

21. *Shenbao* (Shanghai Daily), September 24, 1872. *Jiangnan zaochuanchangshi bianxiezu, Jiangnan zaochuanchangshi* (A history of Jiangnan shipyard) (Shanghai, 1975), 27-30.
22. Shanghai shehui kexueyuan, jingji yanjiusuo, *Shanghai penghuqu de bianqian* (Changes in the Squatter Areas of Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1962), 3.
23. Zhang Zhongli, ed., *Jindai Shanghai chengshi yanjiu* (Research on Modern Shanghai City) (Shanghai, 1990), 53-59, 712-752.
24. Cheng Shi, "Yaoshuilong de gushi" (Story of Yaoshuilong), *Jiu Shanghai de gushi* (Stories About Old Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1974).
25. Zhu Hangxing, Hu Linge, and Xu Sheng, *Shanghai chanye yu Shanghai zhigong* (Enterprises and Workers in Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1984; Hong Kong, 1939), 91; *Shanghai penghuqu*, 9.
26. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 11.
27. This information was provided by Chen Hongkui (born 1923, a former Fangualong resident) in an interview on March 19, 1989.
- In cooperation with the Institution of Sociology, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, I interviewed eleven former shantytown residents in Shanghai in March 1989. Hereafter cited as "informant."
28. The term *penghu* can also be used to refer to the straw hut occupants themselves, although these occupants were more commonly called *penghu junin* rather than *penghu*. In Shanghai, *penghu* is an official term referring to straw huts or mat sheds. For a classification of housing types in Shanghai see *Shanghai tongji nianjian* (Shanghai Statistical Annual) (Shanghai, 1989), 438, 441.
29. The average cost of materials for a typical straw shack in the 1930s was about 20 *yuan*, equal to about 135 pounds of rice, which could feed a family of five for a month, or was about one month's wages for an average semiskilled factory worker. A resident of a straw shack definitely could not afford to hire a carpenter, but had to do all the construction work by himself, or at most he could expect some help from members of his family or neighbors. A shack could be built in two or three days by the resident himself. More difficult for him to manage was the cost of materials, which was often met through loans.
30. Informant Chen Daming (born 1929).
31. Chen Renbing, ed., *Youguan Shanghai ertong full de shehui diaocha* (Investigation of Social Welfare for Children in Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1948), 237.
32. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 12.
33. A sociologist investigated the conditions of Shanghai's straw huts in 1932 and gave the following report:

In the housing study we included a number of huts of the very poor which are made of very inflammable materials such as matting, straw, bagging, old boards, and the like. . . . These dwellings are not rain-proof nor wind-proof, and therefore are not sufficient protection from the rigors of Shanghai's variable climate. . . . After a heavy rain, the inmates may be observed walking about in water perhaps up to their knees, while children are placed on the bed in order to keep them out of the water. Even after the sun comes out, the inside of the dwelling remains wet for many a day. Mud walks are built up outside and finally in some instances the level of the floor is lower than the land outside the hut. . . . Sanitary conditions are bad, garbage and sewage being left uncovered. No public facilities are used by these dwellers, even though on a main road a few yards away there may be a sewerage system and garbage collecting service. Many of these dwellers in huts of straw are fond of keeping pigs as an investment, pig-pens being placed right next to and adjoining the huts. Chickens are prevalent and at night sleep under the beds.

Odors of decaying garbage, excreta of pigs, or dirty dampness pervade the atmosphere in the vicinity of these human habitations.

See H. D. Lamson, "The Problem of Housing for Workers in China," *Chinese Economic Journal* XI, no. 2 (August, 1932).

34. In those cases where running water was available, it was often controlled by what were called "local bullies" and became a source of income for them. For example, in Yaoshuilong there were only two public water taps, which were shared by more than ten thousand of its residents. The taps were controlled by a handful of local gangs who were popularly known as the "ten shareholders of running water" (*zhaishui shida gudong*). These ten gangs raised the water price several times higher than the market price; thus the majority of the Yaoshuilong residents could not afford running water. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 10-11.

35. Tu Shiping, *Shanghai chunqiu* (Annals of Shanghai) (Hong Kong, 1968), C6. This book was originally published in Shanghai in 1948 under the title *Shanghai shi daguan* (Shanghai Miscellanea).

36. Informant Lai Qigeng (born 1919, former Yaoshuilong resident).

37. The following was Shanghai's population taken in triennial censuses: 2,641,220 in 1927; 3,144,805 in 1930; 3,404,435 in 1933; 3,814,315 in 1936. *Jiu Shanghai renkou*, 90.

38. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 13.

39. *Shibao* (Shanghai Times), November 19, 1914; Kui Shixun, *Shanghai gonggong zujie shigao* (A Draft History of the International Settlements in Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1980), 488-489.

40. Zheng Zhuan, "Jindai Zhaipei de xingshuai" (The Rise and Decline of Modern Zhaipei) in Tang Zhengchang and Shen Hengchun, eds., *Shanghai shi yanjiu* (Research on Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1988), vol. II, 414-418.

41. *Ibid.*, 418.

42. Chen Gongpu, *Pao huo xia de Shanghai* (Shanghai Under Gunfire) (Shanghai, 1937), 170-187.

43. The rent for land was relatively easy to manage. In most cases, lands were jointly rented by a number of residents. In the 1930s, the normal rent for 3.3 square meters of land, which was about the size needed to build a straw shack, was one *yuan* per month; sometimes the tenants could even obtain free rent. We should remember that straw hut slums were often built on deserted spots. One reason why some landlords allowed land to go for low rents, or even asked no rent at all, was that once the original out-of-the-way lands were densely populated, the value of the lands was increased (*Standard of Living of Shanghai Laborers*, 55; *Shanghai chanye*, 91). On the other hand, the issues surrounding land use were not always so smooth. More often than not, quarrels over ownerships or rent rights broke out in the squatter areas, and some became violent. In these cases, local bullies and police were often involved. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 23-28.

44. Lamson, 147.

45. D.K. Lieu, *The Growth and Industrialization of Shanghai* (Shanghai, 1936), 172.

46. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 17.

47. *Ibid.*, 16-18.

48. The policy pursued by China's post-1949 authorities in slum clearance programs strengthens my classification or "grading" of these three major slums. Zhaojiajiang, the poorest of the three, was given the top priority in these programs. Construction work in Zhaojiajiang was listed among the key projects under the First Five-Year Plan in Shanghai. The slum was thoroughly torn down in 1954 and a beautiful avenue was built on the site in 1956. The major part of Fangualong was not completely renewed until 1964 when ten five-story apartments were built there. Indeed, these two slum removal projects became a favorite topic in the party's political propaganda. Yaoshuilong, being the "best" in our grading, was not favored with any large-scale