

ROAD NAMES AS HISTORY AND POLITICS

The foreign-controlled settlements of Shanghai came into existence following the 1842 Treaty of Nanking in the wake of the First Opium War—the first of a series of commercial treaties, often referred to as the “Unequal Treaties” in China. The Nanking Treaty was followed swiftly by the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of the Bogue in 1844, which granted foreigners immunity from Chinese law in the concessions (the concept of extraterritoriality, commonly known as “extrality”) and the Sino-American Treaty of Wangxia (named after a village in northern Macao) signed in 1844. The French gained their concession rights through the Treaty of Whampoa, also in 1844. Shanghai had become a multi-national treaty port.

In 1854 the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) was created in order to manage the foreign settlements and, in 1863, the British Settlement (bordered to the south by the Soochow (Suzhou) Creek; to the north by the Yangjing Creek and; naturally bounded by the Whangpoo (Huangpu) River) and the American Settlement, to the north of the Creek (Hongkew or Hongkou district) and extending to Yangtszepoo (Yangpu), joined in order to form the International Settlement, which in total represented 14 powers with treaty rights. The French opted out of the International Settlement and maintained their own French Concession (or commonly Frenchtown), located to the south and west forming a *Conseil Municipal* in 1862 to govern their affairs. Slightly later, in 1895, the Sino-Japanese War concluded with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which saw Japan emerge as an additional foreign power (though not a full treaty power but with permission to establish factories in the treaty port of Shanghai).



Additionally there was an extension of the International Settlement which happened in an almost *de facto* manner—the so-called External Roads Area, most of which was to be found in the Western Roads Settlement, or *huxi* in Chinese, which came to include the infamous entertainment and nightlife district of the “Badlands”. There were also some roads that extended out of the Hongkew and Chapei (Zhabei) district to the north that became extra-Settlement roads. Simultaneously the eastern bank of the Whangpoo River across from **The Bund** in Pootung (Pudong) was also developing and though it didn’t lay out an extensive road grid such as that found in the International Settlement and Frenchtown the area did have various roads, named locations and parks.

The situation remained largely unchanged despite some, often fiercely contested, boundary changes, until the Second Sino-Japanese War of the late Thirties. When hostilities between Japan and China broke out in Shanghai on August 14, 1937—Black Saturday—bombs fell in the International Settlement launching the Second Sino-Japanese War. However, the fighting raged around the concessions, mostly in Chapei, Hongkew and across the river in Pootung. Therefore, after August 1937, few bombs fell on either the central areas of the International Settlement or the French Concession and so, unlike other heavily bombed cities in Europe, or in Japan during the War, the basic road structure of the foreign concessions remained virtually intact and does so today despite the extensive construction and urban planning of the last 15 years in Shanghai.



THE BOUNDARIES

THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

The International Settlement was the name of the combined British and American concessions whose governing body was the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), established in 1854. It was effectively the waterways of Shanghai that decided the initial boundaries—obviously the Whangpoo River but also the Soochow Creek (formerly known as the Woosung River prior to the creation of the Settlements) to the north and the Yangjing Creek to the south. Soochow Creek was effectively a tributary of the Whangpoo; the Yangjing, Siccawei (Zikawei) and other creeks were little more than ditches, or, following the Hindi term for a creek adopted by the British, “nullahs”, though the Yangjing Creek and others did initially have small bridges over them to allow for crossing.

The Americans originally had their own settlement in Hongkew, north of Soochow Creek. However, it was poorly organized and governed—criminals flocked there due to its general lawlessness and the authorities

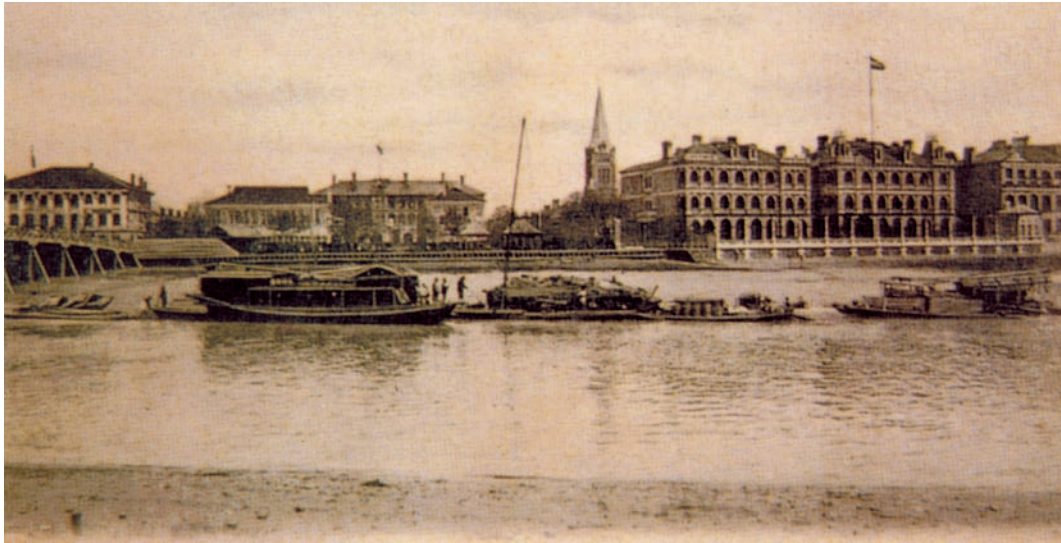


found it difficult to control the large Chinese population influx during the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). The Hongkew Municipal Committee was duly obliged to come to an arrangement by which the Hongkew Police (consisting of a body of just six men) were amalgamated with the police of the British Settlement to try and improve things—the Shanghai Municipal Police. A movement for one municipal government for both Settlements was put forward by Edward Cunningham of the American opium traders Russell and Company and George F. Seward, the American Consul (both of whom later had roads named after them). In September 1863, the union was effected, and the International Settlement came into existence.

The original boundaries of the newly formed International Settlement were agreed between Seward and the *Taotai* (the circuit attendant representing the Qing Dynasty in Shanghai): along the lines of the former American Settlement starting from a point opposite Defence Creek (a point roughly in line with the edge of today’s People’s Square) and extending down the Soochow Creek and the Whangpoo River to three miles up the Yangtszepoo Creek and then in a straight line back to the point facing Defence Creek.

In 1888-89 the Settlement was extended. It had become obvious to the SMC that the area they governed needed to be expanded due largely to an influx of Chinese living within the Settlement’s existing boundaries and the steadily growing number of mills, silk filatures and other industrial premises. Negotiations began in 1896 between the various national consuls in Shanghai and the Chinese authorities. Foreigners had already begun expanding out of the Settlement’s boundaries anyway—people and companies had begun to purchase large tracts of land from private owners to





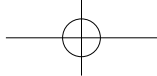
erect mills and factories around **Jessfield Road** to the west, in Paoshan (Baoshan) to the north of Soochow Creek and in Pootung. The most vociferous objections to the expansion of the Settlement actually came from the French Concession authorities and the French Minister in China, who had also been eyeing land for expansion. The Chinese objected too, but were in a generally weak position, having just lost a war with Japan (the Sino-Japanese War of 1895). Ultimately the Settlement expanded in the following ways:

NORTH: From the Hsiao Sha Ferry on Soochow Creek (picture opposite) to a point about 70 yards west into Defence Creek as well as to the Shanghai-Paoshan boundary. The new border followed the Shanghai-Paoshan boundary to the point where it meets Hongkew Creek and thence in an easterly direction to the mouth of the Kukapang.

EAST: Along the Whangpoo River from the mouth of the Kukapang to the mouth of the Yangjing Creek (which was eventually covered over to form **Avenue Edward VII** in 1917 and is now renamed **Yanan Road East**).

SOUTH: From the mouth of the Yangjing Creek to the entrance into Defence Creek, thence in a westerly direction following the line of the northern branch of the **Great Western Road**, and thereafter along that road to the Temple of Agriculture at the rear of the Bubbling Well Village.





WEST: From the Temple of Agriculture behind Bubbling Well Village in a northerly direction to the Hsiao Sha Ferry on Soochow Creek.

Crucially Paoshan remained outside the Settlement, which greatly relieved the Chinese authorities as it was heavily populated and a useful tax revenue generator.

Additionally, the SMC did create administrative districts within the Settlement—the Central District from **The Bund** as far west as Thibet Road, south of Soochow Creek; the Western District from **Thibet Road** to the junction of **Bubbling Well Road** and the **Great Western Road**, south of Soochow Creek; the Northern District encompassing everything in the Settlement north of Soochow Creek between **Thibet Road (North)** to Sawgin Creek—effectively all of Hongkew and the Eastern District covering the remaining spread of the Settlement eastwards along the northern bank of the Whangpoo—i.e. Yangtzepoo.

THE FRENCH CONCESSION

The French also initially defined their concession by creeks with the Yangjing Creek to the north and the Siccawei Creek to the south. Originally there had been a chance that all the municipal affairs of treaty port Shanghai would be carried out under one administration. The French, however, worried that Britain would come to dominate and so set up a separate municipal government. This was allowed, for, although the French Consul had signed the Land Regulations of 1854, the French Government in Paris had never ratified them. In May 1862, the Municipal Council (or *Conseil Municipal*) of the *Concession Française* was formed from a slightly earlier *Commission Provisoire*. It differed from the British-run SMC in that all its decisions were subject to the approval or veto of the French Consul.

In 1888-89 as the Settlement's authorities were expanding, the French also sought to expand their Concession. Theirs was to be a more contentious, though smaller-scale, expansion. The French authorities pressed for the extension of their Concession both in the direction of Siccawei (Xujiahui) and also for additional land on the right bank of the Whangpoo along the Pootung frontage opposite the French Bund (**Quai de France**), where large tracts of land were already owned by British and American shipping firms. The Pootung land owners vigorously objected to this.

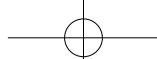


However, most contentious, was the French plan to put a road through the Ningpo (Ningbo) Cemetery. Eventually, despite resisting this plan since the 1870s, the *Taotai* ordered the compulsory surrender of the cemetery after the French Consul-General offered to pay the owners of the land its duly assessed value. This didn't please many ordinary Chinese who had relatives buried there. In July 1898 the walls of the cemetery were demolished resulting in a riot that ended in twelve fatal casualties. In response French troops were landed from a man-of-war anchored on the Whangpoo. The French got their road through the cemetery and an extension of the Concession towards Siccawei but not the land in Pootung they had wanted.

THE EXTERNAL ROADS AREA

The "External Roads", sometimes referred to as the "Extra Concessional Roads", were those streets that extended out of foreign control into the Chinese-controlled portions of the city or surroundings. The majority were to the west of the International Settlement and known as the "Western Roads Area", where the SMC, in the absence of any Chinese municipal authority before 1927, had built roads and exercised tax collection and (supposedly) policing. They justified the collecting of taxes and extension of their *de facto* authority by noting that they had laid water mains and electricity cables. The area covered approximately 7,923 acres and expanded rapidly between 1916-25. There were also some external roads to the far west of the Settlement and in the north extending out of the Hongkew and Chapei districts.

However, the issue of authority and control in the area was always rather unclear and confused. Subsequently while many extremely spacious and luxurious homes were built in the area as well as more commonplace housing, parks and business premises, it was also a home to those who had good reason to be outside the direct and clear jurisdiction of the SMC, the Shanghai Municipal Police or the French *Conseil Municipal*—namely, casino operators, bordello madams and various other criminals. So while foreigners formally called the area the External Roads, or Western Roads settlement, and the Chinese referred to it as *huxi*, it was also commonly referred to as the "Badlands" in the west and the "Trenches" in the north.



The External Roads Area had existed since the late nineteenth century with infamous foreign-run casinos such as the Alhambra and Alcazar and later, through to the 1940s, others such as the Arizona, Argentina, Ali-Baba and the Lou Yuen Garden (among others) springing up on the roads just outside the reach of extraterritorial law. The Settlement authorities developed the area creating roads to the suburbs, such as the **Great Western Road**, and acquiring land for new cemeteries and property developments. Eventually after the First World War the area cleaned up its act for a while (though never totally) and started to become a more desirable district with a mish-mash of architectural styles, including large mock Tudor and Queen Anne villas as well as Mediterranean inspired country clubs and slightly more roomy lanes of housing such as the Plum Well Villas development off **Amherst Avenue**. However, nightclubs and casinos were still opening controversially beyond the long arm of the law in the area up to 1941.

Many of the grandest structures in the External Roads Area were not to provide housing for their original owners for a long time as many were completed only in the late 1930s. Though many Shanghaianders and Chinese lived in the External Roads it was difficult to create a tight-knit community such as in the International Settlement and Frenchtown. The area was fragmented by the fact that most roads ran east to west leading into and out of the concessions with few roads running north to south. Many of those that do so now were constructed post-1949 as creeks and nullahs were covered over and the remaining countryside filled in.

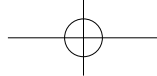
POOTUNG:

Pootung (Pudong) was technically outside of foreign control and only the western bank of the Whangpoo River was included as part of the treaty port negotiations. However, the shoreline was long populated by factories, godowns and warehouses. There was a constant population of workers and sailors as well as churches, markets and some roads. The commercial, naval and foreign presence in Pootung is noted here mainly to dispel the oft-repeated and long-running myth that there was nothing but marsh and agricultural smallholdings Pootung-side. However, the massive extension of roads since the commencement of the Shanghai government's Pudong New Area development programme in the mid-1990s has created a sizeable grid of roads where few existed before and most that did exist remained officially unnamed.



Pootung was far from a quiet and wild wasteland, though. There were constantly factories, wharves and godowns along the waterfront—the British American Tobacco Company art department grew to be so large it was housed in a Pootung warehouse. At the turn of the century there was a bustling commercial life Pootung-side. Foreign ships moored up to be scraped free of rust, the sailors hanging along the sides of the ships repainting them before they left the Whangpoo to sail back out to the China Sea or on Yangtze patrol duty. If they were allowed they could take the sampan ferries from the Lujiazui Dock across to **Kungping Road** in Hongkew, home to the jetty that was used by sampans bringing sailors ashore. For the richer there were iron steamboat ferries from Lujiazui to **The Bund** opposite.

With sailors milling around of course came services—chandlers and traders selling supplies to the seamen and their vessels as well as prostitutes, of course, as there are wherever sailors congregate. Another market that specialized in knick knacks, watches, *objets d'art*, anything the sailors might want to sell to get money, similarly sold them *Chinoiserie* and other souvenirs of China before they departed. Another market close by specialized in horses and cattle and all manner of livestock—all trading was done with elaborate hand gestures whose origins are lost but which all the traders, whatever their language or dialect understood. When cattle weren't being sold, women and girls from the countryside would be sold in the same sheds, through the same auction process, as servants or fodder for the brothels of Shanghai.



A growing number of Chinese moved into Pootung due to its proximity to Shanghai—a population that was boosted during the Taiping Rebellion as Pootung’s safety was guaranteed by the authorities in the foreign settlements opposite, the foreign navies moored up in Pootung and Frederick Townsend Ward’s mercenary-manned Ever Victorious Army (for which he got **Ward Road** named after him). Though foreign—American, British and Japanese mostly—firms had opened premises in Pootung the foreign concessions were keen to expand formally across the river. The French pushed hardest for this but their aim was never achieved. Still, nationality was important—although Pootung was outside of the foreign concessions, and therefore Chinese territory, the land had been bought and paid for. Factories, wharves and godowns flew their national flags and were generally regarded as a small piece of their home country, maintaining their own forces of uniformed police-watchmen.

Throughout the turmoils of the twentieth century various foreign armies established posts in Pootung as part of Shanghai’s wider defences and to protect the factories, wharves and godowns along the shorefront. For instance in 1937 the 12th Battalion Royal Marines had established a base in Pootung to defend the China Navigation Company’s facilities and berths at Pootung Wharf. That same area was being referred to as the Pootung Zone in the local newspapers and, as war broke out in August, Pootung got heavily hit by Japanese bombing.

Pootung was certainly economically important to Shanghai but it was also home to various other communities. According to the *North-China Daily News* in the 1920s, “Pootung...contains, within a comparatively small area, a greater proportion of native [i.e. Chinese] Roman Catholics than any other part of China, with the possible exception of certain parts of Szechuan [Sichuan]. Whole villages are Christian—not convert, but of the sixth or seventh generation—and, as is well known, the International Cotton Mill work-people, to the number of about 2,000, are drawn from these.”

The riverfront may appear rough and undeveloped on maps but was relatively sophisticated. For instance, Holt’s Wharf had first been built in 1906 but the second, or western, half was added in 1923. By 1937 the complex included a range of steel transit sheds along the shoreline, backed by multistoried warehouses. This meant that they could berth four large ocean-



going ships and still have room alongside for lighters taking delivery of cargo from the godowns (in the 1920s all deliveries went by water in the absence of any suitable road system Pootung-side). Additionally there were houses and flats for the European staff, as well as quarters for the police and some of the Chinese godown staff. The whole compound was enclosed on the landward side by a high steel fence surmounted by barbed wire, with entry through one of three small gates. Holt’s owned a fleet of five tugs and steam launches, together with a small dredger, a hopper barge, and nine lighters, including one which could handle heavy lifts. They had their own independent water supply from a deep well and a generating station, powered by gas engines, to provide electricity. Travelling steam cranes along the wharf edge were available for loading or unloading lighters and small craft as well as two movable pontoon landing stages providing access to the wharf from sampans and launches, while one of the latter, the *Demeter*, maintained an hourly service between the wharf and the Customs Jetty, on **The Bund**.

The boat services between Pootung and **The Bund** provided a lifeline to the more exciting side of the river but there were entertainment activities in Pootung too, including hunting, fishing, boating as well as a nine-hole golf course at the Standard Oil Company’s installation. In May 1939 the Shanghai Rowing Club’s annual regatta was held at Holt’s Wharf because of the difficulty presented by the Japanese occupation of the stretch of water where it was normally held (rather wittily named *Henli*).

One area is also worth noting—Pootung Point—now the site of the Pearl Tower and the Shanghai International Convention Centre—eventually the busiest hub of Pootung, though for decades the Point was a desolate place even as, opposite, Shanghai rose up along **The Bund**. If you were a Shanghaier or visiting sailor in the mid-nineteenth century, Pootung Point wasn’t somewhere you’d willingly go—its main feature was a foreign cemetery. In 1917 the *North China Herald* visited Pootung Point, noting its out of the way location, church chapel erected in 1867 by the Seaman’s Mission and cemetery for foreign seamen who died while in port: “...a more depressing spectacle than this decaying place of sepulture cannot be well imagined.”

But by 1917 the Point was not quite decaying. Robert Hart, the legendary Ulsterman who ran the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs



Administration built a large customs depot at the Point in the 1860s while the SMC used it as the headquarters for the River Police. Eventually it was decided to build a church next to the cemetery and one was erected in 1867 by Henry Lester, one of Shanghai's wealthiest businessmen. But even the chapel didn't detract from the Point's general dismalness—failing to prosper, it was replaced by a grander edifice, St. Andrew's Church for Seamen, across the river in Hongkew. By 1927 the cemetery was so overrun that the SMC was forced to take possession of the site. The old chapel eventually collapsed, the cemetery was largely forgotten and only the godowns of British-American Tobacco dominated the Point. In 1943 the Point's dismalness intensified—the Japanese established the Pootung Internment Camp in the old BAT godowns and until the end of the war 1,519 foreign internees called Pootung Point home.

A LIST OF COMPANIES WITH GODOWNS, FACTORIES OR WHARVES ALONG THE POOTUNG WATERFRONT, 1937

(the shoreline also included the Pootung Cemetery, Customs Depot and Pootung Point):

Arnhold Brothers	Mitsubishi
Asia Oil	Mitsui Company
Baron Iwasaki (the founder of Mitsubishi)	New Engineering and Shipbuilding Works
British American Tobacco (BAT)	Nikka Cotton Manufacturing
British Cigarette Company Ltd.	Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK Line)
China Navigation Company	Okura
Hoong Shin	Oliver and Company
Jardine Matheson	MacKenzie Company Ltd.
Kailan Mining Administration	Standard Oil Company of New York (SOCONY)
Kaiyosha	Shanghai Dock Engineering Company
Kawasaki Dock Company	Shanghai Pulp and Paper Company

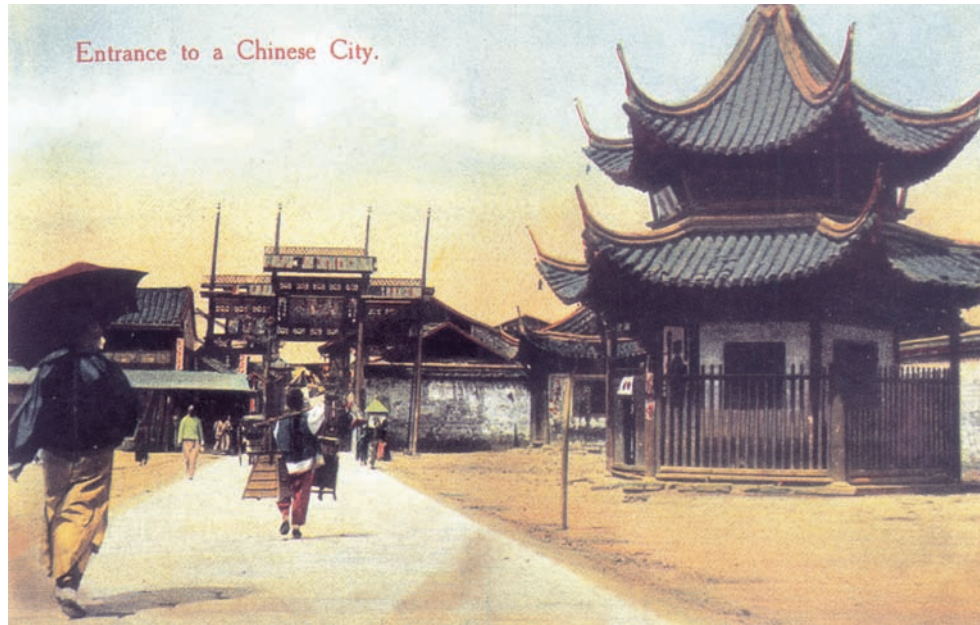


Shanghai Entrance to the old City

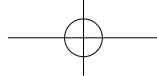
THE CHINESE CITY

The Chinese city was known as many things—usually simply the Chinese City or the Native City by the British or the *Ville Chinoise* by the French. Other alternatives were *Nantao* (Southern Market) or *Nanshi* (Southern City). Either way the Chinese city was completely enclosed by the foreign concessions while many Chinese living in the old city referred to the concessions as the *Beishi* (Northern City). It is in the old city that the name “Shanghai” is thought to have first been used as the store name of a winery in 1077 AD.

At one time the Chinese city that dates from at least the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 AD) was walled to protect against Japanese pirates (*Wokou*) and any other random invaders. Though the wall eventually largely disappeared it remained the boundary of the old city. Formerly, the main entrances through the wall into the Chinese city were at six gates though in terms of access into the concessions the major gateways were the East Gate that linked to the French Concession via *Rue Porte de l'Ouest* and the North Gate that linked to the French Concession via *Rue de la Porte du Nord*.



The Chinese City is the one area of Shanghai where the names have remained relatively constant over several centuries. Though this book does not cover the Chinese City, it is interesting to note that after 1911 portions of the traditional city wall were pulled down and the road created in their place that followed the original ring around the city was renamed Ming Koo Road and Chung Wha Road. After 1949, Ming Koo (Republic) Road was renamed Renmin (People's) Road.



BUILDING SHANGHAI'S ROADS

Story of Shanghai From the Opening of the Port to Foreign Trade (1889), "So tenacious was the mud of the place that people who did not take care would leave their boots and shoes in it. A considerable time elapsed before the ground was put in order, drained, the creeks and ponds filled up, and the building yards by the river cleared away."

Money was a problem too; Shanghai was a treaty port, not a fully-fledged colony and so budget was limited. There was effectively no money put aside for the construction of roads. The original planners and the devisers of the Land Regulations had seen the city as dominated by palanquins, sedan



THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

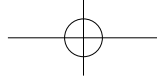
The original Land Regulations of 1845 governing the British Settlement had provided for just four roads, those that came to be named Hankou (Hankou), Kiukiang (Jiujiang), Nanking (Nanjing), and Peking (Beijing). Additionally, the river frontage was to be preserved, initially as a towing path though eventually to become the raised Bund waterfront (the word Bund, often mistaken for a German expression, actually derives from the Hindustani word meaning an artificial causeway or embankment), which was only 25 feet broad anyway.

Virtually from a few yards back from the Bund the British were confronted with a settlement that was largely marsh, with little firm ground, and intersected everywhere by numerous creeks and ditches. The irregular line of the original **Nanking Road** was due to its following the course of a large creek, which ran from the Yangjing Creek along **Kiangse Road**, down **Nanking Road** to the Whangpoo. According to H. W. MacLeelan of the *North-China Herald*, and one of Shanghai's first historians, in his book *The*

chairs and wheel barrows as modes of transport (not to mention mostly feet and remembering that the rickshaw didn't arrive in Shanghai from Japan until 1874); the importance of roads and the growth of Shanghai were not fully appreciated by the early administrators of foreign-controlled Shanghai.

These administrators took the form of the Committee on Roads and Jetties (which eventually was to become the genesis of the more all-encompassing SMC in 1854). However, their lack of vision—for instance they rejected an idea from Consul Balfour that all roads should be at least 25 feet wide—ensured that many initial roads were badly made, inadequately paved and too narrow. A compromise of 22 feet was reached but not always adhered to in practice. The Committee on Roads and Jetties did plan roads but initially spent most of its time trying to get some form of sewer system in place.

Initially the road system in the foreign settlements grew through private initiative, finance and endeavour. Those early residents and businesses that rented land had to construct their own roads for their own personal convenience and access. As **The Bund** became developed so the Settlement moved westwards—first as far as **Barrier Road** (now Henan



Road) and then as far west as Defence Creek. This expansion required more roads. The individual landowners, usually companies, maintained the roads using largely clinker and gravel. Narrowness soon became a problem—with one eye on the cost, the foreign trading companies (the *Hongs*) did not make roads any wider than necessary to transport the bales or wheelbarrows of their goods from the jetties on the river to their warehouses.

A more substantial road network was required. The Committee on Roads and Jetties planned four major thoroughfares from **The Bund** running westwards and a series of roads running parallel with the river frontage. Eventually the management of most of these roads was handed over to the SMC as things became less ad hoc and more formalized. Still, this early roads privatization can still be appreciated in the road names, for instance **Jinkee Road** (now Dianchi Road), running off **The Bund**, formerly led to the offices and warehouse of Gibb, Livingston & Co. Ltd. Gibb, Livingston's Chinese, or *Hong*, name was Jin Kee. When the company handed over their private road to the SMC to become a public thoroughfare it officially became **Jinkee Road**.

As more residents of the settlements, both foreign and Chinese, built private residences so additional roads were created. Naturally the quality of these roads varied widely—Shanghai being built on largely alluvial marsh presented some problems (and additional expense) for the road builders. Granite chips (incredibly slippery when wet) were first used in 1856 on **Mission Road** (which later became **Foochow Road** and is now Fuzhou Road). Others used brick foundations (which sunk) and others cinders and clinkers obtained from visiting steamers (that didn't last long and needed constant replenishment). At the time all Shanghai's roads were unmetalled (similar to bridleways) and so when it rained most were impassable as runoff and erosion were major problems. Over the decades road-building technology improved. In 1906 the SMC started using Ceylon Ironweed (*mesua ferrea*) to pave the roads, initially at the junction of **Nanking Road** and **Chekiang Road**. By 1930 the SMC was laying asphalt, about two decades after asphalt had appeared on European and American roads, and then macadam. Additionally as the SMC began to instal public services such as water and electricity these too tended to follow the roads—gaslights in 1865, electricity in 1882, telephones in 1881, running water in 1884 and tram systems from 1908.



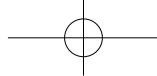
Prior to the 1860s the initial basic road layout required few names. After the 1860s, as more roads appeared, systems were introduced such as naming those roads running westerly from **The Bund** after major Chinese cities.

MAIN ROAD NAMES PRIOR TO THE 1860s

Pre-1860s	Post-1860s	Current
Bridge Street	Szechuen Road	Sichuan Road (Middle)
Church Street	Kiangse Road	Jiangxi Road
Customs House Road	Hankow Road	Hankou Road
Fives Court Lane	Tientsin Road	Tianjin Road
Mission Street	Foochow Road	Fuzhou Road
North Gate Street	Canton Road	Guangdong Road
Park Lane	Nanking Road	Nanjing Road (East)
Rope Walk Road	Kiukiang Road	Jiujiang Road

As things became more organized the situation moved from one of private individuals and companies building roads, only to later cede responsibility for their upkeep to the SMC, to one where the Council built the road and also maintained it on private land. Eventually the SMC both leased the land and built the road for public use from public funds as its tax base expanded. This haphazard road development was further complicated by the many wooden gates that had been erected on some roads to prevent sudden attacks by mobs or rioters. These gates were closed at night and guarded by watchmen. The last was not removed from **Nanking Road** until 1866.

As the now familiar grid pattern emerged out of the more random pattern of roads in the International Settlement, other major thoroughfares into and out of the Settlement were created. During the Taiping Rebellion (when fighting reached the suburbs of Shanghai around Songjiang and Qingpu) several roads were created for transporting supplies and ammunition. These included **Jessfield Road**, which connected to the ferry terminal on the Soochow Creek. Afterwards this road was kept up for a time by James Hogg, of the large local trading company of Jenner Hogg & Co., including the



Zhaofeng Garden at the rear of the property. It was later taken over by the SMC as the External Roads Area to the west of the settlement developed.

THE FRENCH CONCESSION

To be fair, the French were more blasé than the British when it came to constructing roads in their concession. The land that comprised Frenchtown was less developed than the British Settlement and the number of foreigners living there also significantly less for sometime. There was a diplomatic presence and a few merchants but nothing to rival the great *Hongs* of Jardines, Dents and Gibbs in the British sector. There were no Land Regulations similar to the British determining number of roads, condition and upkeep, though the French authorities did appoint a full-time and paid Inspector of Roads.

The French also suffered from their closer proximity to the Chinese city, which was in a state of turmoil throughout most of the 1850s as the Small Swords Society (*Xiao Dao Hui*) rebel group occupied the walled Chinese city and most of the Chinese sections of Shanghai, making their headquarters in the Yuyuan Gardens. Though they did not invade the foreign concessions, a large number of Chinese refugees were forced to flood into the foreign concessions, particularly Frenchtown, immediately adjacent to the walled enclave throughout this period, dramatically increasing the population. Eventually French troops were sent in to support Qing imperial troops and quell the Small Swords. While all this was going on road building took a back seat.

In 1857 a committee was formed of the major land renters of the French Concession to address the issue of road construction. The first planned thoroughfares were what became **Rue du Consulat**, **Rue Colbert**, **Rue Jeanne d'Arc**, **Rue Petit**, **Rue Discry** and several others. As in the British sector, some of these roads emerged from the actions of the French roads committee and others were built by private business concerns.

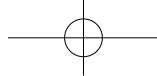
Again, as with the British settlement the French gradually regulated their affairs—though somewhat later. The *Conseil Municipal* was formed in 1862 and a more formal Council in 1866. Once a tax-raising *Conseil* was in place with urban planning and road construction powers, the roads of Frenchtown began to be laid out in more detail.



THE NAME CHANGING BEGINS

Shanghai's road names have been in a constant state of flux since the foreign concessions were first created. The British initially used highly familiar names for the first roads—Church, Bridge, Park—and then later systematized their grid system with Chinese cities providing names for roads running east to west from **The Bund** and Chinese provinces for those roads running south to north from the border with the French Concession to Soochow Creek. The Roads Committee chose other names based on places, individuals etc. Similarly the French used basic naming at first—Administration, Observatoire, Marché—and then a mixture of landmarks, military names, notable missionaries, Consuls, etc. A number of Frenchtown roads again changed names in 1921, when over 25 roads were renamed after leading French military personnel in the 1914-18 War, or French residents of Shanghai who were killed in the War. Still, by and large (and with some obvious exceptions) most names in the International Settlement and Frenchtown were fixed by the mid-1920s.

In 1946, at the end of the Second World War, the Nationalist Government resumed control of all Shanghai. The foreign concessions that had been in place since 1842 were no more. In fact they had technically ceased to exist in 1943, when the British and Americans agreed to waive all territorial rights in China (General de Gaulle did the same for France when he eventually came to power—the French Concession was technically under the control, or at least influence, of Vichy and its supporters during the War)—pointless in one sense as at the time the Japanese were already in control of the International Settlement and pro-Vichy forces ran Frenchtown alongside Wang Jing-wei's pro-Japanese puppet Chinese administration. With the Japanese gone and the Europeans and Americans no longer concessionary powers, the Nationalist government started to



rename the city's roads with a system of Chinese names based largely on provinces and cities, as before. They also started to divide many longer roads into north, south, east, west and middle sections as is still the norm today.

In fact the renaming process was already well underway in the International Settlement. Wang Jing-wei's puppet government had taken over the area and had started getting rid of the old road names and replacing them with Chinese ones. In total, Wang changed 399 old names to new, mostly in the International Settlement, with only 129 changes made in Frenchtown—mostly those names associated with foreign individuals. With the return of the Nationalist government in 1946 more names were changed.

Wang Jing-wei was obviously deemed a traitor (he died in Nagoya in November 1944, less than a year before Japan's surrender to the Allies, thus avoiding a trial for treason and almost certain execution) but the Nationalists were also keen to re-Sinify the city, mainly the former International Settlement. They naturally translated many names into Chinese such as those of cities and provinces, though they also renamed many roads to reflect their own heroes; hence Shanghai has a Zhongshan Road, this being the alternative name for Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic in 1911. Zhongshan No. 1 and No. 2 Roads are now **The Bund** and the **Quai de France** (or French Bund) respectively though known universally in Shanghai as the *waitan* (literally "out beach").

Many old road names smacked of insults and slights and the Nationalists addressed these—among the first to be changed in Frenchtown, **Boulevard de Montigny** was renamed Xizang Road South in 1946. Charles de Montigny, the man who effectively created the French Concession, was by all accounts arrogant and, much disliked, and his legacy still rankled with the Chinese.

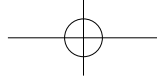
There was only one obvious mistake made by those in charge of renaming Shanghai's roads. The main thoroughfares running off **The Bund** (with a couple of exceptions for later roads such as **Jinke Road**) followed the major cities of China alphabetically north to south and this was followed using Pinyin too—Foochow to Fuzhou, Hankow to Hankou, Nanking to Nanjing, etc. A slight slip up occurred with **Canton Road**, which ended up as Guangdong Road rather than Guangzhou Road, the province rather than the provincial capital.



Following the revolution and the departure of Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan the Communists did engage in some road renaming following on from the Nationalists and mostly in the former French Concession. These names reflected the need of the Communist Party to solidify its rule and reinforce its legitimacy as soon as possible and in as many ways as possible. From the start the Communist Party had positioned itself as reclaiming territory from foreign domination, so foreign road names obviously all had to go. It was also part of the wider project to spread the Party's preferred myth of the past and the revolutionary struggle (as they interpreted it) in Shanghai's collective historical memory. The renaming also came at the same time as the government dictated that Chinese should be read from left to right and introduced a more simplified Chinese as standard (dropping 1,055 characters) to promote literacy and better communication across the country—*Putonghua*.

The Long March is of course a key story in the Party's history and lent itself to some new names—in Jiangxi Province the Long Marchers had captured the town of Ruijin ("rich metal") and it became a "red base" and later lent its name to the former **Route Pére Robert** and **Route des Sœurs**. Other Long March-inspired road names included Zunyi Road, after the Guizhou provincial town that was a key stop; Dadu He (*Dadu River*) Road, commemorating the particularly arduous crossing of the Dadu; and Luding Road, remembering the location of the chain bridge upriver from where the Marchers are supposed to have eventually crossed the Dadu. Additionally, the major thoroughfare that marked the border between the International Settlement and Frenchtown—**Avenue Edward VII** or **Avenue Edouard VII** depending what side of the road you were standing on—became Yanan Road, the final end of the Long March and the long-term strategic base of the Communists.

The 1946-49 Civil War between the Nationalists and the Communists also later offered some new road names. The best known example is **Avenue Joffre** (which Wang Jing-wei had renamed *Ta Shanghai Lu*, or Great Shanghai Road) being renamed Huai Hai Road, commemorating the battle fought on ground between the Huai River and the Lunghai railway line (hence Huai-Hai) that ended in a Communist victory and in many respects sealed the fate of the losing Nationalist forces—the Communists declared it to be their "Gettysburg".



In many other cities around China this process of road renaming was left entirely to the Communists rather than the Nationalists—hence Shanghai surprisingly doesn't have a Jiefang (*Liberation*) Road, a name found almost universally in other Chinese towns and cities. Shanghai also seems to have largely escaped the temporary renaming of roads during the Cultural Revolution. Apparently some Red Guards in Shanghai did attempt to rename **The Bund** either Liberation or Revolution Street as well as damaging some of the buildings, but it was never formalized (probably as the road had already been named after Sun Yat-sen, who remained a founding father and somewhat immortal). In the new capital (which of course the world was now being urged to stop calling Peking or Beiping and call Beijing) things went a little further in terms of hysteria with East Yangwei Road outside the Soviet Embassy being renamed Anti-Revisionism Road (it wasn't until 1979 that Anti-Revisionism Road was renamed once again the distinctly less revolutionary East-Central Dongzhimen Road). Apparently Mao, still in his anti-Soviet mindset during the Sino-Soviet Split, balked at Red Guard notions of renaming Tiananmen Square as Red Square.

Just to confuse things further some roads have had multiple name changes at different turning points in Shanghai's history. For instance, **Amherst Avenue** had its name changed to Cha'her Road in 1943 but then underwent another name change in 1956 to Xinhua Road.

The amazing thing is that after the tumultuous and war-torn twentieth century Shanghai remains intact in terms of its road structure—in the late summer of 1937, 2,526 bombs fell on and around the city in just two days alone and, as Nationalist troops retreated from Shanghai in November of that year, soldiers set additional fires on top of the still smouldering blazes and bomb damage to stop the Japanese pursuing them. Add to this are the mass demolitions of the last quarter century, and the general disregard for conservation or heritage in any form by the current Shanghai Municipal authorities and property developers, and it is amazing that the city's general layout and road grid remains pretty much constant. Change has been massive but, unlike say Beijing, Shanghai has not (except in a few instances) seen whole roads swept away, though obviously the amount of *shikumen* traditional housing and *lilong* alleys that have succumbed to the



wreckers, as well as many beautiful and internationally noteworthy buildings too, is immense and irreparable.

Road names have continued to change in Shanghai. In 2007 the Shanghai Municipal Urban Planning Bureau enacted revised guidelines to provide consistent renderings of Chinese into English on the city's roads—Chinese places were to be spelled out in Pinyin, such as “Middle Xizang Road”, rather than “Middle Tibet Road” for instance, though erroneous and inconsistent apostrophes still abound on Pinyin street signage. Some names have stayed though are perhaps confusingly long for many—Huang Pu Tang Jia Wan Road South appears to be the longest in the city.

Interestingly, having once been abolished, roads named after foreigners have recently reappeared—the 2007 rules decided that “Newton” (after Sir Isaac Newton) would replace the Pinyin transliteration “Niudun” for the name of a road in the Zhangjiang High-Tech Park in Pudong. Of course as the city has expanded so hundreds of new road names have been needed across the Pudong New Area and the vastly expanded suburbs such as Qingpu, Fengxian and Baoshan that were rural areas originally. As the suburbs have grown and ten rural counties formerly in Jiangsu Province became part of Shanghai in 1958, so repetition of road names has occurred and subsequently 372 roads had to be renamed and 154 minor roads with duplicated names were eliminated altogether and amalgamated into other roads. For instance, Fumin Road in downtown Shanghai kept its name, but four other Fumin Roads in Fengxian and out on Chongming Island had to be renamed.

Shanghai is still expanding its boundaries and building (and still, sadly, rarely conserving but preferring the bulldozer to preservation). The road naming and changing of Shanghai is set to continue for a while yet.

