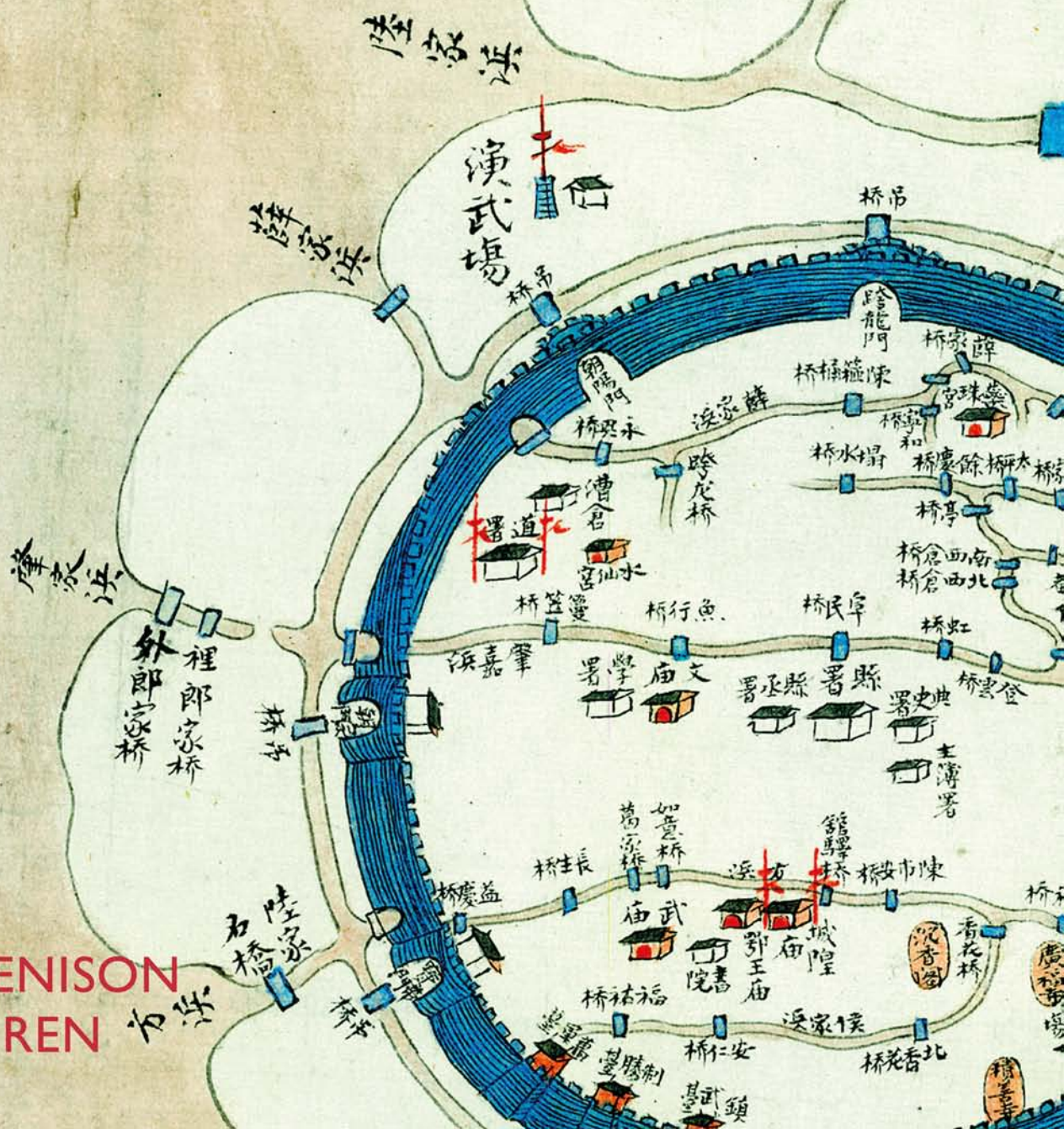


# BUILDING SHANGHAI

The Story of China's Gateway



EDWARD DENISON  
GUANG YU REN





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WILEY

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John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-0-470-01637-4 (HB) ISBN 978-1-118-86754-9 (epub) ISBN 978-1-118-86755-6 (epdf)

Executive Commissioning Editor: Helen Castle  
Assistant Editor: Calver Lezama

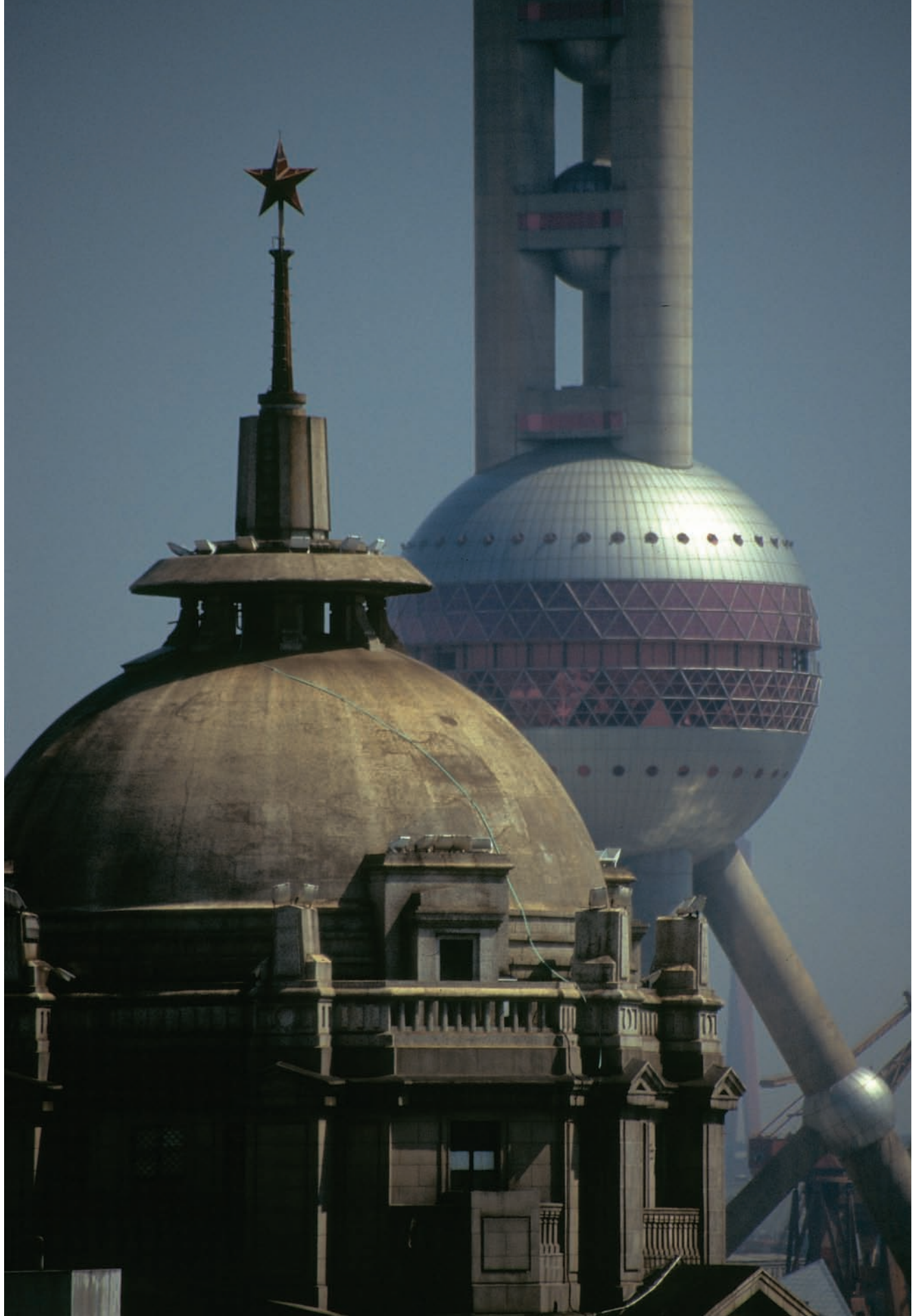
Page design and layouts by Liz Sephton  
Printed in China by Everbest Printing Co Ltd



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# Notes about Spelling and Grid References

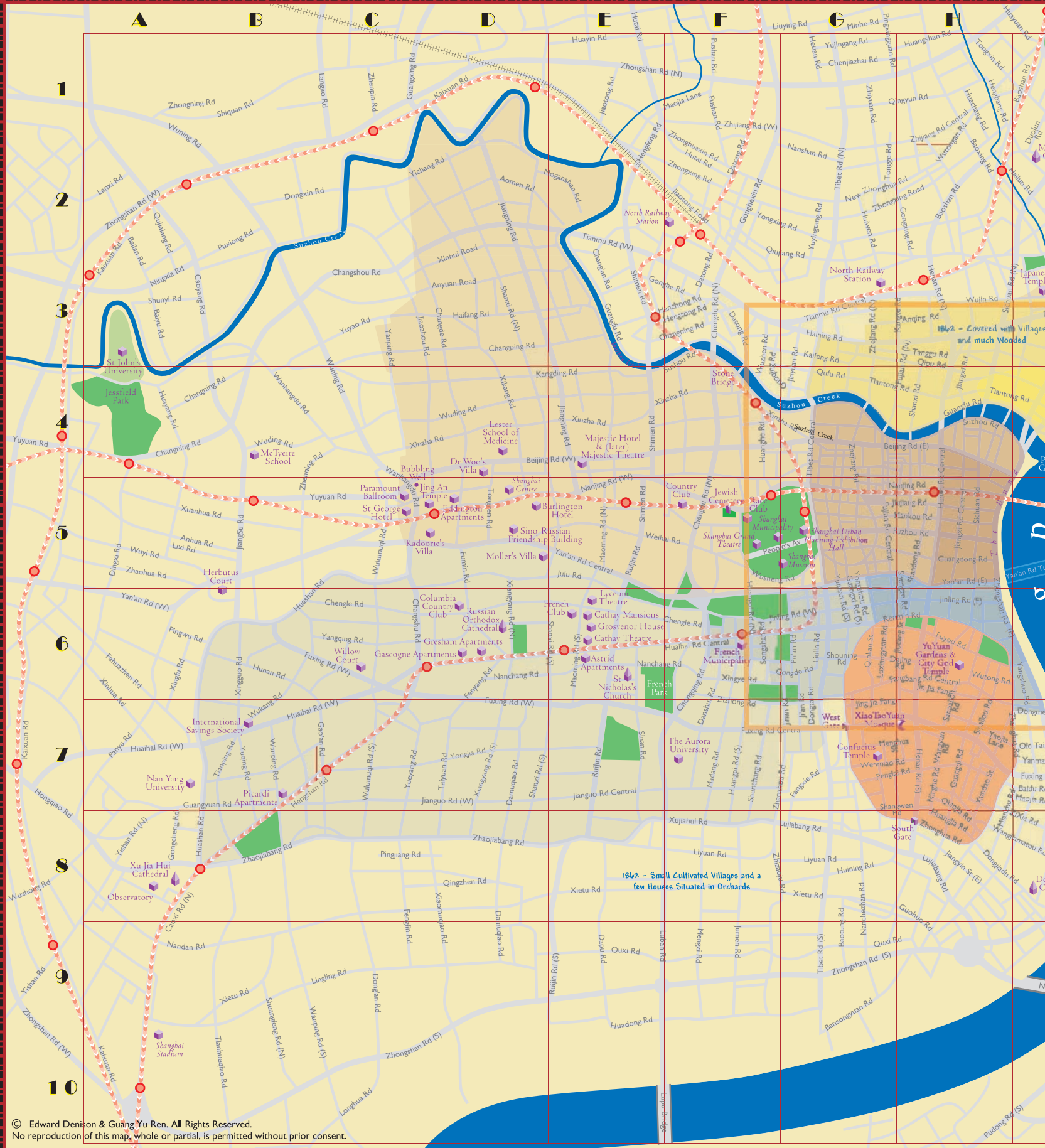
The spelling of Chinese names historically causes an insolvable transliteration problem. We have chosen to use the spelling by which particular words are most commonly understood or referred to, and have therefore not adhered exclusively to the contemporary system of pinyin. Road names are a particular source of confusion. The contemporary map on page 10 contains most versions of street names since 1843.

Both contemporary maps on pages 8–9 and page 10 and the aerial photograph on page 190 contain a grid reference system to assist the reader to locate sites on the map more easily. The grid reference is referred to in the text at the first mention of each key site or building and appears as a bracketed double-digit code, e.g.: (A1).

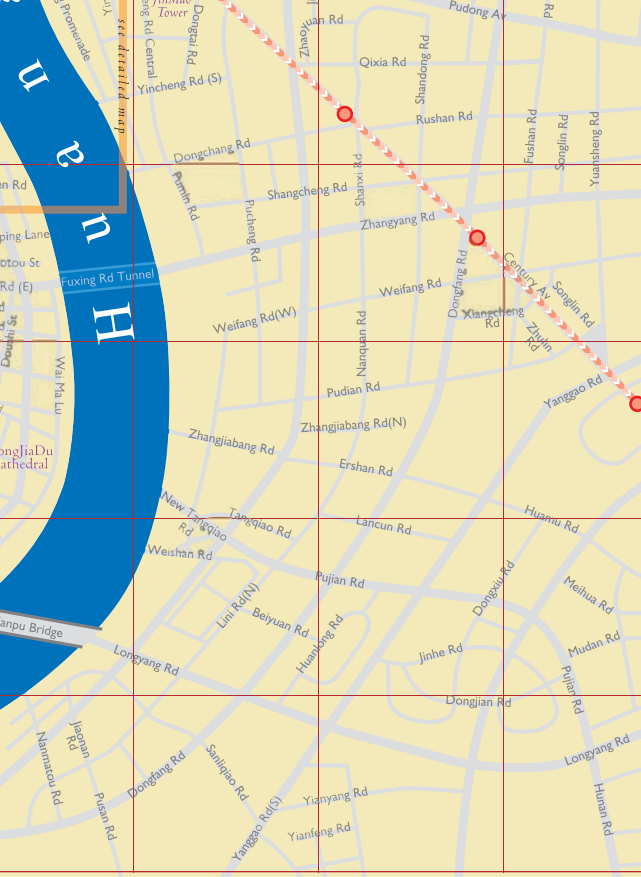
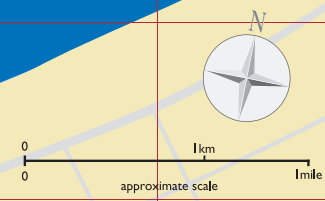
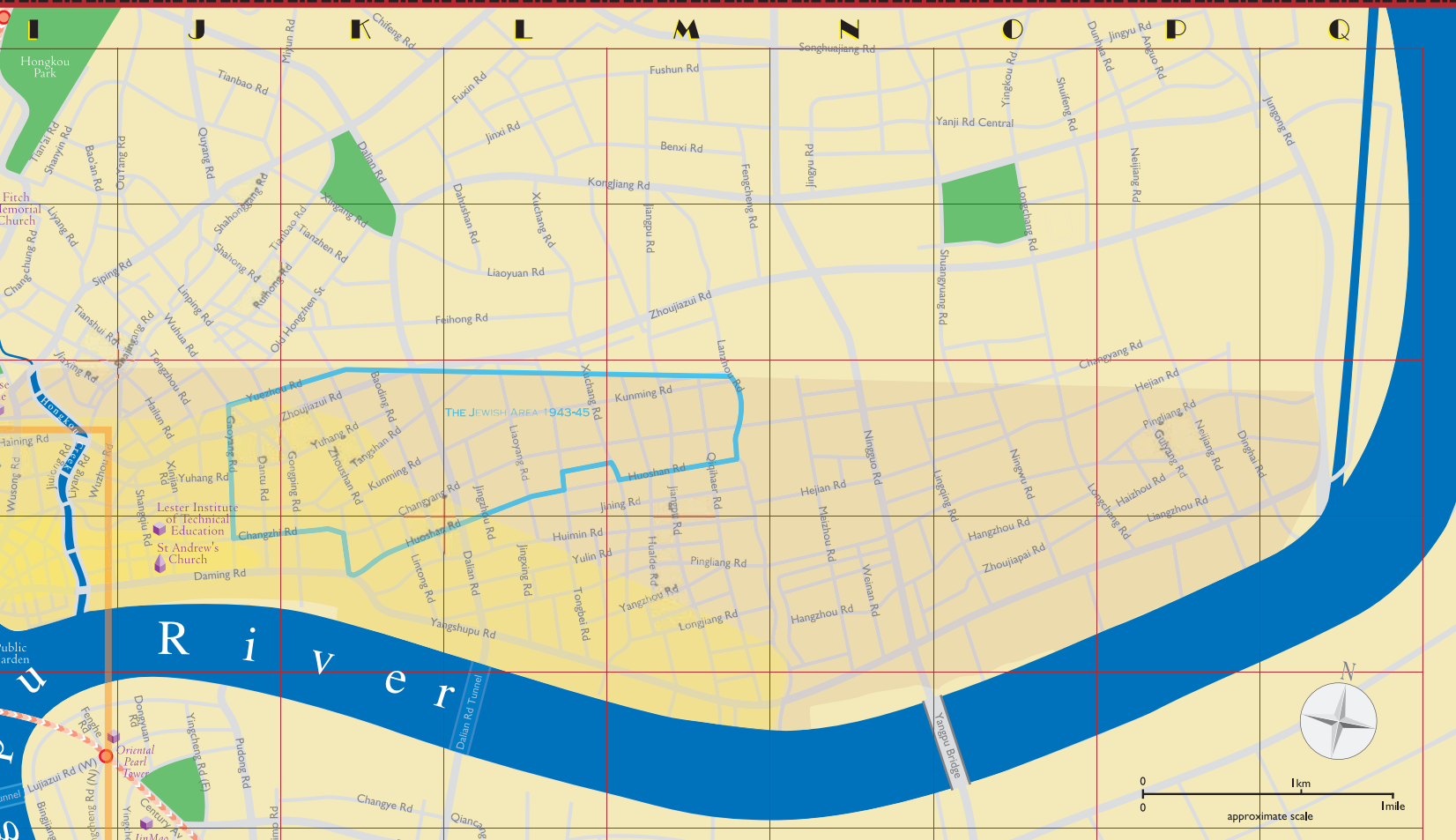
## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Too many people have contributed to this book for us to be able to thank them all individually. We will forever be indebted to all those Shanghainese who, against a prevailing trend, shared their time, stories and spaces with us. Our sincere gratitude goes also to so many other individuals and organisations that have supported, guided and corrected us along the way. Any errors remaining in the text are of our own making. Space does not allow us to mention everyone individually, but the following people will be aware of their contributions, though maybe unaware of the extent of our sincere appreciation and gratitude: Nick and Jocelyn Atkinson, Joanna Burke, Patrick Conner and the Martyn Gregory Gallery, Malcolm Cooper, Stella Dong, Robert Elwall and the staff at the RIBA, Arlene Fleming, Michelle Garnaut, Bruno vanderBerg, Marcus Ford, and all the staff at M-on-the-Bund, Edwin Green, Lenore Heitkamp, Alan Hollinghurst, Jim Hollington, Tess Johnston, Professor Luo Xiao Wei, Pan Lynn, Fred Manson, Qian Zong Hao, Professor Ruan Yi San, Richard Rogers, Robert Torday, Selahadin Abdullah, Semira Ibrahim and Heden and Wu Jiang. We are grateful also to the British Council and their China Studies programme for providing invaluable financial and institutional support in the

early stages of research; and to the Graham Foundation for their generous support of research and use of materials, many of which would not be featured in this book had it not been for their generous consideration. The following are among the many other institutions that have helped to make this book as comprehensive and informative as possible: the British Library, the HSBC Archives, the Library of Congress, the National Archive of Great Britain, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Shanghai Library, the Shanghai Municipal Archives, and the University of Victoria (Canada). We also wish to extend a very special thank you to all those at and associated with Wiley Academy and John Wiley & Sons who have worked so hard to complete this book with such dedicated professionalism: Helen Castle, Jenny McCall, Mariangela Palazzi-William, Famida Rasheed, Liz Sephton, Louise Porter and Lucy Isenberg. Our greatest debt of gratitude is to Hou Ji Xing, friends and family in Shanghai, Eleanor and John, whose patience, understanding, contributions and support have been beyond measure. Last and not least, to Phil Ochs for being a constant source of light in dark times – ‘I won’t be laughing at the lies when I’m gone’.







# SHANGHAI

- First delineation of the British Settlement 20.09.1846
- Second delineation of the British Settlement 27.11.1848
- Informal early American Settlement area
- Informal Boundary of American Settlement amalgamated with British Settlement in 1863
- International Settlement extension 1899
- First delineation of the French Concession 06.04.1849
- Extension of the French Concession 29.10.1861
- Extension of the French Concession 27.01.1900
- Extension of the French Concession 20.07.1914
- Former Walled City

- Former Park
- Park
- Waterway
- Boundary of the Jewish area
- Subway Station
- Subway Line
- Railway Line
- Site Name Historic Building
- Site Name Contemporary Building
- Building
- Gate
- Church
- Mosque
- Cemetery

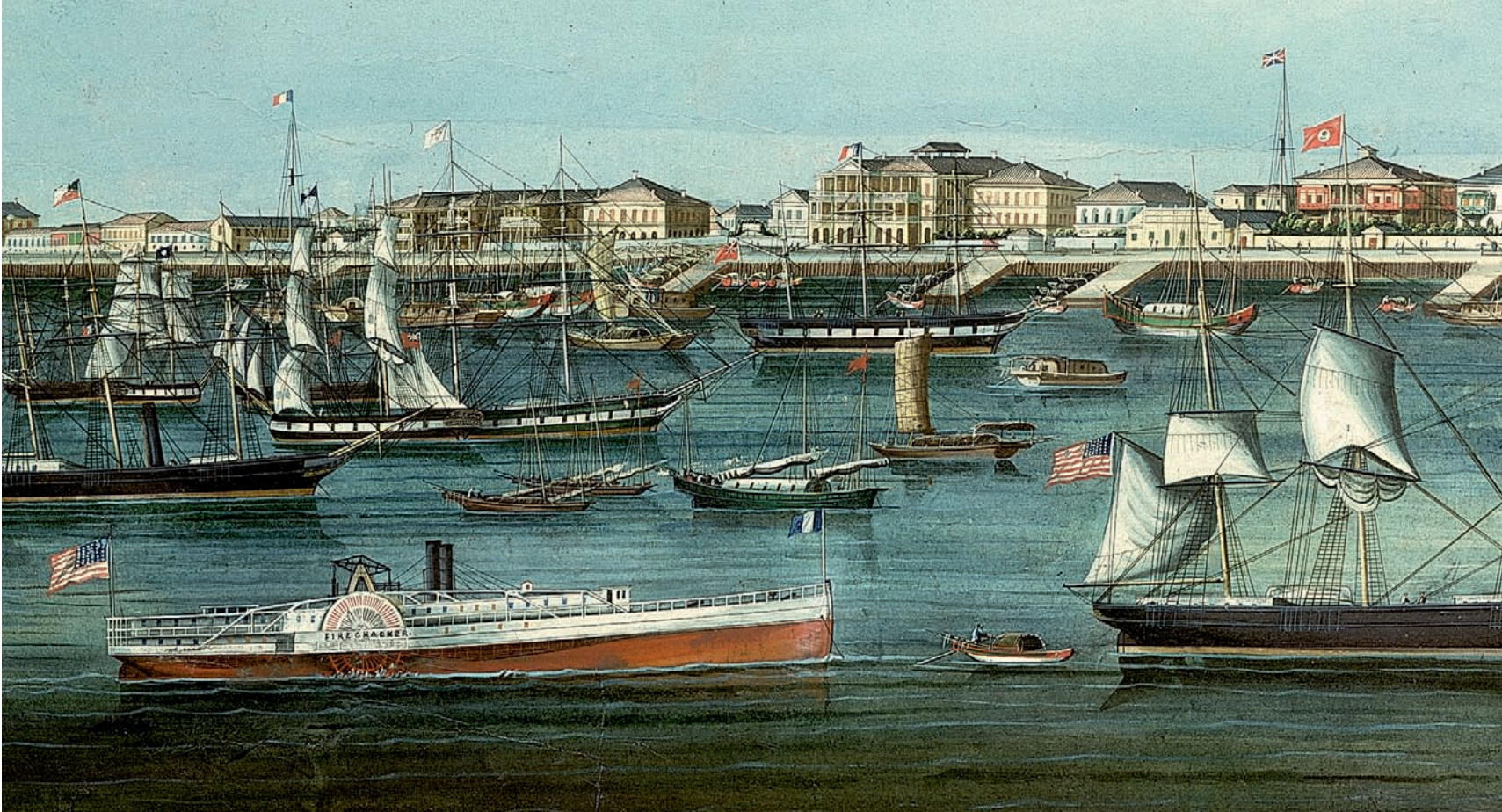




**CENTRAL SHANGHAI**

- City Block & Road
- Road pre-1941
- Road, 1850s
- Current Park
- Former Park
- Waterway
- Former Major Creek
- Current Road Name
- Road Name pre-1941
- Road Name pre-1860s
- Major Bund Firm, 1850s
- Building
- Church
- Gate
- Military Position
- Cemetery
- Bomb, 1937



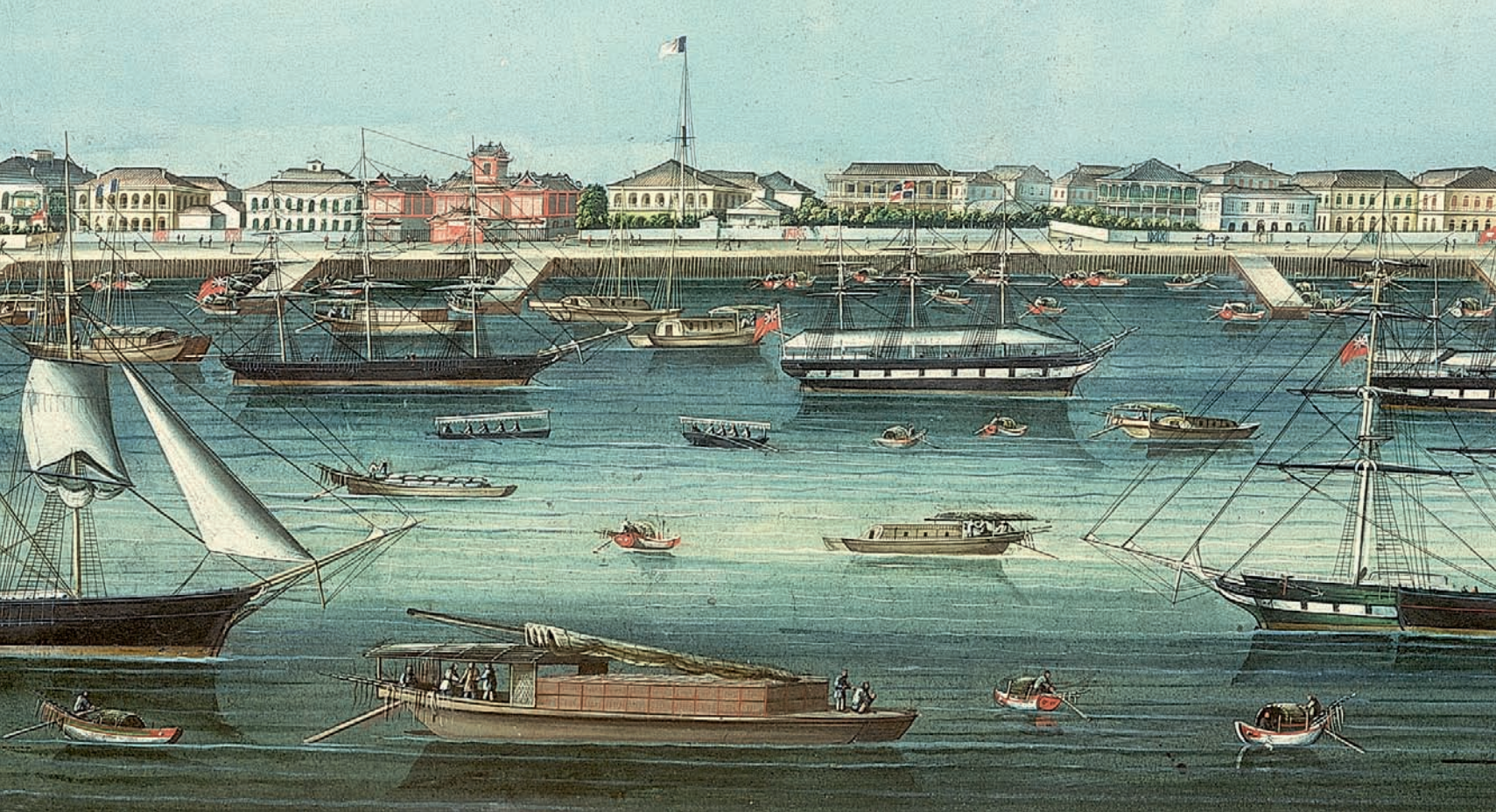


Above View of the Bund from the mid-1860s

Below View of the Bund today



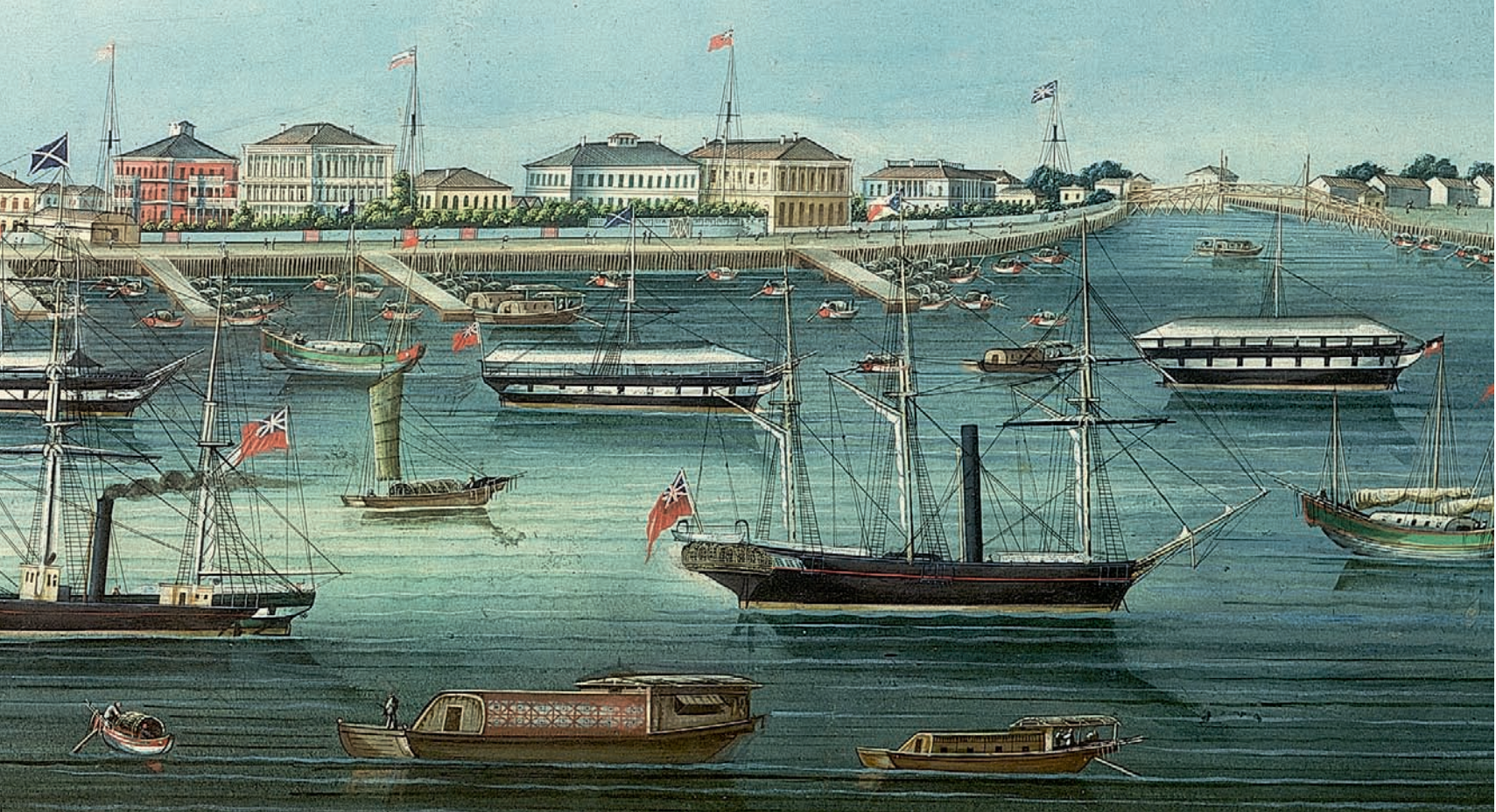




ay









# The Story of China's Gateway

*In this city the gulf between society's two halves is too grossly wide for any bridge ... And we ourselves though we wear out our shoes walking the slums, though we take notes, though we are genuinely shocked and indignant, belong, unescapably, to the other world. We return, always, to Number One House for lunch.*

*In our world, there are garden-parties and the night-clubs, the hot baths and the cocktails, the singsong girls and the Ambassador's cook. In our world, European business men write to the local newspapers, complaining that the Chinese are cruel to pigs, and saying that the refugees should be turned out of the Settlement because they are beginning to smell.*

*And the well-meaning tourist, the liberal and humanitarian intellectual, can only wring his hands over all this and exclaim: 'Oh dear, things are so awful here — so complicated. One doesn't know where to start.'*

WH Auden and Christopher Isherwood, *Journey to a War*, 1939.



**Right** Flying kites on Shanghai's historic Bund

## INTRODUCTION

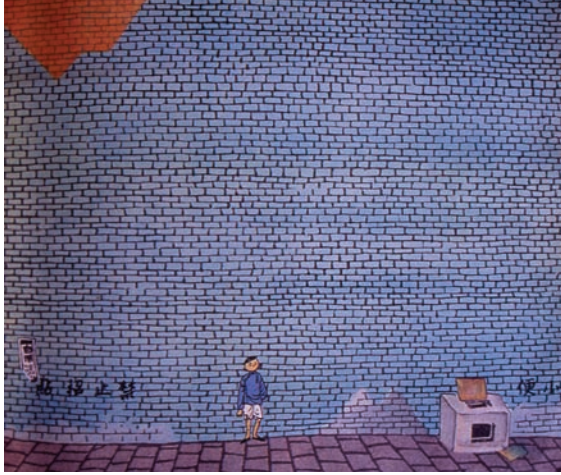
*We shape our buildings — thereafter they shape us.*

Winston Churchill, House of Commons Speech, 28 October 1943

Shanghai is an inimitable city. In the past, no other city was more heterogeneous, more autonomous, or more iniquitous. Today, no other city is undergoing such massive change. For the future, no other city has such ostentatious designs. Infamous for its depravity and famed for its autonomy, Shanghai's celebrated prosperity between the two world wars spawned a renowned impiety that would have appalled even the depraved inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah. Sex, drugs and organised crime underpinned the city's social life as much as greed, power and decadence defined its architecture and urban growth. However, this illustrious chapter represents only a snippet of the story. For centuries, Shanghai has navigated highs and lows, and lured millions who came to make their fortune or steal others'. While rapaciously consuming everything that has come its way, by attracting powerful people and appalling conflict, which resulted in unparalleled misery, debauched hedonism and immeasurable wealth, Shanghai has become greater than the sum of its parts — a peculiar urban form, a megametropolis, an irrepressible and abstract entity. As one journalist put it: 'Shanghai has had many conquerors, but Shanghai conquers the conquerors.'<sup>1</sup> Foreign and Chinese architectural firms are once again flocking to Shanghai to take part in the largest urban transformation in history, driven by China's burgeoning economy. A new battle for Shanghai is taking place, as the city's unprecedented development looks either to undermine or to enhance Shanghai's distinguished heritage.

Standing at the gateway to the Yangtze River, the backbone of China and the world's entry point to the vast trading potential of the country's interior, Shanghai has evoked many things to many people, garnering an extensive list of epithets which depict an almost absurdly schizophrenic character: 'Whore of the Orient', 'Paris of the East', 'Queen of Eastern Settlements', 'Paradise of Adventurers', 'New York of the Far East', 'City of Palaces', 'Yellow Babylon of the Far East', and the former Duke of Somerset's 'Sink of Iniquity'. However, behind the vacuous sobriquets, the city's eminence and consequent international importance derive solely from its outstanding geographical location for trade. This is as important today as it always was and always will be: trade provides the stimulus driving this dynamic mercantile city; it is trade that has engendered the lust for wealth which is synonymous with Shanghai and with the character of its





**Left** 1930s sketch by 'Norma' of Shanghainese living in the midst of urban growth.

residents – industrious people renowned for their capacity to flourish in the shadow of the skyscraper.

International trade has permeated every layer of Shanghai's rich history and left its mark on the city's urban form and diverse architectural composition. Its vibrant mix of colonial structures, Modernist piles, Art Deco motifs, eclectic styles and postmodern towers makes the city a treasure trove for both the idle wanderer and the discerning professional. Inscribed in the streets and buildings are the legacies of every major event that has taken place within the city's boundaries. The first Opium War (1840–3) and Britain's subsequent government-sponsored drug smuggling that led to Shanghai's foundation (1843) and the West's rape of China shaped the opulent facades along Shanghai's famous Bund and downtown. China's bitter domestic conflicts (from the 1850s) and myriad refugees forged the street plan of the former British Settlement. The narrow-mindedness and greed of early settlers and of subsequent administrations were responsible for Shanghai's tortuous road network and its infamously paltry pavements. The rise of Chinese republicanism in the early 20th century can be read in the absence of the ancient city wall, whose silhouette appears as an annular scar in an otherwise linear street pattern. The Russian revolutions are manifested in apartment buildings and in the domes of former Orthodox churches. Japanese aggression and the origins of the Second World War emerge through the underprivileged suburbs that witnessed the world's first urban aerial bombing campaign. Nazi persecution is unveiled in former ghettos that became the world's last safe refuge for European Jews. The tragedy of the Cultural Revolution and China's global isolation appear in faded Maoist slogans, tired facades and ill-considered urban programmes.

It is remarkable enough that so many disparate international events swept over Shanghai, but that these historical events are recorded in the surviving buildings and streets after decades of isolation is almost miraculous. However, the longevity of Shanghai's hibernation is matched only by the velocity of its recent resurgence. The most comprehensive and revolutionary urban metamorphosis in history has transformed the city's skyline with its 4,000 high-rise buildings sprouting from Shanghai's alluvial terrain since the mid-1980s. The scale of the city's regeneration is characterised by the duel between the past and the future that

so blatantly evades the present, a duel in which developers and preservationists have become the new protagonists in a conflict over Shanghai's future – not for political or economic gain, but for the continuity of its famously rich urban texture.

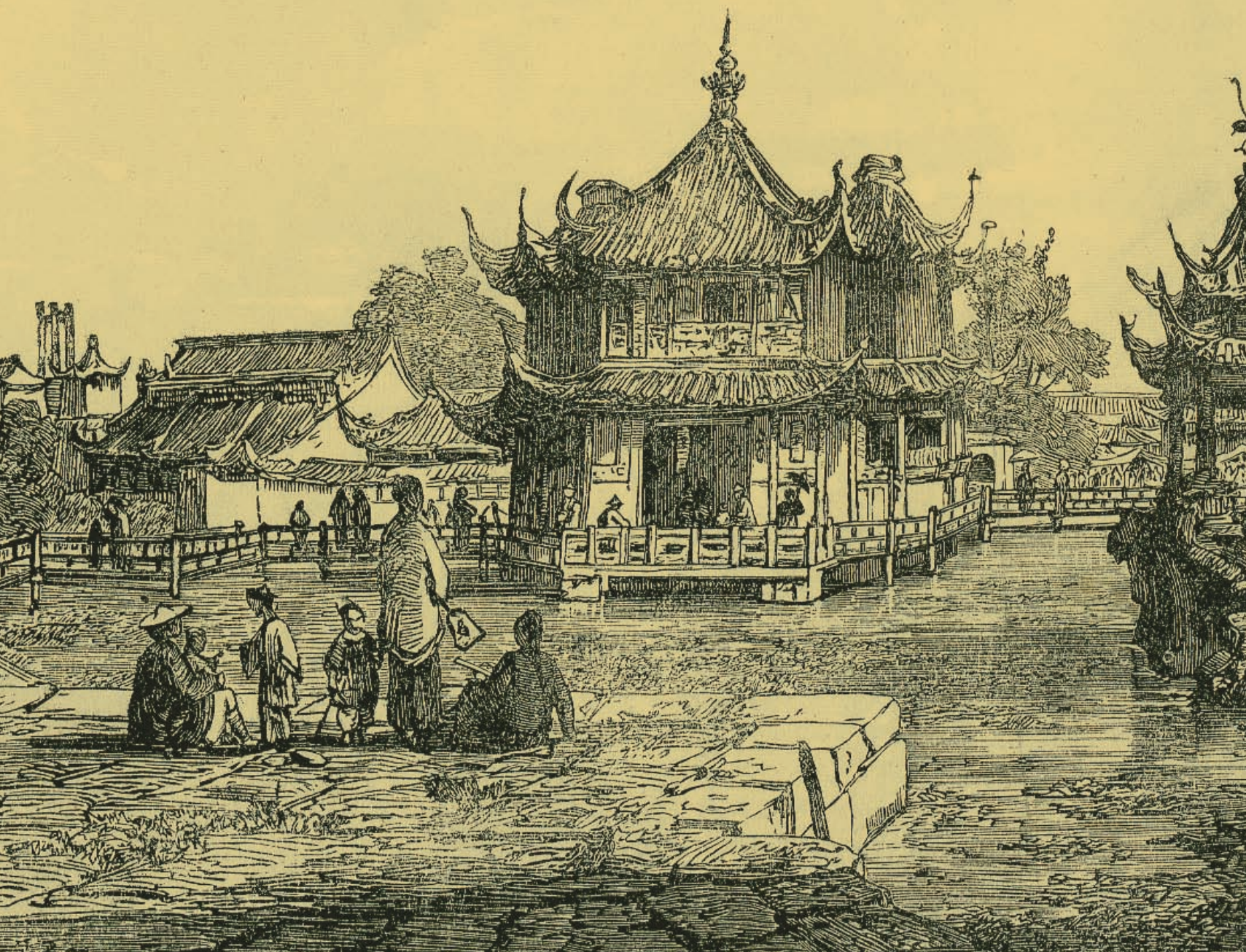
Shanghai offers a unique case study in which many contemporary urban problems are conspicuous by their exaggeration and through which much can be learned. This book sets out to contextualise contemporary Shanghai by illustrating its history through its architecture and urban landscape. By exploring the city's remarkable past, from its ancient origins, through foreign dominance, to China's resurgence, one gains a startlingly clear picture of Shanghai's unique physical character. A close examination of Shanghai's architecture and urbanism reveals, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world, all the facets of human nature, from its altruistic best to its debauched worst, helps make sense of the overwhelming changes taking place in modern China and sheds light on an enigmatic future.

While most cities develop almost imperceptibly as their fortunes ebb and flow with time, where fresh ideas inject vitality, where the recent past is condemned and where the old is deified or destroyed, Shanghai flouts these perceived norms and defies established principles of urban development and preservation. The eyes of the world are on Shanghai's illustrious plans for the 21st century and beyond, yet few have stopped to ponder the origin of this phenomenal transformation or questioned its price. Behind Shanghai's headline-grabbing superlatives, history is not in the making, but being repeated.



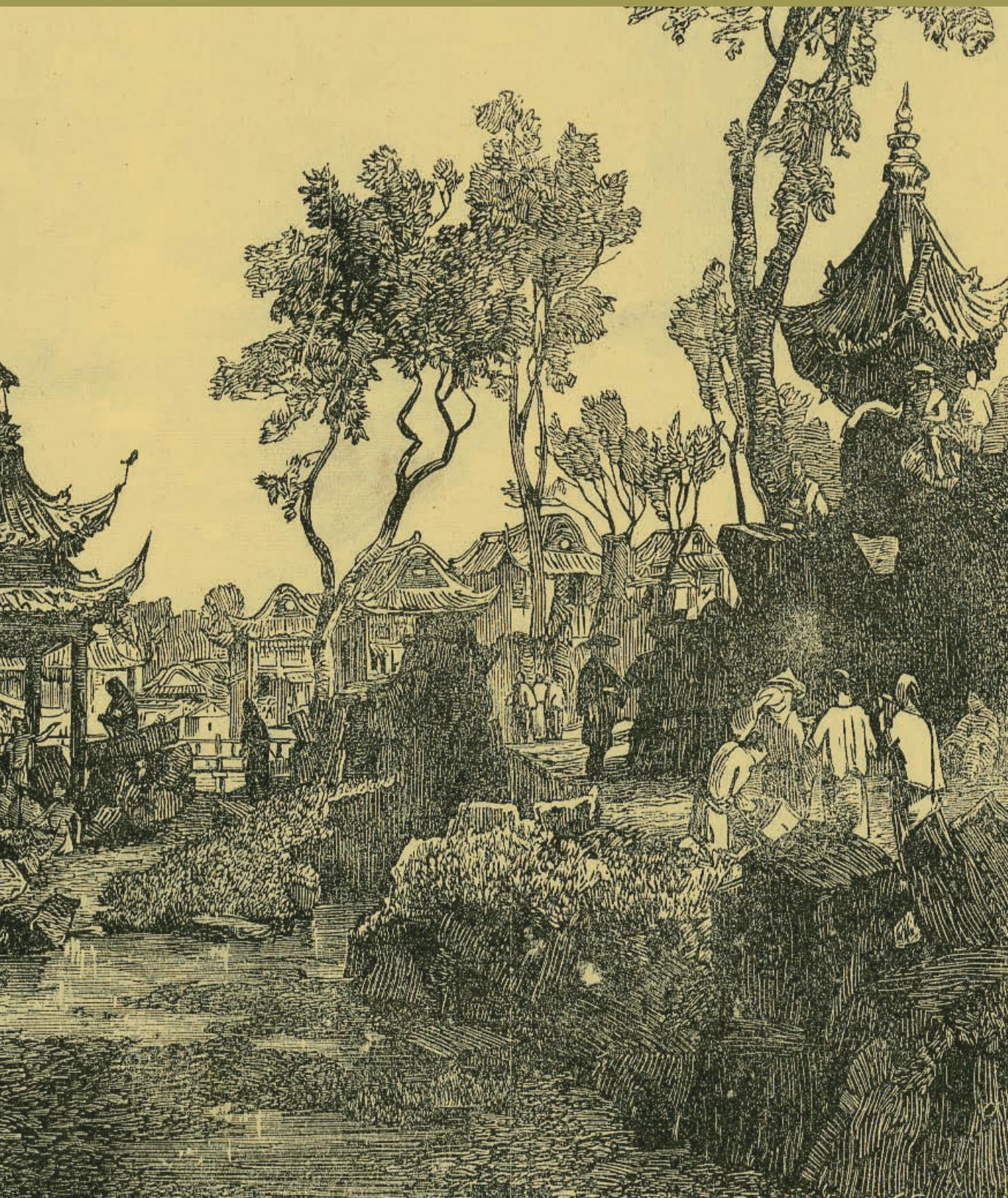
**Left** The Jin Mao tower seen through Shanghai's rapidly changing urban landscape







# THE ORIGINS OF SHANGHAI



## CHAPTER ONE



# The Origins of Shanghai

[The native city] is traversed by lanes or streets which might better be termed fetid tunnels, seething with filth and teeming with miserable and vicious looking humanity. Odours are suffocating and the eyes can find nothing attractive or beautiful to rest upon: squalor, indigence, misery, slush, stench, depravity, dilapidation, and decay prevail everywhere. One almost fears to enter a place of so many repugnant scenes.

J Ricalton, *China through the Stereoscope*, 1901, p 77

Previous pages The Yuyuan gardens and teahouse

The story of Shanghai and its environs, contrary to many early settler accounts, does not start with a desolate swamp formed by the Yangtze's eternal effluent, or with a nondescript fishing village struggling to survive on China's coast. It begins with a settlement formed many hundreds of years ago that evolved into an illustrious merchant community and a unique Chinese city. Early foreign descriptions rarely allude to this; instead, they disparage the nature of the land and people they encountered, so exalting their own contribution. The 'waste land without houses',<sup>1</sup> from which foreigners built the settlements that became the 'stronghold of civilisation in the Far East',<sup>2</sup> was actually a clearly defined area, highly regarded by local Chinese and subject to strict land ownership for centuries. The foreigner did not transform a 'sedgy swamp'<sup>3</sup> into a magnificent city through self-ordained civilising brilliance, but invaded the gateway to China and exploited a well-established mercantile community by exposing it to international trade. The consequent growth of a settlement from this fusion of two disparate trading groups in such a prime location was inevitable.

## Location and meaning

Shanghai stands 15 miles south of the mouth of the Yangtze River – the backbone of China that divides the country almost equally and has an estimated 400 million people living in its catchment. The former walled city sat close to the intersection of two important waterways, the Huangpu River and the Woosung River, which provide access to the sea and the hinterland respectively. Few cities on earth are so advantageously located for the pursuit of domestic and international trade.

The topography of the surrounding area is central to Shanghai's eminence. The traditionally affluent neighbouring provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang include the wealthy Yangtze Triangle, an area containing the prosperous silk and tea region of the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain.<sup>4</sup> This area alone has made China famous throughout the world for those two primary exports, and at the start of the 21st century, with 6 per cent of China's population, accounts for 18 per cent of the country's production. Despite appalling if sporadic incidence of flooding and famine that have caused untold misery, over the centuries the normally auspicious conditions have created a region that, characterised by abundant agricultural activity, has been described as the Garden of China.

Many diverse accounts attest to the etymology of *Shanghai*. In Chinese, 'Shanghai' is made up of two characters, *Shang* and *Hai*, the former meaning 'up', 'upper', or 'above', and the latter meaning 'sea'. The name *Shanghai* therefore has various possible interpretations. Two straightforward suggestions are derived from the city being 'up from the sea' or 'above the sea'. Another possibility arises from the location relative to an area called *Xia Hai Pu*, *Xia* being the opposite to *Shang* and *Pu* meaning 'by the water', often referring to a river bank. Historical records suggest that two of the Woosung River's tributaries were called *Shang Hai Pu*, or 'Upper Sea', and *Xia Hai Pu*, or 'Lower Sea'. *Shang Hai Pu* once flowed into the area of Pudong, across the Huangpu from Shanghai, while on the opposite bank *Xia Hai Pu* flowed into what later became Shanghai's northern suburb of Hongkou. It is believed that the ruins of the temple of *Xia Hai* existed up until the mid-20th century.

Shanghai is also referred to as *Hu* and *Shen*. *Hu* originates from a 4th-century settlement called *Hu Tu Lei*, located approximately one mile north of the old city of Shanghai. The *Hu* derives from a method of tidal fishing with nets strung on bamboo poles that was very common on the waterways around the region. *Tu* refers to a single stream leading to the sea, while *Lei* refers to a mound, in this case a fortification. The name *Shen* derives from the title, *Chuen Shen*, given to Huang



Right Administrative map of the Shanghai region in the 1700s

Xie, who was awarded this land during the reign of the Kingdom of Chu in the 4th century BC.

### The Shanghai region

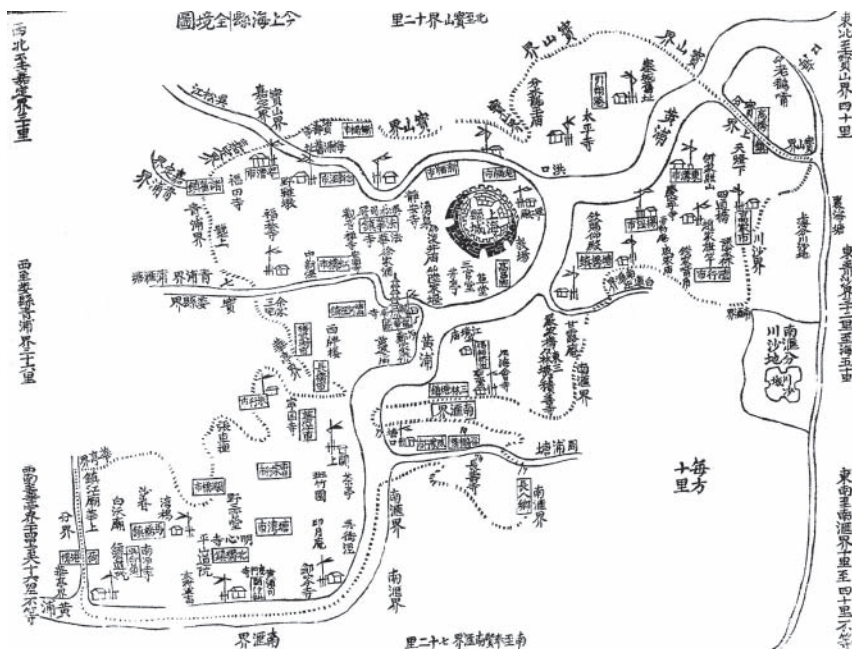
The earliest records of the region around Shanghai date from the era of Chinese history called 'Spring and Autumn' (Chun Qiu) between 770 BC and 476 BC which was named after one of the five Confucian Classics written in this period. Together with the 'Warring States' period, this disunited and turbulent time was considered the golden age of Chinese philosophy, which also saw the establishment of the doctrines of Taoism. The Shanghai region was then a dominion of the Wu Kingdom, whose people frequently fought with their neighbours, the Yue Kingdom. To afford protection to his kingdom, the king of Wu built a city in his own name, He Lu, between 514 BC and 494 BC on the banks of the Woosong River a few miles from present-day Shanghai.

The boundaries of the Yue and the Wu Kingdoms varied constantly during the Warring States, or Zhan Guo, period of Chinese history (between 475 BC and 221 BC), which ended when China was united under the famous Emperor Qin Shi Huang, who built much of the Great Wall and the Terracotta Army. In the turmoil characterising this period, the administration of the Shanghai region shifted from Wu to Yue, then in 355 BC to the Chu Kingdom, under whose rule the region became known as Lou from 207 BC.

Later, in the epoch known as 'Three Kingdoms' (AD 220–80), the first phase of an era of bitter disunity in China that lasted until the 7th century AD and is often compared to Europe's Dark Ages, the primary settlement in the Shanghai region was a town called Qin Long, or 'Blue Dragon'. This city acquired its name when Sun Quan, the emperor of one of the Three Kingdoms, built a warship on the banks of the Woosung and called the ship Qin Long. Qin Long, 25 miles up the Woosung from present-day Shanghai, was used by the emperor as a military port and the site of the customs office, serving as the region's gateway for goods into and out of the interior.

During the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317–420), a settlement called Hu Tu Lei was established a few miles east of Qin Long on the bank of the Woosung River, close to the former settlement of He Lu. Hu Tu Lei comprised two separate fortifications near the site of the British Consulate in the British Settlement which was formed over one and a half thousand years later. These sites, being so close to the future foreign settlements in Shanghai, assume an important role in the ancient history of Shanghai. In the 1850s it was suggested that the new foreign settlement in Shanghai should be called Lu Zi Cheng ('City of Reeds'), after an ancient settlement constructed close to the forts of Hu Tu Lei, but the name was not adopted.

The regional administration around Shanghai altered considerably from the 6th century. In AD 507, the region of Lou was renamed Xin Yi, which itself was subdivided in AD 535. Present-day Shanghai was located in the southern portion



Above Regional map of Shanghai before foreign settlement

of this subdivision, named Kun Shan, part of which was absorbed in AD 751 into a new administration called Hua Ting. Shanghai evolved in the region of Hua Ting, and became administratively independent by the end of the Song Dynasty (AD 960–1279) between AD 1265 and 1267.

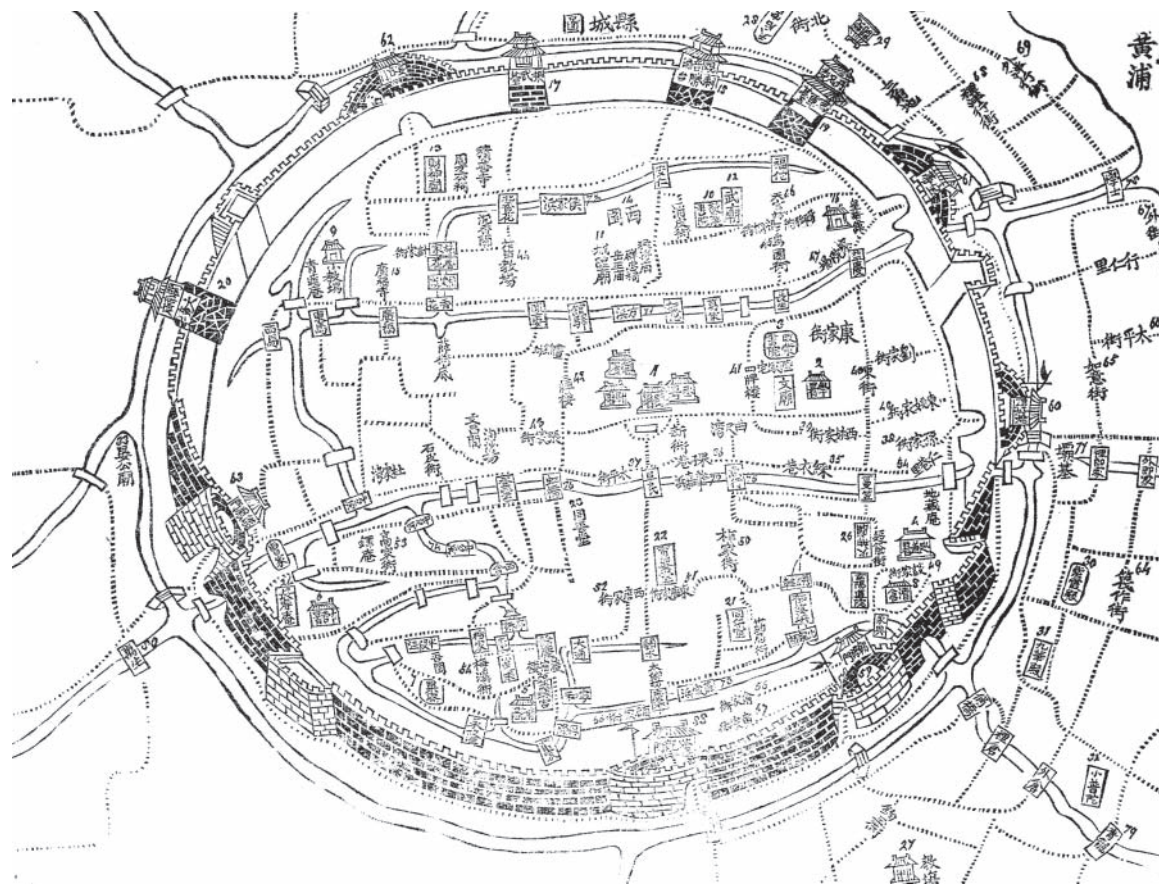
The first recorded mention of the name 'Shanghai' remains ambiguous. There is a trend for later records to quote earlier dates, while older records quote later ones. Records from the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368–1644) suggest that Shanghai was formed in the late Song Dynasty (AD 1127–1279), but records from the later Qing Dynasty (AD 1644–1911) claim Shanghai was established in the early Song Dynasty (AD 960–1127).<sup>5</sup> Foreign interpretations veer towards the date AD 1074, perhaps because the first mention of this in an English language publication appears in AD 1850,<sup>6</sup> which itself is likely to have derived from a Chinese record of AD 1814.

Despite the numerous discrepancies, most authorities concur that Shanghai was founded in the Song Dynasty, but more important is its independence from the region of Hua Ting. Shanghai's illustrious recent history began in AD 1291,<sup>7</sup> when it became a 'Xian' or district administration, making it an important centre administratively, culturally and commercially. Its eminence as a port was boosted by the relocation of the local customs office to Shanghai from Qin Long, which had silted up and become unnavigable for large ships.

### The city of Shanghai

After becoming a Xian, Shanghai's institutions were augmented significantly in keeping with its new status. Four years after

**Right** The walled city showing the waterways, water gates and streets



its administrative promotion, Shanghai established official centres of learning, known as Xian Xue, after which many other schools were built in Shanghai. These state schools taught Confucianism based on a method of 'question and debate', a system that relied on rhetorical teaching as opposed to deductive reasoning and instruction.

Shanghai is said once to have been a 'secluded place', whose inhabitants were 'rude and simple'<sup>8</sup> and travelled no further than the neighbouring provinces, but by the time it had become a Xian it was 'a large town, celebrated for its press of business, and not for its sea port alone'.<sup>9</sup> Towards the end of the 15th century, Shanghai is said to have become culturally rich, with poets, musicians and eminent scholars and politicians making it a place of renown.

The ascendancy of Shanghai as a significant Chinese trading and cultural centre soon attracted unwelcome attention internationally. Japanese forces and complicit Chinese pirates, who for centuries had plagued the coast of China, attacked the city with increasing frequency. Between April and June 1553,<sup>10</sup> the Japanese launched five assaults on the region, looting, sacking villages and towns and raping and killing the hapless residents. Having discovered the source of rich

pickings, these marauding troops returned in 300 ships and routed Shanghai, which 'was set on fire and burnt to the ground'.<sup>11</sup> In response to these series of massacres, the residents of Shanghai contributed generously to the construction of a city wall to prevent further attacks.<sup>12</sup>

The city wall was the largest physical change to affect Shanghai until foreigners arrived in the mid-19th century. The annular wall was 2.5 miles in circumference, 24 feet high and surrounded by a 30 foot ditch. Along it four arrow towers were constructed with 20 smaller bastions and 3,600 embrasures to augment the defence. Six gates provided for ingress and egress: Chaozong (Big East Gate), Baodai (Small East Gate), Kualong (Big South Gate), Chaoyang (Small South Gate), Yifeng (West Gate), and Yanghai (North Gate). When peace was restored, the arrow towers were converted into temples, and in 1607 the wall was raised by five feet.

Later, four water gates were built adjoining four of the six land gates. These four water gates provided access into and out of the city for the city's three largest canals, only one of which, Zhao Jia Bang, traversed the city from the Huangpu on the east side and penetrated the west wall. The four gates were: Baodai water gate across the Fang Bang, Chaozong water gate

**Opposite** The walled city of Shanghai in the early 19th century, showing the importance of surrounding waterways, including the Huangpu (left) and the Woosong River (bottom). Notable landmarks include Sinza Bridge and the Lunghua Pagoda





北 汎 營 林 板

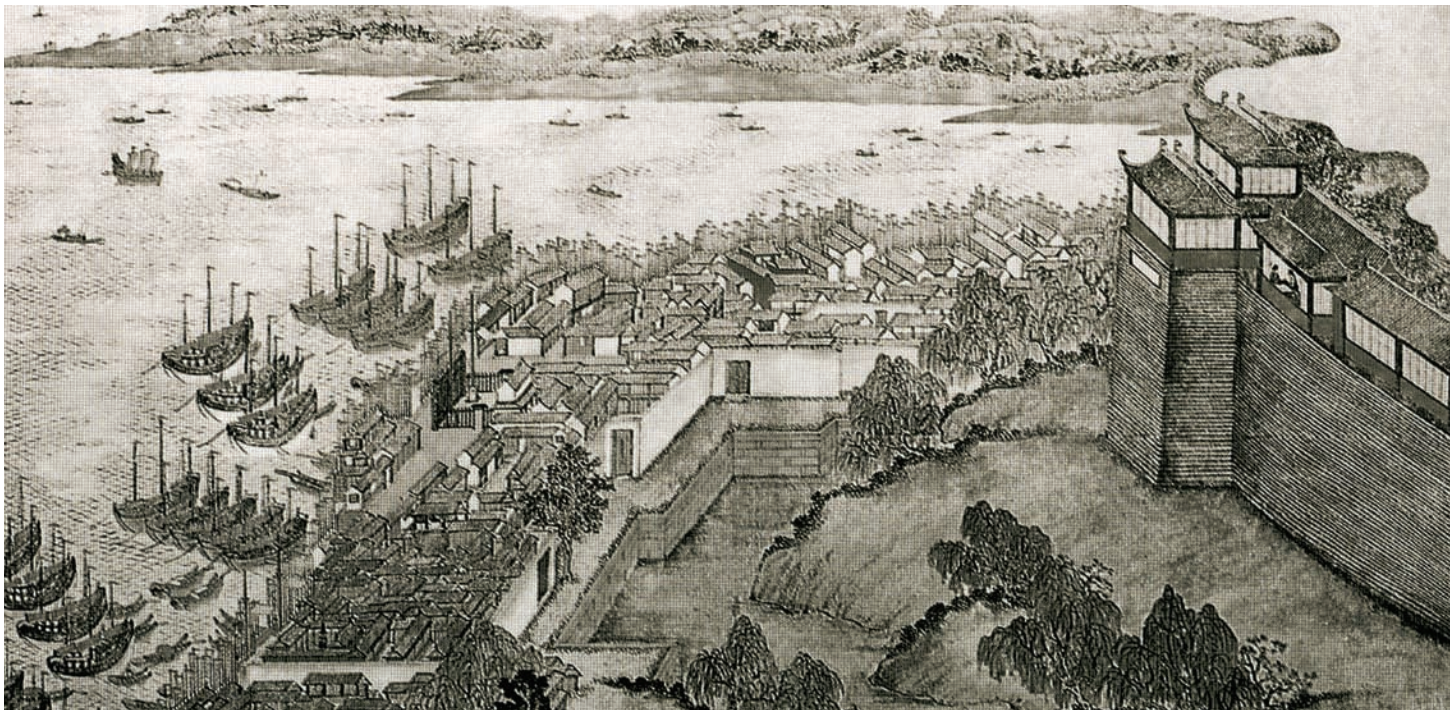
南 汎 營 淮  
川 沙 營 汎 地

城 府 江 松



地 汎 營 松 吳





**Above** The eastern edge of the city wall, with the bustling merchant neighbourhood on the banks of the busy Huangpu River

across East Zhaojia Bang, Yifeng water gate across West Zhaojia Bang, and Chaoyang water gate across Xiujia Bang, which, in 1598, was the last of the water gates to be added. These waterways, connected to the moat and the Huangpu, served as the lifeblood of the city, providing defence, a means of transportation, waste disposal and drinking water.

Within the city, there were five major creeks with many smaller tributaries. The footpaths and roads tended to follow the line of these waterways, with over a hundred bridges crossing them throughout the city. The city's tidal waterways caused several problems. If a fire broke out during low tide and the creeks were dry, it could easily develop into a

conflagration; conversely, heavy winter rains combined with high tides could flood the city. On one occasion in the Qing Dynasty the city drowned under 5 feet of water and boats were seen 'travelling in the fields'.<sup>13</sup> The tide also brought silt and sand, blocking the creeks and increasing salinity in the water table. By the early 20th century, the condition had deteriorated so much that the creeks were filled in or covered over and replaced by roads.

During the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368–1644), there were five main streets in Shanghai, crossing the city from east to west and north to south. Ten street names are recorded, echoing the names of prominent residents of the time. Much later, in the early 19th century, the street layout had become considerably more dense. From 1805, 63 streets are recorded, 27 of which are named after important families, a concrete reflection of the city's feudal structure. The centre of the city was called Xian Shu (the Office of Xian) (H6), and was situated west of the existing City God Temple (Cheng Huang Miao). The significance of the Xian Shu's location at the core of the city was further emphasised by the arrangement and proliferation of public, religious and academic institutions around this core and reflected in the surrounding street names such as 'Left of Xian Street' and 'Behind Xian Street'.

Street names traditionally played an important role in Shanghai, often denoting some landmark area such as a religious site, place of historical interest or important personage. Many street names also denoted waterways, creeks and bridges which they followed or crossed, or indicated the



**Right** A teahouse and wood merchants in Shanghai's vibrant riverside suburbs



trades and types of activity that predominated in a particular street. Commercial areas were arranged according to specific activities so that similar trades or produce could be found along one street. This organisation significantly influenced Shanghai's character and was evidenced through many of its street names, such as Fish Street and Fruit Street, some of which still exist, though most have become extinct with the advent of modern town planning.

After 1681, when during the Qing Dynasty the threat from pirates and other enemies was considered passed, the ban on using the sea for transportation and commerce was lifted and some of Shanghai's most important streets developed along the river bank outside the city wall, where commercial activities flourished. The area of land between the Huangpu and the southeast portion of the city wall soon became a centre of trade, where the Chinese customs duties office, Jiang Hai Guan, was built and a prestigious suburb grew up containing eleven main streets, five running north to south and six running east to west.

The street nearest the Huangpu had many wharfs and jetties but was often submerged or flooded during heavy rains or high tides. This street was called Wai Ma Lu (Outside Road), the 'Ma Lu' portion literally meaning 'Horse Road', which was always used to denote a road in Chinese. Foreigners in

Shanghai commonly referred to this term as 'Maloo'. To combat the recurring problem caused by flooding, the construction of larger public and commercial wharfs connected to the mainland above the high-water mark improved the area, which in its prime boasted over 20 wharfs and the only vehicle ferry to Pudong, on the opposite bank of the Huangpu. Parallel to Wai Ma Lu was Li Ma Lu (Inside Road), now connected to the Bund via South Zhongshan Road. The third and fourth streets were notable for selling all manner of foodstuffs and served the important Bean Market Street near the Big East Gate, around which wholesale businesses were concentrated, particularly in staples such as rice, flour, wheat and oil. Further to the south, near the suburb of Dong Jia Du (often referred to by foreigners as Tunkadoo), bamboo and wood for the construction industry were among the primary imports. The fifth street, today Zhong Hua Lu, was built when the city wall was destroyed in 1913–14.

North of this riverside suburb was a smaller suburb containing one of the most important streets in Shanghai from the 18th century – Yang Hang Jie (Foreign Hong Street, now called Yangshuo Road). Yang Hang Jie, over 300 metres long, contained many 'hongs' (warehouses) belonging to merchants who bought and sold foreign goods. Spanish silver from Canton and Fujian was the standard currency. This

**Below** The 'forest of masts' on the Huangpu in the mid-19th century





**Right** The huiguan of the Commercial Boat Association



area outside Little East Gate was the most prosperous in Shanghai during the Qing Dynasty, dealing in imported goods such as sandalwood, turtle shell, birds' nests, and export goods such as cloth, pottery, silk, tobacco and dried fruit. It spawned many restaurants and shops and attracted wealthy merchants from all over China, especially from Canton and Fujian provinces.

These merchants established guilds called *huiguan* or *gongsuo* based on their region or trade. *Huiguan* supported resident communities and their families, protecting the rights of members and providing medical and charitable services, religious temples, education and sometimes guesthouses or cemeteries. Those *huiguan* that served professional interests sought to resolve trade disputes and promoted the vocation of their members. Shanghai was both renowned and unique for its large variety of *huiguan*, often being described as the original expression of multiculturalism in China, preceding international multiculturalism in Shanghai by over a century.

Architecturally *huiguan* were often very elaborate,

reflecting the craftsmanship and religious and vernacular styles of the region they represented. Their spatial arrangement varied depending on the size and influence of the community. The smaller ones comprised an office, a shrine and perhaps a guesthouse, whereas the larger ones might also include stages for theatrical performances, schools, teahouses, hospitals and even a cemetery. Their architectural style changed throughout the 19th century particularly in response to Western influence. Before the Opium Wars they tended to be larger and more elaborate, but after the arrival of foreigners in Shanghai they became smaller and less sophisticated. By the end of the 19th century, Western architectural motifs were used, representing a fusion of Eastern and Western styles and depictions. The Wood Merchants' *Huiguan* was decorated with woodcarvings depicting foreigners walking their dogs and ladies riding rickshaws. Shanghai once had over 30 *huiguan* representing different communities and over 100 representing different trades, including pig slaughtering, hat manufacturing, wine making and shipping.