

近代人道活動の勃興：草の根からグローバルへと 展開した日本の赤十字運動

The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities:

The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global

鈴木 路子
SUZUKI Michiko

東京大学社会科学研究所 特任研究員
Project Researcher, Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo

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Abstract

The emergence of the Red Cross movement in modern Japan offers a significant revision to the historical narrative of imperial state-building and local community survival. Scholarship to date portrays the Red Cross as a Christian-based charity organisation, inseparable from its origins in mid-19th century European imperialism without sufficient scrutiny of the significant contributions of the Red Cross and Red Crescent organisations that co-emerged across the world. In Japan, the Red Cross movement did not emerge from a Christian mission. Instead, from a grassroots movement, the nascent Japanese Red Cross co-emerged alongside a burgeoning empire. Ordinary people initiated and developed the Red Cross movement as a form



of mutual aid for their community's survival amidst the political turmoil brought about by the fall of the Tokugawa Regime and the drastic reforms of the Meiji Restoration. The primary sector of industry declined. Rural Japan suffered from poverty, epidemic diseases, famine and natural disasters. On the other hand, the Red Cross movement in Japan also attracted the support of the Imperial Family as well as the Meiji government to create what was at a top-down movement serving a series of imperialist wars from the late nineteenth century to 1945. The Meiji state helped to legitimise JRCS in the country. As a result, what had been a local charity for social welfare services and natural disaster relief operations became nationwide and international. This grassroots movement evolved into a global humanitarian movement, alongside the Japanese Empire, resulting in the formation in 1919 of the League of Red Cross Societies (LORCS), currently the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). This paper will set the stage by looking at how the Japanese Red Cross movement created the notion of 'humanitarianism (*jindō*: 人道)', literally meaning 'the way of humanity' in Japanese and will examine the extent to which Japanese humanitarian ideology influenced the evolution of the discourse of the modern global humanitarian movement within both local and global contexts.

要旨

本稿では、第二次世界大戦前期までの日本の赤十字運動が国際赤十字・赤新月運動に与えたインパクトについて考察する。戦時支援を中心とした世界の人道活動は、日本の赤十字運動により、自然災害や平時支援も行うようになるなど、それまで西洋的イデオロギーを中心に発展してきた世界の赤十字運動の伝統を覆すこととなった。本稿では、日本各地で活動していた日本赤十字社支部の記録や日本赤十字社本社の史料を基に、近代日本の黎明期における草の根人道活動から1919年の赤十字社連盟（現在の国際赤十字・赤新月社連盟（IFRC））創設までの歴史を概観し、日本における「人道」概念の形成過程、及びそのグローバル化について考察する。徳川幕藩体制の崩壊と明治新政府樹立という波乱の時代に、対外紛争と植民地獲得競争の時代に、第一次産業は衰退し、貧困、飢饉、感染症、自然災害が立て続けに人々を襲い、都市部と地方では人

道ニーズに著しい隔たりが生じていった。そのような中で、日本の伝統的地域社会と新生国家の赤十字活動はどのようにして時代の要請に応えていったのか、ローカルとグローバルの両視座より日本と世界における人道史 (humanitarian history) の分析を試みる。

Key words: Japanese Red Cross Movement & International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement; Humanitarianism (*Jindō*); grassroots movement; mass volunteerism & membership; Great Kantō Earthquake; wartime relief activities; Geneva Conventions; Ninagawa Arata

キーワード：日本の赤十字運動と国際赤十字・赤新月運動、人道概念、草の根活動、マス・ボランティアと社員制度、関東大震災、戦時救護、ジュネーブ条約、蜷川新

Introduction

The early years of the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS) challenge the dominant historical narrative that the development of the modern humanitarian movement was centred in the West, providing aid from the West to the rest of the world, and is inseparable from its imperialist and colonialist origins in the mid-19th century. The emergence of the modern humanitarian movement in Japan should be examined in individual, institutional, local, national, international, and global contexts. The JRCS exhibited a range of institutional behaviours that first attracted the support of the Imperial Family to create what was at first a top-down movement serving a series of imperialist wars, followed by a significant growth in the number of ordinary imperial subjects who became involved in humanitarian activities in the form of self-reliant activities to survive social uncertainties such as poverty and civil wars brought about by drastic social change during the Meiji Restoration as well as a number of natural disasters. Japanese humanitarian activities in the modern age appeared ubiquitously in the Japanese archipelago and emerged at all levels of society without boundaries. Thus, the development of the Japanese Red Cross movement illustrates both imperial state building, and local community survival,

in which ordinary people found their social mission in order to sustain themselves during the turmoil of international political and military affairs, as a form of mutual aid rather than as altruistic action. Indeed, donors and recipients were the one and the same in the early years of the movement. Whether conscious or unconscious, their local activities matched the global trend – responding to meet the needs of modern humanitarian crises. As a result, the Japanese grassroots movement evolved into a global humanitarian movement alongside the Japanese Empire and the JRCS, resulting in the formation in 1919 of the League of Red Cross Societies (LORCS), currently the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). The LORCS became a driving force for the transnational and global activities of humanitarian agencies to deal with not only emergency responses to wartime relief activities, but also natural disaster relief operations. Therefore, the Japanese humanitarian activities represented in the emergence of international Red Cross and Red Crescent activities and modern humanitarianism as one of the best examples of the phenomena of neo-humanitarianism, which understood that neutrality was the most important principle and recognised the activities of humanitarian organisations in the nation state framework and International Law, particularly the Geneva Conventions.

This paper will examine to what extent the emergence of Japanese modern humanitarian activities runs counter to the current dominant West-centred narrative of humanitarian history and influenced the discussion of the emergence of global scale neo-humanitarianism alongside the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It will unpack the extent to which Japanese notions of humanitarianism (*jindō*: 人道), literally meaning ‘the way of humanity’ in Japanese, created the discourses produced by the Red Cross in Japan. In so doing, this research will highlight a number of significant narratives concerning both imperialist and grassroots movements of the Red Cross in Japan, which include both wartime and peacetime relief operations as well as mass volunteerism, and then will focus on Japanese efforts to establish the LORCS in 1919. It will cast light on both the local and the global dimensions of the Japanese humanitarian movement through the lens of the evolution of the JRCS. The Society was at a crossroads both nationally and internationally as well as locally and globally.

The Emergence of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement

In the 19th century, due to the expansion of imperialism and the modernisation of weapons, international armed conflicts became fiercer, and as a result, the number of war victims increased. As is generally known, the Swiss business man Henry Dunant (1828-1910) initiated the Red Cross humanitarian movement after he witnessed the Battle of Solferino (1859). By 1862, he finished writing his famous book entitled, '*A Memory of Solferino*', which emphasised the importance of medical treatment without discrimination during battle. In 1863 in Geneva, he founded the Committee of Five, which became the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The first Geneva Convention was later adopted in 1864. Therefore, Switzerland was the first nation to institutionalise and legitimise the modern humanitarian movement within the framework of nation states on the basis of the International Law of War.

However, not only the West reacted to this movement. Indeed, ordinary people around the world responded to support impartial humanitarian treatment because Dunant's idea of neutrality was omnipresent. As a result, the modern humanitarian movement initiated by Dunant proliferated around the world, including in the Middle East and Asia, regions which also suffered from imperialism and colonialism. For example, the Turkish Red Crescent Society (TRCS) was founded in 1868; the Philanthropic Society of Japan (*Hakuai-sha*), the current Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS), was established in 1877; and the Red Lion and Sun Society of Iran, the current Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran, was formed in 1922. Each world region adopted this global humanitarian movement: the so-called the 'International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement'. Hence, the Red Cross and Red Crescent were already global and the idea of impartial treatment for the wounded during armed conflict was universal. This ideal transcended space and time in modern humanitarian history. It went beyond modernity and religion, the Western centric narrative of humanitarianism, and the Red Cross as a Christian based charity providing aid from the West to the rest of the world and from rich to poor. Even other religious discourses such as Islam in the Red Crescent Societies limit historical interpretations of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent

Movement. Pragmatically, using a red cross and red crescent has worked well to show the neutrality of the modern humanitarian movement to interested parties involved in religious wars. Apart from this, Indonesia is a Muslim state but it had not been traumatised by a history of the wars of crusades as was the case of Middle Eastern countries, so the Indonesians were not offended by a red cross mark, so they used it as the symbol of their movement.

Furthermore, the Red Cross and Red Crescent were not only about the imperialist movement as Western historians have often claimed.¹⁾ Their arguments limited by only focusing on the well-established narratives of some Western Red Cross Societies, which developed their activities on the basis of Christianity as well as under some Empire States during international wars. Instead, modern humanitarian activities constituted global phenomena supported by all groups of people all over the world, including ordinary people, intellectuals and governmental authorities from colonial states. Therefore, religious discourse and empire state discourse, which have often received attention in Western scholarship, are of limited use for understanding the emergence of modern humanitarianism alongside the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

In order to revise the historical narrative of modern humanitarianism, it is vital to highlight the JRCS because of its unique characteristics as a leading non-Western Red Cross Society in the humanitarian world, one that was not developed through religious wars, and working with both the nation state and civil society since its foundation. The Society already had more than 1,500,000 members in 1909, by far the world's largest.²⁾ Furthermore, the JRCS demonstrated a number of interesting features through which we can consider the global history of the development of modern humanitarianism. For example, although the organisation served the Empire of Japan during a series of imperialist wars as most Western Red Cross Societies did, it also promoted peacetime relief activities, as well as natural disaster relief operations alongside civil movements without boundaries in the international arena

¹⁾ John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Red Cross* (Oxford: Westview, 1997).

²⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Go-kan, Shōwa jūichi nen kara Shōwa nijū nen* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1969), 362.

in the early years of its activities. These missions were not in the mandate of the ICRC and were outside the legal framework of the Geneva Conventions. Therefore, as the largest National Red Cross Society in the world, emerging in the late 19th century, the JRCS led and became a significant influence on the global humanitarian movement since its foundation. Its activities went beyond the traditional historical discourse about the Red Cross in the West, rather than just assisting wartime states in the context of empires and Christian-based voluntary organisations.

Beyond the International Standard of Humanitarianism

One of the most important reasons behind the foundation of the JRCS was to assist wartime medical relief activities as an independent, neutral and private organisation. The Japanese civil humanitarian organisation named the Philanthropic Society (*Hakuai-sha*) was founded by two men, Count Sano Tsunetami (1823-1902) and Count Matsudaira Norikata, known as Ogyū Yuzuru, (1839-1910) in 1877. Sano was born into a low-ranking samurai family in the Saga Domain and studied surgery at the *Tekijuku*, a Dutch medical school founded by Ogata Kōan (1810-1863), in Japan, while Matsudaira was from the aristocracy linked to the ruling Tokugawa Family, and was a member of the *Genrōin*, the Chamber of Elders, during the Meiji Restoration. He was also the former vassal of the Tokugawa Regime, and served as *Rōjū*³⁾ and *Wakadoshiyori*⁴⁾ during the Tokugawa Shogunate. Sano became the first president of the JRCS when it was officially founded in 1887 following Japan's ratification of the Geneva Convention in 1886. Sano first encountered the Red Cross during his visit to the 1867 International Exposition held in Paris. He was sent to Paris by the Saga domain. It was the first International Exposition in which the Japanese participated. The Tokugawa Shogunate, the Saga domain, and the Satsuma domain exhibited their local products.⁵⁾ At that time, Sano was ordered by the Saga domain to research Western-style steam warships and the technology for

³⁾ Elder: One of the highest-ranking government posts under the Tokugawa Regime.

⁴⁾ Junior Elders: One of the high-ranking government posts following an Elder under the Tokugawa Regime.

⁵⁾ Yoshikawa Ryūko, *Nisseki no Sōshi-sha: Sano Tsunetami* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Co., Ltd., 2001), 31-40.

their manufacture.⁶⁾ In later years, he was sent to Vienna by the Meiji government to attend the International Exposition of 1873, in which Japan participated for the first time as a modern nation state. Sano accompanied the Meiji delegation, which introduced Japanese products; during this time, Sano had a further opportunity to explore the International Red Cross Movement.⁷⁾ Thus, Sano encountered the Red Cross through the international activities of both the Tokugawa Regime and the Meiji government.

A decade later, Sano, back from Paris, was given approval by the Meiji government to set up the small office of the Philanthropic Society (*Hakuai-sha*) in Kumamoto during the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. The Society attempted to improve ties with the Meiji government to assist their wartime medical relief activities. When the government of the Japanese Empire agreed to adhere to the Geneva Convention in 1886, the Society was renamed the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS), and the first Red Cross hospital was established in Tokyo. It was at this time that the Society also started to use the international Red Cross emblem, and it became a member of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in 1887. Konishi emphasised that the usage of the Red Cross emblem in Japan had nothing to do with Christianity.⁸⁾ In fact, *Hakuai* literally means philanthropy in Japanese. However, more precisely, the Japanese notion of *hakuai-shugi*, philanthropism, means promoting the human race, loving each other equally in order to develop well-being for all, without discrimination as to race, nationality, religious belief, or ideology.

In the social history discourse, the Red Cross movement in modern Japan developed as both a top down and a bottom up movement. These national and local networks of the Philanthropic Society extended the Red Cross movement across the boundaries of the Tokugawa shogunate and the new Meiji government as well as social classes such as the Imperial Family and the ordinary people in

⁶⁾ Kuni Takeyuki, *Saga Ijin-den, 09: Sano Tsunetami, 1822-1902* (Saga: Saga Kenritsu Sagajō Honmaru Rekishi-kan, 2013), 39-42.

⁷⁾ Yoshikawa, *Nisseki no Sōshi-sha*, 54-62.

⁸⁾ Sho Konishi, “The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 114. Issue 4 (October 2014): 1133.

Japan. In other words, the Society created a network within every political group, class and community, which gave the impression that they were as working for all agencies and peoples. Therefore, in Japan, the Red Cross emblem was recognised as a symbol of neutral and equal treatment for all human beings, which transcended religion and class. While most societies in the West increased their membership during wartime, the JRCS even increased its membership during times of peace. This paper will further explore the civil movement of the Red Cross in Japan and the factors behind the drastic increase in membership and revenue structure in a later section.

It is partially true that the foundation of the Society was driven by wartime relief activities alongside Japanese imperialism, and many historians focus on the imperial relationships of the JRCS. Some historians have even asserted that the JRCS was highly centralised, hierarchically organised, and had very close ties to the Japanese Imperial Family.⁹⁾ In fact, the organisation has had a special relationship with the Imperial Family since its establishment. For instance, Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835-1895) provided the green light for the official foundation of the Philanthropic Society during the Satsuma Rebellion (1868-1869). The rebellion, led by Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), was the last large revolt by dissatisfied samurai against the new imperial government. Although Arisugawa acted as a commander of the imperial army of the Meiji government against the Satsuma forces during the rebellion, he stood by the principles of the Red Cross in accordance with the First Geneva Convention of 1864 as to the impartial reception and treatment of all combatants and accepted the establishment of the civil humanitarian society. As a result, under Arisugawa, medical relief workers of the Philanthropic Society managed to treat the wounded of both forces during the revolt.

This decision was often depicted as being made by Arisugawa himself without consultation with the Meiji government in Tokyo. The Government of Japan was negative about having such a neutral medical society during the revolt. Indeed, they had never recognised Sano's long-term campaign after Paris and had rejected his official proposal to establish a private medical organisation in the early stages

⁹⁾ Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 236.

of the Satsuma Rebellion. At that time, the Meiji government was not ready to ratify the Geneva Convention of 1864 for various reasons, while they argued that the battle was a non-international armed conflict; in other words, it was a civil war and therefore out of the jurisdiction of the Geneva Convention. The government concluded that Japan did not yet have the conditions for a society like the Red Cross. Furthermore, they were concerned about the security of aid workers from a civil organisation. The government also wanted to minimise the risk of military operations with medical workers from the private sector, who were untrained compared to their own skilled national medical corps who treated their soldiers. In fact, national medical corps worked well during the Satsuma Rebellion.¹⁰⁾ Thus, the Meiji government were convinced that they did not need to have any more civil medical teams in the war zone, which would cause disturbances. In this argument, the Meiji government was logical and convincing, following an international standard. The wartime relief activities of the Red Cross movement were based on the International Law of War, which only applied to international armed conflict. The Japanese government stayed focused on the preparations for ratifying the Geneva Convention of 1864, and prioritised establishing their legitimacy in Japan as the representative of a nation state. In other words, the argument of the Japanese government did not suggest that they were against the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Indeed, the Meiji government temporarily allowed the foundation of the Philanthropic Society on an experimental basis at the very last moment of the Satsuma Revolt, when they had become certain that they would defeat Saigō. This was when they almost completed the building of the Japanese nation state.

In contrast, the unique aspect of Sano's argument was that he wanted to adapt the idea of the Red Cross as a neutral humanitarian organisation even in the case of civil war, a non-international armed conflict that was beyond the mandate of the ICRC. He considered *hakuai-shugi*, philanthropism and humanitarianism to be the most important aspect of the Red Cross and extended his theory of impartial

¹⁰⁾ Kurosawa, Fumitaka, "Kindai Nihon to Sekijūji," in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo*, eds. by Kurosawa Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 18-9.

humanitarian treatment even for non-international armed conflict. If Sano had identified the Satsuma Rebellion as an international armed conflict, he would have had to approach leaders of both sides – Saigō as well as the Meiji government – to obtain their permission to conduct civil humanitarian activities. However, he did not do so, which meant that he recognised the Satsuma Rebellion as a non-international armed conflict – a Japanese civil war – and the Meiji government as the sovereign power of the Japanese Empire. Whether he was clear in his thinking about the international theory of wartime humanitarian relief activities or not, his argument over-prioritised patriotic humanitarianism, which should be considered strange for the Japanese imperial authorities, who were still focusing on building a strong nation state building and expected to be involved in international armed conflict as had most Western great powers.

Although Sano finally managed to get temporary government permission to form the Society by obtaining the support of the Japanese Imperial Family, the foundation of the JRCS also illustrated the sensitive relationship between the Meiji government and the Japanese Imperial Family in the early years of the Meiji Restoration. Their relationship was not rigid regarding the humanitarianism of the Red Cross. While the Japanese Imperial Family supported the Red Cross movement, the government was sceptical about having a neutral civil humanitarian organisation in Japan. The Philanthropic Society struggled to convince the government of the importance of having such a society permanently. In fact, after the Satsuma Rebellion, the imperial government intended to dissolve the Society. Sano was critical of this action and took the opportunity to obtain the support of another imperial member, Prince Komatsu (1846-1903), who was a Lieutenant General during the revolt and who in later years became a honorary commander of the Japanese expeditionary forces in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The Prince argued that the Philanthropic Society should maintain and develop medical relief activities to prepare for an international armed conflict, and therefore that the Society should be permanent. His argument showed initial signs of the influence of the imperialist movement on the Red Cross as the basis of a nation state framework

¹¹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 55-9.

which, in turn, led the JRCS to support the wartime state to treat sick soldiers and the wounded during battles in accordance with the Geneva Conventions in later years. In any case, the Philanthropic Society survived.¹¹⁾

Ten years later in 1887, the Society was officially recognised by the ICRC and became the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS), at which point Prince Komatsu became Honorary President, and the Meiji Emperor and Empress Shōken acted as patrons. The Imperial couple became major donors to the Society,¹²⁾ and it started to play a significant role in the Empire of Japan. Furthermore, a number of members of the Imperial Family, which included some foreign royal families such as those of Great Britain, Germany, Denmark, Italy, and Thailand, received honorary memberships.¹³⁾ Thus, the JRCS had a close relationship with the Japanese Imperial Family as well as foreign royal families since its foundation. In the early years, the National Society first obtained the support of members of the Imperial Family in order to legitimise itself in the country, and this relationship solidified the foundations of the JRCS in Japanese society.

Grassroots Movements of the Red Cross in Japan

There was, however, another movement influencing this early foundation of the Red Cross in Japan. While the JRCS as an institution and some elite officials such as Sano developed the institutional relationship with the Japanese Imperial Family, civilians also performed a key grassroots role in the development of the Red Cross movement. The number of members of the JRCS, which became the world's most numerous at the beginning of the 20th century, also indicated the latent grassroots humanitarian movement in modern Japan. In fact, the early years of the Japanese Red Cross movements were not as centralised and hierarchical as many historians have considered them to be. After *haihan-chiken*, the abolition of the han system, and its replacement by a system of prefectures in 1871, rural Japan suffered social uncertainty. As a result, a number of independent humanitarian movements emerged in each local community and prefecture. These movements indicated

¹²⁾ Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 206.

¹³⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashikō* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1911), 39-45.

that the modern Red Cross movement in Japan was driven by a large number of ordinary people who were conscious about the drastic social changes of the Meiji Restoration brought about by, for instance, the turmoil of international politics – imperialism and colonialism. In consequence, they were also affected by the industrial revolution, and the collapse of traditional local communities in Japanese society due to the fall of the Tokugawa Regime.

During the Meiji Restoration, the wage gap increased, while primary industry declined. Many people in rural areas suffered from poverty.¹⁴⁾ As a result, large numbers of Japanese emigrated to places such as Hawaii, the Pacific Coast of the US and Canada, and later Latin America.¹⁵⁾ The Japanese diaspora and the JRCS activities will be further discussed in another research. In this context, the Red Cross movement led by Japanese civilians was not only focused on wartime medical relief activities as the ICRC called for, but also on the increased awareness of social welfare issues such as poverty, hunger, orphanhood, medical services, and public health for themselves in order to survive during the drastic social reform. Some village heads and ordinary people founded original Red Cross Societies, humanitarian corps, welfare organisations, benevolent civil societies, and hospitals independently from Sano's movement in Tokyo, which were even earlier than the foundation of the national Philanthropic Society of Japan – the JRCS.

For example, the Red Cross grassroots movement in Shimane Prefecture was one of the significant campaigns. After *haihan-chiken*, the abolition of the han system, there was confusion and friction amongst local people adapting to the new Meiji administration. Furthermore, confrontation between the *kinnō-ha*¹⁶⁾ and *sabaku-ha*¹⁷⁾ still affected people's sentiments and divided the community.¹⁸⁾ In the

¹⁴⁾ Stanlaw James, "Japanese Emigration and Immigration: From the Meiji to the Modern," in *Japanese Diasporas: Unsung Pasts, Conflicting Presents, and Uncertain Futures*, ed. Nobuko Adachi (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 35-6.

¹⁵⁾ Toake Endoh, *Exporting Japan: Politics of Emigration toward Latin America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 17-9.

¹⁶⁾ The group of people, who supported the Imperial Court.

¹⁷⁾ The group of people, who supported the Tokugawa Shogunate.

¹⁸⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha Hiroshimaken-shibu, *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shimaneken-shibu Hyakunen shi* (Shimane: Nihon Sekijūjisha Shimaneken-shibu, 1990), 35.

¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, 36.

early years of Meiji in Shimane, poverty was one of the greatest issues. According to a manuscript of the JRCS Shimane Chapter, approximately 54,700 people lived in poverty, which was 7.4% of the entire population of the prefecture.¹⁹⁾ In order to assist this population, volunteers established a Charity Society, called *Kyūjutsu-sha*, Charity Society in Japanese, in 1882, and also founded the *Matsue Keiai-sha*, literally meaning the Matsue Benevolent Loving Society. This benevolent society treated and provided funds for people in difficulties such as widows in poverty, sick and invalid people, and victims of natural disasters. For example, they supported victims of a great fire in 1884 in Onoze, rural Shimane, and donated funds to victims of a mass flood in the prefecture in 1887, which lasted for 12 days and killed 70 people. In 1888, when a great fire occurred in the Oki Islands, they collected a donation of 10,065 yen, 28 sen, and 5 rin in total. While a local newspaper agency ran a fundraising campaign, civilians also paid for advertisements and collected individual donations for those victims. In 1889, annual contributions to the *Matsue Keiai-sha* for general activities reached a total of 92 yen and 70 sen, and distributed contributions to 335 households, who were suffering.²⁰⁾ These cash grant donations of local activities showed that people's awareness of mutual aid and charity had already developed in order for communities to help themselves. This phenomenon became the foundation of the grassroots movement of the Red Cross humanitarianism in this prefecture.

As a consequence, in 1887, Koteda Yasusada (1840-1899), Governor of Shimane Prefecture, founded the Shimane Red Cross Society (SRCS) in accordance with Japan's ratification of the Geneva Convention. This foundation was independent from Sano's movement in Tokyo. More than 10,000 citizens in Shimane were involved in the establishment of the SRCS, which was driven by their grassroots activities. Although the Society later became the JRCS Shimane Chapter, it still maintained a range of original activities. For example, the initial activities of the chapter were developed to support families bereaved by the Satsuma Rebellion. Regarding the revolt, 114 people from Shimane lost their lives in the battle and a fundraising campaign was started to establish a war memorial

²⁰⁾ Ibid., 36-7.

²¹⁾ Ibid., 33-4.

and to hold a memorial service.²¹⁾ These movements by the JRCS Shimane Chapter were also retrospectively integrated into charity in the local community, which already existed.

Focusing on civil medical care, Setoki Nagahira (1836-1901), an army surgeon in the Hiroshima garrison of the Japanese Imperial Army who used to study under Ogata Kōan (1810-1863)²²⁾ in Ōsaka, founded a community hospital in Hiroshima prefecture in 1876, called the Hakuai Hospital, or Philanthropic Hospital. The hospital treated ordinary people. Thus, the Red Cross movement in Hiroshima explained that the purpose of medical treatment was to provide health care for civilians, not those wounded in armed conflicts as called for by international standards. The Hakuai Hospital focused on treatment for ordinary people and developed within the context of social welfare, not wartime medical relief activities.

In the following year of 1877, the Hakuai Hospital treated soldiers affected by armed conflicts, independently from Sano's movement. The prefecture established the Hiroshima Philanthropic Society by themselves, and they started to train medics in order to prepare for wartime relief activities. Hiroshima residents also established the Hiroshima Philanthropic Women's Association, which provided nursing education to treat the wounded during war. The membership increased from 573 to 2,706 members within a year. The Hiroshima Philanthropic Society was integrated into the Hiroshima Philanthropic Society Chapter of the JRCS, and it became the JRCS Hiroshima Chapter in 1888.²³⁾ The initial Red Cross movement in Hiroshima was also independent from the activities of Sano's Philanthropic Society. The Hiroshima Red Cross movement primarily focused on local social welfare and autonomously matched its local activities to the national and international trend of humanitarianism. The members found their mission in order to sustain themselves through the age of empire and great wars.

Furthermore, regional wartime medical relief Red Cross movements were

²²⁾ Ogata Kōan was a Japanese physician and Rangaku scholar in the late Edo period of Japan.

²³⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha Hiroshimaken-shibu, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Hiroshimaken-shibu Hyaku-nen shi: Shiryōhen* (Hiroshima: Nihon Sekijūjisha Hiroshimaken-shibu, 1991), 3-18.

also independently established in various places alongside the national Red Cross movement in modern Japan. In other words, local movements adapted to the national and global trend, which encouraged modern people to support the medical relief activities of a wartime state through an independent and impartial non-governmental, non-profit humanitarian organisation. For example, Hara Yasutaro (1847-1936), Governor of Yamaguchi Prefecture, who studied at both the State University of New Jersey in the US and King's College London in the UK, formulated the original plan for the foundation of the Yamaguchi Red Cross Society (YRCS) in 1887 along with five leading authorities in the local community, after the Meiji government ratified the Geneva Convention in 1886. They became advocates of the Geneva Convention in Yamaguchi and planned to launch a programme to train ordinary people to treat the wounded during armed conflict. The project paper of the YRCS formation said, 'What is the Red Cross? The Red Cross is an organisation consisting of civilians who contribute to treating the wounded and sick soldiers during a battle.'²⁴⁾

This statement emphasised the Red Cross was a private organisation, which was supposed to assist state wartime relief activities. This movement could be a grassroots campaign to support medical relief in a wartime state as a part of the civil movement. Furthermore, the reaction of local people showed historians their community's survival alongside the rise of the Japanese Empire, which meant that they found their modern role. They developed a sense of humanitarian mission within the context of empire, just as the International Red Cross promoted. The YRCS campaign was synchronised with the movement of the JRCS; it was thus integrated into the JRCS Yamaguchi Chapter in 1888.²⁵⁾

Regarding the Red Cross principles of impartiality and neutrality during battlefield humanitarian operations, Hokkaidō Prefecture witnessed the emergence of the modern humanitarian movement earlier than Sano's campaign for the Philanthropic Society. The Red Cross movement in Hokkaidō was indeed developed alongside an increase of Japanese migration to this new island, and its activities

²⁴⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha Yamaguchiken-shibu, *Hyaku-nen no Ayumi* (Yamaguchi: Nihon Sekijūjisha Yamaguchiken-shibu, 1991), 46.

²⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, 45-65.

were encapsulated during the Battle of Hakodate (1868-1869). This was the battle between the remnants of the army of the Tokugawa Shogunate led by Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908) and the newly formed Japanese imperial army. The Tokugawa army attempted to establish Hokkaidō as the Ezo Republic and tried to free the island from the Empire of Japan. Therefore, it could be argued that the battle was a war of independence. Apart from this, the status of the battle was vague within the context of the Geneva Convention of 1864. It could be regarded as both an international and a non-international armed conflict – depending on the view of the belligerents. During the clash, a 33-year-old male doctor named Takamatsu Ryōun (1837-1916), who became the head of the Hakodate battlefield hospital, treated sick and wounded soldiers without discrimination. He was born in Fukuoka into the Shōya family, who were farmers and head village alderman, and studied at a Dutch medical school under Ogata Kōan (1810-1863) in Ōsaka. Takamatsu was sent to Europe as one of the delegates of the Tokugawa mission, while Sano was sent to Europe by the Saga domain, during the late Edo period. Takamatsu also encountered the Red Cross movement during his visit to the International Exposition of 1867 in Paris, as Sano did. After returning from Europe, Takamatsu joined the medical corps of the Tokugawa army as a doctor and was sent to Hokkaidō during the battle.²⁶⁾ As Sano recognised, Takamatsu also identified the Red Cross activities as impartial medical services; therefore, although he belonged to the medical corps of the shogunate army during the battle, he treated from both sides of the conflict at the Hakodate Hospital.

Furthermore, Takamatsu had not only acted as a doctor but also undertook diplomatic efforts to continue offering medical treatment during the conflict. When the Tokugawa army ordered him to evacuate the hospital from Hakodate to Muroan, further north, he refused. He could not accept the suspension of his medical relief activities as the battlefield hospital. Instead, he secured the support of the Russian Consul to manage the hospital. When the Meiji governmental forces burst into the hospital, he asked them to allow the treatment of wounded Tokugawa forces, declaring that he would accept any punishment by the government after the

²⁶⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha Hokkaidō-shibu, *Hokkaidō no Sekijūji sono Hyakunen* (Sapporo: Nihon Sekijūjisha Hokkaidō-shibu, 1987), 46-50.

battle. The corps of the governmental army accepted his offer, although another group of soldiers burnt a branch hospital in Hakodate and killed a number of the wounded. According to a manuscript of the JRCS Hokkaidō Chapter, Takamatsu treated approximately 1,340 sick and wounded. After the battle, which the Meiji government won, Takamatsu was suspended of his activities and was detained for a time in Edo, Tokyo, by the imperial government.²⁷⁾ Acceptance of impartial treatment by both Takamatsu, a doctor of the Tokugawa Shogunate Army, and the Meiji Forces in extreme situations showed a sign of the germination of the idea of modern humanitarianism and a synergy between the Japanese traditional samurai ethos and Red Cross humanitarianism.

Takamatsu's activities were also unrelated to Sano's Red Cross campaign. Indeed, in later years, he refused an invitation from Sano to join the Philanthropic Society in order to assist the medical relief activities during the Satsuma Rebellion.²⁸⁾ This was perhaps because Takamatsu considered himself as a man from the old days of Tokugawa – he had encountered the Red Cross in Paris during his participation in the Tokugawa delegation in Tokugawa period; Sano from the Saga domain also joined this exhibition. Takamatsu had no intention of joining the new Philanthropic Society, which was recognised by the new government, even though Sano emphasised the importance of humanitarianism and wartime relief in the modern nation state. Takamatsu acknowledged modern humanitarianism and understood the importance of the humanitarian movement as an individual person. Therefore, he could not join the system of the Red Cross, which had capitulated to Meiji Japan – the empire state. Takamatsu lived through an age of extreme uncertainty from the fall of the Tokugawa Bakuhan system to the modern nation state. His wartime relief operations occurred between the Tokugawa era and the Meiji period. Furthermore, Takamatsu also had an appalling experience with wartime relief activities during the Battle of Hakodate, which might have had an impact on his humanitarian thoughts that he already recognised the limits of wartime relief activities.

Therefore, Takamatsu never joined Sano's movement, and he spent the rest of

²⁷⁾ Ibid., 48-9.

²⁸⁾ Ibid., 49.

his life treating poor peasants in Tokyo. He founded the *Dōai-sha*, the Benevolent Society, and focused on treating local people in need, and never got involved in wartime relief operations. He devoted himself to medical services as part of social welfare activities under the Meiji government. He found his mission in a new age. His activities were noticed by the local community, and he received the support of a number of ordinary people. As a result, his activities expanded – he managed to operate more than sixty hospitals in Tokyo in 1898, and later received the Japanese Medal of Honour with a Blue Ribbon in 1913.²⁹⁾ His activities inspired the grassroots Red Cross movement in Japan with its principle of neutrality during battle, and later dealing with poverty in modern Japanese society. He lived and worked among the people who had been left behind in the drastic social reformation until the day he died. Narratives of his activities became legendary in the JRCS Hokkaidō Chapter in later years as the origin of humanitarianism in modern Japan. Furthermore, his activities were introduced to the world at the 15th International Conference of the Red Cross in Tokyo in 1934.³⁰⁾ His story demonstrated that humanitarian workers, even those who never joined Red Cross Societies, also played a significant role in developing modern humanitarianism. In other words, individual activities, not belonging to any institution, contributed to the development of the official International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Therefore, humanitarianism was beyond the logic of an institution. Takamatsu represented humanitarian patriotism well. The Red Cross survived in his mind and through his activities.

The grassroots movement of the Red Cross in Japan determined community survival based on mutual aid amidst the turmoil of both international and domestic politics. Often donors and recipients were one and the same. Although the Meiji Restoration is often presented in a positive light due to its successful political, economic, social and cultural transformation, there were people who were ignored and suffered from poverty, illness, and natural disasters during this period of drastic change. In this context, the Red Cross movement, driven by ordinary people,

²⁹⁾ Ibid., 49-50.

³⁰⁾ The Japanese Red Cross Society, *Materials Relating to the History of Relief Work in Japan* (Tōkyō: The Japanese Red Cross Society, 1934), 90.

pursued a social mission through their local activities and studied the Geneva Convention in order to maintain themselves. Slowly these local groups adapted their grassroots movements to national trends. Although there were some differences in the initial stages, like Takamatsu never joining the JRCS, their movements reached fruition through what may be described as humanitarianism (*jindō*), literally meaning ‘the way of humanity’, alongside the national Red Cross movement in modern Japan. The Japanese notion of humanitarianism, *jindō*, could have connoted peace, non-violence, compassion and various types of humanitarian assistance, including wartime medical relief, social welfare services, fundraising, and natural disaster relief operations. Thus, the early years of the Red Cross movement in Japan demonstrated that modern civilians acted locally for their neighbours and people in need, which became the foundation of JRCS Chapters throughout Japan. As a consequence, JRCS Chapters became a driving force of the national Headquarters of the JRCS.

Service for the Wartime State

After the official founding of the JRCS in 1887, the Society accelerated its activities and geographically expanded its operations. The Society established committee departments and prefectural chapters throughout Japan, the territories of the Japanese Empire, and abroad to areas where Japanese imperial subjects had migrated. One of the major operations was wartime medical relief during the series of international armed conflicts involving the Empire of Japan. In accordance with the Geneva Conventions, the JRCS scaled up its operations leading up to World War II. They deployed medical relief parties during the First-Sino Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Boxer Rebellion (1900) to provide impartial treatment. In the First Sino-Japanese War, the JRCS was in correspondence with the Chinese authorities. For example, Sano received a personal letter of appreciation from Li Hongzhang (1823-1901), a Chinese statesman, in response to his message of sympathy to Li regarding an incident in which Li was attacked during the peace conference after the war in Shimonoseki, Japan in 1895.³¹⁾

³¹⁾ The Archival Collection of the Red Cross Information Plaza, A1-159 *Shinkoku Ri Kōshō no Shaji*. (*Kōshō nijū-ichi nen san gatsu hajime muika*) *Meiji Nijū-hachi nen*.

Wartime international humanitarianism alongside impartial and neutral treatment reached their peak with the medical operations carried out by the JRCS during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and the First World War (1914-1918). During the Russo-Japanese War, the Society dispatched medical relief teams, and Red Cross workers treated Russian POWs as well as Japanese sick and wounded. During the First World War, the Society sent female nurses to Russia, France, and Britain for international collaborative humanitarian operations. They conducted wartime medical relief operations with the Russians, the French and the British.

Focusing on the Russo-Japanese War, the medical activities of the JRCS became a key factor in the creation of the Second Geneva Convention of 1906. They also showed that if a wartime state respected the International Law of War, it was easy for the JRCS to operate without confrontation with the state. Military operations by the Japanese Empire became extensive and the form of the conflicts went beyond the framework of the Geneva Convention of 1864, which only focused on military operations on land. As well as land battles, the Empire of Japan carried out extensive war at sea. Japan had the characteristics of a maritime empire. The Russo-Japanese War had been the largest scale maritime conflict since the emergence of modern humanitarian activity. Due to this, the JRCS faced difficulties following the international standard for the law of war. The JRCS serving in a new form of armed conflict, which included battles at sea, became a lesson for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Wartime relief efforts by the JRCS were a factor in the movement subsequent revision of the Geneva Conventions with respect to armed conflicts.

Hence, when examining the international influence of the JRCS on wartime missions, it is crucial to explore its humanitarian operations in the Russo-Japanese War. The war broke out in February 1904 and lasted for a year and nine months. It was one of the first modern wars, in which the International Law of War was observed by both the Japanese and the Russians. Kita pointed out

that the Japanese Imperial Army, in a sign of the care they were taking in their actions, attached two international law scholars to each of their forces in order to avoid violating international law.³²⁾ According to Dr Ariga Nagao (1860-1921),³³⁾ a Japanese scholar in international law, the Japanese Imperial Army's medical corps treated 21,730 Russian wounded in total, of which 1,158 died, including deaths from scurvy.³⁴⁾ During these relief operations, there were some cultural confrontations. For instance, the Russian patients would not eat rice, requesting bread instead.³⁵⁾ The Japanese Imperial Army's relief workers also suffered from a lack of interpreters.³⁶⁾ The international armed conflict with belligerents from a different cultural background made relief activities difficult although operations were conducted in accordance with the International Law of War. However, overall, humanitarian relief activities went well. There were a number of testimonies of Japanese and Russian patients in hospital together developing communications. For example, they conducted language exchange, and exchanged their clothes and hats with each other. When the Japanese took out cigarettes, the Russians lit them for the Japanese.³⁷⁾

It was obvious that when the warring states respected the Geneva Conventions, it was easy for the JRCS to conduct relief work. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Society amended the regulations surrounding wartime relief activities to

³²⁾ Kita Yoshito, "Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō," in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo*, eds. by Kurosawa Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 105.

³³⁾ Ariga Nagao (1860-1921) was a personal advisor of the JRCS, and published a number of studies on the International Law of War. He became the first Japanese candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize due to his international legal contribution during the Russo-Japanese War.

³⁴⁾ Ariga Nagao, "Nichiro Rikusen Kokusaihō-ron" (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Kaikōsha, 1911), 220, quoted in Kita Yoshito, "Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō," in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo*, eds. by Kurosawa Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 109.

³⁵⁾ Kita, "Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō," 110-1.

³⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, 115.

³⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, 112.

³⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, 106.

improve its operations.³⁸⁾ As a consequence, the JRCS deployed 5,170 personnel, which included a range of positions such as officials, doctors, nurses, and those enlisted to transport sick and injured soldiers. According to the Archive of the JRCS, 32 medical relief parties were sent to battlefields in Korea and Manchuria; however, female nurses were not deployed in this case. Furthermore, 74 relief parties were dispatched to army hospitals, while 4 relief teams were deployed to naval hospitals throughout Japan. At the same time, 38 medical relief teams served on 20 medical ships.³⁹⁾ During the aftermath of the Siege of Port Arthur, 1,088 Japanese medical workers, including the JRCS relief teams, worked with 2,790 Russian medical workers, which included Russian Army medics, and Russian Red Cross (RRC) doctors and nurses.⁴⁰⁾ The JRCS donated 2,000 blankets, and 1,500 sets of undershirts, nightclothes and obi to the RRC stationed in Lushun,⁴¹⁾ while some of the JRCS relief parties provided medical service for 10,434 civilians in JRCS emergency hospitals in Manchuria. Most of those receiving aid were Chinese. The total number of Chinese patients treated by the JRCS reached 10,104.⁴²⁾

One of the most significant aspects of JRCS's relief operations during the war, which impacted the revision of the Geneva Conventions in later years, was the treatment of POWs. The total number of Russian POWs was 79,367, of which

³⁹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Kyūgohōkokusho* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1908), 11, quoted in Kita Yoshito, “Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō,” in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo*, eds. Kurosawa Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 108.

⁴⁰⁾ Rikugun Daijin Kanbō, ed., *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Fūryo Toriatsukai Tenmatsu* (Tōkyō: Yuhikaku-shobō, 1907), 23-4, quoted in Kita Yoshito, “Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō,” in *The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society and Humanitarian Assistance*, eds. Kurosawa Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 113.

⁴¹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Kyūgohōkokusho*, 955-56, quoted in Kita, “Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō, in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo*, eds. Kurosawa and Kawai, 116-7.

⁴²⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Kyūgohōkokusho*, 316-20, quoted in *Ibid*, 130.

⁴³⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Kyūgohōkokusho*, 957, and 962, quoted in *Ibid*, 117

72,408 were sent to Japan for medical treatment. Seventeen medical ships conveyed Russian patients.⁴³⁾ They were treated in a range of places in Japan such as Matsuyama and Nagoya. For example, the Matsuyama POW camp received 36,688 POWs in total.⁴⁴⁾ Kita argued that Russian POWs had positive opinions of the JRCS regarding their treatment received.⁴⁵⁾ For instance, one POW wrote his memoir about JRCS nurses, remembering them as charming, smiling, never showing exhaustion although working very hard, and as disciplined and professional as military officers.⁴⁶⁾ Another POW wrote that nurses read newspapers in both Russian and Japanese for him.⁴⁷⁾ This POW also appreciated the medical services provided by the Japanese doctor.⁴⁸⁾ On the other hand, Utsumi pointed out the poor conditions of Japanese treatment. For example, some Russian POWs suffered from mosquitoes and squalid accommodation. She said that although POWs did not suffer starvation, were allowed visitors from outside the camps, and were not forced to work, they were bored and felt hopeless.⁴⁹⁾ This was the reality of soldiers being captured during war. Eventually, 71,802 Russian POWs were sent back to Russia.⁵⁰⁾

The most important legacy of the JRCS humanitarian relief activities during the Russo-Japanese War was the adoption of the Second Geneva Convention in 1906, the following year. In other words, the wartime relief activities of the JRCS as well as Japanese military led the international humanitarian movement to revise the First Geneva Convention: the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field. Indeed, the Hague Convention was adopted in order to adapt to maritime warfare, and this

⁴⁴⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, *Meiji Sanjū-shichi hachi nen Sen'eki Kyūgohōkokusho*, 957, and 989, quoted in Ibid, 127.

⁴⁵⁾ Kita, “Junēbu Jōyaku Teiyakukoku-kan no Nichiro Sensō”, 122-7.

⁴⁶⁾ Sophia Von Theill, In *Nichiro Sensō-ka no Nihon: Roshia-jin Horyo no Tsuma no Nikki*, trans. Ogiso Ryū, and Ogiso Miyoko (Tōkyō: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1991), 54.

⁴⁷⁾ F. P. Kupchinsky, In *Matsuyama Horyo Shūyōjo Nikki: Roshia Shōkō no Mita Meiji Nippon*, trans. Odagawa Kenji (Tōkyō: Chūōkōronsha, 1988), 129-32.

⁴⁸⁾ Ibid., 150-1, and 190-2.

⁴⁹⁾ Utsumi Aiko, *Nihongun no Horyo Seisaku* (Tōkyō: Aoki-shoten, 2005), 81.

⁵⁰⁾ Ibid., 78.

⁵¹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashi Zokkō, Ge kan, Meiji jonjū nen kara Taishō jūichi nen* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1929), 591-622.

convention was succeeded by the Second Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea. The JRCs medical relief operations on medical ships were seen as a model case, resulting in the foundation of the Second Geneva Convention.

On the other hand, regarding the treatment of POWs, the JRCs continued to conduct relief activities and developed their services during World War I (1914-1918) in accordance with the Washington Declaration of the 10th International Conference of the Red Cross in 1912, although this declaration was not adopted by the Geneva Convention until 1929.⁵¹⁾ Ariga, an international law scholar who advised the Japanese Imperial Army during the Russo-Japanese War, became a committee member of the JRCs War Prisoner's Relief Committee in 1914.⁵²⁾ During the Russo-Japanese War, treatment of POWs was limited to general medical treatment. During the First World War, however, the JRCs started to issue Red Cross messages and delivered letters and goods from families and friends of POWs. The Society also accepted the inspection of the ICRC in Japan.⁵³⁾ They treated German and Austro-Hungarian POWs - the enemies of the country. However, although POWs were allowed to have a sightseeing to visit some historical places surrounding some of the camps, their freedom of movement was restricted, and therefore they were frustrated and irritated. The JRCs struggled to reduce the frustration of POWs,⁵⁴⁾ which indicated that, in comparison to physical treatment, treatment for psychological issues was difficult to provide.

Rural Japanese communities were welcoming and hospitable to POWs like guests from overseas.⁵⁵⁾ A number of JRCs chapters, such as Fukuoka, Ōita and Shizuoka, assisted such activity.⁵⁶⁾ Alongside the JRCs activities, one of the best examples showing the successful localised treatment for those in detention was the Bandō POW Camp in Tokushima, which has become iconic. Approximately 1,000

⁵²⁾ Ibid., 621.

⁵³⁾ Kawai Toshinobu, "Nihon Sekijūjisha no Kokusaiteki Tenkai to Heiji Jigyō," in *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjō*, edited by Kurosawa, Fumitaka, and Kawai Toshinobu (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 2009), 187-9.

⁵⁴⁾ Ibid., 188-91.

⁵⁵⁾ Utsumi, *Nihongun no Horyō Seisaku*, 93.

⁵⁶⁾ Kawai Toshinobu, "Nihon Sekijūjisha no Kokusaiteki Tenkai to Heiji Jigyō", 190-1.

German POWs were detained in this camp. During their stay in Japan, they created their own community in Tokushima, and communicated well with local people. POWs taught German bread baking, farming and cooking to ordinary people. They also created a local market and established a range of facilities in the Japanese traditional community such as a printing factory, a bread plant, a bowling centre, a library and a classical music concert hall. The first performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in Japan made the Bandō POWs Camp famous nationwide.⁵⁷⁾ Utsumi analysed a number of the factors contributing to the successful treatment of the POWs by the local Japanese community, arguing that it was not a total war, the number of the POWs was not high, and the Japanese social climate in general tried to respect the International Law as a victor nation.⁵⁸⁾ In addition to her analysis, it could be argued that the grassroots movement was also factor behind the vigorous efforts to care for POWs.

As regards the neutrality of the JRCS regarding serving for the wartime state, while the JRCS treated POWs – the enemy of Japan – in the country, they were also involved in international joint relief operations with Russia, France and the British Empire, allies of the Japanese Empire. Apart from this, the JRCS treated enemies of Japan through its local supporters, while the Society served the Japanese Empire through international relief activities for allied states. The JRCS deployed medical workers and nurses to Russia, France and the UK between 1914 and 1916. These missions were top-down humanitarian activities to support Japan's allies. In 1914, a total of twenty-seven JRCS relief workers were sent to Petrograd, currently known as Saint Petersburg, via the Trans-Siberian Railway, and worked for a year and five months at the specially established JRCS hospital in the city. Their mission was to support the medical relief work of the Russian Red Cross (RRC). During the mission, the JRCS dispatched additional teams and extended their missions twice at the request of the Russian government. At the hospital, the JRCS dealt with several visits by members of the Russian Imperial Family. In total, the JRCS treated 43,531

⁵⁷⁾ Utsumi, *Nihongun no Horyo Seisaku*, 101-3.

⁵⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashi Zokkō, Ge kan*, 352-77.

patients in the course of the Russian deployment.⁵⁹⁾ The close relationship between the JRCS and the RRC since the Russo-Japanese War made their activities in Petrograd successful.

On the other hand, twenty-nine relief workers including twenty-two nurses were dispatched to Paris via the Suez Canal and operated at the JRCS Relief Party Hospital of Paris, which was attached to the Minister of War and National Defense of France.⁶⁰⁾ The hospital acted as a battlefield hospital.⁶¹⁾ Therefore, relief activities in France were intense. There were many serious cases, and it was difficult for nurses. For instance, JRCS nurses treated victims of the Battles of Arras, Champagne, and Verdun between 1915 and 1916. As a consequence, the JRCS hospital in Paris treated 54,831 patients in total. At the hospital, nurses worked with French volunteer nurses, who were from the aristocracy. Therefore, in order to avoid miscommunication between two groups of nurses, the JRCS requested that they not carry out actual medical procedures such as injections, which required professional training; nonetheless, JRCS nurses let them assist medical treatment. For example, French volunteer nurses served meals to patients.⁶²⁾ According to the working record of the JRCS, Japanese and French nurses communicated well and respected each other during this hard time.⁶³⁾ The JRCS initially planned to have a five-month operation in France; however, at the strong request of the French government, the Society extended their operations twice and it lasted nearly two years. The French government asked for a further extension at the end; however, due to the extreme exhaustion of the JRCS workers, it was impossible to continue their activities in Paris any longer. A number of nurses fell ill from overwork and pressure. Their duties were handed over to the British Red Cross (BRC), and JRCS nurses withdrew from the operation in Paris, returning to Japan via Cape Town in

⁶⁰⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 168.

⁶¹⁾ Kawai Toshinobu, “Nihon Sekijūjisha no Kokusaiteki Tenkai to Heiji Jigyō”, 181-2.

⁶²⁾ *Ibid.*, 182-4.

⁶³⁾ The Archival Collection of the Museum Meiji-mura held by the Japanese Red Cross Toyota College of Nursing, *Ōshū Senran: Futsukoku Haken Kyūgohan Hōkokusho, Hōkoku Dai Jūsan-gō*. (1915). ID: 725, quoted in *Ibid.*, 183.

⁶⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, 182-4.

⁶⁵⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashi Zokkō, Ge kan*, 404.

September 1916.⁶⁴⁾ Raymond Poincaré (1860-1934), French President, expressed his great gratitude for the contributions of the JRCS.⁶⁵⁾

On the other hand, deployment to England showed international political relationships amongst the Red Cross societies – the JRCS, the BRC, and the American Red Cross (ARC). Nurses were deployed to the UK via the US. In Honolulu, they were welcomed by the ARC and Japanese immigrants. While in Petrograd and Paris, JRCS nurses worked at the JRCS hospital, and in London, they worked at the Netley Hospital with BRC nurses. Deployment to England had a more diplomatic role than deployments to Russia and France: staff acted as ambassadors, too. While JRCS nurses treated 70,880 patients, a head doctor and chief nurse had an audience with George V at the Buckingham Palace.⁶⁶⁾ Gordon argued that this operation was conducted as a part of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as the Japanese women carried out their international duty for the wartime state. He focused on activities in the political discourse.⁶⁷⁾ However, on the practical level of operations, the JRCS also had an important purpose. According to the JRCS Archives, the mission had a scheme to observe BRC wartime governance, which included human recourses, accounting and training programmes. During their stay in England, relief teams regularly wrote a number of reports on management and administration of the BRC and sent them to the Headquarters in Tokyo.⁶⁸⁾ At that time, the JRCS considered that wartime services were increasing in prominence in order to keep up with humanitarian trends alongside Great Wars. The JRCS observed the BRC as one of the leading Red Cross Societies, which operated a number of wartime relief activities within the British Empire. Therefore, the Society examined and analysed their wartime governance as a model case.

Furthermore, after the First World War, the wartime relief activities of the JRCS demonstrated that modern humanitarianism was already global, going beyond international relations and imperialism. The JRCS started to assist in wars that were

⁶⁶⁾ Ibid., 405-32.

⁶⁷⁾ Gordon Daniels, “To Succour Wounded Allies: Japanese Red Cross nurses in England, 1915-1916,” *Japan Society Proceedings*, ISSN: 0952-2050 (2008).

⁶⁸⁾ The Archival Collection of the Museum Meiji-mura held by the Japanese Red Cross Toyota College of Nursing, *Eikoku Sekijūjisha Senji Jigyō Hōkokusho*. (1916). ID: 636-735.

unrelated to Japanese military affairs such as the Second Italo-Ethiopian War (1934-1936). Indeed, the Society offered to donate medical equipment to both the Italian Red Cross (IRC) and the Ethiopian Red Cross Society (ERCS) via the ICRC during this armed conflict. In response to the JRCS, the ERCS accepted the offer, while the IRC declined. As a result, the JRCS donated relief equipment such as stretchers to the ERCS to treat 10,000 sick and wounded in 1935, worth 4,837 yen and 44 sen. Japanese aid goods arrived at Addis Ababa via Djibouti.⁶⁹⁾

The wartime services of the JRCS developed through the series of Japanese imperial wars. Operations for a new form of armed conflict and activities involving the treatment of POWs by the JRCS had an impact on the revision of the Geneva Conventions. In order to fulfil its wartime humanitarian duties, the JRCS worked with both the local Japanese community and the national government. The Society also established its own international network with other National Societies belonging to the Red Cross; as a result, their activities were globalised. The JRCS reached the peak of its successful wartime relief efforts during the First World War, and these efforts became one of the best model cases of neo-humanitarianism within the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

Revenue and Membership

In order to carry out impartial humanitarian relief activities, the JRCS did not receive state subsidies and to ensure stable finances the JRCS collected money from its ordinary members. The fundraising strategy was influenced by approaches to financing commonly deployed by humanitarian grassroots movement in the West; but the Society also developed revenue streams through close association with the *chōnaikai*. Civilians voluntarily donated money to the JRCS or automatically contributed through payments brought about by the *chōnaikai*. As a result, the membership numbers of the JRCS became far and away the highest amongst the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies worldwide. After the eruption of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, relief operations by the JRCS were dominated by wartime relief activities in accordance with the Geneva Conventions, while the

⁶⁹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Yon-kan, Taishō jūni nen kara Shōwa jū nen* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1957), 207.

Society suspended a number of peacetime operations. Due to the worsening social conditions, the JRCS accelerated membership recruitment campaigns and operated branches, chapters and offices in a wide range of areas, increasingly to gain the financial support of ordinary people.

In order to explore the expansion of JRCS membership and branch offices, it is crucial to highlight the financial rules of the Society as well as the Japanese *chōnaikai* system. Yamashita has analysed the JRCS's accounting rules and the structures of its financial income in the war years. She found that the Society constantly increased its membership and donations throughout the development of the Empire of Japan. She explored JRCS accounting regulations chronologically. According to her, the recruiting of new members and fundraising were strategically prioritised in order to prepare for wartime relief activities, and she pointed out that JRCS chapters and hospitals played an important role. She highlighted the Kagoshima Chapter and Kyōto Chapter as two of the most successful examples, while she argued that the JRCS utilised the Imperial Family for its Public Relations.⁷⁰⁾ For that reason, Kyōto became one of the most successful chapters, possibly due to its long-term connection with the Japanese Imperial Family. Yamashita criticised an argument made by Kawaguchi and Kurokawa, who asserted that the fundraising activities of the JRCS were solely controlled by the imperial state as a top-down movement.⁷¹⁾ Although she admitted that some governmental officials were executives of the JRCS and that the Society was influenced by their policies, she argued that the successful rise in membership and funding was instead initiated by the Headquarters of the JRCS itself. In other words, she concluded that these improvements had another cause, which was the efforts of the Headquarters of the JRCS itself, alongside the intentions of the Japanese imperialist government.⁷²⁾ Thus, Yamashita emphasised the initiatives taken by the Headquarters of the JRCS to increase the support of ordinary Japanese people.

⁷⁰⁾ Yamashita Mai, "Business development of the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS) during 1908 to 1940 in terms of its revenue structure," *Kyoto Sangyo University essays. Social science series 31* (March 2014): 179-200.

⁷¹⁾ Ibid., 190; and Kawaguchi Keiko, and Kurokawa Akiko, *Jūgun Kangofu to Nihon Sekijūjisha: Sono Rekishi to Jūgun Shōgen* (Kyōto: Toshō-shuppan Bunrikaku, 2008).

However, although Yamashita was correct to state that Tokyo led the fundraising activities to a certain degree, as this paper has already discussed, chapters and branches also had a tradition of launching their own grassroots fundraising campaigns. Furthermore, because of the large numbers of members,⁷³⁾ it is impossible to argue that the efforts of the Headquarters and the Government of Japan were the sole reason for the growth in membership and funds. In fact, there were ordinary people who contributed to the Red Cross movement of their own accord. Regarding this argument, Shimozawa analysed the development of the JRCS fundraising activities in relation to the *chōnaikai* in modern Japan. He argued that the *chōnaikai* in local communities played a crucial role in the JRCS fundraising during the Second World War in particular. Although membership of the JRCS reached more than 1,500,000 in the Meiji period to become the world's highest,⁷⁴⁾ he pointed out that the membership even witnessed a dramatic increase between 1943 and 1945⁷⁵⁾ – from 8,799,827 members to 15,211,979 members.⁷⁶⁾ Shimozawa argued that there were multiple factors for this dramatic increase, which was influenced by the Imperial Family, war, governmental initiative, and the desire of the public for medical aid and disaster relief.⁷⁷⁾ He also contended that this successful rise would never have happened without the efforts of villages and local communities, who were inspired by the morality of the Red Cross.⁷⁸⁾

On the other hand, Yoshihara argued that the wartime JRCS capitulated to the

⁷²⁾ Yamashita, “Business development of the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS) during 1908 to 1940 in terms of its revenue structure”, 179-200.

⁷³⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Go-kan*, 40-1.

⁷⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, 362.

⁷⁵⁾ Shimozawa Takashi, “The Development of Japanese Fundraising System through the Experience of the Japanese Red Cross Society and the Community Chest,” *Shizuoka University of Art and Culture Bulletin 16* (March 2016): 19.

⁷⁶⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Go-kan*, 364.

⁷⁷⁾ Shimozawa, “The Development of Japanese Fundraising System through the Experience of the Japanese Red Cross Society and the Community Chest,” 19.

⁷⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁹⁾ Yoshihara Naoki, “Dai San-setsu: Ōsaka ni okeru Nihon Sekijūji Hōshidan Seiritsu no Hitokoma,” in *Zōhoban Chōnaikai no Kenkyū*, eds. Iwasaki Nobuhiko, Ueda Tadakazu, Hirohara Moriaki, Ajisaka Manabu, Takagi Masao, and Yoshihara Naoki (Tōkyō: Ochanomizu-shobō, 2013), 145.

statist political movement as a part of imperial rule assistance.⁷⁹⁾ He explored the survival of JRCS volunteers (*Sekijūji Hōshidan*) in Ōsaka thorough the *chōnaikai* system during the Allied occupation.⁸⁰⁾ Focusing on the history of local community associations, Ueda analysed the activities of public partnership (*kōkyō kumiai*) and *chōnaikai* systems during World War II. He pointed out that the *chōnaikai* played a crucial role in the wartime civil mobilisation, promoting and participating in a wide range of sustainable social activities, such as religious services, military assistance, public health care services, security, consumption and saving control, supply control, social welfare activities, and administration of local governmental offices.⁸¹⁾ Tanaka also considered that the *chōnaikai* functioned as a system of public mobilisation, which forced civilians to assist wartime policy through the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement. She focused on not only the legal aspects of the *chōnaikai* but also the physiological policy of the Japanese Imperial government towards neighbourhood associations.⁸²⁾ At the same time, she pointed out that membership of a neighbourhood association was structured by the household unit, not the individual person. Therefore, if one household became a member of an association, the individual members of that household also became members of the neighbourhood association. She said that membership of the neighbourhood association was automatic in the individual sense.⁸³⁾

Although the relationship between public humanitarianism and the imperial rule assistance movement was obscure, the fact is that the revolution in JRCS membership recruitment campaigns and the development of the *chōnaikai* system occurred simultaneously during World War II. Even though there was no clear statement about the relationship between the JRCS membership system and the

⁸⁰⁾ Ibid., 143-69.

⁸¹⁾ Ueda, Tadakazu, “Dai San-setsu: Jūgonen Sensō to Kōkyōkumiai・Chōnaikai,” in *Zōhoban Chōnaikai no Kenkyū*, edited by Iwasaki, Nobuhiko, Ueda Tadakazu, Hirohara, Moriaki, Ajisaka, Manabu, Takagi, Masao, and Yoshihara Naoki (Tōkyō: Ochanomizu-shobō, 2013), 98-9.

⁸²⁾ Tanaka Mikiko, “Japanese Organization of National General Mobilization and Neighbor Groups (*Tonarigumi*) in the Pacific War: Reorganization of Neighborhood Groups,” *The Ōtani Philosophical Society, Ōtani University, The Philosophical Studies*, No.50 (2003): 73-85.

⁸³⁾ Ibid., 78-9.

chōnaikai in JRCS Archives, it was clear that they were linked to each other as the general public humanitarian movement. This could be the so-called ‘JRCS institutionalised volunteerism’. This volunteerism was different from traditional volunteerism, which was conducted on the basis of individual will. Institutionalised volunteerism consisted of a systematised mass of people. This voluntary institution was created by the JRCS alongside the development of modern local community associations in Japan. For instance, the JRCS conducted its first official membership recruitment campaign in 1937, aiming to obtain an additional 500,000 members, and the second campaign in 1940, aiming to have another additional 1500,000 members within five years. These campaigns were great successes, which the JRCS had not expected. Thus, the Society changed its goal to ‘obtaining one member per one household’ from 1942.⁸⁴⁾ As a result, the Society gained a dramatic increase in revenue as well as membership, from 5,849,958 members in 1942 to 15,211,979 members in 1945, including colonial subjects.⁸⁵⁾ On the other hand, regarding the reformation of the *chōnaikai*, the Home Ministry amended the legal system of local community associations. For example, they proclaimed Development Guidelines for *Burakukai Chōnaikai*, etc. (*Burakukai Chōnaikai tō Seibi Yōryō*) in 1940 and instated a committee leader for the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, *chōnaikai* and *burakukai* in 1943. The Japanese Imperial Government strengthened the local community system in order to mobilise civilians under the wartime policy. Thus, there was a synergistic effect between the natural growth of public consensus for mutual assistance during wartime disasters and the development of local community associations initiated by the state. The JRCS unified these two movements and resolved the limitations of traditional volunteerism, which often relied on individual goodwill. Hence, the Society made the fundraising system sustainable as mass public institutional volunteerism during the war.

Overall, the JRCS utilised the great revolution of the *chōnaikai* system to collect money in order to accomplish their wartime mandates, alongside modern

⁸⁴⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Go-kan*, 361.

⁸⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁸⁶⁾ Shimozawa, “The Development of Japanese Fundraising System through the Experience of the Japanese Red Cross Society and the Community Chest,” 19.

humanitarian patriotism. The Society developed their own local networks. Local government leaders acted as important officials for JRCS branches in most cases,⁸⁶⁾ and governors of most prefectures also acted as the chair of each JRCS prefectural chapter.⁸⁷⁾ This phenomenon was also present in colonial chapters through Japanese residents and perhaps Japanese Korean (*Zainichi*) networks. Leading figures of JRCS chapters and departments were political authorities of local communities. The JRCS was not a rigidly centralised organisation, as this research has already argued. The successful growth of membership and funding was a reciprocal phenomenon. In other words, both the Headquarters and local chapters were involved in the development of the revenue structure of the JRCS. Therefore, the JRCS fundraising represented one of the most successful mass donation systems in the neo-humanitarian world, which emerged from mass institutionalised volunteerism. These developments became an exemplar of post-war fundraising and institutional volunteerism.

Natural Disaster Relief and Peacetime Activities

While the JRCS developed wartime relief with Japanese local communities and the Japanese state on the basis of the Geneva Conventions, the Society also developed and promoted natural disaster relief and peacetime activities on both the national and international level. These activities were not traditional mandates of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement at that time. With regard to natural disaster relief, the JRCS carried out a range of operations by means of local chapters and civilians. In other words, natural disaster relief was associated with local communities as well as the grassroots humanitarian movement. For example, during the aftermath of the eruption of Mount Bandai in 1888,⁸⁸⁾ which killed 105 people, the Society sent medical relief parties under the imperial order of Empress Shōken (1849-1914), and they worked with local medical relief teams. The Society also distributed aid and donations to victims from volunteers in Tokyo. It is

⁸⁷⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Go-kan*, 410-20.

⁸⁸⁾ The eruption of Mount Bandai in 1888 was known as a major volcanic eruption in the Meiji period.

generally believed that the relief activity following the eruption of Mount Bandai was the first official case of Red Cross natural disaster relief operations in the world.⁸⁹⁾ This operation also became an opportunity and led to the establishment of the Empress Shōken Fund in 1912 to develop and assist peacetime activities on the international stage. The Empress Shōken Fund became known as one of the major funds of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, supporting the peacetime activities of the National Societies around the world. On the national level, the JRCs set the mandate for natural disaster relief during the JRCs general assembly in 1892 and introduced the Natural Disaster Relief Regulations in 1900.⁹⁰⁾ Consequently, the JRCs was involved in relief following a range of disasters such as earthquakes, tsunamis, floods, great fires, and typhoons. For instance, they deployed medical workers and treated victims of a wide range of disasters such as the Sanriku Earthquake in Tohoku in 1896, the great fire of Fukui City in 1902, the Kita Tango Earthquake in 1927, and the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake.⁹¹⁾

The Great Kantō Earthquake was the largest natural disaster relief operation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent in the pre-war period of the world. The operation lasted ten months. On the 1st of September 1923, a magnitude 7.9 earthquake hit the Tokyo and Yokohama region followed by a great fire; as a consequence, millions of people were affected and more than 100,000 of the population lost their lives.⁹²⁾ The quake destroyed the modern capital city of the Japanese Empire and delivered a great shock to the nation. It was the first relief operation in which JRCs chapters throughout Japan sent their own medical relief teams to the Tokyo region – the operation had nationwide support from the Red Cross. This was because the Headquarters itself and aid workers themselves were affected by the great disaster. 132 hospitals in Tokyo were destroyed, and the main building and storehouses of the Headquarters were burnt to the ground. As a result, the Headquarters lost all aid kits, which were worth 500,000 yen at that time.⁹³⁾

⁸⁹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 178-9.

⁹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, 158.

⁹¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 180-2.

⁹²⁾ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁹³⁾ *Ibid.*, 183-4.

Although they were themselves victims, the Society continued to carry out a range of operations with the support of local chapters throughout Japan. For example, they set up emergency aid stations in many places, mobilised ambulances, provided aid for babies and children, managed sanitary control, and carried out medical treatment. The JRCS deployed 3,561 aid workers, excluding administrative staff, and treated 2,067,500 people in total. The budget of the JRCS, 5,000,000 yen, was almost equivalent to those for wartime relief activities during the Russo-Japanese War, which cost 5,140,000 yen.⁹⁴⁾ They dealt with natural disaster relief as equivalent to crisis missions within wartime relief activities. This fact also indicated that the JRCS's conduct of natural disaster relief was unprecedented in the world, and they carried out their emergency response within the already developed nationwide network of the JRCS.

Furthermore, relief operations for the Great Kantō Earthquake had another characteristic, because it was the first large scale international cooperative operation between the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. This became the foundation of international networks and global joint relief activities amongst Red Cross workers around the world. In fact, the JRCS obtained the international support of its partners such as the ICRC, the League of Red Cross Societies (LORCS), the American Red Cross (ARC), the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), the Canadian Red Cross (CRC), and the Italian Red Cross (IRC). The ARC donated the most money and the RCSC sent a medical relief team to Tokyo.⁹⁵⁾ Prince Kan'in Kotohito (1865-1945), Honorary President of the JRCS, welcomed the Chinese relief team.⁹⁶⁾ The relief activities following the Great Kantō Earthquake demonstrated that the JRCS treated natural disaster relief activities as a top priority mission for the Red Cross, and through modern humanitarianism, international consensus was gained regarding non-wartime operations, which was beyond the nation state framework of International Law. The modern humanitarian movement accelerated global cooperative relief operations unrestricted by national boundaries

⁹⁴⁾ Ibid., 183-7.

⁹⁵⁾ Ibid., 183-7.

⁹⁶⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Yon-kan*, 256-7.

after this great disaster, and this network system also retrospectively influenced transnational wartime relief operations amongst National Societies.

In addition to their peacetime activities, the JRCs expanded their operations to other different types of humanitarian crisis. For example, the Society carried out a number of relief activities during incidents and accidents including twenty riots, seven maritime accidents and seventeen train accidents. Amongst those operations, the major relief activities were those following the Tokyo Hibiya incendiary incident in 1905⁹⁷⁾ and the sea rescue following the marine accident of the Ottoman frigate *Ertuğrul* (Ottoman naval ship) in 1890.⁹⁸⁾ This marine accident became the first major international relief operation for the JRCs, and it highlighted one of the most successful cases in which the JRCs received both the support of the Japanese Imperial Family and the local community for international relief⁹⁹⁾ to save Turkish sailors with their altruistic activities. Furthermore, the Society dealt with a large number of street incidents from 1932, such as car accidents and conveying patients to hospital by JRCs ambulance. This operation was expanded alongside the development of the automobile society. According to the records of the Society, an ambulance was mobilised on 9,850 dates and treated 12,047 injured individuals in total between 1933 and 1943.¹⁰⁰⁾ The operation became the foundation of the activities of the Fire and Disaster Management Agency of Japan. These peacetime activities were conducted by local JRCs chapters, which were embedded in the local communities for their own needs.

Furthermore, the Society was involved in social sanitation control. It dealt with nine cases of epidemics, and one of the most intensive cases was treating cholera in Nagasaki in 1907.¹⁰¹⁾ In response to epidemics and public health issues, the Society started a tuberculosis eradication campaign in 1913, which lasted until World War II. The Society also promoted maternity and child healthcare nationwide. The JRCs, including local chapters, sent Red Cross nurses to local schools to hold

⁹⁷⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 181.

⁹⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁹⁹⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashikō*, 1590-3.

¹⁰⁰⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 182.

¹⁰¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 181.

public health sessions. They also provided child care services. In another example of its social activities, when Tohoku suffered from a great famine caused by frost damage in 1934, the JRCS Iwate Chapter established a child care home.¹⁰²⁾ At the international level, the Society treated Polish orphans, who became refugees and suffered from malnutrition in Siberia after the Great War in Europe. The JRCS treated 765 Polish children and 79 guardians from Vladivostok in Tokyo and Ōsaka from 1920 to 1921. The Society used newspaper agencies to engage the Japanese public and to facilitate a donation campaign for these international operations. As a result, Polish children received the sympathy of Japanese civilians, and the Japanese Imperial Family supported the activities.¹⁰³⁾ The JRCS became a pioneer of social welfare service sectors and orphanage care amongst the National Societies.

The JRCS expanded their fundraising for their international aid alongside the development of the network of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, while they promoted natural disaster relief activities. The financial assistance of the JRCS became one of the most important international activities promoting the Red Cross in the early 20th century. The JRCS collected funds not only for Japanese imperial and colonial subjects but also for total strangers in the world, through their altruistic humanitarianism. In doing so, the Society collected money through their chapters and branches in Japan, colonies, and abroad such as Siberia, Asia, and the Pacific Rim nations. Focusing on their contributions to international funds, the Society donated money to victims of the San Francisco Earthquake in 1906 through the ARC. They collected 315,567 yen 14 sen and 9 rin.¹⁰⁴⁾ When China was affected by the 1931 Yellow River floods, in which approximately 40 million people were affected and 10 million people lost their homes, the JRCS donated 30,000 yuan worth of silver to the Chinese Relief Flood Disaster Committee and sent a JRCS officer to the committee in Shanghai to express organisational sympathy to victims.¹⁰⁵⁾ From 1911 to 1923, the JRCS sent contributions and aid to a range of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, such as

¹⁰²⁾ Ibid., 256-60.

¹⁰³⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashi Zokkō, Ge kan*, 829-53.

¹⁰⁴⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashikō*, 1749-58.

¹⁰⁵⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūjisha Shashikō, Dai Yon-kan*, 257-8.

the National Societies of Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Turkey, Germany and Russia. The total expenditure of international fundraising and relief activities reached 2,554,906 yen and 516 sen in this period.¹⁰⁶⁾

The JRCS manuscript concluded that its pivotal mission in the pre-war period was ordinary disaster relief, rather than wartime relief services. Official records of the JRCS stated that the Society dealt with 14,634 cases of relief activities, and treated 3,756,657 affected individuals in total between 1888 and 1945.¹⁰⁷⁾ On the other hand, Hutchinson argued that wartime service was the first priority of the JRCS, and therefore it had hardly ever engaged in the fight against epidemic diseases because of the risk of death. At the same time, he asserted that natural disaster relief by the JRCS provided opportunities to practice for wartime situations, and so their activities became active in Japanese society.¹⁰⁸⁾ As this paper has already noted, the JRCS dealt with epidemics, and the natural disaster alleviation activities of the Society were rooted in Japanese local community survival in the form of mutual aid without the support of the nation state. Furthermore, the JRCS systemised and conducted a large number of natural disasters relief activities both nationally and internationally, alongside the evolution of international joint relief activities amongst the National Societies and the international fundraising system. Thus, the JRCS treated both natural disaster relief, including peacetime operations, and wartime operations as equal humanitarian crises; the JRCS may even have taken natural disaster relief operations, such as those following the Great Kantō Earthquake, more seriously than ordinary wartime operations.

The JRCS carried out disaster relief efforts without boundaries, in that its activities did not coincide with the national interests of Japan and its empire. These activities increased a sense of charity and altruism among people as a part of modern humanitarianism. As a result, ordinary people became more conscious of strangers in need, while they received support and help from the JRCS during disasters. Moreover, in technical terms, wartime humanitarian relief activities and

¹⁰⁶⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Nihon Sekijūji Shashi Zokkō, Jō kan Meiji yonjū nen kara Taishō jūichi nen* (Tōkyō: Nihon Sekijūjisha, 1929), 1445-8.

¹⁰⁷⁾ Nihon Sekijūjisha, ed., *Jindō - sono Ayumi*, 180-2.

¹⁰⁸⁾ Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 208.

natural disaster relief operations required different type of skills and knowledge. To be more precise, wartime operations required diplomatic skills to communicate with belligerents in order to access the most vulnerable people, while natural disaster relief required prompt reaction, and then precautions against secondary disasters. Even though medical treatment seemed to be similar, operations conducted by medical workers were different for these two types of relief activities. Wartime relief activities focused on surgery for those wounded in battle, while natural disaster medical relief concerned public health related to epidemics. Public health issues were one of the most important humanitarian affairs for the JRCS in its peacetime activities in the early years of its history. Therefore, it is difficult to argue that natural disaster relief was preparation for wartime services. It is clear that the JRCS dealt with kinds of humanitarian crisis in the early years that had nothing to do with the Geneva Conventions; hence, the Society did not limit itself to wartime services for the state, which was how most Western Red Cross Societies and the ICRC acted. Natural disaster and peacetime activities were recognised on the international stage, and these activities evolved and were well-acknowledged in the interwar period within the international humanitarian movement.

Foundation of the League of Red Cross Societies (LORCS) in 1919

One of the most momentous events in the history of modern humanitarianism was the foundation of the League of Red Cross Societies (LORCS) in 1919, currently known as the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). The JRCS led the establishment of the LORCS, and was one of the initial five member societies when it was formed, as along with the US, Britain, France, and Italy. The LORCS promoted the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements globally in order to adapt their activities to people with diverse needs all over the world in peacetime and to natural disaster relief activities, while the ICRC stayed focused on wartime relief missions. In fact, the international humanitarian movement recognised the limitations on the ICRC's ability to create

¹⁰⁹⁾ Kusama Hidesaburō, "President Wilson and the Idea of the International Red Cross," *Chiiki-kenkyū Sōsho. Dai San-kan. Eibei no Seiji Gaikō* (Nagoya: International Research Centre, Aichi Gakuin University, 2005), 8.

a global movement of modern humanitarianism, as the committee consisted only of Swiss nationals,¹⁰⁹⁾ and it only focused on wartime relief operations.

It is generally believed that the American Red Cross (ARC) initiated the foundation of the LORCS with the support of US President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924). It is also often discussed in the context of the national history framework of America as the challenge of US foreign policy against the Monroe Doctrines.¹¹⁰⁾ It was true that the impact of Wilsonian internationalism on the humanitarian movement in the 1920s and 1930s was considerable. However, historians also have to consider the limits of West-centred narratives of the neo-humanitarianism discourse of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Concerning the foundation of the LORCS, Japanese grassroots movements for non-wartime activities and the advocacy of the Society were in fact one of the most significant factors driving modern humanitarianism into the new age. Humanitarian actors themselves played a key role in creating the global humanitarian organisation and network for their necessity and practical reasons.

Focusing on the promotion of the peacetime activities of the JRCS on the international stage, the JRCS Archives reveal that the Society had been performing a leading role in the establishment of the LORCS since the days of World War I, when National Societies belonging to empire states were still focusing on wartime relief activities. After the First World War, the awareness of peacetime activities had been increased within the Red Cross humanitarian movement. As a leading natural disasters relief operator, the JRCS recognised the importance of a new type of relief activities. Dr Ninagawa Arata (1873-1959), a Japanese scholar in international law and a JRCS delegate in Europe, was a key person in this campaign. He acted as a member of the League's board of governors in later years, and left the JRCS in postwar years. He advocated the formation of the peacetime humanitarian relief organisation at a time when none of the powerful National Societies were interested in his argument.

At the same time, his campaign told historians of the early generation of Japanese intellectuals, who became conscious of modern humanitarianism being in

¹¹⁰⁾ Ibid., 3-8.

the state's interests. He wrote a number of essays about Japanese national identity associating it with humanitarianism and humanitarian patriotism as it was driven by the traditional movements of ordinary Japanese people. He combined both the civil humanitarian movement and the policy making of the nation state regarding humanitarian duty.

During World War I, Ninagawa had an audience with President Wilson at the White House.¹¹¹⁾ He did not write much about this audience in his essay; however, this was one of the best opportunities for him to explain his personal ideas about peacetime activities and the necessity of the foundation of the LORCS directly to Wilson. Furthermore, during the JRCS Humanitarian Mission from May to October 1918 with Tokugawa Yoshihisa (1884–1922), a humanitarian ambassador of the JRCS, Ninagawa lobbied for a consensus on peacetime activities amongst the highest ranks of Red Cross officials in the US, France, Britain, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium. He aimed to gather support and develop a movement to create a new humanitarian organisation. However, it was hard for Ninagawa and the JRCS at that time because most leading National Societies were still focusing on wartime activities due to the ongoing Great War in Europe. In fact, the ICRC, the American Red Cross (ARC), and the British Red Cross (BRC) maintained their interests in operations concerning traditional international armed conflict, and they were not positive toward Ninagawa's argument.¹¹²⁾

The JRCS, as an institution, was also critical about the development of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement restricting its operations to armed conflicts, since there was a wide range of humanitarian needs in Japan as this research has already explored. The Society was not happy to see wartime humanitarian activities as the principal mission of modern humanitarianism. The JRCS, which carried out intensive natural disaster relief operations and developed social welfare services as their dominant activities in modern Japanese society, wanted to expand the mandate of the Red Cross and Red Crescent to fit into their

¹¹¹⁾ Ninagawa Arata, *Jindō no Sekai to Nipponjin* (Tōkyō: Hakuaihakkōsho, 1936), 454.

¹¹²⁾ Daphne A. Reid, and Patrick F. Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict: The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1919-1994* (Geneva: International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1997), 34.

original activities in the global arena. Moreover, the Society was not comfortable with the Red Cross movement receiving its recognition within the framework of Western centred humanitarian enlightenment. Regarding this sentiment, Ninagawa stated, ‘Japan’s involvement in the Red Cross is not a shallow attempt to copy the West. In fact, Japan today is playing a large part in the global humanitarian movement of the Red Cross. In reality, the JRCS stands at the top of the Red Cross movement in the world. [...] Japanese people should be proud of the fact that Japan takes first place in terms of its global humanitarian efforts in the world, today. It is such a great honour.’¹¹³⁾ The term ‘global humanitarian efforts’ indicated that the JRCS had been providing relief services for a range of humanitarian crises without social and national boundaries and promoting movement in Asia and the Pacific. In the 1920s, Ninagawa had already noticed that the most important Japanese national policy should be a humanitarian contribution to the world, especially in peacetime.

In addition to his argument, there has been a number of intellectual historical scholarships focusing on the ideology of ‘humanitarian patriotism’ as one of the most considerable factors in the development of the Red Cross movement in Japan, which is to set humanitarianism as a priority – saving people in need – and is rooted in human nature and transcends modernity and geographical difference. For example, Enomoto examined the Japanese term, *jin'ai*, benevolence and compassion, with a wide range of thoughts, religions, customs, traditions, and morals influencing the development of modern humanitarianism in Japan. He argued that *jin'ai* was originated in Japanese myth, Shinto, Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Bushidō.¹¹⁴⁾ Furthermore, Tsuji examined the history of humanitarianism (*jindō*: 人道), literally meaning ‘the way of humanity’, in Japan from the Heian period through the Kamakura and Muromachi period and up to the Tokugawa Regime. He criticised West-centred narratives of the Red Cross by exploring a number of historical traditions such as Japan’s POW treatment and

¹¹³⁾ Ninagawa, *Jindō no Sekai to Nipponjin*, 318-21.

¹¹⁴⁾ Enomoto Shigeharu, *Nihon ni okeru Jin'ai no Seishin no Kigen* (Tōkyō: Taisei Publishing Co. Ltd., 1957).

¹¹⁵⁾ Tsuji Zen'nosuke, ed., *Nihonjin no Hakuai* (Tōkyō: Kinkōdō Shoseki, Co., Ltd., 1932).

their commemoration ceremonies for the war dead of enemies during the aftermath of battles in the medieval period.¹¹⁵⁾ Enomoto and Tsuji's arguments were different from the Western interpretation of the history of modern humanitarianism. Their arguments did not identify the rise of the Red Cross as a ramification of empire, colonialism and Christianity,¹¹⁶⁾ but highlighted humanitarianism as universal in the Red Cross.

In 1934, the JRCS published a book about the origin of Japanese humanitarianism. This book set forth Ninagawa's argument, combining it with the state's interests, and intellectual studies on humanitarianism. The Society made the latest humanitarian studies readable for practitioners and ordinary people. It illustrated that Japanese humanitarianism was rooted in Japanese society and tradition by pointing out Japan's humanity in each historical era from the mythical age to modern times. It also depicted Japanese humanitarian activities of the Imperial Court, Samurai Regimes and local communities.¹¹⁷⁾ The book argued that Japanese humanitarianism had appeared in a wide range of social classes in premodern Japan. The book was introduced to participants of the 15th International Conference of the Red Cross in Tokyo in 1934, which indicated that the JRCS had aspirations to make humanitarianism global – not a West-centred concept, but a universal one, with reference to Japanese history and its classical philosophy behind humanitarianism. This was the so-called 'humanitarian patriotism'. In the 1930s, the Japanese Red Cross intellectual circle devoted themselves to universal humanitarianism, and tried to remove national and religious discourses and modernity from humanitarianism.

At this stage, Ninagawa and the JRCS started to choose to use the term 'humanitarianism (*jindō*)', literally meaning 'the way of humanity', instead of 'philanthropism (*hakuai*)'. For the Japanese Red Cross movement, humanitarianism entered a different stage. It was globalised, beyond West-centred narratives, and its central focus was the universality of 'humanitarian patriotism', which connoted

¹¹⁶⁾ Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013).

¹¹⁷⁾ The Japanese Red Cross Society, *Materials Relating to the History of Relief Work in Japan*.

a concept of peace and global human welfare for the human race. The movement obtained a big picture of humanitarianism on the world stage.

Going back to Ninagawa's argument, he opposed the measurement of the power of nation states in accordance with their military capabilities and economic power, asserting that humanitarian contribution should be the central measure to calculate the power of each modern nation state. He concluded that the JRCS was the world's best humanitarian institution and that the Empire of Japan was the most powerful state in the world because of its international contribution to the humanitarian sector since its foundation.¹¹⁸⁾ Furthermore, he linked humanitarianism and pacifism in his essay, saying 'humanity and peace are the greatest ideal of civilised peoples'.¹¹⁹⁾ Whether Ninagawa was an idealist or a realist, it is notable that post-war Japan's pacifist ideology could already be seen in the interwar period within intellectual circles. In other words, Ninagawa's beliefs were similar to Japan's postwar pacifism, which was adopted in the decades following World War II. In the interwar period, there was a combined humanitarian and internationalist movement in Japan, while the state embraced totalitarianism more than before. The activities of the JRCS were one of the best examples demonstrating this movement.

Ninagawa also discussed the international system and argued that the legal stipulations of the League of Nations were not efficient enough to resolve problems regarding international affairs. Therefore, he asserted that another form of international organisation should be established to make the world stable. In his essay, he described the League of Nations as 'the political league of peoples (*seijiteki kokumin renmei*)', and the League of Red Cross Societies as 'the humanitarian league of peoples (*jindōteki kokumin renmei*)'.¹²⁰⁾ He separated political affairs and humanitarian affairs in his essay. He also recognised that the basis of the League of Nations was insecure; he therefore saw that in reality, this international organisation could not deal enough with humanitarian crises without the Red Cross.

Focusing again on Ninagawa's efforts on the establishment of the LORCS, he made his plan come true. Immediately after the end of World War I in December

¹¹⁸⁾ Ninagawa, *Jindō no Sekai to Nipponjin*, 321.

¹¹⁹⁾ Preface in *Ibid.*, 1-5.

¹²⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, 73-4.

1918, he wrote a letter to Henry P. Davison, Chairman of the War Council of the ARC, and Sir Arthur Stanley, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the BRC, emphasising the importance of the establishment of a peacetime international network of the Red Cross. He suggested that the Red Cross must have another international organisation, focusing on activities such as public health, nursing education, the Junior Red Cross, poverty, and natural disaster relief. He also argued that nation states must have concluded the Geneva Conventions and should make peacetime activities a statutory obligation for global stability.¹²¹⁾ Davison reacted positively to Ninagawa's arguments, and said, this is a 'golden moment' to establish the LORCS.¹²²⁾ The Red Cross movement in the US recognised Ninagawa's argument as multilateral internationalism and a project for a new century, concepts believed to have been introduced by President Wilson. It was not a coincidence that one of the JRCS delegates developed this project by himself as if it was the idea of the US president. President Wilson backed Ninagawa and Davison's plan to create the LORCS. It was the moment when the JRCS instructed an ideology of the international humanitarian movement, and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent began peacetime programmes and natural disaster relief efforts on the global stage. At the same time, each National Society accelerated their transnational communications and joint activities. More than the ICRC, the LORCS provided opportunities for many countries all over the world to have Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. The Japanese local and traditional grassroots Red Cross movement became global in scale and it met the needs of the age of modern humanitarianism through the formation of the LORCS.

Conclusion

Modern humanitarianism emerged not only in the West but also in a range of regions in the world such as Japan in East Asia. The emergence of the Japanese humanitarian activities demonstrated the diversification of the Western centric ideology of Red Cross humanitarianism, creating the notion of humanitarianism

¹²¹⁾ Ibid., 65-8.

¹²²⁾ Daphne A. Reid, and Patrick F. Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict*, 26.

(*jindō*), as ‘the way of humanity’. It became one of the most significant driving forces for the progress of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It launched a number of new types of humanitarian operations in both wartime and peacetime, while it institutionalised mass volunteerism. For instance, regarding humanitarian operations during armed conflicts, it introduced maritime warfare relief activities to the international humanitarian movement, which resulted in the adoption of the Second Geneva Convention in 1906, while the Society developed POW treatment with the Japanese wartime state and Japanese local communities. Peacetime and natural disaster relief activities originated in the traditional Japanese grassroots movement. Ordinary Japanese people aimed to survive and discovered their social mission by themselves during the extreme uncertainty of the modern age brought about by the fall of the Tokugawa Regime followed by drastic social changes and the industrial revolution caused by the Meiji Restoration. The history of JRCS civil relief activities demonstrated that there were a huge number of civilians who had suffered from modernisation, which resulted in the emergence of a nationwide Japanese modern humanitarian movement. At the same time, their local activities matched the global trend. As a result, their activities featured in the formation of the LORCS on the international stage. In other words, the Japanese modern humanitarian movement was encapsulated in the JRCS, which demonstrated great reconciliation between localism and globalism. Thus, humanitarian activities of the JRCS, developed by both imperialists and ordinary people, had great impact on and represented the growth of humanitarianism (*jindō*), as ‘the way of humanity’ in the emergence of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, which went beyond a Western-centric narrative of humanitarianism.