Enclave to Urbanity

Canton, Foreigners, and Architecture from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries

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Introduction

> I shall be very happy if my humble efforts are the means of inducing my readers to turn a portion of their attention towards the Celestial Empire; and the further they pursue their researches, the more they will find to praise in the peaceful energy, industry, and ingenuity of the most enlightened of orientals.[1]
>
> —Osmond Tiffany Jr., August 1849

> Everything new originates in Guangzhou.
>
> —Popular Chinese saying

> In Canton, therefore, we have truly a city where the old and the new thrive along in harmony, where tradition is honored and modern ideas quickly assimilated, where indeed East meets West. This cosmopolitanism of the citizens is easily recognized from the very appearance of the city, and from the life of the people.[2]
>
> —Ng Yong Sang, October 1936

Cross-cultural relations are spatial relations. The overall goal of this work is to explore architecture as a frame for Chinese-Western relationships from the late eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries in Canton (Guangzhou), China.[3] This will be examined in a number of locations and themes. Chapter 1 will discuss the environment of the first neighborhood of Westerners in the city, the Thirteen Factories,

1. Osmond Tiffany Jr., *The Canton Chinese or the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire* (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1849), p. ix.
2. Ng Yong Sang, *Canton, City of the Rams* (Canton: M. S. Cheung, 1936), p. 40.
3. Since the purpose of this work is to examine architecture and spatial dynamics, examination of the problems of complex identities within the larger categories of Chinese and Western must by necessity be treated only in a cursory manner in this work. In the following text, the term *Chinese* is used to address identity in China in the most general sense, as well as refer to characteristics that are broader than the local (for instance, when referring to the actions of the Imperial government). *Cantonese* is used to refer to a condition of identity or being that is more local, referring to the denizens and characteristics of the city itself. Chinese is sometimes used as a default term, however, because the city had a fairly diverse population drawn from different ethnic groups (the majority *bendi* or local Cantonese language speakers; the ethnically distinct but related people of the boats; and then the more distinct Manchu officials, Hakkas, Fujianese, etc.). When a distinctive ethnic identity within the local population is relevant, another term will be used. Likewise, the term *Western* is used when it can be applied broadly to figures from Europe and North America, but when national distinctions are relevant, they shall be discussed accordingly.

which existed from the eighteenth century to the late 1850s. This era is defined by a largely local Cantonese vernacular building type and the confinement of the traders (an all-male Western community) to a certain quarter of the city by imperial decree. A theme starting in this era, and continuing through various phases, is the separateness of the identities of various nationalities of Westerners as they operate in the Chinese context. The second phase of Western habitation, roughly dating from 1860 to 1905, is the topic of Chapter 2. It will be concerned with the construction of, and upon, the concession island of Shamian, as well as the short-lived adjacent American concession and the increasing missionary presence. The introduction of a climate-adapted Western building type occurs in the decades after the Arrow War (c. 1860–1905). This era witnesses a self-imposed isolation of Western residence from the Chinese city, as well as the arrival of Victorian nuclear families, complete with women and children. Chapter 3 will be concerned predominantly with the Western views of and interactions with the Chinese city in the nineteenth century. Themes of tourism, hospitality, and commerce will dominate this discussion. Finally, Chapter 4 will introduce the radical changes to the city fabric witnessed by the third and last phase of foreign habitation addressed here, namely from circa 1905 through the early years of the Chinese republic, including selective use of Western building technologies and forms in Chinese contexts. This work will also locate Westerners within this setting, and raise the question of a Chinese "modernity."

The choice of Canton is significant. Canton (the Chinese name Guangzhou will be used interchangeably) has a rich and varied history as a port of the Maritime Silk Road.[4] While the initial arrival of *European* traders on a large scale in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was scattered all along the China coast and Taiwan, their presence (excluding the Portuguese in Macao) was largely transitory and ephemeral. In 1757, the Chinese emperor restricted all foreign trade to Guangzhou, a regulation that was not abandoned until the Treaty of Nanjing in 1843. In the aftermath of the wars of foreign coercion in the mid-nineteenth century, Guangzhou was surpassed by Shanghai and the British colony of Hong Kong (with which it had a certain collaborative relationship) as centers of trade, but the city still remained an important economic center for Chinese and foreigners well into the twentieth century. As the earliest and longest-lasting settlement of English-speaking residents in China, the city

4. These general facts regarding the history of Guangzhou can be found duplicated in many sources. For general reading in China's history, including the place of the city within it, there are many sources. For a broad overview, see Conrad Shironkauer, *A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), and for the more modern period, Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990). For works that focus on Guangzhou's history specifically, see Valery Garrett, *Heaven is High, the Emperor Far Away* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Graham E. Johnson and Glen D. Peterson, *Historical Dictionary of Guangzhou (Canton) and Guangdong* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1999).

lends ideal conditions for examining Sino-Western relations in an architectural and urban context.

Chapter 1 covers the first of the three distinct phases of foreign habitation in Guangzhou, the Thirteen Factories, characterized by Westerners and Chinese employees living in close quarters in structures closely following adjacent buildings in a Chinese business district, which were part of the Cantonese vernacular tradition. By the late eighteenth century, these buildings had acquired Western façades using the vocabulary of Neoclassical architecture. While initially these buildings were occupied seasonally by the employees of various national joint stock "East India" companies, they would begin increasingly to be occupied by "resident" merchants whose working year became longer and longer in the nineteenth century. At this stage, Sino-foreign trade was highly regulated by the Chinese imperial government. Certain Chinese *cohong* merchants, or monopolists who had exclusive rights of trade of the major export commodities with Westerners by imperial appointment, became the primary protectors and facilitators of the foreign community. They largely helped with the staffing of the foreign firms with Chinese specialists to facilitate their trade and functioning. The fact that few Westerners had any command of the Chinese language, as it was illegal by Chinese decree to teach it to foreigners, required a great deal of pragmatism in cross-cultural transactions. British and, later, French desire to have greater control over their trade with China resulted in a series of incidents and, subsequently, full-scale warfare in the mid-nineteenth century. The era of the Opium Wars (for the purpose of this work referred to as the Opium [1839–42] and Arrow [1856–60] Wars) resulted in an escalation of cross-cultural violence albeit with few Western fatalities. The second war resulted in the destruction of the Thirteen Factories.

Several questions become necessary to consider within the context of the Thirteen Factories. First, what was the form and composition of the buildings themselves, how was the neighborhood arranged, and how did it relate to the surrounding Chinese urban fabric? How was interior space arranged to accommodate the everyday business of the foreign firms, and how did the combination of building plan and activities of the workday shape the interaction between foreigners and Chinese employees? What role did the spaces between the factories and the Chinese city play in the interaction of foreigners with the Cantonese populace at large? As tensions escalated in the mid-nineteenth century due to British economic and military expansionism, how did cross-cultural tensions play out spatially?

The foreign victories in the Opium and Arrow Wars fundamentally changed the roles of foreigners in Guangzhou. The Treaty of Nanjing, which ended the Opium War, opened other ports on the Chinese coast to foreign trade and created the British colony of Hong Kong at the mouth of the Pearl River (Zhujiang). Hong Kong and the other so-called treaty ports initially only slightly threatened Guangzhou's trading status. With the destruction of the Thirteen Factories during the Arrow War, a military

action fundamentally engineered to enforce parts of the Treaty of Nanjing with which the Chinese were loath to comply, as well as to press for further concessions, Guangzhou became increasingly viewed as dangerous and a less desirable location than Hong Kong or Shanghai for foreign firms. The volume of trade conducted through the city, however, ensured that it would necessarily remain a place of foreign habitation—in some respects as a point of origin of goods shipped from Hong Kong, as well as a vast market for Western goods.

Chapter 2 will cover the period encapsulated between circa 1860 and 1905. The victorious belligerents of the Arrow War, Britain and France, were granted substantial indemnity funds and the rights to construct a foreign concession in the form of an island in the river called Shamian, literally "sand-face," after its origin as a sand bar. The Americans made an attempt to negotiate their own concession on the old factory site, but their use of this property was short-lived. The questions raised by this era revolve around an increasing isolation of the trading community from the Chinese populace, as well as the arrival of increasing numbers of missionaries whose job was, in contrast, to engage everyday Cantonese. How did concerns over security shape the foreign concessions? What were the building forms utilized in the construction of a completely new foreign neighborhood? How did these buildings restructure relationships between foreigners and Cantonese employees? How did the arrival of Western women and children influence Sino-Western relationships? How did the spatial relationships of Western missionaries to the Chinese city evolve and what role did missionaries have in changing the spatial order of cross-cultural interactions?

This question is a bridge to the subject of Chapter 3, the relationship of foreigners to the Chinese city per se. Should nineteenth-century Westerners choose to wander outside the narrow confines of their residential enclaves, they would by and large have been confronted with an entirely Chinese, or more specifically largely Cantonese, and highly populated city to explore. Initially, the places they were allowed to frequent were very limited indeed, but with the treaties after the wars in the mid-nineteenth century, the gates of the Chinese city were essentially forced open. The removal of restrictions on foreign movements was one of several implicit motives for the Arrow War. How did the initial restriction of foreigners to certain areas frame their ideas about the Cantonese and their city, and what sociocultural accommodations were in place to accommodate them? How did the wars of the mid-century change the experience and views of foreigners in Guangzhou with regard to the city? In the later nineteenth century, how did tourist practices evolve and how did preconceptions shape the Westerners' views of their immediate environment? How did the list of sites worth seeing within the city change? How were the activities undertaken by Western tourists transformed, and how did their treatment of the city's attractions change? How did the Chinese represent their city, control the Western visitors after regulations were

removed, and attempt to profit from the foreign presence? These are among the questions that will be answered by Chapter 3.

The final discussion, Chapter 4, examines the third phase of Western habitation, along with the emergence of a modern China and a "New Guangzhou" in the early twentieth century. The years immediately before and for several decades after the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 are the focus here. Framing this era are the arrival of full-blown multinational corporations in the modern sense, and the arrival of foreign and foreign-influenced philanthropic educational and social institutions. Guangzhou's status as the backyard of Sun Yat-sen influenced the city's initiatives to modernize in terms not only of city fabric and utilities but also in terms of form and outlook. Leading the city's modernization initiatives were a number of Western-educated Chinese. Within this context, Westerners found themselves in a number of often conflicting roles; both the demand for, and comfort of, extra-concession places of residence are central to the issue during the first half of the twentieth century. What role did the arrival of Western technologies, business institutions, and educational enterprises have in changing the form of the city? How did the Westerners or their behaviors change when confronted with the modernizing city? How did the selective embrace of Western ideals by the Cantonese change the dynamics of the city? These are primary questions posed by the dawn of the twentieth century.

By exploring the changes that occurred in the urban and domestic footprints of foreigners, the Western interaction with the traditional Chinese city, and the rise of a modern city in China over the course of more than a hundred years, this work will produce some useful conclusions. In the concluding text of this project, several questions will be posed and partially answered. The first will be the problem of the impact of Guangzhou in creating a Chinese modernity and the role of the West within that process. The second area of concern will be the legacy that the foreign neighborhoods have left, and the meanings supplied to them in a contemporary context. The ongoing radical transformation of Guangzhou and its rapid growth, especially as shown in its eastern suburbs, has definite implications for the identity of the city and brings forth another set of East/West relationships that both echo and contrast with historical trends. The final, and perhaps most valuable, reflections will concern the lessons that the history of the foreign presence in this notable Chinese city provides with regard to the best interests of foreigners and Chinese today, in an era when Westerners are once again returning to China in large numbers.

With these issues and goals in mind then, let readers begin their journeys.[5] They will first arrive along the steamy banks of the Pearl River, departing from many-masted,

5. It is my intent to lead the reader on a journey that is at once an enjoyable adventure and also an occasion for personal reflection on the nature of human interactions and the roles that architecture plays in them. My choice of straightforward language and narrative form is intentional. While well acquainted with the

ocean-going vessels, through a swarming river-bound population, and entering the suburbs of a bustling Chinese metropolis with their tightly packed blue brick, tile-roofed residences and businesses. To the British and newly arrived Americans, this is the "Emporium of the East." The tour guide, a citizen of a very different America, arrived in September 2002 via plane and train to a very different Guangzhou, swarming with red taxis and dotted with an increasing number of glass-and-steel buildings reaching skyward. With reflections on the joys and trials of Chinese and Westerners as they build their lives together over generations, this guide humbly submits these visions and interpretations in the hopes that the reader will profit from the adventure.

practice by some contemporary scholars of placing theoretical considerations in the forefront, I have chosen another path. The assumption here is that readers can bring their own sense of ethics and their own faculties to the story that I present. I also sincerely hope that this work will attract both scholars and a more general audience to a topic that I feel has such strong interest for current global developments. This populist approach to scholarship, my concern with looking at architecture as a product of social interaction rather than individual genius, and my interest in the entire lives of buildings rather than just their construction, all reflects affiliation with and admiration for my many colleagues in the Vernacular Architecture Forum.

Chapter 1
The Thirteen Factories

An Architecture of Sino-Western Collaboration and Confrontation

> Not the least remarkable feature of Old Canton life was the "Factory," as the common dwelling and common place of business of all the members, old and young, of a commercial house.[1]
>
> —William C. Hunter, 1882

The era of the Thirteen Factories of Canton defined the first phase of long-term Western habitation within a Chinese city. It lasted through much of the later eighteenth century into the 1850s, and was characterized by a population of Western traders living and working side by side with their Chinese employees and mercantile peers in a dense urban environment. The neighborhood and even the buildings the Western traders inhabited were essentially Chinese, or more specifically Cantonese, but the foreign presence was announced by foreign flags and applied neoclassical façades in a steady march along the riverbank. Hybrid structures housed a collaborative existence, where the business of acquiring teas, silks, spices, and other luxury goods for shipment to the West was the constant objective. Despite barriers of language and culture, good-natured curiosity and tolerance were characteristic of the daily cross-cultural encounters performed here. With the rise of geopolitical concerns in the imperial centers far from Guangzhou, including distress in London over trade imbalances, anti-opium reforms issuing from Beijing, and a rising distrust of their own dynasty and fear of foreigners on the part of many common Chinese, the Thirteen Factories of Canton were later transformed, increasingly amidst acts of violence. The story of the buildings and spaces of the Thirteen Factories illustrates and shapes the collaboration for mutually beneficent trade and the transformation and alienation wrought by cross-cultural tensions.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Westerners who came to Guangzhou were introduced to their new environment on a boat trip from the main deep-sea port at Whampoa along the broad but busy Pearl River. Their destination

1. William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton Before Treaty Days 1825–1844* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1911—second edition is the version used here), p. 124. A native of Kentucky, Hunter was sent in his teens to Guangzhou in 1825 and resided there seasonally for nearly twenty years. His highly readable reminiscences are considered a standard source for the period.

was a series of long, low buildings facing the riverfront, which apart from their distinctive façades resembled much of the rest of the general panorama of the city. The several hundred merchants who took up seasonal residence in Guangzhou starting in the mid-eighteenth century represented the most regular and largest presence of Western traders yet seen within the bounds of the Qing Empire, excluding the sleepy Portuguese colony of Macao.[2] The foreign habitations in Guangzhou for the century between the 1750s and the 1850s were the primary focus of everyday interaction, both cooperative and confrontational, between the Cantonese and citizens of the majority of Western powers.

The buildings allotted for foreign residence, called the "factories," housed all of the residential and business facilities in which the substantial international trade occurred. The factories inhabited by the foreigners occupied a stretch of riverbank usually estimated between 800 and 1,000 feet long.[3] The appellation of *factory* was rooted in the eighteenth-century world of great national joint stock companies (the British East India Company, et al.). By the mid-nineteenth century, writers felt that the term needed explanation as a synonym for "agency" rather than "manufactory."[4] The Chinese also had a name for these buildings indistinguishable from similar buildings of native merchants, which was *hang*, often spelled *hong* by Westerners, meaning a business or firm in general, hence the common Mandarin Chinese name for the site, *Shisan Hang*, or Thirteen Factories.

Situation

The site allocated to Western habitation by the Chinese imperial government reflects the role Westerners would play in Guangzhou over the course of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The factories occupied the riverbank within the southwestern suburbs of the city. The oldest section of the city, the largest area enclosed by the city wall, had, after the Qing dynasty consolidation of power over the city, been allocated to Manchu high officials and military officers, as well as governmental functions more generally. The indigenous Cantonese and also merchants from other provinces largely occupied the neighborhoods of the southern or "new" city and the western suburbs.

2. For more details on why Canton was chosen as the main site for Sino-Western trade rather than other cities, see Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), Chapter 1.
3. The 1,000-foot estimate is mentioned by Hunter in William C. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, p. 20. Downing estimated that the factory site did "not exceed seven or eight hundred feet facing the river," in Charles T. Downing, *The Fan-qui, or Foreigner in China* (London: Henry Colburn, 1840), Vol. 3, p. 123. Perhaps the most reliable source, a survey map done by British military officers dated April 19, 1847, indicates the site's length along the river was closer to, but slightly less than, Hunter's estimate of 1,000 feet [Foreign Office, Political and Other Departments, General Correspondence before 1906, China, FO 17/127, Public Records Office, Kew, United Kingdom].
4. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, p. 20.

The Westerners' factories nestled closely among the Chinese merchants' *hang*s (Pl. 1, Fig. 1.1) and were situated just south of a bustling neighborhood of skilled tradesmen and manufacturers. Thus, in both physical and social terms, Westerners occupied a place that was, on the one hand, peripheral to political and cultural life, yet, on the other hand, increasingly central to the commercial life of the provincial metropolis.

Each of the Thirteen Factories had its own particular appellation, both in English and Chinese. Using typical Western nomenclature, from left to right were the Danish Factory, the Spanish Factory, the French Factory, Chunqua's (later Mingqua's) Hong, the American Factory, the Paoushun Factory, the Imperial Factory, the Swedish Hong, the Old English Factory, the Chowchow Factory, the English or New English Factory, the Dutch Factory, and the Creek Factory (Pl. 1, Fig. 1.1).[5] After 1841, the so-called "New English Factories" completely replaced what were the English (East India Company) Factory, the Dutch Factory, and the Creek Factory. Each factory with a European name also had a Chinese name, with a meaning either inspired by or meant to bestow prosperity on its inhabitants.[6] The factory between the French and American factories was the premises of a merchant who rented to some Western tenants. The Paoushun and the Chowchow factories maintained their Cantonese names in foreign writings.

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5. The names of the factories are repeated in numerous sources and on several maps or diagrams. A useful chart of the appearances of names over time can be found in Liang Jiabin, *Guangdong Shisan Hang kao* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999), pp. 348–49.

6. The Danish Factory was the *Huangqi hang* (in the nineteenth-century spelling of the local dialect, the *Tehing Kai*, meaning the "yellow flag factory." The Spanish Factory was dubbed the *Da Lüsong hang*, or "big Luzon factory." This factory received its name from the presence of the Philippine Company; the Chinese simply named the Spaniards who traded for it until 1832 after the island of Luzon, *Da Lüsong* meaning "big Luzon" and referring to Spanish traders rather than Philippine islanders, who were referred to as "small Luzon." French Factory was known as either the *Gao Gong* ("high public") or *Fa Lan Xi hang* (reflecting a phonetic translation of France). The Westerners named the fourth factory from the left after the hong merchant who owned or utilized it, but it was known in Chinese as the *Zhong He hang* (locally, *chung ho*, meaning "middle peace"). The American Factory was the *Guang Yuan* (*Kwang-yuen*) *hang*, the meaning of which was translated by contemporary English speakers as "wide fountain." The *Paoushun hong* (*Bao Shun hang*), as it was always known, was "precious and agreeable." Next to it, the Imperial (in this context referring to Austro-Hungarian) Factory was spelled *Ma-ying* by contemporaries, probably referring to the two-headed bird that was part of the Austrian crest. The Swedish Factory was the *Sui hong* (Mandarin *Rui hang*), which was both an example of local pronunciation of "Swede" and could be translated also as "lucky factory." The Old English Factory was given the appellation *Lung-shun* (Mandarin *Long Shun*), the "thriving and agreeable factory." The Chowchow Hong received its name from the pidgin language that was used for most transactions between the English and local Chinese. "Chowchow" in this context meant "assorted," and referred to the diverse origins of its South Asian inhabitants, "representatives of every description of native from the three Presidencies—Calcutta, Bombay, and Madreas [*sic*]—consisting of Malwarees, Persians, Moors, Jews, and Parsees." The Chowchow was also called in Chinese the *Fungtai* (Mandarin *Fengtai*) *hang*, "abundant greatest" or "great and affluent." The New British Factory was the *Pauho* (Mandarin *Baohe*), meaning "protecting or ensuring tranquility." The Dutch Factory was the *Tsih-I hong* (*Jiyi hang*), well translated at the time as "collected justice factory." Finally, the Creek Factory, whose English name simply resulted from the body of water that abutted it to the east, was named the *I'ho* (*Yihe*) or "justice and peace hong."

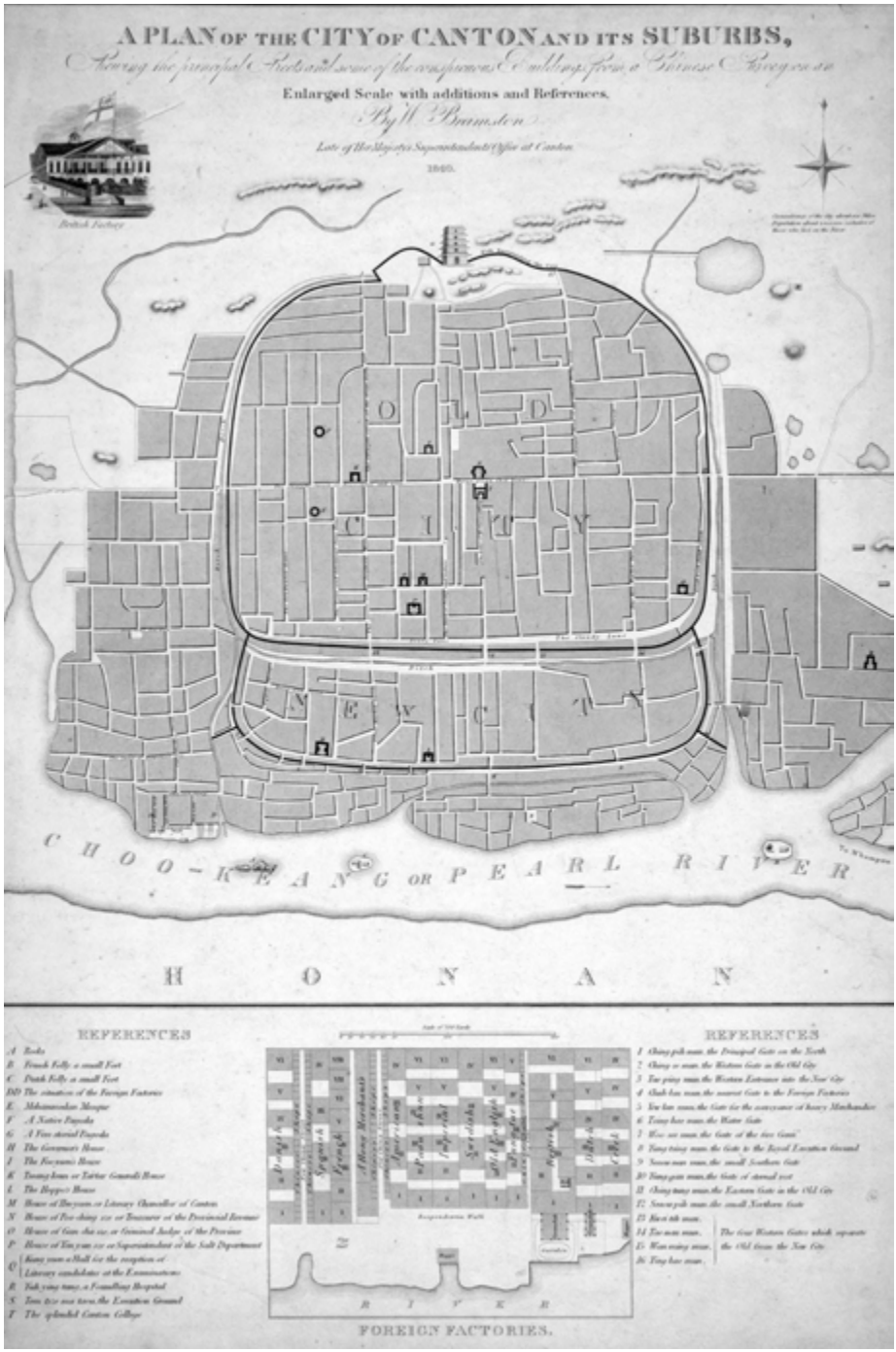

Fig. 1.1

Map of the city of Canton and its suburbs, 1840, drawn by W. Bramston, engraved by James Wyld, with inset of foreign factories. This map indicates the location of the Thirteen Factories in the bottom left hand corner of the city, and then provides an insert showing the footprints of the buildings, labeled with frequently used names to distinguish the individual buildings. Used with the permission of the Hong Kong Museum of Art (AH1964.0115).

The naming of many of the factories after Western nationalities had its roots in the eighteenth century, when many traders were tied to national "East India" companies, and the whole factory would be occupied by one nationality. Technically, various hong merchants to whom ground rents were paid owned the factories themselves.[7] In the mid-eighteenth century, in an era when very little is known about the factory buildings themselves and a few ships might represent foreign trade from a country for the entire season, habitation was segregated by nationality. Pehr Osbeck, the chaplain of a Swedish East India Company ship, wrote during his voyage of 1750–51, "Commonly each ship takes a factory for itself; but sometimes two ships of a nation may be together."[8] By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the British East India Company dominated the European-bound trade. The Americans had arrived in the mid-1780s and within a couple of decades were easily the second most flourishing foreign traders on the ground in Guangzhou. In the beginning, most of the foreign traders quite literally arrived with the trading season and left when the season ended, returning to their home countries. A vague census taken by the British East India Company in April 1815 still revealed relatively few people whose continuous occupation warranted them the title "Foreign Residents." Other than the "Honorable Company's" staff, these included three Dutch supercargoes, a Dutch surgeon, the Swedish Consul, a Prussian consul and vice-consul, the American consul and other Americans simply specified as "several individuals."[9] The Chinese imperial government required departure during the summer, but by the 1820s, it was common practice for most of the resident merchants to simply board a ship down river to Macao for an "off-season" vacation.[10] The procession of boats ferrying the British East India Company down the Macao Reach of the Pearl River delta was accompanied by a rather festive mood, complete with a chorus of gongs and firecrackers.[11] Some American traders eventually began to remain year round contrary to regulations, but were generally overlooked or tolerated.[12]

By the early nineteenth century, the traditional names of the individual factories often had little to do with the nationalities of those who inhabited them. Consuls in residence flew national flags in front of their factories. While late eighteenth-century views might show that the official representatives of Denmark, Spain, France, Sweden, Britain, and Holland were in residence (see Pl. 1), early and mid-nineteenth century views often show only the "flowery flag" (as the Cantonese are recorded to have identified it) of the United States and the British Union Jack, perhaps accompanied by the

7. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, p. 24.
8. Pehr Osbeck, *A Voyage to China and the East Indies* (London: Benjamin White, 1771), Vo1. 1, p. 204.
9. Mui Hoh-cheung and Lorna H. Mui (eds.), *William Melrose in China, 1845–1855* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, Ltd. for Scottish History Society, 1973), p. 10.
10. Downing, *The Fan-qui, or Foreigner in China*, pp. 210–17.
11. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, pp. 82–85.
12. Ibid., pp. 85–86.

Dutch or Danish flags (Pl. 4, 8, 10). Note that even if the appropriate flags were flying, persons of that nationality might not be present in the factories—the Scots principals of the firm Jardine, Matheson & Company had regular long-term appointments as the consuls for Denmark, and American merchant Gideon Nye acted as consul for Chile, among other instances.[13]

By the 1830s, the tendency was for the factories at either end of the site to be predominantly British-occupied, while the center factories had a notable American presence, in the American, Imperial, and Swedish factories in particular.[14] Though this general pattern varied from year to year, as different merchants arrived, left, or switched addresses, the trend was notable enough so that Dr. Melchior Yvan, a French visitor of the 1840s, asserted that the Americans had "absorbed within their limits" all of the factories in the central block except for the Chowchow.[15] A thriving Parsee community, operating under British protection and indeed outnumbering the Americans, also inhabited blocks scattered throughout the factories, though the Chowchow and French factories sheltered the preponderance. The front block of the Dutch factory, until its destruction in 1841, continued to house the small staff of the Dutch East India Company, or Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Europeans of other nationalities generally took up residence in no evident pattern.

Entrepreneurs also leased parts of the factories to run as hotels, largely to accommodate supercargoes and ship captains.[16] Evidence of this comes from Bryant Parrott Tilden, an American supercargo.[17] He spent trading seasons in Guangzhou in the 1810s, when he resided at a "factory hotel" run by Rhode Islander William Magee, and in the 1830s he rented his premises from Englishman Charles Markwick, whose premises occupied Numbers 4–6 of the Imperial Factory.[18] With few brief and chronologically late (i.e., post–Opium War) exceptions, the inhabitants of the Thirteen Factories, regardless of their nationality, were exclusively male as the Chinese imperial government did not allow Western women to take up residence in the country.

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13. Maggie Keswick (ed.), *The Thistle and the Jade* (London: Octopus Books, 1982), p. 63, and *Chinese Repository*, Vol. 16 (1847), p. 11.
14. A good indication of the patterns of habitation of the factories may be found in the lists of foreign residents at Canton in the *Chinese Repository* (Canton, China: 1837), a particularly early one being Vol. 5, p. 429.
15. Melchior Yvan, *Inside Canton* (London: Henry Vizetelly, 1858), p. 39.
16. Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American Policy* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1997), pp. 90–91.
17. A supercargo in this era was a merchant attached to a particular ship or set of ships who managed purchasing and other transactions. The supercargo would leave when his ships did. This is opposed to the resident merchants, permanent inhabitants of ports that acted as year-round agents for foreign companies.
18. Benjamin Parrott Tilden, *Father's Journals* (unpublished manuscript, Peabody Essex Museum) Vol. 1 (second voyage), pp. 201–2, Vol. 2 (seventh voyage), pp. 127–29. Two copies exist of Benjamin Tilden's handwritten volumes of his father, Bryant's, journals. The copies appear to date from around the 1870s. While the original journal does not seem to have survived, the detailed nature of this source, including copies of Bryant Tilden's sketches, makes the source very credible. Bryant Tilden's stays in Canton included three trading seasons in the 1810s and four in the 1830s.

Chapter 2
Westerners Draw Their Boundaries

Insular Living and Its Exceptions

> So it was a most startling revelation to find myself in a very smart, purely foreign settlement, as entirely isolated from the native city as though they were miles apart, instead of only being divided by a canal, which constitutes this peaceful green spot an island.[1]
>
> —Mrs. Constance F. Gordon-Cumming, January 9, 1879

In the later nineteenth century, the bulk of the foreign community in Guangzhou was increasingly separated from the city proper and its population. The island of Honam (Mandarin *Henan*) on the south side of the river became an industrial enclave for foreign business, while the newly constructed island of Shamian became the center for foreign social life. Some foreigners continued to live outside of Shamian, notably a few merchants who were comfortable in the Honam quarters, a few American businesses that tried to rebuild on the old factory site, the British consul who maintained a *yamen* inside the walled city, and a range of foreign missionaries. Parts of the following discussion will chart the spatial and social isolation of the foreign community from the everyday life of the rest of the city, the development of building practices between Western patrons and Chinese contractors, and the shaping of missionary practice within the city. The spatial strategies of foreigners in Guangzhou in the later part of the century reveal an attempt to come to terms with more defined dialogues of identity and alienation.

Modest Living and Work South of the River: Honam

In the immediate aftermath of the Arrow War, the foreign merchants faced the problem of how to go about their business, with long-standing factory residences no longer an option. Though many firms moved their headquarters to Hong Kong or Shanghai, over a century of practicing business in Guangzhou meant that even those firms who moved the base of their operations elsewhere still often felt the need for a branch office

1. C. F. Gordon-Cumming, *Wanderings in China* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1886), p. 34.

in the city. With the potential destructive power of the Cantonese populace now a substantial concern for most foreigners, the search for accommodation first centered on the large island of Honam (Mandarin *Henan*), directly opposite the old factory site on the south bank of the river. Honam actually means "south of the river." Though most of the large island was fairly rural in nature well into the twentieth century, the northwestern tip was occupied by a village-like suburb that was essentially a less dense version of the western suburbs of the city on the other bank. Modest houses clustered around the inland lanes, while large hongs and pack-houses that had been used as temporary encampments for the allied troops during the war fronted directly on the river. This landscape was punctuated by the largest Buddhist monastery in the city's environs and the substantial residence of the Howqua merchant family. The inhabitants of the southern suburb, besides being fewer in number, had the reputation of being milder and more hospitable than the Cantonese denizens of Guangzhou proper. The separation from the latter element, often blamed for destruction of foreign property, combined with large facilities already prepared for conducting the business of importing and exporting, made Honam a logical choice.

The foreign community would take up residence on the river frontage of Honam initially around 1859; some firms would stay there for a couple of decades. Contemporary observers compiling a guide to the treaty ports of the Far East noted, "Honam frontage was rented by foreign firms who altered native buildings into sufficiently comfortable temporary dwelling houses."[2] The buildings that greeted them on the south bank were not unlike slightly smaller versions of the long, narrow, two-storied buildings interspersed with courtyards that composed the Thirteen Factories, albeit largely without the Westernized façades (Pl. 16). The enclosed first stories, the verandah-clad second stories, and the rows of side-gabled roofs echoed almost exactly the configuration of the Thirteen Factories, though there was a total lack of any space like the factory square. This, on the one hand, restricted recreational possibilities, but, on the other hand, also seemed to be prohibitive of the violent incidents that had so plagued the Thirteen Factories.

An image of the interior of one of the foreign premises survives, apparently dating from around 1870 (Fig. 2.1). Representing Nye & Co.'s hong, the photograph from the Peabody Essex Museum's collection depicts the long interior passageway in the center of the business premises used by Gideon Nye, an American merchant who had been a resident of the city since before the Opium War. The stone-and-brick-paved passage, flanked by the tall masonry piers and capped by the tile roofs that are hallmarks of Cantonese vernacular building must have recalled the interior of the Thirteen

2. William Fredrick Mayers, N. B. Dennys, and Charles King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede and Co., 1867), p. 131.

Fig. 2.1
Nye & Co.'s Hong on Honam, Canton (interior). This photograph captures the great central corridor of the Massachusetts firm's godown and residence. It probably gives a rather accurate impression of what a view must have been like within one of the original Thirteen Factories. Nye continued to dwell on Honam even after most of the foreign population moved to Shamian. Used with the permission of the Peabody Essex Museum (TR2015.3).

Factories.[3] The striking, one-point perspective created by the lines of the corridor, rhythmically punctuated by atmospheric bands of light and shadow indicating the courtyards or skylights, brings to mind the description of the foreign factories having individual blocks articulated "like the distinct glasses in a telescope."[4] Westernized features of the building seem largely to be confined to the louvered shutters of the second story and a possibly imported and prefabricated front door with sidelights and transom. The latter element was very typical in American residences of the era, and here undoubtedly served the same purposes of allowing light into the entryway and providing the security measure of seeing who was at the door before opening it.

3. Some evidence indicates that the central passages of the Thirteen Factories were in fact articulated with semi-circular vaults—the post and lintel arrangement of Nye's hong would be more typical of buildings of the city at large.
4. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 214.

Almost all the foreigners in the city would have dwelt in and conducted business in premises like these into the early 1860s. Though the British concession on newly developed Shamian Island started to draw away foreign firms after 1862, when residential construction there began in earnest, Honam continued to host the dwellings of some foreigners, especially those attached to both the liberties and frugalities of the previous era, and the business premises of a number of firms. In 1870, though many of the British firms had moved to the new concession, the American firms of Nye & Co. and Heard & Co. still remained on Honam, as well as a scattering of merchants from the Germanic states and a large number of Parsee business houses.[5] The largely Cantonese-style buildings were comfortable enough for some of the foreigners. A substantial number of Parsee businesses were still on Honam even in 1886.[6]

The foreigners who decided to stay on Honam seem to have gradually followed the lead of the more showy residences on Shamian and adopted a more Westernized style of building. Gideon Nye, by now American vice-consul and a resident of Guangzhou for over four decades, while perhaps maintaining the property depicted above as business premises, described his place of residence in 1882:

> My present residence here, known as "Lam Kee Hong" . . . being a European-built detached house of brick and stone with open spaces in front and rear as well as on the East & bounded by a narrow street on the west, on which there is only a single Chinese one story shop opening on the canal, on which my house is situated. My premises are solely occupied by the Revd. Ernest Faber and myself and our respective servants.[7]

Nye wrote this description in a letter arguing for a lowering of his fire insurance rate. One of the benefits of a residence on Honam was a lower density of buildings, which lowered the chance of damage by catastrophic urban fires. The fact that this was a "European-built detached house" seems to contrast with his earlier premises, an urban Cantonese building type.

Though foreign residence, with the exception of some missionary buildings to be discussed later, gradually declined in the northwestern region of Honam, the area continued as a place of business for foreign and Chinese firms into the twentieth century. A visitor in the 1870s noted, "all the English houses, or Hongs, with one exception alone, do their business in the settlement, but have to go to Honam to weigh their

5. Morris & Co., *Morris's Directory for China, Japan, and the Phillipines, & c.* (Hong Kong: Morris & Co., printed by Charles A. Saint, 1870), pp. 3D–5D. The business directories published out of Hong Kong in conjunction with various firms and newspaper offices are good sources for which firms are in residence in Guangzhou in this period.
6. Robert Fraser-Smith, *The Hong Kong Directory and Hong List for the Far East, for 1886* (Hong Kong: Robert Fraser-Smith at the Office of the "Hong Kong Telegraph," 1886), pp. 209–10.
7. Letter from Gideon Nye to Deacon & Co., agents for China Fire Insurance Company, dated December 16, 1882. Baker Library (Ms766 [1858–1898] N994—Vol. 3b). Harvard University.

teas previous to shipment."[8] As such, the area bears witness to a trend of separation of the industrial spaces of business and manufacture from the spaces used for dwelling and administrative tasks. This trend was almost universally observable throughout the Western world during the second half of the nineteenth century, so the foreign firms in Guangzhou simply mirrored practices in their home countries.

Chau T'au Street on Honam continued to be a primary location for foreign firms' warehouses into the twentieth century.[9] Also on the same street were Chinese businesses of interest to the Western firms, namely, a large reed-matting factory and Choy Song Tea Hong, the largest tea processors in the city.[10] The industrial character of the area would have given a Cantonese vernacular impression of brick walls surmounted by tile roofs and punctuated with doorways sporting the regionally popular sliding wooden security bars. Scottish photographer John Thomson stated, "The native tea-firing establishments of Canton adjoin the river, or the banks of a creek, and a granite or wooden wharf is one of their most indispensable accessories."[11] Tea rolling, weighing, firing, and tasting were all-important parts of the process for preparing teas for exportation. Foreign tea dealers all possessed their own tasting rooms for the purposes of quality control and creating blends for foreign tastes. A photograph of one such room from the Peabody Essex Museum collections illustrates a typical tea office in Guangzhou from the late nineteenth or very early twentieth century (Fig. 2.2). The firm's principal tea taster and a younger foreign assistant stand attended by local employees. Rows of canisters line the walls and trays and cups are lined up for sampling. The room is otherwise unadorned and, like most such industrial or trade-related spaces, equipped mainly for functionality.

As the scale of shipping in the city increased around 1900, a new, larger type of warehouse facility appeared on the back reach of the Pearl River along the western banks of Honam. The British firm of Butterfield & Swire (in Chinese called Tai Gu, often spelled Tai Koo), a large shipping interest with commodity-producing factories (particularly sugar refineries) in other Chinese cities, opened its Guangzhou branch in 1892.[12] By 1898, the company's warehouse space on the north side of the river leased from the Imperial Maritime Customs Station was too confined, apparently resulting

8. Walter William Mundy, *Canton and the Bogue: The Narrative of an Eventful Six Months in China* (London: Samuel Tinsley, 1875), p. 79.
9. Dr. J. G. Kerr, *A Guide to the City and Suburbs of Canton* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1904 edition), p. 46.
10. Ibid.
11. John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People* (Reprinted, New York: Dover Publications, 1982—orig. 1873), Vol. 1, Plate 21. See also Mundy, *Canton and the Bogue*, p. 79.
12. Arnold Wright and H. A. Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China* (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., Ltd., 1908), p. 790. For a discussion of the firm's organization and history (particularly in other treaty ports), see Sheila Marriner and Francis E. Hyde, *The Senior John Samuel Swire, 1825–98: Management in Far Eastern Shipping Trades* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1967).

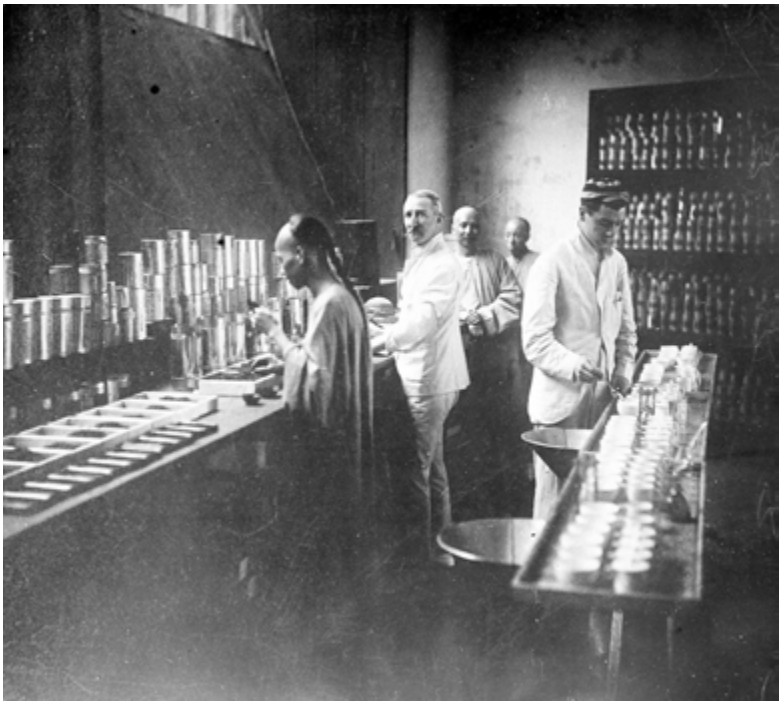

Fig. 2.2
Tea tasters in tea office, Guangzhou (anonymous). The interior of a turn-of-the-century tea taster's office can be compared to a similar setting half a century earlier as shown in Pl. 11. The room seems at once more solely functional and more systematized than its predecessor. Used with the permission of the Peabody Essex Museum (TR2015.2).

in delays in shipping.[13] During the years 1898 and 1899, the firm's Guangzhou agent, J. R. Greaves, investigated and then purchased a tract in the area of Honam called Pak Hin Hok for new godown space. This area, on the periphery of the densely populated part of the island, was formerly dominated by a village of lime burners, but already had some warehouse facilities on it.[14] Greaves sketched the site plan of the property he had originally scouted (Fig. 2.3).[15] This sketch probably reveals the configuration of a typical late nineteenth-century warehouse complex. On a long narrow lot, it possessed a wharf and a walled compound behind it that from front to rear included a small "semi-foreign" brick house (probably an office); a spacious godown containing a small kitchen space; an open courtyard half surrounded by brick and tile work sheds; and, at the rear, brick "coolie" houses for the laborers.

13. John Swire & Sons Papers (JSS II 1/5 folder A23), School of Oriental and African Studies Archives, University of London, and Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 790.
14. Kerr, *A Guide to the City and Suburbs of Canton*, p. 46, and John Swire & Sons Papers (JSS II 1/5 folder A23), SOAS Archives, University of London.
15. John Swire & Sons Papers (JSS II 1/5 folder A23), SOAS Archives, University of London.

Chapter 3
Dining, Shopping, Bombarding, and Touring
Foreigners in the Traditional City

> Canton is a sphinx, serenely indulging in calm recollections, and seeming to smile with equal contentment on time and change. We have interrogated it. How shall we be able to record its responses.[1]
>
> —Olive Risley Seward, 1873

Guangzhou never became a colony per se. Foreigners only ever controlled the city for a few years after the Arrow War. Thus should nineteenth-century Westerners have chosen to wander outside the narrow confines of their residential enclaves, they would have been confronted with an entirely Chinese, or more specifically Cantonese, city to explore. The records of foreigners touring parts of the city thus take on a rather different cast from similar writings by contemporary Westerners in wholly occupied or controlled cities, whether they were in distant India or nearby Hong Kong. Several overlapping phases of "tourist" experience illustrate consecutive ways of seeing the urban spaces of Guangzhou. During the Shisan Hang era, foreigners' explorations of the city were limited to venues where they had either been invited for a special occasion or where they had acquired standing invitations. This time period is most marked by visits to places to engage in activities such as walking, eating, and buying, necessary relief from the monotony of long work hours in sometimes cramped quarters. The time span from the Opium Wars to roughly the mid-1870s is characterized by "mapping."[2] Here the meaning is from Michel de Certeau's use of the word, as the mental placement of static sites in contrast to "touring," a more active engagement with the place. During this period, foreigners, after having forced open its gates through war and negotiation, explored the city and located sites of interest, formulating observations onto a static spatial order in attempts to know "the Chinese." The ability of tourists to move through the city was mediated by the ability of the Cantonese populace to control foreigners' movements by surveillance and what can be termed the "press" of the crowd. The last quarter of the nineteenth century is marked by the acceptance of conventional

1. Seward, *William H. Seward's Travels Around the World*, p. 236.
2. The term "mapping" is here used in generally the same sense utilized by Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

itineraries, codified and reinforced by a budding, Cantonese-run guide service. This fully developed state of tourist practice, possibly both in Western and East Asian terms, is marked by the evolution of sites into "famous" buildings and locations known for their supposed uniqueness. Sites became dissolved in their own representation, in the end becoming items on an itinerary to be checked off rather than experienced.[3]

Guests and Customers: "Invited" Foreigners in the Early Nineteenth Century

The trading community's quest for some form of recreation outside of walking around the factory square characterized the early years of foreign presence in Guangzhou. They succeeded in such explorations to a limited extent. Their main trips beyond the factories focused on visits to a couple of specially permitted scenic sites, dinner parties at the residences of their cohong merchant trading partners, and shopping in Old and New China Streets and the artisan and mercantile neighborhoods just to the north of their residences. These explorations were mostly on the semi-rural edge of the city suburbs, with the exception of shopping at the artisan streets, which was within a rather dense building fabric, if still suburban.[4]

From at least 1819, Chinese imperial edicts spelled out that foreigners were allowed on certain days to frequent the Ocean Banner Buddhist monastery near the western tip of Honam Island and the flower gardens at Huadi (in Cantonese, Fati), literally "flower ground," southwest across the back or Macao reach of the Pearl River from the western suburbs.[5] These two sites, while later codified into conventionalized tourist sites, not the least because of their association with the early China traders, were recorded and remembered in the early nineteenth century as places of active recreation. Both functioned primarily as destinations for a row on the river and places to walk without having to pace back and forth in the square. The choice of these two sites by Chinese officials and foreigners probably resulted from their status as two of the city's largest and most clearly bounded sites unrelated to governmental functions.

Visiting a Buddhist Monastery

One of the earliest in-depth descriptions of the Ocean Banner Monastery was inserted in *Notices Concerning China and the Port of Canton*, published by the Mission Press

3. John Frow, "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia," *October* 57 (Summer 1991): 128–30.
4. It is important to note that the southern and western suburbs of Guangzhou before the twentieth century were actually *more* built up than the city center within the walls. The reason for this is that they contained the active commercial functions of the city, while inside the walls, and particularly inside the "old town" or northern walled city, were located only official functions largely dedicated to the Qing (Manchu) occupation of the city—palaces or yamen, and barracks.
5. Hunter, *The 'Fan Kwae' at Canton*, pp. 28–29.

in Malacca in 1823.[6] The Mission Press was part of a larger missionary institution, the Anglo-Chinese College, founded in what is now Malaysia, where possibly the first school to teach Westerners the Chinese language was located. As a product of such a place, much of the work relies heavily on Chinese historical documents translated by an unnamed foreign expert. As far as the monastery is concerned, it therefore mainly recounts the legend of the founding of the monastery, as it was described in an historical text. In this work there is also a Chinese diagram of the complex (Fig. 3.1) to which

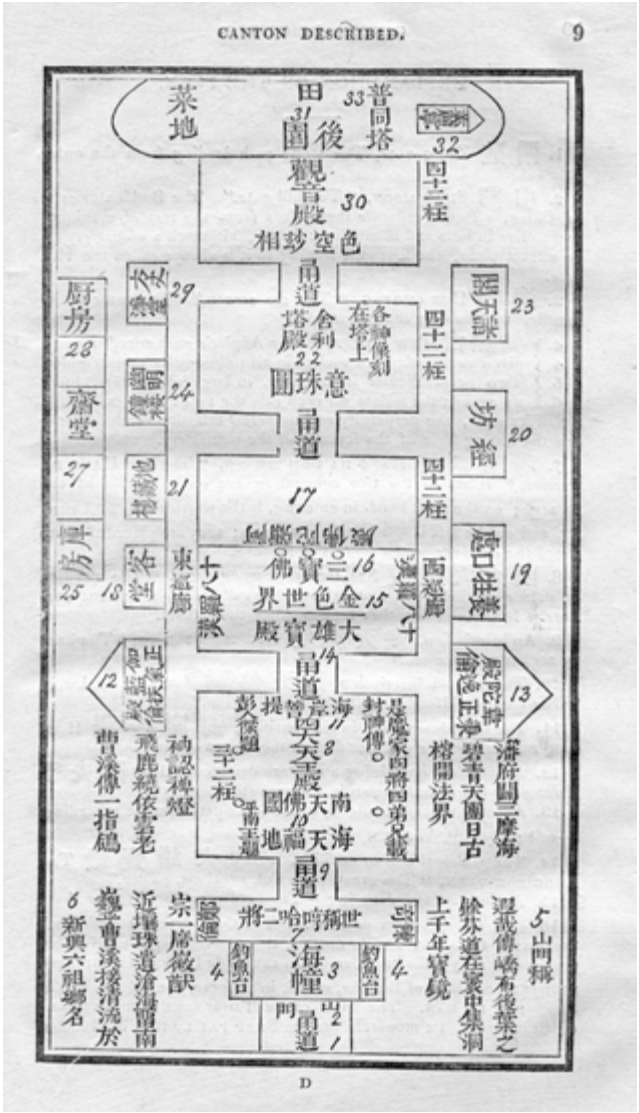

Fig. 3.1
Plan of Ocean Banner Monastery, 1823.
This schematic plan is accompanied by Arabic numbers cued to one of the first "tour guides" intended for Westerners. From *Notices Concerning China and the Port of Canton*, p. 9.

6. *Notices Concerning China and the Port of Canton* (Malacca: The Mission Press, 1823), pp. 6–11.

is appended a numbered explanation of the plan in English. This contains both simple translations from the diagram as well as observations on how the spaces of the monastery were used in contemporary practice. The map and explanation indicates both that the authorities and the monks allowed foreigners to explore the temple rather thoroughly and that foreigners closely observed, if not always comprehended, religious and other activities within the temple.

As early to mid-nineteenth-century foreign visitors strolled through the temple grounds, they made observations that can be characterized as marveling, aesthetic, and "pre-ethnographic." The marveling observations were the result of a perceived uniqueness or exceptionality. The size of the "vast" temple itself was deemed remarkable, as Osmond Tiffany asserted, "This establishment is one of the largest in the empire, second only, perhaps, to the great Potala." [7] William C. Hunter was more cautious and probably more accurate in his assessment, calling it only "one of the largest and finest in the southern provinces."[8] The Buddhist images were also deemed outstanding, though not always in a positive way. Fitch Taylor, an ordained chaplain generally hostile to the idea of Chinese religion, remarked, "The immense statues at the portals are huge monsters of beings, neither divine nor human, and convey no positive sentiment save that of power and anger, which is the result of their hugeness and paint."[9] Also, never escaping the foreigner's notice in terms of the "marvelous" were the "sacred pigs" resident in a pen in the monastery. These were notable not only in terms of their presence in a sacred space, but also in terms of their accommodation, "a stone pen, roofed in, and as clean as the temples," and of their size, which "would have thrown a Cincinnati pork packer into ecstasies; they were of so portentous a girth, that they could neither walk, stand, or see."[10] The perceived extraordinary quality of parts of the monastery always made up an important part of early descriptions. While this aspect of the monastery was generally an object of enjoyment for its own sake in the secular or at least rationalist minds of Tiffany and Hunter, Western clergymen generally interpreted the marvelous aspects as somehow grotesque.

Hunter's brief description of the Ocean Banner Monastery dwells on the aesthetic in particular:

> The series of large beautiful halls, or distinct temples, stand on stone platforms, ascended by broad granite steps, and are surrounded by low stone railings, divided by granite columns which support the overhanging roofs. The varied colors of the buildings, the quantity of gilt scrolls hanging on pillars within and without, present a cheerful, brilliant aspect, to the foreign visitor particularly.[11]

7. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 184.
8. Hunter, *Bits of Old China*, p. 176.
9. Taylor, *A Voyage around the World*, p. 159.
10. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 190.
11. Hunter, *Bits of Old China*, p. 176.

As a long-term resident, and even a friendly acquaintance of the "chief priest," Hunter viewed the complex as primarily a treat for the senses. Many accounts share his liking for the variety of the temple architecture, which was sometimes compared to the relative uniformity of Cantonese vernacular. The aesthetic observation of the temple, like the Chinese garden to be discussed later, sometimes has an additional significance, such as when Osmond Tiffany noted windows "decorated with all conceits of Chinese taste."[12] The seemingly self-evident identification of examples of "Chinese taste" echoes a conception from the *chinoiserie* architectural and garden literature of eighteenth-century Europe. While the consideration of "Chinese taste" may be an assessment according to criteria from inherited notions, these descriptions do not seem to be a judgement of "authenticity" in a modern sense.[13] Rather, the assessments seem to be rooted in a point of view deriving from classical Western education, a sort of Aristotelian recognition of something dwelling in its "natural" state.

Finally, the "pre-ethnographic" observations of Cantonese activities were based on what the visitors saw local people doing inside the temple grounds. Overall attitudes towards the Chinese and, more specifically, Buddhism (understood by none but the most sophisticated visitors) predictably influenced the visitors' comments. Lewis Bentham Bowring, a British official who was part of the broad machinery of empire and who had little good to say of the Chinese or, to some extent, any non-British people, recorded his haughty observations and subsequent conclusions:

> The finest temple in Canton is that of Honam on the south side of the river, from which a flagged pathway leads to the building, which, though large, is not pretty, the colossal images in the shrine and the painted statues in the approaches being devoid of beauty. The Chinese are singularly irreverent in their temples, in which they smoke, chatter, and transact their business as did the Jews once in the precincts of a more sacred space. It is hard to say whether the egregious vanity of a Chinaman destroys his reverence, but he appears to be outwardly less religious than other orientals, his idea of material existence being confined to material pleasure.[14]

Analogy was a practice in observation that would have a long life in Westerners' views of Guangzhou, even among more diligent observers. Osmond Tiffany observed the rituals of the Buddhist monks and recorded his thoughts:

> The priests were dressed very much like Catholic clergymen, in long cassocks, and some with a surplice of yellow silk. Their heads were all shaved and they stood ranged on each side of the altar. Their voices were united in a sort of chaunt, and

12. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 190.
13. See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Shocken Books, 1976), Chapter 5, passim and p. 122.
14. Lewis Bentham Bowring, "A Memoir of Service in India" (c. early 1850s), MSS Eur. G91, British Library, p. 71.

> they consider it of the utmost importance to repeat words of mystical meaning, and to which they do not themselves attach the slightest interpretation. These sentences they sing over hundreds and thousands of times, and consider them peculiarly acceptable to the Diety [*sic*]. The devotions of the priests occupied some considerable time, as some of the party ranged on either side of the altars, others prostrated themselves on the stone floor, and bowed their heads to the pavement as many as nine times in succession, three to each idol, "thrice to thine and thrice to mine, and thrice again to make up nine". This was the first time that I had seen the Kotow performed; it is exacted by the emperor, and so humiliating, that no wonder English embassadors [*sic*] refused to submit to it. The idols which seemed to be the subjects of adoration stood in highly decorated niches, and while the priests went through their mummery they occasionally struck consecrated gongs. When the services were over, we remarked on several points of resemblance between the Buddhist and Catholic ceremonies. We saw priests burning incense and counting beads, and chaunting like the monks of Europe.[15]

From here, Tiffany went on to elaborate extensively on the analogous practices he saw between Buddhist monks and Catholic monks and priests. Watching the Chinese in order to characterize their behaviors was a Western travelers' practice that is substantially present even into the twentieth century. At this stage of the early to mid-nineteenth century, what is notable is the heavy reliance on analogies and the very personal, opinionated or speculative voices of the authors when they interpret their observations. This vanished at some point in the later nineteenth century when a more "factual" tone came to be used.

Flower Grounds

Such conflicted and complex observations were not made on the other "across the river" location of respite, the flower gardens, in reality a working plant nursery, named Fati (in Mandarin, Huadi). Observations on this site could be as simple as "Mary Ann & myself have been this forenoon in company with Mr. French to visit some flower gardens at the West of the city, they were quite extensive and filled with many kinds of rare & pretty flowers & shrubs."[16] The not-always-so enthusiastic missionary Dr. B. L. Ball echoes this generally favorable impression:

> The grounds are extensive, and regularly laid out. Long rows of plants and flowers stretch across, with rows of crockery vases full of variously trained plants, and shrubs border the paths. In the season of bloom it must be a pretty sight; but it now presents little of interest. The Chinese in attendance were very civil and polite to us.[17]

15. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, pp. 187–88.
16. Augustus Ward Loomis Papers, Cornell University Archives (2474). Letter of October 23, 1849. Loomis was a missionary from Cazenovia, New York.
17. B. L. Ball, *Rambles in Eastern Asia* (Boston: James French and Co., 1855), p. 105.

Even when anti-foreign sentiment was high, it seems that the attendants at Fati were always very pleasant to their Western visitors. This could have been variously because of the foreigners' status as potential customers, since the flowers grown here had been known to bedeck the tables and verandahs of the factories, or because the foreigners shared a mutual interest in botany with the Chinese attendants. Osmond Tiffany recorded:

> The gardeners were evidently men who thoroughly understood their vocation, and were stimulated by enthusiasm at the same time. They were polite and anxious to show us their plants, and did not withhold any information we asked for. They were different from the generality of the people, who are very shy in their answers.[18]

The Cantonese gardeners' high degree of hospitality allowed for much flexibility, as Tiffany recorded, "They are open all day, and foreigners are permitted to visit them at any moment."[19] Furthermore, during the Chinese New Year holiday, Fati would be the site of picnics both for well-to-do Cantonese and for groups of up to thirty foreigners from the factories, in what would seem to be a local Western adoption of a Chinese festivity.[20]

Tiffany's account of the gardens, one of the most informative, is extensive and difficult to pare down. He stated that there were actually two gardens divided by a creek, and that at a certain time of year one could witness the blooming of ten thousand japonicas.[21] He further describes that the entrance was via a gardeners' lodge, and storehouse for tools and equipment, that there were thousands of flowerpots, glass bells for seedlings, porcelain seats and chairs for furnishing gardens, bonsai, and topiary.[22] A rare photograph, circa 1900, shows what must be part of the exterior of the gardeners' lodge in front of which are displayed flower pots, scholars' rocks, and a trained bamboo (Fig. 3.2). Tiffany's admiration of Fati and its Cantonese caretakers glows in the account—the men and the skills on display here impressed him to an extent that stands out even in a generally Sinophilic book. The commercial aspect of the gardens is also evident in this description, as Tiffany mentioned "any of the plants" was available at "reasonable prices."[23] He discussed his purchase of an orange and a japonica, which made it back to his Baltimore home, where "several Baltimore florists obtained cuttings of them, which grew very well in their green-houses, and on which they bestowed unqualified approbation."[24] This place where dedicated people grew interesting and beautiful plants was mutually culturally intelligible.

18. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 163.
19. Ibid., p. 159.
20. Hunter, *Bits of Old China*, p. 7.
21. Tiffany, *The Canton Chinese*, p. 159.
22. Ibid., 160–62.
23. Ibid., p. 160.
24. Ibid., pp. 162–63.

Chapter 4
Xin Guangzhou

Architecture, Foreigners, and Modernity in the Early Twentieth Century

> The City of Canton may be rightly called the most up-to-date city of China to-day, when compared with other cities throughout the land. It is progressive, modern, prosperous and rich. It is the only city with modern conveniences, entirely constructed and controlled by Chinese.[1]
>
> —Milton Chun Lee, May 1930

In Guangzhou, profound architectural change accompanied the dramatic political and social changes that swept China in the early twentieth century. The old dichotomy between the foreign neighborhoods and the Chinese city had blurred to such an extent by the 1930s that the visitor could no longer be sure from the outside of buildings whether they represented foreign or Chinese habitation and business. Some foreign businesses and missionary enterprises embraced the modernizing city, while Shamian remained socially conservative, continually confronting challenges to its insular status. Foreign interests collaborated with Chinese institutions to produce new institutions, from universities to utilities, which were accompanied by massive building projects. In some new suburbs, foreigners and wealthy Chinese began to live harmoniously as neighbors. The gathering storm clouds of Japanese occupation in the late 1930s effectively interrupted the Western presence. By this time, the racial divides that had accompanied the decades after the Opium War were beginning to heal, but many tensions remained unresolved. The modernizing city had opened new possibilities for cross-cultural relations, yet the sweeping trauma of twentieth-century global politics interrupted the further rebuilding of an architectural and social world between empires.

New Business, New Buildings, and Cross-Cultural Controversy in Twentieth-Century Shamian

While the late nineteenth century saw construction on nearly all of the lots on Shamian, the early twentieth century witnessed a burgeoning of business that transformed the

1. Milton Chun Lee, "Public Construction in Canton," *The Far Eastern Review*, May 1930, p. 217.

built environment of the concession island. The looming neoclassical, multistory buildings marking many of the street corners today all date from this era. Demand for space and the accompanying rise in real estate prices caused a proliferation of multistory buildings. Increasingly, multinational corporations that harnessed the monetary power necessary for international academic design constructed these buildings. The historical transformation from the old, two-story suburban houses to a new commercial skyline on Shamian began around the years of 1905–06. The last of the arched verandah–wrapped houses on Shamian, the residence for Butterfield & Swire's senior employees, was finished and occupied in April 1906 (Fig. 4.1).[2] The company's new buildings in the godown complex on Honam relieved their Shamian residence of the need to house much in the way of business facilities. Two decades later, even Butterfield & Swire would be pressed for space. In 1927, the company added a third story to their Shamian house, which included "a flat over agents quarters—living room, 2 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms & w.c.'s, box-room, hall, pantry, kitchen, laundry, 3 boys rooms."[3] The increasing staff needed for the expanding business opportunities of Guangzhou, and the demand for lot space, resulting in the movement of Chinese employees' quarters back into the main block, would come to characterize the first three decades of the century.

Fig. 4.1
Butterfield & Swire residence, Shamian, built 1906. The final expression of the nineteenth-century verandah-wrapped house type, the Butterfield & Swire house is only recognizable as a late expression by its contrasting red brick and stone components, reflecting Edwardian taste. The third story was added two decades after the initial construction. Photo by author, 2002.

2. JSS I 6/2, Swire Property Book, p. 26. SOAS, University of London.
3. Ibid.

While Butterfield & Swire's house was being completed, Arnhold, Karberg & Co. was already constructing a more urban and technologically sophisticated building form immediately to the west (Fig. 2.13, bottom). The Danish-German-American firm hired the newly arrived Australian-American architectural partnership of Messrs. Purnell & Paget, who had taken up residence in the French concession, to design the building.[4] The very bones of the building were something new on the China coast. One of the oldest surviving reinforced concrete buildings in China, the building uses the newly developed Kahn system of reinforcing.[5] The system was only recently developed in America by Truscon, the firm of Albert and Julius Kahn, builders of some of the first great US automobile factories.[6] Built by the Hong Kong contractor Mr. Lam Woo, the building also contained such modern features as an electric elevator, electric lighting throughout, telephones, and a gas plant for heating and cooking.[7] The four-story building was conceived of as an urban project, but also made a bow to the green surroundings of Shamian in its roof garden. The modern structure of the building was cloaked in Beaux-Arts language, with a Renaissance, "Mannerist"-derived rusticated first story and monumental classical orders above providing a screen for recessed front verandahs. The spatial arrangements of the building would be repeated many times in the corporate buildings of Guangzhou through the early twentieth century. The ground floor contained the sales and storage facilities, consisting of a 2,500-square-foot machinery exhibition room and a 8,000-square-foot godown.[8] The second story contained the general offices, and the living apartments of managers and principal assistants filled the upper floors.[9]

Purnell, son of an architect in Geelong, Victoria, Australia, and Paget, who had received his architectural education at Lehigh University, were simultaneously at work on other large structures on Shamian.[10] These included Imperial Maritime Customs staff quarters in the French concession, and another large residential block, used in part by the silk trading firm T. E. Griffith, on the back road of the island facing the English bridge (Fig. 4.2). The customs staff quarters, three and a half stories tall and around twenty bays wide, still dominates the eastern end of the central avenue, and the Griffith building also survives in slightly altered form. These buildings adopted a broadly eclectic, late-Victorian language, which could loosely be associated with the "Queen Anne" style. They also employed perhaps as early as 1904 the rusticated first story and monumental orders tying the verandahs of upper stories together that seems to have

4. Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 788.
5. See Jeffrey W. Cody, *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 41.
6. Ibid., p. 37.
7. Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 788.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. See pp. 794–95.

Fig. 4.2
Buildings by Purnell & Paget, architects, in Canton. These buildings, illustrated as a page in a promotional publication, show much of the architects' works falling within a very eclectic Victorian-Edwardian vein. The Griffith building (top right) and the Imperial Maritime Customs staff quarters (drawing, bottom left) are still extant. From Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions*, p. 793.

been a trademark of their design, in the first building of the International Banking Corporation (IBC), predecessor of National City Bank, now Citicorp (Pl. 25).

The massive German consulate building (Fig. 4.3) was erected on the site of the old consulate in 1906, at the cost of $185,000.[11] The designer was a Mr. W. Danby, a civil engineer.[12] Like the Butterfield & Swire building, it is stylistically transitional.

11. Ibid., p. 788.
12. "Imperial German Consulate, Canton," *The Far Eastern Review*, September 1906, p. 118.

Fig. 4.3
German consulate building, built 1906. This enormous building, apparently in a nationalist Neo-Baroque style, was used by Asiatic Petroleum after the German consulate and German firms were expelled from the British concession during the First World War. Photo by author, 2006.

On the one hand, it sports the arcade-fronted verandahs of old Shamian, but, on the other, it has many more academic stylistic references, including domed roof towers, which may be a vague reference to a "nationalist" Neo-Baroque. This structure served its original purpose until the First World War, when the consulate as well as German firms were uniformly expelled from the British concession and took up residence in the Chinese city. The consulate building was acquired in 1920 by the British firm, Asiatic Petroleum, as their Guangzhou headquarters.[13] A series of infrastructure improvements accompanied the influx of new investment in Shamian in the years around 1905. In 1904, a new drainage system was installed in the British concession.[14] The public gardens were remodeled in 1906 with a bowling and croquet lawn, a summer-house, and late-Victorian-style flower gardens.[15] The same year, telephone service came to both Shamian and the Chinese city.[16] In 1908, septic tanks started to be installed on the island, and a swimming pool was constructed on one of the lots facing the canal, where it still exists as an indoor facility to this day.[17]

13. Foreign Concession Dossier—Shameen (Canton) 1919–1925, FO 228/3193, p. 11 (no. 46). The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom.
14. Smith, *Diary of Events and the Progress on Shameen, 1859–1938*, p. 23.
15. Ibid., p. 24.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 25.

The late 1910s and 1920s saw continued construction in much the same vein as the Arnhold Karberg and IBC buildings. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) building (Fig. 4.4), possibly constructed in 1919–1920, maintains the same elaborated ground floor and monumental columns tying together second and third stories, but uses a formal Beaux-Arts classicism and marks its corner entrance with a cupola.[18] Here, verandah space has considerably diminished—something that likely would only be contemplated after the introduction of electric ceiling fans. This new climate-control technology was undoubtedly responsible for the enclosure by the 1930s of many of the verandahs of older structures with wood-framed casement windows, a development that can still be observed in extant buildings of the period.

Fig. 4.4
Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Building, built 1919–20. This restrained classical building makes the most of its corner lot with a corner entrance, emphasized by a cupola several stories above. Photo by author, 2002.

18. Though the Guangzhou branch of HSBC opened in 1909, the date of construction is derived from the fact that in 1915 HSBC had a very small staff in Canton and a rare surviving land record refers to the rental of an apartment to an "American, Mr. Kelley, who is employed on the new HSBC building" in March 1920. See Foreign Concession Dossier—Shameen (Canton) 1919–1925, FO 228/3193, p. 7. The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom. Funds were appropriated for construction in 1919. See Frank H. H. King, *The Hong Kong Bank between the Wars and the Bank Interned, 1919–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 105.

The building constructed for the American firm of Andersen, Meyer, & Co. is an example of a building so stylistically similar to the HSBC building that the same firm most assuredly designed it. Anderson, Meyer, & Co., a Danish company representing many American firms and with significant American investment (notably by Galen Stone and Willard Straight) and corporate registration, built its Shamian offices around 1920 (Fig. 4.5).[19] The company was a prominent vendor of machinery and engineering expertise in China—on the one hand, it represented such important manufacturers as General Electric, International Harvester, American Radiator,

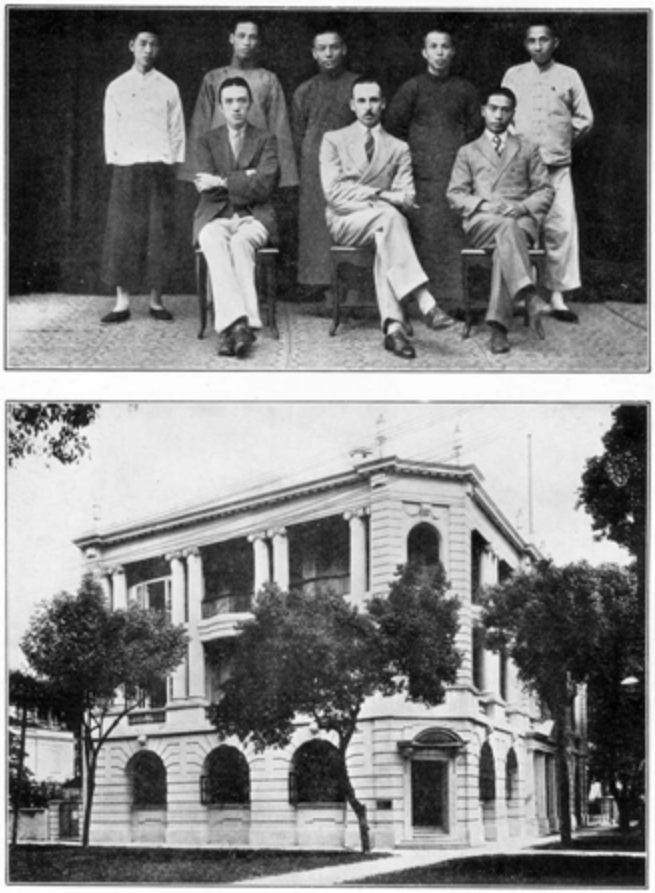

Fig. 4.5
Andersen Meyer & Co. building and branch staff, c. 1930. Typical for the early twentieth century, this tidy building of the Danish and American firm that prominently marketed engineering and machinery goods had both offices and residences in it, where a combined foreign and Western staff passed their days. From Ferguson, *Andersen, Meyer, & Company of China*, p. 141.

19. Charles J. Ferguson, *Andersen, Meyer, & Company of China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1931), pp. 4, 138.

Sherwin-Williams, Duraflex, and Masonite, while on the other, it provided consulting services for the new public works of Republican China, notably the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Guangzhou.[20] This corporate branch echoed the organization of other businesses of the period, with main offices in Shanghai or Hong Kong and a comparatively small staff in Guangzhou. The reason for this was simple: "Canton is so quickly and easily reached from Hong Kong, however, that the additional engineering staff of the latter office is at all times available in Canton."[21] Thus the photograph of the staff around 1930 (above that of the building) shows only one foreign engineer, seated next to two Chinese staff members in Western dress, with the lower-ranking employees in Chinese dress standing behind. While the offices and showroom of the company were on the ground floor, the great amount of space in the upper floors suggests that at least some Chinese employees were resident in the building.

The more delicate classicism of HSBC, the also still extant Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, and Andersen, Meyer, & Co. drew more explicitly on the precedents of eighteenth-century European monumental architecture than Purnell & Paget's work of the first decade of the century. Whether the firm of Purnell & Paget designed these buildings or whether they were the products of another firm is difficult to determine in the absence of good corporate and architectural practice archives. The former firm was still the most established in Guangzhou, but by 1915 they had competition in the form of the three offices of Thomas Adams & Wood, Weaser & Raven, and A. Abdoolrahim.[22] The prolific Hong Kong firm of Palmer and Turner could also have contributed designs. The 1910s, incidentally, saw the emergence of Japanese firms, and their accompanying new business facilities, in the British concession. The Japanese firms adopted wholly Western building forms and languages. The Bank of Taiwan (then a Japanese colony) took up residence in a still-extant, very formal three-story building with Doric columns tying together the upper-story verandahs. Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Ltd., also built a massive four-story facility on the back canal road, apparently in 1915 (Fig. 4.6).[23] This building sports somewhat naïve Neo-Baroque decoration, notably a broad broken pediment over the entrance porch.

The mid-1920s saw the last great building projects on Shamian of the first half of the twentieth century. On Shamian in the early 1920s, the International Banking Corporation built a new branch office, designed by the New York- and Shanghai-based architectural firm of Murphy & Dana, opening it in 1924.[24] The bank's Beaux-Arts exterior, with stone cladding on a reinforced concrete structure, has a monumental

20. Ibid., passim.
21. Ibid., p. 141.
22. *Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Straits Settlements, . . .* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Daily Press, 1915), pp. 1041–53.
23. The date here comes from applied letters in the pediment over the entrance.
24. *Number 8* (the IBC corporate newsletter), November 1924, and Cody, *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000*, pp. 68–69.

Fig. 4.6
Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Building (detail), built 1915. Japanese firms arrived on the British concession a bit later than those of many other nationalities, so they tend to be found towards the north side of the island, like this building, which faces the canal. The mixture of a baroque classicism with some more modern touches, like the round window that breaks through the pediment, makes this a striking building. Photo by author, 2002.

Fig. 4.7
Second IBC Building/National City Bank, built first half of 1920s (Murphy & Dana, architects). This example of American Beaux-Arts classicism, with its "triumphal arch" façade, resembles banks of the period throughout the United States. Photo by author, 2002.

Ionic order *in antis* that was part of a corporate program of "uniformity of design" being carried out by IBC in its foreign branches (Fig. 4.7).[25] Here, the interest in a sort of brand recognition caused the building to resemble contemporary American bank facilities in a way hitherto not witnessed in Guangzhou. The interior arrangements

25. Ibid.

were a main banking floor on the ground story, with a still-intact monumental central staircase leading to offices on a mezzanine above. The rest of the building's interior contained "commodious living quarters on the upper floors for the staff members," but to what extent this represented the spaces of Western versus Chinese employees is unknown.[26] The early twentieth century did, however, see an increased proximity of Chinese and Westerners in the new large buildings. In 1911, there were 323 foreigners and 1,078 Chinese residing on Shamian, and, in 1937, there were 412 foreigners and 1,350 Chinese residents.[27] With the disappearance of "back lot" servants' quarters that resulted from the new construction at the beginning of the century now taking up entire concession lots, the resident Chinese employees were brought back inside the building. Where some relationships between foreign firms and Chinese employees were apparently growing more casual and perhaps close, other settings retained conservative, segregated spatial arrangements.

First and foremost among the architectural reassertions of late nineteenth-century foreign, segregated privilege was the new British consular complex, constructed in the early to mid-1920s. Shamian and expanses of Guangzhou's riverside suburbs suffered a severe flood in July 1915. While many buildings were simply repaired after this disaster, the British consulate buildings, still much the same as when they were built in the 1860s, were deemed damaged enough to warrant complete rebuilding.[28] Much of the original arrangement of the structures was retained. The first building to be built, the consul's residence, had the most ornamented exterior. The British Office of Works approved the rebuilding of the assistants' quarters and offices (Fig. 4.8) in 1922, and this building was occupied on April 7, 1924.[29] This building is the most dramatically changed and enlarged in comparison to its nineteenth-century antecedent. Standing two full stories high, it had a projecting, pediment-capped verandah that almost certainly was a self-conscious architectural quotation of the pediment-capped verandah of the British East India Company's main factory during the Shisan Hang era. The room on the ground floor was the consul's office, the interior of which was furnished in a wholly Western style. Above this room was a "sleeping porch" appended to the second-story assistants' quarters. The vice-consul's house, designed in 1922 but not completed until 1927, finished out the complex as an elegant essay in climatic adaptation underneath Beaux-Arts cladding.[30] An elegant ink-wash rendering by one of the Office of Works architects (Fig. 4.9) shows a two-story verandah on the south harmoniously integrated into an overall classical whole, notably featuring a triumphal arch motif on the eastern elevation. These buildings, all of which were presumably

26. *Number 8* (the IBC corporate newsletter), November 1924.
27. Smith, *Diary of Events and the Progress on Shameen, 1859–1938*, p. 27.
28. WORK 10/299. The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom. This is a loose miscellaneous file of notes and letters regarding the construction of the Guangzhou consular complex in the 1920s.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

Fig. 4.8
Assistants' residences and office wing, British consulate, built 1922–24, destroyed 1948. A much grander centerpiece to the consular compound than its predecessor, this building probably self-consciously refers to the British Factory of East India Company days. Used with the permission of The National Archives, Kew, UK (WORK 55/2).

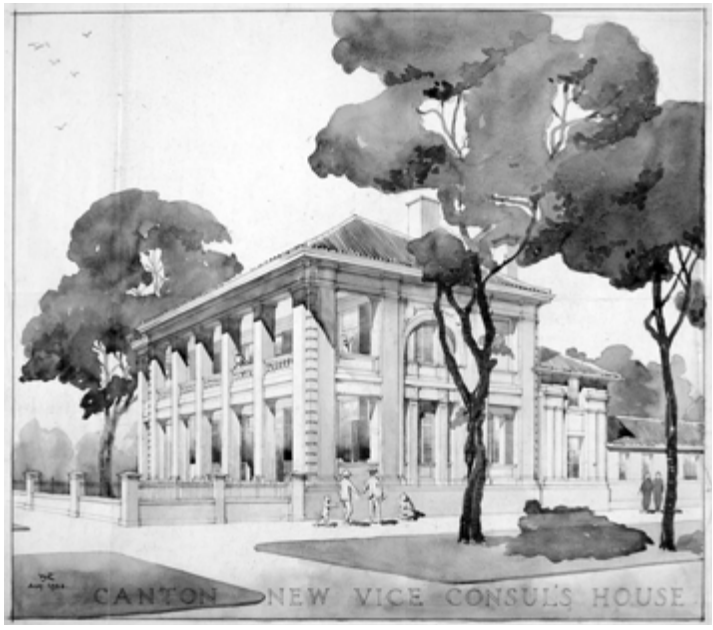

Fig. 4.9
"New Vice Consul's House," August 1922 (by "B. C."). This handsome rendering by an Office of Works architect shows the vice-consul's house, which stands today little changed, excepting that the southern verandah is now enclosed. The eastern elevation features a triumphal arch motif symmetrically overlaying both verandah and house. Used with the permission of The National Archives, Kew, UK (WORK 10/299).

designed by Office of Works employees, display a strong Beaux-Arts affinity, with a certain sparseness that prefigures the emerging "stripped classicism" that in the 1930s would become a worldwide language for institutional architecture.

Though only the consul and vice-consul's residences survive at present, a plan of the complex as completed remains in the Office of Works files (Fig. 4.10).[31] It reveals two major aspects of the retrenchment of a conservative, truly imperial mode of spatial organization, on the eve of the waning of British global power. One is an increased allocation of space to ceremonial and social purposes. The office building contained a

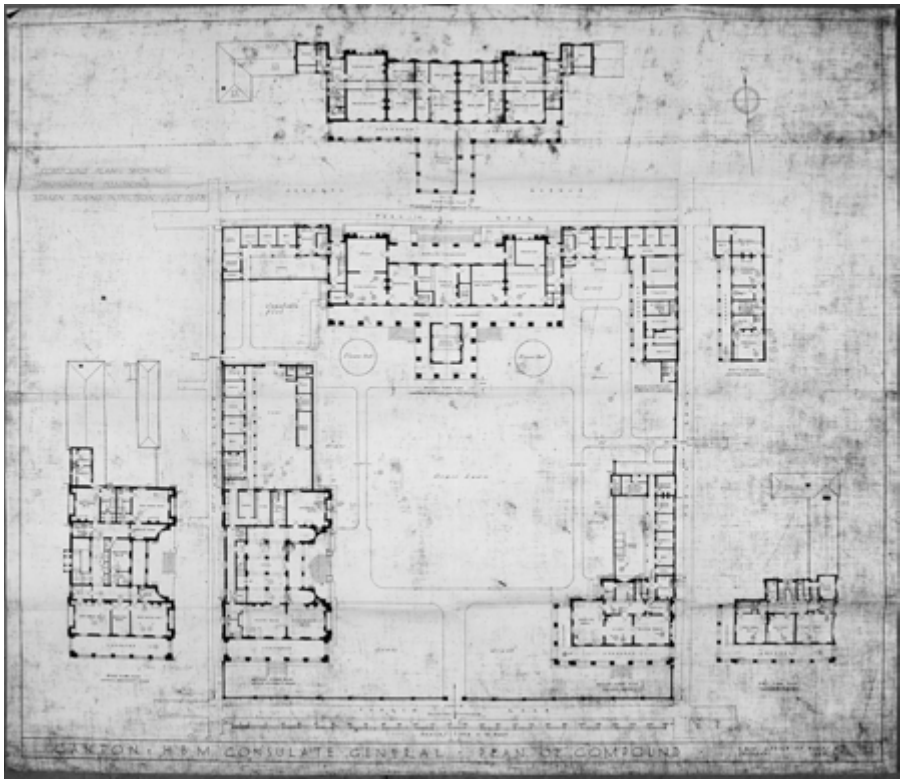

Fig. 4.10
Plan, British consular complex, drawn 1938. The smaller plans outside of the central block are of the second floors of adjacent first-floor plans (bottom left: consular residence; bottom right: vice consular residence; top: assistants' residences and office wing). The overall layout echoes the arrangement of the buildings that preceded these on the site. Used with the permission of The National Archives, Kew, UK (WORK 10/301).

31. The offices and assistant's quarters were destroyed in a protest against the British eviction of squatters in the Kowloon Walled City in Hong Kong in January 1948. The records they contained, which would have allowed a much fuller exploration of the history and development of Shamian, were completely destroyed as well. WORKS 10/301. The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom. The plans were provided in conjunction with this incident.

large vestibule at the center of its first floor, behind the entrance to the complex from Shamian's central avenue. This was labeled simply "public space." The vice-consul's residence had a ground floor completely allocated to social space, with a drawing room of impressive dimensions, a study, and a dining room. The consul general's residence contained a large colonnaded hall, with no functional assignment, inside its west entry that dominated and occupied over a third of the ground floor. The second notable feature of the complex was the continued relegation of Chinese staff quarters to wings, apart from the main body of the buildings. The designations of "cook," "gardener," "amah," and the by-now-anachronistic "coolie" and "boy" are the scattered labels of cramped rooms throughout the service wings. The amahs were the only servants with second-story quarters, owing to their intimacy with the consular families, necessitated by their childcare responsibilities. The staunchly classist, and potentially racist, prejudices of the British upper and upper-middle classes, ignoring the evolving social trends in the surrounding city and even in Shamian, were solidified in the plan of the consular complex.

The increasing density of habitation on Shamian, as well as the increasing unease felt by certain residents with the changing world of early Republican China around them, formed the impetus for increasing regulation of the concession. In 1903, a barracks for a police force was erected, and it was in turn expanded for a larger force in 1919.[32] Even more notable was the increasing number of regulations set in place by Shamian's "Municipal Council." The original set of regulations seems to have been drawn up in 1908, and these were revised again in 1919.[33] These regulations included a ban on setting off fireworks, a ban on "Chinese" dogs on the concession and a requirement to register other breeds on the island; a ban on "spirit shops, houses of entertainment, or public lotteries"; the requirement of all persons passing through the concession after dark to carry lighted lanterns; and the enforcement of a fine for any person "willfully damaging trees, flowers, or turf."[34] Residents were carefully enumerated, as indicated by one regulation: "The Secretary of the Municipal Council shall keep a register of all Chinese domestic servants and employees residing in the British Concession, and no person of Chinese nationality who is not so registered shall be allowed to reside in the British Concession."[35]

Tensions, and regulations in response to them, reached a peak in the mid-1920s. Strikes, protests, and the bombing of the hotel by a Vietnamese nationalist during the visit of the French governor of Indo-China all resulted in more stringent bylaws.[36] In 1924, the council drew up a new series of traffic regulations. Many of these were meant to bar casual access to the island by the Cantonese, although, notably, the

32. Smith, *Diary of Events and the Progress on Shameen, 1859–1938*, p. 23.
33. FO 228/3193, Foreign Concession Dossier—Shameen (Canton), Dispatch No. 101. PRO, Kew.
34. Ibid., enclosure 2.
35. Ibid.
36. Smith, *Diary of Events and the Progress on Shameen, 1859–1938*, p. 23.

regulations themselves, which were posted by the bridges and river landing steps, make no mention of race.[37] This type of regulation set a curfew for those without a permit at ten in the evening, set hours when the amahs were allowed to take the children out to the riverfront "bund," and banned non-residents from using the island as a promenade.[38] Some regulations were also aimed at both the Chinese and Westerners who used the island, including a regulation on bicycle and sedan chair traffic and a rule against walking on the grass "unless that allotted to recreational purposes."[39]

Although the expanding regulations show attempts at restricting movement on Shamian, the reality was probably never what the Municipal Council desired. Photographic evidence like an Underwood & Underwood stereoscope view indicates that, at the dawn of the twentieth century, it apparently would not have been unusual to see Chinese girls from a missionary school out for a stroll on the Shamian riverfront.[40] Though, presumably, the increasing number of regulations was intended to stem casual use of the island by non-residents, the minutes of the meeting to draw up the 1924 traffic regulations indicate a differing reality. From the rather complicated exchange in the formulation of the regulations comes a statement from H. Davenport Browne of Asiatic Petroleum:

> Will a serious attempt be made to enforce the new regulations? I have frequently observed a neglect to do so. If the regulations do exist, they ought to be enforced. At present Chinese use the seats, walk on the Bund, and use Shameen as a thoroughfare, just as much as they ever did before.[41]

Though Mr. Browne might find Shamian more peaceful without Chinese traffic, his argument is strikingly more concerned with consistency than segregation. Though it is difficult to infer personal feelings from the minutes of the meeting dominated by early twentieth-century businessmen, there was discomfort with the regulations in some sectors. After some discussion, J. W. Taylor of Butterfield & Swire convinced the council to amend the regulation, "The roads on Shameen shall not be used as a thoroughfare from bridge to bridge or from landing steps to the city," by adding on, "except as regards the latter, by those whose business connection with Shameen residents necessitates it."[42] The discussion indicates that Taylor was greatly concerned that the regulations might offend the Cantonese with whom he had business, and he explicitly did not want them to be stopped and pestered by the Shamian police.[43] Despite the

37. FO 228/3193, Dispatch No. 203. PRO, Kew.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. No. 12 from the series: James Ricalton, *China through the Stereoscope* (New York: Underwood & Underwood, 1901).
41. 13 Nov. 1924 Minutes of general meeting of ratepayers of the British Concession in FO 228/3193, Dispatch No. 147. PRO, Kew.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.

introduction of state-of-the-art business and architectural practices onto Shamian in first decades of the twentieth century, in many ways the municipal council and other conservative forces on Shamian wanted to maintain a feeling of bucolic segregation. These desires were manifest in the increased attempts to regulate boundaries and behaviors on the concession island, only partly successful and not universally agreed upon. Such measures were, however, increasingly out of place in a Chinese city at the forefront of efforts to forge a modern, globally involved nation.

Shamian's insularity did not dissolve. Though many local employees of Western interests lived on Shamian, the district remained closed to habitation by the general populace. When, in the 1930s, the promoter of "Modern Canton" Edward Bing-Shuey Lee attempted to inquire about renting an apartment on the island, he was turned away by individual building owners despite numerous signs advertising vacancies.[44] He pointed out the inherent contradictions of the continued segregationist practice:

> The foreign business men of Shameen are the ones who are most anxious to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese residents of Canton for that it brings in business, and that is the main reason for their enthusiastic participation in such organizations as the Canton Rotary Club, the Thursday Club and the Canton branch of the Pan-Pacific Association. How much more good-will would be created if these very same residents of Shameen took the initiative to perform voluntarily a really friendly act by lowering the bars against the Chinese people, which cannot but be regarded as insulting to the race as a whole?[45]

The backwardness of Shamian's policies, whether sanctioned by the municipal council or informally put into unspoken practice by individual building owners, truly became apparent when compared to developments involving foreigners and the Cantonese elsewhere in the city.

Learning and Living Together: Foreign Philanthropic Institutions

The late nineteenth century saw the increasing engagement of foreigners of the missionary class with the city. The lessons learned in these years were implemented in the early decades of the twentieth century, most prominently the desire of the Cantonese to understand the West and use what it could offer in the ways of technology and global knowledge, as opposed to a self-evident desire to convert to Christianity. Thus, missionaries began to coordinate with each other to produce institutions that, while still containing a religious education component, were increasingly secular in their emphasis. Educational institutions, often constructed and maintained by both foreign and Chinese donations, became the center of their efforts. The development of schools involved larger numbers of Westerners becoming close neighbors to the Cantonese

44. Edward Bing-Shuey Lee, *Modern Canton* (Shanghai: Mercury Press, 1936), p. 28.
45. Ibid.

population and participating in joint enterprises. These institutions profoundly shaped mutual understanding during the early years of the Chinese Republic.

The most architecturally significant and socially important of these schools was the Canton Christian College, known in Chinese and later, as it became more secular, by all as Lingnan (in Cantonese, Lingnam) University. Having begun in the 1890s as a small school sponsored by the American Presbyterian Board, the school became formalized as an institution of higher education in the first decade of the twentieth century.[46] In 1904–05, the institution acquired land at Honglok on Honam and commenced construction of a campus.[47] In these years, the board of trustees of the university, which frequently met in New York City, sent Columbia University–trained architect Charles W. Stoughton, of the small architectural firm of Stoughton and Stoughton, on a site visit to draw up a campus plan.[48] The architectural practice of Stoughton and Stoughton, whose office was on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, generally focused on small civic buildings in New York (the Jacob Reis Free Bathing Pavilion, police stations, hospitals, structures on the Bronx Parkway, etc.), but also produced campus plans for institutions in Puerto Rico and India.[49] Charles Stoughton and trustee/architectural advisor Professor Warren Powers Laird, head of the architecture school at the University of Pennsylvania, were responsible for much of the evolving appearance of the campus.[50] The architectural patterns they set would largely be followed by American architects J. R. Edmunds and Henry K. Murphy, who made architectural contributions to the campus in the later 1910s and 1920s, respectively.

The Stoughton and Stoughton concept for Lingnan is best illustrated in a campus plan revised by J. R. Edmunds in 1918, showing the extant and projected building projects (Fig. 4.11). It shows a typically Beaux-Arts scheme with a grand central axis and a series of cross-axes giving a formal, processional aspect to the whole. Remarkably, all of the shaded buildings (indicating extant structures) survive in some form as part of the main campus of Zhongshan University, even the swimming pool near the river entrance. Early photographs show massive buildings rising formally out of the open plain on the southern bank of the Pearl River with the new institutional buildings looming over young banyan saplings, which, now fully grown, complement the buildings and give the campus much of its pleasant and shady character.

The buildings are uniformly of reinforced concrete construction with red-brick cladding and, for the most part, Chinese tiled roofs. Structurally, Charles Stoughton

46. For a comprehensive history of the institution, see Charles Hodge Corbett, *Lingnan University* (New York: Trustees of Lingnan University, 1963).
47. Corbett, *Lingnan University*, Chapter 6.
48. Ibid., p. 39.
49. See Charles W. Stoughton architectural drawings collection, Archives, Avery Library, Columbia University. and Henry F. and Elsie Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (Los Angeles: New Age Publishing Co., 1956), p. 577.
50. Corbett, *Lingnan University*, p. 61. Laird was the brother of Lingnan chemistry professor Clinton Laird.

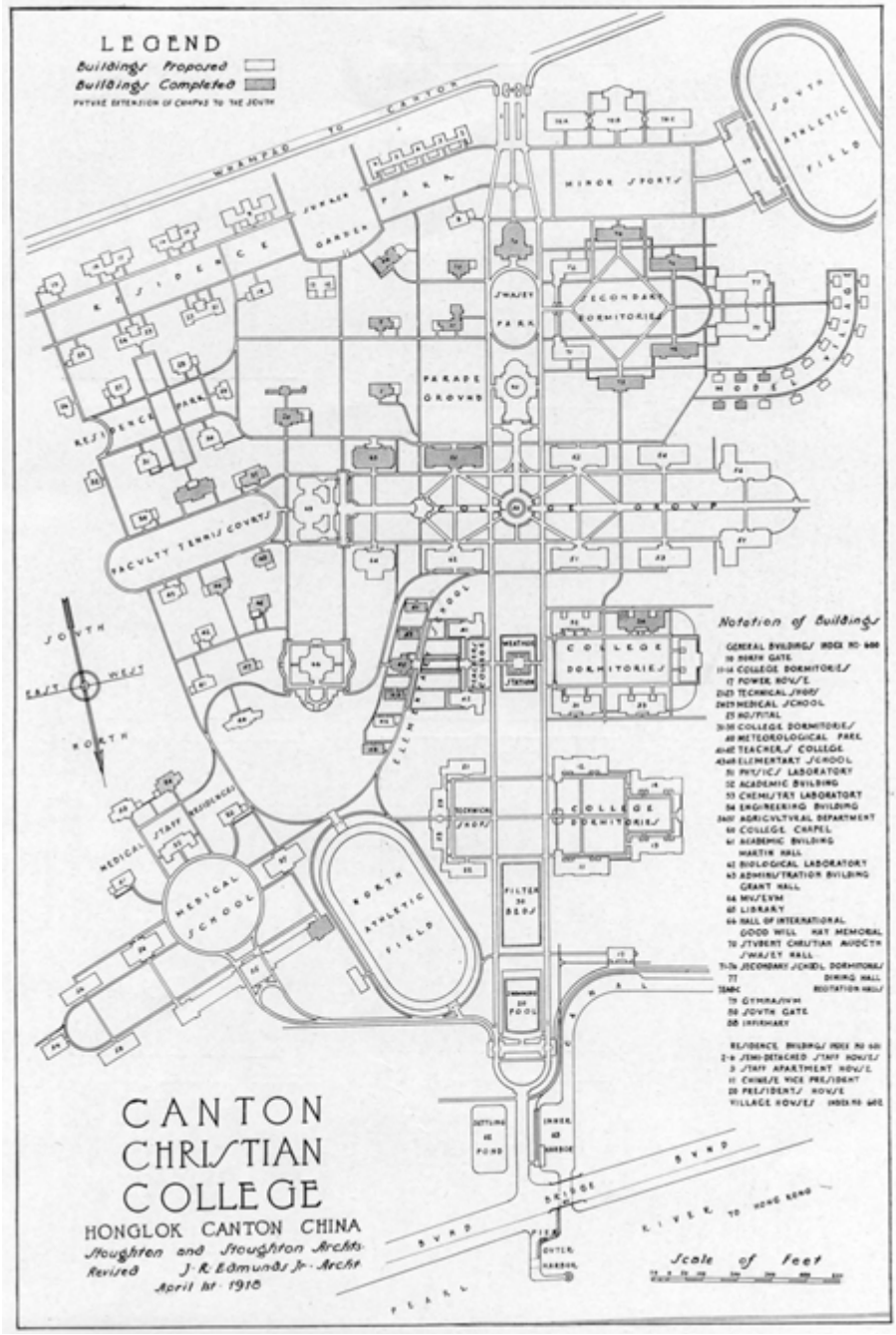

Fig. 4.11

Plan of buildings proposed (white) and buildings completed (shaded), Canton Christian College/ Lingnan University, 1918 (J. R. Edmunds). This campus, designed by New York and Philadelphia architects, is the most unified Beaux-Arts building complex in the city. Most of the buildings indicated as "completed" still survive. From Edmunds, *Canton Christian College*, p. 36.

consistently employed Triangle Mesh Wire reinforcement, produced by the United States Steel Products Company, in the early buildings.[51] The initial campus buildings, therefore, paralleled the contemporary Arnhold Karberg building on Shamian in its groundbreaking use of reinforced concrete. The exterior style of the buildings, on the other hand, tended to evolve over time. The first permanent building on the Lingnan campus, Martin Hall (Fig. 4.12), built with donations from Mrs. Henry Martin of Cincinnati in memory of her husband, was a fairly functional affair.[52] Deep verandahs stretch around the building, with ornament being confined to segmental arches on the first story and monumental verandah piers with sunken panels and abstracted "capitals."

Later building designs by Stoughton would attempt to tackle a fundamental stylistic goal. In the promotional, well-illustrated university history and status report of 1919, university president Charles Edmunds outlined the "architectural problem" of the campus.[53] Of the issue of style, he wrote:

MARTIN HALL FROM THE SOUTHEAST.
Named in memory of Mr. Henry Martin, of Cincinnati and Philadelphia.
This building, 53 x 166 feet, was the first permanent one to be erected at the College, 1905-7, and also one of the first buildings with brick walls and reinforced concrete floors to be built in China. It is at present the only building for classrooms and laboratories for both the Secondary School and the College of Arts and Sciences. The entire north veranda is glassed in as a laboratory with every square foot in use, indicating the pressing need for a Science Hall with laboratories.

Fig. 4.12
Martin Hall, built 1905–07 (Stoughton & Stoughton, architects). The first permanent classroom building to be erected on the campus, it already employed modern reinforced-concrete construction. From Edmunds, *Canton Christian College,* p. 52.

51. "Triangle Mesh Wire Concrete Reinforcement," *The Far Eastern Review*, February 1915, p. 360.
52. Charles K. Edmunds, *Canton Christian College, Ling Naam Hok Hau: Its Growth and Outlook* (New York: Trustees of the Canton Christian College, 1919), p. 52.
53. Ibid., p. 37.

Fig. 4.13
Swasey Hall, built 1913–15 (Stoughton & Stoughton, architects). The relative complexity of the design, with regard to massing and materials (including local glazed tile and stone panels), reveal the Arts & Crafts–influenced flavor of much of Stoughton & Stoughton's work for the campus. The tile roofs and abstracted brackets are explicit references to classical and local interpretations of traditional Chinese architecture. From Edmunds, *Canton Christian College*, p. 18.

> Assuming the value to the Chinese students and people of an environment of scholarly and dignified architecture, in contrast with the prevalent nondescript adaptations of ill-sorted European styles, it is the aim of the designers to give the buildings individual distinction while subordinating them to the general unity of the scheme.
>
> The type of permanent building adopted combines modern construction with a Chinese aspect, chiefly expressed in the roofs which are of green glazed tile and ornamented and curved according to the best native style.... It is the distinct aim of the College to so build as to exemplify structurally and artistically the best combination of Western and Chinese architecture and thus as well as in other ways to be of help in this period of change in China.[54]

The idea of individually distinct buildings united into a whole by materials, style, and a formal plan reflects contemporary American Beaux-Arts planning and design ideals, largely a legacy of a generation that espoused the "City Beautiful" in their civic projects. A stylistic synthesis of modern Western architecture and "Chinese aspect," however, was something newly developing. This design trajectory would be

54. Ibid.

fully articulated in the more "archaeologically correct" work of Henry K. Murphy of the New York and Shanghai firm Murphy and Dana, as well as the first generation of Chinese professional architects.[55] Murphy himself would add two buildings to the Lingnan campus in the 1920s, including Willard Straight Memorial Science Hall.[56]

Charles Stoughton's attempts at a stylistic synthesis of Chinese and Western building styles were tentative and somewhat fanciful. Many of the early classroom and dormitory buildings were, like Martin Hall, sparsely ornamented, their main "Chinese" feature being low spreading tile roofs. More ornamental Stoughton designs include Swasey Hall (Fig. 4.13) and many faculty residences. Swasey Hall, one of the focal points of the campus, was designed in 1913 and completed in 1915, funded by a donation of Ambrose Swasey of Warner & Swasey Company of Cleveland for a Christian Association building.[57] Standing nearly at the southern tip of the campus's grand axis, Swasey Hall sports twin three-story towers on the front office block of the building, and the campus auditorium in a shorter rear polygonal projection.

The details on the Swasey Hall façade include green tile vertical bands, red tile panels, stone medallions and ornament, and ornamental barge and ridge boards on the roof. The porch piers have capitals that allude to the *dougong* of traditional Chinese monumental architecture. The auditorium wing is capped with octagonal vent cupolas modeled on Chinese garden ornaments and roof finials. This polychromy and ornament echo late-Victorian medieval revival styles, and perhaps even more relevantly the aesthetics of the Arts and Crafts movement blended with Chinese precedent.

This sort of whimsical interpretation of a campus with a "Chinese aspect" generally comes to an end in the early 1920s. The later additions to the campus were generally more restrained. Henry Murphy's Willard Straight Science Hall of the mid-1920s (Fig. 4.14) is a fairly plain institutional building, the Chinese gestures being confined to the roof and tile panels beneath the windows. Lingnan never possessed buildings that so thoroughly quoted Chinese imperial architecture as Murphy's designs for northern Chinese campuses like Yenching (Beijing) University. The closest to the trend of applying more literally derived Chinese ornament, including *dougong* brackets, which had become so prevalent in other parts of China, is exhibited only in the Bell Pavilion, which was a gift of the Class of 1928.[58] Here the tile roof, with its ridge animals, sits upon *dougong* and columns of a classical Chinese model, the whole thing resting on a circular marble platform, directly quoting the imperial architecture of the north.

55. An extensive and compelling discussion of this can be found in Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2001).
56. Cody, *Building in China*, pp. 159–61.
57. Corbett, *Lingnan University*, p. 60, and Charles W. Stoughton Drawings, Avery Library.
58. *Dougong* are the bracket sets in classical Chinese architecture that surmount the columns and are the basis for the proportional scales of buildings.

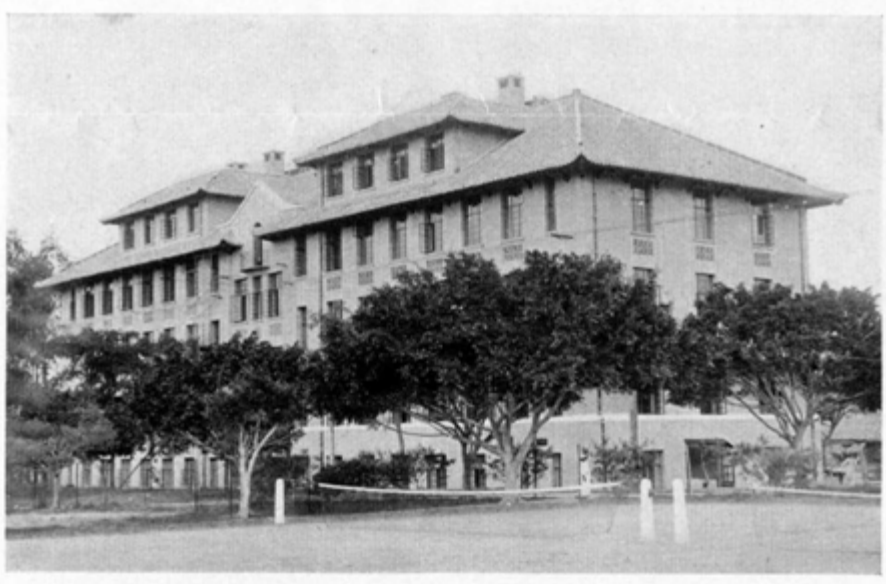

Fig. 4.14
Willard Straight Science Hall, 1920s (Murphy & Dana, architects). One of Henry Murphy's design contributions to the campus, this building reveals a restraint typical of the later (1920s and 1930s) buildings. From *Ling Naam: The News Bulletin of Canton Christian College* 6, no. 2: 6.

Though the Lingnan campus was important as an early attempt at merging Western Beaux-Arts planning and Chinese stylistic references (with an additional influence of an Arts and Crafts movement aesthetic), the institutional functions that the campus housed were perhaps even more important. The Canton Christian College/Lingnan University was truly a collaborative enterprise. While many of the most elaborate structures were products of Western, largely American, donations, by 1919 approximately a third of the buildings had been contributed by Chinese and overseas Chinese.[59] The institution brought Western teachers together with Chinese teachers and students. By the late 1910s, campus photographs of the faculty and staff of the university are striking, as Chinese, American, and British faculty stand next to and intermingle with each other. Gone are the hierarchical arrangements so prevalent in earlier business and missionary group photos—an egalitarian spirit prevailed.

The evangelical mission of the university had faded by the late 1910s:

> The college is *nondenominational*. The doors are open to all students qualified by character and scholastic attainment to enter, irrespective of religious belief. Great care is taken to make the atmosphere of the campus wholesome and tolerant.[60]

59. Corbett, *Lingnan University*, pp. 22, 24–25.
60. Ibid., p. 32.

Religious instruction was of course still available to those who sought it. The mission of the school, however, had become one of social improvement and reform parallel to the normal schools and other colleges in contemporary "Progressive Era" America. Teacher training, science education, and agriculture, complete with extension service efforts, all became emphases of the university's work.[61] It was also a comprehensive educational enterprise, hosting an elementary and middle school in connection with its teacher training program. Though apparently never completed, Lingnan also hosted a "model village," which, on the one hand, was meant as housing for the university's "subordinate employees" and, on the other, apparently as a demonstration of modern home economics.[62] The progressive atmosphere of Lingnan was not limited to the course work and extension efforts alone. American travel writer and suffragette Grace Thompson Seton wrote of her visit to campus in the tumultuous mid-1920s:

> Located on the outskirts of the city, with its large campus and modern buildings, this institution seemed like a bit of America, well assimilated into a Chinese community. The occasion was stamped with unusual interest because it was my first address to Chinese men. There were over seven hundred of them, and it seemed strange to watch their interested faces as they listened to the story of woman's emancipation throughout the world, the topic they had chosen themselves.[63]

The faculty and students at Lingnan fostered attitudes that could be considered modern anywhere in the world in the 1920s.

Progressive philanthropic and Western-sponsored educational institutions began in various parts of Guangzhou during the 1910s and 1920s. Structures such as the main building of True Light Middle School (Fig. 4.15), a project sponsored by the American Presbyterian Mission, followed the same stylistic model as Lingnan. This building was constructed in 1917 at Paak Hok Tung (Baihedong), the suburban district just south of Huadi where the school had been founded.[64] The building apparently survives, along with additional buildings for the institution from the next two decades, although it is not accessible to the general public in the now heavily industrial area.[65] The original architectural rendering, however, reveals the intent was an up-to-date, red-brick school building with symmetrical wings and large windows. Were Colonial Revival details substituted in place of the Chinese Revival tile roof, the building would

61. The agricultural extension efforts of Lingnan included setting up agricultural improvement clubs in rural communities. The club and winners of the silkworm cultivation contest at the village of Yung K'ei are illustrated in *Lingnan: The News Bulletin of Lingnan University* 5, no. 4 (November 1928): 4–5.
62. Ibid., p. 37.
63. Grace Thompson Seton, *Chinese Lanterns* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1924), p. 238. The energetic Ms. Seton was also the wife of one of the founders of the Boy Scouts of America.
64. Noyes, *History of the South China Mission*, p. 134.
65. See *The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Guangzhou*, pp. 101–3. The author attempted a site visit but was unable to find access to it.

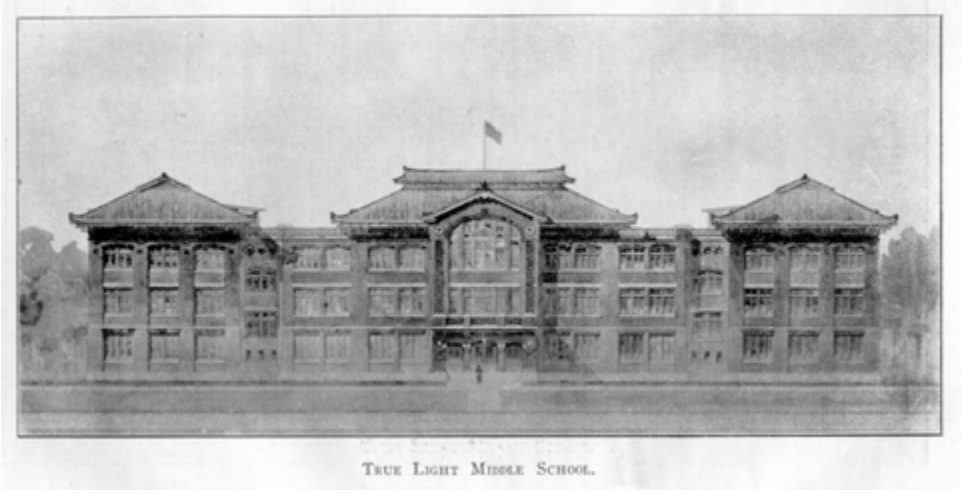

Fig. 4.15
True Light Middle School, constructed 1917. One of the foreign-run schools dotting the suburbs of Guangzhou from the 1910s to the 1930s, this building shows contemporary Western school design ideas in its symmetry and large windows for ample reading light and hygiene, while also sporting a Sinified tile roof. From *History of the South China Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, 1845–1920*, facing p. 124.

be at home in almost any community of the period in the United States. By the 1930s, the Baptists had added a kindergarten, an elementary school, and separate boys' and girls' secondary schools in Dongshan, though by this time all of the management of the schools was turned over to Chinese citizens in accordance with new national laws.[66]

The increasingly ecumenical nature of missionary and philanthropic institutions necessitated connections through which their efforts were coordinated. They also rapidly became parallel with and complementary to Chinese internal efforts at modernization. Western-sponsored Chinese organizations like the local YMCA, whose headquarters were situated in the new "bund" district, and the YWCA, for which Stoughton designed a building with a "Chinese aspect"—sporting a moon gate entry—at Baihedong, became active parts of modern Cantonese social life.[67] The Rotary Club and the International Women's Club had both Chinese and foreign members.[68] The lines between Chinese and foreign were blurring, if not disappearing altogether, while the remaking of the architecture of the city subsumed visual distinctions into an overall appearance of modernity.

66. Ng Yong Sang, *Canton, City of the Rams* (Canton: M. S. Cheung, 1936), pp. 75–76.
67. *Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea . . . for the Year 1927* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Daily Press), p. 878, other yearly directories, and Charles W. Stoughton drawings, Avery Library, Columbia University.
68. Ng, *Canton, City of the Rams*, pp. 38–39.

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