

2. Literature Review

Jiangshanlou was situated in Dadaocheng, and therefore, a more comprehensive historical background of Dadaocheng will help us understand the rise and diversity of this luxurious restaurant. The role of Jiangshanlou in Dadaocheng under Japanese governance can be seen from the gentry's social lives of the time. The gentry class changed at the end of the Qing Dynasty from one based on traditional scholars to one that included businessmen. Thus the gentry conducted their social lives and business dealings at Jiangshanlou through cultural and business associations or unions as well as meetings and banquets held by and for them in the restaurant. The fact that the establishment of Jiangshanlou was closely related with the gentry was due to the coming of the Japanese. In researching Jiangshanlou, despite there being very few works of literature that discuss the restaurant specifically, there is one article named "Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-dan (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese cuisines, Geishas)" written by Wu Yingtao. Despite the lack of literature however, we can get an idea of what Jiangshanlou was like by piecing together short descriptions in other literature. The abundant news releases and reports of Jiangshanlou in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpo* between 1921 and 1940 will help us picture the restaurant. Therefore, this chapter is divided into three parts: firstly, a review of Dadaocheng's history; secondly, a review of Taiwanese gentries under Japanese rule; thirdly, news releases and reports about Jiangshanlou in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpo*.

2.1 History of Dadaocheng

When it comes to the history of Taipei, the history and diversity of Dadaocheng can not be neglected. Dadaocheng used to be the central business district (CBD) of Taipei, and many stores and business organizations clustered there. Chang Chao-ting mentions

in his thesis that this CBD was a main attraction of the city, where the service industries flourished and the city government collected major tax revenues as a result. Therefore, there are many books focusing on the historic area, Dadaocheng, which was prosperous during the late Qing Dynasty and the former half of Japanese rule. There are also many sources providing the historical background of Dadaocheng under Japanese colonization¹. However, while there are not many books available in English focusing on Taiwanese history, especially on Dadaocheng, there is a great amount available in Chinese. As for historical papers written in English, Harry Lamley has studied Taiwanese social movements under Japanese rule as well as the transformation of the Taiwan elites. His essay “Taiwan Under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism” published in *TAIWAN: A New History*, edited by Murry A. Rubinstein, provides a comprehensive political and cultural background of Taiwan under Japanese rule.

As for works of historical research written in Chinese, there are many books and periodicals examining the history of Dadaocheng, in particular the tea business in Taiwan. The Taipei City Archives offers many historical publications about the history of Taipei City, which are very useful in understanding the development of Dadaocheng. Probably the most valuable series is *Taipei Shi-zhi* (Taipei City Records), which is categorized into nine volumes, and each contains considerable quantities of detailed contents, data and statistics. This series is a helpful and authoritative source for researchers concerning the history and the development of Taipei City. This thesis makes use of four volumes of these records, including two volumes of social records: customs and demographics, one volume of economic records: business, and three

¹ When it comes to the history of Taiwan between 1895 and 1945, the term “Japanese colonization” was more often used than “Japanese rule”. However, to be more objective, “Japanese rule”, “Japanese administration” and “Japanese governance” are more frequently used in this thesis.

volumes of cultural record: national monuments, arts, and officials. Other influential books about the development of Dadaocheng published by Taipei City Archives are as follows: Huang Fusheng is the author of *Taipei Jian-chen Bai-nian Shi* (A Century History of Taipei City), providing a comprehensive historical background of the founding of Taipei City, of which Dadaocheng is an integral part; Chi Zongxian, writes about the history of the tea business in Dadaocheng, yet much of the contents of his book actually refer to Liu Juo Wen's thesis *The Development of Ta-dao-cheng: An Example of the Transformation of the Role of Gentry and Businessmen*; Zhuang Yongming writes about the historical background of lives of the elites in Taipei and his books are of great value when researching the gentry in Dadaocheng. In addition to Liu Juo Wen's thesis, Chen Zhangrui's thesis also mentions what Dadaocheng looked like under Japanese rule in his research about urban planning of Dadaocheng.

There are many books portraying the history of Taipei by means of photo albums, such as *Taipei Gu-jin Tu-shuo Ji* (A Pictorial History of Taipei City), *Chuan-yue Shi-kong Kan Taipei: Taipei Jian-cheng 120 Zhou-nian: Gu Di-tu, Jiu Ying-xiang, Wen-xian, Wen-wu Zhan* (Taipei in Different Space-time: 120 Years of Taipei City: Old Map, Old Images, Documents, and Antiques Exhibition), *Taiwan Hui-xiang* (The Reminiscence of Taiwan), *Taipei Cheng-shi Xiang-bu* (The Photo Album of Taipei City), and *Taiwan Shi-ji Hui-wei: Sheng-huo Chang-xiang* (Taiwan over a Century: A Life Lane). Photos of Dadaocheng are indispensable in historic photo albums of Taipei under Japanese rule. Reading history through photo albums, though lacking details, can speak a thousand words and at the same time provide historical evidence.

2.2 Taiwanese gentry under Japanese rule

Since the Han people emigrated from China to Taiwan in the early eighteenth century, they brought their Chinese way of thinking to Taiwan. The Chinese consider eating to be one of the rare joys of living, one to which they are more devoted than to religion or the pursuit of knowledge. Simoons states that “social gatherings in China invariably involve a meal, which may differ in elaborateness and formality depending on the occasion and status and wealth of those who sponsor them. Even persons of modest income manage to sponsor feasts at times of birth, marriage, and death, with persons of greater means holding them more frequently, as in celebrating birthdays and festivals. A man of wealth, in turn, may sponsor a feast, providing a dozen main courses for ten guests, as frequently as twice weekly. A person of equal social standing attending such a banquet has an obligation to reciprocate, with the result that such people may eat out several times a week. Thus in traditional China the frequency of eating out was a fairly good indication of a person’s rank in society.”² Jiangshanlou was a high-class restaurant in Taipei where people of higher social rank, such as Japanese officials or Taiwanese gentries, enjoyed going during the Japanese period.

Traditionally, the gentry were elites who had obtained official positions. The Han people emigrated from China and brought the concept of Chinese gentry to Taiwan thus to understand the Taiwanese gentry, one should first understand the Chinese gentry. Both Fei Hsiaotung and Chang Chungli wrote books on the Chinese gentry published in the 1950s. Fei wrote *China’s Gentry: Essays on Rural-Urban Relations* and Chang wrote *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society*. They both researched the historical background of the gentries, and relations between the gentry class and the general public. Fei defined the gentry as a class of persons with a definite position and function. Furthermore, *Chinese Social*

² Simoons, *Food in China, a cultural and historical inquiry*, p.26.

Structure, written by Martin M. C. Yang is about basic social concepts, basic social units, class structures of imperial China and social changes in the republican period. Originally the Taiwanese gentry was not different much from the Chinese gentry.

The gentry class usually refers to the elites, however the definition of the gentry started to be merged with the definition of businessmen in the late Qing Dynasty and the term “gentry-businessman” appeared. Under Japanese rule, gentry-businessmen almost replaced the traditional gentry class in Taiwan with the help of the Japanese authorities. There are several theses researching the gentry and their relationships with the colonizers. Yang Yong Bin wrote about the relationship between Taiwanese gentry-businessmen and the early Japanese authorities in Taiwan in his thesis. Wang Hsing-an has researched how the Japanese authorities governed Taiwan through local elites, especially in the Hsinchu and Miaoli areas. Liu Juo Wen’s thesis was even more specific, focusing on the gentry’s transition to gentry-businessmen in the Dadaocheng area as well as providing a considerable amount of historical background about Dadaocheng. She probed into the development of the Dadaocheng area from the viewpoint of the transition of the gentry. Nakanishi Miki discussed the experiences of the colonists (the Taiwanese) and their viewpoints towards the colonizer (the Japanese) during the Da-zheng Period in her thesis.

In addition, Wu Wenxing examined leading elites in Taiwan during Japanese colonization and he later extended his thesis into a book *Ri-zhi Shi-qi Taiwan She-hui Ling-dao Jie-ceng Zhi Yan-jiu* (Research on The Leading Hierarchy in Taiwan Society under Japanese Colonization). There is even a series of biographies of important figures in Taipei, *Taipei Ren-wu Zhi* (Biographies of Taipei Personages), which categorizes these personages into ten categories and provides brief biographical details

about them. There are also more books about Taiwanese gentries under Japanese rule in Chinese detailing how elites played important roles in society, especially when they were aware of Taiwan's international position. Elites participated in many social movements and strove for the rights of Taiwanese. Eventually the gentry-businessmen figured out a way of dealing with the public and the Japanese authorities; by taking part in one or more associations, such as unions and business guilds. Thus Jiangshanlou became a popular social location as well as a place where deals were done. The restaurant served delicate cuisine and provided good service; therefore, holding banquets, feasts and meetings in the Jiangshanlou was considered fashionable and high-class by the gentry.

2.3 *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* and the Jiangshanlou

Since there is not much research specifically about Jiangshanlou, the restaurant can only be depicted piece by piece from lines in different books. An important newspaper well accepted by the authorities under Japanese governance was *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, in which Jiangshanlou was frequently mentioned. The newspaper recorded such events as general meetings of cultural and business associations to important news events such as World War II. Because it was a newspaper in favor of the Japanese authorities, the perspective might not be neutral; nevertheless, this does not devalue its importance in providing the first-hand records of the time, the participants and the locations of events.

In the beginning period of Japanese administration in Taiwan, there were two important newspapers—*Taiwan Shimpō* and *Taiwan Daily*. However, these two newspapers were constantly in conflict with each other because of their differing

political viewpoints. When Kodama Gentaro became Taiwan's governor-general, he had the publisher Moriya Zenbee merge *Taiwan Shimpō* and *Taiwan Daily* into the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* in 1898. The publisher was located where the crossroad of Chunhu Road and Henyang Road stand today. There were six pages in the newspaper in the early period and this was later extended to eight, with two written in Chinese, after November 1910. After July 1st, 1905 the publisher expanded the Chinese pages and published a daily six-page "*Chinese Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*" in addition to the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*. Then on November 30th, 1911 the Chinese pages were reduced to two and again combined with the original *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*.



1st manager,
Moriya Zenbee



3rd manager,
Akaisi Teizou



5th manager,
Kawamura Tetu



2nd manager,
Imaishu Uzaburou



4th manager,
Imura Daikiti

Figure 1 Managers of the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*

Source: Transmission Books & Microinfo Co.

<<http://ntulib4b.lib.ntu.edu.tw/twhannews/user/index.php>>

Some argue that *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* represented the Japanese governor-general's viewpoint, but the everyday news, compared with other weekly periodicals, was less subjective. The Chinese pages were easy for Taiwanese to read, but most Chinese versions of the news were published one or two days later than the Japanese version. The newspaper provides a lot of information about Jiangshanlou. The articles and materials concerned with Jiangshanlou in this thesis can be reconfirmed by these news reports. Though there might be mistakes or intentional and misleading data contained in the reports, they do serve as confirmation for certain relevant events. Thus the subjectivity of the news does not affect the content of this thesis. Jiangshanlou was often mentioned in this newspaper and was regarded by many as a landmark of Dadaocheng. Jiangshanlou was first mentioned in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* on November 5th, 1921 when a poet, Wei Runan, submitted a poem about Jiangshanlou as a gift to the owner, Wu Jiangshan. The restaurant did not open for business until November 20th, but there were news releases and reports about the restaurant on November 8th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th and 19th. Wu was good at marketing and made Jiangshanlou known to the public through press releases. Due to the many meetings and banquets of business and cultural associations held there, the restaurant was often mentioned in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*. There were at least twenty pieces of news related to the Jiangshanlou every year during the 1920s, but this amount reduced to five in 1936, three in 1937, ten in 1938, nine in 1939, and one in 1940, which seems to be one of the last times Jiangshanlou appeared in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*.³ More research on Jiangshanlou in this newspaper will be discussed in chapter five.

³ "(Prevention Practice of Fire)." *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 6 Oct. 1940, Japanese ed.: 2. It was a news coverage about the complete procedure for preventing the fire around the area close to the Jiangshanlou.

Other than the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, the most important article about Jiangshanlou was “Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-dan (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese cuisine and Geishas)”, written by Wu Yingtao, in *Taipei Wen-wu*. This five-page article described the founding of Jiangshanlou, the cuisine served in the restaurant and a general review of geisha activities in Jiangshanlou. It seems to be probably the first article focusing on Jiangshanlou. Nevertheless, compared with the news reports in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, there was a big difference in regards to opinions regarding the year when the restaurant was opened. Wu Yingtao wrote in the first paragraph of his article that Jiangshanlou was inaugurated in 1917. “The most famous restaurant in Taiwan Province under Japanese colonization was Jiangshanlou...It started its business in 1917 and the business ran for thirty-two years until Taiwan was restored to the Republic of China. It was renowned in and out of the island and was probably the most popular one in Taiwan.” In the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, the name of Jiangshanlou was not mentioned until 1921, and the news on November 8th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 19th, 25th all showed that the restaurant started its business on November 17th, 1921, which is more convincing. Many later articles, books and websites seem to have been based on Wu’s article and therefore have cited the year of the establishment of Jiangshanlou wrongly.

Other than the aforementioned academic article, the book *Jiangshanlou* was actually a novel about geishas and their relationship with the gentry. The book focused on geisha’s lives and revealed the cruel dominance of the administration. The original script was authored by Chang Xiuling, who researched Taiwanese geishas when she studied at the National Taiwan College of Arts, and this television script was later adapted into a novel by Deng Rongqian. Although the story was fiction, the plot

accurately depicted many situations and events under Japanese rule and the relations among geishas, intellectuals and the rich. The intellectuals and the rich could be put together as “the gentry” and details of the gentry will be discussed in chapter four. Chang cited much information from Wu Jiangshan’s article and took Taiwan in 1917 as the historical background of her story. “The Jiangshanlou opened its business in 1917, and ran for thirty-two years. It was a renowned restaurant in and out of Taiwan province under Japanese colonization....And the rise of big restaurants such as Jiangshanlou and the Penlaige pushed forward the rise of geisha salons on nearby Zongsui Street⁴” She also mentioned that Jiangshanlou and geishas were closely related:

“In Dadaocheng when it came to the birthday of the Drama God, Tianduyuanshuai⁵, the tuner marshal would hold a ceremony to celebrate Tianduyuanshuai’s birth in front of Jiangshanlou where the geishas came to worship the Drama God and donated money. This ceremony became a routine anniversary feast in Dadaocheng, which revealed the close relationship between Jiangshanlou and geishas.”

This viewpoint is in accord with that of Mr. Wang Potao, an elder who had experienced the final days of the Jiangshanlou.⁶

“What I have told you was the original address [of Jiangshanlou]. It had been reconstructed into a large building. And next to it, that is, next to the Guisui Street, were many brothels. The brothels had to apply for licenses...The brothels did not have cuisine themselves, but they would make phone calls to the restaurant and ask for delivery of food. It was for the customers’ convenience...In the early days, the brothels were alike. Jiangshanlou was more focused, and the scale was larger...Even in southern Taiwan, there were similar restaurants. As far as I can

⁴ Many of the so-called “geisha salons” were served as brothels on Zongsui Street, which is now renamed Guisui Street.

⁵ Tianduyuanshuai is regarded as the Drama God in Taiwan. Members in Taiwanese opera troupes and puppet drama troupes worship Drama God, especially on His birthday.

⁶ For the interview manuscript, please refer to Appendix vi.

remember, Jiangshanlou was a brothel.

Thus we can see that the interviewee regarded Jiangshanlou as a brothel. There is no record of exactly when Jiangshanlou started to decline, but the period might be in the 1950s. To keep its business, the manager of Jiangshanlou had to allow the rich to trade with geishas or sex-workers and thus it gradually became known as a brothel.