Zhang Yuan (1885-1919): Constructing a Public Garden in Cosmopolitan Shanghai

A thesis presented to
the faculty of
the College of Fine Arts of Ohio University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts

Jinyi Liu
August 2017
© 2017 Jinyi Liu. All Rights Reserved.
This thesis titled
Zhang Yuan (1885-1919): Constructing a Public Garden in Cosmopolitan Shanghai

by

JINYI LIU

has been approved for
the School of Art + Design
and the College of Fine Arts by

Marion S. Lee
Associate Professor of Art

Elizabeth Sayrs
Interim Dean, College of Fine Arts
ABSTRACT

LIU, JINYI, M.A., August 2017, Art History

Zhang Yuan (1885-1919): Constructing a Public Garden in Cosmopolitan Shanghai

Director of Thesis: Marion S. Lee

This thesis studies Zhang Yuan 张园 (Zhang Family Garden), a public garden in semi-colonial Shanghai founded by Wuxi merchant Zhang Shuhe 张叔和 (1850-1919). Opened in 1885 and closed in 1919, Zhang Yuan, along with other Chinese public gardens, was one the most popular venues for the public to experience the newly imported Western-style practices and ideas in urban Shanghai. However, scholarship on the urban history of Shanghai overlooks this critical field and focuses instead on Western-style schools, companies, and print industry. I propose that commercialized entertainment gardens, such as Zhang Yuan, better illustrate the negotiation between the established and the imported which marked the permeation of changes in late 19th and early 20th century Shanghai. In addition, this thesis approaches Zhang Yuan as a fluidly constructed social space to reveal the interconnections between changes in various integrated social areas. I frame the garden within the geopolitical transformation of semi-colonial Shanghai, map its architectural design in relationship to the developing built environment, and understand it through the ever-changing leisure pursuits. As a garden evolving with the urban culture of the city, Zhang Yuan illustrates the disappearing boundary between participating in the newly imported entertainments and advocating for sociopolitical reform. Such an interchangeability between popular culture and political discourse underlined the fluidity of changes in late Qing and early Republican Shanghai.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Marion Lee, for her continuous guidance throughout this project and her tireless dedication to explore my potential in conducting research. Her compassion, generosity, and immense knowledge constantly inspire me. I would also like to thank my committee members Dr. Joshua Hill, Dr. Brian Collins, and Dr. Samuel Dodd for their courses, which shaped my interest in history, space, and architecture, and for their valuable comments. Additionally, I thank Dr. Yan He and Nancy Story from Alden Library who provided me with ready support about research materials as well as Kathy Devecka and Yi-ting Wang from the Graduate Writing Center who helped me improve my writing skills.

I am indebted to the “College of Fine Arts Dean’s Graduate Award of Merit” for providing me with funds to carry out the field and archival research in Shanghai during the summer of 2016. I thank Zang Jianmin, Wang Hong, and Huang Guorong from Shanghai Library for lending me rare unpublished maps of semi-colonial Shanghai. I also acknowledge Yang Jiguang and Liu Hongye from Jing’an District Cultural Heritage and Historical Records Institution in Shanghai for generously sending me books on primary materials about Zhang Yuan. Lastly, I extend sincere appreciation to my parents and, especially, my husband who constantly encouraged and supported me throughout this journey.
A NOTE ON TRANSLATION

All translations in this paper are done by the author, unless otherwise noted.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... 3  
Acknowledgements ......................................................................................................... 4  
A Note on Translation ................................................................................................... 5  
List of Figures ................................................................................................................ 8  
Introduction .................................................................................................................. 10  
Chapter 1: Building Zhang Yuan in the International Settlement .................................. 20  
  A Brief History of the Foreign Settlements ............................................................... 20  
    About Urban Construction ..................................................................................... 22  
    About Expanding Territories .............................................................................. 25  
    Boulevards, Promenades, and Courtesans .......................................................... 26  
    “Testing Electric Lights on the Double Ninth Festival” ......................................... 30  
Chapter 2: Acadia Hall and the Expansion of Zhang Yuan ........................................... 35  
  The Construction of Acadia Hall .............................................................................. 36  
    “An Up-to-Date Tea-House” ............................................................................... 36  
    “The Architecture of Spectacle” ....................................................................... 40  
    Courtesans, Acadia Hall, and Mass Media ......................................................... 42  
  A Vibrant Garden: Landscape of Zhang Yuan after Expansion ............................... 44  
    Expansions and the Open Landscape .................................................................. 45  
    A Vibrant Space and Popular Recreational Sports ............................................. 49  
Chapter 3: Zhang Yuan: Fashioning the Leisure Pursuits ............................................ 53  
  Some Early Activities in Zhang Yuan since 1885 .................................................... 54  
    Fireworks Displays ............................................................................................. 54  
    Photographic Studios ......................................................................................... 55  
    Flower Expositions and Flower Appreciations ................................................... 57  
  A Theme Park: Leisure Activities in Zhang Yuan after the 1890s Expansions ........ 59  
    The 1907 “International Fair and Fête:” A Charity Fair on a “Global” Scale ....... 63  
    Zhang Yuan: A Most Suitable Site ..................................................................... 65  
    A Comparison with Other Large-scale Social Events in Shanghai ..................... 67  
    “Merchant Bureaucrats” and Organization of the Local Events ......................... 69  
Chapter 4: Reform in and out of Zhang Yuan ............................................................... 72
Reform in Different Aspects of City Life as Seen in Zhang Yuan .................. 75
Catching up with Global Trends: The “International Fair and Fête” .............. 75
Reforming the Traditions: “Civilized Weddings” in Acadia Hall .................... 78
Participating in Public Events: Women Seen in Zhang Yuan ...................... 80
A Public Space: Political Demonstration and Public Meetings in Zhang Yuan .. 83
Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 88
References ........................................................................................................ 93
Glossary ........................................................................................................... 140
Appendix: News Reports on Zhang Yuan ...................................................... 141
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A map indicating Jin’an Temple Road in the International Settlement in Shanghai, 1860</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A reconstructed map showing locations of five treaty ports in semi-colonial China</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A map of the walled city and the foreign settlements in Shanghai, 1885</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A reconstructed map indicating the expansion of the foreign settlements in Shanghai</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Promenading on Jing’an Temple Road, 1880s</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Shanghai Race Club, C. E. Darwent, <em>Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City</em>, 1903</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shanghai Country club, C. E. Darwent, <em>Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City</em>, 1903</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Social phenomena of New Year in Shanghai: showing off during a promenade, <em>Tuhua ribao</em>, 1909</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>A reconstructed sight-seeing tour map in late Qing Shanghai</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Acadia Hall in Zhang Yuan, C. E. Darwent, <em>Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City</em>, 1903</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Bund area in the 1890s Shanghai, Photographer unknown, 1890s</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Bund area in the 1940s Shanghai, Photographer unknown, 1940s</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Phenomena in Shanghai theaters: filling the teacup and trying some new tea, <em>Tuhua ribao</em>, 1909</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>A map of Shanghai with the images of Zhang Yuan, 1890s -1910s</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>A postcard of Zhang Yuan, Date unknown</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>The outline of Zhang Yuan as seen on a map, 1910s</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Taking photographs in front of the main gate of Zhang Yuan, <em>Minhu ribao tuhua</em>, 1909</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>A reconstructed layout of Zhang Yuan, Jinyi Liu</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>A bird’s eye view of Zhang Yuan, Photographer unknown,1890s - 1910s</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>An elegant gathering for flying kites, <em>Feiyingge huabao</em>, 1893</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 21. Phenomena in Shanghai theaters: courtesans riding bicycling, *Tuhua ribao,* 1909................................................................. 120
Figure 22. A hundred attractions in Shanghai: fireworks displays in Zhang Yuan, *Tuhua xunbao,* 1909................................................................. 121
Figure 23. Architecture of Shanghai: Zhang Yuan, *Tuhua ribao,* 1909.............. 122
Figure 24. Two courtesans taking a photo on the bridge of a lotus pond in Zhang Yuan, Photographer unknown, 1880s-1910s.................................................. 123
Figure 25. Shanghai social phenomena: The happiness of courtesans taking photographs in Zhang Yuan, *Tuhua ribao,* 1909.................................................. 124
Figure 26. Having a big meal in First-class Taste Restaurant, *Haishang youxi tushuo,* 1898................................................................. 125
Figure 27. Playing billiards at Zhang Yuan, *Haishang youxi tushuo,* 1898 ........ 126
Figure 28. A mantis trying stopping a chariot (Roller coasters in Zhang Yuan), *Dianshizhai huabao,* 1903................................................................. 127
Figure 29. A postcard of the “Chutes” (water slide) in Zhang Yuan, Photographer unknown, 1903................................................................. 128
Figure 30. The decorated Zhang Yuan during the “International Fair and Fête,” Yaohua Photographic Studio, 1907................................................................. 129
Figure 31. The national stalls, Yaohua Photographic Studio, 1907........................... 130
Figure 32 A floor map of the “International Fair and Fête,” *Shibao,* 1907............... 131
Figure 33. Decorations of stalls, Yaohua Photographic Studio, 1907........................ 132
Figure 34. The concert on the open lawn in Zhang Yuan, Yaohua Photographic Studio, 1907................................................................. 133
Figure 35. Beer stalls, Yaohua Photographic Studio, 1909........................................... 134
Figure 36. Zhang Aimo getting married with Zhao Guocai in Zhang Yuan, Photographer unknown, 1910s................................................................. 135
Figure 37. A meeting for female education, *Dianshizhai huabao,* 1897............... 136
Figure 38. Women selling newspaper during an exposition, Photographer unknown, 1912................................................................. 137
Figure 39. Women selling flowers during an exposition, Photographer unknown, 1912. ................................................................. 138
Figure 40. The present-day Zhang Yuan, Jinyi Liu................................................. 139
INTRODUCTION

“Xi Yuan 西园 (West Garden) is the home of heavenly happiness for students; Xu Yuan 徐园 (Xu Family Garden) is the home of heavenly happiness for elites and intellectuals; Yu Yuan 愚园 (Fools’ Garden) and Zhang Yuan 张园 (Zhang Family Garden) are the home of heavenly happiness for courtesans. [These gardens provide venues for] weddings on one day and funerals on the other. They host welcoming parties on one day and farewell parties on the other. It is a pity that in the entirety of Shanghai, these gardens were the only suitable spaces.”

—Minli bao, December 27, 1910

In 1842, after the defeat of the Manchu-Qing dynasty (1644-1912) in the First Opium War against the British Empire, Shanghai was opened as a treaty port, as stipulated in the Treaty of Nanjing. In the following decades, Shanghai quickly rose as a metropolis. Newcomers from Britain, France, America, Japan, Spain, and Germany, formed the foreign settlements and brought Western-style practices and ideas to the increasingly diversified local society. At the same time, Shanghai became a base for leading national reform in areas such as modernized arsenal construction, trade and financial practices, and foreign language instruction. The city also emerged as one of the

---

1 “Shanghai zhi baimianguan 上海之百面观 [A hundred faces of Shanghai],” Minli bao 民立报 [The people’s stand], December 27, 1910.

2 Late Qing Shanghai was a metropolis in economic, political, and cultural arenas. Economically, Shanghai became one of the most significant sources of income for the Qing government. The annual tariff that Shanghai collected from international trading surged from 170,000 tael in 1844 to 1,820,000 tael in 1855, eventually exceeding that of Guangzhou (the only treaty port in China before the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842). Starting from the 1860s, people were drawn to the economic protentional of the city. Politically, Shanghai was also an influential center. In the late 1900s, many cities in south China were developing rapidly and were trying to maintain the economic stability of their areas. They organized self-governing mechanism (difang zizhi 地方自治) and tried to alienate themselves from the central Qing government in Beijing. Shanghai was one of these cities’ bases. How Shanghai could be understood as a metropolis culturally will be explained in the next paragraph. For the information on the economic growth of Shanghai, see Xiong Yuezhi and Yuan Xiemin, Wanqing zhengzhi 晚清政治 [Late Qing politics], vol. 3 in Shanghai tongshi 上海通史 [A general history of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 94-95.
critical centers advocating for social reforms and political revolutions. In late Qing Shanghai, negotiations between the established norms and the imported practices were constant, and such negotiations characterized the urban culture of Shanghai during this period.

The urban culture of Shanghai surfaced in myriad and interrelated societal sectors. Leo Lee describes Shanghai’s urban culture as manifested in the modernizing infrastructure, the architectural space fused with both Western and Chinese-style buildings, and a rising number of public sites for leisure. To Wen-hsin Yeh, Shanghai’s urban culture was experienced through the changing concept of time and lifestyle as a result of urbanites and Western-style companies adopting the new working schedule in an increasingly commercially-orientated city. The simultaneous rise of the print industry, as discussed by Laikwan Pang and Catherine Yeh, contributed another dimension to the urban transformation. This was a time when “the increasing mobility of capital,

---

3 For the discussion of Shanghai as a revolutionary center, see Marie-Claire Bergère, *Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity* (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 130.
4 Leo Lee’s book mainly discusses Shanghai’s urban culture from 1930 to 1945. However, Lee traces the beginning of the formation of Shanghai’s urban culture, or “Shanghai modern,” back to the late 19th century after the First Opium War when Western-material cultures were introduced. Leo Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 6-7.
6 While writing about the entertainment culture of Shanghai, Catherine Yeh pointed out the importance of journalists and the print industry in Shanghai—especially those in the foreign settlements—in forging the urban culture of Shanghai. See Catherine V. Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006). In the first part of Laikwan Pang’s book on visual modernity in Shanghai, she laid out the various print medias published in Shanghai and their importance in shaping the urban experience of Shanghai. See Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 34. For the discussion on print media and urban culture of Shanghai, also see Rudolf Wagner, “Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper Dianshizhai huabao” in *Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007), 105-173. Harold Khan also examined how one of the celebrated illustrated newspaper published in Shanghai—Dianshizhai huabao 点石斋画报 (Touchstone Illustrated Newspaper)—was an
commodity, and the population fueled and intensified each other.”

This thesis proposes that Chinese public gardens, such as Zhang Yuan 张园 (Zhang Family Garden), served as a crucial medium through which we can examine these dynamics that marked the urban culture of Shanghai during this transitional period.

Opened as a public garden in 1885 by the wealthy Wuxi merchant Zhang Shuhe 张叔和 (1850-1919), Zhang Yuan was one of the most famous gardens in Shanghai among local elites, intellectuals, merchants, courtesans, their customers, and compradors (Chinese merchants who helped foreigners conduct trade in China).

It was also known as “Weichun Yuan” 味莼园 (Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden) in Chinese and “Chang Su-ho’s Garden” in English. The garden was equipped with modern infrastructure and was celebrated for its hybrid-style landscape and architecture. Unlike other gardens in the same area, Zhang Yuan, after the early 1890s, did not charge visitors for admission. Instead, the main profit of the garden came from its various entertainments. Aside from already popularized activities in Shanghai like fireworks displays, photography, billiards,

e emerging form of popular culture in late Qing China, see Harold Khan, Excursions in Reading History: Three Studies (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1993), 73-100. However, it is not to say that there was no media before the late Qing period in Shanghai; it is the frequency and scale of the media industry in late Qing Shanghai that were of interest.

7 Pang, The Distorting Mirror, 34.

8 In terms of the fame of Zhang Yuan, contemporary newspapers, including Shenbao 申报 (Shanghai Daily), Tuhua ribao 图画日报 (Picture Daily), Xinwen bao 新闻报 (The Newspaper), and Dianshizhai Huabao 点石斋画报 (Touchstone Illustrated Newspaper), all recognize Zhang Yuan as one of the most popular gardens in late Qing Shanghai. This point will be explicated later in the chapters.

9 “Chun 菽” in “Weichun Yuan 味莼园” is a type of water-shield plant known, in Latin, as Brasenia Schreberi. The Chinese name of the garden—Weichun Yuan 味莼园 (Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden)—was named by Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827-1898), a reporter who was a friend of Zhang Shuhe. The taste of water-shield is very bland and eating this kind of food traditionally symbolizes a humble life. Yuan persuaded Zhang to renovate the garden and open it to the public after Zhang Shuhe wanted to sell the garden after Zhang’s mother passed away. For the original news report that mention the naming of the garden, see item 1 in Appendix, “Weichun Yuan ji 味莼园记 [On Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao 申报 [Shanghai daily], April 5, 1885, 4.
and Western-style banquets, Zhang Yuan also introduced and appropriated numerous “novel” Western-style games and events in the garden. This included circuses, roller coasters, and a variety of expositions. In the early 1900s, Zhang Yuan kept pace with the changing urban environment and became one of the few suitable public spaces for political gatherings calling for social reforms. Zhang Yuan was closed in 1919, and a residential complex was built on the original site of the garden.

In the past decade, scholarship on the urban history of Shanghai began paying increased attention to how changes within the city were carried out instead of focusing on the changes themselves. Focusing on only the changes runs the risk of assuming a changeless, timeless, and premodern Shanghai before the city was opened as a treaty port in the mid-19th century. In comparison, emphasis on the process of changing opens up discussions on the unstable and nuanced interrelations between the city, its people, their activities, and the production of the urban culture (as framed previously, see p. 11). Thus, this paper will use phrases such as “up-to-date” instead of “modern” to emphasize how Shanghai was continuously embracing transformations. While most of these studies focus on literature, visual materials, and modern institutions (such as Western-style libraries, schools, and publishing companies), I posit that Zhang Yuan as a commercialized

---

10 See Pang, The Distorting Mirror, 34.
11 Ibid.
12 For the discussion on late Qing literature and modernity, see David Wang, Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911 (California: Stanford University Press, 1997). For the discussion on literature and “Shanghai modern” in Republican Shanghai, see Lee, Shanghai Modern. Examples of the studies on publishing industry, public libraries, and educational institutions include Christopher A. Reed, Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937 (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004); Rudolf G. Wagner, ed. Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910 (New York: State University of New York Press, 2007); and Li Xiaoti, Qingmo de xiaceng shehui qimeng yundong: 1901-1911 清末的下层社会启蒙运动: 1901-1911
entertainment garden could offer an alternative—yet more comprehensive—perspective, especially when approached as a social space.\textsuperscript{13}

A social space, as Henri Lefebvre argued, is a production of a “multitude of intersections.”\textsuperscript{14} Social interactions on a physical level, depictions on a representational level, and cultural and political environment on an ideological level all contribute to the contingent process of space production.\textsuperscript{15} In the same vein, Jonathan Hay suggested that urban space in late Qing Shanghai was also fluidly constructed.\textsuperscript{16} Matrices of buildings in urban Shanghai were not “historically” or “geographically” fixed; they were mobilized by the diversity of people (both foreign and Chinese), the variety of activities, and the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[13] This perspective of understanding entertainment venues in relation to the popular culture of late Qing Shanghai was indebted to Catherine Yeh. Her book was built on the idea that “the rise of a new kind of commercially driven entertainment culture in the Shanghai Foreign Settlements during the late nineteenth century” was equally critical to understand the transformations of the city. See Yeh, \textit{Shanghai Love}, 4.
\item[15] By exploring the process of space production through a Marxist lens, Henri Lefebvre examines how the complex “social relations of production and reproduction” are involved in generating social space. Using this question as a starting point, he develops a conceptual triad for analyzing the process of the production of social space—“spatial practice,” “representations of space,” and “representational spaces.” This triad complicates the understanding of a place by analyzing it through social relations, in particular locations, in conceptualized ideas, and in images and symbols. Relations between the three elements in this triad are by no means stable. Lefebvre, \textit{The Production of Space}, 33.
\item[16] In his essay about the built environment of late Qing Shanghai, Jonathan Hay mapped out the fluidly constructed urban space of Shanghai by categorizing the Chinese/semi-Chinese style public buildings into three matrices. The first one is “the architecture of permanence.” These buildings, “physically located within” or “symbolically linked to” the walled city, constitute the “matrix of civic sites.” This network of buildings includes government institutions, academies, temples, shrines, historic gardens, and the city walls. The second category is “the architecture of displacement.” Built as a meeting place for various immigrants’ associations based on their hometown and trade (\textit{huiguan} 会馆 and \textit{gongsuo} 公所), this kind of buildings were constructed to give “expression to the sojourners’ experience of exile and memory of (also pride in) his or her native place.” The third one is the “architecture of spectacle” seen in Acadia Hall and other entertainment venues. Although Hay’s article focuses on only Chinese/semi-Chinese buildings, this characteristic of Shanghai’s built environment, as a fluidly constructed space, can be used to understand the city in general. See Jonathan Hay, “Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” 60-77, in \textit{Chinese Art: Modern Expressions}, ed. Maxwell Hearn and Judith Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
complexity of sentiments.\textsuperscript{17} It is the very instability and fluidity demonstrated in the analysis of social space that coincides with my approach to Zhang Yuan.

Among the very few number of studies (mostly within Chinese) on Chinese public gardens in late Qing Shanghai, Zhang Yuan has been recognized both as a space that generated cultural capital\textsuperscript{18} and as a predecessor of the public space in modern Shanghai.\textsuperscript{19} Nevertheless, no scholar has critically examined the process of how Zhang Yuan formed and evolved into an open and encompassing social space, which I believe is the main purpose of these claims. Therefore, this thesis aims to explore how Zhang Yuan both articulates and helps to make visible the permeation of changes and reforms in late Qing and early Republican Shanghai (from the 1880s to the 1910s). In order to do so, I will examine how Zhang Yuan, as a social space, was fluidly shaped along with the urban transformations in civic infrastructure, built environment, leisure pursuits, and political discourse. Although it is true that Chinese merchants who opened gardens to the public contributed to the formation of these gardens by using their financial resource and social connections, this thesis avoids constructing the narrative of Zhang Yuan around the

\textsuperscript{17} Hay, “Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” 60-77.


\textsuperscript{19} Xiong Yuezhi, a historian specialized in late Qing Shanghai history, is among the first to recognize the social space provided by those gardens, including Zhang Yuan. See Xiong Yuezhi, “Wanqing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de tuozhan 晚清上海私园开放与公共空间的拓展 [The opening of private gardens and the expansion of public space in late Qing Shanghai],” Xueshu yuekan 学术月刊 [Academic periodical], no.8 (1998), 73. Zhang Wei and Yan Jieqiong, two researchers in the Shanghai Library, comprised two books dedicated to the archival materials about Zhang Yuan, recognizing the garden as a social space. One focuses on the written primary sources, see Zhang Wei and Yan Jieqiong, Zhang Yuan: qingmo mingchu Shanghai de shehui shalong 张园—清末民初上海的文化沙龙 [Zhang Family Garden: social salon in late Qing Shanghai] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubenshe, 2012). The other one focuses on the visual materials of Zhang Yuan, see Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, Fenghua Zhang Yuan 风华张园 [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013).
biography of the owner of the garden Zhang Shuhe. The focus instead is on how Zhang Yuan as a social space was formed by diverse and interrelated social factors.

In contrast to the overlooked Chinese public gardens, the Shanghai Bund is constantly referred to as the architectural symbol of Shanghai’s modernity in the early 20th century. However, this authoritative view oversimplifies the complexity of modern Shanghai. It focuses only on the Westernizing aspect of Shanghai and ignores the nuanced interaction between Western and Chinese, the city and its people, activities and “production of social space.” Thus, this thesis also argues that the transformation of Shanghai should be located in places like Zhang Yuan as well. Rather than analyzing sites (streets, gardens, landscapes, buildings, or districts) as only static physical locations, we should approach them as unstable social spaces, contingent to the ongoing changes of the city.

My investigation begins in Chapter 1 with framing Zhang Yuan in its location—the west district of the International Settlement in Shanghai. Foreign settlements were established in Shanghai around the 1840s. These areas gradually formed their own municipal governments and became a relatively independent “enclave to urbanity” free from intervention of the local Qing government. Inside the settlements, new civic infrastructure such as broad roads, gas lights, electricity, and telephone was always introduced first. Along with these introductions, new urban practices such as promenades

---

20 One example is Edward Denison and Guang Yu Ren, *Building Shanghai: The Story of China’s Gateway* (Chichester, England; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Academy, 2006), 8. He used two photographs of the Bund, one recorded in the 1890s and one taken recently, to represent the urbanizing development of Shanghai.

21 Johnathan Farris, *Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).
on the newly constructed boulevards became popular. Zhang Yuan, located near these boulevards, was one of the destinations. After the opening of Zhang Yuan in 1885, the garden featured newly introduced infrastructure: in fact, Zhang Yuan was chosen to promote the use of electric lights by hosting a test run of these lights in the garden. This chapter examines how the garden developed along with the infrastructurally urbanizing and politically independent International Settlement and, eventually, became an integral part of the fashionable urban experience.

In Chapter 2, I will explore the relationship between the evolving built environment in late 19th century Shanghai and the architectural and landscape design of Zhang Yuan. From 1885 to 1894, Zhang Yuan underwent at least three expansions. The area of Zhang Yuan tripled, from 21.82 mu (around 14,546 square meters) to 61.52 mu (around 41,014 square meters). After the expansion projects, Zhang Yuan was celebrated for an eclectic Western-style building, Acadia Hall, and the vast space of the garden. While Acadia Hall was praised as an “up-to-date” building for its grandiose style with bright and spacious interior, the enormous space of the garden was considered as a model that well incorporated the advantages of open landscape seen in Western-style parks. More importantly, the design of Acadia Hall created “a space of spectacle,” and the open landscape of the garden constituted a space which encouraged human mobility and vitality. Images of these two characters of Zhang Yuan became the symbol of the garden and were circulated in the mass media. Such changes of the garden space in Zhang Yuan were emblematic of the changing built environment of late Qing Shanghai.
Building on the discussion about the garden design, Chapter 3 will illustrate how the activities and events hosted in Zhang Yuan evolved with the booming entertainment industry in late Qing Shanghai. The early activities in Zhang Yuan—including various flower expositions, outdoor photographic services, and modified female theater performances—made Zhang Yuan a desirable venue for “working urbanites” to spend their leisure hours. After the renovations of Zhang Yuan in the early 1890s, the open landscape and Western-style mansion (Acadia Hall) of the garden paved the way for introducing more “novel” activities, such as large-scale expositions of exquisite lanterns, Western-style circuses, and even roller coasters (which were popular in major international cities at that time). In 1907, during a highly successful, three-day fund-raising event, the “International Fair and Fête,” the entire garden space of Zhang Yuan was efficiently arranged to host a variety of multicultural entertainments from around the world. Through these heavily reported and popularly discussed activities, Zhang Yuan continued to evolve as a popular garden that aimed to offer the “newest” and the most “fashionable.”

On January 1, 1912, the Republic of China replaced the Qing Dynasty, the last imperial dynasty in Chinese history. During this transitional period from late Qing to early Republican, Shanghai drew attention for its leading role in not only urban leisure pursuits but also the national rhetoric of political reform. In Chapter 4, I will examine how Zhang Yuan, in the 1900s, continually transformed with the urban culture and became the ideal public space for reform-related events. During the last decades of its

---

22 For the discussion on the “working urbanites” in the foreign settlements, see Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor*, 4.
regime, the Qing government not only suffered from internal rebellions across the country but also lost in wars against the British Empire (1842 and 1861), France (1885), and later Japan (1895). There was a growing demand calling for reform to strengthen the country by learning technologies, economic models, and even structures of the government from the West. Shanghai—already being one of the most critical bases to carry out the government-initiated economic and military reform—became an experimental center for political reform and even revolutions. Benefiting from its geopolitical location as well as its connotation as a modern and open garden, Zhang Yuan turned out to be a popular site for these reform movements. It hosted not only activities that were “precursor” of world fairs and modern-style weddings but also more radical public meetings and political rallies.  

23 In the report on Zhang Yuan’s “International Fair and Fête,” reporter commented that “There is nothing wrong with calling the “International Fair and Fête” a precursor of our future world fairs.” See “Wanguo saizhenhui disanri jishi 万国赛珍会第三日纪事 [Report on the third day of the Treasure Competition of All Nations],” *Shenbao*, May 26, 1907, 4.
CHAPTER 1: BUILDING ZHANG YUAN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

Amid the political struggle between the Qing government and foreign imperial powers, foreign settlements in Shanghai became an “enclave to urbanity.” Since the early 1860s, this ever-expanding enclave formed an experimental ground for newly imported modern infrastructure such as wide roads, electric lights, and public transportation. The civil construction on a physical level also conditioned changes on an experiential level. Popular practices, such as the promenade, became popular among both foreigners and Chinese, especially courtesans. Zhang Yuan—located in the west district of the International Settlement where some of the first modern roads were built—was immersed in these urban transformations on both levels. This chapter examines how Zhang Yuan featured the modern infrastructure in the International Settlement and how its early activities reflected urban experiences fluidly shaped by the newly implemented infrastructure.

A Brief History of the Foreign Settlements

One report in Youxi bao 游戏报 (Entertainment, 1896-1910), a local tabloid, describes the popularity of promenading in the west district of the International Settlement in the summer night:

Every year during the peak of summertime, when the heat becomes unbearable in the packed city center, social elites, gentries, wealthy merchants, compradors, and courtesans would ride out of the city center in carriages…to visit Zhang Yuan outside Muddy Town and Yu Yuan 愚园 (Fools’ Garden) near the Jing’an

24 See Farris, Enclave to Urbanity, 1-7.
Temple area…. [After such a refreshing ride,] one would not know the harshness of the earthly world. What a delightful state of life, a romantic tale of the city of the sea!  

The street that led to Zhang Yuan and Yu Yuan was the Jing’an Temple Road (also known as the Bubbling Well Road among foreign residents) (Fig.1). Built in 1863, Jing’an Temple Road was 40 feet in width and was one of the first roads designed to accommodate carriages in Shanghai. While the downtown area of the International Settlement near the Bund was crowded and the streets in the walled Chinese city were narrow and muddy, the broad and clean road in the less populated suburb provided people with a chance to temporarily breathe fresh and cool air on their way to the gardens.

To understand the different conditions of infrastructure in various areas in Shanghai including the foreign settlements and the walled city, it is useful to consider how these areas were developed historically. In 1843, one year after signing the Treaty of Nanjing, Shanghai was officially opened as a commercial port with four others: Guangdong (Canton), Xiamen (Amoy), Fuzhou, and Ningbo (Fig.2). According to the 1845 Land Regulations, the British Settlement occupied a small and remote area north of

---

26 Roads in the International Settlement in late Qing Shanghai have at least two names: one said by local people and the other was the English name used by foreigners. Sometimes they overlap, such as Moerming Lu is the Chinese transliteration of Moulmein Road.
27 C. E. Darwent, Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1903), 28-29.
28 For the description on the condition of roads in walled city, see Zhou Wu and Wu Guilong, Wanqing shehui 晚清社会 [Late Qing society], vol.5 in Shanghai tongshi 上海通史 [A general history of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 143.
the prosperous cultural and economic district—the walled Chinese city (Fig. 3). In the late 1860s, this area of British Settlement became one of the most packed downtown areas in Shanghai. While Britain was responsible for governing the settlement, constructing public infrastructure, and settling lawsuits among British residents, China still “reserved an overriding property right” which was “recognized by the payment of an annual tax known as ‘rent.’”

The 1845 Land Regulations served as “the basis upon which to develop veritable colonial enclaves.” In the following four years, the Americans established their settlement northeast of the British Settlement in 1848. In 1849, the French claimed their settlement area, sandwiched between the British Settlement and the walled city, bordering on Foreign Creek (Yangjing bang 洋泾浜) to the north and Defense River (Hucheng he 护城河) to the south (Fig. 4). During the first ten years of semi-colonial Shanghai, the foreign settlements were not densely populated, with only a couple hundred residents. The land for Zhang Yuan to the far west of the Bund was still undeveloped.

**About Urban Construction**

The cultural and economic boom of the foreign settlements happened after the 1850s. The Taiping Uprising (1851-1864)—one of the most widespread and the most damaging rebellions in the Qing dynasty—took over Shanghai twice. The first attack

---

29 For the details concerning the negotiation of Land Regulations, please see C. A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Shanghai (Shanghai: The Shanghai Mercury, 1909), 27-58.
30 The Qing government’s emphasis on the fact that Westerners are just “renting” the land from them is further illustrated by the Chinese translation of foreign settlement—zuì jū 租界 (rented territories/boundaries). See Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 28.
31 Ibid.
32 For the early development of the foreign settlements, see C. A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Shanghai, 27-58, and Zhou and Wu, Wanjing shēnhuì, 31.
happened in 1853 when a regional secret society, the Small Swords Society (active in Shanghai since the early 1850s), planned to join forces with the Taiping Uprising to rebel against the Qing government. They set up headquarters in Yu Yuan (Yu Garden), a historic garden in the walled city originally built in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), and took over control of the walled city. The second attack was initiated by the main Taiping Uprising forces in 1860, and the battle between the rebels and the joint local forces lasted till 1864. The troops sent by the central Qing government failed to take back the lost territory; both uprisings were eventually repressed “only because of the alliance between the [foreign] and the imperial army.”

This chaos accidentally provided opportunities for Shanghai to develop. To seek temporary protection, residents of the walled city of Shanghai and refugees from the lower Yangtze River region fled to the foreign settlements. Such a situation put an end to the awkward separation of the residential zones between the local Chinese and the British, French, and Americans. In 1854, to maintain order of the packed settlements and to protect its foreign residents, prominent foreign merchants established the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) and its affiliated police department in the British Settlement.

---

33 Most of the participants of Shanghai’s Small Swords Society Uprising were from southern China, such as Fujian, Guangzhou, and Shanghai. They planned to group with Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864). Taiping Rebellion was launched by Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814-1864) who believed himself to be the true son of the Christian God and wanted to build his own kingdom. With a clearly structured army, Taiping Rebellion swept battlefield in southern China and occupied Nanjing as its capital in 1853. During the same time, Shanghai’s Small Swords Society attacked the walled city of Shanghai and captured the county magistrate. Foreign settlements were not affected by the attack and became the ideal shelter for refugees from different areas across the country.

34 This wartime situation was more complicated and was largely manipulated by the divergent interests and the ambivalent positions of various groups of foreigners. In fact, “the complicity between the British and Americans and the Red Turbans [the rebels] had allowed the latter to prolong their resistance [against the Qing troop] for seventeen months” till 1852. Bergère, *Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity*, 40-41.

The SMC in Shanghai became increasingly influential and, in 1863, the American Settlement merged with the British Settlement as the International Settlement (Fig. 4).

The influx of population also prompted urban construction, including building roads. The SMC, as well as private firms in the settlement, “made a tremendous effort to create an urban infrastructure on a par with those of Paris and London, and the city quickly gained the admiration of visitors and evoked pride in its residents.” After the introduction of carriages in Shanghai in the early 1860s, much wider streets were constructed. Unlike the streets built near the Bund or in the old British Settlement, new boulevards in the suburbs were built without the constraint of the limited downtown space. Jing’an Temple Road was the best example of such boulevards, or what a contemporary resident called the “premier road in Shanghai.”

After the Taiping Uprising was suppressed in 1864, local Chinese who fled to the foreign settlements for temporary protection initially returned to their native places, leaving half of the native quarters in the foreign settlements empty. But soon the opening of the inland trading route of the Yangtze River made the international trading in Shanghai more convenient (Fig. 2). In addition to opportunities offered by trade, Shanghai became “furthermore one of the principal centers of the Foreign Affairs Movement (Yangwu yundong 洋务运动) and of the policy of industrialization” advocated by reformists in the Qing court. It was in Shanghai that the first modernized shipyard

---

36 Yeh, Shanghai Love, 13.
37 The SMC would also be the first to deploy new materials in furthering their civic construction project, such as cement (1890) and asphalt (1910).
39 One school of thought in the Qing government was to utilize Western technologies and mercantile practices to modernize the country. This Self-Strengthening movement was known for the motto advocated
(Jiangnan Arsenal, built in 1865), its affiliated translation schools, and the first
government-funded modern investment company (China Merchant Steamship Navigation
Company, founded in 1873) were founded. The economic potential prompted by trade
and increasing attention from the government drew numerous immigrants to Shanghai
from regions such as Ningbo, Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Zhejiang, and Wuxi. The
owner of the garden Zhang Shuhe was one of them.

*About Expanding Territories*

With the prosperity brought by international trading and the influx of immigrants,
the urban space of Shanghai, especially that of the foreign settlements, expanded rapidly
during the following decades. The size of the International Settlement alone multiplied
more than four times from 1863 (around 7,118,420 square meters) to 1914 (around
31,334,809 square meters) (Fig.4). Due to the expansion and the constant urbanization of
the city, the character of each area changed in different periods. In 1882, when Zhang
Shuhe purchased the piece of land for Zhang Yuan near Jing’an Temple Road as his and
his mother’s residence, the west district of the International Settlement—being far from
the hustle and bustle of the old British Settlement near the Bund—was the ideal
residential area for affluent merchants and government officials, foreign as well as
Chinese. But when Zhang Yuan was closed in 1919, this area was easily accessible by
public transportation which became available in 1908.

The boundaries between different areas in semi-colonial Shanghai were more
fluid than the maps indicate. The 1845 *Land Regulations* were “ad hoc arrangements”

by the reformist Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909)—“Chinese learning for essence, Western learning for
which contain many gray areas for further negotiations. When the settlements were expanding, the sovereignty of each area often became a contested issue. While the local Qing government wanted to limit the power of foreign newcomers, foreign consulates were striving for their countries’ commercial and political interests through expanding their controlled areas. Jing’an Temple Road built in 1863 was one of the ways to negotiate and expand the “rented” territory of the International Settlement. This area was only officially governed under the SMC in 1899, but it was tacitly accepted by residents and business owners that they followed the rules of the SMC, paid taxes to the SMC, and, in return, expected public services on the part of the SMC. For local Chinese merchants, to open a public garden in the International Settlement ensured a quieter, safer, cleaner, and more regulated environment, as well as allowed a degree of freedom for people to conduct businesses.

Boulevards, Promenades, and Courtesans

Riding in carriages on these newly constructed boulevards in the foreign settlements provided passengers with a modern experience characterized by the contrast between the “old” and the “new,” the Chinese and the foreign. C. E. Darwent’s Shanghai A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest (1903)—probably the first Shanghai guide in English written by a local resident—gives the following description: the area along the Jing’an Temple Road “will bear comparison with any similar residential road in the West. Villas completely shaded with well-grown

40 Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 29.
trees, and often of excellent architecture in various styles, line both sides of the road,”
such as the neo-classic architecture of the Race Course with a soaring bell tower and the
Country Club of compradoric style41 with a pillared foyer (Figs. 5 & 6 & 7).42

To the east, Jing’an Temple Road was connected to Nanjing Road (Da Malu) in
the old British Settlement established in 1845.43 It was the thriving city center lined with
“many of the best stores” in Shanghai, from the European tailor stores to the shops of
native goods produced all over the country.44 To the west, it was linked to the celebrated
local landmark, Jing’an Temple, originally constructed in as early as 300 CE during the
Three Kingdoms (220-280 CE). Passengers usually started off their ride to the suburb
from Nanjing Road. As Darwent observed, “in the afternoon after 4 p.m., a ceaseless
string of carriages runs out to the Bubbling Well Road.”45 It was such a busy scene that
“the Chinese barrow and jin-rickshaw men [had to make] a dash to get across.”46 Riding
on a wide and clean boulevard from the hectic commercialized and Westernized

---

41 Years after the first British merchants arrived in Shanghai in 1843, most of their offices and residential
complex were built in the “compradoric” style. The early “compradoric” architecture was designed not by
architects but by the merchants or compradors and was built by local construction teams. This style,
originated in Canton, was known for its adoption of rectangular floor plans, the imported construction
materials from Canton, and the wide verandas surrounding the first floor similar to the British Colonial
style. This style provided the prototype for not only foreign merchants’ living compounds but also
government buildings, such as the British Consulate (1846) and Country Club. Edward Denison and Guang
Yu Ren, Building Shanghai: The Story of China’s Gateway (England; Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-
Academy, 2006), 47.
42 The country club was one of the first entertainment clubs opened by the British when they first arrived
and remained a place for “social rendezvous” in the 1910s. See Darwent, Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents, 32.
43 Nanjing Road and Fuzhou Road were two of the first modern roads built in the British Settlement. Local
residents also called them Da malu 大马路 (Great Horse Road) and Si malu 四马路 (Four Horse Road)
because they were wide enough for no less than four carriages to ride through.
44 Darwent, Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents, 12.
46 Ibid.
downtown all the way to the historic Chinese temple, one would be charmed by “the mixture of old and new, foreign and Chinese buildings.”

To the high-profile courtesans in late Qing Shanghai, promenading in the urbanizing foreign settlements offered them a public arena to promote themselves, as noted by Catherine Yeh (Fig. 8). Courtesans were “bodacious” at using Western material cultures “to create a sensation as trendsetters and public figures.” Their experimentation ranged from Western-style clothing such as “hunter’s hat” and “overcoat” to Western-style carriages, originally introduced by the wealthy foreign merchants.

One report of a biannual Shanghai horse race gives a glimpse of the attention courtesans received during their “parade,”

Yesterday was the second day of the races.... Especially noteworthy were the top courtesans; dressed without exception in the height of fashion, they were dashing up and down through the Foreign Settlement [in their carriages], [creating such a] thrilling view as to provide more than enough excitement to one’s spirit. For the record: yesterday, Lin Daiyu wore a blue satin gown trimmed with pearls; she was riding in a four-wheeled carriage drawn by black horses, with her coachman dressed in a gray crepe-de-Chine jacket and a black-rimmed straw hat....

Through promenading in public on the broad roads, courtesans “[exhibited] their latest fashions, [competed] with one another in displays of conspicuous consumption, and [vied] for attention.” The old phrase shimao (fashionable) was revitalized to

---

48 Yeh, Shanghai Love, 3.
49 Ibid.
50 Xu Ke, Yishi lei 衣饰类 [Clothes and ornaments], vol.12, in Qingbai leichao 清碑类钞 [Qing historical anecdotes arranged by categories], 53-54, quoted in Yeh, Shanghai Love, 54.
51 “Zuomache yishenshuo 坐马车宜慎说 [One should be careful while riding on carriages],” Shenbao. August 4, 1886, 1.
52 “Jingzhuang zhaoyan 精装照眼 [Rich attire dazzles the eyes],” Youxi bao, May 4, 1899, 2, quoted and translated in Yeh, Shanghai Love, 3.
53 Yeh, Shanghai Love, 3.
describe “the new glamor accorded fashion” of the top courtesans. To chase after the up-to-date fashion was coined as *gan shimao* 赶时髦. 54

In such a manner, courtesans visited Zhang Yuan every week, especially during the weekends, to see and be seen. The concept of a weekend was introduced by foreign firms and was gradually adopted by their Chinese employees and the rest of the foreign settlements. 55 The four top courtesans—Lin Daiyu 林黛玉 (n.d.), Lu Lanfang 陆兰芳 (n.d.), Jing Xiaobao 金小宝 (n.d.), and Zhang Shuyu 张书玉 (n.d.)—even routinized their arrival in Zhang Yuan in carriages every day. “Every time they arrive, they must be tardy,” as *Youxi bao* noted. “Their arrival catches enthusiastic attention from all the people present…. Such a scene is almost similar to welcoming prestigious high-ranking government officials.” 56

It is not to say that one could only arrive in Zhang Yuan by carriages and in the company of courtesans. But the popularity of promenading on Jing’an Temple Road provided a glimpse of popular culture in late Qing Shanghai in relationship to its modernizing infrastructure. Soon, promenading to Zhang Yuan and Yu Yuan became a *shimao* sight-seeing route. In their “pleasure ride” on which they toured their clients around Shanghai, courtesans highlighted the approximate twenty-minute promenade on Jing’an Temple Road to Zhang Yuan and Yu Yuan (Fig. 9). 57 In the early 20th century, in

54 Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 44.
55 Xiong Yuezhi and Zhang Min, *Wanqing wenhua* 晚清文化 [Late Qing culture], vol. 6, in *Shanghai tongshi* 上海通史 [A general history of Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubenshe, 1999), 9.
56 “You Zhang Yuan sida jingang 游张园四大金刚 [Four top courtesans visiting Zhang Yuan],” *Youxi bao*, October 12, 1897, 2.
57 Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 71.
C. E. Darwent’s guide book, the west district of International Settlement alone was singled out as a sight-seeing route.\textsuperscript{58} Visitors were suggested to ride from the Race Course to the Chinese public gardens, and all the way down the Jing’an Temple.

“Testing Electric Lights on the Double Ninth Festival”\textsuperscript{59}

Activities inside Zhang Yuan also immersed in such a transformation of the city. Electricity as a civic infrastructure was first introduced in Shanghai in the International Settlement in 1882, along with other basic infrastructure, including telephone (1881), and tap water (1884).\textsuperscript{60} However, because electric light was a rather new importation and was much more expensive than the gaslights implemented since 1865, it was not widely accepted. In 1886, considering the popularity of Zhang Yuan, a foreign electricity company (Frazar & Company, Ltd) decided to conduct a test run in the garden to advertise electric lights among households and business owners.\textsuperscript{61} Shenbao 申报 (Shanghai Daily, 1871-1949), an influential national newspaper, narrated a private gathering in Zhang Yuan on its front page, featuring these electric lights.

On the Double Ninth Festival, 1886, (the 9\textsuperscript{th} day of the ninth month of the Chinese lunisolar calendar and October 1 in the Gregorian calendar which was also introduced in Shanghai during this time), Zhang Shuhe gathered friends in the garden to

\textsuperscript{58} Darwent, Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents, 32.
\textsuperscript{59} “Chongjiu shidengji 重九试灯记 [Testing electric lights on the Double Ninth Festival],” Shenbao, October 8, 1886, 1.
\textsuperscript{60} For the introduction on gas lights, electricity, and running water, see Zhou and Wu, Wanqing shehui, 165-181. Telephone was introduced a year earlier than electricity. It was possible because, when telephone was introduced in Shanghai, companies erected their own telegraph poles. See “Hushang niyong delvfeng 沪上拟用德律风 [Preparing to use telephone in Shanghai],” Shenbao, December 5, 1881.
\textsuperscript{61} “Chongjiu shidengji,” October 8, 1886, 1.
celebrate the sixtieth birthday of his close friend, Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827-1898).62 Yuan was a local elite whose brother served as Shanghai daotai 道台 (the highest-ranking official in Shanghai) during the Small Sword Uprising and whose grandfather was the celebrated poet and art critic Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1797).

At dusk, guests arrived in carriages in succession. To observe the festival tradition of climbing a mountain and looking out, some of the guests first walked up a rockery to enjoy an overview of the garden in the Japanese-style plank house on top.63 “Just when the last light of the day faded away,” as the editorial described, “[we] the guests heard some rumbling noise from far away, like a vibrating drum head. It was an electric generator.”64 More than twenty electric lights lit up the entire garden in the night. Some were dotted along the paths lined with bushes and trees, and others were placed indoor. During evenings, the garden was usually quieter and less visited. The electric lights enlivened the night time in the garden. As the editorial educated, gas lights on the streets of the foreign settlements were bright enough but unstable due to the wick material. In comparison, electric lights only needed electricity, which ensured brighter light with even and stable illumination.65

When the garden suddenly brightened up, all guests applauded at such a scene that “they had never seen before.”66 Upon the lights, the banquet started. Among the

---

62 Yuan Zuzhi worked mainly as editor for newspapers, such as Xinbao 新报 (New Newspaper, 1876-1882) and Xinwen bao 新闻报 (The Newspaper, 1893-1949).
63 The tradition of the Double Ninth Festival includes climbing a mountain and enjoy a view from a distance in order to sooth one’s mind and excise one’s body.
64 “Chongjiu shidengji,” October 8, 1886, 1.
65 Ibid.
66 Ibid.
guests invited, there were six foreigners and fourteen Chinese, including the owner of the
garden Zhang Shuhe. Some were what Catharine Yeh called the “new intellectuals” who
worked for Shanghai’s rising publishing industry, such as Yuan Zuzhi himself and the
editor in chief of Shenbao Qian Xinbo 钱昕伯 (1832 -?). 67 Some were merchants who
grew increasingly familiar with conducting business with foreigners, such as Zhang
Shuhe. They toasted to Yuan Zuzhi in turn and wished him happiness and longevity.

After toasting, when guests were about to leave the dinner, a lady among the
foreign guests started to play a musical instrument: “The high pitch was soft and
melodious while the small beats were intense and rhythmic,” the editorial praised. 68
Guests at present were mesmerized by the elegant and passionate performance. As the
reporter recalled, some time ago he went to see such a music performance given by a
traveling foreign actress in Shanghai. He had regretted that he could not hear the show
clearly because he was standing too far away. Today, he felt lucky that his regret was
remedied, and the performance was even beyond his expectation. 69 After the performance
had ended, the electric generator was turned off at the same time, and, around 10:30 PM,
the gathering dispersed. 70

From the test run of electric lights to the moving music performance, Zhang Yuan
refreshed the experience of birthday banquets and festival celebrations. Indeed, one of the
guests, the editor in chief of Shenbao Qian Xinbo, gave the following comments:

Today’s gathering is different from the one at Taihe Restaurant yesterday.... The
gathering at Taihe Restaurant included intellectuals and scholars to people from

67 Yeh, Shanghai Love, 178.
68 “Chongjiu shidengji,” October 8, 1886, 1.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
all walks of life. The total number of guests was ten times of that of today. This is what we called “the more the merrier.” Today, [there were] fewer guests, but both foreign and Chinese guests gathered together. The innovative electric light was something that we have never seen; the music instrument played by the foreign lady was something that we have never heard of. This is what we called “less is more.”

Zhang Yuan’s attraction, to Qian Xinbo, lies in the fact that the garden offered an exciting experience that incorporated the “new” of the city effortlessly. It is not to suggest that everything Western was new and unfamiliar to Chinese people in the late Qing Shanghai. As noted by Lv Peng, western technologies and practices were continuously present in Shanghai since the early eighteenth century. The “new” here is heightened and spectacularized. Different from banquets held in conventional venues like restaurants and tea houses, the twenty electric lights that scattered in the garden refurbished the experience of celebrating Double Ninth Festival and the impromptu Western-style music performance enlivened the gathering. The implementation of electric lights and the performance of Western-style music were part of the ongoing urban transformation of Shanghai. In the form of leisure activities, such changes became what was defined as shimao (fashionable) in late Qing Shanghai.

“The existence of enclaves [of the foreign settlements] that eluded imperial authority of [Qing government]” offered its residents, both foreign and Chinese, access to experience the urban environment on a par with international metropolis. Located in the International Settlement, Zhang Yuan was developing along with the most up-to-date

---

71 “Chongjiu shidengji,” October 8, 1886, 1.
urban construction in Shanghai. The garden adapted to the settlement’s modern infrastructure on the one hand, and evolved with the urban experience and popular culture conditioned by such an infrastructure on the other. Meanwhile, however, the adaptability of the garden towards the changes was downplayed, and the changes themselves were heightened as one way to promote the garden as an up-to-date social space.
CHAPTER 2: ACADIA HALL AND THE EXPANSION OF ZHANG YUAN

In the late Qing period, various architectural styles were domesticated in Shanghai. Compared to the regional styles mostly brought by immigrants from south China, Western-style buildings were more enthusiastically appropriated across Shanghai, especially in the settlements. Changes introduced by the Western-style architecture were seen both in the buildings and the space generated by the buildings (or sometimes elements of the buildings), thus, the evolving built environment. These changes were well observed in Zhang Yuan, especially after its expansion projects.

Zhang Shuhe brought the land for Zhang Yuan from a British merchant, Groome, in 1882. After the opening of the garden, Zhang Yuan underwent at least three major expansions, in 1885, 1889, and 1894. After the last expansion, the area of Zhang Yuan tripled to 61.52 mu (around 41,014 square meters). During this renovation period, an eclectic Western-style building Acadia Hall was erected, surrounded by an expanse of lawn. This chapter seeks to discuss how did both Acadia Hall and the open landscape in Zhang Yuan incorporated foreign-style architectural elements and generated what contemporaries considered an “up-to-date” social space.

---

74 See Hay, “Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” 71.
75 To expand the garden space, Zhang Shuhe was constantly purchasing neighboring farm lands to expand the garden space. For the 1885 expansion, see “Weichun Yuan guanyanhuo ji 味莼园观焰火记 [On firework displays in Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao, May 3, 1886, 1; For the mention of the 1889 expansion, see “Weichun Yuan xuji 味莼园续记 [A sequel on Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao, July 16, 1889, 1; For the 1894 expansion, see Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 21.
76 See note 85.
The Construction of Acadia Hall

"An Up-to-Date Tea-House"

In October, 1893, Xinwen bao 新闻报 (The Newspaper), a national newspaper partly funded by Zhang Shuhe, dedicated half of its first page to report on Acadia Hall after its two-year construction (Fig. 10):

Arcadia Hall (Ankaidi 安垲第),77 is a foreign-style mansion built with richly decorated bricks.78 Located on the west side of the garden, the mansion soars into the sky. Looking down from above, one cannot see the ground. The building is surrounded by an [elevated] patterned stone terrace, wide and broad, on all four sides [and accessible through stone steps]. Walking up step by step, one goes through gates after gates [and arrives at the ballroom/main hall on the first floor inside of the building] which is accessible from all directions. This main hall could accommodate at least fifty tables. [Inside,] on all four sides of this ballroom, supported by tall colonnades, is an [elevated] narrow promenade [from which people can look down]; the structure of this main hall is similar to a Chinese theater where the interior is wrapped around by balconies.79 This area is so spacious and bright that no other buildings could be compared with it. The center balcony overlooking the main hall is built in the shape of a crescent moon. A spiral stairway goes up to The Pavilion Overlooking China (Taohua Ge 韬华阁, the tower attached to Acadia Hall). As mentioned in “A Visit to Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden (Weichun Yuan 味莼园, another name of Zhang Yuan)” published previously in this newspaper: the stairway is narrow and winds up to the top of the campanile tower where one can look out for all the attractions in the garden. In addition, [one can even see] the nearby streets, crisscrossing like a chessboard. Fashionable young people gather and social elites come together.

77 “Acadia” derives from ancient Greek, referring to an idyllic dreamland. Zhang Shuhe, not concerned with translating this English name into equivalent but more familiar Chinese proverbs, chose the transliteration of “Acadia”—“Ankaidi 安垲第”—as the Chinese name of this mansion. It was a thoughtful transliteration. “An” 安 has the meaning of comfortable, unworried, and settled. “Kaidi 廍第” is the homophone of “Kaidi 恬悌” which also suggests a sense of feeling contented and carefree. Combined together, “Ankaidi 安垲第” smoothly coincided with the original meaning of “Acadia.”

78 Jinzhuan 锦砖 is usually translated into mosaic tiles. However, judging from the black and white photos of Acadia Hall, the building was made of bricks. It is possible that the author here was exaggerating the splendor of this new construction.

79 Promenades means walkways. I choose to use “colonnade” and “promenades” to translate zouma gaolou 走马高楼, because in an interview with the architects T. W. Kingsmill and B. Atkinson, they used these architectural terms to describe this theatrical feature of Acadia Hall. I will discuss this specifically in the next section, “The Architecture of Spectacle.” So will the “campanile tower.” For the original interview, see “An Up-to-Date Tea House,” The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette, April 21, 1893.
Long lines of carriages stream in and out. [The scene that we see right now] is just like what they described in the newspaper. Looking out to the distant foreign settlements, [the vista of] the trees and the clouds by the Pujiang River seem infinite. This campanile tower is also known as The Building of Lofty View (Gaolan Lou 高览楼). The Double Ninth Festival is approaching. This steeple can perfectly be used to ascend to a height, look out, and poetically express feelings. One of the particularly eye-catching features is the four gigantic gas lights on the ceiling of the main lobby; [each light is so large that it is the size of] three or four people standing with their arms extended in order to enclose it. According to the Westerners, the light coming out of these gas lamps is so bright that it is just like daylight. The entirety of Shanghai has never seen such a device before. Tonight they are lit up, echoing the fireworks in the yard. Entering [Zhang Yuan makes people feel like entering] into a sleepless city that [continuously] dazzles their eyes….

Elegant yet focused, this report underlines what interested the readers the most: the grandeur, the spaciousness, and the “soaring” height of Acadia Hall.

Indeed, construction of another foreign-style building was no longer uncommon in the foreign settlements. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (see p.27), starting in the early 1840s, foreign-style buildings and architectural elements were already deeply entangled in the fabric of the urban landscape of Shanghai. Similar to the constant changes in fashions and culinary choices in this cosmopolitan city, the preference for foreign architectural styles also went through several waves. Mainstream architectural styles evolved from the hybrid compradoric style borrowed from Guangdong in the early 1840s to the dominant Neo-Classicism employed in the Bund area after the 1850s (Figs. 11 & 12). Given how fast this city embraced these ongoing changes, the construction of an ordinary foreign-style building was no longer worth mentioning in the 1890s.

---

80 “Ankaidi jiyou, 安垲第纪游 [A visit to Acadia Hall],” Xinwen bao 新闻报 [The newspaper], October 15, 1893. For the original news report, see item 2 in Appendix.
81 Compradoric style was appropriated from the British Colonial style by merchants who first arrived in Guangdong (Canton) in the later 1800s. For the detailed explanation of compradoric style, see note 41 in Chapter 1.
What made Acadia Hall prominent and newsworthy was its “up-to-date”
grandiose style.\footnote{For the use of “up-to-date,” see note 88.} Acadia Hall was a two-story Italian Renaissance mansion, designed by
two British architects, Thomason William Kingsmill (1837-1910) and Brenan Atkinson (1866 -1907).\footnote{“Ankaidi jiyou,” October 15, 1893.} Both were architects at Whitfield & Kingsmill Co., the earliest foreign-
style architecture design firm opened in Shanghai. Its most famous commission was the
Central Station of the police department in the International Settlement. (After 1894,
Atkinson started his own company and designed an entertainment department store—
New World [Xinshijie 新世界]—which, when it was opened in 1915, would outshine
Zhang Yuan with its innovative facilities like elevators and distorting mirrors.)\footnote{The design company that Brenan Atkinson opened with his partner, Arthur Dallas, was the celebrated Atkinson & Dallas Architects and Civil Engineers Ltd. This foreign firm designed at least 80 buildings in
and near Shanghai from residences, to civic facilities, and to commercial buildings. St. John University, the
Mixed Court, and the Richards Hotel (nowadays known as the Astor House Hotel) were all designed by
this company.} When
designing Acadia Hall in 1892, the two architects expected the hall “to serve as a tea
house, and when it is finished, on account of its loftiness, tasteful decoration, and general
airiness and brightness it will be a model one.”\footnote{“An Up-to-Date Tea House,” The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette, April 21, 1893. North China Herald changed from weekly newspaper to a daily newspaper after 1864, and was
then called North China Daily News. Many of its issues were published under the title: The North China
Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette, because this newspaper also functioned as the official
record of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan. The English references about Zhang Yuan that I
found in Shanghai Archives is from this newspaper under such a title. It is worth mentioning that editors of
North China Daily News were some influential figures in British community in late Qing Shanghai, such as
Frederic H. Balfour (1871-1908).} Spaciousness was also taken into
consideration. They designed the main hall to be 80 feet long by 40 feet wide, which
enabled the space to accommodate at least five hundred people.
Built around the same time as Acadia Hall, other local residences and houses were often limited by their wooden structures. Natural light was blocked by the long eaves which made the interior of the buildings dim.\textsuperscript{86} With Acadia Hall, wooden framing was combined with masonry structures—like most of the foreign-style architecture built during the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in the settlements. This building technique enabled the building to be two stories high and allowed daylight to shine through the large windows. As the previous quote from Xinwen bao shows, the reporter was impressed by the spaciousness and brightness of the main hall and overstated that “no other buildings could be compared with it.”\textsuperscript{87} Even before the construction of Acadia Hall was finished, people labeled this mansion as “a ‘new departure’ for a Chinese pleasure garden” and “An Up-to-Date Tea-House.”\textsuperscript{88}

The highlight of the Acadia Hall experience, according to the same newspaper report, was climbing the 90-foot-high campanile tower over the north-east corner of the building.\textsuperscript{89} From this tallest building in Shanghai, one could enjoy the view over the neighboring roads and the adjacent rivers.\textsuperscript{90} This tower also provided a “novel” way to celebrate the traditional Chinese holiday, the Double Ninth Festival. On this day, it was

\textsuperscript{86} Another disadvantage of wooden houses was that they can catch fire easily. Houses built with wooden structure had been a local tradition. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, wooden structure remained to be the dominant way for house construction among local residents. The frequent fire accidents were a major problem in and out of the settlements. To face this issue, foreign merchants voluntarily organized the Fire Brigade. They marched as a group during special parades to represent Shanghai as a “model” settlement. These parades were called \textit{Shuilonghui} 水龙会 (Water dragon festival). See Ge Yuanxun, \textit{Huyou zaji} 沪游杂记 [Miscellaneous notes on visiting Shanghai], 1876, reprinted, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989).
\textsuperscript{87} “Ankaidi jiyou,” October 15, 1893.
\textsuperscript{88} “An Up-to-Date Tea House,” April 21, 1893.
\textsuperscript{89} “Ankaidi jiyou,” October 15, 1893.
\textsuperscript{90} This tower was reported to be the tallest architecture in all of Shanghai when the construction of Arcadia Hall was completed. See Zhang and Yan, \textit{Zhang Yuan}, 18.
customary to climb high and to look out (den gao wang yuan 登高望远). Discussed in Chapter 1 (see p.31), during the birthday party of Yuan Zuzhi, the Shenbao chief editor Qian Xinbo and his friends climbed the Japanese plank house on top of a hill in Zhang Yuan to observe the same Double Ninth Festival tradition. After the construction of Acadia Hall, instead of climbing the hill, fashionable people had a new option of climbing the campanile tower. Acadia Hall became the new destination for such practices.

The grandiose and lofty Acadia Hall, with its bright and spacious interior, represented an “up-to-date” architecture. It appropriated the ways in which people observed local practices and fashioned Zhang Yuan into a modern garden. The same Xinwen bao editorial on Acadia Hall concluded with the praise that “Compared with [Zhang Yuan] today, whatever celebrated [Chinese] garden in the past that claims itself as a luxury has to give its prestige away [to Zhang Yuan].” As Sun Baoxuan 孙宝瑄 (1874-1924), an influential intellectual, recalled, after its completion, because of the scale of Acadia Hall, people even compare this building to the White House in the United States.

“The Architecture of Spectacle”

One noticeable feature of Acadia Hall highlighted in this Xinwen bao newspaper report was the theater-style balconies surrounding the interior of the main hall, or a “promenade” as described by one of the architects. In his essay on the evolving built

---

91 “Ankaidi jiyou,” October 15, 1893.
92 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 24.
93 “An Up-to-Date Tea House,” April 21, 1893.
environment of late Qing Shanghai, Jonathan Hay categorized buildings that utilized Western architectural elements—for instance, balconies, stairways, and “the framed roof which made possible large interior spaces uninterrupted by pillars”—as “the architecture of spectacle.” Such components formed a space that “allow one to watch and be watched.” These elements were usually ostentatiously added to teahouses, opium dens, theaters, and wine shops in the settlements. Sometimes, “the architecture of spectacle” was even consciously designed to accommodate crowds of visitors to enhance the sense of “spectacle.”

With the balconies and the spacious interior, Acadia Hall exemplified what Hay categorized as “the architecture of spectacle.” The balconies formed an elevated walkway supported by a colonnade that encircled the hall. This walkway, divided into two galleries—east and west, provided a grand view of the main hall during special occasions. During the 1894 Shanghai Volunteer Artillery Dance Party, the main hall accommodated at least five to six hundred guests. “It had been intended to leave both the east and west galleries open for promenaders, where they can look down upon dancers,” as reported in the North China Herald, “and a very pretty sight the floor of the hall was, as seen from the gallery, with the ladies’ dresses of all colors, and the numerous uniforms.” Acadia Hall showcased that, in urban Shanghai, the changing architectural

---

94 Hay, “Painting and the Built Environment in Late Nineteenth-century Shanghai,” 75-77.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
98 “An Up-to-Date Tea House,” April 21, 1893.
environment was interwoven with urban spatial characteristics. The generation of a space of spectacle was one example.

_Courtesans, Acadia Hall, and Mass Media_

Drinking afternoon tea in the “up-to-date” Western-style Acadia Hall became the new routine of some of the courtesans. Every time the four top courtesans arrived at Acadia Hall, each one of them occupied their own tables. Such a scene, as a famous novelist teased, “resembles the Buddha’s four Heavenly Kings who protect and watch over the gate of the [sacred] Mount Meru.” An illustration in _Tuhua ribao_ (Picture Daily, 1909) also depicted this “social phenomenon” showing several courtesans sipping cups of tea against the background of the arch-shaped windows, the colonnades, the balconies, and electric lights hanging from the ceiling (Fig. 13). Other courtesans are seen walking on the “promenade” on the second floor, looking down over the balcony. The accompanying commentary on the illustration remarked that the real interest of the courtesans was not in drinking tea but in being seen at Acadia Hall and being perceived as _shimao_ (fashionable) in Acadia Hall.

The representation of courtesans in Acadia Hall in mass media amplified the formation of Acadia Hall as a space of spectacle. As Catherine Yeh argued, “the constant,
calculated provocations and the titillation of [courtesan’s] social behavior and lifestyle gave her [courtesan’s] considerable power in the public arena.”

With the flourishing print culture, courtesans even became the “media stars” who determined the desirable lifestyle and kept the rest of the city captivated. From the 1840s to the 1910s, approximately four hundred and sixty Chinese newspapers were published in Shanghai. Timely news reached the general public locally as well as nationwide on a daily basis. Enabled by the presence of the new media, as Rudolf Wagner argued, the everyday experience of urban Shanghai was enriched by this increasingly critical dimension of urban experience in late Qing Shanghai. In other words, Shanghai became very much “a ‘seen phenomenon.’” Being consumed with the images of courtesans in mass media, Acadia Hall, as well as Zhang Yuan, as a space of spectacle extended beyond its physical boundaries and became entangled with public imagination.

102 Yeh, Shanghai Love, 21.
103 Ibid, 178.
104 Xiong and Zhang, Wangqing wenhua, 39-40. For the list of newspaper (both in English and in Chinese) published in Shanghai in the mentioned period, also see Xiong and Zhang, Wangqing wenhua, 51-61.
105 Both Catherine Yeh and Rudolf Wagner coin the development of media in late Qing Shanghai as “new media,” see Rudolf Wagner, “Joining the Global Imaginaire: The Shanghai Illustrated Newspaper Dianshizhai huabao” in Joining the Global Public: Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910, 105-173; Yeh, Shanghai Love, 178.
107 Here, I want to point out serval important mediums through which Zhang Yuan’s images appeared regularly. Most of the earliest illustrations of Zhang Yuan published in the 1880 and 1890s were seen in Dianshizhai haubao. This popular pictorial was founded by two English businessmen, Ernest Major and Frederick Major, and entirely illustrated by Chinese artists. It was distributed, free of charge, with Shenbao (10 fen per issue) three times a month with eight to nine double-page leaves per issue. The illustration alone was also available at a price of 5 fen per issue. People were encouraged to purchase every issue so that they could bind these separate issues into a book. In the 1890s, Zhang Yuan also started to appear in another form of media: courtesan guidebooks. One example was Haishang youxi tushuo 海上游戏图说.
From the spacious, bright, and lofty interior to the balcony from which one can see and be seen, Acadia Hall showcased how the transformation of architectural environment and spatial experience in urban Shanghai were interwoven with each other. In 1894, to replicate the success brought by Acadia Hall, Zhang Shuhe planned to build another more grandiose Western-style mansion to accommodate dance parties and banquets on an even larger scale, but the plan was not carried out in the end. In the following decade, the photograph of Acadia Hall became the authoritative image to represent Zhang Yuan in the city guides (Figs. 10), city maps (Fig. 14), and souvenir postcards (Fig. 15), all in both English and Chinese. Starting in the late 1900s, Acadia Hall became more associated with the social and political reformation that was a major part of the dynamic cosmopolitan culture of Shanghai at the turn of the century, and this deserves a chapter of its own (Chapter 4).

A Vibrant Garden: Landscape of Zhang Yuan after Expansion

It was not only the architecture but also the landscape that reflected how Zhang Yuan was immersed in the changing built environment of Shanghai. After the 1894 expansion, as seen from the map of the International Settlement, Zhang Yuan was roughly in a rectangular shape enveloped by adjacent roads (Fig. 16). To the north, it was

(Illustrations of Shanghai Fun, 1898), a popular illustrated courtesan guidebook published in 1898 in Shanghai. In the 1900s, Zhang Yuan also began to appear in various city guides.

108 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 19.

109 Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out that, in Shanghai zhinan 上海指南 (also known as Guide to Shanghai, the most popular Chinese-language city guide published since 1909), instead of using the iconic image of Acadia Hall, they chose the image of a pond with islands and bridges, probably to excite its readers with something different. See Shanghai zhinan 上海指南 [Guide to Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu chubanshe, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1919).
connected to Xieqiao Road (also known as Love Lane), a well-shaded lane that branched out from and merged back into Jing’an Temple Road. Visitors of Zhang Yuan could ride directly into the garden passing through the north gate on Xieqiao Road to reach Acadia Hall. The gate was easy to identify with the ostentatious display of the English name of the garden, Chang Su-ho’s Garden (Fig. 17). To the south, the garden was linked to Weihaiwei Road. The garden was also accessible from the west after the construction of Muerming Road in 1917. This section examines the landscape of Zhang Yuan in its heyday, which was formed after the 1894 expansion.

Expansions and the Open Landscape

Contemporaries considered the inclusion of a large open space within gardens as a critical advantage of Western-style gardens. As a novelist and a newspaper editor Sun Yusheng 孙玉声 (1864-1941), commented, Chinese-style gardens were “buildings that wrap around gardens,” while the Western-style gardens were “gardens that wrap around buildings.” The former was seen as more elegant and attractive while the latter was considered as more spacious and vivacious.110

Yuan Zuzhi, the previously mentioned close friend of Zhang Shuhe, pushed further the advantages of an open space seen in Western-style gardens and connected it to the idea of nourishing one’s health (yangshen 养身). As he commented in an editorial in Shenbao, some extravagant Chinese gardens built by wealthy merchants in Suzhou and Yangzhou were lavishly decorated but constructed within a very small space; no matter

how exquisite the craftsmanship of the pavilions was, these merchants overlooked the significance of the flow in an open space. Then how would Yuan define an “appropriate” garden in the cosmopolitan Shanghai? As Yuan recalled, during his 1893 world trip with the China Merchant Steamship Navigation Company, a public garden in London left a strong impression on him. He was surprised by how much space was left unused no matter how high the land prices in the city centers were. Yuan explained that Westerners believe that as long as one confines oneself inside a room [instead of going outside] … every object inside the room only emanates dead energy (siqi 死气, with an extended meaning of staleness). … [But when one] visits gardens every day, one can inhale live energy (shengqi 生气, with an extended meaning of vitality and vibrancy). … This was a way of improving one’s health. The mountain, the river, the tree, and the flower all emanate live energy. To cultivate live energy effectively, one should be able to open their arms to embrace the live energy, and, in order to open one’s arms fully, one needs open ground and unencumbered space…. If a garden could not benefit its visitors in this way, it should be considered a waste of money.

Yuan’s article tried to establish a new standard for what should be considered as an “up-to-date” garden in late 19th century Shanghai.

As the editorial continued, Yuan Zuzhi asserted that Zhang Yuan’s landscape skillfully incorporated the open space shown in Western-style gardens and coincided well with the idea of shengqi 生气 (live energy with an extended meaning of vitality and vibrancy). In 1882, when Zhang Shuhe purchased the residence of the British merchant Groome, it was already well developed with hybrid gardening features, including two vast areas of marsh with lotus, a pond, various kinds of exotic vegetation, three

111 “Weichun Yuan xuji,” July 16, 1889. For the original Chinese report and its translation, see item 3 in Appendix.
112 Ibid.
113 The marsh, here, is referring to the Chinese word zhao 沼 as appeared in the original news report. Lotus were planted in these two large areas of marsh. However, to differentiate these two lotus ponds/marshes
greenhouses, and a Japanese tea house. Some of these features appeared largely influenced by English gardens as opposed to the symmetrical French gardens. However, it is interesting to notice that English landscape gardens—populated in the 18th century for its uncultured natural landscape—was partially appropriated by their knowledge as well as imagination of gardens in southern China. These features, sparsely located in different corners of the garden, left enough open space for activities. The three greenhouses left by Groome were located in the northwest corner; the small hill with the Japanese plank house on top was on the west side of the garden (probably on the island). Having made a living as a gardener, Groome designed most of the foreign merchants’ gardens upon their arrival in Shanghai. The garden of his own residence was regarded as one of his masterpieces. Based on Groome’s already spacious garden, Zhang Shuhe expanded and renovated Zhang Yuan.

The expansion projects of Zhang Yuan brought the airiness and spaciousness of the garden to a higher level. After the 1894 expansion, Zhang Yuan was approximately

with the pond mentioned later, I will use the word marsh. This editorial published in 1889 identifies two large areas of marsh with lotus, one to the west and one to the east, and a pond. But according to the Shanghai zhinan 上海指南 (also known as Guide to Shanghai) published in 1909, only the pond remained in the garden. These two marshes may be filled and leveled up for later construction of Acadia Hall and the lawn. We need discovery of more primary sources, especially visual ones, to confirm this speculation. For the direct quote, see “Weichun Yuan xuji,” in Shenbao, July 16, 1889. For the information on Zhang Yuan after 1909 in city guides, see Shanghai zhinan, published in 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1916, and 1919.

115 For the information on Anglo-Chinese gardens in England in the 18th century, see Osvald Sirén, China and Gardens of Europe of the Eighteenth Century (New York: Ronald Press Co, 1950). For the appropriation of Chinese elements in various Western designs, see Dawn Jacobson, Chinoiserie (London: Phaidon, 1999); Marcia Reed, Paola Demattè, and Getty Research Institute, ed, China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century (Los Angeles, Calif: Getty Research Institute, 2007).
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
41,014 square meters. Inside this spacious garden, Acadia Hall was located in the northwest area, as shown in the reconstructed layout of Zhang Yuan’s landscape (Fig. 18). The lane that led to Acadia Hall was wide, clean, and well shaded by trees (Fig. 19). To the east of Acadia Hall was a vast area of lawn that occupied almost one-fourth of the acreage of Zhang Yuan. When there was an outdoor activity, this lawn could easily accommodate at least a thousand people. South of the lawn was an artificial pond, wrapped around a sizable island. Bamboo and pine trees covered the island, and willow trees were dotted along the banks of the water. The enormous open space of Zhang Yuan was made more vibrant and lively with the addition of the expanse of lawn, the pond, and the lush plants.

It should be noted that Zhang Yuan was not the first garden that featured an open landscape in late Qing Shanghai. In fact, Western-style public parks had already been introduced in Shanghai during that time. In 1865, in the International Settlement, the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) built the Public Garden (Gongjia huayuan 公家花园), also later known as the Bund Garden (Waitan gongyuan 外滩公园), “on reclaimed land opposite the British Consulate.” It featured a vast area of natural landscape, a grand fountain, and a music pavilion. While the urbanization and commercialization of Shanghai were accelerating, the population in and around International Settlement became denser. The Public Garden was intended to create an oasis in the packed city.

---

119 41,014 square meters is around six times as big as present-day standard soccer fields.
121 Wu Xin and Yao Wendan, ed. Shanghai xianahi 上海县志 [Shanghai county gazetteer] (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), 227.
However, most of the time from the 1870s till 1927, “the park [the Public Garden] was barred to Chinese except, at the discretion of the police, to those who were respectable and well-dressed,” including servants of the foreigners.\textsuperscript{122} Due to increasing petitions from leading Chinese residents in the settlement,\textsuperscript{123} the SMC constructed the Chinese Public Garden (Huaren gongyuan 华人公园) in 1890 to rest the ongoing dispute.\textsuperscript{124} Nevertheless, this garden only had natural sceneries as its main attraction. Compared with these two gardens built by the SMC, Zhang Yuan had no discrimination against specific groups of customers, Chinese or foreign, children or elderly.\textsuperscript{125} In addition, the diverse landscapes and the numerous activities that the garden provided made Zhang Yuan a more attractive and welcoming social space.

\textit{A Vibrant Space and Popular Recreational Sports}

\textit{Shengqi} (live energy, vitality, and vibrancy), as argued by Yuan Zuzhi, could be generated in a spacious garden only where the mobility of people was possible. The merit of Western-style gardens to him was not only about the open landscape but also about creating an open space that encouraged exercises, activities, and human mobility. This idea coincided with the prevailing social rhetoric on the importance of “physical vigor.” In the second half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in Shanghai, people grew familiar with foreign especially British-style sports such as horse racing, bowling, bicycling, and fives (a British sport that is similar to playing racquetball with hands). The physical fitness and


\textsuperscript{123} “Qingchi yuanjin 请弛园禁 [Please loose the regulation of forbidding Chinese people entering the Public Park],” \textit{Shenbao}, June 21, 1878.

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{125} “Kaiyuan gaobai 开园告白 [Advertising on opening the garden],” \textit{Shenbao}, April 17, 1885.
vitality brought by these exercises gradually began to be associated with *shimao* (fashionable) and “modern.” The yearn for an open space to exercise in a densely populated area was also one of the reasons why, in 1878, Chinese residents protested against banning them from entering the Public Park. An “up-to-date” garden, as implied by Yuan Zuzhi, should have a spatial characteristic of encouraging the cultivation of such physical fitness.

The activities introduced after expansion of Zhang Yuan, especially the recreational sports, furthered the generation of *shengqi*. For instance, in 1893, a kite-flying competition was held in Zhang Yuan. Invented during the Spring and Autumn period (770 – 476 BC) and the Warring States period (475 – 221 BC), kites were used for measuring land and communicating on battlefields. Gradually after the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907 CE), kite-flying had become children’s entertainment. When he saw children occasionally flying kites in his garden, Zhang Shuhe decided to host a kite-flying competition to invite both Chinese and foreign young people to experience this activity.

In the illustration of the kite-flying competition in *Feiyingge huabao* (Flying Shadow Studio Illustrated Newspaper), the garden space is half surrounded by two foreign-style buildings and half open (Fig. 20). The open space is interspersed with

---


127 “Qingchi yuanjin,” June 21, 1878.

128 “Fengzheng yahui 风筝雅会 [An elegant gathering for kite-flying],” *Dianshizhai Huabao* 点石斋画报 [Touch-stone studio illustrated newspaper], Si, 7, 51. For the Chinese commentary and its translation, see item 4 in Appendix.
lush plants, pavilions, rockeries, and simple huts with decorative thatched roofs. Some people are tugging on the strings of kites or running to make them soar higher in the sky. The string of the longest kite which is in the shape of a centipede disappears behind one of the buildings, suggesting more people on a larger open space behind the building. Several of the foreigners are accompanied by dogs at this event, probably to take advantage of the open ground to walk their pets. While participants are engaging with the competition, there is still enough space for people coming and leaving in carriages. A traditional recreation of children was transformed into a shimao (fashionable) leisure activity in Zhang Yuan. The open ground of Zhang Yuan, indeed, offered an ideal site that encouraged exercise and mobility.

The dynamic spatial characteristic of Zhang Yuan also made the garden an ideal practicing ground for learning how to ride a bicycle. Bicycles were introduced in Shanghai in the 1860s. At first, only groups of teenagers tried to practice. Courtesans soon followed. In the open grounds of Zhang Yuan, courtesans practiced every day from three to four o’clock in the afternoon until sunset (Fig. 21). In 1903, Zhang Yuan hosted a one-mile bicycle-riding competition among fellow Chinese. The admission fee was 5 jiao per person, but it was free of charge for visitors who wanted to learn and practice.

According to the argument of Yuan Zuzhi, Zhang Yuan set the ideal example of how to manage a garden in cosmopolitan Shanghai. The tasteful appropriation of a

---

129 “Shanghai quyu zhi xianxiang jingo xiangcheng zouxiche” Shanghai quyu zhi xianxiang jingo xiangcheng zouxiche, 1909.
130 “Shanghai quyu zhi xianxiang jingo xiangcheng zouxiche,” Tuhua ribao, 1909.
variety of “foreign” architectural elements and landscaping concepts made the garden a vibrant one, and, therefore, an “up-to-date” one. The construction of Acadia Hall generated a space of “spectacle,” while the expansion projects conditioned a space that encouraged mobility, activities, and vitality, both of which reflected the evolving built environment of Shanghai. In other words, Zhang Yuan’s landscape revealed and embodied the intricate convergence and nuanced negotiation between Western material cultures and pre-existing local practices. Such convergence and negotiation constantly evolved and, as Leo Lee commentated, marked the complexity of “Shanghai modern.”¹³¹

CHAPTER 3: ZHANG YUAN: FASHIONING THE LEISURE PURSUITS

In this chapter, I further explore how the entertainments in Zhang Yuan and the garden space, as discussed in the previous two chapters, mutually and constantly shaped each other. In the mid-1800s, “entertainment industry,” as coined by Catherine Yeh, surfaced in Shanghai.\(^{132}\) It was based in and developed with the rapidly modernizing foreign settlements. Courtesans acted as pioneers, experimenting with the Western-style material cultures and modeling the latest leisure pursuits. “The new class of urban intellectuals” gave rise to the constant tantalization of the city’s glamorous images in mass media.\(^{133}\) The introduction of the concept of working time versus leisure time, as Wen-hsin Yeh pointed out, simultaneously conditioned the increasing desire of the public for participating in the entertainment culture.\(^{134}\) The “entertainment industry” quickly “transformed into a key ingredient of the Shanghai economy.”\(^{135}\) From the 1880s to the 1910s, a growing number of entertainment venues emerged with an ever-expanding range of activities; this was well reflected in Zhang Yuan.

Zhang Yuan’s main attraction, after its opening in 1885, was its scenery. In the following years, in order to attract more customers, Zhang Yuan started to offer popular entertainments in the garden. After the construction of Acadia Hall and the expansions in the 1890s, the garden became a theme park that incorporated as many “novel” activities as possible. By the 1900s, Zhang Yuan went beyond a theme park and became celebrated for its large-scale social events, such as the 1907 “International Fair and Fête”—a three-

---

\(^{132}\) Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 4.
\(^{133}\) Ibid.
\(^{134}\) Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor*, 51-100.
\(^{135}\) Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 13.
day charity fair. This chapter examines how Zhang Yuan’s growing “repertoire” of activities, step by step, kept pace with and sometimes even fashioned the growing “appetite for enjoyment” in urban Shanghai.  

Some Early Activities in Zhang Yuan since 1885

Fireworks Displays

Most of the early activities in Zhang Yuan featured the open landscape of the garden. These activities, in a way, helped to assess and experiment with the needs of the public for leisure activities and the potential of Zhang Yuan as an entertainment garden. Fireworks displays were one of the earliest public activities in Zhang Yuan as well as the easiest to provide. Before the mid-19th century, one had the chance to watch large-scale fireworks shows but mostly during national celebrations and traditional festivals in limited cities. Chinese firecrackers were more accessible and were usually used to celebrate the Chinese New Year. Immediately after its opening in 1885, probably to follow the fashion established by Yu Yuan, Zhang Yuan also began to provide large-scale fireworks shows, featuring different kinds of fireworks distinct in the various regions including Chaozhou, Dongwan, Gaoyi, and even Japan. In order to top the scale of the fireworks displays in Yu Yuan, Zhang Shuhe hired craftsmen to build various wooden

136 In his discussion about the relationship between living environment and leisure culture in, mainly, European cities from the 16th to 19th century, Mark Girouard proposes that, when there was an increasing “appetite for enjoyment” in an urban society, “permeant leisure buildings” would naturally go along. Mark Girouard, Cities & People: A Social and Architectural History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 181.

137 For specific advertisings of firework displays, see “Zhang Yuan Guangdong yanhua 张园广东焰火 [Guangdong firework displays in Zhang Family Garden],” Youxi bao, September 18, 1898; “Zhang Yuan zhongwai yanhua 张园中外焰火 [Chinese and foreign firework displays in Zhang Family Garden],” Youxi bao, September 13, 1898.
structures on the open ground of the garden to accommodate as many varieties of fireworks as possible (Fig. 22).  

Even though each fireworks display ticket was around 3 jiao (general admission ticket) to 3 yuan (VIP ticket, which equaled a half-month salary for skilled workers), visitors, both foreigners and Chinese, youngsters and families, still flocked to see the shows. One report in Shenbao recorded the hectic scene of the entire Jing’an Temple Road during Zhang Yuan’s fireworks show one night:

Just riding out of Da Malu (Nanjing Road) to the west, one can already see the brightness coming out of the lights and fireworks [in Zhang Yuan], which stretches for several miles [in the dark sky]....Carriages jam [outside of Zhang Yuan] and no one can enter [by riding]. People have to stop the cartridges and walk to the gate of the garden, where it is even more crowded with people waiting to enter with tickets.

Even though hectic, as the end of the report describes, with the help of the police from the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), the event remained secure and well organized. After 1885, because of the popularity of these shows, Zhang Shuhe selected the fireworks displays in Zhang Yuan to be celebrated every summer.

Photographic Studios

Although Zhang Yuan provided popular activities also available elsewhere, the open landscape of the garden made the newly added entertainments more competitive and

---

138 For the competition between Zhang Yuan and Yu Yuan, here are a few examples, “Zuguan yanhuo 阻观焰火 [Being stopped from watching fireworks],” Youxi bao, September 18, 1897. “Youyuan shengshu 游园盛事 [The grand occasion about touring a garden],” Youxi bao, November 7, 1897. “Buye qiguan 不夜奇观 [The spectacles in the gardens that never sleep],” Youxi bao, August 7, 1899.
139 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 31.
141 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 31.
desirable. Once imported from Europe in the 1850s, photographic studios in Shanghai sprang up like mushrooms after rain. During the heyday of portrait photography in late Qing Shanghai, according to Tuhua ribao 图画日报 (Picture Daily, 1910), there were approximately forty to fifty studios in the settlements at the same time.\textsuperscript{142} Most of them were concentrated in the old British Settlement near Hankou Road (San Malu) and Fuzhou Road (Si Malu), among theaters, tea houses, and opium dens.\textsuperscript{143} What made taking photographs in Zhang Yuan stand out was the outdoor photographic service. Zhang Yuan welcomed its first photography studio—Guangji Xuan 光霁轩—in 1888, and customers could choose any scenery in the garden as the background for their portraits. In the following years, as they gained prominence, other photographic studios successively opened their branches in Zhang Yuan, including the famous Guanghua 光华 and Baoji 宝记 (Fig. 23).\textsuperscript{144} Popular sites for taking outdoor souvenir photographs in Zhang Yuan included the north gate (Fig. 17), the lotus pond (Fig. 24), or the half-open spaces on verandas that wrapped around the buildings in the garden (Fig. 25). The

\textsuperscript{142} The approximate number of photographic studio was given in “Shanghai shehui zhi xianxiang jinv zai Zhang Yuan paizhao zhi gaoxing [Shanghai social phenomena: The happiness of courtesans taking photographs in Zhang Family Garden],” Tuhua ribao, no. 104, 1909, 7.


\textsuperscript{144} From 1888 to 1919, in addition to the mentioned three photographic studios, the other studio that we can identify in the primary sources was Liufeng Ge 柳风阁. However, these studios were just a fraction among all the photographic studios opened in Zhang Yuan. See Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 39. Also see Claire Roberts, Photography and China (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 65. Zhang Shuhe outsourced the service of taking photographs. Every time a photographic studio opened in Zhang Yuan, they would sign a yearly contract. After the contract between Zhang Yuan and Guanghua Photographic Studio ended in 1904, Zhang Shuhe advertised on Youxi bao to invite other studios to open their business in Zhang Yuan. For the news report, see “Zhang Yuan zhaoxiangguan gengdong 张园照相馆更动 [The changes of photographic studios in Zhang Family Garden],” Youxi bao, December, 2, 1904, 5.
vibrancy of the garden landscape praised by Yuan Zuzhi (see p. 46) was reflected in these outdoor photographs.

Among the various groups of visitors to Zhang Yuan, courtesans were the most important patrons of photographic studios. In the illustration “The Happiness of Courtesans Taking Photos in Zhang Yuan,” in the popular newspaper Tuhua ribao, we see two courtesans, one sitting and one standing, posing on a veranda against the backdrop of the half-open space enclosed by railings (Fig. 25).145 The commentary accompanying the illustration explains that “because the scenery in Zhang Yuan is elegant and superb, [courtesans] can gift [their photographs] to their lovers as ordinary presents.”146

_Flower Expositions and Flower Appreciations_147

Appreciating flowers had long been a popular local activity in many areas in China. People would appreciate different types of flowers according to different seasons. In the 1870s, the British in Shanghai introduced their practice of flower expositions which featured a procedure to let visitors vote anonymously for the most exquisite and exotic flower in the show. After this introduction, there was a revival of local traditions of flower appreciations. For instance, also in the 1870s, Yu Yuan (the previously mentioned garden in the walled city that was taken over by the Small Swords Society

---

146 Ibid. For the Chinese commentary and its translation, see item 5 in Appendix.
147 Flower expositions was translated from saihua hui 赛花会 in Chinese which literally means “competing flower meetings.”
during the rebellion [see p.23]), started to host annual celebrations of “Chrysanthemum Appreciation” in autumn and “Orchid Appreciation” in February and March.\(^{148}\)

The flower expositions in Zhang Yuan were acclaimed for their open spaces, well-grown gardens of exotic flowers, and the glass greenhouse built originally by Groome. In 1891, in sight of these advantages, the British even borrowed Zhang Yuan—which replaced the backyard of the British Consulate—as the venue to host their “original” flower exposition.\(^{149}\) Meanwhile, the traditional flower appreciations in Zhang Yuan were also expanding in scale. In 1897, after a two-year effort to import and cultivate famous species, Zhang Yuan successfully hosted a grand exhibition of more than a hundred types of chrysanthemums.\(^{150}\) Zhang Shuhe even invited a Japanese floral artist to arrange the flowers into various shapes of human characters, animals, and Western-style toys.\(^{151}\) A Youxi bao reporter exaggerated how “the patterns of the flower arrangements are so marvelous…that China has never [seen them] before. Even when compared to the rest of the world, it is unquestionably unique.”\(^{152}\)

Even though, prior to the 1890s, the options for entertainment within the garden were somewhat limited, Zhang Shuhe managed to upgrade the activities by highlighting the garden’s outdoor space. Through these early explorations, we see the potential uses of

\(^{148}\) Ge, Huyou zaji, 8.

\(^{149}\) “Weichun Yuan guan xiren saihuaji 味莼园观西人赛花记 [Attending the foreigners’ flower exposition in Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao, May 13, 1891, 1.

\(^{150}\) “Mingyuan saihua ji 名园赛花记 [Flower expositions in the celebrated garden],” Shenbao, May 16, 1888, 2; “Ju tan 菊谈 [On chrysanthemum],” Shenbao, 25, 1890, 1.

\(^{151}\) Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 61.

\(^{152}\) Youxi bao, October 30, 1897, quoted in Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 63.
the garden, as well as the public’s growing need for entertainment from the popularity of
the summer fireworks displays, outdoor photographic services, and flower expositions.

A Theme Park: Leisure Activities in Zhang Yuan after the 1890s Expansions

In the second half of the 1890s, the choices of entertainment in Shanghai became
diversified, and the venues offering these activities were growing rapidly. By glancing
through the advertisements in local newspapers published in the late 1890s, “working
urbanites” would find a great variety of entertainments for spending their “after-work
leisure hours”: on Nanjing Road alone, one had the choice of enjoy watching Chinese
operas in the Orange Osmanthus Theater House (Dangui xiuan 丹桂戏园), listening to
storytelling in the Home of Heavenly Happiness (Tianle wo 天乐窝), enjoying wine
tasting in the Longtime Happiness Bar (Changleyi jiuguan 长乐意酒馆), or having
Western-style meals in the First-Class Taste (Yipinxiang 一品香) (Fig. 26). Some of
these venues also included billiards rooms and bowling lanes.

While the entertainment industry in urban Shanghai developed, Zhang Shuhe
started to take these varieties of activities into consideration during Zhang Yuan’s
expansion projects as discussed in Chapter 2 (see p. 47). The leisure pursuits and the
garden space were mutually shaping each other. For example, Maoer Opera (Maoer xi 髻
儿戏)—developed from the Peking Opera in the late Qing period—became “a rage”

---

153 For an example of the advertisements on various entertainments listed in the newspaper, see Youxi bao,
September 13, 1898, 2-3.
because of its all-female troupe. In order to provide the best accommodation for the performance of Maoer Opera, Zhang Shuhe purposefully built a new Western-style building in the garden, The Splendid Place between Sea and Sky (Haitian shengchu 海天胜处) (see the reconstructed map, fig. 18). While this theater hosted varieties of operas, Maoer Opera was always the one in highest demand. Top courtesans, such as Lin Daiyu who was “an active and well-known singer,” regularly gave performances in this newly built theater.

In addition to this specifically built accommodation for theater performances, the expansion projects also covered the construction of a billiard hall, a restaurant of Western-style food, a fives court (a British sport that was similar to playing racquetball with hands), and even an ice rink (Fig. 27). While a variety of venues across Shanghai offered different fashionable entertainments, Zhang Yuan alone—after its expansion projects finished by 1894—was able to include most of them in one space.

Nevertheless, Zhang Yuan was known not only for these regular leisure activities. With Acadia Hall, the open lawn, and the pond, Zhang Yuan was also capable of accommodating large-scale events which often became the talk of the town at the time. The construction of Acadia Hall prepared Zhang Yuan for special events that required a spacious indoor space. Zhang Shuhe once hosted a grand display of the famous Xiashi lanterns in Acadia Hall. (Xiashi 硖石 is an area in Haining, in northern Zheijang

---

154 Bryna Goodman and Wendy Larson. *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), 2004, 81-82.
155 When Zhang Yuan started to host Maoer Opera was arguable. But it is certain that, the building, The Splendid Place between Sea and Sky, was built at beginning of the 1890s.
156 Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 62
province, celebrated for its craftsmanship of sewing patterns of flowers on lanterns.)

Inside the two-story high main hall, there were sixteen Xiashi lanterns, more than fifty other lanterns in the shape of flower pots and baskets, one tall lantern in the shape of a memorial archway, and the list goes on.157 After the owner of the Xiashi lanterns had brought his collections to America for an international competition, this show was the first time in years that one could see these lanterns in China.158

With the advantage of the expanse of lawn, Zhang Yuan accommodated massive outdoor events. The most reported one was circuses. Since the early 1900s, famous circus companies, including Bysack’s Circus and Hippodrome Circus and Menagerie, both performed in Zhang Yuan in the early 1900s. During performance seasons, circus crews set up tents on the lawn to make room for performances as well as accommodating the crews and animals. The escape of a tiger at night from Zhang Yuan during the circus season became a sensational story in the local news.159 The vast area of the lawn outside Acadia Hall also allowed other performances like acrobatics (1905), riding hot air balloons (1909), and magic shows (1910).

The most innovative activities featured the pond in the south of the garden. From 1903 to probably 1909, Zhang Shue temporarily rented Zhang Yuan to a German company (Evans & Co., A.M.A) to manage.160 After he took on the management of

---

157 Sun, Huruan huajiulu, 49.
158 Ibid.
159 “A Tiger Escapes,” The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette, April 27, 1918.
160 Evan & Co. was an importing and exporting German company established in Shanghai in 1870. It was not clear why Zhang Shuhe rented Zhang Yuan to other people to manage. One of the possible reasons was that he wanted to spare more time on other investments in the newspaper industry and in his silk manufacturing company. For the reference of the name of the German company, see Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 19.
Zhang Yuan in 1903, the owner of the German company—known by his first name Evans—established Chang Su-ho’s Garden Company, and brought more Western-style activities to Zhang Yuan. In the same year, Evans installed a mechanical entertainment facility, called “Chutes” (similar to water slides) in the pond in Zhang Yuan. Roller coasters, or what was called Flying Dragon Island (Feilong dao 飞龙岛), were also introduced in Zhang Yuan probably earlier that year (Fig. 28). The “Chutes” outmatched the Flying Dragon Island by combining the facility of a roller coaster with the garden’s pond. To take a ride at the “Chutes,” one needed to climb up the highly elevated platform and slide from the top of the track to the pond.\footnote{Sun Baoxuan, \textit{Sun Baoxuan riji} 孙宝瑄日记 [Diary of Sun Baoxuan], vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), quoted in Zhang and Yan, \textit{Zhang Yuan}, 24.} Even though it was considered dangerous, there were still adventurous customers who were drawn to the thrilling experience. Similar amusement rides became popular in major cities around the world at the same time, such as Coney Island, New York, London, and Paris. Because of the “novelty” and the popularity of the water slides, photographs of this facility were made into souvenir postcards to represent a \textit{shimao} (fashionable) Zhang Yuan as well as a \textit{shimao} Shanghai (Fig. 29).\footnote{There were many other activities took place in the pond in Zhang Yuan. For instance, serval years after the introduction of the water slides, Zhang Shuhe introduced a traditional cuisine from his hometown Wuxi which was traditionally served on boats (\textit{Wuxi chuancai} 无锡船菜). Riding on a boat in the pond, visitors of Zhang Yuan could enjoy authentic Wuxi cuisine prepared by cooks from Wuxi.}

Zhang Yuan eventually became a theme park that aimed to offer the “newest” and the most “novel” leisure activities in late Qing Shanghai. Around this time, Zhang Shuhe
canceled the general entrance fee and charged for these individual activities instead.\textsuperscript{163} On the one hand, free admission and more entertainments would attract more customers. On the other hand, according to the regulations of the SMC, opening the garden freely to the public could deduct thirty percent of the business tax.\textsuperscript{164} This expanded garden space provided Zhang Yuan great flexibility when accommodating diverse and “novel” activities, even the internationally popularized roller coaster. The concept of the city of Shanghai itself being a theme park started to prevail in Chinese-language city guides at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{165} If Shanghai was a city of entertainment with a heterogeneous nature, then Zhang Yuan could be understood as a microcosm of this city. Until its closing in 1919, this microcosm continued to be listed as the first in the “Garden” subcategory—which now belonged in the “Sightseeing, Dining, and Living” section—in Shanghai zhinan 上海指南 (also known as Guide to Shanghai), one of the most popular Chinese-language city guides at the time.\textsuperscript{166}

The 1907 “International Fair and Fête:” A Charity Fair on a “Global” Scale

By the 1900s, the entertainment industry in Shanghai including the various venues for leisure activities had flourished for more than a decade and had made the city a desirable destination. This can be seen from the boom of city guides about Shanghai,

\textsuperscript{163} It is worth mentioning that other gardens in the same area, such as Yu Yuan and Xu Yuan 徐园 (Xu Family Garden, opened in 1887), were still charging 1 jiao to 2 jiao for the entrance fee. 1 jiao was roughly less than the daily wages of a skilled worker in Shanghai in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
\textsuperscript{164} This information is acquired from the micro films no. 99-26 of Shanghai Municipal Council Archives collected in Shanghai Municipal Archives located on East Zhongshan Road.
\textsuperscript{165} Yeh, Shanghai Love, 330.
\textsuperscript{166} See Shanghai zhinan published from 1909 to 1919.
published both to guide the tourists and to satisfy the public’s fascination with this cosmopolitan city. In Zhang Yuan, while the previously mentioned activities continued to attract customers, events that were on a much larger scale with greater social impact began to appear. Through these social events, Zhang Yuan went beyond an entertainment theme park and started to fashion the city’s social events in general. The “International Fair and Fête” held in Zhang Yuan in 1907 was one of the prominent examples. The degree to which the space of Zhang Yuan was transformed to suit the need of the event and the variety of “foreign” cultures that were incorporated was maximized in this single charity fair. The “up-to-date” layout of Zhang Yuan—with the open lawn, the pond, the island, and Acadia Hall—enabled the diverse entertainments to be carried out without spatial restrictions.

From May 23 to 25, 1907, the “International Fair and Fête”, also known as *Wanguo saizhenhui* 万国赛珍会 (Treasure Competition of All Nations), was held in Shanghai to raise funds in order to help refugees in flooded areas in the Jianghuai Region (the area near and between Yangtze River and Huai River). This three-day event was initiated and organized by the wives of influential foreign and Chinese merchants and officials. Zhang Yuan provided venues for this fair which local newspapers regarded as on such “a large scale [that it] had never been attempted in Shanghai.”167 During this event, all the buildings and open grounds in Zhang Yuan were efficiently managed to accommodate this single fair.

Zhang Yuan: A Most Suitable Site

On the morning of May 23, the “International Fair and Fête” was opened to the public. Without a formal opening, the event started off after the short speech delivered by Sir Havilland de Sausmarez (1891-1941), the Judge of the British Supreme Court in China. He stressed that the fair was “a most eloquent testimony to humanity” since “representatives of so many nations had combined together for the good object in view,” and he also hoped the visitors of the event would buy freely. The north gate of Zhang Yuan was the main entrance to the event and where visitors could buy admission tickets. Upon entering the garden, one would be overwhelmed by the festivity of the enormous site of Zhang Yuan: “festoons of colored lanterns hung from every tree. There was a profusion of flags and banners, and the native dresses of the Continent also added color to the scene (Fig. 30).”

“No more suitable site for the Fête than Chang Su-ho’s garden could have been selected,” according to the North China Herald. “The large hall [Acadia Hall] provided ample accommodation for many [national] stalls” that were set up on both sides of the first floor to utilize the walkways enclosed by the arcades (Fig. 31 & 32). The west side of the main hall was lined with the booths of Portugal, Japan, Russia, Britain, Ireland, and Germany. On the east side were the booths of China, Spain, France, and America. Each one of the booths was decorated with their national flag and was piled with native merchandise shipped directly from their countries of origin (Fig. 33).

---

168 “The International Fair and Fête,” May 24, 1907.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
171 Ibid.
instance, the Spanish booth was designed to “represent a corner of old Seville” (a historical city-town in Spain). Near the booth stood Spanish ladies in their traditional costumes selling fans and cigarettes imported from Spain. In addition to the merchandise, a raffle was also available in Acadia Hall to win a variety of popular prizes.

The outdoor space of Zhang Yuan was also “admirably suited to the purposes of the Fair.” Temporary tents were constructed on the open grounds and the island to accommodate a variety of entertainments from all over the world. Arriving at the island, the first tent on the right was an exhibition of Japanese jujitsu which demonstrated “the subtle methods of throwing and disabling one’s antagonist under the most trying circumstances.” On the left as one passed this exhibition was the Japanese tea house where “refreshments were daintily dispensed by Japanese ladies.” Also on the island was the Swedish tent in which cigarettes and sweetmeats were sold. Once off the island, walking north on the enormous open lawn east of Acadia Hall, one would find entertainments including a “high-class concert,” an American singing performance, and a minstrel show (also referred to as the Black Slave Theater [Heinu juchang 黑奴剧场] in

---

172 To give more examples: Shinto Torii attracted customers to the Japanese stall. The British booth sold mostly children’s toys, like baby dolls, puppets, and tennis racquets. Candy and cool drinks were popular at the American booth. “The International Fair and Fête,” May 24, 1907.

173 Foreign companies donated prizes such as watches, silverware, perfume, alcohol, and bicycles. Influential Chinese individuals, like Zhu Dehua 庄德华 (1866-1927), the wife of the prominent Qing official Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀 (1844-1916), also contributed to the pool of prizes with Chinese blue and white vases, a Guanyin statue, an embroidered Chinese screen, a pearl necklace, and so on. Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 66.

174 “The International Fair and Fête,” May 24, 1907.

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid.
the hand-drawn map in *Shibao*) (Fig. 34).\textsuperscript{177} Visitors could enjoy a variety of performances over a glass of beer offered at the Japanese and Danish beer stalls (Fig. 35). The most “thrilling” of all was the display of Egyptian mummies in one of the temporary tents in the same area. The inclusion of daily activities in Zhang Yuan—including taking photographs, watching movies (cinematography, as people described it at that time, was introduced in Zhang Yuan in 1897), fireworks displays, and Chinese operas—made the selection of entertainments during this event even more all-encompassing.\textsuperscript{178}

\textit{A Comparison with Other Large-scale Social Events in Shanghai}

This charity fair was not the only large-scale event happening in Shanghai at that time. All kinds of folk religion related festivals were held in Shanghai regularly and were observed by different groups of people, for instance, the celebration of the birthday of the local City God (*Chenghuang* 城隍) and the Queen of Heaven (*Tianhou* 天后). The former one was mostly hosted by local Shanghai residents.\textsuperscript{179} The latter one—honoring the Queen of Heaven, a goddess for protecting seafarers—was brought by immigrants from the coastal cities in southern China, such as Canton and Fujian, who benefited primarily through monopolized sea trade of sugar and cotton between Shanghai and other cities.\textsuperscript{180} In addition to celebrations organized by local Chinese, there were also festivals

\textsuperscript{177} \textquoteright\textquoteright The International Fair and Fête,\textquoteright May 24, 1907.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{179} The procession of the City God was held on the Qingming Festival (the fourth and fifth day of the fourth month in the Chinese lunisolar calendar) annually in order to dispel evils. This procession was participated by different groups of people with various social status at different stages: local officials and gentry would offer incense at the temple at dawn, then people would worship the City God following the Master of Religious Ceremonies, and participants of various occupations would form into different groups and start off the procession. Xiaoqing Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial: Shanghai Urban Life, 1884-1898* (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, 2003), 190.
\textsuperscript{180} Ye, *The Dianshizhai Pictorial*, 197.
arranged by foreign residents. For example, in 1893, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the opening of Shanghai as a treaty port, a three-day Silver Jubilee was carried out in various areas across the International Settlement. These celebrations usually took form in a series of processions or parades and attracted onlookers by their grandiose scale.

In contrast, the “International Fair and Fête” in Zhang Yuan attracted visitors for its “novel” multi-cultural activities perceived from a “global” perspective. These activities provided one with a rare opportunity to closely experience cultures around the world, even though with limitations. Late Qing Shanghai was developing into a cosmopolitan city with heterogeneous cultures. Not just one but a variety of “foreign” practices and ideas were interwoven with local customs. The “International Fair and Fête” took advantage of the diverse foreign communities in Shanghai and represented them in a global context, which was well suited with the characteristics of cosmopolitan Shanghai, and, thus, made the event a shimao (fashionable) one. The dynamics of the

---

182 Admittedly, the global context sketched out by the “International Fair and Fête” was a limited one. The represented nations in the fair were mostly colonial powers. Colonized countries, if presented, were made to fit their stereotype of “primitive” and “backward” culture, like the Egyptian mummies.
183 After the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Qing government signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) which legalized the construction of factories by foreigners in the treaty ports (which, at that time, had been established in major cities in at least seventeen provinces across China). This policy opened the potential of industrial development in Shanghai and attracted more foreign businessmen into the already diverse foreign communities of Shanghai. At the time approaching the collapse of the Qing dynasty (the late 1900s), the number of Japanese in Shanghai was nearing 3,400. The foreign communities with the next highest populations were the French and the American. German, Russian, and Portuguese communities each numbered around a thousand. Among all the foreign groups, the British community, which had the highest population, remained the most influential of all. See Bergère, *Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity*, 86.
garden space, including Acadia Hall, the pond, and the open lawn, also helped to bring the event to life.

The 1907 “International Fair and Fête” turned out to be a great success. Shanghai residents, both foreign and Chinese, participated enthusiastically. This two-day event had to be extended one more day through May 25 to admit the high number of visitors. The amount of funds raised by this charity fair eventually reached 74,278.50 yuan. On the one hand, the “International Fair and Fête” was entertaining. On the other hand, it contributed to the society in terms of doing charity, educating the public, and broadening their horizon. With influential social events like this, Zhang Yuan outgrew its definition as an entertainment theme park. In the years following the successful example set by the “International Fair and Fête,” several expositions, some for fund-raising and some for merchandise-promotion, were held in Shanghai.

“Merchant Bureaucrats” and Organization of the Local Events

It is worth pointing out that, in addition to the enormous space that the garden offered, Zhang Yuan was also chosen to host the “International Fair and Fête” because of Zhang Shuhe’s connection with Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀 (1844-1916), one of the persons in charge of the China International Famine Relief Commission. From 1882 to 1884, 

---

185 One year before the “International Fair and Fête,” in order to raise fund for the flood refugees, a China International Famine Relief Commission was initiated by a prominent British merchant/official Edward Selby Little (1864-1939) in 1906. Shen Xuanhuai 盛宣怀 (1844-1916), a “leading bureaucratic entrepreneur,” was the vice chairman of this Famine Relief Commission. He was an influential figure in the national Foreign Affair Movement (Yangwu yundong 洋务运动) and invested in numerous industries including shipping, telegram, textile industry, and banking. For the discussion on Sheng Xuanhuai, see Yeh, Shanghai Splendor, 23.
Zhang Shuhe used to work under Sheng Xuanhuai in the China Merchant Steamship Navigation Company, the first government-funded investment company based in Shanghai (mentioned in Chapter 1, see p. 25). Both Zhang and Sheng were what Wen-hsin Yeh called “merchant bureaucrats” in late Qing China. They usually held government positions or bureaucratic connections and, at the same time, had private mercantile investments. Unlike local Qing authorities, “merchant bureaucrats” had “mixed functions and crossed identities” which suggested a more fluid social connection and ensured a better versatility when conducting local affairs. Similar account was made by Bergère about compradors to illustrate the fluid identity of residents in Shanghai in general.

Zhang Shuhe had, in the first place, the financial resources to purchase the land for Zhang Yuan. After the opening of the garden, his social connection also enabled him to invite intellectual friends to celebrate birthdays in the garden and have the construction of Acadia Hall reported on the front page of the newspaper he invested in. In return, the garden became one of Zhang Shuhe’s critical assets. In the 1907 “International Fair and Fête,” because of his connection with this charity fair’s committee and, most importantly, the fact that he processed Zhang Yuan, Zhang Shuhe played a critical part in this charity event and was recognized as a compassionate entrepreneur. Among more than ten public gardens recommended in Shanghai zhinan, Zhang Shuehe’s name was one of the few that

\[186\] Yeh, Shanghai Splendor, 21.
\[187\] Ibid., 26.
\[188\] Bergère argued that: “Their [compradors’] status was extremely ambiguous: they were at once salaried employees of the foreign hongs, intermediaries who earned a commission, and sometimes independent brokers operating for themselves.” See Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 72.
was mentioned along with the garden. While Zhang Shuhe’s active social connection contributed to the rising fame of Zhang Yuan, Zhang Yuan also gradually became part of Zhang Shuhe’s identity.

In conclusion, from the 1880s to the 1900s, Zhang Yuan, through both its garden space and its activities, was transforming along with the developing entertainment industry of Shanghai. Zhang Yuan grew together with the increasing demand for leisure, which constituted an essential part of the lifestyles of Shanghai residents. The garden space of Zhang Yuan was built to cater to the activities Zhang Shuhe envisioned providing, and its activities were largely shaped, or brought to life, by the “up-to-date” landscape. From a theme park that included as many “novel” activities as possible to a proper space to host influential social events, Zhang Yuan not only participated in the trend of but also set the fashion for the ever-expanding variety of entertainments in late Qing and early Republican Shanghai.

---

See *Shanghai zhinan*, published from 1909 to 1919.
CHAPTER 4: REFORM IN AND OUT OF ZHANG YUAN

The concept of reform (gaige/gailiang 改革/改良) emerged in the late 19th century after the Qing government’s continuous defeats in wars with imperial powers, including Britain (1842, 1860), France (1885), and Japan (1895). The “foreign”—used to be associated with the “new” and the “novel”—was gradually layered with the implication of representing “modern” and “progress.” Since the 1860s, in a modernizing Shanghai, voices advocating for social reforms after Western practices and ideas became increasingly dominant. Reformation not only shaped the political discourse but also permeated the popular urban culture. From the late 1890s to the closing of the garden in 1919, Zhang Yuan—in addition to providing “novel” entertainments—also became one of the most popular public spaces for political meetings and public demonstrations within Shanghai. This chapter aims to explore how activities in Zhang Yuan from the late 1890s to 1919 reflected this permeation of reform in different aspects of city life in urban Shanghai, and, additionally, how the garden space of Zhang Yuan evolved into a suitable public space for the reform-related events, accordingly.

The national reform movements started in the early 1860s. The reform-minded Qing court officials launched the top-down Foreign Affairs Movement (Yangwu yundong 洋务运动) to modernize the military of the country. In 1898, in the aftermath of the First Sino-Japanese War (1895), the young Guangxu Empower (1871-1908), with the help of his supporters, initiated the Hundred Day’s Reform (Bairi weixin 百日维新) in order to change the feudal system of the Qing dynasty into a constitutional monarchy and to

---

190 Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 125.
reform the education and economic systems. This short-lived reform was crushed by the court conservatives led by Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) and put an end to this over thirty-year series of government-initiated reforms. However, the demand for a modernized China prevailed. Eventually, the Revolution of 1911 (also known as Xinhai geming 辛亥革命, 1911-1912) overthrew the Qing dynasty—the last imperial dynasty in Chinese history—and the Republic of China was founded on January 1, 1912. During this transitional period, the trend to reform and strengthen China permeated the nation, especially Shanghai.

From its opening as a port city, Shanghai was exposed to Western-style infrastructure and lifestyles, and such material aspects of a modernizing Shanghai were coupled with the introduction of Western ideas of democracy, social reformation, and gender equality. After the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911, cities were choosing sides, and Shanghai soon turned to the revolutionists. Furthermore, the headquarters of the group that sparked the revolution—the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui 同盟会)—was also moved from Tokyo, Japan to Shanghai. This commercialized treaty port “advanced funds,” “mobilized men,” and “provided leaders and programs,” all of which expedited the success of the revolution.192

---

191 The 1895 First Sino-Japanese War was an important trigger that led to the government initiated reform as well as the growing discontent among the public towards the Qing government and the foreign imperialist powers. After the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Qing government signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895). This treaty not only ceded Taiwan and Penghu to Japan but also opened several more port cities. Furthermore, this treaty legalized the construction of factories by foreigners in the treaty ports (which, at that time, had been established in major cities in at least seventeen provinces across China).

192 Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 130.
After the establishment of a new—yet still fragmentary—China, Shanghai became a principal “revolutionary center.”\textsuperscript{193} The May Fourth Movement (\textit{Wusi yundong 五四运动}) began with a hallmark event initiated by Beijing students to protest against the Treaty of Versaille signed by the Chinese government on May 4, 1919. The center of this reformation movement was later shifted to Shanghai through a series of students’ and merchants’ strikes and evolved into an increasingly influential cultural movement that lasted for the entire 1920s.\textsuperscript{194} Through the May Fourth Movement, the radical ideas to rebel against tradition and to advocate for anti-imperialist nationalism became prevalent, and Shanghai with its “interprovincial [and semi-colonial] nature” remained a center of reform activity.\textsuperscript{195} In 1920, the Communist Party of China was also established in the foreign settlements in Shanghai. The city became the coordinating center for the party’s irrepresible growth in the next decade. From the late 1890s to the 1920s, the entire city of Shanghai, including merchants and intellectuals, females and males, students and workers, were all mobilized to participate in the evolving rhetoric of social reforms.

\textsuperscript{193} Bergère, \textit{Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity}, 130.
\textsuperscript{194} The New Cultural Movement (\textit{Xinwenhua yundong 新文化运动}) emerged in the early 1920s was a part of the cultural reform in progress. This movement aimed to reject traditional values and customs and embrace the idea of “democracy” and “science.” For one example, “the New Culture activists…polizired the linguistic field by radically opposing the classical and vernacular registers in terms of negative and positive ideological value. They smeared the written, classical register as a ‘dead’ langue incompatible with modern life….” See, John Crespi, \textit{Voices in Revolution: Poetry and the Auditory Imagination in Modern China} (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 28.
\textsuperscript{195} Bergère, \textit{Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity}, 130.
Reform in Different Aspects of City Life as Seen in Zhang Yuan

*Catching up with Global Trends: The “International Fair and Fête”*

To keep up with the latest global trend of cultural events was regarded by contemporary intellectuals as one way to reform China. The previously mentioned 1907 “International Fair and Fête,” for example, was considered as following the global trend of world fairs. World fairs, also known as world expositions, gathered representatives from different countries to exhibit their national goods and advertise their industrial achievements. Popularized worldwide since the mid-1800s, this global event was successively held in major metropolis like London, Paris, Chicago, and Tokyo. A decade after the opening of Shanghai as a treaty port, intellectuals in Shanghai had begun to press for the idea of holding a world fair in China. The promotion for such an idea can be seen from a considerable number of newspaper reports whose titles included “On the Merits of Hosting a World Fair in China,” “China is Suitable to Host a World Fair,” and “On Hosting a World Fair to Enlighten the People.”

---

196 The two most discussed examples in the contemporary newspaper reports were the Industrial Exposition in Paris (1844) and the Great Exhibition in London (1851). Both countries utilized this opportunity to advertise their industrial achievements of the modern age. Even the construction of the architecture built to house the world fair like the Crystal Palace (1851) became both a product of such advertisement and a highly debated industrial spectacle. See Ralph Liebermann, “The Crystal Palace: A Late 20th Century View of its Changing Place in Architectural History and Criticism,” *AA Files* 12 (Summer 1986): 46-58.

197 After the expositions in Paris and London, major metropolises on other continents also joined this global trend, like Philadelphia (the Centennial International Exposition in 1876), Chicago (the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893), and Kyoto (The National Industrial Exhibition in 1877).

198 “Lun zhongguo kaishe bolanhui youyi 论中国开设博览会之有益 [On the Merits of Hosting a World Fair in China],” *Shenbao*, July 10, 1886, 1; “Zhongguo yixing bolanhui shuo 中国宜兴博览会说 [China is Suitable to Host a World’s Fair],” *Shenbao*, June 27, 1892, 1; “Saihui yikai minzhi lun 赛会以开民智论 [On Hosting a World Fair to Enlighten the People],” *Shenbao*, March 2, 1896, 1.
The importance of hosting a world fair in China was promoted to comply with the popular discourse of a prospering China through trading and economic reforms.¹⁹⁹ On an individual level, as some intellectuals argued, world fairs could open the horizons of people from all of China.²⁰⁰ On a national level, such a global event provided a platform to advertise the diverse but less known products from both inland China and other foreign countries, and, therefore, to accelerate the national and international trade.²⁰¹ However, after several failed attempts, by the late 1900s, China still had not held its own world’s fair.

The “International Fair and Fête” held in Zhang Yuan was, nevertheless, recognized as a precursor for a Chinese world fair in the near future.²⁰² This charity fair in Zhang Yuan provided a stage for Chinese merchants to advertise their products as well as offered them an opportunity to learn from the merchandise brought by foreign representatives. As a news report commented,

It is not to say that Chinese treasures are not beautiful, but [it is true that they] are not able to be innovative about the design [of their products]. Even though other countries [produced] only a small wallet or a tiny mirror, [these products] are

¹⁹⁹ In the following decade after this 1886 report was published, positioning the significance of hosting a world exposition within the framework of mercantilist reform became the mainstream voice. News on world fairs worldwide had even become a routinized part of many national newspapers. To name one of the many examples, “Shijie geguo zhi bolanhui 世界各国之博览会 [World fairs around the world],” Shenbao, September 14, 1906, 9.
²⁰⁰ “Lun zhongguo kaishe bolanhui youyi,” July 10, 1886, 1.
²⁰¹ This emphasis on the significance of mercantile practices to a nation did not come out of a historical vacuum. As introduced in Chapter 1, one school of thought in late 19th century China was to strengthen China with modernized commercial practices. As an advocate of this school of thought, Yan Fu 严复 (1854-1921), an intellectual as well as a reformist, translated Adam Smith’s The Wealth of Nations (1776) in 1901. In his translation, Yan liberally infused his own commentaries with Smith’s argument to underline that “the wealth and power of the state can only be achieved by a release of energies and capacities (in this case specifically economic) of the individual,” therefore the importance of merchants, trade, and private initiation. See Benjamin Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power Yen Fu and The West (Massachusetts, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 117.
²⁰² “Wanguo saizhenhui disanri jishi 万国赛珍会第三日纪事 [Report on the third day of the Treasure Competition of All Nations],” Shenbao, May 26, 1907, 4.
updating every day and, therefore, are bizarre yet charming. With visitors [being able to see those foreign products], this fair is beneficial to improve the commerce and industry [of our country]. [Therefore,] even though the “International Fair and Fête” was held for raising funds to relieve famine, it was relevant to the prospects of China. There is nothing wrong with calling the “International Fair and Fête” a precursor of our future world fairs.\(^\text{203}\)

Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962), an influential intellectual who later advocated for the New Cultural Movement (Xinwenhua yundong 新文化运动) in the 1910s, visited this fair when he was only sixteen and praised the event for its involvement in crucial and current social issues.\(^\text{204}\) This popular charity fair in Zhang Yuan became a participant in the prevailing rhetoric of social reform.

Or, in other words, in late Qing and early Republican Shanghai, the boundary between popular culture and political demand was rather fluid. Reform was manifested in modernized arsenals and Western-style schools on the one hand, and experienced in various aspects of everyday life on the other (from the use of languages to the latest entertainment events). Such permeation of reform in the city life can be seen, especially, in the entertainment gardens like Zhang Yuan. As argued in Chapter 3 (see p. 63), the “up-to-date” garden design of Zhang Yuan—with its open landscape and the spacious Acadia Hall—provided a great flexibility when it came to the introduction of activities. The garden was more than a theme park that assembled a variety of entertainments available in Shanghai; it was able to bring in the “newest” activities around the world which made the garden part of the social reform movement. The introduction of these

---

\(^\text{203}\) “Wanguo saizhenhui disanri jishi,” May 26, 1907, 4.

\(^\text{204}\) Hu Shi, *Hushi wenji* 胡适文集 [Collected works of Hu Shi], vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), 7. For the discussion on the New Culture Movement, see note 196.
“novel” foreign activities in entertainment gardens, to some extent, blurred the line between pursuing shimao (fashionable) and advocating for reforms.

Reforming the Traditions: “Civilized Weddings” in Acadia Hall

In addition to catching up with the latest global trend, another way to reform was challenging the traditional customs and “transforming” them with Western-style practices. On January 2, 1905, Liang Yu 廉隅 (1886 -?) and Lady Yao 姚女士 (n.d.) held what was recognized as a “civilized wedding” (wenming jiehun 文明结婚) in Zhang Yuan.205 Liang Yu was a fellow countryman of Zhang Shuhe: both were from Wuxi. He was one of the more than 8,000 overseas students studying in Japan in just that year.206 Immersed in the modernizing environment of Japan, overseas students transformed their outfits and embraced Western practices to fit a modern lifestyle.207 Shibao 时报 (Times published from 1904 to 1939) gave a series of follow-up reports of this wedding from January 2 to 4.208 This newspaper was one of the main critical mediums for influential reformers in the Qing court such as Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) to promote their democratic reformation ideas.

According to the reports, the “civilized wedding” of Liang Yu and Lady Yao in Zhang Yuan was carried out in three separate phases, blended with both Chinese-style and Western-style wedding elements. In the first phase, led by Zhang Shuhe as a wedding

205 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 51.
206 Ibid.
208 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 53.
officiant, the bride and the groom exchanged wedding vows and rings. In the second, more traditional phase, the couple kowtowed to the elders in the family, bowed to siblings of the same generation, and were given gold, silver, or other jewelry. The last phase was giving speeches: the representatives from both the bride’s and groom’s sides gave a congratulatory speech separately, and the couple read their prepared speeches in return. The ceremony ended with a small reception where people could toast to the couple and dance.209

The three-phase hybrid wedding of Liang Yu and Lady Yao was considered a model of a modern wedding.210 As seen from the report of the wedding procedures, some of the complicated local wedding rituals—including the groom picking up and escorting the bride to the wedding (yinqin 迎亲) and teasing the newlywed couple in the bridal chamber (naodongfang 闹洞房)—were eliminated. Instead, certain essential Western-style wedding rituals were appropriated to make the ceremony more efficient, economical, and, above all, “innovative.”211 Such changes in the wedding rituals reflected and promoted the freedom to choose one’s spouse and the idea of gender equality. In the following decades, this hybrid procedure was gradually refined and became an increasingly fashionable style of wedding ceremony in Republican Shanghai.

To hold the ceremony in the “up-to-date” Acadia Hall in Zhang Yuan contributed to the “civilized” and the “innovative” appearance of the wedding (Fig. 36). As discussed previously, Zhang Yuan encapsulated the evolving urban culture of Shanghai.

209 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 53.
210 “Hunli chuangxin 婚礼创新 [Innovating weddings],” Nvzi shijie 女学世界 [The world about female study], no. 11, 1905, quoted in Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 53.
211 Ibid.
which was characterized by the constant domestication of Western practices shown in infrastructure, built environment, leisure activities, and so on. In particular, the grandiose Italian Renaissance-style Acadia Hall was the iconic architecture emblematic of such domestication. Acadia Hall was an in-vogue place for experiencing imported Western-style practices from foreigners’ ballroom parties to a variety of expositions. This characteristic made Acadia Hall suitable for a modern-style “civilized” wedding, and it even enhanced the chic modern look of such an event.  

**Participating in Public Events: Women Seen in Zhang Yuan**

To improve females’ social status was one of the vital components to reform the country. Late Qing and early Republican Shanghai, as one of the principal reform centers in China, was at the forefront for probing and advocating for female rights to social benefits and female participation in public affairs. Not surprisingly, increasing numbers of women were seen in public events held in Zhang Yuan, not only as participants but also as organizers.

In 1897, Zhang Yuan became part of a heated discussion in national newspapers concerning a “Ladies’ Dinner” held in Acadia Hall. In the preparation stage of the Hundred Days’ Reform, wives of local officials and merchants worked with reformists to promote Chinese female rights to “the modern system” of education, or what was called

---

212 In the following years, several reform-minded intellectuals held their “civilized” weddings in Zhang Yuan one after another, including, in 1913, the former prime minister of the Republic of China Tang Shaoyi 唐绍仪 (1862-1938). See Zhang and Yan, *Zhang Yuan*, 53.

the new-style schools (*Xinshi xuetang* 新式学堂). To create a forum to discuss the educational reform, these Chinese ladies invited “some fifty or so European ladies of different nationalities to a large semi-public dinner” in Acadia Hall. Most of the foreign ladies came either as wives of foreign Consuls or as advocates representing the Natural Feet Society (*Tianzuhui* 天足会), a national organization that called for the abandonment of the practice of bound feet and the liberation of females in general. At this dinner, the women had discussed regulating admission to the school; the first was to “admit girls of 12, and the only rule yet formulated apparently is, that if with bound feet at entrance their bandages are to be cut off at the first possible opportunity.” The illustration of the event in the popular *Dianzhihai huabao* heightened the “modernness” of the event through the depiction of more than a hundred Chinese and foreign females seated “fairly mixed,” conversing at one long table in the spacious Renaissance-style great hall (Fig. 37).

Shanghai was a pioneering force in female education. In 1850, one of the first new-style female schools in China—Bridgman Memorial School (*Beiwen nvsu* 神文女塾)—was established in Shanghai by missionaries. After more than two decades, in 1898,

---

214 The new-style schools for male students were open in Shanghai in the late 1840s by the missionaries. New-style schools included subjects such as math, physics, chemistry, astronomy, English, and so on. For the arguments of reformers in the Qing court about the necessity to promote female rights to new-style education, see Liang Qichao, “Changshe nvsu xuetang qi [Advocating for the establishment of female schools],” *Shiwu bao* 时务报 [Current affairs newspaper], Shanghai, 1897, no.45.

215 The Chinese women who attended this meeting included the wife of Sheng Xuanhuai, the wife of Jing Yuanshan 经元善 (1840-1904), and the wife of Zhang Shuhe. (Because each of these mentioned people had more than one wife, we cannot identify which wife of theirs attended this meeting. But we can see the joining forces of females in conducting social affairs.) See Xiong, “Wanqing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de tuozhan,” 81.

216 “The Ladies’ Dinner at Chang Su-ho’s,” December 12, 1897.

217 Ibid.
the first new-style female school funded by Chinese—Jingzheng Female School (Jingzheng nvshu 经正女塾)—also opened in Shanghai with the collaborations between state and private funds. It was the “sensational” “Ladies’ Dinner” held in Acadia Hall that had set the groundwork for the establishment of this school.\textsuperscript{218} By 1905, there were at least sixteen new-style female schools in Shanghai that admitted girls from all social classes. Starting in the early 1900s, when attending female schools became trendy, one of the previously mentioned four top courtesans, Jin Xiaobao, also managed to attend school while working at night for several years.\textsuperscript{219} To join in reformation became a new fashion and even a modern lifestyle in the urbanizing Shanghai.

The rising social consciousness about gender equality conditioned the females’ rising role played in social (especially charity) affairs. The 1907 “International Fair and Fête” is again an example. This three-day, large-scale event was initiated by the wives of influential foreign officials/merchants and made possible by the enthusiastic participation of both foreign and Chinese females. Most of the national stalls were managed by female representatives and female students from new-style schools also contributed with their hand-made crafts (Fig. 33). In similar charity fairs held in Zhang Yuan in the following years (the most reported ones were in 1909 and 1912), more Chinese females participated in the organization of the events and were seen offering newspapers or flowers for purchase in order to raise fund (Figs. 38 & 39).\textsuperscript{220} On January 1, 1912, upon the establishment of the Republic of China, it was courtesans that consolidated together and

\textsuperscript{218} This school was also known as Chinese Female School (Zhongguo nvxuetang 中国女学堂).
\textsuperscript{219} Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 94.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid., 74.
hosted a three-day celebration for the “liberation” of Shanghai in Zhang Yuan.\(^{221}\) Again, as seen in the activities in Zhang Yuan, reform was by no means an elite movement that was restricted to a limited group of people. The fields of popular culture and political reformation were inseparable in urban Shanghai. Zhang Yuan, as a modern garden, on the one hand, provided an encompassing social space to accommodate popular events that were also part of social and political reformation; on the other hand, it evolved together with the activities it hosted.

A Public Space: Political Demonstration and Public Meetings in Zhang Yuan

While traces of reform fashioned popular activities, more and more radical political rallies and public meetings that directly advocated for political reform burst out in Shanghai from the 1900s to the 1910s. Some demonstrated against the invasion of foreign imperial powers on Chinese sovereignty, and some called for the revolution against the weakening Qing government. It was a period when “there was no day without meetings and no meetings without indignation.”\(^{222}\) Zhang Yuan—being an “up-to-date” garden with the experience of hosting modern activities—naturally evolved into a public space where one could organize large-scale political events and express their political propositions freely.

Divergent powers advocated for different political appeals and demands in this critical transitional period of Chinese history. In the early 1900s, in the aftermath of the

\(^{221}\) “Dongnan guangfu jinianhui jishi 东南光复纪念会记事 [Report on the commemoration of the liberation of southeast China],” Shenbao, January 1, 1912, 18.

\(^{222}\) Bryna Goodman, Native Place, City, and Nation, Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 192.
invasion of the Eight-Nation Alliance (baguo lianjun 八国联军), Russian Empire occupied three provinces in the northeast China. The continuous defeat of the Qing Empire in the battlefield as well as on the negotiating table triggered frustration and anger among the public. In 1901 and 1903, reform-minded intellectuals gathered in Zhang Yuan upon the call of local newspapers to rally against the Russian Empire’s occupation and the incompetent Qing government. Nonetheless, at the same time, events that were in favor of the Qing government were also hosted in Zhang Yuan. In 1906, after the Qing government issued an edit, “preparing” to constitutionalize the country, constitutionalists in Shanghai soon organized a public meeting in Zhang Yuan to celebrate the instruct from the Qing court. As Zhang Wei commented, as a commercialized garden, Zhang Yuan did not favor one specific political standpoint, and people with contradictory views could express their opinions freely. In other words, Zhang Yuan could be understood as a “democratic” public space.

The location of Zhang Yuan (and several other Chinese public gardens) in the foreign settlements was an indispensable condition that allowed for such a “democratic” space. As discussed in Chapter 1, Zhang Yuan was located in the Jing’an Temple area in the International Settlement, regulated not by the local Qing authority but by the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC). Regulations of the SMC prevented the Qing government from arresting people without a formal trial in the mixed court.

223 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 77.
224 “Baojie gongzhu lixian huiyishi 报界恭祝立宪会议事 [Congratulations on establishing constitutions from the newspaper industry],” Shenbao, September 17, 1906.
225 Zhang and Yan, Zhang Yuan, 81.
226 Ibid.
227 Xiong, “Wanqing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de tuozhan,” 73.
settlements in Shanghai became a neutral zone where intellectuals and even revolutionists could advocate radical ideas yet to be protected, to some degree, at the same time.

Approaching the collapse of the Qing government, the semi-colonial Shanghai formed a center for mobilizing anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces. The Chinese public gardens located in this area, including Zhang Yuan, Yu Yuan (the previously mentioned Chinese public garden near the Jing’an Temple, see p. 20), and Xu Yuan (another garden two blocks north to Zhang Yuan), happened to provide a public space for forming political groups and holding public meetings. For example, several critical meetings of the Chinese Education Society (Zhongguo jiaoyuhui 中国教育会) were hosted in Xu Yuan in the 1890s, and the Chinese Parliament (Zhongguo yihui 中国议会/中国国会), a political group that aimed to detach the southeast China from the conservative central government, was established in Yu Yuan in 1900.

In addition to the public gardens, teahouses, story-telling halls, and theaters in the foreign settlements, especially on and near Nanjing Road, were also turned into venues for delivering public speeches and gathering rallies. Nonetheless, among these sites, the enormous space and the spacious building of Zhang Yuan provided a more versatile venue for political events. After the outbreak of the Revolution of 1911 in October, Zhang Yuan was transformed into the designated site for hosting memorial services for “martyrs” sacrificed during the revolution. The funeral of Qiu Jin (1875-1907), a

---

228 Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity, 130.
229 For the meetings in Xu Yuan, see Yingying Zhao, “Cong ‘yingshi’ dao ‘rushi’—yi Shanghai Xuyuan weizhongxin de kaocha (1883-1919) 从“隐世”到“入世”—以上海徐园为中心的考察 (1993-1919) [From reclusion to inclusion—a study centering on Shanghai Xu Yuan],” Donghua daxue xuebao 东华大学学报 [Journal of East China Normal University], no. 6 (2014): 85-92.
female revolutionist who died in 1907, was held again in 1912 (after the establishment of the Republican China) in Zhang Yuan in order to be posthumously remembered as a “martyr” of the Republican revolution.\textsuperscript{230} It was well-attended with more than a thousand people. After Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882-1913), a Republican revolutionist and one of the founders of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang 国民党), was assassinated in Shanghai in March 1913, a grand memorial meeting was also held in Zhang Yuan. This time, Zhang Yuan accommodated more than 30,000 people.\textsuperscript{231} In the late 1910s, after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, fewer and fewer demonstrations and rallies were held in Shanghai in general. Nevertheless, the spacious Acadia Hall remained as an ideal space for public meetings. When Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1866-1925), the founding father of the Republic of China, visited Shanghai in 1916, he hosted a grand meeting in Acadia Hall to exchange ideas with representatives from education, commerce, and local intellectuals about the idea of local autonomy.\textsuperscript{232}

To sum up, from the late 1890s to the 1910s, the activities in Zhang Yuan—from charity fairs to hybrid style weddings—revealed the fluid boundary between popular culture and political discourse. The pursuit to participate in newly imported leisure entertainments interwove with the demand to advocate for social and political reform. As an entertainment garden that was contingently formed by the transformations in

\textsuperscript{230} “Zhangyuan zhuidao qiunvshi 张园追悼秋女士 [Mourning over the death of lady Qiu in Zhang Yuan],” \textit{Shehui shijie 社会世界} [Society and world], May 15, 1912, quoted in Zhang and Yan, \textit{Zhang Yuan}, 85.

\textsuperscript{231} “Guomindang zhuidao songdunchujun dahui jishi 国民党追悼宋钝初军大会纪事 [On Kuomintang mourning over the death of Song Jiaoren],” \textit{Shenbao}, April 14, 1913, quoted in Zhang and Yan, \textit{Zhang Yuan}, 85.

\textsuperscript{232} “Ji Sun Zhongshan zhi zhengjian yanshuohui 纪孙中山之政见演说会 [On the public speech of political opinions of Sun Yat-sen],” \textit{Shenbao}, June 25, 1912, quoted in Zhang and Yan, \textit{Zhang Yuan}, 86.
Shanghai, Zhang Yuan was able to reflect such fluidity. When the call for social reform developed into radical political rallies in the early 1900s, with the advantage of its location in the politically independent settlement and the large garden space, Zhang Yuan (as well as other Chinese public gardens) naturally formed a public space for large-scale political gatherings. In return, these reform-related activities reinforced Zhang Yuan as an open, encompassing, and modern garden. Embracing the dynamic cultural and political changes in Shanghai, Zhang Yuan continued to evolve as an “up-to-date” garden.
CONCLUSION

From the late Qing to the early Republican period, Shanghai underwent constant transformations which were characterized by its ongoing domestication of and negotiation with Western-style practices and ideas. These transformations were seen in Shanghai in the areas of (but not limited to) basic infrastructure, built environment, leisure pursuits, and political struggle. The nature of Zhang Yuan as an encompassing social space allowed the garden to serve as a prism through which we can explore the interconnections between changes in these various integrated social sectors.

Located in the “model” International Settlement in Shanghai, Zhang Yuan was exposed to the settlement’s transformation through civic infrastructure and, more importantly, was immersed in the modern experiences conditioned by this transformation. This foreign settlement was always the first to introduce and experiment with broad roads, running water, electric lights, and telephones, which made possible the spectacles, such as a fashionable promenade. With its opening in 1885, Zhang Yuan became a part of this “new” urban experience as one of the destinations of the promenade on Jing’an Temple Road. Inside the garden, the experience of activities like birthday gatherings and traditional holiday celebrations were also refreshed and made shimao (fashionable) by the presence of newly imported infrastructure in the International Settlement such as electric lights. By embracing the changes in the settlement and, simultaneously, heightening them as the “new” and “novel,” Zhang Yuan emerged as an “up-to-date” garden.

Yet, Zhang Yuan was also shaped by and benefited from the contingent geopolitical circumstances of the foreign settlements in Shanghai. Divergent powers—
including the local Qing authority, the foreign imperial powers, and later the Republican government—all strived to control Shanghai but were always limited by different enclaves. Its location inside the International Settlement gave Zhang Yuan protection from the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) and little interference from the local Qing government. Such a situation allowed Zhang Yuan to create a flexible “buffer zone” for appropriating Western cultures and blending these with local practices.

Additionally, Zhang Yuan’s landscape and architectural design made visible the changing built environment of late Qing and early Republican Shanghai. Since the arrival of the British in the 1840s, architecture in Shanghai underwent waves of appropriation of Western-style buildings. Zhang Yuan showcased such appropriations which were manifested not only in the hybrid design but also in the spatial characteristics created by the design. Built in 1893, Acadia Hall was constructed in the “up-to-date” grandiose Italian Renaissance style. This building, with surrounding inside balconies, formed a spatial spectacle where one can see and be seen. Zhang Yuan was also known for the open landscape, featuring an open lawn, two ponds, and scattered buildings. With the open landscape, Zhang Yuan was considered to embody the merit of spaciousness seen in Western-style gardens and to highlight the spatial characteristic of generating shengqi (vitality and vibrancy) by encouraging human mobility and activities. This hybrid-style garden design and the space generated by the design reflected the evolving built environment of urban Shanghai and, therefore, made Zhang Yuan, again, a shimao (fashionable) garden. With the evolving garden space, Zhang Yuan was able to grow with the rising leisure industry in Shanghai from the 1860s to the 1900s. Its activities
developed from regular entertainments to special large-scale social events. The growing “appetite for enjoyment” and the building of a space for such an “appetite” were conditioning each other mutually and simultaneously.

Nonetheless, being *shimao* in modernizing Shanghai was not limited to the area of leisure pursuits. Activities in Zhang Yuan demonstrated that, during this transitional period in Chinese history, the fashionable, especially in modernizing Shanghai, not only adopted Western-style clothing and dined in Western-style restaurants, but some of them also advocated for Western ideas such as gender equality and social democracy. This interchangeability between being fashionable and being reform-minded underlined the complexity of city-wide changes. When Shanghai developed into a reform and even revolutionary center in the 1900s, Zhang Yuan (and other Chinese public gardens in the foreign settlements) evolved into a public space in accordance with and in response to the increasing enthusiasm towards social and political reform. The connotation of Zhang Yuan as a modern garden and advantages brought by the geopolitical location of Zhang Yuan—within not only Shanghai but also the entire country—naturally made the garden an ideal public space for reform-related activities.

To conclude, as seen from the analysis of Zhang Yuan—from its garden design to its activities—changes in Shanghai during this transitional period cannot be pinned down to one isolated social arena. Instead, these transformations need to be understood in relation to each other. First, there was the continual domestication of basic infrastructure and the appropriation of Western-style architectural design. Second, changes on the physical level were tightly related to the changing spatial experience of the city as well.
Third, this transformation was also coupled with a changing concept of time—as in leisure time versus working time—and changing lifestyles. To *gan shimao* (to catch up with the up-to-date fashion) was to be a part of these changes. Finally, participating in the social rhetoric of reform, rather than being contradictory to Shanghai’s glamorous entertainment culture as Zhou Wu and Wu Guilong argued, was, in fact, completely in line with the nature of the changes happening in Shanghai. It was this fluid boundary between leisure and education, popular culture and political discourse, as well as *shimao* (fashionable) and reform—mobilized by people, activities, and sentiments—that underlined the transformations that Shanghai went through during this transitional period: Zhang Yuan, as a commercialized public garden, made it easier to illustrate this fluidity.

By the late 1910s, Zhang Yuan was no longer able to keep up with the fast-changing trends of leisure and social activities. As one factor, after the establishment of the new Republic of China in 1912, the large-scale political rallies that happened in Zhang Yuan regularly before the 1910s lost their target—the decaying Qing government. The demand for multi-purpose public spaces, especially for political meetings, decreased. A second factor, multistoried department stores such as New World (Xinshijie 新世界 opened in 1917), Wing On (Yongan 永安 opened in 1918), and Sincere (Xianshi 先施 opened in 1917) became the new vogue. In addition to these department stores, specialized entertainment venues—including dance halls, cinemas, coffee shops, dessert shops, and “skyscraper” hotels—replaced the need for a “have-it-all” theme park. After

---

233 Zhou and Wu argued that entertainment industry in Shanghai was an abnormal, and even “deformed” industry, contradictory to Shanghai’s modern image. Zhou and Wu, *Wanqing shehui*, 106 & 354.

1899, the west district of the International Settlement was officially governed by the SMC, causing surges in land prices that made it more profitable to sell the land than to renovate. In 1919, after Zhang Shuhe left Zhang Yuan as a pledge for the bankrupted flour-manufactory company that he had invested in, Zhang Yuan, including Acadia Hall, was sold and then rebuilt as a residential complex. The same year Zhang Yuan closed, Zhang Shuhe passed away.

In 2010 when Shanghai hosted the world EXPO, as part of presenting the cultural heritage and urban history of Shanghai, the local government re-discovered Zhang Yuan. The main gate of Zhang Yuan was rebuilt, books were published about this garden, and the name of this area began to re-appear in published and Internet maps (Fig. 40). This revival continues to complicate our understanding of Zhang Yuan as a social space and as an eloquent expression of its time. Even though Acadia Hall was demolished and the original landscape of the garden no longer exists, the significance of Zhang Yuan—as one of the few available public spaces in the late 19th and early 20th century Shanghai—have been preserved symbolically.
REFERENCES

Primary Sources

Darwent, C. E. *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1903.


*Minli bao* 民立报 [The people’s stand]. Shanghai, 1910-1913.

*Minhu ribao* 民呼日报 [People’s voice daily newspaper]. Shanghai, 1909.


*Shanghai Municipal Council Archives*. Shanghai, 1854-1943.


*Shanghai zhinan* 上海指南 [City guide to Shanghai]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1916.

*Shibao* 时报 [Timely newspaper]. Shanghai, 1904-1939.

*Shiwu bao* 时务报 [Current affairs newspaper]. Shanghai, 1896-1898.

The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette. Shanghai, 1851-1941.


*Tuhua xunbao* 图画旬报 [Ten-day illustrated newspaper]. Shanghai: Shanghai shishi baoguan, 1909.

Yu, Yue, and Baoshi Ying, ed. *Shanghai xianzhi* 上海县志 [Shanghai county gazetteer], 1872. Reprint, Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975.


———. *Fengyingge huabao* 飞影阁画报 [Flying shadow studio illustrated newspaper]. Shanghai, 1890.

———. *Shenjiang shengjing tu* 申江胜景图 [The splendid scenes of Shanghai], 1884. Reprint, Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxiansuo weifuzhi zhongxin, 2005.

*Xinwen bao* 新闻报 [The newspaper]. Shanghai, 1893-1949.

Secondary Sources


Deng, Ming. *Shanghai bainian lueying, 1840s-1940s* 上海百年掠影 1840s-1940s [A glimpse of Shanghai 1840s-1940s]. Shanghai: Meishu chubanshe 1992.


Fang, Ping. *Wanqing Shanghai de gonggong lingyu (1895-1911)* 晚清上海的公共邻域 (1895-1911) [The public space of late Qing Shanghai (1895-1911)]. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2007.

Farris, Johnathan. *Enclave to Urbanity: Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016.


———, and Wendy Larson. *Gender in Motion: Divisions of Labor and Cultural Change in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004,


Xiong, Yuezhi. “Wanqing Shanghai siyuan kaifang yu gonggong kongjian de tuozhan 晚清上海私园开放与公共空间的拓展 [The open of private gardens and the expansion of public space in late Qing Shanghai].” *Xueshu yuekan* [Academic periodical], no.8 (1998), 73-81.


Zhang, Wei, and Jieqiong Yan. *Zhan Yuan—qingmo mingchu Shanghai de shehui chalong* 张园—清末民初上海的社会沙龙 [Zhang Family Garden—social salon

Fig. 1 The street marked by the blue dotted line is Jing’an Temple Road. As can be seen from this map on the International Settlement around the 1860s, Jing’an Temple Road was one of the first streets constructed in the west district of this settlement. The yellow dotted line was Nanjing Road (Da Malu). The arrow points to where Zhang Yuan was located at. I thank Wang Hong and Huang Guorong, two researchers at Shanghai Library, for providing me with the precious unpublished maps of semi-colonial Shanghai.
Fig. 2 A map indicating the locations of five treaty ports in China. In 1843, one year after signing the Treaty of Nanjing, Shanghai was officially opened as a commercial port with four others: Guangzhou (Canton), Xiamen (Amoy), Fuzhou, and Ningbo. Marie-Claire Bergère, *Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 22.
Fig. 3 The circled area in yellow is the walled city and the blue area is what the 1854 Land Regulations recognized as the British Settlement. This area later referred to as the old British Settlement became one of the city centers of late Qing and early Republican Shanghai where theaters, tea houses, and opium dens were located. “Shanghai xian chengxiang zujie quantu 上海县城厢租界全图 [The complete map of the walled city and foreign settlements in Shanghai county].” Accessed April 27, 2017.
https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7824s.ct000648/.
Fig. 4 The area marked by diagonal lined was the French concession. “1” refers to the area when the French concession was first established, sandwiched between the walled city and the British Settlement. The “A” and “B” areas were referred as the old British Settlement before it was merged with the American Settlement in 1863. It was the hustle and bustle downtown area in Shanghai since the late 19th century. The entire gray area was the International Settlement after 1899. Marie-Claire Bergère, Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009), 90.
Fig. 5 Promenading on Jing’an Temple Road. Reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, *Fenghua Zhang Yuan* [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 15.
Fig. 6 Shanghai Race Club, C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1903), 31.
Fig. 7 Shanghai Country Club, C. E. Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1903), 31.
Fig. 8 “Shanghai xinnian zhi xianxiang kuaipao mache zhi chufengtou 上海新年之现象，快跑马车之出风头 [Social phenomena of New Year in Shanghai, showing off during a promenade],” Tuhua ribao 图画日报 [Picture daily], 1909.
Fig. 9 A reconstructed sight-seeing tour map in late Qing Shanghai, Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 71.
Fig. 10 Acadia Hall in Zhang Yuan, C. E Darwent, *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents to the Chief Objects of Interest in and around the Foreign Settlements and Native City* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1903), 35.
Fig. 11 The Bund area around the 1890s. Reprinted in *Shanghai bainian lueying 1840-1940s 上海百年掠影 [A glimpse of a hundred year Shanghai]* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), 44.
Fig. 12 The Bund area in Shanghai in the 1940s. Reprinted in *Shanghai bainian lueying 1840-1940s 上海百年掠影* [A glimpse of a hundred year Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), 44.
Fig. 13 “Shanghai quyuan zhi xianxiang songfeng manwan shi xincha 上海曲院之现象 松风满盌试新茶 [Phenomena in Shanghai theaters: filling the teacup and drinking new tea],” in Tuhua ribao 图画日报 [Picture daily], 1909.
Fig. 14 On the left side of the margins of this map, the second and third images are the two similar views of Acadia Hall chosen to represent Zhang Yuan. These two photos were taken at the same angle as the photo of Acadia Hall in Darwent’s city guide. They both show Acadia Hall’s north and east facing facade. Judging from the line of small words written on the blank space on the left side of the map, we can tell this is a map produced by a Japanese printing company whose headquarter was located in Nagasaki. Again, I thank Wang Hong and Huang Guorong for providing me with this precious unpublished map.
Fig. 15 Postcard of Zhang Yuan. "Zhang Yuan 张园 [Zhang Family Garden]," *Shanghai Iishi tupian 上海历史图片* [Historical photos of Shanghai], accessed November 2, 2016. http://211.144.107.196/oldpic/searchpic?keys=%E5%BC%A0%E5%9B%AD.
Fig. 16 Enveloped by adjacent roads, Zhang Yuan is, roughly, in a rectangular shape. I thank Wang Hong and Huang Guorong for providing me with this map.
Fig. 17 “Zhang Yuan 张园 [Zhang Family Garden],” in Minhu ribao 民呼日报 [People’s voice daily newspaper], April 30, 1909.
Fig. 18 Layout of Zhang Yuan. I reconstructed this layout of Zhang Yuan based on a map (Fig. 16) depicting late 19th century Shanghai and a floor map (Fig. 32) of a charity fair that took place in Zhang Yuan in 1907.

1. Acadia Hall
2. Haitian shengchu
3. The island
4. The pond
5. The open lawn
6. The north gate of Zhang Yuan
Fig. 19 The lane that led to Acadia Hall was wide, clean, and shaded with trees. Accessed March 27, 2017. http://newspaper.jfdaily.com/jfrb/html/2016-12/02/content_231756.htm.
Fig. 20 “Fengzheng hui 风筝会 [An elegant gathering for flying kites],” *Feiyingge huabao 飞影阁画报* [Flying shadow studio illustrated newspaper], Shanghai, 1893.
Fig. 21 “Shanghai quyuans zhi xianxiang jingo xiangcheng zou dianche [Phenomena in Shanghai theaters: courtesans riding bicycles],” Tuhua ribao [Picture daily], 1909.
Fig. 22 To top the scale of the fireworks displays in Yu Yuan, Zhang Shuhe hired craftsmen to build various wooden structures on the open ground of the garden to accommodate as many varieties of fireworks as possible. “Hubin baijing Zhang Yuan yanhua 沪滨百景张园焰火 [A hundred attractions in Shanghai: fireworks displays in Zhang Family Garden],” Tuhua xunbao 图画旬报 [Ten-day illustrated newspaper], 1909.
Fig. 23 Guanghua 光华 photographic studio in Zhang Yuan. The one-story building on the left of this image is Guanghua photographic studio. The two-story building on its right is Acadia Hall (we are probably looking at its south entrance). In this illustration, on the lower right-hand corner, we can also see the wooden structure for fireworks displays mentioned earlier. “Shanghai zhi jianzhu Zhang Yuan 上海之建筑张园 [Architecture of Shanghai: Zhang Family Garden],” Tuhua ribao 图画日报 [Picture daily], no. 10, 1909.
Fig. 24 This image here shows two courtesans, Hua Aichun and Zhao Xiangyu, taking a photograph on the bridge of a lotus pond in Zhang Yuan. Reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, *Fenghua Zhang Yuan* [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 50.
Fig. 25 “Shanghai shehui zhi xianxiang jin zai Zhang Yuan paizhao zhi gaoxing 上海社会之现象妓女在张园拍照之高兴 [Shanghai social phenomena: The happiness of courtesans taking photographs in Zhang Family Garden],” Tuhua ribao 图画日报 [Picture daily], no. 104, 1909, 7.
Fig. 27 “Zhangshi Weichun Yuan dadanzi 张氏味莼园打弹子 [Playing billiards at Zhang Family Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Hushang Youxizhu, Haishang youxi tushuo 海上游戏图说 [Illustrations of Shanghai fun], 1898, 2. Reprinted in Catherine Yeh, Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 27.
Fig. 28 “Tangbi dangche 螳臂当车 [A mantis trying stopping a chariot],” *Dianshizhai huabao* 点石斋画报 [Touch-stone studio illustrated newspaper], 1903. Reprinted by Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983.
Fig. 29 Because of the “novelty” and the popularity of the water slides, photographs of this facility were made into souvenir postcards to represent a *shimao* (fashionable) Zhang Yuan as well as a *shimao* Shanghai. “LP71 Shanghai China Chutes Chang Su Ho Garden Postcard,” *Worth Point*. Accessed March 27, 2017. https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/lp71-shanghai-china-chutes-chang-su-20933119.
Fig. 30 “Festoons of colored lanterns hung from every tree. There was a profusion of flags and banners, and the native dresses of the Continent also added color to the scene.” All the images in Chapter 3 about the “International Fair and Fête” were photographed by Yaohua 耀华 Photographic Studio and were reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, *Fenghua Zhang Yuan* 风华张园 [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013).
Fig. 31 Inside Acadia Hall, the national stalls were set up on both sides of the first floor to utilize the walkways enclosed by the arcades.
Fig. 32 The hand-drawn floor plan of the “International Fair and Fête” published in *Shibao*. 
Fig. 33 Each one of the national booths was decorated with their national flag and was piled with native merchandise shipped directly from their countries of origin.
Fig. 34 The concert on the open lawn in Zhang Yuan.
Fig. 35 Visitors could enjoy a variety of performances over a glass of beer offered at the Japanese and Danish beer stalls.
Fig. 36 This photo was the sixth daughter of Zhang Shuhe, Zhang Aimo 张霭墨 (1888-1962) getting married with Zhao Guocai 赵国材 (1879-?) in Zhang Yuan. This photo was reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, Fenghua Zhang Yuan 风华张园 [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 148.
Fig. 37 “Quncha dahui 裙衩大會 [A meeting of females],” *Dianshizhai huabao 点石斋画报* [Touch-stone studio illustrated newspaper], 1897. Reprinted by Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1983.
Fig. 38 In the charity fair held in Zhang Yuan in 1912, more Chinese females participated in the organization of the events and were seen offering newspapers or flowers for purchase in order to raise fund. This photo was reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, Fenghua Zhang Yuan 风华张园 [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 128.
Fig. 39 A depiction of females selling flowers in the 1912 charity fair in Zhang Yuan. This illustration was reprinted in Wang Manjuan and Zhang Wei, *Fenghua Zhang Yuan* [The splendor of Zhang Family Garden] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2013), 128.
Fig. 40 The gate of the residential complex of Zhang Yuan in the downtown area in present-day Shanghai, Jinyi Liu, 2016.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOSSARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ankaidi 安垲第</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baguo lianjun 八国联军</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baoji zhaoxiangguan 宝记照相馆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolanhui 博览会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beiwen nvshu 裨文女塾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changleyi jiuguan 长乐意酒馆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenghuang 城隍</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da Mulu 大马路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangui xiuan 丹桂戏园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daotai 道台</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dianshizhai huabao 点石斋画报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difang zizhi 地方自治</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feilong dao 飞龙岛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feiyingsge huabao 飞影阁画报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaige 改革</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gailiang 改良</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan shimao 赶时髦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangji xuan 光霁轩</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanghua zhaoxiangguan 光华照相馆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haitian shengchu 海天胜处</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hucheng he 护城河</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin Xiaobao 金小宝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jin’an Si 静安寺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin Daiyu 林黛玉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liufeng ge 柳风阁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu Lanfang 陆兰芳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingzheng nvshu 经正女塾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinzhuan 锦砖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maoer xi 髡儿戏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minli bao 民立报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nao dongfang 闹洞房</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nv xue 女学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qian Xinbo 钱听伯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianhou 天后</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianle wo 天乐窝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhua ribao 图画日报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhua xunbao 图画旬报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saihua hui 赛花会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shengqi 生气</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenbao 申报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimao 时髦</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shibao 时报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shivuo bao 时务报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun Yusheng 孙玉声</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taohua ge 韬华阁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianzuhui 天足会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanguo saizhenhui 万国赛珍会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weichun Yuan 味莼园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wenming jiehun 文明结婚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuxi chuancai 锡船菜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinwenhui yundong 新文化运动</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinwen bao 新闻报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinshixuetang 新式学堂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinshijie 新世界</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xu Yuan 徐园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangwu yundong 洋务运动</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangshen 养身</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangjing bang 洋泾浜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yipinxiang 一品香</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yingqin 迎亲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youxi bao 游戏报</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Mei 袁枚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuan Zude 袁祖德</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu Yuan 豫园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu Yuan 愚园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Shushu 张书玉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Yuan 张园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhangshi Weichun Yuan 张氏味莼园</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Shuehe 张叔和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongguo jiaoyuhui 中国教育会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongguo guohui 中国国会</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongguo lunchuan zhizao zongju 中国轮船招商局</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zouma gaolou 走马高楼</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX: NEWS REPORTS ON ZHANG YUAN

1. “Weichn Yuan ji 味莼园记 [On Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden]”

(This 1885 Shenbao report explains how Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 persuaded Zhang Shuhe 张叔和 to open the garden to the public in 1885 and how Yuan named the garden.)

Original report in Chinese: 沪北赛马场西去，直达静安寺孔道也。道旁迤逦联属，皆泰西商官所筑园囿。树木葱茏，各具幽趣，中道三里，许有一园，为英人格龙故居。园中一片平芜，两泓池水，风景绝佳，驾乎诸园之上。相传格君固以经营园囿为业者，凡诸商所筑，大都由其规划，而惟此园，殚竭心力，自诩为生平杰作云。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。南阜则取倭人所构板屋，点缀其上，客至脱履，户外席地谈天，别有风味。。。

壬午年，锡山张叔和观察，以重价购奉板于，晨昏定省，舞彩看花，极天伦之乐事。无何太夫人弃养，观察哀不自胜，拟弃此园，不居他所，余亟止之，谓，既曾为太夫人颐养优游之所，在天灵爽，实式凭之，矧平园草木，不以与人，古人垂训，实有深意。若谓睹景伤怀，则与其闭口空闲，毋宁□诸同好与众乐乐，且不妨从姑苏狮林拙政网师辟疆诸园之例，少纳修葺之资，未足讥也。观察曰诺，并属锡以嘉名，余追全观察承欢养志之意，为名之曰味莼更题曰烟波小筑。。。237

235 Some of the words in the newspaper report are smeared and cannot be identified. I use □ to represent these words. In the translation, I will interpret the meaning of the sentence based on the context.
236 See note 235.
237 “Weichn Yuan ji 味莼园记 [On Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao, April 5, 1885, 4.
Translation: In northern Shanghai, to the west of the Race Course, one can arrive at the board and wide Jing’an Temple Road. The sprawling buildings on both sides of the road are the residences of foreign merchants and officials. Trees along the road are lush and luxuriant. Each of them has their unique character. Riding for three miles along the road, one would find a garden which was the British merchant Groome’s previous residence. Inside the garden are one uncultured wetland and two ponds. The scenery is superb, superior to many other gardens [in Shanghai]. It is said that Groome used to make a living as a gardener. Most of the gardens built by merchants [here in Shanghai] were designed by Groome. But only this garden was built with all his best efforts. He considered it the masterpiece of his life work. There are many exotic flowers in the garden; most of them are imported from the West. These flowers are colorful and dazzling. When winter comes, these flowers would be put into spotless glass houses. [Inside the glass houses,] it is like spring on the walls. Everyone complements what an excellent idea it is [to store flowers in a glass house during winter time]. In the south of the garden, there is a Japanese style plank house on top of a hill. When guests arrive, they take off their shoes, sit on the floor, and make conversations outdoor. [This experience has] its own unique sensations…. In 1882, official Zhang Shuhe from Xishan spent a fortune and bought [the land for Zhang Yuan] to serve his mother to whom he paid respect every morning and evening. [They] looked at flowers of a multitude of colors, and enjoyed family bliss to the utmost. Unfortunately, his respected mother passed away. Zhang’s grief was beyond bearing. He intended to desert this garden and not live there without his mother. I immediately dissuaded him, saying that since this place used to be
where your respected mother roamed and enjoyed her old age, her spirit in the heavenly sky has a sincere affinity with the garden. In addition, the landscape, the pond, the grass, and the woods [of the garden with such spiritual meaning] should not be given to others. This [honored] teaching passed down by the ancients has its deep meaning. [I suggested that] instead of being depressed by the landscape scenery in the garden, leaving the garden space unused, why not [open the garden] for the common good and share happiness with the public. Furthermore, [you] may follow the examples of [gardens in] Suzhou, [such as] the Lion Grove Garden (Shi Lin 狮林, built after 1342 in the Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368), the Humble Administrator’s Garden (Zhuozhen Yuan 拙政园, rebuilt in the Ming dynasty, 1369-1644), Net Master’s Garden (Wangshi Yuan 网师园, built in the East Song dynasty, 1127-1279), and Pioneering New Territory Garden (Pijiang Yuan 辟疆园, existed till the Tang dynasty, 618-907). To spend some money on renovating [Zhang Yuan and open it to the public] would not be a bad idea. Zhang Shuhe agreed and honored me by asking me to name the garden. In consideration of Zhang Shuhe’s intention to honor his mother and cultivate [his] spirit, I titled the garden Tasting the Water-shield Plant (Weichun 味莼); in addition, [I] also gave the garden the name The Little Studio over the Misty Waves (Yanbo Xiaozhu 烟波小筑) [on one of its gates] ….

2. “Ankaidi jiyou, 安地第纪游 [A visit to Acadia Hall]”

(This Xinwenbao 新闻报 report describes Arcadia Hall when it was first opened to the public in 1893.)
Original report in Chinese: 安垲第者，锦砖砌成之大洋房也。居园之西偏，高耸云霄，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，其中庭排宴可至五十余桌，四周走马高楼，如戏院看楼之式，而旷爽明洁，莫之与京。正面楼台，则作新月之形，云梯直上，有前报所登《味莼园记》中韬华阁者，如鸟道羊肠，盘旋而上，登其颠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，车如流水马如龙正合斯时情景。遥望洋场，觉浦江树云，绵渺无际。又名曰高览楼，日下重阳节近，正可登高眺望，藉扩吟怀。尤可观者，庭际之顶，旋嵌极大自来火灯四盏，可三四人合抱。据西人言，其光华照耀，与日光无殊，位沪渎所未见，与今晚燃点，与庭前所放烟花两相辉映，洵入不夜之城，当更目迷五色。古昔名园称糜华者，是较之今日，恐亦退逊三舍。。。

Translation: Arcadia Hall is a foreign-style mansion built with richly decorated bricks. Located on the west side of the garden, the mansion soars into the sky. Looking down from above, one cannot see the ground. [The building is] surrounded by an [elevated] patterned stone terrace, wide and broad, on all four sides [and accessible through stone steps]. Walking up step by step, one goes through gates after gates [and arrives at the ballroom/main hall on the first floor inside of the building] which is accessible from all directions. This main hall could accommodate at least fifty [round dining] tables.

[Inside,] on all four sides of this ballroom, supported by tall colonnades, is an [elevated] narrow promenade [from which people can look down]; the structure of this main hall is

238 "Ankaidi jiyou, 安垲第纪游 [A visit to Acadia Hall]," Xinwen bao, October 15, 1893.
similar to a Chinese theater where the interior is wrapped around by balconies. This area is so spacious and bright that no other buildings could be compared with it. The center balcony overlooking the main hall is built in the shape of a crescent moon. A spiral stairway goes up to The Pavilion Overlooking China (Taohua Ge 韬华阁, the tower attached to Acadia Hall). As mentioned in “A Visit to Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden (Weichun Yuan 味莼园, another name of Zhang Yuan)” published previously in this newspaper: the stairway is narrow and winds up to the top of the campanile tower where one can look out over all the attractions in the garden. In addition, [one can even see] the nearby streets, crisscrossing like a chessboard. Fashionable young people gather and social elites come together. Long lines of carriages stream in and out. [The scene that we see right now] is just like what they described in the newspaper. Looking out to the distant foreign settlements, [the vista of] the trees and the clouds by the Pujiang River seem infinite. This campanile tower is also known as The Building of Lofty View (Gaolan Lou 高览楼). The Double Ninth Festival is approaching. This steeple can perfectly be used to ascend to a height, look out, and poetically express feelings. One of the particularly eye-catching features is the four gigantic gas lights on the ceiling of the main lobby; [each light is so large that it is the size of] three or four people standing with their arms extended in order to enclose it. According to the Westerners, the light coming out of these gas lamps is so bright that it is just like daylight. The entirety of Shanghai has never seen such a device before. Tonight they are lit up, echoing the fireworks in the yard. Entering [Zhang Yuan makes people feel like entering] into a sleepless city that [continuously] dazzles their eyes. Compared with [Zhang Yuan] today, whatever was a
celebrated [Chinese] garden in the past that claimed itself as a luxury should give away its prestige [to Zhang Yuan].

3. “Weichun Yuan xuji 味莼园续记 [A sequel on Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden]”

(This 1889 Shenbao newspaper report, written by Yuan Zuzhi, describes how Zhang Yuan illustrated shengqi 生气 [live energy, with an extended meaning of vitality and vibrancy] seen in Western-style parks.)

Original report in Chinese: 自来治园之道，必有山水凭借，而后可以称盛。若毫无凭借，空中结撰，则维杨姑苏间或有之。维杨盐商所营，姑苏豪富所筑，不惜重资，务极华丽，不留余地，但事架叠，大抵不离开乎俗者近是，何也？以其全资楼台亭阁，装成七宝。或侈为楠木之堂，雕镂则极意精工，暎漆则必求金碧，又或堆叠太湖等石，充塞具中，绝无空隙。登陟则有失足损身之虑，游行则有触额碍眉之苦，凡此皆治园之大弊也。惟泰西之俗则不然。泰西繁盛之区，地值极昂。。。列肆如云其为楼也，必累叠至七八层，以佔地狭，故不惮增高。。。如此而独治园则又务极具大。相传英都伦敦有所谓海泊者，即公家花园之称，其地面几及千亩，湘乡曾劼刚龚俟日記中謂其不惜地以筑园，即指此也。洎余游历至彼，屡偕友人往观，始信人言之非谬，且历所称为丽津泊者，虽曰少杀亦数白亩之，广可容干人万人极之数万人，并无拥挤之患。然则泰西之园囿，果若是其大乎。固考泰西治园之用意，乃为养生摄身起见，与中国游目骋怀之说，似同而实不同。西人以为凡人居处一室之中，触目触鼻，一切器物，皆死气也。。。惟日日涉园，呼吸园领受生气，西人谓之养气，乃为养生之道。若山水，若草木芳花卉，皆生气也。既领生气，尤须开怀
抱，夫大开怀抱，固非拓地极广极大不为功。中国人，但以悦目为务，不察养身之理，往往计不及此，惟此味莼一园，能深合乎西人治园之旨。园之东半隅，本二十余亩，园之亟半隔今又扩二十余亩，合之五十余亩。东西濬巨沼各一，东南有池一，小港则由西而南而东坏绕四达。浮于沼者，运叶田田，泳于池者，游鳞喋喋，杂花生树，四时不间。故出乎戸外入乎室中，莫不有蓬蓬勃勃之生气焉。夫然后知治园之道，固不必凭借山水以希著名而称盛，即此空中结撰，亦自有大美益存乎其间焉，故不惮濡笔两续为之记。光绪十有五年岁次已丑夏六月仓山旧主袁祖志拜稿。239

Translation: Traditionally when it comes to ways of building gardens, a garden must rely on the presence of hills and streams, and then it can be considered magnificent. If it is not built on [natural landscape], it is like forging a garden from nowhere. Such kinds of gardens might occasionally be found in Yangzhou and Suzhou. These gardens are owned by salt merchants in Yangzhou and built by wealthy people in Suzhou. They did not care for spending a fortune, in order to construct the most splendid and beautiful [gardens]. [In their gardens,] there is no inch that is not occupied, and everything [in the garden] layers on each other. These gardens in general are not far away from being vulgar. Why so? They used all their money constructing buildings, terraces, pavilions, and towers decorated with all the precious treasures in the world. Even in halls built with nanmu wood, the wood carving must be exquisite and delicate, and the paint must be golden and glittering. In addition, rocks from Lake Tai were piled together inside the garden, [so

239 “Weichun Yuan xuji 味莼园续记 [A sequel on Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden],” Shenbao, July 16, 1889, 1.
many so that] there is absolutely no empty space left in the garden. When climbing [rockeries and hills in these gardens], one worries about slipping and falling. When roaming [in these cramped gardens], one is anxious about bumping one’s forehead and scraping the eyebrows. These are the disastrous flaws when building a garden. However, the customs [of garden construction] in the West are different. In prosperous areas in the West, the land price is extremely high…. Numerous stores are located in buildings which are at least seven to eight stories high. They occupy only small amount of land and are not afraid of increase the height of the buildings…. Such is the case except when it comes to building gardens, for which large scale is pursued. It is told that there is a [place called] Sea and Embankment (Haibo 海泊) in London which is a public park that occupies thousands of mu of land. Fellowmen from Hunan province, Zeng Jiegang and Gong Si, wrote in their diaries that this garden exemplifies what is called: not being stingy to use land when building gardens. Until recently, I traveled to all [these European places] and frequently brought friends to see [these gardens mentioned in the previously discussed diary]. Only then, I started to believe that what people said before was not fictional. Additionally, [in terms of my experience of the garden called] Beautiful Sea and Embankment (Lijingbo 丽津泊), even though the garden occupies land that is slightly under serval hundred mu [which is less than the park in London], it was still so spacious that it could accommodate thousands or even tens of thousands of people to the most without [people feeling] cramped. It is true that gardens in the West are bigger [comparing to gardens in China]. Indeed, considering the intention behind Western-style gardens, [Westerners cultivate a garden] with a view of nurturing one’s health. This view
seems the same but, in fact, is different from the Chinese saying of letting one’s eye travel over great scenes and setting free one’s mind. Westerners believe that as long as one confines oneself inside a room [instead of going outside] … every object inside the room only emanates dead energy (*siqi* 死气, with an extended meaning of staleness)…. 

[But when one] visits gardens every day, one can inhale live energy (*shengqi* 生气, with an extended meaning of vitality and vibrancy)…. This was a way of improving one’s health. The mountain, the river, the tree, and the flower all emanate live energy. To cultivate live energy effectively, one should be able to open their arms to embrace the live energy, and, in order to open one’s arms fully, one, indeed, needs open ground and unencumbered space. Chinese people only regard pleasing the eyes as the duty [of managing a garden] and do not look into the benefits of nurturing one’s health. Therefore, the ways [to manage gardens in China] cannot [nurturing one’s health]. Only this Tasting Water-shield Garden (Weichun Yuan 味莼园) coincides with Westerners’ method of building gardens. The east half of the garden was originally around 20 *mu*. After the garden was opened, it was expanded for another 20 *mu*. Combined, [Zhang Yuan is now] around 50 *mu*. In both the east and west side of the garden is a gigantic marsh. In the southeastern side of the garden is a pond where a narrow lane surrounds it from the west to the south and to the east…. What floats in the marshes are layers of beautifully green lotus leaves; what swims in the pond are schools of fish. Various flowers and trees bloom and flourish at different time…. Therefore, both outdoor and indoor space [in Zhang Yuan] generate fast growing live energy and vitality…. After [visiting Zhang Yuan], I figure out the ways to manage a garden: [a garden] does not need to depend on its hills
and streams to claim its prosperity. Even when forging a garden from nowhere, [the

garden] can have its beauty of spaciousness on its own. Thus, [I] am not afraid to use my
feeble pen to write two follow-up editorials to report this garden. The former master of
Mountain Cang, Yuan Zuzhi, wrote in summer, June, 1895.

4. “Fengzheng yaji 风筝雅集 [An elegant gathering for flying kites]”

(This 1893 commentary of a kite-flying illustration in Dianshizhai huabao narrates the
history of flying kites in China and creates an imaginary grandiose scene of kite-flying in
Zhang Yuan.)

Original Chinese commentary: 纸鸢俗名风筝。。。相传昔墨子作木鸢飞三日不集，
后人师其意为之。。。今人巧制不一，其上可悬灯，大抵正二月，俗竞赛放之，清
明后风不升，乃止。沪上张氏味莼园，除亭台池榭而外，平原芳草，隙地良多。迩
当春日晴和，时有儿童来放风筝。主人顾而乐之，遂拟设一风筝会，招集中西裙屐
作竟日游。盖以欧西素未有风筝，故思借此一恢眼界也。想届时，纸剪筠裁之具，
来风遂放，漂拂空中，似鹤之摩蹠如云，如鹰之盘旋空际，此景颇有一幅天然图
画。彼唐杨 nisi作纸鸢赋，惜猶未见斯盛耳。240

Translation: Paper milvus was customarily known as kites…. It was told that Mozi (a
Chinese philosopher, 470 – 391 BC) built a wooden kite and flew for three days without
resting. People [started to build kites] following [the example set by Mozi] …. Kites
nowadays are very exquisitely made. On [some of the] kites, one can even hang lanterns.
During the first and second mouth [in Chinese lunisolar calendar], it is customary to fly

---

240 “Fengzheng yaji 风筝雅集 [An elegant gathering for flying kites],” Dianshizhai huabao, Si, 7, 51, 1893.
kites. After the Qingming Festival (The fifth day of the fourth month in Chinese lunisolar calendar), the wind stops blowing and [the activity of flying kites] stops as well. In Shanghai, there is a Zhang Family Tasting Water-shield Plant Garden. [Inside the garden], in addition to pavilions, terraces, ponds, and trees, there is an expanse of lushness and plenty open spaces. When spring comes, and the sky is clear, children occasionally fly kites in the garden. The owner of the garden is delighted and immediately decides to set up a kite-flying competition, inviting both Chinese and foreign fashionable young people. Because [most of the places in] Europe did not have kites, [people from Europe] can use this opportunity to open their horizon. Just imagine, when that day comes, [people] cut papers and trim bamboos [to make kites]. When the wind rises, kites fly high and far away in the sky, like cranes dashing through the clouds, like eagles hovering in the air. This [imaginary] scene creates a perfect visual illustration. Even Yang Juan from Tang Dynasty (618-907) who wrote the [famous] prose on kites would feel pity that he missed the scene of the grandiose [kite-flying competition that is about to happen in Zhang Yuan].

5. “Shanghai shehui zhi xianxiang jiny zai Zhang Yuan paizhao zhi gaoxing 上海社会之现象妓女在张园照之高兴 [Shanghai social phenomena: The happiness of courtesans taking photographs in Zhang Yuan]”

(This 1909 commentary of an illustration on courtesans taking photographs in Zhang Yuan describes the rapidly developing photography industry in Shanghai and the popularity of taking photographs in Zhang Yuan.)

Original Chinese commentary: 照相之法，昉自泰西。西人于格致之学最为注意，其摄影则根据光学。其显影定型悉用药水。则又根据化学，比年以来，日益进步。即
缩小如累黍，放大至寻丈，无不绣眉毕省。沪上之业照相者，依最近调查，竟达四五百家，可谓盛矣。而每当春秋佳日，青楼中人，喜至张园摄影，取其风景优胜，足以贻寄情人，视为普通赠品。。。

Translation: The technique of taking photographs was imitated from the West.

Westerners place emphasis on studies about science [such as physics and chemistry]. Its photographic technique is based on the study of optics. To develop [a photograph], [they] use chemical solutions. Based on [the development in the field of] chemistry in recent years, [the techniques of photography is] being updated day by day. [Photographs] can be zoomed out and reduced to the size of a grain of sand and zoomed in and enlarged so that even the hairs on one’s eyebrows can be seen. According to recent research, there are approximately forty to fifty photography studios in Shanghai. What a prosperous [industry]! Whenever there is a beautiful day during spring or autumn seasons, courtesans are delighted to take photographs in Zhang Yuan, because the scenery in Zhang Yuan is elegant and superb, and [courtesans] can gift [their photographs] to their lovers as ordinary presents…．
