Sunday, afternoon recitation was followed by lectures either on a particular scripture or a thematic topic.[89] These lectures, which were frequently part of series lasting days or even months, were delivered by some of the most respected figures in the Buddhist community, both monastic and lay. The inclusion of lectures by famous householders like Ding Fubao and Fan Gunong underscored the view that householders as well as monks could master and teach Buddhist doctrine. In fact, one of the common complaints about temples, going back to Yang Wenhui, was that the majority of monks found in them had little scriptural knowledge, and it was difficult to have contact with true eminent monastic teachers. The Grove sought to solve this problem by inviting such famous masters as Dixian, Yinguang, Taixu and Xingci to expound the Dharma for its members. The weekend lectures were followed by research seminars in a room designed for their use, where householders intensively read and discussed scripture, again under the guidance of lay or monastic teachers.[90] Materials for the householders' study of scripture were provided in the canon room, which held multiple versions of the Buddhist canon, and the library, which contained a wide array of extra-canonical Buddhist and non-Buddhist books and periodicals. Additionally, the meditation hall was open to members throughout the week and instruction was given to newcomers on Sundays. All of these features, operating on the public time of the organizational clock, made the Grove a more suitable *daochang* than the traditional temple for householders to communally engage in serious practice and study.

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[87] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Corporate space, Communal Time: Everyday life in Shanghai's Bank of China," *The American Historical Review* 100:1 (February 1995), 100; a revised version appears in her *Shanghai Splendor*, 79-81.
[88] "Ji sushi guize" 寄宿舍規則, *BGS*, 38.
[89] "Shijie fojiao jushilin tonggao" 世界佛教居士林通告, *LK* 3 (1923); *BGS*, 77-78.
[90] "Shijie fojiao jushilin yanjiushe guize" 世界佛教居士林研究社規則, LK 1 (1923).

The World Buddhist Householder Grove of 1926 had developed far beyond Yang Wenhui's Buddhist Studies Research Society or even Wang Yuji's Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove. By integrating features of both the traditional Buddhist temple and the cosmopolitan culture of 1920s Shanghai, the Grove's leaders had designed a new type of urban religious space under the rubric of a *daochang*. However, the transformation of the Grove into a *daochang* did not displace its mission for Buddhist activism, but rather complemented it and became the foundation for its effective realization. Although the creation of a *daochang* was based on dissatisfaction with temples and the monks that ran them, it remained in line with Wang Yuji's original formula of assisting the monastic community where it could not reach, namely into ranks of the urban society occupied by the householders. As a *daochang* the Grove had a greater ability to not only assemble existing householders but also to attract new recruits and *make them into householders*. Since the very configuration of its religious space incorporated their values and needs, the Grove became a more effective entry point into Buddhism for Shanghai's working urbanites and educated elites. Furthermore, participation in the communal practices of the Grove socialized them into the shared norms through which they could take on a community-based identity as Buddhist householders. Finally, because the householder ideal inculcated through the Grove's functioning as a *daochang* incorporated both the values of Shanghai's cosmopolitan commercialized society—such as social order and punctuality—and those of Buddhist purity—such as solemn decorum and adherence to ethical precepts—it was also the basis for a favorable public image that allowed the Grove to propagate Buddhism more effectively than the disreputable monastic community.

This connection between *daochang*, the householder ideal, and propagation is vividly illustrated in an account of the Grove written by the famous artist and essayist, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1898-1975), who was living in Shanghai during the early phase of his career in the mid 1920s.[91] Recently reunited with his former art teacher, who had since ordained as a monk and taken the name Hongyi, Feng accompanied his mentor on a visit to a certain Householder You at the Grove in August of 1926, a few months after the opening of the new compound.

> The World Buddhist Householder Grove is a four-story Western style building, extremely solemn (*zhuangyan*莊嚴) and magnificent (*canlan*燦爛). The first floor had an expansive room within which were carefully arranged seats, worship cushions, and high quality facilities. There were many pious men and women there worshipping the Buddha. Having been told that Householder You lived on the third floor, we went up the stairs. Here it was very quiet and everywhere on the walls were hung yellow signs saying, 'walk slowly, keep your voice down,' which made one even more solemn upon seeing them. The third floor was all individual rooms. Master Hongyi recognized Householder You through a window… Originally from Wuxi, Householder You has done many charitable works in Shanghai and is quite a famous person… Yet his demeanor, clothing, and all signs of lifestyle in his room were highly austere, with little difference from those of Master Hongyi who had left home. I now realized that householders (*jushi*) are the most powerful propagators of Buddhism. Monks are orientated internally [within the Buddhist community], while householders are orientated externally. Householders are actually

[91] On Feng see Geremie R. Barmé, *An Artistic Exile: A Life of Feng Zikai (1898-1975)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

> monks who have manifested themselves deeply in secular society to preach the Dharma.[92]

The following year Feng formally became a householder himself in a ceremony officiated by Hongyi. His account is instructive because it allows us to view the Grove through the eyes of a well-educated member of Shanghai's cultural elite. Feng was first impressed by the Grove as a *daochang*, noticing its distinctive architecture, the solemn decorum, the attention to order, and the wealth invested in its facilities. He then recognized the reflection of these spatial qualities in the people who occupied it as representatives of the householder ideal; solemnity and order were matched by piety and austerity. This immediately led Feng to draw the comparison with the monastic community that, as we have seen, was a central component of the Grove's own self conception. Finally, extrapolating from the effect that the experience had on himself, Feng concluded that this was an institutional formula that could actually have power in society.

The Pure Karma Society also envisioned its new compound in 1926 as a *daochang*. An official explanation of the meaning of the organization that ran as the lead article in an issue of *Pure Karma Monthly* began with the following definition: "The Buddhist Pure Karma Society is a great *daochang* for Shanghai's at-home devotees to specially cultivate pure karma… it is truly a rare *udumbara* flower in the turbid world, a golden lotus in the burning house."[93] However, while its character and functions overlapped with those of the Grove compound, they also differed in important ways. To a large extent these differences derived from the different paths of organizational development taken by the two householder associations. Whereas the Grove compound was a direct creation of its organization and exhibited the influence of the native place model, the character of the Pure Karma Society's *daochang* reflected the fact that it had originally been a famous private garden.

An important new kind of urban space that had begun to appear in Shanghai during the last decades of the nineteenth century was the public garden. Xiong Yuezhi has traced the opening of many of Shanghai's private gardens for public use, such as the famous Zhang and Hardoon gardens as well as the Yu Garden that remains a prominent feature of the city today. These gardens served many public functions in late-Qing and early-Republican Shanghai: they were centers of entertainment and tourism; they exhibited new Western goods and facilities to urban residents; they were used for weddings and other social celebrations; and they were the staging ground for large public gatherings and speeches, many of which were political. Such gardens were of great importance to a city like Shanghai that did not have a central public square like many other major cities.[94]

The idea of the public garden in Shanghai was put to a somewhat different use when the Jian brothers donated Southern Garden to the Pure Karma Society and transformed it into Enlightenment Garden. A total of just over twenty-seven *mu* of land (an area more than ten times as large as the Grove compound) was transferred, with a value estimated at 400,000 *yuan*. The twelve *mu* that comprised the garden proper were donated to the association, while the remaining fifteen *mu* of surrounding buildings were sold to individual householders who wished to take up auspicious residence next to the planned *daochang*. A contract was drawn up to restrict the use

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[92] Feng Zikai 豐子愷. "Fawei" 法味, in *Feng Zikai wenji* 豐子愷文集: 文學卷 [Collected Works of Feng Zikai], ed. Feng Chenbao and Feng Yiyin, 7 vols, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), 1:32-33.

[93] "Fojiao jingyeshe shiming" 佛教淨業社釋名, *JK* 5 (August, 1926) [*MFQb* 17:5-16].

[94] Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之. "Wanqing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de kuozhan" 晚清上海私園開放與公共空間的擴展, *Xueshu yuekan* 8 (1998), 73-81.

of the property and ensure its continued integrity and status as a pure Buddhist site. The land donated directly to the association, together with the constructed garden landscape and pavilions, were designated as "public merit property" (*gonggong gongde di* 公共功德地) to be protected by the association and used for the propagation of Buddhism. Unlike the Zhang or Yu gardens, the Enlightenment garden was made public not in the sense of being open to all, but rather in the sense of being for the use of the Buddhist community, under the management of the Pure Karma Society and its board of directors. In other words, it became a specifically Buddhist public space.[95]

One of the ways Enlightenment Garden was put to public Buddhist use was as a *daochang* for the Pure Karma Society, similar to that of the Grove. The association also sought to make Enlightenment Garden into a more suitable place for urban elites to encounter the Dharma and become committed householders engaged in regular practice and study. Here too members participated in daily communal worship. Monks were brought in to give lectures and officiate at both regular annual and specially planned ceremonies. Although the content of the practices and discourse were more thoroughly focused on Pure Land teachings than at the Grove, both organizations intended their *daochang* to provide their members with a comprehensive set of options for their religious lifestyle.[96] However, as a large public space designated for the Buddhist community, Enlightenment Garden was more than just a physical expression of the Pure Karma Society's organizational structure. It became the central site for most major communal Buddhist events in the city of Shanghai. Soon it would also house a number of other Buddhist organizations in addition to the Pure Karma Society, such as the Chinese Buddhist Association which was designated by the state in 1929 to supervise the entire nation's Buddhists and their institutions.

The origins of Enlightenment Garden as one of Shanghai's converted private gardens distinguished it from the Grove's compound. Although the latter also held public Buddhist ceremonies and events, as the culmination of the Grove's development as a voluntary association, it was essentially synonymous with the Grove itself. The same was not true of Enlightenment Garden, which had been the major impetus for the Pure Karma Society's development and transcended its organizational structure. Although the new communal spaces constructed by each of the associations therefore differed from each other, they both facilitated the independent articulation of collective householder identity.

In conclusion, the formation of a self-conscious community of lay Buddhist elites in Shanghai was driven by the establishment of new associations designed for this very purpose. Starting with the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove, these associations constructed the ideal of the Buddhist "householder" as the collective identity around which to build the community. It was thought that, as committed Buddhist adherents with social prestige and resources at their disposal, householder elites could promote Buddhism in Shanghai's complex urban environment more effectively than their monastic counterparts. To develop an independent institutional basis for the householder community outside of existing monastic structures, the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society drew on not only the financial but also the social and cultural resources of Shanghai's dynamic commercial society. Of particular import were the adaptation of the powerful organizational practices of the city's merchant-dominated native place associations, and the modern cultural practice of converting

[95] Fojiao jingyeshe yuanqi" 佛教淨業社緣起, *JK* 6 (October 1926) [*MFQ* 125: 61-62]; *SMA*, Q1-12-1533.
[96] "Shezhang" 社章, *JK* 6 (October 1926) [*MFQ* 66-71].

private literati gardens for communal use. It was within the resulting distinctive organizations and the new urban religious spaces they opened up that Shanghai's businessmen, officials, intellectuals, professionals and others communally engaged in the shared practices and beliefs that tied them together into a meaningful community of householder elites.

CHAPTER TWO:
NATIONALIST GOVERNANCE AND THE CHARITABLE TURN, 1927-1937

I. NATIONALIST GOVERNANCE

The Nationalist occupation of Shanghai and founding of a new central government in Nanjing in the spring of 1927 did not initially bode well for the Buddhist community in Shanghai or elsewhere. While still reorganizing itself and building its power over the previous four years under the United Front, the Nationalist party had assaulted religion as part of its experimentation with social reform and mobilization. In their base area of Guangzhou, they had seized Buddhist temples, driven out the monks, and either sold the property for revenue or converted it into public institutions.[1] As Nationalist forces set out from Guangzhou in 1926 on their Northern Expedition to unify the country, the temple seizures followed their advance. Shortly after the establishment of the central government in Nanjing the new regime launched a mass campaign in 1928 to "eradicate superstition" (*pochu mixin* 破除迷信) that targeted "the mix of Buddhism, Daoism, local cults and customs relating to the supernatural that constituted the bulk of popular religious practice in China proper."[2] Heir to the radical secularism of the May Fourth Movement, the campaign denounced such "unscientific" religious beliefs and practices as obstacles to the Nationalist goal of transforming the people into modern citizens of a strong nation-state.[3] Amidst the campaign, in May 1928, an educator from Nanjing, Tai Shuangqiu, submitted an infamous proposal to the National Conference on Education calling for the confiscation of nearly all temple property in the country for use in building schools for the modern education system. The media reported that Tai's plans were supported by the head of the Ministry of the Interior, Xue Dubi. Although the government did not in fact adopt the proposal, in 1929 it promulgated new regulations for the management of temples that required fixed contributions to community public works and made monks and nuns a minority on local committees invested with authority over temple property.[4] In short, such proposals and policies not only aimed to eradicate the influence of religious institutions, but also to redirect their resources toward state-led modernization and nation-building.[5]

Among the religious groups affected by the campaign, the Buddhists of Shanghai and the surrounding Jiangnan region put up the strongest resistance. They had been alarmed by the news and rumors of temple seizures that flowed into Shanghai ahead of the Northern Expedition.[6] Within days of the armed insurrection that handed the city over to Chiang Kai-shek's forces in late March 1927, an alliance of monastic and lay leaders immediately began to organize a political lobby for the protection of Buddhist institutions. The prominent role played by

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[1] Rebecca Allyn Nedostup, "Religion, Superstition and Governing Society in Nationalist China," (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2001), 67-68; Fojiao weichihui zhi Sun Zhongshan dian" 佛教維持會致孫中山電, *HCY* 4:5 (July 3, 1923) [*MFQ* 156:245]

[2] Nedostup, "Religion," 71.

[3] Ibid., 14-15; Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 99.

[4] "Simiao guanli tiaoli," 寺廟管理條例, in *Zhonghua minguoshi dangan ziliao huibian, diwuji, diyibian, wenhua* 中華民國史檔案資料彙編, 第五輯, 第一編, 文化, Ed. Zhongguo dier lishi dangan guan, 2 vols. (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 2:1017-1019.

[5] Nedostup, "Religion,"119-128; Welch, *Practice*, 40-45.

[6] "Fojiaotu huishang weichi sengsi banfa," 佛教徒會商維持僧寺辦法 *SB* (March 19, 1927).

Shanghai's householder elite in the lobby effort was undoubtedly shaped by their past experience and record in applying political pressure to serve the Buddhist cause. Their Shanghai Buddhist Protection Society (*Shanghai fojiao weichi hui* 上海佛教維持會) had fought sporadically but effectively for the protection of temples across the country since at least 1923, when it had appealed directly to Sun Yat-sen to order a halt on the sale of temple property by the Nationalist government in Guangzhou.[7] The Society was originally headed by Cheng Dequan, the former minister of internal affairs for the Republic under President Sun in 1912 and an honorary president of the World Buddhist Householder Grove in the 1920s.[8] It counted among its officers many other prominent, politically-connected leaders of the householder community such as the former shipping comprador Wang Yiting, the court magistrate Guan Jiongzhi, and the Shanghai judge Huang Hanzhi. These householders had built close relationships with the leading monks of the region, like Dixian and Yuanying, over years of financially supporting their activities and inviting them to Shanghai to lecture and cultivate lay disciples at the householder associations. Beginning in April 1927, this network of householder and monastic elites rapidly began to collaborate in the organization of a series of "Buddhist alliances" (*fohua lianhehui* 佛化聯合會) that grew progressively in scope from the provincial level to the regional and, eventually, the national. The alliances, all of which were founded and headquartered in Enlightenment Garden at the householders' Pure Karma Society, submitted official petitions and activated personal networks both to intervene in individual cases of temple seizure and to secure general state protection for Buddhism. Wang Yiting emerged as a key figure in these efforts. Of particular value was his personal relationship with Chiang Kaishek, which went back to 1911 when they had both fought in the Shanghai Revolutionary Army and together led a daring rescue of their captured commander, Chen Qimei.[9] In 1928 Wang was able to meet directly with Chiang and secure his support for the protection of Buddhist temples and clergy.[10] With the impassioned involvement of connected householders like Wang on the front lines, the Shanghai-based Buddhist lobby was able to block the proposals to nationalize temple property for education, win the repeal of the disenfranchising 1929 temple management regulations, and ultimately contribute to the Nationalist regime's reformulation of a more positive policy toward organized religion.

In their petitions to the various organs of the Nationalist regime, the Buddhist alliances took two general lines of reasoning in making their case for the state protection of Buddhism.

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[7] "Fojiao weichihui zhi Sun Zhongshan dian" 佛教維持會致孫中山電, *HCY* 4:5 (July 3, 1923) [*MFQ* 156:245].

[8] Cheng Dequan程德全 (*z*. Xuelou雪樓, 1860-1930) was originally from Sichuan province. He had failed the civil service examinations and instead built his career during the last decades of the Qing dynasty as a military officer in China's northeastern provinces before being assigned to the post of military governor of Jiangsu in 1910. He was briefly rewarded for his support of the 1911 revolution with an appointment as the minister of internal affairs for the new Republic in 1912, but when Yuan Shikai took power Cheng was sent back to govern Jiangsu. After the failure of the Second Revolution a year later, he retired to Shanghai where he invested in industry and took Buddhist precepts with the popular Chan master Yekai. Cheng soon put his political connections in service of the Buddhist cause by actively supporting the Chinese General Buddhist Association of the 1910s. In the 1920s his highly respected status within the Shanghai householder community was reflected by his appointment as honorary president of the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the use of his calligraphy to inscribe the cover of the Pure Karma Society's journal. See "Cheng Dequan shishi" 程德全逝世, *HCY* 11.5 (May 1930); *XFC* 2:1187-1188; *ZJD*, 1219.

[9] He Xinchang 賀鑫昌, "Haishang wenren: Wang Yiting" 海上文人:王一亭, *Dang'an yu lishi* 6 (1996), 59; *XFC* 1:154.

[10] "Jiang zongsiling dui Wang Yiting de tanhui" 蔣總司令對王一亭的談會, *HCY* 9.10 (11/1/1928).

The first line of reasoning argued that the seizure of Buddhist temples constituted an illegal violation of the freedom of religious belief (*xinjiao ziyou* 信教自由). Their petitions pointed out that this freedom was not only guaranteed by the draft constitution and party platform currently in effect under the Nationalists, but had been established by Sun Yat-sen himself in 1912 at the time when he became the first president of the Republic.[11] They argued that temples were the institutional core of Buddhism, like churches were for Christianity, and therefore their seizure amounted to a fundamental destruction of the religion itself.[12] Although this line of reasoning apparently aimed at advocating the autonomy of religious institutions from the state, such an interpretation must be tempered by consideration of the second line of reasoning advanced by the petitions. The alliances emphasized that Buddhism was an essential component of the culture and morality of the Chinese nation (*minzu* 民族).[13] Far from being an opiate of the people or a superstitious religion, Buddhism was "a pure culture of true equality" that taught the sacrifice of individual interests for the peace and happiness of others.[14] Now that the Nationalists were uniting the country, Buddhists should unite themselves as well in order to express their compassionate spirit of self-sacrifice by "assisting the work of the party-nation" to achieve revolutionary progress.[15] In describing the value of such assistance, the petitioners drew a close link between religion and government:

> The broad promotion of Buddhism can support the spirit of party governance. If the people can study Buddhism, [learning that] the karmic causes created by their actions have inevitable consequences, then their lack of loyalty and consideration for others will naturally and permanently be eliminated… Therefore, the more civilized the nation, the more developed its religion will be; and the more developed its religion, the more progressive its politics will be.[16]

After all, they pointed out, even Sun Yat-sen had stated in his Three Principles of the People—now the official ideology of the Nationalist party—that the study of Buddhism could supplement the shortcomings of science.[17] Through this second line of reasoning, the alliances essentially argued to a regime still struggling to establish itself that Buddhism was worth protecting because it would make itself useful in governance and nation-building. There was no need to nationalize temple property, they implied, because the Buddhists themselves were willing to put their resources in the service of the nation-state. We should therefore be wary of interpreting the Buddhist appeals to the freedom of religion as a case for religious autonomy. When viewed in conjunction with their second line of reasoning, such appeals appear to have been intended more to convince the party-state of its constitutional responsibility for protecting religious institutions. Far from defending lines of autonomy, the lobby invited (positive) state intervention and promised the loyalty and cooperation of the Buddhist community in exchange for retaining and managing its own resources.

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[11] This argument was repeated in almost every petition. See, for example, "Cheng Nanjing guomin zhengfu wen," *JK* 14 (June 1927) [MFQ 126:60].
[12] "Zhi Chao Jinqing shu," *JK* 26 (June 1928) [MFQ 127:143].
[13] "Cheng Jiangsusheng zhengwu weiyuanhui wen," *JK* 15 (July 1927) [MFQ 126:137].
[14] "Cheng donglujun zongzhihuibu wen," *JK* 15 (July 1927) [MFQ 126:142].
[15] "Cheng Nanjing guomin zhengfu wen," *JK* 14 (June 1927) [MFQ 126:59]; also see "Cheng Jiangsusheng zhengwu weiyuanhui wen," *JK* 15 (July 1927) [MFQ 126:138].
[16] "Cheng Jiangsusheng zhengwu weiyuanhui," *JK* 24 (April 1928) [MFQ 126: 502].
[17] "Cheng Nanjing guomin zhengfu wen," *JK* 14 (June 1927) [MFQ 126:59].

The culmination of this strategy and the triumph of the Buddhist lobby was the establishment of the Chinese Buddhist Association (CBA, *Zhongguo fojiaohui* 中國佛教會). The government's promulgation of the offensive temple management regulations in January 1929 prompted the Buddhist lobby leaders in Shanghai to call representatives from Buddhist organizations throughout the country to Enlightenment Garden on March 1 for a meeting at which it was decided to found a national Buddhist alliance.[18] An organizational embodiment of the lobby's general strategy, the CBA was envisioned with a dual function of representation and guidance. On the one hand, its elected leaders would represent the interests and grievances of their Buddhist constituencies to the Nationalist regime, particularly on the issue of temple property. On the other hand, it would guide conformity among the national Buddhist community to government policies and regulations under the supervision of the party-state. In general, this second function meant leading internal Buddhist reforms to eradicate superstition and other practices offensive to the state, as well as promoting programs that contributed to public welfare and nation-building. The new organization's petition for government approval proclaimed, "Our great mission is to lead the Sangha assembly of the entire nation in expelling falsehood and manifesting truth, smashing delusion and bringing awakening, and particularly in actively striving to carry out enterprises for the public good in society, such as disaster relief, medicine donation, education of average citizens, and so forth, as well as promoting agricultural and industrial enterprises."[19] After receiving approval from the Ministry of the Interior in June 1929, the CBA functioned as the official representative organization of the Chinese Buddhist community throughout the rest of the Nanjing decade. Although the CBA never fully lived up to the promises of its ambitious charter, its approval was a significant turning point in the governance of religion during the Nanjing decade.

As Rebecca Nedostup has shown, the process of approving the CBA established a model for legitimizing religious groups within the Nationalist vision of society that had not originally been present in the campaign to eradicate superstition.[20] This model fit into a general approach by the Nationalist regime to governing social groups during the Nanjing decade. In his study of Republican-era professional associations, Xiaoqun Xu has written that this approach followed "the GMD's vision of a corporatist party-state in which important social groups and sectors were organized into associations, only to be supervised and directed by the party. Conflicts in society and between society and the state would be mediated; societal initiatives would be channeled into serving the purpose of the party-state."[21] Within this corporatist approach, the approval of intermediary associations was intended not to grant legal autonomy to social groups, but rather to control and enlist them; they would extend the reach of the state into society. Religious associations were no exception. Rather than separating religious groups into their own legal

[18] Although the conventional date for the founding of the CBA is April 12, 1929, the official petition to the government for approval of the organization states that the meeting of national representatives, at which it was decided to found the CBA, was held on March 1. April 12 therefore appears to be the first official meeting of the established organization, at which officers were elected. See "Zhongguo fojiaohui daibiao dahui cheng zhongyang zhengfu qingqiu beian wen," *Zhongguo fojiaohui gongbao* 1 (July 1929) [MFQ 19:443]; "Si yue shier ri zhongguo fojiao daibiao huiyi," *Zhongguo fojiaohui gongbao* 1 (July 1929) [MFQ 19:487-488].

[19] "Zhongguo fojiaohui daibiao dahui cheng zhongyang zhengfu qingqiu beian wen," *Zhongguo fojiaohui gongbao* 1 (July 1929) [MFQ 19:443].

[20] Nedostup, "Religion," 109-140.

[21] Xu, *Chinese Professionals*, 100; on state corporatism also see Joseph Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Elites in Republican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 163.

category, the Nationalists required that they register using the regulations for cultural organizations. According to these regulations, which were promulgated by the party's central standing committee in January 1930, "The purpose of cultural organizations is to further the progress of society by advancing Chinese culture and propagating national spirit."[22] Religious groups were legitimate only to the extent that they assisted the regime in its goals for social progress. "[W]hat really interested the Nationalists most was service to the nation, either in the form of abstract values and ethics, or, conversely, in patriotic contributions and social service."[23] Such service to the nation is precisely what the Buddhist lobby had promised and what the CBA was designed to make good on. Now, with the 1930 regulations on cultural organizations, this was codified into a legal framework for defining legitimate religious groups and incorporating them into the Nationalist vision of society.

The legal framework for legitimizing religion under the Nationalists had important effects on the householder community in Shanghai. After their crucial role in the lobby effort, Shanghai householders held a special position in the CBA leadership. They not only housed the CBA's operational headquarters within Enlightenment Garden, but also occupied over 30% of the seats on its governing body, the executive council, which represented both monastics and householders from all across the country.[24] Every year until the coming of war in 1937, [hundreds] of Buddhist leaders flooded into Shanghai to be hosted by the householder community for the annual Meeting. Beyond the business accomplishments of the [week-long] meetings, they were also occasions that embodied the idea of a national Buddhist community and provided opportunities for building broad networks. Thus the founding and approval of the CBA transformed the organizational space of the Shanghai householder community into the very capital of Chinese Buddhism, elevated the community's leaders to the status of officially-recognized national representatives, and placed them at the center of nationwide networks. Through their privileged position in the CBA, the householder elite also became deeply invested in the Buddhist relationship with the state, and well-positioned to navigate that relationship successfully in managing their own householder institutions. They gained an accurate understanding of how to execute their mission to promote Buddhism in society as a form of service to the nation that would be acceptable to the shifting needs and demands of the party-state. Although it did bring certain limitations and burdens, the state's legal framework for legitimate religion generally opened up a space for the rapid expansion of the Shanghai householder community during the Nanjing decade and even encouraged the enhancement of its social influence through works for the public good.

The arrival of the Nationalist regime, with its demands for religion to serve the public good, spurred a decisive turn toward charity within the Shanghai householder community. Some of the householder elites were, in fact, already among the most reputable philanthropists in a city known for its charity. For example, the newly elected president of the World Buddhist Householder Grove, Wang Yiting, was the founder of one of Shanghai's major orphanages as well as numerous large-scale relief organizations, and a leader of the Chinese Red Cross. In 1927, his local and national philanthropic leadership was recognized through his election as chairman

[22] "Wenhua tuanti zuzhi yuanze," *LK* 30 (September 1931).
[23] Nedostup, "Religion," 162.
[24] The council of 36 total members had 18 monks and 18 householders. 11 of the householders were listed with addresses in Shanghai. "Zhongguo fojiaohui diyijie zhijian weiyuan mingxian dizhi liehou," *Zhongguo fojiahui gongbao* 1 (July 1929) [MFQ 19:493-496].

of the Shanghai Charities Federation (*Shanghai cishan tuanti lianhehui* 上海慈善團體聯合會), and appointment by Chiang Kaishek to head the Central Disaster Relief Preparation Fund Custodial Commission (*Zhongyang jiuzai zhunbeijin baoguan weiyuanhui* 中央救災準備金保管委員會).[25] The householder elites had even engaged in some charitable activities in a Buddhist capacity as well. Participation in the Buddhist relief efforts for the flooding of the northern provinces in 1917 and 1920 had been instrumental for the early formation of Buddhist householder networks in Shanghai. The original Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove founded by Wang Yuji in 1920 had established a Charitable Giving Corps. However, particularly after the split and reorganization of the Grove and the Pure Karma Society in 1922, the householders had focused resources primarily on building these associations into the basis for a stable religious community. The charitable activities that they engaged in did not become institutionalized, as at the SBHG, and accounted for only a minor component of their overall operations. During this period, householder elites primarily conducted their philanthropy through channels outside the Buddhist community. However, in 1927, having achieved a new plateau in the development of their associations and now faced with the need to adjust them to Nationalist rule, these philanthropic elites energetically began to steer the community towards Buddhist charitable enterprises for the public good.

II. INSTITUTIONALIZING CHARITY

At the Pure Karma Society it was not only the political pressure applied by the Nationalist government but also the devastation brought by its armies that led to the establishment of its Charity Department in March 1927. During the mid-1920s, although Shanghai was certainly not free from political upheaval, the city had largely been spared from the brutal fighting among China's warlords. But now, in early 1927, the Northern Expedition brought warfare to its doorstep. As Chiang Kai-shek's armies beat the warlord Sun Chuanfang back from Hangzhou and closed in on Shanghai in February, refugees fleeing the warzone streamed into the city. In the name of Buddhist compassion for the poor and suffering, the Pure Karma Society obtained permission from the abbot of Jing'an Temple to borrow space for a refugee shelter. Using their network of members they arranged for the Red Cross to evacuate women and children from Songjiang, a nearby town along the Nationalist approach to Shanghai, to their shelter at the temple. Within only a few days, 500 refugees arrived and the householders had to establish a second shelter to accommodate newcomers. They took pride in the "special characteristic" of these shelters, namely that, in addition to providing food and clothing, they also instructed their charges in morality and Buddhism. It was emphasized to the camp beneficiaries that they had been able to escape calamity with their lives due to their past accumulation of karmic merit. As fighting spread into Shanghai's Zhabei district, the Society formed a rescue team that drove vehicles into the battle near the North Railway Station to extract civilians amidst flying bullets.[26] Meanwhile, they collected 5,000 *yuan* for rice and hundreds of sets of clothing for distribution in the Chinese districts of the city, Zhabei and Nanshi, and sent additional funds to soup kitchens in nearby cities such as Nanjing and Suzhou.[27] These became the first actions of the Society's new

[25] *XFC*, 1:152-154; Kuiyi Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Networks of 1910s-1930s Shanghai," in Dillon and Oi, *At the Crossroads*, 52-55.
[26] Jiou 寄漚, "Jingyeshe shourongsuo jilue," *JK* 11 (March 1927).
[27] Xianwei 顯微, "Bushi jieyuan," *JK* 11 (March 1927).

Charity Department (*cishan bu* 慈善部), which organized such works as a year-round medical clinic, winter clothing and rice distribution, and soup kitchens. In addition, they pledged "whenever this Department encounters a flood, drought, war, fire, or other disaster, we must carry out emergency and regular relief work, and should also form rescue units and prepare shelters for women and children."[28] With the establishment of the Charity Department as a permanent institutional wing, the householder elites of the Pure Karma Society committed themselves to playing an active role, as Buddhists, in providing social welfare and relief to Shanghai's impoverished residents and refugees as the city suffered disaster after disaster over the ensuing Nanjing decade.

The charitable turn at the World Buddhist Householder Grove was more directly influenced by Nationalist policies on religion. The Grove was located within the northern district of Zhabei, rather than the International Settlement, and therefore fell within the jurisdiction of the Nationalist-administered Special Municipality of Shanghai. The new regime enforced adherence to its policies by mandating that all existing associations in the Municipality register with the local authorities. For the Grove, the frustrating registration process was drawn out over four years and three rounds of approvals due to reorganization in the municipal government and the slow development of a fixed national policy on religious organizations.[29] The political connections and philanthropic reputation of the newly elected Grove president, Wang Yiting, were undoubtedly critical to navigating this process. Finally, in May 1931 the Grove received an organization permit from the Shanghai branch of the Nationalist party and a registration license from the Shanghai Municipal Social Affairs Bureau in response to its application under the regulations for cultural organizations that had been promulgated the previous year by the party's Central Standing Committee in Nanjing.[30] Throughout the registration process, the Grove had restructured its organization and revised its charter in a demonstration of willingness to comply with official requirements and serve state interests. The new charter elevated "social enterprises" (*shehui shiye* 社會事業) alongside religious practice and propagation in its mission statement. This was mirrored by the establishment of a Charity Department with an array of discretely organized social welfare groups under its direction.[31] The charitable turn at the Grove and its counterparts in other cities were so thorough that the Party Central Training Bureau in Nanjing had to clear up confusion on the local level by issuing a decision that Buddhist householder groves should be treated as religious groups rather than charities.[32] After successful registration, the Grove was subject to ongoing supervision by the party branch and Social Affairs Bureau, which sent agents to its member meetings where they gave speeches exhorting the householders to practice Buddhism as a "positive" religion that benefitted the masses in accord with the Three Principles of the People.[33] The Grove was also required to regularly submit to the authorities certified financial reports and notifications of any changes in personnel and organization. Whereas charitable expenditures had not even appeared as a category on the Grove's pre-1927 financial reports, during the 1930s they now accounted for anywhere from 22% up to 76% of

[28] "Jueyuan fojiao jingyeshe cishanbu jianzhan," *JK* 11 (March 1927).
[29] "Dengji yu li'an," *BGS*, 29-30.
[30] "Benlin yaoshi ji," *LK* 30 (September 1931). This issue also displayed the permit and license, and circulated the new regulations and instructions on how to comply with them for reference by other householder associations.
[31] "Shijie fojiao jushilin zhangcheng (xin xiuzheng)," *LK* 27 (January 1931). The charter revision took place at an officer meeting on June 15, 1930; "Yinianlai linwu jinxing zhi gaikuang," *LK* 28 (March 1931).
[32] "Fojiao jushilin shuyu zongjiao tuanti zhi jieshi," *Weiyin* 25 (January 15, 1931).
[33] "Diwujie linyuan dahui ji," *LK* 37 (April 1934).

overall activity spending [see chart with charity spending, as percentage of overall spending, compared to religious practice spending].[34]

III. SOCIAL WELFARE IN ZHABEI

Many of the Grove's social enterprises for the public good were directed at the impoverished population of the Zhabei district in which their compound was located. Zhabei had developed in the early twentieth century as an industrial suburb housing many of Shanghai's factories and the Chinese workers that operated them, while their capitalist employers lived across Suzhou Creek in the comfort of the foreign settlements. Whereas the settlements had already installed modern amenities such as running water and electricity in the nineteenth century, Zhabei remained disproportionately underdeveloped even in the 1920s.[35] After 1927, the new municipal government established by the Nationalists sought to improve conditions in Zhabei—one of the two main Chinese districts under its authority—as part of the regime's plan to demonstrate to the world its ability to effectively govern a major port metropolis like Shanghai.[36] However, operating under financial constraints, the municipal administration relied heavily on the charities and other civic associations of Chinese elites to accomplish its goals, particularly in the realm of social welfare.[37] Such assistance was crucial in Zhabei, which bore the brunt of devastation in every military conflict—in 1927, 1932, and 1937—waged within the city during the Nanjing decade. Located next to a prime military target, the North Train Station, the Grove's charitable activities focused on the unfortunate inhabitants of its neighboring vicinity.

A chronic problem in Zhabei was the lack of hygienic conditions and the spread of illness among the under-clothed and malnourished population. The Grove erected a medical clinic (*shiyichu* 施醫處) just outside its main gate to offer treatment for the impoverished residents of the vicinity who could not afford the registration fees of a hospital.[38] Two or three doctors were on hand every day to see patients and distribute free medicine. The doctors were established practitioners from the city's hospitals and medical colleges with specialties in branches of either Western or Chinese medicine. Surprisingly, although many of the patients probably had limited experience and understanding of Western medicine, the clinic's records show that they clearly preferred it over the Chinese alternative.[39] For those who needed treatment in specialties not on hand at the clinic, the Grove arranged for a network of doctors at medical facilities around the city to see patients for free or at half price upon presentation of a letter of introduction from the Grove.[40] Although the regular doctors at the clinic received food and a small salary, they were also Buddhists who performed this service as an expression of compassion. Aside from a nominal registration fee charged only to patients who could afford it, the operating expenses of the clinic were entirely defrayed by the Grove itself through its regular membership revenue as

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[34] *BGS*, 90-93; *LK* 1,19,23,24,25,26,27,30,31,37-43; *BK* 49-69.
[35] Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 6; Marie-Claire Bergère, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity*, tr. Janet Lloyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 214.
[36] Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), xv.
[37] Christian Henriot, *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, Noel Catelino, tr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 219-220.
[38] Although the idea for the clinic appears to have gone back as far as 1925, it did not become well established until about 1927. *BGS*, 59; "Shijiefojiao jushilin shizhen tonggao" 世界佛教居士林通告, *LK* 15 (December 1926).
[39] This was consistently true across the years; see for example, "Benlin shiyi baogao" 本林施醫處報告, *LK* 29 (June 1931).
[40] "Benlin shiyichu qishi" 本林施醫處啟事, *LK* 23 (June 1929); *BGS*, 60.

well as special fundraising and donations from medicine manufacturers. The reputation and popularity of the clinic grew steadily among Zhabei residents. By 1935, around 8,000 patients were being registered every year at an expense to the Grove of about 1,300 *yuan*.[41] The Grove's householder elites, many of whom were capitalist employers, clearly recognized the class dimensions of the clinic's work. A fundraising advertisement in 1935 read:

> Northern Shanghai is a place where impoverished citizens are concentrated. At this time when market conditions are in such a slump, it is especially difficult for manual laborers to make a living. They lack clothing and food for everyday life, let alone anything else. Once illness invades their bodies, they have no way to pay for medical costs. Poverty and sickness exacerbate each other. The situation is truly pitiable. In order to give relief, the Grove has established a year-round clinic for distributing Western and Chinese treatment and medicine.[42]

This advertisement not only cast donation to the clinic as an act of compassionate benevolence from wealthy employers for the working classes, it also conveyed the significance of such relief for maintaining a healthy labor force in Zhabei and keeping workers at their jobs during a recession.

The Grove also became involved in education. Education was central to the Nationalist project of transforming the people into modern citizens, and immediately became a point of emphasis in the regime's demands on religious institutions. In Shanghai, the Municipal Education Bureau focused on expanding, modernizing, and unifying the elementary school system while leading mass education campaigns against adult illiteracy. As with other areas, financial constraints forced the municipal education officials to rely pragmatically upon privately run schools.[43] In early 1927, the Grove voluntarily opened two schools of its own. One was the World Buddhist Householder Grove Free Vernacular Night School (*Shijie fojiao jushilin yiwu tongsu yexiao* 世界佛教居士林義務通俗夜校), which was aimed at imparting basic, practical knowledge to impoverished members of the local male population who had entered the workforce without a proper elementary school education and were therefore illiterate. After submitting an application and a deposit of 1 *yuan*, such adult students could attend classes, free of tuition and all other expenses, in the evenings from seven to nine. In addition to teaching the *Average Citizen's Thousand-Character Textbook* (*Pingmin qianzi keben* 平民千字課本), the curriculum also included basic math, writing, and "common knowledge for citizens" (*gongmin changshi* 公民常識). Upon completion of two semesters and a final examination, students received a graduation certificate and recovered their deposit.[44] At the same time, the Grove also founded the World Buddhist Householder Grove First Free Elementary School (*Shijie fojiao jushilin diyi yiwu xiaoxue*世界佛教居士林第一義務小學). During its first year, the Elementary School taught Chinese literature, writing, math, social studies, singing, physical education and drawing to over 160 male and female students from the ages of 7 through 13 in all four grades of

[41] "Shiyichu gaikuang" 施醫處概況, *LK* 41 (April 1936) & *LK* 42 (October 1936).
[42] "Quanmu shiyiyao jingfei tonggao" 勸募施醫藥經費通告, *LK* 39 (January 1935).
[43] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 185-202.
[44] "Shijie fojiao jushilin yiwu tongsu yexiao jianzhang" 世界佛教居士林義務通俗夜校簡章, *LK* 17 (April 1927).

lower elementary school.[45] Two distinctive aspects of the curriculum were mandatory Buddhist lectures and worship on Sunday mornings, and English classes for third and fourth year students, which suggests that these impoverished students were being prepared for more than a life of manual labor.[46] Tuition, textbooks, and even uniforms and other expenses were all paid for by the Grove. During the summer following the conclusion of its first semester, the school invited students and parents to a celebration at the Grove compound [see image].[47] In his speech to this gathering of members of the local community, householder Li Jingwei explained the Grove's rationale for founding the school.

> A school is a worldly thing. Since our Grove proclaims the teaching of transcending the world, why would we run a school? I know that there will be people in general society who will harbor this kind of suspicion. But it is only because they do not know that… among the four great vows of the bodhisattva, the most important is the vow to save all sentient beings. Buddhism is a kind of positive ideology without match. It is everywhere bound up closely with worldly methods… Yet we have neglected the innocent children of the vicinity around our own Grove. How can this be! It is for this reason that the Grove has established the First Free Elementary School.[48]

As a service to the impoverished residents of Zhabei, the Elementary School therefore brought opportunities to enhance the public image in society of Buddhism, the Grove, and its leaders. Relations with the Nationalist regime also benefitted. Whereas many private schools in Shanghai hampered the goals of the Municipal Education Bureau by resisting registration, the Grove carefully set its school up in accord with official regulations and immediately began the registration process in 1927.[49] As the school's name signified, it was intended as only the first of its kind, to be followed by a middle school and a college that never materialized.

Within the municipal government, the task of tackling poverty fell to the Social Affairs Bureau. One of the bureau's most popular programs was the establishment of people's credit centers, which made small, short-terms loans to impoverished residents.[50] Despite its popularity the program appears to have faded after 1932, particularly in Zhabei where the government all but abandoned reconstruction efforts after the January 28th Incident. Much of Zhabei had been demolished in the Japanese attack that began on January 28, 1932, and the district's residents were still struggling to rebuild their lives two years later. In 1934, the Grove therefore decided to apply to the Social Affairs Bureau for permission to found its own People's Livelihood Credit Office (*pinmin shengji jiebenchu* 貧民生計借本處) to assist the many impoverished and unemployed residents in its neighborhood at the epicenter of the battle's impact.[51] The bureau

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[45] Within the education system used after 1922, students attended 4 years of lower elementary school and 2 years of higher elementary school; Council of International Affairs, *The Chinese Yearbook: 1937 Issue* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1937), 1055.

[46] "Shijie fojiao jushilin diyi yiwu xiaoxue chujibu jianzhang" 世界佛教居士林第一義務小學初級部簡章, *LK* 17 (April 1927).

[47] "Benlin diyi yiwu xiaoxue kenqinhui jishi" 本林第一義務小校懇親會紀事, *LK* 18 (June 1927).

[48] "Benlin banxue zhi yuanqi" 本林辦學之緣起, *LK* 18 (June 1927); also *JK* 11.

[49] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 192-195. For the effects of the registration process on the development of the school, see discussion below.

[50] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 225-227.

[51] The name of the office echoed the official Nationalist ideology, the Three People's Principles, one of which was "people's livelihood" (*minsheng* 民生).

quickly approved all aspects of the Grove's proposal, including a request for the Municipal Public Safety Bureau to provide police escorts to Grove agents investigating the living conditions of loan applicants.[52] With 8,000 *yuan* in initial capital donated by a wealthy Buddhist philanthropist from Hong Kong, the Grove's credit office opened on January 6, 1934. Although the loans available at the Grove were structured similarly to those previously offered at the centers run by the bureau, they gave better terms by waiving all interest and processing fees along with a more gradual repayment schedule.[53] The response from the community was immediate. Within the first three months of operation, the credit office had already loaned out 5,295 *yuan* to 384 people. The loan records indicate that most borrowers were small merchants and vendors from the vicinity who operated fruit stalls and newspaper stands, sold clothing and vegetables, worked as carpenters and tailors, pulled rickshaws, or sought practical training such as typing classes. Many were unemployed at the time of application.[54] The loan process forged relationships between these people and the Grove—and enhanced the householders' reputation for compassion—by requiring borrowers to obtain an introduction from a current Grove member and to visit the Grove compound to submit their applications. So many poor came streaming into the compound that Grove leaders decided to relocate the credit office to a building just outside the main gate in order to preserve the solemn religious atmosphere inside. Although the original plan was to recycle the loaned capital as a permanent resource for the community, the office was forced to close in November 1936, after nearly three years in operation, when the primary donor from Hong Kong decided to recover his money for other charitable works.[55]

Outside of the Pure Karma Society and the Grove, Shanghai's householder elites also carried out charitable enterprises in their capacity as leaders of the national and municipal Buddhist associations. As the designated conduit for government policy and supervision, the official Buddhist associations were under greater pressure from the regime to promote the use of temple resources for charity. Many monks were resistant to this state intervention in their affairs, so the householders often took it upon themselves to manage the charitable initiatives of the Buddhist associations. For example, in 1933 a Buddhist orphanage was opened in the name of the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Association (SBA *Shanghaishi fojiaohui* 上海市佛教會). The SBA had been founded at Enlightenment Garden in 1929 as one of the Chinese Buddhist Association's first municipal level branches. Its leadership united local temple abbots like Xingci and Dehao with householder elites such as Wang Yiting, Guan Jiongzhi, Wen Lanting, Huang Hanzhi, Di Chuqing, Shi Xingzhi, and others.[56] In December 1932 the Ministry of the Interior—responsible for governing religion—stepped up its pressure on the Buddhist community by issuing specific methods for temples to follow the regulations that had been set in 1929 mandating them to carry out "public interest and charitable enterprises" (*gongyi cishan shiye* 公益慈善事業).[57] Immediately that same month, the SBA held a meeting at which it was decided

[52] "Cheng shehuiju wen" 呈社會局文, *LK* 37 (April 1934); "Shanghai shehuiju pi fojiao jushilin" 上海市社會局批佛教居士林, *LK* 37 (April 1934).
[53] "Shijie fojiao jushilin chengli shengji jiebenchu" 世界居士林成立生計借本處, *BK* 71 (January 16, 1934).
[54] "Jiebenchu gaikuang" 借本處概況, *LK* 37 (April 1934). Additional reports confirming the same trends appear in each subsequent issue of *LK*.
[55] "Benlin jibenchu gaishu" 本林借本處概述, *LK* 43 (April 1937).
[56] "Shanghai tebieshi fojiaohui zhiyuanbiao" 上還特別市佛教會職員表, *Zhongguo fojiaohui gongbao* 2 (August 1929) [MFQ 19:580].
[57] "Neizhengbu niding simiao xingban gongyi cishan shiye shishi banfa" 內政部擬定寺廟興辦公益慈善事業實施辦法, *HCY* 13.12 (December 15, 1932).

to found an orphanage "with the aim of assisting society in the establishment of charitable enterprises."[58] The prime mover in this undertaking was householder Guan Jiongzhi, president of the Pure Karma Society and longtime board member of the Grove. The monk Kaisheng agreed to use a portion of his Baolian Temple on Gonghe New Road in western Zhabei to house the new orphanage. On February 6, 1933 the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Association Orphanage (*Shanghaishi fojiaohui ciyouyuan* 上海市佛教會慈幼院) opened with collective worship of the Buddha followed by speeches from the president, Guan Jiongzhi, and managers, the monk Yongchan and householders Li Jingwei and Zou Quexin.[59] The formal opening ceremony held in May was a more intentionally public affair attended by most monastic and lay leaders in the city along with 300 invited guests who were given a tour and received printed literature on the exploits of the orphanage.[60] The orphanage functioned much like a school. The 100 children living there received a general education, moral guidance deemed necessary for citizenship, and work training to prepare them for eventually establishing themselves in society. The orphanage was particularly proud of this last component of its curriculum, which displayed the Buddhist character of the enterprise. For example, students enrolled in shoe-making learned to produce "arhat shoes" (*luohanxie* 羅漢鞋); other students were sent to the Cunxin Studio to learn how to manufacture incense, with the plan to open an incense factory after graduation to service the Buddhist community. Students could also join a musical troupe that played at weddings and funerals, and sports teams that competed against other schools.[61] Beyond enriching the lives of the students, such activities helped to publicize the good work that the Buddhists were doing at their orphanage. At the next annual representative meeting of the SBA in December 1933, to which the Municipal Social Affairs Bureau and party branch sent agents to supervise, Guan Jiongzhi's report on the orphanage was highlighted and SBA president Dabei spoke on the need of Buddhists to support such charitable enterprises for the masses.[62] In 1935, during the regime's New Life Movement, the SBA showed its support for the government campaign by organizing its orphanage students into "child service teams" that cleaned up the surrounding neighborhood, and running a "mass literacy school" in the orphanage classrooms.[63]

IV. DISASTER RELIEF AND RELIGIOUS PROPAGATION

Although the majority of social welfare activities that comprised the householder community's charitable turn were focused on serving local society within the districts of Shanghai, some such activities reached far beyond the city's borders. During the Nanjing decade, the householder community played an expanding role in regional and national disaster relief efforts. In 1924, the World Buddhist Householder Grove had established a Broad Relief Corps (*Bojituan* 博濟團) that set an important precedent but had little actual impact at the time and faded soon after the

[58] "Fojiaohui chouban ciyouyuan" 佛教會籌辦慈幼院, *Weiyin* 46 (December 15, 1932).

[59] "Fojiao ciyouyuan kaixue" 佛教慈幼院開學, *BK* 49 (February 16, 1933).

[60] "Shanghaishi fojiaohui ciyouyuan kaimu" 上海市佛教會慈幼院開幕, *BK* 56 (June 1, 1933); "Shi fojiaohui ciyouyuan kaimu dianli" 市佛教會慈幼院開幕典禮, *HCY* 14.7 (July 15, 1933).

[61] "Shanghaishi fojiaohui ciyouyuan yuansheng zuoye jinkuang"上海市佛教會慈幼院院生作業近況, *Fojiao jushilin tekan* (November 15, 1934) [MFQ 65:129].

[62] "Shanghaishi fojiaohui kaihui jilue" 上海市佛教會開會紀略, *BK* 71 (January 16, 1934).

[63] "Ciyouyuan tongzi fuwutuan jinxun" 慈幼院童子服務團近訊*BK* 104 (June 1, 1935); "Shi fojiaohui ciyouyuan ban minzhong shizi xuexiao" 市佛教會慈幼院辦民衆識字學校, *BK* 105 (June 16 1935).

immediate disaster had ended.[64] It was not until reorganization under Nationalist rule in 1930, that the Corps was revived as the Disaster Relief Association (*Zhenzai xiehui*賑災協會) within the Grove's new Charity Department.[65] During precisely the same months that the Grove made its final registration application to the new regime, the Disaster Relief Association seized an opportunity to demonstrate the householders' determination to make a substantial contribution to social welfare at a time when the state was in great need of such assistance.

Abnormal amounts of rain began to swell the Yangtze basin at the beginning of 1931. As the relentless downpour reached a crescendo in late July and early August, hundreds of miles of dykes along the Yangtze River and the Grand Canal burst open, unleashing "the largest flood on human record" across Central China. The Nationalist government, international aid organizations, and Chinese charities throughout the country joined forces in repairing the dykes and bringing relief to the 25 million people affected in an area one and a half times the size of England that was submerged beneath the deluge.[66] Immediately in August, the Grove's Relief Association went into action raising donations for emergency aid to be sent to the most severely affected counties in northern Jiangsu province. Grove president Wang Yiting dispatched the head of the Charity Department, Zhu Shiseng, to survey the disaster conditions and distribute the funds, clothing, food and medicine collected by the Relief Association.[67] As Zhu travelled westward up the Yangtze river toward the epicenter of the flood, he sent back his photographs and reports on the material wreckage and human wretchedness along China's main artery to be published in Shanghai's Buddhist media as encouragement for donations. His descriptions of the suffering victims displayed a distinctly Buddhist perspective on the disaster. One family of five had chanted the *Diamond Sutra* as flood waters swept their neighbors away, leaving their home the only structure standing in that area of town. Another man who regularly ate vegetarian fare and chanted the Buddha's name was carried off by the flood in the middle of the night but then miraculously found and rescued by boat an hour later.[68] In these stories of karmic retribution, piety and morality determined who met with disaster and who was spared.

This Buddhist perspective in Zhu's reports resonated with the overall coverage of the flood in the Shanghai Buddhist media. As one editorial in a *Buddhist Learning Half-Monthly* special issue on the flood put it, "Anyone who has even a little knowledge of Buddhist scriptures knows that this great flood disaster has been brought on by the collective karma (*gongye* 共業) of sentient beings."[69] However, this was not simply a case of blaming the victims. Such media coverage was intended to inspire readers to contribute donations to the relief effort. Addressing itself to people of means within Shanghai society, the Buddhist media stressed that "to save others is to save oneself" (*jiuren jiushi jiuji* 救人就是救己). Although the current flood had not reached Shanghai, its residents too were ever amassing sinful karma through their unethical and

[64] The Broad Relief Corps had been founded under Grove president Shi Xingzhi to raise relief funds for flood victims in Hunan, Henan, Jiangxi, Fujian, and other provinces. However, the Corps only managed to raise the small sum of 203.60 *yuan*. "Benlin bojituan chengli jishi" 本林博濟團成立紀事, *LK* 7 (November, 1924).

[65] "Shijie fojiao jushilin zhangzheng (xin xiuzheng)" 世界佛教居士林章程 (新修正), *LK* 27 (January 1931).

[66] *The Work of the National Flood Relief Commission of the National Government of China, August 1931-June 1932* (Shanghai: 1932). Also see: *Report of the National Flood Relief Commission, 1931-1932* (Shanghai: 1933); Marcia R. Ristaino, *The Jacquinot Safe Zone: Wartime Refugees in Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 31-34.

[67] "Zhenzai xiehui" 賑災協會, *BGS*, 69-71; "Linwu" 林務, *LK* 31 (December 1931).

[68] Zhu Shiseng 朱石僧, "Shuizai biji" 水災筆記, *BK* flood disaster special issue (October 1, 1931).

[69] "Shang kaoshiyuan Dai yuanzhang shu" 上考試院戴院長書, *BK* flood disaster special issue (October 1, 1931).

extravagant lifestyles that would eventually bring retribution, if not visited upon them in this lifetime then upon their descendants after their own deaths. This store of sinful karma could only be wiped away by acting to save others now.[70] Moreover, to sit by idly like a "money-slave" (*kancainu* 看財奴) while one had the means to offer help was an unconscionable affront to Buddhist compassion, the height of unenlightened ignorance, and would only add to the heap of one's karmic demerits.[71]

The Grove's Relief Association was able to raise over 10,700 *yuan* from nearly 2,000 donors, along with 3,000 sets of cotton clothing, 13 bags of "pot-sticking rice,"[72] and 10,000 bottles of cholera medicine for the flood victims in central China.[73] Although it was on an entirely different order than the millions raised at the National Flood Relief Commission set up by the Nationalist government, this was not an insignificant contribution. A clear sign of the householders' determination to do their part in the name of Buddhism, relief contributions accounted for 58% of the Grove's overall expenditures in August 1931 and 67% in September.[74] In both the affected areas and within Shanghai, where shelters were set up for over 30,000 flood refugees, the Grove worked together with other relief groups such as the Jiangsu Flood Relief Association, the China Life Saving Association, the Office for Sheltering Disaster Victims, and the Shanghai branch of the Red Swastika Society.[75] During the 1931 central China flood, the householder community therefore began to establish itself within China's national disaster relief network and the philanthropic circles in which its leaders were already quite prominent.

Among these circles, however, their Buddhist ideology distinguished both the householder's approach to disaster relief and their methods for implementing it. In September 1931, the Grove obtained approval from the municipal government to send its Buddhist Preaching Corps into Shanghai's emergency relief shelters to propagate the faith among flood refugees.[76] On his odyssey through the affected areas in Central China, Zhu Shiseng distributed not only food and medicine, but also 5,000 rosaries and Buddha images.[77] Upon his return, Zhu published an open letter to the beneficiaries of the Grove's relief efforts reminding them that they had amassed a karmic debt as surely as if they had borrowed money. To repay that debt, they should repent their past sins and recite the name of the Buddha every morning and evening. This would bring them better days and even rebirth in the Western Paradise; and it would presumably improve the overall balance of collective karma that was calling so many devastating disasters down on the Chinese nation.[78] The Grove claimed that countless people had been converted due to Zhu's efforts during the disaster.

A Buddhist activist rationale for this integration of disaster relief and religious propagation had, in fact, already been articulated by the earlier, ineffective Broad Relief Corps of

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[70] "Zhuwei xiaode shuizai ma?" 諸位曉得水災麼? *BK* 21 (August 16, 1931).

[71] Zhu Shiseng朱石僧, "Jingquan fuyoulizhe faxin jiuzai" 敬勸富有力者發心救災, *BK* 31 (January 16, 1932).

[72] "Pot-sticking rice" (*guobafan* 鍋巴飯) was the cooked rice left over in the pot after a meal, which was useful in the disaster areas where kitchens and cooking equipment had been destroyed by the flooding and water was contaminated. The Grove mobilized its members to save their left-over rice after every meal to donate it. "Zhenzai xiehui" 賑災協會, *BGS*, 69-71.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Shijie fojiao jushilin shouzhi baogao" 世界佛教居士林收支報告, *LK* 31 (December 1931).

[75] "Zhenzai xiehui" 賑災協會, *BGS*, 69-71.

[76] "Linwu" 林務, *LK* 31 (December 1931).

[77] "Zhenzai xiehui" 賑災協會, *BGS*, 69-71.

[78] Zhu Shiseng 朱石僧, "Jingquan shouzai tongbao" 敬勸受災同胞, *BK* 29 (December 16, 1931).

1924. "The Buddha-dharma has been in decline for a long time now. This is because [Buddhists] have either only worked at self-practice and not known how to benefit others, or only known how to save departed souls and not how to save living humans. These types of instances are too numerous to recount. Backing ourselves entirely into a remote corner, it is difficult to propagate Buddhism… [However, by] embedding Dharma-giving (*fashi* 法施) within wealth-giving (*caishi* 財施), we can transform common unenlightened minds into sage minds."[79] Zhu Shiseng was implementing this formula when he distributed Buddhist rosaries and images (the Dharma) with one hand, even as he dispensed relief supplies (wealth) with the other. Thus, from an ideological perspective, wealth-giving was necessary for the immediate relief of suffering, but only Dharma-giving could fundamentally address the true karmic roots of the disaster. From an activist perspective, the desperation and gratitude of disaster victims made for a large and receptive audience for conversion among which the expansive promotion of Buddhism in society could be advanced.

V. ASSISTING THE SECULAR PARTY-STATE

The integration of religious propagation and social welfare exemplified by Buddhist disaster relief in fact underlay many of the householder community's charitable enterprises, and at times brought them into conflict with the secular party-state. This was the case with the World Buddhist Householder Grove First Free Elementary School (see above). At the time of its opening in 1927, the mission of the school was set using a doctrinal framework as: "to realize the transcendent and this-worldly Dharma by spreading education."[80] A ready sign of the school's religious character was mandatory student attendance of Buddhist lectures and worship every Sunday morning, when householders preached on basic doctrine to "open the young students to proper views and plant in them roots of goodness."[81] Although the school followed a standard curriculum of literature, math, social studies, and so forth, religious influence was still apparent in such ways as using Buddhist scriptural phrases to practice calligraphy. In fact, the overall pedagogy of the school was conceived of as a "Buddhist education" that not only imparted literacy but also cultivated moral character based on a firm grasp of karmic retribution.[82] The teachers responsible for this molding of young, underprivileged minds were exhorted by the householders on the school's board of directors to "embody the Buddha's mind of universal salvation" in approaching their work.[83] Principal Liu Chuanhou and some of the instructors were hired with experience teaching elementary school education, but just as many were simply householders already serving as Grove officers like Yu Hele, the manager of the organization's library.[84] As school officials declared to a gathering of parents during the first year of operation, their aim was for "the students all to become disciples of the Buddha and bridges for saving the

[79] "Zhenzai xiehui" 賑災協會, *BGS*, 69-71.
[80] "Shijie fojiao jushilin diyi yiwu xiaoxue chujibu jianzhang" 世界佛教居士林第一義務小學初級部簡章, *LK* 17 (April 1927).
[81] "Qixi jushi zhi zhien baoen tan" 契西居士之知恩報恩談, *LK* 17 (April 1927).
[82] "Yuanjing jushi lun benlin yixiao jiaoyu yaodianshu" 圓淨居士論本林義校教育要點書, *LK* 17 (April 1927).
[83] Cheng Xiaopeng 程筱鵬, "Shijie fojiao jushilin yiwu xiaoxue kenqinhui zhuci" 世界佛教居士林義務小學懇親會祝詞, *JK* 17 (1927).
[84] *SMA*, Q235-1-1046.

world."[85] The parents themselves became objects of propagation at such events as well as through the urging of their children, who were taught that encouraging Buddhist worship was a primary duty of filial devotion.[86] Thus the school was, at least in part, a seemingly effective way to bring the neighboring community more fully into the orbit of the Grove's religious affairs and propagation. Above all, this function was symbolized and facilitated by the fact that the school's classrooms and other facilities were established on the second floor of the Grove's own compound, and the Grove courtyard even functioned as its athletic field. In the words of board member Li Jingwei, the school was a "place of teaching" (*jiaochang* 教場) enwrapped within a "place of the Way" (*daochang* 道場).[87] The students attended their classes amidst the smell of incense and the ringing of bells generated by the Grove's lively daily schedule of religious activities. At the outset, then, the World Buddhist Householder Grove First Free Elementary School was fully integrated both ideologically and institutionally with the Gove's religious mission of Buddhist activism.

However, the strong Buddhist character of the school soon came into conflict with the Nationalist regime's efforts to control and standardize private schools in Shanghai. In the hands of local party cadres, the municipal government's Education Bureau pursued a policy of "partification" (*danghua* 黨化) that not only required compliance with national regulations but also demanded that schools indoctrinate their students with party ideology (*dangyi* 黨義).[88] Whereas most private schools were able to resist this unwanted interference by simply refusing to register with the Bureau, the Grove began registration immediately in 1927 and determinedly saw it through over a five year process that brought about a fundamental transformation of its educational enterprise. The school's board of directors—composed of leading Grove householders such as Wang Yiting, Li Jingwei, and Zeng Yousheng—petitioned the Bureau for recognition in November 1927, and followed up in 1928 by submitting all required forms and documentation for the school's official registration. Despite the alacrity with which the householders sought state approval, the Bureau was evidently uncomfortable with the school's religious character. The reply that it sent back in February 1929 demanded immediate reforms of both facilities and pedagogy. The school's new principal, Hu Huisheng, conceded that the cramped quarters within the Grove compound were less than ideal and that the influence of its parent organization had introduced an element of "superstition" into the school's teaching methods. Under principal Hu's direction, and with the backing of the board, the school docilely complied with the Bureau's demands. The Grove recovered a rented building adjacent to its compound and relocated the school into this larger, separate location. As for pedagogy, in Hu's own words, the school "washed out the religious coloring [and replaced it with] party ideology education."[89] However, when the school resubmitted its application the reply once again came back mandating further reform. This time the issue was the school's name. The Bureau explained that using "World Buddhist Householder Grove" in the name was an advertisement for a religious organization and therefore constituted a violation of the national regulations for private

[85] Cheng Xiaopeng 程筱鵬, "Shijie fojiao jushilin yiwu xiaoxue kenqinhui zhuci" 世界佛教居士林義務小學懇親會祝詞, *JK* 17 (1927).
[86] "Qixi jushi zhi zhien baoen tan" 契西居士之知恩報恩談, *LK* 17 (April 1927).
[87] Cheng Xiaopeng 程筱鵬, 世界佛教居士林義務小學懇親會祝詞, *JK* 17 (1927).
[88] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 185-195.
[89] *SMA*, Q235-1-1046.

schools, which prohibited them from engaging in religious propagation of any kind.[90] Once again, the directors and teachers complied with the demand by deciding to rename the school "Benevolence Elementary School" (*Renhui xiaoxue* 仁惠小學), which evoked the neo-traditional values espoused by the Nationalist regime and was intentionally chosen "to make the numerous students aware of the spirit of great universal love of Sun Yat-sen."[91] Meanwhile the school's charter was also thoroughly revised with a new mission statement that reflected its secularized and partified institutional transformation: "In accordance with partified education (*danghua jiaoyu* 黨化教育), [our mission is] to develop children's bodies and minds, by cultivating moral citizenship and imparting practical knowledge and abilities, so that they may serve society and properly progress through their education."[92] The mandatory Sunday Buddhist lectures and worship were struck from the curriculum and replaced with party ideology classes held every Monday.[93] As required by regulation, one of the school's younger instructors, Pan Renwei, was sent for training to be officially certified by the Bureau as a party ideology teacher.[94] In 1931, the school's third principal, the famous householder Fan Gunong, once again resubmitted an application for registration and finally received approval in April 1932.[95] This hard-won result, pursued over five long years of courting the Education Bureau's approval, set the Grove's Benevolence Elementary School apart from the 352 unregistered private elementary schools that continued to operate in Shanghai in 1932 and undermine the Bureau's reorganization policies.[96]

Despite the ideological and institutional separation from its parent organization, forced upon it by the secularizing demands of partified education, the school continued to grow and even thrive during the remaining years of the Nanjing decade. Back in 1928, due to financial strains the school had shifted from being an entirely free institution to charging a low tuition to all but a handful of its most impoverished students.[97] From this time on, with the income from tuition supplemented by funds from the Grove and the school's wealthy board of directors, the financial capacity of the school increased at pace with the steady growth of the student body.[98] Whereas in Spring 1928 the school spent 785.45 *yuan* to educate 143 students, in Fall 1935 it spent 2,232.14 *yuan* for 334 students.[99] This growth was accommodated by the 1929 move out of the Grove compound's second floor into a separate three-story building, which increased the number of classrooms from two to five and provided dorm rooms and offices for an eight-person

[90] The *Sili xuexiao guicheng* 私立學校規程 promulgated by the Ministry of Education stipulated that religious classes must not be mandatory and that religion could not be propagated in the classroom, but was silent on the name issue. The Shanghai Municipal Education Bureau therefore sent a request for a policy ruling to the Ministry using the World Buddhist Householder Grove First Elementary School as a primary example. The Bureau's missive to the Grove was therefore a forwarded order from the Ministry itself. Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] "Shijie fojiao jushilin renhui xiaoxuexiao jianze" 世界佛教居士林仁惠小學校簡則, *LK* 26 (August 1930).

[93] *SMA*, Q235-1-1046.

[94] "Benlin renhui xiaoxuediao" 本林仁惠小學校, *BGS*, 51.

[95] Ibid., 47.

[96] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 194.

[97] "Benlin renhui xiaoxuediao" 本林仁惠小學校, *BGS*, 47.

[98] The school also received some support from the Education Bureau. "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 37 (April 1, 1934).

[99] *LK* 20 (August 1928); *LK* 42 (October 1936); "Benlin renhui xiaoxuediao" 本林仁惠小學校, *BGS*, 50. The steady growth of the student body was temporarily interrupted in the spring semester of 1932 by the Japanese attack on Shanghai. Although the school was coeducational, the vast majority of students were boys. Nearly all of them had their ancestral homes in Jiangsu (including Shanghai) or Zhejiang. *SMA*, Q235-1-1046.

teaching staff.[100] Student extracurricular activities expanded as well to include field trips, ping pong tournaments, extramural calligraphy competitions, and so forth. Even after the school's partification, Buddhist influence remained a component of the school's identity: moral cultivation continued to be central to pedagogy; the school's board members and other householders from the Grove continued to give occasional lectures on Buddhist topics such as protecting animals; one of the field trips was to another householder grove in the nearby suburb of Wusong, and in his speech to the graduating class of 1935, board member Li Jingwei declared one meaning of "Benevolence" in the school's name to be the Buddhist spirit of compassionate self-sacrifice.[101]

However, these hints of the school's Buddhist heritage were muted and overshadowed by the overt politicization of school affairs after 1932. In January of that year, the school's certified party ideology instructor, Pan Renwei, replaced the old householder Fan Gunong as school principal. Pan and his teaching staff led the school in frequent commemorations of national events pregnant with political meaning such as the Opium War, Japan's infamous Twenty-One Demands, the May Fourth Movement, as well as numerous milestones in the life of Sun Yat-sen.[102] They also regularly gave special lectures on current national events, such as Japan's incursions into north China, aimed at further cultivating national consciousness and patriotic sentiment among the student body. [103]According to the articles that the Grove's periodical published about the school, the students responded favorably to such political guidance and even formed a National Salvation Savings Society (*Jiuguo chujinhui*救國儲金會) in 1933 to contribute their own pennies to help the government buy airplanes and other military weapons with which to fight the Japanese invaders.[104] To instill habits of civic duty and participation, the students were further organized into a self-government association that formed a mock municipal administration complete with its own bureaus of public safety, education, and so forth.[105] Such politicized activities of citizenship training were further intensified once the New Life Movement began in 1934. Pan's lectures now often took as their subject the meaning and implementation of this state-led mass movement.[106] The school hymn was replaced by New Life Movement songs in school ceremonies. The students were instructed to study weekly citizen training topics such as not wasting school supplies, politely addressing elders as "sir," and contributing to the "public interest." The school participated in city-wide campaigns such as promoting national products against foreign imports, and students were organized into a branch of the national China Children's Army (*Zhongguo tongzi jun*中國童子軍) that was highly active in neighborhood

[100] Ibid.; "Benlin renhui xiaoxuexiao" 本林仁惠小學校, *BGS*, 47.
[101] "Yinianlai linwu jinxing zhi gaikuang" 一年來林務進行之概況, *LK* 28 (March 1931); "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 37 (April 1, 1934); "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 38 (July 1, 1934); "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 39 (January, 1935).
[102] See, for example, "Benlin renhui xiaoxue chunji kaixue hou xiaowu jiyao" 本林仁惠小學春季開學後校務紀要, *BK* 51 (March 16, 1933).
[103] Ibid.
[104] "Renhui xiaoxuesheng aiguore" 仁惠小學生愛國熱, *BK* 48 (February 1, 1933); "Benlin renhui xiaoxue faqi changqi jiuguo chujinhui" 本林仁惠小學發起長期救國儲金會, *BK* 53 (April 16, 1933).
[105] "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 37 (April 1, 1934).
[106] "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 38 (July 1, 1934).

cleanups and other campaigns.[107] Meanwhile, all such activities were carried out under the direction and support of the leading householders who continued as the school's board of directors and remained closely involved in its affairs. Therefore, in the years after successful registration in 1932, although Benevolence Elementary School was no longer much of a vehicle for Buddhist propagation, it had become a particularly effective way for the householder community to establish its political legitimacy by quite visibly serving the interests of the Nationalist party-state as it sought to refashion society into a loyal and patriotic citizenry.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Shanghai Buddhist householder community's charitable turn during the Nanjing decade was closely linked to the governance of religion by the Nationalist regime. The array of charitable enterprises that the community began to set up in 1937 was designed to be responsive to the needs and policies of the regime as it sought to effectively govern China's most complex municipality. For example, the credit office, medical clinic and schools that the householders set up in the impoverished industrial district of Zhabei assisted the municipal administration in implementing policy goals beyond its limited means. Such enterprises therefore first of all served to improve the householder community's relations with the party-state in the wake of the anti-superstition campaign of the decade's opening years. However, Buddhist social welfare also served the community in a number of other ways as well. It countered the negative public perception of the Buddhist religion as escapist and socially irrelevant by presenting a more favorable image of active social engagement comparable to the Christian social gospel but without its ties to foreign imperialism. Through its charitable enterprises the community also developed a distinctly Buddhist rationale and approach to social welfare that claimed Buddhist faith and practice as the only fundamental remedy for the social problems ailing the city and the nation. This Buddhist approach, most clearly exemplified by the flood relief efforts of 1931, turned charitable enterprises into vehicles for religious propagation that could greatly advance the householder's mission to broadly spread their religion.

For the elites themselves, the integration of religion into their philanthropic portfolios served to enhance their moral authority. Philanthropy in general helped to justify the social and economic leadership of Shanghai's urban elites, but activist religious leadership added the depth of faith-based motivation to their public moral actions. The primary stated motivation for Buddhist social welfare was a bodhisattva's compassionate aspiration to save all sentient beings from suffering. Conversely, philanthropy displayed their religious identity as householder bodhisattvas beyond the worship hall in the more visible public social arena where it could have an enhanced effect on their reputations and social personas. Unemployed street vendors, sick factory workers, impoverished parents and children, illiterate adults, and disaster victims were all witnesses to the pious compassion of the householder elite under the gaze of the Shanghai media. Buddhist social welfare therefore became a potent source of moral authority and prestige for Shanghai's householder elites during the Nanjing decade.

And yet, as the case of Benevolence Elementary School demonstrates, this moral authority derived from the charitable turn did not constitute an independent base of political autonomy. To be sure, the participation of urban elites in philanthropy brought a measure of civic power by making them indispensible to state governance of society, but they willingly

[107] "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 41 (April 1936); "Benlin renhui xiaoxue xiaowu jilu" 本林仁惠小學校務紀錄, *LK* 43 (April 1937).

chose to work within the power structure erected by the Nationalists even when they had the ability not to do so. As in the school's registration process, when the party-state demanded it, the householders allowed courtship of official support to trump the other functions of their Buddhist social welfare, such as religious propagation. Thus, the overriding purpose of the charitable turn was not political autonomy from the state but rather political legitimacy granted by it. The householder community was content to carry out its mission of Buddhist activism within the proscribed bounds of the ample political space bought by its loyal contributions in social welfare.

CHAPTER THREE:
COMMERCIALIZED PROPAGATION

One of the most important achievements of the Shanghai householder community during the Nanjing decade was the establishment of Buddhist Books (*Foxue shuju* 佛學書局). By adapting successful commercial business practices from Shanghai's booming publishing industry, Buddhist Books rapidly emerged as the largest Buddhist publisher in China. With industrial production capacity and a dense distribution network throughout the country, Buddhist Books did more than any other institution to integrate a meaningful national Buddhist community with Shanghai at its center.

The editing, printing and distribution of texts had been an engine for the Buddhist revival ever since Yang Wenhui had set a famous example with his Jinling Scriptural Press in Nanjing during the final decades of the Qing dynasty. Yang's death in 1911 was followed during the 1910s by a proliferation of new scriptural presses as well as the emergence of Buddhist periodicals and the production of popular texts written in the vernacular for a mass audience. In the 1920s, these publishing activities were taken up by the budding Buddhist associations that began to organize local Buddhist communities in urban centers like Shanghai. By 1927 the publishing office of the World Buddhist Householder Grove had independently published and printed a popular Buddhist periodical and a catalogue of a few dozen titles. By using their newspaper press to print these books, the Grove produced them more quickly, cheaply and in greater volume than the scriptural presses could with their traditional woodblock printing. The popularity of some of their texts, such as the *Morning and Evening Chant Book* (*Chaomu kesong* 朝暮課誦), demonstrated to the Grove publishing staff the potential of this technique for reaching a mass readership. However, to have just this one book circulated on a national scale, they had had to dedicate considerable time and resources to negotiating with numerous distribution outlets. This experience led to the realization that their operations were severely limited by the small amount of capital allotted to a single wing of a local religious association. As a solution, in 1929 Li Jingwei, a standing committee member of the Grove and the current manager of its publishing office, together with president Wang Yiting and other leaders of the Grove, made the innovative decision to set up a separate Buddhist publishing enterprise using the business model of Shanghai's largest commercial publishing firms.[1]

In his study of the modern Chinese publishing industry, Christopher Reed has shown how the introduction of industrial mechanized printing technology led to the emergence of Chinese print capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As the primary site where this technology was concentrated, Shanghai became "unquestionably the single most important center of Chinese publishing."[2] The three largest publishing companies in Republican China—the Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books, and World Books—were all headquartered in Shanghai, where they lined up with numerous smaller competitors in the burgeoning bookseller's district, known as "the culture and education streets" (*wenhua jie*), clustered around Fuzhou Road in the International Settlement. Although vicious rivals, these three mammoth booksellers all shared the same business model, originally pioneered by the Commercial Press during the first two decades of the twentieth century. They were among the earliest and most successful Chinese

[1] *BGS*, 57.
[2] Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 10.

firms to organize themselves as joint-stock limited liability corporations (*gufen youxian gongsi* 股份有限公司). This organizational model was seen as superior to sole proprietorships and partnerships, which were limited to the capital, management, and expertise of one or a few individuals. The corporate model brought both greater access to capital through the public issuing of stock, as well as the long-term stability of flexible management through the limited liability of shareholders.[3] Under this corporate model, commercial publishers rationally integrated the previously separate operations of editing, printing, and marketing within one organization with a unified business strategy. The success of this model was evident in the fact that by 1937 Shanghai's big three publishing corporations, all joint-stock limited liability corporations, alone accounted for between 61% and 71% of all books produced in China.[4]

Already having experimented with mechanized printing, in June 1929 the leaders of the Grove announced the issuing of 10,000 *yuan* in stock to raise capital for the establishment of Shanghai Buddhist Books Joint-Stock Limited Liability Corporation (*Shanghai foxue shuju gufen youxian gongsi* 上海佛學書局有限公司). Buddhist Books represented the first attempt to harness the strengths of this corporate business model for the propagation of Buddhism. The founders optimistically declared that their new enterprise would transcend the limitations of the scriptural presses and distribution offices that had proliferated in recent years. They pointed out that such existing institutions were inherently ephemeral and localized because they relied on donations and often even refused to take money for their products; they were actually closer to charities than true publishing enterprises. What these institutions lacked in operations scale, overarching organization, planning precision, and lines of communication, could be found in the corporate model. To the minds of the founders, it was particularly the superior access to capital that would endow Buddhist Books with the long-term stability and expansive reach to effectively promote Buddhism to a mass readership throughout the nation. Like the large commercial publishers, Buddhist Books would combine editing, distribution, printing and commissioned printing as four departments within a single organization. And they would charge a price for their commodities.[5]

Yet the founders also assured their Buddhist circles of potential investors that they were not simply out for profit. Just as its commercial methods distinguished Buddhist Books from other Buddhist institutions, its religious mission set it apart from other corporate book sellers. Reed writes of the founder of World Books, "No other prominent book merchant epitomizes the plenitude, crass materialism, and combative opportunism that came to be so thoroughly identified with Republican Fuzhou Road's brand of book culture."[6] From the religious perspective of the Buddhist householders, such a profit-oriented business culture appeared as a symptom of the very decline in social morality that they defined themselves against and sought to combat with their promotion of Buddhism. "The purpose of [Buddhist Books] in editing and printing Buddhist texts is to propagate the Dharma and guide the people, not to seek profit."[7] For all their praise of the corporate model, the leaders of Buddhist Books rhetorically sought to relegate it to a mere instrument. Whereas other publishing corporations "purely take business as their purpose," Buddhist Books "takes propagating the Dharma as its purpose and business as its

[3] Ibid., 185-186.
[4] Ibid., 207.
[5] "Foxue shuju youxian gongsi zhaogu zhangcheng fu yuanqi," *LK* 23 (June 1929); "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).
[6] Reed, *Gutenberg*, 208.
[7] "Shanghai foxue shuju youdai banyuekan dinghu banfa," *BK 6* (January 1, 1931).

method."[8] This formulation created a fundamental contradiction at the heart of the new institution. The householders had set themselves the task of running a profit-oriented business model with a profit-abnegating religious motivation and rhetoric. Would investors purchase shares in an enterprise that did not aim to turn a profit? Did such "investment" not really just amount to donations that undermined the very strengths of the corporate model? Despite such potential pitfalls, during the period from 1929 to 1937 Buddhist Books was able to transform the apparent contradiction between commerce and religion into a creative tension that spurred innovation and brought remarkable levels of success.

In order to successfully adapt the corporate publishing model to the promotion of Buddhism, Buddhist Books required management and personnel that straddled the commercial and religious realms. When the shareholders met for the first time on November 11, 1929 at the Grove to officially establish the corporation, they elected a seven-member board of directors.[9] The composition of the board remained essentially stable for the next six years despite the fact that new elections were held at annual meetings where the directors were required to answer to their fellow shareholders. All of these directors—Wang Yiting, Ding Fubao, Di Chuqing, Zhang Nieyun, Zhu Shiseng, Li Jingwei, and Zhu Guangcheng—were among Shanghai's leading Buddhist householders and brought different strengths to the management of Buddhist Books. Wang Yiting and Zhu Guangcheng were both prominent businessmen who brought the commercial expertise of having sat on the boards of numerous business organizations and enterprises, including joint-stock limited liability corporations.[10] Wang and Zhang Nieyun were the current president and vice-president of the Grove. Zhu Shiseng and Li Jingwei were seasoned Buddhist organizers who, while lacking the broad social notoriety of a figure like Wang Yiting, had managed the daily operations of the Grove since its founding in1922. As noted above, it was during Li's tenure as manager of the Grove's publishing office that Buddhist Books was first conceived. The presence on the board of four top Grove officers highlights the close institutional connection of Buddhist Books with Shanghai's premiere householder association. The final two directors, Di Chuqing and Ding Fubao, were the most experienced Buddhist publishers in the country.[11] Both of these venerable householders had run publishing houses in Shanghai that, while not exclusively Buddhist, represented the two most important experiments in modern Buddhist publishing prior to Buddhist Books. Their presence on the board, which brought vital expertise, reflected the corporation's collaborative rather than competitive approach to relations with existing Buddhist publishers.

With their combined experience and networks, the directors were able to hire talented personnel to manage their corporation. Of crucial importance was the selection of Shen Binhan as general manager.[12] Li Jingwei gave the rationale for this decision in a report to the shareholders: "Mr. Shen comes from a Buddhist family and he is also an old hand in the book industry. He has abundant experience and is deeply reliable."[13] In fact, Shen, had built his career as a manager at Zhonghua Books, the second of the three largest publishing corporations after

[8] "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).
[9] "Foxue shuju juxing chuanglihui" 佛學書局舉行創立會, *SB* (November 12, 1929).
[10] In fact, Wang had served as chairman of the board for a joint-stock limited liability corporation founded by Zhu in 1919, the Shanghai Flour Exchange 上海麵粉交易所. Chen Weiguo 陳偉國, ed. *Xizhen Shanghai gupiao jiancanglu* 稀真上海股票鑑藏錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai yuandong chubanshe, 2007), p. 31
[11] Ding Fubao was the first manager of the editorial/publishing office at the Grove.
[12] Shen Binhan was a native of Wu County in southern Jiangsu Province; *SMA*, Q6-1-2207.
[13] Li Jingwei 李經緯, "Foxue shuju diliujie baogaoshu bianyan," *BK* 108 (August 1, 1935).

which Buddhist Books was modeled.[14] While it was undoubtedly Shen's career with Zhonghua that gave him the requisite "experience," his Buddhist affiliation was most likely what made him "reliable" in the eyes of the board. Of nearly equal importance was the hiring of Fan Gunong as general editor. An intellectual and educator from nearby Zhejiang Province, since the 1910s Fan had built a wide reputation for himself as a popular preacher with a deep and accurate knowledge of the Buddhist canon.[15] He had become editor of the Grove's magazine in 1928. His selection reflected the wishes of the board for the editorial direction of Buddhist Books to have a dynamic appeal among a mass readership.

The directors and personnel of Buddhist Books therefore brought together expertise, connections and talent in a variety of different areas that could contribute to the development of the company. However, they were also linked together by the fact that they were all Buddhist householders. Their numbers included neither purely religious professionals (i.e. monks) nor purely secular professionals. Householders brought not only the requisite commercial experience typically lacking in former, but also the shared commitment to a religious mission lacking in the latter. It was hoped that such a team of householders would have the ability to both run the business without betraying its religious purpose, and pursue religious propagation without undermining the advantages of commercial enterprise.

Fundraising was one area in which Buddhist Books was able to derive advantages from its combination of commercial methods and religious motivation. The founders began in 1929 by raising 10,000 *yuan* from the sale of 1,000 shares of stock, half of which they purchased themselves and half they sold publicly. This initial offering sold out so quickly that it was decided at the founding meeting later that same year to immediately issue another 10,000 *yuan* worth of shares.[16] The board of directors attracted investors, particularly from among the householders within Shanghai's business community, by presenting Buddhist Books as both a financially "stable" and morally "good" investment. It was a "good" investment because it meant contributing to the production and circulation of Buddhist texts, which brought the gift of the Dharma to countless readers and therefore was a source of inexhaustible merit for the investor. Additionally, it was a "stable" investment because, unlike donating money to have scriptures printed and circulated, Buddhist Books was managed as a limited liability company and the capital invested could be retrieved through the re-sale of one's stock.[17] In other words, as a joint-stock limited liability company Buddhist Books offered a way for capitalists to use their wealth to generate merit without merely giving it away. After their success in the first two rounds of stock offering, in October 1932 the board decided on another increase in capitalization, this time to 50,000 *yuan*. This increase positioned Buddhist Books as one of the larger booksellers in Shanghai—only 39 publishing companies out of 260 registered in the city in 1935 had 50,000 *yuan* or more in capital—though still far below industry leaders like Commercial Press and Zhonghua Books, which boasted 4 million and 2 million *yuan* respectively.[18] However, with this third round of capital investment the board had difficulty attracting enough investors to sell the

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[14] Chen Wenli 陳文莉, *1926 nian wuhan jishi* 1926年武漢紀事 (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 2006), 125.
[15] *XFC*.
[16] "Foxue shuju youxian gongsi zhaogu zhangcheng fu yuanqi," *LK* 23 (June 1929); "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932); "Foxue shuju juxing chuanglihui" 佛學書局舉行創立會, *SB* (November 12, 1929).
[17] "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).
[18] Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, ed., *Shanghai tongshi*上海通史, vol. 10 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 105-129.

full amount and, although another increase was briefly discussed in 1935, the company's registered level of capital stabilized at 50,000.[19]

As Buddhist Books grew steadily during the 1930s, management consistently found that the capital it could raise through stock was insufficient to support its plans for expansion and its efforts to meet growing customer demand. "This enterprise for propagating the Dharma [i.e. Buddhist Books] could never seek great profits. Thus we cannot entirely rely only on the capital obtained from stock. If we wish to meet the demand for printing, we must raise other funds or else we will not have enough to support our development."[20] At times management reluctantly resorted to the basic advantages of their commercial model by raising book prices and selling advertising in their periodicals. However, they also devised alternative means to innovatively fund their expanding operations, such as the Book Printing Merit Foundation and the Book Giving Society. The Shanghai Buddhist Books Book Printing Merit Foundation (*Shanghai foxue shuju yinshu gongde jijinhui* 上海佛學書局印書功德基金會) was founded in late 1930 by Wang Yiting and other leading Shanghai householders together with the eminent monks Dixian, Taixu, Xingci and Dekuan. They collected donations, often in small amounts of five or ten *yuan*, to build an endowment fund (*jijin* 基金) specifically to support the company's book printing operations. The foundation collected over 10,000 *yuan* in donations during its first year in 1931. This became additional capital that the company could borrow as needed to temporarily cover printing costs, and generated annual interest of approximately 1,000 *yuan* that was used by the Book Giving Society.[21] The Shanghai Buddhist Books Book Giving Society (*Shanghai foxue shuju zengshuhui* 上海佛學書局贈書會) had been conceived just after the company's founding as a way to make more efficient the popular practice of having large numbers of morality books (*shanshu* 善書) printed and distributed for free.[22] Members of the society could conveniently make donations to have the texts they chose from the Buddhist Books catalogue sent by the press through its distribution network to numerous interested readers who had also joined.[23] The interest from the Book Printing Merit Foundation went to defraying the cost of book giving and increased the volume of distribution by more than 40,000 copies annually. By October of 1932, the Book Giving Society had registered over 2,000 members and distributed more than 200,000 copies of 100 different books in total.[24] Innovations like the Merit Foundation and the Book Giving Society therefore leveraged the company's religious mission to gain access to more capital and expand its scale of operations beyond what could be otherwise supported by its registered level of capitalization.

Buddhist Books used its store of capital to build itself into a national organization on the branch and sales distribution location model of the top publishing corporations. "According to the practices of the book industry, the greater your power in marketing and sales, the lower your production capital will be. So anyone in this industry broadly establishes branches to prepare a

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[19] *BK* 41 (October 15, 1932); "Foxue shuju diliujie gudonghui jilu," *BK* 111 (September 16, 1935).
[20] "Shanghai foxue shuju yinshu gongde jijinhui zhangcheng fu yuanqi," *BK* 7 (January 16, 1931)
[21] Ibid; "Yinianlai zhi huigu," *BK* 30 (January 1, 1932); Meng Lingbing 孟令兵, *Lao Shanghai wenhua qipa* 老上海文化奇葩 [A Cultural Flower of Old Shanghai: The Shanghai Buddhist Studies Press] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003), 37-48.
[22] Popular among elite circles since the seventeenth century, the distribution of morality books was seen as a charitable act with a positive effect on social morality. Buddhists considered their own texts the most powerful in this regard.
[23] "Shanghai foxue shuju zengshuhui yuanqi ji jianze," *LK* 24 (February 1930).
[24] "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).

road for the future. The nature of our company is the same. We also must establish many branches."[25] The company began with its headquarters within the premises of the World Buddhist Householder Grove, and a second office nearby on Baoshan Road next to the north train station, at which director Zhu Shiseng was the station manager. These locations in Shanghai's Zhabei district were at the center of the fighting when the Japanese attacked the city on January 28, 1932. The buildings occupied by Buddhist Books miraculously escaped the bombing and business resumed three months later, but the company decided to give up the location near the train station, reorganize its offices at the Grove as a branch, and establish a new headquarters on Jiaozhou Road in the safety of the International Settlement.[26] It was from this time that they began to successively establish, over the next four years, two additional branches (*fenju* 分局) in Shanghai—on Medhurst Road further west in the International Settlement, and on Wangping Street at Fuzhou Road in the bookseller quarter—as well as four branches outside Shanghai in the cities of Changsha, Beiping, Hangzhou and Fuzhou [images].[27] Meanwhile, the company steadily expanded its network of sales distribution locations (*fenxiaochu*分銷處) outside Shanghai by making special arrangements with local institutions across the country. The number of such locations increased from 21 in 1930 to 54 only two years later in 1932.[28] These 54 locations covered major cities in 18 provinces as well as Hong Kong and Taiwan, usually with only one location per city. The greatest numbers were in Jiangsu (7), Zhejiang (6), and Sichuan (6). A few of the locations were local booksellers or temples, but the majority were scripture circulation offices at local Buddhist associations, such as the Yunnan Buddhist Householder Grove in Kunming and the Chongqing Buddhist Study Society in Chongqing.[29] The Buddhist Books distribution network therefore achieved rapid expansion by utilizing the fragmented infrastructure of new Buddhist activist organizations that were spreading across the country in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1934, the number of sales distribution locations surpassed 100, and management decided to expand in a new direction by establishing more locations at every large station along the country's railway lines.[30]

Whereas the leading secular publishers used their national sales network to ruthlessly wage commercial warfare against their rivals in pursuit of monopoly, Buddhist Books used its network to promote the national integration of existing Buddhist institutions as comrades rather than competitors. By building arrangements with Buddhist associations across the country, the company linked their local Buddhist communities together with institutionalized lines of communication into a shared textual discourse. Such arrangements benefitted both the company and the local associations, which were able to offer a much larger selection of books to their current and potential members. The vision of Buddhist Books was "To gather all the Buddhist scriptures and every Buddhist book and periodical from all over the country for exhibition at Buddhist Books, so that those who take an interest in Buddhism will not have to expend the energy of searching all around to procure them."[31] Anyone would be able to walk into their local Buddhist bookseller and conveniently find any Chinese Buddhist book they were looking for,

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[25] "Foxue shuju diliujie gudonghui jilu," *BK* 111 (September 16, 1935).
[26] "Ben shuju gudonghui ji," *BK* 47 (January 15, 1933). In 1935, the headquarters at Jiaozhou Road was turned into a wholesale department and the main offices and bookstore were moved into a three-story Western building around the corner on Yuyuan Road; "Foxue shuju menhubu kuochong," *BK* 97 (February 16, 1935).
[27] *BK* 111 (September 16, 1935).
[28] "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).
[29] "Foxue shuju waiqu fenxiaochu yilanbiao," *BK* 34 (July 1, 1932).
[30] "Foxue shuju diwuji gudong huiyi xiangzhi," *BK* 73 (Februrary 26, 1934).
[31] "Shanghai foxue shuju gaikuang," *BK* 40 (October 1, 1932).

regardless of whether it had been published in their own city or some distant province. Therefore, the company did not seek to run existing Buddhist publishers out of business, but rather to plug them into its national distribution network. They distributed, and often printed, Buddhist texts published by the scattered Buddhist scriptural presses, as well as secular publishers like the Commercial Press, Zhonghua, World Books, and many others. In 1932, the company had published over 300 titles itself, but incorporated over 1,000 titles from local presses.[32] The expansion of Buddhist Books into Beiping (Beijing) illustrates the collaborative rather than competitive relationship that it established with existing Buddhist publishers. After Yang Wenhui died in 1911, the householder Xu Weiru had founded scriptural presses in Beijing and Tianjin to carry on his legacy. However, in 1934 the householder managing the scriptural distribution office for these presses had recently passed away. Leading local householders in Beiping sent a letter to Buddhist Books requesting that it help by taking over distribution for the scriptural presses. These householders also proposed that the company establish a branch press in their city. Director Di Chuqing agreed to convert half of the Beiping branch of his Youzheng Books into a branch of Buddhist Books. Wang Yiting raised 6,000 *yuan* in capital, and a manager was selected and sent north with a stock of books to get operations underway at the new branch.[33] This story of collaboration with local leaders and institutions is representative of how Buddhist Books used its corporate organizational model to link together the burgeoning yet still localized Buddhist revival movement into a national communal network.

The combination of mechanical printing technology and a corporate business model allowed Buddhist Books to envision and produce for a mass market. During its first three years of operation, by October 1932, the company had already sold more than 3 million copies of its books. Some of these were canonical scriptures—Buddhist Books distributed all of the seven editions of the Buddhist canon that were reprinted in China during the Republican era.[34] In fact 2,024 of the 3,319 book titles in the 1937 catalogue were canonical scriptures.[35] However, the company's bestselling titles, and the focus of its publishing work, were the remaining non-canonical texts produced by modern authors and editors for a mass market of modern readers.[36] As indicated by the company's slogan, "The foremost organization for promoting buddhicization,"[37] its primary mission was to propagate Buddhism as broadly as possible. It therefore approached Buddhist texts not simply as repositories of sacred wisdom but as powerful tools for this mission of propagation. In a public declaration of the founding of Buddhist Books, founder and director Zhu Shiseng wrote, "Buddhist books are effective tools for the promotion of the Buddha-dharma. If we are to be successful in broadly spreading the Buddha-dharma it is necessary to print more Buddhist books… I myself am among those who gave rise to faith due to reading Buddhist books."[38] As Zhu's statement implies, the company's focus was on products designed for a mass market of general readers who were either uninitiated in Buddhist doctrine and terminology or still beginners in their study and practice. It was among such a general

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[32] Ibid.
[33] "Foxue shuju diwujie gudong huiyi xiangzhi," *BK* 73 (February 26, 1934).
[34] Gao Zhennong 高振農, "Minguo nianjian de Shanghai foxue shuju," *Jinxiandai zhongguo fojiao lun* 近現代中國佛教論 [Essays on Modern Chinese Buddhism] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002), 111-113.
[35] Meng Lingbing 孟令兵, *Lao Shanghai wenhua qipa* 老上海文化奇葩 [A Cultural Flower of Old Shanghai: The Shanghai Buddhist Studies Press] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003).
[36] Ibid.
[37] *Hongyang fohua zhi weiyi jiguan* 宏揚佛化之唯一機關.
[38] Zhu Shiseng 朱石僧, "Dai foxue shuju xuanyan" 代佛學書局宣言, *Dayun* (August 1929) [MFQz 20:471-472].

readership that Buddhist texts could "give rise to faith" and guide entry into a complex world of religious practices and doctrines. This strategy of focusing on products for a general audience of non-believers and beginners represented a convergence of the religious mission for propagation with the commercial goal of reaching and developing the largest possible market of consumers. The expansion of the company and its customer base was therefore equated with the growth and influence of Buddhism in China.

To a mass market of general readers with average literacy, the dizzying array of canonical scriptures composed in classical language and riddled with esoteric technical terminology was a daunting undertaking without a clear, immediate relevance to their own social context. The non-canonical texts published by Buddhist Books were meant to offer a far more accessible gate of entry into the study and practice of Buddhism. Their catalogues included: vernacular explanations of scripture; introductions to Buddhist doctrine and schools; Buddhist textbooks; collections of lectures; reference tools like Buddhist dictionaries and canon indexes; Buddhist biographies and histories; poetry and literature; morality books; collected works and correspondence of modern masters; chant books; ritual liturgies; and guides for religious practice.[39] One of the company's most popular and representative products was the Buddhist Studies Small Book Series (*Foxue xiaocongshu* 佛學小叢書). An advertisement for the series read:

> If the Buddhist religion is not revived, the Buddha-dharma will not remain. The problem is that Buddhist study is not widespread… Even though we have scriptures, few have the ability to read them. Today the number of literate people is increasing. We should use the written language as an expedient means to achieve the broad spreading [of Buddhist study]. For this reason Buddhist Books has edited the Buddhist Studies Small Book Series. The books in this series are on the discussion or methods of Buddhist study, their content is at an average level, and their length is short. They have been set in individual volumes for convenient ordering, and are perfect for reference by youths and those who have just begun their study of Buddhism.[40]

The more than 75 titles published in this series were authored by many of the most famous monks and householders of the Republican era like Taixu, Yinguang, Fan Gunong and Jiang Weiqiao. Some of the volumes such as *The Essential Method for Studying Buddhism at Home* and *How Should People Study Buddhism?* introduced readers to the basic doctrines and practices of Buddhism in a concise, vernacular style, while others like *Defending Buddhism Amidst the Voices Against Religion* and *Speaking from the World Crisis to Buddhist Salvation* sought to correct popular misconceptions about Buddhism and make the case for its modern relevance. Such books had a mass appeal and accessibility that far exceeded even the most rudimentary of Buddhist scriptures.

Buddhist Books applied its mass marketing strategy not only to books but to periodicals as well. The 1930s were the height of a Buddhist media revolution that saw the emergence of more than 260 Buddhist periodicals during the Republican era. While the majority of these were short-lived ventures, Buddhist Books distributed the top three longest-running periodicals of the period. In 1930 the company took over publication of the *World Buddhist Householder Grove Magazine*, which ran 43 seasonal issues from 1923 to 1937. In 1932 it temporarily took over

[39] Meng, *Lao Shanghai*.
[40] *Foxue shuju tushu mulu 6*佛學書局圖書目錄6 (Shanghai: Shanghai foxue shuju, 1932).

distribution of Taixu's famous monthly magazine *Sound of the Tide* (*Haichaoyin* 海潮音), which ran from 1920 to 1949 before moving operations to Taiwan. In 1930 the company founded a new periodical, *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly* (*Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊), which ran 313 issues until 1944. Additionally, it also put out a digest of its own products entitled *Buddhist Publishing World* (*Foxue chubanjie* 佛學出版界). Both the *Grove Magazine* and *Sound of the Tide* benefitted from the advantages of being backed by a corporate press. However, it was *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly* in particular, as the company's flagship periodical and its own creation, that most thoroughly bore the mark of its commercial methods and strategies. Already by the end of 1931, after a little over a year of operation, *Buddhist Studies* became the most widely-circulating Buddhist periodical in China by selling over 10,000 copies per issue. In comparison, circulation of the *Sound of the Tide* had been increased by Buddhist Books from a dismal 100 copies to 1,800 in 1932. By 1935, subscriptions to *Buddhist Studies* had increased to 18,000 and goals were set to reach 50,000. This success was not only due to the logistical advantages of being funded and sold by the country's largest Buddhist publishing company, but also to the innovative conceptualization of the periodical for a mass readership.

Date	Circulation[41]
1930	5,000
1931	8,000
1932	10,000
1934	12,000
1935	18,000

Buddhist Studies stood out from other Buddhist periodicals in many ways. Most of its predecessors, and certainly those that lasted, were monthly or seasonal publications like *Sound of the Tide* and the *Grove Magazine* that often ran well in excess of 100 pages and centered on lengthy theological essays as their leading content. In contrast, as a bi-monthly, *Buddhist Studies* was composed in newspaper format and expanded from its original 4 pages on the front and back of a single folded sheet, to between 15 and 25 pages on multiple sheets.[42] It was thus cheaper to produce and cheaper to ship, making it eminently affordable. *Buddhist Studies* sold for a mere 2 cents (*fen*), one-tenth the price of the *Grove Magazine*. The content was also geared to a broader, more general readership. In the words of the editorial staff the distinctive style of their periodical was its emphasis on "propagation not research, general coverage not specialization, and editing not authorship."[43] The articles were therefore required to be short in length, broad in significance, and use only the most "plain and simple vernacular language."[44] The editorial staff did not see its task as composing the content itself but rather as soliciting and editing submissions from the readership. One way in which they sought to secure a steady flow of quality content was to create a Buddhist Studies Literary Society (*Foxue wenhui* 佛學文會) that issued awards for submissions according to rankings by a panel of Buddhist experts.[45] However, short essays only

[41] *BK* issues 7, 30, 73, 111.
[42] Gao Zhennong 高振農, *Fojiao wenhua yu jindai zhongguo* 佛教文化與近代中國 [Buddhist Culture and Modern China] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehuikexue chubanshe, 1992), 394.
[43] "Benkan gaishan zhi jingguo ji zhiqu," *BK* 46 (January 1, 1933).
[44] "Yinianlai zhi huigu," *BK* 30 (January 1, 1932).
[45] Gao Zhennong 高振農, "Minguo nianjian de Shanghai foxue shuju," in *Jinxiandai zhongguo fojiao lun* 近現代中國佛教論 [Essays on Modern Chinese Buddhism] (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002), 114.

occupied a small portion of the periodical, the pages of which were filled with Buddhist news from around the country, personal accounts of miraculous events and conversions, and question and answer columns between readers and editors. This content was so participatory that even the news items were often submitted by readers living in the localities of their occurrence. Overall, *Buddhist Studies* shifted the function of the Buddhist periodical further away from the dissemination of doctrinal knowledge toward interactive features that encouraged more participation from the readership. Contributing to the periodical oneself and reading the contributions of others, such as their self-narrated stories of conversion to Buddhism, heightened the sense of communal identity that the periodical engendered among the largest single Buddhist readership in the country. Through *Buddhist Studies Bi-Monthly*, Buddhist Books encouraged its customers to step beyond the level of passive readers to envision themselves as participants in a national community of committed Buddhist activists.

Although books and periodicals were the heart of its business, Buddhist Books extended operations far beyond textual products. Following the Commercial Press and other corporate publishers, from the very beginning Buddhist Books sold writing implements and school supplies.[46] However, unlike its secular counterparts it also produced and marketed an expanding array of religious goods for use by individual practitioners as well as temples and associations. Featured in their catalogues and advertized in their periodicals were incense and burners, rosaries, Buddhist lamps, ritual implements, embroidered tapestries, and all manner of statues and images of deities. The company only handled the distribution and marketing for many of these goods, but over time it also dedicated resources to enhancing its own production capacity. For example, it established a statue factory in 1934 and a tapestry department in 1935, both with teams of workers under the direction of experienced Buddhist artisans.[47] Beginning in 1935, the company also began to record and sell gramophone records with Buddhist chanting for ceremonial use by temples and associations as well as by individuals in the home.[48] Finally, in keeping with its status as the foremost Buddhist media company, it pioneered Buddhist radio programs as early as March 1933, the same year that the Shanghai Municipal Government launched its own program for mass education by radio.[49] In 1936 the company established its own Buddhist broadcasting station on the second floor of its Shanghai headquarters.[50] These non-textual operations were in keeping with both the company's entrepreneurial spirit to adopt new technologies and its religious mission to be more than simply a corporate bookseller. Through them, Buddhist Books positioned itself at the center not only of Chinese Buddhist print culture but of a national Buddhist culture industry.

Buddhist Books highlights the important role played by Shanghai's commercial culture in the formation of a meaningfully national Buddhist community during the Nanjing decade. The Chinese Buddhist Association represented a symbolic national unity, but, as Holmes Welch pointed out, its effectiveness in this regard was minimal even at its highest stage of

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[46] *Foxue tushu mulu* 2佛學書局圖書目錄2 (Shanghai: Shanghai foxue shuju, 1930).

[47] "Foxue shuju diliujie gudonghui ji," *BK* 111 (September 16, 1935); "Foxue shuju fushe fayibu," *BK* 104 (June 1, 1935). The tapestries (*fayi*法衣) were used to decorate Buddhist altars.

[48] Meng, *Lao Shanghai*, 85-86; Gao, *Jinxiandai*, 115. The records were produced by the Desheng Company 得勝公司.

[49] Henriot, *Shanghai*, 199.

[50] "Foxue shuju diliujie gudonghui ji," *BK* 111 (September 16, 1935); Meng, *Lao Shanghai*, 83-85; Gao, *Jinxiandai*, 114-115. The station was known as the Shanghai Huaguang Broadcasting Station (*Shanghai huaguang diantai* 上海華光電台).

development.[51] By contrast, Buddhist Books created a nationalized Buddhist culture industry that linked together authors and readers, beginners and masters, and temples and associations across the country. This was accomplished through the innovative combination of commercial methods with religious goals. The guiding force behind this religious entrepreneurship was a management team of householder elites that combined expertise in business, publishing and religious activism with a shared commitment to their faith and its propagation. They adopted the joint-stock limited liability corporation business model to bring in the capital necessary for realizing the full potential of mechanized printing technology. Piously replacing profit with merit as the rationale for investment, they made up for the limitations of this approach by finding ways to bring in additional donations based on their knowledge of popular Buddhist book culture. They employed the branch and sales office organizational model to transcend local distribution networks, but took a collaborative rather than competitive approach toward existing Buddhist publishers and distributors. And they thoroughly incorporated the insights of mass marketing in an age of growing literacy to reach ever greater numbers of readers and draw them into the Buddhist community.

[51] Welch, *The Buddhist Revival*, 48-49.

CHAPTER FOUR:
DEGREES OF COLLABORATION IN WARTIME SHANGHAI, 1937-1945

I. INTRODUCTION

The War of Resistance, as it was called, lasted for as long as eight years until 1945. During this period, Shanghai fell within the area of China under Japanese occupation. Although, as we will see, the situation in Shanghai was quite unique, the prolonged war had significant effects on all aspects of society and culture within the city. As we know from Brian Victoria and others, within Japan, Buddhism had been transformed into a valuable ideological support for the Japanese empire.[1] Within the multiple occupation regimes that the empire set up in Chinese territory, Buddhism thus became a natural arena for building bridges with the local population aimed at pacifying and indoctrinating it into the imperial ideology.

This chapter explores the experience of Shanghai's Buddhist householder community during the war. It seeks to answer two questions. First, how did the conditions of war affect the community, and particularly its trajectory along the charitable turn? And second, what role did Buddhism, as represented by the householder elites, play in wartime society? The chapter is chronologically structured according to the general periodization of the war. It begins with the three-month-long Battle for Shanghai at the end of 1937, which was followed by four years of dwindling autonomy within the city's foreign settlements, known as the solitary island. Japan's entrance into World War II with its attack on Pearl Harbor coincided with the complete occupation of city. Four years of occupation finally ended with the Japanese surrender in 1945, after which the Nationalists returned from their wartime capital in Chongqing to reclaim Shanghai. We will observe the shifting experience of the householders as they moved through each of these stages of the war.

II. REFUGEE RELIEF

The most prominent of Shanghai's householder elites in the Nanjing decade were also the city's foremost Chinese philanthropists. Since 1929 they had run a government sponsored city-wide alliance of charitable organizations called the Shanghai Charities Federation (*Shanghai cishan tuanti lianhehui* 上海慈善團體聯合會).[2] In late 1936 the Charities Federation was tapped by the municipal government to make preparations for possible war with Japan by preemptively establishing a Disaster Relief Committee (*jiuzaihui* 救災會). When the Battle of Shanghai broke out in August 1937, the Charities Federation Disaster Relief Committee went into action alongside two other emergency relief committees in coordinating a massive refugee relief effort. Over one million civilians fleeing the fighting in the city's northern districts frantically streamed south over Suzhou Creek into the relative safety of the foreign settlements. The Charities Federation Committee initially set up 98 temporary shelters that housed an average of 50,000 refugees per month.[3] Although many of the refugees were sojourners who were repatriated as

[1] Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War*, 2nd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
[2] The principal founders of the Shanghai Charities Federation were householders Wang Yiting and Huang Hanzhi; *SMA*, Q114-1-4.
[3] Nara Dillon. "The Politics of Philanthropy: Social Networks and Refugee Relief in Shanghai, 1932-1949," in Dillon and Oi, eds., *At the Crossroads* 189-190.

quickly as possible to their native hometowns outside of Shanghai, tens of thousands remained displaced within the settlements for years after the battle ended in November 1937. The Charities Federation therefore began to consolidate its shelters into four semi-permanent urban communities that housed around 6,000 refugees until closing down in 1941.[4] According to Nara Dillon, this large-scale and long-term refugee relief effort was the very peak of private philanthropy in the history of Shanghai.[5]

Although the Charities Federation Committee was not officially a Buddhist organization, the five men who made up its active leadership were all well-known Buddhist householders. Wang Yiting, Huang Hanzhi, Guan Jiongzhi, Qu Yingguang and Wen Lanting had all played prominent roles in building the Shanghai householder community since the 1920s and continued to hold top positions in its institutions. The deep bonds between them had therefore been forged over decades of cooperation on countless projects for the promotion and propagation of their shared faith. Jan Kiely has suggested that although as individuals these successful businessmen and former officials undoubtedly owed their positions at the head of the city-wide refugee relief effort to their extensive wealth, connections and philanthropic credentials, what made them a cohesive group was their Buddhist affiliation.[6] The Charities Federation Committee therefore demonstrated the strong connection that had formed between Buddhist activism and civic leadership in Shanghai leading up to the War of Resistance.

Moreover, the householder leaders of the Charities Federation Committee incorporated the Shanghai Buddhist community in their all-out mobilization of resources to bring relief to the sea of suffering refugees that flooded into the foreign settlements. In appointing personnel to manage and implement the relief work, they tapped their Buddhist network to deputize other trusted householder activists like Zhao Puchu. In seeking out suitable urban spaces for the establishment of temporary shelters, they arranged for Buddhist temples and lay associations to open their gates to thousands of refugees.[7] Such Buddhist participation in charity and relief work was not unprecedented. In fact, Buddhist disaster relief in the late 1910s had been instrumental in the early genesis of the householder community. During the Nanjing decade, householder organizations had publicly taken a charitable turn as they adjusted to the demands of Nationalist governance. However, the scale and prominence of the Buddhist contribution in the crisis of 1937 reached new heights and had a lasting effect on the householder community and its social position throughout the remaining years of the war and beyond.

III. LOSS OF THE HOUSEHOLDER GROVE

While the Charities Federation Committee was engaged in its refugee relief, the battle took its toll on the organizational infrastructure of the Shanghai householder community. Since 1922 there had been two main centers of the community's Buddhist activism. The Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society (*Shanghi fojiao jingyeshe* 上海佛教淨業社) was located within its spacious and idyllic Enlightenment Garden on Hart Road in the International Settlement. Meanwhile, its sister organization, the World Buddhist Householder Grove (*Shijie fojiao jushilin* 世界佛教居士

[4] Jan Kiely, "For Whom the Bells Ring and the Drums Beat: Pure Land Buddhist Refugee Relief Activism in Wartime Shanghai, 1937-1945" (conference paper, University of California, Berkeley, May 6, 2006), 20-25.
[5] Dillon, "Politics," 195.
[6] Kiely, "For Whom the Bells Ring," 10.
[7] Kiely, "For Whom the Bells Ring," 18.

林), occupied a four-story Western-style compound in the northern district of Zhabei.[8] The Grove served to integrate the Shanghai householder community by combining the functions of a ritual space, study society, propagation center, and charitable enterprise all under one roof. It had acquired an active membership of over 3,000 householders, and its innovative organizational form had inspired dozens of imitations in other cities across China and even abroad. However, the Grove compound was located in Zhabei next to the North Train Station, a prime military target. During the previous Japanese attack on Shanghai in January 1932, the Grove had sustained damage from Japanese bombs and been occupied by invading troops.

Sensitive to the danger of their position, on August 12 co-founder and standing committee member Zhu Shiseng 朱石僧 (1887-1942) together with a few other officers from the Grove rushed down to the International Settlement where they rented a three-room building on a small lane off of Hardoon Road. Here they set up a "provisional office," knowing that the Settlement would be protected from Japanese attack by the authority of Britain, the United States and the other countries that jointly governed it. Fighting broke out in Shanghai's northern districts the very next day, but Zhu was able to borrow a charity transport truck to drive back to the Grove compound and salvage as many statues, ritual implements, and scriptures as he could load up. A few householders remained behind to watch over the compound but were forced to flee a few days later on August 19 when it took severe damage and was soon reduced to ashes along with the rest of Zhabei. One account describes them as leaving with tears in their eyes amidst flying bullets. The provisional office in the International Settlement thus became the Grove's new home, and Zhu invited a dozen or so householders and monks to come live on the premises. They set up an altar and began a continuous chant invoking the compassionate intervention of the bodhisattva Guanyin for the remainder of the three-month battle. Even in the relative safety of the International Settlement they were robbed at gunpoint four times and Zhu was hard-pressed to procure vegetarian fare to feed his group.[9]

After the battle finally ended, Zhu had hopes of reviving the Grove. However, many of its key officers and supporters had fled Shanghai during the battle to retreat westward with the Nationalists.[10] Even worse, the Grove's longtime president, Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867-1938), had first left for Hong Kong in January 1938 and, becoming ill, insisted on returning to Shanghai where he died at Enlightenment Garden on November 13.[11] Wang's death was a devastating loss not only to the Grove, but to the entire householder community, and indeed to the city as a whole. Among the most influential elites in Shanghai, Wang's extensive network of social and political connections was irreplaceable. Zhu was therefore left to present his hopeful plans for building a new Grove compound to its vice president, Guan Jiongzhi, and a former president, Shi Xingzhi.[12] Probably because the resources of these elites were already tied up in relief efforts and protecting what had survived of the householder community, the grand new compound never materialized.

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[8] See note 5 above.

[9] "Shijie fojiao jushilin linwu zhaochang jinxing" 世界佛教居士林林務照常進行, *BK* 157 (May 15, 1938); Shen Binhan 沈彬翰, "Shijie fojiao jushilin sanshinian zhi huisu" 世界佛教居士林三十年之回溯, *Honghua yuekan* 120 (May 15, 1951) [MFQb 71:26-27].

[10] Among those who left were Li Jingwei and Zeng Yousheng, two dedicated Grove officers required to retreat with their employer, the Shanghai-Nanjing Railroad. Zhu Shiseng himself had been the station manager of Shanghai's North Station before retiring a few years prior to the war.

[11] Chen Zuen 陳祖恩 and Li Huaxing 李華興, *Wang Yiting zhuan* 王一亭傳 [Biography of Wang Yiting] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2007), 267.

[12] "Chongxing shijie fojiao jushilin" 重興世界佛教居士林, *BK* 216 (11/1/1940) [MFQb 65:92].

Zhu and his cohort were left to settle for merely maintaining the basic functions of daily worship and occasional lectures at their rented location for the duration of the war.

IV. THE PURE KARMA SOCIETY ON A SOLITARY ISLAND

With the effective loss of the Grove, the householders who had chosen to remain in Shanghai rallied around the Pure Karma Society in the International Settlement. Under the protection of foreign governments, life in the settlements returned to quasi-normalcy until the Japanese finally completed their occupation of the city upon entering the World War in December 1941. The four years from 1938 to the end of 1941 in Shanghai became known as the "solitary island" period. The swelling population of over 3 million Chinese and foreign nationals taking shelter within the 10 square miles of the settlements was surrounded by Japanese occupation forces that did their best to tighten the noose by cutting off communications and trade.[13] Although regular activities resumed at the Pure Karma Society in 1938, the situation of the householder community had been significantly altered by the effects of the battle, the retreat of the Nationalist government, and the Japanese blockade. Before the war, the Shanghai householders' leadership in Buddhist publishing had placed them at the center of a national print community, but now their nationwide distribution networks were decimated by the disruption of communication lines and the massive displacement of people and organizations.[14] Similarly, during the Nanjing decade, the Shanghai householders had co-founded, taken top leadership positions in, and hosted the headquarters of the Chinese Buddhist Association (*Zhongguo fojiaohui* 中國佛教會), which had been designated by the Nationalist regime to officially represent the nation's Buddhists. However, after 1937 the Chinese Buddhist Association was delegitimized by its separation from the relocated government in Chongqing and soon dissolved.[15] In other words, the householder community that resumed activities in the period from 1938 through 1941 had lost its influential position at the center of what had been an increasingly nationalized Chinese Buddhism. The Shanghai community of the solitary island became more focused inwardly on its own survival, and locally on the persistent social challenges facing its city under the conditions of war.

During this period, the Pure Karma Society was run by its longtime president, Guan Jiongzhi關絅之 (1879-1942). Guan was particularly well-suited to represent the Society within the International Settlement because he spoke fluent English and had close connections to the foreign administration from his illustrious career as a magistrate in the Settlement's Mixed Court. Guan was also a philanthropist who had served on the board of the Chinese Red Cross and contributed to the householders' charitable turn of the Nanjing decade by founding a Buddhist orphanage in the name of the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Association. During the Battle of Shanghai, Guan was one of the standing committee members of the Charities Federation Committee, and he helped to facilitate the mobilization of Buddhist resources in part by setting up a refugee shelter at the Pure Karma Society's headquarters within Enlightenment Garden. As the emergency relief committees began to fade after 1938 and eventually dissolved by 1941, Guan and other householders worked from within the Pure Karma Society to provide extended social services to the thousands of refugees that they had helped to save from the battle and

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[13] Wen-hsin Yeh, "Prologue: Shanghai Besieged, 1937-45," in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Wartime Shanghai* (London: Routledge, 1998), 1-17.

[14] See, for example: "Benkan tonggao" 本刊通告, BK 157 (May 16, 1938).

[15] Welch, *The Buddhist Revival* , 45; *SZH*, 182; "Shanghai zhongguo fojiaohui" 上海中國佛教會, *Huanan jueyin* 3 (January 1, 1938) [MFQ 90:282-283].

continued to need assistance. The legacy of Buddhist leadership and mobilization in the relief effort therefore became an elevated commitment to social welfare activities as the war ground on.[16]

In 1940 the Shanghai International Relief Committee approached the Pure Karma Society about discharging 83 male adolescent orphans into its care. Guan Jiongzhi agreed and opened the Pure Karma Orphanage (*Jingye gu'er jiaoyangyuan*淨業孤兒教養院) within Enlightenment Garden to receive them on June 1. This particular group of boys had originally been picked up by the police for criminal activity in the streets of the Settlement and thrown into the Shanghai Municipal Jail. The Relief Committee had arranged for the boys to be released to the Salvation Army, which could now no longer accommodate them. From the start, therefore, the Pure Karma Orphanage specialized in reforming juvenile delinquents, turning them into moral citizens and finding them productive stations in society. Under Guan Jiongzhi as its president, the day to day activities of the orphanage were run by his indispensible nephew, Zhao Puchu, and 15 other employees who mostly lived on sight and received salaries. The boys followed a strict regimen. In addition to regular education in the mornings, they learned practical skills in the afternoons at seven workshops for shoe-making, basket weaving, and so forth. To effectively manage the young ex-criminals, they were broken up into nine teams that were each responsible for a daily task such as buying food, cooking, and washing clothes. In order to instill responsible habits, the boys were given prize money every month based on the quality of their work, which they were required to put into savings accounts and access only when they needed essential goods. By early 1941, over 40 of the boys had successfully been placed in jobs, adopted by families, or transferred to other institutions. However, the Pure Karma Orphanage continued to accept more newcomers, at a capacity of 100, sent to them primarily from jail by the Shanghai Municipal Council's Child Protection Unit. Reports on the orphanage preserved in the archives of the Shanghai Municipal Council gave it glowing evaluations. One administrator wrote:

> The work is housed in a temple off Hart Road, where there is a large garden and good open space. There are few institutions whose surroundings are as satisfactory… The [Industrial and Social] Division has placed six in employment during the last few months: the boys are making good. The academic and vocational education is under the direction of a qualified principal and good teachers. The importance of planning the curriculum with the object of the rehabilitation of boys formerly delinquents is understood. Beginnings have been made which are more hopeful than in any other organization caring for such adolescent boys.[17]

The special relationship that the Pure Karma Orphanage was able to build with the authorities of the International Settlement therefore brought them the funding they needed to keep the orphanage running.[18]

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[16] *SMA*, Y13-1-1-160; *XFC*, 2:1742-1744; *SZH*, 262-263; "Guan Jiongzhi xiansheng danchen yibai ershi zhounian jinian wenji" 關絅之先生誕辰一百二十周年紀念文集 [Collection of Essays Commemorating the 120th Anniversary of Mr. Guan Jiongzhi's Birthday] (Shanghai, 1999); Shi Zizheng 石子政, "Guan Jiongzhi de yisheng" 关絅之的一生, *Dang'an yu lishi* 2 (1999).

[17] *SMA*, U1-4-265.

[18] Ibid.; "Liulang ertong de leyuan: jingye gu'eryuan canguan ji" 流浪兒童的樂園:淨業孤兒院參觀記, *SB* (May 4, 1944).

Another, much larger-scale, social welfare enterprise was founded in 1940 within the Pure Karma Society's Enlightenment Garden.[19] The Shanghai Buddhist Comrades Association (*Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui* 上海佛教同仁會) set up its offices within the garden's Dharma Treasure Library in January.[20] According to the initial proclamation of its mission, the Buddhist Comrades struck out to aid those Buddhists who had taken shelter as refugees in Shanghai's foreign settlements since the beginning of the war.[21] However, almost immediately the organization expanded its scope to vigorously contribute to the city's larger relief effort. A second mission statement declared that it was the "divine duty" all lay and monastic Buddhist comrades to equally save all sentient beings from their suffering. Although Shanghai's philanthropists had been giving relief since the start of the war, the statement continued, these efforts had only addressed the bodily needs of the refugees. The Buddhist Comrades would therefore give expression to a "Buddhist spirit" by aiding minds as well as bodies. In other words, it aimed to more fully integrate Buddhist propagation into the relief effort.[22]

The initial idea for the Buddhist Comrades came from a group of householders led by Grove and Pure Karma Society officers such as Yang Xinlian, Jiang Zhiren, Le Huibin and Hu Songnian. However, true to the inclusive term "comrades" in its name, prominent monks like Zhenda were also brought into the leadership, and another monk, Fancheng范成 (b.1884), was even selected as chairman of the organization's board of directors.[23] Although Fancheng did take an active role in the affairs of the Buddhist Comrades, particularly in its early years, the heart and soul of the organization was its general manager, a householder named Hu Songnian胡松年 (1880-1947). Shanghai native and former official, Hu's engagement with Buddhist activism came late in life when he was transformed by an encounter with the Pure Land patriarch, Yinguang, at a mass ceremony in Enlightenment Garden in 1936.[24] Although his late entrance into Shanghai's householder elite must have made Hu unsuitable for public leadership of the Buddhist Comrades, this in no way inhibited his vigorous and sustained dedication to the cause.

The Buddhist Comrades made its remarkable entrance into the refugee relief effort by implementing an innovative approach to charitable food donation. As the original relief committees gradually dissolved the temporary shelters they had constructed during the Battle and its immediate aftermath, impoverished refugees became ubiquitous in the streets of the foreign settlements. During the winter months, when exposure to the elements made suffering the greatest, charities opened soup kitchens and distributed warm clothing as they had in past years. However, the scale of poverty during the war was so unprecedented as to far outstrip the effects of such traditional efforts. In February 1940, as the traditional charities began to shut down their seasonal welfare, the Buddhist Comrades announced that they would offer continued aid,

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[19] The founding date of January 1940 is given in *SMA*, Q6-10-339.

[20] A three-story Western-style structure, the Dharma Treasure Library was one of the two largest Buddhist libraries in Shanghai and had been erected in early 1937 with a generous donation from the prominent householder elite, Ye Gongchuo. *SZH*, 202.

[21] "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui jianzhang"上海佛教同仁會簡章, *BK* 201 (March 16, 1940) [MFQ 55: 273-274].

[22] "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui yuanqi"上海佛教同仁會緣起, *BK* 200 (March 1, 1940) [MFQ 55: 245].

[23] Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495]; Gao Zhennong, 321.

[24] *XFC*, 1:783-784; You Youwei 游有維, "Hu Songnian jushi shengxi shilüe" 胡松年居士生西事略, *Honghua yuekan* 90 (November 15, 1948).

primarily in the form of soup tickets. They chose soup[25] over the usual rice or steamed buns, because it had the advantages of quenching thirst and being easily kept warm.[26] Soup was also less vulnerable to the wartime inflation that exponentially elevated the cost of rice and other goods necessary for basic living.[27] However, what was even more distinctive about the methods of the Buddhist Comrades was their distribution system. Rather than opening a soup kitchen to which the poor could flock for free meals at appointed hours, they printed hundreds of thousands of soup tickets, bundled them into 50 and 1,000 ticket booklets, and sold them for donations to wealthy residents in the settlements. Walking down streets filled with hungry faces and outstretched hands, the better-off could distribute these tickets with their own hands in direct and personal acts of compassion. Ticket recipients could then redeem them for a free bowl of soup not simply at a single soup kitchen, but at any one of dozens of regular soup shops located throughout the settlements. The Buddhist Comrades had made special arrangements with these soup sellers, who could presumably exchange the tickets they collected for cash and thereby boost their business.[28] The advantages of this method were recognized repeatedly in the press and became immensely popular. Within two months the Buddhist Comrades had distributed over 600,000 tickets, redeemed by an average of 10,000 people per day, and began to print another 1 million.[29] The system was, however, not without its weaknesses. It first of all depended on the regulation of standards for the amount and thickness of the bowls of soup given by the sellers for tickets worth 6 cents each. The Buddhist Comrades sent its agents undercover to monitor the sellers, and reported cases of unconscionable cheating to the Municipal Police.[30] Nevertheless, such minor difficulties were clearly outweighed by the soup ticket system's benefits, in terms of both the positive effect on strained class relations and the sheer scope of coverage achieved with minimal organizational infrastructure. Thus it is not surprising that the Buddhist Comrades' approach to charitable food distribution was widely celebrated as an innovative and successful solution to urban social challenges of unprecedented proportions.

While it amassed these accomplishments with its soup ticket system, the Buddhist Comrades also began to make their distinctive mark in two other areas of social welfare in Shanghai: rebuilding impoverished shantytowns struck by fires, and aiding refugee communities suffering under Japanese blockades.[31] After the relief committees gradually scaled back their

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[25] The Chinese term "zhou" 粥, which I am translating as "soup," more precisely refers to "congee." However, in the context of charitable giving during the war at least, "zhou" was simply a standard term that often indicated any number of various kinds of soup. The "zhouchang" 粥場 was the Chinese equivalent of a "soup kitchen."

[26] There was also a canonical Buddhist precedent for giving soup. "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui quanmu shizhou gongde qi"上海佛教同仁會勸募施粥功德啟, *BK* 200 (March 1, 1940) [MFQ 55:255].

[27] "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui yuqing mingda shanshi goupiao shizhou qi"上海佛教同仁會籲請各大善士購票施粥啟, *Luohancai* 16 [MFQ 87:354].

[28] "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui quanmu shizhou gongde qi"上海佛教同仁會勸募施粥功德啟, *BK* 200 (March 1, 1940) [MFQ 55:255].

[29] "Fojiao tongrenhui shifang zhoupiao jinwen" 佛教同仁會施放粥票近聞, *BK* 203 (April 16, 1940) [MFQ 55:288].

[30] Ibid.

[31] In addition to the three areas of social welfare highlighted here, the Buddhist Comrades also occasionally engaged in disaster relief outside of Shanghai as well. From February through April 1941, the organization distributed between 60 and 70 thousand *yuan* in relief to disaster victims in Anhui province. A few months later it coordinated fundraising in Shanghai for disaster relief in the nearby city of Ningbo. "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui paiyuan fu wan zhenzai"上海佛教同仁會派員赴皖賑災, *BK* 227 (April 16, 1941) [MFQb 65:284]; "Fojiao tonrenhui ban Ningbo zhouzhen mukuan"佛教同仁會辦寧波粥賑募款, *BK* 238 (October 1, 1941) [MFQb 65:455]; Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495].

operations after 1938, the large numbers of remaining refugees together with a growing class of impoverished residents crowded into shantytowns composed mostly of grass huts. Such shantytowns were highly susceptible to horrific fires that left hundreds if not thousands unsheltered and possessionless. The Buddhist Comrades became known for their relief efforts in such cases. It would first send in agents to investigate conditions and administer emergency aid in the form of soup and temporary shelters, followed by the collection and distribution of appropriate amounts of food, clothing, and, as their capabilities grew, new housing projects.[32] Meanwhile, in the occupied areas of Shanghai, the Japanese periodically subjected the refugee communities to punitive blockades for causing disorder or suspected resistance. Cutting off movement into and out of these already desperate communities resulted in severe food shortages and starvation. The pattern of the Buddhist Comrades' intervention in this third type of case was exhibited in August 1941, when a refugee district in the Southern City was blockaded continuously for 7 days.[33] Upon learning of the blockade, the organization sent agents to survey the situation. Although occupation forces had just completed a full registration of the district's residents and no one was allowed to enter or leave freely, the agents were able to ascertain that approximately 80,000 refugees were trapped within the blockade and many were starving to death. By its own account, the Buddhist Comrades was able to successfully negotiate with the Japanese Military Police Garrison Command (*Riben xianbing silingbu*日本憲兵司令部) for permission to enter the blockaded district and distribute relief. They worked in cooperation with a charity alliance to gather donations of crackers, steamed buns, bread, and other dry foodstuffs, which they transported into the district daily using 4 or 5 trucks. Between 7 and 8 thousand people were able to receive the relief each day.[34]

It has been suggested that social welfare operations like the Pure Karma Orphanage and the Tongrenhui must have depended on negotiations and compromises with the Japanese occupation regime to secure provisions and move between restricted areas in the context of wartime controls.[35] However, I would argue that whatever compromises the householders made during this period involved only minimal levels of complicity with the occupation.[36] In October 1939, Guan Jiongzhi was approached by a Japanese spy who offered him a special license plate granting freedom of movement throughout the fragmented city. Such a gift would certainly have been useful for investigating, organizing and administering relief. However, the license plate was offered together with an invitation to assume the presidency of the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Association. Guan reportedly refused the gift saying that he was too old even to need a car.[37] As Guan's flippant rebuff emphasizes, during the solitary island period the householders were generally able to resist collaboration and retain their autonomy even as they continued their

[32] Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495].
[33] For other examples, see ibid.
[34] "Fojiao tongrenhui nanshi shifang jizhen" 佛教同仁會南市施放急振, *SB* (August 7, 1941); "Fojiao tongrenhui banli nanshi jizhen" 佛教同仁會辦理南市急賑, *BK* 236 (September 1, 1941) [MFQb 65:426]; Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495].
[35] Kiely, "For Whom the Bells Ring," 28-29.
[36] Certainly the negotiations conducted by householders at the Buddhist Comrades Association made them no more complicit than Father Robert Jacquinot de Besange, who had negotiated the creation of a "Safe Zone" for hundreds of thousands of refugees in the Japanese-occupied Southern City until 1940. See Ristaino, *Jacquinot*.
[37] Shi Zizheng, "Guan Jiongzhi."

social welfare work. However, this situation would shift dramatically once the Japanese completed their occupation in December 1941.

V. OCCUPATION AND COLLABORATION

One day after the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, the Japanese surged over Suzhou Creek into Shanghai's International Settlement. The occupation authorities immediately began implementing strict social control measures. They compartmentalized the city into numerous small neighborhoods divided with barbed wire and check points manned by military police. The allocation of basic resources such as rice, coal, and even currency became regulated by central control boards. As trade routes were increasingly shut down by fighting in the Pacific these vital goods became more and more scarce and radical inflation soared, thrusting greater segments of the population into poverty and despair. The urgent need for social welfare grew, even as the barriers to providing it mounted ever higher. Under such conditions, there was great pressure to collaborate with the occupation regime that controlled access to resources.[38]

By this time, Japanese authorities and their Chinese occupation governments had accumulated years of experience inducing Buddhist collaboration in the parts of the country under their control. As Xue Yu has described, waves of Japanese Buddhist missionaries were sent to these areas. Local Chinese Buddhists were pressured to join them in joint demonstrations of solidarity such as Sino-Japanese Buddhist associations, academic exchanges, celebrations of Buddhist holy days, and ceremonies for the souls of Japanese war dead.[39] The aim of these organizations and activities was to leverage the shared Buddhist heritage of the two countries as a basis for the pacification and cultural integration of the occupied populace. After 1941 Shanghai was finally subjected to the full force of these tactics and repeated many of the same patterns that had emerged elsewhere. With their status as civic leaders and their Buddhist affiliation, the householder elites must have appeared as attractive targets for the occupation regime and its pacification agents in Shanghai.

The primary householder collaborator in occupied Shanghai was Wen Lanting 聞蘭亭 (1870-1948). Wen had gotten his start as a textile industrialist in Shanghai around the turn of the twentieth century and made his fortune in China's economic miracle during the First World War. By the 1930s he held leadership positions in many of Shanghai's business and financial institutions. Meanwhile, he had joined the board of the Pure Karma Society and participated in Buddhist activism since at least 1926. Like many of his fellow householder elites, he had also applied himself to philanthropy and was even named president of the Chinese Red Cross. During the Battle of Shanghai in 1937 he joined Wang Yiting and the others on the board of the Charities Federation Committee. The Committee's director, Huang Hanzhi, was arrested soon after Pearl Harbor and the remaining leaders were forced to declare their allegiances. Along with Lin Kanghou and Yuan Ludeng, Wen chose collaboration and rapidly assumed the leadership of the city's largest charities. This infamous trio, known as "the three elders" (*sanlao* 三老), accepted official appointments at the head of Shanghai's hated goods control boards and reportedly used their positions to enrich themselves. Similarly, within Buddhist circles, Wen's

[38] Yeh, "Prologue," 10-14.
[39] Xue Yu. *Buddhism, War, and Nationalism: Chinese Monks in the Struggle against Japanese Agressions, 1931-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 160-170.

capitulation quickly brought him a vast portfolio of leadership roles rivaling that of Wang Yiting before the war.[40]

From the fragmentary historical record that survives from the occupation period, I have been able to discern two important centers of Buddhist collaboration in Shanghai.[41] Wen Lanting was involved in both of them but he was by no means alone. Virtually every respected householder left in the city was ensnared in the web of collaboration to some degree. In the process, Buddhist social welfare acquired a new significance.

Perhaps the most important center of Buddhist collaboration in occupied Shanghai was Jing'an Temple (*Jing'an si* 靜安寺), located not far from the Pure Karma Society in the former International Settlement. In 1942 a new abbot was installed to reform the temple into a model Buddhist institution that would "assist society with public welfare and cultural enterprises."[42] The reform and renovation project was funded and overseen by a committee that included Wen Lanting; the president of *Shenbao* newspaper, Chen Binhe; the Chinese foreign minister of the collaboration government in Nanjing, Chu Minyi; and prominent Japanese Buddhists such as Fugii Shizunori.[43] On May 11, 1943, in tandem with the annual public celebration of the Buddha's birthday, this group held an opening ceremony at Jing'an Temple for the Greater East Asia General Buddhist Society (*Dadongya fojiao zonghui* 大東亞佛教總會).[44] At around the same time, the newly established Shanghai Special Municipality Buddhist Association (*Shanghai tebieshi fojiaohui* 上海特別市佛教會) moved its headquarters into the temple as well.[45] Led by Mijia, Zhengdao and other Chinese monks, the Municipal Buddhist Association was empowered by the occupation government to supervise the city's temples and guide its Buddhist activism.[46] Over the next few years the Association organized numerous public events promoting sino-Japanese cooperation. For example, in 1944 it arranged for a Japanese Buddhist professor to visit Shanghai and give a series of highly publicized lectures on the need for unity among Chinese and Japanese Buddhists.[47] In 1945 it joined with Japanese Pure Land missionaries of the Higashi Honganji sect in preaching to over 5,000 inmates at a nearby prison.[48] In addition to these exchange activities, from its base at Jing'an Temple, the Municipal Buddhist Association also vigorously encouraged Buddhist social welfare activities such as free medical clinics, disaster relief, and student grants. A public declaration addressed to all monks and householders of the city read, "The most important teaching of Buddhism is compassion. Compassion means bringing happiness to humanity and extricating it from suffering... If we cannot practice this teaching, then we ourselves no longer have the qualifications to be Buddhists."[49]

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[40] Lou Xiange 娄獻閣, et al., *Minguo renwu zhuan* 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2000), 346-351; Yeh, "Prologue," 12; Dillon, "Politics," 196-197.

[41] There may have been more, but it is doubtful that knowledge of them would radically change the picture presented by these two examples.

[42] "Jing'an si zuzhi hufahui" 靜安寺組織護法會, *SB* (March 23, 1943).

[43] Ibid. Fujii Seisen 藤井靜宣 was a Japanese Buddhist missionary sent to China by the Higashi Honganji sect of Japanese Pure Land Buddhism.

[44] *SMA*, R1-17-197; *Buddhist China* 1.1 (Fall 1943) [MFQ 98:269].

[45] *SZH*,188.

[46] "Benshi fojiaohui jiang kuoda zuzhi" 本市佛教會將擴大組織, *SB* (November 3, 1944).

[47] "Zuori benshi fojiaohui huanying Yousong jiaoshou" 佛教會今日舉行友松教授歡迎會, *SB* (June 3, 1944). The invited professor was Tomomatsu Entei 友松圓締.

[48] "Fojiaohui zuo juxing weiling bujiao" 佛教會昨舉行慰靈佈教, *SB* (September 17, 1944).

[49] "Ben fojiao cibei zhi zhi wei kongzai tongbao fuwu" 本佛教慈悲之旨為空災同胞服務, *SB* (July 26, 1945).

Another center of Buddhist collaboration was the Guandi Temple (*Guandi miao* 關帝廟) located near the Old West Gate of the original Chinese district of Shanghai known as the Southern City. By early 1942 this temple housed an organization known as the Shanghai Southern City Sino-Japanese Buddhist Association (*Shanghai nanshi zhongri fojiaohui*上海南市中日佛教會). The Japanese chairman of the association, Miyawaki Senjyō 宮脇千丈, was supported by a standing committee of four Chinese monks that included the Buddhist Comrades chairman, Fancheng. In May 1942, the association opened a Buddhist Japanese Language Night School that also taught Japanese history and stated as its mission "to bridge the gulf between Chinese and Japanese culture and promote friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries."[50] During that same month a soup kitchen began operating out of the Guandi Temple to supplement the government's efforts to feed the impoverished population of the Southern City. The Shanghai Buddhist Soup Kitchen (*Shanghai fojiao shizhouchang* 上海佛教施粥場) was also a sino-Japanese joint venture with Fan Cheng and Fujii Seisen 藤井靜宣 acting as its vice-chairmen. However, the director of this Buddhist charity was a prominent householder and former president of the World Buddhist Householder Grove, Shi Xingzhi 施省之 (1865-1945). Among others, Shi was joined on the board of directors by Wen Lanting, another prominent Shanghai householder businessman named Nie Yuntai, and the famously wealthy industrial capitalist, Rong Desheng. Every morning the soup kitchen fed 6,000 people a bowl of soup each for the high cost of 4,000 *yuan* per month. The Japanese-controlled media made frequent laudatory reports on the kitchen's exploits. One article editorialized,

> Buddhism broadly benefits all humans and gods, and perfectly harmonizes principles and actions. It originally could spread within China and abroad without even an effort to promote it. The reason Buddhism is not highly appraised by society [today] is entirely due to monks retreating from the world, taking pleasure in practicing the lesser vehicle [Hinayana], and lacking a spirit of service to the masses. This is why people severely criticize Buddhism as inappropriate for current conditions. To plan for today it is necessary to face reality, carry out many social enterprises, and express the world-saving spirit of the greater vehicle [Mahayana]. Donating soup and clothing is at least a start![51]

But not just anyone could follow the lead of the Buddhist Soup Kitchen in occupied Shanghai. The same article noted how remarkable it was that the kitchen continued to run seemingly unaffected by food shortages and radical inflation. By June of 1943 all other soup kitchens in the Southern City had been forced to shut down, while the Buddhist kitchen not only continued to operate, but procured so many rice-flour noodles for soup that it could dispense leftovers to other charities.[52] The secret to its success is suggested not only by the critical supplemental funding it received from a relief commission chaired by Wen Lanting, but also by its particular method of distribution, which contrasted sharply with that of the Buddhist Comrades described above.[53] The kitchen did not give its soup permits directly to the poor (or even the rich) but rather to the

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[50] *SMA*, R48-1-289.
[51] "Ji Shanghai fojiao shizhouchang" 記上海佛教施粥廠, *SB* (January 12, 1943).
[52] "Fojiao shizhouchang gaikuang" 佛教施粥廠概況, *SB* (June 10, 1943); "Shanghai fojiao shizhouchang baomifen bozhu shantuan"上海佛教施粥廠苞米粉撥助善團, *SB* (December 14, 1943).
[53] I am thankful to the questions and comments of Brian Martin for leading me to emphasize the contrast between the two systems of distribution.

chiefs who oversaw the nearby neighborhood units into which the occupation had divided the city.[54] These chiefs, who reported directly to the police, distributed the soup permits based on their surveillance of the individuals within their unit. These were not to be unregistered vagrants or, one would assume, resistance sympathizers. The thousands of lucky permit recipients lined up obediently at the Guandi Temple in an orderly fashion according to their given numbers to receive soup between the short hours of 8 and 10 in the morning. Therefore, with its sino-Japanese leadership, the Shanghai Buddhist Soup Kitchen worked in collaboration with the occupation regime's social control system, giving out much-needed food only to those the regime deemed worthy enough to eat.[55]

These activities at the Jing'an and Guandi temples illustrate how the promotion of Buddhism, and particularly of Buddhist social welfare, became an important and effective component of the occupation regime's strategy for cultivating collaboration. In the name of positive reform, the regime sought to apply added pressure for Buddhists to engage in social welfare by publicly portraying those who did not as false Buddhists. However, under the occupation, the implementation of social welfare on any significant scale was only possible with the cooperation of the regime. And that cooperation was generally bought with some form of collaboration. Moreover, by setting the field of collaboration as social welfare, the regime maximized the effect that it would have in the public eye. Tens of thousands of relief recipients would bear witness to the Buddhist compassion of the Japanese occupiers authenticated by respected Chinese Buddhists. On the one hand, this allowed collaboration officials like Foreign Minister Chu Minyi to dip their damaged public personas in the honeyed salve of religious justification. On the other hand, it meant that the moral authority that the wealthy and influential householder elites derived from their Buddhist philanthropy would be shared with the occupation regime and bind them to it. However, even within this scenario of inescapable entrapment there remained varying degrees of collaboration.

VI. DEGREES OF COLLABORATION

As a center of Buddhist social welfare and the former symbolic capital of Chinese Buddhism, it is surprising that the Pure Karma Society did not become a den of collaboration in the fashion of the Jing'an and Guandi temples. Society president, Guan Jiongzhi, passed away at the age of 63 on July 3, 1942. His final will opened with a testament to his longstanding Buddhist piety: "I have taken refuge in the Three Jewels since I was 41 years old, specially practicing Pure Land. Over these past twenty years, although worldly affairs have kept me busy and my daily worship has not been as strict as it was when I first began studying [Buddhism], I have always held in my mind the Buddha's name and sincerely aspired for rebirth [in the Western Paradise]."[56] The Pure Karma Society arranged a well-attended public funeral ceremony for its co-founder and dedicated leader in Enlightenment Garden on October 18.[57] However, two weeks earlier the Society had already held elections to quickly install a new leadership under uncertain

[54] This was the Japanese version of the Chinese mutual responsibility system (*baojia* 保甲). The Japanese version was called *kôban*. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Urban Controls in Wartime Shanghai," in Wen-hsin Yeh, ed., *Wartime Shanghai* (London: Routledge, 1998), 144-145.
[55] *SMA*, R1-16-520; "Ji Shanghai fojiao shizhouchang" 記上海佛教施粥廠, *SB* (January 12, 1943).
[56] "Guan Jiongzhi lao jushi shengxi ji" 關絅之老居士生西記, *BK* 259 (August 16, 1942) [MFQb 66: 157-158].
[57] "Guan Jiongzhi xiansheng," 27.

conditions.[58] Wen Lanting was chosen as the new president and all of the newly elected officers were longtime respected Shanghai householders, including Jian Yujie, Fan Gunong, Hu Songnian, and even Huang Hanzhi, who had managed to arrange for himself to be released from prison.[59] In December of the following year, new regulations forced the Society to separately register its Charity Department with the Shanghai Special Municipality Social Welfare Bureau. The registration application reported that the Charity Department was primarily engaged in running a medical clinic that had treated 19,775 patients with Chinese medicine and 20,626 with Western medicine over an unspecified period of time. Wen Lanting was listed as the Department's director, and although not a single Japanese name appeared among the board members, the application was approved and a license issued.[60]

The Pure Karma Orphanage had submitted its application to the Social Welfare Bureau on November 3, 1942. Signed by both Wen Lanting and the recently deceased Guan Jiongzhi,[61] the application informed the Bureau that the orphanage had originally been approved at the time of its founding by the Shanghai Municipal Police of the former Shanghai Municipal Council. Whereas the orphanage worked in the past with the Child Protection Unit of the SMC, by the time of application it had already transferred that relationship to the Child Protection Unit of the new First District Administration that had been set up by the occupation regime to take over jurisdiction of the International Settlement.[62] The charter submitted with the application does not indicate that any significant changes had been made to the affairs of the orphanage since 1941. After sending an agent to conduct an inspection, the Bureau granted its approval.[63]

Writing as the new president of Pure Karma Orphanage, Wen Lanting sent a request on February 25, 1943 for the Shanghai Municipal Council to provide funding as it had in the past. Funds were evidently running very low at the orphanage and inflation had driven up the cost of caring for each of its 100 boys to 2,000 *yuan* per year.[64] Wen's letter emphasized that the orphanage's specialization in the moral reform of juvenile delinquents from the Child Protection Unit "assists the Council and community… with the object of reducing crime."[65] His request for aid was accompanied by a full audit report conducted by a certified accountant that affords a deep look into the affairs of the orphanage over the previous year, the first since occupation. The only signs in the report of possible complicity with the occupation regime were a small debt owed to the Jing'an temple and the inclusion of a Japanese language instructor among the list of

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[58] "Jueyuan fojiao jingyeshe zhiyuan zhi gaixuan" 覺園佛教淨業社職員之改選, *BK* 264 (November 1, 1942) [MFQb 66: 197].
[59] Dillon, "Politics," 198.
[60] *SMA*, R15-2-30.
[61] Perhaps the orphanage had begun to prepare its application prior to Guan's death.
[62] I am thankful to Edward McCord for pointing out that this transference of the orphanage's special relationship from one regime to the next suggests that there were significant continuities in how the householder elite related to political authority before, during, (and perhaps even after) occupation. Recognition of such continuities helps to complicate the politicized framework that categorically divides elite relations with the Shanghai Municipal Council from relations with the Japanese occupation regime as non-collaboration and collaboration, respectively. Yet this helpful corrective must not be taken too far. However similar in form, the meaning of such relationships (and of the decisions made to transfer and maintain them) was significantly altered by the different aims and methods that defined the Shanghai Municipal Council and the occupation regime that succeeded it. The latter was an integral component of a large-scale invasion prosecuting a brutal war across China and East Asia. Transferred relationships that brought complicity with such aims and methods took on a new significance.
[63] *SMA*, R15-2-30.
[64] Any charity in the city must have faced similar difficulties at the time.
[65] *SMA*, U1-4-265.

salaried employees. Wen followed his request with a letter of support written in his capacity as chairman of the Shanghai Poor Patients Relief Association (the same organization that supplied funds to the Shanghai Buddhist Soup Kitchen). Wen's second letter informed the Council that his Relief Association had conducted its own inspection of the orphanage and found it deserving of funds. This implied that the authorities did not need to conduct a separate investigation themselves, as would have been a matter of procedure. Both of Wen's letters were forwarded by the new chief of the Council's Industrial and Social Division, a Japanese named Tonan Fukuda (who now held the same position as the administrator quoted above), to the Chinese Deputy Secretary. Fukuda recommended a fivefold increase in the Council's funding for the orphanage based on his assessment that, "This institution has done excellent work in the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents sent there from the Municipal jail." The check that the Pure Karma Orphanage received a few months later in the name of the First District Administration was accompanied by a letter meekly explaining that the decision to allocate these funds had been made by the former Shanghai Municipal Council.[66]

The Buddhist Comrades Association was likewise successful at continuing its operations after 1941. Although the surviving archival record does not afford as deep an investigation into the internal workings of the Buddhist Comrades, newspaper and periodical reports indicate that its experience under full occupation was essentially congruent with that of the Pure Karma Orphanage. The Buddhist Comrades received registration approval from the same authorizes as the orphanage, similarly without significant leadership changes at least until 1944.[67] In that year, for unknown reasons, the Association reorganized itself and installed the monk Xingci and the householder Fan Gunong as president and vice president.[68] Chairman until 1944, Fancheng remained on the board of directors after the reorganization. The connections he had established through the Guandi Temple were undoubtedly of indispensible value in the Association's negotiations with Japanese forces and the occupation regime. Moreover, a large measure of institutional continuity was provided by Hu Songnian's retention of his position as general manager. Although increasing costs due to inflation slowed the distribution of soup tickets, still, by 1945 they had been exchanged for over 10 million hot meals.[69] The Buddhist Comrades were also able to repeat their pattern of aid for blockaded refugee communities in Shanghai's western "badlands" in December 1941 and again within the Southern City in January 1942.[70] However, the real area of development for the Buddhist Comrades after 1941 was in reconstructing fire-scorched shantytowns.

One of the communities to which the Comrades had delivered aid during a punitive blockade in 1941 was located along Jessfield Road in western Shanghai. On the evening of October 30, 1942, a large shantytown in this area caught fire. The 300 grass huts that comprised the Jinjia Lane shantytown were entirely turned to ashes, leaving over 2,000 residents on the street exposed to the approaching winter without even the protection of warm jackets. Upon learning of the fire, the Buddhist Comrades immediately provided emergency relief in the form of soup twice per day, cotton jackets, and 20 temporary grass huts. At the same time, however,

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[66] Ibid.
[67] *SMA*, Q6-10-339
[68] Hu Songnian 胡松年, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui jinnian gongzuo baogao" 上海佛教同仁會近年工作報告, *Honghua yuekan* 83 (April 15, 1948) [MFQ 70:266].
[69] Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495].
[70] Ibid.

they began planning a more fundamental solution. Begging for the shivering lives huddled together within Jinjia Lane, the Comrades raised a huge sum of money to begin on December 1 the construction of 125 clay buildings with shingled roofs that had the capacity to house over 1,600 people. These sturdy structures were meant to be the basis for a more permanent community with an improved quality of life. Next to the residences, the Comrades also erected a Buddhist chanting hall as a religious center for the community. Finally, they installed running water facilities in a cooperative effort with the Red Swastika Society.[71] In commemoration of its primary benefactor, the new neighborhood was appropriately named "Comrade Village" (*Tongren tun*同仁邨). To meet the immense total cost for this project—as much as 218,000 *yuan*—the Comrades went beyond raising donations to take on a hefty debt of 80,000 *yuan*. At the lively opening ceremony for Comrade Village held on January 17, 1943, a certain Mr. Li of the Red Swastika Society publicly contributed 1,000 *yuan* to help the Comrades pay down their debt. It was hoped that his generosity would spark that of other philanthropists. At the same time, the buildings were now reportedly turned over to the district's neighborhood surveillance unit, which took responsibility for assigning the residents to their new homes.[72] It therefore appears that while the dispersed nature of their soup distribution system prevented it from depending too heavily upon the occupation's social control mechanisms, the Comrades were unable to duplicate such measured autonomy when it came to the more spatially-bounded housing projects.

However, two years later, on January 1, 1945, a first-hand report on Comrade Village that appeared in a Buddhist periodical pointed to the continual involvement of the Comrades long after the opening ceremony. The author remembered when the community had originally been constructed and evidently had now returned to report on its subsequent development. He found the buildings to be impeccably clean and the residents remarkably happy. Strolling into a medical clinic serving the community, he observed three doctors treating 50 to 60 patients a day for the nominal registration fee of 1 *yuan* each. Inquiries revealed that the clinic was managed and all of its expenses paid by none other than the Buddhist Comrade Association. The reporter then turned his tracks toward the Association's offices at Enlightenment Garden, where he found Hu Songnian and was granted an interview. Sitting among shelves of Buddhist scriptures within the Dharma Treasure Library, the reporter described the Comrade's general manager in the following words: "Householder Hu is already four years past sixty, yet he is brimming with energy. One look is enough to tell you this is a man of the Way." Hu explained that the Comrades had set up their medical clinic shortly after the community's opening ceremony and continued to provide not only free medicine, but also soup and clothing for the residents over the past two years. He confirmed that the expenses of the clinic in this time of economic crisis were enough to shock anyone. Their organization was only able to cover such costs through the support of two particularly generous householders who identified themselves only by the mysterious sobriquets "Master of the Suffering Studio" (*Kuzhai zhuren* 苦齋主人) and "Creature of the Sorcerous Way" (*Wudaosheng*巫道生).[73] In other words, the Comrades Association had powerful benefactors who had clearly been successful at maintaining their wealth for nearly the full tenure of the Japanese occupation. Although we do not know the identities of these

[71] The Red Swastika Society was used as a collaboration recruiting ground by the Japanese. I am thankful to Keith Schoppa for this information.

[72] Ibid.; "Huxi 'tongren tun' luocheng" 滬西 '同仁邨' 落成, *SB* (January 18, 1943).

[73] Huiji 慧濟, "Fojiao tongrenhui jinshi" 佛教同仁會近事, *Jueyouqing* 129/130 (January 1, 1945) [MFQb 62:349-350].

benefactors, it is likely that they were men similar to Wen Lanting, who had made the necessary compromises to protect and possibly even expand their fortunes during the war.[74]

The Pure Karma Society and its social welfare enterprises therefore continued to operate effectively after 1941 because they were patronized by Chinese Buddhists—like Wen Lanting and Fancheng—who openly and decisively collaborated with the occupation regime. Such patrons provided the connections, resources and influence necessary to conduct social welfare within a tightly controlled city experiencing economic depression. To be sure this brought the Pure Karma Orphanage and the Buddhist Comrades into a certain amount of complicity with occupation authorities. But the cost in terms of collaboration appears to have been much lower than at the Jing'an and Guandi temples. Japanese Buddhists and occupation high officials did not join the leadership. Moreover, aside from the employment of a Japanese language instructor at the orphanage and the unavoidable handover of management at Comrade Village, the historical record bears little evidence that the actual affairs of these enterprises changed as a result of their complicity. They did not openly sponsor sino-Japanese exchanges or promote the integration of cultures and peoples. They had been spared these ignominious capitulations by the patronage of men whose primary price of collaboration was paid elsewhere. One step removed from the most severe forms of complicity, theirs was a lesser degree of collaboration.

VII. POSTWAR VALORIZATION AND PROSECUTION OF WARTIME WELFARE

Degrees of collaboration mattered when the war finally ended. Japan officially surrendered on August 14, 1945 and its military garrison in Shanghai followed suit three weeks later. Buddhists joined the rest of the city in a chorus of celebration at their long-awaited liberation and the dawn of a new day. However, this mood of optimism was quickly dampened as carpetbaggers and former residents arrived with scorn and suspicion for those who had lived through the occupation. Once the Nationalists took over the city, they began a vindictive purge of wartime collaborators. Although the purge was soon distracted by renewed warfare with Communist forces, a number of occupation officials were publicly charged with treason, arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment or execution. Among those who met this fate were occupation mayor Zhou Fuhai and foreign minister Chu Minyi, who had participated in wartime Buddhist activities at Jing'an Temple and elsewhere.[75]

Despite the lack of thoroughness of the purge, the Buddhist community did not escape unscathed. Fancheng, who was the last leader standing at the Guandi Temple, was originally charged but then released due to an outpouring of petitions from his supporters. Dewu and Mijia, the monastic leaders of Jing'an Temple, were not so lucky. To the charges that they had used their leadership of the Shanghai Special Municipality Buddhist Association to support the Japanese occupation, they replied that the Association had only aimed to carry out social and charitable works that were devoid of political significance. However, this defense was outweighed by the severity of their compromises and they were ultimately sentenced.[76]

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[74] In May 1945, a few months after Huiji's interview with Hu and shortly before the Japanese surrender, the Buddhist Comrades responded to another shantytown fire, on Singapore Road, by again building a permanent community similar to Comrade Village. However, this new community was twice the size and also included a free elementary school. Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495].

[75] Bergère, *Shanghai*, 321-327.

[76] Xue Yu, *Buddhism*, 159, 174-176.

Meanwhile, the householders at the Pure Karma Society once again applied to a new regime for permission to re-register in November 1945. Aside from the replacement of Wen Lanting with Huang Hanzhi as president, the Society's leadership remained essentially unchanged from the war. In a posturing that echoed the defense of Dewu and Mijia, the Society's application listed its primary activity as "Buddhist charitable enterprises" and summarized its entire organizational history in the following five sentences:

> Our Society was founded in 1926 by Wang Yiting, Shi Xingzhi, Jian Yujie, Huang Hanzhi, Guan Jiongzhi, and others. Our mission is to assemble Buddhists for the practice of the Buddha-dharma. We frequently provide medicine and medical treatment. During the battles of 1932 and 1937 we carried out victim relief, and even to this day a portion of the refugees has still not been sent away. We have also established an orphanage with the purpose of giving relief to homeless children.[77]

Along with the application was included a full list of the 41 boys currently living at the Pure Karma orphanage, one third of whom they had managed to shelter all throughout the four long years since the occupation began in 1941. The householders were therefore making a case to the Nationalists for their heroism and patriotic loyalty during the war based on the social welfare they had been able to provide to suffering Chinese citizens under a brutal alien regime. This case was made even more explicitly and publicly in an October 1945 periodical article reporting another interview given by Hu Songnian about the work of the Buddhist Comrades during the war:

> Looking back on the 8 years of the War of Resistance, millions of soldiers gave their lives courageously on the battlefield... They are the most elite sons of the nation and "loyal ministers" of our victory in the war. Within the occupied areas, poisonous traitors played their tricks. They used to the utmost their talents for opportunistically buying and selling to hoard [wealth] and manipulate [the economy], to the extent of capitulating and depending on the enemy. They shamed the nation in pursuit of their own personal glory, with disregard for the national race and for the lives of our citizens. Ground underfoot by these two forces [i.e. the Japanese invaders and the Chinese traitors], the suffering lives of myriad sentient beings resembled hell on earth… [However,] within this exceptionally dangerous and evil environment, Shanghai was not without its resolute social elites who loved their nation and its people. They could not bear to just sit by and watch the draining of the nation's vitality and the misery of living beings. So they used all manner of methods and organized numerous charitable organizations to bring relief to their victimized compatriots. Although they encountered many obstacles, [these were faced with] a determined spirit of sacrificing oneself to save others. Their accomplishments and their enterprises were also a great contribution to our victory in the War of Resistance.[78]

Thus framed, the article went on to narrate, with a meticulous level of detail provided by Hu Songnian, the impressive record of the Buddhist Comrades' charitable patriotism during the war. Without the counterbalancing record of complicities amassed at Jing'an Temple, the Pure Karma

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[77] *SMA*, Q6-9-9.

[78] Ma Huinong馬惠農, "Shanghai fojiao tongrenhui zhenzai shilüe"上海佛教同仁會賑災史略, *Miaofalun* 3.1-9 (October 1, 1945) [MFQ 75: 494-495]

Society and the Buddhist Comrades Association were both officially approved for registration and their leaders' claims to national loyalty were thus legitimated by the Nationalists.[79] Now as the very basis for their patriotic credentials, the Pure Karma Society and other Buddhist institutions in Shanghai continued their social welfare at the heightened level it had reached during the war.

However, the Society's wartime patron met a different fate. Wen Lanting was arrested shortly after the return of the Nationalists in September 1945 and charged as one of those poisonous traitors. As Wen awaited trial in prison, Shanghai's popular press reported that he was piously reciting Buddhist sutras and preaching to his fellow inmates.[80] It is impossible to determine whether or not this was an intentional tactic on Wen's part to soften public opinion by portraying himself with the well-known image of a bodhisattva who enters hell to rescue suffering beings.[81] Nevertheless, intentional or not, such media coverage failed to have an effect. In 1946, the seventy-six year old Wen was sentenced to eight years of imprisonment. He died of illness two years later before completing his sentence.[82]

VIII. TWO CONCLUSIONS

I would like to draw two conclusions from the wartime experience of the householder Buddhist community. The first concerns the impact of the war on the community and its social welfare activities. The second concerns the role that Buddhism played in the relationship between the Japanese invaders and the society they sought to occupy and govern.

Long before the outbreak of the War of Resistance, Shanghai's householder elites were already leading philanthropists in a city known for its philanthropy. During the Nanjing decade they had begun to channel some of their charitable efforts through Buddhist organizations as a way to demonstrate to both state and society the social benefit of those organizations and the religion they represented. However, the charitable turn within the householder community was greatly accelerated by the social and political conditions of the war. This process of acceleration spiked at the outset of the war with householder mobilization of Buddhist resources in their leadership of the all-out effort to provide shelter and relief to the 1 million refugees displaced by the Battle of Shanghai. After the Battle, a number of factors prevented Buddhist social welfare from falling to its previous level. First, during the solitary island period, the continued presence of a massive refugee population overcrowding the foreign settlements forestalled demobilization of social welfare enterprises and encouraged their transition into more permanent institutions. The Pure Karma Orphanage and the Buddhist Comrades Association exemplified this longer term institutionalization of large-scale Buddhist social welfare. Once the Japanese occupied the settlements after 1941, they increased the pressure on Buddhists to play a leading role in social welfare both by using it as a tactic for inducing and justifying collaboration, and by causing disastrous effects on social conditions within the city. Finally, after the war, the level of Buddhist social welfare was yet again buoyed by the fact that it became the householder community's shield of patriotism in the postwar purge and under the increasingly dictatorial Nationalist

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[79] *SMA*, Q6-10-339.

[80] "Wen Lanting zai yuzhong songjing" 聞蘭亭在獄中誦經, *Jinghua tuhua zhoukan* ("China Weekly") 2.2 (April 6, 1946); "Wen Lanting wei Yuan Ludeng jiangjing" 聞蘭亭為遠履登講經, *Haiguang zhoubao* 19 (April 10, 1946).

[81] Such a tactic would have simultaneously resembled both the Buddhist piety of the warlord, Sun Chuanfang, and the manipulation of the media by his assassin, Shi Jianqiao, as described by Eugenia Lean in her *Public Passions*.

[82] Lou, *Minguo*, 346-351.

government. By the late 1940s, Buddhist social welfare had therefore become thoroughly institutionalized as a central patriotic duty of the householder elite.

My second conclusion concerns state-society relations during the war. As some of the most important civic leaders in the city, the householder elites presented an attractive target for a collaboration regime with special connections to Buddhism. Vertically speaking, leadership of Buddhist activism was an important source of these elite's moral and spiritual authority in society. Horizontally, shared Buddhist faith was a powerful common bond linking them together as a cohesive network. By using Buddhism as a point of entry for inducing collaboration, the occupation regime could both attach itself to an established source of moral authority, and manipulate an influential elite network to its own ends. However, the regime remained initially unsuccessful at implementing this strategy while the Buddhist householders were still able to rally within the lingering autonomy of the solitary island. It was not until after the island was subsumed in late 1941 that the regime had a captive target around which to weave a more effective net of Buddhist collaboration. This chapter has found that Buddhist social welfare was a particularly significant strand in that net. Sustained injunctions for social welfare were calculated to draw Buddhists into the public arena where they would be forced to work with occupation authorities in a scenario that maximized the social impact of their collaboration. However, as others have noted, Shanghai society and its resilient networks were too complex and extensive to be so completely manipulated.[83] Jay Carter's insight that "the line separating collaboration from resistance runs through individuals, not between them" is instructive in this regard.[84] Wen Lanting's patronage of the Pure Karma Society showed how even the most decisive collaborators were not totalistically defined by their ignoble choices. Collaboration not only brought the occupation regime influence over elite networks, it also extended the influence of those networks into the regime itself. In many ways, it was Wen's fatalistic descent into the grounds of certain treason that allowed him to insulate the moral authority of his co-religionists from the corrosive effects of first-degree collaboration.

[83] Yeh, "Prologue," 12.
[84] James Carter, "Buddhism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Manchuria," *Journal of Global Buddhism* 10 (2009), 214.

CHAPTER FIVE:
REJUVENATION AND DEMISE, 1945-1956

I. COMMUNAL REJUVENATION, 1945-1949

Although the householder community had survived the war and reestablished its legitimacy once the Nationalists returned in 1945, the post-war years were in many ways the beginning of a new era. The generation of leaders that had built the community and developed it since the 1920s was coming to an end. Born in the 1870s and 1880s, the members of this first generation of householder elites had grown up under the Qing dynasty and participated in the fundamental reform and revolution of the early twentieth century as young adults. By the end of the war the members of this generation had either already departed for the Western Paradise or were in their waning years. Of the four householders famously known as the "three *zhi*'s and the one *ting*," only Huang Hanzhi survived the war. The passing of a generation took its toll most fully on the World Buddhist Householder Grove, which had waited out the long years of war and occupation hoping for eventual revival. Some former officers such as Zeng Yousheng and Zhu Shouren did return to maintain the Grove's affairs; the aging Fan Gunong took up the empty presidency; and a successful lawsuit recovered the plot in Zhabei where the Grove's grand compound had once stood.[1] However, without men like Wang Yiting and Zhu Shiseng the organization lacked the means to rebuild, and a proper revival would have to wait the better part of another decade until more than two years after the Communist Liberation in 1949.

On the other hand, the Pure Karma Society, which had remained a vital institution during the war, fared much better in its immediate aftermath as well. The Society's leadership remained in the venerable hands of Huang Hanzhi, together with the longtime board member and original donor of Enlightenment Garden, Jian Yujie, and the president of the Gongdelin, Zhao Yunshao.[2] Under their oversight, the Society continued to run its Charity Department and orphanage, and to host the two organizations that had been headquartered within its Dharma Treasure Library during the war: the Buddhist Comrades Association and the Master Yinguang Everlasting Memorial Association (*Yinguang dashi yongjiu jinianhui*印光大師永久紀念會). The latter circulated Pure Land texts and published one the most influential Buddhist periodicals of the post-war period, *Honghua Monthly* (*Honghua yuekan* 弘化月刊). Additionally, in 1946, Zhao Yunshao founded a new organization within Enlightenment Garden for Pure Land practice, the Lotus Pond Association (*Lianchi haihui*蓮池海會). The Lotus Pond Association rapidly attracted over 1,300 members within its first year of operation, but appears to have just as quickly dissolved possibly due to a lawsuit brought against it by one of its members on charges that Zhao Yunshao had illegally formed the organization without registering with the authorities.[3] At the same time, the Pure Karma Society also continued to organize large public lectures by famous householders and monks. After one such lecture in August 1948 by the Chinese monastic master of Tibetan esoteric Buddhism, Nenghai, the householders invited him to establish a center of esoteric practice within Enlightenment Garden. Managed by Nenghai's disciple, Qingding, the

[1] SMA, Q-185-3-6557; SMA, Q130-64-12; Shen Binhan 沈彬翰, "Shijie fojiao jushilin sanshinian zhi huisu" 世界佛教居士林三十年之回溯, *Honghua yuekan* 120 (May 15, 1951) [MFQb 71:26-27].
[2] SMA, Q6-9-9.
[3] SMA Q6-10-348; *SZH*, 202-203.

Jingang daochang (金剛道場) opened in May 1949 and housed between sixty and seventy monks.[4]

Yet the aging generation could not provide leadership much longer, and the true sign of the community's vitality after 1945 was the emergence of a new, second generation of householder elites. Some of the new leaders, like Zhao Puchu and You Youwei, were rising through the ranks of the old organizations and would eventually become the community's official representatives under the People's Republic. However, during the period from 1945 to 1949, the clearest evidence of communal rejuvenation was the rapid growth of a Buddhist youth movement centered around the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Youth Association (*Shanghaishi fojiao qingnianhui* 上海市佛教青年會). The Buddhist Youth Association was formally established on August 25, 1946 by a circle of householders led by Fang Zifan, Zheng Songying, and Chen Hailiang. Fang Zifan方子藩 (1908-1968) had grown up in a Buddhist household in Ningbo, Zhejiang before studying chemical engineering abroad in Japan and the United States during the 1930s. Prior to the War of Resistance, he returned to China to take up positions at industrial materials and medical manufacturing companies in Shanghai.[5] There Fang was reunited with Zheng Songying 鄭頌英 (1917-2000), whom he had met years before at lectures by the Tiantai master Dixian when Zheng was attending school in Ningbo.[6] Chen Hailiang 陳海量 (1909-1982), who had begun his career as a business accountant, was also a native of Zhejiang and from a Buddhist family. He had met and taken refuge with another eminent Republican monk, Hongyi, in the early 1930s and had been invited to Shanghai in 1938 to help establish and run Great Dharma Wheel Books (*Dafalun shuju* 大法輪書局) and its influential periodical, *Jueyouqing* (覺有情).[7] Although they were no longer truly in their youth by the mid-1940s, unlike the elder householder elites this new generation had grown up under the Republic and participated in the new youth culture as students in its modern schools. Such generational differences were reflected in the methods of organization and activism that they brought to the householder community. Fang, Zheng and Chen had begun to participate in some of the same Buddhist organizations and activities in Shanghai during the war, such as the vegetarian meal club that met regularly at the Gongdelin's Buddhist restaurant. The three of them soon became leaders of the Deer Park Buddhist Study Society (*Luyuan foxuehui*鹿苑佛學會) that was formed among their younger householder cohort in 1941. In addition to the typical features of a Buddhist study organization, the Deer Park Society also offered distinctive functions related to the career and leisure interests of the younger generation, such as helping members to find employment, giving guidance on topics like marriage and work, establishing a free night school for professional development, founding a theatre troupe, playing sports, and listening to "buddhicized" music.[8]

The Deer Park Society remained a small group until after the war when it was reorganized in1946 into the Buddhist Youth Association with ambitious plans for expansion. Fang, Zheng, Chen, and their comrades carefully cultivated the public support of elders like Fan

[4] *SZH*, 286-287.
[5] *XFC*, 1:128.
[6] Ibid., 2:1595.
[7] Ibid., 1:1091-1092.
[8] Chen Hailiang 陳海量, "Luyuan foxuehui yuanqi" 鹿苑佛學會緣起, *BK* 249 (March 16, 1942) [MFQb 66:76]; "Daxiong yiwu zhiye yexiao yu luyuan foxuehui" 大雄義務職業夜校與鹿苑佛學會, *Jueyouqing* 121/122 (September 1, 1944) [MFQb 62:293]; *SZH*, 289.

Gunong, Ding Fubao and Hu Songnian, who joined a broad preparatory committee of 60 people.[9] Taixu accepted their invitation to serve as the Association's guiding teacher, and delivered a speech at the opening ceremony held on August 25 at the headquarters on Huaihai Middle Road. The aging reform leader recalled that many Buddhist youth organizations had been formed around China over the previous twenty years but all of them had faded as quickly as they appeared. He hoped that this new organization could finally provide a successful model to be imitated throughout the country.[10] Similarly, in Holmes Welch's analysis, the great weakness of the Republican-era Buddhist lay movement had been "the indifference of the youth."[11] The Buddhist Youth Association energetically set out to rectify this deficiency by striving to "awaken the youth" and "purify [their] lives."[12] With Fang Zifan elected as its president, the Association immediately launched the first of its annual membership drives. Reminiscent of the World Buddhist Householder Grove's land campaign of 1926, the membership drives divided the officers into dozens of teams that competed to bring in the most new recruits and the largest donations. As a mass organization, the Buddhist Youth Association resembled the Grove more than the Pure Karma Society, which functioned as a smaller elite group dedicated primarily to managing a public communal space. By 1949, the Association had acquired well over 3,000 members, surpassing even the size of the Grove in its heyday during the 1930s.

Also like the Grove, the Youth Association set up a large, complex organizational structure to integrate a wide array of activities. At the time of founding the Youth Association's six departments already encompassed twenty individual groups, each dedicated to a specific activity or function. The Central Affairs Department managed by Fang Zifan and the Financial Affairs Department managed by Zheng Songying comprised the organization's administrative machinery. The Propagation Department (*Hongfabu* 弘法部), managed by Chen Hailiang, ran a library, a lecture and discussion group, a radio broadcast society, a prison preaching group, a propagation training group, and a publication group that put out the Association's popular monthly journal, *Awakened News* (*Juexun* 覺訊), that declared in its opening issue that it would speak from "the perspective of the youth."[13] The weekly lectures were delivered by an invited monk followed by one or more householders, usually from among the Association's officers, on topics of social relevance such as "The Road to Health and Leisure."[14] The Religious Practice Department (*Xiuchibu* 修持部) included a refuge and precept group, a *nianfo* chanting group, and a research group. The Social Welfare Department (*Fulibu* 福利部) established a medical clinic, an education group that ran an accounting night school, raised funds for disaster relief, and made clothing for donation to schools, orphanages and prisons. Finally, the Health and Leisure Department (*Kanglebu* 康樂部) included a family group that promoted and visited "buddhicized families," a travel group that toured sacred sites, a vegetarian eating club, a sports group, a music group that offered amateur piano classes, and an entertainment group that showed

[9] *SZH*, 206.
[10] "Shanghai fojiao qingnianhui kai chenglihui"上海佛教青年會開成立會, *Juequn zhoubao* 1.8 (1946) [MFQ 101:122].
[11] Welch, *The Buddhist Revival*, 86.
[12] "Shanghai fojiao qingnianhui yuanqi"上海佛教青年會緣起, *Juequn zhoubao* 1.5 (August 12, 1946) [MFQ 101:80].
[13] Zhong Huicheng鍾慧成, "Fakanci: qingnian de lichang" 發刊詞: 青年的立場, *Juexun* 1 (January 1, 1947) [MFQ 103:1-2]
[14] "Benhui lijie xingqi jiangzuo jiangshi ji jiangti yilan" 本會歷屆星期講座講師及講題一覽, *Juexun* 26 (February 1,1949) [MFQ 103:185].

Buddhist movies.[15] This last department in particular displayed the organization's distinctive spirit and mission. The literati style of the older generation that could be observed at the Grove of the 1920s and 1930s was now replaced by the culture of the modern-educated and career-bound youth of a new era. On the eve of the Communist takeover of Shanghai on May 25, 1949, the Buddhist Youth Association had firmly established itself as a new center of the householder community and breathed new life into its activism as the old elite dwindled ever smaller.

II. UNDER HELMSMAN MAO'S NEW DEMOCRACY

The Communist takeover of Shanghai in May 1949 and the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1 brought yet another new regime to power. The party, however, did not seek the immediate elimination of sworn ideological enemies like capitalism and religion. Instead, Mao Zedong declared a period of New Democracy during which the party would work together with popular forces in a united front strategy. This was a pragmatic decision on the part of the leadership because, particularly in the newly won urban areas, the party lacked the cadres to fully and properly staff the bureaucracy and run the economy. In Shanghai, the new regime sought to convince the capitalists to stay on rather than flee abroad, and even supported the private enterprises that had long driven China's most important industrial center. Those business leaders who chose to stay joined mass organizations that were tasked with spreading party propaganda and promoting loyalty to the new regime, but generally resembled the corporatist chambers of commerce from the Republican era. By 1951, the private sector was once again humming and industrial output increased to levels higher than they had been in 1949.[16] Similarly, although the party hoped to eventually wean society from its religious opiates, it feared that radical measures in the short term could elicit a damaging popular backlash. The provisional constitution of 1949, known as the Common Program, therefore guaranteed the freedom of religious belief, and a major task of the new Religious Affairs Bureau was to protect religious institutions from zealous local cadres steeped in years of anti-religious propaganda. However, religious freedom was only to be extended to those individuals and groups that supported and served the party, not to anyone deemed a political reactionary. As with private business, initially the Communist regime did not seek to destroy Buddhism but rather to control and utilize it.[17]

As they had during previous political transitions, the Shanghai householder community immediately embraced the new regime and demonstrated its willingness for accommodation. The householders were quick to attune themselves to government policies and master the new political idiom. The cover article for the first issue of *Honghua Monthly* to appear after Liberation was entitled "Buddhism and Socialism" and asserted that the former was an ally of the latter in its struggle against insidious individualism.[18] Another article stated that "the doctrine of Buddhism is to oppose feudalism with revolution."[19] Householder organizations sent

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[15] "Shanghaishi fojiao qingnianhui zuzhi xitong"上海市佛教青年會組織系統, *Juexun* 1 (January 1, 1947) [MFQ 103:8]; "Shanghaishi fojiao qingnianhui zuzhi xitong"上海市佛教青年會組織系統, *Juexun* 17 (May 10, 1948) [MFQ 103:124-125].

[16] Bergère, *Shanghai*, 342-355; Nara Dillon, "New Democracy and the Demise of Private Charity in Shanghai," in Jeremy Brown and Paul G. Pickowicz, eds., *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 82-88.

[17] Holmes Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 1-7, 30-40.

[18] Xinmin 新民 "Fojiao yu shehui zhuyi" 佛教與社會主義, *Honghua yuekan* 97 (June 15, 1949) [MFQb 70:433].

[19] Dawo 大我, "Fojiao jinru xinshidai de shangque" 佛教進入新時代的商榷, *Honghua yuekan* 97 (June 15, 1949) [MFQb 70:436].

representatives to political study meetings organized by the party. They vocally and financially supported their country in its war to "resist America and aid Korea." In 1951 the community publicly issued the "Patriotic Compact of Shanghai Buddhists" (*Shanghaishi fojiaotu aiguo gongyue* 上海市佛教徒愛國公約) composed of seven points that pledged to protect Helmsman Mao and the three arms of the regime (party, state and army), to abide by all laws, to support the government in the war and other aspects of its foreign policy, and to raise vigilance against imperialist and Nationalist attempts to manipulate Buddhist groups for counter-revolutionary ends.[20] Finally, Shanghai householders prominently participated in the mechanisms that the party set up to control Buddhism. Zhao Puchu and Fang Zifan, both of whom were also Buddhist delegates to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council (CPPCC), co-founded with others the new Buddhist periodical, *Modern Buddhism* (*Xiandai foxue* 現代佛學), set up in Beijing in 1950 to transmit government policy, spread propaganda, and mediate complaints among the nation's Buddhists. Zhao and Fang were joined by many of their fellow Shanghai householders on the executive councils of the Shanghai Buddhist Association (*Shanghai fojiao xiehui* 上海佛教協會) and the national Chinese Buddhist Association (*Zhongguo fojiao xiehui* 中國佛教協會), once the latter was set up in Beijing in 1953. In serving as intermediaries for the party-state, these official Buddhist associations resembled their corporatist predecessors from the Republican era, but in fact were far more tightly controlled and orchestrated by the party. After leading its founding, Zhao Puchu effectively ran the CBA as secretary-general until it ceased activity in 1966. According to Holmes Welch, there is evidence to indicate that Zhao had in fact become a secret member of the party.[21]

Parallel to the experience of Shanghai's capitalists, during the period of New Democracy the householder community did not merely survive, it saw remarkable growth and revival. The Pure Karma Society continued to arrange public Buddhist ceremonies and other religious activities within Enlightenment Garden, as well as to run its medical clinic and other charitable enterprises.[22] In 1951, the World Buddhist Householder Grove finally achieved the revival it had been awaiting for over a decade. Co-founder and standing committee member, Li Jingwei, had returned to Shanghai the previous year despite having been a member of the Nationalist party. By evoking grand memories of the Grove's heyday, Li galvanized the remaining leaders and brought in other influential householders to form a reorganization committee that drafted a new charter, elected new officers, and renovated the Grove compound.[23] The presidency, however, was given to You Youwei 游有維 (1917-1990), a rising leader of the new generation who had taken refuge with Yinguang during the Republican era and become managing editor of *Honghua Monthly* in 1949.[24] Meanwhile, with Fang Zifan and Zheng Songying still in charge, the Buddhist Youth Association continued to develop and strengthen its position. Particularly once the economy began to recover, its annual membership and fundraising drives brought in fresh recruits to grow the rank and file and staff the officer corps of its expanding organization. In

[20] "Shanghaishi fojiaotu aiguo gongyue"上海市佛教徒愛國公約, *Jueyouqing* 12.5 (May 1, 1951) [MFQb 63: 408].
[21] Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao*, 17-25, 40.
[22] Ibid., 316-317.
[23] "Shijie fojiao jushilin fuxing yuanqi" 世界佛教居士林復興緣起, *Jueyouqing* 232 (February 1, 1951) [MFQb 63:372]; Shen Binhan 沈彬翰, "Shijie fojiao jushilin sanshinian zhi huisu" 世界佛教居士林三十年之回溯, *Honghua yuekan* 120 (May 15, 1951) [MFQb 71:26-27].
[24] *XFC*, 2:1172.

1951 the Association ran 39 individual groups and enterprises under 8 departments.[25] Over the previous two years since Liberation, it had added a Women's Department and a Teen Department to enhance its influence among these social demographics. Soon an Organizational Department was also established to enhance coordination both internally among the departmental groups and externally with other householder organizations and religious groups.[26] In September 1951, an opening ceremony was held for the Association's new, larger compound on Wuzheng Road, the fruit of a successful land campaign.[27] Branches were formed in the various districts of the city, and Fang Zifan called for "all Buddhists in Shanghai to unite within the scope of our Association."[28] With the prominent participation of Zhao Puchu, the fifth annual membership drive in 1951 aimed to bring in 4,000 members not just in Shanghai but from across the country.[29] Himself a team captain in the drive, You Youwei promoted the Association with an article in *Honghua Monthly* entitled "Buddhist Householders of the Nation Quickly Unite!" in which he wrote:

> Among the householder groups in the country, the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Youth Association is the most suited to the times: its organization is legal and robust; its work is responsive and thorough. It not only propels Buddhists in the important work of carrying out social welfare enterprises, but especially since Liberation it has brought forth great power in both protecting the faith and propagating the Dharma… It is well known that amidst the current development of Buddhism throughout the nation, Shanghai is thriving the most; and that within the Buddhist trends in Shanghai, the Buddhist Youth Association is the most advanced. So the propagation and salvation work of the Association has great significance for the future of Buddhism. We should combine our power to expand its organization and strengthen its duties![30]

During the New Democracy period of the early 1950s, the Buddhist Youth Association not only cemented its role as a leading activist organization in Shanghai but also ambitiously positioned itself to become the first Buddhist householder group of the twentieth century to acquire a genuine national scope.

III. THE DEMISE OF THE HOUSEHOLDER COMMUNITY

The freedoms permitted under New Democracy were steadily eroded by a string of mass political campaigns orchestrated by the party to strengthen its social control. The campaign to "Resist America and Aid Korea" starting in 1950, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in early

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[25] "Shanghaishi fojiao qingnianhui shiye dagang"上海市佛教青年會事業大綱, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:48]

[26] Fang Zifan 方子藩, "Juanshou yu" 卷首語, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:47]; Zheng Songying 鄭頌英, "Foqing de guoqu xianzai ji qianzhan" 佛青的過去現在及前瞻, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:53-54].

[27] "Shanghai fojiao qingnianhui qiaoqian xinsha xixun"上海佛教青年會喬遷新廈喜訊, *Honghua yuekan* 124 (September 15, 1951) [MFQb 71:84].

[28] Fang Zifan 方子藩, "Juanshou yu" 卷首語, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:47].

[29] "Zhengqiudiu diuzhang fangming yilanbiao" 徵求隊隊長芳名一覽表, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:49].

[30] You Youwei游有維, "Quanguo fojiao jushimen gankuai tuanjie qilai" 全國佛教居士們趕快團結起來, *Honghua yuekan* 117 (February 15, 1951) [MFQb 70:458].

1951, the Three Antis campaign later that year, and the Five Antis campaign of 1952 all narrowed the definition of patriotic loyalty, fostered a "climate of fear," and deepened the demands for political accommodation.[31] An increasing number of private enterprises were taken over by the state as the campaigns encouraged employees to denounce their capitalist employers as reactionary and corrupt. In 1953, the regime's announcement of its First Five-Year Plan proclaimed an end to the period of New Democracy and heralded the beginning of the transition to socialism. Although elimination of the capitalists now became an official policy goal, the socialization of industry was delayed until January 1956 when it was completed virtually overnight with the active cooperation of the capitalists themselves. As Nara Dillon has shown, the lack of resistance from the business community was not simply due to the culture of accommodation induced by the mass political campaigns, but also to the party's shrewd strategy of first dismantling the social basis of the capitalists' legitimacy.[32] Although Dillon's focus is on philanthropy, a similar story unfolded in the related social arena of householder Buddhist activism.

The householder community initially came through the political campaigns of the early 1950s relatively unscathed. Urban householder institutions were not affected by land reform in the manner of monastic temples because they operated on member fees and donations rather than rent from land owning. The campaign against heterodox sects in 1951 occasionally targeted householder groups because the authorities had difficulty distinguishing them from their ill-defined illegal counterparts.[33] However, the major householder organizations in Shanghai, like the Buddhist Youth Association, did not meet such a fate of misidentification and on the contrary were able to leverage their legality to swell their ranks by attracting fringe Buddhists fearful of the campaign.[34]

It was not until late 1955 during the campaign against hidden counterrevolutionaries (*Sufan yundong*肅反運動) that the regime finally turned its sites on the Shanghai householder community a few months prior to the socialization of industry. The campaign had begun with the criticism and arrest of the party intellectual Hu Feng, who was "exposed" as a counterrevolutionary cloaking himself in Marxist-Leninist ideology. Across the country struggle groups were formed to learn from the case of Hu Feng, sharpen vigilance, draw a clear line between oneself and the enemy, and expose further hidden counterrevolutionaries. In Shanghai, following instructions from the head of the city's party branch committee propaganda bureau, the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Association held its own struggle session in June to denounce Hu Feng and his hidden clique. At the meeting, Buddhist Youth Association leaders Fang Zifan and Zheng Songying represented the householders in lending their voices to the denunciation.[35] The campaign intensified over the following months and dominated the second annual expanded meeting of the Chinese Buddhist Association convened in Beijing from August 16 to 31.[36] In

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[31] Jeremy Brown and Paul G. Pickowicz, "The Early Years of the People's Republic of China: An Introduction," in *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) , 10.

[32] Nara Dillon, "New Democracy and the Demise of Private Charity in Shanghai," in Jeremy Brown and Paul G. Pickowicz, eds., *Dilemmas of Victory: The Early Years of the People's Republic of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 80-102.

[33] Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao*, 231-237.

[34] Fang Zifan 方子藩, "Juanshou yu" 卷首語, *Juexun* 51/52 (March 1, 1951) [MFQb 79:47].

[35] *Honghua yuekan* 170 (July 25,1955) [MFQb 72:262-265].

[36] Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao*, 237. Following the coverage of the meeting in *Modern China*, Welch uncharacteristically does not question the veracity of his source in this case.

attendance at the national meeting as delegates from the Shanghai Buddhist Youth Association were Fang, Zheng, Chen Hailiang, and Teen Department head Li Xingxiao李行孝. As the train carrying this foursome home to Shanghai after the meeting pulled into Zhenru Station on September 5, Zheng, Chen and Li were suddenly arrested and thrown in jail to await trial as counterrevolutionaries.[37] The regime had given the Buddhist community its own version of the Hu Feng clique to struggle against. The media now reported that at the national meeting all 167 delegates from around the country had in unison angrily exposed the Youth Association and its leaders as a hidden counterrevolutionaries. However, the decision had apparently been made to leave it up to their Buddhist friends and comrades at the Shanghai Buddhist Association to thoroughly investigate their crimes and provide the testimony that would seal their fate. This process was begun at a meeting from September 12 through 17 at Shanghai's Jade Buddha Temple. The report from the meeting was widely published and distributed so that all Buddhists throughout the country could learn how to recognize the true face of hidden counterrevolutionaries in their midst. Within Shanghai all monks, nuns and householders were gathered at six central Buddhist locations around the city where they were told of the crimes committed by their coreligionists at the Buddhist Youth Association and were divided into small discussion groups to participate in the denunciation. A special study session was conducted at the Buddhist Youth Association itself in which members came forward to give personal testimony against the jailed trio. A full three months were dedicated to these activities, which ended in January at about the same time as the socialization of industry. Overall, the case of the Buddhist Youth Association served to greatly enhance the regime's penetration and control of the nation's Buddhists, particularly within their activist center at Shanghai.[38]

However, the fact that the regime chose as its target for the campaign Shanghai's leading householder association rather than a symbolically important temple—traditionally considered the institutional core of the religion—suggests that the case was about controlling not just Buddhism, but Shanghai's urban elite as well. The timing of the arrests to coincide with the assault on private industry further supports this point. Now with over five years of experience governing Shanghai, the party had recognized the significance of householder Buddhist activism for the social power of the urban elite and particularly the city's capitalists. So long as they remained publicly respected as pious Buddhist leaders, even party-led attacks on these elites as unscrupulous capitalist exploiters ran up against the bulwark of moral authority they had erected from within influential householder institutions like the Pure Karma Society and the Buddhist Youth Association. The charges leveled against Zheng, Chen and Li ingeniously undermined that moral authority without risking an open ideological attack on religion or Buddhism itself. The trio was not arrested for being Buddhists, but for being *false* Buddhists. More specifically, they were denounced as counterrevolutionaries who merely "donned the Buddhist outer clothing of 'piety' and 'fervor'" in order to use Buddhist organizations as a staging ground for their covert machinations against the party and the people. Zheng was identified as an "illegal capitalist" (*bufa zibenjia* 不法資本家) who had learned his tricks as a crony under the notorious traitor Wen Lanting and after Liberation worked to destroy the government's financial policies. Li

[37] Zheng Songying, "Chen Hailiang jushi jiqi shizuo," in *Jingyishi wencun* 淨意室文存2 [Collected Writings from the House of Pure Thoughts] (Beijing: Zhongguo xianzhen nianjian she, 2001), 107-115. Fang was not arrested with the others or implicated in the case, probably because he had forged closer connections to the regime by proving himself to be a useful collaborator in the mass business and political organizations set up by the party in Shanghai.
[38] *Honghua yuekan* 174 (November 25, 1955) [MFQb 72:324]; *Honghua yuekan* 176 (January 25, 1956) [MFQb 72:387-389].

Xiaoxing also received the label of "illegal capitalist." Chen Hailiang was depicted as coming from a landlord class background and having served as a military official for the Nationalists; the Buddhist persona was simply a new cover taken by this reactionary agent. It was found that under the manipulation of the hidden clique led by these three counterrevolutionaries, the Buddhist Youth Association had opposed every mass campaign from the pages of its periodical *Juexun*, constructed an "air raid shelter" to hide and harbor other counterrevolutionaries, welcomed and protected members of heterodox sects, turned its Teen Department into a secret political party, and established relations with domestic and foreign enemies.[39] The truth or falsity of these allegations was not as important as their implications and the effect they had. First of all, they explicitly drew and took aim at the connection between capitalists and Buddhist activism. They did so not by opposing Buddhism on ideological or doctrinal grounds, but rather by accusing the householder elites of using the religion as a cover for insidious political activity. Householder activism had remained a stable source of moral authority for the elite across the turbulent decades of the Republican era in large part because its claim to transcend political and worldly concerns remained intact. Now the party undercut their authority precisely by severing that very claim. Although only three Shanghai householders were jailed in the case, it cast suspicion upon the entire community and sent a clear message that any moral authority derived from Buddhist activism would be dependent on the favor of the party. As in social welfare, the case against the Buddhist Youth Association helped pave the way for the bloodless triumph over private industry and the Shanghai elite in 1956 by first establishing firm control over an arena of civic culture in which the elite had based its social power.

The discovery of hidden counterrevolutionaries became the rationale for the party, working secretly through the Shanghai Religious Affairs Bureau (*Shanghaishi renmin weiyuanhui zongjiao shiwuju*上海市人民委員會宗教事務局) and publicly through the Shanghai Buddhist Association, to carry out a rapid and thorough reorganization of the householder community in 1956. First, in late January, by order of the Shanghai Buddhist Association, the Buddhist Youth Association was abolished and forcibly combined with two smaller householder associations—the Gongdelin and the Shanghai Zhenjing Lotus Society—into a single new organization called the Shanghai Buddhist Believers Association (*Shanghai fojiao xinzhonghui* 上海佛教信眾會).[40] Reflecting the firm control of the regime, the charter of the Believer's Association set the following mission: "Under the guidance of the Shanghai Municipal Buddhist Association, this association unites its members to carry out Buddhist propagation and practice activities, study nationalism, and promote the good traditions of Buddhism."[41] On February 1, with *Jueyouqing* defunct for at least a year and *Juexun* recently abolished along with the Youth Association, the last remaining Buddhist periodical in Shanghai, *Honghua Monthly*, was moved out of the Pure Karma Society and transformed into the mouthpiece for the Shanghai Buddhist Association.[42] Meanwhile, the three private Buddhist publishing houses in Shanghai—Honghuashe, Buddhist Books, and Dafalun Books—were combined and reorganized into the Shanghai Buddhist Bookstore (*Shanghai fojiao shudian*上海佛教書店), which You Youwei opened as manager on February 9 to receive the Shanghai Buddhist Association committee members on the day of their

[39] *Honghua yuekan* 174 (November 25, 1955) [MFQb 72:324-333].
[40] "Lianhe qishi" 聯合啟事, *Honghua yuekan* 177 (February 25, 1956) [MFQb 72:423].
[41] *SMA*, B22-1-47.
[42] Welch, *Buddhism Under Mao*, 16.

meeting.[43] Soon the World Buddhist Householder Grove and the Pure Karma Society were also combined and reorganized with two other small householder associations. The Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Householder Grove (*Shanghai fojiao jingye jushilin*上海佛教淨業居士林) was officially established on August 3, again with You Youwei as the president. The charter for the Pure Karma Householder Grove was almost an exact duplicate of that for the Believer's Association.[44] In 1964, these two remaining householder organizations were finally combined into one, the Shanghai Buddhist Householder Grove, which was soon unceremoniously transferred out of Enlightenment Garden—the idyllic communal space that had served as both a symbol and staging ground for the householders since the 1920s. Thus, long before Red Guards stormed temples and all public Buddhist activity halted in the Cultural Revolution, the Shanghai Buddhist householder community had been strangled by the tightening grip of the party over urban elites and ceased to function as a significant component of the city's civic culture.

[43] "Fang Shanghai fojiao shudian de guangan"訪上海佛教書店的觀感, *Honghua yuekan* 177 (February 25, 1956) [MFQb 72:424].
[44] *SMA*, B22-1-47.

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Abbreviations:

BGS *Shijie fojiao jushilin chengji baogaoshu*
HCY *Haichaoyin*
FDC Ding Fubao, ed., *Foxue dacidian*
JK *Jingye yuekan*
LK *Shijie fojiao jushilin linkan*
MFQ Huang Xianian, ed., *Minguo fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng*
MFQz Huang Xianian, ed., *Minguo fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian*
SB *Shenbao*
SMA Shanghai Municipal Archives
SZH Yuan Renze et al, ed., *Shanghai zongjiaoshi*
XFC Yu Lingbo, ed., *Xiandai fojiao renwu cidian*
ZJD Chen Yutang, ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai renwu minghao dacidian*

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*Dayun*大雲 [Great Cloud].

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