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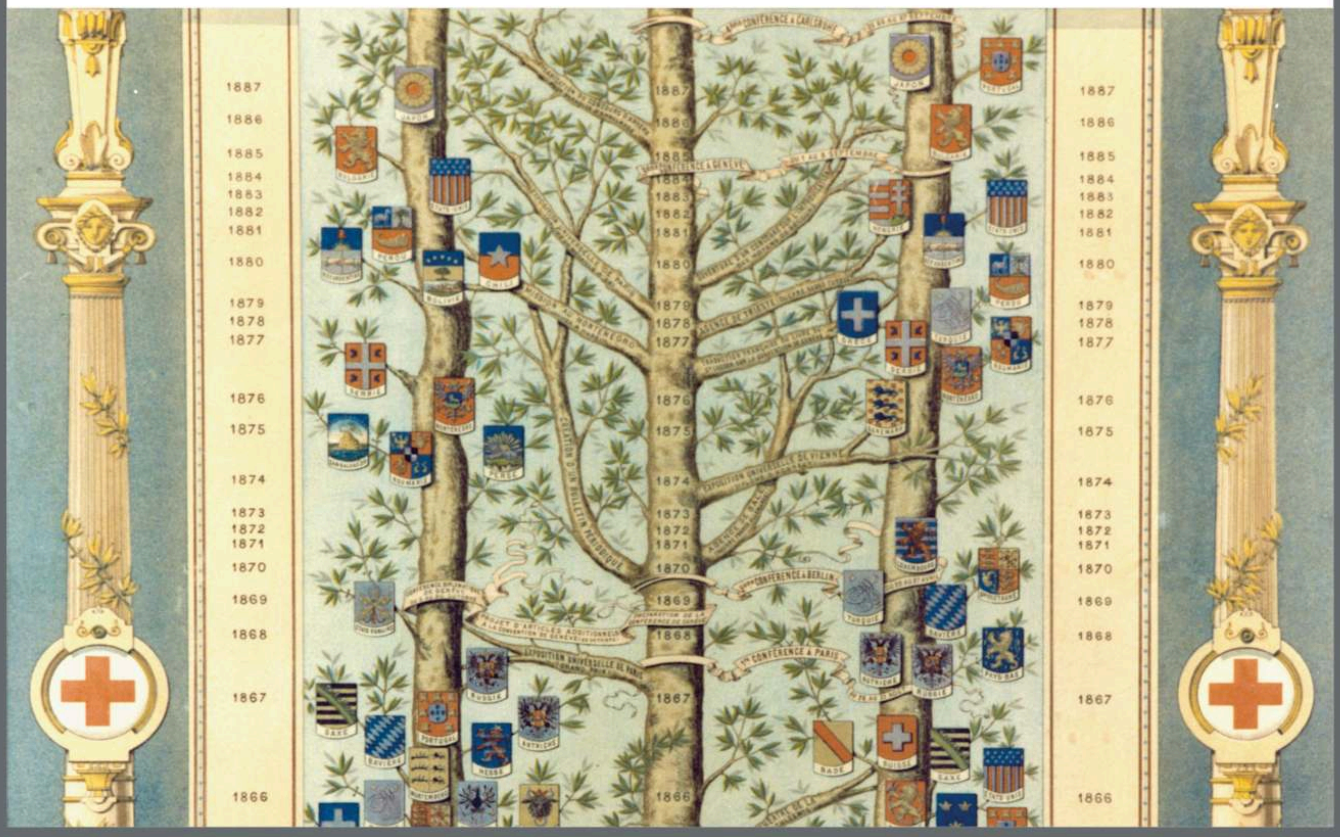

Exploring the Overshadowed Streams of the Red Cross Movement

Endeavour and Motivation within and beyond Japan (1867-1919)

Mayuka Miyagawa

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ABSTRACT

This ePaper explores the endeavours and motivations of the leading figures of the Japanese Red Cross Society, which forms the streams of the Red Cross Movement that get overshadowed in the Eurocentric narrative of its history. Using various primary sources from archives and studying the historical context of the time, the paper highlights how the main protagonists with similar backgrounds to the founders of the International Committee of the Red Cross proactively sought to establish and develop the movement both at the national and international level from 1867 to 1919. Moreover, a close examination of their backgrounds as well as their thoughts as expressed in their writings suggests that their motivations to engage in Red Cross work were multiple and in part, if not entirely, shaped by various needs to fulfil their own desire and sense of obligation.

We extend our heartfelt thanks to the Vahabzadeh Foundation for financially supporting the publication of best works by young researchers of the Graduate Institute, giving a priority to those who have been awarded academic prizes for their master's dissertations.

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Mayuka Tamura Miyagawa holds a master's degree in Development Studies from the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (IHEID) and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from Waseda University. Her master's dissertation was awarded the 2022 Association Genève-Asie Prize. Her main fields of interest are the history of humanitarianism, the dissemination of international humanitarian law, and health promotion in conflict-affected areas.

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Acknowledgements

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4 My great appreciation also goes to Michael Howard for generously proofreading this paper and making helpful and practical comments. Likewise, I sincerely thank Philippe Neeser for giving me invaluable remarks and suggestions. I am also grateful to Marie Thorndahl and Rachel Robertson for their time and expertise devoted to editing this paper.

5 I would also like to extend my gratitude to Kuniharu Fukumura, whose lectures and words that touched me in 2012 still motivate me to study history and aspire to engage in humanitarian work. I am indebted to Chan and Kim Ty Lao for being my 'family' in

Switzerland. Finally, I want to express my profound gratitude to my husband, parents and dearest friends for providing me with unfailing support and encouragement throughout the process.

List of Acronyms

1 ARC American Red Cross

2 ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

3 IFRC International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

4 JRCS Japanese Red Cross Society

5 LRCS League of Red Cross Societies

6 US United States

7 WWI World War I

Introduction

> The second character in the Japanese word for *history (歴-史 Reki-shi)* can be a homophone for both *death (死 shi)* and *aspiration (志 shi)*. The present we live in was built upon the deaths of countless people who held onto their ideals and took action to change society. Those deaths should not be reduced to a simple record of numbers and should be studied carefully for us to learn from and decide how to live in today's world.
>
> Kuniharu Fukumura, 20 November 2012[1]

1 Despite being a global humanitarian network today, the dominant narrative of the Red Cross Movement is based on the premise that humanitarianism—a product of Christianity—crystallised in Europe under the Geneva Convention and was diffused to the rest of the world. While it is true that the Red Cross Movement is of European origin, this presupposition can hinder scholars from seeing the big picture of the movement. It is through this Eurocentric lens that some scholars have treated the leading figures of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Western national Red Cross societies as the driving force of the movement.[2] And it is through this focus that the involvement of the peripheral non-Western Red Cross and Red Crescent societies is often sidelined, if not completely overlooked. A particularly conspicuous example of this bias can be observed in how Western scholars have treated the history of the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS). The JRCS was among the earliest non-Western national societies to take part in the movement. Although it grew to be the largest national society by the early twentieth century, little effort has been made to cast light on the endeavours of the individuals who established and developed the movement within and beyond Japan. For example, in Caroline Moorehead's monograph on the history of the Red Cross Movement, a mere four lines are used to describe how Sano Tsunetami founded the organisation preceding the JRCS.[3] In contrast, the endeavours and background of Clara H. Barton, the founder of the American Red Cross (ARC), are highlighted across many pages.[4] Similarly, while endeavours to bring attention to peacetime operations at the international level cast a

spotlight on Henry P. Davison (ARC)[5] and Ciraolo Giovanni (Italian Red Cross)[6], almost no attention is paid to the effort made by Ninagawa Arata, who advocated implementing peacetime operations under the Red Cross's mandate and lobbied for its codification as an international legal instrument.[7] Furthermore, in the small academic space given to narrate the history of the JRCS, the rapid growth of the society is often attributed to patriotism, portraying the active members of the JRCS as mere patriots who were used as puppets by a Japanese government trying to adopt humanitarianism to present itself as closer to the Western powers in its degree of civilisation.[8] While patriotism could have been the main factor that led the JRCS to bloom, I question whether ascribing this simply to patriotism—as if to say that a non-Christian country such as Japan could not possibly embrace humanity—is yet another example of a Western bias in the way social phenomena occurring outside of Europe are represented. In making sense of why and how humanitarianism took root in non-Western and non-Christian countries, it is too easy to attribute it to simple yet powerful factors such as patriotism. However, describing the individuals' motivation as mere patriotism without seeing the *humane* side does not reveal a full picture of history. As one of the founding fathers of humanistic psychology Abraham H. Maslow claims, '[i]n most persons, a single primary all-important motive is less often found than a combination in varying amounts of *all* motivations working simultaneously'.[9] Moreover, as the anthropologist Liisa H. Malkki demonstrates in her work, humanitarians' motivations emanate from social and historical particularity.[10] Therefore, a close examination of the historical context of the time, as well as the endeavours and motivations of the leading figures, becomes essential in understanding the nuances of the history of the JRCS.

2 My humble yet committed aim in writing this paper is to address the existing Eurocentric narrative of the Red Cross Movement and broaden the academic space to study the history of the JRCS. Wylie et al. write that '[the Red Cross Movement] might perhaps best be seen not so much as a single river of ideas and institutions but rather as *an arcuate delta where the main body bifurcates into numerous distributaries [...], which follow their own course, at times converging, at other times diverging* [emphasis added]'.[11] Having this metaphor in my head to picture the complex movement comprised of the ICRC, 192 national societies and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC)[12], I seek to explore how the bifurcated stream of the JRCS developed its own flow and at times converged with other streams of national societies to create a new current in the Red Cross Movement. However, unlike *Jindō Sono Ayumi* published by the JRCS, this research does not try to comprehensively cover the history of the early period of the JRCS.[13] What I strive to achieve in this research is to shed light on the socio-political context of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and highlight both how and why the leading figures of the JRCS established and developed the Red Cross Movement both within Japan and at the international level. Although this research focuses on institutional history, I do not intend to simply trace institutional records and numbers. Instead, I aspire to illuminate the human touch in the protagonists' stories to remind us that the trajectory of organisations is marked by the individual endeavours of human beings with different motivations and personal backgrounds. In doing so, this paper does not refute the above-mentioned idea of patriotism as an important factor in the JRCS's development; rather, it includes it in its wider exploration of how and why protagonists of the JRCS's history put effort into

developing the organisation. With these points in mind, the questions I seek to answer in this research are the following:

In what political and social context did the Japanese elites establish the JRCS in Japan and develop the Red Cross Movement at the international level?
What were their motivations and sources of influence?
What did they achieve as a result?

3 Out of many figures that endeavoured to establish and develop the Red Cross Movement both within Japan and at the international level, this research particularly focuses on three elites from the early history of the JRCS: Sano Tsunetami 佐野常民（1822–1902）, Ishiguro Tadanori 石黒忠悳 (1845–1941) and Ninagawa Arata 蜷川新 (1873–1959). The first two protagonists, Sano and Ishiguro, established and developed the movement in the late nineteenth century in Japan against the backdrop of a turbulent era when westernisation was unfolding at a rapid pace. The third protagonist, Ninagawa Arata, endeavoured to codify the Red Cross peacetime operations as an international legal instrument in the early twentieth century when Japan had become an ally of the Western powers. While Sano and Ishiguro's stories elucidate the formation of the JRCS and stem from the main current of the Red Cross Movement, Ninagawa's endeavour reveals the JRCS's contribution to the creation of a new stream in the movement and shows how the JRCS was not only born out of, but was also a proactive actor in, the advancement of the movement of European origin.

4 When a Japanese author challenges a Eurocentric bias ingrained in the historical narrative of the Red Cross, there is a temptation that the author's tone of narration could become nationalistic and either consciously or unconsciously praise fellow Japanese protagonists' accomplishments. With a full acknowledgement of this pitfall, I seek to maintain a scholarly distance from the subject of my research. As a master's student profoundly interested in the work and the history of the Red Cross, I will explore the part of its trajectory that I am able to study in depth because I can read and write in the Japanese language.

5 Although I feel comfortable stating that my research adds a new layer to the forerunners' academic studies that seek to reverse the Western-centric perspective of the Red Cross Movement, I am hesitant to go so far as to associate this research with the ongoing academic debate on 'decolonizing history'.[14] This is because Japan was itself an imperial power that colonised Taiwan (1895–1945), southern Sakhalin (1905–45), Korea (1910–45)[15], northeast China (1905–45)[16] as well as the islands of Micronesia (1920–45)[17], and occupied southeast China (1937–45), much of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific islands (1942–45). Yet, if in part, decolonising history means acknowledging the political and social power dynamics of the age of imperialism and addressing them to alter the Eurocentric narrative, this research could arguably speak to an academic debate on the decolonisation of history regardless of Japan's own colonial past.

6 The core of this paper, following the historiography, methodology and limitations sections, is divided into two parts. Part I recounts how Sano Tsunetami and Ishiguro Tadanori established the Red Cross Movement in Japan at the national level. Part II sheds light on how Ninagawa Arata sought to develop the Red Cross Movement beyond Japan at the international level, especially in the process of creating the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS). Both Part I and II contain threefold elements. First comes the socio-political background of the period when the Red Cross Movement took root in

Japan and evolved from Japan. Then follows the endeavours of the protagonists, describing how they pushed the Red Cross Movement forward. The motivations of those protagonists are subsequently discussed by contextualising their experiences and backgrounds. Finally, the paper concludes by drawing some implications and addressing how this research could be developed further.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kuniharu Fukumura, "What History Is" (from the last lecture at Shijuku, Tokyo, 20 November 2012).

2. Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland, and the History of the Red Cross*, 1st Carroll & Graf ed (New York: Carroll & Graf Pub, 1999); Olive Checkland, *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan: 1877 - 1977*, Repr (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); John F Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*, 1996.

3. Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 151.

4. Ibid., 32,36-37,87-118,714.

5. Ibid., 258–65.

6. Ibid., 158,264,285-287,334.

7. Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*; Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*.

8. Checkland, *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan*, 173; Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 150–51.

9. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, ed. Robert Frager, 3rd ed (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 3.

10. Liisa H. Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

11. Neville Wylie, Melanie Oppenheimer, and James Crossland, "The Red Cross Movement," in *The Red Cross Movement*, ed. Neville Wylie, Melanie Oppenheimer, and James Crossland (Manchester University Press, 2020), 7–8, doi:10.7765/9781526133526.00006.

12. The IFRC was originally called the League of Red Cross Societies. Its name was changed to the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies in 1983 and the IFRC in 1991.

13. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Jindō Sono Ayumi* 人道-その歩み *[Humanitarianism and its history]* (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1979).

14. Amanda Behm et al., "Decolonizing History: Enquiry and Practice," *History Workshop Journal* 89 (April 1, 2020): 169–91, doi:10.1093/hwj/dbz052.

15. The Korea-Japan Treaty of 1905 had already turned Korea into a protectorate of Japan.

16. The author refers to the former Russian-leased territory of the Liaodong Peninsula, the former German-held territory of the Shandong Peninsula, and the de facto Japanese colony of Manchukuo.

17. The Micronesian islands were seized from Germany by Japan in 1914. After WWI, in 1920, the League of Nations recognized Japanese mandate over the islands.

Historiography

Establishment of the Red Cross Movement within Japan

1 The way historians have dealt with the early history of the JRCS has changed over time. In the 1990s, the history of the JRCS was often studied through the Western bias mentioned earlier in the introduction. In her English-written monograph *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan,* Olive Checkland analysed the reason for which Japan complied with the Geneva Convention during the war against the Qing dynasty of China and also against Russia, but later failed to do so during World War II. She inferred that it was because 'the humanitarian movement in Japan, as demonstrated by the Red Cross Society [...] embarked upon in the Emperor's name by a powerful Japanese government, determined to legitimate itself as far as possible on the world stage' and that 'the millions of Red Cross members, often minor civil servants dragooned into service, were easily recruited as patriots because, in Japan, the Red Cross was purely an arm of the military'.[1] She also went as far as to state that 'there was no place for the individual and none for internationalism',[2] and that 'the spirit of 'voluntaryism', so vital at so many levels in Western society was not the principle motivating the Red Cross in Japan until after 1945 when American Red Cross Societies workers introduced it'.[3] Moorehead, whose work covers the extensive history of the Red Cross Movement, echoes Checkland's view and states that the JRCS was 'a perfect vehicle for closer relations with the West' and that there was 'very little of Western volunteer spirit' about the JRCS.[4] The two authors see the JRCS not so much as a platform on which Japanese people could embrace and develop humanitarianism, but rather as an actor that was manipulated by the government to pursue its nationalistic agenda. Consequently, both authors mention the founder of the JRCS in just a few lines, and Ishiguro Tadanori, whose effort was key to spreading the movement in Japan is missing from their writing.

2 In recent years, however, historians have started to question and address the Eurocentric bias in the historiography of the JRCS. Sho Konishi argues that fertile ground for the humanitarian movement to take root in Japan already existed in the early nineteenth century, prior to the emergence of the Red Cross Movement.[5] He

makes his point by stating that thousands of doctors were educated to embrace the practice and ethics of saving people's lives through medical care in Juntendō School of Medicine during the Tokugawa Era. Frank Käser challenges the Eurocentric narrative of the Red Cross Movement by arguing that the idea of establishing a humanitarian organisation was new in *both* Europe and Japan in the late nineteenth century.[6] By presenting various historical circumstances, he claims that the organisation preceding the JRCS was created separately and was later renamed as Red Cross because the government became a party to the Geneva Convention. Similarly, Michiko Suzuki shed light on regional grassroots charity movements that were later recognised as local branches of the JRCS.[7] She suggests that the mutual assistance in politically turbulent times converged with the state-building movement, and it is for this reason that JRCS came to place value on peacetime operations.

3 While the studies of the predecessors have opened academic space to challenge the Eurocentric bias in the history of the Red Cross Movement, there is still room for elaboration. Indeed, no historians have put weight on exploring the motivations of the leading figures of the JRCS. Moreover, some of the primary sources I have gathered in the course of this research speak against arguments presented by the aforementioned historians. Thus, I seek to weave in more nuances in the existing academic work.

Development of the Red Cross Movement beyond Japan

4 Although the ICRC was established with the aim of providing humanitarian assistance during wartime, peacetime operations were brought into the mandate of the Red Cross Movement in May 1919, when the LRCS was created and its mandate was codified as a covenant of the League of Nations (article 25) as well as in the statute of the LRCS (article 2).[8] It was the national societies of the Allied powers of World War I (WWI) that led this movement, and JRCS was deeply involved in the process. However, the prevailing narrative explains the establishment of the LRCS as a product of the ARC's endeavour. While the ARC played a significant role in leading the process to create the LRCS, no existing studies by Western scholars to this day have paid close attention to the JRCS's engagement, especially not to the rigorous advocacy of Ninagawa Arata who sought to codify peacetime operation as an international legal instrument.[9] On the contrary, Ninagawa's work is only cited (and belittled) in some historical narratives.[10] For example, John F. Hutchinson, in the endnote of his monograph *Champions of Charity*, underestimates Ninagawa's work by noting that Ninagawa '[tried] to take credit for being the originator of the peacetime program of the League' but '[...] the degree of his interest in its affairs is perhaps better measured by his regular absence from meetings of its board of governors during the 1920s'.[11]

5 In contrast, some recent historians have cast light on Ninagawa's endeavours. However, in her research paper, Suzuki dismissed the details of some of the intricate yet crucial contributions made by Ninagawa.[12] Yoshiya Makita, in comparison to Suzuki, analyses Ninagawa's contribution in depth.[13] However, crossreading of archival materials and existing publications has much more to offer. Furthermore, no historian has explored why Ninagawa might have come to immerse himself in the process of creating the LRCS. Thus, necessary contexts can be added to the existing narrative of the birth of the LRCS by studying the primary and secondary sources more closely.

FOOTNOTES

1. Checkland, *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan*, 173.

2. Ibid., 174.

3. Ibid., xii.

4. Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 150–51.

5. Sho Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross," *The American Historical Review* 119, no. 4 (2014): 1129–53.

6. Frank Käser, "A Civilized Nation: Japan and the Red Cross 1877–1900," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 23, no. 1–2 (January 2, 2016): 16–32, doi: 10.1080/13507486.2015.1117427.

7. Michiko Suzuki, "The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities: The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global," *Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Institute of International Relations* 8, no. 1 (September 30, 2019): 59–105, doi:10.15026/94233.

8. League of Nations, "The Covenant of the League of Nations" (1920), https://libraryresources.unog.ch/ld.php?content_id=32971179; The League of Red Cross Societies, "1919 Articles of Association and Bylaws" (1919).

9. Caroline Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland, and the History of the Red Cross*, 1st Carroll & Graf ed (New York: Carroll & Graf Pub, 1999); Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict*; John F Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*, 1996; Julia Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Bridget Towers, "Red Cross Organisational Politics, 1918–1922: Relations of Dominance and the Influence of the United States," in *International Health Organisations and Movements, 1918–1939*, ed. Paul Weindling, Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 36–55, doi:10.1017/CBO9780511599606.005.

10. Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 261–62; Towers, "Red Cross Organisational Politics, 1918–1922: Relations of Dominance and the Influence of the United States," 52; Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 324,400.

11. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 400.

12. Suzuki, "The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities:The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global."

13. Yoshiya Makita, "The Alchemy of Humanitarianism: The First World War, the Japanese Red Cross and the Creation of an International Public Health Order," *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 117–29, doi:10.1080/19475020.2014.901182.

Methodology and Limitations

1 At the beginning of my research, my approach to this study was deductive; I sought to prove the hypothesis I drew from the existing research by gathering relevant resources. However, as I became absorbed in the resources accessible both at the archives (JRCS, ICRC, and IFRC) and through the online digital collections of the Japanese National Diet Library, I gradually came to question how I could contribute to the existing research by using the sources I came across. Thereafter, I decided to change my approach from deductive to inductive; considering what could be said from the documents I compiled. In particular, the humane side of the protagonists of the history of the JRCS, as seen in their autobiographies, gave me the urge to challenge the Eurocentric narrative by casting light on not only the endeavours but also the motivations of those people.

Using Autobiographies

2 Examining the endeavours and motivations of the leading figures of the JRCS can in many ways be challenging when there is no way to speak with and ask questions of the protagonists. However, a close reading of their autobiographies and memoirs helped me make sense of their experiences and of what could have been their driving motivations to advance the Red Cross Movement at the time they lived. It is true that autobiographies can be hagiographical accounts of individuals' lives, over-emphasising or even fabricating glorious achievements. Critics of autobiography state that the autobiographical form can become a 'fictive invention' that narrates a made-up story in the first person.[1] Others claim that autobiography is a fictitious story that simplifies the complexities of real life with linear causality.[2] Yet, as Barrett J. Mandel argues, autobiography as a literary genre is fundamentally different from fiction because the intention of the authors is to express their own experience, narrating *what happened to them*.[3] Thus, I sought to use the autobiographies of Ishiguro Tadanori and Ninagawa Arata to understand their version of the experiences and their thought processes, while being conscious that their stories may not reflect what actually happened. Moreover, as Paul John Eakin points out, it is important to be aware that authors' experiences and thoughts expressed in their autobiographies are not separable from the external structures (such as the economic, cultural, and political contexts) that shaped their

experiences.[4] In order to acknowledge these influences, I extended my curiosity to the underlying assumptions that could have affected the lives of the protagonists.

3 The process of analysing the individual's motivations through their thoughts and experiences with regard to national contexts (cultural and socio-political) mirrors the anthropologist's approach to studying people's motivations. It is for this reason that I turned to Malkki's analysis of Finnish Red Cross aid workers' motivations and drew analogies from her work. Although autobiographies of historical figures may not reveal the full picture of their motivations, combining and contrasting their thoughts and experiences with the national context allowed me to at least reconstruct them.

Using Primary Sources from the Archives

4 While this paper relies heavily on the autobiographies of the protagonists, many of my sources are from the archives. I consulted JRCS, ICRC, and IFRC archives and looked into both published and unpublished primary resources. I also visited the National Diet Library in Japan to consult published sources of the time. Thanks to technology and efforts to digitalise records, many old published articles, conference proceedings, and publications out of copyright preserved in the ICRC and IFRC archives as well as in the National Diet Library were also accessible online.

5 However, while I was able to consult many valuable primary sources, there were some regrettable limitations. First, it is important to mention and to be aware that there were sources that I could not consult because of the character of the archival infrastructure. In the IFRC archives, where I sought to find minutes of conferences held during that time, I was informed that many documents from the early days had gone missing mainly because there had not been any archive service for nearly 80 years, until it started in 1996.[5] In the JRCS archives in Tokyo, I was told that researchers could not browse unpublished materials from specific periods and on particular themes since the archive boxes are not completely organised. Therefore, consulting all the relevant primary sources that exist or once existed in the aforementioned archives was not possible. Second, there are archives that I could not visit due to COVID-19 restrictions and the constraints of both time and resources. Although I was able to visit the JRCS archives in Tokyo, I was not able to go to the Red Cross Nursing University archives in Aichi prefecture due to COVID-19 restrictions imposed during the limited time I spent in Japan for the research. Moreover, I could not visit the archives and libraries in the United States (US) to find corresponding letters sent from the JRCS. Thus, I am aware that the crosscheck of the cited records to confirm the validity of historical events is limited in this research. Lastly, I must admit that there were also linguistic limitations. While this research would not have been possible if I could not read Japanese, I regret to say that having to read traditional forms of Chinese characters used in Japan before 1946 hindered me from understanding some of the important primary sources such as notes written by the founder of the JRCS. Although dictionary applications with handwriting input function helped me immensely to comprehend clearly printed characters, I could not manage to make sense of those characters when they were handwritten in cursive style.[6] In order to compensate for these three areas of limitation, I also referred to secondary literature written by authors who studied the history of Japan and the Red Cross Movement using some of the sources to which I was not able to gain first-hand access.

FOOTNOTES

1. Jean Starobinski, "The Style of Autobiography," in *Autobiography*, ed. James Olney, trans. Seymour Chatman, Essays Theoretical and Critical (Princeton University Press, 1980), 75, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7ztmtj.7.

2. Barrett J. Mandel, "Full of Life Now," in *Autobiography*, ed. James Olney, Essays Theoretical and Critical (Princeton University Press, 1980), 54, http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7ztmtj.6.

3. Ibid., 53.

4. Paul John Eakin, *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2008).

5. The IFRC headquarters moved from Geneva to Paris in 1922 and back to Geneva in 1939, and relocated within Geneva a few times until it moved to the current location in Petit-Saconnex in 1959. This is also considered to have affected the preservation of the archival materials.

6. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this paper are my own.

Part I: Establishment of the Red Cross Movement within Japan

1.1 Historical Background

1.1.1 The Turbulent Transition from the Edo to Meiji Eras

1 The organisation preceding the JRCS, the Hakuaisha (Philanthropic Society), was founded in 1877 when Japan was going through a period of socio-political upheaval. This was precisely the era when the newly established Meiji government, which had overthrown the former regime in 1868, set forth a new policy direction to follow the Western countries in modernisation and embrace imperialism. This drastic policy change had come with the spirit of the age to confront Western powers.

2 Up until then, for nearly 700 years, Japan had been ruled by a succession of Shoguns (military generals) appointed by the Emperor. During the Edo period run by the Tokugawa shogunate (military government, 1603–1868), strict restrictions on commerce and foreign relations were introduced to monopolise trade and prevent foreign missionaries from spreading Christianity in Japan. This was largely a consequence of the government seeing Spanish and Portuguese missionaries convert around 300,000 Japanese people to Christianity and fearing that Christianity could lead to disloyalty to the government.[1] The only Western country that was permitted to trade with Japan at the time was the Netherlands, which promised not to spread Christianity in Japan. Therefore, while Japan was not completely isolated from the world, it was not significantly influenced by Western imperial powers.

3 However, the isolation period slowly came to an end. In 1853, a fleet led by Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858) arrived at the port of Japan from the US. Perry demanded that Japan either agree to trade peacefully or bear the consequences of war.[2] Although the Tokugawa shogunate wanted to maintain the isolationist policy, it also wished to avoid war at all costs. Consequently, the Tokugawa shogunate agreed to sign the Convention of Peace and Amity with the US. The government subsequently concluded similar conventions with Western countries that took advantage of this opportunity: Britain, Russia and the Netherlands. This led to dissatisfaction, especially among the samurai warriors around Japan.

4 To add fuel to the fire, the pressure from the Western countries did not end there. In 1858, the Tokugawa shogunate was once again pressed by the US to sign an agreement, an unequal treaty of commerce that was similar to the treaty signed between the Qing dynasty of China and Britain to end the First Opium War in 1842. This time, the government asked the Imperial Family for permission to conclude the treaty in order to reconcile the dissatisfied samurai warriors. Yet, samurai warriors who advocated the expulsion of foreign powers lobbied to block the royal decree. Ultimately, the government, threatened by the US, signed the agreement without gaining approval from the Emperor. As a result, Japan was compelled to open additional ports to trade with the US. In all eight ports, US citizens had the right to reside permanently, lease land, purchase and build houses, and pursue any religion. Moreover, foreign residents accused of committing crimes in Japan were exempt from being tried under Japanese law because the system of extraterritoriality was applied. Additionally, low import and export duties were fixed independent of Japanese control. And once again, the Tokugawa shogunate was immediately pressed to sign similar treaties with France, Britain, Russia and the Netherlands. Granting extraterritorial privileges to foreign citizens and losing the tariff autonomy meant that Japan became subordinate to Western powers in legal and economic terms.

5 The sense of humiliation evoked by this series of incidents led the samurai warriors to lead the imperialist and exclusionist movements which aimed to restore respect for the Emperor and expel the foreign *barbarians*. Andrew Gordon points out that it was this process of reacting to the foreign threat that bolstered nationalist sentiments.[3] Japan at the time was composed of around three hundred states that operated autonomously under the nominal authority of the government. However, this very process led people to discuss what Japan should look like as a unified country in order to defend itself. As a result, reformists led by the Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa states rose up against the government in 1868, won the civil war (known as the Boshin War), and established the Meiji government, whose first and foremost mission became to strengthen the nation and revise the unequal treaty of 1858. To achieve this goal, the Meiji government decided to play by Western rules to gain recognition as a fellow civilised nation.

1.1.2 Civilisation in the Nineteenth Century

6 As Gerrit W. Gong points out, ‘a standard of civilization’ born in Europe during the nineteenth century was a crucial measurement that classified which countries belonged to a European civilised society and which did not.[4] Those countries that met the criteria of the standard became fellow members of the exclusive ‘civilized nation circle’, and those who failed to meet the expectations were left out of the loop. The standards here were more conceptual than definable.[5] Fulfilling the requirements meant that a nation was culturally, industrially, religiously, politically, and morally superior to non-civilised countries. Gong explains that this measurement of nations emerged as the European international system expanded by imposing unequal treaties, protectorates, and extraterritorial jurisdiction in other parts of the world.[6] The interaction with non-European and non-Christian countries made the European countries (as well as the offspring of Europe, the US) identify themselves as civilised nations, rather than simply Christian nations.[7] Eventually, the standard of civilisation became an exclusive circle where the civilised countries set themselves up to pass

judgement on whether other states were qualified enough to be acknowledged as one of their members.[8]

7 In such circumstances, the Japanese governors' efforts in internalising the order of the international community can be observed in the picture of the Iwakura Mission.[9] When a diplomatic tour to the US was undertaken in 1871 to negotiate the revision of the unequal treaty, everyone except Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825–83) wore Western clothing to be seen to meet the standards of civilisation (see figure 1). Even Iwakura, who initially stood firm on wearing the traditional kimono, eventually cut his topknot and wore Western clothing during the tour.

Figure 1. The Members of the Iwakura Mission

Source: Mōrike Bunko 毛利家文庫. Tokumei Zenken Iwakura Shisetsu Ikkō (Shashin-shiryō 97) 特命全**権**岩倉使節一行（写真史料97）[The Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Iwakura Mission], n.d., Yamaguchi-ken Bunshokan山口県文書館, http://archives.pref.yamaguchi.lg.jp/user_data/upload/File/HQ_DL/iwakura_L.jpg.

8 The way in which Japanese elites viewed themselves and the world through the lens of European standards is also reflected in the book published by Fukuzawa Yukichi福沢諭吉 (1835–1901), a leading figure in driving the cultural revolution in the early Meiji era.

> To discuss the civilisations of the world today, European countries and the United States are the most civilised countries, while the Asian states such as Turkey, China, and Japan are the semi-civilised nations, and Africa and Australia etc. are the barbaric countries [...] While Western nations are proud of their own civilisation, the peoples of the half-civilised and barbaric nations do not question this [established pecking order] [...] and do not aspire to be on a par with the Western nations [...].[10]

9 In contrast to how samurai warriors considered Europeans to be *barbarians* in the period of Tokugawa shogunate, Fukuzawa's writing demonstrates how he viewed Japan as a semi-civilised country and placed Europe and the US at the apex of the pyramid of civilisation. Moreover, his criticism of half-civilised and barbaric nations for not trying to catch up with Western countries implies how Fukuzawa was feeling the urge to push civilisation forward in Japan. It was due to Fukuzawa, the Iwakura Mission and many

other advocates of civilisation that Japan went through a cultural and political reform during the Meiji era. During this period, not only clothing and hairstyle but also lifestyle in general were westernised in Japan. To list some of the many examples, Western cuisine (beef, milk, and bread), gas-light, horse-drawn carriages, hand-pulled rickshaws, brick buildings, and a Gregorian calendar were integrated into the traditional Japanese way of life. On the political front, the federal bureaucratic state was created by replacing all autonomous states with less autonomous prefectures, the economic privileges of the samurai warriors were taken away, and numerous other reforms were introduced to westernise the nation.[11]

10 It is also important to mention that Japan was not the only country to undertake such initiatives. Similarly, the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic polity that held power in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, made efforts to be recognised as a civilised state by the European nations in the mid-nineteenth century. As Davide Rodogno points out in his monograph *Against Massacre*, the European countries saw the Ottoman Empire as a half-civilised state, if not barbarous, despite the fact that the Empire was a member of the Concert of Europe[12] from 1856–79.[13] Against this backdrop, sultans and the governing classes of the Ottoman Empire endeavoured to strengthen their empire by introducing European systems in governance, laws and education.[14] Gaining Western recognition as a civilised nation was thus considered an important national agenda not only in Japan but also in other parts of the world.

1.1.3 Civilisation and the Red Cross Movement

11 In the context of international society of the time, having a Red Cross Society in one's country also helped place a nation on the civilised side of the division.[15] Thus, although there could have been many possible reasons for non-Western nations to become parties to the Geneva Convention, one cannot dismiss the rationale that signing the Convention was a way to present a country as civilised.[16]

12 At the beginning of the Red Cross Movement, the founders assumed that the Red Cross humanitarianism would not be understood by non-Christian countries simply because it derived from Christianity. In fact, the lines from the article published by the International Review of the Red Cross in October 1873 represent the position of the ICRC and indicate that uncivilised countries were not expected to uphold the activity of the Red Cross.[17]

> [...] généralement les hommes n'y sont pas aussi bien préparés que l'étaient les européens à une réforme qui correspond à un degré de civilisation déjà fort avancé. On trouve, il est vrai, au-delà des mers, des nations d'origine européenne qui sont dès à présent capables d'applaudir à la Croix rouge et de se l'approprier, témoin les Etats-Unis qui, depuis bien des années, ont une société de secours, et qui nous ont même précédés dans cette voie. Mais il serait puéril d'aller demander aux sauvages ou aux barbares, encore singulièrement nombreux à la surface du globe, de suivre cet exemple.[18]

13 However, in response to requests made by non-Western nations to become signatories to the Geneva Convention, the ICRC opened its doors. The first non-Christian nation to be allowed to join the Convention was the Ottoman Empire, which ratified the treaty in 1865.

14 Japan, longing to be seen as a civilised country, became the second non-Christian signatory to the Geneva Convention in 1886. While the Ottoman Empire partially belonged to Europe due to its geographical position,[19] Japan was a non-Christian nation located in the Far East. For Japan to become party to the Geneva Convention, it had to demonstrate its religious background, its degree of medical development, its national history of treating wounded soldiers well, and also provide examples of wounded soldiers being treated with compassion.[20] Therefore, signing the Convention and establishing the national Red Cross Society meant that Japan's legal system to ratify international law and its medical and moral capability to take care of its enemies were recognised by the West.

15 Like Japan, China also strove to catch up with the West and sign the Geneva Convention. In China, the Red Cross Movement began to spread among Chinese intellectuals and governors after the Japanese attack in 1894.[21] As a result of setting the ratification of the Convention as an important mission in its state-building process, China became party to the Convention in 1904.[22]

16 When studying how the Red Cross functioned as a benchmark of civilisation, it is equally compelling to observe how Western nations, whose membership in the circle of civilised nations was secure, were rather reluctant to sign the Convention and establish their own national societies. France, for example, was opposed to the idea of having auxiliary support on the battlefield. Therefore, it was with Henry Dunant's great support that the national society was established in France.[23] Similarly, the British did not find it necessary to have the auxiliary support attached to the military, and neither the War Office nor the Admiralty shared an interest in establishing a strong national Red Cross Society.[24] As for the US, the government rejected the invitation to sign the Geneva Convention for 18 years. Julia F. Irwin points out that one of the reasons for this was that the US wished to stay away from European alliances due to its non-interference foreign policy, the Monroe Doctrine.[25] These examples indicate how the international society in the nineteenth century was shaped by Western powers and that members of the circle did not acknowledge or appreciate its worth as much as non-Western countries in that period.

FOOTNOTES

1. Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3.

2. Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 49.

3. Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan*, 50.

4. Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society*, 3.

5. Ibid., 21.

6. Ibid., 4.

7. Ibid., 4.

8. Ibid., 9.

9. The Iwakura Mission was a Meiji government diplomatic tour to the US and Europe carried out between 1871 and 1873. The purpose of the mission was to initiate preliminary negotiations for the revision of unequal treaties and to study Western cultures and institutions.

10. Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Bunmei-Ron-No-Gairyaku 文明論之概略 : 6巻 巻之 1 [Volume 6 of the Outline of a Theory of Civilization]" (Fukuzawa Yukichi, 1875), 21, doi:10.11501/993899.

11. The Meiji government also implemented a policy separating Buddhism from Shintō to reduce the power of Buddhist institutions and transform Shintō into a state religion in pursuit of unifying the country. Subsequently, a movement to destroy Buddhism temples, statutes, and images took place throughout Japan.

12. The Concert of Europe was a system of diplomacy that governed relations between the major powers of Europe from 1815 to 1914.

13. Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815-1914: The Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice*, Human Rights and Crimes against Humanity (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2012), 22–23.

14. Ibid., 28.

15. Reeves, "The Early History of the Red Cross Society of China and Its Relation to the Red Cross Movement," 87.

16. Reeves, "The Early History of the Red Cross Society of China and Its Relation to the Red Cross Movement," 87.

17. See the preface written by the ICRC in Aimé Humbert, "L'ambassade japonaise," *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 17 (October 1873): 11, https://international-review.icrc.org/sites/default/files/S1816967800045832a.pdf.

18. Ibid.

19. Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 51.

20. Ishiguro Tadanori, "Sekijūji Gentō-Enjutsu No Taii 赤十字幻燈演述の大意 [The Meaning of the Red Cross Magic Lantern Project]" (Japanese Red Cross Society, 1891), 10, doi: 10.11501/798792.

21. Ibid., 82.

22. Caroline Reeves, "The Red Cross Society of China: Past, Present, and Future," January 2014, 8.

23. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 32; Moorehead, *Dunant's Dream*, 43,62.

24. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 237.

25. Irwin, *Making the World Safe*, 21. The Monroe Doctrine was a US foreign policy that opposed American interference in European affairs.

1.2 Sano and Ishiguro's Endeavours

1 Even though the context in which the founders of the ICRC and the JRCS established the respective organisations is quite different, similarities are interestingly found in their backgrounds. Not only were they elites who were in privileged positions in society to establish and develop the movement, they also had a military, medical, and religious ethos as the backbone of their actions. Touching on some of their commonalities, the following two subsections of Part I study Sano and Ishiguro's endeavours and motivations to establish and develop the JRCS.

1.2.1 Sano Tsunetami

2 In her monograph, Checkland recounts that Sano Tsunetami founded Hakuaisha, the organisation preceding the JRCS, because government officials requested he introduce humanitarian ideas to Japan.[1] However, resources in the JRCS archives suggest the opposite: it was Sano who asked the Meiji government for permission to establish Hakuaisha.[2] It is true that the Meiji government, represented by the Iwakura Mission, had shown keen interest in joining the Geneva Convention as early as 1873 when they visited Switzerland and met the ICRC representatives during their diplomatic voyage to study Western cultures and institutions. However, they had told the ICRC members that their participation in the Geneva Convention would be premature, and that they would seek to establish an association that would be suitable for the Japanese army in the years to come.[3] Parallel to this movement, Sano, who around the same time had encountered the Red Cross twice at expositions held in Europe, took action before the government did, when the Satsuma Rebellion[4] broke out in 1877.

3 Sano was an elite official working for the Meiji government at the time he founded the Hakuaisha. Born into the family of a low-ranking samurai in Saga state, he grew up studying Confucianism and medicine prior to working for the government. He first encountered the Red Cross at the Paris International Exposition of 1867, where he participated as a representative of Saga state in charge of exhibiting ore-refining work. At the exposition, he keenly observed the Red Cross pavilion and was inspired by its mission to provide impartial medical assistance on the battlefield. He later became a Meiji government official and participated in the 1873 Vienna International Exposition

to present cultural exhibits as a general supervisor of the Japanese exhibition. This was the second time he came across the Red Cross's exhibits and learned about its work. In his speech made later at the all-staff conference of Hakuaisha in 1882, Sano looked back on these experiences at the expositions and stated that he was impressed by the national Red Cross societies because they were organised by volunteers and became official organisations when governments joined the Geneva Convention.[5] With a vision to create a similar organisation in Japan, Sano visited the Army Ministry office numerous times upon his return and repeatedly suggested that an organisation like the Red Cross ought to be established in the country.[6] Although Käser argues that Sano organised Hakuaisha separately from the Red Cross Movement,[7] Sano's above-mentioned speech and action indicate how he was drawing direct inspiration from his encounter with the Red Cross at the expositions.

4 When the Satsuma Rebellion set in, samurai warriors that revolted against the newly established Meiji government lacked access to medical assistance. While the government provided relief to its own wounded soldiers, the insurgents were often abandoned on the battlefield.[8] Having observed the situation, with a long-held vision to create a relief organisation, Sano and his like-minded comrade Ogyū Yuzuru 大給恒 (1839–1910)[9] pleaded with the Meiji government for the establishment of a philanthropic association named Hakuaisha. However, the government rejected Sano and Ogyū's request, despite the interest it showed for the ICRC representatives in Geneva. The senior military commanders expressed various reasons for rejecting the proposal. They considered that the government army's medical units were functioning well, and that sending civilian relief workers could cause confusion in the war zone. Moreover, while they were aware of the Red Cross Movement, they were not sure whether the Geneva Convention applied to civil wars as it started as an agreement for international wars.[10] Despite this rejection, Sano and Ogyū persevered with unyielding commitment and made another attempt to submit the petition to the officials working for the Meiji government. However, the result was the same. Yet, they still did not give up and wrote another petition, this time to Prince Arisugawa Taruhito 有栖川宮熾仁親王 (1835–95) from the Imperial Family. Describing how the insurgents' casualties were twice as numerous as those of the Imperial army and were very often abandoned in mountains or fields, they insisted that the plight of the wounded could not remain unaddressed.[11] Similar to Henry Dunant (1828–1910), whose eyewitness account of the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino and call to establish voluntary aid societies in 1862 led to the creation of the Red Cross Movement, Sano and Ogyū made an appeal to Prince Arisugawa's conscience and voiced their concerns that taking care of wounded soldiers is everyone's business. To convince him, they emphasised that the insurgents were people of the Empire even though they were fighting against the Imperial army.[12] Furthermore, they also highlighted that civilised nations were already organising the association they envisioned, carrying out impartial relief activities on the battlefields.[13] In conclusion, they begged Prince Arisugawa to make his decision immediately because one day's delay in creating the relief organisation could lead to the loss of many lives.[14]

5 Upon receiving this petition, Prince Arisugawa gave his immediate approval for establishing the society. The official record of the JRCS notes that Sano was moved to tears when he received the approval.[15] Thereafter, Sano immediately began preparations for the relief activities. On the following day, he went to Saga prefecture to begin raising funds and securing relief workers. Meanwhile, the former feudal lords

and their disciples, who were in favour of founding the benevolent society, established a support system by setting up an office and contributing money and goods. From the day they started the relief activities, Sano stayed on the frontline of the battle and managed the administrative work from there.[16] In Kumamoto, one doctor, three medical assistants, a chief nursing officer and two nurses were dispatched to the Kumamoto Military Hospital, and numerous placements to other hospitals followed.[17] The relief activities continued for five months, expanding the area of operation from Kumamoto to Nagasaki, Miyazaki, and Kagoshima prefectures.[18] The number of patients treated was not recorded officially. However, through their endeavours, Sano and his team succeeded in upholding the Red Cross principle of carrying out relief activities and treating wounded soldiers regardless of their allegiance.

6 After the conflict, the continuation of Hakuaisha's work in peacetime became the subject of debate. Some backed the idea of closing down the organisation because another war was unlikely to break out in the foreseeable future and the funds were insufficient.[19] They insisted that the organisation was no longer necessary because it had achieved its purpose, and that it could be created again if it became necessary.[20] However, Sano and some others insisted on continuing, emphasising the importance of carrying out the preparations for relief activities during peacetime.[21] In the end, with Prince Komatsu Akihito's 小松宮彰仁親王 (1846–1903) support, the decision was made to retain the organisation.[22] Ten years later, in 1887, the benevolent society became the JRCS soon after Japan became a signatory to the Geneva Convention. At this point, Prince Komatsu became the director-general and Sano became the president of the JRCS. Sano's joy and excitement to be officially recognised as a member of the Red Cross is expressed in a letter he sent to the ICRC on 27 May 1887:

> C'est pour moi un agréable devoir à remplir que de venir vous demander de reconnaitre officiellement la Société japonaise de la Croix-Rouge [...] Fondée en 1877, dans des vues analogues à celles de votre œuvre, elle n'attendait que l'adhésion du gouvernement impérial à la Convention de Genève, pour mettre à exécution son vif désir d'entrer en rapport avec le Comité international et de nouer des relations fraternelles avec les Sociétés sœurs des pays rallies à cet acte international. Aujourd'hui que cette condition essentielle se trouve remplie, nous nous empressons de vous adresser notre requête, qui, nous aimons à le croire, sera favorablement accueillie par le Comité.[23]

7 Sano continued to put effort into developing the organisation for another 15 years, while working full-time as a politician. He received no remuneration and continued his activities entirely on a voluntary basis, until the day he passed away in 1902.

1.2.2 Ishiguro Tadanori

8 As Suzuki points out, some grassroots mutual assistance in politically turbulent times did evolve into the Red Cross Movement in Japan.[24] Yet, some official publications of the JRCS local branches imply that the grassroots movements would not have become part of the bigger movement if it were not for the elites' endeavours that sought to spread the Red Cross's activities.[25] Among the many elites who helped the movement take root in Japan was Ishiguro Tadanori.

9 Like Louis Appia (1818–98), one of the five founders of the ICRC, Ishiguro was a military surgeon. Because he was working with the military at the time when Sano repeatedly visited the Army Ministry office to suggest the establishment of an organisation like

the Red Cross, Ishiguro developed an interest in Sano's initiative and supported the work of the JRCS from the early days of its establishment. If Sano was a founding father of the JRCS, Ishiguro was in many ways an advocate in the JRCS's development because he contributed significantly to increasing the JRCS's membership and providing space for female nurses to engage in the JRCS's relief activities.

10 In its early days, increasing its membership was one of the primary tasks of the JRCS because the membership fees helped the organisation become financially sound. However, the JRCS struggled to gain enough support from the public to sustain its activities as it was difficult to appeal for the necessity of having a wartime relief organisation during peacetime. To counter this challenge, in 1890 Ishiguro came up with the idea of using a magic lantern to project pictures and explain the Red Cross's activities by using a slideshow.

11 Since at that time the JRCS could not cover the financial cost of publicity campaigns, Ishiguro implemented his idea at his own expense. To gain support from the public and with a mission to make the Red Cross well known in Japan, he borrowed space in elementary schools in various locations during his vacations and brought his own lantern slide projector to give speeches night after night. In addition to his own travel expenses, Ishiguro covered the projection fees and the travel expenses for the operator of the magic lantern. This soon turned into a significant financial burden for him. However, when it became too difficult for him to pay these expenses, his wife, Ishiguro Kugako 石黒久賀子 (1846–1925), who was also a great supporter of the Red Cross Movement, learned to use the lantern projector herself. From that point on, the couple travelled around the countryside together.[26]

12 The full version of the lantern slideshow was composed of 42 slides. The description of the slideshow written by Ishiguro (published by JRCS) in 1891 outlines the detailed content of each slide. The presentation began by laying out the fundamental principles of the Red Cross in the following way:

> The activity of the Red Cross is to respect and love wounded and sick soldiers in times of war. When military personnel go into battle, they are divided into two sides and shoot at each other, risking their lives. But they are fighting on behalf of their nation, and they have no personal grudge. Therefore, when they are wounded and unable to fight, it is only natural to respect them with our compassion for all humankind, whether they are enemies or allies. The Red Cross's aim is to rescue patients with this respect and love.[27]

13 This introduction was followed by a slide explaining the work of Florence Nightingale (1820–1910), a pioneer of voluntary medical assistance on the battlefield during the Crimean War. The slide then explained how the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention emerged after the Battle of Solferino, with Dunant and the founding fathers' endeavours to create a humanitarian society and an international agreement. Ishiguro then clarified that the Red Cross symbol has no religious connotation and explained that the design is an inverted Swiss flag, meaning neutrality on a battlefield. From that slide onwards, the story focused on how the Imperial Family had been a major supporter of the Red Cross, and that the Emperor and the Empress themselves had visited hospitals during battles.

14 It is not only from the above-mentioned endeavours but also from the content of the slides that one could observe Ishiguro's effort to promote the JRCS's activities. Although Japan was experiencing a rapid unfolding of westernisation at the time, Christianity had been banned for hundreds of years before then. Thus, the slide

explaining the meaning of the Red Cross symbol, a widely recognised symbol for Christianity, must have come from Ishiguro's attempt to dispel misgivings and gain acceptance from the public. Moreover, since the Meiji government had established a new political regime that put the Emperor at the centre of the political order, explaining how the Red Cross Society had the Imperial Family's blessing must have helped people feel a sense of closeness with the Red Cross even though it originated in Europe.

15 Ishiguro and his wife's endeavours to appeal to the audience's emotions gradually took shape. Once when he held the event at a theatre, he saw hundreds of people becoming JRCS members immediately afterwards. Eventually, Prince Komatsu and Sano acknowledged Ishiguro's achievement and sent him a letter of appreciation. Subsequently, the news reached the Empress's ear and in 1891 Ishiguro was given an opportunity to give the presentation before the Empress. Consequently, the press highlighted the event, resulting in boosting the demand for Ishiguro's speech to the point where he was no longer able to go around the country by himself. Ishiguro ultimately made copies of his script and delegated his campaigns to the local branches of the JRCS.[28] As Käser points out, membership of the JRCS in the years between 1890 and 1893 almost doubled from 23,569 to 45,317.[29] Even if Ishiguro's endeavours were not the only factor in this number, he certainly made a significant contribution to increasing the number of JRCS supporters.

16 Furthermore, Ishiguro put considerable effort into enabling female nurses to carry out medical assistance on the battlefield. Until then, women had assisted wounded soldiers during the Satsuma Rebellion. When a large number of sick and wounded soldiers were brought into hospitals, women, along with male nurses, helped take care of the soldiers.[30] However, the practice of women serving as nurses had just been learned from the West as the Meiji government promoted modernisation. Therefore, Ishiguro met with opposition when he asked the Army Ministry and the General Staff Office for permission to have the Red Cross female nurses provide medical assistance on the battlefield. Being a military doctor himself, he considered that well-trained female nurses could play an active part in assisting medical treatment during the battles. However, the Army Ministry and the General Staff Office considered that if military men received nursing care from women, accusations of misconduct might be made against them, and that this could damage the reputation of the military men who fought honourably on the battlefield. To counter this argument, Ishiguro insisted that the Red Cross nurses were trained to handle such situations and that the Red Cross would take full responsibility if any such incident occurred. As a result of Ishiguro's tenacious negotiation, the Army Ministry and the General Staff Office finally granted him permission.[31] Subsequently, the Red Cross female nurses were able to provide medical assistance during the Sino-Japanese War. From then onwards, they continued to carry out medical relief activities and were dispatched to the Yihe Dan Incident (1900), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), and WWI.

17 One certainly cannot and should not attribute this achievement solely to Ishiguro, because there were many committed nurses and JRCS staff who put great effort into establishing the Red Cross female nurses' relief activities. Besides, even though his negotiations created the first opportunity to carry out relief activities, it is unknown how beneficial this aid was for the recipients without pursuing further rigorous research. Therefore, clarification ought to be made that the intention of mentioning

the series of medical relief activities is not to give credit to Ishiguro, but to demonstrate how Ishiguro's endeavours established the foundation of nurses' continuous participation on the battlefield. As in Sano's case, his actions call into question the existing narrative of JRCS staff being used by high government officials to carry out the activities. On the contrary, it shows how he proactively and independently negotiated with the Army Ministry and the General Staff Office to improve the quality of treatment on the battlefield.

FOOTNOTES

1. Checkland, *Humanitarianism and the Emperor's Japan*, 6.

2. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]* (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1919), 32, https://id.ndl.go.jp/bib/000006488195.

3. Humbert, "L'ambassade japonaise," 13.

4. The Satsuma Rebellion (also known as the Seinan War) was the last armed uprising of the dissatisfied samurai warriors against the newly established Meiji government. The rebellion took place from 29 January to 24 September 1877, ending with the victory of the Meiji government.

5. Fumitaka Kurosawa and Toshinobu Kawai, eds., *Nihon Sekijūjisha To Jindō Enjo* 日本赤十字社と人道援助 *[The Japanese Red Cross Society and Humanitarian Aid]*, Shohan (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2009), 7.

6. Ishiguro Tadanori, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Hakubunkan , 1936), 222, http://id.ndl.go.jp/bib/000002921408.

7. Käser, "A Civilized Nation."

8. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]*, 34–35.

9. Ogyū Yuzuru was an aristocrat linked to the Tokugawa shogunate, and member of the Genrōin, the Chamber of Elders, during the Meiji Restoration.

10. Kurosawa and Kawai, *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo* 日本赤十字社と人道援助 *[The Japanese Red Cross Society and Humanitarian Aid]*, 19.

11. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]*, 34–35.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon-Sekijūji-Shashikō*日本赤十字社史稿 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society]* (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1911), 96, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1088225.

16. Ibid., 106,148.

17. Ibid., 148.

18. Ibid., 115.

19. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Jindō Sono Ayumi* 人道-その歩み *[Humanitarianism and its history]*, 58–59.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. ICRC, AF11-1-10-1 Japon 1885-1914, Sano to Moynier, 27th May 1887

24. Suzuki, "The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities: The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global."

25. One of the examples of the Red Cross grassroots movement Suzuki provides is that of Shimane Prefecture. Although ordinary people's endeavours to create and develop a local benevolent society led to the creation of the Shimane branch of the JRCS, the official record also relates that it was due to Koteda Yasusada's (1840-1899) effort to spread the idea of the Red Cross that the local benevolent society became part of the JRCS. Japanese Red Cross Society Shimane Branch, Nihon Sekijūjisha Shimanekenshibu Hyakunenshi 日本赤十字社島根県支部百年史 [100 Year History of Japanese Red Cross Society Shimane Branch] (Japanese Red Cross Society Shimane Branch, 1990), http://id.ndl.go.jp/bib/000002069444.; Michiko Suzuki, "The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities: The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global," Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Institute of International Relations 8, no. 1 (September 30, 2019): 59–105, doi:10.15026/94233.

26. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 229–30.

27. Ishiguro Tadanori, "Sekijūji Gentō-Enjutsu 赤十字幻燈演述 [The Red Cross Magic Lantern Project]" (Japanese Red Cross Society, 1898), 5, doi:10.11501/798791.

28. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 230.

29. Käser, "A Civilized Nation," 26.

30. Mitsuho Kato, "Josei-Kangoshi-No-Hatsuho 女性看護師の初穂 [First Ear of Female Nurses]," *Nihon Ishigaku Zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 *[Japanese Medical History Magazine]* 58, no. 2 (2012): 1, http://jsmh.umin.jp/journal/58-2/58-2_144.pdf.

31. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 268.

1.3 Sano and Ishiguro's Motivations

1 Were Sano and Ishiguro only patriots as portrayed by Checkland and Moorehead? If we define patriotism as devotion to and vigorous support of one's country, there is no denying that the two protagonists, who sought to establish and develop the JRCS against the backdrop of the nation's struggle to propel civilisation forward, were patriots. Indeed, Sano recalled the impression he gained from his experience at the international expositions saying that 'the development of international humanitarian organisations such as the Red Cross is proof of civilization's progress'.[1] The fact that Sano consciously thought about civilisation suggests how he must have sought to support the nation's growth by establishing the JRCS. Moreover, Ishiguro described the purpose of carrying out lantern projection tours as being not only to let everyone know that the Red Cross was a movement based on the 'love of humanity', but also to have people appreciate that the Imperial Family had deep feelings of benevolence and understanding toward the movement.[2] He wrote in his autobiography that he had developed a strong affection for the Imperial Family after he became an orphan at the age of 14. Since he had lost both his mother and father due to illness at the time when the nationwide movement to restore the power of the Emperor was underway, he came to consider the Imperial Family as the only thing on earth to which he could feel connected and have a sense of belonging.[3] Therefore, it is clear that part of Ishiguro's motivation derived from his desire to support the Imperial Family.

2 Yet, when light is shed on the background and experiences of Sano and Ishiguro's lives, a more nuanced society-oriented view of their motivations emerges. Malkki, in her book *The Need to Help*, analyses how a deeply felt obligation to a certain relationship coloured by a profession (such as being a medical doctor) drives some humanitarian workers to engage in their work.[4] That is, the 'need' to work hard to perform one's social or occupational duty is one of the key motivations in their work. Although Malkki's research focuses on Red Cross aid workers of different nationalities and in different eras, analogies can be drawn from her study when examining Sano and Ishiguro's forms of motivation. While there could certainly be numerous sources of motivation behind their endeavours to establish and develop the JRCS, the following passage examines their experiences in the context of the time and looks into their probable obligations to become role models and ideal doctors.

1.3.1 To Become a Role Model: Confucianism as the Teaching of the Samurai

3 The two leading figures of the JRCS were born and raised during the Tokugawa shogunate era, when the government used legislation to create the hierarchical class structure in society, separating samurai warriors (national average: 6.4 per cent of the population in 1870–73)[5] from the other people. Confucianism became a pillar of the government's philosophy at that time because the teachings helped the government legitimise the hierarchical society. On this account, the religion was keenly studied among samurai warriors who had become the ruling class of society. This was probably why Sano, who was born into the family of a low-ranking samurai in Saga state, studied Confucianism in a small private school as a teenager.[6] Similarly, Ishiguro, whose father was a low-grade official who worked for the Tokugawa shogunate, learned Confucianism from his parents who wanted to make him become an honourable samurai.[7]

4 Although the samurai ethos, widely known as bushidō (the way of the warrior), was popularised only after the late nineteenth century,[8] the canon of bushidō had emerged from Confucianism in the era of Tokugawa shogunate.[9] This period was a time of peace, with no major battles taking place in Japan for more than 250 years. The unique characteristic of the era made the samurais and military scholars contemplate and develop the samurai ethos based on Confucianist philosophy. Ethics on the battlefield, or 'the warrior's honor', as described by Michael Ignatieff,[10] was formulated as samurai warriors and military scholars glorified the martial ideals of the earlier age.[11] This emergence of the concept may explain why Sano and Ishiguro, who, like one of the founders of the ICRC (Guillaume-Henri Dufour 1787–1875), had military backgrounds, were drawn to the Geneva Convention that codified ethics on the battlefield.

5 Yet, what was also an important product of this era was that samurai warriors' self-perception shifted from 'combat and individual courage' to an ideal that portrayed samurai warriors as 'guardians of the social order'.[12] Since no major battle broke out in Japan during the Edo period, samurai warriors learned from Confucianism to maintain peaceful order through their individual moral conduct and engagement with society, just as they brought peace through their military service. Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85), a Confucian philosopher and military strategist in the early period of the Tokugawa shogunate portrayed the task of samurai warriors as follows:

> The tasks of a samurai are to reflect on his person, to find a lord and do his best in service, to interact with his companions in a trustworthy and warm manner, and to be mindful of his position while making duty his focus. [...] the tasks of farmers, artisans, and merchants do not allow free time, so they are not always able to follow them and fulfil *the Way*. A samurai puts aside the tasks of the farmers, artisans and merchants, and *the Way* is his exclusive duty. In addition, if ever a person who is improper with regard to human morality appears among the three common classes, the samurai quickly punishes them, thus ensuring correct Heavenly morality on Earth.[13]

6 In his explanation, Yamaga indicated that peacetime allowed samurai warriors to focus on studying *the Way,* the Confucianist philosophy on the nature of ethical behaviour. Drawing on *the Doctrine of the Means,* one of the four authoritative texts of Confucianism, he considered that the samurai ought to serve as a moral guide for society by being loyal to one's family, friends, co-workers and superiors, embracing wisdom,

benevolence, and valour as the three main virtues.[14] As Kiri Paramore points out, the samurai warrior at the time turned into a kind of Confucian missionary, epitomising and teaching ideal conduct to ordinary people.[15]

7 While Sano and Ishiguro's concern for ethics on the battlefield could also have shaped their aspiration to establish and develop the JRCS, what emerges from Ishiguro's autobiography as a motivation to engage in Red Cross work is indeed a commitment to becoming an exemplar in society in peacetime. As briefly touched on before, Ishiguro became an orphan at the age of 14. His father passed away from illness when he was 11, and his mother also died from a disease three years later. Yet, although he lost his parents at an early age, the message his parents passed on to Ishiguro, hoping that one day he would become a respected samurai, lived on in him for the rest of his life.

8 Ishiguro was raised by parents that always respected the Tokugawa shogunate. His father would take him to Tōshōgū Shrine every month to remember the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616), the founder of the Tokugawa regime. In those days, the location from which people could pray at the shrine depended on their social status. Because Ishiguro's father was a low-grade official, he was not allowed to go inside the main gate, and had to pray from outside.[16] Putting a lot of hope in his son, his father constantly told him to train himself mentally and physically, to become a man of status (a samurai warrior) who can enter this general gate.[17] Ishiguro was told that a samurai had to be a role model in a society based on Confucianist ideology by being responsible for his own actions and being loyal to family, friends, co-workers and superiors.[18] Every time Ishiguro prayed and bowed with his father, he braced himself to grow up to be a warrior who could enter the main gate to make his father proud.[19] His father's last words before death were 'study hard, build yourself up, raise the reputation of the family, and be a good son to your mother', which made Ishiguro's resolution even stronger.[20]

9 Ishiguro's mother, who had promised his father she would make Ishiguro a fully-fledged samurai, took on the role to raise him strictly after his father's death. Ishiguro recalls one incident as the day he took his mother's message to heart. In August 1856, a heavy storm hit the town of Edo, breaking roofs and splitting trees everywhere.[21] Seeing the devastated town the next day, Ishiguro came up with the idea of spending all his money on buying roofing nails and selling them to his neighbours. As his idea was greatly appreciated by his neighbours who were in need of roofing nails, he was proud of himself until he went back home. When he saw his mother, she scolded him saying:

> Have you forgotten that on November 16th last year, that is, two days before your father's death, I told him at his bedside that I would make you a fine samurai? [...] It is a disgrace to see a man who is going to be a samurai getting praised by others and being proud of himself for imitating those who are only interested in making money. Tomorrow, you should sell your sword and buy an abacus.[22]

10 Scolding him for disregarding his promise to pursue *the Way* to become a samurai, she took Ishiguro's bedclothes out of the closet and threw them downstairs, telling him that he could no longer sleep in his room. That night, Ishiguro's heart palpitated as he deeply regretted what he had done, and he could not sleep at all. He promised himself that he would not engage in business involving greed for money. Even when the next morning came, his mother's anger had not settled, and he felt abandoned by the only person he could depend on. The landlord, who could not bear to see Ishiguro's situation, repeatedly begged his mother's forgiveness for him, and after three days he was finally allowed to live with his mother again. He was 12 years old at the time, and

he recalls this incident as the time he felt most awed and saddened in his entire life. It was due to his mother's teachings that he refused to be involved in any commercial business for the rest of his life.[23]

11 Ishiguro's stories show how his resolve to become an honourable samurai warrior, an example to society, was engraved on his heart. This allows us to make sense of why he was committed to engage in the Red Cross's work, which he perceived as a moral imperative. Unfortunately, to what extent Sano had developed a sense of obligation to perform as a role model in society is difficult to assess in his case because he wrote little about himself throughout his life. Yet, an article in the Red Cross Magazine that was published as a memorial to the death of Sano reveals that he was a man of great courtesy and respect for others. His colleague looked back on him and expressed that 'orders and rules' did not come out of Sano's mouth very often. On the contrary, Sano always made people work willingly.[24] Sano's way of treating people could be his innate character, but one can also attribute it to Confucianism, which values loyalty and respect for others.

1.3.2 To Become an Ideal Doctor: Western Medical Ethics Imported from Europe

12 Despite being only slightly influenced by Western countries due to the isolationist policy, Japanese people under the Tokugawa shogunate acquired knowledge of Western science from the Dutch. As the only nationality from Europe that were allowed to enter the country in that period, the Dutch facilitated the flow of Western information and knowledge in Japan. One of the many realms of learning that was transmitted from the Netherlands to Japan was medical knowledge. Japanese people's keen interest in Western medicine led to the foundation of small private Dutch medical schools where students learned Western medicine in the Dutch language. And among those students were Sano and Ishiguro.

13 Medical ethics, which could have influenced both Sano and Ishiguro in developing the activities of the JRCS, were not a new ethos in Japan. Although Konishi claims that medical ethics were introduced by the Dutch through Western medicine lessons,[25] Tōru Sekine's paper suggests that traditional medical ethics were influenced by Taoism and thought to have been present independently of Western medical ethics.[26] In fact, Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714), in his writing in 1713, describes the ethics of traditional medicine as follows:

> Medicine is an art of benevolence. The main purpose of medicine is to save people with a heart of benevolence. [...] It is the art of saving those whom heaven and earth have given birth to, and it is the art of taking charge of the lives and deaths of all people. [...] Other arts do not harm human life even if they are performed poorly. However, how well one can practice medicine is the key to the life or death of a person. One should not harm a person by using a technique intended to save people's lives.[27]

14 However, compared to Western medical ethics, those of traditional medicine were not studied widely in Japan. Moreover, since Sano and Ishiguro both studied Dutch medicine by studying the Dutch language, the ethos that affected them both was presumably that of the West. In the German doctor Christoph W. Hufeland's (1762–1836) textbook of internal medicine, one chapter is devoted to discussing the

responsibilities and professionalism of doctors.[28] Although the original text is written in German, the Dutch translation by H.H. Hageman Jr. (1813–50) became available in Japan and was studied by medical students. Sano must have been especially familiar with these ethics because Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810–63), founder of the medical school that Sano attended, was inspired by the ethics and later itemised them into 12 points in Japanese.[29] Among the ethics Hufeland introduced in his chapter, there are three themes that are particularly pertinent to Sano and Ishiguro's actions in the development of the Red Cross. The first is the idea of self-sacrifice. Hufeland insisted that living for others and not for oneself is a doctor's vocation. In one passage, he emphasised that doctors must be prepared to sacrifice their comforts, relaxation and advantages to save the lives and preserve the health of patients.[30] Self-sacrifice as a doctor's imperative allows us to make sense of why Sano chose to stay on the frontline of the civil war for four months to coordinate the medical relief activities during the Satsuma Rebellion. It also explains why Ishiguro spent his own money and time to promote humanitarian activities all around Japan. The second is the principle of impartiality. Hufeland stated that no discrimination should be made based on patients' wealth or social status, and that the treatment of patients in the greatest danger or pain must be prioritised over others.[31] This principle elucidates why Sano and Ishiguro adhered to the principles of the Red Cross that no discrimination should be made when treating military personnel who are wounded and unable to fight. The third is the commitment to persevere. Hufeland strongly emphasised the importance of pursuing treatment to prolong patients' lives even if the disease is incurable, noting that '[h]ope generates ideas, elevates the mind to new views and new endeavors, and can render impossibility possible'.[32] This responsibility to persevere and never give up explains Sano's continual endeavours in sending the petitions to establish the JRCS. It also provides reasons as to why Ishiguro did not give up on carrying out the lantern projection tour even when his savings were dwindling, also negotiating tenaciously to create an opportunity for Red Cross nurses to participate in wartime relief work.

15 Some Japanese scholars explain Sano's motivation to establish the JRCS by simply touching on Ogata's translation of Hufeland's medical ethics on the importance of perseverance in treatment.[33] Even Konishi, who studied the teachings of Dutch medicine to analyse how the humanitarian movement took root in Japan, does not explore other points made by Hufeland in his original text.[34] However, paying broader attention to the details of Hufeland's medical ethics provides us with new insights into how Sano and Ishiguro could have been influenced by the studies. Similar to Hufeland's dictum, Dutch doctor J.L.C. Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829–1908), whose lecture manuscripts were studied among medical students in Japan, was well known for his motto stating that a physician must know what vocation he is devoting himself to; once he has chosen that occupation, he belongs to suffering humanity, not to himself.[35] It is likely that Ishiguro was also influenced by Pompe van Meerdervoort's philosophy because he wrote in his autobiography that he had studied all 45 volumes of the lecture manuscript by carefully reading and transcribing every word into his notebook.[36] Ishiguro's painstaking way of studying Pompe van Meerdervoort's lecture manuscript signifies that, unlike any other ethics popular at the time, the above-mentioned Western medical ethics were studied by Sano, Ishiguro and other medical students with keen interest. Therefore, in addition to Sano and Ishiguro's obligation to be a role model for their society, the desire to embody the practices of an ideal doctor could have led them to act the way they did.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ryūko Yoshikawa, *Nisseki No Sōshisha Sano Tsunetami* 日赤の創始者 佐野常民 *[The Founder of the Japanese Red Cross Society Sano Tsunetami]*, Rekishi Bunka Raiburarī 118 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2001), 62.

2. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 229.

3. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 39–40.

4. Malkki, *The Need to Help*, 51.

5. Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan*, First edition, The Past & Present Book Series (Oxford, England ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 18.

6. Yoshikawa, *Nisseki No Sōshisha Sano Tsunetami* 日赤の創始者 佐野常民 *[The Founder of the Japanese Red Cross Society Sano Tsunetami]*, 10.

7. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 25.

8. Nitobe Inazō, a Japanese Quaker diplomat, conceptualised Bushidō and published a book on the concept in English in 1899 to present the 'soul' of the Japanese people to the West. This book became a best-seller and was published in Japanese in 1908.

9. Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 1–3, 15.

10. Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, 1. Owl books ed, An Owl Book (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 109–63.

11. Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai*, 15.

12. Kiri Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History*, 2016, 71, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415935.

13. Yamaga Sokō, Yamaga Sokō (Nihon Shisho Taikei 32) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970). Translation adapted from: Oleg Benesch, **quoted in** Oleg Benesch, *Inventing the Way of the Samurai: Nationalism, Internationalism, and Bushido in Modern Japan*, First edition, The Past & Present Book Series (Oxford, England; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014): 20.

14. Kate Wildman Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, no. 1 (June 1980): 173, doi:10.2307/2718919.

15. Paramore, *Japanese Confucianism*, 72.

16. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 15–16.

17. Ibid., 15.

18. Ibid., 25.

19. Ibid., 15–16.

20. Ibid., 23.

21. Ibid., 31.

22. Ibid., 32.

23. Ibid., 33–34.

24. Japanese Red Cross Society, "Ko Sano Shachō No Omokage 故佐野社長の面影（四）[In Memory of President Sano]," *Japanese Red Cross Society*, June 15, 1903, 12.

25. Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross."

26. Sekine Tōru, "Nihon-No-Dentōteki-Na-Iryōrinri: Dōkyōshisō-No-Eikyō 日本の伝統的な医療倫理: 道教思想の影響[Traditional Medical Ethics in Japan: influence of Taoism Thought]," *Tsurumi University*, March 2011.

27. Kaibara Ekiken, "Yojōkun 養生訓" (Seizankaku Shoten, 1926), 232–33, doi:10.11501/1903897.

28. Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland, *Manual of the Practice of Medicine [Enchiridion Medicum, Oder, Anleitung Zur Medizinischen Praxis]*, From the 6th German ed. (New-York, 1842), https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/catalog/nlm:nlmuid-62720880R-bk.

29. Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross," 1141.

30. Hufeland, *Manual of the Practice of Medicine [Enchiridion Medicum, Oder, Anleitung Zur Medizinischen Praxis]*, 1.

31. Ibid., 2.

32. Ibid., 6–7.

33. Kurosawa and Kawai, *Nihon Sekijūjisha to Jindō Enjo* 日本赤十字社と人道援助 *[The Japanese Red Cross Society and Humanitarian Aid]*, 6; Yoshikawa, *Nisseki No Sōshisha Sano Tsunetami* 日赤の創始者 佐野常民 *[The Founder of the Japanese Red Cross Society Sano Tsunetami]*, 12.

34. Konishi focuses on how Ogata Kōan made foreign concepts understandable in Japan by using the term

Jindō, meaning humanity in Japanese, in his translation of the point on perseverance in treatment. See Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross," 1141–42.

35. Nagasaki University, "Pompe to Yojōsho ポンペと養生所 [Pompe and Yojōsho]," *Nagasaki University Library*, accessed June 27, 2022, http://www.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp/siryo-search/ecolle/igakushi/index2.html.

36. Ishiguro, *Kaikyū Kyūjū-Nen* 懐舊九十年 *[Nostalgia of 90 Years]*, 94.

Part II: Development of the Red Cross Movement beyond Japan

2.1 Historical Background

1 While Part I described how the protagonists established the movement in Japan against the backdrop of the nation's effort to implement westernisation in the late nineteenth century, Part II explores Ninagawa Arata's struggle to codify the Red Cross peacetime operation as an international legal instrument when Japan had become one of the major imperialist powers in the world in the early twentieth century. Therefore, it is crucial to establish an overview of how Japan came to be one of the major imperialist powers in less than half a century, and how the JRCS's activities developed during that time.

2.1.1 Becoming a Major Imperialist Power

2 Understanding the process of Japan joining the major powers during the Meiji era requires rigorous studies into the complicated politics of both Japan and the world, which in itself could turn into a book and deserves attention.[1] Yet, to stay focused on analysing the endeavours and the motivations of Ninagawa, this section can only go so far as to touch on three main junctures that led Japan to gain international recognition as a major power.

3 First is the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Treaties of Commerce and Navigation. As a result of the Meiji government rapidly implementing westernisation, Japan was, by the start of the twentieth century, equipped with constitutional laws, a parliamentary system, an updated judicial system, a conscription system, compulsory schooling, a reorganised national and municipal bureaucracy, and a national taxation system. Against this background, Britain, concerned about Russia's expansion at the time, responded to Japan's diplomatic negotiations. As a result, Japan achieved its long-sought goal of revising the unequal treaty in July 1894. The successful revision of the treaty freed Japan from being legally subordinate to Britain, allowing Japan to try British nationals living in Japan under Japanese law. Shortly thereafter, other Western nations followed the British and signed similar treaties.

4 The second juncture is the Sino-Japanese War from 1894–95. Only 16 days after the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty Japan declared war on the Qing dynasty of China. For Japan, dominance over the Korean Peninsula by major powers was a threat to

national security. Moreover, its natural resources captured Japan's interest. Thus, Japan resorted to war against China, a country that had traditionally held the right to partly control Korea. Contrary to the popular expectations of the Western powers, Japan won the war. As a result, Japan not only gained control over Korea and overseas territories (Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands and the Liaodong Peninsula) but also acquired equal status with Western powers in China by making the Chinese sign an unequal treaty. This led Japan to enjoy international recognition as a great power. Indeed, Lord Charles Beresford (1846–1919), in an interview carried out by the representative of Reuter's Agency in 1895, acknowledged Japan as 'a Great Power in the Far East' and stated the following: 'Japan has within 40 years gone through the various administrative phases that occupied England about 800 years and Rome about 600, and I am loath to say that anything is impossible with her'.[2] Subsequently in 1902, Britain and Japan made their cooperative structure to counter Russian strength by signing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

5 The third juncture is the Russo-Japanese War from 1904–05. A decade after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan declared another war, this time on Russia, to consolidate its own position in Korea and southern Manchuria. As Akira Iriye puts it, '[the Russo-Japanese War] was quintessentially an imperialistic war, fought between two powers over issues outside their national boundaries, at the expense of the Koreans and Chinese who had no say in the matter'.[3] Once again, to many countries' surprise, Japan won the war. Consequently, the peace settlement between the two powers recognised the Japanese presence in Korea and South Manchuria and ceded part of the island of Sakhalin to Japan. Thereafter, Japan formalised the annexation of Korea as a colony, renewed the duration of the alliance with the British, and revised unequal commercial agreements with Britain and the US. And on the basis of its alliance with Britain, Japan took part in WWI on the side of the Allied powers.

2.1.2 From Wartime to Peacetime Operations

6 During the battles that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, people who worked with the JRCS lived up to their mission and treated the wounded and sick on the battlefield regardless of their allegiances. As soon as war was declared on the Qing dynasty of China in 1894, the JRCS held an urgent meeting, confirmed the regulation of emergency accounts and allowances for relief staff, and fixed the logistics for relief activities.[4] The total number of relief staff devoted to JRCS relief activity during the war was 1,567 and the number of patients aided by the JRCS was 64,445, including prisoners of war and civilians in the war zone.[5] In the Russo-Japanese War, the number of relief persons was 5,170, and the number of patients treated or transported to hospitals by the JRCS was 1,062,074.[6] Moreover, in WWI, JRCS medical teams assisted relief activities in Russia, France and the United Kingdom upon receiving requests from those governments.[7]

7 Yet, when narrating the history of the JRCS in its early days, it is also important to note that the JRCS was active not only in wartime but also in peacetime. When the eruption of Mount Bandai killed 477 people and injured 54 others in 1888, the JRCS initiated its disaster relief activities.[8] In 1892 and 1904, the JRCS revised its administrative regulations to carry out natural disaster relief more efficiently.[9] As a consequence, the JRCS became actively engaged in disaster relief work such as earthquakes, storms,

floods, fires, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions and landslides. The JRCS archives show that decisions to dispatch relief teams were made 93 times between 1909 and 1918 (see figure 2).[10]

Figure 2. JRCS decisions to dispatch relief teams – 1909-1918

Year	Earthquake	Storm/Flood	Fire	Tsunami	Volcanic Eruption	Landslide	Others	Total
1909	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
1910	0	9	2	0	0	0	4	15
1911	0	2	2	1	2	0	2	9
1912	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	6
1913	0	2	6	0	0	0	3	11
1914	1	4	1	1	1	0	1	9
1915	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
1916	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	7
1917	1	6	5	1	0	0	3	16
1918	1	4	3	0	0	0	7	15
Total	4	31	24	3	3	1	27	93

Source : Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Jōkan* 日本赤十字社史続稿: 明治四十一至大正十一年. 上**巻** *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11, Volume 1]*, (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1929) 1449–51, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1448606 (accessed on 27 Februray 2023).

8 In addition, the JRCS donated money to victims of calamities on an international level. JRCS official records show that donations were sent to national societies including the ARC (for the San Francisco Earthquake in 1906),[11] the Italian Red Cross (for the Messina earthquake in 1908) and the Ottoman Red Crescent Society (for the Constantinople Fire in 1911).[12] Furthermore, having recognised the importance of disaster relief after the Mount Bandai eruption, Empress Shōken昭憲皇太后 (1849–1914), patron of the JRCS, established a fund in 1912 to develop and assist Red Cross peacetime activities on the international stage.[13] And all these efforts made by the people involved in the JRCS must have encouraged Ninagawa to advocate implementing peacetime operations under the Red Cross's mandate.

9 However, although the JRCS had an established history of active peacetime operations, portraying it as their unique characteristic, as Suzuki does, is not quite accurate.[14] First of all, discussion regarding peacetime operations was brought up numerous times at the international Red Cross Conferences,[15] and many national societies had carried out peacetime operations from the early days. For example, the American and Russian Red Cross rescued people from famine, epidemics, floods, fire, etc., the German Red Cross strove to eradicate tuberculosis, and the Italian Red Cross made efforts to eliminate endemic diseases.[16] Moreover, rather than developing peacetime operations on their own, some archival materials elucidate that the JRCS studied Western societies' activities and sought to carry them out at the same level. Ozawa Takeo 小沢武雄 (1844–1926), vice president of the JRCS, wrote in 1911 that he was keenly aware of the need to expand the operational scope of the JRCS in light of the work of Western national societies.[17] However, he revealed his concern in another article and stated that initiating more activities during peacetime would affect the JRCS's primary mission to carry out wartime relief work.[18] Having experienced two major international wars soon after its establishment, the JRCS was preoccupied with wartime relief work for quite some time. Therefore, while it did carry out relief work when natural and manmade disasters occurred, the JRCS did not know to what extent it could extend its operation to peacetime without affecting its ability to carry out wartime relief work. Although Ozawa stressed his willingness to respond to the society's expectations as much as

possible, he also wrote that the JRCS could not be a 'charity grocer' that carries out all sorts of philanthropic activities.[19] With this concern in mind, he concluded that the JRCS would carefully consider the scope of its work in accordance with national situations and with reference to peacetime activities in Western national societies.[20] Ozawa's articles show that the JRCS was seeking to find a fine balance between securing sufficient resources for wartime activities and expanding its scope to meet societal demands, keeping in step with other national societies.

10 It is therefore important to clarify the following: what Ninagawa did in the early twentieth century was not just the promotion of peacetime operations, which he knew were carried out by other national societies. Ninagawa took a step further and put his utmost efforts into advocating the codification of peacetime operations in the Red Cross's mandate because he was concerned that they were not an obligation, but merely *optional* activities carried out by the national societies at their own discretion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Sarah Crosby Mallory Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 - 1895: Perceptions, Power, and Primacy*, Repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006); Geoffrey Jukes, *The Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905*, Essential Histories 31 (Oxford: Osprey, 2002).

2. The Times, "China and Japan," *The Times*, April 20, 1895, 7.

3. Akira Iriye, "Japan's Drive to Great-Power Status," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen, vol. 5, The Cambridge History of Japan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 323, doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521223560.014.

4. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]*, 112.

5. Ibid., 135.

6. Ibid., 299–301.

7. Ibid., 390–96.

8. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon-Sekijūji-Shashikō*日本赤十字社史稿 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society]*, 1579.

9. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Gekan* 日本赤十字社史続稿 *:* 明治四十一至大正十一年. 下巻 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11 Second Volume]*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1929), 745, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1448634.

10. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Jōkan* 日本赤十字社史続稿 *:* 明治四十一至大正十一年. 上巻 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11 First Volume]*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1929), 1449–51, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1448606.

11. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon-Sekijūjisha-Hattatsushi* 日本赤十字社発達史 *[The History of the Development of the Red Cross Society of Japan]* (Tokyo: Japanese Red Cross Society, 1911), 594, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992159.

12. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Jōkan* 日本赤十字社史続稿 *:* 明治四十一至大正十一年. 上巻 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11 First Volume]*, 1:1448,1445.

13. Ibid., 1:220.

14. Suzuki, “The Emergence of Modern Humanitarian Activities:The Evolution of Japanese Red Cross Movement from Local to Global.”

15. ICRC, AF 30-1-4-3, 6e Conference International, de la Croix-Rouge, Vienne 1897.

16. Ozawa Takeo, “Heiji Jigyo Ni Tsuite 平時事業に就いて [About Peacetime Operations],” January 5, 1909, 10.

17. Ozawa Takeo, “Kakkoku Sekijūji Hikaku Kenkyū 各国赤十字比較研究（完）[Country-by-Country Comparison Study of Red Cross],” *Japanese Red Cross Society*, December 10, 1911, 6.

18. Ozawa, “Heiji Jigyo Ni Tsuite 平時事業に就いて [About Peacetime Operations],” 10–11.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

2.2 Ninagawa's Endeavours

2.2.1 Advocacy for Peacetime Operations with the ICRC

1 Ninagawa Arata was born into a family of a direct vassal of a Shogun in Shizuoka prefecture. However, his father, the breadwinner, passed away seven days after Ninagawa was born. Raised by his mother who moved him to her family's house in Tokyo, he aspired to be a diplomat when he was still young. Yet having studied French in high school and later majoring in international law at the University of Tokyo, Ninagawa eventually became a French-speaking lawyer. In the course of his career, he engaged in various types of work, from giving legal advice to the Japanese military on battlefields to publishing newspaper articles in which he debated politics and teaching international law in universities. He was 45 years old at the time he started working with the Red Cross.

2 Ninagawa's vigorous advocacy in codifying peacetime operations in the Red Cross mandate began in 1918, during the time he visited the frontline of the battlefields of WWI in Europe. As a French-speaking lawyer specialising in international law, Ninagawa was requested by Ishiguro to join the JRCS's overseas mission, organised for the purpose of supporting the Allied powers' Red Cross relief staff, donating medical supplies to them and observing their situation.[1] Soon after accepting the offer, he was dispatched to the US and Europe along with Prince Tokugawa Yoshihisa 徳川慶久 (1884–1922) and a few medical doctors and other staff.[2] The group departed Yokohama in June 1918 and spent four months visiting the battlefields. There, Ninagawa saw a city turned into rubble and stones, forests swept away by artillery, innocent civilians killed, families separated and property stolen by the enemy. Since he had experience in serving the military as a lawyer in the Russo-Japanese War, Korea, Manchuria, and Sakhalin, he noted in his memoir that the horrors of WWI were incomparably more horrifying than the battles he had seen before.[3] Having witnessed the tragedy of the Great War and relief operations carried out by the Red Cross, Ninagawa reached the conviction that future wars could be avoided by conducting humanitarian work during peacetime, as humanity can cement sympathy, friendship and brotherhood between nations.[4] As a means to achieve this, he considered it essential to oblige nations to care

for civilians in peacetime by amending the Geneva Convention.[5] In his memoir, he recalls proposing his idea to Gustave Ador (1845–1928), the President of the ICRC, in September 1918. Although Ador responded negatively saying 'the Convention could not be easily revised', some ICRC board members,[6] including Marguerite Frick-Cramer (1887–1963), showed interest in Ninagawa's idea and asked him to send them a concrete proposal.[7] Therefore, he subsequently wrote his proposal in French and sent it to Frick-Cramer.[8] After following up on a few exchanges of letters with her, Ninagawa received a letter from Etienne Clouzot (1881–1944), editor in chief of the International Review of the Red Cross, asking him if he was interested in publishing his paper.[9] In response, Ninagawa wrote an article entitled *Le rôle futur de la Croix-Rouge et le Pacte de la Paix* and emphasised the importance of renewing the Geneva Convention by stating the following:

> D'après les instincts honnêtes et loyaux de la nature humaine, on doit être, cela va de soi, bon, juste et humain envers les victimes infortunées, même les ennemis, alors même qu'il n'existerait aucune convention entre les nations engagées. La Convention de Genève, vraiment inspirée par un sincère esprit d'humanité, n'en était pas moins utile jusqu'à présent pour régler plus strictement les devoirs hospitaliers entre les belligérants. Si pareille mesure était nécessaire en temps de guerre, pourquoi ne pas l'adopter en temps de paix ? Ne conviendrait-il pas d'établir, au sens légal, le principe d'humanité en temps de paix ? Le laissera-t-on au compte de la moralité ? [...] Les maux auront une cause différente, mais les souffrances qui en résulteront restent les mêmes. II est donc tout à fait absurde de ne prendre soin des malheureux qu'en cas de guerre. Les principes d'humanité ont une portée universelle; ils exigent l'impartialité absolue.[10]

3 The article demonstrated his firm belief that the practice of humanity during peacetime should be bound by international agreement, instead of leaving it to individual moral judgement. Although Ninagawa's proposal to modify the Convention received some negative initial reactions when he first proposed it in Geneva, it can be inferred from another article of the International Review of the Red Cross that by April 1919 the ICRC was of a similar opinion. Just one month after Ninagawa's article was published, Frick-Cramer wrote a piece entitled *La tâche de la prochaine Conférence internationale des Croix-Rouges* and expressed her stance as below:

> Les Conventions de Genève de 1864 et 1906 ne s'appliquant qu'à l'activité de la Croix-Rouge en temps de guerre, une nouvelle convention devra établir les rapports entre la Croix-Rouge de Paix et l'Etat. La Conférence des Croix-Rouges ne sera pas compétente pour conclure une semblable convention, mais elle devra examiner sur quelles bases il serait désirable que ces rapports fussent institués. Elle devra fixer ses vœux en des formules précises, et inviter respectueusement les gouvernements à conclure sur ces bases une nouvelle convention diplomatique.[11]

4 Even though the extent to which Ninagawa's idea had had a direct influence on the ICRC cannot be verified, this article shows that the ICRC had come to consider creating a legal base for peacetime operations just as Ninagawa had suggested.

2.2.2 Advocacy for Peacetime Operations with the Allied Powers

5 Ninagawa not only lobbied his idea with the ICRC, but also with the other national societies of the Allied powers. In his book *Champions of Charity,* Hutchinson starts the narrative of the birth of the LRCS by referring to a letter written by Henry P. Davison

(1867–1922), chairman of the war council of the ARC, to Harvey D. Gibson (1882–1950), ARC commissioner in France, on 22 November 1918.[12] In the letter Davison wrote that he would go to Geneva, propose that the ICRC organise an international conference, and create a 'real International Red Cross' that could cooperate in peacetime, dependent upon the approval of President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) and support from *British, French and Italian* national societies for success.[13] Although Davison's vision could have been shaped by his own experiences formed during his tour of ARC operations in Europe during WWI,[14] it is important to note that his idea may also have been influenced by Ninagawa. On 11 November 1918, just 11 days before Davison wrote his letter to Gibson, Ninagawa had written to Davison because he thought that the date of the WWI armistice would be good timing for him to emphasise the importance of having peacetime operations in the Red Cross's mandate (Ninagawa had also sent the same letter to Frick-Cramer and Sir Arthur Stanley, Chairman of the British Red Cross Society).[15] Even though Ninagawa was based in Paris at the time, it can be presumed that Davison had received Ninagawa's letter before he wrote the letter to Gibson because by 1909 the fastest ships were crossing the Atlantic in less than five days.[16] Furthermore, Davison's actions that followed after writing his letter show that he could have intentionally tried to omit the JRCS from the above-mentioned members in discussing the plan, *knowing that* Ninagawa had the same vision. In Reid and Gilbo's *Beyond Conflict,* it is noted that Davison met President Wilson on 2 December 1918 and issued a bold press release the next day stating that the Red Cross would '[...] go forward on a great scale [...] as an agency of peace and permanent human service'.[17] However, despite the enthusiasm Davison expressed in the press release, he sounded rather non-committal on cooperation in his reply to Ninagawa sent on 6 December 1918.[18] Ninagawa, in his English-written document that he distributed at the 1926 Oriental Red Cross Conference held in Tokyo,[19] directly quoted Davison's reply as follows:

> [...] As you truly say, the Red Cross will continue to be charged with duties and responsibilities of the greatest international importance, *and will have the opportunity of helping to assure permanent peace.* The Red Cross Societies of the various nations, always sympathetic in spirit and purpose, have been drawn closely together during the war, *and I trust that this cordial cooperation will be maintained* [emphasis added].[20]

6 Considering the series of events that happened before Davison sent the pro forma non-committal reply to Ninagawa, it is conceivable that Davison may have had the political intention to leave Japan out of this discussion to clear the path of possible rivals, knowing that Ninagawa was pursuing the same goal. With President Wilson's final decision, JRCS was invited to the conference in the end.[21] However, Ninagawa also wrote in his diary that he sensed Davison's attempt to sideline him when he learned that the conference was initially planned to be held without inviting the JRCS.[22]

7 Ninagawa also advocated his idea on several other occasions. At the Red Cross conference of the Allied powers in Cannes, France on 1 February 1919, he handed out copies of the article he had sent to the International Review of the Red Cross. Although it is uncertain whether or not it had the desired effect, Ninagawa considered that distributing his article contributed to the Allied powers reaching a consensus at the meeting.[23] Initially, the representatives of the French and Italian societies were worried that sending an Allied powers' joint proposal to hold a conference to discuss peacetime operations, as proposed by Davison, would upset the ICRC boards.[24] However, Ninagawa

noted in his memoir that part of the reason why they eventually agreed with Davison's proposal was probably because Ninagawa was there to share his article and tell them that the ICRC was in favour of the proposal for carrying out peacetime operations.[25] In the end, the joint letter was drawn up and sent to the ICRC, proposing to hold a meeting to discuss the matter.

8 At the following conference of the Allied powers and the ICRC, held in Geneva on 12 February, Ninagawa once again insisted on creating an international agreement for peacetime operations.[26] Although his remarks did not become part of the agenda for discussion at the conference, he did not stop his advocacy. After the conference, Ninagawa wrote another letter to Davison asserting that concluding a treaty was essential to ensuring that every country adhered to the mandate.[27] In response, Davison sent Ninagawa a reply stating that the revision of the Geneva Convention was not considered necessary but that great attention was being paid to this point by some of the US's best lawyers and that the most effective results would be obtained along practical lines.[28] Feeling dissatisfied with Davison's response, Ninagawa wrote another series of letters in March, this time respectively to US President Wilson, Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (1860–1952), and French President Raymond Poincaré (1860–1934), who were negotiating the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles at the Paris Peace Conference to end WWI.[29] Ninagawa even sent a special messenger directly to their hotels to ensure that these letters of proposal were securely delivered.[30] According to Reid and Gilbo in *Beyond Conflict*, President Wilson advised Davison on 27 March that the best way to put forward his idea was to 'tie the Red Cross up in some proper way with the League of Nations'.[31] With President Wilson's words, Davison began to lobby the representatives of the Allied powers to have the Red Cross peacetime mandate coded into the Covenant of the League of Nations.[32] Shortly thereafter in April, a Japanese delegate attending the Paris Peace Conference told Ninagawa that an article on peacetime operations of the Red Cross had suddenly been added to the draft Covenant of the League of Nations, which was Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.[33] Whether President Wilson had received Ninagawa's letter before talking with Davison cannot be established just by crossreading *Beyond Conflict* and Ninagawa's records. Yet in any case, President Wilson's words, which aligned with Ninagawa's ideal, made Davison change his mind and become the lobbyist of enshrining peacetime operations in international law. Ninagawa does not seem to have acknowledged Davison's lobbying activities. However, he thought his efforts had not been wasted, and he appreciated President Wilson's initiative when he heard that the Red Cross's peacetime operations were coded into the Covenant of the League of Nations.[34]

9 Although the ICRC and the national societies of the Allied powers had initially agreed to work together to establish the mandate for peacetime operations, the LRCS was ultimately created without aligning its strategy with the ICRC. This happened fundamentally because the ARC wanted to organise an international Red Cross conference promptly without inviting the national societies of the Central powers,[35] while the ICRC insisted on holding the conference with all its national societies after the conclusion of the peace agreement.[36] In the course of the discussion, Davison had ostensibly argued that peacetime operations should be launched as soon as possible because 'the world is bleeding and needs help now'.[37] However, the minutes of the conference of the Allied powers held in Cannes recorded that he quite bluntly admitted the financial and material advantages to the US of an immediate start to peacetime operations.[38] Consequently, the statute of the LRCS was laid down rather forcibly

during the Cannes Medical Conference in April 1919. It was led by Davison and decided among the Allied powers that article 2 of the statute of the LRCS should precisely mirror article 25 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and was enshrined as the following:

> The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.[39]

10 On 5 May 1919, when the draft statute of the LRCS was signed by the representatives of the Allied powers, Davison asked Ninagawa to explain the legal link between the statute of the LRCS and the Covenant of the League of Nations before the audience of the conference.[40] After explaining that the mirroring clauses of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the statute of the LRCS obliged both the states and national societies to promote health and alleviate suffering in the world, Ninagawa received a round of applause from the participants.[41]

Figure 3. Council of Governors and Directors of the League of Red Cross Societies

Ninagawa is the one on the far right.

Source : ICRC ARCHIVES (ARR), June 1919, Genève, 9 Cour Saint-Pierre. Conseil des gouverneurs et des directeurs de la Ligue des Sociétés de la Croix-Rouge V-P-HIST-02541-23.

11 Comparing Ninagawa's memoirs, diaries and articles with various other primary and secondary sources allows us to understand necessary contexts important to the existing narrative of the birth of the LRCS. To what extent Ninagawa had an actual influence in the process of this establishment cannot be determined. However, exploration of his interaction with the ARC and ICRC suggests his influence in establishing a new stream of thought which pre-existed the LRCS. Michael N. Barnett, in his book *Empire of Humanity* describes that humanitarianism was '[...] created through a mixture of transcendental visions, politics, and power, and it has generated an assortment of successes and excesses'.[42] Ninagawa's vision to create an international legal instrument for peacetime operations may have been weakened by politics and the

power dynamics of the time, but it was persistent and was carried forward to and pursued by the leading figures of the US government and the ARC.[43]

FOOTNOTES

1. Ninagawa Arata, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]* (Tokyo: Hakuaisha Hakkojyo, 1936), 65, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1230413; Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]*, 397; Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Gekan* 日本赤十字社史続稿 *:* 明治四十一至大正十一年. 下巻 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11 Second Volume]*, 2:439.

2. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Eibun Nihon Sekijūjishashi* 英文日本赤十字社史 *[The History of the Red Cross Society of Japan in English]*, 397; Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nihon Sekijūji-Shashikō-Zokkō: Meiji 41-Taishō11 Nen Gekan* 日本赤十字社史続稿 *:* 明治四十一至大正十一年. 下巻 *[The History of the Japanese Red Cross Society: from Meiji 41 to Taishō 11 Second Volume]*, 2:439.

3. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 445.

4. Ninagawa Arata, "Le rôle futur de la Croix-Rouge et le Pacte de la Paix," *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 3 (March 15, 1919): 258,263.

5. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 65.

6. Ninagawa Arata, "The Facts About the Formation of the League of Red Cross Societies," 1926, 2.

7. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 66.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 72.

10. Ninagawa, "Le rôle futur de la Croix-Rouge et le Pacte de la Paix," 261–62.

11. Renée Marguerite Frick-Cramer, "La tâche de la prochaine Conférence internationale des Croix-Rouges," *Revue Internationale de la Croix-Rouge* 4 (April 1919): 408.

12. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 285–86.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., 286.

15. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 66.

16. National Museum of American History, "Ship Model, RMS Mauretania," *National Museum of American History*, accessed December 6, 2021, https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_1342703.

17. 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), 35.

18. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 67.

19. Ninagawa distributed this document to present his contribution to the creation of the LRCS.

20. Ninagawa, "The Facts About the Formation of the League of Red Cross Societies," 2–3.

21. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 158.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 160–61.

24. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nichi, Bei, Ei-Futsu, I, Gokoku-Sekijūjisha-Iin-Kaigi-Gijiroku* 日、米、英佛、伊五國赤十字社委員會議事録 *[Japan, US, UK, France, Italy Five Countries Red Cross Society Committee Minutes]* (Japanese Red Cross Society, 1920), 16–17, http://id.ndl.go.jp/bib/000008063426.

25. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 161.

26. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nichi, Bei, Ei-Futsu, I, Gokoku-Sekijūjisha-Iin-Kaigi-Gijiroku* 日、米、英佛、伊五國赤十字社委員會議事録 *[Japan, US, UK, France, Italy Five Countries Red Cross Society Committee Minutes]*, 164; Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 162–63.

27. Ninagawa, "The Facts About the Formation of the League of Red Cross Societies," 6.

28. Ibid., 6–7.

29. Ibid., 7.

30. Ibid.

31. Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict*, 38.

32. Ibid.

33. Ninagawa, "The Facts About the Formation of the League of Red Cross Societies," 7.

34. Ibid.

35. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nichi, Bei, Ei-Futsu, I, Gokoku-Sekijūjisha-Iin-Kaigi-Gijiroku* 日、米、英佛、伊五國赤十字社委員會議事録 *[Japan, US, UK, France, Italy Five Countries Red Cross Society Committee Minutes]*, 26.

36. Ibid., 170.

37. Reid and Gilbo, *Beyond Conflict*, 38.

38. Japanese Red Cross Society, *Nichi, Bei, Ei-Futsu, I, Gokoku-Sekijūjisha-Iin-Kaigi-Gijiroku* 日、米、英佛、伊五國赤十字社委員會議事録 *[Japan, US, UK, France, Italy Five Countries Red Cross Society Committee Minutes]*, 62–63.

39. League of Nations, The Covenant of the League of nations.

40. Ninagawa, "The Facts About the Formation of the League of Red Cross Societies," 9.

41. Ibid.

42. Michael N. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*, 1. printing, Cornell Paperbacks History/World, Political Science (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2013), 18.

43. This research omitted legal arguments that question whether Ninagawa's idea of having international legal instruments was necessary in the first place. Although the Covenant of the League of Nations no longer exists, the Red Cross's peacetime operations are mentioned in the Geneva Convention I of 1949 (article 44), and Draft articles on the protection of persons in the event of disasters (article 7) to the present day. However, the attention to detail cannot be compared to that concerning wartime. Therefore, whether or not or in what ways international legal instruments are needed to cover the Red Cross's peacetime operations is a topic that is relevant yet outside the scope of this research.

2.3 Ninagawa's Motivations

2.3.1 Patriotism, Nationalism, and Internationalism

1 Having seen Ninagawa's endeavours, the question ought to be asked; was Ninagawa a patriot? Most certainly yes. Moreover, if nationalism is distinguished from patriotism by putting an emphasis on desires for power in the international sphere, Ninagawa would also be a nationalist. From the early days of his career, he threw himself into the service of Japan. He described in his autobiography that he strove to do his best for 'the glory and freedom of the Japanese people' from the time he served the military as a lawyer specialising in international law.[1] And this was quite natural given his educational background. A decade before Ninagawa started studying international law at the University of Tokyo, in 1886, the Meiji government implemented the Imperial University Order, making the University of Tokyo an Imperial University.[2] The purpose of education and research became service of the nation.[3] Among different disciplines, this patriotic trend was most evident in international law. As it was crucially important knowledge needed to revise the unequal treaties and to comply with the Geneva Convention, scholars of international law were expected to serve the state by conducting research and providing legal advice to the government.[4] In fact, numerous professors of international law at Tokyo Imperial University and the Army and Navy Academies offered legal advice to the government to solve diplomatic issues.[5] They even accompanied the military to the frontlines during wars to make sure that the Japanese military was complying with the Geneva Convention.[6] Although not yet a professor at that time, Ninagawa served the military as a scholar of international law for this same reason.

2 However, separating nationalism from internationalism would misguide any interpretation of Ninagawa's motivations. To understand why he was so committed to enshrining peacetime operations in the Red Cross's mandate, it is important to perceive nationalism and internationalism not as a dichotomy but as compatible concepts. Often, internationalism is understood as an ideology that values cooperation among nations to uphold universal human rights and justice whereas nationalism places importance on nations securing their own interests over other countries. Yet, that is not necessarily how Ninagawa grasped the two concepts. While Ninagawa considered

securing national interest important, he also explicitly articulated that achieving world peace through practicing humanitarianism is the ideal of all civilised people, which the Japanese should also seek to pursue.[7] His thinking is probably best articulated by Micheline Ishay, who invites us to consider internationalism as 'philosophical guidelines' that tie nations and their peoples together.[8]

3 Underlying Ninagawa's vigorous advocacy for peacetime operations was an entwined ideology of nationalism and internationalism that considered humanitarianism as a tie that holds countries together in achieving world peace. This mirrors how some of Malkki's interviewees supported liberal internationalism, which takes regimes of territorial sovereign nation-states for granted and seeks harmonious cooperation between nations.[9] It was out of this notion that Ninagawa harshly criticised Japanese politicians and military officers when they threatened world peace by using Japanese nationalistic sentiments for their own benefit. Ninagawa was strongly opposed to Japan withdrawing from the League of Nations in 1933 and urged his acquaintances in the Cabinet and the Privy Council to change their minds. However, he faced a firestorm of criticism and was told by the police that his life was at risk. Seeing the withdrawal actually taking place, Ninagawa deplored that the future of Japan was in jeopardy.[10]

2.3.2 International Obligation to Help: French-Speaking Lawyer from Japan

4 When looking further into Ninagawa's motivations to help, Malkki's observation of the 'international obligation to help' provides another basis for the analysis.[11] In her work, she states that humanitarian workers' sense of international obligation to engage in their work is also shaped by personal background. As she puts it, 'it is out of being *someone, somewhere in particular,* that one ends up making a greater ethical and imaginative connection to the world'.[12] In Ninagawa's case, it can be presumed that his expertise in international law and foreign language, as well as his position as a member of the overseas mission appointed by the JRCS, shaped his international obligation to take action when he witnessed the consequences of WWI. Most notably, Ninagawa was among the first batch of lawyers in Japan to study international law after the institutionalisation of the discipline took place in 1894.[13] He was one of the fortunate generations able to study international law properly because previously, the discipline was not taught by full-time professors but by non-experts such as diplomats.[14] Having further developed his expertise during his military service as a lawyer, his competence in international law became a fundamental part of his identity. Moreover, Ninagawa was proficient in French because he had studied the language earnestly from the time he was in high school. According to Fumiya Iida, not many were able to pursue their expertise based on their proficiency in French because those who could speak the language at that time were recruited by Japanese ministries and were moved from one ministry to another to make use of their language skills.[15] However, since Ninagawa did not choose a career in the government sector, he was among the very few Japanese that were proficient in French on top of having both academic and practical knowledge of international law. Considering that at the time it was rare for Japanese intellectuals to have both expertise in international law and foreign languages, those skills would have been enough to give Ninagawa a sense of international obligation to help when facing the catastrophic situations of war. Yet, in addition to having these skills, he was in a

position to meet and discuss Red Cross activities with government officials and representatives of all major national societies as an appointed messenger of the JRCS. This must have heightened his sense of 'I want to help' to become the imperative 'I need to help because I can'. As Malkki suggests that one's own subjective position can be one of the sources of people's need to help,[16] having the right skills and the means to pursue an ideal world could have been a simple yet powerful reason why Ninagawa developed a sense of international obligation to advocate vigorously for certain humanitarian operations.

2.3.3 Personality: Sense of Justice and International Attractions

5 Ninagawa's personality that emerges from his autobiography is another aspect that should not be dismissed when studying his motivations to help. Ninagawa had a strong sense of justice and a yearning to work in foreign countries, which both derived and deviated from the characteristics of the time. Unlike Sano and Ishiguro, who were both born in the era of peace, Ninagawa was born in the era of turmoil, when civil and international conflicts broke out one after another. From the early days of his childhood, Ninagawa's mother and teachers often talked about the civil war that led to the establishment of the Meiji government. Among those stories was a detailed account of atrocities committed by the reformists' force. Ninagawa recalled this in his autobiography and emphasised that he developed a profound sense of justice and hatred toward cruel acts in war by listening to his mother and teachers' stories. This strong sense of justice nurtured in his early life is probably what led him to pursue international law, persevere in advocacy for humanitarian practice, and fearlessly express opposition when the Japanese government was threatening world peace. Moreover, Ninagawa grew up in an era where he could have familiarity with Western countries. With westernisation unfolding at a ferocious pace, the Meiji government not only took in Western culture and systems in every part of people's lives, but also allowed more government officials and scholars to travel abroad. These characteristics of the age must have fostered Ninagawa's desire to work in foreign countries. Ninagawa, as early as in high school, decided that he wanted to be a diplomat that travels around the world. Although he did not end up becoming one, he still went abroad to study after he was awarded a doctoral degree from the Minister of Education. While he stayed in Europe, he travelled all around the region and studied international law. His keen interest in foreign countries and his desire to work in an international setting would have motivated him to take part in the international conferences and overcome the challenges he faced there. This aspiration also aligns with Malkki's findings, in which humanitarian workers expressed a deep love of travelling abroad and working in an international arena.[17]

FOOTNOTES

1. Ninagawa Arata, *Watashi No Ayunda Michi* 私の歩んだ道 *[My Life]*, Kindle Edition (Aozora Bunko, 2015), 148.

2. Yasuaki Onuma, "Japanese International Law in the Prewar Period - Perspectives on the Teaching and Research of International Law in Prewar Japan," *Japanese Annual of International Law* 29 (1986): 31.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 33.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ninagawa, *Jindō-No-Sekai-To-Nihon* 人道の世界と日本 *[The Humanitarian World and Japan]*, 5.

8. Micheline Ishay, *Internationalism and Its Betrayal*, Contradictions of Modernity, v. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xxi.

9. Malkki, *The Need to Help*, 30–31.

10. Ninagawa, *Watashi No Ayunda Michi* 私の歩んだ道 *[My Life]*, 237.

11. Malkki, *The Need to Help*, 30–39.

12. Ibid., 52.

13. Onuma, "Japanese International Law in the Prewar Period - Perspectives on the Teaching and Research of International Law in Prewar Japan," 36.

14. Ibid.

15. Fumiya Iida, "Bakumatsu Meiji Shoki Ni Okeru Furansu-Go Kyōiku Ni Kansuru Kenkyū 幕末・明治初期におけるフランス語教育に関する研究 [A Study of French Language Education at the End of the Edo Period and the Beginning of the Meiji Era]," *Bulletin of Fukuoka University of Education. Part IV, Education and Psychology* 46 (February 10, 1997): 3.

16. Malkki, *The Need to Help*, 51.

17. Ibid., 39.

Conclusion

1 As with any history of a movement, the trajectory of the Red Cross Movement is interwoven with stories of people who spent part of their lives furthering its development. However, when a Eurocentric bias is applied, the endeavours of the leading figures of the non-Western national societies get obscured. Not only that, in that Eurocentric narrative of the JRCS, the motivation for people to engage in Red Cross work is often reduced to mere patriotism. In pursuit of challenging this narrative, this paper has sought to add a new layer to existing studies by examining various primary sources closely, casting light on the historical context of the time, and exploring the endeavours and motivations of the leading figures of the JRCS.

2 Shedding light on Sano and Ishiguro's endeavours and the historical context of the time allows us to see how they established and developed the JRCS against the turbulent backdrop of various social, political and cultural reforms to portray Japan as closer to the Western countries in its degree of civilisation. However, contrary to Checkland's narrative presenting active members of the JRCS as puppets *used by* the Japanese government to become closer to the West, Sano and Ishiguro's endeavours show their profound initiative and perseverance in promoting the Red Cross's work. Although the context in which Sano and Dunant created the organisation was different, Sano was deeply inspired by the mission of the Red Cross and persevered to obtain permission to establish an organisation resembling the Red Cross during the Satsuma Rebellion, just as Dunant toured Europe to gather support for his idea after witnessing the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino. Upon gaining permission from Prince Arisugawa to organise relief activities, Sano immediately created Hakuaisha, the organisation preceding the JRCS, and coordinated activities on the frontlines of battle. After Hakuaisha officially became the JRCS, Ishiguro, influenced by Sano's passion, used his own money and time to promote the activities of the Red Cross in Japan to increase its membership and secure funds for its operation. Moreover, as a military doctor himself, he negotiated with the Ministry of the Army and the General Staff Office to create the first opportunity for Red Cross female nurses to carry out relief activities on the battlefield. As for Ninagawa, studying the situation of the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century allows us to appreciate his advocacy in implementing peacetime operations under the Red Cross's mandate and most importantly his proactive lobbying for its codification as an international legal instrument when Japan had become one of

the Allied powers in WWI. Ninagawa's endeavour is often overlooked in the main narrative of the establishment of the LRCS. Yet, it is crucial to cast light on his endeavours as it shows how the JRCS was not only an offspring of the movement from Europe but was also a dedicated actor in creating a new stream in the movement.

3 Moreover, contextualising the protagonists' thought processes and experiences of their lives enables us to understand that patriotic motivation to promote the nationalistic agenda was not their sole motivation for establishing and developing the movement. The exposure of Sano and Ishiguro to 'the way of the samurai' which was shaped by Confucianism, appears to have nurtured their obligation to become leaders in society and engage in Red Cross work, which they considered a moral imperative. Moreover, their keen study of Western medical ethics in their youth suggests that their motivation to engage and persevere in Red Cross work sprang from the ethics that valued self-sacrifice, impartial treatment and persistence. As for Ninagawa, it can be inferred that his unique combination of international sensibility, skill, personality and position created a sense of obligation to do what he could when confronting the devastating situation on the battlefields of WWI. These different possible sources of motivation observed in the protagonists' experiences can be elucidated by Malkki's finding that 'the need to help [...] [emerges] from a number of different sources, including the particularities of people's own subjectivities and subject positions, and their felt obligations to specific relationships defined by things like occupation, nationality, and an internationalist political imagination'.[1]

4 What this research exposes about endeavours and motivation is that the sources of endeavours can be multiple and vary from person to person. However, in as much as their potential motivations were rooted in personal experiences, the background of the leading figures of the Red Cross Movement, at least between the JRCS and the ICRC, were more or less similar despite differences in national contexts. The privileged elites with education in medicine, military, law and religion took the lead in establishing and developing the movement not only in Switzerland but also in Japan. Moreover, despite the difference in eras, the Red Cross aid workers' desire to fulfil their own personal needs or obligations, as suggested by Malkki, can be mirrored in the JRCS's leading figures' experiences. The combination of these two observations suggests that part of the history of the Red Cross, if not all, was written both nationally and internationally by the privileged experts that embraced their desire to fulfil their own needs. And because this is something that we still observe in the world today, I consider it particularly important to study motivations together with endeavours.

5 Since this paper is about the endeavours and motivations of individuals, touching on my background and thoughts to explain the personal importance of this study here in the conclusion seems appropriate. The two years of the interdisciplinary master's programme in Development Studies at the Geneva Graduate Institute helped me to reflect profoundly upon my previous few years of a roller coaster ride of emotions in what Barnett describes as the 'alchemical branch' of humanitarian work.[2] Out of many thoughts that I turned over in my mind over the course of the two years, I have come to consider that humanitarians (including myself), if unaware of their own sense of obligation or the desires they bring into their work, could set aside whom their work is meant for and operate without respect and consideration towards the aid recipients. Although it may be true that their sense of obligation can help them practice their work with a high sense of commitment and dedication, their own need to fulfil

professional obligations can make them consciously or unconsciously prioritise their own sets of beliefs over what is most suitable in a given context. Similarly, their eagerness to satisfy their own personal desires could lead them to project their own ideas onto what might be most needed by aid recipients. And when humanitarian workers operate with the idea that they know more than the aid recipients and make one-sided decisions without their consent, they instantly become what Rodogno describes as 'arrogant' humanitarians.[3] Therefore, I believe acknowledging one's own sense of obligation/desires and not letting them influence one's work is crucial in embodying humility and respect for the aid recipients in humanitarian activities.

6 Why do humanitarian workers devote part of their lives, sometimes at the risk of their own lives, to alleviate the suffering of strangers? The answers to this question can be deeply embedded in the self in such an entangled way that it can be difficult for one to describe without objective analysis. I myself, have been carrying out this research in search of my own embedded sources of motivation for humanitarian work. Hence, examining the protagonists' personal experiences within their local context has also helped me become more aware of my own background and make better sense of the motivations rooted in me—although I am still grappling with the intricacies. Since it may not be an easy task for humanitarians themselves to figure out (and accept) their own locally nurtured desires or obligations to help, more academic studies could help them make better sense of humanitarian motivations. It is for these reasons that I look forward to seeing more cross-disciplinary studies on the past and current endeavours and motivations of the individuals working with the Red Cross, or any other humanitarian organisations.

7 Although this study was written with a Japanese focus to balance the Eurocentric narrative of the Red Cross Movement, the same attention should also be paid to the endeavours and motivations of the leading figures of other non-Western societies. Moreover, even within the scope of the JRCS, I have only featured the endeavours and motivations of three leading figures from its early history, out of many figures that have contributed to advancing the organisation. More studies not only on the prominent figures but also on nurses, doctors, and other staff who engaged in the relief activities both in wartime and in peacetime catastrophes ought to be carried out to see the bigger picture of the story. I am also keenly aware that this study is aid-provider focused, lacking the perspective on how aid recipients did or did not benefit from the activities carried out or the international laws created by the protagonists. Without these layers, the studies of the endeavours made by the individuals of the JRCS would remain incomplete. As indicated in the epigraph, the words of Fukumura remind us that it is from the predecessors' motivations and endeavours that we can learn to question how to live in the present day. Although studying the complex trajectory of the Red Cross Movement is not an easy task, efforts should be made to cast a spotlight on the endeavours and motivations that are missing from the existing narratives. With this thought in mind, I hope that this paper opens avenues to further exploration of the subject.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ibid., 51.

2. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 10.

3. Davide Rodogno, "Certainty, Compassion and the Ingrained Arrogance of Humanitarians," in *The Red Cross Movement*, ed. Neville Wylie, Melanie Oppenheimer, and James Crossland (Manchester University Press, 2020), 34–41, doi:10.7765/9781526133526.00007.

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