

ABSTRACT

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1911-1941

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This thesis focuses on the roads and public services created by the SMC because they are a topic which clearly illustrates the ambiguity of colonial modernism in Shanghai. This colonial modernism, which in Shanghai was largely instigated by the SMC, is a process which not only made the Chinese victims of colonial modernity, but also taught the Chinese the value of this Western modernity. This thesis will attempt to re-examine the urban expansion of Shanghai by focusing less on the diplomatic aspect of this topic and instead on examining the use of each parcel of land as a part of the urban infrastructure and how this affected the modernization and nationalism in China. It will do so by exploring the building of roads and other public services by the SMC, during the majority of the Chinese Republican Period. It will focusing less on cultural aspects and instead will focus on use of land, construction of roads, and the development of urban infrastructure, which gave rise to colonial modernism and Chinese nationalism.

PUBLIC WORKS, MODERNITY, AND CHINESE NATIONALISM IN
SHANGHAI, 1911-1941

By

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INTRODUCTION

The beginning of the twentieth century was a time of political turmoil for China. With many political changes taking place, it is not surprising that the relationships between the different political players in China also changed. This evolution of different players was particularly true in Shanghai. The interaction among different administrative bodies in Shanghai, including the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) and its Chinese, French, and Japanese counterparts, underwent many shifts during this period. One area these changes can be seen quite evidently is by looking at the urban expansion of the International Settlement in Shanghai. The expansion of the International Settlement by the SMC, especially the construction of extra-Settlement roads, was inherently an encroachment of Chinese sovereignty. However, the expansion efforts of the SMC were not merely an attempt to thwart Chinese authority but a legitimate desire for urban expansion. In addition, the public service projects undertaken by the SMC as a part of this urban expansion was a source of nationalism for the Chinese as they took these modern methods to compete with the SMC on an economic front.

This thesis focuses on the roads and public services created by the SMC because they are a topic which clearly illustrates the ambiguity of colonial modernism in Shanghai. This colonial modernism, which in Shanghai was largely instigated by the SMC, is a process which not only made the Chinese victims of colonial modernity, but also taught the Chinese the value of this Western modernity. This thesis explores these thoughts in terms of the actual use of land in Shanghai to build roads and the administration of these roads, but also includes the use of land for other public services. Roads were a particularly important aspect of urban expansion in Shanghai because they required the use of land and thereby encroached on Chinese sovereignty and yet at the

same time they represented modernization because of the foreigners' road making techniques. The foreigners, unlike the Chinese, paved roads using the macadam, or metaling, a method which was invented by John McAdam in the 18th century."¹ This had an important affect on the economy of the International Settlement because it allowed for easier transportation of trucks and automobiles that opened up new levels of social and commercial exchange.² The Chinese roads were traditionally not built for trade but mainly for political control and communication. Therefore transportation of goods depended upon carts, wheelbarrows, pack animals, or the back of porters, all of which were very slow and expensive.³ In addition, many of the public services provided by the SMC such as water, electricity, and public transportation were situated along the roads that the SMC built. In his discussion on the emergence of railways in China, James Gao notes that technology is not a "neutral force" but one that is catered to certain social classes.⁴ He notes however that no one social class can monopolize technological development because it has a "free-wheeling momentum of its own."⁵ This is particularly relevant to this thesis because the SMC used modern technology to create roads and provide public services for its ratepayers; foreigners living within the International Settlement. However, these urban development projects benefited everyone within the International Settlement, including the numerous Chinese who lived or worked within the International Settlement. In addition, the Chinese then took these methods to compete with the urban development of the SMC.

¹ "Macadam." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. It involved "compacted sub-grade of crushed granite or greenstone designed to support the load, covered by a surface of light stone to absorb wear and tear and shed water to the drainage ditches.

² Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 352.

³ James Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance: Social Change in China and Zimbabwe in the Railway Age*, (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997), 82.

⁴ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 5.

⁵ Ibid.

The majority of the research for this thesis was through archival research of the SMC's daily minutes. This provided a detailed insight into the decisions regarding expansion of roads and public services. Because this thesis focuses on colonial modernism in Shanghai, it is appropriate to use research on the SMC which was the major force behind this modernization. It is important to note here that the SMC was generally a British administration. Although it did have other foreign members, the majority of the nine councilmen were "Shanghailanders". This term used to describe the majority of foreigners living within the International Settlement is defined by Robert Bicker as "this Shanghaileander identity, while mostly British and imperial, set the foreigners in Shanghai apart from those in their native country, regardless of background, education, and social class, as well as those who came to Shanghai without making it their home."⁶ However, this means that the research focusing on the SMC leaves out a discussion of other nationalities within the International Settlement such as the Americans and Japanese. This thesis uses secondary source materials to address this concern. In addition, although the thesis discusses the rise of nationalism by the Chinese in competition with the SMC, because of a language obstacle, I did not use original materials of Chinese sources. This is obviously a limitation to my discussion. I hope that drawing on secondary literature will remedy this defect.

The rationale behind the end date of this thesis, 1941, also derives from the SMC minutes. Although the SMC was not officially dissolved by the Japanese until 1943, it is clear from the SMC minutes that this "Shanghaileander" SMC which had administered the

⁶ Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843-1937," *Past and Present*. (159, 1998): 163.

International Settlement from its inception in 1854 was no longer functioning.⁷ By 1941 there were only two Western members on the SMC and the rest were Japanese or Chinese with Japanese sympathies.⁸ In addition, for the first time during the thirty year period of this research, the SMC minutes get renumbered during the middle of year on May 1, 1941.⁹ This essay will attempt to re-examine the history of Shanghai through the context of the SMC and its plans for urban expansion and how this affected the other actors involved, most especially the Chinese. In order to explore this topic it is important to understand the formation and presence of the International Settlement in Shanghai, the political situation in China, as well as the conclusions already set out by previous literature on this topic.

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

The International Settlement in Shanghai had developed directly as a result of the First Opium War between the British and the Chinese. In 1842, the British troops took over the coastal towns and moved inland along the Yangtze¹⁰ River, going through Shanghai on June 19 and reaching Nanking in the beginning of August.¹¹ In Nanking, the British and the Chinese signed the Treaty of Nanking on August 28, 1842, which ended the First Opium War and opened up five treaty ports to trade: Ningpo, Foochow, Amoy,

⁷ Bickers, "Shanghaianders", 165-166.

⁸ Bickers, "Shanghaianders", 210.

⁹ *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council*. Shanghai Municipal Archives. Shanghai Classics Publishing House. Collection of the University of Maryland, College Park. Dated May 1, 1941. Volume 28, Minute Book Record 41, page 1. Hereafter *The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council* will be abbreviated to *MSMC* for footnote purposes.

¹⁰ I have chosen to use the transliteration found within the Shanghai Municipal Council Minutes throughout the paper which was usually in the Wade-Giles Romanization in order keep consistent with the primary source material.

¹¹ Frances Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese: Treaty Port Life in China 1843-1943* (Albemarle Street, London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd., 1998), 310.

Canton, and, of course, Shanghai.¹² The Treaty of Nanking defined an especially important aspect for the treaty ports: extraterritoriality.¹³ This allowed the foreigners to set up their own administration, including courts and police forces in the treaty ports. The area that the British received was located between the walled Chinese city and the Soochow Creek to the north.¹⁴ The Americans acquired the land in Hongkew, which was north of the Soochow Creek, with the signing of the Treaty of Wang Hsia on July 3, 1844, and the French received an area southwest of the British area with the signing of the Treaty of Whampoa on October 24 of the same year.¹⁵ In 1863 the British and Americans decided to merge and work under the administration of the SMC which was originally entirely British.¹⁶ The Land Regulations were drawn up in 1843 and subsequently revised in 1854, 1869, and 1898, and provided the basis for the formation of the SMC.¹⁷ Part of the reason the SMC gained power was that Regulation XIV of the Land Regulations stipulated that foreigners other than the British should apply to the British Consul before renting land within the limits of the treaty ports.¹⁸ While this did cause some friction between the foreign Consuls, the merchants preferred the British area of the treaty port both because of its central location as well as the fact that the British, unlike the French administration, treated all businessmen equally.¹⁹ The SMC was given the power of taxation and control over finance and security, as well as other routine

¹² Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 310; Betty Peh-T'I Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 28.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 20; Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 2. The Treaty of Nanking also established the right of residence for British merchants, their families, and what personnel they required.

¹⁴ Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 20. It is interesting to note that most of the land given to the foreigners was vacant grounds, usually with mulberry trees, cotton fields, and ancestral graves which the Chinese traditionally would not move or build over.

¹⁵ Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 21; Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 31.

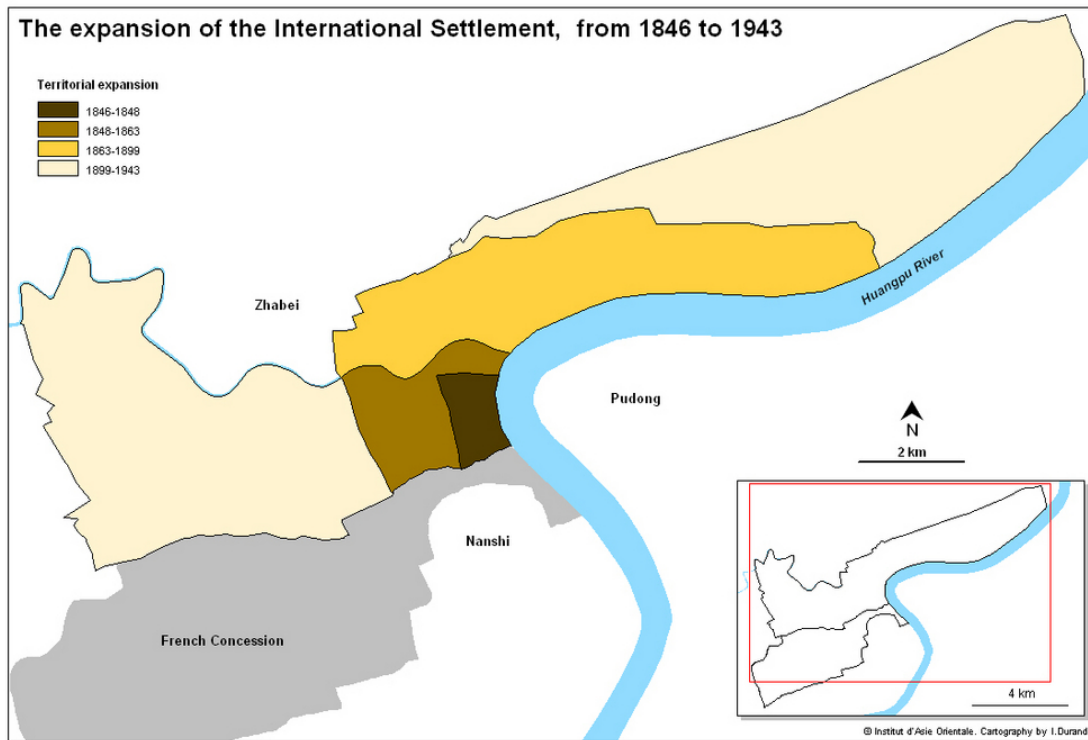
¹⁶ Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 312.

¹⁷ Bickers, "Shanghaiers", 165-66.

¹⁸ William Crane Johnstone Jr, *The Shanghai Problem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937), 13-14.

¹⁹ Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 45.

administrational responsibilities, while consulting with the Chinese authorities and international Consuls on certain constitutional issues.²⁰ This generally meant that the SMC and foreign Consuls did not work together with the exception of cases brought to the Consuls by individuals within the International Settlement or constitutional cases involving negotiations with the Chinese.



Map 1. The Expansion of the International Settlement, from 1846 to 1943

The SMC operated as an administration that was responsible to its electorate, namely those who were heavily invested in the economic working of the International Settlement, and did not have any direct diplomatic authority.²¹ The SMC started out as an annual meeting of land-renters to determine the rate at which services should be paid and

²⁰ Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 73.

²¹ Bickers, "Shanghaianders" 169. The French Council however did have diplomatic authority because their council was run by the Consul.

create sub-committees to levy these rates and disburse the funds.²² The SMC was formally created in 1854 when the new set of Land Regulations was drafted.²³ The new Land Regulations made a provision for a council with neither less than five nor more than nine to administer the treaty port area; until 1928, all nine members were foreigners and mostly British.²⁴ This was because the membership on the SMC was based on representation of the dominant business groups in the International Settlement, and the majority of them, especially during the earlier years, were British.²⁵ The SMC was given the power of taxation and control over finance and security, as well as other routine administrative responsibilities, while consulting with the Chinese authorities and international Consuls on certain constitutional issues.²⁶ The SMC divided its administration into different departments including Public Works, Health, Fire, Police, Education, Finance, and the Secretariat, and each department was headed by a single executive directly responsible to the SMC.²⁷

The International Settlement started out as a small parcel of land along the Huangpu River. In 1863 it combined with the American portion to the north called Hongkew. The International Settlement expanded east, west, and north from its inception. It did not expand to the south because this was where the French Concession was located. The original Chinese city was south of the French Concession, but the new Chapei district was to the north of the International Settlement. Since the land given to the foreigners was very marshy and unsanitary by foreign standards, one of the immediate

²² Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 21.

²³ Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 62.

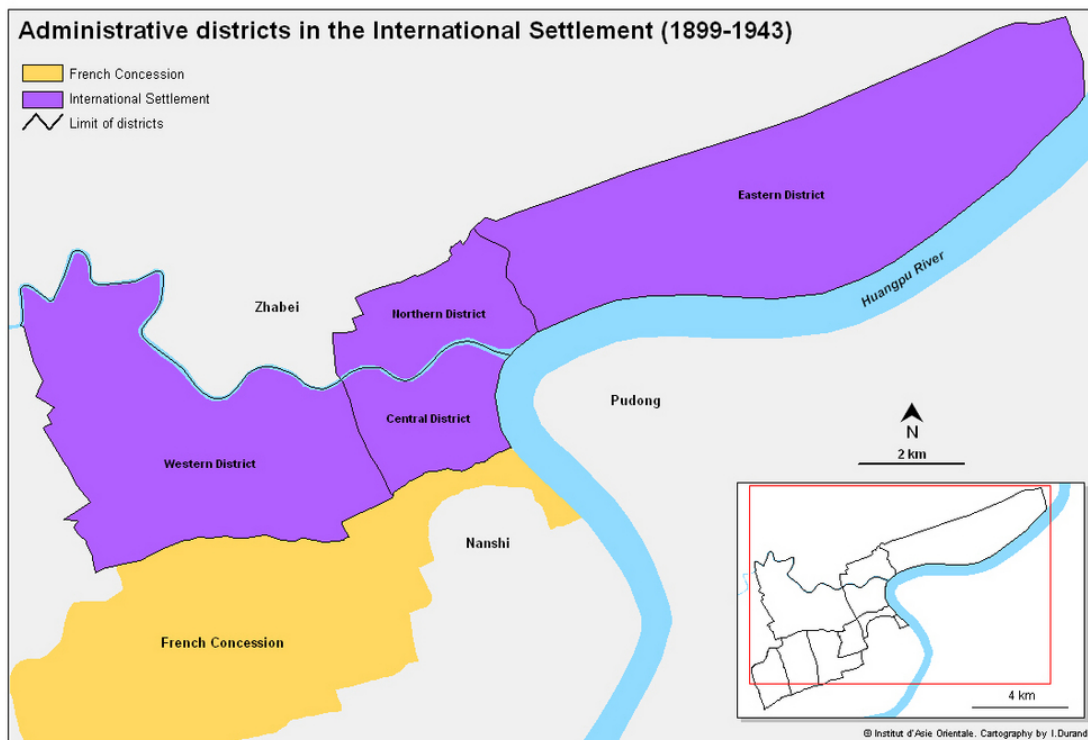
²⁴ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 61.

²⁵ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 62.

²⁶ Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 73.

²⁷ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 70.

needs of the SMC was to provide adequate drainage, roads, and wharfage facilities; this goal remained a top priority throughout the SMC's tenure.²⁸ Many of the urban development projects of the SMC stemmed from these issues and the expansion of the International Settlement, in the view of the SMC, was just a continuation of this urban development.



Map 2. Administrative Districts in the International Settlement (1899-1943)

POLITICAL CLIMATE OF THE CHINESE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The formation of the International Settlement and the SMC identifies the major foreign player in this discussion, but a similar central Chinese player cannot be pinpointed because the fluidity of the political climate during the Chinese Republican Period. In 1911 the Chinese declared an end to the Chinese imperial regime and declared

²⁸ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 78.

a republic would take its place. This change was noted by the foreigners only in that they wished to maintain their investments in China, including the treaty ports, and see if the new government could actually wield authority.²⁹ Yuan Shikai was elected as the first president of the Republican government with the goal that a parliament in Peking would be composed of provincial delegates, and this would revitalize the structures of the local governments to draw new revenues to sustain the new government while curbing the power of the foreigners. Unfortunately, these goals did not come to fruition and by 1915 Yuan Shikai had declared himself as emperor and dissolved the Republican government. His regime was overthrown after his death the following year, and the country fell into what is known as the warlord era, when different local authorities, usually military generals, controlled small sections of the country. Throughout this time period, the national government had only limited influence on the day-to-day administration of Shanghai and the SMC. The local Chinese authorities dealt with the SMC during this time period. These local authorities changed with the succession of warlords who controlled the province of Kiangsu; from 1924 until 1927, Sun Chuan-fang, a general under warlord Chi Luan-yuan of Chekiang, was in charge of Shanghai. This would be an important factor for those in Shanghai because the Chekiang-Kiangsu warlord conflict in the mid-1920s would threaten the safety of Shanghai. In 1927 Chiang Kai-Shek had consolidated power and brought the Kuomintang (KMT) military into Shanghai during the Northern Expedition and set up a new Chinese administration in Shanghai. From then on the relationship between the SMC, local Chinese authorities, and national Chinese authorities underwent a shift because the local Chinese and national Chinese became a

²⁹ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 277-78.

unified force against the SMC for the first time since the beginning of the Chinese Republican Period.

On September 18, 1931, the Mukden Incident, during which an explosive detonated on a railway line near Manchuria, heightened tensions between the Japanese and Chinese. The situation between Chinese and Japanese was already tense since the end of the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 when the Treaty of Shimonoseki granted the Japanese the same rights as the western powers within China.³⁰ The Treaty of Shimonoseki forces China to recognize Korea as an independent nation, cede the Liaotung Peninsula to the Japanese, pay an indemnity, as well as open up cities such as Soochow and Hangchow to Japanese concessions. Although the treaty enabled the Japanese to establish concessions, they never sought to do so formally in Shanghai as they did in other Chinese cities, but they did take over the Hongkew area in Shanghai as their own.³¹ In addition, in 1914 during the First World War, the Japanese declared war on Germany and occupied the Shantung Peninsula, which the Germans had previously controlled.³² The situation resulting from the subsequent Mukden Incident was particularly rough in Shanghai because there was already a large population of Japanese in the city, and hostilities broke out as a result. The Japanese then took over Manchuria and set up Puyi, the last descendant of the old Manchu emperor, as emperor of the state of Manchukuo.³³ The situation continued to exacerbate, and on July 7, 1937, the Second

³⁰ Harumi Goto-Shibata, *Japan and Britain in Shanghai, 1925-1931* (London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1995), 4; Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 31. The first Sino-Japanese War was fought over control of Korea.

³¹ Joshua Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan": The Japanese Residents' Association of Shanghai," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (59.4, November 2000): 929.

³² Goto-Shibata, *Japan and Britain in Shanghai, 1925-1931*, 8.

³³ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 369.

Sino-Japanese War began with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.³⁴ On the night of July 7th, the Chinese shot blank cartridges into the air as part of a training exercise near the Marco Polo Bridge, which also happened to garrison a Japanese battalion. When the Japanese found a soldier missing at a roll call afterwards, they attacked the Chinese, thinking that the soldier had been taken prisoner.³⁵ The Second Sino-Japanese War continued until the end of World War II in 1945 when the Japanese surrendered to the allied forces.

Just as the political climate in China was very turbulent at this time, the political climate in Shanghai was also turbulent. During the early years of the Chinese Republican Period, the local Chinese government was disorganized and people chose instead to follow the native place associations. The native place associations began to deteriorate, and following the May Fourth Movement the Chinese Communist Party started to gain momentum in the city. Throughout this time, the local gangsters became major players in the running of Shanghai, especially the Green Gang. In 1927 Chiang Kai-Shek established a new KMT administration in Shanghai that was both autocratic and organized. While this new administration incorporated the Green Gang into its administration, it worked fervently to rid the city of any communist elements. The city was heavily affected by the Second Sino-Japanese War, and the events leading up to it. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931 the Japanese military occupied parts of Shanghai and continued to do so until late 1937 when the war broke out and Japan took over the city. The city remained under Japanese control until 1945 when the Japanese surrendered.

SOME MAJOR WORKS ON TOPIC

³⁴ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 420-21.

³⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 420-21.

The subject of treaty ports has been a much examined topic because it is a unique period of Chinese history. Early literature on this topic focused on purely the political and diplomatic aspects of the treaty port. One of the first ways of approaching Chinese history was known as the “Harvard School of thought,” derived from John K. Fairbanks, in which he claimed that Confucian China needed the Western powers’ involvement in order to modernize.³⁶ William Lockwood criticizes this thought in his essay “The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34.” He notes that it is important to question the relationship between the International Settlement and the new Chinese municipality in fostering political westernization in Shanghai.³⁷ He states that there is a tendency to “over-emphasize” the international political aspect of Shanghai instead of focusing on the internal changes of China and the Chinese participation in the foreign way of life.³⁸ Lockwood also questions whether the westernization and industrialization in the Chinese community in Shanghai, and other treaty port areas, could be applied to the question of China as a whole because the fact that the changes increased the differences between social classes, as well as geographic regions, within the Chinese community.³⁹

Afterwards, while still focused on the modernization of China, literature began to focus on how it affected the Chinese people and not just the state. William Kirby notes that, while a uniquely Chinese-centered historical narrative seems to be the approach of postmodern Chinese studies, this era of the Chinese Republican Period was defined and shaped by the nature of its foreign relations and that everything important that happened

³⁶ Bryna Goodman, “Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme, or, How to Read a Celebration of Transnational Urban Community.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* (59.4, 2000): 915.

³⁷ William W. Lockwood Jr, “The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34.” *The American Political Science Review* (28.6, 1934): 1036. The new Chinese municipality was the City Government of Shanghai created in 1928 after Chang Kai-Shek went through Shanghai.

³⁸ Lockwood, “The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34”, 1045.

³⁹ Ibid.

at the time had an international dimension.⁴⁰ He also points out that, unlike the traditional dialogue discussing rational actors as the states, this time period provides a unique blend of the “private with the public, the official with the non-official” that must be taken into account.⁴¹ This shows the evolution of Chinese studies: from Fairbanks early idea of the importance of Western powers in China, criticism of this idea leading to the exclusion of foreign aspects in the discussion of China, to reincorporation of the international aspect in the discussion of China while focusing on the Chinese culture and people and not just politics.

An important piece of literature to the discussion of this thesis is Bryna Goodman’s approach to this subject through the lenses of “semi colonialism” in her essay, “Improvisations on a Semi colonial Theme, or, How to Read a Celebration of Transnational Urban Community.”⁴² She notes that it is still important to consider the political and diplomatic aspect of treaty ports, but to do so in light of the question of “what difference it made that throughout the modern period China never in fact became a subject nation, but retained sovereignty over nearly all of its territory and was recognized as a sovereign nation by international law” and how that affected the Chinese people.⁴³ Goodman notes that “several decades of research on imperialism on Shanghai have produced much debate, but no clear research mapping of where, when, how, and to what effect extraneous forces impinged on [everyday] Chinese life.”⁴⁴ She states that the elements of colonialism are easily identified in Shanghai and other treaty ports through

⁴⁰ William Kirby, “The Internationalization of China: Foreign Relations at Home and Abroad in the Republican Era,” in *Reappraising Republican China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman and Richard Louis Edmonds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179.

⁴¹ Kirby, “The Internationalization of China”, 180.

⁴² Goodman, “Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme”, 889. She defines semi colonialism as “an incomplete colonialism.”

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

the terms laid out in the Treaty of Nanking and other similar treaties, but the difference between the treaty port system and other traditionally viewed areas of colonialism was that the unified structure of authority, namely the Western powers, was not in charge in Shanghai; rather, a number of competing municipal regimes were in charge.⁴⁵ Her approach was to study changes in Chinese identity and social order that came about with the forced opening of foreign trade within a semi colonial framework through the Jubilee celebration held in Shanghai.⁴⁶ This idea of “semi colonialism” is important in the discussion of urban development in Shanghai because a majority of that urban development was initiated by the SMC within the International Settlement but the Chinese then also began urban development, especially in the Chapei district.

Originally, the study of urban history in Shanghai was inspired by Weber’s approach to focusing on guilds and native-place associations within the city.⁴⁷ The more recent approach is to view urban history from a purely economic viewpoint and not a sociological viewpoint.⁴⁸ In Wen-hsin Yeh’s “Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in a Republican City,” she states that the culture and economy of Shanghai were unique to Shanghai society, and in order to understand that, the transformation of the “material foundation” of urban life had to be examined.⁴⁹ Yeh’s essay attempts to draw attention to the fundamental divergence of these two different approaches to the urban history of Shanghai. Yeh discusses democracy and modernism through the prism of advertising. She argues that the emergence of advertising led to a popular culture of

⁴⁵ Goodman, “Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme”, 892.

⁴⁶ Goodman, “Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme”, 891,

⁴⁷ Wen-hsin Yeh, “Shanghai Modernity: Commerce and Culture in a Republican City,” in *Reappraising Republican China*, ed. Frederic Wakeman and Richard Louis Edmonds (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 121.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 127.

⁴⁹ Yeh, “Shanghai Modernity”, 123.

consumption, which in turn led to a “new articulation of gendered differences between men and women, a modern conception of the spatial demarcation between the public and the private, between work and home.”⁵⁰ By influencing these matters, Yeh claims that Shanghai modernity entailed major changes in the way public power intersected with private lives throughout China.⁵¹ The roads and public services also changed the way public power intersected with private lives, but unlike Yeh’s discussion about the consumption aspect of the economy, this thesis focuses on urban development as an advancement of the economy as a whole.

In *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* Leo Ou-Fan Lee discusses Shanghai modernism through literature. He focuses on three groups of writers from Shanghai--Shi Zhecun, Liu Na’ou and Mu Shiying, Shao Xunmei and Ye Lingfeng, and Eileen Chang--and how their works both reflected the modernism of Shanghai as well as advanced it.⁵² Although Shi Zhecun started out writing in the classical Chinese, Lee’s focus is on his creative fiction, which used “the erotic, the fantastic, and the uncanny” to capture the uneasiness of living in a “metropolitan island of capitalist splendor in a sea of rural cultural feudalism.”⁵³ Both Liu Na’ou and Mu Shiying wrote using an urban trope of a modern femme fatale.⁵⁴ The exoticism with which both men describe their modern women, especially their faces, body, and their place in the city, serves as a double mirror; it “starts out as an image of the West viewing

⁵⁰ Yeh, “Shanghai Modernity”, 139-40.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: A Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 180.

⁵³ Ibid, 182-83.

⁵⁴ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 193.

China, but then becomes the Chinese view of the West.”⁵⁵ Lee states that the exoticism found in their writings is a phenomenon of urban culture that is closely related to the paradox of the rise in nationalism under the influence of imperialism that Chinese modernity stemmed from.⁵⁶ Lee’s focus on Shao Xunmei and Ye Lingfeng lies in their failure to capture the “decadent and dandy” to its fullest extent in their works.⁵⁷ Lee claims that both authors were “too happily basking in the urban light and glory of their city to contemplate the artistic significance of ugliness, viciousness, rottenness, and darkness” and so failed to achieve literature with “artistic novelty, grotesque imagery, eccentric behavior, and defiance of authority and convention” which would have truly captured the spirit of modernity in Shanghai.⁵⁸ Lee’s final author is Eileen Chang. He ends his discussion of literature with Eileen Chang because she was able to “draw a kind of allegorical closure by bringing to an end the entire era of urban culture that had nurtured her creativity.”⁵⁹ Chang’s works include vivid details about the wealth of objects, both old and new, that traces the aspects of Shanghai’s material culture through modernity.⁶⁰ Unlike Lee’s idea that these pieces of literature allowed the Chinese to imagine them as modern, this thesis explores the actual material foundation--roads, streetlights, trams--used by the Chinese in Shanghai which showed their modernization.

Inventing Nanking Road, edited by Sherman Cochran, is a compilation of essays discussing commercial culture in Shanghai from 1900-1945. Cochran defines commercial culture in this way: “Unlike high culture, commercial culture is thoroughly secular; it

⁵⁵ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 203.

⁵⁶ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 203.

⁵⁷ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 265.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 266.

⁵⁹ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 269.

⁶⁰ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 275.

lacks strong moral and religious overtones. Unlike popular culture, commercial culture is distinctly urban; it originates in cities, not the countryside. And unlike mass culture, commercial culture has locally oriented means of expression, not fully standardized mass media.”⁶¹ All of the authors of these essays agreed to the modernization paradigm to re-examine Western influence and Chinese invention of new commercial culture. This is apparent in the construction of the Nanking Road which became both Shanghai’s and China’s single most central commercial place.⁶² Each author’s essay focuses on a commercial enterprise that could be found on the Nanking Road at this time. Wellington K.K. Chan’s essay focuses on the first appearance of department stores through Cantonese businessmen, while Cochran’s essay focuses on the promotion of advertising by the British-American Tobacco Company.⁶³ These two essays discuss whether Westerners or Chinese imported the new commercial culture. The next few essays examine how local Chinese entrepreneurs adapted the Western commercial culture for their own use. Carrie Waara’s essay emphasizes how Chinese art publishers and contributors to magazines were inventors and not just imitators of foreign models.⁶⁴ Carlton Bensons’ essay shows how silk merchants adapted the old forms of storytelling and short songs to the radio.⁶⁵ Hanchao Lu discusses the stone-framed wooden door house and how it originated from the Westerners, but was changed by the local Shanghainese.⁶⁶ Poshek Fu discusses film, and Susan Glosser discusses the milk industry and both authors have devoted less attention to whether Shanghai’s commercial culture

⁶¹ Sherman Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945: Imported or Invented? Cut Short or Sustained?” in *Inventing Nanking Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945*, ed. Sherman Cochran (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Series, 1999), 3.

⁶² Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 4.

⁶³ Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 8-9.

⁶⁴ Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 10.

⁶⁵ Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 11.

⁶⁶ Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 12.

was imported or invented and more attention to the duration of its survival in the course of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945.⁶⁷ These discussions on commercial culture are pertinent to this essay because both the development of commercial culture and the urban expansion were closely correlated and shared similar concerns for modernity. In addition, the idea that these methods originated from the foreigners but was then adapted by the Chinese found throughout this book is found in this thesis when discussing the rise of Chinese public utility companies.

It is important to note that Shanghai is just one aspect of urban modernity in China. Joseph Esherick discusses the impact that different cities such as Canton, Tianjin, Hangchow, and others were influenced by Shanghai and yet at the same time were different from it. Discussion of multiples cities and their methods provides a more rich and complex understanding of Chinese urban culture. Esherick notes in the introduction of this compilation of essays that “the struggle for and between nation and modernity has taken place in cities,” and that this tension is particularly acute in China where modernity has been defined and imposed by the Western nations.⁶⁸ Esherick notes that in the treaty ports, the foreign concessions and urban reforms, which in Shanghai would be the works of the SMC, provided both a model and challenge for the Chinese’s modernizing efforts.⁶⁹ He states that during the republican period, all cities were linked with Shanghai in their attempts to modernize, either to emulate the standards found in Shanghai or to differentiate from those standards.⁷⁰ In his chapter on Shanghai, Jeffrey Wasserstrom

⁶⁷ Cochran, “Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900-1945”, 13.

⁶⁸ Joseph Esherick, “Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City,” in *Remaking the Chinese City; Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Joseph Esherick (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 1.

⁶⁹ Esherick, “Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City”, 4.

⁷⁰ Jeffrey Wasserstrom, “Locating Old Shanghai: Having Fits about Where it Fits,” in *Remaking the Chinese City; Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*, ed. Joseph Esherick (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 192.

notes that while Shanghai has been compared and contrasted to other Chinese cities, this is so difficult to do because there were “many different Shanghais.”⁷¹ Wasserstrom adds that although there were many different ways to view Shanghai, it was truly a part of China and a major influence in the modernization of China as a whole.⁷² It is my belief that the case study of Shanghai's development of public works will answer the broad question of the national search for modern China.

While much of the recent literature on Chinese modernity has moved to cultural areas such as film, architecture, and fashion, this essay will attempt to re-examine the urban expansion of Shanghai by focusing less on the diplomatic aspect of this topic and instead on examining the use of each parcel of land as a part of the urban infrastructure and how this affected the modernization and nationalism in China. It will do so by exploring the urban expansion of Shanghai, especially the building of roads and other public services, during the majority of the Chinese Republican Period. The essay is divided into four chapters based on major changes in the expansion of the International Settlement and the relationship between the SMC and its Chinese and other counterparts. The first chapter discusses the time period from 1911-1915 when the SMC continued to expand as they had previously done during the Ch'ing dynasty. The second chapter focuses on the years 1916-1927 when formal expansion was no longer a viable option and the SMC turned to building extra-Settlement. The third chapter discusses the years between 1928-1936 when the KMT created a new administration in Shanghai and the SMC slowly began to lose control of the roads to the new Chinese administration. The final chapter discusses the disruption of urban expansion during the Japanese war and

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Esherick, “Modernity and Nation in the Chinese City”, 16.

occupation from 1937-1941. This essay will attempt to examine the urban expansion of Shanghai by focusing less on cultural aspects and instead on use of land, construction of roads, and the development of urban infrastructure, which gave rise to colonial modernism and Chinese nationalism.

Chapter 1

Expansion, 1911-1915

The SMC's work in Shanghai changed very little from the work it did during the Ch'ing Dynasty to the beginning of the Republican Era in 1911. During the first five years of the Republican Era, the SMC focused on continuing their public service projects, establishing and maintaining parks and recreational areas for their residents, and expanding and widening roads. In fact, most modern facilities were already a part of the International Settlement by 1911; banks were introduced in 1848, Western-style streets in 1856, gaslights in 1865, electricity in 1882, telephones in 1881, running water in 1884, and trams in 1908.⁷³ While the focus of the SMC continued along similar lines as before, the new Republican Chinese Government was becoming more and more reluctant to grant any territorial extensions. By 1915, almost all formal expansion requests were denied.⁷⁴ Partly because this and partly because foreigners began to detest living side-by-side with the Chinese in the increasing crowded International Settlement, the SMC began to expand outward informally through both building new roads and supplying them with water and electricity. This led to frictions with the French Concession, who feared encroachment and a shift in power to the leaders of the International Settlement, and the local Chinese Authorities, who were trying to gain a firm foothold in the area with the creation of the Chapei District.

FORMAL EXPANSION

Throughout this period, the SMC was negotiating with the Chinese government for formal expansion. The drive for expansion was partly to protect and expand the foreigners' investments in China and partly to address a very real need to relieve the

⁷³ Leo Ou-Fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: A Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 6-7.

⁷⁴ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 201.

increasing overcrowding within the International Settlement.⁷⁵ The presence of railways allowed increased movement of Chinese people, coinciding with a rapid growth in urban immigrant population. In 1910, Shanghai's population was 1.3 million.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the formal negotiations did not proceed well, and in the end, the International Settlement was not granted an extension. One of the issues associated with the formal expansion negotiations was the question of Chinese refugees from the Taiping Rebellion living in the International Settlement.⁷⁷ The Chinese government wanted the refugees to be displaced from the International Settlement as part of the formal negotiations.⁷⁸ However, the SMC believed that the refugees in the International Settlement were not "political malcontents" and was against forcing their removal.⁷⁹ Another point of disagreement during the negotiations was the question of allowing more Chinese members on the SMC's various committees. The Chinese government, as well as Chinese in the International Settlement, expressed a need for more Chinese representation in the governance of the International Settlement, and the latter expressed this in the form of public speeches and letters.⁸⁰ The SMC, however, disagreed and noted that, in order for there to be a Chinese on the SMC, the Land Regulations would have to be amended and stated that any major changes to the Land Regulations would be improbable.⁸¹ This was not entirely true, since the 1869 revision of the Land Regulations allowed for Chinese to be elected to the SMC with the consent of both the ratepayers and the consular bodies in

⁷⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 277-78; Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1037.

⁷⁶ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 155-156.

⁷⁷ Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 2. The Taiping Rebellion was a revolt from 1850 to 1864 against the Confucian ways and the Qing dynasty and many Chinese took refuge in the treaty ports.

⁷⁸ *MSMC*. Dated March 3, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 30.

⁷⁹ *MSMC*. Dated December 22, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 175.

⁸⁰ *MSMC*. Dated September 27, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 117-18.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Shanghai.⁸² However, the SMC did co, by allowing the inclusion of more Chinese on the sub-committees of the SMC.⁸³

The SMC believed that negotiations during this time went so poorly because the new members of the Chinese Diplomatic Corps, a branch of the national government and thus a commentary on the new government, did not like the idea of the reasons or the necessity for the expansion. The SMC believed expansion was necessary in order to work without friction with the local Chinese authorities.⁸⁴ However, not all of the negotiations involved disagreements. The Chinese were willing to grant the SMC the district of Paoshan as formal expansion.⁸⁵ The SMC was also trying to include the Chapei district as a part of the expansion, considering that it had been providing electricity and water to this area.⁸⁶ The Chinese government was willing to grant SMC the right to provide utilities to the Chapei district for a sum of 1.5 million taels, but the SMC was unwilling to pay this much.⁸⁷ Chapei was an important district because of both its location and its industry; it had access to easy transportation provided by Soochow Creek as well as access to the Shanghai-Nanking Railway and the Wusong-Shanghai Railway, and it was the location for a large portion of the new Chinese factories.⁸⁸ The presence of the railways provided a modern means of transportation which helped to develop a market-oriented economy.⁸⁹

⁸² Wei, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, 74.

⁸³ *MSMC*. Dated September 27, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 117-18.

⁸⁴ *MSMC*. Dated August 7, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 109.

⁸⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 26, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 26.

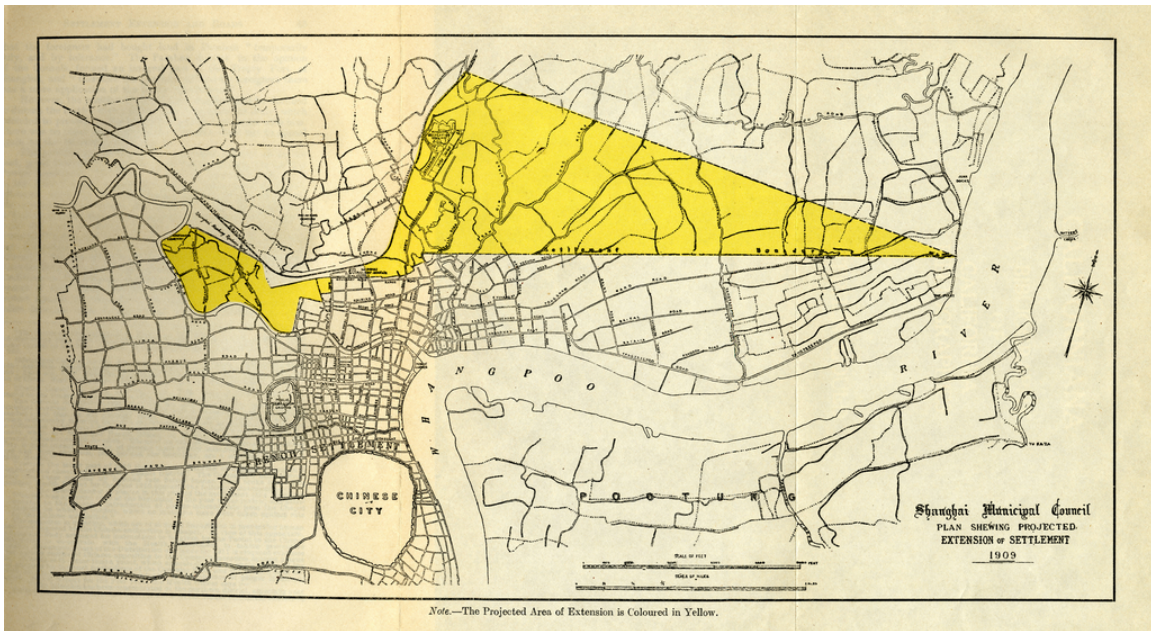
⁸⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 5, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 29.

⁸⁷ *MSMC*. Dated February 19, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 22; Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 23-24. In China everyone of the hundreds of commercial centers not only has its own silver tael-weight (foreign term for an ounce) but also in many cases has several standards side by side...The weight of the Shanghai tael is made up of three elements – the weight, the quantity of silver, and a convention...add to this crystal clear set of figures the use of foreign silver dollars, Spanish Carolus III, Bolivian, Peruvian, Mexican and French, which varied in value against the tael from 110.622 to 113.150.

⁸⁸ Christian Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality, and Modernization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15.

⁸⁹ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 69.

One point on which the Chinese administration was adamant was a promise by the SMC to stop an extensive extension of road construction if the formal expansion was approved.⁹⁰ The SMC was willing to agree to this, provided they could still continue to provide for their citizens outside the International Settlement.⁹¹ Both administrations agreed that the Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hongchow Railways could serve as the new boundaries of the extension.⁹² Unfortunately, the last note in the Shanghai Council Meeting minutes about the formal expansion was on July 7, 1915, when the H.M. Consul General read that there was a good chance that the extension would be approved but not until the wording about Land Regulations was rewritten.⁹³ This meant essentially that it would not be approved because it would be difficult to agree on any changes.



Map 3. Shanghai Municipal Council – Plan Showing Projected Extension of Settlement

⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated November 23, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 135-36.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated July 7, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 95.

It is important to note that the informal expansion attempts, as well as disputes that arose over them, were handled by the SMC in light of the effect they would have on the formal expansion negotiations. When addressing the need for a police box at Jessfield, the SMC was particularly careful to note that it might antagonize the Chinese authorities and prevent the formal expansion of the International Settlement.⁹⁴ Also in the same area, when Chinese hawkers encroached upon the Jessfield Village and the people of the area complained, the SMC decided that, until the formal expansion was ratified, nothing would be done because that was an area that would become part of the International Settlement after the expansion.⁹⁵

When working on the construction of the Sinza Stone Bridge, the approval of the bridge was delayed because the SMC was afraid that it would negatively impact formal expansion negotiations, but the bridge was finally approved when the Senior Consul believed the completion of the draft of these agreements was nearing.⁹⁶ The area around the Sinza Stone Bridge was important to the Chinese because it had a farm market and many small businesses. The same situation was encountered in the widening of the Great Western and Siccawei Roads. The SMC decided to maintain the status quo with these two roads until the agreement for the formal expansion was ratified.⁹⁷ In the conflict between the Shanghai Waterworks Company Ltd. and the French Waterworks Company, the legal advisor to the SMC believed that the SMC should not press the matter too deeply because, when the formal expansion was ratified, the Shanghai Waterworks

⁹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated April 3, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 52.

⁹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated September 29, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 131.

⁹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated November 25, 1914 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 138.

⁹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated April 7, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 53.

Company Ltd. would have plenty of business.⁹⁸ The same sentiment was expressed in the conflict with the Chapei Waterworks Company. The Senior Consul believed that the forcible removal of the Chapei water main would look unfavorable during the negotiations for formal expansion and should be avoided.⁹⁹

ROADWORK

The extension of roads was part of the SMC's agenda which started to gain prominence during this time. Roads were a particularly important aspect of urban expansion in Shanghai because they required the use of land and thereby encroached on Chinese sovereignty; yet, at the same time, they represented modernization based on the foreigners' road-making techniques. The foreigners, unlike the Chinese, paved roads using the macadam, or metaling, method, invented by John McAdam in the 18th century. It involved "compacted sub-grade of crushed granite or greenstone designed to support the load, covered by a surface of light stone to absorb wear and tear and shed water to the drainage ditches."¹⁰⁰ They had an important affect on the economy of the International Settlement because they allowed for easier transportation of trucks and automobiles, which opened up new levels of social and commercial exchange.¹⁰¹ In 1911, 150,000 taels were budgeted for the extension of new roads, and it seemed probable that this amount would be exceeded.¹⁰²

One of the first road extensions that the SMC worked on was for the Bubbling Well Road. In order to extend the road, the SMC once again had to exchange their land to

⁹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated April 18, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 66.

⁹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 19, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 20.

¹⁰⁰ "macadam." *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

¹⁰¹ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 352.

¹⁰² *MSMC*. Dated December 6, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 153.

acquire the parcels of land they needed.¹⁰³ The SMC bought land from three different Chinese owners - Chang Su Ho, Shen Tun Ho, and Li Ping Hsu - in order to complete this project.¹⁰⁴ The tension in this situation lay in the fact that, although the land in which the road was being built was bought by the SMC, the land surrounding it was still owned by Chinese. These Chinese owners wanted to build shops along the road but the SMC did not want shops along these roads because they wanted to build housing for the foreign residents.¹⁰⁵ The owner of the lots adjacent to Chang Su Ho's garden could not be persuaded to modify his plans; therefore, the SMC decided to compromise and had the engineer lay out a plan for converting the shops into houses through a period of twenty years.¹⁰⁶ This negotiation was finally concluded in 1913 when the owners agreed to the SMC's offer, except for a sixty-foot strip of land deemed unnecessary for the road.¹⁰⁷ The SMC also began preparations to widen the following roads: Canton Road, Honan Road, Peking Road, Darroch Road, Barchet Road, Dixwell Road, Ward Road, Tantung Road, Great Western Road, Yuyuen Road, Brenan Road, Pingchiao Road, Fearon Road, Kashing Road, Seymour Road, Nanking Road, Pingchiao Road, and Avenue Road.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ *MSMC*. Dated June 28, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 85. The Chinese owner of this land was Chang Su Ho and the SMC had to exchange lot no. 2194 along with a payment of 800 to acquire his land.

¹⁰⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 22, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 145. The plans for the extension of the Great Western Road, Tifeng Road, and Yuyuen Roads was also to be negotiated with the owners once the Chinese Land Office was re-established.

¹⁰⁵ *MSMC*. Dated August 23, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 110-11.

¹⁰⁶ *MSMC*. Dated August 30, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 116.

¹⁰⁷ *MSMC*. Dated January 22, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 12.

¹⁰⁸ *MSMC*. Dated March 20, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 38. Dated April 26, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 60. Dated February 8, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 18. Dated October 4, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 120. Dated October 25, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 132. Dated July 5, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 88. Dated May 24, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 69. Dated June 28, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 84. Dated December 11, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 154. Dated April 16, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 52-53. Dated August 6, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 106. Dated August 20, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 114. Dated May 20, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record

Most of the work done on these roads and recorded in the minutes do not go past the negotiations of which parcels of land to buy and how much to offer for them.

However, there were a few roads upon which the SMC did put a special emphasis during the meetings. One of these was the Szechuan Road. The widening of this road posed many problems because it was such a largely used thoroughfare in the International Settlement. The first obstacle that occurred was the purchase of Lot 79 on the corner of the Szechuen and Peking Road, which was owned by Mr. Hardoon. Because this critical parcel of land was given to Mr. Hardoon under repair permits, it delayed the widening of the Szechuan Road at that juncture by years.¹⁰⁹ While the SMC tried to convince Mr. Hardoon to sell or lease this lot to the SMC, he was adamantly against it.¹¹⁰ It is important to note here that, technically, Chinese citizens were not legally permitted to hold land in the foreign settlements since this was an area where Chinese sovereignty was suspended, but in reality, a number of wealthy Chinese did own land through proxy of a foreigner.¹¹¹ Also, in order to widen the road to sixty feet, the SMC also had to buy Lot 609, which was lined with rental units, therefore costing the SMC a large sum of money because they had to compensate the owner for the loss of the rent that he would have received.¹¹² In addition to these two lots, the SMC also purchased Lots 841, 871, 886, Lots 17 Pao, 39 Pao, and 726 Pao.¹¹³

Number 25, page 62. Dated December 9, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 146. Dated May 26, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 76.

¹⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated November 4, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 128-29.

¹¹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated February 3, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 18.

¹¹¹ Eileen Scully, "Taking the Low Road to Sino-American Relations: "Open Door" Expansionists and the Two China Markets," *The Journal of American History*, (82.1, 1995): 69. In 1905 an American, Arthur H. White died and several Chinese successfully petitioned for return of the land which had been held in proxy.

¹¹² *MSMC*. Dated September 9, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 104.

¹¹³ *MSMC*. Dated July 14, 1915 and October 17, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 99 and 148. The Lots with Pao at the end signify lots in the Paoshan district. Pao is short for Paoshan District.

Another expansion that the SMC spent a lot of time discussing was the expansion of the Chengtu Road. This issue was noteworthy because the extension would be taking land from the house of the Custom's Commissioner along this road.¹¹⁴ The SMC wished to purchase Lot 1965, which was not originally sold in 1907 because the need to preserve the creek on the west side of the lot.¹¹⁵ The SMC decided to contact the Customs Authorities to see if they would object to the adding a sewer to the creek because this would take some of the land adjacent to the Customs House in light of the fact that it would not affect the Commissioner's new house.¹¹⁶ At this time, customs was run by the foreigners; it would not be until 1928 that the Chinese would regain full tariff autonomy and control of the Customs House.¹¹⁷ The SMC received a reply from the Commissioner of Customs on June 16, 1915, which suggested that a short agreement be drawn up showing they were favorable to this action.¹¹⁸

Tied to the expansion of roads, especially those leading outside the boundaries of the International Settlement, was the expansion of the Electricity Department. In order to provide for lights along the new roads and the influx of people settling along the new roads, the Electricity Department's services extended alongside these roads. For example, when the extension of the North Szechuen Road was proposed, the SMC granted the Electricity Department authority to supply all residents within 300 yards on either side of the North Szechuen Road with electricity.¹¹⁹ In addition, in 1913, a proposal for a new

¹¹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated February 10, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 22.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 348. When the Chinese did regain control of customs, their revenue rose dramatically from around 120 million yuan a year to 244 million yuan in 1929 and 385 million in 1931.

¹¹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 16, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 86.

¹¹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 26, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 23.

sub-station for the Electricity Department was discussed because of the increase in the service area.¹²⁰

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

The SMC's first public service project in the Republican Era began with the approval of the building of the Sinza Stone Bridge by the Chinese authorities and the securing of the right of the Shanghai Waterworks Co. to carry the water main on the new bridge and the connecting areas. On January 11, 1911, the SMC first received notice that the Chapei Administration was going to build a temporary bridge of the Soochow Creek at the end of the Chengtu Road.¹²¹ No further mention of this project was made until August when the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd. entreated the SMC to approve the plans for the Sinza Stone Bridge only if provisions were included for the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd. to adjust the road or carry the water or gas mains along the bridge area.¹²² It took many years for this to work out, and it was not until November of 1914 that the new plans were approved and put into action.¹²³

One other significant bridge construction that began in 1911 was work on the Bund Bridge. The Bund Bridge was important because it would connect other roads to the Bund itself, which was a ten mile long embankment that faced the Huangpu River at the entrance of the harbor and was the seat of colonial power and finance.¹²⁴ This time, it was not a project in conjunction with the Chinese, but the French. The cost of the Bund Bridge was to be divided equally between the SMC, the Shanghai Tramway Company,

¹²⁰ *MSMC*. Dated April 4, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 50.

¹²¹ *MSMC*. Dated January 11, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 5.

¹²² *MSMC*. Dated August 2, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 103.

¹²³ *MSMC*. Dated November 25, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 138.

¹²⁴ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 8, 15.

the French Council, and the French Tramway Company.¹²⁵ However, this project was put off when the French Tramway Company refused to sign the agreement until arrangements were made between the two tramway companies on the rights of running trams through the new bridge.¹²⁶ In May, the SMC and French Council decided to split the cost in order to begin building the bridge, thereby restricting the two tramway companies from using the bridge until they paid a fourth of the cost as originally planned.¹²⁷ In addition to these bridges, the SMC also began a project to improve the Marhkam Road Bridge. A report by the Engineer of the Works Committee noted that the bridge had been sagging but was not dangerous.¹²⁸ The engineer was then commissioned to determine the best way to improve it: the findings were that a steel girder bridge to reinforce it would cost approximately 22,500 taels, while reinforcing it with wood, as it was currently built would be only 6,000 taels.¹²⁹ Unfortunately, a decision was not made until June when the Harbormaster noted that it was in imminent danger of falling and should be removed immediately.¹³⁰

Another major aspect of public service that occurred in these early years was the building of cemeteries. One of the first cemeteries discussed was the Bubbling Well Cemetery. It was decided in 1911 to make inquiries into purchasing a corner lot adjacent to the cemetery for additional burial purposes.¹³¹ However, the plans for the extension of the Bubbling Well Cemetery were halted because the Health Office determined that there would not be a need for more burial space for another fifteen years; cemeteries for

¹²⁵ *MSMC*. Dated April 12, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 54.

¹²⁶ *MSMC*. Dated May 17, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 66.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *MSMC*. Dated February 11, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 21.

¹²⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 18, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 22.

¹³⁰ *MSMC*. Dated June 24, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 82-83.

¹³¹ *MSMC*. Dated December 20, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 158.

specific ethnic groups, however, were still on the agenda.¹³² In March of 1911, the SMC considered land on both the Siccawei Road Nursery and the Paoshan Lot 177 as a potential spot for the Pahsienjao Cemetery, a cemetery for the Mohammedan Community.¹³³ By 1913, a need for a cemetery for Chinese Christians arose and an increase in applications for gravesites in foreign cemeteries led the SMC to propose purchasing a suitable burial ground.¹³⁴ In 1914, a new Jewish cemetery was under construction, with Lot 3316 in the Eastern District as the most suitable location.¹³⁵

Various other projects to benefit public services were also in progress during the early years of the Republican Era, including the expansion of a nursing home, the creation of a women's' prison, the support of an orphanage, the creation of new schools, and the renovation of pontoons. The expansion of the Victoria Nursing Home started in 1912, with the appropriation of 50,000 taels to purchase Lot 987.¹³⁶ Lot 987 was eventually bought for 45,000 taels.¹³⁷ In addition to this, Lot 197 was bought for 45,000 taels.¹³⁸ The most time-consuming purchase for the expansion of the Victoria Nursing Home was the purchase of Lot 986. In October ,1913, 60,000 taels were proposed as the offer for Lot 986, but the SMC considered that too large an amount, especially when taking into account the large amount of land that was to be available on Lot 987 after the

¹³² *MSMC*. Dated January 1, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 11.

¹³³ *MSMC*. Dated March 8, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 30-31. The Mohammedan Community most likely refers to what it today known as the Muslim community.

¹³⁴ *MSMC*. Dated April 16, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 55. While this was a work of public service, it is also important to note that part of the reason for the SMC's approval of this project is that it wanted to make sure that the Chinese were buried on a different burial ground than the foreigners of the International Settlement.

¹³⁵ *MSMC*. Dated October 28, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 124.

¹³⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 6, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 37.

¹³⁷ *MSMC*. Dated March 5, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 31.

¹³⁸ *MSMC*. Dated February 2, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 25.

houses on it were demolished.¹³⁹ This amount was finally approved on June 10, 1914, almost a year later and construction then began.¹⁴⁰ Unlike the expansion of the Victoria Nursing Home, the creation of the women's prison was swift. It was first proposed in October of 1913, and plans were then submitted for the building of both a main building and outhouses.¹⁴¹ Part of the SMC's public service included supporting existing institutions, such as the French Orphanage. The French Orphanage, otherwise known as St. Joseph's Institute, applied for a grant from the SMC in 1914.¹⁴² The French Orphanage had operated for the past forty years on a previous grant, but its administrators now deemed that money insufficient for current costs.¹⁴³ The SMC considered this a favorable venture but waited to commit until the other educational grants were reviewed.¹⁴⁴

The creation of new schools was also an important aspect of the agenda of internal improvements for the SMC. The SMC, for example, looked into purchasing the former cigarette factory on Tongshan Road in order to turn it into a boys' reformatory.¹⁴⁵ Instead, the SMC turned to the Thomas Hanbury School for boys. The SMC purchased additional land on the northwest corner of the school site for 1,293 taels.¹⁴⁶ The SMC also looked into building separate schools for the Chinese. In 1913, Mr. Chi Cheh Nieh

¹³⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 8, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 126.

¹⁴⁰ *MSMC*. Dated June 10, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 74. This agreement was finally made after switching arbiters twice and multiple discussions over the price during the SMC meetings. All recorded instances of these meetings include: 03/06/12, 02/26/13, 03/05/13, 10/08/13, 03/11/14, 04/01/14, 05/13/04, and 06/10/14.

¹⁴¹ *MSMC*. Dated October 29, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 133.

¹⁴² *MSMC*. Dated November 18, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 133.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 25, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 140.

¹⁴⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 19, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 20-21.

¹⁴⁶ *MSMC*. Dated February 25, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 25.

offered a site in the Eastern District, which the SMC accepted.¹⁴⁷ The SMC also approved the building of a play shed at the Ellis Kadoorie Public School for Chinese, as well as additional buildings for the Nieh Chih Kuie Public School for Chinese.¹⁴⁸ In addition to all of these works, the steady renovation of the port areas in Shanghai was a regular item on the agenda. In 1914, the SMC received a proposal to widen the path leading to the Bund Pontoon opposite the Telegraph Building.¹⁴⁹ This proposal was to be approved, provided that the cost was reasonable and the widening would stay within margins of the boundaries set by the Custom Authorities in 1907.¹⁵⁰ The final cost came out to 16,000 taels.¹⁵¹

The SMC seemed to give serious consideration to any proposals for the extension of parks and recreational areas. The first such project of the Republican Era was the extension of the Wayside Park. The SMC acquired land surrounding the Wayside Park in an effort to expand it.¹⁵² What is unusual about this situation is that a Chinese man, Mr. Wong Zung Tai, claimed to be the owner of a strip of unregistered land acquired by the SMC.¹⁵³ Mr. Wong was represented by Messrs. Ellis, Hays, and Godfrey in his petition.¹⁵⁴ Technically, Chinese citizens were not allowed to own land in the

¹⁴⁷ *MSMC*. Dated December 17, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 151.

¹⁴⁸ *MSMC*. Dated October 14, 1914 and October 7, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 118, 114)

¹⁴⁹ *MSMC*. Dated April 1, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 41.

¹⁵⁰ *MSMC*. Dated January 14, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 8.

¹⁵¹ *MSMC*. Dated February 18, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 23.

¹⁵² *MSMC*. Dated January 11, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 5. The actual amount of land acquired is not stated, because the fact that the minute's records are more concerned with the legal case surrounding this extension.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 38-39. The SMC decided to fence in this area until the legal aspects were resolved. Interestingly, the SMC cited Article VI of the Land Commission Act which stated that the SMC can acquire land outside the International Settlement for public gardens and other public areas. The legal advisor, however, stated that in this particular case this article could be irrelevant because the fact that the land is actually inside the International Settlement; however, because the owner is Chinese, the SMC still believed these laws could be applicable.

International Settlement, and yet, many did so under the trust of a foreign personage.¹⁵⁵ The Wayside Park was eventually completed when the SMC purchased the remaining pieces of land needed for 2,900 taels and allocated 400 taels for laying out this new land.¹⁵⁶ In addition, a new park in the Western District was being contemplated. In 1913 the Recreation Fund Trustees wrote to the SMC suggesting the establishment of a new park in the Western District.¹⁵⁷ Many sites were examined for this new park, including a lot along the Tifeng Road, one at the corner of Hart and Bubbling Well Road, and one behind the St. George's Hotel; however, no site was officially decided.¹⁵⁸

Another project earnestly pursued by the SMC was the extension of the Rifle Range. On October 4, the Shanghai Rifle Association sent a letter to the SMC asking approval for an extension that would allow for firing points at distances of 900 and 1000 yards.¹⁵⁹ In response to the letter, the SMC explained that this did not follow their plans of extending the rifle range by acquiring 400 yards behind the butt and that to extend it in any other position would conflict with existing Chinese roads. Therefore, the firing points at those distances must be sacrificed.¹⁶⁰ The SMC subsequently had to exchange land along the Sawjinkiang in order to obtain a strip of land to the west of the rifle range in order to complete their expansion plans.¹⁶¹ Even though careful thought was given to reduce conflict with Chinese roadways, this still occurred. On April of 1913, General Anderson forwarded an advance copy of his official Report on the Volunteer Corps,

¹⁵⁵ Scully, "Taking the Low Road to Sino-American Relations", 69.

¹⁵⁶ *MSMC*. Dated February 10, 1915 and February 24, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 22-27.

¹⁵⁷ *MSMC*. Dated April 16, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 55.

¹⁵⁸ *MSMC*. Dated July 23, 1913 and August 13, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 91, 112-13.

¹⁵⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 4, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 121-22.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*. The SMC also notes that if the request had come in earlier, they might have been able to accommodate it, but that approval had already been given to the Chinese road at the date of this request.

¹⁶¹ *MSMC*. Dated November 22, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 146.

noting that the new position of the butt endangered pedestrians using the road to Kiangwan.¹⁶²

The SMC also looked into expanding the Hongkew Market and Recreation Area. The Hongkew area was in the north of the International Settlement, directly attached to the Chapei district, which the Chinese controlled. In the extension of the Hongkew Market and Recreation Area, the SMC looked into buying eight different parcels of land with the intent to purchase all of them over two years, provided that the price was reasonable.¹⁶³ In 1912, the SMC decided to purchase Lot 1070 for 130,000 taels for the expansion of the Hongkew Market.¹⁶⁴ The SMC also purchased Lot 1069 and Lot 716, which adjoined the northern border of the existing ground.¹⁶⁵ In 1913, during the planning stage, the Hongkew Recreation Ground was chosen as the sight for the 1915 Olympic Theatre and Games. For this event, the SMC decided to build a canopy over the area instead of a public pavilion, which would have been more permanent and costly.¹⁶⁶ In addition to this major renovation, in 1913, the Recreation Ground Committee proposed the allotment of a space for a bowling green and conversion of the cricket ground to greater public use for the Recreation Club.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² *MSMC*. Dated April 23, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 57. The SMC forwarded his recommendations to the Watch Committee.

¹⁶³ *MSMC*. Dated October 4, 18, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 122-23, 128 and January 10, 1912, May 22, 1912, and June 26, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 9, 75, 91. The lots in question are 203, 302, 324, 350, 716, 1069, 1070, and 1071. All of these lots were owned by foreigners in Shanghai.

¹⁶⁴ *MSMC*. Dated January 10, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 9.

¹⁶⁵ *MSMC*. Dated June 26, 1912 and May 22, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 91 and 75.

¹⁶⁶ *MSMC*. Dated August 20, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 114 and June 24, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record 25, page 83. It is important to note here that the Olympics referred to in the minutes is not the Olympic Games run by the International Olympic Committee but a more localized competition found in Europe since the end of the 18th Century.

¹⁶⁷ *MSMC*. Dated April 2, 1913 and May 21, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 47 and 67.

Another aspect of parks and recreational areas included in the SMC's agenda was the expansion of market areas. In 1914, plans for the construction of a roof over the Quetta Road Market were submitted.¹⁶⁸ The SMC debated between building the roof with concrete or Oregon pine posts and a corrugated iron roof.¹⁶⁹ Eventually, it was decided that the roof would be constructed of wood.¹⁷⁰ Two other market sites were assessed in 1915. The SMC approved the purchase of Lot 458 for 4,750 taels to extend the Sinza Market and the purchase of Lot 436 for 4,000 taels to extend the Wuchow Road Market.¹⁷¹

CONFLICT WITH CHINESE OVER CHAPEI DISTRICT

In June of 1906, the Ch'ing government officially created a Chinese administration over the districts of Chapei and Paoshan.¹⁷² These new areas were to be the center of industrialization and economic growth for the Chinese. Chapei was an important district because of both its location and its industry; it had access to easy transportation provided by Soochow Creek as well as access to the Shanghai-Nanking Railway and the Wusong-Shanghai Railway, and it was the location for a large portion of the new Chinese factories.¹⁷³ In the 1920s many factories from interior China relocated in Shanghai because these regions were being devastated by the military conflicts among the warlords.¹⁷⁴ The Chapei General Board of Roads, Public Works, and Patrols was created in 1906 to provide structure to the Chapei area as well as to compete with the

¹⁶⁸ *MSMC*. Dated April 29, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 54.

¹⁶⁹ *MSMC*. Dated May 20, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 61.

¹⁷⁰ *MSMC*. Dated July 22, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 94.

¹⁷¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 28, 1915 and April 14, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 106 and 55.

¹⁷² Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 209.

¹⁷³ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 15.

¹⁷⁴ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 162.

increasing urban expansion of the International Settlement.¹⁷⁵ However, the Chapei district still remained a less developed area than the International Settlement. One way in which the General Board tried to curb the expansion of the SMC was to create public utilities companies in each of these two districts.¹⁷⁶ By 1911 a new regime was set up in the Chapei district in which local notables occupied the important posts in the provisional military government of the municipal administration.¹⁷⁷ These areas showed a large increase in Chinese population because the political turmoil in the other parts of the country.¹⁷⁸ By 1910, Shanghai's population was 1.3 million.¹⁷⁹

These areas were a particular source of conflict for the SMC with the local Chinese authorities over the questions of policing, boundaries, and public services. This area was not officially recognized as being under the Chinese administration by the SMC because the SMC had built many of the roads in that area and they had originally been patrolled by the Shanghai Municipal Police. Since many foreigners either lived or had built factories and other such industries along these new roads as available land within the International Settlement became sparse, the SMC believed that, in order to safeguard the interests of its residents, it would need to provide protection for these areas of land even though they were not technically within the International Settlement. On March 23rd and 24th, the SMP noted to the SMC that there were multiple sightings of Chinese police along the Haskell Road.¹⁸⁰ The SMC decision was that minor cases could be overlooked, but "flagrant" cases required the arrest of these policemen and charges brought against

¹⁷⁵ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 12. The Chapei General Board of Roads, Public Works, and Patrols was a private initiative and it was not until 1911 that a true administration was set up in Chapei.

¹⁷⁶ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 173.

¹⁷⁷ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 16.

¹⁷⁸ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 204.

¹⁷⁹ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 155-156.

¹⁸⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 23, 24 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 49. The statement to the SMC was made directly by the Captain Superintendent of the SMP.

them in the Mixed Court.¹⁸¹ The SMC briefly entertained the thought of allowing Chinese police to cross the North Szechuen Road to reach the Woosung Road, which was a part of the Chinese jurisdiction, since this was an excuse many Chinese policemen stated, for using the North Szechuen Road, but the SMC rejected the idea as setting a bad precedent.¹⁸²

The incursions became so frequent on the North Szechuen Road that the SMC decided to erect a police sub-station along this road.¹⁸³ The SMC noted that although the police box could be attacked, enough reinforcements were nearby to allow for the safety of the policemen operating within it.¹⁸⁴ Of course, this decision incurred protest from the Chinese administration. Mr. Wen Tsugn Yao submitted multiple protests to the SMC concerning the establishment of the North Szechuen Road Police Sub-station, but the SMC dismissed them as an anti-foreign sentiment and informal protests from the Chinese authorities.¹⁸⁵ The SMC believed particularly strong about policing the North Szechuen Road because many foreigners were building houses along this road. In July 1913, a police report was submitted noting that ten new houses were built on the North Szechuen Road but that they had not been policing the road because it was not technically in the International Settlement. The people in that area were not therefore receiving sufficient protection.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ *MSMC*. Dated March 23, 24 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 49.

¹⁸² *MSMC*. Dated May 1, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 68. This decision was made in conjunction with the Court of Consuls.

¹⁸³ *MSMC*. Dated April 3, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 52.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *MSMC*. Dated March 20, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 44. For the record, it is unclear if Mr. Wen Tsugn Yao was a representative of the Chinese authorities or if he was merely acting out of his own interests.

¹⁸⁶ *MSMC*. Dated July 7, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 85.

The SMC believed that they needed a large presence in Chapei to keep the new Chapei administration from gaining authority in the area. On December 6th, the SMC unanimously agreed that whenever an extension opportunity appeared in Chapei, it should immediately be acted upon.¹⁸⁷ One method by which the SMC accomplished this was to involve itself in the expansion efforts of the Chinese government in the Chapei district. One such project was the building of the Sinza Stone Bridge, which first appeared on the Council minutes in January and was not completed until August.¹⁸⁸ The Chapei administration had plans to build the Sinza Stone Bridge over the Soochow Creek, and for the most part, the SMC was supportive.¹⁸⁹ The SMC authorized the demolition of houses within the West Soochow Road Extension to prepare a road that would coincide with the new Sinza Stone Bridge.¹⁹⁰ However, at the supplication of the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld, the SMC decided in August not to approve the plans submitted by the Chinese administration until provisions for a water main were included.¹⁹¹

The biggest conflict with the Chapei district was actually not the question of policing the extra-Settlement roads in this area, but the conflict between the Shanghai Waterworks Company and Chapei Waterworks Company on the water distribution along these roads. The Chapei Waterworks Company was created in 1906 by the local Chinese

¹⁸⁷ *MSMC*. Dated December 6, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 151.

¹⁸⁸ *MSMC*. Dated January 11, 1911, January 18, 1911, and August 2, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 5, 10, 103.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*. This subject was brought up in the SMC through a letter from Messrs. Drummond, White-Cooper and Phillips. A note in the minutes says that the SMC can only receive communications from the Chinese authorities through the proper channels. This shows that the foreigners in Shanghai were not uniform in thought and many associated with the Chinese interests.

¹⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated January 18, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 10.

¹⁹¹ *MSMC*. Dated August 2, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 103. A clear sign of the influence of Shanghai businesses within the SMC decision making process. Also, it shows the SMC's attempt to control outside of its jurisdiction by involving a foreign owned company in the maintenance of areas outside the International Settlement.

administration with the intention of curbing the SMC's influence outside the boundaries of the International Settlement.¹⁹² In the beginning, there was little conflict since the Chapei Waterworks Company could not adequately provide services, and the Shanghai Waterworks Company provided services along the extra-Settlement roads; however, once the Chapei Waterworks was able to provide adequate services with lower prices, competition between the two companies became heated. In January of 1912, the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld. approached the SMC and asked if it would lower the municipal rates along the North Soochow Road because of the fact that the Chapei Waterworks Company was now offering their services for 4 cent rate without the municipal tax.¹⁹³ However, the lowering of the rates was not merely an example of capitalism. The Chinese authorities were making a strong effort to induce the residents of Chapei, foreign or not, to partake in Chinese services. The Chinese administration originally planned to buy out all the shares of these service companies but, lacking funds, decided instead to try and make the Chinese services more attractive to customers.¹⁹⁴ The SMC recognized this and decided it would be in the best interest of the SMC decrease this municipal rate to help the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld. to maintain their services in these areas by continuing to have competitive prices.¹⁹⁵

The SMC also did all it could legally to keep the Chapei Waterworks Company from laying down water mains. It defended a suit in the Court of Consuls against the Chapei Waterworks Company to laying down pipes without establishing a title for the

¹⁹² Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 16.

¹⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated January 5, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 5.

¹⁹⁴ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 173.

¹⁹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated January 5, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 5. The decision by the SMC was unanimous to support the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld.

area in which they did so.¹⁹⁶ The SMC also sided with the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld. when they stated that the issuing of a permit for the Chapei Waterworks Company was a breach of the Concession Agreement of 1905.¹⁹⁷ The SMC forwarded to the Court of Consuls three replies: the first stating that the SMC could not be responsible for any agreements about the supply of water because lack of enforcement power; secondly, that the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld's statement about the breach of the Concession Agreement of 1905 is valid; and finally, the permit was issued to the Chapei Waterworks Company while noting that it only authorized access for the point where the North Szechuen Road crosses the old Woosung Road.¹⁹⁸

This issue was further exacerbated when the SMC learned in June that the Chapei Waterworks Company intended to proceed with the laying of their water main across the North Szechuen Road with or without the SMC permit.¹⁹⁹ It also surfaced during that time that the Chinese administration intended to give the Chapei Waterworks Company a monopoly of the water supply in the Chapei district, effectively cutting off the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ld. from this area.²⁰⁰ Upon learning this, the SMC refunded the Chapei Waterworks Company the 2000 taels for the permit and demanded a return of this permit.²⁰¹ When the Chapei Waterworks Company laid a water main down across a culvert constructed by the SMC, the H.M. Consul General stated that it would be within

¹⁹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 24, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 16. The SMC actually used the argument that the SMC has controlled and policed the area for over ten years as a legitimate reason for their involvement in the matter.

¹⁹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated January 31, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 21.

¹⁹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 12, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 84.

¹⁹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated June 14, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 86.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *MSMC*. Dated October 23, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 135.

the SMC's rights to disturb the newly laid water main.²⁰² The SMC decided to consult a legal advisor who argued that the SMC would not be justified in removing the water main but could take the Chapei Waterworks Company to court in the Court of Consuls for interfering with a previously laid main.²⁰³ The SMC decided to write a formal letter to the Chinese Chapei authorities stating that, if the main was not removed, the SMC would take it up in the Court of Consuls; in the end, the Chapei Waterworks Company was forced to remove the new main.²⁰⁴

FRICION WITH THE FRENCH

The SMC noted increasing friction with the authorities of the French Council over the control of land, especially the border of the International Settlement and the French Concession. While an underlying tension was always present, especially considering that the French objected to the creation of an International Settlement and established their separate district, the tension became increasingly pronounced in the 1900s.²⁰⁵ In April of 1911, there were plans to jointly build the Bund Bridge, which would provide another connection between the International Settlement and the French Concession.²⁰⁶ The funding for this project was to be divided evenly between the SMC, the French Council, and a tramway company from each district.²⁰⁷ However, the SMC was doubtful of its French partners and forwarded a quadruplicate contract to all the parties involved to assure their cooperation.²⁰⁸ This issue was resolved in May when the SMC and the

²⁰² *MSMC*. Dated December 27, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 162. The process of culverting, involves laying down a drainage ditch along the road.

²⁰³ *MSMC*. Dated January 15, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 7.

²⁰⁴ *MSMC*. Dated January 29, 1913 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 24, page 14.

²⁰⁵ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 201-02.

²⁰⁶ *MSMC*. Dated April 12, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 54.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* Once again, this is an example of the close cooperation between the SMC and the businesses in the International Settlement.

²⁰⁸ *MSMC*. Dated April 12, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 54.

French Council decided to build the bridge with their own funds, but prohibited the tramway companies from using it until they paid their fourth of the cost.²⁰⁹ The SMC and the French Council also disputed the use of land they lent to each other. The SMC requested a refund from the French Council for the land it was lending to the French to extend the Siccawei Road Nursery when they found out it was instead being used as a cemetery ground.²¹⁰

The SMC and the French Council mostly came into conflict over the question of extra-Settlement roads, which the French were also starting to build at this time. One such conflict dealt with the question of municipal rates over houses built outside the International Settlement. This dispute evolved from the fact that the French Concession had developed as the main residential area and the International Settlement the main commercial area, a result of French consuls favoring French nationals over others in terms of business.²¹¹ Therefore, many foreigners lived within the French Concession but had their livelihoods within the International Settlement; therefore, they were using services provided by both administrations while also falling under two different taxation systems. They naturally believed that double taxation was unfair, but neither administration wished to lose the income from taxes.²¹² The Electricity Committee of the SMC recommended that the SMC provide electricity to two houses on the east side of the Siccawei Road.²¹³ However, because these houses also bordered Route Ferguson, which was under French control, British residents were already paying taxes to the French

²⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated May 17, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 66.

²¹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 8, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 30-31. It is interesting to note that while they requested the refund, they did not demand to have the land back.

²¹¹ Goto-Shibata, *Japan and Britain in Shanghai, 1925-1931*, 3.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *MSMC*. Dated April 5, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 50.

Council.²¹⁴ In this case the SMC had to negotiate with the French Council for the British residents to pay only the SMC tax. A similar conflict arose in November of 1911 when the French Council complained of SMC interference along the French side of the Great Western Road.²¹⁵ The SMC representative, Mr. Burkill, assured the French Consul General that the only reason that the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd. was servicing the area was because French water and electric companies were not working there and also noted that the residents were not using Rue Ratard, which was the only true French extra-Settlement road in that area.²¹⁶ On January 14, 1912, a letter from the French Council was read during the SMC meeting, stating that the French companies would provide electricity and water to residents on the south side of the Great Western Road and that the SMC should forego the collection of municipal rates from these residents.²¹⁷ These types of problems became more frequent as the years progressed.

While such competition with the French Council existed, this did not stop the SMC from working with them toward the improvement of the International Settlement. In April of 1914, the SMC once again embarked on a joint project with the French Council, this time concerning the Yangkingpang Creek. The SMC learned unofficially on April 1, 1914, that the French Council was drawing up plans to culver this creek and turn it into a major road.²¹⁸ When the official notice was received on the 29th of April, the SMC had its own engineers draw up an estimated cost for the project because it projected that the ratepayers would find this project beneficial and would want the SMC

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated November 22, 1911 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 22, page 146.

²¹⁶ Ibid. It would be interesting to note if this was in fact true or if the SMC was using this as an excuse to expand in the French area.

²¹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated January 14, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 15.

²¹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated April 1, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 43.

participate.²¹⁹ The SMC requested that the French Council pay half of the cost of this project because, with its smaller income, this would be the most that the French Council could afford to pay.²²⁰ This project stumbled across an obstacle in June when the Shanghai Tramway Company protested the creation of this road, stating that they were given rights to install a non-rail service in the Sungkian Road and that this new road would disrupt that service.²²¹ In this instance the SMC sided with the French Council and continued with the project, stating that the Shanghai Tramway Company was given temporary rights to install the non-rail service.²²²

By the end of 1914, the French had managed to start negotiations with the Chinese Republican government for an agreement to put all of their extra-settlement roads squarely within the French Concession and thereby eliminate much of their conflict with the Chinese.²²³ Because of this, the disputes between the SMC and the French Council began to look very similar to the problems that the SMC was having with the Chinese in the Chapei district: they became disputes over the question of water rights. When the French Concession's expansion was granted, the boundary between the two foreign areas became the Great Western and Siccawei Roads.²²⁴ The Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ld. immediately protested this decision because it managed two large portions of land on the now-French side of the roads.²²⁵ The SMC agreed with the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ld. in part because it did not want to maintain those two boundary roads in conjunction with the French, but primarily wanted them solely under

²¹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated April 29, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 55.

²²⁰ *MSMC*. Dated May 20, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 63.

²²¹ *MSMC*. Dated June 3, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 70-71.

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 210, 213.

²²⁴ *MSMC*. Dated July 15, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 90.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

its own control.²²⁶ The SMC's immediate response to this was to delay any decision regarding these two roads until the French extension was formally ratified.²²⁷

After looking through old records, the SMC decided to refer to the British Foreign Office dispatch of October 1899, which noted that, in a previous French extension, the British owners of land on the newly designated French area were under no obligation to submit to French Municipal jurisdiction or rates.²²⁸ With this as their rationale, the SMC decided to allow the Shanghai Waterworks Co. and Electricity Department to continue to provide for ratepayers on the French side of these two roads.²²⁹ In 1916, the SMC decided to write out a formal explanation of why the Shanghai Waterworks Co. and Electricity Department were supplying residents in the French Concession noting that the French Light and Water Company would soon press the French Council for control over these portions now that the expansion was formalized.²³⁰ Even though the SMC attempted to retain control, the SMC, when formally queried by the French Council on the withdrawal of the Shanghai Waterworks Company and Electricity Department, admitted that it had no legal rights in that area. It approved the request with the addendum that the French Electricity Company would compensate the Electricity Department for the poles and cables it had established on the French side of the roads.²³¹

Another effect of the formal expansion of the French Concession was that it quickly became the residential area for foreigners, while the International Settlement remained the industrial and financial area, effectively emptying the Chinese district of

²²⁶ *MSMC*. Dated July 15, 1914 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 25, page 90.

²²⁷ *MSMC*. Dated April 7, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 53.

²²⁸ *MSMC*. Dated November 17, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 158.

²²⁹ *MSMC*. Dated November 24, 1915 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 26, page 160.

²³⁰ *MSMC*. Dated July 26, 1916 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 98.

²³¹ *MSMC*. Dated February 16, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 28-29. It is important to note here that the SMC believed that while the withdrawal was formally recognized, that it would be many years before a full withdrawal would occur.

many foreigners.²³² This would become a great advantage for the Japanese later, when they were able to easily take over the Chinese portion of Shanghai without causing diplomatic problems with the Western powers. Although conflict with the Japanese was not yet the great problem it would later become from the late 1920s through World War II, there were the beginnings of these tensions during 1911. This is because when World War I broke out in 1914, Japan fought on the Allied side and seized German holdings in the Shantung Province. In 1915 the Japanese set before the government in Beijing the so-called Twenty-One Demands. One demand was install Japanese economic controls in railway and mining operations in Shantung and Manchuria.²³³ In Shanghai, Chinese responded by participating in anti-Japanese boycotts which sometimes became violent. This led to the creation of six Japanese neighborhood associations were organized for local self-defense and mutual aid. By the mid-1920s the number of neighborhood associations had risen to forty and by June 1942, there were 179 of them.²³⁴

Due to this, Japanese police were sometimes found patrolling SMC extra-Settlement roads north of the Soochow Creek where the majority of Japanese residents lived. On February 2, 1912, two Japanese policemen were found patrolling the North Szechuen Road.²³⁵ When the Chairman of the SMC spoke with the Japanese Consular General, he was informed that they were not policemen but watchmen and were not ordered to patrol the roadway. With this explanation and the guarantee that the men would be strictly told to avoid SMC roadways, the SMC had to accept the Japanese

²³² Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 212.

²³³ Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan", 929.

²³⁴ Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan", 932.

²³⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 7, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 25.

Consular General's statement.²³⁶ The SMC and the Japanese also came into conflict over the question of waterfront property in the harbor. There was a dispute over the ownership of land where the Eastern District Wharf existed, in addition to the fact that both the SMC and the Japanese were attempting to purchase the land in that area.²³⁷ When the issue over land ownership was taken to the Consular Body, it was decided that Mr. McBain's lot, land in which the SMC was interested, came with reduced water frontage, and the ruling favored the Japanese steamship line, Nippon Yusen Kaisha.²³⁸ While the SMC believed that this decision was not equitable, they had no choice but to purchase the reduced land and issue a permit to the Nippon Yusen Kaisha to build their wall since the SMC could not put their plans into existence with the smaller property.²³⁹ By 1915, the Japanese presence in Shanghai had grown tremendously. The Japanese had a niche in almost every market: shipping, trading, banking, and other industries.²⁴⁰ This is one reason why there was such an outcry by the Chinese against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in Shanghai more so than in other Chinese cities.²⁴¹ By the time the Japanese took control of the outskirts of Shanghai in 1932, there was already a large contingent of Japanese living in the Chinese section of the city as well as the International Settlement.²⁴²

The SMC's efforts during these years were focused on protecting foreign investments and relieving the overcrowding found within the International Settlement.

²³⁶ *MSMC*. Dated February 7, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 25. From the records it is clear that the SMC believed that these men were in fact Japanese policemen but had no legal or diplomatic recourse. It is also interesting that the Japanese policemen were acting in a Chinese area.

²³⁷ *MSMC*. Dated March 6, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 37.

²³⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 15, 1912 in Volume 18, Minute Book Record Number 23, page 70.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1032.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1037.

This was why the SMC tried to gain formal expansion from the Chinese government. The projects undertaken by the SMC were for the urban development of the International Settlement or at the interest of its ratepayers. When expanding the Bubbling Well Road, the SMC wanted to build housing along the road to relieve the overcrowding found within the International Settlement but compromised with the business owners who wanted to build shops along the road. The SMC worked with the French Council to widen the Bund Bridge to allow tramway access to the Bund which was the financial center for all foreigners in Shanghai, not just the British. In addition, the many public service projects during this time were for the benefit of the foreign residents of the International Settlement, not just merely an attempt to gain more land. For example, the Rifle Range extension project was not undertaken until a petition was received from the Shanghai Rifle Association asking for an extension.

Competition with the Chinese was fully developed by this time. Chinese police were beginning to effectively patrol extra-Settlement roads even though the SMC believed it had to protect the foreigners who were living and establishing businesses along them. In addition, by 1912 the Chapei Waterworks Company had become a legitimate competitor to the Shanghai Waterworks Company as can be seen by the petition of the Shanghai Waterworks Company asking the SMC to lower rates so that the Shanghai Waterworks Company could effectively compete with the Chapei Waterworks Company. This competition can be seen as a source of nationalism in Shanghai because these institutions were either created or modernized in an attempt to show that the Chinese could provide the same modern services as the foreigners.

Chapter 2

Conflicts Arising, 1916-1927

The years that immediately followed 1915 were filled with strife, uncertainty and war in China. After Yuan Shikai proclaimed himself as the Emperor in December of 1915, then died a year later, China was thrust into political turmoil during a period known as the Warlord Era. While Shanghai was sheltered from some of this because the heavy presence of foreign power, it was still not immune to the effects of the constant domestic power struggle. The population of Shanghai doubled during this time from 1.3 million in 1911 to 2.6 million by 1927 with new immigrants comprising 75 percent of the population.²⁴³ For the SMC, this meant another area in which it would have to clash with the Chinese authorities. The SMC at this time was already experiencing an increase in discord with the Chinese over various issues, especially the building of extra-Settlement roads. The SMC continued to focus on building extra-Settlement roads until 1927, while still making internal improvements within the International Settlement. However, the SMC could no longer play the local Chinese authorities against the national Chinese government because the political uncertainty during the Warlord Era, and this change in dynamics could be seen during these years.

INCREASE IN ROADWORK

The building of extra-Settlement roads and the maintenance of roads in the International Settlement proceeded at a more rapid pace than the previous years. The extra-Settlement roads were built both for political reasons to expand the influence of the SMC, as well as economic and practical reasons, such as overcrowding within the International Settlement. This is particularly true during this time period when both the SMC and the Chinese authorities wished to control the extra-Settlement roads because they provided a source of revenue through taxes as well as jurisdiction of all businesses

²⁴³ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 155-156.

along the road.²⁴⁴ For instance, Nanking Road alone provided an enormous source of income as it became the leading shopping district in the country with its lavish entertainment complex of restaurants, theatres, cinemas, amusements halls, and hotels.²⁴⁵ In addition, with the introduction of automobiles, as well as buses and trams, road traffic started to become a major consideration in the building and widening of new roads.²⁴⁶ By 1926, the SMC had constructed roads totaling 170.5 miles. From 1900 through 1930, French Concession had constructed roads of approximately 68 miles.²⁴⁷ The first extra-Settlement road was under construction as early as 1862 for military purposes to defend the Concession as the Taipei rebels approached Shanghai. By 1890, the length of extra-Settlement roads reached 12 miles. Between 1900 and 1925, the SMC had constructed 39 more extra-settlement roads, totaling 75 miles.²⁴⁸

**Graph of Extra-Settlement Roads
(from longest to shortest)**

Name of Road	Length (in Feet)	Width (in Feet)
Hung-jao	35,000	40
Great Western	19,000	unknown
Brenan	18,350	50
Monument	15,000	50
Lincoln Ave.	14,000	50
Rubicon Road System	14,000	50
Jessfield	14,000	50-60
Warren	12,500	50
Pearce	12,000	50

²⁴⁴ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 30.

²⁴⁵ Yeh, "Shanghai Modernity", 132.

²⁴⁶ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 170.

²⁴⁷ Shi Meiding, et al, eds. *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2001), 439.

²⁴⁸ Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 101-02.

Keswick	11,000	60
North Szechuen	8,000	50
Yuyuan	8,000	60
Robison	7,500	50
Columbia	7,000	50
Macleod Ave.	7,000	50
Edinburgh	7,000	50
Jordan	5,500	50
Fawha	5,300	50
Dixwell	5,000	50
Tunsin	5,000	50
Kiangwan	4,500	50
Connaught	4,000	60
Tifeng	4,000	50
Singapore	3,550	60
Jernigan	3,000	50
Penang	2,500	50
Fraser	2,300	50
Kinner	2,300	40
Bubbling Well	2,200	70
Scott	2,000	40
Darrock	1,700	20
Kiaochow	1,700	50
Wanglo	1,200	30
Urga	1,000	50
West-Soochow	1,000	30
Haskell	700	30
Barchet	400	20
Harbin	150	40

Graph 1. List of Extra-Settlement Roads.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Graph was made by the author. Information for graph retrieved from Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 98-100.

One of the first extra-Settlement roads worked on was the Broadway East. This is interesting because it was a road within the International Settlement that was extended outside the Settlement. In 1916 the proposal to widen the Broadway East through the purchases of Lots 1019 and 1011 was put under review by the Land Commission.²⁵⁰ If the road was considered to be a Chinese thoroughfare, there would be no advantages to improving it beyond thirty feet.²⁵¹ In order to come to a better understanding before submitting it for formal review, the Engineer of the Works Committee was asked to do a cost benefit analysis of the improvement of this road. His decision was that, based on the locality, types of buildings, width necessary for those buildings, and the cost of compensating for loss of rental, it would be inadvisable to improve the road.²⁵² However, the SMC believed that the road was too important as a major thoroughfare to not improve it and decided to ask for a formal review by the Land Commission.²⁵³

Another extra-Settlement road worked on was actually a system of roads called the Rubicon System, which led from the International Settlement to areas outside it. The Hungjao Road, which was a part of that system, had to be widened to sixty feet in 1919.²⁵⁴ In 1921, it was decided that all of the roads in the Rubicon System would be metaled in installments over four years for a cost of about 20,000 taels.²⁵⁵ It was decided that, once these roads were metaled, residents would not be able to drive on these roads without paying municipal taxes.²⁵⁶ There were also many proposals for the North Szechuen Road. In 1917, the SMC was offered Portuguese Lot 17 Pao. and B.C. Lot 530

²⁵⁰ *MSMC*. Dated November 1, 1916 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 129.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *MSMC*. Dated January 17, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 15.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *MSMC*. Dated September 24, 1919 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 30, page 147.

²⁵⁵ *MSMC*. Dated August 22, 1921 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 178.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

for 23,634 taels from Messrs Algar & Co. Ltd.²⁵⁷ The SMC, however, rejected these lots at the time because the fact that the SMC had already spent 63,000 taels more than the allotted budget for expenditure on land for roads for the year.²⁵⁸ Instead, the SMC looked into acquiring a smaller strip of land near the Public School for Boys which would only cost about 13,000 taels.²⁵⁹ The North Szechuen Road was a road that was constantly being improved. In 1925, the SMC bought Lots 85 and 86 with the intention to tear down the existing buildings and widen the road at this point.²⁶⁰ The SMC also looked into another parcel of land that was owned by a Chinese who was unwilling to sell. The Chapei Authorities asked the Commissioner General to speak about this, and the resolution was that, if the SMC would allow Chinese police to patrol the road, they would gain access to this parcel of land for the SMC.²⁶¹

There were two other major extra-Settlement roads that were in the works during this time: a new Road to the Hills and the Mint Connection. The Road to the Hills was first proposed in 1920, but it was decided that the expenditure for this project would be too great and was abandoned. However, the plans were resurrected in 1921 when it was determined that the SMC would be able to build ten miles of the road for 75,000 taels, a price that would surely double in the next couple of years.²⁶² There was some dissension among the SMC members around the concept of building more municipal roads in Chinese territory. In addition, many SMC members believed the money that would be used toward this could go toward expanding the Rubicon Road system, which was

²⁵⁷ *MSMC*. Dated September 26, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 133-34

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 24, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 150.

²⁶⁰ *MSMC*. Dated December 08, 1925 in Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 185.

²⁶¹ *MSMC*. Dated March 9, 1927 in Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 53.

²⁶² *MSMC*. Dated June 29, 1921 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 128.

already in place.²⁶³ The matter was eventually resolved when the SMC learned that the Chinese were planning on building a road to Sungkiang and that, with little change, it could be altered to go near the Hills; as a result, the SMC was to broach this with the Chinese.²⁶⁴ The other major extra-Settlement road that was discussed was the Mint Connection, which was to be a road that would connect the minting factory with the International Settlement. The SMC was favorable to this idea because, by erecting a bridge to connect the road to the International Settlement, the minting factory would practically become a part of the Settlement without the SMC actually claiming it.²⁶⁵ It was decided that the bridge would be built to connect the road and the minting factory would have to pay municipal rates to the SMC.²⁶⁶

One of the first major internal roads to experience change was the Nanking Road. The Nanking Road is perhaps the most memorable road in the International Settlement since, throughout the years, it became the main thoroughfare of the International Settlement, as well as the center of the commercial area with its new stores, hotels, and sources of entertainment such as cinemas and coffeehouses.²⁶⁷ In 1916, construction began on a new building on a lot adjacent to Nanking Road, which allowed it to be widened by three and a half feet.²⁶⁸ In order to widen other parts of the Nanking Road to match this new section, the SMC agreed to pay 29,696 taels to owners of rental buildings on adjacent lots, as well as 40,047 taels to buy the necessary lots of land.²⁶⁹ Another improvement that was discussed was the creation of a fifty-foot road along the front of

²⁶³ *MSMC*. Dated January 4, 1922 in Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 4.

²⁶⁴ *MSMC*. Dated August 11, 1920 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 165-67.

²⁶⁵ *MSMC*. Dated November 30, 1921 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 231.

²⁶⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 11, 1922 in Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 6.

²⁶⁷ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 15.

²⁶⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 24, 1916 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 69.

²⁶⁹ *MSMC*. Dated January 10, 1917 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 11.

the river, which would allow for the defraying of the cost of widening Fearon Road.²⁷⁰ Another major project was the culverting of Defense Creek. It was decided in 1917 that money from the Extra-ordinary Expenditure budget would go toward culverting Defense Creek for an amount of 23,450 taels.²⁷¹ In 1918 the details of the culverting were determined: the frontage owners would pay for a part of the cost, it would be made sixty-five feet wide instead of the originally proposed eighty feet, and the purchase of the Mr. Chin Chin Hsieh's land was worth 11,500 taels.²⁷²

Another major road to be reviewed was the Great Western Road. To straighten out the road, the SMC looked into purchasing Lots 1768 and 1783 at the corner where it intersected with Chengtu Road, but this was abandoned because it could not be completed for many years because of the Chinese building that was in that location.²⁷³ Of course, there were always minor works taking place for upkeep of the smaller roads. Lot 2530 was purchased for 6,600 taels in order to widen the Chemulpo Road.²⁷⁴ Land for the North Shanse Road was purchased for 1,852 taels from Messrs Davies & Brooke.²⁷⁵ The new road from Boundary Road to Elgin Road was to be moved westward, so that it did not take up the entirety of Lot 501.²⁷⁶ In 1921 the SMC decided to extend the Weihaiwei Road in order to provide better access from east to west through the International Settlement.²⁷⁷ The SMC also bought Lot 24 for 6,330 taels to widen the Kiangse Road.²⁷⁸ Avenue Road was scheduled to be widened to seventy feet between Park and Thibet

²⁷⁰ *MSMC*. Dated October 24, 1916 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 127.

²⁷¹ *MSMC*. Dated September 11, 1918 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 117-18.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *MSMC*. Dated February 18, 1920 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 50.

²⁷⁴ *MSMC*. Dated October 18, 1916 in Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 123.

²⁷⁵ *MSMC*. Dated September 17, 1919 in Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 30, page 140.

²⁷⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 24, 1921 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 14.

²⁷⁷ *MSMC*. Dated March 16, 1921 in Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 47.

²⁷⁸ *MSMC*. Dated December 14, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 247.

Roads.²⁷⁹ These are just some of the minor modifications to roads up to 1921. It is important to note here that many more modifications were discussed but overruled because petitions or protests.²⁸⁰ This was the first year that the SMC noted these objections and changes in their minutes.

Roadwork continued after 1921, but at a much slower pace, with the exception of the work done on extra-Settlement road previously discussed. The plans to extend the Changhai Road were abandoned in 1922 when the Country Club decided to sell its property, thereby allowing the previously abandoned plans for the Kowloon Road to be reinstated.²⁸¹ The SMC made a large purchase of land; sixty mow for 1,000 taels per mow, in the Western District in 1924 for future roadwork.²⁸² The SMC also bought Lot 89B for 28,316 taels to extend the Kiukiang Road from the Kiangse Road to the Bund.²⁸³ In 1926, the SMC went into negotiations with the Customs authorities for the property they were planning to sell in order to realign the Chengtu Road for the future.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁹ *MSMC*. Dated January 24, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 16.

²⁸⁰ *MSMC*. Dated August 12, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 170-73. The minutes do not state who is opposing these projects or why. Those projects that were overruled include: Szechuan Road Lot 108; Szechuan Road Lot 119; Szechuan Road Lot 118, Szechuan Road Lot 89B; Honan and Peking Roads Lots 188B and 188C; Canton Road Lot 692; Chekiang Road Lot 535; Foochow and Kiangse Road Lot 99; Hankow and Shanse Roads Lot 264; Honan Road Lot 293; Peking Road Lot 190, 209, and 211; Shanse Road Lot 234 and 374; Nanking and Fokien Roads Lot 360; Kiukiang and Chekiang Rodas Lot 520; Tientsin Road Lot 347; Newchwang road Lot 598; Thibet Road Lot 615; YuenMingYuen Road Lot 13A; Tongdongkaloong Road Lot 312; Hanbury Road Lot 1041, 1042, 1071, and 1073; Woosung road and Boone Road Lot 883; North Honan and Haining roads Lot 687; North Shanse road Lot 327; Tiendong Road Lot 611; Tiendong and North Kiangse Road Lot 603; Tsepoo road Lot 625; North Thibet road Lot 8; Tongshang road and/or East Hanbury Road; Shihtao road, Lot 7249; Tungliang road Lot 6026.

²⁸¹ *MSMC*. Dated April 5, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 66-67.

²⁸² *MSMC*. Dated May 14, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 177. Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, xi. Shanghai Areal Measures, ca. 1930 1 mow = 674 meters square = .1667 acres.

²⁸³ *MSMC*. Dated August 19, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 142.

²⁸⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 17, 1926 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 303-04.

CONTINUING INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

Just as in previous years, the SMC spent much of its time with internal improvements for the International Settlement. Many of the improvements were continuations of previously started projects. The major focuses for international improvements during this period remained bridges, markets and recreation grounds, hospitals and other public service buildings, and schools. The Markham Road Bridge project began during the early years of the Republican Period and continued through 1920. The negotiations concerning the construction and ownership of the Markham Road Bridge, which crossed into the Chapei district, were already complete, but the discussion on the upkeep of the bridge and the interests of the Chapei merchants were the new considerations.²⁸⁵ The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Cheng, argued that the bridge should be repaired by the Chinese, since it was constructed with donations collected from Chinese gentry and merchants.²⁸⁶ In October of 1920, when the Works Committee went to repair the bridge, the Chapei police obstructed the men and confiscated their tools.²⁸⁷ The issue was resolved when the SMC decided they should address a carefully worded letter to the Senior Consul requesting him to notify the Chinese Authorities of the Council's intention to proceed with the repair of the bridge, and, in usual terms, requesting the protection of the Chinese Authorities for the Council's workmen, should they find it necessary to cross to the Chapei side of the Soochow Creek.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ *MSMC*. Dated January 15, 1919 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 30, page 6-7.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ *MSMC*. Dated July 14, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 144-45.

²⁸⁸ *MSMC*. Dated November 17, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 207.

Some new bridges that were constructed during this time were the Thibet and Honan Road Bridges, which were built to further extensions for the Tramway Company along with the Faw Haw Bridge.²⁸⁹ The Faw Haw Bridge was particularly important because it integrated the land to north of the Soochow Creek with the land to the south of it which was where the majority of the International Settlement was located. In 1921 the SMC decided to reconstruct both the Honan Road Bridge and the Thibet Road Bridge with the understanding that the rail less trams on Kiangse Road would use the Honan Road Bridge and the ones on Thibet Road would use the Thibet Road Bridge.²⁹⁰ Another major bridge that was constructed during this time was the Hanbury Road Bridge. Plans for the construction of this bridge were put into motion in 1922 after a decision that the bridge would not be constructed according to the original blueprint which would have allowed a widening of the bridge at a later date.²⁹¹

Just as the Markham Road Bridge was a continuation project, the project on the Hongkew Market and Recreation Ground was started in the previous years. It was proposed that a public pavilion be built on these grounds, but the proposal failed because other nationals also would be using the grounds.²⁹² While this particular suggestion was denied, the Hongkew Recreation Ground continued to expand. The SMC bought thirty-five mow of land between the railway and the Kiangwan road at 1600 taels per mow for the expansion of the Hongkew Recreation Ground.²⁹³ In addition to that piece, the SMC wanted to attain Lot 760 Pao; when they approached Mr. Luthy about this purchase, he

²⁸⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 1, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 24 and April 25, 1923 Volume 22, Minute Book Record 34, page 71.

²⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated April 22, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 78.

²⁹¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 26, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 145.

²⁹² *MSMC*. Dated January 26, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 13.

²⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated February 21, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 32.

was willing to sell it for the actual cost plus ten percent, which equaled 12,204 taels.²⁹⁴ The SMC proposed a counteroffer of Lot 361 in exchange for a lower sum.²⁹⁵ The Mohawk Market was also extended during this time. In order to expand this market, it was decided to buy a little over one mow in land for 6,000 taels, with an additional 300 taels in compensation for the removal of houses and a grave on that site.²⁹⁶

Another area that was expanded greatly was the park in the Western District. One of the new additions that the SMC worked on for this area was the inclusion of a children's playground. In 1916, the SMC decided that a children's playground was necessary in the Western District between Carter Road and Bubbling Well Road.²⁹⁷ It was decided that the garden attached to the Mohawk Lodge would be the perfect size and location for this playground, and the acquisition of the lease for that land was put into motion.²⁹⁸ However, opposition soon arose when Mr. Ezra noted that it would be bad to lease any land in Shanghai and that a children's playground was unnecessary because the Public School for Girls had extra land, which could be converted to a playground.²⁹⁹ After this question arose, the project was put on hold. In 1921, when the subject once again became relevant, it was decided that a suitable property for the children's playground would have to be found; in the meantime, children would be allowed to use the garden.³⁰⁰ The SMC ended up purchasing Lot 2803 for 5,500 taels per mow for the building of a children's playground.³⁰¹ Also in the Western District, the SMC wanted to build a park in the Jessfield area. The SMC purchased twenty-five mow of land to include

²⁹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated June 27, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 91.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated May 8, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 64.

²⁹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated February 23, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 29.

²⁹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated October 25, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 127.

²⁹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated June 27, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 91-92.

³⁰⁰ *MSMC*. Dated July 27, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 154.

³⁰¹ *MSMC*. Dated December 14, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 247.

in the new park for 41,708 taels.³⁰² In addition, the Land Investment Company suggested that the SMC buy four more lots of land for 2,500 taels per mow, and the SMC decided that three of those would be good purchases.³⁰³

In 1918, the Chinese Y.M.C.A. had applied to the SMC to build a Chinese recreation ground in the form of an extension of the association's headquarters.³⁰⁴ It was originally proposed that a space in the Hongkew Recreation Ground be set aside for Chinese citizens, but this was turned down and the proposal for the new area was submitted.³⁰⁵ After some consideration, the SMC decided that the best place to build a park for Chinese citizens was the Point Garden in the Far Eastern District.³⁰⁶ The Point Garden, an area of almost four mow, was purchased for 4,000 taels per mow.³⁰⁷ In addition, the SMC decided that the creek surrounding the Shanghai Cricket Club should be filled, with the Club paying for a part of the expense in exchange for some of the newly filled land being added to their recreation ground.³⁰⁸ In 1926, the SMC decided to build a new recreation ground to the left of Warren Road with an entrance on Lincoln Avenue.³⁰⁹ In order to do so, the SMC purchased 108 mow of land at an average price of 700 taels per mow.³¹⁰

Just as markets and recreation grounds were improved for public service, the SMC also focused on hospitals and other public service buildings. In 1916, there was discussion about the expansion of the General Hospital, but it was determined that a

³⁰² *MSMC*. Dated July 3, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 94.

³⁰³ *MSMC*. Dated July 6, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 140.

³⁰⁴ *MSMC*. Dated October 16, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 137.

³⁰⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 8, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 65.

³⁰⁶ *MSMC*. Dated June 8, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 111.

³⁰⁷ *MSMC*. Dated October 12, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 200-01.

³⁰⁸ *MSMC*. Dated November 15, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 136.

³⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated September 29, 1926 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 288.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

separate hospital for women might instead be considered. In that case, there would be no need for expansion.³¹¹ The Hospital St. Marie in the French Concession, along with the Red Cross Hospital and the Isolation Hospital, were believed to be large enough to relieve the General Hospital of numerous patients, so the extension was postponed until the price of the materials for building a new hospital decreased.³¹² Once the French Council's support on the matter was ascertained, the SMC began to think that perhaps it would be better to build a completely separate hospital for better class patients.³¹³ After some discussion, however, it was decided that an extension to the General Hospital would be preferable to a new hospital.³¹⁴

The Victoria Nursing Home also continued to be expanded at this time. The McBain property on the Bubbling Well Road was considered as a possible site, but Mr. McBain, who owned the property, was asking 700,000 taels for the property, and the SMC believed that this price was exorbitant for the amount of land and discontinued negotiations.³¹⁵ After this response, Mr. McBain noted that the greenhouses on the property had sentimental value and that, if the SMC was willing to keep the greenhouses and its upkeep, he would be willing to sell it for 400,000 taels.³¹⁶ However, the Commissioner of Public Works noted that, if the green houses were kept, the land would be useless for other purposes, so the SMC decided that the purchase was out of the question.³¹⁷ Another option being considered was to combine the Isolation Hospital and

³¹¹ *MSMC*. Dated April 5, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 49.

³¹² *MSMC*. Dated April 26, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 59.

³¹³ *MSMC*. Dated December 6, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 146.

³¹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated January 31, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 18.

³¹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated August 20, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 170.

³¹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated November 3, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 205.

³¹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated November 17, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 208.

the Victoria Nursing Home.³¹⁸ A new Chinese Hospital was also built in the Yangtzepoo District for the poor, who would be treated free of charge.³¹⁹ Therefore, the Chinese running the site requested of the SMC that the building permit, which amounted to \$150, be waived, and this request was granted because the charitable nature of the use of the building.³²⁰

The SMC also worked on many other public services buildings. In 1916, the Committee of Foreign Women's Home applied for a grant of 3,000 taels in order to build a Women's Home, but the SMC believed the money for this should come from private philanthropy, not the SMC.³²¹ However, the SMC conceded that, if the application was taken to the ratepayers' meeting and it was approved, the SMC would help to fund the project.³²² During this period, the SMC also worked to improve many fire stations. The SMC bought Lot 5028 to expand the Yangtzepoo Fire Station.³²³ A new workshop was built for the Hongkew Fire Station at a cost of 12,000 taels.³²⁴ The SMC began to look for lots to expand the Western District Fire Station and the Jessfield Fire Station, as well as land for a new Central Fire Station.³²⁵ The SMC also looked into building an official Foreign Boarding House, as well as a Stray Children's Home, but neither of these ideas was put into motion.³²⁶

³¹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 28, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 119.

³¹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 14, 1923 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 26.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *MSMC*. Dated January 26, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 15.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *MSMC*. Dated September 11, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 117.

³²⁴ *MSMC*. Dated September 18, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 122.

³²⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 25, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 56, February 28, 1923 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 35 and March 12, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 153.

³²⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 24, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 78-79 and June 23, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 131-32.

Schools were also an important aspect of internal improvement for the SMC. In 1917, SMC wanted to purchase a site on the Tifeng Road for a boys' reformatory.³²⁷ This came about because a school for girls was being built in the Western District, and the Permanent Education Committee believed an educational facility for boys would also be needed in that area.³²⁸ The public school for girls in the Western District began in the early 1910s but remained an ongoing project. In 1917, the SMC bought land on the Tifeng Road for 1,300 taels to 1,500 taels per mow for this school for girls.³²⁹ Just as the public school for girls was an ongoing project, the expansion of the Thomas Hanbury School for Boys was still in progress. At this time, the project was narrowed down to two different plans, with the first costing 75,000 taels and the second 60,000 taels.³³⁰ However, the SMC believed that the cost of both plans was still too high and that a new scheme that fit within the budget should be devised.³³¹ In order to comply with this, the new plan only extended one block instead of two, and the playground area was removed.³³²

The Chinese Polytechnic School extension plans were also still in progress from the previous years. For the 1918 budget, the SMC included a provision for the purchase of the site to expand the Chinese Polytechnic School.³³³ Two years later, a wall was built along the road boundary of the school grounds at a cost of 1,000 taels, and the SMC also entertained the idea of building a second story to the school.³³⁴ Another issue with this

³²⁷ *MSMC*. Dated May 13, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 78.

³²⁸ *MSMC*. Dated November 27, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 152.

³²⁹ *MSMC*. Dated May 30, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 78.

³³⁰ *MSMC*. Dated August 10, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 164.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² *MSMC*. Dated September 21, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 185 and March 1, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 48.

³³³ *MSMC*. Dated June 20, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 87.

³³⁴ *MSMC*. Dated August 11, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 167.

school was that the land on which it stood was leased, and that lease expired in 1925.³³⁵ The SMC decided that a new school for the Chinese might need to be built on a different site because of this issue; however, the lease was simply renewed in 1925, and the school remained open.³³⁶

During this time, the most important new project that was not a part of the previous categories for internal improvement was a cemetery. In 1920, the SMC decided to offer 250 taels per mow for about fifty mow of land west of Edinburgh Road to build a new cemetery.³³⁷ It was an urgent matter since there was barely two years worth of space for burials in the current cemeteries within the International Settlement.³³⁸ There were many other places suggested for the new cemetery, in addition to the offer that the SMC made for the land west of Edinburgh Road. A fifty mow piece of land on Hungjao Road by the Tungwen College was suggested, as well as the Navy Club land on Siccawei Road.³³⁹ It was eventually decided that the land on Hungjao Road would be best, and the SMC acquired approximately eighty-eight mow and various other strips of land for 2,000 taels per mow.³⁴⁰

THE MAJOR COMPANIES: WATER, ELECTRICITY, AND TRAMWAY

Prior to this time, the major utility companies had emerged as important actors in the Shanghai community. This trend continued as these companies came into conflict with both the Chinese and the SMC for power and profit. One difference from the previous years, however, is that while much of the conflict from 1911-1915 came from

³³⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 14, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 178.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

³³⁷ *MSMC*. Dated July 7, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 139.

³³⁸ *MSMC*. Dated February 23, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 34-35.

³³⁹ *MSMC*. Dated November 2, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 213.

³⁴⁰ *MSMC*. Dated December 10, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 252.

the competition between Waterworks Co. Ld. and the Shanghai Waterworks Company in providing water to the areas outside the settlement, most of the conflict during these later years came from the Electricity Department and the Tramway Company.

However, this does not mean that the Waterworks Co. Ld. was completely free of controversies. In 1916, the Waterworks Co. Ld. began to demand contributions from residents along the new extension from Siccawei Road to Tifeng Road.³⁴¹ One such resident, a Mr. Blix, submitted a formal complaint to the SMC, but the SMC decided that he had to address the Waterworks Co. Ld. Directly. If he did not receive a satisfactory reply, then the SMC could take the matter to the legal advisor.³⁴² In 1920, the Waterworks Co. Ld. began planning for extensions of water mains and hydrants along the Edinburgh Road and wanted the SMC to pay ten percent per annum of the cost under Clause 7 of the Waterworks Agreement of 1905.³⁴³ The SMC, however, did not want to be burdened with this additional cost and countered with Clause 6 of the Waterworks Agreement of 1905 that all hydrants were to be erected by the Waterworks Co. Ld. at its own cost.³⁴⁴ The SMC believed that it was important to counter the Waterworks Co. Ld. at this point because it would prevent the company from trying to siphon off additional expenses on the SMC in the future. There were no more recorded conflicts between the SMC and the Waterworks Co. Ld. until 1925 when the question of SMC support for extensions of mains beyond the International Settlement became an issue.³⁴⁵ The SMC unanimously decided that the Waterworks Co. Ld. could not erect extensions of mains beyond the International Settlement without the SMC's approval. A decision made to the

³⁴¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 5, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 89.

³⁴² *MSMC*. Dated October 25, 1916 Volume 19, Minute Book Record Number 27, page 126.

³⁴³ *MSMC*. Dated July 14, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 145-46.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *MSMC*. Dated March 26, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 24.

dismay of the Waterworks Co. Ld, which had many extension plans that were not approved by the SMC.³⁴⁶

While the extension plans for the Waterworks Co. Ld. were somewhat curtailed during this period, the extensions for the Electricity Department continued to flourish. In 1917, the SMC bought parcels of land on Szechuen Road for 60,000 taels to expand the Electricity Department offices.³⁴⁷ Also, the Electricity Department and the SMC were to purchase lots on Jinkee Road for both Electricity Department offices and SMC use, but the Electricity Department backed out of this because purchasing a lot on Nanking Road for a lower price.³⁴⁸ This further highlighted the problem of the extraordinary amount of money that the Electricity Department extensions were costing. When the Electricity Department wanted to purchase Lot 77B on Peking Road, the SMC denied appropriation for this cost, citing that the SMC had already spent 135,200 taels from the budget, as well as 216,000 taels of the Extraordinary Expenditure budget on extensions for the Electricity Department in 1917.³⁴⁹ Because of this, the Electricity Department came up with an extension program that would last from 1917 to 1924 which would be approved by the SMC and be followed in the strictest manner as to not incur any additional costs.³⁵⁰

This new extension program was drafted because of the fear that the Electricity Department would continually grow exponentially and drain the Budget of the SMC. It was not, however, the only solution that was discussed. Two other seriously considered options were to have the consumers subscribe to the municipal rate to the extent of one-third of the cost of supplying power to that district or to call a halt to the expansion of the

³⁴⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 26, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 24.

³⁴⁷ *MSMC*. Dated April 18, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 63-64.

³⁴⁸ *MSMC*. Dated August 29, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 115-16.

³⁴⁹ *MSMC*. Dated November 16, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 163-64.

³⁵⁰ *MSMC*. Dated October 3, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 137.

Electricity Department completely.³⁵¹ Of particular concern to the SMC was the fear that, if a solution to the seemingly endless expansion of the Electricity Department was not managed in defined policy, a rash decision by the ratepayers would inhibit the development of the Electricity Department completely.³⁵² The halt of expansion in the Electricity Department was seen by the SMC as a large detriment because they viewed the efficient and cheap supply of electricity provided by the Electricity Department as a vital part of the future development of both the International Settlement and Shanghai as a whole.³⁵³ The proposed cost of the new extension program, including already approved extensions from 1919, was estimated at 4,303,882 taels.³⁵⁴ In 1924, it was decided that the Electricity Department would provide power to both the Chapei and Pootung areas because more businesses were moving outside the International Settlement, and the loss of their service would be detrimental to the Electricity Department.³⁵⁵ This resulted in even more expansions.

The extensions done by the Electricity Department at this time were not only about supplying power to the International Settlement and surrounding areas, but also the erection of sub-stations and new equipment to manage the supply. In 1918, the SMC approved the purchase of an 18,000 kilowatt turbo-generator for \$500,000 on the grounds that this updated equipment purchase would allow the Electricity Department to operate functionally in the future, as well as save the SMC money on updating equipment later.³⁵⁶

The Electricity Department also erected new sub-stations on Chungking Road, the

³⁵¹ *MSMC*. Dated January 28, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 36.

³⁵² *MSMC*. Dated February 4, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 41.

³⁵³ *MSMC*. Dated February 25, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 55.

³⁵⁴ *MSMC*. Dated January 14, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 26.

³⁵⁵ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 232-33.

³⁵⁶ *MSMC*. Dated December 18, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 164.

Central District, Pingliang Road, the Central Compound, Edinburgh Road, Peking Road, and the Riverside Sub-Station. For the Chungking Road sub-station, the SMC entered in negotiation to sell some of its own property to the Electricity Department.³⁵⁷ The SMC also agreed to provide the site for the Central District sub-station.³⁵⁸ The SMC bought the Pingliang Road sub-station for 4,500 taels and decided to retain the Peking Road property for future Electricity Department use.³⁵⁹ The lot on the Peking Road was to be divided so that the sub-station would be placed in the back or middle, leaving the front available for road widening or future sale.³⁶⁰ The SMC also unanimously decided to purchase the Point Yard Saw Mill property to extend the Riverside power station.³⁶¹ Once again, however, there were points of disagreement between the Electricity Department and the SMC. The Electricity Department purchased the corner sites at Sinza and Ferry Road as well as Moulmein and Wheihaiwei Road for the Edinburgh Road sub-station.³⁶² The SMC informed the Electricity Department that corner lots were unsuitable for sub-stations and that the purchase was unsanctioned; therefore, the Electricity Department had to find another lot for its sub-station.³⁶³

Just as the Electricity Department continued to expand during this time period, the Tramway Company also gained many expansions. The majority of its expansion during this time was the creation of a rail less tram system. While in 1917, the SMC refused to sanction a comprehensive rail less extension scheme submitted by the Tramway Company, the refusal was of the comprehensive plan, not the expansion of the rail less

³⁵⁷ *MSMC*. Dated February 6, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 19.

³⁵⁸ *MSMC*. Dated February 26, 1919 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 30, page 26.

³⁵⁹ *MSMC*. Dated April 28, 1920 and June 9, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 104 and 123.

³⁶⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 9, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 43.

³⁶¹ *MSMC*. Dated November 30, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 180.

³⁶² *MSMC*. Dated April 13, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 64.

³⁶³ *Ibid*.

system.³⁶⁴ This expansion sparked some controversy with drivers because the sharing of the road, as can be seen by the fact that many residents of the International Settlement sent in a petition to the SMC protesting the extension of the rail less system from Fokien Road to Thibet Road because the congestion. It would cause vehicle owners to avoid one of the two routes that ran from the east side of the International Settlement to the west side, but other than this opposition to the rail less system was very minimal.³⁶⁵

Serious expansion of the rail less system didn't begin until 1920. The first approved extension was to introduce the rail less system on Kiangse Road from Avenue Edward VII to Peking Road, then from Szechuen Road and Soochow Road.³⁶⁶ From there, the extensions were numerous. The SMC granted an extension of the rail less system along the Foochow road from Thibet Road all the way to the Bund.³⁶⁷ A separate extension was placed along the Yuyuen Road from Bubbling Well road to provide tram access to Jessfield Park.³⁶⁸ An additional North and South route was created by the extension between Fokien Road and the Bund.³⁶⁹ An extension was built on Burkill Road from Carter Road to Thibet Road and was projected to continue to the Yates Road.³⁷⁰ In 1922, the SMC approved the extension of the rail less system parallel to the Nanking Road in conjunction with the decision to raise the rates to the railed tram along the same route in order to encourage the use of the rail less alternative.³⁷¹ The same year, the SMC approved extensions along Elgin Road from North Honan Road to North Chekiang Road;

³⁶⁴ *MSMC*. Dated December 5, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 173.

³⁶⁵ *MSMC*. Dated December 18, 1918 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 29, page 167.

³⁶⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 7, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 19.

³⁶⁷ *MSMC*. Dated March 17, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 69.

³⁶⁸ *MSMC*. Dated March 17, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 70.

³⁶⁹ *MSMC*. Dated December 20, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 227-28.

³⁷⁰ *MSMC*. Dated December 20, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 229.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

along Cunningham Road from Elgin Road to Boundary Road; and along Canton Road from Thibet to Hoopah Roads.³⁷²

Another public transportation service that grew with the Tramway Company was the Omnibus service. The Omnibus service became an issue in 1920 when the SMC was asked to issue a permit for the motor bus service between the Bund and Woosung Road.³⁷³ At that point, the Chairman noted that the question of motor bus services and rail less tram extensions would not be considered separately since they would both be providing public transportation to the same area.³⁷⁴ Therefore, it was decided that motor omnibus service would be viewed on a street to street basis and not as any comprehensive motor bus system since the Tramway Company already had a comprehensive rail system.³⁷⁵ In 1922, an extensive list of roads were judged to be suitable for the Omnibus service, and after consultation with the Deputy Commissioner of Police and the Assistant Commissioner of Traffic, nine of those routes were approved.³⁷⁶ Nine routes were approved: Route I--Bund-Nanking-Bubbling Well Road to St. George's Hotel and back; Route II--North Szechuen Road to Dixwell Road and back; Route III--Junction of North Szechuen Road Extension and Dixwell Road to a point on the Kiangwan Road about one-quarter of a mile beyond Hongkew Park and back; Route IV--Bund-Broadway and

³⁷² *MSMC*. Dated February 22, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 40.

³⁷³ *MSMC*. Dated September 22, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 174.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ *MSMC*. Dated August 2, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 150.

³⁷⁶ *MSMC*. Dated August 8, 1922 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 33, page 154. The proposed routes included A. Bubbling Well road between Carter Road and Thibet Road, B. Avenue Road and C. Sinza Road between Carter Road and Thibet Road; Western District Extension--All roads, westwards as far as and including the Warren Road, other than Jessfield Road between Brenan Piece Westwards to Brenan Road; Central District--Thibet Road and Avenue Edward VII; Northern District--North Thibet Road, Haining Road, Kiafeng Road, Jehol Road and Yalu Road; Northern District Extension--Urga Road to Dixwell Road, Dixwell Road to North Szechuan Road, North Szechuan Road from Dixwell Road to Kiangwan Road, and Kiangwan Road from North Szechuan Northwards to a point near the new open air Swimming Pool; Eastern District--East Yalu Road, Poit Road, Tongshan Road, Paoting Road, Dalny Road and all roads east of Dalny Road.

Muirhead Road and back by East Seward Road Seward Road; Route V--North Honan Road to Boundary Road--North Shanse Elgin Road; Route VI--New Engineering Works along Yangtsepoo Road, Broadway, Chaufoong Road, East Yuhang, Tungchow Road, East Yalu, Urga Road and Dixwell Road; Route VII--Foochow Road to Thibet Road to Peking Road to the Bund and vice versa; Route VIII--Peking Road to Thibet Road to Avenue Road or Burkill Road and Carter and Bubbling Well Roads; Route IX--Avenue Edward VII to Manila Road or Avenue Roch to Avenue Haig.

The presence and expansion of these companies led to the rise of similar Chinese companies, such as the Chapei Waterworks Company, in order to compete with the foreigners. This competition was a source of nationalism for the Chinese just as the Chinese construction of railways led to a source of nationalism. The *Shenbao*, the leading Chinese newspaper in Shanghai, wrote: "It is said that the people of Zhejiang always lack solidarity, but, fortunately, Sheng's contract with the British has unified us...Self-construction of the railway was advocated by the gentry-merchants and received strong responses from the laboring classes."³⁷⁷ Similarly, the rise of Chinese utility companies in Shanghai provided a source of unification for the Chinese people.

FURTHER PROBLEMS WITH THE CHINESE ON THREE FRONTS

In previous years, most of the conflict with the Chinese authorities had centered on the question of who should police the roads and provide for utilities, especially water, in the areas surrounding the International Settlement. During this period, the conflict escalated on the question of extra-Settlement roads in addition to two new topics: the increased presence of Chinese citizens and their interests inside the International Settlement and civil unrest within the Chinese population.

³⁷⁷ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 55.

The conflict over extra-Settlement roads was an ever-present issue for both the SMC and the Chinese authorities. By the 1920s, the Chinese had a more organized police force and modernized its training methods in order to compete with the Shanghai Municipal Police.³⁷⁸ The Chinese police slowly began to increase its presence on these roads which led to a flurry on both sides to erect police sub-stations. By 1928, the Chinese had twenty-one Chinese police stations on extra-Settlement roads.³⁷⁹ This effort was not only driven by the need to maintain power and control for the Chinese administration, but also by the nationalistic need to prove that the Chinese could also train and maintain a modern police force as well as the foreigners could. This modernization of the police force was partly driven by the induction of a new Chief of the Chapei area. He formally complained to the SMC in November of 1921 about the construction of a drain on Fusan Road.³⁸⁰ The SMC then proceeded to confirm the validity of this work by noting that that particular piece of land was on loan to the SMC for the purposes of building a road. However, technically it was still British property, and according to the treaty clause no Chinese official, Yamen runner, soldier or policeman had any right to enter upon, trespass or otherwise interfere with the land or house property of British subjects.³⁸¹ After this incident, the SMC had a meeting with Mr. S.K. Chen, who represented the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, and clearly detailed that extra-Settlement roads such as the Fusan Road were recognized as Municipal Property and that, while Chinese police might cross those roads and the land around or underneath

³⁷⁸ Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 64.

³⁷⁹ *MSMC*. Dated March 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 219-20.

³⁸⁰ *MSMC*. Dated December 16, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 218-19.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

them could be used by both the SMC and the Chinese, the road surface was a part of the International Settlement and would be maintained by the SMC.³⁸²

Of course, the constant issue of Chinese officials policing the road continued throughout this period. By 1923, the Chinese had built many police stations on Brenan road adjoining the Settlement boundary.³⁸³ A report was submitted by the Commissioner of Police stating that the Chinese military forces were functioning on Jessfield Road and asked what steps should be taken.³⁸⁴ While the SMC would normally take issue with this, this time, the SMC decided to inform the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs tactfully about the incident because the anti-foreign movement was high at this time.³⁸⁵ In 1925, when General Chang wanted to move his troops through the International Settlement due to the Northern Expedition excursion where Chiang Kai-Shek fought to abolish the warlords and unify China, the SMC unanimously agreed that Chinese troops should not be on municipal roads outside the International Settlement, much less inside the International Settlement itself.³⁸⁶ By 1926, the encroachment of Chinese police was so rampant on the extra-Settlement roads that the SMC believed letters to the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs would have little effect and decided to adopt a firm attitude, meaning SMC police enforcement on the matter.³⁸⁷

This does not mean, however, that the SMC and Chinese were completely at odds on the question of extra-Settlement roads. One such example is the Road to the Hills. This road had not been named yet but was referred to as such because it led to an area

³⁸² *MSMC*. Dated December 7, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 240.

³⁸³ *MSMC*. Dated July 11, 1923 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 95.

³⁸⁴ *MSMC*. Dated April 8, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 26-27.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ *MSMC*. Dated June 17, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 91.

³⁸⁷ *MSMC*. Dated July 7, 1926 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 264-65.

outside the International Settlement called the Hills, in which many factories were located.³⁸⁸ The road was proposed in 1920, but it was deemed too expensive at a cost of 175,000 to 200,000 taels; therefore, the SMC decided that this road would not be built at that time.³⁸⁹ In August, however, it came to the attention of the SMC that the Chinese were planning on constructing a road to Sungkiang and that such a road could possibly pass through the Hills.³⁹⁰ It was therefore proposed that the SMC should try to convince the Chinese to build the road so that it passed through the Hills, while providing the funds for this slight detour.³⁹¹ This idea was greeted with enthusiasm by the Chinese because it meant that the SMC would be responsible for maintaining the road in the future.

Just as the presence of the Chinese on the extra-Settlement roads became more prominent, conflict over Chinese presence within the International Settlement was a new issue during this period. In 1917, Mr. Chow Whuen Yung was detained by the Chinese authorities because a land case. Because he was a resident of the International Settlement, the SMC demanded his immediate release, as well as a hearing in the Mixed Court.³⁹² During that same year, Mr. Sah was relieved of his office as the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and then proceeded to stay in the International Settlement and stir up propaganda in the local Chinese press on the subject of the recovery of China's sovereign rights, including the restoration of the Mixed Court and the Whangpoo Conservancy to the Chinese government.³⁹³ In 1920 the Senior Consul decided to allow Chinese troops through the Settlement on their Labor Day, which was the anniversary of the "Martyrdom

³⁸⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 2, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 117.

³⁸⁹ *MSMC*. Dated June 16, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 127.

³⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated August 11, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 165-67.

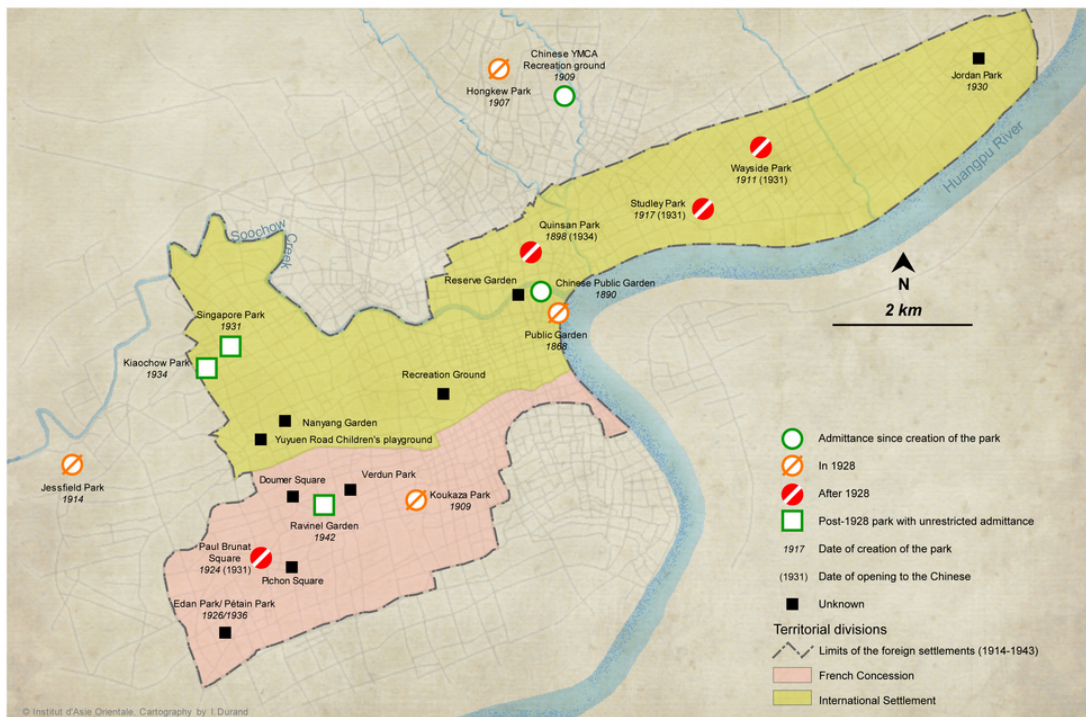
³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² *MSMC*. Dated July 11, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 98-99.

³⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated December 5, 1917 Volume 20, Minute Book Record Number 28, page 174.

of the Students” and the “Day of Humiliation.”³⁹⁴ The SMC acceded to this one permit but informed both the Senior Consul and the Acting Defense Commissioner that, in the future, such permits should not be granted.³⁹⁵ One especially controversial topic during this time was the denial of permission for Chinese citizens to participate in recreation in the public parks and open spaces within the International Settlement. The phrase “No dogs or Chinese” became a postmodern catch phrase of this phenomenon, although there was never actually a sign that said this.³⁹⁶ When Chiang Kai-Shek instituted the new KMT administration in the Shanghai, this policy was reversed, and for the first time in 1928 Chinese was allowed to enter the International Settlement public parks.³⁹⁷

Opening of public parks to the Chinese population



Map 4. Opening of Public Parks to the Chinese Population

³⁹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated May 12, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 107-08.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 2.

³⁹⁷ Lee, *Shanghai Modern*, 29.

Another issue involving Chinese in the International Settlement during this time was the presence of Chinese offices within the boundaries. Previous to the installation of the KMT administration in Shanghai in 1927, the Central Bank of China had plans to build a bank within the International Settlement.³⁹⁸ The British Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to the SMC asking it to prevent the opening of the bank and the circulation of the notes from the bank, but the SMC responded that it could not prevent the opening of the bank but would refuse the notes for payment of the municipal taxes, effectively rendering them useless within the International Settlement.³⁹⁹ Also in 1927, the Bureau of Markets, a Chinese governmental institution, requested the SMC's cooperation in investigating wages and living costs of the working class within the International Settlement as a part of a broader census. Though some members of the SMC believed that this would be a bad decision, the SMC decided on the whole that, since it was only statistical work and did not have any executive duties, it did not conflict with the policy that Chinese governmental offices should not be permitted to function within the International Settlement.⁴⁰⁰ The SMC was adamant about this policy, regardless of which Chinese authorities were trying to function within the International Settlement. In April of 1927, when the Nationalist Government, which the SMC supported, wanted to use the building in which the Russo-Asiatic Bank was formerly situated for the Finance Ministry, the SMC unanimously decided that this would not be allowed.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated September 14, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 153.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ *MSMC*. Dated May 25, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 98.

⁴⁰¹ *MSMC*. Dated April 4, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 68.

During this period, there was a significant increase in civil unrest by the Chinese, both within the International Settlement and in the broader Shanghai region. Two major incidents of civil unrest within Shanghai occurred from the May 4th Movement and the May 30th Incident. The May 4th Movement arose from the fact that during the Treaty of Versailles which ended World War I, the Japanese were given the Shantung province which was previously controlled by the Germans. This led to the famous demonstration of students on May 4th and a subsequent boycott of Japanese products.⁴⁰² In Shanghai, not only were there boycotts of Japanese goods, but there were strikes by as many as 60,000 Chinese workers.⁴⁰³ The nationalistic response in Shanghai was particularly strong, not only because it was an area with a Japanese presence, but also because the Chinese at that time were already disgruntled with foreigners. Robert Pollards views the May 4th Movement as a major cause of the rise of nationalism to the Chinese merchants in the treaty ports who, for economic and industrial reasons, wished for more autonomy and protection.⁴⁰⁴ It is important to note here that the Chinese during the twentieth century had a different attitude towards Westerners and the importation of western methods. While the Boxer Rebellion in the previous century showed that the Chinese were against imperialist expansion, growth of cosmopolitan influences, and missionary evangelism, the Chinese of the twentieth century were less xenophobic and more curious about Western modernity. Most importantly, the Chinese of the twentieth century were interested in learning Western methods and using or adapting them for their own uses. Therefore the anti-foreign feelings of the May 4th Movement were particularly

⁴⁰² Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 302.

⁴⁰³ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 300.

⁴⁰⁴ Robert T Pollard, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933), 288; Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 300.

significant. While the Chinese workers in Shanghai were boycotting and striking against the Japanese, the Chinese students were refusing to pay SMC rates because of the lack of Chinese representation on the SMC.¹ Similarly, the May 30th Incident in 1925 was also a major cause of nationalistic sentiment. On May 30, in the International Settlement, thousands of Chinese workers and students assembled outside the police station to demand the release of six Chinese students who had been arrested by the British for protesting against militarism and foreign imperialism. As the crowd got larger and more unruly, the British Inspector ordered his men to fire, resulting in a salvo of forty-four shots that killed eleven of the demonstrators and left twenty more wounded.⁴⁰⁵ This led to the boycott of British goods in Shanghai.⁴⁰⁶ The *China Journal* was not printed for two months due to strikes by Chinese workers.⁴⁰⁷

Additionally, civil unrest was caused by the question of Chinese representation on the advisory committee, as well as the increase in the general municipal rate. The issue of Chinese representation on the SMC came to the forefront in June of 1919, after the May 4th Movement, when a group of students started a general strike stating that they would refuse to pay the general municipal rates unless Chinese representation on the Council was granted.⁴⁰⁸ The response of the SMC was to circulate a letter stating: “forbidding the assemblage of crowds, loitering, intimidating, spreading of rumors such as will stir up animosity, fomenting trouble or cause alarm, and the printing of any matter of an inflammatory character or as may incite or support any refusal to pay General Municipal

⁴⁰⁵ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 322.

⁴⁰⁶ Goto-Shibata, *Japan and Britain in Shanghai, 1925-1931*, 60-61.

⁴⁰⁷ “1925 and 1926,” *China Journal* (4.1, January 1926). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/jan1926.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁴⁰⁸ *MSMC*. Dated January 2, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 2-5.

Rates or Land Tax would lead to arrests.”⁴⁰⁹ In addition, it was decided by the Consular Body that a list of Chinese ratepayers should be drawn up each year and that those on the list should elect a certain number of representatives, whose duties it should be to designate two of their number to sit as Chinese Councilors.⁴¹⁰

Upon this suggestion, the SMC set up the Chinese Advisory Committee to deal with the issue. The Chinese Advisory Committee was to consist of five Chinese representatives who would not be subject to the veto of the Consular Body and would terminate participation upon the final confirmation of the amended Land Regulations and the election of Chinese councilors.⁴¹¹ In addition to this, an amendment to Resolution VII of the Land Regulation was submitted, which would add three additional members, all of whom would be Chinese, to the SMC.⁴¹² The five nominated by the Chinese Ratepayers Association were Messrs Sung Hang-chang, Hsia Yung-sung, Moh Er-cho, Yui Shih-chang, and Chen Kuan-foo.⁴¹³ The SMC objected to these five, noting that they were all members of the Directorate of the Chinese Ratepayers Association and would thereby rule in favor of the Association, as opposed to the Chinese constituency.⁴¹⁴ After much debate between the SMC and the Chinese Ratepayers Association, five new acceptable members were chosen: Sung Hang-Chang, Hsia Yung-sung, H.Y. Moh, David Z.T. Yui,

⁴⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated January 5, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 22-23.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ *MSMC*. Dated January 12, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 22-23.

⁴¹² *MSMC*. Dated March 31, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 84; Bickers, “Shanghaianders”, 170.

⁴¹³ *MSMC*. Dated December 15, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 224-25.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.* Letter stated: “I would like to emphasize that in a laying its proposals before the Ratepayers the Council was careful to leave the matter of the choice of nominees entirely in the hands of the Chinese, making no stipulations except in regard to their qualifications, and that they be acceptable to the Consular Body, with whom we have to work in so many matters affecting the administration of this Settlement. The machinery which you have set up for providing your nominees – the Chinese Ratepayers Association – seems to us to be practical, but unfortunately you have adopted rules and regulations for this Association which are such that even did we not as a Council tell you that we could not accept any nominee bound thereby, the Consular Body would, we are convinced, refuse to accept your nominees because of these rules and regulations.”

and Chen Kuan-foo.⁴¹⁵ In 1930, the Land Regulations were amended again to allow for two more SMC members, so that there could be five Chinese councilors.⁴¹⁶

With these steps toward more Chinese inclusion, Chinese agitation faded into the background until 1927. In June 1927, the SMC noticed organized opposition by the Chinese residents and business owners to a recent ruling to increase the general municipal rate in July.⁴¹⁷ The SMC decided that it would have to ask the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs if the new KMT administration supported this movement before they made a decision on what response to take.⁴¹⁸ The Commissioner of Foreign Affairs statement was that the resistance was founded by the local Chinese community, but the KMT government was naturally sympathetic to their reasoning.⁴¹⁹ The SMC decided that, if that was the case, they could not back down on the collection of the new general municipal rate.⁴²⁰ Part of the reason that Chinese agitation simmered in the background during the middle of the 1920s was because warlordism and the impact of the unstable political situation outside of Shanghai still affected those within Shanghai. One particular situation which heavily affected the SMC was the Chekiang-Kiangsu conflict. This was when the warlords of these two areas went to war over control of their territory and Shanghai was in the warpath. This was partly because of the presence of the railways in Shanghai. The Chinese warlords were fully aware of the role of railways in increasing military capacity and therefore in changing the balance of power.⁴²¹ On September 9, 1924, the SMC declared a state of emergency because the heavy fighting around

⁴¹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 11, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 87.

⁴¹⁶ Goto-Shibata, *Japan and Britain in Shanghai, 1925-1931*, 31; Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1033.

⁴¹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated June 28, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 110-11.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated July 3, 1927 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 113.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ Gao, *Meeting Technology's Advance*, 127.

Shanghai.⁴²² One of the first concerns was over the large amount of refugees entering the International Settlement. The Consuls believed it would go against the ideal of the International Settlement to deny asylum for the refugees while the SMC believed that they would be a burden on the International Settlement and that an erection of a barriero of barbed wire on the Chapei boundary should be implemented.⁴²³ This is only one of the many disputes that occurred because of the Chekiang-Kiangsu conflict.

In October of 1924, Major Hilton Johnson of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps wanted permission to occupy the railway station in order to disband the Chekiang Troops and take possession of their weapons when it was learned that the Chekiang Troops would pass through the International Settlement.⁴²⁴ The SMC believed, however, that such an action would seem to favor the Kiangsu party and therefore be contrary to the policy of neutrality it had followed, and denied such an action.⁴²⁵ In addition, at that same time, some residents of the Chapei district approached the Acting Commissioner of Police about having the SMC safeguard both the Chinese and Foreign property in Chapei during the turbulent times.⁴²⁶ The SMC also denied this request stating that an action like that would not be supported by the local Chinese authorities.⁴²⁷ However, a few days later the SMC once again was presented with this request, this time from various influential persons in Chapei. The decision this time was that, for the protection of the International Settlement, the SMC would enter the Chapei district in times of looting and burning in order to prevent endangerment to the International Settlement.⁴²⁸

⁴²² *MSMC*. Dated September 9, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 218a.

⁴²³ *MSMC*. Dated September 6, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 212.

⁴²⁴ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 234.

⁴²⁵ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 234.

⁴²⁶ *MSMC*. Dated October 1, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 229.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 235.

This action by the SMC brought about the issue of the relationship between the Consular Body and the SMC and the rising tension caused by their difference of opinions. The SMC reiterated its policy to cooperate voluntarily with the Consular Body and to maintain friendly relations, but in the case of the responsibility for the safety of the International Settlement, the SMC would do what was necessary.⁴²⁹ A few days after this statement, the issue was raised again. The Chairman of the SMC thought it important to determine clearly whether or not the Consular Body had any actual authority over the SMC or the right to issue any orders or instructions to the SMC. The consensus was that the Consular Body did not have that authority and that the SMC was charged with maintaining the “safety, peace, and good order of the Settlement, and in times of civil war in China, civil commotion, riots and strikes, and other circumstances which may threaten the safety, peace and good order of the Settlement may at any time be compelled in self-defense to adopt measures, which not only may not have the sanction of the Consular Body but may be in direct opposition to its opinions or possible instructions.”⁴³⁰

The Chekiang-Kiangsu warlord conflict lasted through 1925. By then, the SMC had decided to send its military forces some distance from the International Settlement in order to disarm Chinese troops to prevent them from falling back to the International Settlement if they should face defeat.⁴³¹ In addition, the SMC notified generals of both forces in the Chekiang-Kiangsu conflict that the International Settlement would not accept any soldiers as refugees and that the International Settlement should not be regarded as an asylum for defeated troops to enter with impunity, thereafter having to be

⁴²⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 235.

⁴³⁰ *MSMC*. Dated October 29, 1924 Volume 22, Minute Book Record Number 34, page 241.

⁴³¹ *MSMC*. Dated January 21, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 8.

fed and sheltered by the residents as the civilian refugees were.⁴³² Throughout this time, refugees had been pouring into the International Settlement, even against the SMC's wishes. By 1925, the Public Works Department had erected mat sheds and corrugated iron shelters and was planning to build a large camp, either at the Rifle Range because it was well fenced in with barbed wire, and had good arrangements for light, water, and sanitation, or at the Pingliang Camp, where there were few foreign residences.⁴³³ The issue with refugees came to a head when the Kiangsu army proclaimed that they would abduct or assassinate General Wang of the Chekiang army if he was in the International Settlement.⁴³⁴ After hearing of this, the SMC publicly stated that the presence of the refugees in the International Settlement was not desired.⁴³⁵ In addition, the SMC noted that political refugees would be told to leave the International Settlement within three days or within any other reasonable period, with the police offering to see them safely off on whatever steamer or train they may desire and guarding them meanwhile.⁴³⁶

It is important to note here that while the conflict with the Chinese on these three particular issues was long in coming, it finally came to a head in 1927 and thereafter because the change in Chinese political situation. This change was the consolidation of power by the nationalist government headed by Chiang Kai-Shek. The nationalist government, by 1928, managed to bring the majority of China under one flag during the Northern Expedition.⁴³⁷ In 1927, Chiang Kai-Shek entered Shanghai with the nationalist military and set up a new local administration. The International Settlement gathered a

⁴³² *MSMC*. Dated January 21, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 8.

⁴³³ *MSMC*. Dated January 14, 1925 Volume 23, Minute Book Record Number 35, page 4.

⁴³⁴ *MSMC*. Dated July 28, 1920 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 31, page 157.

⁴³⁵ *MSMC*. Dated January 26, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 18-19.

⁴³⁶ *MSMC*. Dated February 2, 1921 Volume 21, Minute Book Record Number 32, page 20.

⁴³⁷ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 269.

small force during this time to ensure that the nationalist army would not try to enter the International Settlement.⁴³⁸ For the first time since the fall of the Ch'ing Empire, the SMC would deal with a unified national government and local Shanghai government. The new local administration set up by Chiang Kai-Shek was obligated to follow the policies of the KMT.⁴³⁹ The new policy of this administration was to “demonstrate that they could impose law and order and to justify their reclamation of sovereign rights in the city; they were also going to pursue vigorously and aggressively every opportunity they could to supplant the jurisdiction of the International Settlement and French Concession police with their own police sovereignty.”⁴⁴⁰ This new administration consisted of a number of bureaus: four that were obligatory, including the finance, public security, social affairs, and public works bureaus, as well as a mayor who oversaw not only these bureaus, but the municipal council and the police.⁴⁴¹ This change in Chinese administration would heavily affect the urban expansion of the International Settlement in the following years.

The KMT particularly focused on improving its bureaus to regain its national sovereignty. The new administration was particularly hard on what it saw as failures by these bureaus; the Land Bureau was criticized for not having unified the administration of the municipal lands as yet and for having allowed a sale of land to Japanese citizens, the Public Utilities Bureau was criticized for having failed to resume direct control over the public utility undertaking, and the Education Bureau was criticized for having failed to standardize the local school system, and the police were severely criticized over the

⁴³⁸ Kirby, “The Internationalization of China”, 188. The force however was not large enough to actually repel an attack by the Nationalist military.

⁴³⁹ Pollard, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931*, 370.

⁴⁴⁰ Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 60.

⁴⁴¹ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 32.

quality, training, efficiency, and integrity of their personnel.⁴⁴² One of the major changes that governed SMC-Chinese relations would be that the decision in 1931 to incorporate the International Settlement into the Municipality of Greater Shanghai over the course of ten years.⁴⁴³ The Municipality of Greater Shanghai was a plan to incorporate all parts of Shanghai as well as areas surrounding Shanghai which were fully developed under the control of the new KMT administration.

The SMC continued its projects on extending and widening roads for the purpose of urban development during this time although conflicts became more frequent. The SMC decided to widen the Broadway East despite objections that it was primarily a Chinese thoroughfare because it would help facilitate traffic movement into the International Settlement. The SMC decided to re-metal the entire Rubicon Road System and thereafter allow all residents to drive on the roads without paying SMC municipal rates. When the SMC did not have enough of a budget to build the Road to the Hills, it worked with the Chinese to provide a road to the Hills so that the residents would have better access to the International Settlement. In addition, the SMC spent these years developing the Western District by building playgrounds, parks, and schools because compared to other parts of the International Settlement, it was underdeveloped. The SMC also gave money for a Chinese hospital for the poor to be built in the Yangtsepoo area. A major focus for the SMC during this time was the extension of the Electricity Department because the SMC believed that cheap and reliable electricity was a vital part of the future development of Shanghai, not just the International Settlement.

⁴⁴² Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 44-45.

⁴⁴³ Bickers, "Shanghailanders", 206.

Nationalism flourished within Shanghai during this time. The competition between the foreign and Chinese utility companies continued to grow. While this competition was between businesses, the 1920s was also a time for the rise of nationalism for Chinese residents of Shanghai. The Chinese people also showed their nationalistic sentiment as an economic response. The responses to the May 4th movement were the strikes by the Chinese workers as well as boycotts of all Japanese goods. In addition, Chinese students refused to pay SMC rates. Similarly, the response to the May 30th Incident was the boycott of all British goods by the Chinese. As shown, the rise in nationalism had already begun in Shanghai before the emergence of the KMT presence. The nationalism which was present before the KMT influence was not ideologically oriented but economically focused. The first area in which Shanghainese learned nationalism was through the competition in the market and the urban space in Shanghai. However, Goto-Shibata is correct in saying that the KMT facilitated nationalism, especially since they achieved results in regaining the Chinese sovereignty rights in addition to fostering the sentiment of nationalism. These results included the admittance of Chinese into International Settlement parks, the functioning of Chinese offices within the International Settlement, the inclusion of Chinese members on the SMC, as well as the restoration of the Chinese right to collect customs, tariffs, postal communications, and salt monopoly revenues, which is significant in the case of Shanghai since the new KMT administration received 40 to 50 percent of its revenue through just the Shanghai customs.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴⁴ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 175.

Chapter 3

The Erosion of SMC Power, 1928-1936

During this time period, 1928-1936, the SMC was trying to maintain its authority. Road widening and extensions, which were once the major focus of the SMC, were only minimally attended to because the SMC was trying to maintain control of the extra-Settlement roads that were already built. Internal improvements continued as they did in previous years, albeit with some more focus on providing for Chinese nationals within the International Settlement. Struggles with the Chinese increased in various different forms, although the most noticeable was the presence of Chinese offices within the International Settlement. With the encroachment of the Japanese and the ensuing conflict between them and the Chinese in Shanghai, brought on by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the SMC struggled to maintain its power through neutrality. In 1935 there were 30,000 Japanese residents in Shanghai owning “millions of yen worth” of textile factories.⁴⁴⁵

By 1935, there were 3,155,000 residing in Shanghai with over half of the trade done throughout China.⁴⁴⁶ Shanghai was second only to Tokyo in terms of trade. Shanghai operated eighty-two cotton mills as well as 124 cotton-weaving mills in addition to numerous ship-building yards, rice-hulling factories, paper mills, egg-product plants, canneries, tobacco, soap, and leather factories. Shanghai had five big engineering firms, thirty-five motion-picture producers, and biggest waterworks system in Asia.⁴⁴⁷ The approximately 3 million residents can be broken down: 3,000,000 Chinese, 30,000

⁴⁴⁵ “The Shanghai Boom,” *Fortune Magazine*. (11.1, 1935): 30 -120. Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/reading/fortune.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

Japanese, 25,000 Russians, 9,331 British, 3,614 Americans, 1,776 French and the rest as a variety of nationalities.⁴⁴⁸

DISPUTES OVER THE CONTROL OF ROADS

The conflict over the control of the extra-Settlement roads continued during this time. In 1928 the Commissioner-General reported that the area surrounding the spot where the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd. was located was within the disputed area of control and that none of the occupants of that area were paying the municipal rates, leading to \$8,000 loss per year.⁴⁴⁹ In addition, there were twenty-one Chinese police stations in that area, staffing fifteen to 100 men in each; this exorbitant amount suggests that the Chapei authorities were contesting the SMC's established rights to maintain and police these roads.⁴⁵⁰ While conflict over the control of the extra-Settlement roads still continued during this time, the SMC and the local Chinese authorities began negotiations to settle this issue. Until negotiations were complete, the SMC was trying to maintain the status quo, but this became increasingly difficult because the unauthorized functioning of Chinese on these roads. It was particularly difficult since the new KMT administration had decided to approach the foreign consuls for a plan to stop the creation of more extra-Settlement roads, since many Chinese believed the foreign consuls were more reasonable about this issue than the SMC.⁴⁵¹ The Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd. noted that the Chapei authorities were breaking down the boundary walls of their property located on Dixwell and North Szechuen Road.⁴⁵² Considering that they were not receiving police protection from the International Settlement, the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ltd.

⁴⁴⁸ "The Shanghai Boom", *Fortune Magazine*.

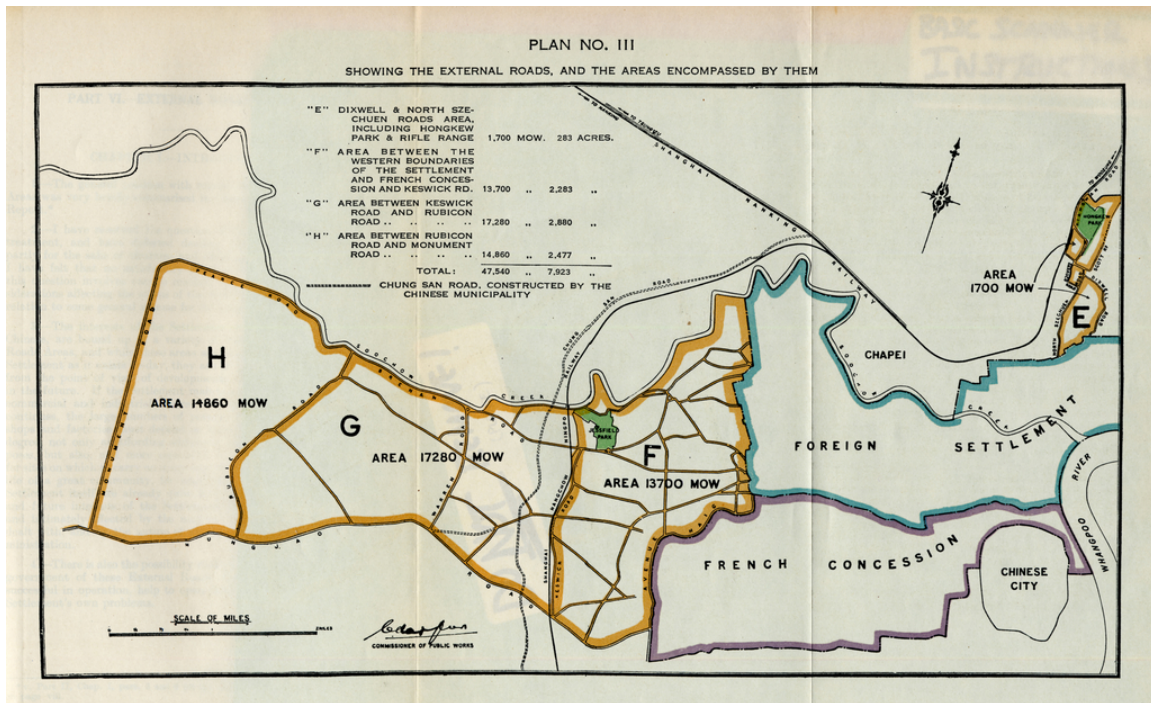
⁴⁴⁹ *MSMC*. Dated March 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 219-20.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵¹ Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 67.

⁴⁵² *MSMC*. Dated February 29, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 215-16.

stated that they should not have to pay the municipal taxes.⁴⁵³ The SMC decided that the negotiations were too delicate for the SMC to jeopardize by sending in the police and suggested instead that the Shanghai Land Investment Co. Ld. withdraw itself from that area.⁴⁵⁴



Map 5. Plan No. III Showing the External Roads and the Areas Encompassed by Them

This was not the only instance of active intrusion by Chinese nationals on the extra-Settlement roads. The Commissioner of Public Works reported that the Chapei authorities were laying a twelve-inch drain on the North Soochow Road.⁴⁵⁵ The SMC decided to ignore this particular case because the road was of no particular use to the SMC and to contest it would mean that the SMC would have to resume the

⁴⁵³ *MSMC*. Dated February 29, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 215-16.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ *MSMC*. Dated March 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 222.

responsibilities of maintenance and policing.⁴⁵⁶ A similar situation occurred on Jessfield Road when the Chapei Electricity & Waterworks Company erected an electricity main across it. The SMC's response in this case was to bring it to the attention of the Chinese authorities and request that such trespasses not occur while negotiations concerning the extra-Settlement roads were still in progress.⁴⁵⁷ Another common incident was the assault on municipal police patrolling extra-Settlement roads by Chapei police. In one case, a Municipal Police Inspector on the Great Western Road was attacked by the Chapei Police.⁴⁵⁸ In another case, the Chinese river police attempted to prevent the Public Works Department from constructing a landing stage on the Soochow Creek at Markham Road and arrested the foreign foreman of the project.⁴⁵⁹

The SMC decided that it was imperative to speak with the Chapei authorities and come to an agreement that the Chapei Police would refrain in the future from making arrests of any nationals having extra-territorial rights, and, in return, the municipal police would allow the Chapei police to arrest all other persons, thereby policing the roads together.⁴⁶⁰ A temporary agreement was reached with the Shanghai City Government for the joint control of the extra-Settlement roads in July of 1931.⁴⁶¹ However, the details of this agreement were not negotiated at that point and would continue to take many years. Part of the problem was that the Japanese Consul General would have to agree to wording for the SMC to put it into action. The Japanese Consul General was against the idea of a Special Force policing these extra-Settlement roads because they felt that the

⁴⁵⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 222.

⁴⁵⁷ *MSMC*. Dated July 23, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 115.

⁴⁵⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 1, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 216-17.

⁴⁵⁹ *MSMC*. Dated September 3, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 124.

⁴⁶⁰ *MSMC*. Dated May 1, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 216-17.

⁴⁶¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 22, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 269-70.

Chinese police presence would exacerbate the already present hostilities between the Chinese and Japanese residents.⁴⁶² In turn, the Chinese authorities were against the idea of Japanese police functioning on these roads.⁴⁶³ The issue was resolved when it was decided that, in the northern extra-Settlement road area, a Japanese superintendent would be appointed with a foreign inspector, and in the western extra-Settlement area, a non-Japanese superintendent would be appointed with a Japanese inspector, and both areas would be working with a Chinese senior officer in charge of the entire area.⁴⁶⁴ This decision was approved because it allowed Japanese police to patrol areas where there were many Japanese residents but still allowed the Chinese some control in other areas.

MORE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

Although the SMC was intent upon preserving its authority over the extra-Settlement roads, this did not deter them from continuing with the internal improvements. In order to complete the overall plan on public parks, the SMC purchased the area in the northern district near the vicinity of Singapore Road to be used in the plan.⁴⁶⁵ After this purchase, the Acting Treasurer noted that the SMC should not commit to any other purchases for public parks until it had a more clearly defined idea of what educational facilities and hospital extensions it had planned for the following year.⁴⁶⁶ With this recommendation in mind, the SMC focused on purchases for hospitals and schools. The SMC focused on hospitals because the fighting which broke out between the Japanese and the Chinese led to an increase in injured persons, infectious diseases, and a need for

⁴⁶² *MSMC*. Dated March 29, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 176-77.

⁴⁶³ *MSMC*. Dated April 12, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 186-87.

⁴⁶⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 29, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 262-65.

⁴⁶⁵ *MSMC*. Dated July 23, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 112.

⁴⁶⁶ *MSMC*. Dated July 30, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 117-18.

hospitals. The SMC focused on Chinese education because it was one of the principal matters brought forward in the negotiations for Chinese representation on the SMC.⁴⁶⁷

One of the longest running hospital projects for the SMC was the Victoria Nursing Home. The expansions planned would allow accommodation for about 100 women, including both sisters and probationer nurses.⁴⁶⁸ These additional extensions were completed in early October of 1933, and the Victoria Nursing Home reopened around October 24 with a small, informal ceremony to take place on that date.⁴⁶⁹ In addition to more expansion, the SMC was also looking to acquire more room for graves, approximately 2.5 mow, adjacent to the nursing home.⁴⁷⁰ The extension on the General Hospital was also continuing at this time. The SMC had acquired land adjacent to the General Hospital, and the cost for the land plus its development was projected to be between 300,000 taels and 400,000 taels.⁴⁷¹ Another hospital that was being revamped was the Country Hospital. It was found that the fourth floor of the Country Hospital could be used for hospital wards, as suggested by the Economy Committee.⁴⁷² The SMC noted that a separate building to accommodate that number of patients would cost about 60,000 taels; thus, it would be more economical to repair the fourth floor instead.⁴⁷³ The SMC also started two new hospitals: a new mental hospital and a Western fever hospital. The new mental hospital was originally going to be erected on a site behind the Public & Thomas Hanbury School for Girls, but because complaints about its proximity to the

⁴⁶⁷ *MSMC*. Dated June 13, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 264-65.

⁴⁶⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 25, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 99-100.

⁴⁶⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 18, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 250.

⁴⁷⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 12, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 41.

⁴⁷¹ *MSMC*. Dated May 29, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 402.

⁴⁷² *MSMC*. Dated July 11, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 273-74.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

school, the SMC found a new site.⁴⁷⁴ The new mental hospital instead was to be erected on a portion of the former site of the Victoria Nursing Home or on the Kiaochow Road property with the Western fever hospital because of its large area.⁴⁷⁵

One of the continuing projects for educational facilities was the Junior School for Boys. In 1930, the SMC attempted to acquire a site on Tifeng Road, currently held by the military authorities, to build the school.⁴⁷⁶ Unfortunately, the military authorities were unwilling to relinquish the site, and the SMC alternatively erected the new school building on an area of land abutting the Kiaochow Road recently purchased for another purpose.⁴⁷⁷ Another continuing project for the SMC was the opening of the Public & Thomas Hanbury School for Girls. As indicated, the SMC originally wanted to purchase 15.834 mow of the site of the former Victoria Nursing Home; however, the Commissioner of Public Works wanted to use that land for a public park.⁴⁷⁸ The decision was to build the school on 11.992 mow of this land, and use the remaining space for a public park.⁴⁷⁹ In addition to these projects, the SMC was also selling municipal property for the opening of a new Japanese school on behalf of the Japanese Residents' Corporation with a six percent rate interest to be paid over ten years for the sale of the site.⁴⁸⁰ The need for this school was urgent because by 1935 there were nearly 25,000 Japanese residents in the city.⁴⁸¹

Many of the internal improvements on hospitals and schools that the SMC worked on during this period were projects that would specifically benefit the Chinese. One such

⁴⁷⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 29, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 265-66.

⁴⁷⁵ *MSMC*. Dated September 19, 1934 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 369.

⁴⁷⁶ *MSMC*. Dated December 10, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 171.

⁴⁷⁷ *MSMC*. Dated October 14, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 291.

⁴⁷⁸ *MSMC*. Dated December 9, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 310-11.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ *MSMC*. Dated October 15, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 141-42.

⁴⁸¹ Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan", 927.

work was the Sung-Hu Reformatory, a house for beggars outside the International Settlement.⁴⁸² The original request of Shanghai Chinese Ratepayer's Association was that the SMC make a monthly grant toward the institution was denied because it was not situated within the International Settlement.⁴⁸³ However, when a police report was received that the majority of beggars ejected from the International Settlement returned within a month, the SMC decided that it would be justifiable to help the Sung-Hu Reformatory.⁴⁸⁴ In addition, the SMC learned that there were two additional institutions caring for beggars, one in Chapei and one in Nantao, which would be willing to take in beggars from the International Settlement if the SMC provided financial contribution.⁴⁸⁵ This was not the only Chinese institution to receive funding from the SMC. The SMC also decided to grant the Lester Chinese Hospital 5,000 taels a year to help it to continue to function.⁴⁸⁶ Also, in 1929, the SMC granted the Shanghai Sanitarium and Hospital with 5,000 taels for the first year of operation.⁴⁸⁷

Another intent of the SMC was Chinese education. This was partly because the extension of Chinese education was one of the principal matters brought forward in the negotiations for Chinese representation on the SMC.⁴⁸⁸ When the SMC met in 1928 to decide the nature of this plan, it decided that the principal need was for primary education. Moreover, if the SMC would open schools along with the Chinese educational system, it would cost significantly less than what the SMC currently spent for Chinese

⁴⁸² *MSMC*. Dated May 1, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 380.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ *MSMC*. Dated June 26, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 408-09.

⁴⁸⁵ *MSMC*. Dated March 18, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 204.

⁴⁸⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 28, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 226.

⁴⁸⁷ *MSMC*. Dated December 11, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 482.

⁴⁸⁸ *MSMC*. Dated June 13, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 264-65.

schools.⁴⁸⁹ As part of this plan, the SMC moved the Public School for Chinese to the building that used to be the Thomas Hanbury School for Boys because it was a more modern school building and was in excellent condition.⁴⁹⁰ The SMC also advocated the erection of two Chinese primary schools in the northern and western districts for a cost of approximately 200,000 taels.⁴⁹¹ The SMC entered into negotiations to purchase Cad. Lot 3376 on Sinza road for the primary school in the western district.⁴⁹² Until that school could be built, a house on No. 88 Avenue Road was to be leased for one year as the site for the school.⁴⁹³ For the other primary school, the SMC considered either the premises on No. 138 Ward Road or Cad. Lot 5078.⁴⁹⁴ It chose the No. 138 Ward Road site for the second primary school since it was larger and more suitable, not to mention less costly for the SMC.⁴⁹⁵ While the focus was on primary schools, the SMC also began plans for a secondary school for Chinese girls, and purchased Cad. Lots 5960 and 5954 for the site of the new school.⁴⁹⁶ While it was being built, the SMC leased the premises at No. 914 Avenue Road for the temporary school building.⁴⁹⁷

Although hospitals and schools were the main focus, the SMC also continued work on other projects. In 1928, it purchased an area of 21.234 mow on the northwest corner of Bubbling Well and Medhurst Roads at a price of 30,000 taels per mow as a site for a new Town Hall, which would not be built for another few years.⁴⁹⁸ In 1929 the

⁴⁸⁹ *MSMC*. Dated June 13, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 264-65.

⁴⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated January 6, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 4.

⁴⁹¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 24, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 425-26.

⁴⁹² *MSMC*. Dated September 18, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 444. Cad is short for Cadastral District.

⁴⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated July 23, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 112.

⁴⁹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated January 6, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 5.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 6.

⁴⁹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 18, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 155-56.

⁴⁹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated November 25, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 258-59.

⁴⁹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated November 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 310-11.

SMC purchased Cad. Lot 298 and 299 for the expansion of the Central Market site for 510,000 taels.⁴⁹⁹ In 1930, the SMC purchased Cad. Lot 2530 to build a public landing space along the wharf.⁵⁰⁰ In 1931, the SMC began to build huts for refugees that were coming into the International Settlement and contributed \$50,000 toward a camp for refugees at Minghong Road.⁵⁰¹ In 1933, the SMC bought a parcel of land on Kiaochow Road about forty or fifty mow in length to build a public park.⁵⁰² In 1934, the SMC began a project to build an asylum for the insane and secured a grant of \$50,000 toward this project.⁵⁰³

LOSING THE POWER STRUGGLE WITH THE CHINESE

While trying to maintain its control over extra-Settlement roads, the SMC was also facing the loss of authority to the Chinese in other areas. The most notable aspect was the functioning of Chinese offices within the International Settlement. The Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Mines proposed to take over the testing of cotton for export and proceeded to rent out quarters at No. 22 Kiukiang Road as headquarters.⁵⁰⁴ The SMC notified the ministry that application for the establishment of a Cotton Testing Bureau within the International Settlement must be made through the Consular Body and that the quarters at No. 22 Kiukiang Road would not be made available to them until such permission was granted.⁵⁰⁵ While permission for the Cotton Testing Bureau was pending, the Sulfur Bureau was established in 1929 within the International Settlement.⁵⁰⁶ One year prior, the Chinese wanted to establish a branch office of the Stamp Tax Bureau

⁴⁹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated October 17, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 302.

⁵⁰⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 26, 1930 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 50-51.

⁵⁰¹ *MSMC*. Dated March 2, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 18-19.

⁵⁰² *MSMC*. Dated May 11, 1933 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 198.

⁵⁰³ *MSMC*. Dated July 11, 1934 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 354.

⁵⁰⁴ *MSMC*. Dated November 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 310.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁶ *MSMC*. Dated September 30, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 289.

within the International Settlement.⁵⁰⁷ Since stamps were already being sold within the International Settlement, although there was no official establishment, the SMC was reluctant to approve it and referred them to the Consular Body.⁵⁰⁸ The SMC decided that the Stamp Tax Bureau could function within the International Settlement as long as its only purpose was to sell these stamps and collect the necessary taxes without being political in nature or attempting to hinder the jurisdiction of SMC.⁵⁰⁹ When this proved not the case, the SMC requested that the Stamp Tax Bureau be removed from the International Settlement, only to find out that the Stamp Tax Bureau had already been given up by the Chinese authorities and that any Chinese nationals who desired to pay this additional tax would do so through the medium of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.⁵¹⁰ In 1931, the Chinese wanted to set up a Navigation Bureau within the International Settlement; the SMC decided to approve it if this Bureau refrained from trespassing on the SMC's functions and it, in fact, proved to be convenient to Chinese ship-owners.⁵¹¹

The SMC decided to franchise the Electricity Department and offer it for sale.⁵¹² The Special Committee that was formed to review this decision realized how important it was to maintain efficient running of the Department, a continuity which could only be possible if the undertaking was regarded purely as an industrial concern and beyond the scope of political influences, and suggested that the proposed sale be approved.⁵¹³

Another consideration was that, since the future status of the International Settlement was

⁵⁰⁷ *MSMC*. Dated November 14, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 309-10.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid*.

⁵⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated September 2, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 278-79.

⁵¹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated September 30, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 288

⁵¹¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 15, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 265-66.

⁵¹² *MSMC*. Dated February 29, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 341.

⁵¹³ *MSMC*. Dated March 25, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 353-59.

somewhat obscure, the SMC would be safeguarding the Electricity Department from all possibility of interference by selling it.⁵¹⁴ However, in case the International Settlement did maintain its current status in the future, a forty-year clause was written stating that the SMC could repurchase the Electricity Department in forty years, but for the present the SMC would retain the title deeds for the Electricity Department until the payment was made in full.⁵¹⁵ On January 5, 1935, the franchise for the Western District Power Company was approved for provision of electricity to the premises in the western extra-Settlement road area.⁵¹⁶

Another way in which the SMC started to lose control over the International Settlement was the establishment of a new Special Chinese Police Squad in 1928. This new squad was to assist the SMC in protection of the International Settlement, and it was to consist of about 570 men who would be trained and armed by the SMC, as well as having their headquarters in the Central Police Station within the International Settlement.⁵¹⁷ In addition, when the Chinese employees of the Postal Office were threatening to strike, the SMC allowed Chinese police to function within the International Settlement and detain offenders as long as they were not in uniform or armed.⁵¹⁸ This dual control led to perhaps the most controversial incidents: the Avenue Haig police shooting and the Connaught Road incident. In the Avenue Haig incident, a squad of municipal police patrolling Avenue Haig entered a house during an investigation; when a squad of Chinese police, also patrolling the road, entered the premises, they shot at each

⁵¹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated March 25, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 353-59.

⁵¹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated June 28, 1929 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 411-14.

⁵¹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 5, 1929 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 13.

⁵¹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated March 28, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 227-28.

⁵¹⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 2, 1928 in Volume 24, Minute Book Record Number 36, page 246.

other.⁵¹⁹ The incident occurred because neither squad recognized each other except as potential hostiles. The SMC believed that, in order to avoid similar future incidents, the police should be instructed not to draw their weapons when in contact with the neighboring Chinese police and that the Greater Shanghai Authorities should be asked to issue a similar instruction to their police.⁵²⁰ The SMC ended up paying for the hospital bill for the wounded Chinese policemen because the house was technically on Chinese soil, even though it abutted an extra-Settlement Road.⁵²¹ In the Connaught Road incident, a pedestrian was accidentally hit by a bus, but a Chinese police officer prevented his removal from under the bus in order for a photograph to be taken, and the victim subsequently died.⁵²² In addition, the same police officer assaulted a municipal police officer who was trying to help the victim out from under the bus.⁵²³ Since the incident occurred on a dual patrolled road, the SMC was unable to do anything except to send a formal protest concerning the specific police officer in question.⁵²⁴ In addition, on February 17, 1930, the Mixed Court in Shanghai was restored to Chinese control for the first time since 1911, signifying a major coup for jurisdictional sovereignty for the Chinese.⁵²⁵ During the same negotiations, the KMT administration also regained control over maritime customs, tariffs, postal communications, and salt monopoly revenues.⁵²⁶

ENCROACHMENT OF THE JAPANESE

When the Mukden Incident occurred, September 18, 1931, and the Japanese forces took over Manchuria, tension in Shanghai reached a new high since Japanese were

⁵¹⁹ *MSMC*. Dated July 1, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 260-61.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ *MSMC*. Dated July 15, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37, page 264-65.

⁵²² *MSMC*. Dated April 19, 1934 in Volume 26, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 323-25.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁵ Pollard, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931*, 381.

⁵²⁶ Kirby, "The Internationalization of China", 187.

present. On November 30, the SMC had a special meeting concerning how to preserve “the law and order” in the International Settlement in light of the hostilities in Manchuria. The decision at that time was not to declare a state of emergency since the situation had eased in the past forty-eight hours. In case hostilities did erupt in Shanghai, the SMC were to try to prevent it from occurring near the railway line in the Western area.⁵²⁷ By January, it was clear that there would be military action by the Japanese in Shanghai, and on the 28th, the SMC received a notice from the Japanese Defense Force that they would be engaging in military action within twenty-four hours. The SMC decided to declare a state of emergency before the hostilities began.⁵²⁸ Hostilities included armed attacks on the Japanese by the Chinese and Chinese activists carried out sanctions against Chinese merchants who continued to do business with the Japanese.⁵²⁹ In addition, Chinese banks in Shanghai closed for two months bringing much of the Chinese economy to a halt.⁵³⁰ The conflict left “6080 Chinese dead, 2000 wounded, and 10,400 missing; 814,084 persons suffered direct losses, and 80 percent of urban workers lost their jobs; 50 percent of all factories in Chapei were destroyed largely from aerial bombardment and 1.2 million Chinese were made refugees.”⁵³¹

Once hostilities began between the Japanese and Chinese in Shanghai, the SMC decided to take steps limiting the impact on the International Settlement. One of the first proposals was to establish a neutral zone along the rail and rule out combat between forces in that area.⁵³² Another proposal was to have that area entirely protected by SMC

⁵²⁷ *MSMC*. Dated November 30, 1931 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 1-2.

⁵²⁸ *MSMC*. Dated January 28, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 3.

⁵²⁹ Fogel, “Shanghai-Japan”, 934.

⁵³⁰ Arthur De C. Sowerby, “While Rome Burns,” *China Journal* (16.4, April 1932). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/april1932.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁵³¹ Fogel, “Shanghai-Japan”, 936.

⁵³² *MSMC*. Dated February 1, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 5-8.

forces. The Japanese authorities would not agree to this, since many of the residents of that area were Japanese.⁵³³ The SMC proceeded with steps officially to declare the International Settlement and the SMC neutral during the Sino-Japanese conflict.⁵³⁴ Unfortunately, the SMC was unable to completely separate the International Settlement from the conflict. Many bombs fell on the International Settlement as the Japanese bombarded the Chinese portions of Shanghai by air strikes.⁵³⁵ The event was described in the *China Journal* accordingly:

“When we went to press last month the undeclared war between China and Japan in the immediate vicinity of Shanghai was at its height. The Japanese forces had launched a big offensive and were meeting with a stubborn resistance from the Chinese. On the night of March 1 the Chinese troops began to withdraw from their positions. This was heralded by terrific fires throughout the Chapei area. On March 2 the 19th Route Army completely evacuated the whole of its positions and retired to a line some twelve miles to the west of Shanghai, leaving the Chapei area a mass of ruins. Woosung Forts fell to the Japanese on March 3. This left the whole area to the east of a line from Liu He on the Yangtze south past Kating and Nanziang to the Soochow Creek clear of Chinese soldiers; and there the position has remained till now. Although the commanders of both opposing forces gave orders to their troops to cease fire on March 6, desultory sniping and occasional skirmishes have taken place during the month.”⁵³⁶

In addition, Japanese military forces took over areas controlled by the SMC for strategic purposes. The Japanese authorities later apologized for this mistake, stating that the Japanese military forces were unaware that the area was under control by neutral forces.⁵³⁷ In addition, a large portion of the Japanese community resided within the northern extra-Settlement road area, and the Japanese military used this as their reasoning

⁵³³ *MSMC*. Dated February 1, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 5-8.

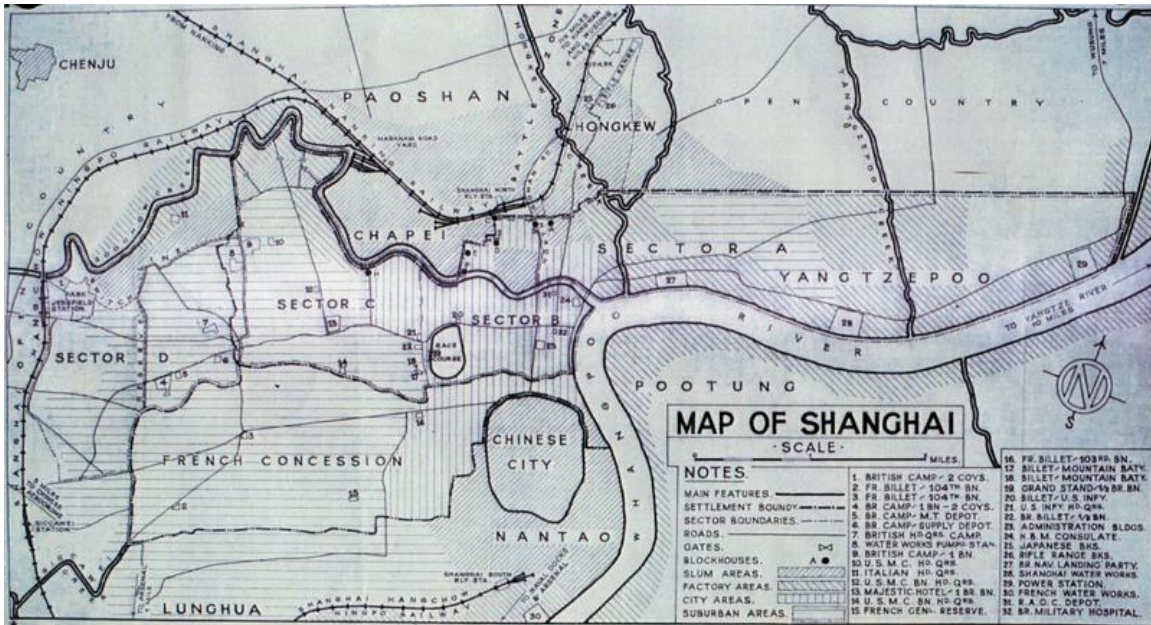
⁵³⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵³⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 3, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 13-16.

⁵³⁶ Sowerby, “While Rome Burns”.

⁵³⁷ *MSMC*. Dated February 3, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 13-16. The Japanese Naval forces took over the area occupied by British troops as well as the mill districts controlled by the American forces.

for occupying this area.⁵³⁸ By 1935, there were approximately 20,000 Japanese nationals living in the Hongkew area, unofficially called the Japanese Concession, which provided the Japanese with the rationale to take over this area of the International Settlement.⁵³⁹



Map 6. Map of Shanghai [Defense Sectors]

Another problem for the SMC was in trying to declare and maintain neutrality was the absence of any treaty or convention under which the International Settlement existed giving it such authority.⁵⁴⁰ The Chinese authorities began to protest, stating that the SMC was allowing use of the International Settlement as a base for Japanese military and the Japanese protested against the SMC allowing defeated Chinese troops into the International Settlement even if they had been disarmed.⁵⁴¹ In addition, Chinese

⁵³⁸ Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1037.

⁵³⁹ Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan", 929.

⁵⁴⁰ *MSMC*. Dated February 6, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 27-30.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

organizations began to indulge in anti-Council propaganda, advocating for example the non-payment of municipal rates on the ground that the Council had failed to afford protection to Settlement residents and had not prevented the Japanese forces from violating the Settlement's neutrality.⁵⁴² To alleviate these accusations, the SMC decided that municipal police should begin to resume control, section by section, by familiarizing themselves with the existing conditions in each section with help from the Japanese authorities. This would allow the municipal police to be present and process any suspected persons and handle any arrests.⁵⁴³ Although not legally formalized, the SMC did manage to negotiate a neutralized zone around the International Settlement in 1932.⁵⁴⁴

As part of this negotiation process, the SMC had many issues to consider. They set up a camp within the International Settlement for the accommodation of refugees.⁵⁴⁵ The SMC prepared for the removal of certain barricades between the International Settlement and the Chapei district.⁵⁴⁶ The SMC began with the area along the Dixwell Road that was bounded by North Szechuen and resumed full administrative control of the Hongkew and Yangtsepoo areas at the same time.⁵⁴⁷ Unfortunately, with full administrative control of the Hongkew area, the SMC realized how much damage was done to it. There was no light or water in this area, but the SMC was unable to restore it, because the fact that it was provided by the Chapei Electricity & Waterworks Company. With the pass system still in force in the area, the workers would be unable to come in

⁵⁴² *MSMC*. Dated February 12, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 52-56.

⁵⁴³ *MSMC*. Dated February 22, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 93-96.

⁵⁴⁴ Lockwood, "The International Settlement at Shanghai, 1924-34", 1037.

⁵⁴⁵ *MSMC*. Dated February 28, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 108-09.

⁵⁴⁶ *MSMC*. Dated March 3, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 120-23.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

and repair the destroyed or damaged mains.⁵⁴⁸ The *China Journal* reported that many factories, especially those in the Chapei district, had been closed for six months due to the conflict and approximately sixty-seven factories, including some flour mills and the Japanese cotton mills continued to stay closed.⁵⁴⁹ Consequently about 90,000 millworkers and factory hands in Shanghai are unemployed. In addition, the unsanitary conditions of the area were posing a threat to the International Settlement because it was allowing the spread of infectious diseases. The areas to the North of Chaoufoong and Kungping Roads, bounded to the South by the International Settlement, to the West by the Sawgin Creek and the East and North by the new roads along with the North of Sawgin Creek and West of Dixwell Road were the most unsanitary and posed the most danger.⁵⁵⁰

Throughout this time, the Japanese increasingly intruded upon the management of the International Settlement. The Japanese forces put up a wire barricade leading up to the Markham Road Bridge to stop Chinese nationals from crossing into the International Settlement from the Chapei district.⁵⁵¹ The Japanese naval authorities then proceeded to overstep their authority by arresting and detaining residents of the International Settlement on Nanking Road and other areas.⁵⁵² Many of those who were detained were Chinese and were arrested solely on suspicion of being a sniper.⁵⁵³ The SMC threatened to lodge a formal protest to the Consular Body concerning this incident if the Japanese naval authorities did not issue not only an apology, but also a guarantee to leave the arrest

⁵⁴⁸ *MSMC*. Dated March 5, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 125-28A.

⁵⁴⁹ "Engineering, Industrial & Commercial Notes," *China Journal* (16.4, April 1932). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/april1932.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁵⁵⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 9, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 133-36.

⁵⁵¹ *MSMC*. Dated March 24, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 27.

⁵⁵² *MSMC*. Dated September 14, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 111-12.

⁵⁵³ *MSMC*. Dated February 2, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, page 9-12.

and detention of people to the police forces.⁵⁵⁴ While the SMC did not lodge a formal complaint, the municipal police did, filing a formal complaint with the Consular Body as the incident became more frequent.⁵⁵⁵

The SMC's attempts at urban expansion were practically halted during this time. The SMC was no longer building extra-Settlement roads to any large degree and this was because the focus of the SMC had turned inward into providing public services to areas that were already established. This was partly because the SMC was losing power to the Chinese. Chinese police were patrolling more and more of the extra-Settlement roads and had entered into negotiation with the foreign Consuls for the sole control of these roads. In addition, Chinese utility companies such as the Chapei Waterworks Company were laying water mains along roads previously controlled by the SMC because they were able to fully provide the same service as the Shanghai Waterworks Company at a lower rate and now had the backing of the Chinese administration in conflicts with the SMC. Therefore, the SMC's urban development projects were mainly focused internally. The SMC built a lot of schools during this time to compete with the Chinese administrations new educational reform. In addition, hospitals were an urgent project because the fighting between the Japanese and Chinese had led to a rise in injured persons as well as an increase in diseases. The fighting between the Japanese and Chinese also meant that the SMC was trying to rebuild infrastructure that had already existed. The SMC tried to remove barricades that were erected along various parts of the International Settlement in order to help foster the ailing economy. In addition, because the bombing many areas were not without light and water and the SMC attempted to rectify the situation.

⁵⁵⁴ *MSMC*. Dated September 14, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 111-12.

⁵⁵⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 18, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 38, page 55.

While the Chapei Waterworks Company was becoming increasingly more competitive and the Chinese administration was continuing to restore Chinese sovereign rights, Chinese nationalism during this time became increasingly anti-Japanese. Chinese banks stayed closed for two months to protest the actions of the Japanese as well as the SMC's failure to protect them. Many Chinese merchants also boycotted selling to all foreigners, but especially the Japanese. This was particularly effective since many Chinese activists would carry out sanctions against any Chinese merchants who continued to do business with the Japanese. While the effort of the KMT brought concrete results to the already growing sense of nationalism in Shanghai, the increasing presence of the Japanese, starting in the 1930s, heightened the sense of nationalism but, unlike the KMT era, led to a loss of sovereign rights. Patricia Stranahan succinctly summarized this by saying "the combination of humiliation of occupation, foreign indifference and economic disruption fueled the existing flames of anti-Japanese [and nationalist] feeling among citizens of all classes."⁵⁵⁶ The Chinese people's response to the fighting in the Chinese districts was to begin to indulge in anti-SMC propaganda advocating the non-payment of municipal rates on the ground that the Council had failed to afford protection to International Settlement residents and had not prevented the Japanese forces from violating the International Settlement's neutrality.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁶ Patricia Stranahan, "Strange Bedfellows: The Communist Party and Shanghai's Elite in the National Salvation Movement," *The China Quarterly*, (129, March 1992): 44.

⁵⁵⁷ *MSMC*. Dated February 12, 1932 in Volume 25, Minute Book Record Number 37A, pages 52-56.

Chapter 4

War and Japanese Occupation, 1937-1941

By late 1937 the conflict between the Japanese and the Chinese became a full out total war. The Second Sino-Japanese war had begun, and one of the first areas of conflict was in Shanghai. The Battle of Shanghai started on August 18, 1937, and the landscape in Shanghai changed irrevocably afterward. At first, the conflict was only in the Chinese portion of Shanghai, but before long, the International Settlement also came under the power of the Japanese. While the SMC continued to meet and maintain minutes until the end of 1943, it only maintained control until 1941. The last normal council minute entry for the SMC was on May 1, 1941, but even before then, it was clear that the SMC was working under constraints set by the Japanese. During this time of war, the interest of the SMC was scaled back enormously. The SMC was focused on trying to maintain control over the extra-Settlement roads, not only from the Chinese but other civilian actors. Most internal improvements were set aside with the exception of the building of more hospitals and schools. The flow of refugees from the fighting outside the International Settlement became a major concern. Throughout all of this, the SMC was fighting a losing battle trying to maintain control of the International Settlement from the Japanese.

CONTROL OVER THE EXTRA-SETTLEMENT ROADS

During this time, the SMC was still attempting to negotiate with the Shanghai City Government over the question of extra-Settlement roads. The Shanghai City Government, however, was unwilling to alter its view on the policy of preserving the sovereign rights of China and would not officially allow SMC control over the extra-Settlement roads.⁵⁵⁸ By this point, the SMC had in fact lost most control over these roads as both the Chinese nationals and foreign civilians in Shanghai were no longer recognizing the SMC's power. People who occupied buildings adjacent to the extra-

⁵⁵⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 19, 1931 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 262-63.

Settlement roads were no longer paying the municipal rates required.⁵⁵⁹ More and more residents were defaulting on the payment of municipal rates, and there was even organized opposition to the collection of the rates by 1937.⁵⁶⁰ The SMC believed they had only two choices: some kind of drastic action, or to allow the defaulting of these payments. Since the latter choice would seem to show that the SMC had no power over these roads whatsoever, the SMC went with the drastic action: it decided to block access to the municipal roads for those who were defaulting on their payments.⁵⁶¹ Ironically, after this action, the tenants and landlords of these buildings took the issue to the Shanghai City Government, who forced to open up discussion with the SMC over this issue to come to some kind of agreement.⁵⁶²

While trying to collect municipal rates on the extra-Settlement roads, the SMC was also struggling to maintain its control over issuing permits for buildings to be erected along these roads. One such incident was the building of the artificial silk factory opposite no. 657 Amherst Avenue. The SMC had originally prohibited the building of this factory in September of 1938, but the building progressed in January against the SMC's wishes.⁵⁶³ One of the main arguments that the SMC used to justify its authority over the matter was that the area in which the artificial silk factory was to be built was originally zoned for purely residential purposes.⁵⁶⁴ The Chinese company that was building the factory insisted, however, that it was building a modern facility, which would not be a nuisance to the neighborhood.⁵⁶⁵ The SMC wanted to enforce its ruling

⁵⁵⁹ *MSMC*. Dated May 19, 1931 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 262-63.

⁵⁶⁰ *MSMC*. Dated March 17, 1937 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 236-37.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ *MSMC*. Dated January 25, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 127-31.

⁵⁶⁴ *MSMC*. Dated September 7, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 88.

⁵⁶⁵ *MSMC*. Dated April 12, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 161-64.

and ban access to the area by encircling the property with physical barriers and having it patrolled by the police. However, the Commissioner of Public Works argued that this would be impractical because there were not enough police personnel to patrol the whole area, and the construction could continue by bringing in materials from areas inadequately patrolled by the police.⁵⁶⁶ Another point brought up by the Commissioner of Public Works was that such an action could prompt the builders to take the issue to court, which could cause an official ruling that the SMC had no authority in such matters.⁵⁶⁷ In this case, the SMC allowed the building of the factory.

However, there were other cases in which the SMC did put up a police blockade and attempt to enforce their decisions. When a company proceeded to construct a weaving factory near No. 105 Columbia Road ignoring the prohibition by the SMC because this was also a residential area, the SMC sent in police to enforce their ruling.⁵⁶⁸ Another such incident was the building of the silk filature on Singapore Road. The SMC also opposed the construction of this site, but for a different reason: the land around this area was to be used to build a new hospital and it was thought that a factory in the midst of that would be disruptive.⁵⁶⁹ In this case, the SMC was unwilling to compromise since the building of the hospital was already behind schedule and was very much needed. It did not need, in the end, to send in the police because the company decided to build the silk filature in another area.⁵⁷⁰

Factories were not the only buildings adjacent to extra-Settlement roads that the SMC prohibited. Another big issue during this time was the building of coffin

⁵⁶⁶ *MSMC*. Dated January 25, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 127-31.

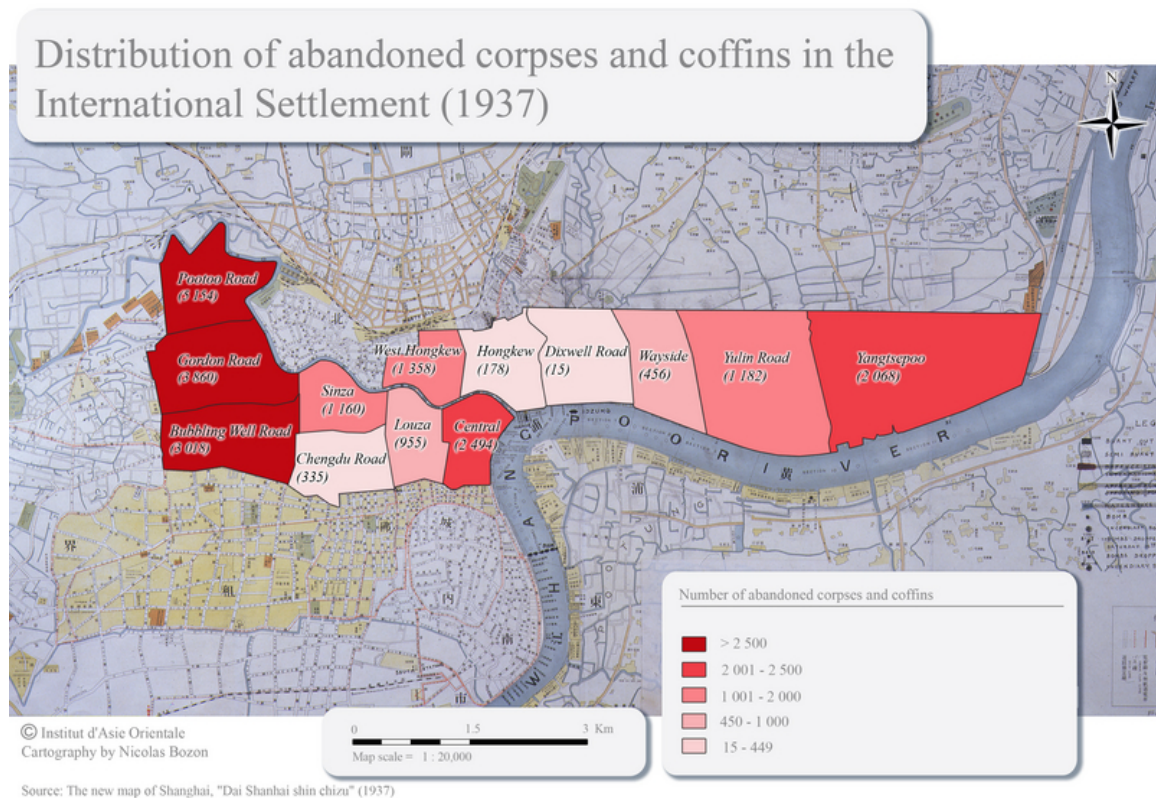
⁵⁶⁷ *MSMC*. Dated January 27, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 133-36.

⁵⁶⁸ *MSMC*. Dated September 7, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 88-89.

⁵⁶⁹ *MSMC*. Dated September 7, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 89-92.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

repositories and funeral parlors. The *China Journal* notes that since January 1937, the SMC had disposed of 34,801 bodies but that there were still 31,801 corpses that needed to be buried of people who had died during the hostilities and could not be buried and who have died in the since hostilities ceased.⁵⁷¹



Map 7. Distribution of Abandoned Corpses and Coffin in the International Settlement

In this case, however, it was the residents of the neighborhoods in which the coffin repositories were going to be built who protested to the SMC.⁵⁷² One example of this was a coffin repository and corpse storage building that was to be built at the corner of Avenue Haig and Edinburgh Road by a Chinese company called Vien Coffin Storage

⁵⁷¹ Arthur De C. Sowerby, "The disposal of Shanghai's waste products," *China Journal* (27.4, October 1937). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/t-cj3710.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁵⁷² *MSMC*. Dated April 6, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 25-28.

Co.⁵⁷³ It was to include several storage sheds, a ceremonial hall, an office, and a small workshop for making coffins, enclosed by a ninety-yard wood trellis fence surrounding the property.⁵⁷⁴ The Commissioner of Public Health noted to the SMC that, although the residents were complaining, the setup of this coffin repository was of no danger to the public health and the SMC would have no grounds for denying its construction.⁵⁷⁵

Another consideration for the SMC was that there was a genuine need for more coffin repositories at this time because the abnormal political conditions surrounding Shanghai; as a result, suppressing all new coffin repositories would be impossible.⁵⁷⁶ Eventually, the company decided to transform the coffin repository into a funeral parlor and reapplied for a permit.⁵⁷⁷ The company, however, noted to the SMC that it did not have express powers to determine where coffin repositories should be outside the International Settlement. The SMC decided that it could not risk a challenge to its right to stipulate the building of establishments off extra-Settlement roads and decided to issue the permit.⁵⁷⁸

This was not the only company wishing to build the coffin repositories that challenged the SMC's right to issue permits for buildings adjacent to extra-Settlement roads. In 1938, the SMC had made a ruling that all coffin repositories must obtain the approval of the public works and public health departments, such approval to stipulate that it is given only temporarily and that the erection of such repositories in the Western Extra-Settlement district be restricted to the area north of Rockhill avenue and south of Brenan road because that area was non-residential.⁵⁷⁹ The companies who wished to

⁵⁷³ *MSMC*. Dated April 6, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 25-28.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ *MSMC*. Dated May 3, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 172-74.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 7, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 262-67.

build, however, challenged the SMC's right to decide this, stating that the Land Regulations and its bylaws did not expressly give the SMC zoning powers or power to license such establishments.⁵⁸⁰ Another such incident was when the Dah Kung Funeral Home submitted a request to use a site on the Great Western Road near the junction of Columbia and Great Western Roads to build a new funeral home or coffin repository but was denied.⁵⁸¹ The Dah Kung Funeral Home owner challenged the right of the SMC to zone properties and restrict businesses and noted that he would proceed with the building with or without the SMC's approval.⁵⁸² While the representative for the residents of that neighborhood, Mr. Allman, strongly objected to the approval of the permit, the SMC hedged, noting that they had not decided against the establishment of coffin repositories outside the International Settlement.⁵⁸³

HOSPITALS AND SCHOOLS

Partly because much of the SMC's attention was focused on maintaining its power, internal improvements during this time period were limited to two projects: hospitals, because they were needed due to a rise in infectious diseases, and schools because of petitions from the residents. In 1911 and 1922, special commissions were appointed to formulate a universal education policy, but the cost of this proposal was beyond the means of the SMC's budget. Therefore, the SMC decided to adopt a policy of limited public education for the Chinese in order to defray the cost.⁵⁸⁴ This policy was reversed after Chinese members were admitted into the SMC in 1927 and became a particular focus during this time because it was a way for the SMC to maintain some of

⁵⁸⁰ *MSSC*. Dated February 7, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 262-67.

⁵⁸¹ *MSSC*. Dated July 10, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 338-42.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁴ Johnstone, *The Shanghai Problem*, 85.

its authority. The building of schools was also partly a response to the aggressive educational reform policy adopted by the Chinese administration during the previous years. Under the new KMT administration, one of the emphases became educational reform. Originally, the administration ignored schools in the settlements, but when Chen Dezheng took over the educational reform, a study showed that, of the 74,150 children in the Chapei district, only 30,769 (forty-three percent) attended a school within the International Settlement. An effort was made to lower that number.⁵⁸⁵

The building of new hospitals was an ongoing project from previous years; it gained importance during this period because the influx of infectious diseases. The *China Journal* noted the statistics of the Shanghai cholera epidemic: from August 1 to September 29 a total of 837 cases with a death toll of 168 in the International Settlement and the French Concession; by October 15, 1,547 cases with 468 deaths.⁵⁸⁶ It also noted that it did not have the statistics for the Chinese portion of the city and that the epidemic would be more prevalent there.⁵⁸⁷ While a new hospital was designed for construction on a site off Kiaochow Road, it was dropped as unsuitable because the industrial development of the area, and the Island Site was chosen as the new site for the hospital.⁵⁸⁸ This unfortunately delayed the erection of a much needed new hospital, especially since the Western Fever Hospital, which was also scheduled to be built, was also delayed because a lack of funds.⁵⁸⁹ While the building of new hospitals for the foreigners in Shanghai deemed secondary, the building of a new Japanese hospital in

⁵⁸⁵ Henriot, *Shanghai 1927-1937*, 189, 196.

⁵⁸⁶ "Cholera Epidemics in Shanghai & Hongkong," *China Journal* (27.4, October 1937). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/t-cj3710.php>. August 9, 2009.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁸ *MSMC*. Dated March 8, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 149-53.

⁵⁸⁹ *MSMC*. Dated March 17, 1937 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 230.

1938 was implemented immediately. In 1938, the Japanese military authorities requested use of the Isolation Hospital, but the SMC lacked the funds at that time to reopen it.⁵⁹⁰ However, the SMC believed that informing the Japanese military authorities of this fact would create the impression that it was either unwilling or unable to maintain its responsibilities and decided to re-budget the following year's funds to allow for the opening of the Isolation Hospital.⁵⁹¹ The SMC granted the Japanese Residents' Corporation \$15,000 to renovate the Isolation Hospital for its reopening and required only a nominal rental fee for its use by the Japanese until a new hospital north of the Soochow Creek could be completed.⁵⁹² In return, the newly opened hospital would be open to both Chinese nationals and foreigners who needed to use it, and part of the building would be set aside for other municipal hospital purposes.⁵⁹³

Just as work on hospitals continued, the SMC also continued projects for schools. The SMC converted 12.8 mow of land on the Island Site adjacent to the school to be used for the Yu Yuen Road Playground.⁵⁹⁴ The SMC also established a new primary school for Chinese on eight mow of land at the junction of Kiaochow and Singapore Roads.⁵⁹⁵ However, the school that the SMC spent most of its minutes discussing was the new public school in Haskell Road for Japanese nationals. In 1939, the SMC was willing to sell the site on Haskell Road to the Japanese Residents' Corporation for them to build a new public school, but the Japanese representative, Mr. Okamoto, noted that the Japanese Residents' Corporation wished to rent the land not buy it.⁵⁹⁶ However, the SMC was

⁵⁹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated May 25, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 51-52.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² *MSMC*. Dated May 17, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 177.

⁵⁹³ *MSMC*. Dated July 12, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 209-12.

⁵⁹⁴ *MSMC*. Dated July 14, 1937 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 39, page 287-88.

⁵⁹⁵ *MSMC*. Dated January 10, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 252.

⁵⁹⁶ *MSMC*. Dated July 12, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 207.

unwilling to rent the land, and drew up an agreement that the Japanese Residents' Corporation could purchase the site for a price of \$170,000 to be paid in a single cash payment, or a price of \$200,000 to be paid by a cash payment of \$100,000, with the balance of \$100,000 being liquidated by five annual installments of \$20,000 with no interest.⁵⁹⁷ The Japanese Residents' Corporation decided to purchase the land under this agreement.

THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

One of the biggest concerns for the SMC after 1937 was the problem of what to do with the influx of refugees into the International Settlement.⁵⁹⁸ Christian Henriot states that there were three groups of refugees during this time: Chinese from other areas of China, European Jewish Refugees, and starting in 1941 destitute foreigners still in China.⁵⁹⁹ Many of the Chinese refugees started arriving in Shanghai in 1938 and they arrived with all of their money and movable wealth. This meant that competition for housing increased but they did not draw too much on other resources of the city.⁶⁰⁰ The European Jewish refugees arrived mostly from Germany and Central Europe to escape Nazi persecutions. Because Shanghai was a free port with no visa requirements, they were able to escape to Shanghai as a last resort. By the time that the Second Sino-Japanese war started in 1937, there were around 2,600 to 3,000 Jewish refugees located in camps, especially the Hongkew area which became known as the "Hongkew ghetto" once the Japanese took over the city.⁶⁰¹ However, these camps were nothing like the

⁵⁹⁷ *MSMC*. Dated November 1, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 239.

⁵⁹⁸ Stranahan, "Strange Bedfellows", 48.

⁵⁹⁹ Christian Henriot, "Shanghai and the Experience of War: The Refugee Problem," Virtual Shanghai. <http://virtualshanghai.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/Article.php?ID=9>. August 9, 2009.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰¹ Henriot, "Shanghai and the Experience of War".

concentration camps in Europe; Jewish refugees could still move in and out of the ghetto if they had a job and refugees could rely on assistance from local Jewish merchants or charitable aid that was available. The final group of refugees that Henriot describes is displaced and destitute foreigners, especially British and Americans. He notes that this last group emerged from a deliberate policy by the Japanese authorities after the attack on Pearl Harbor to relocated “enemy nationals” into Shanghai.⁶⁰² The last group was not helped by the SMC because by 1941 the SMC no longer had any authority but was working under the Japanese.

The SMC proceeded to build camps to house refugees. It was understood that the refugee camps were temporary measures, and the Japanese objective was to return the Chinese refugees to their native places, therefore helping to create refugee camps outside the International Settlement to help with the overcrowding within it.⁶⁰³ The SMC’s plan for refugee camps could accommodate only 18,000 refugees, leaving more than 12,000 who still required care.⁶⁰⁴ One of the first camps set up was situated between Yuyuen, Keswick, and Tunsin Roads.⁶⁰⁵ Other camps were set up on various sites: a municipal primary school no longer being used at 100 Kinchow Road, the Alcock Road Barracks in the Eastern District, as well as Cad. Lot 6510 on Hochien Road.⁶⁰⁶ By September of 1939, there were thirty refugee camps with over 39,000 refugees within the International Settlement and French Concession.⁶⁰⁷ Although the SMC attempted to create enough

⁶⁰² Henriot, “Shanghai and the Experience of War”.

⁶⁰³ *MSMC*. Dated May 25, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 54-56.

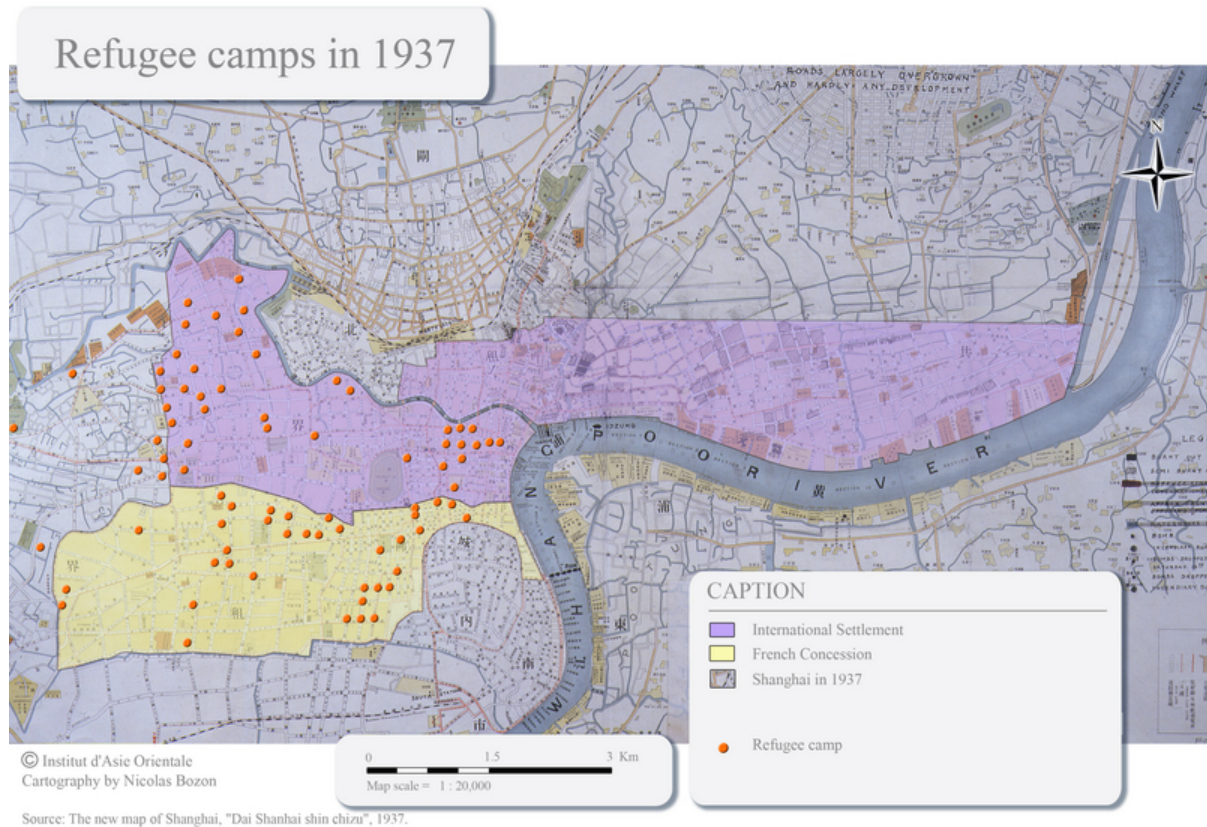
⁶⁰⁴ *MSMC*. Dated June 22, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 65-67.

⁶⁰⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 25, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 54-56.

⁶⁰⁶ *MSMC*. Dated May 17, 1939 and July 12, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 180-81 and February 19, 1941 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 426-28.

⁶⁰⁷ Henriot, “Shanghai and the Experience of War”.

camps to house all refugees, many were left living on the streets of the International Settlement.



Map 8. Refugee Camps in 1937

A major concern over the refugee camps was maintaining a defense perimeter, as much for the refugees themselves as for citizens of the International Settlement.⁶⁰⁸ Not only was there a problem of where to house all the refugees, but the crowding was causing a problem of infectious diseases. Because this, the SMC recommended that the current Chinese Isolation Hospital be offered to the Refugee Committee for the hospitalization of infectious refugees.⁶⁰⁹ In addition, many refugees were squatting on municipal property,

⁶⁰⁸ *MSMC*. Dated May 25, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 54-56.

⁶⁰⁹ *MSMC*. Dated February 8, 1939 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 139-40.

as well as private property; the SMC decided that, since this was a special circumstance, the police should be given the power to evict such persons of the property.⁶¹⁰

LOSS OF CONTROL TO THE JAPANESE

Throughout this period, the SMC watched as the Japanese took over parts of Shanghai and struggled to keep the International Settlement out of the conflict while maintaining their own power. The Japanese first took over the Chinese portions of the city, and after the occupation of Chapei, the Japanese military set up a puppet government to administer the area called the Shanghai Northern District Citizen's Municipal Maintenance Association (SMCA).⁶¹¹ It is important to note that this new administration was the first major political upheaval in the Chapei district since Chiang Kai-Shek and the KMT set up their administration in Chapei the district. One interesting aspect about this change is that there was a constant through the two administrations: Du Yuesheng, the leader of the Green Gang, originally operated out of the French Concession but moved his business into the Chapei district when Chiang Kai-Shek took over in 1927 because the new KMT administration relaxed policies on opium in addition to increasing taxes in order to raise more revenue.⁶¹² Du became an integral part of the KMT's political administration by the mid-1930s.⁶¹³ When the Japanese set up the SMCA, they favored local gangsters such as Hu Lifu and Chiang Yuqing, who belonged

⁶¹⁰ *MSMC*. Dated June 22, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 65-67.

⁶¹¹ Brian Martin, "The Green Gang and the Guomindang State: Du Yuesheng and the Politics of Shanghai, 1927-37," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, (54.1, 1995): 69.

⁶¹² Martin, "The Green Gang and the Guomindang State", 64-65, 82. The Green Gang was the largest and most powerful secret society/gang organization in Shanghai during the Republican Period and was composed of competing groups operating within a very loose structure of networks with three particularly important branches of which Du Yuesheng was the leader of one branch.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

to a different segment of the Green Gang, but Du still managed to become one of two deputy chairmen of the fifteen-member executive committee of the SMCA.⁶¹⁴

August 14, 1937, otherwise known as Bloody Saturday, marked the beginning of Shanghai's second conflict.⁶¹⁵ Julius Bigner describes the day in the *China Journal*:

“But the afternoon of the same day was to bring home, as never before, to the Shanghai people, who have many times during the past two decades seen it at their very doors, what modern warfare really means. At half past four, three more Chinese bombers flew over the downtown area of the International Settlement heading from west to east for the "Idzumo." They were met with heavy anti-aircraft fire. The pilot of the leading aeroplane loosed off two bombs just as he was over the point where Nanking Road joins The Bund, as the Settlement river-front is called, not less than a quarter of a mile away from the "Idzumo." One of the deadly missiles struck the Palace Hotel, demolishing the upper stories and killing a large number of Chinese there, the other landing in Nanking Road between the Palace Hotel and the Cathay Hotel, dealing out death and destruction amongst the crowds of Chinese refugees, largely women and children, blowing out the windows of the sumptuous shops that line the street in this area, and setting fire to numerous motor cars. Several foreigners also were killed and others injured at this spot. One of the other Chinese bombers, apparently hit by shrapnel from the anti-aircraft guns, turned back and proceeded in a north-westerly direction. When it was over the junction of Tibet Road with Avenue Edward VII, at all times Shanghai's most crowded corner and particularly so at this moment with the huge influx of refugees, spectators were horrified to see two bombs released. These fell almost exactly in the centre of the big street crossing, the first striking the ground and tearing a huge hole, the other detonating in mid-air a few feet above ground. The result was a scene of slaughter that has probably never before been witnessed by man. In less than a second over a thousand people had received their death blows, many being torn to pieces by the terrible blast that swept the square, others mutilated beyond recognition, arms, legs and even heads being scattered about in all directions. Dozens of motor cars were reduced to scrap-iron, riddled with flying fragments from the bombs or set on fire, their occupants charred to cinders. Overhead electrical cables, broken by the explosions, whipped about causing further destruction. Besides those killed on the spot hundreds of people were injured, many of them crawling away to die in side alleys.”⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁴ Martin, “The Green Gang and the Guomindang State”, 70.

⁶¹⁵ Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 281.

⁶¹⁶ Julius Bigner, “Reminiscences of an Old-Timer in War-torn Shanghai,” *China Journal* (27.3, September 1937). Tales of Old Shanghai. <http://www.talesofoldchina.com/journal/sep1937.php>. August 9, 2009.

Bloody Saturday occurred because the Chinese air force was attempting to bomb the Japanese flagship “Idzumo” but mis-directed the bomb into the International Settlement.⁶¹⁷ Over 1,200 people were killed with 300 to 400 more being injured.⁶¹⁸ In the following days, approximately 18,000 to 20,000 foreigners were evacuated from Shanghai.⁶¹⁹ In December of 1937, about 6,000 Japanese soldiers held a demonstration along the extra-Settlement roads and entered the International Settlement.⁶²⁰ It took four months for the SMC and the Japanese to reach a compromise, which stated that the Japanese soldiers could enter the International Settlement, provided they were unarmed.⁶²¹ It is clear from the minutes of the council meetings that the SMC began to lose authority starting in 1938, with the complete capitulation to Japanese control in 1941 when normal SMC meeting minutes were discontinued. One of the first signs of this power loss was the erection of a barricade by the Japanese military authorities across extra-Settlement roads, preventing movement along these roads as well as access to an entrance into the International Settlement from these roads.⁶²² The Japanese authorities claimed that these barricades were erected to apprehend assassins who might attempt to kill Japanese residents within the International Settlement.⁶²³

⁶¹⁷ Bigner, “Reminiscences of an Old-Timer in War-torn Shanghai.”

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

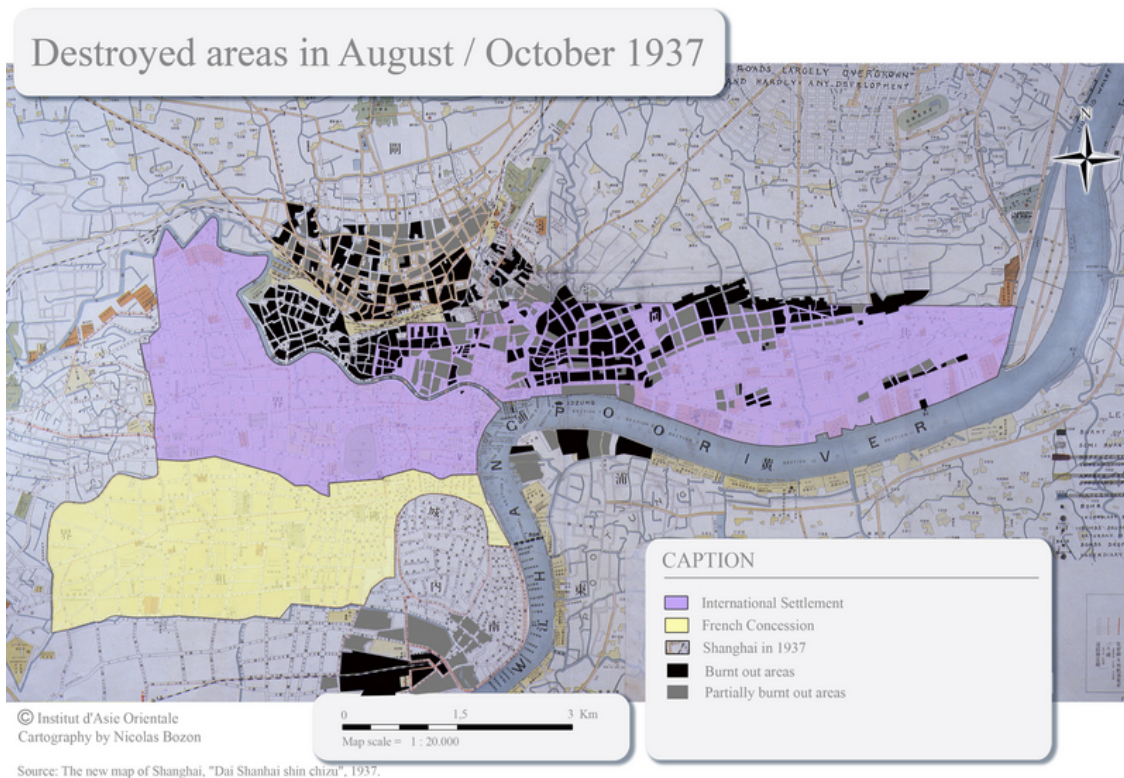
⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

⁶²⁰ Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 104.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² *MSMC*. Dated October 30, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 379.

⁶²³ Ibid.



Map 9. Bombed and Destroyed Areas in August-October 1937

Following this, in February of 1938, Mr. Okamoto was co-opted as a member of the SMC. An examination of the meeting minutes after his arrival makes clear that his support was needed for any decision made by the SMC.⁶²⁴ In May of 1938, the Japanese authorities requested that the SMC prevent Chinese radio stations from broadcasting anti-Japanese propaganda or other political agendas.⁶²⁵ The SMC claimed that they had no control over broadcasting stations because the regulation of wavelengths was within the power of each station, but the Japanese responded by asking the SMC to instruct the police to notify all Chinese-owned broadcasting stations that they must not broadcast

⁶²⁴ *MSMC*. Dated February 23, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 14.

⁶²⁵ *MSMC*. Dated May 5, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 39-40.

anti-Japanese or other political propaganda or risk forcible closure by the police.⁶²⁶ The SMC agreed to this, and the Deputy Commissioner of Police informed the Chinese radio stations of this new policy.⁶²⁷ The presence of the Japanese also caused the SMC to suppress anti-Japanese movements, especially those supported by the national salvation associations. Previously, the International Settlement was a haven for these national salvation associations, but once war broke out, the SMC openly oppressed these movements.⁶²⁸ The SMC not only prevented the national salvation movements because of the Japanese, but also because they believed these associations were communistic.⁶²⁹ These national salvation associations originally started with an anti-imperialistic agenda, and thereby anti-British, sentiment, but by the mid-1930s, most, such as the very influential Shanghai National Salvation Association, adopted an anti-Japanese sentiment.⁶³⁰

By 1939 the Japanese had taken over the Chapei district, and three new Japanese members were included in the SMC.⁶³¹ By 1940, the Japanese forces were patrolling areas of Shanghai and the International Settlement, which was supposed to be protected by other national forces as set out in the 1937 defense scheme.⁶³² Also, by 1941, the SMC had six members who were either Japanese or Chinese who collaborated with the

⁶²⁶ *MSMC*. Dated May 5, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 39-40.

⁶²⁷ *MSMC*. Dated May 12, 1938 in Volume 27, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 42.

⁶²⁸ Stranahan, "Strange Bedfellows", 42.

⁶²⁹ Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 240.

⁶³⁰ Stranahan, "Strange Bedfellows", 34. The Shanghai National Salvation Associations demanded an end to concessions to Japan, withdrawal of Japanese troops from Hebei and Manchuria, as well as resistance to all foreign invasions.

⁶³¹ Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 104.

⁶³² *MSMC*. Dated August 16, 1940 in Volume 28, Minute Book Record Number 40, page 352-57. It was formally decided to allot to the Japanese forces portion of D Sector, previously given to the British Forces and that the American Forces be allotted B Sector, also previously held by the British Forces because the fact that the Japanese forces were already patrolling that area.

Japanese authorities.⁶³³ This newly configured SMC, which only had two Western members, renumbered the minutes on May 1, 1941.⁶³⁴ The Japanese allowed the structure of the SMC to continue to function until 1943, but it is clear that the newly configured SMC of 1941, which only had two Western members, was the end of the SMC which had independently administered the International Settlement since its inception.⁶³⁵ The events in Shanghai from December 1941 onward became a part of World War II. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, there was nothing to stop them from taking control of the International Settlement, as well as the Chinese portion of the city.⁶³⁶ In 1943, the Chinese government signed a treaty with the Western allies abolishing the tenets of the treaties from the First Opium War, including extraterritoriality, concessions, and settlements, although this meant very little since the Japanese had already taken over the treaty ports.⁶³⁷ It was at this point that the Japanese dissolved the SMC with no further use for even its presence or pretense.

Urban development projects by the SMC were pretty much halted at this time with the exception of building more hospitals. This was partly because of the large influx of refugees into the International Settlement which was becoming so overcrowded that infectious diseases were spreading rapidly. The only project which the SMC goes into detail into is the building of a school for the Japanese on Haskell Road. Chinese nationalism, while heightened because the Second-Sino Japanese war, achieved no positive results, economically or politically like it had in previous years. The Japanese

⁶³³ Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 105.

⁶³⁴ *MSMC*. Dated May 1, 1941. Volume 28, Minute Book Record 41, page 1.

⁶³⁵ Bickers, "Shanghaianders", 210.

⁶³⁶ Wood, *No Dogs and Not Many Chinese*, 285.

⁶³⁷ Shi Meiding, *The Gazette of Foreign Concessions in Shanghai*, 108; Spence *The Search for Modern China*, 449; Bickers, "Shanghaianders", 162.

had taken over the Chapei district and set up the SMCA in place of a Chinese administration. And within the International Settlement the Japanese prevented the broadcasting of Chinese radio stations and suppressed anti-Japanese movements such as national salvation associations.

CONCLUSION

As can be seen through the previous research, the urban expansion of the International Settlement engaged by the SMC changed not only the landscape of Shanghai, but also the relationship between the different actors in Shanghai. The expansion of the International Settlement by the SMC, especially the construction of extra-Settlement roads, was inherently an encroachment of Chinese sovereignty. However, the expansion efforts of the SMC were not merely an attempt to thwart Chinese authority but an economic consideration of urban expansion. In addition, the public service projects undertaken by the SMC as a part of this urban expansion was a source of nationalism for the Chinese as they took these modern methods to compete with the SMC on an economic front. This thesis explored these ideas through a detailed research of the SMC's minutes.

The SMC's efforts at urban development from 1911-1915 were focused on protecting foreign investments and relieving the overcrowding found within the International Settlement. This was why the SMC tried to gain formal expansion from the Chinese government. The projects undertaken by the SMC were for the urban development of the International Settlement and at the interest of its ratepayers. When expanding the Bubbling Well Road, the SMC wanted to build housing along the road to relieve the overcrowding found within the International Settlement but compromised with the business owners who wanted to build shops along the road. The SMC worked with the French Council to widen the Bund Bridge to allow tramway access to the Bund which was the financial center for all foreigners in Shanghai, not just the British. In addition, the many public service projects during this time were for the benefit of the foreign residents of the International Settlement, not just merely an attempt to gain more land. For

example, the Rifle Range extension project was not undertaken until a petition was received from the Shanghai Rifle Association asking for an extension.

The SMC continued its projects on extending and widening roads for the purpose of urban development through 1927 although conflicts became more frequent. The SMC decided to widen the Broadway East despite objections that it was primarily a Chinese thoroughfare because it would help facilitate traffic movement into the International Settlement. The SMC decided to re-metal the entire Rubicon Road System and thereafter allow all residents to drive on the roads without paying SMC municipal rates. When the SMC did not have enough of a budget to build the Road to the Hills, it worked with the Chinese to provide a road to the Hills so that the residents would have better access to the International Settlement. In addition, the SMC spent these years developing the Western District by building playgrounds, parks, and schools because compared to other parts of the International Settlement, it was underdeveloped. The SMC also gave money for a Chinese hospital for the poor to be built in the Yangtsepoo area. A major focus for the SMC during this time was the extension of the Electricity Department because the SMC believed that cheap and reliable electricity was a vital part of the future development of Shanghai, not just the International Settlement.

The SMC's attempts at urban expansion were practically halted once the KMT came to power in 1927. From 1928 on, the SMC was no longer building extra-Settlement roads to any large degree and this was because the focus of the SMC had turned inward into providing public services to areas that were already established. This was partly because the SMC was losing power to the Chinese. Chinese police were patrolling more and more of the extra-Settlement roads and had entered into negotiation with the foreign

Consuls for the sole control of these roads. In addition, Chinese utility companies such as the Chapei Waterworks Company were laying water mains along roads previously controlled by the SMC because they were able to fully provide the same service as the Shanghai Waterworks Company at a lower rate and now had the backing of the Chinese administration in conflicts with the SMC. Therefore, the SMC's urban development projects were mainly focused internally. The SMC built a lot of schools during this time to compete with the Chinese administrations new educational reform. In addition, hospitals were an urgent project because the fighting between the Japanese and Chinese had led to a rise in injured persons as well as an increase in diseases. The fighting between the Japanese and Chinese also meant that the SMC was trying to rebuild infrastructure that had already existed. The SMC tried to remove barricades that were erected along various parts of the International Settlement in order to help foster the ailing economy. In addition, because of the bombing many areas were without electricity and water and the SMC attempted to rectify the situation. Urban development projects by the SMC were essentially halted during the Second Sino-Japanese War with the exception of building more hospitals. This was partly because of the large influx of refugees into the International Settlement which was becoming so overcrowded that infectious diseases were spreading rapidly. The only project which the SMC goes into detail into is the building of a school for the Japanese on Haskell Road.

The rise of nationalism in Shanghai began with market competition. The SMC's competition with the Chinese was fully developed by this time. Chinese police were beginning to effectively patrol extra-Settlement roads even though the SMC believed it had to protect the foreigners who were living and establishing businesses along them. In

addition, by 1912 the Chapei Waterworks Company had become a legitimate competitor to the Shanghai Waterworks Company as can be seen by the petition of the Shanghai Waterworks Company asking the SMC to lower rates so that the Shanghai Waterworks Company could effectively compete with the Chapei Waterworks Company. This competition can be seen as a source of nationalism in Shanghai because these institutions were either created or modernized in an attempt to show that the Chinese could provide the same modern services as the foreigners. Nationalism flourished within Shanghai during the 1920s. The competition between the foreign and Chinese utility companies continued to grow. While this competition was between businesses, this was also a time for the rise of nationalism for Chinese residents of Shanghai. The Chinese people also showed their nationalistic sentiment as an economic response. The responses to the May 4th movement were the strikes by the Chinese workers as well as boycotts of all Japanese goods. In addition, Chinese students refused to pay SMC rates. Similarly, the response to the May 30th Incident was the boycott of all British goods by the Chinese.

The KMT also facilitated nationalism, especially since they regained sovereign rights in addition to fostering the sentiment of nationalism. These results included the admittance of Chinese into International Settlement parks, the functioning of Chinese offices within the International Settlement, the inclusion of Chinese members on the SMC, as well as the restoration of the Chinese right to collect customs, tariffs, postal communications, and salt monopoly revenues. While the Chapei Waterworks Company was becoming increasingly more competitive and the Chinese administration was continuing to restore Chinese sovereign rights, Chinese nationalism from the early 1930s became increasingly anti-Japanese. Chinese banks stayed closed for two months to

protest the actions of the Japanese as well as the SMC's failure to protect them. Many Chinese merchants also boycotted selling to all foreigners, but especially the Japanese. This was particularly effective since many Chinese activists would carry out sanctions against any Chinese merchants who continued to do business with the Japanese. Chinese nationalism, while heightened because the Second-Sino Japanese war, achieved no positive results, economically or politically like it had in previous years. The Japanese had taken over the Chapei district and set up the SMCA, a puppet administration. And within the International Settlement the Japanese prevented the broadcasting of Chinese radio stations and suppressed anti-Japanese movements such as national salvation associations.

The presence of the SMC and the International Settlement in Shanghai provided both positive and negative impacts to the modernization and nationalism in Shanghai. The actual urban expansion and the subsequent efforts to control these areas infringed on Chinese sovereignty and caused conflict between the foreigners and local Chinese nationals, but it also inspired the local Chinese to modernize in order to effectively compete with the SMC. This competition was the first source of nationalism in Shanghai and nationalism continued to grow throughout the 1920s. Only once the SMC lost control to the Japanese did it actively work to undermine Chinese nationalism. By viewing this time period through the SMC's efforts of urban expansion, it is clear that many actors were involved in the development of Shanghai, and while the power of each actor fluctuated throughout this time, at no point was one actor completely dominating another. The urban expansion of Shanghai and its progress towards modernization is important to

the modernization of China as a whole because many of the other cities in China modeled their own modernization after Shanghai.

This essay and the research behind it re-examined the actual use of land, especially the building of roads, by the SMC in Shanghai. While this topic has been researched before, most of the focus was during the Fairbank era when it was traditionally only seen as a cause for the loss of sovereignty for the Chinese. In addition, the topics of modernization and nationalism have been re-examined but through the lenses of cultural areas such as film, architecture, and fashion. This essay brings together the old idea of land with new ideas of modernization and nationalism to show that the SMC influenced China in both positive and negative ways. While controlling as much land as possible, the projects of the SMC gave the Chinese a model for their own modernization. This provided a source of nationalism for the Chinese, especially businessmen. While suppressing Chinese modernization projects in fear of this competition, the SMC generally allowed Chinese nationalism by the people to progress. Both urban development and nationalistic accomplishments came to a halt with the occupation of Shanghai by the Japanese during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

The research done in this thesis could be explored further with the used of Chinese source material. Material from the Chinese administrations would give a Chinese viewpoint to the events discussed in this thesis and provide a more in-depth analysis of Chinese urban development efforts. In addition, similar research on the French Council and the Japanese authorities during the occupation of Shanghai would provide a great comparison to the research done here.

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