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## **Master Thesis**

***The relationship between Modern Shanghai and  
Western World in Urban Planning and Architecture,  
1845-1937***

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*View of the Bund from Pudong, Shanghai, 2021*



# **The relationship between Modern Shanghai and Western World in Urban Planning and Architecture, 1845-1937**

## **Abstract:**

In the 19th and 20th centuries, China fell into the trap of rapid "modernisation", and many ancient walls, structures and buildings representing China's indigenous culture were destroyed. Then Shanghai represents the modernisation of China. This thesis attempts to expound the efforts made by China and the Concessions for the modernisation and urbanisation of Shanghai from ancient Shanghai, the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China to clarify the social, cultural, political and urban expansion links between modern Shanghai and the Western world. The city self-government movement positively impacted the city and provided the basis for the city's development for the Greater Shanghai Plan in 1929. The Greater Shanghai Plan is the first comprehensive, large-scale, and comprehensive urban development master plan in Shanghai's history, laying out a new blueprint for Shanghai. During this period, all the buildings were designed and constructed by Westerners, and gradually Chinese architects joined in. The architectural styles were gradually enriched, and it reflected the integration of Chinese and Western cultures. In addition, Shanghai, which has a rich cultural heritage, has not implemented a heritage protection policy since the end of the 20th century. In the process of urban renewal, it is necessary to actively restore and utilise urban heritage in order to achieve sustainable development of the city.

**Keywords:** Modern Shanghai, urban planning, modern architecture, traditional Chinese renaissance, heritage

## **Content**

|           |   |    |
|-----------|---|----|
| CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION  | 1  |
| 1.1       | Brief Introduction and Purpose                      | 1  |
| 1.2       | Academic History Review and Literature Review       | 3  |
| 1.2.1     | Western Perspectives on Shanghai                    | 3  |
| 1.2.2     | Chinese Academic Books                              | 4  |
| 1.2.3     | Journals and Essays                                 | 6  |
| 1.2.4     | Archival Materials                                  | 7  |
| 1.2.5     | Historical Journals and Newspapers                  | 8  |
| 1.3       | Literature Review                                   | 9  |
| 1.4       | Background of Shanghai                              | 10 |
| 1.4.1     | History of Shanghai                                 | 10 |
| 1.4.2     | Geographical Location and Evolution                 | 13 |
| 1.5       | Suzhou——Formal Largest City in Jiang Nan            | 15 |
| 1.6       | Shanghai——The Rising Pearls                         | 17 |
| CHAPTER 2 | ANCIENT SHANGHAI TO LATE QING DYNASTY (BEFORE 1845) | 21 |
| 2.1       | Genesis of urban construction in Ancient Shanghai   | 22 |
| 2.1.1     | City Construction in Ancient China                  | 22 |
| 2.1.1     | City Walls  | 24 |
| 2.2       | Shanghai County Construction before 1845            | 26 |
| 2.2.1     | Shanghai County Academy (文庙)                        | 31 |
| 2.3       | Chinese Garden                                      | 33 |
| 2.3.1     | Yu Garden (豫园) - Last Gorgeous Chinese garden       | 34 |
| CHAPTER 3 | LATE QING DYNASTY (1845-1912)                       | 38 |
| 3.1       | Passive Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl               | 39 |
| 3.2       | Brand New Road System                               | 41 |
| 3.3       | The First Commercial Block——Nanjing Road            | 47 |

|                  |  |            |
|------------------|--|------------|
| <b>3.4</b>       | <b>Active Urban Sprawl Movement</b>  | <b>50</b>  |
| 3.4.1            | Opening of Wusongkou Wharf — First Initiative Urbanisation Attempt                               | 53         |
| 3.4.2            | Local Autonomy Movement in Shanghai  | 55         |
| <b>3.5</b>       | <b>Compradoric Style Architecture</b>  | <b>58</b>  |
| <b>3.6</b>       | <b>Official Building Revolution on the Bund</b>  | <b>61</b>  |
| <b>3.7</b>       | <b>Sassoon House – Another Landmark on the Bund</b>  | <b>65</b>  |
| <b>3.8</b>       | <b>Entertainment Buildings - Zhang Garden(张园) or Wei Chun Yuan (味菴园, no longer exist)</b>        | <b>67</b>  |
| <br>             |  |            |
| <b>CHAPTER 4</b> | <b>REPUBLIC OF CHINA (1912-1937)</b>   | <b>73</b>  |
| <br>             |  |            |
| <b>4.1</b>       | <b>The International Development of China</b>  | <b>73</b>  |
| <b>4.2</b>       | <b>Overview of the Wusong Re-opening Plan by Zhang Jian</b>                                      | <b>76</b>  |
| <b>4.3</b>       | <b>Concessions Before the Greater Shanghai Plan</b>  | <b>79</b>  |
| <b>4.4</b>       | <b>Greater Shanghai Plan (大上海计划)</b>   | <b>81</b>  |
| 4.4.1            | Shen Yi & the Greater Shanghai Plan  | 81         |
| 4.4.2            | The Plan the Shanghai Civic Center   | 84         |
| 4.4.3            | Shanghai Zoning and Transportation Plan  | 88         |
| <b>4.5</b>       | <b>Eclecticism Architecture - Traditional Chinese Architectural “Renaissance”</b>                | <b>90</b>  |
| 4.5.1            | Municipal Government Building (also known as Mayor's Office)                                     | 91         |
| 4.5.2            | Municipal Library  | 95         |
| <b>4.6</b>       | <b>Famous Western Architects - Ladislav Hudec</b>  | <b>99</b>  |
| <b>4.7</b>       | <b>Chinese Architects Association in Shanghai</b>  | <b>100</b> |
| 4.7.1            | Architectural Society of China   | 101        |
| 4.7.2            | Dong Dayou (1899-1973)   | 102        |
| <b>4.8</b>       | <b>Other Urban Planning Practice in China</b>  | <b>104</b> |
| 4.8.1            | The City Plan of Nanking   | 106        |
| <br>             |  |            |
| <b>CHAPTER 5</b> | <b>CONCLUSION</b>  | <b>106</b> |
| <br>             |  |            |
| <b>5.1</b>       | <b>Urban expansion as a necessary development while modernisation as a necessary consequence</b> | <b>107</b> |
| 5.1.1            | New opportunities arising from integrated Chinese and foreign residences                         | 107        |
| 5.1.2            | Good Example of Modernisation and Urban Management in Western Settlement                         | 108        |

|            |   |            |
|------------|---|------------|
| 5.1.3      | The Active Facilitation of the Autonomous City Movement in Shanghai | 108        |
| <b>5.2</b> | <b>Early Attempts at urban planning in Shanghai</b>                 | <b>109</b> |
| <b>5.3</b> | <b>The Impact of the Global Modernisation Process on Shanghai</b>   | <b>111</b> |
| <b>5.1</b> | <b>Influence of Regime Change on Urban Planning Ideas</b>           | <b>114</b> |
| <b>5.2</b> | <b>The Inspiration of Greater Shanghai Plan</b>                     | <b>116</b> |
| <b>5.3</b> | <b>Modern Architecture in Shanghai</b>                              | <b>118</b> |
| 5.3.1      | From Exotic Styles to Chinese Traditional Renaissance               | 118        |
| 5.3.2      | Conservation & Heritage Protection Policies in Shanghai             | 120        |
| 5.3.3      | Conservation Situation  | 121        |

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Brief Introduction and Purpose

In the common sense of most Chinese people and even many Westerners, Shanghai was generally interpreted as a small fishing village before the open trade port. The prevailing epistemology was that the Europeans brought a commercial boom and a flourishing culture. The rise of modern Shanghai is just one hundred years, which is a fact and a miracle in the history of Chinese development. In this dissertation, I tried to analyse the changes in urban planning and architecture in Shanghai during the 19th and 20th centuries, especially from 1845 to 1937, but to find some unique historic stories left behind for most Chinese people. Tell them even if Shanghai was once a colony, but now is today an unparalleled cultural and urban heritage of all over the world. It should be valued, not obliterated. In modern times, Shanghai experienced a unique historical development process from a coastal county, a regional port city prospering because of trade, to an international metropolis with shared prosperity of industry and commerce. From 1840, deep inside, almost all Chinese people thought that Shanghai had only developed as a colony, previously a small fishing village, and was not taken seriously by the central authority. The Europeans brought the current prosperity to Shanghai. Because of the Qing Dynasty's feudal and corrupt system and cowardly and incompetent military, Shanghai has once considered a product of Westernisation. At the same time, this is a necessary process for the industrialisation and modernisation of the modern city. Shanghai was only a small town with a fishing and cotton textile handicraft industry before the Qing Dynasty. In the late Qing dynasty, the central government established the county of Shanghai because of its good port location, which would be completely changed from 1843 when it became a world-famous metropolis, known as the "Pearl of the Orient" or "Paris of the East".

This dissertation tries to find out these relationships with a deeper analysis. Understanding the past of a city is the most conducive to the protection and development of a versatile urban landscape. The singularity of urban development, which is so common in China, has become an inevitable problem that needs to be addressed. If it were not for the differences in some architecture and urban landscape heritage, modern cities in China would be trapped in the process of homogenised development and construction. It seems that in the 19th and 20th centuries, China fell into the trap of rapid "modernisation", and many ancient walls, structures and buildings, which represent China's indigenous culture, were destroyed. The best-preserved buildings in Shanghai were built by the British and Americans on the Bund in modern times, and many British and American visitors to Shanghai feel a sense of familiarity with their home country.

In Chapter 1, this dissertation introduces the aims of the thesis and the background to the development of Shanghai to figure out the social, cultural, political, and urban expansion connections between modern Shanghai and the Western world. 1843-1937

was a crucial period in the modernisation of the city, from a small, medium-sized trading town to a commercial port and from an ordinary port city to a metropolis of the Far East. It became the most prosperous city in the Far East, more prosperous than Hong Kong and Tokyo. Before the city's opening, Shanghai's background is analysed mainly in terms of its geographical environment and political status, which helps identify the parts of Shanghai where Chinese culture and Western culture merged and rejected each other. A detailed review of the historical essays helps determine methodologies and breakthroughs in analysing the issues, to understand Shanghai in these periods better.

Chapters 2, 3 & 4 explain the ideas and attempts at urban planning and the changes in architectural style in Shanghai in ancient Shanghai, the late Qing period and the Republic of China, based on historical materials and books. After later two periods, Shanghai's urban spatial structure, landscape, and architectural culture had gradually shifted to the north and west, in terms of the centre of the Chinese border, the deterioration of the urban environment, the lack of public services and the people's both envy and jealousy of the life of the foreigners outside the city walls, the Chinese border was in urgent need of systematic and professional planning. Under the Republican Government of Nanjing, thanks to the support of the Nanjing government, in 1929, the Nationalist Government felt the need to develop a plan for a new political centre in Shanghai, called the Greater Shanghai Plan. The Greater Shanghai Plan was the first comprehensive, large-scale, integrated urban development master plan in Shanghai's history, which provided a macro, systematic and all-around design for Shanghai (except for the concessions) and laid out a blueprint for building Shanghai into a new cosmopolitan city. It was groundbreaking in the history of Shanghai's urban development. It was also a significant move by the Republican government to return Shanghai's dominant administration and area to the Chinese community. The emergence of Chinese architects in Shanghai also led to the beginning of a new turn in architectural style, away from a simple imitation of Western architecture.

Chapter 5 summarises the whole text. The focus is on the links and continuity between Chinese and Western cultures. This combination of East and West depends on the gradual movement of the two cultures from confrontation to identity in the ideology of modern Shanghai society and architecture. This dissertation explained how the Greater Shanghai Plan, as a complete urban plan in modern China, has left a deep imprint on the development of the city Shanghai, and there are many places worth being recognised and inspired by other cities in China. Urban planning and construction, to some extent, can be a symbol of The Times and cultural endorsement, behind which there are deeply political, economic and social reasons. The architectural form adopted in the Greater Shanghai Plan was not previously available, was rare in the concession, and would be difficult to repeat in the future. For a country that has not changed much in the last 3,000 years of urban culture and architecture, the process of modernisation has always been driven forward, requiring the challenge and aggression of foreign cultures, concentrating on the attitude of inclusion and the

spirit of exploration in the face of issues such as tradition and modernity, nationality and globality. The Self- government Movement and the Great Shanghai Plan were both positive responses of modern Shanghai to the global urbanisation process. Although they all ended in failure, they are of great significance for the future planning of Shanghai. This chapter will explain how they have influenced future planning and architecture in Shanghai, even in China. The discussion concludes with a discussion of the evolution of urban heritage conservation policies and the current state of conservation, working towards sustainable urban development.

## **1.2 Academic History Review and Literature Review**

### **1.2.1 Western Perspectives on Shanghai**

*Shanghai 1908* is based on a compilation of the book by Arnold. Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China*, published by Lloyd Great Britain Limited in 1908 and later translated the Shanghai section into Chinese (Wright 1908). In 1908, more than half a century after the opening of Shanghai as a trading port, Shanghai in 1908 illustrated the unprecedented changes that the city has undergone through its detailed depiction of all walks of life, which helps me better to understand the real circumstance under the historical context.

The book *Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, by Christian Henriot, conducted an in-depth study of municipal administration. The majority of the work on the concessions focuses on the historical and legal aspects. This book is a breakthrough in two respects: first, it examines the great achievements of the Shanghai government in the 1930s in urban development, education and public health from the perspective of Shanghai's urban modernisation. The second is a detailed study of the relationship between the Shanghai government, the Shanghai Party Headquarters of the Kuomintang and the Shanghai bourgeoisie in terms of the relationship between the state and society.

The feature of Roz Murphy's work, *Shanghai, Key to Modern China*, is its focus on economic and geographical factors. In addition to the political and historical context, he described the characteristics of Shanghai's urban image in terms of geography, transport, population, food, trade and industrial manufacturing and described its development and evolution in various periods. The second feature of Roz Murphy's work is that it illustrates and argues for the historical development of the city in its relationship with the whole of China, and sometimes with Asia or the rest of the world.

In the book of a French author -- Marie-Claire, *A History of Shanghai - The Road to Modernity*, this research references a published Chinese translation of the book. As the Author delves deeper, she argues that no matter how alienated Shanghai is, it is still essentially a Chinese city. "The Chinese gradually filled the space of the former



concessions, and without their recognition and cooperation, no plan could have been realised. Shanghai society has taken the forms brought by the west, absorbed them, digested them and transformed them into modern Chinese characters. The city had a uniqueness and attraction that no other colony had, and other colonies in Asia and Africa were a different model altogether." (Bergère 2014)

Lewis Mumford's *History of Urban Development - Origins, Evolution and Prospects*. This book provides an ambitious global context for the development of many of the world's leading urban planning schemes. Any attempt to compare the connections or differences between Western Europe and Shanghai in the same context needs to be analysed in the context of global urban history. This book offers a very rich perspective and approach to the study of urban history, especially concerning the new problems of urban expansion in the wake of industrial development. (Mumford 1961)

### 1.2.2 Chinese Academic Books

*Shanghai Research Materials*<sup>1</sup> (上海通社 1936, Proficient Shanghai Society 1936) is a compilation of articles describing, examining and analysing the history of Shanghai's development and introducing various local conditions in the city, compiled by the Shanghai Society, an academic and artistic group exploring the history of Shanghai in the early and mid-1930s. The articles on Shanghai's municipal development and the construction of the Shanghai Museum and Library provide a wealth of historical information for the Author to understand the introduction and content of the Great Shanghai Plan. *The Complete Book of Municipalities* by Lu Danlin<sup>2</sup> (陆丹林 1931, Lu 1931) contains numerous contemporary writings on municipal construction work in China and abroad, which helps the Author to fully understand the international and domestic context in which the plan was formulated.

A list of precious but little-known studies of municipal construction and planning in modern Shanghai is mentioned in Yu Shien's PhD thesis *Modernity and National Identity: A study on the Greater Shanghai Plan of 1929*<sup>3</sup>. For example, the *30th Anniversary Journal of the Chinese Society of Engineers* (1946) contains many summaries of the Great Shanghai Plan and municipal construction at the time but was seldom cited by academics. Another important book named the *Journal of the Chinese Construction Society*<sup>4</sup>, consists of seven volumes, 23 issues and 22 volumes, with some 5,600 pages and 2,500 illustrations. Although it mainly reflects the scientific study of

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<sup>1</sup> 上海通社 1936. *上海研究资料*, 中华书局. (Proficient Shanghai Society 1936. *Shanghai Research Materials*, Zhong Hua Book Company.)

<sup>2</sup> 陆丹林 1931. *市政全书*, 中华全国道路建设协会. (Lu, Danlin 1931. *Complete Book of Municipalities*, China National Road Construction Association.)

<sup>3</sup> See 俞世恩. 2017. *现代性与民族性：1929 年“大上海计划”研究*. 博士, 华东师范大学. (Yu, Shi-en. 2017. *Modernity and Nationality: A Study of the Great Shanghai Project in 1929*. Doctoral dissertation, East China Normal University.)

<sup>4</sup> See 中国营造学社 1997. *中国营造学社汇刊*, 国际文化出版公司. (China Construction Society 1997. *China Construction Society Transactions*, International Culture Publishing Company.)

Chinese heritage architecture, it has received little attention from researchers of Shanghai planning history and has helped the Author to understand better the relationship between the development of architecture and national culture at the time through it.

Shen Yi, the director of the Shanghai Public Works Bureau (上海市工务局), was the Chairman of the Shanghai Downtown Area Construction Committee and was responsible for the preparation and implementation<sup>5</sup>(沈怡 1933, Shen 1933) of the Great Shanghai Plan. His book *Introduction to Municipal Engineering* and *Shen Yi's Autobiography*<sup>6</sup> (沈怡 2016, Shen 2016) clearly show the concept of municipal construction in Shanghai at that time and the situation of municipal construction under the auspices of the Bureau of Public Works, especially the process of the creation and implementation of the Great Shanghai Plan, which is of high historical research value.

Urban maps are an important category in urban literature. The book *Complete Atlas of Shanghai Antiquated Maps* has included a more systematic collection of 217 ancient and modern maps. The maps of Shanghai are presented in order of regime change, detailing the three eras of the Ming, Qing and Republican of China, dating from the seventeenth year of the Ming dynasty (1504) to 1949. This book contains historical city maps related to Shanghai from various national collections around the world, and is of value for historical cartographic research, showing official or folk maps of Shanghai that are characteristic of the map culture of different regime periods; it is of great importance in the study of urban history and urban historical places, urban planning and construction in Shanghai and China. This book reflects the evolution of such maps and the historical changes of the city of Shanghai in a comprehensive manner. (孙逊 & 钟翀 2017, Sun & Zhong 2017)

In 1995, Zheng Shiling wrote a book, *The Evolution of Shanghai Architecture in Modern Times: New Editon*<sup>7</sup>, narrating a panoramic view of modern architecture in Shanghai. The book was republished in 2020. The book provided a more systematic and complete account of the evolution of Shanghai's modern architecture and city, the transplantation of foreign architects and European architectural styles, the transformation of traditional Chinese architecture, and the fusion of Eastern and Western architectural forms in Shanghai. The book is profusely illustrated and historically informed, with a wealth of valuable historical photographs. The book also includes a schedule of modern architects and modern architecture in Shanghai and a map of the distribution of modern architecture in Shanghai, providing a detailed

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<sup>5</sup> 沈怡 1933. *市政工程概论*, 商务印书馆.(Shen, Yi 1933. *Introduction to Municipal Engineering*, The Commercial Press.)

<sup>6</sup> 沈怡 2016. *沈怡自述*, 北京, 中华书局.(Shen, Yi 2016. *Autobiography of Shen Yi*, Beijing, Zhong Hua Book Company.)

<sup>7</sup> 郑时龄 2020. *上海近代建筑风格*, 上海教育出版社. (ZHENG, Shiling 2020. *The Evolution of Shanghai Architecture in Modern Time: New Editon*, Shanghai Education Press.)

analysis of the Chinese architect community in modern Shanghai. The chapter on urban planning in modern Shanghai contains a detailed discussion of the changes in the Great Shanghai Plan, with an extensive collection of valuable historic photographs and materials that are often widely cited in various studies. (郑时龄 1999, Zheng 2020)

*Urban Studies of Modern Shanghai: 1840-1949*, edited by Zhang Zhongli in 1990<sup>8</sup> (张仲礼 2008, Zhang 2008), was a masterpiece on the study of Shanghai's urban history. It conducted a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the causes of the formation, emergence and development of the city of Shanghai and the characteristics of its urban development. The book is divided into four main parts: General Introduction, Economy, Politics and Society, and Culture, with 20 chapters. The book presents three laws of modern urban development in China and nine characteristics of modern urban development in Shanghai.

Among the monographs on the history of Shanghai, *General History of Shanghai*<sup>9</sup> by Xiong Yuezhi (熊月之 1999b) details the expansion of Shanghai's land charters and tenement boundaries and also refers very systematically to a particular chapter on the Great Shanghai Plan. This series of books illustrates how Shanghai underwent municipal construction and reform in political, social, economic and cultural terms, showing that the process of transformation of urban functions in modern China was a process of abrupt change driven by external forces, with the subjective and dynamic role of the government being particularly crucial.

### 1.2.3 Journals and Essays

In 2002, Li Haiqing's doctoral thesis, *A Study of the Modern Transformation of Chinese Architecture - Reflections on Three Levels of Architectural Technology, Institutions and Concepts (1840-1949)* (李海清 2002, Li 2002), analysed the modern transformation of Chinese architecture from the perspective of technical research. The book analyses and discusses the transformation of Chinese architecture from a technical point of view, including the Shanghai Municipal Government Building, which is the "Traditional Chinese Architectural Style".

*Cultural Adaptation and Transfers of Centres: An Urban Anthropological Analysis of Cultural Competition and Spatial Change in Modern Shanghai* of Zhang Xiaochun<sup>10</sup>, analysed from an urban anthropological perspective, seeing it as a competition between the Chinese and the tenant communities over urban space and urban culture.

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<sup>8</sup> 张仲礼 2008. 近代上海城市研究: 1840-1949 年, 上海文艺出版社. (ZHANG, Zhongli 2008. *Urban Studies of Modern Shanghai: 1840-1949*, Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House.)

<sup>9</sup> 熊月之 1999. 上海通史, 上海人民出版社. (Xiong Yuezhi 1999. *General History of Shanghai*, Shanghai People's Publishing House.)

<sup>10</sup> 张晓春. 2004. 文化适应与中心转移——上海近现代文化竞争与空间变迁的都市人类学分析. 博士, 同济大学. (ZHANG, Xiaochun. 2004. *Cultural Adaptation and Centre Migration - An Urban Anthropological Analysis of Cultural Competition and Spatial Change in Modern Shanghai*. Doctoral, Tongji University.)

(张晓春 2004, Zhang 2004) The Chinese community and the tenant community competed for urban area and urban culture. *The Forgotten Realities and Inspirations of the Great Shanghai Plan for Over Half a Century* of Zhang Jun<sup>11</sup> focuses on the relevance of the Great Shanghai Plan. It points out that the Greater Shanghai Project had the historical mission of "promoting urban unity, strengthening hierarchical order, and advocating a new culture", and that it is of great importance to our city today in terms of "cultural endorsement and public cohesion, the spirit of reference and tolerance". "It is an inspiration for our urban development today. (张俊 2009, Zhang 2009) This helps us to confront the failure of the project while better reflecting on the significance of its heritage.

#### 1.2.4 Archival Materials

The primary archival materials documenting the urban planning of modern Shanghai include the *Shanghai Special City Centre Area Construction Committee's Great Shanghai Plan Volume*<sup>12</sup>, the *Shanghai Municipal Yearbook*<sup>13</sup>, the *Shanghai General Chronicle*<sup>14</sup>, the *Outline of the New Urban Construction Plan of Shanghai*<sup>15</sup>, the *Shanghai Municipal Public Utilities Bureau on Urban Planning*<sup>16</sup>, the *Japanese Shanghai Special Municipal Government's Outline of the New Urban Construction Plan of Shanghai and the Outline of Revision*<sup>17</sup>, and the *Great Shanghai Municipality Planning Document*<sup>18</sup>. Many of them directly describe the content and implementation of the "Greater Shanghai Plan", while others describe the urban planning and construction plans of Shanghai during the Japanese occupation and before the founding of the People's Republic of China.

A considerable number of monographs have been published on the problems of the Shanghai Concession. For example, Xu Gongsu and Qiu Jinzhang's *The Shanghai*

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<sup>11</sup>张俊 2009. 尘封半个多世纪的"大上海计划"的现实启迪. 上海城市管理, Vol.018, 91-93. (ZHANG, Jun 2009. The Forgotten Realities and Inspirations of the Great Shanghai Plan for Over Half a Century Shanghai City Management, Vol.018, 91-93.)

<sup>12</sup> 上海特别市市中心区域建设委员会编印大上海计划卷(Shanghai Special City Centre Area Construction Committee's Great Shanghai Plan Volume)

<sup>13</sup> 上海市年鉴(Shanghai Municipal Yearbook)

<sup>14</sup> 上海通志(Shanghai General Chronicle)

<sup>15</sup> 上海新都市建设计划概要(Outline of the New Urban Construction Plan of Shanghai)

<sup>16</sup> 上海市公用局关于都市计划案卷(Shanghai Municipal Public Utilities Bureau on Urban Planning)

<sup>17</sup> 日伪上海特别市政府关于上海新都市建设计划概要及改订要纲的文件 (Shanghai Japanese-Wang Jingwei Special Municipal Government's Outline of the New Urban Construction Plan of Shanghai and the Outline of Revision)

<sup>18</sup> 大上海都市计划总图草案报告书 (Great Shanghai Municipality Planning Document)

*International Settlement Regulations*<sup>19</sup>, Xia Jinlin's *The Shanghai Concession Issues*<sup>20</sup>, and Kuai Shixun's *The History of the Shanghai International Settlement*<sup>21</sup>.

The publication *Shanghai Precious Archives*<sup>22</sup> (上海市档案馆 2013, *Shanghai Municipal Archives 2013*) in 2013 is a compilation of selected archival treasures from the Shanghai Municipal Archives' vast collection of materials, condensing Shanghai's modern urban history with archives and photographs, and providing the Author with a rich graphic reference on the historical background before and after the formulation of the Greater Shanghai Plan. The *Greater Shanghai Urban Plan - Completed Edition* (上海市都市计划委员会报告记录汇订本)<sup>23</sup>, published in 2014, is a compilation of the Shanghai Urban Planning Committee's Report Records, which are now in the archives of the Shanghai Municipal Institute of Urban Planning and Design, and includes three revised reports and minutes of meetings of the official draft master plan of the Greater Shanghai Urban Plan.

In 1884, the book, *Shanghai Scenic Spot Map*, was published with more than sixty drawings, each of which is accompanied by a poem and calligraphy in cursive, seal script and clerical script, making it a perfect combination of poetry, calligraphy and painting. There are also drawings of the Ningbo Commercial Hal, the Jing'an Temple (late became the centre of French Concession), the Longhua Temple, the Church, the Manufacturing Bureau, the British Consulate, the French Concession, the Bund, the police station, the Shen Bao House, the theatre, and the gardens etc. These drawings are so vivid and realistic that reading them in the light of a lamp makes one feel enthralled by these scenes of the late Qing Dynasty. (吴友如 1884, Wu 1884a)

### 1.2.5 Historical Journals and Newspapers

*Shen Bao* (申报)<sup>24</sup> was the main reference journal for this dissertation on modern Shanghai, published from 1872 to 1949. The rigour of reporting made it attach great importance to the authenticity of the news. It comprehensively recorded the politics, economy, military, diplomacy, culture, folk custom and many other aspects and

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<sup>19</sup> 徐公肃 & 邱瑾璋. 1933. *上海公共租界制度*, 上海國立中央研究院社會科學研究所. (XU, Gongsu & QIU, Jinzhang. 1933. *The Shanghai International Settlement Regulations*, Institute of Social Sciences, National Research Institute of the CPC Central Committee, Shanghai.)

<sup>20</sup> 夏晋麟. 1992. *上海租界问题*, 上海书店. (XIA, Jinlin. 1992. *The Shanghai Concession Issues*, Shanghai Bookstore.)

<sup>21</sup> 蒯世勋. 1980. *上海公共租界史稿*, 上海, 上海人民出版社. (Kuai, Shixun. 1980a. *History of Shanghai International Settlement*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House.)

<sup>22</sup> 上海市档案馆 2013. *上海珍档: 上海市档案馆馆藏珍品选萃*, 中西书局. (SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES 2013. *Shanghai Precious Archives: A Selection of Treasures from the Shanghai Municipal Archives Collection*, Zhongxi Book Company.)

<sup>23</sup> 上海市都市计划委员会报告记录汇订本 (Greater Shanghai Plan. The Greater Shanghai Urban Plan - Completed Edition)

<sup>24</sup> The full name of the newspaper was *Shenjiang Xinbao* (申江新报, translated as *Shenjiang New Post*, also known in English as the *Shanghai News*).

significant historical events of China from the Emperor Tongzhi, Guangxu, and Xuantong of the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. It has very high historical research value, including Wusong Port opening, Preparation Plan of Greater Shanghai Plan, Shanghai Land Cadastre Issues, Chinese translation version of Short Summary of Volume VI of Report of Mr. Justice Feetham to Shanghai Municipal Council, and other reports on the study of modern Shanghai urban construction, which is of great help to my thesis research.

### **1.3 Literature Review**

In the book *Outline of Chinese Urban History*, by He Yimin, he concentrates on analysing the nature, scale and social evolution patterns of Chinese cities during the different periods. In the chapter Cities in the Late Qing Dynasty (after the Opium War), he elaborates on the impact of foreign wedging on Chinese cities, which accelerated the disintegration of feudal society, changed the urban landscape and facilitated the development of urban construction towards early modernisation. Under the privileged control of foreign capitalist forces, the concessions proliferated, expanding along their outer edges to form new urban areas, with new city centres and commercial districts emerging subsequently. In 1915, for example, the scope of the Shanghai Concession was 12 times larger than in 1848, increasing to over 70,000 acres. The new city of Shanghai, which developed based on the Concession, became the largest city in China within a few decades, with the most significant number of high-rise buildings of the best architectural quality and the busiest commercial streets in China. Secondly, the new city centres, characterised by capitalist commercial activities, were gradually formed in the opening cities, changing the traditional urban layout of the old city, which was centred on government offices and temples, to become the centre of modern urban life. However, the development of Chinese capitalism was suppressed and hindered, and the modernisation of the cities was impeded, resulting in the perverse development of modern Chinese cities. The cities at the commercial ports of entry were the first cities in China to undergo early modernisation due to external forces. It is advantageous to better understand the transformation of political and social life in late Qing China. The part of the Republic of China mainly emphasises the influence of the War of Resistance against Japan and the decline and transfer of commerce, analyses the scale and transformation of cities in the whole of China, especially emphasises the vital influence of urban administration and construction on urban development.

The Book *Urban Planning* by Tan Zongbo mentioned that the awareness and attitude of Chinese society, especially the popular classes, towards modernisation went through a process of forced acceptance, emulation, and then conscious pursuit. The urbanisation process reached a mature stage in the 1930s in Shanghai. The spread of modern urban planning ideas, concepts and techniques in China followed much the same process, with most of the initial planning being carried out directly by Westerners in the concessions under their jurisdiction. At a later stage, urban planning,

led by the Chinese government and with the participation of students, began to appear. Although urban planning in the concessions adopted the more advanced planning ideas and techniques of their time, the relatively small concessions, combined with the contradictions arising from their own administration, created an inherent deficiency in urban planning in the semi-colonies.

In the book *Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway*, by Edward Denison, Guang Yu Ren, Shanghai's illustrious history and phenomenal future is celebrated, which examines the evolution of the city's architecture and urban form in order to contextualise the challenges facing the city today. The physical legacies that reflect Shanghai's uniqueness historically and contemporarily are examined chronologically using specific case studies of exemplary architecture interwoven in a compelling narrative that unlocks the many mysteries surrounding this amazing metropolis. Some of the most influential colonial architecture in the world, outstanding examples of Modernism and Art Deco, and an exceptional selection of eclectic and vernacular architecture reflecting Shanghai's many adopted cultures are revealed. This is the first book ever to examine this remarkable subject in a manner that is both comprehensive and captivating in its written content and stunningly illustrated with over 300 archive and contemporary photographs and maps. A very visually appealing look at Shanghai from a series of images and photographs. This book also was a readable history of the modernisation of the city of Shanghai, written in travelogue and prose.

## **1.4 Background of Shanghai**

### **1.4.1 History of Shanghai**

The unique charming of Shanghai lies in the fact that it was imposed by external forces on the hinterland of the most prosperous agrarian civilisation in modern China, using the city as a catalyst to lead the country's modern transformation in a tortuous way. It has become a milestone for other models of urban modernisation and urban planning in China.

It had been a long time for Shanghai to lay its importance as a trade port in China. After the establishment of Huating County (华亭县, Hua Ting Xian)<sup>25</sup> in the 10th year of Tianbao (天宝) of Tang Dynasty (751), the district was located in the northeastern of Huating Xian and belonged to Gaochang Township (高昌乡, Gao Chang Xiang). In the 10th year of Xining (熙宁) of the Song Dynasty (1077), Shanghai Wu (上海务)<sup>26</sup> was established in the area of the present-day Xiaodongmen Gate (小东门) and Shi

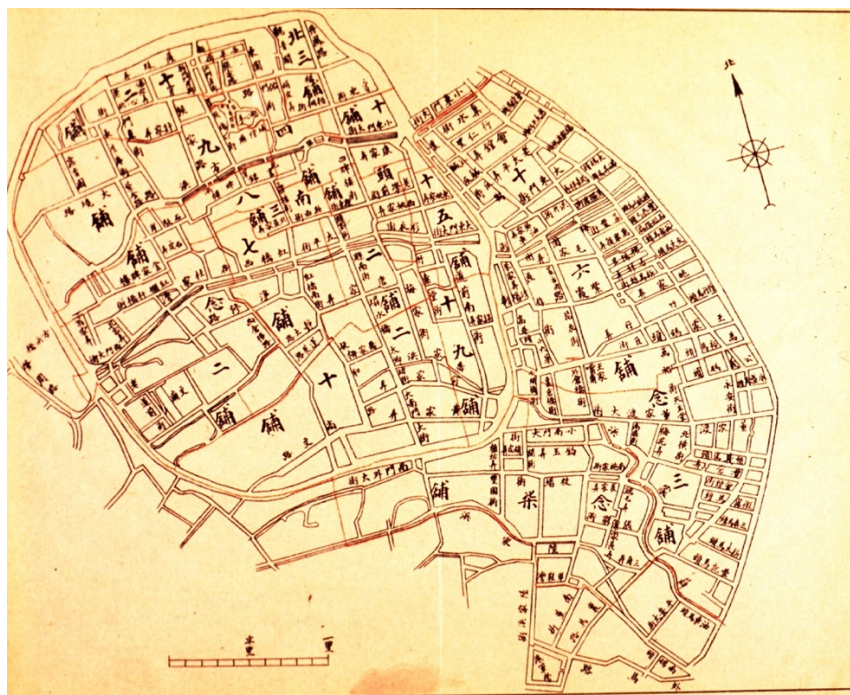
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<sup>25</sup> Xian (县), was a small scale of county in Tang Dynasty (618 - 907).

<sup>26</sup> Wu (务) was the economic administration of the Song Dynasty (960 - 1279), mainly responsible for conquering the tax on liquor, and was known in full as the Liquor Affairs. Shanghai (上海), however, consists of two Chinese words, Shang (上) and Hai (海). The Hai represents the ocean. Shang represents the direction forward to the sea. Thus, the name Shanghai means the entrance to the sea.



Liu Pu (十六铺)<sup>27</sup>. At the end of the Southern Song Dynasty, this place became a bigger market and set up a management Division of Department of Municipal Maritime Affairs (市舶提举分司, Shi Bo Si) and a Que Huo Chang(榷货场, an official place for exchange goods). In the 3rd year of the Southern Song Dynasty (1267), a town was set up on the western shore of Shanghai Puxi and named "Shanghai Town" (上海镇, Shanghai Zhen).



Map 1. *Shanghai Walled City and its Suburbs (上海城厢)*, 1871. Source: virtualshanghai, Map ID 308<sup>28</sup> (1871c)

In the 14th year of the Yuan dynasty (1277), the subsidiary division of the Shi Bo Si(市舶司)<sup>29</sup> was transformed into a General Bureau of Shi Bo Si, one of the seven major city-ship divisions in the country. In 1291, the central government removed the town of Shanghai from the administrative division of Huating County and approved the establishment of Shanghai County (上海县, Shanghai Xian), commonly known as the Chinese Old City, marking the beginning of the establishment of Shanghai as a city. The year 1292 is still given as the date of the city's birth in most sublinear sources. (伍江 1997)

<sup>27</sup> Pu (铺) was a group of local officials formed to defend the city against peasant uprisings - a kind of "shop" for the protection and defence of merchants around the Shanghai county. It was an institution set up by the Qing government in Shanghai to deal with social and criminal matters and to collect taxes.

<sup>28</sup> This map was published in Shanghai Gazetteer (上海县志), Shanghai, Nanyuan zhiju, 1871

<sup>29</sup> Shi Bo Si, as the same function as the Overseas Trading (or Commerce) Department, the very official administration under central government from Tang Dynasty to the end of Ming Dynasty, which was responsible for foreign economy-related affairs such as imports and exports examination, trading, etc and, somewhat acted as both comtemporary custom Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation.

A traditional Chinese city is usually constructed with enclosed tall walls and a wide moat. The layout of the city of Shanghai is also exciting and unique in that the town was built without the city walls. Unlike the other feudal cities or towns in China with a square shape, the Shanghai city is an irregular square-like oval shape. Since Shanghai was not an essential political city in history and was less influenced by orthodox Chinese Confucianism, the boundaries of the city did not strictly follow the rules for building ancient Chinese cities (more details will be discussed in Chapter 2).

In the Qing Empire, Shanghai County belongs to Jiangnan Province. Until the late Qing Dynasty, before 1840, due to the closed-door policy<sup>30</sup> (闭关锁国) implemented by the Qing government, Guangzhou was the only port for foreign trade, and many administrative provisions were set up to restrict the business activities of foreign merchants in China. With the increase of trading with China, the British asked the Qing government to build more treaty ports but was refused by the Qing government. In November 1843, after the defeat of the First Opium War, Shanghai was officially opened to the outside world as a designated treaty port by the provisions of the Treaty of Nanjing. After the 25th year of Emperor Daoguang (1845), the British, the Americans and the French established a concession in Shanghai in succession. This is the starting point of the urban changes in Shanghai that are discussed in this article.

The concessions in Shanghai had undergone three expansions. The first expansion was because of Xiaodaohui Rebellion<sup>31</sup> (小刀会起义). In September 1853, the Xiaodaohui Society<sup>32</sup> started a war and tried to occupy the county of Shanghai. The Qing government suppressed the rebellion in 1855. First, some rich people who lived within the city fled to the concession to escape from the rebels, then Xiaodaohui Society drove the residents outside the city because some houses were used as cover for the attack by the Qing army. Later, the Qing army besieged the Xiaodaohui Society, forced the residents outside the city to move and burned their houses, ultimately leading to a large number of refugees inside the city flooding into the British concession.

The second expansion was due to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Rebellion<sup>33</sup> (太平天国运动). In 1860 and 1862, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom almost occupied the city of

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<sup>30</sup> The policy refers to a kind of national policy of isolating the country from the outside world. It is a typical isolationism. This indicates that this country strictly restricts foreign exchanges in economic, cultural, scientific and other aspects.

<sup>31</sup> The purpose of the Xiaodaohui rebellion was to against the Qing dynasty, occupied old Shanghai and the surrounding villages. The rebellion was suppressed, and the society expelled from Shanghai in February 1855.

<sup>32</sup> Xiaodaohui Society(小刀会) was a political and military organisation active in Shanghai, China, and neighbouring areas amid the Taiping Rebellion, between about 1840 and 1855.

<sup>33</sup> Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was an unrecognized oppositional state in China and Chinese Christian theocratic absolute monarchy from 1851 to 1864, supporting the overthrow of the Qing dynasty by Hong Xiuquan and his followers. The unsuccessful war it waged against the Qing is known as the Taiping Heavenly Rebellion. Its capital was at Tianjing (天京) (present-day Nanjing).

Shanghai twice, and it had already occupied Nanhui and Chuansha. The local government of Shanghai and the foreigners living in Shanghai effectively stopped the Taiping Army's attack on Shanghai due to the "Sino-foreign cooperative joint defence"<sup>34</sup>, bringing a large number of wealthy Jiangnan businessmen and gentry who escaped the war and took with a large amount of wealth to Shanghai. Also, a large number of urban and rural refugees in the nearby areas entered Shanghai to make a living in the concession, causing a short-term surge in population in the concessions. By 1865, the population of the concessions had reached 150,000, accounting for 21.5% of the total population of Shanghai.

The third expansion was due to the "Mutual Protection of Southeast China" (东南互保) of the Boxer Rebellion (义和团) and its side effect. In 1900, the implementation of the "Southeast Conservation Agreement" (东南保护约款) led by Liu Kunyi and Zhang Zhidong prevented the Boxers Rebellion from advancing southward, and objectively caused a war in the north and a stable situation in the southeast. Many gentries and businessmen took their capital to set up businesses in the south. After nearly 40 years of the Self-Strengthening Movement(洋务运动), the material wealth accumulated in China, national industry and commerce, education and science and technology talents, have gathered in Shanghai. According to statistics, from 1901 to 1905, 62 new factories were established in Shanghai, Jiangsu, Wuxi and Changzhou, and silk reeling and flour mills were established in Shanghai. China's first private chamber of commerce was established in Shanghai. After the Boxer Rebellion, the total population of the International Settlement increased from more than 290,000 in 1895 to more than 440,000 in 1900, an increase of nearly 50%. (刘芳 & 陈罗齐 2020, Liu & Chen 2020)

Between 1845 and 1949, Shanghai gradually became the largest city in China, but it was also a city with a highly irrational layout, a chaotic road system, a disjointed water and land transport system, and inadequate berths, which seriously hampered its further development. On 7th July 1927, the Kuomintang government decided to make Shanghai a special municipality and put it under the direct jurisdiction of the central government. In November 1927, a design committee was set up, and after two years of work, a "Greater Shanghai Municipality Plan" was proposed in 1929, based on the "Greater Shanghai Plan".

#### 1.4.2 Geographical Location and Evolution

The natural environment in Shanghai has changed tremendously, and the area is constantly expanding due to the Yangtze River delta, where sediment is constantly silting up. Unlike the topography of the plain of cities such as Beijing and Xi'an, where the natural environment has remained relatively stable for a long time, the territorial extent of Shanghai has changed dramatically throughout history. Two thousand years

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<sup>34</sup> The Report on the Operation History of Shanghai Sino-foreign Cooperation Joint Defense Bureau (上海中外会防局经营始末)

ago, when Xi'an was long ago the capital of the unified Qin and Han dynasties, the eastern part of today's Shanghai was still covered by a vast sea. Shanghai and its surroundings are typical of the dense network of rivers in the south of the Yangtze River, and as the saying goes, "literally meaning three or five miles is a longitudinal pond, five or seven miles is a horizontal pond"<sup>35</sup>, and even the name Shanghai is derived from Shanghai Pu.

Today Shanghai is located between 120°51'E and 122°12'E and 30°40'N and 31°53'N, on the west coast of the Pacific Ocean, on the eastern edge of the Asian continent, at the centre of the north and south coasts of China, at the confluence of the Yangtze and Qiantang rivers into the sea. The history of Shanghai can be traced back over six or seven thousand years. There used to be a strip of high ground or sand dike in the middle of Shanghai, called the Gongshen (冈身, means the shore-body). It ran from northwest to south-east and was formed in ancient times by the accumulation of mud, sand and acid residues from shellfish that had been washed up on the beach by the waves. The outer edge of Shanghai's shore body, from Lou Tang and Jiading in the north, through Nanxiang and Maqiao, and south to the east of the outline of Tuolin was submerged by seawater, and the area to the west was gradually silted up into land in thousands of years. Much of modern Shanghai, especially the city centre, was still a vast expanse of water 6,000 years ago. As time went on, new land was formed to the east of the river, and the activities of the ancestors continued to move eastwards. (祝鹏 1989, Zhu 1989)

The present Suzhou River (苏州河, or Soochow Creek), previously known as the Wusong River (吴淞江), was once a large tributary of Shanghai into the sea, while the Huangpu River was then a tiny outlet, far smaller than the Wusong River. As the Wusong River often flooded in summer, it endangered the homes upstream and downstream. From the Ming Dynasty, the river was filled and diverted several times, gradually becoming a tributary of the Huangpu River. The Soochow Creek was first mentioned in the Shanghai Land Charter in 1848, as it reached all the way to Suzhou and was later widely accepted by the Chinese. The river became the boundary between the Shanghai International Settlement and French Concession and a concentration area for the Shanghai industry. Due to Shanghai's role as a trading port, the Suzhou River was an important shipping route from the 1930s onwards, facilitating the transport of goods to the Chinese interior. Along the banks of the river, many warehouses and factories were built at this time, making the area close to the river an important industrial place. In the course of urbanisation, the local industry was withdrawn from the city centre, and the warehouses and factories were abandoned. By now, the river has become so polluted with industrial and domestic wastewater that the Suzhou River is known locally as the 'Stink River', the most polluted river in Shanghai since the 1920s. It has suffered the same fate as the Thames and the Seine.

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<sup>35</sup> Original Chinese text as below: “三里五里一纵浦,五里七里一横塘。”



## 1.5 Suzhou—Formal Largest City in Jiang Nan

Suzhou(苏州, 蘇州 on Map. 3) and Hangzhou(杭州) were prosperous towns in Jiangnan Province from the Song dynasty (c. late 11th to early 12th century) and undertook the bulk of tax revenues in Jiangnan Province. There is a Chinese saying that describes the state of Suzhou and Hangzhou at that time: "Up above there is heaven; down below there are Suzhou and Hangzhou". Suzhou was one of the most developed cities in the Qing dynasty in terms of commerce and industry, second only to Beijing in terms of urban development.



Map 2. 1754. Provincial Atlas of the Great Qing Dynasty - Jiangnan Province (大清分省與圖). Retrieved from the Library of Congress) (1754)

Suzhou was the capital of Jiangsu Province and the economic centre of southern Jiangsu, the second-largest city in China at the time in the Qing Dynasty. By the way, the first city in China at the time was Beijing, the capital of the Qing dynasty. The Qing Government had a direct local tax on grain such as rice and corn, called tax grain. The tax grain collected in southern Jiangsu accounted for half of the tax grain collected nationwide.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the widespread cultivation of cash crops and the emergence of regional specialisation in the rural areas of Jiangnan not only expanded

the number of commodities but also accelerated their circulation. In turn, it provided raw materials for the development of handicrafts, thus contributing to the development and prosperity of the towns' commodity economies. With its well-developed handicraft production, such as silk weaving and cotton processing, Suzhou became a prominent manifestation of urban economic prosperity. The development of the commodity economy brought about the flourishing of commerce. Later, which was another prominent sign of Suzhou's economic prosperity. (王卫平 1999, Wang 1999)



Map 3. 1754. Provincial Atlas of the Great Qing Dynasty – Zhejiang Province (大清分省輿图). Retrieved from the Library of Congress) (1754)

The commerce prosperity in Suzhou was thanks to the development of long-distance cross-provincial trade, which brought a large number of travelling merchants from all over China to come here to conduct transactions. Starting from the Southern Song Dynasty, with the geographical conditions near the Jiangnan Canal, a new commercial area began around the Chang Gate in the northwest of Suzhou city. From the Ming to the Qing dynasties, this area became more prosperous than ever and a place where travelling merchants gathered, transacted and inhabited. The factors that contributed to Suzhou's commercial prosperity were manifold. Firstly, the convenient transportation conditions. Convenient transportation was a prerequisite for the development of commerce and industry and the capital of the city. Suzhou's

geographical location, with its excellent water and ground transportation network, provided the preconditions for the development of commerce. The commercialisation of agricultural products and the development of handicrafts. As mentioned earlier, the widespread cultivation of cash crops and the increased commercialisation of agricultural products not only contributed directly to the development of commerce but also provided raw materials for the development of urban and rural handicrafts. On this basis, the Jiangnan region became the centre of the silk weaving industry and the centre of the cotton textile industry in the country. Silk, cotton as the representative of the Jiangnan area of goods shipped around the country, attracting merchants from all over the country, leading to a national circulation of goods, bringing a boom in commerce and urban prosperity. It can be said that the commercialisation of agricultural products in the Jiangnan region and the resulting development of handicrafts laid a solid foundation for the prosperity of the city of Suzhou.

In 1853, the Taiping army, advancing east along the river, conquered Anqing and occupied Nanjing. Then, in 1860, when the Taiping army attacked Suzhou, Xu Youren, who was then the advanced governor of Jiangsu, adopted a strategy of strengthening the city's defences and moving or hiding all the supplies in the city, setting fire to the long-established commercial street outside the Chang Gate, permanently destroying Suzhou's status as a significant commercial centre. After the occupation of Suzhou, the Taiping army imposed a heavy tax on the city, leading to a severe economic decline. At the same time, the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River became the main battleground for frequent contests between the Qing and Taiping armies, which had a great impact on the region, and Suzhou's long-standing stable and prosperous economic base was severely damaged. The folklore recorded the circumstances as, "To the east of Suzhou, the inhabitants of the city were driven miserably by the bandits to Kunshan County, and to the west of the city, as far as Jiangyin, eight or nine-tenths of the houses were demolished, leaving only one or two-tenths of the people."

Furthermore, as a consequence of the war, the canals were blocked, and their capacity greatly reduced, while the gradual rise of shipping and railways caused them to fall into disuse. From then on, Shanghai, with its better access to land and water, took over the financial and economic position of Suzhou, which never regained its previous economic status, and the old "Paradise" became a tale in history. Henceforth, a large amount of capital, crafts and labour were transferred from Suzhou to Shanghai. The Treaty of Nanking established Shanghai as a port of commerce in order to penetrate the Chinese mainland market.

## **1.6 Shanghai——The Rising Pearls**

The most important feature of Shanghai in the late Qing period was the trading town (伍江 1997, Wu 1997). This was the reason why the British had to open a port in Shanghai, with its thriving commercial activities and its position at the midpoint



between the mouth of the Yangtze River and the Chinese coastline, making it the most important link in opening the Chinese hinterland market.

Shanghai, as the first commercial port to the outside world of the Qing dynasty, had great potential for economic and urban development because of its inattention to the Qing government. Since the late Qing Dynasty, especially after the Opium War in 1840, China began to open as a trade port its ports of commerce one after another and Western countries began to establish concessions. In cities such as Tianjin and Guangzhou, the concessions were in parts of the city far from the city centre and occupied a relatively small portion of the city. In Shanghai, on the other hand, as it was only a county town in size before the opening of the port, the main function was trade and sea defence, with a population of only 544413 (in 1853)<sup>36</sup>, the vicinity of the county town was all farmland, swamps or vacant lot.

The concessions were subsequently expanded several times, and by the third year of the Republic of China (1914), the final boundaries of the concession were determined. After the formation of the concession area, the rest of the area in Shanghai still belonged to the Shanghai County, Gaochang Township. In 1910, according to the "Statute of Local Self-Government for Towns and Villages" of the Qing government, Shanghai City was established, and the district belonged to Shanghai City (上海城, Shanghai Cheng). In the first year of the Republic of China (1912), Shanghai City was renamed as Shanghai Municipality (上海市, Shanghai Shi). In the 16th year of the Republic of China (1927), the Shanghai Special Municipality was established and, in the following year, belonged to Jiangsu Province. The concessions were declared as special zones, with the International Settlement known as the First Special Administrative Region and the French Concession as the Second Special Administrative Region. The former Shanghai Municipality was named the Huanan District, to which the southern part of the district belonged. (唐振常 1989, Tang 1988)

In July 1930, the Shanghai Special Municipality was converted back to the Shanghai Municipality. After the Japanese invasion war, Shanghai fell in November of the 26th year of the Republic of China (1937). In December of the following year, the counties of Chuansha, Nanhui, Fengxian, Chongming, Baoshan and Jiading in Jiangsu Province and the Puxi area in Shanghai County were placed under the jurisdiction of the Shanghai Municipal Government under Wang Jingwei authority. On 30th July and 1st August 1943, the Wang False National Government<sup>37</sup> announced the repossession of the International Settlement and the French Concession, respectively. On 24th

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.shtong.gov.cn>, 首页 -- 上海通志 -- 第三卷人口 -- 第一章人口数量、分布 -- 第一节, 2008 (Home - Shanghai General History - Volume 3 Population - Chapter 1 Population Size, Distribution - Section 1), by Shanghai Local Chronicle Office, (上海市地方志办公室)

<sup>37</sup> The Shanghai Special Municipal Government, which was the government of the Republic of China in Shanghai during the fallen part of the Japan Attack, started on 5 December 1937 and ended in August 1945. The latter was subordinate to the Wang Jingwei National Government (汪伪政府 or 日伪政府), which was considered a pseudo-regime and a puppet regime by the National Government of the Republic of China in Nanjing.

November 1945, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China announced to take over the Shanghai International Settlement and the Shanghai French Concession, ending the century-long Shanghai Concession.<sup>38</sup>(Worldstatesmen)

On 27th May 1949, Shanghai was liberated, and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government was established. At the same time, the suburban counties of Shanghai were transferred to the administrative offices of Southern and Northern Jiangsu Province, which later came under the jurisdiction of Jiangsu Province. Shanghai remains a municipality directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Government.

In 1741, the Qing government established the Su Song Tai Dao (苏松太道), which governed the three prefectures of Suzhou, Songjiang and Taicang, and was based in Shanghai County (also known as Shanghai Dao, 上海道). Due to the vital transport location of Shanghai, the officials of the Shanghai Dao, commonly known as the Shanghai Daotai (上海道台)<sup>39</sup>, were usually stationed in Shanghai to facilitate various matters relating to foreigners. Later on, the Shanghai Daotai, Mr Gong Mujiu, and the first British consul in Shanghai, Mr Balfour, signed the Shanghai Land Regulation and issued the deeds of the lease for the land in Shanghai to foreigners or shanghaiander.

In 1937, the population of Shanghai had reached 3,852,000 and had reached a particular urban scale. The foreigners living in Shanghai's concessions had full extraterritorial rights. In other words, the Qing government could not interfere with the affairs of the concessions. In this way, Shanghai became a city governed by three different governments, each of which had its own internal affairs in order, with fragile inter-regional links, resulting in a partially regulated but fragmented road system and urban planning.

In modern times, Shanghai experienced a unique historical development process from a tiny coastal county to a regional port city thriving on trade, eventually becoming a world-famous international metropolis with prosperous industry and commerce. Shanghai does not have as long and glorious a history as the ancient capitals such as Beijing, Xi'an and Nanjing, but it has grown from an inconspicuous county in ancient times to an economically developed modern city and a famous international metropolis in Asia and even the world. It just reflects the special historical process of rapid transformation from traditional agricultural society to industrial and commercial society in modern China. China stepped out of the self-sufficient and closed domestic economic cycle to open and integrate into the world economic system and then accepted the world civilisation system after the industrial revolution, mainly started with the defeat of the Opium War in the mid-19th century.

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<sup>38</sup> <https://www.worldstatesmen.org/China.html>

<sup>39</sup> more details about Taotai (same meaning as Daotai) in the book: Liang, Yuansheng 1990. *The Shanghai Taotai*. Linkage Man in a Changing Society, 1843-90. Singapore University Press.

Because of Stressing Agriculture And Restraining Commerce Policy<sup>40</sup> (重农抑商政策) in traditional Chinese society, city consciousness is weak, the government attaches great importance to the tax only, and not in the modern sense of municipal management functions and the corresponding agencies, local administrative officials are not of the city construction and management as their main duties, so in the modern sense of basic no municipal planning and municipal construction. For this reason, when Shanghai officially opened its port in 1843, the county seat still retained the elegance of the ancient town in the south of the Yangtze River. The management of the city completely follows the traditional Chinese feudal management mode, and there is no great difference between urban and rural areas. (陈从周 & 章明 1988, Chen & Zhang 1988)

In addition, academic studies in recent years have confirmed that the economic structure, social culture and behaviour pattern of the Jiangnan<sup>41</sup> (江南, Jiang Nan) region, where Shanghai is located, had more modern factors before the opening of the port. In other words, Shanghai had already had great potential for rapid development before opening its port to the outside world. However, China's forced opening to the outside world and joining the global market was just an opportunity for Shanghai's potential to be released and explode. In fact, this suppressed potential has long been formed in the regional economy and culture of Jiangnan. Historians have noted that the reason why Shanghai was able to change from a "mere little county" to "an important port for the Yangtze River to the sea, a metropolis in Southeast China" before the opening of its port is related to the opening of the sea ban during Emperor Kangxi and Emperor Yongzheng periods of the Qing Dynasty. Shanghai is a typical port city in the south of the Yangtze River.

During the late Qing Dynasty, the poor and corrupt management of the local government led to the division of Shanghai's land sovereignty into three parts: the Chinese Old City, the French Concession, and the International Settlement. Foreigners in the concessions enjoyed extraterritorial jurisdiction, and the Qing government could not interfere in the internal affairs of the concessions. Thus, from 1843 to the beginning of the 20th century, urban development and construction in Shanghai were carried out on three small scales and in isolation from each other on a macro scale. The city's commercial and trade areas were mainly concentrated in the privileged concession areas, and the layout of the city had changed. The French Concession became the new downtown area in Shanghai. The governance in Shanghai was divided into three parts, the French Concession, the International Settlement, and the

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<sup>40</sup> Agriculture And Restraining Commerce Policy was an economic policy in slave society and feudal society in China. It refers to attaching importance to agricultural production and restraining the development of commerce. The rulers regarded agriculture as their primary occupation and commerce as their last. The policy of inhibiting commerce originated in the Warring States Period(战国时期) and was adapted to the centralized feudal social system. However, with the development of the times, the policy of inhibiting commerce will change to some degree.

<sup>41</sup> Jiangnan region generally refers to the geographic area in China referring to lands immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, including the southern part of its delta.

Republic of China, which had led to separate systems of municipal facilities, poor road traffic, inconvenience to both the transportation of goods, and proliferation of port throughput, insufficient use of the docks, chaotic intermingling of factories and residences, and the planning of the Shanghai city was in chaos for a long time.

In the 16th year of the Republic of China (1927), the Shanghai Special City was established. Subsequently, the "Greater Shanghai Plan" and the "Downtown Area Plan" were prepared, mainly including the road system plan and zoning plan for the downtown area, the city zoning and traffic plan, and the agenda for the new commercial port area. The Greater Shanghai Plan failed in 1937 due to Japan's invasion of China. After 1937, Japan invaded and occupied Shanghai. To further occupy Shanghai, a new plan for the construction of a new city of Shanghai was drawn up, The Greater Shanghai Metropolitan Plan, emphasising military and transport needs. This plan mainly was influenced and conducted by the Japanese, which will not be discussed in this dissertation.

Unfortunately, the completed paperwork of the Greater Shanghai Plan has been lost. But The Greater Shanghai Metropolitan Plan was based on the Greater Shanghai Plan and well preserved. Then the theory of the Considering the more significant influence from Japan on Shanghai after 1937, I had chosen the period 1843-1937, when China was more influenced by the Western world. What's more, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, as it was a socialist country, it was necessary to abandon all the theories and practices of the capitalist countries and learn and apply the Soviet model, which was the beginning of China's dismantling and rebuilding of the old city and architecture.

## **Chapter 2 Ancient Shanghai to Late Qing Dynasty (Before 1845)**

The uniqueness of Shanghai lies in that it was imposed by external forces on the hinterland of modern China's most prosperous agrarian civilisation, using the city as a catalyst to lead the country's modern transformation in a tortuous way.

The first place where democracy emerged was Shanghai, after a large number of foreigners came to live there and built buildings that were totally new to the city, bringing with them a modern way of life and the idea of democracy that was changing the people and the city day by day. Many urban planning schemes in Paris, Washington and Chicago propose the preparation of public squares, monumental public buildings, grand civic centres, etc. These public buildings, together with the construction of multiple open green spaces and parks, help to meet the cultural needs of the citizens and implicitly give them the right to assemble, march, etc., reflecting civic consciousness and democratic rights. In a sense, the recognition, acceptance, and

construction of such public buildings also reflected the gradual transformation of citizens from subjects to citizens.

In the early twentieth century, these ideas and practices of urban planning in Europe and the United States also had a significant impact on modern China. These design ideas provided a valuable source of ideas for a range of planning works and practices in 20th century China, as can be clearly seen in the Complete Book of Municipalities compiled (陆丹林 1931, Lu 1931) during the Republic of China. The effective zoning of the city, the improvement of the transport system, the establishment of a park system and even the preparation of a civic centre in the Greater Shanghai Plan are all responsible for these ideas.

## **2.1 Genesis of urban construction in Ancient Shanghai**

### **2.1.1 City Construction in Ancient China**

Cities are human settlements with a spiritual, cultural, and secular identity. The urban environment creates distinctive urban people, a unique social hierarchy, an architectural sequence and so on. People's lifestyles, psychological qualities and social activities are clearly distinguished from those of other communities. The basic followings for the construction of ancient Chinese cities are derived from the *Zhou Li - Kao Gong Ji* (周礼·考工记, also known as *The Artificers' Record*), from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period (approximate 770 BC - 476 BC), where the Chinese strictly followed the ritual system during the feudal and imperial periods. Most of the ancient capital city sites in feudal China have certain commonalities in terms of layout and orientation, following the same rules of the layout planning system.

A chapter in *Kao Gong Ji - The Artisans* contains a system of rules for royal cities, which is the first comprehensive account of the layout of ancient Chinese capitals, with clear principles, and marks the formal formation of the theory of ancient Chinese capital city layout planning. In this chapter it recorded:

“匠人营国，方九里，旁三门。国中九经九纬，经涂九轨。左祖右社，面朝后市，市朝一夫。”

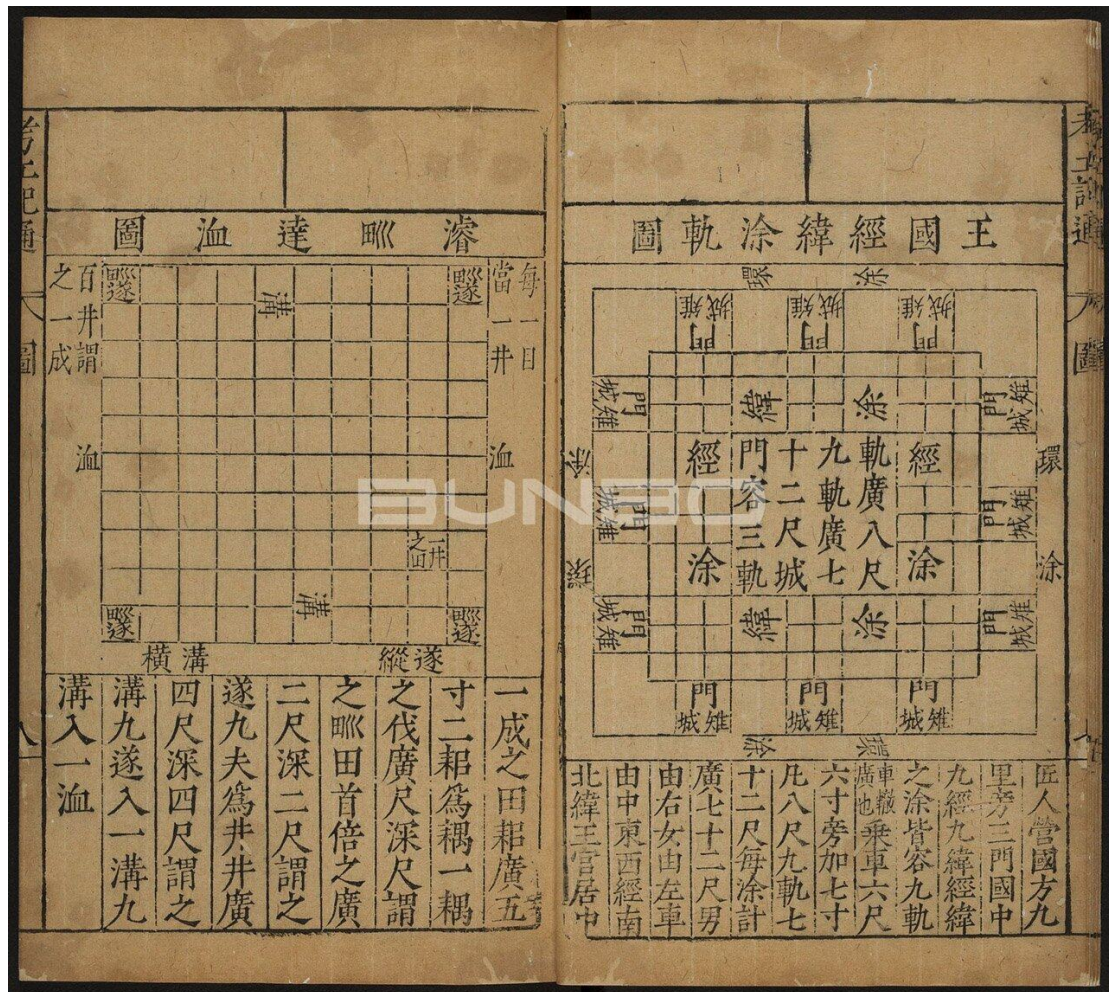


Figure 1. The chapter about the capital construction principles in the *Kao Gong Ji Diagrams*(考工记通图), Spring and Autumn Period of China. Source: <<https://www.bunbo.com.cn/news/architecture/2020/kaogongji.html>> (Spring and Autumn Period of China, BUNBO 2020)

English translation by Author:

*The city should be nine Li square, with three gates on each side and nine roads running lengthways and horizontally. (The main) the north-south road is nine tracks wide. To the left<sup>42</sup> of the palace is the Temple of the Ancestors(太庙, Tai Miao) and to the right is the Temple of the Land Gods and Food Gods (社稷坛, She Ji Tan). The Imperial Court<sup>43</sup> and the imperial bed-chamber should be in front of the imperial city (to the north), while the market and the common dwellings were at the back (to the south). The size of the market is as large as a hundred paces square, with a length of about 140 metres from east to west and north to south.*

<sup>42</sup> In ancient China, the left side was respected, and the left side represented the East, in connection with the nature worship and sun worship of primitive society in China.

<sup>43</sup> Same function as council court.

This is a phrase known to anyone who reads architecture or planning in China, a rule that has bound Chinese cities for thousands of years and which has been followed in the construction of the capital cities of both Xi'an<sup>44</sup>. In the article, *The Evolution of the Country System and the Layout Planning of the Ancient Capital in the Central Plains*, the City Construction system in Kao Gong Ji was, under a certain historical background, only a blueprint for the "ideal royal capital" as depicted by Confucianism, which could only be transformed into reality in the prosperous era of a unified feudal society. The main elements that make up a capital city include walls, gates, roads, ancestral temples, temples of the gods, palaces and commercial markets, etc. The layout of these elements must follow certain rules. While these rules were specific to the construction of royal cities, for the capitals of vassal states and courtiers, there were only variations in scale and massing, and some functional settings were compromised, but the overall layout was not significantly different.

### 2.1.1 City Walls

The City Wall of Shanghai County was built in the southern part of Huangpu District(黄浦区) of Shanghai during the Emperor Jiajing(嘉靖) in Ming Dynasty to defend from Japanese pirates and protect the inhabitants in Shanghai County. In September of the 32<sup>nd</sup> year of Emperor Jiajing (1553), the residents of Shanghai County raised funds, donated land, and worked on the construction of the city wall, which was completed in three months, taking the temporary opportunity retreat of Japanese pirates. The city wall of Shanghai County was 4500 meters long and 8 meters high, with a moat which is 5413 meters long, 20 meters wide, and 5.7 meters deep (上海通社 1936, Proficient Shanghai Society 1936).<sup>45</sup> The city wall has six land gates and three water gates. After Shanghai opened as a port, the inconvenience of the mobility and accessibility to the internal and external traffic caused by the city wall once caused a dispute among the people living within the county, which was resolved by constructing three new gates (祝鹏 1989, Zhu 1989).

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<sup>44</sup> The Chang'an (长安) city was the ancient name for Xi'an, a city created in almost strict adherence to the Zhou Li - Kao Gong Ji.

<sup>45</sup> 上海通社 1936. 上海研究资料, 中华书局. 366(PROFICIENT SHANGHAI SOCIETY 1936. Shanghai Research Materials, Zhong Hua Book Company. 366) Original text is “上海县城墙周长 9 里, 高二丈四尺, 并有长 1620 丈、宽 6 丈、深一丈七尺的城濠”. 1 里(Li)=500 米(meter), 3 丈(Zhang)=10 米(meter), 1 米(meter)=3 尺(Chi). In this dissertation, I converted Chinese units into international units – meters with the translation into English.



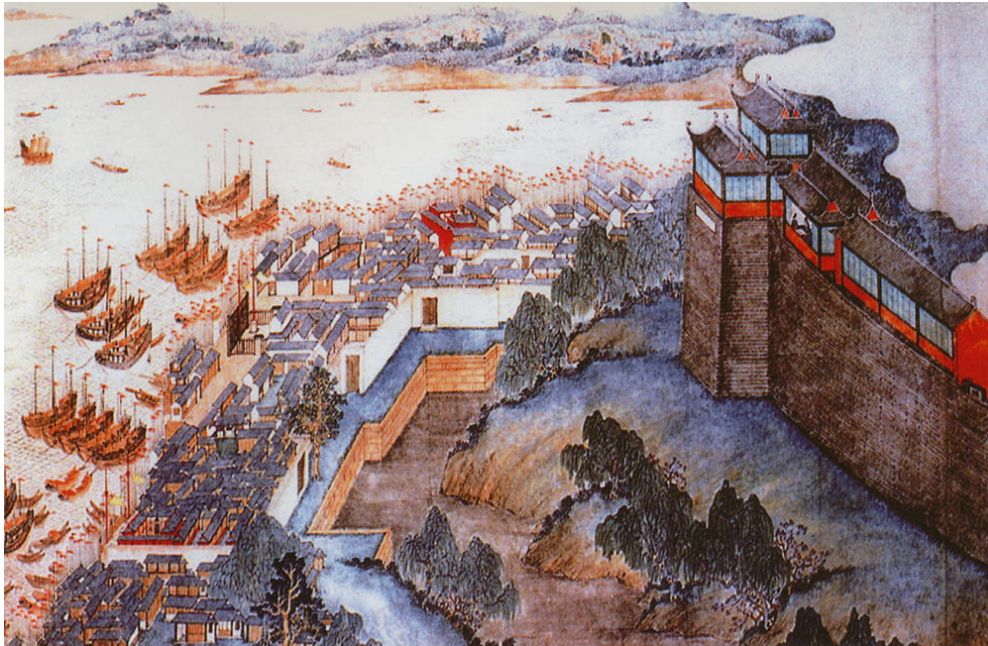


Figure 2. View of the Phoenix Tower (上海丹凤楼胜景图), Shanghai, by Cao Shiting (曹史亭). (cited in Guest, 2020) (Cao Shiting (曹史亭) After 1820, Guest 2020)

From 1912 to 1914, the Shanghai Municipal Government agreed to demolish the city and convert the site to Zhonghua Road and Fahua Minguo Road (now Renmin Road). At present, there are only two remaining sections of the ancient city wall: Dajingge Pavilion (大境阁) and Luxiangyuan Road(露香园路), among which Dajingge section is a Historical and Cultural Site in Shanghai.<sup>46</sup>

In 1990, representatives of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress proposed to "restore and open the Great Wall of the ancient city wall". Therefore, the Dajingge Ancient City Wall received the attention of the city leaders. This Ming Dynasty ancient wall is more than 70 meters long, located at the intersection of Luxiangyuan, Renmin Road. Together with DajingGe Pavilion, it forms the only Ming Dynasty wall remaining in Shanghai. At Luxiangyuan Road, a section of city wall wrapped by residential houses was found, which is now preserved in two sections, above ground and below ground. In 2005, it was discovered due to the renewal of the old area, which was preserved at the original site. But in 2009, during the development of a new residential building, the ancient wall remains was demolished more than 50 meters. However, it was preserved under the joint appeal of nearby residents and cultural relic protection experts. According to the announcement from Huangpu District Cultural Bureau, the

<sup>46</sup> Historical and Cultural Sites Protected (文物保护单位) at hierarchy levels from top to down: Major Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the National Level (全国重点文物保护单位), Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Provincial Level (省级文物保护单位), Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the Level of a City Divided into Districts or at the Level of an Autonomous Prefecture (设区的市、自治州级文物保护单位), Historical and Cultural Sites Protected at the County Level (县级文物保护单位). The Dajingge Ancient City Wall is at the provincial level. 2003, *Rules for the Implementation of the Cultural Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China*. (2003)

ancient city wall would be preserved, and a restoration plan was being worked out. Until now, the new restoration plan hasn't been announced so far. (张弘 2011, Zhang 2011)



Figure 3. Dajingge Pavilion, late Qing Dynasty (清末大境阁), Source: Huangpu District Archives (黄浦区档案馆)

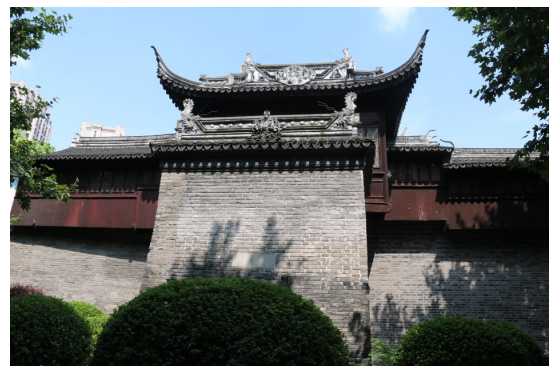


Figure 4. Dajingge Pavilion, today. Source: author's own photograph

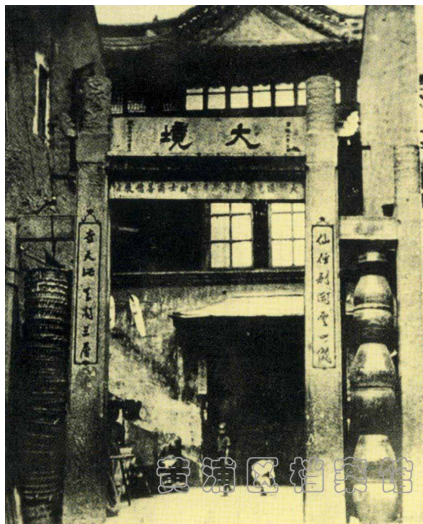


Figure 5. Dajingge Pavilion stone Archway, Ming dynasty (大境阁明代石牌坊), Source: Huangpu District Archives (黄浦区档案馆).



Figure 6. Dajingge Pavilion stone Archway, today. Source: author's own photograph

## 2.2 Shanghai County Construction before 1845

Shanghai is a coastal city with the characteristics of all the Jiangnan towns in China - a town with a very close relationship with water. Water transport used to be the traditional mode of transportation in ancient Shanghai. After the Qin Shi Huang unified China in 221B.C., he cruised through the Huiji County and was reported to have seen people trading by boat on the water. By the Han Dynasty, local products from the Songjiang and Jiading areas had begun to be transported by boat or by ship to Yangzhou for distribution and transaction with Central China via the Yangtze River and Huai River. During the Tang dynasty, Suzhou became the most prosperous and vital



commercial county in the south of the Yangtze River, even surpassing Yangzhou. All the goods from Suzhou were transported to the north via the Wusong River (now the Su Zhou Creek) and the Hu Du River (沪渎, now the lower reaches of the Huangpu River). The Qinglong Town in the Shanghai area was the centre of entrepôt activities at that time.

During the Southern Song Dynasty, many vessels and ships could no longer get to Qinglong Town from Hu Du River and stopped at Shanghai Pu (上海浦, now the Xiaodongmen area), which was why Shanghai gradually flourished and prospered. As a result, the city's main taxation authority, the Shanghai Customs House (江海关, Jiang Hai Guan, 江海大關 in Map. 1), was set up here, an administrative office responsible for foreign trade practices at the beginning of the Qing dynasty, formerly known as the formerly the Division of Department of Municipal Maritime Affairs, and later as the Shanghai Customs House (上海通社 1936, Proficient Shanghai Society 1936). It was first set up in 1685 in Hua Ting County, Songjiang Province, and later moved to Baodaimen Gate (宝带门, the other name of Xiaodongmen, 小东门) in the old city of Shanghai. It is now the No. 13 building on the Bund in Shanghai, adjacent to the Hong Kong and Shang Hai Banking Corporation (HSBC) building. The Maritime Customs in Shanghai, together with the Maritime Customs in Wuhan (江汉关), Tianjin (津海关) and Guangzhou (粤海关), were known as the four major customs houses of the Qing Dynasty.

At that time, there were already squares, markets, shops and temples in the Shi Liu Pu area, forming the original prototype of today's Shanghai port. In the area of Xiaodongmen Gate, there were also several merchant ships and guilds organised by various merchants all over China, followed by the emergence of a street of foreign companies (now the Yangshuo Road) where merchants from Min and Canton traded foreign goods. It was obvious that Shanghai was already a densely populated place where merchants and businessmen converged, and that it had become the centre town of Southeast China. (仲富兰 2009, Zhong 2009) The poet Shi Run of the Qing Dynasty wrote a poem to describe the prosperity of the Xiaodongmen area and the luxurious life of the ship merchants. (上海城市规划志编纂委员会 1999, Shanghai Urban Planning Chronicles Compilation Committee 1999)

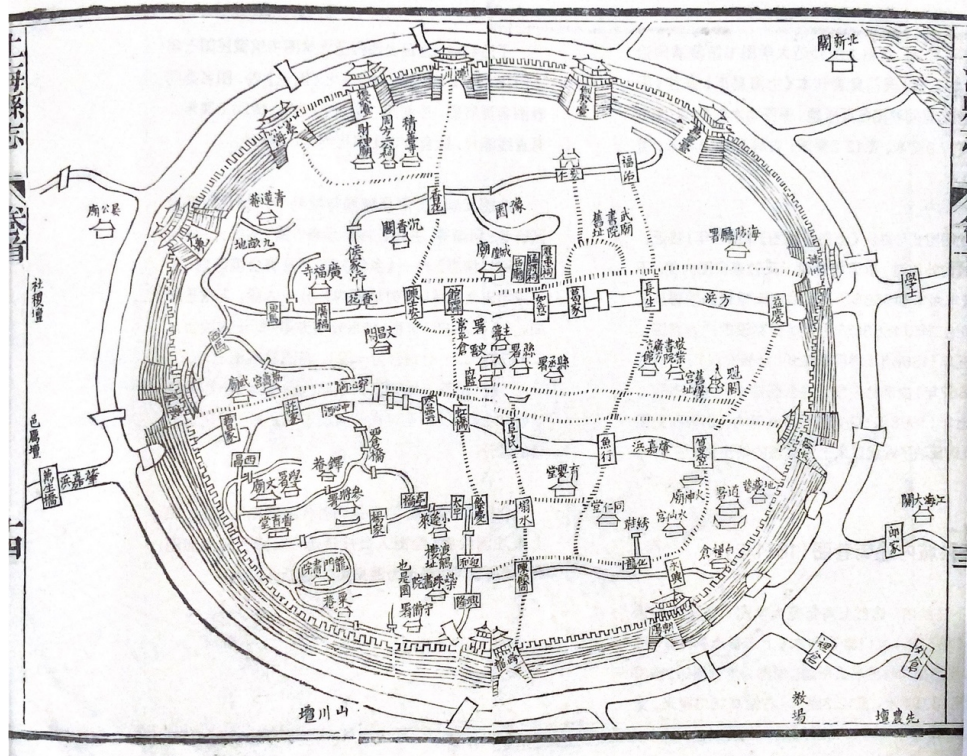
*"Half of the city is lit up at night in the southeast, where the interior lights illuminate the silhouettes of the surrounding houses, which are as numerous and uneven as trees. The merchants often drank wine and ate food until the early hours of the morning, and the magnificent lights and songs continued into the spring of the following year."<sup>47</sup>*

The marketplace was generally located in the most inauspicious direction to the north, indicating the low status of trade and merchants and the secondary importance of

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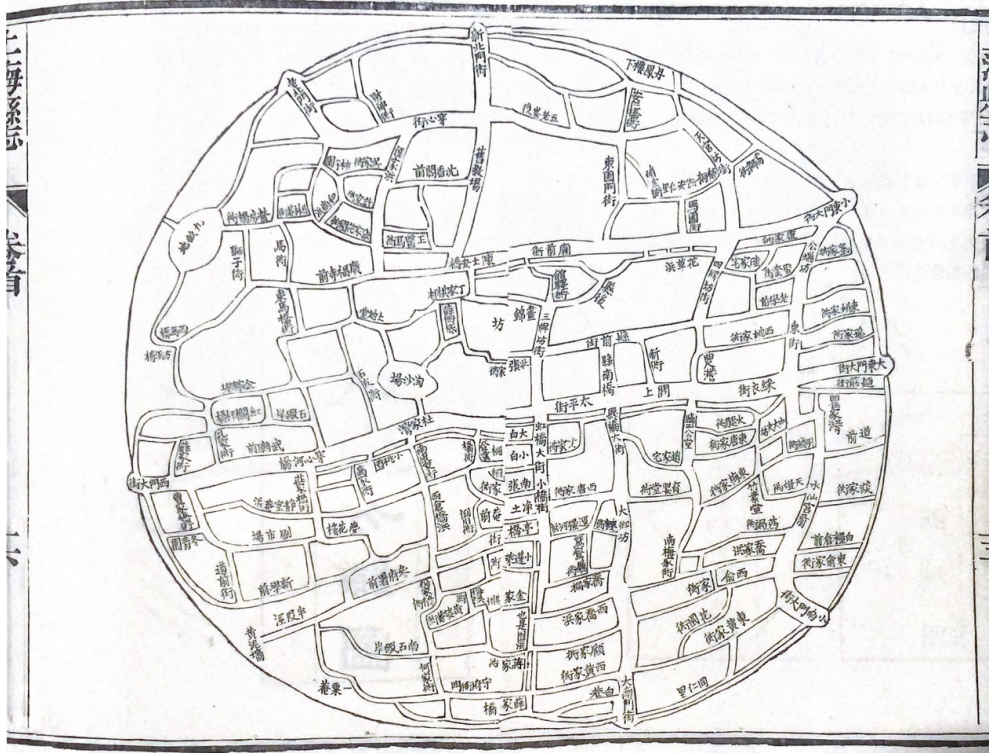
<sup>47</sup> The original C Chinese text of the poem is as follows “一城烟火半东南，粉壁红楼树色参；美酒羹肴常夜五，华灯歌舞最春三”。

these weak economies in an agricultural society. The location of Shanghai in the southeast outside the city is primarily associated with the customs and transport trade.



Map 4. *Map of the county town of Shanghai (上海县城图), 1871.* Source: SUN, Xun & ZHONG, Chong 2017. *Complete Atlas of Shanghai Antiquated Maps*, Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House. 1-12 (1871a)

After the town of Shanghai was raised to the county of Shanghai in 1292, no city walls were built during the 261 years. Because the inhabitants of Shanghai depended on the maritime trade or fishing for their livelihood, the population was sparse. Over the next few hundred years, as Shanghai's manufacturing and the economy grew, the population increased, and the frequent presence of Japanese invaders caused wealthy people to choose to move out of Shanghai to live in other prefectures. The locals began to realise the importance of the city walls. Unlike the walls of other cities built of brick or stone, the city wall in Shanghai was built with a rammed foundation of clay and was chased in just three months. Its main function was to defend against the Japanese Japanese invaders from the sea.



Map 5. Map of the streets in and around Shanghai County (上海县城内外街巷图), 1871.  
Source: SUN, Xun & ZHONG, Chong 2017. Complete Atlas of Shanghai Antiquated Maps, Shanghai Calligraphy and Painting Publishing House. 1-13 (1871b)

The layout of the town is not centred on the crossroads, but on the crisscrossing rivers, with most of the main roads being built along the rivers, with a network of rivers, roads and bridges, a typical look of a riverside town in southern China. This kind of riverside town can still be seen in the towns of Suzhou, Zhouzhuang and Tongli in Jiangsu Province today. Within the city, the first main river running through the city was the Zhaojiabang (肇嘉浜, now Fuxing East Road), which ran east to Huangpu and west to Songjiang Prefecture. The other main river running parallel to the Zhaojiabang was the Fangbang (方浜, now Fangbang Middle Road). The main east-west river is Xuejiabang, in the south of Rongjia, which also leads east to Huangpu River, and Houjiabang, in the north of Fangbang. The north-south stem river is the main river, linking Xuejiabang, Zhaojiabang and Fangbang. In order to link up with the traffic, there were a large number of bridges in each of the rivers, 38 in the Ming dynasty and 55 in the modern era. Among the six gates, the four gates of Baodaimen, Chaozongmen, Chaoyangmen and Yifengmen were all equipped with water gates next to the land gates, which further demonstrates the characteristics of the city of Shanghai as a water town in the south of the Yangtze River.<sup>48</sup> (伍江 1997, Wu 1997)

Due to the development of the commodity economy centred on inter-port trade in Shanghai, the scale of cities and towns gradually expanded. During the Ming dynasty

<sup>48</sup> Wu, Jiang 1997. A Century of Architectural History in Shanghai (1840-1949), Tongji University Press. p4-p8

(1488-1505), Shanghai was already a much more prosperous city in the southeast than the towns north of the Yangtze River. At that time, the town already had five main streets named "Xin Ya Xiang", "Xin Lu Xiang", "Xue Xiang", "Kang Qu Xiang", and "Mei Jia Xiang". By 1522-1566, the number of streets and lanes in the town had increased to more than ten, with the 'Third Pailou Street' and the 'Fourth Pailou Street', the main north-south roads, being built on the east and west sides of the county office in the centre of town. The city had already constructed a system of streets and lanes that crossed neatly from north to south and from east to west. At this point, there were already 61 Fang<sup>49</sup> (坊, same as small communities or commercial subdivision) streets and alleys in the city, not only in the city, but also outside the city wall along the Huangpu River. The word "alley" and "lane" were already common in the names of streets and lanes, which was the origin of the name "Li Long". The layout of the city's streets was basically set in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, which was an old city or Nanshi in the old Huangpu district.

Another interesting aspect of the layout of the city is that three of the six gates face east, towards the Huangpu River. This reflects the dependence of the city on the Huangpu River for its survival. Shanghai developed from the Yuan and Ming dynasties onwards, mainly because of its role in water transport. Its position as a commercial and trading centre in the south of the river was also due to this. Before 1840, the port of Guangzhou was the only port open to foreign trade under the Qing government's Guangzhou one-bite trading policy and transporting goods to and from provinces across the country, such as Jiangsu and Zhejiang, required long journeys due to the hilly terrain and the high cost of transport, workforce and time. Moreover, since the lifting of the ban on maritime trade in the middle of the Qing dynasty, the dependence of Shanghai's urban economy on the Huangpu River became even more apparent. This was the main reason why the Western colonists chose Shanghai as one of the first commercial ports. After the opening of the ban on maritime trade, the port of Shanghai became an inevitable berth for cargo ships from the north and south due to the limitations of shipbuilding technology at the time. In addition to the Yangtze River route, the ocean route and the river route, all kinds of ships gathered in the present-day Shi Liu Pu. Since then, Shanghai was primed for the transition to a modern commercial metropolis before it entered an era of radical transformation by Western capitalism and modernisation.

On 26 September 1992, with the approval of the State Council, Shanghai County and Minhang District were abolished and merged to become the new Minhang District. From that on, there were no more Nan Shi or Shanghai County in the administrative concept.

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<sup>49</sup> 上海建筑施工志编委会. 1991. 东方《巴黎》: 近代上海建筑史话, 上海文化出版社. 18 (SHANGHAI BUILDING CONSTRUCTION JOURNAL EDITORIAL COMMITTEE. 1991. Oriental "Paris": A History of Modern Shanghai Architecture, Shanghai Culture Press. 18)

Although the local culture and urban construction of Shanghai did not follow the traditional Confucian ritual culture before the opening of the city, a vast number of temples associated with the state and the other gods were still built and located in various parts of the city. Because of its long-standing trade links with foreign countries, Shanghai was much less constrained by traditional Chinese orthodox culture than other places. According to the principle, "the ancestral memorial temples should be on the left, and divine memorial temples should be on the right" in Kao Gong Ji, there was also the temple of the gods of the land and grain in Shanghai County before the opening of the port, because of the low political status, the scale was way too small than a capital city or a prefecture centre city. A series of altars and temples were set up on the western side of the county to pray for wealth, safe and sound, like the Altar of Agriculture, the Altar of Mountains and Rivers, the Temple of Fire, the Temple of Oceans and Creeks. In the outer south-east corner of the Shanghai Old City, the Altar of Agriculture (先农坛) and the Drill Ground (教场, Jiao Chang, a venue for training and reviewing troops) were built, the Temple of Mountain and River was built in the southwest, and the Temple of Land and Food and the Temple of the State were constructed on the west side.

### 2.2.1 Shanghai County Academy (文庙)

Near the Baodiamen Gate were the Courts of Justice, the Guandi Temple, the Jingye Academy and the Shanghai County Academy (Wen Miao, also known as the Shanghai Confucian Temple) in the south of Fang Bang River. The architecture of the Shanghai County Academy in Shanghai adopted a group composition architecture with the Confucian cultural philosophy running throughout, which represented the vitality and spirit of the temple. This is the place where Confucianism has been embodied in Shanghai until now. It is one of the exemplars of the well conserved ancient Chinese architectural groups now in Shanghai.

The Shanghai County Academy has a history of over 700 years since 1294. Confucian temples, which refer to temples dedicated to gods in writing and examinations, originated in China and spread throughout East Asia. After the founding of Shanghai County, it was necessary to build the Chenghuang Temple and the Confucian Temple according to the Qing Dynasty system for political and religious purposes.

The overall layout of the Shanghai County Academy was unfolded in strict accordance with two vertical axes. One of them was the ritual axis, including the Ling Xing Gate(棂星门), the Pan Pond(泮池), the Dacheng Gate(大成门), the Dacheng Hall(大成殿) and the Chong Sheng Temple(崇圣祠). While the east and west sides of the Hall are on both sides of the longitudinal axis to set off the grandeur and magnificence of Dacheng Hall. The other axis was the line of the Palace of Academic, which contains the Xue Gate(学门), Yi Gate(仪门), Ming Lun Hall(明伦堂) and Zun Jing Ge Pavillion (尊经阁). Order and spatial sequence are principles that were very much a part of the traditional Chinese building complex. Shanghai County Academy is now used for the offices for



administrators of the Temple. It is now open to the public as a famous Confucian shrine and a place of heritage.

In 1855, when it moved to its present location on Wenmiao Road, Laoximen, Huangpu District. In that year, Qing troops allied with western troops captured Shanghai County, and the Confucian Temple, the headquarters of the Xiaodaohui Society, was largely destroyed by artillery fire. In 1914, the Shanghai County Public Property Manager's Office raised funds for the restoration of the Shanghai County Academy and built the platform of the Dacheng Hall, placing sacrificial vessels and costumes to prepare for the rituals. In 1927, the Shanghai Special Municipal Public Works Bureau proposed to convert the Temple of Literature into a park.

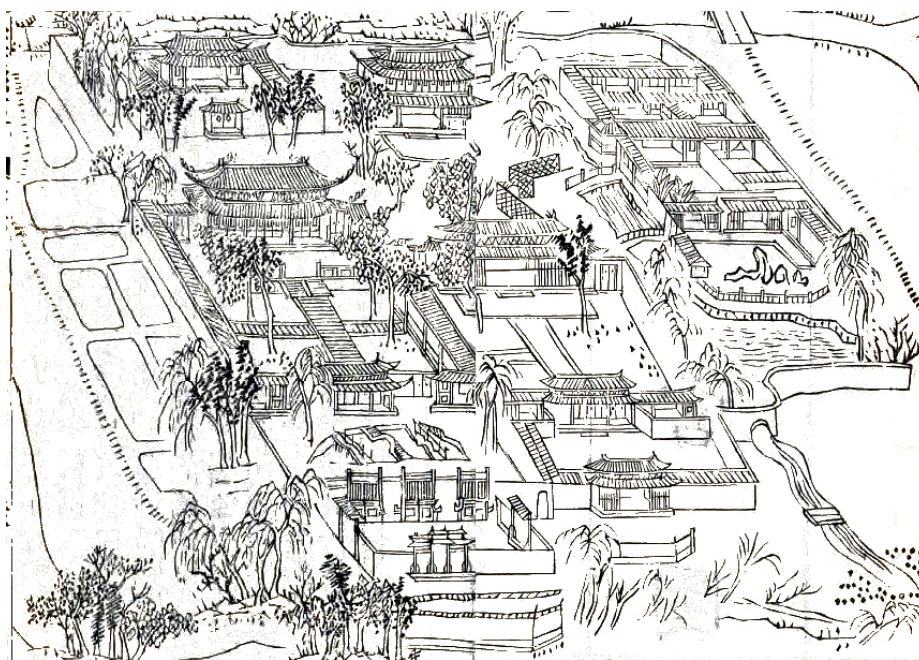


Figure 7. YING, Baosi, YU, Yue & FANG, Zongcheng. 1871. *Map of the Shanghai Confucian Temple*(上海县新学宫(文庙)图), Qing Tongzhi, Shanghai County Gazetteer, vol. 1, p20-21. (应宝时 et al. 1871, Ying et al. 1871)

Four years later, in March 1931, the Shanghai County Academy Park was opened but was not finished due to lack of funds and was subsequently managed by the Municipal Education Bureau. In December of the same year, the temple was transformed into the Shanghai Municipal Civil Education Hall. In June 1932, the Zunjing Pavilion was transformed into the Shanghai Municipal Library, collecting more than 15,000 books, making it the first public library in Shanghai. During the Cultural Revolution, parts of the building were demolished, and by the 1980s, it had become a famous old book fair in Shanghai. In 1997, after a comprehensive and systematic refurbishment, the temple was approximately restored to its Qing Dynasty layout. In 2002, the Shanghai Municipal People's Government added the Shanghai County Academy to the list of protected cultural heritage units in Shanghai. It is now open to the public as a place to worship Confucius and to demonstrate Chinese culture.





Figure 8. 1863. *A vegetable and fruit garden beside the Confucian Temple, Shanghai*, Source: HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHINA. <https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/vh02-142>. (1863b)



Figure 9. 1863. *The Confucian Temple, Shanghai, when used by the 67th Regiment as the officers' mess*, Source: HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHINA. <https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/rh01-01>. (1863a)



Figure 10. Dacheng Hall, 2021. Source: author's own photograph

## 2.3 Chinese Garden

The craft of traditional Chinese building construction belongs to the art of craftsmanship and is not a specialised discipline. As a result, the skills were generally passed down from person to person with the same surname or from master to apprentice, and there were rarely any major revolutions or innovations. During the Tang and Song dynasties, China was at the top of the world in terms of culture, economy and architectural art. By the Ming and Qing dynasties, the country and the culture were gradually solidified. This led to China remaining a relatively backward and complacent feudal state when the industrial revolution became popular around the world. Towards the end of the Qing Dynasty, gradually educated people began to realise the importance of learning from the West. On several occasions, students were

sent or encouraged to study abroad to learn the advanced building and construction techniques and urban management concepts of the West and to apply them to Shanghai as a trial site and as an example of modernisation for the whole country. Ultimately, the article emphasises that urban planning and architecture are a product of their time and a reflection of it. It is the influence of traditional culture and nationalistic elements on the city and the people who live in it. It is the progressive modernisation and construction development of China.

Before the opening of the city, the most important feature of Shanghai's local culture was its unorthodox style. For hundreds of years after the establishment of Shanghai as a county, it was just a small county with a strong economic, trade and foreign relations role, but no political status, and under the Songjiang Prefecture, it was much less constrained by traditional Chinese culture than other places. Professor Luo Xiaowei once summarises this in the statement that "Confucianism, as the representative of official culture, had less influence on Shanghai than on other major cities, etc. Shanghai was on the fringes of Confucianism", and that this unorthodox social atmosphere made ancient Shanghai a paradise for many literati and disillusioned politicians.

Especially after the mid-Ming Dynasty, the popularity of the ideological school of thought of "cultivating one's body and soul" in Shanghai, coupled with the economic affluence of the area, brought about a flourishing phoenix of gardening. During the Ming Dynasty (1522-1566), when the city wall of Shanghai was built, there were dozens of Chinese gardens in the city. Among them were the famous Yuyuan Garden (豫园, built in 1559), the Lu Xiang Garden (露香园, built in 1559), and the Yeshe Garden (也是园 or 渡鹤楼, also known as the Dui He Lou or the South Garden). The style of the time can be gauged from the names of the gardens. (伍江 1997, Wu 1997)

### 2.3.1 Yu Garden (豫园) - Last Gorgeous Chinese garden

Yuyuan Garden, also known as the Chenghuang Temple Complex (城隍庙建筑群), is located in the northeast of the old city of Shanghai, with Fuyou Road in the north, Anren Street in the east, and the Chenghuang Temple and Yuyuan commercial area to the west and south.

The Yu Garden was originally the private garden of Pan Yunduan (1506-1581), a Shanghaiese in the Ming dynasty who resigned from the court in 1577 and expanded the garden for years. Yu Garden was named after the purpose of "delighting the elderly (愉悦老亲)"<sup>50</sup> and recorded in the 1871 Shanghai County Gazetteer with an area of 36.9 Mu (24,600 square metres). With its magnificent scale and beautiful scenery, Yuyuan Garden has been renowned as "the most beautiful place in Jiangnan

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<sup>50</sup> 上海园林志编纂委员会. 2000. 上海园林志, 上海社会科学院出版社. (SHANGHAI GARDEN CHRONICLES COMPILATION COMMITTEE. 2000. *Shanghai Garden Chronicles*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.) pp. 261-270

Province". When the garden was completed, Le Shou Tang (now San Sui Tang) was the centre of the garden, with many exquisite pavilions, terraces, and rockeries, including a piece of land to the south and west of the present Hu Xin Ting, Jiu Qu Bridge. In 1709, the gentry in the county-funded the purchase of a small piece of land in the eastern neighbourhood of the Yu Garden and built an inner courtyard (内园), as shown in the Fig. 6) for the Cheng Huang Temple, also known as the East Garden. 1760, the local gentry raised funds again and over 24 years, the newly restored garden was named the West Garden, also known as the Outer Garden, but people still used to call it the Yu Garden. In 1853, when the Xiao Dao Hui rebellion broke out in Shanghai, the Qing government's troops and the war of 20 years left the Yu Garden in ruins, with most of its attractions gone.



Figure 11. Dong Yuan(东园) of Yu Garden, Source: GLOBAL NEWS EDITORIAL BOARD. 1999. *Picture Daily*, Vol.1/7. Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House. P21 (环球社编辑部 1999, Global News Editorial Board 1999)

As more and more people came to Shanghai from outside to do business, the number of people in various trades increased. They transformed the houses in the Yu Garden into public buildings, a place for worshipping the gods, holding meetings, banquets and entertainment. By 1875, most of the buildings had been rebuilt or restored by the various trade guilds (like a club for merchants of the same type of business), increasing the number of trade guilds in Yu Garden to 21. The activities of many public houses led to the rise of teahouses and pubs in the garden, with itinerant merchants gathering and some jugglers joining the garden one after another, and the Yu Garden evolved

from a garden to a temple fair or a shopping mall. Since the early years of the Republic of China, Yu Garden has been divided into two parts by an east-west path (now Yuyuan Road). The southern half includes Chao Xin Ting, Jiu Qu Qiao, Yu Ling Cui Shi, Yu Yue Lou, Xiang Xue Tang, and other pavilions, with the inner garden known as the Temple Garden. And the northern half, including Zui Xiu Tang, Spring Point Hall, Spring Wind Delight Building, and the north junction of the Small World Shopping Centre for the Temple Market, was the most prosperous urban place then. In 1937, after the outbreak of the War of August 13<sup>th</sup>, the Hall of Xiang Xue Tang was burnt down by the Japanese, leaving only an open space except for the Jade Ling Cui, a stone in front of the Hall.

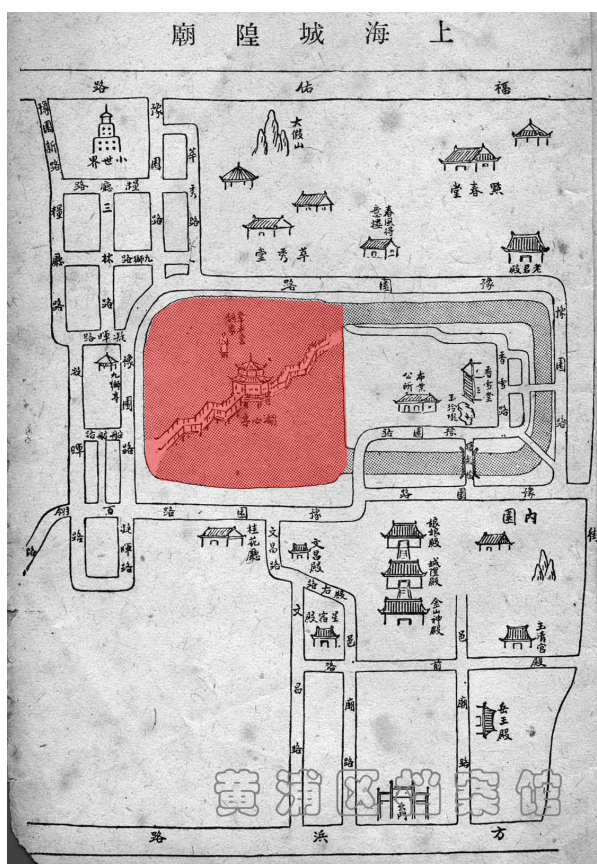


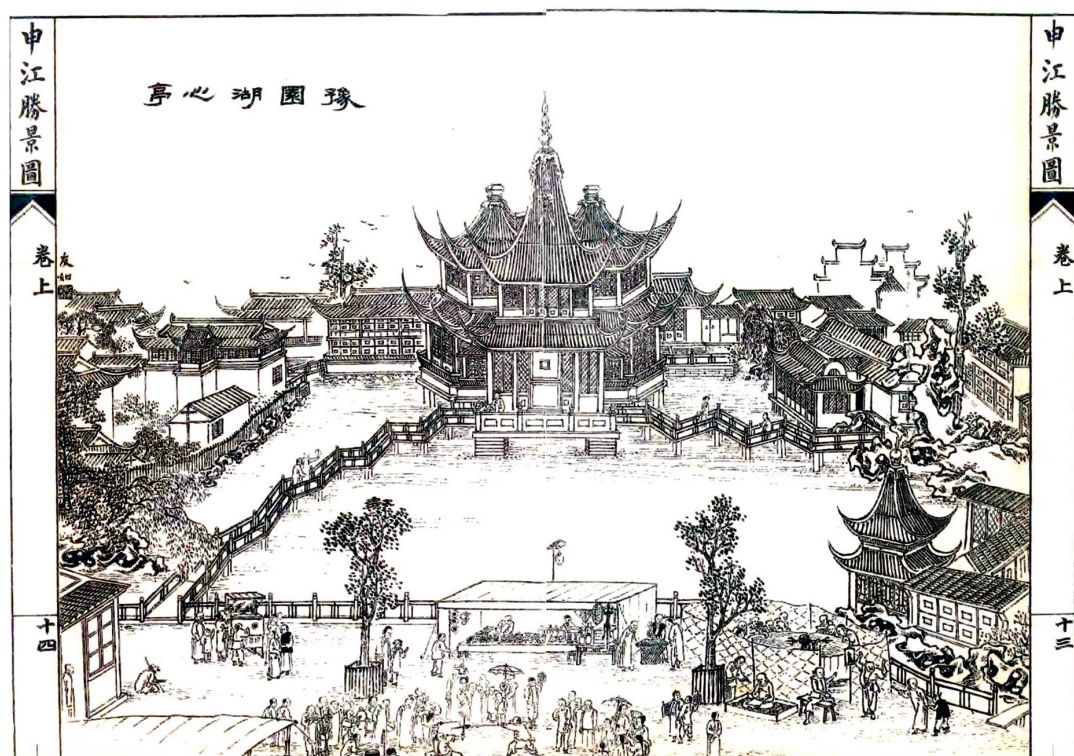
Figure 12. 1920s. *Layout of Chenghuang Temple Yu Garden in the 1920s (20 世纪 20 年代城隍庙豫园平面图)*, Source: Huangpu Archives Centre (黄浦档案馆).  
[http://daj.shhuangpu.gov.cn/dajfront/008/20190613/008004\\_34a6edad-f56c-405b-88f4-38c2eebbc208.htm?Infoid=34a6edad-f56c-405b-88f4-38c2eebbc208&CategoryNum=008004](http://daj.shhuangpu.gov.cn/dajfront/008/20190613/008004_34a6edad-f56c-405b-88f4-38c2eebbc208.htm?Infoid=34a6edad-f56c-405b-88f4-38c2eebbc208&CategoryNum=008004). (1920s)

In 1949, most of the traditional buildings in the Yu Garden were in remains. Some were converted into private houses or business premises, some of the rockeries in the garden collapsed, and the landscape was utterly unrecognisable. Two major restorations and reconstructions were carried out in the 1950s and 1980s, respectively, and the 1980s restoration repaired some areas that were not suitable for the previous restoration. (项伊晶 & 张松 2013, Xiang & Song 2013)



The Yu Garden today was transformed in the 1990s by the Yu Garden Tourism Mall. The integration of Cheng Huang Temple (城隍庙), temple garden and market has been a consistent feature of the Yu Garden since the mid-Qianlong period. The new antique commercial complex, in the form of a combination of commercial streets and leisure squares in the internal spatial layout of the group, seeks to create a traditional market atmosphere. The location to the north of Figure. 7 is actually situated to the northeast in reality. Since Mr Qian (Money Industry) bought the Qing Xue Tang (晴雪堂) in the Yu Garden as a company clubhouse in 1776, various trade associations have either occupied a part of the garden or bought houses around the temple, for example, the Sugar Company bought the Dian Chun Tang (点春堂, including the He Xi Tang, Zang Bao Lou and Kuai Lou), and the Soy and Rice Company occupied the area from San Sui Tang (三穗堂) to Wan Hua Lou (万花楼)<sup>51</sup>. The transformation of a feudal and patriarchal place of worship and a place of seclusion for the literati into a lively commercial marketplace reflects the profit-oriented nature of Shanghai's local culture before the opening of the port.

However, due to the high cost of respecting the traditional architecture of each country, the antique buildings do not fully replicate the details of the traditional architecture, and the tourist mall in Yu Garden is excessively commercialised and out of keeping with the historical style of Yu Garden.



<sup>51</sup> 瞿钧 & 王国滨. 1996. 上海市区志系列丛书——静安区志, 上海, 上海社会科学院出版社. (QU, Jun & WANG, Guobin. 1996. *Shanghai District Gazetteer Series - Jing'an District*, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.) pp. 261-264

Figure 13. Lake Centre Pavilion and Jiu Qu Bridge, Yuyuan Garden (豫园湖心亭与九曲桥), 1884. Source: WU, Youru 1884. *Shanghai Scenic Spot Map*, Shanghai, Dianshi Zhai Pictorial. (Wu 1884b)

There are many paintings and photographs of the Hu Xin Ting. The Lotus Pond, the Hu Xin Ting and the Jiu Qu Bridge were removed from the garden during the second restoration and could be accessed directly from the Yu Garden Commercial Mall. The East Garden, as the Temple Garden, requires a ticket to enter.



Figure 14. Hu Xin Ting (湖心亭), 'The Willow Pattern Tea House', Shanghai, 1910. Source: HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHINA. <<https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/wr-s100>>. (1910)



Figure 15. Hu Xin Ting and its Surroundings Nowadays. 2021. Source: author's own photograph

In 1959, the Yuyuan Garden was designated by the Municipal People's Committee as a municipal cultural relic protection unit, and in March 1982, it was designated by the State Council as a national key cultural relic protection unit.

### Chapter 3 Late Qing Dynasty (1845-1912)

It was in Shanghai that China's feudal society first disintegrated, laying the foundations for the development of a capitalist society and creating an eclectic mix of social culture and a particular way of life. Shanghai is a unique city, completely different from any other city in China, and it is the key to understanding modern and contemporary China. Shanghai's modern culture has been a guiding force in China, with a variety of cultural institutions that embodied the spirit of the times, most of which emerged first in Shanghai and then spread throughout the country. As one Chinese literary figure described it in 1911:

*"It was said that Shanghai and Beijing were the two great furnaces of the old and the new, and that anyone who entered them was melted by them. It is true that those who enter them are melted by them. Since the Sino-Japanese War, aspiring men and women have gathered in a corner of Shanghai, with their hearts and*

*souls, impassioned, a move that affects the whole country, and the government is shocked by it. The government was shocked by this, and all the new undertakings started in Shanghai and were implemented in the mainland. At this time, Shanghai was the expected city of the whole country and was the model for the new China".<sup>52</sup>*

### **3.1 Passive Urbanisation and Urban Sprawl**

Before the Shanghai Land Regulation, there was no official provision and legislation for the British to come and reside in Shanghai. As none of the commercial treaties stipulated how foreign merchants could lease houses at the open ports, the earliest foreigners rented houses or land directly from Chinese owners. They generally rented houses and settled down within the Old city of Shanghai. They were looking for land outside the city in the northern suburbs (around the Bund today) simultaneously to build merchant houses, warehouses, and wharves. However, few Chinese were willing to rent their property or land to foreigners, and even if they were, the price was extremely high.

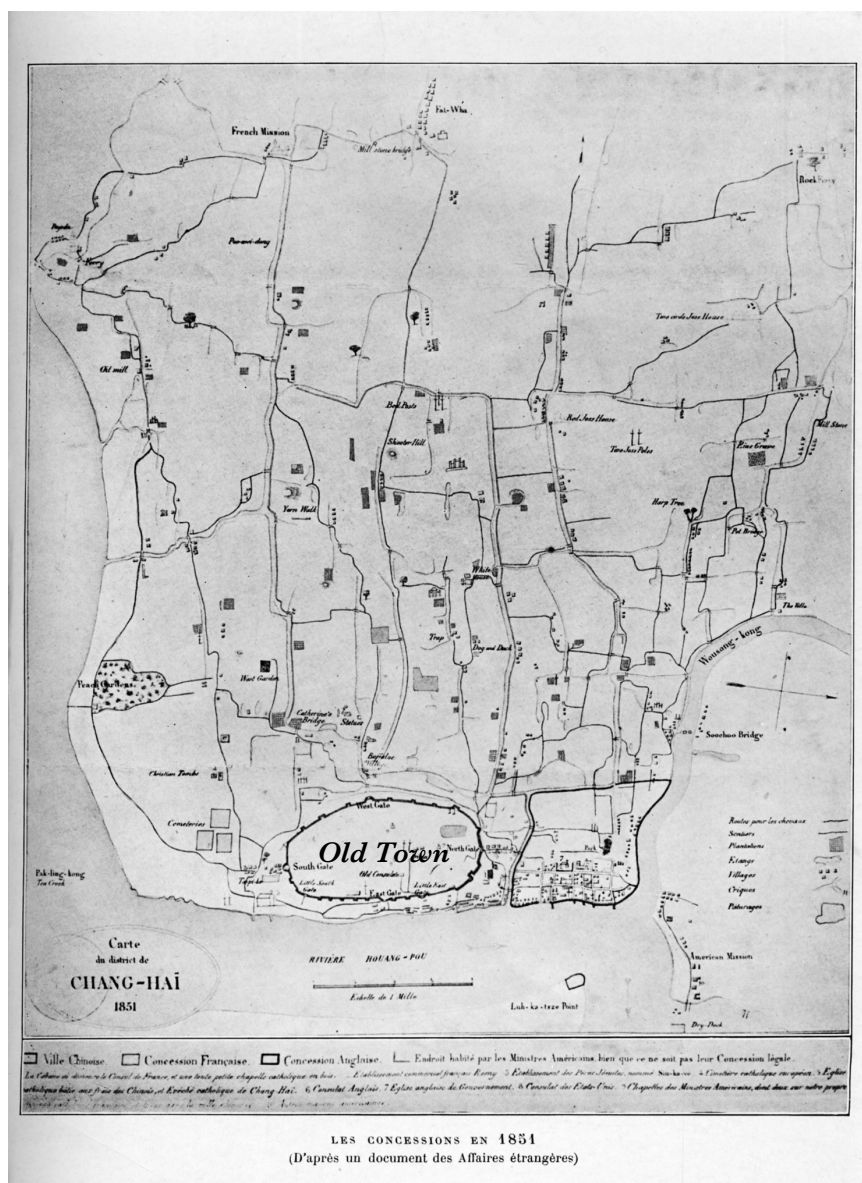
The first British office building in Shanghai, rented in a house owned by a Gu family, aroused great interest among the Shanghainese. They had never seen foreigners before, people who had come from far away with different hair, eyes, appearance and even more so with entirely different lifestyle, furniture, and clothes. For the first time, East meets West in plain sight in Shanghai. This collision was mainly a result of the curiosity of the Shanghainese. This interest later led to hatred of the British occupation of Shanghai's land, which developed into a kind of contempt and despise.

Outside the county, there were primarily swamps and wastelands, such as those mentioned in "Chinese Students in Shanghai", when the French first arrived in Shanghai in 1848, they described the city as "a dreadful monotony in its banal appearance": the land was devoid of trees, half-submerged in water, and as far as the eye could see was farmland, crisscrossed by countless sewage ditches and small rivers. Graves and low, dilapidated thatched huts were scattered all around. Twenty-three years later, in 1871, a book of Hübner named *Promenade Autour du Monde*, the author described Shanghai as "the ugliest place we could ever imagine"(梅朋 & 傅立德 1983, Maybon & Fredet 1983). Except for the old city of Shanghai, the rest part of Shanghai was still a vast, barren landscape with a great deal of urbanisation initiative and potential. But this rapidly sweeping urbanisation would take place as a storm across the vast region of Shanghai, rapidly rising to become the number one metropolis in the Far East in just a few short decades. Not one Shanghainese would tell a story about the future, that the current prosperity and isolation of the county of Shanghai would turn out to be a hindrance to further urbanisation in decades years.

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<sup>52</sup> Tian-guang, *Shanghai's perceptions of the present and the past*, in Minli Newspaper, 12 February 1911. (Cited in Zhang Zhongli, ed., *Southeast Coastal Cities and the Modernization of China*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1996, p. 75.)

When the day came, they had to admit their shortsightedness of the city and vanity of urging to live a modern life like westerners. A better life was always the driving force behind the urban development for people.



Map 6. *Les concessions en 1851*. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 416.

Map 6 depicted the Old Town of Shanghai and its environs around 1851, from the Suzhou River in the north (labelled Wousong-kong) to the Longhua Pagoda in the south, from Fahua (Fat-Wha) Town in the west to Lujiazui (Luh-ka-tsze Point) in the east. It focused on the institutions and roads in Shanghai, the British and French concessions and the American settlements, with particular attention to the British and French facilities. The illustrations included Roads for Chinese (Routes pour les chinoises), Trails (Sentiers), Plantations, Ponds (Étangs), Villages, Coves (Criques), and Grazing land (Pâturage), as well as some major suburban landmarks such as bridges, oil mills, isolated trees, gardens, etc. The map is also rich in landmarks such as isolated



trees and gardens. Most of the buildings were constructed along the Bund, while west of the Bund in Shanghai still remained large vacant lots.

At that time, the county of Shanghai was so crowded and busy that there was no spare land for new buildings or urban construction. The Qing government preferred not to allow foreigners to "select land by their own will" in Shanghai. They wanted to follow the previous practice of establishing the merchant house in Guang Zhou and try to settle the land matter once for all, by setting a particular area where foreigners' life and activities could be confined, thus separating the Chinese inhabitant from foreigners. Around the end of 1843, the boundaries of the area were generally defined: the Huangpu River to the east, Li Jia Zhuang to the north, Yang Jing Bang (洋泾浜) to the south, and a strip of barren land to the west, which later became known as the 'Bund'. Another land property, over 100 acres of land in the north of Li Jia Zhuang, was designated as the base of the British Consulate. (伍江 1997) p11

On 29th November 1845, Shanghai Daotai Gong Mujiu issued 23 articles of the Shanghai Land Regulations<sup>53</sup>, consensual with the British Consul, George Balfour. This regulation had been implemented one after another to formally define the four boundaries of the first British concession with 830 Mu<sup>54</sup> of land area. The regulations set out in writing the scope of land leased by the British, the methods of land leasing, the methods of municipal administration within the boundaries of the leased land and the principle of separation of the Chinese and foreigners within limits, which became the legal basis for the establishment of British settlement in Shanghai. The construction-related content of the Shanghai Land Regulations was scattered and fragmented in various articles. But in an overview perspective, it was easy to figure out the intentions of the framers and the desired outcome: to transform a desolate and deserted countryside and create a new urban area through development and construction.

### 3.2 Brand New Road System

Before the opening of Shanghai, there were more than a hundred streets and lanes in and around the city. However, these streets and lanes were mainly for horse-drawn carriages, sedan chairs and unicycles, and were generally only about 6 Chi (2 metres) wide. Those streets were extremely narrow. Most of them were exposed to dirt, and when it rained, it was inconvenient for passers-by to walk. In the early days of Shanghai, when there was still 'no decent road', the Shanghailanders (also known as the Westerners) were already considering road planning in the Concession.

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<sup>53</sup> 蒯世勋. 1980. *上海公共租界史稿*, 上海, 上海人民出版社. (Kuai, Shixun. 1980. *History of Shanghai International Settlement*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House.) pp. 44-50

<sup>54</sup> Mu (亩) is a Chinese unit of area, equal to 1/15 of a hectare or 1/6 an acre.

In 1845, the British planned three north-south roads and seven east-west roads in the foreigners' settlement in accordance with the Shanghai Land Regulations. In 1845, the British planned three north-south roads and seven east-west roads in the foreigners' settlement in accordance with the Shanghai Land Regulations.

Later, the British Settlement prepared the earliest road plan in 1854, and later the French and American Concessions prepared road network plans one after another. The first step in the urban expansion of the Shanghai city was to construct roads to facilitate the subsequent construction of the town. In December 1846, the Committee of Roads and Jetties was established, whose main function was to construct and maintain roads. The Committee of Roads and Jetties was the first institution to exercise public authority in the settlement and was generally regarded as the forerunner of the Municipal Council, which was established in July 1854.

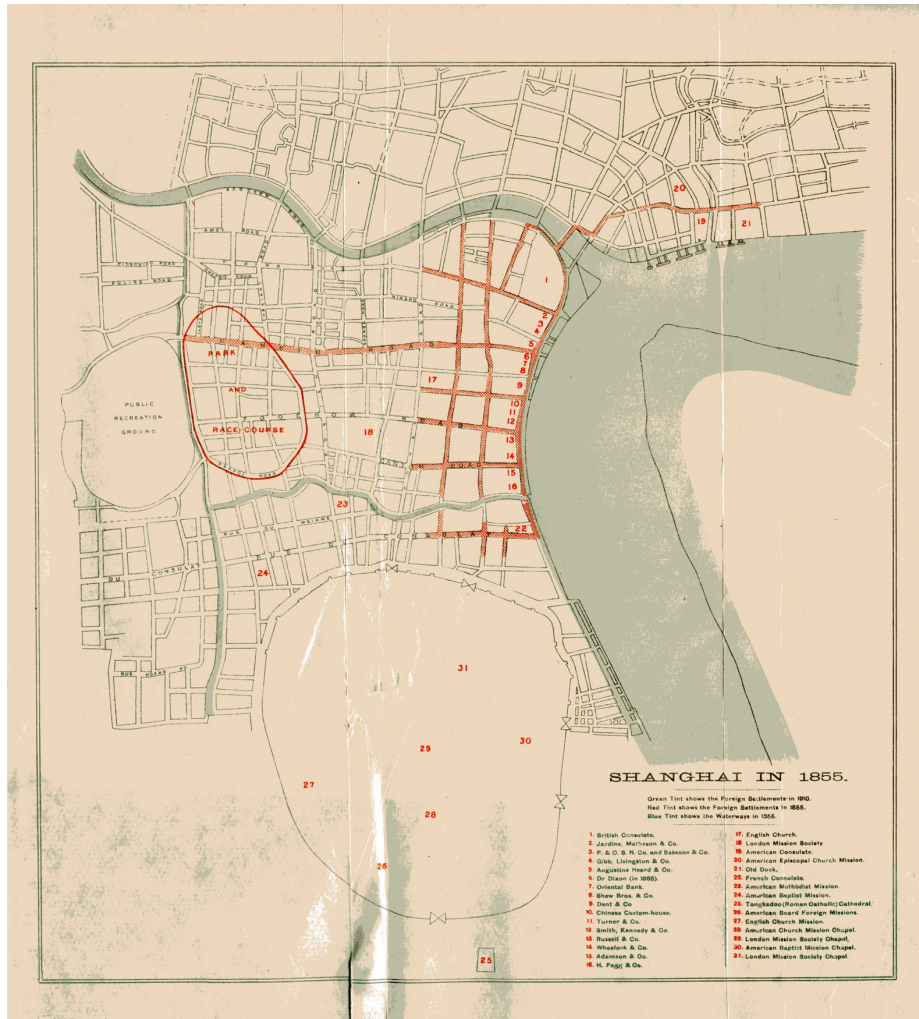
After establishing the Municipal Council, the delineation and construction of roads and important municipal environmental projects, such as the filling in or dredging of streams and creeks, and the construction of sewers, were the responsibility of the Board of Municipal Council. At the same time, the daily maintenance of traffic and amenities was the responsibility of the Inspector's Office. The roads in the International Settlement were far ahead of those in Shanghai and other Chinese communities in terms of total length, number, quality and density per unit area.

The creation of a new road system reflected the changes in social life in modern Shanghai. Before the opening of Shanghai, the primary means of transport in Shanghai was the sedan chair, so there were no special requirements for the road surface, and so the roads were all mud and clay roads. Several years after the opening, unicycles, rickshaws, horse-drawn carriages, and large lorries appeared in succession, which led to a number of requirements to strengthen the road surface. Until the 1880s, most of the city roads in Shanghai used sand, stone and mud mixed as surfacing materials. At that time, there were no construction material binders such as asphalt and cement. When it rained, the rain would wash away the mud on the road, leaving only the unbonded sand and stone, and in fine weather, the sand and gravel would be blown away by the wind and the road would be damaged. To ensure the smooth flow of traffic in the city, the tenant authorities had to employ a large number of labourers to restore and repair the damaged roads.

After the 1890s, Shanghai saw a second surge in road traffic construction, with the road surface evolving from dirt, cobbled and crushed granite to the tarmac, and in 1890 cement was introduced for road construction. In 1906 there was even a section of iron-quarried wooden road on Nanjing Road (from the Bund to the Jiangxi Road), which was legendarily donated by Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851-1931), a wealthy Jewish merchant, for commercial reasons and later given to the government. Although these wooden blocks were simple to lay and install, they were easy to maintain and had excellent wear resistance.

The width of roads, for example, was set at 6.7 metres in 1863, while the old width in Shanghai County was only about two metres wide. While the rapid changes in the construction of the concessions, the roads' width was set at 12.2 metres in 1870, but it was greatly exceeded in actual construction, to about 10-15 metres for general roads and 18-21 metres for the main roads. However, to meet the requirements of the Huangpu River for the transportation of goods, the east-west arterial roads along the Huangpu River in Shanghai were wider than the north-south arterial roads. Though the distances between the roads were extremely narrow, generally below 100 metres, with some being only 40-50 metres. This characteristic remains perceptible in the city centre area nowadays. In the concessions, roads typically cover 23% of the total area, considerably more than traditional Chinese cities' blocks.

While road transport provided mobile convenience for people to access the city, it also led to the formation of a new urban centre and the prosperity of modern commerce in Shanghai. The densely populated, low and dense houses of Shanghai's old city centre and the lack of basic facilities such as running water, electricity and coal meant that by the end of the 19th century it was still a blackout at sunset and, crucially, the roads were so narrow that even horse-drawn carriages could not pass. However, the Bund, Nanjing Road, Huaihai Road and Sichuan Road, with its wide roads and well-developed traffic, were the places where most cars, trams and buses passed through, and where "horses and carriages drove to the end of the day", showing the first signs of a modernised city. Shops, theatres, teahouses, restaurants and hotels are all flourishing, and the new commercial centre is taking on a new dimension.



Map 7. POTT, H. 1928. *Shanghai in 1855*. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 190 (Pott 1928)

In the red circle on the map above (Map 3) is the second racecourse and the main road, marked in red, is Nanjing Road, which runs through the entire British Concession area and is the main east-west artery.

Extra-settlement road was a priority and a major component of municipal construction in both the International Settlement and French Concession. After the establishment of the Shanghai Land Regulations in 1845, a series of road construction plans were issued and five major roads were built: Jiujiang Road, Hankow Road, Fuzhou Road, Guangdong Road and Shandong Road, which became the earliest modern road plan in Shanghai. By 1865, the British Settlement had formed a network of 13 north-south and 13 east-west roads. In 1900, a new road building plan was drawn up by the Shanghai Municipal Council.

The French Concession also began to develop road construction plans when the French Concession Municipal Board (French: Conseil D'Administration Municipale de la Concession Française de Changhai) was first established in 1862, and it was the first to announce the extension and opening of five major transport routes. Later, the



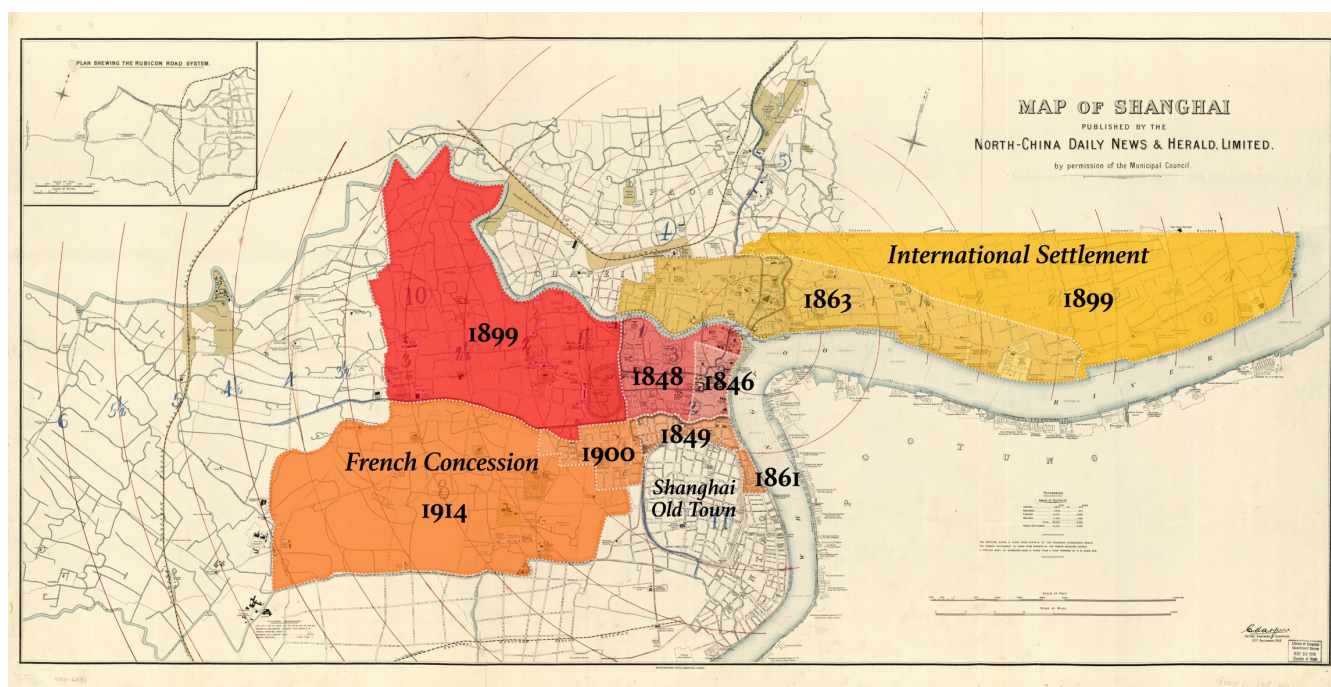
French Concession Municipal Board required prior consideration of road alignments, connections, and construction requirements. In 1900 and 1914, the French Concession Municipal Board adopted a more regular grid system of roads, as did the International Settlement. The continuous improvement of municipal facilities has contributed to the development of the concessions. With the development of transport, the market in the concessions flourished and industry developed rapidly, becoming a model for the Chinese community to follow (王文婷 2004, Wang 2004).



Map 8. *Street plan of the English, French and American settlement. 1870. Londo. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 179 (1870)*

After a certain amount of construction within the existing concessions had reached a certain size and time, the Works Bureau and the Public Council needed more urban land to expand their power and management. An important method of expanding the boundaries of the concessions and occupying land was to build roads beyond the boundaries of the concessions. In these areas, the land belonged to the Qing government and the roads to the concessions government and were administered by both the Qing government and the concessions government, but eventually, due to the Qing government's inability to contest and relinquish its rights, they were formally assigned to the concessions. For example, in 1914, the 'Road Crossing Area' of French Concession in Shanghai, which stretched from present-day South Xizang Road in the east to Huashan Road in the west, Zhaojiabang Road in the south and Yan'an Road in

the north, was formally transferred to the French Concession in 1914 and became part of the French Concession. Before 1900, foreigners had already crossed the border to purchase land in this area, and the French Concession authorities had also started municipal construction through such means as constructing roads across the border, making this area the most sensitive, most varied and fastest urbanising area in modern Shanghai (牟振宇 2010, Mou 2010).



Map 9. Diagram of the extension of the International Settlement and French Concessions in Shanghai, Illustrated by Author, according to the 1980. *History of Shanghai International Settlement* by KUAI, Shixun<sup>55</sup>. Source: 1918. *Map of Shanghai*. London: Waterlow & Sons Limited, Retrieved from the Library of Congress

Until 1919-1925, the road plan in the concessions was basically standardised. Most of the roads in the International Settlement were formed by filling in streams or creeks and constructing roads with curved lines, while the roads in the French Concession were mostly straight. As the concessions were separated from each other by the Old City and Zhabei, the north-south roads were not connected to each other, which is one of the characteristics of the road network in the city centre of Shanghai.

The early development of road traffic construction irritated Shanghainese, not only on a physical level but also on a psychic level. Even foreign tourists found the old city centre so filthy and unpleasant that "it was often too dirty to venture into it". In contrast, the urban landscape of the concessions was becoming increasingly prosperous thanks to the development of road transport. Nevertheless, under this stimulus, the people of Shanghai turned passive into active and rose to the occasion,

<sup>55</sup> 蒯世勋. 1980. 上海公共租界史稿, 上海, 上海人民出版社. (KUAI, Shixun. 1980. *History of Shanghai International Settlement*, Shanghai, Shanghai People's Publishing House.) p.68

setting up road engineering bureaus in and around the old town, in Zhabei, Wusong and Pudong. The Chinese community began its own process of modernising road transportation. The outcome was clearly visible in the efficacy achieved by the road traffic construction in the early concessions. It not only contributed enormously to the municipal construction of the entire city of Shanghai and considerably changed the urban landscape, but also had a great impact on the stereotypical ideology of Shanghai city dwellers and significantly raised the modernisation consciousness of the Shanghainese.

### **3.3 The First Commercial Block——Nanjing Road**

West of the Bund, east of Henan Road, south of Beijing Road and north of Yan'an Road, it was the first commercial district in Shanghai and another of the earliest and most successful examples of neighbourhood construction in the city. The centre of this neighbourhood was Nanjing Road, also known as Nanking Road. Its outstanding contribution was the organic combination of roads and transport with buildings, commercial and entertainment facilities and even open views to the Huangpu River, forming a rather perfect high-class neighbourhood that was convenient, functional, beautiful and harmonious. Both Shanghainese and Westerners would not be disappointed from any angle. Nanjing East Road, built in 1851, was one of the earliest roads built after Shanghai opening as a port. It has gradually developed into one of the most prosperous commercial streets in Shanghai and even in the world and had the reputation of "First Street in China". It even had a reputation as the Wall Street of the East.

Together with the Bund, this road was considered to represent the character and soul of the city Shanghai. Nanjing Road originated in 1851 as the "Park Lane" leading from the Bund to the first racecourse on Henan Road, built by British expatriates. The racecourse was very new and novel to the Shanghainese, who had never seen a horse race before, so they called the racecourse, which was planted with all kinds of flowers and trees, a "garden", and the road leading to it was called "Garden Lane".

Nanjing Road was not a significant road in the late Qing Dynasty. In the early days of the opening, the Westerners were isolated in the concession, which meant they lived far away from the Chinese Old City, with less than a hundred people in an area of over two hundred acres. The original Nanjing Road was not very prosperous, as the expatriate population was very few and the use of the land leased was mainly commercial. The building function was mostly mixed commercial and residential. The neighbourhood was highly monotonous, without shops, hotels, bars, theatres, or vibrant street life like today's Nanjing East Road. In the early days, Nanjing Road was a pretty Chinese road, and before the 1880s, businesses in the concessions were concentrated in Canton Road and Fuzhou Road to the south. At the same time, Nanjing Road was a rural residential area and had not yet been developed into a commercial street.



In 1865, the Bureau of Public Works named the first roads in the Concession, and Nanjing Road was the first to be named, hence the common name 'Big Road'. In 1865, the Bureau of Public Works named the first roads in the Concession, and Nanjing Road was the first to be named, hence the common name 'Big Road'. By 1907, there were four foreign-owned department stores on Nanjing Road, all of which were located in the eastern section of Nanjing Road, mainly serving foreign banks, firms, clubs and other Western-style business establishments near the Bund. The western section of Nanjing Road, on the other hand, was home to a large number of traditional Chinese shops and teahouses. These teahouses performed some of the functions of the early trading houses and were critical public spaces for merchants to interact with each other in Shanghai, similar in part to the cafes and bars.

This separation between Chinese and foreign business was gradually broken down since the Xiaodouhui Rebellion and the Taiping Heavenly Rebellion War. A large number of Chinese flocked to the International Settlements, centred on Nanjing Road, to seek refuge, and around 1854 the Chinese population in the concessions soared to over 20,000, and by 1862 it had reached 200,000. The mixture of Chinese and foreigners became an essential factor in reshaping the urban space. As the main consumers in the concessions gradually shifted from westerners to Chinese consumers, a "Chinese and foreign complementary" business pattern was steadily formed, combining local capital, expatriate capital and foreign investment, enriching the commercial system on Nanjing Road.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Nanjing Road was already flourishing. With the widest roads and large, western-style shops, it had replaced Fuzhou Road and Guangdong Road as the commercial centre of Shanghai. The distance of Nanjing Road, from the Bund in Shanghai to Jing'an Temple. A total length of 5km. Because Nanjing Road was 1599 metres long, this bustling neighbourhood was also called the "Ten Miles of Luxury"<sup>56</sup>. The commercial centre of the city gradually shifted to Nanjing Road.

The significant rise of Nanjing Road and its commercial heyday came in the 1910s and 1930s. In 1912, after the establishment of the Republic of China, the policy and taxation of Chinese investment were favourable. More and more shops with Chinese investment were opened in the western section of Nanjing Road. The most famous four significant companies began to open entertainment and social venues and facilities such as amusement parks, dancing halls, game houses, restaurants and hotels. With a full range of global department stores, complete service facilities and a new business concept, the four major companies became the giants of Shanghai's department store industry and constructed a new urban consumer space that combined shopping, entertainment, accommodation, dining and social functions.

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<sup>56</sup> This translation came from a Chinese song "十里洋场" by the singer Li Xianglan, also known as Shirley Yamaguchi.



In 1945, after the Nationalist government recovered all the leased areas from the powers, Nanjing Road was renamed Nanjing East Road and Jing'an Temple Road was renamed Nanjing West Road.



Figure 16. *View of Nanking Road, 1870.* Source: Virtual Shanghai  
<<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=155>>.



Figure 17. *Nanking Road, Shanghai, 1930s.* Source: HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS  
OF CHINA. JC02-05 <<https://www.hpcbristol.net/visual/jc02-05>>.



Figure 18. *Nanking East Road, 2021. Source: author's own photograph*

Nanjing East Road now is an east-west pedestrian street in the center of Shanghai. It starts from the Bund of Zhongshan East Road in the east and ends at Xizang ZhongLu Road in the west.

### 3.4 Active Urban Sprawl Movement

The efforts of the Chinese community in Shanghai between 1895 and 1911 to plan and develop the city could be analysed from three perspectives. Firstly, the Qing government finally realised the progressive nature of western urban construction and management. Still, due to a lack of professional knowledge in urban planning, they could only follow the example of the British Settlement at the beginning of the opening of Shanghai. But eventually, to suppress the Boxer Rebellion movement, the Boxer Protocol was signed with the combined armies of Britain, the United States, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, Austria-Hungary and Italy, which dredged the Huangpu River, and Wusongkou lost the advantage of opening a port. In 1901, the Qing government once again lost the initiative to open a port and transfer Shanghai's economic and administrative centre to the jurisdiction of the Qing dynasty.

Secondly, this period saw an increase in civic participation in public affairs, with the autonomy movement in full swing, and the rise of nationalist thinking at the turn of the century, which, compared to the previous period, was a very clear counterweight to the expansion of the concessions.

Thirdly, the autonomy of the Chinese community in Shanghai at this stage was heavily influenced by the municipal system of the Shanghai concessions. From the names of

the institutions and their structures to the scope of their functions and the specific matters they were engaged in, the autonomy of the Chinese community in Shanghai was clearly modelled on the Municipal Council and French Concession Municipal Board. The Chinese community in Shanghai was still trying to expand the size of the urban area, improve infrastructure and provide better public services in order to attract more business activities to the old town.

The Map 10 below, shows foreign concessions in Shanghai, Chinese old town in yellow, French in red, British in blue, and American in orange, in 1884. The roads in the old town in 1884 were haphazard and the main roads continued to be spread along the two main waterways. The roads in the Shi Liu Pu section were similar to those in the French Concession, forming a more regular tessellated pattern. The difference between the urban development of the old town and that of the Concession in just 40 years has been a vast difference. Such a clear-cut urban landscape led to the establishment of autonomous organisations and to the learning of the road planning and urban management methods of the concessions.





Map 10. A Map of Shanghai's Old Town and the Concessions (original title: Shanghai xian cheng xiang zu jie quan tu). 1884. Source: Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7824s.ct000648/>.

### 3.4.1 Opening of Wusongkou Wharf — First Initiative

#### Urbanisation Attempt

Wusongkou Wharf (吴淞口), located in the north of Shanghai, at the confluence of the Yangtze and Huangpu rivers, is situated between the Wusong area and Pudong, with the narrowest part of the two banks being only about 800 metres (上海市地方志办公室 2005). After the opening of Shanghai, Wusongkou Wharf became the main channel and anchoring place for merchant ships from domestic and overseas to Shanghai and along the Yangtze River, and the status of Wusong Town (吴淞镇) in Baoshan became increasingly prominent. Wusong Town, located at the intersection of Wusongkou and Wenzaobang (蕴藻浜), was of great military importance, and a fortress was built during the Qing Dynasty. Wusong Town was a military stronghold and at that time belonged to Baoshan County, Jiangsu Province, so it was not opened along with Shanghai County, but 55 years after the opening of Shanghai as a commercial and industrial trading area, and even this opening plan was soon aborted. However, in general, before 1898, Wusong was a traditional town with mainly military functions. It was only after the opening of Shanghai that Wusong began to change and became a transshipment terminal under the influence of modernisation.

The Huangpu River gradually silted because of the sediment accumulated over a long period of time, resulting in ships from the sea could not smoothly arrive at the downtown area of Shanghai, had to pick up the cargo transfer in Wusong Wharf, or by barge lightened load after the tide in the Huangpu River. The British, American, and French consuls and foreign chambers of commerce requested that the shallows of the Huangpu River should be dredged. However, the imperialists' desire to expand and occupy Shanghai and its environs was growing, and their "internal factors" demanded a major expansion of the concession area in Shanghai. The "external" reason was to include Wusong in the concessions or to make it a new concession. The Viceroy of Liangjiang (1890-1902), Liu Kunyi, who oversaw foreign negotiations in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, thought that the accumulation of silt could prevent foreign warships from entering the Huangpu River, and the Qing government could not afford the dredging. Moreover, only a few large tonnage ships were affected by the sandbar, while ordinary ships could enter and exit freely, so the government took a delaying and negative attitude.

Wusong's self-opening of commercial port happened under such a background, and it was the practice of the Qing government to seize the initiative in order to avoid the further excuse of the Westerners for the expansion of concessions. Therefore, this self-opening was mainly for political purposes.

In order to prevent westerners from occupying Wusong, Liu Kunyi, Viceroy of Liangjiang, reported to the Qing government and requested that Wusong should be

opened as a commercial port independently. The Qing government granted the request and stipulated that roads and shops could be built and set up within the planned territory as an open commercial port for both Chinese and foreigners. On 26 September 1898, the General Administration of Engineering for the Opening of Wusong Port (吴淞开埠工程总局, hereinafter referred to as the General Bureau of Engineering) was officially established, marking the beginning of the opening of Wusong as an official commercial port. The supervisor of the General Bureau of Engineering was appointed by Cai Jun of Su Song Tai Dao; later, the "Bureau of Beach Land Survey"(清查滩地局) was established, and Xu Baoshu, the alternate governor, was appointed to take charge of the matter, and Shen Dunhe, the chief office of the camp affairs department of the Self-Strengthening Army<sup>57</sup>, was appointed to survey the land boundary.

When the Qing government announced that Wusong had taken the initiative to open a commercial port, buyers flocked to the area around Wusong to purchase land, and land prices rose rapidly. The price of these lands went from "tens of taels to at most a hundred taels"<sup>58</sup> to more than tens of and hundreds of times the original price. The northern part of the port was still from Wusong Fort, but the southern part was extended to Niu Qiao Jiao. The actual boundaries of the commercial port were determined by Shen Dunhe, so that the expanded boundary would encompass roughly all the land acquired by the Chinese and Westerners to the south of Wenzaobang. (郑祖安 1999, Zheng 1999)

Subsequently, the *Wusong Port Concession Land Regulations* (吴淞开埠租界买地亩章程) was issued. The first paragraph of the regulation starts with the clear proposal that "Wusong was a self-opening port, different from the situation of the port contained in the treaty, and only foreign merchants from other countries are allowed to rent land within the demarcated boundary and live together with the Chinese people. The foreign merchants were still not allowed to rent the land outside the boundary restriction, and this is especially noted in this article"<sup>59</sup>.

While a two-year period of surveying the base site of the horse road and land acquisition was carried out, nine roads were built, including Wai Road (now eastern section Song Pu Road), Yong Qing Road (now southern section Song Bao Road), Shang Yuan Road (now Tang Hou Road), Changshu Road (now Shui Chan Road), Xin Ning Road

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<sup>57</sup> From the 1860s to the 1890s, the advocates of the westernization movement of the late Qing Dynasty conducted a self-strengthening campaign to introduce Western military equipment, machinery and science and technology to save the Qing dynasty under the slogan of "self-improvement" and "striving for wealth". Zhang Zhidong, Viceroy of Liangjiang (1894-1896, 1902-1903), built and trained a new type of army, which was divided into infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineering troops.

<sup>58</sup> *Shenbao*, Jan 24<sup>th</sup>, 1900

<sup>59</sup> the website of Office Of Shanghai Chronicles (上海市地方志办公室), [http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz\\_web/DFZ/ZhangInfo?idnode=144797&tableName=userobject1a&id=-1](http://www.shtong.gov.cn/dfz_web/DFZ/ZhangInfo?idnode=144797&tableName=userobject1a&id=-1)

(now Tang Hou Branch Road), Min Kang Road, Zhen Hai Road (now Dong Pu Road) and Zhong Xing Road (now Bei Xing Road). The Wusong Bridge was also built over the Wenzaobang, with a length of more than 50 Zhang<sup>60</sup> (丈) and a width of 6 Zhang, connecting the north-south traffic.

Just as the construction of the opening of Wusong port was gradually underway, in 1900, the Boxer Rebellion took place in China under the slogan "Support the Qing Dynasty and Destroy the Foreigners". In 1901, the Qing government was forced to sign the Boxer Protocol (辛丑条约, literally Treaty of Xin Chou) with Eight-Nation Alliance<sup>61</sup>. This treaty made the requirements of Eight-Nation Alliance to dredge the Huangpu River and smoothly access to Shanghai into a reality. The original intention to transfer trade enterprises to Wusong was suspended, resulting in the successive abolition of the General Bureau of Engineering, the Taxation Bureau and the Survey Bureau. The first attempt on opening of Wusong port was forced to be suspended due to the rapid changes in the domestic and international situation.

The opening of Wusong port for the first time was a useful exploration and practice adopted by the Qing government in an attempt to "save and strengthen itself" during the national crisis and was the first of its kind in China at that time. It effectively resisted the occupation of Wusong by concession. Although the opening of the port of Wusong was not successful, the pioneering attempts made in terms of the initiative of a commercial port had an important impact at the time.

### 3.4.2 Local Autonomy Movement in Shanghai

Zhabei (闸北, also called Chabei, as shown in Map.4), in spatial context, was only a geographical concept until the opening of Shanghai. The origin of the name "Zhabei" is closely related to the Wusong River (Suzhou River). The Wusong River is an important channel for water transport in Shanghai. In the second year of the Emperor Qianlong (1737), a "new dam" was built at Jinjiawan (金家湾, west of the present Wuzhen Road Bridge, near Datong Road), three Li<sup>62</sup> to the west of the old stone dam of the Wusong River. Zhabei was named after the "north" (北, Bei) of the new "dam" (闸, Zha), and was roughly divided by the Qiujiang River, with the southern part belonging to Shanghai County, Songjiang Prefecture, and the northern part to Baoshan County, Taicang Directly Administered Prefecture.

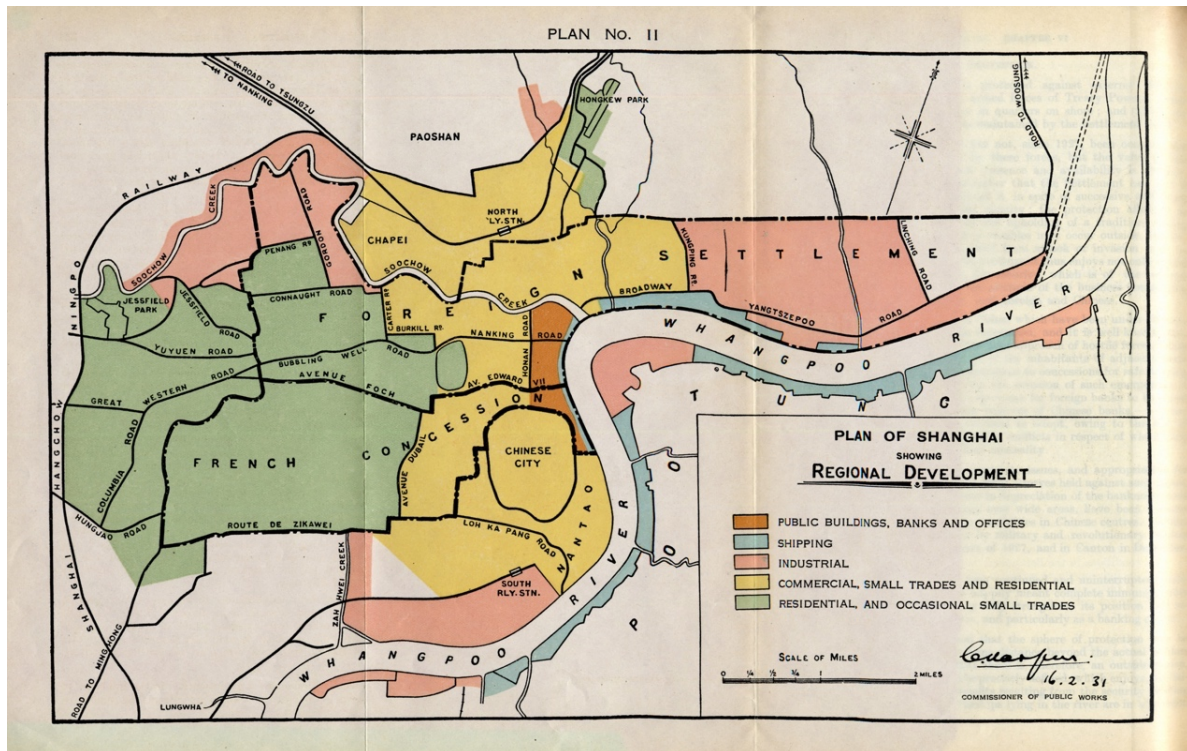
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<sup>60</sup> Zhang (丈) was the official unit of measurement in the Qing Dynasty, equal to 3.2 metres.

<sup>61</sup> In order to suppress the Boxer Rebellion, a coalition of British, American, French, German, Russian, Japanese, Austro-Hungarian and Italian troops invaded the Qing Dynasty and took over Beijing.

<sup>62</sup> 1 里(Li)=500 米(meter).





Map 11. *Plan of Shanghai showing regional development*. 1931. Map ID 404. Source: Virtual Shanghai (Original Source: Feetham, Richard, Report of the Hon. Richard Feetham, to the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1931) (Feetham 1931)

In 1899, the International Settlement underwent a major expansion, and its area was wrapped around Zhabei from the west, south and east. At this time, Zhabei was still in its natural state of wild countryside and was not yet urbanised, making it an ideal place for further expansion of the concession. In 1900, some local activists decided to cooperate with the government and set up the Zhabei General Engineering Bureau (闸北工程总局) to build bridges and roads in order to develop the local economy and resist the expansion of the Concession. After the establishment of the Zhabei General Engineering Bureau was approved, they started to raise funds for the construction of the new bridge (at the present Hengfeng Road Bridge) and the road between the new Zhabei Bridge. This was the beginning of the establishment of the Zhabei District, and some achievements were made by them.

The Zhabei General Bureau of Engineering was a private municipal institution, run by private citizens. This was a self-governing body with the aim and purpose of developing a certain area and is regarded as the beginning of local self-government in Shanghai. However, Zhabei was still a wilderness, the construction costs were enormous, and the General Bureau of Zhabei Engineering was highly dependent on limited local funding, The development work soon became impossible to survive. In 1906, the Zhabei General Bureau of Engineering was taken over by the Shanghai Provincial Government, and Zhabei's self-governing activities came to an end. (邓杰 2017, Deng 2017)



Due to the low land price and convenient transportation, Zhabei attracted many industrial and commercial enterprises to move in. By the end of the 1920s, Zhabei had rapidly developed into an important industrial zone in Shanghai, with 256 large factories, 45.23% of the city's total of 566, and was known at the time as the home base of the Chinese community's factories. The famous American journalist Powell praised: "The Chinese themselves have built more industries, both in number and importance, than the foreigners in Shanghai, and they are concentrated in the Zhabei area, near Hongkou." At the same time, Zhabei's commerce was gaining in size. More than 50 shops of all kinds were opened on Datong Road, which became known as "Nanjing Road in Zhabei". The population of Zhabei also increased from less than 30,000 in 1903 to 300,000 in the early 1920s, making it one of the most populous areas in the Chinese community.

More influential than the Zhabei General Engineering Bureau was the activity of the autonomous bodies in the southern Chinese Town. After all, Zhabei was only a former urbanised wilderness, whereas the southern district was the old part of Shanghai, home to hundreds of thousands of people from the Chinese community.

In May 1896, with the consent of Liu Kunyi, Huang Zuluo established the Shanghai Chinese Town Road Engineering Bureau (上海南市马路工程局) to build bridges, roads, wharves and public utilities to develop and reconstruct the old city hall. On November 11, 1905, the Shanghai General Works Board (上海城厢内外总工程师局) was established, and in January 1909, the Qing government promulgated the *Statute of Local Self-Government for Towns and Villages* (城镇乡地方自治章程), which stipulated that local self-government should be organized everywhere and that all towns and villages must set up a self-government offices. The General Engineering Bureau requested the local government of Shanghai not to set up a new separate self-government office, but to use the Shanghai General Works Board as the self-government office in the city of Shanghai. The General Works Board became the autonomous office of the local government of Shanghai directly. The Shanghai City Self-Government Office (上海城自治公所) operated for over two years before shutting down in November 1911 with the Qing government in Shanghai collapsed.

After 1845, due to the influence of the Concession, the Qing government's jurisdictional territory of the divided old city, Zhabei, Wusong and Pudong. The Shanghai Road Engineering Bureau (1895), the Zhabei General Bureau of Engineering (renamed the Northern Engineering Patrol Bureau, 1895), the Wusong General Bureau of Engineering (1898) and the Pudong Bureau of Public Works (1898) were set up to take charge of the construction of roads and other municipal utilities in their respective areas. For example, the city walls of the old city, after more than 300 years, had fallen off and collapsed, the battlements and brick platforms had fallen off, the city gates were challenging to pass, and the city halls were blocked with urns and tiles, showing in appearance the dilapidated scene of the old feudal city. The wall was

dismantled in 1914 after the 1911 Revolution, and Zhanghua Road and Minguo Road were built on the same site. Only a 50-metre section of the old wall remains built in the Ming Dynasty. The Dajing Pavilion was built in the Ming Dynasty and was only converted into a three-storey pavilion in 1815, which used to be called the "Fireworks and haze of Shanghai". In the Zhabei area, Baoshan Road, Xindaqiao Road, Xingyongqiao Road, and other interconnecting roads were built. These roads strengthened the internal links of Zhabei. Also, they facilitated contact with the concessions and old city, providing favourable conditions for the construction of houses, factories, and prosperous commerce, and promoting the establishment and development of railways, water and electricity, forming the two centres of Baoshan Road and Xinzha. At the same time, Wusong and Pudong areas-built Military-Industrial Road, Hengda Road, Tangqiao Road and Minsheng Road. These roads strengthened the internal links of Zhabei and also facilitated the connections with the concession area and the county town, providing favourable conditions for the construction of houses, factories and prosperous commerce, and promoting the establishment and development of railways, water and electricity, forming the two centres of Baoshan Road and Xinzha, and the construction of Military Industrial Road, Hengda Road, Tangqiao Road and Minsheng Road in Wusong and Pudong.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.5 Compradoric Style Architecture

The first Westerners to arrive in Shanghai, due to the scarcity of architects, the architectural experience was directly from the European merchants in Southeast Asia, they built dwellings, firms and churches with an empirical style - the "Compradoric" Building. This derisory name kind of architecture was built directedly by merchants but the architect designer with local Chinese contractor, or maybe the Chinese compradore<sup>64</sup>.

The Bund is the landmark of Great Shanghai even today since the opening. In the 1880s, the French Bund and the International Settlement Bund were only some two or three-storey buildings in the vicinity.

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<sup>63</sup> SHANGHAI URBAN PLANNING CHRONICLES COMPILATION COMMITTEE. 1999. *Shanghai Urban Planning Chronicle*, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press. pp. 53-56

<sup>64</sup> DENISON, Edward. 2017. *Architecture and the Landscape of Modernity in China before 1949*, Taylor & Francis. p. 102



Figure 19. View of the Shanghai Bund, c. 1860 Shanghai, China Gouache on paper Gift of Augustus P. Loring, Jr., 1944 E82723 View of the Shanghai Bund, c. 1860 Peabody Essex Museum 2007 Photo Jeffrey R. Dykes. Source:



Figure 20. *Panorama of the Bund and Huangpu from the tower of Trinity Cathedral. c.1860.* Source: DENISON, Edward & REN, Guang Yu 2013. Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

The key characteristics of this type of building were one or two-storey building with a veranda on at least three sides of the building, and tile roofs on the top. The floor plan was roughly square, with similar floor plans upstairs and downstairs. The staircase stood as the central part of the building, facing the entrance and intersecting with the corridor on the upper floor<sup>65</sup>.

The buildings used local materials and building techniques, following the plans or specifications drawn by Western firms. The veranda was more appropriate in tropical climates, but inappropriate for Shanghai's bitterly cold and damp winters.

As the Shanghai's first European-style building, ultimately, this kind of building was eliminated because of its inability to adapt to the climate of Shanghai and its lack of the aesthetic appeal of Western architecture. Compradoric buildings, despite their low-architectural origins, were then "not without a certain grandeur and an air of

<sup>65</sup> DENISON, Edward & REN, Guang Yu 2013. Building Shanghai: The Story of China's Gateway. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. pp. 47-48

wealth”<sup>66</sup>. This compradoric type building was found all over the Bund and was mainly used as dwelling house.

In 1848, the French Consul in Shanghai, Montigny, rented the residence of the Franciscan Bishop of Zhao between Yangjingbang and Shanghai Old Town and set up the French Consulate in Shanghai. At that time, the main entrance of the consulate faced east, with the city walls to the south, the cemetery behind, and the pine forest to the west and north.<sup>67</sup> In 1856, due to the dilapidated state of the original house, the Consulate was moved to an old official residence on the Bund of Yangjingbang.

The new building of Shanghai French Consulate, which was built on 14 January 1896<sup>68</sup>, was exactly a typical 3-storey compradoric building. But now it was no longer existed.

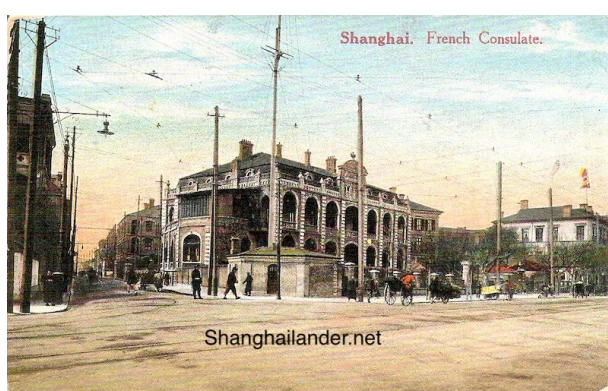


Figure 21. Exterior of the French Consulate building. Appro.1867-1884. Source: <<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=35304>>.



Figure 22. Front Façade of the French Consulate building. 1896. Source: <<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=1151>>

Shanghai during the period 1853 to 1898 was described as a sojourners’ city<sup>69</sup>. The reason was that during this period, whether the merchants or British or French officers or missionaries, the buildings they erected in Shanghai were not indigenous to the city, nor did they develop new forms or types of architecture, but simply transposed the previous bought-and-paid-for architecture that had been applied to Southeast Asia, and the building industry was not yet in its infancy. There were also practical factors,

<sup>66</sup> Cyprian A. G. Bridge, “Early Autumn on the Lower Yang-tze, *The Fortnightly Review*, vol. 19. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1876), 831. Sited by COLONIALKOREA. 2019. *The Compradoric Style: Chinese Architectural Influence on Early Modern Korea* [Online]. Available: <https://colonialkorea.com/2019/04/06/the-compradoric-style-chinese-architectural-influence-on-early-modern-korea/> [Accessed].

<sup>67</sup> 梅朋 & 傅立德. 1983. *上海法租界史*, 上海译文出版社. (MAYBON, C.B. & FREDET, J. 1983a. *Histoire de la concession française de Shanghai*, Shanghai Translation Publishing House.) p.31

<sup>68</sup> 夏伯铭. 2011. *上海 1908*, 复旦大学出版社. (XIA, Boming. 2011. *Shanghai 1908*, Fudan University Press.) p. 22

<sup>69</sup> LIANG, S.Y. 2010. *Mapping Modernity in Shanghai: Space, Gender, and Visual Culture in the Sojourners’ City, 1853-98*, Taylor & Francis.

the silt foundations, the inadequacy of roads, the lack of architects, the backwardness of construction techniques and materials, etc.

### 3.6 Official Building Revolution on the Bund

Shanghai Customs House, an administrative office responsible for foreign trade affairs since the Qing Dynasty, was formerly known as the Shi Bo Si. It was first established in 1685 at Chong Que in Huating County, Songjiang Prefecture, later moved to near Baodaimen Gate, and in 1857 moved to 13 Zhongshan East Road 1, Huangpu District, on the Bund.

The Customs House was first built in 1857 in a traditional Chinese government office. The building was a 2-storey building with flying eaves and a roof window at the top to monitor the movement of ships on the Huangpu River. The inner courtyard was designed to face the Huangpu River, with a Chinese style memorial gate named Yuan Gate and a fenced entrance. The second floor of the additional building was entirely designed as a Chinese gate tower, while the ground floor was built in a Western style building, with cornerstones reinforcing the corners (Figures 23 & 24).<sup>70</sup>

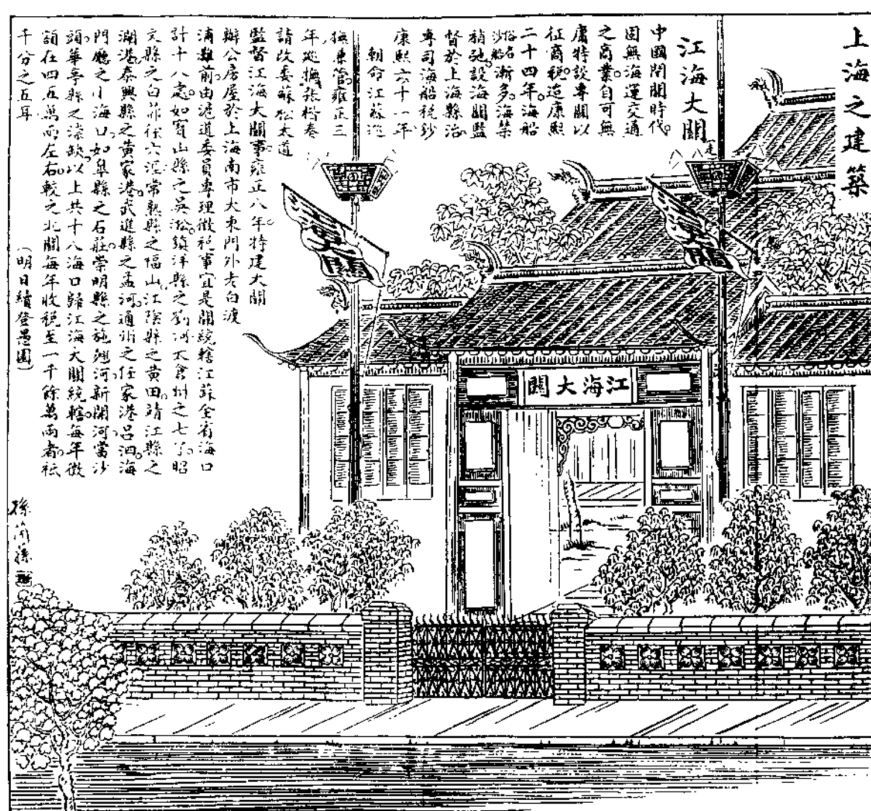


Figure 23. Shanghai Customs House (江海大關), Source: GLOBAL NEWS EDITORIAL BOARD. 1999. *Picture Daily*, Vol.1/7. Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House. P146

<sup>70</sup> 郑时龄. 2020. 上海近代建筑风格: 新版, 同济大学出版社. (ZHENG, Shiling. 2020. The Evolution of Shanghai Architecture in Modern Times: New Editon, Shanghai Education Press) p. 50





Figure 24. *Imperial Maritime Customs House (first building)*, c.1857. Source: Virtual Shanghai.

<<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=205>>.

The Shanghai Customs House was the only Chinese style building on the Bund in its early days and was demolished in 1891. By the 1880s and 1890s, most of the original buildings on the Bund had been renovated and rebuilt. In 1891, the Customs House was designed by a British engineer and built by Yang Sisheng's construction factory in Pudong and completed on the 50th anniversary of the opening of Shanghai in 1893. The new building was similar in layout to the old one, with a concave shape and a brick and timber structure, with a square clock tower in the middle and false 4-storey buildings on each side of the clock tower. The entrance gate was built in the Gothic style with iron railings on both sides of the fence.

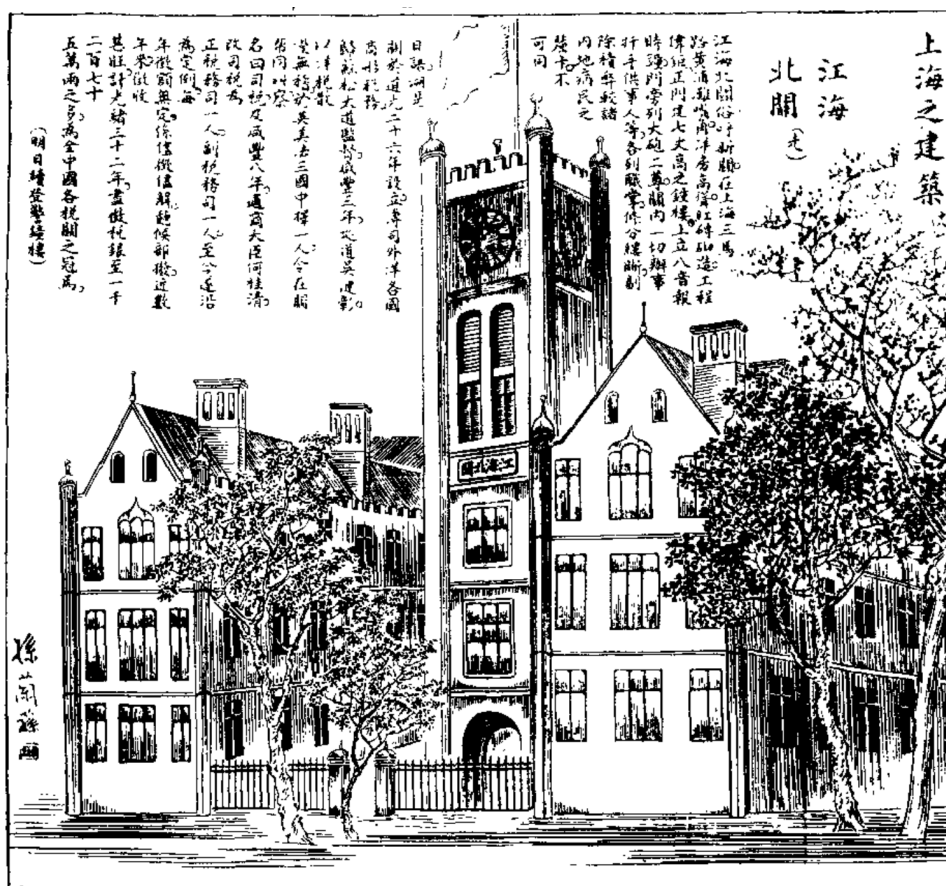


Figure 25. (江海北關), Source: GLOBAL NEWS EDITORIAL BOARD. 1999. *Picture Daily*, Vol.1/7. Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House. p. 206



Figure 26. *Chinese Maritime Customs House (second building)*, c.1893. Source: Virtual Shanghai.  
<<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=400>>.

In 1925, Customs House was reconstructed by Wilson, the designer of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC Bank) and was completed on 9 December 1927. The building consisted of nine floors and five auxiliary floors, and the total height of the building was about 260 feet (79.2 metres), making it the tallest building on the Bund in Shanghai in the 1920s. The main entrance of the River Customs has four Greek Doric columns forming the portico. The entrance hall was beautifully decorated with a colourful mosaic of sails and maritime motifs. The upper part of the building has Art Deco architectural features. The HSBC Bank featured a rigorous neoclassical façade composition with three horizontal and vertical segments.



Figure 27. *The Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (left) and Chinese Maritime Customs House, 1927.* Source: Virtual Shanghai.

<<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=1301>>.



Figure 28. Shanghai Customs House, 2021. Source: author's own photograph

Approved by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government on 25 September 1989, it was listed as a municipal-level heritage building and included in the first list of protected units of Shanghai's excellent modern architecture. The building is currently used by the Shanghai Customs of the People's Republic of China.

### 3.7 Sassoon House – Another Landmark on the Bund

The construction of the Sassoon Building began in November 1926 and was completed on 5 September 1929. Sassoon House was a 10-storey building (partially 13 storeys) with a total height of 77 metres, the tallest building on the Bund, with a floor area of 36,317 square metres.<sup>71</sup> The Sassoon Building was designed by Palmer & Turner Group Co. and built by the Chinese firm Sin Jin Kee & Co. The building was constructed with a reinforced concrete frame structure and a basement, and its height from ground level to the top was 77 metres. It was the tallest building in Shanghai at the time. Moreover, it was the representative work of Art Deco architecture in Shanghai and a landmark on the Bund, known as the "First Building of the Far East". The façade was designed with vertical lines, with carved patterns on the waistline and gables. The façade incorporated granite veneer except for the ninth and top floors, which were clad in Tarzan stone.

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<sup>71</sup> From the website of Shanghai Archive Netwaork.  
< [https://www.archives.sh.cn/tpxx/201204/t20120425\\_35001.html](https://www.archives.sh.cn/tpxx/201204/t20120425_35001.html)>





Figure 29. Fairmont Peace Hotel on the Bund, 2021, Source: author's own photograph

Its 19-metre high, dark green, pyramidal, copper-roofed tower was the most eye-catching feature. Unlike any traditional style, this modern geometric element made Art Deco a prevailing trend in metropolitan development at the time. The Art Deco style was born in the 1920s as an aesthetic style developed in the course of modern industrial development. This kind of architecture was geometrically shaped, with a receding table design and a vertical line profile.



Figure 30. Main Entrance of Fairmont Peace Hotel, 2021, Source: author's own photograph



The ground floor and the first and first floors of the Sassoon Building were used as a rental arcade, the Sassoon Foreign Bank used the third floor, and the fourth to ninth floors were used for the building's guest rooms, restaurants and ballrooms. The tenth floor and upwards were for the use of the Sassoon family. Moreover, there are nine first-class rooms, respectively, decorated and furnished in different national styles such as Chinese, English, French, Italian, German, Indian, Spanish and Japanese.

Between 1937 and 1952, the building suffered from difficulties and business was depressed, so the hotel had to apply for closure and was purchased by the Shanghai Municipal People's Government. The building was renovated and opened to the public on 8 March 1956 and renamed the Peace Hotel, and in April 1965, it was renamed the Peace Hotel North Building, and the Huizhong Hotel opposite was renamed the Peace Hotel South Building.

Sassoon Building has been standing on the Bund of Shanghai for nearly a century and has become a landmark of the Bund that cannot be ignored.

### **3.8 Entertainment Buildings - Zhang Garden(张园) or Wei Chun**

#### **Yuan (味菀园, no longer exist)**

Once the most significant public space for Shanghainese, Shanghai's Zhang Yuan was known as the 'first garden of the sea' and the first public space in modern China. In 1882, it was built as a private garden for the Wuxi native Zhang Shuhe, named "Zhang's Wei Chun Garden". In the following years, gradually expanded the same land to more than 70 Mu (more than 40,000 square metres), and since April 17, 1885, the garden was opened to the public, with an admission fee of 10 cents in silver. At the beginning of the 20th century, Zhang Yuan was leased to Westerners for business. It soon became famous as a central place for entertainment. Its heyday was in 1890-1905.

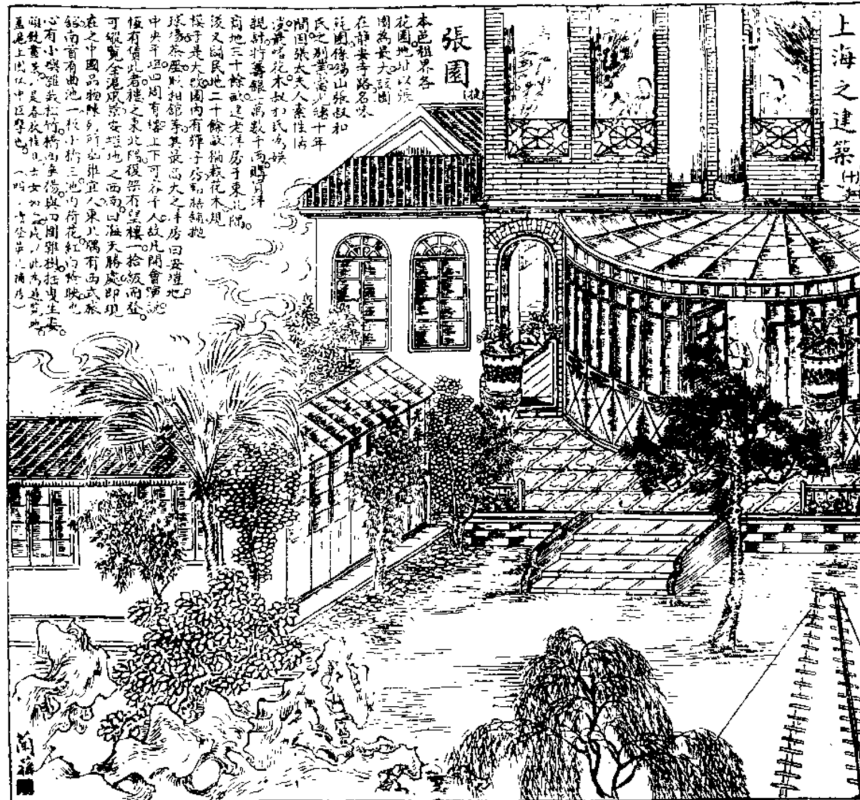


Figure 31. Zhang Garden(張園), Source: GLOBAL NEWS EDITORIAL BOARD. 1999. *Picture Daily*, Vol.1/7. Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House. P110

The garden was the first public space in the late Qing Dynasty, with exhibitions, speeches, and amusement facilities. Western afternoon tea and many other general activities were unique and have become landmark places. Various sports competitions, flower viewing conferences, exhibition and sales meetings, drama performances (including China's earliest drama performances), and even citizen weddings and funerals all choose Zhang Garden to hold. As a traditional Chinese garden, it integrates Chinese and Western architecture and lifestyles, but in essence, had a sense of identity from the residents and foreigners. Zhang Yuan was called the most up-to-date urban construction and social space in Shanghai combined with Chinese and Western elements. As the most popular and up-to date entertainment space, there were also a Western-style circus and even a roller coaster in Zhang Yuan. The curiosity-seeking Shanghainese and the adventurous Westerners had fallen in love with the place.

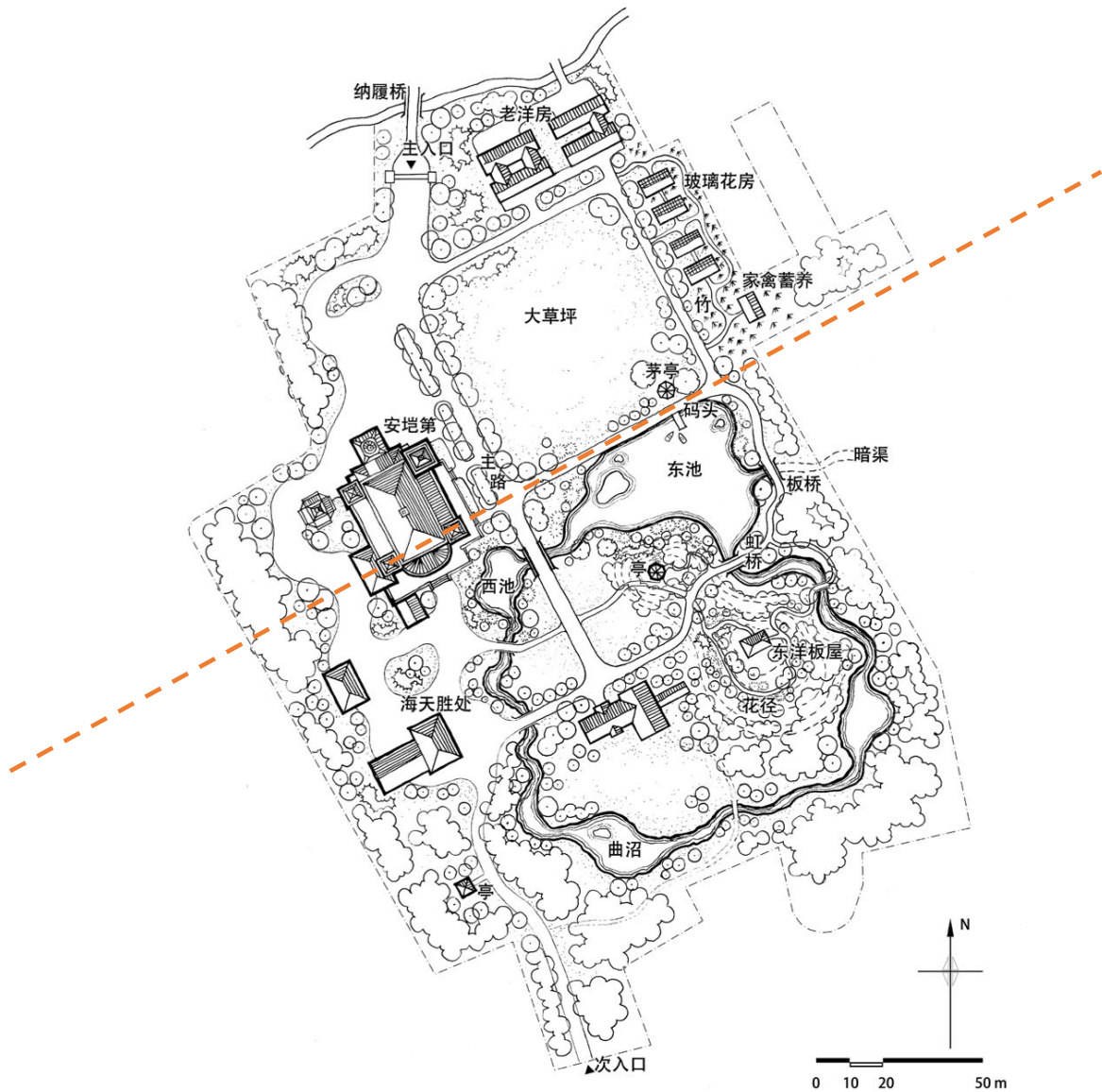


Figure 32. Recovered layout of the 1907 Zhang Garden, illustrated by Zhou Xiangpin, Mai Luyin.<sup>72</sup>

During the early stages of its construction, Zhang Garden had already considered the large Western-style lawns, but had not given the traditional Chinese garden with its curving water flows and secluded paths. In Figure 32, a plan of the Zhang Garden restored by two scholars of garden history and heritage conservation with reference to historical documents, the northern part refers to the design principles of Western gardens, with simple geometric shapes, large lawns and the main buildings standing in the geometric centre of the site. The southern part consists mainly of traditional Chinese gardens, where the streams and stones are made to imitate rivers and mountains, in order to seek the result of smallness and change of scenery, often

<sup>72</sup> 周向频 & 麦璐茵. 2018. 近代上海张园园林空间复原研究. *中国园林*, Vol.34 (07):129-133. (CHOW, Xiang Pin & MAI, Lu Yin. 2018. Study on Space Restoration of Chang Garden in Modern Shanghai. *Chinese Gardens*, Vol.34 (07):129-133.)

implying the meditation of the garden designer and the embodiment of a small peasant economy in a feudal environment.



Figure 33. SERIES POSTCARD OF SU-HOW GARDEN IN SHANGHAI. 1885-1900. *Zhang Garden (Arcadia Hall) - 張園*, Virtual Shanghai. Source: <<https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=1500>> (Series Postcard of Su-how Garden in Shanghai 1885-1900)

Arcadia Hall (安垲第, Ankaidi) was the most renowned building then, also the tallest building in the city in 1893, with wooden framing combined with masonry structures. Ankaidi was located in the centre of the garden and was the tallest Western-style Hall in Shanghai. The specific name of the designers was still unknown, but in several books mentioned, they were two English architects (Liang 2010). This western-style building has a two-storey podium, with a hall in the middle, accommodating over a thousand people upstairs and downstairs. On the northwest corner of the second floor was an open watchtower, with a panorama look of the whole garden. In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, most civil political gatherings and dinner parties were held here or as a public amusement place.

In 1899, the International Settlement expanded smoothly and its western boundary extended to Jing'an Temple (静安寺). Urban construction in the concession was rapid and well established and within a short time, the area along Jing'an Temple Road became a bustling commercial and residential district, with land prices climbing. Gone were the gardens that had once existed and had gradually been transformed into crowded housing estates.





Figure 34. Arcadia Hall in Zhang Garden (味菴园), 1907-1918. Shanghai. Source: the Digital Public Library of America (1907-1918)

In 1912, due to the lack of business, some of the garden's equipment was auctioned off and the skating rink was rented out. Thereafter, the number of visitors to the garden declined year by year and it fell into disuse. In 1919, the owner sold the garden to Wang Kemin and converted it into a residence, and the original site is now mixed with the Li Long houses of the old and new style on Weihai Road<sup>73</sup>.

After more than 100 years of gradual transformation, the buildings and alleyways of the Zhang Yuan site have remained relatively intact, with the juxtaposition of multiple forms of detached houses and a rich pattern of alleyway spaces. Making it the most prominent surviving architectural resource in Shanghai with a complete range of mid-period to late-period Shikumen.

Shikumen architecture refers to the low-rise townhouses which originated in Shanghai and other modern port opening cities since the 1870s, and whose unit space and combination mode are derived from the traditional residential buildings in the south of the Yangtze River. It is a vernacular building with Shanghai-style characteristics and has an important position in the history of modern Chinese architecture<sup>74</sup>. Shikumen architecture is different from the traditional way of self-construction building in towns and villages in China. It is a manifestation of the commercialization of urban residential houses, that is, a mixture of commercial and residential buildings. Strictly speaking, Shikumen architecture belongs to one of the buildings named Lilong, which is

<sup>73</sup> 瞿钧 & 王国滨. 1996. *上海市区志系列丛书——静安区志*, 上海, 上海社会科学院出版社. (QU, Jun & WANG, Guobin. 1996. *Shanghai District Gazetteer Series - Jing'an District*, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.) pp. 75-78

<sup>74</sup> 时筠仑. 2020. *静安石库门*, 上海交通大学出版社. (SHI, Yuncang. 2020. *Shikumen in Jing 'an*, Shanghai Shanghai Jiaotong University Press.)



the original form of Lilong. In addition to Shikumen buildings, other types of Lilong, such as Cantonese Lilong, Garden Lilong, etc., have got rid of the influence of traditional dwellings in terms of structure, materials, and spatial characteristics, indicating the embryonic form of modern residential buildings<sup>75</sup>.

In December 2018, the Shanghai Municipal People's Government of Jing'an District approved the decision on the acquisition of houses for the old urban renewal of the Zhang Yuan site in Jing'an District. According to the plan, after the expropriation of the Zhang Yuan Site, almost all the historical buildings within will be preserved, repaired and restored to their former state, and the architectural fabric and architectural style will be preserved and renovated. The Zhang Yuan site housing expropriation area is east to Shimen Yi Road, south to Weihai Road, west to Maoming North Road, and north to Wujiang Road. It is not yet fully open to the public because of the global epidemic. While in a 2020 Chinese film, *My People, My Country* (我和我的祖国), which was set here, was filmed against the backdrop of China in the 1980s.



Figure 35. 2019. *Chan-su-ho Garden Today*, Wikimedia. Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chan-su-ho\\_Garden.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chan-su-ho_Garden.jpg) (2019)

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<sup>75</sup> 李滨 & 冯珊珊. 2010. 传统营造在石库门建筑形成中的历史调适. *古建园林技术*, (04):38-43. (LI, Zhen & FENG, Shanshan. 2010. The Historical Adaptation of Traditional Construction in the Formation of Shikumen Architecture. *Ancient Architecture and Garden Technology*, (04):38-43.)



Figure 36. Zhang Yuan Li Long, 2021. Source: <https://www.163.com/dy/article/GE919G6U055040N3.html> (2021)

## Chapter 4 Republic of China (1912-1937)

In November 1911, the Qing dynasty was overthrown in Shanghai and Chinese feudal society came to an untimely end. During those 17 years, the political world of China fluctuated, and effective control of Shanghai Chinese community changed hands frequently. However, from the perspective of urban development, there was no restriction on the size of the city and no policy to curb in-migration during these 17 years, regardless of who was in control. During this period, the designs of Sun Yat-sen, Zhang Jian and Ding Wenjiang on Shanghai's development strategy varied but were generally oriented towards the expansion of the Shanghai urban scale.

### 4.1 The International Development of China

At the beginning of the 20th century, the continuous development and expansion of the concessions and the Western way of urban construction and lifestyle in the city severely impeded the further development of Shanghai under the Chinese authority sector. *The International Development of China* (实业计划) was emerged in this background. The passive Chinese government had no response to this segregated urban pattern. Sun Yat-sen, as a well-educated man with western knowledge, gradually developed the revolutionary idea of revitalising the Chinese community and counteracting the westerners.

The book includes several components, including a preface, a preface, six plans and a conclusion. The second of these plans is the Great Eastern Port. In relation to the construction of the "Great Eastern Port", Sun devised two construction plans - A: a Projected Port; and B: Shanghai as the Great Eastern Port. The first option was Sun Yat-sen's ideal solution. One of the main reasons why he first considered Zhapu as a projected port was the silting up of the Huangpu River in Shanghai, which had not been addressed for a long time. Yet, the most realistic challenge in building a new port was the lack of funds and the long lead time required to build it. For this reason, in 1919, Sun Yat-sen devoted his *The General Plan of National Construction*<sup>76</sup> to the development of Shanghai, which he envisaged to be an international, hub and modern "Great Eastern Port".

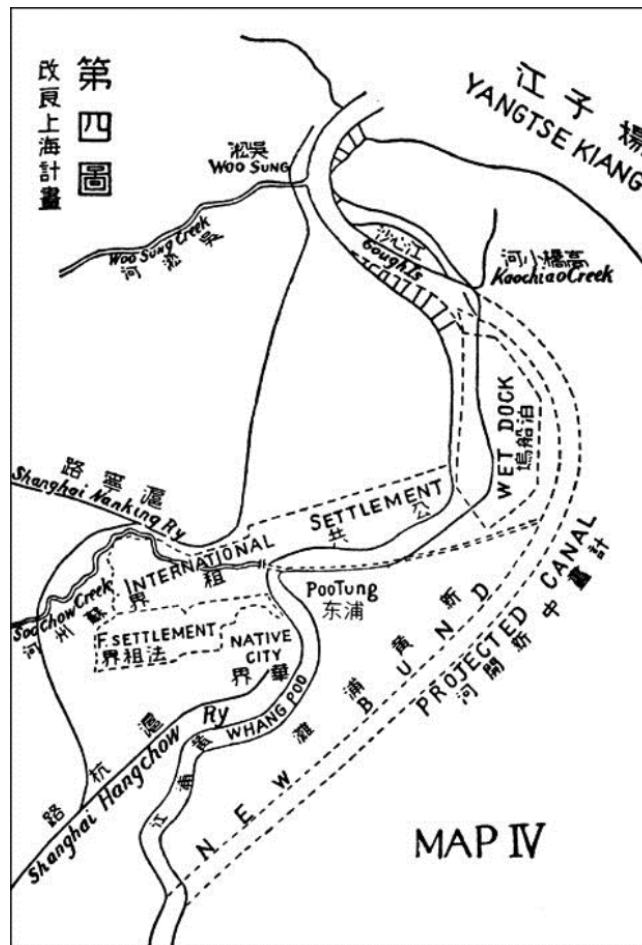
*Although Shanghai is already the largest port in all China, as it stands it will not meet the future needs and demands of a world harbor. Therefore there is a movement at present among the foreign merchants in China to construct a world port in Shanghai. Several plans have been proposed such as to improve the existing arrangement, to build a wet dock by closing the Whangpoo, to construct a closed harbor on the right bank of the Yangtze outside of Whangpoo, and to excavate a new basin just east of Shanghai with a shipping canal to Hangchow Bay. It is estimated that a cost of over one hundred million dollars Mex. must be spent before Shanghai can be made a first-class port.*<sup>77</sup>(Sun 2021a)

In the 1910s, Shanghai was already a hub of internal and external exchanges and a major international city, with a flourishing business and financial stage. However, the Huangpu River was becoming too shallow for huge ships to input and export. The city centre was located on Puxi (the west side of the Huangpu River) and was a haphazard, overpopulated and overcrowded area. Pudong (the east side of the Huangpu River), on the other hand, was desolate and not properly exploited. As Sun Yat-sen said, Although Shanghai has now become the largest commercial port in China, if it remains unchanged, it will not be suitable for the needs and requirements of a world commercial port in the future.

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<sup>76</sup> The Chinese title of this book was 建国方略. It consists mainly of three parts, namely Sun Wen Wen Zao, The Industrial Plan and The Preliminary of Civil Rights.

<sup>77</sup> Yat-sen Sun. "The International Development of China", PROGRAM II, PART I.



Map 12. Map IV of *The International Development of China: Improving the Shanghai Port Plan*. Source: SUN, Yat-sen. 1922. *The International Development of China* (Sun 2021b)

In Sun's vision, from the confluence of the Gaoqiao River and the Huangpu River in the northeast of Pudong, an arc-shaped projected canal was designed to allow ships entering Shanghai from the Yangtze or the East China Sea to access straight up the middle reaches of the Huangpu River. And the curved and heavily silted lower reaches of the Huangpu River were filled in. For the land between the filling in of the Huangpu River and the new excavation of the river, this was set up in consideration of the issue of the concessions in Shanghai, which had grown to a high level under Western control and management, also known as Puxi. The Westerners were not interested in the urban construction of Pudong, where suburbs and villages abounded, and urbanisation was sluggish. Hence, the Chinese government itself needed to open a new canal. On the one hand, it would be possible to build the urban residential centre, and on the other hand, the income from the increase in the land price of these new prosperous areas could be used to finance the transformation of the port of Shanghai. In this way, Puxi and Pudong were integrated in space.

Sun Yat-sen's 'Founding Strategy' was only a creation and paperwork of his study, not an implementation. But there is no doubt that Sun's ideas about urban construction and development in Shanghai at the time can be gleaned from the Founding Strategy.

Sun also believed that Shanghai's urban areas were overpopulated and bloated, but he designed a response by developing Pudong and organising Puxi, by expanding the built-up area of Shanghai to relieve the population pressure, rather than evacuating some of this large population outside of Shanghai, or by setting an upper limit on the size of Shanghai's urban population and thus setting entry standards to stop foreigners from moving into the city. It is also clear that Sun believed that the size of Shanghai should grow with the tide of the times, and the phrase 'Great Eastern Port' suggests that he did not believe that Shanghai was large enough to be called a Great Eastern Port at the time he was writing, but that it would be much larger than it was in 1919, when he wrote his essay.

Sun wanted to organise the construction of China's basic industries, especially transport, through international collaboration or alliances, so that China's economy could develop by leaps and bounds through the enormous production capacity of the post-war period, and so complete the modernisation of Chinese society. Two years after Dr Sun's death, in 1927, Shanghai was designated a "special city" by the Nanjing government under the direct control of the central government. Under the call of Dr Sun and the guidance of his revolutionary predecessors, for the revitalisation of the new China and the rebuilding of a new central city, the Shanghai Special City Government set up a design committee to bring together a group of experts to study the urban development of Shanghai and to begin the first exploration and practice of Shanghai as a global city! This plan gave Shanghai the blueprint for a bright future, and a few decades later Shanghai had become a veritable great port of the East.

## **4.2 Overview of the Wusong Re-opening Plan by Zhang Jian**

In November 1920, the Jiangsu industry prepared the second opening of the port of Wusong (before 1928, Wusong belonged to Baoshan County, Jiangsu Province). In February of the following year, the Wusong Port Bureau was set up, with Zhang Jian, a native of Nantong, a scholar of the late Qing Dynasty and an industrialist, as the supervisor. The initially position set for the opening of the port was from Zhabei in Shanghai to the south and adjacent to the concessions, from Liu Xing and Da Chang to the west and from Caitao Port to the north. However, disputes arose due to the overlap between the southern boundary of the territorial which under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Council in Shanghai, and after mediation, the area was finally determined to be bounded by the river from the railway line to the Long River. After three years of preparation, the survey of the whole port was completed, and in 1924 it was discontinued due to the lack of funds for the Bureau of Commerce and Urban Development.

Zhang Jian was appointed as the governor of Wusong Commercial Port Bureau (吴松商埠局) between 1921 and 1925. His specific plans for the development of Shanghai were very different from Sun's. Still, the basic idea was the same: Shanghai should increase the area of the city and expand the urban scale to accommodate more urban



population. On New Year's Day 1923, more than a year after the establishment of the Bureau, Zhang Jian published the "Outline of the Plan for the Opening of Wusong Port (吴淞开埠计划概略)"<sup>78</sup> (hereinafter referred to as "the Outline")(Zhang Jian(张謇) 1923). According to Zhang Jian, the work of the Bureau was divided into three steps. Firstly, mapped the precise topography and planned the location of the roads and canals throughout the port. Secondly, found out the "ready-made rules and regulations"<sup>79</sup> for the construction of commercial ports in various countries and drew up zoning plans. Thirdly, published the zoning plan for public consultation and to confirm that the plan was suitable before implementation.

At the very beginning of the Outline, Zhang Jian pointed out the lesson of the first Wusong port: "The result of the opening of the port gave the opportunistic people the opportunity to live and purchase real estate, while the port administration only stopped with the construction of a few roads. It was a huge mistake to build roads without a comprehensive plan, which led to a sudden change in land prices and made it impossible for traders and civilians to survive." Determine the port boundary to the west, north and south of the three sides of the extension, south to Shenjiagang, Gejiazui, Qiujiang River, west to the north and south of Baoshan County Road, east to Huangpu, north to Baoshan East and West County Road, Malutang Mito Port as the boundary, including Baoshan City, Wusong, Yinxing, Jiangwan, Pengpu, Dachang, Liuxing, Yangxing eight city township.

The idea of road planning is to construct a system of main and arterial roads in the city, designed accordingly to its location. The city streets were designed in a rectangular grid, long from north to south but short from east to west. The city is divided into six districts, each with a central point, and each central point is interconnected by a ramp. The ramps were divided into three types: the ramps interconnecting the midpoints and the tramways were each 10 Zhang wide, the industrial areas of the city were 6 or 7 Zhang, the residential areas were 4 or 5 Zhang, and all the main roads were more than 440 Li, and the side roads were more than 620 Li. The road plan uses the midpoint of each district as the main road to build a network of roads and defines the width of each road specifically according to its purpose.

According to the Outline, the city was divided into the zoning ideas of central, industrial, residential, educational, and labour zones. Municipal, judicial, police, fire and tax authorities were in the central zone. Schools, hospitals, and libraries were in the residential areas. Parks were in the centre of each district, and some road crossings were built with parks or food markets so that the public could reach them within ten minutes. The industrial area was located along two rivers, Wenzaobang and Sitang. The educational area was located north of Tongji University, with primary and

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<sup>78</sup> ZHANG JIAN(张謇). 1923. Opening Ceremony of the General Administration of Wusong Commercial Port (with photos) (吴淞商埠局开幕纪(附图片)). *Shen Bao*, Shanghai, Jan. 1st, 26.

<sup>79</sup> 郑祖安. 1999. *百年上海城*, 学林出版社. (ZHENG, Zu-an. 1999. *Centennial Shanghai City*, Xue Lin Publishing House.) pp. 73-78

secondary schools scattered throughout the residential areas. The labour area is located on both sides of the Goose Greensboro River, "designed to accommodate transient residents".

In addition, to adjust measures to local conditions for each area planning, Zhang also arranged the distribution of public utilities from the perspective of the convenience and comfort of the residents, locating municipalities, the judiciary and the police in busy areas. Schools, hospitals and libraries were found in residential areas, and parks and vegetable markets were located at the midpoint of each district and at the triangle where the main roads intersected so that residents of each district could reach them within ten minutes.

It was clear from Zhang Jian's specific plans that his planning blueprints had already placed the installation of public utilities in urban planning according to the requirements of modern urban development. He had set up urban public spaces for the convenience of residents. This kind of planning was influenced by Western cities, as illustrated by his frequent use of Western cities (such as Washington, D.C.) as examples in his planning plans, unlike traditional Chinese urban planning, which neglected the provision of public space. The theory and practice of Western urban planning touched Zhang Jian, who had an experience studying abroad.

Unlike the late Qing dynasty officials when the first opening in Wusong, the Wusong Port Re-opening Plan proposed by Zhang Jian was based on a survey and investigation, which was theoretical and practical, reflecting the author's rich urban planning ideas. In Zhang Jian's land development model, the government invited tenders for businessmen to develop and operate the land, which, compared to the traditional government-sponsored model, introduced a commercial approach to land planning and a modern change in land management thinking.<sup>80</sup>

(上海市地方志办公室 2020, Office Of Shanghai Chronicles 2020)

In 1924, the "Battle of Qi and Lu" broke out between Qi Xieyuan, the governor of Jiangsu, and Lu Yongxiang, the governor of Zhejiang, and more than 200 houses in Wusong Town were burned down. In January 1925, Zhang Jian sent a telegram of resignation to the Beijing government, declaring the failure of the second opening of Wusong port.

This "Outline", which apparently incorporated foreign urban planning theories, was a relatively advanced plan at the time and exuded a people-friendly philosophy. It was a relatively advanced plan at the time, and it also revealed a concept of convenience for the people. The detailed plan was to be discussed by municipal experts after the detailed preparation before the official plan was decided. Although simple, some of the ideas in the Outline provided a blueprint for the later "Greater Shanghai Plan".

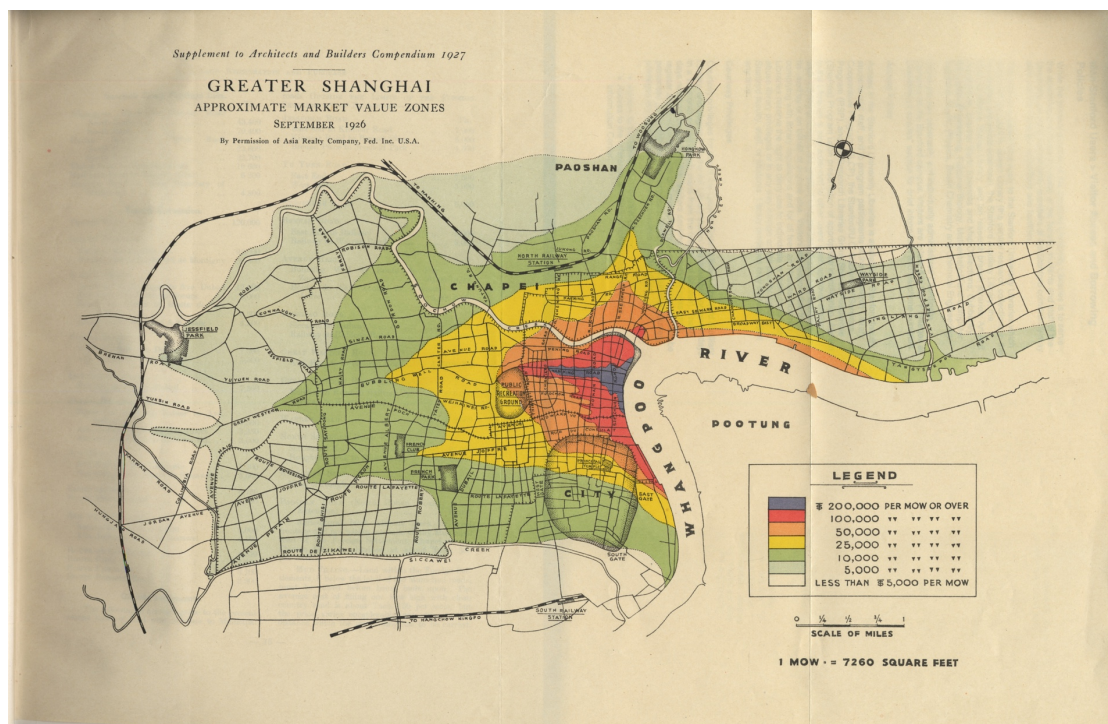
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<sup>80</sup> 上海市地方志办公室. 2020. 闲话吴淞开埠 [Online]. (Office Of Shanghai Chronicles. 2020. Talking about the opening of the port of Wusong.)

In addition to various political and economic factors, natural conditions were also an aspect of Wusong's unsuccessful opening of ports twice. Wusong town was close to the mouth of Wusong, and its deep and wide water surface made it easy for large tonnage ships to berth. On the other hand, when a big wind tide comes, it can also wash away the road of the trading port and affect the safety of the trading port. For example, in October 1905, the high tide washed away the Wusong road and required funding from Shanghai Road to repair it.

### 4.3 Concessions Before the Greater Shanghai Plan

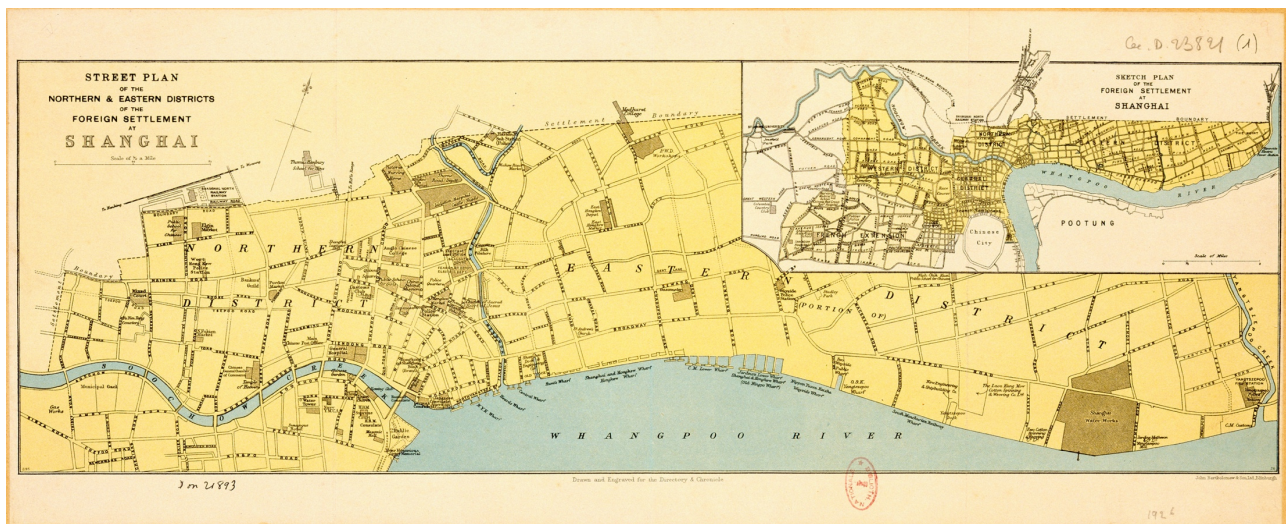
In 1915, the area of the Shanghai Concession was 12 times larger than it had been in 1848, increasing to over 70,000 mu. The new city of Shanghai, which developed based on the concessions, became the largest city in China within a few decades, with the most significant number of high-rise buildings of the highest architectural quality and the busiest commercial streets – Nanjing Road, in China. A new city centre was gradually formed in Shanghai, moving from the old town into the International Settlement, where capitalist commercial, economic activities are mainly carried out. The traditional layout of the old city centre, with the government offices as the centre and the temples as secondary centres, was changed. The fact that the city centre shifted could be well represented on Map 13, with the highest land prices concentrated on Nanjing Road and the Bund, and the old town gradually becoming a "suburb".



Map 13. *Greater Shanghai - Approximate land value zones, September 1926.* Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 439.



Until 1926, the International Settlement were far ahead of Shanghai and other Chinese cities in developing roads, in length, quantity, quality and density per unit area. The roads were often considered the accessibility to a specific area, and this led to the impact on land prices, with a checkerboard pattern of roads (as in Map 14 & 15), unlike the Chinese old town, which was affected by the waterways and formed a twisted and narrow road network (as in Map 10).



Map 14. Street Plan of the Northern & Eastern Districts of the Foreign Settlement at Shanghai. 1926. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 271.



Map 15. Street Plan of the Foreign Settlement (Central District) & French Settlement at Shanghai. 1926. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 272.

#### 4.4 Greater Shanghai Plan (大上海计划)

By the early 1920s, Shanghai had become the largest commercial and international trade port in China. However, the prosperous commercial and trading areas were mainly concentrated in the privileged concession areas. The layout of Shanghai city was in such a negative circumstance. The concession areas straddled the city centre, forming a pattern in which the French Concession, the International Settlement and the National Government jurisdictions were divided into separate regions. The city's problems began to emerge, leading to a separate municipal facilities system, poor road traffic, inconvenient transportation of goods, and a surge in port throughput and insufficient docks. Shanghai was in desperate need of a comprehensive development plan.

##### 4.4.1 Shen Yi & the Greater Shanghai Plan

*If this plan is not complemented by two significant factors, first, the opening of the port at Wusong, and second, the relocation of the Shanghai terminal northwards and the linking of the railway to the commercial port, the planned development of the city centre will result in a political and residential district at best. If this is the case, then there is no hope that our ideal of "replacing the foreign concessions", the main objective of the Great Shanghai Plan of the Father of the Republic, Sun Yat-sen, will be realised.*

-- Shen Yi<sup>81</sup>

Shanghai had experimented with local autonomy and democracy on several occasions. Still, by 1927, with the establishment of the Shanghai Special City, both regional autonomy and democracy had, in fact, come to an end. The city finally adopted a centralised system of power under the responsibility of the mayor, who had the power of the military and the government under one roof. While the law attempted to limit the mayor through the municipal councils and the senate, it did not give these bodies clear powers, and checks and balances were essentially empty words. The city was increasingly becoming an external expression of the will of the governor, and the success or failure of its management and construction would depend to a large extent on the mayor's personal will.

Shen Yi was 27 years old at the time and was born in 1901 in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province. He graduated from the Civil Engineering Department of Tongji University in 1920. He entered the School of Civil Engineering and Urban Engineering of Dresden University in Germany in 1921, majoring in water conservancy engineering and architecture. In

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<sup>81</sup> 上海市. 1937. 上海市工務局之十年, 上海市工務局. (SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. 1937. *Ten Years of the Shanghai Municipal Public Works Bureau*, Shanghai Public Works Bureau.)



1926, Shen Yi returned to China and became an engineer and head of the design section of the Hankow Public Works Bureau. 1927, he joined the Chinese Society of Engineers, and from July 1927 to October 1937, he was director of the Shanghai Public Works Bureau and chairman of the Shanghai Civic Center Development Committee. November 1946 to December 1948, he was mayor of Nanjing Special City.

Shen Yi served as Director of the Shanghai Public Works Bureau for ten years, during which time the Mayor and the other directors of the Bureau were changed several times, which shows that his role and position was irreplaceable. In Shanghai's urban history, Shen Yi played a key role in the modernisation of the city, laying the foundations of Shanghai's urban planning, and is an important figure that cannot be ignored in any study of the history of urban construction.

Firstly, as Director of the Bureau of Public Works, Shen Yi single-handedly established a relatively well-developed municipal structure, procedures and regulations in modern China, bringing urban construction into the institutional system, which was the first of its kind. It was in the Shanghai Public Works Bureau that the earliest planning department in modern China emerged, compiling the earliest and most comprehensive management regulations and professional codes in modern China.

Secondly, Shen Yi played a huge role in the modernisation of Shanghai's urban construction. Under Shen Yi's leadership, Shanghai underwent a comprehensive process of urban renewal, road construction, municipal utilities and housing construction, which played a vital role in the modernisation of the Chinese sector of the city.

Thirdly, Shen Yi was the most important person in charge of the preparation of the Great Shanghai Plan in modern times. From the initial development approach, planning objectives and site selection, Shen Yi was involved and one of the decision makers throughout. During the preparation of the urban plan, Shen Yi was personally involved in the conception and design of the plan, and was active in the front line. For almost ten years, she was responsible for the implementation of the plan.

There have been significant differences between the concessions and the Chinese Town from the end of the Qing Dynasty to the beginning of the Republic of China. For one, the area of the concessions was growing and expanding, far exceeding that of the Chinese Town boundaries of Old City and Zhabei<sup>82</sup>. The total area under its jurisdiction extended from Jungong Road in the east to Hongqiao in the west, cutting the Chinese Town into two and occupying most of the favourable areas along the Huangpu River and the Suzhou River, which had a great effect on the development of industry and

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<sup>82</sup> 上海市档案馆: 上海市参议会、市政府、工务局为确定大上海计划事的往来函件 (一)(二)(三), 上海, Q109-1-659-2 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Correspondence Between the Shanghai Municipal Senate, the Municipality Government and the Public Works Bureau for the Determination of the Greater Shanghai Plan (I)(II)(III)*, Shanghai, Q109-1-659-2)

commerce. Secondly, for a long time, the population of the concessions was more extensive than that of the Chinese Town. It was only after the establishment of the Shanghai Special City in the late 1920s and early 1930s and the unification of the Chinese Town that the population outnumbered that of the concessions. (熊月之 1999a, Xiong 1999)<sup>83</sup>

In the Civic Centre Development Commission also consisted of eleven members, heads of local municipal bureaus as well as several consultants from overseas, including the Americans Asa Phillips, an engineer and city planner, and hydrologist Carl E. Grunsky, who had helped engineer the transformation of California's Imperial Valley early in his career<sup>84</sup>. The Shanghai government was seeking advanced Western urban planning ideas while examining their own limitations.

A number of new ideas for the development and construction of Shanghai gradually emerged. The guiding idea was to seek the development of Shanghai by bypassing the Concession, to organise and build up Shanghai, and to choose a new city centre. Unifying the city. The road system was to be organised to enhance the status of Shanghai as a port. The new city centre was to be comparable to the Concession and to diminish the importance of the Concession. The plan was to solve three major problems in the development of Shanghai: firstly, the Concession was a barrier to the city, separating the southern part of the city from Zhabei and making north-south traffic difficult; secondly, the Concession was a barrier to the overall development of the city due to the construction of roads across the border; thirdly, the lack of access to land and water transport was not conducive to the overall development of the city due to the development of the concession alone. The third is the lack of access to water and land transport, which is detrimental to the overall development of the city.<sup>85</sup>

*The Plan for the Construction of the Shanghai Civic Center, the Shanghai Zoning Plan, the Shanghai Transport Plan, and the Plan for the Qiujiang Wharf on the Huangpu River*, all of which are collectively known as the Greater Shanghai Plan, were published in succession. Although the "Greater Shanghai Plan" is claimed to be a comprehensive plan for the whole of Shanghai, that is, including the concessions, both the content of the plan and its actual construction are outside the concessions. So, it was in fact just a comprehensive urban planning scheme covering the Chinese jurisdiction of Shanghai.

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<sup>83</sup> 熊月之. 1999. *上海通史: 民国政治*, Vol.7/15. 上海人民出版社. (XIONG, Yuezhi. 1999. *General History of Shanghai: Politics of the Republic of China*, Vol.7/15. Shanghai People's Press.) pp. 236-248

<sup>84</sup> CAMPANELLA, T.J. 2012. *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What it Means for the World*, Princeton Architectural Press. p.66

<sup>85</sup> 上海市档案馆: *上海市参议会请市府确定大上海计划的文件*, 上海, Q109-1-659 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Shanghai Special Municipality Senate's Request to the Municipality to Finalize the Greater Shanghai Plan*, Shanghai, Q109-1-659)

#### 4.4.2 The Plan the Shanghai Civic Center

After much research and deliberation, the third mayor, Zhang Qun, finally came up with a construction plan that reflected these ideas. In July 1929, at the 123rd Municipal Council meeting<sup>86</sup>, the area of approximately 7,000 Mu (460 hectares), north of Xiangyin Road, south of Zhayin Road, east of Songhu Road (the present Wujiaochang area), in the northeast of Jiangwan District, was officially designated as the new downtown area of Shanghai, as the beginning of the Greater Shanghai Plan. In August, the newly established Civic Centre Construction Committee, chaired by Shen Yi, then Director of the Bureau of Public Works, published the *Plan for the Construction of the Shanghai Civic Center*.

In November 1931, the Downtown Area Construction Committee formulated the Greater Shanghai Plan Map (Map. 11). Its vision of development was no longer confined to the traditional Chinese border areas such as Nanshi and Zhabei but extended to the north considerably and developed fast enough to rival the concessions. A detailed plan was made for water and land transport, municipal transport, cultural and sports facilities in the city centre<sup>87</sup>.

The first process in the Civic Centre Plan was to set the location of the new city centre. The site was decided with six important elements in consideration. Firstly, the centre of Shanghai's development has been in the concession area from opening, a concentration of industry, commerce, and population. With this plan, the government wanted to assert control over Shanghai and take back the takeover of all areas<sup>88</sup>. Secondly, there had been two previous plans to open Wusong as a port, and there was a sure construction base, indicating that the location of Wusong had been valued since the Qing dynasty. Thirdly, there was a tendency for the whole city to develop from the Bund to the West. The plan expected the new downtown to link Pudong and Zhabei, which were separated by the concessions, and bring convenience to the future development of Pudong. Fourthly, the Huangpu River is the primary watercourse in Shanghai. At that moment, the essential docks were in or near the concession area. Still, in the future, with the development of business, the number of sea vessels would increase, and large-scale harbours needed to be created. After developing the port at Wusong, the Pudong shoreline could be expanded as a commercial port. Fifthly, the roads in the old town of Shanghai were narrow and new modes of transport and mobility required widened and linked to other sub-districts. Sixthly, the housing and sanitation problems of the people living in Shanghai were not well addressed because

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<sup>86</sup> 上海市档案馆: 上海特别市市中心区域建设委员会编印大上海计划, 上海, Q213-1-62 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Shanghai Special Municipality Downtown Area Construction Committee Compiles and Prints the Greater Shanghai Plan*, Shanghai, Q213-1-62)

<sup>87</sup> 上海市档案馆: 上海特别市市中心区域建设委员会编印大上海计划, 上海, Q213-1-62 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Shanghai Special Municipality Downtown Area Construction Committee Compiles and Prints the Greater Shanghai Plan*, Shanghai, Q213-1-62)

<sup>88</sup> 上海市政府秘书处. 1934. 上海市政概要. (SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT SECRETARIAT. 1934. *Summary of Shanghai Municipal Affairs*.) p. 28

of the limited land and increasing land prices in the concession area. More residential bases needed to be provided<sup>89</sup>.

On 11 June 1930, the Shanghai Special Municipal Council adopted the *Shanghai City Zoning and Traffic Plan Statement*, which defined the city centre as a commercial area and the administrative headquarters. The Civic Centre Construction Committee presented the *Detailed Zoning Plan for the Civic Centre Statement of Shanghai* to the Mayor on 18 June, which divides the downtown area and its adjacent parts into administrative zones, commercial zones and two types of residential zones. The administrative zone was situated in the centre of the downtown area and the core of the commercial zone, around the intersection of the main north-south and east-west avenues. On these two axes, the administrative and public buildings were designed and allocated.

The commercial zone was located in the northern part of the city centre, close to the commercial port area and railway terminus, and also includes the areas along the main avenues, where high-rise buildings were permitted for on-street shops. These commercial facilities along the streets could be used as sound insulation for residential areas to mitigate the impact of street and traffic noise. The rest of the city centre area, excluding the administrative and commercial areas, was designated as a residential area and divided into Class I and Class II. Class I residential areas represented the upper class and quality of residential areas, generally in landscaped areas near open spaces, where high-rise residential buildings are possible. Class II is the general residential area.

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<sup>89</sup> 上海市档案馆: 大上海计划目录草案, 上海, Q1-25-54-26 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Draft Catalogue of the Greater Shanghai Plan*, Shanghai, Q1-25-54-26)



Map 16. Zoning Sketch Map of the Shanghai Civic Center, Shanghai Municipality(上海市市中心区域分区计划图). 1930. Original Map Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 162.  
(Original text was in Chinese, English translated and annotated by the author)

The city centre was designed as the hub of the city, and all roads are divided into arterial and secondary roads. The zone in the centre of Map 13, which resembles the Chinese character "中"<sup>90</sup>, was the administrative area of the new city centre. Around which the road system was planned to be in the form of a diffused pattern, with four main roads in the four directions of due west, east, north, and south, respectively. These were Sanmin Road (now Sanmen Road), Wuquan Road (now Minxing Road), World Road (same name as today) and Datong Road (not yet completed), the terms of which reflected the political philosophy of the Nationalist Government at the time<sup>91</sup>.

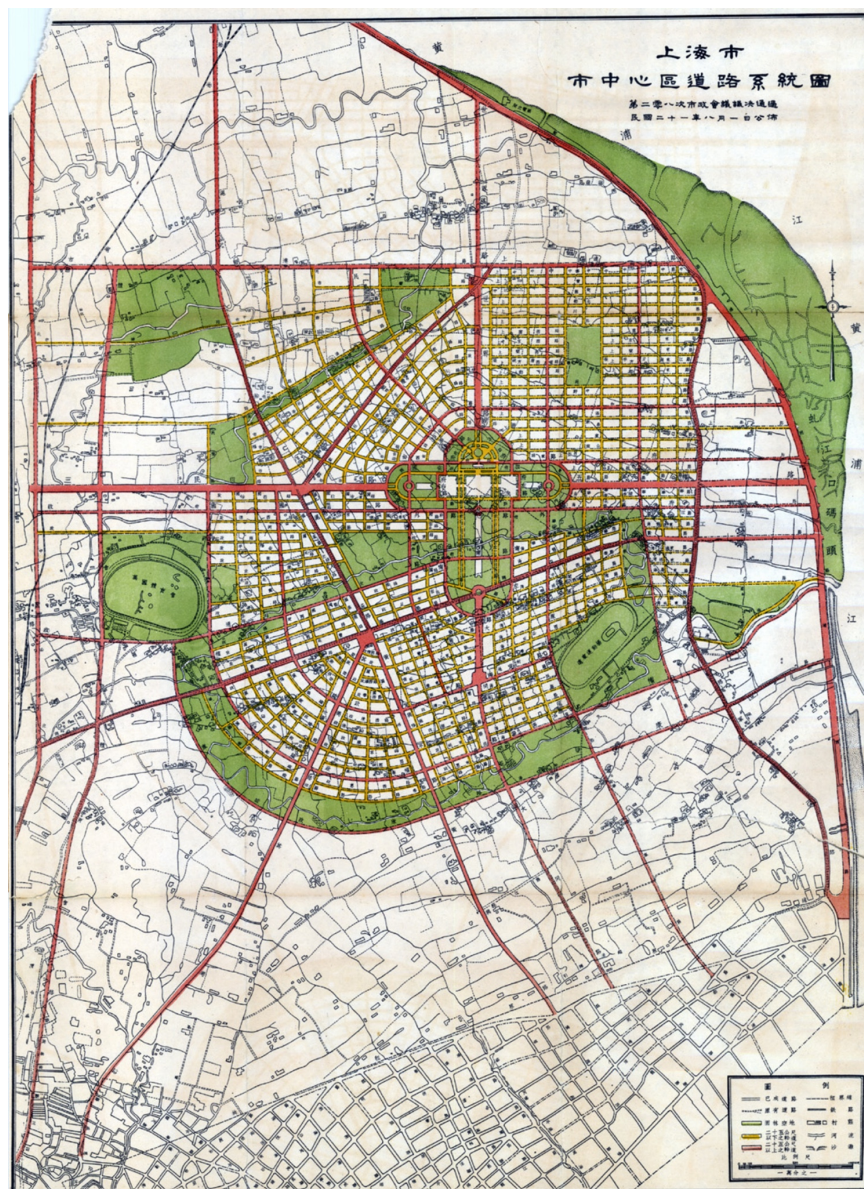
<sup>90</sup> 中, pronounced "Zhong", means in the center or in the middle of something or somewhere..

<sup>91</sup> "Sanmin" refers to Principles of Nationalism, Principles of Democracy and Principles of People's Livelihood. "Wuquan" refers to the independent constitutions for Executive, Legislative, Judicial,



At the crossroads of Xiangyin Road, Songhu Road and Huangxing Road, an additional road, Qimei Road (now Siping Road), was created to form the Wujiaochang pattern well preserved today.

The plan also paid attention to the health and spiritual well-being of the people. In addition to planning the gardens and green space system, the Sijing Qiao Stadium, the Jiangwan Racecourse, and the Far Eastern Sports Ground were set aside as reserved areas alongside the street. These green space systems aim to regulate the air, embellish the cityscape, and facilitate the public's recreation.



Map 17. Road Network of Sketch Map of the Shanghai Civic Center, Shanghai Municipality(上海市市中心区域分区计划图). 1932. Source: Virtual Shanghai. Map ID 162. (Shanghai Municipality 1932)

Administrative Examination and Supervisory powers to govern. "World" and "Datong" refers to the country would be ruled and governed by the public and the people.

In Map 12, the red lines in the design area represented the primary road system in a circular radial pattern. The yellow lines represented the secondary road system, which was designed with reference to a checkerboard and spider web format.

Due to the financial constraints of the municipality, many of the buildings in the Great Shanghai Plan underwent specific changes - for example, the evolution of the architectural style from the "Chinese traditional form" of the first phase to the modernist style. Some buildings even remained on the drawing board (for instance, the planned airport). But it was the two Japanese invasions, in 1932 and 1937, had a fatal impact on the "Greater Shanghai Plan". In 1937 the Japanese attacked Shanghai and occupied it, forcing the end of the Greater Shanghai Plan.

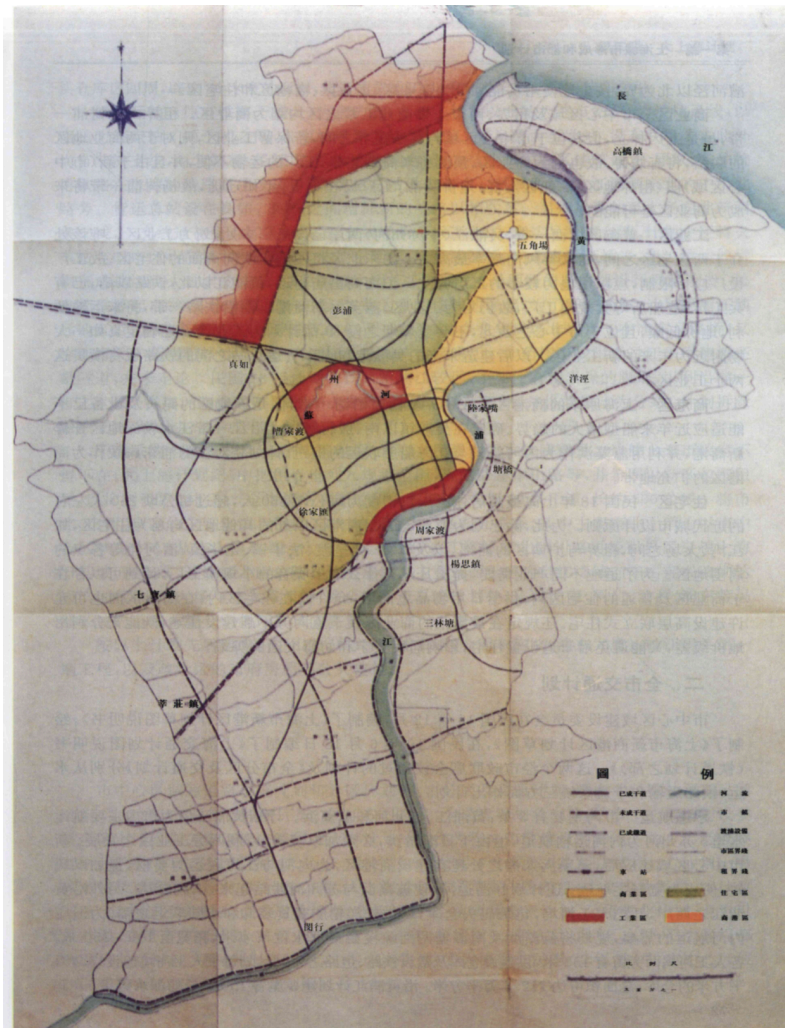
After 1949, the remaining Municipal Government Hall from the "Great Shanghai Plan" now belongs to the Shanghai Sports Institute. It is now a "Shanghai Cultural Relics Protection Unit" and a "Shanghai Outstanding Historic Building". The former Shanghai Museum, the Municipal Hospital, the Health Laboratory, the Central Park, and the Aviation Association's Aircraft Building are now in the Second Military Medical University. The former Shanghai Library now is on the Tongji Secondary School campus. The former Shanghai Stadium now is the Jiangwan Stadium.

#### 4.4.3 Shanghai Zoning and Transportation Plan

On June 11, 1930, a joint meeting of the municipalities of Shanghai adopted the "*Shanghai Zoning and Transportation Plan*" (Map 13) prepared by the Civic Centre Development Commission. The plan covered the area west of the Huangpu River, east of Beixinjing in Hongqiao, and north of Caohejing River, divided into commercial, industrial, commercial, and residential areas according to land use<sup>92</sup>. This was the first comprehensive, large-scale, integrated urban development master plan in Shanghai. However, this zoning plan was only a blueprint.

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<sup>92</sup> 上海市档案馆: *上海市公用局关于都市计划案卷*, 上海, Q5-3-5644 (Shanghai Municipal Archives: *Shanghai Municipal Public Works Bureau on Urban Planning Case Files*, Shanghai, Q5-3-5644)



Map 18. *Shanghai Zoning and Transportation Plan Map*, 1930 (Civic Centre Development Commission (市中心区域建设委员) 1930)<sup>93</sup>

The civic centre, Chinese City and the commercial gathering area in concessions were all designated as commercial zones. The Yang Shu Pu area within the concessions, although full of factories and plants, was appointed as a commercial zone in preparation for the future relocation of the commercial port to the north.

To the west of Putuo District, many factories and plants had been established on both sides of the Wusong River (present-day Suzhou River) and were classified as industrial zones. To reduce the impact of smoke and dust on the neighbouring residential areas, the main focus should be on factories that use less electricity. In the vicinity of Gaochang Temple in southern Shanghai, north of the Huangpu River and south of the railway, there were already large-scale industrial plants such as arsenals and shipyards, so still designated as an industrial zone. The area along the railway west of the new commercial port of Yunzhaobang was planned to be an industrial zone because of the

<sup>93</sup> 上海城市规划志编纂委员会. 1999. *上海城市规划志*, 上海, 上海社会科学院出版社. (SHANGHAI URBAN PLANNING CHRONICLES COMPILATION COMMITTEE. 1999. *Shanghai Urban Planning Chronicle*, Shanghai, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press.) p. 71



convenience of transportation, low land price, and low smoke and dust impact. The railway line between the future Wusong port and the railway freight terminal would cross the Zhenru and Dachang, therefore designed as the new industrial areas.

New commercial ports would be developed in the south of Wusong Town and north of Yinhang Town along the river with deep water, and Yunzobang would be a hub for the intermodal transport of river and marine vessels. The Pudong shoreline across the river was used as an expansion area for the future commercial port area.

In 1929, the highest population density in Shanghai was 650 people per hectare, exceeding the modern urban design principle of about 250 people per hectare. Therefore, all areas other than those already zoned as commercial, industrial, commercial and port areas were considered residential. Such sites include the space between Jiangwan and Dachang, the western part of the concessions and the southern part of Shanghai, even Zhenru, Fanghuangdu, Fahua Town, Longhua Town, Caohejing and environs. Proposals were made for mixed-function residential uses, allowing retails in residential areas. High-rise townhouses may also be permitted in commercial zones. It was also required that no residential development be permitted in the most prosperous commercial areas and along arterial roads, which would make the most of the land price differential and avoid the disadvantages of having residential development along arterial roads, which would affect the peace and quiet of residents and obstruct traffic.

When the Shanghai Special Municipality was established in the 16th year of the Republic of China (1927), a road system plan was prepared for each area in Zhabei, Shanghai West, Shanghai South and Pudong. The width of these roads was similar to that of the concession roads. In the 17th year of the Republic of China (1928), Zhongshan Road was built, forming the prototype of the first ring road in Shanghai, with a planned width of 27 metres. In the 19th year of the Republic of China, a new city centre was designed in Jiangwan, and a road system plan for the city centre was prepared. This plan was a circular radial system, with arterial roads over 30 metres wide. A city-wide integrated road system plan was also prepared for the first time during the same period, including inside and outside the concession area.

## **4.5 Eclecticism Architecture - Traditional Chinese Architectural**

### **“Renaissance”**

In 1929, the Shanghai Municipality appointed Dong Dayou (董大酉) as a consultant to the Civic Centre Development Committee to plan the new Civic Centre. In 1930, Dong Dayou was commissioned as the head architect of the construction office of the Civic Centre Development Committee, where he supervised the construction of the new city hall, museum, library, stadium, city hospital and city health laboratory etc. The

Great Shanghai Plan was carried out over seven years and was damaged during the Shanghai War in 1932, after which construction continued. The most important buildings were the Municipal Government Building, the Municipal Library and the Jiangwan Stadium.

The term "Chinese Traditional Renaissance" came from the American Architect Henry Murphy. And Dong Dayou was once the apprentice in his studio.

During this construction, the traditional Chinese architecture style principle had profound social and political motivations and aspirations. Though most of the architecture were building in new modern construction materials, and interior design.

#### 4.5.1 Municipal Government Building (also known as Mayor's Office)

The Shanghai government and its affiliated bureaus were previously scattered around the southern and western parts of Shanghai, which caused administrative inconvenience. In 1928, there was a proposal to "build a new city hall to integrate the bureaus in one place to enhance administrative efficiency". The central part of the district was designated as an administrative area, and the new housing estate of the city government was established in July 1929.

At the beginning of the Civic Centre Development Committee, three principals were laid down for the design of the new city hall, as follows<sup>94</sup>:

- 1) The architecture should be in the traditional Chinese style. The city government is the highest administrative department in the city, and its architectural format should represent Chinese culture. Over the years, there has been a tendency in Shanghai to follow the example of European and American architecture. To promote the national civic identity, the new building of the city government should be built in traditional Chinese form, which is the spirit of the national culture.
- 2) The layout of the building should be such that the City Hall is separate from the subordinate bureaus. Traditional Chinese buildings were generally only one or two storeys high, with a restriction also on the width of the façade. The total housing area required by the city government and its subsidiary bureaus is so large that it is desirable to build them separately. Traditionally, Chinese buildings are symmetrically distributed along the axes, with the essential buildings being located on the central axis. Secondary buildings should be smaller in height and size than the main buildings.

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<sup>94</sup> 1934. *工程週刊*. Vol.3 (22). (1934. *Engineering Weekly*. Vol.3 (22).)



- 3) The municipal government and its subsidiary councils should be built in phases because of the limited financial resources available. Therefore, the objectives of the construction should be designed for different periods.

Based on the 3 principals above, the Civic Centre Development Committee published the *Aerial View of Administrative District* (Fig. 22), placing the new city hall building and the Sun Yat Sen bronze statue on the main north-south axis. It was drawn by architect Dong Dayou.



Figure 37. *Aerial View of Administrative District, in Civic Centre of Shanghai* (上海市市中心行政區鳥瞰圖), 1931. Source: <https://www.yplib.org.cn/Sub.html#!Function/Article/Type/Detail/Column/7bb9fce3-12ba-4719-9fba-e87de0d7ac58/Item/5a77c907-2034-4c13-88b1-5c878828ff0a>. (1931)

In order to make the future new City Hall a representative of the new Shanghai architecture, the Civic Centre Development Committee called for proposals from the public, starting on 1 October 1929 and ending on 15 February of the following year, 65 Chinese and foreign architects applied, and 19 designs were submitted. The photo shows the first, second and third prize-winning designs from the call for proposals. The final architecture was developed by architect Dong Dayou in discussion with the original designers, considering the characteristics of all the three works, as shown in Figure 22 below.



Figure 38. Completion of the new City Hall building (落成的市政府新厦). 1933. Source: <[https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail\\_forward\\_5792066](https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_5792066)>.

In order to show the majesty of the city hall, the building should be taller with less staff than other departmental buildings. This building has additional functions such as an auditorium, a library and a canteen, which can be used by the entire government (including the subordinate departments). The total area of all floors is 8,981 square metres<sup>95</sup>.

The traditional Chinese architecture was usually flat and short. However, it is not advisable to have a too low building, as it would lose its solemnity and sacredness, so it is set at four storeys. The ground floor was a terrace below the main building, a two-storey Chinese palace-style building, with the upper floor hidden within the roof. The first and third floors were used for offices, the second for the auditorium, library and meeting rooms, and the fourth for the officers' storage of archives and housing. The highest point of the roof was approximately 31 metres from the ground.

The city hall occupied a large area of land, and because of the roof and light, the area should not be too large, so the whole house was divided into three sections, the total length of which was about 93 metres, the central part 25 metres wide and the two wings 20 metres wide.

The beam-and-column building is the most ancient of the architectural styles. Egyptian and Greek architecture were both dominated by beams and columns. Traditional Chinese architecture is also similar but is characterised by various colours to decorate the beams and columns. The exterior of the city hall is in the beam-and-column style, with a terrace on the ground floor surrounded by artificial stone balustrades and a

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<sup>95</sup> Same as above.

three-storey central section and two two-storey wings. The roof is covered with green glazed tiles, tied with wire and filled with cement underneath. The flying eaves are another feature of traditional Chinese architecture, showing the lightness and movement of the building and serving as a drainage facility during the rainy season.

Although traditional Chinese buildings were constructed of wood, the municipal building is built in the classic style but with new construction materials such as cement and steel. The interior decoration mixed Chinese and Western techniques with a focus on practicality.

On 10 October 1933, the new Shanghai Municipality Government City Hall was inaugurated. (1933) A bronze statue of Dr Sun Yat-sen was also installed on the north side of the building at the same time, on the 22nd anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution. Over 100,000 guests from China and abroad gathered to celebrate the completion of the new City Hall, led by the mayor, Mr Wu Tiecheng. The completion of the new City Hall boosted national confidence and served as a symbol of the initial completion of the Great Shanghai Project.

In 1952, the building was transferred to the Shanghai Municipal School of Administration and Cadres. In 1955 it underwent major repairs, including the waterproofing of the south slope roof, the replacement of damaged glazed tiles, the restoration of damage to the roof frame, and the partial repair of the external wall and the arch bridge, etc. The current Shanghai Municipality City Hall serves as the administrative building of the Shanghai Sports Institute and has been in use ever since.

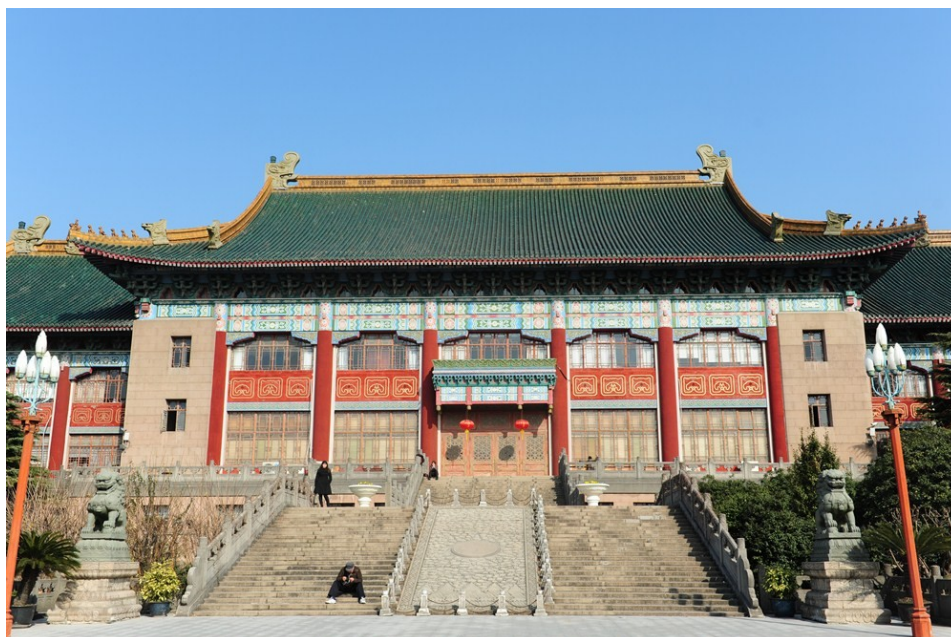


Figure 39. *Old Municipal Government City Hall (now the administrative building of the Shanghai Sports Institute), 2013. Source: <<https://blog.sciencenet.cn/blog-578415-667089.html>>. (2013)*



Because of the global pandemic, university campuses have been closed, so it was not possible to take photos, so we had to use photos from the internet.

#### 4.5.2 Municipal Library

In addition to the most important political buildings of the Greater Shanghai Plan, public buildings also began to be built. The Shanghai Municipal Government decided to designate the southern part of the city hall in the central district as a cultural district, starting with constructing a library and a museum. The Municipal Library and the Municipal Museum construction began in September 1934. Since public buildings cannot be built completely when funds are not sufficient, the most crucial design issue was how they could be gradually expanded without affecting the existing parts. The initial construction had to be looked like complete.

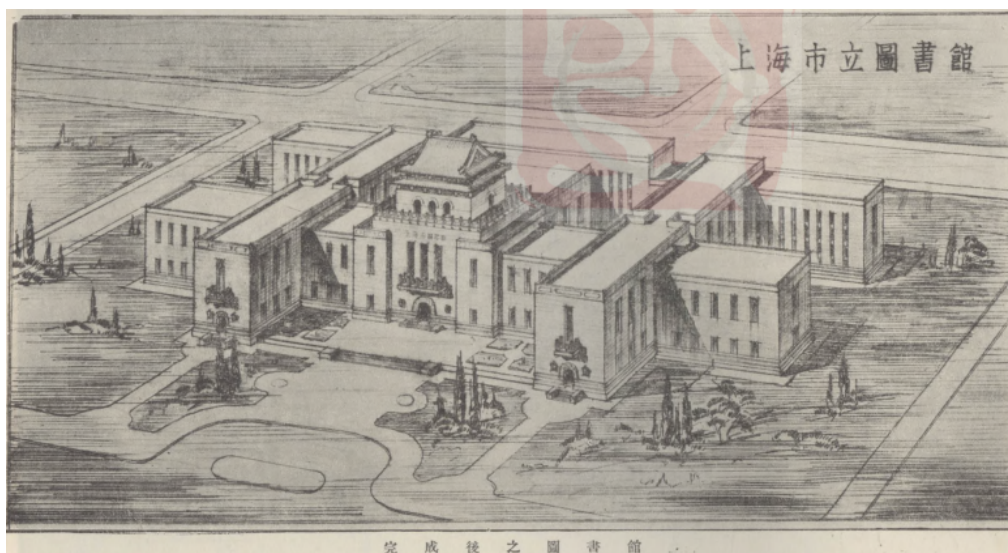


Figure 40. *Manuscript Rendering of the Municipal Library (完成后的市立图书馆). 1935.*

Source:

<<https://www.yplib.org.cn/Sub.html#!Function/Article/Type/Detail/Column/7bb9fce3-12ba-4719-9fba-e87de0d7ac58/Item/70ab6822-8840-4bff-b2e0-0fea4bc462ff>>.

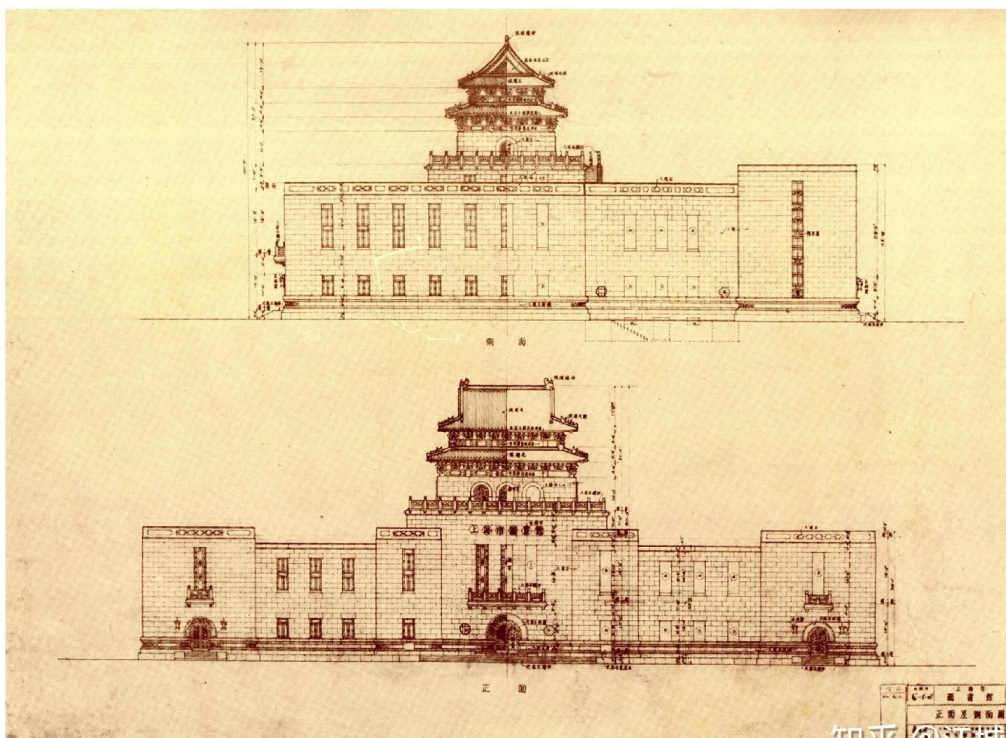


Figure 41. Main Elevation of the Municipal Library (图书馆主立面图). 1935. Source:

<<https://www.yplib.org.cn/Sub.html#!Function/Article/Type/Detail/Column/7bb9fce3-12ba-4719-9fba-e87de0d7ac58/Item/70ab6822-8840-4bff-b2e0-0fea4bc462ff>>.

Unlike the design of the City Hall, the exterior of the Municipal Library (see Figures 25 and 26) was a mixture of modern and Chinese traditional architecture. The general plan of the building was in the shape of an Chinese character "工", with the main entrance located in the east-west direction<sup>96</sup>. The furthest distance between the north and south of the building was approximately 66 metres and approximately 51 metres to the east and west. The total area of the building was 3470 square metres, with a 2-storey flat-roofed reinforced concrete structure<sup>97</sup>. In the centre of the main façade lied a gateway tower, which was modelled on the form of an ancient Drum Tower (鼓楼)<sup>98</sup>. The building had a double-roofed gable roof with a ridge about 2.5 metres above the roof, covered with yellow glazed tiles. There were ornate decorations on the eaves, with Dougong (斗拱)<sup>99</sup> structure under the eaves. The terrace around the Drum Tower was surrounded by a stone balustrade, which fully demonstrated the characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture.

<sup>96</sup> 1934. 建筑月刊. Vol.2 (11/12). (1934. *Architectural Monthly*. Vol.2 (11/12).)

<sup>97</sup> 1934. 建筑月刊. Vol.2 (11/12). (1934. *Architectural Monthly*. Vol.2 (11/12).)

<sup>98</sup> 1934. 建筑月刊. Vol.2 (11/12). (1934. *Architectural Monthly*. Vol.2 (11/12).)

<sup>99</sup> Dougong is a structural element of interlocking wooden brackets, one of the most important in traditional Chinese architecture.



The entire building was constructed of reinforced concrete in a fireproof configuration. The north and south ends of the building protruded from the general plan in the form of compartmentalized houses, and the outer walls were an average of 12 metres high<sup>100</sup>, set-in artificial stone. A large platform was set up in front of the main entrance for planting flowers and trees. The interior of the hall, the lending room, and the display room are all made of Chinese painted beams and algae wells with vermilion pillar capitals. The floor aisles were made of polished stone, the reading room floor was covered with cork blocks, and the rest of the ground and floor were made of gum blocks.

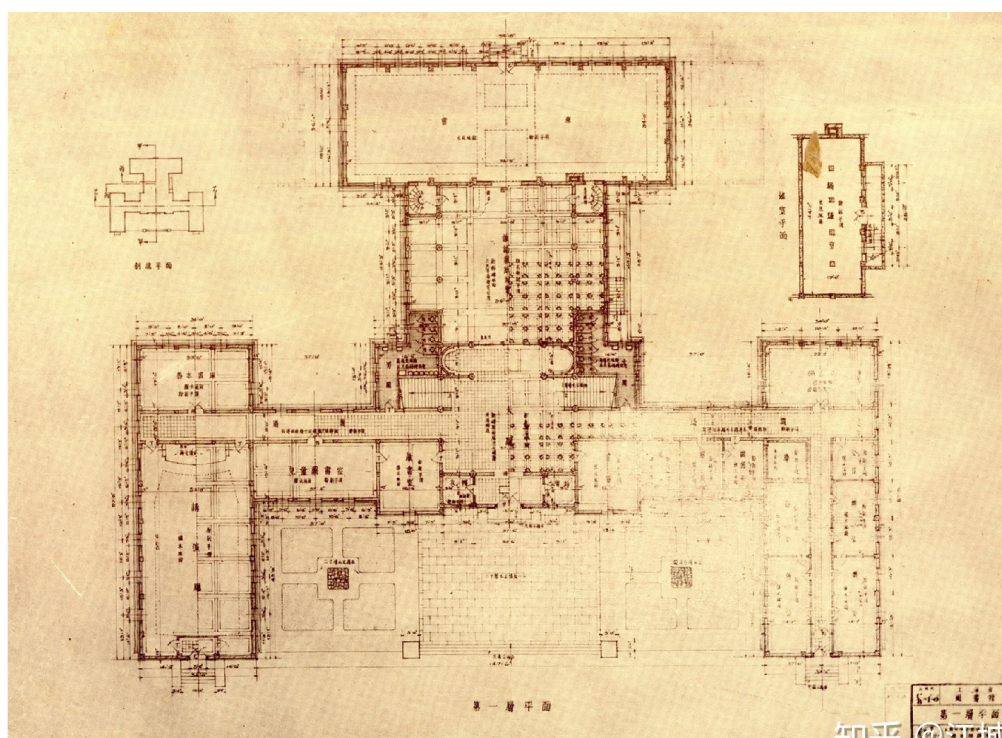


Figure 42. *Municipal Library Ground Floor Plan (图书馆一层平面)*. 1935. Source: <https://www.yplib.org.cn/Sub.html#!Function/Article/Type/Detail/Column/7bb9fce3-12ba-4719-9fba-e87de0d7ac58/Item/70ab6822-8840-4bff-b2e0-0fea4bc462ff>.

The library was completed in 1935. Due to financial reasons, Dong Dayou's "井" layout design was only half finished, in a "工" shape. The library was forced to close after the August 13 Incident in 1937. Then was used as a school building for Tongji Middle School after 1945. After Tongji Middle School moved out in 2007, it was left vacant for many years. In 2012, Yangpu District started the renovation and expansion project, and the new library was finally re-established six years later, named Yangpu District Library. During this restoration, apart from repairing the old 3,960 square metres of the old Shanghai Library, the building was extended by 10,192 square metres following Dong Dayou's original design to make up for the original design of the "井" shaped structure. Besides the new construction and the restoration of the structure,

<sup>100</sup> 1935. *中国建筑*. Vol.3 (02). (1935. *Chinese Architecture*. Vol.3 (02).)

the most essential and intractable part was the traditional Chinese art of painting. The paintings were painstakingly recreated and reproduced by more than a dozen painters with over 30-year experience, using conventional hand-painting techniques and delicate brush strokes, using toner and mineral pigments. This makes the gatehouse one of the most colourful parts of the building.

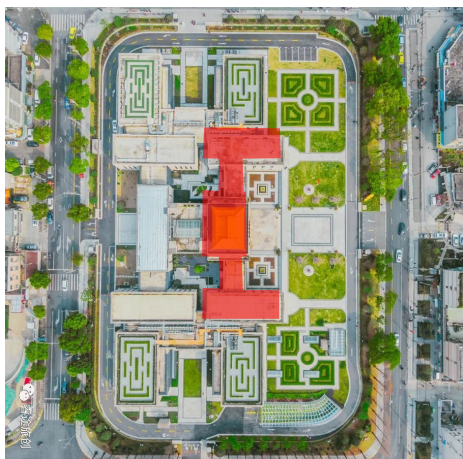


Figure 43. Yangpu District Library Aerial View. 2019. Source: <<http://www.retourism-cn.com/newsinfo/43-46-342.html>>.



Figure 44. Yangpu District Library today. 2021. Source: author's own photograph

Construction of the Municipal Library and the Municipal Museum began almost simultaneously<sup>101</sup>. The two buildings were very similar in appearance, like a pair of twin buildings echoing each other, following the traditional Chinese architectural layout of the "left drum tower and right bell tower" in Beijing. This further emphasises Shanghai's status as a political city in China.

In the book *A History of Chinese Architecture* by Liang Sicheng, this is complimented with the following:

*The architectural design of Dong Dayou in the civic centre of Shanghai was completed gradually under the very same scheme (the Nanjing Capital Plan). Although it was on a much smaller scale than Nanjing, it was implemented step-by-steply and thus was able to present a majestic appearance.*<sup>102</sup>

It demonstrated that Dong Dayou's excellent architectural background and capacity for architectural design allowed the palatial form and appearance to be combined with modern Western architectural forms, functions and decoration.

<sup>101</sup> 1934. 建筑月刊. Vol.2 (11/12). (1934. *Architectural Monthly*. Vol.2 (11/12).)

<sup>102</sup> 梁思成. 2005. 中国建筑史, 百花文艺出版社. (LIANG, Sicheng. 2005. *A History of Chinese Architecture*, Baihua Literary Press.) Chapter 8



#### 4.6 Famous Western Architects - Ladislav Hudec

There is a very famous and legendary Hungarian architect Hudec in Modern Shanghai. He learned Chinese in Shanghai and opened his own architect studio. Between 1919 and 1941, he participated in the design and construction of 37 buildings, all of which were designed by combining Western architectural forms with the lifestyle of Shanghai, China. They are both contemporary and advanced. Together with the works of other foreign architects, these neo-classical style works with European classic architectural elements led to the mainstream aesthetics of the society at that time. Later, Western-style buildings appeared in various parts of Shanghai, which continued to have a significant impact on the local architectural style of Shanghai, and gave birth to the Shanghai-style architecture represented by Shikumen(许桂革 2020, Xu 2020).

The Normandy Apartments, now known as the Wukang Building, are located at 1842-1858 Huaihai Zhong Road, Shanghai. It is an early work by Udag. This apartment was built in 1924 and designed for western employees living in the foreign concessions during colonial times, financed by the I.S.S (International Savings Society).



Figure 45. Wukang Building, 2021. Source: author's own photograph

The building was located at a rare intersection of six roads and the building topography was triangular shape. The Normandie Apartments were the first modern high-rise flats in Shanghai and were the first corridor apartment building in Shanghai. The façade was in the French Renaissance style, with the first and second floors treated as a base and the ground floor façade as a continuous arched corridor. The third to seventh floors were decorated with red brick walls. On the third and top floors there was a balcony corridor, which serves as a fire escape and also served as the waistline to beautify the interior. The third floor was decorated with triangular European-style window lintels and the fourth to seventh floor elevations are partially covered with balconies.

In 2018-2019, the Wukang building underwent extensive renovations. Until today, the building is still in use as flats, with the ground floor converted to commercial.

#### **4.7 Chinese Architects Association in Shanghai**

In Europe, architects did not exist in the Middle Ages as a separate profession, with the "master builder" in charge of architectural design and construction. It was not until the Renaissance that architectural design was separated from the master builder and transferred to the hands of educated men, who were again called architects and attached to the courts of emperors and lords. After the Industrial Revolution, architects became a freelance profession and came to be known as architects in the modern sense. Meanwhile, in modern China, the same experience was about to occur. Only the driving force was brought by the knowledge of Western architects and building construction.

There are three main ways in which modern Chinese architects arose. Firstly, the transformation of traditional Chinese craftsmen. Until 1910, the development of the architectural industry in Shanghai was dependent on the concessions and westerners, and the premium market for architectural design was in the hands of foreign architects. This reality stimulated traditional Chinese architects to take the initiative to accept and adapt to new techniques and structures through self-education. Some of them sought employment and internships in architectural firms run by foreign architects. By the 1920s and 1930s, Chinese construction companies had gradually taken over the dominant position of foreign construction companies. Overall, not many traditional craftsmen became professional architects, but most became "building constructors" by working in construction factories and collaborating with Western and modern Chinese architects and engineers.

Secondly, Chinese engineers turned to architectural professions. Since the modernisation in Shanghai, the rapid development of industry and urban expansion has led to a great demand for this type of profession, which has led to the



development of civil engineering education. Many students studied abroad or in China in the "engineering" field and gradually began to move into the architectural profession after gaining some practical experience in engineering.

Thirdly, the emergence of Chinese professional architects in Shanghai. At the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese architects who had studied abroad or had received professional education in architecture in China began to take the stage in history. Although their emergence was 20 to 30 years later than that of the earliest civil engineers in China, it indeed made China break through the long-standing practice of handing down architectural designs from master to apprentice. And changed the state of thousands of years in which architects and architectural craftsmen were utterly separated from each other. In a *Who's Who in China* published in 1933, six architects were listed in Shanghai<sup>103</sup>, including two foreign architects (a British architect George Leopold Wilson of Palmer & Turner Group, and a Hungarian-Slovak architect László Hudec) and four Chinese architects (Fan Wenzhao, Zhao Shen, Dong Dayou and Li Jinpei). Thirty-nine architect firms were registered in 1936. Although the number of early Chinese architects was extremely limited, their influence on the full localisation of the main body of Chinese architectural activity, such as architectural design, construction and management, cannot be underestimated.

#### 4.7.1 Architectural Society of China

In the summer of 1922, the association was a spontaneous organization prepared by Zhang Guangqi, Lu Yanzhi, Zhuang Jun, Wu Zhenying and other architects who had returned to China after studying abroad but was not formally established as a group because of the small number of people. Later on, as more and more architects returned to China, they wished to participate in the city's modernisation and gain social recognition of the importance of the Chinese architect community. Then, in the winter of 1927, the Architectural Society of Shanghai of China was formally established as a trade association for modern Chinese architects. As the membership is not limited to architects in Shanghai hence, in 1928, it was renamed the Architectural Society of China. The Architectural Society of China was officially dissolved in 1950.

The founding of the Architectural Society of China marked the emergence of Chinese architects as a new social group in the modern sense of the architectural profession. The Architectural Society of China has different permanent departments with four main functions:

- ◆ The Publication Committee was responsible for publishing journals like *China Architecture*, etc., to promote the discipline and profession of architecture,

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<sup>103</sup> 吴启迪主编. 2017. *中国工程师史 第二卷 师夷制夷：近现代工程师群体的形成与工程成就*, 同济大学出版社. (WU, Qidi ed. 2017. *The History of Chinese Engineers, Volume II: The Formation of Modern Engineer Groups and Engineering Achievements*, Tongji University Press.) p.80

introduce the profession of architects to all fields of society, and publish architectural works and research papers.

- ◆ The Preparation of Statutes Committee was responsible for developing industry standards, compiling standard documents for design contracts such as the *Statutes of Architecture*. The Architectural Terminology Committee liaised with the *Shanghai Architectural Association*, an association of Chinese constructors and craftsmen, to standardise and explain architectural terms in Chinese and English.
- ◆ They also provided consultation on engineering litigation, housing valuation and other services.
- ◆ The content of China Architecture focused on introducing the work of Chinese design institutions, the protection of fellow practitioners in the event of architectural accidents, and the provision of queries and suggestions to the government regarding the interests of the architectural profession.

The Architectural Society of China was the earliest academic society in China's architectural community. Its historical significance is "an attempt to form a unified academic society of architects, engineers and the building construction industry"<sup>104</sup>, making a milestone historical contribution to promoting the modern architectural movement in China.

#### 4.7.2 Dong Dayou (1899-1973)

Born in 1899 in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province, Dong Dayou (also known as Dayu Doon) graduated from the Tsinghua Academy in 1922. He went on to study in the United States, where he received a bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Minnesota in 1924 and a master's degree in architecture from the University of Minnesota in 1925.

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<sup>104</sup> 路中康. 2009. 民国时期建筑师群体研究. 博士, 华中师范大学. (LU, Zhongkang. 2009. *Study on Architect Community in the Period of the Republic of China*. Doctoral, Central China Normal University.)

From 1926 to 1927, he studied at Columbia University, where he received his PhD in fine arts and archaeology. In 1927, he was recruited to work in the design office of the American architect Henry Murphy and was greatly influenced by Murphy. 1928, he returned to China and was elected president of the Architectural Society of China the following year. 1929, he was appointed as the advisor and chief architect of the Shanghai Civic Centre Development Committee.



Although Dong Dayou made a significant contribution to the modernisation of Chinese-style architecture, there is still very little research on him. Many studies mention him only as the general advisor and chief designer of the Great Shanghai Plan, but he also designed and built many modernist dwellings. In a book on Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts, Dong Dayou's *Between Beaux-Arts and Modernism* is described as "His career illustrates the complex ways in which the Beaux-Arts tradition took on specific significance in China." <sup>105</sup>

Figure 46. A Signed Portrait of Dong Dayou.

1926. Source:

<<https://www.xuehua.us/a/5ebbc48c86ec4d2e14dd942d?lang=zh-hk>>

At the end of the 1920s, with the rising nationalism in China, a wave of the revival of classical Chinese architecture emerged in the architectural world. Meanwhile, the first generation of Chinese architects returned from their studies abroad to coincide with establishing the new Republic of China government in Nanjing. During the so-called "Nanking Decade" of 1927-1937, a rare period of peace, an architectural boom created opportunities for these architects. The choice of architectural style was often a highly deliberate gesture to convey aesthetic or political significance as a function of the state's specific programmatic requirements. Under this context, the formal and historicist style associated with Beaux-Arts met the need for a national rhetorical architecture linked to Chinese history, but also encompassed the power and prestige of international architecture. Both architectural creativity and the architectural profession were constrained by state programmes, images, bureaucracies, schools and patronage agencies.

<sup>105</sup> KUAN, Seng 2011. *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts. 8. Between Beaux-Arts and Modernism. Dong Dayou and the Architecture of 1930s Shanghai*. University of Hawaii Press.

In particular, the first generation of Chinese international architects, represented by Dong Dayou and Zhao Shen, wanted to break away from the constraints of European and American architectural styles and find a way out of traditional Chinese architecture for modern architecture. Dong Dayou was influential in the design of the Greater Shanghai Plan and its major architectural projects.

Influenced by Murphy's Chinese Renaissance architecture, Dong Dayou was keen to adopt Chinese style and Western techniques in the Greater Shanghai Plan building complex. Dong once describing his generation and peers as follow:

*A group of young students went to America and Europe to study the fundamentals of architecture. They came back to China filled with ambition to create something new and worthwhile. They initiated a great movement, a movement to bring back a dead architecture to life: in other words, to do away with poor imitation of Western architecture and to make Chinese architecture truly national.*<sup>106</sup>

In 1955, Dong Dayou became the chief architect of the Beijing Public Construction Institute. His renowned designs include the Shanghai Municipal Government Building during the Republic of China, the Shanghai Municipal Library, the Shanghai Municipal Museum, the Shanghai Monument to the Anonymous Heroes, and the Shanghai Stadium in the Great Shanghai Plan.

#### **4.8 Other Urban Planning Practice in China**

The process of modernisation in China is characterised by its geographical limitations and the complexity of the process. The awareness and attitude of Chinese society, especially the popular classes, towards modernisation went through a process of forced acceptance, emulation and then conscious pursuit. This was particularly evident in Shanghai, where the process reached a mature stage in the 1930s. The spread of modern urban planning ideas, concepts and techniques in China followed essentially the same process, with most of the initial planning being carried out directly by the colonial settlers in the concessions under their jurisdiction, and the later urban planning being led by the Chinese government with the participation of overseas educators. In either case, however, the result can be seen as the spread of modern Western urban planning ideas that were introduced in China.

While the Chicago Plan was the basis for the modernisation of Shanghai, the urban development and planning practices in China since the end of the late Qing Dynasty provided the impetus for the development of the Greater Shanghai Plan. The plan was based on a direct planning basis.

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<sup>106</sup> Cited by KUAN, Seng 2011. Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts. 8. *Between Beaux-Arts and Modernism. Dong Dayou and the Architecture of 1930s Shanghai*.: University of Hawaii Press. p.178



In general, three main types of cities emerged in modern China: Type A was the sovereign cities represented by Beijing, heavily influenced by traditional Chinese culture. Type B was the cities represented by Qingdao, which were colonised by the West. Type C was the rapidly emerging commercial and economic cities along the rivers and coasts, represented by Shanghai. This category of cities, since their opening, had been highly dependent on foreign capital and benefited from world trade and construction, and were more modernised under globalisation. But they also had a strong semi-colonial character, with the majority better neighbourhoods and buildings all belonging to the concessions, and a predominantly Western style of architecture and urban construction and management.

Although the nature of modern Chinese cities varied, with China's increasing involvement in the capitalist world from the later 19th century onwards, encouraged in particular by the New Policies of the late Qing Dynasty, there was an urgent need for many cities to keep up with the times to accommodate the modern transformation of their cities.

According to Dong Jianhong's research<sup>107</sup>, modern Chinese urban planning could be divided into the following three categories according to their background, process and actual impact on urban construction:

- ◆ The first type was those that had a clear planning intention and a complete plan. They were relatively largely or partially realised, mostly found in cities exclusively occupied by one of the imperialist countries, and were planned and built according to their requirements and expectations, such as the German occupation of Qingdao and the Russian occupation of Dalian.
- ◆ The second type of planning and construction was only for localised areas of the city, which were mostly found in the imperialist-occupied concessions, such as Shanghai, Tianjin and Hankow. The long drive of Western ideas more directly and immediately influenced them. Consequently, under the stimulus of the concessions, who were concerned about the future of China and appealed to nationalism, gradually became concerned about the proper development of the city under the influence of some Western urban planning ideas, and some urban planning practices emerged one after another to compete with the concessions.
- ◆ The third type of urban planning was more systematic and complete, but was largely formal and did not have a practical effect on urban development, such as Capital Plan in Nanjing, Greater Shanghai Plan (1929) and Greater Shanghai Urban Plan (1945) in Shanghai. The failure to implement such rhetorical plans was not due to the lack of science in the plans themselves, but mainly to the lack of a favourable environment for their implementation, such as government funding and wars.

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<sup>107</sup> 董鉴泓. 2004. *中国城市建设史*, 中国建筑工业出版社. (DONG, Jianhong. 2004. *The History of Urban Construction in China*, China Construction Industry Press.)

Other urban planning practices in China, like Tianjin, Hebei New Area Planning, Shanghai as the Great Eastern Port, The Capital Plan, Hankou Plan.

#### 4.8.1 The City Plan of Naking

As with the Greater Shanghai Plan, the City Plan of Naking<sup>108</sup> clearly defined the architectural forms were to be "traditional Chinese forms". It also proposed the principle of "adopting the principles of European and American science" and "highlighting traditional Chinese aesthetics", respectively implemented in macroscopic urban planning and microscopic architectural forms in traditional Chinese architecture.

The plan consists of 28 chapters. Based on a brief overview of the historical and geographical situation of Nanjing and a projection of its population in 100 years, it defined the boundaries and architectural form of the capital, redefined the central political district, the municipal administrative district, the commercial district, the residential district, the industrial district, and the cultural and educational district. With this urban layout as a guideline, specific plans for the road system, suburban roads, waterway improvements, parks and boulevard systems, traffic management and railway stations, port plans, housing schemes, infrastructure and related projects are proposed. It even included milestones, tasks, budgets and funding for the next six years. What makes this plan more advanced than Shanghai was that he proposes a direction and scale of development for the city of the future.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

*ROME was not built in a day; Shanghai was. Rome changed its constitution with the changing times; Shanghai didn't.*

By Hauser, Ernest O.<sup>109</sup>

This quote was from the book Shanghai: City for Sale, published in 1940, not only demonstrated how quickly Shanghai had changed over the century, but also suggested an important reason for the limitations of the Chinese community's development.

Shanghai, in these short 100 years, had undergone extraordinary changes in the role and urban landscape of the city. The role of the city had evolved from being primarily an economic and trade centre and a consumer centre to being an administrative

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<sup>108</sup> 国都设计技术专员办事处. 2006. 首都计划, 南京出版社. (OFFICE OF THE TECHNICAL COMMISSIONER FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL DESIGN. 2006. *The City Plan of Naking*, Nanjing Publishing House.)

<sup>109</sup> HAUSER, Ernest O. 1940. *Shanghai: City for Sale*, Harcourt, Brace. p. 282

centre, a transport hub and a cultural centre. However, until the Nanjing government took over in 1927, Shanghai's government was passive in urban construction and development. The new urban expansion was usually carried out in empty lots and ended in failure. This showed that a unified government regime has an important role to play in the long-term development of the city.

The urban planning process of Shanghai had generally gone through two processes. The first stage was the prelude to urban planning and was still in its infancy, from 1843 to 1925, when planning activities were attached to municipal activities at this time. It was the precursor movement of modern urban transformation, and the documents related to urban planning mainly included the Shanghai Land Regulations and the Outline of the Wusong Port Opening Plan, etc. The Outline of the Wusong Port Opening Plan was an outline of urban planning for the development of Wusong, which laid the foundation for later planning. The second stage was the formative period, from 1930 to 1945 when urban planning was based on the organisation of architectural forms, typical of which was the Great Shanghai Plan of 1929. This plan also included the new municipality construction plan of Shanghai formed on this basis during the Japanese period.

Like other Chinese port cities, Shanghai's urban development was more or less semi-colonial and colonial, due to external forces, but after all, it added several new elements to Chinese cities and formed the basis for their early modernisation, and its progress and development was very obvious compared to traditional feudal cities.

## **5.1 Urban expansion as a necessary development while modernisation as a necessary consequence**

### **5.1.1 New opportunities arising from integrated Chinese and foreign residences**

According to the Shanghai Land Regulations in 1845, the concession area was initially reserved for the residence of Westerners and Chinese were not allowed to rent and live there. In 1853, when the Xiao Dao Hui rebellion took over the old town of Shanghai County, the wealthy families in the city fled to the concessions for shelter. In order to cut off the connection between the residents in the town and the Xiao Dao Hui Society, the Qing government forced the residents to move and torched the houses and shops in the area of 16 Pu, the former commercial hub of Shanghai, causing a large number of refugees into the Concession.

Later, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolt brought many refugees and gentry from Hangzhou and Suzhou to Shanghai. From 1854 onwards, the article on the separation of residence for Chinese and foreigners was removed from the Shanghai Land

Regulation. This became an essential driving force in the transformation of Shanghai from a county to a city. The immigrants brought with them a great deal of capital as well as consumer demand. It also brought with it a large amount of cheaply available labour.

The intermingling of Chinese and foreigners had a great impact on the development of the city and contributed to the prosperity of the Concession and the exchange of Chinese and Western cultures.

### 5.1.2 Good Example of Modernisation and Urban Management in Western Settlement

Before the Great Shanghai Plan, the city's development was mainly driven by urban planning and construction driven by municipal construction. From the late Qing Dynasty, Shanghai's transformation from a county town to a large city was accompanied by introducing Western architecture, especially modern architecture, and the construction of municipal and public infrastructure. After the opening of Shanghai, western countries first built consulates, foreign companies and residences in the concession area, which were located within the boundaries of the concession area and used by westerners.

Immediately after establishing the settlement in 1845, the British began planning to construct roads and land transport. After the foundation of the Municipal Council in 1854, the planning and construction of roads and important municipal environmental works were already underway. Construction of municipal facilities, such as the filling in or dredging of rivers and streams and the construction of sewers, was the responsibility of the Municipal Council. Sun Yat-sen once praised the municipal construction in the concessions of Shanghai, with its excellent railway transport system, cleanliness of streets and widening of roads, all of which were worthy of emulation by the Chinese community, as well as other cities.

### 5.1.3 The Active Facilitation of the Autonomous City Movement in Shanghai

The Zhabei General Engineering Bureau, the Shanghai Chinese Town Road Engineering Bureau, the Shanghai General Works Board, and the Shanghai City Self-Government Office were several of the most important institutions of the self-government movement in Shanghai during the late Qing Dynasty. In the perspective of urban development, these institutions were engaged in expanding the city and improving the infrastructure of Shanghai. They were responsible for creating roads and bridges, setting up docks, dredging rivers and urbanising neglected and unurbanised land, following the example of the early days of the concessions. At the same time, they set



up police stations, fire-fighting facilities, and street lighting, which improved public services in the city's built-up areas and enhanced the quality of life of the residents.

The General Works Board was the first Chinese local self-government organisation in Shanghai, the starting point of local self-government in Shanghai, and the first municipal council organisation in China. These self-governing organisations provided a wealth of experience for the subsequent establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Government.

The demolition of the Shanghai City Wall was a significant event that focused on developing the Chinese community in Shanghai. The local merchants believed that the city walls should be torn down to open up the inner city and outer concessions so that the old town of Shanghai could be expanded, and more businesses and industries could be brought into the city. Between 1912 and 1914, the city walls were demolished, the trenches filled, and modern roads built. The road was constructed as a circular road around the city, with the northern section known as "Zhonghua Road" (now Renmin Road) and the southern section known as "Minguo Road" (now Zhonghua Road).

The construction of public utilities, such as electricity, water supply, drainage, sewerage, gas, telephone, etc., was started in the concessions, mainly for Westerners' benefit. The distribution of various types of pipelines and facilities in the concessions was basically under Western norms. It was planned in a unified manner to ensure the rationalization of the territory. The construction of roads was always an important part of urban development in the concessions and Chinese communities and were often the first to be developed.

Shanghai became the most modernised city in the country in terms of municipalities. Nevertheless, Shanghai's municipal construction was characterised by a mixture of partial order and global disorder.

## **5.2 Early Attempts at urban planning in Shanghai**

However, the various pipelines and roads within the concessions and Chinese communities were independent of each other. They were designed and constructed according to the standards of each country, resulting in overall disorganisation. As more and more buildings were developed and constructed, people began to pay attention to the interrelationship of building complexes and the development of roads and municipal utilities. There was also a greater focus on coordination within a certain area. In the process of semi-spontaneous urban development, the mechanism of land value had begun to operate. The city was growing rapidly, the population was expanding, and the city's facilities had to be distributed and organised effectively to play a better role in the city urbanisation. In Table 1, the Chinese government made

the main bodies and attempts at urban planning and construction on its own initiative from 1843 to 1937.

**Table 1. Shanghai Urban Planning Authority**

| Region            | Administrative Agency  | Principal Officers | Date of Establishment | Responsible issues   | Planning Achievements                                     |
|-------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| Wusong            | General Administration of Engineering for the Opening of Wusong Port | Cai Jun            | 1898                  | Measuring the road foundations, land acquisition, and development of roads.  | <i>Wusong Port Concession Land Regulations</i>            |
|                   |  | Zhang Jian         | 1920                  | Planning and approval of construction works; investigation, registration and acquisition of government land and private land; determination of land grades; management of land and housing leases; preparation of the police; collection of miscellaneous donations and taxes. | <i>Outline of the Plan for the Opening of Wusong Port</i> |
| Chinese Community | Shanghai Chinese Town Road Engineering Bureau                        |                    | 1895                  | Development and construction of roads along the riverbank area south of Shi Liu Pu in Old Town   |   |
|                   | Shanghai Old Town Road Engineering Rehabilitation Bureau             |                    | 1897                  |  |   |
|                   | Shanghai General Works Board   |                    | 1905                  | Management of the three sections of household administration, police administration and engineering affairs.   |   |

Illustrated by author, based on the metirial and thesis WANG, Wenting. 2004. *Introduction to the History of Modern Urban Planning in Shanghai*. Master Master, Tongji University.

Shanghai was the city with the most Western influence in China in the municipal administration system. After the opening, three authorities (the Municipal Council, French Concession Municipal Board, and the Chinese local government) coexisted in Shanghai, each in charge of a separate area, with no coordinating body. The Chinese government lagged far behind the first two in both influence and achievement. However, Western municipal management models and methods were first introduced in the concessions. They were later followed by the local gentry through the local self-government movement. Hence, urban planning was gradually introduced and

established as an aspect of the Western municipal management system in the construction of the city of Shanghai.

Zhang Jian had drawn up a good blueprint for the development of the city of Shanghai. He studied the experience of commercial ports and big cities around the world and proposed a plan for the development of Wusong Port, namely the "Outline of the Plan for the Opening of Wusong Port". He believed that the commercial trade in Shanghai was mostly concentrated in the concession area, and that the development was too limited and overcrowded. He proposed that in order to improve the commercial port and to accommodate large ships, Wusong was better than Shanghai in its convenience. Afterwards, he served as the supervisor of the Wusong Commercial Port Bureau and systematically surveyed the topography, rivers and roads in the Wusong area, and listed out various ideas such as road construction, wharf construction, dredging of the Yuzao River, opening of railway lines, opening of tram lines, construction of public facilities and public utilities, etc., which were thoughtful and comprehensive and realistic.

Zhang Jian's urban plan was not realised due to the war and industrial crisis, but it provided an important reference for later urban development in Shanghai, and many of Zhang's ideas were carried forward in subsequent urban plans. Zhang Jian's "Outline of the Plan for the Opening of Wusong Port" was the first planning scheme in the history of modern Shanghai urban planning, and it was of great significance. The idea of creating new cities and functional zoning had an important influence on the later Greater Shanghai Plan.

Until then, Shanghai was beginning to embrace the application of Western urban planning, with architects, returned scholars and overseas experts placing greater emphasis on the layout and interrelationship of urban buildings and facilities through their publications and studies. Although there was no city-wide planning at this time, the ideas and planning methods were beginning to be applied on a local scale and in specific areas to solve practical issues.

### **5.3 The Impact of the Global Modernisation Process on Shanghai**

The emergence of the Industrial Revolution rapidly increased the pace of cities, which had taken hundreds of years to build up slowly. Under the impact of Western capitalism and modern civilisation, China's traditional natural economy and feudal culture were gradually deconstructed. In parallel with this, the modernisation process flourished, with the influx of rural people into the cities and the gradual convergence of rural society towards urban civilisation.

*"The commodification of production, which began in England in the 1860s, did not gain acceptance until the 1840s when the 'industrial revolution' came into full swing. It was not until the 1880s that the process of 'industrialisation' and its*

*definition began to be widely studied and explored. Thereafter, the development of European industrialisation strategies began to lead the way. Rational industrialisation and 'modernisation' only became possible about 100 years after the industrial revolution. At that time, the debate was about the subordinate effects of the revolution: such as the clearing of land and the increase in poverty, the decline of the monarchy and the rise of the mono-national state, or the machines and technology themselves and their counteraction to the craft unions. As with our concerns about urban pollution, traffic congestion, metropolises and illegal immigration, this is where we try to make sense of this urban revolution. European society has been completely reconfigured by industrialisation, although we cannot yet name this new phenomenon.<sup>110</sup>*

The ritual system of thought, with the Zhou rites of Kaogongji as its core, as well as the five elements of yin and yang, Yi-ology, and Feng Shui, became the guidelines for the planning and construction of ancient cities in China and have been developed and passed on uninterruptedly for more than 2,000 years, forming a series of examples of ancient city construction in a consistent manner. In contrast, although descriptions of the ideal city (e.g. Plato's Utopia in the 4th century BC, Philaret's The Ideal City in the Renaissance) and planning techniques (e.g. the square road system created in the 5th century BC, the Baroque urban design in the Renaissance) have appeared in European cities at different times, there is no continuous system of planning with inherited relationships. There is no continuous theoretical system of planning with an inherited relationship.

Traditional feudal China did not have a concept of citizenship and, therefore, a sense of responsibility and pride in being responsible for the city. Municipal facilities, the living environment and urban development, were matters for the common people to be considered by the officials and government officials far away in the capital. While in the West, both the City Beautiful Movement and the Garden City Movement were urban planning ideas that arose in response to the demand to ameliorate the problems of overcrowding and environmental degradation once cities had reached a certain level of development. In China, meanwhile, still followed the ancient manual *Kao-Gong-Ji*.

In the early 1920s, the Urban Beautiful Movement in America and the Garden City theory and urban planning practices were introduced into China. Some modern Western urban planning theories and practices became known to the Chinese government and scholars of the time, and they seemed to find a remedy to improve the current situation of cities.

As planning activities have become more and more professional, urban planning schemes have evolved in an integrated and organic direction. An overview of the

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<sup>110</sup> BRUGMANN, Jeb. 2010. *Welcome to the Urban Revolution: How Cities Are Changing the World*, Bloomsbury USA.

planning activities of these large European and American cities in recent times shows that they not only focused on the improvement of all aspects of the physical space of the city, but also on the human dimension of civic life, which is very distinctive.

In order to improve the present condition and development in Shanghai, some well-educated people, realised the importance and necessity of overall planning in accordance with the functions of the city from western urban planning practices, proposed that modern Shanghai's administration, commerce and industry, water and land transport terminals and stations could be built with reference to the construction of cities in other countries, in order to adapt to modern trends and the needs of citizens.

Since Howard put forward the "Garden City" theory, the City Beautiful Movement had gradually emerged in Europe and the United States, and the idea of humanistic planning began to take root. San Francisco, Chicago, Seattle and other places have increasingly improved the living environment of the people by building park systems, boulevards, strengthening sanitation systems and focusing on effective functional zoning of urban layouts, and have gradually seen urban beautification as an inevitable requirement for urban development.

The construction of public squares, monumental public buildings and grand civic centres was proposed in many urban planning schemes such as those of Paris, Washington and Chicago, where the construction of these public buildings and a large number of open green spaces and parks helped to meet the cultural needs of citizens and implicitly gave citizens the right to assemble and march, reflecting civic consciousness and democratic rights. In a sense, the recognition, acceptance and construction of such public buildings also reflected the gradual transformation of citizens from subjects to citizens at the time.

In 1915, the area of the Shanghai Concession was 12 times larger than it had been in 1848, increasing to over 70,000 mu. The new city of Shanghai, which developed based on the concessions, became the largest city in China within a few decades, with the most significant number of high-rise buildings of the highest architectural quality and the busiest commercial streets – Nanjing Road, in China. A new city centre was gradually formed in Shanghai, moving from the old town into the International Settlement, where capitalist commercial, economic activities are mainly carried out. The traditional layout of the old city centre, with the government offices as the centre and the temples as secondary centres, was changed. The fact that the city centre shifted could be well represented on Map 18, with the highest land prices concentrated on Nanjing Road and the Bund, and the old town gradually becoming a "suburb".



It is important to realise that modern urban planning and construction is not a continuation of ancient times, but more a result of the productivity advances brought about by the industrial revolution and the resulting social changes.

Modern Shanghai was a pioneering stronghold for the acceptance of Western urban planning theory in China, and in a certain sense represents the development of modern urban planning in China. Baroque, one of the traditional European urban spatial models, advocates the combination of architecture with roads and squares. Modern Shanghai was a pioneering stronghold for accepting and adopting Western urban planning theory in China, and in a certain sense represents the development of modern urban planning in China. Baroque urban planning was one of the traditional European urban spatial models of the 17th and 18th centuries, which advocated a majestic and elegant form of urban space through the combination of architecture with roads and squares. Many modern cities plans and designs in the West were influenced by it, such as the Washington Plan, the Paris Centre Plan and the Chicago Plan.

The Baroque urban plan was also reflected in the later Great Shanghai Plan in the Civic Centre, the boulevards, the green spaces, the classical architecture and the symmetrical central axis. The most important municipal building, the bronze statue of Sun Yat-sen and the large municipal park were the main axis, while other secondary buildings were arranged on both sides.

### **5.1 Influence of Regime Change on Urban Planning Ideas**

The economy of the Qing dynasty was still a feudal natural economy, with social production at a low level. Once it had a source of land and labour, this self-sufficient natural economy was highly closed and conservative, which seriously hindered the application of science and technology in production. The development of agricultural productivity was extremely sluggish, which constrained the development of handicrafts and commerce and the development of cities. The long-standing feudal tradition and the feudal guild system that prevailed in the cities also hindered the development of the urban economy.

In the late Qing Dynasty, after the defeat of the Opium War, the Qing government implemented the Self-Strengthening Movement, an industrial movement aimed at self-help, mainly developing military and civilian industries. The first postal systems, telecommunication systems, railway systems, the China Merchants' Bureau, Jiangnan Shipyard, and the Bank of Communications were established, contributing to the future modernisation and development of the cities. Li Hongzhang, a late Qing dynasty Chinese politician, diplomat and military general, described the budding government-

initiated industrial movement that began in the late Qing dynasty and spread throughout China as "a great change in more than three thousand years"<sup>111</sup>.

During the Republican period, Shanghai's administrative structure underwent frequent changes of regime. From the beginning of the Republic of China to the fall of Shanghai in 1937, there were five governments, including the Shanghai County Government, the Shanghai Military Governor's Office, the Shanghai Sea Province (Hu Hai Dao<sup>112</sup>, 沪海道), the Shanghai Special Municipal Government and the Shanghai Municipal Government. During the War of Resistance against Japan, the Shanghai Municipal Government was restored after the victory of the war in 1945 and ended on 27th May 1949 when Shanghai was liberated.<sup>113</sup>

During the Peking Government, a period of chaotic warlords, with the capital set in Beijing and the system of government changed several times between the cabinet system and the presidential system. The city-building movement was temporarily slowed down. Still, great importance was attached to the special status of Shanghai, which was set up as a special autonomous municipality in 1927, due to the establishment of the Nanjing National Government. This was the new chapter of the urban development in Shanghai.

In the late Qing and early Republican periods, both were in the midst of war or warlord power battles, making it difficult to form a unified state regime and implement something as ambitious as overall urban planning. Until 1927, when the Nanking National Government was established, Shanghai was designated as a "special municipality" under the central government's authority. Under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, a committee of experts was set up by the Shanghai Special City Government to study the city's urban development in order to rebuild a new central city, starting the first exploration and practice of Shanghai as a global city. Rising nationalism and a state of peace were all preconditions for the successful implementation of the Greater Shanghai Plan. But the plan ultimately failed, not only because of the government's initial lack of funding and urban planning experience, but also because the Japanese occupation of Shanghai in its entirety largely halted the construction of the city.

Modern urbanisation and the modernisation of cities are generally considered the product of industrialisation. Most European cities were the first to complete urbanisation, forming many of modern times' great, new cities. The unprecedented socio-economic prosperity led to a massive attraction of rural populations to the cities,

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<sup>111</sup> 梁启超. 2000. 李鸿章传, 天津, 百花文艺出版社. (LIANG, Qichao. 2000. *Biography of Li Hongzhang*, Tianjin, Baihua Literary Publishing House.) pp.44-46

<sup>112</sup> Hu Hai Dao is a provincial-level administrative region established by the Northern Government of the Republic of China.

<sup>113</sup> From website <http://www.shtong.gov.cn>, Home - Shanghai General Records - Volume 5 Government - Chapter 3 Local Government and Grassroots Organisations in the Republican Period - Section 1, by Shanghai Local Chronicle Office (上海市地方志办公室)

an increase in the number of cities, a growing size and territory of cities, and an increasing and intensified role of cities as regional centres.

As cities grew in scale, urban functions were divided, and active state intervention was recognised as an indispensable tool. With the gradual formation of a civic culture, the self-governing activities of the local people were also further promoted. It was under the influence of people's autonomy that the Qing government realised the importance of learning from Western municipalism. Until the 1920s and 1930s, the theory of urban planning was further refined, and the Plan of Chicago 1909 was a positive influence on the emergence of the Greater Shanghai Plan. In this plan, not only did it represent the ancient Chinese urban planning of power, starting with the construction of the city centre complex and serving as the centre of the new civic centre, surrounded by residential and commercial areas, using a sense of sequence to highlight the political status of the central buildings. It also reflected humanism and ecologism, with a large system of parkland, controlled building heights and a rational distribution of commercial and residential areas, designed to create a convenient civic life.

Because of ethnic conflicts, in the process of urbanisation, Shanghai inevitably underwent imitation, learning and the merging of Chinese and Western cultures. The transformation of the city centre in the administratively divided period in modern Shanghai reflects the competition between different cultural groups, especially the Chinese and the Western, for the dominance of Shanghai's urban space. The Great Shanghai Plan was the first attempt at overall urban planning by the government of the Republic of China and was a foresighted move, implemented for comprehensive urban planning by the government of the Republic of China and was a foresighted move. Under the Great Shanghai Plan, the Shanghai Special Municipal Government built the Shanghai Special Municipal Government Building (now the Shanghai Sports Institute Administration Building), the Shanghai Municipal Library, the Shanghai Municipal Museum (now the Changhai Hospital Imaging Building) and the Jiangwan Stadium in the downtown area. However, these represent the products of Chinese modernity -- the architectural styles all highlight the merits of ancient Chinese palaces. The government-led buildings emphasised the requirements to have the characteristics of ancient Chinese architecture. However, the folk architecture was still gradually moving closer to the west, gluttonising very new types of buildings, such as new residential buildings, entertainment buildings, public buildings, and industrial buildings.

## **5.2 The Inspiration of Greater Shanghai Plan**

Shanghai is a city that has been forcibly modernised by a foreign culture and has actively embraced the modernisation process. The process of urban change and architectural development in Shanghai, 1843-1937, was all about Shanghai's search

for a new national identification in China, and its gradual search for a new identity to reconnect with the world.

The Greater Shanghai Plan of 1929, particularly its central planning scheme, was heavily influenced by the Chicago Exposition design approach of the American City Beautiful Movement and Pierre Charles L'Enfant's Washington D.C. City Plan used a network of small grid squares with diagonal roads to organise the city as a whole and a boulevard approach to the central avenue to emphasise axial symmetry. The scheme was, in fact, a large-scale spatial layout that did not take into account the socio-economic conditions of the city and the resulting spatial form. However, its scope was also vast and involved almost most of the physical spatial elements of the city, but, as Chen Zhanxiang later commented, "without the essence of urban planning thinking, it was almost a copy of Western urban forms". The traditional Chinese symmetry of the axes was used to combine the main groups of buildings. The "traditional forms" adopted by these groups of buildings emphasised the architectural community's admiration for the idea of "East meets West".

"Greater Shanghai Plan" came into being in the critical period of Shanghai's urban development. Behind the appearance of urban prosperity, there has been a lack of a long-term and comprehensive development model for a long time. Under the circumstance of rapid population increase and continuous expansion of urban scope, Shanghai has begun to encounter serious problems. It was undoubtedly an advanced idea to build a new civic centre to compete with the concession, break away from the control and restriction of the concession, and fundamentally change the existing urban pattern, and at the same time guide the disorderly diffusion of the city to a certain extent, and find a new way for urban development.

The construction of ports and railways was supposed to be an essential part of the Greater Shanghai Plan, largely determining its success or failure. However, it was a pity that the Shanghai municipal government had never taken the improvement of external traffic conditions as the primary task of planning, and the greater Shanghai downtown area has lost the best opportunity for development. With the gradual decline of water transport, the only traffic advantage of the downtown area of Greater Shanghai also began to lose, and the disadvantage of location became more and more obvious. After the repossession of the concession, the civic centre of Greater Shanghai was naturally abandoned, and even no longer became an important direction of urban development. External transportation, once the cause of "Greater Shanghai Plan", was the driving force of the rise of the greater Shanghai downtown area, and an important factor of its final failure.

## 5.3 Modern Architecture in Shanghai

### 5.3.1 From Exotic Styles to Chinese Traditional Renaissance

In Zheng Shiling's *The Evolution of Shanghai Architecture in Modern Times* (New Edition), the modern architecture was roughly divided into four chronological periods in Shanghai: the early modern period (1843-1900), the mid-modern period (1900-1920), the modern heyday (1920-1937), and the Late Modern period (1937-1949). However, the evolution and revolution of architectural styles are linked to the times and often to the new nationalism and humanism, which developed through succession, continuity, and penetration.

As mentioned earlier, the architecture of the period from 1843 to 1937, although all called "modern architecture", encompasses a wide range of architectural styles and systems and also shows a development towards modern architecture.

The construction of the building also reflected social and economic demands, as the Compradoric was born out of the lack of involvement of architects on the one hand, and the minimal needs of the merchants who came to Shanghai in the early years intending to make a short-term fortune and leave on their way. In the early period, as these buildings were located within the concessions and utilized by Westerners, they were mainly of the one or two-storey brick and timber construction that was prevalent in the West at the time, with a classical European appearance and what was known as the "compradoric" of arcade contour. The Compradoric architectural style was eventually eliminated because it was not suited to the cold and damp winter climate of Shanghai.

As the vast undeveloped vacant site outside the county of Shanghai was gradually developed into new urban areas, new means of transport emerged, and uniform palaces and water supply systems became widespread, the quest for urbanisation and modernisation was also reflected in the choice of architectural style. The Westerners who decided to stay in Shanghai for a long time were not very interested in the local architectural forms. Unlike the Forbidden City in Beijing, which can give the perception of magnificence, the only buildings in Shanghai that can reflect the charm of traditional Chinese architecture are the official offices, temples and school buildings. For the Westerners, who began building their concessions on vacant land, they were more than willing to copy the architectural styles that had already been used directly onto Shanghai's land. The result was the mid-modern period in Shanghai.

In this period, Shanghai's modern architectural style was not a certain architectural style, not to be grouped with the Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque styles of the world's architectural history, but rather an expression of a general architectural style, a style that was the culmination of almost every style. All of these architectural styles can be found on the Bund, which has undergone many changes of architectural



style. The example given in this dissertation, the Shanghai Customs House, was constructed on three different occasions, reflecting this trend. The Art Deco style also eventually became the most popular late architectural style in Shanghai, again satisfying modern aesthetics while embodying pragmatism.

The heyday of modern Shanghai architecture was due to the introduction of many architectural forms by foreign architects and Chinese architects educated in architecture abroad, who copied architectural styles from various historical periods around the world and thus made new creations. The latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw the construction of a large number of artistic and technical buildings, which ultimately broke with traditional architectural forms and spaces. From Eurasian, Neoclassical, Gothic Revival and Eclecticism to Modernism, Art Deco and Chinese Neoclassical architecture, which was prevalent in Europe and the United States, these buildings of all styles in Shanghai were built in a variety of ways, quantity, diversity and scale of which were rare in other cities of the world. In the absence of a historical and cultural background for Western architecture, this influence has manifested itself in varying degrees of variation, and even the buildings designed by Western architects in Shanghai show some variation of Western architecture. These were known as eclecticism buildings.

Chinese and foreign architects worked together to create a number of outstanding buildings, giving Shanghai's modern architecture a distinctly international character. At the beginning of the 20th century, Shanghai was already a global stage for architects. Most of the foreign architects in Shanghai used Shanghai as a base for their development, maturing and growing together with Shanghai architecture, such as László Hudec. Chinese and foreign architects collaborated, exchanged and competed with each other. Some of the buildings they designed were already of international standard, while at the same time being innovative in terms of incorporating Shanghai's characteristics.

The Chinese Renaissance of traditional Chinese architecture, initiated in Shanghai by architects such as Dong Dayou, lasted only a short time, even in the Great Shanghai Plan, and was mainly reflected in the Municipal Government Building, the Municipal Library and the Municipal Museum. Their style was characterised mainly by the use of large Chinese roofs. Still, the building façade, architectural space design, decoration and structure were all in Western style, and the building materials were mostly reinforced concrete rather than the traditional wooden buildings. Timber buildings were used in ancient China for thousands of years because of their short construction period and ease of access, but they were relinquished by modern architecture because they were difficult to preserve, had a low number of storeys and required periodic maintenance.

The internationalisation of Shanghai's modern architecture is a reflection of open social values as well as culture and lifestyle, from imitation and pursuit to variation and transformation, becoming a harmonious yet contradictory part of Shanghai's urban environment.

### 5.3.2 Conservation & Heritage Protection Policies in Shanghai

The city is always in a process of renewal, driven by political, historical, economic, ideological, cultural, religious, ethical, demographic and other factors. The expansion of the city and the growth of its population make it grow again, and when the boundaries grow to a certain extent, they grow in the vertical space. In the 1950s and 60s in China, a new state of Republic and political institutions had just been established, and after decades of war, the whole country was in ruins and devastated. The post-war people needed new residential buildings, the new department needed new office buildings, all of which meant that the construction of a modern city was imminent. However, modern urban construction needs land. At that time, many implementation methods directly demolished the ancient city wall and ancient buildings in the city centre and replaced them with new brick and concrete constructs or cement and steel constructs, which led to the destruction of many urban heritages.

The conservation of Shanghai's historical and cultural heritage has gone through three stages<sup>114</sup>. In 1986, Shanghai was approved as the second national historical and cultural city group in China. In the first phase, from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, the concept of conservation was introduced into Shanghai's urban construction management and was implemented by legislation. However, the management policies tended to focus on the conservation of individual buildings and the application of management measures for heritage conservation. In 1990, the Shanghai Municipal People's Government officially declared the first group of 59 heritage modern buildings (later added to 61 in 1991). In 1991 the "Measures for the Protection and Management of Heritage Modern Buildings in Shanghai" was promulgated, proposing that historic buildings of traditional significance should be protected in addition to heritage conservation units. In 1999, the second group of 175 heritage historic buildings was announced, and in 2000, the third group of 162 heritage historic buildings was announced<sup>115</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> 邵甬. 2016. 从“历史风貌保护”到“城市遗产保护”——论上海历史文化名城保护. *上海城市规划*, (05):1-8. (SHAO, Yong. 2016. From Historic Townscape Conservation to Urban Heritage Conservation: Discussion on Conservation of National Historic City of Shanghai. *Shanghai Urban Planning*, (05):1-8.)

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/Newsite/node2/node71994/node81772/node81779/index.html>, *Shanghai Famous Architecture*, Shanghai Local Chronicle Office

In 1991, the Shanghai Municipal Planning Bureau began to organize the preparation of the "Shanghai Historical and Cultural City Protection Plan", which, based on an analysis of the city's unique blend of ancient and modern Chinese and foreign cultures, designated 11 historical and cultural districts in the central city, including the Bund, as the core of urban heritage protection.

In the second phase, at the beginning of the 21st century, Shanghai's "Historic Urban Landscape Protection" system was established. In 2002, Shanghai promulgated the Regulations on the Protection of Shanghai's Historical and Cultural Landscape Districts and Heritage Historical Buildings, which indicated that, to further increasing the protection of heritage historical buildings, Shanghai also defined the definition and protection requirements of "historical and cultural landscape districts" by local regulations: "Historical and cultural landscape districts The area where the buildings are concentrated and the architectural style, spatial pattern and neighborhood landscape reflect the regional cultural characteristics of a certain period in Shanghai in a more complete manner can be determined as a historical and cultural landscape area." At the same time, Shanghai has identified 44 historical and cultural landscape areas, including 12 in the city centre, with a total area of about 27 square metres, and 32 historical and cultural districts in the suburbs of Shanghai and Pudong New District.

The third stage, in 2015, was the improvement of the "historic landscape protection" system. The system of historic landscape protection complemented the areas with good landscape features and historical values that were at risk of being destroyed or demolished in the course of urban development.

### 5.3.3 Conservation Situation

While Beijing is one of the best-preserved cities in China in terms of ancient architecture, Shanghai is a city that reflects the modernisation process and the development of the urban landscape throughout China. The few traditional Chinese buildings in Shanghai, such as the Yuyuan Garden, the Shanghai County Academy and the Chenghuang Temple Complex, have been restored to their original function, including museum and civic education functions. The Bund complex is a relatively well-preserved group of exotic modern buildings, with hotels still in operation and most of the buildings used as financial buildings, banks, etc. Political buildings from the Qing Dynasty, such as the Shanghai Customs House, have also been recovered by the respective governments and are used as office buildings.

Only the Shikumen heritage is underestimated. Although in recent years, studies have emphasised that Shikumen buildings are the most typical and representative residential buildings in Shanghai in the modern century, with distinctive local characteristics that have shaped and influenced the culture and spirit of Shanghai. Most of them have been demolished due to natural environment and human factors.

Some of them were rebuilt again under the policy of urban heritage conservation, as a gathering place for tourism, commerce and cultural and artistic goods, like most of the historical areas or towns do in China. By now, it was another way of "heritage conservation". The original Shikumen buildings, while retaining their original appearance, had to be structurally altered inside Chengxingli to meet the needs of the residents for a modern lifestyle. I doubt this is the best way to address these issues, but due to the functional nature of the Shikumen, is it necessary to use it as a commercial area in order to maximise its role in the urban development process? How to better preserve the authenticity and integrity of the Shikumen architecture, how to enhance the living standards of the original residents within the Shikumen lanes, and how to ensure that the Shikumen remains viable after renovation are all issues that need to be addressed and faced in the future Shikumen conservation process.

## ***List of Chinese Characters (By order of appearance)***

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 申报        | Shen Bao                               |
| 上海市工务局    | Shanghai Public Works Bureau           |
| 华亭县       | Hua Ting Xian, Hua Ting County         |
| 高昌乡       | Gao Chang Xiang                        |
| 上海务       | Shanghai Wu                            |
| 小东门       | Xiaodongmen Gate                       |
| 十六铺       | Shi Liu Pu                             |
| 市舶提举分司    | Shi Bo Si                              |
| 榷货场       | Que Huo Chang                          |
| 上海镇       | Shanghai Zhen                          |
| 上海县       | Shanghai Xian                          |
| 小刀会起义     | Xiaodaohui Rebellion                   |
| 太平天国运动    | Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Rebellion     |
| 义和团       | Boxer Rebellion                        |
| 洋务运动      | Self-Strengthening Movement            |
| 冈身        | Gong Shen                              |
| 苏州河       | Suzhou River, Soochow Creek            |
| 吴淞江       | Wusong River                           |
| 苏州, 蘇州    | Suzhou                                 |
| 杭州        | Hangzhou                               |
| 上海城       | Shanghai Cheng, Shanghai City          |
| 上海市       | Shanghai Shi, Shanghai Municipality    |
| 苏松太道      | Su Song Tai Dao                        |
| 上海道       | Shanghai Dao                           |
| 上海道台      | Shanghai Daotai                        |
| 周礼·考工记    | Zhou Li - Kao Gong Ji                  |
| 沪渎        | Hu Du River                            |
| 上海浦       | Shanghai Pu                            |
| 江海关, 江海大關 | Jiang Hai Guan, Shanghai Customs House |
| 宝带门 (小东门) | Baodaimen Gate (Xiaodongmen)           |
| 肇嘉浜       | Zhaojiabang                            |
| 方浜        | Fangbang                               |
| 先农坛       | Altar of Agriculture                   |
| 教场        | Jiao Chang, Drill Ground               |
| 文庙        | Shanghai County Academy                |
| 根星门       | Ling Xing Gate                         |
| 泮池        | Pan Pond                               |
| 大成门       | Dacheng Gate                           |
| 大成殿       | Dacheng Hall                           |



|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 崇圣祠         | Chong Sheng Temple                                      |
| 学门          | Xue Gate  |
| 仪门          | Yi Gate   |
| 明伦堂         | Ming Lun Hall   |
| 尊经阁         | Zun Jing Ge Pavillion                                   |
| 豫园          | Yuyuan Garden   |
| 露香园         | Lu Xiang Garden   |
| 内园          | inner courtyard   |
| 城隍庙         | Cheng Huang Temple                                      |
| 晴雪堂         | Qing Xue Tang   |
| 点春堂         | Dian Chun Tang  |
| 三穗堂         | San Sui Tang  |
| 万花楼         | Wan Hua Lou   |
| 吴淞口         | Wusongkou Whar  |
| 吴淞镇         | Wusong Town   |
| 蕴藻浜         | Wenzaobang  |
| 吴淞开埠工程总局    | Engineering for the Opening of Wusong Port              |
| 清查滩地局       | Bureau of Beach Land Survey                             |
| 吴淞开埠租界买地亩章程 | Wusong Port Concession Land Regulations                 |
| 闸北工程总局      | Zhabei General Engineering Bureau                       |
| 上海南市马路工程局   | Shanghai Chinese Town Road Engineering Bureau           |
| 上海城厢内外总工程师局 | Shanghai General Works Board                            |
| 城镇乡地方自治章程   | Statute of Local Self-Government for Towns and Villages |
| 上海城自治公所     | Shanghai City Self-Government Office                    |
| 张园(味莼园)     | Zhang Garden (Wei Chun Yuan)                            |
| 安垲第         | Arcadia Hall  |
| 静安寺         | Jing'an Temple  |
| 实业计划        | The International Development of China                  |
| 吴淞商埠局       | Wusong Commercial Port Bureau                           |
| 吴淞开埠计划概略    | Outline of the Plan for the Opening of Wusong Port      |
| 大上海计划       | Greater Shanghai Plan                                   |
| 董大酉         | Dong Dayou  |

### ***Glossary of frequently used Chinese terms***

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 里 | Li, an ancient Chinese unit of length, 1 Li=500 meter      |
| 丈 | Zhang, an ancient Chinese unit of length, 3 Zhang=10 meter |
| 坊 | Fang, small commercial subdivision in ancient China        |

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## Website

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|---------------------------------|---|
| Shanghai Archive Network        | <a href="https://www.archives.sh.cn/">https://www.archives.sh.cn/</a>           |
| Historical Photographs of China | <a href="https://www.hpcbristol.net">https://www.hpcbristol.net</a>             |
| Library of Congress             | <a href="https://www.loc.gov">https://www.loc.gov</a>                           |
| Office Of Shanghai Chronicles   | <a href="http://www.shtong.gov.cn">http://www.shtong.gov.cn</a>                 |
| Visual Cultures in East Asia    | <a href="http://www.vcea.net/index_en.php">http://www.vcea.net/index_en.php</a> |
| Worldstatesmen                  | <a href="https://www.worldstatesmen.org">https://www.worldstatesmen.org</a>     |

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