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THE CITY'S PLEASURES: URBAN AND VISUAL CULTURE OF GARDEN SPACES IN SHANGHAI, 1850S-1930S

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To my grandparents 聂其诗 and 王佑南

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ABSTRACT

Various kinds of garden spaces had been the most important outdoor venue for public entertainment in late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Shanghai, as they featured a mixture of landscaping, architecture, and leisure activities that originated from different regions in China and cultures of other countries. These garden sites that delineated the ever-changing boundaries of Shanghai evolved closely with this city's urbanization process. This dissertation rethinks Shanghai gardens, not just as a reflection of modern Chinese landscape architecture in transformation or an embodiment of social and political changes, but as a spatial construction that actively interacted with the changing cityscapes and facilitated new visual experiences and representations.

The dissertation focuses on the overlaps between the political and the commercial and the elite and the popular in transforming Shanghai gardens from secluded architectural forms to the city's open spaces for entertainment and leisure, including the commercial pleasure gardens, temple-gardens, city parks, and rooftop gardens as high-rise building's playgrounds. These garden spaces are examined along two lines of inquiry. One line focuses on the construction of garden spaces from the architectural and cultural perspectives. I compare those garden architectures of significance to the city's physical and social development at several key moments from the 1850s through the 1930s. The other line probes into the interplay between the spatial practices and visual culture in the city's multi-cultural contexts. I search for multiple ways that the production and reception of different visual forms intersected with garden spaces in Shanghai.

The study consists of four chapters targeting in sequence the three subjects above: the city, garden spaces, and the interplay between spatial practices and visual culture. By examining

an array of city maps, the first chapter investigates Shanghai's early geopolitical transformation and garden spaces' close relation to the city's physical expansion. The second chapter focuses on the material construction of garden spaces and examines how hybrid architectural and cultural features were adapted to and took form in Shanghai during the late imperial and early Republic transition. The third chapter deals with the interlinked garden sceneries and various forms of visual entertainment in night gardens, and the last chapter explores the construction of city parks in relation to the ongoing urban planning advocated by the Nationalist government and mass-produced printed images during the early twentieth century. Taken together, this dissertation elaborates the dynamic intersection of the city's urban expansion, garden spaces, and visual culture over the critical century in modern Chinese history.

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INTRODUCTION

SHANGHAI'S GARDENS AS PARADIGM

In miscellaneous late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries guidebooks to Shanghai, *yuan* (园 gardens and parks) was always intensely described as a top destination of the city's pleasure tour. The first *Guide to Shanghai* (*Shanghai zhinan*), published by the Commercial Press in 1909, includes a list of various kinds of garden sites in the section titled "Sightseeing, Food, and Lodging," ranging from privately-owned pleasure gardens (Zhang Garden) located in the western suburbs,[1] to temple-gardens (the memorial temple dedicated to the famous Qing-dynasty official Li Hongzhang and the Yu Garden) within the southern walled city, to Western parks (Public Garden) spread across the foreign settlements. The guidebook introduces in detail *how* to tour through garden landscapes for assorted attractions, including directions, scenic spots, performances, food, and costs. Each entry is followed by a "specification to visiting the garden" (*youlan xuzhi*) for those "Chinese visitors new to the city," and echoing the verbal descriptions, the guidebook features a series of centerfold photographs capturing scenic views from these gardens.[2]

The city guide's description is noteworthy in many ways. It highlights the vitality of traditional gardens open to the public as a tourist attraction in Shanghai's transition into the modern era, and further, parks and gardens of all types are introduced with the same interest as visitors were encouraged to experience the changing cityscapes through visiting gardens here and

[1] Echoing the 'pleasure gardens' popularized in seventeenth-and-eighteenth-century Europe, these privately-owned gardens in Shanghai were also characterized by their openness to the public, landscaped views, and assorted attracts for entertainment. And that is why in this dissertation I call the Shanghai privately-owned gardens that served as both a garden and a commercial place of entertainment like Zhang Garden and Yú Garden as 'pleasure gardens.'
[2] *Shanghai zhinan* (Guide to Shanghai), the Commercial Press, 1909, Section eight, "*Yuanlin*" (gardens).

there. These garden sites that delineated the ever-changing boundaries of Shanghai evolved closely with this city's urbanization process. After opening as a treaty port in 1843, Shanghai became a territory consisting of three demarcated sections, each with its own form of government and different systems of laws and accounting for time (Figure 0-1).[3] Shanghai also became an immigrant city in the aftermath of the Small Sword rebellion (1853-55) and the invasion of the Taiping rebels (1860-62), followed by waves of Chinese refugees flooding into the walled city and eventually congregating in the foreign settlements. These changes kept reshaping the urban fabric of Shanghai over a century until the foreign settlements came to an end in 1945. By the 1880s, more than eighty percent of its population constituted Chinese and international sojourners who came to Shanghai for many reasons, ranging from fleeing political disturbances to commercial trade to short-term visits. The cosmopolitan population and flourishing economy reformed the urban environment and led to a growing entertainment industry, including the construction of various kinds of gardens.

Assorted garden attractions of the time also became the subject of textual and visual productions such as guidebooks, photographs, and illustrations. By means of new media and the rising print industry, garden representations contributed significantly to the image-making of Shanghai as China's most important center of entertainment, in addition to of art and culture. Admittedly, gardens historically had exerted great influences onto a city's public life. This can

[3] Shanghai, together with Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, and Ningbo, were the five port cities forced to open for foreign trade after China lost the Opium War in 1842. The three administrative sections include the Shanghai County under Chinese administration, the International Settlement (1863) with the former British (1843) and American (1845) settlements under the management of a unified Municipal Council (SMC), and the French Concession (1848) under direct orders of the French Consul. A 'settlement' referred to land rented to individual foreigners by Chinese landowners. A 'concession,' by contrast, was defined as an area at a treaty port leased in perpetuity to a foreign government (the French Consul in this case). See Liu Jingkun and Deng Chunyang, "A Few Questions about Settlements/Concessions in Modern China," *Journal of Nanjing University*, no.2 (2000).

be observed from the imperial gardens in the Northern Song dynasty capital at Bianliang (960-1127), the private gardens in Ming dynasty Suzhou (1368-1644), and pleasure gardens in eighteenth-century Georgian Britain. Their success had largely benefited from the relaxed political restriction, prosperous commerce, and growing urban leisured class. These general factors, however, are not sufficient to explain the vitality of garden spaces in Shanghai, in particular, their dynamic interaction with the city's urban expansion and the rising popular culture at the turn of the twentieth century.

Gardens held such an extraordinary position in the urban cultural landscape in Shanghai, a city that underwent rapid transformations and leapt to the scholarly forefront for studying China's modernity.[4] Although the rhetorical changes of the term 'garden' (*yuan*) in linguistics and literature are not the focus of this study,[5] I still want to point out how prevalently the appellation of *yuan* appeared in Shanghai. Besides private gardens, a variety of establishments that took form in the nineteenth century explored the theme of the garden, including theaters (*xiyuan*), teahouses (*chayuan*), amusement parks (*youleyuan*), and public parks (*gongyuan*). The commercial appropriation of the name *yuan* like teahouses and theaters in a sense reinforced the idea of enclosure and reflected its origins, since traditional theatrical performances were usually staged in the garden of private households. By the late nineteenth century, however, Chinese

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[4] An ongoing surge of scholarly interest within the field of modern China studies is in Shanghai history and culture in the past decades. Shanghai has been studied from many angles, from the key to modern China, to the edges of empires, to the birthplace of Chinese nationalism. For the historiography of Shanghai studies, see Joshua A. Fogel, "The Recent Boom in Shanghai Studies," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 71, no.2 (2010): 313-333.

[5] This has been analyzed in cultural studies. For instance, Catherine Yeh argues that nineteenth-century publications helped associate Shanghai the city with Daguan Yuan imagery, an iconic landscape garden in the eighteenth-century Chinese novel *Dream of the Read Chamber*, and thusly promoted "Shanghai's images of dreamscape and big playground." Catherine Yeh, "Shanghai as Daguan Yuan," in *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910*, University of Washington Press, 2006, 166-172.

gardens became the most important outdoor venue for public entertainment, as they featured a mixture of landscaping, architecture, and leisure activities that originated from different regions in China and cultures of other countries, largely catering to Chinese and foreigners, men and women, and magnates and masses alike. Not many places in Shanghai, and to a much less extent other cities in China at the time, shared such a sense of 'democratization.' With the hybrid nature in style and function, Shanghai gardens are often studied as an embodiment that reflected the transformation of Chinese landscape architecture as well as changes in social life and entertainment. That is to say, both what the garden looked like and what happened in the garden have been investigated through a rich body of images, yet discussions on how these various activities spatially interacted with the garden landscape and changing cityscapes, and how these new spatial interactions facilitated new forms of vision and visual representation are largely absent in existing scholarship.

This late nineteenth-century illustration exemplifies what I mean by *spatial interactions*. The image depicts a kite-flying party (*fengzheng hui*) that drew a crowd of Chinese and foreign spectators to the Zhang Garden, one of the trendy pleasure gardens of the time (Figure 0-2). The garden was designed with a combination of foreign-style and conventional Chinese architecture, characterized by its broad open lawn and a Romanesque-revival-style tower that accommodated large-scale cultural events and social gatherings. According to an 1892 *Shenbao* report, it was the new-style garden landscape with "plenty of open space among pavilions, terraces, trees, and kiosks by the ponds" that was favorable for such event and crowd gathering.[6] The spatial arrangement is also evident in the illustration. Yet instead of a faithful representation of the garden layout, it deliberately rounded those scattered structures in a wide-angle lens that

[6] "*Fengzheng yahui*" (Elegant Gathering of Kite-flying), *Shenbao*, 1892.3.24.

underlined the openness and the crowd's sight following the kites flying high in the sky. Entertainment like kite-flying staged up in mid-air were observable from a distance, which generated new forms of visual connection between the garden space and the city. This multi-layer interrelation between architectural spaces, various forms of entertainment/spatial experiences, and multimedia images is the focus of my dissertation.

With the focus in mind, my dissertation is structured along two lines of inquiry. One line focuses on the construction of garden spaces from a combination of architectural and cultural perspectives. I will compare those garden architectures of significance to the city's physical and social development at several key moments from the 1850s to the 1930s, through a variety of visual, literary, and historical writings about the city. The other line probes into the interplay between the spatial practices and visual culture in the city's multi-cultural contexts. I search for multiple ways that the new visual culture—production and reception of different visual forms—intersected with garden spaces in Shanghai. In doing this, I will explore the intersection of the city's urban expansion, garden spaces, and visual culture over the critical century in modern Chinese history.

Seen in the broader social context over time, gardens in China in the past were not designed for public entertainment. How, then, did the garden, an indigenous secluded space, transform in nineteenth-century Shanghai? What were the conditions that facilitated the transformation? In what ways had this spatial transformation engaged the city's physical changes and the rise of new visual culture in Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century? Furthermore, how would the changes in space catalyze or accelerate other transformations in the experience of Shanghai's modernity? And lastly, how can we theorize a genre of everyday spaces that retained significance to changing urban life up to the present time? In this dissertation, my initial

questions are concerned with the garden space as physical constructions in a historical context, urban experiences recounted through representations, and discourses constantly reconstructed by contemporaneous and later social groups.[7] In addition to their physical components, gardens had many facets in the city: they were architectonic expressions of personal tastes and fashion trends, commercial hubs exhibiting the newest industrial technologies and fashions (such as the horse-drawn ride, cinema, and exposition, etc.), and at the same time, distinct from other venues of entertainment, gardens were also public works in urban planning that channeled contested governance and architectural professionalism.

Accordingly, this study looks at the spatial transformations of these gardens that the nineteenth and twentieth-century Shanghai guidebooks listed as the city's leading entertainment attractions, including the commercial pleasure gardens, temple-gardens, city parks, and rooftop gardens as high-rise building's playgrounds. I will examine their relationship with varied cultural practices and the overall built environment during the Imperial-Republican transitional era. This study focuses on a variety of spatial constructions, temporal-spatial experiences, and cultural imaginations centering around gardens in the changing cityscapes, which involved several key actors: the city, garden spaces, and assorted groups of garden practitioners such as garden owners and designers, urban planners, Shanghai school painters, common tourists, and consumers of cultural reproductions in and from gardens. Transformations of the city's typography and social conditions brought changes to the location, formation, function, and meaning of garden spaces. In turn, garden practitioners not only partook in the spatial constructions of gardens, but also

[7] Methodologically, the broad outline of my project is inspired by, or arguably falls into, Paul Cohen's approach to recounting "history." *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*, Columbia University Press, 1998. He juxtaposes historians' accounts with those recounts by experiencers and mythicized reinterpretations of past events. Instead of juxtaposing the different perspectives, I am more interested in how the three narratives interacted each other through the examination of the historical subject—garden spaces.

produced urban experiences that actively reconstructed verbal and visual discourses of the city. This dissertation is not about casting a history of Chinese gardens. Instead, the goal is to argue for the complexity of the garden that requires a network of disciplines to unravel including the study of history of architecture, urban culture, visual culture, and art history.

I. Gardens in The City's History and Studies of Urban Culture

The City's History

By "transformation of indigenous garden spaces," I do not suggest a fixed concept of Chinese gardens that remained an intact cultural form and changeless architectural type in the pre-treaty port era, in contrast to public parks imported from the putative 'West.'[8] Nor do I attempt to simplify the transformation as a linear narrative where 'traditional' Chinese gardens evolved towards publicness under the impact of Western parks. For one thing, indeed, one can barely observe anything in modern Shanghai that could be defined as authentically 'Chinese' or have its origin traced to a specific 'Western' place. As Alexander Des Forges demonstrates in his *Mediasphere Shanghai*, the dichotomy itself as "motivated cultural products" were created and elaborated in the local context.[9] For another, scholars also challenge the historicism embodied in the writings of modern Chinese history that narrated cultural productions evolving along the temporal dimension.[10] As Samuel Liang attempts to argue, Shanghai's modernity was formed

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[8] For the clearest example of this approach, see Shi Mingzheng "From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing," *Modern China*, vol.24, no.3 (July 1998): 219-254; Xiong Yuezhi, "The Parks and Daily Life in Modern Shanghai," *Society and Science*, vol.5 (2013): 129-139.

[9] Alexander Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, 20-21; 38-39. He emphasizes that "hybridity" was a local production, as manifested in the installment fiction that created narratives of "Western" development in contrast with the sense of "Chinese" for late-Qing audiences to imagine Shanghai urban spaces.

[10] Leo Ou-fan Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Chinese History and Literature," in Paul A. Cohen ed., *Ideas across Cultures: Essays*

along the “spatial dimension from private to public” (in his discussion, from courtesan houses to courtyards and streets) instead of a temporal narrative.[11] I have been greatly inspired by Liang’s approach, since my own study deals with the spatial transformation of gardens and their vital role in the urban and cultural changes of Shanghai.

The transformation can still be understood within a time-space framework, alongside the social and political transition from imperial rule to republican government at the turn of the twentieth century. As shown in the timeline (Figure 0-3), my study mainly dwells in three periods: The first period focuses on the decades between the 1850s and the 1890s, when the city was reconfiguring its political and geographical maps and growing into the most important commercial center in China. Commercial-use Chinese gardens flourished during this period. This boom of commerce intertwined with uncertainty and anxiety over geopolitical control to both Chinese and Western people in the early treaty-porty era. Foreign ideas and commodities were subsequently brought to the treaty ports, particularly Shanghai, and encountered Chinese immigrants from other regions, which resulted in cultivating hybrid metropolitan cultures *in situ*.

The second is the period during the 1900s and the 1910s that witnessed drastic changes in Chinese society. Historians regard China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the abolition of the imperial examination system in 1905 as turning points in the Chinese cultural elite’s view of themselves and the world, which deeply impacted their artistic practices towards the end of imperial rule in 1911 and within the context of the New Culture Movement. During

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on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz, Harvard University Asia Center, 1990, 109-135. Lee traced the new mode of historical consciousness as an invention by Chinese intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century.

[11] Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners’ City, 1853-98*, Routledge, 2010, 4-5; 181.

this period the booming real estate fueled the construction of multi-story entertainment complexes for masses and appropriated the garden space in new forms.

Third, the city shape changed again during the years between the 1910s and 1930s. Along with the construction boom and population growth at the beginning of the twentieth century, many city parks were constructed during this period. It was a period when the newly established Nationalist government attempted to wrestle control over China's largest economic center. Building city parks became the most important practice in urban planning envisioned and contested by different sovereignties. Nonetheless, within this time-space framework, the spatial changes over time were necessarily progressive one after another, but rather, they often paralleled and overlapped each other in terms of architectural structures, geographical locations, and user groups.[12]

<u>Public Space, Popular Culture: Two Approaches</u>

Shanghai's gardens have been examined as an important subject within the confines of their own genre among the discussions of Chinese landscape architecture in the lower Yangzi delta (the so-called the Jiangnan region) as well as in studies of modern parks within the administrative development under the Western influence.[13] In cultural studies, Shanghai's

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[12] For example, the commercial pleasure gardens that were trendy during the late nineteenth century declined after the 1910s because of the popularity of new entertainment complexes, but the construction of city parks largely paralleled both the pleasure gardens and new entertainment complexes in the early twentieth century.

[13] Among these historical discussions are Zhu Yuhui and Lu Bingjie, *Shanghai chuantong yuanlin yanjiu* (Studies on Traditional Shanghai Gardens), Tongji University Press, 2019; Chen Zhehua, *Haipai yuanlin yiyun: mingguo shanghai sijia yuanlin yanjiu* (The Meaning of Shanghai-Style Gardens: Study of Private Gardens in Shanghai during the Republic of China), China Architecture Publishing, 2018; Wang Yun, *Shanghai jindai yuanlin shilun* (Shanghai Parks and Private Gardens in Modern Times), Shanghai Jiaotong University Press, 2015; Shelly Bryant, *The Classical Gardens of Shanghai*, Hong Kong University Press, 2016; And a series of case studies on late nineteenth-century gardens, including Xiong Yuezhi, "A Study of The Zhang Yuan: A Public Sphere in Late Imperial Shanghai," *Archives and History*, no.6 (1996): 31-42; Chen Zhehua, Zhou Xiangpin, "The Research of Hardoon Garden in

gardens are often mentioned as a milieu staged with novelties of all sorts: gardens served as the art and commercial center, in particular, the center of the southern Chinese city;[14] the westernmost stop for the fashionable horse-drawn carriage ride;[15] the stage for the first appearance of new media like motion pictures in China;[16] and the site for political criticism, public gatherings, and lectures.[17] In these studies, however, we still cannot discern clear roles that the 'space' played in these adventures, as they largely faded into the background. How on earth did the garden spaces provide conditions, structurally and culturally, that molded residents and visitors' visual and sensory experiences of the city at a time of upheavals?

Andrea Goldman and Laikwan Pang's studies on opera provide insights into the spatial dynamics among the theatrical performances, different venues, and the audience in urban culture. Goldman examines three key venues, playhouses, temple fairs, and salons in which opera was performed in the nineteenth-century capital of Beijing, and she pays particular attention to the "border crossings." She argues that the transgressions of space (separation between stage and audience area), ethnicity (boundary between Han Chinese and Manchu identity), and gender (cross-gender performance) constantly provoked tensions between the Qing court and the

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Shanghai in the Republic of China: The Reconstruction of Garden Plane and Discussion on Doubtful Points," *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, 5 (2016): 92-97; Zhou Xiangpin, Mai Luyin, "Study on Space Restoration of Chang Garden in Modern Shanghai," *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, 2018.7, 129-133. Their reconstruction of garden layout laid groundwork for studying the garden architecture in Shanghai.

[14] Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, no. 3 (2004): 550-572; "Exhibition on Shanghai School Paintings," Shanghai Liu Haisu Art Museum, 2019. Interestingly, the exhibition displayed a reconstruction of Yu Garden on site, that shows the context where the early art societies were clustered in Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century.

[15] Catherine Yeh, "The Horse-Drawn Carriage and the Courtesan star" in *Shanghai Love*, 64-74.

[16] Laikwan Pang, Chapter 5 "Walking into and out of China's Early Film Scene," in *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, 164-183.

[17] Such as the abovementioned article by Xiong Yuezhi; Yue Meng, Chapter 5, in *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires*, University of Minnesota Press, 2006, 139-170; Wu Hung, "Birth of the Self and the Nation: Cutting the Queue," in *Zooming in Histories of Photography in China*, Reaktion Books, 2016. In the chapter, Wu talks about one kinds of printed images that represents queue cutting in action as social events, and one such influential event that took place in Zhang Garden in 1911, 92-93.

audience of different social classes.[18] In the same vein, Pang emphasizes the interaction between the viewing mode and the design of playhouses in Beijing and Shanghai that transformed Peking Opera from an indigenous folk culture into a modern entertainment, of which, as she argues, the entertainment's focus shifted from being aural to visual.[19] In addition, Zhang Zhen's article forefronts the specificity of teahouses, where commercial operas were staged in the twentieth century, as a major viewing site to cultivate early experiences of the new visual medium—cinema in China.[20] Pang's focus further zooms out from teahouses to the public gardens, which framed the larger context of the film-centered visual culture. She argues for an emerging spectatorship that lied in experiencing the moving vision aesthetics created by cinema as a contrast to pre-modern strolling experiences in traditional garden spaces.

The studies of Goldman, Zhang, and Pang look at opera and cinema—the mass media that Goldman considers powerful in shaping and reflecting popular imagination. Their studies fall under the field of popular culture rather than high art, whereas their approaches and main concerns were diversified. Goldman focuses on the state-society relations through the prism of opera, by examining how opera— through its stories, performances, and playhouses – became a public space where Manchu court and various social members contested ideas and values. Pang, on the other hand, leans to practices of everyday life and urban sites where individual and collective experiences brewed "the specificity and accidentality of modernity" in China. Not that her work divests the sociopolitical aspects from the popular, but she considers that the discourse

[18] Andrea Goldman, Chapter 2, "Metropolitan Opera, Border Crossings, and the State," in *Opera and the City: The Politics of Culture in Beijing, 1770-1900*, Stanford University Press, 2012, 63-114.
[19] Laikwan Pang, Chapter 4, "Peking Opera, from Listening to Watching," in *The Distorting* Mirror, 133-163.
[20] Zhen Zhang, "Teahouse, Shadowplay, Bricolage: *Laborer's Love* and the Question of Early Chinese Cinema," in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922-1943*, Yingjing Zhang ed., Stanford University Press, 1999, 27-50.

of consumerism exerted more impact on traditional art forms and their material dimensions (i.e. stage settings and gardens). In essence, the two approaches represent the major paradigms of studying urban culture in late imperial and Republican China.

The study of entertainment culture, by and large, follows the first approach that addresses the key question of state-social relations, from the perspective of power and control embodied in the city's public spaces. Entertainment in this case—its actors, sites, forms, and meanings— are considered as an enterprise/industry (*ye* 业) subjected to institutional and economic conditions and regulated by politics. A rich body of scholarship has examined entertainment in treaty ports like Tianjin, Hankou, and Shanghai and its close relation to the city's historical development and multi-force social structure.[21] Certainly, the applicability of this approach is made explicit by substantial studies on the 'public space." As a strong echo of Jurgen Habermas's concept of the public sphere in modern Chinese studies, the research subjects range from concrete spaces like streets, teahouses, theaters, parks, and temples to conceptual spaces like guild and native-place associations.[22] In her introduction, Goldman well addresses a review of recent works on the

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[21] Among these well-grounded historical and social studies are Frederic Wakeman. "Licensing Leisure: The Chinese Nationalists' Attempt to Regulate Shanghai, 1927-49," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.54, no.1 (1995): 19-42; Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and sexuality in Shanghai*, Cambridge University Press, 2001; Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*, University of Hawaii Press, 1997; Lou Jiajun, *Shanghai chengshi yule yanjiu* (A Study of Shanghai Urban Entertainment), Wenhui Press, 2008; Andrew David Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919-1954*, The Chinese University Press, 2010; Ma Jun, *Wuting, shizheng: Shanghai bainian yule shenghuode yiye* (Ballrooms, Municipality: One Page of A Hundred-Year Entertainment Life), Shanghai Lexicographical Publishing House, 2010; Ning Jennifer Chang, *Cultural Translation: Horse Racing, Greyhound Racing and Jai Alai in Modern Shanghai,* Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2019. Henriot and Hershatter's studies examine Shanghai prostitution as part of administering entertainment in the broader picture of China's nation-building. In a similar vein, Ma and Field analyze Shanghai's dancing industry responding to the regulation of the newly established nationalist government in the early twentieth century.

[22] Representative works include William T. Rowe, *HanKow: Conflict and Community in A Chinese City, 1796-1895*, Stanford University Press, 1992; Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation, Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937*, University of California Press, 1995; Wang Di, *The Teahouse: Small Business, Everyday Culture, and Public Politics in Chengdu, 1900-1950*, Stanford University Press, 2008; Yunqian Chen, "On the Conflict between Colonialism and Nationalism in

public space in China, which constitutes three waves of changes.[23] Instead of an ideal model of 'public sphere,' Goldman regards commercial playhouses in late imperial Beijing as "a public space for social critique and sentimental indulgence," where transgressions of spatial and gender identity had vibrantly arose. However, as she points out, this public space could not be seen as a counterpart in modern Europe and never coalesced into a viable challenge to state authority.

Another approach explores urban culture from a more empirical perspective that concentrates on everyday life experiences of the general masses in lived spaces.[24] A wide range of critical studies have been instrumental in exploring micro-level history.[25] Scholars underscore people's everyday practices that unconsciously, indirectly, or unnecessarily responded to ideologies, regulations, and the changeable environment. To a certain extent, scholars believe that it is unlikely for individuals to face the state straight in daily life. These ideas can be found in Dikötter's discussion on ordinary people's "creative appropriation" of "exotic things" in hinterlands, and Dong's research on Republican Beijing considering bridges as an everyday space for the residents recycling 'traditions' from the old capital's past. The studies define some

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Everyday Life: From a Perspective of the Parks in Modern China," *Journal of Nanjing University*, no.5 (2005): 82-95; Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900*, University of California Press, 2000; Xuelei Huang, "Through the Looking Glass of Spatiality: Spatial Practice, Contact Relation and the Isis Theater in Shanghai, 1917-1937," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, vol.23, no.2 (2011): 1-33.

[23] Andrea Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 6-9.

[24] This "spatial turn" in social and cultural theory, which arose in the end of last century, itself closely related to the rise of postmodernism and globalization, can be traced to a long genealogy in the West, from Henri Lefebvre, Walter Benjamin, to Michel de Certeau—from the "critique" of everyday life to "practices" of everyday life. See Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory*, Routledge, 2001.

[25] These studies among others include Han-chao Lu, *Beyond the Neon Lights: Everyday Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century*, University of California Press, 1999; Frank Dikötter, *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China*, Columbia University Press, 2007; Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai*, Stanford University Press, 2008; Abovementioned Liang, Pang; and Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*, University of California Press, 2003. But note that the first part of Dong's book also talks about how the street's reformation became a public sphere of state-society wrestling.

'tactical' practices that derived from day-to-day experiences and characterized the instable, improvising, and accidental nature of mundane life.[26] Trivial details embed meanings.

If the first approach aims to generalize some sociopolitical patterns out from one type of place, the second approach pursues specificities and localities attributing to the construction of the city's urban spaces and culture.[27] My study of Shanghai gardens as the city's public entertainment space combines both approaches. I consider gardens as both an architectonic project where different social groups projected ideological tensions in constructing and construing it as well as an everyday space shaping people's visual and spatial experiences and imaginations. For instance, in chapter 4, I discuss renovating and constructing city parks as an important component in the 1930s' Greater Shanghai Plan. And in chapter 3, my discussion focuses on the dynamics between space and vision of assorted visual forms of entertainment in pleasure gardens. I argue that an array of 'traditional' entertainment activities revolving around the garden settings played key roles in generating new modes of spatial experience.

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[26] A term addressed by Michel de Certeau, "Walking the City," *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1988. De Certeau approaches the question of power and control, and state-social relations in a more open-minded manner than Foucault. De Certeau acknowledges the discourse of power upon the society and urban spaces, but he emphasizes operations (i.e. walking) as tactics dealing with imposed social and spatial orders, which could also count as daily responses that may or may not embody acts of resistance (99). This also differentiates urban practitioners from the elitist flaneurs that many scholars adopted from Benjamin and applied to Shanghai's contexts. See Zhang Yingjin, "*pipingde manyouxing: shanghai xiandaipai de kongjian Shijian yu shijue zhuixun*" (Flanerie of Criticism: Shanghai Modernists' Spatial Practices and Visual Language), *Comparative Literature in China*, no.1 (2005): 90-103. De Certeau also emphasizes that daily consumption as consumer of images and objects was a form of production.

[27] If the first approach can be traced back to the early twentieth century when Chinese May fourth intellectuals began theorizing popular media like opera as means to advocate nationalist ideologies, the second approach only became a topic in recent decades. It is very different from the Japanese intellectuals of the same period, who tried to conceptualize everyday life and space (like Asakusa temple-park) as means to construction of "modernity." See Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.51, no.1 (1992): 30-54.

Elite Perspective and Consumer Culture

This study of the garden spaces largely falls into popular culture that focuses on public spaces and people's practice of everyday life; however, I could not ignore the overlap between the popular and elite in urban culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century China. As many abovementioned scholars have demonstrated, no matter if it is opera or movies, urban entertainment culture always intertwines with elitist responses and experiences of the general masses. Early twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals often envisioned new media, both indigenous and imported, as pedagogical tools for social reforms.[28]

In fact, urban culture in Shanghai, especially during the early twentieth century, has largely been studied from the perspective of cultural elites like artists, writers, and intellectuals with their complex reactions to China's modernization.[29] Since the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese painters and men of letters came to Shanghai, where they were attracted but also perplexed by the drastic urban changes, mixed lifestyle, and the city's expansive print culture. The urban space became a necessary background in a myriad of visual and literary imaginations of city life. For instance, Catherine Yeh illustrates how public gardens served as a unique urban setting in late-Qing novels, where courtesans displayed their charms to a wider public.[30] Instead of reading the urban changes as facts, scholars of comparative literature analyze the city of Shanghai, its various entertainment spaces, and therein female protagonists as literary figures

[28] Hsiao-ti Li, *Qingmo de xiaceng shehui qimeng yundong* (The lower-class social enlightenment movement in late Qing, 1900-1911), Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001.
[29] Between the 1990s and 2000s, an array of in-depth scholarship led to the surge of research on how intellectuals responded to drastic urban changes in China, especially in Shanghai, where they contributed to and also benefited from the rising press in the late Qing and early Republican transition; for example, see the "Studies on Urban Space and Intellectuals" serial published by Shanghai People's Press in the 2000s.
[30] Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 265-266.

that projected the male author's anxieties and visual signifiers of Chinese modernity.[31] The subject of these studies ranges from discovering alternative modernities in late Qing novels,[32] modernist writers' reimagining in Republican Shanghai,[33] to sojourned Taishō writers searching for ambivalent identities in Shanghai;[34] and the represented loci usually manifested "the Western hegemonic presence" on the map of the foreign settlements, as Lee introduced in his *Shanghai Modern*, ranging from cinemas, department stores, dance halls, to the race course.

Modern consumer culture was an important discourse channeling between the elite and the popular. Gardens in this sense can be understood as both a three-dimensional architectural form and also a representational figure promoted by the publishing industry with new media in Shanghai. In both realms, constructing gardens/images was informed by their own artistic traditions and media codings as well as the rapid commodification of culture, and ironically, in many cases the latter exerted more influence. Just as Craig Clunas contends, gardens were consciously constructed and aesthetically perceived artefacts, but they were also expensive pieces of real estate.[35] Pleasure gardens such as Shen Garden (1882), Zhang Garden (1885), and Xu Garden (1887) were advertised as tourist attractions starting in the 1880s. These were privately-owned artificial landscapes but also paid-for entertainment businesses. The garden on

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[31] Catherine Yeh talks about the "male anxiety" in Hershatter's argument and reminds us it is a concept with a specific historical date. The anxiety grew out of the sense about their own identity in the late nineteenth century and later shifted towards sovereignty and nationhood up to the early twentieth century. *Shanghai Love*, 8.
[32] David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911*, Stanford University Press, 1997; Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 2006; Alexander de Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 2007.
[33] Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*, Harvard University Press, 1999; Shao-yi Sun, *Urban Landscape and Cultural Imagination: Literature, Film, and Visuality in Semi-Colonial Shanghai, 1927-1937*, 1999.
[34] Liu Jianhui, *Demon capital Shanghai: the "Modern" Experience of Japanese Intellectuals*, University of Hawaii Press, 2012; Jing Wang, Ph.D. Dissertation, *Spatializing Modernity: Colonial Contexts of Urban Space in Modern Japanese Literature*, 2018.
[35] Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, Duke University Press, 1996, 15.

the one hand embodied expressions of personal taste, and on the other hand, it was an expensive piece of real estate and ambitious enterprise investment by the new "comprador merchants,"[36] a group that Wen-hsin Yeh found so important in Chinese society and economy during the late-Qing era. They ardently embraced both agendas but constantly struggled in varied identities as private-garden owner vs. public entertainment vendor.

As shown in the prospectus that the Zhang Garden's owner announced in 1894 (Figure 0-4), all aesthetic and material garden settings, ranging from landscape elements and pleasure boats to buildings and theatrical troupes, were advertised as promising assets for fund raising. The commerciality drove these gardens to amass all kinds of entertainment and establishments, adapting vernacular cultural activities and adopting the newest fashions, while at the same time, the cultural reference of Chinese gardens as the elite's exclusive pleasure seemingly helped the garden escape from moral fetters that were embedded in many other enclosed entertainment spaces like opium dens and brothels. This made pleasure gardens comparable to the department stores erected along the Nanjing Road later in the 1920s and 30s which, as Lien contends, served as a medium in disseminating new concepts of consumption.[37] Inside, the commodities, entertainment facilities, artistic practices (i.e. art exhibitions), and interior structures—much like the landscape properties in pleasure gardens—were designed and exhibited to create multi-layered spaces for experiencing modernity and promoting consumption among the new urban middle class.[38]

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[36] Wen-hsin Yeh, "The Material Turn," 9-29, *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and The Making of Modern China, 1843-1949*, University of California Press, 2007.
[37] Ling-ling Lien, *Creating A Paradise for Consumption: Department Stores and Modern Urban Culture in Shanghai*, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2017.
[38] This can also be comparable with the studies of department stores in early twentieth-century Japan, which took upon multiple roles in changing ideas of everyday life, channeling high art and consumer culture, and ideologies and popular ideas. Discussions focus on Mitsukoshi. See Younjung Oh, "Shopping for Art: The New Middle Class' Art Consumption in Modern Japanese Department Stores," *Journal of*

In visual art, as Jonathan Hay and Yu-chih Lai argue, late-nineteenth-century Shanghai School painters promoted a new aesthetic in their commercial ink paintings.[39] These painters congregated in the Yu Garden, the Chinese city's cultural center for artistic creation. In their paintings, the garden imageries embodied traditional subject matters and in turn affirmed a sense of cultural belonging. Their complex responses to the checkered urban environment were encoded into the conventional brushes which, as Hay argues, combined an indigenous pursuit of newness as well as a self-conscious Chineseness.[40] These ink paintings as such became a new popular in the art market of the time. Likewise, Roberta Wue's recent work further investigates how Shanghai's art commercialism formed new relationship between the artists and their urban audiences.[41] Rethinking the relationship between art and commerciality, Hay points to a pivotal question—whether architecture and painting in the context of late imperial Shanghai shared any underlaying visual features, since at the time they were both practices subjected to the commercialized urban environment.

The studies of urban culture, especially in the public space, still raise questions about the subjectivity of seemingly homogenous urbanite/marginal groups as garden practitioners.[42] Yet

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Design History, vol. 27, issue 4 (2014): 351–369; Tomoko Tamari, "Modernization and the Department Store in Early-Twentieth-Century Japan: Modern Girl and New Consumer Culture Lifestyles," in *Approaching Consumer Culture*, 237-255.

[39] Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders;" Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the built environment in late nineteenth-century Shanghai," in *Chinese Art Modern Expressions*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 61-101.

[40] "An indigenous pursuit of newness" was how Wang defined Chinese modernity in late-Qing literature as "repressed modernities." Hay arguably accepted the interpretation and proposes that late-nineteenth-century Shanghai school paintings remained "a self-conscious Chineseness," which assured ink painting's vitality in modern era. The most visible characteristics of the indigenous newness of ink paintings include the colorful visual effect and borrowed subject matters from folk art.

[41] Roberta Wue, *Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century*, University of Hawaii Press, 2014.

[42] A critical thinking of the applicability of this research paradigm on "everyday life" in China, see Ling-ling Lien, "*Dianfan yihuo weiji? 'richang shenghuo' zai zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu de yingyong ji qi wenti*" (Paradigm or Crisis? 'The Everyday' in Modern Chinese History), *New History*, vol.17, no.4 (2006): 255-282.

my dissertation does not want to overstress any particular social group, since this is not a sociological study. What I am interested in is the subject-environment interactions, physically and imaginatively, with attention to several social groups and agents, including local imperial officials, late Qing intellectuals and artists, early Shanghailanders, the newly founded nationalist government, architects and architectural historians, the general park frequenters, and women consumers, who (re)constructed and (re)defined the garden spaces. These garden spaces range from pleasure gardens to rooftop gardens, which are elaborate in chapter 2, as well as the Public Garden and municipal parks, which are covered in chapter 4. The identities of these social groups were not clear-cut; for instance, in chapter 3, I examine how night gardens refashioned ways that urban Chinese interacted with new visual media in public space, but the materials that the chapter uses largely center on recounts and representations of Chinese men of letters, who could be categorized as intellectuals in the traditional sense but also ordinary residents in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Nevertheless, as historian Paul Cohen once reminded us, there are multifaceted ways to interpret materials to reconstruct a history.[43] The subjects discussed in this dissertation are not as clearly defined as producers and viewers registered in other art forms, but the subjects vary alongside how I contextualize garden spaces as architectural constructions, representational texts, and reconstructed discourses.

My studies of Shanghai gardens and parks will be examined within the intersected contexts of popular culture, the elitist perspective, and consumerism in a transitional period, when art and popular culture began intermingling and commercial architecture blossomed in the cross-cultural environment. I focus on the overlaps between the political and the commercial and the elite and the popular in the spatial transformations of gardens from an indigenous secluded

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[43] See footnote 5.

form to an entertainment space for the general public. And I further explore how these different historical subjects negotiated their uncertain identities in constructing and experiencing the urban environment, instead of pinning down my focus on selected artists or writers' voices.

II. Ways to Read Garden Spaces

In this dissertation, I consider garden spaces in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Shanghai as a heuristic device to explore the city's spatial transformation, to examine development of indigenous architectural forms, and to discover interplay between urban spaces and the new visual culture. To put it in another way, I probe into these three dimensions of urban and visual culture in Shanghai through the prism of garden spaces, and in turn, by studying the city, the garden, and their interactions with other cultural forms, we will be able to define and understand a genre of architectural space in modern China. We can certainly consider Shanghai's gardens as a 'total space' in modern times. Wu Hung uses this concept to analyze interrelated spatial structures in ancient Chinese tomb and religious art, and my intention here is to discuss the applicability of this conceptual tool in studying the garden space in modern Shanghai.[44] Wu articulates three levels of meaning of total space: the first level is a visual and material space constructed by artifacts, images, display, and architectural settings; the second level is a

[44] 'Total work of art' is a trend in architectural design that was promoted by German artists and architects (i.e. Richard Wagner, Walter Gropius) in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, aiming to unite multiple artistic expressions within the theatric space and emphasizing on the importance of art and architecture to society. Heng Hanxiao, "'Total Work of Art' in the Development of Modern Architecture from late 19th to early 20th Century: Case Studies of Two Theatre Designs," *The Architect*, no.1 (2021): 67-73. The concept I discuss here includes quotes from Wu Hung's "Lecture Three: Space and Total Art," in *'Space' in Art History*, Horizon Books, 2018. Of course, I want to take both contexts of this concept into consideration. But comparing with the concept's practice in Germany that focused on the complex and contradictory attitudes toward industrialization and machine, Wu Hung's notion is more applicable to the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries Shanghai in my case. Social and cultural elites and the popular at the time were eager to adapt and transform the capitalist materialism and machine into their own terms and agenda.

perceptual space where non-visual senses such as sound and taste are triggered by material constructs; and the third level is a reconstructed space of subjective experience, both physical and imaginary. And additionally, the total space can be studied in relation to the expanded visual traditions, cultural practices, and regional interactions. My project examines gardens as a total space that channels different urban spaces, time frames, cultural practices, and subjective experiences.

Garden-City Connections

My first aim is to articulate a garden-based urban history. The relation between garden spaces and the city is direct in their own terms. No matter how the Yu Garden inside the Chinese city, commercial pleasure gardens in the suburbs, rooftop gardens of tall buildings, or city parks built by foreign and nationalist municipalities were unique in their own ways, all four types were characterized by a certain extended publicness and openness. This is evident in the printed images of gardens and parks. Illustrations and photographs always present a perspective that invites viewers to see inside through the gates, and walls that fenced the garden were usually absent in these images and often replaced by cityscapes. And this openness in design visually combined the garden views with the cityscapes and therefore distinguished the garden space from other enclosed single entertainment buildings like teahouses, theaters, and ballrooms of the time. The construction of gardens and parks always transformed urban landscape as they became new components of cityscapes and pinpointed tensions between the resident and the city.[45] As such, we need to explore the urban changes and their interrelation with the garden construction.

[45] The most representative case is the issue of admission to the foreign-administered public parks prior to 1928. See Shih-Ying Chang, “The People's Reactions to the Western Parks that Appeared in Shanghai during the Late Ching Period,” *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, 2007, 39-96.

This current research on urbanism and architecture of modern Shanghai indeed parallels the studies of urban culture discussed earlier with two different research models focusing either on the political or the everyday. One important trajectory regards Shanghai as what Michael de Certeau called "a concept city," where architects' practices, architectural constructions, urban planning, and changing cityscapes were products shaped by "programmed and regulated operations," including politics, administrations, institutions, land regulations, technologies, multi-structure social factors, and underlying colonial repression among others. Shanghai studies follow this path and largely focus on the urbanization in the foreign settlements.[46] Delin Lai and Cole Roskam examine architectural practices from the perspective of politics and institutionalization. By contextualizing an array of civic architecture in semi-colonial Shanghai, Roskam shows how architecture reflected and informed the city's contested governance, geopolitical and professional wrestling. As he points out, many early 'Chinese' buildings erected in the foreign settlements were results of the regulation by the Shanghai Municipal Council, as they imposed housing codes beginning in the 1870s that dictated each house's look.[47] Roskam's work can be read side by side with John Friedmann's book that focuses on China's urban transition in the post-1949 era,[48] as both emphasize the specificity of what Friedmann called an "*in situ* urbanization" and tensions of "state-society relations" in the Chinese context. Upon the early twentieth century, Chinese intellectuals and urban administrators also began seeking possibilities to manage intensive urban growth, outcompete the neighboring foreign settlements,

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[46] Among the well-studied scholarship includes Cole Roskam, *Improvised City: Architecture and Governance in Shanghai, 1843-1937*, University of Washington Press, 2019; Yingchun Li, "Planning the Shanghai International Settlement: Fragmented Municipality and Contested Space, 1843-1937," Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Hong Kong, 2013; Delin Lai, "Institutionalizing Architecture in Modern Shanghai," in *Studies in Modern Chinese Architectural History*, Tsinghua University Press, 2007, 25-84; Wu Jiang, *A History of Shanghai Architecture 1840-1949*, Tongji University Press, 1997.
[47] Roskam, *Improvising City*, 107-108.
[48] John Friedmann, *China's Urban Transition*, University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

and promote nation-building. The concept of 'garden' was applied to city-scale projects. Cecilia Chu discusses how this 'garden city' idea was introduced and adapted to Shanghai's context but eventually ended up with several utopian residential projects in the western suburb.[49] Roskam and Chu's studies attested that these top-down undertakings, including the 1930s' Greater Shanghai Plan, were indeed problematic in the extraterritorial environment.[50]

Recent scholarly interest is also given to the Chinese city, which had long been portrayed as a "premodern other" in contrast with the urban and modern foreign settlements in historical and literary writings. Many scholars focus on the urban destruction and construction, such as the tearing down of the city walls led by the local autonomy organization.[51] Yet the Chinese city should not be seen as an isolated world from the Settlements. Questions remain. For instance, how did the urban renovation impact specific types of architecture, and how did the two worlds interact with each other? Gardens were the key spaces that geographically and culturally reinforced ties among distinct groups of people dwelling in different parts of the city. The carriage ride, introduced in the late nineteenth century as a trendy pastime activity, attested to this connection. The ride always included stops all over the city for assorted garden sites, city views, and other forms of entertainment.

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[49] Cecilia Chu, "Tianyuan Dushi: Garden City, Urban Planning, and Visions of Modernization in Early 20th Century China," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 2019, 39-54.

[50] This indeed shows an earlier shift in research on Chinese cities, from the master narratives focusing on institutional modernization and urbanization to more attention on collective experiences of modernity and identity. See Joseph W. Esherick ed., *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950,* University of Hawaii Press, 1999.

[51] Several articles concentrate on the history of city walls, seeing it as a political and metaphorical symbol of the declined imperial town. See Du Zhengzhen, "The Construction and Destruction of the City Wall in Shanghai: A Functional and Symbolic Expression," *Historical Research*, issue 6, 2002. Another major topic is the Autonomy Movement (1905-1914) in the late-Qing Shanghai, which was organized by a group of late imperial official intellectuals who tried to reform the "walled" world. See Zhou Qingsong, *The Study of Shanghai Autonomy Movement: 1905-1927*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 2005; Roskam also contributes a chapter on the issue, 2019.

This leads to the second trajectory to understanding Shanghai's urban development by considering the city as composed of street-level spaces and experienced by what de Certeau terms as "daily operations of walking."[52] As Edward Dension writes about Shanghai, "however high the buildings, life in Shanghai has always occurred at street level."[53] In the article "Architectural History or Landscape History?", Dell Upton proposes a 'landscape' approach to comprehend architecture.[54] Upton first illustrates two established models: one is "more inclusive" emphasizing individual work as the unit of analysis attesting to the building's inner logic and architects' professional's aesthetics, while the other is "more contextualized," pursuing the meaning of architecture to the society and cultural values. He points out the limitation of the two models and thus suggests an additional strategy studying architecture and the built environment, that is, focusing on "the human experience of its own landscape." Echoing de Certeau's acknowledgement on the role of practitioners, Upton shifts the focus from architectural production to the audience/user. He stresses the multiplicity and fragmentation of the environment and space, and hence architecture cannot be canonized and defined by the meaning of single constructions. Instead, a cultural landscape should be construed by all inhabitants who use its physical and imaginative structures. As an example, Samuel Liang's study illuminates how petty urbanites used *lilong* spaces, a new-style vernacular housing in late Qing Shanghai, which practically took on the shifting roles as a residential area, congregational site, and a public space extensive to streets.

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[52] Michel de Certeau, "Walking the City," 94-103.
[53] Edward Dension, Guang Yu Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*, Wiley Academy, 2006, 238.
[54] Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History?", *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol.44, no.4 (1991): 195-199.

Shanghai gardens and parks are also a case study to examine different relationships between the audience and the city. This interrelation can be studied in two aspects: gardens as public markers of the city's urban development in a geographical sense, and gardens as public spaces generating urban experiences that interacted with other cultural practices in the city. For the latter, the carriage rides mentioned earlier provide an interesting means to access such urban exploration in motion. Along the ride's itineraries, the passenger could glance and gather assorted impressions from different parts of the city—buildings old and new, roads narrow and wide, landscapes natural and man-made, while garden sites mediated such individual experiences and public views. For the former, we need to scrutinize the location and formation of different gardens, shifting functions of the same garden space (i.e. Yu Garden entertainment complex in the Chinese city), and their relative geographic relationship across the city over time alongside the foreign settlements' expansion northward and westward.

Construction of Gardens and Parks

My second aim is to propose some general frames to comprehend the typology of garden spaces for public pleasure and relaxation specific to modern Shanghai. The city guide that I initially mentioned represents a tourist's point of view, mapping out a variety of gardens (*yuan*) as sites for public entertainment, differentiated by locations, ownerships, styles of architecture, landscape layout, and leisure activities. People called these places *yuan* and *gong yuan* (public gardens/parks) to emphasize their general openness. As I have elaborated, the practitioner's view plays a key role in this project. Centering on the urban experiences in gardens, I hope to further probe into how garden ideas and practices from the past and other regions were actively appropriated and how these cross-cultural contacts resulted in hybrid forms of garden spaces in

Shanghai. Over a dozen commercial pleasure gardens existed between the 1880s and 1910s and about twenty public parks were built in succession in Shanghai during the beginning of the twentieth century.[55]

The foremost characteristic of these commercial gardens is that their locations are closely related to religious/ritual sites.[56] Throughout history, the religious sites including Buddhist temples, Daoist temples, and other places of worship like family shrines had been grounds for people to congregate and hold other collective gatherings. For instance, the Yu Garden was adjacent to the City God Temple within the Chinese city and other well-known names like Shen Garden, Yú Garden, and Zhang Garden were centered around the Jing'an Temple in the western suburb of the International Settlements. These commercial-use gardens in this sense were early spatial experiments by Chinese merchant elites hoping to combine traditional temple grounds, building structures, and new forms of entertainment. Folk fairs and activities held in religious sites attracted visitors, while in turn these new garden-temple-teahouse complexes transformed the areas into another commercial center of the city.[57]

Jing (views) characterized another defining feature of gardens and parks by creating the sense of openness while structurally the landscapes separated districts for different usages, which was distinct from those in private gardens mainly for aesthetic purposes. This can be discussed from several aspects. Firstly, the idea of openness, as scholars point out, was borrowed directly

[55] Xuke Cheng, *Shanghai yuanlin zhi*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2000.
[56] Rudolf G. Wagner, Catherine Yeh edited, *Testing the Margins of Leisure: Case Studies on China, Japan, and Indonesia*, Heidelberg University Publishing, 2019. This insightful book came to my attention only as I already completed writing the introduction. In their article, Rudolf Wagner and Catherine Yeh propose a framework to theorize 'leisure' in Chinese context, of which the two defining features are the role of state and religious authorities and the transcultural nature.
[57] In late Qing novels and notes, we find numerous descriptions about how visitors went to Yú Garden and Zhang Garden on their way to visit the Jiang'an Temple. For example, Chi Zhicheng, *Hu you mengying* (Dream Images of Visits to Shanghai), 160-162.

from those public facilities for leisure and pastimes that early foreign settlers brought to Shanghai in the 1850s and 60s, namely, parks like the famous Public Garden located on the north end of the Bund, and race courses such as the first one named “Garden Lane” that marked the western end of the British settlement of the time.[58] The Chinese pleasure gardens built subsequently in the 1880s soon incorporated these construction ideas, such as open space, symmetrical layout, large lawns, tall trees, wide lanes for horse-led carriages, and multi-story buildings. Secondly, exhibiting these landscapes as a set on the one hand facilitated and differentiated the various activities held in gardens, and on the other hand garnished a cultural reference, especially to the space for modern consumption like the rooftop gardens of the department stores. Thirdly, this cultural appropriation not only referred to garden structures, but also attached literary tradition, such as giving a set of names to the structures/views inside.

Lastly, the landscapes were characterized by the hybrid styles. Meng Yue argues that these commercial pleasure gardens as “conspicuous display” of “transcultural urban interiors” were displacements of earlier exquisite gardens in Yang Zhou that embodied spatial manifestations of the Qing empire’s cultural ambition.[59] Although lacking sufficient evidence to identify the garden design with their owners’ political agenda, or to identify the set of landscapes to a colonial-alike vision in possessing and exhibiting the ‘world’ in order[60] that Meng hinted, I agree that the hybridity was the key in effect for the public to experience and transgress in imaginary form the cross-cultural and geographical boundaries.

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[58] Chen Zhehua, *Haipai yuanlin yiyun*, 37-39; Xiong Yuezhi, “From Racecourse to People’s Park and People’s Square: Historical Transformation and Symbolic Significance,” *Urban History*, vol.38, no.3 (2011): 475-490.
[59] Yue Meng, Chapter 5 “Reenvisioning the Urban Interior: Gardens and the Paradox of the Public Sphere,” in *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires*, 139-170.
[60] Issue of the concept of the ‘exhibitionary order,’ see Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, 442-461.

Garden Spaces and Visual Culture

While the first two goals focus on the physical and cultural construction of gardens, my third aim delves into the interplay between the spatial practices and visual culture in Shanghai's multicultural context. The interaction will be structured in three layers: The first is about the conceptual parallels between garden as the architectural space and images for which they were produced. In response to what Hay has inquired, I want to further the comparison between the built environment and related image-making to a greater extent. Scholars studying pre-modern Chinese arts often discuss the garden as a three-dimensional equivalence of landscape paintings, which shared the same discourse of the intellectuals' cultural practices and aesthetic values.[61] Then, how would we understand the interactions between the garden construction and other artistic and cultural practices in modern Shanghai, with these practices all being influenced by the commercialized urban environment of the time? In addition, scholars studying modern Chinese painting and calligraphy underscore the importance of indigenous elements—such as traditional forms, popular subject matters, and commercial art aesthetics—in artistic renovations. Lothar Ledderose, for instance, by examining the so-called epigraphic style in nineteenth-century calligraphy, argues that this appropriation of ancient script styles was a form of Chinese modernism distinct from that imported from the West. The form, as he summarizes, relied on remaining, renewing, and rediscovering "inherited resources of Chinese culture" (usually from a remote past) to grapple with the present urban and cultural changes underwent in China.[62] I then wonder, had those late-Qing commercialized gardens been through the similar transformation of

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[61] Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "Art and Identity in the Northern Sung Dynasty: Evidence from Gardens," in Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith eds., *Arts of the Sung and Yuan*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996, 149.
[62] Lothar Ledderose, "Aesthetic Appropriation of Ancient Calligraphy in Modern China," in *Chinese Art Modern Expressions*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 212-245.

renewing and rediscovering visual sources from the past in Shanghai upon the massive introduction of foreign ideas?

The second layer deals with representations. I focus on the representations that depict gardens and parks of all kinds and also representations that recount urban experiences in garden spaces, including city maps, guidebooks, illustrated magazines, photographs, and advertisements. For one thing, the representations help us understand how urban landscapes took form, and for another, by tracing how urban spaces were narrated in literary and visual materials, we can reassess the role that the expansive publishing industry played in exaggerating a series of dichotomous images of Shanghai such as 'China-West' and 'old-new.' Clunas asserts that traditional Chinese gardens were less like a physical appearance before they became the objects of representation.[63] What he tries to emphasize is the importance of reading representations more than just "evidence." This can also be comparable with the studies of the late Qing novels. Alexander des Forges emphasizes that 'hybridity' was a local production, as manifested in the popular instalment fiction that created narratives of 'Western' and new urban scenes and in turn affirmed a sense of Chinese.[64] Representations of city parks in the 1930s that I discuss in chapter 4 expound on this issue between different discourses of image-making. I argue that the illustrated magazines introduced a new visual paradigm of women staged in daily outdoor settings that bridged the "new life" ideologies and popular discourse in consumer culture. Besides representing gardens per se, the related garden representations belong to a larger pictorial genre, city images. This can be traced back to an earlier visual tradition that tied cultural sites to the representations of cities.[65] In chapter 1, I take nineteenth and early twentieth-century city maps

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[63] Clunas, *Fruitful Sites*, 137.
[64] Alexander des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai*, 2007.
[65] See Cheng-hua Wang, "*Guoyan fanhua: Wan Ming chengshitu, chengshiguan yu wenhua xiaofei de yanjiu*," in Hsiao-ti Li, *City Life in China*, Linking Publishing Company, 2005.

as a case study. These visual materials fashioned a new style of cartographic representation that combined printed map and photographs of city sceneries, and garden images constituted an important part of the scenery rendering.

The third layer focuses on the various modes of visual production and reception that took form in garden spaces. I examine the dynamics between the audience and visual forms of entertainment and how the spatial dynamics were recoded into the printed images. As Hay reminds us, earlier Chinese gardens were never designed for crowds of people, but these commercial gardens specifically facilitated ways to see and to be seen.[66] This is not about the ubiquitous politics of 'ways' of seeing/surveying painting that John Berger suggested, but about how certain subject-environment interactions were evoked and mediated within the temporal-spatial framework of modern gardens in Chinese context. This responds to all dimensions of total space, consisting of an ensemble of the visual and material constructs, the perceptual space, and the space of subjective experiences. Night gardens that I discuss in chapter 3 is studied as such a total space. I study the night garden as a spatial ensemble encompassing architecture (designed landscape), objects (assorted visual apparatus), images (interiors and representations), and activities (scheduled performances on different sites). The construction further enables me to recontextualize the second and third levels of perceptual and experiential space (multi-senses triggered by new forms of visual entertainment in the dark atmosphere within the garden as a continuum of spaces). Here I also include a temporal dimension (nighttime) to the study of night gardens and extend their geographical relations to other forms of entertainment in the city.

[66] Hay, 77.

III. Organization

Instead of paying equal attention to each garden and park in Shanghai, the following chapters focuses on several different garden aspects, which are organized in sequence to target the three threads above: the city, garden spaces, and the interplay between spatial practices and visual culture. Chapter 1 investigates the early geopolitical transformation in nineteenth-century Shanghai by exploring a convoluted interplay between the city's physical reconfigurations and their cartographic representations. This opening chapter examines how city maps were produced by different groups to perceive Shanghai's early urbanization, and how increasing garden spaces interwoven into the physical expansion of the city. The chapter takes a further look at a group of early twentieth-century tourist maps that converted the geo-political knowledge into the realm of private entertainment. By virtue of image sources and new printing technologies brought from Japan, commercial maps created a variety of ways for individual travelers to experience, envision, and consume the city. While this chapter traces the geographical relation of gardens to the expanding city over time, the following chapter will focus on the architectural and spatial transformation of different garden forms in Shanghai.

Chapter 2 focuses on the material construction of various kinds of gardens. It studies how the hybrid architectural and cultural features were adapted to and took form in Shanghai during the late imperial and early Republic transition. I look at four forms of such garden spaces: the late-imperial temple-garden complex within the Chinese walled city; the very first Public Garden constructed in 1868 by the foreign-controlled Shanghai Municipal Council; commercial pleasure gardens in the late nineteenth-century suburbs; and roof gardens built atop multi-story department stores that sprung up in the 1920's foreign settlements. Their appearances and alterations reflected the city's physical expansion in line with the rise of the real estate market

and the increase of architectural types. By the 1920s and 30s, Shanghai had whirled into the boom of new constructions, and the price of land increased exponentially. Those formerly trendy pleasure gardens that spread in the suburbs had largely faded out from the spectrum of Shanghai residents' entertainment and were sold to housing project developers. Following the construction of department stores, the new age of commercial culture and entertainment for the general masses had recentered along the downtown area near the Bund.

Chapter 3 explores the time-space ensemble, night gardens in Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century, which transformed the urban configurations of both spatial and temporal senses. Night gardens were privately-owned gardens located on the outskirts of Shanghai. Relying on new illumination technologies and new means of transportation like the horse-led carriage and tramcar, these gardens began opening to the public at night and prevailed up until the 1910s and 20s. Assorted nocturnal spectacles featured along the way to and within the gardens connected the downtown area and night gardens in the suburbs from the afternoon through the nighttime, and the moving-seeing experiences were further enriched by traditional garden strolling. Focusing on the dimensions of perceptual and subjective experiences, I argue the interlinked garden sceneries, continuous spatial and visual experiences, and pictorial representations of night gardens all played a part in creating a modern nocturnal visual culture in China.

Chapter 4 is a synthesis that examines the links between the city, gardens, and visual culture. It discusses the construction of city parks in relation to the ongoing urban planning advocated by the Nationalist government and mass-produced printed images during the early twentieth century. In the chapter, city parks are studied in three different contexts. First, public parks were a key architectural component in the urban planning of new Shanghai. Second,

municipal parks were also public spaces that the nationalists used for promoting ideologies of 'new life,' which fostered an image-making of 'new women' who not only embodied new aesthetics of beauty but also sat in between ideological agenda and popular discourse. And thirdly, city parks as visual elements were appropriated by advertisements. By looking into the three contexts, the chapter examines city parks and their multi-relation to the urban changes and visual culture at the time. Methodologically, this chapter considers city parks as a total space that entangled all important dimensions that I discuss in the introduction, as architectural structures straddled between government-planned projects and everyday spaces, and as architectural site stimulated a variety of artistic and popular practices.

The epilogue concludes with some broader issues of discourses concerning the reconstruction of new images of the city of Shanghai and Shanghai's gardens. For instance, I examine how Shanghai gardens are redefined as 'classical gardens' in the historical studies and in the preservation process by Chinese architectural historians from the 1930s onwards, and how garden spaces are reimagined as new wonderland and amusement park in today's commercial cultural environment.

IV. Source Materials

This dissertation project is an interdisciplinary study that relies on a variety of sources, textual and visual, paintings, pieces from printed media, newspapers and pictorials, notes, novels and vernacular poetries, city guidebooks and maps, postcards and photographs, advertisements and posters, and a series of archrival documents. However, the sources shall not be read as well-defined bona fide evidence. I do not have the intention to define and confine the source materials, since I use them to reconstruct the gardens but also analyze them as representations.

My intention is to analyze the materials in two ways: making use of new materials, such as the archival and pictorial materials about the Greater Shanghai Plan discussed in chapter 4, and distilling new readings of some existing sources, such as the city maps examined in chapter 1.

I am not trying to homogenize the materials. But rather, I aim to sketch the construction process of garden spaces and the urban development by aggregating and cross referencing these materials. In addition, it is important not to read into the materials for "sociographic fact" but instead to acknowledge that they are rhetorical representations and part of the "mythmaking process"[67] contributing to the discourse of uniqueness of Shanghai urbanization at the turn of twentieth century. Admittedly, my work is unlikely to divest the male elite perspective from the source materials, because many of the texts that this dissertation analyzes such as newspaper writings are from the cultural elite. Nevertheless, I also attempt to focus on the perspective of females, common people, and foreigners, as well as the tension among the different perspectives, for example, female consumers of magazines and advertisements and common tourists of the illustrated city maps. To discover multiple voices from source materials will also be my focus in future.

V. Gardens as Paradigm

My dissertation's title, "The City's Pleasures," is inspired by Shirine Hamadeh's historical account of eighteenth-century Istanbul, in which she focuses on the city in the era of urban expansion and construction boom while its built environment also became sources of

[67] Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 19. Many scholars studying Shanghai courtesans and prostitutes have reminded us that these sources were more about the classificatory and narrative strategies of the authors. See Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures,* 3-39; Cohen, "Preface," in *History in Three Keys*, xii-xvi.

sensory pleasures for contemporary observers to experience.[68] Here my dissertation delves into the spaces of 'pleasures' in the city of Shanghai during the late imperial and early republican transition. During this time, gardens, no matter those built by Chinese merchants or by municipal councils of the foreign settlements, became from exclusive properties with privileged access to the places of pleasures for the general public. Shanghai gardens as both a concept and a type of space provide a multi-dimension of research possibilities: they took form as hybrid architectural practices, intersected with many other visual and cultural activities of the city, and served as an urban center with a variety of users over time. I can apply the research paradigm to studying gardens in other treaty ports, regions, and countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[69] And with my attention paid to the interplay between the spatial settings and subjective experiences of gardens as total space, I can further develop my research in new directions by focusing on the material aspects of the garden space. For example, my focus will shift from garden to gardening—the horticultural practices and plants as knowledge, objects, and images in global history of science and cultural exchanges, and to rethinking the garden-city-art paradigm in today's context.

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[68] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*, University of Washington Press, 2007.

[69] Gardens and parks have surfaced as an important subject matter to study urban and cultural changes. For example, see Lin Zheng, Ph.D. Dissertation, "*Beijing gongyuan: xiandaixing de kongjian toushe, 1860-1937*," Beijing University, 2015. It seems "Beijing" has also become a popular field in recent urban studies. See Chen Pingyuan, "'*Beijing yanjiu' de kenengxing*," Social Science of Beijing, vol.12 (2015), and his new book, *Jiyi Beijing* (Memories of Beijing), SDX Joint Publishing, 2020.

CHAPTER ONE

MAPPING URBANSCAPE AND LANDSCAPE: EARLY URBANIZATION AND MAPMAKING IN SHANGHAI, 1840S-1930S

As a city, Shanghai's shape constantly changed over time. A quote from the Chinese writer Chen Boxi in the early twentieth century provided insights into such different perceptions of the layout of an evolving city:

> "The word 'Shanghai' concerns ***the city as a whole*** without doubt and includes every part within its borders. Vulgar men refer to Shanghai as only the British Settlement, an area south to Yang King Pang, north to Soochow Creek, east to the Bund, and west to the Defence Creek… The saying that ***this small section*** represents the entire city has spread for a long time within the middle- and lower-class society in particular. It is difficult to trace when the saying had started…With the [truth] exposed, it all feels ridiculous."[1]
>
> 上海地名之误解，"上海二字，系包括**全邑**而言，凡在邑境范围之内者均应称为上海，无待言也。乃流俗所指之上海，仅南至洋泾浜、北至苏州河、东起黄浦滩、西迄泥城桥，专属英租界之一隅，名为上海。故在虹口或南市之人府英租界者，每曰'到上海去'。此**区区一段**地竟代表全邑之名，相沿既久，习不为怪。此种名词以中下社会为尤甚，实不知始于何时。又有称为上洋者，与前说同属不经，然积非成是，虽通人亦所不免。一经道破，未有不哑然失笑者。

In his words, "the city as a whole" appears on nineteenth-century Chinese gazetteer maps as a large administrative unit that consisted of several parts (Figure 1-1). Yet on an early twentieth-century tourist map (Figure 1-2), the "small section" of the foreign settlements overshadows the majority area under the name of Shanghai and juxtaposes the county seat in the south an empty circle bearing the name of Chinese city. Chen's words and the two disparate maps represented a rapid urban transformation that took place in Shanghai during the latter half of the nineteenth century, which delineated two distinct images of the city: one as a historic city located on the county seat with over 600 years of history, and the other as a modern metropolis centered on the

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[1] Chen Boxi, "Misconception of Shanghai," *Shanghai yishi daguan* (Shanghai Anecdotes), Shanghai Shudian Publisher, 1999; original edition ca.1920s-30s, 19.

foreign settlements along the Bund, built over a hundred years ago. By this time in the 1920s with a century-old history of coexistence, both Chinese and foreign residents in Shanghai struggled over how to define the city.

This sharp contrast elicits my initial questions regarding the early urban transformation in Shanghai: When was the name "Shanghai" conferred on these foreign settlements? How was the Chinese city marginalized to "the other" in the city's spatial and administrative transformations? And more importantly, in what ways did various entities—the local Chinese prefects, the foreign authorities, late Qing intellectuals, and common residents—perceive and envision these urban changes? In this chapter, I will untangle these questions by looking at the complex intersections of geographical changes, cartographic representations, and mapmaking practices in Shanghai during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Catherine Yeh remarks, "the Shanghai maps are not primarily about facts but use factual elements to build a case, including a particular view and story of the city."[2] In other words, Shanghai maps represented and reshaped different points of view of the city's early urbanization. I will explore how the city's physical reconfigurations were rendered in maps, and by these maps how people visualized the spatial changes and mapped themselves within the changing city. Therefore, the chapter is structured along two lines: the chapter traces the city's spatial transformation through a series of cartographic representations, and it also reconstructs the cultural and social history of the cartographical practices. My discussion sets out to channel these two strands in understanding the urban and cultural changes in late imperial Shanghai.

Accordingly, the chapter analyzes three types of maps that were produced successively in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: administrative maps drawn by Chinese and the

[2] Catherine Yeh, "Representing the City: Shanghai and its Maps," in Faure, David., Liu, Taotao. *Town and Country in China: Identity and Perception*, Palgrave, 2002, 168.

foreign settlements' authorities, commercial maps distributed by local publishing houses, and lastly, illustrated tour maps popularized in the 1920s and 30s. In analyzing the shift in the production and function of Shanghai maps, this chapter investigates the pattern of power relations embedded in the struggle among different forces to control and redefine Shanghai's urban space, as well as the tension between physical boundaries and envisioned spaces.

The first part of this chapter studies existing early Shanghai maps produced by Chinese and foreign authorities in the late nineteenth century, namely Chinese gazetteer maps and foreign survey maps. I want to examine how the Chinese city and foreign settlements adapted, confronted, and negotiated with each other through varied spatial and cartographic strategies. The second section explores how administrative maps were adapted to commercially produced maps in the early twentieth century. With administrative maps being borrowed, altered, and reproduced by the commercial press, geographical information about the city was not exclusive to local prefects, but flowed freely to diverse mapmakers as well as to a broader readership. I will then spend the next section focusing on a group of illustrated tour maps produced by Japanese publishers in Shanghai. Tour maps became a necessity for an increasing number of businessmen and sightseers traveling to the metropolis of Shanghai. I argue that different cartographical interests in defining the changing city were eventually mingled in the illustrated tour maps, which transformed the geopolitical knowledge of previous administrative maps into the realm of private entertainment.

Beyond illustrating the changes of Shanghai urbanscape on maps at the turn of the twentieth century, I will culminate the chapter by mapping the landscape—urban gardens in Shanghai, specifically how the increasing garden spaces interwoven into the physical expansion of the city. The garden spaces range from the temple-garden complex within the Chinese city, to

commercial pleasure gardens as the city's popular attractions, and to public parks as a part of the new government's Greater Shanghai Plan. While this chapter traces the geographical changes of garden spaces in relation to the ever-expanding city over time, Chapter 2 will focus on the architectural and spatial transformation of different garden forms in modern Shanghai.

1.1 What A Map Can Tell Us: Historical, Political, and Cultural Constructs of Maps

As a particular genre of visual representations of space, maps carry multifaceted cultural significance far beyond objective renditions of topographical reality. Firstly, maps were historically a kind of visual art form. Both European and East Asian societies have long yet disparate traditions of cartography. Mapmaking in sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Europe were works of collaboration between painters and draftsmen. Likewise, in pre-modern Chinese society, draftsmen carried on multiple roles as illustrators and painters as well, and maps were often seen as landscape paintings. Up until the seventeenth century when imperial mapmaking assimilated techniques imported from Europe, Chinese cartography was gradually dissociated from the realm of visual arts and fell into the category of 'science.'[3] In addition, mapmaking per se was seen as a symbol of cultural exclusivity and privilege. In both Europe and East Asia, the possession of geographic information and cartographic knowledge in early times was a private privilege of the ruling elite. In Japanese society prior to the seventeenth century, for instance, only Buddhist temples were capable of making maps. After the Tokugawa reunified the archipelago in 1600, Japanese cartography began to develop and the Shogun sanctioned massive new maps of provinces.[4] Finally, different types of maps served varied purposes. European world

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[3] Cordell Yee, Part One, "Cartography in China," *History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Societies*, University of Chicago Press, 1994, 170.
[4] Karen Wigen, Sugimoto Fumiko, and Cary Karacas, editors, *Cartographic Japan: A History in Maps*, University of Chicago Press, 2016, 2.

maps were the outcome of the Great Navigation Epoch and European colonial expansion during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which embodied their global ambition and became wall decorations in wealthy households.[5] Traditional Chinese maps not only served pragmatic purposes for administrative and military duties, but also provided a mathematical interpretation of the earth or the heavens.[6]

The multivalent significance of cartography enables maps to narrate historical tensions between the politics and culture of China over time. A formidable body of scholarly research has been generated in the field: Cordell Yee recounts a detailed history of Chinese cartography and its interaction with other fields such as politics, science, and visual arts. Ge Zhaoguang provides a methodological frame in which maps as analytical tools expound on Chinese intellectual history and the interactions between China and the rest of the world. Catherine Stuer elaborates a series of theoretical discussions upon the conceptions and terminologies of space and their cartographic representations, such as the origins of *kongjian*, *fangwei*, etc. Cultural historians such as Catherine Yeh, Christian Henriot, Zhou Zhenhe, and Zhong Chong have contributed to a growing number of articles interrogating the city maps of Shanghai with considerable subtlety.[7]

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[5] Liang Guo, *shiqi shiji ouzhou yu wanming ditu jiaoliu* (The Cartographic Interaction between the Europe and the Late Ming in the 17th Century), The Commercial Press, 2010, 11-14.
[6] See discussions in Wu Hung, "Picturing or Diagramming the Universe," Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Georges Métailié edited, *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007, 191-216; Ge Zhaoguang, *sixiang shi ke tang jiang lu* (Lectures on the Chinese Intellectual History), Chapter 7, "Maps as primary sources for studying the intellectual history," *sixiang shi ke tang jiang lu*, Joint Publishing Company, 2005, 166-168.
[7] Cordell Yee, *History of Cartography*; Ge Zhaoguang, Chapter 7, "Maps as primary sources for studying the intellectual history," 166-197; Catherine Stuer, "Map and More" in *Dimensions of Place: Map, Itinerary, and Trace in Images of Nanjing*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012, 35-45; Catherine Yeh, "Representing the City: Shanghai and its Maps," in *Town and Country in China: Identity and Perception*, Palgrave, 2002, 166-202; Christian Henriot, "Shanghai in Post-1949 Maps: Secrets, Lies, and Urban Icons," 2009, http://www.virtualshanghai.net/Texts/Articles?ID=60; Zhong Chong, *jindai Shanghai zaoqi chengshi titu puxi yanjiu* ("Study on City Map Pedigree in the early time of Modern Shanghai", *Historical Review*, issue 1 (2013); Zhong Chong, *Shanghai chengshi titu jicheng* (Complete Atlas of Shanghai Antiquated Maps), Shanghai Shuhua Press, 2017.

Catherine Yeh, Zhong Chong, and many other scholars' works have built a foundation for my research, on which I further examine the interrelation between the urban changes and their cartographical representations, and the shift of mapmaking in the cross-century social and visual cultural transformations in Shanghai.

Indeed, articulating geographical information became more complicated when different cartographical methods encountered in Shanghai, one of the earliest treaty-ports opened for trade in 1842, with its peculiar political, social, and cultural structures.[8] New technologies and ideas not only brought new architectural typologies, urban planning, and municipal management; the temporal and spatial structures of the city underwent changes accordingly.[9] These changes, including the shortened curfew time of the Chinese city, new physical structures, extra-settlement roads, and shifting geographic boundaries, all affected the ideological orientations held by Chinese and international sojourners alike toward the city of Shanghai. As a result, creating and reading Shanghai maps referred to different stories. To either continue one specific cartographical tradition or synthesize different mapmaking methods became a choice as well as tactic in representing the topography of the city. Different shapes, contents, colors, and representational modes showcased different emphases and de-emphases as well. As Catherine Yeh notes, "Shanghai maps are not primarily about facts but use factual elements to build a case, including a particular view and story of the city."[10]

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[8] In the century after the Opium War (1839–42), Shanghai was under a tripartite administration, including the Shanghai County under Chinese administration on the one hand, and on the other, the International Settlement (1863) with the former British (1843) and American (1845) settlements under the management of a unified Municipal Council (SMC), and the French Concession (1848) under direct orders of the French Consul.

[9] Wen-Hsin Yeh provides a brilliant discussion on how a new Western-introduced schedule generated a multi-layered time structure in Shanghai. The new time schedule changed the manner and speed of communication among different groups of people. See Wen-Hsin Yeh, "The Clock and the Compound," Chapter 4, in *Shanghai Splendor*, 79-100.

[10] Catherine Yeh, "Representing the City," 168.

1.2 Early Encounters and Administrative Maps, 1840s-1870s

Geographical uncertainty had played an important role in Shanghai's urban and architectural history prior to the arrival of foreign settlers.[11] Unlike traditional imperial cities planned with a symmetrical layout, Shanghai had organically expanded after it became a county (*xian*) in 1292 with the arrival of the Yuan dynasty. As the city's most important defensive structure, the enclosed city walls were constructed in 1554 in the late Ming dynasty, due to the increasing threats from Japanese pirates. Displayed as an irregular circular shape, the city walls configured the original boundaries of the core of Shanghai County, composed by the inner walled city (*cheng*) and its waterfront surroundings (*xiang*). Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Shanghai witnessed a rapid growth in the wake of the burgeoning regional and maritime trade.[12] On the early Qing gazetteer maps of Shanghai County, the city walls, waterways, and the county's garrisons had always been the visual focus of the maps. (Table 1-1)

Early foreign maps, on the other hand, told a different story of the formation of the foreign settlements in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. In the aftermath of the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842, foreign merchants arrived in Shanghai to seek business opportunities and constructed their settlements adjacent to the north boundaries of the walled city.[13] A series of

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[11] I quote the term "uncertainty" lied in geographical changes from Cole Roskam's article, who argues for the lack of any initial overreaching local authority in Shanghai during the early treaty-port era left a series of daunting and uncertain challenges for Chinese and foreign residents alike. "The Architecture of Risk: Urban Space and Uncertainty in Shanghai, 1843-74," in Laura Victoir and Victor Zatsepine eds., *Harbin to Hanoi, The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940,* Hong Kong University Press, 2013, 129-149.

[12] For details of the history of Shanghai prior to the nineteenth century, see Linda Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858*, Stanford University of Press, 1995, Chapter 3, "Ming Shanghai: City of Temples and Gardens," 66-95.

[13] Noticeably, the location was not chosen or preferred by the foreign mercantile community but was designated by the Chinese government as an effort to sequester the foreigners---a strategy that the Guangzhou government also applied earlier attempting to confine foreign merchants in the waterfront area of the Pearl River.

European consulates were built subsequently along the Bund, a waterfront area between Yang King Pang (today's East Yan'an Road) and Soochow Creek that underwent construction during the next decades. The majority of early foreign maps of Shanghai were commissioned by missionaries and the SMC, an administrative institution founded by foreign residents in 1854. These maps were not only surveys of the geographic condition, but also diagrammatic planning for the foreign settlements' future development.[14] One of the earliest printed maps of Shanghai (Figure 1-3) illustrates this concept. Made by an engineer at the SMC named E. J. Powell in 1862, the meandering Huangpu River was depicted in the center, and the large area by the river was attributed to a potential plan for the construction of streets and bridges. Foreign settlers had recognized the significance of the river as a vital trade route for international trade. Different from the Chinese gazetteer maps in which presenting an intact spatial order of the imperial township was most important, these survey maps projected distinct visions of Shanghai. To the foreign newcomers, the Huangpu River, the paved road-system, and urban construction represented the city's future.

The end of the political turmoil in the 1860s resulted in the beginning of *huayang za ju*, literally "cohabitation of Chinese and foreigners." This period marked a dramatic population shift in Shanghai. The British and American enclaves merged into the International Settlement in 1863, while the municipal institutions gradually took over the rule of all aspects of their settlements, including administration, jurisdiction, urban infrastructure, taxation, public security,

[14] For instance, between 1887 and 1891, the SMC had conducted more than ten surveys on the condition of Huangpu River and Yangtze River. Most of the surveyed diagrams were sent to the British Admiralty for research and print purposes. Xu Xuejun eds., *Shanghai jindai shehui jinji fazhan gaikuang* (The Social and Economic Development in Modern Shanghai, 1882-1931), Shanghai Academy of Social Science, 1985, 24-25.

and troop garrison.[15] Driven by rapid economic growth, the foreign settlements further expanded northwards and westwards with the strategy of so-called 'extra-settlement roads' (*yuejie zhulu*). By paving roads outside the boundaries and built architecture and public facilities along the roads, the foreign settlements extended their police control and extraterritorial jurisdiction, before forcing the Chinese authorities to revise their land agreements.[16] By the 1900s, over 40 extra-settlement roads were paved.[17] One such road, the well-known Bubbling Well Road (today's Jing'an Si Road, Figure 1-4) was constructed by the SMC in the name of defending against the Taiping rebels in 1862, as a westward extension of Nanjing Road up to the Jing'an Temple. Since the late 1860s, the SMC had begun planting trees along the Bubbling Well Road, which turned the route a popular destination of riding carriage for the rising middle-class residents.[18] The boundary moat between the walled city and the British Settlement, Defence Creek, also turned into a paved road known as the Xizang Zhong Road in the 1910s when the foreign settlements completed its last large-scale expansion.

In this process of geographical expansion, the SMC attempted to lay down a visual order of the urban space. The British Settlement constructed a grid in the 1850s and renamed its main streets in 1862, with east-west streets acquiring toponyms of cities and north-south roads bearing that of provinces in China. An 1870s map entitled "Street plan of the English, French and American Settlements, Shanghai" (c.1870) illustrated the new street structure to the reader in great detail (Figure 1-5). Published in the *North China Daily News*, the most influential English-

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[15] Noticeably, the French settlers extricated themselves from the SMC and established the French Municipal Council in 1862, leaving the city of Shanghai governed by a tripartite municipal structure until 1943.
[16] Frederic Wakeman, "Controlling Extra-Settlement Roads," *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937*, University of California Press, 1996, 65-68.
[17] "Extra-settlement Roads and Tax Regulation", in *Shanghai gonggong zujie shi gao* (History of the International Settlement in Shanghai), Shanghai People Publishing House, 1979, 96-101.
[18] "*shushengdi naliang hou*" (Writing after enjoying cool at a scenic spot), *Shenbao*, 1878.8.15.

language newspaper of its time in Shanghai, this map attested to the SMC's effort to impose a new physical order on the newly settled land, and the printed newspapers helped legitimize the appropriation and spread it to a broader readership.

Over the time, Chinese prefects and local intellectuals struggled geographically and culturally to reposition themselves in relation to their foreign cohabitants. Their profound uncertainty was transferred into an array of ambivalent and inconsistent linguistic, architectural, and cartographic strategies. On the one hand, the expanding foreign settlements triggered their vigilance with respect to Chinese political and cultural identity.[19] In a provincial atlas, *Susheng yuditu shuo* (Complete Map of Jiangsu Province), produced in 1868, the settlements were referred to as "*yichang*," a place designated for barbarians and minorities.[20] On the other hand, the increasing international trade brought commercial and material benefits to Chinese and foreigners alike, which drove the Chinese city to make changes facilitating interactions between the two parts. By the 1900s, the walled city was shortened and there were four additional gates opened to help the traffic.[21]

This ambivalent attitude was also embedded in the mapmaking of the local Chinese authorities. The maps included in the gazetteer compiled by prominent late Qing scholar Yu Yue in 1871-72 continued traditional topological representation and selectively excluded the foreign

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[19] In her study of the nineteenth-century Shanghai School artists, Yu-chih Lai argues that Ren Bonian used the traditional northern frontier theme as a symbolic means to confront their anxieties about a dissolving cultural and physical boundary. Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai," *The Art Bulletin*, no.3 (2004): 550-572.
[20] *Susheng yuditu shuo* (Complete Map of Jiangsu Province), compiled by Li Shandeng, Li Fengbao etc., "Map of Shanghai County," 1868. The atlas designated a separate map of the settlements as "a place for foreign people to conduct trade." This atlas was probably made on the authority of the central government, when the imperial *huidianguan* (bureau of imperial studies) tried to standardize mapmaking nationwide. Cordell Yee, *History of Cartography*, Chapter 1, "Cartography in China," 195.
[21] Xue Liyong, *Old Shanghai*, vol. "*chengxiang zhanggu*" (Stories of Shanghai County), Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, 2015, 44. The New Northern Gate (*zhangchuan*) was constructed in the 1860s and the other three new gates, the New East Gate (*fuyou*), the Small North Gate (*gongchen*), and the Small West Gate (*shangwen*) were built in 1909.

settlements (Figure 1-6; Figure 1-7). Alternatively, a map made around the same period in 1875, entitled *shanghaixian chengxiang zujie quantu* (Complete map of Shanghai County walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements) (Figure 1-8), exemplified a very distinct representational approach. This 1875 map lay in between Chinese gazetteer cartography and more precise mathematical mapmaking. The map adopted a traditional cartography strategy called *ji li hua fang* that rendered landscape in a scaled grid, with each square representing one hundred *li* (about 500m). Further, it incorporated typical pictorial elements from conventional Chinese cartography such as the water rendering. While meantime, the map was created using a geographic survey and rendered in the planimetric perspective often reflected in SMC's plans. How do we understand the discrepancy between the two perceptions of Shanghai in contemporaneous Chinese mapmaking?[22] Upon taking a closer look at the inscription on the lower right corner of the 1875 map, one may notice that the mapmakers were not common men of letters but also administrative governors of Shanghai County.[23] In other words, the same group of local prefects produced the 1872 gazetteer maps and the 1875 new map.

One such mapmaker named Feng Zhuoru, also known as Feng Junguang (1830-1878). He was the Shanghai *Daotai*, the highest rank of the Shanghai bureaucrats at the time who had also

[22] Modern scholars once believed the 1875 map was a personal innovation that spoke of a non-official approach by the mapmakers, Feng Zhuoru and Xu Yucang, who were men of letters active in the foreign settlements and thusly became familiar with foreign schematic maps. In their respective studies of city maps of Shanghai and Suzhou during the late nineteenth century, Catherine Yeh argues that gazetteer maps stood for the negative attitude that the Qing government held towards the changing power dynamics in Shanghai, while Wu Jen-shu believes that the maps made by local authorities of Suzhou were obsolete and thusly replaced by more pragmatic printed maps. See Catherine Yeh, "Representing the City," 166-167; and Wu Jen-shu, "*Qingmo minchu Suzhou chengshi ditu de yanbian yu chengshi kongjian de bianqian*" (Cartographic and Urban Transformations in Late Qing and Early Republican Suzhou), April 2009, http://suzhou.virtualcities.fr/Texts/Articles?ID=101. However, I believe that this assumption of personal innovation versus official agenda seemingly oversimplifies the political and cultural circumstances in nineteenth-century Shanghai.

[23] Zhong Chong, "*jindai Shanghai zaoqi chenghsi ditu puxi yanjiu*" (Study on City Map Pedigree in the early time of Modern Shanghai), *Historical Review*, issue 1 (2013): 12-14.

overseen the Jiangnan Arsenal since the 1860s. Another such mapmaker, Li Fengbao (1834-1887), was a late Qing-dynasty diplomat who served as the imperial commissioner to Germany in the 1880s, and he annotated the history of this map in the inscription:[24]

> "China has a long history of cartography. The local gazetteers and private images in modern times were all copied from earlier maps. When taking a look of these maps, one shall be confused by the scale of mountains, rivers, and roads. Thereafter, for people who deem maps as military and commercial references, they should survey the geography, waterways, villages, and fortresses, and then follow linear and directional measurements to make maps. Shanghai, as a vital international harbor, is flooded with Chinese and foreigners, hips touch hips and shoulders rub shoulders, public and private interests gathered, and subsequently, maps are of tremendous importance in Shanghai. ***Master Feng Zhuoru has made every effort to develop [the city] as well as to guard affairs***. He once urged Qiu Yufu to conduct surveys of the Chinese city, yet had not printed and published in time. Xu Yucang resurveyed the town and surroundings, and together with the foreign settlements, he made a complete map that included all parts of Shanghai. Every grid is forty-five *zhang* [about 1575 meters] and every four grids is one *li* [about 6300 meters]. After the map was completed, both officials and merchants appreciated their endeavors, and entrusted me to expound on the map's history. Xu Yucang assisted me in conducting surveys and mappings of the Jiangsu province before and now again he helped Feng Zhuoru to conduct Shanghai's mapmaking. It would be delightful that I shall record his achievement. The first year of Guangxu reign, reviewed by Li Fengbao; printed by Master of Ping Yueguan."
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> 地图之用，由来旧矣，近世郡县志乘、私家图记类皆依样葫芦，山川道里之数，开卷茫然。故凡发号施令、行军设防以及商贾行旅之往来者，欲考其地形之衝要、水道之源委、村落之聚散、道涂之通塞，必先周测而详绘之；然后按其分率，循其方位，悉有成数可遵，而不致伥乎无之也。上海为通商要口，中外襍处，毂击肩摩，公私眈聚，尤以地图为要。**观察冯卓儒先生励精图治**，恒以防务、捕务为主，曾饬邱君玉符测绘城图，未及刊刻。许君雨苍延友复测城厢，并补测租界及负郭之地，以成全璧。每格四十五丈，每四格为一里，图既成，而官商士庶索观者众，因谋付剞劂以公同好，并嘱予记其颠末，予惟许君曾襄办江苏图务，今又襄办沪局图务，与予同好，深得指臂之助，因乐赘数语以志其成。光绪纪元季秋李凤苞识评月馆主人缋刊。

As detailed in the inscriptions, Feng Zhuoru, as an assiduous local prefect, commissioned Qiu Yufu and Xu Yucang to survey the geography of Shanghai and created this map.

The two groups of maps herein exemplified the Chinese mapmakers' dual role in reconfiguring the image of Shanghai with different ideological approaches and visual strategies.

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[24] Zhu Jieqie and Huang Banghe eds., *Zhongwai guanxi cidian* (History of Modern China-Foreign Relations), "Li Fengbao," Hubei People Publishing House, 1992, 803-804. The translation is mine.

For one thing, as Qing imperial officials, they hoped to continue the discourse in narrating the city's history through compiling local geographical writings. Local gazetteers were used primarily for administrative and archival purposes, which were not accessible to the public, and the maps inside were not geographically surveyed; rather, they were illustrated supplements to texts.[25] Mapmaking was exclusive to scholar-officials, and delineating geography helped endorse their social status. Following the Ming gazetteer tradition, the gazetteer maps of Shanghai usually consisted of two types. One was the complete map of Shanghai County (i.e. Figure 1-6) outlined the county's geographical and political boundaries; that is, where the *jie* (borders) were extended, the local defense troop was located, and the county's hydrographic network was branched; and the other was the map of the walled city (i.e. Figure 1-7) that rendered a riverine township centered on the waterways and a network of administrative, educational, and ceremonial buildings. These important elements were represented in a serial of pictorial modes: the circular city walls, the drawing of the magistrates' *yamen* (offices), temples of the City God as the city's ritual and congregational center, and other public spaces of the city such academies, pathways and bridges. The city-wall gate towers and the customs house —symbols of prosperous maritime trade —were rendered in distinct directions, which accorded with the mapmaker's viewpoint from the center of the city. That is to say, gazetteer maps were depicted pursuant to the mapmakers —the local prefects' vision towards their administrative territory.[26] This also

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[25] Cordell Yee, *History of Cartography*, Chapter 4, "Chinese Map in Political Culture," 91. Geohistorical writings in this tradition tended to detail geographic information through verbal descriptions but not visual representations.
[26] As Zhang Zhejia stated in "*Ming dai fangzhi de ditu*" (Gazetteer Map in Ming-dynasty Gazetteers): "For the places do not fall under the prefecture's jurisdiction, they should be painted afar and briefly…whereas the prefecture cities should be painted closely and elaborately" "图县之境而极于所辖、其制则远而略…图城郭，制则近而详…;" in Ko-wu Huang ed., *Hua zhong you hua* (When Images Speak: Visual Representation and Cultural Mapping in Modern China), Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2003, 200-201.

explained that the shape and basic layout of the Shanghai County seat had not much changed on gazetteer maps throughout the Ming and Qing dynasties from the early sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries.

For another thing, beneath the production of the 1875 map were local Shanghai prefects serving another indispensable role: as pioneers of *xixue* or Western learning. A precise and detailed map illustrated their vision of the city as an experimental field of the ongoing imperial reforms and a vital international harbor worldwide in the future. Shanghai acted as an industrial center where China's modern enterprises were concentrated in the last decades of the Qing dynasty.[27] The mapmakers, Li Fengbao, Feng Zhuoru, and Xu Yucang were all active participants in the *Yangwu* or Self-Strengthening Movement from 1861 to 1895.[28]

As suggested in the descriptions of the 1875 map, these local scholar-officials had the technology and drive to produce accurate maps, as they considered pragmatic maps to be of huge significance in Shanghai. As early as in the mid-1850s, a diagram that was made for recording changes in geography in the aftermath of the Small Sword Rebellion had marked up the location of the foreign settlements to the north of the walled city (Figure 1-9), which was largely dismissive in later gazetteer mapmaking. The diagram most likely served as the base map for

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[27] Li Hongzhang, the driving force behind China's modernization movement, came to Shanghai in 1862. Under his leadership, Shanghai Tong-wen guan was established in 1863, and in the next year, a gun and powder manufacturer expanded to become the Jiangnan Arsenal in 1865. The China Merchants Steam Navigation Company was established in 1872, with its offices of branches at Tianjin and Guangzhou and its administrative headquarters in Shanghai. Leung Yuen-sang, *The Shanghai Taotai: Linkage Man in a Changing Society. 1843-90*, Singapore University Press, 1990, 89; *Jindai shi ziliao* (Materials on modern history), Beijing, no.2 (1954): 145-46.

[28] They were scholar-officials and enthusiastic advocates of the imperially conducted institutional reforms, who initiated arsenals and shipyards and carried diplomatic affairs with the foreigners in Shanghai during the second half of the nineteenth century. Feng was in charge of the Jiangnan Arsenal and the Gezhi Academy at the time, where he taught Chinese classics, math and geography and also translated a dozen foreign treatises. Xu Fenghua, *Li Hongzhang yu jindai Shanghai shehui* (Ling Hongzhang and Modern Shanghai Society), Shanghai cishu Press, 2014, 146; 268. Feng also acknowledged the significance of modern journalism, so he launched a bilingual newspaper, the *Xinbao* in 1876, which was the first modern-style newspaper printed by the Chinese government.

Feng Zhuoru' map. With the arrival of European missionaries during the Ming dynasty, their planimetric perspective in cartography influenced many imperial geographical treaties and atlases. As such, adopting peculiar styles of cartography became a self-conscious choice. As shown in gazetteer maps, continuing the tradition of geographical writings became a strategy to align with the city's past history and a method of inheriting and transferring an intact city image in an official document.[29] The 1875 map toggled in between idealistic and pragmatic: The annotations on the map recalled the Chinese literati tradition to inscribe expressive texts on paintings; whereas the map zoomed in pragmatic uses as it marked out in detail the locations of arsenals and shipyards outside the city walls and included a diagram of the Jiangnan Arsenal placed in the southern waterfront of the Huangpu River.

The making of the 1872 gazetteer map and the 1875 new map fleshed out the dual expectations carried by the Chinese authorities of Shanghai. In many aspects, the dual role these scholar-officials played in modern developments of Shanghai—as defenders of the traditional culture as well as pioneers of Western learning—shared an underlying conformity rather than conflicting with each other. For the Shanghai scholar-officials, they sought a return to the past (for instance, Confucian moral order) and a quest for the future (modernization) at the same time.[30]

[29] Ying Baoshi and Yu Yue, *Shanghai County Gazetteer*, Tongzhi reign, 1872, in the preface they talked about the urgency to recompile a local gazetteer that followed Chinese tradition of geohistorical writings after the chaotic warfare: "…Over the past fifty years of chaos, many classics are missing; the longer we wait, the less we [get to know about] those classics. Therefore, we have gleaned all kinds of [books] and selected remarkable ones from them to compile this local gazetteer, which follows the tradition of geohistorical writings and includes thirty-four volumes." "…迄今 50 余年兵燹频，经典文散佚，若不及时蒐讨虑，愈久而文献益无足徵，故参稽志旁搜博采反覆究论择善而从，以成兹编凡三十四卷考郡县至体例本于史部之地理…;" from Erudition Database.
[30] Leung Yuen-sang, *The Shanghai Taotai*, 80; 99; 159-160.

Noticeably, the periodically opened private gardens were highlighted on Feng's 1875 map. The complex of the City God Temple and the Yu Garden, which had been simply denoted by text in previous gazetteer maps, were now marked up with a particular attention to the water depiction of the mid-lake inside the garden. The temple-garden complex had served as the city's public center, where teahouses and peddlers were clustered to draw Shanghainese residents since the early nineteenth century. The pictorial touch foretold the city's development in the next decades, along with the boom of commercial activities and mapmaking.

1.3 Shanghai in Print: Commercial Maps as Private Entertainment, 1880s-1900s

Upon the arrival of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the population of Shanghai quickly reached one million.[31] The French Concession and the International Settlement completed their last and largest expansion by 1914.[32] Following the rapid population and economic growth was a period of booming real estate as well as the rise of a new print culture. During this time, traditional woodblock printing, lithography introduced by the Jesuit missionaries, and copperplate printing brought from Japan competed over the expanding print market. Increasingly, publishers began to publish city maps on a commercial basis in the late nineteenth century. Maps of Shanghai, benefitting from printed reproductions, no longer exclusively articulated and represented geographical information from an administrative point of view, but gradually opened to more and more common travelers in Shanghai. *Shenbao* was the earliest publishing house in Shanghai producing city maps. It was founded by a British

[31] Zou Yinong, *jiu Shanghai renkou bianqian de yanjiu* (Demography in Old Shanghai), Shanghai People Publishing House, 1980, 90. According to Zou's statistics, together the population in the Chinese city, the International Settlement, and the French Concession, the number grew from 691,919 in 1865 to 1,289,353 in 1910, almost doubled the scale within 50 years.
[32] "The Expansion of the Foreign Settlements," *Shanghai gonggong zujie shigao* (History of the International Settlement in Shanghai), Shanghai People Publishing House, 1979, 68-85.

businessman named Ernest Major, who introduced new lithographic technology into China and turned *Shenbao* the most influential press of the time. Through their famous *Dianshizhai* pictorial, the new shape of the city and the newly formed Shanghai urban identity were transferred to the national scale.[33]

The first city map of Shanghai by *Dianshizhai* was published in 1880. (Figure 1-10) By borrowing its title and formation, Major's map was modeled after the 1875 map by Feng Zhuoru and Xu Yucang. The large size and profuse details of Feng's 1875 map certainly made the map adaptable to lithographic printing. Appropriating administrative maps for commercial use was a common practice in China and Japan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Commercial cartographers usually did little original surveying but instead were inclined to borrow images and textual elements directly from earlier administrative maps.[34] Similar to the methodology of Feng's map, Major engraved an introduction on the *Dianshizhai* map to annotate its history and stress the importance of schematic commercial maps to ordinary travelers and merchants (Appendix 1-1). The *Dianshizhai* map further enriched the geographical details by correcting some streets' names and specifying information of popular commercial venues. In the temple-garden complex, for instance, the map continued the depiction of water while carefully mapping the layout of the complex such as locations of inner gardens, teahouses, temple halls etc.

Major strived to efface political undertones from the commercially printed *Dianshizhai* map so as to emphasize the map's practical utility.[35] The map of Shanghai reflected a

[33] Yeh, "Representing the City," 189.
[34] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868*, University of California Press, 2003, Chapter 1, "Envisioning the Realm: Administrative and Commercial Maps in the Early Modern Period," 13-14; Wu Jen-shu, "Cartographic and Urban Transformations in Late Qing and Early Republican Suzhou." From Yonemoto and Wu's research, we know that in the examples of the mapmaking in Tokugawa-period Japan and in 1880s Suzhou, how early commercial mapmaking adapted and appropriated the previous administrative maps as base maps.
[35] Yeh, "Representing the City," 191.

multicultural community composed of different administrative prefectures. On the map, the different parts were colored in varied tints, and beside them captioned with the toponyms: "the yellow is the Chinese city; the red is the French Concession; the green is the British Settlement; the ochre is the American Concession."

In the next two decades, publishing houses in Shanghai subsequently published a fair number of lithograph maps based on the *Dianshizhai* map. (Table 1-2) (Figure 1-11) Major also reprinted the map several times. These lithograph commercial maps retained a similar visual scheme, with a scale painted on the lower right corner of the maps and incorporated a group of pragmatic information about the city like traveling distances on roads, historical sites, temples, gardens, churches, and tea houses. This type of information favored on commercial maps, unlike administrative maps, was largely determined by the publishing market of the time, emphasizing the novelty and updates of reprinted maps.[36] The reprinted maps copied the visual formation and inscriptions of the *Dianshizhai* map, onto which the emendations were on the same pace as the city's physical changes. In this regard, the process of reprinting revisions transformed the printed maps into a hybridity that layered upon elements past and present, official and commercial. As suggested by their titles, *xinzeng* (addition) and *chongxiu* (revision), these maps focused on revising the geographic boundaries of the newly expanded foreign settlements and updated the toponyms and locations of streets, bridges, and landmarks. These commercial maps provided far more geographical information than what had been presented in the 1875 map by Chinese officials, and the crisscross streets and paths became the most striking visual components.

This series of *Dianshizhai* lithography maps was prevalent in the market between the 1880s and 1890s and widely circulated through different media, varying in sizes and formats.

[36] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, 14.

They were sold in hotels, bookstores, and distributed along with newspapers, landscape postcards, travelogues, newspapers, and many other prints. The book-size maps were frequently found in travelogues. The reminiscence, for instance, *shinkoku chishi* (Gazetteer of the Qing Empire) written by Japanese journalist and businessman Kishida Ginko and published in Shanghai in 1882, contained a woodblock map of Shanghai for reference (Figure 1-12). The banknote from a Chinese money shop, *chunhengmao*, was another example of a portable map (Figure 1-13a-b). The front featured the bank name and the monetary face value which was framed by illustrations of some unknown folk stories as well as novel scenes, while the verso printed a Shanghai map, adapted from the serial of *Dianshizhai* map. The assorted visual sources turned the banknote into a kaleidoscopic embodiment of the shape of the city as well as a private source of pleasure for the viewer.

Commercial mass production transformed the maps into commodities more accessible to a larger readership. Commercial maps were often advertised in newspapers at the time, as one could read a myriad of advertisements publicizing the map prints on *Dianshizhai* Pictorial and *Shenbao*. From the advertisement found on *Shenbao* in September 1892, we know that each Shanghai map published by Rakuzendō was sold for five *jiao*.[37] Meanwhile, as the advertisement suggested, "the complete map of China and the world were mounted into three scrolls, eight *yuan* in total." In contrast with the small-size maps printed in travel books and banknotes, larger scroll maps were hung upon walls as interior decorations similar to paintings and posters.

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[37] *Shenbao*, September 30, 1892, "The new maps of all countries, [including] the Great Qing Empire map is 3 *jiao* [dime]; The five continents' map depicted with national flags, mountain and river systems, and demographical information is one *yuan* [dollar]; Chinese and foreign maps mounted as three hanging scrolls are eight *yuan*; The map of East Asia is one and half *yuan*; The world map is eight *jiao*; The map of Japan is one *yuan*; The map of Beijing is three *jiao*; The map of Shanghai city and suburbs is five *jiao*; by Shanghai Rakuzendō." "新到各国舆地全图 大清一统图三角 五大洲全图附各国旗号并宇内至高山大河方里人口表一元半 中外方舆全图裱成三轴全副八元 中外舆图一元 亚细亚东图一元半 地球万国全图八角 日本图一元 北京图三角 上海城厢图五角 上海乐善堂启"

Through wide circulation and reproduction, these commercial maps had become a cultural mediator that connected their readership and the city from a distinct perspective: people could trace and tour the city's urban changes both visually and physically.

1.4 Illustrated Tour Maps as Visual Miscellanea, beyond 1900s

The visual pleasure of touring the city while reading a map was further enhanced by a group of copperplate tour maps produced by Japanese publishers in Shanghai at the turn of the century. (Table 1-3) These tour maps, which paired the city map with photos of scenic attractions of Shanghai, soon prevailed in Shanghai between the 1900s and 1920s. The presence of a Japanese community in Shanghai could be traced back to 1862, when the first Japanese vessel, *Senzaimaru* arrived in Shanghai. In 1871, Japan opened its diplomatic and trading relations with China, and in the following decades, increasing Japanese travelers and businessmen ventured to Shanghai, where the foreign settlements at that time were dominated by Europeans and Americans. By the eve of the second Sino-Japanese war in the 1930s, Japanese sojourners had become the largest foreign community in Shanghai.[38] Japanese residents predominantly inhabited the Hongkew (Hongkou) district, an area centered around the North Szechuen (Sichuan) Road and Woosung (Wusong) Road, where members of the community operated shops, hotels, photo studios, and bookstores.

Many Japanese businessmen established publishing houses in the Hongkou district, including the renowned Uchiyama Shoten, Rakuzendo, and Shiseido, with mapmaking having been their earliest and top concern. They helped introduce the technology of copperplate printing from Japan to China. Rakuzendo, the pharmacy and bookstore run by Kishida Ginko, published

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[38] Mo Yajun, *'Little Japan' in Hongkou: The Japanese Community in Shanghai, 1895-1932*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004, 1-2.

some of the earliest copperplate prints in Shanghai, which included plenty of Shanghai maps.[39] Recent scholarship has devoted much attention to the study of how Japanese images, publications, and printing technology were introduced to and circulated in Shanghai in the context of Sino-Japanese interactions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[40] Comparing with woodblock and lithographic printing, copperplate displayed a better presentation of intricate details, delicate colors, and refined lines on maps.

From the 1880s onward, it became a common practice to commission lithograph and copperplate maps and books printed in Japan due to their superior quality. Advertisements on *Shenbao* frequently publicized the copperplate maps that were printed in Japan and sold in treaty ports in China.[41] Even the SMC entrusted publishing houses in Japan to print their Municipal maps in the early twentieth century.[42]

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[39] For a biography and his activities in China, see Naoko Kato, *Through the Kaleidoscope: Uchiyama Bookstore and Sino-Japanese Visionaries in War and Peace*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 2013. "Kishida Ginkō," 34-38.

[40] Yu-chih Lai, "Technology Transplanted and Culture Selected: Kishida Ginkō, the Importation and Circulation of Copperplate Publications in 1880s-Shanghai," *Conference Proceedings: The Multiple Faces of Modern Sino-Japanese Relations*, Taipei: Daw Shiang Publishing Co., ltd, 2017, 567-603. Lai traces the history of the copperplate circulating in China and explains in detail the definitions and rationale of the technology of copperplate printing; Lai, "The Rise of Lithography and the Circulation of Japanese Painting Manuals in Late Qing Shanghai: A Study Focusing on *Dianshizhai conghua,*" *Institute of Modern History*, Academia Sinica, issue 85 (Sept. 2014): 57-127; Natsuko Tajima, "Sino-Japanese Interaction in Shanghai Publishing," 135-172, in Wu Yongmei, Pui-tak Lee edited, *Graphic Images and Consumer Culture: Analysis of Modern Advertising Culture in China*, Hong Kong University Press, 2014; Liu Jianhui, *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no "kindai" taiken* (Demon capital Shanghai: The "modern" experience of Japanese intellectuals), Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000; Hirofumi Wada, Jingbo Xu eds., *Shanhai no Nihonjin shakai to media, 1870-1945* (The Society and Media of Japanese in Shanghai, 1870-1945), Iwanami Shoten, 2014. Also, increasing scholarship pays attention to the Japan's pivotal role in the introduction of Western ideas and things to China.

[41] Advertisements with title "*ditu fashou waibu, benbao gaobai*" (Maps selling in treaty ports; *Shenbao* notice) repeatedly appeared on *Shenbao* between 1876 and 1877. The advertisements emphasized how detailed and accurate information the copperplate maps presented. The maps were available to purchase in many other treaty ports such as Suzhou, Hankou, Ningbo, Fuzhou, and Hongkong; recited from Lai Yu-chih, "Technology Transplanted and Culture Selected," 567.

[42] According to the SMC municipal memos, for instance, the SMC ordered over 1500 copies of maps from a publishing house called Japan Paper Industry in Tokyo in 1918. "SMC documents on the production, sell, and purchase of Shanghai maps", by Shanghai Municipal Council, microform, U1-14-6479, Shanghai Archives Hall.

The collection of tour maps by Japanese publishers introduced a novel visual paradigm of maps to Shanghai by virtue of both copperplate printing and new media of photography. The illustrated tour map "The New Map of Shanghai City," published in 1908 was a prominent example of the prevailing style in the early twentieth century (Figure 1-2). The texts in the left corner enlightened the history of the map, which was printed in Nagasaki, Japan and distributed in Shosuido Shoten, a modest-scale Japanese bookstore located on the Wen Road of the Hongkou district in Shanghai. In a departure from Major's map modeled after Feng Zhuoru's 1875 map, these illustrated tour maps by Japanese publishers were produced on the basis of the topological maps originally produced by Westerners.[43] Shosuido's 1908 map was explicitly cropped and adapted from the latest survey maps produced by the *North China Daily News* Press (Figure 1-14), the most popular English-language newspaper in Shanghai of the day. Looking at the map, it is clear that the city had further expanded during the 1900s and 1910s. Not only were the foreign settlements stretched on the west side of the city, but the Chinese city also expanded its administration to districts outside the walled county seat and beyond the foreign settlements, reaching as far as Pudong and Zhabei.

On the 1908 map, Shanghai was presented from two perspectives: the map in the middle reconfigured a zoomed-out contour of Shanghai that centered on the foreign settlements, while the circled-up scenery photos deconstructed the city into a number of zoomed-in sights. There were twenty total scenery photos mixed with notations in English, Chinese and Japanese, clockwise including "Harvour [sic] & Public Garden" "公园及港景," "N.Y.K. from Public

[43] The earliest Japanese printed map of Shanghai was a woodblock map made in 1873 for the Japanese Consulate that was newly established in Shanghai on the north bank of the Soochow Creek. According to the inscription, the map was copied from a measured map made by the SMC in 1866. Zhong Chong, "*jindai riben suo hui Shanghai ditu tongkao*" (A Study of Modern Japanese-made Maps of Shanghai), *Geohistory*, Shanghai People Publishing House, vol.32 (2015): 317-334.

Gardens" "公园内归日本邮船会社ヲ望ム," "Custom House" "税关," "Japanese Consulate" "日本领事馆," "Nippon Yusen Kwaisha" "日本邮船会社," "New Garden Bridge" "新ガ-デンブリウジ," "Music-House in Garden" "公园之音乐堂," "Electric-car in Shanghai" "上海电车," "Race-Course in Shanghai" "上海竞马场," "A Monument of Mr. Li-Hang-Chang" "李鸿章之铜像," "View of Harvour [sic]" "港景," "German Club" "独逸俱乐部," "Baby Club" "虹口ガ-デン," "A Monument of Mr. Hurry" "ハ-リ-纪念碑," "Public Garden" "公园," "Hongkew Market" "虹口市场," "Rickshaw" "小车," "Tea-House in Native City" "城内湖心亭," "Tea-House in Chang-Su-Ho's Garden" "张园内茶馆," "Chang-Su-Ho's Garden" "张园."[44] From the progression of Feng Zhuoru's 1875 map to Major's *Dianshizhai* maps in the 1880s to these illustrated tour maps, one can certainly discern how tour maps became the major trend of mapmaking in Shanghai during the early twentieth century. Combined with the scenic photos, tour maps were neither book supplements nor wall decorations, but essential reading to travelers touring Shanghai. The scenery photos on each side of the map displayed different perspectives, which required the viewer to hold and rotate the map to maintain its proper orientation.

Encircling the central area of Shanghai on the map, the scenery-photos sorted out the city's attractions for sightseers to explore, which were visually sequential on the map yet geographically distant from each other. Most of the sites were located in the International Settlement along the Huangpu River and in the Hongkou district. Among the twelve pictures, five sites illustrated places relevant to the Japanese community and their trading activities in China, including N.Y.K Co./Nippon Yusen Kwaisha, Custom House, Japanese Consulate, Baby Club, and Hongkew Market (Figure 1-15; Figure 1-16; Figure 1-17; Figure 1-18). Only one site,

[44] There are some typos printed on the map, for instance, the "havour" (harbor) and General Parkes's name "Hurry" (Harry).

the “Tea-House of the Middle-Lake”, was located within the walled city. Some of the pictures, however, presented no particular geographical reference, such as the view of the harbor and a rickshaw. In viewing the map, images of two memorial monuments stand out: the monument of Li Honzhang and the monument of Harry Parkes, two renowned political figures who played significant roles in the development of Shanghai but received contradicting reactions. (Figure 1-19; Figure 1-20). Li was the imperial diplomat in charge of foreign affairs, while Parkes was the British diplomat active in China and Japan. Their respective statues were erected during the 1880s in Shanghai. A picture of the “Electric-car in Shanghai” was also noticeable, since the center of the map traced route of tramcars that had been recently paved in Shanghai in 1908. The subjects of the places and viewpoints were multifarious, ranging from temples and churches to markets, teahouses, racecourses, and public parks, as if the map layered the travelscape with elements of the sacred and mundane, the official and commercial.

The Shosuido’s 1908 map presented Shanghai as a city beyond administrative sequestration but simultaneously available for exploration, composed of spectacular landscapes (the harbor view and public gardens), historic sites (the memorial monuments), modern sites (the racecourse and the German Club), and popular commercial attractions in Shanghai (“Zhang Garden and the Tea-House” in the walled city). The visual logic of the map and the scenic photos do not follow a set direction, but opened up variable traveling routes. To individual travelers, the city of Shanghai was no more envisioned as an entity as shown on the maps made by Chinese administrative officials, rather, the city map represented a conceptual shift in orientation highlighted by various sights and routes, connected by various means of transportations like rickshaws, tramcars, and vessels.

Another map produced by Japanese publishing house Shinchiya in 1905 (Figure 1-21), entitled *xinzhuan shice shanghai yuditu* (Newly Measured Shanghai Map), was another example of such an illustrated tour map. The map includes four photos superimposed on the lower right corner with subject was similar to the pictures displayed on the Shosuido's 1908 map, which also focused on depicting locations representing Shanghai's status as a trading hub, "Custom House" "江海北," along with principal attractions of the city, the "City God's Temple and the Zigzag Bridge" "城隍廟及九曲橋," the "Music-House in the Public Garden" "公家花園音樂堂," and the "Da Malu in the morning" "早晨之大馬路" (Da Malu, also known as the Nanjing Road, one of the most bustling streets of Shanghai).

The trend of superimposing photographs onto maps continued into the 1920s, as shown by the 1926 map "The New Map of Shanghai," published by Sugie Fusazo's Nihondo Shoten located in Honkou, which pieced a panoramic photograph of the Bund at the bottom of a recent Shanghai map.[45] From the 1926 map, we can observe the shape an up-to-date Shanghai, where the International Settlement and French Concession had done their largest expansion westwards.

The experimentation led by Japanese publishers, with adapting photography for printed maps, was closely related to the business success the Japanese community achieved in Shanghai. Ever since Japanese businessmen began running commerce in Shanghai in the 1870s, they attained huge success in the fields of pharmacy, photography, and advertising.[46] Many publishing houses such as Shiseido and Rakuzendo were originally pharmacies that also sold photographic chemicals. Sugie's bookstore, Nihondō was one of the earliest Japanese bookstores

[45] Introduction of Nihondo shoten, see Hirofumi Wada, Jingbo Xu eds., *Shanhai no Nihonjin shakai to media, 1870-1945*, 168, 361-369.
[46] Chen Zu'en, "The Appropriation and Localization of Japanese Mercantile Advertisements in pre-war Shanghai," from Wu Yongmei, Pui-tak Lee edited, *Graphic Images and Consumer Culture: Analysis of Modern Advertising Culture in China*, Hong Kong University Press, 2014, 115.

that appeared in Shanghai, specializing in selling Japanese publications, postcards, maps, and travel books, and serving as a major distributor and publisher for different newspapers and magazines in the early twentieth century.[47] Sugie compiled and published several guidebooks and photo albums of Chinese cities, such as *Shanhai annai* (Shanghai Guidebook, 1927) and *kinryo shokan* (Souvenir of Nanking, 1910). One could conjecture that some of the scenery photos shown on maps originated from the Japanese photographers or photo studios in Shanghai. As promoted in the advertisement of a Japanese photo studio operated by J. Yoshisaka, they were experts in "portrait, landscapes... photos famous places and architecture…"[48]

The Japanese publishers subsequently produced a number of copperplate maps that were further enriched by miscellaneous visual elements like advertisements, photos, and illustrations. These maps were all printed in Japan and distributed in both Japan and Shanghai. Though the city maps were alike, the visual materials varied in layout and content. For instance, the front of the 1909 "Map of Shanghai Streets" by Jujiya Shoten (Figure 1-22a-b) drew a similar layout of the Shosuido's 1908 map that was outlined by a round of images. Instead of famous sites, it featured advertisements of venues operated by the Japanese community, ranging from commercial associations to restaurants and hotels to photo studios, stores, and hospitals. The verso of the 1918 map, entitled "The New Map of Shanghai" by Shiseido (Figure 1-23a-b), also presented a round of advertisements that framed three bands of scenery photos in the middle, above which it detailed *Shanhai meisho annai*, meaning "guide to famous places of Shanghai." As shown in maps by Matasuzaki Hotel Business in 1913 entitled "the New Map of Shanghai" and Nihondo's map, "The New Map of Shanghai" (Figure 1-24a-b), some tour maps also

[47] Naoko Kato, *Through the Kaleidoscope*, 70.
[48] "*Yangzijiang fuyuan, Jiangnan shiqing*" "扬子江富源，江南事情," *Nihondo in Shanghai*, 1923.5, 27-28, excerpted from *Ibid.*, 117.

incorporated illustrations of up-to-date local products, such as stylish boots, portable photography devices, and trendy cigarettes. They were commodities but also travel souvenirs. Similar to the concept printing maps and illustrations on the banknote, these tour maps became a compendium of local sites, visual indices, and commercial advertisements that allowed the reading and browsing of maps themselves to suffice for visual pleasure.

Based on the Western survey maps, one important visual reference that these Japanese commercial maps drew upon was the conventional depiction of *famous places* (*meisho*) in contemporaneous Japanese cartography and board game making. Borrowed freely from Sekisui Nagakubo's *Kaisei nihon yochi rotei zenzu* (Complete Revised Map of Japan, 1779), the very first comprehensive map of the Japanese archipelago, the early nineteenth-century cartographers in Japan published their own embellished versions of the map of Japan. For instance, the copperplate printed map, *Dosen nihon yochi saizu* (Detailed map of Japan), made by Yasuoki Matsumoto in 1835, borrowed Sekisui's map and elaborated a sketch of travelers looking out the Mt. Fuji onto the map (Figure 1-25).[49]

This visual format could be traced back to earlier in seventeenth and eighteenth-century European world maps, usually presented with a bird's-eye view of the cities and embellished with images of landscapes, diverse exotic creatures and plants, and views of cities around the world. The layout and visual elements of the world maps not only projected a colonial vision, but also embodied a close relationship between art and cartography. Artist such as Dutch painter Johannes Vermeer (1632-75) were also cartographers. In his oil painting *The Art of Painting*, Vermeer meticulously painted a large map flanked by images of Dutch cities hung on a wall. As evident in the painting, maps like this at the time were custom-made expansive interior deco in

[49] Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, 40-41.

elite households.[50] In other words, with the interplay between maps and paintings, encyclopedic maps projected the upper classes' geographical imagination of the world. This appropriation, possession, and appreciation of geographic information presented in the map and re-presented in the painting were exclusive to the upper-class society.

Another intriguing visual reference was traditional Japanese board games, *sugoroku*, a labyrinthine play with particularities of different places.[51] It mapped certain visual journeys with a sequence of *meisho* sites around the map, and passing site by site, the beholders were able to gradually progress to the destination, a famous place, such as Mt. Fuji, that was usually depicted at the center (Figure 1-26). A great deal of Japanese maps that incorporated sketches and photos of famous places were produced in the early twentieth century (for example: Figure 1-27). The maps charted the city's famous places (mostly gardens, parks, and scenic sites), traveling distances, and transportation schedules (tramcars, ferries etc.), with the verso it often included text detailing the tourist districts and sceneries. The dual-dimension of a place/between places—the distance in time and space—was visualized on the surface of the map. With scenic pictures encircling it, the map also resembled a *sugoroku* board game, representing a city's topography while evoking beholders' visual journeys. That is, the map not only functioned as a touring accessory, but provided a sightseeing tour in the map as well. As these maps and board games became commodities circulated to the general public, the possession of geographical information

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[50] See Liang Guo, *Shiqi shiji ouzhou yu wanming ditu jiaoliu* (The Cartographic Interaction between the Europe and the Late Ming in the Seventeenth Century), Chapter 4, "Map and Painting," 127-152. Since the seventeenth century, Chinese and Japanese cartography was influenced by an infusion of European knowledge. The visual form of maps may have been assimilated into the Japanese cartography during the time. Unno Kazutaka. "Cartography in Japan" in *History of Cartography*, vol. 2, edited by J. B. Harvey and David Woodward, University of Chicago Press, 1994, 376–90.

[51] Laura Nenz Detto Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, 129-137; Gyewon Kim, *Registering the Real: Photography and the Emergence of New Holistic Sites in Meiji Japan*, Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 2010, 83.

was handed to a wider readership. The traditional literary meaning attached to the *meisho* sites was replaced by miscellaneous folklore and popular resources, and their contents were dictated by their popularity in the market. As such, the mass-produced maps and board games as such played a significant role in the propagation of cultural topography.[52]

The illustrated tour maps of Shanghai were generally handy in size, portable, and able to be tucked into garment sleeves. Similar to the *meisho* map and the *sugoroku* board game, as one unfolded the map, the images of scenic landscapes and commercial attractions together evoked a sense of virtual itineraries that enabled the reader to orient themselves within the city prior to the travel. The notations and advertisements that highlighted everyday life spaces (i.e. hotels, pharmacies, and clothing shops) were marked in English, *kanji*, and Chinese. The multilingual notations also targeted a wider readership. When readers coming from different places glanced over advertisements of various kinds of shops and facilities on the verso of the map, they would flip back and forth in order to locate the sites on the front of the map. That is to say, the frontal map cultivated an overall perception of the city of Shanghai in its readers that was a universal visual configuration no different from other metropolises around the world, while the verso's miscellanea diverted readers' attention to assorted local attractions, local commodities, and local culture.

The visual dynamics embodied in these illustrated tour maps transformed *meisho* spectacles into private pleasure seeking. By 'privateness,' here I not only suggest an individual participation but a certain subjectivity when an individual had to interact with the urban space. As a common map reader and city explorer, one could find many ways to visually and physically engage with the maps, scenic spots, and routes. Visitors followed a visual index on the map to

[52] Laura Nenz Detto Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity*, 130.

explore the city's sites and streets. The map and pictures then, in turn, enhanced the visitors' recollection and recognition of the city, and eventually their experience led to the information being updated on the map. In other words, tour maps were not an "objective" representation of the city to decorate the walls of one's home like Vermmer's painting or Dianshizhai maps rather they stood in as an agent through which the reader actively reshaped and redefined Shanghai's urban space. As Dell Upton reminds us, the essence of the architectural and urban history lies in the "human experience of its own landscape."[53] That is to say, both physical structures and diffuse imaginations engaging with a variety of individuals participated in the historical constructing, appropriating, and interpreting the city's landscapes. Unlike late-Qing officials' intention to sustain one intact image of Shanghai County and Major's *Dianshizhai* map that aimed to present Shanghai as a multicultural community, the illustrated tour maps converted the image of Shanghai into one of site after site and one street after another, which indeed were the most teeming aspects of the city. Beyond an orderly envision by administrators and planners, these sites and streets were urban spaces explored and re-envisioned by everyday map users.

1.5 Mapping Landscape in Changing Urbanscape: Gardens and Parks

The development of the mapmaking in Shanghai, from early administrative maps to the *Dianshizhai* maps to the illustrated tour maps, attested to the increasing interest in tour maps and tour activities in early twentieth-century Shanghai. Among the scenic photos superimposed on the 1908 map, one picture displayed three young visitors posing themselves in front of a monument. Their identities were not revealed, but judging by their outfit, we can conjecture that they were probably men of letters who had traveled from Japan or other cities in China to

[53] Dell Upton, "Architecture History or Landscape History," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol.44, no.4 (1991), 196.

Shanghai. The picture was derived and readapted from either a series of postcards or a photographic album (Figure 1-19; Figure 1-28). It illustrated a spring outing, during which three visitors made a pilgrimage to the memorial garden and afterwards left a souvenir photo of themselves staged with the monument. The memorial garden was built in honor of the famous Qing-dynasty officer Li Hongzhang, and in the first *Guide to Shanghai* (*Shanghai zhinan*) published by the Commercial Press in 1909, the garden was listed as one of the most popular sightseeing spots in the west suburb.[54] Along with being reprinted on commercial tour maps, the self-staged souvenir picture became a tribute to viewers who were reading the map and planning an outing to Shanghai. The idea of private pleasures was embodied in the dynamics between sightseeing activities and souvenir pictures, as well as portable tour maps and tourists in the early twentieth century.

The prevalence of commercial tour maps and photography, as well as diversified modes of transportation, boosted the tourist interest in 1910s Shanghai.[55] The city wall surrounding the county seat was appealed to be torn down during the two decades of local autonomy in Shanghai that began in 1905 and was eventually removed the year after the 1911 Revolution. At that point, the city wall was demolished, and the moat was paved over for building roads in order to facilitate the traffic and mercantile exchanges between the old city and the drastically expanded foreign settlements. Due to the development of urban infrastructure and the proliferation of travel options, excursions in Shanghai gained traction in the first decades of the twentieth century, and

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[54] *Guide to Shanghai*, the Commercial Press of Shanghai, 1909, in the section of “Sightseeing, food, and lodging,” it includes a list of popular gardens and sightseeing activities in the walled city, the foreign settlements, and yet suburbs of the time.

[55] António Eduardo Hawthorne Barrento refers to the tourism in late Qing and Republican China as “leisure travel,” *On the Move: Tourist Culture in China, 1895-1949*, Ph.D. Dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 2015. Discussion on modern China’s tourism, with specific focus on Shanghai, also see Madeline Yue Dong, “Shanghai’s China Traveler,” in *Everyday Modernity in China*, University of Washington Press, 2006, 195-226.

Shanghai became a departing hub of national and global travels. Tour maps featured up-to-date travel information of the time. The different means of travel—tramcars, trains, airplanes, ships—not only expanded the ways to explore Shanghai itself, but also enabled the city's residents to imagine and visit the outside world. These new modes of transportation even became the most popular interior backdrops in photo studios during the early twentieth century. In 1924, Jingfang Studio in Shanghai advertised their novel backdrop of a cruise ship: "an enormous ship sailing the ocean where a lighthouse, lone hill, and boats spread out and looming in waves, while customers stand by as if traveling over the sea." [56]

Along with the popularity of these images on display in photo studios, portable maps were a requisite for traveling and principal cities such as Suzhou and Nanjing along railway lines became popular "historic cities" and tourist attractions in the modern era.[57] Further, plenty of advertisements for new printed tour maps in the newspaper emerged during that time period. An advertisement by Nihondo Shoten in 1917 *Shenbao*, entitled "New maps on sale; a requisite for traveling; complete maps of the *ning-hu-hang-yong* railways" (Figure 1-29), promoted their latest maps of the railways that were inaugurated from Shanghai to Nanjing earlier in 1908 (*hu-ning* line) and to Hangzhou in 1909 (*hu-hang* line). The ad stressed the most important features

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[56] "*Jingfang you tian xin bujing*" 竞芳又添新布景 (Jingfang set up new settings), *Shenbao*, March 21, 1924. The text reads: One such [setting] is sailing scene, where there is a gigantic company cargo sailing through wind and ocean's roar, and assorted sceneries at sea like lighthouse, isolated hill, and sailboats, etc. People standby the setting to get photographed as if they are traveling at sea." "一幅为海船景，有极大之公司船一只，乘风破浪于大海之中，海中景况，若灯塔、孤山、帆船等，无不罗列。摄影者得站立其侧，恍同渡大洋时之状况;" From Tong Bingxue, *History of Photo Studios in China, 1859–1956*, China Photographic Publishing House, 2016, 154-155.

[57] "*Suzhou youcheng*" (Famous sites and routes in Suzhou), *China Traveler*, vol.1 (1927): 17-18; Also see Delin Lai, "Cosmopolitanism, Anarchism, and Tong Jun's Study of the History of Western Architecture," *Changing Ideals in Modern China and Its Historiography of Architecture*, China Architecture & Building Press, 2012, 191, and Wu Jen-shu, "Cartographic and Urban Transformations in Late Qing and Early Republican Suzhou," April 2009.

of the tour map—handy, up-to-date, and comprehensive, which turned the map into an "essential compass of traveling."[58]

A new map published by Shiseido in 1924 was representative of this tour maps (Figure 1-30; Figure 1-31). The 1924 map followed the visual paradigm of earlier tour maps by Japanese publishers, which superimposed an assortment of advertisements, photographs, and transportation schedules onto a map of Shanghai in the center. In the left columns, the map featured the city's most famous places in order, price information for rickshaws, and tramcar schedules in Shanghai. Additionally, the map incorporated four more small diagrams on the bottom: from left to right, it contained a railroad diagram along the Yangtze River and three *youlan ditu* (tour maps) of the popular sightseeing destinations in nearby Shanghai—Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou, focusing on the most attractive 'famous places' in these tourist cities: traditional gardens and the West Lake scenic sites. Above the three diagrams was a sketch with demographic and transportation information for these three cities. Altogether, the map evoked a virtual journey similar to *sugoroku* board games: the reader could first tour Shanghai by modes of diverse transportations listed in the left columns, heading down by rail to visit the tourist cities nearby, and then returning back to Shanghai by train. By this time, many traditional scenic spots like private gardens that were often mentioned in Ming-Qing travel notes in Jiangnan cities had become popular sites known as cultural relics, serving as an ambassador for the city and driving national tourism in the early twentieth century. Quoting Wu Jen-shu's words, this was a period of modern "tourism of consuming tradition."[59]

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[58] "*xinkan famai, lvxing bixie, ning-hu-hang-yong tielu quantu*" (New Map on Sell; A Requisite for Traveling; Complete map of the *ning-hu-hang-yong* railways), advertisement of Nihondo Shoten's tour maps on *Shenbao*, March 29, 1917, appraised the tour maps as "...truly are necessary compass of traveling."
[59] Wu Jen-shu, "From *youguan* to *lüyou*," *The City and Chinese Modernity*, Academia Sinica, 2010, 113-149.

The increase in tourist interest coincided with the transformation of gardens from exclusive spaces to popular commercial venues in Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century. A group of well-known private gardens in Suzhou and Shanghai became available to the general public periodically and charged for access as early as the eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, the development of railways in the early twentieth century compelled many gardens to open as historic attractions in the tourist cities along the Yangtze River.[60] Touring gardens was no longer served as leisure pastimes merely for literati in the enclosed garden space—they were excursions culturally and geographically linked with other popular attractions in the city of Shanghai as well as nearby cities. This transformation, by and large, went through three periods that aligned with the city's physical expansion during the Qing and early Republican era.

To begin with, the construction boom of gardens (*yuan* 园) in Shanghai began in the Ming dynasty after the walled county seat emerged in the late sixteenth century. With the city walls rounded up in 1554, Shanghai had emerged as the country's largest cotton textile center due to its favorable geographical position at the intersection of many key international and domestic shipping routes. Wealthy merchants and officials at this time constructed a number of extensive private mansions and gardens that paralleled the regional trend of garden-building in the cities of Jiangnan area during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[61] Building stylish gardens, as Craig Clunas points out, traditionally was a typical manner for social and cultural elites to gain

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[60] Wu Jen-shu, "Jiangnan Garden Urban Society: A Social-historical Analysis of Suzhou Gardens during the Ming and Qing Dynasties," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History*, Academia Sinica, vol.61 (Sept. 2008): 1-59.

[61] Studies detailed the garden history in Jiangnan and especially in Shanghai during the Ming and Qing dynasties, among others include the classic by Tong Jun, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* (A Record of the Gardens of Jiangnan, first published in 1937), reprinted by Beijing: zhongguo gongge chubanshe, 1963, Xin Wu, "Garden Art," in Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang eds., *A Companion to Chinese Art*, 410-430, and Zhu Yuhui, *Shanghai chuantong yuanlin yanjiu* (The Research of Shanghai Traditional Gardens), Ph.D. Dissertation, Tongji University, 2003.

sociopolitical status and aesthetic authority.[62] Visiting exquisite gardens was also a time-honored pastime for Chinese literati to practice cultural gatherings (*yaji*) and appreciate the artificial landscape.

Building gardens enabled Shanghai elites to assert themselves as cultural equals to renowned scholar-officials in adjacent cities like Suzhou and Yangzhou. Dozens of private gardens were constructed successfully within the walled Shanghai county during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Comparing the Ming and Qing-dynasties gazetteer maps, we notice that the gardens took up a number of the buildings mushroomed within the walled city during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the famous Luxiang Yuan (Dew Fragrance Garden), Rishe Yuan, Yeshi Yuan, and Yu Yuan (Figure 1-32). These gardens were not only one of the important landmarks highlighted on the gazetteer maps, but also embodied part of the city history and cultural legacy that the gazetteer mapmakers wanted to pass on through geographical writings. Garden owners were either local literati gentry or former officials who returned to their hometown of Shanghai after their resignation. For instance, the Luxiang Yuan, located to the east of the county magistrate's offices, was patronized by the Gu family in the mid-sixteenth century, who had been local gentry for hundreds of years, and the Rishe Yuan garden, located in the southeast of the walled city, was a residence that belonged to a former court preceptor named Chen Suoyun, who served in the Ming-dynasty court.[63]

During the early Qing dynasty in the seventeenth century, many previously well-known gardens in the Jiangnan area like Suzhou and Shanghai were abandoned due to political turmoil, which led to a second period of spatial transformation for the gardens, when many of these

[62] Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, Duke University Press Books, 1996, 18-19.
[63] This garden was famous for its extravagant rockeries by garden designer Zhang Nanyang, who was responsible for some of the finest gardens at Suzhou.

private gardens were sold to the city temples and local merchant guilds as part of their open grounds for commercial and leisure activities. The Yu Garden was an example of such functional transformations of private gardens. Originally constructed as a private residence-garden by retired scholar official, Pan Yunduan in the 1570s, the Yu Garden was incorporated into the City God Temple of Shanghai, then managed by local merchant guilds since the early nineteenth century. Along with the physical expansion of the city in the late nineteenth century, a number of new garden complexes were built up in the western and southern suburbs beyond the walled city by gentry-merchants or foreign businessmen dwelling in Shanghai. In the 1880s, many of these previous private-owned gardens changed hands and opened to the public for commercial uses, serving as venues for various kinds of old and new entertainment activities, such as the Zhang Garden (1885-1918) which, then situated on the Bubbling Well Road in the western suburb, had been one of the most fashionable pleasure gardens in late imperial Shanghai. Because of the commercial boom, the area gradually became an urban center and lands increasingly in demand for real estate during the early twentieth century.

In the third phase, with the advent of foreign settlers, several public parks were constructed in Shanghai, all managed by the two municipal councils of the foreign settlements. For Chinese residents, the perceptions toward the public park were twofold. On the one hand, public parks were areas set aside for commoners to relax in and enjoy nature's beauty. These public parks were not privately owned but rather built and administered by city governments, in addition to being widely seen as a Western lifestyle introduced to China in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, constructing public parks in Chinese-administered land, similar to paving extra-settlements roads (*yuejie zhulu*), was a strategy that the foreign administrations

adopted to obtain successive extensions of the settlements in the late Qing dynasty.[64] The physical structures such as the musical pavilion in public parks were thereafter targeted as a hegemonic presence of foreign powers by nationalist and anticolonialists. Between the 1860s and 1930s, there were over twenty public parks built in succession in Shanghai, all managed by two municipal councils of the foreign settlements.[65] Most of these parks were constructed between the 1900s and 20s (Figure 1-33), including the oft-mention names in those 1930s' urban essayists' writings such as the Public Garden (1868), Hongkew Park (1909), Jessfield Park (1914), and Koukaza Park (1917). The Public Garden, also known as *Waitan Gongyuuan* (Bund Garden), was the earliest public park built in Shanghai, by the International Settlement's Municipal Council in 1868, and was located at the northern tip of the Bund along the Huangpu River, the place of origin where the foreign settlements came into being.

In fact, the foreign-administrated parks also went through a conversion process from private to public. The "public" parks were exclusive to foreign communities all the way through the end of the Qing dynasty. Eventually they became available to all Shanghai residents in the 1920s, when the newly founded Nationalist government attempted to assume control over the city and redefine the territory bearing the name of Shanghai. In contrast to commercial concerns that drove the openness of private Chinese gardens, constructing parks again tied back to the matter of municipal administration and an overall urban planning.

Following the boom of the construction of foreign-administrated public parks, the Chinese municipality launched an ambitious urban reconstruction in the 1930s, known as the Greater Shanghai Plan that included a series of renewing and remapping projects of city parks.

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[64] Dorothee Rihal, "Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai: Visual and Spatial Representations of New Forms of Public Open Spaces," 2009, https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Texts/Articles?ID=59.
[65] *Ibid*; Zhou Xiangpin and Chen Zhehua, "Concession Parks in Modern Shanghai: Models of Gardens in the Western Influence," *Urban Planning Forum*, vol.4 (2007): 113-118.

The center of the new urban planning was designed as a cruciform (Figure 1-34), as shown in the municipal planning, in the hope of relocating the center of Shanghai to the north and turning the southern neighbor of the foreign settlements into a part of the new Chinese nation's administration. The city parks and open green spaces were a key part of a city's municipal construction and were built around the new urban center. They were therefore used to promote ideologies and attracting Shanghai residents to the north, the Greater Shanghai.

After mapping out a brief history of gardens and parks in Shanghai as well as taking another look at the 1908 tour map (Figure 1-2), we now have a better sense as to why the landscape views dominated the photos circling around the city map. Among the twenty photos surrounding the map, more than half of the images were themed on the city's garden and park spaces, including the teahouse within the Yu Garden, the Public Garden, to the Zhang Garden, and to the Hongkew (Hongkou) Park, featuring shots of inside structures from different angles. The locations of increased garden spaces indeed marked the ever-changing borders of Shanghai, which constantly expanded westward (i.e. Zhang Garden) and northward (i.e. Hongkou Park). They ultimately became the place where people from different cultures and classes encountered and interacted. In addition, gardens and parks were men-made landscapes and landmarks that framed and at the same time enlivened the urban center— visually on the map as well as physically in the city. The transformation of these garden spaces from private to public was a process through which urban societies—Chinese scholar-officials, local gentry-merchants, foreign settlers, nationalists, planners and architects, and, most importantly, the common residents/garden frequenters—confronted and channeled ideas, needs, experiences, and spatial imaginations.

1.6 Conclusion

During the half-century subsequent to the end of the First Opium War in 1842, Shanghai had experienced numerous geographical and social reconfigurations. The entangled nature of extraterritoriality yielded changes in every aspect of the city from its physical fragmentation to its cultural development. Maps visually represented the city's physical changes and further embodied how different factors defined the city through cartographical representations. By investigating a corpus of Shanghai maps and their distinct visual emphases, the first part of the chapter explored the process of how the Chinese city and foreign settlements adapted, confronted, and negotiated with each other at the initial stage of cohabitation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Demographical and economic changes have generated multiple urban centers in Shanghai. Accordingly, different kinds of maps—administrative maps, commercial maps, and illustrated tour maps—mapped specific areas of interest, utilized different cartographical traditions, and prioritized different geographical elements.

By virtue of mapmaking, the local authorities acquired their cultural legitimacy to narrate the city's geo-history. In facing the spatial and political transformations of late nineteenth-century Shanghai, the Chinese officials played dual roles in their diverse cartographic practices. The gazetteer maps articulated Chinese prefects' intention to define physical boundaries, landmarks, and hydrological networks of the city, while in the meantime, Feng Junguang's 1875 map was produced on the basis of pragmatic measurement and it was produced on behalf of the scholar-officials' vision of the city as a developing international harbor, which was in line with the ongoing imperial reforms during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Accompanied by economic development, Shanghai maps were no longer made merely for administrative uses and political expression for a defining shape of the city. The 1875 map

made by Chinese scholar-officials became the model for commercially produced maps by local publishers in the 1880s. Its large size, precise details, and the way it combined Chinese and European cartography were all adaptable to lithography and copperplate printing and hence accessible to a larger readership. Relying on the burgeoning publishing industry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, led by Major's *Shenbao* Press and Japanese publishers active in Shanghai, the commercial maps became further diversified. Japanese publishers introduced a new visual paradigm for presenting the city to viewers through their illustrated copperplate tour maps, which superimposed pictures of famous places onto the geographical map. These tour maps not only provided geographical information about the city, but presented an assortment of advertisements, photographs, and transportation schedules as well. The illustrated tour maps drew visual references from contemporaneous Japanese cartography and board game making. Moreover, the popularity of these tour maps largely depended on the success of Japanese businessmen in the field of publishing, photography, and advertisement in Shanghai.

The visual miscellany on the tour maps transformed Shanghai maps from an ideological embodiment into a consumable product and part of the realm of private entertainment. Here, the idea of private pleasures was enhanced by a variety of new physical and visual experiences: frequenting photo studios where viewers could pose in front of maritime backdrops, exploring *famous places* of Shanghai that included not only the memorial gardens as historic attractions but also public parks as modern sites, visiting nearby tourist cities by modern modes of transportation, and taking touristy photos. In turn, the diverse new experiences enriched the contents and refashioned the visual form of Shanghai tour maps by adding new railway schedules and information about nearby tourist cities like Hangzhou and Suzhou. Here, the

portable tour maps were practical requisites for traveling, while the assorted visual miscellanea superimposed onto maps provided the reader plentiful visual pleasure. The city of Shanghai therefore was no longer perceived as a singular image, as displayed in previous administrative maps. Instead, it was now specified into different local attractions, commemorated sites, and commercial spaces.

The second part of the chapter mapped out the garden spaces into the geographical changes and mapmaking of Shanghai. Yet questions are raised if we rethink the *garden*—green spaces, landscapes in the changing city: what were the connections and differentiations between these garden spaces? How did the appearances and alterations of garden spaces reflect the architectural development of the city while in turn becoming reshaped by the development? These were the questions that will be elaborated at length in the following chapter. The construction of gardens and parks followed the urban changes expanding westward and northward throughout the centuries, while the transformation of garden spaces from private to public linked up the city's green spaces with changing cityscapes through the booming real estate market and increasing architectural types. Just as was depicted in the 1908 tour map, the city of Shanghai therefore became an explorable one that could be experienced holistically as well as through diverging views.

CHAPTER TWO

ENVISIONING THE PAST, THE WORLD, AND SUBJECTIVITY: THE GARDEN TRANSFORMATION IN SHANGHAI

Shanghai is a place where people gather from different regions and nations. It has exceeded the prosperity of Luoyang during the Song dynasty (960-1138). Li Gefei narrated the celebrated gardens in Luoyang to signify the vicissitudes of the city, therefore, how could this book not include a category of "Gardens" to emblemize the grand prosperity of today's Shanghai?

上海为各省人士，各国侨民丛集之地，其繁盛实胜当时之洛阳，洛阳有李格非名园记可以知时代之兴衰，此志何不可别立园林一门，以表今日之盛况?

Hu Jifan, *Shanghai xiao zhi*, 1930[1]

When Wang Tao (1828-1897), a well-known late Qing intellectual, set foot in Shanghai for the first time in 1849 shortly after the city opened as a treaty-port, he marveled at the hustling and bustling scenes in the City God Temple and the adjacent Yu Garden (*yuyuan* 豫园) within the walled city. A dozen tea houses spread from the Yu Garden to the temple, and a series of folk fairs were held regularly in the area. Wang praised this area as the most popular attraction in the city.[2] Indeed, up until the early twentieth century, Shanghai guidebooks introduced the *yuan* (gardens) as a primary site for public gathering and entertainment under the categories of "*zhongguo huayuan*" (Chinese gardens) and "*waiguo huayuan*" (foreign gardens), and the top

[1] Hu Jifan, *Shanghai xiao zhi* (Vernacular Records of Shanghai), Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1989, 47.

[2] Tao Wang, *Haizou yeyou lu* (Sea-corner Philandering Record), from *Yanshi cong chao* (Collection of the Romantic Stories), Guangwen shuju (post-1878 version), vol.2 (1976): 545-546. He recounted his experiences touring the temple-garden complex: "Among the city's places of interests, Dong Yuan and Xi Yuan of the City God Temple are the most popular attractions. While the West Garden [Yu Yuan] is packed with visitors, the East Garden [inner garden in the Temple] contains various kinds of plants and flowers available to tourists during festivals. Overlooking from the tall pavilions, one can look out westward of the city. When peach trees are blossoming, the gardens attract all men and women of the city." "城中游览之地，以城隍庙之东，西两园为最。西园游人杂沓，东园则双扉常键，值令节始启之，幽草孤花，别开静境，大境高阁可远眺为城西胜处。桃花开时，士女丛集也。"

one on the list was the Yu Garden.[3] By the 1920s, the city had expanded twenty times the scale and population during the 1840s, and over twenty known gardens had sprung up in Shanghai. Touring public gardens became a trendy outdoor pastime in the nineteenth century.

The previous chapter examined the urban development of Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century. I relied on the cartographic representation to reconstruct urban changes and map the increasing number of garden spaces in their geohistorical relation to the city. Maps certainly manifested a dynamic interaction between the visual productions of urban space and the reader. Through portable tour maps, sightseers visually and physically engaged with the city. If we take a look at this quote from Hu Jifan's travel notes, we notice how early twentieth-century Chinese men of letters stressed the primacy of garden spaces that "signified the vicissitudes of the city." We can understand his words from two aspects. On the one hand, Hu intended to follow an earlier literary tradition of writings on notable gardens and prosperous cities for expressing a sentiment towards changes of time,[4] and on the other hand, he raved about the city's commercial boom that drove national and international tourism as well as garden construction for public entertainment of his time. Echoing the second aspect, this chapter sets out to investigate architectural and cultural adaptations of garden spaces and the driving forces that intersected and impacted the spatial transformation of Shanghai during the Imperial-Republic transitional era.

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[3] *Shanghai youlan zhinan* (Shanghai Touring Guide), Shanghai Zhonghua Book Company, 1930, Section Seven, 73-79; Xu Guozhen, *Shanghai shenghuo* (Life in Shanghai), Shanghai Shijie Shuju, 1930, 83-85, where it listed about twenty-five gardens under the category of "Recreation and Excursion".

[4] Writings on the garden groves of Suzhou in the fifteenth century focus on how Suzhou gardens rivalled that in Luoyang. Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China*, Duke University Press, 1996, 21. This motif of city garden-urban development interrelation is also discussed in traditional city guide writings, in which gardens were often seen as signifiers of '*fanhua*'(prosperity) of the city, such as the *Yangzhou huafang lu* (Yangzhou guide A Record of the Painted Boats in Yangzhou), by Li Dou, and *Jinling zhu yuan ji* (Garden Notes in Nanjing) by Wang Shizhen.

I will detail the appearance and alteration of the gardens aforementioned in the previous chapter, focusing on four forms of spatial transformation in succession (map Figure 2-1): the temple-garden complex within the Chinese walled city in the late Qing dynasty; the very first Public Garden constructed in 1868 by the foreign-controlled Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC); commercial pleasure gardens in the late nineteenth-century suburbs; and rooftop gardens built atop multi-story edifices such as department stores that sprung up in the foreign settlements in the 1920s. Accordingly, the four forms of adaptation marked how traditional gardens were diversely recoded and rewritten in modern Shanghai through cross-cultural interactions and constructions of the garden landscape. By 'traditional gardens,' I have no intention to limit their definitions to a fixed architectural form in a particular period. What I focus on is the process of new designs, new structures, and new activities transforming the existing garden spaces. I argue that the transformation process involved a multi-group of actors such as Shanghai artists, early foreign settlers, late Qing intellectuals, Chinese merchants, and common visitors, and it was their everyday experiences that, successfully and unsuccessfully, incorporated concepts and elements of the 'Chinese garden' and the 'foreign garden' into the built environment of Shanghai.

As I just mentioned, travel notes and city guidebooks of the time often categorized the gardens and parks (*yuan*) as tourist sites of "*gushi*" (classical-style), "*xishi*" (Western-style), and "*jian zhongxi liangshi*" meaning "hybrid of Chinese and Western styles."[5] In fact, the boundaries that defined the type and style of gardens were never clear, but rather underlined the nature of Shanghai's gardens as a hybrid of assorted physical and imaginary elements adapted from previous architectural and spatial experiences across time and place. As Alexander des Forges argues in his analysis of the late-Qing novels, the "hybridity" was a local production created and

[5] Chen Boxi, *Shanghai yishi daguan* (Shanghai Anecdotes), Shanghai Shudian Publisher, 1999, 133-135.

elaborated in the social and cultural contexts of Shanghai.[6] This chapter will examine how different practices and conceptions of *yuan* converged and were experienced and represented in the nineteenth-and-twentieth-century Shanghai, and in turn, the chapter argues that hybrid garden space played a significant role in shaping people's ideas of the past, the world, and their relationship to the changing city.

2.1 Gardens and Open Spaces in The City's History

Although gardens in imperial China were privately owned by imperial and elite families, gardens became multicultural encounters that reified the global circulation of capital, architecture, cultural aesthetics, and botanic knowledge between China and Europe. In the early eighteenth century, Jesuit missionaries sent texts and images about the Qing emperor's gardens back to Europe that spurred the European craze for Chinese-style gardens.[7] Wealthy salt merchants in eighteenth-century Yangzhou adorned their gardens with rare materials from foreign lands and designed their gardens using European styles and technologies.[8] In early nineteenth-century Guangzhou, Chinese merchant-owned nursery gardens became the site of Sino-European plant trade frequented by both local and foreign visitors.[9]

During the Ming and Qing periods from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, building a stylish garden was considered a means for social and cultural elites to gain sociopolitical status

[6] Alexander Des Forges, *Mediasphere Shanghai: The Aesthetics of Cultural Production*, University of Hawaii Press, 2007, 20-21; 38-39.
[7] Che-bing Chiu, "Vegetal Travel: Western European Plants in the Garden of the Emperor of China," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, Getty Research Institute, 2015, 96.
[8] Yue Meng, Chapter 5, "Reenvisioning the Urban Interior: Gardens and the Paradox of the Public Sphere," in *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires*, University of Minnesota Press, 2006, 145-146.
[9] Yuen Lai Winnie Chan, "Nineteenth-century Canton Gardens and the East-West Plant Trade," in *Qing Encounters*, 111-125.

and as expressions of personal taste and esthetic experience.[10] Visiting exquisite gardens was also a time-honored pastime for Chinese literati to practice cultural gatherings (*yaji*) and appreciate the artificial landscape. The construction boom of gardens in Shanghai began in the Ming dynasty during the late sixteenth century after the city recovered from pirate attacks. Along with the city walls built in 1553, Shanghai had emerged as the country's largest cotton textile center due to its favorable geographical position that intersected many key international and domestic shipping routes.[11] As the trade industry continued to flourish, wealthy merchants and officials constructed several extensive private mansions and gardens, which paralleled the regional trend of garden building in all of the major cities and suburbs of the Jiangnan area during the Ming and Qing dynasties.[12] Dozens of private gardens were constructed within the walled city of Shanghai County, and the garden owners were either local literati gentry or former officials who returned to their hometown in Shanghai after retiring from the court.

Like many other private gardens in the Jiangnan area, gardens in Shanghai were often passed from one scholar gentry's hands to another over time.[13] The new owner would modify the layouts and displays while also incorporating a patch of the garden's previous history into their

[10] For a brief introduction to the history and historiography of Chinese gardens, see Xin Wu, "Garden Art," in Martin Powers and Katherine Tsiang eds., *A Companion to Chinese Art*, Wiley Blackwell, 2015, 410-430.

[11] For more on the history of Shanghai before the twentieth century, see Linda Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858*, Stanford University of Press, 1995, Chapter 3, "Ming Shanghai: City of Temples and Gardens," 66-95.

[12] Many studies have detailed the garden history in Jiangnan and especially in Shanghai during the Ming and Qing dynasties, including Tong Jun, *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* (A Record of the Gardens of Jiangnan, first published in 1937), Zhongguo gongge chubanshe, 1963; Zhu Yuhui, *Shanghai chuantong yuanlin yanjiu* (The Research of Shanghai Traditional Gardens), Ph.D. Dissertation, Tongji University, 2003; Chen Zhehua, *Haipai yuanlin yiyun: mingguo shanghai sijia yuanlin yanjiu* (The Meaning of Shanghai-Style Gardens: Study of Private Gardens in Shanghai during the Republic of China), China Architecture Publishing, 2018.

[13] Construction of individual gardens in China often continued over long time periods. However, as Keswick reminds us about the purported historicity of Chinese gardens is doubtful; those so called Ming or earlier gardens always include a great deal of Qing and more recent renovations. Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden*, Harvard University Press, 2003, 137.

new collections to strengthen the cultural lineage and continuity. One such example is the Rishe Yuan, nestled in the southeast of the walled city, which was initially constructed by a former Ming court preceptor during the late sixteenth century and later taken over by the Lu family in the early Qing era.[14] The Lu family built a library inside that served to consolidate the garden's previous history and present narrative, where it collected the garden's construction record written by the former owner and a painting album called *The Thirty-Six Views of Rishe Yuan* painted by a friend of the former owner.

As early as the eighteenth century, the elite gardens extended accessibility to the public. As Wu Renshu states, the social opinions at the time largely affected the literati's attitude about opening their gardens.[15] Many private gardens in the Jiangnan area at the turn of the Ming and Qing dynasties had already been partially open to the public and periodically available to the common people by charging for admission. Since Shanghai was traditionally famous for the honey nectar that was planted in many gardens, whenever the peach trees were in blossom, these gardens were packed with tourists.[16] The open spaces in front of the city temples and around the

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[14] For details of these gardens in Ming and Qing historical records, see the gazetteer records of Songjiang Prefecture during the Jiaqing Reign (1760-1820), from *Zhongguo haijiang jiu fangzhi* (Old Gazetteer Records of Coast Areas in China), 2006, including Rishe Yuan, 6871-6875, Yu Yuan, 6875-6879, Luxiang Yuan, 6879-6881; *Tongzhi Shanghai County Gazetteer*, 1872, vol.28, "Residential Gardens," Chen Suoyun, "History of Rishe Yuan."

[15] Wu Jen-shu, "Jiangnan Garden Urban Society: A Social-historical Analysis of Suzhou Gardens during the Ming and Qing Dynasties," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, vol.61 (Sept. 2008), 1-59. Wu quotes Ming Shizhen's *biji*, "I think the garden sceneries should be appreciated by everyone, so when my garden is constructed, I shall have the scenery enjoyed by everyone" "余以山水花木之胜，人人乐之，业已成，则当与人人共之。"

[16] Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai*, Stanford University Press, 2008, 1-28. The Gu family's garden was famous for the honey nectar peach, which was praised as representative "local products" of Shanghai. Swislocki discusses the family's history and how its image of "the best local products and only available in Shanghai" was constructed. See Chapter 1, in *Culinary Nostalgia,* 29-64.

city gates were also sites where folk fairs and festival performances took place for the general public in imperial Chinese societies.

During the early seventeenth century, many formerly celebrated gardens in Suzhou and Shanghai were abandoned due to the political turmoil, and the city temples and local merchant guilds stepped in to purchase these gardens as part of their open grounds and converted them into popular commercial and leisure sites. Private gardens' sceneries were thus increasingly incorporated into the public landscape. Gardens such as the Qiuxia Yuan and the Yi Yuan in Suzhou were annexed by local temples and became temple-gardens during the mid-Qing dynasty, and the Zhi Yuan was remodeled and served as the premise of Zhejiang Guild Hall in the late Qing era.[17] The resulting combination of private gardens, religious temple places, and merchant guilds created unique urban spaces that not only complicated the nature of gardens, but also altered the garden's spatial order. It transformed the former private space reserved for the elite into an urban landscape, where common people could experience folk fairs, relaxation, and recreation. The Yu Garden was a primary example of this transformation as it was first incorporated into the City God Temple of Shanghai and then managed by local merchant guilds beginning in the early nineteenth century.

2.2 Yu Garden: The City's Oldest Site Found New Functions

This section examines how the Yu Garden transformed from a Ming-dynasty site of private contemplation into a temple-garden and a site of public entertainment in the early Qing dynasty, and how it was experienced, perceived, and represented in this process. Differing from many private aesthetic gardens, the Yu Garden was tied to the city's public affairs from the

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[17] *Ibid.* 26.

beginning. The Yu Garden was originally constructed in the 1570s by a retired scholar official named Pan Yunduan (c.1526). The Pan family shared a close relationship to the city's history,[18] which enabled their family to occupy a large and important land adjacent to the county's administrative offices in the center of the city where they could build mansions and gardens. The Yu Garden allegedly occupied over 70 *mu* acres, equaling nearly two percent of the area within the city walls at a time when the Shanghai County seat had around 3300 *mu* acres in total during the Ming era.[19]

Pan recorded the garden's history in his *Yu Yuan ji* (Record of Yu Garden), which claimed the purpose of building his residential garden was to "please and amuse his parents." The name *yu* 豫 was derived from the classic *The Book of Songs*, "*yi yu wu qi* 逸豫无期," meaning endless leisure and tranquility. When Pan returned to Shanghai in 1577 after resigning as a government official, he began the construction of the garden. Following the layout trends of other gardens in the Jiangnan area, the planning of Yu Garden consisted of six main areas and composed of a labyrinth of vistas (*jing*) (Figure 2-2), which were named to reflect Pan's ethical and literary choices, such as "joy and longevity" *leshou* 乐寿, "exquisite jade" *yuhua* 玉华, and "flowing views" *huijing* 会景. Amongst the different garden views were rockeries, ponds, trees, pavilions, and meandering paths, and the "large ponds with pavilions in the center" was the principal feature of the layout.[20]

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[18] Pan's father, Pan En (c.1496), a renowned government official who served during the Jiajing's reign (1521-1567), played an important role in leading the city's resistance against the pirate attack in the mid-sixteenth century.

[19] Linda Johnson, *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858*, 89-91.

[20] Pan Yunduan, *Yu yuan ji* (Record of Yu Garden), from Chen Zhi, Zhang Gongchi eds., *zhongguo lidai mingyuan ji xuanzhu* (The Selected Notes of China's Famous Gardens through the ages), Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983, 113-117. For an introduction to Yu Yuan's landscape, see Maggie Keswick, *The Chinese Garden*, 137-145; Guo Junlun, "Shanghai Yuyuan," *Jianzhu xuebao* (Architectural Journal), vol.4 (1964): 18-21. The original layout can no longer be found, but it can be pieced together from Pan Yunduan's writings and the remains that have been restored by outstanding Chinese garden theorist and

Pan's texts that detailed the landscape features follow the Ming tradition of the travel-literature genre of garden records (*ji*). The 'tour' or 'journey' type of records, as Clunas states, was used for "more personal, even autobiographical purposes" and characterized by its "flexible and amorphous format."[21] Garden records usually open by situating the site to be described within space and introduce the reader to "a close personal relationship" between the garden site and the author as the owner of the garden; and then the narration follows by specific movements through space, which creates the space as it is described before the readers' eyes.[22] Pan's texts begin with the garden location nestled in the west of the Pan residence across Anren Street, and then the texts narrate the garden space in sequence by starting at the original gate opening at the southwest corner where the Sansui Tang (three tassel hall) was situated. Next, the texts walk the reader along the corridors ahead, turning to the south where the views consist of an array of rockeries, ponds, and a hall called Yuhua Tang.[23] The extravagant rockery placed in front of the hall was named Yulinglong 玉玲珑, which Pan alleged a historic connection to the imperial household of the Song dynasty and was designed by a famous Ming dynasty garden designer called Zhang Nanyang. Further on, following Pan's narrations, the reader walks forward to the Leshou Tang and faces a large pond and in the center a pavilion named Fuyi 凫佚 (birds perching). Yuhua Tang and Leshou Tang were major sites of the garden where Pan catered to his

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architect Chen Congzhou in the 1980s. Yu Garden as a "Ming-dynasty classical garden" has been studied. See Duan Jianqiang, Ph.D. Dissertation, *Yuyuan lishi yanjiu* (Historic Study of Yu Garden), 2012; Shelly Bryant, *The Classical Gardens of Shanghai*, Hong Kong University Press, 2016. What I want to inquire is the process how Yu Garden had been spatially transformed to temple-garden and the city's bazaar in the post-Ming era.

[21] Clunas, "Touring and Mapping the Garden," in *Fruitful Sites*, 139-144.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Pan Yunduan, *Yu Yuan ji*.

literati friends and local gentry with theatrical troupes from Suzhou and Shaoxing performing plays and storytelling until midnight (Appendix 2-1).[24]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, new types of patronage transformed the Yu Garden from a previously private space into a popular attraction. Pan's family declined alongside the downfall of the Ming dynasty in the early seventeenth century, and the family garden was incorporated into the adjacent City God Temple in the south during the early Qing dynasty. Since then, the Yu Garden, the City God Temple, and the inner garden attached to the temple called East Garden together developed into a connected area known as the temple-gardens (*miaoyuan*) of Shanghai. This can be observed from the Qing dynasty's gazetteer illustrations (Figure 2-3), which usually represented the three parts as an integrated architectural complex. The City God Temple had been the most important religious architecture in Shanghai since the late Ming dynasty. In a coastal city like Shanghai, having a traditional city god (*chenghuang*) often coincided with the construction of city walls. The *chenghuang* belief provided spiritual protection to the city, and city walls were seen as its material embodiment. Later on, the city began expanding beyond the old city walls. Following the commercial boom during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of the merchant associations settled in the Yu Garden area and altered the halls and pavilions into their headquarters, stages for theatrical plays, and sites for congregational events. With an increasing commercial encroachment beginning in the nineteenth century, the Yu Yuan temple-garden complex gradually took form, transforming from a private garden space into the commercial hub and artistic center of Shanghai.

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[24] Yang Jiayou, "*mingdai Jiangnan zaoyuan zhifeng yu shidafu shenghuo*" (Jiangnan Gardens and Literati Life in the Ming Dynasty: Reading Pan Yunduan's Miscellany), *Shehui kexue zhanxian*, vol.3 (1981): 344.

The temple-garden complex went through drastic physical changes over the nineteenth century. By the 1860s, over twenty-one commercial associations and guilds had settled in this area,[25] and these associations began dividing spaces, renovating existing buildings and landscapes, and erecting new structures for commercial uses. The Yu Garden as a typical Ming dynasty private garden was initially characterized by its modest size and interactively articulated landscape elements, where rocks, water, pavilions, and plants were contradictorily organized as different sites that were in a layout dense while spread and distant while correlated, and there was no suggestion of a formal center.[26] However, here as part of the temple-garden complex, the interrelated spatial flow in the Yu Garden was broken up by multiple separated spatial units for different usages. For instance, the Yuhua Tang was taken up by the Butcher Guild (*rouzhuang gongsuo* 肉庄公所). This association renovated the hall and rebuilt several structures around it, which left the scenery in opposite (*duijing*) — one of the most characteristic rockeries of the garden— Yulinglong in an independent spot, and thereafter the rockpile lost its original importance as a view echoing the hall.[27] The Cuixiu Tang, located to the north of the Sansui Tang, was converted into the headquarters of the Bean Association (*douye gongsuo* 大豆公所) and then closed to the public because the rockeries in front had worn out over the years and became a safety hazard.[28] And the Sansui Tang was destroyed in the early Qing dynasty and later

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[25] *The City God Temple of Shanghai*, 1928, 12-14; Yu Yuan and the City God Temple area suffered damages several times after Shanghai opened as a treaty port in 1842. The garden spaces once served as the headquarters of the British army in the summer 1842, and they were damaged during the periods of the Small Swords Uprising (1853-55) and the Taiping Rebellion (1851-64). In the aftermath of the chaos in the 1860s, many merchants and refugees escaped the southern Jiangnan area into Shanghai. These merchants constituted "big money" in Shanghai and became a stabilizing force in urban construction and city management of the Shanghai County up to the early twentieth century.
[26] Chen Congzhou, "Yu Garden and Inner Garden in Shanghai," *Cultural Relics*, vol.6 (1957).
[27] Haishang shushi sheng (Sun Jiazhen), "*yimiao yuyuan zhi bianqian*" (Transformation of Yuyuan Temple-Garden), *Jingangzuan* (The Diamond), 1932.10.23; 10.24; 10.25; 10.26; 10.27.
[28] *Ibid.*

reconstructed by the Ladies Dress Guild (*chengyi gongsuo* 成衣公所). These changes in layout and usage altered the integral spatial movements originally narrated in Pan's texts. The lyrical names of these places contrasted sharply with the secular and commercial functions of these associations, while inside the halls, on the opposite wall were hanging portraits of city gods for worship.[29]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the previous layout of the garden was largely untraceable, and the City God Temple and the inner garden area also underwent transformation. Many of the garden structures such as pavilions and covered walkways were dismantled, and the open grounds outside the temple halls were built into a farmer's market, a photo studio, restaurants, teahouses, and stores of all kinds.[30] In other words, the private garden views, rituals, and commercial activities overlapped within the temple-garden complex. To nineteenth-century visitors, this area appeared less like a garden than a bazaar consisting of fragmented scenic landscapes views, assorted commodities, fan and stationery shops, and entertainment activities.[31]

Besides spatial alterations for new uses, building and rebuilding new structures also formed major changes to the garden space. For instance, the northeastern Dianchun Tang (Spring Hall 点春堂) area was originally built in the 1820s by the Sugar Association (*tangye gongsuo* 糖业公所), where a set of pavilions and towers were constructed, with ponds, corridors, and rockery connected in between. But the whole area was taken up by the rebels during the Small Swords Uprising in the 1850s, where invaders filled up the ponds and destroyed several buildings.[32] The rock piles and the pavilion atop that were designed against the eastern wall were

[29] Ge Yuanxu, *Hu you zaji* (Miscellanies of Visit to Shanghai), Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989, 4.
[30] Haishang shushi sheng (Sun Jiazhen), "*Yimiao yuyuan zhi bianqian*," 1932.10.23.
[31] Ge Yuanxu, *Hu you zaji*, 4.
[32] Guo Junlun, "Shanghai *yuyuan*", 18-19.

gone, and this view thereafter lost its function as the lookout point where one could climb on high and turn back southward to look out over the whole garden.

The most important addition was the Mid-Lake Pavilion (*huxin ting* 湖心亭, previous Fuyi pavilion) to the west of the garden, which was originally constructed in the 1800s and was renovated into a two-story architecture and served as a teahouse since the 1850s. This late nineteenth century illustration (Figure 2-4) vividly depicts such a bustling scene on the open ground in front of the lake that was packed with stalls, storefronts, and tourists watching peepshows and acrobatic performances. Along with its business success, the Mid-Lake Pavilion became a representative image of the temple-garden complex as well as an image of 'traditional Chinese architecture' in Shanghai. Unlike often-seen Chinese single or double-eave pavilions, this building was composed of polygonal structures characterized by pointed and flying rooflines. This seemingly grotesque appearance creates a dramatic visual effect which, as Jonathan Hay argues, embodies a "deliberate and self-conscious creation" of "exaggerated picturesqueness,"[33] and therefore it turned the pavilion one of the most popular tourist site and photographed building of Shanghai. As a popular teahouse venue, the Mid-Lake Pavilion area became an open space that geographically and visually connected the rest of the garden to the east and the cityscapes to the west. And noticeably, the garden entrance changed accordingly. Instead of the previous entrance before the Sansui Tang, visitors would approach from the south by taking the zigzag bridge across the lake to the pavilion in the center (see map figure 2-2), where "one enjoyed the height and the breeze blowing across the lake."[34]

[33] Jonathan Hay, "Painting and the built environment in late nineteenth-century Shanghai," in *Chinese Art Modern Expressions*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, 61-101.
[34] Ge Yuanxu, *Hu you zaji*, 31.

In the late nineteenth century, the commercial associations and guilds also played a key role in patronizing Shanghai School painters, who frequently held gatherings in the temple-gardens. Ren Bonian (1840-1896) resided in this area after he sojourned to Shanghai in the 1860s, and the proximity to the gardens enabled Ren to receive significant patronage from local merchants.[35] One of his works, entitled *Watching Sword Making under the Shade of Tree*, was commissioned for Dianchun Tang, then the headquarters of the Shanghai Sugar Organization.

Moreover, the Deyue Lou (meaning "reaching the moon chamber" 得月楼, renamed from Leshou Tang) was also an important site that connected the garden to the Shanghai art world. It was another 'tall' building adjacent to the two-story Mid-Lake Pavilion, visually echoing its height while contrasting with the meandering zigzag-bridge across the lake. The building was reconstructed in the late 1890s and catered to painters for its multiple uses as fan shops, studios, and hotels. Fan shops at the time functioned as art retailers between artists and the customers by publicizing artists' works, facilitating the artworks' transactions, and making standardized price lists.[36] Later, the Deyue Lou became the headquarters of the *Yuyuan shuhua shanhui* (Yu Garden Calligraphy and Painting Charitable Society), China's first professional organization for artists established in 1908.[37] Here the art society and fan shops functioned in similar roles, mainly regulating prices, trading art, and helping artists build networks. Artists gathered here for many different purposes: for shared artistic interest and pursuit, while also for

[35] Yu-chih Lai, "Remapping Borders: Ren Bonian's Frontier Paintings and Urban Life in 1880s Shanghai," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86 (2004) 3: 561.
[36] Roberta Wue, *Art Worlds: Artists, Images, and Audiences in Late Nineteenth-Century*, University of Hawaii Press, 2014, 14.
[37] A group of renowned Shanghai school painters such as Wu Changshuo, Qian Huian, and Huang Binhong were members of this art society. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were more than twenty charitable societies focused on artists like this established in Shanghai, founded by cultural celebrities, renowned artists, and merchants. For an introduction to these art associations, see Pedith Chan, "The Institutionalization and Legitimatization of *Guohua*: Art Societies in Republican Shanghai," *Modern China*, vol.39, (2013) 5: 541-570.

practical purposes like selling paintings; for gentry-elite-run gatherings, but also for integrating art and society. The Deyue Lou in this sense served multiple artistic and social roles as a public space.

The Deyue Lou building also functioned as a prototypical exhibition space, where the society organized sales and exhibitions of calligraphy and painting for charity fundraising. The multidimensional aspects of the art society resonated with the nature of the Yu Yuan temple-garden complex, where personal aesthetic pursuit, commercial drive, and the sense of social responsibilities all converged and projected upon the spatial and functional changes over time. Without clear physical boundaries, the garden landscape, religious space, and artistic and commercial activities mingled together. Here, visitors could find traditional garden scenery, teahouses, restaurants, open-air performances, the headquarters of Chinese merchant associations, and the *chenghuang* related folk fairs, as well as fan shops and mounting shops frequented by modern painters.

2.3 Public Garden: A Garden from Elsewhere, 1860s

While the city's pleasures were characterized by the commercial prosperity of the temple-garden complex in the mid-nineteenth century, the foreign settlements began their urban construction and gradually diversified Shanghai's urban life. In 1865, the SMC paved a wide shoreline boulevard along the Huangpu River, known as the Bund or later Zhongshan Dong Yi Lu, which was planted with trees and shrubs along the roadside.[38] Aided by funds from the Shanghai Taotai, the SMC also renovated a barren area at the corner of Huangpu River and

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[38] The SMC was an administrative institution founded originally in 1854 by a group of Western businessmen to govern the daily operation and infrastructure of the International Settlement. By the mid-1880s, the Council had become a practical monopoly over the foreign settlements' businesses.

Suzhou Creek, immediately across the British Consulate.[39] They stabilized the land with a solid embankment and further widened the area. It was on this land that the Public Garden, also known as Bund Garden or often called *gongjia huayuan* 公家花园 by Chinese, was constructed between 1866 and 1868.[40]

An early plan of the Public Garden shows that the original layout in the 1870s was unremarkable (Figure 2-5). Covering an area of about two square hectometers (about 30.45 *mu*), the garden was divided into two parts by the Wills' Bridge, a bridge built over the Suzhou River and later renamed as the Garden Bridge in 1873. The triangular stretch of green land on the east was called the Public Garden, and the green space on the northwest between the bridge and the Soochow Road was a small nursery garden named the Reserve Garden. Later in 1890, due to the complaints from the Chinese residents as the Public Garden was exclusive to Chinese residents but not for the general 'public,' the SMC thereafter set up a separate area to the north of the Reserve Garden along the Suzhou Creek, called the Chinese Garden. The Municipal Superintendent of Parks and Gardens, an institution affiliated with the SMC, governed the management and maintenance of the Public Garden, ranging from paving gravel sidewalks and cultivating plants to installing benches and gas lights which had been introduced to Shanghai a few years earlier. Around 1874, a wooden musical pavilion was erected at the heart of the

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[39] Wang Yun, "*Zaoqi Shanghai waitan gongong jingguan xingcheng jizhi ji qi tezheng yanjiu*" (Study on Formation Mechanism and Characteristics of Early Parks and Open Spaces along the Bund), *Journal of Shanghai Jiaotong University* (Agricultural Science), vol.26 (2008) 2: 91-95. Wang points out that shorelands, the Bund, and the corner embankment land, originally were classified as Chinese governmental land. The SMC gradually occupied these lands in the name of "land devoted to public use," and that was the reason the garden was named the "Public Garden."

[40] For the history of the early construction of the Bund and how the land of The Public Garden had been stabilized, see Leng, *Shanghai zhanggu: waitan gongyuan* (Shanghai Anecdotes: Public Garden), *Shanghai shenghuo*, vol.3 (1937) 8: 20; Christian Henriot, "The Shanghai Bund in Myth and History: An Essay through Textual and Visual Sources," *Modern Chinese History*, (26 May 2010): 9; Yingchun Li, Wang Weijen, "Shaping The Bund: Public Spaces and Planning Process in The Shanghai International Settlement, 1843-1943," 14th IPHS Conference paper, 2010.

garden, but soon, later in the 1880s, the original wood of the pavilion was demolished and replaced by iron structures with a Baroque hexagonal roof over seven meters in diameter (Figure 2-6). The roof style recalls the musical gazebo seen in those Victorian-era pleasure gardens in London. As a counterpart to the Mid-Lake Pavilion in the Chinese city, the musical pavilion not only defined the visual center of the garden but also embodied a European-style social life that foreign communities (especially the British) hoped to continue in Shanghai.

Compared with the enthusiasm for patronizing the Yu Garden, the Public Garden initially caught much less attention from nineteenth-century Chinese travelers. The style of the Public Garden, characterized by its symmetrical layout and vast open green lands, contradicted the philosophy of traditional Chinese gardens, which appreciated nature in the form of artificial and miniaturized landscapes. Not every Chinese resident favored the spacious lawns that the Public Garden presented.[41] Yet, the most remarkable feature that impressed both Chinese and foreign travelers was "the evergreens and flowering shrubs," as both gardens were famous for various kinds of seasonal plants and flowers.[42] As an early photo displays (Figure 2-7), the Public Garden was an extension of the British consulate's yard garden, which had served as a public space that early European merchants used for congregation and leisure activities. During the late nineteenth century, several one-story or two-story buildings that were erected and lined along the Bund functioned as warehouses for the European trading companies, residential compounds for their employees, and consulate buildings. The dense but spacious compound buildings formed the remarkable Bund skyline, while each compound was well margined by yard gardens, characterized by the flourished trees and broad lawns.

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[41] For example, the Chinese writer Hu Xianghan (Hu Jifan) considered that "the Public Garden is like a vast square and nothing worth recording." *Shanghai xiao zhi* (Vernacular Records of Shanghai), 47-48.
[42] For example, C.E. Darwent's travel guide, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents*, 5; Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Record of Dram Shadows of Shanghai), 133.

Indeed, the plan and construction of the Public Garden and the compound buildings were not something imported directly from Europe, but more likely adapted from those architectural practices that these Europeans had developed in Guangzhou (and British colonial cities in South Asia at large) slightly earlier in the early nineteenth century. Prior to their arrival in Shanghai, foreign traders had managed to settle themselves in Guangzhou in the mid-eighteenth century and developed a waterfront community along the Pearl River that combined the storehouses and living accommodations. These traders, located in the front square of the British and American Factories in the foreign factories area, constructed two connected gardens in the early nineteenth century, respectively called the American Garden and the English Garden[43] (Figure 2-8; Figure 2-9). M.C. Perry, an American General who visited Guangzhou in 1853, praised the delightful garden space:

> "The whole quarter [foreign factories area] contains but about four acres. The foreign merchants occupy the large buildings in the rear as places of business and abode, while the front, which includes half of the whole area, is beautifully laid out as a garden, with an English church in the center, and the flags of different nations floating from tall poles planted in various spots. The grounds are arranged with walks and ornamented with shrubbery and flowering plants, presenting a delightful resort in the freshness of the morning or the cool evening."[44]

His descriptions reveal that these foreign traders not only constructed public gardens on the waterfront but also developed a series of new public institutions within the garden spaces. The first was an institution named the Canton Garden Fund, which was set up accordingly to manage related affairs and became a prototype of early foreign administrative organizations formed in

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[43] For more on the history of gardens in Canton factories, see Peng Changxin, "The Beginning of Public Park in China--The American and English Gardens of Thirteen Factories of Canton," *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, no.5 (2014): 108-114; Jiang Yinghe, "Western Gardens in the Canton Thirteen Factories after the Opium War," *Maritime History Studies*, no.1 (2013): 111-124.

[44] Matthew Calbraith Perry, *Narrative of The Expedition of An American Squadron to The China Sea and Japan: Performed in The Years 1852, 1853, and 1854, under The Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy, by Order of The Government of The United States*, Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856, 136.

China's trading ports.[45] In addition, a church was constructed at the southeast corner of the English garden by the Freemasons in 1847 (as shown in the far right on Figure 2-9), and the appearance of the church ultimately transformed the waterfront area that originally operated simply as temporary trading factories into an enclave for foreign settlers.[46] With this, a foreign community with a certain autonomy had gradually taken shape in Guangzhou. This is very akin to the construction of the Union Church in Shanghai, which was built between 1864 and 1885.[47] The Union Church located on Suzhou Road behind the compound of the British Consulate was built in an English Gothic style. Although the architecture per se was not quite favored by early Shanghailanders, its pointed Gothic roof once marked it as the tallest building along the southern bank of Suzhou Creek, and the church served as a prime gathering point for the early foreign community.

The foreign gardens in Guangzhou were laid out in a manner typical of botanical gardens in Europe at the time, marked by geometric flower beds of plants and flowers. The various kinds of well-designed plants resulted from the earlier European botanists and their research activities in southern China.[48] In the American Garden, there were eight geometric beds in the center surrounded by plots of lawns, shrubs, walks, and benches. This design was a climate-adapted plan that paralleled the *gardenesque* garden design and theory developed in England by British

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[45] Peng Changxin, 111.
[46] A. F. Johnathan, "Dwelling Factors: Western Merchants in Canton," from Carole Shammas ed., *Investing in the Early Modern Built Environment: Europeans, Asians, Settlers and Indigenous Societies*, Brill Academic Pub., 2012, 163-188.
[47] Designed by William M.M. Dowdall. See Edward Dension, Guang Yu Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*, Wiley Academy, 2006, 51-52.
[48] Peng Changxin, 111-112, Botanist research was part of the Western expedition to China beginning in the eighteenth century. Many European and American botanists tried to research on Chinese botany by ways of traveling to China or entrusting those people worked with the thirteen factories to collect floral specimens. Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), who was the designer of Central Park in New York, was one of such travelers. He was entrusted by his friends from the Natural History Society to collect animal and botanic specimens when he went to Guangzhou with a merchant ship in 1843.

landscape architect John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) in the early nineteenth century. The landscape style differed from the earlier prevailing picturesque view and instead advocated for abundant collections of plants and well-designed flower beds in the garden. Loudon's theory greatly influenced the development of the city park movement in mid nineteenth-century England and America. The concept of city parks and the theory of *gardenesque* certainly fit the expectation of the foreign settlers who were eager to develop a habitable community in the colonial cities during the post-Opium War period after gaining the upper hand in controlling the factory area.[49] To them, "the old-time already passed," along with "the overbearing Chinese *Co-hong* system, restricted life-style, and underground preaching," and these old situations were replaced by "the acknowledge of the Treaty [of Nanjing, 1842], as well as freedom of living, trading, and preaching."[50] In this light, the construction of the public gardens served not only pragmatic purposes for improving the living environment but also functional symbolically to impose new spatial order.

As shown in the paintings (Figure 2-8, Figure 2-9), the Guangzhou gardens, together with the church and administrative office, featured a semi-open square that could be seen afar at sea and were open for public use. The use of such a garden-square in colonial town settlements reflects the influence from London but meanwhile was different from that in London where the squares were usually reserved for private use as promenades and gardens. Whereas in British colonies, the spaces fulfilled a multitude of public purposes.[51] A series of structures including

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[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The History of Early Relations between the United States and China*, 1784-1844, trans. by Chen Yu, zaoqi zhongmei guanxi shi, Commercial Press, 1963, 138, cited from Jiang Yinghe, "Western Gardens in the Canton Thirteen Factories after the Opium War," 118. "旧的生活已经过去了，气势凌人的公行，具有特殊生活管理规则…中国人对于外国人的司法权，和受到限制几乎偷偷摸摸进行的教会工作都不再见到了，而代替这些的是对于条约的承认，居住，通商和教会工作的自由。"
[51] Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning the Making of British Colonial Cities*, Routledge, 1997, 14-15.

flourishing trees, assorted plants, memorial statues, and tablets were often seen in these garden-squares, which were also observable in the Public Garden and public parks subsequently built by the foreign settlements' municipals in Shanghai.

The Public Garden in Shanghai shared many similarities with the two gardens in Guangzhou in terms of the site choice and landscape layout, as they were all located along the waterfront and laid out in symmetrical terraces of lawn. Following the year when Shanghai was opened to foreign trade in 1842, British and American companies' so-called *hongs* in Guangzhou (such as Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., etc.) immediately dispatched *daban* (agents) to follow the first British Consulate George Balfour to establish branches on the northeast coast of Shanghai, which was later developed into the British settlement.[52] The British merchants' previous living experiences in the foreign factories of Guangzhou drove them to build up a similar community and attendant buildings such as a consulate, churches, and public gardens in the newly opened treaty port of Shanghai.

Akin to the gardens in Guangzhou, the Public Garden in Shanghai was caught in the rising global craze of collecting and categorizing foreign scientific knowledge and floral specimens. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Public Garden underwent an expansion devoted to improving its botanic landscape (Figure 2-10). Opulent indigenous plants from across China were transplanted into the Public Garden along with exotic flowers from other countries. The parterres inside were divided into smaller beds with more paths paved in between the lawns and flower beds to increase the spatial diversity.

Instead of a model imported from the 'West,' the gardens in port cities like Guangzhou and Shanghai were cross-cultural results that intersected through various social groups and

[52] Montalto de Carlos Augusto Jesus, *Historic Shanghai*, Shanghai Mercury Ltd, 1909, 47-49.

incorporated different garden elements and local practices. The Public Garden in Shanghai served as the social and leisure hub for those Shanghailanders in the early treaty-port era but also embodied their ambition to build "the model settlement" in China.[53] The hybrid-style architecture and landscape marked the garden as 'foreign' to both Chinese and Europeans, while stimulating distinct imaginations for people in China and beyond.[54] An 1887 illustration from a magazine published in London represents such a Western imagination. It depicts a rowing race took place on the Huangpu River (Figure 2-11), a common recreational activity in Europe and brought to Shanghai in the mid-nineteenth century. As shown in the illustration, the event drew crowds of beholders gathered along the foreshore ahead of the British Consulate where such events were usually held. However, perhaps the British illustrator lacked photographic references or they purposefully added artistic touch. As a result, the illustration portrayed such an imaginary pastorale shoreside scene that could be seen in England but not in Shanghai.

2.4 Zhang Garden: Pleasure Gardens Now Becoming Enterprises, 1880s

An illustrated tourist map produced in 1908 entitled "The New Map of Shanghai" displays a series of scenic photos circled the central area of Shanghai (see Figure 1-2), among which "the Teahouse in Native City" (Mid-Lake Pavilion), the riverscapes and buildings along the Bund, the Public Garden, and the Zhang Garden are the major images. In travel notes by Chinese sojourners to Shanghai during the 1870s and 1880s, the Public Garden was described as

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[53] For example, C. M. Dyce, a British fortune seeker who left London for Shanghai in 1870, wrote a book entitled *The Model Settlement: Personal Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in the Model Settlement Shanghai, 1870-1900*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1906.

[54] The Public Garden along with other public parks were not opened to Chinese until 1928. In the early twentieth century, along with the growing population and nationalist sentiment, city parks exclusive to the small portion of foreign community became an urgent social issue as well as a racist symbol in both popular discourse and official propaganda in China from the 1910s onwards.

a place that "common Chinese often passed by but seldom visited inside."[55] Their favorite destinations for entertainment, however, were several commercial pleasure gardens constructed in the suburbs of Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century.[56]

The earliest pleasure gardens were centered around the area of the Jing'an Temple, including the first of such gardens, the Shen Garden (申园), constructed in 1882 on the Bubbling Well Road (later Jing'an Si Road), and the Xi Garden (西园) or West Garden to its west side that opened in 1887. These two gardens later were demolished and reconstructed as the Yú Garden (愚园) in 1890. The Zhang Garden (张园), also known as Chang Su-ho Garden, opened in 1885 on the same street to the east of the Temple. The craze of constructing pleasure gardens continued until the 1910s when the amusement parks and department stores were erected on the Nanjing Road, including the Xu Garden (徐园 1883), where the first film screening in China allegedly took place; the Dahua Garden (大花园 1888) in the northern suburb, famous for exotic animal shows; and the Bansong Garden (半淞园 1917), located at the southern end of the Huangpu River.[57]

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[55] Chi Zhicheng, *Hu you meng ying* (Dream Images of Touring Shanghai), Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989, 163.

[56] Many scholars interpret the rise of commercial pleasure gardens in the 1880s with a nationalist narrative. They argue that the SMC's regulation excluding Chinese access to the Public Garden inspired the rise of Chinese nationalism and a group of Chinese official-merchants to build public gardens for the Chinese populace. See Xiong Yuezhi's papers, "A Study of Zhang Yuan: a Public Sphere in Late Imperial Shanghai," *Dangan yu shixue*, no.6 (1996): 31-42; Some scholarship also provides alternative explanations. See Shih-ying Chang "The People's Reactions to the Western Parks that Appeared in Shanghai during the Late Ching Period," *Guoshiguan xueshu jikan*, vol.14 (2007): 39-96. He analyzes all Chinese accounts against the SMC's regulations on newspapers and writings, ranging from the earliest one that appeared on *Shenbao* in 1878 to the sign "Dogs and Chinese are not admitted" appeared in the early twentieth century. Chang argues that building new-style gardens was based on consideration of profitable investment for Chinese merchants in the late nineteenth century, rather than political drive. It was out of "practical consideration," as Chang concludes.

[57] For more on the history and introduction of these gardens, see Chi Zhicheng, *Hu you meng ying,* 161-163; Xiong Yuezhi, "Opening of Shanghai's Private Gardens for Public and Expansion of Public Sphere," *Xueshu yuekan*, no.8 (1998): 73-81.

Akin to Yu Garden, these gardens were owned by wealthy Chinese merchants and operated for commercial and entertainment purposes. However, contrary to traditional Chinese gardens, these garden constructions and their lands were often purchased and managed by collective funds.[58] That is to say, the Chinese gardens were not simply a space that provided entertainment, but became the entity and an enterprise of entertainment. Visitors who went to pleasure gardens were no longer "seeking seclusion and serenity," but for "enjoying bustling activities together."[59] Shen Garden's layout clearly exemplified this idea. As shown in the illustration (Figure 2-12), the garden space was rather compact. Lined up with the gated entrance, there was a fenced bed for trees situated in the center, with the main architecture stood in the back and a three-story typical verandah building with several Chinese-style halls attached to the left. The architectural complex occupied most of the garden area, serving as teahouses and for many other performances. The traditional landscape elements like rockeries and pavilions were absent in this garden, whereas the architecture catering to entertainment became the most important component in the commercial pleasure gardens.[60] Yet opening a commercial pleasure garden became an enterprise that needed balance in the garden design between landscaping and architecture, and possibly due to this reason, small-scale gardens that focused solely on entertainment structures like the Shen Garden did not last long.

Among these pleasure gardens, the Zhang Garden was the oft-mentioned one recounted in assorted writings and illustrations because of its well-balanced garden landscape that combined architectural structures, scenic views, and entertainment activities. The land was

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[58] Xuke Cheng, Shanghai yuanlin zhi, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2000.
[59] Haishang shushi sheng (Sun Jiazhen), "*Nanbei yuyuan zhi bianqian*" (Transformation of gardens in the north and south), *Jingangzuan* (The Diamond), 1932.10.30.
[60] Chen Zhehua, *Haipai yuanlin yiyun: mingguo shanghai sijia yuanlin yanjiu* (The Meaning of Shanghai-Style Gardens: Study of Private Gardens in Shanghai during the Republic of China), China Architecture Publishing, 2018, 42.

originally owned by a British merchant, where he built a private botanic garden in 1872, and it was later purchased by a Chinese official-merchant named Zhang Shuhe (1850-1919) in 1882. Coming from Wuxi, Zhang was devoted to the late Imperial reforms led by the *yangwu* sector (Western affairs) in the 1880s and developed close relationships with well-known politicians, Chinese entrepreneurs, and compradors, who later became frequent guests to his garden. Zhang was one of the core comprador merchants in charge of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, responsible for river transportation, and after he resigned, he was still active in modern enterprises in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These experiences enabled Zhang to mobilize capital and sources to build a large-scale hybrid garden.[61] Zhang purchased the garden and opened it for commercial use after renovation in 1885. In subsequent years, the garden was expanded several times. As displayed in the layout (Figure 2-13; Figure 2-14), by 1907 the garden tripled in scale, making it the largest garden of its time in late nineteenth-century Shanghai.[62]

Like many other pleasure gardens of the time, the Zhang Garden was not exclusive to the Chinese populace but open for commercial profitability from both Chinese and foreigners. As the opening advertisement published on *Shenbao* wrote, the owner tried to target at a wide range of

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[61] Zhang Wei, *Zhangyuan: qingmo minchu shanghai de shehui shalong*, Tongji University Press, 2013, 12-13. For the biography of Zhang Shuhe and the relationship between the newly revived official merchants and the construction of Zhang Yuan, see Meng Yue, *Shanghai and the Edges of Empires*, University of Minnesota Press, 2006, Chapter 5 “Reenvisioning the Urban Interior: Gardens and the Paradox of the Public Sphere,” 139-170. Meng argues Zhang Yuan was an occidentalist vision of a Yangwu official merchant that was in contrast with the Hardoon Garden as a sinicization of a British comprador who gained fortune and status in the newly founded colonial settlements in Shanghai (155). Her arguments and analysis are quite intriguing, but at the same time problematic. The Hardoon Garden was a private residential garden and was not open for public use, while Zhang Yuan ran as a commercial garden frequented by both Chinese and foreigners. Tying both gardens directly to their owners’ political visions and cultural identities is questionable and needs further interpretations. Without detailing the architectural features and context, we cannot simplify Zhang Yuan as a Westernized embodiment.

[62] The garden once expanded to over 4.10 hm^2 at its zenith. Zhou Xiangpin, Mai Luyin, “Study on Space Restoration of Chang Garden in Modern Shanghai,” *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, 2018.7, 129-133.

audience, "Heading westward from the Racecourse is Zhang So-ho Garden, which is open to all people in Shanghai; the admission fee is one cent, for either men or women, and is free for children."[63] Soon after, the garden had free admission, but visitors were charged for individual entertainments and venues inside. In a letter published in the newspaper *The North, China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* in 1892, Zhang wrote to the SMC with the hope that the garden could improve its appeal to foreigners by "offering his garden and grounds, and greenhouses situated on the Bubbling Well Road for the use of foreigners at all times, for the purposes of recreation and resort, free of charge, throughout the whole year."[64]

The Zhang Garden was famous for its open space, vast lawns, new mechanical amusements, and a set of building structures (Figure 2-15). The garden adapted the open plan from the Public Garden and also incorporated features from traditional Chinese gardens and the temple-gardens like the Yu Garden that featured various kinds of commercial and leisure activities. The garden space was planned into two parts, with the wider northern part characterized by the vast lawns and the more meandering southern part characterized by traditional Chinese landscaping such as ponds, paths, and rocks. Tracing the garden map in Figure 2-14, the entrance of the Zhang Garden was located in the north. Upon entering the gate, the first thing one would observe was the broad lawn, where multifarious activities and performances took place ranging from hot-air balloons and fireworks to photo booths and expositions. Alongside the lawn was a wide paved road that allowed the horse-led carriages to

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[63] *Shenbao*, "*Kaiyuan gaobai*" 开园告白 (Opening Notification), April 13, 1885. The text reads: "Heading westward from the Racecourse is Zhang So-ho Garden, which is open to all people in Shanghai; the admission fee is one cent, for either men or women, and is free for children." "本埠跑马场西首过斜路桥路南张氏味莼园…任人游玩，每人先输洋银一角…男女从同，童稚不计。"

[64] W.V. Drummond, "Correspondence: Chang Su-ho's offer, and the Council's Reply," *The North, China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette (1870-1941)*, Feb 19, 1892, 205.

drive by, leading the visitor to the two ponds further south, where the blossoming lotus was the most popular attraction in the summer.

Visitors on the one hand were keen on comparing the garden sceneries to historical scenic spots. As a late Qing writer commented, "There is a large lotus pond, on the bank are red plum trees in blossoming; visitors feel like viewing the unforgettable sceneries in West Lake such as the Solitary Hill and Three Pools Mirroring the Moon."[65] On the other hand, the media of the time was rather enthusiastic about the new hybrid-style buildings and exotic florals and plants in the Zhang Garden, as seen in the numerous advertisings in *Shenbao*. To the east of the lawn, there were several greenhouses made of "*liuli* [glass]," which "maintained stainless [and constant temperature] like spring all year round," and inside there were large amounts of floral specifies with all kinds of colors and shapes imported from abroad.[66]

An illustration from the *Pictorial Daily* probably depicts such glass-greenhouses inside the Zhang Garden, greenhouses portrayed as crystal palaces consisting of rockeries, floral landscaping, translucent glass, and extravagant arched ceilings (Figure 2-16). The garden is portrayed almost like a 'fantasyland,' with the transparent glass material overtly attributed to evoking this imagination of 'fantasy'. With its introduction to China in the eighteenth century, glass had been widely used in Chinese garden landscaping. The writer Huang Shiquan once recorded that the Sui Yuan, a celebrated literati garden constructed in the early eighteenth

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[65] Chi Zhicheng, *huyou mengying*, 162. Original texts: "有荷池广数亩，隔池有红梅数百本，两花盛开，游人到此，仿佛置身于西湖孤山，三潭印月之间。"

[66] Yuan Zuzhi, *Weichunyuan ji* (Note on Weichun Yuan), *Shenbao*, August 5, 1885. The text reads: "The garden has many rare species of plants and florals, all imported from the West; Their gorgeous colors dazzle the audience. When the winter comes, these plants will be moved to the *liuli* [glass] greenhouses, which maintained stainless [and constant temperature] like spring all year round." "园多奇葩，悉属西产，五色斑斓，目为之眩，入冬乃闭置琉璃室中，一尘不染，四壁皆春，洵称妙制;" The greenhouses possibly were built earlier by the previous owner, a foreign gardener named Groome who designed many of the foreign merchants' residential-gardens in Shanghai in the western suburb. *Ibid.*

century in Nanjing, was remarkable for one of its views called "Azure Sky" (*wei lantian* 蔚蓝天), referring to the windows that were inlaid with clear blue glass panels.[67] With the first glass factory opened in Shanghai in 1882, more affordable glass and stained panels soon prevailed in these pleasure gardens. As displayed in Figure 2-16, the exaggerated crystal façade subtly linked all the garden elements into this image of fantasy and mirrored the imagination of the outside reader.

When touring back from the ponds northward to the entrance, the visitor would first encounter a two-story building called Deep in the Cloud (*Biyun shenchu*), possibly for lodging. Beside it was a theater named Stunning View over the Skyline (*Haitian shengchu*) for Chinese theatrical performances like the vernacular opera kind called *mao'er xi*. Both buildings were typical verandah eclectically combined with Chinese-style roofs. To the west of the entrance was the landmark of the Zhang Garden, a building called Arcadia Hall. 'Arcadia,' it has a phonetic translation *ankaidi* (安垲第) in Chinese, which was constructed in 1893 and was the most photographed view of the garden (see Figure 2-15). The name originated from a Greek landscape with a mild climate that provided the setting for idyllic romances and had been endowed with new meanings in the Paris shopping arcades described by Walter Benjamin.[68] In an echo of the idyllic reference, the garden's name, *Weichun yuan* (fragrant garden) implied a peaceful retreat for the owner himself. A visitor to Arcadia Hall recounted his experience in touring this stunning building:

> "Arcadia Hall is a grandeur western-style building built with plain red brick walls, located in the west of Zhang Yuan, towering to the sky. The marble steps in front were

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[67] Huang Shiquan, *Songnan mengying lu* (Record of Dram Images of Shanghai), 132.

[68] Catherine Yeh, "Guides to a Global Paradise: Shanghai Entertainment Park Newspapers and the Invention of Chinese Urban Leisure," 97-132, from Christiane Brosius, Roland Wenzlhuemer eds., *Transcultural Turbulences: Towards a Multi-Sited Reading of Images Flows*, Springer Heidelberg Dordrecht, 2011, 102.

over meters in width; stepping upward there will be heavy doors, through which one finds all different kinds of spaces inside. The atrium could accommodate over fifty tables, surrounded by level-up balconies as if in a theater house. The airy and pleasant atmosphere is even better than that in theaters. A half-moon shaped entrance on the corner will lead visitors to ascend to the top of the tower, where one can take all sceneries into glance…"[69]

安垲第者，锦砖砌成之大洋房也．居园之西偏，高耸层宵，下临无地，周围文石阶台，宽阔盈丈，拾级而升，则重门洞开，四通八达，其中庭排宴克至五十桌，四面走马高楼，如戏园看楼之式，而旷爽明洁，莫之与京．正面楼台，则作新月之形，云梯直上…登其巅则园中胜景一览无余，且东西马路，棋局纵横，裙屐皆临，冠裳毕聚，车如流水马如龙，正和斯时情景。

The Arcadia building was in a rectangular plan, and its unprecedented height undoubtedly struck the visitor's eyes at this time. The tower on the corner was called Wanglou (lookout tower 望楼), which gave the building a distinctive profile. The experience of height was usually associated with religious structures, such as Chinese pagodas and bell towers of Western churches.[70] But the Zhang Garden was the first commercial place of entertainment to incorporate a tower structure in the late nineteenth century, which greatly influenced later commercial and entertainment architecture such as hotels, department stores, and amusement parks constructed in the early twentieth century. The addition of the corner tower assuredly increased the effect of verticality on the elevation of the building, while at the same time evoked a sense of physical and visual pleasures, from where one could overlook the entire city.

The Arcadia Hall was constructed by a local builder but designed by two British architects T.W. Kingsmill and B. Atkinson.[71] Like many early European architects who practiced

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[69] *Ankaidi jiyou* (Notes of Visiting Arcadia Hall), *Sin Wan Pao*, October 15, 1893.

[70] The earliest constructed up in Shanghai include the Francisco Xavier Church (1853), the St. Josephis Church (1861), the Holy Trinity Church (1869; bell tower 1893), the abovementioned Union Church (1885), and the St. Ignatius Cathedral (1910). Wu Jiang, *A History of Shanghai Architecture 1840-1949*, Tongji University Press, 1997, 41-46. Except for the Francisco Xavier Church, bell towers in Shanghai usually applied the Gothic revival style that prevailed in Europe at the time, often combined with Romanesque characteristics marked by the succession of round arches. The Acadia Hall tower, which showed similar features, stood out by the round arches on the upper part.

[71] Both Kingsmill and Atkinson were members of the Shanghai Society of Engineers and Architects established in 1901. Their practices in Shanghai included several buildings at the turn of century. Kingsmill had worked in Shanghai as early as the 1860s. Like most British engineers and architects of his

across colonial settlements in Asia, they practiced in an eclectic manner that usually combined verandah structure and Chinese decorations with local materials. As a result, the building appearance to Europeans was something full of orientalist taste, while to Chinese audiences, it was considered typical 'Western-style architecture.' Featured with an overall Romanesque Revival style that prevailed in contemporary England, the round-arched windows were commonly seen in Kingsmill's other works in Shanghai (Figure 2-17). The building also attempted to appropriate stylistic components from Chinese architecture, such as the pseudo Chinese-style roof characterized by the shallow eave and flying rooflines (Figure 2-18), which suggested the architect's preliminary understanding of Chinese architecture.[72] The design of the Wanglou was very similar to the bell tower of Dormition Cathedral (1860) in London, which both Kingsmill and Atkinson had access to, and meanwhile, it also echoed the towering club building of the Shanghai race course that was then marked one of the tallest structures in the International Settlement.

Without sufficient information about the interior layout, we can only conjecture what the inside of Arcadia looked like based on images and literary descriptions. Allegedly, the interior atrium functioned as a large congregational space with a capacity to "accommodate over fifty tables," with shifting usages from teahouses for theatrical performances, theaters for motion picture display, meeting rooms for social gatherings, to balconies overlooking the city. The illustrated images portrayed two distinct interior settings of the Arcadia (Figure 2-19; Figure

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time, he did not settle in Shanghai initially but had traveled among various colonial settlements in Asia such as Hong Kong and Japan, and he contributed to and participated in many early topographical surveys and drawings for the foreign settlements in Shanghai. Atkinson was active in Shanghai slightly later than Kingsmill. He originally apprenticed at Kingsmill's firm, and then co-founded his own firm. For further introduction to these two architects, see Wu Jiang, *A History of Shanghai Architecture 1840-1949*, 83; Zheng Shiling, *Shanghai Modern Architecture*, Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995, 110.

[72] Wu Jiang, 85.

2-20), with one appearing more “Western” characterized by the round arches and columns, and the other one presenting settings in teahouses or courtesan houses common seen in Shanghai at the time; modern props such as the excessive electric lighting and Western-style table were balanced by “Chinese” touches like potted plants and teacups. Do these two images represent different sections of the building? Perhaps the settings respectively refer to the “atrium” and “level-up balconies” that the above-mentioned travel notes talked about. Or perhaps the painter ably depicted varied interiors so as to match the different kinds of events held inside: one for Chinese patrons and courtesans drinking tea and listening to opera, and the other for ‘new women’ holding meetings about women’s education. With that being said, the images attested to how this hybrid-style building functioned for variable purposes at the time. Its interior settings were probably compartmented into different sections, and each section was applied in different styles, decorations, and materials. The open space, hybrid sets of garden landscaping, and multi-story buildings enabled the Zhang Garden to become one of the most popular leisure destinations of Shanghai, where all kinds of theatrical performances and new visual forms of entertainment were featured. These assorted activities shifted the entertainment’s focus from visual to more multiple-sense oriented, a topic I will explore further in the next chapter.

2.5 Gardens and Itineraries: Marching A Changing City in The Nineteenth Century

While I have discussed the Yu Garden, the Public Garden, and the Zhang Garden and mentioned the influx of confluent forces in their respective spatiotemporal contexts, the three gardens were not isolated from each other. In what follows, I draw attention to how the itineraries centered on these gardens in fact configured the ever-changing geography of Shanghai

during the nineteenth century and how these fragmented urban experiences reoriented the residents in relation to the city.

To foreign travelers, the Yu Garden was considered as a departure point to explore and imagine the walled city. The English travel guide written by Darwent in 1903 articulated an elaborated touring route of the Shanghai native city. Darwent introduced an optimal way to see the city by entering by the street and gate at the south end of the Rue Montauban (later *Sichuan nan lu*) at the southern boundary of the French Settlement. He portrayed the native city as a maze, where "its tortuous alleys and narrow streets" easily disoriented visitors. He then guided visitors to stroll through "the best street in the city" from the east gate to the center of the city, the Yu Garden-City God Temple complex, where "all kinds of crafts shops and tea houses crowded as a bazaar."[73] He then presented touring sites radiated from the central area and concluded that "the rumor about a dreadful smell" ought not to "daunt travelers of the walled city".[74] The set of imageries, including the geographical boundary between the foreign settlements and the native city, the city walls and gates, narrow streets, and the bustling bazaar in the temple-gardens area, helped complete a concrete impression of the native Shanghai city.

On the contrary, to the Chinese residents, the temple-gardens area was not just a commercial center for wandering, shopping, and dining. Rather, it was also a traditional spiritual and ritual center of Shanghai, where folk and commercial fairs were regularly held. A wide range of religious and secular events originated from the City God Temple, holding processions to march the entire walled city and surroundings. Among the events the most important procession was called *sansunhui* or Ghost Festival, a ritual symbolizing the City God inspecting and protecting the city sphere from homeless ghosts on its path. The local authorities and the temple

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[73] Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents*, 86-90.
[74] *Ibid.*

board in charge of the processions would post the procession itinerary to the public ahead of time in order to attract more participants.[75] As shown in the illustrated images, the events always drew a large crowd. Usually, a parade carrying all kinds of statues and tributes departed from the temple, headed to the east gate, and marched southward along the shore. After touring the southern environs outside the walls, the procession returned to the Temple via the south-gate (Figure 2-21). Over the course of the procession, the statue of the City God symbolized the master of the nether realm (*yin*), and the County's magistrate represented the authority of the living world (*yang*) (Figure 2-22). The procession thereby blurred the boundary between the worlds, through which both the sacred and mundane governors asserted their control over the streets, the city sphere, and the populace.

Ceremonial processions were not limited to the walled city in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. For instance, the British community held anniversary ceremonies to honor the British Queen and to celebrate the establishment of settlements in Shanghai. They organized a series of performances and processions in which the Chinese residents and merchant associations were also enthusiastic participants. The Public Garden was always a pivotal stop of such processions, which were usually announced to begin at the fountain in Public Garden, followed by the parade marching through the International Settlement, and finally circling back to Public Garden.[76] *Dianshizhai Pictorials* included eight serial illustrations to represent the parades for the

[75] For the constitution of the board of the trustees in charge and itineraries, please see Yu Zhejun, *Shenming yu Shimin*, Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2014, Chapter Nine, *shanghai chenghuang sanxunhui*, 143-198. In the late imperial and early republican years, several prohibitions were issued by local authorities to ban the ghost festival processions; however, the processions remained under official protection until 1937 when the Sino-Japanese war exploded. Regarding the processions, also see Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners' City, 1853-98*, Routledge, 2010, 165; and *The City God Temple of Shanghai*, Shanghai: publisher unknown, 2nd edition, 1928, 30.

[76] "Shanghai Jubilee," *The North-China Herald*, Oct. 20, 1893, 628; "The Shanghai Jubilee: A Magnificent Celebration," *The North-China Herald*, Nov. 24, 1893, 827.

ceremonies in 1893 (Figure 2-23), that vividly depict the parades consisting of both foreigners and Chinese organizations, pedestrian spectators dotting the sidewalk, and festooned masts and ornaments everywhere.[77] In the process, as exemplified by the illustrations, both Chinese and Western residents played a dual role as beholders as well as participants.

Beyond these periodical ceremonial processions, urban tourist processions became prevalent in the late nineteenth century when the foreign settlements expanded westward and new means of transportation of horse-drawn carriage was introduced to China. By the 1890s, the western extensions had been transformed into a desirable residential quarter. Riding horse-drawn carriages to tour the city became a trendy pastime for both Chinese and foreign visitors at the time.[78] One of such rides, known as the courtesan's sightseeing route (Figure 2-24), started from the place between the west end of the Nanjing Road and the east side of Defence Creek (later Xizang East Road) and rode westward all the way to the Jing'an Temple on the well-known Bubbling Well Road, the *de facto* western boundary of foreign settlements.[79] The ride traversed the central area of the International Settlement and included multiple stops along the way not only for sightseeing and taking photographs but also for entertainment venues like those pleasure

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[77] Both Bryna Goodman and Xiong Yuezhi provide in-depth studies of this event, by which they consider it as a way to study the dynamics of power plays and interactions between the native guilds and the colonial administrations. Bryna Goodman, "Native-Place Associations, Foreign Authority and Early Popular Nationalism," in *Native Place, City, and Nation: Reginal Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937*, University of California Press, 1995, 147-175; Xiong Yuezhi, *Yizhi wenhua jiaozhi xia de shanghai dushi shenghu* (Jubilee Ceremonies: Early Relationship between Chinese and Europeans), Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2008, 272-306. Samuel Liang provides interesting observations on several *Dianshizhai* illustrations that depicted the Jubilee parades and processions of Chinese temple fairs respectively. He argues that in representations of Chinese processions, the artist distorted the straight street into a zigzagging path to imply that the boisterous parade had subverted the street's monotonous order; while as to those of Jubilee parades, the artist ideally presented the parades in straight movement from left to right, that manifested the idea of the "model settlement." Samuel Liang, *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai,* 167-169.

[78] Ge Yuanxu, *Chong xiu hu you zaji* (Miscellanies of Visit to Shanghai), 7.

[79] Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 70-74. Yeh reconstructs the courtesan's carriage routes.

gardens near the Jing'an Temple. In other words, even though the route was fixed, the itinerary varied depending on where and how long the courtesans and their patrons decided to stop.

2.6 Epilogue: Rooftop Garden, A Modern Expression of Chinese Landscape, 1920s

By the end of the 1910s, the formerly trendy commercial pleasure gardens like the Yú Garden (cl.1916) and Zhang Garden (cl. 1918) had largely faded out from the spectrum of Shanghai residents' pleasure grounds. The city kept expanding westward and northward, which continued to boost the development of the real estate market. Shanghai had whirled into the boom of new constructions, and the price of land increased exponentially during the 1920s and 30s.[80] The land near the Jing'an Temple that used to be the western suburbs became a new urban center. Many of these privately-owned commercial gardens that occupied large tracts of land were one by one sold for construction projects.[81] In addition, along with the abolition of the Confucian examination system in 1905 and the imperial rule in 1911, those cultural forms and lifestyles, such as constructing a garden and strolling through garden spaces as defining attributes of the political and social elite came to an end. Commercial pleasure gardens that straddled in between elitist cultural embodiment and urban interiors featuring entertainment to the public lost their attraction. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the public had city parks with natural landscape features like vast lawns, promenades shaded by tall trees, and modern sports facilities.[82] Against such a social and cultural background, the trendy pastime of riding a carriage

[80] Delin Lai, "Institutionalizing Architecture in Modern Shanghai," in *Studies in Modern Chinese Architectural History*, Tsinghua University Press, 2007, 25-84.
[81] One such case is the Zhang Garden. The garden's owner, Zhang Shuhe died in 1918, but right before that, the land of his garden was sold to develop *linong* housing project.
[82] There were about twenty public parks built in succession in Shanghai in the early twentieth century. Among these parks are oft-mentioned names in those 1930s' urban essayists' writings such as the Hongkew Park (*Hongkou gongyuan*, 1909), Jessfield Park (*Zhaofeng park* 1914), and Koukaza Park

to the pleasure gardens had declined and was outshone by the latest leisure trend of ascending to rooftop gardens in those newly constructed multi-story exertainment complexes. Following the construction of these high-rise building complexes, the new age of entertainment and consumerist culture for the general masses had recentered to the downtown area near the Bund.

The first rooftop garden, called Lou Wai Lou, as many scholars point out, was built on the top of a modern Western-style Chinese theater in 1912.[83] It provided an open-air environment featuring entertainment similar to that found in pleasure gardens like teahouses and theatrical performances, whereas the concept that brought the former pleasure gardens atop the multistory building was new. The rooftop garden became a prototype of this new entertainment complex, *youxichang* (amusement park), and its name *louwailou*, literally building beyond buildings, revealed how closely its appearance was associated with the construction boom of new types of building in the late 1910s and 20s Shanghai, ranging from modern Chinese theaters and hotels to amusement parks and department stores. These multistory buildings resulted from the motivation of making use of vertical space because of the soaring land prices as well as the technological innovation advanced by architects and engineers in Shanghai at the beginning of the twentieth century.[84] And the rooftop was widely used for catering purposes as early as 1906 in the newly constructed Palace Hotel. The rooftop garden of hotels, however, were usually simple in form and exclusively reserved for their guests. Taking the roof plan of the New Asia Hotel as an example (Figure 2-25), most of the central area was devoted to a Winter Garden,

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(*Gujiazhai gongyuan* or *Faguo gongyuan* 1917). *Ibid.* However, these public parks were not entirely open to Chinese populace until 1928.

[83] Edward Denison, *Guang Yu Ren, Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*, Wiley, 2006, 92-95.

[84] Delin Lai, “Institutionalizing Architecture in Modern Shanghai,” in *Studies in Modern Chinese Architectural History*, Tsinghua University Press, 2007, 52.

with a crescent-shape orchestra stage to the west, and on its left, a spacious kitchen and two tea rooms.

The more oft-mentioned rooftop gardens were associated with the names of popular amusement parks such as Da Shijie (Great World) and Xianshi Leyuan (Sincere Paradise). The former was a building complex, and the latter was a building structure atop one of Shanghai's earliest department stores. This entirely new building type and lifestyle concept, the department stores, was introduced to Asia in the early twentieth century.[85] These commercial complexes created multi-story and varied-size spaces to house different forms of entertainment and consumption, with such high-rise entertainment complexes seen in cosmopolitans of the world like Tokyo, Paris, and New York as models.[86] From the 1910s onwards, there was a series of such amusement parks constructed in downtown Shanghai (map Figure 2-26),[87] including New World (1915), Great World (1917), Sincere's Paradise (1917), Wing On's Tianyun Lou (Heavenly Tower) (1918), and Sun Sun Garden (1926), largely clustered along the Nanjing Road, and Small World (also known as *quanyechang*, Bazaar, 1917) in the temple-garden areas, next to the Yu Garden in the southern Chinese city.

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[85] For the history of the development of department stores in China, see Ling-ling Lien, *Creating A Paradise for Consumption: Department Stores and Modern Urban Culture in Shanghai*, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2017.

[86] According to many scholars, the form of rooftop garden was adapted from the similar structure on high-rise buildings in Tokyo, where people there enjoyed a panoramic view of the city and a sense of nature, with assorted forms of entertainment. See Meng Yue's "The Rise of an Entertainment Cosmopolitanism," 171-209. Meng compared the Great World design with the Shin Sekai playground in Osaka built in 1911. Also see Catherine Yeh, "Shanghai Entertainment Park Newspaper" in *Transcultural Research: Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context,* Springer, 2011, 97-132; Ling-ling Lien, *Creating A Paradise for Consumption*; and Lu Yongyi, Zhou Huilin, "The Four Department Stores of Shanghai in the Early Twentieth Century: A New Building Type and Urban Modernity," *New Architecture*, vol.6 (2017): 4-10. Lien and Lu compared how Shanghai department stores were inspired by those commercial complexes in Europe and the US., from London, Paris, to Chicago.

[87] "Shanghai Amusement Parks," *Xianshibao* (Modern Time), vol.46, 1939.

By transforming a former pleasure garden vertically into the indoor space, these entertainment complexes shared a similar spatial concept that simultaneously featured assorted performances and activities on different sites, as such visitors toured inside as if strolling a pleasure garden and shopping site by site for one show after another. While different from previous pleasure gardens, as the newspaper of the time advertised, amusement parks were "plebeian recreation" that attracted the growing number of Chinese "petty urbanites" in Shanghai, including factory workers, clerks, policemen, and teachers.[88] Visitors who purchased a single gate ticket could be lingering inside the playground the whole day.

In this sense, the amusement park was akin to the construction of the temple-garden complex in a vertical sense, where one also found fortune-telling and peddler stalls. This was embodied in the design of the department stores and their amusement parks atop. As a new type of commercial complex, though hardly a skyscraper yet, the multi-story buildings were designed for experiencing modern life and promoting consumption among the new urban middle class.[89] In the photo-page showing the building details of the Daxin (Sun) department store (Figure 2-27), the well-exhibited commodities inside over different floors, the Art-deco façade, and the exterior glass display windows created commercial fantasies to attract potential middle-class consumers. In the contrary, the rooftop garden as a playground was a business strategy to engage

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[88] "*Huangliang luobai de yongan tianyun lou: cong youxichang de xingshuai kan shimin shenghuo*" (Derelict Wing on's Heaven: Review of Civic Life from Entertainment Parks), *Pinglunbao* (Review), vol.15, 1947, 12-13.

[89] Ling-ling Lien, Chapter 2 "Constructing Spaces for Consumption" in *Creating a Paradise for Consumption*, 96-165; 178-189.

a more general populace.[90] In order to differentiate the customer flow, department stores like Sincere and Wing On featured a separate entrance with an elevator direct to the rooftop garden.[91]

The elevator as a modern technology per se was an attraction for visual excitement and experiential pleasure of the high-rise buildings. As the elevator was introduced and applied to Shanghai in the 1900s, it was soon used for rooftop gardens in the entertainment complexes. A 1930s' newspaper article told those "tourists coming from the countryside" who came to sightsee that "besides strolling around the temple-garden area and the New World," the must-see scenery in Shanghai was "to experience the elevator in Wing On and Sincere."[92] The elevator was also associated with the key architectural element to the rooftop gardens, height, as the leitmotif driving this entertainment complex culture.

Soaring spires, one of the most important structures built on the roof, not only highlighted the sense of verticality to the façade, but also created dramatic visual contrast with the nearby architecture which was largely Chinese, characterized by the rows of open shop fronts, hybrid-style gable wall with dark rooftiles and the plastered wall surface (Figure 2-28). As seen in the photo of the Sincere's rooftop garden (Figure 2-29; Figure 2-30), it featured a structural collage mixed with 'Western-style' towers and a triple-eave round roof pavilion with landscaping that vividly struck a contrast with the style of the entire Sincere building, while endowing a sense of balance with the built environment nearby. The four-story Sincere itself, built in 1917, was a commercial complex comprising department store, space, stores, theaters, and hotels. Constructed on the reinforced concrete raft with brick walls which had just begun its application

[90] *Ibid.*
[91] Wing On set the entrance to its Tianyun Lou on Yinghua Road, and the Xianshi Leyuan's entrance was on Zhangjiang Road where the elevator charged for 2 *jiao*. "Derelict Wing on's Heaven," 1947; "Detail of the Rooftop Playground Program," *Shenabo*, 1918.8.19.
[92] "Elevator in Shanghai," *Jiejing*, vol.2, 1936.

to commercial architecture in Shanghai, the building was designed in a prevalent neo-classical style with a stunning tower on the corner of Nanjing Road and Zhejiang Road. According to its advertisements,[93] beyond the fourth floor, there were another four floors atop that served as the rooftop playgrounds, featuring open-air cinema, restaurants, teahouses, dance halls, Chinese local operas, and imported scientific technological innovations, and many of them were staged earlier in commercial pleasure gardens.[94] Akin to the previous commercial gardens (Zhang Garden, the Yu Yuan temple-garden, etc.), rooftop gardens here attempted to recreate views (*jing*) by means of architectural structures: the lined up tea tables and seats flanked by potted trees and decorated iron trellis imitated the covered walkway leading to the towers and pavilions; the soaring pavilions with poetic names like *moxing ta* (摸星塔 tower with a gentle touch of stars) and *yiyunge* (倚云阁 pavilion leaning on the cloud) were contrasted by the winding corridors and the stairway to other buildings as "long bridges;" and the rockeries, ponds, and plants were ornaments adorning the teahouse and restaurant.[95]

Here in the rooftop garden, architectural and landscape elements did not function as interactively as in the garden space like the Zhang Garden, but they miniaturized, piled up, and clustered together in a way to emulate a garden-like atmosphere, which functioned to continue and adapt such an entertainment culture/tradition to new building types. We can observe this idea within the vibrantly chaotic yet arbitrary layout of the advertisements of the time, which mirrored the structure of the rooftop gardens and amusement parks themselves.[96] One example is

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[93] "Detail of The Rooftop Playground Program," *Shenabo*, 1918.8.19; "Advertising of the Sincere's rooftop playground," *Xianshi leyuan ribao* (The Eden Daily), 1919.3.27.
[94] We can also observe that in their advertisements, both choosing very similar wordings to describe the garden landscape and entertainment program.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] Catherine Yeh also talks about how the formal structure of the entertainment tabloid mirrored the spatial structure of the amusement parks. Catherine Yeh, "Shanghai Entertainment Park Newspaper," 106-124.

this ad from a 1930 *Shenbao* (Figure 2-31), where the programs from multiple amusement parks are stacked up in a vertical column and jammed with information, vertical lines contrasting with words laid horizontally and varied in sizes and fonts. And here the verticality— the heights of the new multi-story buildings—was essential to the entertainment complex culture that enabled the general public to overlook the city and to experience, imagine, and mediate the differences.

Just as many of the venues' names suggest, these amusement parks often used the word—"world," and these rooftop gardens became concrete manifestations of the commercial exploration of the theme of "the world as entertainment."[97] These rooftop gardens built in the early twentieth-century department stores became an architectural labyrinth that contrasted with the tidy, well-exhibited, and ordered shopping space below the rooftop floor on the one hand,[98] and on the other, acted as buffers between the rise of modern consumerism and other controversial discourses such as nationalist sentiment, criticism towards consumer capitalism, and diverged imagination of different cultures.

[97] *Ibid.* 103.
[98] Lien, 393-4.

CHAPTER THREE

ILLUMINATING NIGHT GARDENS: MODERN VISUAL CULTURE OF NOCTURNAL LANDSCAPES, 1880S-1920S

A night banquet on the Double Ninth Festival in the Zhangyuan Garden made a front-page news of *Shenbao* in 1886. The banquet was held in celebration of the sixtieth birthday of Yuan Zuzhi (1827-1902), a prolific writer active in mid nineteenth-century Shanghai under the pen name Cangshan Jiuzhu (Old Master of Cangshan 苍山旧主). As the grandson of the famous Qing scholar Yuan Mei (1716-1798), Yuan published plenty of bamboo-twig ballads (*zhuzhici*, a form of folk rhymes) and jottings on the city's changing landscape and fraternized with many celebrities in Shanghai. One of them was Zhang Shuhe (1850-1919), the owner of the Zhang Garden who hosted the banquet to display a nocturnal spectacle, described in this *Shenbao* report:

> At nightfall, as we were gathering, we heard a faint noise in the distance as if drums were beating, which turned out to be a roaring engine. Suddenly, the outside landscape was shimmering with lights. With over twenty electric bulbs hanging on the trees, the illumination shined in every corner of the garden… And all the guests were gazing around and applauding.[1]
>
> 俄而夕阳以下，诸客渐集，闻远远有声，如鼓皮排则，新园电机已经发动，炊黍间屋外林间灯光四射，计不下二十盏，高高下下错落可熹，照见园中各处织毫毕露…异日时则满园灯火，与新月争明，众客左右瞻眺，无不拍手称善。

This was allegedly the first electric light show in China.[2] At the time, private uses of electricity still remained rare. Electrical illumination became a pricey nightly pastime in Chinese pleasure

[1] "Electrical Illumination on the Double Ninth Festival," *Shenbao*, 1886.10.8. The author of this article was most likely He Guisheng 何桂笙 (1841-1894), the editor of *Shenbao* at the time. He contributed plenty of miscellaneous writings to the newspaper and was also a good friend of Yuan Zuzhi.
[2] Xiong Yuezhi, "A Study of Zhang Yuan: A Public Space in Late Qing Shanghai," vol.6 (1996): 34.

gardens such as the Zhang Garden and the Yú Garden that were built on the city's outskirts in the 1880s. By virtue of the new illumination technologies, these particular spaces, *ye huayuan* (night gardens 夜花园), preluded a burgeoning outdoor nightlife culture in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. A newspaper illustration claimed that one of the trendiest cultural activities of the city was "riding out to night gardens" (Figure 3-1).

'Night garden' in the context of late-Qing Shanghai was not a name of specific garden places, but rather referred to the phenomenon of popular Chinese pleasure gardens staying open during summer nights. In the late nineteenth century, night gardens were the initial site of many modern forms of visual entertainment, including illumination displays, magic lantern shows, pyrotechnic performances, and movie exhibitions. The various kinds of entertainment introduced to the Chinese audience new ways to see and interact with the world. A rich body of scholarship has enriched our understanding of modern visual culture in China with specific attention to cinematic practices and its connection to other visual entertainments. These studies often compare early moviegoing experience with other forms of recreation: reading pictorials, train travel, and shopping. Film scholars like Zhang Zhen, Bao Weihong, Yoshino Sugawara, and Pang Laikwan, who drew inspiration from Wolfgang Schivelbusch and Anne Friedberg, argue that these modern recreations provided a similar visual experience, that combined transitory images and panoramic perceptions and was mediated by technological inventions of printing, railway, and visual media.[3] Essential to this visual experience was a novel aesthetic of moving vision.

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[3] See Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: the Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, 1986; Anne Freidberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, 1993, 29-37; Bao Weihong, "A Panoramic Worldview: Probing The Visuality of Dianshizhai Pictorials," *Journal of Modern Chinese Literature*, 32 (March 2005): 405-461; Zhen Zhang, *Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937*, 2005, 54-58; Laikwan Pang, Chapter Five, "Walking into and out of China's Early Film Scene" in *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China*, 2007, 171-172;

As these studies demonstrate, the major scholarly concern of modern visual culture has been the representation system of different forms of visual entertainment. Yet the combined effects of the particular social context, architectural environment, and night settings of Chinese pleasure gardens in which visual entertainment took form have been largely overlooked. A few scholars, such as Zhang Zhen and Pang Laikwan pointed out the important role of the architectural settings in understanding early film culture. Zhang considers teahouses as 'a vernacular spatial trope,' a Miriam Hansen concept, that created endogenous cultural and material conditions for film reception in China;[4] Pang, meanwhile, argues that public gardens were the most important site for early film screening, because the visual entertainment inside transformed the traditional garden experience focusing on bodily movement into a new exploration of imaginary movement.[5] Inspired by this line of thinking, this chapter sets out to examine the vital role that Shanghai night gardens played in fostering a nascent visual culture and modern spectatorship in China at the turn of the twentieth century. I argue that the nocturnal spectacles, sensorial experiences, and various representations of night gardens together constituted a significant part of Chinese visual modernity.

Focusing on the subject-environment interactions in the garden space, this chapter introduces two additional dimensions. One is the importance of the spatio-temporal structure in this night garden visual culture. The particular nightly garden settings, which includes new illumination technologies and novel forms of entertainment encountered in the darkness, were

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Yoshino Sugawara, "*Shanhai no yuyuuho sha: shinsueminhatsu no eiga kanshō nitsuite*" (The Flâneur in Shanghai: Moviegoing and Spectatorship in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), *Summary of Kansai University*, vol.48 (April 2015): 1-28.

[4] Zhang, *Amorous History of the Silver Screen*, 94-100. For other studies on late Qing teahouses see Joshua Goldstein, Wang Di. They consider late Qing social reformers and intellectuals who, by way of entertainment, used theatrical plays in the particular teahouse space as a means of vernacular education.

[5] Pang, "Walking into and out of China's Early Film Scene," 170-171.

essential to viewers in reconfiguring new forms of vision and spatial experiences. The nocturnal spectacles engaged with temporarily structured settings in the garden space while provoking ephemeral sensations of light, sound, temperature, and motion in the dark atmosphere. The darkened backdrop not only mediated the interior and outdoor spaces, collective and individuated experiences, but also facilitated homogenized proto-cinematic perceptions in late nineteenth-century China. The juxtaposition of Western-style architecture with traditional theatrical elements further served as a way softening the astonishment brought by the new cinematic experience.

The other dimension of the chapter is the larger cultural and social contexts, against which we can understand how the nascent visual experiences that rooted in night gardens took form. Yet we should take a note that the texts and illustrations that scholars take today as evidence to exemplify activities in these gardens were largely authored by members of the educated class. The subjects of this night garden culture comprised mostly the leisure class—businessmen, men of letters, and their courtesan companions.[6] As recent scholarship reveals, the introductions of both the magic lantern or the cinema in China first attracted intellectual leaders and ideological reformers, and the earliest attempts to handle new mediums always toggled between distraction and education.[7] Therefore, the accounts of this new urban experience that I

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[6] Quoting Catherine Yeh's definition, 'leisure class' is not a clear-cut, stable category, but in general signified those educated middle-upper-class men and women in late Qing Shanghai. Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 2006, 16.

[7] Sun Qing, "Magic Lantern: Early Magic Lantern Show, Production, and Circulation in China, 8th-20th Centuries" discusses how the magic lantern was used as an optical tool for lecturing and teaching by foreign missionaries and Chinese scientific scholars in the nineteenth century. Huang Dequan, "Early Film Came to Shanghai" and Tang Hongfeng, "From Lantern Slides to Cinema: In View of Visual Modernity" argue the earliest film screenings were hosted in Astore House, catering to upper-class Chinese intellectuals. Laikwan Pang, "Walking into and out of spectacles" explains that the cinema was not yet popular among the Chinese masses in the first two decades after its appearance in the late 1890s. Not until the 1920s did the cinema culture take shape and magazines and newspapers begin avidly reporting on the cinema industry.

study in this chapter are largely through the eyes of these educated class. I focus on how educated Chinese garden patrons experienced and rationalized new technologies through their understanding of vernacular activities as well as encounters with assorted new forms of visual entertainment in night gardens.

While the previous chapter is squarely on the architectural adaptations of garden spaces in modern Shanghai, this chapter will focus on night gardens as a socio-cultural construction where new experiences and perceptions about the city and time came into being. Night gardens in this sense functioned in effect as a transition moving from an elite culture exclusive to private spatial practices into the larger mass culture. By further tracing the image-making of night gardens in print media, the chapter demonstrates a changing discourse on night gardens over time.[8] The print media portrayed night gardens as sites of titillating social scandals as well as a cutting-edge space overturning the geopolitical and gender boundaries. I will explore how the reception and representation of the night garden visual culture shifted towards the late 1920s, a moment followed by the rise of mass culture, specific venues of mass entertainment, and the New Culture movement.

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[8] Though largely overlooked in current scholarship, a few scholars have discussed the night garden space functioned as a fictional setting in exposé/scandal novels, as well as its social impact on Shanghai's urbanization in the early twentieth century. See Misu Yusuke, "*Shinsue Shanhai no yūkyō kūkan, ya hanazono: shin natsu no yoru no rakuen*" (Cultural Metaphor of Night Gardens and Characteristics of Modern Public Cultural Sphere), 2007, 133-135; Huang Xiangjin, "The Flowers of Evil: The Narration of Girl Students in Night Gardens in the Exposé/Scandal Fiction of Late Qing and Early Republican Shanghai," 2016, 23-34; Wu Jia, "Modern Shanghai Night Gardens in *Shenbao*," 2016, 62-65. Also two recent works on the intersection between lighting/nocturnal spectacles and visual arts in nineteenth-century French art world are inspiring: Chapter 5 "Fireworks: Color, Fantasy, and the Visual Culture of Modern Enchantment" in Laura Anne Kallba, *Color in the Age of Impressionism: Commerce, Technology, and Art*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017, and Hollis Clayson, *Illuminated Paris: Essays on Art and Lighting in the Belle Epoque*, The University of Chicago Press, 2019. Clayson's work focuses on "the lights plus the heated discussions they provided," in other words, the "illumination discourse," to examine how the convergence of technology and discourse together shaped modernity-oriented art practices centered in Paris.

3.1 Nightlife and Nightscapes in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai

"Just as people have a nocturnal self…modern cities have lurid neon visages that differ from their grey-tone daywear."[9] As Andrew Fields enthusiastically explores the nocturnal visages of Shanghai under the multifarious neon lights in the post-1930s era, I intend to reveal an equally intriguing precedent of the city's nightlife during the late nineteenth century. With the artificial illumination of kerosene, gas, and electric lights, evenings in Shanghai became an integral piece of everyday life and a particular temporal section for leisure. Gas lights upon its first appearance in the late 1860s astonished the denizens of Shanghai who were used to the dark, long nights. In his *Shanghai Travel Miscellany* (1876), the sojourned writer Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦 categorized the gas illumination as one of the "new ten scenes of Shanghai." With gas light tubes railed across the city, he commented, Shanghai gained the epithet of "nightless city."[10]

After its introduction to Shanghai in 1882, electricity was promptly put into use in urban infrastructures. To this end, the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) got into a debate over replacing gas street lamps in major arteries of the British Settlement with electric lamps, though the latter would cost twice or more.[11] After the SMC set up street lamps, the Municipal Council in the French Concession installed electric street lamps in 1896, and later on, the Roadworks Board of the Chinese City (*nanshi malu gongchengju*) began paving roads and building street

[9] Andrew Fields, *Shanghai Nightscapes: A Nocturnal Biography of a Global City*, 2015, 7. He divides the city's nightlife into three phases: The Jazz Age nightlife during the 1920s-30s, wartime Shanghai between 1937 and 1978, and the new phase as a nocturnal metropolis between the 1980s and 1990s.

[10] Ge Yuanxu, *Shanghai Travel Miscellany*, 51: "Lighting at night: gas fire is wired by iron tubes, which is right for dancing and singing. Nowadays we do not need to admire old times candle lamp; the lighting stays overnight as the city becomes a nightless city." "夜市燃灯：电火连枝铁管连，最宜舞馆与歌筵. 紫明供奉今休羡，彻夜浑如不夜天。"

[11] The history of illumination in Shanghai, see Chen Boxi, "*Malu diandeng gengyi dagai*" (History of Electric Light on Streets) in *Shanghai Anecdotes*, 156-157; Xiong Yuezhi, "Illumination and Culture: From Oil Lamp, Candles, to Electric Light," 2003, 94-103; Yang Yan, *Between the Government and Industry: The SMC and Modern Electric Industry in Shanghai, 1880-1929*, 2018.

lamps in the late nineteenth century. The appearance of electric light soon illuminated the nightscapes of Shanghai. When the SMC first installed electrical streetlamps along the Huangpu River, the illumination event drew a crowd of observers who exclaimed that "the electricity's brightness outshined the moonlight."[12]

This new development, along with new ways of measuring time, would bring a profound change to the city's nocturnal life. In Chinese history, public time and space were traditionally dictated by the government's regulations. During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Chinese cities carried out stringent night curfews. Restricted by imperial laws, wandering out in public was largely prohibited after dark, and violating the curfew resulted in penalties.[13] Celebration of the Lantern Festival was one of the few times with official approval to lift curfew in traditional Chinese society. The nighttime curfew persisted through in late-Qing Shanghai but gradually relaxed around the 1900s, when the walled Chinese city attempted to facilitate interactions with the booming foreign settlements. Around the same time, while most of places in China still observed the lunar calendar and continued structuring a year based on a series of religious and astronomical precepts, Shanghai adopted the "week" as a unit of time, comprising week days for working and evenings and Sunday as time for leisure. The new schedule changed the temporal structure of everyday life in late Imperial society of Shanghai. Marked by the erection of a giant clock above the Maritime Customs House as well as the electrical street lamps along the Bund, the everyday sense of time and distance in Shanghai was now measured and visualized in the

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[12] "Dazzling Electrical Illumination", *Shenbao*, 1882.7.27. "The electricity's brightness outshined the moonlight." "其光明竟可夺月美"

[13] *Ming lu* (Statutes of the Ming dynasty), Shen Zhiqi, Beijing University Press, 1993, *juan* 14, "Military laws," 758-761; from Chen Xiyuan, "Sleepless in China: Carnivalesque Celebration of the Lantern Festival and Official Regulation of Everyday Life during the Ming-Qing Period", 2004, 283-329. Although during the late Tang and Song dynasties, the curfew regulation was relaxed in China, the Ming and Qing dynasties re-enforced rigorous nighttime curfew.

mechanical chronometry and illumination, which transformed the collective perceptions and experiences of public time.[14] The new time pattern entreated the late-Qing men of letters to make the best use of nighttime with a variety of novel nocturnal activities, whether strolling through night gardens in carriages, having music banquets in courtesan houses, or working overnight in newspaper offices.

The new method of illumination was also closely associated with the representation of the city of Shanghai. The electric lamps soon became a part of the city's visual motif in images, peppering the traditional cityscapes with a taste of modernity and uniqueness. Catherine Yeh provides an insight into the lithographic illustrations representing the city of Shanghai.[15] She notices that the illustrations drew a similar composition from contemporary photographs to embed street lamps and electric wires into the urban environment (Figure 3-2; Figure 3-3). As shown in this 1880s photograph, the very first electric street lamps installed on the Shanghai waterfront by the SMC visually struck the reader's eye, and the distinct shape, height, as well as the spindly wires of the lamps became a public visual symbol that was repeatedly portrayed in various city representations.

The electric lamps then became a metaphor of nocturnal landscapes as well as an indispensable detail touch for depicting the city's nightlife. China certainly has a long history of depictions of private night banquets. For instance, the famous painting *Night Revels of Han Xizai*, attributed to the court painter of the Southern Tang Gu Hongzhong, depicts a night binge

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[14] See Wen-shih Yeh, "The Clock and the Compound" in *Shanghai Splendor*, 2007. It was debatable whether the public held negative or positive perceptions of the mechanical clock towers that were installed on Western-style public buildings. Wu Hung, "The Clock Tower and the Invasion of a Modern Temporality," in *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space*, 2005, 153-155. Wu argues that these clock images revealed how, for one thing, Chinese viewed them as amazing achievements of modern technology, while for another, these images were also associated with a repressive foreign power.
[15] Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 271-272.

held in the Minister Han Xizai's household (Figure 3-4), and the Ming-dynasty painter Tang Yin's *Tao Gu Presenting a Lyric* illustrates a story in which Tao Gu, an envoy serving to the Southern Tang, was seduced by a court courtesan at night in a post station's backyard garden (Figure 3-5). In these paintings, the flickering candles clearly situate the scene in night settings distinct from its daylight atmosphere. Unlike the candles depicted within private spaces, one within Han Xizai's bedroom and the other in a private garden, the electrical lamps were illustrated in newspapers and pictorial magazines to denote rather public scenes of Shanghai, ranging from streets along the river, to courtesan houses, to Chinese pleasure gardens (as shown in Figure 3-6). Taking a closer observation of these images, we notice the similar visual manner representing the nightscape scenes, which renders large-size roundish lamp bulbs as a shining moon with numerous refined lines radiating as dazzling rays of light.

Some illustrations portrayed not only the city nightscape itself, but also its inhabitants and their nightly occupations made possible by its new modern sense of time. Inside the newspaper office (Figure 3-7), the Chinese journalists were industriously writing newspaper articles and novels. As the texts on the illustration noted, "Whenever late at night, working in the light." These late nineteenth-century men of letters took salaried jobs in the new media and institutions of the foreign settlements, so that their schedule was bound by the modern corporate routine. Newspapers and periodicals operated on rigid deadlines, which caused these men to perform much of their literary and journalistic work under time constraints.[16] The large hanging lamps reflected upon the bustling working scene as if these new men of letters were enlightened by the light of the glowing moon.

[16] *Ibid.*, 181.

3.2 Night Roaming and Strolling in Night Gardens

Figure 3-8 shows an early twentieth-century novel called *Haishang migong* (Labyrinths of Shanghai) advertised its publication in *Shenbao*. The illustrated advertisement highlighted twelve settings that the novel presented as the most "mesmerizing cityscapes" of Shanghai, including courtesan houses, dancing halls, hotels, theaters, gambling houses, amusement arcades, night gardens, Japanese restaurants, and massage houses. All the settings were noted venues for socializing and leisure in early twentieth-century Shanghai. Among these places, only one, "*ye huayuan*" (night gardens), was a public outdoor space for nocturnal entertainment. This set of illustrations guides us to situate this kind of new public space in its urban environment.

Night gardens became prevalent in the 1880s up until the 1920s, when they were eventually outrun by mass entertainment venues such as amusement halls and movie theaters built up in the center of the International Settlement.[17] As discussed in the previous chapter, since the 1880s, a number of pleasure gardens that were build and rebuild by Chinese merchants out of their private gardens mushroomed on the outskirts of Shanghai. Relying on technological advances in urban infrastructures like gas (1860s), electricity (1880s), carriage (1880s), and tramcar (1908), these pleasure gardens began opening at night, featuring temporarily built structures (i.e. the huge frame set up for fireworks) to cope with different nightly occasions. Among the earliest and most popular pleasure gardens were the Shen Garden 申园 (ca.1881), Xi Garden 西园 (ca.1882), Zhang Garden 张园 (1885), Xu Garden 徐园 (ca.1886), and Yú Garden 愚园 (1890), all open during summer nights of the 1880s and 90s (located in the map Figure 3-9).[18] Each summer season ran from July to September for the purpose of so-called *bishu*

[17] Chen Boxi, *Shanghai Anecdotes*, 400.
[18] Xiong Yuezhi, "Opening of Shanghai's Private Gardens for Public and Expansion of Public Sphere," 1998, 73-81. Chi Zhicheng, *Dream Shadows of Touring Shanghai*, ca.1890s, 161-162.

(summer retreat), while the operation hours also varied: some stayed open until midnight, and others were open all night. The appellation of *ye huayuan* had not yet appeared in public discussion in the beginning, but instead, the newspapers usually called them *yeshi* (night fair).[19] As night fell, multifarious novelties and performances took place along the streets on the way to and within the gardens.

Strolling in pleasure gardens became a trendy recreation as soon as the horse-led carriage was introduced to Shanghai in the 1880s from Europe, when these Chinese private gardens opened to the pubic around the same time.[20] Both Chinese men of letters and foreigners were fond of carriage rides roaming around the foreign settlements with their female companies. One famous riding itinerary started from the Fuzhou Road, through westbound road to the Zhang Garden as the westernmost stop, and turned around and ended along the Bund.[21] A young writer, Chi Zhicheng (1852-1937), who resided in Shanghai during the 1890s, recalled witnessing the carriage-rides in the Yú Garden and Zhang Garden: "Dusts drifted up as though a thunderbolt struck the ground, and glamorous courtesans on horse-drawn carriages rode past shrubs and trees

[19] "Night Market in the Yuyuan," *Shenbao*, 1891.7.20. The ad promoted the night garden's opening: "When it is summer, [residents] are searching for places for summer retreat. Our garden's night fair will open this month; [every night] runs up to midnight. The garden features new ponds with fresh lotus and orchids with delicate fragrance, for you to enjoy the coolness in the summer. We welcome your visit as early as possible." "时值炎天，概寻避暑之处，本园夜市，于是月望日起仍照旧章，限十二点钟止，新设池内荷花鲜艳、盆上夏兰幽香，诸公清心快目纳凉赏玩，务请早降是幸，特此布告。" Two months later in September, another advertisement announced its off-time: "Notice by the owner of Yú Garden: As it becomes colder in the autumn, our garden's night fair will no longer open after August first." "愚园主人谨白：兹启，时值仲秋玉露侵寒，本园夜市准于八月初一晚停，恕不俟教，专此布知。" *Shenbao*, 1891.9.

[20] Chi Zhicheng, *Dream Images of Touring Shanghai*, 160-161. Chi introduced in great detail different kinds of carriage that were imported from the West at the time: some had two wheels and others had four wheels; some were driven by one horse while some were driven by two horses; and the shape of different carriages also varied. He mentioned the Yuyuan Garden, Zhangyuan Garden, and Jing'an Temple were the most popular sites frequented by carriage.

[21] Xu Ke (1869-1928), "*Zhouche lei*" (Transportation), *Qingbai leichao* (Qing Petty Matters Anthology), 52, from Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 70-74. Yeh reconstructs the courtesan's carriage routes on a map.

hastily. We beholders were spellbound gazing at them fleeing by." He wrote that the carriage ride was truly an activity "suitable for winter and summer, and for day and night."[22]

The craze of garden strolls thus continued to the summer evenings, when visitors could enjoy electrical illumination displays as well as pleasant coolness. A commentary published in one of the earliest leisure tabloids appeared in late-Qing Shanghai, *Youxi bao* (Recreation News), titled "The prosperity of riding horse-drawn carriages at night," expounded on how nightly garden strolls on horse-led carriages were popularized in late nineteenth-century Shanghai (Appendix 3-1).[23] According to the article, the most common carriage-riders patronizing pleasure gardens were the *crème de la crème* of society, including those celebrated, wealthy, and lettered men, as well as their dashing courtesan companies from famous storytelling houses. By the 1900s, the Zhang Garden and the Yú Garden were renowned as the most popular venues for nocturnal leisure in Shanghai.

Carriage rides and garden strolls became a frequent combined image in illustrated magazines and Chinese writers' miscellanea. Shown in a lithography illustration (Figure 3-10), the typical Chinese garden sceneries—rockeries, ponds, trees, pavilions, and meandering paths—were portrayed in the distance, while the foreground depicted a rider in Western-style hat driving a horse-led carriage seated with a Chinese urbanite and his courtesan company. The newspaper illustration entitled "*zuo ye mache you ye huayuan*" (Riding night carriages while strolling in night gardens) (Figure 3-1) comprised emblematic visual motifs of nocturnal recreation: the night garden denoted by the radiating lamp bulb hanging over the gate, and different carriages

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[22] Chi Zhicheng, *Dream Images of Touring Shanghai*, 161. He wrote that: "Dusts drifted up as though a thunderbolt struck the ground, and glamorous courtesans on horse-drawn carriages rode past shrubs and trees hastily. We beholders were spellbound gazing at them fleeing by…. [the carriage ride is] suitable for winter and summer, and for day and night" "尘埃攸起，雷霆乍惊，而红妆绿鬓已铿然一声穿花拂柳而过，令人送往迎来，目眩心迷…宜冬宜夏、宜日宜夜。"
[23] "The prosperity of riding horse-drawn carriages at night," *Youxi bao* (Recreation News), 1899.7.9.

galloping toward the garden. The texts wrote that they sincerely sought "nocturnal pleasures throughout the night." The earliest pictorials published over the course of the 1880s and 90s, such as the well-known lithographic *Dianshizhai huabao* (Dianshizhai Pictorial), *Shenjiang shixia shengjing tushuo* (Nowadays Shanghai sites illustrated and explained), and the woodblock-printed *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (Famous Shanghai scenes illustrated and explained), all featured profuse illustrations that centered on "riding in night gardens" with similar visual elements (for example: Figure 3-11).

The early leisure activities taking place in these pleasure gardens at night were rather improvised and small-scale gatherings among intimate friends. The city's best-known writers often rode carriages with friends and courtesans and gathered in gardens for drinking and reciting poetry in the evenings.[24] We can find a fair number of similar jottings in *Shenbao* of the time falling under the literary tradition of *yeyou* (night roaming) in gardens.[25] In one of his *Shenbao* writings, the reporter Huang Xiexun (pen name *mengwansheng* 梦畹生, 1851-1924) detailed a chrysanthemum contest with his friends in the Xu Garden, who claimed that the nocturnal event was comparable with the Lanting Gathering in the old days.[26] For these celebrated and lettered men, the stroll in night gardens continued the tradition of literati gatherings; at the same time, the new-style carriage and electrical illumination brought novel experiences. The collective experience was no longer confined to their private circle, but was now shared with a larger readership through pictures and writings in mass media such as newspapers and pictorials.

[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Like the aforementioned Figure 3-6.
[26] Huang Xiexun, "Note of the chrysanthemum exhibit in the Xu Yuan garden," *Shenbao*, 1887.11.7; "Celebrating the fair of lotus blossom," *Shenbao*, 1887.8.16. A few months earlier, Huang and many famous writers in Shanghai such as He Guisheng, the editor of *Shenbao* at the time, attended another nightly event in Xu Yuan garden. They gathered with their courtesan acquaintances to celebrate the lotus blossom festival.

Keeping reminiscent of traditional literati gatherings, however, the pleasure gardens in Shanghai created new settings that differed from earlier private gardens, by virtue of a series of popular visual devices and performances. During the 1880s and 90s, many novelties were introduced to China and made their debuts in night gardens, including *shideng* (electrical illuminations 试灯), *yanhuo* (fireworks 烟火), and *yingxi* (magic lantern and cinema 影戏).[27] The novel attractions were accompanied by local entertainments such as *wenhu* (lantern riddles 文虎), *qingqu* (Yangzhou-style ballad singing 清曲), and *xifa* (magic shows 戏法).[28] Unlike other indoor venues, pleasure gardens not only provided wide-open space for new nocturnal attractions, but also enabled different performances on stage simultaneously.[29] The carriage rides, lingering in garden sceneries, and the assorted attractions constituted the whole set of *yeyou* nocturnal programs in gardens. Spectators visited night gardens for meeting up with friends, but not necessarily for one particular show; they might also stumble across performances unexpectedly while roaming around in carriages.

The new settings for nocturnal programs and constant roaming for attractions created completely novel spatial and visual environments. As I will show in the following section, the

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[27] The *Xiyang Yingxi* exhibition in Xu Yuan garden in June of 1896 was believed to be the first movie show held in China, but it also has been alleged to be a magic lantern show. I will further discuss the *yingxi* exhibition as one of the primary nocturnal diversions in gardens in the next part of this chapter.

[28] "Xu Yuan garden Notice," *Shenbao*, 1896.6.29. The text reads: "Our garden will open since 20th this month running until 12 o'clock at night. Inside we feature *wenhu* [lantern riddles], *qingqu* [Yangzhou-style ballad singing], *tongchuan xifa* [magic shows], *xiyang yingxi* [magic lantern shows] for visitors to enjoy. Earlier the roads near the north of Laozhaqiao was not built up yet, which restrained visitors to come over. But now the roads are well widened, and the carriage can ride directly to the garden gate. We sincerely welcome your visit, where you can enjoy gathering and carriage ride. We will also add firework shows on 23rd; the show charges for three *jiao* per person." "本园于二十日夜至十二点钟止，内设文虎、清曲、童串戏法、西洋影戏以供游人赏玩。向因老闸桥北一带马路未平，阻人游兴，现已平坦，马车可直抵园门，维冀诸君踏月来游，足供清谈之兴，扬鞭归去，可无徒步之虞，游资仍照旧章准，廿三日外加烟火大戏，游资每位三角，此布。" Similar ads were also seen in *Shenbao*, 1896.8.2; 1896.8.10; 1896.9.22, http://memory.library.sh.cn/node/67878.

[29] Yoshino Sugawara, "*Shanhai no yuyuuho sha: shinsueminhatsu no eiga kanshō nitsuite*" (The Flâneur in Shanghai: Moviegoing and Spectatorship in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), 9-11.

nocturnal programs produced experiences both fragmented and continuous, foreign and familiar; and the spectators formed aimless and occasional onlookers, but at the same time were also empirical and dedicated participants in different forms of visual entertainment. The spatial and visual experiences in the nightly setting were actually very akin to the visual engagement that Weihong Bao and Wolfgang Schivelbusch discussed respectively on reading pictorials and train travels.[30] But unlike the seated readers and travelers, the visitors were sightseeing different landscapes while moving on foot in the night garden.

3.3 Nocturnal Spectacles: *Shideng*, *Yanhuo*, and *Yingxi*

By tracing the representation of nightscapes in texts and images, the chapter has traced the history of nightlife and the nightly entertainment space as night gardens came into being in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. The prevalence of the night garden culture was largely dependent on the introduction of new illumination technologies and new leisure activity such as riding in horse-drawn carriages. The following section will zoom into the specific spatial environment of night gardens, where assorted nocturnal performances took place. The gardens incorporated a range of highly decorative but temporary measures to create completely new settings. Through a close analysis of advertisements, journal reports, and pictorial images, this part will probe how different forms of nightly entertainment engaged with the variations of garden spaces, and how this new spatiotemporal formation impacted people's visual experiences in late-Qing Shanghai. These visually-oriented activities—electrical illuminations, firework displays, and lantern slide shows—offered a proto-cinematic experience and fostered in viewers an aesthetics of virtual images against a nightly background.

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[30] Bao, "A Panoramic Worldview," 42.

Illuminating Artificial Lights

Since the gas and electric lights were introduced and promptly used for urban infrastructure in Shanghai in the 1880s, the industrial power of electricity manifested itself as a modernized technology illuminating the dark night but also a negative trope of modernity that brought appalling electrical shock accidents to the city. Illustrated newspapers of the time vividly captured these varied facets and receptions evoked by electricity: Street lamps and electric wires emblemized the city's modern atmosphere (as shown in Fig.3-2, Fig.3-3), whereas at the same time, the lethal electrical accident that happened along the Suzhou creek was also exaggeratedly signified as a horrifying, dangerous burning fire (Figure 3-12). The multifaceted effects of electricity demonstrated the dual side of modernity: modernized the city façade while endangered the old social order.

Artificial illumination in China was never merely a lighting source. As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, the electrical illumination was one of the programs featured in the nightly banquet that the owner of the Zhang Garden held for his literatus friends. With electric light bulbs festooned over the trees lighting up the garden, the illumination functioned as not only ornaments but also a visual performance entertaining the guests. The traditional drama performance initially featured artificial lighting (*caideng* 彩灯 or *dengcai* 灯彩) as part of visual excitement. Since the late Ming and Qing dynasties, private opera troupes began adapting different lighting sources including candles and lanterns in varied shapes, and decorated torches to the stage when they played within elite households. In one case, Ming literati such as Zhang Dai was skilled at stage-design by utilizing different sets of lanterns to facilitate acting space and to create distinct atmospheric effects for different dramas.[31] Towards the early 1870s, the newly

[31] Grant Shen, *Elite Theatre in Ming China*, "Lighting," 120-122.

opened Peking opera theaters and teahouses in Shanghai also applied artificial illumination to their stage settings. In his miscellaneous notes, the writer Chen Boxi recalled his experiences watching opera shows at the theater called New Stage (Xin Wutai) in 1911, where "over twelve or thirteen thousand lamps shine upon the stage."[32] The overt lighting highlighted the performance while creating new contrast and dynamics between the stage and audiences' perception in the dark.[33]

Another traditional source of artificial illumination displays was *huadeng* (花灯 festive lantern shows) for the Spring Festival celebrations. When the official curfew was annually loosened at festivals, common residents were allowed to exhibit festive lanterns outdoors and enjoy the colorful night together (Figure 3-13). These artificial illumination displays—together with opera performances and festive lantern shows—came to contemporary night gardens during the late nineteenth century. These kinds of night gardens illumination display, called *shideng* (试灯 illuminating electrical light) or *dengjing* (灯景 illumination spectacles) were often seen in newspaper advertisements.

Specialists with particular expertise were required to design and set up the lighting to coordinate with the garden space. That is to say, like many other visual entertainments taking place in night gardens, the spectators (also event hosts) appreciated the performances without necessarily understanding the technology behind, which worked as part of the enchantment of modern technologies. At Yuan Zuzhi's birthday banquet, the Zhang Garden's owner had Frazar & Co. set up their newly imported electric light bulbs over the trees in the garden and the roaring

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[32] Chen Boxi, *Shanghai Anecdotes*, 494.

[33] A recent study details how the illumination techniques were applied to the late-nineteenth century theaters. Chen Tian, Wei Zhonghui, "*dianliang wutai: wanqing shanghai xiyuan de zhaoming yu dengguang jishu*" (Illuminating the Stage: Lighting Techniques of Shanghai Theatres in the Late Qing Dynasty), *Xiju yanjiu* (Theater Arts), no.6 (2020): 101-113.

engine machine placed besides the pavilion where all the guests gathered around.[34] An advertisement in *Shenbao* promoted a new opera play to be staged in the teahouse *Lewuxuan* (Entertaining Pavilion) of Shanghai's Yú Garden on the eve of the Mid-Autumn Festival in 1893. According to the report, a craftsman was hired to build settings of artificial illumination inside the teahouse for newly staged opera shows. The expert was required to design a set of lighting settings to match up different opera's titles and plots and the changing stage environment, between bright and dim light respectively.[35]

Structuring Fireworks

In addition to artificial illuminations, night gardens staged firework shows as well. In *Shenbao* throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sequential advertisements promoted fireworks held in the summer evenings of Shanghai.[36] These fireworks were performed for many occasions, ranging from private gatherings, charity fetes, to festival celebrations; and although not a new technology, they prefigured modern visual culture many important ways.

Pyrotechnics have been an important component to Chinese New Year festivities allegedly from the Tang Dynasty onward. It is said that the dramatic sound and visual effects of fireworks were meant to propel a blissful New Year.[37] "Firework" is synonymous with several appellations in Chinese: *paozhu* (炮竹 bursting bamboo) and *bianpao* (鞭炮 weaved firecrackers) were bamboo tubes or wrapped papers filled with saltpeter and fuses, and upon

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[34] "Electrical Illumination on the Double Ninth Festival," *Shenbao*, 1886.10.8.
[35] "The *le wuxuan* building inside Yuyuan," *Shenbao*, 1893.9.24.
[36] For example, 1886.5.3. "Watching Fireworks in Weichuanyuan;" 1891.6.10. "*Dengcai* and Fireworks at the Dragon-boat Festival in Xu Yuan;" 1907.7.28. "Fireworks in Liu Yuan;" 1911.8.14. "Charity Fete in Zhang Yuan" etc.
[37] Lihong Liu, "Pyrotechnic Profusion: Fireworks, Spectacles, and Automata in Time," 2017; Ouyang Xuefeng, "Study of Traditional Chinese Fireworks," 2013.

lighting the tubes exploded; the invention of gunpowder in the mid-nineth century advanced the bursting-bamboo into the new phase of *huoxi* (火戏 fire-plays) with grander theatrical effects of *yan* (flame 焰) and *yan* (smoke 烟). The pyrotechnical plays hence gained a name, *yanhuo* (烟/焰火 fireworks).[38] Different pyrotechnics presented distinct effects: firecrackers produced louder sound effects; fireworks created riveting visual effects; and those fire-plays that carried low-nitrate gunpowder and other chemical substances created powerful explosions with floral sparkles and colorful smoke.[39]

Textual documentation of traditional fireworks survives from the Song dynasty in the tenth century.[40] In his book, the Ming-dynastsy official Shen Bang (1540-1597) described various kinds of fireworks under the entry titled "Discharging Fireworks." He detailed different structure-buildings for large-scale fire-plays/fireworks, which involved complicated tinderboxes and timbering constructions.[41] Fireworks were usually ignited with tinderboxes made by paper or cardboard hanging upon wooden racks. The boxes were painted with multi-layered scenes with different shapes, ranging from plants and florals to various creatures to architecture. In between these paper and cardboard surfaces were fuses and gunpowder, and whenever ignited, the incendiary fireworks combusted inwards, one layer after another, while the different shapes also inflamed accordingly. Fireworks with colorful flames and smoke atop of the rack made the fire-plays more visually appealing in the nighttime.

[38] For the development of gunpowder and uses of gunpowder in fireworks in China, see Joseph Needham, "Fire-crackers and Fireworks," 127-146; Tonio Andrade, *Gunpowder Age: China, Military innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History*, 2016; Brenda Buchanan, "Making Fireworks," 2005, 145-188; Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art of Firework*, 1998; Lihong Liu, "Pyrotechnic Profusion: Fireworks, Spectacles, and Automata in Time."

[39] Zhao Xuemin (1719-1805) recorded in his treatise *Huoxi lue* (Summary of Fireworks Drama) several recipes with gunpowder and chemical substances that created colored flames and smoke. Published in 1780, the book was the most comprehensive technological account of China's fireworks to date.

[40] Lihong Liu, "Pyrotechnic Profusion,", 7.

[41] *Ibid*.

Several pieces of visual evidence from the Ming and Qing dynasties show us what traditional Chinese fireworks looked like. An often-cited example is a woodblock print from the novel *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*jin ping mei*). (Figure 3-14) As portrayed in the novel, in the night of the Lantern Festival, the wealthy Ximen family set up a rack of fireworks on the street affront of their household. The wooden rack stood up fifteen feet high, layered up in six levels, and each was structured into different forms and accordingly with distinct combustions.[42] The texts and illustration portrayed such a fire-play viewing experience, striking all kinds of sensational pleasures, a synthesis of dramatic sight, sound, and temperature in the darkness (Appendix 3-2): colorful sparkles showered upon from all directions; myriad thunderclaps resounded all at once; the smoke clouds enveloped the spectators, as though viewers of the print can sense the lingering warmth and smell of gunpowder mists; and the flames of different forms of fireworks displayed distinct combustions such as cranes and grapes, devils and peddlers, towers and terraces etc. Against the dark backdrop, this splendid spectacle was also transient and fleeting; at the end, "the fire burns out and the smoke dissolves, leaving nothing but ashes."[43]

A court painting titled *Qing Emperor Qianlong Seeking Amusement in Lantern Festival* (Figure 3-15), depicts the Lantern Festival celebration under the reign of emperor Qianlong. The painting portrays the moment before sunset, when the crowd waited for the ignition of a tinderbox that hung over the top of a wooden rack in the palace garden. One Qing scholar described witnessing such a firework display in the imperial Yuanmingyuan Garden, where it staged a huge three-layer cubical tinderbox.[44] Similar to the fire-play held by the Ximen family,

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[42] Xiaoxiaosheng, translation by David Tod Roy, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, chapter 42, "A Powerful Family Blocks Its Gate in Order to Enjoy Fireworks; Distinguished Guests in a High Chamber Appreciate the Lanterns," 2006, 70-71.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Qingbai leichao* (Qing Petty Matters Anthology), v.1, "Festivals," from Ouyang Xuefeng, *Study of Traditional Chinese Fireworks*, 12-13.

large-scale firework performances were traditionally extravagant amusements that required physical settings with broad open space and exquisite structures, and as such, were usually hosted by wealthy households or for imperial celebrations. By oscillating between power and pleasure, pyrotechnical displays were well suited to catalyze the political sublime and conspicuous wealth.[45]

All these records and images show that before the introduction of modern technologies requiring electricity, traditional Chinese fireworks already prepared the audience a frame of reference for this fleeting, dazzling aesthetic. The rise of night gardens brought this to the forefront of nightlife culture in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Alike illumination experts, pyrotechnicians from other cities and overseas journeyed to Shanghai and introduced the latest fireworks to new-style commercial venues like teahouses and courtesan houses to accompany drama performances. These firework craftsmen from Anhui and Guangdong provinces made their name in Shanghai by reforming traditional fireworks with new technologies to pyrotechnic structuring. A craftsman named Li Wenjun, the successor of a family studio famous for firework-making in Anhui, performed firework plays in Shanghai for over twenty years in the early twentieth century. Reported in tabloids, the well-known Li family once served the Qing court for fire-plays, and Li Wenjun was especially adept at structuring Western-style fireworks, who "employed scientific and mechanical gimmicks, with numberless variations."[46]

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[45] Chen Xiyuan, "Sleepless in China." 2.
[46] Hanting, "The Firework Contest in the Bansong Yuan Garden", *Xi shijie* (Theater World), 1936.7.26; Tang Bihua, "Opening of the Bansong yuan Night Gardens; firework Master Li Wenjun; scientific and mechanical gimmicks; numberless variations," *Luobinhan* (Robin Hood), 1937.7.22. The text reads: "[The fireworks] employed scientific and mechanical gimmicks, with numberless variations." "悉采科学化 机关变化 层出不穷." Li's pyrotechnic displays were adapted for both Chinese and Western drama plays, ranging from *Tale of the White Serpent* to *Sherlock Holmes*.

How did modern pyrotechnic experiences engage with these theatrical spaces, and how did this indoor firework-drama spatial interaction resemble or differ from that in night gardens? The late nineteenth-century courtesan novel *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (海上花列传 *haishanghua liezhuan*), written by the Chinese writer and publisher Han Bangqing (1856-1894), sheds some light on the innovative spatial experiences in Shanghai.[47] (Appendix 3-3) As graphically detailed by Han, performing fireworks required a series of collaborative efforts between firework craftsmen and the musical troupe. The firework structure began to be constructed one month ahead, and with the exquisite maneuver of Cantonese craftsmen and different music instruments, the entire performance lasted a quarter of an hour, unfolding one scenario of stories after another in sequence. It was crucial to adjust architectural settings to conform to varied pyrotechnic-musical plays, with the key lying in the drastic contrast between a dark atmosphere and visual and aural sensations. During the display, the crowd gathered in the courtesan house's inner courtyard, the so-called *li* compound, as shown in the site plan of one such *li* house (house with one bay and two wings) (Figure 3-16), and all the windows that flanked the courtyard were closed, the lamps and candles were blown out. Surrounded by darkness in the cramped courtyard space, the spectators were soon stupefied by various sound effects (by musicians and also by firecrackers), colored flames, a lingering warmth of the smoke, as well as the fire-play narrative. Not until the firework and music came to an end were the lamps relit and windows reopened. This firework-musical performance amplified the transient senses that combined momentary visual and aural excitement originally brought by drama plays and ephemeral sensuous pleasures reinforced by pyrotechnic shows.

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[47] Han Bangqing, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai*, 329-331.

Among the pleasure gardens, the Zhang Garden hosted fireworks most often in the summer nights of the late nineteenth century. An 1890s-illustration characterized fireworks in the Zhang Garden as one of the hundred spectacles of Shanghai (Figure 3-17).[48] The garden's owner set up a wooden rack of over-ten meters on the open ground to the northeast corner of the garden specifically for firework display, right beside the Acadia Hall, the tallest building of Shanghai at the time. We can catch a glimpse of the monumental size of such a wooden rack by comparing with the Acadia building beside in a contemporary picture (Figure 3-18). The illustration Figure 3-17 caught the moment of fire-play on view. The large cubic tinderbox was hung over the rack, strained by a thin thread and surrounded by floral combustions emitted from firecracker pots on the ground. The tinderbox was laced with patterns on the surface, and on the rim, a circle of pyrotechnic tubes was flaming downwards, while two theatrical figures slowly descended. Surrounding the firework were riveted well-dressed Chinese and foreign spectators. This illustration resonated with the aforementioned descriptions of firework play in Han Bangqing's novel.

An early silent film, *The Pearl Necklace* (1925), visualized the process of such a firework performance in 1920s Shanghai. The movie opened with a long shot (2'28-3'03) of the Shanghai nightscapes on Nanjing Road, where the multi-story building's facades pulsated with dim neon lights (Figure 3-19). The climax of the film was the scene of festival fireworks staging in a private residential garden, where the gate and pavilion were festooned with glowing electric light bulbs (Figure 3-20). For celebratory purposes, the garden was decorated with a colossal lighted sign with characters *yuanxiao* (Lantern Festival) atop the pavilion. The film fully documented the firework spree (20'04-23'38). The firework boxes were hanging over the center of the

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[48] Hubin baijing, "*Zhang yuan yanhuo*" (One hundred spectacles of Shanghai, Zhangyuan's Firework), recited from Zhang Wei, *Illustrated Zhangyuan*, 2013, 64-65.

courtyard, displaying in total five different sets of pyrotechnic structures; when the fuse swiftly burned upward, the bottom of the hanging box fell to the ground and a theater stage descended. Inside the stage were twinkling figures followed by firecrackers bursting and sprays of firelight and smoke (Figure 3-21).[49] Upon the end of the performance, several pyrotechnicians loomed in the darkness to gather splinters, and only now can we tell the stage-like fireworks in fact were almost life-sized.

Compared with the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century European fireworks that emphasized ascending floral flames and magnificent incendiary glow, Chinese fireworks were more likely to fixate on the concrete shapes and narrative in the midst of a show. This was probably because of the visual aesthetics derived from the theatrical practices of artificial illumination in drama performances. The names of pyrotechnic sets were also inherited from drama plays. The combination of incendiary, illumination, and drama play constituted an integrated performance that manifested what the French playwriter Jean-Louis de Cahuzac called "a spectacle of actions."[50] It was a spectacle that synthesized the efforts of pyrotechnicians, drama players, and spectators, as well as a visual aesthetic that lay in between representational and symbolic, describable and ineffable, realistic and imaginary, as well as a continuous narrative and ephemeral sensorial effects. The temporary settings—the soaring firework rack and electric lighting decorations in outdoor gardens that illuminated the black atmosphere—self-evidently exhilarated the visual and physical experiences. The spectacles' climax was the moment of illumination and combustion. In light of the visual aesthetics of the firework-drama

[49] Given that this is a silent movie, I think during the film on view, there should be musical troupe in the movie theater playing to company this firework display, which was also a common practice at the time.
[50] Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art of Firework*, 47. de Cahuzac's Encyclopedia entry defined fireworks as "In all the Arts it is necessary to paint. In the one that we call Spectacle, it is necessary to paint with actions."

performances, the representations of such fire-plays (like the movie) blurred the boundaries between realistic and imaginary, which made difficult to discern whether the texts and pictures of fireworks were objective to reality or illusion. Like the firework performances themselves, the rhetoric in textual descriptions from the aforementioned novels and newspapers were not necessarily realistic, but rather fictive.

Another example of this idea was visualized in a printed image in *Shenbao* from 1908 (Figure 3-22). The full-page post illustrated a bevy of beholders clapping and cheering at an enormous warship above their heads, with glittery sparkles and smoke flowing out of the cannons and two banners flying high with slogans of "Go Marines! Long Live China!" On the label to the left is written "Lantern Festival Fireworks." The printed ink nicely represented the dark open-air ambiences as if the crowd and warship were enveloped by the festival night, with the sparkling flame as the only visual focus. However, newspaper readers were easily bewildered by the distorted proportions between the figures and warship. They naturally wondered whether the image depicted a fire-play in the shape of warship, or represented a real warship in celebration of the new restoration of the Imperial Beiyang Fleet in 1907. Nonetheless, this visual disorientation and conceit was the key to appreciating and representing firework-drama spectacles such as this one. Echoing the spectacular fireworks, illustrations like this helped viewers recall the visual experience of pyrotechnics that they encountered in the darkness.

Animating Shadowplay

A sequence of posts in *Shenbao* over the summer of 1896 advertised the *xiyang yingxi* (western shadow play) in the Xu Garden, which has been widely considered the very first film exhibition in China. Like electrical illuminations and fireworks, *yingxi* were featured late at night

in pleasure gardens such as the Xu Garden and the Zhang Garden. The *yingxi* play between the 1890s and 1920s referred to a range of related activities: magic lantern shows, motion pictures, and movie exhibitions. Scholars of Chinese film history have traced a genealogy from traditional Chinese shadow puppetry, opera, and magic lantern shows to early cinema exhibition.[51] Scholars have also proven that the *yingxi* showed in the teahouse Youyicun (Another Village) inside the Xu Garden in 1896 were actually magic lantern shows. Not until the summer of 1897 was the initial film screening staged in the Astor House, and it was subsequently featured in the Zhang Garden and a series of teahouses later that year.[52] At the turn of the century, night gardens were the most important locale for the *yingxi* plays, where the hybrid architectural environment prepared the audiences for a proto-cinematic perception.

Whether magic lantern shows or movie exhibitions, *yingxi* shared multiple characteristics with other forms of visual entertainment such as pyrotechnical displays in night gardens, in terms of media technology, spectatorship, and cultural derivation. For firework displays, the dark sky naturally became a backdrop screen for colorful incendiary effects, while magic lantern and movie exhibitions required a white textile screen in a dark atmosphere to project images with a lighting source placed in its front. The processes were also similar for both kinds of performance. As detailed in the 1880s' *Shenbao* reports, the key moment of *yingxi* was before the performance began, "when all lights blacked out and audiences were enveloped with darkness," and "all of a sudden, the projector unexpectedly lit up, followed by loud live music."[53] The sudden contrast

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[51] Sun Qing, "Magic Lantern;" Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, "Translating *Yingxi,*" 2017, 19-50.
[52] Huang Dequan, "Early Film Came to Shanghai;" Tang Hongfeng, "From Lantern Slides to Cinema."
[53] "Notes of Watching Shadowplay," *Shenbao*, 1885.11.23.; Ads also shown in 1887.12.19.; 1889.8.29. Commonly the reports described the play scene as "all western lights blacked out, and gongs and drums were beating boisterously" "洋灯齐熄 锣鼓锵鸣," while sometimes also accompanied with western music, as "all lights blacked out, and [we] can only hear the sound of western music" "灯火尽熄 惟闻西乐呜呜."

between the completely murky atmosphere and brightness given by technological power (pyrotechnics and optical devices) was crucial to the early cinematic experience, while live music also played a significant role. Finally, like firework displays, *yingxi* plays presented melodrama images in sequence, focusing on naturalist landscapes and different local views all over the world. The essence of *yingxi*, liken to fire-plays, was its 'transience,' as if the serial images were motion pictures. The audiences, as the *Shenbao* articles highlighted, all "held their breath and nobody dared to make any noise."[54]

The history of magic lantern shows in China can be traced back to the late seventeenth century, when they were brought by Italian Jesuits to the Qing palace.[55] Up until the 1870s and 80s, magic lantern shows were performed in schools and institutions, often coupled with lectures, by Chinese and European pastors in the treaty ports. The purpose of shows was varied, some for education, while others for charity fund-raising; some free, while others charging for pricey tickets. A serial illustration published in *Dianshizhai Pictorial* depicted a magic lantern show performed by pastor Yen Yung Kiung in Shanghai Polytechnic Institution in 1885. One of the illustrations (Figure 3-23) presents a section-view of the indoor setting, where many people crowded inside a traditional-style hall. Yen stood beside the picture that were projected on the screen/or the empty wall in front of audiences, lecturing the exotic scenes from a worldwide trip, and behind the audience was Yen's assistant stood in the foreground handling the magic lantern machine. The event's purpose was to raise funds (by charging five dimes), and the lecturer also aimed to "enlighten the public and enrich knowledge."[56] By and large, the magic lantern shows in the late nineteenth century combined education, charity, commerce, as well as entertainment.

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[54] *Ibid*.
[55] Sun Qing, "Magic Lantern."
[56] "*Yingxi tongguan*" (Watching Shadowplay), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1886, The text reads: "enlighten the public and enrich knowledge" "启迪民智 以扩见闻."

The temporary setting, ephemeral display of images, and accompanying lectures were essential to the magic lantern show as a pseudo-film, or precursor to the film experience. As Miriam Hansen argues for a particular film-spectator relation in early American silent film exhibitions, the cinematic effects on viewers relied upon these nonfilmic acts (lectures, sound effects, and live music) to work together with projected moving images.[57] Scholars of early Chinese cinema studies also stress the tension between the cinematic setting and film reception. Film scholars have studied how this new medium interacted with its early physical settings—teahouses and Chinese gardens—the spaces designated for many of the earliest film screenings at the turn of the century. Zhen Zhang and Joshua Goldstein use the nineteenth-century teahouse as a "spatial trope" to reconstruct the vernacular film spectatorship in China, where the potent visual stimulus of cinema was mitigated by the boisterous marketplace-like teahouse setting.[58] In other words, the marketplace-like teahouse featuring multiple forms of entertainment constantly competed for the audience's attention to the screen. As such, Zhang describes movie shows in the early period as a "tension-driven" sight fraught with frictions and uncertainties that defined the vernacular modern visual culture in early twentieth century China.[59] The "tension-driven" sight echoes how Sugawara defined the early film reception as a "discursive spectatorship,"[60] which can be seen in the illustration of the *tanhuang* play (folk opera) space in night gardens of the time (Figure 3-24). He argues that early "movie was experienced, rather than watched," because "people visited the Chinese gardens specifically to wander, rather than to watch

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[57] Miriam Hansen, *Babel & Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*, 1991, 93-94.
[58] Zhang, "Teahouse, Shadowplay, Bricolage;" Joshua Goldstein, "From Teahouse to Playhouse."
[59] Zhang, *ibid*., 32; Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, "Translating *Yingxi*," 21.
[60] Yoshino Sugawara, "*Shanhai no yuyuuho sha: shinsueminhatsu no eiga kanshō nitsuite*" (The Flâneur in Shanghai: Moviegoing and Spectatorship in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era), 3-4.

movies." They were an "aimless, occasional, and discursive audience," and to them, "movies were just a part of the scenery of the gardens."[61]

The nonfilmic acts accompanied the projection of magic lantern slides in teahouse environment—illumination, opera, music, food and drink—fostered a permeable relation between the stage and the audience, and it was the interchangeable relation that helped hinder the emergence of modern visual culture/early cinematic experience in China. As displayed in the picture from *Tuhua ribao* (Illustrated Daily) in 1907 that depicts an interior scene where a movie was being projected (Figure 3-25), the scene demonstrated many of the vernacular manners of the local moviegoers of the time. Very similar to what showing in Figure 3-24, the music of drum and horns was displayed alongside, viewers were distracted by various things ranging from chatting and walking to music, which interfered with the viewers' concentration on the screen illustrations.

The nightly pleasure gardens soon became the major locale staging *yingxi*—movie exhibitions and magic lantern shows, such as the abovementioned famous film screening in the Xu Garden in 1896.[62] The nocturnal atmosphere in pleasure gardens enhanced such sensory experiences, quoting Hansen's term, as "a sensory-reflective horizon."[63] The Zhangyuan Garden, unsurprisingly, was the first garden to stage movie exhibitions. In June of 1897, *Sin Wan Pao* publicized several ads to advertise the performances of *dianguang yingxi* (电光影戏 electric-

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[61] *Ibid.*, 10.
[62] The specific venues designed and built for film screening did not appear until nearly a decade later: The Arcade Theatre was built on East Chang'an Road in Beijing in 1907, Bizhao Theatre opened on Graham Street in Hong Kong in the same year, and one year later Hongkew Theatre was built in Shanghai. Pang, 68.
[63] Miriam Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 10-22.

light shadowplay) in the Zhang Garden, which "began screening at the Western-style Arcadia Hall at 9 o'clock in the evening for entertaining Chinese audiences," for a price of one yuan.[64]

The few records of early cinema reception toward *yingxi* plays in the Zhang Garden indicates how Chinese viewers responded to motion pictures inside the amusement arena. Two reports, following the ads in *Sin Wan Pao*, documented one of the earliest screenings in the Zhang Garden that comprised two sets of ten short films.[65] The writer went to the Garden with his two Chinese photographer friends. The *yingxi* was on play inside Arcadia Hall, where the writer noticed only a tiny beam of light illuminated the interior space, while a large white screen hung up against the hall's southern wall and the projector was set up at the north end. Illuminated by electricity, the screen projected one film after another, while the images—figures, landscapes, architecture—were animated in motion on the screen, accompanied by a music troupe playing next to the audience. There was a ten-minute break between the two sets of film screenings, when the light and music turned off and then back on. From the detailed descriptions, we are able to grasp the sense of how the interplay of dark atmosphere and illumination, the silent animated images and live music, as well as realistic representation and fantasy experience deeply spellbound viewers.

The impact of darkness prior to movie projection worked as a threshold to the representation of an alternative reality— a reality imported from the West, which was exotic and alienating to Chinese viewers.[66] In other words, the projected pictures were faithful to reality, but

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[64] *Huoxiaozhao*, *Sin Wan Pao* (The News), 1897.5.30; "Zhangyuan: Electrical Shadowplay," 1897.6.2-4., 6.8-13. The text reads: "[The show] began screening at the Western-style Arcadia Hall at 9 o'clock in the evening for entertaining Chinese audiences" "在张园安垲地大洋房九点钟起演 以助华客欣赏之兴"
[65] "On a Movie Show at the Weichun-yuan Garden," 1897.6.11; 6.13; Huang Dequan, "Early Film Came to Shanghai."
[66] Pang, "Walking into and out of the Spectacle," 77. Pang offers an insightful analysis of how public gardens, with their own cultural specificities, allowed a unique viewing experience for Chinese middle-class visitors, due to the visitor's mobility in and engagement with the space.

a faraway reality. Both the filmic mechanisms and referent were different and separated from the everyday life of Chinese viewers. As such, this new garden experience stemmed from the traditional strolling of Chinese gardens on the one hand, and on the other hand, from other modern activities such as train travel and shopping.[67] Pang Laikwan defined this new experience as an *imaginary* tour, which was differentiated from physical walking in traditional private gardens, because the movie exhibition inside the new garden provided viewers only an imaginary and fictional movement.

Yet I would argue that the hybrid architectural environment of the Chinese pleasure gardens, the location where early movie shows took place, in effect mediated the tension between the cinematic space (both the setting and the images) and early film spectatorship. This is obvious in the case of Zhang Garden. The Arcadia Hall, where the movie projection was staged, was actually a teahouse decorated in hybrid-style inside (Figure 3-26; Figure 3-27). The architecture was constructed in Romanesque Revival style that prevailed in contemporary England, whereas inside, it featured regular activities of traditional teahouses such as storytelling, opera, food and drink. The adjacent building of Arcadia Hall was a theater called *Haitian shengchu* (Stunning View over the Skyline) constructed as a veranda, featuring indigenous opera such as *mao'erxi* (all-female casting opera) and *tanhuang* (folk opera). Combining the foreign (Western-style architectural environment) with the familiar (traditional theatrical performances), these venues helped alleviate the tension embodied in the astonishing and alienating reception of the movie projection.

More specifically, although the novel apparatuses and representational images on screen were a far distant reality, the surrounding environment was already foreign while at the same

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[67] *Ibid.*

time familiar and daily enough. Charles Musser's discussion about the "novelty" of modern apparatus sheds light on the complex reception-mechanism:

> During cinema's first year of success, motion pictures enjoyed the status of a novelty. This very concept or category served to address the problem of managing change within a rapidly industrializing society: novelties typically introduced the public to important technological innovations within a reassuring context that permitted spectators to take pleasure in the discontinuities and dislocations. While technological change created uncertainty and anxiety, 'novelty' always embodied significant elements of familiarity, including the very genre of novelty itself. In the case of cinema, greater verisimilitude was initially emphasized at the expense of narrative.[68]

The actual physical mobility to tour the garden space during performances further helped make the foreign more palatable, which I will elaborate in the next section. In the case of the visual entertainments in night gardens of late-nineteenth century Shanghai, the particular architectural environment delivered the audiences a familiar (garden landscapes) yet foreign (teahouse Arcadia Hall) reality that was different from traditional entertainment spheres, where the novel visual spectacles (artificial illuminations, pyrotechnics, movie projections) were interspersed with an array of vernacular popular art forms (opera, live music, melodrama etc.). The verisimilitude and animation of firework constructions and motion pictures channeled both reality and fantasy. In the transient shift between darkness and illumination, the foreign architectural environment echoed the projected exotic images, and thereafter mediated the alienating experience and uncertain anxiety towards the new technologies.

When we step back and scrutinize these visual entertainments in the temporal-spatial context, the entire nightly programs in the pleasure gardens, we shall see more clearly this complex spectatorship that emphasized sensory experiences, spectacle, and performativity. In the following section, I will discuss the various visual spectacles of artificial illuminations, firework

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[68] Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Screen: The American Screen to 1907*, University of California Press, 1994, 188.

performances, and *yingxi* plays in the context of the entire nightly entertainment program and their intersections within the garden space. I show how those interactions provided audiences with an aesthetics of modern visual culture at the turn of the twentieth century.

3.4 Night Gardens as Fluid Space and Entertainment Continuum

In a popular late-Qing novel *Haishang fanhua meng* (Dreams of Shanghai's Glamour) by Chinese writer and editor Sun Jiazhen (1864-1940), serialized in the entertainment tabloids of Shanghai between 1898-1906, one chapter portrayed a night spree in the Zhang Garden of three flaneurs, Zhou Celiu, Hua Xiaolong, and Jin Zilong, who were born into affluent families in nearby cities traveling to Shanghai.[69] The descriptions comprehensively recounted a series of nightly programs taking place in the garden and the multi-layered spatial experiences they created. Based on the city map and the map of the garden, we can illustrate a complete wandering route from the center of Shanghai westbound to the Zhang Garden of these young men over one night.

As we retrace their route on the city map (Figure 3-28), earlier that day, (a) these young patrons spent time with an acquainted courtesan named Xiaolian in a frequented *fancai guan* (番菜馆 Western-style restaurants) called Yi Pin Xiang and (b) courtesan houses near the Racecourse in Guangfuli area, with footprints scattered over the center of the International Settlement ((c) one of the stops, a bistro called Santaige). When the sun set, (d) they rode on a carriage heading to Zhang Garden for firework performances at night. As shown on another map,

[69] Sun Jiazhen (Sun Yusheng), *Dreams of Shanghai's Glamour*, 1917, v. *houji*, Chapter 13, "*Pian kaikuang tianhua luanzhui, yue youyuan yanhuo tongming*" (Fooled to exploit a mine, descriptions overly-elaborated; meet up together for strolling in garden, fireworks well-illuminated), Jiangxi Renmin Publishing House, reprinted edition, 1988, 865-876.

a reconstructed layout of the Zhang Garden (Figure 3-29), at its entrance, (1) they encountered the ticket stall with some nice red electric lights on the gate, so they paid the entrance fee and then got off the carriage outside the Arcadia Hall (2). There, many tables had already been set up in the external corridor of the hall and on the outdoor grass field. One of the servants from the garden showed them to a table by the east pond (3), where they could prevent themselves from being hit by splashing sparks of fireworks. While waiting for the firework to begin, Celiu left the table and tried to tour the garden. The first thing that caught his eye was the huge wooden rollercoaster structure on the field by the lotus pond, (4) which he and a bevy of onlookers watched galloping up and down and dashing into the water. (5) He then took a meandering path beside the pond and reached the billiard house. After watching a few games, (6) he left the building and continued walking to a Japanese-style teahouse across the pond. Afterwards, (7) he intended to visit the verandah-style theater for tonight's *mao'er xi*, but just then he heard the rumbling of fireworks going off at a distance. The young man rushed back to his table for the firework performance. Six sets of pyrotechnics discharged in sequence on the wooden rack, ranging from the traditional theatrical play to a warship with firing cannons probably alike the post in *Shenbao* (see Figure 3-22). The last setting was a pagoda of over ten meters embedded with colorful electric light bulbs that lit up the garden, and the flying sparks stunned the guests in the front.[70]

The novel thus vividly illustrated a tour route that, through the character's physical movement and visual engagement in the darkness, bridged different garden landscapes in sequence, the interior and outdoor spaces, the past and present, as well as the realistic and imaginary. The sensual experiences, that the characters relying on sound, smell, and color effects

[70] *Ibid.*

to navigate their way through the garden space, embodied an interplay between familiar and foreign, static and kinetic. The visitor came into the garden from the main entrance in the north, moving southward through the ground, ponds, and various stops, and walking northward back to the center of Zhangyuan Garden, the Arcadia Hall. The tour *per se*—strolling garden through one *jing* (景 scenery/spectacle) after another—was traditional; and the means connected sceneries—*taihushi* (太湖石 artificial rockery), lotus pond, a meandering path—was familiar, which required literate viewers with experiences and certain knowledge to decipher the cultural connotations behind them. The experience recalled a traditional garden practice, *yibu huanjing* (移步换景), literally "different sceneries with changing steps."

Meanwhile in contrast, the garden's layout apparently combined not only a compassed traditional garden landscape but also a new-style wide open grass field. The settings for spectacles—the Arcadia Hall, the verandah-style theater, snooker play, electric illumination, pyrotechnic performance, and movie exhibitions—were foreign; and the transient spectacles—running rollercoaster, flickering electric light, flamboyant combustions up to dark air, and motion pictures on the screen—were innovative and dynamically in change. That is to say, not only did sightseers move for different static sceneries, but they also paused for moving spectacles as well. These scattered, simultaneously displayed entertainment attractions thereafter transformed the garden space into a continuous and fluid spatial unity, while spectators themselves were the mobile center who controlled the pace and content to explore the spatial unity.

Indeed, as we flip through the advertisements of nightly programs of these pleasure gardens in late nineteenth-century newspapers, we notice performances such as fireworks and *yingxi* were interspersed with an array of other kinds of entertainment. Between July 22 and 28

in 1908, for example, the Zhang Garden held a series of continuous nightly fetes to celebrate the Guangxu Emperor's thirty-seventh birthday. Among the celebratory programs were festoon and electric illuminations, firework performances with western live music, and electric light shadow-plays (movie exhibitions) with motion pictures from France, Britain, and the United States.[71]

The visitor's physical and visual engagement with the garden space yielded a complex relationship between subjects and spectacles. The viewing subjects were embraced by modern spectacles, while the garden atmosphere endowed them an actual mobility to create an active and dynamic spectatorship, rather than a passive receiving process. The viewers were not merely seated onlookers receiving visual entertainments, but also active sightseers strolling around. In light of the garden environment, the sightseeing experience could be both public/collective and private/individual, in which the visitor's movement was guided between various forms of entertainment: Where to go, what to see, and with whom at viewers' leisure and their own pace.[72]

More importantly, the nocturnal environment of garden provided the necessary backdrop for the varied bodily experiences. The major nightly attractions of the pleasure gardens, electrical illuminations, firework performances, and movie exhibitions—the former two featured in outdoor space of the garden and the latter shown interiorly— would have created a diversified as well as uniform theatrical atmosphere for modern viewers. The images in newspapers and pictorials provide us a window to imagine the spatial settings and sensory experience of the visual entertainments in these gardens. Inside the Arcadia where *yingxi* plays (magic lantern shows and movie exhibitions) were on view, the shows endowed a unique sensory experience

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[71] *Shenbao*, 1908.7.22.
[72] As Pang mentioned, the new modern visual experience was "as much active as passive, as much collective as individuated." Pang, "Walking," 73-74.

that relied on the new visual apparatus, the realistic representations it projected, life-like pictures in motion, the confined dim room, quick-changing pictures, and the contrast between darkness and illumination. And on the outside grounds, the firework performances assuredly continued a similar experience. The gloomy outdoor atmosphere at night naturally bestowed a dark setting for the pyrotechnic displays. The incendiary lifelike figures and transient effects became a public nightly spectacle in pleasure gardens and created a new collective viewing experience. While the motion pictures were virtually projected on screen in sequence, the firework figures were ephemerally exploded away. As delineated in the novel *Dreams of Shanghai's Glamour*, the flaneur's touring route pictured the night garden as both a continuous and fragmented space, where the garden landscape combined with various forms of visual entertainment constituted a modern entertainment continuum.

3.5 The Female Image and Changing Discourse on 'Night Gardens'

In this final section, I trace the changing imagery and discussion of night gardens and nightscapes at the turn of the twentieth century and how these varied perceptions interrelated with the experiences in gardens. The nightly visual entertainments created collective as well as private spatial experiences within Chinese pleasure gardens, while assorted representations and discussions in newspapers turned the garden space into a part of the public sphere. Newspapers and illustrated magazines portrayed the activities around night gardens, such as strolling, riding in carriages, as diverse and sometimes conflicting experiences, and the central component in these complex perceptions was the construction of a new image of women in print media. Despite the fact that these temporal and spatial adventures were crucial to the city's men of letters in shaping their nightlife, these educated patrons simultaneously reacted to these

outrageous ventures (i.e. riding carriages, strolling gardens in the dark etc.) with concern and exasperation. The appearance of women in the public realm after dusk aggravated this concern and incurred a series of criticisms. Now female figures, in particular courtesans and girl students, showed up in these adventuresome night gardens, which had been heretofore off-limit to women. The female persona depicted in illustrations and texts conveyed a sense of corruption; that is to say, to those Chinese men of letters, the nocturnal pleasures were titillating as well as dangerous and decadent.

The illustrated magazines such as *Dianshizhai Pictorial* and *Illustrated Daily* were instrumental in articulating and spreading this image of female figures in the setting of night gardens. The courtesans riding in carriages with their clients overnight were depicted not only as an urban spectacle to marvel at, but also as a newsworthy event that jeopardized the social order. An illustration from *Illustrated Daily*, titled "Social phenomenon in Shanghai: showing off by racing in carriages," depicts courtesans and their clients riding in open carriages racing each other on their way to night gardens (Figure 3-30). The street lamp to the right indicated the setting was a night scene, while the explanatory texts on the picture chided the carriages racing to suburban night gardens as a frequent cause of accidents.

Dianshizhai Pictorial illustrates many stories of such scandalous night rides (Figure 3-31; Figure 3-32). The visual formats of these illustrations are similar. The pictorial motifs— railings, vegetation and florals as shown in traditional nightly open-air settings—framed a garden landscape as well as the most dramatic moment of the carriage accidents in the foreground. In contrast to the "traditional" setting (most of the other *Dianshizhai* pictorials that in general presented a stable/symmetrical composition), the horse-drawn carriages were delineated to overturn the picture's stability, riding from an upper corner diagonally towards the lower corner.

The orthogonal carriage trails projected a recession of space. The natural surroundings were intentionally interspersed with contemporary accoutrements in order to enhance the modern atmosphere, such as electric lamps along the streets and steamships in the distance. The accompanying texts revealed how conventional scholar-beauty tales had been turned into a public nuisance in the modern setting: Sassy courtesans and their patrons on nightly outings caused traffic accidents and became outrageous scandals. The illustration Figure 3-32 depicted a carriage-assignation with a courtesan and her paramour inside a garden. When they parked in an unlit spot, a stealthy peeper sneaked up upon them; the horse got spooked, and as a result, the man's sleeve revolved into the wheel and injured himself.

Indeed, in premodern China, the image of courtesans and scholars had been portrayed in the setting of gardens in the conventional theme of an "elegant gathering" from the Ming dynasty onwards, such as Dai Jin's *Elegant Gathering in Nanping* and Li Shida's *Xi Yuan Elegant Gathering of Eminent Scholars* (Figure 3-33). Wu Hung argues that these paintings represented courtesans as beautiful appreciative subjects of literati on the one hand, and scholars' intellectual competence in scenic natural surroundings on the other.[73] The Shanghai illustrations from the late nineteenth century, in contrast, highlighted the misbehavior of courtesans and their male clients in the public realm after dark. Despite the image of women being likewise portrayed as the center of attention, their unstable composition reflected the conflicting social receptions of female visibility in the public sphere. As Yeh argues, the earlier portrait of courtesans depicted in traditional illustrations as secluded beauty was built upon the imagined world order and value of the literati. But now, "the exclusivity, one of the most important signs of high culture, was being

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[73] Wu Hung, *Feminine Space in Chinese Painting*, Chapter 7, "*Qinglou tuxiang: biaoxian yu ziwo biaoxian*," 281-286.

erased,"[74] and the women shown in crowded streets and gardens as illustrated in these commercial pictorials became dramatized and vulgarized.

Female students constituted another group of women who frequented night gardens. In the early twentieth century, an increasing number of young women stepped outside the household for receiving modern education in schools and made their public appearance in night gardens. Their social receptions went from applause to criticism, just as did the courtesans'. Huang Xiangjin details the narration of girl students in a serialized exposé/scandal novel (*heimu xiaoshuo*). As one kind of Butterfly literature prevailing in the late Qing, these novels started a subgenre focusing on the Shanghai girl students.[75] *Ye huayuan* became a popular backdrop for these fictions. On one level, it continued the intimacy of *hou huayuan* (backyard garden) as depicted in formulaic scholar-beauty novels. And on another level, the night garden was a unique semi-public urban environment in modern Shanghai, where young female students were described as easily seducible and as signals of consumerism and moral corruption.[76]

The newspapers and tabloids reacted to night gardens as diversely as to other new things introduced to China during the early twentieth century, and this had the effect of stigmatizing/complicating the image of outdoor space at night. Well-known writers such as Wang Tao (1828-1897) and Huang Xiexun held multiple roles, working for the Qing government as advocating reformers and serving as active reporters for Shanghai miscellanea and newspapers. When those new visual devices (ie. street lamps, magic lantern machines etc.) were introduced into China, these young Chinese writers and reporters were keen to bring their

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[74] Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 202-204.
[75] *Ibid*., 213-219, "The Serialized Exposé Novel and the Image of the 'Urban Shrew'" talks about how young writers, who lived in Shanghai as journalists, recrafted the courtesan image in serialized courtesan novels; Huang Xiangjin, "The Flowers of Evil."
[76] *Ibid*.

reception and experiences to the public by publishing writings in newspapers. At the same time, they were wary of anything outside of the traditional manner. Newspapers would run advertisements for entertainment programs at night gardens, feeding modern readers every detail of night gardens and nightlife scenes of trendy courtesans, yet at the same time, would also publish articles to criticize the strolling and carriage-rides in night gardens and post announcement on behalf of the Shanghai *Daotai* to forbid night gardens.

Journalists tried to warn the residents of the detriment of frequenting night gardens from the perspective of public health. In acerbic exasperation, one article in *Yixue xinbao* (New Medical Journal) protested that roaming around in open air at night jeopardized people's health, since "the unstable weather in the night of the summertime would cause serious diseases. When people wallow in sensual pleasures at night gardens, the onset of illness has already invaded the body."[77] The Shanghai County government chided night gardens for undermining social regulations with a hasher tone. They denounced the social activities in night gardens as a contamination of morals and a violation of the traditional spatial, temporal, and gender order of the city. In the summer of 1909, *Shenbao* several times published a ban from the Shanghai *Daotai* of the time, Cai Naihuang, prohibiting night gardens from running past midnight. He called for the municipal councils' assistance in the foreign settlements to withdraw those night gardens' licenses.[78]

In fact, the SMC had its own regulations on the horse-driven carriages within the area of the foreign settlements. Not only were all means of transportation such as rickshaws and carriages required to register with the SMC for a license, but the horse-led carriages were also

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[77] "*Jinggao yiban jumin ji you ye huayuan zhe*" (Notice to Common Residents and Patrons to Night Gardens), *Yixue xinbao* (New Medical Journal), v.2, 1911.1.8.
[78] "*Hudao zhuyi yanjin yehuayuan*" (Shanghai Daotai Banned Night Gardens), *Shenbao*, 1909, 8.20.

not allowed to across over the Defence Creek after the midnight.[79] The Defence Creek had been the westernmost boundary moat of the British and American Settlements for decades, between the 1860s and 1899. Yet courtesans and their clients found ways to circumvent the interdiction. In this sense, the carriage-strolling of night gardens provided a dual-stimulus nocturnal thrill: The night curfew in the Chinese town, as well as the carriage ride limitation in the foreign settlements. Late nineteenth-century Shanghai nightlife was thereafter not merely a temporal extension of daytime recreations but was a temporal-spatial exploration by virtue of breaking rules and transgressing the time-and-geographical boundaries of both the Chinese and foreign settlements sides. The daytime carriage routes did not geographically overlap with those of the nighttime garden carriage. Both public garden sites at night and carriage-ride after midnight in the suburbs, were formerly prohibited spaces, but now opened for experiencing anew.[80]

Just to the left on the same page of the newspaper that published Prefect Cai's ban, the paper reported a complaint from a female American doctor who lived adjacent to two night gardens and was disturbed by the overnight noise of traffic and performances.[81] The two articles printed side by side, as if the complaint was a striking piece of evidence to support the Chinese prefect's fiat (Figure 3-34). However, on the same day *Shenbao*, one usually would find not only news that the Chinese government tried to ban all night gardens within the Chinese city, but also advertisements boosting the grand opening of a night garden by a French owner newly opened in

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[79] "*Lun zuo yemache zhi xingsheng*" (The prosperity of riding horse-driven carriages at night), *Youxi bao* (Recreation News), 1899.7.9.; Also see *Minutes of the Shanghai Municipal Council*, v.3, 1897-98, 486. For example, in March 1897, the SMC issued plates to 575 horse-drive carriages, 716 horses, 3,379 rickshaws, and 5,914 Chinese carts.
[80] See Alexander Des Forges, Chapter 4, "Constant Motion and Endless Narrative," in *Mediasphere Shanghai,* 93-113. He talks about the description of night carriage-riding in late-Qing Shanghai novels stimulated the reader with "its transgression of aesthetic and moral restrictions and distinctions."
[81] "*Nü yisheng qing jin yehuayuan*" (Female Doctor Asked for Closing Night Gardens), *Shenbao*, 1909.8.20.

the French Settlement (Figure 3-35a-b).[82] Apparently, the administrative fiat did not obscure the popularity of night gardens, but rather gained them more public attention. Shanghai's night gardens and their various textual and visual representations were thus increasingly prosperous.

On the one hand, the controversial social reception towards night gardens reflected the tension between the local government's regulation and Shanghai residents. The urban intellectuals attempted to recraft a new image of women in Shanghai's urban environment. Incriminating nightly congregations had been a control means in pre-modern Chinese society for the government targeting certain groups of people or foreign beliefs.[83] Outdoor nightly activities were often pictured as unruly and morally corrupt. The concept of "dark night as the time for *sharen fanghuo* (killing and vandalizing)" was rooted in the Chinese mentality.[84]

On the other hand, the image-making of Shanghai's nightlife in newspapers and illustrated magazines reflected the commercialization of the new print media. The bans, complaints, and advertisements of night gardens were all promoted by the commercial print market of late-Qing Shanghai. To the courtesans in nineteenth-century Shanghai, the outrageous illustrations were a marketing device for self-staging and to heighten their public profile and thus benefited their business.[85] These public gardens continued to be Shanghai's trendiest hangouts until the 1910s, when indoor mass entertainment complexes, such as the amusement parks and rooftop gardens in department stores that I discussed in the last chapter, were built up in the

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[82] "The SMC Demanded to Close Night Gardens;" "The Opening of Liu Yuan in this Summer," *Shenbao*, 1913, 6.28.

[83] Ge Zhaoguang, "Distinguishing between Day and Night: Discussion on the Conception of How to Allot Day and Night in the History of Ideas in Ancient China," 2003. The words chosen to incriminate these nightly congregation commonly were something like "*nannü hunza, yeju xiaosan*" (men and women mixed up together, who gathered at night and left in the morning) "男女混杂, 夜聚晓散".

[84] Feng Menglong, *Stories to Caution the World*: "*fenggao fanghuo, fenghei sharen*" (high wind as the time for vandalizing; dark night as the time for killing) "风高放火 月黑杀人." From *Ibid*.

[85] Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 74.

downtown area to house more up-to-date entertainments. The public gardens, in vogue only for a few decades, gradually lost their cultural aura in the late 1920s and 30s.

3.6 Conclusion

With modern lighting technologies enthusiastically introduced to China and promptly put into practice in major cities like Shanghai during the second half of the nineteenth century, a nightlife culture boomed in Chinese pleasure gardens, known as *ye huayuan* (night gardens). Assorted visual entertainments engaged with varying temporary structures in the garden space while provoking ephemeral multi-senses experiences in the darkness, sensory both individual and collective. The settings for nocturnal spectacles were temporary: the outdoor electrical lamps, pyrotechnical wooden frames, and interior screening set building, which incorporated vernacular art forms and new technologies and yielded to fluid spatial experiences. Not only did the different forms of visual entertainment share a spatiotemporal setting within night gardens, but their attractions were also based on their similarities to vernacular art traditions, namely, roaming gardens and theatrical performances.

For Chinese men of letters who frequented night gardens, they encountered these visual performances without necessarily knowing the principles behind, but rather they would rationalize these diverse entertainments based on their accumulated experiences and understanding of vernacular activities. As I discussed, the modern understanding of new technologies depended on a wide range of cultural innovations and individual empiricism in changing socio-political contexts. The night garden culture in this sense was a process of indigenous construction that combined old and new, in which these educated garden patrons were apt to incorporate new things into the perceptions of everyday life, through multifarious

visual entertainment as well as multivocal writings in print media. The night garden thusly functioned as a transition bridging traditional private Chinese garden culture and mass entertainment burgeoned in the 1920s and 30s.[86]

Exploring night gardens became a continuous spatial experience comprised of carriage-rides, lingering in garden scenes, and assorted visual novelties and devices, casting a novel aesthetic of moving vision in the late nineteenth century. Touring the garden landscape and experiencing assorted nocturnal spectacles were simultaneously interchangeable pleasures, while the bodily movement and changing sceneries interacted each other, fostering a dynamic spectatorship in night gardens. Essential to the night garden spatial experience was the communal darkened backdrop. The dramatic moment transforming from the dark ambience into lighting-up performances foretold a kind of proto-cinematic aesthetics. This not only mediated representation systems of different visual spectacles, blurred the boundaries between the interior and outdoor spaces, but also channeled new technologies and thusly generated multi-faceted perceptions.

When this nascent outdoor nightlife culture was translated to textual and visual representations in mass media, night gardens became a central stage where different political and cultural visions of nightlife were contested. The changing attitudes toward night gardens, on the one hand, revealed how Chinese educated patrons viewed the nocturnal spectacles as amazing achievements of modern technology that combined traditional cultural forms while stimulating new visual and spatial experiences. On the other hand, the texts and images that centered on night garden activities also delineated Chinese administrators' and the general public's uncertainties about nightlife. The perception of modern technologies, as exemplified in that of

[86] See Misu Yusuke, "*Shinsue Shanhai no yūkyō kūkan, ya hanazono: shin natsu no yoru no rakuen*" (Cultural Metaphor of Night Gardens and Characteristics of Modern Public Cultural Sphere), 14.

electricity and pyrotechnic display, varied in the spectrum from the power of modernization to threats to the geopolitical regulations and gender boundaries of late nineteenth-century Chinese society. And, at the same time, mass media highlighted the political and cultural tensions by juxtaposing assorted, often contradictory reports and advertisements; for example, the scandalized representation of courtesans of the time to some extent also raised their public profile. These garden patrons thereby had to grapple with their ambivalent feelings toward the dual-faceted modernity. In sum, the nocturnal spectacles, continuous spatial experiences, and diversified representation of night gardens together fostered a proto-cinematic visual aesthetic in late-Qing Shanghai, which came to constitute a significant part of Chinese visual modernity.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING CITY PARKS, RECONSTRUCTING NEW LIFE AND NEW WOMEN IMAGE IN 1930S-SHANGHAI

A two-page photocollage published in *The Eastern Miscellanies* in 1935 (*dongfang zazhi*) (Figure 4-1) titled "Parks of Shanghai" comprises a layout of leafy sceneries in Shanghai public parks, characterized by tranquil ponds, pavilions, stacked rookeries, lined-up benches, and trails dappled by sunlight through the foliage. Another photospread taken from a new magazine, *The Cosmopolitan* (*dazhong*), in 1934 (Figure 4-2) entitled "In the Parks in Shanghai" presents assorted urban experiences in parks, ranging from modern commodities (a Western-style stroller, parasols, and fashionable hats) to urban subjects of all sorts (sassy girls, painter, city kids, and nannies), to novel activities (open-air painting, family trips to the zoo). The two representations of public parks illustrate two different urban practices in 1930s Shanghai: the park as an urban planning project as well as a walkable daily space. In the former image (Figure 4-1), the designed park landscapes stood for an ambitious urban reconstruction, known as the Greater Shanghai Plan, set in motion by the national government in an effort to create a Chinese municipality in the 1930s, while the latter image (Figure 4-2) captures how new urban spaces were actively used, consisting of activities here and there in public parks.

Noticeably, the discrete spatial experiences described here were different from those in the commercial gardens that I discussed in the previous chapter. The preceding chapter studies Shanghai night gardens, which were private-owned Chinese gardens opened for commercial use during the late nineteenth century. Designs of these commercial night gardens catered to their owners' interests, where viewers experienced assorted forms of visual entertainment. Public

parks, on the contrary, formed a key part of a city's municipal construction.[1] When the Shanghai Special Municipality was established in 1927, a new city plan was immediately initiated. Constructing public parks became an issue of how the Nationalist government redefined the city and reconstructed its public image as a modern metropolis for the Chinese nation. Although recent scholarship directs our attention to the new state-driven urbanization in Republican Shanghai,[2] there is still little known about how urban Chinese experienced this expansion and how these experiences differed from those spectacles in the neighboring foreign settlements. Indeed, writings delineating early twentieth-century Shanghai, a city implanted with soaring skyscrapers along the Bund and crowded ballrooms in French Concession, were plentiful in the existing scholarship, but depictions of experiences in the new Shanghai remain limited.[3]

Inspired by Michel de Certeau's framework of the concept-city as "a field of programmed and regulated operations" in contrast to a city made up of street-level spaces

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[1] Chen Yunqian, "On the Change of Tourism and Entertainment Space During the Period of Late Qing and Republican China," *Historical Review*, vol.5 (2004): 93-100.

[2] Studies on the Greater Shanghai Plan include Yu Shi'en, *Modernity and National Identity: A Study on the Greater Shanghai Plan of 1929*, 2017; Cole Roskam, "Recentering the City: Municipal Architecture in Shanghai, 1927-1937," in *Constructing the Colonized Land*, 2014, 43-70; Zhang Xiaohong, "Urban Space Production: Urbanization of Wujiaochang Area in Jiangwan Town of Shanghai in 1900-1949," *Scientia Geographica Sinica*, vol.31 (no.10 2011); Seng Kuan, "Between Beaux-Arts and Modernism: Dong Dayou and the Architecture of 1930s Shanghai," in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, 2011, 169-192; Wei Shu, *An Analysis of "the Greater Shanghai Plan,"* 2007; Chi-jeng Kuo, "Frothing the Summoning of a New State--The Greater Shanghai Project and the Urban Politics of Shanghai, 1927," *Journal of Geographical Science*, 2001, 27-65; Delin Lai, "Scientific and Nationalistic: Views on Modern Chinese Architecture," 1995; Zheng Shiling, *Architectural Styles in Modern Shanghai*, 1995, 52-58; Shin Muramatsu, *Shanhai: Toshi to Kenchiku, 1842-1949* (Shanghai: City and Architecture, 1842-1949), PARCO, 1991, 209-260; Kerrie MacPherson, "Designing China's Urban Future: The Greater Shanghai Plan, 1927-1937," *Planning Perspectives*, vol.9, no.1 (1990): 30-62.

[3] A body of scholarship discusses the charming dialectical relationship between the urban experience and its fictional and filmic representations in Republican Shanghai, especially those by New-sensationalist writers, although these discussions exclusively focus on the foreign settlements. These studies include Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 1999; Shao-yi Sun, *Urban Landscape and Cultural Imagination*, 1999; Yingjin Zhang, *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai*, 1999; Shu-Mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern*, 2001.

experienced by daily “operations of walking,”[4] this chapter focuses on city parks and their multi-faceted relationship to the changing Shanghai of the 1930s. As de Certeau suggests, “The language of power is in itself ‘urbanizing,’ but the city is left prey to contradictory movements that counterbalance and combine themselves outside the reach of panoptic power.”[5] That is to say, urban planning deals with totalizing and rationalizing the city, whereas pedestrians actively make use of the city’s sub-spaces and negotiate the imposed-upon urban order the planning creates.

Within this framework, this final chapter studies three morphoses of city parks and their meanings in different contexts, in which different urban practices were contended and contending images of Shanghai were created through architectural and visual expressions. The first section examines public parks as a key architectural component in urban development; in particular, I will show how the nationalist government attempted to construct a new Shanghai by renewing and remapping city parks in the 1930s. I will then discuss city parks as a public space that the nationalists used for promoting ideologies of ‘new life,’ which fostered an image-making of ‘new women’ who not only embodied new aesthetics of beauty but also channeled ideological agenda and popular discourse. This leads to the third aspect of city parks that I will examine in this chapter: the park as a collection of visual elements appropriated by advertisements and its relationship to the rise of new visual culture and consumerism during the early twentieth century.

In this chapter I rely on printed images to contextualize the urban practices of Republican Shanghai. A fair number of pictorial magazines, such as the aforementioned *Cosmopolitan,* boomed in the 1920s and 30s, and became the most readily available visual materials that

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[4] Michel de Certeau, “Walking the City,” *The Practice of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, 1988, 94-103.
[5] *Ibid.,* 95.

urbanites consumed daily.[6] The illustrations of public parks certainly provide us a window to understand everyday urban Chinese experiences in a changing Shanghai. While the previous chapter studied the city's cultural transformation through the educated garden patrons' perspective, my focus in this chapter will be squarely on the mass-produced and mass-consumed magazines for general urbanites. I will examine the tension and dynamics between the totalizing concept-city and everyday practices within the city's sub-spaces. Another dimension of the illustrations that I examine in this chapter is their meaning beyond a direct reflection of contending urban practices. I will therefore investigate how pictorials' visual traits (layout, graphic design, etc.) echoed urban experiences and how urban practices fashioned magazine illustrations.

The interaction between spatial practices and visual pleasure is a key area of exploration in my dissertation. I search for multiple forms of production and reception of the new visual culture intersected with different modalities of garden space, a transforming 'traditional' space in metropolis Shanghai. As I argued in the previous chapter, the interlinked garden sceneries and consecutive performances in the darkened atmosphere constructed a continuous spatial and visual experience for late-Qing Chinese audiences. Here, pictorials of city parks were distinct from those representations of other enclosed entertainment places in the city (theaters, ballrooms, teahouses, etc.). The open-air scenes visibly linked up urban subjects with cityscapes, enabling the reader to identify with the represented motifs as they imagined and placed themselves in the

[6] A heavy body of scholarship has studied the nineteenth-twentieth century print culture in China, concerning how the miscellaneous contents and kaleidoscopic visual format became the purpose of the prints and appeal to their readers. Paul W. Ricketts examines the gradual shift of the pictorials from a panoramic aesthetic of continuity to a montage aesthetic that featured fragmentation and juxtaposition. "Kaleidoscopic Modernisms: Montage Aesthetics in Shanghai and Tokyo Pictorials of the 1920s and 1930s," in *Liangyou: Kaleidoscopic Modernity and the Shanghai Global Metropolis, 1926-1945*, Brill, 2013, 15-44.

changing city. Through printed images exploring the multi-layered meaning of city parks in three contexts of 1930s Shanghai, this chapter reveals the public park to be not only a spatial but also a visual instrument closely intertwined with the city's physical transformation, political discursive changes, and rising popular culture.

4.1 Constructing Parks in Changing Cityscapes

Needless to say, the public park has been and remains an important component of modern urban space and our everyday lives. Public parks were areas set aside for locals to go to for recreation, to relax in, and take in natural beauty. At the time, they were typically built and administrated by city or state governments. In contrast, gardens with occasional public access in Chinese history (i.e. imperial gardens, temple gardens) were bound by the nature of private ownership. It has become evident that the *public park*, in terms of its concept and construction, did not originate in China. Scholars have traced the history of the public park movement through Europe and the United States and, further, it becomes clear that under the influence of this Western movement, public parks in Japan and China developed primarily through treaty ports over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[7] As Shi Mingzheng points out, Japan played an important role in translating Western influence by introducing the term and the structures of the public park to China. He argues that Japanese parks that combined both recreational and educational facilities had a great impact on the Chinese public park movement in the early twentieth century. Shi compares the example of Ueno Park, the first public park in

[7] See Li Deying, "Public Urban Space and Social Life: A Case Study of City Parks in Modern China," *Urban History Research,* 2000, 127-153; Shi Mingzheng "From Imperial Gardens to Public Parks: The Transformation of Urban Space in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing," *Modern China*, vol.24, no.3, July 1998, 219-254; Thomas R.H. Havens, *Parkscapes: Green Spaces in Modern Japan*, Chapter 1-3, University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

Tokyo built successfully on the grounds of a Buddhist temple, with the late Qing government's attempts to convert imperial gardens in Beijing into public parks. Similar to the Meiji reformers, the late Qing court officials had recognized the significance of public spaces such as libraries, museums, zoos, and parks in promoting new knowledge and public well-being.[8]

Although this top-down effort to transform imperial spaces in the final years of the Qing dynasty largely ended in defeat, the practice of creating public spaces continued in China through the Republican era.[9] As Li Deying argues, the foreign administrations in treaty ports formed the major forces creating parks for public entertainment, but most of them were exclusive to foreign residents. The construction boom of public parks lasted between the 1890s and 1920s in Shanghai. By the 1930s, there were over twenty public parks built in succession in Shanghai, all managed by the two municipal councils of the foreign settlements (see map Figure 4-3).[10] Among these parks are oft-mentioned names in those 1930s' urban essayists' writings such as the Public Garden (外滩公园 *waitan gongyuan*, 1868),[11] Hongkew Park (虹口公园 *hongkou gongyuan*, 1909), Jessfield Park (兆丰公园 *zhaofeng park* 1914), and Koukaza Park (顾家宅公园 *gujiazhai gongyuan* or *faguo gongyuan* 1917). By and large, early parks in the late nineteenth century gave priority to their natural landscape, and beginning in the early twentieth century,

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[8] Delin Lai, "The Emergence of A Civic Architecture: Discourses and Practices of Public Libraries in Late Qing and Early Republican China," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica*, vol.88 (June 2015): 101.

[9] An early successful trial of such a municipal park in late imperial China was the Quanye Park in Tianjin under Yuan Shikai's leadership in the 1900s. Sun Yuan, "The First Modern Park in Tianjin Chinese Concession: Tianjin Quanye Park," *Huazhong Architecture*, 27 June (2018): 10-13.

[10] Dorothee Rihal, "Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai: Visual and Spatial Representations of New Forms of Public Open Spaces," 2009, https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Texts/Articles?ID=59; Zhou Xiangpin and Chen Zhehua, "Concession Parks in Modern Shanghai: Models of Gardens in the Western Influence," *Urban Planning Forum*, vol.4 (2007): 113-118.

[11] The Public Garden was in between an extension of the yard garden of the British Consulate at the beginning and gradually expanded into a public park in the late decades of the nineteenth century. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

public parks shifted focus to providing facilities for human activities. A series of new constructions like playgrounds, outdoor gymnasiums, and other sports facilities were successively added to parks. As exemplified in Figure 4-1, public parks collectively shared many common features that emphasized an open spatial effect through many common features, such as vast lawns and ponds, blooming bushes, music pavilions, and shady promenades.

The emergence of these foreign-administered parks was closely intertwined with the city's physical changes, as they were built as a consequence of rapid urban transformation at the turn of the twentieth century in Shanghai. The territorial expansion and population growth of the time period led to a growing need for city parks,[12] as they provided open greenspace where visitors could temporarily escape from the jarring cityscape while still observing the urban reimaginings. The Public Garden, also known as Bund Garden (*Waitan Gongyuuan*), is the best example to illustrate this park-inspired urban imagination. The Bund Garden was the earliest park built in Shanghai, built by the International Settlement's Municipal Council in 1868 and located at the northern tip of the Bund along the Huangpu River. The Bund had always been a popular subject for illustration, as it was the original strip of land that the formation of modern Shanghai began with. As shown in the aforementioned photospread (Figure 4-4, the details of Fig.4-2), pictorials often juxtaposed the "tranquil" and "serene" (*youjing* or *qingjing* 幽静/清静) scenery in the Public Garden, like promenades and benches for relaxation, in contrast with the "bustling" and "noisy" (*renao* or *fanxiao* 热闹/烦嚣) urbanscape along the Bund and the neighboring International Settlement.[13]

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[12] Dorothee Rihal, "Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai."

[13] We see such comparisons in the descriptions of many illustrations of the Public Garden at the time, for instance: "*Dashanghai de yipie: waitan gongyuan de youjing*" (A glimpse of great Shanghai: tranquil scenes in the Public Garden) "大上海的一瞥：外灘公園的幽景;" "*Fagong gongyuan de yajing; zujie shang de renao dongtai*" (Serene scenes in the French park; bustling sights in the foreign settlements) "法

The contrast also indicates that the unique location of the Public Garden made it a prime vantage point for the changing "bustling" cityscape surrounding it. Following the gaze of seated visitors, we look across Suzhou Creek to the 22-story Broadway Mansions, a cubist Art Deco skyscraper newly completed in 1934, and next to it, the seven-floor neo-classical Astor House which, located by the Garden Bridge, had long been the major sightseeing view from the Public Garden, but was now overshadowed by the soaring skyscraper. In the late 1920s, a construction boom took over Shanghai, with high-rise buildings dominating the Bund skyline by virtue of new construction materials and techniques introduced by the United States. Another 1933 photograph featured in the popular pictorial *Linloon* (*linglong* 玲珑) is composed of similar images (Figure 4-5). As its caption reads, a "serene and striking landscape" in Jessfield Park is surrounded by rising tall buildings in the distance. The camera placement suggested a visitor's point of view by the pond, gazing at the modern concrete "mountain" beyond the water scene.

The image and perception of public parks, however, was not always so intriguing. The opening of public parks, like paving extra-settlements roads (*yuejie zhulu* 越界筑路), was a strategy adopted by foreign administrations to expand their territory in late imperial Shanghai, since constructing parks in Chinese-administered land helped foreign powers obtain successive extensions of the settlements.[14] Parks like Quinsan Park (1898) and Koukaza Park (1909) were initially built in an area outside of the foreign settlements and soon followed by an array of nearby building projects. In this light, historians often see foreign-administered parks in Shanghai as a public sphere contested between colonial powers and rising Chinese nationalism

国公园的雅静；租界上的热闹动态," *Siheyi*, 1939, 6; "*Xuanxiao dushi Zhong de qingjing chusuo: waitan huayuan*" (The tranquil site in the noisy city: the Public Garden) "煩囂都市中的清靜處所：外灘花園," *Xinshanghai* (New Shanghai), 1933, no.1, vol.1, 9.

[14] Dorothee Rihal, "Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai."

during the early twentieth century.[15] The headlines in Chinese newspapers like *Shenbao* expressed such grievances: "Shanghai's public parks are not admitting Chinese, *eh,* how so?" (Figure 4-6; Figure 4-7) The accompanying illustration is of a music pavilion. Many public parks like Hongkew and Koukaza built music pavilions at the time and, up to the 1930s, the International Settlement's municipal band held concerts every week at these pavilions.[16] Not only were music pavilions the central structure in their respective parks, but such outdoor musical performances also symbolized a European-style social life that the foreign community hoped to continue in Shanghai. As such, even without revealing its location, an image showing the music pavilion—a Victorian-style gazebo located in the Public Garden— was recognizable to the public and served as a visual symbol that effectively linked the image of foreign parks and their exclusivity to the general Chinese visitors in the early years of the twentieth century.

The Public Garden without a doubt embodied early foreign parks and their ambivalent reception in the eyes of urban Chinese at the turn of the twentieth century. For one thing, the construction of public parks was closely associated with the city's physical expansion; they were "urban arcadia," where the bustling cityscape Shanghai residents were shielded from became part of the arcadia's "mountain" and water landscape. Additionally, public parks introduced an urban lifestyle characterized by ideas of recreation, public well-being, and childcare, which many scholars conclude, exerted great influence on the transformation of indigenous private gardens by local gentry merchants in nineteenth-century Shanghai.[17] However, during

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[15] Many scholars put forth this argument, such as Chen Yunqian, "On the Conflict between Colonialism and Nationalism in Everyday Life: From a Perspective of the Parks in Modern China," *Journal of Nanjing University*, no.5 (2005): 82-95; Leo Ou-fan Lee, "Public Parks and the Race Club" in *Shanghai Modern*, 29-32; Robert A. Bickers and Jeffery N. Wasserstrom, "Shanghai's 'Dog and Chinese Not Admitted' Sign: Legend, History and Contemporary Symbol," *The China Quarterly*, 1995, 450-451.
[16] "Report of the Musical Band," *Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal*, 1932, 411-413.
[17] See Zhang Yichi, "Transforming Urban Parks in The International Settlement of Shanghai at The Turn of The Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries," *Chinese Landscape Architecture*, 2020.36.6, 125-9; and

Shanghai's transition from the Qing dynasty to the Republic, to urban Chinese, the designed landscape and architectural elements in these public parks— including the English-style lawn, imported tropical flowers and fruit trees, the music pavilion, and the alleged signs that banned access to "Chinese and dogs"— symbolized not only manifestations of Western material civilization, but also constituted an image of the hegemonic presence of foreign powers.

4.2 Reconstructing New City and City Parks

In a 1927 newspaper article entitled "The Problem of Shanghai's Parks" by Zheng Zhenduo, this Chinese writer sounded bitter but earnest:

> "We merely have five parks here in Shanghai and none of them are opened to us. We get nothing but a peek of the sights and sounds over the wall of the park, while inside enjoying the scenery are the few sojourners from Britain, the United States, France, and Japan. We, masters of Shanghai are excluded outside. We Shanghainese are expelled from our own parks! …We demand our right to breathe, right to live! ... We must launch a long-lasting 'park movement'! Although 'recovery of foreign settlements' is the ultimate solution, the 'park' nevertheless is the first step! And the next step of the 'park movement' is to build more parks for movement [sport]. We demand to build ten or more parks in appropriate locations!"[18]

> 我们的上海公园虽只有寥寥的五个，而这五个却都不是我们所能够进去的。我们只能在墙外望望园里的春色，我们只能在墙外听听园里的谈笑声。进公园的是另外的一部人，那就是上海最少数最少数的客民，即英法美日本诸国人，只除了我们主人翁在外。我们是被放逐于乐园之外了！主人翁是被放逐出自己的公园之外了！…我们要求呼吸权！我们要求生存权！…我们要热烈的持久的举行着"公园运动"！"公园运动"表面上看来也许比之最根本的办法："收回租界"是不重要些…然而…公园运动的第一步是无条件的将各公园一律公开给上海的全体居民…第二步我们便要着手运动公园的增设…我们要求在适中地点在建造十个以上之公园。

The regulations on admission to public parks were eventually turned over between 1926-28, when the Guomingdang Nationalist forces assumed control of Shanghai. Finally, these foreign-

Xiong Yuezhi, "Shanghai's Private Chinese Gardens Opened to The Public," *Xueshu yuekan*, no.8, 1998, 73-81.

[18] Zheng Zhenduo, "The Problem of Shanghai's Parks," *Wenxue zhoubao* (Literary Weekly), vol.4, no.262/263, 1927.

administered parks became open to the fee-paying public.[19] By the end of the 1910s, those formerly trendy Chinese commercial gardens like Yú Garden (cl.1916) and Zhang Garden (cl. 1918) had largely faded out from the spectrum of Shanghai residents' pleasure grounds. The real estate market continued to boom, and the price of land reached sky high in the 1920s and 30s. Private-owned commercial gardens were one by one sold for construction projects.[20] As a consequence of this, along with the city's growth in population—through both Chinese and foreign residents alike— the need for city parks became more urgent. In the aftermath of the 1927 Northern Expedition, the Shanghai Special Municipal Government was established in direct affiliation to the central Nanjing government. Soon in July 1927, the new municipality announced the Greater Shanghai Plan (Figure 4-8), and Zheng's expectation of constructing city parks indeed formed an important aspect of the new city plan.

During the so-called golden decade (1927-37) of the Republic, the Nationalist government initiated a series of comprehensive urban plans in major cities like Nanjing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing. These ambitions moved the first generation of Chinese architects who returned from studying overseas in the late 1920s to enthusiastically embrace the building of a new nation-state with their Beaux Arts-inspired design ideals.[21] The Greater Shanghai Plan, as Cole Roskam concludes, represented "a monumental culmination" of collective efforts by Chinese officials as well as city planners and architects to "wrest commercial control of Shanghai from its foreign inhabitants through a monumental reimagining

[19] "Four Parks Open to Public," *Minguo ribao* (Republican Daily News), 1928.6.2.
[20] Xiong Yuezhi, "The Parks and Daily Life in Modern Shanghai," *Society and Science*, vol.5 (2013): 130.
[21] About the summarization of these city plans, see Peter J. Carroll, "The Beaux-Arts in Another Register," Governmental Administrative and Civic Centers in City Plans of the Republican Era," in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, 315-332.

of the city itself."[22] In the late 1920s, an elite group of young Chinese technocrats and architects formed the City Planning Commission responsible for propelling the scheme. Most of its key personnel had recently returned from abroad, including the Shanghai Public Works director Shen Yi (1901-1980), a German-educated municipal engineer, and Dong Dayou (1899-1973), an American-graduated architect who was appointed as chief architectural advisor in 1930.[23]

The municipality of Greater Shanghai envisioned a reorganization of Shanghai's various foreign and Chinese administrative districts around one unified Chinese-controlled whole. The southern Chinese city of this time was too densely populated for further development, while Shanghai was still *de facto* governed by the tripartite administrations. The municipal government therefore suggested to "expand a new city northward" because "the existing Shanghai core could no longer meet the needs of city developments."[24] The government's proposal included an array of ambitious urban projects to rebuild a Chinese-controlled metropolis, particularly focusing on relocating a massive new deep-water harbor at the intersection of the Huangpu River and Yangzi River, redeveloping train and road systems on major urban areas, and remapping a new urban center to the north. As shown in the municipal map (Figure 4-9), a new Shanghai was remapped into several major areas: the north contained a new Civic Center located in Jiangwan, a then-undeveloped area adjacent to the new harbor; the south housed Shanghai's preexisting urban core—the foreign settlements and the southern Chinese city were still the city's most vibrant commercial district; and the west had plans for residential districts, with any areas outside of the region designed as industrial districts.

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[22] Cole Roskam, "Recentering the City: Municipal Architecture in Shanghai, 1927-1937," 43.
[23] Dong Dayou, "Greater Shanghai, Greater Vision," *The China Critic*, 1935.8.1, 103-106. Several American city planners like C. E. Grunsky and Asa E. Phillip were also hired to assist the city planning.
[24] "Planning Brief for the Greater Shanghai Civic Center," *Greater Shanghai Municipal Gazette*, 1929, vol.29, 77-81.

In this city plan, public parks were an essential component, in part because enthusiastic Chinese architects brought back Beaux-Arts practices, which were characterized by the geometric centrality, the use of axial approaches, and design of monumental centers and park-like surroundings.[25] In addition, the new government and the City Plan Commission also acknowledged the importance of public spaces such as parks and sports fields in urban transformation, likening them to foreign-administered parks. For one thing, parks created open grounds in busy urban life. For another, they helped gain more recognition from the public in the reconfiguring of the new city.[26]

A group of municipal park projects was subsequently laid out in line with the Greater Shanghai Plan's dual focus: to renew the old Chinese city and to remap a new city. Early renewal projects accompanied the urban renovation in the Chinese-controlled areas, focusing on adapting existing spaces for public park use.[27] Among the renewal projects, the most well-known included were *Wenmiao gongyuan* (Confucian Temple Park), located in the northwest corner of the old Chinese city, and Longhua Park in the southern suburb. Both began construction in the later 1920s; the former was transformed from a previous Confucian temple, while the latter was redefined from the oldest Buddhist complex in Shanghai. One of the major intentions in renovating these temple complexes was to reform original halls and walls for public park use. The project for the Wenmiao Park was described as such:

> "The first phase of the renovation projects of the Confucian Temple… All the southern walls of the Temple were torn down and replaced with short brick posts. Each two are five, six feet apart, and in between will be planted *dongqing shu* [ilex trees]. In doing so, people can get a glimpse of the inside landscape of the park."[28]

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[25] Peter J. Carroll, "The Beaux-Arts in Another Register," 315.
[26] *Scheme for The Greater Shanghai Development*, 1930, 10-11.
[27] "Park and Civic Buildings," *Greater Shanghai Municipality Public Works Report*, 1929, vol.2-3, 248-252.
[28] "A History of The Renovation of Confucian Temple to Wenmiao Park", *Sinwan-pao*, 1931.4.23.

In short, the goal was to make the park space accessible to the public and transform the outside cityscape into part of the park landscape, an idea borrowed from the parks in foreign settlements and applied to the municipal park projects (Figure 4-10). Therefore, tearing down the temple courtyard's walls was the primary step to open the space, and the next step entailed planting tall trees and short posts in the space, which not only functioned to separate spaces but also added more visual dynamics to the landscape. The pagoda of the previous Confucian Temple became a part of the park landscapes, and the central hall was transformed into a library, ultimately named the "civic education gallery."

A second period of park construction began shortly after 1931, when the city expanded northward and the Civic Center began construction. The new city plan initially designated large areas for greenbelts and parks. Yet despite four municipal parks being designed, only two were ultimately completed.[29] The smaller one, Wusong Park, was located far north at the confluence of the Huangpu River and Yangzi River where the new harbor was then under construction,[30] and the larger one, called the First Municipal Park (Figure 4-11), was built in the new urban center in 1934. The construction of municipal parks—their location, design, and function—was closely associated with the image of the new Shanghai envisioned by the Republican government. For instance, Wenmiao Park was often portrayed as the counterpart to the foreign-administered parks because of its location in the old "southern city," which supposedly made it a more convenient recreational site for local Chinese residents.[31]

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[29] "Public Parks," *Greater Shanghai Municipality Public Works Report*, 1932, vol.9-10, 87-90; *Shen-pao*, 1932.11.20.

[30] The park was first constructed in 1931 and son destroyed by air raid in 1932, and later underwent many times of reconstruction. See Wang Yun, *Shanghai jindai yuanlin shilun* (Shanghai Parks and Private Gardens in Modern Times), Shanghai Jiaotong University Press, 2015, 251.

[31] "Confucian Temple and Confucian Park," *Shanghai shenghuo*, 1937, vol.1, no.6, 23-24.

Furthermore, municipal parks were one of the earliest projects launched in the Civic Center in the early 1930s, thus serving as an instrument to "sell" the new urban construction. The new Civic Center was the centerpiece of the Greater Shanghai Plan, designed as a cruciform by Dong Dayou[32] (Figure 4-12). The east-west axis contained semi-public bureau offices, and the intersecting north-south axis featured a long reflecting pool. On both sides of the pool were civic structures such as the municipal library, museum, and concert hall, and the intersection of the axes was devoted to a large public square. Unlike the previous city plan for the capital of Nanjing emphasizing a uniformity and hierarchy in style and spatial order, Dong's designs for Shanghai's Civic Center did not employ uniform styles, but they embodied an attempt to reconcile the new government's nationalist ambition, the expanding requirements of the modern metropolis, and Dong's own aesthetic pursuit (Figure 4-13).[33] In the square center, Dong proposed a nine-story reinforced-concrete pagoda as the tallest structure "seen from all directions and from which a complete view of the new city may be obtained."[34] At the northern end of the square was the Mayor's Building (1933), an eclectic design that reflected recent trends among institutional buildings in China. As for the civic structures, Dong's Beaux-Arts interpretations of 'Chinese-style' were largely mixed with his own tastes in a modernist style, which was best

[32] The Planning Commission organized a public competition for the design of the Civic Center that attracted many Chinese and foreign architects to participate. In the end eight entries were selected, but the jury found their designs inadequate. The reason was by its nature political, as it was said of the entries that "the overall architectural scale was oversized, the buildings were extremely spread out, and the designs insufficiently display all possibilities of 'Chinese-style' (*zhongguo shi*)." The competition guidelines asked for the new Civic Center to facilitate the municipal administration, and more importantly, to add a sense of grandeur so as to impress visitors. Eventually Dong Dayou was designated to modify the scheme and became the leading architect for the majority of buildings' design in the Civic Center. Details of the competition and construction were included in the following primary sources: "The Civic Center's Works Report," by the Planning Commission of Greater Shanghai, 1929.8-1930.6, 29-38; "The Construction of the Civic Center," *Engineering Weekly*, 1934, vol.3, no.30, 469-475; Dong Dayou, "The Construction of Shanghai Mayor's Building," *Chinese Architect*, vol.1, no.6, 1933.12.
[33] See Dong's interpretation in his article "Greater Shanghai, Greater Vision."
[34] *Ibid.* Dong directly borrowed Henry Murphy's design for the monument of Memorial Cemetery for Heroes of the Revolution in Nanjing, as he had worked with Murphy on the project earlier.

exemplified in his designs for the China Aviation Exhibition Hall (1936), the municipal hospital (1937), and his residence built not far from the Civic Center in 1935.

Within the varied styles of architecture, the green surroundings and public parks connected different sections of the Civic Center. As Dong described, "the grounds are embellished with gardens, monuments, pools, fountains, bridges, etc., to form, with the future buildings, a monumental and beautiful ensemble."[35] An American newspaper in Shanghai even described the entire Civic Center as a garden project in Jiangwan that was "larger and more beautiful than any now in Shanghai," where "the pagoda, museum and other structures would be part of the garden features."[36] Though exaggerated, the scenery of "garden project" was epitomized in the First Municipal Park project in the west of the urban center (Figure 4-14).

The First Municipal Park was initially designed to be over 300 *mow* (about 50 acres) in order to "outcompete other foreign parks in Shanghai."[37] It incorporated not only greenhouses and playgrounds but also the country's largest athletic fields at the time, including several gymnasiums and a grand indoor pool. As the English newspaper *The Shanghai Sunday Times* recounted, one of the main features of this "vast sports park" in the new Civic Center was its main entrance made entirely of pre-cast artificial stone that was carved with specific Chinese architectural motifs. According to this observer, the park sprawled with flagpoles for pennants that gave a festive air, and the floodlight on the athletic field and main façade of the stadium also lit up the park space in the dark. Dong apparently paid specific attention to how combining and balancing the natural sceneries and stadium space in the project, as he considered it important for visitors to use stadiums practically while simultaneously enjoying nature and recreational time in

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[35] *Ibid.*
[36] "Huge Garden is Planned in Kiangwan," *The China Press*, 1934.9.3.
[37] "Vast Sports Park is Under Construction for Greater Shanghai," *The Shanghai Sunday Times* (Industrial Section. Supplement to Special Xmas Issue), 1934, 26.

the park.[38] Dong designed the park into five sections, including the entrance and children's playgrounds at the southwest corner, the flower beds area in the west, natural landscape district in the center, the Athletic complex located in the northeast, and the rockery and pond vista at the southeast corner. Together, the park was arranged around the concept of "nature inside, sport outside" and hence the entire park space facilitated a dynamic flow, from the entrance in the south to the athletics in the north.[39]

The newly constructed municipal parks borrowed design concepts from parks in foreign settlements to frame the changing cityscape into the landscape of the First Municipal Park. These concepts, however, were then modified to wash off the colonial image emblemized by foreign-administered parks. A series of iconic features like the vast lawn, blooming plants, the shaded boulevard, and a pond with rockery were adopted and altered by Chinese-style structures within the context of building a Greater Shanghai. Such ideas were reflected in the design of the pond, as shown in the layout of Figure 4-1. The right page focused on the scenery of "mountain" and water landscapes in public parks, in which its central image depicted the view of the First Municipal Park (Figure 4-15). We see a high-rise building looming beyond the pond, which was not in the foreign settlements' cityscape, but rather a new construction in the Civic Center. In contrast, the left page highlights pavilion structures. In foreign-administered parks, the musical pavilion was the most represented structure, while in municipal parks, it was replaced by Chinese pavilions.

Another important modification in the design were plants. Rare-imported plants in public parks were frequented motifs in modern Chinese writings. In his essay, Mao Dun drew a picture

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[38] Dong Dayou, "Sketch of The Athletic Field's Design in Shanghai," *Chinese Architect*, 1934, vol.2, no.8, 3-25.
[39] Wang Yun, *Shanghai jindai yuanlin shilun*, 252.

of Shanghai public parks, where French planes turned yellow, with leaves falling on the lawn, that tuned the park into a romantic place for dating during autumn months.[40] From the late 1920s onwards, the Shanghai Municipality built several arboretums, some located in the old Chinese city, Pudong, and others in further southern suburbs.[41] These local government-run botanical gardens were put in charge of planting across municipal parks and periodically held flower exhibitions on-site. Such exhibitions were popular public activities in commercial gardens that could be traced back to the 1880s. Thus, flower exhibitions, municipal arboretums, and cultivated plants anchored the landscape in municipal parks as both a local and distinctly Chinese attraction.

Lastly, in addition to transforming borrowed elements from foreign-administered parks into local and native ones, municipal parks also helped the Civic Center legitimize a new image of a Greater Shanghai that turned the foreign settlements into an older "other." As the municipal report asserted, the growing population and declining environmental conditions made the foreign settlements less inhabitable, with people's health was at stake; hence building a new city and city parks became pressing.[42] The cover of the inaugural issue of the pictorial *Great Shanghai* (*Da shanghai* 大上海) was an example of such ideas (Figure 4-16),[43] portraying views on both banks of the river. In the foreground was a profile of the palatial-style Mayor's Building (Figure 4-17), the landmark of the Civic Center; in contrast, across the river were crowded factories and

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[40] Mao Dun, "Park in Autumn," *The Eastern Miscellanies*, 1932, vol.29, 2-3.
[41] "Shanghai Municipal Botanic Gardens Opened New Sites in The Civic Center," by the Bureau of Social Affairs of Shanghai municipality, *Shehui banyuekan*, 1935, vol.1, no.16, 57-65.
[42] "Public Parks," *Greater Shanghai Municipality Public Works Report*, 1932, vol.9-10, 87.
[43] *Great Shanghai* was a monthly pictorial magazine published in 1934, which conveyed considerable efforts from the new Shanghai municipality. Featured with a handwritten from the Mayor on the preface and an array of articles written by the municipal government, the magazine in a sense stood in for official promotional brochures focusing on the introduction to the development of Greater Shanghai. I only have access to the three existing issues of 1934 *Great Shanghai* for the time being, from "Chinese Periodical Full-text Database (1911-1949)" (CMBKSY).

warehouses lined up along the Bund in the distance, as well as a rising wave of smoke that stained the blue sky. And in between, the cover featured a labyrinth of high-rise buildings that pictured an imagined future of Greater Shanghai.

The construction of the Civic Center continued on and off in the years following the completion of the Mayor's Building up until the Japanese invasion in 1937. The Chiang Kai-shek government had staged an anti-Communist coup in 1927 in exchange for support and loans from the industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai.[44] The projects still faced chronic financial strain and armed threats from Japan, while the ambitious scale aggravated the crisis. The municipal government had to acquire funds through land sale in Jiangwan, where the price of land multiplied almost four times from 1929 to 1937.[45] The plight of the budget limitation was inscribed in the new city's architectural quality, and the government officials worried about the progress throughout the construction.[46] A large number of projects were never put into action or were built with reduced sizes and simplified designs. For example, only a fraction of the municipal park in the Civic Center's original design ended up being constructed, and most of the overall park construction budget went toward the athletic complex in order to host the sixth national athletic games in 1935. With that being said, observers at the time such as Liang Sicheng still lauded the grand and imposing scope of the construction plan. Compared with the city plans drawn for Nanjing and Guangzhou years before, the plan for Greater Shanghai largely

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[44] Delin Lai, "'Scientific and Nationalistic: Views on Modern Chinese Architecture," 202-203.

[45] At the beginning of the Greater Shanghai construction, the land price was about 800 per mow, and until the eve of the Japanese invasion, the land price increased to about 3000 per mow. "Land Price in The Civic Center," *The Independent Weekly*, 1931, vol.1, issue 26, 2; "Land Price in The Civic Center," *Ta Kung Pao*, 1937.5.18.

[46] "Five-year Report over the Civic Center's Construction by the Bureau of Public Works Director Shen Yi". In the report, the head of Public Works Shen Yi lamented that "earlier they made such a plan as if beggars order dishes, who had an appetite for all expensive dishes thinking they shall make a fortune one day." *The Builder*, 1935, vol.3, no. 5, 44.

survived from GMD factional strife.[47] City parks, with designs modeled after public parks in the foreign settlements that interconnected park space with urban development, were also integrated into new cityscapes, which embodied the Nationalist government and Chinese architects' efforts remapping Shanghai.

As the most visible accomplishment of Greater Shanghai's urban projects, the Civic Center attracted visitors for sightseeing, and the First Municipal Park was always the last scenic spot. A magazine by a municipal-run elementary school called He'an published a group of students' diaries recording such a day trip to the Civic Center in 1934.[48] The trip was themed around a 'new Shanghai,' and in the accounts of these schoolkids, the image of a 'new Shanghai' was constructed along the trip: on the way to the urban center, they witnessed a field of ruins that survived from the Shanghai Incident in the northern suburbs, which helped the kids to identify the 'newness' of the urban projects. Subsequently, they visited the Mayor's Building, the municipal library, and a series of other buildings. Additionally, the students were led by their teacher to salute the Sun Yat-sen statue, where a lecture was given on how "this new city diverged from the old Shanghai under imperialist oppression and the new city would promise them a better life in future."[49] Their visit ended in the municipal park, where they paused to reflect on the trip and take in the park landscape. From their accounts, we can reconstruct how the urban center, successfully or unsuccessfully, shaped a new portrait of Shanghai in which the contrast between ruined suburb and new constructions, municipal buildings, and park landscape all played a role.

[47] Liang Sicheng, *A History of Chinese Architecture*, Joint Publishing, 2011, 326-7.
[48] "Excursion to the Civic Center," *Xin He'an*, 1934, vol.17, 5-7.
[49] *Ibid.*, 6.

4.3 City Parks: Promoting New Life, Portraying New Women

Model Body in Park Space as 'New Life' Ideals

As an important physical and administrative embodiment in the construction of the new city, municipal parks were not only a place for public recreation but also a site for education. Through implementing political symbols in the park space, the nascent Nationalist government intended to cultivate an identity of the new Republic in Chinese citizens.[50] City parks built in many cities across China over the 1930s, for instance, were named "Zhongshan" in honor of Sun Yat-sen. Aligned with the central Nanjing government, the Shanghai municipality constructed various forms of memorials in city parks. For example, Longhua Park built a pagoda-like monument in memory of the soldiers who died during the Northern Expedition in 1928 that was led directly by Chiang Kai-shek, and Wenmiao Park featured a memorial pavilion commemorating the destruction of a battleship at the January 28th Incident in 1932.[51] In the new Civic Center, a Sun Yat-sen statue was built behind the Mayor's Building, not far from the First Municipal Park, with an open area to serve ceremonial purposes: officials and visitors like the aforementioned school children would gather together and perform bows to the revolutionary icon of the Chinese nation (Figure 4-18).

Building structures inside city parks was another important means of conveying new ideas and knowledge to the public. Wenmiao Park featured a zoo and a library inside, both transformed from previous temple halls. The library, known as the "civic education library" (*minjiao guan* 民教馆), opened daily to Chinese residents in the southern city for their daily visit of readings, exhibitions, and viewings of the park landscape. A Chinese newspaper praised it as a

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[50] Chen Yunqian, "On the Change of Tourism and Entertainment Space During the Period of Late Qing and Republican China," *Historical Review*, vol.5 (2004): 98-99.
[51] "A Survey of Shanghai Municipal Parks," *Shizheng pinglun* (Municipal Critics), 1936, vol.4, issue11, 31.

place of “learning through pleasure, gaining tranquility through reading.”[52] We certainly can observe other municipal parks across China applying similar practices at the time. A 1936 photo-essay published in *Liangyou* depicted the design of the Zhongshan Park in Hankou, calling it “*wenhua de gongyuan*” (a park of culture 文化的公园) (Figure 4-19). Here, culture and knowledge took shape in architectural models: the park had a series of sculpture-like models on site, ranging from world famous landmarks like the Eiffel Tower in Paris to traditional Chinese structures. Two globe models stood out dramatically from the ground, with the English caption reading, “the globe in two halves, a simple lesson in geography for all.” The *Liangyou* editor commented on the models, noting that “they were well designed into the park landscape while at the same time instructional for daily park visitors” and suggested that “other cities’ governments should apply such design too.”[53] The editor then promoted the idea using park space as daily site for political and cultural education.

By the mid-1930s, the idea of education through people’s daily space began to take a firmer root at the national level with the strong support of the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek, who launched the New Life Movement in 1934, an ideological movement aiming to restore ‘traditional’ moral ideals against Western materialism and to reform people’s everyday habits so as to cultivate dutiful and robust Chinese citizens in building the nation-state. The preexisting Confucian familial ideals were considered fundamental to the legitimacy of Nationalist rhetoric,[54] with women and children were always at the center of the discourse. Municipal parks became an essential public space used to exemplify the ‘New Life’ ideas, as the

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[52] “A Glimpse of the Municipal Wenmiao Park,” *Sinwan-pao*, 1932.8.23.
[53] “The Editor’s Words,” *Liangyou*, 1936, vol.122, 50.
[54] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History form The Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, University of Chicago Press, 1995, 32.

parks were always associated with a set of intersecting imagery: model behaviors, young mothers and women, cheerful kids, and robust and beautiful bodies.

Nationalists used municipal parks to advocate 'model behaviors,' echoing the New Life Movement's focus on public health and personal hygiene. Within the 'New Life' discourse, the principles of *qingjie* (cleanliness 清洁) and *guiju* (orderliness 规矩) were imposed everywhere, narrowing the boundary between private space (home) and public space (restaurants, public parks), as well as between public space (parks) and political space (for propagating political ideas).[55] Since the late 1920s, the Bureau of Public Health had begun organizing mass hygiene campaigns on a regular basis, such as street cleaning and holding exhibitions to promote public awareness of and participation in city-wide sanitation projects.[56] For instance, an image in a photo-collage in *Great Shanghai* (Figure 4-20) captured the mayor and a group of government officials leading the 1934 street cleaning event in the Civic Center. In addition, the Nationalist government called for visitors to make use of trashcans and public restrooms in the park,[57] as these sanitary facilities were newly added to parks as part of the ongoing urban modernization at the time. Meanwhile, countering these "model behaviors" led to punishment. A Chinese writer encountered a public punishment in Wenmiao Park when he saw a young man escorted by two policemen parading through the park. A wooden board was hung on this man's neck, reading, "A warning to the public against defecating in a public place."[58] The writer was appalled by such public shaming, even as he acknowledged its effectiveness in imposing 'new life' behaviors.

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[55] Federica Ferlanti, "City-Building, New Life and the 'Making of The Citizen' in 1930s Nanchang", in *New Narratives of Urban Space in Republican Chinese Cities: Emerging Social, Legal, and Governance Orders*, Billy Kee Long So and Madeleine Zelin eds., Brill, 2013, 60.
[56] "Shanghai county held hygiene campaigns," *Minbao*, 1934.5.16; "Jiangwan will hold exhibitions about hygiene campaigns the day after tomorrow," *Minbao*, 1935.6.6.
[57] "Things you need to know about 'new life'," *Minjian wenyi* (Folk Literature and Art), 1934, vol.2, no.1.
[58] "Thoughts on Two Experiences," *Sinwan-pao*, 1936.3.28.

Thus, municipal parks became a site for public display of the new government popularizing bodily regulation. In this ideological discourse, to maintain the cleanliness of the city streets, both the park space and the human body became sites to practice 'new life.'[59]

This promotion of 'new life' ideas through bodies displayed in park spaces accordingly spawned a group of images concerning bodies, mostly women and children, who appeared in the park or outdoor settings and embodied a new aesthetic of beauty. Children in public parks were frequently used subjects to convey the core concepts of 'new life.' In the photospread in Figure 4-20, an image depicts a cheerful little girl holding a banner demonstrating that she was awarded "*biaozhun ertong*" (standard kid 标准儿童) at the 1934 "Children *jianmei* Contest." The contest was held in the Zhongshan Park of Beijing, which marked the finale of the municipal hygiene movement that year. Such *jianmei* (健美 robust, healthy beauty) contests were recently popularized event across the country in the 1930s, often held in city parks, which was another embodiment of the Nationalists' efforts to cultivate an ideal of women and children through the display of bodies. In these contests, children were judged by their bodily appearances to determine their healthy, cleanliness, and tidiness.[60] Scholars have studied the discursive formation of *jianmei* in 1930s Chinese culture, especially the representations of athletic women in magazines.[61] The little girl depicted in Figure 4-20 represented a 'standard' *jianmei* kid,

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[59] For a critical discussion of the Movement and how Nationalists used public space and individual body as a means for political purposes, see Hideo Fukamachi, 身体を躾ける政治: 中国国民党の新生活運動 (Chinese trans.), SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2017, chapter 1,3; Huang Jinlin, *History, Body, Nation: The Formation of the Body in Modern China. 1895-1937*, New Star Press, 2006, chapter 2; Zhang Shaoqian, Ph.D. Dissertation, "Visualizing the New Republic: Pictorial Construction of the Modern Chinese Citizen (1895-37)," 2012.

[60] "Pageant held in Beiping Zhongshan park yesterday: infants' *jianmei* contest came out: after the contest the hygiene movement closed," *Ta Kung Pao*, 1934.5.20.

[61] Gao Yunxiang, "Nationalist and Feminist Discourses on *Jianmei* (Robust Beauty) during China's 'National Crisis' in The 1930s," *Gender & History*, vol.18, no.3 (November 2006): 546-73. Related discussions also see Lee Ou-fan, Shanghai Modern, 194-7; Zhang Yingjin, "Publicity, Privacy,

characterized by her chubby face and bobbed hair. On another page of *Great Shanghai* (Figure 4-21), a children's summer camp in Greater Shanghai called '*jianmei* camp', is shown, where kids attended group activities in the municipal park. The First Municipal Park in the Civic Center was built adjacent to the Primary Public School of Shanghai and became the most popular day-excursion destination. We can draw a resemblance between the playful kids pictured here to the little girl who won the *jianmei* contest.

The images of 'standard kids' echoed the appearance of 'new women' in images that were set in the background of outdoor parks. Park outings were a popular family activity in 1930s-Shanghai. Young mothers were often captured on camera pushing strollers or knitting on a park bench, enjoying the scenery, and watching kids playing on the grass (Figure 4-22 (detail of Figure 4-2); Figure 4-23), cultivating the idea of a time when modern mothers could enjoy outdoor pastimes while being good mothers caring for their children. The renewed image of modern women was influenced by the discourse of the New Life Movement and, or even earlier, the May Fourth cultural reform campaign that emphasized female emancipation as important to China's nation-building. The Greater Shanghai municipality also attempted to promote females' role in public affairs through the city-wide hygiene campaigns.[62] Admittedly, the new women image attested to modern women's newly acquired social status and mobility. However, promoting such 'model body' was also an ideological construction upon a normative standard

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Modernity: Representation and Consumption of The Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials," *Cultural Studies no.6, Guangxi Normal University Press*, 2010.

[62] The Shanghai Women's New Life Association was founded in June 1936, led by Soong Mei-ling and the wife of Mayor Wu Tiecheng, who was elected to be the chairman. Subsequently, the Association organized a series of sanitation campaigns. *The North-Daily News*, "Women and The New Life Movement: Household Cleanliness Drive Started in Shanghai," 1936.7.5; "A sanitation campaign was launched by the Women's New Life Movement Service Corps in Shanghai on Tuesday in villages in the vicinity of the Civic Centre, Kiangwan, and Yingziang," 1936. 8.6.

and societal ideals. The state-regulation on modern women's appearance was often in the name of 'body liberation,' 'new life,' and 'new times trends.'

'New Women' Images as Beauty Instructions

Up until the 1930s, images of modern women were also closely intertwined with fashion trends and consumerism in addition to advocating for political ideologies, as modern women were portrayed as role models for beauty, especially as these images quickly infiltrated the mass media. In the fashion section of a 1934 issue of *Eastern Times* (*shibao*), an article alleged that "[women] who wear the costume of the New Life Movement can be called modern women"[63] (Figure 4-24). While the author detailed a "correct" outfit for such a modern woman and reiterated Chiang Kai-shek's edict that regulated women's attire in public places, the article was surrounded by illustrated instructions on the topics of female fashion and hairstyles—which hairstyles matched with various jaw lines and which fashionable dresses should be worn to different social occasions—but neither the illustrated hairstyles nor the dress styles accorded with the declared protocol. In a sense, the layout likely embodied what Paul Pickowicz argued in his studies on montage aesthetics in 1930s' Shanghai pictorials as a "kaleidoscopic modernity." Quoting Pang Laikwan's words, "The emergence of New Women in modern China was a complex discursive formation."[64]

Within such 'New Life' discourse, the representations of new women in 1930s magazines reconstructed an aesthetic value of the female image, a new prototype of modern women in outdoor settings. As suggested by a photocollage entitled "The beauty of women's postures" (Figure 4-25) published in the magazine *Saturday* in 1934, correct bodily postures played an

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[63] *Shibao* (Eastern Times), 1934.6.26.
[64] Pang, *The Distorting Mirror*, 109.

important role in the image of modern women. The layout provided photographic examples of 'standard' postures that were seen as healthy and beautiful—that is, how to stand, sit, and pose for photographs. Here the park no longer referred to a specific park location, but to general outdoor park space, where designed landscapes, beaches, and sports facilities that were commonly seen in public parks connoted 'New Life' constructs while also helping to endorse the 'beauty' and 'fashion' of the modern women. In the photos, one lady stands against a tree, gazing upon the sky with a smile, and another group of women sit or stand on a lawn, holding umbrellas and showing their backs to the viewer. On the grass reading a book is a young lady who "naturally smiled when she read something interesting," echoing the newspaper's comment on the library in Wenmiao Park that emphasized "learning through pleasure, gaining tranquility through reading." In a similar pose, another woman in a swimsuit reclines in the water, stretches her neck, and displays forward the curves of her arms, which accompanies her self-assured smile and straight gaze into the lens. The texts provided instructions about the gist of this pose: "reclining by the pool and showing healthy muscles; that will underline the beauty of curves." Her body is reminiscent of the photos of athletic women in *Liangyou*, in which young ladies in sportswear play outdoor sports like riding bikes and swimming that emphasize their body's curves in order to promote the idea of healthy beauty.

Similar postures were seen in other pictorial photographs (Figure 4-26) entitled "New Women" published in 1934's *The China Pictorial*. The new women posed in park space, standing or reclining on the lawn, often surrounded by trees and flowers. Indeed, we would probably find similar postures of women in the traditional genre of 'beautiful women' (美人 *meiren*) in Chinese painting; for instance, the well-dressed women in Qing-dynasty Leng Mei's paintings were often seated sideways or reclined on the couch, turning their upper body three-

quarters of the way towards the reader (Figure 4-27).[65] Other traditional visual sources include New Year prints (年画 *nianhua*) and photographs of courtesans in late Qing Shanghai (Figure 4-28; Figure 4-29). In a late nineteenth-century New Year print, a beautiful lady leans on her couch surrounded by signifiers for auspiciousness and prosperity; similarly, in this photograph, the courtesan also reclines on a couch with similar subjects surrounding her.

We see continuities but also crucial differences between these traditional *meiren* representations and the early twentieth-century pictorial photographs. First, in the *meiren* images, all women were represented in this side reclining pose in a confined environment such as an interior room or backyard garden. Secondly, this pose does not allow us to discern the shape of the 'body,'[66] which is hidden by the loose robe and surrounded by interior props like flowers, fans, or bookshelves that highlight the femininity of beautiful women as subjects of visual pleasure. The courtesan image displayed some changes: while it took place in a studio, the painted wall in the background suggested an (imagined) open-air scene, and the subject gazed straight into the camera and boldly showed her crossed legs and bonded feet to the reader.[67]

The 'new women' image (like Fig.4-25, Fig. 4-26) carried on such beauty traditions but diverged even further from the courtesan representation. The identities of the women, who were usually addressed as "Miss" in the image without any hint at their occupation, were unclear, yet their bobbed hair was a popular look amongst urban young women, especially female students at the time. In other words, in this instance, women of 'newness' were defined by their look rather

[65] James Cahill ed., *Beauty Revealed*, 23-4.
[66] About the issue of representations of body-especially the female body in Chinese art, it's a larger question beyond the scope of this chapter. I was reading John Hay's article "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" (1994) and got some inspiration, but I probably need and am interested in exploring this issue in future papers.
[67] Both Francesca Dal Lago and Catherine Yeh discussed the cross-legs pose and bound feet display in visual representations of courtesans. See their discussions on this topic, Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 83-88; Dal Lago, "Crossed Legs in 1930s Shanghai."

than their social identity, and this 'newness' was represented by a new healthy and beautiful look in the park space. Instead of voluminous robes, the women dressed in tighter fitting *qipao*, posing their body straight towards the lens to showcase their 'beauty of curves,' particularly their elongated arms and legs. The images curated an ideal 'New Life' in the context of the 1930s: the possibilities opened up to women that freed themselves from enclosed clothing and physical environment, especially in contrast to many pictorial images of the time that still reinforced the idea of the standard 'modern wife' (Figure 4-30; Figure 4-31).

The traditional beauty image set within a confined space, as a constantly recurring motif in literature and painting, projected intellectual pursuits,[68] and as Francesca Dal Lago remarks, the confined setting and the *meiren*'s body position transformed the beautiful women into objects of erotic fantasies that attracted a voyeuristic glimpse into a world hidden from view.[69] We certainly cannot simply assume that such body displays in these 'new women' images were merely catered to men's view. Women were the New Life Movement's organizers and also frequenters of city parks. They therefore constituted an important part of the readership of popular newspapers and magazines. However, the situation in which these images were taken is not completely clear to us. They might be photographic records of such outing events, which means these women consciously posed for pictures but not necessarily for public consumption.[70]

It is also important to note that these images were inextricably linked to female readers of popular magazines. To female readers, the women represented in magazines served as practical

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[68] Two such examples: Tang Yin's Tao Gu *Presenting A Lyric to Qin Ruolan* and Fan Qi and Wu Hong's *Portrait of Kou Mei*. More detailed discussion see Wu Hung, "*Qinglou tuxiang: biaoxian yu ziwo biaoxian*" 青楼图像: 表现与自我表现, in *Feminine Space in Chinese Painting*; 291-310.
[69] Francesca Dal Lago, "Crossed Legs in 1930s Shanghai," 119.
[70] Taking photos in the public parks seemed sporadically sometimes. A 1936 cartoon by artist Ye Qianyu, sketched such a shooting experience. Ye scheduled to take photos for Miss Zhang in a public park, where he ran into a friend who then asked him to take pictures, and by the time Miss. Zhang showed up, Ye already run out of films. *Feiying Photographic Pictorial*, 1936, no.2.

instructions for achieving the new aesthetics of healthy beauty: how to pose as a 'new woman' in park spaces, through particular clothing, postures, hair, and the self-assured smiles that differed from the melancholy looks featured in traditional *meiren* paintings. The display of 'beauty of curves' was associated with the popularity of contemporary tight-fitting fashion in a Western dress designed to highlight the slender female body.[71] A drawing by Chinese painter Ye Qianyu in *Linloon*, a popular women's magazine published in 1930s Shanghai, depicted two lanky girls in modern garb on an outing at a public park (Figure 4-32). The slim attire recalled the photos of chic Hollywood movie stars spread in magazines of the time. The caption reads: "Spring is the best season to dress up. If [you] go to the park and don't want to be overdressed, you'd better wear a short coat over *qipao*." The subtext basically explained to female readers how to give themselves a 'correct' look, in which clothing, hairstyle, and body posture were defined as healthy and beautiful in accordance with different facets of female social life.

In addition to appearance, hand fans and umbrellas were considered necessary props used to endorse this outdoor fashion-lifestyle. While hand fans originated in Chinese *meiren* painting, umbrellas were a Western-import fashion. The umbrellas were part of the image of 'new women' included in photography in the park spaces. A photographic spread in *The China Pictorial* titled "Fans and Umbrellas: best match for the summer" illustrated different types of fans and umbrellas, as well as introduced female readers to ways to finesse themselves (Figure 4-33). The images depict ladies in the park space, posing under a tree, sitting or strolling by the pond. One image depicts two girls dressed similarly to the *Linloon* drawing, with explanatory remarks reading: "Modern girls carrying their umbrellas to the park. Others thought they were twins. To

[71] Virgil Kit-yiu Ho, "The Limits of Hatred: Popular Attitudes towards in Republican Canton," 92, recited from Dal Lago, 132. In his book, Lee also discussed how sensationalist writers like Liu Na'ou transposed the fashion of Hollywood movie stars into their fictional landscape of urban Shanghai, *Shanghai Modern*, 195.

them, an umbrella is a part of their decoration." Another heading reads: "The umbrella is used as a background for this snapshot." Similarly, in an article titled "Stars in Summer: Notes on 'Fans,' 'Umbrellas,' [and] 'Hats'" (记扇伞帽 *ji shan san mao*),[72] the author detailed the three trendy gadgets that movie stars carried in the summer and told their female readers, "these three pieces, every girl should prepare one in her hands, and also a pair of *hei yanjing* [黑眼镜 sunglasses] as well; it's the up-to-date fashion among stars." That is to say, these objects were not pragmatic but symbolic accessories, like landscape elements (i.e., flowers, trees, ponds), to lend charms to modern women. This article further elaborated on how that worked:

> "Speaking of the relationship between fans and women, in Chinese stories there were rarely descriptions of *meiren* without mention of fans, of different kinds like *wanshan* [round fans] and *zheshan* [folding fans] that adorn the charm of girls…for instance, in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Baochai chases butterflies with her fan…and Qingwen tears Baoyu's fan. Fans are not only ornaments of a beauty's outfit, but also a love token for ancient women…The fans that modern women use are extremely small in size, only five *cun* long; when fanning, it only cools the tip of your nose. However, if going out without it, you'd feel that something is missing. The photo here showing Hu Die holds a right-size fan, not too big or small. As for umbrellas, it is a European aristocratic thing, but aesthetically, you should have one…First, it helps enhance the beauty of the natural landscape; secondly, it helps increase visual entertainment of sightseeing; and thirdly, while seeing landscape and visitors, an umbrella also turns you to be seen [by other visitors] as leisure class…Like a red cape, the umbrella not only helps increase saturation of a *meiren*'s costume but also ornament the park's landscape. A few years ago, I went to park together with a friend and he came carrying a rosy umbrella. I questioned him right off the bat—why not a green one? He answered that now the park is green everywhere, so the [rosy color] gave a bright touch to the landscape."[73]
>
> 却说扇子与女人的关系，古代描写美人，离开扇子的很少，如画稿中的纨扇，摺扇之类，点缀出女子百般娇姿，小说里面，更是常常借助于扇子，如红楼梦一书，宝钗扑蝶，宝玉摔扇，晴雯撕扇等等，不一而足，不单是美人助装的恩物，而且是古代美人贻所欢的纪念品…近代妇女所用扇子，小到无以复减，打开来没有五寸长，扇起风，只有半个鼻子凉快，但是假如你不挈它出门，就像少了一件东西，最好还是较大一点，本刊蝴蝶女士所用，恰好适中，不大不小。论到伞这件玩意，当然近乎些贵族小姐化，不过依唯美的立场来讲，应该是要用的，我们先说大的一方面，吾人游山玩水，第一功德，是能助天然风景的美，第二是怎样能引动人人皆想增加游赏的乐趣，第三则是看人看山，和被人家看作有闲阶级…伞：亦与大红斗篷一般，不仅能助美人服饰色泽的协调，而且能增加山水或名园的姿质。记得前些年有一个朋友，大家约到公园里去玩，他来时却打着一柄紫色的

[72] *Tientsin Commercial Daily News Pictorial Weekly,* 1936, vol.18, issue 5, 1-2.
[73] Bolong, "Stars in Summer: Notes of 'Fans,' 'Umbrellas,' [and] 'Hats'," *Tientsin Commercial Daily News Pictorial Weekly*, 1936, vol.18, issue 5, 1-2. Five *cun* are about 16cm long.

伞。笔者…立即问道，绿伞多好，不伤目光，他笑了笑答道：现在满园都是绿色，再用绿伞，就混成了一片，分不出一点活动的色调。

The article illustrated how park landscape and the image of modern women were represented through these accessories. In the photographs, women always held fans and umbrellas up to their faces/hats over the head, as if they were a material extension of the veneer of the 'beauty of curves.' Further, the postures used when holding the accessories were also part of the visual instructions for how to be fashionable.

Overall, we see that to the Nationalist government, municipal parks were not only an essential urban project of the (re)construction of new Shanghai, but also a major public site for promoting new ideas and cultivating Chinese citizens. A series of structures in city parks and city-wide campaigns in accordance with the National Life Movement aimed to promote 'new life' ideas closely associated with the body's display in public. In this context, though failed as social reform, the social discourse of 'new life' fostered a new perception of women and children who embodied new aesthetics of beauty focusing on healthy, clean, self-display in outdoor settings. Additionally, the parks, as a signifier of the ongoing urban and social changes, enabled the reader to identify their own daily experiences with these female images. In the following section, we will see that these images quickly infiltrated the city's fashion and mass media that not only established beauty standards for female readers, but also created a motif appropriated by advertisements and calendar posters.

4.4 Selling Healthy Beauty and New Life in This New City

While these images of newly defined femineity were read as fashionable models of trends and the new style of modern lifestyle, they were also used for marketing purposes to stimulate consumption among the emergent urban middle class. After all, these mass-market magazines

were commercially oriented.[74] The iconic features and stylish gadgets attributed to the modern look of 'new women' were unsurprisingly also popular commodities. A magazine article entitled "A Causerie of *hei yanjing* [Sunglasses]" got straight to the point, revealing its commercial nature in the first sentence: "My friend, sunglasses won't cost you much; you do need one pair."[75] Alongside the article was an illustration featuring a typical 'new woman' roaming in the park" (Figure 4-34). While the article remarked that the black glasses paired well with the greenish landscape and her light-colored *qipao* dress, the reader's attention would be diverted to the bottom of the page, featuring a huge advertisement of the sunglasses company, Guanghua. The texts and images indeed prepared the reader for the advertising, where they read about Guanghua's products in different shapes and prices, and could try to match their favorite sunglasses to be worn by the pictured movie star.

Similar layouts juxtaposing 'new women' images and advertisements can be found in other aforementioned pictorial pages. In Figure 4-26, the leftmost column of one page of 'New Women' in *The China Pictorial* (*zhonghua*), for instance, featured two advertisements, one for cosmetics called "Three Flowers Face Powder" and the other for Colgate toothpaste. Advertising here linked to popularized depiction of femininity in subtle ways: The Three Flowers' ad included sketches of a modern woman as well as a woman dressed in a traditional gown. The pose, in which both ladies raised their hands reminds us of the ladies holding fans and umbrellas near to their faces in Figure 4-33. The flowers seem to be signifying three-layered associations: they hint at traditional poetic metaphor for women, as visualized by the sketch of traditional

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[74] Scholars have studied the rising women's consumerism in the early twentieth century as women became a great motivating source for the development of the evolving consumerist economy. See Pang Laikwan, *The Distorting Mirror*, 104-105; Yeh Wen-hsin, *Shanghai Splendor*, Chapter 3, "Visual Politics and Shanghai Glamour" discusses the development of consumerism in the Nanjing Road, the core of urban Shanghai.

[75] "*Mantan hei yanjing*" (A Causerie of Sunglasses), *Shanghai Texie*, 1939, vol.1.

woman; they also refer to the park landscape of the ‘new women’ constructs, as exemplified by a girl holding flowers in the photograph on the right; and finally, the flowers worked in concert with the brand’s name, “Three Flowers.” The advertising rhetoric reinforced this mimetic intent: “nowadays all female socialites use Three Flowers, because its fine powder helps refine their faces.” As for the toothpaste ad, it is hard not to notice the ‘new women’ images here all feature smiles overtly displaying their teeth, especially the girl’s headshot next to the face powder advertisement, echoing what the texts advertise here, “sweet and refreshing.” The baby characters in the toothpaste ad were juxtaposed with a photograph of a lady in the park. Such imagery recalled the image of young mothers with their children playing in the park.

Another page of the magazine illustrated further mimetic intent in the advertising image that juxtaposed photographs of *jianmei* kids (Figure 4-35). It featured the 1936 “Children Healthy Campaign” in the capital of Nanjing. Next to the photograph of the winning children was an ad for malt cookies. The ad’s sketch on the left looked quite identical with the winning child’s photograph on the right. That is to say, photographs of *jianmei* kids and women in these pictorial pages served multiple purposes: They were used as beauty guides to teach the reader how to become –and raise kids to become—healthy and beautiful; Simultaneously, they turned healthy and beautiful looks into a selling point and encouraged the reader to obtain this look through product consumption.

The ‘new women’ images were also appropriated by calendar posters (*yuefenpai*), another important advertising medium in modern China. The calendar poster was a commercial art form designed to market consumer products, popularized in early twentieth-century China, which combined different visual elements from traditional Chinese folk art like New Year prints,

commercial advertising, and Western graphic designs.[76] They were welcomed in modern households as both home poster decoration and practical calendar uses. The archetype of fashionable 'new women' in outdoor scenes was seen in calendar posters for a wide range of products, from cigarettes to textile, from cosmetics to medicine (Figure 4-36; Figure 4-37; Figure 4-38).

These calendar posters largely had photographic origins and the commercial painters' careers often came across with pictorial magazines. For instance, Hu Boxiang (1896-1989), a well-known painter and photographer active in early twentieth-century Shanghai, once worked in the advertising department at the British American Tobacco Company in Shanghai and painted a large number of advertising posters, while his photographic works were often seen in popular magazines.[77] His photographs showed that he was a frequenter of Shanghai parks, and the posters that he designed largely adapted the landscapes from his photographic works (Figure 4-39; Figure 4-40). Figure 4-41 was a photo-essay by Hu Boxiang published in *Shanghai Sketch* (*Shanghai manhua*) in 1928, soon after the foreign-administered public parks in Shanghai opened to Chinese residents. Hu paid a special visit to the parks and sketched scenes there with his camera and his words. It attested to the fact that commercial art and popular visual culture were indeed intertwined with the city's urban and cultural transformation in 1930s Shanghai.

We can draw similarities between iconographical features on these printed posters and the photographic representations discussed earlier: the depicted subjects are modern women, often surrounded by children against the background of landscape, the self-content expression is

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[76] Francesca Dal Lago, "Crossed Legs in 1930s Shanghai," 104-105.
[77] Hu Boxiang founded and became Director of the Oriental Fine Arts Society, and in 1928 he co-founded the China Photography Society and the magazine China Photography. About Hu Boxiang's biography and ideas of his Chinese pictorialist art photography, see https://site.douban.com/taikangtopspace/widget/notes/194420944/note/777517803/

reminiscent of the smiles on the 'new woman' images, and the stretched body wittingly or unwittingly displaying her body curves. Like the photographs, the entire image was staged in a park-like outdoor setting, characterized by a designed landscape and symmetrical flowerbeds, trees and blossoming plants, ponds and a pavilion. As shown in Figure 4-36, the background landscape was closer to those contemporary 'new women' portrayals in park spaces, rather than simply borrowed from traditional motifs (i.e. *meiren* paintings). While the latter depicted interior garden scenes or reimagined naturescapes to project intellectual aesthetics, the former, like the calendar posters, connoted New Life references in the new city and the new Chinese nation.

Admittedly, at this time nationalism was surely an essential force shaping the burgeoning consumer culture. For example, in Figure 4-33, the ad next to the women displaying fans and umbrellas was for an international courier company, which was advertised as "the most reliable service to help overseas Chinese buy national goods"—a scene surprisingly mirroring today's situation. As Karl Gerth remarks in his classic study of the nationalized consumer culture in modern China, nationalism and consumerism were two key players in shaping modern China and defined Chinese citizens.[78] Any products distinguished as 'national goods' became sellable commodities. This hallmark was loosely connected with massive social movements, along with concrete urban expansion of Greater Shanghai, as well as to the visual configuration of new women images in park space.

Does this mean that the figure of women and the imagery of the new city (park landscape and architecture), like the featured products in magazines, had become a commodity? I would agree that, if anything, the set of imagery in these posters, akin to those ads in magazines (like

[78] Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*, Harvard University Press, 2004, 3. He argued that in 20th-century China, nationalism categorized all commodities as either "Chinese" or "foreign," and consumer culture became the site where the notion of nationality was articulated, institutionalized, and practiced.

the ads in Figure 4-26), provided room for female consumers to project identification and imagination onto the calendar women and landscape, through their private experiences of touring city parks as well as their collective participation in constructing the discourse of healthy and beautiful new women in the 1930s.[79] Scholars are inclined to see the represented female and landscape motifs in calendar posters as commodified fantasies that helped construct an imaginary of urban modernity so as to attract potential buyers, and in turn, the consumption reinforced the urban imagination.[80] However, in this last section of the chapter, I demonstrate that this urban imagination was rooted in the photographic representations of ‘new women’ featured in magazines— ideologically, visually, and artist-wise—and this connection was caught between the government-run urban reconstruction of new Shanghai and the visual construction of modern women who embodied the new aesthetic of healthy beauty in popular culture. Park-like landscapes became representations of both contexts, signifying either a Chinese public site for new urban projects and social campaigns, or a spatial construct of outdoor fashion-lifestyle.[81]

4.5 Conclusion

Drawing on Michel de Certeau’s observation that a concept-city is entangled with an operated city as experienced by walkers, this chapter explored city parks in 1930s Shanghai as an

[79] Neither am I suggesting female readers gained subjectivity through self-identification with the poster female image or through consumption, nor idealizing advertising posters as a tool of female consumers empowerment. Scholars have disclosed that modern consumer culture constituted both men and women, and national-bearing commodities targeted the increasingly visible female consumer.
[80] Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 77-78; Jiang Ying, “An Analysis of The Changing Female Image in Calendar Posters,” *Journal of Nanjing Arts Institute*, 2003, vol.1, 53-56.
[81] To put it in another way, the advertisements and calendar posters embodied a network of visual images that tied the advertising with pictorial magazines, city parks, and the changing city. Inspired by Cochran’s study, which focused on the advertising culture of the British-American Tabaco Company in China. They tied advertising with other entertainment spaces like newspapers, amusement parks, theaters, and restaurants to create a dense network of visual images, so customers would be persuaded to identify their cigarettes with the other pleasures and sources of excitement. Sherman Cochran, “Transnational Origins of Advertising”, in *Inventing Nanjing Road*, 1999, 48.

urban project where administrative rationalization encountered people's daily urban spatial practices, a public space for the formation and perception of 'new women' imagery in the making, and a visual construct that turned a new aesthetic of beauty in outdoor settings into advertising. First of all, city parks were an important architectural component in the urban planning for Greater Shanghai as drawn by the newly founded nationalist government. A group of parks were designed to keep pace with the dual municipal projects of renewing the old Chinese city and reconstructing a new city northward. Borrowing many concepts from the foreign-administered public parks, municipal parks played a role in reconstructing a new image for a new, Chinese-controlled Shanghai in the early years of the 1930s.

Additionally, this chapter also studied city parks as a public space where the Nationalists aimed to disseminate new ideas and civilize everyday habits through park structures and body-related regulations, echoing massive government-run social campaigns like the New Life Movement. However, politics and fashion have always been two interchangeable elements in shaping modern Chinese history, even through today, and this turned the body into a site for displaying and contending ideology and aesthetics. City parks, as such, became a site for fostering a new prototype of women's images that appeared in popular media, in particular women who embodied a new aesthetic of beauty in outdoor settings. The 'new woman' images that were popularized in newspapers and magazines were soon commercialized for advertising use, while the advertisements themselves were visually interweaved into the layout of the magazine.

This turned our attention toward the third dimension of city parks, as they were part of the visual constructs that transformed the featured images of women, landscape motifs, and products into sellable imagery. It was through this imagery that female consumers were able to

project self-identification and imagination onto the advertising posters, through their private experiences of daily outings as well as collective participation in constructing the discourse of healthy and beautiful new women in the 1930s.

While we found the posters that advertised the image of 'new women', we simultaneously saw images of erotic poster girls in outdoor settings. For example, in a poster for cosmetics (Figure 4-42), a woman was staged in a commonly seen open-air setting much like Figure 4-36, but her *qipao* was deliberately painted as being flimsy, coquettishly showing a glimpse of underneath her bodice. In another 1930s poster by Hang Xiying advertising the Great Eastern Drugstore's products (Figure 4-43; another example: Figure 4-44), the woman was shown in a more revealing and seductive pose, comfortably sitting sideways in a boat, as rowing was a popular recreation for spring outings and a frequently depicted subject in illustrated magazines. Though the poster seemingly adopted the 'new women' aesthetics with a pose showing the beauty of her body's curves, the representation was openly flirtatious: she carried an umbrella, facing the reader with the lace of her red bodice falling on her exposed thighs, and her breasts and nipples half-showing.

How do we understand such a juxtaposition of uplifting and erotic images of women in popular culture? This is beyond the scope of the chapter, but still deserves further investigation. Images like these could be interpreted either in the discourse of government-run regulations and social campaigns (like the New Life Movement, the Natural Breast movement (*tianru yundong*) (Figure 4-45) in the name of emancipating the female body and Chinese nation-building, or in the discourse of trendy going-out fashions in popular newspapers and magazines. However, when this reformation on private body was given publicity— and by publicity, I mean not only that the represented women were staged in outdoor scenes, but also that these representations

were disseminated and discussed in the public sphere— the imagery of the sexualized female body became a space that articulated controversial and ambivalent public perceptions.[82] The featured women could be read as a symbol of progress or a model of fashion, but also as a target of moral judgment in the social and cultural milieu. More likely, it was the controversy that turned advertising of such posters to work in full effect. This indeed was a time when various new female representations, women's liberation, and consumer culture were promoted and interplayed.[83] In this sense, posters like Figure 4-43 and Figure 4-44 were different from the 'new women' images as well as the juxtaposed advertisements in pictorial magazines, but more likely back to the *meiren* tradition, in which the landscape background became empty signifiers: they neither represented a new city and lifestyle, nor helped construct a site for pleasure of consumption, but became imagined, replaceable, and reproducible motifs in print culture.

[82] Related discussions on this controversial between government intervention and the larger social and cultural milieu embodied more clearly in the image of female body and nudity, see Jun Lei, "'Natural' Curves: Breast-Binding and Changing Aesthetics of the Female Body in China of The Early Twentieth Century," *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, 2015, vol.27, no.1, 163-223; Zhang Yingjin, "*Gonggong xing, yinsi xing, xiandai xing: zhongguo zaoqi huabao dui nüxing shenti de biaoxian yu xiaofei*" (Publicity, Privacy, Modernity: Representation and Consumption of The Female Body in Modern Chinese Pictorials), 2006.
[83] Pang Laikwan, "Advertising and The Visual Display of Women," 130.

CODA

This dissertation examines the transformation of Shanghai gardens from secluded spatial forms such as traditional private gardens and the transplanted Public Garden to become part of the city's open space for entertainment and leisure including temple-garden complexes, commercial pleasure gardens, and city parks. In the process, the dissertation further explores the dynamic interaction between the garden spaces and the city's urban changes and the rise of new visual culture. This transformation process intersected with elite and popular cultures, intertwined with both political and the commercial forces, and was boosted by the publishing industry with new media in multicultural environment of Shanghai from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.

As a coda to the above discussion, I will take the Yu Garden as an example to illustrate the changing images of the garden over time, which as a late-Ming residential garden space was incorporated into the religious temple, dwelled with the city's fan shops, teahouses, and sojourned artists, and currently is a popular subject in reconstructing the image of "old Shanghai." I will briefly address two shifting contexts in the post-twentieth century, within which Shanghai's gardens have regained new meanings and are re-envisioned as famous classical gardens: One context was articulated by 1930s' writers and architectural historians and the other is dictated by various commercial appropriations nowadays.

The Yu Garden had served as one of the major tourist attractions of Shanghai, but its role and image as a temple-garden complex had been complicated during the 1920s and 30s. The area embodied a cohabitating and competing atmosphere between the commercial prosperity and chaotic folk activities, and between the culture center of book markets and artistic shops and the

gathering place for panhandlers.[1] When a Japanese writer, Ryūnosuke Akutagawa (1892-1927), visited Shanghai in 1921, he found the southern Chinese city to be a heterogenous image of Shanghai's modernity, as modern Shanghai was usually perceived in stylish foreign-style architecture on the Bund and Nanjing Road in previous accounts. Akutagawa provided the very graphic accounts of the vulgar scenes that he encountered in the temple-garden complex in the Chinese city, where it was not the bustling bazaar or zigzag bridge and landscaping that impressed him, but the "pungent smell of urine," the "dilapidated Mid-Lake Pavilion teahouse," and "sickly green lake" that constituted his first impression of the place.[2]

Gardens regained historic meanings for Chinese writers beginning in the late 1920s. At this time, the walls of the Shanghai native city had been demolished, the garden-temple complex was shabby-looking as Akutagawa described, and the legendary pleasure gardens such as Zhang Yuan were replaced by *lilong* houses and skyscrapers. In the memoirs of Chinese intellectuals who sojourned in Shanghai during the early Republican era, these gardens were often categorized into the genre of *guji* (古迹 historical traces) or *jiuji* (旧迹 past traces).[3] For instance, in his notes *Shanghai yishi daguan* (Anecdotal Survey of Shanghai), Chen Boxi described the Yu Garden, Zhang Garden, and Garden as *feiyuan* (ruined gardens). The Zhang Garden and Yú Garden were lamented as "famous Chinese gardens in the past," and the construction and reconstruction of the Yu Garden were portrayed as "signifiers of the rise and fall of the city." As he provided a glimpse into the scene of the time, "it is a pity that luxuriant

[1] A Ying, "*Chenghuangmiao de shushi*" (Book Markets in The City God Temple), *Xiandai* (Les Contemporain), vol.4, issue 4, 1934, 779-786.
[2] Jing Wang, Ph.D. Dissertation, *Spatializing Modernity: Colonial Contexts of Urban Space in Modern Japanese Literature*, 2018, 83-84.
[3] Hu Jifan, *Shanghai xiao zhi* (Vernacular Records of Shanghai), 1930, reprinted by Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1989, 20-24; Chen Boxi, *Shanghai yishi daguan* (Anecdotal Survey of Shanghai), 1924, reprinted.by Shanghai shudian, 2000, 115-126.

grass greened [again]; jade swallows visited the grand halls where crows fly pell-mell."[4] Chen's words conjure up the image of "swallows that once nested in grand halls" (*tangqian yan*) depicted in the eighth-century poetry *Blackgown Alley* by Liu Yuxi. It seems that Chen intended to separate the image of Yu Garden as a classical garden from that as a temple-garden bazaar. He especially felt compassion about the rock pile, Yu Linglong, which he commented as the pinnacle of Taihu rocks and the essential site of the Yu Garden, that was "discarded in a chaotic secular bazaar, with visitors who passed by would feel sorry for it."[5]

The contrasting images of the Yu Garden were also created in contemporaneous photographic reproductions by photographers. A photo dated to the 1930s shows a view of the so-called nine-curve bridge and the Mid-Lake Pavilion teahouse (Figure c-1). By this time, the pavilion was reconstructed and expanded after a fire in the late 1920s and early 1930s, with the wooden zigzag bridge replaced by a concrete one.[6] However, we could barely discern the renovation in this photo. Instead, it documents a dilapidated teahouse in the center having visitors, who are tourists, local residents, clerks, and ordinary laborers, passing through the zigzag bridge. The 'realistic' emphasis distinguished it from earlier images taken by the Western photographers (Figure c-2), which eschew presenting any figures and but rather emphasized the Picturesque style of a Shanghai garden, characterized by the grotesque pavilion, winding bridge,

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[4] Chen Boxi, *Shanghai yishi daguan*, 116. The text reads: "It is a pity that luxuriant grass greened [again]; jade swallows visited the grand halls where crows fly pell-mell." "可怜芳草萋萋绿 玉燕堂前鸦乱飞"
[5] *Ibid.* "*Yufurong*" (Rock Pile Yu Linglong) 130-131. The text reads: "The spectacular Taihu rocks….such as the one standing up in Yu Garden, were in outstanding quality; However, the rocks had been discarded in a chaotic secular bazaar, with visitors who passed by would feel sorry for it." "太湖石之奇观者…至如豫园之九狮亭矗立一二 亦非常品 然弃置于尘世混混中 曾无过而凭吊者 亦殊可惜也。 "
[6] Zhang Xiao-chun, "Theme Park of History: The Cultural Predicament of The City Temple and Yu Yuan Garden in Shanghai," *Time Architecture*, 2007.1, 136-141.

and their still, mirror-like image reflected in the water.[7] The Mid-Lake Pavilion has become a representative image of the Yu Garden as well as the southern Chinese city, and these photos show two typical angles representing the Yu Garden. The former (Fig.c-1) looking south shows the east and front views of the Pavilion against the labyrinth of buildings and stores next to the City God Temple in the background, while the latter (Fig.c-2) looking north presents the back of the Pavilion with the garden architecture looming in the distance. In other words, one focuses on a secular temple-garden space, and the other creates a desolate and durable garden image.

The Yu Garden has been revived in 1930s' scholarly discourses of traditional gardens. The garden as the "old trace" was brought into the contemporary context through architectural studies and reconstruction of classical gardens. Tong Jun (1900-1983), a renowned Chinese architectural historian in the early twentieth century, was the first scholar who "rediscovered classical gardens" in the modern historiographical study of Chinese architecture.[8] Tong became interested in Chinese private gardens beginning in 1930, when he moved to Shanghai and first visited the Yu Garden. He wrote about this garden as one of the representative traditional Chinese gardens in Shanghai in his treaty *Jiangnan yuanlin zhi* (A Record of the Gardens of Jiangnan) that he composed in the late 1930s. Similar to Chen Boxi, the "fading *jiuji* (past trace)"

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[7] Wu Hung, Chapter 2 "The Birth of Ruins," in *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, Reaktion Books Ltd., 2012, 93-164. Wu provides a broad historical and conceptual interpretation on the notion of traces and ruins and their photographic representations by early European photographers. He points out that early European photographers such as Louis Legrand who arrived in Shanghai around the 1850s took a series of photos of the walled city and its environs, in which the photos of Chinese gardens not only followed a nineteenth century expedition convention to photograph ancient monument remains in the far east, but also echoed the Chinoiserie vogue fevered in eighteenth-century Europe.

[8] Delin Lai, "*Shijie zhuyi, wu zhenfu zhuyi yu tongjun de waiguo jianzhu shi*" (Cosmopolitanism, Anarchism, and Tong Jun's Study of the History of Western Architecture), in *Zhonguo jindai sixiang shi yu jianzhu shixue shi* (Changing Ideals in Modern China and Its Historiography of Architecture), Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2012, 190-199.

became the motivation to restore a historical genealogy for gardens and rediscover the Jiangnan gardens as part of the Chinese cultural essence.[9]

The Yu Garden that we see today is largely owed to the preservation efforts underwent in the 1950s and 1980s, led by architectural historian Chen Congzhou (1918-2000). As the garden had been reconstructed and renovated many times over centuries, to Chen and his colleagues, the key question of the preservation was to evaluate which past they would bring to the reconstruction of the garden space. At the early stage in the 1950s, the preservation focused on the Dianchun Tang site in the northeast of the garden.[10] Ironically, this site was devastated during the Small Sword Rebellion in the 1850s and was never fully restored for over a century, but then it became the renovation priority because the area was used as the Rebellion's headquarter and redefined as the "*geming yiji*" (革命遗迹 revolutionary remnant trace) in the 1950s, regaining symbolic meanings of Chinese rebellion against imperialism.[11] However, beginning in the 1980s, the focus of the reconstruction shifted.[12] Under the influence of a national-wide movement for the conservation of Chinese cultural heritage, Shanghai became one of the twenty-four "historically and culturally famous cities," and the Yu Garden was listed as a "Cultural Heritage Sites under State-level Protection" in 1982 and had been redefined as a Ming-

[9] *Ibid.*, 190. For more introduction to the historiography of Chinese garden studies, see Stanislaus Fung, "Longing and Belonging in Chinese Garden History," in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michel Conan, The Trustees for Harvard University, 1999, 207-221; Gu Kai, "Comparison of Chinese Garden Study between Tong Jun and Liu Dunzhen," *The Architect*, (2015) 1: 92-105.
[10] Chen Congzhou, "Yu Garden and Inner Garden in Shanghai," *Cultural Relics*, vol.6, 1957.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] In fact, the garden endured more changes during the 1960s and 1970s, in terms of its layout, spatial use, and names. For more detailed information about the reconstruction, see Duan Jianqiang, "Chen Congzhou and the Preservation of Yuyuan Garden: The Practice of Oral History Research," *South Architecture*, (2011) 4: 28-32. During the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s, the Yu Garden once renamed as Hong Yuan (Red Garden), the ponds had filled up and turned to air-raid shelter, and the garden was forced to close for a long time.

dynasty Jiangnan garden heritage.[13] The reconstruction thereafter focused on restoring a Ming Garden, and originally as an early nineteenth-century addition, the Dianchun Tang site again is also incorporated into this image making.

The second context is about recreating garden spaces as new wonderland and amusement park in today's commercial environment. Beginning in the 1990s, the new urban renovation brought changes to the Yu Garden and the City God Temple area. A series of pseudo-classic buildings were built to the southwest of the Yu Garden near the Temple area and transformed the whole block to today's Yuyuan Tourist Mart (Figure c-3), a shopping mall comprised of assorted commercial venues for shopping and catering, traditional Chinese garden landscape, and local folk religious space.[14] These commercial buildings are characterized by their exaggerated flying eave lines and red railings in contrast with the whitewashed walls and tiled roofs, as a way to line up with the renovated garden and temple structures and create an uniform historic atmosphere of "traditional Shanghai." Although the area tries to recreate the traditional features of temple-garden complex in terms of architectural style and commercial marketplaces, it is very different from the nineteenth-century temple-garden bazaar for two reasons. The first obvious reason is different functions: the nineteenth-century bazaar functioned as the local commercial center that engaged with the nearby residents' daily life, but the reconstructed commercial complex is profit-oriented and largely catering to tourists only, where tourists coming from all over the world visit the scenic spot for a glance of traditional aspect of Shanghai. It is an image reimagined and invested to fulfill the multifaceted Shanghai identity: a globalized city with increased population growth and property developments, an "old Shanghai" that refers to the

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Zhang Xiao-chun, "Theme Park of History: The Cultural Predicament of The City Temple and Yu Yuan Garden in Shanghai," *Time Architecture*, 2007.1, 136-141.

1930s' glorious and affluent past, and a historic city inherited traditional Chinese architecture and folklore.

Second, the garden and the temple used to be separate but interacting architectural spaces that respectively functioned in their own terms for garden-related activities like seasonal flower appreciation and folk activities such as street festivals. However, the garden and temple spaces now work together as the "theme park of history."[15] Tourists visit not for one particular attraction, garden views, fan shops, or restaurants, but for experiencing the theme park as a whole, in which a Jiangnan literati garden, vernacular folklore, traditional architectural elements all play a part of the tourist cultural production.

This culture production and consumption of history also become visualized and materialized by means of the new era of multimedia. In early 2021, a theme park called *yumeng weisuo shijie* (Yu [garden]'s dream, a lilliputian land) (Figure c-4) opened to the public on basement level one of the Yuyuan Department Store (as shown in Figure c-3), located at the southwest corner of the Yu Garden and west of the City God Temple.[16] The underground space exhibits over five-hundred pieces of miniature models of Shanghai historic landmarks that display about two-hundred daily life scenes and historical events, ranging from holding banquets in the Yu Garden, warfare sites outside the city gate, loading boats at the Shiliupu Wharf to the south of the Chinese city, dancing in ballrooms, to horse racing in the International Settlement. The exhibition storyline is divided into five sections, with each section representing a particular historical moment at a place of Shanghai, and the Yu Garden where the theme park locates is narrated as the beginning point and original place of the story. The wonderland provides the

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[15] *Ibid.*
[16] https://new.qq.com/omn/20210308/20210308A01OL800.html; "*Shiguang liuzhuan, jianzhu weisuo: yiri chuanxing shanghai 400 nian*" (As time passes, constructing architectural miniature: a travel of Shanghai's four-hundred years of history within one day), *Qingnian bao* (Youth Daily), 2021.3.29.

visitor immersive experiences, combining the models with dynamic machinery and multimedia technologies such as sound and visual effects and electronic sensors. “The theme park aims to use digital media to reconstruct the historical changes of the Yu Garden and the old city over the four-hundred years through these models,” said the program director, “and it enables the visitor to learn about the city’s culture and history through spatial experiences.”[17] He claimed that the restoration is based on a study of historical texts and images, and the entire project involved more than fifty handicraft masters who spent over one year creating these miniature models and figures.

The exhibition of miniature models is also accompanied by two interactive art installations designed by a Shanghai-based Taiwanese new media artist Lin Jiun-Ting: one called *huanjing wuyu* (幻境物语 tales of wonderland) and the other called *xiang dang nian* (响当年 wandering old times in cable car). Mediated through an array of “imported *modeng* device” and “old objects made in Shanghai” including cable cars, phonograph, Butterfly sewing machine, Phoenix bicycle, and Three Five clock, the installations enable the visitor to engage with the exhibitional spaces and objects by digital media tools such as electronic sensors and other digital interactive facilities. Here the contrasting sizes between the visitor’s body and objects and among objects, the combination of light and shadow, and the juxtaposition of time and space recall the night garden experiences disappeared a century ago.[18] The exhibition epitomizes various aspects that we discuss about Shanghai gardens in this dissertation, the transformation of garden spaces

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] This theme park exhibition and nowadays Yu Garden-City God Temple area are more and more of Disneyfication. As Sharaon Zukin comments on the Disney world, which as a represented architectural fantasy is “a powerful visual and spatial reorganization of public culture. Its exhibits make social memory visible, and its means of establishing collective identity are based strictly on the market…its size and functional interdependence make Disney World a viable representation of a real city.” Sharon Zukin, *The Culture of Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, 1996, 53.

over time, changing history through the lens of one garden, miniaturized landscape, sensory experiences within the garden space, and a wide range of visual representations.

In the coda, I outlined four modes of reinterpreting the Yu Garden in the post-1930s discourses of Shanghai, including the writings about the local famous garden, reconstruction of a traditional Chinese garden by architectural historians, urban renovation of the tourist mall, and the recreating the underground theme park of miniatured cityscapes. The garden space represents multiple roles in these changing contexts: it is a historical trace that witnessed Shanghai's past as part of the larger Jiangnan cultural tradition, therefore it has gained attention and transformed to a traditional garden for the cause of preservation of architectural heritage, and meanwhile as a famous historical site it became the meeting place of elite and consumer culture, old and new.[19]

[19] For the detailed discussion on meanings of historical traces (*guji*), remnant traces (*yiji*), and famous historical sites (*shengji*), see Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruins: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, 62-91; 251-257.

TABLES

Table 1-1

Shanghai Gazetteer Maps

Map	Gazetteer	Period	Detail	Edition	
"Geographic Map of Shanghai County" 上海县地理图	Gazetteer of Shanghai 上海志	1504, Ming 17th year of the Hongzhi Reign	20.3x14.9 cm. Woodblock	1524 Ming 3rd year of the Jiajing Reign	
"Administrative Map of Shanghai County" 上海县治图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1683, Qing 22nd year of the Kangxi Reign	21.2x14.1cm. Woodblock	1750 Qing 15th year of the Qianlong Reign; 1784 Qing 49th year of the Qianlong Reign	
"Complete Map of Shanghai County" 上海县全境图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1683, Qing Kangxi Reign	Woodblock		
"Complete Map of Shanghai County" 今上海县全境图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1814, Qing 19th year of the Jiaqing Reign	Woodblock	1819 Qing 24th year of the Jiaqing Reign	Fig.1-1
"Map of the Walled City of Shanghai County" 上海县城图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1871/72, Tongzhi Reign	17.9x12.2cm. Woodblock		
"Map of Streets in and outside Shanghai County" 上海县城内外街巷图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1871/72, Tongzhi Reign	18x12.3cm. Woodblock		
"Complete Map of Shanghai County" 上海县全境图	Gazetteer of Shanghai County 上海县志	1871/72, Tongzhi Reign	Woodblock		Fig.1-6
"Districts of the walled city and its surroundings" 城厢分铺图	Sequel Gazetteer of Shanghai Count 上海县续志	1918	20x24.8cm. Woodblock		

Table 1-2

The Serial of the 1875 (Feng Zhuoru) and 1880 (Dianshizhai) Maps

Map	Year	Cartographer/Publisher	Detail	
"Map of the Shanghai county walled city and the British and French settlements" 上海县城及英法租界图	ca.1856-1858	Local Chinese prefects		
"Complete map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements" 上海县城厢租界全图	1875	Feng Zhuoru 冯卓儒 and Xu Yucang 许雨苍	81 x 142cm. woodblock and Hand-colored	Fig.1-8
"Complete map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements" 上海县城厢租界全图	1880	Dianshizhai Pictorial 点石斋画报, Ernest Major's publishing house.	62.6 x 135.2 cm. Lithography print	Fig.1-10
"Sketch of Shanghai" 上海略图	1882	Kishida Ginkō 岸田吟香, shinkoku chishi 清国地誌, Rakuzendō 楽善堂	Woodblock	Fig.1-12
"Complete map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements"上海县城厢租界全图	1884	Dianshizhai Pictorial 点石斋画报, Ernest Major's publishing house.	66 x 110cm. Lithography print	

(Table 1-2 'The Serial of the 1875 (Feng Zhuoru) and 1880 (Dianshizhai) Maps' Continued)

"Revised Geographic Map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements" 重修上海县城厢租借地理全图	1893	Shenchang Printing House 申昌书局, Ernest Major's publishing house.	60x106cm. Lithography print	Fig.1-11
"Updated and Revised Geographic Map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements" 新增重修上海县城厢租借地理全图	1895	Zhaoji wucai Lithography Printing House 肇记五彩石印书局	63x106cm. Lithography print	
"Updated and Revised Geographic Map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements" 新增重修上海县城厢租借地理全图	1899	chunhengmao money shop 春恒茂钱庄	24.3x10.7cm	Fig.1-13
"Revised map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the expanded foreign settlements" 重修上海县城厢推广租界地理全图	1901	Handuzhuang Publishing House 汉读楼书庄	61x40.7cm	
"Map of Shanghai Commercial Map" 上海通商内外舆图	1902	Gu Binlin 顾秉麐		

Table 1-3

The Serial of Copperplate Printed Commercial Maps by Japanese Publishers

Map	Year	Cartographer/Publisher	Detail	
"A map of the foreign settlements at Shanghai"	1900; 1904	Stanford's Geographical Establishment; the North China Herald and North China Daily News Offices, Shanghai	1900, 45 x 31cm. 1904, 74 x 108cm. (base map of the Japanese maps)	Fig.1-14
"New Surveyed Map of Shanghai" 新撰实测上海与地图	1905	Shinchiya 新智社, printed in Tokyo	50 x 73cm. Copperplate printing	Fig.1-21
"The New Map of Shanghai" 最新上海地图	1908	Shosuido Shoten 松翠堂书店, printed in Nagasaki	36 x 60cm. Copperplate printing	Fig.1-2
Map of Shanghai Streets" 上海市街图	1909	Jujiya Shoten 十字屋, printed in Oosaka	76.8 x 106.5cm. Copperplate printing	Fig.1-22a-b
"The New Map of Shanghai" 最新上海地图	1913/1914	Matasuzaki Hotel Business 松崎洋行	36.9 x 51.4 cm. Copperplate printing	Fig.1-22a-b
"The New Survey Map of Shanghai" 最近实测上海新地图	1918	Shiseido 至誠堂, printed in Oosaka	48.4 x 74.3 cm. Copperplate printing	Fig.1-24a-b
"The New Survey Map of Shanghai" 最近实测上海新地图	1920	Nihondo Shoten 日本堂	47.2 x 74.2 cm. Copperplate printing	
"The new map of Shanghai" 上海新地图	1926	Sugie Fusazō 杉江房造, Nihondo Shoten 日本堂	40.8x70.8cm	

APPENDIX

All translation in this dissertation belongs to author unless noted otherwise.

Appendix 1-1 (p.52)

上海一邑为通商要口，其间中外交涉，公私冗聚，毂击肩摩，轴轤相接，洵称繁盛之区。穿地形之冲要，水道之源委，尤必详绘以图。庶商贾往来，潜心地势者，有所率循而不致伥焉无之也。岁在乙亥，许君雨苍绘有是图，久经问世，惟租界道里每易其名，致原图间有不符之处，兹特描摹更正，缩印而成以令诸世。然挂一漏万之讥在所难免，阅者谅之。光绪六年庚辰季夏，上海点石斋主人识。

"Shanghai has been a vital international harbor, where it is flooded with Chinese and foreigners, hips touch hips and shoulders rub shoulders, and public and private interests gathered; as such it is known as a prosperous place. Its geography and waterways require detailed survey so as to illustrate maps. Visitors and merchants who are interested in/familiar with topography have followed [linear and directional measurements and made maps] so they do not get lost. At the year of *yihai* [1875], Mr. Xu Yucang painted such a clear map which has been reprinted for many times. However, the streets in the foreign settlements have been changed frequently, and their names can no longer be matched on the map. Hereby [we] revised and reprinted new maps for everyone nowadays. Yet errors are inevitable and we appreciate you the reader's understanding. The summer of the sixth year of the reign of Guangxu [1880], by the master of Shanghai Dianshizhai."

Text on the map "*Shanghai xian chengxiang zujie quantu*" 上海县城厢租界全图 (Complete map of the Shanghai county walled city, its surroundings, and the foreign settlements), 1880, by Ernest Major's publishing house. 62.6 x 135.2 cm. *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Lithography print. (Trans. by author)

Appendix 2-1 (p.87)

…入门西行可数武…循墉东西行, 得堂曰"玉华", 前临奇石, 曰"玉玲珑", 盖石品之甲, 相传为宣和漏网, 因以为堂. 堂后轩一楹, 朱栏临流, 时饵鱼其下, 曰 '鱼乐'…由轩而西, 得廊可十余武, 折而北, 前距大池, 限以石阑, 有堂五楹, 岿然临之, 曰'乐寿堂'…池心有岛横峙, 有亭曰"凫佚。

"… Entering the gate and wandering westward… One found the Yuhua Tang (Exquisite Jade Hall); In front there is an extravagant rockery named Yulinglong, which is absolutely superb in rock piling. It is said that this tone was left from the Xuanhe Taihu stones, and thereby the hall [Yuhua Tang] is built to dedicate to this stone. Beyond the hall there is pavilion over a pond called Yu Le (Pleasure of Fishes), where visitors could lean over the railings to feed the fish… Walking westward from the pavilion is a corridor; then walking northward led to a large pond, which is fenced by stones; besides there is a grandeur four-bay hall, called Leshou Tang (Joy and

Longevity Hall)… In the center of the pond mapped an island and on top there is a pavilion named Fuyi."

Pang Yunduan, *Yuyuanji* 豫园记 (Record of Yu Garden), in Chen Zhi, Zhang Gongchi, and Chen Congzhou, *Zhongguo lidai mingyuan xuanzhu* 中国历代名园记选注 (Records of famous Chinese gardens), Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 113-117. (Trans. by author)

Appendix 3-1 (p.130)

…于是缙绅贵介，富商大贾，以及书楼妙选，向之香车宝马鄰鄰萧萧，驰骋于十丈软红中者，至是或不卜昼而卜夜，当夫夕阳西坠，灯火万家，凉月既升，清风飒至，命儔啸侣共驾骕骦，相率至泥城外之味莼园及静安寺旁之愚园，瀹茗清诂，溽暑全消，初不知人世间有苦热事夫，亦人生之乐境、海国之韵事也。

"…as such those celebrated, wealthy, lettered men and their dashing courtesan companies from famous storytelling houses, they rode in the horse-led carriage and galloped down the ten-*zhang* soft red [prosperous city]; yet the ride is not for daytime but for nighttime. By the time the sun went down, all the city lighted at night, the moon rose up, and refreshing breeze came in, those men and courtesans were taking carriage-rides to the Weichun Garden [Zhang Garden] and Yu Garden by the Jiang'an Temple outside the Defence Creek. [In the gardens, they] chatting, drinking tea, and shaking down scorching heat as if they forget there is a bitter thing like hotness in the world. So they enjoy the pleasure of life, and happiness in Shanghai."

"*Lun ye mache zhi xingsheng*" 论夜马车之兴盛 (The prosperity of riding horse-drawn carriages at night), *Youxi bao* (Recreation News), 1899.7.9. (Trans. by author)

Appendix 3-2 (p.138)

逞豪华门前放烟火，赏元宵楼上醉花灯：一丈五高花桩，四周下山棚热闹。最高处一只仙鹤，口里衔著一封丹书，乃是一枝起火，一道寒光，直钻透斗牛边。然后，正当中一个西瓜炮迸开，四下里人物皆著，觱剥剥万个轰雷皆燎彻。彩莲舫，赛月明，一个赶一个，犹如金灯冲散碧天星；紫葡萄，万架千株，好似骊珠倒挂水晶帘。霸玉鞭，到处响亮；地老鼠，串绕人衣。琼盏玉台，端的旋转得好看；银蛾金弹，施逞巧妙难移。八仙捧寿，名显中通；七圣降妖，通身是火。黄烟儿，绿烟儿，氤氲笼罩万堆霞；紧吐莲，慢吐莲，灿烂争开十段锦。一丈菊与烟兰相对，火梨花共落地桃争春。楼台殿阁，顷刻不见巍峨之势；村坊社鼓，仿佛难闻欢闹之声。货郎担儿，上下光焰齐明；鲍老车儿，首尾迸得粉碎。五鬼闹判，焦头烂额见狰狞；十面埋伏，马到人驰无胜负。总然费却万般心，只落得火灭烟消成煨烬。

"On the highest point there stands an immortal's crane, holding a vermilion edict suspended from its mouth, which turns out to be a 'high-rising rocket.' When it first takes off, with a sudden rush, it creates a trail of cold light, boring its way right up beside the Herd Boy and the Dipper. Only after that, in the middle distance, a 'watermelon bomb' explodes into sight, showering sparks on the spectators in all four directions, *Pi po-po*, a myriad of thunderclaps all resound at

once. ‘Lotus-gathering boats’ and ‘brighter than moonlights,’ one chasing after the other, are just like ‘golden lanterns’ dispersing the ‘stars in the azure sky.’ ‘Purple grapes,’ by the thousands and ten thousand, resemble a cascade of ‘black dragon pearls,’ a ‘portiere of beaded crystal.’ The ‘whips of the Hegemon-King’ crack everywhere. The ‘earthbound rats’ scurry about under peoples’ clothes. ‘Alabaster cups’ and ‘jade saucers,’ whirl about in a way that is truly spectacular. ‘Silver moths’ and ‘golden cicadas,’ display ingenuity that could scarcely be improved upon. The ‘Eight Immortals bearing birthday gifts,’ severally display their magic powers. The ‘Seven Sages subduing demons’, appear completely shrouded in flames. ‘Yellow sparklers’ and ‘green sparklers,’ produce enveloping mists resembling a ‘myriad sunset clouds.’ Flare resplendently, vying to display a ‘montage of brocades.’ ‘Ten-foot chrysanthemums’ and ‘smoky orchids’ confront each other; ‘Big pear blossoms’ and ‘fallen peach blossoms’ contest the spring. ‘Towers and terraces,’ ‘halls and chambers,’ in but a trice cease to exhibit their lofty eminence. The drumming of the ‘parading village mummers,’ seems to subside, its joyful hubbub no longer heard. The ‘peddler’s basket,’ above and below, shines crystal clear. The ‘old crone’s cart’, both head and tail, explodes to bits. The ‘Five Devils plaguing the Assessor,’ with scorched heads and singed scalps manifest their bellicosity. As a result of the ‘tenfold ambuscade,’ Horses collapse, men gallop away, and the outcome remains in doubt. Despite the fact that infinite ingenuity may have been expended. In the end: the fire burns out and the smoke dissolves, leaving nothing but ashes.”

Xiaoxiaosheng 笑笑. translation by Roy, David Tod *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅 (The Plum in The Golden Vase), Chapter 42, “A Powerful Family Blocks Its Gate in Order to Enjoy Fireworks; Distinguished Guests in a High Chamber Appreciate the Lanterns,” Princeton University Press. 2006, 70-71.

Appendix 3-3 (p.140)

雇募粤工，口讲指划，一月而成. . . 当晚，霞仙与龙池并坐首席，相随宾客、倌人踅出大观楼前进廊下，看放烟火。前进一带窗寮尽行关闭，廊下所有灯烛尽行吹灭，四下里黑魆魆地。一时，粤工点著药线，乐人吹打《将军令》。那药线燃进窟窿，箱底脱然委地。先是两串百子响鞭，“劈劈拍拍”，震的怪响。随后一阵金星，乱落如雨。忽有大光明从箱内放出，如月洞一般，照得五步之内针芥毕现。乐人换了一套细乐，才见牛郎、织女二人，分列左右，缓缓下垂。牛郎手牵耕田的牛，织女斜倚织布机边，作盈盈凝望之状。细乐既止，鼓声隆隆而起，乃有无数转贯球雌雌的闪烁盘旋，护著一条青龙，翔舞而下，适当牛郎、织女之间。隆隆者蓦易揭鼓作爆豆声，铜钲然应之。那龙口中吐出数十月炮，如大珠小珠，错落满地；浑身鳞甲间冒出黄烟，氤氲浓郁，良久不散。看的人皆喝声采。俄而钲鼓一紧，那龙颠首掀尾，接连翻了百十个筋斗，不知从何处放出花子，满身环绕，跋扈飞扬，俨然有搅海翻江之势。喜得看的人喝彩不绝。花子一住，钲鼓俱寂。那龙也居中不动，自首至尾，彻里通明；一鳞一爪，历历可数。龙头尺木技下一幅手卷，上书“玉帝有旨，牛女渡河”八个字。两傍牛郎、织女作躬身迎诏之状。乐人奏《朝天乐》以就其节拍，板眼一一吻合。看的人攒拢去细看，仅有一丝引线拴著手足而已。及那龙线断自堕，伺候管家忙从底下抽出拎起来，竟有一人一手多长，尚有几点未烬火星倏亮倏暗。当下牛郎、织女钦奉旨意，作起法来，就于掌心飞起一个流星，缘著引线，冲入箱内，钟鱼铙钹之属，剥叮当，八音并作。登时飞落七七四十九只乌鹊，高高低低，上上下下，布成阵

势，弯作桥形，张开两翅，兀自栩栩欲活。看的人愈觉稀奇，争著近前，并喝彩也不及了。乐人吹起唢呐，“咿哑咿哑”，好像送房合卺之曲。牛郎乃舍牛而升，织女亦离机而上，恰好相遇于鹊桥之次。于是两个人，四十九只乌鹊，以及牛郎所牵的牛，织女所织的机，一齐放起花子来。这花子更是不同，朵朵皆作兰花竹叶，望四面飞溅开去，真个是“火树银花合，星桥铁锁开”光景。连阶下所有管家都看的兴发，手舞足蹈，全没规矩。足有一刻时辰，陆续放毕，两个人，四十九只乌鹊，以及牛郎所牵的牛，织女所织的机，无不彻里通明，才看清牛郎、织女面庞姣好，眉目传情，作相傍相偎依依不舍之状。乐人仍用《将军令》煞尾收常粤工只等乐阕时，将引线放宽，纷纷然坠地而灭，依然四下里黑魆魆地。大家尽说：“如此烟火，得未曾有！”…管家重开前进窗寮，请去后进入席。

“He [Secretary Ma, aka Dragon] hired craftsmen from Guangdong, gave them verbal instructions, and within a month, the work was finished…The night, Sunset [courtesan] and Dragon were placed at the head of the table. They now followed the others to the front courtyard of Panorama Hall to view the fireworks. All the windows were had been shut, and the lamps and candles had been blown out. They were enveloped in darkness. As the craftsmen from Guangdong lit the fuse, the musicians played the marshal tune ‘General’s Orders.’ The fuse burned into a hole, and the bottom of the hanging box fell off to the ground. Two long strings of firecrackers were the first to go off, each consisting of a hundred shots, making a deafening noise. That was followed by a shower of twinkling golden stars. Then a great brilliance radiated from the box, illuminating every tiny speck in its immediate surroundings. The music became soft and gentle, and the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid slowly descended, one on either side of the box. The Cowherd had his buffalo on a rope, and the Weaving Maid was leaning against her loom. They gazed soulfully at each other. As the music faded, drumbeats sounded. Countless fiery balls came spinning down to encircle a dancing blue dragon that hovered in the space between the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid. The tribal drums now took over, making a sound similar to popping beans; this was echoed by the brass songs. Out of the dragon’s mouth came dozens of moon rockets that fell to the ground like pearls of varying sizes. Yellow smoke, heavy with fragrance, came out between the scales on the dragon’s body and hung in the air for a long time. The spectators cheered. A moment later, the music from the songs and drums quickened. The dragon spun its head and tail to turn a hundred somersaults. Out of nowhere, there came sprays of firelight to envelop the dragon’s entire body; it looked fierce and uncontrollable, ready to cause havoc in the great seas and rivers. The spectators’ loud cheers went on and on. When the sparks died down and the drums and songs fell silent, the dragon hung still in the air, brightly lit from head to tail, every scale and claw distinct. A scroll unfolded from the little wooden box at its head, with these words written on it: ‘The Emperor of Heaven has decreed; The Cowherd and the Maid may cross the river.’ To the beat of the tune ‘Imperial Audience’ played by the musicians, the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid bowed as if acknowledging the decree. As the spectators pressed forward for a closer look, they could see that the hands and feet of the figures were just attached to a thin thread. When the dragon’s threads broke and it fell to the ground, the servant hurried over to pick it up. It turned out to be a little longer than the full height of a man, with sparks of fire not quite extinguished. Just then, the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid, following the imperial decree, conjured up a shooting star that flew out of their palms. It went along a fuse into the box. Now all the brass instruments burst into music, and forty-nine black magpies flew out took up their positions in formation to make an arched bridge. Their outstretched wings made them look truly alive. This sight so amazed the spectators that they

forgot to cheer. Instead they just pushed forward for a better look. The musicians now played on their bugles a tune resembling a wedding song, whereupon the Cowherd left his water buffalo and the Weaving Maid her loom, and they both ascended to meet beside the bridge. The two figures and the forty-nine magpies, together with the water buffalo and the loom, now burst into sprays of fireworks that looked very different from what had come before. These were in the form of bamboo leaves or orchid flowers. Flying in all directions, they were the very picture of the saying 'Where fiery trees merge with silver blossoms, the bridge of the stars is unchained.' This was a sight that sent even the menservants jumping up and down with excitement, all their manners forgotten. The display took fully a quarter of an hour, at the end of which the two figures, the magpies, the buffalo, and the loom were clearly illuminated. Now they saw the fine features of the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid and the loving looks they gave each other as they stood together, loath to be separated. The closing music was again 'General's Orders.' When the music came to an end, the Cantonese craftsmen let go of the threads, and everything fluttered to the ground. All lights were extinguished, and they were once more enveloped in darkness. 'We've never seen fireworks such as this!' everyone said…The servants opened the windows in the front court and invited everyone to return to the banquet."

Han, Bangqing 韩邦庆. trans.by Chang, Eileen and Hung, Eva. *Haishang hua liezhuan* 海上花列传 (The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai), (originally published as serial story in the literary magazine, *Haishang qishu* 海上奇书 (Wonderbook of Shanghai) in 1892, Columbia University Press, 2007, 329-331.

FIGURES

Figure 0-1. 1937, “The New Map of Great Shanghai,” 49.6x74cm, produced by Shenxin Geographical Society and published by Shenxin Bookstore, showing the *de facto* tripartite geo-political structure of Shanghai before the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). The Chinese-administered area included the ongoing Great Shanghai Plan in the northeast of Shanghai.

Figure 0-2. 1882, Illustration, “*Fengzheng hui*” (Kites-Flying Gathering), *Feiyingge huabao* (Flying Shadow Studio Pictorial).

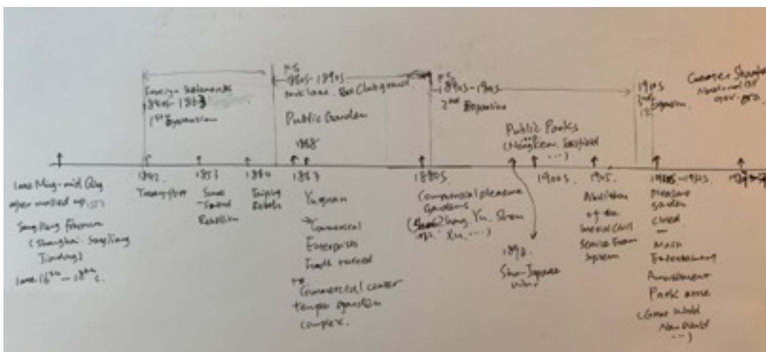

Figure 0-3. The table of the time-spatial changes of this dissertation. (By author)

Figure 0-4. The prospectus that the Zhang Garden's owner published in 1894 for fund raising. (From Zhang Wei, *Fenghua Zhangyuan Tulu*, 27)

Figure 1-1. 1814, "*Jin Shanghai xian quanjing tu*" (Complete Map of Shanghai County), from *Shanghai xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Shanghai County), Qing Jiaqing Reign. Woodblock.

Figure 1-2. 1908, "The New Map of Shanghai." Printed in Nagasaki. Published by Shosuido Shoten in Shanghai. 36 x 60cm. Copperplate. (Author's collection)

Figure 1-3. 1862, “City and Environs of Shanghai.” E. J. Powell of the Hydrographic Office. 51 x 68cm. Print. British Library.

Figure 1-4. ca.1880-1911. “Bubbling Well Road Shanghai.” Black and White Photograph. Getty Museum.

Figure 1-5. 1870, “Street Plan of The English, French and American Settlements” in *The North China Daily News*. 78 x 39cm. Print.

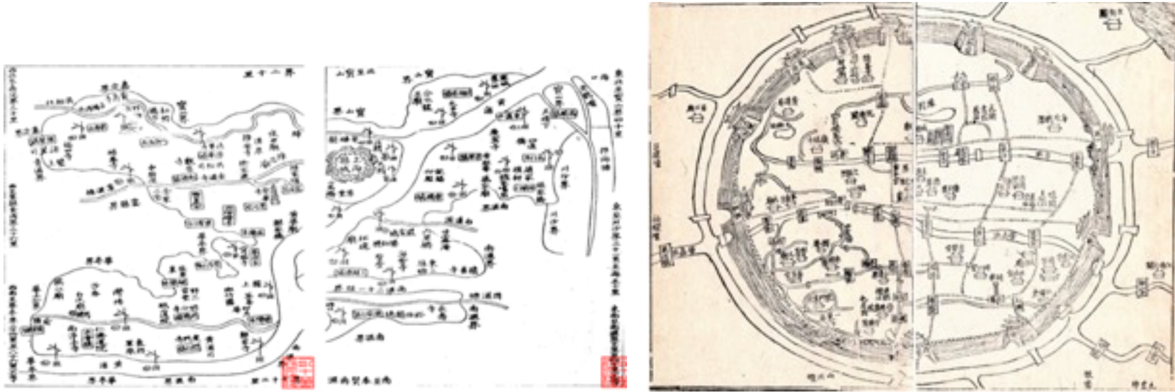

Figure 1-6. “*Shanghai xian quanjingtu*” (Complete Map of Shanghai County), from *Shanghai Xianzhi* (*Gazetteer of Shanghai County*), Tongzhi reign period, edition of 1871-72, Nanyuan zhi ju. Woodblock.

Figure 1-7. “*Shanghai xian chengtu*” (Map of The Walled City of Shanghai County), from *Gazetteer of Shanghai County*, Tongzhi reign period, edition of 1871-72, Nanyuan zhi ju. 20 x 24.8cm. Woodblock.

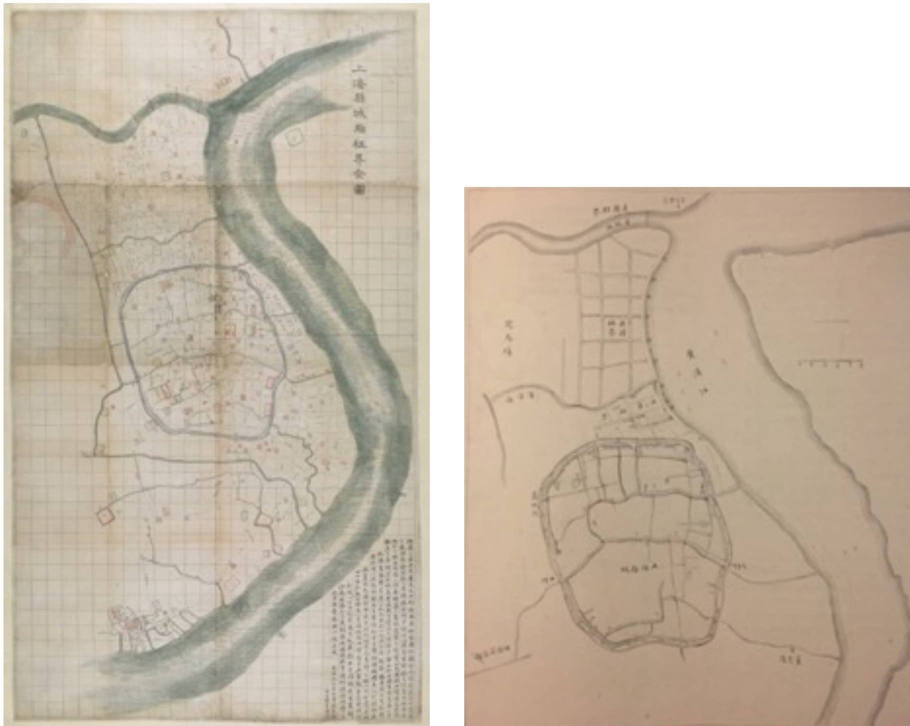

Figure 1-8. 1875, “*Shanghai xian chengxiang zujie quantu*” (Complete Map of The Shanghai County Walled City, Its Surroundings, and The Foreign Settlements), Feng Zhuoru and Xu Yucang. 81 x 142cm. Woodblock and Hand-colored. British Library.

Figure 1-9. ca.1856-1858, “Map of The Shanghai County Walled City and The British and French Settlements,” (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 4-1)

Figure 1-10. 1880, "*Shanghai xiancheng zujie quantu*" (Complete Map of The Shanghai County Walled City, Its Surroundings, and The Foreign Settlements). Ernest Major's publishing house. 62.6 x 135.2 cm. *Dianshizhai Pictorial*. Lithography print. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 4-5)

Figure 1-11. 1893, "*Chongxiu Shanghai xian chengxiang zujie dili quantu*" (Revised Geographic Map of The Shanghai County Walled City, Its Surroundings, and The Foreign Settlements). Shenchang Printing House. 60x106cm. Lithography print. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 4-9)

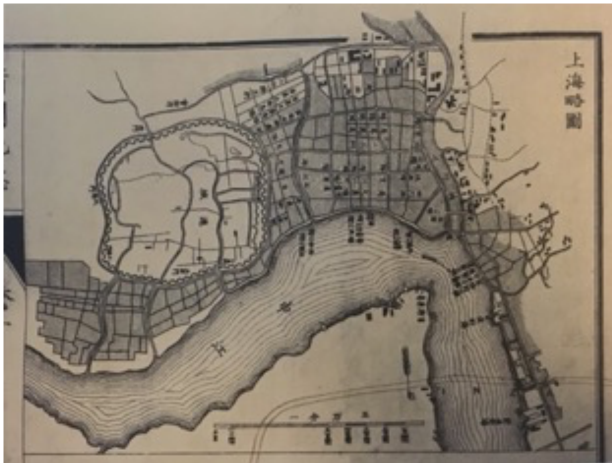

Figure 1-12. 1882, "*Shanhai ryakuzu*" (Sketch of Shanghai), Kishida Ginkō, *Shinkoku chishi* (The Qing Empire Geography), Rakuzendō. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 3-21.1)

Figure 1-13a. 1899, Front of the banknote from Chunhengmao money shop. “*Xinzheng chongxiu Shanghai xian chengxiang zujie dili quantu*” (Updated and Revised Geographic Map of The Shanghai County Walled City, Its Surroundings, and The Foreign Settlements). 24.3x10.7cm. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 4-10.1)

Figure 1-13b. 1899, Back of a banknote from Chunhengmao Money Shop.

Figure 1-14. 1900, “A Map of The Foreign Settlements at Shanghai,” made by Stanford’s Geographical Establishment and published for “The North China Herald and North China Daily News Offices, Shanghai,” 45 x 31cm.

Figure 1-15. Details of Figure 1-2: “Custom House.”
Figure 1-16. Details of Figure 1-2: “N.Y.K. Co.”

Figure 1-17. Details of Figure 1-2: “Japanese Consulate.”
Figure 1-18. Details of Figure 1-2: “Nippon Yusen Kwaisha.”

Figure 1-19. Details of Figure 1-2: “A Monument of Mr. Li-Hang-Chang.”
Figure 1-20. Details of Figure 1-2: “A Monument of General Harry Parkes.”

Figure 1-21. 1905, “New Surveyed Map of Shanghai.” Printed in Tokyo and published by Shinchiya in Shanghai. 50 x 73cm. Copperplate. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 5-9)

Figure 1-22a. 1909, Front of the “Map of Shanghai Streets.” Printed in Oosaka; published by Jujiya Shoten. 76.8 x 106.5cm. Copperplate print. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 5-15)
Figure 1-22b. 1909, Back of the map Figure 1-22a.

Figure 1-23a. 1913/1914, “The New Map of Shanghai.” Distributed by Matasuzaki Hotel Business. 36.9 x 51.4 cm. Copperplate print. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 6-7)
Figure 1-23b. 1913/1914, Back of the map Figure 1-23a.

Figure 1-24a. 1918, “The New Survey Map of Shanghai.” Printed in Oosaka; published by Shiseido. 48.4 x 74.3 cm. Copperplate. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 6-15)
Figure 1-24b. 1918, Back of the map Figure 1-24a.

Figure 1-25. 1835, Yasuoki Matsumoto, “*Dosen nihon yochi saizu*” (Detailed Map of Japan), 27 x 29 cm. Adapted from Sekisui Nagakubo’s map, “*Kaisei Nihon yochi rotei zenzu*” (Complete Revised Map of Japan), 1779.

Figure 1-26. 1875, Board game *sugoroku*: “*Shinpan Biyo meisho tobimairi sugoroku*” (*Sugoroku* of famous places in Shinpan Biyo), Gyokusen, 33x48 cm, Nagoya: Matsuya Zenbe han.

Figure 1-27. 1903, “*Jusuke Yuki, Mie-ken Shima no Kuni annaizu*” (Map of Mie-ken Shima no Kuni for Travelers), 14 x 24 cm.

Left: Figure 1-19: Details of Figure 1-2: "A Monument of Mr. Li-Hang-Chang."
Right: Figure 1-28. Postcard engraved with "The Statue of Li-hang-chang, Bubblingwell Road Shanghai." The identical layout explicitly indicated that the two images were derived from one photographic source.

上海測繪建築技術社廣告

測量地圖

建築工程

新刊發賣

寧滬杭甬鐵路全圖

旅行必携

Figure 1-29. Advertisements on *Shenbao*, March 29, 1917. Lower half: an advertisement of Nihondo Shoten's tour maps, "New Map on Sell; A Requisite for Traveling; Complete Map of The *ning-hu-hang-yong* Railways." Upper half: an advertisement promoted survey maps by another publisher specialized in measuring and surveying architecture and land, showing how important and prevailed maps became in early twentieth-century Shanghai.

Figure 1-30. 1924, "*Shanghai ditu, fu Hangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Changjiang ditu*" (Shanghai Map, and Hangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, and the Yangtze River [railroads] Map) published by Shiseido. (Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas*, 7-13)
Figure 1-31. Detail of Fig.1-30, the 1924 map. Four small diagrams on the bottom: a railroad diagram along the Yangtze River, three "*youlan ditu*" (tour maps) of Nanjing, Suzhou, and the West Lake in Hangzhou.

Figure 1-32. Map with marks showing the location of gardens in Shanghai County during the Ming and Qing dynasties, based on the 1872 Tongzhi Gazetteer map (Figure 1-7).

Figure 1-33. A map showing the location of public parks constructed in Shanghai's foreign settlements between the 1860s-1930s. From Dorothee Rihal, "Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai;" Add up with Figure 1-32, showing the location of the walled city south to the expanding foreign settlements.

Figure 1-34. "*Dashanghai jihua tu*" (Planning of Great Shanghai), the Planning Commission of Greater Shanghai, 1934; Add up with Fig.1-32 and Fig.1-33 on top, showing where the foreign settlements and the Chinese city were located within the Greater Shanghai.

Figure 2-1. Map of the location of Yu Yuan (Yu Garden), Public Garden, Zhang Yuan (Zhang Garden), Yú Yuan (Yu Garden), and the rooftop garden on Sincere Department Store; based on "The Map of the Foreign Settlements at Shanghai." (From Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents*, 1904)

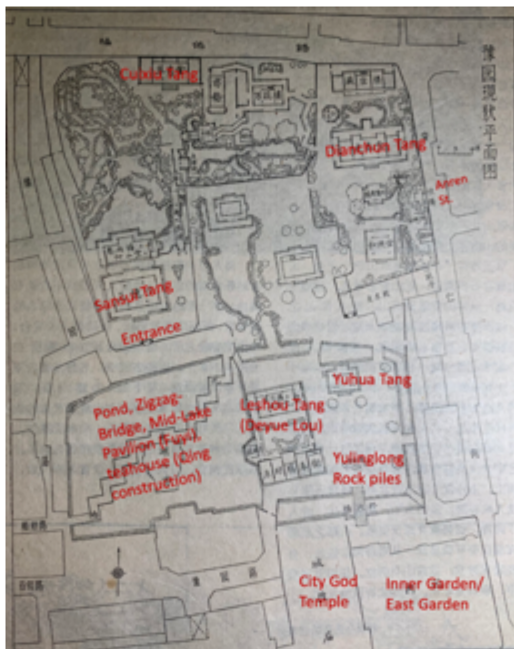

Figure 2-2. Plan of the Yu Garden and the City God Temple-inner garden area. Denotation based on the plan from Guo Junlun, "Shanghai Yuyuan," *Jianzhu xuebao* (Architectural Journal), vol.4, 1964, 19.

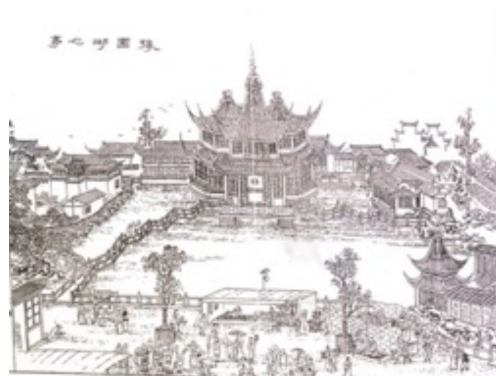

Figure 2-3. 1872, A drawing of Yu Garden from *Tongzhi Shanghai County Gazetteer*.
Figure 2-4. 1884, "Yu Yuan, Mid-lake Pavilion," Wu Youru, *Shenjiang shengjing tu* (Renowned Scenes of Shanghai).

Figure 2-5. 1909, "The Plan of Public Garden." Shanghai Municipal Archives.

Figure 2-6. Post-1880s. Photograph showing the renewed pavilion with a hexagonal iron roof, surrounded by electronic lamps and benches for relaxation, and the smaller wooden pavilion is at the right corner. It was demolished in 1907 and built up with a new one with tramway rails.

Figure 2-7. Early twentieth century. Photograph showing the British Consulate Garden in the foreground, with the Public Garden across the Bund area, Pudong in the background, and the Garden Bridge on the far left.

Figure 2-8. 1850. Painting. Waterfront view of the American Garden/public square in Canton Foreign Factories area.

Figure 2-9. c.1848-1856. Painting. Side view from the inside of the American Garden and England Garden; the church is in distance; foreign factories are on the left.

Figure 2-10. 1940s, Plan of Public Garden in the early 20th century. (From *Lao shanghai baiye zhinan* (Map of A Hundred Professions and Trades))

Figure 2-11. “Rowing at Shanghai” as depicted by the *British Illustrated Sporting & Dramatic News*, March 24, 1887.

Figure 2-12. “*Shen Yuan*” (Shen Garden), *Dianshizhai huabao* (Dianshizhai Pictorial), 1884.

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Figure 2-13. The restoration layout of Zhang Garden in 1885. (From Zhou Xiangping, Mai Luyin, "Study on Space Restoration of Chang Garden in Modern Shanghai," *Zhongguo yuanlin* (Chinese Landscape Architecture), no.7, July 2018, 129-133.)

Figure 2-14. The reconstructed plan of Zhang Garden after its renovation and extension in 1907.

Figure 2-15. c.1880s. Photograph of the Zhang Yuan.

Figure 2-16. Illustration of the Zhang Yuan, "*Shanghai zhi jianzhu: Zhang Yuan*" (Shanghai Architecture: Zhang Garden), *Tuhua ribao* (Illustrated Daily), 1-110.

Figure 2-17. 1899, Photograph of the Science Laboratory at St. John's University, B. Atkinson. An overall early verandah building with Renaissance elements such as the arched windows.

Figure 2-18. Detail of Figure 2-15: The eclectic style roof of Arcadia Hall.

Figure 2-19. Illustration, "*Shanghai quyuan zhi xianxiang: songfeng manyuan shi xincha*" (Shanghai Scenery of Theaters: A House Teemed with Breeze of Pine Tree; Tried New Tea), from *Illustrated Daily*, 1909, showing the interior of Arcadia Hall.

Figure 2-20. Illustration, "Meeting on Women's Education," *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897.12.6.

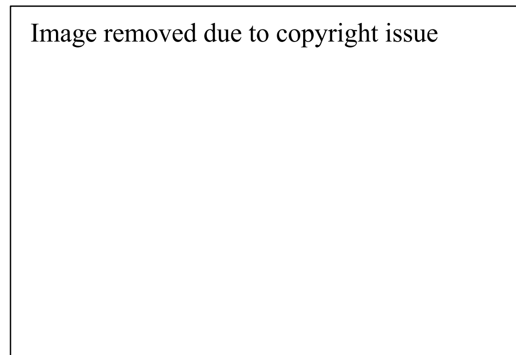

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Figure 2-21. Reconstruction of itineraries of folk fair processions, 1919. (From Yu Zhejun, *Shenming yu Shimin,* 199.)

Figure 2-22. Illustration, "Sending the God to the City God Temple." Folk Fair Processions, departed from the City God Temple, paraded on the Bund, and headed back to the Temple.

Figure 2-23. One of the eight images of the Jubilee ceremonies in 1893, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, vol.30, 1893.1-1894.1.

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Figure 2-24. Reconstruction of the itinerary of Shanghai courtesan's carriage ride. (Institut d'Asie Orientale; from Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 75)

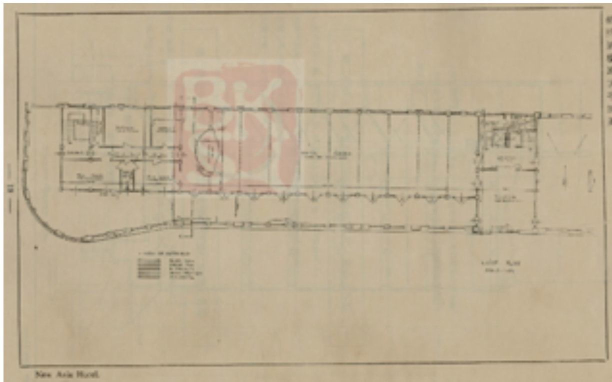

Figure 2-25. Rooftop Plan of the New Asia Hotel, *The Builder*, vol.2, no.7, 1934, 19.

Figure 2-26. Map of the amusement parks and department stores in 1930s-Shanghai; denotation based on 1935 Shanghai map by Commercial Press.

Figure 2-27. “The Sun Co. Shanghai LTD.: The New Department Store of Shanghai”, *Liangyou* (*The Young Companion*), vol.113, 1936.
Figure 2-28. Nanjing Road looking east from the corner of Tibet Road, showing those spires of China’s first department stores of (left to right) Sun Sun (1926), Sincere (1917) and Wing On (1918). (From Edward Denison, Guang Yu Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China’s Gateway*, Wiley, 2006, 91.)

Figure 2-29. Photograph of the Rooftop Garden of Sincere, Xianshi Leyuan (Sincere Paradise). (Digital Image Collections of Republic of China)
Figure 2-30. Photograph of the Rooftop Garden of Sincere, Xianshi Leyuan (Sincere Paradise). (Digital Image Collections of Republic of China)

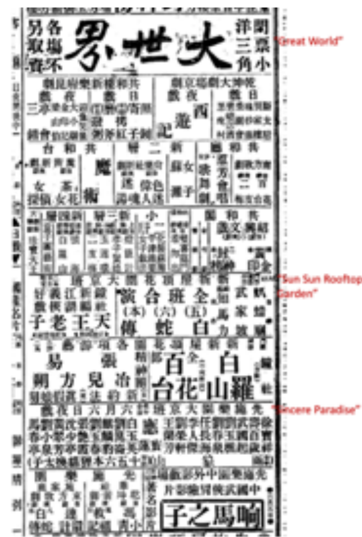

Figure 2-31. Advertisements of amusement parks and rooftop gardens, *Shenabo*, 1930.6.6.

Figure 3-1. Genxin, "*Qimin aiguo huabao*" (Enlightenment and Patriots News), 1911.6.16-29, 164. The pictorial was given free with the newspaper. The pictorial's painter, Genxin was previously worked with the *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, known as Fujie, as we can notice the stylistic similarities between the two pictorial magazines. The text shows "*zuo yemache you yehuayuan, tongxiao dadan, qile heru*" (Riding night carriages strolling in night gardens; nocturnal pleasures all throughout the night).

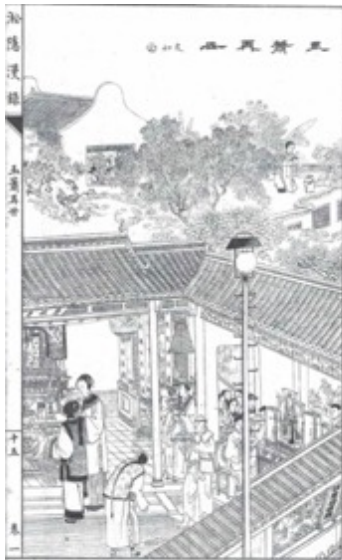

Figure 3-2. Wu Youru, *Yuxiao zaishi* (The reincarnation of Jade-flute). Lithograph. From *Songyin manlu* (Miscellaneous Records of a Shanghai Recluse), by Wangtao, *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, no.*yi*, 13, 1884.

Figure 3-3. 1880s, photograph, "The Garden Bridge, Shanghai."

Figure 3-4. Detail of *Night Revels of Han Xizai*, by Gu Hongzhong, ca.12-13th century. Palace Museum.

Figure 3-5. Detail of *Tao Gu Presenting A Lyric*, by Tang Yin, Ming dynasty. Taipei National Palace Museum.

Figure 3-6. Illustration, "*Shanghai quyuan zhi xianxiang: yeban yuegao xiansuo ming*" (Events in Shanghai Courtesan Houses: At midnight, The Moon Is High and The Music Rings). Lithograph. *Illustrated Daily*, no.238-7, 1910.

Figure 3-7. Illustration, "*Shanghai zhi xianxiang: Baoguan jizhe zhi ye lai mang*" (Events in Shanghai Society: The Late-Night Busy Working of The Newspaper Journalist). Lithograph. *Illustrated Daily*, no.23-7, 1909. The text writes: "Whenever late at night, working in the light."

Figure 3-8. *Shenbao*, 1928.7.23, an advertisement post of the novel *Haishang migong* (Labyrinths of Shanghai).

Figure 3-9. Map of the most popular Chinese pleasure gardens in late nineteenth-century Shanghai, including Shen Garden, Xi Garden, Zhang Garden, Xu Garden, and Yú Garden.

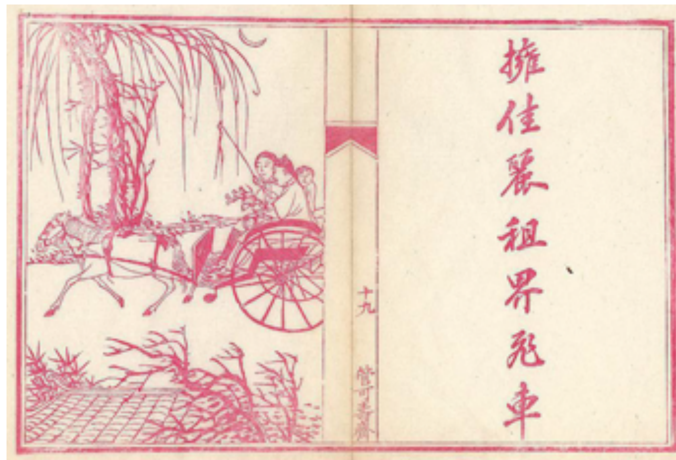

Figure 3-10. Lithograph, “*Haishang kuaile tu: Caipiye shuanglun you huayuan*” (Illustrations of Shanghai fun: A visit to the gardens in a four-wheeled open carriage), by Hushang Youxizhu (Li Boyuan), *Haishang youxi tushuo* (Illustrated Entertainments in Shanghai), 1898, 2.

Figure 3-11. Woodblock print, *Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (Famous Shanghai scenes illustrated and explained), by Xiangguotoutuo, published by Guankeshouzhai, no.19, 1884. The illustration depicts Shanghai wonders strolling in/towards night gardens on Western-style open carriages. The image captured the outdoor nightfall ambience with the moon, scenic landscape, electric lamps, and carriage-rides carrying dashing couples.

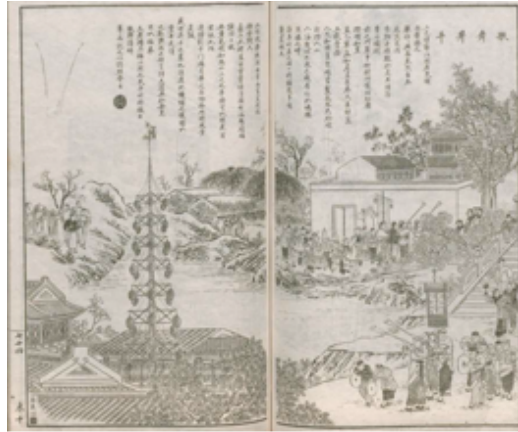

Figure 3-12. Illustration, “*Dianhuo fenshen*,” (Electrical Fire Burning The Body), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, v.*le* 5, p.40, 1894.

Figure 3-13. Illustration, “*Gewu shengping*,” (Singing and Dancing in Celebration), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, v.*wei* 10, no.74, 1890.

Figure 3-14. Illustration from *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, Chapter 42.

Figure 3-15. Detail of *Qing Emperor Qianlong Enjoying the Lantern Festival*, showing the time prior to an imperial firework display in the Yuanmingyuan Garden. Hanging scroll in silk, Qing dynasty. The Palace Museum.

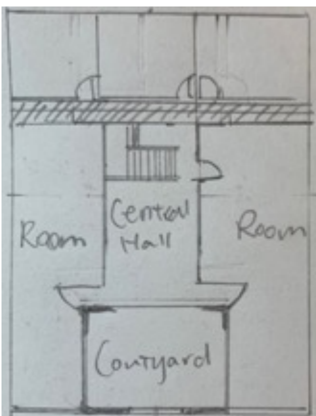

Figure 3-16. Plan of the li house (one bay and two wings). (By author)

Figure 3-17. Illustration, “*Hubin baijing: Zhangyuan yanhuo*,” (Hundred spectacles of Shanghai: Zhang Yuan Firework), depicting a firework on view in the Zhang Garden.

Figure 3-18. 1890s, A photograph of the Zhang Garden showing the Arcadia Hall, and to the left corner was the tall wooden rack specifically for firework performances as depicted in Fig.3-17.

Figure 3-19. Clip from silent film *Yichuan zhenzhu* (*A String of Pearls*), by *Changcheng huapian gongsi* (Great Wall Film Company), 1925. The full-length shot (2’28-3’03) of the Shanghai nightscapes on Nanjing Road.

Figure 3-20. Clip from silent film *Yichuan zhenzhu* (*A String of Pearls*), by *Changcheng huapian gongsi* (Great Wall Film Company), 1925. The residential garden festooned with electrical illumination for celebrating the Lantern Festival.

Figure 3-21. Clip from silent film *Yichuan zhenzhu* (*A String of Pearls*), by *Changcheng huapian gongsi* (Great Wall Film Company), 1925. The firework performances inside the garden at midnight (20’04-23’38).

Figure 3-22. Illustration, “*Zhongguo wansui, fuxing haijun!*” (Enliven Marines; Long Live China!), post from *Shenbao*, 1908.2.16.

Figure 3-23. Illustration, “*Yingxi tongguan*” (Watching The Shadowplay Together), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, v.*ji* 6, 48, 1886.

Figure 3-24. Illustration, "*Shanghai shehui zhi xianxiang: ye huyuan zhi tanhuang*" (Events in Shanghai Society: Folk Opera Play in Night Gardens). Lithograph. *Illustrated Daily*, no.19-7, 1909.

Figure 3-25. Illustration, "*Yingye xiezhen: zuo yingxi*" (Photographs of Occupations: Play Shadowplay). Lithograph. *Illustrated Daily*, no.19-7, 1909.

Figure 3-26. "South Side of the Great Hall," photograph of the south side of the Acadia Hall, *Funü shibao* (The Women's Eastern Times), v.7, 72, 1912.

Figure 3-27 (Figure 2-20). Illustration, "*Qunchai dahui*" (Meeting on Women's Education), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 1897.12.6.

Figure 3-28. Trip towards the Zhang Yuan Garden for the firework performance in *Dreams of Shanghai's Glamour*. Compilation based on the 1908 "The New Map of Shanghai."

Figure 3-29. The nightly tour route described in *Dreams of Shanghai's Glamour* on the plan of Zhang Garden. Compilation based on the layout of Zhang Garden Figure 2-14.

Figure 3-30. "*Shanghai shehui zhi xianxiang: pao kuai mache chu fengtou*" (Events in Shanghai Society: Showing off by Racing in Carriages). Lithograph. *Illustrated Daily*, no.25-7, 1909.

Figure 3-31. Illustration, "*Fuzhe xiangxun*" (Carriages Overturned One After Another). *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, v.*geng* 9, 72, 1886.

Figure 3-32. Illustration, "*Xuti shizuo*" (A False Thing Became True), *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, v.*yuan* 10, 79, 1897.
Figure 3-33. Detail of *Elegant Gathering in Nanping*, by Dai Jin, Ming dynasty, mid-fifteenth century. The Palace Museum.

Figure 3-34. Detail of one page on *Shenbao*, 1909.8.20. On the same page, to the left was a news entitled "*Nü yisheng qingjin ye huanyuan*" (Female Doctor Demanded to Ban Night Gardens), and to the right was a post entitled "*Hudao zhuyi yanjin ye huayuan*" (Shanghai *Daotai* Would Ban Night Gardens) from the Shanghai *Daotai* who claimed to be about to ask the SMC to suspend Chinese pleasure gardens' license to run night gardens.

Figure 3-35a. One page on *Shenbao*, 1913.6.28.
Figure 3-35b. One page on *Shenbao*, 1913.6.28. The two pages Figure 3-35a-b were from the same day *Shenbao*, showing assorted news, notifications, and advertisement. One page showed the ban of night gardens issued by the newly formed Chinese government, while the other page displayed a bunch of entertainment advertisements, including the grand opening of the night garden of Liu Garden and latest movie was on view at night in the Zhang Garden.

Figure 4-1. A two-page photocollage titled “*Shanghai de gongyuan*” (Parks of Shanghai), *Dongfang zazhi* (The Eastern Miscellanies), 1935, vol.32, no.12.

Figure 4-2. A two-page photocollage titled “*Xiari de gongyuan*” (In the Parks in Shanghai), *Dazhong* (*The Cosmopolitan*), 1934. vol.9.

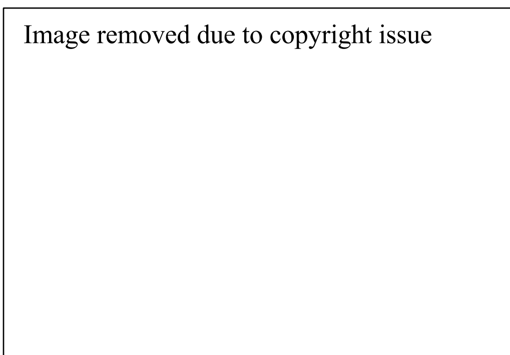

Figure 4-3. A map showing the location of public parks constructed in Shanghai foreign settlements between the 1860s-1930s. (From Dorothee Rihal, “Foreign-administered Parks in Shanghai”)

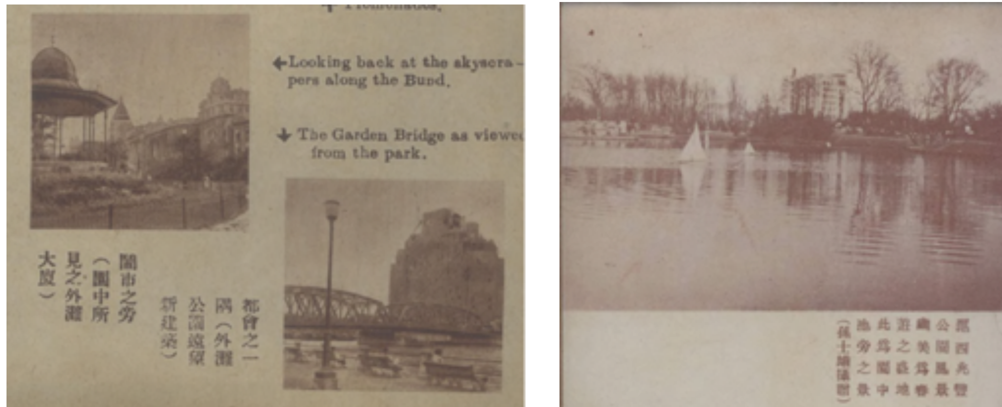

Figure 4-4. Details of Figure 4-2, showing “Looking back at the skyscrapers along the Bund;” and “The Garden Bridge as viewed from the park.”

Figure 4-5. *LinLoon Pictorial*, 1933, vol.3, issue10. The caption reads: “A serene and striking landscape in the Jessfield Park; the best place for spring outing; this is the scenic view of the pond in the park.”

Figure 4-6. An image in *Nübao* (Women’s Journal), 1909, vol.1, no.1, with caption: “This Shanghai’s public park is not admitted Chinese, eh, how so?”

Figure 4-7. An image in *Shenbao,* 1909, 1.6. With a similar title: “This is the park in Shanghai that forbid Chinese to enter.” Note both images featured the iconic view, the musical pavilion in the Public Garden.

Figure 4-8. Conceived drawings for the Greater Shanghai projects, including the new Harbor, the cruciform Civic Center, the municipal museum and library, and the large-scale park and athletic complex. *Dashanghai tuhua zazhi* (Great Shanghai Pictorial), 1934, vol.2.

Figure 4-9. "Sketch map for the Greater Shanghai city subdivision," *Shanghai Special Municipal Council Report*, 1930, no.4-5. Notice the location of the northern Jiangwan new urban center vis-à-vis the preexisting southern urban landscape of Shanghai.

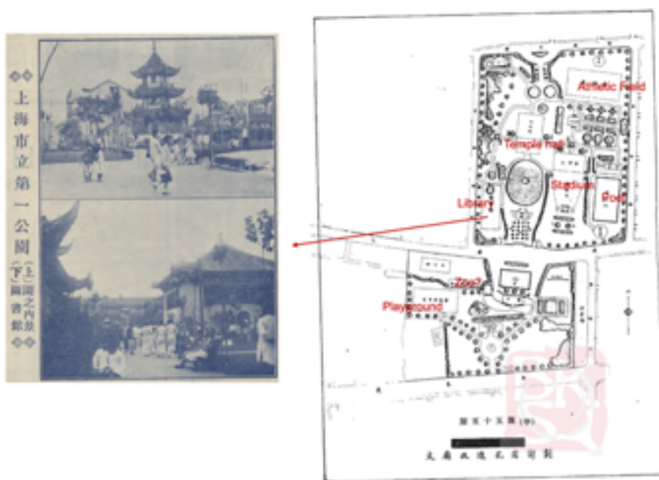

Figure 4-10. Left: Proposed plan for the renovation of Wenmiao Park in the southern Chinese city; Right: Constructed park scene. Denotation based on *Shanghai Special Municipality Public Works Report*, 1929.

Figure 4-11. Proposed plan of the roads system in the new Civic Center, by Shanghai Special Municipality Public Works Department, 1932. Denotation based on Zhong Chong, *Complete Atlas of Shanghai Antiquated Maps*, 2017, 8-18, 258. The Civic Center was designed to surround with greenspace and different districts.

Figure 4-12. The cruciform of Civic Center, showing administrative district for Greater Shanghai, Dong Dayou, *Jianzhu yuekan* (*The Builder*), 1934, vol.2, no.11/12.

Figure 4-13. The major construction in the Civic Center, showing corresponding locations of the buildings, including the Mayor's Building, museum, library, hospital complex, and park and athletic complex, among others. Denotation based on the layout Figure 4-12.

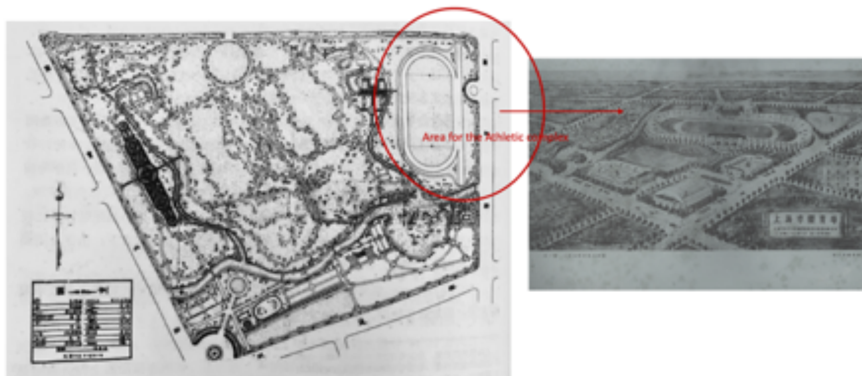

Figure 4-14. Design for the park and athletic complex, by Dong Dayou, *Chinese Architect*, 1934, vol.2, no.8;

Figure 4-15. Detail of Figure 4-1, *Eastern Miscellanies,* 1935, vol.32, issue 12, showing a view of the municipal park in the Civic Center. Notice a woman standing in front of the pond, and behind her the ongoing urban construction in the distance, which together framed a landscape scene of the municipal park.

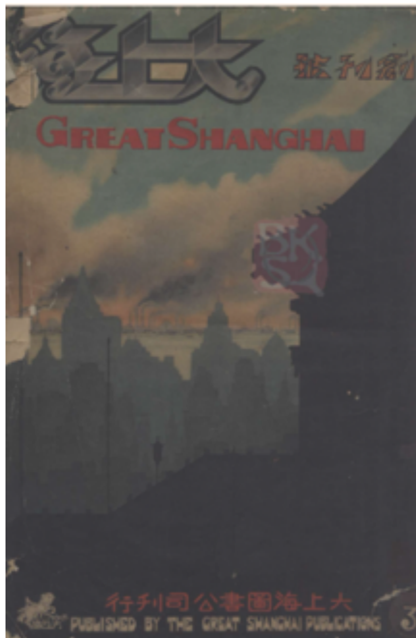

Figure 4-16. Cover page of the 1934 inaugural issue of *Great Shanghai Pictorial*.
Figure 4-17. Photography, the Mayor's Building in the Civic Center.

Figure 4-18. Sun Yat-sen statue in the Civic Center, where officials and visitors gathered and held memorial ceremonies. *Sheying huabao* (Pictorial Weekly), 1933, vol.9, no.41.

Figure 4-19. A two-page photo essay, *Liangyou*, 1936, no.22.

Figure 4-20. Photo-page from *Great Shanghai Pictorial,* 1934, vol.1, showing the “Greater Shanghai cleaning campaign led by Mayor Wu and officials in 1934,” and “Children’s *jianmei* contest.”

Figure 4-21. “Children’s Summer Camp in Greater Shanghai,” *Great Shanghai Pictorial*, 1934, vol.2.

Figure 4-22. "Mother's Delight," detail of Fig.2, *Dazhong* (The Cosmopolitan), 1934. vol.9.

Figure 4-23. "*Funü huwai shenghuo*" (Women's Outdoor Life)," *Jindai funü* (The Modern Lady), 1930, vol.14.

服裝刊

頭髮如何修飾

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Figure 4-24. "[women] who wear the costume of the New Life Movement can be called modern women," 'Fashion' page of *Eastern Times*, 1934.6.26.

Figure 4-25. "The Beauty of Women's Postures," *Libailiu* (Saturday), 1934, vol. 570.

Figure 4-26. “New Women,” *Zhonghua* (The China Pictorial), 1937, vol.52.
Figure 4-27. Leng Mei, “Lady Reading a Book,” painting, Qing, dated 1721.

Figure 4-28. Woodblock New Year print, “Happy and Prosperous Family,” late nineteenth-century.
Figure 4-29. A portrait of a courtesan in late-Qing Shanghai. Photograph.

Figure 4-30. The photocollage in 1935 *Liangyou*, entitled “How to allocate the 24 hours each day: a standard daily schedule” (Chen Jiazhen, vol.102), detailed how an office-worker disciplined himself through the rhythm of modern time and urban space. The layout mirrored the schedule in action, as the images were collaged clockwise around a large mechanical clock. The images acted out different scenes in a day ranging from morning exercise at home, driving to office after breakfast, roaming park after work, to back home.

Figure 4-31. In contrast, another page from the same year *Liangyou* issue, titled “Preliminary housekeeping lessons” illustrated a woman’s daily life in a very similar idea and layout (Chen Jiazhen, vol.101). However, what the photos and texts described are the basic rules for being a proper “modern wife,” how to spend the 24 hours at home awaiting the return of “him,” the husband.

Figure 4-32. Ye Qianyu, “Spring is the best season to dress up. If [you] go to the park and don’t want to be overdressed, you’d better wear a short coat over *qipao*.” *Linloon*, 1932, vol.1, issue 50.

Figure 4-33. “*San shan: shuqi liangban*” (Fans and Umbrellas: best match for the summer), *The China Pictorial*, 1940, vol.92.

Figure 4-34. One page from *Shanghai Texie*, 1939, vol.1. Upper half of the page: an article titled “*Mantan hei yanjing*” (A Causerie of Sunglasses); lower half of the page: an ad for Guanghua Sunglasses Company.

Figure 4-35. One page from *The China Pictorial*, 1936, no.46, showing the picture of the "Children's *Jianmei* Contest" winner babies juxtaposed with the ad for baby's cookies. Also see Figure 4-26, the column to the left shows that the photographic images of new women juxtaposed with the advertisement. The author claimed the women displaying fans and umbrellas was for an international courier company, which was advertised as "the most reliable service to help overseas Chinese buy national goods."

Figure 4-36. 1930s, a poster by Hang Zhiying, depicting a girl playing *pipa* in a park scene.

Figure 4-37. 1930s, a poster by Hang Xiying for a battery company, depicting a mother with two children on the lawn.

Figure 4-38. 1930s, a poster by Hang Xiying, depicting a mother with two children in natural setting. Figure 4-36-38: Showing 1930s' calendar posters comparing with the new women images.

Figure 4-39. Hu Boxiang, “On the Beach”, a photograph published in *Wenhua*, 1929, no.2.

Figure 4-40. A 1930 calendar poster for Hatamen Cigarettes advertisement, painted by Hu Boxiang. Hu probably adapted his own photographic works of Shanghai parks and women to his poster designs.

Figure 4-41. Hu Boxiang, “*Shanghai zujie nei gegongyuan zhi kaifang hou*” (Shanghai parks in the foreign settlements after they opened to the public), *Shanghai manhua* (Shanghai Sketch), no.11. 1928.

Figure 4-42. A 1930s’ poster for Dralle Cosmetics.

Figure 4-43. A 1930s' poster for Great Eastern Drugstore, by Hang Xiying.

Figure 4-44. Another poster painted by Hang Xiying, 1940s. (Author's collection)

Figure 4-45. "*Jinzhi shuxiong zhihou*" (After Antibreast-Binding), with the English caption reading: "The 3 points of modern Chinese flappers," *Beijing huabao* (Pei-Yang Pictorial News), 1928, vol.5, no.205. The sketches captured women's enjoyment of the "three points" of physical liberation: hair, breast and feet.

Figure c-1. View of the Mid-Lake Teahouse, 1930s-40s.

Figure c-2. 1890s-1900s. View of the Mid-Lake Teahouse. Photographer unknown.

Figure c-3. Today's Yuyuan Tourist Mart (Yuyuan Baihuo) bazaar, with a series of imitated ancient Chinese-style building newly constructed after the 1990s.

Figure c-4. The theme park Yumeng Weisuo Shijie (Yu [garden]'s Dream, A Lilliputian Land), opened in early 2021 in Yuyuan Department Store.

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