

Relief Institutions for Children in Nineteenth-Century China

ANGELA KI CHE LEUNG

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.¹ Recently, the Japanese scholar Fuma Susumu has published several ground-breaking studies on nineteenth-century institutions for children in the Jiangnan region.² 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.³ 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.⁴

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

Overleaf: Portrait of a woman and girl. Courtesy Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

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.⁵ 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."⁶

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 53 percent died in a northern Shanghai orphanage in the late 1880s; 31 to 39 percent died in the orphanage of 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.⁷ 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)⁸, representing a mortality of almost 67 percent within these seven years.⁹ 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 *jiaying 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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,¹² would not be more practical.¹³ 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.¹⁴ A contemporary from Hunan, Ouyang Zhaoxiong (*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.¹⁵

The existence of another project, this time stated in a pamphlet proposing the organization of "Societies for the Preservation of Babies" (*baoying hui*) 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.¹⁶ 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 360 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.¹⁷ Nevertheless, 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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 hui* 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 30 to 40 percent. The destitution 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.²⁰

Statements concerning the urgent need for more lives appear in many other documents on the *baoying hui* of various places.²¹ 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.²²

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 *xugu ju* (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.²³ This initiative had apparently triggered a series of similar attempts in lower Jiangsu province.²⁴ 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.²⁵

Homeless children were getting attention in the 1830s even in a peripheral province like Guizhou. Between 1836 and 1845 the governor of the province, He Changling (1785-1848), set up a *jiyou 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."²⁶ 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 metropolitan 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.²⁷

The situation prompted the establishment of the "Bureau of Relief and Education" (*fujiao ju*) 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.²⁸ In Changshu three centers were set up to accommodate refugee children (*nantong*) shortly after the rebellion was pacified.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 hooligans 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.³¹

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.³²

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.³³ 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.³⁴ 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 BAOYING 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 *baoying* 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" (*liuwen hui*), were financed by members donating shares of 6 cash each.³⁵

One easily finds detailed records of the regulations governing *baoying hui* 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.³⁶ 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 1 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

TABLE 1: CASH RECEIVED AND DURATION OF AID TO INFANTS

Location and Year	"Normal" Infant	Infant without Mother	Infant without Father	Infant without Parents but Maintained in Family
Jiangsu, 1876	600/9 mos.	600/2 yrs.	600/3 yrs.	?
Nanxun, 1868	600/5 mos.	1,200/2 yrs.	boys: 500/4 yrs. girls: 400/4 yrs.	800/4 yrs. 600/4 yrs.
Hongjiang, 1888	600/1 yr.	800/2 yrs.	800/2 yrs.	1,200/3 yrs.
Luodian, 1878	600/1 yr.	1,200/1 yr. ^b	600/2 yrs.	600/3 yrs.
Wujin, 1875	400/6 mos. ^a	800/1 yr.	400/18 mos. ^a	800/18 mos.

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.

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

she had a child).⁴³ That providing relief for infants was often linked to similar provisions for widows becomes all the more obvious if we look at one supplementary condition stipulated in most of the *baoying* societies' regulations: if the mother of the assisted child ever remarried, aid would automatically cease.⁴⁴ In fact, a portion of the stipend for infants without fathers was usually called "money for the preservation of chastity" (*baojie qian*).

Other innovative measures were also devised to accommodate the newly decentralized system of outdoor relief. First of all, the managers were required to collect more accurate information about the families who asked for aid. This was one reason why the amount of property owned by the families had to be declared. In Tongzhou, for instance, those who were proprietors of more than fifteen *mu* of land, or who had the right to cultivate more than twenty *mu*, or who "had other ways to earn a living," were not qualified for aid. The same requirement was made by the foundling society in Taixing, which, moreover, excluded mendicants and alien households (*kemin*) from the program.⁴⁵ To ensure that the claims made by applicants were accurate, foundling society directors asked neighbors or local elders to guarantee reimbursement of all relief money in the event that the assisted family later proved to have lied about their poverty.

A new method of donation, which called for the financial "adoption" (*renyu*) of a number of needy infants by local benefactors, also helped to diversify the institutions' resources and simplify their fiscal organization. Local people were encouraged to donate a monthly pension for several babies to receive assistance from the *baoying* society. In Jiading, a red label inscribed with the number of infants thus assisted would be posted on the donor's door as a token of recognition. The method was said to have some success in various localities. The foundling hospital in the vicinity of Rugao claimed that after implementing this method, the number of infants assisted (inmates as well as recipients of outdoor relief) increased from less than seventy in 1868 to more than two hundred in 1873.⁴⁶

Since these new methods required more precise information about potential beneficiaries, the area in which the society functioned also needed more specific definition. Most of the societies, in fact, limited their help to families within four or five *li* (about two and a half kilometers) of the headquarters or, in certain places, a maximum distance of ten *li* (about five kilometers).⁴⁷ Some societies did not specify exact distances but required proof of local residence. The Nanxun society

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.⁴⁸ 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 Susumu 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰

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 1866.⁵¹ Some of the bigger societies might assist up to seventy infants a year, as shown by the case of the Hongjiang institution:⁵²

1880:	12	1884:	56
1881:	12	1885:	57
1882:	21	1886:	77
1883:	37	1887:	51

We should consider these figures in the context of a limited *zhen* 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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 Nanxun society suggested that these people should be generously compensated: "After the heart is stimulated with profit, it will also incline toward goodness."⁵⁸ 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 in them 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 Hongjiang 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 (*chuangjie*).⁵⁹ Many prescribed a certain "*sanhuang*" soup for all newborns, a medicated plaster to extract the fetus toxicosis (*taidu*), as well as hot baths as soon as the infants were sent in.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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.⁶³ 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" (*niudou ju*) to carry out the job.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ In one sense, the task of the "vaccination bureau" was not only to serve the foundling institutions but was itself an independent charitable act.⁶⁶ 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 for 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 *baoying* 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.⁶⁷ Nanjing built one of the first post-Taiping children's cemeteries in 1876. In the county of Changshu, 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.⁶⁸ 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 tang* 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.⁶⁹

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, "*daizang 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."⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ To 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 (*yangxi*). 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.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ Whatever the key to this change,

the result was that assisted children no longer ceased to matter once they were adopted, as was the case for most of the early Qing institutions.

The increasing numbers of refugee and mendicant children also heightened concern over the future of institutionalized children. Already in the 1830s, He Changling had advocated education and vocational training for destitute youth. Many post-Taiping foundling institutions also adopted vocational training as a key item in their relief programs. Indeed, institutions were beginning to realize that keeping children alive was not enough; children needed to be prepared for life outside the walls of the institution as well. The establishment of charity schools (*yixue*) in the foundling institutions was part of a bigger movement of popularizing elementary education that began in the early Qing period and had gained enormous momentum by the nineteenth century.⁷⁵ Now many foundling institutions obliged boys over seven or eight to attend the charity school either attached to or outside the hospice. In the Nanjing institution, boys were sent to the attached charity school when they were seven *sui*. There they would study until age thirteen, at which time they would be allocated jobs. The institution in Funing, a county in northern Jiangsu, offered a similar educational opportunity to boys over seven *sui* who "showed that they were intelligent enough to study." In the more peripheral region of Hongjiang, boys were sent to the outside charity school for three years beginning at eight *sui*.⁷⁶ While these examples are fairly common in nineteenth-century sources, schooling was rarely mentioned in the programs of earlier Qing foundling institutions.

More important still was the vocational training provided by the institutions. The Shanghai hospice for refugee children, which since 1866 accepted juveniles under the age of sixteen, provides a most interesting case. All of its inmates would undergo two months of schooling—just enough to foster basic reading skills—and afterwards would be trained for one or two years in a craft, either character engraving, printing, tailoring, shoemaking, bamboo weaving, fan making, forging, two kinds of weed weaving, or shaving. Money and basic tools would be given to them when they had acquired the basic skills to make a living.⁷⁷ At this time many foundling hospices also provided training for the children. The same Funing hospice would send boys over twelve and of average intelligence to shops and artisans' workshops as apprentices for three years. During the apprenticeship, they would still receive a yearly subsidy of 1,200 cash. More

significant still were the special consideration and training given to girls and handicapped children. Girls in both the Funing 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.⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ Clearly, as Fuma Susumu has suggested, in the reconstruction period, official interest in the charitable institutions increased in absolute terms.⁸²

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."⁸³ 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."⁸⁴ 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 foundling 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 foundling 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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ 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 sécurité, de protection de l'enfance malheureuse*."⁸⁷ 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

1. Fuma Susumu, "Shindai zenki no ikuei jigyo" (Foundling projects of the early Qing), *Toyama daigaku jimbun gakubu kiyō* 11 (March 1986): 5-41; A. K. Leung, "L'accueil des enfants abandonnés dans la Chine du Bas-Yangzi aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Etudes chinoises* 4(1) (1985): 15-54.

which is a largely revised version of the Chinese article "Shiqi, 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. 97-130.

2. Fuma Susumu, "Shindai Shōkō ikueitō 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):479-518; "Shinmatsu no hoeikai" (Societies for the preservation of infants at the end of the Qing dynasty), *Shirizu sekaishi e no dōi*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1990), pp. 163-190.

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 180,980 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 Hongjiang 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 Maxiangting 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 guitiao" in *Maxiangting zhi*, 1893, app. xia, pp. 47a-49b.

5. Liang Qizi [A. K. Leung], "Qingdai cishan jigou yu guanliao ceng di guanxi" (Charitable institutions and bureaucracy under the Qing), *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* 66 (1988):89. For a recent analysis of this important event see Philip Kuhn, "The Taiping Rebellion," *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 10, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 264-317.

6. Wang Xisun, "Yuying yi" (Suggestions on the care of foundlings), *Cong zheng lu* (1845), reprinted in *Jiangdu Wang shi congshu* (Shanghai: Zhongguo shudian, 1925).

7. Fuma Susumu, "Shindai Shōkō ikueitō," pp. 74-75; "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," pp. 171-172; "Shi jin ninü bing quan she 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. 9a ("Shi jingfei").

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

year. See Jacques Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit: La naissance dans l'Occident moderne XVIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1984), p. 428.

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 *zhen* and even *hsiang* (communities smaller than *zhen*) were already quite urbanized. The institutions listed in Table 2 were all established before the Taiping Rebellion.

TABLE 2: THE EARLIEST FOUNDLING INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Jurisdiction	Year	Functions
Nanxiang	Jiading	1702	transfer babies to Suzhou
Pinghu	Jiading	1706	transfer babies to Suzhou
Deqing	Huzhou	1734	transfer babies to Suzhou
Huzhou	Huzhou	1707	transfer babies to Suzhou
Nanxun	Wucheng	1737	transfer babies to Wucheng and Suzhou
Lili	Wujiang	1738	nourish babies of the area
Puyuan	Jiading	Qianlong-Jiaqing	transfer babies to Jiading and Tongxiang
Xiashi	Haining	early Jiaqing	transfer babies to Haining and Tongxiang
Luodian	Baoshan	1813	transfer babies to Jiading
Jiangwan	Baoshan	1813	transfer babies to Nanling <i>zhen</i> (under Taicang <i>zhou</i>)
Yangxing	Baoshan	1813	transfer babies to Nanling <i>zhen</i> (under Taicang <i>zhou</i>)
Shenghu	Wujiang	1816	transfer babies to Wujiang
Zhouquan	Shimen	1820	nourish babies of the area
Yuxi	Shimen	1820	nourish babies of the area
Qingzhen	Tongxiang	1839	transfer babies to Hangzhou
Zhangyan	Louxian	1847	nourish babies of the area

Sources: Fuma Susumu, "Shindai zenki no ikuei jigyo," pp. 28-30; *Nanxun zhi*, 1920; *Lili zhi*, 1805; *Puyuan zhi*, 1927; *Haining zhou zhigao*, 1922; *Baoshan xianzhi*, 1882; *Luodian zhenzhi*, 1881; *Jiangwan lizhi*, 1921; *Shenghu zhi*, 1925 (1874); *Jiading fuzhi*, 1877; *Wuqing zhenshi*, 1936; *Chongji Zhangyan zhi*, 1919.

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 Gélis, *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 institutions. The term is generally linked to the workhouse system in nineteenth-century Britain. The workhouse 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, 1983).

13. It should be pointed out that some of the earlier foundling homes had already compromised somewhat by allowing wet nurses to stay home to nurse the babies. Chen Hongmou (1696-1771) mentions this common practice in Suzhou in his recommendations to a foundling home in Yunnan in the early 1730s. See Chen Hongmou, *Peiyuantang oucun gao*, 1896, *juan* 1, p. 35b ("Wenxi").

14. Wang Xisun, "Yuying yi," *Cong zheng lu*.

15. Ouyang Zhaoxiong, *Shuichuang chun yi* (Springtime dream talk behind the moistened window) (based on the 1877, 1902, and 1911 eds.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 20-21.

16. In the period 1801-1850, ten pecks (one *shi*) of rice cost about 3,267 cash. Thus one peck (about ten liters) cost about 300 cash. See Peng Xinwei, *Zhongguo huobi shi* (History of Chinese money), 1958 reprint ed. (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), p. 844.

17. Yu Zhi, *Deyi lu* (A record of charitable acts) (Suzhou: Dejianzhai, 1869), *juan* 2/1, pp. 1a-14b.

18. Fuma Susumu's recent publication on the *baoying* societies has shown that under Yu Zhi's influence, seven such societies were established in the Shanghai *xian* in the year 1874-1875; see Fuma, "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," 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* 25, p. 12b.

19. For a general background of welfare linked to the bigger reconstruction project after the Taiping Rebellion see Mary Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); and William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Conflict and Community in a Chinese City, 1796-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989).

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 ninü bing quan she baoying hui," *Jiangsu shengli*, vol. 1, 1876, pp. 2a-3b; *Nanxun zhi*, *juan* 34, p. 11a; *Tongxiang xianzhi*, 1887, *juan* 4, p. 3b.

22. For a discussion of the ideas behind early and mid-Qing charitable

institutions see Fuma Susumu, "Zen kai, zentō no shuppatsu" (The origins of charitable societies and institutions), in Ono Kazuko, ed., *Min-Shin jidai no seiji to shakai* (Kyoto: Daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1983), pp. 189-232; A. K. Leung, "Mingmo Qingchu minjian cishan huodong di xingqi" (The rise of the popular philanthropic movement in the late Ming and early Qing), *Shih-huo Monthly* 15(7/8) (January 1986):69-70; Joanna Handlin Smith, "Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity During the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46(2) (May 1987): 309-337.

23. *Wujin Yanghu bezhi*, 1886, *juan* 5, p. 28b.

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

25. William C. Milne, *Life in China* (London: Routledge, 1859), pp. 47-48.

26. He Changling, *Naian zhoubi cun gao*, 1882, *juan* 4, pp. 32a-33a.

27. *De yi lu*, *juan* 13/4, p. 4a, "Quan tuiguang fu jiao 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.

29. Lu Yun, *Haijiao xubian* (Sequel to the Book of the Corner of the Ocean), original ed. 1868, in Ke Wuchi, *Louwang yongyu ji*, based on the Guangsu ed. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 140.

30. See Paul A. Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 91-92, 230-231.

31. *Shanghai xian xuzhi*, 1918, *juan* 2, pp. 37b-38b; see also *Wujiang xian xuzhi*, 1879, *juan* 2, pp. 5b-6a; *Jiangsu shengli*, vol. 2, 1891, "Zhengdun tuiguang yuying zhangcheng," pp. 1a-2b.

32. "Yushi En-pu zou yi guang she yuying tang yi qing luan liu shu" (Memorial by En-pu to urge for wider establishment of foundling homes to stop the chaos), 1891, in Wang Minglun, ed., *Fan yangjiao shuwen jietie xuan* (Jinan: Qilu 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 1863 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. Xue Fucheng, "Nishang yuying tang tiao yi" (Proposal for [foreign] foundling homes), 1892, in *Fan yangjiao*, pp. 396-397.

35. More details of the *liuwen hui* can be found in Hoshi Ayao, *Min-Shin*

jidai shakai keizaishi no kenkyū (Studies in the socioeconomic history of the Ming and Qing periods) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankokai, 1989), pp. 377-380. The value of the cash was reduced after the Taiping Rebellion. Between 1861 and 1870, one *shi* of rice cost 4,480 cash. Thus one had to pay 448 cash for a peck of rice, instead of 300 before the uprising. See note 16 above.

36. "Baoying zhang cheng," *Jiangsu shengli*, 1876, vol. 1, pp. 4a-12a; regulations of the Nanxun society in *Nanxun zhi*, 1920, *juan* 34, pp. 12b-21b; *Hongjiang yuying xiaoshi*, 1888.

37. The majority of the babies (62 percent) assisted by the Shanghai *baoying* societies were female; see Fuma, "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," p. 183.

38. *Luodian zhenzhi*, 1881, *Wujin Yanghu hezhi*, 1906, *juan* 3, p. 7b.

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 farmworker). Thus 600 cash should represent the ten-day salary of a second-class worker. See Xu Yingpu (1892-1981), *Liang Zhe shishi congkao* (Manuscript on the historical events of Zhejiang province) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 395-397.

40. Fuma, "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," pp. 178-185.

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 jutsurikai to seisetsudō" (Societies and institutions for chaste widows in the Qing), *Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu kenkyū kiyō* 30 (1991):41-131; Angela K. C. Leung, "To Chasten Society: The Development of Widow Homes in the Qing, 1773-1911," *Late Imperial China* 14(2) (December 1993):1-32.

42. *Jiangning fu chongjian puyu si tang zhi*, 1886, *juan* 1, pp. 1b-2a, 20b-21a.

43. *Wujin Yanghu xian zhi*, 1903, *juan* 3, p. 7b.

44. *Nanxun zhi*, *juan* 34, p. 16b; *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, p. 6b ("Shi guitiao").

45. *Tongzhou zhili zhoushi*, 1875, *juan* 3, pp. 65-66; *Taixing xianzhi*, 1885, *juan* 8, pp. 6b-7a.

46. *Jiangsu shengli*, 1876, 11a, "Jiading baoying zonghui banfa ge xian xiang cun jianbian zhangcheng" (Brief regulations distributed to the Xian, Xiang, and Cun by the Jiading general *baoying* society); *Rugao xian xuzhi*, 1873, *juan* 1, pp. 13b-14a; another example is the society at Taixing: *Taixing xianzhi*, 1885, *juan* 8, pp. 6b-7a.

47. The *baoying* society of the Xiashi *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 Qingpu accepted infants within eight or nine *li*; see *Jiangsu shengli*, 1891, vol. 2, p. 8a. The set of regulations proclaimed for *baoying* societies of the whole province of Jiangsu in 1876 limited the maximum distance to ten *li*; see *Jiangsu shengli*, 1876, vol. 1, p. 7b.

48. *Nanxun zhi*, *juan* 34, p. 22a; *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, pp. 8b-9a ("Shi guitiao").

49. Fuma, "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," p. 185; Milne, *Life in China*, p. 43.

50. *Tongxiang xian zhi*, 1887, *juan* 4, pp. 2b-4b, 8b; on the mortality in Shanghai institutions see Fuma, "Shinmatsu no hoeikai," 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 zhenzhi*, *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 zhen zhi*, 1880, *juan* 2, p. 22a).

51. "Sucheng zhun ban baoying hui qi" (Preface for the Baoying society organized in Suzhou), in *De yi lu*, *juan* 2/1, p. 43a.

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

53. See Leung, "L'accueil des enfants," p. 37.

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

55. I have argued elsewhere that the late Ming and early Qing philanthropic institutions (of which foundling 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 "shengsheng" (let life proliferate) much in vogue since the late Ming; see his "Zenkai, zentō no shuppatsu."

56. *Luodian zhenzhi*, *juan* 3, p. 11b.

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

58. *Nanxun zhi*, *juan* 34, p. 20b; for other examples see *Zhouzhuang zhenzhi*, *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* 3/1, p. 11b ("Xu ying zouyan"). This provision was in fact very common for foundling institutions all over China in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

59. *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, pp. 1b-7b ("Shi guitiao"); pp. 4a-b ("Shi niudou fangyao").

60. Ruan Benyan, *Qiu mu zouyan*, 1887, reprinted (facsim.) in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan*, vol. 27 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1968), *juan* 8, p. 7a (On the foundling hospital of Funing in Huaian); *Jiangsu shengli*, 1891, vol. 2, "Jieying zhangcheng ba tiao" (Eight rules of the *jieying tang* of Qingpu), 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. 9a-13a.

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

62. For instance: the Nanhui hospice, which was established in 1873, as well as the prefectural hospice of Songjiang; *Songjiang fu xu zhi*, 1883, *juan* 9, pp. 13b, 7b.

63. I have conjectured that an institution in Yangzhou established in 1807 practiced free variolation for local children before vaccination arrived in the Yangzi region. See my "Ming Qing yufang tianhua cuoshi zhi yanbian" (Preventive measures against smallpox in the Ming-Qing period), *Guoshi shilun* (Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, 1987), p. 246.

64. I have found that at least in Nanjing, Jurong, and today's Xi'an 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 niudou fangyao"). It is noteworthy that vaccination was first practiced in the Hongjiang institution in 1883 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 the midwinter months; some also offered the service in the late autumn.

67. *Hongjiang Yuying xiaoshi*, *juan* 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitiao"); *juan* 3, p. 1b ("Shi ceyin").

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

69. *Jiangsu shengli*, 1892, vol. 3, pp. 1a-1b.

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

71. See Leung, "L'accueil des enfants," pp. 35-36.

72. The institutions in Haining and Hongjiang, for example, explicitly forbade adoption by monks and nuns; see *Haining zhou chongshe luyingtang zhengxinlu*, 1891, sec. "Liuyingtang 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 xiaoshi*, *juan* 1, pp. 14b-15b ("Shi yuanqi").

73. For adoption and guarantors see, for example, *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, pp. 5a-6a ("Shi guitiao"); *Jiangning fu chongjian puyutang zhi*, *juan* 5, pp. 20b-21a; *De yi lu*, *juan* 3/1, p. 6b ("Yuyingtang zhang-

cheng"); *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 zouyan*, *juan* 8, p. 9a (on the Funing institution in Huaian).

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. 381-382.

75. On the earlier Qing charity school movement see my paper, "Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Benjamin Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 382-391.

76. *Jiangning puyu tang zhi*, *juan* 5, pp. 21a-b; *Qiu mu zouyan*, *juan* 8, p. 9b; *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitiao").

77. *De yi lu*, *juan* 13/4, pp. 2b-3b ("Fujiao ju zhangcheng"). 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. *Jiangning fu chongjian puyu tang zhi*, *juan* 5, p. 21b; *Qiu mu zouyan*, *juan* 8, p. 10a; *Hongjiang yuying xiao shi*, *juan* 2, p. 7b ("Shi guitiao"); *De yi lu*, *juan* 3/1, pp. 5a-b ("Yuying tang zhangcheng").

79. Liang, "Qingdai cishan jigou yu guanliaoceng di guanxi," pp. 92-94.

80. *Lijin* was a commercial tax created in 1853 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 Susumu, in his detailed study on the Songjiang foundling institutions of the late nineteenth century, observed such official involvement in the institutions; see "Shindai Shōkō ikueitō," pp. 483-501.

83. Rankin, *Elite Activism*, pp. 111-119.

84. Rowe, *Hankow*, pp. 131-132.

85. The excellent example of Songjiang is provided by Fuma Susumu, "Shindai Shōkō ikueitō," pp. 501-512. 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.

87. Gélis, *L'arbre et le fruit*, p. 432. Geremek characterizes the official social relief reforms since the sixteenth century as "un élément de l'idéologie de l'Etat moderne"; see Bronislaw Geremek, *La potence ou la pitié* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), p. 261.

GLOSSARY

<i>baojie</i>	保節	to preserve chastity
<i>baojie qian</i>	保節錢	money for the preservation of chastity
<i>baoying hui</i>	保嬰會	society for the preservation of infants
<i>chuangjie</i>	瘡疥	scabies
<i>daizang yinghai binyuan</i>	代葬嬰孩殯園	children's cemetery
<i>dibao</i>	地保	local constable
<i>fujiao ju</i>	撫教局	bureau for giving relief and education
<i>jiaying tang</i>	接嬰堂	hospice for receiving infants
<i>jingfeng</i>	驚風	convulsion
<i>jiyou tang</i>	及幼堂	hospice for the young
<i>kemin</i>	客民	alien residents
<i>li</i>	里	Chinese mile
<i>liuwen hui</i>	六文會	six cash society
<i>liuying tang</i>	留嬰堂	hospice for keeping infants
<i>nantong</i>	難童	refugee children
<i>niudou ju</i>	牛痘局	vaccination bureau
<i>qifeng</i>	臍風	tetanus neonatorum
<i>renyu</i>	認育	adoption
<i>sanhuang</i>	三黃	a kind of soup given to newborns
<i>shaying tang</i>	殺嬰堂	hospice of killing infants
<i>sui</i>	歲	year
<i>taidu</i>	胎毒	fetus toxicosis
<i>xian</i>	縣	county
<i>xiangyue</i>	鄉約	village lecture
<i>xugu ju</i>	恤孤局	bureau for orphan relief
<i>yangxi</i>	養媳	girls adopted as daughters-in-law
<i>yixue</i>	義學	charity school
<i>yizhong</i>	義塚	charitable graveyard
<i>yuying she</i>	育嬰社	society for the nurture of foundlings
<i>zhen</i>	鎮	town
<i>zhou</i>	州	prefecture
<i>zhuang</i>	莊	hamlet