

Shanghai Tou-se-we Orphanage and the Transformation of Children's Relief in Modern China

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Abstract: In order to explore the development and transformation of the orphan relief cause in modern China, this paper takes Tou-se-we Orphanage as the research object, and uses the methods of literature research and historical comparison to cross-disciplinary analysis of the children's cause model of Tou-se-we Orphanage and its impact on the transformation of the children's relief cause in modern China. First, the founding and development of Tou-se-we Orphanage was closely related to the background of modern China and the social characteristics of Shanghai. Second, Tou-se-we Orphanage created a relief model that attached equal importance to upbringing and education, which not only saved the orphans' lives, but also provided them with a skill to survive. Third, Tou-se-we Orphanage opened up a relief road different from the ancient Chinese orphanages. Under its influence, China's orphan relief had also begun to place equal emphasis on nurturing and nurturing orphans to be able to support themselves when they grow up. Therefore, Tou-se-we Orphanage became a typical representative of the orphan relief cause in modern Shanghai, which influenced the transformation and development of the orphan relief cause in China, and also provided a positive reference for today's children's relief cause.

Keywords: Tou-se-we Orphanage; Orphan Relief; Parenting Model; Transformation

1. Introduction

The former site of Tou-se-we Orphanage is located at the junction of Caoxi North Road and Puhuitang Road, Xuhui District, Shanghai, China. It was founded by European missionaries in 1849 and stopped in 1960, after nearly a hundred years. Tou-se-we Orphanage not only provides orphans with a

stable residence and guarantees their basic life, but also educates them, teaches them various skills on which to make a living, and cultivates their good habits of diligence, cleanliness and order, which is of great educational significance to the growth of orphans. With the return of the Tou-se-we Tower on the eve of the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, Tou-se-we Orphanage has gradually attracted the attention of the academic community, and people continue to dig out the history that has disappeared while affirming its achievements. Scholars have studied Tou-se-we Orphanage from different perspectives such as structure, technology, religion, culture, education and historical context, and have achieved fruitful results, but there is a lack of research on its orphan relief mode and its impact on Chinese charity. Foreign scholars have done a lot of research and analysis on the basic conditions of orphanages, but the research results are few. In this paper, the orphan relief work of Tou-se-we is investigated in the long history of the development of Chinese charity, and the successful rearing model of Tou-se-we Orphanage and its influence on the the transformation of modern Chinese charity work are discussed.

2. Development and Constraints of Child Welfare in Ancient China

As early as the Spring and Autumn Period, frequent warfare led to a shortage of soldiers. All states accorded high priority to the protection of women and children, implementing corresponding policies. King Gou Jian of Yue once decreed that women and children should be treated well, encouraging childbirth to bolster population growth and national strength. Confucius also advocated for Respect other people's parents as they respect their own parents, love other people's children as they love their own children. With the evolution of charitable practices, child welfare in ancient China developed distinct

characteristics.

2.1 Development of Child Welfare in Ancient China

2.1.1 Han Dynasty: initial stage of development

Following the establishment of the Western Han Dynasty, efforts were made to rectify social and economic issues by learning from the tyranny experienced during the Qin Dynasty's rule. Emphasis was placed on aiding vulnerable groups such as widows, orphans, individuals living alone, seniors, youth, and those who were ill or disabled through measures aimed at providing support without expecting anything in return while promoting recovery within society. As clan settlements expanded and evolved over time, grassroots charity initiatives including poverty alleviation programs along with care for children and orphans gained traction alongside funeral assistance within intra-clan mutual aid networks.

2.1.2 Tang and Song Dynasties: mature stage

The improvement of living standards brought about by the economic development in the Tang Dynasty provided the material basis for the prosperity of charity. In the Tang Dynasty, a charity organization with a fixed place was established in the monastery, namely, Beitian Yangbing Fang, to receive the poor elderly, the sick, the disabled and orphans. The government not only provides financial support, but also sets up agencies and sends officials to participate in management activities. In ancient China, it was the first mature charity and relief organization dedicated to the widowers, the lonely, the old, the infirm and other poor people.

During the Song Dynasty, the number and scope of abandoned and drowned infants increased and became a serious social problem, which aroused great attention of the Song Dynasty government. The state set up charity organizations such as Jiuzi Cang, Ciyoujv, Ciyouzhuang and Infant Bureau to adopt abandoned infants and reduce infanticide. The folk charity relief in Song Dynasty was far beyond the previous generation in terms of form and content[1]. The emergence of the charity relief Yitang (Yitan) made the folk charity with randomness and uncertainty appear the tendency of institutionalization. The earliest village in China was Fan Zhongyan's

Fan Shi Yizhuang in Wuxian and Changzhou of Suzhou. After Fan Zhongyan founded the village, the gentry followed suit and the village spread all over the country for a while. According to incomplete statistics, there were 79 Yizhuangs in the Song Dynasty alone[2]. Until the period of the Republic of China, still retained. In addition to the charitable organizations of clans, some places in the Song Dynasty also set up a charity school Zhuangtian to support poor students and scholars, such as Zhu Xi's Kaiting Academy and Siming local scholars' Siming Yitian.

2.1.3 Ming and Qing Dynasties: the heyday

The Ming and Qing dynasties both officially set up Yangjiyuan, Yuyingtang, etc., and the coverage continued to expand. In the early stage of Puji halls, most of the private forces raised funds and relied on the full support of local gentlemen and merchants. Later, it was supported by the rulers and became popular. According to statistics, in the Qing Dynasty, 129 Puji halls were established in 109 prefectures and counties of Henan Province, and 131 Puji halls were also set up in 101 prefectural and county health centers of Shandong Province[3]. In the middle and late period of Qianlong, due to the intervention of government forces, Puji halls gradually changed from a pure non-governmental charity organization to a charity organization jointly run by the government, the people and the people.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, there were a large number of foundling hospitals throughout the country. According to statistics, there were 973 foundling hospitals in the country, of which 579 were established before 1850 alone[4]. Among them, the baby-rearing charity in the Jiangnan area is the most prominent, and the baby-rearing institutions have extended to county-level cities and even to the village level. To form an urban-rural integrated baby-care network composed of baby-care bureaus, baby-care centers, baby-picking centers, and baby-care centers.

2.2 Characteristics of Children's Relief in Ancient China

The cause of children's relief in China has developed along with the development of charity in China. Looking at the development of children's relief in ancient China, there are generally the following characteristics:

2.2.1 The government's charity relief is the mainstream, while the non-governmental charity relief is relatively lagging behind. From the very beginning, non-governmental charity relief was marked with a political brand and a strong political color. Non-governmental charitable activities and charitable organizations maintained a close relationship with the political society at that time. Traditional folk charity activities can only be carried out with the acquiescence or approval of the government, or they can act as the spokesperson of the government and be entrusted by it to carry out charity relief.

2.2.2 Gentry is the main body of folk charitable activities

From the perspective of the main body of the charity relief activities, the organizers and leaders were often scholars, officials, country gentry, rich businessmen, and those who had obtained official qualifications at that time. Most of them were deeply influenced by the traditional Confucian culture and had the ambition of "governing the country and smoothing the world". When they saw social order chaos, moral corruption, and people suffering from poverty, they always took the lead and helped the people. To a certain extent, it eased the class contradictions at that time and stabilized the social order. It is their role as political people that requires appropriate media to express their political aspirations, and non-governmental charitable organizations have thus become the tools of their political strategies.

2.2.3 Charitable organizations have strong clan and regional characteristics

The ancient folk charity relief activities were deeply restricted by the region, and were generally led by local organizations to collect donations locally, and eventually targeted at local people. Cross-watershed, cross-regional philanthropy is rare. From the perspective of space, there are some regional differences in the development degree of folk charity relief activities. Generally speaking, charity activities in the South are more active than those in the north, and the development degree is also better than that in the north. This is because the South has a developed economy, prosperous culture, and a large number of scholars, which has effectively promoted the development of folk charity in the South.

2.3 Limitations of Children's Relief in Ancient China

2.3.1 Separate governance and lack of cooperation

The two main bodies of charity in ancient China were the government and the people, both of which made their own contributions in the development of social relief and charity in ancient China. However, the two were independent, lacked cooperation, and did not form the integration of resources to promote better development. Only in the Ming and Qing Dynasties appeared the new types of "government-supervised and commercial-run" and "government-supervised and gentry run". But it is not an effective combination of government charity and private charity.

2.3.2 Emphasize raising and neglect teaching, and respond negatively

The relief thought of Chinese traditional society aims at "the old have their end, the strong have their own use, the young have their own strengths, and the widowers, lonely and disabled have their own support", emphasizing "support" rather than "teaching". The relief of orphans in traditional Chinese society is funded by various forms of social assistance, which guarantees the orphans food and clothing, rather than developing their skills to support themselves. The relief in Chinese traditional society is a negative response rather than a positive relief, "supporting but not teaching, emphasizing supporting and neglecting education is the outstanding feature of Chinese traditional social relief mode."^[5] However, raising it without teaching it to work, in order to help make up for its deficiency, resulting in a waste of national tax.

2.3.3 Lack of system and supervision

The implementation of any system or policy must have a reasonable supervision system and supervision personnel, otherwise there will be some system loopholes. Social relief and charity in ancient China developed from scratch to reach its peak, focusing only on the measures and system themselves, and lacking a matching supervision system, which is likely to result in the diversion of relief resources for other purposes and the failure to play a corresponding role in the development of social relief and charity.

3. The Parenting Mode of Tou-se-we

Orphanage

Tou-se-we Orphanage was founded in 1849 in Xujiahui, Shanghai, and finally in 1960. It opened up a way of orphan relief which was different from the orphanages established by the government and gentry. It became a typical representative of the orphan relief cause in modern Shanghai and influenced the transformation and development of the orphan relief cause in China.

3.1 Historical Development of Tou-se-we Orphanage

The founding and development of Tou-se-we Orphanage is closely related to the political and economic situation of modern China and the characteristics of Shanghai society. Since modern times, the southeast coast of China has been repeatedly subjected to wars. Due to the

wars in the surrounding areas, the number of refugees in Shanghai increased and the population soared. In the 1850s and 1860s, the Shanghai Small Knife Society Uprising and the Taiping Army attacked Shanghai caused a steady flow of officials, gentry, rich and poor people from Shanghai County and its surrounding areas into the concession, breaking the situation of the Shanghai Concession Huayang Branch[6]. With the spread of war, many young children lost their parents, and the Tou-se-we Orphanage was established in this situation. From Table 1, we can learn that from 1848 to 1900, the number of orphans adopted by Tou-se-we Orphanage varied, and the change in the number was closely related to the political and economic situation in China.

Table 1. List of the Number of Orphans Admitted to Tou-se-we Orphanage between 1848 and 1900[7]

Annual (annual)	number (persons)	Annual (annual)	number (persons)	Annual (annual)	number (persons)	Annual (annual)	number (persons)
1848-1849	249	1849-1850	43	1850-1851	66	1851-1852	27
1852-1853	66	1853-1854	64	1854-1855	44	1855-1856	33
1856-1857	79	1857-1858	27	1858-1859	4	1859-1860	43
1860-1861	35	1861-1862	164	1862-1863	176	1863-1864	240
1864-1865	289	1865-1866	69	1866-1867	84	1867-1868	118
1868-1869	61	1869-1870	66	1870-1871	48	1871-1872	37
1872-1873	38	1873-1874	49	1874-1875	71	1875-1876	101
1876-1877	77	1877-1878	32	1878-1879	45	1879-1880	57
1880-1881	37	1881-1882	84	1882-1883	117	1883-1884	129
1884-1885	45	1885-1886	77	1886-1887	73	1887-1888	66
1888-1889	55	1889-1890	49	1890-1891	27	1891-1892	29
1892-1893	23	1893-1894	24	1894-1895	52	1895-1896	37
1896-1897	50	1897-1898	60	1898-1899	63	1899-1900	54

The rapid development of the Tou-se-we Orphanage, especially its achievements in artistic creation, has made the site the most visited place by Westerners visiting Xujiahui. The Russian Minister in China wrote, "I only stayed in Shanghai for three days, two days for my official business, but I hesitated to visit this orphanage; But all the ministers in Beijing spoke highly of the orphanage to me; In my opinion now, they were not exaggerating at all." [7]

However, the development of the orphanage was not smooth, and on the night of December 16, 1919, the orphanage suffered a fire. The fire burned from the building yard to the wooden plank house, and then spread to the woodworking room and the orphanage

housing. The fire destroyed more than a dozen houses, but fortunately few orphans were killed or injured. After the outbreak of the Second World War, as the war intensified in the West, the situation of Tou-se-we Orphanage was also affected, and it had to lay off workers and even had to run out of food until it was declared terminated in 1960.

3.2 Tou-se-we Orphanage Parenting Model

Tou-se-we Orphanage offered different parenting models with different emphasis for children of different ages. Before the age of six, children were raised in the foundling hospital, which provided each child with a small copper bed with a gondola, a small mosquito net, a blanket on the bed, etc., which was clean and

tidy, and there were older orphans to feed them milk. When the orphan child is four or five years old, he receives education, and the main content is to standardize the work and rest time, play on time, eat and rest. In addition to two congee and one rice, dim sum is provided once a day. After lunch, schedule a nap and wake up for a walk in the garden.

The boys were sent to the Tou-se-we Orphanage after the age of six or seven, while the girls were still raised separately from the infants in the foundling hospital, and did some work to take care of the young orphans, the orphanage provided them with three bedrooms and a kitchen room to meet their daily life, and taught to use writing, books, embroidery, lace and other fine arts, along with materials, and choose to match them[8]. The food and living conditions of Tou-se-we Orphanage were similar to those of the foundling hospital. Orphans have two porridges and one meal a day, skilled workers pay monthly wages in addition to providing meals, and families subsidize rice according to circumstances. The orphanage provides meat dishes on Sunday, eggs, fish and other small meat dishes on Wednesday and Friday, and provides dried radish and salted vegetables for breakfast, and dried radish for dinner. The usual schedule is to get up at 5:00 am and go to bed at 7:30 pm[9]. The fund of the orphanage mainly came from three aspects: foreign donations, subsidies from Shanghai charity organizations, and sales of works of the orphanage workshop. Tou-se-we Orphanage practiced the mode of raising orphans with equal emphasis on education, carried out work-study teaching, and trained orphans to be able to support themselves. For this purpose, they created clothing workshops, woodworking workshops, shoe workshops, weaving workshops, printing workshops Shen Fangbo, an old man who grew up in the Tou-se-we Orphanage, recalled: "We learn cultural lessons similar to outside, primary school to sixth grade graduation, then read junior high school, there are Chinese, mathematics, algebra, geometry, etc., the difference is that while reading, while learning technology, and so on, the end of reading, you have the ability to eat." [7] Tou-se-we orphan parenting mode is recognized by the Chinese people, the orphanage "all the lessons taught are craft-based", orphans "can work by hand, our primary school is not as good as him", "oil

painting room, watercolor painting room, woodworking, metalworking, leather work showroom, are more than ten years old students, we run a secondary school is not as good as him"[10].

The education system of Tou-se-we Orphanage was becoming more and more perfect, and Ciyun Primary School was established to provide special education for orphans. The school system was "four years of junior primary school, two years of senior primary school, and two years of internship class, adopting the monorail system of upgrading the autumn beginning of the school year". Orphans started from the senior primary school to study part-time, internship classes also need to learn such as economics, history and geography, computing, foreign languages and other courses. After graduation from high school, the orphans were basically 13 years old, and according to their qualifications, they can be assigned to learn a trade in carpentry, hardware, shoe, iron, printing, printing, photography, etc., on the basis of "they think you look more polite, so they went to the south picture, the glass, and the east typesetting, printing, binding, etc. There are also publishing houses." [9]

The artisanal workshops at Tou-se-we Orphanage were located in buildings on either side of the courtyard, each of which was managed by the courtyard, with a number of workers and apprentices. Feng Zhoulun, who was an orphan in the woodworking factory of Tou-se-we Orphanage, recalled, "The master was Chinese, and the senior management were foreigners. The apprenticeship lasts for six years, upon which no certificate is issued and only an oral announcement is made. After the full teacher can go out to work, can also stay in the hospital to become a skilled worker, can freely come and go at night, which is not allowed before the full teacher. Food and housing for apprentices are provided by the orphanage, and laundry soap and hair shaving are also provided free of charge. At that time, the apprentice was given a salary of 2 yuan a month, and the orphanage recorded this salary and paid it together when the teacher was ready to get married, so as to get married and start a family." [9] This was generally the case in other workshops, except for the differences in skills learned.

3.3 Achievements of Tou-se-we Orphanage.

Breaking the ancient Chinese orphan relief model of valuing upbringing over education, Tou-se-we Orphanage adopted abandoned orphans and taught them knowledge and handicrafts, so as to cultivate their earning ability. Since its opening in 1849, through hard work, the orphanage has achieved a reputation at home and abroad, and the handicrafts produced have won widespread praise at home and abroad. Tou-se-we Orphanage has a very important position and significance in the history of modern culture and church education in Shanghai. The sculpture "Tou-se-we Tower" from Tou-se-we was exhibited in San Francisco in 1915, Chicago in 1933 and New York in 1939, and attracted worldwide attention. Similarly, the Baita from Tou-se-we Orphanage was stunning. His handicraft works, including wood carving, painting, weaving and hardware, were exhibited at the World's expos in Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), Liege (1905), San Francisco (1915), Chicago (1933), and New York (1939), and won many honors. There were many famous people in the history of Tushan Bay, such as Xu Yongqing, the artist of the lunar calendar, Xu Baoqing, the master of boxwood carving, and Zhang Chongren, the master of sculpture. Even ordinary students can find a stable job and earn a good income after completing their studies in Tushan Bay Institute of Technology[11]. According to contemporary records, for decades, most of the graduates of the school can achieve excellent status in various factories in Shanghai, and specialized technicians have also gained attention from the industry[12].

4. The Influence of Tou-se-we Orphanage on the Transformation of Shanghai Orphan Relief in Modern Times

Tou-se-we Orphanage's model of education not only helped a large number of orphans, but also provided them with a skill for life when they grew up. Tou-se-we Orphanage became the target of Shanghai orphan relief in modern times, which promoted the modern transformation of Shanghai orphan relief mode from emphasizing nursing and neglecting education to emphasizing education.

4.1 The Transformation of China's Orphan Education Mode in the Late Qing Dynasty

When the country was opened to the world at the beginning of the late Qing Dynasty, some people of insight in China saw the importance of valuing education in orphan relief, and advocated abandoning the relief mode of valuing education over education in traditional society and learning the relief mode of "valuing education over education" in the West. The orphanages founded by the Chinese began to change from attaching importance to upbringing and neglecting education to attaching equal importance to upbringing and education. One of the most notable was the Shanghai Puyu Hall. Shanghai Puyu Hall was established by Shanghai Daotai Yingbao Shi in 1866 at the Chen Gong Temple in Taosha Chang to "adopt beggar children, nourish them and teach them". The funds were "500 strings per month from the Guan library, 300 strings per month from the Songhu Bali Bureau, and the remaining fees were drawn from the silk tea merchant's stack". Separate old men, old women, disabled men, disabled women, recuperation, care and education, infant care seven, with books, school, medicine and two bureau. Among them, the education was mainly used for children with poor income, considering that the children of mothers in Fuyuan Hall and Goyu Hall have not been able to study and learn from teachers, the quota limit of this school has been increased from the original 40 to 80[13]. Thus it can be seen that Shanghai Daotai in the late Qing Dynasty has begun to pay attention to the problem of the upbringing of orphans.

In 1906, Wang Yiting, a well-known philanthropist and social activist in the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, founded the Shanghai Orphanage, focusing on combining the upbringing of orphans. At the beginning of the proposed creation, it was proposed that "the source of thieves and bandits is mostly due to illiteracy, and those who are especially illiterate are more than orphans", and that "the way of caring for orphans is not to provide them with food and clothing, so that they are not cold and hungry, but better to cultivate their wisdom". The funds of the institute came from donations from the Chinese society, the Western society, and the Shanghai Church. In 1910, the hospital has a considerable scale, divided into two men and women, eating white rice, red bean rice, porridge, bread, teaching rattan technology,

Chinese, English. Later, the craft was expanded to include carpentry and painter for boys, and sewing and cooking for girls. In 1923, the development of the hospital became more and more perfect: there were 298 orphans in Longhua General Hospital, including 218 boys and 80 girls; Shanghai Ximen Branch has 40 craft students and Zhoupu Branch has 30 students. Shanghai Zhabei has a Jinde association, specializing in discharge training students counseling, there were 40 boarders[14].

4.2 During the Republic of China, the Government Paid Equal Attention to Education

After the Revolution of 1911, the newly established Shanghai Charity Group took over the hall. In 1913, the new Puyu Hall was built by Lu Bohong, president of the Shanghai Catholic Church, to expand its business. The new Puyu Hall paid more attention to the role of education in the upbringing of orphans, and builds a construction workshop in the north of more than 10 acres to teach skills.

In the period of the Republic of China, the government paid more attention to the rehabilitation of children in relief, which made the rehabilitation of children in relief widely popular. In 1915, the Beijing government issued the "Rules of the Homeless Institute" stipulated: "Younger people (within 10 years old) to learn the primary school curriculum, the duration of schooling is 4 years; Older students study higher primary school courses for 3 years; Older and unable to learn, learn weaving, printing, lettering, iron, carpentry and other skills, so that they can earn a living; Evening classes are set up to teach elderly practitioners to learn Chinese characters, abacus and other subjects." [15]

The Social Relief Law of 1943 defined the concept of orphan relief in the form of a legal system, stipulating that "all young men and women over the age of two and under the age of twelve who should receive relief may be kept in the nursery home", "the nursery home shall set up a corresponding number of shifts according to the age of the children to be kept in the nursery, grant a corresponding education, and provide technical training. Or send to the nearest equivalent school free of charge." [15] People at that time also recognized the importance of education in social relief,

pointing out that "the development of modern relief has progressed from negative relief to active prevention, and in essence, the general relief organs can gradually adopt scientific methods to make reasonable facilities for the skills of relief, which is different from the old days when they were eager to compassion and only provided meals and accommodation to avoid cold and hunger." The development of special social relief undertakings has brought great benefits to them." [16]

As a result, the Chinese children's relief cause was influenced by the education mode of Shanghai Tushanwan Orphanage, which not only promoted the transformation of the modern Chinese children's relief cause, but also witnessed the unremitting efforts of a group of advanced modern Chinese intellectuals to devote themselves to charity.

5. Conclusion

From its inception in 1849 to its perfection in 1864 and its closure in 1960, the Tushanwan Orphanage lasted for more than 110 years. It promoted the development of social relief in Shanghai and even the whole country and promoted the modernization of the orphan relief model through the mode of education and education. Although this orphan relief institution, founded by Western religious figures, initially taught orphans various practical craft skills for the purpose of serving churches in the Far East, it practiced the idea of attaching equal importance to education, teaching orphans cultural knowledge and craft skills, in sharp contrast to the traditional Chinese society in which orphan relief emphasized rearing over education. This mode of orphan relief, which attaches equal importance to education, enables the orphans from the orphanage to gain the ability to establish themselves in the society and gain the recognition of the society.

The historical task of the transformation of the social relief model, including orphan relief, cannot be fully undertaken by the folk gentry and Western people alone, and ultimately requires the joint participation of the government and gentry to establish and improve the system from the national level and widely implement it from the social level. After the Tushanwan Orphanage, the orphanages established in modern Shanghai, such as the Shanghai Orphanage, basically

paid equal attention to the upbringing of orphans, so that orphans could earn their own living in society after they grew up, so that the orphan relief cause could be more effective. The promulgation of the Social Relief Law in 1943 confirmed the idea of attaching equal importance to social relief and education in the form of legal system.

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