NOTES

PROLOGUE
2. Ad placed in Dagongbao, nos. 13755 and 13759 (March 13 and 17, 1942). Many thanks to David Knight for his invaluable assistance with the translation.

INTRODUCTION


15. Lary, Warlord Soldiers. Warlords did not only devastate the people in their regions, however; they also sponsored many progressive modernization schemes. For examples in Sichuan, see Kristen Stapleton, Civilizing Chengdu: Chinese Urban Reform, 1895–1937 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000).


18. Prasenjit Duara, Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), esp. 73–74. Duara restricted his study to North China, but other areas likely suffered from a similar process, particularly as warlords exacted heavy taxes to pay for their militaries.


22. Ibid., 89.


30. These calculations combine estimated military and civilian deaths, for the following totals: Japan, 1,74 million troops and approximately one million civilians (John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1999]), 45; British Empire, 580,500 (Commonwealth War Graves Commission, *Commonwealth War Graves Commission Annual Report, 2014–15*); United States, 405,399 (Bernard D. Rostker, *Providing for the Casualties of War: The American Experience through World War II* [Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013], 268); Soviet Union, twenty-six million, or according to some perhaps as many as forty-three to forty-seven million (Richard Overy, *Russia’s War: A History of the Soviet Effort, 1941–1945* [London: Allen Lane, 1998], 5). Almost all tallies are gross estimates, but the general comparison between China’s losses and those of other belligerent nations still stands.


39. Ibid., 105, 165–92, esp. 175–76.


44. In this aspect women’s wartime experience was similar to that of contemporary German women under the Nazi regime, though I contend that women in China had more room for their own agency. Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987).

45. Two maps, from 1937 and 1942, vividly illustrate this geographic shift. See “Distribution of Health Organizations in China, 1937” and “Distribution of Health Organizations in China, 1942,” ABMAC archives, box 83, folder “NHA and Nursing,” RBML.


56. Duara, Sovereignty and Authenticity, 133; Judge, Precious Raft of History, 8.

57. Judge, Precious Raft of History, 115, 118.


59. Helen Schneider articulates the effects of this most clearly in her examination of home economists in twentieth-century China. See Schneider, Keeping the Nation’s House.

60. Qing, “Weilao fushang zhuangshi” (Comforting wounded heroes), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 8, no. 5 (December 1939): 15–16.


62. Ranajit Guha argued that a historian must read colonial records “backwards” in order to interpret the actions of the colonized. For example, if colonial record keepers created precise calorie charts for recipients of famine relief, we can interpret not only that British scientific values dominated colonial works of charity, but also that Indian recipients had different ideas about diet and nutrition, which the colonizers attempted to alter with the imposition of precise measures. In such a manner we might interpret the image of low-caste Indians left to us in the “distorting mirror” of archival documents. Ranajit Guha, Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), 333.

63. Essays in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), identify “the existence of an agreed-upon normative sequence of funeral rituals . . . as central to Chinese identity” (x).

1. POLICING THE PUBLIC IN THE NEW CAPITAL

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, And One Did Not Come Back! The Story of the Congress Medical Mission to China (Bombay: Sound Magazine, 1944), 63.


5. The treaty designating Chongqing a treaty-port city was signed in November 1890, but negotiations took years, and the local government secured a short, thirty-year concession period. When the treaty expired on September 4, 1931, local workers, students, and businesspeople organized a strike and blockaded the concession area, forcing the Japanese residents to flee the following month. Zhang Jin, *Quanli, chongtu, yu biange: 1926–1937 nian Chongqing chengshi xiandaihua yanjiu* (Power, conflict, and reform: The modernization of Chongqing, 1926–1937) (Chongqing: Chongqing Publishing House, 2003), 48–52.


8. CBPH Work Report, October 1946, AH, 90–183, 1; CBPH Work Report, December 1938, CMA, 66–1–2, 181, 188; Danke Li, *Echoes of Chongqing: Women in Wartime China* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 89, 105. Some water pipes had been laid in the mid-1930s, but they never covered the whole city, and soon after the air raids began many of these pipes were destroyed. Mary Lee McIsaac, “The Limits of Chinese Nationalism: Workers of Wartime Chongqing, 1937–1945” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1994), 44. When the Nationalist government collaborated with the League of Nations Health Organization (LNHO) in 1929–30 to establish its own sovereign National Quarantine Service (NQS) with operations at major port cities, Chongqing was excluded because it had no extant service; however, the Shanghai headquarters of the NQS moved first to Wuhan and then to Chongqing during the war. See Ka-che Yip, *Health and National Reconstruction in Nationalist China: The Development of Modern Health Services, 1928–1937* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 1995), 116–18. Between May 1939 and August 1940, Japanese planes bombed the following hospitals in Sichuan: Chongqing Red Cross Hospital (May 3, 1939); Canadian Mission Hospital dispensary in downtown Chongqing (severely damaged in 1939, then completely destroyed in 1940); Canadian Mission Hospital dispensary in Leshan (Fall 1939); Canadian Mission Hospital and two Chinese hospitals in Luzhou (September 11, 1939); Canadian Mission Hospital in Ziliujing (in October 1939, bombs fell directly on the men’s wing of the hospital, killing three patients; on August 12, 1940, bombs destroyed the women’s wing and severely damaged the men’s wing); Women’s Missionary


12. Omar L. Kilborn, Our West China Mission: Being a Somewhat Extensive Summary by the Missionaries on the Field of Work during the First Twenty-Five Years of the Canadian Methodist Mission in the Province of Szechwan, Western China (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1920), 224.


28. Although the term “strategic bombing” was first used during World War I, during World War II British and American airmen used it “to distinguish the strategy of attacking and wearing down the enemy home front and economy from the strategy of directly assaulting the enemy’s armed forces.” See Richard Overy, The Bombing War: Europe 1939–1945 (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 9.


31. Richard Overy writes, “The local records make it clear that if the Blitz had begun on 3 September 1939, the consequences would have been much worse than they proved to be a year later” (128). He does get the chronology wrong, however, and incorrectly asserts that “[t]he British people were the first to experience a heavy and prolonged campaign of independent bombing” (126). Overy, Bombing War, 126, 128.

32. Chongqing Women’s Federation, Chongqingshi funü hui liangnianlai zhi gongzuo baogao (Chongqing Women’s Federation work report for the past two years) (Chongqing: Chongqing Women’s Federation, 1942), 5; Chongqingshi tuixing xialing weisheng yundong qingxing de youguan wenshu (Records on promoting the Summertime Health Movement in Chongqing), May 1941–July 1943, SHA, 11.7595. Each year after 1939 the government attempted to relocate three hundred thousand people and offered financial incentives to voluntary movers. Tow, “Great Bombing of Chongqing,” 271.


34. Luo Zhuanxu, Chongqing Kangzhan dashiji, 76.

35. Sometimes the Japanese employed Chinese civilians to guide their pilots. Hired civilians were to dress in white beneath a dark cloak, then run out into the open and doff the cloak when they saw a bomber approaching, using their bright white clothing to attract the pilot to a bombing site. For this reason, missionary nurses in Chongqing changed into blue nurses’ uniforms during an air raid, lest they unwittingly attract bombers to their hospital grounds. Sonya Grypma, Healing Henan: Canadian Nurses at the North China Mission, 1888–1947 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 170–71.


38. Sichuan Chongqing Cultural History Research Committee, eds., *Chongqing kangzhan jishi, 1937-1945* (A record of Chongqing events in the War of Resistance, 1937–1945) (Chongqing: Chongqing Publishing House, 1985), 170; Luo Zhanxu, *Chongqing Kangzhan dashiji*, 17, 147. The numbers were derived from statistics of the Chongqing Air Raid Defense Ministry, wartime newspapers, and reports from the Japanese Defense Ministry Wartime History Office. These numbers are widely cited, but other sources cite different statistics; the differences stem largely from various interpretations of the wartime capital’s boundaries. Note that from September 21, 1941, until the last air raid on August 23, 1943, the city enjoyed a respite that lasted nearly two years (ibid., 108).


40. The first newspaper report of the August 13 incident, printed in the *Dagongbao* on the following day, cited rumors that at least four hundred people had perished. *Dagongbao* no. 13179 (August 14, 1940). On August 15 the Chongqing Municipal Air Raid Relief Team released its official report, citing only eight dead, thirty-six seriously wounded, and five “severely disoriented” people. “Letter from the Chongqing Air Raid Relief Corps,” August 15, 1940, Chongqing Asphyxiation Cases file, AH. The newspaper responded, citing the Air Raid Relief Corps’s numbers along with those from another report, which stated that nine had died and over one hundred had been wounded, while also citing eyewitness accounts claiming that “the number of dead and wounded certainly exceeded 100.” *Dagongbao* no. 13181 (August 16, 1940). On the death toll of the June 5, 1941, asphyxiation case, see Ding Rongcan, *Peidu fangkong shilüe*, 11; and Chen Lifu, *Suidao zhixi an shen weiyuan baogao fabiao* (Tunnel Asphyxiation Case Investigative Committee report), 1941, AH, 8b–10a.

41. *Dagongbao* no. 13181 (August 16, 1940).

42. Chen Lifu, *Suidao zhixi an shen weiyuan baogao fabiao*, 3b, 8b.


45. Lu Ping, “De Xiansheng he Sai Xiansheng zhiwai de guanhuai: Cong Mu Guniang de tichu kan Xinwenhua yundong shiqi daode geming de zouxiang” (Beyond Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science: The introduction of Miss Moral and the trend of moral revolution in the New Culture Movement), *Lishi yanjiu* (Historical research) 2006, no. 1:79–95.


52. Lipkin, Useless to the State, 11–12, 164, 210–11.

53. Chen, Guilty of Indigence.


55. See, e.g., “Improve Your Living Environment,” August 1943 page of the NIH public health calendar, NLM.


57. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 86, 90, 93.

58. CBPH Work Report, November 1943, CMA, 66–1-2, 198.


60. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 88.


62. Foucault, Discipline and Punish. Positive power, biopower, and governmentality together constituted Foucault’s central intellectual contribution to the analysis of modern French society. As such they appear and take further shape in virtually all of Foucault’s writings, but the central argument about (self-) punishment appears in the work cited here.


67. Hsiung Ping-chen, interviewer, and Cheng Li-jung, recorder, Yang Wenda xiansheng fangwen jilu (Reminiscences of Dr. Yang Wen-ta), Oral History Series no. 26 (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 1991), 32; Mei Zuwu and Lu Yuan, “Meishi jiazu yu qishouwei shihao yuan” (The Mei family at the Standard Bearer no. 10 Court), Zhongguo dang’an bao (China Archives news), October 22, October 29, and November 5, 2004; Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi (China’s military medicine during the War of Resistance) (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2015), 50, 54. Mei Yilin was directly transferred from his Central Field Health Station post to his directorship of the CBPH (“F.C. Yen to Mayor Jiang,” November 18, 1938, CMA, 53–1–386).


69. Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, Neither Donkey nor Horse: Medicine in the Struggle over China’s Modernity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 21–44; the quote is on p. 44.


71. Lei, Neither Donkey nor Horse, 42–44; Yip, Health and National Reconstruction, 9.


73. CBPH Work Report, December 5–10, 1938, CMA, 66–1–2, 184, 187–88.

74. Lei, Neither Donkey nor Horse, 101–17.

75. Survey of Physicians, Pharmacists, and Midwives in Chongqing City, February 1939, SPA, 113–1–637, 1–35. Given that most Chinese drugstores employed one or two druggists, pharmacists, or physicians to write and fill prescriptions, there must have been more druggists and pharmacists in the city, but they may have been entered in the survey under the category of “physicians of Chinese medicine.” See app. B for the full survey in translation.


77. CBPH Work Report, December 5–10, 1938, CMA, 66–1–2, 181–89.

78. See, e.g., CBPH Work Report, 1940, CMA, 66–1–3, 167, 223.

79. National Health Administration, Jiuzhong fadong chuanranbing qianshuo (A brief introduction to the nine notifiable infectious diseases) (Nanjing: National Health Administration, July 1937), 1–2.

80. CBPH Work Report, December 5–10, 1938, CMA, 66–1–2, 189.


82. Ibid.; also SPA, 113–1–639. In addition to the police, other entities that assisted the CBPH included the Bureau of Social Affairs, the Central Party Bureau and Municipal Party
Bureau, the Three People’s Principles Youth Corps, and the New Life Movement Promotion Committee.

83. CBPH Work Report, March–August 1940. CMA, 66–1-3, 167–68; CBPH Work Report, August 1940. CMA, 66–1-3, 101; P.Z. King, “China’s Civilian Health,” in Looking after China’s Civilians, United China Relief Series, no. 6 (Chungking: China Publishing Company, 1941), 2. King reported that the NHA had inoculated two and a half million people against cholera between the beginning of the war in July 1937 and May 1941.


85. Chongqing Municipal Government, Chongqingshi tongji tiyao, tables 43, 46. The gender differential in these vaccinations is huge: 113,513 men and 37,356 women were vaccinated.

86. CBPH Work Report, November 1943, CMA, 66–1-2, 204.

87. CBPH Work Plans for 1944, CMA, 66–1-4, 12; CBPH Work Report, January–March 1944, CMA, 66–1-2, 16; CBPH Work Report, 1944, CMA, 66–1-2, 15, 25, 50. Curiously, no numbers were reported for April–June, the high vaccination season.

88. CBPH Work Reports, July–October 1944, CMA, 66–1-2, 81, 84, 86, 87.

89. CBPH Work Reports, November 1–7 and November 8–14, 1944, CMA, 66–1-2, 96, 99.

90. CBPH Work Report, October 1946, AH, 90–183, 12b; Record of Meeting to Expand Disease Prevention in Chongqing, June 29, 1945, CMA, 66–1-67; CBPH Work Report, n.d., CMA, 66–1-2, 4.

91. Chen, Guilty of Indigence; Lipkin, Useless to the State; Nedostup, Superstitious Regimes; Wakeman, “Licensing Leisure,” 218.

92. This echoes David Strand’s assertion that in Republican-era Beijing, “the government of the street and the courtyard was the police force.” David Strand, Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 65.


97. Ramsey, “Public Health in France,” 55. The Paris Conseil de Salubrité took charge of “noxious industries . . . , [such as] quacks, garbage, sewage, and adulterated food” (ibid.);


106. List of Crimes against Hygiene from the Chongqing no. 2 Police Bureau, March 10, 1944, CMA, 61–630.


108. List of Crimes against Hygiene from the Chongqing no. 10 Police Bureau stationed at Xiangguo Temple, September 25, 1944, CMA, 61–774. The records do not explain the nature of the public savings account in which Chen and his chef were required to invest.


110. The man in Chengdu had not only rebuked but also punched the police officer who attempted to arrest him for urination. He was later apprehended and arrested. Wang, *Street Culture in Chengdu*, 135–36. Wang takes the perspective of the archival sources and faults “residents' ignorance of sanitation” for continued conflict (ibid., 135).


114. Petition from the Chongqing Municipal Night Soil Porters’ Professional Labor Union to the Sichuan Provincial Governor, March 1940, SPA, 59–60.


116. For an example, see reports on sending workers to clear away garbage and excrement from the toilets, 1943, CMA, 66–63.

118. Order #16816, November 1943, CMA, 66–1–2, 202.

119. This drawing appears in Urgent Order to no. 10 Chongqing Police District Regarding Public Trashcan Designs, June 4, 1946, CMA, 61–15–1409.

120. Cleanliness Regulations Outlawing Trash in Chongqing, August 1939, CMA, 61–15–5091; revised in March 1941 (see CMA, 61–15–5145); CBPH Work Report, January–June 1940, CMA, 66–1–3, 175.

121. CBPH Work Report, January–June 1940, CMA, 66–1–3, 175.

122. The 1940 total was slightly less than 882,000 tons (CBPH Work Report, September 1940–February 1941, CMA, 66–1–3, 212), and the 1941 total was 993,926 tons (Chongqing Municipal Government, Chongqingshi tongji tiyao, table 44.).


125. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 84.

126. This chain of command appears in the notes of a December 1945 meeting of government staff on the issue of trash collection. Urgent Order to No. 10 Chongqing Police District Regarding Public Trashcan Designs, June 4, 1946, CMA, 61–15–1409.


128. CBPH Work Plans for 1944, CMA, 66–1–4, 19.

129. CBPH Work Report, January–March 1944, CMA, 66–1–2, 15.

130. CBPH Work Report, March–August 1940, CMA, 66–1–3, 181.

131. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 89.


137. Ibid., xi.

139. Although Shanghai employed female police officers as early as 1929, and Beijing in 1933 (Zhao Ma, Runaway Wives, 292), I have found no evidence of women working for the Chongqing police force.

140. Rogaski, Hygienic Modernity, 205.

2. APPEARING IN PUBLIC: THE RELATIONSHIPS AT THE HEART OF THE NATION


1. Xie Bingying claimed that nine out of ten of the women she recruited for her auxiliary corps for the Northern Expedition joined in order to escape arranged marriages and the control of their families, just as she did. See Xie Bingying, A Woman Soldier’s Own Story, trans. Lily Chia Brissman and Barry Brissman (New York: Berkeley Books, 2001), 52.


3. This is a relationship that persists in many societies, wherein nursing is a typically female profession, along with other jobs that include care for others such as teaching and social work. See Arlie Russell Hochschild, “Introduction: An Emotions Lens on the World,” in Theorizing Emotions: Sociological Exploration and Applications, ed. Debra Hopkins, Jochen Kleres, Helena Flam, and Helmut Kizmics (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009), 32.


12. Partly for this reason, Sichuan teahouses hired female waitresses for the first time during the war. See Wang, Teahouse, 90–92. Wang makes an important point about the shift during the war years but misses the presence of female medical workers in his assertion that “[e]ntertainers and prostitutes . . . were the only women who earned a living in public places” in Chengdu at this time (90). Oddly, in an earlier book Wang asserts that “through the late Qing, women were restricted from most public places” in Chengdu, but by the 1920s and ’30s “it was no longer novel for women to appear in public.” Di Wang, Street Culture in Chengdu: Public Space, Urban Commoners, and Local Politics in Chengdu, 1870–1930 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 180, 184. Teahouses and restaurants in Beijing had begun to hire female servers only in 1928, and hired many more in the 1930s for the simple economic reason that female employees were cheaper. See Zhao Ma, Runaway Wives, Urban Crimes, and Survival Tactics in Wartime Beijing, 1937–1949 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 67–68.


14. “Different Types of Medical Personnel Registered with the National Health Administration of China, 1929–1941,” ABMAC records, box 83, folder “NHA and Nursing,” RBML.


20. The Executive Committee and the Committee on Science and Publication of the Ninth Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, *A Glimpse of China* (Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1934), 74.


23. Hu Ying, *Burying Autumn: Poetry, Friendship, and Loss* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center Press, 2016), 97. Qiu Jin is known to posterity not because of her sensational life or even her dramatic death, but thanks to the dedication and courage of her two closest friends, Wu Zhiying and Xu Zihua, who gave her a proper burial—seven times in all—and memorialized her in their own poetry and essays.


26. Zhao Ma, *Runaway Wives*, 40, 58. Ma finds that in Beijing and the surrounding areas, even lower-class and peasant women did not like to engage in factory work at least until 1950 because it was considered dishonorable and “a sign of economic destitution and desperation” (40).

27. From the early Republic, hair became “a political statement,” allowing one to “make your point in public without even opening your mouth.” Short, bobbed hair on a woman frequently marked her as a “new woman” with more radical politics. Strand, *Unfinished Republic*, 93.


29. On poor sanitation in teahouses as a problem that the Chengdu government attempted to regulate, see Wang, *Teahouse*, 50–52.


31. Ibid., 280, 315. Ma narrates this cultural shift among lower-class women in wartime Beijing and argues that “mobility became a survival tactic that helped women eke out a precarious livelihood” (315).


34. Li, *Echos of Chongqing*, 72. Song’s roles included chairing the Wartime Association for Child Welfare (*Zhanshi ertong baoyuhui*) (WACW) and its parent organization, the National Association of Chinese Women for Comforting War of Resistance Soldiers (*Zhongguo funü weilao ziwei kangzhan jiangshi zonghui*) (NACWCWRS).


37. Leong, *China Mystique*.

38. Song Meiling had an even stronger southern accent in Chinese—that of Zhejiang and Jiangsu Provinces. Most Nationalist Party officials came from southern China, so her accent marked her as a Nationalist leader.


48. Ibid., 182.


50. Ibid., 156.


52. Ibid., 211.


57. C. C. Chen in collaboration with Frederica M. Bunge, *Medicine in Rural China: A Personal Account* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 77–78. It should be noted that Chen modestly credited not the system he had a hand in creating, but the ingenuity of Chinese villagers who “since time immemorial . . . had been seeking medical counsel and obtaining their medication from other villagers whose knowledge of medicine was only slightly greater than their own” (78).

60. Ibid., 254.


69. Ibid., 13.


72. Ibid., 1, 100, 104, 105, 108–12, 115, 118.

73. Ibid., 100.

74. Ibid., 97.
76. This is a central argument in Livingston’s book (as reflected in its title, Improvising Medicine), wherein she describes another setting characterized by chronic resource scarcity yet facing continual demand.
77. Hochschild, Managed Heart, 7.
79. Livingston, Improvising Medicine, 115.
80. Ibid., 110.
81. Hochschild, Managed Heart, 8.
82. It is important to note that one male nurse worked in the Botswana cancer ward, and Livingston did not note any failure on his part to perform the “moral intimacies of care” that his job required. Analysis of the degree to which male nurses in wartime China performed the emotional labor described here awaits further research.
86. Ibid., 129, 157.
88. While both of these stories appeared undated in the archives, they can be fairly accurately dated to the 1940s given the quality of the paper, the style of writing, the types of shorthand used (such as certain forms of simplified characters within traditional character writing that were common in the period), and the vocabulary the authors employed.
89. Merkel-Hess, Rural Modern, 35, 37, 100.
90. Ibid., 99, 101.
92. On earlier, Daoist meanings of weisheng, see Ruth Rogaski, Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 22–47.
94. Ibid., 15–18.
95. Xun Liu, Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).


99. Ibid., 51a.

100. Marta Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics in Chinese Medicine: Disease and the Geographical Imagination in Late Imperial China* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 136, 141–43.


102. Ibid., 51b–60b.

103. Zhou Hui’an, “Humanity’s Silent Killer,” n.d., 89–1-17, CMA.


109. Ibid., 256.


115. Ibid. Ba Jin’s direct quotes are from a 1961 article he wrote on the novel.


118. Kong, “Disease and Humanity,” 204.

119. Ibid. Ba Jin’s direct quotes are from a 1961 article he wrote on the novel.

122. Ibid.
124. Ibid., 149.
125. Ibid., 159.
126. Ibid., 210–11.
127. Ibid., 22.
128. Ibid., 23.
130. On Woman as figure of tradition in occupied Manchuria, see Prasenjit Duara, Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 131–69.

3. HEALING TO KILL THE TRUE INTERNAL ENEMY


1. Reflecting the fact that it began as a regional war, the Japanese originally called the “China Incident” (Shina jiken) the “North China Incident” but changed the name after the Battle of Shanghai, one of the largest campaigns in the war. S. C. M. Paine, The Wars for Asia: 1911–1949 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7–8, 132.
3. Ibid., 163–64.
8. On the AMA, see Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi (The Chinese military doctor in War of Resistance) (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2015). The personal relationship between Dr. Lim and Lu Zhide, a former student of his and head of the AMA, supported smooth coordination between the two systems.
9. J. Heng Liu, “Our Responsibilities in Public Health,” Chinese Medical Journal 51, no. 6 (June 1937): 1039. This article was a transcript of the speech that Dr. Liu had delivered on April 2 of the same year to the Public Health section of the China Medical Association conference held in Shanghai.


21. Ibid., 65. The New Fourth Army Incident was a battle between Nationalist and Communist forces, with no agreement about which side was responsible for starting it.

22. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions*, 2. I insert “Communist” and “Nationalist” in place of “antiliberal” and “liberal” here only to make the larger point, not to argue that these terms in any way encapsulated a chief difference between the two parties, which were both at turns antiliberal and liberal in their own ways.


28. Ibid. Chiang urged his military medicine officials to train such individuals so as to improve the NRA. It should be noted that Yang Shanyao takes a different approach in analyzing the conflict that led to Lim’s loss of his two posts. He cites other features thereof, including most notably the tensions between the German-Japanese medical training of Army
Medical Administration (AMA) officers, and the Anglo-American training of Lim's people in the MRC and EMSTS. This tension grew into outright conflict when Dr. Liu Ruiheng, an ally of Lim's, as head of the Army Medical College from April 1935 to June 1937, changed its language of instruction from German to English by administrative fiat. Yang also notes the clash between general cultures: the AMA contained people of military background and perspective, while the MRC and EMSTS contained people from the public health and state medicine sectors (ibid., 100–103, 109, 113). John Watt also notes a further feature of this conflict: the intense jealousy of leaders of civilian health organizations over the amount of overseas donations that Lim's organizations received. (For more on this, see chap. 4.) This was the case for both Minister of Health P.Z. King (Jin Baoshan) and Sze Szeming (Shi Siming), general secretary of the Chinese Medical Association. See Marshall C. Balfour Officer's Diary, September 8, 1943, record group 12.1, RF, RAC, 40; and Edwin C. Lobenstein, interview with Szeming Sze, September 13, 1944, folder 1109, box 152, CMB, RAC, 2. It remains to be seen whether Nationalist Party rightists encouraged King and Sze to launch their smear campaigns.

29. Wang Jingwei is the most famous example. Unable to stomach his party's continuous killing of fellow Chinese, he eventually decided that an alliance with the Japanese would bring him closest to his goal of bringing swift peace to his homeland—an act for which he has been vilified ever since. See Rana Mitter, Forgotten Ally: China's World War II, 1937–1945 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2013), 197–210.

30. Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi, 155. This page contains a table from the Acadamia Historica archives of Taipei with statistics from the Ministry of War. These statistics, though likely incomplete, are reliable.


32. ABMAC, “Army Medical Service,” 2–3.


34. Watt, Saving Lives in Wartime China, 4; Mitter, Forgotten Ally, 5.

35. Superintendent Yang Wenda, who saw thousands of hospitalized soldiers around the country, recalled in his oral history interviews that “more people died of illness than of battle wounds during the war.” Hsiung Ping-chen and Cheng Li-jung, Yang Wenda xiansheng fangwen jilu, 36.


37. The Chinese term for bacillary dysentery—chili, or “red diarrhea”—is a descriptive term for the blood present in the stool of dysentery sufferers. The Japanese use the same characters for their word, sekiri, and the term may be a return-graphic loan word.


42. National Health Administration Medical and Epidemic Prevention Teams, eds. *Huoluan* (Cholera) (Chongqing: National Health Administration, 1940), 8–9.
46. Ibid., 135, 210; National Health Administration, “The Initial Year of the National Institute of Health (April 1–December 31, 1941), Chungking, ABMAC box 21, Columbia University RBML, 9.
55. Howard, “Workers at War,” 244.


59. “Memorandum to American Red Cross and to American Bureau for Medical Aid to China,” June 10, 1941, box 21, folder NHA 1940–1941, ABMAC.

60. ABMAC, “Army Medical Service,” 2–3.


64. Zhao Chuan, *Taiwan laobing koushu lishi*, 64.


67. Mitter, *Forgotten Ally*, 106–07; Paine, *Wars for Asia*, 133, 202. Quite fortunately for China, the Allies had launched a massive bombing campaign against Japan, so in late 1944 the IJA called the entire campaign to a halt in order to prioritize defending the home islands. Paine, *Wars for Asia*, 203.


70. The fire destroyed thirteen hospitals and a large portion of the city’s grain reserves. Lary, *Chinese People at War*, 62–64.

71. Ibid., 60–61.


75. Zhao Chuan, *Taiwan laobing koushu lishi*, 65.

76. White and Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China*, 133–34, 140. Although there are many problems with this journalistic book, which frequently employs false data to underscore its politically motivated argument, I employ it here since scholarship corroborates White and Jacoby on this point.


81. Zhao Chuan, *Taiwan laobing koushu lishi*, 65–66. Although lucky enough to escape the fate of a wild ghost (one unsettled in the afterlife because the body never received a proper burial), Pan never returned to his Sichuan home; the army flew him to Jiangsu, where he met up with an uncle in Nanjing and got a job in a munitions factory. When that factory moved to Taiwan in 1949, Pan moved with it and eventually married a Taiwanese woman.

82. Yao Aihua, “Memoir of Yao Aihua,” 207.

83. Many theorists in anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and psychoanalysis write of this, but one foundational text is Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1915). Durkheim argues that all societies, regardless of the complexity of their social organization, work to perpetuate, produce, and reproduce the social unit, to which death constitutes a threat. Hence, he posited that every human society possesses a means of repairing the damage that death does to the social through mortuary ritual.


85. Stuart E. Thompson, “Death, Food, and Fertility,” in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 84–85. See also the essays throughout this volume for details of proper funerary ritual, which of course varies across space and time in China, even if the ultimate aim of appeasing the dead to ensure their smooth transition into the afterlife and repairing the social community of the living remains constant.


88. Cited in Lary, Chinese People at War, 143. See also ibid., 115–16, 180.


92. Watt, Saving Lives in Wartime China, 122–23, 126–29; Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Kangzhan junyi, 58. These two books provide much more detailed information on all military medical systems than the present work does. Watt focuses on Dr. Lim’s organizations as well as the medical organizations in and around Yan’an, while Yang focuses on the AMA and its Army Medical College.


94. Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi, 128, 137.


99. The famous scholar and political thinker Liang Qichao most famously made such a case in his essay “Lun nüxue” (On women’s education), Shiwubao, no. 23, April 1897.

100. Chou Chun-yen, “Funü yu kangzhan,” 166. The students from Taiyuan went to Jehol to treat soldiers wounded in the North China Plain war that preceded the War of Resistance.


103. Xia Gaotian, “Problems with Wounded Soldiers and Refugees,” essay no. 1 (n.p., Independent Publisher, November 1938), 615/460, GPA.

104. Yang Shanyao, Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi, 141.

105. Cited in ibid., 138. Three hundred li is roughly equivalent to ninety-three miles.

106. Yao Aihua, “Memoir of Yao Aihua,” 205. While under normal conditions tetanus is a noncommunicable disease, its causative agent, the bacterium *Clostridium tetani*, can move from one open wound to another when human bodies are in great physical proximity to one another, as wounded soldiers often were in makeshift hospitals.

107. Ibid., 205, 207.


109. “National Red Cross Society of China, Medical Relief Commission, Third Report, August-December 1938,” ABMAC box 23, National Red Cross Society of China, Reports, RBML.

110. Lyle Stephenson Powell, A Surgeon in Wartime China (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1946), 204–5.

111. Ji Hong, “Problems with Wounded Soldiers and Refugees,” essay no. 2 (n.p.: Independent Publisher, November 1938), 615/460, GPA.


114. Du Si, recorder, “Nü hushi de hua (Zuotan hui)” (Words from female nurses [Discussion forum]), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 8, no. 3 (November 1939): 13.

115. Crook and Gilmartin, Prosperity’s Predicament, 225.


118. Ibid., 20.


122. Xie Bingying, Woman Soldier’s Own Story, 273. Xie originally published this work in two volumes, in 1936 and 1946, but they did not necessarily circulate widely until republished in Chengdu in 1985 and Beijing in 1994. Coble, China’s War Reporters, 186–87. Fang Jun interviewed Yao Aihua in 2010, so Yao may well have renarrated her own past through the words of Xie Bingying.


124. Scarry, “Structure of War,” 1. Nurses were far from alone in this work. In her article, Scarry analyzes many other means of obfuscating this violence.

125. Du Si, “Nü hushi de hua.”

126. Ibid., 14.

128. Xie Bingying, *Woman Soldier’s Own Story*, 270.
129. Ibid.
130. Only recently have mainland Chinese begun to acknowledge the fact that the Nationalist Party bore the greatest weight of the War of Resistance. Mitter, *Forgotten Ally*, 371–74.

4. AUTHORITY IN THE HALLS OF SCIENCE: WOMEN OF THE WARDS
Du Si, recorder, “Nü hushi de hua (Zuotan hui)” (Words from Female Nurses [Discussion forum]), *Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives)* 8, no. 3 (November 1939): 13. Emphasis added.

2. As noted in chap. 2, Xie Bingying asserted that nine out of ten women joined her Women’s Auxiliary Corps to escape arranged marriages, which Xie herself had done. See Xie Bingying, *A Woman Soldier’s Own Story*, trans. Lily Chia Brissman and Barry Brissman (New York: Berkeley Books, 2001), 52.
6. Women’s access to scientific authority was challenged in other societies as well. See, e.g., Jenna Tonn, “Extralaboratory Life: Gender Politics and Experimental Biology at Radcliffe College, 1894–1910,” *Gender & History* 29, no. 2 (August 2017): 329–58.


22. On medical uniforms and sartorial signaling of authority in women’s medicine, see Ling, “Female Hand,” 154.
23. This helps to explain why historians of medicine in China have largely neglected women's history. The overrepresentation of men in positions of prominence held even as many of those men learned from their mothers and grandmothers. See, e.g., Volker Scheid, *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine, 1626–2006* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 2007), 369. The life story of the only documented literate female doctor in late imperial China, Tan Yunxian, also affirms that women in medical lineages played a key role in transmitting knowledge of healing. (Tan inherited her grandmother's medical library and learned much about the healing arts from her female elder.) See Tan Yunxian, *Miscellaneous Records of a Female Doctor*, trans. Lorraine Wilcox with Yue Lu (Portland, OR: Chinese Medicine Database, 2015).


28. In his 1940 report to the China Medical Board, Chen Zhiqian, in his capacity as director of the Sichuan Provincial Health Administration (SPHA), described financial duress as the greatest strain of the war. See C. C. Chen to M. C. Balfour, November 6, 1940, folder 161, box 18, series 601, record group 1.1, RF, RAC.


35. *United China Relief Five Year Report, 1941–1945*, 1946, BUTSL, n.p. The precise amount given to China was $36,277,940.82.

37. Ibid., sec. 1, p. 6; sec. 2, pp. 1, 4, 14, 18–19. After creating detailed plans for penicillin production in China, it was determined that it was much more cost-effective to produce it in the United States and ship it to China. A small penicillin plant opened in a temple compound in Beijing in January 1947, with a daily production output of one hundred vials. Ibid., sec. 3, p. 10.


39. Caption text attached to photograph. Emphasis added. ABMAC Archives, Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, box 85, folder “Surgical Relief Supplies.”


41. Lei, *Neither Donkey Nor Horse*, 83. Lei points out that in the early twentieth century, Chinese educated in scientific medicine were much more strident critics of Chinese medicine than were foreigners. This was often the case in the war years as well.


44. Among these were Chen Zhiqian (C. C. Chen, PUMC class of 1929), head of the Mass Education Movement Department of Public Health (1931–37) and director of the Sichuan Provincial Health Administration (1938–45); Liu Ruileng (J. Heng Liu, PUMC faculty in Surgery 1918–20; PUMC superintendent 1923–29), minister of health (1929–39) and surgeon general of the Chinese Army (1938–45); Lim Kho Seng (Robert Lim, director of the PUMC Department of Physiology, 1924–37), director of the Emergency Medical Service Training School and the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps (1938–42); Zhou Meiyu (PUMC School of Nursing class of 1930), chief of the Nursing Service of the Chinese Army Medical Corps; Yang Chongrui (Marion Yang, educated at various missionary schools, instructor at PUMC), head of the National Health Administration Division of Maternity and Child Health (1942–45); Nie Yuchan (Vera Nieh, PUMC School of Nursing class of 1926), assistant dean (1938–40) and dean (1940–46) of the PUMC School of Nursing; Zhu Zhanggeng (C. K. Chu, PUMC class of 1928), director of the Public Health Personnel Training Institute (PHPTI, 1939–41), vice-director (1941–42) and then director of the National Institute of Health (1942–43), and secretary of the Commission on Medical Education; Yang Wenda (PUMC class of 1937), superintendent of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps headquarters hospital in Guiyang during the War of Resistance, and head of the Army Medical Administration during the Civil War; and Li Ting’an (Lei Ting On, PUMC Class of 1926, PUMC faculty in Public Health 1926–31), Shanghai commissioner of health (1934–37), NHA special commissioner for epidemic prevention in South China (1937–39), NHA chief of the Epidemic Prevention Corps (1939), director of the National Central University Medical College Department of Public Health (1939–41 and 1942–43),
director of the National Institute of Health (1941–42), and professor of public health at West China Union University (1944–46).


52. Li T’ing-an files, box 1760, folder 1, PUMC Archives, Peking Union Medical College, Beijing. Thanks to Liping Bu for pointing this out.


58. The EMSTS had originally accepted high school graduates, for whom they provided three months of training before deploying them to the MRC or a hospital run by the NHA. Yang Shanyao, *Kangzhan shiqi de Zhongguo junyi* (China's military medicine during the War of Resistance) (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2015), 59.

59. Yao Aihua “Memoir of Yao Aihua,” 212.

60. Ibid.

63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ling, “Female Hand,” cited text in unpagedated abstract. Ling grounds her study in the Hackett Medical Complex in Guangzhou, but her argument is more broadly applicable.
66. “Science Teaching Is Helping to Develop China’s Leaders,” n.d, UCC.
67. Watt, Friend in Deed, 3.
69. Margaret Humphreys, “Women, War and Medicine,” in Marrow of Tragedy: The Health Crisis of the American Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 48–75. Although many blacks, both free and enslaved, performed much of the nursing labor for the Confederate Army during the American Civil War and continued to support their communities with hospital healthcare through the post-Reconstruction period, they had no opportunity for equity until the establishment of the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps in 1942. See Sarah Ann Johnson, “Healing in Silence: Black Nurses in Charleston, South Carolina, 1896–1948” (PhD diss., Medical University of South Carolina, 2008), esp. 113; and Barbara Lee Maling, “Black Southern Nursing Care Providers in Virginia during the American Civil War, 1861–1865” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2009). On Japanese nurses, see Aya Takahashi, The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession: Adopting and Adapting Western Influences (New York: Routledge, 2004).
74. Gladys Cunningham to Dr. Arnup, September 7, 1950, 1983.047C, 13–331, UCC.
77. Harris, 1943 Work Report from Chongqing.
78. I.C. Yuan to Alan Gregg, May 31, 1946, folder 708, box 99, CMB, RAC.
79. Yip, Health and National Reconstruction, 177.
80. Dagongbao, nos. 13709 (January 26, 1942), 13717 (February 3, 1942), and 13960 (October 4, 1942).
81. Dagongbao, no. 13797 (April 23, 1942).
82. Chang Peng-yuan and Lo Jiu-rung, Zhou Meiyu xiansheng fangwen jilu, 59. Zhou’s monthly salary while stationed in Guiyang was 36.66 yuan.
84. Harris, 1943 Work Report from Chongqing; Allen, Report of Dr. A. Stewart Allen, 4.
85. “Zuijin yishi renyuan tongji” (The most recent statistics on medical personnel), Xinan yixue zazhi 4, no. 3 (March 15, 1944): n.p.
89. Ibid., 27.
90. Chou Chun-yen, “Funü yu kangzhan,” 208–9. Chou does note, however, that in the ensuing Civil War people with nursing training, regardless of their sex, were once again mobilized for military service.
91. Xie Bingying, Woman Soldier’s Own Story, 273. Emphasis added.
96. Lean, Public Passions, 187–93, 210; the citation is on p. 192.
97. Xie Bingying, Woman Soldier’s Own Story, 272.
101. “Fenfen qingying shadi” (One after another volunteering for military service to kill the enemy), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 9, no. 7 (August 1939): 8.
102. Nai Tian, “Beizhanchang shang de yihuo nübing” (A group of women soldiers on the northern battlefront), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 9, no. 7 (August 1939): 31–32.
106. Still, it bears pointing out that the armed forces organized in the communist base at Yan’an more frequently accepted women into the military ranks, due to both the Communist Party’s ideological commitment to women’s liberation and the guerrilla army’s desperate need for soldiers. See Pan Yihong, “Zhanzheng conglian buzhihisi nanren de shiyi: Jiedu Xinsijun nübing huiyilu” / “Never a Man’s War: The Self-Reflections of the Women Soldiers of the New Fourth Army in the War of Resistance against Japan, 1937–1945,” Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu / Research on Women in Modern Chinese History 24 (December 2014): 83–131.
111. Joan Judge, The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 188.
112. Strand, Unfinished Republic, 111.
114. Wang, Women in the Chinese Enlightenment, 22. Wang is referring to the women of the May Fourth generation who joined the CCP, a party that “demanded total submission of the individual.” I relate this to the situation of women working as nurses in the NRA during the War of Resistance due to the similarities in their positionalities.
118. Quoted in ibid., 439.
122. Houghton to Lobenstine, December 9, 1938, folder 707, box 99, CMB, RAC.
124. Ruth Ingram, “Report on Visit to the PUMC School of Nursing in the West China Union University Hospital, Chengtu,” October 18–November 2, 1945, folder 1041, box 143, CMB, RAC, 2–3.
125. CEF to Vera Nieh and CEF to Y.T. Tsur, February 24, 1944, folder 1039, box 144, CMB, RAC. Tsur was a graduate of Yale University (class of 1909), had served as president of Hsiangya Medical College (Yale-in-China), and during the war built in Guizhou Province a successful boys’ school and a large cultural compound comprising a library, a scientific training center for high school teachers, an exhibition hall for displaying native products, and an art museum. See Lyle Stephenson Powell, A Surgeon in Wartime China (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1946), 127–29.
126. Vera Nieh cable to ECL, February 25, 1944, folder 1039, box 144, CMB, RAC.
127. Dr. Li Ting’an to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, confidential letter, March 3, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
128. CEF letter no. 50, March 9, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC; Dr. Li Ting-an to Mr. Earle Ballou, CMB, RAC; confidential letter, March 11, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
129. CEF to Dr. Tsur, February 24, 1944, folder 1039, box 144, CMB, RAC.
130. Stephen Chang to ECL, March 18, 1944, 6, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
131. CEF to Dr. Tsur, February 24, 1944, folder 1039, box 144, CMB, RAC.
132. Dr. Li Ting’an to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, confidential letter, March 3, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC. After receiving academic awards and becoming a favored student of Dr. John B. Grant, director of the PUMC Department of Public Health, in 1944, Dr. Li assumed two posts at West China Union University—professor of public health, and superintendent of the University Hospital—in order to be of assistance to the PUMC School of Nursing faculty.
133. Faculty, PUMC School of Nursing to Dr. Y. T. Tsur, Chairman of PUMC Board of Trustees, March 20, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
134. Dr. Y. T. Tsur to ECL, March 27, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
135. Mei Yu Chou, A. C. Hsu, Chi Chen, Mary Sia, Katherine Yu, Lily Tseng, and Margaret Wang Sung to Y. T. Tsur, May 3, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
137. Sichuan Provincial Health Administration, Health Statistics for all of Sichuan Province, 1945, SPA, 113–118, 11.
138. In the fall of 1943, Claude Forkner also got into a deep conflict with Drs. I. C. Yuan, James Shen, and Y. L. Mei. See CEF to Lobenstine and Pearce, October 4, 1943, folder 221, box 32, CMB, RAC; CEF to CMB, October 18, 1943, folder 156, box 22, CMB, RAC; and CEF to CMB, November 12, 1943, folder 221, box 32, CMB, RAC. No sooner had he cleared up this dispute than another emerged with Dr. Chow Shou-kuai. See CEF to CMB, December 6, 1943, folder 221, box 32, CMB, RAC. The chief archivist for China materials at the Rockefeller Archive Center, Tom Rosenbaum, told me that Forkner repeatedly made social mistakes during his China Medical Board tenure (personal communication, December 2009). Dr. John Watt told me of Forkner’s condescending attitude toward women in a personal communication, October 28, 2009.
139. Nieh to J. Heng Liu, cable received February 9, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC; Nieh to ECL, cable received February 25, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC. For the assessment that these two cables constituted an attack, see ECL to Wong Wen-hao, March 21, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
140. See CEF to Dr. Tsur, February 24, 1944, folder 1039, box 144, CMB, RAC; and CEF cable to CMB, March 3, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.
142. Li Ting-an to CEF, April 20, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC. In late March 1944, three well-known Chinese men—J. Heng Liu, Alfred Sze, and Hu Shih—decided to
send a personal message to Dean Nieh after attending a meeting of the PUMC Board of Trustees. See ECL to Wong Wen-hao, March 21, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC. Soon thereafter, Li Ting-an wrote, “Since Miss Nieh is now quite silent, there has not arisen much difficulty for the past two weeks.” See Li Ting-an to CEF, March 31, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC. By April 20, Dean Nieh had left Chengdu for Chongqing and Guiyang, where she inspected other health administration facilities and got a rest from her duties. See Li Ting-an to Y. T. Tsur, April 20, 1944; and Li Ting-an to CEF, April 20, 1944; both folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC.

143. Li Ting-an to CEF, May 11, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC; Li Ting-an to CEF, March 31, 1944, folder 1040, box 143, CMB, RAC; CEF to Dr. Wilford of United Hospital, October 17, 1943, folder 1038, box 143, CMB, RAC.

144. “Report of School of Nursing.”

145. Ruth Ingram, daughter of medical missionary James H. Ingram of the American Board of Congregational Missions, was born in China and spoke fluent Mandarin Chinese. She served as dean of the PUMC School of Nursing until Gertrude Hodgman succeeded her in 1930. See Bowers, Western Medicine, 206–7.


147. Students and faculty of the PUMC School of Nursing finally departed Chengdu for their return trip to Beijing on April 24, 1946. See Bowers, Western Medicine, 213.


149. Ibid., 1, 3.

150. Ibid., 3–4.

151. Ibid., 3.

152. Alumnae News, no. 9, Alumnae Association of School of Nursing, PUMC, Peiping, October 1948, folder 711, box 99, CMB, RAC, 2; Vera Y. C. Nieh files, box 2437, folder 3, files 182, 204, and 214, PUMC.

153. I. C. Yuan to Alan Gregg, May 31, 1946, folder 708, box 99, CMB, RAC.

154. Bowers, Western Medicine, 214.

155. If Mao Zedong’s personal physician Li Zhisui is to be believed, another possible explanation could be Mao’s own admiration for scientific medicine. Li Zhisui, The Private Life of Chairman Mao, trans. Tai Hung-chao (New York: Random House, 1994).

156. Mary Augusta Brazelton, “Vaccinating the Nation: Public Health and Mass Immunization in Modern China, 1900–1960” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2015); Watt, Saving Lives, 221–22, 238.


159. Other leaders in wartime nursing had also moved to Taiwan (including Hsu Ai-Chu, who continued to serve as director of nursing at the NIH after its move to Taipei), so the Republic of China became a key center of nursing training within the Western Pacific Region (WPRO) of the World Health Organization. For example, in November 1952 nurses from Australia, Malaya, the Philippines, Japan, and Taiwan meeting in New Zealand convened the first WPRO nursing conference in Taipei. “Nursing Education Seminar Sponsored by World Health Organization Western Pacific Region, Taipei, Taiwan, November 1952,” in Seminars/Conferences Reports, WHO Regional Offices for the Western Pacific, 1952–1957, WHO Library, Geneva.


162. Registration of Nurses Associations in Various Cities and Provinces, SHA, October 1946–October 1948, 11.2.4321.


167. This was certainly the case for women in the American Civil War. See Jeanie Attie, “Warwork and the Crisis of Domesticity in the North,” in Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War, ed. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 247–49.


5. MOTHERS FOR THE NATION

CBPH Work Report, 1944, CMA, Chongqing, 66–1–2, 14.


2. Isabel Brown Crook and Christina Kelley Gilmartin with Yu Xiji, Prosperity’s Predicament: Identity, Reform, and Resistance in Rural Wartime China, comp. and ed. Gail Hershatter and Emily Honig (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013), 188.

3. In Nanjing, e.g., state-registered midwives attended 237 births in 1931–32, and 2,565 in 1934–35. State-registered midwives and nurses delivered 43 percent of the births at the Beijing First Health Station in the same time period. Nanjing’s maternal mortality rate of 15.2 was on the high end of Yang Chongrui’s estimate, but its infantile mortality rate of 168.4
per 1,000 was far below her national calculation of 200 to 250. See Watt, *Saving Lives in Wartime China*, 67.

4. Executive Committee and the Committee on Science and Publication of the Ninth Congress of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine, *A Glimpse of China* (Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1934), 75.

5. The repercussions of this social change are poorly documented and understudied.

6. During the Song dynasty (960–1279), elite male physicians developed gynecology (*fuke*) as a medical specialty grounded in the theory of women’s bodies as ruled by blood and inherently weak, and in this way they claimed professional authority over the parturient female body. Although male gynecologists in the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties challenged their predecessors’ claim of female weakness, they continued the professionalization of this field of medicine. See Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China’s Medical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); and Yi-li Wu, *Reproducing Women: Medicine, Metaphor and Childbirth in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).


11. Dr. F.C. Yen (Yan Fuqing), “The Importance of Woman and Child Welfare Work,” *People’s Tribune*, November 1938, ABMAC box 21, folder NHA 1940–1941, RBML, 2. Dr. Yan wrote, “Ever since the outbreak of hostilities, Chinese newspapers have carried frequent reports of the enemy abducting thousands of Chinese boys in the occupied area.”


16. Tang Guozhen, “Zhongguo funü weilao ziwei kangzhan jiangshi zonghui Zhanshi ertong baoyu hui gongzuo baogao” (National Association of Chinese Women for the Cheering and Comforting of the Officers and Soldiers of the War of Self-Defense and Resistance against Japan Wartime Association for Child Welfare work report), in Funü tanhua hui gongzuo baogao (Women’s Conversational Committee work reports), ed. Women’s Conversational Committee (n.p., 1938), 23. Although Tang does not specify, she was likely referring solely to male orphans since the language at the time assumed a male standard for all nouns, and only females needed qualifiers.


20. Qing, “Weilao fushang zhuangshi” (Comforting wounded heroes), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 8, no. 5 (December 1939): 15.


22. Ibid., 121–23.

23. Hui Nian, “Chongqing funü dui junshu de yijian” (Chongqing women’s opinions on military families), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 8, no. 3 (Nov 1939): 7.


25. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 63.


30. Schneider, Keeping the Nation’s House, 18.


33. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 61–64.

34. Announcement placed in the Dagongbao, no. 1354, July 15, 1941.

35. Li, Echoes of Chongqing, 86–87. Stories like Li Shuhua’s corroborate Gail Hershatter’s discovery that many rural women in the collective era—another period in Chinese history when women’s domestic and reproductive labors were unrewarded—experienced extreme exhaustion during their reproductive years, and therefore supported the One Child Policy in the 1970s. Gail Hershatter, The Gender of Memory: Rural Women and China’s Collective Past (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 182–209.


40. Johnson, Childbirth in Republican China, 83.

41. Ibid., 81, 88; Marion Yang files, boxes 76 and 77, CMB, RAC.


45. Yang Chongrui, Midwifery Bag “A” Type for Maternity Assistants—Old type Midwifer [sic] or short course trained, n.d., CMB I, RAC, box 77, folder 539; Johnson, Childbirth in Republican China, 56–57.

46. Johnson, Childbirth in Republican China, xvii.


49. Hsiao Li Lindsay, Bold Plum: With the Guerrillas in China’s War against Japan (Morrisville, NC: Lulu Press, 2007), 152–65.


52. CBPH Work Report, September 1940–February 1941, CMA, 66–1-3, 200.


54. CBPH Work Report, 1938, CMA, 66–1-2, 189.

55. CPBH Work Report, September 1940–February 1941, CMA, 66–1-3, 214. In 1940, the clinics and mobile medic teams combined provided 15,275 smallpox inoculations and 19,449 preventive vaccinations. See CBPH Work Report, September 1940–February 1941, CMA, 66–1-3, 200.


57. CBPH Work Report, September 1940–February 1941, CMA, 66–1-3, 217.

59. CBPH Work Report, 1943, CMA, 66–1-2, 206–7. The bureau had originally budgeted 505,640 yuan for the hospital’s equipment and construction, but spent only 266,860, and began the 1944 fiscal year with 238,600 yuan left over in this line of the budget.

60. CBPH Work Report, October 1946, AH, 90–183, 1b.


64. China Women’s Welfare Society, Sinian lai zhi peidu funü fuli she (The past four years in the Women’s Welfare Society of the Wartime Capital) (Nanjing: China Women’s Welfare Society, 1946), 2–3. The group had wanted to raise 900,000 yuan: 560,000 yuan for construction, and an additional 340,000 yuan for monthly operational costs.


66. Du Si, recorder, “Nü hushi de hua (Zuotan hui)” (Words from female nurses [Discussion forum]), Funü shenghuo (Women’s lives) 8, no. 3 (November 1939): 14.

67. Ibid.

68. Bishan’s 1945 budget was over one million yuan, and the county reported a total of seventy-two medical personnel, whereas Chengdu had twenty-three. See 1945 Complete Statistical Health Report Compiled by the Sichuan Provincial Health Administration, 1945, SPA, 113–1-118, 4, 7–10, 15–21, 105–8; “Report on Health Improvements in This Province,” 1940, SPA, 113–116, 10; “Resume of Activities in January to August, 1940,” folder 161, box 18, ser. 601, record group 1.1, RF, RAC, 2; Crook and Gilmartin, Prosperity’s Predicament, 188–89.


70. Bishan CHC Work Report, July 1944, SPA, 113–1-694; Watt, Saving Lives in Wartime China, 228.


74. Ibid., n.p. Women constituted 61 percent of outpatients during the reporting period—an astonishingly high number given that in other counties and cities men regularly outnumbered women as recipients of hospital care.

75. 1945 Complete Statistical Health Report Compiled by the Sichuan Provincial Health Administration, 1945, SPA, 113–1-118, 98–99.

76. Ibid., 90–92.

77. Bishan CHC Work Reports, March and April 1943, SPA, 113-1-926, 16, 22. The scabies treatment station at the Bishan bus terminal cost the CHC a total of 1,039 yuan, a cost offset only slightly by 60 yuan in donations.

78. Watt, Saving Lives in Wartime China, 95n69. A school health survey conducted in Chongqing in March 1945 found that nearly 65 percent of schoolchildren suffered from


83. Ibid., 199–200.

84. Ibid., 201–2.

85. CBPH Work Report, 1940, 197.

86. CBPH Work Report, 1944, CMA, 66–1-2, 34, 48. These statistics were reported only from July through December 1944, and the number of male and female residents at the hospital is a combination of those reported separately for July through September (266 men and 108 women) and for October through December (168 men and 36 women).

87. Chongqing Municipal Hospital, Patient Statistics and Work Report, January 1944–June 1945, CMA, 165–2-5. There are, in fact, two exceptions to this statement: statistics for May and June 1945. This is solely because the hospital’s Obstetrics and Gynecology Department opened on May 1, and hundreds of women came to the hospital for its services (318 women in May; 708 in June). By taking these numbers out of the aggregate, I calculated the non-OB-GYN numbers for all eighteen months, rather than allowing the last two months to skew the remaining sixteen months’ statistics.

88. Ibid.


90. Johnson, *Childbirth in Republican China*, 20–22, 24. Helen Schneider also notes a trend of bourgeois women distinguishing themselves from either lower- or very upper-class women through their consumption habits. Schneider, *Keeping the Nation’s House*, 14.


92. Lo Jiu-jung, Yu Chien-ming, and Chiu Hei-yuan, eds., *Fenghuo suiyue xia de Zhongguo funü fangwen jilu* (Twentieth-century wartime experiences of Chinese women: An oral history) (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 2004), 5–21. Unfortunately, Zhang does not mention the name of this establishment, which could have been one of the eight clinics operated by the CBPH or a private clinic.

93. Dagongbao, nos. 13685 (January 3, 1942), 13687 (January 5, 1942), 13754 (March 12, 1942), and 14079 (January 31, 1943).
94. *Dagongbao*, nos. 12658B (December 12, 1938), 12693 (January 6, 1939), 12725 (February 7, 1939), 13687 (January 5, 1942), 13721 (February 7, 1942), 13755 (March 13, 1942), and 13796 (April 23, 1942).
95. *Dagongbao*, nos. 12688 (January 1, 1939) and 13717 (February 3, 1942).
96. *Dagongbao*, nos. 14076 (January 28, 1943) and 14078 (January 30, 1943).
97. *Dagongbao*, no. 14197 (June 1, 1943).
103. *Funü Xinyun* (Women’s New Life Movement), an organ of the WAC, was published monthly in Chongqing from late 1938 through July 1948.
106. Ibid., 23.
107. Ibid., 18.
108. Ibid., 23, 26. Presumably, Yang used “venereal disease” (*hualiubing*) here to reference HSV-1, the herpes simplex virus known as orolabial herpes and manifesting on the facial lips. The linguistic slip probably originated from the fact that HSV-1 belongs to the same viral family, *Herpesviridae*, as HSV-2, the source of most genital herpes.


120. Wu, *Reproducing Women*.


130. Schneider, *Keeping the Nation’s House*, 5.


134. Ibid., 90–91. Although Chen’s memoir was published in 1989, many of the quotes in the passage on MCH work were taken directly from a report he wrote in October 1936, suggesting more strongly that he (and possibly other health workers) held these attitudes at the time. See Kate Merkel-Hess, “The Public Health of Village Private Life: Reform and Resistance in Early Twentieth Century Rural China,” *Journal of Social History* 49.4 (2016): 891, 902n79.


136. Ibid., 896.
NOTES


138. ECL interview with Szeming Sze, September 13, 1944, folder 1109, box 152, CMB, RAC, 2.


140. Johnson, *Childbirth in Republican China*, 180n41.

CONCLUSION

Yu Yun, trans., “Zuo ‘hushi’ shi zhanshi funü baoxiao guojia zui gaogui de shiye” (Being a “nurse” is wartime women’s most noble profession to repay the country), *Funü gongming* (Women’s echo) 13, no. 6 December 1944): 56.


2. The need for constant emotional work to create the political community—suppression of base emotions such as greed, shame, and disgust, coupled with cultivation of compassion and sympathy for others—is one of the central points in Martha C. Nussbaum’s *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).


7. Missionaries who came into Sichuan from other parts of China were shocked by the prevalent number of corpses visible in the streets, noting that this was the sordid outcome...
of nearly twenty years of constant warfare. See, e.g., Esther Tappert Mortenson, Letter home from Chongqing, October 26, 1937, Esther Tappert Mortenson Papers, record group 21, box 4, folder 57, DDDL.

8. Luo Zhanxu, ed., Chongqing Kangzhan dashiji (Grand record of Chongqing’s War of Resistance) (Chongqing: Chongqing Publishing House, 1995), 16. After Liu’s death at the Wanguo Hospital in Wuhan, his body was carried to Chongqing, where he was posthumously named Supreme Commander of the Nationalist Army and given a state burial. Since Liu enjoyed much more local power in Sichuan than did Chiang Kai-shek, his widow and close associates suspected malfeasance in his death, but no proof has yet surfaced. On the latter point see Kapp, Szechwan and the Chinese Republic, 139.


11. Troops of the former strolled into a silent provincial capital on December 25–26, 1949, while the PLA troops enjoyed the fanfare of an organized parade and hastily pasted banners in Gaodianzi, but “the crowd seemed to be apathetic.” Township leaders in Gaodianzi did feed PLA soldiers, less out of any concern for the men than to keep them from stealing from the villagers as the NRA soldiers were doing. Ibid., 147–49, 153, 156.


13. While stationed in rural Sichuan for fieldwork in late 1949, William Skinner met a soldier from Guangdong who had learned to speak the language of Hunan and Hubei as well as traveled all over the country while in the army. Skinner, Rural China, 157.


17. All of these items come directly from a 1953 report in the Shanghai Municipal Archive, cited in full in Zheng Wang, “Gender and Maoist Urban Reorganization,” in Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China, ed. Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 195–96.


20. Ibid., 317, 331.

21. Ibid., 329–30. Ma cites the particular story of one woman here but indicates that she is an exemplar of a broader trend.


23. Ibid., 190, 191, 201.


27. See Wang, “Gender and Maoist Urban Reorganization,” 200–203, for the story of the working-class woman Zhang Xiulian, who narrated her work as a resident representative as a story of personal liberation.


32. In many ways women’s experiences during the War of Resistance echoed those of women who operated as nurses and soldiers in the 1911 Revolution and the Northern Expedition (1926–1928). See Gilmartin, Engendering the Chinese Revolution.


34. Wang, Finding Women in the State, 232–33.

35. Ibid., 230, 236.


37. The working-class aesthetic that valorizes female strength should not be conflated with the jianmei (robust beauty) aesthetic of the 1930s, which celebrated the healthy female body partly as a counterpoint to “Sick Woman” discourse, but also as tied to the ideal of the “revolutionary” body of the Communist woman that circulated at the same time. See An-
