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American Philanthropy Literature Review

A Historical Survey of Indigenous Chinese Philanthropy, 1550-1953

Working Paper

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PREFACE

This working paper is a part of a series of background papers produced for the Global Chinese Philanthropy Initiative (GCPI), which is a bilateral effort to study, promote, support, and highlight philanthropy among Chinese in Greater China and Chinese Americans. GCPI is a collaborative effort of Asian American Advancing Justice–Los Angeles, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, and UC Irvine Long China-US Institute. Support for the GCPI comes from the John and Marilyn Long Family Foundation, Lao Niu Foundation, and Wallace H. Coulter Foundation. Additional support provided by UCLA’s Center for Neighborhood Knowledge (née Center for the Study of Inequality) and Center for Civil Society. Stewart Kwoh, John Long, and Archie Kleingartner serve on the GCPI Executive Committee. The multiyear research plan includes four major phases: developing foundational knowledge through reviewing secondary data and existing literature; discovering new knowledge through primary social science research on philanthropy, civil society, and key sectors; evaluating case studies to examine the social, political, and economic impacts of philanthropy; and translating research into instrumental knowledge to improve policies, programs, and practice. The goal is the production of academically sound publications that inform and expand the bilateral dialogue and awareness among philanthropists, foundations, and corporate giving staff; community-based organizations and educators; media, policy makers, and the general public.

Professor Paul Ong serves as the Principle Investigator for the initial research phase (developing foundational knowledge), and the multidisciplinary team includes Professors Lillian Wang, Tilly Feng, and Jeff Wasserstrom, along with graduate research assistants at universities in China and the United States. Silvia Gonzalez serves as the project manager. The purpose of this phase is to develop an overview about the magnitude, patterns, and trajectory of Chinese philanthropy, and a theoretical/conceptual framework to guide subsequent primary evaluation and translational research. The researchers utilize two approaches: scholarship of integration of existing literature and descriptive statistics from secondary sources. When appropriate, the work takes a comparative approach by covering four predominantly Chinese societies: China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore. When feasible, researchers incorporate primary information. (Another component of the GCPI covers Chinese American philanthropy, with its own publication series.) A primary objective of the initial research project is the production of working papers covering the following topics: literature reviews focusing on possible causal and motivational factors; an assessment of data availability; the early and twentieth-century histories of Chinese philanthropy; case studies of philanthropy in higher education; and a macro level analysis of philanthropy in the environmental arena. The findings from these scholarly efforts will help identify possible topics to be explored as a part of the second stage of the GCPI research agenda, which will be developed and led by Professor Lois Takahashi, Interim Dean of UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs.

前言

本系列研究报告提供了全球华人慈善行动（GCPI – Global Chinese Philanthropy Initiative）的背景资料。全球华人慈善行动（CGPI）是一项双边学习，它意在推进和支持全球华人在中国 and 美国的慈善行动。GCPI 由亚美公义促进中心--洛杉矶 (Asian American Advancing Justice)，加州大学洛杉矶分校罗斯金学院 (Los Angeles, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs) 和加州大学尔湾分校-梁氏中美研究院 (UC Irvine Long China-US Institute) 共同合作进行。梁仕源和梁秀莲梁家族基金会 (John and Marilyn Long Family Foundation)，老牛基金会 (Lao Niu Foundation)，以及华莱士.H. 柯尔特基金会 (Wallace H. Coulter Foundation) 都对 CGPI 提供了鼎力支持。另外，此项目还获得了由 UCLA 邻里知识中心，née 社会不平等研究中心（UCLA’s Center for Neighborhood Knowledge – née Center for the Study of Inequality）和公民社会中心 (Center for Civil Society) 提供的资金和技术协助。同时，郭志明 (Stewart Kwoh)，梁仕源 (John Long) 和阿尔奇. 克莱恩高纳德 (Archie Kleingartner) 担任了 GCPI 执行委员会的职务。多年的研究计划包括四个主要阶段：通过处理次级资料和现有文献来发展基础知识；经由对于慈善事业，民间社会和关键部门的社会科学研究，获取一级资料来开发新的知识；评估案例研究，以探讨慈善事业的社会，政治和经济影响；将研究成果转化为具有帮助性的学识来改善慈善政策，项目和实践。GCPI 的主要目标是发布一项严谨的，学术性的慈善行为研究，积极拓展双边对话，宣传慈善意识，并借由此项成果为慈善家，基金会，企业捐赠，社区组织，教育工作者，媒体，决策者和公众提供帮助。

初始研究阶段（针对发展基础知识）的课题主要负责人由邓道明 (Paul Ong) 教授担当。同时，这一跨领域的研究小组中包括来自台湾的王丽容 (Lillian Wang)，中国大陆的冯天丽 (Tilly Feng) 和美国的杰夫.瓦瑟斯特伦 (Jeff Wasserstrom) 等多位教授。不仅如此，中国和美国大学的多位博士助理也参与其中。西尔维娅.冈萨雷斯 (Silvia Gonzalez) 担任此项目经理。本研究阶段的宗旨是发展出一个对于中国慈善事业的规模，形式，轨迹的整体性了解，以及一个用于指导后续具有原始性，评估性和转化性的研究的理论框架。研究人员利用了两种方法：一、学术整合现有文献；二、研究二级说明性数据。研究采用比较中国大陆，台湾，香港和新加坡这四个主要华人社会的方法进行研究。在可行的情况下，研究人员在分析过程中会运用原始一级资料。（该 GCPI 的另一个组成部分涵盖了在美华人的慈善事业，并拥有自己的系列出版物。）初始研究项目的一个重要目标是发布一份研究性文件，讨论以下五个题目：侧重于研究潜在引导因素的文献研究；数据可用性的评估；中国慈善事业处于早期和 20 世纪的历史；高等教育慈善事业的案例研究；对慈善事业在环境领域所起作用的宏观分析。这些学术性研究的成果将用于鉴定研究 GCPI 第二阶段可能的一级研究课题。GCPI 的第二阶段研究将由加州大学洛杉矶分校-罗斯金公共事务学院 (UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs) 临时性院长，洛伊斯.高桥 (Lois Takahashi) 教授主导。

INTRODUCTION

Abstract

This paper provides a historical overview of indigenous Chinese philanthropy from 1550 to 1953. This four-hundred-year period stretches from the late Ming dynasty to the early years of the People's Republic of China (PRC). A brief examination of this era illustrates that both the Chinese state and private individuals have engaged with and contributed to a long tradition of indigenous philanthropic practice. In being consistent with the Global Chinese Philanthropy Initiative overview, this paper aims to elucidate the historic practices of Chinese philanthropy and the motivations of its actors. By charting the historical record, this paper provides a "genealogy of charitable thought" (Smith 2009, 252) with the intention of illuminating shifts in philanthropic context and practice.

Pre-Ming Philanthropy

The Chinese state has a long history of providing charity to those it governed. As early as the western Zhou dynasty (1046-771 BCE), bureaucrats organized the first government agency to provide relief for poverty and sickness (Lu & Fang 2003, 17). During the Qin dynasty (221 BCE - 206 CE), the state instituted basic administrative measures to provide famine relief (Li 2007, 3). This tradition of disaster relief was present in the Song dynasty (960-1279), involving contributions to local granaries not only by the state, but also scholar-officials, and local elites (Smith 1987, 310). The southern Song period (1127-1279) in particular saw the prevalence of charitable institutions such as poorhouses, foundling homes, and burial plots for the poor. With regards to orphans, the imperial government provided incentives for local families to adopt these abandoned children. It did so by providing a daily rice stipend "to alleviate the financial burden of taking on another mouth to feed" (Cunningham 2014, 29; Apter 2013, 7-10). With many of these children being abandoned precisely as families lacked the food to feed them, bureaucrats offered grain to impoverished families in hopes that they would keep their offspring during bad times. According to historians such as Joanna Handlin Smith, most who gave charity in these ways did so not out of the goodness of their heart. Instead, they were more likely to associate charity "with the paternalistic responsibility that officeholders should bear for the welfare of the people than with questions of personal piety" (Smith 1998, 135). As we will see below, the shift from paternalistic compulsion to personal piety would come in time.

Not all forms of charity in pre-Ming times were sponsored by the imperial state or local elites. Other actors were also involved in philanthropy. Buddhist monks, for example, provided relief to individuals living near their temples and monasteries. Such organizations had enjoyed periods of prosperity since the northern Wei period (386-557) (Tang 2013, 150). As early as the Tang dynasty (618-970), Buddhist monasteries had operated foundling homes and medical dispensaries (Smith 2009, 243-44). While the imperial state took responsibility for these dispensaries in the mid-ninth century, the Buddhist practice of *fangsheng*, or liberating animals, is one that has endured to the present. Originating from the fifth-century text *The Book of Brahma's Net*, *fangsheng* involves acquiring animals—usually through trade—set to be killed for food and then releasing them into the wild (Smith 2009, 243-44). Women constituted another social group that was active in charitable organizations. During the Song,

secular elite women assisted in disaster relief, supported orphans and the poor, and reached beyond their own lineage organizations to help those in need (Shi 2013, 29-30; Zhang 2005, 119-23).

Traditions of Charitable Thought

Before going any further, it is important that we understand the various strands of thought that motivated actors such as the state, official-scholars, local elites, and every-day individuals to do good. In this paper, the term "official-scholar" refers to individuals who, through passing the imperial civil service examination (*kejuzhi*), assumed a bureaucratic rank and thus assisted the state in governance. The term "local elite," following Joanna Smith's definition, refers to retired officials, scholars, and wealthy residents (Smith 1998, 136). It would be prudent, then, to start by examining what concepts such as "charity" and "philanthropy" actually meant in their historical contexts. As scholars have noted, English-language usage of charity connotes benevolence whereas philanthropy contains a proclivity to promote the good of the public (Smith 2009, 7). Furthermore, western usage has tended to link charity "to the alms mandated by Christianity," whereas Chinese charity has remained a largely secular affair, and thus rarely necessitated a differentiation between usages (Lin 2004, 152). Given that the various Chinese terms overlap, for our purposes here the two terms will be used interchangeably to refer to acts of doing good.

In regards to the specific function of philanthropy, Paul Katz has written that charity "encompasses a wide range of charitable activities...that involve showing benevolence or generosity towards others." Such acts include, just to name a few, provision of food, clothing, and shelter for victims of natural disasters, as well as long-term care for those who otherwise would have no means of caring for themselves, such as the orphans and widows (Katz 2006, 8). Some scholars have bifurcated acts of good into the categories social welfare and philanthropy. Here, state action is viewed specifically as social welfare whereas the voluntary action of nongovernmental individuals or organizations is considered philanthropy (Lin 2004, 154). While such scholarship may provide semantic clarification, we should be aware that throughout China's philanthropic tradition, state and private interests have not been mutually exclusive. State actors such as scholar-officials have concurrently performed charitable acts in their capacities as bureaucrats and concerned local citizens. Likewise, as we will see below, during the late imperial period the state was largely dependent on local elites to carry out charity. As such, it is important to remember that historical conditions have varied greatly, and that many instances of Chinese philanthropy have been successfully carried out as a symbiotic relationship between state and private interests.

As Smith has persuasively argued, philanthropy/charity cannot "be reduced to a particular system of belief." Dominant schools of Chinese thought, such as Confucianism, Legalism, and Buddhism, all contain an intellectual tradition that emphasizes doing acts of good. Incorporated into the cornerstones of Confucianism, for example, are the values of "humaneness and the concern for the well-being of the common people." Likewise, Legalist doctrine sought to "strengthen and enrich the state" through "manipulations of rewards and punishments." And while the concept of divine retribution, or *bao*, predates Buddhism's arrival in China, such notions have had great influence in driving the charitable acts of monks and monasteries (Smith 2008, 148-50). Moreover, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, have "periodically overlapped and merged," resulting in what some writings have referred to "the unity of the three teachings" (*sanjiao heyi*). Looking forward to our discussion on Ming-Qing charitable traditions, we see that in appropriating language such as "repayment" (*bao*), "cause and effect" (*yingguo*), and "just

acts" (*yijing*), that philanthropists borrowed vocabulary from all three traditions. Lastly, while much of the rhetoric regarding doing good utilized two key pillars of Confucian thought, namely, "the value of humaneness and the concern for the well-being of the common people," these notions indeed "hold nearly universal value" (Smith 2009, 249-52). We can therefore see in China's long tradition of charity multiple strands of philanthropic thought.

While it is important to note that these various schools of thought did indeed interact, by focusing on particular philosophical tenets we gain a richer understanding of how those who did good rationalized their charitable acts. For example, the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues (*sangangwuchang*) of Confucianism motivated many individuals. In particular, the virtue of benevolence (*ren*) "justified the existence of both the individual and the state." As Alfred H. Y. Lin writes, "If the homeless, poor, and sick were housed, fed, and cured, it was because the Chinese people believed that human beings had to be safe and sound before they could benefit from instruction in moral principles." The provision of relief, then, was "largely a means to different end," namely, "to morally reform the indigent" (Lin 2004, 152; Lum 1985, 206-7).

The quest for moral enlightenment also motivated benefactors to do good (Kim 2009, 676). As Cynthia J. Brokaw has shown, for thinkers like Confucius, Mencius, and Zhu Xi, "goodness was a coherent quality achieved after constant self-cultivation and careful action. Once [an individual] had achieved goodness, [he or she] was able to follow the will of heaven as [their] own will, without hesitations or second thoughts—[they] had integrated the rulers of the moral order fully into [their] own character" (Brokaw 1998, 58). Goodness and moral enlightenment therefore naturally led individuals to practice a philanthropic method of governance (*leshanhaoshi*) (Xiong 2008, 24).

In the context of world history, it was this philanthropic method of governance that helped differentiate the Chinese state from its contemporaries. As Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley has shown in her survey of Qing-era famine relief, the Chinese state differed from Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Mughal empires, as well as early European states, "in that it took responsibility for its rural as well as its urban populations." In this regard, imperial bureaucrats saw the maintenance of "public grain reserves as an important component of state policies." On the contrary, other empires and states "did not include the kind of paternalistic concern that repeatedly motivated the Chinese" (Edgerton-Tarpley, 2010; Will, 1991). With regards to the differences with the south Asian experience, Edgerton-Tarpley cites Paul R. Greenough's argument that because "the fundamental political theme running through Chinese subsistence concerns" was largely missing in India, "Indian rulers did not share the Chinese belief that Heaven would strip emperors of their 'mandate' to rule if they failed to feed the people." Therefore, concludes Greenough, "expectations of the state during times of famine were more limited in India than in China" (Edgerton-Tarpley, 2010; Greenough, 1982, 789-97).

China's increasing interconnectedness with the world during the late Ming (1550-1644) contributed to a number of important changes. The period was one of intellectual innovation, led by the thought of Wang Yangming (1472-1529). It was also a time of "governmental ineffectiveness and social unrest that would ultimately give way to dynastic collapse" (Smith 2009, 6). The imperial state's unwillingness to increase quotas for bureaucratic office led to a talent glut that would only continue to swell. More importantly for our purposes here is that the period witnessed what Smith has termed a

"philanthropic turn." This is highlighted by the practice of conspicuous philanthropy and the founding of benevolent societies.

According to Smith, whereas previous generations of philanthropists had preferred "hidden merit" (*yinde*) "fearing that their selfless deeds may be misconstrued as vying for political favoritism," late-Ming elites sought to have their good deeds recognized (Smith 2009, 6). The various publications of the day, such as local gazetteers, biographies, popular didactic works, essays, and diaries, therefore showcased "virtues of aiding the poor and distressed" (Smith 1998, 136). This efflorescence of private philanthropy was due in part "to the influx of New World silver" that "stimulated commerce and small market towns" (Smith 2008, 6-9). Increased commerce led to widespread affluence, not only for the state and official-scholars, but other social groups as well. In fact, scholars have suggested that the growing affluence, power, and social mobility of other social groups spurred the rise of late-Ming conspicuous philanthropy. As those traditionally subordinated by the Confucian hierarchy such as peasants and merchants became more affluent and powerful, scholar-officials, landlords, and local elite may have been prompted not only to put their wealth to use for public good but also to publicize such acts in order to secure political legitimacy (Brokaw 1991, 17).

Due to the age-old Confucian stigma attached to wealth, scholar-officials and local elite were compelled to rationalize its accumulation in novel ways. One such way these individuals did so was to develop a strong connection between wealth and charity. As Brokaw has shown, late-Ming elite saw nothing wrong with getting rich as money "could have moral value as long as it was devoted to the performance of good deeds." Those "blessed" with monetary wealth were viewed as recipients of virtue and therefore deserved their status. However, the maintenance of such status was dependent on the individual's usage of their wealth to perform good deeds (Brokaw 1991, 153). Similarly, individuals such as Yang Dongming, an affiliate of the Donglin Academy and founder of the Society for the Spread of Benevolence (*guangrenhui*), believed that wealth was an expression of one's goodness, and "charity a means of spreading this goodness." Wealth, wrote Yang, "was not an accident, but is certainly due to the depth and reach of the roots of your goodness...You must propagate your goodness to promote the principle of life" (Brokaw 1991, 153). Such attitudes dominated late imperial China, obligating charitable giving both as a duty and a mark of social status (Kim 2009, 671; Rowe 1989, 304).

CHARITY IN THE LATE MING (1550-1644)

Types of Charitable Institutions

As Joanna Handlin Smith has demonstrated, there were three predominant charitable organizations in the late-Ming period: lineage organizations, secular-private, and religious. In the minds of contemporaries, each organization provided advantages and disadvantages for society. Lineage organizations, for example, privileged the importance of ceremony and upheld hierarchy based on age. In promoting the former, philanthropists defrayed the cost of sacrifices, weddings, and burying the dead. With regards to the latter, elder members of the community were the first to receive clothing and uncommon foodstuffs such as meat. The second type, private non-lineage charitable organizations, benefited society by engaging with a wider segment of the population. Likewise, benefactors gained from

being part of an extended social network. In contrast to state-sponsored organizations, which generally targeted only the most needy, private organizations could ideally focus on helping the "next most needy," and hence provide the relief necessary to people weather bad times.

These organizations were not without their disadvantages. From a networking perspective, lineage organizations failed to expose benefactors to wider networks. As for recipients, only those who could document their genealogy were eligible for relief. In dire times, only those closest to the core "branch" received aid. As for private charities, relief institutions may not have always been well-funded. In such cases, the ideal of helping a broader section of the public faded, and charity that was provided tended to be just enough to keep the poor from dying. With regards to religious institutions, late-Ming contemporaries believed that Buddhist monasteries harbored vagrants, gave aid prodigally, and failed to follow any meaningful procedure for the distribution of their aid (Smith 1987, 315-18).

The most common Ming-era institution for private philanthropy was known as the benevolent society. These were institutions devoted specifically to services such as burying the poor, managing soup kitchens, distributing medicine, carrying for abandoned infants, and providing accommodations for widows (Smith 1998, 136). Benevolent societies stand in stark contrast to state-sponsored charitable institutions. On the whole, state-sponsored institutions arose sporadically, often to provide relief in response to natural disasters such as flood or drought. Once a particular crisis passed, however, the institution would dissolve. Ideologically, state-sponsored institutions "expressed the paternalistic obligations of the ruler to his people." On the contrary, private charitable institutions, such as benevolent societies, arose only in the late Ming and early Qing periods. They were locally sponsored and voluntary. While particular benevolent societies may have roots in response to natural calamities, they "endured beyond the moment of need, taking on a life of their own beyond the state of emergency." Lastly, while state coffers supported institutions of the imperial government, benevolent societies were "based on the voluntary support of local elites such as merchants, farmers, scholars, and gentry" (Smith 1987, 310).

Philanthropists' Motivations

Motivations for doing good varied widely amongst late-Ming philanthropists. While the Confucian ideal discussed above prompted a paternalistic compulsion amongst the state and local elite to care for others, many do-gooders had alternative motivations for their good acts. Some philanthropists, for example, gave specifically to their own lineage organization, the main intention of which was to "foster lineage prosperity and longevity" (Smith 1998, 135). Benefactors also "declared that giving to the poor was a way to realize the interconnectedness of all living things, thus ensuring social order." Simultaneously, it was "an attempt to achieve some equitableness or social justice...a way to save lives and reduce suffering." Not least of all, charity also "communicated the donors' goodness" to its recipients (Smith 2009, 249).

Others used charity as a means to provide education to various levels of society. As Angela Kiche Leung has demonstrated, philanthropists sought through their charitable activities the ideal Confucian social order. Education, as a form of moral edification, thus served as a means of social control through which the ideal society could be realized (Shi 2013, 11; Leung, 1993). In these efforts, philanthropists established institutions such as the rural lecture system (*xiangyue*). This program provided lectures in the vernacular that attempted to indoctrinate in the poor the values of the elite. Officials thus "tried to

socialize—or inspire proper conduct in—the common people" (Smith 2009, 72; Smith 1987, 320). One well-known benefactor of the rural lecture system was Chen Longzheng (1585-1645). In addition to investing in these rural outreach programs, Chen also donated estates for the establishment of private academies (*shuyuan*) (Smith 1987, 318). These academies targeted a different audience, with the intent of training the country's future official-scholars.

Philanthropists like Chen also found that charity filled an emotional need. Through analysis of his extant writings, scholars such as Smith have demonstrated that what "guided Chen was not a rational plan to eradicate poverty or to use resources in the most constructive way possible but an emotional need to save lives." Viewing life and death as two distinct states, the ability of Chen and other's charity to prolong "the lives of those who [were] about to die demonstrate[d] the power to effect a beneficial change." It was through their gifts, Smith concludes, that philanthropists "had the power to save lives" and thus "could verify their moral worth" (Smith 1987, 320).

Many late Ming philanthropists held confidence in a higher good that would repay benevolent deeds "in the form of long life, success in the civil service examinations, prosperity, or an abundance of heirs" and even immortality (Smith 1998, 433; Brokaw, 1991, 25). This belief in supernatural rewards is an old one. As early as the Eastern Han (25-200 CE), philanthropists fed orphans and repaired roads and bridges in their quest for divine blessedness (Brokaw 1991, 40). And while this belief in cosmic justice has a long history stretching back to the Confucian classics, it was not until the late Ming that the Chinese developed a unique system of tallying one's good and bad deeds.

The most famous system of calculating one's deeds was that of the ledger of merit and demerit (*gongguoge*). A form of morality book (*shanshu*), the ledger system was founded on the belief that heaven and the gods rewarded men who did good and punished those who did evil. Ledgers listed specific deeds along with the number of credits one added or subtracted from the running total. Acts such as providing one night's shelter to the cold and homeless, burying the dead, and saving a life earned 1, 50, and 100 merits, respectively. Other acts such as slandering a man or hoarding rice during a famine earned one 1 and 100 demerits, respectively (Brokaw 1991, 4, 49). These handbooks purported to "aid men in the mastery of their fate...provid[ing] precise guidelines for proper (and profitable) behavior...." (Brokaw 1991, 3-4). Within this system of thinking, goodness came not from the age-old Confucian practice of self-cultivation, but instead was simply attained "by doing more good than bad deeds" (Brokaw 1991, 58). Yet many contemporaries believed that charity motivated by such selfishness led only to evil. Scholars of the Donglin Academy argued that "good acts were truly good only if done without thoughts of personal gain: goodness was complete only when one neither expected rewards from heaven or man, nor planned to pass one's merit down to one's descendants." The man who did good purely for the accumulation of merit was destined to "sink into wicked ways in anger and disappointment over his frustrated expectations" (Brokaw 1991, 144).

Lastly, entry into the public record motivated some philanthropists. Those who gave readily saw their names published in local gazetteers or on monuments and placards. Depending on their level of involvement, the local government may have bestowed benefactors and/or their immediate kin with an official rank or title. Hankou merchant Li Benzong (ca. 1760-1840), for example, was prodigious in his efforts in improving a particularly treacherous pass of the Yangzi river, where rapids had swallowed

countless cargo ships over the years. Li's efforts were rewarded in part when his son was bestowed with a coveted salt administration position (Kim 2009, 677).

CHARITY IN THE QING DYNASTY (1644-1911)

The early Qing period (1644-1796) is well-known for being the apex of Chinese state-sponsored relief provision. Overseen by emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, the state developed institutions and techniques to improve "agricultural support, grain storage, river conservancy, and famine relief to a degree of efficiency never before known in Chinese history" (Li 2007, 3). This period of prosperity, which saw the Chinese population more than double, was due largely to large fiscal reserves and a well-supplied granary system (Edgerton-Tarpley, 2015, 342; Will, 1991).

Most scholarship today on Qing-era philanthropy has focused on the late Qing period (1796-1911). This period was rife with war (domestic and international) and natural disasters, both of which created the need for a drastic expansion of relief efforts and charity. For example, as Shi Xia notes, of the 42 million famine deaths that took place between 1368 and 1937, over 35 million came after 1875. Mid-nineteenth-century China was also rocked by the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), which displaced millions of people and led to unprecedented social and economic turmoil (Shi 2013, 10). Not least of all were the incessant wars and revolutions that plagued the country throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Scholars such as Zhou Qiuguang have fervently argued that the late Qing period should be known for the rise of modern Chinese philanthropy. He claims that only following the conclusion of the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) do the following five features become most salient: the emergence of philanthropists as a group, a variety of philanthropic organizations, broad resources for philanthropy, advanced measures for social relief, and the vast areas of social relief's coverage (Shi, 2013, 10; Zhou, 2006). Alternatively, Paul Katz, cautions against referring to the late Qing period as that which gave rise to "modern" charity, specifically because it "distorts the continuity" of China's long and varied charitable traditions (Katz 2006, 9). As we have seen above, many of Zhou's features are present as early as the late Ming.

While the issue regarding the rise of "modern philanthropy" may not be settled any time soon, that Chinese philanthropists drew on age-old practices in order to do good is undisputed. While the early Qing period is known for the robust and efficient nature of state-sponsored disaster relief, historians concur that private interests dominated charitable activities from the late nineteenth-century onwards. William Rowe, for example, has demonstrated that while "society witnessed a resurgence of government-sponsored poor houses and orphanages in the post-Taiping era, it was 'benevolent halls' (*shantang*) that came to dominate philanthropic efforts" (Rowe 1989, 105). Additionally, Rowe illustrates that although officials responded to disaster by drawing on government treasuries, "the major funding for disaster relief came from local societal sources" (Rowe 1989, 93-94).

Unique Aspects of Late Qing Philanthropy

A number of factors affected the development of late Qing charitable institutions. As with the Ming, China continued to occupy a prominent position in the world economy. As Mary Rankin has

demonstrated, Zhejiangese merchants who profited from the emerging global economy redirected their wealth from foreign trade into managing public affairs, which included investment in philanthropy (Rankin 1986, 137). The rise of the press and a wide readership for newspapers such as *Shenbao* also helped to create awareness for issues such as famine relief. Such media galvanized philanthropists and increased charity-related discourse (Edgerton-Tarpley 2008, 132). Wealth and print, along with the domestic crises attributed to the Taiping Rebellion, coalesced to make Shanghai one of the China's most active sites of philanthropic discourse.

In response to the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), Shanghai became home to many elite forced to flee their homeland. As Shanghai emerged as "a center for elite activists...the press was used to promote public organization and fund-raising" (Rankin 1986, 143). Other developments and technologies often considered to be the accoutrements of modernity, such as railroads, free trade, and improvements to shipping, helped frame how philanthropists provided charity. As Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley has documented, affluent Jiangnan philanthropists were "more likely to consider railroads and free trade as 'effective guards against famine.'" Elite figures removed from coastal treaty ports, however, were more likely to rely on "Confucian definitions of moral and immoral behavior," viewing "imperial benevolence and filial piety, chasteness, and thrift" as central to coping with disaster" (Edgerton-Tarpley 2008, 131).

While these two approaches are emblematic of late Qing charitable traditions, perhaps the penultimate shift in late imperial Chinese philanthropy was the imagining of charity as aiding national problems. As mentioned above, the *Shenbao* newspaper was a prominent medium through which do-gooders learned of the nation's most pressing issues and became aware of the various avenues through which they could give to charity. As Rankin's scholarship shows, from 1872 until at least 1905, *Shenbao* was China's leading Chinese-language newspaper. Distributors in eleven different cities, including Suzhou, Hangzhou, Yangzhou, Tianjin, Beijing, and Hong Kong sold eight to nine thousand papers each day. Through "regular reports, editorials, calls for aid, and lists of charitable donors," *Shenbao* "played a vital role" in motivating elites to donate time and money to relieve those in need (Edgerton-Tarpley 2008, 143; Rankin 1986, 144-45).

While many philanthropists were content simply donating money, others chose to give by using their vocational talents. Woodblock artists such as Xie Jiafu (1847-1897), for example, raised over 2.5 million taels of silver for the late-nineteenth-century North China Famine. Compared to the one million taels raised over three years by four major relief centers, Xie's effort was certainly quite substantial (Edgerton-Tarpley 2008, 140; Rankin, 1986, 144). Another artist, Yu Zhi, designed a set of pictures meant to "draw tears from iron" to raise funds for the Jiangnan flood of 1850 and then Taiping war relief in the 1850s and 1860s (Edgerton-Tarpley 2008, 133). Guilds of artists such as painters and calligraphers also got in on the action, running advertisements in newspapers such as *Shenbao* to advertise relief-drive events. In addition to raising funds for charity, these events benefited the artists in a number of ways. They promoted the professionalization of the artist, established price protection, and increased artist brand recognition and social networking opportunities (Wue 2004, 193-200). More broadly, the events themselves served as arenas for disseminating to the masses notions of citizenship and national identity (Shi 2013, 63).

As Bryna Goodman has demonstrated, modern institutions were just as likely to refocus philanthropists' attention to native-place associations as to the needs of the nation. For example, while

many leaders supported local charitable organizations, maintaining "face" in cities such as Shanghai required demonstrating care for one's native place. As resources such as wealth grew, in the 1870s and 1880s, elite in Shanghai "responded to disasters in their native areas with alacrity" (Goodman 1995, 110). Altogether, the late Qing period saw an unprecedented expansion of merchant and elite reach. Per Goodman, the expansion of charity was part and parcel of the geographic expansion of business. As discussed above, the "improvements in transportation and communication brought about by the regularization of steam shipping among the treaty ports" facilitated such expansion (Goodman 1995, 121).

Late-Qing merchants and officials established charitable organizations in response to a variety of social concerns. Ruth Rogaski's scholarship on the Hall of Spreading Benevolence in Tianjin provides one such example. Ostensibly, benefactors portrayed the Hall as a "stately Confucian refuge for adolescent females who had been abused or sold as sexual commodities" (Rogaski 1997, 54). The Hall was thus viewed as a pragmatic endeavor, filling "the gaps left by a government bureaucracy that was not expanding to meet the needs of a rapidly growing society." At the same time, benefactors sought to address growing social concerns. Citing Pierre-Etienne Will's work, Rogaski notes that "female infanticide and the selling of children were considered potent symbols of 'the process by which the rich became richer and the poor went under.'" Officials, then, were disturbed by such acts as they saw them "very likely to add an explosive dimension to existing social imbalances." Institutions such as the Hall can therefore be seen not only as an attempt to rescue women and adolescent girls, but also to address such social imbalances (Rogaski 1997, 56).

With that said, the Hall did attempt to carry out charity in the name of Confucian principles. Established in the wake of the Taiping Rebellion, the Hall, as well as many other institutions, sought to reestablish Confucian morality in an "attempt to overcome the deleterious effects of heterodox doctrines and to reassert social order (Rogaski 1997, 57)." Scholars such as Angela Leung and Vivienne Shue concur with these findings, seeing the upsurge in charitable women's institutions as indicative of "the deep-seated anxiety of the elite classes...over the preservation of Confucian virtue in a period of increasing social violence, especially against young widows" (Shue 2006, 416). In being consistent with Confucian fidelity to one's departed husband, philanthropists established institutions for "preserving women's chastity" (*baojie*). These aimed to provide relief to widows so that they "would not have to sacrifice their virtue (i.e. fidelity to a deceased husband) in a second marriage" (Leung 1995, 259).

In the late Qing period, women were not just recipients of charity, but also active participants in giving. Per Rankin's work, women gave to charitable schools and lineage organizations (Rankin 1986, 100). More recently, Shi Xia has documented the changes occurring in women's philanthropic activities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Due to the rise of the press and nationwide publication of new notions of women as "citizens of the nation," many women were motivated to participate in charitable organizations (Shi 2013, 12-13). As Shi illustrates, elite women, such as the wives and daughters of prominent scholar-officials, "played a prominent role in major social and political movements in the late Qing." Activities included promoting disaster relief, women's education, and national rights recovery. Of equal importance was that through organizing such charitable activities, women "effectively pushed important changes in laws and government regulations" that provided more opportunities for women, such as the right to enter public schools and attend public theaters (Shi 2013, 29).

A multitude of projects garnered philanthropists' support during the Qing period. Individuals contributed substantial sums to the construction and repair of local infrastructure, investing in roads, bridges, ferries, irrigation, transport canals, and the training and armament of militias for local self defense (Kim 2009, 672; Rankin 1986, 139-41). Many gave directly to the imperial state by contributing to the granary system, repairing city walls, government buildings, and Confucian temples, donating to support war campaigns and Yellow River conservancy (Kim 2009, 672). Philanthropists also invested in institutions that supported those who could not support themselves. In late nineteenth-century Guangzhou, for example, philanthropists invested in old-folks homes, a leprosarium, and homes for the blind (Lin 2004, 156). Others invested in institutions that aimed to save children, such as the *baoying* system. In the post-Taiping period, the main principle of this institution, as Angela Leung shows, was to provide "outdoor relief" in the form of money, rice, and clothing. The idea was that families either abandoned children or committed infanticide due to extreme poverty. If families were provided with the resources they really needed, they would be more inclined to keep their young. Alternative forms of outdoor relief included providing stipends of varying amounts depending on child's age and special allowances for children without fathers (Leung 1995, 253-54, 258). Other prominent examples of charity include: the construction and administration of poorhouses, medicine dispensaries, foundling homes, and public cemeteries; creation and of fire brigades; establishment of ancestral halls for lineage organizations; subsidization of weddings and funerals; provision of famine relief in the form of soup kitchens and meal-ticket distribution; sale of grain at below-market prices (*pingtiao*); building tuition-free schools; and investment in infrastructure, such as the construction or repair of roads, bridges, and temples (Hu 2013, 91; Hu 2014, 32, 36; Shi 2007, 50-53).

PHILANTHROPY DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD (1911-1949)

New Developments

The early Republican period witnessed the ostensible bureaucratization of charitable institutions. Early into his reign as President, Yuan Shikai legislated that the People's Government Bureau (*minzhisi*) be responsible for disaster and famine relief and the administration of charitable bodies. Likewise, the Sanitation Bureau (*weishengsi*) was to be responsible for dealing with epidemics and disease administration (Zeng 2013, 64-65). Yet despite the state's perceived interest in managing philanthropy, private charities and native-place associations remained the predominant entities facilitating charity throughout the Nanjing Decade (1927-37). As Nara Dillon has shown, the state played a relatively minor role in social welfare, "operating small pilot programs and occasionally stepping into subsidize and help coordinate private initiatives" (Dillon 2008, 179-80). As during the Qing, the majority of relief institutions such as soup kitchens remained "officially supervised, privately managed" (*guandu shangban*) (Chen 2012, 31-32; Li 2007). This public-private relationship may have been most aptly summarized by Susan Naquin. She describes the private and public sectors as having "an intimate and complicated relationship...better captured by Bryna Goodman's 'partial autonomy, interpenetration, and negotiation' than any tidy division between 'public' and 'private'" (Fuller 2011, 159; Naquin 2004).

Geographically, the concentration of charitable organizations throughout the mid-twentieth century was skewed in favor of historically more affluent regions. As Cai Qinyu has shown, of the

approximately 1,621 charities registered throughout China on the eve of the second Sino-Japanese war, 73% of these organizations were located within Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hunan, and Guangdong. Following the war, however, this concentration was dispersed to some degree due in large part to the mass emigration from war-torn coastal regions. Inland provinces benefited as wealth and resources trickled their way. According to a 1939 survey, for example, of the 350 charitable organizations still operating throughout China, 102, or nearly one-third, were located in Sichuan province (Cai 2001, 60).

One key area in which Republican-era philanthropic discourse diverged from its Ming and Qing predecessors was its view of poverty. As Janet Chen has demonstrated, while the legacy of Confucian paternalism continued to exist in the twentieth century, "assumptions about productivity, discipline, and self-sufficiency became embedded in the political economy of social welfare" (Chen 2012, 3). Prior to the twentieth century, poverty was a morally neutral concept that reflected fate rather than personal work ethic (Chen 2012, 5-6). Lu Hanchao has argued in a similar vein, showing that the impoverished were an unfortunate group deserving of sympathy (Cunningham 2014, 68; Lu 2005). Poverty was therefore an unfortunate consequence of birth and/or divine intervention, not an indication of one's ability or individual effort. However, once mired in the domestic and international strife of the twentieth century, intellectuals began reimagining the destitute as a symptom of a larger national weakness. Government officials and private philanthropists then took it upon themselves to rehabilitate the destitute in an effort to strengthen the nation. Institutions such as schools for orphans and homeless shelters—centuries' old institutions—thus began incorporating systems that aimed to make the destitute both economically productive and financially independent.

One institution through which we can clearly see this shift is the orphanage. As Chen has shown, "the notion of laboring children" had been imbued with new meaning in the Republican era. Through work, children developed in three areas. First, they became physically strong. Second, they learned to be frugal. Lastly, it nurtured independence. As contemporaries wrote, labor had the potential to "check 'the bad quality of dependency' commonly observed in young recipients of charity" (Chen 2012, 40). Regarding this last point, labor sought not only to transform human liabilities into assets, but to proactively curb social parasitism. As poverty had been increasingly linked "to scenarios of possible national extinction, and inflected with a new valence of national deficiency," unproductive citizens became a sore on the body politic. As a result, labor and vocational training became a regular fixture in Republican-era orphanages, charitable schools, and poorhouses.

Individual Efforts

A diverse group of philanthropists contributed to charitable organizations throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Chen Xuetan (1882-1966), whose name when translated to English reads "King of the Night," was a southern gangster. During the second Sino-Japanese war, he flew to the wartime capital, Chongqing, and participated in the "one yuan for airplanes" movement, which solicited donations for the Chinese air force. As Xie Chuning has shown, in addition to supporting education, Chen donated to water conservancy efforts, "shelters for refugees, hospitals, schools, hotels, department stores, cigarette companies, casinos, and even the regulation of local currency and collection of soldiers' pay" (Xie 2015, 405).

Individuals with ties to the Beiyang military establishment also gave readily to charity. General Jiang Yucheng, for example, promoted charity and solicited donations through various entertainment parks located throughout the Beijing. These venues attracted wealthy urban patrons, who, for thirty coppers, could spend the day playing carnival games, visit a cinema, or enjoy a cup of tea at a rooftop garden cafe. These parks also showcased Chinese crosstalk comedy and "new-style theater" where actors performed western plays. These parks solicited from visitors additional funds by showcasing the hardships victims of famine and war were enduring at the time (Fuller 2011, 180-81). During the north China famine of 1920, General Jiang initiated a charity bank that offered micro-loans specifically targeting families affected by the famine. By offering short-term interest loans, Jiang helped families to weather the bad times (Fuller 2011, 214-15). Jiang also coordinated with another individual of Beiyang military fame, Cheng Qiyuan, to put on performances of traditional Chinese drama. Ticket proceeds went to purchase corn meal for famine victims (Fuller 2011, 184-86).

Numerous organizations and individuals focused on children and education. Of native-place associations, the Chaozhou sojourning community was very active in this regard. Beginning in 1913, they founded an elementary school that provided free education for the community's children. In 1917, the association founded an industrial school for poor boys in Shanghai's international settlement (Goodman 1995, 254). In northern China, warlord Wang Huaiqing donated money that went to the construction of multiple schools. He provided for students uniforms, room and board, and tuition for three-years of education instructing students in trade skills. Donated funds also went to paying for students' military training and teachers' salaries.

Other prominent individuals residing in Beijing contributed to education. Liang Shiyi's North China Relief Society, for example, donated money to promote literacy and vocational training amongst orphan boys (Fuller 2011, 211-12). Philanthropist Xiong Xiling (1870-1937) was certainly on board with the Republican-era drive to instill within the needy economic independence and future security by providing vocational training. Xiong's Xiangshan Charity school, located outside of Beijing, provided not just a home for abandoned children, but also an education "that was suited to their talents," so as to help them to become productive citizens (McCord 1992, 399).

Religion and Charity

Religious organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (*daoyuan*), Buddhist associations, and redemptive societies underwent a number of changes during the Republican period. Shi Xia has documented how these institutions, at the behest of the National government, turned away from "superstitious" activities as "an alternative way to accumulate religious merit for personal salvation." Facing the alternative of being forced to shut down, these institutions were forced to abandon traditional activities such as temple visiting and incense burning, and instead sought to accumulate merit through charity (Shi 2013, 202-3). While such religious institutions have a long history of involvement in charitable causes, scholarship has shown that philanthropy occupied only a marginal amount of these organizations' time and resources. As Thomas Dubois has pointed out, endangered by the National government's war against "superstition," these institutions began devoting more substantial resources "for public acts of benevolence," hence shifting their philanthropic efforts from the "sideline to central focus" (Shi 2013, 15; DuBois 2011).

At the same time, Buddhist monasteries were experiencing extreme financial constraints, forcing many to abandon many of their charitable activities. However, despite such constraints Buddhist followers found ways to continue providing charity. As Tang Zhongmao has shown, the rise of lay Buddhist practitioners' involvement in charity allowed Buddhist charitable traditions to continue. Many examples can be found in Shanghai, where a large influx of migrants and wealth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century provided opportunities and need for charity. While not wholly unique to these institutions, one particular aspect of lay Buddhist philanthropy was its ability to mobilize people of different classes and social groups. This differs with native place associations and lineage organizations that targeted only specific groups (Tang 2013, 156-57). Lay Buddhist organizations provided a range of charities, such as free medical care, food, tea, and clothing. They hired Chinese and western medicine practitioners to provide medical care and dispense drugs. In 1934, one Shanghai lay Buddhist organization provided medical care to approximately 4,600 destitute individuals. They were also active in war and famine relief (Tang 2008, 95-96).

Rallying around National Issues

On multiple occasions, Republican-era philanthropists rallied to provide relief to those most in need. A number of state-sponsored efforts helped to alleviate the suffering of 1920 famine victims. During the winter, the army yamen police and metropolitan administration opened soup kitchens that not only served food but also distributed over 10,000 items of clothing. In previous years, Beijing city had only operated twelve kitchens. During the winter of 1920, however, they operated 29. Most of these soup kitchens were located throughout the city outskirts, making them more accessible to rural residents. These kitchens attracted an average of 1,000 to 7,000 people each day during the famine. In some dire cases, individuals traveled up to 20 *li* (approximately seven miles, or ten kilometers) just for a meal (Fuller 2011, 159-60, 166). Every-day people also provided relief. By Pierre Emery Fuller's account, it was not uncommon for unidentified people to visit soup kitchens, warming shelters, or temples housing refugees to hand out cash and/or meal tickets. Even local Beijing primary school students were moved by the stories of hardship they heard about the famine. Over a period of weeks, students saved money by eating less at school. They then donated the money they had saved to provide relief for famine victims (Fuller 2011, 170-71).

The war with Japan likewise galvanized people from across the nation to give. In 1932, Shanghai experienced a refugee crisis due to the Japanese invasion. Due to the war, more than 200,000 people were forced from their homes, fleeing to the city in search of safety. A number of charities stepped forward to provide relief for these refugees. Amongst them were the Shanghai Federation of Charities, Chinese Red Cross, Red Swastika Society, and a number of native-place associations. These charities coordinated the establishment of institutions such as shelters, soup kitchens, medical clinics, and burial services (Dillon 2008, 181).

After the onset of full-scale war in 1937, philanthropists from throughout the country contributed to numerous projects to provide relief for the nation's children. One such institution was the National Chinese Women's Association for War Relief (*zhongguo funü weilao ziwei kangzhan jiangshi zonghui*), which formed the Wartime Association for Child Welfare (*zhanshi ertong baoyuhui*), the largest child welfare organization during the war. This association took in children aged fifteen and younger and provided them with basic care and education. The association placed children aged 18 months to three

years in nurseries, those aged three to six in kindergartens, and children ranging from six to fifteen in primary school (Plum 2006, 71-72). Also during the war, the China National Relief Commission built wartime children's homes throughout the country, including Japanese-occupied territories, Communist base areas, and inland China (Plum 2006, 11).

Prior to the second Sino-Japanese war, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had instructed its cadres not to participate in charitable activities. As Nara Dillon has shown, the CCP followed the Marxist critiques that private charity obscured the bourgeois class's exploitation of the masses. Yet following the Japanese invasion and its commitment to the National Salvation Movement, the CCP reversed this trend, ordering its members to participate in joint relief efforts (Dillon 2008, 193). It was also at this time that the CCP encouraged Song Qingling to establish the China Welfare Foundation to raise funds for the Communist war effort. Following the end of the war, the CCP established the Chinese Liberated Areas Relief Commission (*zhongguo jiefang qu jiuji zonghui*), which lobbied the United Nations for a share of the postwar aid promised to China (Dillon 2007, 82). Outside of Shanghai, the Communists actively provided charity within their own base regions. As Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley shows in her examination of the 1942-43 famine, the CCP established a famine relief committee as soon as famine conditions emerged in the fall of 1942. Much like the Nationalist effort elsewhere, the CCP reduced the grain tax, provided loans, transferred grain from other provinces, provided shelters, mobilized people to donate to relief efforts, and encouraged the planting of substitute foods (Edgerton-Tarpley 2015, 348-50).

Though uncommon, organizations that provided charity cut across various socioeconomic boundaries in order to promote a common good. Perhaps the most well-known Republican-era organizations that appealed to a wide cross-section of society arose from the National Salvation Movement. As Dillon writes, the National Salvation Movement "had its origins in Beijing, where students led the December Ninth protests of 1935 against Japanese imperialism. In Shanghai, the movement encouraged "students, journalists, professionals, women, film makers, professors, businessmen, workers, and others" to organize various associations. With the onset of war, these associations mobilized various groups throughout the city in order to support the war effort. At its height, the movement had organized over 4,500 people into 930 teams who went door-to-door soliciting cash donations to support the war, which included funding charitable enterprises (Dillon 2008, 192-93).

The period from 1949 to 1953 witnessed the Communist state's gradual takeover of charitable institutions, ending a long tradition of private philanthropy on mainland China. As Dillon has documented, the years from 1949 to 1953 were marked by the CCP's policy of New Democracy, which "pursued a populist cross-class coalition, established semi-democratic political institutions, and fostered a mixed public/private economy" (Dillon 2007, 80). It was under this guise that the CCP launched numerous battles against private charity. Through a series of campaigns, the Party assaulted charitable organizations with accusations of corruption and embezzlement. In doing so, the Party effectively delegitimized the old elite. The end result was the "elimination of all voluntary associations and public organizations with any degree of autonomy from the party-state" (Dillon 2007, 80).

CONCLUSION

This survey of indigenous Chinese philanthropy from 1550 to 1953 has shown that China has a rich tradition of state-sponsored and private charity. As we have seen, pre-Ming charity was largely coordinated by the state during times of natural calamities. Our discussion has shown that stretching as far back as the western Zhou, the state was involved in providing disaster relief to those it governed. The state, however, was not only the entity that organized charity. Buddhist monasteries as early as the northern Wei dynasty gave food and provided medical relief to those residing nearby. We also see in the Song that elite women played a prominent role in feeding the hungry and providing shelter for orphaned children.

It is in the late Ming dynasty that private philanthropy, in the form of benevolent societies, became the predominant source of charity. At this time, as well as during the late Qing and Republican periods, private individuals stepped in to provide a wide array of services that the weakened government could not. Philanthropists established lineage organizations, benevolent societies, and religious institutions that targeted various audiences. Among many other acts of good, these charities fed the hungry, housed the homeless, and provided education to orphans. And while private individuals operated these late-imperial organizations almost entirely on their own, they did so with the state's blessing.

The individuals who established these charities did so for a variety of reasons. Early on, many were spurred by a paternalistic compulsion to provide for those they ruled. Others sought to improve their status, social networks, and/or divine merit. As China became increasingly connected with foreign trade, and the accoutrements of modernity became institutionalized, wealthy Chinese became more aware of their compatriots' suffering. Via widely circulated newspapers such as *Shenbao*, merchants, local elites, artists, warlords, and gangsters learned of new opportunities for giving, and many did so readily. These individuals, hailing from disparate backgrounds, gave cash, built schools, and offered medical care. Collectively, they sought to bolster their nation by strengthening the minds and bodies of those perceived as less fortunate than themselves.

While China today is no longer mired in international wars and domestic rebellions, it, like many other countries, remains burdened with inequality. There are sick people too poor to care for themselves, families too impoverished to provide for their children, and others too remote from a proper education so as to lift themselves and their families out of poverty and into the middle class. Thankfully, these individuals have a new group of Chinese philanthropists working together to provide them with the food, medical care, education, and work opportunities they need to provide not only for their current generation, but many more to come.

CHARACTER GLOSSARY

<i>bao</i>	报
<i>baojie</i>	保洁
<i>Chen Longzheng</i>	陈龙正
<i>Chen Xuetan</i>	陈学谈
<i>daoyuan</i>	道院
<i>gongguoge</i>	功过格
<i>guandu shangban</i>	官督商办
<i>guangrenhui</i>	光刃会
<i>leshanhaoshi</i>	乐善好施
<i>Li Benzhong</i>	李本忠
<i>minzhisi</i>	民治司
<i>pingtiao</i>	凭条
<i>ren</i>	仁
<i>sangangwuchang</i>	三纲五常
<i>sanjiaoheyi</i>	三教合一
<i>shanshu</i>	善书
<i>shantang</i>	善堂
<i>shuyuan</i>	书院
<i>Song Qingling</i>	宋庆龄
<i>Wang Yangming</i>	王阳明
<i>weishengsi</i>	卫生司
<i>xiangyue</i>	相悦
<i>Xie Jiafu</i>	谢家福
<i>Xiong Xiling</i>	熊希龄
<i>yijing</i>	义经
<i>yinguo</i>	因果
<i>zhanshi ertong baoyuhui</i>	战时儿童保育会
<i>zhongguo funü weilao ziwei kangzhan jiangshi zonghui</i>	中国妇女慰劳自卫抗战将士总会

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