
A RESEARCH ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED CITY IN EARLY MODERN CHINA (1895–1927) – TAKING SOUTHERN JIANGSU AS AN EXAMPLE

Fu Xiaoqiang | Li Baihao

Southeast University

In 1895, in urban planning and construction, urban reform movement sprang up slowly, which aimed at renovating and reconstructing the traditional cities into modern cities similar to the concessions. Chinese traditional city initiated a process of modern urban planning for its modernization. Meanwhile, the traditional planning morphology and system started to disintegrate, on the contrary, western form and technology had become the paradigm. Therefore, the improvement of existing cities had become the prototype of urban planning of early modern China. Currently, researches mainly concentrate on large cities, concessions, railway hub cities and some special cities resembling those. However, the systematic research about the large number of traditional small and medium-sized cities is still blank, up to now. This paper takes the improvement constructions of small and medium-sized cities in Southern region of Jiangsu Province as the research object. This paper analyzes the reform movement of the small and medium-sized cities in Southern Jiangsu (1895-1927), to reveals the characteristics of urban improvement movement in early modern China. According to the paper, the improvement of small-medium city was a kind of gestation of the local city planning culture in early modern China, with a fusion of introduction and endophytism.

Keywords

urban planning history of China, early modern China, improvement of small-medium city, southern region of Jiangsu province

How to Cite

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INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF RESEARCHES

In 1895, China's failure in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 aroused the awareness of Chinese people that it couldn't revitalize the country in effect by intimating western examples only at the level of "mechanical skills", therefore, the learning from western countries began to extend to politics, economy, culture and other fields, creating a social climate of all-round learning from western countries from government officials to civilians.

In the field of urban planning and construction, an urban improvement movement was also launched to modify or reconstruct the existing traditional old urban districts of China into those similar to concession area style. While promoting the modernized transformation of traditional cities, this movement also aroused profound changes of urban planning culture that shaped a city: traditional urban planning pattern and system was being divided and collapsing, and western styles and techniques became the examples followed in urban planning and construction. As it were, the improvement of the existing cities of China is the original start of domestic modern city planning of China.

RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE AND STATUS

In this sense, researches on urban planning culture in the process of early modern urban improvement will help make clear the evolvement and development course of urban planning in China, deepen the understanding of modern urban planning concepts and content, and further explore the law of urban planning culture localization.

At the present, researches on early modern urban planning of China are mainly focused on special first-tier cities such as metropolis and railway hubs, but never focused on traditional small and medium cities existing in a huge number i.e. those at the administrative levels of prefectural city and county in the late Qing Dynasty. Therefore, this paper is intended to fill this research gap by studying the improvement activities of small and medium cities in South Jiangsu.

OBJECT OF RESEARCH - SOUTH JIANGSU

South Jiangsu is short for the southern region of Jiangsu Province¹. Since the middle period of Tang Dynasty, South Jiangsu has become an economic center of China. With developed agriculture and (traditional) prosperous business, the area nurtured a huge number of small and medium traditional cities. In early modern times, driven by the radiation of Shanghai economy and relying on its own superior location advantage and solid economic foundation, South Jiangsu has developed into a key birthplace of modern national industry of China. The thriving industry and commerce pushed general urban improvement practices, which was beyond the reach of other areas.

HISTORICAL EVOLVEMENT OF MODERN SMALL AND MEDIUM CITIES IMPROVEMENT

The researches on the urban planning history of a particular period should reveal the chronological development changes of things instead of the overall perspective, i.e. the orientation of dynamic researches².

Therefore, the historical period from 1895 to 1927 should be further divided into several specific periods for research. Here we divide it into two periods i.e. starting period (1895-1909) and promotion period (1909-1927). Such division is made based on the City Towns and Villages Local self-government Regulation published on January 8, 1909. Following the publication of the Charter, most major cities of China established local autonomous institutions, and some administrative powers of city governance and construction were separated from traditional local authorities. Local autonomous institutions were engaged in urban management matters with positive attitude and unbridled enthusiasm, bringing initial changes to the appearance of cities.

On the basis of period division, each period is described and analyzed respectively, to get historical and dynamic knowledge of the improvement of small and medium cities and further lay foundation for the transformation of pattern characteristics of macro-understanding.

STARTING PERIOD: TRANSPLANTATION OF WESTERN URBAN CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES (1895 - 1909)

In the later and middle 1900s, Britain, France and other countries established exclusive concessions in treaty ports. In those concessions, western nationals established Municipal Councils³ which were in charge of road payment, building construction, and installation of modern utilities including electric lamps, telephones and running water.

The transformation of urban infrastructure significantly changed the urban environment and urban image in concessions, and played an excellent demonstration role for Chinese people. Public opinions in China expressed strong demand on cities to follow the example of concessions and imitate western advanced municipal system to improve urban environment.

Planning subject

In traditional agriculture society of China, agriculture civilization was developed, local administration was conducted based on the management system of “Urban and Rural Co-administration”⁴, and cities never had any independent urban administrative machinery and specialized urban planning and construction organ. In Qing Dynasty, urban construction was treated as part of urban public welfare and charity undertakings which were taken charge mainly by the folks⁵. Therefore, to learn western urban planning and construction, the top priority should be given to the establishment of corresponding leadership and management institutions.

1 Road Engineering Bureau

The construction of roads is one of the remarkable achievements made in early municipal construction and therefore became a direct example followed by Chinese people. As a result, Chinese people established a special road administration – Road Engineering Bureau by imitating the Municipal Council⁶.

In 1885, Suzhou was forced to be opened as a treaty port, and exclusive concessions of Japan and other countries were established here. To restrict their development, “forbid the coveting of foreigners”, “protect the business of Suzhou”⁷, Zhang Zhidong demanded active planning of the development of the areas beyond concessions, “we should construct roads, relying on which, develop bazaars, and then extend to Changqi area”⁸, “to prosper trades, it is essential to develop stores along streets and create brilliance”⁹.

Zhang Zhidong ordered to establish the special-purpose Commerce Bureau of Suzhou¹⁰ at a road outside the city, “supported by an auxiliary Road Engineering Bureau which is responsible for collecting various special taxes from stores for the use of road maintenance and repair”¹¹.

In nature, Suzhou Road Engineering Bureau was a temporary special local entity and established to accelerate the development of industry and transportation in Suzhou. The functions of the Road Engineering Bureau covered the collection of taxes, road maintenance, and the cadastral registration, public land lease and management in the road area (winding from Panmen, Xumen, Changmen to the railway station¹²) as well as the construction management of “the extended areas of coastal roads”.

2 Police organ

The practice of urban improvement not only needs construction, but more administration. In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, police organs served as the most important urban administration organs.

China’s police system, originated in the late Qing Dynasty, had been strongly influenced by the policeman institutions in concessions. The initial purpose of establishing a police system was to ensure public security and prevent dangers. But in the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, the policing system not only played an important role in maintaining public order and keeping social stability, but also shared some management responsibilities of local urban improvement.

The 1908 Law of Violation of Police Regulation enacted in 1908 stated in detail: “where wood and stones are piled on any road without setting any fence or marking or lighting”, “where the inscriptions of roads and bridges, ‘no passing’ or road guiding signs, etc. are damaged”, “subject to detention not exceeding five days and no less than one day, or penalty not exceeding five yuan and no less than one dime”. “where any plant or road lamp on the road is damaged”, “subject to detention not exceeding five days and no less than one day, or penalty not exceeding five yuan and no less than one dime”, etc¹³).

Thereafter, the urban administration functions of police organs have been continuously extended and strengthened, such as rectifying various actions of occupying and damaging roads and bridges, applying construction license system, and conversion of roads.

Planning object

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, encouraging the development of modern industry and commerce became an important strategy for China to resist western colonial invasion and rise again. The cities serving as the spatial carrier of industry and commerce had to make corresponding improvement and create conditions for its development. At the same time, as the core of urban modernization, the development of modern industry and commerce will push the urban improvement to be carried out continuously and deeply. The improvement of urban objects was mainly evidenced by the construction of roads and the preliminary development of industry.

1 Construction of roads

Before concessions were opened, no places were named after road names in China’s cities. Most roads were called streets or lanes. Streets are also called roads, while roads are not necessarily streets. In China, streets mean those in traditional Chinese cities while roads mean those in western cities¹⁴.

In the construction of concessions, Chinese people had realized roads had important strategic effect in resisting the expansion of concessions and developing local industry and commerce. Most cities began to build roads, as in Suzhou mentioned above. In 1896, a 1.3km western road appeared in an area close to the river bank outside Suzhou Panmen, and in subsequent years, continuously extended to Changmen area in the north, which greatly promoted the road construction and commercial development of the road areas.

2 Preliminary development of industry

According to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japan was allowed to establish factories and exploit mines, and western powers, on the ground of “equal profit sharing”, obtained the same privilege as Japan, which would severely impacted the economic development of China. Besides, Chinese people were also gradually aware that “the fundamental factor to richen people and strengthen state in foreign countries is the industries” and the advanced modern industries are the fundamental source of national treasure. Thereupon, a great upsurge in setting up factories emerged in the folks to develop industries and save the nation.

South Jiangsu is the birthplace of modern national industries and witnessed two times of upsurge in industry investment respectively during 1896-1898 and 1905-1908. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, nine modern factories and mines were built consecutively in only 5 years¹⁵.

It is worth pointing out that the improvement movement in this period mostly happened outside the city and seldom extended to the construction inside the city and other towns. For example, Suzhou Road Engineering Bureau was just a special organ for roads outside the city and not responsible for the road construction inside the city. The public projects outside the road areas “were all constructed with the money raised from local citizens”¹⁶.

It was the same case for factories, for example, all warehouses of factories and docks in Wuxi were built along the canal outside the city and nearly fully covered the river bank; and the factories, newly established businesses of Suzhou were distributed outside the Changmen, Panmen and Fengmen.

Rational Methods

As seen from organization mechanism, the panning for urban improvement in this period was mostly advocated and promoted by gentry and merchants or local officials. Each place organized and developed the activity spontaneously and freely. On the whole, it did not get rid of traditional mode yet, namely officials called upon and hosted the activity, while the folk society took charge of capital donation and management¹⁷. Both road construction bureau and police agency were still official agencies. Officials took charge of operation and management, while local personnel took charge of raising outlay and providing suggestions to the government. However, the establishment of planning agency promoted urban improvement affairs to separate from many administrative affairs and begin to become specialized.

As seen from technical level, improvement planning presented the characteristics of be fragmented and microcosmic. Roads were of single and short lines, and not linked with old urban road system. Citizens’ spontaneous construction was mostly developed around roads.

PROMOTION PERIOD: PRELIMINARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PLANNING SYSTEM FOR EARLY MODERN URBAN IMPROVEMENT OF CHINA (1909 - 1927)

In the last ten years of Qing Dynasty, the Qing Government intended to intimate western constitutional democracy system and implements it all over the country with local self-government. “Local self-government mainly engages in its special role related to local public welfare”¹⁸. By “public welfare”, it means urban construction and development in most cases.

Besides, in the early 20th century, with the founding of Republic of China and the outbreak of World War One, the modern industry and commerce are embraced by relaxed social environment, forming a climax of development.

Due to political promotion and economic prosperity, together with the introduction of western urban planning and construction technology and preliminary practice, the planning subjects and objects of China’s small and medium cities as well as rational approaches have seen further development and reform, and improved planning system has been established preliminarily.

Planning subject

City Self-Government Office

In the context that local autonomy movements are initiated in a lot of cities in the late Qing Dynasty, the Qing Government began to consider introducing the modern urban administration organization system which was born in Europe into China to definitely separate administration of cities and counties. In January 1909, the Qing Government enacted the City Towns and Villages Local self government Regulation which stipulated that the city area where prefecture, district and county level government office are defined as “city”, while towns and villages outside the city area are defined as the “towns” if the population is more than 50,000 and as the “county” if the population is less than 50,000. For the first time, cities and counties are strictly separated in a legal manner. Since then, the administration system of cities has come into being in China, and the city self-government office – an autonomous body of a city has been set up.

City self-government offices sprung up. Taking South Jiangsu as an example, all cities in South Jiangsu had established self-government offices as of November 1910 (the second year of Xuantong Period)¹⁹. City self-government office can be deemed as a milestone in the history of planning subject of modern urban improvement, which is characterized of:

Firstly, in respect of its organizational system, city self-government office differs from traditional government office in feudal China. The former has a council and board of directors, and conduct activities on basis of committee meeting system as learned from the western political institution. Democracy of organizational system and improvement of efficiency are one of important reasons why the city self-government office plays a positive role in urban management and construction.

Secondly, members of city self-government office are mostly local gentry and merchants²⁰. For a long time, under the influence of Confucianism, local gentry and merchants have moral idea of “bring benefit to their hometowns”, making them always the major force of urban improvement. Since the early modern times, with the development of industry and commerce, gentry and merchants class have expanded. They expect to participate to a greater extent in the administration and discussion of government affairs via autonomous bodies so as to elevate their political status. They devote themselves into self-government office affairs with active attitude and great enthusiasm, which is the primary cause that the self-government office can lead the improvement movement.

Furthermore, compared with improvement activities conducted by Road Engineering Bureau which are only restricted to partial areas of a city, urban improvement activities spread over the entire city as the city self-government office governs the entire city, thus accomplishing overall coverage and integration of urban improvement and management.

3 Chamber of Commerce

At the beginning of the 20th century, along with the growth of capitalist economic factors, and meanwhile, for that the Government of the Qing Dynasty successively promoted “new deal”, “preparatory constitution-making” and “local self-government” movements, chamber of commerce, a new merchant group with modern colors, began to appear.

The chamber of commerce took “communicating on business situation and developing business” as tenet²¹. Thanks to its broad social connections as well as economic and political advantages, chamber of commerce had very high authority and power in local commonweal affairs, and became the actual promoter and depending force in urban improvement. The role of chamber of commerce not only rested with personnel permeation and capital support, but also was embodied at the opinion consulting and implementation during improvement process.

The main purpose of the improvement of early modern urban construction is the development of city economy. So it is essential to make business people’s voices heard. Chamber of commerce, as a center of merchant group network of each industry and business line, became an important agency for consulting the opinions on improvement planning. The implementation of urban constructions would involve the interests of businessmen, so it require the organizations such as the chamber of commerce to support and cooperate the improvements²².

Planning Object

The City Towns and Villages Local self government Regulation gave regulations on “commonweal matters” in the form of law for the first time. This provided a legal basis for urban planning, and greatly expanded the content and type.

1 The type of the urban improvement

During this period, there were many kinds of urban planning activities, according to the nature, which can be roughly divided into four types.

– Construction of roads and bridges

Roads were still the focus of reform and construction, the main change was that the focus of the construction of the roads from outside the city to the inside. Tearing down the city wall and filling the river for road construction have become the main way (Fig 1 插图).

– Municipal work

With the development of modern industry and commerce, the rapid growth of urban population, in order to meet the public life, improve the living environment, municipal facilities have been vigorously developed. The improvement of municipal facilities were mainly the communication facilities, power supply lighting facilities, water supply facilities, river dredging and other aspects.

– Public service facilities

With the introduction of modern public service facilities, the functional structure and spatial pattern of the Chinese traditional city have great changes. The main facilities are hospitals, schools, stadiums, parks, library, train station and so on.

– Industrial and commercial premises

Industry and commerce is the focus of the development of modern cities, also the fundamental driving force of urban modernization. Besides the construction of new industrial and commercial premises, the improvement of the traditional handicraft industry and commercial premises is also the key point.

2 Systems and rules for improvement planning

In the process of learning from the western, Chinese people gradually got aware that the advancement of the western rested with good systems. When learning the western laws and systems in terms of politics and economy, etc., Chinese people began to make some preliminary urban construction and management rules in the field of urban construction.

The introduction of systems and rules made urban improvement activity normalized and systemized, and step from material cultural level into the new development stage of system culture level.

Rational Methods

In this period, the agency dominating improvement planning was transformed from governmental agency to local self-governance agency, and great changes occurred to organization mechanism correspondingly. Civil personnel took charge of operating, initiating, consulting and examining improvement projects, while the government gave play more to the function of supervision, instead of participating in the operation of the agency directly.

As seen from technical level, it still took road engineering as the center and baseline, and implemented the construction of relevant supporting facilities at the same time. Roads presented network-shaped pattern, and roads outside and inside the city were mutually connected. The planning gradually got rid of the early-stage point-line pattern, but trended to inter-regional harmony, and visual field became more spacious and more macroscopic.

TRANSFORMATION OF PATTERN

Finally, seen from the overall period (1895-1927), we connect each period together and extract the transformed aspects from the diversified situation to get knowledge of the pattern dynamics of China's small and medium cities from a macro perspective of the whole historical period.

PLANNING SUBJECT

Subject: emergence of “urban” planning agencies

As the subject leading improvement movement of old cities, city self-government office was an administration agency established with each city as the administration unit. Its establishment broke the mode of fragmented administration based on separated streets and zones in the previous urban planning and construction. Instead, it regarded the city as a whole and coordinated all individual resources to jointly promote urban improvement, which greatly pushed the modernization process of cities, accelerated the differentiation of urban and rural areas, and laid significant institutional and material foundation for the establishment of city system. Hereafter, the establishment of city all began with the setup of planning and construction administration agency.

Relationship between subjects: forming an “institution network” of the planning power operation

In respect of the structure and form of the planning subjects for early modern improvement of old cities, a power operation network with various centers was formed, evidenced mainly by the two following aspects:

“Several departments issued decrees” and the “administrative power” and the “financial power” were misplaced in urban planning and construction. There were many planning and construction subjects in operation which all regarded urban improvement as part of their duties but had different affiliation relationships. The police agencies were under the direct jurisdiction of the government; local self-government offices were under the supervision of, but also mutually independent of, the local government; and the public communes were subordinated to chamber of commerce.

Under the mode of “several departments issuing decrees”, many planned projects were set aside due to failure of agencies to reach agreement; and as a result of long-time misplacing of “administrative power” and the “financial power”, the planned construction ended up with nothing definite due to lack of funds, all of which restricted the progress of earlymodern urban improvement.

PLANNING OBJECT

Goal: urban construction orientated by problems

The early modern improvement of small and medium cities showed obvious problem-orientation characteristic.

The governments and municipal authorities (Road Engineering Bureau and self-government office) had no overall and systematic blueprint for planning and design, and passively carried out improvement after corresponding problems showed themselves. As a result of such problem-orientation (passive) practice, urban improvement generally occurred in more prosperous areas of cities and was carried out in separated projects that had no connection with each other, which led to the unbalanced and fragmented urban improvement.

Space: “spatial practice”

Deeply influenced by the Confucian etiquette ideology²³, traditional cities of China demonstrated the signs of feudal relations from architecture to space without any exception²⁴. Since the early modern times, as the western ideological culture had been introduced and especially democracy and republican ideas in the period of the Republic of China had enjoyed popular support, the ritual system thoughts were gradually overthrown. Along with this, the specific material formation mode of urban construction under the ritual system was far from the demand of modern city development.

In order to meet the needs of the business activities and social life, Chinese people started to improve traditional space and introduce new space forms. The space construction was no longer intended to express some abstract meaning, but to realize the modernization of urban material space by considering the realization of real interests.

RATIONAL APPROACHES

Approaches: Roadism planning and construction mode

The construction methods and technologies of concessions became the source of urban improvement in China; early modern urban construction of China started from the transformation of Chinese-style “streets” into western-style “roads”; the construction of western-style “roads” became a synonym of urban improvement in China during this period.

The roadism is a distinctive characteristic of urban improvement movement and an important method in the improvement practice. As the name implies, roadism indicates that the urban planning and construction should give priority to the construction of roads and road-related facilities. It is specially embodied in the broadening and straightening the existing Chinese streets into western-style roads, renovating gates, dismantling walls, land-filling moats, building round-the-city road; and naming all new streets by “road”, etc.²⁵.

Mechanism: From governments to civilians

In the first stage of urban improvement movement, the organizational mechanism of improvement movement still followed the traditional mode of “from the top to down”, i.e. officials advocated and took lead, and the folk society raised funds and conducted management based on the will of government authorities. Even the affairs of the Road Engineering Bureau which was established by imitating concessions was also operated by officials, and urban construction submitted to the strategic demands of local governments.

In the second stage of urban improvement movement, along with the demand for national reform and the rising of gentry and merchants class, urban planning and construction matters began to be transferred to autonomous bodies for direction and management. They began to represent the urban construction demands of the folk society while local governments were mainly responsible for supervision and coordination. The organizational mechanism of improvement activities was transformed to the mode of “from bottom to top”.

EPILOGUE

Through the dynamic analysis of the urban improvement movement and the change of paradigm characteristics, we can know that the urban improvement movement in early modern China is the urban construction practice with a fusion of endophytism and introduction. The so-called endophytism refers to Chinese own factors; introduction refers to the import of Western elements. It is not only affected by the cultural factors of western cities, but also maintained strong Chinese characteristics, which also the process of gestation and formation for Chinese early modern local urban planning culture.

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Disclosure Statement

We here by declare that the reference to others' research productions in the paper, are reflected in the endnotes.

Notes on contributor(s)

Fu Xiaoqiang, male, born in 1985. Doctor Candidate of the School of Architecture in Southeast University, Nanjing, China.

Li Baihao, male, born in 1963. Professor of the School of Architecture in Southeast University, Nanjing, China. Vice-chairman and Secretary-general of Academic Committee of Urban Planning History & Theory and Urban Planning Society of China. His research interests are mainly in urban planning history and theory.

Endnotes

- 1 The generalized South Jiangsu region includes Nanjing, Zhenjiang, Suzhou, Wuxi and Changzhou. This paper defined South Jiangsu in a narrow view.
- 2 Kai Gu. Research on Jiangnan garden in Ming Dynasty(Nanjing: Southeast University press,2010),8.
- 3 The Municipal Council is the administrative organization set in concession by the foreign powers in China in the late Qing Dynasty, which similar to the Ministry of Works in feudal China ,so named “ the municipal council ”.
- 4 The traditional local administrative system of the integration of urban and rural areas is one of the reflection of the phenomenon of the ancient “ urban ruralisation ”, which was pointed out by Marx. As a result, the traditional Chinese urban and rural relations have shown the “urban and rural non differential unity” of the topography of the Asian Social phenomenon.
- 5 Zhiqian Zhou. State and Society: Study on the vicissitude of the urban management institutions and the legal system in the Qing Dynasty(Chengdu: Bashu, 2009),204.
- 6 South City Road Engineering bureau , the first municipal authorities in China in modern sense set up in Shanghai in1985.
- 7 Min Ma, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.3(Wuhan: Central China Normal University , 2009),817.
- 8 Min Ma, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.3(Wuhan: Central China Normal University , 2009),847.
- 9 Kaiyuan Zhang, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.1(Wuhan: Central China Normal University, 1991),605.
- 10 Commercial bureau, a quasi-official institution for managing business affairs.
- 11 Ibid., No. 8.
- 12 Min Ma, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.3(Wuhan: Central China Normal University , 2009),844.
- 13 Jiangsu province Bulletin. 1913(131): 4-6.
- 14 Baihao Li, “ The History of the Chinese Modern City Planning” (postdoctoral diss, Southeast university, 2003),133.
- 15 Liangbo Xu and Shunxing Jiang, The general history of Jiangsu: The Volume of Late Qing Dynasty(NanJing: Phoenix Press, 2012),165.
- 16 Min Ma, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.3(Wuhan: Central China Normal University , 2009),843.
- 17 Ibid., No. 5.
- 18 “ The City Towns and Villages Local self-government Regulation” Baidu baike , accessed April 1 , 2016, http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=S4Z5HN3jsCanOGwADCmHAG14CFZD9br9EuG9FiDu3qzERGvoqRXnMoSQtF7o43_uQ5V_Wm6cZZSeLxloYu9x3_
- 19 Shuhuai Wang, Modernization in China, 1860-1916: A regional study of social, political and economic change in kiangsu province(Taipei: Institute of modern history academia sinica,1985),200.

- 20 Gentry and merchants, In the late Qing Dynasty, with the capitalist germination, the traditional social structure and class of merchants have taken place fundamental changes: the merchant class began to expand; at the same time “Shi” (Chinese traditional politicians) and “business” began to combine, formed the so-called “gentry and merchants” class.
- 21 Kaiyuan Zhang, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.1(Wuhan: Central China Normal University, 1991),12.
- 22 Min Ma, The corpus of Suzhou chamber of Commerce archives, vol.2(Wuhan: Central China Normal University, 2009),269.
- 23 The Confucian etiquette ideology is the embodiment of the dreams of rule by virtue, which mold people's behavior and thought through etiquette stereotypes and etiquette criteria; preserve etiquette authoritativeness through legal punishment.
- 24 Han Yang, “ Discussion about the Ideological of the Norm of Li and Chinese City Planning and Construction in Contemporary Era, ” South Architecture 11(2006), 77.
- 25 Baihao Li, “ The History of the Chinese Modern City Planning” (postdoctoral diss,Southeast university, 2003),12.

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- [8] Liangbo Xu and Shunxing Jiang, The general history of Jiangsu: The Volume of Late Qing Dynasty(NanJing: Phoenix Press, 2012),165.
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