SINO-JAPANESE STUDIES

Volume 16 (2009), Article 12

http://chinajapan.org/articles/16/12

Liu Jianhui 劉建輝. "'Roman' ni kakitaterareta Meijijin" 「ロマン」にかき立てられた明治人 (Meiji men stirred by "romance"). In *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no "kindai" taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Demon capital Shanghai: The "modern" experience of Japanese intellectuals), trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 142-64. *Sino-Japanese Studies* 16 (2009), article 12.

Abstract: In this section of his work, Liu Jianhui discusses how the image of Shanghai in the imagination of Japanese underwent a rapid decline as Japan modernized in the Meiji period. After demonstrating that many "modern" institutions emerged in both China and Japan at roughly the same time, he focuses on three forms of Shanghai entertainment associated with its "demonic" designation: tea houses, brothels, and opium parlors.

Demon Capital Shanghai: The "Modern" Experience of Japanese Intellectuals[1]

Liu Jianhui 劉建輝

Translated by Joshua A Fogel

Chapter 4
Meiji Men Stirred by "Romance" (Part 1)

Demon Capital Born of "Modernity": Tea Houses, Brothels, Opium Dens

Disintegration of an Image

In the chapters thus far we have considered the relationship between Shanghai and Japan in the late-Edo period. Generally speaking, this has involved what role Shanghai played in the formation of modern Japan as a "nation-state." While Shanghai continued to convey reports to late-Edo Japan on the various "modern nation-states," once the Meiji state came into existence, the very meaning of Shanghai underwent a complete transformation.

For Meiji Japan, having set its sites on directly importing from the West all manner of modern institutions and building a "nation-state" centered around the emperor, not only did Shanghai's role as a "transmission point" cease to exist, but it actually became an object to be avoided by virtue of the countless associations it conjured up. Individuals, however, who felt the sharp constraints of the "state," were greatly drawn to this place which belonged to no country and completely transcended a specific "nationalism."

Seen from the perspective of an increasingly "closed off" Japan in which "modern state" controls were becoming ever stricter, Shanghai at this time was destined to become the stuff of "fiction" and a site whose appearance was the realization of an "adventurer's" dream. In this sense, aside from the areas of politics and economics, from the 1870s on, Shanghai was no longer that important for Japan as a "state," but for the many Japanese who dreamed of "escaping from Japan," this chaotic city was by far the closest "refuge," as well as the closest "paradise."

Over the course of the remaining chapters of this book, I would like to consider the meaning of Shanghai for modern Japan, especially for modern Japanese. First, though, to grasp a genuine sense of Shanghai in the latter half of the nineteenth century, I will offer a simple depiction of the process by which this "modern city" came into being.

[1] *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no "kindai" taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 142-64. See also the Chinese translation by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de "jindai" tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的"近代"体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 68-80.

Separate Chinese and Western Residential Districts

As noted in an earlier section of this volume, to the north of the walled city of Shanghai with its more than 500 years of history to this point, there was born another (concession) "Shanghai" in 1845, the third year following the opening of the city as a consequence of the Treaty of Nanjing. In November of that year, after two years of negotiations with the first British consul in the city, George Balfour (1809-94), the Shanghai *daotai* (circuit intendant, a high-level local post) by the name of Gong Mujiu 宮慕久 (d. 1848) announced the (the first set of) "Land Regulations" (土地章程) which fixed a lease on land roughly 0.56 square kilometers along the banks of the Huangpu River to be the residential area for British merchants. Establishing a residential space outside the walled city was, of course, in accord with the demands of the British, but in actuality there was an "isolation policy" on the part of the Chinese as well, and the "separation of Chinese and Western residential districts" stipulated in the "Land Regulations" clearly reflected this. Following the pattern of the establishment of the British Concession, in 1848 first the American Concession and the next year the French Concession were set up along a corridor on the opposite shore of Yangjingbang Creek 洋涇濱 which formed a southern demarcation with the Hongkou 虹口 region across from the Wusong River 吳淞江. These three Concessions were effectively the model for Shanghai as a modern city.

The principle of separate Chinese and Western residential areas accorded to each a certain amount of autonomy, while these Concessions, which remained in effect under Chinese jurisdiction over the course of the following decade, rapidly underwent a transformation. The impetus to such was an armed insurrection which erupted in September 1853 of a secret organization known as the Small Sword Society; for one and one-half years this peasant army occupied the walled city of Shanghai, and as a result a great number of refugees came pouring into the neighboring Concessions.

In the unexpected fighting that ensued, the basic principle of "separate Chinese and Western residential areas" dissipated with little or no resistance, and thereafter both the Chinese and Concession sides perforce accepted the reality of "mixed Chinese and Western residence." Claiming that it was in response to this new state of affairs, the British consul at the time, Rutherford Alcock (1809-97), promulgated in July 1854 what was later to be called the "Revised Land Regulations," a unilateral revision of the earlier "Land Regulations," which were presented to the Chinese for ex-post-facto acceptance after receiving the approval of the Americans and the French consuls.

This new set of "Land Regulations" included expansion of the Concessions to roughly three times their former size, tacit acceptance of Chinese residence within the Concessions, and the establishment of a police force (*xunbu* 巡捕), among other things. Most important among these were the convening of an association of "lessees," effectively forming a city council for the three consuls, and the establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) as its executive organ. In particular, by giving the latter genuine capacity to function as a municipal government, its creation meant that the Concessions were effectively separated from the jurisdiction of the Chinese government. I say "effectively" because concerning revisions to the regulations, we find: "The three consuls and the *daotai* will after consultation report to the three consuls and the Liang-

Guang governor-general and then carry this out upon ratification." Thus, to an extent the Chinese officials were able to validate management of the Concessions, but beyond that Chinese sovereignty was completely ignored.

Military to Finance

Because the text of the revised Land Regulations (second set) which afforded independent administrative powers to the SMC was rather simple, a number of points remained vague. Inasmuch as there was scarcely any explanation appended as concerned the basis of such "powers," obstacles arose to subsequent management. In addition, there was another huge influx of refugees into the Concessions in the early 1860s as a consequence of the Taiping Rebellion, and the Concession authorities carried out another revision of the Land Regulations in September 1869 which were promulgated as the Third Set of Land Regulations.

These new "Land Regulations" expanded the association of lessees into the Foreign Rate-payers Association, and it was given authority to deliberate over the Concessions' budget and to elect an SMC board of directors, among other powers, thus affording it all the functions of a "city council." At the same time, the franchise in this instance expanded from a small group of lessees to rate-payers of "five hundred taels or more in assessed value on industrial land in their possession" or "five hundred taels or more in rental income per annum" on housing.

Next, the existing powers of the SMC were strengthened, and the burden of these powers was shared with each of its committees, effectively giving it all the functions befitting a city council. It established the full array of institutions befitting an urban administration, such as the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (Wanguo shangtuan 萬國商團) Office of Police Affairs, Fire Fighting Stations, Sanitation Office, Education Office, and Office of Financial Affairs, thus forming a complete administrative system in the Concessions. Of these organizations, the Shanghai Volunteer Corps was a brigade originally organized in response to attacks on the city by the Small Swords and the Taipings, basically a military institution.

Shanghai Volunteer Corps

Inverted Relations

Together with the announcement of the third set of "Land Regulations," the SMC authorities in fact drafted yet another set of "regulations." These were judicial provisions concerning jurisdiction over Chinese living in the Concessions, officially announced in

April 1869 as the "Provisional Rules for the Mixed Court." According to these "Rules for the Mixed Court," trials concerning Chinese residents in the Concessions were to be handled by a subprefect (*tongzhi* 同知, a judge), named to the Mixed Court in the Concessions by the Shanghai circuit intendant. In instances in which the interested party was a foreigner or a Chinese employed by a foreigner, there would necessarily be deliberations with the consul or a juridical official recognized by the consul. Should the accused have complaints regarding the court's decision, it was possible to appeal to both the Shanghai circuit intendant and the consular officials. Superficially, then, this system preserved Chinese sovereignty in deliberations, but when it came to actual decisions, the relationship was essentially inverted. Ultimately, the lion's share of discretionary power for judicial decisions was held by the consuls.

There was thus still a small issue in the realm of the administration of justice, although the tripartite division of legislative, administrative, and judicial powers—a hallmark of the "modern state"—basically were fully formed institutionally. However, Concession Shanghai as a "modern state" had come into being by completely ignoring Chinese dominion over its own terrain, as evidenced, for example, by the fact that the third set of Land Regulations was never formally "ratified" by the Qing government. From the perspective of international law, this may not have even been necessary.

Two Faces of the City

Of this last fact, we need of course to be conscious and even critical. Yet, by the same token, this terrain of Shanghai existed on the basis of a certain "autonomy," not as the colony in East Asia of a specific state. It was a city with the qualities of a semi-"modern state." And, it continued to exert a major influence not just on China but, for a certain period of time, on Japan and Korea as well.

In the latter half of the 1860s such modern institutions as the tripartite division of powers took root, the other "Shanghai" (the walled, Chinese city) with over 500 years of history in no time at all ceded its primary role in the city to the Concessions—as the saying went at the time, "the sun rises on the Concessions and sets on the Southern [walled] city." In the end, it functioned as no more than an "accessory." Thereafter, when one speaks of "Shanghai," in most cases the "new" and "old" as well as "modern" and "traditional" cities alternated simultaneously in view. This strange mixture centered on the former in these two pairs, though, had a decisive impact on people's thinking about this terrain for some years to come.

Modernity Began at the Bund

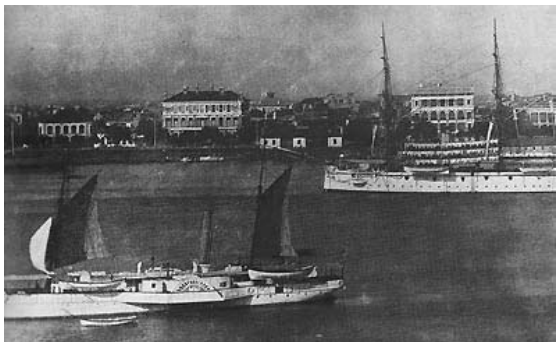
We have thus far been considering Shanghai as a "modern city" primarily in light of political institutions. Around the same time as these modern political systems with their semi-colonial qualities were put into effect, however, Shanghai began to greet the arrival of the "modern" in numerous other areas as well.

The formation of a transportation network based on the growth of the shipping industry, which we demonstrated in an earlier chapter, gave rise in the early 1860s to a large-scale investment boom, and in no time at all it fell into a panic—for better or worse, we see here the emergence of a "modern" finance establishment. These developments

were reflected in the rush to build a string of military and private industries—first and foremost being the Jiangnan Arsenal—advanced by the reformist group of Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901) and others in the early Westernization movement (*yangwu yundong* 洋物運動).

In the process, the level of achievement in laying the foundation and infrastructure of Shanghai as a city were stunning. Already by the mid-1870s it began to take on the appearance of a majestic, "modern" city. Let us now follow some of the contemporaneous records as clues to the flourishing of Shanghai at this point in time.

The formation of modern Shanghai began with the oft-mentioned Bund (*waitan* 外灘, in Chinese), the strip of land along the Huangpu River. Originally derived from Hindi, "bund" meant an embankment. In the process by which colonial management by the British penetrated various places in East Asia, from the middle of the nineteenth century, however, it came in particular to denote "the special residential waterfront space by the harbor."[2]



Shanghai Bund in the nineteenth century

Shanghai Bund, 1930s

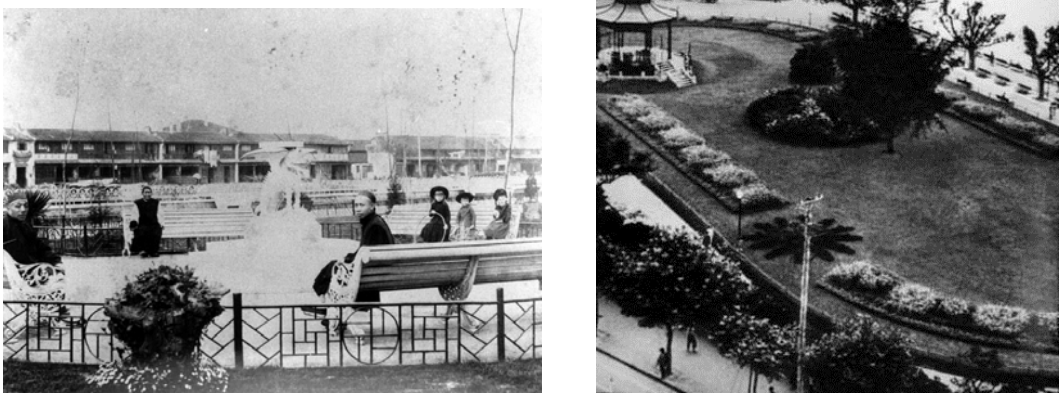
Considering the central position played by transportation at the time, the Bund became a kind of axis for harbor cities, and from there all management operations developed. In this, Shanghai was no exception, of course, for according to the first set of "Land Regulations" exchanged between the British consul and the Shanghai *daotai* in 1845, the initial maintenance operations of the Concessions were to begin from repairs along the main road of the Bund, known at first as "Yanpu dalu" 沿浦大路 (lit., along the river avenue) which had originally been the road to which ships were towed into harbor. Perpendicular to the Bund, which ran north-south, ran "Chupu dalu" 出浦大路 (lit., leaving the river avenue), a collective name for what are now four parallel streets: Beijing Road, Nanjing Road, Jiujiang Road, and Hankou Road. Along these streets east and west went up construction which formed the prototype for the future Shanghai.

Some thirty years later in the late 1870s, the British Consulate was located at the far northern point of the Bund and the French Consulate to the south, and lined up along it were eighteen commercial houses and assorted other establishments, including: Jardine-Matheson Company (known in Chinese as Yihe yanghang 怡和洋行), the Pacific and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (Da-Ying lunchuan gongsi 大英輪船公司), the

[2] Fujiwara Keiyō, *Shanhai, shissō suru kindai toshi* (Shanghai, modern city at full speed) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988).

Oriental Banking Corporation (Liru yinhang 麗如銀行), Russell & Co. (Qichang yanghang 旗昌洋行), the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank Corporation (Huifeng yinhang 匯豐銀行), and Banque de France (Falanxi yinhang 法蘭西銀行), among others.[3] Increasingly, the "majestic appearance" of modern Shanghai was emerging.

Not just commercial establishment, but in front of them along the banks of the river was a promenade for strolling, and close to the British Consulate at the far northern end was a park constructed in 1868 to straddle the promenade. Later, dogs and Chinese were not permitted entry to what would become the world famous Public Garden.



Scenes of Shanghai's Public Garden

The Bund thus represented Shanghai "modernity" and took shape as the foundation point of all manner of capitalist industrial activity, including trade and finance. If we may allow for the Bund to be seen as the front gate to Concession Shanghai, the Shanghai Racecourse nestled in a residential space that developed later corresponded to the "backyard." The Racecourse, initially built in 1850, also functioned as a park, and its space opposite the Bund was designed as a site for pleasure. Contrasting relations between "production" and "pleasure" seem to have been repeated in the open harbors of other Asian colonies with basically the same structure. This fact throws into relief the nature of Shanghai as a "modern city" from yet another perspective.

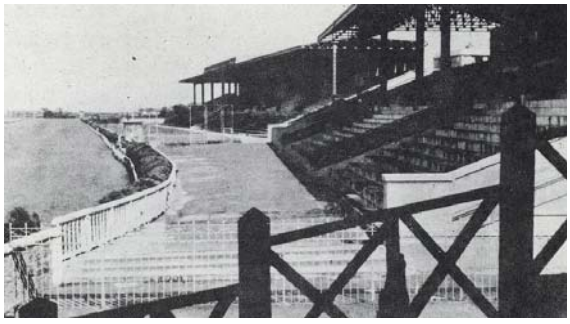
Nanjing Road, Shanghai's Main Street

To get a glimpse of the "prosperity" of Shanghai in this period, there is one other site, aside from the Bund, deserving attention: Nanjing Road which ran from the Bund to

[3] Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, *Hu You zaji* 滬游雜記 (Stray notes on a visit to Shanghai) (Shanghai rpt.: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).

the Racecourse. When the Concessions were initially established, Nanjing Road was an unnamed village pathway, only some 500 meters in length. Then, when the Racecourse was first completed in 1850, the road leading to it was known as Park Lane (Paike lu 派克路, or Huayuan lu 花園路).

Nanjing Road, ca. 1900



Shanghai Racecourse

When the Racecourse moved to the west in 1854, Park Lane was extended somewhat, the road's surface was widened to six meters, and pavement was laid with shards of bricks. The Racecourse was moved a second time in 1862, and Park Lane was extended further west, and pavement made of granite replaced the first bricks used on the road's surface. Following an ordinance issued by the SMC three years later, all major thoroughfares in the city were officially given names, and thus Park Lane was henceforth called Nanjing Road.

From about the time that the construction on the second extension was completed, Nanjing Road came to occupy its position within the Concessions as the main east-west thoroughfare. According to the *Hu you zaji* 滬游雜記 (Miscellaneous notes on a sojourn to Shanghai, 1876) by Ge Yuanxu 葛元煦, there were eight major commercial establishments along Nanjing Road in 1876, among them: Laodeji Pharmacy 老德記藥房, Fuli Company 福利洋行, Gongdao Company 公道洋行, Taixing Company 泰興洋行, and Zhaofeng yanghang 兆豐洋行 (H. Fogg & Co.). Also, Ge added, there were numerous silk shops (*sihao* 糸號) and plain cotton fabric shops (*pinghuo* 平貨) lined up along the street.

Inasmuch as virtually all of the shops assembled here were open for sales, the atmosphere of consumption was naturally different from the Bund along which majestic trading houses and banks were lined, to say nothing of numerous "national capitalist" ventures located among them. The air of bustling "prosperity" created by all of these shops also differed somewhat from that of the Bund.

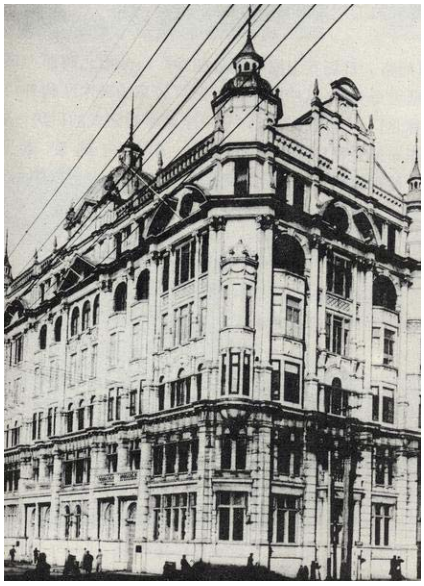
Sharing Civilization and Enlightenment

From the 1860s through the 1870s, as the "modern" space of Nanjing Road and the Bund was taking shape, other urban enterprises in Concession Shanghai developed considerably. For example, in 1864 the first gas company in the Concessions—the

Shanghai Gas Co. Ltd. (Da-Ying zilaihuo fang 大英自來火房)—was established. The following year gas lights were lit along Nanjing Road, and gas was first supplied to a number of residents of the area. Similarly, construction for clean water was carried out in 1875, and for a time there was water delivery by cart. With the formation in 1881 of the Shanghai Water Co., Ltd. (Shanghai zilaishui gongsi 上海自來水公司) though, they switched to regular delivery by water pipes.

During these same years, a postal service (Gongbu shuxinguan 工部書信館) and a fire brigade (Huozhengju 火政局) were established in 1865 and 1867, respectively. In 1876 tracks were laid for a rail line between Shanghai and Wusong, although a year later the Qing government abandoned the project. In the 1880s, as the delivery of electricity by the Shanghai Electric Company (Shanghai dianguang gongsi 上海電光公司) and telephone service provided by the Great Northern Telegraph Company (Dabei dianbao gongsi 大北電報公司) commenced, Shanghai was gradually entering the era of "civilization and enlightenment."

Comparing the introduction of these public facilities to the case of Japan, we find postal service among Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto began in 1871, and rail service between Shinbashi [in Tokyo] and Yokohama in 1872; Yokohama illuminated Japan's first electric lights in 1872, and in 1878 electric lighting was supplied by the Central Electric Company (Denshin chūōkyoku 電信中央局); the first public telephone line (between Tokyo and Atami) was opened for use in 1889; and modern waterworks became accessible in Tokyo in 1899. These transpired all more or less in the same era as in Shanghai, from which we may infer that both began to share the conveniences of "civilization and enlightenment" at roughly the same point in time. The fact that both places possessed such conveniences provides an important piece of background information beckoning Japanese to Shanghai from the Meiji years forward.



Shanghai Telephone Company

Teahouses, Brothels, Opium Dens: The Emergence of a "Demonic Quality" to the City

The scenery at the Bund, which produced to excess the splendid "modernity" of Shanghai as we have seen, was by the same token often called a "false front." In other words, this "modernity" was a superficial "adornment" to Shanghai; the confused reality of "mixed residence" which developed behind it meant that the latter was the real "core" of Shanghai. And, indeed, what would give Shanghai its "demonic quality" later was none other than the Creole "internal space" of the city.

As we shall see later, the nickname of "demon capital" was given to Shanghai by a mediocre Japanese writer in the 1920s. This term expressed well the complexity of "faces" the space of Shanghai gave to the outside world, and it was cited by numerous authors until it became a hackneyed phrase. The image it evoked became lodged in the minds of men and women—particularly, Japanese—connected to the city of Shanghai. On reflection, though, Shanghai did not first acquire this "demonic" moniker in the twentieth century, but its origins go further back to the 1870s.

The particular spaces that gave expression to Shanghai as a "demon capital" in the 1870s were, as they would be fifty years hence, a string of entertainment establishments: teahouses, brothels, and opium dens. At first glance, one might assume that these institutions would be inimical to the initial sprouts of "modernity" at this time, but in fact they were the offspring of "civilization and enlightenment." In other words, aside from opium dens, the new arrival on the scene, teahouses and brothels (or courtesan establishments) which were originally confined to the walled city had been omitted from the traditional design of the city. They then acquired a new lease on life once they penetrated the "modern" system of the Concessions. By contrast, aside from the entertainment space in which all manner of things in the Concessions looked continuously for "novelties," they were scarcely able to find a breach through which to surmount the borders of their traditional order.

The "intersection" of the two, in this sense, was the background that made Shanghai Shanghai. And herein lies the reason for creating its "demonic capital" nature. Let us move now briefly to describe the history of the various entertainment spaces which formed the axis of this "intersection."

Music Halls, Opium, Courtesans

The appearance of teahouses in China goes far back to the Song dynasty. The teahouse was literally a place where one went to drink tea, but for a long period of time, it was used as well as a place for merchants to engage in negotiations or as a place for the general urban populace to relax within the city. Many of these were small in size, and aside from a possible side dish, there were no other services but tea offered. Before the port of Shanghai was opened, most of these teahouses were concentrated by the landing known as the Xiaodong Gate 小東門 along the Huangpu River. Later, they could be found as well for a time in the vicinity of the Temple to the City Deity (Chenghuangmiao 城隍廟) in the center of the walled city.

From roughly the 1870s, traditional Chinese eating and drinking establishments began to make their way into the new terrain, together with the rapid growth of the Concession population. Ge Yuanxu lists, by way of example, the names of at least seven teahouses in his *Hu you zaji*: Yidongtian 一洞天, Lishuitai 麗水臺, Songfengge 松風閣, Baoshanyuan 寶善園, Yihuchun 一壺春, Weiyuan 渭園, and Guifangge 桂芳閣. Unlike

establishments that had existed from earlier on, these had clearly (given their names) been created as spots for various sorts of entertainment, in addition to their functions as sites for business chats and relaxation.

Another example would be the Yipinxiang 一品香 teahouse that existed in the 1880s. Inside it boasted a billiard parlor and lawn bowling facilities.[4] Furthermore, later the Number One Pavilion of the Youlangyuan 有閬苑 (Lofty Palace) opened a three-storey, Western establishment that could accommodate 1,000 people on Fuzhou Road. The first floor was a billiard parlor, and the second a teahouse. From the second floor up, all the walls were glass windows, engendering an extraordinarily modern atmosphere.

The most famous teahouse in Shanghai in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the Qinglian'ge 青蓮閣 (Pavilion of Young Lotuses). Originally known as the Huazhonghui 華眾會 (Assemblage of Many Flowers), it was featured in the illustrated newspaper Dianshizhai huabao 點石齋畫報 in 1884: "At the Huazhonghui, one sips tea and ranks the dazzling beauties."[5] And, thereafter, this establishment's name became much more widely known. This teahouse would later relocate, changing its name to Qinglian'ge, and at that point a music hall was installed on its first storey where opium service was provided in addition to tea. Prostitutes in great numbers would always congregate here looking to the customers who had come for entertainment and opium. As Muramatsu Shōfū 村松梢風 (1899-1961) would later describe it: "Perhaps as many as several thousand people would be coming and going at the same time on the capacious second storey."[6]

Qinglian'ge Teahouse

Thus, a teahouse whose original function was quite simple and was small in scale, continuously acquired for itself all manner of "devices," as it advanced into the semi-

[4] Huang Shiquan 黃式权, *Songnan meng yinglu* 淞南梦影录 (Account of dream images from Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
[5] *Dianshizhai huabao* (Guangzhou rpt.: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983).
[6] Muramatsu Shōfū, *Mato* 魔都 (Demon capital) (Tokyo: Konishi shoten, 1924).

colonial "space" of the Concessions, growing like a snowball until it formed an immense "demonic" site altogether different from what it had been. This phenomenon is what transpired in Shanghai, and cases similar to it occurred in profuse quantity.

100,000 Prostitutes

Of the three sorts of establishments we have been considering, we now turn to houses of prostitution, beginning with a brief history of their development in the city of Shanghai. While there were differences depending on the time period at which one looks, the Qing dynasty, having considered the lesson of the now defunct Ming dynasty with its "wild sexuality," adopted a basic policy of "stifling prostitution." This did not of course necessarily mean that prostitution ceased to exist in China at the time. Particularly in the south, far from the imperial court, so-called "private prostitution" thrived in secret with a kind of semi-tacit consent. In the case of Shanghai County, for example, there were hardly any brothels in the walled city during the first half of the nineteenth century, with only a few we can identify near the wharf outside the Eastern Gate and near the Qing garrison at the Eastern Gate.

These private prostitutes later began to penetrate the walled city, but their customers still tended to be wealthy businessmen and influential military men. Needless to say, they remained well outside the reach of ordinary residents and scholars. With the emergence of the Concessions neighboring the walled city, however, prostitutes transformed their traditional guise. There were two reasons for this change. First, with the Taiping Rebellion and especially its occupation of the city of Nanjing, a large number of prostitute "refugees" escaped to Shanghai. There they found that they had lost the freedom to pick and choose their clientele to make a living. Second, about the same time, the authorities in the British and French Concessions ignored the Qing government's ban on prostitution and established a "public brothel system" within the areas under their respective jurisdictions.

Thereafter, as the population of Shanghai rose sharply, so too did the number of prostitutes in the city. In the decade of the 1930s when that number reached its zenith, there were reportedly some 100,000 prostitutes, including private ones, in Shanghai. The population of Shanghai at the time was roughly 3,600,000, with women accounting for about 1,500,000. Thus, roughly one in every fifteen women in Shanghai was a prostitute, the highest ratio of any large city at the time.

Overall, there were seventeen ranks of prostitutes in Shanghai based on the class and "race" of the customers they sought. These rankings bore such names as: *shuyu* 書寓 (storytellers), *changsan* 長三 (long three), *yao er* 幺二 (one two), *huayanjian* 花煙間 (flower-smoke rooms), *yeji* 野雞 (pheasants), and the like.[7] Among them, the *shuyu* and *yao er* held a somewhat higher status, while *huayanjian* and *yeji* were at a comparatively

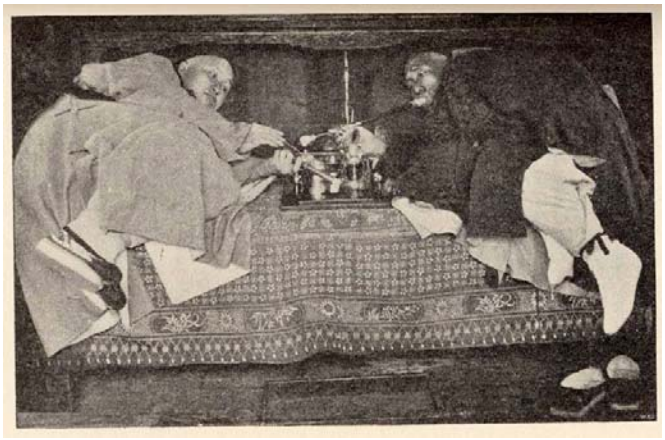
[7] Translator's note. Translations of these terms follows: Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 42, 43, 47, 49; and Christian Henriot, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Shanghai: A Social History, 1849-1949*, trans. Nöel Castelino (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 23-25, 80-81, 83.

lower level. In particular, the *yeji* were like streetwalkers, their numbers being the greatest among local prostitutes. One would find many of them out on a Shanghai night.

In any event, the flourishing of prostitution and the brothels to which they belonged only became possible with the advent of the "modern" system of public prostitution in the Concessions. In the unusual "development" of this system of public prostitution surrounding them, we see the intersection and fusion of the two Shanghais we have been chronicling to this point. They were most concentrated in the French Concession, the middle region between these two Shanghais.

Opium Dens as a Social Site

Finally, let us turn our attention to the opium establishment. These were sites at which opium was smoked, known popularly as opium dens. After the first Opium War in 1840, the amount of opium imported to China on an annual basis rose steadily in a semi-tolerated state of affairs, although it was basically being smuggled into China by both Chinese and foreign merchants. From the time of the second Opium War of 1860s, however, the opium trade was recognized as legal, and it was sold as "Western medicine" (*yangyao* 洋藥) unconditionally by anyone who could pay the import duties. As a consequence of legalizing opium, the number of opium dens which had been few until then increased rapidly, and by the 1870s there were some 1,700 opium shops, large and small, lining the streets of Shanghai.



Opium Smokers

In early twentieth-century Shanghai, there were more opium shops than rice shops, and opium dens as a place to partake of it far exceeded the number of bars. At its peak, the number of opium users rose to 100,000, and there were addicts all along the roadsides of the city. The expression "opium den" for some reasons makes one thing of things dark and seamy, dens of iniquity, but in fact this was not necessarily the case. The aforementioned *Hu you zaji* by Ge Yuanxu states: "Opium establishments in Shanghai outstrip anywhere else in the realm. The shops are elegant and clean, their teacups and saucers exquisitely made. The Mianyunge 眠雲閣 (Pavilion of Sleepy Clouds) is the most extraordinary in this regard…. Frequently the tables and chairs within are made of redwood, with stone inlay on the surface. If one pays out one or two hundred water

beetles [money], one will meet up with friends and enjoy oneself greatly." Like teahouses, we see that opium dens were also often used as sites for social intercourse.

The Emergence of New Sights of Scenic Beauty

Roughly from the 1870s the culture of the three sorts of establishments we have been examining—teahouses, brothels, and opium dens—blossomed in the "modern" space of the Concessions of Shanghai. There was as well a "mutual penetration" among the three of them, a phenomenon which in fact flourished. For example, a teahouse might also serve opium, and an opium parlor might also provide the services of a brothel. These intersections worked to enliven the prosperity of all three.

With the development of these three cultures, the urban scene in late-nineteenth-century Shanghai changed dramatically. One proof for this is the fact that the famous sights of the city were suddenly transformed at this time. Traditionally, the "Eight Points of Shanghai Scenery" (*Hucheng bajing* 滬城八景) were given as: "Haitian xuri" 海天旭日 (Rising sun over the sea sky), "Huangpu qiutao" 黃浦秋濤 (Autumn waves on the Huangpu River), "Longhua wanzhong" 龍華晚鐘 (Late bell at Longhua [Temple]), "Wusong yanyu" 吳淞煙雨 (Cloudy rain on the Wusong River), "Shiliang yeyue" 石梁夜月 (Nighttime moon over stone bridges), "Yedu cangmang" 夜渡蒼茫 (Vast expanse of the evening crossing), "Fenglou yuantiao" 鳳樓遠眺 (Distant gaze at the phoenix pavilion), and "Jiangnie yueji" 江臬月霽 (Clear moon at the river's edge). To these eight were now added "Hubei shijing" 滬北十景 (Ten scenes from northern Shanghai), "modern" sights from the Concessions: "Guiyuan guanju" 桂園觀劇 (Theater viewing from the Gui Garden), "Xinlou xuanzhuan" 新樓選饌 (Select delicacies at the New Pavilion), "Yunge changyan" 雲閣嘗煙 (Opium smoking at the Cloudy Pavilion), "Zuile yinjiu" 最樂飲酒 (Inebriated enjoyment drinking wine), "Songfeng pincha" 松風品茶 (Fine tea amid the wind through pine trees), "Guixing fangmei" 桂馨訪美 (Visiting sites of beauty amid the aroma of the cinnamon tree), "Cengtai tingshu" 層臺聽書 (Listening to stories told on a platform), "Feiche yongli" 飛車擁麗 (Encompassing beauty of a speeding vehicle), "Yeshi randeng" 夜市燃燈 (Oil lamps on the streets at night), and "Putan buyue" 浦灘步月 (Walk in the moonlight by the riverside). It was precisely in this time period that Shanghai was reborn.

Among the ten new scenes of Shanghai, "Yunge changyan" referred to an opium den; "Songfeng pincha" referred to a teahouse; and "Guixing fangmei" referred to a brothel. "Feiche yongli" was a metaphor for a rickshaw, "Yeshi randeng" referred to street lighting, and "Putan buyue" was pointing to the scenery along the Bund.