Relief Institutions for Children in Nineteenth-Century China

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This chapter explores how new ideas on the destitute child emerged and developed in the nineteenth century through the organization of relief institutions. These views are significantly different from those that informed early and mid-Qing foundling hospitals (established in the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and have already been the subject of several studies. Recently, the Japanese scholar Fuma Susumu has published several ground-breaking studies on nineteenth-century institutions for children in the Jiangnan region. Consequently, that these institutions were, with few exceptions, essentially initiated, managed, and financed by the local people under elite leadership is now a generally accepted fact. Yet there are still many aspects of these hospices that invite further study. The change in the idea of the child as a social being is one of them.

My study is based essentially on institutions that had the richest resources and fullest experience in welfare provision for destitute children—those in the Jiangnan region, or roughly the Lower Yangzi area. In other parts of China, similar provisions could also be observed in better-off commercial centers. Hongjiang, a town (zhen) close to the Guizhou border in Hunan, is one example I will cite to show that Jiangnan cities were not entirely unique in their concern for child welfare. But it is probably true that as a region Jiangnan had the highest concentration of institutions for destitute minors. We can therefore surmise that the new ideas behind these institutions were initiated in this region and later spread to other parts of the country.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE RELIEF SYSTEM

The need to improve care for unwanted infants was felt as early as the end of the Qianlong period (1736–1795). Complaints about
foundling hospitals in urban centers suggest that the hospices were badly organized. Corruption, negligence, and high rates of mortality and morbidity among the assisted children were among the charges leveled against them. The hospices in Yangzhou and Suzhou, for instance, two of the oldest and most important institutions in the Lower Yangzi area, were plagued with scandal at the end of the eighteenth century and were repeatedly "cleaned up" by local officials until their collapse at the arrival of the Taiping rebels. The mismanagement of the hospices, of course, was at the foundlings’ expense. Indeed, the reputation of the Yangzhou hospice had become so notorious around midcentury that local people called it the shaying tang: "hospice for killing infants."

The Yangzhou example was certainly not an exception. In fact, mortality inside many of the institutions remained high throughout the nineteenth century. Fuma Susumu has calculated that as many as 48 to 50 percent of the babies died in certain Songjiang hospices in the late 1860s; 41 to 51 percent died in a northern Shanghai orphanage in the late 1860s; 31 to 39 percent died in an orphanage in Haining in the early 1890s. These figures conform to the claim made in an 1876 official document of Jiangsu province that only five or six out of ten babies could survive inside the average urban foundling home. Mortality might have been even higher in less developed areas. One example is the hospice in Hongjiang, the Hunan town, which had accepted 133 infants (13 male and 120 female) between 1880 and 1887—of whom 89 died in the institution (7 male and 82 female)—representing a mortality of almost 67 percent within these seven years. Though this exorbitant mortality might be traced to many causes, people tended to blame the bad management of the hospices.

Many were also aware of the limited access of these urban institutions, which were geographically beyond the reach of the rural families most likely to drown or abandon their newborn out of poverty or other considerations. For this reason, as early as the early eighteenth century, philanthropists of some of the more prosperous and urban areas started to organize in the more remote districts relay stations called jieying tang or liuying tang: Here babies were collected and eventually transferred to central institutions in major metropolitan centers. In some of the more populous towns, these stations actually functioned in much the same way as the standard foundling homes in big urban centers. From the late eighteenth century on, the network of philanthropic institutions was rapidly branching out, at least, in the Jiangnan area, until the momentum was interrupted by the Taiping Rebellion.

Some, especially members of the gentry, began to question the effectiveness of the relief methods of the existing system, which concentrated all efforts on the inmates of the institution. They asked if a more flexible system, one with "outdoor relief" to the families of unwanted infants, would not be more practical. Wang Xisun, an Anhui merchant living in Yangzhou around 1845, noted that a better solution to the problem of infanticide and high infant mortality was to give monthly stipends to the mothers of unwanted babies. The mothers, who were bound to be more caring than the generally indifferent wet nurses, would therefore have more incentive to nourish their own children. A contemporary from Hunan, Onyang Zhaoying (Juren 1837), made a similar suggestion:

The wet nurses [of the foundling home of our city] all had their own children whom they nursed with their own milk. They therefore secretly fed the children under their charge with rice soup. Soon these children died. Thus the method should be changed: all those who send in their baby girls should be given an identity card with which one could receive a monthly stipend of 600 cash as well as clothing. The baby would be nursed by her own mother. After having nourished the baby for some time, the mother would acquire a deeper sentiment toward her offspring and the child would no longer risk being drowned. After a year or two, the identity card could be withdrawn.

The existence of another project, this time stated in a pamphlet proposing the organization of "Societies for the Preservation of Babies" (bayouying hua) written in 1843, suggests that the idea of providing monthly stipends to the mothers of unwanted infants had probably become widespread by this time. The principle, devised by Yu Zhi (1809–1874), a member of the Wuxi gentry, was to give rice (one peck) and money (200 cash) every month to the needy parents of a newborn for a period of five months. After five months, if the parents proved too poor to bring up the child, the baby could be sent to the city foundling home. Special allowances were also given to children whose fathers died before their birth. The argument was that parents would thereby be discouraged from drowning babies at birth. It was also argued that this plan would result in fewer children being sent to the hospices since parental love for the child would normally develop within the five months. It was proposed that the society should be financed by members who would each donate shares of 500 cash. To render the work more manageable, only children within ten li (about five kilometers) of the locality could receive assistance.
from the society. **Yu Zhi** not only set up the society in his hometown in 1843, he actually spent the next decade preaching his ideas through the community lecture system (xiangyue) of nearby regions until the eve of the Taiping Rebellion, which inevitably destroyed his entire project. **However, his tracts and his ideas survived the upheaval and the example he set up in Wuxi was to inspire a whole new vogue of social assistance to the child in the post-Taiping period.**

**POST-TAIPING PERIOD**

Changed social circumstances in the wake of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) helped to establish the new direction of welfare policies concerning children. **Led by **Hong Xiaochuan, an unsuccessful scholar and convert to Christianity, the rebellion began in Guangxi province and eventually affected all southern provinces with enormous devastation and loss of life. Though it was finally put down by the Qing state with the help of provincial strongmen, the decade-long unrest had ravaged the social fabric.**

The immense loss of life caused by the upheaval fostered the conviction that more lives were now urgently needed to recover social equilibrium. Equating a populous society with prosperity, many social reconstruction activists of this period explicitly cited the preservation of life as the main goal of the welfare system. In the preface to a set of rules for the city’s *baoying bui* published in 1865, a gentry member of Tongxiang by the name of Yan Chen wrote:

> At this moment right after the pacification of the upheaval... the number of households in each county was reduced by 70 to 80 percent, or in the best of cases, by 50 to 40 percent. The destruction of the people is even worse than before. Not only do they drown their baby girls as before, but at times they also drown their baby boys. The function of the foundling homes during the time of peace was merely to prevent the foundlings from dying, whereas the function of the societies for the preservation of babies after a great upheaval is to let life spring forth. Their importance is greater still.**

Statements concerning the urgent need for more lives appear in many other documents on the *baoying bui* of various places. In other words, for the post-Taiping philanthropists concerned with children’s welfare, more practical social needs outweighed the lofty ideals of earlier social activists.

Another development that influenced policy was the appearance of an increasing number of seasonal refugee or mendicant children above the age of four or five in many urban centers. This phenomenon was of course not novel in the 1860s; it had already come to the attention of local leaders in the earlier half of the century. The causes of this disquieting phenomenon were closely linked to the general loosening of the socioeconomic fabric from the end of the Qianlong reign onward. Such a development was common in many regions of China. In Wujin, for example, a *xagu mu* (bureau to give relief to orphans) was established in 1836 to accommodate children ages five to fourteen from the tenth month to the second month of the following year. This initiative had apparently triggered a series of similar attempts in lower Jiangsu province. In Shanghai, the Englishman W. C. Milne visited one of these asylums in 1850:

> The asylum was but temporary—only for a few months, to meet the peculiar exigencies of the juncture... The number of children, when I visited it, amounted to two thousand, one-third of them girls. Each child was well clad, and seemed well fed. A ticket was put on each, and a minute registry kept of the place from which the child was brought; so that, on the breaking up of the asylum, it might be restored to its proper guardians... The average ages were between three and ten.

Homeless children were getting attention in the 1850s even in a peripheral province like Guizhou. Between 1836 and 1845 the governor of the province, He Changling (1785–1848), set up a *juyou tang* (home for the young) that gave relief to more than one hundred children ages five to seventeen and provided them with basic education and training in various crafts. These children, too old for the foundling home and too young for the general hospital, "not only lacked jobs to keep themselves alive but also had no one to discipline them." He’s main concern was that this youthful lot should be properly guided lest they turn to banditry. Wandering bands of juveniles were clearly the cause of much anxious concern, for the influx of such children into the cities seems to have increased dramatically since the Taiping Rebellion. Now they were not just seasonal refugees but tended to stay in the big metropolis centers where they could beg for a living. Such a sight was said to be common in Shanghai around 1866:
Hundreds of refugee children, most from other regions, beg inside and outside the city wall. When asked what has become of their parents, they answer that they have been killed or kidnapped or have died of illness, of cold or of hunger... These children's clothes and shoes are torn, their hair and faces dirty. They almost do not look human.  

The situation prompted the establishment of the "Bureau of Relief and Education" (shuizhao jiaoyu) in 1866, which provided shelter, food, clothes, and medical care, as well as basic education and training in various skills, to some 250 children under sixteen years of age. In Changshu three centers were set up to accommodate refugee children (chuzhao) shortly after the rebellion was pacified. Clearly the more complex social character of the needy child—that is, the child considered within the context of the family and society and not merely as an inmate of an institution—affected the thinking of post-Taiping philanthropists when they designed relief projects for children in their hometowns.

Another new phenomenon that affected relief policy was the existence of foreign missionary foundling homes, which were often targets of popular suspicion. Many, especially the authorities, believed that a wider network of native foundling homes and orphanages would offset the effect of this foreign presence:

Most of the incidents involving Christian missions were caused by kooloons slandering the missionary foundling homes with such calumnies as the charge that they brutally killed the babies. Thus the establishment of [native] orphanages is absolutely necessary to improve the situation.

The authorities believed that the insufficient number and the poor organization of Chinese institutions provided the best excuse for the missionaries to set up their own orphanages. Indeed the establishment of more native foundling homes was no longer simply a manifestation of compassion but now was seen by the authorities as an essential political measure to counter imperialism:

For the sake of the missionaries, unless their orphanages are closed, the suspicion of the people cannot be laid to rest; for the sake of the country, unless orphanages are widely established, the missionaries will take advantage of this deficiency to continue operating.

Missionary foundling homes not only aroused popular suspicion, they also hurt the pride of the Chinese authorities, who considered the presence of foreign charitable institutions to be a mocking comment on their own incompetence. The tactful diplomat Xue Fucheng (1838–1894) knew better than anyone that foreign orphanages could not possibly be closed down. He therefore recommended stricter supervision of the institutions by local bureaucrats and gentry in order to weaken their humiliating autonomy. Anxiety over the missionary foundling homes, more than any other factor, accounts for the renewed bureaucratic interest in native institutions after the Taiping Rebellion. It may also help to explain the widened gentry interest in child welfare, especially in places where foreign presence was conspicuous.

BLOOMING OF THE BAQING SYSTEM

Though the model of the idealistic early Qing foundling hospital survived the Taiping Rebellion, it proved inadequate to cope with the overwhelming social problems left by the destruction. Besides the rapid and spontaneous growth of relay stations and smaller hospices in the zhen and even xiang (a settlement smaller than the zhen), Yu Zhi's idea of giving outdoor relief to all babies of poor families, not only those abandoned by their parents, found its most receptive audience in this period of reconstruction. Sometimes the baqing society was the only system available in a locality; more often it was combined with existing foundling hospices or relay stations. Numerous societies of the same nature but bearing different names also emerged after the Taiping. Some of the better-known ones, called "six cash societies" (liuwu buj) financed by members donating shares of 6 cash each.  

One easily finds detailed records of the regulations governing baqing buj in gazetteers of major cities from the 1860s on, some of which explicitly trace the origin of the system to the 1843 society in Wuxi. The following summary is based on three detailed sets of regulations: one published by Jiangsu province in 1876, another published by Nanxun zhen (a town under the jurisdiction of Wucheng of Zhejiang province, at the southeastern edge of Lake Tai) in 1868, and the last one published in 1888 in the zhen of Hongjiang. The similarities of the regulations published in places of different geographical and administrative importance suggest the remarkable consensus on standard practices. But of equal interest are some of the minor variations in the rules. Regulations from several other places will also be cited here to supplement this account.
The main principle of the post-Taiping baoying system, as initiated by Yu Zhi some thirty years before, was to provide outdoor relief (money, rice, and clothing) to the newborns’ families in order to reduce the chances of poverty-induced infanticide. At this time, however, the regulations became more detailed and allowed for different kinds of assistance depending on a family’s individual needs. Families with male infants, for instance, would have more difficulties getting relief in Hongjiang, since it was less likely that boys would be drowned at birth.37 Boys had to have lost a parent in order to qualify. The same principle applied to firstborn babies, whose families had to prove that they were more destitute than others in order to receive aid. Furthermore, more aid would be given to infants who lost one or both parents at birth. It is obvious that the post-Taiping organizers were more conscious of the complex motives behind infanticide and were becoming more realistic in their approach to the problem.

Table I should give us an idea of the principles behind the various levels of assistance available to needy infants.38 In these institutions, although the monthly amount of aid for the “normal” child was about the same (600 cash per month), particularly needy infants received special treatment.39 The differences can be summarized as follows: an infant without a mother was given a considerably higher sum for about two years, while an infant without a father or without both parents was given a moderately higher sum for a considerably longer period of time (maximum four years). The reason behind this scheme was obvious: if the mother was dead but the male head of the family was still alive, he would need aid to pay for a wet nurse for one or two years; but if the breadwinner was dead, the widow (who could nurse the infant) or the family of the infant would need aid for a longer period of time. Fuma Susumu, who has consulted sources concerning the Shanghai baoying societies, has provided several concrete examples of families thus assisted.40 That a great number of post-Taiping foundling institutions made provisions which were not at all common among the early Qing foundling homes suggests a significant change had been made in children’s welfare policies: attention and effort were now focused on the families of abandoned children instead of expensive institutions housing large numbers of abandoned children and wet nurses.

This new policy kept pace with and complemented the growing vogue of institutions for “Preserving Women’s Chastity” (baojie). In the late eighteenth century, such institutions for women appeared slightly earlier than baoying societies and became widespread after the Taiping Rebellion.41 So that widows would not have to sacrifice their virtue (i.e., fidelity to a deceased husband) in a second marriage, baojie institutions provided them with basic life necessities. More often than not, institutions for women and infants were closely linked. One especially interesting example was to be found in Nanjing, where the foundling home was administratively combined with a chaste widow institution after the Taiping Rebellion. Children of the inmate widows could stay in the foundling home until they were aged fourteen (boys) or sixteen (girls). By 1886, the institution’s authorities claimed that children kept inside the foundling home were mostly children of the widows, the number of children whose parents had both died had by this time decreased.42 An institution in Wujin founded in 1875 also combined the functions of preserving both the lives of infants and the chastity of widows by giving relief money to infants according to the general principles cited above as well as offering assistance to local widows (500 cash per month, 800 cash if she had a widowed mother-in-law in her charge, 700 cash if

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location and Year</th>
<th>&quot;Normal&quot; Infant</th>
<th>Infant without Mother</th>
<th>Infant without Father</th>
<th>Infant without Parents but Maintained in Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu, 1876</td>
<td>600/4 mos.</td>
<td>600/2 yrs.</td>
<td>600/5 yrs.</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanxun, 1868</td>
<td>600/5 mos.</td>
<td>1,200/1 yrs.</td>
<td>boys: 500/4 yrs.</td>
<td>800/4 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>girls: 400/4 yrs.</td>
<td>600/4 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hongjiang, 1888</td>
<td>600/1 yr.</td>
<td>800/2 yrs.</td>
<td>800/2 yrs.</td>
<td>1,200/1 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luodian, 1878</td>
<td>600/1 yr.</td>
<td>1,200/1 yrs.</td>
<td>600/2 yrs.</td>
<td>600/3 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wujin, 1875</td>
<td>400/6 mos.</td>
<td>800/1 yr.</td>
<td>400/18 mos.</td>
<td>800/8 mos.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Besides money, clothing, and bedding, sometimes food was also provided.

a. 800 cash for the first month.
b. Could be extended 8 more months.
only gave help to the inhabitants of the twelve hamlets (zhuang) of the zhen, whereas that of Hongjiang had application forms indicating that only residents of the zhen were entitled to relief. Besides the obvious considerations of limited finances and the need to verify information about applicants, there was another reason for the geographical limitation of services. To ensure regular distribution of relief and efficient inspection of the children, the headquarters of the society had to be within a one-day walk of assisted families. The baoying societies of the late nineteenth century were clearly a much smaller and closer-knit enterprise than the earlier metropolitan foundling institutions.

From the incomplete sources available to us, one gains the impression that in the late nineteenth century the number of infants assisted was greatly increased in places where the baoying system was implanted. Besides the example of the Rugao foundling home cited earlier, Fuma Susanu has observed that between 1874 and 1875, in a little over a year, the baoying societies of the Shanghai district had assisted some 370 families compared with the 120 or so infants (24 inmates and some 100 outdoor recipients) aided by the pre-Taiping Shanghai foundling home—a threefold increase.  

Another interesting example is the case of the twenty-one baoying societies in Tongxiang that, since 1872, gave relief to some three to four hundred infants each year, making a total of more than four thousand by 1887. Thus each of Tongxiang's baoying societies helped an average of twenty infants per year. Moreover, "less than one-tenth died." Accurate or not, this impressionistic figure suggests that the new system had a much better record than the xian’s (county) foundling hospital in which 3,128 foundlings died within the six years after its reestablishment in 1866. Similarly, Shanghai's baoying societies' mortality of 20 percent was considerably lower than the 48 percent in the municipal foundling home.  

A Suzhou baoying society that only accepted infants within five li had a quota of fifty infants per year at the beginning of its organization in 1866. Some of the bigger societies might assist up to seventy infants a year, as shown by the case of the Hongchi institutions:
We should consider these figures in the context of a limited zhon area, which was on the average ten to fifteen li (five to eight kilometers) in diameter. By comparing the Rugao figures of the early Qing and those of the late nineteenth century we can better appreciate the growth of its relief system: between 1668 and 1775, the annual average number of inmate infants in the county’s hospice was 156, whereas by 1873 an institution in the county’s neighborhood assisted more than 200 a year. Clearly the new system touched a far greater number of families and infants.

THE CHILD AS SOCIAL BEING

Early Qing foundling homes made every effort to save the lives of the foundlings, but they did not seem to pay much attention to the reintegration of the child into society when it grew up. By contrast, late Qing philanthropists not only assisted children in greater numbers but thought of them in very different terms. If the newborn embodied the abstract symbol of life for the earlier foundling homes, the initiators of late-nineteenth-century institutions tended to see children in a concrete social context—namely, as potentially useful or dangerous social elements in flesh and blood.

One indicator of this change in perception was that the organizers of the baoying societies now took a more aggressive approach to recruiting needy infants for assistance. For example, the society in Luodian (a town some twenty-five kilometers northwest of Shanghai) compensated the guarantors of families who requested aid (from 100 to 160 cash) or local constables (dibao) who came to report new births in needy families of their neighborhood; those who came from more distant quarters (but still within the society’s sphere of action) would receive slightly higher sums for their extra trouble. The Jiangsu authorities suggested that the province’s baoying societies should compensate midwives who discouraged families from drowning their newborn infants and who reported such families to the society (200 cash for each case); a much more handsome sum (1,000 cash) would be awarded to any midwife who reported unyielding families still prone to infanticide. But a midwife who was accomplice in any such act would be punished. At the same time, foundling hospices, which were often combined with programs offering outdoor relief, also went a step further to locate abandoned infants more actively. People who collected exposed infants and brought them to the hospice would be awarded money. The Nanzun society suggested that these people should be generously compensated: “After the heart is stimulated with profit, it will also incline toward goodness.” The new urge to preserve life after the Taiping upheaval had certainly pushed the philanthropists to confront the problems of infanticide and child abandonment more realistically, inspiring them in more aggressive strategies than waiting idly for infants to be brought to them as most of their early Qing predecessors had done.

Moreover, the problem of high mortality inside the hospices was addressed in more pragmatic ways. Special health care for the child was another conspicuously new element of the nineteenth-century institutions. Advice offered to caretakers on hygiene and medical care for assisted infants was becoming more detailed and specialized as the nineteenth century progressed. As organizers acquired better knowledge of common children’s diseases, the basic medical care they provided tended to be more professional. The Hungjiang institution, for instance, recorded that more than half of the mortality was due to smallpox, while 20 to 30 percent died of other illnesses such as convulsion (jingfeng), tetanus neonatorum (qifeng), and various scabies (chuanjie). Many prescribed a certain “sanbaung” soup for all newborns, a medicated plaster to extract the fetus toxicosis (taitu), as well as hot baths as soon as the infants were sent in. Pamphlets published by late-nineteenth-century “six cash societies” included not only tracts and songs condemning female infanticide but also prescriptions for common childhood diseases. Some of the richer institutions now stored expensive medicines for children’s diseases and even employed wet nurses and doctors in permanent residence to take care of the infants. But no innovation showed the organizers’ determination to curb infant mortality better than their efforts in promoting vaccination.

As smallpox and measles (which were often confused) were found to be the most common cause of death among children, Jennerian vaccination was provided by an increasing number of foundling hospices and societies. We know that traditional variolation using human pox was offered free to local children by at least one early-nineteenth-century charitable institution before the general application of vaccination in China. By the 1840s, vaccination was provided sporadically in several foundling hospices and baoying societies in the country. By the 1860s, free vaccination, sometimes alternated with variolation, became a widespread public service offered by foundling institutions, which often set up subsidiary “vaccination
bureaus" (nindou ji) to carry out the job. For some, vaccination was one of the main projects of the new relief system. The Hongjiang institution, for instance, generously paid a specialist of the new technique (8,000 cash per month, a salary just below that of the general manager of the institution, who received 10,000 cash a month) to prepare the pox and vaccinate children of the whole district. In one sense, the task of the "vaccination bureau" was not only to serve the foundling institutions but was itself an independent charitable act. The provision of medical aid to children had actually become one of the most widespread features of welfare in China from the early nineteenth century on. The extensive assistance offered by the bureau and the provision of more sophisticated general medical care for the child (as well as the mother or wet nurse) were further indicators that infant mortality was now perceived as a problem to be solved by coordinated social efforts. Merely collecting sick or moribund infants for institutional treatment was no longer enough. Like the haoxing societies, the vaccination bureaus began reaching out more energetically to the populace.

The growing importance of the child in society could also be seen in the treatment of deceased children. In the mid-nineteenth century we begin to see the development of charitable children's cemeteries. One of the first such cemeteries was established in the town of Hongjiang in 1846, and there appeared to be rapid growth of this institution after the Taiping Rebellion in the Jiangnan region. Nanjing built one of the first post-Taiping children's cemeteries in 1876. In the county of Changhua, local philanthropists constructed a children's cemetery in 1895 to bury infants who died of various illnesses inside and outside the city wall. Within seven years, it had buried more than one thousand children. The memorial of some gentry members of Suzhou, calling for the creation of a local children's cemetery in 1892, tells us more about the importance of such institutions:

In the past, dead children never had any special burial ground. Especially in the Suzhou area, rich families do not bury their children in their ancestral ground for geomantic reasons. As for the poorer families, they only wrap the corpses with cloth or weed and place them on empty ground; within days, the remaining bones and decaying flesh are exposed. It is a miserable sight. We gentry have discovered that in 1876 the Tongshan tong of Nanjing initiated the institution for burying dead children. By now, they have already buried more than 15,800 children. It was indeed an unprecedented charitable act.

As in the undertaking of other charitable tasks, these gentry members organized themselves, donated money, found empty ground, and employed gravediggers and other workers. In the same year they began to offer free burial for local children who died of various illnesses. It is important to note that the cemetery also accepted dead children of well-off families. In fact, the cemetery's name, "datang yinghai binyuan" (children's cemetery), was such that it would not be confused with the poor man's charitable graveyard, the "yizhong," thus saving the face of the rich who nonetheless had to bury their children in this public ground "for geomantic reasons." It was therefore not for the poor that this new institution was started; it was clearly for the children, and for them alone.

If in death the child was now given a new special place, we can very well imagine the new considerations given to living children. Consider, for example, the ways in which the foundling institutions prepared children for the challenges of life after they left the institution. Early Qing institutions invested all hope for the children's future security in the possibility that they would be adopted by local people. But there were no controls over the adoption process, nor were there any follow-up procedures. Some extent, the late-nineteenth-century institutions also relied on adoption, but now the procedure was more closely supervised. By continuing to subsidize adoptive families for a period of time, for example, many institutions encouraged poor families to adopt girls as wives for their sons (yangzai). Guarantors were required to ensure that the children were not sold into prostitution or slavery. Except in cases where the child was severely handicapped, guarantors also had to ensure that children were not adopted by Buddhist or Taoist temples, as monks and nuns were despised by mainstream Confucian society. Moreover, all adoptions had to be reported to the local bureaucrats, who kept official records on each case. More important still was the requirement of some institutions that the adoptive family take the girl or boy to the institution for a yearly inspection until the child was sixteen. Increased control over adoptive procedures may be attributed in part to competition between native institutions and missionary orphanages, as such procedures would minimize the number of children taken away from native foundling homes to missionary orphanages while enhancing the credibility of native institutions. With the advent of tighter controls native authorities could now use the unreported, thus illegal, acquisition of children as an argument against the presence of missionary orphanages. Whatever the key to this change,
significant still were the special consideration and training given to girls and handicapped children. Girls in both the Fujing and Nanjing institutions were generally taught needlework or cotton weaving from about age seven sui until they were thirteen, when they would be married out or adopted. For their labor, they were sometimes paid wages that they could use to prepare their dowries, as in the case of the Hongjiang institution. Blind boys would usually be taught fortune-telling. Those who were too handicapped to learn anything or to get married would be transferred to hospices for adults, or to religious institutions, when they came of age. 73

Though it is difficult to evaluate the quality of schooling and vocational training provided for such children, we can at least deduce from these new policies that late-nineteenth-century philanthropists now believed that to integrate these children into society at large was as important as safeguarding their fragile lives.

LIMITED BUREAUCRATIC INVOLVEMENT

I have argued elsewhere that bureaucratic intervention in charitable institutions generally declined toward the end of the eighteenth century. 74 But official interest in these organizations, particularly their financing, seems to have recovered in the reconstruction period (the 1860s and 1870s). It was obvious to all concerned that membership fees were not sufficient for the high expenses of the societies, and it became a common practice to rely on revenues from silk, salt, tobacco, and other local commodity taxes. Some institutions obtained subsidies from the lijin tax, grain transport tax, real estate transaction tax, and commercial taxes from local shops. 75 Such subsidies, granted by individual officials and local authorities, were usually given to the institutions in addition to the endowment of land, houses, and salaries. 76 Clearly, as Fuma Susumu has suggested, in the reconstruction period, official interest in the charitable institutions increased in absolute terms. 77

Yet it is also true that the initiators and organizers of the institutions, the people who actually ran the system and controlled it, remained essentially extragovernmental gentry members, merchants, and other wealthy citizens—what Mary Rankin calls the "managerial elite." 78 William Rowe fairly sums up the respective roles of the state and the elites during the post-Taiping reconstruction in his study of Hankow: "Though lagging considerably behind urban com-
mercial elites, the state, too, was adapting to the realities of social change. What had passed from state to societal hands was not, then, participation in social-welfare activities... but, rather, initiative and control over such undertakings." Rowe somewhat simplifies how the initiative and control of charitable undertakings passed "from state to society," however, as society had always had a hand in these enterprises.

In contrast to its relative withdrawal in the early nineteenth century, the state in the post-1860 period approached founding institutions with a renewed interest, albeit one partly prompted by xenophobia. Despite this enthusiasm, however, it seems clear that it was now too late for the state to take the lead in fulfilling a responsibility it had long relinquished to local society. Although the state assumed some of the financial burden of maintaining post-Taiping charitable institutions, its share of moral leadership in public charity had in fact further declined, at least in the Jiangnan region under study here. One obvious indication was that the network of founding institutions in the average city, with their subordinate relay stations (jieying tang) in various suburbs or zhen, rarely respected the official administrative hierarchy. Indeed, the network increasingly adopted a geographical and social logic of its own. Another sign was the gradual disappearance of the systematic eulogies of the state in the descriptions of charitable institutions in local gazetteers. Organizers of late Qing welfare institutions seemed not to share their earlier Qing counterparts' feeling that lip service had to be paid to the state, which, at least on paper, had to take most of the credit for providing relief to the needy. This final breakdown of verbal formalism tells us much indeed about changes in ideas concerning relief institutions for children.

FROM PATHETIC CHILD TO COMPLEX SOCIAL BEING

We have seen two parallel developments in the assistance of children during the nineteenth century. The first was the emergence of the destitute child as a social being belonging to the community. The pitiable abandoned infant extracted from the family was no longer the dominant image of the assisted child, though he, or more probably she, certainly continued to exist in huge numbers in the late nineteenth century. The strategy employed to reduce infanticide and infant mortality had been shifted from providing institutional care to assisting needy families, especially widows with children. Moreover, it was not only the child's life that was safeguarded by the late Qing institutions but also its future role in the community. We may attribute the diversification of relief strategy to the emergence of a more sophisticated view of the child on the part of post-Taiping philanthropists, who increasingly understood the child within the context of family and community and from the vantage point of superior medical knowledge.

The second development was the further decline of the state in its role as the sacred protector of life. In this respect China's experience was completely different from that of the West. In France from the late eighteenth century onward, the state institution became "synonyme de securité, de protection de l'enfance malheureuse." In China, it was the reduction of the state's moral lead in providing social assistance to children that allowed the final takeover of the child by the community. Late Qing society after the Taiping Rebellion was in desperate need of reconstruction; the charitable institutions had as their goal not just the spiritual gratification of philanthropy but the satisfaction of working for objective social needs.

The pragmatic characteristics of the post-Taiping institutions, however, were not only a result of the particular circumstances of the time. We have seen that changes were already taking place in the early nineteenth century—namely, the branching of the network of institutions and the diversification of assistance including various forms of medical aid and outdoor relief. The unique conditions of the post-Taiping society—specifically, increased poverty and competition from missionaries—only helped to accelerate the changes. Even though the state at this critical time provided concrete financial contributions, it had irreversibly lost its moral leadership, which it had maintained, at least formally, until the mid-Qianlong period. From then on, the destitute child began to shed its image as merely miserable and pathetic and gradually emerged as a more complex but real social being.

NOTES

which is a largely revised version of the Chinese article “Shi ji, shiba shiji Changjiang xiayou zhi yuying tang” (Foundling hospitals in the lower Yangzi region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), in Zhongguo haiyang fazhan shi (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1984), pp. 97-150.

2. Fuma Susumu, “Shindai Shōkō ikei: to no keiei jittai to chihō shakai” (Management of foundling homes and local society in Songjiang in the Qing), Tōyō shi kenkyū 45(3) (December 1986):279-288; “Shimarru no hoekai” (Societies for the preservation of infants at the end of the Qing dynasty), Shiritsu sekatsushi e no dō, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), pp. 165-190.

3. A zhen is a nonadministrative town, usually a market town of modest size near a main administrative city. Populations of zhen vary from place to place. The biggest towns in late Qing China had populations of more than 100,000; the zhen of Hankow, for example, had an estimated 180,000 people in 1888. See William T. Rowe, Hankow: Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796-1889 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 39. The zhen of Honanjiang here is more than fifty kilometers from the administrative center of Huitong and was known as a busy market town in the late Qing period. Population figures are uncertain, but at the end of the nineteenth century they may have ranged between 10,000 and 20,000.

4. One concrete example of such direct influence was the case of the Maxiang Institute in Quanzhou of Fujian province. As the 1873 orphanage was the brainchild of a magistrate who was a Jiangnan native, its principles of operation were thus identical to those discussed in this study. See “Tang nei guanxiao” in Maxiangzhong zhi, 1895, app. xix, pp. 478-498.


7. Fuma Susumu, “Shindai Shōkō ikei,” pp. 72-75; “Shimarru no hoekai,” pp. 171-172; “Shi jin ni ni hou quan shi baoying hui” (Notice to forbid female infanticide and to encourage the organization of societies to preserve babies), in Jiangsu shengli, vol. 1, 1876, pp. 2a-3b.

8. Hongjiang yuying xiao shi (Brief account of the foundling institution in Hongjiang), 1888, juan 2, p. 2a ("Shi jingfu").

9. Anyone familiar with the same problems in contemporary Europe would not be surprised by these figures. In the foundling institutions of Rouen in the late eighteenth century, for instance, 90 percent of the abandoned children being taken care of died before they were one year old; in Paris, only 7 percent of the children in the Hôtel-Dieu lived till their fifth


10. According to sources available to me, the earliest such institutions were established in the Jiangsu-Zhejiang border area in the Yangzi delta where the shen and even hsiang (communities smaller than shen) were already quite urbanized. The institutions listed in Table 2 were all established before the Taiping Rebellion.

**TABLE 2: THE EARLIEST FOUNDLING INSTITUTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naxian</td>
<td>Jiaxing</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>transfer babies to Suzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinghu</td>
<td>Jiaxing</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>transfer babies to Suzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deqing</td>
<td>Huangzhou</td>
<td>1714</td>
<td>transfer babies to Suzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangzhou</td>
<td>Huangzhou</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>transfer babies to Suzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanxun</td>
<td>Wucheng</td>
<td>1737</td>
<td>transfer babies to Wucheng and Suzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lili</td>
<td>Wujiang</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>nourish babies of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puyuan</td>
<td>Jiaxing</td>
<td>1739</td>
<td>transfer babies to Jiaxing and Tongxiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiasi</td>
<td>Haining</td>
<td>early</td>
<td>transfer babies to Haining and Tongxiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludian</td>
<td>Baoshan</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>transfer babies to Jiaxing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangwan</td>
<td>Baoshan</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>transfer babies to Nanling zhen (under Taicang zhou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangxing</td>
<td>Baoshan</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>transfer babies to Nanling zhen (under Taicang zhou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenghu</td>
<td>Wujiang</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>transfer babies to Wujiang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhouquan</td>
<td>Shimen</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>nourish babies of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuxi</td>
<td>Shimen</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>nourish babies of the area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingzhou</td>
<td>Tongxiang</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>transfer babies to Hangzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhangyun</td>
<td>Louxiang</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>nourish babies of the area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Fuma Susumu, “Shindai zenki no ikusei jikō,” pp. 38-39; Nanxian shi, 1926; Lili shi, 1926; Puyuan shi, 1927; Haining zhou zhi, 1923; Baoshan xianzhi, 1883; Ludian zhibi, 1881; Nanling shi, 1924; Huangzhou zhi, 1923; 1925 (1874); Jiaxing jilu, 1877; Wujiang zhibi, 1926; Zhongji Zhangyan zhi, 1929.
11. It is interesting to note that because of the overflow of abandoned infants in the capital as well as in the major cities, France began to decentralize its foundling system in the same period. See Gelis, *L’arbre et le fruit*, p. 431.

12. "Outdoor relief" consists of distributing money and other material aid to the needy outside charitable institutions in contrast to aid given to inmates of the institutions. The term is generally linked to the welfare system in nineteenth-century Britain. The household not only provided aid and training to its inmates, but also gave aid to the poor, mainly paupers, outside the institution. For details of the system see M. A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, 1834-1929 (London: Methuen, 1935).

13. It should be pointed out that some of the earlier founding homes had already compromised somewhat by allowing wet nurses to stay home to nurse the babies. Chen Hongnou (1696-1773) mentions this common practice in Suzhou in his recommendations to a foundling home in Yunnan in the early 1730s. See Chen Hongnou, *Peyuanzhang oucun gao*, 1836, juan 3, p. 53b ("Wenxi").


18. Fuma Susamu’s recent publication on the baoying societies has shown that under Yu Zhi’s influence, seven such societies were established in the Changhai xian in the year 1874-1875; see Fuma, *Shimatsu no hoeki*, pp. 176-178. The 1885 gazetteer of the xian of Danyang near Nanjing also reported that its 1874 baoying bureau was initiated by Yu Zhi, who died later that very year; see *Danyang xianzhi*, 1885, juan 13, p. 12b.


20. *De yi lu*, juan 2/1, p. 37b. For further details on Yan Chen see Rankin, *Elite Activism*, p. 66.

21. For example: "Shi jin minyi bing quan she baoying hui," *Jiangsu shangzhi*, vol. 1, 1876, pp. 28-35; Nanxun zhi, juan 34, p. 17a; *Tongxiang xianzhi*, 1887, juan 4, p. 3b.


23. Wujing Yangfou beizhi, 1886, juan 5, p. 28b.

24. *De yi lu*, juan 4/1, pp. 1a-5a; *Dongyue shouyang yi hai tiaocheng* (Regulations for accommodating children in winter), Wuxi-jinghui area.


27. *De yi lu*, juan 13/4, p. 48a, "Quan tuiguang fujuo ju gong qi" (Public announcement to encourage the propagation of the bureau of relief and education).

28. *De yi lu*, juan 13/4, pp. 1b-4b.


32. "Yushi En-pu zuo yi guang she yuyang tang yi qing huang liu shu" (Memorial for En-pu to urge for wider establishment of foundling homes to stop the chaos), 1891, in Wang Minglan, ed., *Fan yangjiao shunwen jietu xuan* (Juan: Qifu shushe, 1984), p. 315.

33. Note also the following letter to foreign embassies from the Zongli Yamen in January 1871: "In each of China’s provinces, such charitable activities (foundling homes) are numerous and there is no reason why westerners should meddle in these affairs"; *Fan yangjiao*, p. 382. Or this 1861 memorial of the Hunan governor: "Well, the babies belong to our land (neidi), so why should they need the nourishment of people from overseas (waiyang)? After all, the nourishment of foreigners’ babies is not a concern of our people. Moreover, there are already foundling homes in every place in Yuezhou—all the more reason why one must not exploit the foreigners’ good intentions"; *Fan yangjiao*, p. 289.

34. Xu Xucheng, "Nianhang yuyang tang tiao yi" (Proposal for foreign foundling homes), 1892, in *Fan yangjiao*, pp. 396-397.

35. More details of the liuwen bai can be found in Hoshi Ayao, *Min-Shin*
fidi shakai keizaisho kenkyu (Studies in the socioeconomic history of the Ming and Qing periods) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1989), pp. 377–86. The value of the cash was reduced after the Taiping Rebellion. Between 1867 and 1870, one shi of rice cost 4.48 cash. Thus one had to pay 448 cash for a peck of rice, instead of 300 before the uprising. See note 16 above.


37. The majority of the babies (62 percent) assisted by the Shanghai baoxing societies were female; see Fuma, "Shimatsuo no hoekai," p. 184.


39. This sum, though modest, represented almost two pecks of rice in post-Taiping Zhejiang province. The daily salary for a worker of the first category (e.g., stonemason, boatbuilder) in the immediate post-Taiping period in Zhejiang was 100 cash; 60 cash for the second category (e.g., carpenter, harvest worker); and 40 cash for the third category (e.g., tailor, bamboo worker, ordinary farmerworker). Thus 600 cash should represent the ten-day salary of a second-class worker. See Xu Yinggu (1892–1984), Liang Zhe shishi congshuo (Manuscript on the historical events of Zhejiang province) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 399–397.


41. For recent studies on institutions for widows see Raymond D. Lum, "Aid for Indigent Widows in Nineteenth-Century Canton," paper prepared for the panel "Philanthropy and Public Welfare During the Ming and Qing Dynasties" of the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies; Fuma Susumu, "Shindai no jushu-tai to seisuto" (Societies and institutions for chaste widows in the Qing), Kyoto Daigaku hongakubun kenkyu kaiyo 2 (1979): 119–123; Angela K. Qi Leung, "To Chinese Society: The Development of Widow Homes in the Qing, 1773–1911," Late Imperial China 14(2) (December 1993): 1–52.

42. Jiangning fu zhongqiang puwu xiang zhi, 1886, juan 1, pp. 1b-2a, 2ac-21a.

43. Wujin Yanghu xian zhi, 1903, juan 5, p. 7b.

44. Nanxun zhi, juan 34, pp. 16b; Hongjiang yuying xiaoshi, juan 2, p. 6b ("Shi guitaio").

45. Tongzhou zhi zhibi, 1875, juan 3, pp. 63–66; Taixing xiaoshi, 1885, juan 8, pp. 6b–7a.

46. Jiangsu shengli, 1876, 11a, "Jiaxing baoxing zonghui bafa ge xian xiang cuu junbiao zhangcheng" (Brief regulations distributed to the Xian, Xiang, and Cun by the jiaxing baoxing society); Rugao xian xiaoshi, 1875, juan 1, pp. 130–144; another example is the society at Taixing: Taixing xiaoshi, 1885, juan 8, pp. 6b–7a.

47. The baoxing society of the Xiangzi zhen of Haining gave help to families within four or five li of the town; see Haining zhou zhigao, 1922, juan 6, p. 6b. That of Qingshu accepted infants within eight or nine li; see Jiangsu shengli, 1891, vol. 2, p. 81. The set of regulations proclaimed for baoxing societies of the whole province of Jiangsu in 1876 limited the maximum distance to ten li; see Jiangsu shengli, 1876, vol. 2, p. 7b.

48. Nanxun zhi, juan 34, p. 222; Hongjiang yuying xiaoshi, juan 2, pp. 8b–9a ("Shi guitaio.")

49. Fuma, "Shimatsuo no hoekai," p. 185; Milne, Life in China, p. 43.

50. Tongjiang xian zhi, 1887, juan 4, pp. 2b–4b, 8b; on the mortality in Shanghai institutions see Fuma, "Shimatsuo no hoekai," pp. 184–185. In effect, the society of Luodian zhen (about fifteen kilometers west of the administrative county seat, Baoshan) also claimed to have given aid to some twenty infants a year since 1869 (Luodian zhebi, juan 3, p. 10b); the one in Zhouzhuang zhen (thirty kilometers southeast of Suzhou) had given relief to some ten to twenty infants since 1867 (Zhouzhuang zhi zhi, 1880, juan 2, p. 22a).

51. "Sucheng zhu shan baoxing hui qi" (Preface for the Baoxing society organized in Suzhou), in De yi lu, juan 27a, p. 43a.

52. Hongjiang yuying xiaoshi, juan 2, pp. 9b-11a ("Shi jingfei").


54. For details of the idealistic principles of earlier Qing founding homes see Leung, "L’accueil des enfants.

55. I have argued elsewhere that the late Ming and early Qing philanthropic institutions (of which founding associations and institutions were the first) owed more to the ideological changes of that time than to strong social pressures; see Leung, "L’accueil des enfants," pp. 40–44. Fuma Susumu has traced the close relation between late Ming institutions and the Buddhist idea of "shengheng" (let life proliferate) much in vogue since the late Ming; see his "Zenki, zen no chippatsu."

56. Luodian zhebi, juan 1, p. 11b.

57. Jiangsu shengli, 1876, vol. 1, p. 6b.

58. Nanxun zhi, juan 34, p. 26b; for other examples see Zhouzhuang zhibi, juan 2, p. 22a. The Shanghai hospice would award more money to those who collected babies in cold seasons or in dark hours. See De yi lu, juan 1/4, p. 11b ("Xu ying zoyuan")." This provision was in fact very common for founding institutions all over China in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

59. Hongjiang yuying xiaoshi, juan 2, pp. 1b–7b ("Shi guitaio"); pp. 4b–6b ("Shi nidedao fangyao").

60. Ruan Benyan, Qiu mu zoyuan, 1887, reprinted (facsimile) in Jindai Zhongguo shiiao congkan, vol. 27 (Taipei: Wenhui chubanshe, 1968), juan 8, p. 7a (On the founding hospital of Funing in Huaiian; Jiangsu shengli, 1891, vol. 2, "Jieying zhangcheng ba tiao" (Eight rules of the jieying tang of Qingshu), p. 6a. A detailed set of regulations of a hospice of the late nineteenth century in Jiangsu province was also particularly concerned with
medical and hygienic problems; it even contained an appendix on "The Best Way to Nurse a Baby" (Yuying liangfa); see De yi lu, juan 3/1, pp. 98-138.

61. Baoying bian (Brochure for the protection of infants), Zaocuang, ed., 1890, includes eleven such prescriptions.

62. For example, the Nanhui hospice, which was established in 1871, as well as the prefectural hospices of Songjiang; Songjiang fu xu zhi, 1883, juan 9, pp. 11b, 7b.

63. I have conjectured that an institution in Yangzhou established in 1807 practiced free vaccination for local children before vaccination arrived in the Yangzi region. See my "Ming Qing yu fang bian hua cunzi zhi yanbian" (Preventive measures against smallpox in the Ming-Qing period), Guoshi shilun (Taipei: Shihua chubanshe, 1987), p. 246.

64. I have found that at least in Nanjing, Jiaozhou, and today’s Xian in Shaanxi, there were foundling hospices with vaccination services in the 1840s. For examples of foundling institutions offering vaccination in the 1860s and after, see Guoshi shilun, pp. 250-251, n. 74.

65. Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 2, pp. 4b-5a ("Shi niidou fangyao"). It is noteworthy that vaccination was first practiced in the Hongjiang institution in 1833 but was stopped due to shortage of resources. When severe local smallpox epidemics forced the organizers to rethink their strategy, they came up with the bold initiative of offering a handsome salary to a prestigious vaccination expert of Wuling (present-day Changde) to induce him to come to this provincial town as resident doctor of the foundling home.

66. The bureau of the locality usually vaccinated children, poor and rich alike, free of charge. There were seasons for the vaccination: most bureaus did this in midwinter months; some also offered the service in the late autumn.

67. Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitian"); juan 3, p. 1b ("Shi ceyiu").

68. Changzhao he zhi gao, 1904, juan 17, p. 7b.


70. Ibid., pp. 2b-6a.


72. The institutions in Haining and Hongjiang, for example, explicitly forbade adoption by monks and nuns; see Haining xiuzhong chongge luoyingtang zhengezhu, 1891, sec. "Luoyingtang zhangcheng yibu," p. 1b. It is interesting to note that children rescued from brothels were now authorized by the law to take refuge in foundling hospices: in 1881 and 1884 the Hongjiang institution accepted two young girls who had been sold to brothels; see Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 1, pp. 14b-15b ("Shi yuanyu").

73. For adoption and guarantors see, for example, Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 2, pp. 5a-6a ("Shi guitian"); Jiangming fu chonghian xiyu xing zhi, juan 5, pp. 20b-21a; De yi lu, juan 3/1, p. 6b ("Yuyingtang zhangcheng"); Jiangsu shengli, 1891, vol. 2, p. 7a (regulations of the Qingpu institution). On the yearly control over the adopted child until age sixteen, see Qiu mu jianzuan, juan 8, p. 9a (on the Funing institution in Huai'an).

74. In fact, this was one point in the open letter to foreign embassies in January 1871 on which the Zongli Yamen elaborated to counter missionary influences. The Zongli Yamen accused foreign institutions of failing to report to local authorities about the children they kept and never allowing adoptions by outsiders—practices that caused popular suspicion. These are two reasons cited by the Zongli Yamen in their request for the total abolition of foreign orphanages. See Fan yangjiao, pp. 382-384.


76. Jiangming fu chonghian xiyu xing zhi, juan 5, pp. 2a-b; Qiu mu jianzuan, juan 8, p. 9b; Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitian").

77. De yi lu, juan 13/4, pp. 2b-3b ("Fujiao ju changshe"). In Zhejiang most of these jobs were in the "third category," which allowed the worker to earn about 40 cash a day in the immediate post-Taiping period. See note 39.

78. Jiangming fu chonghian xiyu xing zhi, juan 5, p. 2b; Qiu mu jianzuan, juan 8, p. 10a; Hongjiang yuying xiao shi, juan 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitian"); De yi lu, juan 3/1, pp. 3a-b ("Yuying tang changshe").


80. Liang was a commercial tax created in 1833 initially for financing the military suppression of the Taiping Rebellion. After the rebellion, it became a local commercial and toll tax managed by local officials. Most commodities were taxed from 1 to 10 percent.

81. Mary Rankin has written a detailed description on the financial aspects of the institutions in Zhejiang; see Elite Activism, pp. 98-107.

82. Fuma Susuma, in his detailed study on the Songjiang foundling institutions of the late nineteenth century, observed such official involvement in the institutions; see "Shindai Shikō ikēto," pp. 483-503.

83. Rankin, Elite Activism, pp. 117-119.

84. Rowe, Hankou, pp. 131-132.

85. The excellent example of Songjiang is provided by Fuma Susuma, "Shindai Shikō ikēto," pp. 505-512. For another example, see note 8 of this chapter. Rankin provides illustrations of networks of elite activism independent of bureaucratic hierarchy; see Elite Activism, pp. 137-142.

86. Examples of such early Qing eulogies can be found in Leung, "L’Accueil des enfants," pp. 24-26.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary Item</th>
<th>Chinese Character</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baojie</td>
<td>保節</td>
<td>to preserve chastity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baojie qian</td>
<td>保節錢</td>
<td>money for the preservation of chastity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baoying hui</td>
<td>保嬰會</td>
<td>society for the preservation of infants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaungjie</td>
<td>㖂甴</td>
<td>scabies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daizang yinghai binyuan</td>
<td>灵寶</td>
<td>children's cemetery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dihao</td>
<td>地保</td>
<td>local constable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fujiao ju</td>
<td>糧教局</td>
<td>bureau for giving relief and education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jieying tang</td>
<td>岐榮堂</td>
<td>hospice for receiving infants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jingfeng</td>
<td>靖風</td>
<td>convulsion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiyuan tang</td>
<td>及幼堂</td>
<td>hospice for the young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komin</td>
<td>客民</td>
<td>alien residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>里</td>
<td>Chinese mile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liuwen hui</td>
<td>六文會</td>
<td>six cash society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liuying tang</td>
<td>留嬰堂</td>
<td>hospice for keeping infants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nantong</td>
<td>平安堂</td>
<td>refuge children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naowu ju</td>
<td>恭孫局</td>
<td>vaccination bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qiufen</td>
<td>慶風</td>
<td>adoption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renyu</td>
<td>連育</td>
<td>adoption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanhuang</td>
<td>三黃</td>
<td>a kind of soup given to newborns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shaying tang</td>
<td>救嬰堂</td>
<td>hospice of killing infants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sui</td>
<td>死</td>
<td>year</td>
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