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POPULAR CULTURE IN SHANGHAI 1884 - 1898

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I certify that this thesis is based on research entirely carried out by myself.

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ABSTRACT

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the establishment of the foreign settlements in Shanghai led to an enclave within China in which the representatives of China's élite culture, the gentry, had no political basis from which to enforce their standards on the non-élite, or ordinary people of Shanghai. These people themselves had left the traditional environment of clan and gentry control, and were to a very large degree free of such restraints, and the foreign authorities had no interest in imposing or maintaining any particular cultural norms. The new physical and social environment of Shanghai was also conducive to the development of many new attitudes amongst the people who lived there towards the symbolic systems of rank and clothing, the concept of health and the human body, the pattern of human relations, relations between men and women and the traditional social order. The basic characteristics of twentieth century Shanghai culture developed during this period.

This thesis seeks to explore the development of this new type of popular culture in Shanghai. The main source material has been the Dianshizhai Pictorial, a magazine published between 1884 and 1898, which reflects popular attitudes and culture in that period. Other material used includes the Shen Bao, a daily newspaper published in Shanghai, novels, memoirs and modern studies on the history of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, as well as studies on various aspects of popular culture in China and elsewhere.
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PREFACE

Practically every study on popular culture begins with a self justification. Popular culture has been called "one of history's losers"\(^1\), and historians have not generally regarded it as being worthy of attention. During the 1960s, however, historians of European culture began to interest themselves in the popular culture of the past.\(^2\) The history of popular culture has also become a subject of study in Japan.\(^3\) There has been some research done on oral literature and folk literature in China, but the first specialist work on the history of popular culture in China was as recent as 1985.\(^4\)

The following quotation from the preface to *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* can serve as a useful summary of my own attitudes: "No one believes that we can understand China by studying only the privileged and the educated. But they produced most of the documents, and so they have received, and still receive, attention from historians far out of proportion to their numbers. This overemphasis on the élite has led to grave distortions in our vision of Chinese history and culture, distortions that can only be remedied by serious, systematic study of the world beyond the boundaries of the ruling class".

To this I would add my own reasons for studying Shanghai in particular. Its importance in the modern economic and political history of China is undoubted, and some books about Shanghai refer to it as the "Key to Modern China"\(^5\), the

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4 David Johnson, Andrew J. Nathan and Evelyn Rawski (eds.) *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (University of California Press, 1985)
5 Rhoads Murphey, *Shanghai - Key to Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 1953)
"Gateway to China" and so on. The new popular culture of Shanghai, however, took shape in the latter part of the nineteenth century, along with Shanghai's industrial development. Little attention has been paid, however, to this aspect of Shanghai history, and indeed to this aspect of modern Chinese history.

As with research on the popular cultures of other countries, finding appropriate source material is a major problem. The "people" whose culture we are studying left little in the way of written records, and official records paid them little attention. They are truly the "people without history". In the case of nineteenth century Shanghai, however, we are fortunate to have a record of everyday life in the form of the Dianshizhai Pictorial, which was published between 1884 and 1898, and a daily newspaper, the Shen Bao, in which many of the details of everyday life were recorded. The Dianshizhai took its material from a variety of contemporary sources, illustrated them with sketches and added a commentary. The Dianshizhai Pictorial and the Shen Bao were the most popular and widely read newspapers of the day. They themselves played an influential role in influencing popular tastes and the development of a new popular culture, in that they determined, to a very large extent, what the masses read. Some scholars have studied the popular press as an important factor in the formation of popular culture. My own approach is different: I believe we can regard the pages of the Dianshizhai as an indirect reflection of popular culture of the time.

The writers of the Dianshizhai may have been literati, but their readership included women, children, carriage-drivers, merchants and peddlers, and the people depicted in its pages are the ordinary men and women of Shanghai. Its readership was indeed broader than that of the Shen Bao. Its founder, Ernest Major, knew that "there might be people under Heaven who do not like to read newspapers, but there are no people under Heaven who do not like to read pictorials." The stories in the Dianshizhai Pictorial were meant to appeal to a wide

7 Eric R. Wolf, Europe and the People Without History (University of California Press, 1982)
8 Raymond Williams, "The Press and Popular Culture: An Historical Perspective", in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, Newspaper History - From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day (Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, California, 1978) pp.41-50; Leo Ou-fan Lee and Andrew J. Nathan, "The Beginnings of Mass Culture: Journalism and Fiction in the Late Ch‘ing and Beyond", in Johnson et al. op. cit. pp. 360-395
9 Announcements in Volume Xin of the Dianshizhai. For the titles of the volumes of the Dianshizhai, see p. 40, note 88, of this thesis. Cf. the comments by Rudolphe Töpffer in 1845: "The picture story, which critics disregard and scholars scarcely notice, has great influence at all
readership, including many who would not normally read newspapers. Through its 4,500 odd sketches and commentaries, we can feel the vitality of life amongst the ordinary people of Shanghai - details of their everyday life, their attitude towards the world outside China, what they found interesting, how they spent their leisure time, their religious festivals - in a much more immediate and vivid way than through any number of official records.

The "people without history" are often nameless, but when their names have been preserved in the Dianshizhai Pictorial I have included them in this thesis, as the least gesture we can still make to them as human beings. Aspects of their lives and activities have been preserved in commentaries, which have been translated here in a literal a fashion as possible, to try to retain somewhat of the flavour of the original. An attempt has been made to translate a large number of titles and terms no longer in current use into English equivalents. Terms which are peculiar to the Shanghai dialect have been romanised according to the system used by the Shanghai Vernacular Society.10

The Dianshizhai Pictorial was published every ten days continuously for fourteen years. Some of the commentaries have appeared in English, German and Japanese translations. Some studies of the Dianshizhai Pictorial have used it for the study of the development of artistic techniques in modern China, for the history of the popular press, or even for the part it played in the development of lithography and printing. It has not been used, to my knowledge, as a source of social history or popular culture. This is the approach of this thesis: artistic techniques or the history of lithography are beyond its scope.

My thanks go to my mentor in the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Tang Zhenchang, and to my supervisor in the Department of East Asian History, Lo Hui-min. Without Dr. Lo's strenuous efforts to arrange a scholarship for me, this thesis would not have been possible. Professor Mark Elvin has read the entire

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10 This system was adopted by the Shanghai Vernacular Society in 1899, and was later employed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in its romanised translation of the Police Regulations, and by F. L. Hawks Pott in his Lessons in the Shanghai Dialect (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930). See Gilbert McIntosh, Useful Phrases in the Shanghai Dialect (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press and Kelly and Walsh, 1906), pp. i-iv.
thesis in its various stages, and his suggestions have been invaluable. Professor Nathan Sivin read the section on Western medicine, and his suggestions made me far more careful in my use of sources. My thanks too to David Johnson, Convenor of the Project on Chinese Popular Culture at the University of California at Berkeley, whose invitation to give a seminar there resulted in much helpful comment. In particular, Susan Mann was particularly warm in her encouragement. Whilst in Berkeley I was able to discuss some of my ideas with Frederic Wakeman, whose sharp and critical interest in my work was indescribably encouraging. Finally I should like to express my thanks to my friends Geremie Barme and Linda Jaivin, who sent me much helpful material, and to Brian Martin for moral support and intellectual stimulation.

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INTRODUCTION

Culture and Popular Culture

The term "culture" is an imprecise term, and any study of culture, or popular culture, must start with a definition of terms and concepts.

One of the most authoritative writers on popular culture, Peter Burke, has expressed his own concept of culture in the following terms: "[culture is] a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artifacts) in which they are expressed or embodied. Culture in this sense is part of a total way of life, but not identical with it."¹ According to William F. Ogburn, "the definition of culture most often quoted is that of Tyler: "Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". A particular culture has been defined by Redfield as 'an organized body of conventional understandings, manifest in act and artifact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes a human group'. Excellent definitions both, yet culture is one of those large concepts, like democracy or science, a definition of which seems very bare and inadequate to convey its rich meanings."²

The concept and definition of culture employed in this thesis is close to that of Peter Burke quoted above, but particularly extended to include the material culture of everyday life - food, clothing, pastimes and so on. These aspects of culture are particularly important in a transitional period of cultural change.

The definition of popular culture also poses difficulties. For a start, the terminology used in defining popular culture in terms of contrast with other cultural forms is not uniform: "learned culture" and "popular culture", "high" culture and "popular" culture, "dominant" culture and "dominated" culture, the culture of the

¹ Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (Maurice Temple Smith Ltd, 1978), p. xi
"élite" and that of the "non-élite", the "subordinate classes" or "subcultures" and so on.  

Secondly, there is the question of what exactly is meant by "popular". As Daniel Hall has stated the problem: "The historian of popular culture in an pursuit of an elusive quarry. No one knows exactly what this quarry looks like, or even who 'the people' are whose culture is at issue. Anyone who intervenes to serve as guide is suspect; the intermediary is by definition different from the subject ... The history of popular culture grows from the perception of division or difference: the culture of "the people" differs from the culture of 'élites'."  

Peter Burke has also addressed this difficulty: "As for popular culture, it is perhaps best defined initially in a negative way as unofficial culture, the culture of the non-élite, the 'subordinate classes', as Gramsci called them."  

I have adopted a similar approach in this thesis. "Élite culture" describes the culture of the Chinese gentry in the late Qing dynasty; the term "popular culture" is used to describe the culture of the rest of the population. These categories are not exclusive, however - there was a great deal of interaction and interpenetration between the two types of culture. In commenting on Redfield's definition of the "great tradition" and the "little tradition", Peter Burke noted: "Such a model was put forward in the 1930s by the social anthropologist Robert Redfield. Within some societies, he suggested, there were two cultural traditions, the "great tradition" of the educated few, and the "little tradition" of the rest ... Redfield's model is a useful point of departure, but it is open to criticism. His definition of the little tradition as the tradition of the non-élite can be criticised ... because it omits upper-class participation in popular culture, which was an important fact of European life, most obvious at festivals. Carnival, for example, was for everyone ... It was not only the nobility who participated in popular culture; the clergy did so too, particularly in the sixteenth century." He concludes that until the withdrawal of the upper classes from popular culture around the beginning of the nineteenth century, the early modern European élite possessed two cultures: the traditional high culture and

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3 Jacques Le Goff, "The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys in the Otherworld in the Middle Ages", in Steven L. Kaplan, (ed.) Understanding Popular Culture - Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century (Mouton Publishers, 1984) pp. 19-38, on p. 19
4 Daniel Hall, "Introduction" in Kaplan, Understanding Popular Culture, pp. 5-18, on p. 5.
5 Burke, Popular Culture, p. ix
6 Idem pp. 23-28
contemporary popular culture, whereas the ordinary people participated in only one: popular culture.7

The interpenetration of high and low cultures, and the participation of the élite in certain aspects of popular culture in nineteenth century China was similar to that of early modern Europe, as described by Burke. The "Kitchen God", for example, was very definitely part of popular, not élite culture. Yet in the Late Qing Imperial Court the Bureau of Rites was responsible for organising a ritual known as "leaping before the kitchen god",8 which was performed by forty musicians and dancers on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth lunar month. The rituals associated with the Procession of the City God in Shanghai were performed in the early morning by the officials and the gentry; the later procession itself, however, was purely a popular affair, in which the officials were even made fun of, much in the way of a European carnival. The whole process, however, involved the participation of both the gentry and the ordinary people.9

Social mobility aided this interpenetration, communality, or blurring of distinctions between high and low culture. Anyone who passed the imperial examinations and became a member of the bureaucracy was automatically considered a participant and inheritor of traditional high culture. Many such scholars, however, continued certain religious practices and beliefs which were entirely within the realm of low culture, and carried these beliefs and attitudes into the high cultural milieu.10

It has taken some time for scholars to realise this aspect of pre-modern China. As Maurice Freedman put it: "The great 'discovery' by English-speaking social scientists in an earlier part of this century (say, from the thirties to the fifties) was that behind the Confucian smoke-screen there lay hidden a different way of life and a different set of values: roughly, the culture of peasants. The second half of the century has seen the further 'discovery' that the first was an illusion. That is to say, élite culture and peasant culture were not different things; they were versions of each other."11

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7 Idem p. 270
8 tiao zao 跳灶
9 This subject is discussed in detail in Part 4 of Chapter 5 of this thesis. The reference to the Kitchen God is from the Dianshizhai, Tu 11.
10 Dianshizhai, Jin 79, Xing 44.
The interaction between the two forms of culture was not equal, however; nor was it primarily a matter of social mobility. It was more a matter of the values of the élite culture being imposed on the masses, that is to say, a matter of cultural hegemony. In Gramsci's use of this concept, "hegemony is a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership." The concept of élite culture, as used in this thesis, does not mean the achievements of traditional Chinese civilization. It is used in a functional sense, that is the means by which the Chinese élite - the gentry - exercised cultural control, or cultural hegemony over the ordinary people, the "old hundred surnames".

The concept of cultural hegemony was first used in analysing the interaction between the two types of cultures in European history. There are, however, many striking similarities between the means of control through which the upper classes exercised cultural influence over the masses in Europe and China. One of these was the production of popular reading materials, which educated members of the élite would never dream of reading themselves. In medieval Europe, "The authors of many kinds of pastoral literature were often highly educated people, famous theologians and writers, preachers and members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ... The higher genres of church literature came into contact with folklore not directly, but through the medium of 'low-brow' popularizing literature". A similar phenomenon was common enough in pre-modern China: "A sophisticated scholar could "write down" to a humble audience and make himself understood." Writing such popular literature, encouraging people to do good and shun evil, and generally popularizing the traditional moral values of the élite was one of the responsibilities of the scholarly class. During the late Qing period, for example, during the Daoguang, Tongzhi and Guangxu reign periods a particularly widespread booklet of such tales, entitled Recent Record of Exhortations and Admonitions was collected and edited by the Daotai of Fuzhou, Liang Jingshu

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12 Roger Simon, Gramsci's Political Thought (London: Laurence and Wishart, 1987), p. 21
13 Edward Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (London: Gollanz, 1980); cf. the analysis of the attempts by the clergy to institute reforms in popular religion in Burke, Popular Culture, pp. 207-243
14 Aron Gurevich, Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception (Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 6-7
15 David Johnson, "Communication, Class and Consciousness in Late Imperial China", in Johnson, Popular Culture, pp. 34-72, on. p. 36.
Such books written by the élite for popular consumption were full of concepts the writers themselves did not necessarily believe in - retribution for good and evil, for example - and often they made their attitude clear in the preface: "One can influence people for a short time by means of oral argument, but a hundred generations through the medium of the written word. So books exhorting people to do good have more than a shallow influence on the ways of the world and the hearts of men. However, the words used by various writers are not the same, and their intentions are also different. Some use morals and maxims to straighten people's hearts; some tell of reward for good and retribution for evil, in order to warn the stupid. Some even provide drawings of heaven and hell, with demons and monsters, telling in detail of the six paths and the wheel of life, or the three ways and retribution. Although this sort of thing borders on the absurd, at least those seeing them will be warned." Simplified versions of the Confucian classics - the basis of the high culture value system - were also written by scholars for the children of the poor. The main purpose of these was to inculcate traditional values even into the lower levels of society. Conventional education, of course, began with reading of the original texts.

This sort of cultural hegemony ensured that the basic values of popular culture would be derived from, and reinforced by, the values of the traditional high culture. This is clear from the ubiquitous presence of "loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness" in popular drama and popular reading material. Some purely élite values penetrated the popular level - for example "Reverence for Lettered Paper", which had its origins in respect for the words of the sages. It was institutionalised by the literate classes, disseminated by the gentry, and was

16 Quan jie jin lu [Recent records of Exhortations and Admonitions]. Reprinted versions were Quan jie san lu [Third Record of Exhortations and Admonitions] (1845) and Quan jie si lu [Fourth Record of Exhortations and Admonitions] (1848). It was republished under its original title, Quan jie jin lu in 1870 and again in 1880.
17 From the Preface written by Li Chongfu 李崇福 to the 1880 edition of the Quan jie jin lu. Prefaces to other editions have similar comments.
18 Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China (University of Michigan Press, 1979), pp. 48-50
19 Cf. Judith A. Berling, "Religion and Popular Culture", in Johnson et al. Popular Culture pp. 188-218, who discusses the "leadership" of the gentry class in popular theatrical performances and religious festivals (on pp. 194-195). On might compare also the popular prints in Maria Rudova, Chinese Popular Prints (Aurora Art Publishers, Leningrad, 1988), such as "Five Human Relationships" (p. 101); "Six Examples of Filial Piety" (pp. 104-106) etc.
20 Chapter Five.
eventually accepted and venerated even by the illiterate lower classes. The means adopted by the gentry to encourage its acceptance by the masses, however - stories about reward for good deeds and so on - were not believed by the educated classes themselves. In the rapidly changing society of late nineteenth century Shanghai, when such practices and beliefs were coming under threat or simply being ignored, it was the gentry which was most active in attempts to preserve them.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Shanghai was divided into three parts: the British and American settlements, generally referred to as the International Settlement, and the French Concession. A generic term for both of these was simply "the settlement" or "the settlements". A new urban popular culture formed in this area, which was not under the control of traditional elite cultural hegemony, as exercised elsewhere through the gentry. The third part was the Chinese city and its environs, which was under the control of Chinese officials and gentry. The social structure of the Chinese city was conservative, and not immediately subject to the same pressures of Western influence as the settlements. The power of the gentry in the Chinese city, effective as it may have been within its own social structure, did not reach the settlements. Chinese living within the confines of the settlements were living outside the social structure of gentry cultural hegemony. The dominant political group in the settlements, the Western consuls and merchants, had no interest in the cultural, social or religious life of the Chinese there, and certainly had no interest in trying to exert any "cultural hegemony". Even if they had it is doubtful if they would have been very successful, as the gap between Chinese and Western values at the time of the establishment of the settlements was very great. A long period of constant exposure to Western concepts, especially the material progress of the West, helped to lessen this gap. The absence of gentry cultural hegemony in the settlements was likewise essential for this process to take place.

As a topic, Shanghai popular culture is too wide a field to be dealt with adequately in this thesis. There are many possible approaches - some very up-to-date - the emergence of a civil society, a feminist approach, the "tradition versus modernity" or "tradition in modernity" approach, and so on. My own approach was to explore the world of a newly developing popular culture, a popular culture developing in the absence of direct elite cultural control. This thesis will focus on the following issues:

(1) the changing physical environment of Shanghai, and its effect on popular culture;
(2) the formation of the new population of the settlements, and the relationship between the population and the power structure of the elite;
(3) changes in popular culture, as well as the retention of aspects of traditional elite and popular culture, in the context of the rapidly changing context, both physical and demographic, of the settlements.

As in Early Modern Europe, changes in popular culture were closely related to a changing physical environment. Construction of roads in the settlements meant travelling was easier; rickshaws and horse-drawn carriages became common and began to displace the sedan chair; this in turn lead to certain social distinctions being blurred, as the sedan chair implied social status, whereas a carriage could be hired by anyone with the money to pay the fare. The introduction of gas lamps, and later electric lamps made possible the development of the sort of night life for which Shanghai was to become famous. The introduction of running water had many social side-effects, including improved sanitary conditions and thus the further expansion and development of Western hospitals; this in turn raised expectations as far as medical treatment was concerned. The more general use of watches and clocks changed the concept of time. Western restaurants gradually came to be accepted. Certain Western foods, not traditionally part of the Chinese diet, came to be accepted. Even for the people who lived there, Shanghai must have been full of surprises. Traditional activities took on new forms, and new meanings. As Peter Burke pointed out, "to understand any item of culture we need to place it in context, which includes the physical context or social setting, public or private, indoor or outdoor, for this physical space helps is to structure the views". For example, the size of the teahouses in the settlements changed their function: the largest teahouses could seat more than a thousand people, and provided various forms of entertainment. The opportunities for people of various walks of life to mix socially in such surroundings made their social function very different from the intimacy of the traditional teahouse.

Western investment in leisure activities brought about a "commercialisation of leisure". To the Shanghaiese of the late nineteenth century, Western sports

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21 Burke, *Popular Culture*: "Popular culture was, as we have seen, closely related to its environment, adapted to different occupational groups and regional ways of life. It was bound to change when its environment changed" (p. 245).
22 Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 108
23 Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 248: "How far urban popular entertainment changed between 1500 and 1800 is a difficult question. It has recently been argued that eighteenth century England witnessed a "commercialisation of leisure", in the sense that business began to regard leisure activities as a good investment and in the sense that facilities actually grew ... Horse races were
such as horse-racing were an important social occasion, patronised with great enthusiasm by young and old. They were particularly attracted to, and fascinated by circuses. Even horse-drawn carriages were regarded more as an occasion for a social outing more than as a mere means of transport. Indeed, "taking the air" in a carriage was one of the "seven great pleasures of Shanghai". One might contrast this situation with Shanghai before its development into a thriving, modern city, when the only sources of entertainment were the festivals and temple fairs associated with the Temple of the City God,24 or theatrical performances in the Guild Halls. Life in the Chinese city in the late nineteenth century was not essentially any different from what it had been for several hundred years, either materially or in its social structure. There were city walls and city gates, which were opened in the mornings and closed at night. Time was indicated by a watchman with his clapper; there was no electricity, no gas. The roads were very narrow, and only pedestrians and sedan chairs could pass through them.

It was not only the physical environment which was changing. The population of the settlements increased dramatically. Before the establishment of the settlements, there were less than five hundred people living in that area. By the end of the nineteenth century, it had become a huge metropolis. Practically all the inhabitants of Shanghai were immigrants, and traditional social structures were either non-existent or non-effective amongst most of the Chinese in the settlements.

The gentry class exerted social and cultural hegemony in traditional Chinese society, but the gentry, as a group with a particular social function within a particular social structure, did not exist in the settlements. That is not to say that there were not some people with a gentry background, who had formerly been members of this social group in some other area of China, were not physically present in the settlement, as individuals. Some people in the settlements had indeed passed the lowest level of the imperial examinations in their place of origin, and, if they had stayed there, would have been considered relatively low-status members of the traditional gentry. People such as Wang Tao 王韬, Cai Erkang 蔡尔康 and Li Shanlan 李善兰 come to mind. But once they settled in Shanghai their whole social function changed fundamentally. Some of them became involved in Western-

were already mentioned in the newspapers by the 1720s, and by 1800, according to J. H. Plumb, "racing was a complex industry involving thousands of workers and investment that ran into hundreds and thousands of pounds". The most striking case of the commercialisation of popular culture is the circus, which goes back to the late eighteenth century."

24 Shanghai Tongshe 上海通社. Shanghai yanjiu ziliao 上海研究资料 [Historical materials for research on Shanghai] (Shanghai: 1936; reprinted Shanghai Shudian, 1984), p. 511
style journalism, some occupied themselves translating Western books; some even spent their time writing novels. Their educational background, and even their tastes, may have still been that of the gentry, and some of them would even have liked to exert the "moral leadership" over the ordinary people that the gentry exerted in traditional China, and indeed continued to exert in other parts of China at that time. But they were no longer members of the gentry power structure, and consequently had lost the social function of the traditional gentry. Retrospectively, they might be considered the precursors of a new intellectual élite in twentieth century China. In the late nineteenth century, however, that new social structure was still in an inchoate stage.

At that time, there was no way in which they could have imposed their values on ordinary Chinese living in the settlements.

In the Chinese city, the gentry still played a traditional role. Disputes amongst people were resolved by them, and they ran "charitable halls" which provided some types of social services. The gentry was also responsible for the upholding of traditional moral standards: widows were exhorted to remain chaste, people were required to show reverence for paper on which characters had been written ("lettered paper"), and to observe the practice of "setting free of living things" (i.e. buying a bird, or a fish, or a goat destined to be killed for food, and setting it free). The local officials were also moral police; the Court used torture to resolve cases in the traditional manner. By the late nineteenth century the Chinese city may have felt the influence of the foreign settlements, for example, some women started to frequent teahouses and theatres. The power of the gentry, the officials and the gentry class generally over the ordinary populace was still, however, very great. Prohibitions against women frequenting teahouses and opium dens were effective in the Chinese city, for example, but no one paid much attention to such orders in the settlements.

In the 1870s, an unclearly defined new social group began to form in Shanghai, the "gentry merchants". These men had been successful compradors or merchants, who had purchased official titles, and became involved in various social welfare issues. Social welfare was indeed one of the functions of the traditional gentry. Economically, however, the gentry-merchants were not so powerful as the "Shanghai capitalists" of the twentieth century. They were not members of the traditional élite - their degrees and official titles had been bought, not earned. What is more, they were living in a transitional society, under the political administration of Westerners. That they occupied themselves in a minor sort of way with such
issues as social welfare does not imply that their social function in the settlements of 
Shanghai might be comparable to the traditional gentry in other areas of China at the 
time.

The expression "common people" or "ordinary people", or to use the vivid 
Chinese expression the "old hundred surnames", is used in this thesis to mean all 
those who were not members of the two groups (deracinated literati and gentry 
merchants) mentioned above - that is to say, the vast majority. As I have 
demonstrated in this thesis, an analysis of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* of the types 
of people to be found in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century gives us with 
information which official statistics cannot provide - where they came from, why 
they had migrated to Shanghai, their social and economic status, and so on. These 
people included:

(1) workers, who were attracted by the new industries in the settlements; 
many of these were women, who lived in the neighbouring villages (where their 
husbands and family were living), and travelled every day to work in the 
settlements;

(2) merchants and peddlers, folk artisans, rickshaw pullers;

(3) people employed in foreign firms, such as compradors and managers;

(4) criminals, beggars, prostitutes, swindlers and so on.

If we define popular culture as being that which is non-élite culture, we run 
into a conceptual difficulty if there is no élite culture with which it can be 
contrasted, and therefore delineated and defined. The popular culture of the 
settlements can only be contrasted with the traditional culture outside the settlements 
on the one hand, and the culture (in the broad sense) of the Western authorities 
within the settlements on the other. There were also sub-cultures within the broad 
concept of popular culture - the lifestyles and the values of the women who lived in 
the villages but worked in factories in the concessions were also being affected by 
their contact with the atmosphere of the concessions, but in a different way from 
those people who lived comparatively comfortable lives as employees in Western 
firms, and who lived there permanently. Peter Burke uses the term "wanderers" to 
describe the fourth category mentioned above. This was a "criminal sub-culture", 
and again to be distinguished within the general rubric "popular culture". I regard

25 Chapter Three, Part One.
26 Chapter Three, Part Two.
27 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 42-47
the emergence of this criminal sub-culture as being inextricably linked to the rapid growth of a large metropolis.\textsuperscript{28}

A related issue is that this thesis pays very little attention to the majority of people in the settlements - factory workers and the like. They were certainly present in Shanghai in large numbers at the time, but do not seem to have played a significant role in urban life. Of course, many of them did not actually live in the settlements, but in neighbouring villages. They had little role to play in the development of a new popular culture, although they may have been affected by it. That role was the prerogative of those people with the leisure time, and the economic means to participate in urban life - in other words, those who were fairly well off. This would include categories (2) and (3) above. They could be considered the urban petty bourgeoisie. Their tastes dominated the development of popular culture in Shanghai - and their tastes are best described by the term "middle-brow".\textsuperscript{29}

There was a virtual absence of cultural control in the settlements, and the cultural control in the Chinese city was in a state of disintegration.

\textsuperscript{28} Chapter Five, Part Three.
\textsuperscript{29} The expression is borrowed from Liu Ts'un-yan, \textit{Chinese Middlebrow Fiction - From the Ch'ing to the Early Republican Eras} (Hongkong: Chinese University of Hongkong Press, 1984)
This new form of urban popular culture developed under strong Western influence under circumstances when Chinese high cultural influence was very weak. The Western authorities in the settlements cannot be considered a means of imposing Western cultural hegemony, but Western culture, particularly material culture, had a very strong influence on the Chinese in the settlements, through constant exposure in the course of everyday life.

A major contributing factor to the development of popular culture in Shanghai was the basic attitude of the Shanghaiese. Attitude, like culture, is a word which needs to be defined. The concept here used is that defined by Thurstone as "the intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object. A psychological object is any symbol, person, phrase, slogan or idea toward which people can differ as regards positive or negative affect."31 The most salient characteristic of the attitude of the Shanghaiese in the nineteenth century was that there was no xenophobia, not even any distrust or suspicion of things foreign. (Some things, like gas or electricity, took some time to get used to, but that was because they were new, not because they were foreign). This contrasts greatly with the rest of China, and with the nationalism of Shanghai itself in the twentieth century. The reasons for this are to be found in the make-up of the population of Shanghai. Almost all of them were migrants. Wherever they had come from, and whatever their social position was, they had certain expectations from the settlements, and knew that their future lay there, and not elsewhere. Anyone with particularly strong anti-foreign sentiments would not have come to Shanghai in the first place. According to the writings of foreigners in Shanghai at that time, the native Shanghaiese were peaceful, friendly and not aggressive - very different from the Cantonese, with whom the Westerners also had a good deal of contact.32

This lack of anti-foreign sentiment amongst the Chinese of Shanghai in the nineteenth century was conducive to their acceptance of many aspects of Western material culture. Chinese in constant contact with Westerners developed such an admiration for Western things and a very strong desire to emulate the West, to acquire those things which Westerners possessed and took for granted. It became fashionable to imitate Westerners, to emulate them in every possible way. This unquenchable desire to "imitate the West" was particularly strong amongst the

ordinary people. To them, the economic and political superiority of the West (insofar as the West could be observed in and from Shanghai) was obvious, and they were not prone to consider the "national essence" or the "fate of traditional Chinese culture". The literati, on the other hand, had a greater sense of "national consciousness", and did not approve of the admiration for the West of the ordinary people of Shanghai, which, to them, was considered "fawning on the West". Some of the literati, however, who actually lived in Shanghai, also developed an admiration for the West - the editors and artists of the *Dianshizhai* are typical examples. They were relatively broadminded, and sometimes took at face value incredible and even absurd stories about the miracles of Western science and technology. This admiration may have been based on ignorance, but it was admiration nonetheless, and this admiration was a prerequisite for the psychological adjustment the Chinese had to make - that they had to "learn from the West". At that stage, however, this admiration of the West amongst the literati had not become so obvious as it was amongst the ordinary people.

The commercialisation and industrialisation of Shanghai not only brought into existence new occupations; it also helped to break down the traditional social order. Money began to substitute for traditional social class. Distinctions between different classes in clothing, as a symbolic system, began to break down - even a carriage-driver could wear a Mandarin's gown, if he could afford the material to have one made. Prostitutes arrogated to themselves the right to wear the "red skirt" - formerly reserved for the most respectable and legitimate of wives. Any decently-dressed young man could be called "young master"; anyone could call their house a "residence" (公馆 ) and so on. Even the basic concept of decency and respectability changed. What used to be important - a good family background, behaviour in accordance with traditional moral values and so on - was not important in the foreign settlements. There respectability was considered wearing expensive (if gaudy) clothes, sitting in the most expensive seats in the theatre and frequenting only high class brothels.

The second change was in the pattern of human relations. Shanghai was an immigrant society, and its people had broken many of their connections with their families or clans. Family background was of no importance, as discussed above. The very high degree of social mobility gave many individuals, with no important

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33 Chapter Four, Parts Two and Three.
34 Chapter One, Part Four.
family connections, a chance to become rich, important and successful. This meant that the value of the individual was much greater than it was in traditional Chinese society. The emphasis placed on fashionable and expensive clothing, for example, and the disregard for family background, was an important outward sign of this change. The manner of resolving disputes also changed. The traditional way was to invoke the gentry and the clan elders; one Shanghai way was to seek redress, as an individual, through the Mixed Court - the gentry and clan were not involved.

The Mixed Court was regarded by Westerners as being "too Chinese", whereas to the Chinese it was peculiarly Western. The exposure to Western concepts of law and justice, however, as reported over decades in the daily press, meant that the ordinary "man in the street" in Shanghai had a far clearer concept of law than Chinese elsewhere. When the new, Western inspired legal system was introduced into China during the Republic, its basic concepts were immediately grasped in Shanghai - a very different situation from the rest of the country.

The third change was in regard to relations between the sexes. This was connected with a change in the status and behaviour of women. The economic independence of working women gave them an independent status impossible in traditional society. Their reliance on their families - particularly their fathers, brothers and husbands - diminished appreciably. They appeared in public to a far greater degree than women in traditional society, which broke down many of the traditional restraints. Various forms of entertainment in Shanghai, where men and women freely mingled, also helped break down the traditional barriers. A combination of a variety of factors led to Shanghai's attitude towards sex being more broadminded than in traditional China. Aphrodisiacs and pornographic literature existed in China, of course, but they were certainly not openly sold or advertised in the market place, as they were in the settlements. Women were employed in opium dens to attract custom; pornographic theatre flourished, despite ineffective attempts to ban it. All of these were again outward manifestations of a fundamental change in attitude towards sex and sexuality. Prostitutes were part of the scene in traditional China, of course, but the range, number and concentration of brothels in Shanghai was unprecedented. What was new was that relations

35 The popular term for the Mixed Court was xin yamen 新衙门, the "new yamen". The official term was Huishen Gongxie 会审公廨, literally "joint-investigation public-office". The educated elite referred to it as the Huishen Gongxie or Huishen Gongtang 会审公堂 the "joint-investigation law-court".

36 Chapter Four, Part Three.
between ordinary, "respectable" men and women had become so loose, and that Shanghai even provided places where an illicit affair could be initiated or pursued, the "trysting-place";\textsuperscript{37} or \textit{taiji} 合基.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the literati in the settlements became marginalised. Their role in the development of the new popular culture was a long way from their function in traditional society. Even a prostitute's maidservant could sneer at a scholar, whose social standing was, by that stage, far less than a rich merchant. The restrictions of traditional values could not keep up with the rapid changes in an increasingly commercialised and industrialised society. The traditional practice of "reverence for lettered paper" could not survive the flood of "lettered paper" produced by modern newspapers, journals and even the stationery used in foreign firms. Traditional prohibitions against eating beef could not survive the growing popularity of Western restaurants, in which beef was served. Places of "entertainment" not only attracted men, but women as well. The literati were caught "between tradition and modernity".\textsuperscript{38} They were no longer members of the traditional élite, that is to say, the gentry, but they still identified with the values of that élite. Their attitude to the newly forming popular culture was condescending, or derogatory. They could do little but complain about their fall in status and privilege, or voice their disapproval of the eating of beef or of women participating in certain popular religious ceremonies. Their constant criticisms, indeed, provide us with a rich mine of material on popular practices and attitudes at that time. The traditional gentry in the Chinese city, of course, found such social changes even more intolerable. They were still able to exert their influence in the Chinese city, but despite many attempts, found that they had no influence over the morals of the settlements. They were able to request the various consulates to issue prohibitions against one thing or another, but none of these prohibitions seemed to have much effect.

A partial change was that of the concept of the human body, and health. In the wake of the establishment of Western hospitals, Chinese began to accept the idea of Western surgery (because of its immediate and obvious effects), but preferred Chinese medicine when it came to internal ailments. Even their acceptance of surgery was a fundamental departure from the traditional holistic view of the body, and their revulsion at mutilation. Western medicine was not particularly

\textsuperscript{37} On the nature and function of the \textit{taiji}, see Chapter Five, Part Two, Section Three
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. the title of Paul Cohen's study of Wang Tao: \textit{Between Tradition and Modernity} (Harvard University Press, 1974)
developed in the mid and late nineteenth century, and in any case the Chinese believed that, in their internal organs, Westerners were somehow constructed differently. This perception also led to some prostitutes refusing to accept Western customers. Many people also believed that internal disorders were the result of a malevolent spirit, and would enlist the services of a sorceress. The educated classes generally maintained the traditional view that internal disorders were the result of imbalances of yin and yang, and would seek help from a Chinese doctor to regulate their system.

The aspect of life least changed amongst the ordinary people of Shanghai was that of religion and religious practices. At that time, Christianity had few adherents and negligible impact. As far as the Shanghaiese were concerned, the contribution of the missionaries was mainly in the establishment and running of schools and hospitals. Their religious beliefs had little effect on the religion of the vast majority of the Chinese. Although missionaries are occasionally mentioned in the Dianshizhai, it is always as doctors, founders of orphanages and so on. There is not the slightest mention of their proselytising activities, or of Christianity, or of Chinese Christians. From the evidence in the Dianshizhai, at least, it would seem that Christianity, as a religion, had made little or no impact on the religious life of the ordinary people of Shanghai.

Whether in the settlements or the Chinese city, large scale religious activities, festivals or other practices were still basically traditional. They were, however, in Shanghai, and the particular moral atmosphere of Shanghai meant that efforts had to be made to stop some religious practices degenerating into rowdiness and lewdness. Traditionally, these festivals had always been an opportunity for people to let off steam, rather like the European carnivals. On such occasions - for example, the Procession of the City God, all sorts of behaviour not normally permitted - overindulgence in food and drink, lewd and boisterous behaviour between men and women, and even making fun of the official hierarchy - were tolerated by the officials. The social mechanism here was probably also similar to that of Europe: "elites may willingly allow such play in order to release tensions that could otherwise be threatening."\(^\text{39}\) In the case of Shanghai, however, the absence or the rapidly disintegrating control mechanism of the cultural hegemony formerly exercised by the gentry meant that such occasions were more than a temporary release which could be brought under control with a return to normalcy - they were

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\(^{39}\) Hall, "Introduction", in Kaplan, (ed.) *Understanding Popular Culture*, p. 11
an irreversible release from the strictures of traditional social control. The rowdiness of some religious festivals in Shanghai was a reflection of the generally relaxed moral standards, so the officials made great efforts to keep them under control. Some practices, permitted in other areas, were forbidden in Shanghai. Whether or not the officials regarded these festivals as a "release of tension", they were aware that toleration of increasingly relaxed moral standards was a threat to themselves, and for the tradition they embodied.

Shanghai in the late nineteenth century was a society in transition, between tradition and modernity, and aspects of tradition clashed with, coexisted with or coalesced with aspects of modernity. On the one hand the literati complained that sexual relations were lax, and the contemporary press is full of sexual scandals. On the other hand there is no shortage of stories about widows preferring death to remarriage, or women refusing to have physical contact with their fiancés until after they were formally married. This ambivalent attitude towards sexual morality is well reflected in stories about "catching someone in the act of adultery" - on the one hand, such behaviour seemed to be fairly common; on the other, it was still regarded as shameful and scandalous. Western medicine (especially surgery) was partly accepted (along with traditional Chinese medicine), but there was no shortage of sorcerers, exorcists and the like. The Mixed Court was an accepted way of resolving disputes, but many disputes were resolved in the traditional way by "drinking conciliatory tea". The Mixed Court itself was truly a mixture of Western and Chinese practices, and Chinese and Westerners themselves had very different perspectives on its practices and judgements.

This thesis concentrates on what was changing in nineteenth century Shanghai, and the factors responsible for this change. "Change" is that which was recognised by the writers of the time as something appreciably different from what went before. Statistics show that the crime rate in Shanghai increased alarmingly during the six decades of its existence in the nineteenth century, and terms such as "a den of iniquity" were commonly applied to Shanghai. An analysis of these figures, however, shows that the most common "crimes" were disturbing the peace, petty thievery and so on. There were several years in which not a single murder was recorded. What were considered "indecent plays" were fairly innocuous by later standards. Terms such as "change", "indecent", "superstition",

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40 Chapter Five, Part Two.
41 Chapter Four, Part Three.
"low-brow", "middle-brow" are used in this thesis as descriptive terms; they are not meant to imply any value judgement on the part of the author.

The last question to be considered in this Introduction, which is also the central and basic question for all studies on popular culture - is the nature of the source material. Since the "people", whose culture we are investigating, left no writings themselves, we are forced to see them through the mediators - in this case the deracinated literati of the Shanghai settlements. The material we have at our disposal is only an indirect guide to what the "people" themselves thought about how they lived. The popular press was not meant to be a direct reflection of the culture of the unlettered masses - it merely recorded news about them. The crucial issue we face, then, is: how reliable is the popular press, in this case the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, as a source for understanding the popular culture of the time? How typical are its stories of the reality of everyday life in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century?

To answer these questions we must inquire as to who wrote these stories, and what principles were applied in the selection of news. Both the *Shen Bao* and the *Dianshizhai* were modern newspapers; the basic principle of their founder, Ernest Major, was to provide a vehicle for the accurate provision of the news of the day. As with the modern popular press, news items which are connected with people's everyday lives have a particular attraction. Major's principle for the *Shen Bao* was that the news should be "fast" and "accurate", and for the *Dianshizhai* that the stories "entertain and amuse". The artists and writers of the *Dianshizhai* were not part of the ordinary people of Shanghai they depicted in their pages, nor were they part of the traditional Chinese élite. Their occupation, namely working as journalists for a foreign-owned newspaper, the subject matter of their sketches and even their style of painting were hardly those of the traditional literati. A certain proportion of their sketches were based on news from foreign countries, and these were often inaccurate. The experience of the *Dianshizhai* staff was limited to what they were truly familiar with - everyday life in Shanghai. And what attracted their interest was that which was different from the past or other areas of China - precisely the areas of *change* of a society in transition. They regarded themselves as educated people, and in this way quite different from the uneducated masses. They had a sense of responsibility towards upholding traditional values, but at the same time were relatively broadminded, and were interested in introducing news from the West as part of their mission to educate the masses. They themselves did not believe stories of ghosts, retribution and the like, but did not mind using such
Many of the sketches in the *Dianshizhai* were based on local news, and it is those sketches and their accompanying commentaries which form the raw material of this thesis. Some of their stories may have been sensationalised, either out of a desire to attract readers or to educate them, they could hardly distort local news or misrepresent local conditions. They themselves lived in the International Settlement, as did most of their readers. This leads me to believe that the material (on Shanghai at least) is a reliable guide to the actual situation in Shanghai at that time.

There are two aspects to the question of accuracy. The first is whether or not a particular news item actually happened. In many cases, collateral information can be found in contemporary Chinese or English language newspapers. In other cases, the accuracy of the story itself may not be verifiable, but the sketch itself provides much useful information. For example, the details in a story about a brothel may or may not be accurate, but that is unimportant for our purposes. What is important is that we can see from the sketch that the brothel had gas lighting, and clocks on the wall, showing that clocks and gas lighting were relatively common by that time. A story about a fight during the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts may or may not be accurate, but we can learn that such processions did indeed occur at that time, and that in itself is what is important for the purposes of this study. Other sketches can correct certain historical facts. For example, it is commonly asserted that cigarettes were first introduced into Shanghai in 1890; a sketch dated 1888, however, clearly shows people smoking cigarettes. In many other cases the commentary itself reveals certain aspects of urban life at the time, even though the story itself is obviously allegorical. An example is the tale about the City God who leaves his temple in disgust during a particular celebration, and complains to an old innkeeper about the way religious festivals had become vulgarised.

The question as to what degree these stories reflect the everyday reality of life in Shanghai at that time (in distinction to its more peculiar or sordid aspects) also has two aspects. In some cases, the *Dianshizhai* comments that such-and-such is truly an unusual situation - such as the foreign prostitute singing indecent Chinese folk-songs in one of the teahouses. Such stories, however, emphasise the very real difference between the settlements and anywhere else. Most stories were chosen because they did indeed exemplify some common social phenomenon, which the writers of the *Dianshizhai* felt was worthy of critical comment. The commentaries in the *Dianshizhai* provides us with the same type of material used by Norbert Elias in his study of manners in the medieval period. The "manners
books", which exhorted people not to act in such and such a manner, clearly demonstrate that that is just what people did - though the upper classes may have had a low opinion of such behaviour. There is often a certain attitude reflected in the commentaries of the Dianshizhai, and those attitudes are those of the mediators, the literati. Many other commentaries, however, clearly reflect the attitude of the common man. Praise for Western hospitals in the Dianshizhai, for example, is paralleled by the growth in the number of Chinese patients in those hospitals, as shown by sources external to the Dianshizhai, in this case hospital statistics. Such commentaries around a particular theme often appeared several times, and the issues on which they were commenting also commonly appeared in other contemporary sources - other newspapers, novels, memoirs and the like.

The development of Shanghai in the second half of the nineteenth century was a sort of miracle. The settlements, founded in a desolate area, developed into the biggest city in China, and one of the biggest cities in the world. This was primarily an economic miracle, and economic historians have traced it in detail. Historians interested in the political history of China, too, have studied the lives of the political and literary figures who took refuge within its territory. It was the common people of Shanghai, however, who contributed to this economic miracle, and at the same time created a new form of vibrant popular culture, clearly different from the traditional forms of Chinese culture, both élite and non-élite. This popular culture made them more independent from the traditional social structures, and was one of the contributing factors to the unique atmosphere of Shanghai. We know a good deal about the "famous people" of Shanghai, but practically nothing about its ordinary people. The aim of this thesis is to explore this unfamiliar world. This investigation of the development of the popular culture of Shanghai under unusual circumstances, namely the absence of élite cultural hegemony, might also contribute some new conceptual approaches to the study of popular culture in general.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE DIANSHIZHA1 AND ITS BACKGROUND

1. The founder of the Dianshizhai - Ernest Major

The brothers Ernest Major and Frederick Major arrived in China in the early 1860s to set up business in the tea industry. Their business did not flourish, however, and their Chinese comprador1 urged Ernest Major to establish a newspaper, and he introduced a man from his home village, Wu Zirang 吴子让, as an editor. Major accepted his suggestion, and asked Qian Xinbo 钱昕伯 to go to Hong Kong to seek the assistance of Wang Tao, who was running a newspaper there. Qian was Wang's son-in-law. Wang agreed to help, and contributed a good deal of material from the English language press of Hong Kong.2

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2 This story is given in many sources, sometimes word for word. See Zhang Jinglu, Chuban shiliao, p. 270; Yu Yueting, Huabao de shizu, passim; Xiang Dicong 项迪琮 "Shanghai Dianshizhai shiyin shu bao ji qi jiqizhe" 上海点石斋印书报及其继起者 [Lithographic printing of books and newspapers at the Dianshizhai in Shanghai, and their successors] in Shanghai difangshi ziliao 上海地方史资料 No. 4 (Shanghai: Shehui kexue chubanshe 社会科学出版社, 1986) p. 245; Zheng Yimei, Shu bao hua jiu 书报话旧 p. 84; Don J. Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese - Lithographs from Shanghai in the Late Nineteenth Century (The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1987), p. 1; Britton, Chinese Periodical Press, p. 64, Shen Bao shiliao bianxiezuo 申报史料编写组 [Compilers of the history of the Shen Bao] ed., "Chuangban chuqi de Shen Bao" 创办初期的申报 [The Shen Bao in its initial period] in Xinwen yanjiu ziliao 新闻研究资料 No. 1 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe 新华出版社, 1979) p. 138. Qian Xinbo (Qian Zheng 钱徵) was a xiucai. As he was miopic he adopted the sobriquet "Sojourner watching flowers [i.e. prostitutes]"
In 1871 Ernest Major and three friends, C. Woodward, W.B. Pryor and John Mackillop, each contributed four hundred taels of silver, a total of one thousand six hundred taels of silver altogether, to establish a Chinese language newspaper, the *Shen Bao*. The specific rights and obligations of each of the shareholders were set out in detail in the contract. Major was to be responsible for the actual management of the newspaper; any profits or losses were to be split three ways, of which Major would get two, and the other three one third between them. Major hired Jiang Zhixiang 蒋芷湘 as the editor-in-chief, and He Guisheng 何桂笙 and Qian Xinbo as his assistant editors. Some time later Jiang Zhixiang was awarded the *jinshi* degree, and He Guisheng became the editor-in-chief. The first issue of the *Shen Bao* was published on the 30th of April, 1872.

It was extremely successful, and after only eight months forced the closure of the *Shanghai Xin Bao*, which had been a going concern for ten years. It then

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became the only Chinese newspaper in Shanghai. Its circulation increased from 600 to over ten times that figure by the time Major retired and left Shanghai for England in 1889.

From the 1860s to the 1890s, the Major Brothers controlled six different enterprises in China, including the Shen Bao and the Dianshizhai Printing Company. In 1876, when Major established the "Tien Shih Chai Photolithographic Publishing Works", he introduced a type of new technology into China, the lithograph. Slightly earlier, in 1874, a French Missionary produced a number of religious tracts by the lithographic method at the Tushanwan Printing Company in Xujiahuì, but the first use of the lithograph for mass printing was that of the Dianshizhai Printing Company. Major hired a Chinese printer from the Tushanwan Printing Company, by the name of Qiu Zi'ang

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5 The *Shanghai Xin Bao* 上海新报 was the first Chinese language newspaper in Shanghai. It was established in 1861; most of its news items were translated from the *North-China Daily News*. It was initially a weekly, and was later published every second day. It was run by John Allen Young and others. It could not compete with the Shen Bao, and ceased publication of the 31st of December, 1872. See Xu Zaiping, "Shen Bao" pp. 208-213. Another story is that Major convinced the proprietor of the *Shanghai Xin Bao*, Henry Shearman, to withdraw that newspaper in competition with the Shen Bao, as Shearman already owned the *North-China Herald* and the *North-China Daily News*. See Liang Jialu 梁家禄, *Zhongguo xinwenye shi* [A history of the press in China] (Guangxi Renmin Chubanshe, 1984) p. 37

6 Shen Bao bianxiezu, "Chuangban chuqi", p. 136 See the Preface to the *Dianshizhai*, written by Major in May 1884, in which he says the Shen Bao "sells ten thousand copies every day; we cannot keep up with the demand." This assertion is difficult to verify.

7 These were: (i) The *Jiangsu Yaoshuichang* 江苏药水厂, known in English as Major's Acid Works or the Kiangsu Chemical Works. See F.L.Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai* (Shanghai 1928) p. 135: "Among the first industrial establishments founded in Shanghai was the Kiangsu Chemical Works, started by the Major Brothers in the early sixties, near the old stone bridge which crossed the Soochow Creek"; (ii) the Shen Bao Office 申报馆, founded in 1872; (iii) the Shen Chang Bookshop [Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop] 申昌画室; (iv) the Dianshizhai Printing Company 点石斋印书局, known at that time in English as the Tien Shih Chai Photolithographic Publishing Works, founded in 1876; (v) Major's Soap Factory 美查肥皂厂, founded during the 1870s and (vi) the Sui Chong Match Factory 睿昌自来火局 founded during the 1880s. In 1889 the two brothers amalgamated all these companies into one, Major Brothers Limited, with a capital value of three hundred thousand taels of silver. See Sun Yutang 孙毓棠, *Zhongguo jindai gongyeshi ziliao yi bian* [Materials on the history of modern industry in Shanghai] (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1957), Vol. I, p. 111; p. 125; pp. 236-240. The Major brothers also had interests in Singapore, including forty thousand mu of land on which rubber, tobacco and sugar were produced. See Fang Hanqi 方汉奇, *Zhongguo jindai baokan shi* (shang ce) [A history of the press in modern China - Volume 1] (Shanxi: Renmin chubanshe, 1981) p. 42

8 Zhang Jinglu, *Chuban shiliao (er bian)*, p. 356. Cohn has pointed out that *Dianshizhai* literally means "The Studio of Touching the Stone", and refers to both the process of lithography (stone-printing) and the phrase *dianshi chengjin* 点石成金, "touching a stone and turning it into gold", meaning to improve the quality of a literary composition. Cohn, *Vignettes from the Chinese*, p. 1 note 1.
In all he hired about 200 people. The first major publishing success came in 1882, with a printed edition of the Kangxi Dictionary. Forty thousand copies of the first edition were printed, and were distributed by the Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop. They were sold out in a few months. The second reprint was for sixty thousand copies, and happened to coincide with the Imperial Examinations in the capital. Many of the examination candidates bought five or six copies, either for themselves or for friends, and the second reprint was also sold out in a matter of months. The success of the Dianshizhai Printing Company caused a good deal of envy amongst other businessmen, and before long a merchant from Ningbo established a printing house called Baishishanfang, and another from Guangdong established the Tongwen Bookstore, in competition with the Dianshizhai Publishing Company.

The Dianshizhai Printing Company specialised in reprinting classical works, reproductions of rubbings of famous pieces of calligraphy and the like. In May 1887 Major placed a number of advertisements in the Shen Bao, in which he announced he intended to reprint the Gujin Tushu Jicheng. Between the years 1885 and 1888, Major's Publishing Company printed one thousand six hundred and twenty eight volumes in the Gujin Tushu Jicheng series. Major also spent a lot of time and energy collecting a number of premodern Chinese works, and published more than one hundred and sixty volumes in this series entitled Juzhenban Congshu, in imitation of the Chinese series of the same title of the Qianlong period. Major's enthusiasm for collecting old books, especially valuable ones, at one stage even led to him becoming involved in a book-theft scandal.

9 Zhang Jinglu, Chuban shiliao (yi bian), pp. 269-270
10 Sun Yutang, Jindai gongye shi, p. 238
11 Yao Gonghe, Shanghai xian hua (Chats on Shanghai) (Shangwu yinshuguan, Shanghai, 1917), p. 16; Zheng Yimei, Shu bao hua jiu, pp. 84-85; Xu Ke, Qing bai lei chao (A collection of Qing anecdotal material), Vol. V. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1984 reprint) p. 2316
13 Shen Bao bianxiezu, "Chuangban chuqi", p. 136. See also Britton, Chinese Periodical Press p. 69: "In 1884 Major took over and completed one of its outstanding projects, a reproduction of the K'ang-hsi Imperial Encyclopaedia, the Tu-shu-chi-ch'eng. This, known as the Major Bro's edition was printed metal type in 1,628 volumes, 1885-1888, though the title page is dated 1884."
14 North-China Herald, 29 October 1884: "A remarkable case of literary theft came before his Worship Huang and Mr. Giles at the Mixed Court on Wednesday morning. It seems that a Chinaman living in Weichow was recently in possession of a very valuable and rare book comprising upwards of 5,000 volumes which an ancestor of his had received as a present from a former Emperor. On the 8th of last July he missed the book, and five days later he gave
In 1877, Major started to publish a pictorial, the *Yinghuan Pictorial* (瀛寰画报), of which the contents were taken from English magazines. Explanatory comments in Chinese were written by Cai Erkang (蔡尔康). It was published at irregular intervals, each issue containing some ten pages. Its circulation figures remained very low, however, and it closed down after only five issues.15

It appears that Major took up the idea of publishing a pictorial again as a result of a publishing success of a number of Chinese artists, including Wu Youru (吴友如), who had printed a series of woodblock prints depicting the defeat of the French general Henri L. Rivière by Liu Yongfu (刘永福) in Hanoi, in 1883. Major approached the artists with a proposal that they contribute their work for publication to the Dianshizhai Lithographic Printing Company, and thus the *Dianshizhai* lithographic works. The man who was supposed to be the principal in the theft has disappeared; but, carrying out Chinese principles of justice, the City authorities here arrested his brother, and this unfortunate man was recently examined under torture in the City Magistrate's yamen here, where he confessed that he and his brother and a native broker here and an employé of Major Bros. had conspired together to steal the book. It appears that a native broker living in the settlement went to Major Bros. and offered to procure for them a very valuable Chinese book, naming a high price as the sum which he required for it. Mr. Major naturally refused to pay the money until he got the book. A Chinese employé of the firm then accompanied the broker into the country to get the book, and there, according to the story of the prosecutor, which is said to be to some extent corroborated by the prisoner's confession under torture, they entered into a conspiracy with the two brothers, one of whom is now in custody, stole the books in the middle of the night, and sent them to Shanghai as tea. After the prisoner in the City had been put to the torture, the City Magistrate sent in a request to the Mixed Court for the arrest of the broker and Major Brothers' employé. The latter was accordingly arrested and brought up at the Mixed Court on Wednesday; but the broker was found to have vanished. It appeared, however, very doubtful whether the gentleman who appeared to prosecute was the real owner of the books at all; in fact he could establish no identity, and said that he did not know anyone in Shanghai. However, it was quite clear that the books had been brought down from Wei-chow and were then in the possession of Messrs. Major Bros. After a long hearing, it became necessary to adjourn the case, his Worship Huang promising to arrange for the arrest of the broker. The question of admitting Major Bros.' employé to bail was then raised. A brother of his first presented himself; but the magistrate refused to accept him, saying, however, that he would accept Mr. Major as security. Mr. Major at first consented, but it then appeared that his Worship required, as an additional guarantee, and the Assessor should go bail for Mr. Major. To this extraordinary request Mr. Giles of course refused to accede; and the magistrate then agreed to do without the Assessor's security if Mr. Major agreed to give up possession of the books in the event of his employé failing to appear. To this condition Mr. Major demurred, the result being that his employé remains in custody until the next hearing of the case."

15 See Xu Renhan (徐忍寒), "Shen Bao qishiqi nian da shi ji" (申报七十七年大事记) [Major events over seventy-seven years of the *Shen Bao*], in *Shanghai difang shi ziliao*, Shanghai Shehui Kexue chubanshe, 1986, p. 24; Yu Yueting, "Huabao de shizu" (花报的始祖) *passim*; Fang Hanqi (方汉奇), *Jindai baokan shi*, shang ce. p. 54
Pictorial was born, in 1884. Wu Youru was its main writer and artist for nine years, and it was occasionally called the Wu Youru Pictorial. It was published three times a month, and contained eight sketches, with commentaries, in each issue. It was distributed with the Shen Bao, but could be bought separately, each copy costing five cash; at that time the Shen Bao cost ten cash.

The first issue of the Dianshizhai Pictorial was on the 8th of May, 1884. Major placed advertisements on the front page of the Shen Bao for ten days in a row, publicising the new pictorial: "This company is publishing a new pictorial; it has specially invited famous artists to chose items from the daily news to surprise and entertain you, and to provide illustrations and commentaries. It will be printed by the Dianshizhai Printing Company, and will be published at regular intervals each month. Each issue will contain eight sketches, and will be sold together with this newspaper by those who now deliver it; for each issue we will charge five cash to cover the costs. The sketches are done with meticulous care and the calligraphy is the finest. They are traditional Chinese realistic paintings characterised by fine brushwork and close attention to detail. We are sure that you, the purchasers, will see this for yourselves. Apart from being available from those who customarily deliver newspapers in Shanghai, it will also be available from the Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop. Subscribers outside Shanghai will receive it together with the Shen Bao. You will be able to receive it in your own locality. The first issue will appear on the fourteen day of the fourth month [May 8]."

From then on, during the ten days between one issue of the Dianshizhai and the next, Major would advertise it on the front page of the Shen Bao, until the 30th December, 1887, its 136th issue.

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17 See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 70: "This was begun in 1884, and issued at intervals of ten days, each issue generally having eight leaves, bound in red. It contained some fiction and light belles-lettres, but was primarily pictorial. Some of the drawings were of a high grade, done by artists of considerable reputation, as for instance Wu Yu, whose studio name was Yu Ju."
18 See Cohn, *Vignettes from the Chinese*, p. 2 "It came free of charge with the Shen Pao, but was also sold separately for five cash". This is a mistake: the Dianshizhai was not distributed free of charge with the Shen Bao. The mistake probably derives from Zhang Jinglu, *Chuban shiliao (er bian)* p. 298, where it is implied that the Dianshizhai was distributed free of charge, but could be bought separately for five cash. Some sources give other figures for the price of a copy of the Dianshizhai: Ge Gongzhen 戈公振, *Zhongguo baoxue shi* 中国报学史 (Taiwan: Xuesheng shuju, 1982) p. 109 gives the price as eight cash, Xu Renhan, "Shen Bao" gives the figure of three cash.
19 *Shen Bao*, 8-20 May 1884
Several other ventures of the Major Brothers were also very successful. In 1884 Ernest Major was elected a Councillor of the Shanghai Municipal Council.\(^{20}\) In 1889 the Major Brothers reconstituted Major Brothers and Co. into Major Brothers Limited, and issued shares totalling some 6,000 in all. The two brothers sold their own shares, 2,000 in all, and returned to England, leaving the company in the care of E. O. Abuthnot.\(^{21}\)

In 1908, Ernest Major died in England. The *Shen Bao* printed the telegramme as soon as they received it, on the 28th of March, 1908, and the next day published an obituary, entitled "Brief Biography of the Great Man Major, the Founder of this Newspaper": -

"Some people are immortal and recorded in historical records, not only because they have set an outstanding moral example, or have left behind immortal works, but also because they have been heroic figures who have understood the spirit of the times, or have enlightened people, or have established great enterprises, or have improved society. It is for these reasons that the achievements of Ernest Major should be recorded. Major was an Englishman, who came to Shanghai at the beginning of the Tongzhi period. His business was importing cotton;\(^{22}\) he knew both spoken and written Chinese. On the 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 11th year of the Tongzhi period [30 April 1872] he established the *Shen Bao*. Afterwards he also established the Dianshizhai Photolithographic Publishing Works and the Kiangsu Chemical Works. Although Shanghai was already an open port by that time, the newspaper and printing industry was not developed, so Major wanted to enlighten society and develop industry as his goal. He was not just doing this for his own benefit. When he became old he returned to England, and he entrusted his various enterprises to the management of other people. Looking back on them his achievements are truly great. Yesterday this newspaper received a telegramme informing us that Major had passed away; we sighed with grief for a long time. Major lived for more than seventy years, and through his achievements he established his reputation. In his old age he achieved his ambition, and his death

\(^{20}\) Shen Bao bianxiezu, "Chuangban chuqi", pp. 136-137; Tang Zhijun 汤志钧, *Jindai Shanghai da shi ji* 近代上海大事记 [Record of major events in modern Shanghai], (Shanghai Cishu chubanshe, 1989) p. 921

\(^{21}\) Xu Renhan, "Shen Bao", p. 25. See Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 68: "In or about 1889 Frederick [sic: should be Ernest] Major retired and returned to England, and the large and varied interests which he and his brother had developed were continued under a joint-stock company, Major Bros. Ltd."

\(^{22}\) This is the only reference to Major being involved in importing cotton. All other sources say that he was involved in the tea industry.
saddens us. Now this newspaper company continues to improve, and industry is progressing day by day. We cannot but recall his great achievement in founding this newspaper, and mourn his passing. So we wish to record his deeds to express our deep sadness."23

In the English language press his death attracted no more attention than the brief notice given in the *North-China Herald*: "A telegramme was received here on Saturday from home, announcing the death of Mr. Ernest Major".24

2. The Editorial Policy of the Dianshizhai

The *Dianshizhai* was a supplement to the *Shen Bao*, and since the readers of both were Chinese, we must first turn our attention to the editorial policy of the *Shen Bao*, as determined by Major. His editorial policy was clear: to produce a newspaper which would appeal to the Chinese. He was quite happy to let Chinese run it, and did not want to interfere unduly.25 This policy is said to be responsible for the fact that the *Shen Bao*, after only eight months, could force the closure of the first Chinese newspaper in Shanghai, the *Shanghai Xin Bao*.26 Major himself had also failed in an earlier publishing enterprise, the *Yinghuan Pictorial*, of which only five issues were published in 1877. Most of the articles in this magazine were based on news in foreign countries, not China. The illustrations were taken from English pictorials; they had originally been designed for a non-Chinese readership. Its editorial policy, too, was not readily acceptable to the Chinese.

23 *Shen Bao*, 29 March 1908
24 *North-China Herald*, 3 April 1908.
25 Ge Gongzhen, *Zhongguo baoxue shi*, pp. 106-109: "Major was English, and his main concern was business. His policy was "this newspaper is for the Chinese", and so did not impose any restrictions. Sometimes he drafted an editorial himself, but these were characterised by balance and lack of prejudice." Zhang Ran 張然, who at one stage had been in charge of the *Shen Bao*, said of Major in his memoirs: "He entrusted the Chinese to do everything". (Xinwen yanjiu ziliao No. 15, p. 210). Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, p. 63 "[Shen Bao] was founded in 1872 by a British Proprietor, Frederick Major [sic; this should be Ernest Major], who had the judgement to efface his own connection and let his Chinese editors produce an essentially Chinese paper. He had no propaganda to publish, and he felt no call to offer the Chinese other than a newspaper which they would buy and read. The *Shen Bao* had no more alien aspect than was warranted by the tastes of Chinese readers who were subject to the alien influences of the growing port city". Fang Hanqi, *Zhongguo jindai baoxue shi, shang ce*, p. 42 and *Shen Bao shiliao bianxiezu*, "Chuangban chuqi", p. 136 give exactly the same information.
26 Xu Zaiping, "Shen Bao shi ruhe jikua Shanghai Xin Bao de".
After a few issues of the *Dianshizhai* had been published, an article in the *Shen Bao* under the pseudonym "Master of the Studio of That Which Has Been Seen"\(^{27}\) compared the two magazines: "Pictorial magazines are common in all the countries of Europe. Some years ago the Pavilion of Respect for the News\(^{28}\) printed and sold selections and translations [from foreign journals]; amongst the material presented was a detailed record of the English Prince of Wales’s travels in India, and detailed descriptions of the differences between the customs and the systems of the five major regions of India. This magazine only appeared a few times, and not many people were interested. People preferred old-fashioned ways, and there was no way to change them. Who would have thought that this Pictorial would be published today, and every ten days innumerable readers would buy thousands of copies. Times have changed, and there is nothing people can do about it. The previous magazine reproduced pictures painted by Western artists, but now the pictures are no different from those of famous traditional Chinese artists. This is the difference between what one is familiar with and what one is not familiar with."\(^{29}\)

Undaunted by his first failure, Major felt that eventually people would get used to new things and accept them. In the editorial of the first issue of the *Dianshizhai*, he wrote:

"Pictorial magazines are very common in the countries of the West. They all select items of interest from various newspapers. If there is a new invention, or something unusual, they draw a picture to illustrate it, in order to convince their readers, but nothing of the sort has been heard of in China. At the beginning of the Tongzhi period, Chinese language newspapers started in Shanghai. These were followed by the *Shen Bao*, the task of which is to widely investigate and broadly collect, to savour the unusual and question the dubious. It has gradually grown to maturity. Its reports are accurate and detailed, and during the last ten years and more, it has become well-known in China. Ten thousand copies are printed daily, but this is not enough to meet the demand. However, there are no pictures in it. If we enquire about the newspapers in Canton and Hong Kong, they are also the same. This is a Chinese custom: they prefer to learn things through the written word, and there is no need to rely on the appearance of things in order to know

\(^{27}\) *Jian-suo-jian-zhai fu* 见所见斋甫
\(^{28}\) *Zun-wen-ge* 尊闻阁
\(^{29}\) *Shen Bao*, 19 June 1884, printed together with an advertisement for the *Dianshizhai* on the front page.
them. I have often thought about the reasons for this. Probably it is because the drawings of the West are different from those of China. Western illustrations are realistic - nine out of ten are photographs, developed in a chemical solution. Things as fine as a hair, or depths of dimension, are all included. Huge lenses can enlarge small things, and can show everything - near, far, deep or shallow. They can catch everything so wonderfully, even the shadow of the clouds on the ripples of the water; the difference between the light of a candle and the aura of the moon, the difference between clear skies and rain, between night and day - all can be clearly shown. Even those things which, to normal vision, are blurred and cannot be distinguished, if you use this instrument, it is as if you yourself had entered into the scene, and people are so vividly depicted they seem to be alive. Chinese painters are restricted to traditional techniques. They have to follow certain rules. First they have to work out the appropriate positions, then fill in the details ... In short, Western illustrations of good or average quality are expected to be lifelike. This technique is very highly regarded. But being lifelike does not mean being true to the original. So if it is not a true portrait, but illustrates an event, why should it be given a particular form at all? For example, the Tushu Jicheng 图书集成 and the Sancai Tuhui 三才图会 give details as to the appropriate instruments to be used on particular occasions, and the multiplicity of names for them, so all these books provide drawings, to show [which name is appropriate for which object]. In ancient and modern times there are innumerable examples of this, and that is the reason such books exist. They are concerned that there might be confusion between the name and the object, and that mistakes will be made in the naming of things. If one relies only on written descriptions, one cannot differentiate between slight details. So it is necessary to rely on drawings. However, this has not been used before in illustrating news items. The world has now developed to the present stage, and society is more open minded. For example, nowadays many Chinese can understand Western languages. With long familiarity, customs will also change. 30

Major had learnt a lesson from his earlier failure. He wanted to introduce new knowledge, to make society more open-minded, but at the same time he knew he could not go too far, otherwise the Chinese readership would again find his pictorial unacceptable. So he relied on the judgement of his Chinese artists to select appropriate news items and illustrate them as they saw fit. Major's ambition was to attract a wide cross-section of the Chinese people, not just the educated classes. He

30 Jia 2
wanted his readership to include labourers, women and children. One of his main concerns was to keep the price as low as possible. Each issue had at least eight pages; after the sixth issue this increased to ten pages, but the price was only five cash, half of that of the *Yinghuan Pictorial*, and half of that of the *Shen Bao*. Major himself claimed that the five cash was only to cover the costs of production.

Secondly, the contents of the *Dianshizhai* had to be *new* and *unusual*. By new he meant the introduction of knowledge about the West, and about current affairs and news; by unusual he meant news or stories about all manner of strange and interesting things. In his advertisement for the first issue, and in several later requests for contributions, Major stressed that the principle for the selection of news items was "to surprise and entertain". From Issue No. 6 on, the *Dianshizhai* distributed, free of charge, a collection of tales of the strange and supernatural by Wang Tao, entitled *Random Jottings of a Wusong Recluse*. In his preface, Wang Tao mentions that Major had repeatedly urged him to write such a book, so he collected strange tales and unusual occurrences from the past thirty years. Major was delighted, and asked Wu Youru to provide illustrations. In the advertisement for Issue No. 5, Major wrote: "This Company cultivates the literary and the elegant; we spare no expense in pursuit of the excellent. Starting from the next issue, we will provide an excerpt from this book as a supplement; we will also supply illustrations to accompany the stories in the book. Each story will be prefaced by a sketch, starting from Issue No. 6. From now on, there will be ten pages in each issue, not including the advertisements. The price will remain five cash - it could not be cheaper. This book is so wonderful that the reader will strike the table in admiration and shout "Bravo!", and will continue to marvel at it until he

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31 See the advertisement for the sixth issue of the *Dianshizhai*, placed by Major in the *Shen Bao* from 26 June to 5 July 1884.
32 See the advertisement for Issue No. 1 of the *Dianshizhai*, in the *Shen Bao*, 8 May 1884
33 *Shen Bao*, 8 May 1884; 4 June 1884; Jia 2
34 *Song yin man lu* 空隐漫录. This book was reprinted by the Beijing renmin wenxue chubanshe 北京人民文学出版社 in 1983; see *Quanguo zong shumu* 《全国内文書目》, p. 410: "This book is in twelve *juan*; it is also called "Illustrated Sequel to the Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio (Hou Liaozhai zhiyi tushuo 后聊齋志異圖說 or Huitu Hou Liaozhai zhiyi 绘图后聊齋志異)". It was a very popular collection of short stories in the classical style [in the late Qing]. It is a fairly late example of the type of works written in imitation of the *Liaozhai zhi yi*." Some sources (such as Chen Dingshan 陈定山, *Chun shen jiu wen* 春申旧闻 [Old tales of Shanghai] (Taiwan: Chenguang yuekan she, 1964), p. 113 claim that this book was distributed with the *Feiyingge Huabao*, a later publication edited by Wu Youru, but this is not so.
35 Idem pp. 2-3
has finished it. We hope that all our readers will enjoy it together with us."36 In his advertisement for Issue No. 6, Major was also full of praise for Wang Tao: "There is no book he has not read and is thoroughly familiar with, and this is the reason his writing is so marvellous." He added: Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio has stories but no pictures; but there is a picture accompanying every story in Wang Tao's book. So in this way it surpasses the Strange Tales, and there is no other way in which it does not reach its standard."37 The publication of this book in serial form continued for more than a year, until Issue No. 61 of 21 December, 1885.

The Chinese New Year Festival of February 1885 was the first since the inception of the Dianshizhai. To mark the occasion, the Dianshizhai announced that anyone who had nine copies of the Pictorial could claim, free of charge, a painting produced by the Dianshizhai Lithographic Printing Company.38 In accordance with the festive spirit, the Dianshizhai carried no news items about wars or accidents, but produced nine sketches showing New Year Festival stories or customs taken from historical records or other sources.39 From then on, it regularly presented reproductions of paintings by famous artists, such as Ren Bonian and Sha Shanchun, to its readers,40 and every Chinese New Year the Dianshizhai would present its readers with traditional Chinese New Year Paintings, such as "New Year Offerings" 岁朝清供图, "Coloured New Year Pictures", 着色岁朝图 "Official Promotion" 升官会图 and so on, with drawings of children, peaches, fish and other auspicious symbols.41

36 Shen Bao, 17-25 June 1884
37 Shen Bao, 6-16 July 1884
38 Shen Bao, 12 February 1885
39 Bing 41-48
40 See the advertisement for Issue No. 49 (Shen Bao, 25 August 1885): (a painting (shanshuihua 山水画) by Ren Bonian 任伯年); advertisement for Issue No. 54 (Shen Bao, 13 October 1885): (a painting: one elephant, one pine-tree (yi xiang yi song 一象一松) by Ren Bonian); advertisement for Issue No. 55 (Shen Bao, 23 October 1885): (a painting: one donkey, one unicorn (yi lu yi lin 一驴一麟) by Ren Bonian); advertisement for Issue No. 56 (Shen Bao, 2 November 1885) and Issue No. 58 (Shen Bao, 22 November 1885): (a painting: Buddhist saints (Lohan 罗汉) by Ren Bonian); advertisement for Issue No. 59 (Shen Bao, 3 December 1885): (a painting by Sha Shanchun 沙山春); advertisement for Issue No. 60 (Shen Bao, 11 December 1885): (a painting of classical beauties) (Shinü tu 仕女图 by Guan Qu'an 关頴安; advertisement for Issue No. 61 (Shen Bao, 21 December 1885): (another painting by Sha Shanchun) et cetera.
Reliance on the methods described above, however, was not enough for a new-style newspaper or pictorial like the Dianshizhai to succeed. Major stressed that news had to be both fast and accurate. He sent journalists to make on the spot reports, and occasionally got involved in news gathering himself. The year the Dianshizhai was first published happened to coincide with the outbreak of the Sino-French War of 1884. There were many rumours circulating amongst the Chinese at that time, and other newspapers were reporting defeats as victories. Major hired a Russian to accompany the French troops, so the reports in the Shen Bao were both detailed and accurate. Many Chinese, however, criticised the Shen Bao for showing partiality towards the French. The first two sketches in Issue No. 1 of the Dianshizhai are, in fact, about the Sino-French War. Major also sent Wu Youru himself to inspect the preparations for war at Wusong; this is the origin of the sketch The Situation at Wusong. A German friend, passing through Shanghai, gave Major an eyewitness account of the situation at the front; Major immediately passed on this information to one of his artists, Zhang Zhiying; this is the origin of the sketch Detailed News of French Defeat.

Although abiding by the principles of fast and accurate, Major did his best to see that both the Shen Bao and the Dianshizhai reflected the Chinese point of view. The tone of the commentaries, and even the titles, is often very vivid and emotional. In the two sketches mentioned above, terms such as "tigers, wolves, evil beasts" and "jumping, howling, wild, biting" are used to describe the French army. In Issue No.10 there is a news item about a French ship sinking in a storm. In his advertisement for this issue, Major uses very strong language: "the number of people who were killed or wounded was a punishment from Heaven. This is such good news; readers themselves will be happy to read about it this."

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42 See Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, Chuanyinglou huiyilu 链影楼回忆录 [Memoirs of the Bracelet Shadow Chamber] (Hongkong: Dahua chubanshe 大华出版社, 1971), shang ce, p. 106
43 Huang Xiexun 黄协埙, "Ben bao zuichu shidai zhi jingguo" 本报最初时代之经过 [Development of this newspaper in its earliest period] in Zuijin wushi nian - di er bian 最近二十年－第二编 (Shen Bao Guan, 1922), p. 26. See the Introduction to the Taiwan reproduction of the Shen Bao (Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1965), Vol. I, p. 2
44 Jia 1; Jia 2
45 Wu song xing shi 吴淞形势 Jia 91
46 Fa bai xiang wen 法败祥闻 Jia 93
47 hu lang e shou 虎狼恶兽
48 tiao hao kuang shi 跳号狂噬
49 Jia 3; Jia 4
50 Shen Bao, 5-14 August 1888; Jia 77
The advertisement for Issue No. 11 is similar.\footnote{Shen Bao, 15-25 August 1884; Jia 83} In his advertisement for Issue No. 18, Major wrote: "The news of the great victory of the Chinese army in Taiwan, in which innumerable French were killed or wounded, makes people shout with joy". The Dianshizhai went to the trouble of obtaining a photograph of Liu Yongfu, the Commander of the Chinese Troops, and reproduced it by the lithographic process, "for the admiration of the Chinese people."\footnote{Shen Bao, 24 October - 1 November 1884} In 1885 the French Fleet attacked Ningbo, and again Major dispatched journalists to the front; their reporting was immediate and detailed, and even the Chinese version of the North-China Daily News, the Hu Bao, could not keep up with them.\footnote{Huang Xiexun, "Zuichu shidai" passim.} This incident was illustrated in the sketch The Battle of Yongjiang.\footnote{Yongjiang zhanzheng Bing 67} The sketch clearly shows the deployment of the French ships, and the positions of the cannon. After some initial misunderstandings about the motives of the Shen Bao, Chinese came to regard it as the most authoritative source of information about the war, and its circulation increased dramatically.\footnote{Huang Xiexun, "Zuichu shidai", passim; see Bao Tianxiao, Chuanyingyou huiyilu, shang ce p. 106: "We were very hard pressed for news of victory in the war. As soon as the Shen Bao arrived, we would always ask Father to read us news and stories about the war". At that time Bao Tianxiao and his family were living in Suzhou, more than one hundred kilometres from Shanghai.}

Major was English, but the Dianshizhai showed no indication of support to the English in any dispute between China and Great Britain. In 1885 an English steamship collided with and sank a small Chinese steamboat in the Huangpu River. The English made no attempts to rescue any survivors, and out of more than one hundred people on board the Chinese boat, only twenty survived. The Dianshizhai reported this case under the title Many Lives Cruelly Lost\footnote{Can bi duo ming Ding 6} and commented: "[the English] regard Chinese lives less valuable than dogs or chickens; their pernicious ways and disregard of principles have descended to this ... they are not of the same race, and their hearts are different. We Chinese should carefully remember this". In 1887 another accident between two steamers occurred, and in its report, the Dianshizhai adopted a similar attitude.\footnote{Ren 82}

Major indeed gave his editors great freedom in their selection of news to be printed. As far as it has been possible to ascertain, there was only one example of the news being slanted in order not to offend him. On June 1, 1888, fire broke out

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Shen Bao, 15-25 August 1884; Jia 83}
\item \footnote{Shen Bao, 24 October - 1 November 1884}
\item \footnote{Huang Xiexun, "Zuichu shidai" passim.}
\item \footnote{Yongjiang zhanzheng Bing 67}
\item \footnote{Huang Xiexun, "Zuichu shidai", passim; see Bao Tianxiao, Chuanyingyou huiyilu, shang ce p. 106: "We were very hard pressed for news of victory in the war. As soon as the Shen Bao arrived, we would always ask Father to read us news and stories about the war". At that time Bao Tianxiao and his family were living in Suzhou, more than one hundred kilometres from Shanghai.}
\item \footnote{Can bi duo ming Ding 6}
\item \footnote{Ren 82}
\end{itemize}
at the Sui Chong Match Factory, one of the enterprises of the Major Brothers. The fire was very serious; the phosphorus plant caught fire and six double-storied buildings and nineteen single-story buildings were entirely destroyed. Five people lost their lives; damage was estimated at 5000-6000 taels of silver. This was indeed a newsworthy item, and there were no accidents or the like that day, but there is not a mention of this accident in the Dianshizhai.

Major did not interfere in the editorial policy of the Dianshizhai, but he was very much concerned with its management. From the very beginnings of the Dianshizhai, Major sought to create for himself a Chinese "image". In the editorial for its inaugural issue, he chose a sobriquet, "The Master of the Pavilion of Respect for the News" after the manner of the Chinese literati. The editorial is completely Chinese in style and in content, and Major's Chinese seal is affixed. He even adopted the moral stance of a Chinese scholar. In his editorial, Major stated that its contents would be suitable for after-dinner conversation, and that the news was selected "to surprise and entertain". By the sixth issue, however, by which time the Dianshizhai had established itself, Major claimed in his usual advertisement in the Shen Bao that its aim was not merely amusement, but also for moral education: "This company publishes the Pictorial not only to provide amusement for people through the medium of pen and ink, but also to introduce the principles of retribution in the sketches, so as to admonish and warn by means of these pictures".

In December 1884, an attempted coup d'état occurred in Korea, led by officials at the Korean Court, Hong Yong-sik, Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yong-hyo, Soh Kwang-bom and Soh Chae-pil. The Chinese and Japanese governments both became involved. The following year, the Dianshizhai published a special issue on "Turmoil in Korea". Major himself wrote a signed commentary: "Disloyal and traitorous officials - everyone has the responsibility to kill them. This was set down in the Spring and Autumn Annals. This Pictorial, although it adopts no high moral tone, and merely reports matters to surprise and entertain, still has the responsibility to report such events, so as to make it very clear to those people who might violate the law. On this occasion,

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58 North-China Herald, 9 June, 1888
59 A brief notice was printed in the Shen Bao the next day. Shen Bao, June 2 1888
60 Zunwenge zhuren
61 Jia 2
62 Shen Bao, 26 June - 5 July 1884
63 Chaoxian luan lüe
Hong Yong-sik, Kim Ok-kyun and the rest were officials, but they rebelled against their sovereign. We have drawn a picture to illustrate this story of evil being punished. Although this record may not be correct in every detail, in general terms it is accurate. The reader will get the general idea, and need not be concerned about details." It is now impossible to ascertain if this article was really written by Major himself. From what we are able to judge from the material at our disposal, Major had a good command of Chinese, but it is doubtful that it was of such a standard that he could compose such an article, so typical of the Chinese scholarly class in both language and attitude. But whether or not this article was touched up by some Chinese scholar, or even written entirely by someone else on Major's instructions, it was signed by Major, and certainly published with his permission. The article may not have been directly written by Major, but was certainly intended to help create his Chinese "image".

Through his publishing activities, Major had frequent connections with a number of Chinese scholars. He had a long and close relationship with those men of letters associated with the *Shen Bao* and the *Dianshizhai*, such as Cai Erkang, He Guisheng, Qian Xinbo, and Wu Youru. Shen Gongzhi, who adopted the sobriquet "Master of the Hall of Knowing the Tide" and who contributed the sealscript title of the *Dianshizhai*, was one of the literati who had frequent dealings with Major. Major had a high opinion of Wang Tao, and was lavish in praise of his literary talents and scholarship. He publicised and serialised Wang Tao's *The Franco-Prussian War*. Several years later, the *Shen Bao* also publicised Wang Tao's *Fanciful Stories from My*...

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64 See Hu Daojing, "Shanghai xinwen shiyi de fazhan" [The development of the history of the press in Shanghai], in *Shanghai Tongzhiguan qikan* [上海通志馆期刊], 1965, 2 No. 3, p. 952. Hu quotes Sun Yesheng, *Ben guan zixu* [Brief account of this newspaper], 13 June, 1872. 65 *Wenchao guan zhen* [问潮馆主人]. 66 *Shen Bao* editorial *Ben guan zixu* [Brief account of this newspaper], 13 June, 1872. 67 *Pu-Fa zhanji* [昔法遗记]. See Cohen, *Tradition and Modernity*, pp. 113-117.
Major also printed Wang’s *Random Jottings of a Wusong Recluse* in serialised form, and distributed it, free of charge, with the *Dianshizhai*. Almost every issue of the *Dianshizhai* carried advertisements for this book. Wang Tao would also occasionally contribute a few lines of calligraphy to accompany the portraits of various officials reproduced in the *Dianshizhai*.  

There is no evidence to suggest that Major had any personal connections with officials of the Qing Court, but the attitude of the *Dianshizhai* towards such personages was one of the greatest respect. If any such official visited Shanghai, the *Dianshizhai* would be sure to report the occasion. When Zeng Guofan visited Shanghai in 1884, Major sent Wu Youru to the pier to observe the scene, and later published Wu's sketch of the welcoming ceremonies. In 1896, Li Hongzhang passed through Shanghai, and the *Dianshizhai* reported this as a visit of great importance. In the same year the *Dianshizhai* published two portraits of Li Hongzhang, one of them being on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. There was continuous military strife between China, France and Japan, and the *Dianshizhai* was full of praise for Liu Yongfu, the Commander of the Chinese troops. In 1888 and 1895, it published two identical portraits of him. It also gave accounts of such officials as Zuo Zongtang in the form of a series of sketches, showing their various meritorious deeds. Other officials mentioned in the *Dianshizhai* include Zhang Zhidong and Feng Zicai. In his advertisement for Issue No. 9, Major announced: "As soon as it receives any portraits of high officials of the Dynasty, this Company immediately commissions artists to make copies of them, and also lists their recent deeds in the Pictorial. In Issue No. 3, we printed portraits of Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan, and in Issue No. 9 we printed portraits of the Prince and Zuo Zongtang ... “
picture entitled *Grand Ceremony in Honour of The Birthday of the Emperor*. In 1894, on the occasion of the Empress Dowager's sixtieth birthday, the *Dianshizhai* also commissioned a picture in her honour.

Major intended that the *Shen Bao* and the *Dianshizhai* would be a means of introducing modernisation to China. They were also commercial enterprises, however, and Major did not want them to be highly political in nature. In 1872, when the *Shen Bao* was inaugurated, Major published an editorial titled "The Peking Gazette and a Newspaper are Different", explaining that the *Shen Bao* was a new-style newspaper, such as had never existed in China before, and declared that it had no intention of offending the Court. In 1885 Major, speaking as the proprietor of the *Shen Bao*, made his policy clear in another editorial: "Our purpose is to be a newspaper. We are careful not to comment on current affairs, nor to criticise individuals, which might invoke the anger of the present government, and run the risk of the shame of being banned. Thus everybody is concerned only with his own affairs, and this is beneficial to all." The *Dianshizhai* itself did not make any such statements, but in the editorial of the inaugural issue Major made its purpose and main theme clear from the very beginning - it was to be light reading, amusing, interesting. Its aim was to introduce new knowledge, to open up new horizons - not to oppose the Government. The *Dianshizhai* adhered strictly to this policy, even after Major left China. For example, in 1895, after the Sino-Japanese War had concluded, Kang Youwei led a group of more than one thousand provincial graduates in presenting a memorial. This was a remarkable event, but the *Dianshizhai* only mentioned it once, and even then did not mention any names. It reported only that it had been rejected; it did not report that its main theme was reform. During the period of the ensuing Reform Movement, politically committed Chinese language newspapers appeared in Shanghai, but the *Dianshizhai* remained the same as before. Even during the Hundred Days Reform,

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78 *Wanshou shengdian* 万寿盛典, Yi 2 See the advertisement for Issue No. 13 in *Shen Bao*, 5-14 September 1884: "The twenty-eighth day of the sixth month (August 18) was the Emperor's birthday. We have specially commissioned a picture "Court Officials Extend Congratulations" (百官朝贺图) showing how people both inside and outside the Court joined together in celebrating this event.

79 She 74-75

80 "Di bao bie yu xin bao" 邸报别于新报 - *Shen Bao*, 13 July, 1872

81 *Shen Bao*, 4 August 1875

82 Shu 18

83 E.g. the *Qiangxue Bao* 强学报 started by Kang Youwei 康有为 on 12 January, 1896 and the *Shiwu Bao* 时务报 started by Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪, Liang Qichao 梁启超, and Wang Kangnian 汪康年 on 9 August of the same year.
The Dianshizhai published only one picture which even hinted at the political turmoil of the time. When the Court announced the abolition of the old examination system, and the introduction of a new education system, several thousand scholars educated under the old system objected, and demanded the reinstatement of the previous system. The Dianshizhai criticised them as having no understanding of the times, and commented: "Chinese scholars persist in their bad habits - how ridiculous!"  

The Dianshizhai advocated the study of Western science, and supported the new education system. Needless to say, it had articles and sketches on the Observatory attached to the Interpreters College in Beijing, the Jiangnan Arsenal and the Shanghai Polytechnic. It was very natural for them to support the reform of the examination system, and this in fact was the theme of their last issue. One month later, the Hundred Days Reform movement was suppressed. The Shen Bao was silent for three months, and then had no choice but to issue a statement in support of the conservatives - and even supported the reinstatement of the old examination system. The Dianshizhai had ceased publication by this stage, and thus avoided the difficult situation the Shen Bao found itself in. It is possible that the closing down of the Dianshizhai may have been connected in some way with the failure of the Hundred Days Reform, but there seems to be no evidence for this.

3. The Dianshizhai Pictorial

Not long after it was established in 1884, the publishers sold bound volume editions of the Dianshizhai, each volume containing twelve issues; these bound volumes were issued continuously until the magazine eventually ceased publication. In all it published 4,509 sketches in 44 volumes. Each sketch is

84 Zhen 94  
85 Ren 11; Xin* 26, Yi* 41-48  
86 Xu Renhan, Shen Bao qishiqi nian dashi ji, p. 26  
87 Sources differ as to the actual year the Dianshizhai ceased publication. Some, such as Yu Yueting "Huabao de shizhu", p. 151, give 1896; Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子 and Takeda Masaya 武田雅哉, Seikimatsu Chügoku-no Kawara-ban - E-iri Shimbun Tensekisai Gahō no Sekai 世纪末中国のかわら版－絵入新聞 (Chinese lithographs from the end of the century - the world of the illustrated news pictorial, the Dianshizhai ) (Tokyo: Fukutake Books, 1989), p. 12 also give this date. Others, such as Xiang Dicong, Shanghai Dianshizhai shiyin shubao ji qi jiqizhe, p. 247 have concluded the date cannot be determined. Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese, p. 3 and Van Briessen, Shanghai - Bildzeitung, p. 11 both give the date as
signed by the artist; each has a title and a commentary. The commentary sometimes
gives the background to the news story, where and when it happened, but generally
speaking it does not make the actual time, or the source of the story, specific.
Occasionally not even the place is given. The text accompanying the pictures often
contains additional information, particularly comments and criticisms written by the
editors. Each accompanying text ends with a pithy comment inscribed onto a seal,
much as Chinese paintings often have an additional seal attached to them. After the
Sino-French War, for example, there is a picture of the French Parliament
investigating the degree of responsibility of the Commander of the French Army;
the title is "Trial of a French Official" and the seal is "Listening to the Words of the
Devil".89 A sketch describing an incident in Singapore, in which somebody had
been injured during a cock-fighting match, organised by the Indians for their
amusement. There are two seals, one of which says "Such Entertainment"; the other
says "Cruel Killing".90 Another sketch told the story of Li Hongzhang becoming
romantically interested in an American girl on a visit to New York; the seal says:
"Excessive Affection".91 Sometimes there is one seal on each picture, sometimes
two. Sometimes the characters are cut in relief, sometimes in intaglio. The
commentaries and the seals reflect the attitudes of the editors; the signature merely
identifies the artist.

The sources, when they are given, of news items can be divided into four
categories:

(1) Newspapers.

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88 The Dianshizhai Pictorial was republished in 1983 by the Guangdong renmin chubanshe 广东
人民出版社, but this edition omitted the advertisements and the supplementary materials. Cohn,
Vignettes from the Chinese, p. 3 mentions 45 volumes, but this is not correct. The forty-four
volumes are in the following order: 甲 Jia, 乙 Yi, 丙 Bing, 丁 Ding, 戊 Wu, 己 Ji, 庚 Geng, 辛
Xin, 壬 Ren, 癸 Gui, 丑 Zi, 寅 Chou, 卯 Yin, 辰 Mao, 午 Chen, 巳 Yi*, 午 Wu*, 未 Wei,
申 Shen, 酉 You, 戌 Xu, 戌 Hai, 亥 Jin, 石 Shi, 丝 Si, 竹 Zhu, 鋼 Pao, 土 Tu, 革 Ge, 木 Mu,
礼 Li, 乐 Yue, 射 She, 书 Yu, 书 Shu, 额 Shu*, 文 Wen, 行 Xing, 忠 Zhong, 信 Xin*, 元
Yuan, 亨 Heng, 利 Li*, 至 Zhen, asterisks being used to distinguish characters which would
otherwise be the same in romanisation. In this thesis, the volumes will be referred to according the
their Chinese names, followed by the page number.
89 Ti shen Fa yuan 提审法员; ting gui yu 听鬼语. Yi* 50
90 Bai xiang 抱相; Can hai 残害. Tu 45 Bai xiang [bak-siang] is Shanghai dialect.
91 Bu mian duo qing 不免多情. Yuan 34
From its inception, the editors announced that their news items would be taken from various newspapers.\textsuperscript{92} In 1889 the \textit{Dianshizhai} added a comment to a list of corrections: "Since this Publishing Company began publishing its Pictorial, its policy has been to understand the West, and all its news is taken from Chinese and Western newspapers."\textsuperscript{93} The \textit{Shen Bao} and the \textit{Dianshizhai} were published by the same company, and the \textit{Shen Bao} was the most important source for consideration of possible news items to be included in the \textit{Dianshizhai}. There are at least 20 sketches in which the commentary explicitly states that the news item appeared first in the \textit{Shen Bao}.\textsuperscript{94} Some even give the date of the newspaper.\textsuperscript{95} Others adopted the headline from the \textit{Shen Bao} for the title of the sketch.\textsuperscript{96}

The second most important source of news was other Chinese newspapers, such as the \textit{Hu Bao} \textsuperscript{97} the \textit{Yiwenlu} \textsuperscript{98} the \textit{Su Bao} \textsuperscript{99} the \textit{Tongwen Ribao} \textsuperscript{100} the \textit{Youxi Bao} \textsuperscript{101} and the \textit{Bowen Bao} \textsuperscript{102} Often it is stated that a particular news item came from a newspaper, but it is not stated which one, except in such vague terms as "a newspaper recorded that ... "; "we read in the newspapers that ... "; "there is a record in the Shanghai daily press that ... "; "according to the newspapers ... " and so on.\textsuperscript{103} News items from the foreign press are generally noted as coming from "Western newspapers".\textsuperscript{104} Sometimes this is made slightly more specific: "German newspapers",\textsuperscript{105} "New York newspapers",\textsuperscript{106} "English newspapers".\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{92} Advertisement for Issue No. 1, \textit{Shen Bao}, 14 April-16 May 1884

\textsuperscript{93} Yi* 2

\textsuperscript{94} It is generally referred to as "the daily", or "this newspaper", or occasionally as \textit{Shen Bao}. See Pao 72 xia; Mao 4, 8 xia, 19, 20, 30; Gui 94; Chou 41; Wu 27; Yi* 74, 86, 94; Xin 10; Yin 37-42, 55, 57, 67, 80-81; Yi 19; Xin* 34.

\textsuperscript{95} Yi 19 from \textit{Shen Bao}, 30 August 1884; Yin 57 from \textit{Shen Bao}, 12 June 1888; Mao 4 from \textit{Shen Bao}, 5 July 1888.

\textsuperscript{96} Yin 67 "Virtuous Woman Protects Her Husband" (\textit{Xian fu wei fu} \textsuperscript{5} 贞妇卫夫) came from \textit{Shen Bao}, 10 June 1888; Mao 30 "Golden Character Signboard" (\textit{Jin zi zhao pai} \textsuperscript{5} 金字招牌) came from \textit{Shen Bao}, 17 September 1888; Mao 8 xia "adopting a Puppy" (\textit{Shouyang quan zi} \textsuperscript{5} 收养犬子) came from \textit{Shen Bao}, 29 June 1888.

\textsuperscript{97} Geng 75; Mao 20; Xin 11; Chou 78

\textsuperscript{98} Ji 87; Zhong 63

\textsuperscript{99} Xin 94

\textsuperscript{100} Shi 52

\textsuperscript{101} Yuan 88

\textsuperscript{102} Xing 45

\textsuperscript{103} Wu 5; Wu 71; Bing 58; Jia 38; Jia 51; Yi* 22; Xin* 27

\textsuperscript{104} Ren 27; Xing 57; Yuan 74; Yuan 66; Yuan 35; Tu 35; Li 58; Wu 65; Pao 18

\textsuperscript{105} Xing 75

\textsuperscript{106} Yuan 34

\textsuperscript{107} Xin 11; Si 27
Sometimes the Dianshizhai does not specify the source of a particular news item, but it is possible to trace the source from the contemporary press.108

(2) Contributed articles.

From Issue No. 5 onwards, the following advertisement appeared in both the Shen Bao and the Dianshizhai itself, calling for contributions from readers: "The Pictorial printed and sold by this Company is already very popular. However, bizarre happenings from outside Shanghai, apart from those which appear in the Shen Bao, and so can be illustrated in the Pictorial, are too numerous to be counted. So this Pictorial invites great artists from all over the country, should they come across some event in their own locality which might surprise or entertain, to sketch it on clean white paper with fresh thick ink. On another sheet, describe the circumstances, and send it to this Pictorial. If it is remarkably true to life, and can be included in our Pictorial, we will pay two yuan for each painting. Whether we use contributions or not, we will not return them to the sender. Each painting must be one chi three cun four fen in length, and one chi six cun in width. Apart from leaving a small space for the title, the painting should occupy the rest of the sheet. The name and address of the artist should be clearly indicated. We will issue a receipt immediately on receipt of the painting. If the painting is accepted for inclusion in the Pictorial, the fee may be collected from the Publishing Company. If it is not accepted, the receipt will be null and void. This is to avoid misunderstandings. We hope that all gentlemen will not be reticent in giving their instructions."109 In fact, however, very few contributions from readers were actually used. There are only two examples signed by people other than the regular staff.110 Sometimes the quality of a contributed item was not high enough, but the news item itself of some interest, so the commentary was rewritten by the

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108 Xin 3 “Water Flows, Blossoms Perish” (Shui liu hua xie 水流花谢) refers to an incident which occurred on the Suzhou Creek in July 1886, in which 18 women workers from the Keechong Filature Association (旗昌丝厂) fell into the river, and three drowned. This incident was also reported in the North-China Herald of July 30, 1886.

109 Jia 5; Shen Bao, 4-11 June 1884

110 Jin Dinghui 金鼎煪 (from Beiping 北平 [sic]), Two Monks Snatch a Piece of Meat (Liang Seng duo rou 两僧夺肉) - Ren 32; Zhang Qi 张其 (from Beijing), Wonderful Scenery of the Imperial City (Di cheng sheng jing 帝城胜景) - Jia 68
editors,111 Occasionally the editors would receive a letter describing a particular item of interest, and then depict the scene according to their imagination.112

3. Eyewitness reports.

The third source was what the editors and artists saw for themselves. There are at least ten examples in the Dianshizhai of this type.113 Although many of the sketches reflecting everyday urban life, street scenes and local customs are not specifically noted as having been witnessed by the editors themselves, we can presume that this was indeed the case.

4. Gossip and Hearsay.

The Dianshizhai was for light reading, and was meant to appeal to ordinary readers. It was not necessarily particularly concerned about the accuracy of some of its reports. In his advertisement for Issue No. 12, Major announced that there would be a report on the Sino-French War, but added: "the readers can get the general idea, without being concerned about the details."114 In Major's comments at the end of the special issue on "Turmoil in Korea", he added a similar reminder: "The illustrations and the accompanying story are to punish the perpetrators of moral evil. Although this record may not be correct in every detail, in general terms it is accurate. The reader will get the general idea, and need not be concerned about

111 Eg. an item contributed by Xu Yunshan 许蕴山 (from Wuxi) about a tiger exhibited outside the Chong'an Temple 崇安寺 in Wuxi, which savaged a passer-by; this picture was tidied up by Zhou Muqiao - Ding 39; another sketch A Lantern Display in the British Consulate in the Hankou Concession (Hankou zujie Yingling shi shu xuan deng tu 汉口租界英领事署悬灯图) was redrawn by Fu Jie taking in the main details of the original; the editors noted: "this picture was sent by a friend in Hankou. We have copied it from the original" - Gui 89
112 E.g. a report about the collapse of a bridge in the United States is preceded by a note: "Yesterday we received a letter from a friend in America" - Zi 43
113 Eg. the story about an American swindler on Si Malu who claimed to be exhibiting a bodiless head, witnessed by Tian Zilin - Bing 78; the story about the giant from Anhui had been picked up by Fu Jie on his travels some twenty years earlier - Ren 11; the performance of a Western circus attended by Ma Ziming and his friends - Chou 17; Shi 9 is about the strange disease afflicting the son of a friend of Ming Fu; a quarrel between two prostitutes in the street, which happened to be witnessed by Chan Xiang and some friends on a visit to a Teahouse - Yin 74; a religious ceremony witnessed by Ming Fu - Hai 90; Wu 74 on horseracing was written by Tian Zilin after a visit to the races; Xu 84 is a sketch of some street urchins along the Si Malu, seen by Fu Liangxin; Ren 20 is a scene witnessed by Ma Ziming, of Chinese policemen assaulting a rickshaw-puller; Ren 58 is a record of an incident which occurred in a small wineshop next to the lodgings of one of the editors, and so on.
114 Shen Bao, 9-26 August 1884
This was also the case with important political developments. The main purpose of the *Dianshizhai* was "to surprise and entertain", and accuracy - even in giving details as to the source or the location of a particular story - was not one of its priorities. There are nearly forty items based on stories provided by people visiting Shanghai from other parts of China. Some of these stories were provided by Chinese who had travelled to the West, and who told the editors of the *Dianshizhai* what they had seen; the artists then used their imaginations to provide a sketch to match the story. Most of these stories, however, were about the absurd and the grotesque - ghost stories and the like.

The sketches themselves can be divided into seven categories:

1. Knowledge about the West.

Introduction of knowledge about the West was a characteristic of the *Dianshizhai*. The authors paid particular attention to new discoveries in the field of science and technology. The advertisement for Issue No. 6 stated "Whenever a new invention appears in the West, whenever they create something new, we will introduce and illustrate all those things which are useful to the country and the people. These can be used by officials and merchants, not only to expand their knowledge, but also to be of practical use." The authors expressed their unabashed admiration for the "strange skills and excessive ingenuity" of the West.

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115 Bing 57
116 Many news items begin "A man from Hubei on a certain evening..." - Zhen 25; or "A certain man from Yongjiang..." - Zhong 14; or with no indication at all of where or when the incident concerned may have taken place.
117 Wei 35; Wu* 37; Wu* 62; Wen 1; Wen 58; Wen 93; Pao 32; Pao 56; Pao 63; Pao 83; Jia 92; Yuan 28; Yuan 33; Ge 5; Shi 44; Shi 55; Shi 63; Xing 3; Xing 18; Xing 92; Heng 67; Zhong 70; Zhong 34; Zhen 59; Zhen 72; Li* 5; Li* 47; Li* 91; Yi* 46; Xu 93; Si 31; Shen 46; Shen 38; Tu 60; Tu 50; Tu 38; Zhu 29; Yu 74; Jin 25.
118 E.g. there was a man called Zhong Shuyuan 钟漱园 who returned from the West, and told the editors of the *Dianshizhai* about Western drama; the artists depicted the scene as they imagined it based on this report - Wu* 37, and the traveller who returned from a trip to Russia, where he had seen a statue of Confucius in the St. Petersberg Museum - Wen 58
119 E.g. about the Dragon King - Zhong 34; Retribution - Si 31; Appearance of a Daoist Immortal - Xing 18; A Monk Swallowing a Snake - Zhong 70; Ox Gives Birth to a Human Child - Yuan 18
120 *Shen Bao*, 26 June - 5 July 1884
121 This might be compared to the time of the Self Strengthening Movement, and the attacks of the conservatives against the "strange skills and excessive ingenuity" [qi ji yin qiao 奇技淫巧] of the West. See Ye Xiaqing 叶晓青, "Jindai Xifang keji de yinjin ji qi yingxiang" 近代西方科技
technology in the West are becoming more and more developed ... Westerners are curious by nature, and feel ashamed to follow the same old ways, so they are able to come up with new ideas."122 In an article on the submarine, they said: "There is no end of Western ingenuity. Hot-air balloons that can fly, and steamships that can travel so quickly - such things we have already seen or heard about. Now we have heard a story about a boat that can travel under the water..."123. In introducing X-rays, and their medical use, they said: "The skill of Western science and technology is applied to the use of lenses. The telescope can reach into the furthest distances, and the microscope can analyse the awn of wheat. This is far removed from "ancient mirrors reflect an image, neither the beautiful nor the ugly can escape", is it not? It just becomes more and more amazing. Now there is a ray of light which can penetrate the darkest and most hidden places ... If you want to be good at something you must first sharpen your tools. Western doctors are constantly improving their skills, and certainly do not rest on their laurels. So their skills continue to improve."124

The Dianshizhai also introduced items of general interest, such as an earthquake in Britain (1884),125 a skyscraper in New York catching fire (1884),126 a bicycle race in London,127 The World Fair in Paris (1890),128 discoveries in the Gobi desert by a Swedish archeological expedition,129 eucalyptus trees130 and ways of exterminating wild rabbits131 in Australia; the Coronation of the Russian Czar, and the envoys of the various countries of the world, including Li Hongzhang, participating in the ceremonies,132 and injuries sustained due to overcrowding amongst the spectators.133 In 1896 the Dianshizhai dedicated five sketches to a description of an expedition to the North Pole; amongst

的印进及其影响 [The introduction of Western science and technology and its influence], Lishi Yanjiu, 1982:1, pp. 3-17, on pp. 13-14
122 Yu 21
123 Tu 46
124 Li 19 See also Xin 39 for similar comments.
125 Jia 27
126 Jia 72
127 Zhen 10
128 Heng 90
129 Zhong 90. The text refers to Xie-die-ying 歌迭影, i.e. [Sven] Hedin. On Hedin, see Donald Leslie and Jeremy Davidson, Author Catalogues of Western Sinologists (Canberra: Department of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies, A.N.U., 1966), pp. 64-65
130 Mu 86
131 Yin 15
132 Xing 42
133 Xing 57
these were the welcoming home of a Norwegian explorer; the lifestyle of the Eskimos, and so on.\textsuperscript{134} The \textit{Dianshizhai} also introduced customs of other lands, such as bullfighting in Spain,\textsuperscript{135} and Hindu respect for the cow.\textsuperscript{136} In informing its readers that Westerners sometimes kiss each other on parting, the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted: "Different countries have different customs. Some people salute with the hands raised together, some kneel, some make a low bow with the hands in front. Each is a way of expressing politeness. Shaking hands, pecking the cheeks, kissing the mouth, are also ways of expressing politeness. This makes their bodies close to each other. This is considered an expression of feelings and politeness. Westerners stress feelings in the same way as Chinese stress politeness. The manner of expressing politeness may be different, but the intention is the same."\textsuperscript{137}

The \textit{Dianshizhai} also described a Western wedding ceremony: "According to Western customs, when a man and woman want to marry, they must first become betrothed, so that they can observe each other's natures and personalities. If there are no conflicts between them, they exchange letters. In this way they develop their relationship. If both sides are willing, they agree to become husband and wife."\textsuperscript{138} They even mentioned the concept of equality between men and women: "In China, the difference in status between men and women is emphasised. The difference is like that between Heaven and Earth. People are used to this, and do not have any particular feelings on the matter. Western countries are different. Both men and women enter school when they are young, so there are many Western women who understand mathematics."\textsuperscript{139}

In publicising these concepts, sometimes they exaggerated: "The Chinese custom is to discriminate in favour of men over women. So if there are some capable women, people would laugh at them, and say are they are like hens crowing at dawn, and it is obvious that \textit{yin} and \textit{yang} must not be inverted. In the West, it is different. They value women highly, much more than men. So women of talent are often to be seen. So now there are women doctors, women lawyers and women ship captains ..."\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{134} Wen 91; Zhong 44; Zhong 75; Xin 34, Xin 62
\textsuperscript{135} Bing 61
\textsuperscript{136} Yu 75
\textsuperscript{137} Wu* 60
\textsuperscript{138} Shi 81
\textsuperscript{139} Xin 80
\textsuperscript{140} Ge 30
Even some Western concepts of democracy were introduced, through direct descriptions of the democratic process. For example, in their story about the United States President Ulysses S. Grant, who was reported to be living in relative poverty after his retirement, the Dianshizhai introduced some idea of the Western concept of an elected President.\textsuperscript{141} In describing the public libraries of England, the Dianshizhai criticised the Chinese tradition of "personal libraries": "Chinese traditional academies also have well-stocked libraries for their scholars to read, but there is no such a thing as a public library. There is a poem by Du Fu: "If we could build a mansion of ten thousand rooms, and all poor scholars under Heaven could take refuge there, such joy would be on their faces". When we recite these words ... alas, alas!"\textsuperscript{142}

2. Current affairs.

Most of the items on current affairs concern the Sino-French War, and the two wars between China and Japan. There are some 26 pictures about the Sino-French War, throughout the first four volumes.\textsuperscript{143} There are many more on the Sino-Japanese Wars, more than 50 in all, and the reports cover a wider area. Some of these are about the war itself; such as "Victory on the Yalü River"\textsuperscript{144} or "The Battle of Datong River",\textsuperscript{145} others are about Japanese spies being caught in China,\textsuperscript{146} or clashes with the Japanese in Korea.\textsuperscript{147} Sometimes the Dianshizhai would print a report about accidents in Japan with a certain glee, such as a spontaneous explosion in a munitions factory in Osaka,\textsuperscript{148} or an accident on a train carrying wounded troops on the route between Yoshino and Kōbe. Even the title of this sketch was derisive: "Heaven Despises Dwarfish Slaves".\textsuperscript{149} Other examples of reports on current affairs in other countries were the special issue on the Kapsin

\textsuperscript{141} Ding 34
\textsuperscript{142} Tu 90
\textsuperscript{143} Jia 3; 4; 19; 51; 77; 83; 91; 92; Yi 3; 12; 21; 26; 35; 42; 50; 58; 79; Bing 67; 71; 76; 92; Ding 10; 18; 49; 50; Yi* 15
\textsuperscript{144} Yalü jiāng zhàn shēng tu 鸭绿江战胜图 She 18
\textsuperscript{145} Datóng jiāng zhàn jì 大同江战记 She 3; She 4
\textsuperscript{146} Shu 92; Yue 73; Yue 84; She 11; She 34
\textsuperscript{147} Yu 77
\textsuperscript{148} Yu 63
\textsuperscript{149} Tiān yán Wo nu 天厌倭奴 Shu 91
Coup in Korea,150 and British clashes in Burma,151 or, within China, floods in Guangdong in 1888,152 and so on.

3. Customs in various parts of China.

Examples are: New Year customs in Suzhou;153 customs relating to the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts in Wuhu;154 the custom of praying for rain in Hubei;155 anti-pestilence customs in Tianjin, Guangdong and Hubei;156 and marriage customs in Guangdong, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and other places.157


This category is quite large. From an analysis of the pictures, we can see that these included merchants,158 labourers,159 women workers160 and prostitutes.161 Most of the Chinese abroad represented in the Dianshizhai were resident in Singapore,162 followed by Australia - mostly connected with the goldfields.163 South-East Asia is generally referred to as "the Southern Ocean" ［南洋］ without specifying which area.164 There are occasionally items about the Overseas Chinese in Japan, or the Chinese on the goldfields of San Francisco.165 In these items there is no indication of the relations between the Chinese and the societies in which they found themselves. They include people who had married and established a family overseas, such as the man from Fujian who had married a Thai woman in Singapore,166 or a man from Guangdong, a

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150 Bing 49-57
151 Ji 9-13
152 Yin 37-42
153 Xu 93
154 Shu 54
155 She 13; Shu 64
156 You 86; Hai 44; Ding 70; Wu 42
157 Li 24; Li 72; Mu 72
158 Shi 43; Shi 45; Shi 96; Wei 42-44
159 Zi 12; Xu 55
160 Xu 55
161 Shi 65; Jin 89; Zhong 57
162 Shi 65; Shi 95; Mu 70; Xin* 96; Yuan 7; Li 85; Hai 81; You 94; She 41
163 Xu 55; Hai 54; Jin 74
164 Shi 45
165 Xu 36; Zi 56; Jia 74
166 Mu 70
long term resident of Nagasaki, who was helping the managing director to arrange a wedding ceremony there for his son. Some people were earning money, so that they could return home to establish a family, such as the man from Guangdong who returned from Australia, where he had had a business, to his home village to take a wife and have a family.

5. Ghost stories and other oddities.

These were included in the *Dianshizhai* to attract a wider readership, and for this reason such illustrations were regarded by some people as being similar to those found in books like the *Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio*. Examples of such stories are: the stiff corpse chasing people in Ningbo; the Daoist priest who met a ghost along the road at night; the destitute man who was contemplating suicide when he heard a conversation between ghosts, which put any thoughts of death out of his head; the ghost of a man who had hanged himself looking for a body to live in; the ghost of a drowned man terrifying a boatman; the corpse in a coffin which could not be put into the ground becoming a wandering ghost, doing mischief, harming people and killing them, and so on.

Oddities included a chicken with the face of a man, discovered in America; a huge stone turning into a goblin, also in America; deformed foetuses in Japan; a man digging a well by magic (in England); the discovery of a fish in London, which had leaves growing on its body, and so on. Strange tales from China included the woman in Beijing who gave birth to a tortoise, the woman in Hankou who gave birth to a snake; the donkey

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167 Xu 36
168 Shi 43
169 Sa Kongliao, *Wushi nian lai Zhongguo huabao the san ge shiqi*, p. 408
170 Jin 15
171 Jin 4
172 Shu 63
173 Yue 56
174 Shu 7
175 Geng 19
176 Zhong 47
177 Heng 60
178 Mu 21, Yu 31
179 Heng 81
180 Wen 65
181 Jin 72 xia
which laid an egg;183 the six-legged ox in Zhejiang184 and many others of the same type.


There is quite a large number of stories in this group. These stories, like those in the category above, often have ghosts in them, but also contain a moral lesson. Most of these stories are about filial piety, either extolling behaviour which exhibited it, or condemning behaviour which did not. There is the tale about the deaf mute who was filial to his mother; the story is very ordinary, the main point is to praise his filial piety;185 the story of the filial daughter who cut off flesh from her arms as a cure for her father's sickness;186 the filial daughter who, when her mother was grievously ill, prayed silently day and night and moved the gods, so that her mother's sickness was cured;187 the young child who saw his mother fall into the water; he jumped in to save her but was himself drowned; this spirit of self-sacrifice moved Heaven, and he was brought back to life.188 Even stranger is the tale of the filial daughter who moved Heaven and was turned into a man, so as to gladden the hearts of her parents, who had no sons.189 Other examples are The Filial Daughter-in-law Who Moved the Gods;190 The Court Commends a Filial Daughter;191 The Fox Shows Respect to a Filial Daughter;192 The Filial Beggar;193 The Tiger Avoids a Filial Son194 and so on. There are all sorts of retributions to those who are lacking in filial piety, such as Heaven Executes an Unfilial Son;195 An Unfilial Son Falls into a Well;196 The Spirits Execute an Unfilial Child;197 Lightning Buries an Unfilial Woman;198 An Unfilial Woman

182 Zhu 57
183 Jin 33
184 Ge 30
185 Xin 19
186 Yu 9
187 Heng 46
188 Li 77
189 Ge 25; Yi* 30
190 Xiao xi gan shen 孝媳感神 Wen 75
191 Xiao fu jing men 孝夫旌门 Si 42
192 Hu qin xiao nü 孤钦孝女 Yuan 61
193 Xiao gai 孝丐 Wen 95
194 Hu bi xiao zi 虎避孝子 Mu 17
195 Tian zhu ni xi 天诛逆子 She 90; Tian zhu bu xiao 天诛不孝 Shu 40
196 Ni zì ru jìng 逆子入井 Zhu 23
197 Shen zhu bu xiao 神诛不孝 Mu 52
Becomes a Tortoise;\textsuperscript{199} Begging Heaven to Forgive a Crime;\textsuperscript{200} A Plot to Kill by Poison Punished by Heaven\textsuperscript{201} and so on.

Filial piety was followed by feminine chastity. Most of these stories are about widows who pursued chaste lives after the death of their husband, and were rewarded for this. One old lady, who had remained chaste for many years, fell ill; a strange monk happened to pass by her door, and her illness was cured without treatment,\textsuperscript{202} a chaste woman was killed in a fire, but her face was unscarred; people said she had been protected by Heaven;\textsuperscript{203} a widow grew whiskers, and almost became a man; this was Heaven determining that she would not remarry.\textsuperscript{204} Other examples are: Heaven Protects a Chaste Woman;\textsuperscript{205} Loyal Servant Dies After Death of Master;\textsuperscript{206} Preserver of Chastity Receives Good Fortune;\textsuperscript{207} The Chaste and Filial Should Be Praised\textsuperscript{208} and so on. There are also some examples of unchaste women and retribution: Heaven Warns a Lascivious Old Woman.\textsuperscript{209}

There are many stories of retribution for good or bad deeds. For example, there are three pictures about corrupt officials who stole money intended for victims of natural disasters, and who received dire retribution.\textsuperscript{210} There are also examples of the opposite situation, how those who had financially helped victims of nature disasters would be rewarded, such as Charitable Contributions Exorcise Ghosts\textsuperscript{211} and Organising Relief Brings a Reward.\textsuperscript{212} There are others which praise honesty and incorruptibility, and who get their reward in the end, such as Money Returned and Child Saved\textsuperscript{213} and Money Returned and Sickness Cured.\textsuperscript{214} There are stories about those who release living things being rewarded: Those Who Release Living Things Receive a Reward,\textsuperscript{215} and there are stories about those who kill...
living things, or those who kill animals so as to eat their meat, being punished, such as *Butcher Killed by a Pig*,\(^{216}\) *Eel Fancier Bitten by Eel*,\(^ {217}\) *Life Taken by Tortoise Spirit*,\(^ {218}\) and *Wife of Pigeon Eater Gives Birth to a Pigeon*.\(^ {219}\) There are also stories about the Chinese belief that "The net of Heaven stretches everywhere; its meshes are large but nothing escapes": no crime can escape punishment; one might be able to escape the net of the law, but not the net of Heaven.\(^ {220}\) Other stories praise the kindhearted nature displayed by certain animals, such as the cat which killed a snake, thus saving its owner's child;\(^ {221}\) the horse which died soon after its master;\(^ {222}\) and the dog of Deng Shichang, the captain of a Chinese warship in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, which followed his master to his death.\(^ {223}\)

7. News from Shanghai.

These news items included life in the International Settlement, the French Concession and other parts of Shanghai, social news, criminal cases, traffic accidents and so on. In fact, a large proportion of these sketches reflect material progress in Shanghai and the lives of the ordinary people of Shanghai. Some portray the streets and the alleys, the theatres and the teahouses. Although the news items themselves are not important, they vividly reflect a certain environment, a certain social style. It is precisely sketches in this category which have been the most quoted in books on the history of Shanghai.

4. The authors and artists of the *Dianshizhai*

The most important artist on the *Dianshizhai* was Wu Youru 吴友如; others were Zhang Zhiying 张志瀛 (Zhang Qi 张淇), Ma Ziming 马子明, Jin Chanxiang 金蟾香 (Jin Gui 金桂), Tian Zilin 田子林 (Tian Ying 田英), Fu

\(^{216}\) *Tu fu xun shi* 屠夫殉杀 Xing 40
\(^{217}\) *Shi shan nie bao* 嘉靖孝报 Yue 57
\(^{218}\) *Wu gui suo ming* 乌龟索命 Yu 78
\(^{219}\) Jin 88
\(^{220}\) *Tian wang hui hui, shu er bu lou* 天网恢恢，疏而不漏。Shu* 6; Shi 44; Si 31; Shi 35
\(^{221}\) Xing 11
\(^{222}\) Shi 16
\(^{223}\) Shu* 27
Genxin 符艮心 (Fu Jie 符节), Zhou Muqiao 周慕桥 (Zhou Quan 周权), He Yuanjun 何元俊 (He Mingfu 何明甫), Jia Xingqing 贾醒卿 and Zhu Ruxian 朱儒贤. There were also some unfamiliar names which appear once or twice, such as Wang Zhao 王钊 and Shen Meipo 沈梅坡. These artists were quite well known in Shanghai at the time, but none of them, apart from Wu Youru, was listed in contemporary reference works on artists of note.

The biography of Wu Youru in the standard History of Painting in the Qing Dynasty is as follows: "Wu You 吴猷, also named Jiayou 嘉猷, with the style Youru 余如, was a native of Yuanhe 元和. He liked painting, and was especially good at traditional fine line drawing. People, beautiful women, mountains, rivers, flowers, plants, birds, beasts, insects, fish - he excelled at them all. Zeng Zhongxiang Gong 曾忠襄公 [Zeng Guoquan] commissioned him to paint a scroll entitled A Portrait of Meritorious Officials Victorious at Jinling [金陵功臣战绩图]. The Emperor heard about this at Court, and from then on his fame grew day by day. In the year Jiashen 甲申 [1884] he was invited to draw for the pictorial of the Dianshizhai Printing Company. Afterwards he himself established the Feiyingge [Pavilion of Flying Shadows] Pictorial. His genre paintings and sketches of current affairs are drawn in fine detail and are very realistic. He could be considered a modern Qiu Ying 仇英. His paintings of beautiful women are especially refined. He was given the epithet 'Master Craftsman' [sheng shou 圣手]."

According to this biography, Wu Youru's greatest achievements were his traditional paintings of beautiful women. This was the majority opinion; and even later art historians were to share this opinion. According to Huang Mengtian, "Everybody who studies Chinese art, or who likes to read, knows of the late Qing artist Wu Youru. Especially those connoisseurs of traditional paintings of beautiful

224 See Sa Kongliao, "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo huabao", p. 408: "the artists were all famous artists of the time: they were Wu Youru, Jin Chanxiang, Zhang Zhiying, Tian Zilin, He Zhijun and Fu Genxin". See also Britton, Chinese Periodical Press, p. 70; Taiwan reprint of the Dianshizhai huabao (Tianyi chubanshe 天一出版社) Vol. 1, p. 7.

225 Zhu Hongjun (ed.) Gujin Huashi [History of ancient and modem painting] (Shanghai: Guangyi shuju 广益书局, 1917) contains biographies of 198 artists of the Qing period; the only artist associated with the Dianshizhai included was Wu Youru.

226 Di Pingzi (ed.) Qingdai huashi 清代画史 [History of painting in the Qing dynasty] (Youzheng shuju 有正书局, 1927) juan 5, p. 13. (This biography was taken from Yang Yi 杨逸, Haishang molin 海上墨林, 1920).

227 Qiu Ying 仇英 (1493-1560), was one of the "Four Great Painters of the Ming Dynasty", along with Shen Zhou 沈周, Wen Zhengming 文徵明 and Tang Yin 唐寅. All were from the Suzhou area. See Wang Bomin 王伯敏, Zhongguo huihuashi 中国绘画史 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe 人民美术出版社, 1982), pp. 456; pp. 469-470
women, and those artists who specialise in painting this type of picture, have certainly seen, or have in their possession, paintings like *One Hundred Classical Beauties* or *A Treasury of Wu Youru's Illustrations*. *One Hundred Classical Beauties* served as a prototype for many later sketches of beautiful women. Wu Youru's contribution was not only those exquisite line drawings in traditional ink and brush style, flowing like floating clouds and flowing water; more importantly he created an historical style of the feminine image. As far as specialists in painting beautiful women are concerned, Wu Youru's drawings in *One Hundred Classical Beauties* are his most outstanding achievement. They know that he also produced a large number of genre paintings in the *Dianshizhai*, but do not regard them as being his most important works. Evaluating Wu Youru's artistic achievements correctly, however, we must say that his genre paintings in the *Dianshizhai* occupy the more important place. The reason he has a place in the history of Chinese art is not because of his "One Hundred Classical Beauties", but mainly because of his genre paintings, which are so full of realistic significance. The late Xu Beihong had a high opinion of Wu Youru's paintings. He said he was "one of the greatest illustrators of ancient or modern times, and one of the great men in the history of Chinese art". Here the term "illustration" is not used in a narrow sense, as in an illustration to a modern novel. What is meant that he used international current affairs and other items of news as material for his paintings. Whether or not he was "one of the great men in the history of Chinese art" is a matter for discussion. Wu Youru was the chief artist on the staff of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and the *Feiyingge Pictorial*, so whenever people mention these earliest Chinese pictorials, they are sure to think of him. Without doubt, he can be regarded as a typical representative of the *Dianshizhai* style of traditional ink and brush style painting.228

In 1909, the Wenruilou Publishing Company in Shanghai published Wu Youru's collected works in thirteen volumes, under the title *A Treasury of Wu Youru's Illustrations*. This was reprinted in 1983 by the Shanghai Shudian, with a preface by Zheng Yimei. He gave a very detailed introduction to Wu Youru's work: "He was young when the Taiping Rebellion occurred, and he took refuge in Shanghai. It was there he took up painting. Every time he saw an original work of a famous painter, he would gaze at it so as to imitate it; he would be so absorbed as to forget food and sleep. However, he could not stay long in

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228 Huang Mengtian 黄蒙田, *Tan yi lu* 談藝錄 (Shanghai shuju, Hongkong 1973) p. 81
Shanghai. He returned to his native town of Suzhou. On the introduction of a relative, he became an apprentice in the Yunlange Studio, which specialised in mounting traditional Chinese paintings. That shop also sold calligraphy and painting of a hackneyed and vulgar nature; everyone called it "lowbrow stuff". Wu Youru already had some basic skill in painting, and he studied with an experienced painter Zhang Zhiying. He started by copying models; his skill was outstanding, especially at figure painting and traditional paintings of beautiful women. Because of this the variety of paintings in the Yunlange Studio was more extensive than in other shops, and his career advanced day by day. Gradually the gentry began to appreciate him; they commissioned paintings and paid substantial sums for them, and compared him to a modern Qiu Shizhou [Qiu Ying]. Wu Youru's reputation as an artist spread from North to South. Even the Governor-General of Liang-Jiang [Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui] Zeng Guoquan recommended him to paint a scroll entitled A Portrait of Meritorious Officials Victorious at Jinling, which was to submitted for the inspection of the Emperor. There was a degree of compulsion in this task, and it was not what he wanted to do. After he finished it he returned home, as if he had been relieved of a heavy burden. On the way home he passed through Shanghai. An Englishman, Major, who had established the Shen Bao, and in addition wanted to publish the Dianshizhai Pictorial, invited Wu Youru to be the chief illustrator. Wu Youru expanded the themes of the paintings, and introduced all manner of things from foreign countries - high buildings and large mansions, locomotives and steamships, acoustics, optics, electronics, chemistry and so on. All of them were included in his paintings. At that time conservative artists joined ranks in opposition, but Wu Youru ignored them. He concentrated on his realistic painting. After he advocated this, others followed him, such as Jin Chanxiang, Zhou Muqiao, He Yuanjun, and sketching novelties became fashionable. Many of his works express his patriotic fervour and our national integrity, such as The Mixed Court and Turmoil in the Foreign Settlement. Unfortunately the Dianshizhai was controlled by a foreigner, and there were many restrictions on him. He decided to leave, and then founded the Feiyingge Pictorial. All sorts of figures of men and beautiful women, birds and beasts, scales and shells, flowers and plants, grasses and insects, mountains, rivers and famous
sights, archeological sites and travel memoirs, investigating the strange and recording the unusual, in each applying new and original brushwork..."229

As far as the other artists are concerned, it is only from a few pieces of scattered information that we can find out anything about them at all. We know, for example, that some of them were from Suzhou. From Wu Youru's biography, we learn that Zhang Zhiying came from the same place as Wu, i.e. Suzhou. Ma Ziming and Fu Genxin both mention in the commentaries to some of their sketches scenes they had witnessed from their childhood in Suzhou. Fu Jie [Fu Genxin] and Zhang Mingfu both refer to He Guisheng, the editor in chief of the Shen Bao, as their teacher. From an article about some of the tabloid newspapers of Shanghai, we learn that Zhou Muqiao had provided illustrations for a newspaper called Jin'gangzuan 金钢钻, so we can presume that after this newspaper ceased publication, Zhou remained in Shanghai to work on the Dianshizhai.232

In nineteenth century Shanghai, journalism was not considered a particularly respectable career, and was not recognised by the traditional value system. Hu Daojing, in speaking of journalism in Shanghai at that time, recalled: "Journalism was considered a new sort of profession. There were no specialists in journalism at that time, it was just taken up by a few scholars. At that time, the best scholars concentrated on progressing through the various levels of the imperial examinations; those who were willing to become newspaper journalists were only those who must have been mad or scholars who had failed the imperial examinations."233

229 Preface to the Shanghai shuju reprint of Wu Youru Huabao (1983). The same book contains an inscription written in honour of Wu Youru by Xie Guozhen 謝國楨 in 1981. See Zheng Yimei, Shu bao hua jiu, pp. 85-87, which gives almost the same information. In addition, it mentions that Wu Youru lost his father when he was young, and that his family was very poor. There is also a short biography of Wu Youru by Hua Rende 华人德 in the preface to Wu Youru shinü bai tu 吴友如仕女百图 [One hundred classical beauties of Wu Youru] (Shanghai: Shuhua chubanshe 书画出版社, 1988). The most recent research on Wu Youru is Gong Chanxing 龚产兴, "Wu Youru jianliie" 吴友如简略 [Wu Youru: a brief introduction] in Meishu yanjiu 美术研究 1990:3, pp. 30-38. Gong interviewed many old artists, and also visited Wu Youru's granddaughter. This paper shows that the stories about Wu losing his parents while very young, his impoverished family background and so on have no basis in fact. It confirms, however, that Wu took up painting only after he came to Shanghai during the Taiping Rebellion.230

230 Ren 79; Ren 53

231 Hai 40 xia; Shi 9

232 Yao Jiguang 姚吉光 and Yu Yifen 俞逸芬, "Shanghai de xiao bao" 上海的小报 [Tabloid newspapers in Shanghai], in Xinwen yanjiu ziliao 1981:3 (Beijing Xinhua Chubanshe, p. 234

233 Hu Daojing, "Shanghai xinwen bianli shi shi de fazhan", p. 951. Here we might mentioned the case of Li Pingshu 李平书, who held the degree of senior licentiate and was a county magistrate, and also used to write leading articles for the North-China Herald. If we look at his autobiography, however, we discover that he only wrote for the newspaper during a period of
of a newspaper was not only not considered respectable in society, but even the person in question would not dare reveal his occupation to other people. A man from my home-town, Mr. Shen Renquan 沈任倹, was employed by a certain newspaper in Shanghai at the beginning of the Guangxu period, and from then on worked at various newspapers continuously until the end of that reign period. When asked, however, he would only hum and haw, and not dare tell anyone about it.234 The editor-in-chief of the Shen Bao, Cai Erkang, had failed repeatedly in the imperial examinations, and had no choice but to take up a career in journalism.235 The writers of the Dianshizhai were most likely in much the same position. Wu Youru, the most famous of them, never had an official title or official position.236

When Wu Youru and the others started to draw such subjects as locomotives and steamships, and even the everyday life of ordinary people, they came under attack from the conservative art establishment. Wu Youru argued that "painting should change with the times. Whatever is present in a certain period can be used as subject matter for painting. When we look at Song and Yuan paintings, we regard them as ancient, elegant and far from vulgarity. But surely we know that the Song and Yuan artists were doing nothing else than painting scenes which were in front of their eyes. So, seeing now we are in contact with new things, why should we reject them?"237

The artists of the Dianshizhai had three approaches. The first was realistic depiction. A wide variety of people and street scenes of Shanghai are realistic
representations. These drawings are the most vivid; Lu Xun remarked of the faces in the *Dianshizhai* "they are exactly what we now often see in Shanghai."\(^{238}\)

The second was to copy off a photograph, or from a book of paintings. For example, portraits of famous Chinese officials, or people or events in other countries, were generally copied from photographs. A sketch illustrating some news from Germany shows the fashions worn by German women at the time so accurately that Fritz van Briessen feels that the artists must certainly have seen contemporary photographs of Germany.\(^ {239}\) In his description of a European beauty contest, Zhang Zhiying said: "some years ago we heard that Europe and the West had beauty contests, but we did not know any details, and did not dare to draw any sketches. We would only have held ourselves up to ridicule. Recently we received a volume brought by a Western painter, which we present below ..."\(^ {240}\)

The third was to rely on their imagination. The amount of material they could acquire through photographs or drawings was limited, and the imagination of the artists became the main means by which events in foreign countries or other things they had never seen could be depicted. It was inevitable, of course, that this could lead to mistakes, misunderstandings and absurdities. They drew an American skyscraper like a Chinese pagoda;\(^ {241}\) they had Eskimos dressed in European costumes, living in a thickly forested environment;\(^ {242}\) and in their sketches of the scenery of Tibet they had the Tibetans dressed as Arabs.\(^ {243}\)

Their attempts to draw an airship without having seen one show the shortcomings of their inexperience. There are three drawings of airships in the *Dianshizhai*, one in 1888 by Zhang Zhiying, another in 1891 by Fu Genxin and a third in 1897 by Fu Jie (Fu Genxin). All three depict the airship as a sort of steamship suspended in the sky - perhaps because the current term for airship was "flying boat"\(^ {244}\), or perhaps simply because they were familiar with steamships, and thought it quite natural to draw a plane as a steamship.

\(^{238}\) Lu Xun, "Shanghai wenyi zhi yi pie" [A glimpse at Shanghai literature], in *Lu Xun zawen xuan* (Tianjin: Renmin chubanshe 1976), p. 128
\(^{239}\) Chou 46; Van Briessen, *Shanghai-Bildzeitung*, p. 92
\(^{240}\) Xu 32
\(^{241}\) Chen 40
\(^{242}\) Hai 71
\(^{243}\) Li 99
\(^{244}\) fei zhou 飞舟 Chou 31; Xu 56 xia
Other things may have happened in Shanghai, but were beyond the experience of the artists - for example, surgical operations. The *Dianshizhai* was particularly assiduous in giving information on Western surgery, and praised the miraculous skill of the doctors, but the accompanying sketches are inaccurate: the patient lying on an ordinary deck-chair; the surgeon carving up the patient's body; the doctor performing an operation sitting down, the doctor even climbing onto the patient's body to perform the operation. All the operations are performed in a room something like a lounge-room, packed with onlookers who have nothing to do with the operation. The doctors, especially women doctors, wear formal clothing, as if dressed for a night on the town.245

Sometimes they exaggerated the achievements of Western science to the point of absurdity. There was the man from Australia who possessed rainmaking magic, who could perform his magic locked up in a room, and make rain fall in any district he wanted.246 Other stories told of how Westerners could shrink corpses chemically and put them in a wooden box, so that they can be carried around;247 or how they experiment on corpses, then turn them into fertiliser. The *Dianshizhai* did not offer any critical comment on the latter practice, but the accompanying sketch looks like a slaughterhouse.248 The *Dianshizhai* later published retractions of these two stories about corpses.249

The artists supported the attitude of the Self Strengthening Movement in their interest in Western science and technology. In their story on the Observatory at the Interpreters College in Beijing, they noted: "All Western science is based on mathematics, so mathematics is the origin of all the sciences. Astronomers also rely on mathematics to make their predictions ..."250 Another story was about an envoy who had been sent to the West, and returned with more than two hundred volumes on science and technology. The commentary revealed the attitude of the *Dianshizhai* to the old examination system: "The present dynasty continued the previous system of the Ming, relying on eight-legged essays to choose officials. Scholars with ambition to advance had to concentrate all their energies and abilities exhausting themselves in this system. Since we have had communication with Western countries the situation has changed. Those who hold power in the country are

245 Yu 6; Yi 81; Wen 15; Chen 14
246 Jin 73
247 Mao 32
248 Mao 49
249 Yi* 7
250 Ren 11
making the best use of the situation. They have established the Interpreters College and have recruited intelligent young people; they have invited Westerners to supervise and teach in every field. It has gradually become quite impressive.\textsuperscript{251}

Politically, however, the artists of the \textit{Dianshizhai} were quite orthodox. Although they approved the introduction of new things, they never directly criticised the government, and kept silent on the demands of the Reform Party for constitutional reform. They reprimanded any sort of popular revolt, including anti-Christian demonstrations in various parts of China.\textsuperscript{252} Several times they mentioned approvingly Charles George Gordon, who had assisted the Qing government to suppress the Taiping Rebellion, not only in reporting how the Chinese people held memorial services in his honour,\textsuperscript{253} but also in a story on a hospital on the northern bank of the Suez canal in Egypt which had been named after him. The title of the picture is \textit{His Great Name Will Never Die}, and the seal is \textit{Eternal Fame}.\textsuperscript{254}

In order to attract readers, especially those who were not well educated, the main principle in deciding on what news to print was "curious". Any sort of strange or bizarre story could be included. ("This newspaper will print any type of news. We will provide illustrations and commentaries to all of them, so as to allow our erudite readers to investigate these matters."\textsuperscript{255}) Some stories, however, were obviously not in accordance with the Confucian principle of not discussing ghosts and spirits. Whenever there was such a story, the \textit{Dianshizhai} would preface it with a note to the effect that although Confucians did not approve of such things, they did indeed happen. In a story about a ghost with rigor mortis, the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted: "Confucian scholars will probably deny these sort of stories, and say that they are far fetched and not to be believed. There are, however, people who have witnessed these things for themselves."\textsuperscript{256} In another story about the appearance of a ghost of a man who had hanged himself, the \textit{Dianshizhai} made the comment: "Confucian scholars do not discuss stories about ghosts and monsters, but we have the evidence of eye-witnesses."\textsuperscript{257} Prefacing the story about the ghost of a drowned person searching for a body to inhabit, the \textit{Dianshizhai} said: "the concept

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{251} Wu 59
\item \textsuperscript{252} Jin 12; Yuan 93; Ji 9
\item \textsuperscript{253} Zhong 50; Tu 82
\item \textsuperscript{254} Da ming bu xiu 大名不朽; qian gu 千古 Ding 38
\item \textsuperscript{255} Zhong 4
\item \textsuperscript{256} Jin 15
\item \textsuperscript{257} Li 81
\end{itemize}
of the ghost of a drowned man looking for a body to inhabit is not to be found in the Classics, but there are always people who have seen such events.”

In promoting the philosophy of retribution and reward, the Dianshizhai made comments such as: "Although the theory of karma is not discussed by Confucian scholars, retribution will always be realised", or "the theory of retribution is not discussed by Confucian scholars, but it cannot be said that such things do not exist" and "the theory of samsara originated in the Buddhist Classics, and Confucian scholars do not speak of it, but it can be definitely proven." Generally speaking however, the artists were proud of the fact that they were educated men, and relied on Confucian standards to judge the beliefs and practices of the common people. In criticising those who lacerated their bodies as a result of religious fervour, they commented: "The Classic of Filial Piety says: 'the body, the hair and the skin are received from ones parents, do not dare to destroy or wound them.' Simple village people have no education, and do such things continuously. Their enthusiasm can be forgiven, but their actions are not to be emulated." They criticised the common people's belief in "crooked ways and evil practices": "simple village folk are ignorant, and are misled by the palaver of Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, witches and sorcerers". In criticising the Cantonese merchant in Shanghai who hired a Western band to welcome the spirits, they commented: "this would not be practiced by gentlemen who have been educated and who understand principles."

Although the artists of the Dianshizhai may have come under attack from the orthodox scholarly class, it was still that class of Confucian literati with whom they identified. They regarded it as their responsibility to educate the common people and to maintain public morality. They themselves did not believe in most of the retribution and reward stories they published, but thought they might have a

258 Zhong 20
259 yin guo 因果
260 Li 89
261 Xing 88
262 lun hui 轮回
263 Zhong 42
264 This point of view derives from Zeng Zi 曾子: "The body is inherited from ones parents. How can one not respect that which one has received from ones parents?" (Li Ji 礼记, juan 8 in Si Shu Wu Jing 四书五经 (Shanghai shijie shuju, 1936) shang ce, pp. 262). Zeng Zi here is referring to moral self respect. In the Xiaojing, however, "the body, the hair and the skin were inherited from ones parents, do not dare to destroy or harm them" was taken in a literal sense. See Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese, pp. 38-39.
265 Chen 5
266 Xin 68
didactic purpose. There is the story about the rich man who had no son, and so adopted a nephew as his son. When the man was over fifty, his wife gave birth to a son, but the nephew and daughter-in-law killed the child. While thieves were robbing the grave the child revived and was discovered by a passer-by; a dog led them to the home of the rich man and the nephew and the daughter-in-law were struck by lightning and died. The writer said this story: "the details of this story are so incoherent that surely it could not have happened". But they still used the title A *Good Man Will Certainly Have Descendants*, and commented "this story is to warn those who might harbour evil intentions in their machinations over an inheritance." A story about the suicide of a quack doctor ended on the note: "this affair borders on absurdity, but it might serve as a warning to unscrupulous doctors, so we have recorded it."  

The artists of the *Dianshizhai* were between the old and the new. It was inevitable that there would be some confusion between their own view of their status, and their actual function in the historical process in which they were involved.

5. The readership of the *Dianshizhai* and its influence

In Shanghai, the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was distributed by the *Shen Bao* agencies, and by the Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop, which was owned by Major Brothers Limited. There were at least twenty four other places in China where it could be obtained. It was distributed by individuals, companies, foreign firms or private postal services. In Beijing it could be obtained at two bookshops; in Tianjin, Nanjing and Anqing it was distributed by private individuals; in Niuuzhuang, Jiangxi, Baoding, Jiujian, Guangdng, Guangxi, Chongqing, Changsha and Qingsha it was distributed by private post; in Yantai, Wuchang, Yangzhou, Suzhou, Ningbo and Wenzhou it was distributed by various companies; in Fuzhou by a foreign firm and in Hong Kong through the office of the *Xunhuan Ribao*; in Hankou, Hangzhou and Jiaxing it was distributed by local

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267 *Shan ren you hou* 善人有后  Xin 58
268 Tu 80
269 Advertisement for the inaugural issue of the *Dianshizhai*, in *Shen Bao*, 14 April 1884.
270 The *Xunhuan ribao* 循环日报 (*Tsun Wan Yat Pao*) was a Chinese language newspaper founded in 1873 in Hong Kong by Wang Tao and Huang Sheng. See Lai Guanglin 袁光临, *Zhongguo jindai bao ren yu bao ye* 中国近代报人与报业 *Newspapermen and the press in modern China* (Taiwan, Shangwu yinshuguan, 1980) shang ce, pp. 94-95 and F.H.H. King (ed.)
branches of the Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop. By 1889 the Dianshizhai Printing Company had branches in twenty-one places in China, and the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* was available directly from them.

It is clear that the *Dianshizhai* was distributed practically throughout the whole country. However, it seems impossible to obtain accurate figures as to circulation figures. Initially, 500 copies of the *Shen Bao* were printed each issue; this rose to 5,000 by 1877 and 7,000 in 1912. The material at our disposal gives no indication of the print run of the *Dianshizhai*. The advertisement for Issue No. 2 claims that the inaugural issue of the *Dianshizhai* "had been sold out within three to five days ... so we printed several thousand more copies, so that those gentlemen who had missed out could still purchase a copy."

The *Dianshizhai* was obviously an immediate success. The advertisement for Issue No. 4 mentioned again that several thousand additional copies had been reprinted. Issue No. 4 carried an announcement inviting advertisements, in which it mentioned: "The Pictorial published and sold by this Company has the unanimous approval of its readers all over China, and those who want to buy and read it crowd together, jostling one another. We find it difficult to keep up with the demand." The advertisement for Issue No. 6 also stated: "from the time we starting its publication until now, its circulation figures have been growing day by day."

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271 Shen Bao, 28 May 1884
272 In 1889 the *Dianshizhai* published an Announcement Concerning the Availability of the *Dianshizhai Pictorial in Provincial Branches*: "The lithographic reproduction of books originated with this Publishing House. It is expanding and flourishing gradually day by day. During the past ten years or so we have been lithographically reproducing books. If you check the names of all commonly used reference books in your study, you will find that we have all of them in stock. So during the years of 1888 and 1889 we have established branches in the provinces, for the convenience of scholars and merchants wishing to purchase them. A list of these branches follows below: Liulichang 琉璃厂点石, Jingdu [Beijing]; Dongpaizhou 东牌楼点石, Jinling [Nanjing]; Yuanmiaoqiao 元妙观点石, Suzhou; Qingyunjie 青云街点石, Hangzhou; Sandaojia 三道街点石, Hubei; Huangpijia 黄坡街点石, Hankou; Fuzhengjie 府正街点石, Hunan Province; Hongying'anjie 鸿影庵街点石, Henan Provincial Capital; Guluqian 古楼前点石, Fujian; Shuangmendi 双门底点石, Guangdong; Shaanxijie 陕西街点石, Chongqing-fu, Sichuan Province; Shenyuedaojie 永学道街, Chengdu; and attached to the Examination Hall [Gongyuan 高院] in Jiangxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Guizhou, Shaanxi, Yunnan, Guangxi and Gansu." Wu* 17
274 Shen Bao, 17-24 May 1884
275 Shen Bao, 7 June 1884
276 Jia announcements
In 1884 the *Shen Bao* published an article under the pseudonym "Master of the Hall of That Which Has Been Seen" entitled "After Reading the Pictorial", in which he said: "During the last month or more, there have been just so many readers. By the time the latest issue appears, the previous issue has already been sold out. The printers, working with stone and ink, change shifts several times a day, but they still could not keep up with the demand. The next issue of the Pictorial will appear within ten days. It will doubtless have hundreds and thousands of readers."

Of course, one of the aims of the publishers of the *Dianshizhai* was to attract as many readers as possible. The *Dianshizhai* made no claims to great depth, and was easy to understand. It was read by both the educated classes and the working classes. There is even a mention of the *Dianshizhai* being read by housewives in the late Qing novel *Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed Over Two Decades*. The language and the quality of the articles in the *Dianshizhai* were in no way inferior to the daily press. It differed in that the articles were illustrated, and could be enjoyed even by the uneducated, who did not necessarily read the accompanying commentaries. As an announcement in the *Dianshizhai* in 1886 put it: "There might be people under Heaven who do not like to read newspapers, but there are no people under Heaven who do not like to read the pictorials". In his memoirs, Bao Tianxiao recalls that even children in Suzhou at that time liked reading the *Dianshizhai*: "When I was twelve or thirteen, a magazine called the *Dianshizhai Pictorial* appeared in Shanghai, reproduced lithographically. I enjoyed reading it very much. Children, of course, liked to look at the pictures, but this pictorial was also read with enjoyment by adults. Every time it arrived in Suzhou, I would use my snack-money to buy a copy. It appeared every ten days; every ten issues were bound together into a single volume. At that time I had quite a few of such bound volumes. Although the artists did not have any broad learning, one could pick up quite a lot of general knowledge from their drawings. Shanghai was a very open minded place, and all sorts of new inventions and new things from foreign countries would go there first. For example, such things as steamboats and

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277 *Shen Bao*, 26 June-5 July 1884
278 *Jian suo jian zhai fu* 见所见斋甫
279 *Shen Bao*, 19 June 1884
280 *Shen Bao*, 26 June - 5 July
281 Wu Jianren 吳研人 (Wu Woyao 吳沃堯 ), *Ershi nian mudu zhi guai xianzhuang* 二十年目睹之怪現状 (Taiwan reprint: Guangya youxian gongsi 1984), Chapter 22, p. 184
282 Xin announcements
locomotives had never been seen by people in the inner part of China. But with a copy of the Dianshizhai in their hands, they could get a general idea of what these things were like. Conditions and customs of various regions differ, and one could also get an impression of these."283

In 1895 the Shen Bao published an editorial entitled "The Educational Value of Pictorials", in which they stated: "After Shanghai became an open port, daily newspapers also made an appearance, as is the case in the West. Their aim was that everyone under heaven would know about the affairs of the world. This method was extremely good. But the literate in China are few, and the illiterate many. How could it be that everyone could understand completely newspaper articles, and how could everyone know about the matters referred to in the newspapers? So pictorials were produced, several issues each month. Some of them took their material from ancient themes and depicted them, and some took recent events from the newspapers and illustrated them, in order to expand people's experience and knowledge. Since we have begun to engage in international trade, the world has become one, there is no lack of strange things from all corners of the world. Some people, although they may live in small villages, know about the affairs of the world ... The reason pictorials have such a high circulation is because whether people are literate or illiterate, they can all increase their knowledge and open their minds. Not only scholars can read them, but there is no reason why merchants should not do so too; not only can simple villagers read them, but there is no reason why women should not read them too. We might add that they are also useful for small children."284

Even decades after the Dianshizhai ceased publication, it was still being read with enjoyment.285 The Dianshizhai's success was such that other similar magazines appeared in imitation of it, such as the Cilin Pictorial 词林画报 in 1888.286 Of the others, Fang Hanqi notes: "there was also the Feiyingtu 飞影图 [sic: should be Feiyingge 飞影阁] Pictorial, the Xinshijie Pictorial 新世界画册 and so on. The Xinwen Bao 新闻报 in Shanghai and the Shi Bao 时报 in Tianjin both added illustrations, on separate sheets, to their newspapers, but the quality of

283 Bao Tianxiao, Chuanyinglou huiyilu, shang ce, p. 83; see Xiang Dicong, "Shanghai Dianshizhai" p. 249.
284 Shen Bao, 29 August 1895, "Lun huabao keyi qimeng" 画报可以启蒙
285 Huang Mengtian, Tan yi lu, p. 83; Xiang Dicong, "Shanghai Dianshizhai" p. 249
286 Britton, Chinese Periodical Press, p. 71: "Other pictorials were attempted more or less in the style of the Tien-shih-chai Hua Pao, as for instance in 1888 a Tzu-lin Hua Pao, that is, Pictorial of the Grove of Belles-Lettres. This lasted only a few issues."
these drawings was not comparable to those in the Dianshizhai, which was the highest quality pictorial magazine of the time."287

Sa Kongliao regards the Dianshizhai as the major pictorial of the lithographic age,288 and Yu Yueting has argued that the development of the pictorial magazine in China after the late nineteenth century is inseparable from the Dianshizhai.289 Even decades after it had ceased publication, some people wanted to publish a similar type of pictorial, but they were not successful.290 The style of the Dianshizhai not only influenced later magazines, it also influenced the style of illustrations in novels, traditional Chinese New Year pictures and Chinese picture-story books.

No-one denies the influence of the Dianshizhai, but some people, for a variety of reasons, maintain a disparaging attitude towards this influence. Lu Xun for example, in venting his spleen on the littérature of Shanghai, offered the following description of the Dianshizhai:

"Before this, a type of pictorial appeared - this was the Dianshizhai. The main artist was Wu Youru. Spirits, immortals and famous figures, news from home and abroad - there was nothing they did not draw. As far as news from foreign countries was concerned, they didn't understand very well. For example, their sketch of a warship is just a merchant ship with some crudely made cannon on the deck; their sketch of a duel shows two military men in formal attire attacking each other with swords in a drawing room - they had even knocked over a vase, and smashed it. However, sketches like Evil Procuress Mistreats a Prostitute291 or Hoodlums Breaking Twigs292 [i.e. extortion] were very realistic. I think this was because he [Wu Youru] had witnessed many such things. We can see in Shanghai even now faces very similar to those [in the Dianshizhai]. At that time, the influence of this pictorial was very great. It circulated in all provinces. It could be considered the eyes and ears of those who wanted to keep up with "current events" - which was the term in those days for what is now called "new learning". It was reprinted a few years ago, under the title Ink Treasures of Wu Youru 〖吴友如墨宝〗. Its influence on the future was very great. There is no need to mention the exquisitely drawn portraits in novels. Even in illustrations in textbooks one can see

287 Fang Hanqi, Jindai baoxue shi, pp. 55-56
288 Sa Kongliao, "Wushi nian lai Zhongguo huabao zhi sange shiqi", p. 412
289 Yu Yueting, "Huabao de shizu" pp. 175-180
290 Bao Tianxiao, Chuanyinglou huiyilu, shang ce p. 113
291 E bao nüe ji 恶鸨虐妓
292 Liuhang chai shao 流氓摧娇
sketches of children, their caps askew, their eyes slanting, their faces ugly and fierce - the very image of a hoodlum." 293

In a postscript to his collection of essays, *Dawn Blossoms Plucked at Dusk*, Lu Xun wrote: "[Wu Youru's] influence was very bad. In the illustrations of many recent novels and children's books women are drawn like prostitutes and children like young hoodlums. This is largely because people have seen too many of [Wu Youru's] illustrations." 294

Others have criticised the *Dianshizhai* from a political point of view. Hu Man, in *A History of Chinese Art*, mentioned some of the lithographs of the late Qing: "there were only two which were really popular: the *Illustrations to the Dream of the Red Chamber* 红楼梦图咏 and Wu Youru's *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. The influence of the latter was especially great. These works, however, all reflect the lifestyle and atmosphere of decadent feudal society. They barely mention at all revolutionary events and personalities in the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese people." 295

Others evaluate positively the contribution of the *Dianshizhai* from the point of view of art history. They recognise that it developed a style which mixed Western elements with traditional Chinese painting, thus expanding the available themes. As Yu Yueting put it, "after the lead given by Wu Youru and the *Dianshizhai*, painting new things became all the rage for some time ... he absorbed some of the techniques of European artists, such as perspective and so on. This gave new life to traditional Chinese art ... The *Dianshizhai* was widely distributed, and its influence on later artistic developments was greater than that of anything similar. The reason why New Year Paintings and Chinese illustrated story books nowadays are quite different in appearance is not unconnected with the influence of the *Dianshizhai*. " 296

According to Huang Mengtian, "Wu Youru excelled at line drawings of human figures. The sketches in the *Dianshizhai*, although not all by Wu, are much the same in style. He basically inherited the traditional technique of Chinese painters, but, in order to make them suitable for printing, he did not use ink, but simple lines. He generally used many lines to demonstrate the weight of an object,

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296 Yu Yueting, "Huabao de shizu", p. 178
even the degree of brightness of an object, and was very particular about perspective. This already shows a degree of integration with one aspect of Western technique. This integration makes Wu Youru's type of drawing much more expressive. This sort of expressiveness was particularly influential on later illustrated story books.\(^{297}\)

The *Dianshizhai* was not the first illustrated pictorial in Chinese history, but it is still called the "ancestor of Chinese pictorials".\(^{298}\) The *Dianshizhai* faithfully represented the lifestyle and the atmosphere of the Shanghai of the time. Lu Xun wrote of Wu Youru: "He lived in the International Settlement of Shanghai for a long time, and was imperceptibly influenced by what he saw and heard. He was at his best in such sketches on current affairs as *Evil Procresser Abuses Prostitute* and *Hoodlums Breaking Twigs*. They are vigorous and full of vitality, and the foreign settlement of Shanghai leaps from the page."\(^{299}\)

Zheng Yimei also makes the point that the *Dianshizhai* "is, of course, excellent reference material for all those engaged in research on customs and social trends in Shanghai".\(^{300}\) During the 1930s, Huang Mengtian discovered a whole set of the *Dianshizhai* in a second hand bookstore. He wrote: "I spent quite some time reading in detail the now defunct *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. I felt that whether one is researching the history of illustrated magazines in China, or the line drawing method of illustrating the news, or social life or international events, it can provide us with important reference material."\(^{301}\)

Some late Qing novels had characters reading the *Dianshizhai*,\(^{302}\) others used news items culled from the *Dianshizhai* as material in their stories. In 1890 the *Dianshizhai* published a story about a quack doctor who used certain unscrupulous methods to convince people of his popularity. In a novel published in 1903, entitled *Casual Talk About Past Events*, exactly the same story appeared, the

\(^{297}\) Huang Mengtian, *Tan yi lu*, pp. 82-83
\(^{299}\) Lu Xun, *Shanghai wenyi yi pie*, p. 292
\(^{300}\) Zheng Yimei, *Shu bao hua jiu*, p. 88
\(^{301}\) Huang Mengtian, *Tan yi lu*, p. 83
\(^{302}\) Wu Jianren, *Guai xianzhuang*, Chapter 22, p. 184
only difference is that the Shanghai of the Dianshizhai has been shifted to Guangzhou.303

Material from the Dianshizhai has been used in numerous books on Chinese history, and even on Chinese popular performing arts. In East Asia: The Modern Transformation the authors reproduce four sketches from the Dianshizhai on Western sports in Shanghai and one on foreign medical skill.304 Jerome Ch'en, in his China and the West, reproduces eight sketches, namely Brooklyn Bridge, New York, The Sphinx and the Pyramids, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, An American Theatre, Shanghai Race-course, A Game of Cricket, French Opium Addicts and Explanation of Western Diving Techniques.305 In A Pictorial History of Modern China the compilers included four sketches on the Sino-Japanese War and on the newly installed railroad.306 Ten Li of Foreign Territory - Shanghai reproduces no less than thirteen drawings from the Dianshizhai, including street scenes and places of amusement,308 the Mixed Court,309 porters resisting tax,310 descriptions of the life of women in Shanghai,311 brothels and teahouses,312 and hoodlums in Shanghai.313 In Famous Historical Cultural Cities - Shanghai the picture on the title page of the Zhangyuan Garden is from the Dianshizhai. There are also five sketches from the Dianshizhai included in In Search of Old Shanghai.315 Chinese Middlebrow Fiction from the Ch'ing and Early Republican

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303 Qu Yuan 蕭园 Fu bao xian tan 负曝闲谈 in Wan Qing xiaooshuo daxi 晚清小说大系 [Collection of novels of the late Qing] (Taiwan: Guangya chuban youxian gongsi reprint, 1984) pp. 123-128
305 Jerome Ch'en, China and the West, (London, Hutchinson and Co.) 1979, pp. 224-225
306 Zhongguo jin bainian lishi tu ji bianji weiyuanhui 中国近百年来历史图集编辑委员会 (ed.) Zhongguo jin bai nian lishi tu ji (1840-1978) 中国近百年来历史图集 [1840-1978] [English title: A Pictorial History of Modern China], (Hongkong, Cosmos Books, second edition 1979), pp. 84; 96; 97; 115.
307 Xianggang xiandai chuban gongsi 香港现代出版社 (ed.), Shi li yangchang - hua Shanghai 十里洋场话上海 (Hongkong: Xiandai chuban gongsi, 1970)
308 Idem shang ce. p. 15; p. 30; xia ce, p. 27; p. 66
309 Idem shang ce, p. 27
310 Idem shang ce, p. 39
311 Idem xia ce, pp. 68-69
312 Idem xia ce, p. 80; p. 82
313 Idem xia ce, p. 83
314 Lishi wenhua ming cheng - Shanghai 历史文化名城－上海 compiled by the Shanghai wenshiguan 上海文史馆 and included as Volume VI in the series Shanghai difang shi ziliao 上海地方史资料, published by Shanghai shehui kexue chubanshe 上海社会科学出版社, 1988
315 Pan Ling, In Search of Old Shanghai (Hongkong, Joint Publishing Co. 1982), pp. 11; 17; 53; 53; 68.
Eras, contains two pictures from the Dianshizhai. In Chanteurs, Conteurs, Bateleurs - Littérature orale et spectacles populaires en Chine there are some forty sketches illustrating Chinese folk performances, of which nineteen have been taken from the Dianshizhai.

Two collections of sketches from the Dianshizhai were published in China in 1958, Contemporary Affairs and Genre Paintings in the Dianshizhai Pictorial and Selected Sketches on Contemporary Affairs in the Dianshizhai Pictorial.

In 1978 the Tianyi Publishing Company in Taiwan published a reproduction of the Dianshizhai, but this was not complete, comprising only 30 volumes. In 1983 the Guangdong Peoples Publishing House republished all forty four volumes. In the same year, the Dianshizhai was also reproduced, in full, by the Guangjiaojing Publishing Company in Hong Kong. In 1988, the Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing Company published Selections of Sketches of Human Figures from the Dianshizhai and Wu Youru: One Hundred Classical Beauties as part of their series on Materials for the Study of Chinese Traditional Line Drawings.

There have been three specialist studies of the Dianshizhai published in recent years, in English, Japanese and German. These are mainly translations of some of the commentaries in the Dianshizhai, and reproductions of some of the illustrations. They do not use the Dianshizhai as a source for the study of Chinese

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316 Liu Ts'un-yan, Chinese Middlebrow Fiction from the Ch'ing and Early Republican Eras (Hongkong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1984), p. 148; p. 159
317 Jacques Pimpaneau, Chanteurs, Conteurs, Bateleurs - Littérature orale et spectacles populaires en Chine, (Université Paris, 1978) Pp. 34; 36; 55; 58; 63; 78; 80; 81; 84-85; 86; 87; 88; 90; 92; 94; 96; 97; 99; 100
318 Wu Xiang 吴庠 (ed.), Dianshizhai huabao de shishifeng su hua 点石斋画报的时事风俗画 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1958)
319 Zheng Wei 郑为 (ed.), Dianshizhai huabao shishi hua xuan 点石斋画报时事画选 (Beijing: Zhongguo gudian yishu chubanshe 中国古典艺术出版社 1958)
320 Shanghai shuhua chubanshe 上海书画出版社, Dianshizhai renwu huaxuan 点石斋人物画选 in the series Zhongguo hua chuantong xianmiao ziliao 中国画传统线描资料 (Shanghai, 1988)
321 idem. Wu Youru shinü bai tu 吴友如仕女百图 in the series Zhongguo hua chuantong xianmiao ziliao (Shanghai 1988)
social history, or aspects of Chinese history during the late Qing. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the material in the *Dianshizhai* as a basis for a reconstruction of the life, thought and lifestyle of the ordinary people of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ENVIRONMENT OF SHANGHAI: OLD CITY AND NEW CITY

1. Roads and transportation

Before the nineteenth century, the term "Shanghai" referred to Shanghai county and its city; by the latter half of that century, however, "Shanghai" usually referred to the modern city of Shanghai, that is, the British and American Settlements and the French Concession, or simply "the settlements". The Chinese city of Shanghai remained much the same; the settlements developed from a desolate, unpopulated area1 to the "ten li of foreign territory"2 also known as "the nightless city"3.

The wide, clean streets immediately impressed the visitor to Shanghai. In 1887, the Dianshizhai reminded its readers of how these roads were built. The

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1 See Wang Tao 王韬, Yingruan zazhi 漯闇雜誌 [Maritime and Littoral Miscellany] (Shanghai, 1875) juan 1, p. 7; Shanghai Trust Co. (Shanghai xintuo gufen youxian gongsi 上海信托股份公司) (ed.) Shanghai fengtu zaji 上海風土雑記 (English title: A Survey of Folklore from Shanghai 1930) (Shanghai, 1932) p. 3
2 Shi li yangchang 十里洋场. The name derived from the fact that the main roads in the settlement stretched out for about ten Chinese li away from the Yangqingbang Creek. It is referred to as such in Ding 58; Zhu 40; Shu 48; Yu 72; Xin 88. The International Settlement included the British Settlement and the American Settlement (also called the Hongkew Settlement). The term "ten li of foreign territory" strictly refers only to the British Settlement, because the American Settlement in Hongkou (Hongkew) was not in the most prosperous or bustling area of Shanghai. The term "International Settlement" is generally used to describe the British and American settlements taken together, unless there is a particular reason to differentiate them. The term "foreign settlements" includes the International settlement and the French Concession. On the origins, extensions and land regulations of the foreign settlements, see Ching-lin Hsia, The Status of Shanghai (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh Limited, 1929), pp. 1-40; and Richard Feetham (The Hon. Mr Justice Feetham, C.M.G.) Report to the Shanghai Municipal Council (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1931-1932), Vol. I, pp. 346-359
3 Bu ye cheng 不夜城. Xu 13; Shen 42. The term is also often encountered in other material, such as Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, Shanghai fanchang ji 上海繁昌記 Vol. II, pp. 37-38 (This book was originally published in China in a woodblock edition in 1876 under the title Hu you za ji 沪游杂记. It was revised in 1888, and published typographically by the Shen Bao Guan under the title Chongxu Huyou zaji 重修沪游杂记. It was again republished in Japan in 1930 under the title Shanghai yanchang 上海洋场 unpaginated manuscript, in the Collection of the Shanghai Library); Wu Jianren, Guai xianzhuang, Vol. I, p. 302.
sketch shows more than twenty Chinese, tied together with ropes, pulling a huge stone roller along the road, to make it even and level. They are supervised by a policeman. The commentary explains that these people were all petty criminals who had been caught by the police; there was no-one to pay their fines for them, and so they were sentenced to a period of hard labour. The commentary went on to say that the level roads in the International Settlement "were filled with the blood and tears of Chinese people. Visitors from other parts of China should not feel any envy [for such roads]." A contemporary photograph presents a scene very similar to the sketch in the Dianshizhai. The caption reads: "These Chinese chained together and guarded by police under the supervision of a white-garbed Westerner on the left indicate foreign authority in the Shanghai settlement. The prisoners have been brought out to repair the streets"). The photograph is from a private collection, and gives no indication of the date.

The Chinese were opposed to the use of convict labour for roadmaking. In the year 1886 a man by the name of Cao Xiang wrote a letter of complaint to the Shanghai local magistrate, who in turn raised the matter with the authorities. Eventually the Settlement authorities were forced to hire labourers for this sort of work, rather than using prisoners. In his letter, Cao Xiang stated: "The Shanghai Mixed Court sentences criminals to hard labour; twenty or thirty are chained together, and under the supervision of a policeman they are forced to pull a stone roller or to crush stones and rocks. They are treated as dogs or sheep, and driven as oxen or horses ... Hard labour is a type of Western punishment, and is only suitable for Western criminals. If the police catch a Western criminal, he is handed over to his own Consulate to be dealt with. I have never seen one of them being sentenced to hard labour on the roads ..." His letter is almost a commentary on the

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4 Gui 8. On the same day, March 20, 1887, the Shen Bao published an editorial "On the use of prisoners to perform hard labour". As early as 20 June 1876 the Shen Bao carried a news item "Criminals forced to work" relating how more than ten criminals were chained together and forced to build a road.


6 Cao Xiang's letter and this case are discussed in detail in Minguo Shanghai xian zhi 記民國時期上海縣志 [Gazette of Shanghai county during the Republic] (Taiwan: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1975 reprint), Vol. III, juan 14, p. 29. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (English ed. published by Peregrine Books, 1979) p. 8: "The use of prisoners in public works, cleaning city streets or repairing the highways, was practiced in Austria, Switzerland and certain of the United States, such as Pennsylvania. These convicts, distinguished by their 'infamous dress' and shaven heads, were brought before the public. The sport of the idle and vicious, they often became incensed, and naturally took violent revenge upon the aggressors. To prevent them from returning injuries which might be inflicted on them, they were encumbered with iron collars and chains to which bomb-shells were attached, to be dragged along while they performed their degrading service,
1887: Using Chinese convicts for hard labour.
sketch in the *Dianshizhai*. In fact, the authorities at the time did not have sufficient funds for roadbuilding,\(^7\) so they used criminals for this type of hard labour.

The construction of modern roads made it possible to introduce Western style horse-drawn carriages (and afterwards rickshaws)\(^8\) into the International Settlement. Sedan-chairs were gradually excluded from the settlements - or at least, seen very seldom. From the drawings in the *Dianshizhai*, it is obvious that the horse-drawn carriage and the rickshaw were the most common means of transport in the streets of Shanghai at that time.\(^9\) The commentary to one of the sketches mentions that rich people in Shanghai used to travel by sedan chair, and the poor by single-wheeled carts.\(^10\) After the advent of the Western-style carriage, and the rickshaw from Japan, no-one was interested in travelling on the single-wheeled carts, and eventually they were used mainly for transporting goods.\(^11\)

A highly specialised transport system began to develop, and the traffic in the International Settlement began to increase. The commentary to a drawing in the *Dianshizhai*, dated 1889, noted: "There is a diversity unparalleled elsewhere of various types of carriages in the Foreign Settlement. Apart from horse-drawn carriages, single-wheeled carts and rickshaws, the carriages of the artisans are the most numerous. Those who deliver wood have their carts; those who deliver stones have their carts; those who deliver doors, windows, bricks, cement all have their own carts. These are followed by the coal-shops, who deliver coal and firewood. Then there are the launderers' carts and the milk-deliverers' carts. There are carts which deliver Western delicacies to Western people, and as well carts which transport stones to build the roads. Carts to collect rubbish twice a day, water-

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\(^7\) Pott, *History of Shanghai*, p. 75  
\(^8\) The first rickshaw was imported into Shanghai on the 24 March, 1874. See Shanghai-shi shizhengfu gongcheng guanliju 上海市市政府工程管理局 (ed.) *Shanghai gonglu shi* 上海公路史 [A history of public roads in Shanghai] (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe 人民交通出版社, 1989), Volume 1, p. 26.  
\(^9\) According to Xiao-xiang-guan-shi-zhe 湘湘馆侍者, *Haishang hua-tian-jiu-di zhuan* 海上花天酒地传 [Dissipation and debauchery in Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1884) juan 1, pp. 4-5, there were more than two thousand rickshaws in Shanghai at that time.  
\(^10\) A wooden-wheeled cart pushed by men or pulled by men or mules.  
\(^11\) Shu* 56. As to the fate of the sedan-chair, see Mary Ninde Gamewell, *The Gateway to China - Pictures of Shanghai* (Fleming H. Revell & Company, 1916), p. 91: "The sedanchair has practically dropped out of Shanghai's street life and hence will not be considered." However, a photograph reproduced in J.V. Davidson-Houston, *Yellow Creek, the Story of Shanghai* (Pitman and Company Limited, London, 1962) p. 129 shows a woman riding in a single-wheeled cart. The photograph is dated "about 1900".
sprinklers to wash the roads every few days. There are many carts which are not allowed to use the roads the Westerners use. The way the roads intersect, vertically and horizontally, four or five meeting in one place, dazzles the eyes and makes the heart quake, so those who walk around the foreign settlements are full of fear and trepidation.12

The Municipal Council in 1872 promulgated a list of "Traffic Regulations",13 but traffic accidents continued to increase. There are at least ten sketches in the Dianshizhai concerned with traffic accidents, particularly involving horse-drawn carriages.14 Traffic accidents, however, by no means diminished the people's enthusiasm for such carriages. As the commentary to one of the sketches depicting a traffic accident said: "Since horse-drawn carriages reached this city, they have become extremely numerous and popular. Covered carriages have been in use for a long time. Some were all fitted with two wheels, and some with four wheels. Those with four wheels were made of wood; now some have steel spokes, but these cost twice as much, and there are not many of them around, so it could not be said that the wooden-wheeled variety has become obsolete. It does not matter whether a few people or many people sit in such a carriage, nor does it matter if the weather is rainy or clear ... Officials, merchants, ordinary citizens; men, women, old, young - all without exception take great joy in riding in them. So the carriage companies are becoming more numerous, and their business is flourishing."15

Sedan-chairs were strictly divided into various classes, but there were only four types of horse-drawn carriages: those with four wheels, those with two wheels, those with wooden wheels and those with metal wheels.16 Fares were fairly cheap, and ordinary people could afford them.17 As long as they had the money, ordinary people could catch one if they were in a hurry to get somewhere, or simply if they wanted to enjoy the scenery.18 Prostitutes on the way to an assignation, or in the company of their guests or lovers, could go by carriage.

12 Wu 59
13 Shen Bao, 21 May 1872
14 Geng 36; Geng 72; Xin 16; Wu 96; Ding 55; Mu 15; Bing 6; Wu 78; Yu 72; Ge 88; Zi 58
15 Wu 78. According to Xia Lingen 夏林根, Jiu Shanghai sanbai liushi hang 旧上海三百六十行 [Three hundred and sixty trades in Old Shanghai] (Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 华东师范大学出版社, 1989) p. 98, there were carriages drawn by mules in northern China before that time, and in the capital there were also carriages drawn by four horses, but these were for the exclusive use of the Emperor. In Shanghai, anyone with the money could hire a carriage drawn by four horses.
16 Wu 78
17 Geng 72
18 Geng 36; Geng 72
1886: Greater use of horse-drawn carriages leads to traffic congestion and traffic accidents.
Needless to say, both Chinese and foreign officials made constant use of the horse-drawn carriage. In 1885, when the newly appointed French Consul-General Emile Desire Kraetzer arrived in Shanghai, he took a carriage from the pier to his hotel.\(^{19}\) Even Li Hongzhang used a horse-drawn carriage on a visit to Shanghai. In 1883, at the invitation of the American Consul-General, he inspected a number of important foreign factories in Shanghai from a wide, covered carriage.\(^{20}\)

It took some time for the rules and regulations relating to traffic and public sanitation to be understood by ordinary people. In 1890, The Dianshizhai mentioned that in the settlements it was forbidden to throw rubbish into the streets, as rubbish was carted away twice a day by special garbage carts, and every second day a water-cart would wash down the streets.\(^{21}\) In the 1870s, however, the Shen Bao recorded cases of Chinese being fined for not respecting basic principles of public hygiene in the streets - in quite a few cases, the fines were excessively severe. For example, a news item in the Shen Bao in 1874 reported policemen escorting a group of fifteen Chinese men and women, who had violated public health regulations, to the Court. They were found guilty and and fined.\(^{22}\) In 1875 the Shen Bao reported that a foreign firm had sued a number of boatmen, who had by accident deposited a pile of rubbish at the front door of that company. The Court ordered that the boatmen be ordered to wear the wooden collar, and be put on public display as a punishment.\(^{23}\) There is a similar story in the Dianshizhai, dating from 1887. According to the commentary, "Westerners are so particular about cleanliness, that even horse-dung dropped on the roads is collected immediately. According to settlement regulations, livestock are not allowed to use the roads. A village swine-herd, however, who was not aware of these regulations drove a herd of pigs through the streets of the French Concession, and was arrested by the police ..."\(^{24}\) The settlements authorities implemented these regulations about hygiene with such force that, although most Chinese had nothing in principle against such regulations, a certain resistance to them developed. For example, the Dianshizhai comment on such fines was "tyrannical rule"\(^{25}\). It was precisely because of these

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\(^{19}\) Wu 55
\(^{20}\) North-China Herald, 6 July, 1883
\(^{21}\) Wu 79. See Hua-ye-lian-nong 花也怜侬 Haishang hua lieshuan 海上花列传 [Flowers on the Sea] (reprinted Taipei: Tianyi chubanshe 天一出版社, Chapter 2, which describes the garbage carts and the workmen sweeping the streets.
\(^{22}\) Shen Bao, 12 May 1874
\(^{23}\) Shen Bao, 22 November 1875
\(^{24}\) Zi 18
\(^{25}\) Nüe zheng 虞政
coercive measures, however, that the streets of Shanghai were immeasurably cleaner and more orderly than in any other city of China. For example, in 1874 the *Shen Bao* reported that travellers from Beijing complained how dirty the streets, and how unrepaired the roads in that city were in comparison with Shanghai.26

There are few sketches in the *Dianshizhai* depicting the streets of the Chinese city. There is one sketch, however, in which we can see the city wall, the shops and the narrow streets crammed with people, rickshaws, sedan-chairs and single-wheeled barrows transporting goods.27

In the streets of the foreign settlements, of course, sedan chairs were rarely to be seen by this time. Rickshaws were small and inexpensive, and had begun to appear in the Chinese city in the 1880s.28 There was no way the horse-drawn carriages of the settlements could make their way through the narrow streets of the Chinese city. The only way one could travel from the settlements to the Chinese city (except on foot) was by sedan chair, as we can see in two sketches in the *Dianshizhai* showing foreigners going to the Chinese city to inspect Chinese Court proceedings.29 Li Hongzhang, however, when he went to the settlements to inspect foreign factories, travelled by carriage.30

Contemporary descriptions of the Chinese city towards the end of the Tongzhi period all mention the narrowness and dirtiness of the streets. A Japanese visitor, Mine Genzō 鬱源蔵 wrote: "Ships of all countries gather along the Huangpu River; we do not know how many of them belong to China. The sails and the masts are like a forest - it is truly a prosperous place. Inside the Chinese city, apart from official residences and temples, there are small shops and houses. The streets within the Chinese city are extremely narrow, at most six chi [two metres] across. People moving to and fro are very crowded and disorderly. Rubbish and

26 *Shen Bao*, 3 March 1874
27 Jia 41
28 See Hua-ye-lian-nong, *Haishang hua liezhuan*, p. 61, where Zhang Ailing notes "the horse drawn carriages and the rickshaws (renliche 人力车), also known at that time as dongyangche 东洋车, imported by the foreigners into the settlements, were not permitted to enter the Chinese city". From the sketch in the Dianshizhai, however, we can see that Zhang's comment is not entirely accurate. Rickshaws, of course, were from Japan, thus the name dongyangche. According to Edward Seidensticker, *Low City, High City - Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake: how the shogun's ancient capital bacame a great modern city, 1867-1923* (San Francisco: Donald S. Ellis, 1983) p. 42, the rickshaw was invented in 1869, and "within the next few years they were as many as fifty thousand in the city."
29 Wu* 86; Shu* 96
30 *North-China Herald*, 6 July 1883
excrement piles up along the streets, mud and dust bury one's feet. The stench attacks the nostrils, and the filth is indescribable.  

In 1875 the Shen Bao carried a news item entitled "Answers to questions from a Western visitor about the Chinese city". A foreigner arrived in Shanghai and inspected the foreign settlements. He then visited the Chinese city and was shocked at the narrowness and dirtiness of its streets, and asked a Chinese why that was so. The Chinese answered that Shanghai was an important port for trade between Chinese and the West, whereas the Chinese city was only one of China's 1297 counties, no more than a rather small county on the sea-coast. It was not surprising that it should be a fairly unprepossessing place. The foreigner then asked, "whether it is an important place or not, why should the streets be so dirty and crowded - why don't the officials do something about it?" The Chinese replied, "when the officials go through the streets, everyone gives way to them, so they don't find the streets crowded. In any case, they're busy with their duties. They have not time to concern themselves with such matters. You could say that they are not concentrating; that they look but they do not see." The inhabitants of the Chinese city began to feel that the dirtiness of their streets was unbearable, and repeatedly demanded that the International Settlement regulations be adopted in the Chinese city as well. The first modern road in that part of Shanghai (in the broad sense) controlled by the Chinese authorities was not started until 1896, and completed the following year. It was only then that carriages and rickshaws could penetrate beyond the settlements, towards the south.

2. Water supply and hygiene

From one of the sketches in the Dianshizhai, it is plain that water hydrants were not uncommon in the streets of Shanghai in the period under discussion, and that running water was readily available. This facility was first provided in 1883. Before that, "for many years the principal source of water supply had been the

31 Quoted in Kuai Shixun, Shanghai gonggong zujie shi goo pp. 622-623
32 "Xi ke yue Hucheng wenda" 西客阅沪城问答 Shen Bao, 29 January 1875
33 Shen Bao, 15 May 1874; 19 April 1879
34 The name of this road was Nanshiwai Malu 南市外马路. See Shanghai-shi shizhengfu gongcheng guanli ju, Shanghai gonglu shi, Volume 1, pp. 43-44
35 Bing 19
Whampoo River or the Soochow Creek. The water from wells was brackish and unfit for drinking purposes, and the water carried from the river or creek in buckets to the various houses was muddy and subject to contamination from sewers or refuse. It was poured into large kongs or jars and settled by the use of alum. Then it was boiled, but even so there was considerable danger connected with using it for drinking purposes. Probably it was the cause, in many cases, of typhoid fever and cholera.36

According to Western medical opinion in Shanghai, "of the five chief causes of disease in the settlements, three were related to water".37 According to Ge Yuanxu, the people of Shanghai "would wait until the tide came in to collect water to drink. When the tide went out, there was a terrible stench, so the people who drank such water would easily contract disease. People who have just arrived feel particularly unaccustomed to it. Wells were dug to provide potable water, but it could hardly be considered sweet."38

Apart from the problem of hygiene, the need to have an ample supply of water for firefighting purposes also necessitated an improvement in the water provision system. As F.L. Hawks Pott noted, "the waterworks were of great value not only for the health of the community but also in increasing the facilities for extinguishing fires, the firemen previously being dependent entirely on the fire wells sunk into various localities."39

The possibility of establishing a company to provide running water in Shanghai was considered during the 1870s, but "why it was not until 1870 that sustained agitations for a safe water supply manifested in Shanghai is unclear."40 The proposal went through many twists and turns, including disputes over a variety of technical issues, but eventually the company was formally established in 1881, and shares issued.41 During all this period, the Shen Bao published many editorials on the theme of the unhygienic nature of the drinking water in Shanghai, and the advantages, indeed the necessity, of installing running water.42

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36 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 109
38 Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji, juan 2, p. 41
39 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 110
40 Macpherson, Public Health, p. 83
41 Idem pp. 83-105
42 Shen Bao Editorial, 28 February 1873 "Shanghai yinshui huihai ji yi qingjie lun" 上海饮水秽害亟宜请论 [On the dirtiness of Shanghai drinking water and why it ought be purified]; Editorial, 22 January 1874 "Quan chengnei shendong juban zilaishui shuo" 功成内绅董举办自来
Company put its shares on the market, there was a "large number of shares applied for by the native bankers and merchants of Shanghai."\(^{43}\) This sort of reception gave rise to a misunderstanding on the part of the Water Company, that the Chinese people would welcome running water.\(^{44}\) They realised their mistake very quickly. The "native bankers" and merchants who had bought shares in the company were by no means representative of the people of Shanghai, any more than Li Hongzhang, who came to Shanghai in 1883 to be the first to turn on the running water, could be considered representative of them.\(^{45}\) The opposition on the part of the ordinary people of Shanghai came from three sides.

The first was opposition from the professional water-carriers - of whom, it is said, there were at least three thousand in the International Settlement at that time.\(^{46}\) Professional water carriers are mentioned three times in the *Dianshizhai*. One such case is set in the International Settlement. The water carrier is not newsworthy in himself - he may not even represent a specific person. He is not mentioned in the commentary, but from the sketch we can surmise that he is a professional water carrier employed by a certain teahouse. The sketch is interesting in that it tells us that even in 1890 there were still some small teahouses in Shanghai who still employed this sort of water-carrier.\(^ {47}\) The other two examples are of water-carriers within the Chinese city. One of them tells the story of a water-carrier, sick and poor, who one day fell into an open cesspool and died.\(^ {48}\) The other depicts a scene in the Dongtingchun Teahouse 洞庭春茶馆. Business is thriving, the teadrinkers are at leisure and are enjoying their tea. The water-carrier who brings the water to the teahouse, however, is extremely poor; he carries water all day, and is still worried about getting enough money for clothes and food.\(^ {49}\) Water-carriers were also mentioned in a *Shen Bao* editorial: "they are vagrants without a proper

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\(^{43}\) *North-China Herald*, 19 April 1881  
\(^{44}\) *North-China Herald*, 9 June 1882  
\(^{45}\) *North-China Herald*, 30 June, 1883  
\(^{46}\) Macpherson, *Public Health*, p. 120: "Resistance to extension of the company water service was also mounted by the water carriers' guild whose vested interest lay with the status quo. Approximately 3,000 of these workers laboured in Shanghai in the 1880s."

\(^{47}\) You 71  
\(^{48}\) Geng 1  
\(^{49}\) Tu 32
trade, but there is no lack of people who make a living at it".\textsuperscript{50} One can well imagine the sense of despair this sort of water-carrier must have felt when the Water Company threatened his livelihood. This was also realised by the \textit{Shen Bao} in an article supporting the introduction of running water: "Now if we use a machine to draw the water, and we do not use water-carriers, does this not mean that those water-carriers will lose their livelihood? Our answer to this: although machines will be used to draw water, there will be a need for men to look after the machines, and to add coal to them. The water-carriers should be hired for all these jobs. So they will still be able to maintain their livelihood."\textsuperscript{51} This, of course, was just wishful thinking.

The second reason some people opposed running water was the high cost. "Some Chinese felt that the price of company water initially was too high ... Chinese who had survived Huang-pu water for decades, and their ancestors for generations, were unlikely to purchase other water at a high price".\textsuperscript{52}

The third reason was that some people suspected that running water was poisonous. According to Pott, "there were rumours that the water was poisonous, or spoiled by lightning, or that people had been drowned in the water tower."\textsuperscript{53} Chen Boxi also commented on this: "The availability of running water in the Shanghai settlements began in the year 1883, or the ninth year of the Guangxu period. At that time society was still rather narrow-minded, and very few Chinese made use of it. They even said that it had some poisonous substance in it, and that anyone who drank it would be harmed, and they warned each other not to use it".\textsuperscript{54}

On 15 February, 1884, the \textit{Shen Bao} published an official announcement from the Deputy of the Magistrate of Shanghai at the Mixed Court,\textsuperscript{55} Huang Chengyi 黄承乙 to the effect that the Shanghai local officials had received a formal note from the United States Consul-General, that some people had been spreading rumours about running water, "which have made some Chinese people not dare to drink it", and especially asking the Chinese officials to put the people's minds at ease. The announcement mentioned some rumours: first, that running water was a new

\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Shen Bao}, 18 February 1880 Editorial "Lun zilaishui zhi li" 论自来水之利 [On the advantages of running water]
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Shen Bao}, 22 January 1874
\textsuperscript{52} Macpherson, \textit{Public Health}, p. 120
\textsuperscript{53} Pott, \textit{History of Shanghai}, p. 110
\textsuperscript{54} Chen Boxi, \textit{Lao Shanghai}, shang ce, p. 144
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Huishenyuan} 会审员. The official representative of Chinese officialdom at the Mixed Court. His position was higher than a judge; he was the Chinese authority on all matters concerning Chinese or China.
invention - it did not exist before, so Chinese people should not dare treat it lightly; secondly, that this business inhibits Chinese water-carriers from earning their livelihood; thirdly, that the water contained poison, that someone had drowned in the water-tower, that this type of water had been hit by lightning from Heaven and so on and so on. Huang noted: "It is true that running water did not exist before. But now we already have it, but nothing untoward has happened". He also pointed out that running water was hygienic, useful for putting out fires and so on.

According to statistics in this announcement, "there are one hundred and seventy six water taps in the British Settlement, ninety-seven in the French Concession and sixty four in the American Settlement". The same year, the Magistrate of Shanghai, Li Guangdan also published an official notice, urging people living within the Chinese city to purchase running water. These objections to running water, however, are not at all reflected in the Dianshizhai. This was, of course, because the policy of the Dianshizhai was to support the introduction of advanced technology from the West, and the artists involved in it were all relatively open-minded people.

A sketch in the Dianshizhai, dated 1885, recommends the "sweet and beautiful" taste of running water, its immediate availability, how it could be used both as drinking water and to extinguish fires. "From ancient times, there has never been such a beneficial public utility". In the same year, there are a few pictures showing the practice drills of the Shanghai Municipal Council Fire Brigade, and how the Fire Brigade helped people extinguish fires in the homes. This was to give a practical demonstration of the advantages of running water. However, according to statistics of the Shanghai Waterworks Company of the same year, there were still very few Chinese customers in the International Settlement, and the water-carriers' business was still flourishing. This situation was a great headache to the Company. In order to dispel the rumours, and to try to attract more users, the Company even connected running water to several teahouses free of charge. From that time on, the number of subscribers began to increase. According to the records of the Company, Chinese users in the British Settlement began to increase.

56 It is not clear if these figures include private water taps, or if they refer to public taps, on the main roads. Shen Bao, 15 February, 1884
57 Shen Bao, 1 June, 1884
58 Bing 19
59 Wu 49; Bing 18
60 North-China Herald, 27 May, 1887
61 Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, p. 177
in 1886, and there were even some requests to have running water installed in private homes.\textsuperscript{62} If one did not have a privately owned connection, one could, of course, buy money off the water-carriers. The cost was ten cash a load, regardless of the distance the water had to be carried.\textsuperscript{63}

On 23 June 1888, the \textit{Shen Bao} reported in its column "Cases from the Mixed Court" the case of the Changchunyuan Tiger Stove 长春园老虎灶 \textsuperscript{64} whose proprietor got into a fight with someone else over the issue of installing a running water tap in his shop. By 1889, one third of the Chinese inhabitants of the settlements were using running water.\textsuperscript{65}

In 1887, the \textit{Dianshizhai} carried a series of pictures depicting how the International Settlement celebrated the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Accession of Queen Victoria. One of the drawings shows a fountain on Nanjing Road near the Bund, with a large crowd of Chinese onlookers.\textsuperscript{66} In 1889 and 1890, there are pictures of the Police and the Fire Brigade fighting fires with the aid of running water.\textsuperscript{67} Water hydrants had become a regular feature of the streets of Shanghai.\textsuperscript{68}

In 1896, the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted: "There are now water hydrants in all districts of Shanghai. First they attach a rubber hose, then spray out the water, in order to put out the fire; this method is extremely efficacious..."\textsuperscript{69} There are also many examples in the writings of the literati of the time in praise of the running water of Shanghai.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{62} \textit{North-China Herald}, 27 May, 1887. As early as 1884 homes owned by the Western firm Iveson and Company in Xiao Langhuan Lane 小廊坊里, in the International settlement, installed running water, and the rent on each room was increased a certain amount. This seems to be the first time rooms rented out to Chinese in the settlements were supplied with running water. \textit{Shen Bao}, 5 May 1885

\textsuperscript{63} Huang Shiquan 黄式权, \textit{Songnan mengyinglu} 泗南梦影录 [Dream shadows of Songnan] (1883) \textit{juan} 4, p. 10 xia

\textsuperscript{64} A "tiger stove" (Shanghaiese: \textit{lau-hoo-tsau}) was a shop consisting of a single room, where hot water, and occasionally tea, was sold. Only the poorest people would drink tea there. Such establishments are still to be found in Shanghai. See Shanghai-shi difangzhi bangongshi 地方志办公室 (ed.) \textit{Shanghai Cidian} 上海辞典 [Dictionary of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 社会科学院出版社, 1989), pp. 320-321

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{North-China Herald}, 15 March 1889

\textsuperscript{66} Gui 88

\textsuperscript{67} Mao 30, Xu 13

\textsuperscript{68} Si 66

\textsuperscript{69} Wen 12

\textsuperscript{70} See Wang Tao, \textit{Yingruan za zhi}, \textit{juan} 2, p. 7; Sun Baoxuan 孙宝曛, \textit{Wangshanlu riji} 忘山庐日记 [Diary of the Master of Wangshan Studio] (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1983) pp. 163-164; Mei-Hua-An-Chu 梅花廬主, \textit{Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo} 上海詳景 [Illustrated guide to beautiful scenery in contemporary Shanghai], shang \textit{juan} p. 10. [This book was originally published in a lithographic edition in Shanghai, 1894; republished under the title \textit{Folklore of Shanghai in 1880s} [sic] by The Oriental Culture Service, Taipei (n.d.) in the series "Folklore and
1887: The seventh of a series of sketches depicting the celebrations on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Accession of Queen Victoria. Coloured electric lights decorate Nanjing Road, near the Bund. In the lower left hand corner of the sketch, a group of Chinese can be seen admiring the water fountain.
In 1897 the *Dianshizhai* carried a sketch depicting a fire in the Forbidden City. Sometime after midnight on the 30th of September, a room at the side of the Imperial Apothecary suddenly caught fire. Water-teams came running from all directions to put out the fire. In the sketch we can clearly see the members of the water teams, their queues hanging down their backs, using water delivered in carts to fight the fire. The fire was out of control, however, and it was not brought under control until 4.00 a.m. More than twenty rooms had been destroyed, including the room Prince Gong used to change into his court robes before entering the palace. The Imperial Apothecary survived, but the clothing of the princes and high officials which had been stored in these rooms was destroyed.\(^71\)

This was such a contrast with the fire-fighting facilities in Shanghai. There is one sketch published in the *Dianshizhai* in 1896 which particularly shows the degree to which even the poorest people of Shanghai had become dependent on running water. A dispute occurred in the French Concession over the use of running water, and the ensuing fight claimed a life. In the commentary, the *Dianshizhai* noted: "In the French Concession, running water is under the administration of the Conseil Municipal, and anyone can draw water from the hydrants without paying money, nor are there any restrictions; this had become a common occurrence. Now there are so many people coming to and fro to collect water, that there is no respite day or night, so the Conseil Municipal determined the times beyond which water could not be collected. But there were so many people wanting water and so few to administer, and the crowds of people there were such that incidents could easily happen".\(^72\) Cost-free water could be obtained only in the French Concession at that time. At that time, "more than 60 percent of its property was owned by non-French nationals, while most of the remaining 40 percent was held by Roman Catholic missionaries, or by French people who despite earlier French hopes were divorced from commerce. Perhaps because of this situation, the consul, who was the dominant figure in the French scheme of government at Shanghai, and the Conseil Municipal purchased water for the entire Concession from the Shanghai Company, which appropriately metered them. Concession officials then distributed it by means of "self-closing wall hydrants... placed in all..."

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\(^{71}\) Heng 58

\(^{72}\) Xing 95
the streets at convenient distances" free of charge to all, including the Concession Chinese. Free water in the Concession represented a step beyond the sanitary use to which water was put in the settlement. There the Council itself bought water solely for municipal purposes: flushing the sewers, dousing the streets, or fighting fires. Individuals and businesses struck their own contracts with the company. The vast majority of settlement Chinese, therefore, procured their supplies as always either independently or from water coolies who chiefly drew their water from the Huangpu's more insalubrious sources.\textsuperscript{73}

The Chinese who collected their water free from these hydrants were too poor to have running water connected to their homes. It was against Company policy to connect water to substandard housing, such as simple rooms or shacks.\textsuperscript{74} The population of the settlements had grown to such a degree that the provision of public hydrants "placed in all the streets at convenient distances" was no longer convenient, and gave rise to the sorts of incidents mentioned above in the Dianshizhai.

The people of the Chinese city envied the modern facilities of the settlements. When the settlement authorities installed running water, its advantages in fire fighting and hygiene, not to mention daily convenience, were obvious, and the Chinese city also started to consider the installation of running water. In 1874 the Shen Bao published an editorial, "On urging the gentry managers of the Chinese city to install running water", in which they said: "In the Chinese city, travelling merchants are as numerous as clouds, and it is densely populated by local people. Those who need water can obtain it only twice a day, when the tide comes in. They hire water carriers to collect it. Not only at all the entrances and exits to the city gates is the ground muddy, sticky, wet and slippery, but even inside the city, in the areas near the river, all the large and small streets become sticky and slippery when the tide comes in, and the water-carriers struggle to collect water ... I have been living in the settlements for some years now, but I know [the Chinese city] is like this, so I am always scared to go there. Yesterday I had no choice, I simply had to go there. In a street inside the New North Gate I met an old man, who looked like a local, and seemed to be more than sixty years old. The road was wet and slippery, and his legs could not support him. He suddenly slipped, and some bystanders

\textsuperscript{73} Macpherson, \textit{Public Health}, p. 118
\textsuperscript{74} Xiang Hua, \textit{Shanghai shi hua}, p. 111
helped him to his feet. He had fainted, and was unaware of what was going on about him. How tragic, how pitiable."  

In 1883, the Water Company entered into negotiations with the authorities in the Chinese city, to discuss the installation of water pipes. By 1886, however, "nothing has yet been definitely arranged."  

In 1886, the Dianshizhai noted that, within the Chinese city, "the river is blocked up, so the tides are irregular. If an accident [fire] starts, it will destroy tens, even hundreds of dwellings. Concerned people have discussed establishing a water plant, so as to supply running water. This matter has been raised many times, and blocked many times."  

Li Pingshu was involved in this matter. According to his memoirs, in 1883, when the Running Water Company was established in the settlements, he and Yao Zirang went to look into the matter; they decided to establish a bureau to purchase water for the Chinese city. They hired water carriers to transport the water, and advertised its availability widely. People in the Chinese city, however, showed no interest, and they sold less than one hundred loads of water a day. By 1884 the market had gradually improved, so Li and some others petitioned that a running water plant be established in the south part of the city, but this proposal was opposed by the Hall of Impartial Altruism and Support for the Fundamental [Tongren Fuyuan Tang 同仁辅元堂 ], the organisation responsible for public works in the Chinese city.  

3. Gas and electricity used for public lighting.

75 "Quan Cheng-nei shen-dong juban zilaishui shuo" 劝城內绅董举办自来水说. Shen Bao, 22 January, 1874.  
76 North-China Herald, 4 April 1883  
77 North-China Herald, 25 June 1886  
78 Geng 34. See Mrs. Archibald Little, The Land of the Blue Gown (New York: Brentano's, 1902) p. 43: "Shanghai Chinatown enjoys the reputation of being very dirty and disgusting ... the water between us and the houses looked foul and sluggish, like a canal rather than a river, and a canal badly used, with everything flung into it. It is all these poor people have for washing, cooking, drinking. And yet just at hand there is the foreign Concession, with its abundant supply of wholesome pure water, and an enterprising company doubtless thirsting to prolong its mains into the Chinatown whenever the Taotai will allow of it. Meanwhile the poor people die of cholera, and who can wonder looking at that water, which must also be far more objectionable when the tide is out."  
79 Li Pingshu, Zixu, p. 17. The translation is from Mark Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905-1914", p. 241. This hall was a combination of two earlier halls, thus the double name.
Public lighting is a prerequisite for the development of night life in a city. The Shanghai Gas Company Ltd. was founded in the 1860s, and gaslight became commonly used in Shanghai after 1865. Before that, "the streets were lit at night with oil lamps, and were nearly as dark as those within the city wall". By the 1870s, Shanghai had already acquired the appellation "the nightless city". By the time of the Dianshizhai, gaslight was even more common. As the gas pipes were underground, Chinese sometimes called gaslight "earth fire". In the writings of the literati in praise of the innovations in Shanghai, "earth fire" figured prominently. Wang Tao described the gas-lamps of the time: "Westerners install lamps along the streets at regular intervals. The lamps are hexagonal and made of glass; seen from a distance, they shine like stars. The light comes from gas and is brilliant white. The gas is collected from coal-mines, and blazes brightly. So even from a distance, it shines brilliantly. There is a Gas Company; if anyone wants to have such lamp, they report to the Gas Company, which installs it ... [a detailed technical description is omitted here] ... Every user has a meter installed on the iron pipes, by which the amount of gas used can be calculated. Employees of the Company examine the meters once a month to determine the cost. All this is meticulously constructed - one can barely imagine it".

Although there were some difficulties to be resolved before gas was generally accepted, by the time of the Dianshizhai it was taken for granted. The hexagonal gas-lamps described by Wang Tao were part of the scene in the Shanghai of the Dianshizhai. There are, for example, such gas-lamps on all sides of the Racecourse (1884); gas-lamps illuminating the bridge over the Yangjingbang Creek (1884); gas-lamps in the street in front of the Mixed Court (1885); gas-lamps on the Baida Bridge crossing the Huangpu River (1885);
similar lamps in the Jing'an Temple 静安寺 and along Hongkou Road 虹口路 (1886); hexagonal lamps in the Yangshupu Park 杨树浦大花园 (1890). There are also many other examples of gas-lighting along various roads, the names of which were not indicated.

Before long, Chinese subscribers also began to use gas-lamps. "At first, there were only gaslights in the streets. Then they started using them in inns, shops, teahouses, wineshops and theatres, and then in private houses - there was no place they were not used." In the Dianshizhai, there are quite a few examples of brothels proudly displaying gas-lamps over their front doors or in the windows. There were also teahouses and opium dens, including the famous Nanchengxin Opium House 南城信烟馆, which had installed gas lighting.

The Shanghai Electric Company was established in 1882. The founder, R.W. Little, intended to displace the gas-lamps with electric lighting. The Shanghai Municipal Council agreed, as an initial step, to the installation of ten electric lamps along the Bund. The first electric lights in Shanghai were installed on the corner of Nanjing Road in 1883. According to Pott, "the Company entered into a contract with the council in 1883 for the lighting of the Bund, Nanking Road and Broadway". In sketches in the Dianshizhai dated 1884, one can already see telegraph poles, telegraph wires and electric lights along the Bund. However, "electric lighting, like all other modern improvements, met with serious obstacles. In the first place, the Taotai objected on the grounds that it was not safe, inasmuch as the current could kill a man, burn up a home or destroy a whole city. In this letter to the Council he stated: 'This electric disaster will happen, if you do not put an end to electricity'."

Similar observations are to be found in Chinese materials: "When Westerners want to set up a large enterprise, they inevitably run into many obstructions, but in the end they overcome these and achieve success. They do not
look backwards on this arduous path. This sort of determination is truly admirable. "Self-coming fire" [i.e., gas] was introduced to Shanghai during the last years of the Tongzhi period, and the beginning of the Guangxu period. Gas Companies were formally established; iron pipes were buried everywhere, silver flowers [i.e. the gaslights] bloomed in profusion. Before electricity was introduced, these gas-lamps gave rise to the name "the nightless city". When the Gas Company was first established, there were rumours in abundance. Chinese believed that the places through which the fire was transported in iron pipes must be scorched and unbearably hot. Some people walked along the streets wearing extremely thick soles to protect themselves; others, such as barefooted labourers, rushed along the road fearing they would be in danger of the poisonous heat attacking the heart, and this would result in their death. The Company was located at the northern end of Xizang Road, and people suspected that the earth there would be extremely hot, and they exhorted each other to avoid that area. After a few years, the Westerner R.W. Little wanted to introduce electric lighting, and the people of Shanghai were even more suspicious and fearful than before. Their understanding was that electricity was violent, and that contact with it could be life-threatening. The influence of these rumours led the Daotai of Shanghai to communicate with the foreign consulates, asking them to prohibit its use. Afterwards the Westerners participated in experiments repeatedly and came to no harm, so then they allowed them to establish it."

The first type of electric lamp to be used was an arc lamp, and from a technical point of view it was far from ideal. The cost of its installation was more expensive than the gas-lamp. "At first sight electric light did not prove as satisfactory as anticipated. It was more expensive than gas and less dependable, and the machinery frequently broke down". From the drawings in the Dianshizhai, we can see that electric lamps were used in other main roads of Shanghai (in addition to the Bund and Nanjing Road) before 1890. A drawing dated 1887 shows that the electric lamps had already replaced gas lighting along the Si Malu (also known as Fuzhou Road). Electric lighting played an important role in several festivals. In 1887, the Dianshizhai published a series of sketches depicting the celebrations in the International Settlement in honour of the Fiftieth

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102 zilaihuo 自来火
103 Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, shang ce p. 183
104 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 111; North-China Herald, 7 August 1885
105 Zi 21
Anniversary of the Accession of Queen Victoria. Electric lighting can be seen in all the main roads of Shanghai.\footnote{Gui 83; Gui 85} A water-tower, illuminated with multi-coloured electric lights, had been installed along the river-front, in front of the Shanghai Waterworks Company.\footnote{Gui 87} Along Nanjing Road, near the Bund, a large platform had been erected, around which coloured electric lights had been installed.\footnote{Gui 88}

There is also a sketch entitled \textit{Record of the English Prince Inspecting Electric Lamps}. The British Prince of Wales had visited Shanghai, and the settlements organised a huge welcoming ceremony. All along the Huangpu River and the Bund, coloured electric lights decorated the scene. The Prince and his Consort were drawn through the city on a horse drawn carriage, the shape of a ship, to inspect the electric lamps. This show of electric lighting was the major spectacle in the welcoming ceremony.\footnote{Ying Huangzi guan deng ji 英皇子观灯记 Shen 42}

Foreign banks and other buildings, of course, adopted electric lighting immediately. An early example was the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, which is depicted in a sketch dated 1886.\footnote{Xin 84} In 1885, the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute was already using electricity to show colour slides.\footnote{Ji 47} In a drawing dated 1889, telegraph poles and electric wires can be seen outside the Gengshangyicenglou Teahouse 更上一层楼茶室, which had been established by an English company.\footnote{Chen 49}

The use of electricity, of course, helped the development of nightlife in Shanghai. The \textit{Dianshizhai} has a vivid description of the scene after dark: "After the lights go on, workers' carts stop, and transport vehicles also come to a rest. The horse-drawn carriages and the single-wheeled carriages are also somewhat fewer than during the daytime. It is only the rickshaws, which run on both day and night shifts, which still ply the roads and the lanes, and the areas around the theatres are unimaginably crowded ..."\footnote{Wu 79}

Places of entertainment frequented by Westerners also installed electric lighting fairly early. Electric lights illuminated the scene at performances of foreign
circus troupes which visited Shanghai in 1886 and 1889.  

As far as it is possible to ascertain from the Dianshizhai, the first Chinese establishment to use electric lighting was the Diyilou Teahouse 第一楼茶室, the largest on the Si Malu, in 1884.  

The same applies to the roller coaster, which was installed in 1890.  

As far as it is possible to ascertain from the Dianshizhai, the first Chinese establishment to use electric lighting was the Diyilou Teahouse 第一楼茶室, the largest on the Si Malu, in 1884.  

The next was a brothel, in 1885.  

These were followed by a teahouse in the French Concession in 1887, the Chinese-style Western restaurant Haitianchun 海天春 in 1887, and the Tianxian Teahouse 天仙茶园 in 1889.  

In 1890, Shanghai began to adopt the incandescent lamp. Electric lighting was now much more reliable, especially after the Shanghai Municipal Council incorporated the Shanghai Electric Company in 1893. Electric lighting became commonplace. Statistics show that in 1893, Shanghai possessed 6,325 electric lamps, and the number was continuing to increase.  

From the Dianshizhai it is obvious that more and more Chinese proprietors of buildings were using electric lighting. An early example is a brothel in Tong'an Lane 同安里(1894).  

According to another drawing dated 1894, the Nanchengxin Opium Hall had already adopted electric lighting, whereas a picture of the same opium den dating from 1886 shows that, at that time, they were still using gas. In 1894 the Pinyulou Singsong Hall 品玉楼书场 installed electricity, and by 1897 the Dianshizhai shows that two Western-style restaurants run by Chinese, the Yipinxiang 一品香 and the Wanjiachun 万家春, had also installed electric lighting.  

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114 Geng 42; Yi* 82; Yi* 83; Yi* 90; Yi* 91  
115 You 56  
116 Yi 77  
117 Wu 23  
118 Zi 3  
119 Zi 21  
120 Chen 22. The Tianxian Teahouse [茶园] was in fact a theatre [戏院]. It changed its name because of the restrictions in force against any entertainment immediately following the death of the Tongzhi Emperor, but in fact carried on the same business as before. See He Ma 赫马, Shanghai xianhua (1) [Chats on Shanghai, (1)] (Shanghai: Wenhua chubanshe 文化出版社, 1956), pp. 1-4  
122 Wei 15  
123 Li 64  
124 Geng 17  
125 Li 48  
126 Heng 48; Xin 79
The electric street-lights in the Dianshizhai are all round, quite different from the hexagonal gas-lamps. Mei-Hua-An-Chu also notes: "Along the Bund in Shanghai, and all the main roads - such as the Da Malu 大马路, Si Malu 四马路, Wu Malu 五马路 and all such flourishing areas - every intersection has a tall pillar, on which there is an electric lamp. They shine brightly, like the full moon." Wang Tao had previously compared the gas-lamps to stars, and here the electric lights are compared to the moon. This was presumably not only because the electric lamps were much brighter, but also because of the shape of the glass outer covering of the electric-lamps.

In 1894, the Dianshizhai reported the case of an accident in which a man died after an electric shock. An employee of the Electricity Company, aged about 30, he was responsible for looking after the street lamps along Broadway Road 百老汇路. One day he noticed that one of the electric lamps did not appear to be working, so he climbed up to repair it. He received an electric shock, and died. This incident tells us two things: one is that electric street lights were so common that there were men especially employed to look after them and repair them; the other is that there was no outcry against the use of electricity, even though this man had met his death as a result of an electric shock. One can compare this attitude to the objections of the Daotai to the Shanghai Municipal Council only a few years earlier. Even if such accidents were to become common, this would not have diminished the dependency on electricity in Shanghai.

"Necessity is the mother of invention", implies that material progress and discoveries are determined by social need. In the adoption of Western material culture into China, however, it was a case of the need not even existing until it had been introduced. As Nathan Sivin has pointed out: "Modern technology is clearly more powerful than that of traditional societies; but to a larger extent than we generally realise, its strength emerges in applications to needs and expectations that do not exist until it generates them." The result of both approaches, however, is the same: as soon as people accept material progress, and become dependent on it, it does become a genuine need. Trains may crush people to death; electricity might cause death, but objections

127 Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang, p. 16
128 Yue 40
129 Nathan Sivin, "Why the scientific revolution did not take place in China - or didn’t it?" in Li Guohao and Zhang Mengwen (eds.) Explorations in the History of Science and Technology in China (Shanghai: Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1982), pp. 89-106, on p. 95
raised at the beginning of the process of acceptance of material progress no longer have any validity.

In contrast to the "nightless city" of the settlements, the Chinese city had neither gas light nor electric light. The gates to the city were closed at the second watch. When the gentry of the city were celebrating a wedding or conducting a funeral, they had to ask the local officials to postpone the closing of the gates, so as to allow their guests to come and go. Ordinary people could also arrange for the gates to be opened after hours with a small bribe, but this was still inconvenient. It was a great contrast to the foreign settlement. In the words of one writer, "a comprehensive survey of the situation in Shanghai shows that it certainly had an atmosphere of modernity; it had already become the Shanghai of the nineteenth century. Life inside the Chinese city, however, including the customs and habits of the officials and the people, was still the same as it had been for quite a few centuries."130

4. Urban life in the settlements

The new physical environment of Shanghai provided the setting for the development of a new urban lifestyle and new forms of entertainment. Traditional activities, too, took on new forms, and new meanings.

From the drawings in the Dianshizhai, it is obvious that the carriage was by no means merely a means of transportation. Taking a ride in a carriage became a new source of enjoyment for the people of Shanghai. Especially when the weather was good, people would often invite a few close friends, hire a horse-drawn carriage by the side of the Huangpu River or along Nanjing Road, and simply go for a ride, just for the pleasure of the experience.131 During the summertime, young lovers would often hire a carriage in the middle of the night, and revel until dawn. Along the way they might stop at a teahouse, or a similar establishment, for some diversion.132 Some of the "dandies"133 even thought collecting some prostitutes

130 Shanghai Tongshe, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao, p. 548
131 Geng 72
132 Yuan 79
133 huahuagongzi 花花公子. The modern translation "playboy" seems anachronistic. See Mrs. Archibald Little, Intimate China - The Chinese As I have Seen Them (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1901), pp. 2-3: "At the hours when carriage traffic may only pass one way because of the crowd, it would reward an Alma-Tadema to depict the Chinese dandies filling its many balconies, pale and silken clad, craning their necks to see, and by the haughtiness of their gaze recalling the
and riding around in a carriage with them the height of fashion. Many of these horse-drawn carriages were Hansom cabs; the Shanghaiese called them heng-si-mai 亨司迈, which they thought was derived from the English word handsome.\textsuperscript{134}

A ride around the streets in a horse-drawn carriage was one of the seven major attractions of Shanghai for visitors, the others being theatres, restaurants, teahouses, opium dens, singsong halls and brothels.\textsuperscript{135} Most of these establishments were grouped around the area of Si Malu in the International Settlement. The commentary to one of the sketches in the Dianshizhai notes: "The area around the Si Malu in the International Settlement in Shanghai is prosperous and lively. Singsong halls and dancing halls are scattered all over like stars in the sky or men on a chessboard. Those who wander in this area really feel they have entered the "Chamber of Enchanting Fragrance" or the "Nightless City."\textsuperscript{136}

Tea-drinking, of course, had been a part of the traditional life of the Chinese city, but from the 1860s on, most of the teahouses had congregated in the area of the settlements.\textsuperscript{137} Several large teahouses were located along the Si Malu, and their atmosphere was rather different from those of the old Chinese city. The Diyilou Teahouse, for example, was housed in a three story Western style building, with wide glass windows opening out on all sides. It was so bright inside that the Chinese called it the "Crystal Palace".\textsuperscript{138} Billiard rooms were on the first floor; more than one thousand tea-drinkers could be accommodated on the second and third floors. Needless to say, it was one of the major attractions of Shanghai.\textsuperscript{139}

decadent Romans of the last days of the Empire. Their garments, their arched mouths, the coldness of their icy stare, has not yet been duly depicted. Chu Ti Kung, by the late Mr. Claude Rees, is so far the only attempt to describe their life. Yet they, too, have souls possibly worth the awakening. With their long nails, their musk-scented garments, their ivory opium-pipes, and delicate arrangements of colours, they cannot be without sensbilities. Do they feel that the Gaul is at the gates, and that the China of their childhood is passing away?"

\textsuperscript{134} Heng 16; Yi 9. Liu Yanong 刘雅农, Shanghai xianhua 上海闲话 [Chats on Shanghai] (Taiwan: Shijie shuju 世界书局, 1960), p. 125: "Towards the end of the Qing dynasty, habitual frequenters of brothels would collect some prostitutes and hire a "heng-si-mai" and revel in the Zhangyuan (a popular park with teahouses, etc). They regarded this as a most fashionable, most luxurious type of enjoyment". See also Li Boyuan 李伯元, Nan ting si hua 南亭四话 [Four chats from the South Pavilion] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian; 1985), p. 482; Zhi-wu-ya-shi zhuren 知无涯室主人 [Master of the Hall of Knowledge Without Boundaries], Ru ci 上海 如是上海 [Such is Shanghai], Vol. I (Shanghai: Dadong shuju 大东书局, n.d.), p. 8

\textsuperscript{135} Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang, 淞江谈说, 卷上, p. 2

\textsuperscript{136} Mi xiang ge 迷香阁 Xu 13

\textsuperscript{137} Geng 40

\textsuperscript{138} Shuijing gong 水晶宫

\textsuperscript{139} Huang Shiquan 黄式权, Songnan mengying lu 溧南梦影录 [Record of Dream Shadows of Songnan] (Shanghai, 1883; reprinted Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 109
1889: The Diyilou Teahouse, seen from the outside.
Even if we only consider the teahouses mentioned in the Dianshizhai, there were the Diyilou Teahouse 第一楼茶室,\textsuperscript{140} the Wucenglou Teahouse 五层楼茶室\textsuperscript{141} the Huazhonghui Teahouse 华众会茶楼\textsuperscript{142} and several others. The Diyilou Teahouse also had special facilities for opium smoking; the guests could take turns at sipping tea or smoking opium. From noon till well after midnight there was not an empty seat to be found.\textsuperscript{143} The drawings referred to above all show the teahouses absolutely packed, and business flourishing. Along the Si Malu there was also the combined teahouse-opium den run by British merchants, the Gengshangycenglou 更上一层楼.\textsuperscript{144} According to the sketches, this place, too, was patronised by young and old, men and women. The commentary to one of the pictures relates of an incident, in which a false alarm went up about fire taking hold in a singsong hall opposite. In an instant the guests rushed outside; the volume of people was such that the stairs broke under their weight.\textsuperscript{145} It is obvious from the drawings that these teahouses and opium dens were meticulously designed and constructed. A contemporary foreigner's report on the teahouses along the Si Malu is as follows: "The teahouses, often richly furnished with carved black-wood from the south, are practically deserted till the latter part of the afternoon, when a few loungers make their appearance. But it is at night that the crowds pour in".\textsuperscript{146}

Tea was served in the opium dens, and opium-smoking facilities provided in the teahouses; teahouses were also set up in conjunction with the singsong halls. These were constructed much along the lines of ordinary teahouses; the main difference being that a stage was set up inside. The Dianshizhai mentions the Pinyulou Singsong Hall 品玉楼书场 and the Yeshilou Singsong Hall 也不是楼书场 on Si Malu. Both of these were similar in design, and both were fairly large. The Yipinlou put on performances of more than a dozen singsong girls every day; the tea-drinkers could request any particular song which might appeal to them.\textsuperscript{147}

Early performances in the Singsong Halls of Shanghai were mainly traditional storytelling, done by prostitutes. By the 1880s, however, most of the performances were in the form of traditional Chinese opera.\textsuperscript{148} There was no lack

\textsuperscript{140} Yi 77
\textsuperscript{141} Zhu 40
\textsuperscript{142} Yin 74
\textsuperscript{143} Yi 77
\textsuperscript{144} Yi* 32; Hai 37
\textsuperscript{145} Hai 37
\textsuperscript{146} Gamewell, \textit{The Gateway to China}, pp. 47-48
\textsuperscript{147} Li 48
\textsuperscript{148} Shen Bao, 6 July 1888: "Hu you ji lüe" 沪游记略 [Notes on Shanghai]
1887: The Yeshilou Singsong Hall. A Western prostitute is in the centre of the stage. She is playing a pipa and singing an indecent song, "The Eighteen Caresses". Two billboards at the top of the stage indicate the programmes of that particular day and night.
of "indecent plays" in this repertoire. Quite an amazing spectacle was put on by the Yeshilou Singsong Hall on Si Malu in 1887, where a Western prostitute was singing an indecent Chinese folk-song entitled "Eighteen Caresses". She sat in the middle of the stage, playing a *pipa*, with six Chinese prostitutes around her, also holding *pipas*. Two male musicians are seated at the back of them. The hall is packed; the audience is dressed very respectfully, and appear fascinated with the performance. The *Dianshizhai* commented: "For the past few years, both sides of Fuzhou Road, as far as the eye can see, are packed with storytellers and singers. If people pass through that area, they are annoyed by the noise. Now the owner of the Yeshilou has invited a Western prostitute to perform every few days, so as to be different from everyone else. All she can sing is a Chinese indecent song, the "Eighteen Caresses". Those who have heard of this do not approve, and think it is extremely silly."

According to Fernand Braudel, changes in diet are very significant in the development of a civilisation. Quoting an expression from Feuerbach, Braudel writes: "This is one of the great tests of material life: 'Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are' ... His food bears witness to his social status and his civilisation or culture." Also commenting on this expression, Antonio Gramsci wrote: "Taken in itself, Feuerbach's assertion 'Man is what he eats' can be interpreted in various ways. Crude and stupid interpretation: man is at any time what he eats materially, i.e. food has an immediate and determining influence on his way of thinking ... On the other hand it is also true that 'man is what he eats' in so far as diet is one of the expressions of social relations taken as a whole, and every social group has its own basic form of diet ... together with diet and housing, clothing and reproduction are among the elements of social life in which social relations as a whole are manifested in the most evident and widespread, (i.e. mass) fashion."

The Shanghaiese of the late nineteenth century did not exactly change their eating habits, but quite a few of them developed a taste for Western food. There were two Western restaurants run by Chinese along the Si Malu, the Yipinxiang and the Wanjiaxiang. A contemporary Chinese account gives us

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149 *shiba mo* 十八摸
150 Ren 90
153 Heng 49; Xin 79
1897: Inside the Yipinxiang Restaurant, a Western restaurant run by Chinese. Men with queues and women with bound feet can be seen eating with knives and forks. They are all ordinary people, probably fairly well off. The sketch refers to a husband who went to the Yipinxiang with his lover, and his wife who also happened to go the the Yipinxiang with her lover at the same time.
the following description: "Foreign restaurants in China began with the Yipinxiang which was established on Si Malu. At that time few people displayed any interest, but over the past few years, many Chinese developed a taste for Western food, so other restaurants, such as the Haitianchun 海天春 and the Yijiachun 一家春 were opened ... All these restaurants have seats in separate compartments: the furnishings are elegant and clean, and on Saturdays and Sundays the seats are usually full. The cost is ten cents per person for a meal; to sit and take tea costs seventy cents and snacks cost fifty cents. They also provide opium, wine and tidbits, as well all types of Chinese and foreign wine. One can also call over prostitutes to accompany ones wine-drinking."^{154}

In these sketches, one can also see men with queues and women with bound feet eating with knives and forks. They must have heard about Western food from their friends, or seen advertisements in the newspapers. Going to a Western restaurant for the first time was obviously quite an adventure. We can still imagine their sense of delight and curiosity. At that time there was a piece of doggerel which described a typical scene in a Western restaurant: "An eating house, just like in the West - most famous is the Yipinxiang. The knives and forks are bright as snow. The rooms are elegant and cool, the cups and plates so fine and bright. Foreign flowers and foreign fruits are all so new. After the meal, a cup of coffee - to pour down your innards' twists and turns".\(^{155}\)

Even Chinese-style teahouses began to serve Western meals. In 1883 the Huazhonghui Teahouse placed the following advertisement in the Shen Bao: "As from the twenty-third of the eighth month, this establishment will offer English and French banquets. Famous chefs have been especially invited to prepare them. We also serve all sorts of Western delicacies, and you can sit in spacious comfort, special price, day or night: five cash per person."^{156}

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^154^ Hushang youxi zhuren 沪上游戏主人 [Master of entertainment in Shanghai], *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上游戏图说 [Illustrated guide to entertainment in Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1898), juan 2, p. 24. According to Chen Dingshan, *Chun shen jiu wen*, pp. 190-191, the Wanjiaochun was the first Western-style restaurant to be run by a Chinese. The Yipinxiang came later, but its Western-style cooking was better and thus became more popular.

^155^ Hushang youxi zhuren, *Haishang youxi tushuo* juan 2, p. 15. The most famous of the genuine Western restaurants was the *Hotel des Colonies*, but Chinese seldom went there. It is mentioned once in the Dianshizhai, in connection with the newly arrived French Consul-General Emile Desiré Kraezer, who went there for a meal immediately after his arrival in Shanghai. Wu 55. The original of the poem is: 大菜仿西洋，最驰名一品香，刀叉件件如雪亮，楼房透凉，杯盘透光，洋花洋果都新样，吃完场，咖啡一盏，灌入九回肠。

^156^ Shen Bao, 9 October 1883
1886: Si Malu at night, showing prostitutes hurrying off to see their clients. This sketch is about a dandy who carried the sedan chair of a particular changsan tangzi in order to gain her favours.
Gradually certain Western foods, not traditionally part of the Chinese diet, came to be accepted. In 1888 the chief editor of the Shen Bao, He Guisheng, tasted imported salmon for the first time in his life at the Huazhonghui Teahouse. He found it uncommonly delicious, and even wrote a poem about it in the Shen Bao, expressing his appreciation. Even beef, which in the past had been unacceptable as food for moral reasons, began to be more commonly eaten, under the influence of the Western style restaurants.

These restaurants also occasionally came up with other attractions for the guests. There was nothing like a Western zoo in any part of China at that time, but the Yipinxiang had purchased a boa constrictor and a leopard, and exhibited them by the main door of the restaurant.

The growing prosperity of Shanghai also attracted a large number of prostitutes. Si Malu, along which large numbers of teahouses and restaurants, was also famous for its brothels - particularly the area around Hujiazai. The Dianshizhai faithfully reproduces all sorts of after-dark scenes along this road. As the caption to one picture says, "The electric lights go on, and the sounds of the pipa begin to stir". Men out for a night out in the brothels of Shanghai would then start searching for a woman for the night, and the street would become very lively. Prostitutes who had been hired for the evening to accompany guests or to provide singing entertainment at a banquet would move from one building to another. In some of the sketches one can see "wandering prostitutes" soliciting customers off the streets. These sort of prostitutes were known as "wild chickens" 野鸡, and one of the sections of Si Malu was even known as "wild chicken corner" 野鸡墩. The Si Malu was held in high disrepute for these reasons. The commentary to one sketch says: "Si Malu in the International Settlement ... the goings-on there are so bad, one can only heave a sigh on seeing them." A contemporary foreign description of the Si Malu is similar: "[It] is a narrow street with nothing at first

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157 Shen Bao, 9 October 1883
158 Geng 72 xia. On the beating of beef, see Chapter Four of this thesis.
159 Bing 37. See Wu Shenyuan, Shanghai zuizao de zhongzhong [Earliest this and that in Shanghai], (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe 华东师范大学出版社, 1989), p. 108
160 Shu 48
161 Geng 48
162 Ren 74
163 Li 61
164 Gui 29
sight to arrest the attention, but men shake their heads at the mention of it and women avoid it if possible."165

Another important innovation in Shanghai was the appearance of "public space". Shanghai had gardens attached to the City Temple, but these were open to the public only on special occasions, such as festivals or flower displays.166 The most famous of the public gardens was the Zhangyuan 张氏味苑园.167 The Zhangyuan is mentioned three times in the Dianshizhai, and one of these gives a little of the history of the place: "To the north of Shanghai, outside the earthen walls, there is a place called the Zhangyuan. Pavilions and halls tower to the heavens. A few years ago few people had heard of it. Since the owner now manages it so painstakingly, however, there are now tea-pavilions and opium-couches, facilities for wine-banquets and mao'er xi,168 all perfectly presented. So the guests flock to this place like ants, like flies around sheep-meat, and gradually the smell of the place attaches itself to them."169

This particular sketch relates of a middle-class couple who had an accident in a horse-drawn carriage on an excursion to the Zhangyuan. It is also mentioned in a story about prostitutes and their customers revelling there170, another was a

165 Gamewell, The Gateway to China, p. 47
166 Chi Zhicheng, Huyou mengying, p. 161
167 The Zhangyuan was private property, but it was open to the public. It was a commercial place of entertainment, and open to anyone who could afford the entertainments offered there. In the nineteenth century, "public space", such as the teahouses and the meeting halls in the Zhangyuan, was used by the Shanghaiese merely as a place of entertainment. By the twentieth century, however, with the inception of "political consciousness" in Shanghai, the Zhangyuan acquired a new function. Revolutionaries and men of letters often held meetings or made speeches there, and this "public space" became an important factor in the development of "civil society" in Shanghai. On this see Tang Zhenchang, Shanghai shi, p. 750; Jia Yu 贾枚, "Zhangyuan yu Xinhai Geming" 张园与辛亥革命 [The Zhangyuan and the 1911 Revolution] in Tang Weikang et al. (eds) Shanghai yishi, p. 166-168; Liu Yazi 柳亚子, Nanshe jilüe 南社记略 [An outline record of the Southern Society] (ed. by Liu Wuji in the series Liu Yazi Wenji 柳亚子文集 [Collected Works of Liu Yazi]) (Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1983)
168 mao'er xi - 娼 [猫] 儿戏 - a sort of banquet accompanied by prostitutes. According to Hu Xianghan 胡祥翰, Shanghai xiao zhi 上海小志 (Shanghai: Chuanjingtang shudian 传经堂书店, 1930, reprinted Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989) pp. 33-34, "Mao'erxi, also known as Mao’erban 娼儿班 or Kunban 坤班, and later miswritten 亻儿班, was a sort of operatic performance with female singers which originated in Shanghai. It was begun by Li Mao'er 李毛儿, a Beijing opera performer who specialised in chou 丑 roles. He would purchase impoverished young girls, and train them to sing and perform. Whenever any high officials or families were celebrating a happy occasion, they would be asked to perform there. Another explanation is that there was a certain opera performer in Yangzhou who trained young girls for the stage, because they were so young and lovely. Their singing sounded like the mewing of kittens, and so [this type of performance] acquired this name."
169 Ge 88. More material on the Zhangyuan may be found in Shanghai Tongshe, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao, pp. 569-573
170 Ge 48
1893: An accident in the Zhangyuan Garden.
ladies' afternoon in the Zhangyuan, attended by members of the local Chinese
gentry and the wives of foreign diplomats and lawyers. In these pictures one can
see Chinese style pavilions and halls, pools and lotus ponds, alongside Western
furniture and a large Western-style hall. Apart from the Zhangyuan, Shanghaiese
also liked to amuse themselves in the Yangshupu Garden 杨树浦大花园, about
twenty li from the settlements. Apart from the usual Chinese halls and pavilions,
there were also animals kept in this garden, the likes of which had never been seen
before in China. It was described in a contemporary record in the following
terms: "The Garden is about six hundred mu in area. It contains a very wide river,
large enough for small paddle boats to travel to and fro. There are all sorts of
animals, such as lions, elephants and leopards. There are also all sorts of fish,
prawns, mussels and clams in an enclosure with a glass wall, which contains sea
water [i.e. an aquarium]. There are bird cages twenty zhang high, several times
wider, and about half a li in length. There are five or six large trees inside, and a
larger number of smaller trees. Birds can fly around as they like. It is really a
marvel to behold." There was also a "Public Garden" on the banks of the Huangpu River. It
was occasionally frequented by Chinese, but there were only trees, plants and
flowers there, and none of the other attractions of the other gardens, and it was not
particularly popular.

These places often provided men and women with opportunities to meet or
to flirt. For many people, this was the real pleasure of spending time in a teahouse
or an opium den. The Chinese expression for 'flirt' in Shanghai was diao bangzi
吊膀子 [in Shanghaiese diau baung-ts ], literally "to hang onto [the other person's]
arms". A ride in a horse-drawn carriage also became an opportunity to flirt. The
commentary to a sketch dated 1897 reads: "On summer nights, the horse drawn
carriages in Shanghai have a lot of business. They go out in the middle of the night
and do not return until dawn. In the area around the Yuyuan 愚园, outside the
Nicheng Bridge 泥城桥, some people stop to take tea, while others do not even
descend from the carriages, but turn out the lamps and stop under the shade of the

171 Li 39
172 Wei 18; Wu 13
173 Chi Zhichen, Huyou mengying, p. 163
174 This garden was mentioned in Chi Zhichen, ibid., on the same page as the Yangshupu Garden,
but no particular details are given. The impression one gets is that Chinese were far less interested
in this garden than in the Yangshupu or the Zhangyuan. This is the garden which was to become
notorious in the twentieth century. See Chapter Five, Part One of this thesis.
175 Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang p. 2
trees, while philandering and troublesome types would rush under the wheels of the carriage and between the feet of the horses ...". One day an employee in a foreign firm, dressed very smartly, smoking a cigarette, was standing by the side of the carriage of a certain prostitute, staring fixedly at her. Suddenly the carriage driver raised his whip and the horses galloped off. The young man could not get out of the road in time, and his sleeve was caught in the carriage. He was not seriously wounded, but the Dianshizhai had a good laugh at his expense, and commented that the young man really had to hang onto his arms.\textsuperscript{176}

Apart from these traditional Chinese entertainments, various sporting activities introduced by the Westerners also attracted the Shanghaiese. Of these sports, racing was the most important. "A Britisher in Shanghai once made the remark, 'There are two things an Englishman must have, a King and a race-course'."\textsuperscript{177} So not long after the foreign settlements were established, horse-racing made an appearance.\textsuperscript{178} The first issue of the Shen Bao, on 30 April 1872, carried racing news, and the second issue of the Dianshizhai also had a drawing explaining horse-racing in some detail: "Westerners organise Spring and Autumn racing carnivals, each of three days duration. They offer a large amount of money as a prize, and the fastest horse wins the prize. The course is circled by three concentric fences. During the race, the jockeys wear clothes of satin, and the horses have reins of gold. On the corners there are pavilions, and the Westerners climb on them to observe. People on all sides applaud the winners of the race. To the participants, this is one of the joys of their lives. The onlookers, [i.e. Chinese] who surround the place like a wall, are indifferent to who wins and who loses, but compared to the participants, their joy is even greater."\textsuperscript{179} Shortly afterwards, another sketch described in detail the horsemanship competitions on the third day of the racing carnival.\textsuperscript{180} In this drawing we can see men and women, young and old, hurrying to the scene in all sorts of vehicles: horse-drawn carriages, rickshaws, even sedan chairs. Pedlars can be seen among the crowd, carrying their goods on bamboo poles. Everybody is obviously treating the occasion as a social outing. The commentary to one of the sketches reads: "Horse-racing is so popular in the International Settlement that all offices are closed for three days. In the afternoon

\textsuperscript{176} Yuan 79  
\textsuperscript{177} Gamewell, \textit{Gateway to China}, p. 46  
\textsuperscript{178} A race-course in Shanghai is mentioned as early as 1850. See Pott, \textit{History of Shanghai}, p. 83  
\textsuperscript{179} Jia 15  
\textsuperscript{180} Wu 74
1884: Horse-racing. The Chinese spectators are from all social backgrounds - officials, poor peddlars, prostitutes, women and children. They were not permitted to take part in the sport, but had no objection to this, as they could enjoy the spectacle more by watching than by participating.
crowds gather to watch. Precious horses, scented carts, silks and satins without end".  

Boat-racing on the Suzhou Creek was also a sport enjoyed by both Chinese and foreigners at that time. "Rowing made its appearance in 1863 ... Rowing became very popular and an international cup was keenly competed for ... The races were rowed on the Soochow Creek. In later years as Shanghai developed, the congested traffic on the waterways near Shanghai made it necessary to hold the annual regatta out in the country at Henli". In 1884 boat-racing was mentioned in the *Dianshizhai*: "Westerners, during the Spring and Autumn holidays, organise boat races. They offer a large amount of money as prizes. Those which come first win, and those who come in later lose. Those who participate are extremely excited, and the onlookers, too, applaud on all sides. The whole city is crazy about it." In these two drawings we can see many Chinese on both banks of the river - young and old, men and women. We can also see women arriving by horse-drawn carriage.

Charles M. Dyce, who was a resident of Shanghai at that time, wrote in his memoirs: "Shanghai was an absolutely ideal place of residence for a young man who loved sport because he could get plenty of it, easily and cheaply ... Every kind of sport was available, and almost at our doors ..." Another foreign sport introduced in the pages of the *Dianshizhai* was cricket. "Throwing a ball is also a common skill in Western countries. There are many varieties ... Westerners use this to help the circulation of the blood and

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181 Wu 73  
182 Geng 36  
183 Mei-hua-an-chu, *Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang*, p. 12; Mao Xianglin 毛祥麟, *Duishan shuwu moyu lu* 对山书画墨余录 [Supplementary jottings of Facing Mountain Studio], juan 2 also describes the excitement of the horseracing. Racehorses were imported from England and Australia. This was a difficult process, and they were very expensive. See *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 Vol. XI, No. 5, p. 9  
184 Pott, *History of Shanghai*, pp. 87-88  
185 Wu 65  
pneuma, and to exercise the muscles and sinews. The term "cricket pitch" (paoqiuchang 抛球场) even became the name of one of the streets of Shanghai.

According to Pott, "cricket, as already noted, was one of the chief forms of sport. The first recorded cricket match was played somewhere in Hongkew, and on this ground a match between a team of officers from H.M.S. "Highflyer" and a Shanghai eleven was played on April 22nd, 1858. The first interport match with Hongkong took place in 1866."

There was another peculiar sport in Shanghai at the time, known as "paper-hunting". There is a sketch in the Dianshizhai entitled "Western People Running After Paper": "This involves at least ten horses - sometimes fifty or sixty - there is no precise limit. One man carries a bag full of coloured paper. He throws them into the wind, and the others chase these pieces of paper." This, too, was mentioned by Pott: "By 1864 paper hunting as an outdoor sport became fairly established, but the club goes back to an earlier date. Its introduction was due to the military officers who were familiar with it in other parts of the world."

The Chinese people of the nineteenth century never took part in these sports themselves, but they were certainly enthusiastic spectators. In all pictures in the Dianshizhai about various sports, ordinary Chinese people are always amongst the spectators. In reports in the Shen Bao on horse-racing and boat-racing, there are always such expressions as "Chinese and Western spectators were packed together like a wall, and the crowding was extraordinary". In 1873 the Shen Bao carried a report to the effect that the prize for a track and field competition was awarded by a local Chinese bank, and noted that "this is meant to extend the friendship between Chinese and Westerners."

For the Westerners, of course, such activities came under the rubric of "sport". For the Chinese, however, such occasions performed the social role of a new type of festival. Every year, at a particular time or season, old and young, men and women would dress in their best clothes to observe these activities with great interest and enthusiasm. They were never actually permitted to take part in them, of

187 Hai 4
188 She 20; Shi 87
189 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 87
190 Xi ren pao zhi 西人跑纸, Bing 35
191 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 87. Christopher Cook, The Lion and the Dragon (Elm Tree Books/Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1985) pp. 60-61 notes that the "Paper-Hunters Annual Ball" was still being held in Shanghai in 1935 and 1936.
192 Shen Bao, 29 October, 1872; 5 November 1873; 24 October 1874; 5 May 1875.
193 Shen Bao, 19 May 1873
course (nor would they have wanted to), but that did not diminish their enthusiasm for going to have a look.

Various types of celebrations in the settlements performed much the same function. They may have had political or patriotic significance to the Westerns, but to the Chinese they were no more than a lively, energetic display of colour, enthusiasm and excitement.

The whole settlement turned out to celebrate such events, and the streets were invariably packed with people. The Dianshizhai dedicated a whole issue to depicting the celebrations. On the morning of the 19 November, 1893, the Reverend Dr. William Muirhead gave an address on the Bund, which was the official start of the celebrations. The Dianshizhai recorded the occasion: "On the tenth day of this month, Western officials and merchants celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the open port. In the area between the Bund and Nanjing Road, policemen had set up poles, joined together by rope, on which were hanging all sorts of flags and coloured paper lanterns. Coloured lanterns, vying with each other, were hanging outside the shops along the route. This was to strengthen the friendship between Chinese and foreigners. On that day, early in the morning, the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and English, German and American troops from ships in the harbour carrying their rifles and pulling their cannon performed all sorts of military manoeuvres, under the leadership of their officers. Afterwards they returned to the Harry Smith Parkes Statue on the Bund, where a missionary, Mr William Muirhead, dressed in formal coat and tails, stood on a leather stool, in which he praised the outstanding achievements in trade over the past fifty years. He related these one by one, as if they were family treasures. Soldiers and sailors, Chinese and Westerners, listened in quiet fascination."

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194 Ding 80
195 Mu 57-65
196 Mu 57. The Rev. Muirhead's speech is recorded in Murphey, *Shanghai, Key to Modern China*, p. 6: "Shanghai is the centre of our higher civilisation and Christian influence for all of China. We are here in the midst of a people proud and prejudiced in favour of the ancient line of things, and what have we introduced amongst them, for their benefit as well as our own ... In short, look at the *tout ensemble* of the Settlement - houses and streets lit with gas and electricity, streams of pelucid water flowing in all directions, and sanitary arrangements according to the best medical advice. We have steamers, telegraphs and telephones in communication with all the world; there are cotton and paper mills and silk filatures of Foreign invention ..."
After the speech, the procession started. The activities this time were unprecedented, and the foreign settlements were blazing with colour and light. The Fire Brigade joined in the procession, with all its fire-fighting equipment, followed by a band of more than thirty people. Chinese guilds followed, beating gongs and drums. Foreign banks, such as the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation had gas-lamps arranged in such a way as to spell out the names of their companies, to provide further decoration for the streets. From the nine sketches which recorded these celebrations it can be seen, that not only were the streets crowded with people, but even the windows and balconies of the houses facing the main streets were packed. We can also see Chinese and foreign policemen doing their best to maintain order. The Chinese were by no means all from Shanghai - many had come in for the day from outlying districts. The fares on the rickshaws and the carriages increased by a factor of ten, and all the hotels and other lodgings were booked out.

Two other major celebrations in pre-twentieth century Shanghai recorded by the Dianshizhai were the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria to the Throne (and her 68th birthday), and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, to mark the sixtieth anniversary of her accession. In 1887 the Dianshizhai dedicated seven pictures to the celebrations. All the ships in the Huangpu River sounded their horns as a gesture of congratulations, and the settlement was bright with illuminated decorations. There was a procession, with elephant drivers and the Fire Brigade participating. A platform on the Bund was illuminated with multi-coloured electric lights, and a fountain erected in the middle of the road. The celebrations in 1897 followed the same pattern but added a bicycle race and a children's horse-race.

Western investment in leisure activities contributed to the growing "commercialisation of leisure". There is another sketch, dated 1889, of a

\[\text{References:}\]
197 Mu 58
198 Mu 59-63
199 Mu 62
200 Mu 64. See Pott, *History of Shanghai*, pp. 126-127
201 Gui 82-88. See Pott, *History of Shanghai*, p. 130
202 Yuan 59
203 See Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 248: "How far urban popular entertainment changed between 1500 and 1800 is a difficult question. It has recently been argued that eighteenth century England witnessed a "commercialisation of leisure", in the sense that business began to regard leisure activities as a good investment and in the sense that facilities actually grew ... Horse races were already mentioned in the newspapers by the 1720s, and by 1800, according to J. H. Plumb, "racing was a complex industry involving thousands of workers and investment that ran into hundreds and
Western female acrobat keeping balance on a plank supported by a rubber ball. There are both foreign and Chinese to be seen in the audience, but it is the Chinese who are the most enthralled.\(^{204}\) Chinese did attend such performances, but certainly not in the numbers they went to the circus.

We can discover from the *Dianshizhai* that the same circus visited Shanghai three times, in 1880, 1886 and 1889. In their introduction to the performance of 1886, the *Dianshizhai* said: "From the first performance until the present time, people have been bringing their friends and relatives. When they talk about it their eyebrows fly and their expression becomes animated".\(^{205}\) The sketch shows a huge audience. When the circus returned in 1889, as soon as it arrived in Shanghai large numbers of people flocked to see its arrival. There were so many people there the roads along the wharves were blocked - one man was even knocked into the water.\(^{206}\) The *Dianshizhai* devoted five sketches to performances of the circus that year, showing acrobats and magicians. One sketch shows a female performer on a horse, performing a horse-riding act allegedly originating in Ancient Rome. The commentary notes that this sort of performance "can broaden the experience of the Chinese."\(^{207}\) The circus was obviously much more fascinating for Chinese than Western concerts. Wang Tao also gave a detailed description of the Western circus in his *Maritime and Littoral Miscellany*.\(^{208}\)

Even more astonishing was the appearance in 1890 of a roller coaster. The sketch shows the roller coaster packed with Chinese, and a long queue waiting to have a go. The same picture shows a lot of men, women and children hurrying to the scene in their rickshaws and carriages, and Chinese and Sikh policemen doing their best to maintain order.\(^{209}\)

There is a record in the *Dianshizhai* of an American, obviously a sort of swindler, who rented a room there and announced he was going to put on display a bodiless head, just arrived from the United States. Crowds of curious Chinese rushed to buy tickets.\(^{210}\)

\(^{204}\) Wu 2
\(^{205}\) Geng 42
\(^{206}\) Yi* 76
\(^{207}\) Yi* 91
\(^{208}\) Wang Tao, *Yingruan zashi*, juan 6, pp. 21-23
\(^{209}\) You 56
\(^{210}\) Bing 78

"Thousands of pounds". The most striking case of the commercialisation of popular culture is the circus, which goes back to the late eighteenth century."
1890: A roller-coaster. The sketch shows men, women and children queuing up for a ride, and more people outside waiting their turn. Some Sikh and Chinese policeman are maintaining order.
Other novelties were not meant to be forms of amusement, but they became so for the people of Shanghai. The fire-fighting drills of the Shanghai Fire Brigade were a good example, always witnessed by crowds of curious Chinese. Even greater masses of people turned out to witness any sort of celebration organised by the International Settlement or the French Concession. For example, on Bastille Day, the Fourteenth of July 1885, all the main streets from the Huangpu River to the French Concession were decorated with lamps and red, white and blue ribbons, which made for a blaze of colour after nightfall.

One might contrast this situation with Shanghai before its establishment as a commercial port, when the only sources of entertainment were the festivals and temple fairs associated with the Temple of the City God.

The concept of the accurate measurement of time also took root. Before the arrival of clocks, Chinese used the twelve branches to denote twelve two hour periods making up the day. During the night, a watchman would beat the watches every two hours. The Chinese living in the settlements, however, soon abandoned this way of denoting time. In 1884 the *Dianshizhai* carried a sketch, entitled *The Sun at Noon*, which has often been used in books and articles on Chinese history. It shows the wind-flag and the time-ball on the Bund, in the French Concession. Every day, at 10.00 a.m. precisely, the wind-flag was raised; different flags were raised depending on the direction of the wind. Every day at 11:45 a.m. a ball was raised to show the time, but it was only lifted halfway up the mast; at 11:55 a.m. it was lifted to the top, and at 12:00 noon precisely it was let drop. This procedure enabled the inhabitants of the Concession to determine the precise time. The sketch shows many Chinese people surrounding the ball; a large clock to one side shows the time: 11:45 a.m.

In 1893, when the clock on the Customs Building was installed, and the *Dianshizhai* carried a sketch entitled *A Huge Clock Newly Installed*. The commentary mentions that there were already chiming clocks at various places in the French Concession and the International Settlement, at the Catholic Churches in Xujiahui and Hongkou, as well as at the Racing Pavilion. These, however, were

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211 Wu 49; Wu 52  
212 *Shanghai Tongshe* *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao* [Historical materials for research on Shanghai] (Shanghai: 1936; reprinted Shanghai Shudian, 1984), p. 511. The Guild Halls would also occasionally put on some theatrical performances, but these were usually with a special purpose in mind, such collecting money to express gratitude towards a particular patron deity, or for some guild celebration or festival. This was not the same as the purely commercial performances in the settlements.  
213 *Ri zhi fang zhong* 日之方中 Yi 75
1884: "The Sun at Noon". The drawing shows the wind-flag and the time ball on the Bund, in the French Concession. At the stroke of twelve noon, the time ball was released. A large public clock shows the time to be 11:45.
not very loud, and could not be heard from a distance. The Customs Clock, however, needed to be wound only once every eight days; there were, in fact, five clocks of various sizes, and that the bells could be heard several "li" away; it could be seen from all four directions. At night, the clockface was lit by electric lights, and people far from it, including those on the river, could see it.\textsuperscript{214}

There was even a contemporary poem in praise of these public chiming clocks: "The huge chiming clock is not to be found in Beijing. High in the sky, its hands can be so clearly seen. People come to it and hurry to adjust their vest-pocket watches - they do not realise that other people are leisurely walking by".\textsuperscript{215} From this poem it can be seen that not only ordinary citizens told the time by these public clocks, but even people who had personal watches of their own would adjust them by the public clocks. From the sketches in the \textit{Dianshizhai} it is clear that men of fashion would have their own watches - vest-pocket watches. One sketch tells of a man who stole someone else's spectacles and watch, and from then on "would strut about with great arrogance, wearing the spectacles and showing off the watch".\textsuperscript{216} There is another story of a Sikh policeman stealing a watch off a monk crossing the street, and even stealing the watches of the audience gathered around the front door of a theatre.\textsuperscript{217} The vest-pocket watch was by no means rare, but it was still considered something of value - otherwise the policeman would not have stooped to stealing that which he was supposed to protect. In 1885, the \textit{Shen Bao} carried an announcement placed by a man who has lost his \textit{London} gold watch. Detectives helped him to retrieve it, and he placed another advertisement in the newspaper to thank them.\textsuperscript{218}

Clocks were much the same. From the \textit{Dianshizhai} it can be seen that all well-off families possessed a mantle clock, or a wall clock. Such people included merchants\textsuperscript{219} and officials\textsuperscript{220} - even a man who worked on the ferries.\textsuperscript{221} A western mantle clock was a must for the upper-class prostitute.\textsuperscript{222} The teahouses

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214 Ju zhong xin zhi 巨钟新制 Ge 90
215 Hushang yuxi zhuren, Haishang yuxi tushuo, juan 3, p. 15; Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji, juan 1 p. 27 also mentions chiming clocks. The poem reads: 大自鸣钟莫与京, 半空晷刻示分明, 来到争对腕间表, 不觉人歌缓缓行。
216 Zi 89
217 Si 66
218 Shen Bao, 26 July 1885
219 Ding 11
220 Bing 2
221 Mao 22
222 Yi 62; Chen 46, Xin 92; Chou 78
\end{flushright}
and opium dens would invariably have clocks on the walls. Clocks, like watches, were in high demand, and were also often stolen. In 1884, the *Shen Bao* carried a story about relatives quarreling over a stolen mantle clock. Whether rich or poor, everyone who lived in Shanghai had a very clear concept of time. The time when the lifestyle of Shanghai was characterised by the expression "when the tide comes in they go fishing, when the tide goes out they go to sleep" had obviously passed forever. In 1874 the *Shen Bao* carried an article about a Westerner who had gone to Beijing from Shanghai, and found that the absence of Shanghai-style public clocks - or even the cannon to mark noon - was a great inconvenience, as he had no way of checking the time. The more common use of clocks and watches must have changed the concept of the measurement of time, and must have made people more aware of punctuality for meetings, theatrical performances and the like.

By this stage the Shanghai settlements had become one of the biggest cities in China. As the *Dianshizhai* put it, "Now merchants regard Shanghai as being the biggest of the trading cities. Inhabitants come and go like sand in the river." Foreigners who had previously regarded Shanghai as a place of exile began to regard it as home. "By the early 1880s, the word "settlement" implied fewer distinctions than had formerly existed between the disparate foreign nationalities; and 'Settlements' began to be capitalised in the press and in private correspondence in the same sense that 'Home' was." In 1893 the *Dianshizhai* commented: "Shanghai has now become a trading centre, and many Westerners bring their sons and daughters here". It became necessary to establish various specialised schools for these children. Chinese migrants continued to flood into Shanghai. The number of settlers increased; and Shanghai also attracted many travellers and visitors. The *Dianshizhai* mentions the visit of the Prince of Wales on his way back to England from India (1890), the visit of a Brazilian nobleman to Shanghai (1889) and the visit of a French envoy to the county administration in 1895.

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223 Yi 77; Ji 83
224 *Shen Bao*, 6 February 1884
225 Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi*, juan 5, p. 22
226 *Shen Bao*, 9 March 1874
227 Ren 74
228 MacPherson, *Public Health*, p. 103
229 Ge 82
230 See Chapter Three of this thesis.
231 Shen 42
232 Wu* 86
The visits of the circus were mentioned above. There was also a three man bicycling team on a round-world trip, which rode through the streets of Shanghai in 1898.234

Chinese and foreign traders also flocked to Shanghai - in the words of the Dianshizhai, "Shanghai - hundreds of goods like stars in the sky; tens of thousands of merchants crowd together like clouds".235 By this stage the city was so prosperous that each area had its own particular type of merchandise.236 All sorts of curious and newfangled imported items from the West could be found only in certain areas and not in others.237 One of the sketches in the Dianshizhai shows a shop run by Westerners, absolutely packed with Chinese, and a great crowd of people at the door, obviously without any purchasing power - merely curious onlookers. All sorts of desk clocks and pendant lamps can be seen in the drawing. The commentary informs us that the Chinese sales-assistants can explain these gadgets in great detail, and that the variety of goods in the shop was such that "it was like being on the road to Shanyin; there were so many things to see that the eyes could not take them all in."238 Many ordinary Chinese people also came to Shanghai for a short visit, merely to have a look at the place,239 or came to Shanghai specifically to buy something.240 Sometimes people from villages in the district also came to Shanghai, for the purpose of participating in some of the celebrations, such as the semi-centennial celebrations mentioned above.241

There were more than one thousand Chinese hotels in the settlements by the beginning of the 1880s. The largest, such as the Wan'anlou 万安楼, the Jixinggong 吉星公 and the Changfa 长发 were large, imposing Western style buildings with luxurious furnishings, and could accommodate more than a thousand guests.242

The luxury of the Shanghai settlements of the time was described in a short poem quoted by Wang Tao: "Ten li of foreign territory really opens the eyes: one
could almost suspect one was actually travelling in foreign lands". In 1888 the Shen Bao published an article "An Eyewitness Account of the Foreign Territory" under the pseudonym "A Man on First Opening His Eyes" in which the author says he used to live in a small town and had never travelled outside it. He would read in the Shen Bao that Shanghai had the telegraph, telephones and electric light, but could not believe it. It was only after he had actually visited Shanghai that he could bring himself to believe these things. There was no lifestyle anything like that of Shanghai in the whole of China. This led to a perception on the part of some observers, that "Shanghai is not China".

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243 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 6 p. 4
244 Chu kai yan jie ren Yang chang shu jian pian 洋场述见篇 Shen Bao, 31 March 1888
CHAPTER THREE

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS

1. Analysis of the Chinese population

Before 1853, the Chinese population in the International Settlement numbered no more than five hundred people, and the resident foreign population was about three hundred. After the Small Sword Society uprising, large numbers of Chinese fled into the International Settlement, and by the next year the Chinese population had risen to 20,000.\(^1\) During the 1860s the Taiping armies attacked Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and even more Chinese took refuge in the International Settlement. By 1865 the Chinese population there had reached 90,587, and the foreign population 2,297. After the Taipings had been defeated, many of the Chinese returned to their home villages, and by 1870 the Chinese population had decreased to 75,047. This, of course, had a negative effect on Shanghai's economic and industrial development. Four of the six foreign banks on the Bund closed their doors. It was at this time, too, that the Major Brothers' business registered a loss, and Ernest Major decided to develop the newspaper industry.\(^2\) By 1876, however, the population had risen to 95,662, and by 1890 to 168,122. In 1895, the Chinese population in the International Settlement was 240,995, and the foreign population 4,684. In 1900 the figures were 345,276 and 6,774 respectively. The Chinese came from all over China: Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Anhui, Shandong, Hubei, Hebei, Hunan, Jiangxi, Fujian, Henan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Shanxi, Yunnan, Shaanxi, Guizhou, but the majority of them were from Jiangsu, Zhejiang,
Guangdong and Anhui. There were foreigners of more than twenty different nationalities. Most were English, Japanese, Americans and Portuguese. The situation in the French Concession was similar. According to population statistics compiled by the Conseil Municipal in 1865, the Chinese population was 55,465 and the foreigner resident population 460. Most of the Chinese at that time had taken refuge from the war. In 1879, when they held their second census, the total population of the French Concession was 33,660, of whom 33,353 were Chinese. In 1890 the Chinese population increased to 40722, and there were in addition 444 Westerners. In 1895, there were 51,758 Chinese and 430 Westerners; in 1890 the corresponding figures were 91,646 and 622.

The immigrants after the 1870s were quite different from the earlier refugees from various wars and uprisings. Shanghai was now an expanding city, a place of opportunity, and accepted people of every type. The statistics, however, do not give any information on the individual backgrounds of the migrants or their motives or expectations in coming to Shanghai. These factors are very important in gauging their contributions to the development of a new urban popular culture. In this regard, the Dianshizhai can provide much interesting material to supplement the bare statistics.

From an analysis of relevant examples from the Dianshizhai, we can classify migrants to Shanghai as below:

1. Economic refugees, fleeing the effects of natural disasters:

Generally speaking, such people were not newsworthy as individuals, and there are only three examples in the Dianshizhai which specifically note that the people concerned had fled to Shanghai after some type of natural disaster. One concerned a man from Jiangxi, who had fled to Shanghai after floods in his locality. He set up a transport business, ferrying porcelain ware between Shanghai and Jiangxi, and, after some years, made a handsome profit. This story dates from

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3 For details see Luo Zhiru 罗志如, Tongjibiao zhong zhi Shanghai 统计表中之上海 [Shanghai in statistical tables] (Nanjing: Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan 国立中央研究院 1932), pp. 22, 25, 27. These statistics do not included the large numbers of workers in the Shanghai factories who still lived in the villages around Shanghai.

4 Shanghai-shi wenxian weiyuanhui 上海市文献委员会, Shanghai renkou zhi lüe 上海人口志略 [Outline if the population of Shanghai] (Shanghai,1948), pp. 23-24

5 Xu Ke 徐珂, Qing bai lei chao 请稗类钞 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1984 reprint), Vol. IV, p. 1848

6 Zhong 48
1896, and according to the report, he had been there for more than twenty years. There are records of floods in Jiangxi in 1869 and 1876. The man whose story was recorded in the *Dianshizhai* must have fled the floods in 1869. The second example is a story dating from 1890, of a grandfather and grandson begging in the streets of Shanghai, who claimed they were from Jiangbei, and had fled the floods in that region. These people had just arrived in Shanghai, and this too corresponds with contemporary records, which show that continuous flooding occurred in the Jiangbei area during the years 1888 and 1889. The other story, dating from 1897, is of a family which had left Jiangbei some years earlier because of the floods. The father became a pedlar; one day the mother recognised their daughter walking past in the street, with whom they had lost contact for many years.

2. Those looking for opportunities:

This category can include all those immigrants who did not come to Shanghai for any other specific reason. They included people of the most ambitious variety, and also people of the most humble aspirations. This latter constituted the working class, whose main concern was to be able to earn enough money, through physical labour, to get enough to eat and keep themselves warm. Many of the most influential entrepreneurs of late nineteenth and early twentieth century China came from impoverished backgrounds, who had come to Shanghai as children or young adults, and who had struggled their way to success. Rong Zongjing 柒宗敬, Ye Chengzhong 叶澄衷, Zeng Zhu 曾铸, Zhu Dachun 朱大椿, Zhu Baosan 朱葆三 and Xu Run 徐润 are examples of such people. The following types can be seen in the pages of the *Dianshizhai*:

(a) merchants who already had a certain amount of success, and who had come to Shanghai in search of greater opportunities, such as the rich merchant from Guangdong, the merchant from Xiamen whose business was the buying and

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8 Wei 91
9 Chen Gaoyong, *Tianzai renhuo biao*, p. 1668
10 Heng 56
12 Xin 68
selling of land, or the jeweller from Nanjing who set up his jewellery shop along Nanjing Road in the International Settlement. There is also a story about one of the Fujianese merchants who travelled between Taiwan and Shanghai, transporting sugar and cotton. This type of business was extremely profitable at the time.

(b) small-time pedlars and merchants, such as the pedlar from Taizhou in Zhejiang, the rice-pedlar from Shanxi, the man from Anhui who opened a shop to sell socks and stockings, the chicken-seller from Fujian, the man from Qingpu who came to Shanghai in search of business, and the man from Chongming who started a tailors shop, employing five people.

There were even Muslim pedlars selling beef in the streets of Shanghai at the time. They had come to Shanghai towards the end of the nineteenth century.

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13 Xin 85
14 She 46. Xu Xuejun et al. (trans.), Shanghai jindai shehui jingji fazhan gaikuang 1882-1931, "Haiguan shinian baogao" [Translation of "Decennial Reports on the Ports Open to Foreign Commerce in China and Corea and on the Condition and Development of the Treaty Port Provinces"] (Shanghai: Shekeyuan chubanshe, 1985), p. 21, also mention the merchants from Nanjing in Shanghai, selling silk, jade, watches and diamonds.
15 Zhong 16. See Zhao Gang, Chen Zhongyi, Zhongguo mianye shi [History of the cotton industry in China] (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiyi gongsi, 联经出版事业公司 1977), p. 49: "According to He Qiaoyuan, Min Shu juan 38, in the seventeenth century a large amount of cotton was still being produced in Fujian, at the county level. Afterwards, the production of sugar-cane and tea became more profitable than cotton, and the peasants gradually gave up its cultivation. Peasant households in Fujian, however, continued to weave cotton. From the early Qing, merchants would transport sugarcane to Jiangnan and Zhejiang by boat, and would bring back cotton from Jiangnan to Fujian on the return trip, to supply the local cotton-weavers."
16 Zhen 46
17 Xing 88
18 Wu* 49
19 Li* 49
20 Xing 32
21 Li 16
22 Shi 87
from Nanjing, Suzhou and Yangzhou. The Muslims of Shanghai are mentioned several times in the *Dianshizhai*. They explained the significance of the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan, and gave details of the Muslim quarter in Nanjing.

(c) Peasants and others attracted to Shanghai in search of work or other opportunities. There are at least ten examples in the *Dianshizhai* of peasants, particularly women, being attracted to Shanghai to find work in the newly established factories there. Some people came from the villages to become shop attendants or waiters in restaurants, such as the villager who became an attendant in a perfume shop, or the village woman who was employed as a domestic servant, or the family from Chongming: the husband who worked as a water-carrier in the Tongwen Bookstore, the daughter in the same bookstore folding books, and the wife made some money as a washerwoman.

(d) Unscrupulous types in search of immediate wealth. These people were rather different from those mentioned above, who were happy to get enough to

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24 Li 48 xia; Shi 87
25 Wen 80
26 Yin 6. See Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Yale, 1987) p. 148: "A large community of Muslims in Nanjing, where the first mosque had been established in the late fourteenth century, used the Central-Asian connections to trade in jade ornaments, felt and leather goods."
27 See Pott, *History of Shanghai*, p. 136 "Industry has attracted a large number of labourers to Shanghai from different parts of the country. It has led to the gathering together of men, women and children in the mills and factories..."
28 Bing 17
29 Wu 24 xia
30 The Tongwen Shuju 同文书局 was established by Xu Yuzi 徐裕子, from Guangdong, after the success of the Dianshizhai Publishing Company. The Tongwen Shuju, the *Dianshizhai* and the *Baishishanfang* 拜石山房, established by a man from Ningbo, were in competition. See Yao Gonghe, *Shanghai xianhua* p. 16; Zheng Yimei, *Shu bao hua jiu* p. 85. Xu Yuzi was the younger brother of Xu Ren. Writing of this incident, Xu Run says "I thoroughly supported this, and also invested shares... In the year yinmao *壬午* the seventeenth year of the Guangxu period [1891], the Court ordered that one hundred sets of the *Tushu jicheng* 图书集成 be printed by the lithographic method. The Tongwen Shuju undertook this task, and work started in the year renchen *壬辰* [1892]. In the year jiawu *甲午* [1894] the complete set was submitted to the throne. Its fame and success grew day by day. Within ten years, however, too many copies had been printed, and the amount of tied-up capital had become prohibitive. The work was discontinued because of such difficulties. Eventually in the year wuxu *戊午* the twenty fourth year of the Guangxu period [1898] the project came to an end. (Xu Run, *Xu Yuzhai xizu nianpu*, p. 31)
31 Yin 67
survive through their own labours. There was a case from 1886 of a group of poor people from Xuzhou and Shandong who had previously made a living transporting fruit. On arrival in Shanghai they decided that it would be a pity not to get rich quickly in such a place. They managed to get hold of some guns, and held up the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India. They were all eventually taken into custody.32 There were also all sorts of shady businessmen, such as the man from Hunan who established an opium den,33 and the Cantonese who ran opium dens and brothels.34

The opium dens run by the Cantonese were particularly famous. Even if the surroundings were plain and simple, their way of preparing the opium was done with the greatest care.35 There was also the old woman from the countryside who established a trysting-place - a discreet place for those engaged in an illicit affair to meet.36 Sorceresses, Daoist priests, bogus Buddhist monks and nuns and adherents of other religions and sects also made their way to Shanghai. The examples in the Dianshizhai are all about how such people used their hocus-pocus to cheat money from people, such as the witch from Nanjing,37 the sorcerer from Guangdong,38 the Daoist priest from Hubei39 and so on.

(e). Those with other motives. These people tended to be atypical. One is about a mother who brought her daughter to Shanghai, in search of a son-in-law: "A certain woman from Ningjun 宁郡 [Nanjing] had a daughter with jade-like skin as smooth as ice; she was very attractive. She had reached marriageable age, and [the mother] was in search of a son-in-law to be a good spouse for her. She decided that only in a prosperous place like Shanghai were men of talent to be found, so she conceived the idea of taking her daughter to Shanghai."40 Another is the case of a

32 Xin 84. Guns could be purchased from various shops selling foreign goods, and advertisements for them appeared from time to time in the Shen Bao. For example, the Shen Bao of 29 March 1875 carried an advertisement inserted by Augustine Heard and Co. for Remington rifles from the United States, together with a note that any "gentry or officials" who wished to purchase such guns should contact that firm.
33 Ding 47
34 Wei 64 xia; Shu 72
35 Cf Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang, 20 xia
36 You 69. The Chinese term is taiji 等基
37 Wu 22
38 Chen 21
39 Li 63
40 Shu 86
man who had fight with his wife, and in a fit of rage fled to Shanghai, where he eventually found a job as a shop-assistant.41

3. Criminals on the run, taking refuge in the International Settlement. In a city of a constantly unstable population, where the origins of individuals and their backgrounds was very unclear, it was easy enough to blend in with the crowd. As the *Dianshizhai* put it, "The area to the north of Shanghai [the foreign settlements] is a mishmash from everywhere; bandits and the like can hide themselves there."42 There was the case of the rich man from Suzhou, who was an opium addict and illegal gambler; a warrant had been issued for his arrest by the local authorities. He had no choice but to flee to the International Settlement in Shanghai.43 Another case was the hoodlum from Hubei who had broken some law there, and a warrant was put out for his arrest. He fled to Shanghai, where he opened a brothel and made his living by this means.44 There was also the case of the prostitute from Suzhou. The *Dianshizhai* did not specify for what crime she was wanted, but the authorities in Suzhou sent their men to Shanghai, and caught up with her in the brothel in which she worked.45 The three cases mentioned above were newsworthy because their previous crimes had been revealed. One can imagine that such examples were in the minority.

Shanghai was not only a place of refuge for Chinese criminals; it was a place of refuge for foreign criminals as well. As Pott put it, "the need of a gaol was soon realized, for Shanghai from the start had to cope with a criminal class, sailors on shore who often gave serious trouble, and the influx of Chinese into the Settlement brought many of the undesirable class".46 The *Dianshizhai* does not give any details about foreigners with shady pasts - of course, such information would not have been available to them. There are only some stories about disorderly sailors, for example the American and two English unemployed sailors who caused some trouble in the International Settlement, and were arrested by the police,47 or the two Americans who got into a gunfight in the Hongkou district,
and who were arrested and escorted to the United States Consulate. There was also the case of the second mate on a steamship who arranged for a Cantonese prostitute to visit him on the boat. He got drunk and became violent, and ended up stabbing the girl, wounding her seriously.

4. People who were not criminals, but who had transgressed the moral boundaries of their own localities, and found it more comfortable to live in the morally relaxed atmosphere of Shanghai. Most of these were illicit lovers. As Yao Gonghe said: "for people who suffered the disapproval of public opinion, Shanghai was the only place in the world to which they could escape. Unaccepted elsewhere, only in Shanghai were such relationships not unusual, and so they felt secure ... whenever something happened to offend public morality, public opinion would generally have it that it was lucky such a thing occurred in Shanghai. If it were to occur inside China proper, even if the perpetrators were to escape the net of the law, they would not be able to avoid the scorn of society." There was the case of the widow from Pudong [an area near Shanghai] who had gone to Shanghai so as to be able to live with her lover. Her son and some of the fellow-villagers tracked her down, and forced her to go back home, and the case of the prostitute from Ningbo who eloped with her benefactor to Shanghai, or the woman from Chuansha [a county near Shanghai] who eloped with her lover to Shanghai; she, too, was forced home by her fellow-villagers. There was the woman from Jiangsu who despised her husband because he was too short and ugly, and went to Shanghai, where she found another lover, and the husband who came to Shanghai looking for his runaway wife. He reported the matter to the police, saying that he had already discovered where she was, with her lover in an inn, and wanted the police to go and arrest them. All these examples are those of unsuccessful fugitives. The successful ones simply disappeared, and became indistinguishable from any quite, unobtrusive, ordinary person.
5. Those kidnapped or otherwise deceived into coming to Shanghai. Amongst the population of Shanghai, especially amongst those engaged in less respectable occupations, such as prostitution, the number of those who were kidnapped was quite large. One story tells of the woman from Guangdong who had kidnapped five or six children, so that in a few years time she could sell the girls into brothels, and the boys into coolie labour.\(^{56}\) There was also a story of a former prostitute who had been kidnapped from her home in Jiangbei and sold into a brothel,\(^{57}\) or the story of someone who migrated to Shanghai, and later bought a young girl as a servant. Some time later he discovered that the girl was from his home village; her parents had died, and she had been kidnapped and sold in Shanghai.\(^{58}\)

6. Those who came to Shanghai because of other factors, such as military strife. The *Dianshizhai* was founded long after the Taiping Rebellion, and the people who had fled from the fighting had already been settled in Shanghai for two or three decades by that time. Stories about them had no reason to mention the original reasons they came to Shanghai. Only the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the consequences of the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki were reflected in the pages of the *Dianshizhai*. After China's defeat, some Fujianese fled from Taiwan to Shanghai, bringing some money with them. One example was the Fujianese merchant from Taiwan who fled to Shanghai and started a small business there; some time later he met up with his son, with whom he had lost contact; it turned out that both father and son had decided to leave Taiwan for Shanghai, but each did not know the other's intentions;\(^{59}\) another example is of some people whose boat overturned on the way from Taiwan to Shanghai; they were saved, but all their possessions were lost.\(^{60}\)

As far as foreigners were concerned, the *Dianshizhai* not only had no interest in their backgrounds, but often even their nationalities or their professions were not made explicit; they were referred to simply as "a certain Westerner". From the material in the *Dianshizhai*, we can divide the foreigners in Shanghai into the following categories:

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\(^{56}\) Xin 57
\(^{57}\) Heng 56
\(^{58}\) Shen 13
\(^{59}\) Wen 24
\(^{60}\) Yu 40
(a) Foreign diplomats and their families;\textsuperscript{61}
(b) Missionaries;\textsuperscript{62}
(c) Doctors and lawyers;\textsuperscript{63}
(d) Employees in foreign firms;\textsuperscript{64}
(e) Soldiers, for example French soldiers,\textsuperscript{65} German soldiers,\textsuperscript{66} English soldiers,\textsuperscript{67} and Japanese soldiers;\textsuperscript{68}
(f) Sailors;\textsuperscript{69}
(g) Policemen, including Sikhs,\textsuperscript{70}
(h) Hoodlums and swindlers.\textsuperscript{71}

Apart from the groups of Chinese migrants discussed above, another group can be distinguished, which we might call "wanderers". Refugees from various natural disasters, or simply rural poverty, who were not able to find employment and settle in Shanghai, as well as assorted fugitives from justice, might be considered as belonging to this group. Peter Burke considered "sailors, soldiers, beggars and thieves" as the major constituents of his category of "wanderers", and described them as "neither urban nor rural, a number of itinerant occupational groups [which] also formed a sub-culture".\textsuperscript{72} He goes on to say that "beggars and thieves might be described as a counter-culture rather than a sub-culture, in the sense that they not only differed from the world around them, but also rejected it."\textsuperscript{73}

Burke's "counter-culture" type is what Pott, writing in an earlier idiom, called "the undesirable classes". There was no shortage of such types in Shanghai.

\textsuperscript{61} Li* 39; Wu 55
\textsuperscript{62} Li* 39; Yi 43; Yi* 2; You 12
\textsuperscript{63} Hai 74; Li* 39
\textsuperscript{64} Ji 1; Jia 81 xia; Bing 8
\textsuperscript{65} Xing 24
\textsuperscript{66} Yi 48
\textsuperscript{67} Ren 18
\textsuperscript{68} Yi 5
\textsuperscript{69} Yi* 53; Wu 96 xia; Wu 94
\textsuperscript{70} You 8; Li* 60; Xu 49; Si 69
\textsuperscript{71} Bing 77 xia; Wu 37. The first of these examples was about an American who exhibited a bodiless head; the second about a foreigner who exhibited an Italian dwarf in Shanghai, and later exhibited him in Hangzhou and other places. This dwarf was somewhat of a celebrity in Shanghai; he was also mentioned by Ge Yuanxu, \textit{Shanghai fanchang ji. juan} 2 p. 33.
\textsuperscript{72} Burke, \textit{Popular Culture}, p. 42
\textsuperscript{73} idem p. 47
Amongst the foreigners, too, one can clearly distinguish representatives of élite Western culture: - diplomats, missionaries, doctors and lawyers, as distinct from the sailors, soldiers, hoodlums and swindlers - representatives of the "sub-culture". The social and cultural mosaic in Shanghai was very complex, with different social groups representing different types of culture. It was this complex mosaic which determined Shanghai's characteristic nature.

The future course of Shanghai - its atmosphere and its character, and in particular the degree to which it would accept Western culture and develop its own characteristic popular culture - had its basis in the heterogeneous nature of the mixed population of Shanghai.

2. Occupations and social groups

Wealth was much more important as an indicator of social status in the settlements than in the Chinese City, where membership of the gentry was the main criterion. Social status was expressed in a variety of public and private rituals.

The richest group of Chinese in the settlements were the merchants, and compradors working for foreign firms. There are numerous references to merchants in the Dianshizhai, for example "varieties of merchandise in Shanghai are as numerous stars in the sky, and thousands of merchants gather there"74 and "Shanghai has become a meeting place for all types of merchants from all over the country"75 They were mainly involved in the silk and tea trades, in importing foreign goods, or in managing local banks.76 The most powerful amongst these were the Cantonese merchants.77 Apart from these, other wealthy people mentioned in the Dianshizhai were the real estate merchants from Xiamen, Fujian and the merchants from Zhejiang involved in the silk trade;78 the merchant from Nanjing who had a jewellery shop on Nanjing Road79 and the Shanghaiese merchant who became rich importing foreign goods.80 According to incomplete statistics, there were already more than two hundred foreign firms in Shanghai by

74 Yin 62
75 Ji 28
76 Ji 28; Yin 62
77 Mu 60
78 Ding 11
79 She 46
80 Hai 55
Becoming a comprador, or a manager in a foreign firm, was one of the roads to wealth.

Public rituals, such as celebrations and religious ceremonies, gave merchants an opportunity to show off their wealth. The dedicatory ceremony of the Temple of the Queen of Heaven (the funds for which were provided by a wealthy Cantonese merchant) in 1884 and the subsequent "welcoming the spirit" ceremony in 1886 were on such a lavish scale that the Dianshizhai thought them newsworthy. In 1894 the Dianshizhai reported the case of two merchants from Guangdong, Mr. Lu and Mr. Lin, who organised a celebration on the 15th day of the 7th month, the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. The celebration was "luxurious in the extreme", and obviously the two men must have had very substantial wealth to be able to afford such an extravagance.

In 1893, on the occasion of Shanghai's Fiftieth Jubilee, the merchant guilds organised lantern displays and processions; of these the lantern procession organised by the Cantonese merchants was the biggest and most colourful. The Dianshizhai dedicated two whole pages to its description, and noted: "most of the rich and powerful merchants are from Guangdong. The lanterns they made were naturally unique, and far superior to those of the other associations. As they meandered past the racecourse, there was not a single one which was not applauded and acclaimed." The procession was led by the Guangdong Association: "Of all the lanterns of the various Chinese associations, those of the Cantonese were the best". They were followed by a band and thirty odd soldiers in uniform. A prominent place in the procession was taken by the "Guangdong Association Auspicious Lion", preceded by a huge canopy identifying it. The Guangchengchang Opium Den, run by the Cantonese, was represented by a huge lantern with the Chinese character for "long life", large enough to hold 48 large candles. There were also 70 to 80 huge fish lanterns in the procession, and children dressed as characters in more than ten traditional Chinese plays. The commentary reads: "Extremely skillful and of great workmanship; they are wonderfully true to life. The people in the procession all wear satin clothing and multicoloured vests; embroidered shoes and red ribbons in their queues. The

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81 Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai fanchang ji*, p. 2
82 Yi* 55; Xin 72; Heng 87
83 Jia 53-54; Xin 68
84 She 15
85 Mu 59-60
spectators along the route are like being on the road to Shanyin; there were too many things to see that the eyes could not take them all in. There are many rich merchants from Guangdong, and their lanterns were naturally much better than those of any other association. As the procession came wending its way past the Racecourse, everybody applauded and shouted approval."\textsuperscript{86}

The Guangdong Association was followed by the Ningbo Association. They carried all sorts of coloured lanterns, of course, and held high a huge lantern with the characters for "Ningbo" inscribed on it.\textsuperscript{87} Other merchants were divided according to trade, such as silk merchants, tea merchants and so on.\textsuperscript{88}

Private rituals, such as marriages and funerals, also indicated a degree of material wealth, and therefore social status.\textsuperscript{89} There was the story of the real estate speculator from Fujian, who bought a plot of land which happened to have several tombs on it. He forced the men who were selling the land to have the tombs removed. Afterwards his daughter went mad, and an exorcism was included in the girl's wedding ceremony. The reason the Dianshizhai reported this case was to castigate the merchant for his immoral behaviour, and hinted that his daughter's misfortune was some sort of retribution. The wedding ceremony was on a huge scale and was certainly well beyond the means of an ordinary family.\textsuperscript{90} The wedding ceremony of the jeweller from Nanjing, mentioned above, was also on a lavish scale.\textsuperscript{91} The funeral of Chen Zhuping, the "Good Man of Zhehu" was even more extravagant.\textsuperscript{92}

Another sign of wealth was the possession of a concubine. The ostensible reason for taking a concubine was often that the main wife had had no children, but in reality only the rich could afford to support a concubine. There was a practice in

\textsuperscript{86} Mu 59-60
\textsuperscript{87} Mu 62. Susan Mann, "The Ningpo Pang and Financial Power at Shanghai" (in Mark Elvin and William Skinner, \textit{The Chinese City Between Two Worlds} (Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 73-96 is a detailed account of the formation and development of the Ningbo Association in Shanghai. See also Yoshinobu Shiba, "Ningpo and its Hinterland", in G. William Skinner (ed.), \textit{The City in Late Imperial China} (Stanford University Press, 1977) pp. 390-439. See also Mary Backus Rankin, \textit{Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China - Zhejiang Province, 1895-1911} (Stanford University Press, 1986), p. 76: "In the 1880s and 1890s there were two or three daily steamers between Shanghai and Ningbo"; p. 78: "Zhejiang (particularly Ningbo men) had become leaders in Shanghai banking in order to finance their businesses in that city."
\textsuperscript{88} Mu 63
\textsuperscript{89} See Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, \textit{Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century} (Yale University Press, 1897), p. 80: "Weddings and funerals were unquestionably the most important life-cycle rituals in China."
\textsuperscript{90} Xin 85
\textsuperscript{91} She 46
\textsuperscript{92} Wu* 4. More details on Chen Zhuping are given in Chapter Four, Part One of this thesis.
1889: The Funeral of Chen Zhuping, the "Good Man of Zhe-hu".
Shanghai at the time, known as "taking a bride by force"\textsuperscript{93}, where the man would, without prior warning, send a group of men to the bride's house to steal her away, and then marry her without further ado. This state of affairs came about because poor men could not afford to pay the dowry demanded by the bride's family. There are at least twelve examples of this practice recorded in the \textit{Dianshizhai}. Nine of these occurred in Shanghai or its suburbs;\textsuperscript{94} and one in each of Shaoxing,\textsuperscript{95} Hangzhou\textsuperscript{96} and Wuhu.\textsuperscript{97} Almost all of these kidnappings occurred because the bride's family was demanding an excessively high dowry; occasionally it was a case of the man fearing that the woman might change her mind.

Maintaining a concubine was the privilege of the rich. For example, the silk merchant from Zhejiang mentioned above already had a wife and a concubine, but also got involved with another young woman. He set her up in a separate house, but his wife and concubine found out about it and set up a dreadful uproar. In the sketch accompanying this story, we can see that the furnishings in his mistress's house were particularly opulent, and that she also kept up with the fashion of the day by having a Western clock on the wall.\textsuperscript{98} It was not necessary to be young to take a concubine - money was the only prerequisite. There was an old man, over sixty, who bought a young girl as a concubine. The girl was extremely miserable, and when the old man asked why, it turned out that she already had a lover in her home village, but because her family was poor she had been sold into concubinage. The old man had a kind heart, and adopted her as his daughter, and the story ended happily for all concerned.\textsuperscript{99} Sometimes a man of fairly moderate means would take a concubine. The \textit{Dianshizhai} mentions a local man, who had accumulated a fairly small sum of money, but who nevertheless had a wife and a concubine,\textsuperscript{100} and the man from Pudong who worked as a mechanic on a steamship. His salary was very good, and he too had a wife and a concubine.\textsuperscript{101} The women who became concubines were mainly from poor families, whose parents had no choice but to

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{qiang qin} 抢亲
\textsuperscript{94} Hai 38; Ren 73; Heng 14; Si 79; Mu 74; Bing 32; Wu* 80; Zhong 94; Ji 72;
\textsuperscript{95} Wei 63
\textsuperscript{96} Chou 82
\textsuperscript{97} Bing 82
\textsuperscript{98} Ding 11. There is also another story about a merchant, this one involved in the importation of foreign goods, who took a concubine on the grounds that his main wife had had no children (Hai 55)
\textsuperscript{99} Xin 25
\textsuperscript{100} Bing 74
\textsuperscript{101} Yi* 64
1884: A silk merchant from Zhejiang, his wife and his concubine. They were involved in a fight in the home of another one of the man's mistresses.
sell them. There are two examples in the *Dianshizhai*. One was "a certain man from Puzuo 浦左 [Pudong] who lived in Shanghai whose poverty was more than he could bear, so he sold his daughter as a concubine to a certain Mr. Fu 傅 from Zhousu 周浦, and received two hundred yuan for her."102 The other was about a rich Cantonese who paid one hundred and eighty yuan to buy a maid-servant by the name of Huang 黄 as a concubine. Later he claimed that she was not a virgin, and demanded his money back.103 There is also a mention of a certain Cantonese who discovered his concubine was not chaste, so he sold her to someone else.104

The rich could also buy a concubine from one of the high class brothels. Such a prostitute would not have been acceptable as a wife, but quite acceptable as a concubine.105

As Macpherson has pointed out, "As a result of the growth of the settlements, and increasingly from 1862 onwards, large numbers of prostitutes moved into the settlements from the walled city".106 Different classes of prostitutes serviced different clienteles. The most exclusive prostitutes were the *changsan tangzi* 长三堂子.107 According to the *Illustrated Guide to Shanghai*, published in 1898, there were two hundred and thirteen *changsan* brothels in the settlements at that time. The names of 1,109 courtesans were recorded.108 The *changsan tangzi* were highly accomplished performers and entertainers, and their brothels were luxurious. They were amongst the first establishments to use gas and electric lighting, as well as other Western luxuries such as clocks and perfume. Spending

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102 Xing 48
103 Li* 24
104 You 72
107 See Zhi-mi-tu-ren, 指迷途人 [The man who points out the wrong path], *Haishang yeyou bei lan* 海上冶游备览 [Complete guide to brothel-visiting in Shanghai], *juan* 1, pp. 1-2; Wang Shunu 王书奴, *Zhongguo changji shi* 中国娼妓史 (Shanghai: Shenghuo Shudian 生活书店, 1934), p. 311; Wang Laioweng 汪了翁, *Shanghai liushi nian huajie shi* 上海六十年花界史 History of sixty years of the demi-monde in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shi xin shuju 时新书局, 1922), p. 11; Gail Hershatter, "The Hierarchy of Shanghai Prostitution 1870-1949", *Modern China*, No. 15 (October, 1989), pp. 463-498. According to Hershatter (p. 468), "the term *changsan* (long three') is derived from a domino with two groups of three dots each. Traditionally, *changsan* prostitutes charged 3 yuan for drinking with guests and three more for spending the night with them; the name remained long after the fee structure had changed."
108 Hushang youxi zhuren 沪上游戏主人, *Haishang youxi tushuo* 海上游戏图说 [Illustrated Guide to Shanghai], *juan* 3, p. 10
1888: A banquet attended by a group of *changsan tangzi*. The one in the middle of the sketch (eighth from the left) is wearing Western clothes; her bound feet can be seen beneath the skirt. The man fourth from the left is in typical dandy attire, even wearing his sunglasses indoors.
some time in such a brothel was one of the seven great pleasures of a visit to Shanghai. The *Dianshizhai* records a story dating from 1889, of a man from Tongzhou who was employed as a comprador in a foreign firm. An old friend who was about to leave Shanghai told him that he had seen all the sights, but had never enjoyed the company of a *changsan tangzi*. This was a matter of great regret. The comprador told him that that was easily arranged, so he invited him to a feast, and asked a courtesan to accompany them. At that time the charge for the company of such a courtesan was three *yuan* per person. A feast would have involved nearly ten guests and as many prostitutes. Thirty *yuan* would have gone in paying for the company of the women. In 1890, the average wage for a factory worker was 0.174 *yuan* per day, and in 1895 the wage for a trained women worker was only 0.16 *yuan* per day. This lifestyle could not even be dreamed of by ordinary people.

The *changsan tangzi* were very expensive, and the process by which one made their acquaintance was also very complicated. Introductions were necessary; a visit to a brothel started with tea and conversation to establish a degree of rapport. This process was called *da cha wei* "to encircle through tea-drinking". The prostitute had the right to refuse a client, or to hire a private detective from the settlements to enquire into the background of a new client. One of the sketches in the *Dianshizhai* depicts the scene inside one such brothel on Si Malu. A steady stream of men are entering or leaving the brothel; those there are "tea-drinking and encircling".

The visitor to Shanghai who lacked the necessary connections could not make the acquaintance of a *changsan tangzi*, even if he had the money. In such cases, he could go to the second class brothels, where prostitutes known as *yao'er* were to be found. These were clustered together, in Qipan Street. The madam would announce the arrival of a client, and the girls would line up, allowing the man to choose. The *Dianshizhai* tells of a young man from

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109 Yi* 55  
110 Wang Liaoweng, *Shanghai liushi nian huajie shi* (Shanghai Shixin shuju, 1922), p. 9  
112 Hua-ye-lian-nong, *Haishanghua liezhuan*, Chapter 1, p. 2  
113 Geng 84  
114 This term is also named after a type of domino; it means "one-two", one *yuan* for providing melon seeds and fruit, and two for providing drinking companionship. See Hershatter, "Shanghai Prostitution", p. 469  
115 Shen 93
1884: Inside the boudoir of a *chang-san tangzi*. This brothel was said to be in West Qipan Street.
Zhejiang who was at a loss when confronted with this treatment.\textsuperscript{116} The larger \textit{yao'er} brothels had thirty or forty rooms; the smaller ones ten or so.\textsuperscript{117} The first visit cost six \textit{yuan} and subsequent visits two; there were no other formalities, and no risk of being rejected.\textsuperscript{118} The lowest class prostitutes were the \textit{ye ji} 野鸡, the "wild chickens" and those who worked in the \textit{huayanjian} 花烟间, the "Flower and Opium Rooms". The former were streetwalkers, the latter worked in low-class opium dens, in which one could smoke opium and enjoy the services of a prostitute for one \textit{yuan}. They were mainly frequented by unmarried coolies and rickshaw-pullers.\textsuperscript{119}

Some small businessmen or employees in foreign companies could also reach a fairly respectable standard of living. There was the rice-pedlar from Shanxi who was able to buy a plot of land and build a house on it - quite an achievement, considering the rapidly expanding population of Shanghai at the time.\textsuperscript{120} There was also the chicken pedlar from Fujian, whose life was described by the \textit{Dianshizhai} as being "chicken-ribs career", by which they meant that he was not rich, but certainly made enough money to keep himself well-fed.\textsuperscript{121}

Stewards, butlers, servants and even carriage-drivers employed by foreigners also received higher salaries than factory workers. One item in the \textit{Dianshizhai} refers to a steward in a Western household, somewhere in the Hongkou district. He is smoking a cigarette, impeccably dressed, and expected to be addressed as "Sir".\textsuperscript{122} Another man, a mere servant in a foreign firm, would lounge around like a dissolute aristocrat.\textsuperscript{123} This sort of lifestyle, of course, was connected with their relatively high incomes.

\textsuperscript{116} Yi 43
\textsuperscript{117} Mei-Hua-An-Zhu, \textit{Shenjiang tushuo, juan xia}, p. 13
\textsuperscript{118} Wang Liaoweng, \textit{Shanghai Liushinian huajie shi}, pp. 20-21
\textsuperscript{119} Huang Shiquan, \textit{Songnan mengying lu}, p. 102
\textsuperscript{120} Xing 88
\textsuperscript{121} Ji lei shengya 鸡肋生涯 Li* 48 xia. The expression "chicken ribs" refers to something one is reluctant to give up, even though it is both tasteless and meaningless. The allusion is from the History of the Later Han Dynasty: "Yang Xiu 杨修 ... was in the service of Cao Cao 曹操. When Cao conquered Hanzhong 汉中, he wanted to send armed forces to suppress Liu Bei 刘备. He was not able to take [that territory]. He wanted to keep up the advance, but it was difficult to attack. His army officers did not know whether to proceed or to stop. Cao Cao then gave them a password, he just said "chicken ribs, no more" [鸡肋而已]. Other than Cao Cao no one knew what this meant. Yang Xiu alone said: "chicken ribs - if you eat them you haven't gained much, but if you leave them it's a pity. Lord Cao has decided to retreat" [夫鸡肋，食之则无所得，弃之则如可惜，公必计决矣]. - \textit{Hou Han Shu} 后汉书 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1971) Vol. IV, p. 1789
\textsuperscript{122} xiansheng 先生 Jin 41
\textsuperscript{123} Zhong 95
Another interesting development worth mentioning is that tailors specialising in Western clothing had set up business in Shanghai at least as early as 1889. The *Dianshizhai* mentions these, known as the "red-clique tailors", and tailors who made Chinese clothes, known as the "local-clique tailors". It would seem that most "red-clique tailors" came from Ningbo; the *Dianshizhai* mentions one of them by name, Zhou Zijiao 周子蕉.126

Wang Tao mentioned the popularity of sewing machines in Shanghai as early as 1875: "In recent times this machine has become very popular. Every tailor buys one; they can replace ten seamstresses."127

During the 1880s and 1890s, Shanghaiese were quite conservative in their dress, preferring traditional Chinese clothing. The material they used, however, was imported from the West. From the evidence in the *Dianshizhai*, even fashionable types, such as the dandies, still cultivated a long queue and wore long robes of silk and satin. Compradors also wore traditional Chinese clothing. Yen=p'ing Hao remarked that "many of them liked the Chinese style, such as the long gown of blue silk and the closely fitting black cap on the shaven head." Some Chinese who had returned to China from overseas, such as the interpreter of the Municipal Council, Yan Yongjing 颜永京, soon changed their clothing to the Chinese style. The main exceptions were some particularly daring prostitutes, who occasionally wore Western clothing. In two of the sketches

124 Wu* 80, *Hongbang caifeng 红帮裁缝 Benbang caifeng 本帮裁缝*. Older people in Shanghai still use these terms to refer to Western and Chinese tailors. According to Wu Shenyuan, *Shanghai zuizao de zhongzhong*, pp. 4-5, the term derives from the fact that Western clothes were very popular, and so tailors who made them were "in luck" (*zou hongyun 走红运*). Carpenters who repaired Western ships were known as *hongbang mugong 红帮木工* "red-clique carpenters". See *Shanghai-shi gongshang xingzheng guanliju ji Shanghai diyi jidian gongyeju jiqi gongye shiliaozu (ed.)*, *Shanghai minzu jiqi gongye [Shanghai national machinery industry]* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1966), Vol. I, pp. 59-60. According to *Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi, (ed.)*, *Shanghai cidian* (p. 321), the Western tailors were originally called *feng bang 奉帮* because most of them had come from Fenghua 奉化, in Zhejiang. The term was later misinterpreted into *hong bang*.

125 ibid. p. 50

126 Wu 80

127 Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi, juan 5*, p. 14

128 Shen Bao, 3 September 1895

129 Chen 49, Shu 48

130 Heng 37


132 Yi* 48 xia. See Yu Xingmin 于醒民, *Shanghai 1862 nian 上海 1862 年* (Shanghai in the Year 1862) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1991) p. 465, who also mentions Yan Yongjing. Yu's evidence is a collection of photographs of Yan's family, still kept in Shanghai.
one can see prostitutes in upper-class brothels wearing Japanese, Manchu and Western costumes; beneath the Western-style skirt one can even see the pointed shoes of bound feet.133

The only Chinese man in the Dianshizhai shown in Western costume was Zhan Wu 詹五, the "Giant of Anhui",134 who was somewhat of a side-show attraction because of his extraordinary height.135 He was very famous at the time, and many books on Shanghai mention him. For example, Liu Yanong wrote of him: "Zhan Wu was a man from She 謝 county in Anhui. He was nine chi and four cun [3.13m!] tall. So people called him a giant. He was an inkmaker by trade. When he first came to Shanghai, he earned his keep at the Zhan Gongwu Inkshop 詹公五墨店, which was owned by a relative. Sometimes he would go into the city, where the foreigners scrutinised him carefully, thinking that he would be quite a curiosity. They offered him several hundred dollars, and invited him to go overseas, to be exhibited. He travelled the continent of Europe for three years. Those who had invited him reaped a huge profit, and they shared a small portion of it with him. The giant consequently had several thousand dollars in his money-belt. He married a foreign woman and returned to sell foreign merchandise. When I was young it was still possible to see him".136 Zhan Wu was mentioned twice in the Dianshizhai, in 1886 and 1887. In the commentary, the artist, Fu Jie, mentions that he had heard of the "Giant of Anhui" twenty years earlier.137 On both occasions Zhan Wu is wearing Western clothing. However, this was after he had returned from a tour overseas, and his wearing Western apparel cannot be considered typical.138 It

133 Yin 18; Wei 15
134 Anhui changren 安徽长人
135 Ren 12; Chou 24
136 Liu Yanong, Shanghai xianhua, p. 82; see also Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji, juan 2, p. 23; Chen Qiyuan 陈其元, Yongxianzai biji [Notes from the Studio of Mediocrity and Leisure] (in Zhang Bofeng 資伯鋒, Gu Ya 竇亞, Jindai baihai [Unofficial records of modern times] Vol. 10 (Sichuan: Renmin chubanshe, 1988), pp. 396-397). Jerome Ch'en, China and the West (plates between 234-225), provides a photograph of an advertisement dating from 1851 for an exhibition in Hyde Park, London. The advertisement reads: "One of the Chief Lion's of the Day - Times. The Chinese Lady, Pwan-Ye-Koo, With Small Lotus Feet, only 2 1/2 inches in Length! Her Native Femme de Chambre, Chinese Professor of Music, Two Interesting Chinese Children, Male and Female - 5 and 7 Years of Age, and Suite, Exhibiting Daily from 11 till 1, 2 till 5, and 6 till 10, at the Chinese Collection, Albert Gate, Hyde Park. The Lady Pwan-Ye-Koo will sing a selection of Chinese airs, and will be accompanied by the Professor, on Chinese Musical Instruments, each hour during their Exhibiting. Admission to the Two Exhibitions, One Shilling".
137 Ren 12
138 Zhan Wu was also mentioned in a Western history of freaks and oddities: "During the 1881 circus season, townspeople accross New England were handed a courier featuring "The Unquestioned Goliath of the Century, CHANG, THE CHINESE GIANT, Undoubtedly the Tallest,
would seem that the main customers of the "red-clique tailors" must have been Westerners.\textsuperscript{139}

The dandies still wore traditional Chinese clothing, but showed deference to modernity by smoking a cigarette,\textsuperscript{140} wearing dark glasses, or carrying an umbrella. Wearing dark glasses and carrying an umbrella were not dependent on the weather. These affectations of the dandies were mentioned in the commentaries, and are clearly visible in many sketches.\textsuperscript{141} It would seem that dark glasses were quite valuable at that time, because spectacles were amongst the items confiscated in return for services in some of the brothels.\textsuperscript{142} In the late Qing novel \textit{Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed Over Two Decades} \textsuperscript{143} it is mentioned that prostitutes in the late Qing period liked wearing dark glasses, but there is no evidence of this in the \textit{Dianshizhai}. Perhaps it refers to a later period. Some of the richer compradors also absorbed some aspects of Western lifestyle, such as the comprador who furnished his house entirely with Western furniture,\textsuperscript{144} or the comprador's family in a story in the \textit{Dianshizhai} dating from 1896 which even had a pet dog, which was described as a "lap-dog from the West".\textsuperscript{145}

Most of the immigrant population into Shanghai was absorbed by the factories, and the major factories of the time were silk filatures and other fabric

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\textsuperscript{139} The Western-style handkerchief was very popular in Shanghai; in 1859, 89,913 dozen handkerchiefs were imported; by 1884 this number had reached 385,964 dozen. Western-style socks, however, were not popular. They were not imported until 1882, and even then in very small quantities. Perhaps socks, like underwear, are items of apparel so personal, that traditional styles remain long after more "external" clothes have approximated Western fashions.

\textsuperscript{140} According to Sun Yutang, \textit{Zhongguo jindai gongyeshi ziliao}, Vol. I, pp. 148-149, and Shanghai shehui kexueyuan jingji yanjiusuo 上海社会科学経済研究所(ed.) \textit{Nanyang xiongdi yancao gongsi shiliao} [Historical materials on tobacco companies of compatriots in Southeast Asia] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 1958) p. 1, cigars and cigarettes (i.e. tobacco wrapped in paper as distinct from a traditional pipe) were first introduced into Shanghai in 1890 by the firm Mustard & Co. (\textit{Lao Jin Long Yanghuang 老隆洋行}). We can see from sketches in the \textit{Dianshizhai}, however, that cigarette-smoking was fashionable as early as 1888.

\textsuperscript{141} Chen 49; Shu 48; Yin 18; Geng 84; Geng 72; Mao 30; Xin* 8

\textsuperscript{142} Xing 64

\textsuperscript{143} Wu Jianren, \textit{Guai xianzhuang}. Chapter 11, pp. 90-91

\textsuperscript{144} ibid.

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Xifang lai de habagou} 西方来的哈吧狗 Heng 87
manufacturers. Most of the workers in these factories were women; on as many as nine occasions women working in silk filatures or fabric factories were mentioned in the Dianshizhai. During the 1890s, the Keechong [Qichang] Filature Association employed 500 women, and the Ewo [Yihe] Silk Filature 1000 women.

According to official statistics, the number of women workers in Shanghai greatly exceeded the number of male manual workers. For example, in 1899 there were 34,500 workers in the International Settlement, of whom 20,000 were women, 7,500 men and 7,000 children. The Dianshizhai corroborates these statistics. With a few exceptions, such as skilled tradesmen, such as the master-worker in the shipbuilding factory, and the lantern-repairer, the men were all labourers working on road construction.

In 1897 the Dianshizhai printed a story about the Bureau of Road Construction hiring a number of coolies, and how they were mistreated by the foreman. Most of these men were single, and would form groups to hire rooms in the most dilapidated lodgings available. The Dianshizhai mentioned some of these men who worked for the Bureau of Road Construction: Chen Changfa from Zhejiang and Zhang A-sheng from Jiangbei, who shared a small room, or the man from Wuxi, who lost his job and was unable to pay the rent; he under pressure from the landlord to pay the arrears, and ended up dying from worry.

The situation of the women workers was at least as awful as that of the men. They were mostly from the villages. These women, their feet bound, carrying baskets with food for lunch, would have to walk for two hours before

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146 Gong Jun, Zhongguo dushi gongyehua chengdu zhi tongji fenshi 中国都市现代化程度之统计分析 [Statistical analysis of the degree of industrialisation in major cities of China], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 商务印书馆 , 1933), pp. 28-29
147 Xin 72 Xia; Mu 74; Gui 12; Yi 19; Xing 39; Zhong 92; Zhen 21; Jia 89 Xia
148 North-China Herald, 29 August 1890 and 12 January 1894
150 Yi* 64
151 Yue 40
152 Xin* 16; See Zhu Peng, Shanghai yange dili 上海沿革地理 [Geographical development of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe 学林出版社, 1989). p. 185, which mentions the road under construction in this sketch.
153 Xin* 32 Xia
154 Shu 8
155 Li 72 Xia; Zhen 21
reaching the factory, before starting a twelve hour working day. In 1886, a report of an accident appeared in the Dianshizhai. Nineteen village girls were hurrying to the Keechong Silk Filature early in the morning. There were too many people in the small boat, and it overturned while crossing the river. Three of the girls were drowned. The working conditions in the factories were dreadful and the ventilation poor. The women and children would have to extract the silk from the silkworms in boiling water with their bare hands, and even in summer were not allowed to open the windows, as it was feared the wind might damage the silk. The factory buildings were dilapidated, and this sometimes led to them collapsing. In 1896 the Dianshizhai reported that a building in the silk filature of a certain foreign firm had collapsed. Two young girl workers had been killed, and some fifty women workers had been wounded. In 1885 and 1887 the Dianshizhai recorded incidents in which such women workers, after a day's backbreaking work, being harassed by a hoodlum on the way home. The latter story is about a woman from the Ewo [Yihe] Silk Filature. The hoodlum was later arrested by the police, and taken off to the International Settlement Police Station for interrogation.

Women, including those who had come from the villages to work in the factories, often became an important source of income for their families. The Dianshizhai mentions a family from Jiangbei; the husband was an itinerant cobbler; the wife and children worked in a silk filature. In some cases, the husband (or husband-to-be) remained in the village, while the wife worked in a factory in the city. This situation "[broke] down the old strict family life and customs, especially bringing women out of their former seclusion. It has made the young girls wage-earners, adding to the family income, instead of being an economic burden." The Chinese government-run silk filatures in Hubei, however, were not permitted to employ female workers, because of the traditional prohibition against women leaving the family home.

156 Gui 12; Gamewell, Gateway to China, pp. 223-224
157 Xin 3. This story also appeared in the North-China Herald of 30 July, 1886, but the number of people given in this version was 18, and not 19.
158 Wu Zhenyi 上海租界问题 (The problem of the Shanghai settlements) (Zhengzhong shuju 正中书局, 1983) pp. 406-408
159 Xing 39
160 Yi 19; Gui 12
161 Zhong 93
162 Li 72 xia
163 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 136
1886: Village girls hurrying to their work at the Keechong Silk Filature in Shanghai. Their boat capsized, and two were drowned.
There were also many itinerant handymen wandering through the streets of Shanghai, peddling their wares and services. The *Dianshizhai* recorded the cobbler mentioned above,\(^{165}\) the tanner from Wuxi,\(^ {166}\) and carpenters from Nanjing and Ningbo.\(^ {167}\) There were also hairdressers who would go anywhere in search of customers, carrying their tools of trade - sometimes they would even cut hair inside the teahouses.\(^ {168}\) As long as such people could find enough customers, their livelihood was more or less assured. The carpenter from Nanjing, for example, had enough money to get drunk every day - from the description of him in the *Dianshizhai*, his life does not seem to have been too difficult. If business was bad, however, such people could not get enough to support themselves. The tanner from Wuxi mentioned above had no customers for a long time, and no longer had any money to buy food or clothing. In desperation, he placed a death notice in the newspaper, hoping that some people might be kind enough to contribute some money towards his funeral expenses.\(^ {169}\)

Even worse off were the itinerant entertainers. There are four stories about such people in the *Dianshizhai*. There was the entertainer from Shanxi, Cai Lianxi 蔡连喜, and his daughter, A-hu 阿虎;\(^ {170}\) the monkey-trainer from Jiangbei,\(^ {171}\) and the circus performer Dong Zhengming 董正明 from Shandong.\(^ {172}\) These people often performed very risky acts, and sometimes accidents were bound to occur. During a performance of the Shandong circus, a four-year old girl was attacked by a bear, and died as a result of her injuries. Another entertainer from Shandong had an act of swallowing iron balls. On one occasion he was unable to cough them up, and died a very painful death. The *Dianshizhai* commentary was: "Alas, the universe is so wide, and there is nothing which cannot be followed as a trade. The profession of itinerant entertainer is not a particularly respectable one, and to pit iron and stone against flesh and blood is dangerous, even if one does survive. The case of this man can serve as a warning to others."\(^ {173}\) The commentator showed some sympathy with this man, but at the same time expressed disapproval of people making their living as itinerant entertainers.

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165 Zhong 93
166 Yi* 56
167 Wu 51; Shu 24
168 Zi 3
169 Yu 65
170 Chen 55
171 Ren 42
172 Shu* 72; Li 43
173 Li 43
The fact was, however, that not everyone in Shanghai could make a living. One man who had lost his job was reduced to asking people for money, and could not bear the humiliation of being sneered at, so he decided to hang himself. Before he did so he said to his wife: "hunger and cold are hard to bear, but the words of men are even worse."\textsuperscript{174}

If an immigrant to Shanghai could not find work, the men sometimes became rickshaw-pullers. One sketch mentions them: "the rickshaw-pullers in the foreign territory are extremely poor and extremely despised. Wandering around with no proper job, they have absolutely no security, in this way they are able to get a few coppers a day, only slightly more than taking a begging bowl and wandering the streets ... Drenched by rain or scorched by the sun, the journey a distant one, or in the dead of night, they would still struggle to be first [to take a job]."\textsuperscript{175} Their lives were difficult, and they frequently had to put up with abuse.

One story dating from 1884 is of a rickshaw puller who took an employee of a certain foreign firm home. When they arrived, the Chinese steward wanted to reduce the fare the foreign customer had agreed on. The rickshaw puller objected, and a fight broke out. The foreigner could not understand Chinese, and did not understand what the fight was about, but also started to beat the rickshaw puller. Onlookers could only sigh in anger. The \textit{Dianshizhai} comment was: "Unemployed vagrants, wandering destitutes - when they have descended to pulling a rickshaw, they are no different from animals. Are they not pitiable? Yet there are some who want to cheat them - such people are truly heartless."\textsuperscript{176}

In a book written some two decades later (1916), the author also commented on the difficult lives of the rickshaw pullers: "Their working years do not ordinarily extend beyond three, five, or at most ten... The average earnings of a ricsha coolie are seven coppers, about three or four cents, a day, and from this pittance he must support a family, and that is in a city noted over China for its high cost of living. No wonder a doctor in charge of a mission hospital where many sick coolies are sent recently reported, 'A large number of the cases brought in are in a

\textsuperscript{174} Ji 3
\textsuperscript{175} Jia 30. Fares were very cheap: 14 cash a li. Some rickshaw pullers had been rich wastrels, whose extravagance on the attractions of Shanghai had left them penniless; having no other skill, they were reduced to pulling a rickshaw. See Xiao-xiang-guan-shi-zhe 海尚霞事者, \textit{Haishang huatian-juan-jiu-di zhan} 海上花天酒地传 [Dissipation and debauchery in Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1884) juan 1, pp. 4-5
\textsuperscript{176} Jia 81 xia
state of collapse due to malnutrition and bad hygienic conditions of their lives, superadded to the strenuous spasmodic strain they undergo'.

The *Dianshizhai* reported a case of a rickshaw puller who had suddenly collapsed while pulling his rickshaw. The rickshaw was taken to the Police Station by the police, and the body of the rickshaw puller was ice-cold. He was considered an unclaimed corpse, and the police arranged to have him buried. There is nothing unusual in this story as it stands: the reason it became newsworthy is that the rickshaw puller came back to life. There was no change in the lot of the rickshaw puller between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The rapidly increasing population also brought about a rise in the cost of land and housing in Shanghai. Only rich immigrants to Shanghai could afford their own house. Even fairly well off people, such as some of the pedlars mentioned in the *Dianshizhai*, could only rent somewhere to live. Many foreign businessmen had houses and apartments built for renting to the Chinese, and made huge profits. Not only individuals and families, but also businesses rented rooms. In 1898 the *Dianshizhai* mentioned a tailor from Chongming who had rented rooms to

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177 Gamewell, *Gateway to China*, p. 93
178 Yi* 72 xia
179 Wu Zhenyi, *Shanghai zujie wenti*, pp. 404-406. David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing - City, People and Politics in the 1920s* (University of California Press, 1989), pp. 28-29, the standard of living of the rickshaw pullers in Beijing during the 1920s was lower than that of the average members of the working class.
180 Li* 31; Zhen 47
181 After the Small Sword Society uprising, the large influx of Chinese into the International Settlement put an end to the original Land Regulations, under which Chinese were not permitted to reside in Shanghai. (See Gamewell, *Gateway to China*, p. 14). When Chinese began to settle in the International Settlement, the British Consul and the British officials opposed this, but the merchants took a different line, as expressed in a letter from a British merchant to the Consulate: "One of the most influential residents was honest and outspoken enough to tell him the whole truth in the course of a conversation: "No doubt your anticipations of future evil have a certain foundation, and, indeed, may be correct enough - though something may be urged on the other side, as to the advantages of having the Chinese mingled with us, and departing from the old Canton system of isolation - but upon the whole, I agree with you. The day will probably come, when those who may be here will see abundant cause to regret what is now being done, in letting and sub-letting to Chinese. But in what way am I and my brother landholders and speculators concerned in all this? You, as Her Majesty's consul, are bound to look to national and permanent interests - that is your business. But it is my business to make a fortune with the least possible waste of time, by letting my land to Chinese, and building for them at thirty or forty per cent interest, if that is the best thing I can do with my money. In two or three years at farthest, I hope to realise a fortune and get away; and what can it matter to me, if all Shanghai disappear afterwards, in fire or flood? You must not expect men in my situation to condemn themselves to years of prolonged exile in an unhealthy climate for the benefit of posterity. We are money-making, practical men. Our business is to make money, as much and as fast as we can - and for this end, all modes and means are good which the law permits." From C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Shanghai* (The Shanghai Mercury Limited, 1909), pp. 102-103
open a tailors shop, and who had employed five people. Other businesses rented premises from foreign businessmen.

It was recognised as early as the 1860s that rents in Shanghai were inordinately high. By the 1870s, "The market is such that the rent for two rooms in the International Settlement is six or seven tael of silver per month. Even for the most dilapidated room in an out-of-the-way lane costs three foreign dollars. In ancient times people used to say 'It is not easy to live in Chang'an.' Shanghai nowadays is even less easy." As was mentioned above, the average worker's wage at that time was only 0.174 yuan a day - at that rate, it would need contributions from several tenants would be needed to pay the rent on even the simplest room. The women from the villages near Shanghai had no choice but to continue to reside in the countryside, and walk some four or five hours every day to get to Shanghai and return home again in the evenings. Many immigrants, especially from the Jiangbei area, lived on boats. According to the statistics of the Shanghai Municipal Council, there were 6,187 people living on boats in 1885, and 4,308 living in shacks. In 1890 the figures had risen to 6,344 and 11,520, and in 1895 had slightly decreased to 6,269 and 8,429 respectively. Some of the people living on boats were from Jiangbei, and had been involved in river transport or were fishermen before coming to Shanghai. There are six examples in the Dianshizhai of such people. Others, however, were simply too poor to live anywhere else.

The family from Jiangbei mentioned above, in which the husband was an itinerant tanner and the wife and children worked in the silk filatures, lived on a boat. There is a description in the Dianshizhai, dating from 1891: "In the north of Shanghai, from Hongkou towards the villages, there is an area in which rowboats are moored along the riverside, row upon row of them. They are the dwellings of the people from Jiangbei; the men are tanners and the women..."
seamstresses. They leave in the mornings and return in the evenings." These men were like the itinerant cobblers mentioned above. The women were not seamstresses as such, but made and repaired clothes for single men (mainly manual labourers). They were called "poor-man's clothesmakers": "Sewing for the poor was mainly done by women from Jiangbei. They would carry a bamboo basket over one arm, and also carry a small bench. In the basket they would put their scissors, a bamboo ruler, a ball of thread and some scraps of material. They would walk along the streets, canvassing business." 

Mary Ninde Gamewell described the lives of the boat population in the following terms: "The characteristic feature of the Chinese Bund is its boat population. For more than half a mile little boats called sampans, protected by a low arched covering of bamboo mats, line the shore and extend well out into the river. Each tiny sampan swarms with life as if it were an ant-hill. The occupants are permanent home holers and the habitations are anchored. Many of them were originally famine refugees from the north. Most of the men earn a living as wharf coolies. The wives add a little to the income by gathering rags to make into shoe soles and by patching and darning old garments for coolies without families, who pay a few cash in return." 

There was also a large number of people in Shanghai who relied on charity to survive. One of the pictures in the Dianshizhai, dated 1885, introduced a number of charitable institutions. The picture shows a "Rice Distribution Centre" and a "Clothes Distribution Centre", with a large number of supplicants in front of them. The commentary reads: "A ladle of rice, a bowl of soup - if you can get these things, you will live; if you don't, you will die. Men are oppressed by hunger and

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189 Shi 23
190 Xianggang xiandai chuban gongsi (ed.) Shili yangchang hua Shanghai, xia ce p. 90.
191 Gamewell, Gateway to China, p. 43
192 Macpherson, Public Health, p. 147: "It was not true that Chinese made no provisions for their ill or infirm as Western misperceptions first indicated. Actually, China had a long history of charitable work, though the scale of operations appears to have been modest. And, sometimes, this was noted by Westerners at Shanghai. 'It so happens that for many centuries', recorded The Cycle, 'the Chinese have had very large charities, and have adapted of course with varying honesty and intelligence to the wants and needs of the times'. As one Frenchman also observed: 'A section of the Chinese budget includes aid given to indigents, to cultivated people advanced in age and deprived (or denuded) of everything, to the widowed, to the poor and to orphans; to the ill and inform without any resources or any sort of sustenance, etc. Moreover, there are, in the great cities, wards in orphanages and foundling hospitals that are maintained by public charity which it is the responsibility of the mandarins to solicit.'
193 Ji mi chu 给米处
194 Ji yi chu 给衣处
cold and there is no one to whom they can turn to get a meal, so as to extend their life a little longer".195

The prerogatives of the rich - going sightseeing on a summer day in a horse-drawn carriage, going to the theatre or the circus in the evenings, going to restaurants (even Western restaurants) - or, for the particularly affluent, spending an evening in the company of a changsan tangzi - all such things were a world away from the poor of Shanghai. They may have been the greater proportion of the population, but they rarely appeared in the prosperous areas of the city.

3. Identity and prejudices amongst immigrant groups

It is difficult to trace the emergence of a distinctive Shanghai "identity". A sense of identity had certainly formed by the beginning of the twentieth century. Shanghaiese had developed certain "characteristics", which distinguished them from other Chinese. A Record of Customs All Over China, published in 1922, noted: "Great cities of the world have a rich capacity to absorb those who go there to live. None more so than Shanghai. Wherever his place of origin, as soon as the newcomer arrives in Shanghai he is infected with three characteristics: first, the pursuit of fashion; second, the pursuit of luxury and third, slyness and cunning. If not, he could hardly be considered a true Shanghaiese. It is truly amazing how Shanghai changes people!"196

In the nineteenth century it was more common to describe the foreign settlements as being such and such, or the "foreign territory" as such and such. Sometimes personal comments were made, such as women in the "foreign territory" being shameless. At that stage, however, there are no comments on the general characteristics of the "Shanghaiese" as such. The Shanghaiese themselves, that is to say the Chinese from various parts of China who had taken up residence in the settlements for one reason or another, lacked a clear sense of identity as "Shanghaiese". They thus lacked a clear concept of the "outsider".

Shanghai was composed of a motley group of immigrants from all over China, and the expression "a mishmash from everywhere" was commonly used to

195 Ding 4
describe it.\textsuperscript{197} This expression was used at least four times in the \textit{Dianshizhai}, all in referring to less salubrious aspects of life in Shanghai. In commenting on those who pretended to be of a higher class than they were, the \textit{Dianshizhai} commented: "Shanghai is a mishmash from everywhere, and people are of uneven quality".\textsuperscript{198}

In commenting on the rather loose relations between men and women in Shanghai, and that such promiscuity was hard to keep under control, the \textit{Dianshizhai} commented: "the place is a crossroads between China and the West, its people are a mishmash from everywhere, and they are well-known for being difficult to control."\textsuperscript{199} Elsewhere they wrote: "the area to the north of Shanghai is a mishmash from everywhere; bandits and the like can hide there."\textsuperscript{200} Even in relating a story about a fist-fight, the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted: "Shanghai is a mishmash from all directions; we often hear about such fist-fights."\textsuperscript{201}

As people in Shanghai lacked a common sense of identity as "Shanghaiese", the concept of "native place" played an inordinate role in social relations.\textsuperscript{202} Indeed, before any sense of identity with other communities developed, one's connections with people from one's "native place" were practically the sole basis of social relations.\textsuperscript{203} Mutual support amongst people from the same village was an ineluctable duty. Those who arrived earlier helped later arrivals, and as they

\textsuperscript{197} Wu fang za chu 五方杂处. See Ge Yuanxu, \textit{Shanghai fanchang ji}, \textit{juan} 2, p. 3: "The area around Yangjingbang is a mishmash from everywhere; the fashions in clothing change all the time."; Xu Ke, \textit{Qing bai lei chao} Vol. IV, p. 1716: "Shanghai is a mishmash from everywhere"; Mao Xianglin 毛祥麟, \textit{Sanlue hui bian} 三略汇编 describes Shanghai as "merchants and traders gather together, sails and masts are like a loom; it has always been known as a mishmash from all directions"; (quoted in Shanghai lishi yanjiusuo [Shanghai history research institute], \textit{Shanghai Xiaoda Qiyi shiliao huibian} [Collection of historical materials on the Small Swords Uprising in Shanghai], p. 808; Hushang youxi zhuren, \textit{Haishang youxi tushuo}, \textit{juan} 48 p. 8: "Shanghai is a centre of commercial intercourse; it is a mishmash from all directions"; Wang Tao, \textit{Yingruan zaji}, \textit{juan} 1 p. 130: "a mishmash from all directions, a babble of dialects".

\textsuperscript{198} Jin 22
\textsuperscript{199} Wu 8
\textsuperscript{200} Yin 1
\textsuperscript{201} Yue 31

\textsuperscript{202} This phenomenon was reflected in the composition of Li Hongzhang's Anhui Army and of Zeng Guofan's Hunan Army, and even in the fact that most of the imperial eunuchs in the Qing dynasty came from a particular county in Hebei. Fei Xiaotong has pointed out that if a man from a particular place became famous, this would start a trend, and men of distinction would continue to appear for a considerable time to come. See Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, \textit{Xiangu chongjian} 乡土重建 [Rural reconstruction], (Shanghai: Guanchashe 观察社, 1948), p. 70

\textsuperscript{203} Even after the development of a clear Shanghaiese identity in the twentieth century, the concept of "native place" remained very strong. Shanghaiese identify themselves to outsiders as "Shanghaiese", but within Shanghai there is still a plethora of native place associations, and people often identify themselves with the place of origin of their parents or grandparents. [YXQ]
increased in number they founded various guilds and native place associations. Theoretically, the guilds joined together people of the same trade, and the native place organisations people from the same place. In Shanghai, however, the difference was nominal. The Ningbo Guild Hall was theoretically a guild, but one of its major functions was to provide a resting place for coffins until they could be sent back to Ningbo. The Dianshizhai records two instances of coffin-robbing, one in the Chaozhou Association; the other in the Huizhou Association. It is quite clear that in many ways the functions of the guilds and the associations were much the same. The support extended by these associations attracted a large number of adherents, and they developed into cliques of people from a certain area monopolosing a particular occupation. As an article on the guilds and associations of Shanghai put it, "those in the same trade were not necessarily from the same place, but people from the same place were, for the main part, in the same trade.

In nineteenth century Shanghai even the coolies followed one another into this trade. The Dianshizhai gives us a description of some people from Jiangbei who lived on a boat in the Hongkou area. They all came from the same place, they all practised the same trade, even their lifestyles were the same. This sort of situation has not changed much, even in the twentieth century. A Japanese

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204 Gongsu 公所; huiguan 会馆. Wu 88 xia
205 Also known at that time as the Ningpo Joss House. Its name in Chinese was Siming Gongsu 四明公所.
206 Wu 40 xia
207 Wu 16
208 See Lü Zuoxie 吕作燮, “Ming-Qing shiqi de Huiguan bing fei-gongshangye hanghui” 明清时期的会馆并非工商业行会 [Guild halls of the Ming-Qing period were by no means industrial-commercial guilds], Zhongguoshi Yanjiu 中国史研究 (No. 2, 1982) pp. 66-79. On the names of the various guilds and associations, their total numbers and when they were established, see Shanghai Bowuguan 上海博物馆 (ed.) Shanghai beike ziliaoxuanji 上海碑刻资料选 [Selected inscriptions from Shanghai] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社1980), pp. 507-513, and Shanghai Tongshi (ed.) Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xuji, pp. 144-153. He Bingdi 何柄棣, Zhongguo huiguan shilun 中国会馆史论 [History of Chinese Landsmannschaften in China], (Taiwan: Xuesheng shuju 学生书局, 1966) analyses the huiguan according to locality. Dou Jiliang 都季良, Tongxiang zuzhi yanjiu 同乡组织研究 (Zhengzhong shuju, 1943) also regards the huiguan as native place organisations. Quan Hansheng, Zhongguo hanghui zhida shi, discusses the huiguan according to trades. Clearly, there is a close connection between a particular trade and a particular locality, or place of origin.
209 Shanghai Tongshi, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xuj, p. 144
210 Shi 23
211 See Hu Lin'ge 胡林阁 (ed.), Shanghai chanye yu Shanghai zhigong 上海产业与上海职工 (Shanghai: Yuandong chubanshe 远东出版社 1939), pp. 595-596, who mentions that the rickshaw pullers of twentieth century Shanghai were all from the Jiangbei area. Bao Tianxiao 包天笑, Yi-shi-zhu-xing de baijia bianqian 衣食住行的百年变迁 [Changes over a hundred years in
study of the Chinese economy in the nineteenth century also pointed out: "the place of origin of the labourers is very varied ... they pass on customs over the years, and they form a group; they rely on the protection of this group to promote their mutual interests; this was particularly prevalent amongst the workers in the textile factories."\textsuperscript{212}

Generally speaking, Cantonese in Shanghai were either merchants, compradors or servants.\textsuperscript{213} The native banks, which were said to lend money at usurious rates, were run by men from Shanxi.\textsuperscript{214} The coolies were mainly from the Jiangbei area - this relationship between place of origin and occupation had become more or less definite.

The local Shanghaiese are also worth mentioning.\textsuperscript{215} Shanghai was their place of origin, so they felt no need to form native place associations, nor did they form the cliques so common amongst other Chinese. The value of land and other property in Shanghai rose continuously, so Shanghaiese could lead a fairly comfortable existence, relying on income derived from their property, and did not develop the "entrepreneurial spirit". The \textit{Dianshizhai} mentions one such local Shanghaiese, who did not have any occupation in particular. His family owned land, however, and he was quite well off. He married a wife, took a concubine, and frequented the brothels of Shanghai as well.\textsuperscript{216}

The local Shanghaiese did not, as a rule, get involved in business. In contrast to the determination to "make it" characteristic of the immigrants, they were fairly conservative. There are several native Shanghaiese mentioned in the \textit{Dianshizhai}. One was, indeed, a businessman, the manager of a foreign goods shop.\textsuperscript{217} Two were teachers in traditional private schools - one of them lived in the International Settlement.\textsuperscript{218} One made a living watering other people's vegetable gardens.\textsuperscript{219} Yet another used his inherited property to purchase an official post,
and from then on had nothing much to do. In 1886 the local Shanghaiese organised a protest. More than thirty women arrived at the offices of the Municipal Council to protest about the imposition of property tax on their private land. Generally speaking, the local Shanghaiese were economically of no significance.

Immigrants brought all sorts of local customs to Shanghai. Their influence on customs in Shanghai was in proportion to their numbers and their wealth. For example, Tianhou 天后, the Queen of Heaven, Protectress of Seafarers, was worshipped by people from the coastal provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. In the late nineteenth century, Cantonese and Fujianese merchants monopolised a lucrative trade transporting sugar from Shantou and Taiwan to Shanghai, and cotton from Shanghai back to Shantou and Taiwan.

It was quite natural that the Cantonese and Fujianese merchants in Shanghai should worship Tianhou. The local Shanghaiese, however, had never had such a strong need. The local Tianhou Temple had been shifted several times and had often fallen into disrepair. To a certain degree this was as a result of military turmoil, but was not unconnected with a certain lack of interest on the part of the Shanghaiese. The construction of a new temple was financed by the merchants from Guangdong and Fujian. There are two sketches in the Dianshizhai about the Dedication Ceremony of the new temple. Most of the people participating in the celebrations were from Guangdong, followed by the Fujianese. It was a lavish occasion, on a grand scale, and one can infer the power of the Cantonese and Fujianese merchants in Shanghai. There were so many participants and onlookers that the Chinese and foreign police had difficulty in maintaining order.

In 1886 the Dianshizhai noted the case of the Cantonese merchant who organised a religious ceremony to welcome the spirit of Tianhou. In addition to the usual traditional ceremonies, he had hired a Western band to lead the

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220 You 69
221 Xin 60
222 Tianhou, also known as Tianfei 天妃, is known as Mazu 妈祖 in Guangdong, Fujian and Taiwan. See Zong Li 宗力 and Liu Qin 刘全, Zhongguo minjian zhushen 中国民间诸神 [Popular deities of China], (Hebei: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 1986), pp. 389-402; Wu Huanchu 吴还初, Tianfei-niang-ma zhuan 天妃娘妈传 [Biography of Tianhou, Queen of Heaven] (Ming ed. published during Wanli period; reprinted Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1990)
223 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 1, p. 9
224 For the background to the Tianhou Temple in Shanghai, see Shanghai tongshi, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xuj, pp. 517-523
225 Jia 53-54
The Feast of the Hungry Ghosts also grew larger and more extravagant every year, due to the wealth and influence of the Cantonese merchants. One of the Cantonese associations - The Guangdong Zhaoqing Society - became the organising body for the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts in Shanghai.

Many such customs were brought by immigrants to Shanghai, and became part of Shanghai itself. Even the Shanghai dialect reflects the heterogeneous background of the inhabitants.

Shanghai would eventually assimilate its various component parts (to a greater or lesser degree), but in the nineteenth century communities of different

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226 Xin 68
227 See Chapter Five of this thesis. The Dianshizhai carried more descriptions of local customs from the Guangdong area than any other area of China. The Cantonese also celebrated the birthday of the local earth god on the 2nd day of the 2nd lunar month: "According to Cantonese custom, they would light firecrackers in celebration. As they explode people rush to pick them up. They often get into fights over this. The authorities repeatedly prohibited this practice, but no matter how many times they did so, this established practice continued, and was hard to break." This was followed by a description of how a local rich Cantonese merchant celebrated the birthday of the local earth god (Zhu 44). In 1896 the Dianshizhai gave a description of Cantonese marriage customs. The night after the marriage, if the husband's family was satisfied that the bride had been a virgin, would send a whole roast pig to the bride's family. The pig was paraded through the streets and alleyways, so as to proclaim the bride's chastity to all. There was a Cantonese in Shanghai who had purchased several concubines. On each occasion he would refuse to present the required roast pig, would send the girl back home and would demand his money back. In this way he was able to take advantage of several young women (Li* 24).

228 Wu Jianren, Guai xianzhuang, p. 91, mentions that it was the Hunanese who had imported the custom of letting off firecrackers to Shanghai.

229 See Robert S. Ramsey, The Languages of China (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 90 "Many of these migrants were also refugees, for the enclaves of Shanghai offered those willing to cut their roots with tradition a sanctuary against the very real physical dangers of living in a Chinese countryside that was rapidly becoming chaotic ... The language of Shanghai reflects this turbulence. It comes in many varieties, depending on neighbourhood and social group, and there is evidence of rapid generational change. Earlier missionary descriptions indicate that around the turn of the century it still had a sound system much like that of Soochow. But increased immigration of artisans and clerks from slightly farther down the coast began to give the metropolitan area a more Southern flavor, and today colloquial Shanghai speech is different from that of Soochow, with an apparent mixture of elements from various places in the Wu dialect area. In discussing the linguistic state of affairs, one Western writer [George A. Kennedy] notes this mixture and refers to "the so-called Shanghai dialect", saying that it is "not a pure dialect at all, but a metropolitan hodge-podge". See also Jerry Norman, Chinese (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 252: "The linguistic situation of the city of Shanghai presents an interesting contrast to that of Taibei. Here too the population is very heterogeneous, but the immigration with has brought about this heterogeneity has been more local in character. Hú Mingyáng ... estimates that two out of every three Shanghai inhabitants are in some sense outsiders; these new immigrants mostly come from the surrounding Wú-speaking regions of southern Jianshui and northern Zhéjiang, whereas the number of non-Wú dialect speakers has been negligible". The Shanghai dialect also contains many loanwords, such as telephone (tuh-lok-foong 德律风), engine (tung-shing 引擎), comprador (khaung-bak-too 崇百度), number one (nau-moo-wung 拿摩温) and so on. See Yao Gonghe, Shanghai xianhua, pp. 26-27; Wang Zhongxian, Shanghai suyu tushuo [An illustrated guide to Shanghai colloquialisms] (Shanghai: Shexui chubanshe 社会出版社, 1935), pp. 1-2
dialect groups and native places were still distinct, and prejudice and discrimination between various groups was inevitable. When Li Hongzhang was fund-raising for the establishment of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, he sighed: "The Guangdong clique, the Suzhou clique, the Zhejiang clique - they all quarrel with each other, and it is difficult to reach agreement." In 1884 the *Dianshizhai* carried a story entitled "Family Members Drawing Swords." The Militia Bureau of the Hongkou district was looking for recruits. They appointed two professional boxers as coaches - one from Shandong, the other from Guangdong. The man from Shandong already had a considerable reputation on account of his fighting prowess, and did not try to hide his contempt for the Cantonese boxer. This erupted into a fight in the Bureau, and all the Cantonese and Shandongese in the place rushed to join the mêlée. Knives and spears appeared, and several people were wounded. Many of the weapons in the Bureau were also damaged.

It was also inevitable that all people from the same area would be lumped together in any discussion. For example, when a woman from Guangdong gave birth to a deformed foetus, the public gossip was that "Cantonese women in Shanghai are reckless and violent; their lungs and intestines are different [from others]. Just look how they mistreat their maid-servants - they show their cruelty in ten thousand ways, and even those who can see cannot bear to look at them. As far as this Cantonese woman is concerned, we do not know what evil she has done, but she must certainly be that that type of cruel person. Heaven caused her to give birth to this monster, so as to give a warning to other people."

Needless to say, this discrimination was highly unjust. Those against whom the greatest discrimination was directed, however, were the people from the Jiangbei area. As we mentioned above, the vast majority of these people were economic refugees, and led very miserable lives even after their arrival in Shanghai. Most of them could not even afford to rent the most dilapidated shanty, and lived on broken down boats. They were mostly coolies. At least fifteen sketches in the

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230 Li Hongzhang 李鸿章, *Fu Sun Zhutang* 复孙竹堂 [Reply to Sun Zhutang] (dated 同治十一年十二月二十五日) in *Li Hongzhang quanji*, 李鸿章全集 [Collected works of Li Hongzhang] Peng liaohan gao 朋僚函稿 [Drafts of letters to friends and colleagues], juan 12, p. 36
231 *Tong shi cao ge* 同室操戈
232 People from Shandong also figure prominently amongst the itinerant street performers of Shanghai, as was noticed in an early extract from the *Dianshizhai*. Even now the Shanghaiese have an expression "Shandong fisticuffs" (*Shandongren mai quantou* 山东人卖拳头, in Shanghaiese san-toong-nying ma kyoeng-deu), which recalls these itinerant fighters of the last century.
233 Yi 56 xia
234 Si 80
Dianshizhai are about people from Jiangbei. Not a single one could be considered well off. They are all boat-dwellers, rickshaw-pullers, tanners or coolies, or occasionally sorcerers. They are mostly mentioned in the Dianshizhai because of their alleged dubious moral standards.

A sketch dating from 1897 tells us that the area around the Huangpu River in the southern part of Shanghai was believed to be haunted. Many passers-by were so scared at the appearance of ghosts that they dropped their valuables and ran for their lives. Eventually five or six brawny men decided to find out what exactly was going on, and discovered that these ghosts were in fact a gang of Jiangbei women who lived on the boats nearby. At night they would dress up as ghosts, to rob passers-by.

In the same year the Dianshizhai told the tale of the man from Jiangbei, who eked out a living in Shanghai dissecting Chinese characters as a means of telling the future. He would also read and write letters for the illiterate. There was a women in the International Settlement whose husband was in Singapore. Every month he would send eighty foreign dollars home. Seeing the fortune-teller read the woman's letters to her, and wrote back to her husband as she dictated, he knew about the money. One night he sneaked into her house and stole the money she had been accumulating for half a year. Then he wrote a letter, which he claimed was from a friend of her husband's, telling her that her husband had died in Singapore. He then urged the woman to marry him instead. The woman believed this lie, and married the fortune-teller. Some time later her husband wrote to her; this time she asked a neighbour to read it. When she fully realised what had happened, she took poison and committed suicide. In the end the fortune-teller from

235 Xing 6; Xing 95; Shu 16; Yuan 91; Xin* 6; Xin* 32 xia; Xin* 56; Xin* 88; Heng 56; Ge 56; Mao 21; Shi 23; Shi 39; Wei 91; Zhong 93
236 Yuan 91
237 Chai zi 拆字. See Rev. Justus Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese (New York, 1865), Vol. II, p. 339: "This class of fortune-tellers seldom or never open a shop; but when engaged professionally, they select a convenient spot by the side of a frequented street, and having spread some oiled paper or cloth on the ground, and having arranged writing implements nearby, look out for customers. They generally carry with them a small box, which contains a quantity of small sheets of paper folded up. On the inside of each is written one Chinese character. The customer is requested to select or take at random two of these sheets, which he proceeds to do, one at a time. These are taken by the fortune-teller, opened, and the characters written upon them are noticed. He then proceeds to dissect each by writing out separately the distinct parts of which each is composed." These "character-analysis" fortune-tellers are to be found in other sketches in the Dianshizhai: Ding 60, Li 43 and Gui 24, of which the latter shows one at work in front of the Mixed Court. These small stalls, at which the illiterate could have their letters read and written, were still operating in Shanghai until the Cultural Revolution. They no longer told fortunes, but were still referred to as chai zi tan 拆字摊. [YXQ]
1897: The area around the Huangpu River in the southern part of Shanghai was believed to be haunted. It turned out that some Jiangbei boat-women had dressed up as ghosts to terrify and rob passers-by.
Jiangbei was crushed to death by a snake, which was said to be a case of retribution.238

There is a story dating from 1891 of the acupuncturist by the name of Lu 魯 from Jiangbei whose business was not going well. He took up sorcery, and earned money cheating people in this way.239 A story from 1895 is of a carriage-driver who was accused of harassing women. He had an assistant, who was also involved. The report made no reference to the place of origin of the main culprit, but underlined the fact that his accomplice was from Jiangbei.240 In 1896 the Dianshizhai carried an item extolling the custom of reverence for paper on which characters had been written, and made a point of mentioning "some people from Jiangbei, who recently have been collecting old paper [in order to sell it]." The writer reprimanded them for "deviating from principles and seeking private gain."241 These news items were not specifically aimed against people from Jiangbei, but the deliberate reference to the place of origin of the culprits revealed an obvious discrimination against them. They would often preface a reference to someone from that area with the words "a product of Jiangbei", a derogatory type of expression not used in connection with people from any other area. This short epithet clearly revealed a condescending attitude towards the people from Jiangbei.242

News items about Jiangbei people in the Dianshizhai are either of the type described above, emphasising immoral, or even illegal behaviour, or at the very least depict them as being wild and unreasonable, and likely to get into a fight at the slightest provocation.243 A story in the Dianshizhai dating from 1896 relates that

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238 Xin 6
239 Shi 39
240 Shu 16
241 Xing 6. The custom of reverence for paper on which characters had been written is discussed in Chapter Four Part Two.

242 Jiangbei chan 江北猪. The expression chan 猪 was occasionally used in connection with people from other places, but very rarely, and in a derogatory context. An example is the carpenter from Ningbo who mistreated his wife, who was referred to as "a product of Ningbo".

243 The expression Jiangbei zhulu (in Shanghai: Kaung-pok ts-loo) 江北猪猡 [Jiangbei pig] appears as a derogatory expression in Yan Fusun 严芙孙, Shanghai suyu da cidian 上海俗语大辞典 (Shanghai: Yunxuan chubanshe 云轩出版社, 1924), p. 43. The expression can still be heard occasionally in Shanghai. See Emily Honig, "The Politics of Prejudice - Subei People in Republican-Era Shanghai", in Modern China, Vol. 15, No. 3, July 1989, pp. 243-274, on p. 243: "Throughout the twentieth century, one of the most common curses in Shanghai dialect has been to call someone a "Subei swine." Even in Shanghai today, individuals are said to be "dirty like a Subei person," "ignorant like a Subei person" or even "sexually promiscuous like a Subei person." In fact, the word used in such derogatory expressions is always Jiangbei [Kaung-bok]. The term Subei is a relatively neutral word, and is usually used when speaking Mandarin. In
one day people in the French Concession were queuing for water from a public hydrant, when a man from Yangzhou "snatched some with great force", killing someone else in the process. The news item specifically mentioned where this ruffian was from, but did not mention the place of origin of anyone else.244 A story dated 1897 concerns a coolie from Jiangbei and a coolie from Shaoxing, who shared a tiny room in an inn. In the course of a fight over some minor matter, the man from Jiangbei seriously wounded the other man.245 There is a story from 1893 about a Jiangbei woman who was ill, and hired a rickshaw-puller from Shaoxing to see a doctor. By accident she left some money in the carriage. When he discovered this, the rickshaw-puller went back to the doctor's place, so as to return it. Onlookers expected that the Jiangbei woman would offer a small reward, but she didn't show any sign of gratitude at all. The Dianshizhai printed this story to praise the honesty of the rickshaw-puller, but implied that the Jiangbei woman was lacking in common courtesy.246

Prejudice against Jiangbei people can be detected even in serious scholarly works, such as Culture and Society by Sun Benwen: "South of the Changjiang River, the people are elegant and refined, skillful and intelligent. North of the Changjiang, the people are rough and wild, unreasonable and brazen, aggressive and fierce. In language, Jiangbei is closer to that of Beijing, and is obviously quite different from the language of Shanghai and Suzhou in the Jiangnan area."247

According to Emily Honig, this sort of discrimination developed partly as a result of differences in economic status. She does not find this explanation completely satisfactory, however, because the poorest beggars in Shanghai were in fact from Anhui and Shandong.248 I would argue that the large numbers of Jiangbei people in Shanghai, however, was at least a very significant factor in the particular discrimination against them. The number of refugees or poor people from Anhui or Shandong was insignificant in comparison with the number of Jiangbei people living in Shanghai. There were regulations against the building of makeshift

Shanghaiese, however, Kaung-bok is by far more common. In the Dianshizhai, and in nineteenth century writings generally, the common term is Jiangbei, not Subei, and that usage is followed in this thesis. [YXQ].

244 Xing 95
245 Xin* 32 xia
246 Ge 56
247 Sun Benwen 孫本文, Wenhua yu shehui 文化与社会 [Culture and Society] (Shanghai: Dongnan Shudian 东南书店 1928), pp. 33-34 [长江以南，民性文雅华靡，而且巧慧，江以北，民性粗野蛮悍，好勇斗狠。语音则江北近京语，与江南之上海苏州一带方言，显生区别]。
248 Honig, "The Politics of Prejudice", p. 265
shelters, for example, but refugees from Jiangbei simply had nowhere to live - in many cases, not even a boat. Police would pull down their shelters and chase them away, or charge them in the Mixed Court for contravening building regulations. The Jiangbei refugees had no choice but to shift somewhere else, where they would again put up their makeshift shelters, and would again be moved on by the police or the authorities. Such large numbers of people causing a public nuisance (as far as the authorities, or the more settled and better off people of Shanghai considered them), would inevitably cause a good deal of antipathy.

Low economic status was certainly an important factor, but not the only factor. It was commonly claimed that the language and aesthetic tastes of the people of Jiangbei were different from those of Jiangnan. Liu Yanong noted: "At the beginning of the Qing dynasty there was a shrimp-seller in Shanghai, who said his name was Xu, so people called him Old Man Xu 徐翁. He spoke with a Jiangbei accent. If people in the city insulted him [because of this], they would immediately be knocked flat out by the old man." If this information is true, we can see that even in the early Qing, a Jiangbei accent was something to be sneered at.

The taste in clothing - colour and style - of the Jiangbei people was also different from the people of Jiangnan, even if they all belonged to the poorer classes: "The clothes of the women workers of Jiangbei are different from those of their counterparts from Jiangnan. They always like to wear garish clothes, red and green satins, narrow-rimmed brocade shoes, pink socks and so on. These are of course those with some money. Most women workers wear Chinese style jackets and trousers. The women from Jiangnan prefer blue, black and grey hues - showing good taste in their clothing. The women from Jiangbei prefer clothes of red and green."

Despite the fact that a Shanghaiese identity has been clearly established since the beginnings of this century, discrimination against Jiangbei people persists to the present day.

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249 Shen Bao, 26 October, 1872
250 Liu Yanong, Shanghai xianhua p. 82
251 Even if this information cannot be corroborated about the Early Qing, there is no doubt that it is the case in present day Shanghai. "Many Subei people of some status would never speak Subei dialect in public, although they might do so at home. [YXQ]
252 Hu Lin'ge, Shanghai chanye yu Shanghai zhigong, p. 81
253 A recent example of this discrimination is given by Liu Jin 刘金, "Yuanlao Chen Yun geiyu zhichi - Jiang Zemin de qingyun lu" 元老陈云给予支持 - 江泽民的青云路 [Veteran Chen Yun lends support - the meteoric rise of Jiang Zemin], in Jiushi niandai yuekan, 1990:12, pp. 73-74, which alleges that Chen Yun, originally from Qingpu, refused to approve the promotions of any cadres of Subei origin - an exception being Jiang Zemin. The article goes on to say, however, that when Jiang Zemin was appointed Mayor of Shanghai, there was a degree of "internal opposition" on the grounds that a Subei man should never have been appointed to such a position in Shanghai.
CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL HEGEMONY

1. The Absence of Élite Culture

Concepts elaborated by Gramsci are particularly useful in analysing the mutual relations between the dominant group in the foreign settlements, the foreign authorities, and the Chinese population, the subordinate class. According to Gramsci, "the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'."\(^1\) The authorities of the foreign settlements in Shanghai, however, had no interest in, nor would they have been able to, provide "moral leadership" to the Chinese population. Their role was to administer, that is to dominate in a political or administrative sense, not to lead in the sense of providing moral leadership. In other words, the dominant group in the settlements had no claims to ideological or moral leadership, that is, hegemony in a Gramscian sense.\(^2\)

In Chinese traditional society, and indeed in the Chinese city of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, this type of hegemony had been exercised by the Chinese gentry. Their role was expressed most directly by

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\(^1\) Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, (eds.) *Selections from Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), p. 57
Morse: "Gentry seems the best word to describe men of family, of means, and of education, living generally on inherited estates, controlling the thoughts and feelings of their poorer neighbours, and able to influence the action of the officials". A more precise definition was given by Chung-li Chang: "The gentry as a social group with a leading position and special privileges performed a certain function. They concerned themselves with the promotion of the welfare and the protection of the interests of their respective home areas. They represented the interests of their areas vis-à-vis the government officials. They undertook many tasks such as welfare activities, arbitration, public works, and at times the organisation of local military corps or the collection of taxes. Their cultural leadership encompassed all the values of Confucian society, but was materially expressed in such actions as the preservation of village temples, schools and examination halls".

Such a social stratum simply did not exist in the foreign settlements. That is not to say that there were not certain individuals who had belonged to the local gentry in their area of origin were not in the foreign settlements. Shanghai attracted all sorts of immigrants, including a number of literati. It is a dubious proposition, however, to suggest that Shanghai would hold any attractions for holders of higher degrees, or for those whose ambitions could only be achieved through in the imperial examination system and official posts in the government. The most active of the Chinese literati in

5 This was particularly obvious during the Taiping Rebellion, when very large numbers of people from Jiangsu and Zhejiang took refuge in the foreign settlements, including a large number of local gentry and literati. After the Taipings had been defeated, however, many of these returned to their home areas - see the analysis of the population of the foreign settlements in Chapter Three, Part One. There are no statistics, however, which give any indication of the social status of those who stayed in the foreign settlements, and those who returned to their homes. We can presume, however, that at least some of the literati remained in Shanghai.
6 See the postface to Zhu Wenbing 朱文柄, *Haishang zhuzhi ci* 海上竹枝词 [Bamboo-branch rhymes of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Jicheng tushu gongsi 旗成图书公司, 1908), in which Qian Guoxi 钱国卿 mentions that it was only after Zhu had lost hope of making
the settlements at that time - Wang Tao 王韬, Cai Erkang 蔡尔康, Li Shanlan 李善兰; Hua Hengfang 华蘅芳; Han Ziyun 韩子云 and, slightly later, Li Boyuan 李伯元 and Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 - were all no more than holders of the lowest of the literary degrees - xiucai. Cai Erkang, Han Ziyun and Li Boyuan all attempted higher degrees several times, but failed. They remained in the foreign settlements, working as journalists or writing novels. Wang Tao is said to have accepted a reasonable well-paying job with the London Missionary Society only because of pressing family financial difficulties. Li Shanlan, one of China's most eminent mathematicians of the time, who "failed to go beyond the hsiu-ts'ai degree" remained in Shanghai because of his fascination with mathematics, and preferred to stay there so that he could translate Western works on mathematics. Hua Hengfang was a similar case. The prizewinners in the essay contests organised by the Shanghai Polytechnic Institution also give us some evidence that there were a number of lower-degree holders in Shanghai, though none of these could be considered particularly famous. From 1886 to 1897 there were 86 people who were awarded first, second or third prizes in these competitions. Of these, the status of 14 is unknown. Of the rest, 57 held the degree of xiucai (3 jiansheng 贡生; 54 gongsheng 贡生; and 5 held the second degree of juren 举人). Further progress in the examination system that he took up residence in the foreign settlements "to play" [ 玩 ].

8 Cohen, Tradition and Modernity, p. 14; Shanghai Tongshe, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao p. 679
9 Cohen, Tradition and Modernity, pp. 17-18
10 See Yang Mo 杨模, Xi Jin si zhe shishi huicun 锡金四哲事实汇存 [Collection of facts about four famous men of Wuxi and Jinkui] (Shanghai, 1910) pp. 1-4
11 Wang Ermin 王尔敏, Shanghai Gezhi Shuyuan zhilüe 上海格致书院志略 [A study of the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute], pp. 69-73. Of these prizewinners, only 5 were graduates or students of the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute and one was a student in the Guang Fangyan guan 广方言馆 - the rest were not affiliated with the Western style
Before the twentieth century, there were not many special primary schools in the foreign settlements for Chinese children. There is evidence that there were indeed traditional private schools in the settlements, but these were run by private individuals. There is a reference in the *Dianshizhai*, dated 1891, to one of these private schools. A certain man, a Shanghaiese, Ding Yuelou 丁悦楼, ran a school in which he taught the traditional elementary texts. He had six or seven pupils. He was very fierce by nature, and the pupils were terrified of him. One day he beat up one of his ex-students, who had transferred to another private school. The student's father sued the teacher in the Mixed Court. The *Dianshizhai* commented: "the teaching vocation is degenerating daily; boorish pedants are far too lax with their students, and miseducate the children of others". It is clear that such schools were held in low esteem. Under normal circumstances, the choice of a teacher for the local private school was a very serious matter. They were normally chosen from amongst the local degree holders; if a *shengyuan* was not available, a *tongsheng* was acceptable, but an absolute prerequisite was an excellent reputation for high moral standards and behaviour. It is doubtful that the private schools in the foreign settlements had any such prerequisites or standards.

The social status of an individual depends on his role in a particular social structure. The literati who had left the traditional social structure may indeed have belonged to the élite in that society, but this status, and its concomitant social function, meant little in the very different social structure of the foreign settlements. As Paul Cohen commented on Wang Tao: "Wang was technically a member of the "lower gentry" class. But once he moved to Shanghai and began to work for the London Missionary Society, the

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12 Shanghai Tongshe, *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao xu ji*. pp. 359-360
13 *Sishu* 私塾
14 Jin 6
"gentry" label rapidly became anachronistic - even granting the gentry-like character of the militia work he engaged in in the late 1850's. Applying the same criteria to other Chinese literati in the settlements, for example those engaged in translating Western books into Chinese, or those involved in the publication of newspapers, we can similarly conclude that none of these could any longer be considered members of the traditional gentry, even if at one stage in their lives, in a different social structure, they were.

In this context we should also mention the government-run school run by the Chinese government in Shanghai, the Guang Fangyan Guan. According to Biggerstaff, "upon successful completion of the course graduates were supposed to become sheng-yüan (actually fu-shen - the lowest in rank of the holders of the first regular civil service degree) and appointed interpreters or given responsibility for foreign affairs - almost certainly in Kiangsu and adjoining provinces". The reason graduates from this school were given a degree was to encourage more applicants; it was certainly not meant to set them on the path to a traditional career through the imperial examination system. Their social function was not to be that of the traditional gentry, and the subject matter they studied was not that of the traditional scholar. These people were eventually to be the forerunners of a new élite culture, but at that initial stage their status and role in society had not yet developed to the point where they could have any influence on society at large. Cohen has called Wang Tao, Li Shanlan and similar types "treaty port intellectuals", and noted that "the work of these men at first seemed to bear little relationship to the main stream of events in China".

On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that although there may have been degree-holders physically resident in the foreign settlements, they were no longer part of the traditional social structure, and many of them were engaged in non-traditional enterprises. They may have retained

16 Cohen, *Tradition and Modernity*, p. 154
18 Cohen, *Tradition and Modernity*, p. 16
the title "gentry", but could no longer be considered functioning members of the traditional gentry.

There were several related terms, all connected with the general concept of "gentry", current in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century. Apart from shenshi 纲绅 19 there were also shendong 纲董 and shenshang 纲商. The morpheme dong 董 in shendong is etymologically a verb. It is used in this sense in, for example, the following quotation from Wang Tao: "they all choose the local gentry to administer affairs (jie ze qi di shenshi dongsi qi shi 皆择其地绅士董司其事). In any matter, if the rights and wrongs cannot be settled, they will decide the matter for them, and no-one does not defer to them." 20 A similar usage can be found, for example, in the following quotation from the Shen Bao: "they choose someone impartial to administer their affairs (ze gongzheng zhe dong qi shi 择公正者，董其事)." 21 In a commentary to a sketch dated 1889, the Dianshizhai notes: "the administrators are to administer (dong shi zhe, dong qi shi ye 董事者，董其事也)，they must chose just and impartial gentry and those of a prosperous family background to do this, on public matters, they can compete on equal terms with the local officials, their reputation is very solid, and their position highly respected." 22

Mark Elvin has noted: "Around about the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was a second period of institutional change. Members of the gentry began to take direct personal control of dredging and other projects and were soon in consequence regularly referred to as "gentry

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19 "The gentry class in the Ch'ing period, as it was defined legally, officially, and popularly, was composed of two groups: (1) officials: active, retired or dismissed, including those who purchased their official titles or ranks; (2) holders of degrees or academic titles" - T'ung-tsu Ch'u, Local Government in China under the Ch'ing, p. 171. More detailed definitions of the terms "official gentry" and "scholar gentry" are given on p. 172. Chung-li Chang calls the gentry with degrees from participation in the imperial examinations the "regular group", and those who had bought their titles or degrees the "irregular group". He also notes that "the higher officials came almost exclusively though this regular route". Chung-li Chang, Gentry, p. 3; p. 5.

20 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi , juan 1 p. 9, shang.

21 Shen Bao, 15 May 1874 "Ji chengxiang fang zujie qingli zhi fa" 记城厢坊界清理之法

22 Wei 21
directors". At the same time customary gentry charitable practices became institutionalised in a rapidly growing number of "charitable halls". In the Chinese city of Shanghai in the late nineteenth century, public works and charitable works were all directed by the shantang 善堂 "charitable halls", and their shendong "gentry managers" were generally referred to as shantang shendong 善堂绅董 "charitable hall gentry managers".

Not all those involved in the administration of the charitable halls were, of course, gentry, but those gentry who were involved were referred to as shendong. The terms shenshi and shendong are by no means interchangeable. The term shendong, "gentry manager", is not a title, nor is it a rank; it simply refers to a position in a particular organisation.

The term shenshang was a very common term in the settlements, as least as early as the beginning of the 1870s. Sometimes it was more specific: zujie zhong shenshang 租界众绅商- "all the shenshang in the settlements". This term, shenshang, is a much more ambiguous term than shenshi or shengdong. It seems to have meant either gentrified merchants, or the gentry and the merchants taken together, or both at the same time.


24 The term "gentry manager" as a translation of shendong is from Philip A. Kuhn, Rebellion and its Enemies in Late Imperial China (Harvard University Press 1980) p. 213.

25 E.g. the Shen Bao editorial, 4 February 1873, "Lun nü tang yu guan ji yi jin zhi shi" 论女馆烟馆亟宜禁止事 [On the urgency of prohibiting female attendants in opium dens] contains the expression shantang shendong; Shen Bao editorial (5 March 1874) "Fajie cha jin huagu yin xi" 法界查禁花鼓淫戏 [French concession bans indecent flower drum operas] also refers to the shantang shendong. Shen Bao editorial, 22 January 1874) "Quan cheng-ni shendong juben zilaishui shuo" 劝城内绅董举办自来水说 [Urging the gentry managers in the Chinese city to install running water] refers to the "charitable halls" undertaking public works (in this case, the provision of running water), which was to be managed by the "gentry managers". The Shen Bao editorial (4 March 1895) "Lun xing shan ju yi qu fa yu Taixi" 论行慈善宜取法于泰西 [In charitable works, one should adopt the methods of the West] refers to shantang shenshi. Li Pingshu (Qiewan laoren qushi sui zixu, p. 53) also noted "all public works (gongcheng 工程) must be managed by the local gentry managers (difang shendong 地方绅董), only then will they be properly done".

26 Eg. Shen Bao, 4 February 1873
Various scholars have quite different explanations of this term. For example, Yen-p'ing Hao remarked that "now that merchants, through purchase, had joined the gentry in the ranks of the social élite, the two were frequently mentioned together as 'gentry-merchant' (shen-shang and shen-tung)." Wellington K. Chan does not define shen-shang as such, and his understanding of the term seems to differ in various parts of his book. In one place he notes "a new social stratum of official-entrepreneurs and gentry-merchants was emerging from the old gentry class", which seems to mean that they were members of the gentry who had begun to participate in industry or commerce. Later, however, he says "all of them were gentry merchants (shen-shang). They purchased official titles (usually of the rank of an expectant taotai) because these had become a sine qua non for merchants who wanted to gain admission into any official yamen to conduct business and to seek official support or sanction. Most of them were also former compradors". In discussing the status of merchants, he notes: "on the one hand, the wealthy merchant was a successful and influential member in his community. He collaborated freely with officials, and there was some movement between gentry, official and merchant ranks. On the other hand, officials in their daily routine, and the state in its public statements, continued to promulgate social biases against merchants. Down to the end of the nineteenth century, the great majority of officials, many of whom had undeclared business interests, still talked about the merchants mo-yeh (non-essential occupation), and contrasted it to the exploited farmer's pen-yeh (basic or essential occupation)". It is by no means clear whether the merchants referred to here include those compradors who had purchased official titles - as the more successful of them generally would have to.

28 Wellington K. Chan, Merchants, Mandarins and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China, (Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 9
29 ibid. p. 72
30 ibid. p. 24
Marianne Bastid-Bruiguiere gives the following definition: "At the beginning of the 1900s a new social stratum was emerging from the traditional élite. This social stratum was not yet identified by any particular name, but it was the subject of almost every allusion in contemporary texts to the shen-shang, a term often translated as 'gentry merchants' ... Shen-shang could mean either official and scholar gentry on the one hand, and merchants on the other, as two different and juxtaposed categories distinct at the same time from the people (min) and officials in post (kuan): but this usage was becoming exceedingly rare. Generally, if the term were applied to a group, it represented a global notion including both official and scholar gentry involved in business and merchants possessing literary degrees or official titles, as well as simple scholars and merchants associated with them. If applied to an individual it represented only the first two categories. We might translate it as 'business gentry'."31

Yü Ying-shih has also noted that it is open to debate whether the term shen-shang refers to two different types of people, or whether it is a compound noun. He suggests its etymology might be a contraction of the expression shen-shi shang-min, which obviously refers to two categories.32 Yü's article is concerned with Chinese society in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and it is quite likely that his definition is correct for that period.

Whatever shenshang means, unlike shenshi it was never used as a personal title. In the early twentieth century we can find such a usage, as for example a reference in the Shen Bao to Zhu Baosan and others 朱葆三等人, but even here it refers to a group of people.33

32 Yu Yingshi 余英时, Zhongguo sixiang chuantong de xiandai quanshi 中国思想传统的诠释 (Modern interpretations of traditional Chinese thought) (Taiwan: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi 联经出版事业公司, 1987), note on p. 399
33 Shen Bao, 14 November, 1905
My own understanding of the term is that it could mean gentry and merchants, but it was more commonly used to describe a particular type of person such as Jing Yuanshan 经元善. Jing was born into a merchant family in Shangyu, Zhejiang. His father, Jing Wei 经纬 (Jing Fangzhou 经芳洲) set up a business in the early 1840s in Shanghai, where he established a native bank and ran a tea company. In the 1850s he began to develop connections with the authorities, and had excellent relations with both Chinese and foreign officials. He was also very active in social and charitable activities. Jing inherited a certain amount of wealth from his father, and, apart from his bank, also invested in and acted as a director of a number of Chinese-Western joint ventures. He met Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀 in 1879 and, on the recommendation of Zheng Guanying 郑观应, joined the Shanghai Mechanised Cloth Weaving Bureau and later became Director of the Telegraph Bureau.

Another example of this type was Chen Zhuping 陈竹坪 (Chen Xuyuan 陈煦元). Chen started from scratch, but became very rich and was often involved in various public works with such men as Xu Run, Yu Liancun, Sheng Xuanhuai and Hu Xueyan. In 1881, he contributed a large sum towards the construction of a dyke in Chuansha county, which

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34 Jing Yuanshan, Qu ting ju shu, Shanghai 1897, juan 1, pp. 48-49; juan 2, pp. 36-37
35 Jing Yuanshan, Ju yi chu ji, Shanghai, 1903, juan 2, p. 10, p. 30-31, p. 38
36 Chen's pace of origin was Nanxun 南浔 in Wucheng county 马程县, Zhejiang. Nanxun is a silk-producing area. A group of twelve people who had become rich through their management of silk filatures in Nanxun were known as the "four elephants and eight oxen" (si xiang ba niu 四象八牛). Chen was one of the eight oxen. See also Shanghai Zhengxie wenshi weiyuanhui 上海政协文史委员会 (ed.) Shanghai wenshi ziliao xuan ji di 56 ji: “Jiu Shanghai de waishang yu maiban” 上海文史资料选集第56集：上海的外商与买办 [Selected material for the study of Shanghai history - Volume 56: Foreign merchants and compradors in old Shanghai] (Shanghai: renmin chubanshe 人民出版社 1987) pp. 16-18. See also Xu Xinwu 徐新吾, Zhongguo jindai saosi gongye shi 中国近代缫丝工业史 [History of the silk filature industry in modern China] (Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1990) pp. 75-78, which also mentions the "four elephants and eight oxen", but makes no mention of Chen Zhuping. See also Yen-p'ing Hao, The Comprador in Nineteenth Century, p. 53; pp. 89-122.
37 Xu Run, Nianpu, p. 15
was called "Mr. Chen's dyke 陈公塘". The cause closest to Chen Zhuping's heart was disaster relief. During the 1885 floods in Guangdong, Chen was very active in collecting funds for flood victims; he published detailed accounts of his fund-raising activities in the *Shen Bao* every day for a week. In 1888, the year before he died, the *Shen Bao* published a special article on Chen Zhuping's fund-raising activities. This sort of enthusiastic participation in public works and fund-raising for charitable causes would have been the function of the gentry in traditional society.

Summing up the evidence, it is my view that men such as Jing Yuanshan and Chen Zhuping would have been typical examples of "merchant gentry". It is true, of course, that there were merchants and others who were closely connected with Chinese officialdom, such as Zheng Guanying. Such people, however, played such a complex, multifunctional role in China and the time, they are not easily categorised. It is much more useful, methodologically, to choose more ordinary and straightforward examples, such as Jing Yuanshan or Chen Zhuping, as representatives of this group.

Reviewing the definitions given above, I agree with those which characterise the *shenshang* as being essentially very successful merchants who had become rich, purchased official titles, and had close connections with official organisations and enterprises.

On the status of the "gentry merchants", the following rhyme from the *Bamboo-branch Rhymes of Shanghai* is instructive: "Half the gentry-merchants (shenshang) in Shanghai are Daotais. But their titles are only purchased, as the regulations allow. Mandarins are as numerous as crucian carp - but only prostitutes address them by their titles!"

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38 Zhu Peng, *Shanghai shi yange dili*, pp. 17-18 (See Chapter Three of this thesis). Chen's official titles, like those of other merchants of similar background, was of course purchased.

39 *Shen Bao*, 18 July-24 July, 1885

40 *Shen Bao*, 30 January 1888; 24 February 1888.

41 Zhu Wenbing 朱文柄, *Haishang zhuzhi ci* [Bamboo-branch Rhymes of Shanghai], p. 36): "沪上绅商半道台，无非循例报捐来。大人真个多如鲫，付与倡人叫几回。"
I cannot agree, however, that genuine members of the traditional gentry, who engaged in commerce, would fall into the category of *shenshang*. In the nineteenth century, at least, Chinese officials were meticulous in their use of titles. This can be seen very clearly in an exchange of letters between Zheng Guangying and Li Hongzhang. Zheng Guanying referred to Jing Yuanshan, who at that time was Director of the Telegraph Bureau, as "Director Jing, Zhejiang gentry".\(^{42}\) In his reply, Li Hongzhang referred to him simply as "Director Jing".\(^{43}\) Such terminological distinctions were not accidental. Zheng, for his own personal reasons, wanted to use the term "gentry" in connection with Jing - whether or not that term was acceptable to others was another matter. Obviously Li Hongzhang felt that he could not refer to one of the "gentry-merchants" as "real" gentry in an official document. In the same letter, he refers to another official of the Telegraph Bureau, Xie Jiafu 谢家福, as "Xie shen" 谢绅. It is clear that Xie had achieved his status through the traditional, regular route, and was thus addressed as *shenshi*, though his position in the Telegraph Bureau was not nearly so important as that of Jing Yuanshan.\(^{44}\)

If Jing Yuanshan was not regarded as a genuine member of the gentry, Chen Zhuping had even less claim to this status. He was a self-made man, and, although he had purchased an official title, never held any official posts. When the *Dianshizhai* reported his death, they used such terms as "The Good Man of Zhehu"\(^{45}\) and "Mister Chen Zhuping".\(^{46}\) This is significant, because whenever the *Dianshizhai* mentioned a member of the gentry from the Chinese city, they would be sure to add his title: *shenshi*. The editors were punctilious in their use of titles.

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\(^{42}\) *Zheshen Jing zhushi* 誠紳經主事  
\(^{44}\) ibid. p. 999  
\(^{45}\) *Zhe-hu shanshi* 鄭湖善士  
\(^{46}\) Chen Zhuping xiansheng 陈竹坪先生. Wu 4. Brief biographies of Chen Zhuping and Jing Yuanshan can be found in *Shanghai-xian xuzhi* 上海縣續志, Juan 21
The use of titles is a useful indication of status, and the degree of acceptability of an individual. The more secure one was in one's own titles, acquired through the examination process, the more careful one would be in calling others by their correct titles. Li Hongzhang, as a supporter of industrialisation, had close dealings with the "gentry-merchants", but this had no influence on his view of their comparatively lowly status. Li Pingshu was regarded as being particularly enlightened. He himself was a member of the "regular" gentry, but in his autobiography he is particularly careful in his use of titles to differentiate status. He refers to members of the gentry as *shenshi*, e.g. "Bureau Gentry, Elevated Scholar Chen".\(^{47}\) Chen Lianfang, a famous doctor, however is referred to as *xiansheng* 先生\(^{48}\) and Zeng Shaoqing 曾少卿 is referred to as *jun* 君.\(^{49}\) He does not seem to recognise any category which is both gentry and merchant at the same time: when he mentions them at the same time, he is very careful to distinguish two separate categories.\(^{50}\) The term *shenshang* does appear once in Li Pingshu's autobiography, in reference to a discussion held in the Minglun-tang Hall 明伦堂, in 1908, on a proposal to demolish the city wall. From the context, however, it is clear that he is referring to both gentry and merchants, the two terms being juxtaposed in much the same way as "officials, gentry, merchants" elsewhere in his book.

An example of the opposite tendency is provided by Xu Run, whose background was similar to that of Zheng Guanying. He was not a "regular" member of the gentry, and avoided the use of the term *shenshi* in his chronological autobiography (*nianpu*), preferring terms such as *zhu gong*

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\(^{47}\) Ju-shen Chen juren 們绅陈举人 Li Pingshu, Zixu, p. 38, p. 39

\(^{48}\) ibid. p. 50, p. 51, p. 52

\(^{49}\) ibid. p. 53.

\(^{50}\) E.g. "Jia Yueyuan qing difang shendong ji Yueji jushang" 假愚园请地方绅董及粤籍巨商 [invite local gentry-managers and Cantonese important merchants to the Yuyuan Garden] (ibid. p. 52); "xing luochengli kaihui, guan shen shang daoze nan nü bin sanbai yu ren" 行落成礼开合，官绅商到者男女宾三百余 [they organised a meeting to celebrate the completion of the project; officials, gentry, merchants: more than three hundred guests, men and women, came] (ibid. p. 55).
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Xu Run, Nianpu, p. 32
52 ibid. p. 137
53 ibid. p. 29, p. 37, p. 38
54 Zhu Peng, Shanghai-shi yange dili, pp. 17-18.
55 There is a photograph, dated 1904, of Li Boyuan with a group of shen-shang, most of whom did not even have a purchased degree. They were: Jin Zuxun of Suzhou, a comprador in the silk section of the Japanese firm Mitsui; Lu Hengfu, of Shanghai, a flower-nursery manager; Song Gengtang, a comprador in the silk section of the Japanese firm Mitsui; Xin Zhongqing, of Nanjing, a silk merchant; Xu Renjie, of Haining, a land-owner; Xi Xifan, of Suzhou, a comprador in a number of foreign banks; Gu Songquan, the founder of the Sino-Western Medicinal Company; Shi Fengxiang, of Zhejiang, who started his career in the building industry; Lu Yizhen, of Nanxun, the son of the owner of the Yucang Silk Shop, and the accountant of a well known foreign lawyer; Zhou Hongsun, of Ningbo, an expectant Daotai, and also a land-owner in Shanghai; Gu Jingzhai, of Nanxun, a silk merchant; Ge Leyi, a Frenchman (his mother was from Shanghai, and he himself could speak the Ningbo and Suzhou dialects), the proprietor of the Liangji Medicine Shop; Cai Yuanqing, of Jiaxing, a xiucai, who acted as interpreter for several foreign lawyers; Huang Jinchen, of Huzhou, a silk

諸公，zhu jun，and weng 翁. These terms are deliberately chosen so as not to disclose the background of the person concerned: "regular" or "irregular" gentry.

Such punctiliousness in the use of titles became less pronounced with the passing of time. The Local Gazetteer of Chuansha County - Republican Period (Minguo Chuansha xian zhi), published in 1937 reproduces documents from the late Qing on Chen Zhuping, which record in detail his contribution of funds which enabled the construction of the dyke, and which are full of praise for his good deeds. He is referred to, however, simply as "The Good Man of Wucheng" (Wucheng shan shi 乌城善士) or as Chen jun 陈君. The commentator, however, writing in the Republican period, refers to him as Zhe-shen Chen-jun Xuyuan 鹽紳陳君 煜元 Mr Chen Xuyuan, Zhejiang gentry.

The category of shen-shang became clearer by the beginning of the twentieth century, and it is possible to distinguish individual members, such as Zhu Baosan, mentioned above. By this stage, however, its usage was even looser, and the term shen-shang could be applied to anyone with money and a high social position, whether he had an official title or not.
Ho Ping-ti has expressed the opinion that "it is ill-advised to regard irregular kung-sheng as being inferior in status to regular kung-sheng". In my view, however, purchased degrees did not bring the same respect and status that degrees acquired through the regular examination process did. Ho argues that social realities were different from the picture shown in legal texts, and notes that "subtler social realities must be sought in social novels and private literary writings". My study of similar materials leads me to a conclusion rather different from that of Ho Ping-ti. A commentary in the Dianshizhai dated 1894, entitled "In Search of Glory, but Finds Humiliation", tells of a nouveau-riche rickshaw puller who purchased an official title. He was completely illiterate, but was full of his self importance. His son was stupid, but the father hoped for nothing more than he would distinguish himself in the imperial examinations. This plan did not meet with success, and he only succeeded in losing a lot of money.

In 1897 another tale, under the title "Not Acknowledging a Graduate of the Same Year", tells of a certain rich man from Suzhou, who had been granted the title of "Elevated Scholar" in recognition of his contributions to military expenditure. From that time on, "one often hears that, since he has attached himself to the gentry he frequently goes to the yamen to bully the weak. A few days ago a certain tenant owed a small amount of rent, so this man sent his servant [to the magistrate] with a name-card indicating that he was a graduate of the same year, with a request to evict [the tenant]. The

merchant; Cheng Yaocheng 程堯成, the manager of branches of the Sino-Western Medicinal Company in Beijing, Tianjin and other places; Chen Xingting 陳杏汀, of Shanghai, a tea-merchant; Hui Yuting 惠雨亭, of Shanghai; his father was English, with the surname Huite 惠特 (White?); Hui Yuting had Chinese nationality, and was a comprador for various foreign banks in Shanghai; Lu Shaoxiang 陸紹庠, of Shanghai, a xiucai, an expectant magistrate (zhixian) and a landowner. (From Wei Shaochang 魏紹昌, Li Boyuan yanjiu ziliao 李伯元研究資料 [Materials for research on Li Boyuan] (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1980), pp. 60-63). Only two of these people had the xiucai degree, and only one of the merchants had a purchased degree. Two of them were of mixed race.

56 Ho Ping-ti. The Ladder of Success in Imperial China. (Columbia University Press, 1962) p. 32
57 Idem pp. 41-42
58 Qiu rong fan ru 求榮反辱 She 44
magistrate thought deeply for some time, then he turned to the servant and said, "I am an Elevated Scholar of the 1852 vintage; he is a Elevated Scholar of the silver ingot variety. We have the same title but we are of different types. It seems to be the same, but it's not." Then he ordered that the name card be returned to the servant, and he refused the request. Everyone who heard this story laughed about it, and passed it on.  

This example was by no means unique. In late Qing writings, one can often find such complaints as the following: "In Shanghai, the positions of high and low are mixed, the positions of hats and shoes are inverted. Rich merchants try to push their way into the ranks of the gentry. They use the money in their pockets to purchase official titles. They find it no great burden to wear so much gold on their heads. They have no learning at all, except for their account books. Then there are some poor types who have learnt a few words of a foreign language. When they get rich they buy a title, and carry on like an arrogant official, very pleased with themselves. They’re really like monkeys dressed in men’s clothing. People who know about them really despise them. Even stranger are the brothel pimps, the messenger boys in foreign firms and the compardors - as soon as they get rich they buy a title - utterly shameless!"

These examples clearly demonstrate that purchasing a degree did not guarantee social respectability or acceptance. If one’s own profession was not a respectable one, the purchaser of a degree ran the risk of becoming a laughing stock.  

59 Bu ren tong nian 不认同年 Yuan 17  
60 Xiao-xiang-guan-shi-zhe 萧湘馆侍者, Haishang tua-tian-jiu-di zhuan 海上花天酒地传 [Dissipation and debauchery in Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1884), juan 1, pp. 24 xia - 25. Qin Rongguang, Shanghai-xian zhuzhici (p. 44) also notes that the cost of purchasing an official position had fallen to the point that even shop assistants could afford to buy a number of official titles.  
61 See Zhang Dechang 张德昌 (Chang Teh-chang), Qingji yige Jingguan de shenguo 清季一个京官的生活 [English title: Life of a Court Official in the Late Ch'ing Dynasty (Chinese University of Hongkong Press. 1970) pp.12-13. In the footnotes on pp. 27-29 Chang notes how common this practice was, and gives the standard price of various degrees and official titles. Chung-li Chang, Gentry, pp. 83-85 also discusses the Qing government policy of granting titles in exchange for contributions to military
Yen-p'ing Hao has a very high opinion of the compradors and the merchants, but he also notes: "As a member of the gentry and therefore a social leader, the comprador performed many gentry functions such as social relief, and assumed responsibility for maintaining order. As a result, he was honoured by the Chinese and foreign governments, and by the local authorities. But being chiefly an economic middleman, he also differed from the ordinary gentry in several respects. In the last analysis, he was not a genuine member of the gentry, for his status resulted merely from economic, not scholarly, achievements. And his role as a member of the gentry was played not in the rural community, as was usual, but in the commercial world of the treaty ports. Furthermore, the social function he performed went beyond those of the ordinary gentry, particularly in the fields of commerce and 'barbarian' affairs, both of which were beneath their attention". Later, Hao calls these men "marginal men".

Although the new gentry merchants of Shanghai had inherited, to a certain degree, some of the charitable activities of the traditional gentry, that does not mean they can be equated with the traditional gentry. In comparing the roles of the traditional gentry and the compradors (practically all of the gentry-merchants were compradors), Hao comments "the ordinary gentry promoted the Confucian doctrine and public morals, maintaining the local Confucian temples as well as proper social behaviour amongst the masses. In contrast, the compradors seem to have cared little about the Confucian doctrine, for their rise to power was based precisely on a departure from orthodox Confucianism - a special concern for barbarian affairs and, more important, wealth. Realising that the advancement of Confucianism would avail them little, they were interested instead in the development of commerce and industry."
The gentry merchants could not have fulfilled the role of the traditional gentry, partly because they were not accepted by the traditional gentry, and partly because they had no particular ambition to fulfil this role. Some of them actually did join forces with the gentry in the Chinese city in various attempts to maintain the traditional order. As we shall see, none of these schemes met with any success in the settlements.

It is clear that the traditional gentry, or the "gentry merchants" - or any self-proclaimed defender of traditional moral values for that matter - no longer had influence, once they were physically removed from their traditional power structure. All their appeals for a return to traditional moral values had lost significance. They were certainly not effective channels for cultural transmission in the settlements.

2. The elite in the Chinese city

The social structure in the Chinese city did not change, and so the position and responsibilities of the gentry still remained the same. They exercised their power, and their public responsibilities, through various charitable halls. The biggest in the Chinese city, the Hall of Impartial Altruism and Support for the Fundamental,\(^65\) was responsible for the administration of public works within the Chinese city, as well as various charitable activities. The Hall of Effective Care\(^66\) was a welfare organisation, whilst the Hall of Purity and Chastity\(^67\) was dedicated to

\(^{65}\) *Tongren Fuyuan tang* 同仁辅元堂. Qin Rongguang, *Shanghai-xian zhuzhici* contains eight ditties referring to the Tongren 同仁, Fuyuan 辅元, Guoyu 果育 and Puyu 普育 Halls.

\(^{66}\) *Guoyu tang* 果育堂 There is still a street in Shanghai named *Guoyutang jie*, near Fuxing East Street. See Xue Liyong 薛理勇, *Shanghai diming luming shiqu* 上海地名路名 (Shanghai Shudian, 1990), pp. 101-102

\(^{67}\) *Qingjie tang* 清节堂
helping widows maintain a chaste widowhood. All these organisations were instruments of cultural control. Sometimes a charitable hall would have a branch in the settlements, such as the Hall of Impartial Altruism and Support for the Fundamental, which set up a branch in the French Concession, but its activities were limited to welfare activities.68

As the settlements gradually developed into a comparatively modern, clean city, pressure began to be exerted on the gentry-managers to adopt similar measures in the Chinese city, such as the introduction of running water, clean streets and so on.69 As such matters were beyond their experience, it was rare for the gentry managers to reach agreement on such matters.70 On the need to maintain cultural control over the inhabitants of the Chinese city, however, the attitude of the gentry was absolutely

68 In the Shen Bao, 18 April 1876 there is an announcement placed by the Tongren Fuyuan Tang to the effect that medical services and medicine would be provided there free of charge. It added that, as there were no charitable halls in the settlements, doctors from the Tongren Fuyuan Tang in the Chinese city could go into the settlements to treat patients there. In 1885 the Dianshizhai mentioned twice the Renji Charitable Hall, on Liu Malu (in the International Settlement) which provided food and medical treatment, and mentioned that there were many such establishments in the settlements. (Ding 4; Ding 92). Clearly, a significant change had occurred in the intervening decade. The Renji Charitable Hall on Liu Malu was established by a Buddhist organisation, and was still the main charitable hall in the settlements into the twentieth century. See You Youwei, 上海近代佛教简史 [A brief history of Buddhism in modern Shanghai] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1988) p. 134. On the charitable halls of Shanghai, cf. Shanghai xian xu zhijuan pp. 31-44; Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, xia ce, pp. 1-11; Jiang Shenwu, "Shanghai xian zai Qingdai" 上海县在清代 [Shanghai county in the Qing dynasty] in Shanghai Tongzhiguan (ed.) Shanghai tongzhiguan qikan 上海通志馆期刊 (1934: 2) pp. 489-546, on pp. 506-507 and pp. 524-527. See Mark Elvin, "The Administration of Shanghai, 1905-1914" in Mark Elvin and G. William Skinner, The Chinese City Between Two Worlds (Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 239-262, on pp. 240-242, on the historical connections between the charitable halls and the gentry.

69 See Shen Bao, 22 January 1874, "Quan cheng-nei shen-dong juban zilaishui shuo" 劝城内绅董举办自来水水 [Appeal to gentry-managers in the Chinese city to instal running water]; Shen Bao, 19 April 1873, "Lun Hu-cheng jiedao wuzhuo yi xiuju shi" 论沪城街道污浊宜修洁事 [The streets in the Chinese city are filthy, and should be remade and cleaned up]. See Elvin, "Administration of Shanghai", p. 246: "By the 1880's, the growth of the Chinese city had led to increasing difficulty in meeting such problems as fire hazards, rubbish disposal, traffic circulation on waterways and streets, public order and the supply of drinking water".

70 On the introduction of running water, see Li Pingshu, Zixu, p. 17
determined and steadfastly united. They found the problem of how to maintain cultural control over the Chinese in the settlements, however, vexatious and frustrating, as their political power, and moral influence, could not reach into the settlements. For example, from the 1870s on, they constantly petitioned the Chinese government and the settlement authorities to ban women from the teahouses and opium dens.

At about that time, the Shanghai opium dens began to employ hostesses instead of male assistants, so as to attract custom. Within a few years all of them were employing hostesses. It can be seen from the *Dianshizhai* that the hostesses would accompany male customers while they smoked their opium. They would lie with them on the same opium couch, would massage them, and would even laugh and flirt with them.\(^71\) An article in the *Shen Bao* in 1872 relates how the author was shocked when he first arrived in Shanghai to find hostesses in the opium dens.\(^72\)

There were no hostesses in the teahouses, but they were certainly frequented by "wandering prostitutes."\(^73\)

There was no particular rule against women going to teahouses in traditional China, but the force of custom and moral precepts was inhibiting. In Shanghai both local Chinese officials and the settlement authorities repeatedly prohibited women from going to certain places. In 1873 both the Daotai of Suzhou and Shanghai and the Magistrate of Shanghai issued separate injunctions against women working as hostesses in opium dens.\(^74\) The notice issued by the Daotai mentioned that the gentry and merchants of

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\(^{71}\) Ding 66-67  
\(^{72}\) *Shen Bao*, 3 December 1872 "Jin yan nütangguan shuo" 禁烟女堂倌说 [On the Prohibition of Female Attendants in Opium Dens].  
\(^{73}\) liu ji 流妓. In 1891 one of the artists of the *Dianshizhai*, Fu Genxin, went to a teahouse on Si Malu, and saw them with his own eyes: "coquettish and loose, in twos and threes, with heavy make-up and gorgeous clothes, sitting around clean, brightly lit tables. When they see some well-dressed customer, they send amorous messages with their eyes and eyebrows, and are unrestrained in their seductiveness." The author also noted that before the authorities forbade women to work in the opium dens, the number of wandering prostitutes visiting these establishments was much less. (Jin 30)  
\(^{74}\) *Shen Bao*, 28 February 1873
Shanghai had petitioned the Magistrate of Shanghai, the Deputy of the Magistrate in the Mixed Court and all the foreign consuls.

About one month later the *Shen Bao* carried an order from the Magistrate of Shanghai forbidding women to frequent opium dens or to smoke opium.\(^75\) In 1885 the Deputy of the Shanghai Magistrate in the Mixed Court issued an order prohibiting women from visiting teahouses or opium dens.\(^76\) In 1891 the Municipal Council issued orders forbidding opium dens to allow guests to stay overnight, forbidding women smoking opium in the opium dens, and so on.\(^77\) The *Shen Bao* also published a number of articles on this subject.\(^78\)

Despite appeals in the newspapers, and official prohibitions displayed in practically every street and alley in Shanghai, there was a certain reluctance to implement them,\(^79\) and it was not long before the status quo ante had been restored. In March 1888, for example, the Deputy of the Magistrate in the Mixed Court, Cai Eryuan 蔡二源, issued such a prohibition. The Inspector of Police in the International Settlement immediately expressed his support,\(^80\) and Chinese officials hoped that the French would do likewise. The French Concession seems to have been fairly lax about such matters; according to the reports in the *Dianshizhai* and the *Shen Bao*, however, it was mostly there that female attendants were arrested and prosecuted.

In the *Dianshizhai* of 1885 there are two sketches about four opium dens in the French concession, which were still employing hostesses. They

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75 *Shen Bao*, 1 April, 1873
76 *Shen Bao*, 6 August, 1885
77 *Shen Bao*, 19 June, 1891
78 E.g. *Shen Bao* editorial, 23 June 1884: "Yanguan chalou yi jin funü shuo" 烟馆茶楼宜禁妇女说 [Opium dens and teahouses should prohibit women]; 5 January 1885: "Yangchang funü ru yanguan chalou shuo" 洋场妇女入烟馆茶楼说 [On women frequenting opium dens and teahouses in the foreign settlements]; 21 February 1887 Editorial: "Jin yinxi shuo" 尽禁戏说 [Prohibit indecent operas]; June 6 1887 editorial "Zhong jin nütingguan shuo" 重禁女堂说 [On strict bans on hostesses].
79 *Shen Bao*, 7 August 1885 editorial: "As soon as the order is issued, it must be implemented".
80 *Shen Bao*, 3 March 1888
were discovered by the police, and brought before the Mixed Court. The proprietor of one of the dens, Gu Haiquan 阮海泉, was sentenced to three hundred strokes of the cane, ordered to wear the wooden collar, and put on public display. The owners of the other three dens were all women: Mme Chen-Jiang 陈蒋氏, Mme Tao-Zhang 陶张氏 and Mme Lu-Chen 陆陈氏; each was sentenced to two hundred strokes, and to wear the wooden collar in public; and three hostesses - Wang Xiaomei 王小妹, Yan A-wu 严阿五 and Wang A-er 王阿二 were each sentenced to one hundred strokes of the cane. They were all paraded around the streets the next day. Even such savage punishment was not entirely effective. There is a news item in the Dianshizhai dating from 1888 to the effect that a "wild chicken" had been caught in the Nanchengxin Opium Den - the biggest such establishment in Shanghai.

The settlement authorities had no interest in such matters, although they may have given lip service to the concerns of the Chinese officials. The Chinese officials had no real power in either the French Concession or the International Settlement, however, and such prohibitions did not have much effect there. They were strictly enforced in the Chinese city, however - at least for the time being.

The matter of the proliferation of "indecent operas", too, was a matter of great concern for the Shanghai gentry. According to Tanaka Issei, the varieties of traditional local drama which developed in the market towns

81 Ding 66-67
82 Mao 30. This news item was also carried by the Shen Bao on 17 September 1888. Some days earlier (14 September 1888), the Shen Bao reported that a hostess had been caught in the French Concession.
83 Shen Bao, 20 July 1873. In 1898, the chief-of-police (baojia zongzhang 保甲总长) of the Chinese city ordered the closure of the Chunfeng-deyi-lou Teahouse 春风得意楼, on the grounds that men and women mixed freely there, and that this was injurious to public morality. (Nan-nü hun za, you shang fenghua 男女混杂, 有伤风化). The proprietor of the Teahouse had to call on a large number of friends for assistance, and eventually he was fined a certain amount in the county court. He also had to pay a number of bribes. In all, he lost three hundred taels of silver. See Wu Chenglian 吴承联, Jiu Shanghai chaguan jiulou 旧上海茶馆酒楼 [Teahouses and restaurants in Old Shanghai] (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1989), pp. 24-25.
were influenced by non-élite culture, rather than élite culture. This situation was very typical of later developments in the Jiangnan area. The population of this area increased rapidly after the mid-Ming period, and market towns became very prosperous. The "flower-drum song" performances popular in the area around Shanghai had always had the reputation of being indecent. In the collection "Songs of Songnan" (published during the Jiaqing period [1796-1820]) we find the following description: "The man beats a gong, and the women both ends of a drum. They are accompanied by a fiddle, a flute and a clapper. The words of the songs are all indecent. They use the local dialect in their dialogue, and stupid villagers can understand them. They are called "flower drum songs". They are performed at night-time; the men and women from neighbouring villages lock their doors and come to watch". There is also a description of the indecent songs sung by blind women: "Blind female performers have recently learnt some brothel songs. Heavily made up, they sit in the teahouses and sing them. The young men compete with each other to send them gifts for their favours." The "flower drum songs" had always been forbidden by officialdom, but they were never eradicated.

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84 Tanaka Issei, *The Social and Historical Context of Ming-Ch'ing Local Drama* pp. 144-145 in Johnson et al., *Popular Culture*, pp. 143-160
86 huagu xi 花鼓戏
87 Songnan yuefu 淞南乐府, Songnan is an abbreviation for the two counties of Shanghai and Nanhui 南汇.
88 Yang Guangfu 杨光辅 (comp.) *Songnan yuefu* 淞南乐府 reprinted in Shanghai Tongshe (ed.), *Shanghai shanggu congshu* 上海掌故丛书 (Shanghai, 1935), juan 8, pp. 14-16
89 Shanghai tongshe (ed.) *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao*, p. 566; Shanghai wenshiguan 上海文史馆 (ed.) *Jiu Shanghai de yan, du, chang* 旧上海的烟，赌，娼 [Opium, gambling and prostitution in old Shanghai] (Bajitia chubanshe 百家出版社 1988), p. 152; Shen Bao, 23 June 1887.
By the end of the nineteenth century, the moral atmosphere of the settlements had become so lax that it proved impossible to keep the "indecent operas" under control. In 1874, the Shen Bao printed the Daotai's prohibition against indecent operas, and listed the names of eighteen such works. In 1885, the Shen Bao carried an order from the Deputy of the Chinese Magistrate in the Mixed Court forbidding the performance of indecent operas. In 1886, however, the Dianshizhai was still complaining: "those who invest large sums in establishing theatres attempt to dominate

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90 The eighteen operas were: Indecent Kunqu (昆腔): *Tiao lian cai yi* 抡帘栽衣 [Lift the curtain and take measurements]; *Chafang bi wu* 茶坊比武 [A martial arts competition in a teahouse] *Laichang* 来唱, *Xiachang* 下唱, *Wopao* 梦袍 [The [Japanese] dwarf's gown]; *Zhafan* 番饭 [The monk's meal]; Indecent Peking style opera (京班 Jingban): *Cuipingshan* 翠屏山 [Cuiping Mountain]; *Haichaozhu* 海潮珠 [The seashell pearl]; *Jinyang Gong* 晋阳宫 [The Jinyang Palace]; *Fanwang Gong* 梵王宫 [The Palace of Brahma]; *Guanwang Miao* 关王庙 [The Temple of Guan Gong]; *Mai yanzhi* 卖胭脂 [Selling rouge]; *Qiao yinyuan* 巧姻缘 [A fortunate match]; *Mai Huimian* 卖徽面 [Selling Anhui noodles]; *Xiazi zhuo jian* 趴子捉奸 [Blind man catches adulterers]; *Shuang ding ji* 双订记; *Shuang yao ling* 双耀令; *Jie nigu* 截尼姑 [A Buddhist nun intercepted]. (Shen Bao, 10 January 1874). We have only the names of these plays, and no details of their contents. The meaning of some of the titles is obscure, but the general themes of these "indecent plays" can be guessed from some of the more obvious titles. The main reason these particular eighteen plays were listed was that they were connected with one of the "Four Strange Cases of the Late Qing" (Qingmo si da qi an 清末四大奇案), the case of Yang Yuelou 杨月楼. Yang was an actor in "The Palace of Brahma" (Fanwang Gong 梵王宫), set in the time of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty. Yang played the role of a general, who made a secret marriage pact with a certain woman. He played the role with such skill that he became somewhat of an idol amongst the ladies of Shanghai. A concubine of a certain Cantonesse merchant, and her daughter, were both attracted to him. The daughter announced she wished to marry him, but marriage between an actor and a respectable woman was not countenanced by society. Nevertheless, as both mother and daughter were willing, they arranged the marriage in secret. When news leaked out, the girl's uncle, in conjunction with their clan members from Guangzhou, brought the matter to the Mixed Court, accusing Yang of kidnapping and deception. The Mixed Court had Yang arrested, then transferred the case to the County Court. Under torture, Yang admitted to kidnapping the girl. The case lasted more than two years, and was somewhat of a sensation. A discussion was carried on in the pages of the Shen Bao for more than a month. In response to a request from the Shanghai gentry, the Magistrate of Shanghai, Ye Yingjuan 叶廷眷, promulgated an order against women being permitted to attend "indecent theatrical performances", and listed the eighteen plays mentioned above. See Shen Bao, 29 December 1873 to 21 January, 1874. For details of this case see Zhou Luojia, *Qingmo si da qi an 清末四大奇案* (Quanzhong chubanshe 群众出版社, 1985) pp. 130-164; Xin Zhi 信之, Xiao Ming 晓明 (eds.) *Jiu Shanghai shehui bai tai 旧上海社会百态* (One hundred aspects of society in Old Shanghai) (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1991) pp. 81-118.
each other and compete with each other. The attraction of more than half the performances is sex and violence. The tongues of the critics are worn out and their lips dry, but there is no sign of anyone rectifying the situation."91

That is not quite true. The gentry, in fact, put a good deal of effort into trying to rectify the situation. In 1873 a certain member of the gentry spent a large amount of money to bring a troupe to Shanghai to perform "decent operas". They put on their show in the middle of one of the main streets of Shanghai, but there was no audience, and the performances were soon cancelled. An editorial in the Shen Bao noted: "In the theatres of Shanghai, the most important attraction is the fame of the actors. The next thing is that the costumes must be dazzling, and thirdly that the actors can sing well, act well and be proficient in the martial arts. Only then can it succeed. But these sort of people have none of these characteristics. They are no better than the beggar troupes in the villages. They aim to attract an audience, so as to educate them against doing evil. How could they succeed?"92

Orthodox traditional plays, such as the Romance of the Three Kingdoms, did, of course, act as transmitters of traditional moral virtues. Artistically speaking, however, such performances were highly refined. The "decent operas", however, were written and produced hastily, and they were artistically unrefined. It is hardly surprising they failed to attract an audience. The Shen Bao commented "In Shanghai, indecent operas are performed everywhere. People's hearts are base and evil - how can these trifling works turn back the tide?" They described these efforts as "trying to put out a burning cartload of firewood with a glass of water".93 In 1888, the Shen Bao commented on a similar case: "The aim of operas was to encourage people to do good and warn them against doing evil. But recently, operas are full of sex and violence. Gradually they have lost their

91 Geng 41
92 Shen Bao, 8 April 1873
93 bei shu che xin 福水车薪. The expression is from Mencius, Book VI Part A para. 18; see D.C. Lau, Mencius (Penguin Books, 1970), p. 169
original aim. Mr Yu Liancun has composed several songs, in ancient style, which have the avoidance of evil as their theme. Orders were transmitted from official to official, and they were performed in the theatres of Shanghai. Unfortunately the programme was too insipid, and the audiences found them dull. They did not become popular."

While unsuccessful attempts were being made in the settlements to ban hostesses in opium dens and "indecent operas", a member of the Shanghai gentry, Yu Pinghan, was calling together the other gentry to raise funds for the establishment of the Hall of Purity and Chastity, to provide a place of refuge for widows with no means of support, and to help them preserve their chastity. As it turned out, quite a few widows entered the Hall of Purity and Chastity Hall only to leave it soon afterwards. The Hall even had a policy to encourage women to take refuge there, and would offer a reward of a few hundred cash to the local constables for every widow they persuaded to enter it.

In 1832 the Shanghai county established a "Bureau of Information on the Chaste and the Filial" to gather information provided by the gentry on examples of chaste widows, filial children and martyrs-for-chastity, to build memorial arches and temples in their honour, and to memorialise the throne requesting that a distinction be awarded to a certain individual. This bureau published a Record of Making Manifest the Obscure: Testimonials of Merit Conferred by the Emperor on the Chaste, the Filial and the Martyrs-for-Chastity of Shanghai County in four volumes, which was personally

94 Yu Liancun was involved with Xu Run, Chen Zhuping, Sheng Xuanhuai, Hu Xueyan and others in various public works in Shanghai. See Xu Run, Xu Yuzhai xius nianpu 徐震自叙年谱 in Shihuo shixue congshu : Zhongguo jingji shiliao congbian (Qingdai pian) (Taiwan: Shihuo chuban youxian gongsi, 1977), p. 29

95 Shen Boo, 6 April 1888

96 "Lun Qingjietang wen you andun shiyi zhi jieshuang guozu shi" 论清洁堂间有安顿失宜致节婦義事 (On alleged mismanagement in the Hall of Purity and Chastity and the reluctance of chaste widows to remain there). Shen Bao, 14 June 1873

97 Caifang jie-xiao gongju 来访节孝公局

98 Jingbiao Shanghaixian jie-xiao zhenlie chanyoulu 旌表上海县节孝贞烈闕表录
presented to the Imperial Court by the Governor§ Lin Zexu 林则徐 with the petition that distinctions be awarded for virtuous conduct. The "chaste widows" were all women who had maintained their widowhood for many years. The records of their lives are all much the same. A few examples suffice to give some idea of the difficulties these women suffered all their lives: Mme. Cheng 程氏, who had been a widow for 21 years; when she was widowed she was only 18; Mme. Fan 范氏, who had been a widow for 53 years, becoming a widow at the age of 19; Mme. Zhou 周氏, a widow for 63 years, who had become a widow at the age of 21, and so on and so on. There are also records of filial daughters, who may have cut off some of their own flesh to make broth for an ailing parent or parent-in-law, or who mutilated themselves after the death of their parents, who who refused to eat and starved themselves to death. The compilation of this sort of "record of virtuous deeds" continued well into the twentieth century.

These "exemplary lives" had long been models for women. Despite the fact that there was no lack of scandalous behavior between men and women in Shanghai at that time, and that the realities of society had changed, this sort of moral standard was still upheld by the gentry. Li Pingshu's grandmother was granted an imperial distinction in 1882, when she was 79 years old and had maintained her widowhood for 53 years. In writing about this in 1923, Li was obviously very proud of her.

Not only the gentry upheld this attitude. Even those of modest education, who felt they understood the basic principles of propriety, with

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99 Xu Weiren 徐渭仁 and Jin Shutao 金树涛 (eds.) Jingbiao Shanghaixian jie-xiao zhenlie chanyoulu 旌表上海县节孝贞烈闺幽录 [Record of making manifest the obscure: Testimonials of Merit conferred by the Emperor on the chaste, the filial and the martyrs-for-chastity of Shanghai county] juan 3, pp. 3-4. Published during the Daoguang period (1821-1850).
100 Xu Weiren 徐渭仁 and Jin Shutao 金树涛 (eds.) ibid, juan 2.
102 In 1889, 1892 and even as late as 1913, this Bureau published Qinjing Shanghaixian xiao-jie zhenlie funü xing-shi lu [A record of names of the filial, the chaste and the martyrs-for-chastity of Shanghai county decorated by the Emperor].
103 Li Pingshu, Zixu, p. 16.
no official degree or only a low one - certainly not important enough to be considered members of the gentry - also felt it was their responsibility to maintain traditional moral standards. The journalists of the *Shen Bao* and the artists of the *Dianshizhai*, for example, despite the fact that they were living in the settlements and had already abandoned a traditional scholar's lifestyle and career, had by no means cast off their role as "guardians of traditional moral teachings".\(^{104}\) There are many examples of stories in both the *Shen Bao* and the *Dianshizhai* which are not newsworthy in themselves, but are rather exemplary stories of chaste wives and pure maidens.\(^{105}\) One of these stories, published in the *Dianshizhai*, concerned the daughter of the former editor-in-chief of the *Shen Bao*, He Guisheng 何桂笙.\(^{106}\)

\(^{104}\) Chung-li Chang, *Chinese Gentry*, p. 63: "The gentry also function as guardians of the traditional moral teachings. This was one of the main aspects of their role in Chinese society. In their whole life, the gentry expressed the Chinese cultural tradition."

\(^{105}\) Eg. *Shen Bao*, 29 April 1872, "Jin jie-fu zhuan" 金节妇传 [Biography of a chaste woman with the surname Jin]. Other cases from the *Dianshizhai* have been given in Chapter One, Part Three of this thesis. The *Dianshizhai* also reported imperial distinctions bestowed on chaste widows, such as the case, in 1887, of the Imperial Envoy to Guangdong memorialising the Throne with a request to bestow honours on a woman who chose to be buried alive with her deceased husband (Ding 35); and the report dated 1892 that an imperial distinction had been conferred on a filial daughter-in-law who had cut off her arm to help in the treatment of her father-in-law. (Si 42 xia)

\(^{106}\) Yu 9 The story, titled "Filial Daughter Cuts Off Arm", is as follows: "This woman had the surname He 何氏. She was the eldest daughter of the Cold Food Scholar of Gaochang 高昌寒食生, He Guisheng. She was intelligent and kind-hearted by nature, and skillful at playing the drums and the zither, and her reading ability was such that she could grasp the general gist of the text. She had often read of filial children in ancient times would cut out their livers and gorge out the flesh from their thighs and such. In her heart she admired such acts. She asked her father "Could these acts be considered filial piety?" Her father told her that such acts were misguided filial piety, and not to be emulated. Their intentions were good, however, and should be praised. This year, during the winter, her father developed ulcers, and his condition became very serious. The doctors, incompetent as they were, could not come up with an effective cure, and they erroneously prescribed tonics. His health deteriorated daily. At that time his daughter was eighteen years old, and worry was written on her face. She walked to and fro incessantly, day and night. She didn't know what to do. One night she lit incense and prayed to Heaven, and begged that she might suffer in her father's place. She then mixed it with medicine and presented it [to her father]. It was sweet to her father's lips, and he felt slightly better. Eventually, however, it was no match for the harmful effects of the tonics prescribed by the medicasters, and this pure act of filial piety could not change the predestination of Heaven, and her father entered Paradise. Alas, alas. The father had handed down the
Of course, the establishment gentry were not the only groups in China struggling against the process of disintegration of the Chinese cultural tradition, but they were certainly its staunchest and most influential defenders, and were also capable of interfering in the process of inevitable cultural change amongst ordinary people through administrative measures.

Amongst the gentry in Qing China, one of the important aspects of personal moral cultivation on the one hand, and the perceived obligation to maintain cultural control over the non-élite on the other, was the custom of "reverence for lettered paper". Many charitable halls in Shanghai organised "Lettered Paper Societies", whose task it was to collect paper on which characters had been written, for appropriate disposal, and at the same time to exert supervision and control over the users of paper and thus the written word - both individuals and shops.

107 Jingxi zizhi. See You Zi'an, "Qian tan jingxi zizhi" 具体表示尊崇字纸 [An introductory discussion on reverence for lettered paper], Taiwan Lishi yuekan 台湾历史月刊 [English title: Historical Monthly] No. 21 (October, 1989) pp. 138-139.

According to You, this custom originated in the Song-Yuan period, and gradually became very widespread. It was originally connected with the worship of the Daoist deity Wenchang 文昌帝君, the God of Literature. The custom was meticulously observed by the literati during the Qing period. See Wolfram Eberhard, Guilt and Sin in Traditional China (University of California Press, 1967) pp. 72-73: "This stress upon the value of the family and Confucianism in general was much stronger than the stress upon clearly Buddhist or even clearly Taoist values. We can safely assume that the protection of printed paper and the holy books refers more to Confucian writings than to strictly religious writings". Eberhard is here stressing certain types of writing. In fact, the point of the "reverence for the written word" was on respect for any writing. Any written material was by its very nature sacred, regardless of its content. All paper on which there was any writing at all had to be "reverenced".

108 Xi zi hui. See Rev. Justus Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese (Harder and Brothers, New York,1865), Vol. II, pp. 167-169: "Amongst the national characteristics of this people is the respect shown to paper on which Chinese characters have been written, printed or stamped. This respect is carried to an extraordinary and absurd extent in this part of the empire. Four characters on small slips of paper, usually about five or six inches long, calling upon the people to "reverence lettered paper", are posted up on walls and houses in a great multitude of places in this city and suburb. Small baskets, holding about a peck, and having this slip pasted on the outside, are found everywhere, hung up by the wayside, on houses and shops, designed to hold any lettered waste paper which the people in the vicinity happen to have. Furnaces, holding from half a bushel to several barrels, are quite frequent, in shape like a house or a pagoda, built by the side of the most frequented streets..."
Details of this custom are also to be found in the *Dianshizhai*. For example, in 1890 described the triennial ceremonies in Taibei, Taiwan, when the ashes of the paper were solemnly delivered into the ocean.110

as well as more retired alleys. These have an inscription like that on the baskets, and are designed to contain waste paper while it is being reduced to ashes. The smaller furnaces are usually attached to buildings, while the larger ones are built up from the ground with brick, and oftentimes are stained with various gaudy colors. A society, called "Lettered-paper Society", having from eight or ten to a hundred or more members, exists quite numerously here, the object of which is to secure the Chinese character from irreverent use. Generally, each society erects a furnace in which to burn to ashes the waste paper its agents may collect. Each employs one or more men, whose business is to go around the streets and alleys, collecting every scrap of lettered paper which may have fallen to the ground, or which may be found adhering loosely to the walls of houses or shops. Some men gather together refuse lettered paper, old account-books, advertisements, etc., which they sell to the head man or agent of these societies, often getting only half a cent per pound, or even a less sum. These societies purchase large numbers of small baskets, which are labeled with the name of the society to which they belong, and then distribute them among shop-keepers and householders. Paper deposited in these baskets is taken away by the agents of the societies. The members of these societies each contribute monthly a sum of money to defray the expenses of gathering and buying the waste paper ...

The ashes of this paper are carefully put into earthen vessels and kept until a large quantity is collected. They are then transferred to baskets, and carried in procession, attended by the members of the society in their best apparel, through the principal streets of the city or suburbs, to the bank of the river, where they are either poured out into the water, and allowed to float down into the ocean, or placed in a boat and taken several miles down the river, or, as some say, near its mouth, before they are emptied into the stream. A band of musicians is hired to accompany the procession, who play on their instruments as they pass along the streets. The members of the society carry each a large stick of incense, already lighted, held reverently in one hand before them as they pass along.

Sometimes the society is connected with a large temple; or the prosecution of the object for which the society is formed is intrusted to the trustees or the committee who have charge of the temple. In a certain large temple, erected a few years ago, thirty or forty earthen vessels were once seen, holding more than half a barrel apiece, devoted to containing the ashes of lettered paper until carried forth and emptied into the river. In the fall of 1859 I happened to meet a procession, consisting, in part, of about a hundred men, each carrying two large baskets of ashes, which had been collected by a society connected with the largest and the richest temple within the city. It was passing, with much pomp and show, along the main street in the southern suburbs, *en route* to the banks of the Min, attended by a large number of well-dressed gentlemen and a band of music.

A kind of small portable earthen vessel is sometimes made at the expense of private individuals or of societies, and given away to literary individuals, or held for sale at cost, designed for burning to ashes waste paper in dwelling-houses or in shops. These ashes are carefully done up in packages, or kept in a large vessel until disposed of in some public way, or delivered over to the agents of the societies." Doolittle was writing specifically about Fuzhou, but the custom was widespread throughout China. See J.J.M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China* (reprinted by Literature House, Ltd, Taiwan, 1964) Vol. VI, pp. 1010-1023, who also gives a detailed description of this custom.
Even quite small details can be seen in the Dianshizhai sketches, such as the special receptacles for lettered paper (usually a bamboo basket), such as in the sketch dated 1889 which shows an old man carrying such a receptacle, on which is inscribed "Wen Chang Pavilion: Show Reverence for Lettered Paper". 111

Whether or not an individual showed "reverence for lettered paper" was an important aspect of personal moral behaviour. In praising local gentry or influential people, "reverence for lettered paper" was always listed with other types of virtuous behaviour. See, for example, the following extract from the Continuation of the Shanghai Local Gazetteer: "In the third year of the Guangxu period, Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀, a powerful member of the gentry of Wujin,112 single-handedly instituted distribution of medicine, medical treatment, provision of coffins, care of the aged, care of unwanted children, reverence for lettered paper and so on."113 "The Yishan Charitable Hall 益善善堂 is outside the Great South Gate. In the tenth year of the Tongzhi period the pediatrician Gu Mingzhao 顾铭照 established a Bureau for Reverence for Lettered Paper, and provided funds to buy land and build a Temple to Cang Jie 苍颉 [the mythological inventor of writing] - the area of the land was one mu and 1.5 li. Then, in conjunction with the gentry of Shanghai and Nanhui, and in the twelve year [of the Tongzhi period] they reported to the Daotai and the Magistrate. Then they started to collect, and ceremoniously burn, lettered paper, and they printed tracts promoting reverence for lettered paper and filial piety. They also collected ashes [of burned lettered paper] from Chuansha and Nanhui, so as to dispose of them into the ocean."114

"The Bureau for the Setting Free of Living Things is located on the south bank of the Luijiabang Creek 陆家浜. In the thirteenth year of the

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111 Wenchang ge, jingxi zizhi. 文昌阁－敬惜字纸 Chen 44 xia.
112 See Albert Feuerwerker, China’s Early Industrialisation - Sheng Hsuan-huai (1884-1916) and Mandarin Enterprise (Originally published by Harvard University Press, 1958; reprinted by Atheneum, New York, 1970)
113 Shanghai-xian xu zhi. juan 2, p. 39
114 ibid. juan 2, p. 36
Tongzhi period, Zhang Weicheng 張韋承, Zhong Jun 鍾駿, Jin Bingjun 金秉钧, members of the local gentry, provided funds to establish this bureau. Afterwards they also arranged for the proper disposal of lettered paper, and provision of medical care, medicine, coffins, care for the elderly and other such good deeds. "115 "In the twenty-first year of the Guangxu period of the Qing dynasty, a man from Chuansha, Guo Guanlong 郭關龍, provided funds for the full-time employment of eight workers to collect discarded lettered paper from the streets."116

This custom was also observed by illiterate villagers, although the reason for their respect was different in nature from that of the literati. They were more worried about reward and retribution.117 Treatises on reward and retribution devoted much space to "reverence for lettered paper". For example, The Infallibly Efficacious Divination Rods of the Holy Emperor Guan Gong 118 says "During the Kangxi period, a man died of a very minor ailment. This was because he himself would burn the paper on which he had written, and then casually throw the ashes away. For this reason his life was shortened by five years." Another case from the same book: "A scholar achieved the title of "Presented Scholar". A spirit appeared to him in a dream and said: "Your ancestors paid reverence to lettered paper. This has brought illustriousness to their children and grandchildren."

115 ibid. juan 2, p. 36 xia
116 ibid. juan 10. p. 5 xia, see also ibid. juan 2 p. 41 xia - 42 shang etc.
117 Doolittle, Social Life, Vol. II, p. 170; George Ernest Morrison, An Australian in China (Originally published by Horace Cox, 1895; reprinted by Oxford University Press, Hongkong, 1985), p. 170. This custom was still very strong in the villages of twentieth century China, as evidenced by an episode in Mao Dun's short story Spring Silkworms 留蚕. See Mao Tun, "Spring Silkworms" in Spring Silkworms and Other Stories (Translated by Sidney Shapiro, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956) pp. 9-38, p. 20: "Last year, to economise a bit, they had bought and used old newspaper. Old Tung Pao still maintained that was why the eggs had hatched poorly - it was unlucky to use paper with writing on it for such a prosaic purpose. Writing meant scholarship, and scholarship had to be respected."
118 Guan sheng dijun wan ying ling qian 关聖帝君萬應靈簽 (Beijing: Liulichang Dongmenwai Longwenzhai 琉璃門外龍文斋, 1846) juan xia, p. 46; p. 3
There are occasional stories about showing reverence for lettered paper in the Dianshizhai.\footnote{Chen 44 xia concerns an old man from Suzhou who was accepted into the Bureau of Reverence for Lettered Paper because of his exceptionally virtuous life. One night he was returning to his home, carrying a load of lettered paper, when he met a ghost. The ghost was repelled by the luminescence of the lettered paper. Another story (Xing 6) made the point that, if one did not show reverence for lettered paper, virtuous behaviour in other areas was of no use: "Long ago, in Yangzhou, outside the Xuning Gate, there was a man called Wang Bin 王彬. His family was very poor. He made many receptacles for lettered paper. On the third, sixth and ninth days [of the month] he would sell the collected paper to the Bureau for Reverence of Lettered Paper at Erlangfang. He would get five cash per jin. He was gradually able to provide warm clothing and sufficient food for his family. Afterwards, however, he washed away the ink-written characters from the paper, and he sold the paper to the Paper Bureau for re-use. He obtained a much greater profit in this way. One day he had just lit his lamp to examine [the papers], when the lamp overturned and burned the papers. Wang Bin was burned to death, and his house burned to the ground... A rich man in Liyang took a wife. She was also from a rich family, and the dowry was very large. She was also good-looking. Before ten days had passed after her marriage, everyone in the family was full of praise for her virtue. One day she was struck by lightning and thunder, and died. Nobody knew the reason for this. The lightning and thunder continued to encircle her bedroom. Suddenly there was a crash of thunder, and lightning split open her clothes-chest. On investigation, it was found that the soles of her shoes had been padded with lettered paper. These two examples show that blatant irreverence for lettered paper cannot be forgiven. Using lettered paper to pad the soles of her shoes was a deliberate act of disrespect. Her contempt for principles was excessive, and Heaven wanted to make clear its punishment. Alas, alas. Should we not pay attention to this?"}

In Shanghai of the late nineteenth century, it became more and more difficult to sustain this custom. Printed materials, including newspapers, were more and more common, and paperwork associated with the every increasing numbers of firms and factories made "lettered paper" very common and very cheap indeed. The Shanghai gentry and other upholders of traditional values did not let up in their efforts to keep such customs alive, however. They constantly published articles in the Shen Bao, exhorting people to show reverence for lettered paper. Articles in the Shen Bao included "A brief description of showing reverence for the written word";\footnote{"Jing zi yaoliie" 敬字要略 Shen Bao, 3 October 1872} "Lightning strikes those who neglect to show respect for the written word or grain";\footnote{"Lei ji bu xi zi gu" 雷击不惜字谷 Shen Bao, 14 March 1873} and "Official announcements should be pasted..."
on wooden boards." The latter item reported the gentry-managers of the Shanghai charitable halls had suggested that official announcements, which were usually pasted on the walls along the streets, and so eventually became ragged and damaged, and the writing on them dirty and defiled, should be pasted on wooden boards. The Magistrate of Shanghai agreed with this suggestion, and ordered that appropriate wooden boards be made, and that old announcements should be carefully removed and delivered to the Hall of Assistance and Benevolence in the southern part of the Chinese city. The last sentence in his order was: "This method is much more in accordance with the principles of reverence for lettered paper. All people acting in this way will certainly achieve unlimited good fortune."  

In the same year, 1873, the *Shen Bao* carried an "Official notice from the Magistrate of Shanghai on the implementation of reverence for lettered paper" and ten days later published "Regulations on showing reverence for the written word", which listed very detailed regulations, including rules to the effect that women were not allowed to embroider characters onto silk or cotton cloth, shops were not permitted to have the name of their establishment printed on their wrapping paper, that it was forbidden to print the size of shoes and stockings on them, that laundries were not permitted to dye material on which there was any writing, and so on. According to convention, such an official announcement should have been delivered to all the shops by the local constables, but there was some concern that the constables would take advantage of the opportunity to pick a fight, so the clerks of the charitable halls were entrusted with this task. This, while investing these regulations with the authority of an official order, at the same time showed a degree of solicitation for the general public. This meant

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122 "Zhang gua gao shi gaiyong muban zhantie" 张挂告示改用板粘贴 *Shen Bao*, 14 March 1873
123 *Jishantang* 济善堂
124 *Shen Bao*, 14 March 1873
125 "Yi zun fengxing jingxi zizhi gaoshi" 邑尊奉行敬惜字纸告示
126 "Xi zi zhangcheng" 惜字章程
127 *si shi* 司事
that the Magistrate had put his authority behind the charitable halls in this matter, and if any shop or individual infringed the regulations, or did not submit to the authority of the charitable halls, they would have to answer to the court.128

Apart from official announcements, some individuals also made their own contributions in the newspapers, such as the article "On encouraging reverence for paper" which suggested that people should not only revere paper on which writing had been written, but should also revere paper on which writing was going to be written; that one should not write anything indecent on paper, or articles which were not truthful, and so on and so on.129 Another article criticised women who hid money in their stockings, because coins had characters on them, and such a hiding place was sacrilege.130

Despite this major campaign, the neglect of reverence for lettered paper continued to become more serious. In 1877 the Shen Bao published an article "On the charitable halls collecting lettered paper",131 in which they mentioned that despite the fact that "charitable halls in Shanghai are as numerous as trees in a forest, and people collecting lettered paper were also as numerous as trees in a forest", the result still left much to be expected. They blamed what they regarded as the irresponsible attitude of the officials charged with this task.132 The gentry also felt very uneasy about the use of letterhead paper and other printed material used by foreign firms and factories.133 In the advertisements columns of the Shen Bao people often

128 Shen Bao, 31 December 1873
129 "Xi zi quan yan" 惜字劝言 Shen Bao, 10 January 1874
130 Shen Bao, 18 April 1876. See Xi zi quan yan 惜字劝言 [Exhortation on showing respect for the written word] in Shen Bao, 9 March 1876 and Xi zi yu tan 惜字余谈 [Further discussion on showing reverence for the written word] in Shen Bao, 11 March 1876.
131 "Lun shantang shoujian zizhi shi" 论善堂收捡字纸事
132 Shen Bao, 1 October 1877
133 See Doolittle, Social Life Vol. II, p. 170, who mentions in passing the attitude of the Chinese towards this apparent lack of respect for the written word of the foreigners: "All classes, however, are united in cherishing these sentiments, and engaged in practicing these customs relating to the reverencing of lettered paper. It is a matter of great
placed exhortations relating to the reverence for the written word. Spending money on such advertisements was considered a good deed. In 1876, someone writing under the name of "Master of the Hall of Eight Chants" published an advertisement entitled "An appeal to the gentlemen in foreign firms and silk filatures to show reverence for lettered paper". The author mentioned that one day he had noticed in the foreign firm Iveson and Company some wrapping paper on which there was writing; after the package had been opened the paper had been thrown away, and even the quality-control docket had been thrown away as well. He felt very uneasy about this, so he decided to place an advertisement in the newspaper to exhort people to do the right thing, because, as the last line in the advertisement put it, "reverence for lettered paper prolongs life and ensures a just reward."

At this stage, "lettered paper" meant paper with Chinese characters written on it. Two years later, however, the Shen Bao published an article "On showing reverence for lettered paper of all countries" in which foreign writing was also included: "The form of writing of different countries is different, but its function is the same. So we urge all countries - south, north, west, east - to respect all types of lettered paper, be they foreign or Chinese, for the honour and glory of all." Reverencing foreign paper was then extended to a concern for the lack of this practice in areas outside China. In 1885 the Shen Bao published an announcement under the name of Ye Qunying 叶群英, of Tong'an County, Fujian, in which he said that he had lived in Luzón for many years. He had seen the grass mats made and sold by the Chinese there, who used Chinese characters as trademarks. The people who bought these mats, however,

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134 Bayonglou zhuren 八咏楼主人
135 "Fengquan ge yanghang silou xiansheng xi zi qi" 奉劝各洋行丝楼先生情字启
136 Shen Bao, 10 July 1876
137 "Quan xi ge-guo zizhi" 劝各国字纸
138 Shen Bao, 28 November 1879
used them for wrapping corpses or for women in childbirth. This was an offence against the sages, and the writer suggested that animals or other objects be used as trademarks instead of characters.\textsuperscript{139} This man was clearly not a member of the gentry, but a supporter of tradition nonetheless. All such people could do was to exhort others to do the right thing.

The gentry, however, could do much more than that. They had the power to punish those who violated these regulations, as recorded by the \textit{Dianshizhai} in 1896: "Lettered paper has always been collected by charitable halls and ceremoniously burned by them; this is to show respect for the written words of the sages. Recently, some people from Jiangbei made it their business to collect old account books, and old copies of newspapers such as the \textit{Shen Bao} and the \textit{Hu Bao}, and sold them at ten times their cost by smuggling them out of Shanghai to Tianjin and Tanggu. They sold them in shoe-shops as padding for soles. They could get about fifty cash per jin. Betraying principles in search of private profit - nothing is worse than this. The gentry-manager of the Association for the Reverence for Written paper found out about this, and requested the magistrate to prohibit this trade. Three people were arrested by the police station; they were sent to the county court and sentenced to be beaten with a bamboo cane, then ordered to return to their home districts."\textsuperscript{140}

It was not that the gentry was uninterested in trying to intervene to prohibit the disrespect shown towards lettered paper in the settlements. In the settlements, however, they did not even receive nominal support from the authorities. Shanghai was growing more and more prosperous, and the increase of printed materials resulted in the maintenance of this ancient tradition becoming impossible, for technical and practical reasons.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Shen Bao}, 17-25 July 1885; 28-29 July 1885, 1-2 August 1885
\textsuperscript{140} Xing 6
\textsuperscript{141} In the new-style Chinese schools, however, this practice was continued well into the twentieth century. The Jiangnan Technical School in which Lu Xun studied as a young man, was so "modern" that the practice there was to study in Chinese and English on alternate days. Nevertheless, a small pond was filled in, and a miniscule Temple to the Guan Gong was built there, at the side of which was a brick stove for the incineration of lettered paper. The four characters \textit{Jing xi zi zhi}: 敬惜字纸 [Show reverence for lettered
Tracing the process of disintegration of traditional culture and its strictures in the late nineteenth century does not imply that those strictures or prohibitions were not broken before this period. "Indecent operas", for example, had been part of the scene for a long time. Similarly, clandestine slaughter of oxen, and secret eating of beef, was also known to occur. Wang Tao noted: "People in Shanghai have never had any inhibitions about eating beef. There are shameless butchers everywhere. No one can stop them. Since the arrival of the Westerners, people who eat beef have increased in number. They are brazenly open about it, and the even display beef in the marketplace. They do not see anything wrong in this."142

The slaughter of oxen was forbidden by Chinese law. In the settlements, however, the increase in the foreign population led to the Chinese there becoming more used to Western food, and eating beef became more and more common amongst them. Even abattoirs were set up near the Nicheng Bridge, as revealed in a Dianshizhai sketch dated 1895.143 Even as beef became more and more part of the diet of the Shanghaiese, admonitions supporting traditional prohibitions continued. In 1886 the Dianshizhai commented: "Westerners eat beef as if it were pork or mutton. Despite the strength [of the ox] in ploughing, they do not treasure it in the least. Since this port was opened, we do not know how many hundreds, thousands, millions have been slaughtered. This is a great catastrophe. Recently they have even been slaughtering calves - this is even more cruel."144

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142 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi juan 2, p. 3
143 Shu* 64. The Dianshizhai told the following story in praise of a certain Mr. Deng: "A few days ago, at a tea-stall to the left of the Eight Immortals Bridge, a young villager was found with an ox, wanting to sell it. There are slaughterhouses in that area, so the intention of the villager was quite obvious. A policeman from the Police Station in the Chinese city, Mr. Deng 邓君, happened to be strolling by, when the ox fell to its
Articles also appeared constantly in the Shen Bao commenting on this matter. Abstinence from beef was a major part of the traditional concept of reward and retribution. Tracts on proper moral behaviour are full of such examples - sudden death after eating beef, abstinence from beef as a guarantee of success in the imperial examinations, if not for oneself then for one's grandsons and so on. The difference is in whether or not a theoretical prohibition existed. Although the Shanghaiese did not strictly observe the prohibition against eating beef, the prohibition existed;

knees in front of him. Its tears flowed as it wept, as if it were begging him to save its life. Mr. Deng felt great compassion when he saw this, and he took out ten Mexican silver dollars, and took the ox home with him. Two days later, the ox died. Alas! The ox knew that it was going to be killed. It implored someone to save it, and was indeed saved. The ox's intelligence proved to be its good fortune. The difference between dying of natural causes and being slaughtered is the difference between Heaven and Earth. If only all people under Heaven were so solicitous as Mr. Deng!

145 Shen Bao, editorial 28 September 1877: "Lun jin zai gengniu" [On prohibiting the slaughter of oxen]; Editorial 3 October 1877: "Zai lun jin sha gengniu yi shi" [Further comments on the matter of prohibiting the slaughter of oxen]

146 Guan sheng dijun wanying lingqian, juan xia, p. 4; juan xia p. 45. Wolfram Eberhard, A Dictionary of Chinese Symbols - Hidden Symbols in Chinese Life and Thought (First published in German in 1983; Translated by G. L. Campbell, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), p. 223, reproduces a sketch of an ox; the lines of the drawing are made up of various exhortations not to eat beef; the sketch is entitled "Song of exhortation against killing oxen or eating beef" [Quan jie sha shi niu ge]. The Dianshizhai contains a sketch dating from 1885 (Ding 85), entitled "Retribution for a Killer": "Oxen also have their own star in the firmament. So the killing of oxen is strictly prohibited. But some people kill them secretly, in order to make a large profit. After relying on its strength, they kill it. The unrequested spirit of the ox cannot speak, but could it be that it does not seek justice?" The Dianshizhai went on to tell the story of a man who died when for no apparent reason he slipped and fell into a pot in which he had been cooking beef. This was regarded as being a case of retribution. The same year the Dianshizhai gave a report of something that happened in the settlements (Bing 81 xia): "Lot long ago a peasant was leading a young ox, and passed by the Baida Bridge. A policeman there stopped him, saying that according to the regulations of the settlements one could not lead an ox across the bridge [into the settlements]. He asked him where he had come from, and where he was going. The villager said that he had come from Eight Immortals Bridge and that he was bringing the ox to the slaughterhouse in the settlements. Just as they were speaking, the ox groaned several times, and knelt in front of the policeman, as if it were begging him to save its life. This was strange indeed. It must have been that it loved life and feared death, the same as human beings. Oxen have their own star in the firmament, and plough the fields for man. Their contribution to man is not inconsiderable. There is no reason to kill an ox. The ox cannot control the situation, but it surely understands what is happening. If one has sympathy with victims of injustice, one should also think of the ox, and abandon one's butcher's knife."
slaughtering oxen was illegal, and there was an awareness that the eating of beef was immoral. In the late Qing there was a popular rhyme: "to use forged money to buy ox-meat - sneaky here, sneaky there", which clearly shows that slaughtering oxen for food was a serious matter, and eating beef was something one could hardly do in public.\(^\text{147}\)

In enumerating the crimes of some villain, the expression "he secretly slaughtered an ox, boiled the meat and cut it up when it was

\(^\text{147}\) Hu Zude 胡祖德, *Hu yan 沪谚* (Shanghai: 1922, reprinted Shanghai: Guji shudian 1989), p. 21. See Doolittle, *Social Life*, Vol. II, p. 187: "The term "buffalo", as here used, includes the two classes of quadrupeds belonging to the *bos genus* found in China, and the word "beef" refers to the flesh of those animals without distinction. The slaughter of buffaloes for food is unlawful, according to the assertions of the people, and the abstaining from the eating of beef is regarded as very meritorious. The domesticated buffalo, on account of its aid in plowing, is considered as deserving of great praise, and as having great merits; and, therefore, men who enjoy the benefit of its toil should not eat its flesh. The law, it is said, permits the killing of the buffalo to be used in sacrifices to Heaven and Earth by the emperor, and in sacrifice to Confucius and a few other deified men in the spring and autumn by the high mandarins, but forbids its slaughter for purposes of food. Its flesh is not used in presenting meat-offerings to gods and spirits in general worship by the people, nor are candles made of buffalo-tallow burnt before idols."

The traditional Chinese attitude was that the ox is a faithful partner to mankind, and man should show gratitude to the ox for its cooperation in tilling the land and the subsequent provision of grain. For this reason, killing an ox or eating its meat was regarded as perverse and evil. Imperial Law Codes (except the Yuan) contained unequivocal regulations against the private slaughter of cattle. According to Zheng Chuanxin 郑传信 and Zhang Jian 张健, *Zhongguo minsu cidian 中国民俗词典* (Dictionary of Chinese folklore) (Hubei: Cishu chubanshe 辞书出版社, 1987, 1988) pp. 403-404, the practice can be traced back to the Northern and Southern dynasties period. Wang Tao, *Yingruan zaxi, juan 2*, p. 3 says that the practice originated in the Tang dynasty. I am not sure to what degree this prohibition was determined or maintained by official decree. My own experience in the villages of Anhui from 1970-1978 suggests that this prohibition did not derive from any official regulation, but that the peasants felt true gratitude and respect towards their oxen. In the village in which I lived, on the eve of the New Year, one of the older and more respected men in the village, who because of their age or physical weakness, and also because they were regarded as reliable, were responsible for the welfare of the oxen, would visit every household carrying a bowl into which each family would contribute a little New Years Eve Rice to feed the oxen. The oxen, needless to say, were not used to this sort of food, but the people still wanted to make a symbolic gesture of gratitude towards the oxen for their labour throughout the year. This custom was certainly not encouraged by the authorities, and the oxen, of course, did not belong to any particular individuals. This custom had survived the change from private to public ownership of property, and had also survived the fierce anti-traditionalist nature of political movements such as the Cultural Revolution [YXQ].
cooked, and then displayed it on a market-stall" often occurred. In 1885 an epidemic of cattle plague hit Shanghai, and the Dianshizhai told the following story of a scholar who had saved his ox - and at the same time provided a good advertisement for cattle plague medicine: "There was a certain xiucai, who despite the fact that he had studied books, did not abandon cultivation of the earth. During an epidemic of cattle plague, his ox fell victim to it, and he clearly knew that it would be difficult to cure. However, he still acquired all sorts of miraculous cures, and mixed them with boiling water, and poured it into the ox's mouth. The night passed, and the next day the ox could eat again. The miraculous cure was none other than the cholera cure, available from the Xinchang Jewellery Shop on Er Malu." No matter how widespread the eating of beef had become by that stage, it was not only the traditional gentry which tried to maintain the traditional prohibitions - even some of the more enlightened, modern scholars still regarded the abstinence from beef as something meritorious. The editors of the Dianshizhai could be included in this category, as could Wang Tao. The issue of eating beef even became a hotly debated subject amongst the reformers of the late Qing. There is a conversation between a group of friends at a meal in a Western restaurant in Li Boyuan's novel A Brief History of Enlightenment: "Yao Wentong said: "In the many generations since our founding ancestor, we have never eaten beef. So please don't insist. Hu Zhongli laughed loudly. "You are supposed to be an advocate of new learning, but you won't even eat beef. This is sure to make your reformist friends laugh at you!" Yao still refused. Kang Botu said: "The oxen of Shanghai are different from those in China proper. There, the oxen plough the fields, and exert themselves for the good of man, and so people cannot bear to kill them and eat them. The foreigners in Shanghai, however, rear cattle and make them fat, so that they can kill

148 [私宰耕牛。生烹熟割，摆列摊肆。] See e.g. Shen Bao, 28 September 1879
149 Wu 12
them for their meat. So they are called "edible oxen", and eating them could not be considered a sin."150

These debates, hesitations, and especially the protests from the traditionalists, all appeared as part of the process of disintegration of traditional Chinese culture. After this process of disintegration was complete, the debate on this issue retreated into silence. Views either for or against were all equally irrelevant and meaningless. By this stage the eating of beef was accepted as if it were the most natural thing in the world, as if it had always been so.

The attitudes and behaviour of the settlements indubitably influenced the Chinese city, in which traditional Chinese culture was also in a state of decline.

The situation in the Chinese city in which the traditional élite culture was in the process of losing its power to control the non-élite, that is, a state of cultural entropy.151 The essential difference is whether or not a prohibition existed in theory, or did not exist at all. As long as the prohibition theoretically existed, no matter how decadent the society, effective punishment for violation of such prohibitions was still entirely possible. The story given earlier in this chapter of the arrest of the man from Jiangbei who collected and sold lettered paper is an example. These

150 Li Boyuan 李伯元, Wenming xiaoshi 文明小史 [A brief history of enlightenment] (Beijing: Tongsu wenyi chubanshe 通俗文艺出版社, 1952), p. 113. See Bao Tianxiao, Chuanyinglou huiyilu, shangce, p. 31, where Bao recalls that when he was a child he was taken to Shanghai by his mother and grandmother for the first time, and experienced the novelties of Shanghai had to offer, like strolling along Si Malu, going to a teahouse, riding in a horse-drawn carriage and so on. His mother and grandmother, however, maintained the prohibition against the eating of beef, and so would not allow him to take a meal in a Western restaurant. One might also speculate as to whether the eating of beef was in some way symbolic of progressiveness, as was apparently the case in Japan at much the same time. See Seidensticker, High City, Low City, p. 102.

151 The term entropy is borrowed from systems theory, where it is used to describe the tendency of a system to develop from a state of relative order to a state of relative disorder, that is, the increase in disorder in a system.
punishments, however, could not inhibit the trend of continuous cultural disintegration.

This cultural disintegration affected not only the ordinary people, but the gentry as well. Complaints to this effect were common enough in the newspapers. In 1877 the *Shen Bao* published an editorial entitled "The behaviour of scholars should urgently be rectified", in which they commented: "The behaviour of scholars is so bad, it has never been worse than now. What they do is not only what the scholars of former times were not willing to do, but even ordinary people of recent times would not dare to do."\(^{152}\)

In 1892 the *Dianshizhai* expressed praise for a certain member of the gentry in the Chinese city who helped the peasants in the resolution of disputes, and at the same time criticised the majority of the gentry at that time: "The gentry I have seen strut around giving themselves airs, but when they see poor people, they merely glance at them arrogantly, without the slightest regard for courtesy. When they meet people from the villages, they bully them, and rely on their position to insult them. This particular member of the gentry was not snobbish in the least, and went to the the villages in case of urgency - how many of them are like this?"\(^{153}\)

At that time there was still clearly an expectation that the gentry would regard themselves as responsible for the maintenance of social

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\(^{152}\) "Lun shi xi yi ji zhengdun" 论士习宜整顿, *Shen Bao*, 15 June 1877

\(^{153}\) P. 42. The story is: "A particular member of the gentry in the Chinese city, a man over sixty, is kind and good by nature. He is always ready to help people. He has two sons, who achieved distinction the imperial examinations. Perspicacious people said that this was the result of an accumulation of good deeds. A few days ago a villager lost his ox, outside the West Gate. He searched everywhere. He found out it was in a certain match factory. He tried to get it back. A man from the factory said that the ox had wandered in of its own accord, and had destroyed much equipment. It could not simply be returned. The villager was extremely worried, so he went to the old gentleman's place, seeking his help in resolving this matter. The old man agreed. He went to the match factory by sedan chair. He argued the case by means of reason and analogy. He was very eloquent. The man from the factory had always respected the old gentleman's good name, and agreed to everything he said. The old gentleman told the villager to buy incense and candles as a form of apology, and then to lead the ox away. Those who heard this story all had the greatest respect for this gentleman's willingness to get around difficulties and resolve disputes."
morality, but that they were failing to do so. In 1888 the Shen Bao carried
an editorial blaming the indifference of the local gentry for the general
decline of moral standards in Shanghai.\textsuperscript{154} In 1895 the Shen Bao carried
two stories about members of the gentry who acted as guarantors for some
of the more outrageous of the Buddha-shops,\textsuperscript{155} some of which were even
selling aphrodisiacs.\textsuperscript{156} The same year the Shen Bao carried an editorial,
entitled "In charitable work, we should adopt the methods of the West",\textsuperscript{157}
in which they criticised the corruption and questionable behaviour of some
of the gentry managers in the charitable halls, who they said were "corrupt
and deceitful, they are swollen with arrogance; even if onlookers are aware
of the situation, there is nothing they can do about it." In 1889, the
Dianshizhai mentioned: "People's hearts are getting worse day by day. Evil
gentry and the local tyrants do not let anything pass without getting involved
in plots. They regard a vacancy for a gentry manager in a charitable hall as
a sure path to wealth. With no concern for their good name or for righteous
principles, they take advantage of the situation. This saddens the hearts of
those who are aware of the situation."\textsuperscript{158} From the increasing frequency
and quantity of such reports in the Shen Bao and the Dianshizhai, it is clear
that there was an appalling degeneration and corruption of the gentry
itself.\textsuperscript{159}

In his discussion of famine relief during the Great Famine of 1876-
1879 in Northern China, Zeng Guoquan wrote: "In relief operations, we
must depend on the gentry ... they are respected by the local people.

\textsuperscript{154} Shen Bao, 15 June 1888. In this context, when the traditional role of the gentry was
being called into question, the Shen Bao used the term \textit{shen shi} 绅士 and not \textit{shen shang}
绅商, but it is not clear if this was deliberate.

\textsuperscript{155} Fo dian 佛店

\textsuperscript{156} Shen Bao, 24 February 1895; 25 August 1895. The"Buddha-shops" are discussed in
detail in Section 3 of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{157} "Lun xing-shan ju-yi qu-fa yu Taixi" 论行善举宜取法于泰西 Shen Bao, 4 March
1895

\textsuperscript{158} Wei 21

\textsuperscript{159} The gentry was acquiring such unmistakeable signs of corruption, that even
tricksters pretended to be gentry in order to swindle money. This phenomenon was referred
to in the Dianshizhai of 1891 - Hai 95
Generally speaking, they are capable and virtuous. Most of them are concerned about decency and reputation, and they are more concerned about their good name than profit. The gentry play a pivotal role between the officials and the people, and are a critical link between the high and the low. The officials are severe with the people, but the gentry are close to them. The officials and the people are not in constant contact, but the gentry and the people are in touch on a day-to-day basis. So the people trust the gentry more than they trust the officials."160 It is obvious that the reputation of the gentry in Northern China at that time was still quite good. This is different from the situation around the area of Shanghai. In reflecting on the reasons for this, the Shen Bao suggested in one of its editorials that the degeneration of the moral standards of the gentry could be blamed on the devastation in the Jiangnan area caused by the Taiping rebellion: "Although the insurrection has been quelled, the quality of the scholarly class has gone into decline. It is difficult to find a strict teacher or a true friend. There are no examples of high moral virtue one can imitate. Those whose own behavior is such that they can instruct the vulgar are hard to find. Those who are erudite and can write properly are also rarely seen." Another reason was that too many applicants for imperial degrees were admitted into the quota; the standards were slipping, thus bringing about a lower quality of graduate.161

Taiping rebels and quotas were not the only reasons, of course. Even the gentry itself was not immune from the influence of the commercialisation.

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160 He Hanwei 何汉威, Guangxu chunian 1876-79 Huabei de da hanzai 光绪初年1876-1879 华北的大旱灾 [The great famine in Northern China during the early Guangxu period 1876-79] (Hongkong: Zhongwen daxue 香港中文大学, n.d.) p. 100
161 Shen Bao editorial 15 June 1877. Chung-li Chang has also demonstrated statistically the increased graduate quota after the Taiping rebellion. See A Summary Table of Civil Sheng-yüan quota before and after the Taiping Period, in Chang Chung-li, Chinese Gentry, p. 88. Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology (Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 248-253 also studies the devastation to the world of scholarship in the Jiangnan region during and after the Taiping rebellion.
Theoretically, the Chinese population of the settlements was under the legal jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities in the Chinese city. The foreign authorities did not welcome Chinese settling in the settlements, and had no interest in exercising any jurisdiction over them - except in matters or taxation or public order. The Chinese police could enter the settlements at any time, and take back those arrested to the Chinese city for trial and punishment. Very soon, however, the foreign authorities realised that this state of affairs was inappropriate, and in 1864 the so-called "Mixed Court" was established in the International Settlement.

After 1864, the Chinese gentry could no longer exert any authority over the Chinese in the settlements. If they wished any regulations to be enacted, they had to go through the Mixed Court. The Mixed Court was not simply a court where criminal or civil cases were heard; it was the only channel through which the Chinese élite could try to impose their traditional

162 This has been discussed in Chapter Three, Part One of this thesis.
164 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 67: "The exercise of jurisdiction over the Chinese residents raised many questions. How were the Chinese offenders to be dealt with? Should the Chinese set up a court in the Settlements? The solution was found by the establishment in 1864 of what is known as the "Mixed Court", presided over by a deputy of the Shanghai Magistrate. Police cases were to be heard by the deputy alone. In criminal cases against Chinese, in which a foreigner was interested, a delegate from a consulate was to sit as assessor with the deputy. In civil cases, where it was between Chinese, the deputy was to sit alone; where it was a suit of foreigners against Chinese, a consular assessor was to sit with the deputy. Appeals were to be heard by the Taotai with a Consul as assessor." For details on the establishment of the Mixed Court, see William Johnstone, The Shanghai Problem pp. 128-158 (Chapter VI: The Mixed Court) and A.M. Kotenev, Shanghai: Its Mixed Court and Council (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald Limited 1925; reprinted Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1968), pp. 45-68; H.B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Vol. II, pp. 133-134; Ching-Lin Hsia, The Status of Shanghai (Kelly and Walsh Ltd. Shanghai, 1929), p. 41-59; Feetham, Report, Vol. I, pp. 99-100; pp. 171-173. On the background of the Mixed Court, and particularly its role and function in the twentieth century, see also Thomas Blacket Stephens, The History and Jurisprudence of the Mixed Court of the International Settlement at Shanghai, 1911-1927 (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1985)
values on the Chinese population. Generally speaking, however, the foreign authorities were not particularly interested in moral issues. If the Chinese officials were adamant, the settlement authorities were inclined to bend to their wishes, but, with few exceptions, were rather luke-warm in their attitude towards enforcing the regulations and prohibitions requested by the Chinese authorities.165

Educated Chinese were not happy with this laissez-faire attitude of the foreigners about moral matters. After describing settlement regulations on such matters as hygiene and public order, Huang Shiquan noted: "What foreigners are most concerned about, what they spend most time and labour on, are really minor matters. Those matters which are important, such as the gambling dens, the brothels, the flower-drum songs and other such evils, the foreign authorities are not particularly worried about. They concern

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165 One of the exceptions was a case dating from 1887. The manager of the Liuchun Theatre, 留春戏园, got into a fight with one of the employees over the matter of an unpaid debt. The matter was referred to the Mixed Court in the International Settlement. The case had nothing to do with the repertoire of the theatre, but the British Assessor, through the Chinese Deputy, asked if indecent operas were being performed there. The manager denied this, but the magistrate stressed that, if they were to be discovered staging such performances there in the future, they would be severely punished. (Shen Bao, 21 June 1887). This case was quite unusual, so three days after this case was mentioned in the regular column "Notes from the Mixed Court", the Shen Bao published an editorial "On the Solicitous Attitude of Western Officials in the Prohibition of Indecent Operas", in which they strongly approved: "There are Western people in the International Settlement, but they never go to see Chinese operas. Even if some should occasionally go, they would not necessarily understand the plot. As for the dialogue, and the feeling and meaning of the words of the songs, they could understand even less. So even if Western people were to see an indecent opera, it would be the same as if they had not seen it at all. What is more, only one or two in a hundred or a thousand would be like this, so there can be no harm to Westerners. Even if Western officials were not to forbid them, they could not be reprimanded for not banning something harmful. The fact that the Western official took the advice of the Chinese official and cooperated in forbidding them, means that they treat us equally". The Shen Bao was saddened by the fact that all manner of official prohibitions had apparently no effect: "In the International Settlement, those things which should be banned, such as female attendants in opium dens, are dealt with severely upon discovery. Women frequenting teahouses or opium dens used to be strictly forbidden. And look what happens now. Gambling used to be forbidden. And look what happens now ... There are innumerable such examples. So indecent operas are only one aspect of the matter. We don't know how many cases there are of changing the name of Sha zi bao 杀子报 to Tian qi chao 天齐朝, or changing the name of Wo pao 倭袍 to Nan lou ji 南倭记, and then brazenly performing them on stage". (Lun Xi guan liuxin jin yinxi shi 论西官留心禁淫戏事, Shen Bao, 23 June 1887)
themselves with the unimportant, and not pay attention to urgent matters. All the Chinese can do is laugh at them."166

The Chinese gentry failed to use the Mixed Court as a channel to exert control over the Chinese population.167 On the contrary, the Mixed Court became an agent for the introduction of important Western concepts. Details of its cases and decisions were reported in the Shen Bao and the Dianshizhai, and through these we can trace the gradual process of how ordinary Chinese came to know something of Western concepts of law.

There are many sketches in the Dianshizhai showing Chinese and Western officials jointly hearing evidence on a case.168 There are some sketches which show that sometimes the Western side was not represented, and which were judged by the Chinese side alone - especially cases which did not concern foreigners.169 The court was, by its very nature and name, a compromise between China and the West, and could not have functioned without a certain amount of give and take. According to a contemporary report:

"From the preceding chapters we know that under the humane influence of the Europeans on the Bench many a horrible mode of the old Chinese Penal Code was abandoned during the earlier period of the Mixed Court practice, but it was not in the power of the Mixed Court to discard absolutely the traditional Chinese methods which formed an inseparable part of the Chinese legal system.

The instrument of correction at the Mixed Court was a light piece of bamboo. Flogging was administered on male adults and youths in the

166 Huang Shiquan, Songnan mengying lu, p. 146
167 On this point, see Mark Elvin, "The Mixed Court of the International Settlement at Shanghai" (Papers on China, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University) Vol. 17 (December 1963), p. 136: "This heterogeneity and mobility made it much more difficult for the Chinese to maintain their usual social controls ... The lack of any social fabric, and the multiplicity of groups, made any strong and unified authority impossible".
168 Zhen 50; Wei 21; Hai 55; Wu 35; Bing 8; Li* 59; Zhu 50; Ding 66
169 Cf Shen Bao, 29 July 1888, which reported that on the previous day the Western Assessor had another engagement, and could not attend court. All cases scheduled for that day were heard by the Chinese Deputy alone. Needless to say, none of those cases involved the interests of any foreigner.
Indian manner on the back of the thighs, and on male children on the hand. The convicts were also slapped on the mouth and cheeks by a flat brass ruler.

The cangue consisted of a wooden framework, or collar, weighing 4 lbs. to 8 lbs.; the weight rested on the shoulders, and was borne for six or seven hours during the day, the convict generally allowed to return at dusk to his home to sleep, and did not leave his home until after his breakfast between nine and ten a.m. On the collar were strips of paper stating the offence. The convicts sometimes were placed outside the Mixed Court, and sometimes on the spot where they committed the crime, but always under shelter from the rain and sun.

In comparison with the same penalties applied by the City authorities in their Yamêns these penalties were milder. The Chinese mandarins used the heavy bamboo, cangues weighing often 75 lbs. and resting entirely on the neck of the accused, besides many other illegal instruments of torture and penalty not provided by the Tah-Chung-Lu - the Chinese Criminal Code.170

One can see many sketches in the Dianshizhai in which the accused are wearing the wooden collar.171 In some sketches one can see the Chinese and Western judges sitting solemnly in the front of the Court, the accused on his knees before them, and a number of court officials lined up at the side, with strips of bamboo in their hands, ready to inflict punishment.172 Compulsion to wear the wooden collar, also known as a cangue, was a possible sentence, as was the penalty of having to wear it for a portion of a prison sentence. In one case two policemen were sentenced to three years jail and one to two years jail; in both cases they were also obliged to wear the collar for one month each year.173 In most cases the requirement to wear

170 Kotenev, Mixed Court, pp. 90-91
171 jia 漵. Mao 30; Ding 66; Ding 67; Heng 64; Wu 24 xia; Li* 60; Wei 62; Geng 16 xia
172 Ding 66
173 Li 59
the wooden collar was more a punishment of extreme shame rather than purely a physical punishment, especially if the criminal was also held up to public ridicule by having to walk through the streets wearing it. This was a common punishment for people such as the illegal opium den hostess; the proprietor of a trysting-place, who seduced and kidnapped women, swindlers of various descriptions, criminals and crooked police. They would be paraded around the streets wearing the wooden collar, and would be preceded by a man carrying a placard detailing their crimes. These placards read "Punishment for Running a Trysting-Place - Public Humiliation in the Streets"\(^\text{174}\); "Strict Punishment for Hostess - Public Humiliation in the Streets"\(^\text{175}\); "Male Transvestite - Public Humiliation in the Streets"\(^\text{176}\); "False Official - Cunning Swindler - Public Humiliation in the Streets"\(^\text{177}\) and so on.\(^\text{178}\) Occasionally they would be forced to wear foot shackles, or fetters, when paraded through the streets.\(^\text{179}\)

Be that as it may, the differences between the Mixed Court and the traditional Chinese court were substantial and significant. A wide variety of instruments of torture in common use in trials in the Chinese courts, as shown in the pages of the *Dianshizhai*,\(^\text{180}\) were never used in the Mixed Court. In 1889 there is a report of the trial of a famous robber, Yang Hanqing 杨翰卿. The commentator noted, not without a tinge of regret, that "the Mixed Court never uses heavy torture, so those types never fear it. Leaving a photograph in the files is not so obvious as a tattoo on the face."\(^\text{181}\) As the Mixed Court did not use gross torture, it did not tattoo the criminal's face; the only record was a photograph in the file.\(^\text{182}\) Sometimes

\(^{174}\) *Cheng ban taiji - you jie shi zhong* 惩办台基－游街示众 Wu 24 xia
\(^{175}\) *Yan cheng nüiang - you jie shi zhong* 严惩女堂－游街示众 Ding 67
\(^{176}\) *Nan ban na zhuang - you jie shi zhong* 男扮女装－游街示众 Wei 62
\(^{177}\) *Jia guan kuang pian - you jie shi zhong* 假官强骗－游街示众 Geng 16 xia
\(^{178}\) *Others are Mao 30; Li* 60; Heng 64; Wei 62; Geng 16 xia; Li* 60
\(^{179}\) *Shen Bao, 4 June 1873*
\(^{180}\) *Shu* 96; Ding 47
\(^{181}\) *Wu* 39
\(^{182}\) Amongst the examination questions for the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute Summer Essay Competition was the following: "Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the
when the Chinese Deputy wanted to use torture, the Western Assessor would object, or insist on the mildest possible degree. They would also refuse to witness such torture.183

The differences between Chinese and Western law soon became apparent to all. As early as 1876 the Shen Bao carried an editorial "On the differences between Chinese and Western law".184 These differences were often noted in the Dianshizhai: "Chinese and Western law are different. This has been the case for a long time. The Westerners say that in their country, apart from imprisonment, the most severe punishment is execution. Apart from these, there is no torture .... In Shanghai, in the International Settlement and the French Concession, even though there are Chinese Deputies, they are not allowed to use heavy torture."185

In fact, however, both Western and Chinese police inflicted torture on criminals, in violation of the law.186 There was also a degree of arbitrariness in the use of torture. Theoretically the Western judges would not permit this, but it occasionally happened that they would tolerate it, under special circumstances. In 1874 the Mixed Court was visited by the

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relative severity of punishments in the Chinese and other legal systems". The man who came third in the competition, Yang Yuhui 杨毓辉, mentioned the practice of tattooing the faces of criminals, and noted that for serious crimes tattooing was still a punishment in Hong Kong, but on the arm rather than the face. See Gezhi Shuyuan Keyi 格致书院课艺 1893 Summer Examination 夏季 - Third Place 超等第三名 (page 4). Tattooing on the arm rather than the face was also an example of a compromise between the Chinese and Western systems.

183 "In a case of rape which was heard before Mr. W.H. Medhurst, H.B.M.'s Consul, Mr. W.M. Cooper, H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul, Sung Chi-hsien and Mo Taotai's Deputies and the Mixed Court Magistrate, on March 8th, 1876, the Magistrate stated that, in conformity with the Chinese law, the accused must be made to confess and suggested to chastise him by bamboo, cheek flappers and kneeling chains. Mr. Medhurst objected to the employment of tortures in the presence of the British officials in the Mixed Court" (Kotenev, Mixed Court, note on p. 75)

184 Lun Zhong-Xi falü bu tong 论中西法律不同 Shen Bao, 17 June 1876

185 Shu* 96. It was not much earlier, in fact, that even worse forms of torture were commonly used in Western countries. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish - The Birth of the Prison (London: Peregrine Books, 1977) and John H. Langbein, Torture and the Law of Proof (University of Chicago Press, 1976). The Chinese of nineteenth century China, of course, could only have any knowledge of contemporary Western legal practice.

186 Shu* 96
American Consul, who brought with him a certain Doctor of Philosophy who was visiting China, and who wished to see how the Chinese courts applied torture. The Chinese side obliged, and chose the most serious criminal case available. After sentencing, the criminal was immediately flogged three hundred times, in the Court, and then paraded through the streets, wearing a wooden collar.\textsuperscript{187}

The Chinese Court still employed all manner of torture in their treatment of criminals. The \textit{Dianshizhai} recorded a scene of the trial of a thief, who had stolen some property from a foreign hotel, which shows the use of the trestle\textsuperscript{188} and the squeezers.\textsuperscript{189} Another sketch tells of how a prisoner, who, after one hundred strokes, tried to break free and run away; the \textit{Dianshizhai} reported this as something humorous.\textsuperscript{190} Sometimes after being beaten, the criminal was placed in a wooden cage\textsuperscript{191} and displayed to public ridicule.\textsuperscript{192}

To foreigners, the torture regularly employed by the Chinese Courts was something out of a museum. Both the \textit{Shen Bao} and the \textit{Dianshizhai} carried reports of foreigners visiting Chinese Courts and witnessing the proceedings - it almost seems to have been one of the tourist attractions of Shanghai. Whenever a foreigner expressed an interest in witnessing criminal proceedings, court officials were very happy to arrange for someone guilty of a serious crime to be interrogated, and proudly

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Shen Bao}, 11 June 1874. On occasion, even the Chinese Court in the Chinese city asked the Mixed Court of the settlements for assistance in some technical matters. In 1889 there was a series of deaths as a result of some sort of throat infection in the Chinese city. Someone suspected that they had been poisoned after ingesting cottonseed oil. The Chinese authorities asked the Mixed Courts of the International Settlement and the French Concession to join them in the investigation. It turned out that an unscrupulous merchant had laced his cottonseed oil with quicklime (Yi* 62).  
\textsuperscript{188} \texttt{tianping} 天平  
\textsuperscript{189} \texttt{jiagun} 夹棍  
\textsuperscript{190} Bing 89 xia  
\textsuperscript{191} mulong 木笼  
\end{footnotesize}
1884: In a Chinese Court. A thief is on trial. Note the instruments of torture: the trestle and the squeezers.
demonstrated the instruments of torture. Surprisingly, the Chinese authorities seemed to have no comprehension of the significance of this interest on the part of visiting foreigners. As we mentioned above, occasionally the Mixed Court would arrange such a demonstration, but generally speaking anyone wanting to see the instruments of torture in use would have to go to the Chinese courts in the Chinese city.

In 1889, the Dianshizhai gave details of the visit of a Brazilian aristocrat to a Chinese court: "The grandson of the Emperor of Brazil included Shanghai on his travels. He said he would like to see how Chinese courts try various types of criminal cases. So the Consulate made a formal request to the Magistrate of Shanghai, Pei Dazhong 裴大中, to arrange a suitable time. On the first day of the eighth month, the Emperor's grandson, accompanied by the consul and an interpreter, made the trip to the Yamen by sedan-chair. The Magistrate received them according to protocol. After tea and snacks, he hit his gavel on the bench, and the proceedings began. There were four cases on that day. The most serious was that of the bandit Li Chunjiang 李春江, the second that of an unfilial son, Jiang Bosen 蒋伯森. Li was whipped one thousand times, and Jiang five hundred times, after which they were placed in a wooden cage. One was an outlaw, the other a rebel against filial piety, so the punishment was appropriate to the gravity of the crime. After the trials, they left the court, and the Emperor's grandson took his leave, and the Magistrate respectfully bade them farewell."193

In 1895 the Dianshizhai gave the following account of the visit of a French official to a Chinese court: "There are Deputies of the Magistrate of Shanghai [in the Mixed Court] in the French Concession and the British Settlement, but they are not allowed use heavy torture. So when a certain French envoy wanted to see various implements of torture, they had to ask the Shanghai county yamen. A few days ago, the envoy, travelling by sedan chair, went to pay a courtesy call on the Magistrate, Huang Aitang 黄爱棠.

193 Wu* 86
The Magistrate knew the purpose of his call, so he ordered the yamen runners to display the squeezers and the trestle in his private quarters, and took him there to inspect them. The envoy examined them all, and was very satisfied. He then took his leave. From this small incident it can be seen, can it not, how eager Westerners are to understand Chinese criminal law and process.\textsuperscript{194}

In principle, prisoners in the settlement were entitled to humane treatment. This, however, was not always the case. In 1898 the \textit{Dianshizhai} reported that there had been reports that prisoners in the International Settlement Jail had been mistreated, and that there was a good deal of discussion on this topic. The Inspector visited the jail on the 23rd of May, accompanied by a lawyer and an interpreter, Cao Jifu 曹吉甫. He found that the prisoners were unkempt and dishevelled and living in conditions of extreme poverty. Many claimed that they had been victims of a miscarriage of justice. Criminals who had well-off families were provided with their own food, but those less well off had only two meals a day provided by the prison authorities. The Inspector was extremely moved by what he saw, and immediately took four pieces of silver from his pocket to buy food for those poor creatures whose families could not afford to provide it themselves.

At that time six or seven people were dying in the prison every day. The prison was responsible for providing coffins and burying them. Those who were ill were escorted to the Refuge for the Homeless\textsuperscript{195} for treatment.

\textsuperscript{194} Shu* 96
\textsuperscript{195} The Refuge for the Homeless (Qiliu Gongshuo 橋流公所) was a Chinese charitable organisation. According to the \textit{Shanghai-xian xu-zhi} 上海县续志 \textit{juan} 2, pp. 36-37, it was situated in the northern area of Shanghai, behind the Dawangmiao Temple 大王廟 in Xinzha 新闸. The number of homeless people from many districts in the International Settlement had grown to the point when, in 1879, the Deputy Magistrate of the Mixed Court, Chen Fuxun 陳福勋, and the Magistrate, Mo Xiangzhi 莫祥芝, contributed funds to purchase seven \textit{mu} of land. To this was added six \textit{mu} purchased with other contributions. Qu Kaitong 魯開桐 was put in charge of the construction of ninety six single-story houses on the land, which provided accommodation for more than two hundred unemployed and homeless people. In 1888 an additional fifteen houses were built to provide housing for female prisoners, and for other women whom the Court had
At that time, however, the Mixed Court was no longer sending fines it had collected to the Refuge, so it refused to accept patients sent to it by the Mixed Court. For this reason there were even more sick prisoners in the jail. The *Dianshizhai* wondered if anything would result from this tour of inspection.\(^{196}\) The fact that such an inspection even took place, however, shows that, in theory at least, Western law did not allow for the mistreatment of prisoners.

As the Mixed Court was established on the understanding that there would have to be mutual compromises, abolition of torture can be considered a concession from the Chinese side. Retention of the wooden collar and the bamboo cane can be seen as a concession from the Western side. Each individual case, however, was determined on the specific details of that case.\(^{197}\) If Western interests were involved, the Western judge could be particularly uncompromising, and demand that the principles of Western law be employed in determining the outcome of the case. In such cases, objections from the Chinese side fell on deaf ears.

In a case reported in the *Dianshizhai* in 1885, a maid-servant in a foreign company fell out with her husband, Wang Dongsheng. The directed to stay in the Refuge until they were appropriately married. In 1904 the managing directors, Lu Wenlu 陆文龍 and Qu Qingshan 阮慶善 decided that it was necessary to teach the people in the refuge some practical skills, provided machinery for making leather handicrafts. The expenses for the Refuge for the Homeless were provided by the Mixed Court. According to Chen Dingshan, *Chun Shen jiu wen*, p. 141, the expenses provided by the Mixed Court came from fines. In the Essay Contest held by the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute and Reading Room in the Spring of 1893, one of the topics was "In Shanghai, charitable halls stand as many as trees in a forest. Why is it that beggars can be seen everywhere in the streets, whereas in various European countries charitable institutions teach people handicrafts, which seems to be more effective. Discuss." [上海善堂林立，何以乞食之徒到处见于道路而欧洲各国之慈善事业教以工艺，更有成效。求议论。] The essay of the second prize winner mentioned the Refuge for the Homeless, pointing out many deficiencies in its management. See *Gezhi Shuyuan keyi 1893 nian chun-ji Di'er ming*, p. 5. The Chinese "Charitable Halls" providing training in handicrafts is obviously an idea borrowed from the West. More information on the Refuge for the Homeless can be found in Chen Boxi, *Lao Shanghai*, *xia ce* p. 11

196 Zhen 50.
197 See Kotenev, *Mixed Court*, note on p. 75: "The result was that ordinary Chinese law was not applied in cases where foreigners were concerned."
husband demanded that his wife return, but the wife refused, and her employer supported her. The husband brought the matter to the Mixed Court. The Chinese judge argued that although the husband was a ne'er-do-well, the principle of "a wife follows her husband" demanded that she return to him. The Western judge, however, felt that the woman herself had the right to determine where she wanted to live. This was also the eventual decision of the court. After the decision was handed down, it seems the husband refused to accept it. He wrangled with his wife and her employer in front of the court, and was beaten up by the wife's employer. The view of the *Dianshizhai* was that the wife was not behaving as a wife should; the husband, however, was supposed to act like a man, but he had sent his wife out to work as a servant, so he had only himself to blame that she wanted to leave him.  

There were also contemporary reports in the press about Westerners dissatisfied with the allegedly arbitrary rulings of the Mixed Court, and its laxity in interpreting the law. In 1872, the *Shen Bao* carried a report of a certain Cantonese who had been caught urinating in front of an American's residence, and was brought before the Mixed Court. The Western judge fined him twenty yuan, or to wear the wooden collar for a month in lieu. The Chinese deputy magistrate sighed that it was indeed unfortunate that some Chinese were so ignorant, but that such misdemeanours as urinating in public had previously attracted a fine of only one yuan, or even half a yuan, or imprisonment for one day. He regarded the punishment decreed by the Western judge unfair, and disagreed. Eventually the culprit was sentenced to three days in prison, during which he was required to wear the wooden collar, and that was the end of the affair.  

In 1892, the *Dianshizhai* recorded the story of one Wang A-san 王阿三, of Ningbo, a congenital hermaphrodite who habitually dressed in women's clothing. One day some Chinese policemen in the French

198 Bing 8  
199 *Shen Bao*, 8 November 1872  
200 Ibid.
Concession heard of this, and for no particular reason had him taken before the Mixed Court. The Court had him submit to a physical examination at the Renji Hospital. They had him expelled from Shanghai, on the grounds of "an offence against public morality", and returned to his native place. The commentators of the Dianshizhai noted that this was a case of the police interfering in matters which were none of their concern, and that the Court should not have accepted this case. It is clear that in this case, the Western side ceded to the authority of the Chinese magistrate. In other cases, the Chinese side also had to compromise. According to Kotenev, "the Taotai tried to establish a certain analogy between the Chinese custom and British Law, and based his decision on both of them."

In theory, minor cases involving Chinese were dealt with by the Mixed Court, and more serious cases handed over to the Chinese Courts. However, there was no precise criterion agreed to by the Western and Chinese judges on the one hand, and the Western judges and the Chinese police on the other, as to just what constituted a crime, or which crimes were to be considered minor, and which of a more serious nature.

In 1895 a carpenter from Ningbo, Li Dunfu, was accused of mistreating his wife, forcing her to wear wooden fetters around her feet, so that she could not walk. The neighbours reported the case to the police, and the Mixed Court agreed to investigate the matter. The Mixed Court could see that the wife had been severely beaten all over her body, and considered the case serious enough to refer to the Chinese Court. The Chinese Court, however, considered this a minor matter, and merely gave the husband a verbal reprimand before releasing him. In another case, mentioned above, a teacher at a private school in the International Settlement, assaulted a former student. The student's father took the matter to the Mixed Court, which decided that this was a serious matter, and referred it to the

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201 Zhu 50
202 Kotenev, Mixed Court, p. 66
203 Shu 24
204 Chapter Four, Section One.
Shanghai County Court. The Chinese Court felt that there was nothing wrong with a teacher beating a student, but he should not have beaten a former student. His behaviour was improper; he was sentenced to be beaten on the palms of the hands one hundred times, then released.205

The compromising attitude of the Court and the behaviour of the Chinese police lead to many foreigners coming to the conclusion that the Mixed Court was no mixed court at all, but a purely Chinese institution.206

For the Chinese, however, the Mixed Court was Western enough for them to realise that it was quite different from the traditional Chinese type of court; their term for it was the "New Yamen".207 The practices of the New Yamen brought a new range of issues and questions to the Chinese public: just what constituted a crime, the scope and limits of the Law and methods of punishment. It became clear that Chinese traditional standards were not the only standards. When people realised this, it was possible to exploit differences between Western and Chinese law in order to protect oneself and one's "rights".

Chinese officials in the Chinese city also fulfilled the role of moral policemen. They often interfered in matters which had nothing to do with the law, or any criminal activity. In 1888 the Dianshizhai gave an account of

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205 Jin 6. Elvin, "The Mixed Court" also mentions that "cultural differences between Europeans and Chinese added to the confusion (p. 137).
206 See Kotenev, Mixed Court, p. 91: "At Shanghai, where we and some other European nations and the United States have establishment, native criminals are dealt with by what is called a 'mixed court'. It is so called, no doubt, because a European or American consul or some other resident sits with the Chinese judge; but in other respects it has little pretension to its title, for its court procedure and its punishments appear to be of Chinese barbarism, unmixed with the faintest trace of European sense of humanity."
207 xin yamen 新衙门 See Hua-ye-lian-nong, Haishang hua liezhuan, pp. 232, 254, 515, where the "new yamen" is mentioned. On p. 515 one of the functionaries of the yamen in the Chinese city says: "We are not like the policemen in the new yamen - things are just so difficult!" Zhang Ailing, the annotator of this edition, provides a note: "the "new yamen" refers to the Mixed Court in the International Settlement. They were able to disregard the feelings of the Chinese officials". As late as 1925, during the May 30 Movement, demonstrators shouted the slogan "To the New Yamen!" (Dao Xin Yamen qu! 這個衙門去). See Shanghai shehui kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo (eds.) Wu Sa yundong shiliao 五卅运动史料 (Historical materials for the study of the May 30 Movement) (Shanghai, Renmin chubanshe, 1981) Vol. 1, p. 670.
how the Magistrate of Shanghai, Pei Dazhong, was travelling through a
certain street in his sedan chair, when he saw a girl combing her hair in
front of a curtain shop at the Huajin Memorial Arch. He felt
disgusted at what he considered the girl’s "inelegance." When he
returned to his yamen he issued an order for the girl’s father to appear in
court, where he berated him, accusing him of not bringing up his daughter
properly, what he ought to do from now on and so on and so on. In the
same year the Dianshizhai carried a story entitled "On keeping puppies". Thirty years earlier, during the Small Swords Uprising, the Magistrate of
Shanghai, Yuan Youcun [Yuan Zude 袁祖德], had been killed. His four dogs kept guard over his coffin and refused to eat; eventually they
starved to death. They had had, however, offspring, and by 1888 the
number of their descendants had grown to more than eighty. Pei Dazhong
issued an order that all the local constables should take care of one
each. On another occasion, Pei also ordered a woman who had become
a nun because she hated her husband to return to secular life. He also
ordered a monk with an allegedly evil physiognomy to return to secular life,

208 bu ya 不雅
209 Mao 23
210 dibao 地保
211 Fa yang quan zi 发养犬子 Mao 8 xia. This story also appeared in the Shen Bao, 29 June 1888, under the title "Yi quan ke feng" 义犬可风 [Righteous dog should be praised]. See Qin Rongguang 秦榮光, Shanghai-xian zhuzhi ci 上海县竹枝词 [Bamboo branch rhymes of Shanghai county] "Bing fang ershi ba" 兵防二十八 [Section 28: Military defense] (Shanghai, 1911, reprinted by Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1989, under the title Hucheng sui shi quge, Shanghai-xian zhuzhi ci - Songnan yuefu 沪城岁时歌曲 - 上海县竹枝词－松南药府) p. 119: "None of the civil or military officials of the city died in battle; the dog, however, lay down at the side of the coffin and died of hunger". [文武周防更维桑，犬偏仇敌死傍旁。]. The note to the poem adds: "When the Red scarves [The Small swords] occupied the city, apart from the Magistrate, Yuan Zude, not a single one of the civil or military officials was killed. The four dogs which the Magistrate kept, stayed by his coffin, and all starved. The villagers painted this scene on the wall of Magistrate Yuan’s temple." See Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 5, p. 18 xia: "Magistrate Yuan kept four dogs; all of them refused to eat, and died. His subordinates made a record of these righteous dogs, and arranged appropriate funeral ceremonies for Magistrate Yuan."
212 Yin 50 xia
1888: A girl combing her hair in front of her family's shop. She is noticed by the Magistrate, who calls in her father to admonish him over his daughter's unbecoming behaviour.
on the grounds that his appearance was not appropriate to his being a monk.\textsuperscript{213}

Pei Dazhong would have regarded his actions as setting a good moral example. Such matters were within his area of responsibility, and no matter how much the local constables may have resented these orders, none of them would have dared to protest.

It was the same Magistrate, Pei Dazhong, who in 1890 was travelling in his sedan chair when he spied a beggar carrying an old woman on his back, begging in the streets. The beggar's clothing was tattered, and the old woman was wearing even less. Pei stopped his sedan chair and asked the beggar his story. It turned out he was a refugee from some natural disaster in the Jiangbei area. Pei accused him of lacking filial piety, as he was wearing clothes, tattered though they may be, whilst his grandmother was wearing less. He had him taken off to the court for interrogation, and forced the beggar to remove his clothes, so that he would know what it was like to feel cold. He was also beaten ten times with a large stick, so as to give him a lesson for his lack of filial piety towards his grandmother. In the end Pei gave the grandmother a set of clothing, and sent them on their way. The \textit{Dianshizhai} commentary thoroughly approved of Pei's solicitous attitude towards the welfare of his people.\textsuperscript{214}

In the Chinese court, the crime of lacking in filial piety was second only to rebellion. After repeated whippings, the culprit was placed in a wooden cage and exposed to public ridicule, as a warning to others.\textsuperscript{215} In the settlements, however, there was no way for the law to deal with such infringements of the moral code. A foreign policeman saw an elderly madman on the streets, and escorted him to the police station. He then told the Chinese detectives to send the old man home. When he arrived his son rushed out and punched him, and cursed and swore at him. The Chinese detectives, and others standing by, could do no more than to reprimand

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{213} Yin 50
  \item \textsuperscript{214} Wei 91
  \item \textsuperscript{215} Wu* 87
\end{itemize}
him. In the settlements, occasionally young women would be found intoxicated in the streets. All the police could do was to take them to the police station, and send them home the next day. Lying drunk in the streets is much more disgraceful than the young girl in the Chinese city, whose inelegant combing of her hair so upset the local magistrate, but this was not a matter for the Mixed Court.

Another contrast is the attitude to aphrodisiacs. These were not only sold openly in the settlements, but even widely advertised. In the Chinese city, however, the selling of aphrodisiacs was a serious crime. The Dianshizhai tells of a man from Shaoxing by the name of Wang Yide, who owned a pharmacy [in the Chinese city] known as the Hall of Unusual Inheritance (Yi shou tang). It specialised in eye medicines, which were in fact aphrodisiacs. The Chinese Magistrate at the Mixed Court, Ge Fanfu, came to hear of this, and sent his personal servant to buy some. Having determined that it was, in fact, an aphrodisiac, he reported the matter to the authorities. Wang Yide was arrested. In his defence he said that he had inherited the pharmacy from his father, and that he had no idea there were aphrodisiacs amongst the merchandise. What was more, business was bad, and he was living in very straitened circumstances. The Court found that he was indeed ignorant of the true nature of the medicines, and had made no profit from selling them. The punishment was relatively light: one hundred strokes of the bamboo, and to wear the wooden collar in public for one month.

The Magistrate of the Mixed Court, or his Chinese Deputy, could not punish someone for the selling of aphrodisiacs in the settlements. The

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216 Ding 8 xia
217 Hai 56 xia; Yi* 49
218 Yuan 16
219 This sketch is in Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese, p. 69. In his translation on p. 68 Cohn translates the term huishen xieyuan 会审谳员 as "an official from a local Buddhist association". Huishen, however, is an abbreviation of Huishen gongtang, 会审公堂, the Chinese term for the Mixed Court. Xie 謄 means 'to decide judicially', Cohn translates Yishou tang as "Hall of Miraculous Cures", and gives the name of the Chinese official as Ge Fanpu.
court in the Chinese city, however, could deal with the matter there, in their own way. No matter how much life in the Chinese city was influenced by the lifestyle within the settlements, the control of the élite over the populace was still very real.

On the one hand, the Chinese residents of the International Settlement were subject to the jurisdiction of both Western and Chinese authorities. At the same time, as the British Minister at Beijing, Sir Frederick Bruce noted, "the Chinese residents in the settlement were not under effective control either by the municipal authorities or by their own authorities outside." This comment was made before the establishment of the Mixed Court, but remained an accurate description of the situation even afterwards. This situation led to the policemen themselves being very powerful in their implementation of the law, or at least the law as they interpreted it. As far as the ordinary Chinese were concerned, the people with the most immediate jurisdiction, and direct power, over them were the police, especially the Chinese police.

Hsiao-tung Fei wrote of the Chinese traditional system: " [the centralised power] did not reach to the ground. Since the officials sent by the central government stopped at the district yamen ... those who made the actual contact between the yamen and the people, the ruler and the ruled, were the servants of the officials. These official servants (ya-i ) occupied one of the lowest positions in the Chinese social scale; they were deprived of most of their civil rights, and their sons were not allowed to take the examinations. It is a significant point in the Chinese power structure that these men who were in the position of most easily abused power should have been held so low. If society had not suppressed them by depriving them of a decent social position, they might have become as fearful as wolves". In the settlements, of course, the authorities were not familiar

220 Feetham, Report, Vol. 1, p. 92
221 Hsiao-tung Fei, China's Gentry (The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 79-80
with the area and the people, and the power of the police, especially the Chinese police employed by the authorities, was even more open to abuse.

There were three types of policemen in the International Settlement: Westerners, Indians (Sikhs) and the Chinese police. The reputation of the Western police was good, although there was occasionally some criminal behaviour amongst them, as in the case mentioned above of the French policeman beating a Chinese to death, or the case of the drunken policeman who tried unsuccessfully to rape a woman, and then burst into a brothel and raped a prostitute. This sort of behaviour was quite rare, however, and the news report on the latter case was preceded by a comment: "The police station has been established in the International Settlement to investigate and arrest criminals, and that is all. They are not supposed to rely on their power to lord it over others, to bully the good and the weak, nor are they allowed to harass women or beat people at will. There are, however, such people amongst the Chinese police and the Indian police. Only the British police are most conscientious in the performance of their duties, so people respect them highly. We have never heard of any of them causing any trouble."

The reputation of the Indian police, the Sikhs, was not very good. In 1892 the Dianshizhai described them in the following terms: "Tall and black, they are savage by nature, and have the habits of wild beasts. They know nothing of propriety, morality, modesty and shame. Ten years ago they were seldom seen in Shanghai. Then the English hired them as policemen, and these swarthy ruffians appeared en masse all over the place in the International Settlement."225

223 Hai 74
224 You 8
225 Si 66
A certain degree of resentment against the Indian police extended into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{226}

Most resentment, however, was directed against the Chinese police. There are at least eleven stories in the \textit{Dianshizhai} about the objectionable behaviour of the Chinese police, and complaints by the general public against them.\textsuperscript{227} The Chinese police were subdivided into policemen "on the beat",\textsuperscript{228} and plain-clothes detectives.\textsuperscript{229} The latter were chosen from amongst the former, and were responsible for the collection of all sorts of information. Their salary was slightly higher than that of ordinary policemen.\textsuperscript{230}

Ge Yuanxu gave a contemporary description of the Chinese police: "In the police station established by the Municipal Council, half of them are Westerners and half are Chinese. Chinese [seeking employment] have to be given references by people with property. On their uniforms are their numbers Chinese and English; in circles on their left and right there are numbers in Chinese and English, so that people can identify them easily. Day and night they patrol the streets, divided into precincts. At night, they have a torch hanging from their waist. The Western police carry knives, and the Chinese truncheons. They patrol throughout the whole night, and so

\textsuperscript{226} See E.W. Peters, \textit{Shanghai Policemen} (London, 1937), p. 20: "The Indians, the Sikhs, generally act as traffic policemen. Big, impressive, simple men, they must be led. But with a man capable of leading them, they are hard nuts to crack. The Chinese usually complain that the Sikhs give them rougher treatment than the rest of the police during the riots."

\textsuperscript{227} Li\textsuperscript{*} 58; Li\textsuperscript{*} 59; Li\textsuperscript{*} 60; Pao 44; Geng 39; Yin 1; Zhen 50; Zhen 60; Yuan 92; Xing 8; Ren 20

\textsuperscript{228} \textit{xunbu} 巡捕

\textsuperscript{229} \textit{baotan} 包探

\textsuperscript{230} Sun Guoda, \textit{Gonggong zujie de xunbu}, p. 47
there are few traces of thieves and robbers in the foreign settlements; the city is quite safe. If they catch a thief, the next day the matter is referred to the Mixed Court for investigation ... The detectives are the eyes and ears of the police. They are employed by the Municipal Council to collect information on all manner of things. For example, in cases of theft or purse-cutting they are sent to look into the matter. Their job is to investigate. They dress very splendidly, because their remuneration is very generous. Both uniformed policemen and plain-clothes detectives can be seen in the pages of the *Dianshizhai*. One of the commentaries even gives us a clue to their social origins: "In origin, they [the Chinese police] are nothing more than rogues and ruffians." This was still the situation well into the twentieth century.

The Chinese police had no understanding of Western law, and were hardly models of traditional Chinese morality either. Because of language difficulties, however, the Western police had no choice but to rely on them to a very large extent. This was particularly so in the case of the detectives, whose duty it was to gather information. Their excessive power led to various crimes and outrages on the part of the Chinese police in the settlements. In the majority of cases, they could get away with it, unless the uproar was so great that they had to be punished or dismissed. In 1898 the

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231 jian liu 剪绺
232 Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai fanchang ji*. juan 2, pp. 5-6
233 Yin 1
234 Even in the twentieth century, many of the Chinese police in the settlements were from the criminal classes, or started their careers as hoodlums. The famous twentieth century gangsters Huang Jinrong 黄金荣 and Gu Zhuxuan 郭竹轩 both started their careers as policemen and detectives in the settlement. See Si Yu 斯余, *Shanghai Daheng Du Yuesheng 上海大亨杜月笙* [The Shanghai arch-criminal Du Yuesheng] (Zhongguo wenlian chubanshe 中国文联出版社 1986), pp. 28-29; Fan Songfu 樊松甫, *Banghai Shili Zhenwen 帮会势力珍闻* [Little known facts about secret societies] (Hongkong: Zhongyuan chubanshe 中原出版社 1987) p. 213; F. Wakeman, "The Shanghai Police 1920-1937" (pp. 73-100) and Brian Martin, "A Pact with the Devil - Relations between the Green Gang and the French Concession Authority 1925-1935" in Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi 上海地方志办公室 (ed.), *Shanghai - tongxiang shijie de qiao 上海-通向世界的桥* (English title: *Shanghai: Gateway to the World*) (Shanghai: Shehui kexueyuan chubanshe 社会科学院出版社, 1989), pp. 118-148
1898: Chinese detectives beating a suspect.
Dianshizhai devoted three pages to the case of three policemen from the Hongkou area - Wei A-long 韦阿龙, Ren Guisheng 任桂生 and Fu A-jin 傅阿金 - who had beaten three suspects so savagely that they had been crippled. The three complained to the Inspector, who referred the matter to the Municipal Council. The Court was convened and immediately dealt out punishment - the two main culprits were sentenced to three years jail, and were obliged to wear the wooden collar one month each year; the other was sentenced to two years jail, and also obliged to wear the wooden collar one month each year.235

There are three other instances of policemen being punished for infringements of the law recorded in the Dianshizhai. Reporting on a case in 1892, in which a Chinese policeman was found guilty of breaking the law, the Dianshizhai noted: "The Chinese police in the International Settlement rely on their power to bully others. They grasp any excuse to carry out such activities. We often hear about this sort of thing. They regard the police station as being their protective talisman. As soon as they get to the police station, they know the police inspector will only listen to their side of the story. So they confuse right and wrong, and juggle black and white. They can sell their stories even in the Mixed Court, and no one will expose them. Nowadays this practice is even worse. Sometimes they are discovered but they are never punished. No wonder they become more audacious and brazen. During the ninth lunar month in the International Settlement a Chinese policeman, Number 305, by the name of Shi Tujin 石土金, wanted to catch a dog with a chain around its neck belonging to one Weng A-da 翁阿大. He alleged Weng A-da had contravened a regulation. Weng tried to stop him, so he beat Weng viciously. In the process he tore his uniform and he crushed his helmet, so he fabricated his report so as to deceive people. He didn't expect that he was about to come to judgement for his countless crimes. His behaviour was investigated by the Deputy, Cai Eryuan, who reported to the Inspector of Police, and so that policeman was

235 Li* 58-60
immediately dismissed, and was also imprisoned for one month. This was a warning to those who know the law but break the law. We suppose that after this, the arrogance of the police may be somewhat deflated.\textsuperscript{236} The reputation of the Chinese police was also described in some late Qing novels.\textsuperscript{237}

Those policemen who were actually punished were a small minority. For the most part the general public had no choice but to suffer in silence. Occasionally they would get so angry that a group would form, which would beat up a few policemen. Such an incident happened, according to the \textit{Dianshizhai}, in 1888, when a Chinese policeman was beaten up in the French Concession: “Chinese and Western policemen carry clubs and beat people at will. The weak fear their overbearing behaviour, and when they see them they run away like rats, and even the strong can only show anger in their eyes, and dare not utter a word. We all know that when accumulated

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{236} Pao 44. In 1897 the \textit{Dianshizhai}, under the title “Knowing the Law, but Breaking the Law”, gave an account of a rather similar story: "The Chinese police in the International Settlement abuse their power to lord it over others. The ordinary people suffer their viciousness and there is no one to whom they can appeal to redress the injustices done to them. This has led to the police becoming more audacious and blustering. A few days ago there was an off-duty policeman, Wang Xinhai 王信海, at the break of day was buying some soya-bean milk in the beancurd shop run by Zhang Heshang 张和尚 in Hujiazhai in the International Settlement. He felt that [the service] was too slow, so he started shouting and cursing. The shop assistant, Qian Shunyuan 钱顺元, tried to calm him down. Wang was so angry he was bristling with rage. Suddenly he rushed into the middle of the street and called a Chinese police on duty, Gu Chunyuan 顾春元, to accompany him back to Zhang's shop. They beat them with clubs, and as a result Zhang was wounded on the head and the forehead, and his blood covered the ground. The two policeman still did not release him. The neighbours saw this and were outraged by this injustice, and loudly shouted that they stop. The two policemen started to attack the neighbours, not realising that they could not afford to incur public wrath. Just at that moment a detective, Huang Cifu 黄赐福 passed by. He was an eye-witness to the scene. After making enquiries he found that it was the two policemen who were at fault, so he immediately came forth and arrested them and escorted them to the police station, and explained everything ... Each was sentenced to two hundred strokes, and required to wear the wooden collar for three weeks ... If it had not been for Detective Huang, Zhang would have been accused of beating the policemen." (Yuan 92). The third case occurred about 1888, and concerned a Chinese policeman in the French Concession, Hou A-er 侯阿一. He was found guilty of gambling, sentenced to wear the wooden collar and to be paraded through the streets as a punishment (Yin 1).

\item \textsuperscript{237} Wu Jianren, \textit{Guai xianzhuang} Ch. 14; Hushang youxi zhuren, \textit{Haishang youxi tushuo}, \textit{juan} 3 p. 16; \textit{juan} 4 p. 8
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
grievances under heaven have reached a certain stage a crevice must appear to provide some release. He who flaunts his power at a certain time should realise that here is no good fortune without misfortune; for every voyage there is a return. It is a natural principle that this should be so. Some time ago in the French Concession a Chinese policeman, Number 37, was on patrol near the moat outside the Old North Gate. He was set upon by a group of men, who forced him inside the city walls, and then raised the drawbridge. After this, even though they were dealt with, it was the policemen who got the worst of it this time. So people say that those who rely on [other people's] power are no better than the fox relying on the tiger's prestige. This policeman's mishap was entirely his own doing. 238

Another incident was witnessed by one of the artists of the Dianshizhai, Ma Ziming. The rickshaw-puller he had hired was ordered to stop by a Chinese policeman. He felt that he had done nothing wrong, and did not stop. The policeman caught up with them, and beat the puller with his baton. He demanded to know what he had done wrong, but the policeman was unable to give any specific reason. When the policeman left, the rickshaw puller said: "Just wait until you take off your uniform - I'll still recognise you!" 239 These examples give us a very clear impression that the police habitually used violence in their dealings with the public. The detectives could arrest anyone at will, and have them incarcerated. The power of the Chinese police was, in effect, greater than that of the officials. As Mr. Justice Feetham pointed out, "Chinese officials were not to be entitled to make arrests in the settlements on warrants issued by the Chinese authority outside, or by the Mixed Court magistrate himself, except after notice to the Municipal Police, and by their agency or with their assistance." 240 The Chinese police and detectives were theoretically under the jurisdiction of the Shanghai Municipal Council, but they had no training

238 Geng 39
239 Ren 20
in, or concept of, Western law. Under the pretext of upholding moral standards, they were able to interfere at their whim in other people's business. Their employers were the settlement authorities, but they acted entirely in accordance with Chinese moral standards. Sometimes they acted according to their own boorish whim.

In 1891, two male actors who played female roles in opera performances at the Dangui Theatre 丹桂茶园, Xiao Guilin 小桂林 and Xiao Jinbao 小金宝, were dressed in female attire while travelling by rickshaw through Si Malu, when they were recognised by a Chinese plainclothes detective, who arrested them and took them to the Western inspector. The inspector said that it was the custom of actors to dress in this way, and there was no reason to harass them, and so they were released.241

Another example was that of a Chinese sculptor who carved a nude statue on commission from a foreigner; he was discovered by a detective and brought before the Court.242 The example of the hermaphrodite who was arrested and forced to undergo a medical examination has already been mentioned.243 This type of behaviour did not contravene any of the laws or regulations of the International Settlement or the French Concession; the police, however, regarded these things as "offences against public morality" or "harmful to the public good", and would pursue them with righteous indignation.244

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241 Chen 16
242 Yin 50. Another example was that of a prostitute who went out wearing men's clothing; she was recognised by a detective from the International Settlement, one Gu A-liu 顾阿六, and brought before the Court (Yue 95). A similar incident concerned a man, an actor, who was arrested for wearing women's clothing. The sketch in the Dianshizhai shows the detective lifting the man's skirt to reveal large, unbound feet (Chen 16).
243 Zhu 50
244 Occasionally, Sikh policemen would do much the same sort of thing. Yuan 87 tells of a famous Shanghai courtesan, Lin Daiyu 林黛玉, who began an affair with an equally famous martial arts expert, Zhao Xiaolian 赵小廉. One day they went out carousing in their horse-drawn carriage, and were discovered under the shade of the trees around the Jing'an Temple 静安寺, engaging in some rather intimate behaviour. They were arrested by a Sikh policeman, who escorted them to the police station. The inspector just laughed, and let them go. See also Zhen 79, which reported that the same Zhao Xiaolian had met the concubine of a rich man from Suzhou at a theatrical performance, and had an affair
1894: A transvestite prostitute from Tianjin. She was arrested by a Chinese detective and brought to Court.
From the evidence in the *Dianshizhai*, it would seem that two detectives in the International Settlement were particularly active. One was Gu A-liu, mentioned above, whose beat was the area around Hujiazhai in the International Settlement. He was also amongst the detectives involved in a raid on a brothel in that area.\(^{245}\) His name also often appeared in the column "News from the International Settlement Court" in the *Shen Bao*.\(^{246}\) The other was Qin Shaoqing. He appeared in the *Dianshizhai* in 1884 in a story about a robbery,\(^{247}\) and again in 1886, when he arrested two suspicious looking travellers; it turned out they were members of a Hubei secret society.\(^{248}\) His name also appeared often in the column "News from the International Settlement Court" in the *Shen Bao*.\(^{249}\) It is clear from the language used in the news reports that these detectives were very powerful men. The expression "a report from detective X" was enough to have someone arrested and taken to the police station.

If anyone at all could have been responsible for upholding traditional moral values, and actually had the power to do so, it would not have been the gentry or the Chinese officials, but rather the Chinese police in the settlements. But because they were no more than thugs and ruffians themselves, they behaved very much in the traditional manner of yamen runners, they merely abused their position to lord it over others, they were certainly not models of traditional moral behaviour. They had the power to control and supervise the Chinese population of the settlements, but were no substitute for the gentry in providing moral leadership and example.

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245 Shu\(^*\)
246 His name appeared three times between June and August 1888: 16th June; 25th July; 24 August.
247 Ding 47
248 Xin 36
249 His name appeared four times in the period between July and September 1888: 31st July; 19 August; 21 August; 2 September.
CHAPTER FIVE

Urban Popular Culture

1. The attitude of Shanghaiese towards things foreign

Twentieth century Shanghai is generally regarded as a very politically conscious city, the most nationalistic city in China. Nationalism has its origins in nineteenth century Europe, and in China is essentially a twentieth century phenomenon. The fact that there was no modern nationalism in nineteenth century China does not mean that there was no anti-foreignism. But Shanghai was the least anti-foreign city in China. This lack of national and political consciousness was a characteristic of Shanghai's urban popular culture in the nineteenth century. This section investigates the origin of this popular culture, and how a new élite group emerged around the beginning of the twentieth century.

Contact between Chinese and foreigners was more common in Shanghai than in any other city in China at that time, and this included, of course, personal contact. Most of these relationships were between employer and employee. According to official statistics, the number of Chinese employed by foreigners in the International Settlement was 5,864 in 1885; 7,113 in 1890; 6,991 in 1895 and 10,384 in 1900. Most of these would have been factory workers, and would not

1 See Joseph Fewsmith, Party, State and Local Elites in Republican China (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1985) p. 13: "Shanghai was undoubtedly, across classes, the most politically conscious city in China. Its labour movement was the largest and, with the possible exception that of Guangzhou (Canton), the best organised in China. Its students were at least as active, if not so well known, as those of Peking. Its merchants were the most nationalistic and progressive in the nation."
2 Elie Kedourie, Nationalism (Hutchinson and Co. Ltd. London 1960) p. 9
3 Nicholas R. Clifford, Shanghai, 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege (Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan 1979) p. xi; J.V. Davidson Houston, Yellow Creek, pp. 127-138
4 In this Shanghai differed appreciably from other port cities. In Hankou, for example, Chinese were not permitted to invest in the foreign settlement, and those Chinese who actually lived within it, such as compradors and servants, were "almost completely cut off from the rest of Hankou". See William T. Rowe, Hankow- Commerce and Society in a Chinese City 1796-1889 (Stanford University Press, 1984) p. 47; see also pp. 48-50.
5 Luo Zhiru, Tongji, p. 25. These figures do not include the Chinese who worked in foreign factories in the settlements but continued to live in the villages.
have had much direct contact with their foreign employers. Those who did were mainly compradors in foreign firms,6 employees in such firms,7 stewards in foreign families,8 carriage drivers,9 maidservants,10 and so on, and all of these types appear in the pages of the Dianshizhai. Others were in the service of the settlement authorities, such as the Chinese firemen who worked for the Conseil Municipal in the French Concession,11 the interpreter Cao Jifu 赵吉甫 who worked in the Police Station,12 the interpreter for the Municipal Council Yan Yongjing 颜永京 and so on. Some Chinese also assisted in foreign hospitals, learning paramedical techniques, such as Huang Chunfu 黄春甫 of the Renji Hospital, who acted as an intermediary between the nurses and the doctors.14 Cen Chunhua 岑春华, who had founded an inoculation clinic where inoculations were administered free of charge,15 had at one stage worked in the Tiren Hospital 体仁医院, where he assisted a Western eye specialist.16

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6 Xin* 72; Heng 87; Yi* 55
7 Zhong 95
8 Jin 41
9 Shi 41
10 Bing 8
11 Xiu* 30
12 Zhen 50
13 See Chapter Three, Part Two of this thesis.
14 Zhu 50. It seems that Huang Chunpu was highly respected amongst the Chinese, and in the Dianshizhai he is referred to as "doctor" (yisheng 医生); in fact he was the brother of one of the Chinese missionaries at the Renji Hospital, and not a doctor, but a male nurse. He is mentioned in Macpherson, Public Health, p. 149: "Accident victims, along with the chronologically ill, were of course admitted at any hour, generally being placed under the charge of Keith Foo's brother, Chin Foo (Huang Jinfu). An extraordinary house surgeon, Huang had been serving in the hospital in 1852, eventually holding a post that made him indispensable for the next forty-three years. Henderson, like his predecessors, had the highest praise for him, though Huang at the time was limited to setting fractures and minor surgery because, in Henderson's words, "owing to the stupid prejudices of the Chinese, he has never seen the interior of a dead body". Between Henderson, the Huangs (who lived with their families above the patients in the east wing, and coolie assistants, who had small rooms off the large hall), the Hospital's routine operations were maintained six days a week". A Shen Bao Editorial "Lun Xi-yao jiang shengxing yu Zhongguo" 论西医将盛行于中国 (Western medicine will spread in China) (2 October, 1895), also mentions that Huang Chunfu assisted Western doctors in the Renji hospital in the treatment of patients.
15 See Chapter Two, Part Three of this thesis.
16 Bing 7. See Shanghai-shi yiyao gongsi 上海市医药公司 (ed.), Shanghai jindai xiyao xingye shi 上海近代医药行业史 [History of the western medicine history in modern Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai shekeyuan chubanshe 上海社科院出版社, 1988), p. 12 gives a table which indicates that the Tiren Hospital was founded in 1872, with some sixty five beds, but it gives no details of its location or the names of the people who founded it. It does state, however, that it was founded by Chinese, but that is incorrect. The Shen Bao of 14 February 1873 carries an advertisement for the Tiren Hospital, which states that poor people did not have to pay for treatment, and that rich people could be provided with clean rooms. "A certain Western doctor is a specialist in ophthalmology, and also practices general medicine and surgery. There is also a Chinese who acts as interpreter. If there are Chinese doctors who wishes to study the methods of
Marriages or other liaisons between Chinese and foreigners did occur, but seem to have been quite limited in number. Marriages between Chinese and foreigners, and children of mixed race, are mentioned three times in the Dianshizhai.\(^{17}\) These stories are inconsequential, but the commentaries give us some information. A sketch dated 1892 reveals that: "since Western nations engaged in trade, there have been many Western men who have taken Chinese women as their spouses, but there have been very few cases of Chinese men marrying Western women."\(^{18}\) One sketch dating from 1887 quite obviously supports intermarriage between Chinese and Westerners: "since Westerners came to the East in their ships, people from all over the world can communicate with each other. This is a happy event. Men and women from all over the world can choose a spouse from amongst those whom they might meet. All under heaven has become one family."\(^{19}\) These enlightened comments, however, can only prove the existence of racial intermarriage; they do not prove the actual acceptance of such marriages by society in general. A sketch from 1887 notes "the common term for the child of a Chinese-foreign union is a "Chinese-foreign child" 华洋童子.\(^{20}\) This is a relatively neutral term, and seems to suggest that there was no strong antagonism towards children of mixed race. A news item in 1898 noted: "In recent years some Chinese women have had relations with Western men, and their children always resemble the father and not the mother. So it can be seen that the natural disposition of the child is from the father."\(^{21}\)

\(^{17}\) Pao 9; Zi 83 xia; Zhen 72 xia.
\(^{18}\) Pao 9. The story was about a man from Nanjing who was good at foreign languages, and had made a considerable fortune overseas. There were two Western women who wanted to marry him, so he married both of them, and later settled in Shanghai.
\(^{19}\) Ren 96 xia
\(^{20}\) Zi 83 xia
\(^{21}\) Zhen 72 xia. This comment is not meant to be critical of mixed marriages or children of mixed race, but the use of the term pinshi 辉识 [to have [illicit] sexual relations with] suggests to a greater or lesser degree that sexual relations between Chinese and Westerners were not entirely accepted. By 1870, the settlement authorities had no choice but to establish a special school for the ever increasing numbers of mixed Chinese-Western children in Shanghai. (Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 119) In 1894, a question on the entrance examination for the summer semester at the
Temporary liaisons were also known to have occurred. According to a news item in the *Dianshizhai* of 1890, a shop owner named Wang Maosheng 王茂生 reported a Japanese female employee to the police, accusing her of having fled after stealing fifty yuan and his watch. The police arrested the woman and learned that this was by no means a simple case of theft. It turned out that the woman had been living with Wang, but got involved with a sailor on an English steamer, and had eloped with him. When Wang found out about this it was too late for him to catch up with them, so he made a false report to the police. The Mixed Court fined him for having made a false report, and that was the end of the matter.22

Apart from a few missionaries or businessmen like Ernest Major, relatively few foreigners made any attempt to gain any understanding of China at all. As Pott put it, "The foreign residents, with the exception of the missionaries, were content to live their own lives in their own way among a people whom they made little effort to understand. Outside of missionaries and official interpreters, few endeavoured to study the Chinese language."23 The *Dianshizhai* mentioned in 1887 Shanghai Polytechnic Institute was on determining a policy on a change of nationality based on immigration to another country or marriage to a citizen of a foreign country. (*Gezhi Shuyuan Keyi - Jiawu nian xiaji juan* 格致书院课艺—甲午年夏季卷) It would seem by this stage that that situation was by no means uncommon.

22 Wei 83
23 Pott, *History of Shanghai*, p. 93. See Rhoads Murphey, *The Outsiders - The Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1977), p. 103: "To most foreign merchants this was an unknown world in which they could not attempt to function, except for a very few (mainly Russians in the tea trade) who had learnt Chinese ... these few and some hundreds of millions of Chinese (plus the missionaries) seemed to manage to learn the language, but most treaty port merchants declared, virtually as a point of pride, that it was impossible and somehow not even fitting for a "civilized" person to learn Chinese." See P.D. Coates, *The China Consuls - British Consular Officers 1843-1943* (Oxford University Press, Hongkong 1988), p. 83: "As chief superintendent Bonham did nothing to encourage the acquisition of the language, and, as governor of Hong Kong reputedly preferred men who had not learned it, believing that the study of Chinese warped the intellect and undermined the judgement." The attitude of foreigners in Shanghai during the 1920s towards the learning of Chinese has been recalled by C.P. Fitzgerald, *Why China? Recollections of China 1923-1950* (Melbourne University Press, 1985), pp. 23-24: "The Wards, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and who met the ship when we docked, were "Shanghailanders", with the characteristic outlook of that community ... "Shanghailanders" had little or no business beyond the limits of the French Concession and the International Settlement ... The not inconsiderable part of China beyond the boundary was, in their view, lawless, dangerous, probably most unhealthy and in every way unsafe ... The Wards shared these opinions; they had never been beyond the Concessions; they had no intention of ever doing anything so foolish. They did not speak, or wish to speak Chinese. The Shanghai dialect, they explained, was purely local; no other Chinese understood it. Mandarin, the standard speech of four-fifths of China, was, they claimed, useless in Shanghai. It was a comfortable belief, which provided an excellent excuse for not bothering with the Chinese language. As for the written form, only eccentrics would dream of learning that - or consuls, who, poor souls, had to." Later (p. 34) Fitzgerald refers to his meeting a Mr. Nathan in Tianjin, who was proud of the fact that he had been in China for thirty-two years and did not speak a word of
the Western prostitute who sang indecent Chinese folk songs in the teahouses along Si Malu. In 1897 the Dianshizhai ran a story of two Chinese speaking foreigners who turned up in a brothel in Hujiazhai 胡家宅; neither the prostitutes nor the madam knew how to deal with the situation. In 1890 the Dianshizhai gave a report of a concert held in a church, at which a famous pipa player of the time, Zhou Yonggang 周永纲, was asked to perform. There were several hundred missionaries, diplomats and businessmen in the audience, as well as a large group of Chinese. At that time Zhou was also performing at the Yeshilou 也是楼 Teahouse. A Westerner heard his performance and appreciated it so much that he organised a concert in a church. Of course these sorts of encounters were quite rare, but compared to earlier times, or elsewhere in China, such contacts as there were are indeed estimable. The Shanghai dialect also reflected these contacts in the form of the adoption of various English loanwords, such as telephone (tuh-lok-foong 德律风), engine (lung-tshing 引擎), comprador (khaung-bak-too 康白度), number one (nau-moo-wung 拿摩温) and so on.

Despite the fact that there was a good deal of contact of one type or another between Chinese and Westerners, there were no major clashes because of differences in race and culture before the twentieth century. There were two
1890: A concert held in a church, featuring a famous pipa player. There are missionaries, members of the foreign consulates and businessmen, as well as a few Chinese, in the audience.
reasons for this. The first is that the native Shanghaiese were peaceful and friendly by nature, a fact recognised by all foreigners in Shanghai at that time.

In describing the earliest days of Shanghai, Alexander Michie noted: "the consul maintained good relations with the native authorities and no hostile feeling existed between the foreign and native communities. The circumstances of the place were favourable to all this: the foreign residents were not, as at Canton, confined to a narrow space ... The people of that part of the country are of a peaceable and rather timid disposition."\textsuperscript{29} Similar comments can also be found in Pott's \textit{A Short History of Shanghai}: "compared with the life in the factories of Canton where the merchants were confined in a small circumscribed area, the residents of Shanghai enjoyed considerable freedom, but they were not allowed to penetrate into the country around the settlement so far that they could not return to Shanghai the same day. As the shooting was excellent, and the villagers friendly, these expeditions into the country were most enjoyable."\textsuperscript{30} In Canton, Westerners even avoided going to the city, so as to avoid stirring up any violent clashes.\textsuperscript{31} Not long after the Treaty of Nanjing (1842), Qi Ying if H, the Governor of Guangdong and Guangxi wrote "the nature of the Cantonese is fierce and violent ... there is indeed implacable enmity between the people and the barbarians ... so if the matter of their entering the city is raised, there is great public outrage. The people want to eat their example, was directed against the French, and specifically not against the British. (See the report in \textit{Shen Bao}, 4 May 1874). The Wheelbarrow Pullers' Anti-Tax Riot was directed against the Municipal Council, and was instigated by an increase in the wheelbarrow tax levy. It could be considered rather a type of tax revolt, similar to those discussed by Elizabeth Perry, "Tax Revolt in Late Qing China: The Small Swords of Shanghai and Liu Depei of Shandong" (\textit{Late Imperial China}, Vol. 6, No. 1, June 1985) pp. 83-111, on p. 83: "Late Nineteenth century China saw an outburst of anti-tax riots, several of which developed into significant rebellions against the government. In the case of Western Europe, scholars have suggested that the emergence of the tax revolt as a dominant form of collective activity in nineteenth century Italy, Germany and France was largely a reaction to a process of state formation underway at that time". On the Wheelbarrow Pullers' Riot, see Pott, \textit{History of Shanghai}, p. 95-98; pp. 128-129; C.A. Montaldo de Jesus, \textit{Historic Shanghai}, pp. 240-244; Ge Enyuan 葛恩元, (ed.) \textit{Shanghai Siming gongsuo da shi ji} [A record of major events relating to the Ningbo Guild Hall incident] (Shanghai: Juzhen Fangsong yinshuju 豪珍仿宋印书局, 1920); \textit{Minguo Shanghai-xian zhi}, Vol.III, kuai Shixun, \textit{Shanghai gonggong zujie shi gao} pp. 432-433; Sun Baoxuan, \textit{Wangshanlu riji}, p. 86. See also Richard W. Rigby, \textit{The May Thirtieth Movement} (Australian National University Press, 1980) p 19: "During the first sixty years of the International Settlement, the Chinese on the whole submitted passively to foreign rule. What occasional riots or disturbances there were, were only quarrels over particular matters, with no deep seated causes or wider significance".

\textsuperscript{29} Michie, \textit{The Englishman in China}, p. 124
\textsuperscript{30} Pott, \textit{History of Shanghai}, pp.21-22
\textsuperscript{31} Morse, \textit{The International Relations of the Chinese Empire}, Vol. I, pp. 367-387
flesh and sleep on their skins. Even if you try to convince them with great sincerity, they will certainly not compromise.\textsuperscript{32}

Lanning and Couling tried to analyse the reasons for this extreme difference in attitude: "There was good reason why the Shanghai people as a whole appear as friendly as they really were... it was very soon discovered that the Shanghai native belonged to practically a different race from the Cantonese with whom alone visitors to China during the previous century had been intimately acquainted. Most Shanghai residents were blissfully ignorant of the history of the Kingdom of Wu, but they soon saw the difference between the men of Wu and those of the Nanyüeh, the Cantonese. Not only were the two languages as wide apart as two European tongues, but the native characteristics were equally separated. Where the Cantonese was aggressive, his Shanghai contemporary was peacefully complaisant. The southerner was a radical: the native of Wu a conservative. Shanghai had long since been reconciled to the de facto native government: Canton was ever ready to intrigue and rebel. As against the foreigner, the Cantonese was stand-offish at best, and had on many occasions shown active antipathy, particularly since the war, while the Shanghai man, though not impulsively pro-foreign was at least willing to meet friendly advances half way. When, therefore, we find most of the early troubles with natives in or about the settlements in the early days arising from Fokien men or Cantonese."\textsuperscript{33}

The second reason is very simple but very significant: immigrants to Shanghai had gone there in search of opportunities lacking elsewhere. Such people had no strong anti-foreign feelings, otherwise they would not have gone to Shanghai at all. (There may have been some exceptions, of course, but such was the general rule.)

For these two reasons, the residents of Shanghai before the twentieth century did not have any particular feelings of antipathy towards foreigners. This was reflected in even minor aspects of everyday life. All Chinese dialects have various derogatory terms for foreigners. "The Cantonese pronunciation of the characters 番鬼, meaning foreign devils, is used as an insulting epithet. The corresponding term in the North is 洋鬼子 Yang Kuei Tzü."\textsuperscript{34} In Shanghaiese,

\textsuperscript{32} Chou ban yiwu shimo 筹办夷务始末 [Daoguang chao 道光朝 Vol. VI, p. 3170], quoted in Yuan Jicheng 袁继成, Jindai Zhongguo zujie shi gao 近代中国租界史稿 (Zhongguo caizheng jingji chubanshe 中国财政经济出版社, 1988), p. 9

\textsuperscript{33} G. Lanning and S. Couling, The History of Shanghai (Kelly & Walsh Limited, Shanghai 1921) pp. 295-296.

\textsuperscript{34} ibid. p. 487
however, the term is 外国人 [nga-kok nyung], a neutral term with no derogatory overtones. Yao Gonghe noted: "At that time they called foreigners yangguizi 洋鬼子 or yiren 夷人. In the inner parts of China that was the case everywhere. Only in Shanghai did women, children, young and old, from ancient times to the present day, call foreigners waiguoren 外国人."\(^35\) Chinese traditionally referred to foreigners as yi 夷, usually translated "barbarians". In the Sino-British Treaty of Tianjin of 1858, the Fifty-first clause reads: "From now on, in all official documents, whether in the capital or the provinces, in any reference to Great Britain, the character yi 'barbarian' should never be used."\(^36\) Even as late as 1895, the Court had to reiterate that the word "barbarian" was not to be used in memorials.\(^37\) In the 1860s, the Shanghaiese referred to the International Settlement as the "barbarian quarter".\(^38\) It is not clear when the term "barbarian quarter" gave way to "ten li of foreign settlement", but in the Dianshizhai of the 1880s, only the latter term was used. The term "barbarian quarter" was used only once in the Dianshizhai, and then purposefully, in the context of condemning the International Settlement authorities for using Chinese convict labour in building projects.\(^39\)

Generally speaking, the Shanghaiese were not aggressive, nor did they appreciate such behaviour.\(^40\) The general consensus of opinion is that relations between Chinese and Westerners were excellent.\(^41\) In 1887 the Dianshizhai, in commenting on a traffic accident, said: "In this port, Chinese and Westerners have

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\(^35\) Yao Gonghe, Shanghai xianhua p. 5


\(^37\) Guo Tingyi 郭廷以, Jindai Zhongguo shishi rizhi 近代中国时事日志 [Daily record of current events in modern Chinese history] (Taiwan: Zhengzhong Shuju 正中书局, 1963), p. 927

\(^38\) Yichang 饶场. See Xianggang Xiandai chuban gongsi (ed.) Shi li yangchang hua Shanghai shang ce pp. 30-31; Hua-ye-lian-nong, Haishang hua liezhuan Ch. 15 p. 10; Ch. 27 p. 11; Ch.32 p. 6

\(^39\) Gui 8

\(^40\) Mao 21: In 1888 the Dianshizhai reported on the case of one Liu Guilu 刘桂露, from Jiangbei, who suddenly went mad; one day in the early morning he grabbed a knife and rushed out into the streets, slashing at whomever he came by. In all he wounded fifteen people. The remarkable thing was that when he was arrested, and asked why he wanted to kill people, "Liu laughed loudly, and said 'I wanted to kill foreigners'. Then everyone knew he was mad."

\(^41\) A news item in the Shen Bao (12 April 1873) reported that a drunken Westerner had got into a fight with some local residents. The first words of the report are: "Chinese and foreigners have maintained harmonious relations for quite a long time. Rarely do we hear of any disputes or disturbances."
got along well together for a long time. Even in the middle of the night people can travel safely. There are no restrictions on their movements.42

A good example of the lack of political or nationalist consciousness amongst people in late nineteenth century Shanghai was their attitude towards the Fiftieth Anniversary celebrations. When the Reverend Muirhead read his address on The Bund, recalling the achievements of fifty years of Western settlement in Shanghai, there was a huge crowd of Chinese there to listen to him, with no antagonism or opposition to him at all. (Of course, they were not able to understand his speech, which was in English). Both Chinese and Westerners cooperated to organise the anniversary celebrations. Wealthy merchants, guilds and associations and ordinary people all enthusiastically participated. This harmonious atmosphere is very clear in no less than nine sketches in the Dianshizhai.43

The following year witnessed the sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager, and the enthusiasm of the merchants and people of Shanghai on this occasion was obviously much less than the previous year. The Dianshizhai devoted only one sketch to it, and even mentioned that the scope of the celebrations could not be compared to those of the jubilee. One interesting aspect of the jubilee celebrations is that one lantern had the words "In Anticipation of Her Majesty's Birthday".44 The fiftieth anniversary celebrations and the birthday of the Empress Dowager were not really connected at all, but in the eyes of the Shanghaiese they were much the same sort of thing - at least there was no political difference between them. The streets of Shanghai were packed with enthusiastic revellers on other similar occasions, such as the Birthday of Queen Victoria or Bastille Day. This sort of cooperative attitude does not imply any political support for the settlement authorities, but it does demonstrate that the Shanghaiese did not have any clearly defined national consciousness or antagonism towards foreigners. In fact, they even developed a sense of admiration towards the West, especially the Western humanitarian tradition. For example, the practice of "taking a bride by force"45 was very common in Shanghai. If the settlement police, or any other foreigner, were to

42 Ren 96. In his memoirs, Li Pingshu also gives us some indication that other Chinese regarded the Shanghaiese as being on relatively good terms with foreigners. In 1899 the French occupied Guangzhouwan. Li Pingshu, in his capacity of Magistrate of Suixi County, led a group of local villagers to protest. He was dismissed from his position afterwards. The next year Li Hongzhang remarked "You are a Shanghaiese, you should be used to dealing with foreigners, but you utterly failed to make an appraisal of your own position." See Li Pingshu, Zixu, p.45.
43 Mu 57-64 xia
44 Yu zhu wanshou 游祝万寿 She 58
45 qiang qin 抢亲
1893: Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Foreign Settlements. The first sketch shows Cantonese merchants; the second the Ningbo Clique. The signs on the lanterns read "Great Celebration on the Foundation of the Open Port".
witness such an attempt, they would be sure to intervene. The *Dianshizhai* gave two examples of such attempted kidnappings in the main streets of the settlement; on both cases they were foiled by the intervention of a Westerner, or the police. The way Western hospitals treated their patients also left a strong impression on the Shanghaiese, and the *Dianshizhai* commented: "Westerners value highly benevolence and righteousness". In 1889 the *Dianshizhai* gave a report of a missionary, who had run a school of deaf, dumb and blind children in Bombay, and had been very successful. He had come to Shanghai to establish a similar school. The sketch shows the doors and the windows of the school surrounded with curious onlookers. This attitude of respect and helpfulness towards the disabled indubitably made a strong impression on the Chinese. Some things might be small in themselves, but if they happen often enough they also leave a general impression.

Chinese employed by Westerners often praised them for their fairness and honesty. In 1888 the *Dianshizhai* carried a report about a time bomb which had exploded on a steamship in mid-ocean, en route from London to Australia. The man who had hidden the time bomb had done so to claim 80,000 ounces of silver in insurance from an Insurance Company. This was quite a sensational and terrifying story to the Chinese. The commentary was: "Even someone with the slightest conscience could not bear to do such a thing. Now we know that there are treacherous and malicious people amongst Westerners, ten times worse than the Chinese. Some people who scamper around foreign firms always say that Westerners are upright and trustworthy, but what they say is based on only what they have seen." The commentary was quite objective, and did not deny the impression of Westerners gained by those Chinese working for them in Shanghai.

Most of the Chinese who had dealings with the foreigners - cooks, maidservants, rickshaw pullers and even compradors - had little in the way of Chinese education. As Liang Qichao put it: "the scholars cannot speak foreign

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46 Wu 80; Ji 72
47 Yu 42
48 Yi* 2
49 In 1884 the *Dianshizhai* carried a report of an incident in a silk filature. A group of women workers were queuing to receive their wages, when one of the women lost a hair-ornament in the crush. She was so upset she began to cry loudly. When the foreign foreman heard of this, he paid her the cost of replacing the hair-ornament in addition to paying her wages, and even arranged for someone to escort her home. The commentary was fulsome in its praise: "Westerners, it could be said, are good at practising what they preach." (Jia 89 xia)
50 Mao 14 xia
languages, and those who can speak foreign languages are not scholars.\(^{51}\) In 1897 the *Dianshizhai* carried a note on compradors: “Compradors of the foreign firms of Shanghai are generally illiterate. They have to ask other people to read and write their correspondence for them. They even have to ask other people to manage their family accounts. The reason for this is that when they were young they learned foreign languages, and never gained any familiarity with Chinese characters.”\(^{52}\) In fact, however, most compradors had only a bare smattering of English. Crash courses in English abounded in Shanghai, and advertisements for these are common enough in the pages of the *Shen Bao*.\(^{53}\) This sort of English was known as "pidgin English", and even foreigners in Shanghai needed some time to learn to understand it.\(^{54}\)

To these people, the material culture of the West appeared very attractive. They were happy enough to accept foreign culture, even if at a fairly superficial level. As we can see from the *Dianshizhai*, Shanghaiese quickly accepted horse-racing, theatres, Western restaurants and other forms of amusement, and developed a taste for keeping up with the fashions. Even the word *fashion*\(^{55}\) evolved from being a derogatory term to one of high praise. At the very beginning of this process of acculturation, even prostitutes did not want to be seen as being fashionable.\(^{56}\) It

\(^{51}\) Liang Qichao, *Wushi nian lai Zhongguo jinhua gailun* 五十年来中国进化概论 (Shen Bao Guan Wushi Zhounian Jilun, 1923) p. 3

\(^{52}\) Heng 87. This state of affairs was by no means limited to Shanghai. In his essay on the need to establish proper schools for the study of Western languages, Feng Guifen Feng桂芬 had the following to say on the general standard of competence of the so-called "linguists" of the day: "Nowadays those familiar with barbarian affairs are called "linguists". These men are generally frivolous rascals and loafers in the cities and are despised in their villages and communities. They serve as interpreters only because they have no other means of making a livelihood. Their nature is boorish, their knowledge shallow, and furthermore, their moral principles are mean. They know nothing except sensual pleasures and material profit. Moreover, their ability consists of nothing more than a slight knowledge of the barbarian language and occasional recognition of barbarian characters, which is limited to the names of commodities, numerical figures, some slang expressions and a little simple grammar. How can we expect them to pay attention to scholarly studies?" (in Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West - A Documentary Survey 1839-1923* (Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 51. Even if we make allowances for Feng's somewhat extreme language, the general standard of competence of Chinese "linguists" was certainly low.

\(^{53}\) E.g. *Shen Bao*, 30 May 1876, 25 July 1877 etc.

\(^{54}\) See Yao Gonghe Yao公和, *Shanghai xianhua*, p. 25. Pott, *History of Shanghai* p. 93, gave the following definition: "Pidgin English is a form of English spoken according to Chinese idiom with words altered in such a way as to make it easy for the Chinese to pronounce them. Some Portuguese and French words have been incorporated into it". Pott further notes on p. 93: "Communication between foreigners and Chinese was largely carried on in 'pidgin English'." Dyce, *The Model Settlement*, pp. 229-237 also gives an account of pidgin English. The word "pidgin" is itself a corruption of the English word "business".

\(^{55}\) *shimao* 时髦

\(^{56}\) Zhu-mi-tu-ren, *Haishang yeyou beilan*, *juan* 3 p. 15
1897: A comprador pretends he can read, but misunderstands a request for some Western dogs for an invitation to dinner. The servant corrected him, to his great embarrassment.
was not long before the dandies and the scions of the rich feared nothing more than to be thought unfashionable. The great popularity of Western food, apart from any intrinsic appeal it may have had, was also seen as being fashionable.\textsuperscript{57} Western bands were considered the height of fashion.\textsuperscript{58}

At much the same time, a new set of cultural values was forming in Shanghai, firstly at the popular level - a desire to imitate the West. As mentioned above, some imported goods like dark glasses, cigarettes and so on functioned as a sort of status symbol. The national consciousness of the literati, even if it could not be considered modern nationalism in the strict sense, was of course much stronger and more clearly defined than that of ordinary people. One group completely rejected Western culture in all its forms - those who opposed the Self-Strengthening Movement, for example. The Chinese gentleman who lived in the Chinese city for thirty years and never set a foot in the foreign settlements would be a local version of this type.\textsuperscript{59} The other group was very anxious to "learn from the West", but their aims were the "wealth and power" of China.\textsuperscript{60} This was very different from the uncritical emulation of everyday Western culture by the ordinary Chinese living in the foreign settlements of Shanghai.

The relations between Chinese and foreigners in Shanghai may have been harmonious, but there could be no doubt that the foreign authorities were indeed the "dominant group". The desire to emulate them was based on this political fact. Some Chinese, in trying to ally themselves with the dominant group, relied on the power and prestige of the foreigners to oppress other Chinese.

In 1884 the \textit{Dianshizhai} mentioned certain rickshaw pullers, who were happy to have foreigners ride in their rickshaws: "They are all customers. But when they carry Westerners, they really leap."\textsuperscript{61} The rickshaw pullers were happy to have Western passengers, of course, because they could expect a larger fare from

\textsuperscript{57} Shen Bao, 30 September 1895
\textsuperscript{58} In the \textit{Dianshizhai} of 1886 there is a story of a Cantonese merchant who hired a Western band to pave the way for a religious procession welcoming the spirits to the Temple of Heaven. The writers of the \textit{Dianshizhai} ridiculed him, noting that a man with any education would never have thought of such vulgarity. (Xin 68) The custom caught on in Shanghai, however, and showed no signs of abating. Even middle class families, if they could afford it, would be sure to hire a band on such occasions as weddings - whether or not the music being played was suitable for the occasion was irrelevant. (Wang Xiangqing, \textit{Wang Xiangqing biji, xia ce, juan 6}; Wu Jianren, \textit{Guai xianzhuang}, Ch. 78.)
\textsuperscript{59} See Chapter Three of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{60} See Yen-p'ing Hao, "Changing Chinese views of Western Relations, 1840-95", in Fairbank et al., \textit{Cambridge History of China}, Vol. 11, Part 2, pp. 156-190.
\textsuperscript{61} Jia 81 xia
them - even though there were some Westerners who refused to pay the fare requested.\textsuperscript{62}

Employees in foreign firms, and even servants in foreign households considered themselves a cut above the rest. In the \textit{Dianshizhai} there are reports of a steward of a certain foreign household who reduced the fare payable to a rickshaw driver,\textsuperscript{63} and of a young servant who bought a watermelon for his Western master. The pedlar called him "Mister Boy", whereupon he became very angry: "You can call me Mister, there's no need to add Boy!" The pedlar's language was inappropriate, so the young servant beat him.\textsuperscript{64} This sort of attitude was also mentioned in books written by Westerners. On occasions some servants would go hunting with their masters in the countryside around Shanghai. They would refuse to pay a sufficient amount for supplies from the peasants, and threatened them that, if they were not willing to accept the amount offered, the Western masters would shoot them.\textsuperscript{65}

An extreme example was the arrogance and abusiveness of carriage-drivers. This occupation appeared, of course, as a result of Western influence. Their conditions, however, were vastly better than those of ordinary workers, and this sense of superiority led them to bully the weak and the poor, and the carriage-drivers of Shanghai had a bad reputation.\textsuperscript{66} Those in the \textit{Dianshizhai} were mentioned because of their arrogance towards poor people, and their insulting attitude towards women.\textsuperscript{67} A commentary in the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted: "Recently we have heard a lot of news about carriage-drivers in the International Settlement causing trouble. Although they are strictly restrained by the police, alas, their perverse nature is already formed, and they are unwilling to reform. We often see a carriage-driver, holding high his reins, come through the ten \textit{li} of foreign settlement. Whenever a rickshaw crosses their path, the rickshaw must give way. If there is the slightest hesitation, they will gallop straight ahead, brandishing their

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{62} Shen Bao, 31 October 1872
\textsuperscript{63} Jia 81 xia
\textsuperscript{64} Xizai xiangsheng 细崽先生 Jin 40 xia
\textsuperscript{65} Dyce, \textit{The Model Settlement} p. 154. The \textit{Dianshizhai} tells the story of the Yongkang Rice Shop 永康米店, which was not prospering, and had to close down. Some people had already paid for their rice but had not yet collected it, so the proprietor discussed the possibility of postponing the closure of the shop with the comprador, so that those people would be able to claim their rice. The comprador, however, was extremely vicious: he did not agree to this proposal, and confiscated the rice as well. (Xin* 72)
\textsuperscript{66} Zheng Yimei, \textit{Shanghai jiu hua}, p. 8
\textsuperscript{67} Zhu 40; Shu 16; Ge 71; Xin* 88. There is only one story about a decent carriage-driver, who was able to help his former foreign employer, who had fallen onto difficult times (Shi 41).
\end{footnotes}
whips, and even bump into pedestrians. Then they will certainly take their whips and viciously attack them ..."68

It is clear that there was no well developed sense of nationalism in late nineteenth century Shanghai, nor is there any evidence of anti-foreignism among ordinary people. In the decade around the turn of the century, however, such a consciousness began to develop. Three examples show this change in attitude clearly, and also show the effect of nationalism on the new élite group in providing a new interpretation of the historical facts.

The first is the case of the Wusong-Shanghai Railway. Twentieth century accounts of the Wusong-Shanghai Railway claim that the "Chinese people" or "local officials and local people" opposed the railway.69 Contemporary materials, however, show clearly that the attitudes of the ordinary people and the officials were very different. Even before the railway was officially inaugurated, several thousand people went, every day, to watch the spectacle of goods being transported by the railway. The Shen Bao carried a report from a journalist: "Every day several consignments of stone are delivered. Every time there are no less than several thousand people - old, young, men and women, who go to watch. They are like butterflies attracted to flowers, or ants attracted to smelly meat".70 The London Times and the Encyclopaedia Britannica also similar published reports.71

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68 Zhu 40. They went on to report how a carriage driver in Nanjing Road had knocked over a middle aged woman and a child, and then gave them a good cursing. This went on until some onlookers reprimanded him, and then he ran away.

69 Quan Hansheng 全汉盛, Zhongguo hanghui zhidu shi 中国行会制度史 [A history of the guild hall system in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Xin shengming shudian 新生命书店, 1934, reprinted Shanghai: Guji shudian 古籍书店, 1989) p. 202: "The first day the railway was in operation, the Chinese people saw this monster moving along the ground, and felt it to be inauspicious, so they immediately collected money to buy the railway back, so that they could destroy it"; Chen Boxi 陈伯熙, Lao Shanghai 老上海 [Old Shanghai} (Shanghai: Taidong shuju 泰东书局, 1919), zhong ce 中册, p. 155: "The people were excited by this commonplace thing out of ignorance. The officials and the people set up a clamour about it..."; Zheng Yimei, Shanghai xianhua, 上海小画, p. 32 "[the railway] incurred the opposition of the local officials and the local people". This misconception is still current; see Wellington K. Chan, Merchants, Mandarin and Modern Enterprise in Late Ch'ing China (Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 129: "The short Shanghai-Woosong railway lasted barely a year before local opposition forced the Chinese government to tear it up after compensating its foreign owners".

70 Shen Bao, 8 April 1876 "Guan huoche tielu jilüe" 观火车铁路纪略 [A brief record of an inspection of the railway]

71 The London Times, 10 May, 1876: "I mentioned in my last letter that the Mandarins were showing opposition to the little railway that is being laid down between Shanghai and the mouth of the river, and there is no symptom yet of a change for the better. How much the opposition means remains to be seen. The local officials are certainly getting savage letters from the Viceroy, but whether they are only intended to screen himself pending the decision of Peking or whether they betoken real anger is a very open question. I incline to the former explanation, as he was shown the road when he visited Shanghai last year and offered no objection. Probably he as as well
as the Taotai was content that the line should be made quietly, but it has been too much talked about. Another difficulty seems to be about one or two pieces of land that have been bought in connection with it, and which the officials desire to recover. Any request of this kind will, of course, be met if reasonable ground is shown. It was hardly to be expected that the thing would be accomplished without some opposition, but it is unfortunate that this should have arisen so soon. The Chinese people about here other than the Mandarins are perfectly well disposed. They have sold their land willingly, and are working at the road with perfect goodwill. They dislike the Taotai, and seem to be rather amused at his troubles, and are waiting the issue of the affair with a good deal of interest certainly, but without, I think, any feeling of hostility towards the railway. People often go down to look at it, and only yesterday, for instance, several very respectably dressed Chinese, who had come for the purpose, were invited to ride in the ballast trucks. They were a little timid at first, but eventually accepted the offer, and were delighted with the experience. I should mention that the engine which is being used is only of two or three horsepower, and hardly bigger than a good sized Newfoundland dog.71 A week later (22 May, 1876), The London Times continued: "You will be glad to hear that the construction of the little Woosong railway is progressing and that there are symptoms of withdrawal of opposition on the part of the Chinese officials. It is rumoured that a hint was received by them a few days ago from Peking to see as little as they could of what was happening, and straws seem to confirm this hint of a change of wind. The persecution to which I have before referred of people who had sold certain pieces of land has ceased, and one or two plots which the mandarins have some reason for wishing to recover are likely to be amicably exchanged - for instance, one which touches the river embankment will be readily exchanged for an adjacent piece a little inland, and the piece on the opposite side of the Woosung Creek, to which I referred a few weeks ago as a cause of trouble, will also be surrendered. In the meantime there is no interference with the workmen, who are all country people, and things are progressing rapidly. Several miles of road have been completed and ballasted, and the whole countryside is alive with interest. Literally thousands of people from all the neighbouring towns and villages crowd down every day to watch proceedings, and criticise every item from the little engine down to the pebbles of the ballast. All are perfectly good humoured and evidently intent on a pleasant day's outing. Old men and children, old women and maidens, literati, artisans and peasants - every class of society is represented, and enterprising peep-show and fruitstall men have taken advantage of the opportunity to establish a small fair on a convenient spot in the neighbourhood. The engine, of course, is the great centre of attention. It is engaged in dragging trucks with pebble ballast at present, and a general cry of "Laijtte, laijtte" - "It's coming, it's coming" heralds each return journey. Then ensues crowding around, and an amount of introspection which suggests awful reflections in case of accident, and then the whistled signal to start; the fall of a live shell could hardly suggest a greater stampede, except that laughter and perfect good temper are present instead of terror. Everything, therefore, is going on so far satisfactorily; and if the people are let alone by their officials they will quietly satisfy their curiosity and go home amused and interested. They are giving practical proof at present of what I have always urged - that there is no instinctive dislike in the masses to things foreign. There is only a great deal of ignorance, which can easily be played upon by the officials and dangerously misdirected if it suits their purpose. Let us hope that this little pioneer railway will get finished without further trouble, and that it will serve to introduce into China a mode of carriage which has done so much to develop the resources of Western countries. It is quite likely that two circumstances are restraining the officials at the present moment from their wonted opposition to innovation - namely, the still unsettled Yunnan difficulty, and a desire to raise a considerable loan for use in Turkestan."

The Woosong-Shanghai Railway as also mentioned in the Ninth Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, published in the same year, 1876: "The introduction of the railway is, however, considered to be a more serious matter, and though at several of the arsenals tramways have for some time been employed, no mandarin has, until quite lately, been bold enough to sanction the use of a locomotive. Quite recently the idea was originated of quietly buying up a strip of land between Shanghai and Woo-song, and of using it for the construction of a railway. The local mandarins and the Peking government met the projected line with decided opposition; but here again the argument brought to bear by the resident foreign ministers were sufficiently cogent to induce it to withdraw all actively obstructive measures, and the first railway in China was opened to traffic under the negative approval of the rulers of the soil. Much importance has been attached to this introduction of railways into China, and the crowded trains which daily travel
The territory the railway passed through was originally desolate land, but, with the advent of the railway, a large number of merchants had set up stalls of various types. The *Dianshizhai* has a sketch of the railway at the time, showing peddlers carrying loads on the ends of bamboo poles, crowds of people enjoying the spectacle and hired labourers working on the construction of the track. The day the line was officially opened, July 3, 1876, even greater crowds thronged to the area. A journalist from the *Shen Bao* also took a ride on the train, and wrote a report on the experience:

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, men and women, old and young, all came running. Most of them had tickets for seats in the first and second classes, but in an instant, there was not an empty seat to be had in the whole carriage, and even people who had bought tickets for the first or second class had to sit in the third class. When the train was about to start, more people came rushing onto the train. It must have been because they had never witnessed such a scene before, they wanted to have such an experience."  

The *Shen Bao* even sold photographs of the train: "For the benefit of women and children, and people who live in distant areas and who have never seen a train, it is as if they themselves could be on the scene". The photographs cost one cash each, and were sold after August 19, 1876.  

The Wusong-Shanghai Railway was destroyed seven years before the first issue of the *Dianshizhai*, but the *Dianshizhai* used the news that the Qing government was considering construction of a railway between Tianjin 天津 and Tongzhou 通州 to provide a sketch of it. In the commentary the editor noted, with a sigh: "Since the West came to trade, we have imitated many things, and these have flourished in recent years. Although it has not been possible to rid ourselves of all earlier prejudices, society is now more open minded, and we are not so parochial as we were in the past. There was a railway to Shanghai in the later years of the Tongzhi period. It went from Wusong to Shanghai, a distance of more than thirty li; the return trip took no time at all. Unfortunately it was opposed by the authorities. They repaid the expenses, and it was destroyed immediately". Here it is stated between the two termini are considered to point to the probable speedy extension of railways throughout the country. But the approval given to the Shanghai railway is merely that of the people; and its completion has at present only intensified the determination of the government to withstand the adoption of the iron road". (Volume V, p. 672)
very clearly that the railway "was opposed by the authorities". This matter was again mentioned by the Shen Bao on 12 September, 1878: the railway was a good thing, but "some officials had different opinions".

On 3 August, 1876, a Chinese was crushed to death by the railway. This was a turning point in the eventual fate of the railway itself. Because of this accident, the attitude of the Qing government became even more hostile. Eventually they came to an agreement with the English owners of the railway, that the railway would be brought back at the original price. Until the amount was paid in full, the railway would continue to operate. There were many versions of this accident.75 This accident was mentioned again in the Dianshizhai in 1890. "In former years during the period of construction of the Wusong-Shanghai Railway, a Chinese soldier had a wild idea he wanted to stop the train; in the end he was crushed by the wheels of the train, and cut in two".76 It cannot be determined how the editor came by this interpretation.77 From the commentary it can be seen that the editor had no sympathy for the man who died. The title of this sketch is "A Mantis Trying to Stop a Chariot". The seal on the painting says "Overrating One's Ability"; both these expressions are used to ridicule someone who lacks understanding of his own capacities.

75 The day after the accident the Shen Bao carried a report: "Yesterday morning at seven o'clock, there was a train coming from the north of Jiangwan on a trial run. It happened that a man was standing nearby, watching the train. It seems he wanted to rush over the railway line. He slipped on the stones, and fell on to the railway tracks. The train's brakes could not be applied in time, and the train ran over the man's body... Afterwards a report was presented to the local magistrate to investigate. The man was about thirty years old. It is not known who his relatives were. According to a preliminary investigation, he seems to have been a soldier, or something of the like. The corpse has now been placed in a coffin, and an appeal made to collect it". (Shen Bao, 4 August 1876). There was much speculation amongst the Western community. Some believed that he had been hired by the Chinese authorities, to kill himself in this way to raise the anger of the masses. As no-one came forward to claim his remains, the theory that he had done it for money could not be substantiated. (Percy Horace Kent, Railway Enterprise in China - An Account of its Origin and Development (London, Edward Arnold, 1907); Chinese translation: Zhongguo tielufazhan shi 中 国 铁路发展 史 (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 1958), p. 14) In his memoirs, Xia Yan recollects the two most vivid events of his childhood, one of which was the opening of the Shanghai-Hangzhou railroad in 1909. According to Xia, there was great excitement in Hangzhou and the surrounding villages. His mother walked for two li to bring the children, benches and food, and took up a position to the side of the railroad track. They waited for two hours in the scorching sun until the train arrived. Both sides of the track were crowded, and the crops in the fields were trampled underfoot. - Xia Yan 夏衍, Lan zun jiu meng lu 漫寻旧梦录 [Idle search of old dreams] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian 三联书店, 1985), pp. 14-15
76 Tang bi dang che 嫌背挡车; bu liang li 不量力 Xi 56
77 It may be that this theory derived from an item recorded in the Shen Bao, 5 December 1876: about a "man with a Jiangbei accident, both drunk and crazy", who lay down across the railway track to stop a train. Together with two other protesters, who demanded that the railroad construction be halted, were escorted to the Police Station. This incident apparently caused somewhat of a stir amongst the villagers at the time.
Even after this accident, people were still very enthusiastic about taking a ride on the train. According to the train timetable published in the *Shen Bao*, the train went from Shanghai to Wusong and back seven times every day except Sunday, when it made the return trip only five times. Statistics show that from 3 July 1876 to the 17 July 1877 (despite a period of several months when the train did not run), a total of 161,331 people had travelled on the train. It was possible to make the return trip in one day, and, at 360 cash a ticket, it was cheaper than travelling by pushcart. Strong appeals for the government not to dismantle the railway were made. More than a hundred of the local gentry and merchants signed a joint letter; but it was to no effect. On 20 October, 1877, the last instalment of the debt was paid, and the railway was handed over to the Chinese authorities.

The discrepancy between contemporary accounts and later interpretations does not necessarily mean that the twentieth century authors were deliberately lying. This is more likely a case of the well known phenomenon of interpreting the past in terms of the precepts of the twentieth century.

The second example is that of attitudes towards the Mixed Court. From the voluminous material available in the *Dianshizhai*, the *Shen Bao*, and such late Qing novels as *Flowers on the Sea*, we cannot find a single example of any opposition amongst ordinary people to the Mixed Court. On the contrary, Shanghaiese could

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78 *Shen Bao*, 11 August 1876
79 *Shen Bao*, 18 September 1877. Of course this sum could be considered reasonable only for a fairly well-off family. Even in 1880, the average monthly wage for a male labourer was no more than 200-300 cash. See *Shen Bao*, 13 October 1880.
80 On that day, the *Shen Bao* published the timetable for the last time, with the comment: "This is the last train under the management of this Company. It will leave Shanghai today at twelve o'clock. At one o'clock it will leave Wusong and return to Shanghai. Please note." Before long, the railway was dismantled and destroyed. The engine and the carriages were transported to Taiwan. Most of them were left on the beach. Nobody paid much attention to them, and over a period of time they were either looted, or degenerated into scrap metal. From that time on, anyone wishing to travel to Wusong had only the choice of a horse-drawn carriage or a sedan chair. It was another twenty years before another railway line was built linking Wusong to Shanghai. See Xiang Hua 向华, *Shanghai shi hua* 上海史话 ([Talks on the history of Shanghai] (Hongkong: Muwen shuju 牧文书局, 1971, p. 30; P. H. Kent, *Railway Enterprise* (Chinese translation), p. 15; Shanghai Tongshe (ed.) *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao* (Shanghai, 1936; reprinted by Shanghai Shudian, 1984), p. 317). Not long after the destruction of the railway, the *Shen Bao* noted: "After the railroad was destroyed in this city, there was no more to remember it by than a dozen or so rooms, the railway station and the ticket office. We have recently heard that one of the original owners has sold these facilities for a certain sum of money, and the new owners have dismantled them. The rest of the railroad equipment has also all been destroyed. Now there is only a small path where the railroad once stood; it cannot be recognised." (*Shen Bao*, 28 November 1878)

81 National consciousness, of course, was strong amongst the literati. Li Pingshu visited Singapore in 1887, and on his return wrote an article "Xinjiapo fengtu ji 新加坡风土记 [A record of the natural conditions and social customs of Singapore] in which he commented: "In all the
seek the protection of the Mixed Court. As far as ordinary people were concerned, the first signs of any opposition to foreign control did not appear until 1905, with the rise of nationalism in the twentieth century. As Pott wrote, "The year 1905 is a memorable one in the annals of Shanghai, as at that time a change in the attitude of the educated Chinese became evident, indicating that they were no longer willing to submit passively to what they regarded as an infringement of their rights. This brought about a serious situation at the close of the year - the Mixed Court riot in the International Settlement." The 1905 case was based on the question of whether a Chinese women who had been convicted in the Mixed Court should be imprisoned in a Western jail or a Chinese jail. This was to prove a

countries of the West, all the commercial ports, the consuls of other countries do not have jurisdictional rights. But the foreigners in China are different, such as the Mixed Court established in Shanghai. Chinese and foreigners both participate in the Court. This is not a Western custom. The Western officials are keen to arrogate power to themselves, and expect the Chinese officials to be slavishly dependent on them. Men of ideals and integrity can only feel anger at this." (Li Pingshu, Zixu, p. 24)

For example, the mistreated wives mentioned in Shu 24 and Hai 91. There were also cases of prostitutes seeking the protection of the Mixed Court, either against excessive mistreatment on the part of the brothel madam, or because they wanted the support of the Court in their attempts to leave the brothel. See Shen Bao, August 1, 1885; 30 April 1888.

The Western version, as recorded by Kotenev, is as follows: "On December 8th, 1905, some women, one of whom was the wife of a Szechuen official by the name of Li Wang-chih, and two men supposed to be her servants, were brought up before the British Assessor, Mr. Twyman, Magistrate Kuan and the Assistant Magistrate, Mr. King, on a charge of kidnapping girls for an unlawful purpose, fifteen of their victims being in Court. The case was remanded. The British Assessor directed the Municipal Police to take the prisoners and the girls pro tem to the Door of Hope, marking this on the Charge Street. The Magistrate, however, wanted to send the girls to the cells and the Mixed Court, and he told his runners to take them away from the police. A free fight between the police and the runners was the result, in which the police were victorious. The girls and the prisoners were put into the police van, on which the runners locked the gate of the courtyard. The police then asked the Magistrate to order his runners to open the gate, and the reply of the Magistrate was that the police could break down the gate, break up the whole Court, and kill him if they chose. On being asked if he refused to order the gate to be opened, the Magistrate left the Court, but the gate shortly was opened, and the prisoners and their victims disposed of in accordance with the British Assessor's directions, and the court suspended its sitting. This incident, in which the Magistrate was doubtless acting under orders from his superiors, was part of the endeavour made by the higher authorities to assert that the Mixed Court was a Chinese Court, and to abolish the protection which the Municipality was bound to give to the Chinese in the Settlement. The actions of the higher functionaries were at once taken up by the conservative native elements. The Canton Guild called a meeting to protest against the treatment suffered by a fellow provincial's widow at the hands of the Municipal Police. The meeting was held and a telegram was drawn up and sent to the Waiwupu, reporting matters and protesting against the treatment by the Police of Chinese ladies of family and standing, as it was ascertained that Mrs. Li Wang-chih was the widow of an official, a native of Kuangtung province, and was on her way home with her servants and slave girls, the coffin of her late husband, and luggage consisting of over one hundred pieces. On the other hand, the committee of Chinese merchants protested against the conduct of the police in striking Court runners during the session of the Court. Over a thousand were computed to have attended the meeting, during which it was decided to demand the dismissal of the Police Inspectors, detectives and constables concerned, and to ask that another
person be appointed to act as British Assessor. As a result of this clamour, the Waiwupu demanded
the woman's immediate release and the Consular Body at Shanghai was instructed by the Ministers
at Peking to order the Municipal Council to release the lady without further trial, on the ground
that, as the Mixed Court was closed by the Taotai and not yet re-opened, it was unfair to keep an
innocent lady in custody without any opportunity of proving her innocence. The Municipal
Council released the accused but could not silently pass over a new violation of the established
procedure on the part of the Diplomatic Body at Peking ... Meanwhile, the attitude of a certain
part of the native community and press towards the foreign Government of the Settlement
underwent a remarkable change. The arrival of young and hot-headed students from Europe,
America and Japan, with half-formed ideas and half-educated, the premature discussion of the
American Exclusion Treaty, and the effect on the Chinese mind of the Japanese success against
Russia, may be said to have been at the bottom of this anti-foreign movement. After the Mixed
Court fracas, untrue and malicious reports were circulated from the Mixed Court as to what
actually occurred there on December 8th, and the minds of certain sections of the native
community were poisoned thereby. The services of disgruntled students and of the Boycott
Committee were enlisted, and several meetings of a violent character were held, in which threats of
a general strike, of refusal to pay taxes, and of a general exodus of natives from the Settlement
were made. As a result of the aforesaid propaganda, the mob attacked the Municipal Council
premises and Police Stations, one of which, Louza Station, was burned down by the rioters. The
manner in which the attacks were delivered, the class of people in the Settlement at the time, and
the general organization, showed the work of persons of a higher class than loafers and beggars.
Moreover, the points of attack were not valuable shops and banks, but Police Stations and
markets, and persons molested were not natives, but foreign Police and foreigners. The mob was
also not in the Settlement for purposes of loot, but for attack on Municipal property. As a result
of inquiries it had been ascertained beyond a doubt that the leading men of the so-called "Patriotic
Oratorical Society" movement were absolutely responsible for the printing of inflammatory
pamphlets, arrangements for the distribution of the circulars calling upon the shopkeepers to close
their premises, and for the employment of men who went around and visited the marked places and
native shops on the morning of the riot, to see that the request, in the name of the Shanghai
merchants, to suspend business in the Settlement was complied with." (Kotenev, *Shanghai: Its
Mixed Court and Council*, pp. 127-129) The same incident, based on Chinese sources, has been
discussed by Mark Elvin: "The immediate cause of the trouble was twofold: the horror of the
Chinese jails, and the corruption of the Mixed Court runners in the magistrate's employ. A
Western committee described the Mixed Court prisons in 1898: there was not enough room for
everybody to lie down; no food was supplied to the prisoners until they had been in for two days;
water and tea had to be paid for by the inmates; in the whole civil prison there was only one
latrine, a communal tub to which prisoners from whom, money might be "squeezed" were
frequently chained; death from disease was common. Prisoners were sometimes released before their
sentences had expired by the Chinese magistrate acting without an assessor's consent. Conversely,
they were sometimes detained indefinitely. The Mixed Court runners took innocent people into
custody and demanded large sums before they would release their victims. For a suitable
remuneration they would arrange to warn someone in advance if his arrest were ordered. Efforts at
reform failed. In 1904, therefore, the Council summarily took custody of all male Chinese
prisoners. In April 1905, they stationed a Sikh constable inside the Court to keep watch on
malpractices. In May the British assessor tried to take into foreign hands the custody of Chinese
female prisoners as well. He was resisted, with some success in certain cases, by the taotai. In
December, pursuant to this, there was a dispute in the Court as to where a women accused of
kidnapping fifteen young girls should be detained. The magistrate, Kuan, declared: "There is no
article in the 1868 regulations to the effect that female prisoners should be kept in the Western
jail. I have no orders from the taotai. I cannot permit it." The assessor, Twyman, answered: "I do
not recognise the taotai. I obey only the consul's order." If that is how it is," returned the
magistrate, then I do not recognize the consul." There was then a fight between the Chinese
runners and the Western police for the possession of the accused. The foreigners won. This was
regarded by the Chinese in the settlement as a direct attack on Chinese rights. The Chinese
Chamber of Commerce asserted: "In general [the Western nations] all have the intention of robbing
us of our sovereignty." The taotai regarded it as "a matter of political power", in which it was "not
expedient to permit any usurpation." As soon as the Chinese saw that the assessor was not going
turning point in the attitude of the Shanghaiese towards the Mixed Court. The evidence seems to show, nonetheless, that the 1905 riots were initiated by "higher functionaries" and "certain conservative native elements", namely the Canton Guild. Their involvement may have been connected with the fact that Mme. Li-Huang (referred to as Mrs. Li Wang-chih in contemporary Western sources) was a Cantonese. These riots were preceded in 1905 by a boycott on American goods, also initiated by the Canton Guild.

The third major change in attitude concerns the Public Garden, the garden which has often been quoted in twentieth century nationalist literature as having had a sign at its main gate, "No Chinese or Dogs". To twentieth century Chinese, this sign justifies Chinese hatred towards foreign dominance and arrogance. If we look at contemporary sources, however, we see a very different picture. In a guidebook to Shanghai written by a Chinese in 1883, we read the following:

"The Public Park is situated on the southern bank of the Baidaqiao Bridge. Inside, there are many types of unusual flowers and trees, most of them are from Europe. Reds and purples - I have never seen such fresh and bright colours; I have not even heard of them. As you enter the garden, a large expanse of lawn greets you, and there are flowers everywhere. On Sundays many Westerners come here, with their wives and children, some of them strolling hand in hand. Some just sit there, chatting, and don't leave until the sun has set. The Public Garden is an oasis of serenity in a bustling city. The gates are strictly controlled, however, and not many Chinese go there."85 In a similar guidebook, published in 1893, we read a similar description: "The Public Park is on the right bank of the river. The halls and pavilions are all Western-style. Flowers are abundant, and there are seats everywhere. The flowers come from different countries, and their colours and types are all different. Every Sunday, Westerners bring their families to come and enjoy

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85 Huang Shiquan, Songnan Mengyinglu, p. 133
themselves here, and they slowly stroll home, hand in hand, only after the sun has
gone down. Sometimes Chinese passing by also go inside to enjoy it."86

Mrs. Archibald Little, who was a resident of Shanghai at that time,
mentioned the Public Garden in her memoirs. After describing the trees, flowers
and so on, she added: "The nurses introduce a Chinese element; for otherwise
Chinese, were it even Li Hung-chang himself, are excluded from the gardens, as
now from Australia, solely because they are Chinese. This can never seem quite
right. The Japanese nurses add an additional element of picturesqueness, with their
dark-coloured, clinging kimonos, and curious gait, as do also Parsee merchants
with their high, hard hats."87 This information is not in accordance with
contemporary Chinese material, though the guidebook of 1883 did mention that
"the gates were strictly controlled", and the guidebook of 1893 mentioned that "few
Chinese went there". There is no indication in the Chinese sources that Chinese
were explicitly forbidden to enter the Public Garden. Mrs. Little's book was
published in 1901, and her reference to Australia presumably refers to the
Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Perhaps by that stage the attitude towards
Chinese entering the Public Gardens had hardened, and been formulated into a set
of regulations. Prior to that, entrance to the Public Garden may have been
determined on an ad hoc basis by the guard at the gate. It would appear that, at least
until well into the 1890s, there was no written regulation forbidding Chinese from
entering the Public Garden. It seems that Chinese were much more interested in the
Yangshupu Garden (in which there was a small zoo), and few of them paid much
attention to the Public Garden.

Little more than a decade later, however, in 1907, the Shanghai Local
History (Shanghai xiangtu zhi 上海乡土志 ), which was used as a primary school
textbook, contains the following description:

"On the banks of the Huangpu river, the foreigners have set up a garden,
the green grass is like a carpet, and the flowers are like silks and satins. People
from all countries of the world are admitted, even Indians who have lost their
country, and even the dogs of foreigners are admitted, only Chinese are not allowed
to go there. Foreigners despise Chinese so much, they regard as as even lower than
slaves, dogs and horses. They are like presumptuous guests, usurping the role of

86 Chi Zhichen 池志澂, Hu you meng ying 沪游梦影 [Dream shadows of travels in Shanghai]
(Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1989 reprint) p. 163
87 Mrs. Archibald Little, Intimate China - The Chinese As I Have Seen Them (London:
Hutchinson & Co. 1901) p. 14
the host. We can but sigh. So it can be seen that in the modern world, only power counts. We should exert ourselves to obliterate this disgraceful humiliation."88 It seems that by this stage, Chinese were denied admittance to the park, whereas foreigners could take their dogs in. Even this source, however, says nothing about a sign "No Chinese or Dogs".

According to Chen Boxi, writing in 1919, there were six regulations issued by the Police Station relating to the Public Garden: (1) Bicycles and dogs are not admitted. (2) Children in prams should be wheeled along the smaller paths at the sides. (3) It is forbidden to pick flowers or destroy birds' nests, or to damage flowers, grass or trees. Parents and nannies of small children should pay particular attention, so as to avoid such unlawful behaviour. (4) Do not enter the music pavilion. (5) Apart from servants of Westerners, no Chinese may enter. (6) Chinese children not accompanied by Western children may also not enter the garden.89 The first four regulations are directed towards Westerners; the last two refer to Chinese. It was not long, however, before an "impression" formed in the mind of the Chinese, that the regulations could be summarised: "No Chinese or Dogs". This "impression" has become so strong that every Chinese knows about it almost from birth, and even serious scholars have perpetuated it, apparently without reflection or research. For example, Jerome Ch'en, in his China and the West, wrote: "At first the Chinese were debarred from the Huangpu Park [the present name for the park]. The first complaint against the exclusion of Chinese from the parks was recorded on 6 April 1881. In response, the Municipal Council put up the well-known signboard: "No Chinese or Dogs" four years later. Apologists for this prohibition argued that the parks were for foreigners' recreation, and in some cases for that of their children. If the Chinese were allowed in, there would be no way to prevent "communicable diseases". The prohibition required the rising tide of nationalism in 1928 to sweep in away."90

The book Dark Secrets of the Shanghai Settlements, published by the Guomindang Propaganda Ministry in 1943, is rather different from other "inside stories" about Shanghai. This one is fiercely nationalistic, and its main theme is the invasion of China's sovereignty by the imperialist powers. It regards the crime and other evils of the settlements as being derived from this invasion. It also mentions

88 Li Weiqing 李维清, Shanghai xiangtu zhi 上海乡土志 [Shanghai local history] (Shanghai, 1907, reprinted Shanghai Guji chubanshe, 1989), p. 72
89 Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, shang ce, p. 155
90 Jerome Ch'en, China and the West (Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, 1979), pp. 217-218
the Public Garden: "At one time in the past, a sign was put up in front of the garden with many regulations, the first of which was "This garden is only for the use of foreigners", and another one was "Dogs are not allowed in this garden". Put simply, this meant "Chinese and dogs are not allowed in this garden".\textsuperscript{91}

Apparently the authors of such books did not see anything unreasonable in this conflation of six regulations into "No Dogs or Chinese", and this "fact" became generally accepted. Even in the \textit{Shanghai Dictionary} published in 1989, it is still stated as a matter of fact that there was a sign saying "Chinese and dogs may not enter" at the gate of the Public Park.\textsuperscript{92}

The Mixed Court Riot of 1905 was instigated by established merchants. The myth about the "No Dogs or Chinese" sign was perpetrated by educated people, who wanted to spread their nationalist ideology amongst ordinary people. The author of the \textit{Shanghai Local History}, Li Weiqing 李维清, was the great-grandson of Li Linsong 李林松, the compiler of the \textit{Shanghai Gazetteer of the Jiaqing Period}. It was to be used as a textbook for the new-style schools, established after the abolition of the Examination System in 1905. In the preface, Yao Zirang 姚子让 (Yao Wennan 姚文楠), a member of the Shanghai gentry, expressed the hope that this book would "foster a spirit of patriotism and a love for ones native place, and to stimulate lofty ideals."

The introduction of twentieth century nationalism was connected with the development of a new élite - the established merchants (who had developed from the nineteenth century compradors) or highly educated people. There were no politically conscious, wealthy Chinese merchants in nineteenth century Shanghai, nor were there considerable numbers of returned overseas students. There may have been certain individuals, such as Li Pingshu mentioned above, who had a clear sense of national consciousness. In late nineteenth century Shanghai, however, the traditional means of influence of the élite over the populace had broken down, and new channels of control had not yet formed. The lack of a sense of national consciousness amongst the ordinary people of Shanghai was the result of the inability of the élite to impose their ideology on the people.

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\item \textsuperscript{91} Guomindang Xuanchuanbu 国民党宣传部 [Guomindang Ministry of Propaganda] (ed), \textit{Shanghai zujie de heimu 上海租界的黑幕} [Dark secrets of the Shanghai Settlements], 1943, p. 21
\item \textsuperscript{92} Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi (ed.) \textit{Shanghai cidian 上海辞典} [Shanghai dictionary], p. 435
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There is a photograph of this famous sign in various museums in China, which is reproduced in the plates preceding the text of \textit{Shanghai difangshi ziliao}, Vol. 2. The photograph is very unclear, and the text cannot be read. A note under the photograph states: "This is the sign in the park which says "No Dogs and Chinese".
2. Attitudinal Change

The new physical environment and the new demographic mix in Shanghai provided the background for the development of a new culture. The next four parts of this section will investigate (i) interpersonal relationships, and how these differed from those in their place of origin; (ii) the way these interpersonal relationships affected their attitudes; (iii) the influence of the new urban environment on their attitudes and (iv) how these new attitudes differed from those of other places, including the Chinese city.

(1) Attitudes towards health and the human body

Generally speaking, the facilities in the settlements, such as the improvement in the quality of drinking water, resulted in people having higher demands in regard to hygiene. Such factors as the relative cleanliness of the streets, and regulations such as those forbidding the sale of unfresh meat gradually changed various superficial aspects of everyday life. The appearance of Western style hospitals in the settlements, however, directly challenged certain basic philosophical and moral concepts.

Surgery, for example, contravened one of the most fundamental principles of Chinese morality. One's body was bequeathed by one's parents, and its integrity had to be preserved. This precluded removing organs or limbs by surgery. Some varieties of Chinese religious ceremonies did include self-mortification, but such behaviour was generally regarded as a primitive and ignorant practice of illiterate villagers. 93

93 See Cohn, Vignettes from the Chinese, p. 39: "On the evening of the fourteenth day of the seventh moon, the traditional Ghost Festival, some people would volunteer to be a "human lampstand". They would stand in the corners of the temple, barefooted, and wearing nothing but a loincloth, with metal bars stuck into the flesh under their arms. Forty-nine glazed oil lamps hung from these bars. It is said that the men undergo this painful ordeal to express filial piety. However, this act seems to contradict the Classic of Filial Piety, in which it is stated: The body is the bequest of one's parents, therefore one must keep it from harm!" The original quotation is from the Classic of Filial Piety (Xiao Jing 孝经), Chapter One: "Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way. This is the beginning of filiality." See Mary Lelia Makra (Trans.), Paul K. T. Sih (Ed.), The Hsiao Ching (St. John's University Press, New York, 1961), p. 3.
From a philosophical point of view, the human body is an integral whole - the human body even forms a whole with the universe. The idea of surgical removal of part of the body could not be accepted within the framework of traditional Chinese medical science. There were individual surgeons in traditional China, to be sure, men like Bian Que and Hua Tuo. As in other areas of technological development, a promising initiative was often truncated by the inertial force of Chinese culture. Individual achievements in surgery were not accepted into the mainstream of Chinese medicine, and later generations were to remember these men as some sort of miracle-workers, rather than as contributors to a corpus of medical science.

Which of these two factors was more influential is immaterial; the fact that the integrity of the human body was seen as of paramount importance was universally accepted. The most malevolent curse amongst the Chinese was "may a thousand knives cut you into ten thousand pieces"; the cruelest capital punishment was the "death of a thousand cuts", in which the victim was put to death by the slow process of slicing the limbs etc. before decapitation. The preservation of the integrity of the body was a matter of major concern. On occasions the Emperor might bestow the special favour on an imperial concubine or meritorious official to be executed by strangulation, or being allowed to take poison.


95 Surgery was so foreign to the Chinese world view that even in 1947-1948 a theory emerged that perhaps Bian Que had come from India. See Wei Juxian 卫聚贤, "Bian Que de yishu lai zi Yindu" 扁鹊的医术来自印度 [Bian Que's medical skills came from India], in Huaxi Yixue Zazhi 华西医学杂志 [Huaxi Medical Science Journal] No. 1, Vol. 2, 1947, pp. 19-25; Lu Juefei 刘觉非, "Bian Que yishu lai zi Yindu zhiyi" 扁鹊的医术来自印度质疑 [Questions on the validity of the theory that Bian Que's medical skills came from India], in Hua-Xi Yixue Zazhi Huaxi Medical Science Journal No. 8 Vol. 2, 1947, pp.8-11; Wei Juxian, "Bian Que yishu lai zi Yindu de dabian" 扁鹊的医术来自印度的答辩 [Reply to questions on the validity of the theory that Bian Que's medical skills came from India] Hua-Xi Yixue Zazhi No 4/6 Vol. 3, 1948, pp. 7-8

96 See Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris, Law in Imperial China (Harvard University Press 1967), pp. 91-92: "Ever since the Sui Code of 581-583, the standard death penalties, in increasing order of severity, have been strangulation and decapitation... Although strangulation is thus a slower and more painful death than decapitation, it has always been regarded as a lesser punishment for socio-political reasons: According to the tenets of Chinese filial piety, one's body is not one's own property, but a bequest from his parents. To mutilate one's body, therefore, or allow it to be mutilated, is to be unfilial. Strangulation, from this point of view, is superior to decapitation since it leaves the body intact. Furthermore, by the same token, strangulation is superior because it leaves the spirit of the executed man an intact body which it can continue to inhabit."
As early as the 1860s, Dr. James Henderson, a surgeon resident in Shanghai, came up against a predictable Chinese reaction: "one man was unafraid of dying, refusing Henderson's advice that amputation alone would save him; the victim and his friends insisting that if he were left alive with just one leg he would be useless."  

Even by the late 1880s, the practice of postmortem examination was not accepted by the vast majority of people in Shanghai. In 1888 a foreigner who lived in the Astor Hotel in the Hongkou district died suddenly. The doctors performed an autopsy to determine the cause of death. This was reported in the Chinese press with strong disapproval and incomprehension. The *Dianshizhai* reported the matter in these words: "Western law does not allow physical mutilation. Even the most heinous criminals are not dismembered. However, the practice of dissection has not yet been forbidden. They say that after death, the body is not to be cherished, but may be abandoned. So they are not particular about the principle of the body and soul resting in peace. Moreover they claim that by investigating the disease of one particular person, they can deduce ways of treating other people with a similar disease. So the body of the dead person is made use of, from the crown to the heel, in the interests of others. Mo Zi was a heterodox philospher, and he may have been willing to rub smooth his whole body from the crown to the head [so as to benefit the world]. But is this really in accordance with the wishes of the deceased? Moreover, there are some people who die from a particular sickness whilst others with the same sickness do not, and there are many people who die in much the same way, but their causes of their sickness are in fact different... But they use a cleaver to make someone already dead, and innocent of any crime, undergo the cruel punishment of dismemberment. So it can be seen that for the main part their skills are vulgar and their hands are vicious."  

The writer of these comments was amongst the most enlightened of the Chinese literati in Shanghai at the time. The *Dianshizhai* specialised in introducing knowledge about the West to a Chinese audience. But even such people could not accept the idea of cutting up a dead body just to determine the cause of death. In 1891, the Mixed Court could not come to a conclusion in a similar case. A Chinese had been severely beaten by a French policeman in the French Concession. He was taken to the hospital, but failed to respond to treatment, and died. The Magistrate of Shanghai, English and French

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98 Chou 25
assessors from the Mixed Court and the French consul went to the hospital to investigate the matter. Two Chinese eye-witnesses testified that they had seen the French policeman beat the deceased to death. The Magistrate ordered the Chinese coroners to make an examination of the body. They reported that there was a wound to the left temple, and that according to the "Instructions to Coroners" the temple was a vital point. A blow to the temple had been the cause of death. The French doctor disagreed, arguing that this was insufficient evidence, and that an autopsy would be necessary. The Chinese Magistrate absolutely refused. The victim was a Chinese, and the cause of his death should be determined in the Chinese way. It was unthinkable to cut up his body after death. A stalemate ensued, and the case was not resolved even after the Magistrate retired from his post.

Surgery may not have been in accordance with the principles of traditional Chinese medicine, but its effectiveness was immediate and obvious, and gradually it came to be accepted. This is clear from hospital statistics, and discussions in the Sheri Bao and the Dianshizhai.

The Dianshizhai gives at least fourteen sketches showing Western doctors treating Chinese patients. The editors were unstinting in their praise of the humanitarianism and medical skill of these Western doctors. Nine of the stories mentioned above occurred in Western hospitals in Shanghai. The major hospitals of the time were St. Lukes, in Chinese the Tongren Yiyuan 同仁医院, which was founded in 1866 under the auspices of the American Episcopal Church Mission, and the London Mission Hospital, in Chinese the Renji Yiyuan 仁济医院, which was founded by William Lockhart in 1844. The Renji Hospital was particularly

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100 Hai 74; Hai 82
101 You 73; Xin* 33; Hai 74; Shen 93; Yu 42; Shu 32; Chen 14; Yi 81; Wen 15; Yu 6; Zhu 71; Geng 85; Wei 88; Ji 40
102 Pott, History of Shanghai, p. 92
103 idem p. 89. The London Mission Hospital, known also as the Chinese Hospital (as it was devoted exclusively to serving the Chinese population) was the earliest Western hospital in Shanghai. It was established in 1844 near the Chinese city, and was transferred into the International settlement in 1847. In 1861 it was translocated to Shandong Road, and in 1870 changed its name to the "Shantung Road Hospital for the Chinese". See Macpherson, Public Health, p. 157; Xu Run 徐润, Xu Yu Zhai xiu nianpu 徐愚斋自叙年谱 [Chronological autobiography of Xu Run] (Reprint: Taiwan, Shihuochubanshe 食货出版社, 1978), p. 303. After 1949, its name was again changed to "Annex to the Shanghai Number Two Medical College" (Shanghai Di'er Yixueyuan Fushu Yiyuan 上海第二医学院附属医院). In 1972 it was changed to Number Three Peoples Hospital (Disan Renmin Yiyuan 第三人民医院. In 1984 its original
popular, and is often mentioned, and praised, in the writings of the literati of the
time. Ge Yuanxu classified the Renji Hospital under "Charitable Halls", and 
commented: "In the International Settlement the foreigners have established the 
Renji Hospital; they use foreign methods to treat illness; they are particularly 
skilled at traumatology. Since this hospital has been established, they have saved
innumerable lives."104 Wang Tao also mentioned the Renji Hospital, and the
outstanding skill of Dr. James Henderson.105 The "Illustrated Guide to Shanghai"
contained a few lines of doggerel in praise of this hospital: "Broken limbs can be 
repaired as if by magical power. Using three fingers to restore to health could
certainly not achieve this. If Hua Tuo were alive today, he would not have come 
under suspicion because he wanted to open the skull [of Cao Cao] in order to cure
his headache."106

According to the Renji Hospital's own statistics, the number of patients
increased "from 12,250 in 1869 to 14,241 in 1877; 17,252 in 1880-1 and 76,000
in 1897-8".107 From these figures it is obvious that the number of patients
increased greatly during the 1880s and 1890s, the period of the 
Dianshizhai. Sure
enough, the Dianshizhai gives us examples of individual cases. Perhaps because of
its location, in the busiest area of Shanghai, emergency cases were more often than
not sent to the Renji Hospital. The Dianshizhai tells us of a woman servant in one
of the brothels in Beifu Lane 北富里 (in the International Settlement), who got into
a fight with a knife-sharpener. She stabbed him with one of this own knives, and
the wounded man was rushed directly to the Renji Hospital.108 Another case was
of a madam of a low-class brothel in Lanfang Lane 兰芳里 (also in the International
Settlement) being burnt in a fire caused by the explosion of an oil lamp; she was
also sent to the Renji Hospital for treatment.109

name, the Renji Yiyuan, was restored. It specialises in heart surgery. It is still located at No. 145,
Shandong Road . See Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi (ed.), Shanghai Cidian, p. 371
104 Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji. juan 1, p. 19
105 Wang Tao, Yinguan zazhi. juan 6 p. 12. James Henderson was Director of the London
Mission Hospital from 1860 until 1865, when he died at the age of 35. See Macpherson, Public
Health, pp. 148-156
106 Hushang youxi zhuren, Haishang youxi tushuo. juan 3, p. 16. 三指回春
恐未工。倘若华佗生此日，不嫌胸脑治头风。 See Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, xia ce p. 31.
"Using three fingers to restore health" refers to the traditional Chinese doctor's taking of the pulse
of the patient. The Shanghai xian xu zhi [Supplementary gazetteer of Shanghai
county] (Taiwan reprint: Cheng Wen Publishing Co. 1975) juan 2, pp. 45-46 also mentions the
Renji Hospital and the Tongren Hospital.
107 Macpherson, Public Health, p. 157
108 Ji 40
109 You 72 xia
It was well known that a stomach-pump could be used to save the lives of those who had swallowed opium; in 1885 the Dianshizhai gave a detailed description of the procedure, and commented: "Western doctors who knew this technique spread it widely, and this saved many peoples lives, so they should be treated as living Buddhas."\(^{110}\) A story in the Dianshizhai concerns two young merchants, one from Yangzhou called Zhu 朱, another from Anhui, named Lii 刘. Their business had failed, and they resolved to commit suicide by swallowing opium in a brothel. They were discovered by a female servant and sent to the Renji Hospital. It was too late for Mr. Lii, but Mr. Zhu was saved.\(^{111}\) There are reports in the Shen Bao, of the police, or friends, taking those who had swallowed opium to the Renji Hospital. The doctors were not always successful in their treatment, and sometimes it was too late.\(^{112}\) It would appear, however, that people still had faith in their methods. There is even a mention of a prostitute who had swallowed opium being sent to the Renji Hospital for emergency treatment in one of the late Qing novels, Flowers on the Sea.\(^{113}\)

According to statistics on the Tongren hospital published in the Shen Bao, in the year 1894 16,583 Chinese men and 123 foreigners were given treatment, and 525 Chinese and 13 foreigners had been hospitalised. In addition, 174 children had been inoculated against smallpox.\(^{114}\) These figures do not include female patients.

It is clear that the Renji Hospital treated far more patients. From the material in the Dianshizhai, however, it seems that the Tongren Hospital was more highly esteemed in surgery. One example mentioned in the Dianshizhai, two coolies were robbed in a small inn on Tiantong Road 天潼路 in the American Settlement. Each suspected the other; a fight ensued and one of them was wounded badly. Tiantong Road was in the Hongkou area, and the innkeeper had the wounded man sent to the Tongren Hospital.\(^{115}\) The other three stories are about people who came to the Tongren Hospital in search of treatment, being attracted by its excellent reputation - some of them even came from areas outside Shanghai.\(^{116}\) Sometimes the Women's

\(^{110}\) Bing 77  
\(^{111}\) Shen 93  
\(^{112}\) Shen Bao, 10 April 1888; 9 May, 1888  
\(^{113}\) Hua-ye-lian-nong, Haishang hua liezhuan, Chapter 63, p. 9.  
\(^{114}\) Shen Bao, 3 December 1895  
\(^{115}\) Xin* 32 xia  
\(^{116}\) The first example dates from 1885, and concerns a woman who had come from Anhui to have a surgical operation for the removal of a tumour: "There was a Western woman doctor by the name of Li Ying 麗盈. Her original speciality was gynaecology, but she also had some competence in general surgery. A woman from Anhui had a tumour, which was incomparably large, and she went to the Tongren Hospital in Hongkou for treatment. The woman doctor palpated it, and said it could
and Children's Hospital could not deal with a particular case, and the patient was transferred to the Tongren Hospital.¹¹⁷

The people of Shanghai seemed to be under the impression that any medical problem could be dealt with at the Tongren Hospital. This can be seen from the following story, dating from 1895: "This Spring, a woman came to live in the be cured. She took out a sharp knife and cut it out. Then the doctor applied medicine, and a few months later the patient was cured. When the tumour was weighed, it was found to be a quarter of the entire weight of the woman's body. When the Chinese doctors heard about this, they could only click their tongues and bow their heads." (Yi 81) In 1895 there is a record of a similar operation, but this time at the Ximen Women and Children's Hospital (The Margaret Williamson Hospital):¹¹⁶

"In the western district of Shanghai there was a man who six years ago took a certain woman as his wife. At that time the woman had a tumour in her breast, but the man didn't mind. But it was getting larger day by day. They went everywhere to doctors, but did not find a cure. This went on until recently, by which time the tumour protruded as far as the woman's stomach. This was very worrying. They happened to hear that in the Ximen Hospital there was a Western woman doctor who could cure unusual diseases, so they went to her to seek treatment. The doctor said that it was the largest she had ever seen. She was very surprised; she weighed the woman and found she weighed 240 lbs. She examined the tumour in great detail; it seemed that it was not incurable. Some days ago she invited all the Western doctors in Shanghai for their opinions; then they put the woman on a mechanical iron chair, and used medicine to make her drowsy. Then they used sharp knives to cut the tumour out. Afterwards they sprayed water in her face, to make her wake up again. They weighed her again, and now she weighed only 70-80 lbs. So the tumour they cut out must have weighed 150-160 lbs. After it was removed, the woman could walk, sit, and get around. She had been relieved of a heavy burden, and was extremely happy. According to the Western doctors, a tumour of this size has never been seen before, so they preserved it in medicinal water and sent it to a major hospital in the West as material for investigation." (Yu 6). The Ximen Women and Children's Hospital (Ximen Furu Yiyuan 西门妇孺医院) was established in 1884; it was also known as the Red House Hospital (Hongfangzi yiyuan 红房子医院). In 1952, it was amalgamated with the gynaecological departments of other hospitals into the Shanghai Municipal Gynaecological Hospital (Shanghai shi fuchanke yiyuan 上海市妇产科医院) attached to the Shanghai Medical University (Shanghai yike daxue 上海医科大学). See Shanghai difangzhi bangongshi, Shanghai cidian, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao, p. 564. Shanghai tongshe, Shanghai yanyu ziliao, p. 564 gives the date of its establishment as 1885.

¹¹⁷ See Wen 15: "A local man, Zhang Yunbiao 张云彪, followed the Arts of the King of Huainan [Daoist alchemy]. He lived at Yanmatou in the southern part of the city. His wife was nearly thirty, when a pearl-foetus began secretly to grow within her. When the time came for it to be born, her stomach was extremely swollen, like a five-picul melon. A few days ago suddenly she felt a great pain in her abdomen, and Zhang called the midwife. She could do nothing about it, and left. Zhang was in a panic, and had no choice but to go to the Ximen Foreign Hospital 西门外国医院 for assistance. They also said that nothing could be done, all they could do was to cut the baby's head off with a knife, and to tell them to go home. Zhang could see that this was a bad situation, and he sent his wife to the Tongren Women's Hospital 同仁女医院 in search of a cure. A woman doctor examined her, and said that, if they wanted to remove the child's body, they would have to cut open her abdomen. Zhang was desperate by this stage, and could only follow their advice. The woman doctor first administered an anaesthetic, then cut open the woman's abdomen with a knife. It was obvious that the child was already dead, but it had four arms and four legs, like two people embracing. Apart from the head which had already been cut off there was yet another head, but there was only one body. The doctor sewed up her abdomen again, and applied medicine. But her wounds had been too deep, and her vital energy had all left her. She died in the hospital. We have heard that the dead child has been preserved in medicinal water, and kept inside the operating theatre. It will be placed in a museum for research."
1896: The Tongren Hospital.
The story is about an abnormal foetus and a difficult labour. The sketch is based on the Dianshizhai illustrator's imagination.
Changfa Inn in the International Settlement. She spoke with a Shanzuo 山左 [Shandong] accent. Some time earlier she had given birth to a child, which had a very strange appearance ... She had heard about the Tongren Hospital in the American Concession. The Western doctors there were skilled in the Arts of Bian Lu 扁卢术, and could cure strange ailments. So, carrying her child, she went by sedan chair to seek treatment. The child was first examined by a woman doctor, who determined that the five sense organs were normal, but that on top of the head there was yet another head; the two heads looking rather like a bottle gourd. The upper head, although it could not drink milk, had normal ears, eyes, mouth and nose. She reported this to the Director of the Hospital, Doctor Wen 文医士, who invited all the Chinese and Western doctors in Shanghai to come to the hospital to discuss this matter. The woman asked that the child’s upper head be cut off by a knife, but all the doctors felt that as the child was not yet a month old, its strength was insufficient. If the doctors operated, there would be concern for the child’s life. They asked her to wait for a while longer, as at that time there was no way they could treat the child by surgery. There was nothing the woman could do, and she sadly returned home.”

From these stories it can be seen that the patients - and those who sent them to the hospitals - were from the ranks of the ordinary people of Shanghai - innkeepers, brothel attendants, women from the countryside, coolies and so on. This was, however, an exception compared to the rest of China - even places quite close to Shanghai. Lu Xun recalls that during his childhood there was no Western-style doctor in his home town of Shaoxing, and people generally doubted that Western medicine could really cure disease.119

By the 1880s the Shanghaiese had also accepted the idea of vaccination against smallpox.120 Joseph Needham has pointed out that “the practice of smallpox inoculation begins to be documented in China in the Ming period, from the beginning of the sixteenth century AD onwards, i.e. from a time much earlier than any accounts of it from other parts of the world. Moreover it was accompanied by a tenacious tradition that inoculation had first been introduced towards the end of

118 Shu 32
120 Zhao Hongjun 赵洪钧, Jindai Zhong-Xi yi lunzheng shi [A history of the debates between Chinese and Western medicine] (Anhui: Kexue jishu chubanshe, 1989), pp. 54-56
the tenth century AD by wandering Taoist healers from Szechuan.\textsuperscript{121} It was never widespread, however, and people generally prayed to a specific "Goddess of Smallpox" to ward off the disease.\textsuperscript{122} By the nineteenth century, however, smallpox inoculation was certainly regarded by the Chinese public as a division of Western medicine, which had been introduced into China from the West.\textsuperscript{123}

There is a sketch dating from 1885 about a Chinese, Cen Chunhua 岑春华, who had worked at one stage in a Western hospital. He left this job, and, after having discussed the matter with some foreign friends in medical circles, set up a smallpox inoculation station in Nanjing Road, where he administered vaccination against smallpox according to the latest methods, free of charge. The sketch shows his rooms as bustling as a market place, full of women bringing their children to be vaccinated.\textsuperscript{124} It is possible, of course, that the glowing description in the Dianshizhai was deliberately exaggerated, so as to encourage people to accept new ways. Even if the sketch is fairly accurate, we cannot conclude that smallpox inoculation was unquestioningly accepted. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, advertisements\textsuperscript{125} and editorials\textsuperscript{126} occasionally appeared, urging people to seek inoculation against smallpox. Be this as it may, there was certainly a continuous increase in the number of people in Shanghai who had come to accept inoculation.

This attitude can be compared to the Shaoxing of the early twentieth century, where people still maintained all sorts of strange theories about smallpox inoculation.\textsuperscript{127}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{121} Joseph Needham, \textit{China and the Origins of Immunology} (Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hongkong, 1980), p. 6. See Angela Ki Che Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region" (Late Imperial China, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1987), pp.134-166, on p. 143 (note 41): "Donald Hopkins and Joseph Needham seem to believe the myth that inoculation (variolation: \textit{zhong dou}) against smallpox appeared in China for the first time in the 11th century (Northern Song period) ... We think that this is not very reliable. This legend of the origins of variolation was in fact "recorded" in some late Ming and early Qing medical works on smallpox. Most eighteenth century works, however, agree that variolation began in the late sixteenth century ... It is well known that Chinese variolation made its way to Europe via Constantinople in the eighteenth century where it was reported to be very effective and inspired the invention of Jennerian vaccination ... In China, although the technique of variolation was promoted in some Ming and Qing medical texts and practiced by private doctors, no known examples exist of Chinese public or private health clinics offering the procedure. Clinics offering Jennerian vaccination emerged only from the 1830s on."
\item \textsuperscript{122} Maria Rudova, \textit{Chinese Popular Prints} [Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers], No. 13
\item \textsuperscript{123} \textit{Shen Bao}, 14 June 1875; 24 March, 1895
\item \textsuperscript{124} Bing 7
\item \textsuperscript{125} Eg. \textit{Shen Bao}, 10 July 1888
\item \textsuperscript{126} Eg. \textit{Shen Bao}, 24 March 1895
\item \textsuperscript{127} Feng Zikai 付子凯, \textit{Laozhe zi ge} 劳者自歌 [Workers in praise of themselves] (Shanghai: Shenghuo shudian 生活书店, 1935), pp. 26-27
\end{itemize}
By the late nineteenth century, however, Western medicine still remained unaccepted by the Shanghaiese. There were three main reasons for this. First, traditional Chinese medicine had already elaborated a sophisticated and self-contained theory, whereas Western medical theory at that time was not nearly so mature and sophisticated.128

Secondly, and probably more importantly, the Chinese believed that Western bodies were different in nature from their own, so what was effective medicine for one could not be effective medicine for the other. As Wang Tao put it, "what is effective for Westerners may not be effective for Chinese. This is because their internal organs differ in thickness."129 Ge Yuanxu also noted: "Foreign medicine is good for treating foreigners, but no good for treating Chinese. The fact that people's bodies are different in nature has been recorded in traditional Chinese medical works, as numerous as hairs on an ox. Medicine which can be used to treat people from the North cannot be used on those from the South. Dispositions may be strong or weak, and the nature of medicine can be gentle or violent. The natural disposition of Westerners is quite different. If medicine is not sufficiently violent, it cannot cure them. It is only in various types of surgery that Chinese will seek treatment by Western methods. As for internal ailments, they do not dare to try it."130 Another somewhat extreme example of this type of thinking was that Chinese prostitutes (with the exception of some Cantonese, who serviced sailors) would refuse to accept Western customers. This was not for any moral reasons, but because they believed Western bodies were different.131 All the examples recorded in the Dianshizhai of people going to Western hospitals are for surgical treatment, or childbirth or emergencies. There is not a single example of a Chinese going to a hospital for non-surgical treatment.132

128 There is general agreement on this point, in both Western and Chinese sources. See Zhao Hongjun, Jindai Zhong-Xi yi lunzheng shi 近代中西医学论争史 A history of the debate between Chinese and Western medicine in modern times (Anhui: Kexue jishu cubanshe 安徽科学技术出版社, 1989) pp. 19-31
129 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 6 p. 13
130 Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanzhang ji, juan 2 p. 42
131 Shen Bao 25 May 1874: Xiren ru jiyuan [Westerners Visit a Brothell]; Heng 24
132 There is one example of a Chinese going to a Western doctor for treatment of a disease which was proving difficult to diagnose, but this was only after all else had failed. A scholar-doctor from Anhui, Hu Xiaofeng, had a son about seventeen or eighteen years old. The boy had always had a morbid fear of noise, and would sometimes even lose consciousness on being exposed to it. Hu himself was a doctor of some repute, but could not diagnose the nature of his son's neurosis. In 1891 he took him to a Western doctor, but he, too, had no success. (Shi 9)
1897: Two Chinese speaking Westerners in a brothel. The prostitutes are shown running away - one even to a police station, seeking protection.
Compared with surgery and obstetrics, medicine was not popular, but that is not to say that it did not exist at all. The first Western style pharmacy in Shanghai was the Great Britain Pharmacy,\(^{133}\) which was already in business in the mid-nineteenth century. Several of its employees opened their own pharmacy in 1887, called the Chinese-Western Pharmacy\(^{134}\) on one of the busiest roads in Shanghai, Fuzhou Road.\(^{135}\) The *Dianshizhai* carried advertisements for this pharmacy, and published congratulatory calligraphic messages from such luminaries as Li Hongzhang and Weng Tonghe, the Imperial Grand Tutor.\(^{136}\) We have no material at our disposal to determine just what sort of people were customers of this shop. The fact that various Chinese notables were asked to show their support, and that advertisements for the pharmacy contained such thoroughly traditional sentiments such as "Apricot Forest Blossoms in Spring"\(^{137}\) and "Hua Tuo and Bian Que Have Come Back to Life" show that an attempt was made to attract Chinese customers.\(^{138}\)

The third reason Western medicine was not easily accepted was that many people still believed that internal disorders was caused by evil or vindictive spirits, and so would consult a sorceress or an exorcist. This way of dealing with disease had nothing to to with either Chinese or Western medicine. Spiritual matters will be discussed in the section on popular religion later in this chapter.

Another attitudinal change in late nineteenth century Shanghai worth mentioning concerns footbinding. Chinese men had traditonally regarded bound feet as being part of a woman's charm, and some were particularly addicted to

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133 *Da-Ying Yaofang* 大英药房  
134 *Zhong-Xi Da Yaofang* 中西大药房  
137 The reference is from the *Taiping Guangji*. The legend is that Dong Feng, a man from the State of Wu during the Period of the Three Kingdoms was a doctor who refused to accept money from his patients. When someone recovered from a serious illness, Dong Feng would ask them to plant five apricot trees; if from a minor illness, one apricot tree. As he treated innumerable people over many years, eventually a forest of more than a hundred thousand apricot trees was created. He later became a Daoist immortal. See *Ciyuan* 辞源 Vol.II p. 1523.2  
138 Huang Kewu, "Cong Shen Bao yiyao guanggao" p.173 notes that at the beginning of the Republican period, some people feared the expense of seeking a diagnosis from a doctor, and went directly to the pharmacies to buy medicine. That, however, was in the twentieth century.
fondling a woman's bound feet. Some scholars were also partial to this fetish. In 1890 Wu Youru published a sketch in the *Dianshizhai* entitled *Western Women Bind Feet* in which he claimed that Cuban women also felt that small feet were beautiful, and had started to bind their feet. That was absurd, of course, but Wu Youru's commendation of small feet certainly represents the taste of the majority of the educated men of the day.

Foreigners regarded footbinding as barbarous. There were occasionally Chinese scholars who raised objections to footbinding, but the real initiator of the Anti-Footbinding Movement, however, was Mrs. Archibald Little. She began this movement in Shanghai in 1895. According to Pott, who took part in Mrs Little's movement, "a great deal has been written about the evils of footbinding. The credit for starting a movement against the practice belongs to the late Mrs. Archibald Little, who, in the year 1895, started the Tien Tsu Hui or Natural Foot Society. Much was done in the way of rousing public opinion, and the reform was eventually taken up by the Chinese themselves." As soon as Mrs. Little announced her movement, the *Dianshizhai* published an immediate response. On 24 April, 1895, Mrs. Little gave a public address in the Museum on Yuanmingyuan Road, in which she preached the evils of footbinding. More than one hundred Chinese and Western women attended. The *Dianshizhai* of the 5th May reported this meeting as its first item. After its introduction to the history of footbinding, the *Dianshizhai* commented: "for hundreds and thousands of years innumerable women have suffered, but there was never anybody who attempted to change this custom. So this is why Western women have established the Natural Foot Society."

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139 See Chen 31, which is about a wedding feast, at which one of the male guests wanted to fondle the bride's bound feet. It turned out that the foot-wrappings were not clean, and the bride was so angry she knocked him to the floor with one kick. The comment was: "they are said to be as sharp as bamboo shoots and as soft as silk floss. How could she allow anyone but her pillow-partner to fondle them?" as if this were the special privilege of the husband. The *Dianshizhai* also carried two news items about thieves stealing the foot wrappings or the miniature shoes of prostitutes. (Gui 25; Yu 56 xia). This would now be regarded as a form of sexual perversion, but the editors of the *Dianshizhai* were probably unaware of such matters.

140 Shen 73


143 Shanghai tongzhiguan (ed.), *Shanghai nianbiao* 上海年表 (Manuscript; Shanghai Library); *Shen Bao*, 25 April, 1895, "Tianzuhui" 天足会 [Natural Foot Society].
Foot Society. More than one hundred people have joined it. They pity the suffering of Chinese women with bound feet, and try to do what they can to prohibit this, so as to make [feet] return to their six-inch long undamaged shape. This is an example of Westerners' sense of righteousness. But we worry that this old custom will not be able to be changed quickly, and it will be difficult to avoid disappointing their noble intentions”.144

Two weeks later, the Dianshizhai again stressed the pain of footbinding, and the Anti-Footbinding Movement of Mrs. Little and her followers: "the custom of foot-binding is universal in China. It is not in accordance with nature, and is pain caused artificially. The flesh becomes putrid and the bones are broken. This goes on for several years before the small and delicate golden lotus is achieved. Anyone with the slightest conscience will feel compassion and take pity on them. For this reason some Western ladies established the Natural Foot Society in the Museum, several days ago. They made speeches and showed drawings, and exhorted Chinese to allow their feet to return to their natural shape, so as not to undergo pain and suffering."145 In June 1895 the Chinese Globe Magazine and various Chinese language newspapers carried notices calling for articles written by Chinese against the practice of footbinding. The first prize was thirty yuan, and the second prize twenty yuan.146 On the afternoon of the 15th of November 1905, the Natural Foot Society held a meeting at which Mrs. Little and several missionaries, such as Pott and Timothy Richard, handed over the administration of the Society to a Chinese Board of Directors, the reason being that the time had come for Mrs. Little to return to England. At the meeting, she and the other missionaries made speeches. On behalf of her husband, Mrs. Little donated two hundred yuan to the Natural Foot Society. The Chinese Board of Directors was made up of ten or so members, united in their opposition to footbinding. Its members included Shen Dunhe.

144 Shu 1
145 Shu 21
146 Wanguo Gongbao 万国公报 issue dated Guangxu nianyi nian wu ji runwu yue 光绪廿一年五及闰五月 Quoted in Li Younging 李又宁 and Zhang Yufa 张玉法 (eds.) Jindai Zhongguo nüqu an yundong shiliao 近代中国女权运动史料 [Historical materials on the history of the women’s movement in modern China], xia ce (Taipei: Chuanji Wenxueshe 传记文学社, 1975), p. 841 After the establishment of the Natural Foot Society, speeches, distribution of leaflets and other such activities continued unabated. Mrs. Little travelled to other parts of China, to set up branches of the Natural Foot Society there. In 1900 she was in Hong Kong (idem pp. 856-857); in 1904 in Yichang (Hubei), Chengdu (Sichuan) and Yunnan, ever spreading her message against footbinding (idem p. 875, p. 880)
Tang Jiechen 唐介臣 and others. Shen Dunhe also made a speech. It was at this point that the Chinese themselves took up the anti-footbinding cause, mentioned in the above quotation from Pott.

It is not possible, however, to get a vivid impression of the actual situation from the material assembled above, because we cannot know to what degree the new reform movement influenced ordinary women. A news item in the Dianshizhai from 1898 gives us some insight into this aspect of the situation. People from Yangzhou in Jiangsu called women who had not bound their feet "yellow croakers"149, because large feet had the shape of this particular species of fish. There was an old woman from Jiangbei who was manager of an opium den, and her nickname was "big-foot yellow croaker". One day she responded to some sarcastic remarks made about her feet with the comment: "Nowadays the Anti-Footbinding Society is everywhere. Soon you can see many yellow croakers all over the place. So you lot had better stop laughing! The people [who had teased her] remained silent." A movement which began in the upper strata of society in 1895 was obviously clearly understood by an ordinary old woman in an not particularly respectable line of business only three years later. From the comments of those people who teased her, it can be seen that their own aesthetic taste had not changed (otherwise they would not have laughed at her large feet). On the rational
level, however, they too had to a greater or lesser extent also accepted this new value.

Late nineteenth century Shanghai was a society in transition; the old coexisted with the new. Changes were happening, however, and they were significant ones.

(2) Changes in the Pattern of Human Relations

Most of the inhabitants of Shanghai were migrants from elsewhere, who were, ipso facto, no longer part of the normal web of family, clan and village relationships of traditional China. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that their values, under assault from the commercialised society of Shanghai, would change. Wealth, not family background, became a criterion of acceptability in Shanghai. The Shanghaiese would "feel ashamed if their clothes were not elegant ... judging people on the basis of the clothes they wear is not uncommon, in the past or nowadays, but the Shanghaiese would never care to ask about someone's background, they only cared about the clothes they wore ... They felt no shame in going to brothels; the shame was in going to a second class one rather than a top-class one. It was shameful to go out in public in a two-wheeled carriage, or to go to the theatre and not sit in the most expensive seats ... It was not shameful if their family were dishonest; it was not shameful if their behaviour were improper; it was not shameful if they were illiterate; it was not shameful if they were not eloquent, the only things to be ashamed of were those mentioned above. Right and wrong are inverted, black and white are mixed."152 It became customary to meet friends in teahouses, instead of visiting them in their homes.153 This was perhaps an indication of the development of the concept of personal privacy.

To a considerable degree, disputes in the settlements were not resolved in the traditional manner. Within the confines of the Chinese city, disputes between members of the same clan were still often resolved by the clan elders. The Dianshizhai of 1885 tells of a property dispute between two brothers. Their uncle

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152 Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, juan shang, pp. 4-5. Similar sentiments can be found in Shen Jiang louxi 區江陋习 [Degeneration of customs in Shanghai], an article published in the Shen Bao on 7 April 1873 under the pseudonym Haishang kan yang shijiu nian ke 海上看洋十九年客 [Observer of Western things in Shanghai for nineteen years].

tried to mediate many times, and eventually the dispute was brought before the clan elders. In traditional China, these disputes were regarded as family scandals, which should not have happened in the first place. The conciliator would base his arguments on moral grounds, and try to persuade the parties to the dispute to make concessions. The dispute was not seen as a private matter, but as a moral issue. The elders of the clan had authority to put pressure on the disputants, and other members of the clan could also take part in this process. The sketch referred to above is of a very authoritative and venerable elder reprimanding and admonishing members of a younger generation. A large group of onlookers is gathered around, witnessing the scene. Chinese officials sought to resolve cases on the basis of traditional moral precepts. Most of the immigrants to Shanghai had already broken their links with the traditional family structures. There were no longer respected elders, not to mention gentry of high moral stature. Disputes often arose amongst people who were not members of the same clan or village, and taking the dispute to the Court was usually the most effective method of resolve the conflict.

Many conflicts amongst family members would have been decided on the basis of upholding traditional morality in traditional Chinese society, governed as it was by concepts of "propriety". Such cases in the settlements, however, were also taken to the Mixed Court for resolution. A certain Mr. Chen sued the wife and daughter of a man from Suzhou for allegedly inducing his wife to take up gambling.

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154 *tusi* 土司 Bing 24
155 Fei Xiaotong, *Xiangtu Zhongguo*, (passim) discusses "Keeping order by means of propriety" [礼治秩序] and "Absense of litigation" [无讼] which also refer to these processes.
156 See Mao 4, 4 xia. A man from Shaoxing resident in Shanghai, Zhu Hongren, accused his elder brother, Zhu Hongde, of claiming all of the inheritance due to both of them. The court felt that if two brothers were fighting over an inheritance, there must have been some petty person (xiaoren) instigating them to do so. On investigation, Zhu Hongde admitted that he had been talked into taking this action by one Shi Houfu. The court sent for Shi. He was beaten, and sentenced to wear the wooden collar. The court officials then explained to the brothers that the real culprit had now been punished - now what were they going to do? Under such pressure, the brothers decided to withdraw the case. The magistrate was delighted. He invited them to take a seat in the main hall of the yamen, and ordered them to reconcile their differences. He then invited them to a meal. He was satisfied that the force of correct moral principles had resolved this dispute over an inheritance. Five or six days later, the two brothers brought their case to the court again. The magistrate was furious. They were too old to be punished physically, so all the magistrate could do was to exhort them to think of how unhappy their deceased parents would be if they knew that relations between the two brothers had deteriorated to such a degree over the matter of an inheritance. The two brothers expressed remorse at their behaviour, and resolved to reconcile yet again. The magistrate then ordered that the unfortunate Shi Houfu, whom he regarded as the real culprit, to be whipped another hundred times, with the advice: "seeing it was your fault the brothers fell out, you should now be responsible to see they make up. For every day you fail to convince them to make up, you will fail to expiate your crime for yet another day."
- the parties to the dispute were obviously on very familiar terms. A merchant, Gao Chenyu 高臣裕, appealed to the Mixed Court to deal with his wife and her lover, who had eloped together. Another case, mentioned above, was that of a man who demanded that his wife give up her employment, which she refused to do, so he brought the matter to Court. Other cases involved mistreated wives appealing to the Court for protection. An even stranger case was that of a bride, who on the day of her wedding was dissatisfied with her husband's family. In full bridal attire - phoenix coronet and embroidered robe - she took a rickshaw to the police station to lay a formal complaint.

Disputes between neighbours were also referred to the Court. A twenty-six year old man, Zhu Liansheng 朱连生, contracted syphilis, but continued to show physical affection towards a six year old daughter of a neighbour. The girl was also infected. Her mother felt that the man should not have had any physical contact with her daughter knowing that he had contracted syphilis, and took the matter to the Mixed Court. The Court dismissed the case on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

The acceptance of legal process as a means of resolving disputes was also one of the reasons private disputes between Chinese and Westerners did not develop into wider confrontations. All private conflicts between Chinese and foreigners recorded in the Dianshizhai were resolved through legal channels. This was very different from other areas in China, where a small incident could easily lead to a major conflict. The Dianshishai records two incidents which occurred while Westerners were hunting in the environs of Shanghai. One day in 1884, three Westerners from the Shanghai Paper Mills were hunting in the countryside, and accidently wounded a rooster belonging to a peasant. The peasant demanded compensation. They refused, and assaulted him. They later threw a dollar at him and left, thinking that was the end of the matter. The villagers were not inclined to let them get away with it, however, and tagged along behind them. The Westerners were so angry they attacked them, wounding five of them. The villagers then reported the matter to the police. In 1888, a peasant, Lu Yonghai 陆永海 and
1887: A Chinese bride in formal wedding dress, being carried in a rickshaw. She is on her way to the Court to lodge a complaint against her new in-laws.
his two sons, Lu Baoqi 陆宝奇 and Lu Baoshun 陆宝顺, were weeding a field when a Westerner, out hunting, accidently shot the two boys. Lu Baoqi was killed, and his brother wounded.164 Both these cases were resolved in the Mixed Court, thus avoiding further complications.

As the century progressed, the marked inclination of the Shanghaiese towards litigation was, of course, yet another measure of the decline of the moral constraints and customs of traditional society. Even such an enlightened scholar as Wang Tao found cause for regret in this.165 This, however, led to another attitudinal change: the Shanghaiese started to regard the legal profession as being a respectable one. The traditional Chinese view of lawyers was that they were deceitful by nature; the term songshi 诉讼, or zhuangshi 状师 is best translated "litigation trickster".166 As Fei Xiaotong remarked, the mere mention of the term songshi was enough to know one was dealing with a villain.167 In *Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed Over Two Decades*, there is an incident in which an official wants to promote one of his underlings, but suspects that that man had been a songshi at some time in the past, and was thus lacking in respectability.168 The general public loathed such lawyers, who were quick to provoke litigation between parties with a view to gaining some profit themselves.169

Lawyers (songshi) are mentioned four times in the *Dianshizhai*, and on each occasion they are reviled in the strongest terms.170 A sketch dating from 1885, entitled *Litigation tricksters should be punished*,171 prefaced its news item with a

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164 Yin 66. For details of this case, see Shen Bao, June 13, 14, 16, 18, 19 and 28, and July 1, 1888. In the Shen Bao, the father's name is given as Lu Yunfu 陆云甫, and his son who was killed was named Lu Baqing 陆宝庆.
165 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 1 p. 11
166 See Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China* (Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 584 (Glossary), where song gun 诉讼 is translated "litigation stick, trickster". See p. 189: "Amongst the interesting cases for the jurist are four ... dealing with persons known as "litigation tricksters" (sung kun, "litigation sticks"). These were the occasional individuals who, in rural China, in the absence of a formally recognized legal profession, were ready from time to time, with or without a fee, to prepare a legal petition or accusation for a relative, friend or client. In a society whose population was four fifths or more illiterate, it is difficult to see how the ordinary man could hope to apply for legal justice without the aid of such an educated person. The "litigation tricksters", however, were regarded by the government as troublemakers, ever ready, for a price, to stir up disputes and corrupt the simple country folk."
167 Fei Xiaotong, Xiangtu Zhongguo, p. 54
168 Wu Jianren, *Guai xianzhuang, xia ce*, pp. 660-661
169 There was a rumour circulating during the late Qing period that one of the four most famous cases of miscarriage of justice of the time, that of Yang Naiwu 杨乃武, came about because his fellow-villagers plotted against him because he had been, at some time in the past, a lawyer. See Chen Dingshan, *Chun shen jiu wen*, p. 112
170 Ding 93; Yi* 19; Zi 46; Chou 38
171 *Song gun yi cheng* 诉讼宜惩 Ding 93
strong attack against lawyers: "these tricksters juggle black and white, and act arbitrarily in their dealings with the village folk." When the Western legal system was introduced into China, the Chinese were amazed to find that the law was a highly respected profession.172

Most Chinese finding themselves in a dispute would not, of course, hire a lawyer - but on occasion they did, and then they would hire a foreign lawyer. This was mentioned by Ge Yuanxu: "In disputes between Chinese and foreigners, Chinese also invite foreign lawyers [to take their case]."173 According to Mei-Hua-An-Chu, there were several Western lawyers in Shanghai at the time who enjoyed a high reputation amongst the Chinese. If a case were really serious, they would ask such lawyers to represent their interests. These lawyers would also uphold the principles of justice for Chinese, in their disputes with Westerners.174

Taking disputes to the Mixed Court for resolution was quite common in the settlements, in comparison with traditional Chinese society. Compared to contemporary Western practice, nineteenth century Shanghai was still very Chinese. It was the strong presence of traditional mores which attracted the attention of Western observers, such as William Johnstone, who noted: "the

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172 See Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, shang juan p. 8 xia: "One of the aspects in which Western customs are very different from those of China concerns the position and reputations of lawyers. What are called lawyers in China, that is to say, the songshi, are the most liable to violate prohibitions. They play with words to manipulate the law and must be stopped from instigating trouble. They are harmful to the peoples livelihood, and detrimental to society. Those who engage in this occupation are desperate to try to conceal themselves, as they fear that people will point at them and look at them, and there is nowhere they can take shelter. If people know them, they will certainly despise and loathe them, and spit at them. They are held in utter contempt, they have to guarded against, warded off, avoided and kept at a distance. In the West it is different. They are addressed respectfully, and treated solemnly. In any legal case, the plaintiff and defendant themselves don't say a word themselves, but hire lawyers who argue on their behalf. The judge decides the rights and wrongs of the case according to the words of the two lawyers." See also Zhuangshi lun [On litigation tricksters] Shen Bao editorial, 28 August 1872. Apart from a diatribe against lawyers similar to the above, the Shen Bao added: "Originally we thought that Western lawyers were like those Chinese scoundrels, who instigate litigation. It is beyond comprehension how those guilty of such grievous crimes could dare to stand up in Court and represent somebody else. When we investigated this in detail, we realised that the system in other countries is very beneficial to the people. To practice law, they must all go through a course of study, only then are they qualified to become lawyers, then they must submit to official investigation, and only then can they practice this profession."

173 Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji. juan 2 p. 5

174 Mei-Hua-An-Chu, Shenjiang tushuo, shang juan p. 9 In the Dianshizhai, however, there is not a single example of a Western lawyer representing a Chinese in a dispute involving foreigners. The only case of the sort was in 1887, when a Chinese steamer, the Wannianqing 万年青, was sunk by a foreign transport ship. Both sides hired lawyers to represent them, and the Chinese side won. It would seem from the reports that this result was somewhat unexpected. The commentator surmised that the Chinese side had won probably because of a clash of interests amongst the various Western interests, which meant that they could not present a united case (Ren 82)
Chinese have not been brought up to regard police protection in the same light as do foreigners. In most cases the foreigner in trouble calls the police. The Chinese in trouble will not call the police if he can help it; the Chinese citizen prefers to rely on established methods of acting through his trade guild or family. A gradual educational process, however, has resulted in more Chinese relying on police protection as they become more accustomed to Western methods.\textsuperscript{175}

One method of conciliation was often carried out in the teahouses, and in Shanghai dialect the process is referred to as "drinking conciliatory tea".\textsuperscript{176} This practice was forbidden in the settlements.\textsuperscript{177} All teahouses, large and small, had a notice: "Drinking Conciliatory Tea Forbidden by Order".\textsuperscript{178} The practice was never completely wiped out, however, either in the settlements or in the Chinese city. A news item from 1873 in the \textit{Shen Bao} recorded the atmosphere of one of these sessions: "The practice of resolution of disputes by reason, which is called "drinking conciliatory tea", goes on in the innumerable teahouses of Shanghai every day. Whether in the Chinese city or outside it, not a day passes without it. In the settlements, however, it is most widespread. If there is any dispute about weddings or funerals, or over money, these disputes can be resolved by means of "drinking conciliatory tea". The teahouses are colloquially called "little courthouses", but those involved are mainly rough types, and so incidents are bound to happen. The officials have repeatedly tried to ban them, but they have proved impossible to eradicate."\textsuperscript{179} In 1897 the \textit{Dianshizhai} noted "small teahouses are places where villagers gather together to drink tea and negotiate".\textsuperscript{180} Disputes, especially if they were not very serious, amongst ordinary people in Shanghai - especially the "villagers"\textsuperscript{181} were still often resolved through "drinking conciliatory tea".\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{175} Johnstone, \textit{The Shanghai Problem}, p. 77
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{chi jiang cha} 吃讲茶 (Shanghaiese: chuh-kaung-dzo)
\textsuperscript{177} Mei-Hua-An-Chu, \textit{Shenjiang tushuo juan shang}, p. 12
\textsuperscript{178} \textit{Feng xian jin zhi jiang cha} 奉宪禁止讲茶 \textit{Shen Bao}, 19 June 1872
\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Shen Bao}, 16 October 1873
\textsuperscript{180} Xin* 13
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{xiang ren} 乡人
\textsuperscript{182} In the \textit{Dianshizhai} there are at least three sketches devoted to the practice of "drinking conciliatory tea". One from 1888 deals with a case of long term enmity between two men, A and B. B wanted to take revenge. One day he saw A in front of a theatre, reading the playbill. As A was paying no attention to his surroundings, B took advantage of the situation to throw some mud onto A's face. A was not going to put up with this, and he forced B to the Shengpinglou Teahouse 升平楼茶馆, where they asked someone to adjudicate in their dispute. The result was that B agreed to buy incense and candles and present them to A, as an apology(Chen 22). The second case was from 1892. A group of immigrants from Jiangbei were living on a boat in the river near Hongkou. One night A returned home drunk, and mistakenly boarded B's boat instead of his own. As B had been out all night gambling and had not returned, A decided to spend the night there (with B's
Amongst ordinary people, throwing something filthy into the face of one's enemy was another way of expressing one's antagonism, despite the fact that this was illegal.\textsuperscript{183}

Interpersonal relations changed gradually, and the transitional period produced some interesting mixtures between the old and the new. In 1904, after Li Boyuan died in Shanghai, a dispute over his estate occurred between his wife, concubine and mother on the one hand, and his good friend and assistant, Ouyang Juyuan 欧阳钜源,\textsuperscript{184} on the other. Li's family asked a famous opera singer, Sun Juxian 孙菊仙,\textsuperscript{185} to conciliate. Sun, who was also a friend of Li's, called together more than a hundred notables of Shanghai (all of whom knew Li) to meet in a Western restaurant. He also invited the Chinese Magistrate of the Mixed Court,

\begin{verbatim}
wife). The next day B returned and was furious when he discovered what had happened. He forced A to a nearby teahouse, to negotiate a resolution to this dispute. A admitted to being in the wrong, and offered to buy incense and candles as compensation. Other people in the teahouse spoke on his behalf, and the matter was thereupon resolved (Shi 23). The third story was from 1898. A young village woman was living in the suburbs of Shanghai. She was quite attractive, and worked in a silk filature. One night on her way home, she passed by the house of her future in-laws. Her betrothed suddenly came running out, grabbed her by the waist, and attempted to have sex with her. She resisted and screamed for help, and the man had no choice but to release her. The next day, when her father heard of this, he invited the young man to a teahouse to resolve this matter. The argument went on for a long time, and other people in the teahouse did their best to mediate. Eventually the future son-in-law agreed to give the girl's father incense and candles, and to apologize, and the father was eventually placated (Li* 72 xia). It would seem that "drinking conciliatory tea" originated as a means of settling disputes between gangs, and was a nationwide phenomenon - the first act of Teahouse 茶馆 by Lao She presents such an event. After 1949, this practice disappeared from Shanghai, but became popular again amongst hoodlums in Shanghai after the Cultural Revolution. Not in the old-style teahouses, of course, which no longer exist in Shanghai, but in coffee-lounges or in restaurants. The term "drinking conciliatory tea", however, remained the same. - YXQ
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{183} There are three such stories in the Dianshizhai. One has already been mentioned above. Another concerned a man from Anhui who had a stocking shop in Lao Beimenwai Street. He was often late in paying wages to his shop assistants. One such assistant was dismissed, and had tried to obtain his back pay for quite some time. One day he scraped out the flesh of a watermelon, and filled it with dung. He then threw it directly into the face of his former employer. He was later sentenced by the Chinese court to one day's imprisonment (Wu* 48 xia). The third example dates from 1885. A dispute arose between a private school teacher in the Chinese city and his landlord over the rent. In the course of the ensuing fight, the teacher's wife threw some filth over the landlord (Wu* 5). Such was the norm in the Chinese city. In the settlements, of course, such disputes over money would normally have been resolved according to law. In the same year, the Dianshizhai happened to record a case resolved in the Mixed Court, which was also a dispute between a landlord and a tenant over arrears in rent (Wu 95).

\textsuperscript{184} Ouyang Juyuan, who used the penname Xiqiusheng [The Scholar Who Cherishes Autumn] is said to have written a number of novels ascribed to Li Boyuan. See Wei Shaochang, Li Boyuan yanjiu ziliao [Li Boyuan research materials], pp. 490-494.

\textsuperscript{185} According to Tiao-shui-kuang-sheng [The Mad Scholar of Reed River], Shanghai Liyuan xin lishi 上海梨园新历史 [A new history of Shanghai theatres] (Shanghai: Hongwen shuju 鸿文书局, 1910) juan 1 p. 3, Sun Juxian was highly regarded as a just and sincere man, and was often asked to conciliate disputes. He also banned homosexual activity amongst the actors in the theatres, which was said to have added to their respectability.
Guan Jiongzhi and Ouyang Juyuan. Sun explained the situation, and asked everyone present to give his opinion. He also asked Guan Jiongzhi, the Magistrate, for advice as to how Western Law would deal with this matter. Guan expressed his opinion, according to Western Law as practised in the Mixed Court. Ouyang Juyuan accepted these principles as a way to resolve the conflict. The resolution of this case was part-Chinese, part-Western. It took the form of "drinking conciliatory tea", but it was held in a Western restaurant. The Chinese representative of the Mixed Court took part in the deliberations, and gave advice as to the situation as seen in Western legal terms. Such a combination of factors could only have happened in the settlements of Shanghai in the late transition period.187

(3) Relations between the sexes

Changes in relations between the sexes began with the change in women's status and behaviour. The factories in the settlements attracted women from neighbouring villages out of their homes. This was manual work, and the wages low, but nevertheless it meant that they were no longer entirely dependent economically on their husbands, fathers or brothers. Even the fact that they worked outside the home, that they were seen in public, was not acceptable in terms of traditional morality. Whatever theoretical discussions might have been going on in society had no effect at all on these women. Economic factors, however, were inexorably changing them.

Women who worked in the factories all day long had no time to attend to their families, or to do traditional "women's work", such as sewing, spinning and the like. The first customers of shops in the settlement selling such items as shoes and socks were factory women and prostitutes, as the provision of such ready made items freed them from the need to make them themselves. Better off women also

186 Guan Jiongzi was later to distinguish himself as being the magistrate involved in the Mixed Court riots in 1905.
187 Long contact and familiarity with the Mixed Court also contributed to the particular mental outlook of the Shanghaiese which distinguished them from other Chinese. After the 1911 Revolution, China established a new legal system, one which the Chinese in the settlements were well familiar with: "At the beginning of the Republican period, China established formal law courts. If asked the difference between a civil case and a criminal case, eight or nine out of ten of ordinary citizens would just look vague and not know how to answer. But the residents in the settlements, even women and children, all knew that murder, robbery or assault were matters to be referred to the police station; disputes over money and other personal disputes were referred to the Mixed Court. They could clearly understand and distinguish between civil and criminal cases. This was not because the Chinese had any knowledge of the law, but because the Chinese [in the foreign settlements] had developed this habit." (Yao Gonghe, *Shanghai xianhua*, pp. 63-64)
1888: Women of leisure - concubines, prostitutes and others - gambling.
started to buy ready made goods, and this also led to their abandoning their
traditional tasks of spinning and sewing.188 Such handicrafts traditionally had
more than an economic function - amongst better off families, such abilities were
part of the concept of "feminine virtue". Even the new western schools for girls in
late nineteenth century Shanghai had embroidery classes as part of the
curriculum.189 This change was very significant in changing the status of
women. The fact that women from poor families would appear in public (i.e. work
in the factories) was regarded by the literati of the time as one of the more
pernicious consequences of the establishment of the foreign settlements. This could
only lead to them becoming dissatisfied with their lot in life, and losing their sense
of modesty.190 Better off women could also see no point staying at home doing
their embroidery.191 This led to some ladies of leisure turning up in places to
which they were not traditionally supposed to go. Almost all the sketches of
teahouses, opium dens, theatres and restaurants all show the mixed company of
men and women.192 Going to an opium den was a very commonplace occurrence
in Shanghai.193 The ever shifting, ever changing population of Shanghai, together
with a certain relaxation in moral standards, meant that a degree of "private life"
was possible there, which would have been unthinkable in the traditional social
structure. The degree of freedom in relations between men and women in Shanghai
cannot be compared to any other place in China. Several examples were given
earlier of men and women from other areas, whose relationship would not be
tolerated by local concepts of morality, and who had no choice but to flee to
Shanghai. The Dianshizhai commented on the case of a widow and her lover, who

188 Xu Ke, Qing bai lei chao, p. 2318
189 Tang Zhenchang, Shanghai shi, p. 332
190 Qin Rongguang, Shanghai zhushi ci, p. 54
191 Zhu Wenbing, Haishang zhi ci, p. 27; for the later period see Shanghai xintuo gufen
youxian gongsi 股分有限公司 [English name: Shanghai Trust Co.] (ed.) Shanghai
fengtu zaji 上海风土杂记 [English title: A Survey of Folklore from Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1932),
pp. 49-50
192 Yi 22; Hai 37; Yi* 32; You 8 xia; Jin 30
193 Sometimes men and women would go together; sometimes women would go by themselves.
A story in the Dianshizhai, dating from 1889, is about a middle-aged woman and a young woman
who went to an opium den. The young woman brought a child with her. When they had settled
down the opium couch and were enjoying their smoke, the child suddenly took ill. In reporting
this case, the Dianshizhai did not seem to think that there was anything untoward about women
going to the opium dens, it just suggested it wasn't a good idea to take children there (Yi* 32). In
1890 the Dianshizhai had another story about an opium den. A man from Ningbo took his lover to
an opium den, called the Yanhuitang 延会堂, to share a pipe with her. After they had settled down
on the opium couch together, a thief stole the man's shoes. This left him in a very embarrassing
predicament, which was eventually solved when one of the hostesses in the establishment lent him
a pair (You 8 xia).
1898: A story about sex before marriage. The newly born child forms part of the dowry.
had fled to Shanghai so that they could live together: "It is not easy to observe chaste widowhood. How much more difficult in Shanghai. How much more difficult in present day Shanghai." 194

Similar comments can be found in other commentaries in the Dianshizhai. For example, in a commentary from 1889: "The wind of lasciviousness in Shanghai is the strongest under Heaven, especially in the northern part of the city [i.e. the International Settlement]". Quite a few commentaries in the Dianshizhai indicate that relations amongst men and women in Shanghai were very loose. 195 Amongst ordinary people, cohabitation out of wedlock was apparently not uncommon. For example, a woman over forty, Mme Gu-Chen 顾陈氏, decided to live with one Zhang Yulin 张玉林. The relationship turned out to be unsatisfactory, and she decided to shift out. Whereupon Zhang and several ruffians beat her up. 196 Another piece of news was about a woman whose lover cut off her ear in a fit of anger. 197

There was no lack of scandalous stories about relationships between Buddhist monks and nuns in Shanghai. They, too, were not immune from the general moral laxity of Shanghai. Of nineteen stories in the Dianshizhai about monks and nuns, 198 only two are not critical. 199 The rest are about monks who had illicit sexual relations with respectable women. In the commentary to one of these stories, the writer sighs: "There are so many Buddha-shops in Shanghai, far more than in any other place. Who knows how many women have entered them only to fall into a trap, lose her chastity and destroy her good name." He then goes on to relate how a monk in the Longjing Temple on Yongping'an Lane in the International Settlement had forced a woman to spend the night with him in the

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194 Xin 15
195 Five stories are about flirtation and seduction between neighbours (Ren 63; Xing 24; Geng 53; Heng 48; Zhong 95). Another story was about illicit sexual relations between a master and his maid-servant. The master arranged for the servant to live in the International Settlement. When his wife found out, she kicked up a fuss (Wu* 88). Another story is about a concubine who formed an illicit relationship with a butcher, and had to flee (Hai 55).
196 Wu* 55
197 Geng 53
198 Ding 46; Ding 60; Ji 24; Ji 70; Wei 38; Wei 62; Bing 16; Bing 65; Xing 28; Yi* 22; Yin 50 shang-xia; She 80 xia; Wen 40, Gui 13; Xin* 96; Yi 22; Shu* 55; Ren 6.
199 One is about a nun who was crazy about cats, and kept a dozen or so in her monastery (Xing 28); the other was about a drunk who bumped into a nun walking along the street; he believed that this would bring him misfortune, so he assaulted the nun (Bing 65). The superstition that bumping into a nun will bring bad luck is also mentioned in Chapter Four of Lu Xun, The True Story of Ah Q. (English translation in Selected Works of Lu Hsun, Volume One (Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956) pp. 93-94
temple. The matter was investigated by Chinese detectives, and he was arrested.\textsuperscript{200} Another concerns a monk from Wutai Mountain, Shanxi, who rented a shop in Shanghai, and set up a small Buddha-shop.\textsuperscript{201} He "pretended to lead a pure and frugal life, but often broke his vows of chastity. Every day after sunset, he would don the fine robes and elegant hats of the secular, and parade through the streets, seducing women of respectable households". One day the monk, in a fit of jealousy, got into a fight in a brothel with another client. His false queue was ripped off, and his shaven head revealed his true status. He begged: "Be lenient - think of my loss of face!" The other man laughed loudly and said: "I don't care about your face, monk, but I do care about the face of the Buddha! So I'll let you off."\textsuperscript{202}

There are many stories in the \textit{Dianshizhai} about monks visiting brothels, or forming liaisons with prostitutes.\textsuperscript{203} Generally speaking, they would disguise their identity before visiting a brothel. Sometimes they were caught out.\textsuperscript{204} Sometimes they did not even bother disguising themselves.\textsuperscript{205} The Buddhist nuns of Jiangsu and Zhejiang had the reputation of being "nuns, and at the same time...

\textsuperscript{200} She 80 xia
\textsuperscript{201} Buddha shops (\textit{Fo dian} 佛店) were one of the peculiarities of Shanghai at the time. A group of Buddhist monks and nuns would rent a shop, install a few statues, and invite believers to offer incense there. This became a very commercialised practice. This phenomenon is discussed later, in the section on popular religion.
\textsuperscript{202} Wen 40. The expression comes from the Chinese proverb, "Look not at the face of the Buddha, look at the face of the monk" (不看佛面看僧面)
\textsuperscript{203} In the Chinese city a monk formed a relationship with a "wandering prostitute" (liu ji) named Tang Qiaoling. The monk's superior admonished him repeatedly, without result. Eventually he ordered him placed in a wooden cage, and held up to the ridicule of the crowd (Gui 13). Another story is about a prostitute in a brothel on Fuzhou Road in the International Settlement, who particularly liked serving young Buddhist monks. She becomes the lover of a martial arts expert, who sent her a certain amount of money every month. Later she took up with an itinerant monk. When her previous lover heard of this, he came to beat the other man up. As he was a specialist in the martial arts, the other man was no match for him. Some bystanders intervened, and eventually the martial monk decided to call it a day (Xin 96)
\textsuperscript{204} Apart from the monk from Wutai Mountain mentioned above, the \textit{Dianshizhai} also related the story of a young monk whose disguise was inadequate, and was discovered. He was sent to the police in the French Concession, but the French police refused to deal with this matter (Xin 5).
\textsuperscript{205} One itinerant monk liked to frequent a Japanese brothel. The Japanese prostitutes didn't mind, but a Chinese servant objected, on moral grounds. The monk took no notice of her. She reported the matter to the police, who tried to convince him to desist, but he would still not give in. Eventually he was arrested and taken away ((Ding 46). On another occasion a monk went to the Dangui Theatre to watch some theatrical performances; he called over a prostitute to accompany him. Everyone in the theatre stared at him, but he didn't mind - he even put on a display of attention towards the prostitute (YI 22)
1884: A performance in the Lao Dan Gui Theatre in Shanghai. The theatre is packed, the audience enthralled. The sketch is about a monk who accompanied a prostitute to one of the performances.
prostitutes", but there are fewer scandals involving nuns recorded in the Dianshizhai.

In Shanghai sexual relations became quite open. The selling of aphrodisiacs in the Chinese city was a serious crime. In the settlements, however, not only were they sold openly, they were even publicly advertised. In 1897 the Dianshizhai noted: "Selling aphrodisiacs has always been prohibited, for fear that they would be harmful to life and health. So families who had stored this medicine would have to be extremely secretive, for fear than people would know of it. In Shanghai this was

206 Xin 76

207 One nun kept a man overnight in the nunnery, and when discovered, vociferously defended herself (Yi* 22). Another story was about a young nun, less than twenty years old, who was brought before the police on the grounds that she did not observe the vows of chastity. The case was referred to the Magistrate, and the local authorities permitted her to return to secular life (Bing 16).

208 On the traditional Chinese attitude towards sex, Wolfram Eberhard, Guilt and Sin in Traditional China (University of California, 1967) pp. 64-65 has the following comments: "It is clear from these cases that the modern Chinese feel strongly that bodily functions and especially sexual acts are unclean and should be hidden, a trait which began to appear already in the tenth century text. This aspect should be stressed especially because many books on China try to give the impression that sex is something "quite natural" and unproblematic among the Chinese, as long as it is "normal" and occurs among persons who are not forbidden by law or taboo to have sexual relations. The other new category, also very extensive, deals with the preparation of love potions, sex drugs, and implements for unnatural sex acts. He we find, as a special groups. drugs for the prolongation of life or sexual strength, made of sexual organs, fetuses, human flesh or bones. Closely related with such sins are the sins consisting of writing books on sex, and immoral novels, stories, or songs ful of sex. Also painting - even making decorations on bed sheets or other textiles with sexual or religious symbols - is sinful. But it is also a sin to apply symbols of religious character to bed sheets or pillows, because they will be defaced and soiled. Open talk about love affairs and peeping into the harems of others is sinful. People should read moralistic books, and persons who do not read such books, and made fun of them, or destroy them, commit serious sins. Again, the element of "impurity" is strong in all these sins. Confucian books never talk about sexual affairs, or if such affairs have to be mentioned, no details are given. Paintings should be "pure" and depict landscapes, flowers, scholars, but not women or intimate situations. Clearly, the modern texts attack here a strongly popular tradition which clearly has a long history in China, but which became stronger from about the sixteenth century. From this time on, novels, plays, and paintings concerned with sex began to circulate widely, in spite of all attempts of the scholars and officials to confiscate the materials and to punish the producers. Robert van Gulik in his books (especially his Sexual Life in Ancient China) has made the point that the Chinese attitude toward sex changed from the time of their Manchu conquest of China. Until the early seventeenth century, sex was regarded as something "natural", and only from the seventeenth century on, was sex more and more repressed. It would seem to be worthwhile to take up this question once again by a thorough study of philosophical and half-philosophical books from Sung time on. I have the suspicion that, if there was a change, it may have begun already in Sung time. In a nineteenth century story (Yung-wan pi-chi. 5, 9a-16b), which has strong Buddhist undertones, it is stated that in the Buddhist Tushita Heaven there are no sex relations; men and women are friends only. If, by some chance, "feelings" begin to develop between a man and a woman, the couple becomes "heavy" and sinks down to out earth, where they grow up, marry and die in time. "Heavy" here clearly indicates "unclean", and the story is connected evidently with the Sung philosophers' speculations about the "light" versus the "heavy" or "unclean" elements producing good or bad human beings."
not the case. People selling false medicine under the guise of a true prescription would use these medicines to help increase sexual desire. They had names like "Robust Virile Member" and "Numerous Progeny". They would concoct all sorts of names - there was no end of the varieties. They would make extravagant claims, utterly brazen and flagrant. In recent years this practise has become even worse. It is impossible to know how many people have been harmed. But people even now are still casual and careless, and they treat their lives in a trifling manner."

The so-called "indecent operatic performances" were also a sign of this open attitude towards sexual relations. The officials tried to ban them, but they remained popular, and many famous actors performed in them. Employment of hostesses in opium dens was an even more obvious use of sex to attract custom.

On one hand, relations between the sexes were apparently very lax. On the other, people caught in illicit sexual relationships could still be subject to blackmail. For this reason, many people, for various motives, busied themselves "catching adulterers". This sort of thing always attracted a lot of busybodies. In one sketch, the Dianshizhai analysed the psychology of a woman who enjoyed interfering in other people's business. As soon as she got a whiff of gossip, she was overjoyed. The Dianshizhai concluded that she was jealous of women with lovers and envied their beautiful clothes, and that her enthusiasm in "catching adulterers" was born of jealousy.

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209 zhuang yang 壮阳
210 zhong zi 种子
211 Yuan 16
213 In 1886 a monk from the Wenchangge was discovered keeping two women in his temple. A Chinese detective found out about this, and blackmailed him (Ren 60). The Shen Bao of 13 November 1878 carried a similar story.
214 Wu* 88. There are two stories in the Dianshizhai about lovers catching their lovers with other lovers. One story concerns a sexual deviant, Cheng Laoqi 程老七, whose wife formed an illicit relationship with a carriage driver. She often went to the Tianxian Theatre 天仙茶园, where she met and had an affair with one Zhao Xiaolian 赵小廉, a Beijing Opera actor who specialised in playing military roles. The carriage driver became jealous, and joined forces with Cheng Laoqi to catch the woman and her new lover in the act of adultery. Cheng himself didn't care, but was more concerned about maintaining face, and had no choice but to take part (Zhen 79). Another story is about a woman who shifted in with a man, but then took a new lover. The previous lover caught her in the act with her new lover, and reported the matter. The woman claimed, however, that the new lover was in fact her original lover. The Dianshizhai writer sighed that women in the foreign territory had no sense of shame at all (Wu* 70).
There was no way Chinese officials could interfere in the private lives of the Chinese living in the settlements. They continuously issued orders against the so-called trysting-places, which were "introduction agencies", and also acted as a secret meeting place for lovers. According to a sketch dating from 1896, there were five or six such trysting-places along Zhongwang Street in the International Settlement. One day a man suddenly died inside one of them. When the police arrived, it happened that an off-duty policeman, Wu Mingchun, happened to be caught in the company of a woman called Chen Cuijin. Wu Mingchen was arrested, and was sentenced to be whipped four hundred times, to be locked up for a month, and then to be escorted back to his native place. The commentator of the Dianshizhai sighed: "There are more trysting-places in Shanghai than those in Zhongwang Street. Officer Wu is not the only man to visit them, either. Just take a look around the foreign settlement - they are everywhere. Alas, how can decency possibly return?"

There is a story dating from 1890 about one Mr. Yu, who had purchased an official position, and a friend, Mr Xie, whom he knew through his official connections. They made an appointment to meet at a trysting-place, each bringing his own lover. They did not suspect that the police were keeping an eye on this place, and they were arrested. It was regarded as acceptable to visit brothels, because the women there were professional prostitutes; it was not acceptable, however, to arrange a rendez-vous with a woman in a trysting-place, because this might damage the woman's reputation.

The function of the trysting-place was somewhat similar to the role played by Wang Po in The Water Margin. In Shanghai, in fact, this role was mainly played by middle-aged women. The trysting-place mentioned above, in fact, was run by an old woman who had come to Shanghai from Songjiang.

An article in the Shen Bao in 1884, under the title "Official Prohibition of Trysting-Places" also noted: "Amongst all evil practices, the worst is the trysting-place. Recently an old women from Ningbo made a livelihood out of trapping women in the Hongkou area. Daughters of humble families, loitering in the narrow

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215 taiji 台基
216 Xing 8; You 69; Wu 24 xia
217 Xing 8
218 You 69
219 Songjiang is a suburb of Shanghai. You 69
lanes and attracted by the lure of money, would be sure to lose their chastity and destroy their good name. The authorities had no choice but to prosecute."220

In traditional society, it was acceptable for scholar-officials to visit a prostitute or to keep a concubine, but sexual promiscuity, or having extramarital affairs with members of one's own class, was not. The literati of the settlements, such as Wang Tao, Li Shanlan, He Guisheng, Cai Erkang, Qian Xinbo and so on, saw no contradiction between maintaining this tradition,221 while at the same time complaining about the moral degeneration of the ordinary men and women of Shanghai.222 They could sense that freer sexual relations between men and women were a threat to the old social order.

(4) Challenge to the Traditional Social Order

The newly commercialised society brought new values, and the traditional order came under challenge. Clothing, food, dwellings - traditional symbols of class - underwent substantial changes. Money dominated Shanghai, and traditional class concepts gave way to the concept of money being the criterion of class. The greatest complaint of the traditional scholar-official class was that class relations in Shanghai were distorted. Wang Tao remarked that the clothes of the Shanghaiese were becoming more and more resplendent by the day. He went on to claim that there was no ostensible difference between people of different social classes. As soon as the nouveau riche merchants made some money, they would don their fox and raccoon dog furs and ostentatiously show off their wealth.223

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220 Shen Bao, 13 February 1884 Taiji guan jin 台基官禁
221 Li Shanlan used to insist that a famous prostitute, Cai Yunqing 蔡韵卿, select an appropriate ink-slab for him to write his poetry (see Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 5, p. 11); Wang Tao published articles and poetry in praise of various prostitutes in the newspapers; his books Songbin suohua 滋滨琐话 [Tales of trivia from the banks of the Wusong], Haizou yeyou lu [Guide to the brothels of Shanghai], Huaguo jutan [Pleasant chats about the Land of Flowers] 花国剧谈 (the latter two books published under the pseudonym Songbei Yushensheng 滋北玉魫生) are mainly about the prostitutes of Shanghai; He Guisheng, Cai Erkang, and Qian Xinbo all frequented brothels - see Gu-Wu Yueshi ke, Haishang fanhua tu 海上繁华图 [Illustrated glories of Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1884) and Wang Tao, Songbin suohua, juan 7 (Shanghai, 1893; reprinted Qulu chubanshe 岳麓出版社, 1987), p. 181
222 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 1, p. 14, See Shen Bao, 4 December 1879 "Lun Qi xun" 论奇殉 (On a strange case of following one's lover after death); 21 September 1879 "Lun Nan-nü wuchi 论男女无耻 (On shamelessness between men and women).
223 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 1, p. 11. The breakdown in the distinctions in dress between various social classes was apparent as early as the Kangxi period. See Shanghai Renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社 (ed.), Diary of Yao Tinglin in Qingdai riji huichao 清代日记汇钞 [Collected
Privilege was open to all with the money to buy it. In 1895 the Shen Bao carried an editorial, entitled "On Current Extravagance", in which they commented: "More than ten years ago, only the rich could wear furs in winter and linen clothes in summer. Only children could wear delicate and colourful clothing. Nowadays, however, almost no-one does not wear furs and clothes of linen. When the season is appropriate for wearing silk, the streets are full of people wearing silk. When the season is appropriate for wearing gauze, the streets are full of people wearing satin. The reason for this extravagance is the breakdown in class distinctions. There are no differences between honourable and base; there is no distinction made as to status. What is the world coming to? A few days ago we saw a sedan carriage, so elegant and neat. The carriage driver, a young man, was wearing a full-length Mandarin silk robe. The woman in the carriage, looking very proper, was a certain famous prostitute. If the carriage driver had been wearing a short silk robe, that could be forgiven. People could still tell that he was a carriage driver. If the silk robe had a border, in the manner of carriage drivers who work for Westerners, people could tell that this was the costume of a carriage driver. This would also be acceptable. But nowadays they wear exactly the same clothes as the upper classes. It is only when they are actually driving a carriage that one can tell they are carriage drivers. When they put down the reins, and walk around in a free and easy manner, gathering their friends to frequent the brothels and taverns, as solemn and dignified as the heroes of Wuling, their clothing and footwear all so elegant and fine. Who could possibly know that every day they have to clean up horse dung and wash the wheels of the carriages. This extravagance has now gone to extremes. On observing this situation, we can but sigh thrice in despair."

Prostitutes also liked to parade around wearing a particular style of long red skirt, previously worn only by the most legitimate of wives. A common criticism was "this practice could only be considered natural in Shanghai. People in other places would definitely not dare to overstep the limits."

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224 Shen Bao, 8 September 1895, "Lun jin jin fengsu zhi she" 論近今風俗之奢
225 Zhi-mi-tu-ren [The man who points out the wrong path], Haishang yeyou beilan 海上冶遊備覽 [Complete guide to brothel visiting in Shanghai], juan 4, p. 6-7 "Jin Liyu de baizhe qun" 金鯉魚的百褶裙, a novel by Lin Haiyin, is a story about a servant girl who had become a concubine. She had a son, and when she married she wanted to wear a long red skirt, but could not, because such skirts could only be worn by the legal wife. Even when she died she was not entitled to wear such a skirt. See also Bao Tianxiao, Yi-shi-zhu-xing de bainian bianqian, p. 38, who also mentions the very strict limitations placed on the use of the long red skirt. In the Shen Bao of the 28 February 1874 there was a column entitled...
A bizarre inversion of roles led to the following situation: prostitutes were forbidden to enter the Yuyuan Garden, in the Temple of the City God within the Chinese city. If they did go there, they would wear very light make-up and plain, unadorned clothing, so that they could pass as respectable women. Upper-class women, on the other hand, had no compunction about wearing the gaudy fashions of the foreign settlements, and looked more like prostitutes than the real prostitutes did.226 In Shanghai prostitutes set the fashion, and upper class ladies followed.

Inviting guests to a meal in a Western restaurant also became very fashionable. This not only influenced eating habits, as discussed above, but also affected traditional Chinese etiquette: there was no longer any distinction between the "place of honour" and more humble positions.227 Distinctions in appropriate dwellings and related nomenclature suffered the same fate. In 1890, the Dianshizhai noted that in earlier times only the official classes had the right to call their houses "residences".228 By the 1890s, however, anyone who had the money to build a fine house, whatever his class background, could hang up a beautifully engraved sign proclaiming his house to be a residence. The Dianshizhai was poking fun at an uneducated carpenter, who had made a lot of money building houses for other people, and was at last able to build one for himself. He was barely literate, however, and the sign he made for himself meant "workhouse", miswriting 公 for gong.229 Wu Jianren (Wo-Fo-shan-ren), in his History of Sordid Aspects of Society in Recent Times gives a similar example. A certain Cantonese was employed by a foreigner as a cook. In front of his house he hung up a sign, calling it a "residence" (gongguan). A relative from Guangdong was surprised that the term "residence" could be used in this way, so asked the cook's nephew about it. The nephew replied: "Do you think Shanghai is the same as Guangzhou? There's nothing unusual about a sign proclaiming a "residence" here.

226 Xiaoxiangguan shizhe, Haishang hua-tian-jiu-di zhuan 海上花天酒地传 [Dissipation and debauchery in Shanghai] (Shanghai: 1884) juan 1, p. 24 also notes prostitutes wearing the long red skirt at Chinese New Year, a privilege normally reserved for the ladies of reputable families.
228 Gongguan 公馆
229 Xu 30
When they get rich living off the foreigners, they don't only stop at the term "residence" - they can even call their houses 'yamens'!"230

New means of travel were discussed in Chapter Two. The growing popularity of horse-drawn carriages also broke down previous class distinctions. Anyone with the money to hire one could ride in them, prostitutes as well as officials. Upper class young men, taking out prostitutes for a ride, would like to drive the carriage themselves, with the prostitutes and servants sitting behind them. If they were criticised for driving a carriage themselves, normally the task of a servant, and in this way demeaning their own status, they would reply that this is what Westerners would do.231 A particular type of dark-blue sedan chair had been the special privilege of the magistrate, but Chinese New Year in Shanghai saw the streets full of dark-blue sedan chairs. It was no longer possible to tell the officials from the ordinary people of Shanghai.232

Courtesy titles also lost their previous distinctions. As the Dianshizhai pointed out, previously only the scions of the official class were called "young master".233 Now any decent-looking young man was called "young master".234 The editors of the Dianshizhai were very displeased with these developments. Theoretically, of course, social mobility in China was entirely possible, and its normal mechanism was the examination system. In late nineteenth century Shanghai, however, money played the major role in social mobility. This encouraged the lower classes to emulate the aspirations, residences, titles and clothing of the upper classes. The breaking down of old class distinctions was a reflection of these developments.

At the same time, the traditional respect paid to the scholar in Chinese society had all but disappeared in the settlements of Shanghai. This is demonstrated by a minor incident, recorded in the Dianshizhai. A certain courtesan (changsan...
1884: Inside the Diyiliou Teahouse. A Confucian scholar attempts to flirt with the maid-servant of a prostitute, who rebukes him as a "toad lusting after swan-flesh".
tangzi 长三堂子) and her maid-servant visited the Diyilou Teahouse 第一楼茶室. A Confucian scholar\(^{235}\) tried to flirt with the maid-servant, who openly laughed at him: "This is really a case of 'an ugly toad lusting after swan-flesh!'" The scholar was furious, and a fight broke out between the three of them.\(^{236}\) The relative standing of the courtesan and the Confucian scholar can be deduced from this episode. Wang Tao also lamented the passing of the automatic right of a scholar to the prostitute of his choice: "Shanghai is a place of many beautiful women, but the customs there are so dissolute. Domineering dandies and loitering merchants are utterly illiterate, but have plenty of money to throw about."\(^{237}\)

Enlightened intellectuals like Wang Tao and the artists of the Dianshizhai were never really accepted by the more traditional scholar-officials, but even they could not tolerate rubbing shoulders with the lower classes. The brazen attitude of the Shanghai prostitute was also a result of the disintegration of the class system. In Chapter 79 of *Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed Over Two Decades*, Wu Jianren repeatedly sighs "the rule of law no longer survives in Shanghai" and "Shanghai is a lawless place", because some prostitutes and brothel madams were able to use a posthumous honorary title when they were buried, just because they had once entertained a guest of some high status.\(^{238}\) A similar example, given in the *Shen Bao*, is of prostitutes displaying a lantern, carried in front of their sedan chair, with the characters *Zhengtang Gongwu 正堂公务*, which we might translate as "Magistrate on Official Duties". The term *zhengtang*, of course, traditionally referred only to prefects and magistrates, but by the late nineteenth century was being openly used by prostitutes.\(^{239}\)

There is a record in the Dianshizhai, dating from 1897, of a meeting of Chinese and foreign officials' wives. The wife of the Daotai, Cai Jun 蔡钧, called the meeting to discuss establishing the Shanghai Girls School. She organised a banquet in the Zhangyuan Garden, and invited the wives of all the officials and gentry of Shanghai, both Chinese and foreign. One hundred and twenty two people took part. Most of the foreigners were wives of lawyers, wives of consuls of various countries, and nuns of various denominations. The Chinese were the wives of local officials and gentry, but included amongst them was the lover of the owner

\(^{235}\) *Boshi* 博士, a scholar who specialised in teaching the Confucian Classics.
\(^{236}\) Y1 77
\(^{237}\) Songbei Yushensheng 淞北玉鍪生 (Wang Tao), *Haizou yeyou lu 海陬冶游录* [A guide to the brothels of Shanghai] (1879) *juan xia* p. 19
\(^{238}\) Wu Jianren, *Guai xianzhuang*, Chapter 79
\(^{239}\) *Shen Bao*, 25 August 1895
1898: A meeting of Chinese foreign officials' wives in the Zhangyuan Garden, to discuss the foundation of the Shanghai Girls' School. Amongst them is a prostitute, the lover of the owner of a medicine shop.
of the Tongdetang Medicine Shop, whom he had met in a brothel. Of course, the Zhangyuan was a favourite place of entertainment for all types of people in Shanghai; prostitutes often went there in their horse-drawn carriages, and the gentry liked to meet there as well. But for a prostitute to so openly rub shoulders with the upper-class ladies was unimaginable in traditional Chinese society.

All the complaints registered above - about Shanghai being lawless, shameless and so on - clearly demonstrate that traditional social order and social relations had broken down. To put this in Gramscian terms, "common sense" no longer existed. "Common sense" is used by Gramsci to mean "the unconditional and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become "common" in any given epoch."

3. Sub-cultures: Wanderers and Criminals

Shanghai had been a simple, unsophisticated place. The influx of immigrants changed this situation. As Rhoads Murphey put it: "Morality was
irrelevant or meaningless in Shanghai, an atmosphere which was apparent to even the casual visitor. The fact that Shanghai was also a major port of call and naval station helped to prosper this attitude; sailors often formed a majority of the foreign population. For the Chinese, Shanghai was equally off limits. Those who had chosen this new kind of life, like the merchants, were by that choice cut off from traditional China and from the sanctions which it imposed. Others who drifted to the city during famines or civil wars, or were kidnapped from the country as domestic servants, had by definition lost their family connections, which in traditional China was total and physical destitution. Small wonder that many of them turned to prostitution. On top of this was the continually fluctuating population. Few people, Chinese or foreign, came to the city with the hope of remaining there long; most of them aimed to make a fortune in a few years and then to leave."

The development of the settlements increased people’s desire for enjoyment of material prosperity. But all such enjoyment was dependent on money. The inhibiting force of traditional morality had disintegrated in Shanghai, and they developed their own value system. Shanghai was no longer a simple place, and all sorts of tricksters and criminals flourished in abundance, and these groups formed a particular sub-culture within the newly developing urban culture.

The glamorous life of Shanghai attracted the rich, of course, but also attracted a large number of people who did not have the economic means to enjoy it. There is a story in the Dianshizhai dating from 1884 about a young man who took a prostitute out on the town in a horse-drawn carriage; he was discovered by his mother near the Nicheng Bridge, who started wailing and howling, because the son had stolen the family’s land title contracts and had pawned them, and thereafter led a dissolute life. Somewhat earlier in the same year the Dianshizhai gave details
of a case of an apprentice in a bean and grain shop, who had stolen two hundred yuan off his employer and fled into a brothel, from which he did not emerge for three days. When he was discovered he was taken before the Court.246

These are examples of relatively simple lads who wanted to enjoy the high life of Shanghai, but could not afford it. There was another type of trickster in Shanghai of the time, known as "hollow grandees",247 who would dress up as dandies and frequent the brothels and theatres, generally lead a dissolute life, accumulating debts until the point came to disappear. They were mentioned in Wu Jianren's *Bizarre Happenings Eyewitnessed Over Two Decades*: "Then there were the empty-handed types, who, although they had no money, wanted to play the grand official. They would go off in groups to the places of pleasure, as if they had no more serious things to do than to go on these expeditions. These so called "hollow grandees" became a sort of local product of Shanghai."248

There are five more or less identical stories in the *Dianshizhai* about these types. Four of them are about not paying the brothel account; the other was not being able to pay the fee in a Singsong Hall, after requesting a particular song. These men who had not paid their bills to the brothels were generally caught when one of the prostitutes, or sometimes one of the servants, would catch sight of them in the street, grab them and refuse to let them go. The commentaries to four of these sketches are much the same: "We don't know what sort of person a hollow grandee is, nor do we know what their names might be. They are barely out of their teens, handsome and charming, and good at ornamenting themselves... they are ostentatious and extravagant... their clothes are gorgeous. They swagger around the Halls of Qin and the Chambers of Chu. Sometimes they take out a famous prostitute for a ride in a horse-drawn carriage, showing off all over town, completely without scruples. Sometimes they wear dark eyeglasses, a cigarette drooping from their mouths. In the company of some spoilt young masters they eat, drink and make merry. They ape each other and enjoy their romantic image. They consider themselves elegant young princes in a world of mud and mire."249

Two other stories use much the same language to describe their clothing: they were all impeccably dressed, smoking cigarettes and wearing foreign clothing.

246 Jia 16-17
247 *kongxin dalaoguan* 空心大老倌
248 Wu Jianren, *Guai xianzhuang*, Preface, p. 1
249 Xu 11
spectacles. They were often in for a beating when they were discovered. In the case recorded in one of these stories, the prostitute who discovered him, as well as a number of onlookers, stole his clothes and all his valuables, including his foreign spectacles. Another story tells of a young man who went to the Pinyulou Singsong Hall on Si Malu. He requested sixteen songs in a row. There were fifteen prostitutes on duty that day, and one of them sang twice. The owner of the Singsong Hall was delighted, thinking that he had met one of the idle rich, until the time came to settle the bill, and he discovered the young man did not have a penny. The manager cursed him: "There is no lack of hollow grandees, wearing their bright clothes and garish costumes, swaggering along the road. But none of them is as shameless as this one." They detained him and would not let him leave. The next day his mother heard about this and came running to save him. She entreated the owner, saying that his father used to run a hat shop, but that business was not good, and they had had to close down. The family really could not afford to pay the debts accumulated by the son. She then kowtowed repeatedly to the owner of the Singsong Hall, who eventually took pity on her, and let her son go.

Criminal activity grew day by day in Shanghai, and one of the commonest crimes was kidnapping. "Chinese children, if they are healthy and attractive, need to be carefully guarded. Most of the kidnappers are women, and this nefarious business is so lucrative that a large number are engaged in it. Kidnappers grow bold as well as wily, picking up children who play on the street, or off on errands, and even beguiling or snatching them away from their very doors. Both boys and girls are stolen, though boys are greater prizes, being always in demand as apprentices and adopted sons in families that have not been blessed with an heir, for the master of a house who has no son to burn incense before his ancestral tablet after his death, and to worship at his grave, is the most miserable of all men. Still, pretty little girls are always easily disposed of, either in brothels or in private homes as slaves or future daughters-in-law." As the commentary to one of these stories said: "Cases involving the kidnapping of young

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250 Ge 32; Xing 64
251 Gui 41
252 Xing 64
253 Li 48
255 Yin 34; Yi* 56; Yi* 57; Ji 96 xia; Ji 36; Xin 57; Li 54
1894: A well-dressed man requests sixteen songs in a row in the Pinyulou Singsonghall, but does not have the money to pay for them. He is detained, but eventually released after a tearful appeal by his mother.
children pile up upon each other in the daily newspaper [Shen Bao]. There are so many not all of them can be written about.\textsuperscript{256} Amongst these, only one was caught, a swindler who disguised himself as an itinerant monk. He wandered here and there, and when he caught the adults off guard, he would snatch the child.\textsuperscript{257} The kidnappers were never found in the other cases.\textsuperscript{258} The commentary to a story dating from 1886 noted that the authorities had repeatedly prohibited the kidnapping and selling of children, but to no effect. Most such cases couldn't be solved, and even if they were, the kidnappers were imprisoned for only one month, which made them even more brazen and unscrupulous.

There was, for example, the case of the middle-aged woman from Guangdong who lived in Baokang Lane 保康里，who had bought five or six children, so as to sell them at a higher price later, either into brothels or as coolies. The matter only came to light because she mistreated them so badly that the neighbours, hearing their crying, reported the matter to the authorities.\textsuperscript{259} Precisely because these cases were so difficult to break, the official criminal record did not include the category of kidnapping.\textsuperscript{260}

In the Dianshizhai there are few stories about premeditated murders. There are only two such cases,\textsuperscript{261} which tallies with the official record. In 1884 the Police Station in the International Settlement had arrested 5,365 Chinese criminals, of whom not even one was accused of murder. In 1885 there were two murderers out of 4,357 arrested criminals; in 1886 none at all; in 1898 four out of 25,763 and in 1900 five out of 25,221. In 1884, the most common crime amongst the Chinese arrested was theft (1,169); creating a disturbance (usually letting off firecrackers) (943); disturbing public order (including drunkenness) (904). In 1898 creating a disturbance was the first in order (15,874); followed by theft (3,128) and obstructing traffic third (2062).\textsuperscript{262} The situation as reflected in the Dianshizhai is completely in accordance with these statistics. As far as theft is concerned, for example, one can find in the Dianshizhai every conceivable variety. There was a thief in Shanghai at the time, for example, who dressed very smartly, who would gain entry to people's houses on the pretext

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{256} Ji 96 xia
\item \textsuperscript{257} Yin 34
\item \textsuperscript{258} Yi* 56; Yi* 57; Ji 96 xia
\item \textsuperscript{259} Xin 57
\item \textsuperscript{260} Luo Zhiru, Tongji, p. 238
\item \textsuperscript{261} Ge 15; Zhong 96
\item \textsuperscript{262} Luo Zhiru, Tongji, p. 238
\end{itemize}
of asking after somebody's whereabouts, or enquiring about renting a room. Once inside, he would slip into his pocket whatever he could lay his hands on. Then there were thieves who specialised in stealing things off boat passengers, such as the famous robbers Chen Liangsheng 陈连生 and Chen A-si 陈阿四. There was the man who dressed as a woman, and who would attend weddings and funerals disguised as a maidservant, and steal things in this way. There were petty thieves, who did not care to be reformed. There were thieves who paid frequent visits to the brothels, so as to steal the most unusual appurtenances of fashionable brothel-frequenters, such as dark glasses and vest watches, whilst their owners were otherwise occupied. In 1889 there was a story in Dianshizhai about the "Grand Thief of the Rivers and Lakes", Yang Hanqing 杨翰卿. After he was arrested his wife and maidservant came to visit him, both dressed in silks and satins, and obviously much richer than most people. Yang's career lasted five years, during which time his loot was incalculable.

The crime rate in Shanghai continued to grow. "The coefficient of criminality in 1885 was 3.15, in 1890 - 3.45, in 1895 - 5.85. In 1900 it dropped for a while to 3.66 ... in 1910 [it rose to] the enormous figure of 10.44." There may have been a drop in 1900, but the general trend was for it to increase.

Robbery was also occasionally reported in the Dianshizhai. In 1885 they reported the case of a Hunanese robbing the Astor Hotel 小礼查酒店. In the same year the Runkang Native Bank 润康钱庄 was robbed, and in 1886 a fruit pedlar from Xuzhou and nine others robbed the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India. It would seem from the records, however, that robbery with violence was relatively uncommon. In 1885 there were 14 cases, in 1890 only 1; in 1895 four, and in 1897 and 1898 none at all.
There are not many cases of swindlers in the official records, but they abound in the *Dianshizhai*. There are at least seventeen such cases. In 1885, the *Dianshizhai*, commenting on several remarkable swindling cases, said: "The world gets worse and worse, and men's hearts become more and more evil. Cases involving mendacious swindlers pile up on top of each other without end. Recently there was a man from Guangdong called Li Renshan 李仁山, who pretended to be the owner of a Guangdong shop, called Ruishenghe 瑞生和, which opened for business at the left hand side of the Sanyangjing Bridge 三洋泾桥. He had accumulated goods valued at several hundreds of thousands of dollars by the time he was discovered, and more than thirty businesses had been his victims. Recently there was also a man from Jiangxi called Xiao Jin 萧锦 who pretended to be the Magistrate of Zhenze county 震泽县..."275

In 1891, the *Dianshizhai* commented: "In recent times, men's hearts are not like in the old days. Deceit and fraud increase daily. Thieves, robbers, hoodlums - there is such confusion and turmoil. People find it difficult to take precautions."276 Later, in 1892: "Nowadays men's hearts are not like in the old days. Cases of fraud pile up on top of each other. The most detestable, however, are those who, under the guise of charity, pursue private ends. Even in Shanghai alone, there are innumerable spurious charities."277

Apart from grand-scale swindlers, there were many petty swindlers as well, like those selling bogus medicine; failing to return borrowed clothes from a clothes-hire shop; assuming a false identity to secure some cash; even someone who cheated a pedlar out of some eggs. There were also foreign swindlers, like the American on Si Malu who was able to cheat the curious into buying tickets to see "a newly arrived wild man from America, with a head and no body". Some swindlers became professionals, and special terms were applied to their particular trade; for example, hoodlums who specialised in extortion and

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274 Bing 9; Bing 64; Bing 78; Geng 5; Geng 16 xia; Hai 95; Gui 49; Gui 72; Wei 21; Wei 62; She 72 xia; Pao 77; Chou 35 xia; Xin* 63; Wu* 2, Wu* 35; Ding 23
275 Wu 28
276 Hai 95
277 Pao 77
278 Pao 77
279 Xin* 63
280 Geng 16 xia
281 Gui 72
282 Bing 78
blackmail were called "twig-breakers". For a woman to enter into a false marriage or relationship with someone, and to make off with that man's property a day or two afterwards, was called "releasing a white pigeon".

These terms were later to be found not only in specialist works on the customs and attitudes of the people of Shanghai, but also formed an indispensable part of linguistic glossaries of the Shanghai dialect. There are even specialist dictionaries of the criminal argot of Shanghai. Perhaps because most of these swindlers did not really break the law, perhaps because their victims were reluctant to report the matter, or perhaps simply because these people were just too hard to catch, there is very little record of them in the official records. In 1884 there were fifty convicted, in 1885 nineteen, in 1895 seventy-nine, and in 1900 also seventy-nine. Those convicted in the International Settlement were usually deported back to their place of origin. Some of these people may well have returned to Shanghai. There is a record of a monk who was expelled from the French Concession for fraudulent acquisition of goods. He returned the next year, and was arrested again. There is a sketch of him and another criminal in the Dianshizhai, wearing a wooden collar and wandering the streets. The commentator sighed: "There is no end of strange things in the ten li of foreign territory. The situation becomes worse and worse, and their tricks more and more

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283 *chái shào* [Shanghaiese: tshak-sau] 拆梢 Ji 17. On the origin of this term, see *Shen Bao*, 26 January 1888, "Chái shào jie" 拆梢解 [An explanation of the term "twig-breaker"]). This article gives five explanations, none of which are particularly convincing.

284 *fáng bài gé* [Shanghaiese: faung bak-keh] 放白鸽 Wu* 3; Wu* 35. This practice was usually a combined effort of a man and a women, acting in collusion. The expression is derived from a woman's returning to her parent's home after marriage is like a pigeon's ability to return to its nest.

285 Such as Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai fanchang ji*, juan 2 pp. 8-10

286 Yan Yingsun (ed.), *Shanghao suyu da cidian*, pp. 27, 56, 65

287 Dian Gong (ed.) *Shanghai pianshu shijie* [The world of swindlers in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Saoye shufang 扫叶书房, 1914); Qian Shengke 钱生可, *Shanghai heimu huibian* 上海黑幕汇编 [Evil stories of Shanghai] (2 vols) 1917-1918 (Shishi Xinbao fusongpin 时事新报附送品); Lu Binseng (ed.), *Zhongguo heimu daguan* 中国黑幕大观 [A panorama of sinister events in China] (Zhonghua Tushu Jicheng Gongsi 中华图书集成公司, 1918)

288 Luo Zhiru, *Tongji*, p. 238

289 There was a case recorded in the *Dianshizhai* of 1889 of a man who styled himself Managing Director of a certain "Flower and Opium House" (huayanjian dongshi 花烟间董事) who was convicted of fraud, sentenced to jail by the Conseil Municipal of the French Concession, then deported to his place of origin (Xing 8). The three Jiangbei men mentioned earlier, who bought and collected lettered paper in order to make a profit out of what was supposed to be a moral duty, were ordered by the Magistrate of Shanghai to be escorted back to their native villages (Xing 6). As mentioned above, a policeman who was caught in a trysting-inn was whipped and imprisoned, and then sent back to his place of origin (Xing 8).
amazing." Such comments appeared elsewhere in the Dianshizhai and can be seen in contemporary books. For these and many other reasons, Shanghai acquired the epithet "Paradise of Adventurers".

There is a large number of reports about such troublemakers in the Dianshizhai. They were usually referred to as hoodlums or ruffians. "There are more hoodlums in Shanghai than anywhere else. They group together, in gangs of tens or hundreds, and run wild through the streets. They can do no more than bully the weak and insult the widowed." These terms indicate that they were relatively young, as well as to the fairly innocuous nature of their activities. They were not comparable to the organised criminals of twentieth century Shanghai; they were more of a social nuisance. They were usually born into the lower strata of society, such as the children of prostitutes in brothels or the illegitimate children of maidservants. Sometimes they were rough youngsters who had fallen under bad influence. They "form themselves into gangs and bands; they always cause trouble by going through the streets, creating a disturbance. Neither passers-by nor their own parents can restrain them. They are frivolous and skittish, and increase in number by the day and by the month. It is no wonder that their audacity increases and their arrogance continues to grow."

Sometimes unemployed young people with nothing to keep themselves occupied would loiter around in the streets, and eventually become hoodlums. In 1884 the Dianshizhai carried an account of a woman who worked in a silk filature

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290 Wei 62
291 Zhong 93
292 Xu Ke, Qing bai lei chao, Vol. IV, p. 1749
294 liumang 流氓, xiao liumang 小流氓. The phenomenon of liumang in the city was a new one, and even the term was unfamiliar. Even in books published in Shanghai in the 1870s and 1880s, the term has to be explained, and even its pronunciation indicated. Ge Yuanxu, Hu you za ji, p. 22 has the following to say on liumang: "Shanghai is a commercial entrepot, a mishmash from everywhere. Those who have no proper employment and who roam the streets, and when they get the chance cause trouble, are called 流氓 liumang. Note: 流 mang is also written 流 mang; the dictionary defines it as 'a biting flying insect', and that is just what it means." See Huang Shiquan, Songnan mengyinglu, p. 101: "In the settlements, those who have no proper employment and who roam the streets gather in groups to cause trouble are colloquially called 拆稍 chaishao 'twig-breakers', and are also called 流氓 liumang. The pronunciation of 流 mang is the same as 芒 mang."
295 Tu 78; see the editorial in Shen Bao 5 September 1888 "Lun xiao liumang" 论小流氓 [On ruffians]
296 Wu 84
297 Ji 17
298 Yuan 31
1887: A group of liumang harassing women from the Ewo Silk Filature on their way home. The one in the middle, facing towards the front, is wearing the tightly-buttoned jacket considered part of the "uniform" of the well-dressed liumang.
being harassed by some hoodlums on the way home.\textsuperscript{299} This sketch was based on a report in the \textit{Shen Bao} of 30 August 1884. The \textit{Shen Bao} noted: "Recently, because of the war between China and France, many foreign firms have found business very light, and have had to lay off a number of workers. Those who have lost their jobs are youngsters and liable to cause trouble. Every evening they hang around on the street corners in the Hongkou area, waiting for the women workers at the Iveson and Company Silk Filature to leave work, so that they can harass them."

The hoodlums wore a particular type of tightly buttoned jacket.\textsuperscript{300} The \textit{Dianshizhai} described them in the following terms: "They gather in groups of threes and fives. They wear tightly buttoned coats. They occupy the entrance to a lane and they have the gall to do anything. There is nothing they will stop at. If someone wearing expensive clothes happens to stroll by, they will either steal his watch or steal his money. They will fleece them unscrupulously. They are no different from thieves and robbers. They also harass the maidservants in the brothels, and tease the prostitutes in their sedan chairs. They shout insults at the sedan chair bearers. They kick up an awful clamour whenever they want. It is not unusual for them to act as if there were no one else present.\textsuperscript{301} They were so numerous that even the police were somewhat afraid of them. Once one of the artists of the \textit{Dianshizhai}, Fu Genxin, witnessed a group of young hoodlums stealing something off a passer-by. In the distance there was a Chinese policeman looking on, but he did not dare to intervene. When he noticed Fu, he simply stalked off. Fu thought that if even the police were scared of the hoodlums, they would be even more brazen and reckless.\textsuperscript{302} This sort of behaviour was what the official records called "disturbance" or "disturbing public order".

The addiction to gambling in Shanghai is also reflected in the official records, and in the pages of the \textit{Dianshizhai}. The number of Chinese convicted for gambling was also quite a large proportion of the total; in 1884 it occupied sixth place (415); in 1898 it was in fourth place (1,202).\textsuperscript{303} There is a sketch in the \textit{Dianshizhai} dating from 1889 which explains this phenomenon to a certain extent:

\textsuperscript{299} Yi 19
\textsuperscript{300} Qin Rongguang, \textit{Shanghai-xian zhuzhici}, p. 53
\textsuperscript{301} Xu 84
\textsuperscript{302} Xu 84
\textsuperscript{303} Luo Zhiru, \textit{Tongji}, p. 238
"They have little capital and not much business. It is hard for them to earn money. So some people regard gambling as a way of making money."304

According to the *Dianshizhai*, the Hongkou area was the most notorious for gambling. In 1891 the Chinese authorities (the Magistrate of Shanghai, Lu Yuanding 陆元鼎) and the International Settlement police launched a joint operation in the Hongkou area, but they arrested only a dozen or so people; most of the experienced gamblers had been warned of the raid, and fled.305 In 1898 there was an item of news: "In the Shenjiawan area there are six or seven gambling dens; hundreds of thousands of people have been their victims." After the order prohibiting gambling was issued, more than seven hundred gamblers in that area gathered together to offer a sacrifice to the God of Gambling, and swore that the would resist any policemen who might come to arrest them.306

Apart from these local gambling clubs, some aficionados held their gambling games in brothels, so as to avoid detection.307 Stories about fights, bankruptcy and even loss of life due to gambling can also be found in the *Dianshizhai*.308 Not all gamblers were men. In the *Dianshizhai* of 1888 there is a story from the Mixed Court about a Mr. Chen 陈, who accused the wife of Mr. Wang 王 from Suzhou of luring his [Chen's] concubine into the iniquities of gambling. The sketch shows beautifully dressed women, and the furnishings in the house are luxurious. These women are all obviously rich, and with plenty of leisure time.309

While most of the reports in the *Dianshizhai* were about Shanghai's material progress and its social prosperity, it repeatedly commented, in a reprimanding tone, "the foreign territory is a place which shelters evil people and countenances evil practices",310 and that the foreign territory "will destroy propriety, law, honour and the sense of shame. If you want to see the most vile behaviour of human existence, to see what you have never imagined, you must go to Si Malu in the International Settlement. The practices there are so bad, one can but sigh."311
Shanghai was not only a progressive place, it was also a place where petty crime flourished. The commentary to the story in the *Dianshizhai* of 1884 of a young man who stole three hundred yuan off his employer and then spent three days in a brothel without emerging reprimanded the boy's father for bringing him to a den of iniquity like Shanghai in the first place.\(^{312}\) In 1889 there was the tale of the young man from Zhejiang who had come to Shanghai as a comprador for wedding ceremony accessories. As soon as he arrived he fell in love with a prostitute; he wandered around homeless for some time, and could not return to his own home. Eventually his parents sent someone to Shanghai to bring him back, but by that stage he had contracted venereal disease.\(^{313}\)

These sorts of stories are even to be found in novels of that time.\(^{314}\) Suzhou is only a hundred or so kilometres away from Shanghai, but "at that time Suzhou families would not allow their sons to go to Shanghai; they said that Shanghai was not a good place, it was like a black dye-pot - if you fell in, you could never be clean again."\(^{315}\)

Western views on Shanghai were equivocal. On the one hand it was a "sink of iniquity"; on the other hand it was a "model settlement".\(^{316}\) The notoriety of Shanghai was such that conservative types, or those who regarded themselves as having high moral standards, would refuse to go anywhere near it, like the scholar resident in the Chinese city who prided himself on the fact that he had never set foot inside the foreign settlements.\(^{317}\) In Jerome Ch'en's view, "Later in this century of foreign influence in Shanghai, the adventurers came; their role was almost totally negative. Predominantly guided by the notion of money-making, the new things introduced into Shanghai destroyed the old order without enough thought of what the new order would be. The result was a jumble of old and new, a sprawling city

\(^{312}\) Jia 16-17
\(^{313}\) Yi* 43
\(^{314}\) See Wu Jianren 吴趼人, *Hen hai 悲海* [Sea of Regret]; Li Boyuan 李伯元, *Wenming xiaoshi* 文明小史 [A short history of enlightenment] (Beijing: Tongsu Wenyi Chubanshe 通俗文艺出版社, 1955); Hua-ye-lian-nong, *Haishang hua liezhuan* 海上花列传, Chapter 30
\(^{315}\) Bao Tianxiao, *Jianyinglou huiyilu* 聚英楼会记 Vol. I, p. 180 [好似一只黑色大染缸，堕落进去便洗不清了。] Ouyang Juyuan, the assistant and friend of Li Boyuan, died from syphilis at the age of 25. In commenting on this, Bao Tianxiao noted: "Such a talented young man, had he not come to this filthy settlement, would not have fallen victim to this." See Wei Shaochang, *Li Boyuan yanjiu ziliao* 李伯元研究资料, p. 498.
\(^{316}\) Pott, *History of Shanghai*, p. 92
\(^{317}\) Yao Gonghe, *Shanghai xianhua* 上海闲话, p. 143
with neither generally accepted values not generally observed norms, a modern Sorrow of China.318

Shanghai's reputation did not slow the growth of its population. Shanghai developed more and more into a playground to which people from surrounding districts would flock - even the fashions of Shanghai became the standard for the fashion conscious everywhere.319

4. Tradition within Change: Religious Practices

Generally speaking, religious practices in Shanghai - both the settlements and the Chinese city - were still quite traditional. The commercialisation and industrialisation of Shanghai had not diminished people's interest in and participation in traditional popular religion. Quite the opposite, in fact - the participation and support of the merchants made the ceremonies more opulent than ever.

There were no significant differences between the religious activities of ordinary Chinese in the settlements or in the Chinese city. The Procession of the City God, of course, was necessarily conducted within the walls of the Chinese city, and the activities connected with this procession were limited to the streets therein. Activities arranged by the local place associations, on the contrary, were generally limited to the areas of the settlements - this was generally determined by the areas in which those people from other areas of China happened to be living.

The settlement authorities did not interfere with Chinese religious activities, except in so far as large processions or ceremonies might occasionally impinge on public order.320 On the whole, they had no concern with the religious beliefs of the Chinese.

Religious activities in Shanghai were traditional, but rapid social change, industrialisation and population increase all affected these activities. As a consequence, Chinese officialdom responded to these modifications, and their attitude towards popular religion was even stricter than elsewhere.

318 Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*, p. 234
320 One might compare this situation to the strict control of the Japanese authorities, after 1895, over temple organization in Taiwan. See Stephan Feuchtwang, "City Temples in Taipei under Three Régimes", in Elvin and Skinner, *Chinese City*, pp. 263-301, on p. 263
(1) Official attitudes

If we accept the definition of Stephan Feuchtwang, namely that the essential difference between official (or state) religion and popular religion was that the Chinese officials provided funds and took part in ceremonies for the former but not the latter, it would seem that the degree to which the official classes and ordinary people shared the same religious ceremonies was quite high. The magistrates of Shanghai would take part in religious ceremonies, offer incense and perform sacrifices to the Goddess of Mercy (Guanyin), the City God (Chenghuang), the Queen of Heaven (Tianhou), the God of War (Guangong) and the Dragon King (Longwang), much as the common people would.

Since there was no definite demarcation between the official religion and popular practices, it is not easy to define exactly what could be considered orthodox popular religion, and what might be considered unorthodox popular religion. As far as the situation in late nineteenth century Shanghai is concerned, the following criteria can be posited:

(i) whether particular religious practices were permitted, or encouraged, by the government, or whether they were banned. Some religious practices were banned not because the religious ceremony or festivals were non-orthodox in themselves, but because they had become too large, or because they were over-secularized or vulgarized to the point where they could no longer be tolerated by the officials. This situation was rather similar to that described by Peter Burke on sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, when the élite regarded some aspects of...

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321 Stephan Feuchtwang, "School-Temple and City God", in Skinner, City in Late Imperial China pp. 581-608. Marcel Granet has a different definition: he divides Chinese religion into three categories: peasant religion, feudal religion and official religion. On the last, he says "it was not reserved to one social class; it was, in a sense, a national religion; in the first place because it was instituted for the benefit of the whole nation, but also because the influence of its principles permeated the religious life of all its members ..." (Marcel Grant, The Religion of the Chinese People (Blackwell, Oxford, 1975), p. 97

322 Shanghai Tongshe, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao, pp. 528-548, contains an article "Liushi nian qian Shanghai - jiu zhangbu zhong de zhanggu" — [Shanghai sixty years ago - Anecdotes from an old account book] in which the author tells of how he found two old Shanghai-county account books in a second-hand book stall, which contained records dating from 1872 to 1875, and which records the religious ceremonies and sacrifices in which the magistrate participated during the year in detail. (p. 534)

323 Susan Naquin, "Transmission of White Lotus Sectarianism" (in Johnson et al. Popular Culture, pp. 255-291, regards the white lotus sects being heterodox at some times, and orthodox at others. (p. 290)
popular religion as "overindulgence in licence", and would not tolerate dancing, drama, and other such forms of indecency.324

(ii) whether or not the practices contravened the principles of the Confucian classics, or contravened accepted convention. Generally speaking, such practices were relatively small-scale, and the government did not react to them. They were, however, the subject of criticism and reprimand by individual officials or individual scholars. The attitude of the scholars should also be considered a criterion for distinguishing orthodox from non-orthodox religious activity. A difficulty with Feuchtwang's definition is that it does not address the status of religious activities of individuals before they became officials or after they retired from officialdom. Nor does it include the private religious practices of the emperor in the inner palace. Were participants in these practices engaging in popular (i.e. non-state) religion? Even if officials (even retired officials) were to take part in popular religious practices in a non-official capacity, their participation was not exactly the same as the participation of the ordinary people.

On the basis of these criteria, the most obvious characteristic of non-orthodox activities is whether or not they were clearly unacceptable to the government, or to the scholars. For example, if the indiscriminate worship of idols of no particular recognised religious affiliation appeared amongst the populace, this was regarded as heterodox deviation, and would immediately be banned.325 Such heterodoxy was not at all uncommon in Shanghai. In 1886 the Dianshizhai raised the matter of idolatry amongst ordinary people: "At every pile of mud or gravel, along every road or waterway, one is sure to see people appropriately attired in their best clothes and hats offering up incense and candles, paper money and silk, and praying to them. They do not care that sensible people laugh at them. These customs have persisted for a long time, and they are difficult to correct immediately."326

In 1885 The Dianshizhai recorded: "To the north of the railway bridge, abandoned graves pile up on each other, and exposed coffins are also quite numerous. For many years, exposed to the sun and rain, the lids of the coffins have

324 Burke, Popular Culture, pp. 207-213.
325 In 1891 the Dianshizhai (Hai 10) reported a case of the local magistrate in Yangzhou discovering the local people worshipping a nameless idol, apparently neither Daoist nor Buddhist in origin. The idol was immediately burned. Before reporting this news, the Dianshizhai commentator noted that this sort of occurrence was by no means limited to Yangzhou: "The spread of heterodoxy in China has been going on for quite some time. The most unacceptable is that of stupid women not even asking what god it is they are supposed to be worshipping."
326 Geng 48
split, and if it should rain continuously for a period of ten days, it is quite natural that water should seep into these coffins. However, obscene witches and devilish sorceresses spread all sorts of rumours, saying that if one burns incense and prays, and then drinks this water, chronic illnesses will be immediately cured. Stupid people are deceived by this, and vie with each other to spread this story ... afterwards a charitable hall hired some labourers to go and bury the coffins, and ordered the local constables to keep guard. After a few days, these practices disappeared.\textsuperscript{327}

In 1896 there was a story about a Fujianese merchant who transported goods between Fujian and Shanghai. On one occasion, after he reached Shanghai, he discovered there was a hole in his boat, which just happened to be blocked by a dead snake. He immediately lit incense and candles, and prostrated himself before the dead snake. The Dianshizhai commented on his stupidity and ignorance.\textsuperscript{328}

Such occurrences are to found in many contemporary books on Shanghai. In the early twentieth century there were two stone images to the west of the racecourse. These had once stood at the entrance of a grave some ten \textit{li} from the city, but had been bought by a Westerner for forty-two \textit{yuan}, and brought to Shanghai as a sort of ornament. He did not anticipate that some people in Shanghai would think that the statues were of some Bodhisattva, and started to burn incense in front of them. The number of such worshippers grew to a flood, and the lower halves of the statues were blackened with the accumulated soot from the candles and incense. The settlement authorities issued an official notice, repeating over and over that the statues were not gods, but to no avail. Eventually in the interests of efficient traffic and public order, the statues were moved elsewhere.\textsuperscript{329}

A more ambiguous situation was that of certain religious practices which were quite orthodox, and even participated in by the officials, but which became too large in scope, or the participants became too licentious, so the officials had no choice but to ban them. An example was the Procession of the City God.

The City God was an important deity in every locality, and the first duty of a new magistrate was to offer incense at the local Temple of the City God.\textsuperscript{330}

\textsuperscript{327} Ding 48
\textsuperscript{328} Zhong 16
\textsuperscript{329} Zheng Yimei, \textit{Shanghai jiu hua}, p. 41; Yao Gonghe, \textit{Shanghai xianhua}, p. 3; Chen Dingshan, \textit{Chun shen jiu wen}, p. 9
\textsuperscript{330} For example, Li Pingshu notes in his memoirs that his first duty on arrival as magistrate in Guangdong was to "offer up incense in front of the Temple of the City God." - Li Pingshu, \textit{Zixu} p. 32.
Reverence towards the City God was of equal importance to the local officials as it was to the local people.\(^{331}\) The Shanghai City God was said to be in origin Qin Yubo, who lived towards the end of the Yuan and the first few years of the Ming dynasty.\(^ {332}\) According to a sketch in the *Dianshizhai* dating from 1896, the Governor of Jiangsu, Kui Jun 奎俊 suggested that a horizontal inscribed tablet be presented in order to express thanks for the protection of the City God. The Court gave permission, and a tablet inscribed "Protection and Blessing to Heaven and Earth"\(^ {333}\) in the Emperor's calligraphy was presented to the temple. On that day, the Daoist priest in charge of the temple prepared all the paraphernalia for the ceremony, and also organised the concelebrants. Before dawn, they came to the Hall of Longevity\(^ {334}\) and waited until the local officials and gentry all arrived. After the presentation ceremony was over, they respectfully placed the tablet on the palanquin.\(^ {335}\) It was then lifted aloft, from the front and the back, and carried from the Hall of Longevity. Incense and flowers paved the way, to the accompaniment of drums and music. When they reached the door of the temple, seal-holding officials and the gentry knelt by the side of the path, in order of precedence, to show their respectful reception [of the tablet] ... Afterwards the tablet was suspended in the Temple, with great decorum. The gentry and officials, again in order of precedence,

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\(^{331}\) See Feuchtwang, "City Temples" pp. 280-281: "The City God Temple was the chief point between the two kinds of religion" [i.e. official and popular].

\(^{332}\) Shanghai tongshe, *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao* pp. 501-507; Cao Yishi 曹一士, *Shanghai-xian Chenghuang shen song* [In praise of the City God of Shanghai Country] (1847, copy preserved in Shanghai Library). According to Frank Ching, *Ancestors - 900 Years in the Life of a Chinese Family* (London: Harrap Limited, 1988), pp. 77-90, Qin Yubo attained the degree of jinshi in 1344, and served under the Yuan as a magistrate in Shandong, and as a departmental director of the provincial government of Fujian. He resigned after serving one year in this latter post. Zhu Yuanzhang approached him several times, but he did not wish to accept a position under the Ming. After that, according to Ching, "After Qin Yubo received Zhu Yuanzhang's third letter, he had no choice but to acquiesce. Reluctantly, he entered the emperor's service at the new "southern capital," Nanking. Yubo was appointed reader-in-waiting to the prestigious Hanlin Academy, which provided literary and scholarly assistance to the emperor. In 1370, at the age of seventy-four, Yubo was named one of the chief examination officials in the capital, a position to which only the most erudite could aspire. Later, apparently because of some disagreement with the emperor, he was demoted to prefect of Longzhou, in the south, where he was buried, together with his wife, west of Longevity Temple in Shanghai, to the south of his father's tomb. As the couple was childless, a son of Yubo's brother, Hengbo, was adopted by Yubo to continue his family line. But this son died in childhood and so Yubo had no direct descendants. But the story of Qin Yubo does not end with his death. In fact, his death merely marked the beginning of a new phase. For legend has it that when Emperor Zhu heard of Qin Yubo's death, he declared: "Yubo was reluctant to serve me in life. Now let his spirit serve me after death." With that, he appointed Qin Yubo the city god of Shanghai." (Ching, *Ancestors*, p. 85)

\(^{333}\) *Bao xi cang chi* 保署苍赤

\(^{334}\) *Wan shou gong* 万寿宫

\(^{335}\) *Longting* 龙亭
1896: A tablet from the Imperial Court for the Temple of the City God. The sketch shows the officials and gentry of Shanghai turning out to welcome it. The tablet reads: "Protection and Blessing to Heaven and Earth."
paid obeisance and expressed their congratulations. Then they all went their own way home. The onlookers were so numerous they blocked the roads.\textsuperscript{336}

The Temple of the City God was a focus of activity on such occasions as the New Year. The Procession of the City God was held on the Clear and Bright Festival\textsuperscript{337}, the fifteenth day of the seventh month and the first day of the tenth month. This was to expel inauspicious influences. The colloquial name for this procession was the "Three Circuits"\textsuperscript{338} or the "Three Demons Festival".\textsuperscript{339} The local officials and gentry would all participate. However, the officials, the gentry and the common people took part in different parts of the ceremony. At the sound of the fifth watch, just before dawn, the local officials and gentry would offer incense at the temple, and make obeisance to the City God. After which they would withdraw. Then the Master of Religious Ceremonies\textsuperscript{340} would lead the \textit{laobaixing} in their worship. The procession, the major part of the ceremony, followed. By seven o'clock, the participants would form into groups, such as artisans, carpenters, butchers, yamen runners, local constables and so on. They were dressed in costumes, related to their trades - for example the butchers were dressed as executioners. Many were dressed as various heroes and villains in popular drama, such as the White Snake Fairy and so on. Some of the participants in the procession were dressed as criminals, with red clothes and white trousers, with handcuffs and fetters or wearing the wooden collar, or carrying a long wooden strip on their backs to the effect that they were to be beheaded. Male criminals walked; children were carried on shoulders, while women were carried in uncovered sedan chairs. Fragrant crisp cakes as big as coins, several hundred strung together like a necklace, were hanging from the necks of the men, as a symbol of the prisoners' food rations.\textsuperscript{341} During the procession, the people would let their imaginations run wild, such as acting out flirtatious scenes between a lewd female operatic character\textsuperscript{342} and a clown.\textsuperscript{343} More interestingly, they took advantage of the occasion to make fun of the officials. One of the characters in the procession was

\textsuperscript{336} Xing 2
\textsuperscript{337} \textit{Qingming jie} 请明节. A solar period at which the Chinese worship at the graves of their ancestors.
\textsuperscript{338} \textit{san xun hui} 三巡会
\textsuperscript{339} \textit{san gui jie} 三鬼节
\textsuperscript{340} \textit{shen hui hui shou} 神会会首
\textsuperscript{341} A detailed description of the procession is given in Liu Yanong, \textit{Shanghai xiantan}, pp. 90-93. See also the general comments in Zhang Chunhua, \textit{Hucheng suishi quge}, p. 4 xia
\textsuperscript{342} \textit{danjiao} 旦角
\textsuperscript{343} \textit{xiaochou} 小丑
the "Plague Official". He rode in a sedan chair, his face daubed with the make-up of an operatic clown, with an official's winged black-gauze hat perched at an irregular angle on his head. His clothing was deep black. In his right hand he held a white paper fan, and in his left a chamber pot, and pretended to drink from it. He would continuously nod his head to onlookers, humorously acknowledging his corruption. Generally speaking, the officials were fairly tolerant of such displays. After the 1870's, however, the officials were to place limits on the sort of behaviour allowed at processions. They were prepared to tolerate them, but regarded them as being in bad taste, and the gentry families forbade their children to go and watch them.

There was quite a distance between disapproval and bare tolerance of these processions and actually banning them. It was not that the officials and scholars did not have their complaints about the behaviour of the masses on such occasions.  

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344 wen guan 瘟官
345 Liu Yanong, *Shanghai xiantan*, pp. 91-92
346 Lu Xun notes that when he was a child he envied other children being allowed to dress up as criminals. He hoped that he might become very ill, so that his mother would go to the temple to make a vow. His family, however, would not even allow him to watch a procession. - Lu Xun *Quanji* Vol. II (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1961), p. 240
347 See De Groot, *Religious System of China*, Vol. VI, pp. 988-990: "Wu Yung-kwang, a Governor of Hunan, afterwards Governor-General of Hunan and Hupeh, some seventy years ago sharply criticised them [processions] in his handbook for the use of the mandarinate, He wrote therein the following lines, important also for the many particulars concerning those processions: "A God of Walls and Moats actually is the chief of the government in a region (province, department or district), assigning in this capacity such felicity to the good and such misfortune to the wicked as the order of nature has in store. But the ignorant, stupid populace does not rest content with such decisions of natural equity, and being incapable of self-restraint, avers that misfortune can be averted and happiness attracted; to this end it sacrifices on fixed annual days, moreover celebrating so-called birthdays of the God of Walls and Moats. On these occasions they fetch the god out of his temple, carry him in procession through the streets and lanes, with noise of metal instruments and drums, and ear-splitting fire-crackers; and all cajole the god in the hope of securing happiness. Very wrong and superstitious though this custom is, yet not a single one amongst the district magistrates has forbidden it. The time of such processions always coincides with the midsummer month, when the genial air of spring has become dense and no longer can disperse, so that damp heat and evaporation may transform into pestilential illness. It is especially difficult for the said air to disperse in densely populated place; but the diseases of the season may be successfully expelled there by noise of metal instruments, drums and crackers; and that this is done, is an example of the no of the villages, mentioned in the *Cheu li*. But owing to the employment on those occasions of men with four gold eyes, lances and shields, our ancestors declared the no to be hardly better than a comedy; and nowadays it is by means of such comedies that the gods are revered! But there is more, and worse: while such processions are celebrated, there are censers, pavilions, banners and canopies in it, in every respect of the utmost beauty and elegance. Stages are raised, on which a variety of theatricals are performed; masquerades are cleverly organized, in which some exhibit their antique curiosities and trinkets, in order to make a show of their wealth, or adorn their faces, in order to draw others into lasciviousness. Pure songs are chanted dozens of times; troops of performers by turns appear on the stages; the possessions of a hundred families are wasted on merely a single day of such display. Such things in fact eat away like a cancer the substance of the people. Besides there are people who by means of lamps with
Wang Tao also criticised the frivolous attitude of the participants in the Procession of the City God in Shanghai: "Every year at the Clear and Bright Festival, the Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month [The Feast of the Hungry Ghosts] and the First Day of the Tenth Month, the people of Shanghai carry, to the accompaniment of drums and music, the City God to the Northern Altar, where they offer sacrifices to Heaven and the Spirits. The concelebrants, together with their paraphernalia, sedan chairs and the like, block the streets and lanes - there are at least several hundred horses there. Prostitutes, their hair tied in a mallet-like bun and wearing the reddish-brown clothing worn by convicts in ancient times, chained and shackled like prisoners, are carried in sedan chairs, following the horses. This is known as "the fulfillment of their wishes". Some frivolous young men in the marketplace get mixed up in this ceremony; they point at them, gawk at them and follow them, and think it is a source of great amusement. Respect for the spirits has degenerated into bawdiness." 

In 1872 the Magistrate of Shanghai did indeed ban women playing the role of criminals in such processions. The Shen Bao carried the "Order of Magistrate Ye's Forbidding Age-Old Malpractices Associated with Welcoming the Spirit Ceremonies": "As there are women who dress up as criminals, painting their faces with powder and dressing in reddish-brown costumes; they ride in uncovered bamboo sedan-chairs349 and follow the ceremony, and this leads to frivolous young men following the procession and flirting with them. This is especially damaging to local custom, and the hearts of the people. Prohibitions against this are on the statutes. Another festival is due soon, and we greatly fear that ignorant burning grease seek absolution from guilt; others who mask themselves as infernal judges, in order to render themselves important, or who bind stilts to their legs, or paint their faces with various colours, and by hundreds or tens form groups of souls of departed people or bereaved spirits, with absolutely no sense of shame or decency. This is not honouring the gods, but actually treating them disrespectfully. Furthermore there are people who disguise their children, under pretense that they have sinned against their god; in the slightest case they handcuff them, in the worst they confine them in cages, and in this way, they say, they ensure prolongation of their lives, and their protection by divine power. Such people do not understand that the proper way to bring up ignorant children consists in teaching them correct, orthodox principles, and in pointing out to them what they are bound to respect and what to give heed to, lest they remain stupid. By dressing them in the reddish-brown347 coloured clothes (of convicts) while they still wear the youthful lock of hair, they render them unhappy; and besides, if they compel them to appear handcuffed in the street in their juvenile days, will they then possess any sense of shame when they are grown up? They are not by this means saved from a premature death; and could their parents set any value on the possession of sons indifferent about good and evil? And further they are weakened by the burning sunshine and thus made ill; this is the murder of one's own progeny...."

348 Wang Tao, Yingruan zashi, juan 1, p. 14
349 Criminals on the way to the execution ground were sometimes carried in sedan-chairs, but without covers. [YXQ]
women will revert to their previous practices. We will send officials to stop any such practices at the time, and are giving forward notice of this prohibition now."

In 1873 the Magistrate issued an order banning all "welcoming spirit ceremonies". The Procession of the City God seems to have been an exception, except for the prohibition against women playing the role of criminals. One sketch in the Dianshizhai indirectly refers to the Procession of the City God, and commented that the people believed that "sick people believe that if they make a vow to dress as criminals and follow the procession, they will be able to eliminate their affliction disappear and dispel their ill luck." The commentator, however, did not express any approval of this belief. The story referred to an incident which happened in 1888. A boat-dweller by the name of Lu Changfu had participated in the Procession of the City God, in which he had dressed up as a criminal. After the ceremony, he staggered through the French Concession in a state of intoxication, blowing a whistle. The police tried to stop him, but he was not inclined to obey, and even started beating them with his handcuffs. This scene was witnessed by a foreigner, who ran a general goods store, who helped the police to escort Lu to the court. Lu was sentenced to seven days imprisonment. The commentator could not restrain his sarcasm: "a make-believe criminal had become a real criminal - this could hardly be considered eliminating an affliction".

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350 Shen Bao, 30 October, 1872: "Ye yizun yu jin yingshe jibi gaoshi" [叶邑尊谕禁迎神积弊告示。]
351 Shen Bao, 31 March, 1873
352 Chen 5. There are various explanations of when the Procession of the City God finally came to an end. Some, such as Chen Liansheng and Chen Yaoting "Shanghai Daojiao yu zhuyao Daoguan" [Daoism in Shanghai and its major temples] in Shanghai wenshiguan (ed.) Lishi wenhua mingcheng - Shanghai pp. 243-259, on p. 250, think that it had died out by the late Qing. The example from the Dianshizhai given above, however, shows that it was still held in the late nineteenth century. Other authors claim that a sort of improved procession was held during the early years of the Republican period, but only once or twice - see Liu Yanong, Shanghai xiantan, p. 93. Another view is that it survived until the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan - see Wu Guifang, Shanghai fengwu zhi, p. 292. In my view, this is probably correct. During the Procession of the City God in 1924, the burning incense and candles started a fire, in which The Temple of the City God of Shanghai (Chenghuang miao) was destroyed. The gang leader Huang Jinrong contributed funds to rebuild it, and thus gain control over it. This incident clearly shows that the Procession of the City God was still being performed as late as the mid 1920s. See Fu Xiangyuan, Qingbang daheng - Huang Jinrong, Du Yuesheng, Zhang Shaolin zhuo [Green Gang Bosses - Biographies of Huang Jinrong, Du Yuesheng and Zhang Shaolin] (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1987), pp. 205-208. Xue Liyong, op. cit. also mentions this incident, but mistakenly gives the year as 1922.
1888: A boat-dweller dressed up as a criminal in the Procession of the City God. After the ceremony, as he was going home through the French Concession, he got into a fight with the police.
There was no Procession of the City God in the settlements, but one of the occasions when the City God was taken from his temple and led in procession through the streets was on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, which was also called the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts, the Midyear Festival or the Ghost Festival. This was celebrated with great festivities in the settlements. The Feast of the Hungry Ghosts was one of the major Buddhist festivals, and was celebrated throughout the whole country.

In both the Chinese city and the settlements, various guild-halls organised festivities at this time. The Cantonese were the most fervent in their observance of this festival. The guild hall of the Cantonese, known as the Guangzhao Shanzhuang, was usually a place where coffins were deposited. Every year, on the occasion of the fifteenth day of the seventh month, fellow villagers would pool their funds to invite large numbers of Buddhist monks and Daoist priests to celebrate the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. Other visitors swarmed to take part in the celebration. The Guangzhao Shanzhuang became the major centre for the celebration of the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts in Shanghai. Even ordinary coolies and workers in the silk filatures and factories would contribute funds every year towards the cost of this celebration.

In 1877, the Daotai of Shanghai, Liu Ruifen, approved a petition from the Deputy of the Shanghai Magistrate in the International Settlement, that the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts should be banned. In his order, he said that in the settlements "every year between the seventh and eighth month, people from Fujian, Guangdong, Ningbo, Shaoxing and other places hold a festival known as the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. It is very rowdy, and various undesirable elements take advantage of the situation to mix in with the crowds and cause trouble. They use

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353 yulanpen 孟兰盆
354 zhongyuan jie 中元节
355 gui jie 鬼节
356 For details in the Dianshizhai of the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts in Suzhou, Yangzhou and Anhui during the late Qing, see Xin 42-43; Xin 32; and Zhu 94.
357 Shen Bao, 13 September 1873, "Yulanpen hui shu" 孟兰盆会述 [On the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts] noted "this custom is especially extravagant amongst the Cantonese". See also Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, xia ce p. 71, Hushang youxi zhuren, Haishang youxi iushuo, juan 3, p. 26. The Cantonese in Shanghai were regarded as being especially superstitious. Lu Xun once noted that if one were to hear firecrackers or see incense and candles burning in front of the main door of a house in the lanes and alleys of Shanghai, in nine cases out of ten Cantonese would be involved. He also noted that at least they were genuine, and did not mind to spend large amounts of money to indulge their superstitiousness, and for this reason were to be respected. - See Lu Xun, "‘Ru ci Guangzhou’ du hou gan" 如此广州 读后感 [Reflections on reading 'Such is Canton'] in Lu Xun Quanji, Vol. V. (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1973) pp. 496-497
the occasion to loot and steal, and engage in all sorts of iniquities. This order is to advise the consuls of all countries, and to strictly instruct the managers of the guild halls of Fujian, Guangzhou, Chaozhou, Huizhou, Ningbo and Shaoxing.”358

However these prohibitions were not at all effective. In 1887 and 1894, the *Dianshizhai* gave reports of clashes between participants in this procession and the police. In 1887 the new item was as follows: "The Feast of the Hungry Ghosts is particularly extravagant in Shanghai. Towards the end of last month, a group of Daoist priests and laity held a procession and burned incense. As they were passing through the Da Malu in the British Settlement, and were burning paper money along the way, a Sikh policeman tried to stop them, but they took no notice. So he arrested two of them, and took them to the police station. The participants in the procession were furious. They gathered together a group of their spirit-worshippers, with horse-masks on their faces and ox-masks on their heads, with fiendish teeth and golden eyes, formed a crowd in front of the police station, and, with weapons in their hands, started a fight.”359 The sketches in the *Dianshizhai* show people in the crowd carrying paper lanterns with the words "Salvation of Lonely Ghosts" inscribed on them. There are also paper effigies, ghosts in human form in various sizes, fighting with the police.

The other case happened in 1894: "The Feast of the Hungry Ghosts always occurs at Mid-year. This festival is based on the words of the Buddha, offering universal salvation. Afterwards, however, people misunderstood its significance, and would fill bowls with grain and fruits as sacrificial offering to the spirits. It has lost its original meaning, and its latter day followers have expanded it. It has reached a peak nowadays. The Cantonese believe in ghosts, to an inappropriate degree. This in itself is enough to attract disaster. This year in the Hongkou area Lu Zhongyu 陆仲余 and Mr. Lin 林姓 organised the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. The embellishments and ornamentation for the occasion were extremely luxurious and extravagant. They made a papier-mâché effigy of a Chinese policeman, and even gave him a number: 152, which was written in foreign numerals on his arm. It was carried in the procession. It just so happened that a Chinese policeman with the number 152 was passing by. When he saw this he was furious. He accused them of deliberately insulting him. He arrested Lu and Lin, and, together with the paper

358 *Shen Bao*, 20 August 1877
359 *Zi 26*
1887: A group of Daoist priests and laity hold a procession during the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts, and get into a fight with the police as they pass through the British settlement.
effigy, brought them to the Mixed Court. Lin was fined five yuan and Lu two yuan, as a warning to those who might offend the police."360

As far as the settlement authorities were concerned, as long as there was no threat to public order, there was no reason to interfere in such religious ceremonies. If it were possible to make arrangements with the police beforehand, the ceremonies would proceed without incident. In 1888 the Silk Guild in the British Settlement organised a theatrical performance as a gesture of gratitude towards their patron spirits. The guild hall managers were dressed in great style as they solemnly move forward to offer up incense. There is a large crowd of onlookers; the police station had been advised in advance, and had sent a number of policemen there to ensure that law and order were maintained.361

The attitude of the officials to the religious activities of the ordinary people was to a certain degree random. It was related to the personality of the magistrate himself. It is not surprising to learn that a magistrate such as Ye Tingjuan 叶廷眷, renowned for his seriousness, who had issued orders banning flower drum songs and women from attending the local theatres, also issued orders banning women dressing up as criminals in religious ceremonies.362 On the other hand, as Wu Yongguang (Wu Yung-kwang) complained in the quotation given earlier in this chapter, "very wrong and superstitious as this custom is, yet not a single one amongst the district magistrates has forbidden it".363 Sometimes the prohibition was based on other reasons, for example an order from the Shanghai magistrate in 1873: "This is the busiest period in the tax-collecting season. But some things are going on which are inhibiting the demand that people pay tax. I have heard that in District 22 and District 24 people are collecting money for the "welcoming the spirit" ceremonies. You people should just go about your everyday business in a law abiding way, and do not pay any attention to those who want to collect money for these ceremonies. At the same time, you should all hurry to pay the arrears on last year's tax. If anyone dares to resist this order, the local constables are authorized to report their names to the county, and the perpetrators will be punished. If the local constables know about this, but cover it up, they will be punished too. Everybody must respect this order. Do not disobey!"364

360 She 15
361 Shen Bao, 21 February 1888
362 Shanghai tongshe, Shanghai yanjiu ziliao, p. 530
363 See footnote 347 above.
364 Shen Bao, 31 March, 1873
This order was based on a concern over the payment of rent, but in general the scholar-official élite did not approve of large expenditure on religious activities, as they regarded extravagance as "spiritual sycophancy" 穣神, deviating from the fundamental significance of religious experience. Peter Burke noted the attitude of the élite towards religious reform in Europe: "Another moral argument against many popular recreations was the suggestion that they were "vanities", displeasing to God because they wasted time and money".365

The opposite situation also occurred from time to time: if the situation were desperate, the officials were less concerned about the orthodoxy of popular practices, and might themselves participate in certain rituals which they would not under normal circumstances. After a particularly hot and dry summer left the area around Shanghai in a serious drought, as a consequence of which the price of rice rose from 3000 cash a load to 5000 cash a load. The very same Ye Tingjuan was extremely worried, and heard that a man by the name of Lu 陆 living behind the Temple of the City God had asked three Daoist priests from Jiangxi to come to his house to exorcise demons; it seemed their methods were very efficacious. Ye Tingjuan immediately asked them to perform a rain ceremony to pray for rain. The ceremonies started on the sixth day of the seventh month, and peasants from eighty seven villages took part; each household had to send one member. Ten colourful dragons performed the dragon dance, to the accompaniment of gongs and drums. Some people wore palm-bark rain capes and conical bamboo-leaf hats, as if it were raining heavily. Some people even burnt their flesh in an act of self-mutilation. The officials announced that the ceremonies would go on continuously for three days, and if there were no rain, they would go on indefinitely until it finally rained. The officials also demanded that even greater numbers of people take part in the rain ceremonies.366 Under these desperate circumstances, neither the usual Confucian disdain for spirits nor the requirements of filial piety in protecting one's body were of any consideration.

365 Burke, Popular Culture, p. 213
366 Shen Bao, 1 July 1873. These ceremonies are still conducted in Taiwan: "By mid-May of this year [1991], it had not rained in the east and south of Taiwan for some time, cracking the soil and killing off shrimp and fish. Even 'manmade rain' had no place to get started because the cloud cover was too thin. In the end, "mother and father officials" in many rural communities led the people to pray to Heaven for rain, beat gongs and pound drums, and create a general tumult. Who can tell whether 'the Lord of Heaven" was moved, or whether tropical air currents arrived just in the nick of time, but shortly thereafter it rained buckets for consecutive days. Unfortunately there was too much rain, and the drought became a flood, so that nobody knew whether to thank Heaven or to blame themselves for overdoing it." ( 光华 Sinorama, September 1991, pp. 50-53, on p. 50)
(2) Attitude of the literati.

The attitude of the literati was more critical than that of ordinary Chinese officials. This group was not only concerned about social order: there were also principles to be considered. An example is the practice of self-mutilation associated with the Feast of the Hungry Ghosts. It did indeed have its origins in the Buddhist classics, and expressed a form of filial piety.367 However, some people

367 *Yulanpen*. See Derk Bodde (trans. and annot.), Tun Li-ch'en, *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking* (Hongkong University Press, 1965) pp. 61-62, who gives the following description of this festival in the early twentieth century Beijing: "On the Chung Yuan day each Buddhist temple forms a Yü Lan Society (Hui) which lights lanterns and recites sutras so as to lead those deeply engulfed in the lower world across the sea of suffering. (According to what the Buddhist sutras say, the Buddha once commanded Mu Lien, because his mother had been reborn amongst the hungry devils (in Hades), where she was not allowed anything to eat, to form a Yü Lan P'en Society, which on the fifteenth day of the seventh month would put all kinds of different tasting fruits into basins, and offer them so as to nurture great virtue in the ten quarters. And after this his mother would be allowed to eat. Mu Lien replied to the Buddha that all those disciples who practiced filiality and obedience ought likewise to make Yü Lan P'en offering. The Buddha expressed great approval of this, and later generations have ever since acted in accordance with it. But according to what the Shih-shih Yao-lan says, the term Yü Lan P'en is a transcription of the Sanskrit (Ullambana), and means in Chinese "to be suspended upside down". Hence present day people who set out basins (p'en - one of the words in the Chinese transcriptions) to make offerings err (in their interpretation of the term)."

On the origin of this festival, see Victor H. Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts* (Harvard University Press, 1989) p. 17-18: "The ultimate source for this transformation is *Sutra of the Sacrificial Feast for Hungry Ghosts Spoken by the Buddha* [...], of which the authenticity is questioned. That is to say, it is presumably a "forged" text that was not translated from an Indian source [...]. The transformation text relates how young Mu-liaon (Maudgalyayana) goes on a business trip. Not long after his return, his mother passes away. After the customary three years of filial observations, Mu-liaon becomes a Buddhist monk. Having through religious practices achieved the fruits of arhatship (sainthood) and relying on the Buddha's supernatural power, Mu-liaon is able to go to heaven to see his deceased father. But, when he asks his mother's whereabouts, he discovers she has been sent to hell for her greed and disrespect shown to monks when she was alive.

Again relying on the Buddha's power, Mu-liaon carries out an extensive search for his mother in hell. After witnessing many grisly spectacles of torture and suffering while bravely confronting various ogres and monsters who act as wardens in the underworld, Mu-liaon locates his mother in the Avici hell. Though he knows that his mother is being held in this most forbidding part of hell, it is impossible for him to see her at once because the gates are closed to mere mortals.

Yet again, Mu-liaon refers to the Buddha for assistance. He is given a staff which which he is able to smash open the doors of the Avici hell. Once inside, he systematically proceeds from cell to cell in search of his mother. It is only when he reaches the seventh cell that he finally is able to find her and witness the terrible suffering she is undergoing. Deeply troubled, he offers to endure the punishment for his mother, but this is not permitted by the chthonian authorities.

Once again, he beseeches the Buddha. whereupon the latter personally intercedes to obtain the release of all who have been consigned to hell. However, because of the sinful karmic burden of Mu-liaon's mother is too great, she becomes a hungry ghost. Mu-liaon goes to Râjaghriv to beg for food. When he gives the food to his mother, her avarice causes it to burst into flames as she is about to eat it. The same happens when her son tries to help quench her thirst with some water from the Ganges.
participating in these ceremonies turned themselves into "human lampstands" to express their filial piety. From the scholar's perspective, of course, self-mutilation was the very opposite of filial piety. There were other popular religious practices which were not unacceptable to the élite in principle, but rather in the way they were practised. It is difficult to say whether these practices could be considered unorthodox or orthodox popular religion, but they certainly reflected differences in religious practice between the populace and the élite. An obvious difference was that the élite stressed purity of heart and the fundamental significance of religious activities, whereas the ordinary people were more interested in the externalities. There are often derogatory comments about popular religious practices in the Dianshizhai, but no comments to the effect that belief in spirits itself was unreasonable. In fact, there are some stories in the Dianshizhai demonstrating that disbelief in the spirits, or blasphemy, would not go unpunished.

Excessive stress on the external, formalistic practise of religion was also unacceptable, and was referred to as spiritual sycophancy, or "fawning on the spirits". In 1886 the Dianshizhai expressed its disapproval of a certain temple in which a Buddhist reliquary was installed, with pearl lamps to decorate the altar, the sparkle of the lamps meant to attract passers-by: "Buddhism is based on the fundamental principle of purity and quietness. The organisation of noisy celebrations is not in accordance with its lofty purpose. The display of baubles and..."
playthings to dazzle the eyes and ears has nothing to do with Buddhism and brings no good to man; it is no more than a means to extract money from the vulgar and stupid."372

In 1891, in commenting on a news item about a temple in Xiamen which had installed three huge candles, each more than one zhang and seven chi in length [approximately 6.6 metres], the Dianshizhai said: "The way of serving the spirits lies in sincerity, not in the size of candles."373 Similar examples are Lascivious sacrifice will not bring good fortune; 374Spiritual sycophancy is ridiculous; 375Spiritual sycophancy brings disgrace; 376Spiritual sycophancy brings ill fortune; 377Fawning on the spirits - a laughing stock378 and so on.

On the other hand, the praise extended to a certain nun from Cangzhou clearly shows the attitude of the scholar-official class: "There is an itinerant Buddhist nun from Cangzhou who cares only for purity and self-cultivation. She visits people's houses to talk about Buddhism, and does not seek alms. Her only aim is to urge people to preserve a pure mind and to do good deeds. One day she visited a rich family. The maidservant presented her with a piece of cloth. The nun brought her hands together in an expression of thanks, then placed the cloth on a table for a short time. She then returned it to the woman. She said: 'Lord Buddha already knows about your meritorious deed. Since you have given this cloth to me, it is mine to dispose of. I just noticed that your mother-in-law's clothes are tattered. Could we not use this cloth to make her some clothing?' The maid-servant was ashamed, and left." The commentary added: "This nun has deeply understood the true spirit of the Buddha".379 In 1896 the Dianshizhai published an allegorical story entitled The City God Travels in Disguise in which they have the City God

372 Geng 4
373 Hai 34
374 Yin si wu fu 淫祀无福 Wu 67
375 Ning shen ke xiao 佞神可笑 Wu 48
376 Ning shen bei dian 佞神被玷 Hai 77
377 Ning shen qu huo 佞神取祸 Pao 21
378 Mei shen xiao bing 媚神笑柄 Heng 54
379 Zhong 25. In the biography of Zhang Qian 张骞 written by his son Zhang Yizu 张怡祖, Zhang Jishi zhuang 张季直传 (Biography of Zhang Qian) (Originally published by Zhonghua shuju, 1929; reprinted Taiwan: Wenhui chubanshe 文海出版社, 1965), p. 10, the author mentions that Zhang Qian's mother was a fervent Buddhist; she would read the sutras every morning and every night. When she was seriously ill, however, she told her family that after her death they were not to invite monks to chant sutras; the money used would be better spent repaying debts or helping the poor. The author commented: "To believe in Buddhism, but not blindly or stupidly, is really quite different from the understanding of ordinary women!" The attitude of the literati towards belief in spirits is quite clear.
express his views on the secularisation and vulgarisation of religion: "Outside the South Gate of a certain city, the proprietor of a certain wine-shop - an old man over sixty - was extremely sincere and honest. On the day of the Lantern Festival, he lit a single stick of incense in his house as an act of worship. Suddenly a guest of solemn appearance came into the inn and bought some wine. He was drinking by himself, without any companions. He started chatting to the old man, and they got on very well. The old man said: "There is a lot of incense burning going on in the Temple of the City God today. A huge crowd there. Very lively. Why don't you go and have a look? Why just stay here by yourself, feeling bored?" The guest said: "I am none other than the City God of this city. Today is the Lantern Festival, so the men and women of this city crowd into the temple to burn incense. They just don't know that the spirits judge people on the basis of what is in their hearts; they don't care about meaningless rituals. Some of these people are like dogs following a smell; some of them are prostitutes spending money earned plying their trade. Even worse, some of them are extremely evil, and think of nothing other than harming other people. Their clothes and hats are so solemn and dignified, but they are no different from wild animals. They do not practice even everyday decency. Then they fawn on the spirits with incense and candles, and sacrifices of meat and wine, as if that will drive away their filthy smell. I couldn't stand it any more. It would be better for them not to do anything disgraceful in the course of their everyday lives, and then their sincerity will be understood by the spirits. So I ran way and took refuge here, for the time being. Do not tell anyone about this." The commentary went on to say: "If men do not cultivate their inner selves, though they might burn incense all day and all night, it will be of no use."

The practice of "setting free living things" is another example of the same thing, although it was the gentry which had institutionalised it, even going so far as to establish a "Bureau for the Setting Free of Living Things" within the Chinese city.

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380 Cheng huang wei xing 城隍微行 Wen 63
381 fang sheng 放生
382 The Bureau for the Setting Free of Living Things (Fangshengju 放生局) was located behind the Temple of the City God. People believed that anyone who ate a goat which had been set free would be certain to be punished. See Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi juan 5, p. 13: "There is a wide empty space behind the Temple of the City God, where there are at least several hundred goats which have been bought and set free. Some of them are so old that their hair reaches to the ground and their horns to the sky. They gather together in groups of three and five, amongst the rocks on the hill, playing at fighting each other. If one loses the fight, it just runs away. There are a lot of tea-stalls nearby, and in the evenings the tea-drinkers like to watch the goats at play. Every day the goats wander around outside the city walls. Some even cross the Huangpu River by boat, and go
As far as the scholars were concerned, religious sentiment should not be allowed to degenerate into formalism, a ceremony to be performed every year at the same time and in the same way. It should rather be expressed a spontaneous, or irregular act of worship. The sketch "Setting Free of Living Things at the West Lake" shows a huge crowd of people jostling to buy a fish in order to set it free, but the commentary says: "the setting free of living things does not appear in the Confucian Classics. Just as Tang [the founder of the Shang dynasty] left one side of his bird-trap open, people should also practice benevolence whenever the occasion arises - there is no need that such acts should be done in accordance with a fixed rule." The two examples which earned the praise of the Dianshizhai were spontaneous acts of compassion: someone walking along the road and suddenly deciding to buy a captured creature in order to set it free.

Occasionally the literati made their distaste of certain popular practices quite explicit. In commenting on a Cantonese merchant's hiring a Western band to take part in the "Welcoming the Spirit" ceremonies, the Dianshizhai authors noted: "those who have studied books or who understand principles would not have done this." Generally speaking, the ordinary people of Shanghai took no notice of the literati's disapproval. The officials, at least, could issue orders to make people aware of their attitudes. Whether or not those orders were effective is another matter.

(3) Organisers of Religious Activities

Religious practices connected with an agricultural society were no longer practiced in the settlements, except, of course, for the Spring Festival (春节), which was celebrated in a secular fashion as the Chinese New Year. Activities such ceremonies of thanksgiving to the local God of the Earth after a successful harvest

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as far as Pudong; when they are tired, they come back again. People who live in this area, and travellers, would never dare hurt them ... when the Red Scarves [the Small Swords] occupied the city, these bandits lacked food, and some of them cooked a goat to fill their stomachs. Those who did this all died sudden deaths. When the Cantonese bandits [the Taipings] approached the city, the French defense forces were stationed there. A French soldier stole a goat and ate it. He also died a violent death. The goat was so old that it had become poisonous." This incident is also recorded in Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchangjijuan, juan 1, p. 19 xia; Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai xia ce p. 47

383 Xi hu fang sheng 西湖放生 Gui 68
384 Wen 16 xia; Yuan 40
385 Xin 68
were still being practiced in towns only a few miles away. Large scale religious ceremonies in Shanghai were organised by the guild halls and native place organisations; some were organised by the temples. In the Procession of the City God, groups of people were formed according to occupation, as mentioned above. Some of the temples, too, were particularly associated with a particular trade. For example, the Daoist Temple at Xinzha, also known as the Temple of the Four Kings of the Golden Dragon. This was the temple at which Shanghai rice-transporters, particularly the boat dwellers from Jiangbei, worshipped.

Activities there are mentioned twice in the Dianshizhai. The first was on the occasion of the Lantern Festival in 1897: “After a theatrical performance by the rice transporters guild in the Xinzha Temple, on the sixteenth day [of the first lunar month] the board of managers of the temple hired the Tianfu Theatre to put on an additional two performances. After the lamps had been extinguished, all the members of the board gathered at the temple to burn incense ... suddenly a villager fell prostrate to the ground. He then stood up, and said that the spirit was issuing instructions through him. He said that the Temple God was manifesting his presence, and that all should respectfully listen. An epidemic was going to occur during the spring this year. All present must perform good deeds. On the sixteenth day of the fourth month they must carry the Temple God in procession, so as to dispel the epidemic and protect the people. The procession was limited to a distance of twenty li, and could not go beyond this boundary. He also complained that the money contributed by people in the rice trade during the Tongzhi period had not yet been acquitted. Only Mr. Qu and Mr. Lu, of the board of directors, were honest in their dealings, and deserved commendation. And so on. After he finished speaking, he ordered that the Temple Boat should be made ready, because that

386 She 59. Sometimes the Magistrate of Shanghai would hold a religious ceremony, such as praying for rain, but the participants were all from the villages. Neither residents of the settlements, or of the Chinese City, took part. [YXQ]

387 See Peter J. Golas, "Early Ch'ing Guilds": "Religion was very important in the life of the guilds. Probably most of the guilds arranged for their first meeting place by renting a temple or a room in a temple." In Skinner, City in Late Imperial China, pp. 555-580, on p. 577

388 Xinzha Dawang Miao 金龙四王庙

389 Jinlong Si Wang Miao 金龙四王庙. The golden dragon refers to Liu Yi, a character in a Tang dynasty story The Biography of Liu Yi (Liu Yi zhuan). It was later rewritten in the form of a Yuan yaju under the title Liu Yi Transmits a Message (Liu Yi chuan shu). Liu Yi was later transformed into a water spirit, and was worshipped by those who travelled on rivers and lakes. See Zong Li, Zhongguo minjian zhushen, p. 338, p. 368; see also V. R. Burkhardt, Chinese Creeds and Customs (Hongkong: South China Morning Post, Ltd, 1955) Vol. 2, pp. 165-166.

390 yuanxiao jie 元宵节
evening he wanted to go to the Yellow River on a tour of inspection. Then the peasant suddenly woke up from his trance. All those who heard him were terrified.391

The same year the Dianshizhai published a story under the title Cynical Attitude 392 which described the situation amongst the participants in the procession: "During the Procession at the Xinzha Temple a few days ago, the ceremony was so brilliant, and the celebrants were lustrous. There were people walking on stilts, and theatrical performances on raised stages. All the performances were so fresh and dazzling, and the audience gasped in amazement. There is no need to go into detail. The following was the most amazing. Following the six ranks of scholars and officials came the tax collector, with a gauze hat on his head, wearing a red robe, with a wine-pot in his hand, pretending to sprinkle wine along the road. He was acting like a muddle-headed official. He was preceded by several tablets, showing his various official positions, which indicated in large characters that he was a Mandarin of the Thirteenth Degree; that he had been appointed to the position of Magistrate of Tangshui county, Tengzhou prefecture, and that he was entitled to wear the caltrop decoration on his hat,393 and a straw raincoat. He acted the part to the full, without any self-respect. He was followed by several bodyguards, carrying paper foreign guns on their shoulders, protecting a tax collection cart, swaggering to and fro. It was remarkably true to life. This particular act had not been witnessed in earlier processions. Raucous laughter, furious cursing. They completely exhausted all the possibilities, even to the smallest detail. We wonder if those people [the officials] could see it, would they also burst out laughing at themselves? Some people say that since the possibility of purchasing an official position became available, the quality of officials has degenerated. They are like fish drawn from the water, dragging their tails.394

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391 Xin* 58
392 wan shi bu gong 玩世不恭
393 Tangshui xian 汤水县, Tengzhou fu 腾州府, shajiao ling 沙角翎. Neither Tangshui-xian or Tengzhou-fu appear in the Zhongguo gu-jin diming da cidian 中国古今地名大词典. Places with similar names are recorded at various times and places, but here they are presumably fictitious. The lowest official grade was the Ninth Degree 九品, so the Thirteenth Degree was even lower! The term 翎 ling refers to the peacock feather decoration worn on the hats of high officials during the Qing. The word for water caltrop in Shanghaiese is 沙角菱 sa-kauh-ling, homophonous with 沙角翎.
394 ji yu zhi bei, yi wei zhi liu 汲鱼之辈，曳尾之流
A procession organised by the Xinzha Temple. The official in the centre of the sketch is a tax-collector. He has a gauze hat on his head, a wine-pot in his hand, and is pretending to sprinkle wine along the road. The signs carried in front of him read: "Mandarin of the Thirteenth Degree" and "Wearer of the Caltop Collar". The spectators are making fun of him.
We are inundated with such people; they are just everywhere." Interestingly enough, the commentary does not reprimand the participants in the procession for these irreverent attitudes, but argues that the quality of officials had degenerated towards the end of the Qing dynasty.

Just as the Jiangbei boat-dwellers worshipped at the Xinzha Temple, the Cantonese and Fujianese of Shanghai, especially merchants, worshipped Tianhou, the Queen of Heaven, Protectress of Seafarers. The thirteenth day of the third lunar month was designated as her birthday. On that day, the Cantonese, Fujianese and other seafarers put on theatrical performances to express their respect. Wang Tao recalled: "The twenty-third day of the third month is the Birthday of the Queen of Heaven. Colourful lanterns shine brightly. There is playing of flutes, and singing. The area around the Eastern Gates is particularly lively. I have heard that not one of the rich merchants does not exhaust his funds in this particular celebration. Along the streets, the shops and stores vie with each other to attract attention. They exhibit their bronze bells and tripods, and unprecedented displays of the most elegant calligraphy and painting. The light from precious candles soars into the air. Incense from golden burners wafts upwards. They burn heavy sandalwood from Kannada, the powerful fragrance expressing the harmony between Heaven and Earth. The fragrance pervades the air for several li. At that boats from far and near gather together, forming a wall of sails. Along the banks of the Huangpu River, cymbals and drums assail the ear, throughout the whole night."

In 1884, the new Temple of the Queen of Heaven was completed. There are two sketches in the Dianshizhai, which give a detailed description of its dedication ceremony: "The new Temple of the Queen of Heaven has been built on the site of the previous Hongkou Railway Station [the abandoned railway station for the Wusong-Shanghai line]. On the twenty fourth day of the fifth month [17 June], the statue was carried in procession from the Imperial Quarters at the East Gate to the new temple. As it passed through the International Settlement and the French Concession, crowds lined the streets, standing still in rapt attention. The whole town turned out the witness the event. All the participants in the procession behaved with the utmost decorum. Chinese and Western policemen, under the direction of the Inspector of Police, took care of every detail, and controlled every aspect. The procession was heralded by the usual cymbals and gongs to clear the way, followed

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395 Yuan 39
396 Ge Yuanxu, Shanghai fanchang ji, juan 1, p. 5 xia
397 Wang Tao, Yingruan zazhi, juan 1, p. 14
1884: The Welcoming Ceremonies for the Statue of the Queen of Heaven after the completion of a new temple.
by the Carriage of the Queen of Heaven and the Master of Ceremonies on horseback. Then came the Presentation Umbrella 万民伞, with [the names of the donors] inscribed in silver characters - a blaze of gorgeous colour. Music played continuously. The next group in the procession was on horseback: people dressed up as characters in traditional operas; young girls approaching the age of fastening the hairpin [marriageable age], in bright feminine attire, their hands on the reins, gracious and well poised. Then there were celestial boys and jade maidens on white horses, and children dressed up as the Eight Immortals, their horses prancing with quick, light steps - a vivid image indeed. Then came three horses neighing in the wind, with silk saddlecloths and jadelike reins - truly eye-dazzling. Their riders were wearing brand new costumes and boots. Then we saw three portable stages, on which young children enacted scenes from traditional opera. It was remarkably true to life. This was followed by a group of Cantonese dressed up in official garb - hat, robe and trousers, with golden bracelets on their wrists, beating gongs and carrying flags. Others were wearing straw hats, their full-length robes of lotus-coloured snow-blue soft satins and processed silk, wearing dark glasses. Some were holding flags or banners - there must have been thousands of them. Then the sound of gongs and drums, reed wind-pipes continuously playing - this was the hired band. A portable pavilion was then carried by, the sound of drums and gongs could be heard within it. Those hired for the occasion beat gongs as they carried it. Twenty or so men then passed by, carrying about ten incense pavilions on their shoulders. The smoke from the incense wafts upwards, assailing the nostrils. Then several pairs of men on horseback passed, each holding high the personal banner of a high military official. The Cantonese and Fujianese cliques burned incense and made offerings of whole pigs and goats, cakes and fruits and so on. They also went by, column after column. Then villagers dressed up as guards, riding chariots, holding up high the imperial edict, and other people just walking past, with sticks of plain incense in their hands. They were all very serious and solemn, with no idle chatter at all. The Carriage of the Queen of Heaven was ornamented with yellow satin, with red pedestals. On its roof there were five cranes reaching towards Heaven. It was followed by about forty people, carrying incense. People crowded into the streets and lanes along the route of the procession. It was really a most magnificent procession, a vast panorama of Great Peace." 

398 Jia 53-54
1886: A Western band accompanies a procession in honour of the Queen of Heaven.
In 1886 the *Dianshizhai* gave further details of the Procession to the Temple of the Queen of Heaven, this time on the occasion of the Double Nine Festival, held on the ninth day of the ninth month: "Westerners use music to accompany everything. According to what I have seen, these include military parades, funerals, the horse-races held in the spring and autumn, and when officials arrive at the quay [of Shanghai] to take up a new position. Yi-ya-ya - it is quite pleasant to the ear. The tempo and the rhythm are like the simultaneous movement of ten thousand feet, like beating time with clappers. Recently, some people with the means and curiosity in this commercial port hired some performers. This year, at the Double Nine Festival, Cantonese merchants resident in Shanghai all participated in the Procession to the Temple of the Queen of Heaven. Apart from the usual banners, gongs, fans and umbrellas, they hired a Western band to accompany the procession."400

The guild halls of Shanghai also organised the worship of the patron deities of various crafts. For example the carpenters of Ningbo built a small temple to Lu Ban, the patron deity of carpenters, in the Hongkou district, and held a ceremony there once a year, on Lu Ban's birthday, the 20th day of the third lunar month.401 The *Dianshizhai* also provided two stories about the patron deities of gamblers and beggars. In 1898, the *Dianshizhai* recorded the worship of the God of Gambling402 in the Shenjiawan area in the American settlement, immediately after an order had been issued prohibiting gambling: "A few days ago, eight bosses of both large and small gambling dens gathered together more than seven hundred gamblers. They offered up a sacrifice of meat and rich wine, to express their gratitude to the God of Gambling. When the ceremony was over, they held a banquet - at least a hundred tables - at which they drank freely and shouted with

399 *Chongyang jie* 重阳节
400 Xin 68. On ceremonies in honour of the Queen of Heaven in the Cantonese and Fujianese guild halls, see Wu Guifang, *Shanghai fengsu zhi*, p. 293 See Granet, *Religion of the Chinese People*, pp. 147-148, who notes that a twentieth century bride would not allow herself to be carried, veiled in red, in a closed sedan chair; she would get into a motor-car, and would wear a dress of Western cut - but the dress would be pink, not the traditional red nor the Western white. Granet concludes: "they [the Chinese] observe or know how to adjust the rules of an ancient symbolism to current taste".  
401 You 27; Shanghai gongshang guanliju (ed.), *Shanghai minzu jiqi gongye*, p. 60; Golas, "Early Ch'ing Guilds" pp. 577-578; Quan Hansheng, *Zhongguo hanghui zhidu*, pp. 57-62; Gu Chengfu 顾承甫, *Hushang suishifengsu* [Annual festivals in Shanghai], p. 64. The shoemakers of Shanghai worshipped Sun Bin 孙膑 as their patron-ancestor, and celebrated his birthday on the 15th day of the third lunar month; the tinmiths and coppersmiths worshipped the Daoist deity Taishang Laojun 太上老君 as their patron-ancestor, and celebrated his birthday on the fifteenth of the second month. See Gu Chengfu p. 49 and p. 63.  
402 *du shen* 赌神
joy. The eight bosses announced to the crowd that if in the future policemen from either the settlements or the Chinese city came to arrest them or threaten them, they should courageously resist the enemy. Those who were first to join the fray would be rewarded, and those who ran away would be punished. If anyone disobeyed this order, they should not think it strange if they were not treated sympathetically, but were instead beaten until they were half dead. When the gamblers heard these words they all stood up, and they said to the bosses: "we will certainly obey your order!" After this the meeting broke up, with great exuberance.  

In 1897 the *Dianshizhai* reported a story about a fight which had broken out between a group of beggars and members of a theatrical troupe outside the city walls. The beggars called on the help of the Beggar Ancestor.  

There is no further information on the God of Gambling or the Beggar Ancestor in these news items.

The major religious festival organised by the temples was on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month every year, the Birthday of Śākyamuni. On that day the statues of the Buddha in the temple would be dusted, and sutras would be chanted in worship. It was also known as the Festival of the Ceremonial Ablution of the Buddha. The Jing'an Temple in Shanghai had been one of the major Buddhist temples in Shanghai. It was destroyed during the Taiping rebellion, and rebuilt in 1880. The new temple was dedicated on Śākyamuni's Birthday in 1881. It was the occasion of a great celebration, and the pedlars of Shanghai were not slow to set up their stalls in the vicinity. From then on every year at this time, a temple fair of three days duration would be held at the Jing'an Temple. These temple fairs became an important part of the social life of the ordinary people of Shanghai, and continued until the Cultural Revolution.

In 1885 the *Dianshizhai* gave a detailed description of the temple fair that year: "The area to the north-west of Shanghai is called Xujiahui. Every year on the eight day of the fourth month they perform the Ceremonial Ablution of the Buddha there. The altars are all opened [to the public], and innumerable men and women come to take part in this Buddhist ritual. This year, on the day of the incense-offering, the sky was clear and the air fresh, and the visitors were woven together

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403 Zhen 7
404 gai zu 丐祖 Yuan 77
405 yu Fo jie 浴佛节
406 You Youwei, *Shanghai jindai Fojiao jianshi*, p. 18; Wu Shenyuan, *Shanghai zuì zào de zhòngzhong*, pp. 150-151
like a mat. Carved wheels and embroidered hubs vie with each other in an endless stream.”

As far as individual religious devotion was concerned, the two most popular temples in Shanghai were the Temple of the City God and the Hongmiao Temple. The latter was also known as the Red Temple, or the Temple of the Protector of the Peace. It was constructed during the Ming dynasty, and there are various stories concerning its history. One was that it was originally a Buddhist temple, but was given to a Daoist priest called Zhang during the Kangxi period, and it was converted into a Daoist temple. Another story is that when it was built during the Ming. The "Protector of the Peace" was originally said to be Yuan Shao of the Three Kingdoms period. Another version was that its origin was in Yuan Shansong of the Eastern Jin period, who had been granted the posthumous title Protector of the Peace (Bao'an Situ 安司徒). The Hongmiao Temple was nominally Daoist, but in the main hall the major deity was the Goddess of Mercy (Guanyin 观音); in the eastern hall the God of War (Guandi 关帝); in the Hall of the Constellations of Heaven (星宿殿) there were images of various civil and military officials, the God of Wealth (Cai shen 财神), the Ruler of Heaven, Ruler of Earth and Ruler of Water (The Three Great Emperors: San guan da di 三官大帝), the King of the Underworld (Dizang Wang 地藏王) and so on. Daoist deities and Buddhist bodhisattvas were mixed together. The Hongmiao Temple was located inside the International Settlement, and, although it was a fairly humble collection of just a few rooms, there was an incessant stream of supplicants going there, praying for children, for wealth, for long life or seeking divine guidance by drawing lots, and so on.

The Hongmiao Temple flourished into the twentieth century. In his late life, Mao Dun recalled the Spring Festival in Shanghai in 1933 - despite the fact that the

407 Ding 55
408 Hong miao 《红庙》 See Liu Yanong, Shanghai xianhua, p. 93
409 Hong miao 《红庙》
410 Bao'an situ miao 《保安司徒庙》
411 Shanghai wenshiguan (ed.), Lishi wenhua mingcheng - Shanghai, p. 251
412 Tang Weikang et al. (ed.), Shanghai yishi, p. 225. The Daoist priest in charge of the Hongmiao in the late Qing was the great-grandfather of the author of this thesis. The last priest in charge of the temple until 1949 was her uncle, that is to say, her mother’s cousin. He died of a heart attack not long after the start of the Cultural Revolution. His family was expelled from their residence, and the beautiful Suzhou-style gardens were destroyed. An air raid shelter was built in their place.[YXQ]
413 Idem p. 226
414 Hushang youxi zhuren, Hushang youxi tushuo, juan 3, p. 14 xia; p. 25 xia; Chen Boxi, Lao Shanghai, xia ce, p. 65
1897: The famous Hongmiao Temple. It is very small, squeezed between two shops. The sketch tells of a woman from Jiangbei who encountered her long-lost mother there.
rest of the city was depressed and bleak that year, "the tiny Hongmiao Temple on Nanjing Road was so packed that one could not get inside. Families of rich businessmen came there to offer incense, as did high class prostitutes." Its bustling and flourishing atmosphere can also be seen in the pages of the Dianshizhai. Situated on one of the main streets in Shanghai, its entrance is quite narrow, and its buildings are no different from those of ordinary houses or shops in the area. A tablet inscribed "Temple of the Protector of the Peace" hangs over the front entrance. The "Huarongchang Candle Shop" stands to its left; the "Dechang Rainwear Shop" to its right. This particular sketch is about a woman from Jiangbei, Zhang Xiubao, who was kidnapped as a child and sold into a brothel. She was later taken as a concubine by a rich man, and well loved. She had a child, but he was sickly. Zhang Xiubao went everywhere to offer incense and make vows, praying that her son would be protected. Eventually her son recovered his health, and she went to the Hongmiao Temple to give thanks for the divine assistance, and just happened to meet there her mother, from whom she had been separated for many years. As a result, Zhang and her husband held a great feast, and made preparations to visit all the temples in the area to donate inscribed wooden tablets to express their gratitude.

The sketch in the Dianshizhai not only shows us how busy the Hongmiao Temple was, but we can also see how ordinary people devoutly believed in the efficacy of worship and prayer, and the way they responded if their prayers were answered: by offering up incense, donating inscribed tablets, decorating the particular statue to which they had been praying, or even playing the role of criminals in religious processions. It might also happen that someone may have come across some good fortune without having prayed for it; this too would be an occasion to express one's thanks to the spirits - Zhang Xiubao meeting her mother in front of the Hongmiao Temple is an example.

Both Buddhism and Daoism admit ways of praying for favours and giving thanks for favours received. In the Dianshizhai there is an example of a man from Jiangxi who had come to Shanghai on business. His business was not too bad, but because he had lost contact with his family, he often felt depressed. One day he finally decided to join a monastery at Mount Putuoshan, one of the major Buddhist

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415 Mao Dun, "Duoshi er huoyue de suiyue" 多事而活跃的岁月 [Busy and eventful months and years] in Xinhua wenzhai 新华文摘 October 1982, p. 198
416 Heng 56
holy sites. On the way he happened to meet his long-lost wife and daughter. He continued his pilgrimage to Mount Putuoshan, not to become a monk, but as a form of thanksgiving.

(4) Social environment and its effect

There was a strong trend towards vulgarisation in popular religion, such as the admixture of all sorts of monsters and clowns in the processions. In some ceremonies Buddhist sutras were sung to the tunes of brothel songs. The temple fairs and the "Ceremony of Ablution of the Buddha" were more like market places or spring outings. In the springtime, the ladies of Shanghai had the custom of going to some temple outside Shanghai to burn incense - these temples, needless to say, were located in the most scenic surroundings. The offering of incense became an excuse for ladies to get together for an outing. In 1896 the Dianshizhai reported that sales of incense at Putuoshan were buoyant, as that year seventy ladies from Shanghai formed a group to visit Putuoshan for the purpose of offering incense in the temples there. (This was only one group, not the total number of such visitors). It was commonly said that the ladies of Shanghai used to have a sense of dignity and decorum, and would never have thought of climbing mountains and touring temples. Large numbers of peasant women from the villages had flocked to Shanghai to work in the foreign settlements there, however, and this had lowered the tone of the population there.

In 1887 the Dianshizhai carried a sketch critical of women pretending to have such a great interest in offering incense or attending theatrical performances in honour of some deity as being no more than an excuse to go out and appear in public. "Some women go to the temples to burn incense, or to watch performances

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417 See Naquin and Rawski, Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century: "The most famous pilgrimage site in the region - one that attracted many outsiders - was Putuoshan, an island off the Zhejiang coast near Ningbo that was sacred to the goddess of mercy, Guanyin (Avalokitesvara). Putuoshan was on the major coastal trade route, and since the Tang period sailors and seagoing merchants had prayed to Guanyin for protection from storms and pirates. By the Qing, the island held more than a hundred temples, monasteries, and hermitages of the Chan Buddhist sect, some the recipients of imperial patronage" (pp. 156-157). "At the temples on Putuoshan, and island off the coast of Zhejiang ... thousands of pilgrims came to worship the goddess Guanyin on the nineteenth day of the second, sixth, and ninth months" (p. 85).

418 Zhong 48
419 Zi 26, Xin 42-43
420 Xin 32
421 Xing 13
422 Qin Rongguang, Shanghai zhuzhi ci, p. 54
1887: Shanghai women going to see a theatrical performance ostensibly in honour of some deity. In this particular story, the stage collapsed.
in honour of the spirits, but those who are quiet and shy by nature do not like to take part, and those who are concerned with modesty and a sense of shame are not happy to join in. There are always one or two, however, who like to show off their charms. Should they hear of some lively event, they call together their girlfriends, gather up their petticoats and off they go together. They attract frivolous attention. In fact they bring this upon themselves ... On the occasion of the renovation of a temple, the local people hold a theatrical performance in honour of the spirits. To the left and the right there are wooden poles, supporting the stage, which is on wooden planks. For a few cash they can climb onto the benches and watch an opera." This news item used the occasion of the stage collapsing to poke fun at the women who went to the theatres to watch the operas, as that expression also means "to lose face" in Shanghaiese. In fact the Shanghai local officials had banned women from going to temples to offer incense as early as 1872. This, like other such prohibitions, was totally ineffective.

Shanghai attracted many types in search of opportunities, including a considerable number of Buddhist monks, nuns and Daoist priests. Shanghai, however, did not have sufficient temples to absorb them. This led to yet another strange phenomenon in Shanghai: certain Buddhist monks, nuns and Daoist priests would hire a room and install a statue, then try to attract customers to buy and burn incense there. These were the so-called "Buddha shops". By 1876, there were about two hundred such establishments in the settlements. Compared to the impressive foreign churches, these humble shops misled some visitors to Shanghai. In 1874 an article in the Shen Bao, entitled "On Correcting the Misunderstanding that Shanghaiese have abandoned Buddha in favour of Western religion" : "A friend came from the villages to Shanghai. He has been sojourning here for more than half a month. We were chatting over a cup of wine. I asked my friend: "What do you think of Shanghai?" My friend reeled off a number of impressions: the streets in the settlements were broad and clean, the foreign buildings impressive, the theatres huge, the restaurants and the teahouses magnificent, the horse-drawn carriages novel and so on. But then he shook his head and said: "There is a very strange thing here which I can't understand. Can it be that the people of Shanghai have all taken to going to Western churches?" I was very surprised, and said: "Why do you

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423 Ren 91
424 tan tai [in Shanghaiese: than-de] 坨台
425 Shen Bao, 5 July, 1872
426 Fo dian 佛店
say that?" He said: "As soon as I arrived in Shanghai, I noticed that Western churches were all over the place. There are some Buddhist temples around, but these are no more than a few rooms rented by the people in the settlements, barely enough for the purposes of worship."427

The Buddha shops were banned by the Chinese officials. In 1876 the Shen Bao carried an editorial on the topic:428 "The private construction of temples has always been forbidden. Recently, there have been some Buddhist monks and nuns, and Daoist priests, who have come to these settlements from elsewhere, who rent some rooms, which they then call some sort of monastery or temple. They install a statue of the Buddha there, and then organise all sorts of Buddhist activities. They entice stupid men and foolish women to go there to burn incense. Ignorant women acknowledge them as their teachers, so as to learn more about Buddhism. They then use this title to scrounge for money and fish for profit. Some women even claim to submit to Buddhist discipline, while declining to have their hair cut and their heads shaved. There are more and more such women every day. There must be one or two hundred Buddha-shops in the tiny area of the settlements. The Daoist Superior429 of Shanghai county, Zhu Jintao 诸锦涛, made an application that they be banned. The Magistrate of Shanghai County ordered the Bureau of Buddhist and Daoist Affairs to investigate the matter. They found they were not engaged in any illegal activities, but they had privately established temples and had ordained monks and nuns - these were prohibited activities. In addition, the origin of the Buddhist monks and Daoist priests from elsewhere was unclear; men and women were mixed together, and this was harmful to public morality. The County Court and the Mixed Court jointly issued an order banishing all of them. If any of them dared to stay, they would be immediately arrested and punished."430 Such prohibitions had no effect. Later sketches and stories in the Dianshizhai show that nothing had changed.

In the commercially oriented city of Shanghai, needless to say, the birthday of the God of Wealth was a particularly special occasion. Traditionally this was

427 "Hu ren she Fo er cong Xijiao bian" 沪人舍佛而从西教辨 Shen Bao, 11 December 1974
428 "Chajin Fodian" 查禁佛店 [The prohibition of Buddha shops] Shen Bao, 17 August, 1876
429 Dao huishi 道会司
430 Similar news items or articles in the Shen Bao are: 19 August 1876: "Lun chajin yangchang seng-dao siyuan shi" 论查禁洋场僧道寺院事 [On the prohibition of Buddhist and Daoist temples in the foreign territory]; 31 October 1877: "Lun Shanghai an-yuan-si-guan shi" 论上海庵院寺观事 [On nunneries, monasteries, Buddhist temples and Daoist temples in Shanghai]; 5 November 1877: "Lun seng yin guo bao" 论僧淫果报 [Just deserts for lascivious monks]; 10 April 1876, "Seng ni tong che" 僧尼同车 [Monks and nuns in the same carriage] and so on.
held on the fifth day of the first lunar month. The eve of this birthday was set aside for various welcoming ceremonies. All shops and businesses in Shanghai, without exception, honoured the God of Wealth. The origin of this deity is rather complicated. One view is that he originated from Zhao Gongming 趙公明 of the early Zhou, or from another Zhao Gongming of the Three Kingdoms period (also known as Zhao Lang 趙郎). Another God of Wealth was He Wulu 何五路 of the Yuan; who was later canonised as the God of Riches of the Five Roads. From the material in the Dianshizhai it would seem that two figures lay behind the God of Wealth worshipped by the people of Shanghai: one was Zhao Gongming, the other He Wulu.

In 1895, on the fourth day of the Spring Festival, a drunken foreigner accidently staggered into a Chinese restaurant, in which a religious ceremony in honour of the God of Wealth was in process. The owner of the shop offered a libation to the drunken foreigner, as if he were the God of Wealth personified. The sketch was entitled A Living God of Wealth: "The God of Wealth is known colloquially as The God of the Crossroads. There is a tradition that on the evening of the fourth day of the first month sacrifices of meat and wine are offered in welcome. People light candles and incense, and pray for prosperity in the coming year. All the shops and stores in Shanghai follow this custom. The Tongxing Restaurant 同兴饭店 in Hanbury Road in the American settlement is no exception. On the evening of the fourth day of the first month this year, just as they were in the process of displaying the sacrificial food and offering up money, a Westerner in a state of intoxication suddenly staggered in, and brazenly sat himself down at the table on which the sacrifices had been placed, swallowing like a tiger and gulping like a wolf, using knives and chopsticks simultaneously. The proprietor of the shop decided to treat him as if he were the God of Wealth, so he just let him eat his fill, and let him go. Someone said that this was a false God of Wealth, and even though he had enjoyed a feast, it was not going to do any good. The shop-owner was surprised. Someone else explained: "There are so many feasts for the God of Wealth going on at the moment - how could there be so many spirits to enjoy the smoke and fire of cooked food? It is not really the God of Wealth who accepts most of these offerings. A false God of Wealth is not as good as a living God of Wealth.

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431 See Zong Li, Zhongguo minjian zhushen, pp. 625-635; Tun Li-chen, Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking, p. 2.
A Westerner suddenly appeared in this shop just now. How are we to know that a real spirit was not mysteriously present in his mastications? This restaurant might really make a lot of money!" Those who heard him all grinned broadly.433

The God of Wealth was worshipped by the Shanghaiese, and business in Shanghai continued to prosper, which in turn led to an even greater devotion to the God of Wealth. Worship of this deity was not limited to once a year, and temples in his honour proliferated.434 Some people even rented private houses to turn them into temples in honour of the God of Wealth. In 1896 the Dianshizhai wrote up the story of the God of Wealth who had fallen on hard times: he could not afford the rent on his temple and had to be auctioned: "The God of Wealth, The Bodhisattva of the North Terrace435 Zhao, is in charge of the wealth of the people. All those in search of wealth are constantly visiting him, so there is no reason for him to fear poverty. That, however, is not always the case. There is a Temple to the God of Wealth on Liu Malu, in the northern part of Shanghai. Supplications to this particular god, however, were not efficacious, so the amount of incense offered up there became negligible. The man who ran the temple could only raise his eyes to the ceiling and sigh. The god could not save this situation. He owed quite a lot of money on rent, and the God of Wealth could not help. The landlord was making things difficult for him. He had no choice but to sell his property in order to compensate the landlord. So he arranged for all the goods in the temple to be auctioned, so as to pay the rent. And so, everything belonging to the God of Wealth was carried away. Although he was in communion with the spirits, he was reduced to having no money at all. Only the statue of the God of Wealth remained, all alone. The landlord took pity on him, and arranged for the statue to be installed in the Yangong Temple 宦公庙, outside the West Gate. Some busybodies even expressed}

433 Yu 34. The expression fa yang cai 发洋财 [in Shanghaiese: fah-yang-dze] is still used in Shanghaiese, and implies an unexpected, large windfall. Apparently even in the nineteenth century, Chinese thought that doing business with foreigners was a short cut to instant wealth. According to Qin Rongguang, the Shanghaiese would offer up a sheep's head and a carp to the God of Wealth, Zhao Xuantan (see note 435 below) was said to have originated as a Mahometan God of Wealth, thus the sheep's head. The carp (li 利) is a traditional symbol of wealth, being homophonous with li 利 'profit'. See Qin Rongguang, Shanghai-xian zhuzhici, p. 44


435 Yuan-tan 元壇. This term was apparently derived from yet another God of Wealth, Xuantan (Yuantan) Pusa 玄壇 [元壇] 菩萨, which is said to mean the Bodhisattva of the North Terrace. Werner, Chinese Mythology, p. 515 describes him as "the Mohammedan Hsiian (Yiian)-tan P'u-sa", the term pusa apparently not being incompatable with his supposed origin.
1896. A Buddha-Shop. This story is about one in honour of the God of Wealth which lost so much money, including the statue of the God of Wealth, had to be sold at auction.
their thanks in the newspapers, to the landlord for his virtuous behaviour. Alas! That God of Wealth was just so poor. We have seen cases in Shanghai of people having to auction their goods to pay the rent, but these were mainly poor and unemployed people, or swindlers building castles in the air, who appeared like the head of the Dragon King and disappeared like his tail. People who pray for wealth must surely be at a loss to explain how such a dignified and imposing spirit as the God of Wealth could have fallen into this predicament.436

Despite the fact that there were Western hospitals in Shanghai, and more and more Chinese came to believe in the efficacy of Western medicine, many Chinese understood disease and sickness in terms of the imbalance between yin and yang, and would seek treatment by a traditional Chinese physician. Others still believed that disease was caused by demons or "evil pneumas", and if they fell sick would enlist the aid of a sorceress. Many of the sorceresses, however, were simply charlatans. A report in the Shen Bao in 1879 said: "There is a custom in Shanghai, that if people fall sick they often invite a sorceress to their home. They prepare candles and incense, and they ask her to inspect the house. This is called "looking for immortals". The sorceress herself claims that she herself is an immortal - this is mere hocus-pocus."437

If the family of a person who had fallen ill believed that this was due to malign spiritual influences, they would call in a sorceress, or one or more Daoist priests. There are two such stories in the Dianshizhai, dating from 1891 and 1894. One concerns a woman by the name of Yang, who had tried innumerable methods to cure her sickness without success. She believed her sickness was the result of hexing by a snake-spirit. The family asked a Daoist priest to exorcise the

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436 Wen 87
437 Shen Bao, 16 June, 1879; see also Liu Yanong, Shanghai xianhua, pp. 66-67. In 1891 the Dianshizhai gave the following account of a sorceress from Nanjing: "Since ancient times, sorcerers and doctors have been considered similar, as they both use their skill to benefit people's lives. However, if doctors do something wrong, it is because of a mistake, it is not deliberate. If sorcerers do something wrong, it is based on fraud, and it is deliberate. So sorcerers should be prohibited, but doctors should not be prohibited. In the Lujibang area to the south of Shanghai there is a sorceress by the name of Old Woman Yang. She was from Jinling [Nanjing]. She claimed she could tell the future by observing incense smoke. The village people believed in her, and said that she had the eyes of an immortal. Some time ago she fell victim to a sudden illness, and died. A shroud and coffin were prepared. The body was placed in the coffin, and, as the lid was about to be put into place, suddenly she sat up, and demanded something to eat. This was strange indeed. Some people said, however, that this was merely an act, to make her skill appear more convincing. From that time on she could discuss the affairs of the netherworld with confidence, deliberately exaggerating to create a sensation, so as to extract even more money [from those who believed in her]." (Wu 22)
1888: A Cantonese asks a Daoist priest to exorcise his haunted house. The Daoist says he must perform some good deeds. He donates two hundred yuan to disaster relief, and the receipt is ceremoniously burnt. The house was successfully exorcised.
snake, but his magic was insufficient, and he himself fell victim to the snake.\textsuperscript{438}

The other story concerns a Daoist priest from Hubei who pasted up advertisements all over the streets and alleyways, full of praise for himself as an exponent of the spiritual way, and how he could cure sickness by magic.\textsuperscript{439}

Some people even started their careers as doctors and ended up as sorcerers. In 1891 the \textit{Dianshizhai} reported the case of a Mr. Lu 蘭 from Jiangbei who had practiced acupuncture and moxibustion for some time. He could not support himself like this, however, so he rented a room in the French Concession, and installed statues of Guanyin, Zhong Kui, Hua Tuo and others. He claimed to be the reincarnation of Zhong Kui, and that he could cure disease by exorcising evil spirits. He would spend the day wearing a mantle draped over his shoulders, prancing and gesticulating, with his eyes half-closed, mumbling some mumbo-jumbo. For those who sought his help, he would prescribe incense ash, or acupuncture and moxibustion. He then told them to go home, and offer incense, candles and the three sacrifices to the spirits to express their gratitude, and then take the medicine.\textsuperscript{440}

There were also occasions when people would seek the aid of a sorceress to find out some information. In 1888 the \textit{Dianshizhai} carried the following story: "It is a common failing of women to believe in the powers of sorcery. There is a woman in Hongkou, whose husband makes a living on a steamship. Recently he went to another port, he did not come back on time, and his wife was worried about him. She made inquiries from a sorceress. The sorceress said that he had died, and that the women must immediately establish his merits, so that he could escape the sea of bitterness. The woman was pained that his soul was lost and could not return, and she arranged for a "calling back of the soul" ceremony, and she invited the sorceress to hold a repentance ceremony. Someone told her not to be in a hurry to do this; it would be better to wait until reliable information was available. The woman said that the information had been confirmed by the sorceress, and it was not possible that she would want to deceive her. So they poured libations of wine as offerings to the spirit of the dead, and cried to the Heaven. At this point, her husband turned up, without a care in the world. They thought they had seen a ghost, so they rushed to hide themselves. The husband was amazed, and asked what was going on. His wife told him what the sorceress had told her, but by this

\textsuperscript{438} Shi 22
\textsuperscript{439} Li 63
\textsuperscript{440} Shi 39
time the old woman had gathered up her ritual implements and run away. The wife, laughing in the midst of her tears, asked him why he had come back so late. He explained that the ship had been stranded in shallow waters, and that this had delayed his return. The *Dianshizhai* was generally critical about such matters: "Belief in ghosts and spirits has been an entrenched custom in the Wu region for a long time. So the cunning take advantage, and the stupid are deceived."442

There were also quite a few people in Shanghai who claimed they were Daoist immortals and claimed a special affinity with the world of spirits and demons, but as far as we can see from the *Dianshizhai*, most of them had not been in Shanghai very long, and people did not know much about their background, so it was easier for them to get away with their chicanery. If a local person were to suddenly pretend to be in communion with the netherworld, he would not be particularly convincing. In 1897 the *Dianshizhai* mentioned that a local man in the Chinese city had announced that he had achieved the way of the immortals, but his neighbours did not believe him, and ganged up on him to make fun of him.443 There were also innumerable fortune-tellers and the like, but as they did not organise any collective activities, the authorities did not interfere with them, and the scholar-official class simply regarded such people as ignorant.

In short, the particular characteristics of religious practice in Shanghai were (1) wealth and population made collective ceremonies large scale and extravagant; (2) collective religious activities relating to the cycles of the agricultural cycle disappeared; (3) the organisers of religious activities were mainly trade guilds and native place associations and (4) the general decline in moral standards had the effect of making the official classes even stricter in their attempts to uphold traditional values. Some traditional, orthodox popular practices were also banned. Such prohibitions, however, were as ineffectual - especially in the International Settlement - as the many other attempts the gentry made to try to regain their cultural hegemony over the popular culture of Shanghai.

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441 Mao 22
442 Jia 89
443 Heng 33
CONCLUSION

For approximately half a century, there was no dominant élite culture in the Shanghai Settlements capable of exercising cultural hegemony over the development of the new, vibrant popular culture within its borders. During this period, the basic characteristics of Shanghai urban popular culture took shape. Many factors contributed to the formation of this new popular culture: the rapid industrialisation and commercialisation of Shanghai; the ability of the Shanghaiese to absorb Western influences; the degree to which they understood the West, and indeed their own attitudes to the rapidly changing world around them. Shanghai was composed mainly of immigrants from rural areas attracted to the opportunities offered by industrialisation. They were relatively free of the pressures of the traditional society of their native regions. This gave rise to changes in the traditional family and clan structure, and in the pattern of human relations. The new values of a commercialised society rapidly substituted for the class distinctions of the traditional system. The Shanghaiese were interested in the West, and would not have migrated to Shanghai in the first place if they had been particularly anti-foreign. Their lack of education, however, limited them to a superficial understanding of Western values, namely the attractions of Western material culture. Curious, fashion-conscious, practical, hedonistic - these attributes were to form the Shanghai "image". These values continued into the twentieth century.

A number of educated men in Shanghai - Wang Tao, Li Shanlan, Qian Xinbo, He Guisheng, Han Ziyun and so on - were friends, and came from similar backgrounds. In this transitional period, however, they were to follow different paths. Some were to come to appreciate aspects of élite Western culture - science, philosophy and literature. They spent their lives translating and introducing this aspect of the West into China, and could be considered the forerunners of the Chinese intellectual élite of the twentieth century. Their influence was not limited to, or even particularly connected with the International Settlement of Shanghai, which merely provided a base for their activities. Their interests had nothing to do with the ordinary people of Shanghai. Others also abandoned a traditional career, and dedicated themselves to a type of culture which might best be called "middle brow".
The development of this type of culture, the urban popular culture of Shanghai, was inseparable from the environment of the foreign settlements.

The symbolic value of various aspects of physical culture - clothing, food, housing and means of travel, underwent significant change in this rapidly evolving urban environment. New roads, for example, brought new modes of transport. These new modes of transport did not distinguish between social classes, as the earlier ones did. Even the short period of the existence of a railway in Shanghai had an effect on people's lives and attitudes. Changes in transport brought conceptual changes, a different sense of time and distance. Electricity and running water also changed people's life-styles and attitudes. The former made Shanghai a "nightless city", running water improved sanitary conditions, which in turn enabled the establishment of Western style hospitals, which then brought about a gradual change in the concepts of health and the human body. Public clocks and private watches had an obvious influence of everyday life - work schedules, business or private appointments and regulated the rhythm of life in a way suitable to the development of an industrialised and commercialised society.

One can legitimately ask how much of this change was rooted in traditional society, that is, the result of internal change, and how much change was brought about because external factors, namely the presence of the new environment of the Shanghai settlements. It is clear from the arguments presented throughout this thesis that most change was the result of external factors, though there were, in some cases, certain trends already in evidence before the period under consideration. Some evidence for the breakdown in clothing distinctions can be found as early as the Kangxi period; indecent theatrical performances, illegal killing of cattle and selling of beef and so on all existed, to a certain extent, in the areas around Shanghai prior to the establishment of the settlements. The difference was in the official prohibition or tolerance of such practices. This is a significant difference between the situation in the settlements, and the traditional society existing in that area prior to their establishment, and was similarly a significant difference, even in the late nineteenth century, between the Shanghai settlements and China proper. The difference derives from the fact that the traditional élite control, that is the control of the gentry, as a social class, over the populace, did not exist within the territory of the foreign settlements. In addition, the scale and rate of the change was very different. There may have been some breakdown in class and status symbolism before the nineteenth century, but the environment of the settlements made this process much faster and more obvious. Even theoretical sanctions were
disregarded, and what was previously morally unthinkable became morally acceptable.

Similarly, there had been some criticism of footbinding on the part of some scholars in traditional China, but this did not have any influence on social practice. Such objections as there were could not be compared with the impact of the anti-footbinding movement of the late nineteenth century. Variolation against smallpox and time-measuring machines existed in traditional China, but the fact that such things existed could not be compared to the widespread use of inoculation or the social impact of clocks and watches in the settlements. Causes for the rapid changes in late nineteenth century Shanghai have to be sought primarily in the new environment of Shanghai itself.

Compared with the twentieth century, various aspects of the mentality of the ordinary people of Shanghai were relatively underdeveloped, such as a clear sense of identity as Shanghaiese (as distinct from their ancestral home) and a nationalistic and political consciousness. A sense of identification with Shanghai needed time to develop, whereas the rise of nationalism and political consciousness were connected with the emergence of a new elite group. This new social elite group, formed during the decades around the turn of the century, was in turn to influence the ordinary people of Shanghai in a variety of ways. Most important amongst these was the introduction of a new national consciousness. The new elite was composed of two main groups: the first was derived from the nineteenth century gentry-merchants who had developed, in the second and third generation, into twentieth century Shanghai capitalists, with a high degree of modern education and professional training. The second group were the modern intellectuals. This generation was politically more mature, and demanded a degree of power-sharing and right to participate in the administration of the settlements.¹ They objected

strongly to the political domination of the settlements by the foreign authorities, and organised shopkeepers strikes, protests and so on. Amongst the new intellectual elite and the students in the universities, the concept of "foreign settlement" or "concession" came to be regarded as a national humiliation. In the nineteenth century, the Chinese did not seem to mind that there were many activities in the settlements from which they were excluded. On many occasions they were quite happy with many aspects of foreign jurisdiction, such as in seeking the protection of the Mixed Court. In the twentieth century, however, large numbers of ordinary people took part in various anti-foreign demonstrations, such as the Mixed Court Riots and the May 30th Movement. The development of a political consciousness gave a new meaning to the concept of public space. Places like the Zhangyuan provided the opportunity for meetings, speeches and other political activities between intellectuals and revolutionaries - the necessary physical prerequisites for the formation of a civil society, distinct from the State. In the nineteenth century, the Zhangyuan was purely a place for pleasure and leisure.

Despite these differences in political attitudes between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the basic characteristics of Shanghai urban popular culture were formed during the nineteenth century, and have persisted to the present day. The Shanghaiese were curious and openminded, but their low level of education limited the degree to which they could absorb or appreciate Western culture, which often remained at a fairly superficial level. There were many reasons for the literary battles between the "Beijing School" (Jing pai 京派) and the "Shanghai School" (Hai pai 海派) during the 1930s. One basic underlying cause was the tension between the intellectual elite of Beijing and the urban popular taste of Shanghai. The Shanghai School was a particular product of Shanghai urban popular culture. Lu Xun sarcastically dubbed the both the writers for the Shen Bao (including Wu Youru) and twentieth century Shanghai writers as "talented scholars of the foreign

(shendong 绅董) of the French Concession struggled for power with the Green Gang for a period of several years, demonstrating that they must have had considerable political power.

2 Cf. Nicholas R. Clifford, Shanghai 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege (University of Michigan, 1979)

3 From the material presented in Chapter Two, Part Three, it would seem that they were happy enough to be mere spectators at sporting events, and that the fact that they were not participants meant that they could relax and simply enjoy the spectacle.

4 Cf. Li Junyuan 李俊圆. "Sanshi niandai "Jingpai" wenxue sixiang bianxi" 三十年代 "京派"文学思想辨析 [An analysis of the "Beijing Clique" literature during the 1930s], in Zhongguo shehui kexue 中国社会科学 1988:1, pp. 175-184
settlement", while Zhou Zuoren put his views on Shanghai literature in more extreme language: "the culture of compradors, hoodlums and prostitutes - not the slightest trace of rationality or style. This Shanghai spirit developed into a certain Shanghai style, which spread everywhere. It gave rise to a whole range of things characterised by this detestable Shanghai style, articles written in this style amongst them."6

Since the early twentieth century, various descriptions of Shanghai culture, whether laudatory or critical, have been fairly uniform in defining its general characteristics.7 During the period of intense "cultural reflection" during the 1980's,8 for example, a number of Shanghai scholars analysed and described contemporary Shanghai culture. One writer noted that modern Shanghai culture is innovative and unconservative, but at the same time unstable and lacking in introspection.9 Another scholar wrote that contemporary Shanghai culture is lively, varied and fashion-conscious, but it lacks reliability and even sincerity.10 A recent newspaper article on the same theme described Shanghaiese as being shrewd, worldly, tolerant and open-minded, but too vulgar.11

The Shanghai School developed in the particular circumstances of Shanghai, but after it had taken form, it became a recognisable style. Some writers lived in Shanghai but never identified with the Shanghai School; Lu Xun was one of these. Interestingly enough, although the particular environment of Shanghai, which gave birth to the Shanghai style, was lost in the second half of the twentieth

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5 Yangchang cai zi - Lu Xun, "Shanghai wenyi zhi yi pie" [A glimpse at Shanghai literature], p. 292; English translation p. 116
6 Zhou Zuoren 周作人. Zhou Zuoren jinzuo jingxuan 周作人近作精选 [Selections from the Best of Zhou Zuoren's recent writings] (Shanghai: Wenlin shuju 文林书局, 1936), pp. 90-93, on pp. 90-91
7 In contrast to the comments of Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, cf. Zhang Ailing 张爱玲 "Daodi Shanghairen" 到底上海人 [A Shanghaiese, after all] in Liu Yan 谣言 [Rumours] (Hong Kong: Lili chubanshe, no date) pp. 57-59: "The Shanghaiese is a traditional Chinese tempered by the pressures of modern life. The deformed product of a mixture of old and new cultures, [the Shanghaiese] is not very healthy, perhaps, but does possess an unusual cleverness".
11 Yu Qiuyu 余秋雨, "Shanghai ren" 上海人 [Shanghai people], in Xinmin wanbao 新民晚报, 2 April, 1989
century, the special characteristics of Shanghai culture are still very clear in contemporary Shanghai.
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GLOSSARY

Bai mei tu (One hundred classical beauties) 百美图
Baida Bridge 白大桥
Bailaohui-lu (Broadway Road) 百老汇路
Baishishanfang Printing Shop 拜石山房
Bao'an situ (Protector of the Peace) 保安司徒
Bao'an situ miao (Temple of the Protector of the Peace) 保安司徒庙
baojia (Tithing Office) 保甲
Baokang Lane 保康里
baotan (plain-clothes detectives) 包探
Baxian qiao (Eight Immortals Bridge) 八仙桥
Bayonglou zhuren (Master of the Hall of Eight Chants) 八咏楼主人
benbang (local clique) 本帮
boshi (scholar specialised in teaching Confucian classics) 博士
Bowen Bao (newspaper) 博文报
bu-ye cheng (nightless city) 不夜城
Cai Erkang (editor of Shen Bao) 蔡尔康
Cai Eryuan (Deputy of Magistrate in Mixed Court) 蔡二源
Cai Jun (Daotai of Shanghai) 蔡钧
Cai Lianxi (entertainer from Shanxi) 蔡连喜
Cai shen (God of Wealth) 财神
Cai Yunqing (famous prostitute) 蔡韵卿
Caifang jie-xiao gongju (Bureau of Information on the Chaste and Filial) 采访节孝公局
Cang Jie (mythical inventor of writing) 仓颉
Cao Jifu (interpreter at Police Station) 曹吉甫
Cao Xiang (writer of letter of complaint) 曹骧
Cen Chunhua (est. smallpox clinic) 岑春华
chai shao [tshak-sau] (twig-breakers - extortionists) 拆梢
chai zi tan (type of fortune-tellers stall) 拆字摊
Changchunyuan (Tiger Stove) 长春园
Changfa Inn 长发栈
Changmen-chengnei (district) 昌门城内
changsang angzi (courtesan; high-class prostitute) 长三堂子
Changshu (placename) 常熟
Chen A-si (famous thief) 陈阿四
Chen Changfa (cooler at Bureau of Road Construction) 陈长法
Chen Cuijin (woman in trysting-place) 陈翠金
Chen Fuxun (Deputy of Magistrate in Mixed Court) 陈福勋
Chen Gong tang (Mr. Chen's dyke) 陈公塘
Chen Huageng (Shengeng, Gengshen) (Major's comprador) 陈华庚，莘庚，庚莘
Chen Lianfang (famous doctor) 陈莲舫
Chen Liangsheng (famous thief) 陈连生
Chen Xuyuan (Chen Zhuping) (merchant) 陈煦元 (陈竹坪)
Chen-Jiang (Mme) (proprietress of opium den) 陈蒋氏
Cheng Laoqi (sexual deviant) 程老七
Chenghuang (City God) 城隍
Chenghuangmiao (Temple of the City God) 城隍庙
chi (Chinese foot) (unit of measurement) 尺
chi jiang cha (drinking conciliatory tea) 吃讲茶
Chong'an Temple (Wuxi) 崇安寺
Chongming (placename) 崇明
Chuansha (placename) 川沙
Chunfeng-Deyi-Lou (teahouse) 春风得意楼
Cilin Pictorial 词林画报
cun (Chinese inch) (unit of measurement) 寸
da cha wei (to encircle through tea drinking) 打茶围
Da Malu 大马路
dan (load) 担
dangui Theatre 丹桂茶园
danjiao (female operatic character) 旦角
Dao huisi (Daoist superior) 道会司
Daotai (Intendent of a Circuit) 道台
Datong River 大同江
Dechang (hao) (Rainwear shop) 德昌号雨具店
Deng Shichang (Chinese naval captain) 邓世昌
Di Bao (Peking Gazette) 邸报
diaobangzi (diau baung-ts) (to flirt) 吊膀子
dibao (local constable) 地保
dihuo (earth-fire [=gas]) 地火
Ding Yuelou (teacher in private school) 丁悦楼
Diyilou Teahouse 第一楼茶室
Dizangwang (King of the Underworld) 地藏王
Dongjiadu (placename) 董家渡
dongyangche (rickshaw) 东洋车
Dongtingchun chaguan (teahouse) 洞庭春茶馆
Dong Zhengming (circus performer from Shandong) 董正明
*dushen* (God of Gambling) 賭神

Erlangfang (placename) 二郎坊

Ewo (= Yihe) Silk Filature 怡和丝厂

Fan-shi (Mme. Fan, virtuous widow) 范氏

*fang bai ge* [faung bak-keh] (releasing a wild pigeon - running away immediately after marriage) 放白鶴

*fang sheng* (setting free of living things) 放生

*fang sheng* (setting living things free) 放生

Fangshengju (Bureau for the Setting Free of Living Things) 放生局

*fei zhou* (flying boat = aeroplane) 飛舟

Feiyingge (Pavilion of Flying Shadows) 飛影閣

Feiyingge Pictorial 飛影閣画报

Feng Zicai (Chinese official) 冯子材

Fo dian (Buddha shop) 佛店

Fu A-jin (policeman) 傅阿金

Fu Genxin (Fu Jie) (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 符艮心（符节）

Fuzhou lu (Fuzhou Rd.) 福州路

Gaizu (Beggar Ancestor) 丐祖

Gao Chenyu (merchant, plaintiff) 高臣裕

Gaochang Hanshisheng (Cold Food Scholar of Gaochang) 高昌寒食生

Ge Fanfu (Deputy of Chinese Magistrate in Mixed Court) 葛藩甫

Gengshangyicenglou (Teahouse) 更上一层楼

Gezhi Shuyuan (Shanghai Polytechnic) 格致书院

Gong A-bao (witness in Mixed Court) 龔阿寶

*gongguan* (native place association) 公馆

Gongping sichang (Iveson and Company) 公平丝厂

*gongsuo* (residence) 公所
Gu A-liu (detective) 顾阿六
Gu Chunyuan (policeman) 顾春元
Gu Haiquan (proprietor of opium den) 顾海泉
Gu Mingzhao (paediatrician) 顾铭照
Gu Yongjing (exhibitor of colour slides) 顾永京
Gu-Chen (Mme) (lover of Zhang Yulin) 顾陈氏
Guan Qu'an (artist) 管锄安
Guangchengchang yandian (opium den) 广成昌烟店
Guang Fangyan Guan [Shanghai Language School] 广方言馆
Guangong (God of War) 关公
Guangzhao shanzhuang (Guangdong Zhaoqing Association) 广肇山庄
Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy) 观音
Gui jie (Ghost festival) 鬼节
Gujia Alley 顾家弄
Gujin Tushu Jicheng (Chinese encyclopaedia) 古今图书集成
Guo Guanlong (native of Chuansha; collector of lettered paper) 郭关龙
Guoyu Tang (Hall of Effective Care) 果育堂
Haitianchun (Western restaurant) 海天春
Hanbury Road 汉碧理路
Han Ziyun (Han Bangqing) (author) 韩子云，韩邦庆
He cheng (= Guangzhou) 禾城
He Guisheng (editor in chief of Shen Bao) 何桂生
He Wulu (God of Wealth) 何五路
He Yuanjun (He Mingfu) (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 何元俊（何明甫）
heng-si-mai (Hansom cab) 亨司迈
Hong Yong-sik (Korean conspirator) 洪英植
hongbang (red clique) 红帮
Hongkou (district of Shanghai)
Hongmiao Temple
Hou A-er (policeman)
Hu Bao (newspaper)
Hu Xueyan (merchant)
Hu Zhongli (character in novel)
huabu (Chinese policemen)
huaguxi (flower drum songs)
huahuagongzi (dandy)
Huajin Memorial Arch
Huang Aitang (Magistrate)
Huang Chengyi (Deputy of Shanghai Magistrate in Mixed Court)
Huang Chunfu (assistant at Western hospital)
Huang Cifu (detective)
Huangpu River
Huarongchang (Candle shop)
huayang tongzi (Chinese-foreign child)
huayanjian (Flower and Opium Room = low class brothel)
Huazhonghui Teahouse
huiguan (guild hall)
Huishen gongtang (Mixed Court)
Huishen gongxie (The Mixed Court)
Huishenyuan (Deputy of Shanghai Magistrate in Mixed Court)
Huizhiazhai (district in Shanghai)
ji mi chu (rice distribution centre)
ji yi chu (clothes distribution centre)
Jia Boxian (illegal gambler)
Jia Xingqing (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 贾醒卿

jiagun (squeezers; instrument of torture) 夹棍

jian liu (purse-cutting) 剪绺

Jian-suo-jian-zhai fu (Master of the Studio of That Which Has Been Seen) 见所见斋甫

Jiang Bosen (unfilial son) 蒋伯森

Jiang Zhixiang (first editor in chief of Shen Bao) 蒋芷湘

Jiangbei zhuluo (Kaung-pok ts-loo) (Jiangbei pig) 江北猪猡

Jiangnan (Jiqi) Zhizaoju (Jiangnan Arsenal) 江南（机器）制造局

Jiangsu Yaoshuichang (Major's Acid Works) 江苏药水厂

jilei (chicken-ribs (career)) 鸡肋（生涯）

Jin Bingjun (Shanghai gentry) 金秉钧

Jin Chanxiang (Jin Gui) (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 金蟾香（金桂）

Jin Dinghui (contributor to Dianshizhai) 金鼎鲱

Jing Wei (Jing Fangzhou) (father of Jing Yuanshan) 经纬（经芳洲）

jingxi zi zhi (reverence for lettered paper) 敬惜字纸

Jing Yuanshan (gentry-merchant) 经元善

Jing'an Temple 静安寺

Jinling gongchen jihua (Portrait of meritorious officials victorious at Jinling) 金陵功臣绩图

Jinlong si dawang miao (Temple of the Four Kings of the Golden Dragon) 金龙四大王庙

Jishan Tang (charitable hall) 济善堂

Jixingong (hotel) 吉星公

juren (elevated scholar - second degree in imperial examinations) 举人

Juzhenban congshu (Imperial collection) 聚珍版丛书

Kang Botu (character in novel) 康伯图

Kang Youwei (Chinese reformer) 康有为

Kapsin (Coup in Korea) 甲申
Keechong (= Qichang) Silk filature 旗昌丝厂
Kim Ok-kyun (Korean conspirator) 金玉均
kongxin dalaoguan (hollow grandee) 空心大老倌
Kui Jun (Governor of Jiangsu) 奎俊
Lao Beimenwai Street 老北门外大街
Lao Jin Long yanghang (Mustard and Co.) 老晋隆洋行
lao hu zao (tiger stove) 老虎灶
Li Boyuan (author) 李伯元
Li Chunjiang (bandit) 李春江
Li Dunfu (carpenter) 李敦甫
Li Guangdan (Magistrate of Shanghai) 黎光旦
Li Hongzhang (Chinese statesman) 李鸿章
Li Renshan (swindler) 李仁山
Li Shanlan (mathematician) 李善兰
Li Ying (Western doctor) 李盈
Liang Jingshu (Daotai of Fuzhou) 梁敬叔
Lin Daiyu (courtesan) 林黛玉
Liu Guilu (anti foreign madman) 刘桂露
Liu Malu 六马路
Liu Ruifen (Daotai of Shanghai) 刘瑞芬
liu ji (wandering prostitutes) 流妓
Liuchun Theatre 留春戏园
liumang (hoodlum) 流氓
Liyang (placename) 溧阳
Longjing si (Dragon Well Temple) 龙井寺
Longwang (Dragon King) 龙王
Lu Ban (Patron deity of carpenters) 鲁班
Lu Baoqi (Lu Baoqing) (peasant killed by Westerner) 陆宝奇，陆宝庆
Lu Baoshun (peasant wounded by Westerner) 陆宝顺
Lu Changfu (boat-dweller) 陆昌富
Lu Wenlu (manager of Refuge for the Homeless) 陆问麓
Lu Yuanding (Magistrate of Shanghai) 陆元鼎
Lu Yonghai (Lu Yunfu) (peasant injured by Westerner) 陆永海，陆云甫
Lu Zhongyu (organiser of Feast of Hungry Ghosts) 陆仲余
Lu-Chen (Mme) (proprietress of opium den) 陆陈氏
Lujiabang Creek 陆家浜
lunhui (samsara, the wheel of life) 轮回
Lutai (placename) 芦台
Lutoushen (Spirit of the Crossroads) 路头神
Ma Ziming (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 马子明
Maijiaquan 麦家圗
mao'er xi (banquet accompanied by prostitutes) 髦儿戏（调儿戏）
mei shen (fawning on the spirits) 媚神
Meicha feizaochang (Major's Soap Factory) 美查肥皂厂
Michuanbang (Rice Transporters Guild) 米船帮
Mine Genzō (Japanese visitor) 峰源藏
Minluntang Hall 明伦堂
Mixiangge (Chamber of Enchanting Frangrance) 迷香阁
Mo Xiangzhi (Magistrate of Shanghai) 莫祥芝
mulong (wooden cage) 木笼
Nanchengxin Opium House 南诚信烟馆
Nanhui (placename) 南汇
Nanshiwai Malu (Road in Shanghai) 南市外马路
Nanxun (town in Wucheng county, Zhejiang) 南浔
Nanyang (The Southern Ocean = South East Asia) 南洋
Nicheng Bridge 泥城桥
Ningjun ( = Nanjing) 宁郡
ning shen (spiritual sycophancy) 佞神
nü tangguan (female attendants, hostesses) 女堂倌
Pak Yong-hyo (Korean conspirator) 朴泳孝
paoqiuchang (cricket pitch) 抛球场
Pei Dazhong (Magistrate) 裴大中
pinshi (to have [illicit] sexual relations) 娶识
Pinyulou Singsong Hall 品玉楼书场
Pudong (area east of Huangpu River) 浦东
Putuoshan Mountain 普陀山
Puyutang (charitable hall) 普育堂
Puzuo (=Pudong) 浦左（浦东）
Qiyuan yanguan (Opium den in Maijiaquan) 绮园烟馆
Qian Shunyuan (shop assistant) 钱顺元
Qian Xinbo (asst. editor of Shen Bao) 钱听伯
qiang qin (taking a bride by force) 抢亲
qianzhuang (native bank) 钱庄
Qichang (=Keechong) Silk Filature 旗昌丝厂
Qiliu Gongsuo (Refuge for the Homeless) 栖流公所
Qin Shaoqing (detective) 秦少卿
Qin Yubo (name of City God of Shanghai) 秦裕伯
Qingjie Tang (Hall of Purity and Chastity) 清节堂
Qingmingjie (Clear and Bright Festival) 清明节
Qingpu (placename) 青浦
Qipan jie (street in Shanghai) 棋盘街
Qiu Ying (Qiu Shizhou) (artist of Ming dynasty) 仇英（仇十洲）
Qiu Zi'ang (printer) 邱子昂
Qu Kaitong (manager of Refuge for the Homeless) 瞿开桐
Qu Qingshan (manager of Refuge for the Homeless) 瞿庆善
Ren Bonian (artist) 任伯年
Ren Guisheng (policeman) 任桂生
Renji Tang (Hall of Benevolent Aid) 仁济堂
Renji Yiyuan (hospital) 仁济医院
renliche (rickshaw) 人力车
Rong Zongjing (entrepreneur) 荣宗敬
Ruishenghe (name of shop) 瑞生和
Runkang (Native Bank) 润康钱庄
Sai Yuelou (prostitute-transvestite) 賽月樓
San guan da di (The Three Great Emperors) 三官大帝
san gui jie (Three Demons Festival) 三鬼节
san xun hui (three circuits) 三巡会
Sancai Tuhui 三才図会
Sanyangjing (name of shop) 三洋泾
Sha Shanchun (artist) 沙山春
shajiaoling (sandspit collar) 沙角领
shandongren mai quantou (Shandong fisticuffs) 山东人卖拳头
Shanghai Xin Bao (newspaper) 上海报
Shanghai Xin Bao 上海报
shantang (charitable hall) 善堂
shantang shendong (gentry manager of charitable hall) 善堂绅董
Shanyin (placename) 山阴
Shanzuo (= Shandong) 山左（=山东）
shaoye (young master) 少爷
She (county in Anhui) 祁
Shen Bao (daily newspaper) 申报
Shen Bao Guan (Shen Bao Office) 申报馆
Shen Dunhe (Shanghai gentry) 沈敦和
Shen Gongzhi (Master of the Hall of Knowing the Tide) 沈拱之
Shen Meipo (artist) 沈梅坡
Shen Renquan (journalist) 沈任全
Shen Zhaolong (villager, victim of French police) 沈兆龙
Shen Zhou (artist of Ming dynasty) 沈周
Shenchang Painting and Calligraphy Shop 申昌画室
shendong (gentry-manager) 纬董
Sheng Xuanhuai (gentry, entrepreneur) 盛宣怀
Shengpinglou (Teahouse) 升平楼茶馆
Shenhui huishou (Master of Religious Ceremonies) 神会会首
Shenjiawan (place) 沈家湾
shenshang (gentry-merchant) 纬商
shenshi (gentry, member of gentry) 纬士
Shi Bao (newspaper) 时报
Shi Houfu (instigator of litigation) 施厚夫
Shi Tujin (policeman) 石太金
shi li yangchang (ten li of foreign territory) 十里洋场
shiba mo (indecent folk song) (eighteen caresses) 十八摸
Shuijing gong ('Crystal Palace') 水晶宫
Si Malu 四马路
Siming gongsuo (Ningbo Guild Hall, "Ningpo Joss House") 四明公所
sishi (clerks) 司事
sishu (traditional private school) 私塾
Soh Chae-pil (Korean conspirator) 徐载弼
Soh Kwang-bom (Korean conspirator) 徐光范
Song Ci (1186-1249) 宋慈
Songnan yuefu (Songs of Songnan) 洙南乐府
songshi (litigation trickster) 讼师
Su Bao (newspaper) 苏报
Sui Chong Match Factory 燧昌自来火局
Suixi (county in Guangdong) 遂溪
taiji (trysting-place) 台基
Taizhou (placename) 台州
tan tai [the-de] (to lose face [Shanghai dialect]) 坜台
Tang Jiechen (Shanghai gentry) 唐介臣
Tang Yin (artist of Ming dynasty) 唐寅
Tanggu (placename) 塘沽
Tangshui County 汤水县
Tao-Zhang (Mme) (proprietress of opium den) 陶张氏
Tengzhou Prefecture 滕州府
Tian Zilin (Tian Ying) (artist on staff of Dianshzhai) 田子林（田英）
Tianfu Theatre 天福茶园
Tianhou (Tianfei, Mazu) (Queen of Heaven) 天后（天妃，马祖）
Tianhougong (Temple of the Queen of Heaven) 天后宫
tianping (trestle; instrument of torture) 天平
Tiantong Road 天潼路
Tianxian Theatre 天仙茶园
Tianzuhui (Natural Foot Society) 天足会
tiao zao ('leaping before the kitchen god') 跳灶
Tiren Hospital 体仁医院
Tong Xintian ("elevated scholar"; local tyrant) 童心田
Tong'an (county) 同安县
Tong'an Lane 同安里
Tongdetang (Medicine Shop) 同德堂
Tongren Fuyuan Tang (Hall of Impartial Altruism and Support for the Fundamental) 同仁辅元堂
Tongren Yiyuan (hospital) 同仁医院
Tongwen guan (Interpreters College) 同文馆
Tongwen Ribao (newspaper) 同文报
Tongwen Bookstore 同文书局
Tongxing Restaurant 同兴饭馆
Tuhua Xin Bao ("The China Illustrated News") 图画新报
Tushanwan (district of Shanghai) 土山湾
tusi (clan elders) 土司
waiguoren (foreigner) 外国人
Wan'an lou (hotel) 万安楼
Wang A-er (hostess in opium den) 王阿二
Wang A-san (hermaphrodite) 王阿三
Wang Bin (collector of lettered paper) 王彬
Wang Dongsheng (plaintiff in Mixed Court) 王东生
Wang Jinsheng (witness in Mixed Court) 王金生
Wang Maosheng (shop owner) 王茂生
Wang Po (character in novel) 王婆
Wang Xiaomei (hostess in opium den) 王小妹
Wang Xinhai (policeman) 王信海
Wang Yide (Proprietor of medicine shop) 王义德
Wang Zhao (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 王钊
Wanjiachun (Western restaurant) 万家春
Wanminsan (Presentation Umbrella) 万民伞
Wannianqing (Chinese steamer) 万年青
Wanshougong (Hall of Longevity) 万寿宫
Wei A-long (policeman) 韦阿龙
Wen Zhengming (artist of Ming dynasty) 文征明
wen (cash) 文
Wen-chao-guan zhuren (Master of the Hall of Knowing the Tide) 问潮馆主人
Wenchang (God of Literature) 文昌
Weng A-da (victim of police) 翁阿大
Wenguan (Plague Official) 痨官
Wenruilou Publishing Company 文瑞楼书局
Wu Jiayou (= Wu Youru) 吴嘉猷
Wu Malu 五马路
Wu Mingchun (policeman) 吴明春
Wu Youru (chief artist for Dianshizhai) 吴友如
Wu Zijin (student in private school) 吴子锦
Wu Zirang (writer for Shen Bao) 吴子让
wu fang za chu (mishmash from everywhere) 万方杂处
Wucenglou Teahouse 五层楼茶室
Wucheng (county in Zhejiang) 乌程
Wucheng shanshi ('The Good Man of Wucheng') 乌城善士
Wujin (placename) 武进
Wusong (town near Shanghai) 吴淞
Wutaishan Mountain 五台山
Xi yuan lu (Washing Away of Wrongs) 洗冤录
Xi zi hui (Lettered paper society) 惜字会
xiangren (villagers) 乡人
Xiao Guilin (actor; transvestite) 小桂林
Xiao Jin (impostor) 萧锦
Xiao Jinbao (actor; transvestite) 小金宝
Xiao Langhuan Lane 小琅嬛里
Xiao Licha jiudian (Astor Restaurant) 小礼查酒店
xiao liumang (ruffian) 小流氓
xiao chou (clown in opera) 小丑
Xiaohai yuebao ("The Child's Paper) 小孩月报
xiaoren (petty person) 小人
Xie Jiafu (official of Telegraph Bureau) 谢家福
xifang lai de habagou (lap-dog from the West) 西方來的哈巴狗
Ximen Women's and Children's Hospital 西门妇孺医院
Xin Yamen (New yamen = Mixed Court) 新衙门
Xinchang Jewellery shop 信昌珠宝铺
Xingsu dian (Hall of the Constellations of Heaven) 星宿店
Xinshijie Pictorial 新世界画册
Xinwen Bao (newspaper) 新闻报
Xinzha Dawang Miao (temple) 新闸大王庙
xiucai (flourishing talent - lowest of imperial degrees) 秀才
Xizang Road 西藏路
Xu Beihong (modern Chinese artist) 徐悲鸿
Xu Run (entrepreneur) 徐润
Xu Weng (Old Man Weng, shrimp-seller) 徐翁
Xu Yunshan (contributor to Dianshizhai) 许蕴山
Xujiahui (district of Shanghai) 徐家汇
xunbu (policeman on the beat) 巡捕
Xunhuan Ribao (newspaper) 循环日报
Xuning Gate (Yangzhou) 徐凝门
Yalü River 鸭绿江
Yan A-wu (hostess in opium den) 严阿五
Yan Yongjing (interpreter for Municipal Council) 颜永京
Yang Hanqing (famous bandit) 杨翰卿
Yang Naiwu (victim of miscarriage of justice) 杨乃武
Yang yu (Old woman Yang - sorceress) 杨妪
Yang Yuelou (actor) 杨月楼
Yang Yuhui (essay prizewinner) 杨毓辉
Yangjhang jie (Rue de Whampo) 洋行街
Yangjingbang Creek 洋泾浜
Yangong Temple 宴公庙
Yangshupu 杨树浦
yao'er (type of prostitute) 么二
Yao Wentong (character in novel) 姚文通
Yao Zirang (Shanghai gentry) 姚子让
Ye Chengzhong (entrepreneur) 叶澄衷
Ye Qunying (Chinese from Luzón) 叶群英
Ye Tingjuan (Magistrate) 叶廷眷
ye ji (wild chickens) 野鸡
ye ji dun (wild chicken corner) 野鸡墩
Yeshilou (Singsong Hall) 也是楼
Yi Shou Tang (Hall of Unusual Inheritance) 异授堂
yi (barbarian) 夷
Yichang (city in Hubei) 宜昌
yichang (barbarian quarter) 夷场
Yihe (=Ewo) Silk Filature 怡和丝厂
Yijiachun (Western restaurant) 一家春
Yinbu (Indian policemen; Sikhs) 印捕
yin xi (indecent operas or theatrical performances) 淫戏
Yingbu (English police in settlements) 英捕
Yinghuan Pictorial 濟寰画报
yinguo (karma, retribution) 因果
Yipinxian (Western restaurant) 一品香
Yishan Tang (charitable hall) 益善堂
Yiwenlu (newspaper) 益闻录
Yongjiang (river) 甬江
Yongkang Rice shop 永康米店
Yongping'an Lane 永平安里
Youxi Bao (newspaper) 游戏报
Yu Liancun (member of gentry) 番莲村
Yu Pinghan (Shanghai gentry) 郁屏翰
Yuan Shansong (of the Eastern Jin period) 袁山松
Yuan Shao (of the Three Kingdoms period) 袁绍
Yuan Youcun (Yuan Zude) (Magistrate) 袁又村（袁祖德）
Yuanhe (placename) 元和
Yuanlingtang (Opium den) 延令堂
Yuanmingyuan (Road) 园明园
Yuantan (Xuantan) Pusa (Bodhisattva of the Northern Terrace) 元坛（玄坛）菩萨
Yuanxiao jie (Lantern Festival) 元宵节
Yulanpen-hui (Feast of the Hungry Ghosts) 孟兰盆会
Yunlan'ge Studio 云蓝阁裱画店
Yunliang (Riverbank) 运粮
Yuyuan Garden 愚园
Zeng Guofan (Chinese general) 曾国藩
Zeng Shaoqing (Zeng Zhu) 曾少卿（曾铸）
Zeng Zhongxiang (Zeng Guoquan)(Chinese general) 曾忠襄公（曾国荃）
Zeng Zhu (entrepreneur) 曾铸
Zhan Gongwu (inkshop) 詹公五墨店
Zhan Wu ("Giant of Anhui") 詹五
Zhang A-sheng (cooler at Bureau of Road Construction) 张阿生
Zhang Heshang (owner of beancurd shop) 张和尚
Zhang Qi (contributor to Dianshizhai) 张其
Zhang Qian (Zhang Jizhi) (industrialist) 张骞（张季直）
Zhang Ran (editor of Shen Bao) 张然
Zhang the Monk (stone-carver) 张和尚
Zhang Weicheng (Shanghai gentry) 张伟承
Zhang Xiubao (kidnap victim; concubine) 张秀宝
Zhang Yulin (lover of Mme. Gu-Chen) 张玉林
Zhang Zhidong (Chinese official) 张之洞
Zhang Zhiying (Zhang Qi) (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 张志瀛（张淇）
Zhangyuan (Garden) 张园（张氏别墅园）
Zhao Gongming (God of Wealth) 赵公明
Zhao Shi'en (swindler) 赵世恩
Zhao Xiaolian (actor; martial arts expert) 赵小莲
Zhaoqing (district in Guangdong) 肇庆
Zhe-Hu shanshi (The Good Man of Zhe-Hu') 浙湖善士
Zhen Guanying (merchant) 郑观应
Zheng Guangchu (sugar merchant from Fujian) 郑光初
Zhengtang Gongwu (Magistrate on Official Duties) 正堂公务
Zhenze (county in Jiangxi) 震泽
Zhong Jun (Shanghai gentry) 钟骏
Zhong Kui (deity; exorcist) 钟馗
Zhong Shoubo (Officer in Charge of Tithing Office) 钟寿伯
Zhong Shuyuan (man returned from the West) 钟淑园
Zhongwang Street 中旺街
Zhongyuanjie (Mid-year festival) 中元节
Zhou Muqiao (Zhou Quan) (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 周慕桥（周权）
Zhoupu (placename) 周浦
Zhou-shi (virtuous widow) 周氏
Zhou Yonggang (pipa player) 周永纲
Zhou Zijiao (tailor) 周子蕉
Zhu Baosan (merchant) 朱葆三
Zhu Dachun (entrepreneur) 祝大椿
Zhu Hongde (litigant in inheritance dispute) 朱鸿德
Zhu Hongren (litigant in inheritance dispute) 朱鸿仁
Zhu Jintao (Daoist superior) 诸锦涛
Zhu Liangsheng (syphilis sufferer) 朱莲生
Zhu Ruxian (artist on staff of Dianshizhai) 朱儒贤
zilaihuo (self-coming fire [=gas or match]) 自来火
Zunwenge (Pavilion of Respect for the News) 尊闻阁
Zunwenge zhuren (Master of the Pavilion for Respect for the News) 尊闻阁主人
Zuo Zongtang (Chinese general) 左宗棠