

**Leisure and Modernity in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Shanghai**

**Jiarong Lu**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of MPhil**

**A new version of required minor corrections**

**Department of History**

**University of Essex**

**December 2018**

## **Abstract**

Xiuxian 休閒, which renders in English as entertainment culture, often refers to leisure culture in China. It played an integral role in the formation of Shanghai modernity from the mid nineteenth century. Partly propelled by the conviction that technological developments, cultural change, prosperity and national reconstruction were closely linked. This thesis provides a study of how entertainment culture became an important part of signal associated with modernity of the city in late nineteenth century and how it reflected urban social and cultural change. It argues that modern entertainment culture was driven by modern facilities such as teahouses and restaurants in the International Settlement. Modern entertainment culture reflected that wealthy merchants became a more influential group than before. It also indicated that gender relations were relaxed in this period. This study also provides a more precise understanding of the prevailing discourse of modern consumerism, food and nationhood, women and paid work in late nineteenth century. This thesis therefore furthers our understanding of modern entertainment culture in treaty port Shanghai in all its complexities, with implication for the fields of modern Chinese history.

## **Acknowledgements**

As this dissertation represents three years of study on contemporary Chinese history, my debts are far too numerous to mention them all. My first and deepest thanks go to Dr Xun Zhou at the University of Essex, who has been a model supervisor. Xun inspired my interest in Chinese History and encouraged me to take this interest ever further. When I faced many challenges, she is always generous with her time, personal collection of source materials, and wealth of knowledge. At each stage of my research Xun has helped me towards the next stepping stone, and I have learnt not just about history, but how to be a researcher largely from her. I will always be extremely grateful for all of this.

I have also learnt an immense amount from Dr Mark Frost at the University of Essex. Mark has helped me improve my skills as a researcher and encouraged me to see the bigger picture of why my research matters. I am very grateful for all his guidance.

My family has been an important source of support, encouragement and inspiration. My most heartfelt thanks go to my parents, my husband and my daughter, for supporting me tirelessly and for having so much faith in my ability to succeed.

## Contents

|  | Pages |
|--|-------|
| Introduction   | 1     |
| Research objectives  | 1     |
| Literature review  | 3     |
| Chapters   | 9     |
| Sources  | 10    |
| Chapter One Modern entertainment and the economic prosperity of the Chinese nation-state | 15    |
| Chapter Two Entertainment as modernity   | 18    |
| Western meals  | 28    |
| Women  | 39    |
| Chapter Three Modern entertainment culture and the spread of modernity                   | 49    |
| Chapter Four Modern entertainment culture as popular culture                             | 58    |
| Conclusion   | 63    |
| Bibliography   | 66    |

## Illustrations

|   | pages |
|---|-------|
| Figure 1. Map showing Shanghai in 1901  | 20    |
| Figure 2. Map showing the districts of the International Settlements at Shanghai 1899     | 21    |
| Figure 3. A traditional teahouse of a larger and better class in the Old Walled City      | 22    |
| Figure 4. A traditional teahouse of a smaller and cheaper class                           | 23    |
| Figure 5. Customers in a traditional teahouse of a smaller and cheaper class              | 24    |
| Figure 6. A modern teahouse named <i>Xiaohua Yuan</i> 小華園 in the International Settlement | 25    |
| Figure 7. A five-storey teahouse in Fourth Avenue in the International Settlement         | 26    |
| Figure 8. A famous modern teahouse named <i>Qinglian ge</i> 青蓮閣 (The Lotus Pavilion)      | 27    |
| Figure 9. The decoration of a traditional restaurant                                      | 33    |
| Figure 10. A traditional restaurant in the Old Walled City                                | 34    |
| Figure 11. A traditional restaurant   | 35    |
| Figure 12. The decoration of a foreign restaurant   | 36    |
| Figure 13. An ornate Interior of a foreign restaurant                                     | 37    |
| Figure 14. A dinner in a foreign restaurant   | 38    |
| Figure 15. Women in segregation from men in public where a flower exhibition was held     | 45    |
| Figure 16. Women in a modern teahouse   | 46    |
| Figure 17. Men and women mingled with each other in a modern teahouse named               | 47    |
| Figure 18. Men and women mingled with each other in a modern teahouse named               | 48    |
| Figure 19. Playing bowling in a modern teahouse   | 54    |
| Figure 20. <i>Pinghua</i> in a modern teahouse  | 55    |
| Figure 21. An animal exhibition in a foreign restaurant named <i>Yipingxiang</i>          | 56    |
| Figure 22. Opium coaches in a modern teahouse   | 57    |
| Figure 23. A Japanese teahouse  | 61    |
| Figure 24. A dinner in a regional restaurant  | 62    |

## Introduction

### Research objectives

*Xiuxian* 休閒, which renders in English as entertainment culture, often refers to leisure culture in China. It played an integral role in the formation of Shanghai modernity from the mid nineteenth century, partly propelled by the conviction that technological developments, cultural change, prosperity and national reconstruction were closely linked. This new sensibility was shared by many Chinese intellectuals and reformers. From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, treaty port Shanghai began to experience important indigenous social and economic changes, including rapid economic prosperity, commercialisation of the economy, population growth, urbanisation, expansion of printing and literacy, and increased social mobility. The culture of leisure enjoyment became an important part of a signal associated with the modernity of the city, and was facilitated by a large group of migrants, such as wealthy merchants from *Jiangnan* (regions surrounding Shanghai which literally means south of *Yangtse*), starting in the central district of the International Settlement, and then spreading to major districts in other parts of the city. Large numbers of modern teahouses and restaurants equipped with modern facilities quickly began to define new lifestyle trends of leisure.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a number of reform programme initiated by the imperial government paid more attention to the status of merchants, as well as women in society. In tandem with rapid material transformation, this contributed to the development of modern entertainment culture as a popular urban culture in Shanghai. This project aims to explore issues of urban social and cultural change, and review the prevailing discourse of consumption and entertainment, leisure activities and material culture. It illustrates how modern

entertainment culture has become an integral part of modernity in Shanghai and how it reflected changes in class and gender relations.

This study attempts to define modernity as a development of entertainment culture in late nineteenth century Shanghai. It referred to material culture and was driven by modern facilities. Modern citizen's ability to consume things previously preserved for the royalty and privileged for the officials featured prominently in modern entertainment. In the process of urbanisation and industrialisation, relaxed gender relations and low cost for modern experience helped to spread modern leisure activities widely in the city. Modern entertainment culture gradually changed the ordinary Chinese people's perception of leisure and wealth. It also opened up a new horizon of desire for material goods, and taught them how to enjoy modern things. At the same time, wealthy merchants took a leadership role in developing modern entertainment culture. It reflected merchants as a social group became more influential than before.

This study shall apply the approach of China-centred rather than the Western impact – Chinese response one.<sup>1</sup> The driving force of the development of modern entertainment culture in the city was effective measures to cope with internal problems such as refugees and economic power. It was affected by Westerners in late nineteenth century, but it should not be considered as a response to the western impact. For example, low-class working women were no longer confined to domestic space when working and playing. At that time, they had relaxed gender relations with their counterparts. It was the outcome of government policy on commerce and industry. There was a remote relation to the spread of Western values in terms of gender relations.

---

<sup>1</sup> John K. Fairbank, *Trade and diplomacy on the China coast: the opening of the treaty ports, 1842-1854*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, pp.3-23; Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp.14.

## Literature review

Historians have never lost their enthusiasm on the issue of modernity in urban China in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Meng Yue defined modernity in Shanghai as the rise of a new modern entertainment centre. She claimed that the years between 1850 and 1900 in Shanghai could be seen as the beginning of its emerging as a new modern entertainment centre. It referred to a departure from those old or traditional entertainment centres in southeastern China. The departure was primarily caused by the decline of those traditional core cities in *Jiangnan* region due to the Qing state's reluctance to repair the flooded Grand Canal<sup>2</sup> and the turmoil of the *Taiping Rebellion*.<sup>3</sup> At that time, it could be discovered that the Qing's state was already losing its control in these regions. This factor allowed a new and alternative form of culture to thrive. Civil disturbance was the driving force behind the rise of a new urban entertainment centre. Shanghai saw an influx of refugees as well as a vast amount of wealth that came with it and the growth of that centre well satisfied requirements of immigrants. The nature of this new urban entertainment centre was both attractive and disturbing as pursuits of wealth and goods and women's visits to entertainment venues transgressed accepted social norms.

---

<sup>2</sup> The Grand Canal was the backbone of the Qing Empire's south-north transportation until the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Those cities alongside the canal formed a cross-regional and far-reaching network for commerce and trade of the Empire on the continent. Among those canal-based cities, a few heartland cities like *Suzhou, Hangzhou, Yangzhou* and *Nanjing* in *Jiangnan* region enjoyed the glory of urban cultural centres in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These cities were the centres of urban entertainment as well while Shanghai was merely a county of relatively provincial culture at that time. However, after the devastating floods of the 1820s, a large sector of the Grand Canal was destroyed without subsequent repair and it badly impacted on the development of those cities.

<sup>3</sup> Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empire*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, Introduction pp.13-21.



Some historians claimed that those reforms in inner cities began to have an impact on public space like teahouses and they met with strong resistance both from organizations and individuals. Their resistance to change made the conventional social function of teahouses continue without changing and deeper social change was not able to undergo. Other historians argued that those reforms in treaty ports also began to have an impact on public space like restaurants and they met with acceptance both from local citizens and immigrants. Their acceptance to change made the conventional social function of restaurants transformed and it gave impetus for further social change.

Di Wang focused on reforms in the inland city Chengdu in first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and then opposition arose. He used teahouses as a case study. He claimed that the state failed to have more power over the social order that affected citizens' everyday life for social institutions and individuals opposed it effectively. It indicated that national uniformity conflicted with the diversity of local life. As a result, the conflict blocked further reforms in other fields. On the other hand, the conflict might be weakened due to external force like refugees from the Sino-Japanese war zone.<sup>4</sup>

For example, he explored the conventional custom of *Chi jiangcha* 吃講茶 (drinking settlement tea)<sup>5</sup> in Chengdu and teahouses served as a proper venue for it. He cited three examples as well as a large amount of comments in the local newspapers to claim that this activity in teahouses should be regarded as the uniqueness of local life in the hinterland city. The local government failed to prohibit it for two times when strong opposition arose. It came from

---

<sup>4</sup> Di Wang, *The Teahouse: Small Business, Everyday Culture, and Public Politics in Chengdu, 1900-1950*. California: Stanford University Press, 2008, pp. 15,134, 175-8.

<sup>5</sup> In a teahouse, two parties invited local elites to be arbitrators and then their disputes could be settled. The loser should pay for tea.

teahouse proprietors, customers and local elites who were frequently asked to serve as mediators and to make a judgment. Their resistance worked effectively.<sup>6</sup> Teahouses were well preserved as a venue for dispute settlement until the end of 1940s. In his study, it could be found out that when the social function of teahouses was not transformed, local elite still has their privilege to exert considerable influence on the social order and to establish leadership without official intervention. It means no further change in class relations could be launched.

Wang also explored women's appearance in teahouses and popular reactions over that period of time. He argued that the stubborn resistance from local custom was possibly reduced by external force such as immigration. Chengdu citizens did not tolerate the presence of women in teahouses until those low-class women from *Jiangnan* region fled to the city during *the War of Resistance* (1937-45). He concluded that it was greatly contributed to the downriver culture of the upper Yangzi region. In that area like treaty port Shanghai, as early as late 19th century it was common for women to mingle with men in teahouses.<sup>7</sup> This study shall focus on women's appearance in modern teahouse in Shanghai and analyze developments in gender relations in depth.

By contrast to a major block of change in Chengdu teahouses, a set of the transformation occurred in Shanghai restaurants in late nineteenth century. From Mark Swislocki's perspective, he defined modernity as a kind of urban culture which helped to narrate the relationship between hometown and present residence for immigrants in treaty ports. In his study, the conventional function of restaurants transformed into a new one. Those domestic restaurants served as a new approach for immigrants to protect their identities. Hometown flavour helped

---

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, pp.15, 175-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, pp.188-96.

sojourning merchants maintain a close relationship to their hometowns and compensated for the alien features they encountered along their commercial routes. At the same time, regional restaurants were never exclusive to native immigrants and they also treated customers from other provinces as well. As a result, those dishes of regional flavours gradually become no longer so authentic but mixed with other flavours.<sup>8</sup> Mark's study proved that when incremental changes occurred in public space like restaurants, internal force like economic reform could exert influential impact on the social change.

Meanwhile, the development of foreign restaurants was also an important example. From Mark's perspective, a cultural boundary between Chinese and Western cuisine had been already drawn. The proliferation of foreign restaurants proved the process of cultural change. This process of cultural change met with formidable barriers like Western unpalatable taste, Chinese objection to eating beef and Chinese cuisine chauvinism.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, there were also positive factors like a craze for things of novelty, extravagant interior design of foreign restaurants and women's visit and they gave further impetus for social change. Mark argued that married women and courtesans appeared frequently in the *Fancaiguan* 番菜館 (foreign restaurants) because men were encouraged to visit foreign restaurants with their spouse to prove their public sociability.<sup>10</sup>

He also discussed women's participation in the context of domestic reform in educational field. It was the movements which sought to create the first public education institutions for women in China. It was believed that those women were responsible for raising healthy families

---

<sup>8</sup> Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai*, California: Stanford University Press, 2009, pp.12-17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 100.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 130.

which was closely related to national strength. He then proposed that as homemakers, educated women became knowledgeable about the healthy benefits of Western foods after they had experienced eating them in foreign restaurants. Western food offered in foreign restaurants was no longer for entertainment in public but for health in family life. At that time, women remained important symbols of Western food in Shanghai, but as homemakers in private rather than consumers in public.<sup>11</sup>

Wherever historians prefer to put women in, the concept of gender has offered a valuable tool of analysis for them. Historians used to place a value on her so that they are able to achieve a deeper understanding of social change and the evolution of group sensibilities. Christian Henriot did not place an independent value on prostitutes as a social group in his project. He paid more attention to those external factors such as working and living condition rather than internal factors. It could be explained that the primary purpose of his project was to explore administration of prostitutions of different authorities both local and foreign ones when the city was a treaty port. In such a context, prostitutes' activities should be merely observed as response to the administration. Defining prostitutes as sex workers, Gail Hershatter claimed that their voices should be heard in public. In a broader context of women's status and national reconstruction, she focused on their family and professional lives as well as their contribution to the development of the city. For both scholarship, not only in literature but in practice as well, women in urban areas were mainly discussed in the context of domestic space i.e. prostitutions.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 136-41.

<sup>12</sup> Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasure: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-century China*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 3-5.

Women as an issue will not attract enough attention until they were no longer confined in isolated space. It means they had a capacity to involve in public affairs and impact on public life. Catherine V. Yeh put courtesans in public space and managed to explore those internal factors like courtesans' emotion, behaviour, thoughts, public images and popular reactions they led to in treaty port Shanghai. In her project, courtesans as a social group were able to identify themselves rather than were identified by state or society. They no longer negatively responded to social change especially state power, but cultivated themselves very positively and even attempted to have an impact on social change. She claimed that "they escaped the traditional spatial, ritual, functional, and social enclosures reserved for courtesans, reset the relationship with their clients so as to aggrandize their own power, and presented themselves as 'public women' in the very literal sense..."<sup>13</sup> They had the ability to move in public freely and define the contours of Shanghai urban culture by their exploration of the public arena. Meanwhile women were excluded from the public arena in other urban areas. It is a slight exaggerate that Yeh regarded them as the city's first modern professional women.<sup>14</sup> By tradition, their low status was not upgraded. In fact, people admired them for their close relationship with important person who enjoyed high status like senior officials or had the privilege of becoming powerful like wealthy merchants. Her presence and image was also used as a badge of modern taste and fortune in the same way as foreign restaurants were to some extent.

---

<sup>13</sup> Catherine V. Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*, London: University of Washington Press, pp.7.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, pp. 4-6.

## Chapters

The thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter one examines how China's weakness in competition against western powers was viewed by modernizing elites. They advocated a theory of *ti-yong* 體用 (literally means Essence and Application). These ideas emphasized that advanced technologies should be widely applied in commerce and industry. When those public policies such as *Guandu shangban* 官督商辦 (government-supervised merchant undertakings) brought the economic prosperity to treaty port Shanghai, urban social and cultural change was made. This chapter also examined how the change of entertainment culture in the city was judged. It was majorly viewed as the challenge of the authority of Confucian morality. Chapter two explored how modern entertainment culture became the signal closely associated with modernity of the city. It used two examples of western meals and women. When exploring the prevailing discourse of modern consumerism, food and nationhood and women and paid work, this chapter gave reasons for these urban social and culture changes. The third chapter argued that relaxed gender relations and low cost for modern experience made substantial contributions for the spread of modern leisure activities. Chapter four argued that wealthy merchants became a vital force to make modern entertainment culture popular. It also reflected they became more influential than before.

## Sources

Scholars who lived in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Shanghai witnessed the development of modern entertainment culture. They were also interested in recording and commenting on it. Wang Tao's 王韜(1828-1897) book, *Yingruan zazhi*, 瀛壖雜誌(Miscellanies by the Ocean) of six volumes, which was published in 1875 is an important reference for this study. The author was a social reformer and a leading intellectual in late Qing dynasty. Since the foreign attack in 1840, the Chinese spent decades on the modern world in order to comprehend the nature and depth of the challenge facing them in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a promoter of change in the last decades of the nineteenth century and as a negotiator between civilizations<sup>15</sup>, Wang Tao had comprehended the West and proclaimed his resolution of the challenge because of his unique experience as early as in 1870s. Wang became very knowledgeable about western culture after he migrated to Shanghai in his twenties in 1849 and worked as a translator and editor in The London Missionary Society Press for thirteen years. He was also an eyewitness of the dramatic transformation of treaty port Shanghai when he inhabited in the International Settlement for a decade. During his residence, Wang collected a great number of materials for his personal version of a local history of Shanghai. His eyewitness accounts provided details of the city in respect of the local customs, modern things and new phenomena. Before he left Shanghai in 1862, he had written two volumes of this book. When he wrote the next four volumes and finished the whole book in Hong Kong, he had experienced the *Taiping Rebellion*, the *Second Opium War* (1856-60) and a two-year visit to Europe. He attempted to comprehend the nature and depth of western challenge and rethink Chinese traditional values in order to cope with the

---

<sup>15</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, 2003, London and New York: Routledge, pp.40-1.

Western menace.<sup>16</sup> To some extent, in this book, Wang conveyed the message that how he comprehended the West and how to meet the Western challenge.

Another scholar should be mentioned is Huang Shiquan 黃式權(1852-1925), who was a senior editor of *Shenbao* 申報 in 1880s Shanghai. He was well-educated in Chinese and had a good understanding of western culture. He not only was referred to as *yangchang caizi* 洋場才子 (a talented writer in foreign settlements)<sup>17</sup> but also established a close relationship with elites like Wang Tao and some Japanese intellectuals in late Qing dynasty Shanghai.<sup>18</sup> He was prepared to participate in leisure activities for social intercourse. His book *Songnan mengyinglu* 淞南夢影錄(Dream Shadows of Shanghai) published in 1883 was a valuable reference to this study. Although its name used the expression of shadow and dream, it was not a fiction work but an accurate description of the entertainment business in foreign settlements in 1880s Shanghai. Huang wrote it as a travel note and recorded his experience of visiting those leisure places like teahouses, restaurants, theatres and brothels in detail.

*Huyouzaji* 滬游雜記(Miscellanies of Travel Writing in Shanghai) which was written by Ge Yuanxi 葛元熙 and *Shenjiang shixia shengjingtu* 申江時下勝景圖(The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai) were two important travel guides for this study. Ge was a scholar who had been living in the International Settlement for fifteen years when the book was published in 1876. It was a helping hand for visitors.<sup>19</sup> This four volumes book contained maps of the Old Walled City and the foreign settlements as well as other useful information. The majority of that

---

<sup>16</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *China Unbound: Evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, 2003, London and New York: Routledge, pp.30.

<sup>17</sup> *Shanghai Kunjuzhi*( The History of Kunju Opera in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 1998, pp.293.

<sup>18</sup> Huang shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Dream Shadows of Songnan), 1883, reprint 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.102-3,128,148.

<sup>19</sup> Ge yuanxi, *Huyouzazi* (A miscellany of travel writing in Shanghai), 1876, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.1.



information was still useful even after twenty years. The second book, *Shenjiang shixia shengjingtu* 申江時下勝景圖(The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), reprinted it. In the first half of the book, it used thirty figures of main attractions in the city and each figure was attached to an essay. Both books provided objective and believable sources for this study.

As a local newspaper firstly published in April 1872 by a British businessmen in this city, *Shenbao* 申報 provided precious and comprehensive information of Shanghai in late 19<sup>th</sup> century. News, accounts, comments and advertisements in the newspaper were vital materials for this study. It regularly published news which offered information of important events occurred both at home and overseas. For instance, it promptly reported events in 1879 as the official visit of the President of the USA, the Japanese intrusion into the Ryukyu Islands and Sino-France battles. Those reports could help to increase the understanding of exotic flavours and delights in public spaces in a broader context of Sino-foreign communications and exchanges. Furthermore, the newspaper also published articles which were based on the author's own observations and investigations on popular issues of entertainment culture over decades. Those eyewitness accounts reflected different attitudes towards modern entertainment culture. In addition to subjective accounts, short essays objectively reported the exertion of official bans. After local government issued a ban to forbid women from teahouses in 1867 and reiterated it in 1870s and 1880s, the newspaper continuously reported detailed inspections of teahouses, subsequent developments and punishments for violations in concrete terms for several days in 1874 and 1885. At the same time, another ban to forbid disputes settlements in teahouses was issued as well. The newspaper also published some articles that vividly depicted scenes of violation affairs and subsequent punishments. Those short essays provided important evidence to analyse

popular reactions to the social change. Moreover, a large amount of advertisements in the newspaper offered reliable evidence with which the developments of modern leisure facilities could be traced.

*Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報(Dianshizhai Periodicals) was also a useful and reliable primary source for this study. It was originally an attachment of *Shenbao*. This periodical published three times a month and issued over more than a decade between May 1884 and September 1898. It illustrated not only influential events like Sino-foreign wars and treaties, but curious and interesting anecdotes in relation to modern things and social phenomena in late nineteenth century Shanghai in the form of short essays attached to vivid pictures. Those pictures provided excellent materials for this research to trace the transformation of leisure facilities, such as room decorations, leisure facilities, customers' clothing, manners as well as activities. The attached essays not only depicted those events in concise and clear sentences but contained the author's remarks on public affairs which might reflect the observations of literati as a social group.

In addition to *Dianshizhai Periodical*, *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報(Illustrated Daily) was another useful primary source for this study. It was a pictorial newspaper published every day since August 1909 and ended in the next August in Shanghai.<sup>20</sup> This publication focused more attention on news and the growing concern over political and social change. In this newspaper, a daily column named *the Social Phenomena of Shanghai* conveyed information of new leisure activities in the form of short essays attached to drawings. The attached essays were usually the author's comments rather than an accurate description of those social phenomena. It also

---

<sup>20</sup> *Tuhua Ribao*, 1909, reprint: 1999, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.3.

reflected the perspective of intellectuals as a social group at the end of the nineteenth century Shanghai.

*The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* contained written records of the board meeting of Shanghai Municipal Council, i.e. SMC. It was an administrative institution of the International Settlement in Shanghai for almost one century<sup>21</sup>. Since the first board meeting held on 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1854, board members usually discussed administrative matters and made decisions in the meeting every week. Those discussions and decisions involved investments in infrastructure, the exertion of regulations made both by local and foreign authorities, the demographics of inhabitants, taxation of leisure facilities and etc. Those records provided valuable evidence for claims of this study when it explores the transformation of teahouses and a change of gender relations. For example, wealthy Chinese immigrants preferred to settle in the International Settlement for special safety measures were promised in 1854. There was a sudden rise in the number of teahouses in the International Settlement in the second half of the 19th century and the smaller ones were gradually being displaced by others of a larger and better class.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the foreign authority declined to enforce a local ban prohibiting women from modern teahouses and protested their punishment in 1885.

*The Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council* is another important archive for this study. It reported important changes took place in the International Settlement yearly since 1863. For example, it recorded the construction of electric lights, roads and drainage systems in details as well as security conditions of each district in that area.

---

<sup>21</sup> In 1854, Shanghai foreign settlements established authorities called Shanghai Municipal Council, i.e. SMC. In 1941, Japan controlled the International Settlement. Two years later, the government of Republican China regained all of the foreign settlements in Shanghai.

<sup>22</sup> *Shanghai Municipal Council Report for the year ended 31st December 1896 and Budget for the year ending 31st December 1897, 1897*, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, pp.30. In this report, teahouses were recorded as tea-shops.

## Chapter 1 Modern entertainment and the economic prosperity of the Chinese nation-state

From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the humiliating defeat in the two 'Opium Wars' (1839-42 and 1856-60) roused the clamour for national reconstruction. The school of thought known as *ti-yong* 體用 (which literally means Essence and Application) became popular as it discussed China's weakness compared to western powers. These *ti-yong* reformers advocated China for essence and West for technology. While western knowledge and technologies were introduced to China by some modernising elites, they did not embrace them blindly. They actively selected those aspects of western knowledge that fitted their agenda and endowed them with indigenous meanings.

Wang Tao 王韜 (1828-1897), a late Qing reformer who pioneered modern journalism in China, for instance, preached the message that the power of the nation depended on the possession and application of advanced technologies. Advanced technologies, often seen as inseparable from weapons and machines, were understood as the sole measure of the military and economic power of a country, and thus as the basis for China to increase its state power. China's weakness was regarded as a consequence of her outdated technologies, widely used in defense and industry. By comparing the Chinese to western means in some areas, Wang depicted China as the 'agricultural economy rather than the commercial and industrial one' – a nation encouraging agriculture and restraining commerce and industry, which made it unwilling to use modern technologies and machines extensively in the economy, and also made China unable to thrive as a prosperous country. Writing in the early 1860s, Wang Tao proclaimed that in order to make China strong and wealthy, it was of prime importance to apply modern technologies in

commerce and industry.

One of a few leading elites that was visiting Europe for years in the 1860s, Wang Tao was also the first one to use western machines in the media industry. Comparing the Chinese technique to western ones, he pointed out that the latter's print press and camera helped them produce newspapers in the English language effectively and gave them a big advantage over the former, by which a newspaper in the Chinese language was published over ten years later in treaty port Shanghai. After living in the International Settlement for several years, he admired the prosperity of this area in the city. In an essay, he asserted that the reconstruction of the nation depended on the citizens' loyalty to the country. Their loyalty lay in the economic conditions, measured in terms of people's living conditions. Only a good living person could be good-mannered and morally upright. Thus, only by developing commerce and industry could the Chinese people become affluent and loyal citizens. China's economic crises, social problems and civil rebellion were all results of the low living standard of many Chinese people.

It was said that modern machines would replace manual labours. In fact, it was only human beings who could make them operate effectively. Thus, people could make a living as workers.<sup>23</sup>

As in the case of treaty port Shanghai, it was believed that the economic prosperity could be achieved by the application of modern technologies and western management in the navigation, machinery and manufacturing industry, and commercial enterprises such as

---

<sup>23</sup> Wang Tao, *Taoyuan wenlu waibian (A Supplementary Collection of Wang Tao's Articles)*, 1883, reprint: 1994, Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, pp.67-8.

navigation companies, mines and cotton mills. A new pattern of joint venture called *Guandu shangban* 官督商辦 (government-supervised merchant undertakings) was launched. According to Wang Tao, only the development of commerce and industry could enhance the economic prosperity of the area, which would improve the citizens' living standard. When the prosperity was assessed by Wang Tao and other members of the modernising elite, the change of entertainment culture was understood to be the negative part.

In an essay, Wang Tao favoured western machines and tools which applied advanced technologies and western management of the customs in the city. He also admired the authority of the International Settlement introduced modern western technologies in public spaces for the public to use. As western culture spread rapidly in this area of the city, the authority of Confucian morality was challenged. Inhabitants and visitors preferred modern facilities and foreign products. The latter became a means of conspicuous consumption. The display of one's wealth became a desired and aspired pastime. Saving and frugality was much despised. Low-class people used to violate social norms and they showed a complete lack of respect for the literati who enjoyed higher status than them. The conventional restrictions on sexes seemed to be lifted when women freely enjoyed modern leisure facilities such as modern teahouses, restaurants and theatres, along with men.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi (Miscellanies by the Ocean)*, 1875, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.3,9,10,23, 121-30.

## Chapter Two Entertainment as modernity

After the city became a treaty port in 1843, Shanghai was gradually divided into four sections: the Old Walled City, the French Concession, the International Settlement and a large amount of rural area. Figure 1 showed that foreign settlements were not very far away from the old Chinese area. In the central district of the International Settlement (Fig. 2), modern teahouses and restaurants became a definable feature of the emerging entertainment culture for urban Shanghai. Comparing with those traditional ones (Fig.3-5), buildings of teahouses opened in the Fourth Avenue were constructed in a Western style, which were three-storey or even five-storey with spacious balconies, decorated with glass for a splendid view (Fig. 6-8).

While modern entertainment culture continued to be driven by modern facilities, it also promoted many social changes. Modern citizen's ability to consume things previously preserved for the royalty and privileged for the officials became an important feature of modern entertainment. When urban citizens were able to share in the economic prosperity of the city, foreign food became popular, spreading from foreign clubs to teahouses and restaurants throughout the International Settlement. The exotic foods variety became affordable commodities and luxury items for Shanghai citizens to consume, while this new experience of exotica was previously the royal prerogative. Western bread and Japanese cake were introduced and adopted as gifts in the 1870s, together with sweets, chocolates and other western confectionaries.<sup>25</sup> Modern teahouses and restaurants regularly were advised in the local newspapers, such as *Shenbao*. They served functions of being entertainment space, as well as

---

<sup>25</sup> *Shenbao*, 28th, 29th and 30th October 1873 (the Chinese calendar)

public and social institutions. At the same time, more foreign restaurants equipped with modern facilities that provided regular western meals, opened in the Fourth Avenue of the International Settlement and quickly became fashionable.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> *Shenbao*, 2nd May and 28th September, 1883. Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu (Dream Shadows of Songnan)*, 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 148-9.



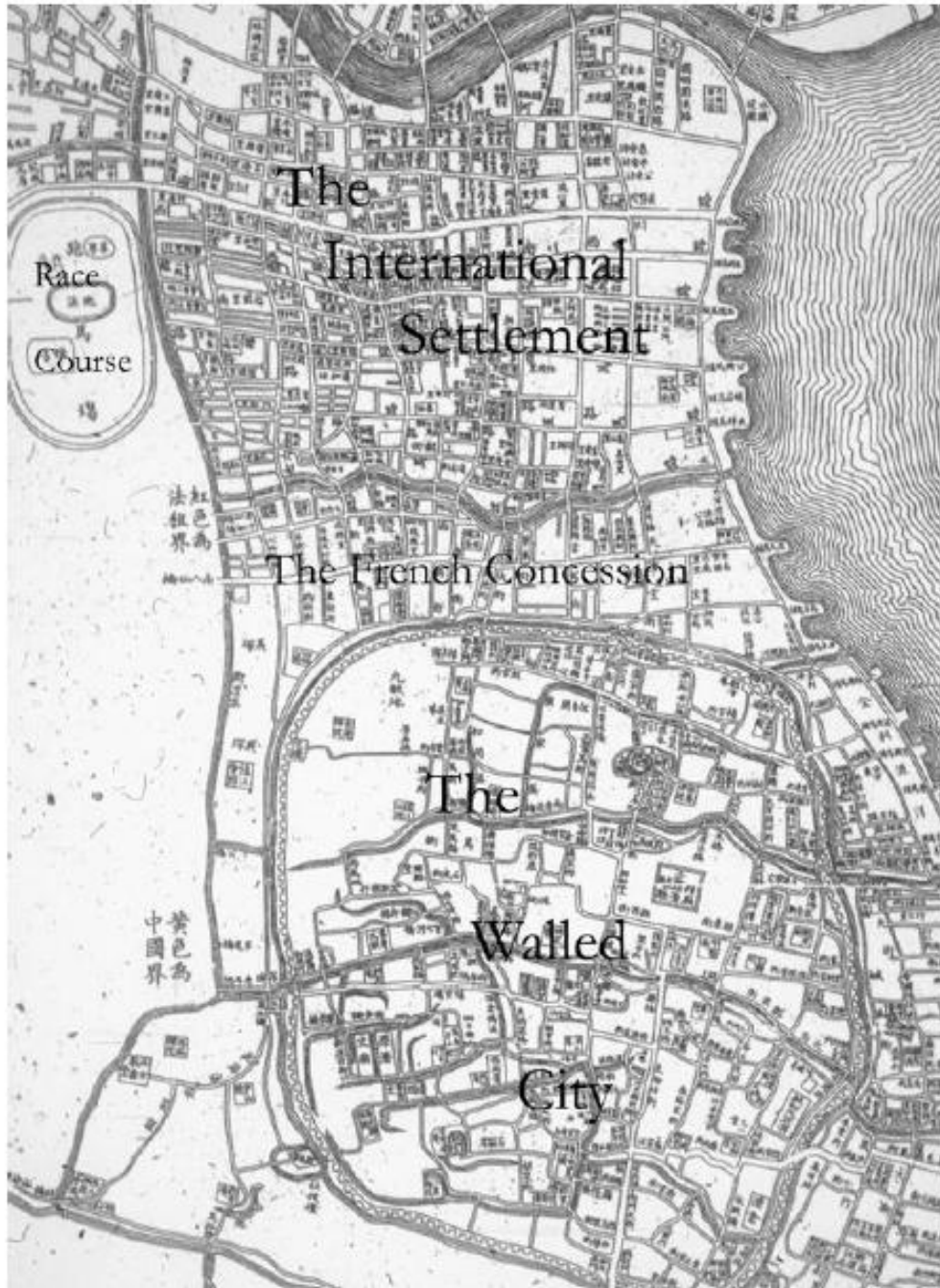


Figure 1. Map showing Shanghai in 1901,  
from Shanghai Library

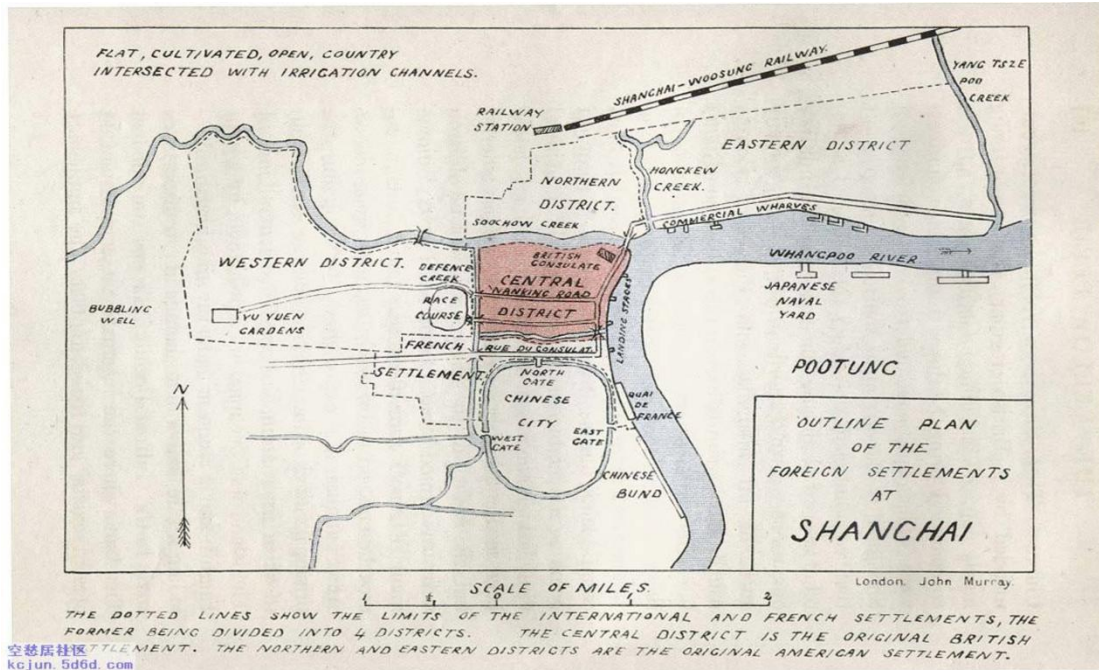


Figure 2 Map showing the districts of the International Settlements at Shanghai 1899  
 from: [http://www.virtualshanghai.net/Asset/Preview/vcMap\\_ID-777\\_No-1.jpeg](http://www.virtualshanghai.net/Asset/Preview/vcMap_ID-777_No-1.jpeg)

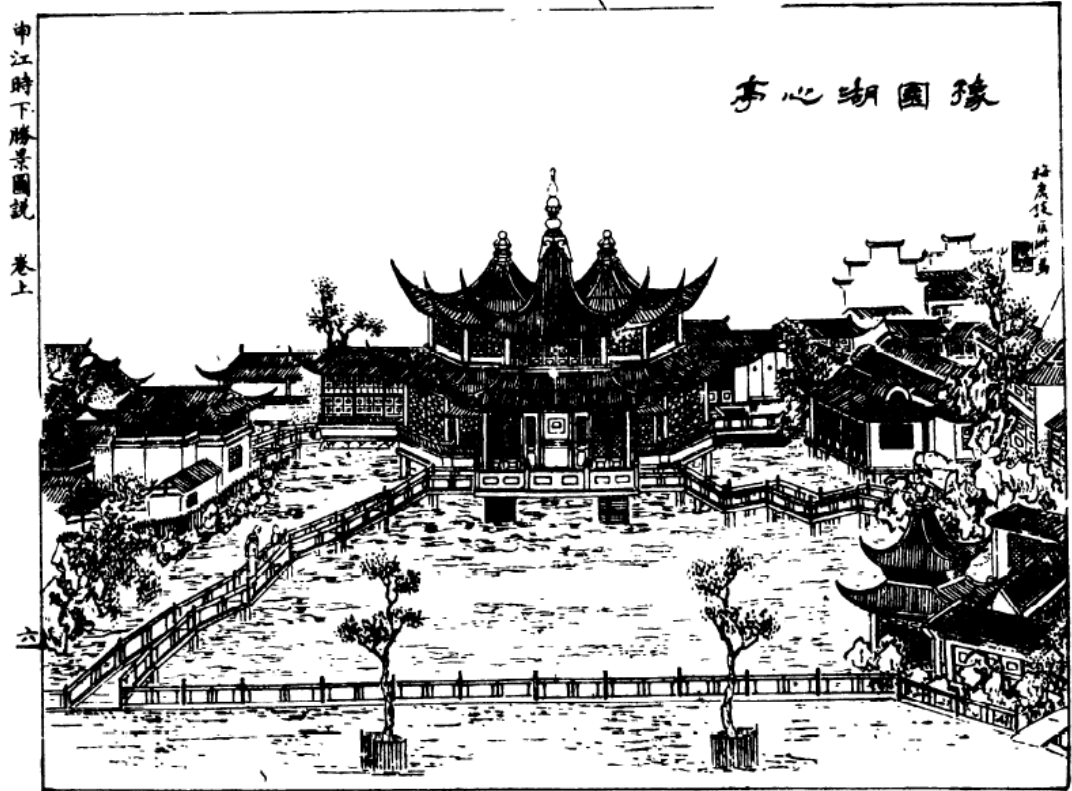


Figure 3. A traditional teahouse of a larger and better class in the Old Walled City,  
from *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo*

申江時下勝景圖說 (The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1894.

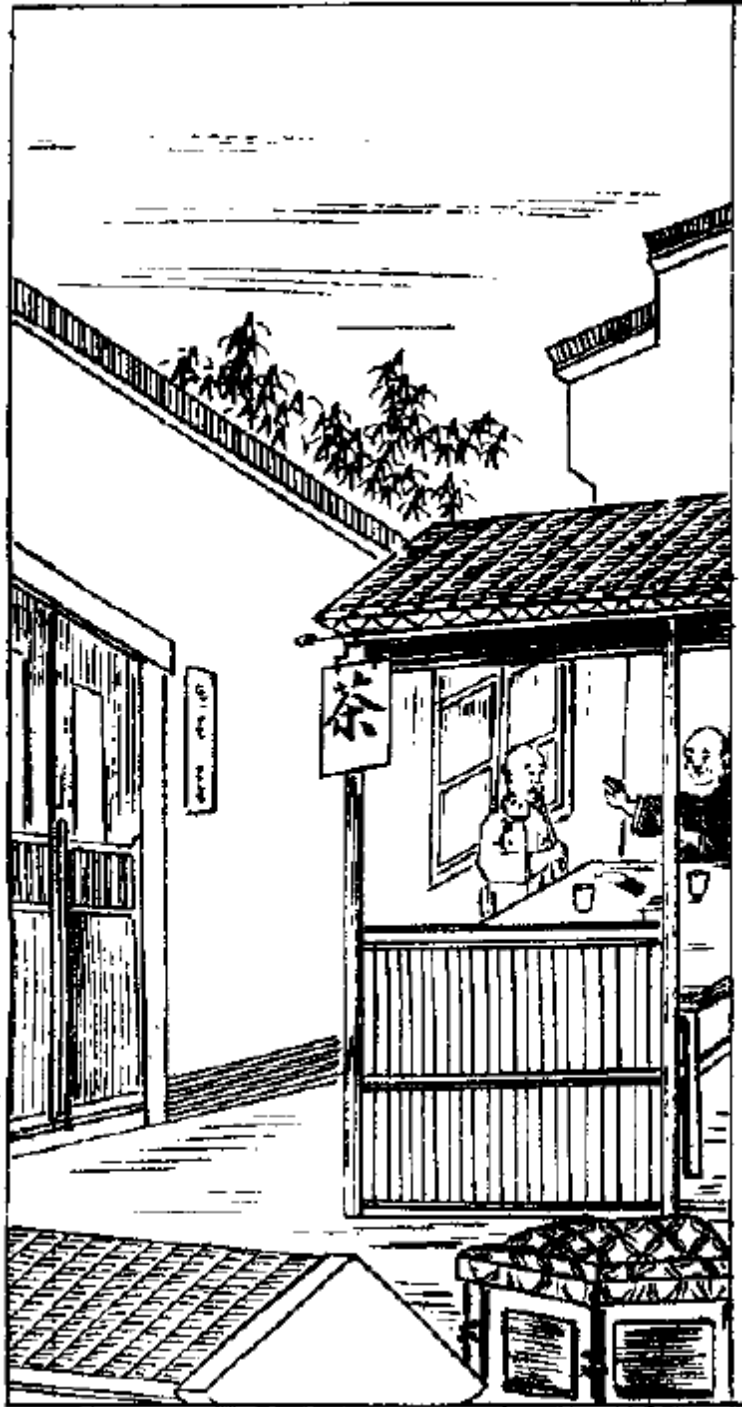


Figure 4. A traditional teahouse of a smaller and cheaper class,  
from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報, Vol.1, 1909, reprint: 1999,  
Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.545.

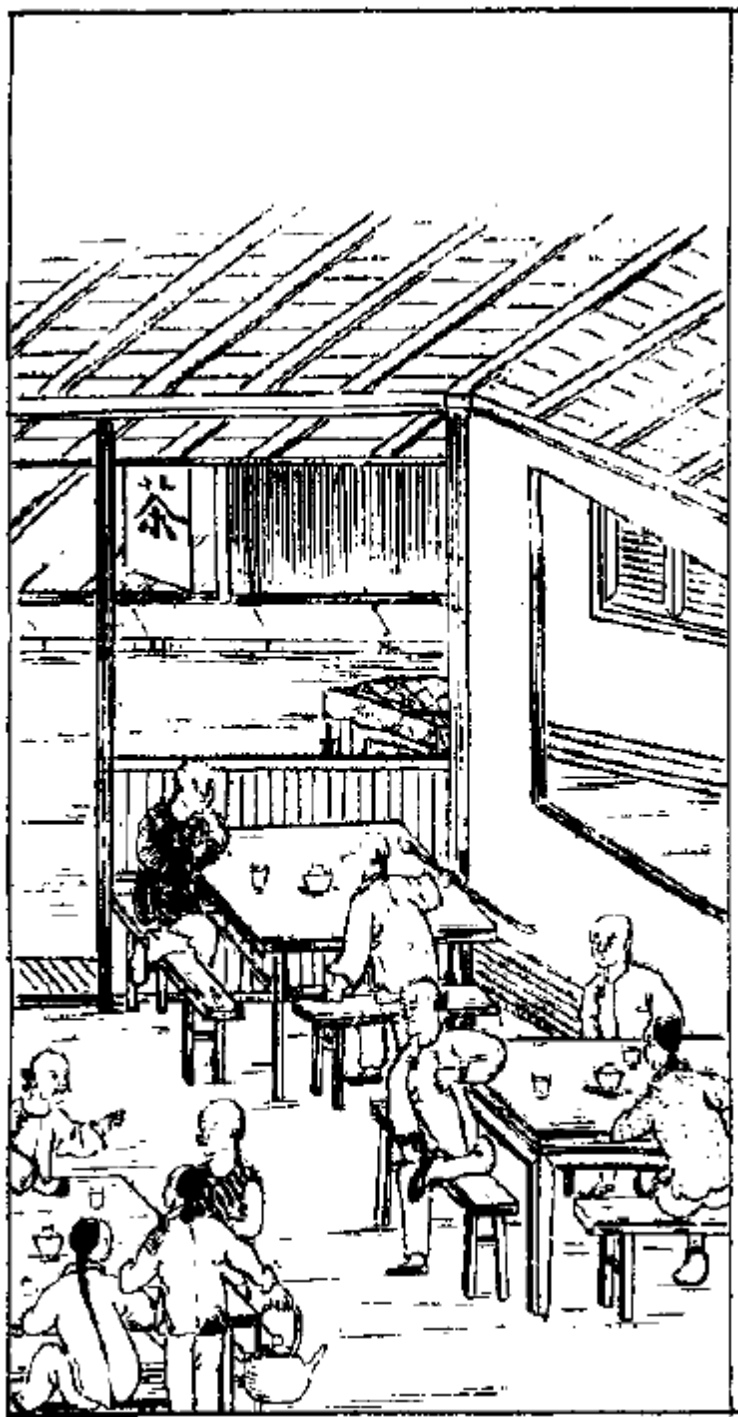


Figure 5. Customers in a traditional teahouse of a smaller and cheaper class,  
from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報, Vol.1, 1909, reprint: 1999,  
Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.557.

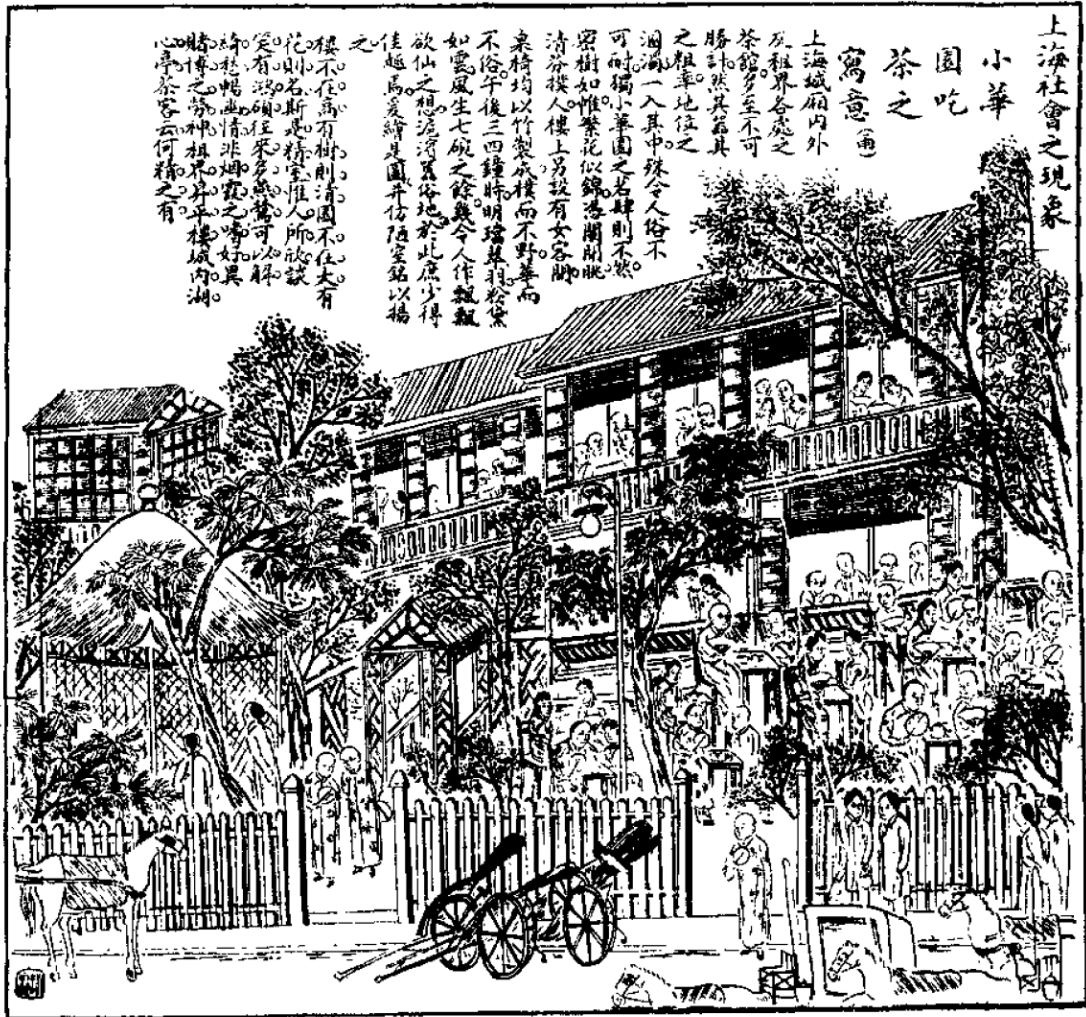


Figure 6. A modern teahouse named *Xiaohua Yuan* 小華園 in the International Settlement, from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報, Vol.1, 1909, reprint: 1999, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.439.

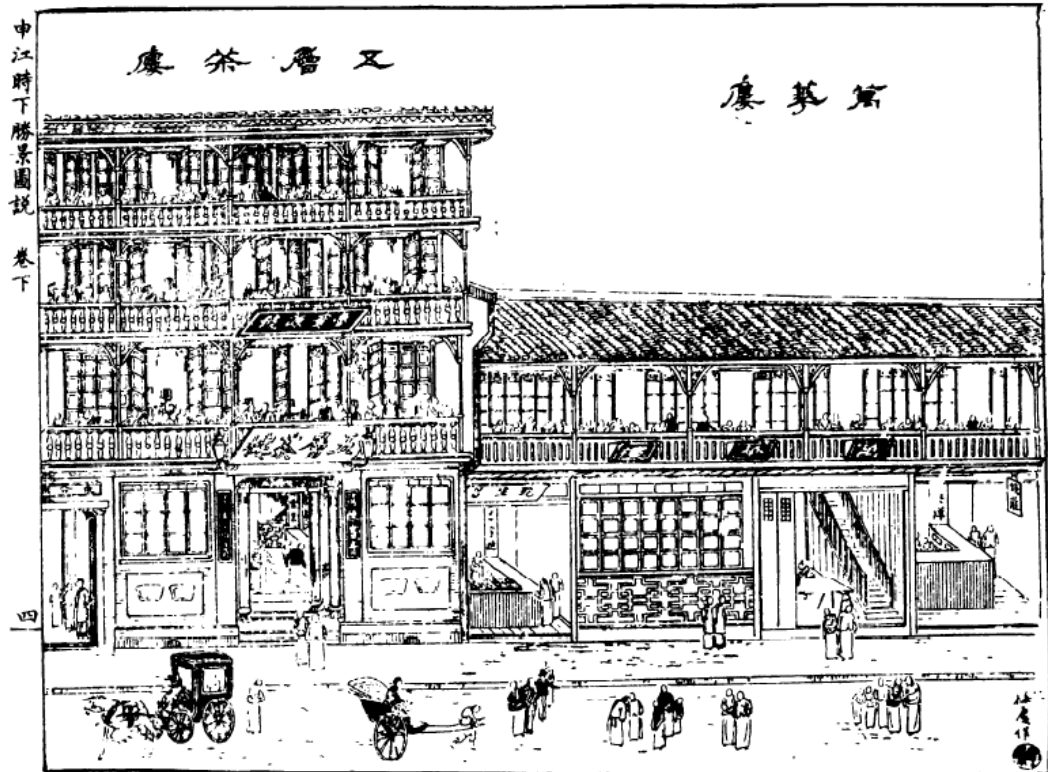


Figure 7. A five-storey teahouse in Fourth Avenue in the International Settlement,  
from *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo*

申江時下勝景圖說(The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1894.

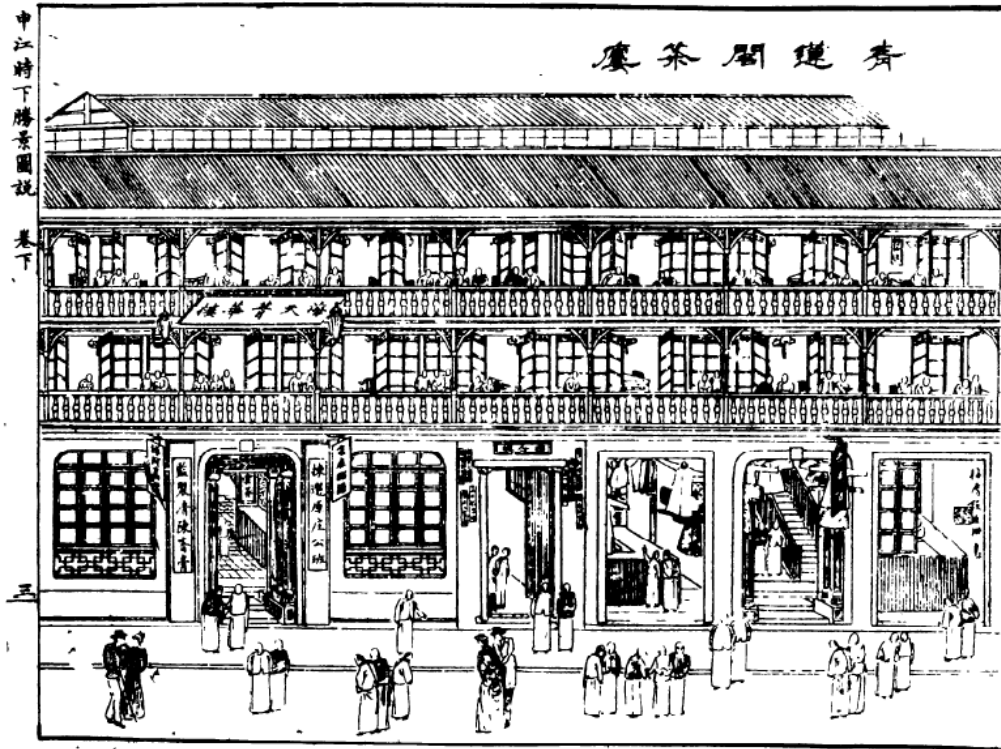


Figure 8. A famous modern teahouse named *Qinglian ge* 青蓮閣 (The Lotus Pavilion) from *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo* 申江時下勝景圖說 (The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1894.



## Western meals

Like foreign clothes, foreign customs and foreign vehicles, western meals were badges of social status for Shanghai's urban citizens. To eat western meals was to show oneself as 'modern', 'rich' and even 'extravagant'. It was also regarded as conspicuous consumption. For instance, the price of a western meal was very expensive for scholars and even unaffordable for workers.<sup>27</sup>

The literati criticised the high price of meals in foreign restaurants the same as they reprimanded other kinds of conspicuous consumption. The conventional preference for saving and frugality over spending and lavishness constitutes a tenacious tradition of thought in China. The Chinese cultural elite believed that an extravagant and lavish lifestyle would lead to social disorder. Wang Tao strongly criticised those wasteful luxuries in treaty port Shanghai.<sup>28</sup> Other scholars often used a disappointed and regretful tone when they mentioned those regular customers of foreign restaurants, who were well-dressed young men of aristocratic families.<sup>29</sup> They indicated that those leisure facilities for conspicuous consumption badly impacted the young elite. It seemed that when they appeared in the early 1880s Shanghai, foreign restaurants had not been recognised as a proper place for entertainment by the literati. As writers of local travel notes who had a big advantage over a wide readership, they introduced a set of western entertainment, such as horse races, rowing, circuses and magic in detail to their readership<sup>30</sup>, but conveyed the message of their rejection of foreign restaurants to the public, in an attempt to

---

<sup>27</sup> In accordance with the statements on the monthly salary of Shanghai intellectuals and workers, 15 *yuan* was a very high monthly salary for an intellectual who was employed as a Chinese language teacher in a foreign school established by the French Concession, while 6 *yuan* was an average monthly salary for workers at the end of the nineteenth century. Wu zhenyi, *Qingmo Shanghai zujie shehui (the Foreign Settlements in Late Qing Shanghai)*, 1978, Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, pp.132-40.

<sup>28</sup> Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi (Miscellanies by the Ocean)*, 1875, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 3, 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Shenbao*, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1872 (Chinese calendar), pp. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi (Miscellanies by the Ocean)*, 1875, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 121-30.

influence readers' behaviour.

Meanwhile, foreign restaurants were welcomed by well-dressed young men of aristocratic families and rich merchants, because it was an ideal place for amusement and showing their fortune and modern taste as well. This could be observed from those eyewitness accounts.<sup>31</sup> Chi Zhicheng argued that they frequently visited there in order to pursue unusual things, which were quite different from the traditional ones, rather than have a good taste of food.<sup>32</sup> From Chi's perspective, rich merchants desired to show off the novelty of their taste by means of visiting foreign restaurants. This argument could be agreed.

Foreign restaurants were an ideal leisure space for wealthy merchants to show off their fortune and to consume modern taste. They greatly distinguished themselves from other restaurants serving regional Chinese cuisine. For example, a high standard of cleanliness was a common advantage used to emphasise western meals in foreign restaurants.<sup>33</sup> Their design was greatly improved. Comparing with the cramped eating area in Chinese restaurants as Figure 9, 10 and 11 illustrated, the eating area in foreign restaurants was divided into separate compartments. Meanwhile, kitchen utensils were described as being glimmering. As they were also among the earliest Chinese establishments to use gas and electricity, electrical lights were widely used as well as other modern appliances. Detailed pictures (Fig. 12-13) drawn by well-known artists depicted those separate compartments in *Yipingxiang fancaiguan* 一品香番菜館, a highly praised foreign restaurant in the Fourth Avenue in the International Settlement. They were

---

<sup>31</sup> Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Dream Shadows of Shanghai), 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 132. Chi Zhicheng, *huyou mengying* (Dream Shadow of a Tour of Shanghai), 1893, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 158.

<sup>32</sup> Chi Zhicheng, *huyou mengying* (Dream Shadow of a Tour of Shanghai), 1893, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 158.

<sup>33</sup> Ge Yuanxi, *Huyouzaji* (Miscellanies of Travel Notes in Shanghai), 1876, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 30. Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Dream Shadows of Songnan), 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 132.

furnished with Victorian decor: a gas lantern of blown glass bulbs, a fireplace, a European-style clock, and vases holding fresh flowers. It can be seen in Figure 13 that an ornate gold mirror was hung from the ceiling in the corridor and the decor was notably extravagant. At the same time, elegance was the most common word used when their customers were mentioned. They were described as elegant gentlemen and ladies who paid great attention to their personal appearance and manners. As Figure 14 described, they wore fashionable clothes, ate western meals comfortably with skill and grace and were always at ease in western dining etiquette. This helped eating western meals in foreign restaurants become refined entertainment for elites to socialise with their friends. Furthermore, when foreign restaurants began to develop, some of them provided modern entertainment which had never appeared in the city before. At that time, visiting foreign restaurants was recognised as a symbolic representation of modern taste.

Ingredients of western meals began to attract a great deal of media attention. For example, beef and steak, as a regular supply provided in foreign restaurants were discussed with disdain. Such food was seldom included in lists of Chinese restaurant dishes, linked to the belief that both common cattle and water buffalos were praised for their contributions to farm working, while agricultural production was viewed as the root of the creation of national wealth in Confucian China.

Wang Tao, an advocate of the *ti-yong* approach, also strongly criticised beef consumption in foreign restaurants. In his travel note, he testified:

Beef was prohibited from eating since the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) and it was believed to help avoid a natural disaster. However, this prohibition did not work well in

the city and inhabitants violated it publicly, due to the presence of Westerners. They abused materials they could make use of.<sup>34</sup>

As in Europe, beef was at the top of the meat hierarchy, while meat consumption became part of a modernist culture project that promoted a nutritious diet as a positive social force from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. There was a shared belief that national wealth lay in the labour of industrial workers and their bodies became the basis for the work force. Spurred by a new knowledge of nutrition science, the chemical metaphor featured prominently in the modern chemical discourse of the working body. The chemistry of foods ingredients was related to animal physiology in knowledge of nutrition science and food consumption was described in a broader context of economic growth. Chemists labeled foods rich in materials that were able to develop organic force and provided the energy for the work force. A worker's body was described as an industrial plant. It turned food into work force that could be stored and released for later use. Used in a collective manner, work force created the wealth of the nation. Thus, protein metabolism became a key to the individual worker's capacity to work, while meat consumption by the collective body of workers became a key to increase state power.

At the same time, in the Anglo world, the world of those who spoke English, beef was identified as an essential ingredient for the Anglo cuisine. It also became the perception in the society that Anglos as western powers had colonised other countries. It was widely believed that such political and economic expansion was closely linked to the bread-and-beef cuisine. Compared with the Anglo cuisine, the Eastern grain-diet was thought to make the body weaker

---

<sup>34</sup> Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi (Miscellanies by the Ocean)*, 1875, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp9,23.

than that of the Westerners, who were fed on a meat-diet. Some Chinese elites argued that only by being fed highly nutritious food could the Chinese people become vigorous.<sup>35</sup>

As the city was gradually transformed into a modern and metropolitan area from the 1880s, as well as becoming more affluent, foreign restaurants swept the central district of the International Settlement, becoming an integral part of modern entertainment. An article published in a daily newspaper, *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Illustrated Daily), reported that: there are more than ten foreign restaurants in the vicinity of the Fourth Avenue. Among those foreign restaurants, *Yipinxiang* 一品香 and *Yizhixiang* 一枝香 are distinguished for their decoration, while *Yijiachun* 一家春 and *Lingnanlou* 嶺南樓 are famous for their delicious dishes. Foreign restaurants are some of the most valuable destinations for domestic visitors. They prefer western meals rather than Chinese dishes. It reflects that Chinese people now enjoy things of novelty and prefer change. .... Both the fish and prawn soups are delicious if pepper is added. Steaks and pork chops are very crispy when matched with sweet potatoes. It is so delightful to drink a glass of brandy. In the meantime, it is also quite a good feeling to have a cup of coffee or tea and smoke a cigarette.<sup>36</sup> It was definitely a highly positive appraisal of foreign restaurants. At the end of the 19th century in Shanghai, visiting foreign restaurants became a very popular leisure activity and it also constituted to a modern lifestyle in the city.

---

<sup>35</sup> Xuke, *Qingbai leichao*(Assorted collection of Qing anecdotal records), Vol. 13, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986, pp.6233.

<sup>36</sup> Tuhuaribao, Vol. 1, 1909, reprint: 1999, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 547.

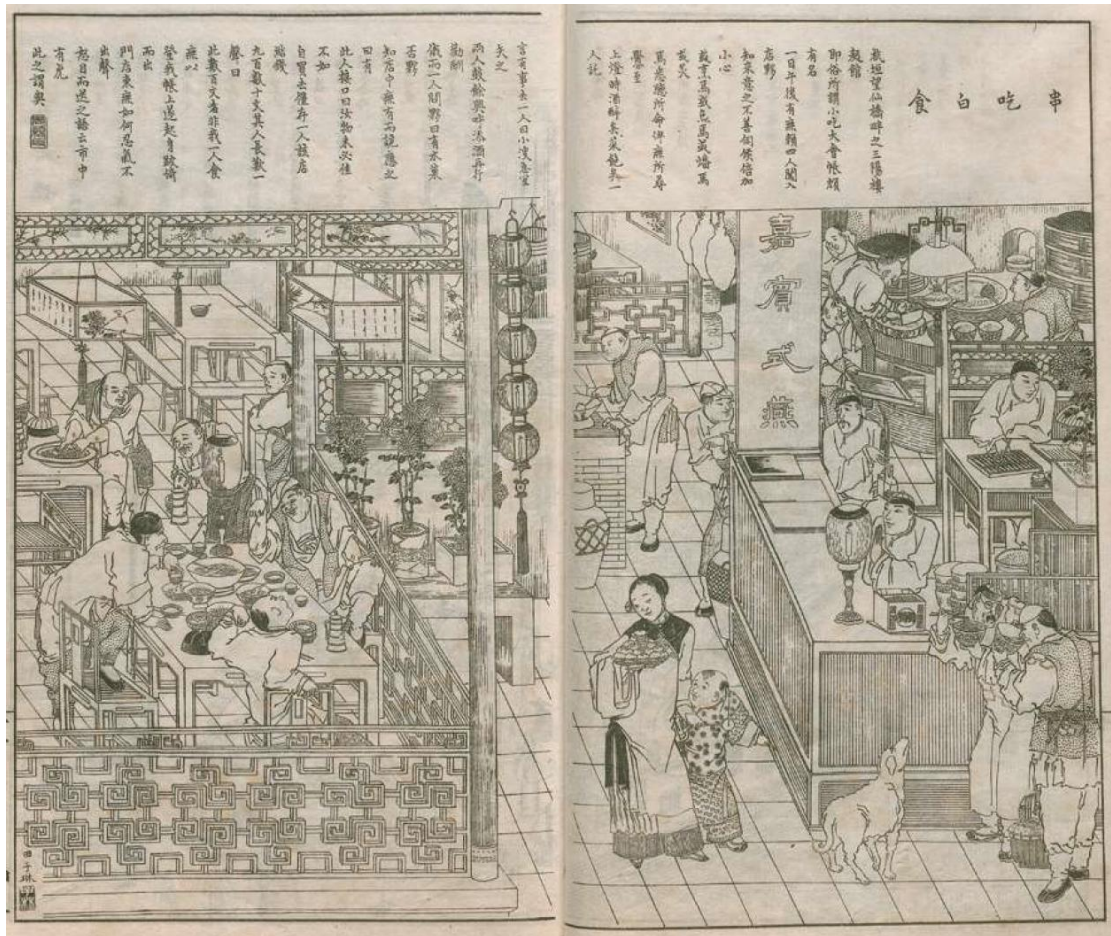


Figure 9. The decoration of a traditional restaurant  
from *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, Vol.3 of November 1884.

# 飯店中之騙子

日前有岷縣人某甲肩負行李擬趁船赴杭中途遇一人自稱亦係赴杭者堪作同伴即邀甲至飯舖晚餐食畢謂如此長途舟中不免腹餓因付錢五十文令甲往購香糕甲信之持錢而往及購香糕行李已不知去向始知遇騙即四處追尋毫無蹤跡

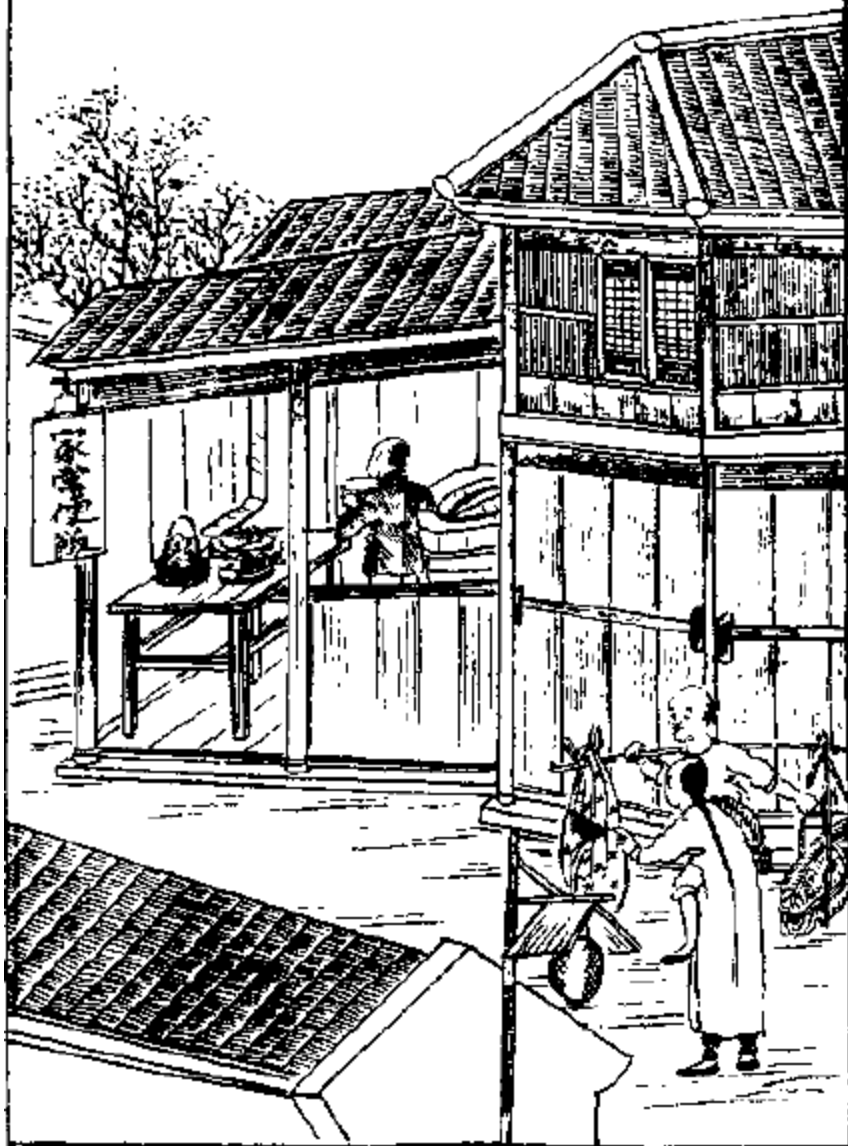


Figure 10. A traditional restaurant in the Old Walled City, from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Illustrated Daily), 1909, Vol.1, pp.82, reprint:1999.



4-463

Figure 11. A traditional restaurant

from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Illustrated Daily), Vol.4, 1909, pp.463, reprint: 1989



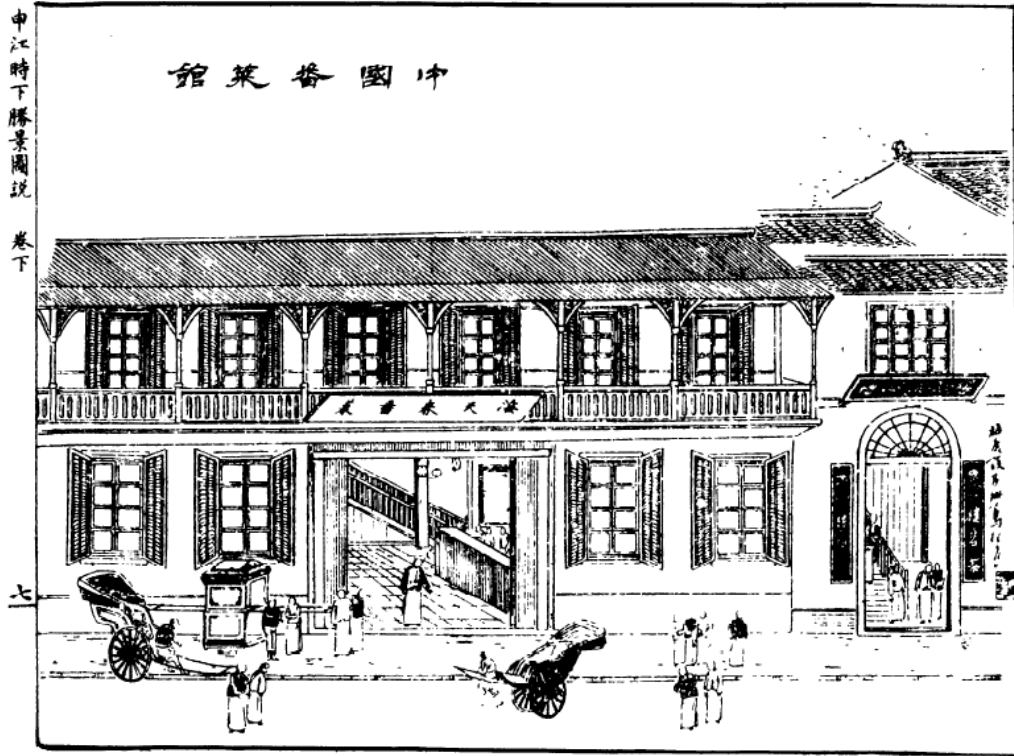
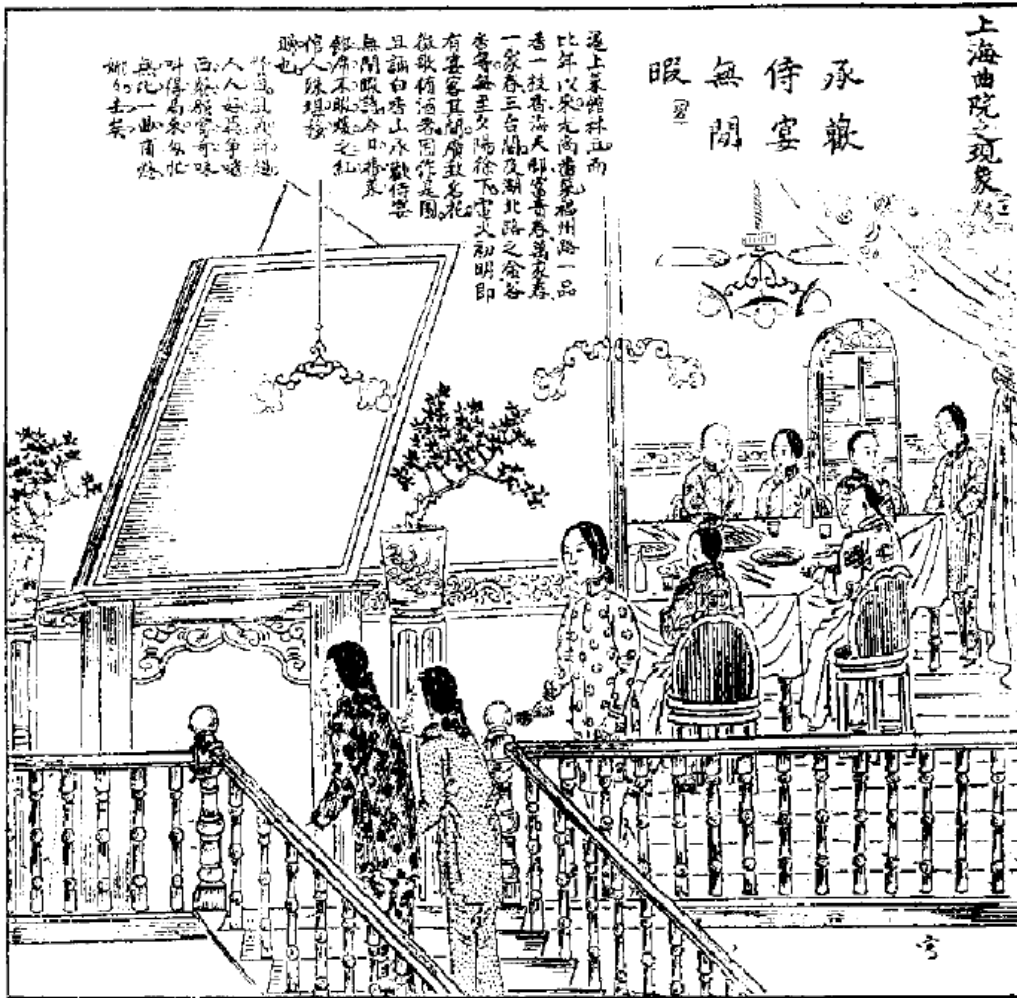


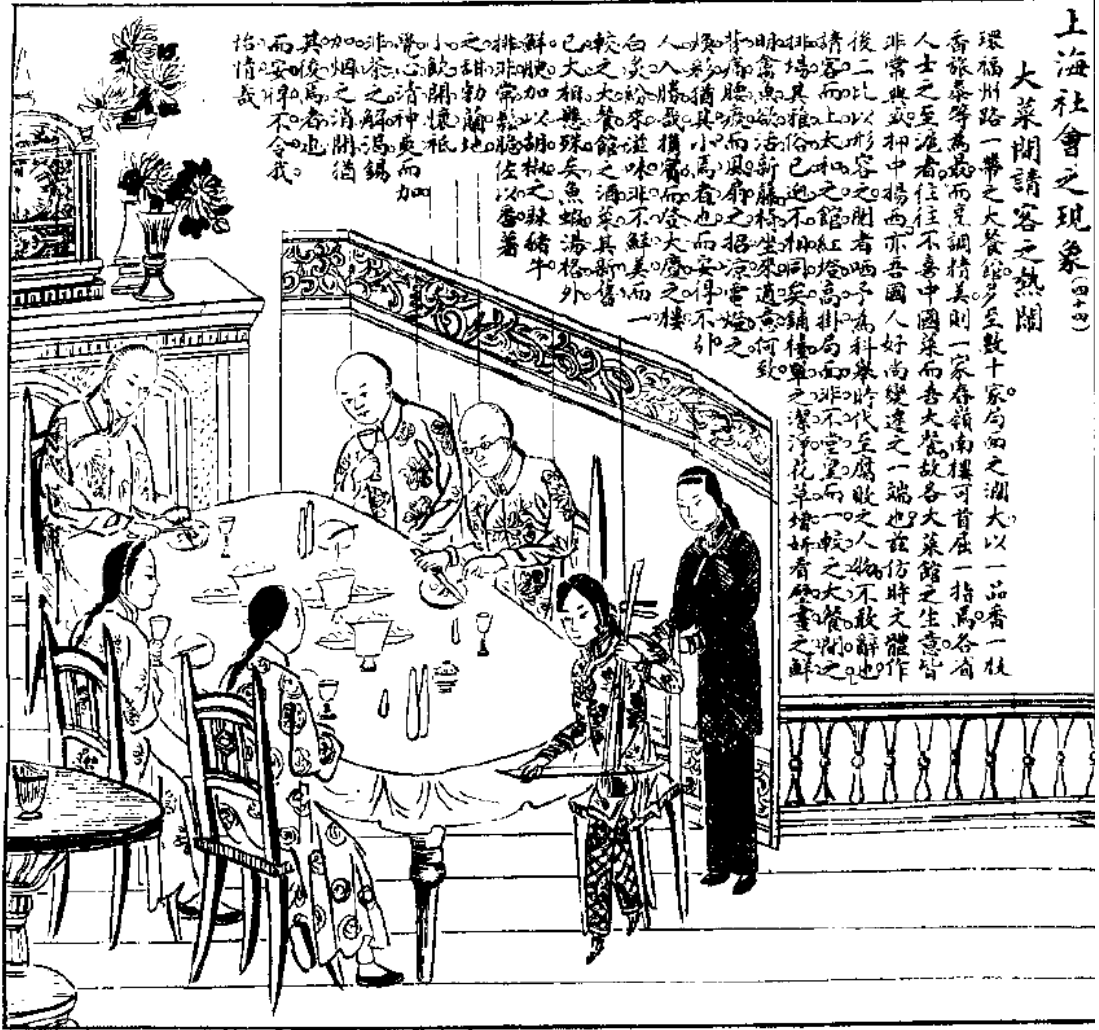
Figure 12. The decoration of a foreign restaurant  
 from *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo*

申江時下勝景圖說(The Recent Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1894, pp.106



5-583

Figure 13. An ornate Interior of a foreign restaurant  
from *Tuhua ribao* 圖畫日報 (Illustrated Daily), Vol.5, 1909, pp.583, reprint: 1999



1-547

Figure 14. A dinner in a foreign restaurant

from Tuhuaribao 圖畫日報(Illustrated Daily), Vol.1, 1909, reprint: 1999, pp.547.

## Women

Modern entertainment culture was particularly widespread amongst low-class working women living in the International Settlement. Depictions of women visiting modern teahouses and mingling with men in the local newspaper reflected the unsettling effects of the money-driven economy of the city.<sup>37</sup> The local official ban against women visits to teahouses could be understood as part of an effort to protect the sanctity of hierarchical gender relations in an era of rapid social change. The accounts of prestige travel notes expressed the literati's anxiety over status in general and gender boundaries in particular. It destabilised the conventional Confucian moral order that stated that it was the women's virtue to be confined at home.

It was considered that only a paid worker, a manual labour earning a modest salary was able to settle down and raise his family in the city. This was the case for both low-class men and women. It was common among low-class families who needed women to earn an income. In an essay published in the local newspaper, *Shenbao*, the writer wrote: in rural villages of *Jiangnan* (regions surrounding Shanghai, which literally means south of *Yangtse*), the majority of women could help the families do hard manual labour in the fields, while in urban areas, women could help the family by working in factories. After the Shanghai Silk Mill opened, many women were employed. .... The development of Sino-foreign trade offered women the opportunity to earn money.<sup>38</sup>

A traditional Chinese labour, on the other hand, was thought to represent 'inefficiency', 'illiteracy' and 'low payment'. That women did not go out to work was explained by a reference to Confucian view of women and their virtue. Gender differences were found in every part of

---

<sup>37</sup> *Shenbao*, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1872(the Chinese calendar), pp. 3-4; 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1872 (the Chinese calendar, pp.2).

<sup>38</sup> *Shenbao*, 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1882, pp.1-2.

manual labour. While a young man was valued for his physical strength to do hard manual work, a young woman's worth was linked to her capacity to do handmade work, such as needlework and weaving, which was important to increase a family's income. When work was organized on the basis of putting-out using family labour, women worked not for individual wages, but for a collective wage determined by how much the whole family could produce and the prevailing piece rate in rural areas. Their efforts and their pay were buried in the family economy. While they worked as unpaid domestic workers in rural areas, low-class women could work as a handmaiden in wealthy families and a weaver in silk or cotton mills, and thus received a modest salary in the city.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Shanghai, the growing demand for low-class workers played an important role in the development of such mobility amongst low-class women. Going out to work in Shanghai appealed to individuals of rural backgrounds, transforming the ways low-class women increased their family income. Foreign entrepreneurs employed women workers to sort cotton and silk, to clean up bird feathers, and to make matches and cigarettes in workshops. Wealthy families employed women to work as household maidservants.<sup>39</sup> The need for female workers who have the ability to do handmade work in government supervised silk mills, as well as in the Sino-foreign joint venture in the textile industry spread the message of the economic prosperity of the city through individual aspiration to 'earn more money' – the basis of having a better life.

Such mobility of low-class workers gradually changed ordinary people's understandings of 'earnings' and 'labour'. Full-time employment provided a regular supply of disposable income,

---

<sup>39</sup> Sun Yutang, *Zhongguo jindai gongyeshi ziliao xuanji* (*A Collection of Materials of the Modern China Industry History*), the last half of Vol. 1, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1957, pp. 1231-2.

and thus women were encouraged to go out to work in order to improve the living conditions of their families. A regular timetable for work and rest changed the female worker's lifestyle: they could have spare time and enough money to enjoy modern leisure activities as those enjoyed by their male counterparts.

At the same time, women were always portrayed as 'frail bodies', 'a vulnerable and pure group protected from the contaminating influences of the outside world', 'socially powerless persons' and 'the passive role in gender relations'. Figure 15 showed that when women appeared in public for visiting an exhibition, they should be accompanied by others like servants and friends. If there was a vast crowd gathered, women must be apart from men. Public interaction between women and men was viewed as a violation of Confucian norms and it was blamed on women. Wang Tao regarded this kind of activity as women's unruly behaviour. He also criticised those women who enjoyed themselves in visiting public places.<sup>40</sup> A normally good woman was thought to be quiet and submissive, as well as to have many virtues such as self-sacrifice, wifely loyalty and motherly devotion. In Wang's perspective, she should lead a chaste life. A woman's chastity was considered as her highest virtue.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, low-class working women settled in the city, lost the 'protective' barrier of home and segregation from men in public. They took it to their advantage by enjoying modern leisure activities and mingled with men in modern teahouses.

A traditional teahouse in the city was thought to be a private enjoyment for literati and a conference venue for merchants. The divisions of class between the literati, peasants, workers or artisans and merchants were found in every part of leisure activities. While the literati were

---

<sup>40</sup> Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi (Miscellanies by the Ocean)*, 1875, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.37,66.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, pp.73.

qualified for their higher social status and merchants were rich enough to enjoy sensual delights, such as watching and talking with beautiful women in brothels, a worker or a peasant's qualification was linked to their ability to pay in advance and buy expensive clothes for a decent appearance. As it was previously too expensive for the majority of the citizens, this enjoyment could be attained at an affordable price in modern teahouses.

Their 'new enjoyment' helped to forge a new kind of gender relationships. Restricted gender relations were gradually replaced by a relaxed mix of sexes in modern leisure facilities. Spurred by the ineffectiveness of local bans on social control in terms of public entertainment in foreign settlements, low-class women featured prominently in modern leisure facilities. Modern teahouses in particular, became a public space for the masses, from women to coolie. As Figure 16, 17 and 18 illustrated, women were able to mingle with men freely in modern teahouses in the International Settlement.

The grandest modern teahouse, *Langyuan diyilou* 閩苑第一樓 (The Number One Teahouse), once recorded in travel notes by the reputable writer and senior editor of *Shenbao*, Huang Shiquan, was a highly prestigious tourist attraction.<sup>42</sup> Modern teahouses, according to Huang, were the best leisure place for low-class labours and the best way of enjoying modern entertainment. Each individual could become more relaxed and comfortable by visiting modern teahouses, thus engendering a better and happier community. In the Fourth Avenue, modern teahouses became a centre of modernity, and lowly men in particular loved going to grand teahouses, not only to have a cup of tea or chat with friends, but also to watch beautiful women or 'flower girls' display their beauty and to actively engage in social interaction with low-class

---

<sup>42</sup> Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu (Dream Shadows of Songnan)*, 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.109.

women workers. Modern teahouses became one of the best tourist attractions in the city for domestic visitors to enjoy a modern atmosphere.<sup>43</sup>

The appealing enjoyment of relaxed gender relations in modern teahouses clearly went beyond the simple aspiration to relieve poverty. Prosperity and leisure were gradually linked closely. For a modern Shanghai woman, to be a paid worker in the city was to be a participant in modern entertainment; in addition, an active participant in modern leisure activities must be capable of earning an income. "Working in Shanghai" became the aspiration of the working-class women.

As in Britain, eugenics set the frame of discussion on women's personal choice of going out for work or being submitted to their roles in domesticity as wives and mothers in the late nineteenth century. From the mid-19th century, the migration of young working-class women to towns and cities in search of employment appeared prominently, and obviously had an impact on the process of urbanisation as well as urban gender relations. They expanded in the occupations previously held by men, such as market gardening, poultry production, fruit, and vegetable and hop cultivation, while male labour in heavy industries was in a buoyant demand. It was believed that the rise of independent income earning outside the home promoted a transformation in sexual behaviour and attitudes. Young women as well as men attained greater freedom from the older controls of the family and community. Increased illegitimacy and pre-nuptial conception was believed to have a close link to the role of women in the growth of new workshop and factory industries.<sup>44</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the opening of respectable professional and

---

<sup>43</sup> Chi Zhicheng, *huyou Mengying (Dream Shadow of A Tour of Shanghai)*, 1893, Reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 159.

<sup>44</sup> June Purvis, *Women's history: Britain, 1850-1945*, 1995, London: UCL Press, pp.44-66.



white collar jobs for middle-class and lower middle-class women coincided with the increasing number of spinster daughters and sisters in the middle-class. When some women found it hard to reconcile their desire for a professional development with the fulfillment of the social requirements of motherhood, eugenic ideas associated women with racial advancement. These ideas reflected a concern to improve the quality of the race and promoted women's personal choices as the scientifically and morally higher goal of racial advancement. They had made a very real impact on wide areas of philanthropy and public policy. Family-orientated social welfare policy was not intended primarily for the benefit of women. The goal was to achieve social reform through inculcation of a rational and energetic citizenship in individuals. Mothers were to be the agents of that change through their role in the family. While women's economic and social dependence was based in science and medicine rather than in the moral discourses deprived from evangelical religion in early industrialisation, motherhood was viewed as the manifest destiny of women. It withdrew women from the public.



Figure 15. Women in segregation from men in public where a flower exhibition was held  
 From *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, 1884, Vol.1, pp.11.



博 士 聲 亭

滄北之間苑第一樓為諸茶  
 寮之冠几案整潔房廊宏  
 深甌茗清心拔花迷目而入彈  
 丸競擲烟榻橫陳遠與消閒  
 各從所好故自日中以至宵中  
 接踵摩肩皆無虛席前月  
 下旬有妓學子女叔登樓吸茗  
 博士亦與奴戲奴謂其窮  
 相水除色心賦天鵝肉豈于  
 癡蝦蟆吃乎博士知為諷  
 已惱羞成怒詈之奴告妓

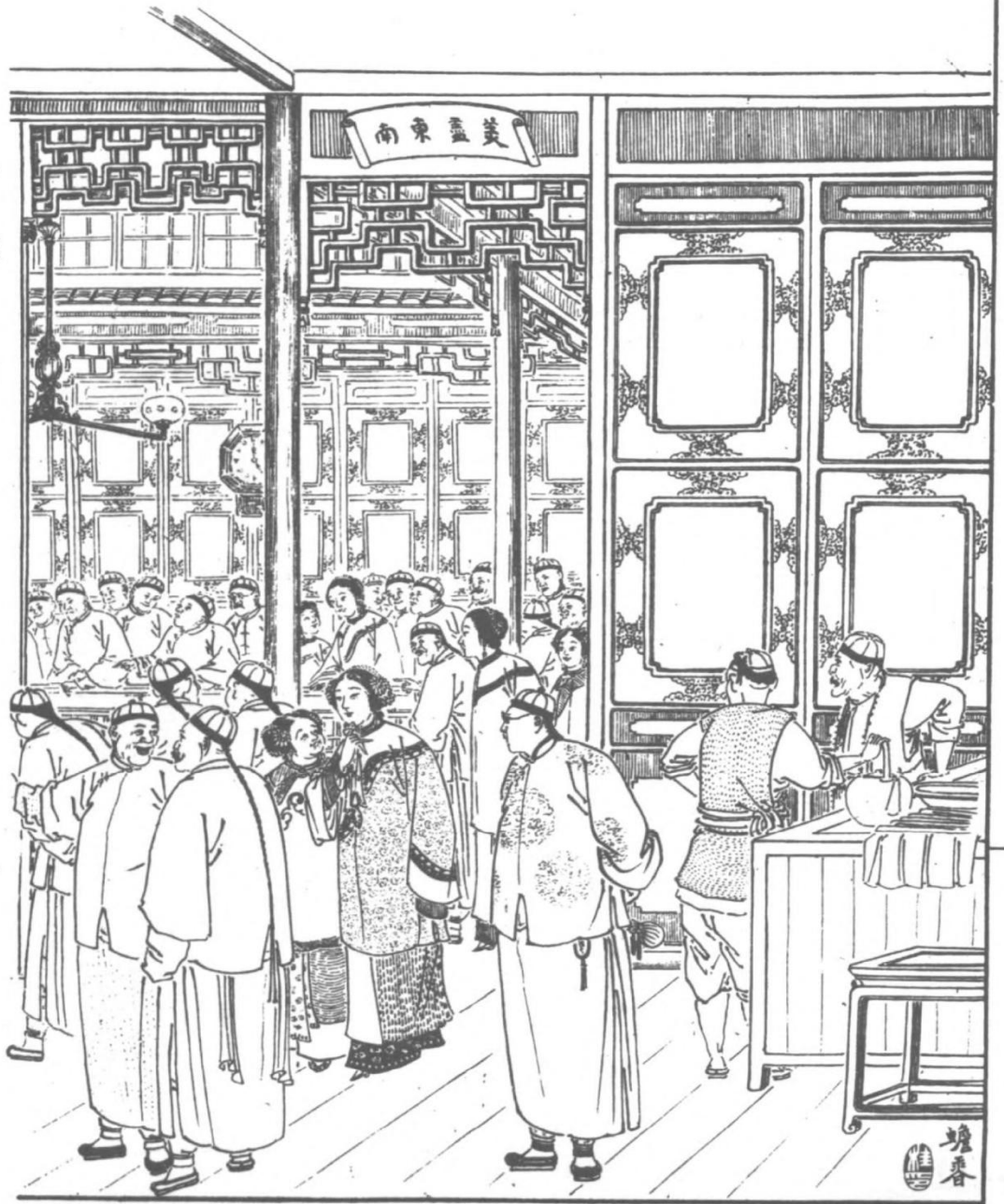


Figure 17. Man and women mingled with each other in a modern teahouse,  
 from *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, vol. 2 of October, 1884.

妓曰是宜字奴果舒玉臂  
 駢五指哭前而字其類哉  
 有母曰銀珠少頃未知被侮  
 由出惡言博士不堪屢辱乃  
 與銀珠爭扭類交介聞聲  
 雷動再人皆作壁上觀久之  
 始各釋手博士奉類寬  
 而銀珠則脂粉剝落髮如  
 飛淚玉貌花容頓成羅刹  
 觀者咸嘆之而笑以鼻云



七十七  
 乙十

Figure 18. Men and women mingled with each other in a modern teahouse,  
 from *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, vol. 2 of October, 1884.

### Chapter 3 Modern entertainment culture and the spread of modernity

By the late 1870s and early 1880s, partly due to the Qing government's efforts to develop a domestic industrial and commercial industry in order to increase national and personal wealth, partly due to material affluence, modern leisure activities began to attract more and more inhabitants and visitors in Shanghai from a variety of social background, who aspired to a modern lifestyle. While modern entertainment culture helped spread the message of modernity, for many ordinary people, modern leisure facilities became their experience of modernity. Western games such as billiards and bowling entered Shanghai at the end of the 1870s, and quickly became popular. In most big teahouses, game rooms were often decorated in western style and on the ground floor.<sup>45</sup>

In the 1880s, playing modern games was one of the most important social activities among young people in Shanghai.<sup>46</sup> As Figure 19 drew, the young men of wealthy families would play billiards or bowling in modern teahouses of a larger and better class, hang their dark jackets on the wall, wear elegant leather boots, and be served by a waiter to record the score. Lowly class people played darts and Chinese chess at lower costs.<sup>47</sup>

Around the same time, some travel notes suggested that eating western meals in foreign restaurants is a particularly bizarre new fashion in the International Settlement.<sup>48</sup> When foreign restaurants appeared in the city, it was originally not a lucrative business in the first decade, but

---

45 Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengyinglu (Dream Shadows of Songnan)*, 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.109, 125.

46 *Ibid*, pp.109.

47 *Ibid*, pp.125.

48 Ge Yuanxi, *Huyouzaji (Miscellanies of Travel Notes in Shanghai)*, 1876, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 30. Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu (Dream Shadows of Shanghai)*, 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 132.

then the proliferation began. Eventually, it became a popular leisure place and a profitable business at the end of 1890's Shanghai. In December 1873, primitive western dishes were offered by a restaurant called *Shengchanghao* 生昌號 in Hongkew.<sup>49</sup> It cannot properly be referred to as the first foreign restaurant in Shanghai, because it offered foreign dishes as additional food for takeaway and its main products were made of wheat flour. In September of 1879, a restaurant which was referred to as *Yipinxiang fanciguan* 一品香番菜館 (Top Delicacies Foreign Restaurant) opened in the Fourth Avenue in the International Settlement. In the next few years, more foreign restaurants opened there and the majority of them emulated the style of *Yipinxiang fanciguan* 一品香番菜館 (Top Delicacies Foreign Restaurant), but they were temporarily not very profitable. For instance, a new foreign restaurant named *Yijiachun* 一家春 opened in that street in May 1883. Four months later, *Shengchanghao* 生昌號 was removed from Hongkew to the Fourth Avenue and was renamed *Xinghualou* 杏花樓, as a genuine foreign restaurant.<sup>50</sup> At that time, it was not a profitable business because it had to provide tea at a low price for more patrons.<sup>51</sup>

The issue of the popularity of foreign restaurants in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Shanghai has drawn much modern historians' attention to itself. Mark Swislocki argued the decor of foreign restaurants impressively attracted customers to visit though it received mixed reviews. That modern deco distinguished foreign restaurants from other restaurants which served regional Chinese cuisine. He also claimed that visual representation of foreign restaurants

---

<sup>49</sup> *Shenbao*, 28<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> October 1873 (the Chinese calendar).

<sup>50</sup> *Shenbao*, 2<sup>nd</sup> May and 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1883.

<sup>51</sup> Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Dream Shadows of Songnan), 1883, reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 148-9.

developed a distinct iconography that shaped ideas about what constituted core elements of Western material culture.<sup>52</sup> His argument is not so persuasive because those modern decorations and facilities did not merely appear in foreign restaurants. Though extravagant interior design and modern facilities like electric lighting, European-style clocks, balconies framed by a window with stitch-and-ball detailing could not be found in regional restaurants, they definitely appeared in modern teahouses like *Langyuan diyilou* 閩苑第一樓(The Number One Teahouse) and *Huazhonghui* 華眾會(Chinese Elites Club) at that time in the International Settlement as well.

Gang Song argued that a number of novel strategies which some foreign restaurants adopted attracted Chinese patrons effectively. A wide choice of modern entertainment like playing billiard, piano and live shows of wild animals was provided in those foreign restaurants. As a result, to city residents, especially those literati, officials, compradors, dandies, and courtesans, visiting foreign restaurants was not only a fashion but also a carnival event to experience and consume various aspects of Western material culture.<sup>53</sup> To an extent, the pursuit of experiences of western material culture could be a reason to explain visits of those guests like the literati and artisans, but not the crucial one. It was an affordable payment on visit that played a vital role in the popularity of foreign restaurants. For instance, a main meal offered in *Yipinxiang fancaiguan* 一品香番菜館(Top Delicacies Foreign Restaurant) usually cost at least one *yuan* while a ticket sold individually for an animal exhibition merely cost fifty *wen*. It charged less

---

<sup>52</sup> Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai, California*: Stanford University Press, 2009, pp.118-22.

<sup>53</sup> Gang Song, Trying the Different “Yang” Taste: Western Cuisine in Late Qing Shanghai and Hong Kong, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol.45, No. 1/2(2012), pp.45-66.



than 10% of a meal. Moreover, Chinese refreshment was also provided there and cost only two *jiao* for a person which was 20% of a meal.<sup>54</sup> Those lower charges were able to attract a group of guests who were not as rich as young aristocrats and wealthy merchants. They were scholars, artisans and low-class merchants. When those groups of common people tended to visit there, visiting foreign restaurants as a leisure activity changed from conspicuous consumption into such affordable purchases. When charge for visit as the biggest barrier had been dissolved to some extent, foreign restaurants were possible to become a popular leisure space and a profitable business.

Meanwhile, regular customers of foreign restaurants attracted a great deal of public attention for their well-dressed appearance and aristocratic background. High standards of customer service and exquisite dinnerware were described as the special features of a Western dinner and banquet provided in foreign restaurants. This made Western cuisine highly comparable to the officials' cuisine. By tradition, it was only associated with the officials and literati as well as excluded the other common people.

*Pinghua* 评花 (beauty competition), which would eventually become the most popular leisure activity in modern Shanghai, was heavily recommended as a modern entertainment by some travel notes in the 1880s. It was regularly illustrated in periodicals as one of the most delightful, most economical and exotic forms of entertainment (Fig. 20).<sup>55</sup>

Relaxed gender relations were also a major feature in modern leisure activities, contributing to the spread of modern entertainment culture.<sup>56</sup> Such social interaction moved

---

<sup>54</sup> *Shenbao*, 3<sup>rd</sup> September, 1879 and 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1880. At the end of nineteenth century China, 1 *yuan* equaled 1080 *wen* or 10 *jiao*.

<sup>55</sup> Chi Zhicheng, *huyou Mengying* (Dream Shadow of A Tour of Shanghai), 1893, Reprint: 1989, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 159.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

entertainment culture from a private rest into the public consumption, and to invite a girlfriend or boyfriend to modern leisure activities became a mass pastime, as still is today. Modern leisure places, on the other hand, became public spaces where people met to play games, but also share a modern experience. Foreign restaurants, for example, were particularly popular in Shanghai in the 1890s. Modern men and women regularly went there, not only to have dinner but also enjoy modern surroundings. By the 1890s, it had become one of the most popular leisure activities among young elites in the city. In the central district, there were more than ten foreign restaurants in the vicinity of the Fourth Avenue. People went to eat, but also to display their fortune. Whenever the customers visited, they were always accompanied by a female spouse dressed in the latest fashion, either a wife or courtesans.

Customers from the lower class also visited foreign restaurants in order to enjoy a more comfortable modern life, as the restaurant's facilities included an animal exhibition and western refreshments (Fig. 21).<sup>57</sup> Both services charged much lower prices than western meals. This remained one of the lures of foreign restaurants during the Republican era. Many young people visited foreign restaurants in order to pursue exotica and to enjoy an improved life style. While Wang Tao criticised modern entertainment in the Fourth Avenue as conspicuous consumption and modern restaurants as *xiaojinku* 銷金窟 (places for spending money), in reality, modern leisure activities and material modernity were inseparable in Shanghai. Modern entertainment culture not only changed the ordinary Chinese people's perception of leisure and wealth, but also opened up a new horizon of desire for material goods, and taught them how to enjoy modern things (Fig. 22).

---

<sup>57</sup> See Shenbao, 3rd September, 1879 and 20th December, 1880. At the end of nineteenth century China, 1 *yuan* equaled 1080 *wen* or 10 *jiao*.

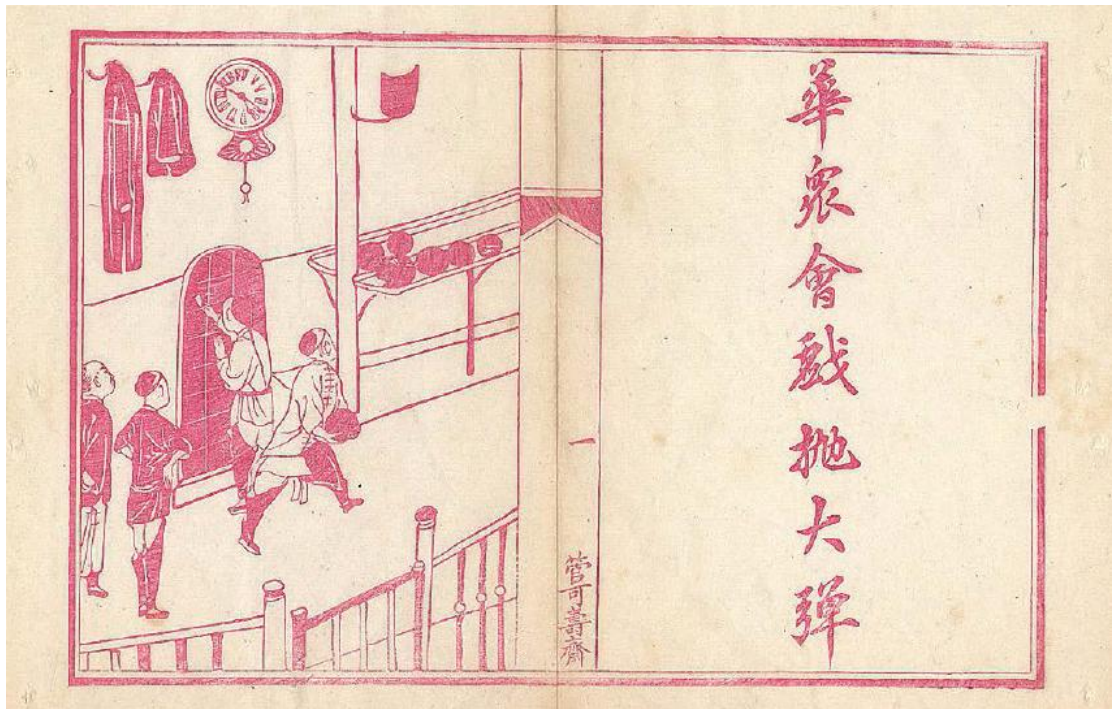


Figure 19. Playing bowling in a modern teahouse  
named *huazhonghui* 華眾會 (The Chinese Elites Club)  
from *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* 申江名勝圖說

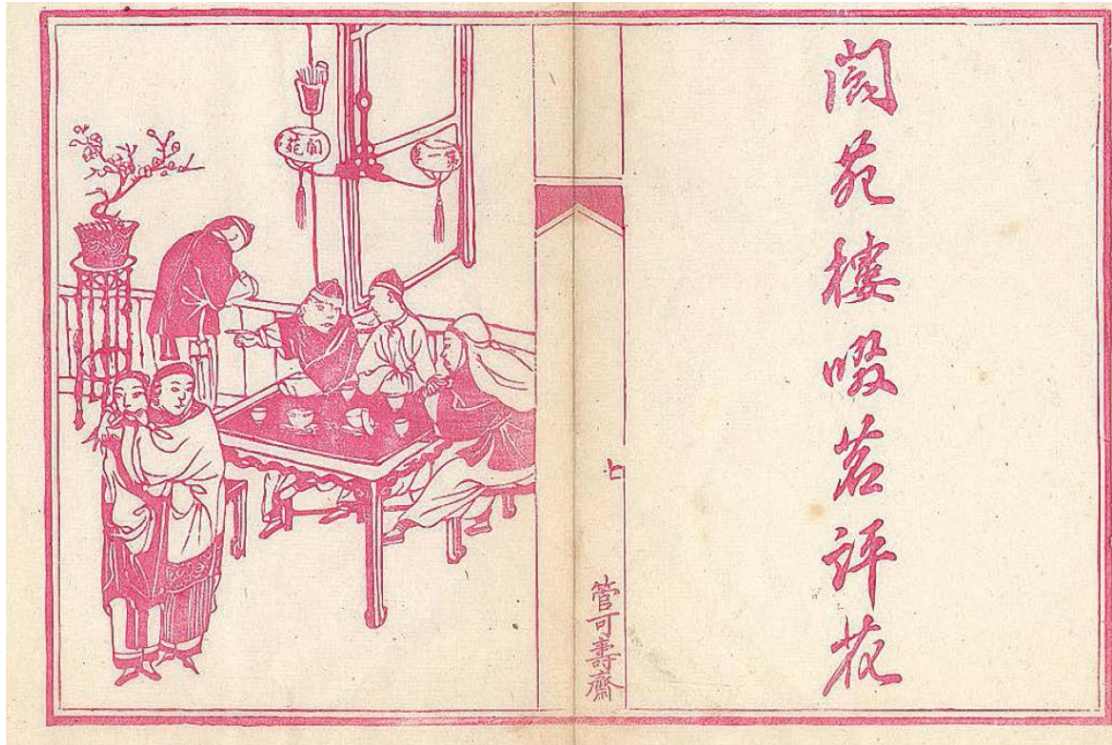


Figure 20. *Pinghua* in a modern teahouse  
From *Shengjiang Mingsheng Tushuo* 申江名勝圖說  
(Illustrations of Main Attractions in Shanghai), 1884, pp.7.

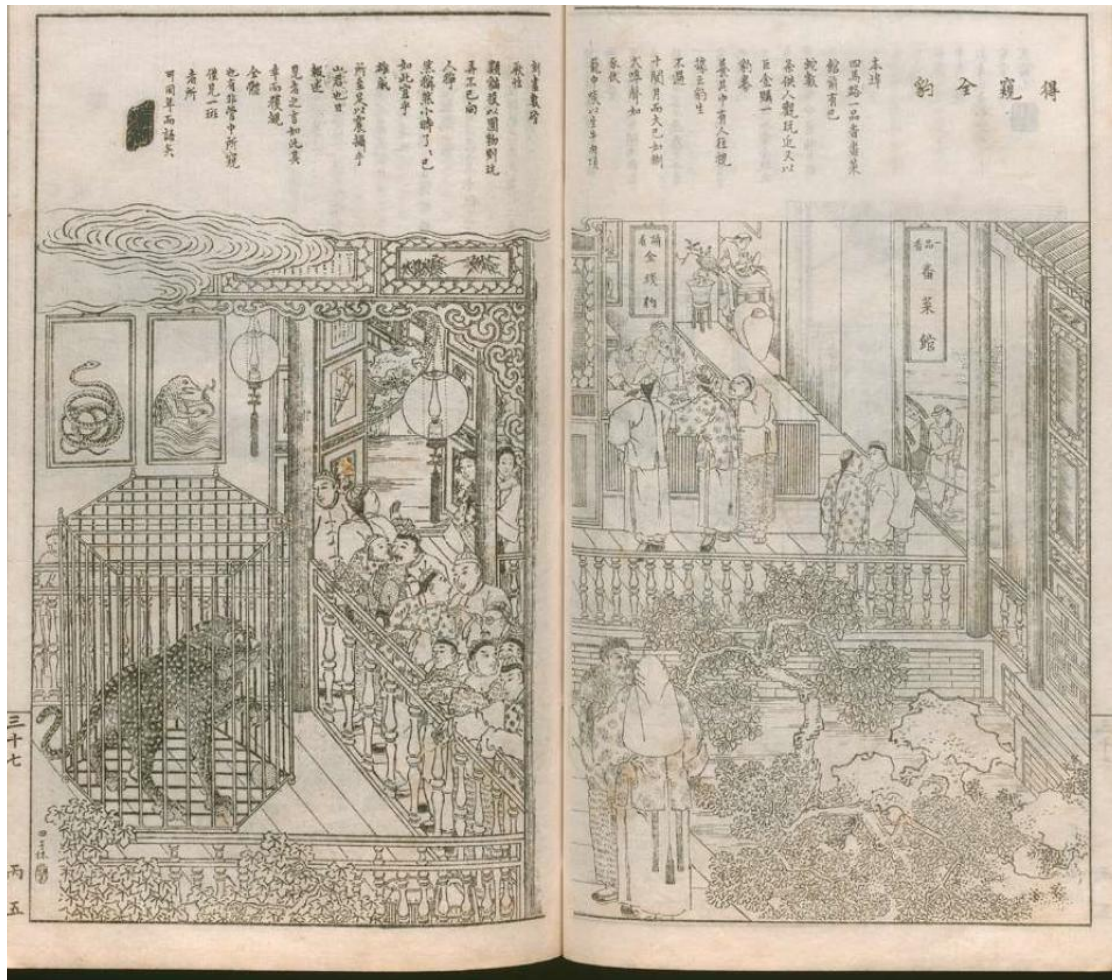


Figure 21. An animal exhibition in a foreign restaurant named Yipingxiang, from *Dianshizhai huabao* 點石齋畫報, Vol.3 of December, 1884.

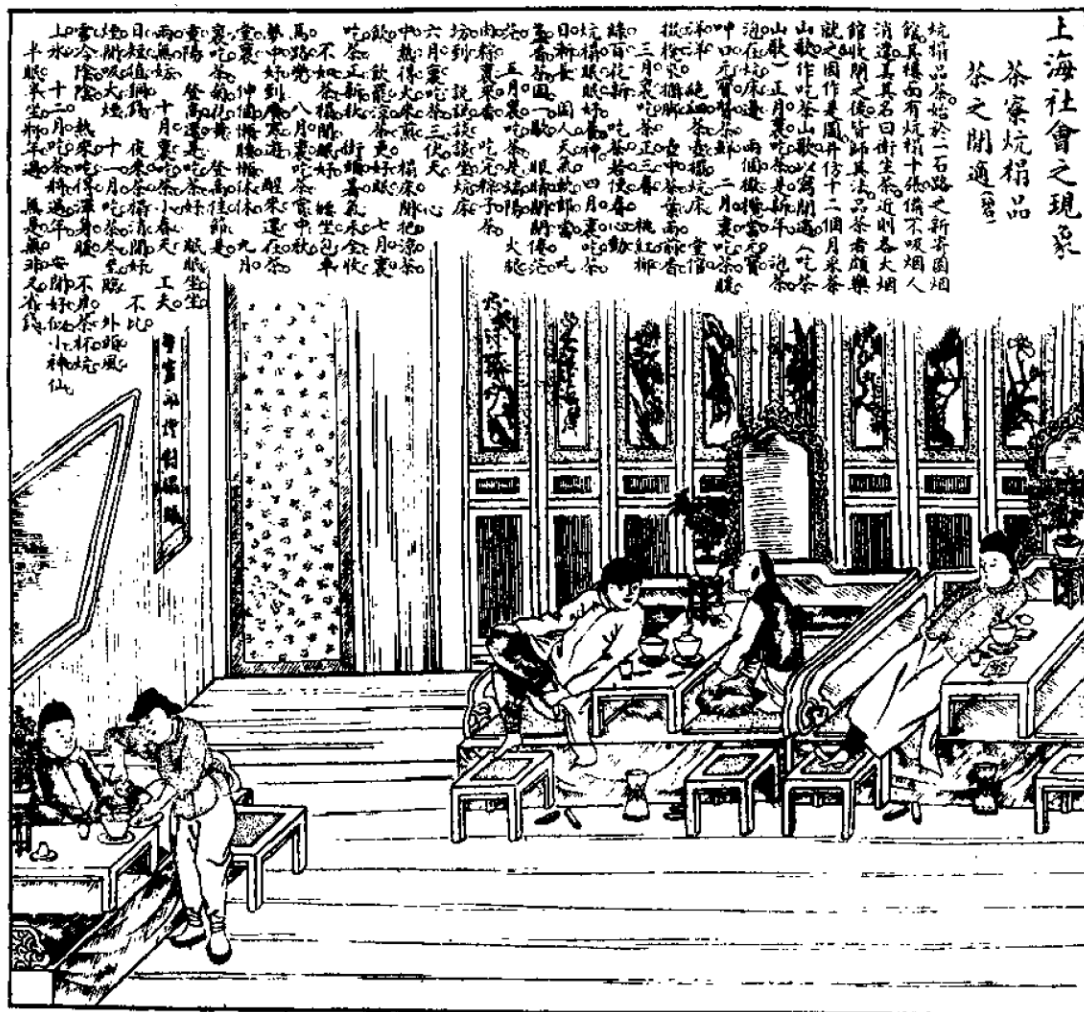


Figure 22. Opium coaches in a modern teahouse, from *Tuhua ribao*, Vol.3, 1909, reprint: 1999. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp.235.

## Chapter 4 Modern entertainment culture as popular culture

One important development in modern entertainment culture in Shanghai was that it changed from a culture for elite individuals to a popular urban culture. From the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, wealthy merchants were a driving force involving the Shanghai masses in participatory modern entertainment. At an early time when criticism on conspicuous consumption was strong, the compradors, along other wealthy entrepreneurs, used modern leisure facilities established by them, as well as their customer service and local refreshments, as an attractive venue for providing enormous enjoyment to the urban settlers and visitors. Famously known as the '*Yipingxiang* foreign restaurant', it was eventually taken as a pattern of conspicuous consumption and was imitated by over ten restaurants in the International Settlement. The *Yipingxiang* also offered exotic animal exhibitions and western refreshments at much lower prices, making it accessible to all Shanghai inhabitants and visitors.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the economic prosperity of the city, along with citizens' better living conditions, was used by the Qing government to showcase their achievement and to promote trade or commerce as an equal among other sources of government revenue in China. On the other hand, the involvement of inhabitants and visitors in trade and commerce was an integral part of commercialism in treaty port Shanghai. In a letter to the emperor *Tongzhi* (1856-75), *Li Hongzhang* 李鴻章 asserted that the development of trade and commerce would strengthen economic power of the state. According to him, trade and commerce in China was different from the past, as it was no longer redundant, but essential to the state power. As the most profitable company, the China Merchants' Steam Navigation

Company which was managed by *Sheng Xuanhuan* 盛宣怀 for eighteen years contributed an enormous amount of money to the Qing government and the imperial court each year in the late nineteenth century.

With the support of the Qing government, wealthy merchants as a social group gradually gained power. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with their experience of doing business with foreigners, wealthy merchants especially the compradors began to invest part of their wealth from Sino-foreign trade in entertainment business in the city. Modern leisure facilities – grand multi-storey teahouses, regional and foreign restaurants, game rooms, public gardens, opium dens and unisex theatres – sprang up in the International Settlement. During this period, at least seventeen business guilds were set up by entrepreneurs in Shanghai, and they played an important role in greater mobility of labour between rural and urban regions, as well as the increase of modern leisure facilities from the International Settlement to the Old Walled city. In the Chinese city, more modern restaurants offered regional cuisine opened. It was believed that through entertainment culture, authentic regional dishes, immigrants from other provinces of China would not only be easily accustomed to a new settlement, but would also have a modern experience and cultivate the habits of entertainment consumption, thus enjoying a better living condition.

In the International Settlement too, modern entertainment was seen as one of the most important social activities among Shanghai merchants. It became important to have a women companion in modern entertainment. The very rich might invite or be invited by a courtesan for western meals in foreign restaurants as well as for performances in modern theatres. Others could enjoy such sensual delights in Japanese teahouses at much lower prices. As Figure 23 and



24 showed, women frequently appeared in modern leisure places. The prestige of having a leisure companion of courtesans was increasing commoditized, as they were available to anyone with enough money. The merchants could increasingly be converted to status through consumption in terms of modern entertainment. Published travel notes began to offer instructions on how to behave properly in modern leisure venues. Some notes showed the literati how to reassert their status through taste in leisure while other manual targeted the nouveaux riches, advising them on the proper way to behave elegantly and politely.

上海人迎东洋茶楼也是一大闹气。  
摘自吴猷绘：《申江胜景图》，  
清光绪十年（一八八四年），上海点石斋石印本。



Figure 23. A Japanese teahouse  
from *Shenjiang shengjing tushuo* 申江勝景圖說  
(The Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1884.

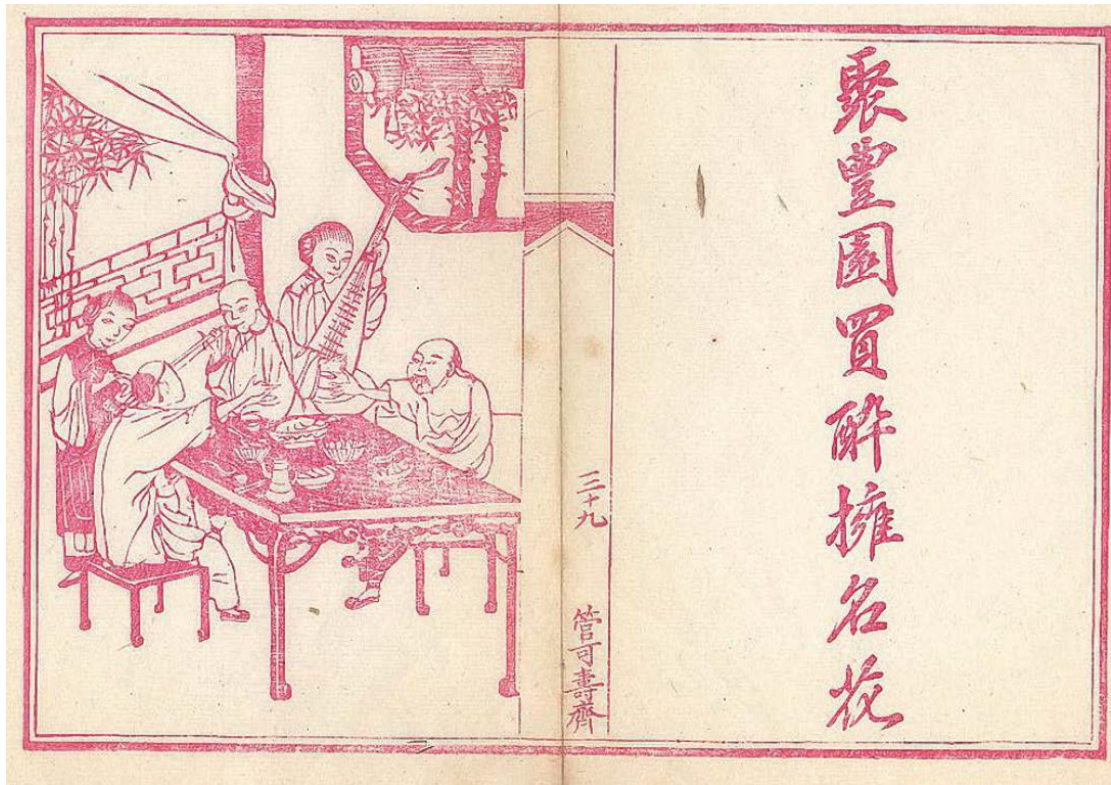


Figure 24. A dinner in a regional restaurant  
from *shenjiangmingshen tushuo*(Pictures of Splendid Shanghai), 1884, pp.39.

## Conclusion

In late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *ti-yong* discourse set the frame of discussion on China's reconstruction. These ideas promoted advanced technologies as a vital force to achieve the economic prosperity. As in the case of treaty port Shanghai, the application of modern technologies and western management in commerce and industry enhanced regional prosperity. When western culture spread rapidly in foreign settlements of the city, the authority of Confucian morality was challenged. Changes of entertainment culture reflected modernity of the city.

Modern entertainment culture was driven by modern facilities such as modern teahouses and foreign restaurants. Modern citizen's ability to consume things previously preserved for the royalty and privileged for the officials featured prominently in modern entertainment. Eating western meals in foreign restaurants became refined entertainment for elites to socialize with their friends. It also became a leisure place for wealthy merchants to show off their fortune and to consume modern taste. When foreign restaurants were distained by the literati, wealthy merchants became a driving force for the popularity of foreign restaurants. By offering exhibitions and Chinese refreshments at much lower price, foreign restaurants were able to attract more customers. Their visits changed visiting foreign restaurants as a leisure activity from conspicuous consumption into affordable purchases. Foreign restaurants were used as a standard of modern taste essential to a modern lifestyle in Shanghai.

In the process of urbanization and industrialization, women began to go out for work rather than worked as an unpaid domestic labour. They could have an individual wage and had the ability to consume in modern facilities. They mingled with their male counterparts in modern

teahouses. This kind of behaviour violated Confucian norms. It led to the local official's effort to protect the social hierarchy of gender relations and aroused the anxiety of the literati over status in gender boundaries in special. The conventional Confucian moral order was eventually destabilized. Modern teahouses transformed from a private enjoyment for literati and a conference venue for merchants into public space in the masses, from women to coolie. This new enjoyment for low-class people helped to forge a new kind of gender relationship.

Relaxed gender relations and low cost for modern experience helped to spread modern leisure activities widely in the city in the last decade of the nineteenth century. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Shanghai, women's visits to modern teahouses helped to define modernity in Shanghai. It changed the social function of teahouses into a venue for sexes to meet and exchange information with each other. It also shaped gender relations in a way that women and men were able to interact freely in public. Furthermore, it helped to promote gender equality in public space.

At the same time, when they took a leadership role in developing modern entertainment culture, wealthy merchants as a social group became more influential than before. The new pattern of management, which called Guandu shangban 官督商辦 (official supervision and merchant management), provided a perfect opportunity for the merchants to have a much closer relationship with the officials than before. For those close relations with the officials, the merchants acquired a rare opportunity to elevate their social standing in such a rigid social hierarchy. A new group of wealthy merchants emerged. They not only owned an enormous amount of money, but also developed a very close relationship with senior governmental officials with respect to both cooperation in business activities and personal connections by marriage. As

a result, they were able to enjoy a high status. In the last quarter of the 19th century, as Shanghai inhabitants, those leading entrepreneurs helped to promote the impression of merchants as a social group in public. That upgraded impression suggested that they were both wealthy and powerful for their close cooperation with the local Chinese government, as well as authorities. Because of the support of those political powers, the merchants were gradually able to impress the public that they became more powerful than ever before.

## **Bibliography**

### **Newspapers and periodicals**

*Dianshizhai huabao* (點石齋畫報), 1884-1889.

*Shenbao* (申報) 1872, 1874, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1883, 1885.

*Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (申江名勝圖說), 1884.

*Shenjiang shengjing tushuo* (申江勝景圖說), 1884.

*Shenjiang shixiashengjing tushuo* (申江時下勝景圖說), 1894.

*Tuhua ribao* (圖畫日報), Vol.1-2, 1909, reprint: 1999, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

### **Archives**

*Shanghai Municipal Council Report for the year ended 31<sup>st</sup> December 1896 and budget for the year ending 31<sup>st</sup> December 1897*, 1897, Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh.

### **Books published before 1899**

Chi Zhicheng (池志澂), 1893, reprint: 1989, *huyou mengying* (滬游夢影 Dream Shadow of a tour of Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Ge yuanxi (葛元熙), 1876, reprint: 1989, *Huyou zaji* (滬游雜記 A miscellany of travel writing in Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Huang Shiquan (黃式權), 1883, reprint: 1989, *Songnan mengying lu* (淞南夢影錄 Dream Shadows of Songnan), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Wang Tao (王韜), 1875, reprint: 1989, *Yingruan zazhi* (瀛壖雜誌 Miscellanies by the Ocean), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubansh.

Assche, V. K. 2004, *Signs in time: An interpretive account of urban planning and design, the people and their histories*, Wageningen.

- Bergère, M. 2009, translated by Janet Lloyd, *Shanghai: China's Gateway to Modernity*, California.
- Chen boxi, 2000, *Shanghai yishi daguan* (Panorama of Shanghai anecdotes), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe.
- Chen Wuwo, 1997, *Laoshanghai sanshinian jianwenlu* (The record of Shanghai in three decades), Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe.
- Clark, Peter. 2000, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Paul A. 2003, *China unbound: evolving perspectives on the Chinese past*, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzen.
- 1988, *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and Reform in Late Ch'ing China*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Corroll, John M. 2005, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
- Dikötter, Frank. 2008, *The age of openness China before Mao*, California: University of California.
- Dikötter, Frank. Lars Laamann and Zhou Xun, 2004, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China*, London: Hurst & Company.
- Ge Chong, 1984, Fengsu (The Custom), Qingpu xiangtuzhi (The local history of Qingpu county ), vol.29, Huang Wei and Xia Lingen(eds.), *Jindai shanghai diqu fangzhi jingjishiliao xuanji* (The collection of local economical history of modern Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.
- Goodman, Bryna. 1995, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937*, California and London: University of California Press.



Haishangshushisheng, 1991, *Haishang fanhuameng* (The Gorgeous Dreams on the Sea), Shanghai:

Shanghai guji chubanshe.

Henriot, Christian translated by Noel Castelino, 2001, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: a social history 1849-1949*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hershatter, Gail. 1997, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*, California: University of California Press.

----, 2007, *Women in China's long twentieth century*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Liang Samuel Y, 2010, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' city, 1853-98*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lu Hanchao, Away from Nanking Road: Small Stores and Neighborhood Life in Modern Shanghai, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 54. No.1 (Feb., 1995) , pp.93-123.

Luo Suwen, 1996, *Nvxing yu jindai zhongguo* (Women and Modern China), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.

—— 2005, Shanghai yu jindaidushi meinv shijuexingxiang de suzao (1880-1920) (Shanghai and the construction of visual beauty of women in modern city (1880-1920) ), Xu anqi (eds.), *Shehui wenhuabianqianzhong de xingbie yanjiu* (The study of gender in the change of social culture), Shanghai: Shanghai shehuikexueyuan chebanshe.

Meihua anzhu (ed.), 1894, *Shengjiang shixia shengjing tushuo*, Shanghai.

Milne-Smith Amy, 2011, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late Victoria Britain*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Min Ai, 1974, Nanbei liyuan lueshi (The concise history of Peking opera in southern and northern China, Zhou Jianyun (ed.), *Jubu congkan* (Collection of Peking Opera), Taipei: Taipei

zhuanjiwenxue, pp.203-211.

Reference Department of Shanghai Museum (ed.), *Shanghai beike ziliao xuanji(Collections of Inscription in Shanghai)*, 1980, Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.

Shi Meiding, *Shanghai zujiezh* (The history of the International Settlement), 2001, Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe.

Spracklen, Kal. 2013, *Leisure, Sports & Society*, palgrave macmillan.

Sun Guoqun, 1988, *Jiushangh changji mishi* (The secret history of prostitutes in old Shanghai), Henan: Henan renmin chubanshe.

Swislocki, Mark. 2009, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai*, California: Stanford University Press.

Tong Jun, 1936, *Jiangnan yuanlinzhi* (The history of garden in Jiangnan), Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhugongye chubanshe.

Veblen, Thorstein. 1994, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: Dover Publication.

Wagner, Rudolf G. 2008, *Women in Shenbaoguan Publications, 1872-1890*, Nanxiu Qian, Grace S. Fong, and Richard J. Smith(ed.), *Different worlds of discourse: transformations of gender and genre in late Qing and early republican China*, Leiden and Boston: Brill

Wang Di, Teahouses, theatres, and popular education: entertainment and leisure politics in late Qing and early republican Chengdu, *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, Vol.2, No.1, June 2008, pp.1-20.

Xiong Yuezhi, 2000, *Wanqing Shanghai siyuangongyong yu gonggong huodongkongjian d tuozhan* (The public use of private garden and the expansion of public space in late Qing Shanghai), Huang kewu and Zhang zhejia (ed.), *Gong yu si: jindai zhongguo geti yu qunti zhi chongjian*

(Public and Private: The reconstruction of individual and group in modern China), Taipei:

Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, pp.149-176.

Xu Gongsu and Qiu JinZhang, *Shanghai gongong zujie zhidu* (The system of the International Settlement) and Guai Shixun, *Shanghai gongong zujie shigao*(The historical transcription of the International Settlement), 1933, reprint:1980, *Shanghai gongong zujie shigao*(The historical transcription of the International Settlement) , Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.

Xu Ke, 1984, *Qingbai leichao* (Qing Petty Matters Anthology), Vol.11, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Xue Liyong(ed.), *Shanghai Zhanggu Cidian* (A dictionary of historical anecdotes of Shanghai), Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe.

Yao Fei, *Cong tuxiangkan wanqing shanghaiinxing yu chengshikongjian—jianlun tuxiangxue zai lishiyanjuzhong de yunyong*(Pictorial Images of Women and the City Space of Shanghai in the Late Qing Dynasty – Also on the Application of Iconology to Historical Researchers), *Shanghai shifandaxue xuebao (zhexue shehuikexue ban)*(Journal of Shanghai Normal University (Philosophy & Social Scences Edition)), Vol.41, No.4, July 2012.

Yeh, Catherine V. 2006, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Yu Muxia, 1933, *Shanghai linzhua* (Shanghai Fragments), Shanghai: Shanghai hubaoguan。

Zhang Zhen, 1999, 'Teahouse, Shadowplay, Bricolage: Labor's love' and the Question of Early Chinese Cinema', in Yingjin Zhang, (ed.), *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922-1943*, Stanford and California: Stanford University Press.