

3. Jiangshanlou in Dadaocheng

The development of Taipei City started from the building of streets in Manka, Dalongdong and then Dadaocheng. Dadaocheng thrived at the end of the Qing Dynasty, but was already on the wane under Japanese rule. However, the establishment of Jiangshanlou seemed to revive the Dadaocheng area in the 1920s. In the northern business center, newly-arrived Japanese officials, and Taiwanese gentries demanded a place to socialize and deal with their business affairs. This provided Wu Jiangshan with a good reason to establish Jiangshanlou. In this chapter, the historical background of Dadaocheng and Jiangshanlou will be discussed as well as the linkage between them.

3.1 Chinese/Han People moved to Dadaocheng

Dadaocheng is at the northwest area of Taipei city. It is the area bounded by Taipei Main Railway Station, Taipei Bridge, Minquan West Road, Yuanhuan, and the Tamsui River, and nowadays is mostly subsumed into the Tatung District. Dadaocheng used to be the residence of the aboriginal Pinpu tribe, and was known as “Qiwuzushe”¹. The Chinese Han people did not live in this area until 1709 when the earliest Fukien immigrants, led by Chen Laichung, started cultivating lands along the Tamsui River with official licenses. The Han immigrants grew rice in this area and traded cloth, wine and meat for deerskin with the Pinpu. However, only a few Han people settled in Dadaocheng and there were no shops yet. In 1821, one Qing official, Yao Ying, wrote *Taipei Dao-li Ji* to report to the Qing central government in Beijing about northern Taiwan. He did not mention Dadaocheng in his report, which showed that it was not developed much in the early nineteenth century under Qing rule. The first time

¹ This is the pronunciation of the Pinpu’s language. Many of Taiwanese aboriginal peoples do not have written literatures, so there are many ways to spell the word. For Chinese characters, please refer to the glossary at the end of the thesis.

Dadaocheng was ever mentioned in the historical literature was in *Dan-shui Ting-zhi*, edited by Chen Peigui² in 1872.³ The word “Dadaocheng” appeared both on the map and in the chapter about education in *Dan-shui Ting-zhi*⁴.

In 1851, Lin Lantian moved from Keelung to Taipei and built three shops in Dadaocheng. He traded goods such as rice, oil, sugar, tea and camphor with businessmen from China, many of whom were from Amoy and Hong Kong; at the same time, he traded Chinese goods with the Pinpu people. This initiated trade in Dadaocheng. However, there was no official organization to supervise the trade, and conflicts often occurred. In fact, the Qing government apparatus was weak in most parts of Taiwan, and it also discouraged the use of its courts to reconcile local conflicts. Early immigrants to Taiwan generally defended their rights on the basis of kinship. Without objective and appropriate mediators, disputes among communities frequently led to feuds and warfare. In 1853 an armed conflict broke out in Manka⁵ among immigrants from different areas of mainland China. The defeated immigrants were then forced to settle in Dalongdong, an area to the north of Dadaocheng. This became known as the “Ding-xia-jiao-pin event” in Taiwanese history. However, these immigrants were rejected by the Dalongdong residents and thus they decided to settle in Dadaocheng along the banks of the Tamsui River. (The name “Dadaocheng” denotes a public grain drying area.) Dadaocheng developed rapidly as more and more immigrants from mainland China settled there.

² As mentioned in *Taipei shi-zhi Juan-jiu Ren-wu-zhi Huan-ji-pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 8 Cultural Record: Arts), p.p.37-38, Chen Peigui was Cantonese. He past the national examination in 1849 and acquired an official post in Tamsui and thus moved to Taiwan in 1869.

³ Wang, Gofan. *Taipei shi fa-zhan shi (Yi)* (The Development History of Taipei City [Volume I]).

⁴ Ibid, some criticized that Chen’s *Dan-shui-ting zhi* was based on Yan Jinqing’s *Dan-shui-ting-zhi*. Chen Peigui edited sixteen volumes of *Dan-shui-ting zhi*, and the series was actually based on Yan’s version.

⁵ Manka was one of the early developed area in Taipei. It is now renamed Wanhua District.

Many business associations, also named “business guilds”, were founded around the 1850s, at the end of the Qing Dynasty. Of these, the most famous ones were known as the “Taipei san-jiao (three Taipei business guilds)”, including Bei-jiao (business guilds in charge of trade with Fuzhou, Zhejiang and Jiangsu), Quan-jiao (business guild in charge of trade with Quanzhou) and Xia-jiao (business guild in charge of trade with Amoy). Many magnates clustered in Dadaocheng. They traded with businessmen from Fuzhou, Zhangzhou, Amoy, Quanzhou, Shanghai, Tienjin and Ningbo in China. Thus there was frequent trade between Taiwan and China. The Jinquanshun Company was a member of Xia-jiao and was the head of Taipei San-jiao. Because Jinquanshun was established in Dadaocheng, the guildhall of Taipei San-jiao was thus built in Dadaocheng.

The Qing government concluded the Tianjin Treaty in 1858 with France and the Beijing Treaty in 1860 with the United Kingdom, agreeing to open the ports of Anping, Tamsui, Keelung and Kaohsiung as trading ports. Thereupon foreign businessmen came to Taiwan and Dadaocheng became the business center of northern Taiwan. Most foreigners who came to Taiwan at that time were tea businessmen joined by consular officials and the clergy. British vice consul, Robert Swinhoe, came to Taiwan in 1861 to supervise trading at the port of Tamsui. The scope of the Tamsui port was expanded to the whole Tamsui river basin. Foreign enterprises were allowed to establish trading companies in Taiwan, and the Manka area became their first choice. However, the residents in Manka resisted foreign companies building factories there. In addition, the original Manka port silted up and became difficult for ships to traverse. Therefore, Dadaocheng became the substitute for Manka and thrived as a result.

In the late nineteenth century more and more Chinese woodsmen distilled camphor

from huge camphor trees to meet the demand of the growing international market; meanwhile, green and oolong tea in northern Taiwan also became a profitable crop in the international market. After the Beijing Treaty, raw tea leaves were exported from the port of Tamsui around the world including China. When the British businessman, John Dodd, came to Taiwan to carry out camphor inspections, he discovered the opportunities to create a tea business. He made loans to farmers and encouraged them to plant oolong tea, which later became popular around the globe, being known as Formosan Oolong in the international market. According to a study by Su Shuo Bin, 90 percent of Taiwan tea was exported to the United States and tea exports became the core business in Taiwan.⁶



Figure 2 Dadaocheng became a thriving port due to tea business.

Source: *Taipei Gu-jin Tu-shuo Ji* (A Picture History of Taipei City), p.171.

Taiwan was made into a province of China in 1887 and the governor, Liu Mingchuan, decided to develop Dadaocheng as the official business center of Taipei. He encouraged Li Chunsheng and Lin Weiyuan to invest in the construction of Qianqiu Street and Jianchang Street in Dadaocheng.⁷ Lin established the Jianchang Corporation to take charge of the construction of the street and the buildings along the street. Later he rented the buildings to foreign companies. These streets were

⁶ Su Shuo Bin, *Kan-bu-jian yu kan-de-jian de Taipei* (The Invisible and Visible Taipei), p.64.

⁷ Qianqiu Street is the current southern part of Xining North Road and Jianchang Street is the current Guide Street.

completed in 1889. Both sides of the streets were two-story buildings in Western style, with equipment such as hearths and floor boards. Liu attempted to make this area a business center for foreign companies. Afterwards the consulates of the USA, the Netherlands and Germany were established in Dadaocheng. Since most foreign businessmen came to Taiwan because of tea trading, Liu extended the tea guilds into business organizations and he also demanded the tea guilds improve the quality of tea trading. There were approximately sixty tea refineries in Dadaocheng and the larger ones were located on Qianqiu Street and Jianchang Street. Liu set up four tax bureaus in Dadaocheng to tariff the tea trade. He had three Taiwanese zhuang-yuans⁸, Wang Renkan, Chen Baochen and Lin Youzao who managed the tax affairs. Liu worked hard to expand the tea market and to internationalize Taiwan tea. Except for camphor, tea was the main export commodity in Taiwan and Dadaocheng maintained its commercial position until the Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895. Thus at the end of the Qing Dynasty, most commodities from China were transported from Tamsui to Dadaocheng, where the cargo work took place and the boom period of Dadaocheng was around 1890.

3.2 Dadaocheng under Japanese rule

Taiwan, including the Penghu islands (also called the Pescadores), was ceded to Japan in 1895 at the conclusion of the Shimonoseki Treaty. This act ushered in a fifty-one year period of colonial rule in Taiwan by Japan. Befitting Taiwan history, the Japanese administration of Taiwan is envisioned as an integral part of Taiwan's modern age, for seen throughout a longer continuum, extending from the Opium War to the present, the island has remained under foreign threat or outside domination, and its inhabitants

⁸ In Chinese history, there was an exam system to select governmental officials. A "zhuang-yuan" was the one who passed the official exam with the highest grade. Zhuangyuans were regarded highly in the society and the government would appoint them to official posts. There were very few zhuangyuans in Taiwan in Chinese history. Therefore, these three zhuangyuans brought honor to the development of Dadaocheng.

have been continually exposed to modern Western and Asian influences. Taiwan became involved in new patterns of overseas relationships and the Taiwanese derived a separate status and identity vis-à-vis mainland China and the expanding Japanese empire. A post-colonial theorist, Albert Memmi, once wrote that, "The colonial relationship...chained the colonizer and the colonized into an implacable dependence, molded their respective characters, and dictated their conduct." As colonizers, the Japanese seized the initiative and imposed measures designed for their immediate advantage or for long-term benefits to the home country. The Taiwanese, as a result, generally adjusted to or reacted against Japanese-controlled situations. Since there has been a lot of research on Taiwan's identity issue and the political hardships of the Taiwanese under Japanese colonization, this thesis will focus more on the developmental history of economy and culture.

The Diet in Japan passed a piece of legislation, rendered as Law 63, which set the tone for the colonial administration of Taiwan and which gave the Japanese governor-general exceptional powers to issue decrees on his own authority, as long as they were consistent with general policy guidelines made in Tokyo. Under the rubric of imperialism, the Japanese colonial regime in Taiwan implemented conciliatory and modernizing policies together with a strict police system, so that the colonial government was able to administrate Taiwan effectively. In the early colonial years, the Japanese administration implemented land registration and public land sale policies, though facing violent resistance in some areas. The tax reform policy and land registration efforts greatly increased its tax revenue potential. By 1905, the amount of land subject to taxation was nearly double that in 1897 and total taxes collected had

nearly quadrupled.⁹

Taipei shouldered a great amount of the increased tax burden, and Dadaocheng placed an important role in sharing this burden. When the Japanese administration came to Taiwan in 1895, there were 211 streets and 14,117 households in Taipei; the population in Taipei was 85,101, comprising 21% of the total population in Taiwan. The largest streets were located in Dadaocheng, Manka and Keelung. The establishment of these large streets contributed to the growth of local businesses. As there were more streets in Dadaocheng than in Manka and Keelung, more people were likely to inhabit the region. The households in Dadaocheng were approximately 1.5 times than those of Manka and so was the population.¹⁰ To be more specific, please refer to Table 1.

Area	Street number	Households	Population
Dadaocheng	60	3,802	27,607
Manka	44	2,611	17,903
Keelung	15	1,392	7,025

Table 1 Brief region scales of Dadaocheng, Manka and Keelung

The sources are from *Chuan-yue Shi-kong Kan Taipei: Taipei Jian-cheng 120 Zhou-nian: Gu Di-tu, Jiu Ying-xiang, Wen-xian, Wen-wu Zhan*, p.p. 21-22.

The Japanese administration concentrated on maximizing the value of Taiwan's agricultural wealth in the 1910s, because new influences from metropolitan Japan and abroad had an impact on Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. World War I led the Japanese to be more circumspect in their dealing with the Taiwanese, and they tried to

⁹ Davidson, Gary M. *A Short History of TAIWAN: The Case for Independence*, p.58.

¹⁰ Wei Dewen. *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), p.p. 21-22.

prevent anti-Japanese reprisals by the Han population. The reprisals were due to the Japanese invasions of China. The Wilsonian principle of self-determination was advocated during the World War I period, and it seemed to promise autonomy, if not independence, to colonized peoples throughout the world. The May Fourth movement in China also fostered radical trends and a sense of nationalism among Taiwanese intellectuals. Meanwhile, the growth of “Taisho democracy” in Japan had a moderating influence on many of the harsher aspects of colonial governance. This effect became more apparent after Premier Hara Kei instituted party government in Japan and, in 1919, selected Den Kenjiro as Taiwan’s first civilian governor-general. The moderate influences emanating from the home country began to give way to militaristic ones and, amid a growing ultranationalist mood Japan prepared its colonies to render military support for eventual wartime endeavors.

With the policy of “industrial Japan and agricultural Taiwan”, Taiwan became an agricultural supplier of Japan, and Taipei served as the model city of this policy. Taipei became the political pivot and the largest commercial center under Japanese rule. The population continued to increase over the years. By dividing the population into Taiwanese, Mainlanders and Japanese, one can see from Table 2 that the total number of households in Taipei increased every five years between 1920 and 1945, and the total population in Taipei increased except for 1945 due to World War II. Both Taiwanese and Japanese households in Taipei increased every five years but Mainlanders did not. The decreasing of Mainlander households after 1940 might be due to the war between China and Japan. As for the population, while Taiwanese households kept increasing through the Japanese period, the Taiwanese population declined after 1940 to 218,784, because many Taiwanese males were forced to fight for Japan in World War II. The decrease of the Mainlander population after 1935 was also

due to the war. Nevertheless, we see from Table 2 that only Japanese households and the Japanese population kept increasing between 1920 and 1945. Few Japanese in Taiwan became soldiers during the war.

Year	Households				Population			
	Total	Taiwanese	Mainlander	Japanese	Total	Taiwanese	Mainlander	Japanese
1920	42,390	25,983	2,649	13,721	164,329	109,141	9,513	45,675
1925	47,420	28,597	3,550	15,219	201,374	133,201	13,330	54,843
1930	57,191	33,136	4,431	19,549	240,435	154,694	15,372	70,369
1935	68,293	40,684	4,884	22,604	287,846	187,975	17,347	82,130
1940	74,739	46,202	3,532	24,932	353,744	239,468	13,341	100,554
1945	77,057	46,428	2,758	27,805	335,397	218,784	9,130	107,269

Table 2 The population of Taipei City under Japanese rule

The table is cited from Chen Zhengxiang's *Taipei Shi-zhi*, p.11.

One can also examine the population in Taipei from another aspect. Continuing the demarcation system used in the Qing Dynasty, during the early years of Japanese rule, Taipei was demarcated into Chengnei, Dadaocheng and Manka. The population increased a great deal in Taipei between 1896 and 1916. From Table 3, we can see that the rate of demographic increase of Dadaocheng, Manka and Chengnei were 241.7%, 177.3% and 295.3% respectively. Chengnei was a protected municipal city area, where the Japanese governmental apparatus was situated. Sotokufu, the governor-general's office building, was located in Chengnei. As a result, most Japanese companies preferred to situate in Chengnei, where modern financial institutions and foreign trading companies were located; on the other hand, most Taiwanese companies were situated in Dadaocheng and Manka. Dadaocheng was the trading center for wholesale and retail tea and rice; small factories also clustered in this area because of its convenience. Since most local Taiwanese resided in Dadaocheng and Manka, the Japanese government deliberately made Chengnei the administrative district in Taipei.

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, Dadaocheng was the most important trading port for Chinese and Taiwanese businessmen and many big business companies were founded in Dadaocheng, especially tea and textile companies. After Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, the Japanese rulers built Keelung port to replace Dadaocheng, which resulted in the decline of Dadaocheng. Keelung was closer to Japan, and this made exportation and importation of goods between Taiwan and Japan easier. However, the real aim of the Japanese authorities was to cut the traditional business links between Taiwan and China, as well as to edge out Western businesses, which had their roots in Dadaocheng. Although Dadaocheng was not as important as it had been previously, it still managed to maintain some of its business position.

Area \ Year	1896	1904	1916
Dadaocheng	23,184	48,587	56,037
Manka	19,711	29,165	34,948
Chengnei	3,815	8,138	11,264
Taipei	46,710	85,890	102,249

Table 3 The population in Taipei under early Japanese governance

The data are quoted from *Taipei Shi-zhi Juan-si She-hui-zhi Ren-kou Pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 4 Social Record: Demographics), p.38.

With the gradual completion of various business associations and unions, Taipei was more prosperous than other cities in Taiwan and trading companies and commercial firms there boomed. Dadaocheng, due to its role as a business centre at the end of the Qing Dynasty, became a trading center for agricultural and industrial commodities, especially for local companies. In 1920 there were 304 shops in Dadaocheng, 349 shops in Manka, and 498 in Chengnei. In 1933, as seen from Table 4, there were 1,793

shops in Dadaocheng, 1,561 ones in Manka, and 972 ones in Chengnei; the total amount of shops for Taipei for that year being 5,349. Dadaocheng surpassed Chengnei in the amount of shops of precious metals,¹¹ clothes, drapery and pharmacies.¹² Most Taiwanese trading companies and business associations clustered in the Dadaocheng and Manka areas. In particular, Dadaocheng became the trading center for tea and rice in Taiwan; therefore, many retailers, wholesale shops and small factories were set up there. Most tea, sugar, rice and camphor were assembled in Dadaocheng before they were exported from Tamsui Port, and so was drapery in later years.¹³

Region \ year	1920	1933
Dadaocheng	304	1,793
Manka	349	1,561
Chengnei	498	972

Table 4 Shop numbers in Dadaocheng, Manka and Chengnei

The data is cited from Wei Dewen, *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), p.54.

According to *Taipei Shi-zhi Juan-liu Jing-ji Zhi Shang-ye Pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 6 Economic Record: Business), Taiwan's exports to Japan surged under Japanese rule. Before 1911, the total amount of export earnings was 9,729,000 Japanese yen, which had increased to 358,895,000 Japanese yen in 1936. On the other hand, Taiwan's exports to countries other than Japan declined markedly from

¹¹ Examples of shops of precious metals included silver shops and gold shops.

¹² Wei Dewen, *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), p.p. 54-55.

¹³ Taipei City Government, ed. *Taipei Shi-zhi Juan-liu Jing-ji Zhi Shang-ye Pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 6 Economic Record: Business), p.28.

47,966,000 yuan in 1925 to 29,053,000 yuan in 1936. After Taiwan became a colony of Japan, Taiwan's export commodities were of a colonial character. Taiwan's rice and sugar made up the lion's share of products exported to Japan. However, Taiwan's tea and camphor was not only imported by Japan but by other countries as well. Figure 3 shows Taiwan's tea exports under Japanese governance. Moreover, Figure 4 shows the different amounts of tea exports. In the Japanese period, Taiwan exported oolong tea, baozhong tea, black tea and green tea, with oolong tea being the largest export commodity, mainly exported to the U.S.A. In addition, camphor was also one of Taiwan's main export commodities, and Table 5 shows the value of Taiwan's camphor exports during the Japanese period. Thus we can see that it was a very high value export.

Tea Export Amount Under Japanese Rule

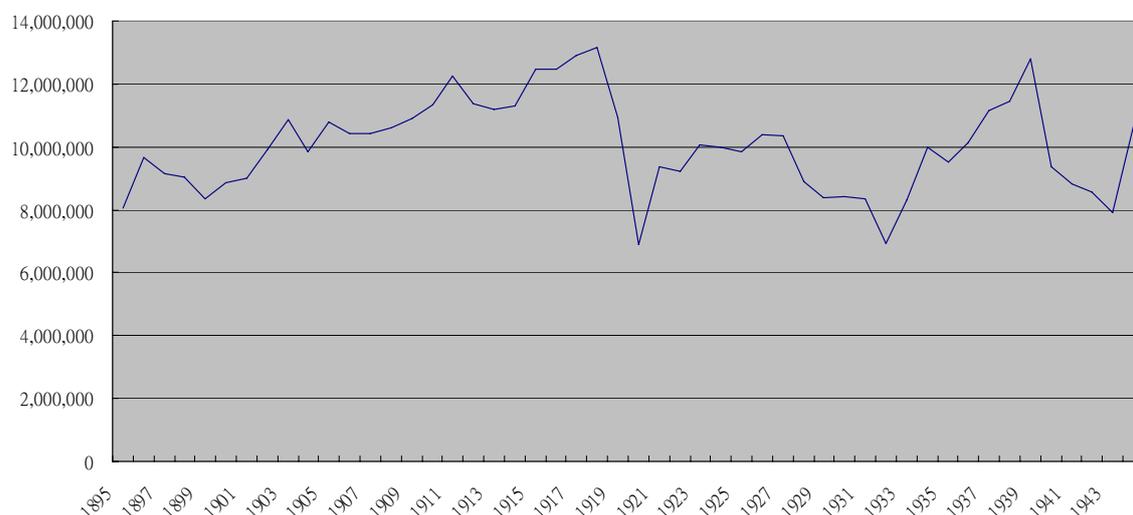


Figure 3 Taiwan's tea export amount

Taiwan's tea export was a large business under Japanese rule. For detailed data, please refer to Appendix i.

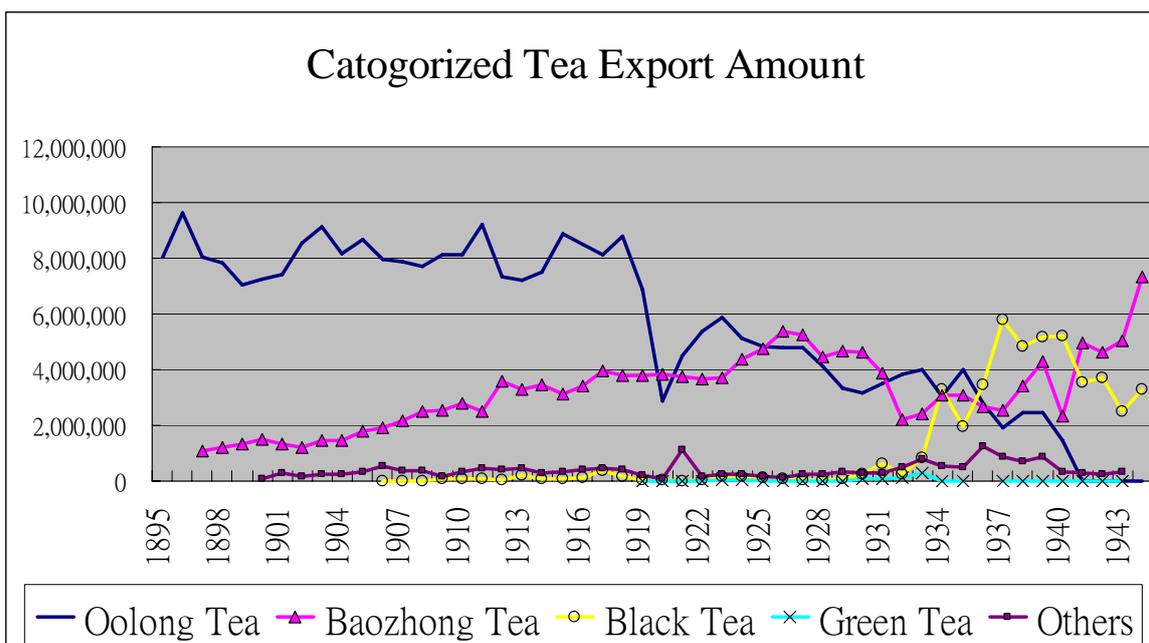


Figure 4 Catogorized tea export amount

Tea leaves exported from Taiwan under Japanese rule included Oolong Tea, Baozhong Tea, black tea and green tea. For detailed data, please refer to Appendix i.

Year	Total amount (unit: Japanese yen)
1897	2,248,000
1913	6,547,000
1925	6,992,000
1929	7,306,000
1931	5,763,000
1933	5,692,000
1934	6,459,000
1935	6,581,000

Table 5 Taiwan's camphor export values under Japanese rule

The numbers in the table are quoted from *Taipei shi-zhi Juan-liu Jing-ji Zhi Shang-ye Pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 6 Economic Record: Business), p. 47.

The Japanese administration helped Japanese companies expand their businesses in Taiwan, by using such measures as forcing local companies to merge with Japanese firms. Japanese firms cooperated with local capital and edged out British and German firms, gradually monopolizing the Taiwanese market; meanwhile, Japanese business culture was introduced to Taiwan. Local Taiwan business associations and unions, especially tea businessmen, had to make deals with the Japanese authorities in Taiwan, and thus a new hierarchy emerged in society and the meaning of “gentry” in Taiwan was expanded with these business developments. Though traditional Chinese scholars were still regarded as part of the gentry, most of the gentry were actually gentry-businessmen. The gentry-businessmen issue will be discussed in chapter four. The new Taiwanese elites needed a place to conduct business and to show off their refined tastes. Because many of them had to deal with the Japanese, traditional restaurants could no longer meet their demands. New restaurants, combining both Taiwanese and Japanese culture, were established to serve this new hierarchy, and the Jiangshanlou restaurant was thus founded to cater to this new trend.

3.3 Jiangshanlou established in Dadaocheng

Since Dadaocheng was a business center close to both the railway station and the port, businessmen demanded convenient places within the district where they could conduct business with each other. With the coming of the Japanese regime, many businessmen started to socialize with the Japanese. Restaurants were one of their top choices however the old Taiwanese restaurants could no longer meet their demand. The Japanese requested a high standard of cleanliness and good service, thus new restaurants were set up in Dadaocheng, a step applauded by Taiwanese businessmen. It was reported in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* that, “It is a pity that Dadaocheng,

being a business center in Taiwan, lacks for a big conference hall, a club and a large restaurant such as Umeya (May House Hotel) and Tetudou Ryotei (Railway Hotel)".¹⁴ The same report also stated that the gentry of Dadaocheng expected a restaurant to provide various services, including fine cuisine, entertainment, and rooms for resting and conferences. In other words, they demanded a modern restaurant similar to the five-star hotels we know today and thus many large restaurants were founded at their request.

As Zhuang Yongming wrote, "Under Japanese rule many first-class restaurants clustered around Dadaocheng, such as Jiangshanlou, the Penlaige and the Donghuifang. Jiangshanlou took charge of Japanese Prince Imperial, Hirohito's visit to Taiwan. Penlaige was established by the oil tycoon, Huang Dongmao. The Donghuifang was...situated not far from Daan Hospital."¹⁵ Although some Taiwanese painters, musicians and artists such as Lu Heruo, Lu Quansheng and Yang Sanlang preferred Taiwanese-style restaurants like Shanshuiting and Bolero, many famous elites such as Lian Yatang, Yu Dafu, Lin Xiangtang and Liang Qichao were customers of the large new restaurants. In 1911, before Liang Qichao went into exile in Japan, he attended a banquet in Taiwan held by Lin Xiantang, one of the renowned gentry in Taiwan. Many famous Taiwanese celebrities and gentries attended the banquet, and Liang contributed a long poem to memorize the meeting at the restaurant.¹⁶ Some of the gentry left their literary works in the restaurants. Those who went to these restaurants and coffee shops were trendsetters rather than members of the general public, thus these locations

¹⁴ "Jiangshanlou Xin Qi-ting: Ru-ci Jiang-shan Ru-ci Lou, Dong-nan Jin-mei Bu Sheng-shou (The new restaurant, Jiangshanlou: Such a building in such a place, where collects all the beauty)." *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 8 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

¹⁵ Zhuang Yongming, *Taiwan ji-shi: Taiwan Li-shi Shang de Jin-tian* (Taiwan Chronicle), p.712. Daan Hospital was founded by a famous doctor, Jiang Weishui, in 1917. Jiang Weishui founded the restaurant, Chunfengdeyilou, across Daan Hospital the next year.

¹⁶ Taipei City Government, *Taipei Shi-zhi Juan-ba Wen-hua Zhi Sheng-ji Pian* (Taipei City Record Volume 8 Cultural Record: National Monuments), p.58.

became a stage for the well-to-do and people of the upper social classes.¹⁷



Figure 5 Taipingting is the current Yanping North Road.

The source is from *Taipei Cheng-shi Xiang-bu* (The Photo Album of Taipei City), p.21.

After World War I, more and more Japanese came to Taiwan, mainly for business reasons, and restaurants such as Donghuifang could no longer satisfy customers, and was therefore replaced by Jiangshanlou. Jiangshanlou, founded in 1921, became the preeminent restaurant in the area after it commenced business. With modern equipment and gorgeous furnishings and appearance, Jiangshanlou became a popular restaurant for the gentry and celebrities. It was a place where businessmen and the elite spent their money and where the literati and gentry showed off their refined tastes. Situated close to the Taipingting (currently section two, Yanping North Road), Jiangshanlou was founded by one of the Donghuifang's original shareholders, Wu Jiangshan. Wu was born in Fukien province in China. He came to Taipei at a young age and worked in the shipping business. Good at language, Wu traveled around south-east Asia and made

¹⁷ Zhuang Yongming, *Taiwan Shi-ji Hui-wei: Sheng-huo Chang-xiang* (Taiwan over a Century: A Life Lane), p.67.

friends with people of different backgrounds and social status. He was a sophisticated businessman. First he cooperated with two other two Fukienese, Bai Bian and Huang An and became a shareholder in Donghuifang. Donghuifang was situated at Jiujiangzi Street, (currently section two, Yanping North Road. Later he withdrew his share and established Jiangshanlou at Zongshuei Street. During this time, there was also another large restaurant on Jiujiangzi Street, called Chunfengdeyilou, founded by a famous Taiwanese doctor and social activist, Jiang Weishui¹⁸. Donghuifang and Chunfengdeyilou were of the same size, with a capacity of ten tables and a clientele of mainly local people. While both Donghuifang and Chunfengdeyilou served mainly local customers, Wu intended to make Jiangshanlou an outstanding restaurant, serving not only the public but also the upper social classes, including Japanese officials and the Taiwanese gentry.

3.4 Jiangshanlou founded with fine taste

To make Jiangshanlou a superior restaurant so that it was able to attract the upper social classes, the owner, Wu Jiangshan, spent a considerable amount of time and money on the building, marketing and cuisine.

3.4.1 The Building

The preparatory work and construction of Jiangshanlou took approximately one year. The boss, Wu Jiangshan, then 43 years old, in the prime of his life, designed the building and supervised the whole construction process. In order to meet his high standards for the new restaurant, he spent over ten thousand silver yuan (around twenty

¹⁸ Jiang Weishui was an activist since he studied in the Medical School. He founded Daan Hospital at Jiujiangzi Street in 1916 and Chunfengdeyilou in 1917. He was a famous doctor, a businessman and a social activist. He created Taiwan Cultural Association and organized New Taiwan Union. He submitted many essays to the *Taiwan Minpao*.

Japanese yen at that time) on construction, equipment and furniture. For instance, he freighted in Fuzhou fir from China and he concrete in barrels from Japan in his own ship. Wu Jiangshan was rich enough to endure all the losses during the transportation between Taiwan and abroad due to floods.¹⁹



Figure 6 The outward appearance of the Jiangshanlou

The Jiangshanlou was established in Dadaocheng to meet with new demand of the Japanese colonial regime. It was a popular restaurant for Taiwanese gentry to socialize with both the Japanese officials and the Japanese businessmen. The source is from *Taipei Cheng-shi Xiang-bu* (The Photo Album of Taipei City), p.37.

The four-story, brick-made Jiangshanlou restaurant was a hundred and eighty pings on level ground, and it was an enormous building in Taiwan for the time. According to Wu Yingtao's description in "Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-da (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese

¹⁹ Wu Yingtao. "Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-dan (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese cuisine, Geishas)" *Taipei Wen-wu* (Taipei Relics), 7:2, p. 88.

cuisines, Geishas)”, by the time the building was completed, only Sotokufu²⁰ and the National Taiwan Museum could compete with it. Each floor was well designed for different functions. The office and the kitchen were situated on the ground floor. Seven delicate banquet rooms were located on the first and second floors, partitioned with decorated wooden screens and ornamented with contemporary paintings and calligraphy. The third floor was partitioned into a special receiving room, ten bathrooms, a barber’s shop, a gazebo and a roof garden with marble tables and seats, for seven to ten people. There were terraces on the third and fourth floors. The stairs leading to each floor were delicately adorned with stained glass.

According to these detailed descriptions of the materials used in the construction and design of Jiangshanlou, one can imagine how much time and expense Wu Jiangshan devoted to his restaurant and how luxurious and exclusive it was in Dadaocheng in 1921. The building was a scenic spot itself.

3.4.2 Marketing

In addition to the magnificent building, Wu Jiangshan was also a good manager in advertising his restaurant. He conducted publicity such as press receptions and news releases in the newspaper before the formal opening of the Jiangshanlou on November 20th, 1921 and released news items to the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*. Many poets, writers and celebrities inscribed literary works to the restaurant, as well as to its owner,

²⁰ Sotokufu, the Governor-general’s Office Building, was the grandest building in Taiwan under Japanese rule. The construction began on June 1st, 1912 and was completed in March in 1919. The construction took six years and three months to complete and it cost 2,800,000 Japanese yens in total, which was a great investment at that time. It was a five-story building, with a 200-meter tall central tower. In addition to the viceroy’s office, there were offices of Bureau of Domestic Affairs, Bureau of Law, Bureau of Foreign Affairs, Garrison Headquarter, and so forth. It was the central office building for Japanese administrative departments in Taiwan. During World War II, it was bombed by American battleplanes. It was restored under K.M.T.’s administration. It is now the Presidential Building.

Wu Jiangshan. These works published in the newspaper also brought fame to the new restaurant. The reports, poems, articles, and even the commercials published in the newspaper all showed that the owner intended to make Jiangshanlou known as a luxurious recreational restaurant with a literary and artistic atmosphere.

The first time Jiangshanlou was mentioned in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* was on November 5th, 1921. The owner, Wu Jiangshan, asked the poet, Wei Runan, to contribute a poem about Jiangshanlou which was then published in the newspaper. The poem was titled as “Jiangshanlou Zhu-ren Sho-ti Zui-hou Xie-ci Jian-si Wu-dang Zhu-jiu-tu Ye (The Owner of Jiangshanlou Asking for A Poem, Which Was Written When I Was Drunk).”²¹ He praised Jiangshanlou, where people happily encountered each other. He said that although he might have talents he did not have the opportunity to use them. However, he thought that there was no need for him to feel sorrow about this because in history many intellectuals did not have the chance to realize their aspirations. Poetry was encouraged under the Japanese rule and this poem corresponded to this trend, bringing reputation to Jiangshanlou, and also advertising the restaurant.

On November 8th, 1921, a report titled as “Jiangshanlou Xin Qi-ting: Ru-ci Jiang-shan Ru-ci Lou, Dong-nan Jin-mei Bu Sheng-shou (The New Restaurant, Jiangshanlou: Such A Building in Such A Place, Where Collects All The Beauty)”²² explained the reasons for the establishment of Jiangshanlou. The report depicted Wu Jiangshan as a

²¹ Wei Runan. “Jiangshanlou Jiu-lou Zhu-ren Suo-ti Zui-hou Xie-ci Jian-si Wu-dang Zhu Jiu-tu Ye (The Owner of Jiangshanlou Asking For A Poem, Which Was Written When I was Drunk).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 5 Nov. 1921, Japanese ed.: 3.

²² “Jiangshanlou Xin Qi-ting: Ru-ci Jiang-shan Ru-ci Lou, Dong-nan Jin-mei Bu Sheng-shou (The New Restaurant, Jiangshanlou: Such A Building in Such A Place, Where Collects All The Beauty)” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 8 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

good friend of the gentry. In addition, it explained the demands of a modern hotel-like restaurant in Dadaocheng, and how Wu had established the Jiangshanlou to provide services he felt were necessary.

“Wu Jiangshan used to be the manager of the Donghuifang in Dadaocheng. He has traveled around China, tasting southern and northern Chinese cuisines, and inspected many famous restaurants and brasseries. After he returned to Taiwan, many of his friends suggested he run a luxuriant restaurant. It is a pity that Dadaocheng, being a business center in Taiwan, lacks for a big conference hall, a club and a large restaurant such as Umeya (May House Hotel) and Tetudou Ryotei (Railway Hotel). Therefore, he invested more than one hundred thousand yuan in establishing a large restaurant in southern Dadaocheng. With the experience of his trip, he had the building constructed in a mixture of Western and Japanese styles and he paid extra attention to sanitary, entertaining and economic aspects. He meant to avoid the defects of traditional restaurants and he also hoped to make Jiangshanlou an ideal restaurant and club, where people could dine, rest, amuse and overlook Dadaocheng area. Wu originally expected to invite governmental officials and elites in different fields to the opening banquet on November 10th; however, due to the delay of the construction, the banquet was postponed to November 15th.”²³

This report revealed two points: firstly, Wu Jiangshan was rich and he had good relationships with both the gentry and Japanese officials; secondly, Jiangshanlou was a grand restaurant, providing luxurious services and it also served as a hotel or a club for the upper social ranks.

Four days later, Wu Jiangshan sent a dispatch to the newspaper entitled “Jiangshanlou Pi-lu Xian-sheng (Announcement of Jiangshanlou’s Inauguration)”,²⁴ announcing that Jiangshanlou would hold a pre-opening reception for the press and the gentry. “There

²³ “Jiangshanlou xin-qi-ting: ru-ci jiang-shan ru-ci-lou, dong-nan jin-mei bu-sheng-shou (The new restaurant, Jiangshanlou: Such a building in such a place, where collects all the beauty).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 8 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

²⁴ “Jiangshanlou Pi-lu Xian-sheng (Announcement Before Jiangshanlou’s Inauguration).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 12 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

will be a reception before the formal operation of the Jiangshanlou, the new restaurant in Dadaocheng. The owner invites all important government officials and the gentry in Taiwan to the reception. More than one thousand celebrities are invited. The invitations will be sent when preparations are done.” Three days later, there was another release about the inauguration. “To celebrate the completion of a new building on Rixin Street in Dadaocheng, the owner, Wu Jiangshan has decided to hold a reception for three days. The invitations have been sent. The inauguration will start at five o’clock in the afternoon on November 17th.”²⁵

Zheng Jiazhen wrote a long narrative essay on November 13th and highly praised Wu Jiangshan’s personality.²⁶ Zheng explained in detail the reasons for Jiangshanlou’s founding as well as the pleasure people obtained after they visited the restaurant. This literary essay will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. In addition, a short piece of news released on November 15th, announced that the owner of Jiangshanlou would hold receptions for three days before the formal inauguration of the restaurant.²⁷

On November 16th, a day before the inauguration, Wu Jiangshan placed an advertisement in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, describing how the four-story Jiangshanlou would provide delicate services in a few days time.²⁸ He mentioned the luxurious interior design, tableware and the restaurant’s cuisine from famous chefs. Wu Jiangshan certainly knew how to market his restaurant with the help of the media. On

²⁵ “Jiangshanlou Luo-cheng Pi-lu (Announcement of Jiangshanlou’s Inauguration).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 15 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

²⁶ Zheng Jiazhen. “Jiangshanlou Ji (Brief Biography of Jiangshanlou).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 13 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6. For the original Chinese version, please refer to Appendix iv.

²⁷ “Jiangshanlou Luo-cheng pi-lu (Announcement of Jiangshanlou’s Completion).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 15 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

²⁸ It was an advertisement at the bottom on the left side of page 6, right next to Lin Mengmei’s poem “Qiu-ri Ti Jiangshanlou (Inscription to Jiangshanlou in Autumn).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 16 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 6.

the same page of the newspaper, Lin Mengmei contributed a poem to Jiangshanlou, entitled “Qiu-ri Ti Jiangshanlou (Inscription to Jiangshanlou in Autumn).” Lin mentioned that he saw the landscape with drunken eyes. Entering the building in autumn aroused his nostalgia, as well as that of other guests. He thought the verses and articles in the restaurant would compare favorably with Li Bo and Du Fu²⁹ and that the performances of the singers and dancers in Jiangshanlou would be very popular in Dadaocheng. The singers and dancers mentioned in Lin’s poem refer to geishas, whose purpose was to entertain the customers. No wonder he wrote that he did not want to speak about mournful stories and he would rather live on wine. He felt so pleasant in the restaurant that he did not want to leave. From Lin’s words, one can imagine a gentry’s life at Jiangshanlou. It was not uncommon for geishas to serve at these banquets, because the gentry considered geishas to give additional splendor. It can be seen that the entertainment provided by geishas was also an attraction for the gentry to come to Jiangshanlou. However, this should be regarded as an extra attraction to the restaurant, because the geishas were not employed by the owner of Jiangshanlou. As the restaurant was merely the place where the gentry met the geishas and enjoyed their company therefore the geisha issue will not be discussed in this thesis.



²⁹ In Chinese history, Li Bo and Du Fu were significant and representative poets in Tang Dynasty.

Figure 7 The gentry enjoyed geishas' company in Jiangshanlou.

The source is from *Digital Photo Museum*. 2000. Taipei National University of the Arts, and Academia Sinica. <<http://www.sinica.edu.tw/photo/subject/D-4-GIS/street/street-f.html#street-f1/>>

On November 19th, splendid news coverage helped to enhance excitement about the opening of Jiangshanlou.³⁰ “Jiangshanlou Pi-lou Hui (The Opening Reception of Jiangshanlou)” portrayed the opening in detail. “The new restaurant, Jiangshanlou, was situated on Rixin Street in Dadaocheng. The construction was completed. As reported in the newspaper earlier, there was a reception. The new building was grand and huge. The interior was decorated with antiques, calligraphy, paintings, tables and potted plants, while the exterior was adorned with thousands of colorful light bulbs extending to Jiujianzi Street and lighting up the neighboring area. Across the front gate was a large square, with a theater erected on it. A famous theatrical troupe from southern China, Chaozhou Yuanzhengxing troupe, was invited to perform day and night. At five o’clock in the afternoon, the square was crowded with both governmental officials and the public. On the stage were performers dancing and singing with a stringed musical group. On the balcony of Jiangshanlou, one could look over the whole square, far into the mountains. At six forty-five, the host invited the public to dinner in the large banquet room, and the dinner began after Kimura, a bank manager, made a congratulatory speech complimenting the Han cuisine.³¹ The reception ended at half past eight.” From this vivid description, one can presume that the reception was an effective advertisement and it also explained how Jiangshanlou was a unique and luxurious restaurant. It is not surprising that it later became the favorite restaurant of celebrities.

³⁰ “Jiangshanlou pi-lou hui (The opening reception of Jiangshanlou).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 19 Nov. 1921, Chinese ed.: 5. The original news coverage was a detailed report in Chinese.

³¹ Jiangshanlou combined Chinese cuisine with Taiwanese cuisine and made the dishes favorable to the Japanese, too. Thus the Han cuisine here should include both Chinese and Taiwanese cuisines.

3.4.3 The Cuisine

One of the attractions of the Jiangshanlou was the cuisine. The cuisine provided by the restaurant was different from the daily repast of the public.

“Taiwanese cuisine elaborated local specialties, materials and flavors, and it naturally caters to Taiwanese tastes. However, Taiwanese cuisine has been transformed so that it can also satisfy the foreigners’ stomachs. For decades, it has developed into a distinctive sect of its own.”³²

The quoted paragraph indicates that the chefs of the Jiangshanlou merged Chinese cuisine with Taiwanese flavors, and made the dishes cater to the tastes of both the Taiwanese and the Japanese. The fact is, meals at Jiangshanlou were not cheap, and thus only the well-to-do could frequently visit the restaurant. Nevertheless, since “ascending Jiangshanlou, tasting Taiwanese cuisine and appreciating geishas’ performances” became a trend, people, especially the gentry, felt proud to hold banquets, weddings and parties at Jiangshanlou.

As David Wu wrote, “Taiwan is an immigratory society. When the early pioneers from Fukien and Cantone immigrated to Taiwan, they brought the frugal village customs to Taiwan, too.” Meals of the general public were simple under Japanese rule, because they could not afford extravagant culinary materials. As described in *Taiwan Nong-min de Sheng-huo Jie-su* (Customs of Taiwanese Farmers), “Daily meals of the Taiwanese are simple and rough. Most people eat sautéed vegetables together with rice mixed with sweet potatoes or porridge...There is no difference between their daily meals...For lunch, the Taiwanese eat the leftovers of breakfast; for dinner, they eat the leftovers of

³² Wu, Yingtao. “Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-dan (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese cuisine, Geishas” *Taipei wen-wu*, 7:2, p.89.

lunch. The Taiwanese regard this as a matter of course!”³³ Unless it was on important occasions such as religious fiestas or the Lunar New Year, the general public would not spend money on refined food. Ordinary Taiwanese were not able to go to luxurious restaurants like Jiangshanlou. In contrast, the gentry were able to afford the cost of exclusive culinary materials.

Japanese enjoyed sashimi, but the Taiwanese did not eat raw food.³⁴ Influenced by the Japanese, many large restaurants started to provide sashimi dishes. These large restaurants had the advantage of cheaper and high-quality culinary materials and only these restaurants could afford the cost of stocking fresh food. Under Japanese rules, only large restaurants such as Jiangshanlou could afford these costs so that they were able to provide dishes of better quality and delicacy. “Delicacy” of eating was also another Japanese influence. Traditionally, the Taiwanese demanded abundant dishes in banquets while the Japanese preferred delicate dishes.³⁵

Most people nowadays consider traditional Taiwanese food to be “xiao-chi (local snack)”, that is, a simple or light meal like dessert. Xiao-chi such as “chao mi-fen (fried rice noodles)” and “dan-zi mian (noodle soup)” is still very popular today in Taiwan. However, under Japanese rule, large restaurants provided dishes that were improved from Chinese cuisine. David Wu wrote that, “The early restaurants in Taiwan provided mainly Fukienese cuisine...The main streams of high-class dishes were

³³ *Taiwan Nong-min de Sheng-huo Jie-su* (Customs of Taiwanese Farmers), p.p.103-104. This book was originally written by Kajiwara Mitiiyosi, who worked in the agricultural office in Taipei when Taiwan was under Japanese governance, and it was translated into Chinese by Li Wenqi.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.104. “The Taiwanese would definitely not eat raw food. When they see the Japanese taste sashimi, they laugh and mock at the Japanese as barbarians.”

³⁵ *Ibid.* “‘Delicacy’ is one of the elements in Japanese cuisine, but the purpose of Taiwanese cuisine is to ‘fill people’s stomachs’”.

Fukien cuisine, Sichun cuisine, Cantonese cuisine and Japanese cuisine.”³⁶ From the recipes of Jiangshanlou in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*, we can also see that most so-called “Taiwanese cuisine” absorbed dishes from other Chinese cuisines. Therefore, Taiwanese cuisine became a fascinating characteristic of Jiangshanlou, attracting not only the Taiwanese but also the Japanese.

When Japanese celebrities visited Taiwan, many of them would pay a visit to Jiangshanlou. The situation is similar to the many Japanese tourists who will visit or stay at the Grand Hotel when they visit Taiwan nowadays. The most well-known event at Jiangshanlou was when they hosted the royal feast when Japanese Prince Imperial, Hirohito, visited Taiwan on April 24th, 1923.³⁷ Wu Jiangshan served as the supervisor, Wu Tienyo served as the chef and Hong Lienyu³⁸ was the assistant. They held a luxurious feast of Taiwanese cuisine feast for one hundred and twenty guests in the governor-general’s mansion. Half of the one hundred and twenty silver plate dishes³⁹ were provided by Jiangshanlou, while the Sotokufu provided the other half of the tableware. The culinary materials and ingredients were strictly supervised. A week before Hirohito’s arrival, the chef and the assistants were taken to the mansion and were in charge of the culinary materials and ingredients at the governor-general’s mansion. Wu Jiangshan was authorized to enter and leave the governor-general’s

³⁶ Wu, David. Y. H. “Cantonese Cuisine (Yue-cai) in Taiwan and Taiwanese Cuisine (Tai-cai) in Hong Kong: A Study of Food as Cultural Identity.” *Di-si-jie Zhong-guo Yin-shi Wen-hua Xue-shu Yan-tao Hui* (The 4th Chinese Food Cultural Symposium), p.10. Wu wrote that the time was the end of Japanese period; however, it was more possible that the time was the mid Japanese period.

³⁷ The date and event is confirmed in the news report on the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō*. “Yu-yan yu Taiwan Liao-li (Royal Feast and Taiwanese Cuisine).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 27 Apr. 1923, Chinese ed.: 8.

³⁸ Hong Lienyu was possibly Wu Jiangshan’s wife. There was a piece of news in the *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* reporting that “The owner of Jiangshanlou, Wu Jiangshan, married to Ms. Hong. She died on the 27th of this month. She was from Quanzho. Since she married to Mr. Wu, she had been of great help to her husband. For instance, she helped him managing Jiangshanlou and she was kind to the employees. Therefore, the employees felt very sorry for her death.” “Wu-shi Dao-wang” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 30 Jul. 1926, Chinese ed.: 4.

³⁹ It was believed that silver became black when the food was poisonous. It was very possible that because of the reason, they used silver plates dishes.

mansion in his own car. The Prince Imperial had lunch with first-rank governmental officials while he was in Taiwan. While the food for the general guests was served by both Jiangshanlou and the Donghuifang, the cuisine for Hirohito was specifically provided by Jiangshanlou. The Japanese Prince Imperial was very pleased with the Taiwanese cuisine, especially the eight treasures rice pudding, and thus praised and commended the governor-general to award Jiangshanlou. From then on Jiangshanlou was in charge of all feasts held for and by Japanese imperial kin in Taiwan.⁴⁰

In addition to the construction of the building itself, the good marketing strategy of the owner, and the refined cuisine it provided, Jiangshanlou was also famous for possessing paintings, calligraphy, poems and plaques, inscribed by celebrities and the gentry. Chinese members of the gentry such as Jiang Kanghu and Yu Dafu composed poems when they paid visits to the restaurant. Zou Lu inscribed a plaque with “Guan Ren Yin Bei Chang (Observing the sword, prolonging the cup)” on it. The Japanese poet, Kitahara Shirachu and the Japanese foreign minister’s father Fujiyama Raitei also wrote poems for Jiangshanlou. Many Japanese governors-general, military officers and cabinet officials held parties and banquets at Jiangshanlou.⁴¹ It was not only a restaurant but also an art and literary gallery where both Japanese and Taiwanese celebrities participated in social activities. Details of the literary works will be discussed in chapter five. Compared with the present Grand Hotel in Taiwan, Jiangshanlou may even have played an even more important role under Japanese rule, with more artistic sentiments. After Jiangshanlou finally closed, it was used as a staff dormitory for the Central Publishing Factory. In the 1960s, the whole building was

⁴⁰ Wu Yingtao wrote this event in his article and it can be confirmed with a similar description in “Yu-yan yu Taiwan Liao-li (Royal Feast and Taiwanese Cuisine).” *Taiwan Nichi-nichi Shimpō* 27 Apr. 1923, Chinese ed.: 8.

⁴¹ Wu, Yingtao. “Jiangshanlou, Taiwan-zai, Yi-dan (Jiangshanlou, Taiwanese cuisine, Geishas” *Taipei wen-wu*, 7:2, p.p. 88-89.

demolished and a residential apartment building was built on the site, capable of accommodating more than a hundred people. Recently it has been remodeled as Yuhui Mansion. Although the whole building has been demolished and rebuilt, the outline of the current building is still reminiscent of the fancy restaurant.⁴²

⁴² Xu Liqin and Wan Yahui. *Taipei cheng-shi xiang-bu* (The Photo Album of Taipei City), p. 55.