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**Abstract:** In this introduction to his study of the role of Shanghai in the Japanese experience of modernity, Liu Jianhui lays out the contours of where the oddity that is Shanghai between the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) and the end of WWII came from. With spheres carved out of the city by Britain, France, and the United States on one side and the walled Chinese city of Shanghai on the other, there were two competing images that confronted the latecomer Japanese to the city.

# Demon Capital Shanghai: The “Modern” Experience of Japanese Intellectuals<sup>1</sup> Liu Jianhui 劉建輝

Translated by Joshua A Fogel

## Prologue Two “Shanghais”

### Kidnapping City

“That guy was Shanghaied”—most non-Anglophone readers would have no idea at all what this sentence could possibly mean. In fact, this extraordinary English expression denotes someone kidnapped and impressed into service as a low-level sailor. A look in any dictionary under “Shanghai” reveals that, in addition to its meaning a port city in China, it bears the additional slang meaning, when used as a verb, of seamen getting someone drunk, taking him on board ship, abducting him, and coercing him into service as a sailor.

There have been instances even in Japanese for this usage, such as the short story, “Shanghai sareta otoko” 上海された男 (Shanghaied man, 1925), by Tani Jōji 谷譲治 (1900-35), an author active in the mid- to late 1920s. His story follows precisely the dictionary definition of “Shanghai” as a verb, the tale of an abduction onto a foreign vessel in which the port of Kōbe plays a prominent role.

There is no other instance in the world wherein a city’s name has been made into a verb, and this probably is the best depiction of the “demonic” element of Shanghai, once known as the “capital of demons.” This “demonic” nature of Shanghai was more radical, more extreme than in any other major city in the world: New York, London, Paris, or Tokyo. For the first half of the twentieth century, Shanghai acquired a number of other nicknames, among them “paradise of adventurers,” “pleasure capital,” and “Paris of the Orient.” As a site at which everyone’s dreams and ambitions could be realized, it was the “most focused upon city in the world.”<sup>2</sup>

### Two Qualitatively Different Spaces

Now, as for the real Shanghai, where did the “demonic” quality that outdid every other city in the world originate? One could, of course, seek the answer to this question,

<sup>1</sup> *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 5-26. There is a Chinese translation by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de “jindai” tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的“近代”体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 1-11. Liu, a native Sinophone now working in Japan, reports that, although not above criticism, this translation is certainly serviceable (personal e-mail communication, December 2, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Francis Lister Hawks Pott, *A Short History of Shanghai, Being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, limited, 1928), trans. Hijikata Teiichi and Hashimoto Hachio, *Shanghai shi* (History of Shanghai) (Tokyo: Seikatsusha, 1940).

for example, in its “overcrowded temporality,” recklessly speeding up Western modernization into the short span of a mere 150 years.<sup>3</sup> At least as important as this sense of time, if not more important, one needs to take into consideration Shanghai’s geopolitical distinctiveness as well as its “congested sense of space.”

That said, the space that we have come now to refer to as Shanghai was, in fact, divided into two entirely heterogeneous spaces. One was the traditional site with a history of 700 years and centered on the old Shanghai county seat. The other was the modern space with a mere 150 years of history and centered on the “Concessions.”



Last extant section of Shanghai City Wall

At least until the wall surrounding the old county seat was removed in 1912, both spaces had extremely clear “boundaries,” with each managed as separate, coexisting administrative entities: the Shanghai Circuit (*dao* 道) and the Shanghai Municipal Council, respectively. In this sense, Shanghai modernity described a process of collision and fusion, between the Shanghai Circuit with the broad traditional cultural background of “Jiangnan” and the Shanghai Municipal Council effectively a colony of the Western powers. The extreme nature of its “demonic” quality may have been the product of mutual infringement or mutual penetration of these two contradictory, heterogeneous spaces.

In concrete terms, the capitalist uniformity of the “Concessions” always faced a crisis of collapse by virtue of the advance en masse of traditional life and institutions of adult amusement, such as tea shops and courtesan houses. By the same token, in the traditional space of the “county seat,” which was developing over a network of various and sundry waterways, numerous thoroughfares cutting through various quarters of the city, which extended from the Concessions, continually overran the order of what had been a “beautiful riverside locale.”

This incessant “border crossing” from both sides was the principal reason that Shanghai acquired a kind of “Creole” quality to its urban space. At the same time, this

<sup>3</sup> Fujiwara Keiyō, *Shanghai, shissō suru kindai toshi* (Shanghai, modern city at full speed) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1988).

was seen as the major reason affording this city a “demonic” quality outstripping all other large cities in the world.<sup>4</sup>



Waterway in Shanghai

### A City without Nationalism

As we shall see, because of its strongly “Creole” nature, Shanghai exerted a huge influence not only in the Chinese interior but in other countries in East Asia as well. As a kind of “Mecca” of Western capitalism located in this locale, for a long period of time it continuously provided all manner of reports concerning “modernity” to the surrounding area. This “modernity” bore a kind of cosmopolitan visage from the start; not only did no centripetal nationalism whatsoever exist within it, but it bore within it a destructive role vis-à-vis the “nation-state” which is premised on an imagined community.

In this sense, while “rushing” toward modernity, the city never fell into the trap of a specific nationalism. This quality of Shanghai was exceedingly rare internationally, and it would be well to refresh our memories of its variegated historical experience, both plusses and minuses, as we look toward the twenty-first century—indeed, in the twenty-first century, the age of globalization. This is an important reason to examine Shanghai as a historical lesson.

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<sup>4</sup> Works which treat Shanghai as a “Creole” urban space would include: Takahashi Kōsuke 高橋孝助 and Furumaya Tadao 古厩忠夫, eds., *Shanghai shi, kyodai toshi no keisei to hitobito no itonami* 上海史、巨大都市の形成と人々の営み (A history of Shanghai, the formation of a giant city and the businesses of its people) (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1995).

## The Wall to Counter the “Japanese” Pirates

For the above reasons, my aim in this volume will be to investigate Shanghai with its numerous images, especially the various and sundry “memories” of Japanese with respect to the city. To make the analysis all the clearer, though possibly at the expense of offering well known facts, I would like to offer an overview of the meaning of Shanghai for Japanese through the ages, through its history and geography.

As noted, when we speak of Shanghai today, in fact two distinctive “Shanghais” are meant. One is the “Shanghai” centered on the old county seat with over seven centuries of history, and one is the “Shanghai” centered on the Concessions, built abruptly by the Western powers just 150 years ago. Although there were numerous changes, twists and turns in the “boundaries” between the two, they were run by entirely different administrations, at least until the Japanese military occupation came to an end in August 1945.

The short name for Shanghai is Hu 滬, a toponym which comes from the old name Hudu 滬澆. “Hu” is fishing gear like a net made of bamboo, and “du” indicates the mouth of a river which pours out into the sea. Thus, Hudu seems to denote fishnets lined up at the mouth of the river to trap fish. One can see from this that Shanghai was originally probably a genuine fishing town.

The Longhua Temple 龍華寺 in the western suburbs of contemporary Shanghai, however, is said to have been built in the distant Three Kingdoms era (220-65). The nearby Longhua Pagoda 龍華塔 is also said to have been donated by Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252) of the state of Wu at that same time. These facts would seem to indicate that our “fishing town” was a place with a long history.



Longhua Temple and Pagoda

The first administrative unit was placed in Shanghai much later, during the Song dynasty. In the third year of the Xianchun 咸淳 reign in the Southern Song (1267), a branch office of *shibosi* 市舶司 (office of the maritime trade commissioner) overseeing the inspection of goods and the collection of customs revenues was established in Shanghai. Thus, eventually the Shanghai Defense Command was born. In the fourteenth year of the Zhiyuan 至元 reign of the Mongol dynasty (1277), it ceased being a branch office, and a full-fledged *shibosi* was placed in the city. Fifteen years later in 1292, the Shanghai Defense Command was elevated to Shanghai County, the smallest independent administrative district at the time. Shanghai was then reported to have roughly 72,500 households.<sup>5</sup>

Elevated to county status, Shanghai did not for many years have a wall surrounding it, as other counties of the time usually did. There are many reasons for this, but principal among them was the fact that “there was no fear of uprisings” locally, with social turbulence not the least worry.<sup>6</sup> The peace that continued over this long stretch of time was suddenly broken in the middle of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) with the invasion of the *wokou* 倭寇 (J. *wakō*) or “Japanese pirates.”

According to the official *Ming shi* 明史 (Ming history), from the fourth through the sixth lunar months of the thirty-second year of the Jiajing 嘉靖 reign (1553), *wokou* attacked Shanghai no less than five times. Not only were numerous people killed, but half the city itself was reduced to scorched earth. To defend against a return of these pirates, beginning in the ninth month of that year a wall encircling Shanghai was rapidly constructed, and within two months’ time the county seat was completed with a wall nine *li* (one *li* being slightly more than 600 meters) in circumference, roughly 24 feet high, and with six gates. This wall was, as noted, eventually pulled down in 1912, meaning that it protected Shanghai for some 360 years.

The urban space encircled by this newly built wall did, in fact, exert an immense influence on the formation of Shanghai culture thereafter. Without straining the argument too much, one might say that “Shanghai” was effectively created by the *wokou*.

### Customs from the Sea

Once the county seat had come into being, Shanghai already had developed fully as a local commercial city. In these years the cotton spinning business was concentrated in Shanghai, making it the center of the cotton goods market nationwide. At the same time, with the rapid growth of the transportation business along the inland waterways of China, the volume of trade there reached several million taels per annum.<sup>7</sup> This prosperity suffered a temporary retrogression with the invasion of the Manchu armies, but nonetheless for more than a century this area known as the “mighty county in the southeast” grew ever more secure from the middle of the Ming period on.

One thing which brought about a more decisive leap forward for Shanghai, a local city, was the “expand to the sea” (*zhanhai* 展海) order issued by the Kangxi Emperor of

<sup>5</sup> *Songjiang fu zhi* (Songjiang prefectural gazetteer), Zhengde period, Ming dynasty.

<sup>6</sup> *Shanghai zhi* (Shanghai gazetteer), Hongzhi reign, Ming dynasty.

<sup>7</sup> Zhu Guodong 朱国栋 and Wang Guozhang 王国章, eds., *Shanghai shangye shi* 上海商业史 (History of commerce in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai caijing daxue chubanshe, 1999).



the Qing dynasty in 1684. Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (Koxinga, 1624-62) and his followers had long opposed the Qing from their base in Taiwan; in 1683 they surrendered, and the forces of resistance completely dissipated. The next year the Qing government issued the “expand to the sea” order, thus promptly abrogating the ban on sea travel that had been in place. And, the year after that (1685), it set up in Shanghai a Yangzi Customs Office to oversee domestic and foreign trade, and all at once launched an active foreign trade policy.

The installation of this customs office completely transformed the position of Shanghai as a local city. That is, the only places at which a customs office had been created at that time were along the Chinese coastline, at the three cities of Guangzhou (Cantonese Customs Office), Xiamen (Fujian Customs Office), and Ningbo (Zhejiang Customs Office). From a national perspective, joining this group meant that Shanghai would become one of the pivots of foreign and domestic trade.

Domestically, after the establishment of the Yangzi Customs Office, marine transport aboard “sand ships” (*shachuan* 沙船) was rapidly revived; and with respect to foreign affairs, the very year in which the Yangzi Customs Office was born witnessed thirteen trading vessels being sent to Japan. Thus, Shanghai acquired an image as the entryway along the southeastern seaboard.

At this time the Japanese called these sand ships, which sailed from Shanghai to Nagasaki, Nanjing vessels, and together with the Ningbo vessels that set sail from Zhapu, the two groups were known collectively in Japanese as *kōsen* 口船 (or *kuchibune*, ships from [Chinese] coastal [cities]). The active trade carried aboard sand ships, including *kōsen*, not only transformed Shanghai into an important port in East Asia, but at the same time brought unprecedented prosperity to its locale. In this connection, there were only ten roads in the county seat in the late-Ming period, and this number had risen to over sixty by the beginning of the nineteenth century. On either side of these roads were numerous storefronts, among them reportedly as many as ten old-style banks (*qianzhuang* 錢莊). For a time trade with Japan was especially flourishing, something that can be seen as Japan’s contribution to the prosperity of Shanghai.

### The Birth of the Concessions

In the northern suburbs of Shanghai which now had over 500 years of history, another “Shanghai” (the Concessions) was born in 1845 two years after the opening of the port of Shanghai by virtue of the Treaty of Nanjing following China’s defeat in the Opium War. In November 1845 the Shanghai *daotai* 道臺 (circuit intendant, a high-level local official) of the time, Gong Mujiu 宮慕久 (d. 1848), after repeated consultations with George Balfour (1809-94), the first British consul there, circulated the Land Regulations which set a lease on land measuring roughly 0.56 square kilometers along the banks of the Huangpu River as the residential area for British merchants.

The creation of a foreign residential area outside the walled city came originally at the request of the British. As we see from the provisions on “separate Chinese and Western residential areas” as stipulated in the Land Regulations, however, it was as well a kind of “isolation policy” on the part of the Chinese aimed at restricting the range of movement of the foreigners. Following the establishment of the British Concession, in 1848 first an American Concession and then the next year a French Concession were

established, respectively, in a section of Hongkou 虹口 on the opposite shore of the Wusong River 吳淞江 and across Yangjingbang Creek 洋涇濱 which was a boundary line to the south. The three concessions built one after the next provided the archetype for Shanghai as a “modern city.”

With “separate Chinese and Western residences,” the Concessions were to have a certain amount of autonomy while basically remaining under Chinese supervision. Within a decade of their establishment, this situation changed rapidly. One reason for this was the armed uprising of the Small Swords, a secret society, in September 1853; for one and one-half years the peasant army of the Small Swords occupied Shanghai, and a huge number of refugees escaped into the adjacent three Concessions.

Given these unexpected events, the earlier principle of “separate Chinese and Western residential areas” rapidly fell by the wayside, and thereafter both the Chinese and Concession sides perforce accepted the reality of “mixed Chinese and Western residence.” On the pretext that they were doing so in the face of the new circumstances, British Consul Rutherford Alcock (1809-97) in July 1854 negotiated with the American and French consuls and promulgated a “Revised Land Regulations,” a unilateral emendation of the earlier “Land Regulations” which were presented to the Chinese as a *fait accompli*.

This new set of “Land Regulations” included, among other things, recognition of a new boundary to the British Concession negotiated in 1848, tacit acceptance of Chinese residence within the Concessions, and the installation of a *xunbu* 巡捕 or police force. The more important items were the convening of an association of lessees, who comprised a city council with the three consuls, and the establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) as its executive organ. In particular, the latter took shape with the capacity to serve as a municipal government, and the Concessions were thus effectively separated from the jurisdiction of the Chinese government, thereafter becoming “autonomous.”

### **The Formation of a Complete Administrative System**

When they initially acquired “autonomy,” the Concessions were, as previously, each divided geographically from the other two and centered on the British Concession around which the new borders were formally recognized. Administratively, however, the three Concessions were united in the newly formed SMC. This structure would be maintained for roughly a decade over the course of the 1850s, but with the attack on Shanghai in 1862 by the Taipings, further changes were in store.

In preparation for repeated assaults by the Taiping forces and to fortify defenses for the entire concession area, from roughly the beginning of 1862 a merger of the British and American Concessions became a topic of discussion. Thereafter, the Chinese and Americans demarcated a border with the American Concession, which had been vague until then, and in September 1863 the British and American Concessions officially amalgamated under the auspices of the SMC, with its name changing to the “Foreign Settlement.”

At approximately the same time as this merger came about, the French Concession gave up as hopeless the operation of their concession under the unsatisfactory guidance of Britain. In May 1862 it announced unilateral secession from the unified



administration, just a step ahead of the formal amalgamation of the British and American Concessions and established the Public Security Bureau (Gongdongju 公董局), their own municipal administrative organ.

After the amalgamation the Foreign Settlement naturally found the area under its supervision significantly expanded and its administrative capacity greatly enhanced. While the realization of its “autonomy” moved ahead, the text which formed the basis for it in the earlier “Land Regulations” was extremely vague, and as a result there were numerous impediments to subsequent administrative operations.

Waves of refugees in immense numbers flowed into the Concessions as a result of the Taiping Rebellion. In September 1869 the Concession authorities enacted a unilateral revision of the Land Regulations, and later they would issue a third set of these regulations. These new “Land Regulations” expanded the association of lessees into the Foreign Rate-payers Association, and it was given authority to deliberate over the Concessions’ budget, to elect an SMC Executive, and the like, and was thus afforded all the functions of a “city council.”

Next, the existing powers of the SMC were strengthened, and it shared the burden of these powers with each of its committees, effectively conferring on it all the functions befitting a city council. For example, it established the full array of institutions of an urban administration, such as the Office of Police Affairs, Fire Fighting Stations, Sanitation Office, Education Office, and Office of Financial Affairs, thus forming a complete administrative system.

### **Toward an Independent State**

Prior to the promulgation of the third set of “Land Regulations,” the SMC issued in April of 1869 legal provisions concerning jurisdiction over Chinese living in the Concessions. According to these provisions, known as the “Provisional Rules for the Mixed Court,” trials involving the Chinese resident in the Concessions would be handled by a subprefect (a judge), who was appointed by the Shanghai circuit intendant to the Mixed Court established in the Concessions. In cases in which the interested party was a foreigner or a Chinese employed by a foreigner, there would necessarily be deliberations with the consul or a juridical official recognized by the consul. In cases in which the accused bore complaints regarding the judicial decision, there was the possibility of appeal to both the Shanghai circuit intendant and the consular officials.

Thus, with the promulgation of the two newer sets of Land Regulations, the “Foreign Settlement” launched itself toward being an “independent state” almost completely in the legal and administrative arenas, despite a few areas of uncertainty regarding the administration of justice. The structure of this “independent state” underwent a name change from “Foreign Settlement” to “International Settlement” accompanying waves of territorial expansion in the late nineteenth century and continued right through until the first Shanghai Incident when the Japanese military attacked the city in 1932.

Having refused to participate in the Foreign Settlement and establishing a Public Security Bureau as its own administrative organ in 1862, the French Concession not only continued to function in a manner organizationally similar to the SMC, but it also later promulgated “Regulations on the Organization of the Public Security Bureau” in 1866

which are similar in content to the third set of Land Regulations of the Anglo-American Concession. They also established a judicial mechanism identical to the “Mixed Court.” Thus, while in their actual operations they may have differed somewhat, the French Concession had effectively created an “independent state” similar to the “Foreign Settlement.” This “independent state” would on two occasions from the late nineteenth century expand its territory, but because it was geographically so close to the walled Chinese city, it contributed to the formation of “modern Shanghai” in a form different from that of the “International Settlement.”

## Mosaic City

Thus, while they may have been called “Concessions,” in fact in actual content at least three dissimilar spaces coexisted there. The French Concession with its own administrative structure produced a scene rather different administratively from the joint British and American Concessions, because of the nature of its “residents.” To these three different “spaces” should be added the pre-existing walled city and beside it the traditional riverside locales. While Shanghai was truly a mosaic city, it took shape as an extremely irregular urban space rarely found anywhere in the world.

Let me now briefly introduce the geography of this mosaic city of Shanghai, while touching on the distinctive features of its various spaces in the early twentieth century. First would be the central and western areas of the International Settlement—namely, the core of the four aforementioned spaces, the old British Concession. As already noted, this area was the first enclosure formed by the concession as a foreign residential area. Two waterways interpose north-south: Suzhou Creek and Yangjingbang Creek (now East Yan’an Road 延安東路); to the east is the starting point of the Bund (*waitan* 外灘), and to the west is a border near the former Jessfield Road (now Wanhangu Road 萬航渡路) with its Jing’an Temple 靜安寺.

This space was defined in its overall basic structure by the Bund along the banks of the Huangpu River, the “entryway” into Shanghai, and the six parallel thoroughfares perpendicular to the Bund: Beijing Road 北京路, Nanjing Road 南京路, Jiujiang Road 九江路, Hankou Road 漢口路, Fuzhou Road 福州路, and Guangdong Road 廣東路. The Racecourse, constituting a kind of “inner courtyard,” cannot be ignored as the largest urban site of “relaxation.”

If one sees the Bund along which the consulates, banks, and commercial houses of various countries lined up as a space of politics and capital, then Nanjing Road with its department stores and all manner of shops was a space of commerce and consumption, and Fuzhou Road with its numerous tea shops, courtesan houses, and theaters was its radically distinctive space for amusement.

Representing Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s were the “Big Four,” including the Sincere and Wing On department stores. While most of them were located along Nanjing Road, the Qingliange 青蓮閣, representative of tea shops of the time, and the Huileli 會樂里, where the courtesan houses were concentrated, faced onto Fuzhou Road.



Wing On Department Store

### One Large Amusement Paradise

The French Concession was located south of the former British Concession. With the walled Chinese city to its south and the British Concession to its north, it was comprised of a long, narrow corridor traversing the space between them. In the 1910s this space grew dramatically, and its western edge above all else extended as far as Xujiahui 徐家匯 in the distant suburbs. The earliest enclosure of what was the French Concession was its core, and on either side of its main street, Xiafei Road 霞飛路 (now Huaihai Road 淮海路), were countless shops lined up. Thus, here too one frequently saw a commercial space. Though in no way contradicting such a feature, this space was one of extraordinary pleasure-seeking as well.

All of which is to say that, being close to the walled Chinese city, this area was home to a concentration of three kinds of enterprises: “tea shops,” courtesan houses, and opium dens. In addition, calls began to be heard in the 1920s in the International Settlement for “banning prostitution,” “banning opium,” and “banning gambling.” Because these practices were legally protected in this area, though, amusement establishments of this sort were lined up next to one another until they effectively formed one large amusement paradise.

In this connection, one should note that the Great World 大世界, the most representative institution of overall amusement in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s, the Xijia Duchang 席家賭場 (popularly known as No. 181), the largest gambling house of the time, the Hai Alai field 回力球場, known for its modern-style gambling, and the Canidrome (Yiyuan baogouchang 逸園跑狗場), the first dog racing track in East Asia, were all located in the French Concession. All of this together made this space exceedingly out of the ordinary.



Great World



Canidrome

Adjacent to the French Concession was the traditional space centered on the walled Chinese city. At its core was the county *yamen*, administrative office of Shanghai county, the Chenghuangmiao 城隍廟 at which one offered prayers to the local deity of Shanghai, and the Chinese-style Yu Garden 豫園. The atmosphere that these establishments evoked was, of course, completely different from that of the Concessions, and while chaotic, to be sure, the indigenous order was maintained as it long had been. At the traditional riverside one step behind it, tranquil garden scenery distinctive to the Jiangnan area of China spread out before the eyes.

#### The Attraction of Chaos

Finally, the northernmost site of the four spaces was the northern and eastern sections of the International Settlement, the old American Concession. This area comprised a site including the extensive land from Suzhou Creek north along the Huangpu River. Although dubbed the American Concession, there were never many American “residents” living in it; rather, most of this land was occupied by the Japanese. Here the Hongkou neighborhood, popularly known as the Japanese Concession, played host to a convergence of Japanese establishments and shops aimed at Japanese clientele. At its height over 100,000 Japanese are said to have lived here. Somewhat removed from the center of the Concession, this space was sandwiched on either side by a factory area and never formed a lively commercial or consumption space like the center of Concession. Rather, its “liveliness” was carried on by virtue of the entertainment establishments, such as a group of dance halls and movie theaters.

The main figures who will emerge in later sections of this volume—such as Yokomitsu Riichi 横光利一 (1898-1947), Kaneko Mitsuharu 金子光晴 (1895-1975), and Yoshiyuki Eisuke 吉行エイスケ (1906-40)—often used this neighborhood to set their stories, and day after day they “explored” the area from Sichuan Road 四川路, the main thoroughfare of this area, to the center of the Concession.

We have now taken a quick look at the four spaces of Shanghai, but as we can see from their distinctive features, each of these four spaces had different senses of “law” and

“order.” Accordingly, while they exhibited a phenomenal diversity of urban landscapes, the mutual interpenetration among them at the same time gave rise to border transgressions and fusions of differing cultures rarely found, which in turn gave birth to an extraordinarily cosmopolitan “chaos.” This “chaos” itself was an attraction of Shanghai as a “demon capital” and also led to its broadmindedness as an international city.

#### “Triggering Explosive” of the Modern State

How in the world might the Japanese have looked upon this multifaceted Shanghai? What might “Creole” Shanghai have meant to Japan and the Japanese? Let me separate the response to such a series of questions into late-Edo and Meiji (and post-Meiji) eras.

The meaning of Shanghai for the Japanese changed completely with the Meiji Restoration. There was a major divide, for until then Shanghai played a variety of roles in Japan as a “state” primarily, while afterward it continued playing roles only now for the Japanese as “people.”

In the late-Edo period, Shanghai was extremely important in two general senses. First, the “Concessions,” created as “semi-colonies,” formed the “front lines” of capitalism in East Asia, and from there Western knowledge flooded into Japan en masse. Numerous Western works in Chinese translations prepared by missionaries not only conveyed Western learning but simultaneously offered certain views or images of the “state” which took the Powers as their models. Undoubtedly with the collapse of the shogunal form of government in the offing, this was crucial for many committed samurai who were keenly looking for new forms of the “state.”

Second, with the formation of these same Concessions, Shanghai became the closest “entrance” to the West, and the Concessions themselves were regarded as “the West” at shortest range. In the late-Edo era, many samurai on their way to the West or specifically en route there visited the city of Shanghai. They experienced “the West” there, and this experience with “civilization” for the first time truly stunned them. For these samurai who witnessed Concession “Shanghai” which was relentlessly oppressing walled city “Shanghai,” the reality of the city provided a stark “counter-lesson”; the tragic state of affairs there prompted their decision about “modernity.”

And, thus, the transmission from Shanghai of Western knowledge as seen in the late-Edo period, the shock of “civilization” received by samurai and the function it played as a negative lesson produced by semi-colonial reality—all of these were significant conditions spurring the “awakening” of Japan. They were as well indispensable elements in the launching of modern Japan. In this sense, mid-nineteenth-century Shanghai served as a kind of triggering mechanism for the “modern state” for China, of course, but for Japan just as well. It exerted a no small influence on this new beginning for Japan.

#### The Closest “Paradise”

This role that Shanghai played for Japan began to fade rapidly in the Meiji period. Japan was at this point in time already championing its own “civilization and enlightenment” (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) movement and introducing modern institutions directly from the West. Thus, Shanghai lost any import it once had had as a “stopover

point” in this process. A more fundamental reason, however, was rather that Shanghai “modernity” was now already an impediment and had ceased altogether to provide any sort of profitable element for Meiji Japan as the latter moved forward toward a centripetal “nation-state” based on nationalism.

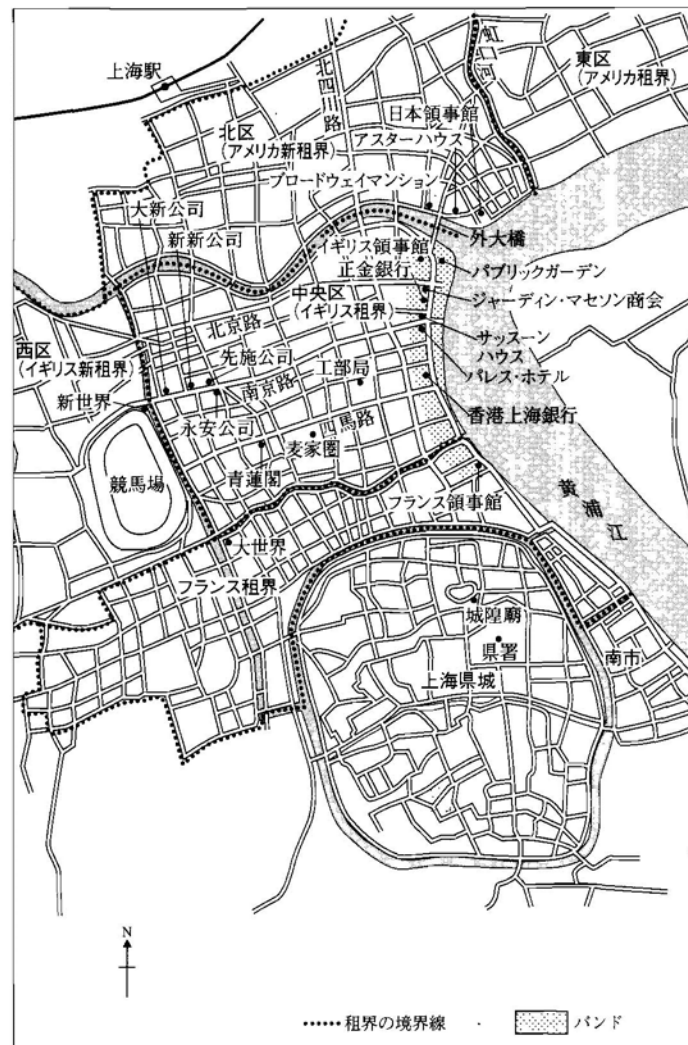
This change was symbolized by the fact that Shanghai “modernity” had taken shape only in the settlements of the Western powers, and it therefore possessed an identity altogether different from a “nation-state.” In point of fact, it was nearly a “destructive device” for the “nation-state” which is premised on an imagined community. Its multifaceted quality, whether for good or ill, deviated from the category of a “modern state.” This proved to be true both as seen from within China and as seen from within Japan.

While Shanghai, then, provided a continuous stream of reports on the “modern state” to Japan in the late-Edo period, this role of Shanghai for Japan was completely reversed when the Meiji state came into being. One aspect of this role with which it was newly burdened was especially conspicuous, namely as a “base” for an expansionist Japan’s advancement onto the Asian mainland.

Even more than this, transcending the nationalism of the Meiji state, Shanghai’s aspect as a new, completely “free” terrain, which belonged to no particular nation—neither China nor Japan nor, for that matter, the Western nations—began to function ever more powerfully. From “obstructed” Japan in which the restraints of the modern state were becoming ever firmer, this was an object on which to entrust “fiction,” a land on which to realize an “adventurer’s” dream.

Politics and economics aside, then, from the 1870s on Shanghai was losing its appeal for Japan as a “state.” For many Japanese who dreamed of “escaping Japan,” however, this chaotic city was, undoubtedly, the closest “place of refuge,” the closest “paradise.” From the Meiji period forward, numerous Japanese did indeed travel to Shanghai, but aside from those in political and military circles pursuing the cause of mainland expansion, what many sought on this land was a kind of “modernity” different from that at home in Japan. It effectively functioned as a “device” to relativize the realities of Japan.

On the basis of the foregoing, I aim in this volume to trace the role played by Shanghai in the formation of modern Japan as a “nation-state,” confining my focus in the first half primarily to ties between late-Edo Japan and Shanghai. In the latter half of the book, I will examine the experiences of Japanese in Shanghai from the Meiji period forward and try to illuminate what vestiges Shanghai left in each of their individual intellectual histories. In this sense, while it is a study of Shanghai, this work is also a study of Japan and the Japanese, using Shanghai as its raw material.

Shanghai in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century