The Park Hotel, Shanghai (1931-1934) and

Its Architect, Laszlo Hudec (1893-1958):

"Tallest Building in the Far East" as Metaphor for Pre-Communist Shanghai

by

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ABSTRACT

The Park Hotel (1931-1934) was, and still is, a landmark in Shanghai both because of its height and as a representative of pre-Communist China. For almost fifty years, the hotel was the "tallest building in the Far East." This thesis examines how the skyscraper -- an architectural expression of modernity and capitalism -- came to exist and be owned by Chinese bourgeois businessmen. Primary sources were found in the Hudec Collection (the architect's archives) in the University of Victoria's Special Collections. The study concludes that the hotel is a metaphor for the city's pre-Communist period, because all the factors involved in its origins and construction paralleled the city's own growth. The Austro-Hungarian background of the architect, Laszlo Hudec (1893-1958), and his exposure to architecture in America and Germany contributed its construction. The Park continues to testify to that early partnership between Western ideas of modernity and Chinese entrepreneurs, particularly significant today as the tallest buildings in the world once again rise on Shanghai's soil in response to economic changes in China.

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Johnston in Shanghai has been very forthcoming and enormously enthusiastic, though continues to be convinced that I cannot "do" Hudec without seeing his buildings in the flesh; I am afraid she may be right.

To my family, I offer my deepest thanks for support and love during the writing of this thesis. We have been through much together since I began.

DEDICATION

To my mother Elisabeth

and my siblings, Fern, John, Ann, Liz and Rose

in the memory of my father,

Gerrit

(9 November 1933 - 20 April 1996)

INTRODUCTION

In the University of Victoria's McPherson Library Special Collections and Archives are the papers from the office of Laszlo Hudec (1893-1958), a Hungarian architect who practised in Shanghai between the First and Second World Wars (fig. 1).[1] Photographs of his buildings and scrapbooks of clippings attest to the architect's skill and prolific activity in China, but the majority of headlines collected, dated between 1931 and 1934, acclaim the construction of the "Tallest Building in Shanghai" and the Far East, the Park Hotel (figs. 2, 3). Closer scrutiny of the banner at the top of fig. 2 shows a crest in the form of a Chinese junk, a curious symbol for such a modern-style structure. Further perusal of the collection reveals a puzzle as captivating as the superlatives the media used to describe the building. Shanghai's international image was fostered by printed media run by foreign businessmen while its Chinese population struggled to define their rôle in cosmopolitan Shanghai's cultural and business milieu. Yet meanwhile, a modern, ambitious, showpiece hotel was built by a Hungarian for wealthy Chinese owners.

Clippings in the Hudec Collection of the Park Hotel's opening ceremony in 1934, taken by Hudec largely from non-Chinese newspapers and journals, celebrated the presence in Shanghai of the "largest skyscraper from Tokyo to London," and "Shanghai's grandest structure [at] 22 stories high -- the highest building, we proudly claim, in three continents."[2] Built to house world travellers, the Park Hotel advertised its services in All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook, written in 1934-5 by an American publishing company based in Shanghai for an American audience.[3] Full of hyperbole and exclamation to suggest the excitement awaiting the traveller, this guidebook embodies the world's image of Shanghai: the "sixth city of the world,"[4] the city of scandalous reputation whose streets rang with the "blatant cacophony of carnality from a score of dance-halls,"[5] the city with the world's longest bar,[6] and the site of one of "the seven most interesting streets in the

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[1] "Laszlo" was the Magyar (Hungarian) version of the Germanic Ladislaus, and "Hudec" was the Magyar spelling of the Slovakian name Hugyecz signed on pre-Shanghai drawings in the collection. See Appendix A for an overview of the collection.

[2] "New Park Hotel Thrown Open To City at Morning Ceremony," no citation information, Newspaper Cuttings of Our Buildings No. 2, Hudec Collection #776. From now on, this item from the Hudec Collection will be referred to as HC #776.

[3] All About Shanghai, A Standard Guidebook (1934-5; New York, 1983), p. viii.

[4] By 1934 it was the sixth largest city in the world, with approximately 3,350,570 Chinese and foreign residents of the three municipalities, the International Settlement, the French Concession, and the Municipality of Greater Shanghai: Ibid., p. 33.

[5] Ibid., p. 43. In the Introduction, H. J. Lethbridge cites Shanghai's inclusion in Hendrik de Leeuw's book of 1933, Cities of Sin.

[6] Harriet Sergeant, Shanghai (London, 1991), p. 102.

world"[7] -- Nanking Road, the address of the Park Hotel (see map, fig.4). The guidebook also includes chapters echoing Western attitudes from the "old days." Chinese culture was viewed in an "orientalist" way -- less advanced, interesting, worthy of attention but not of true understanding.[8] In the guidebook, Chinese religious practices were "'mongrel revelries,' [and] the habits of the Chinese childish, exotic, or just strange."[9] The book is a mirror of the life of foreigners in Shanghai between the wars, separate from the Chinese though almost hypnotized by the East in an "orientalist" fashion, and characterized by the pursuit of leisure and money-making in a city where wealth was easy to attain for the entrepreneur.[10]

These impressions of Shanghai are Western and emphasize the lure of the exotic so prevalent in that colonial era. The reason for Shanghai's attraction lay in its freedom from rigid laws and the wealth made possible by the way in which foreigners bent the intentions of original treaties with the Chinese imperial government. Paradoxically, commerce and trade were not guided by the regulations of a foreign bureaucracy as in true colonies so that the city contributed in substantial ways to China's development.[11] The lure of leisure and excitement in the midst of a foreign country has become the sales "hook" for guidebooks and countless accounts of life in Shanghai by "old China hands," as ex-foreign residents of China are known.[12] Many facets of Shanghai's history have only recently come to light,

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[7] Noel Coward apparently graced Nanking Road with this description, cited in All About Shanghai, p. 48. He stayed at Shanghai's Cathay Hotel in 1930, writing the first draft of Private Lives. See Jon W. Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," Papers on Far Eastern History 39 (March 1989), p. 135.

[8] The whole concept of orientalism is examined in depth by Edward Said in his Introduction to Orientalism (New York, 1979), specifically on pp. 1-2, 12-13.

[9] E.O. Hauser, "Shanghai, Where East Meets West," Survey Graphic 28 (August 1939), p. 472.

[10] In Sergeant's book, p. 98, ex-Shanghailander Lady Jellicoe says of life in Shanghai: "It wasn't China really. It was the new world. It was vibrant, it was alive, there were people doing things and making a lot of money. It was a marvellous mixture of people all the time and then of course it was the spoiling life, let's face it, it was idiotically spoiling." Mrs. Hudec also maintains that her life was taken up with leisure activities, supported by servants and a hard-working husband.

[11] By 1858, "the shape and trajectory of the ensuing decades were clearly evident," writes Johnson, because by that time the distinctness of the French and International settlements and the Chinese city were understood if not defined: Linda Cooke Johnson, Shanghai, From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074-1858 (Stanford, 1995), p. 346.

[12] For example, Mary Ninde Gamewell, The Gateway to China: Pictures of Shanghai (New York, 1916) is an early attempt at unbiased observation of the city. Other early descriptive tales are found in Norwood F. Allman, Shanghai Lawyer (New York, 1943); Amanda Boyden, "Changing Shanghai," The National Geographic Magazine 72, 4 (Oct. 1937), pp. 485-508; C.E. Darwent, Shanghai--A Handbook for Travellers and Residents (Shanghai, 1920). William Crane Johnstone, Jr., The Shanghai Problem (Westport, Conn., 1937) investigates the problem of Shanghai's "Sino-foreign relations." See G.E. Miller's Shanghai, The Paradise of Adventurers (New York, 1937) for a romp through the opportunities available to the newly arrived adventurer.
"Old China Hands" originally referred to British businessmen who had spent the required years in Chinese cities and returned home well-versed in business practices abroad: Sergeant, Shanghai, p. 137. The term now refers to former non-Chinese residents of China, generally of an earlier generation.

however, with the opening of records and the increase in research into the complex, multilingual issues and documents involved.[13] Access to such records could promote objectivity in investigating the city's history, presenting both the Chinese side, which changed radically over a short time, along with the effects of foreign ways, businesses, and people on Chinese culture just beginning to explore the potential of "modernism" for China's benefit. The clearer history of this Chinese city based on such new scholarship introduces a more sober, less sensational picture of Shanghai. However, it does not reveal a city in which Chinese inhabitants continued living with traditional Confucian values of sobriety and reverence for the ways of the ancestors. Instead, a historical Shanghai emerges in which Chinese society, particularly through wealthy classes, paralleled the attitudes of the revolutionary Republican regime (1912-1927), which were "subversive of the old China in the most complete sense," espousing progressivism in western style.[14]

The main conclusion suggested by recent research is that Shanghai was a pseudo-colonial town (i.e., not under the governance of any one foreign nation, but nevertheless dominated by and identified with Western ideas, commerce, and culture) characterized by the confluence of input from many different nations. The Chinese majority in the population was a powerful force, but from the fall of the last dynasty in 1911 until 1937,

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[13] The Shanghai Municipal Archives have become more accessible since the late 1980s, although access to them requires time, planning, and contacts. See Wen-hsin Yeh's account of doing research in "The Shanghai Municipal Archives," China Exchange News 19, 3/4 (Fall/Winter 1991), pp. 11-12. Of paramount importance in obtaining a balanced view of Shanghai as a city with both Western and Chinese origins is the previously cited history of Shanghai by Linda Cooke Johnson. F.C. Jones, Shanghai and Tientsin (London, 1940) is a study of the government of the two treaty ports. J. V. Davidson-Houston, Yellow Creek: The Story of Shanghai (London, 1962) presents a basic history, although written from a British perspective; Pan Ling, In Search of Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1982) and Betty Peh-t'i Wei, Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China (New York, 1987) both try to alter the historiography by telling the story of Shanghai from the perspective of one Chinese person. Other sources include Albert Feuerwerker, The Foreign Establishment in China in the Early Twentieth Century (Ann Arbor, 1976); Marie-Claire Bergère, "'The Other China': Shanghai from 1919-1949," in Shanghai: Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis, Christopher Howe, ed. (New York, 1981); Lloyd Eastman et al., The Nationalist Era in China, 1927 - 1949 (New York, 1991); and Nicholas R. Clifford, Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s (Hanover, N.H., 1991). John King Fairbank edited the 15 volume The Cambridge History of China (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), with essays in Volumes 12 and 13 treating the Republican era, roughly the time span when foreigners resided in Shanghai. More specific subjects of Shanghai's history prior to the Communist revolution are addressed in Marie-Claire Bergère, Golden Age of the Chinese Bouregoisie 1911-1937 (New York, 1986); Joseph Fewsmith, Party, State, and Local Elites in Repulican China: Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930 (Honolulu, 1985); Parks M. Coble, Jr., The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937 (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); Roberta Allbert Dayer, Bankers and Diplomats in China, 1917-1925: The Anglo-American Relationship (Totowa, N.J., 1981); Christian Henriot, Shanghai, 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality and Modernization (Berkeley, 1993); essays in Shanghai Sojourners, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, editors (Berkeley, 1992); and Bryna Goodman, Native Place, City and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937 (Berkeley, 1995).

[14] Fairbank, Cambridge History, Vol. 13, "Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2," p.4.

the highest profiles were of those who followed paths of western education, philosophy and change. Some factions of Chinese who had criticized the indifferent dynastic government studied Western ways as their hope for China's future. Other groups were strongly opposed to both Western imperialism and the debilitating Chinese feudalism, seeking a new form of Chinese government rooted in Chinese tradition.[15] Eventually, in the 1920s these diverse ideologies coalesced into more clear-cut groups, some fed by Marxist-Leninist ideas imported from the Soviet Union: the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party.[16] The political inclinations toward Communism, however, were not reflected in the lives of most Chinese; "the American influence," reports John Fairbank, "was all over the lot in China in the 1920s while Russian influence was minimal."[17]

During the 1920s and 30s, Shanghai was the home of choice for many returned Chinese students because it boasted all modern conveniences found in the West, from electricity and neon lights to street cars and automobiles.[18] The Chinese perception of Shanghai revolves around its provision of internationally fashionable ideas and products.[19] Sometimes mediated by Japan's longer history of adapting Western ideas to their country's benefit,[20] new ideas and technology for Chinese businessmen paradoxically led to both financial successes and an awareness of the power cosmopolitanism held over any attempts to define a Chinese nation. Even the Chinese Communist Party arose out of Western society.[21] The commercialization of publishing, for example, through an assimilation of foreign printing technology, established Shanghai as the center of modernism in popular culture.[22] In fact, the modernity fostered by Shanghai as a treaty port, a haven for Chinese refugees because of Western -- mostly British -- defense forces and a basis of opportunity for Chinese sojourners, offered possibilities for change in society, culture, and politics. In Shanghai, reforms and revolutions could grow, the hope for China's future, some believed. Few dreamed, however, that the future of China lay not in the Western

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[15] See Bergère, Golden Age, particularly pp. 227-241.

[16] John K. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution 1800-1985 (New York, 1987), p. 205. The CCP was officially formed in Shanghai in 1921.

[17] Ibid., p. 202.

[18] Carol Lynne Waara, Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, PhD diss., University of Michigan (Ann Arbor, 1994), p. 27.

[19] Pan Ling, In Search of Old Shanghai, p. 5.

[20] Fairbank, "Introduction: Maritime and Continental in China's History," from Cambridge History, Vol. 12, pp. 3, 6, 25.

[21] Ibid., p. 3.

[22] Waara, p. 31.

progressivism of the treaty ports, but in China's rural backyard, where communism found a firm foothold.[23]

Popular Chinese publications espoused a Western modernism practised by a Chinese upper class, and reported favourably such Western style practices as city planning without walls, which enhanced "commerce, communications, and sanitation." At the same time, Chinese magazines often criticized Chinese officials who advertised their financial success through possessions such as Western-style homes and gardens, cars, beautiful women, and travel.[24] The physical evidence of success was the prevalent image of Shanghai shaped by foreigners and the Chinese bourgeoisie, whose financial status was on a par with foreign counterparts. It is as a Western symbol of achievement and a site for Eastern and Western interaction that the Park Hotel can be studied.

The west bank of the Huangpu River on which visitors first cast their sea-weary gaze as they sailed down from the Yangtze River and the Pacific Ocean was, and still is, the stereotypical image of Shanghai that dates roughly to the first two decades of the twentieth century.[25] The cityscape was composed solely of Western-style buildings along the Bund, or river embankment (see map, fig.4), both Western and Chinese owned, but with only one token modernized Chinese style roof (fig. 5). Intentionally designed to convey the nature of their owners, Western or Eastern, through impressions of grandeur, these buildings have come to epitomize Shanghai in a wide variety of social, historical, commercial, and fictional discussions, usually from Western perspectives.[26] Among contemporary Western sources, the previously mentioned guidebook of 1934 captures the luxury of the Bund on its cover, complete with the conveyance of the wealthy -- the automobile -- and the majestic, classical Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank towering over the street. The Customs House with its clock tower was easily visible from the Huangpu River.[27] A small sketch on the cover of Vicki Baum's novel, Shanghai '37, published in 1940, sums up this view of the city (fig. 6). Drawings of Shanghai's Western architecture -- on one side, the two main towers of the Bund, the Customs House clocktower and the

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[23] Sergeant, p. 3. See also Shanghai Triad, prod. Zhang Yimo, Columbia TriStar Pictures, 1995, partially filmed in the Cathay Hotel.

[24] Waara, pp. 164, 167.

[25] The development of Shanghai's foreign settlements to house the families and businesses according to standards to which foreigners were accustomed was well under way by 1854: Johnson, Shanghai, p. 324. The character of Bund buildings evolved from "compradoric-style" colonnaded two-storey verandah façades to the present-day collection of classical and classicized modern architecture after the turn of the century.

[26] A 19th century view of the bund, complete with 3-storey Italianate warehouses typical in tropical British colonies, fronts Wakeman's and Wen-hsin Yeh's Shanghai Sojourners, a collection of essays documenting the history of Chinese immigration into Shanghai.

[27] All About Shanghai.

elegant facade of the Cathay Hotel -- combines with Chinese junks and oceanliners, and all are encompassed within the gaze of a Chinese face.[28]

More recent -- and more scholarly -- publications also utilize the Bund as a backdrop for current research. On the cover of Nicholas R. Clifford's Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s, is a fine photograph of the Bund's main landmark, the white granite Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, of 1919 (fig. 7), along with automobiles as well as the ubiquitous rickshaw pulled by Chinese coolies. In his first chapter, Clifford evokes a vivid image of the Bund as the entire city behind it waits for the insurrection of 1927 and the taking of Shanghai by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Revolutionary Army: "At noon the factory whistles sound, their voices echoed by the sirens of the rusting Chinese ships lying in the Huangpu River, under the solid gray buildings of the banks and trading houses that line the Bund."[29] In his study of buildings on the Bund, Jon W. Huebner cites a traveller's view of the street on the approach from the Huangpu River in 1927:

> Banks of lights from faintly delineated skeletons -- the skyscrapers of the New York of the Far East -- dazzle the traveller approaching Shanghai at night. It is not the towering Christmas-like magnificence of Hong Kong, nor yet the black giants with glowing coals in their eyes one sees in nocturnal Manhattan, but Shanghai has one of the most impressive "front drops" in the world, and gradually the skyline is filling in and being built up to rival any port of the West. It already surpasses many in the architectural beauty and symmetry of its approach, and has no peer in the Orient. The Bund is a jewel in which Shanghai is taking more and more pride.[30]

A recent history of Shanghai by Harriet Sergeant evokes the popularity of the Bund as a legendary backdrop; the first chapter begins with a description of her trip to the top of the Broadway Mansions, where a fine view of the Bund is a chief attraction.[31]

The conscious manipulation of the Bund's architectural presence made it the standard to which the rest of foreign Shanghai's built environment aspired.[32] The Cathay Hotel, the showplace for Sir Victor Sassoon's wealth, "set a precedent of luxury and glamour . . . which became associated in people's minds with Shanghai itself."[33] The

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[28] Vicki Baum, Shanghai '37, translated by Basil Creighton (New York, 1940).

[29] Clifford, p. 1.

[30] Jon W. Huebner quoting from The Far Eastern Review, 1927, in "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," Papers on Far Eastern History 39, (March 1989), p. 130.

[31] Sergeant, p. 10.

[32] The Bund's fame today is exemplified and perpetuated through its use as a backdrop, says Micael Leech, when its temperature is shown on television information reports on forecasts of major cities around the world: "Shanghai's Deco Shangri-La," History Today 43 (Sept. 93), p. 5. Further discussion of the implications of the Bund and other architecture from Old Shanghai follows in Chapter 4.

[33] Ibid., p. 132.

architect of the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, which established Shanghai's currency standards and was the most important bank in China (and one of the thirty-five largest banks in the English speaking world in 1934[34]), received a brief from head office in October of 1918 that was "equally appropriate as the British motto for Shanghai, 'Spare no expense but dominate the Bund.'"[35] That admonition illustrates an intent to use architecture as a vehicle for public relations in Shanghai; all subsequent buildings had to compete with those on the Bund. The government-owned Bank of China (1936-1939), designed by the popular British firm Palmer & Turner with a few token Chinese embellishments, partook of the visual message of the Bund as it rose beside the Cathay Hotel. A public relations agenda can also be seen at work in the design of the Park Hotel, also owned by Chinese but built by a resident foreign architect. It was deliberately conceived as a skyscraper and intended to be taller than any other building in Shanghai, replete with the most modern attributes in every aspect.

Current research on pre-World War II architecture in Shanghai has only begun to address the work of individual architects, styles and projects in keeping with a larger body of Western architectural history. Much that has been written is published through popular venues or in accessible, non-academic formats, highlighting the city's rich visual heritage.[36] The visibility of the Bund has ensured its place among researchers who have been captivated by the unique history of the city, while the accelerated rate of building activity in today's Shanghai has focused attention on the many unheralded gems of old Shanghai.[37] While there is great interest in the architecture of old Shanghai, official concerns for public housing, sanitation, and transportation have priority. Westerners may advise preservation and conservation, but old buildings not related to a Chinese perception of national history have little value for Chinese officialdom.[38] Jeffrey Cody's Ph.D.

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[34] World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1936, Robert Hunt Lyman, ed. (New York, 1936), p. 159.

[35] Ibid., p. 167.

[36] For example, Andrew Jacobs, "Surprising Shanghai," Art and Antiques, Sept. 1994, pp. 39-42; Tess Johnston and Deke Erh's, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993); Johnston and Erh, The Last Colonies: Western Architecture in China's Southern Treaty Ports (Hong Kong, 1997); and Richard Jones, "Metalwork of the Shanghai Bund," Arts of Asia, Nov./Dec. 1984, pp. 88-99.

[37] Jon Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," pp. 127-166. Zhang Zaiyuan, "From West to Shanghai: Architecture and Urbanism in Shanghai from 1840 to 1940," Architecture and Urbanism 273 (June 1993), pp. 69-100, provides a brief survey of foreign architects and architecture. Paul Pak-hing Lee's website, in collaboration with the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, Shanghai, "Shanghai Architecture" (1994), http://www.wsu.edu8080/~leep/ Shanghai.html, relays images of buildings his project has deemed worth saving. Natalie Delande is preparing a Ph.D. dissertation on Art Deco architecture of Shanghai; an article on it is forthcoming in the DOCOMOMO Journal.

[38] For discussions of modern developments and their relation to "old Shanghai" architecture, see the Conclusion of this thesis.

dissertation, Henry K. Murphy, An American Architect in China, 1914-1935, highlights the unusual activity of a Westerner striving to create a Chinese style with Western technology; perhaps a greater understanding of this kind of cooperation will benefit the current growth of Shanghai.[39] Johnston and Erh's brief but concise biography of the hotel's architect, Laszlo Hudec, claims that his "innovative and elegant style added a real flair to Shanghai's architecture,"[40] while Cody refers to him both through a footnote about one of his early projects and in a photograph of a number of Chinese and Western architects having dinner together.[41] Hudec is also mentioned as one of the leading architects in Shanghai by Zhang Zaiyuan in his broad survey that provides another brief biography, but Zhang describes only the Park Hotel and the general progression of his work from "a garden house style at the beginning of his career" to a "modern internationalism, paying more attention to the harmony of function, form, materials and colors"[42] -- presumably referring to his domestic oeuvre. An article on Shanghai's Art Deco architecture in Arts and Antiques also discusses Hudec's work in some detail, including biographical information, and a few of his "famous commissions" like the Park Hotel, the "moderne-style" D.V. Woo(d) house, and the Grand Theatre.[43]

This thesis, focused on one significant building, the Park Hotel which epitomizes contact between East and West from 1911 to 1937, will shed light on the importance of the pre-Communist period and its architecture.[44] By joining insights into the historical, sociological, and cultural implications of the co-existence of Western and Chinese residents of Shanghai, this study will show that the Park Hotel and "Shanghai's leading architect,"[45] deserve a significant place in world architectural history. Research is partly limited by lack of direct evidence on the Chinese owners' perceptions of their investment in the hospitality field, so the focus will be on the significance of the hotel as a representative of architectural activity in Shanghai during this period. The dispersion of architectural ideas of modernism around the world is another key theme, as is the meaning of the convergence these ideas had on a building owned by wealthy, politically influential Chinese businessmen.

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[39] Jeffrey W Cody, Henry K. Murphy, An American Architect in China, 1914-1935, Ph.D diss., Cornell University, 1981 (UMI, 1989).

[40] Johnston and Erh, A Last Look, p. 86.

[41] Cody, p. 156 and p. 314 fig. 55.

[42] Zhang, pp. 93, 97.

[43] Jacobs, p. 40-41. Jacobs says "Hudec excelled at designing cinemas."

[44] By "East" I mean a culture located and originating in China. By West, I refer to a culture that by the 20th century expanded in general terms of values and particularly architectural techniques and designs across Europe, including Central Europe, England, Canada, and the United States.

[45] "The First German School . . . " in Tales of Old Shanghai: Culture (website), Eastern Web Services. http://www.shanghai-ed.com:80/tales/t-scho01.htm.

The first chapter deals with the city of Shanghai as the context for the Park Hotel, its history, and the development of Chinese commerce amidst foreign trade that changed the rôle of the city and prepared the way for a Chinese bourgeoisie that included the modern-style bankers who owned the Park Hotel. The influence and political connections of this wealthy group which had developed both from Western concepts of economics and political science and from the traditional Chinese same-place networks, will be shown to legitimize the commissioning of a foreign architect, Laszlo Hudec, for the hotel project. His background and previous work contributed to his acceptance by the Chinese. Shanghai's urban development provides the logic for the site chosen and partially for the hotel's height, which is discussed further in the last section of Chapter One. The second chapter treats the actual construction and material fabric of the hotel, including the problems of resolving the building plan with the site, and the technical innovations required to build the first skyscraper on the peculiar Shanghai soil. This chapter reveals the architect's involvement from the very beginning. The third chapter shows how Hudec's Austro-Hungarian background and the cosmopolitan nature of Shanghai combine in the Park Hotel's design in a unique way. The hotel is a site where American skyscraper aesthetics, Art Deco style, and Central European expressionist ideas converge. Interpretations of style and form and their legacy of meaning are examined in the fourth chapter in the context of Western skyscrapers. That inheritance of architectural language from the West was valid in a certain way for the Chinese city and its wealthy bourgeoisie, but the ethics of this East-West juxtaposition remains an open question. For example, as a vehicle for advertising economic success, the skyscraper type contrasted with Chinese architecture that traditionally maintained a rôle in the Chinese belief system where earth reflected the order and symmetry of heaven. The reception of the building, generally from foreign points of view, is also discussed through newspaper, magazine, and journal reports from the Hudec Collection at the University of Victoria. Finally, in the conclusion, the importance of the building is highlighted as it relates to the development of China over the last fifty years, especially in light of the current changes to the Shanghai skyline.

CHAPTER 1

Background to the Park Hotel

Within walking distance of Shanghai's famous Bund waterfront and the piers where the great ships of the Western world docked stands the Park Hotel. Facing what was once called Bubbling Well Road and is now Nanking Road, this hotel was a study in contrasts to its rival at #20 The Bund, the Cathay Hotel, or the Peace, as it is now known. The Park did not rise to greet the traveller arriving on Shanghai's watery doorstep, as did the opulent Cathay. With tubular steel furniture and neon lights, the Park Hotel was in a different category of luxury from the Cathay, whose "period" rooms -- Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Jacobean, Georgian, modern French, Futurist, and ultra-modern[1] -- revealed its architects' Beaux-Arts training.[2] Although the Park's penthouse was reserved for one of its owners, Wu Ting-ch'ang (known as Dr. D.C. Wu),[3] those owners did not exercise the flamboyant presence equivalent to that of the Cathay's resident owner, the real estate and trade baron Sir Victor Sassoon, whose storied eccentricity was as outrageous as high-flying Shanghai society allowed.[4] That the hotel did not imitate the Cathay's effect of old-fashioned extravagance, however, did not mean it lacked the resources to offer such luxury but rather that it boasted the latest in efficient services: the fastest elevators, American dishwashers, floor coverings of inlaid rubber, and so on. In the words of one reporter, "Too much cannot be said of the efforts towards which the management of the Park Hotel has gone to provide guests with the best."[5]

The Founding of the Joint Savings Society in the History of Shanghai

An architectural historian remarked of the early twentieth-century Rockefeller Centre in New York that shoring up any large structure must be "a solid foundation of money."[6] The Park Hotel was funded by its owners, the Joint Savings Society, called the J.S.S., one of the most successful modern private banks in China comprising four major

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[1] Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," p. 135.

[2] William H. Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century, American Buildings and Their Architects series 5 (New York, 1972), p. 44.

[3] China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 1. H.C. #776.

[4] Pan Ling, p. 44. Victor Sassoon was the epitome of a "playboy;" comparable to today's Donald Trump, he was also a keen real estate developer, dominating the Shanghai field with his company, the Cathay Land Company Limited: G.L. Wilson, "The Twentieth Century's Own Architectural Style, Architecture Produced by Building Rules," The China Journal 16 (1932), p. 344.

[5] China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 26. H.C. #1275.

[6] Carol Herselle Krinsky, Rockefeller Center (New York, 1978), p. 14.

modern Chinese banks.[7] It was run not by traditional conservative businessmen but Chinese bankers interested in Western-style banking and business. Founded in 1923, the J.S.S. joined the ranks of modern-style Chinese-owned banks which began to blossom in the heat of the Shanghai economy in the late 1910s following the revolution of 1911. The four banks -- Yien-yieh Commercial Bank, Kincheng Banking Corporation, China and South Sea Bank, and Continental Bank -- pooled their resources in order to build on their own success. The Society originated at the instigation of the general manager and owner of the Yien-yieh Bank. His interest and experience in American banking made him believe that joining several private banks could help "bolster public confidence" in China's modern financial sector, augmenting or replacing the activity of old-style native banks.[8] The list of members on the hotel's board of directors (see Appendix B) -- the same as the board of the J.S.S. -- shows a concentration of individuals involved in banking who also exercised considerable influence in many areas of Shanghai and Chinese economics and politics. Intended to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the J.S.S.,[9] the Park Hotel is the embodiment of the successful involvement of Chinese businessmen in a modern system of banking that, although relatively new in China, paralleled attempts to establish a Western-oriented government.[10]

The Shanghai that foreigners and Chinese entrepreneurs transformed into a modern metropolis had begun as a modest centre of trade many centuries before. The name of the city refers to its location thirty-nine miles from the ocean on Yangtze River Valley land reclaimed during the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 618-906): according to the guidebook of 1934, *shang* means "above" or "on," and *hai* means "sea."[11] A small fishing village during the Tang Dynasty, over the centuries Shanghai grew into a commercial port city because of its natural harbour and close proximity to the largest rice- and cotton-producing plains in China, the lower Yangtze "macro-region" (fig. 8). By the time the British arrived in Shanghai in the 19th century for trade purposes (Jesuits had been in the area since the 17th

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[7] The name Joint Savings Society, a translation from the Chinese, is used in contemporary publications as well as in several different biographies in Howard L. Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Vols. I-IV (New York, 1970). The four banks came to be known as the *pei ssu-hang*, or the four northern banks: Ibid., Vol. III, p. 427.

[8] Boorman, Vol. III, p. 452. Andrea Lee McElderry explores the financial institutions of modern China, and the differences between old-style Chinese banks and modern ones in Shanghai Old-Style Banks (ch'ien-chuang), 1800-1935: A Traditional Institution in a Changing Society, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 25 (Ann Arbor, Center for Chinese Studies, 1976).

[9] "22-Storey Building Facing Racecourse Tallest Skyscraper on 4 Continents," China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 1. H.C. #1277.

[10] The modern, private banks such as the J.S.S. were amalgamated under state control after the communist takeover of 1949: Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 278.

[11] All About Shanghai, p. 1.

century), more tonnage passed through the port of Shanghai than through the port of London.[12] In the "bureaucratic hierarchy of imperial China," however, Shanghai was "only a lowly county capital."[13] Under the influence of Western traders, Shanghai became an important point of entry to lucrative trade links to the outside world, although the exact nature of the city's rôle in relation to the whole of China prior to the communist takeover in 1949 remains unclear. What is certain is that Shanghai contributed to China's integration into a worldwide system of trade. Connected to China and the rest of the world by railways, riverways, and ocean routes, the city was protected by boundaries that allowed the presence of and interaction between both Western and Chinese commercial interests. A private rather than governmental sector in the import of rice and opium and the export of tea, silk and porcelain was centred in Shanghai which fostered the possibility of a new economic system for the rest of China.[14]

While trade with Europeans since the seventeenth century had been based on generally peaceful import and export transactions, the establishment of foreigners on Chinese soil, specifically in Shanghai, only began after the Opium Wars (1839-1842). At the end of the war, British importers of Indian opium who were already resident in a limited fashion in Canton demanded official recognition of their presence using the forceful backing of British gunboats. Canton, remote from the insular headquarters of imperial China in Peking, was not enough for ambitious British traders from the East India Company; the Opium War forced the Ch'ing imperial court to open strategic coastal ports, gateways to China's interior.[15] The the Ch'ing court, the negotiation of treaties that opened up certain cities for trade with India and Europe, beginning with Treaty of Nanking in 1842, was not a new solution for dealing with marauders along China's borders.[16] Despite being manifestations of tested solutions for troubles remote from the Ch'ing court's location, the treaty ports created fertile environments for the settlement of foreigners and a

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[12] Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 49.

[13] Johnson, Shanghai, p. 3.

[14] Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 62; Bergère, The Golden Age, p. 25. The various interpretations of Shanghai's history make a precise yet succinct summary difficult. For example, many of the older Western histories assume Shanghai was only a small, insignificant fishing village before Western traders arrived. For a comprehensive history that strives to present a more thoroughly researched and well-balanced perspective, see Johnson, Shanghai, especially pp. 2-5 where she discusses the variety of historical perspectives, and Chapters 7 - 12, in which she looks at the impact of both Chinese and Western forces on Shanghai's development. The overall history of China since 1800 has also been recorded from various controversial perspectives, which are reviewed and revised in Fairbank's The Cambridge History of China, Vols. 10 - 15, and digested in Fairbank's Chinese Revolution, Chapter 3, "Some Theoretical Approaches," pp. 39 - 45.

[15] Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 85.

[16] Ibid., pp. 91-193. Rather than trying to compel marauders to leave through long drawn-out skirmishes, the imperial court would concede just enough to allow the offenders to gain from contact through trade.

safe haven for Chinese merchants and others seeking freedom for the constraints of Chinese rule."[17] Some of these Chinese immigrants followed the foreigners to treaty ports from Canton, home of a wealthy sector of Chinese businessman who began as appointed go-between men for city officials and foreign traders. These *compradores*, as they were known, became a "major Chinese economic force in Shanghai" by the turn of the 20th century through strategic contacts and subsequent wealth.[18]

The foreigners -- British, American, French and soon many others who negotiated treaties of their own -- settled in the major port cities of Shanghai, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, and Ningpo, creating around them miniature versions of their native Western cities. Shanghai was unique among these port cities, for its pivotal location in the fertile Yangtze River Valley fostered enormous surges in Chinese populations and thus in workers available for the many new Western-style commercial enterprises. In addition, the foreign population eventually formed an integral part of the city core, rather than hovering on the outskirts, as in other port cities. By the 1930s, the International Settlement and French Concession, areas that included both Chinese and foreigners, "accounted for over a million of [Shanghai's] inhabitants and included by far the greater part of its wealth, its commerce, anc its industry."[19] The core of foreigners revolved on the axis of extraterritoriality, a feature of the treaties negotiated by the various foreign powers. "Extrality," as the locals abbreviated this source of their livelihood,[20] accounted for the depth and texture of the city's opportunities for gaining money and power. Simply defined as "foreign consular jurisdiction over foreign nationals," extrality severely limited Chinese authority in the foreign settlements in both civil and criminal law.[21] It ensured that a British offence against a Chinese could be dealt with only in a British court, an American suing a Frenchman had to resort to the French court, and a Chinese suing a foreigner had to

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[17] Martin King Whyte and William L. Parish, Urban Life in Contemporary China (Chicago, 1984), p. 14. (A drawing of the Park Hotel, unidentified, graces the first page of this book, complete with Communist banners hanging from lampposts in front of the hotel.) The Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) and the Small Knife Society Revolt in 1853 were major causes for floods of refugees in Shanghai flying from south China and the Yangtze valley: Wei, p. 46. These and other rebellions from which Chinese fled in Shanghai are detailed in Wei's chapter 4, "Chinese rebellions and the growth of the Shanghai into a major metropolis." The warlord period from 1912 to 1927 was another period for immigration into the city.

[18] Coble, Shanghai Capitalists, p. 23. The *compradore*, a Portugese word, was originally the Chinese servant of a foreign master. That rôle evolved to the point where the compradore's earnings not only reflected his invaluable service to his employer but also the interest he secretly charged from Chinese clients, and other spin-off payments and salaries earned through his knowledge of foreign and Chinese trade systems: Bergère, Golden Age, p. 39.

[19] Clifford, p. 7. Shanghai's population at first contact with the British is estimated at a quarter of a million, but by 1927, it was the largest city in China at three million (foreigners and Chinese): Coble, p. 13.

[20] Noel Barber, The Fall of Shanghai: The Communist Takeover in 1949 (London, 1979), p. 26.

[21] Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 93.

resort to Chinese "mixed courts" where legal responsibility had different meanings that in foreign courts. By 1934, fourteen nations enjoyed equal rights with each other, giving them the status of "most favoured nations,"[22] while many other foreigners shared in the privileges which the concomitant self-governments of the French Concession and International Settlement safeguarded from the laws and strife of the rest of China. The protection provided by the foreign municipal governments and their watchful gunboats in the Huangpu River also attracted many Chinese refugees and entrepreneurs mentioned earlier, despite the much larger municipality of Greater Shanghai that retained for Chinese residents the original walled city of Shanghai and surrounding areas.[23] The geographical proximity of Chinese and foreigners suggests the existence of a productive relationship between them, from which commerce evolved that affected the rest of China and from which evolved the Park Hotel.[24]

The Founding of the Joint Savings Society in Financial History

The modern banks that founded the J.S.S. contrasted to the traditional banks of China that had evolved specific functions according to their location, for example, trade-related activities in coastal areas. These old-style banks "accepted deposits, made loans to wholesale merchants, remitted funds from place to place [to pay for goods bought by traders], and issued and discounted commercial paper."[25] In the twentieth century, these banks, such as those originating in Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces and specifically those founded in Shanghai by wealthy families from the Ningpo area (see map, fig. 9), became most numerous and powerful in Shanghai, playing a "rôle of primary importance in the industrialization of the city."[26] Their capital was based on investments by dye and opium merchants.[27] Despite their traditional banking practises, the position of old-style banks, writes Andrea McElderry, "depended not only on their close ties with the Chinese merchants but also on their close ties with the foreign banks."[28] The foreign banks, for example, recognized the receipts from the Chinese banks given to foreign traders as

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[22] All About Shanghai, p. 21.

[23] In a 1930 census of the International Settlement and a 1932 one of the French Concession, 60,450 foreigners were counted in contrast to an estimated 1,500,000 Chinese, while in the Greater Shanghai area, approximately 1,570,000 Chinese lived alongside 9,347 foreigners: All About Shanghai, p. 34.

[24] See Bergère, Golden Age, pp. 107-123 for coverage of the Chinese businesses in the International Settlement and French Concession area.

[25] McElderry, p. 11.

[26] Bergère, Golden Age, p. 15. See also Fairbank, Chinese Revolution, p. 52.

[27] McElderry, p. 133.

[28] Ibid., p. 21.

payment for goods received and also loaned money to the growing Chinese banks. Thus, both Chinese and foreign commerce benefited from the so-called intrusion of foreign trade.

The traditional banks, however, serving trade along the eastern coastline based on practices adopted over hundreds of years of dynastic rule, could not fill the commercial rôle of the imperial-backed Shansi group of banks from the interior. These banks fell with the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911. Initially, commercial functions were taken over by foreign banks, whose activities were inevitably copied by an emerging Chinese bourgeoisie trained in Western banking practices and were used to create Western-style banks to invest in developments across the country, and to participate in political financing.[29] The rise and success of modern-style Chinese banks like the J.S.S. (based on an even more modern concept of joining the assets of several banks into one holding company) is an economic phenomenon that testifies to the "cultural symbiosis" that John Fairbank identifies in the cosmopolitan treaty ports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[30]

The four modern banks which comprised the J.S.S. originated shortly before the First World War in a period of such prosperity and change in China that Marie-Claire Bergère calls it the "golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie."[31] During this period (1911-1937), the "expansion of modern business produced an increasingly wealthy and powerful urban elite" which responded in different ways to the presence of foreign trade, most notably with business ventures that would maximize returns on their newly deposited capital -- a very Western, capitalist economic philosophy.[32] New commercial ventures practised by some, however, were balanced by old ideals adhered to by others; while Chinese businessmen in the traditional sector undoubtedly benefited from Western capitalism, as practised by the more modern and generally younger generation, they also believed there was a safeguard in the "cohesion and flexibility of the traditional economic system"[33] against foreign domination and that the traditional methods could still respond to the needs of an essentially traditional China.

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[29] Ibid., pp. 15-17, 151. In 1927, ten modern banks out of an existing 48 held 80 percent of total deposits in China worth $360,000,000. Of these ten, six were represented by the J. S. S.: the four founding banks mentioned earlier; the bank of which K. P. Ch'en, also on the J. S. S. board, was general manager, the Shanghai Savings and Commercial Bank; and the J. S. S. itself: Chang Kia-ngau, "Toward Modernization of China's Currency and Banking, 1927-1937," in The Strenuous Decade: China's Nation-Building Efforts, 1927-1937, Paul K. T. Sih, ed. (New York, 1970), p. 137. Parks Coble explains that these leading banks held the largest number of securities in China: p. 285 n.23. For a discussion of the rise of modern banks, see Bergère, Golden Age, pp. 78-83.

[30] Fairbank, "Maritime and Continental in China's History," Cambridge History, Vol. 12, p. 20.

[31] Bergère, Golden Age, title.

[32] Bergère calls the economy that developed at this time "dual" because doing business in both traditional and modern ways meant two very different economies: Ibid., p. 25.

[33] Ibid., p. 27.

Despite such faith in tradition, the inefficient economy left by the unstable and impractical conduct of the Ch'ing dynasty's empire needed restructuring. Shanghai's entrepreneurs believed China could only be rescued by the implementation of foreign banking methods and other Western practices.[34] After 1911, many businessmen were educated in the West; at least half of the men on the J.S.S. board had gone abroad for their education, seeking out America especially to study finance and law.[35] The bourgeoisie who returned to China "were both more up to date with the realities of the contemporary world and less bound by traditional constraints;"[36] they could survey equally attentively "the Stock Exchange of London or New York and the Szechuanese market" as well as discuss the complexities of internal politics.[37]

During the 1920s, this cosmopolitan group was also politically affiliated in various ways. Their political connections contributed to the success of modern banks over native-style banks.[38] For example, the financial operations of progressive bankers "played a vital rôle in financing the Nanking Government" which elevated them into a position of influence. This "merchant elite" group -- a category employed by Joseph Fewsmith that includes Chen Kuang-fu and Wu Ting-ch'ang --

> formed more a national financial elite than a strictly Shanghai group. In 1927 they controlled by far the largest amount of readily mobilized assets and . . . were willing to use those resources to support Chiang Kai-shek. Disgusted with warlord politics, they hoped that the Nationalists would provide strong central leadership for the unification of the nation and the reconstruction of the economy. As befit a self-conscious, educated national elite, these bankers kept aloof from . . . the Shanghai underworld.[39]

Certain of these wealthy businessmen formed the basis of the "Political Study Group (or Clique)," a group active in creating policy for the Nationalist Government. Their membership earned Wu Ting-ch'ang and Wang Cheng-t'ing full-page biographies in a

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[34] Ibid., p. 25.

[35] While only seven biographies of board members could be found (see Appendix B), all seven show major education abroad. Five members studied in America, at Harvard Law School, the University of Virginia, University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, and Yale University. Two studied in Japan -- where a "fashion for the Occident" had a longer history than in China (Sergeant, p. 23) -- one at the Kobe Commercial College, the other in law at Kyoto Imperial University.

[36] Bergère, Golden Age, p. 125. For a thorough exposition of the academic background and subsequent pursuits of Chinese during the pre-Communist period, see E-Tu Zen Sun, "The Growth of the Academic Community, 1912-1949," Cambridge History, Vol. 13, Part 2, especially the sections "Higher Education and Nation-Building During the Nanking Decade" and "The Emergence of Modern Institutions 1898-1928," pp. 363-386.

[37] Bergère, "The Other China," p. 33.

[38] McElderry, p. 16.

[39] Fewsmith, Party, State, and Local Elites, pp. 120-121.

confidential publication by the Chinese Communist Party in 1945.[40] On the J.S.S. board were also the vice-president of the semi-private Bank of Communications,[41] an ex-minister of foreign affairs, the ambassador to the U.S.S.R., and members of the Nationalist Government's (Or Kuomintang's) Central Committee.[42]

The "golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie, " and specifically the J.S.S. board members, was indeed an era when all seemed to turn to gold for those who inhabited the circle of the financial elite. Despite their inclinations towards modernization, some of this success can be attributed to the traditional practice of doing business through family ties. Though the concentration of famous names on the board may suggest gratuitous appointments, those famous names, as has been shown, were connected to the most successful banks in China. The union of these banks may have been established through social connections that formed the basis of a widely practised method of building upon patronage and capital to ensure the success of a financial endeavour.[43] The majority of board members was part of the group of financiers from Chekiang and Kiangsu provinces who "so completely dominated Shanghai business and banking that the name became interchangeable with the terms "Shanghai financiers," "Shanghai capitalists," or "Chekiang-Kiangsu capitalists."[44] The key to the success of this group was precisely its interlocking directorate," though which major banks shared directors; Parks Coble notes in particular the close ties between the four banks comprising the J. S. S.[45] These capitalists

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[40] Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders, by the Chinese Communist Party, mimeographed for private distribution by the Committee on International and Regional Studies, J. K. Fairbank, ed. (Harvard University, February 1948), n.p. According to the frontispiece of the microfilm, this publication came into the hands of a private American citizen in China, and was translated under "American supervision in China."
The activities and strategies of the bourgeois advisory groups made up of prominent financiers such as Wu Ting-ch'ang and Wang Cheng-t'ing changed in intent over the years (from around 1920 to 1935), as detailed by Bergère, Golden Age, pp. 222-227, 235-240, 280-284.

[41] Chien Yung-ming, in George F. Nellist, Men of Shanghai and North China (Shanghai, 1933), p. 70.

[42] Wu Ting-ch'ang was a member of the Kuomintang's Central Advisory Committee and became Chiang Kai-shek's Minister of Industry in 1935, while Wang Cheng-t'ing was a member of the Central Executive Committee, as detailed in Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders.

[43] C. Y. W. Meng, "Bank Closures in Shanghai Reveal Serious Economic Situation in Shanghai," China Weekly Review, 27 Oct. 1938, p. 295. In Shanghai Capitalists, Coble (pp. 251-252) explains that the practice of appointing leaders of commerce and industry to boards of directors simply followed Chinese tradition of establishing sound business through contacts. Out of it grew the wide variety of rôles played by capitalist leaders.

[44] Coble, pp. 24-25, 276 n.40. According to Bryna Goodman's study, the native-place of Chinese provided status and security: p.4. Three of the J. S. S. directors came from Chekiang province, and six from Kiangsu, two provinces linked by location and in financial and political interests: p. 214.

[45] Coble, p. 321 n. 79, notes that Wu T'ing-chang, director of the J. S. S. and a leader of the Chekiang banking group, "had especially close relations with other managers of the 'four northern' banks, including Chou Tso-min, Ch'ien Yung-ming, and Hu Yun" -- all four men directors of the J. S. S.

initiated commercial enterprises across China, from publishing newspapers to mining and shipping coal.[46]

In their new business ventures both inside and outside Shanghai, which served both as investments and as ways to help China's economic restructuring, modern institutions like the J.S.S. and its constituent banks applied the knowledge of manipulating capital the directors had learned from the West. Bryna Goodman says it is not often recognized that the Chinese businessman in Shanghai, with strong loyalties to the places in which they or their ancestors were born (usually outside Shanghai), "gave war-torn and devastated rural areas access to the wealth of Shanghai" by using foreign methods, particularly after the 1911 revolution.[47] Recognizing "the need for developing modern commercial banking in north China to meet the growing demands of economic development there," Chou Tso-min, for example, created the Kincheng Banking Corporation in 1917.[48] Agricultural production was targeted by K. P. Ch'en, who opened numerous branches of his bank in the interior provinces and established a rural cooperative credit department in Shanghai.[49] The Chinese press in Shanghai also propagandized the Chinese bourgeousie as "farsighted" and said their industrial efforts (in combination with education) would result in an improvement in the living conditions of the peasant masses.[50] The failure of the bourgeoisie to actually change the economic status of those masses would eventually lead to the rise of communism, but the bourgeoisie's perception of its rôle as patriotic modernizers, defined by the economic advantages their efforts made to their country, justified the concentration of wealth in Shanghai and the continued evolution of banking practices based on foreign models, such as the establishment of the J.S.S. and its treasury in 1923.

The J.S.S. bankers believed they could help China's economy, and realize great financial benefit at the same time, through stabilizing note issue. The problem of bank notes from different sources and regions circulating in China had long concerned both the government and the financial and trade sectors. Consumers and vendors traditionally relied on a system of credit that did not work well with Western-style banks because of a long-standing lack of confidence in the institutions issuing notes, the result of a "high speculative and profitable exchange market" fuelled by unregulated note issuance.[51] The

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[46] See Boorman's Biographical Dictionary entries on the numerous enterprises initiated by the board members (Appendix B).

[47] Goodman, p. 219.

[48] One of the four northern banks making up the J.S.S.: Boorman, Vol. III, p. 427.

[49] Boorman, Vol. I, p. 194.

[50] Marie-Claire Bergère, "The Political Failure of the Bourgeoisie," in Cambridge History, Vol. 12, p. 768.

[51] Frank M. Tamagna, Chinese Banking and Finance (New York, 1942), pp. 15-16. See also Fairbank's

record of success enjoyed by foreign banks propelled them into the arena of note issuance where they made good profits on the exchange from the common currency of silver to the more practical paper money, at the same time creating avenues for competition. The experience and education in foreign banking of the founding institutions of the J. S. S., already proven to the public, made possible the creation of a Society that could issue banknotes based on public confidence.[52] Only nine years after its inception, the J.S.S. was able to give back to depositors "nearly $6,000,000 in bonus dividends over and above the seven per cent interest paid on deposits."[53]

The capital behind the J.S.S. engendered by the "golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie" of the 1920s would have justified the conception, around 1930, of a large modern hotel as an appropriate investment, although confidence in the feasibility of such a momentous project had yet to be assured. As a highly experienced banking group, the J.S.S. was already aware of the market in the hospitality industry. One of the directors, K. P. Chen, had a keen interest in establishing a travel industry that catered to Chinese clients. His China Travel Service, a company that shared space with Chen's Shanghai and Commercial Savings Bank, was organized in 1927 and

> acted as agent for the purchase of railroad and steamship tickets, sold domestic travelers checks, and handled travelers checks issued by foreign banks. . . . [It] sponsored organized tours, provided travel assistance to students going abroad and to overseas Chinese returning to China, and published a travel magazine."[54]

The China Travel Service is remembered as "an outstandingly efficient and reliable organization in a period when facilities for travel in China were crowded at best and chaotic at worst . . . [and] established an outstanding international reputation."[55] K. P. Chen's bank was not one of the founders of the J. S. S., but perhaps the success of his travel agency explains his inclusion on the hotel's board. His experience in the tourist industry would have fortified the Society's decision to build a large, modern-style hotel.

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evaluation of the function of native-style banks prior to treaty ports, in Chinese Revolution, pp. 60-61.

[52] Boorman, Vol.III, p. 452.

[53] "Tallest Building Between London and Tokyo Soon Ready," Industrial Annual and Trade Review, April 1933, p. 9. H.C. #776. The growth of the Society seems phenomenal: from less than $1,500,000 worth of deposits at the time of its inception in 1923, it grew to almost $62,000,000 by 1932.

[54] Boorman, Vol. I, p. 194. The opening of this service on April 1, 1928, was an expression of the lead a few modern private banks and bankers assumed in the Chinese economy: Tamagna, p. 41.

[55] Boorman, Vol. I, p. 195. The China Travel Service opened two of its own hotels in 1935, one in Nanking and one in Sian. It is still in existence under the same name, operating under the control of the Chinese government. On the history of the C.T.S. see The Souvenir of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Founding of China Travel Service (Hong Kong) Limited, Cheung Kong Leung, ed. (Hong Kong, 1988).

The "Shanghai capitalists" participated in the business affairs of China; this in turn greatly benefited the stability of Shanghai banks. The idea for the Park Hotel was likely conceived some years before 1932, since the hotel's intended year of completion was 1933 and construction was already well underway in 1931.[56] This period saw the beginning of a paralyzing world-wide depression, but in Shanghai, the depression was held at bay, particularly between 1928 and 1932.[57] The increasing "severity of rural depression and the accompanying rural unrest led the rural wealthy to deposit their money in Shanghai banks,"[58] with whose credit departments and rural branches they were already familiar.[59] In addition, for the rural hinterland, both "Shanghailanders" and "Shanghainese" businesses had a confirmed safety record because of the protection afforded by the international presence.[60] The efforts to extend the scope of service to rural areas led to an increase in profits in modern banks like the J.S.S. and therefore to "an increasing number of new banking ventures between 1931 and 1934"[61] -- the time of the Great Depression, but also of the birth of the Park Hotel. It is understandable that this group of banking elite would want to invest in an enterprise such as a modern hotel.

The Hotel's Architect: His Life and Work

Hiring an architect for a project the size of the Park Hotel entailed some risk, for, Witold Rybczynski says, it requires patrons to choose the architect who "will best respond to the opportunities and limitations of a particular space."[62] Apparently ignoring the pool of existing Chinese architectural talent from which it could have chosen, as well as the

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[56] "22-Storey Building Facing Racecourse Tallest Skyscraper on 4 Continents," China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 1. H.C. #1277. The tenth anniversary of the founding of the J.S.S. was in 1933.

[57] Between 1928 and 1931, silver prices fell and the Shanghai economy expanded, but the following four years, particularly in 1934 and 1935, saw the economy slump into a depression due largely to rising silver prices. The rise in silver prices reflected adoption by the major economic forces in the world of silver as a standard. However, Coble suggests the financiers in Shanghai were not affected by this depression until mid-1934, because silver flowed rapidly from the rural areas into Shanghai banks as the rural wealthy made use of the apparent security of Shanghai banks. Thus, says Coble, "nearly all aspects of modern banking in Shanghai expanded from mid-1932 to mid-1934." Coble explains clearly the causes and effects of the true depression that finally put Shanghai into the same plight as the rest of the world in 1934: p. 299, n.1 and pp. 144-158.

[58] Ibid., p. 144.

[59] Boorman, Vol. I, p. 193. K. P. Ch'en's Shanghai and Commercial Savings Bank developed a variety of credit operations, most notably an agricultural department in 1934. Chou Tso-min's Kincheng Banking Corporation was also a pioneer in the field of agricultural credit: Boorman, Vol. III, p. 428. The Bank of Communications under Ch'ien Yung-ming's direction after 1938 was responsible for considerable industrial development both throughout China and overseas.

[60] The foreign residents in Shanghai were known as Shanghailanders, while to differentiate, Chinese residents were called Shanghainese.

[61] Coble, p. 145.

[62] Witold Rybczynski, Looking Around: A Journey Through Architecture (Toronto 1993), p. 193.

numerous foreign firms available,[63] the Society chose Laszlo Hudec, a Hungarian architect whose portfolio comprised buildings for both Chinese and Western clients and displayed the architect's versatility and creativity, and thus his desirability.[64] Projects commissioned of him by the Chinese community were significant works for important clients. For example, the Moore Memorial Church, the Chapei funeral chapel, the Chapei Waterworks, and three modern theatres were for, respectively, a Chinese protestant congregation, a Chinese funerary society, the Chinese Municipality of Greater Shanghai, and a Chinese theatre company.[65] Most importantly, Hudec had already built the Joint Savings Society's headquarters on Szechuan Road in 1928 (fig. 9). On the basis of this building, the Society could recommend Hudec's services which it had found "eminently satisfactory."[66] The commission for the Park Hotel undoubtedly grew out of his Chinese clients' familiarity with his work for the Chinese community in Shanghai.

While the success of Hudec's work for Chinese clients is evident, the origins of his business relationship with them remain cloudy. Still, we can conjecture. His association with the American firm of R. A. Curry, for whom Hudec did most of the drawings, may have been a starting point:[67] in one of Hudec's scrapbooks is a proposal by the R. A. Curry Co. for a building for the Shanghai Bankers' Association, an organization of modern banks including the "four northern" banks of the Joint Savings Society.[68] There also exists a photograph of Hudec and two American architects with a number of Chinese architects and builders; this places Hudec in social contact with the Chinese building circle and establishes beyond doubt Hudec's Chinese connection, while at the same time raising more questions than it answers about how he obtained his commissions. Interestingly, the

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[63] By 1929 there were 44 architectural firms in Shanghai and 55 in 1934, mostly foreign, according to the China Architects and Builders Compendium, cited by Cody, p. 316, n6. See also Zhang Zaiyuan, "From West to Shanghai," p. 96. Fifty-five Chinese architects, compiled from the Society of Chinese Architects' Membership List, 1933, are listed in Cody's "Directory of the 'First Generation of Chinese Architects,'" Appendix 2, Henry K. Murphy, pp. 351-353. The majority were trained in America, although two give German schools and one a Belgian school, as well as a few London and Paris schools, as their educational backgrounds. Only five Chinese architects are listed in Nellist's Men of Shanghai of 1933, a reference source apparently intended for foreign use, since its coverage of important Chinese is sketchy.

[64] See Appendix A, where buildings commissioned by Chinese clients are asterisked. His widow maintains that as an architect, Hudec was popular with the Chinese.

[65] The Shanghai Spectator, 6 April 1933, n.p., HC #771. Hudec's association with Chinese clients continued after the Park Hotel was completed; for example, in 1938 he built a large, sumptuous, home in European modern style for a Chinese dye magnate, D.V. Woo (or Wood - see Appendix A).

[66] From a letter date 9 April 1929, addressed to Mr. Singloh Hsu, General Manager of the National Commercial Bank, Shanghai: HC #771.

[67] Cody, p. 156 n105. Cody states that the McTyiere School (1922), attributed to Curry, was drawn mostly by Hudec.

[68] HC #691, Scrapbook VI. The member banks of the Shanghai Bankers Association "held over three-fourths of the total resources of all modern Chinese banks": Coble, p. 18. See Coble, p. 286 n 23 for some of the bank members of the Shanghai Bankers Association and the securities held by these banks.

photograph commemorates a banquet given by the director of the Voh Kee Construction Company (which was responsible for the Park Hotel's construction) in honour of American architect Henry K. Murphy, who devoted much of his career to trying to define a Chinese style of architecture while using new technology.[69] Jeffrey Cody says this banquet "suggests a professional camaraderie between foreign and Chinese architects which was highly unusual" and undoubtedly owed to Murphy's "missionary work" in striving to understand and absorb Chinese architecture and communicate it to his foreign colleagues.[70] Hudec made no such effort -- his buildings, like most new construction at the time, are definitely non-Asian in appearance -- so the Chinese connection must have been such that he could mix Chinese business associations with occasional social interactions.

If Murphy's social and business contacts with members of the Chinese community were based on their appreciation of his attempts to develop modern architecture in Chinese terms, this cannot have been the case with Hudec. His Chinese commissions are in non-Chinese styles with the occasional cultural adaptation, such as the inclusion of Chinese altars or suites for concubines in Western-style homes. His relationship must have been founded on more than the respect of leading Chinese for the practice of his profession.[71] One explanation lies in the political circumstances in which Hudec found himself, first upon arriving in Shanghai after the First World War, and then throughout his life until his departure for Switzerland in 1947. Born in 1893 in the Slavic town of Banska Bystrica (Besztercebanya in Hungarian), in the north of Hungary and now in Slovakia (see maps, fig. 10), Hudec joined the Austro-Hungarian army around 1914. He was one of many Hungarians fighting on Hungary's northern front who were captured and imprisoned by the Russians during the war in Khabarovsk, a Siberian prison camp. He escaped from a transport train in Siberia and worked his way down the new railway being built from Harbin in north-eastern China, arriving in Shanghai in 1918.[72]

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[69] Cody, p. 313 and Fig. 55, p. 314.

[70] Ibid., pp. 316, 326.

[71] Hudec's son Martin remembers accompanying his father on visits to houses under construction. The young child's mind was impressed with the number of bedrooms his father had to incorporate into his designs; when he asked his father why so many, he was told they were for the owner's wives: Personal Interview, 11 March 1997. The striking impression this difference in culture had on westerners is also illustrated by Harriet Sergeant's tale (p. 272) of listening to Chinese women tell her about those pre-Communist times, expecting somehow that their lives were similar to her own mothers'. "It was some time," she writes, "before I realized that the numerous 'aunties' to whom they referred were, in fact, 'daddy's' concubines."

[72] Most of the biographical material is taken from an unpublished manuscript by Dr. Ivan Kotsis, HC #372-374. In an interview with Mrs. Hudec on October 13, 1995, more details about Hudec's prison escape and the circumstances of the flight from Shanghai were recorded.

Hudec's nationality was an issue before he even got to Shanghai. In Harbin and again in Shanghai when he arrived, he lied about his origins in order to disguise the fact he came from a country that had just lost a war.[73] The predominance of British and British-allied foreigners in Shanghai must have made the atmosphere uncomfortable for a Hungarian in the period immediately following the war when Hudec came to Shanghai. At some point, however, the truth came out, for Hudec's home eventually became a social centre for expatriate Hungarians.[74] For the Chinese bourgeoisie, that Hudec was Hungarian and his wife, whom he married in 1921, partly German, held different significance. Mrs. Hudec's father was German, and Hungary was Germany's ally, establishing close associations with Germany. After losing its consular status in China after the First World War, Germany was the first country to conduct business with Chinese on an equal basis, without the privileges of being a treaty nation.[75] Hudec's Hungarian nationality also failed to earn him and his family treaty status, for Hungary had not negotiated a treaty after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1919.[76] While Hudec's British contacts, through his wife's mother's side, made possible the kind of privileged, extensive social life prized by Shanghailanders,[77] their lack of legal protection through extraterritoriality, on which citizens of treaty countries counted, evidently made Hudec cautious. He forbade Mrs. Hudec to drive after she got her license for fear of an accident that would launch them into some legal action in Chinese courts in which no consulate could intervene.[78] At the same time, his national connections enabled him and

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[73] When travelling through Siberia, and later in China, Hudec maintained he was from Latvia in order to explain his unfamiliar language to those foreigners he encountered: Gisella Hudec, personal interview, November 21, 1996. For a newly escaped prisoner of war, the situation of fear and hatred for the enemies of most of the internationals resident in Shanghai can only be imagined.

[74] The weekly gatherings probably began after the house on Columbia Road was finished in the 1930s, according to Martin Hudec.

[75] German-Chinese relations dated to the 1750's, but after losing all imperialist trappings as well as all German concessions in China in 1919, Germany's industrial interests gradually resumed *en force* in China (but not the concessions), for they presented no threat to the Chinese: William C. Kirby, Germany and Republican China (Stanford 1984), p. 16, 177.

[76] The privileges of treaty nations, or "imperialists," were never easily accepted by the Chinese; the May Fourth Movement of 1919 was a strong demonstration against the presence of foreign treaty powers, an attitude reflected in the rise of the Nationalist and Chinese Communist Parties throughout the 1920s and 30s: Bergère, "Shanghai, or The Other China," p. 13. Although China had declared war on Germany and Austro-Hungary in 1917, the lack of recognition for China's participation in the war at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 sparked the May Fourth Movement in Shanghai, a reaction against all that the western imperialist powers stood for. See Benjamin I. Schwartz, "Themes in Intellectual History: May Fourth and After," pp. 402 and 407, and Ernest P. Young, "Politics in the Aftermath of Revolution: The Era of Yuan Shih-k'ai, 1912-1916," p. 269, in Fairbank, Cambridge History Vol. 12.

[77] Mrs. Gisella Hudec, personal interview, October 13, 1995. See also the numerous interviews with "old China hands" in Sergeant's book, Shanghai.

[78] Mrs. Gisella Hudec, Personal Interview, 21 Nov. 1996. Hudec was named honorary consul by his home country (not the newly formed Czechoslovakia, but Hungary) some time in the late 1930s: unpublished

his family to avoid internment by the German-allied Japanese when the Second World War broke out. He may also have had to grapple with an unfriendly atmosphere in the British-dominated foreign community toward Hungarians after World War I, and again as the Second World War approached.[79] There was strong sentiment against Germany's allies, since Germans and Austrians living in the city were deported in 1919; anyone with a good word for Germans was considered a traitor.[80] Hudec must have practised his profession somewhat in isolation from the larger community of his British colleagues.

Hudec's lack of treaty privileges undoubtedly contributed to his appeal to Chinese patrons and enhanced his reputation for sound knowledge of and expertise in Western science and technology. This experience was admired but only a small but growing number of Chinese architects of the period possessed it.[81] A survey of Hudec's training and work prior to the Park Hotel reveals his ideas, tastes, and the working method that helped shape the Park Hotel, built at a peak period in his career when many other projects were also in various stages of execution. Any modern Western architect of the 1920s and 30s who had trained before the First World War had generally received a traditional architectural education yet could produce original and even expressive works in newer modes. Hudec underwent a Beaux-Arts training, evident from his pre-World War I drawings, at the Royal Technical University of Budapest from 1911 to 1914. In the early twentieth century, this typical education produced a few architects who had begun to diverge from the focus on historical and especially classical models. The projects customarily produced by Beaux-Arts students across Europe and America were for monumental, symmetrical buildings intended to transcend the utilitarian nature of architecture, while remaining accessible and comprehensible to the general public.[82] By the time Hudec underwent his training in

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manuscript by Dr. Ivan Kotsis, HC #372-374; also according to Mrs. Hudec.

[79] See Sandor A. Kostya, Northern Hungary (Toronto 1992); Bruce Garver, "The Czechoslovak Tradition: An Overview," pp. 25-56, Victor S. Mamatey, "The Birth of Czechoslovakia: Union of Two Peoples," pp. 75-88, and Josef Anderle, "The First Republic, 1918-1938," pp. 89-112, in Hans Brisch and Ivan Volgyes, eds., Czechoslovakia: The Heritage of Ages Past (New York 1979). Prior to the Second World War, British observers in Hungary ensured that atrocities committed by certain Hungarian factions against minority groups gained world-wide publicity. Ironically, despite Hudec's apparent need to conceal his nationality in the midst of Europeans, he was not a real Hungarian but a Slovak -- a member of one of the minority groups for whose benefit Europe forced Hungary to concede the northern portion of Hungary at the end of WWI. The real situation in Hungary, in which complicated combinations of cultural and language minority groups had long histories of civil strife, was not well known: even Woodrow Wilson, who sponsored the Czech's drive for their own republic, was not fully aware of it: Kostya, p. 97.

[80] Even though the war was over, the Allied Powers continued to enforce the deportation command, "on the grounds that the Germans might still carry on baneful propaganda." F.L. Pott, A Short History of Shanghai, Being an Account of the Growth and Development of the International Settlement (Shanghai 1927), p. 233.

[81] See footnote 2, this chapter.

[82] Robinson and Bletter, p. 5.

Hungary, however, a heated debate in Germany on the formation of architectural types had boiled over into Austria.[83] Influence from the Vienna Secession movement had migrated from Vienna to Hungary in a unique way, through architects such as the pioneer of a Hungarian vernacular style, Odon Lechner (1845-1914). Rather than continue an architectural tradition through the usual portfolio of historical styles and Viennese cultural production, Lechner sought a truly Hungarian architecture. The circle of architects around Lechner based in Budapest explored highly individual, decorative architectural forms. While failing to introduce new ideas into the curriculum of educational institutions such as Hudec's school, the Royal Technical University of Budapest, this group influenced many young architects during the period of Hudec's formal training.[84] Hudec's only surviving sketchbook from this period, dated 1912, includes many notes on writings by the leading proponents of the current debates in the architectural field, such as Hermann Muthesius and Kurt Scheffler.[85] The one building he designed pre-dating his enlistment around 1914, and known to us from a few drawings, a small church in or near his home town of Beszterczebanya in northern Hungary, displayed a rural vernacular in the large stone blocks and wooden steeple flared at the base. At this early stage, Hudec was interested in more than the historical styles of the Beaux-Arts school.

In Appendix A, Hudec's largest body of work -- that done in Shanghai -- has been divided into five distinct phases whose progression indicates the architect's interest in and ability to adapt outside sources. The first phase covers his school designs and projects in Hungary. The influence of his Beaux-Art education is evident in his early work from the second phase, especially those buildings designed while working in the office of the American architect R. A. Curry, such as the International Savings Society building of 1919

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[83] Wolfgang Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture (London, 1973), p. 68.

[84] Andfas Hadik, "Lechner and Hungarian Architecture of the Turn of the Century," in Shinji Kohmoto, et al, eds., Panorama: Architecture and Applied Arts in Hungary, 1896 - 1916 (Kyoto 1995), p. 14. On the development of 20th century Hungarian architecture, see also John Macsai, "Architecture as Opposition," Journal of Architectural Education 38 (Summer 1985), pp. 8-14; Wojciech Lesnikowski, ed., et al, East European Modernism: Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland Between the Wars, 1919-1939 (New York 1995), pp.15-33, 113-124, 125-177; Ilona Sarmany-Parson, "The Influence of the British Arts and Crafts Movement in Budapest and Vienna," Acta Historia Artium [Budapest], 33 (1987-88), pp. 181-198; and Jozsef Vadaz, "Lajos Kozma and Le Corbusier," The New Hungarian Quarterly, 25,94 (Summer 1984), pp. 189-192. On the extremes of an active intellectual avant-garde prior to World War I, see Steven A. Mansbach, "Revolutionary Events, Revolutionary Artists: The Hungarian Avant-Garde until 1920," in Stephen C. Foster, ed., "Event" Arts and Art Events (Ann Arbor 1988), pp. 31-42, which challenged traditional styles and establishments, a position that Hudec was sure to have been aware of but which he did not appear to share.

[85] Sketchbook, HC #336. On the national styles debate, and the difficult metamorphosis architects of Hudec's generation underwent, see William J. R. Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, 3rd edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1996), Chapter 8, pp. 131-147. The prevalence and implications of this transformation, however, are evident in Curtis's other chapters dealing with pre-World War Two architecture in Europe as well as in the United States: Chs. 4-25.

(fig. 11) with its French owners in mind. Other examples from this phase include the American Club, of 1924, executed in American colonial style -- also done while in Curry's office -- and his numerous houses, including his own, show he retained references to European styles throughout his career (fig. 12, 13).[86] The drawings for those that survive are also early evidence of Hudec's drafting skill and ability to respond to his clients' stylistic preferences.

The third phase, which coincides with the opening of his own practice in 1925, was one of transition in the mid-1920s from a young, inexperienced architect to a well-known, creative professional, a status he achieved around 1930. In this important period, Hudec explored the freedom of his new practice through the potentials offered by new technology and tried to find his own style, which, he seemed to believe, could be an expression of his homeland -- once a few years had passed to dull the memory of the war -- as a way to distinguish himself from the architectural milieu of Shanghai streets that evoked images of England, France, Germany or America. The Moore Memorial Church of 1926, for example, "combines the traditions of the richer cathedrals of the old world with a definite attachment to the scientific architectural principles of the West"[87] (fig. 14). The tower of the Joint Savings Society Building, of 1928 (fig. 9), according to a media report, emerged from memories of the rural renaissance in Upper Hungary, while the building's unique retractable bronze curtain that Hudec designed was commissioned from a Budapest metalworking firm.[88] The machinery for the Chapei Power Station, of 1929, was made by a company in Prague, so that, according to the architect, the building would "serve as a good and true exhibit of the art in industry and architecture of Czechoslovakia."[89] Like many other architects in China who evoked memories of their homelands in their architecture, Hudec was a cultural representative of Hungary in Shanghai and became one officially at some unknown date when made honorary consul for Hungary.[90]

In his fourth phase, a signature of surface and structural accents emerges, typical of the Gothic or Expressionist Modern style practised by European architects neither interested in the Bauhaus school nor confined by traditional classicism. The China Baptist Publication Society building and the Christian Literature Society Building, both of 1930;

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[86] The Chinese architectural historian Zhang Zaiyuan calls Hudec's domestic architecture a "garden house style" that changed to "modern internationalism": "From West to Shanghai," p. 96.

[87] Shanghai Sunday Times, Xmas issue, 1926, n.p., HC #771.

[88] Shanghai Times, 7 May 1928, p. 1, HC #771.

[89] Shanghai Sunday Times, Xmas Issue 1929, HC #771. The Prague company was Skodaworks Ltd.

[90] Dr. Ivan Kotsis. "Erinnerung an Laszlo Hudec." n.d. HC #372-374. Torsten Warner, in German Architecture in China, p. 15, writes, "Architects who were mere local celebrities in Germany were elevated to the status of cultural ambassadors to China."

the engineering building of 1931 for the Chiao-Tung University; the German Protestant Church of 1932; and the Park Hotel are examples from this period that emphasize vertical motifs (figs. 15-18). Tess Johnston sees in Hudec's work a "flamboyant phase"[91] corresponding to this Gothic Modern period, and his Chapei funerary chapel was a supreme illustration of the architect's expressive abilities (fig. 19a, b). In the fifth and final phase, which I call European Modern, Hudec continued to show interest in expressive shapes and surfaces, but through simplified, geometric, functional forms, as in his mansion for D.V. Woo, of 1938 (fig. 20), or the project for the Chao Tai Fire and Marine Insurance building (fig. 21), undated but surely belonging to this last period because of its clearly functional cubic shape, unarticulated façade, and spare geometric ornament of pseudo-functional "elbows." From this progression of phases, it is evident that Hudec should be seen as occupying a position among modern architects of the period who shared a belief "that an inherent characteristic of modern architecture was stylistic evolution."[92] In addition, the architect's love of expressive surfaces, shapes, materials, and organizational schemes shines through. These distinctive buildings would have made him known to the J.S.S. directors.

In addition to having a large oeuvre to establish his credentials, Hudec's previous work for the J.S.S., the Society's headquarters, finished in 1928, proved the architect's ability to solve highly technical problems creatively (fig. 9). The building occupied a shallow corner lot in a commercial district, and city by-laws required buildings thus located to have rounded corners. This rule caused some anxiety among designers but contributes to the unique appearance of old Shanghai today. Hudec himself found the rule irksome, for The China Press quoted him in a moment of sarcasm: "The only rotund thing in nature is the paunch of an old man, . . . and heaven forbid that it should be taken as a model for architectural details."[93] To accommodate both the by-law and the extremely shallow lot, the rounded corner became the entrance; Hudec's solution is described as "two superimposed arches that not only nullified the municipal rotundity, but gave an imposing entrance without wasting an inch."[94]

The J.S.S. head office also addressed other practical problems of site. In Shanghai, as in New York, tall buildings on business streets raised concerns about lack of interior light and light reaching street level.[95] In addition, the extreme temperatures

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[91] Johnston and Erh, A Last Look, p. 49.

[92] Stern, New York 1930, p. 21.

[93] The China Press, Industrial Supplement, 20 May 1928, p. 3. HC #254.

[94] Ibid., p. 3.

[95] Robert A.M. Stern, et al, New York 1930: Architecture and Urbanism Between the Two World Wars (New York 1987), p. 31.

generated by the sun and high humidity during the long summers in Shanghai required appropriate building construction, a problem that again had to be resolved in the Park Hotel.[96] According to a report in the North China Daily News, Hudec's design provided for large windows on the ground floor and small ones at the top "to permit most light where least hits and least light where most hits."[97] He also introduced details that were most effective: a brick exterior of five different dark shades, and a chain curtain of his own invention for night security covering the main door, which could be rolled up into a space above during the day.[98] The building is a wonderful testament to quality architectural design, and survives today in good condition, still used for its original purpose, unlike many buildings of old Shanghai.[99] It well established Hudec's success for his future clients for the Park Hotel.

The hotel's owners, members of an urban elite whose complex relations with China's government and economy and with Shanghai's foreign community remain a subject of scholarly interest, exercised a choice of architect that is likely more significant than it is possible to show. The evolution of the modern banking system in China, corresponding to efforts of the Chinese bourgeoisie to bring economic and social change to their country, established a framework for the eventual conception and construction of a modern building. The fact that a Hungarian architect like Hudec could contract with Chinese clients to embark on a large, expensive project was fostered by the peculiar nature of Shanghai's system of treaties. Born in Hungary, which had not negotiated such a treaty, and associated with Germany, which had lost its treaty privileges, Hudec was in a position likely seen as favourable to his Chinese clients. The Park Hotel project was a daring, ambitious one, as will be explored further in Chapter 2, but Hudec's background, training, and many completed projects, both Chinese and foreign, attested to his ability to meet the challenge.

In the midst of Shanghai's construction boom, which included Hudec's own large body of works pre-dating the Park Hotel, the selection of him as architect for the Park project demonstrated both his own suitablity for it and the nature of the Chinese bourgeoisie resident in Shanghai. From a small town of little significance for the ruling

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[96] See Chapter 2: "The Skyscraper and Shanghai's Climate."

[97] The North China Daily News 7 May 1928, p. 12, HC #771.

[98] The China Press, 20 May 1928, p. 3.

[99] Johnston and Erh, A Last Look, p. 50. This book documents pre-WWII buildings since many are being destroyed to make way for new, more space- and cost-efficient ones. Some of the old banks and office buildings are now museums, shops, and most often, administrative government offices which are often run down or renovated.

class of China's dynasties at the turn of the century to the fifth largest port in the world in the 1930s,[100] Shanghai offered opportunities to all enterpreneurs. On the potential of Shanghai's mixture of site and circumstance, Marie-Claire Bergère comments,

> it was the development of maritime commerce with the West which made the site of this port at the mouth of the Yangtze so important. It was the flow of Western capital and technicians which stimulated the growth of the modern sector, [and] aroused the competitive spirit of the national bourgeoisie."[101]

Both Hudec and the Joint Savings Society made the most of this competitive spirit. Competition was also the impetus for architectural innovations and technical brilliance, which the next chapter will explore.

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[100] Johnstone, The Shanghai Problem, p. 43.

[101] Bergère, "Shanghai, or 'The Other China'," p. 2.

CHAPTER 2

The Birth of the Park Hotel: Its Site and Technology

The Park Hotel owes its existence to basic factors that affected its architect's decisions from its original conception to the building's final decoration. If buildings "respond to geography and climate, and take their place in specific architectural settings," as Witold Rybczynski says,[1] the essence of the Park Hotel is grounded in Shanghai and the various elements that city contributed to building technology. The city's geography and climate created unique problems in designing a tall building, and directly influenced its site and appearance. The result was a tower that rose dramatically over its modest neighbours near and far (figs. 22, 23). In this chapter, the details of the Park's design are described and the logic that produced it are considered: how and why was it compared by the architect to other structures in Shanghai? What did current foundation technology contribute to the hotel's location and construction? How did climate affect its design?

The Park Hotel Described

Although only a few of Hudec's plans and drawings for the hotel survive in the University of Victoria's collection, the architect's decisions about site, design, and technology can be reconstructed through photographs of the model, the hotel as it was built, and written descriptions of it. This is why it is important to begin with a discussion of the finished building.

The hotel was owned by the Joint Savings Society and leased to the International Hotel Management Company, which comprised some of the same directors as served on the J.S.S.'s board; this mixture of proprietorship was reflected in the buildings' interior organization. The J.S.S. retained the basement area for vaults and much of the first floor for its banking space. "Public space" on the first floor mingled financial business with hotel business, fed by the bank's main entrance on Bubbling Well Road and the hotel's on the east corner, adjacent to the neighbouring Y.M.C.A. building of 1928 (see Ground Floor Plan, fig. 24a). The basic shape of subsequent floors was dictated by a plan with an almost square front tower section and a perpendicular rectangle extending back and terminating in a transept-like service area (fig. 24a, b). In the tower section, a large dining area on the second floor, a lounge on the third, and a grill room and roof garden behind the tower on the fourteenth floor served to bring people together for the splendid view of the

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[1] Rybczynski, Looking Around, p. 189.

racecourse and the city beyond.[2] Five high-speed elevators -- three for customers, two at the rear for service -- connected the floors in the tower, which housed suites ranging from a category of two bedrooms with living room and bath to single room with bath. The seventeenth to nineteenth full-floor suites provided kitchenettes; the nineteenth floor was intended for the sole use of the Joint Savings Society's board of directors. The twentieth and twenty-first floors accommodated water tanks and air-conditioning and elevator equipment, as well as observation space connected by stairs to the octagonal observatory on the twenty-second floor.

A description of the exterior follows the formula for the exterior of the prototypical tall building of the early twentieth century, written by architectural pioneer Louis Sullivan in his essay "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" in 1896. A formulaic description of this type is justified by the many newspaper reports describing the Park Hotel as the "tallest building in the Far East" that immediately associated it with New York and Chicago. In America, designs for the tallest buildings in the world found the technical experts, financial risk-takers, and visionary clients necessary to be realized. Divided into three sections, Sullivan recommended the façade begin at eye-level: the ground floor should be distinctive since it attracts the attention of the pedestrian; the office floors above that shall form a uniform shaft; and the attic should terminate in a way that completes the intermediate floors. In Chicago in 1896 that meant a cornice, but by the 1920s it meant setbacks as prescribed by New York's setback building by-law of 1916.[3]

The hotel's façade conforms to Sullivan's formula (figs. 3, 25, 27). The first three floors present a harmony of large windows and black syenite granite.[4] The first two floors establish a solid front despite the narrowness of the street frontage, since they are considerably higher than the others to accommodate their public functions as banking space, lobby, and dining room. In fact, the tower section of the ground floor has a mezzanine level that is not indicated in the plans but is visible on the exterior because of its windows. The ground floor façade is symmetrically arranged, the main bank entrance balanced by a window to either side. The jazzy corner entrance to the hotel nearest the Y.M.C.A. building (fig. 26) emphasizes the chamfered corner with a semi-circular canopy protruding over three curved steps leading to a revolving door of glass and white

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[2] An Oriental Skyscraper, p. 7.

[3] As cited by Robinson Bletter, Skyscraper Style, p. 36. Hugh Ferriss published a series of drawings in 1922 entitled The Metropolis of Tomorrow (New York, 1929 edition), exploring the shapes possible within the envelope created by the new setback law. Not until 1925 did an economic boom enable the new forms to become reality in New York: Robinson and Bletter, p. 8.

[4] A domestic stone from quarries in Tsingtao: Commercial Engineer, Special Joint Savings Society Supplement 3,6 (Oct. 1934), p. 14. HC #776, NCOB No. 2.

aluminum. The dramatic black granite contrasts with the smoothly rounded borders of the broad horizontal band that separates the first, second, and third floors. Stream-lined Art Deco motifs of curved corners and clean, simple window surrounds also relieve the severity of the highly polished black stone, so that the broad surfaces of granite facing the first floor and its mezzanine visually anchor the façade to the ground and lend "a definite dignity and richness to the building."[5] The second floor has one of the hotel's major features, a rhythmic series of large windows framed by granite and wrapping around the chamfered corners, creating the effect of an enclosed verandah for the large dining space inside (fig. 27). A shorter range of windows on the third floor, also framed by black granite spandrels, turns in gently just before the first appearance of chamfered corners in a brick-and-tile vertical motif that extends upward. The row of windows reappears briefly down the sides. The building's base and tower interlock "ideally with the architectural lines of this towering landmark"[6] through the interchange of contrasts at the third floor: lozenge-patterned brick complements solid, smooth granite; black contrasts with burnt sienna; horizontal ends in vertical.

Projecting slightly from the tower's surface, the base section also creates a balcony for the fourth-floor hotel rooms and becomes a springboard for the verticality and uniformity of the next thirteen floors. At a front elevation, each floor is horizontally divided into three sections, five windows wide, by protruding brick piers; within each section, smaller vertical strips intersect the windows to echo the main piers. Beneath each window, spandrels of lozenge-shaped tiles of vitrified brick in "rich burnt sienna," contrasting with the piers of lighter stone between them, "give an effect of alternating light and dark lines rippling to the sky."[7] The full effect is no longer visible after sixty years of coal-burning and other forms of air pollution, but close-up colour photographs convey some idea of the richness of colour originally intended (fig. 28). The vertical theme repeats on the building's chamfered corners, though here the window bays are three panes across, and on the sides, four. From a corner elevation, this difference in width of bays accounts for the sensation that the front is much wider than it actually is. The horizontal dominates over the vertical, no doubt in an effort to expose as many windows as possible to the racecourse panorama.

Above the fourteenth floor, the tower begins to step in floor by floor (figs. 3, 28). The top eight floors present a complex composition of strong verticals continuing upward through a series of steps that temper the severity of the decreases and terminate after the

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[5] Ibid., p. 14.
[6] Ibid., p. 14.
[7] Ibid., p. 7.

smallest, highest rise. Stepped verticals were typical of the skyscraper style by the end of the 1920s: Jordy speaks of the "sheer rise of the vertically striated wall through a series of setbacks, each of which is relatively open at the top. . . so that the verticals of an upper stage seem to grow out of those immediately below."[8] The chamfered corners contribute to the visual complexity because, at the fifteenth floor, the three vertical columns of panes suddenly become three straight piers through two floors. On the next two floors the central pier of these three diminishes more than its neighbours so that at the next floor there is a single pier of the same size as those on the façades but still facing out at a forty-five degree angle. These steps create a series of balconies for the luxurious upper suites, and, interestingly, the corner piers of the seventeenth and eighteenth floors accommodated handy, spacious closets (fig. 24b). As if the stepped-back treatment were not enough of a termination according to Sullivan's prescription, the twenty-second floor is topped by an octagonal lookout for the Municipal Council's fire brigade, capped in turn by a gold ball and, finally, by a metal rod reaching to the sky.

Discussion of the hotel's interior centres on the application of a geometrical, streamlined form of Art Deco, which characterizes the hotel both inside and out, as shown, for example, in a pattern of curves and right angles in the lounge ceiling (fig. 29). However, lack of adequate photographs and drawings limits description of the interior.[9] So, for the sake of expediency, discussion of the luxurious modern interior is reserved for the explanation of the influences of, first, American architecture, and then Chinese design. Rosemarie Haag Bletter says, "Art Deco architecture depends first of all on a traditional form of an American commercial style;"[10] and, to reach that point, the background to the appearance of an essentially American hotel on Shanghai's soil must first be studied.

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[8] Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism, pp. 63-64.

[9] Recent photographs also fail to capture such details, since most of the Art Deco accents have disappeared. According to Tess Johnston, in Personal Correspondence, October, 1997, however, it is again being renovated, now to restore those decorative features.

[10] Robinson and Bletter, p. 36.

Architectural Context: Competition

By the late 1930s, the European architect in Shanghai's foreign community, wrote French architect R.A. Hamburger, was

> not hindered in his perception by the rigors of tradition and rules of defined etiquette. The atmosphere of movement, change and excitement [in Shanghai] demand[ed] that the architect leave the ordinary path, forcing him to attempt experiments in order to arrive at the solution to multiple problems.[11]

Photographs taken of Shanghai before the Second World War show an architecture reflecting the city's diverse population and the creativity of its architects thriving in the atmosphere of opportunity and change (for example, sources for figs. 5, 7, 22, 23). Buildings dating from the nineteenth century, like those in other colonial cities, had taken classical forms, often adapted to the climate. As the city's international demographics grew, later architecture adhered to national styles and celebrated different styles of modernism according to the movement's developments in the foreigners' home countries.[12] Art Deco expressions are especially prevalent among Shanghai's foreign architecture dating to the 1930s. The prolific use of this style in Shanghai paralleled its popularity in America where it expressed the vigour of contemporary society.[13] The ornament and dramatic flair of Art Deco conveyed "not an austere corporate imagery, but an architecture that was good advertising, meant to entertain and draw in the public."[14] But if the Park Hotel exhibits an Art Deco style, it was more classical and austere than the flowery excesses often seen in earlier American essays in the style. The Park's Art Deco also differed from that of its principal competitor, the Cathay Hotel, as a comparison between the Park's lounge and the Cathay's lobby shows (figs. 29, 30). The Cathay employed rich materials and motifs that entertained through new interpretations of traditional associations with luxury. Its showmanship was conveyed through heavy wooden beams, dark panelling, and coffered ceilings intermixed with typical Art Deco geometric detailing in sumptuous stained glass, mirrors, iron light fixtures, and suites in different historicist styles.

Hudec's hotel did make a great impression by virtue of its height and modernity, rather than through obvious signs of opulence and grandeur found in many contemporary

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[11] R.A. Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine," L'Architecture d'Aujourdhui 10 (October 1938), p. X68. Trans. Lenore Hietkamp. HC #767.

[12] For snapshots of the variety of styles in Shanghai, see Warner, German Architecture in China; Johnston and Erh, A Last Look; and Shanghai jianzhu zhinan (A Guide to Shanghai Architecture), Luo Xiao-wei, ed., (Shanghai 1996).

[13] Johnston and Erh, A Last Look, provides a fine glimpse into the Art Deco heritage of Shanghai.

[14] Robinson and Bletter, p. 40.

skyscrapers.[15] Hudec may have cited economic reasons for the hotel's height,[16] but clues in the archival collection suggest at the very least an awareness of the effect of height in a city like Shanghai. In a damaged clipping found stuck to the back of a photograph of the Park Hotel in the Hudec Collection (fig. 31), what appears to be a model of the Bank of China has been carefully measured in pencil, as has the Cathay Hotel beside it.[17] It illustrates Hudec's interest in the heights of the most significant buildings in town. Another drawing compares the Park Hotel to several buildings along the Bund, complete with measurements (fig. 32). This may be a presentation drawing made for the clients to show them just how high the hotel was to be, or to show them how the Park would compare with buildings along the most visible of streets -- the Bund, where unlimited heights were allowed.[18]

These drawings keep referring to the Bund buildings; why? Probably, Hudec wanted to compete with them not just in visibility but in status. In fact, the Park Hotel can be compared with the Cathay Hotel in basic design, as well as visibility. A preliminary drawing for the Park (fig. 33) echoes not only the shape of the Cathay (fig. 34) but also the row of colonnaded arches at the ground storey. Against such a formidable competitor, which targeted the same clientele as the Park Hotel -- "foreign visitors, who can not adapt themselves to the Chinese , [who] will therefore have to stay in the European hotels, whether satisfactory or not,"[19] -- it is not surprising the Park looked so similar to the Cathay in its early design. What caused it to change as planning proceeded? Was it not a huge risk to erect such a modern building, when all the best known hotels along the steamship routes around the world took more traditional forms, especially since it was built so far from passengers' disembarkation point along the Bund?[20] And why did it not share

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[15] Of the vast literature on the development of the New York skyscrapers, works consulted referring specifically to the race for the top include Carol Willis, Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago (New York, 1995); Aaron Betsky, "Lost Horizons: The Birth and Death of the Skyscraper" Architectural Design 65 (1996), pp,. 9-29; Anthony W. Robins, "Top This One: The Continuing Saga of the Tallest Building in the World," Architectural Record (Jan. 1987), pp. 56-60; John Tauranac, The Empire State Building: The Making of a Landmark (New York, 1995); and Mona Domosh, "The Symbolism of the Skyscraper: Case Studies of New York's First Tall Buildings," Journal of Urban History (May 1988), pp. 320-345.

[16] China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 3.

[17] In the clipping, note the building beside the Cathay Hotel, the Bank of China. The Park Hotel's advertising anticipating its completion used a similar technique of superimposing a photograph of the model onto one of its site. The Bank was planned early in the 1930s, begun in 1936, and finished in 1939. A pointed roof was added shortly after completion, substantiating the argument that the image here is of a model: Huebner, "Architecture on the Shanghai Bund," p. 134.

[18] Ibid., p. 130.

[19] Facts About the Park-Hotel, n.p. HC #776.

[20] In Grand Hotels of the Orient (London, 1987), the Cathay Hotel, the Park Hotel, and the Shanghai Mansions of 1935, as well as Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel in Tokyo of 1922 (pp. 242-245, 208-

location with the Cathay, closer to the Bund, so that visitors could see it from far down the Huangpu River, as they could the Cathay (fig. 5)? One guess is that no substantial building site came available in the Bund area in the late 1920s; yet other buildings were erected in that area after the Park. In fact, the site chosen and some puzzling evidence concerning both it and foundation-technology provide both obvious and tentative answers to these questions; this is explored in the next section.

Choice of Sites

In the J.S.S. building of 1928, Hudec had proven his ability to adapt his design to the needs of the conspicuous site and challenging function of the building; the architect was ready to meet greater demands. The exact sequence of events in the planning and construction of the Park Hotel is unknown, but at some time a site for it was chosen on Bubbling Well Road at the corner of Park Lane (see inset, fig. 4).[21] Until 1863, Bubbling Well Road had been called Park Lane, referring to its origins as a short stretch of lane or bridle-path that extended from the waterfront area into the park-like vicinity in the early days of the treaty port; in 1863 the park area became a racecourse.[22] "Park Lane" changed to Nanking Road in 1862 in recognition of the increasing numbers of Chinese who moved into the settlements following the Taiping Rebellion of that same year.[23] Bubbling Well Road, the western half of Nanking Road, ended at the shrine marking the site of an ancient spring.[24] At some point, the small side street on whose corner the hotel stands was also given the name Park Lane.

In retrospect, we can see that in a city growing at a rate comparable to that of the world's greatest cities, the erection of a modern hotel away from the downtown core was sensible. Nanking Road, running perpendicular to the Bund and up into Bubbling Well Road, did not offer its patrons the prestige of a Bund address, but by the 1930's it was known as the "epitome of Shanghai."[25] Major department stores along it provided shopping for both Chinese and foreign patrons, and opportunities for entertainment abounded. On this street, residents and visitors could dine, dance, watch plays and

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211, 212) are the only modern hotels covered among those along a wide range of popular destinations along railway and steamship routes in the East.

[21] Bubbling Well Road changes into Nanking Road at the cross street Thibet Road just east of the Park Hotel, bordering the east side of the racecourse.

[22] Pan Ling, p. 54.

[23] Davidson-Houston in Yellow Creek: The Story of Shanghai, p. 80. In The History of Shanghai (Shanghai, 1921), G. Lanning and S. Couling explain that in 1862, 19 streets changed names from British to Chinese; Park Lane and Moloo Road together became Nanking Road (p. 451).

[24] Pan Ling, p. 65.

[25] Zhang, "From West to Shanghai," p. 93.

moving pictures, attend European and Chinese opera and exhibitions, and generally find all manner of ways to relax.[26]

Furthermore, although Bubbling Well Road led away from the downtown financial core towards the western "outer areas," unpoliced and unclaimed by any agreement, by the late 1920s, the western parts of the International Settlement were becoming "the poshest part of town in which to live."[27] The mansions, home to Europeans as well as Chinese, aspired to the imagery of English villas. Opium and real estate tycoon Silas Hardoon built an elaborate garden along this road, and his huge estate grew up along a street branching off Bubbling Well.[28] In this area Hudec began his new life in a beautiful house on Lucerne Road in 1922, and in 1931 he moved to an elaborate neo-Tudor house on Columbia Road; he designed both houses (figs. 12, 13). The migration of homeowners to the western part of the International Settlement, away from increasing traffic congestion and noise of the crowded Bund area, made the location of the hotel on the road out of town ideal.

The road also led to the racecourse. Called by one contemporary writer an "indispensable lung" for the foreign community, it served as breathing space -- for men in the midst of a stressful life of making money, and for women in their daily activities of leisure.[29] It also brought together the Chinese and foreign communities, although to say that the racecourse allowed the two communities to interact would ascribe too much importance to its rôle. Hotels around the racecourse used by Chinese and foreigners had arguably "the finest location in the whole of the metropolis."[30] Races were "an integral part of Shanghai business life and the ideal place for a man to display his wealth and compete for prestige."[31] Shanghai was one of the few places in the world where enthusiasts could own and ride race ponies, and foreigners as well as Chinese attended all events. At the centre of Shanghai social life on the days of major races,

> the fashions to be witnessed at the racecourse [were] only outrivalled by those displayed at Longchamps and Ascot . . . and the excitement which pervades the

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[26] Pan Ling, p. 60. Nanking Road remains the main shopping district of Shanghai today. Wei, Shanghai, p. 86.

[27] Pan Ling, p. 65. See William Crane Johnstone, Jr., The Shanghai Problem (Westport, 1973), pp. 215-222 for a discussion of the problems of policing, maintenance and administrating the outer roads.

[28] Wei, p. 90.

[29] Pott, p. 84.

[30] An Oriental Skyscraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building, n.d., p 6. HC #6. This booklet commemorates the opening of the building using appropriately flowery language, but other sources also comment on the vibrant life of the racecourse. For example, Wei, p. 120, goes into detail about the kind of racing that occurred on the racecourse. Harriet Sergeant, pp. 102-114, spends some time documenting the Shanghailanders' fascination for everything from horse racing to paper chase hunts held at the racecourse.

[31] Ibid., p. 107. For a more contemporary description of the riding lifestyle, see Boyden, "Changing Shanghai," pp. 498-500.

> entire Settlement . . . [bade] fair to rival that evinced on Epsom Downs on Derby Days.[32]

Numerous other athletic activities on and around the grounds ensured usage year round. Mrs. Hudec says she used to go swimming there regularly.[33] Another ex-resident of Shanghai, the now famous architect I. M. Pei, played pool in the area as a teenager, although he admits that was an excuse to watch the excitement of the Park Hotel under construction.[34] In the hotel's 1934 commemorative booklet, a panoramic photograph of the racecourse and the Yangtze River floodlands as seen through the walls of glass from the hotel's third floor dining room and sixteenth floor grill room is dramatically paired with the view of the hotel from the distance (fig. 35), emphasizing the visibility of the hotel from the racecourse and its verticality in the midst of a uniformly flat city.

By the 1930s, this location inland from the Bund, opposite the racecourse, on the major shopping route and close to major entertainment venues, was ideal for a hotel that targeted a tourist clientele, both Chinese and foreign. In addition to the entertainment value such attractions held for foreign visitors, the hotel was also closer than the Bund to the railway station in northern Chapei, providing land access to several cities further inland, perhaps easing the need to focus on the competitive foreign tourist market. In fact, a Chinese component to the hotel's clientele was clearly intended, not surprising given the hotel's Chinese ownership and the nineteenth-floor suite devoted to the sole use of one of those owners. The kitchen area on the second floor was designed with the "meeting of East and West" in mind, although efficiency and hygiene through the use of the latest in western technology dominated the area. Special steam tables among the food preparation areas indicate that "every effort [was] made to please people of all nationalities."[35] This policy proved to be popular, since when the roof garden on top of the thirteenth floor behind the tower was converted into a covered space in 1935, two new kitchens were added on the fourteenth floor to supply diners in the grill room adjoining the terrace. The kitchen on the east side created Chinese dishes, while foreign food came from the west kitchen; after dining, "east and west [would] meet as the guests mingle[d] on the dance floor." This idea came from the hotel's manager, Z. L. Loo, who also designed unique solid silver serving platters for Chinese meals, instead of the traditional Chinaware.[36] This

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[32] An Oriental Skyscraper, p. 6.

[33] Gisella Hudec, Personal Interview, Oct. 13, 1995. Sergeant, pp. 106-107, goes into greater detail about the role the racecourse played in Shanghai society. The wealth of the city came out on racing days, and firms raced out their rivalry on the course, to the extent of putting jockeys on their payrolls, even though after racing the new employee appeared to have little other use.

[34] I.M. Pei, Personal Interview, January 30, 1996.

[35] "Nesson Will Hold Sway in Shanghai's Biggest Kitchen," China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 16. HC # 323.

[36] "Park Hotel's Sky Terrace Thrown Open," China Press, 4 Aug. 1935, n.p. HC #776.

new feature suggests that a significant number of the Park's clientele, at least those who came to dine, were wealthy Chinese.

Certain technical data relating to the foundations and floor plans, however, suggest that while the excellence of the racecourse location and its proximity to many other attractions are undisputed, they were secondary to, or substantial enhancements of, primary concerns for stability of those foundations. The peculiar orientation of the hotel's floor plans as published in its promotional booklet before the building's completion, and in many other places, provides the first piece of the puzzle (fig. 24a).[37] If the side entrance to the hotel's public space on the east side was built according to the first floor plan, it would have faced the Y.M.C.A. The "Y" was far too close to make such an entrance practical, and today the two buildings are joined by a covered walkway that did not figure in any plans. It makes little sense to have a major entrance on that side when the opposite side of the hotel was completely exposed to Park Road. In addition, the second floor plan shows a prism glass roof over a conservatory or lounge facing, again, onto the "Y." Yet the "Y" would have blocked light into the conservatory. While not a tall building, at eight stories with a narrow tower, the Y.M.C.A. would still have cast a substantial shadow over a neighbouring second-floor area covered with glass. In fact, the conservatory, which brought the entire side of the hotel up flush from front to back at the first and second floors, in contrast to the other side which indents from the first floor up, is actually on the west side of the hotel (fig.36). The building's Memorial Supplement, published after the hotel was well under way, also describes the opening onto Park Road rather than the "Y".[38]

Two explanations are possible for the odd orientation of the plan that does not correspond to what was built. First, maybe the plans were reversed in the blueprinting or publishing process -- easy enough to do, especially if the worker was not familiar with the language in which the drawing was lettered.[39] The tower section is oriented correctly, however: there is a hotel entrance on the corner nearest the Y.M.C.A. (fig. 24a, map fig. 4). A second, more adequate explanation is that the plans were intended for a different site,

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[37] An Oriental Skyscraper. The plans appear, for example, in Hamburger, p. X75. The frontispiece of the booklet shows a photograph of the hotel's site, with a model of the hotel drawn into it, implying that the publication came out before the hotel was finished. Perhaps it was intended to mark the original proposed completion date of 1933, the tenth anniversary of the Joint Savings Society.

[38] W.S. Neyer, "Introduction," in The Memorial Supplement for the Construction of the 22-Storied Building for the Joint Savings Society - Shanghai, published by the Voh Kee Construction Co., pp. 3, 4. HC #776.

[39] The labelling suggests the hand of a draughtsman unfamiliar with English, maybe Hudec himself or a Chinese assistant, though the handwriting is similar to Hudec's; note the highly suspicious spellings of "automatical telephon" and "LLobby" in the first floor plan, and "IGLE" instead of single in the 10th-13th floor plan.

a corner which does not face south and west, as the current location does, but where the entrance could open onto a street on the same side as the hotel's corner entrance. The drawing in fig. 33 confirms a different orientation: it was drawn, it says, "looking from the Bund," and the tower is on the reverse side of the building from how it stands today (fig.37). If the plans were intended for a site contemplated earlier and somehow copied into an advertising brochure for the hotel at its present site -- the likely option -- it is possible that the first site was closer to the Bund and to customers disembarking from ocean liners.

This suggestion is substantiated by more significant but equally puzzling evidence concerning Hudec's tests for soil stability; this, too, indicates several possibilities. First, in 1928, Hudec had constructed the head office for the J.S.S. on Szechuan Road between Hankow and Soochow Roads (figs. 9, 4). Did the J.S.S. originally plan to place the hotel on the northeast corner of that block and build it around the same time the first building was being erected? Or, did the J.S.S. consider the site for a tall hotel but, when concerns for the load-bearing capacity of the soil appeared, decide instead to build the eight-storey bank building there? Both are possibilities.

Barring mistakes in recording, the corner -- Szechuan and Foochow -- into which the plans could fit was the site where Hudec was reported to have sunk "the longest piles ever driven in Shanghai," at 199 and 182 feet.[40] These test results are not dated but were published in a paper by the Shanghai Municipal Council which appears in the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering, held at Harvard University in 1936. Did Hudec drive the first two experimental piles to determine the load-bearing capacity for his bank building, which was not an unusually high or heavy construction, or for a much taller building he was then contemplating? A graph of Hudec's test results was included in the Proceedings (fig. 38); it records figures not only for the Szechuan Road pilings, but also for those of the Park Hotel on Bubbling Well Road. A comparison between results from the two sites suggests that for a tall building the Szechuan Road site would have been far riskier than that on Bubbling Well Road. At the former site, piles driven to a depth of nearly 200 feet met no resistance, while on the site eventually chosen they encountered resistance at 135 feet, eventually breaking through or failing under stress. The piles for the Park Hotel average 110 feet -- well above the layer of friction and so not floating as freely as much of Shanghai's building does.[41]

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[40] N.W.B. Clarke and J.B. Watson, "Settlement Records and Loading Data For Various Buildings Erected by the Public Works Department, Municipal Council, Shanghai," Proceedings of the International Conference on Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering, June 22-26, 1936, No. F-12, Vol. II. (Harvard University, 1936), pp. 174-185.

[41] Piles do not need to rest directly on or in soil that provides resistance to prevent buildings from floating

In summary, if the test piles for the Szechuan Road location were driven for the building of 1928, they were extraordinarily deep for a building of very modest height. This suggests that there may have been a plan to build a much taller building there, but the test piles revealed a typical Shanghai soil offering no resistance to the vertical weight of a tall structure. The risk could have been too great to erect a building whose height was still unprecedented in Shanghai. The Park Hotel's test pile, however, showed substantial resistance to the pile hammer's pounding, indicating that the site was capable of holding an greater amount of concentrated weight.

The Skyscraper: Technology

The foregoing discussion of architectural context and possible reasons for choosing the site indicates an early interest in erecting a tall building -- perhaps as early as 1928. It also betrays concern for adequate technology. To ensure the stability and longevity of a large investment, the architect responded to the unknown factor of problematic soil, combined with plans for unprecedented height, by summoning the most recent technology from around the world. By the 1930s, tall building technology was advanced enough to create the likes of the Chrysler and Empire State Buildings, so that anything Hudec needed was available if he had money to import it, which he apparently did, "so that the J.S.S. Building may contain every modern improvement, strengthener and safety device known to the world."[42] Five Otis elevators, the same used in the Empire State Building, and fastest in Shanghai, provided easy access to higher floors. The fireproof metal frame -- the weight of which was a source of continual developments in steel chemistry -- supported the building's weight and stresses that accompany height and organized interior space.[43]

Prior to the construction of the Park Hotel, no building had been attempted of that height in the city. The Cathay Hotel was the closest, at seventeen storeys, and the effect of a tall building's weight on Shanghai's problematic soil was unknown. Its architect and engineer gave careful consideration to its foundation and structural material in order to build the highest building they believed they could risk on Shanghai soil.[44] Although the

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freely; rather, piles sunk to a level slightly above a more solid layer both preserve the structural integrity of the resisting layer and provide a firm base for the building above: Cesar Pelli et al, "The World's Tallest Buildings," Scientific American, Dec. 1997, p. 97.

[42] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course Tallest Skyscraper on 4 Continents," The China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, pp. 1, 3. H. C. #1275, 1277.

[43] Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals (New York, 1985), pp. 657, 661, 663.

[44] Hudec's firm consisted of L. Matrai, his "right-hand man," J. L. Slaschov, chief draughtsman, L. C. Sun, architect of the J.S.S., and K. L. Egikoff, senior superintendent: China Press (December 2, 1934). HC #776. The structural engineer for the hotel was B. J. Lindskog, with whom Hudec worked on other projects, including the Grand Theatre.
The anglicized name of L. C. Sun may correspond to Sun Lizhi, an architect educated at the University of

engineer may seem to be the key to foundation calculations, a letter addressed to Hudec in 1937 expressed the appreciation of the KowKee Construction company for his "accuracy of . . . calucations and [for] the meticulous care and skill which [he] exercised in the course of [his] supervision."[45] Thanks to the Park Hotel, some key questions about skyscraper construction in the city were resolved, testimony to Hudec's determination and persistence.

The structural engineer for the Park Hotel, B.J. Lindskog, wrote an article disproving the "old bogey" of Shanghai's architecture -- that the soil could not support a tall building -- and summarizing the achievements the hotel's foundation represented. He described the composition of the soil as determined by borings before construction. The top eighty feet consisted of soft loam and vegetable fibers; at one hundred feet a thin hard crust of sand was encountered; then there was an increasing proportion of sand to loam down to one hundred and eighty feet; and, below that, soft loam again.[46] Borings to a depth of eight hundred feet encountered no bedrock. An architect with the popular Shanghai firm Palmer & Turner reported in 1930 that even piles could not prevent the sinking of buildings, which "may be said to be floating."[47] In fact, before Palmer & Turner developed a piling system specifically for the Shanghai soil conditions for the Yangtze Insurance Company Building (before 1920), architects had to plan for settlement during the construction of buildings "so that the bottom step at the entrance would start some six feet up in the air, but finally come down to sidewalk level when the full weight of the building was applied."[48] The new piling system was used by Palmer & Turner's architect G. Wilson for the foundation of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, begun on the Bund in 1920

Illinois, and a member of the Society of Chinese Architects. Jeffrey Cody, "Directory of the 'First Generation of Chinese Architects,'" Henry K. Murphy, p. 352.
The personnel in Hudec's office in 1941 was different than in 1934, according to an entry in the Shanghai Directory 1941 (Shanghai, 1941). It lists A.G. Mariev, W. Eichberg, and C.H. Fong, with Mrs. H.O. Wegener as secretary - she was secretary at least as early as 1931, when Hudec addressed a letter to her from Germany, Park-Hotel at Bad-Nauheim, July 25, 1931. HC #1041.

[45] Dated 12 August 1937. HC #771.

[46] B.J. Lindskog, "Old Bogey in Local Skyscraper Construction Disproved," The China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, pp. 1, 25. HC #1275.

[47] G. Wilson, "Architecture, Interior Decoration, and Building in Shanghai Twenty Years Ago and To-day," The China Journal 12, 3 (May 1930), p. 249; Christopher L. Yip, "Four Major Buildings in the Architectural History of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation," in Eastern Banking: Essays in the History of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Frank H.H. King, ed. (London, 1983), p. 118.

[48] Yip, p.120, citing old China hand J. A. Ritchie, "China Reminiscences," from "The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Archives". It is unclear whether this quote applies to construction prior to the development of a raft foundation or after. Harriet Sergeant, writing in 1991, cites the same source but applies Ritchie's quote to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and adds that the bank had to hire a surveyor to make sure the weight of coins stacked in the bank's vaults was evenly distributed so that it would not shift the bank's equilibrium: Sergeant, pp. 167-8.

and completed in 1923. This "system involved pounding in a whole series of Douglas Fir pilings to a depth of about 60 feet, and then capping the wood piling with a 20 foot long concrete piling that would not rot when subjected to alternating dry and wet periods in the way wood would [sic]. A heavily reinforced concrete raft was then constructed on the system of the piers."[49] In 1930, settlement of about six inches still occurred during construction using this system, so builders favoured the newest available lightweight building materials.[50] A report in The China Journal in 1939 stated that settlement in some unspecified buildings still occurred at a rate of one inch per year.[51]

The settlement that continued to plague Shanghai's architects and engineers despite the solution of the raft foundation, especially when employed for taller buildings, concerned the foundation engineer of the Park Hotel, A. Corrit. He wrote a lengthy article in the 1929 Shanghai Sunday Times Xmas Issue entitled "Shanghai Soil is Obstacle to Tall Buildings." He cautioned the engineer with little knowledge of Shanghai's soil mechanics to exercise discretion when using printed material in foundation design, since many factors must be taken into consideration and no reliable engineering handbook addressed the soil conditions unique to Shanghai.[52] Presumably he took his own advice, perhaps even as he wrote in 1929, in the calculations for the Park's foundation.

The weight created by the Park Hotel's novel height of 284 feet meant that soil conditions had to be carefully considered.[53] A basic pile foundation with a concrete raft provided friction below the surface but extended to a much greater depth than any previously reached: 400 piles of Oregon pine of an average length of 200 feet topped by a raft five feet deep.[54] The key to the vertical stability of the Park Hotel, which distributed more weight over a smaller area (3,000 square feet) than the broad expanse (approximately 60,000 square feet) of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, was its deep basement. During excavation, 20,000 tons of mud and water were removed, so that the soil beneath the building bore an entire load of over 10,000 tons, actually reducing the pressure on the soil and so preventing subsidence.[55]

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[49] Ibid., p. 120, citing the North-China Daily News 5-6 (May 1921).

[50] Wilson, "Building in Shanghai," p. 249.

[51] Bruno Kroker, "The Building Industy in Shanghai," China Journal 30, 5 (May 1939), p. 317. Settlement figures for the Park Hotel are unavailable.

[52] HC #266.

[53] This height, 284 feet, is measured from street level to the top of the fire platform; an additional 16-foot gold ball and spire bring the total height to 300 feet; there is also a basement of 18 feet extending below street level: Commercial Engineer (Oct. 1934), p. 9. HC #776. See also Clarke and Watson, "Settlement Records," p. 174.

[54] Lindskog, p. 1. Other sources say the raft was 24 feet deep, and the piles,150: "The Park Hotel, Shanghai," The Sprinkler Bulletin 151 (30 June 1935), p. 1355. HC #771.

[55] Lindskog, p. 1. One question unanswered by this explanation is whether the engineers feared the

In addition to the accommodation of a tall building vertically, the potential lateral disturbance of the soil was of great concern, since lighter buildings have a tendency to lean toward heavier ones.[56] Since there was no guarantee that neighbouring structures would always remain of the same weight -- even relatively new buildings in Shanghai at the time were constantly being replaced by newer, more fashionable ones -- a solution had to be found before tall buildings of great weight could be built.[57] The Park Hotel solved this problem, too, using the latest steel technology from Germany. Sheet piles, of a new chromium-copper steel alloy, had been developed recently by an architect named Larssen who worked in the Public Works Department in the port city of Bremen.[58] According to Lindskog, they were the only solution for the lateral displacement of soil engendered by a deep basement because they interlocked to form a watertight skin when sunk around its perimeter. In the Park Hotel, forty-foot ones were used at the rear side facing the Ford Hire Garage and on the side toward the Y.M.C.A., while thirty-foot sheet piles supported the excavation fronting the two roads.[59] Even though the Park's engineer published his findings in the local paper, the allowance for lateral displacement was not discussed by the Shanghai Municipal Council's engineers at the Harvard conference, nor was it included in their proposed revisions to the Council's building rules for foundations.[60] The Austrian pioneer of soil mechanics and foundation engineering, Karl von Terzaghi, chair of the conference, criticized these revisions for this omission, saying, "The influence of the settlement on [surrounding] structures may be far more detrimental than its influence on the structure whose weight causes the subsidence."[61] The Park Hotel's engineer and architect planned for this effect.

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unstable soil would rise because of the decrease in weight on top of it. The sight of 20,000 tons of mud and water being trucked away was one thing that impressed I.M. Pei as a young boy: Personal Interview, January 30, 1996.

[56] Kroker, "The Building Industry in Shanghai," p. 317.

[57] For example, the compradore style buildings which had characterized the Bund architecture of the recent past -- the 19th and early 20th centuries -- were largely replaced in the 1920s and 30s. One example is the replacement of Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank's compradoric-style building of 1886 in by the Neo-Baroque structure of 1923.

[58] Lindskog, p. 1.

[59] W.S. Neyer, "Introduction of the 22-Storied Building for the Joint Savings Society," The Memorial Supplement for the Construction of 22-Storied Building for The Joint Savings Society - Shanghai, built by Voh Kee Construction Co. (ca. 1934), p. 1, HC #771. These sheet piles, commonly used to surround excavation sites to prevent collapsing of soil walls or as bulkheads in the construction of cofferdams and retaining walls, were presumably not removed to ensure the prevention of lateral displacement; this may have been overkill, in retrospect: Thomas Whitaker, The Design of Piled Foundations, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1976), p. 1.

[60] Clarke and Watson, pp. 184-185.

[61] "Discussion of Papers No. F-12 and F-13 On Settlement of Structures in Shanghai, China," Proceedings, No. F-21, Vol. III, p. 95.

Besides allowing for the muddy soil in its foundation, the Park Hotel had to employ the lightest material available for the building's frame resting on it. At the time this was the chromium-copper alloy, "Union Steel", developed by the company Vereinigte Stahlwerke Aktiengeselleschaft, or United Steel Works Corporation of Germany.[62] In response to an age of industry and mobility that demanded more of structures than ever before, this company developed a chromium-copper alloy that had many advantages, including being cheaper to use and having a lighter weight and greater strength than ordinary steel.[63] This resulted in a "reduction of column dimensions [that was] very much appreciated by architects"[64] because it increased rentable space in costly skyscrapers, especially in the coveted upper floors.

Hudec likely came back from his trip to Germany in 1931, when he studied the latest building technology, with information about, if not a contract for the use of, this new steel. His precise contribution to the development of the foundation is not known, though the sheet pilings also originated in Germany. By the time the hotel was completed, its engineer concluded that, despite the fact that "there are few other cities in the world, if any, which present such difficulties regarding the foundations for buildings of any magnitude,"[65] "[s]till far taller buildings may safely be built in Shanghai."[66]

Shanghai Climate and the Tall Building

The achievement of building the tallest structure in Shanghai overcame a series of problems of site and soil. The tall building represented a triumph against many odds, testifying to the determination and ingenuity of its architect. The climate also presented a

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[62] This company dominated the world's steel industry between the two world wars: Richard Sasuly, I.G. Farben (New York 1947), p. 48. Sasuly's thesis treats the way in which big businesses like United Steel and I.G. Farben, the dye industry company, backed the German war machine. The peace-time associations, however, of the steel company and the German distributor in Shanghai, Siemens China Company, with the Hudec architectural office, or even with the German community in Shanghai (one photo in the collection shows the German Church adorned with a Nazi flag) does not mean Hudec sympathized with the Nazis during the war. Businesses around the world bought and sold the technologically unique products of German industry during this period (p. 197). The United Steel Works Corporation itself had been built upon American investments of over one hundred million dollars during the 1920s and 30s (p. 82).

[63] See Ing. R. Drenkhahn, "Steel . . . German Development in High Tensile Steel," Commercial Engineer, p. 19, HC #776, for complete technical description of this alloy. It had a tensile strength of fifty-two kilograms per square millimetre as opposed to the steel used previously whose strength was thirty-seven kilograms per square millimetre: "Shanghai -- The Port of China," The Far Eastern Review, Nov. 1932, p. 515. HC #776.

[64] Drenkhahn, p. 21. Subsequent use of this steel in Shanghai buildings bears more research, impossible under the scope of this project.

[65] Wilson, "Architecture, Interior Decoration, and Building in Shanghai," p. 249.

[66] Lindskog, p. 1.

challenge to hotel design, since the city is infamous for summers that are "rarely pleasant. The rainy season lasts through June, turning imperceptibly into the drenching heat of July and August."[67] Many foreign residents spent the summer months in Japan before World War II, as Hudec's own wife and children did; the occupancy rate of Shanghai's hotels would drop to sixty percent for at least two months -- an economic concern for any new establishment.[68] A tall building of the Park's unique design and geographical orientation, given the air-cooling equipment available at the time, was an ideal response to Shanghai's climate in several ways.

In accommodating the climate, the architect calculated the path and intensity of the sun in order to arrange guest-rooms. This task was not new to Hudec: a fascinating sketch of 1930 of the grounds for his own house on Columbia Road includes a diagram of the sun's movements throughout the year as well as a plan of the garden around the house made to help plan for shade and windows.[69] Historically, the need for shade led to a type of building near the Equator that employed verandahs to diffuse the intense rays and ventilate living areas. In Shanghai's early years as a foreign enclave, colonial-style structures adapted from India evolved into two-storey "compradoric" style buildings surrounded by large colonnaded and sometimes enclosed verandahs.[70] The Park Hotel has no verandahs but retains the appearance of them in the series of large windows that open on the public spaces of the second and third floors. Air conditioning was also introduced to cool the public areas, including the vaults in the basement and sub-basement, the main banking hall in the basement, main lobby, dining room, lounge, kitchen and pantries on the second floor, and grill room on the fourteenth floor.[71] Supplying processed, cooled air to the private guest rooms, however, was too costly and was not done even in America at this time. Although a few other modern buildings in Shanghai were also beginning to make use of air conditioning, it was novel enough to justify putting plate-glass in front of the air cooling machinery in Hudec's Grand Theatre of 1933, making it part of the entertaining Art Deco decor.

While the air-conditioning of public areas and the use of many smaller windows in the rooms helped alleviate summer heat, the hotel's southeast-facing location was also advantageous. At Shanghai's latitude, only a few degrees above the Tropic of Cancer, and in close proximity to the warm waters of the Pacific Ocean, the area is inundated with

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[67] Sergeant, p. 297.

[68] Dexter Morand, "The Park Hotel: A Skyscraper in China," Hotel Review, Restaurant Gazette and Catering News, July 1935, n.p. HC #776.

[69] Dated June 4, 1930. HC #541.

[70] Johnson, p. 251.

[71] William Shipley, "China Modernizes," Scientific American 150 (April 1934), p. 173.

tropical cyclones, typhoons, and high humidity. In order for maximum interior space to avoid the heat of the summer, intensified by humidity, and to receive some solar heat during the colder winter months, the optimal direction to face is southeast. East- and west-facing walls receive long periods of intense light throughout the year because the sun is relatively high this close to the equator. The Manual of Tropical Housing and Building advises, "Only minor openings of unimportant rooms should be placed on the east and west side."[72] The hotel's rates reflected the advantages of its southeast orientation (see inset, fig. 4).[73] Suites on the first fourteen floors at the front -- double, with two baths -- were the highest priced, renting at between $550 and $750, either per month or week: the source is unclear. Those facing southwest, with angled views of the race course, were only single rooms, renting at from $250 to $325, while those on the opposite, northeast side overlooking the Y.M.C.A., toward the Bund with no view of the race course, were single rooms costing $225 to $275.[74]

The Manual also notes that near the Equator, even at Shanghai's thirty degree latitude, vertical rather than horizontal surfaces receive the least intense sunshine--another good reason for a tall building. In addition, high structures tend to catch cooler breezes, increasing the desirability of rooms on the upper floors. For relaxation, the roof garden on the fourteenth floor was open to the air for night dancing (fig. 39). A year after the hotel opened, the architect designed a removable roof to put over the garden area and transformed it into a dance floor, following a trend in large cities where "inhabitants . . . are taking to the sky for evening dining and dancing, the idea being that if there is a breath of air astir it will be found on high."[75] The ceiling was of heavy plate glass, decorated

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[72] Koenigsberger et al., Manual of Tropical Housing and Building, Part One: Climatic Design (London, 1973), p. 105.

[73] The rear of the hotel overlooked a parking garage, bought to resolve the Shanghai Municipal Council's concerns about traffic congestion, and beyond to the northern flatlands of Chapei. China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, n.p. HC #1277.

[74] Wilhelm Neyer, "Zur Eroffnung Des Parkhotels," Deutsche Shanghai Zeitung, 14 Oct. 1934, p. 9, HC #776. It is not clear whether these rates are in Chinese tael or in yuan. This source specifies the Chinese tael (a highly unstable currency based on an ounce of silver that varied wildly in content and size) in a quote later on in the article, so the lack of currency type indicated for these rates suggests the yuan, the active currency. The tael was abolished in 1933 in favour of a standardized silver dollar, or yuan: Arthur N. Young, China's Nation-Building Effort, 1927-1937, The Financial and Economic Record (Stanford, 1971), p. 166. If yuan, at 1934 exchange rate of 34.0937 in U.S. dollars, respectively, rates translate as $16.13 to $21.99, $7.33 to $9.53, and $6.60 to $8.07: World Alamanc and Book of Facts for 1936 (New York, 1936), p. 158.

[75] "Portable Roof on Park Hotel is Tried Out," China Press, 28 July 1935, n.p. HC #776. Could there have been other reasons to alter the original roof garden? Perhaps a dancing area was hoped to bring in more revenue than a garden area.

with a "modern motif," which could be opened or closed according to weather and season, as could the windows in the walls.[76]

Locating the twenty-two storey tower opposite the racecourse may, therefore, have been a happy accident or a shrewdly planned real estate investment: not only did the site on Bubbling Well Road take advantage of a view of the highest entertainment value and the best soil conditions known at the time, but the bend of the road in which the hotel rested created some of the rarest and most ideal exposures to the sun in the entire city. As has been shown, Hudec was aware of the advantages of the site facing the racecourse; he may even have been involved in the decision to purchase it or to erect the hotel there.

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[76]"Park Hotel's Sky Terrace Thrown Open," China Press, 4 August 1935, n.p. HC #776.

CHAPTER 3
International Sources for the Park Hotel

The Park Hotel's architect, by studying and using current technology, challenged Shanghai Municipal Council's by-law of the 1920s restricting buildings to one-and-a-half times the width of the street they fronted.[1] He also surpassed his most daring predecessors in Shanghai, whose seventeen-storey buildings seemed to be mostly limited by timidity.[2] The context in which the hotel should be seen, however, is not Shanghai alone, but the wider arena of progressive architecture around the world. The hotel's design is commensurate with the building's advanced technology -- a New York-style skyscraper for a New York-scale apartment hotel that was of more ambitious height than anything yet achieved in Europe. During the design process, in which particular attention was given to novel height, the architect balanced, perhaps unevenly, the hotel's American skyscraper aspirations with his own German/Austro-Hungarian stylistic sensibility, and both factors were fostered by exposure to their sources. Hudec's work is evidence of the ideas, designs, and technical knowledge gleaned from the places he visited, perhaps influenced by his travels more than by published architectural material available to him in Shanghai. In the 1920s and 30s, he travelled widely. He made a tour of Spain and the United States in 1927-28, when he sketched major monuments both modern and traditional. He was in Munich in 1928 to study brewery design and in Germany again in 1930 for six months of "studying the latest developments in engineering and architecture."[3] How did the Park Hotel manifest the combination of the avant-garde of his European contemporaries with American Modernism? Why did certain less modern aspects of both German and Austro-Hungarian Modern enter into the design of the Park Hotel? Finally, and more difficult to

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[1] Shanghai was divided into three main areas, with three different governing bodies: the largest foreign area, the International Settlement, governed by the largely British Shanghai Municipal Council; the French Concession; and the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, the Chinese district surrounding the former two.

[2] Huebner, "Shanghai Bund," p.130. The Shanghai Municipal Council's Rules with Respect to New Buildings in Shanghai (Shanghai, 1937), required its permission for buildings over 84 feet high and still maintained the law restricting heights to one-and-one-half times the width of the road, although it permitted exceptions under certain conditions, particularly in cases where "a building abut [sic] on to a permanent open space of more than 150 feet in width" (p. 10). This rule would appear to be a loophole for tall buildings, provided it had existed in earlier by-laws, but Hudec still had to convince the council that his hotel would be fire-safe, which he did by installing 1100 sprinklers. He also provided the council with a fire observation area on the roof -- not a safety feature for the building, but apparently simply a gratuity to appease the council's distrust of the whole scheme: See "Architect Hudec Wins Fight for Higher Shanghai Buildings," The China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, n.p. HC #776.

[3] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course to be Tallest Skyscraper On 4 Continents," China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 1. HC #1275. In 1931, he went to Germany for his health: HC #1041, office correspondence from Bad-Nauheim, Germany, 25 July 1931.

answer given available documentation, did the Park's design and decoration respond in any way to the circumstance of being located in China and owned by the Chinese bourgeoisie?

American Sources

Architectural historians have long acknowledged that the architectural environment throughout Europe and elsewhere in the world at the beginning of the twentieth century was influenced by the transmission of American ideals and technology. Travel to America by architects and the publication and wide distribution of American cultural and technical innovations contributed to a European -- and world-wide -- obsession with America which resulted in fascinating developments in architecture and culture. Jean-Louis Cohen calls this phenomenon "Americanism;" in it, American architectural manifestations, such as colossal scale, the idealism of the skyscraper, the re-organization of space effected by the evolution of the steel-frame, and and the striking forwardness of industrial buildings, captured world-wide interest.[4] Cohen laments his "embryonic research" which limits more far-reaching study of the spread of American urban culture beyond Europe to cities, such as Shanghai, that from the 1930s "began to bristle with Art Deco skyscrapers."[5] The tallest skyscraper in Shanghai, the Park Hotel not only exemplified the American skyscraper aesthetic, but occupied a place within modern European architectural development as well. This makes it a building of great significance for Cohen's study of the dispersion of architectural ideas beyond their geographical origins.

Like the best European architects and students from the late 1920s until the Second World War, Hudec traveled to America on "a geographical and historical inversion of the Grand Tour" to study the significant monuments of the New World.[6] The Grand Tour tradition had become entrenched in the training of Beaux-Arts academies, which for the previous two centuries had encouraged architectural students to sojourn in the oldest parts of Europe. Hudec's travel journal demonstrates the shift in architectural influence in the early twentieth century. The journal, dated 1927-28, records visits to sites in Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and France, as well as to the American eastern and western seaboards -- New York and San Diego, specifically. Evidence of this combined tour reflects Hudec's Hungarian origins to which he professed allegiance throughout his life; his

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[4] Joan Ockman, review in Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians 55, 2 (June 1996), p. 178-179, of "Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge, 1893-1960," exhibition by Jean-Louis Cohen, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal 14 June - 24 September 1995.

[5] Jean-Louis Cohen, Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge 1893-1960 (Paris, 1995), p. 15.

[6] Ibid., p. 138.

professional work cannot be isolated from his ethnic background. This will be discussed later.

While images of America were available to Shanghai architects in architectural journals, and the presence of American architects in Shanghai ensured the circulation of images of American architecture,[7] to travel to New York in 1927 would have been inspiring for an architect as able to absorb and transform ideas as Hudec. Theatres Hudec sketched there, built in Classical, Gothic, French and other Beaux-Arts styles, were only just giving way to new types, including cinemas, based on completely new conceptions of theatre-going: 1927 was the year the talkies came to town.[8] The year 1926 saw the largest number of skyscrapers erected In New York until 1957; and 1927, says Robert Stern, "may be regarded as the fulcrum on which the balance between the old and the new tipped with irrevocable finality in favor of the latter."[9] Hudec explored both the old and new and excelled at combining them in his formal expression, as New York architects also did, tempering commitments to modernism with influence from their Beaux-Arts backgrounds and the requirements of their clients.[10] The Park Hotel also balanced the past and the future, though from Hudec's broader oeuvre, he appears to be have been more and more interested in modern styles and conveniences.

Between 1928 and 1934, during Hudec's "Gothic Modern" phase culminating in the Park's completion, he undertook at least sixteen building projects modern in overall design, and several more that made use of modern materials and conveniences. While some of these may have been conceived prior to his American tour, the finished products indicate that Hudec was familiar with the modern movement in American technology and style, some of which had spread to Europe.[11] These included two buildings of modest

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[7] In addition to four local architectural journals, foreign architectural journals widely available in Shanghai by the 1930s were Pencil Points, Architecture, l'Architecture d'Aujourdhui, American Builder and Building Age, Architecture and Building, The Builder, and Engineering News Record: Cody, Henry K. Murphy, p. 317. Local papers also carried coverage of the latest developments in American architecture in special weekly or monthly industrial sections, some of which are in H. C., Newspapers Folder 8. Hudec's familiarity with American architectural practice is proven by his affiliation, in the first five or six years after his arrival in Shanghai, with the American architect R. A. Curry and his later associations with American architects E. Cumine and Elliott Hazzard, whose names and buildings occur frequently in the material in the Hudec Collection, and are also mentioned in Cody's Henry K. Murphy , p. 313 and Fig. 55, p. 314.

[8] Stern, New York 1930, p. 259. In his Chapter 2, " City as Theater," pp. 227-357, Stern explores the development of theatre design in the early 20th century, and the great variety in experience architects brought to these designs.

[9] Robert A.M. Stern, George Howe, Toward A Modern American Architecture (New Haven, 1975), p. 71. Stern tries to illustrate the new spirit of modernism of the year 1927 in both New York and Europe: pp. 72-78. For Hudec's sketches, see "Reise Skizzen, " #645, 646.

[10] Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism, p.44.

[11] For a study of the effect of European modernism on American skyscraper design, see Jordy, Chapter 1;

height, both dating to 1930, whose façades echo that of the Park Hotel: the Christian Literature Society Building, and a building for the China Baptist Publication Society (figs. 16, 17). One of nine stories and the other of eight, these have in common a simplified classical ground-floor façade topped by a solid rectangle of floors relieved by strong unbroken verticals between windows. The repetitive rows of verticals and windows are further varied in the taller Christian Literature Society building by a narrow pointed arch in the facade's centre, reaching from the ground to the top floor, associating the building with Christian architectural traditions. Some of the drawings for these buildings show multi-faceted doorways, one of the more "novel aspects" of the Art Deco style, whose source can be traced to German Expressionist architecture.[12]

The early designs for the Park Hotel (figs. 33, 40, 41) and its final design show clear affinity for the "Gothic modernism" then being studied for its value in representing verticality in America. Hudec maintained that he strove for "an original interpretation of the new vertical-line style of architecture personified in American cities by Raymond Hood, famous U.S. artist."[13] Comparison of the Park Hotel drawings with the model (fig. 42) discloses problems Hudec was working out in composing a tall building through progressive changes in conception. Hudec's monumental and brooding drawings of the Park subordinate verticality, unlike the model which seems to be all stripe, especially when see from above. In the drawings, the solidity of a basic pyramidal structure seems more important as a compositional element than the height of the building.

This difference between his early drawings and the model, where the drawings address massing and the model stresses verticality, suggests Robert Stern's "fulcrum" between modern and traditional design. The skyscrapers by Hood that Hudec professed to admire also show a progression in design which illustrates this exploration of modern and traditional elements. From Hood's Chicago Tribune Building of 1924, to his American Radiator Building in New York, also of 1924, to the Daily News Building of 1929-30 (figs.43, 44, 45), the architect strove to find a vertical, modern design that would best suit the new technology of a distinctly non-traditional society. Hudec claimed awareness of Hood's purpose in designing, in partnership with Howell, the "Beaux-Arts Gothic" Chicago Tribune Building and an apprehension of how the American architect could then progress to the "gothicized modern" Daily News Building, a development that Jordy also noted later.[14] Hudec admired the vertical lines of Hood's buildings, excusing what he

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Robinson and Bletter, especially pp. 44-60; and Cohen, pp. 105-157, for a thorough recent study on the effects of American skyscraper design on European architecture.

[12] Robinson and Bletter, p. 39.

[13] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course," p. 3.

[14] Ibid., p. 3; Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism, pp. 59-60.

implied were the too-decorative elements of Hood's early building by saying that Hood was "handicapped by the owners in his work on the Chicago Tribune Tower, but in the New York Daily News Building he was given a free hand and the result is magnificent."[15] The Park's transformation from drawings to completed project, illustrating its architect's growth in understanding of a skyscraper's vertical potential, corresponds to Hood's own transition in skyscraper aesthetic from the ornamented Gothic to abstract verticality. It is clear that from early conceptions of the Park Hotel on paper to the model and finally to the actual building, Hudec developed an understanding of the essence of the New York skyscraper. This was likely the result of his tour to America.

Strong verticals in Hudec's building clearly have priority over any areas more detailed with ornamentation, but essentially the main difference between the model and the hotel as built can be attributed to dictates of site -- looking onto the racecourse and avoiding intense sunlight. In Hudec's model, the repetitive verticals, reminiscent of those of the Daily News Building, dominate his design, suggesting his awareness of Hood's efforts at creating a modern skyscraper form. The stepped verticals of the Park resemble the gothicized buttresses of the Chicago Tribune Tower, but literal Gothic ornament is absent from the Park Hotel. The dark colour of the vitrified hard burnt brick tile in which the Park was clad, another Gothic suggestion and strongly reminiscent of Hood's black brickwork on his American Radiator Building, was also part of the Art Deco aesthetic of tonal contrasts prevalent in New York's skyscrapers of the time. In fact, this dark exterior serves the same purpose as the deep recessed verticals of Hood's Daily News Building -- to hide the windows and stress the vertical lines, because, as critic Edwin Avery Park put it, "A wall that pretends to be a wall hates to be shot full of holes."[16] By comparing Hudec's finished product with his model, however, it is clear that he emphasized "the importance of the windows and spandrels between them in giving the structure its imposing architectural appearance" rather than hiding the window openings through accentuated verticals.[17] In the model, the effect is far more graceful because of its striations-- undoubtedly because of the freedom the architect seemed to enjoy in creating a model without bothering to show window openings. The model substantiates what Hudec professed, drawing direct comparison to Hood:

> I have tried to give the effect of vertical lines in the Joint Savings Society Building. Not only does this style make the building appear taller than it actually is but it adds

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[15] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course," p. 3.

[16] Robinson and Bletter, p. 26.

[17] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course," p. 3.

> grace, beauty and sensation of immense power. This style is not at all American. Most American architects do not agree with Raymond Hood.[18]

The finished project, despite Hudec's efforts, lacked the play of shadows Hood's buildings and Hudec's own model supplied, and failed to achieve Hood's soaring verticality, partly because of its limited height.

Once the windows entered the design, a strong horizontal element canceled the verticality of the tower, especially in a frontal elevation (fig. 46), but this cancellation was again not too distant from other American experiments to discover the essence of the vertical aesthetic. The most innovative skyscraper on the American horizon, George Howe's Philadelphia Savings Fund Society (PSFS) building, of 1931 (fig. 47), owed its success to the manipulation of the "insistent horizontality of European designs" into a "resolution of the horizontal floor slab with the vertical support."[19] Other similarities between the PSFS and the Park are also evident. Clean, unadulterated steps at the Park Hotel's crown echo the business-like superstructure of the PSFS, while the sensuously curved black stone façade and corners of the first and second floors are remarkably evocative of the PSFS's own ground floors.

In the context of the development of the American hotel tower, replete with emphasis on luxury and modernity, Hudec's interest in surface articulation appears less dramatic than that shown in the hotel's New York predecessors. One hotel, the Panhellenic Tower, of 1928 (fig. 48) , by Hood's partner John Mead Howells, Hudec was sure to have seen. It was an "instant landmark" on New York's skyline because of its solid design, which was based on Eeliel Saarinen's Chicago Tribune entry of 1924. Its verticals were massive unbroken piers, making it seem more like "a solid mass rather than a hollow container,"[20] an advance over Howell and Hood's Chicago Tribune and Hood's American Radiator Building. The Shelton Hotel, of 1924, the tallest hotel in the world at the time it was built, winner of two gold medals for architecture, and another New York landmark by the 1930s, was the first building to fill successfully the spatial envelope created by the 1916 setback zoning by-law (fig. 49).[21] Its windows, set in more shallow vertical recesses like those of the Park Hotel, reflect the effort of its architect, Arthur Loomis Harmon, to reduce the monotony of repeated windows for rooms of the same size by creating "a series of vertical recesses [in the facade], one or two windows wide."[22] By contrast, the windows

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[18]"J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course," p. 3.

[19]Stern, George Howe, p. 118.

[20]Stern, New York 1930, p. 215.

[21]Ibid., p. 208.

[22]John Tauranac, Essential New York: A Guide to the History and Architecture of Manhatten's Important Buildings, Parks, and Bridges (New York, 1979), pp. 147-148.

of the Park Hotel seem to have been the most important feature in the building's design, overriding aesthetics in favour of ventilation and views of the racecourse. Indeed, the number of bays between verticals on the front -- five -- is greater than that on the side elevations -- four-- so that the shallow verticals do not hide the windows at all. This seems to be in keeping with the hotel's primary purpose to "provide guests with the best;" deep recesses would interfere with the wide-angle view of the racecourse.[23] The suites behind the windows, many provided with sitting rooms and some with kitchenettes, shared with the luxury of New York's apartment hotels, such as the Panhellenic and the Shelton, an orientation toward a clientele of both transient and resident guests "who desired the convenience of housekeeping services but frequently did their own cooking."[24] They required public rooms to spend their considerable leisure time in, and so these were usually sumptuous, with some attraction as a focal point -- the racecourse, in the Park's case. Here the view of the city's heart of entertainment was paramount, and here, too, the design of the interior flaunted a decor of great entertainment value -- Art Deco.

The Art Deco style requires some comment, since it was very popular in Shanghai among foreigners and Chinese alike. The years in which Hudec travelled to New York, 1927 and 1928, marked a period in New York in which a few architects produced "some of the tallest, zaniest, most inspired, entertaining, important -- and, indeed, original -- buildings of the twentieth century."[25] While Hudec's architecture may not be as "zany" as some of the Art Deco fancies that earned Manhattan Le Corbusier's scorn -- he called it a "fairy catastrophe"[26] -- like other Art Deco buildings, the Park had a decorative scheme that appealed directly to the senses. The exuberant spirit of Art Deco ornament paralleled and complemented that of the skyscrapers of the New World. As a style of applied technology, "Art Deco," says William Jordy, "fascinates because of the evidence it gives of the delight in working new materials (like aluminum or stainless steel), or in creating new effects from old ones (like glass)." The "surprising effects," Jordy continues, or appeal of a finished product as an artistic object, gave architectural surfaces new life through

> an extravagant *palette* of materials: all kinds of metals (polished, matte, plated) mixed with glass (frosted, etched, even carved), not to mention the burgeoning availability of new kinds of plastics, and all of this in combination with exotic uses of traditional materials like stones and wood veneers.[27]

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[23] The China Press, 1 Dec.1934, p. 26. HC #257.

[24] Stern, New York 1930, pp. 207-208. The Park Hotel's seventeenth and eighteenth floor suites were provided with kitchenettes.

[25] Ibid., p. 29.

[26] Le Corbusier visited in 1935, and published his observations and the ideas the trip generated in 1937. Cited by Cohen, p. 141.

[27] Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism, p. 80.

Details of Hood's Daily News Building had a decorative program that continued to call on that of his earlier buildings: a lobby in black glass and bronze, and the upper reaches of the façade clad in craft materials such as coloured terra cotta. The first-floor exterior of the Chanin Building of 1926-29, whose interior Hudec sketched (figs. 50, 51), was also clad in bronze and Belgian black marble.[28] Accordingly, the black granite that faced Hudec's first three floors, the symphony in black and pea-green marble in the public space on the first floor, the black opaque glass columns and black glass-topped counters in the banking hall (fig. 52), and the shiny "metal rails, grills and neat stools" used in the bar (fig. 53),[29] are materials in line with Art Deco ornament of the 1930s.

Affiliation with the fashionable euphoria for science and technology contributed "a decidedly architectural quality . . . [to] Art Deco because its stylization is never far from the straight edge and compass."[30] The Art Deco motifs found in the Park Hotel are not the familiar curving, organic forms and thematic murals such as those found in the Chanin Building and other earlier New York Art Deco showpieces, but rather the less frivolous designs of late Art Deco more popular in the Depression-era America of the 1930s.[31] By the time the Park was built, the hand-crafted ornament and colourful detail of earlier Art Deco had been replaced by "smoothly articulated surfaces with an occasional rounded, streamlined corner, sheathed in shining metal."[32] The sensory appeal of playful geometric shapes in Art Deco skyscrapers reached as high as their skylines, making them "appear less dehumanizing than the unarticulated top [that] characterize[s] . . . most current office buildings"[33] An eye-catching roofline is undoubtedly one of the Park's most attractive features, from an angled view, at least: the full frontal view loses the interesting effect of the extruded corner piers piercing the sky and screening the unusual gold-clad octagonal observation structure on the roof (fig. 46).

Throughout the hotel's interior, the geometric theme continues in "a combination of materials which has never before been used in the Far East."[34] Durametal was a nickel silver material popularized by Art Deco architects in the 1920s for its ability to take on stylized shapes.[35] It lent itself to the prevalent pattern of curved and straight lines found in

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[28] Robinson and Bletter, p. 19; Stern, New York 1930, pp. 597-598. In retrospect, the use of such decoration in Hood's building seems to contradict the clean, spare lines of overall exterior design of the Daily News Building.

[29] "Modern home Helps in Furnishing New Hotel," China Press, 1 Dec 1934, p. 18. HC #324.

[30] Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism, p. 80.

[31] Robinson and Bletter, p. 71.

[32] Ibid., p. 69.

[33] Ibid., p. 61.

[34] The China Press 1 Dec. 1934, p. 25. HC #257.

[35] Thomas C. Jester, ed., Twentieth Century Building Materials, History and Conservation (Washington,

the metallic staircase railings and risers, exterior railings, doors, and security grills (figs. 53, 54a, b), a pattern that is repeated in the Grand Theatre of 1933 as well as Hudec's house for D.V. Woo in 1938 (fig. 55, 56). Even the carpet carried the grill-like design throughout the hotel. Flooring of colourful inlaid rubber demonstrated great advances in chemistry,[36] while the terrazzo marble flooring in the basement vault, lobby entrance, and dance floor off the grill room was fabricated by a local company which imported its machinery from America, England, and Germany. Tubular glass lamps from Czechoslovakia in the dance-floor ceiling betrayed the by-now world-wide influence of streamlined Art Deco (fig. 52), as did the tubular metal chairs in the suites.[37]

The prevalence of Art Deco throughout the Park Hotel exemplified the modern artistic ideas the hotel embodied. American technology and ideals of accessibility and European aesthetic sensibilities inspired the Art Deco style, but many other sources, such as Egyptian and Mayan art and architecture, found their way into Art Deco expressions as well. The style's adaptation into Chinese graphic design just broadens its scope; although Chinese influences in the hotel seem difficult to locate, the style as not so out of place in Shanghai as the skyscraper type was. In fact, the Art Deco style was readily adapted in China, and especially in Shanghai. The Chinese entry in the *Exposition internationale des art décoratifs et industriels modernes* held in Paris in 1925 displayed work by certain Chinese artists who had studied in France. From the few photographs available, the Chinese entries showed a style of interior design not too different from that given the name Art Deco, taken from the title of the 1925 Exposition.[38] By the 1930s, say Scott Minick and Jiao Ping in their study of twentieth century Chinese graphic design, Chinese graphic artists in Shanghai had developed a distinct "Shanghai Art Deco" style. In it, traditional "architectural ornamentation and decorative pattern" combined with flattened space and clean lines found in articles used in daily life, and with the rational study of geometric forms and perspective learned from the West.[39] The red lacquered columns and metallic gold ceiling in the Park's grill room on the fourteenth floor were a flamboyant combination of modern materials with a colour scheme reminiscent of the broad applications of primary colours that characterized much of northern Chinese architecture. Red in architecture

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D.C., 1995), p. 60. The brand name was Durametal, from an American company. Interestingly, the precursor of white metal, a copper-nickel-zinc alloy, was first used by the Chinese two thousand years ago (p. 59).

[36] Jester, Twentieth Century Building Materials, p. 222.

[37] The China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 25. HC #257.

[38] For example, photos found in Craig Clunas, "Chinese Art and Chinese Artists in France 1924-25," Arts Asiatiques 44 (1989), p. 102.

[39] Scott Minick and Jiao Ping, Chinese Graphic Design In The Twentieth Century (London, 1990), pp. 36, 38, 44, 56.

indicated a wish for happpiness and good fortune for the occupants, while yellow or gold, traditionally used for the Emperor's palaces, was a sign of power and wealth.[40]

European Sources

Several factors likely figured into the height of the hotel, or rather its limitation to twenty-two stories. City building codes and the unknown factor of soil subsidence likely limited the architect's ambition to height. Since Hudec had to convince the owners that his plan was possible, he may also have had to introduce a proposal only modestly higher than other buildings in Shanghai. The contrast between the vertical lines of the Park and those of much taller New York skyscrapers, however, could also be explained by Hudec's preference for monumental solidity over the towering Gothic modern of Hood's Daily News Building. Could the difference be that the hotel's design issued from an architectural inheritance lacking links to the history that surrounded the development of the American skyscraper? Its lines, rather than resembling the repetitive, clean, square lines of Hood's building that Hudec admired, look more like those of Eeliel Saarinen's second-place design for the Chicago Tribune tower and buildings influenced by it. In fact, a different conception of large, modern building construction -- European versus American -- lies at the root of the difference between the Park Hotel and American skyscrapers. Given Hudec's Beaux-Arts training under the pre-World War One Austro-Hungarian Empire, it is reasonable to look to Germany and Austria for further sources that shaped the Park Hotel.

The Park Hotel's plan, height and stylized Art Deco features likened it to recent skyscrapers in the United States, particularly the spare, yet impressive Empire State Building, completed in 1931, and, in ornamentation, to Hood's Daily News Building and Howe's PSFS. Its simplicity and pyramidal massing combined with an attempt at verticality, however, point to a modern European Classicism that did not aspire to new heights but to a new "interpretation of traditional architectural elements or natural forms."[41] It is clear the style used was not exuberant, organic Art Deco -- Stern calls it "Modern Naturalism" of the typical New York skyscraper. Rather, the Park is closer to what Stern calls "Modern Classicism," whose origins he firmly roots in the work of architects from pre-War Austria and Germany. Hood and Howell, following the footsteps of Eeliel

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[40] Gin-Djih Su, Chinese Architecture Past and Contemporary (Hong Kong, 1964), p. 222-224; Fu Xinian, "Survey: Chinese Traditional Architecture," in Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt et al, Chinese Traditional Architecture (New York, 1984), p. 14. The use of neon lights on Shanghai's streets, vivid in primary colours and rivalling any North American city, could be seen as an expression of the colour used in traditional Chinese architecture: "A Riot of Color and Flaming Lights in Shanghai," China Weekly Review, 8 Dec. 1934, p. 37.

[41] Stern, New York 1930, p. 23.

Saarinen's landmark contribution to the Chicago Tribune competition, valued the European classical sensibility, interpreting it to fit the skyscraper type. Modern Classicist architects of New York continued in

> the Beaux-Arts tradition of planning and composition and the Modern Classicism of prewar Austria and Germany. . . [which exhibited] centralized plans, bilateral symmetry, and pyramidal massing; but the handling of the materials, and in particular the ornament, revealed a new sensibility . . . influenced by the reductive aesthetic deemed by Modernists to be the result of machine as opposed to craft production.[42]

The European Modern Classicism, however, while given exposure and legitimacy at the *Paris Exposition des Arts Décoratifs*, was adapted by American architects as a new style of Modern Classicism that "was most compellingly realized in the services of American capitalism."[43] On Hudec's drafting table, undoubtedly liberated by having Chinese clients and by the cosmopolitan nature of Shanghai, those European tendencies evolved differently. After his initial foray into trying to create an architecture reminiscent of Hungary, he did not search for a new, modern way in which to express national feeling as many American and European architects did after the First World War. Neither did tradition continue to play as great a rôle in his design as it did for many of his Viennese contemporaries, nor was he faced with the social issues that confronted European architects after the First World War.[44] Nevertheless, he remained interested in the work of his European contemporaries whose origins he shared.

Architects in Hungary between the wars were directly affected by the post-war economic plunge of Germany's allies; developments in modernism were severely limited.[45] Instead, Hudec's work was closer to that of many German and Viennese architects, for they were all of the same generation, educated in similar Beaux-Arts academies. These academies proved fertile ground for both the typical Viennese architect who was primarily interested in maintaining classical traditions with modern materials and the more creative

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[42] Ibid., p. 23.

[43] Ibid., p. 26.

[44] Ibid., p. 23; William J. R. Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, 3rd edition (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1996), p. 253; Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals (New York, 1985), p. 695.

[45] The new context of Hudec's hometown in the newly formed Czechoslovakia, complete with democratic government and foreign aid, experienced solid industrial development in contrast to Hungary, the country of Hudec's allegiance according to both Hudec's widow and Torsten Warner (in Personal Correspondence, June, 1997). Post-war Hungary's building industry suffered from vast changes in demography, geography, economics, and industry, partly because of the toll exacted on Hungary by the Treaty of Versailles in 1920 and revolutions that followed, and partly because of the havoc created in central Europe by the rearrangement of countries all around Hungary: John Macsai, " Competing Ideas in Hungarian Architecture," in Wojciech Lesnikowski, ed., et al., East European Modernism: Architecture in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland Between the Wars, 1919-1939 (New York, 1995), p. 113.

architect who tried to move beyond traditional forms and styles.[46] Hudec's work begins as the former and finishes as the latter. He also maintained close ties with Germany and so understood the paradox of German architects who mingled Expressionist ideals with historical, especially classical, references and conceptions of a new and bright future. How did these elements combine?

The Viennese school of architects of Hudec's generation was characterized by oscillations between modern and traditional designs. Educated at the official Beaux-Arts schools of the former Austro-Hungarian empire, architects such as Paul Engelmann, Josef Frank, Clemens Holzmeister, and Karl Ehn, in the 1920s and 30s finally began to explore the oft-cited cry, "Ornament is crime." The phrase, uttered by Viennese architect Adolf Loos in 1908, decried ornamented architecture as evidence of a decadent culture.[47] Post-World War One Viennese architecture tried to create a new national, updated style. The results have been described as a balance between *Traditionalistische Moderne* -- Modern Traditionalism -- and *Undogmatische Avantgarde* -- Tolerant Avant-garde.[48] Karl Ehn's socialist housing complex, the Karl-Marx-Hof in Vienna of 1927-3, was famed for the way it broke up the surfaces of a large horizontal structure so as to relieve the monotony of the long rows of windows without using ornament (fig. 57). It represented a horizontal solution to a new problem -- the need for cost-effective housing. The breaking up of a large horizontal space became a theme in Hudec' work of the early 1930s, such as the China Literature Society building and the China Baptist Publishing Society building. His division of space could easily be mistaken for vertical emphases were it not for his Ambassador Apartments project of 1931 (fig. 58). Rather than imitating the fascinating unusual surface articulation and contrasting colours of Ehn's apartment house, Hudec broke up the horizontal façade with tall vertical pavilions that could have been copied from overlays of the Park Hotel or the other buildings just mentioned.

To establish Hudec's work more firmly within Viennese modernism, it may be observed that another Viennese modernist, Clemens Holzmeister, shared with Hudec in his "flamboyant phase" -- to borrow Tess Johnston's apt characterization[49] -- a simplification and abstraction of traditional forms. Compare, for example, the related programs of Holzmeister's monumental Krematorium, of 1921-22 (fig. 59), and Hudec's Byzantine-

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[46] Curtis, Modern Architecture, pp 65-71.

[47] Ibid., p. 71. Curtis gives a full discussion of the modernizing trend of traditional architecture in Europe in Ch.17, "The Continuity of Older Traditions," pp. 287-303.

[48] The first half of Haiko's title for "Traditionalistische Moderne und undogmatische Avantgarde: Optimale Wohnqualität versus rigiden Formenkanon 1918-1934," in Österriech: Architektur im 20 Jahrhundert (München [Munich]/New York, 1995), pp. 22-30.

[49] A Last Look, p. 49.

like Chapei Funerary Chapel (fig. 19). The treatment of ornament was similar. Note the warmly textured wall space of both buildings, and compare the unusual roofline of the Chapel's domes with the top of the Krematorium's perimeter wall. The treatment of broad, simplified masses also indicated a common aesthetic understanding. Only in Austria where architects shared Hudec's educational background can such compelling comparisons to a range of Hudec's work be made.

While the many themes and variations developing across Europe in the early twentieth century are beyond the scope of this paper,[50] the German influence on Hudec and his hotel should not be underestimated. Hudec's ties with Germany went beyond the alliance between his homeland and Germany, for he married into a German-English family who, despite having lived in Shanghai since the mid-1800s, were still German nationals.[51] That he was familiar with Germany's built environment is clear, not least because he was fluent in German, the language used for his student notes, and could read German architecture journals such as Der Baumeister which published the Park Hotel, the Lafayette Cinema, and the Grand Theatre.[52] By and large, Germany was a wellspring of ideas during the early 20th century and since 1900 had been "the centre of European architectural thought;" the best-known today being the Deutscher Werkbund, dating to 1907.[53] Some of the ideas from this group helped form those of the Bauhaus, whose influential architectural ideals of pure functionalism, however, are seen in Hudec's industrial architecture such as the Union Brewery (fig. 60). This type of modernism spread across Europe,[54] and was embraced by many of Hudec's contemporary Hungarian and Czechoslovakian architects.[55] Hudec's familiarity with these modern architects' work is

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[50] On this subject, see Curtis, Ch. 17, "The Continuity of Older Traditions," pp. 287-303, especially pp. 291-303; see also Kenneth Frampton, Modern Architecture: A Critical History (New York, 1992), Part II: "A Critical History 1836-1967," pp. 42 - 210. For a survey of the many off-shoots of modern architecture in Germany during Hudec's active period, see the recent book: John Zukowsky, ed., The Many Faces of Modern Architecture: Building in Germany Between the World Wars (New York, Munich, 1994).

[51] Gisella Hudec spent the First World War with her mother in Germany, where she attended school.

[52] 5, 33 (Mai 1935). HC #768. The scrapbooks in the Collection contain numerous clippings from German sources.

[53] Leonardo Benevolo, History of Modern Architecture, Vol. II: The Modern Movement (London, 1971), p. 380. Benevolo suggests the reason Germany was the birthplace of the avant-garde was that it lacked the precedents found in France and England's traditional architecture.

[54] For a comprehensive account of modernism in central Europe, see the essays in Lesnikowski, ed., East European Modernism. Some of Hudec's contemporary countrymen studied at the Bauhaus following the First World War, seeking greater freedom for artistic endeavours than the oppressive Hungarian government and poor economy would allow. Janos Bonta, "Functionalism in Hungarian Architecture," in East European Modernism, pp. 128-129.

[55] Ibid., pp. 128-129.

evident from an issue of the periodical, Tèr ès Forma -- in which Hudec's house of 1939 for D.V. Wood is featured -- found in the Hudec archive.[56]

Hudec's Park Hotel, so obviously not part of the German modernist movement, can instead be seen in the context of his own work that addresses the requirements of his commissions in pragmatic, if eclectic, ways. For example, the industrial architecture of post-World War One Germany served as a model for Hudec's Union Brewery, designed after Hudec studied breweries in Germany in 1928 (fig. 60). It responded to a need for efficiency, but is notably very different in conception from the only slightly earlier Chapei Water Station, another industrial building, that ornamented with a wavy, outward-tilted roofline vaguely reminiscent of early German Expressionism (fig. 61). The brewery may have shared some of the features of Weimar Germany's architecture with its "prismatic blocks with flat roofs . . . , sleekly machined industrial details, efficient interior planning, and up-to-the-minute equipment," but not the "unadorned white stucco" -- it is an industrial building, after all.[57] The fact that Hudec built four hospitals in Shanghai, at least three of which are still used for medical purposes, is also an indication of his success in incorporating function into rational designs.[58]

In particular, Hudec looked to Germany for examples with which to satisfy German clients. In this respect, his work leaned toward the mainstream of German architecture around him in Shanghai. There Germanic features tended to be subsumed into a broader European trend toward modernizing traditional styles -- a trend German historian Torsten Warner calls an "international style."[59] Hudec's Protestant church for Shanghai's German community, completed in 1931 (fig.17), with its variegated brick work and tower flared at the base and at a forty-five degree angle to the nave, was strongly reminiscent of northern German brick churches. The work of Martin Elsaesser and Max Weber comes to mind, such as Weber's influential Roman Catholic church of St. Boniface in Frankfurt-Sachsenhausen, of 1926-27 (fig. 62).[60] The whole movement of modern German

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[56] Several Hungarian moderns formed a branch of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) in 1929. Their philosophy and designs were covered in six entire issues between 1932 and 1937 of Tér és Forma, a monthly periodical published by Borbiro Virgil Ed., and running from 1928 to 1939: Bonta, p. 129.

[57] Kostof, History of Architecture, p. 700.

[58] Warner, p.136, lists them as the Paulun Hospital of 1927 (still in use), the Country Hospital for Foreigners of 1926 (now called the Hua Dong Hospital -- see pamphlet on Hua Dong Hospital in Hudec Collection), the Margaret Williamson Hospital (now a women's clinic), and St. Luke's Hospital (currently serving as a local town hall).

[59] Warner, p. 130, a term not to be confused with the International Style coined by Philip Johnson in 1932, which could not be applied to most architecture in Shanghai, judging by the photographs in Johnston and Erh's A Last Look and Warner's book, except for the Le-Corbusier-style Victoria Nurses Home of 1933 by R. A. Hamburger: Warner, p.138.

[60] Hugo Schnell, Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (Munich, 1974), p. 51 n. 54.

ecclesiastical architecture after the War evolved out of a deepening desire to revitalize a grieving population and to make religion more accessible and sincere, not by creating a new architecture, but by synthesizing old forms with new concepts of worship. Otto Bartning, a German architect who built one hundred and twenty-five churches in eight countries, was active while Hudec was still undergoing training in Budapest. Like Hudec, he was a Lutheran extremely interested not just in church building, but in the exchange and understanding of religious ideas.[61] There is little doubt Hudec was conversant with the current religious debates on architecture in Germany.

The Park Hotel also has a marked affinity for other German architecture from between the wars that balances between traditional and modern. The use of projecting vertical shafts on the Park's façade, typical of Hudec's "Gothic Modern Phase," is found in Germany on buildings that are often much more classical in form than Hudec's.[62] Compare, for example, Hudec's Engineering Building, of 1931 for Chiao-Tung University (fig.18) with the Stummkonzern Skyscraper by Paul Bonatz, of 1926, in Dusseldorf (fig. 63).[63] This German version of a skyscraper, as well as other buildings that emphasize verticality such as the Book Printing Works, Tempelhof, Berlin (1924-26) by Eugene Schmohl (fig. 64), and the Hanover Advertiser Offices, of 1927, by Fritz Höger (fig. 65), also bear a striking resemblance to the Park Hotel and its precursors. Arnold Whittick interprets the German attempts at verticality as evidence of the struggle of traditionally trained architects to come to terms with the country's break with traditional ornament, a break unlike that of other European countries. After the Great War, traditional historicist architecture had lost much of its value for Germany as a nation. During post-war reconstruction, in need of capital from which to rebuild its economy and models by which to rebuild its cities, the German elite sought outside sources that were deemed successful in representing a new, hopeful age.[64] Images of American skyscrapers were avidly studied in Germany by way of exhibitions and publications on American architecture throughout the

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[61] Ibid., p. 33. Several photographs survive of Hudec posing with Jesuit priests in Shanghai, as do lecture notes on the excavations of old St. Peters in Rome for talks to various religious organizations in California, where he retired.

[62] Stern, New York 1930, p. 23. This German strain of architecture is one of the forerunners of Stern's Modern Classicism.

[63] Curtis, p. 288-289. Bonatz was one of the loudest critics, says Curtis, of the new white-walled, cubic, functional architecture that was widely publicized through the creation of the Weissenhosiedlung housing project in Stuttgart in 1927.

[64] Cohen, pp. 59-61. Cohen explores German reactions to American architectural developments that were published in a couple of extremely influential volumes by German authors, The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art of 1922, and Amerikanische Architektur und Stadtbaukunst of 1925 (pp. 59-61); and later works such as erich Mendelsohn's Amerika, Bilderbuch, eines Architekten, published in 1926 (pp. 86-98), and Richard Neutra's two books, Wie baut Amerika? of 1927 and Amerika of 1930..

1920s.[65] Throughout much of Germany during the 1920s and 30s, says Whittick, vertical motifs "wholly determin[ed] the external appearance of buildings."[66] The modest height yet clear emphasis on verticality evident in the skyscrapers and towers in figs. 63, 64, and 65 were products of historicist German architects who did not share America's celebration of economic success and independence but were nonetheless likely inspired by the impressions of verticality conveyed by publications. A fundamental relationship to the landscape inherent in European tradition is what Arnold Whittick claims to differentiate the German from American vertical experiments.[67] The buildings illustrated here seem unable to thrust upwards, as if held down by a confining horizontal net. This conflict between new ideas and tradition partially accounts for the Park Hotel's own oddly unsettling form seen both in drawings and as built.

The opposition between the new functional and old traditional in European architecture was the source from which "the basic ideals of modern architecture were worked out."[68] Expressionist architecture embodied that conflict, says Wolfgang Pehnt; many German architects who later became modernists began as Expressionists, and even the more historicist-oriented architects like Paul Bonatz, discussed above, tried out various forms of the new architecture.[69] Hudec, too, worked out a variety of Expressionist and modernist ideas in his work from the 1920s, but rather than leave Expressionism to respond to socialist concerns for housing and accessibility, he was able to retain the expression of his individual interpretations in the unique environment of Shanghai. His connection to Germany's Expressionist movement is apparent in a several ways. First, the names of early German Expressionists can be found in the pages of the single notebook surviving from Hudec's student days: Bruno Taut, Karl Scheffler, Fritz Erlen, Hugo Eberhardt, Hermann Muthesius, and Dominikus Böhm. Second, note the similarity of massing, proportion, and monumentality between Hudec's drawings for the Park Hotel and a drawing by Dominikus Böhm for a Soldiers' Memorial, of 1923 (figs. 33, 40, 41, 66). Hudec was exploring how to construct a tall building through the compressed

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[65] Schnell, Church Architecture in Germany, p. 33.

[66] Arnold Whittick, European Architecture in the Twentieth Century, Vol. Two, Part III: The Era of Functionalism, 1924-1933 (London, 1953), p. 16.

[67] Ibid., p. 16. The link to landscape, says Whittick, also linked the work of moderate architects such as Höger and Bonatzhe to more radical colleagues such as Walter Gropius, Eric Mendelsohn and Mies van der Rohe, who belonged to a "new architecture" of Germany. For a more thorough coverage of the American sources of German horizontality, see Cohen, pp. 63-68.

[68] Wolfgang Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture (London, 1973), p. 198.

[69] Ibid., p. 196. Pehnt draws attention to a "multiplicity of possibilities" of communication according to individual architects that enabled design covering a range of Expressionist to modernist works, as for example in the work of Mies van der Rohe and Bruno Taut.

pyramidal composition typical of German architects who studied American skyscrapers, particularly during the Expressionist period of the 1920s.[70] Third, after the war, many of these architects entered a new phase of modern design, but the one strain common throughout German architecture from the pre-War period into the 1920s and even beyond was a "compulsion to novelty," a search for fresh ideas and stimuli to attract viewers.[71] Hudec claimed that his hotel "in its architectural pattern will be unlike any other structure in the world."[72] The uniqueness, he said, came from his ability to interpret in an original way because he was a unique individual. Torsten Warner calls Hudec the only architect practising "expressionism" in China, a tribute to the architect's creative ability.[73] While Warner does not equate Hudec's "expressionism" with German Expressionism, Hudec's claim to originality inspired by architectural precedents paralleled the essence of German Expressionism -- that good architecture was an extension of the architect, and thus wholly original.[74] As an organic art, architecture to the Expressionists could borrow forms, colours, and textures of the past that they felt conveyed the spiritual nature of buildings through the architect's inspiration. Gothic references were popular, since the style strongly associated architecture to spirituality. Interesting texture and colour helped arouse emotion and induce positive psychological effects. The richly-coloured brick and stained glass of Gothic cathedrals, as well as brightly painted streets, created environments in which people could be truly joyful.[75] So colour, and its use in brick and tile, entered the repertoire of the Expressionist architect, even making its way to America where skyscrapers, so reminiscent in size of Gothic cathedrals, made extravagant use of it.

The Expressionist credo, "For feeling is the source of invention, of creative power -- in short, of form,"[76] ascribed to feeling -- and colour -- the basis of form. In the application of colour and texture to the essence of form, Hudec's Expressionist side is clear. The function of his buildings is often expressed through form and form through materials, details, and massing. Richly detailed exteriors of simply massed buildings are enlivened through the five-colour brick of Hudec's J.S.S. Building of 1928, the red and blue clinker brick of the German Protestant Church, the copper roof of the Catholic Country Church, and the dark lozenge-shaped tile spandrels alternating with lighter brick

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[70] Whittick, p. 16.

[71] Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture, p. 198.

[72] "J.S.S. Building Facing Race Course," p. 3.

[73] Warner, p. 132.

[74] Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture, p. 198.

[75] Ibid., p. 87.

[76] Expressed by Walter Gropius, "Neues Bauen," in Der Holzbau, supplement to the Deutsche Bauzeitung, 2 (1920), p. 5, cited by Pehnt, p. 113.

piers on the Park Hotel's façade. In colour, massing, and verticals, the Park Hotel's design captures the ongoing struggle between European conceptions of massing building shapes as they rise upwards and the American experiments in designing skyscrapers that truly reflected the nature of the tall building.

The Park Hotel is eloquent testimony to its architect's ability to adapt and synthesize a variety of sources. Hudec was born and educated in that generation of Austro-Hungarian architects who, by the 1930s, were exploring the future of architecture through a language that unified earlier work from the 1920s with new ideas from America and socialist ideals for the well-being of their nations. He exhibited an originality in the Park Hotel that indicates a combination of skill and circumstance.[77] Hudec's Hungarian nationality, German associations, Beaux-Arts training, and location in relatively isolated Shanghai, and his commission from wealthy Chinese clients, ensured that he would interpret the latest modern styles and the newest technology in a unique, individual fashion.

The hotel's construction between 1932 and 1934 also coincided with the peak of a period during which great hotels in countries around the world attracted Western travellers. This period ran, approximately, from the beginning of rail travel to the heyday of the newer fashion of ocean-liner travel. The grand hotels abounding in Eastern countries along the major rail and water routes connecting Europe to destinations of "oriental fantasy" are chronicled in a beautiful photo-essay book published in 1987. The Park Hotel has been included -- somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, since the other entries feature old world European designs, never the modern, functional designs of the new century.[78] In one of the book's essays, "Grand Hotels and Palaces: The Dimensions of a Dream," Martin Meade claims that the "hallmark always intrinsic to [the] design" of these hotel-palaces was

> the transposition and adaptation of their architecture, to the new scale of their specific location, to the climate and materials of the country and culture which they imposed themselves upon and with which, to some extent, they were integrated.[79]

Hudec himself commented on how the architect found inspiration in sources other than his own mind, but took the idea one step further than Meade:

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[77] Jurgen Joedicke, Architecture Since 1945, Sources and Directions (New York, 1969), p. 12; Curtis, p. 149.

[78] Grand Oriental Hotels, p. 212. As noted in Chapter 2, fn 20, the only other hotels included in the book that approach a modern design are Frank Lloyd Wright's Imperial Hotel in Tokyo and Shanghai's Cathay Hotel Broadway Mansions.

[79] Ibid., p. 13.

> The architect may borrow from a hundred sources, but the result is his very own when he has fused all these component parts into one harmonious whole whose greatest characteristic . . . is its freshness and departure from all stilted and stereotyped old forms.[80]

The Park demonstrated the architect's originality, but at the same time banked its success on its ability to beckon to the Western tourist by offering the comforts of home made possible by modern technology. Allusions to contemporary architectural exercises in modernism, and adaptations to the hotel's location, climate, and other factors made it a competitor in the world-wide field of hostelry.

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[80] Shanghai Times, 7 May 1928, n.p. HC #771.

CHAPTER 4
Symbolism and Significance

"I Believe in Shanghai"

> Let these words become emblazoned on your shield.
> I believe in Shanghai!
> I pledge allegiance to the city in which I live and which affords me peace and livelihood.
> I shall keep faith with Shanghai and thus it shall keep faith with me!
> I recognize and believe in the opportunity which lies ahead
> And I shall make every effort to bring it to quick realization!
> I believe Shanghai is destined to become the greatest city of the East
> And by keeping this pledge I know that it will fulfill its destiny.[1]

Though the above "pledge" celebrates Shanghai, its imagery, in both text and graphics, is blatantly un-Chinese (see the page from which it originates in fig. 67). Its implied commercialism, dating to the late 1920s, epitomizes a city supported by anyone, Chinese or foreign, who could make use of the opportunities it offered. This is what the Park Hotel also captured. Its height, the result of commercial speculation, made it "long a popular symbol of Shanghai because, until a few years ago, it was the city's highest building."[2] It symbolized capitalist enterprise using a modern vocabulary, without the use of classical references associated with Western banking institutions since the beginning of the twentieth century. The implications of the modern bank sharing space with a modern hotel, built by a Hungarian architect for a Chinese bourgeoisie, are intriguing.

The height of the Park Hotel made full economic sense in a city of rising real estate prices. As in American cities such as New York, the height of buildings responeded to escalating land values and economic determinants.[3] A reflection of the price of land in Shanghai is undoubtedly the small acreage the hotel occupies, with a frontage of only about eighty feet. Still more significant is the contrast in overall size between it and other hotels planned, but not built, on Bubbling Well Road facing the racecourse. One plan, published in a local paper in 1929, was for a hotel of 560 rooms.[4] Another, known only through an

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[1] Asia Realty Company, The Realty Market, Shanghai, May 1928, frontispiece [fig. 68]. HC #273. This little brochure advertised the Columbia Road housing project, using several of Hudec's drawings.

[2] Bao Zhifang, "Architecture and Environment in Shanghai," Britain-China 31 (Spring 1986), p. 5.

[3] In the first nine months of 1929, two years before the hotel was begun, the rate of building in Shanghai had exceeded the yearly average for the previous five years: "1929 Proves Record Year for Local Building," Shanghai Sunday times Industrial Supplement, 15 Dec. 1929: 19. HC #771.

[4] The architect of the design was Gonda, who is very puzzlingly referred to as the architect of the Grand Theatre. As far as is known, this is the only reference to an architect other than Hudec as the designer for this theatre. "Grand Hotel Faces Race Course," Shanghai Sunday Times Industrial Supplement, 15 Dec.

undated newspaper clipping in Hudec's collection, was dubbed the "Monster Hotel" and designed by the masters of New York's immense Grand Central Station, Warren & Wetmore (fig. 68).[5] Hudec cited the imperative of economics over symbolism as the main reason for the Park's height: "The high price of land has made it impossible for a low building to yield a good return on the investment necessary to erect it."[6] That may be true, but the hotel also represented the circumstances from which it was born: a faith in the Shanghai's future economic stability. In 1931, reported The China Press, the hotel's owners believed that "if anything happens to Shanghai land values it will result in a rise instead of a decline. They have the greatest confidence in the future of this city, and prove it by their move in building the tallest structure on four continents."[7] Faith in the essence of the city is evident in this statement, which betrays an optimism typical of realty brokers everywhere. Optimism coincided with the hotel's use as an advertisment for Western science and capitalism, a message not lost on the young I.M. Pei, who was moved at the achievement it represented and resolved to become a builder of such assertions of human ability.[8]

Still more important than advertising economic success -- especially in retrospect and despite Hudec's assertion to the contrary,"We are forced to build high, and so we do"[9] -- the hotel conveyed complex meanings embedded in the multiple histories of its owners and Chinese, European and American clientele. In a city of Shanghai's cosmopolitan nature, such complexity seems inevitable. Searching for meaning, and in this case, finding many possible layers, is justified by the idea that a building is a product of not only its time, but by the world-view held by its makers. Karsten Harries, in The Ethical Function of Architecture, explores the whole philosophy behind meaning as it is relevant to the modern world.[10] Harries says a building can be read like a picture, relying on symbols as guides to understanding the architecture.[11] These symbols are only accessible to people who share an understanding of the symbols' associations; different aspects of a building will convey different things to people of different cultures. The worldview out of which a

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1929:, p. 40. HC #237.

[5] "The Monster Hotel which is shortly to be built opposite the racecourse," no citation information. HC #237.

[6] The China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, pp. 1, 3. HC #1275, 1277.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

[8] I. M. Pei, Personal Interview, 30 Jan. 1996.

[9] The China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 3.

[10] Karsten Harries, The Ethical Function of Architecture (Cambridge, 1997).

[11] He draws an analogy to reading a map: while not looking remotely like the geographical area it represents, the building can be read through its symbols decipherable by their correspondence with reality: Ibid., pp. 98-99; 102-110.

building is created provides the viewer with the clues to understand both its function and meaning.

The Park Hotel's symbolism is knowable through extrapolation from different types of evidence, which all point to the hotel's owners', and perhaps its architect's, perspective on their rôle in the world. The building's visual effect on the flat Yangtze valley from which modern Shanghai grew is the primary source, though inextricable from the newspaper reports that dwell on the building's remarkable size, modern features, and luxurious materials.[12] Praise of the hotel's modernity points to the contemporary preoccupation with modern technology symptomatic of "the new changes taking place from which a New China [was] rapidly being built."[13] The owners' awareness of the meaning such new technology had for both China and the world can be discerned by contextualizing that technology within the attitude among the elite group to which they belonged toward the "new changes" in China. The modern amenities and new technology that enabled the hotel to soar figuratively and symbolically reflected the owners', and the architect's, worldviews, as well as that of its clientele: through studying the new sciences and technology learned in the West, China was beginning to compete with other Western civilizations in their own capitalist games.

Gaining access to knowledge in order to solve China's problems became a key pursuit of the new Chinese youth. The solution to China's "backwardness" that the Park Hotel symbolizes was "scientism," which, in general, assumed that all aspects of the universe are rationally knowable.[14] The ability to think rationally and use scientific methods became a characteristic of a democractic society, and was employed by the scientists and great thinkers of the West to discover better ways of living for everyone.[15] The origins of democracy, claimed the Chinese writer Hu Shih, were to be found in America, where a whole new system of morals, a "new religion," developed out of modern life.[16] The effects of modern science on everyday life, addressed, for example, in Charles

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[12] The newspapers and journals surveyed are foreign-language one, i.e., English and German

[13] "New Park Hotel Thrown Open To City at Morning Ceremony," no citation information. HC #776.

[14] D. W. Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900-1950 (New Haven, 1965), p. 3. Kwok examines the various progressive thinkers from this period, who espoused scientism, each using their own specific brand of interpretation. Not all Chinese believed advances in technology were beneficial to China; see for example Ralph Huenemann's review of the arguments for and against the implementation of railroads in China, in The Dragon and the Iron Horse: The Economics of Railroads in China, 1876-1937 (Cambridge, Mass. 1984), p. 37.

[15] For an overview of the different areas of science taught in China by Americans and American-trained Chinese, and the difference in perception of the benefits of science held by these two groups, see Peter Buck, American Science and Modern China, 1876-1936 (Cambridge, Mass. 1980), Chapter 6, "Modernization and its discontents: The scientific method in China and America," pp. 171-208, and Chapter 7, "'A sphere of influence in beneficence': American science and modern China," pp. 209-236.

[16] Hu Shih, "The Civilizations of the East and the West," Charles Beard, ed., Whither Mankind, (New

Beard's anthology Whither Mankind, were all-encompassing: subjects range from running a government to raising a family, treated in essays by such well-known figures as Bertrand Russell and John Dewey, both of whom frequented China's university lecture halls, Lewis Mumford, and Hu Shih, whose essay comparing Eastern (Chinese) and Western civilizations opens the entire anthology.[17] Hu Shih, believing in the power of the individual aided by machines, admonished China's students to travel to the West to study "the knowledge and methods of the natural sciences. This is the road of hope, whereas the other road, that among old books and papers, leads nowhere."[18]

Scientism had been pursued in Western countries by Chinese students since the early Republican period, following in the footsteps of Japanese students; by the time the hotel was built, there was a sufficient number of Chinese who had learned Western methods of manufacturing to provide much of the expertise needed for the support of such large construction projects.[19] In addition, magazines originating in Shanghai were full of plans, designs, and detailed explanations of manufacturing processes, vividly illustrating a concern on behalf of their publishers to educate the Chinese public in new technologies.[20] The existence of these magazines intended for the general public aside, the idealism of the new intelligentsia found expression in bourgeois lifestyles and businesses identified with and supported by Western science. Bergère speaks of a "euphoria born of a virtually total ignorance of modern economic cycles, [which] submerged anxiety over the future. The bourgeoisie's optimism matched the theorists' utopias."[21] The Park Hotel's thorough appropriation of Western technology and design comprehensively represented its owners and their epoch, right down to the inability of some groups to absorb the implications of some ideals generated from the West. Ironically, the cosmopolitan clientele for which it

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York, 1928), pp. 37-38.

[17] Bergère, Golden Age, p. 210; Hu Shih, "The Civilizations of the East and the West," pp. 1-25; for a discussion of the essay, see Kwok, pp. 96-101. Hu Shih adapted this essay in other versions such as "Let Us All Look at Ourselves in the Mirror," cited in Kwok, Scientism, p. 101 fn34. The word "modernisation" only came into use following the Second World War, coined by Western social historians as the alternative to communism, which has interesting implications for China today: Michael Adas, Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance (Ithaca, 1989), p. 194.

[18] Cited from "Methods and Materials of Study" in Kwok, Scientism, p. 95.

[19] For example, the granite used for the hotel was quarried in Tsingtao (Commercial Engineer, Special Joint Savings Society Building Supplement, p. 14); the Chinese-run Voh Kee Construction Co. assembled the steel frame (Memorial Supplement, p. 3, HC #771); the engineering works were provided by the King Chong Chang & Co. (China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 16, HC #776); and tile cladding was provided by a Chinese ceramics company, Taishan, the only face brick-making company given the patent rights to this technique by the Nanking government (Ibid., p. 12).

[20] Waara, pp. 235-238.

[21] Bergère, Golden Age, p. 211.

was designed was decimated by first the onset of the Depression, then the Japanese invasion, and, finally, the Communist takeover of Shanghai.

Since the hotel was intended for both Chinese and foreign guests who were accustomed to Western lifestyles, no wonder the Chinese owners sought to provide the comforts of the West. In addition, a belief in their own ability to change the lives of Chinese people, however few, through the adaptation of Western ideas showed in the establishment within the hotel's domain of the first "international" school of hotel management. The Park's Chinese comptroller, Myron D. Ling, who had worked in a well-known California hotel and graduated from the University of Shanghai's Business Administration course in 1931, explained in the China Weekly Review how the hotel was intended to aid China. There was a need, he wrote, for a Chinese hotel industry that foreign visitors would want to utilize in order for China to benefit from the sector's great income potential. "No step should be neglected," he wrote a week before the hotel opened for business, "that would in any way induce the foreigner to spend his money in China."[22] The J.S.S. created the International Hotel Company, Limited, both to "erect and maintain" the Park Hotel and to provide a hotel school for local Chinese students, presumably in order to preserve the hotel's status as Shanghai's first foreign-style establishment under complete Chinese ownership and operation.[23] This school, however, did not operate outside the realm of bourgeois business: its students were trained in Western standards of hospitality.

Impressions of the hotel reported in local newspapers were reactions to the hotel's unprecedented height. In calling the tallest building between New York and Tokyo, the tallest building in the Far East, the Empire State Building of the East, media saw the Park as clearly symbolic of "the aspirations of mankind" to which Hudec alluded but glossed over, claiming rather that "We are forced to build high, and so we do".[24] Hudec's disclaimer likely illustrated his awareness that a tall building can so easily be seen as the result of pride; certainly that is what the newspapers convey as they placed it at the start of a race for the tallest building in its relevant sphere.[25] For the sophisticated, modern Chinese it rose as a bulwark against the "backwardness" of traditional Chinese society that needed to be overcome, and so it symbolized a "New China". Chinese tradition is not part of that New China; not only is the skyscraper type a foreign transplant, as discussed in Chapter 3,

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[22] "Modern Chinese Hotels," China Weekly Review, 13 Oct. 1934, p. 235.

[23] "New Chinese-Owned Park Hotel Will Be Operated on Foreign Lines," China Weekly Review, 10 Nov. 1934, p. 368.

[24] China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 3. HC #1277.

[25] Harries, p. 184, defines this pride as "a dream of ever taller buildings."

but the vertical emphasis on a building created for commercial enterprise sets it apart from Chinese architectural tradition.

Unlike Western architecture since the nineteenth century, in which finding new and better ways of expressing personal achievements or corporate wealth and power engendered new concepts of building, the most relevant being the skyscraper of nineteenth-century America, Chinese building was generally governed by placement and size prescribed and codified as early as the Han dynasty (202 B.C.-220 C.E.). In Chinese cosmology, space on earth reflected that in heaven, conceived in a hierarchy reaching outwards to the four directions of the compass, rather than down a vertical axis. This religious concept translated into a predominantly rectangular, axial architecture with a horizontal aesthetic and dictated all construction and city planning. Traditional Chinese buildings show a "conscious preference for a uniform range of heights."[26] The most important buildings according to inhabitants' social functions and seniority were protected from view.[27] This contrasts with the modern American city studded with skyscrapers, which "described a premeditated human order, one indebted solely to technology and the profit-seeking designs of man."[28] The pagoda, which could be said to resemble the Park Hotel because of its height and therefore its great contrast to the landscape and as a type also not indigenous to China,[29] may have been built to herald the activity of its builders as followers of Buddhism, just as the hotel heralds its owners' activity. However, Eastern religion and Western commercialism are not comfortable parallels. In general, then, Chinese architecture did not serve as advertising for personal commercial success as the tall Park Hotel did.[30]

Thus far, the hotel appears as an unusual spectre on China's landscape of traditional Chinese buildings because of its function and height; any contribution from Chinese tradition to the hotel's construction can only be speculation. Tall structures in China were, and continue to be, subject to the practice of *feng-shui.*. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, the first

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[26] Kostof, A History of Architecture, p. 231; Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, "Preface," in Chinese Traditional Architecture, p. 8.

[27] Fu Xinian, "Survey," pp. 14-15.

[28] Kostof, The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History (London, 1991), p. 324.

[29] Steinhardt, "Ying Xian Timber Pagoda," in Chinese Traditional Architecture, pp. 112, 114; Liang Ssu-ch'eng, A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture, A Study of the Development of Its Structural System and the Evolution of Its Types, Wilma Fairbank, ed. (Boston, 1984), p. 154.

[30] Other tall buildings beside the pagoda can be found on Chinese soil, though none aspire to skyscraper height. For example, the many dukes who divided China into small fifedoms during the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BC) created height by building up graduated rammed earth platforms to support tower-like structures, used for defensive purposes, but also "to satisfy their egos:" Fu Xinian, "Survey: Chinese Traditional Architecture," in Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt et al, Chinese Traditional Architecture (New York, 1984), p. 19. Whether the absence of tall commercial structures is due to lack of technology, or sociological and economic differences, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Chinese architectural historian, defined this practice as "a geomancy based on the influence over human destinies of the elements of good nature, especially topographical peculiarities and orientation."[31] Height could be useful or harmful; auspicious siting of a pagoda, for example, could deflect bad *feng-shui* from nearby cities, or mark important sites. *Feng-shui* also figured in the location of cities, since hilly areas provided ample protection against exposure to inauspicious directions, while flat areas were susceptible to wind and flooding. In the construction of the Park Hotel, a geomancy expert may well have been consulted;[32] they still are today, even in the highly modernized city of Hong Kong.[33] Perhaps the hotel was likened, just as I. M. Pei compared his Bank of China building in Hong Kong, of 1988, to "a bamboo shoot aspiring upward after a spring rain, a traditional Chinese symbol of renewal and hope," or maybe a "lotus rising from the muddy bottom of the pond to flower pure and unscathed on the water's surface."[34]

The perception of impressive structures as indicative of human achievement, whether in the service of religion or otherwise, is understandably common around the world. If Pei referred to Chinese symbols of spirituality, he did so to make its design, the key to its height, more acceptable. Hudec, by borrowing the skyscraper type, which by the 1930s was well-known to Westerners and undoubtedly to the cosmopolitan Chinese as well, imported a whole system of meaning Americans had bestowed onto the skyscraper of the new century. The blatant commercialism of the Woolworth Building of 1913 was given a means for revealing deeper meaning through a minister of religion's description of it as a "Cathedral of Commerce."[35] This sobriquet emerged from the long history the tall building has in the West as a structure for religious functions. As a focal point around which communities gathered, the tall building possesses complex meanings associated with connecting humans to a higher being, expressing dominance, or conveying advertisements,

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[31] Liang, A Pictorial History, p. 154. *Feng shui* is often based on geographical facts. For example, straight, fast-flowing rivers, with bad *feng shui*, are often located along fault lines: Stephen Skinner, The Living Earth Manual of Feng-Shui: Chinese Geomancy (Boston, n.d.), p. 25. In fact, the tall buildings erected by foreigners in the coastal areas conceded during treaty negotiations, such as Shanghai, apparently improved the bad *feng shui* of these flat spaces: Sarah Rossbach, Feng Shui, The Chinese Art of Placement (New York, 1983), p. 85. The practice has great popularity today among both Chinese and Westerners.

[32] We could speculate on the conflicting *feng shui* the Park Hotel may have projected for those who still believed in this art of placement. According to Rossbach, Ibid., meat-cleaver-shaped buildings (such as, I think, the Park Hotel) was to be avoided because, by threatening the spirits of the air, it compromised the well-being of clientele (p. 96); but isolation from other tall buildings ensured that occupants would not feel overwhelmed (p. 95).

[33] Michael Cannell, I. M. Pei, Mandarin of Modernism (New York, 1995), p. 336.

[34] The latter comparison is a direct quote from Pei: Ibid., p. 336.

[35] Refering to the Woolworth Building: Paul Goldberger, The Skyscraper (New York, 1981), p. 44.

as has already been discussed.[36] The Christian church is the most familiar type that conveys religious meaning. Tall commercial structures may still be intended to gather people but, according to Harries, they do not create real community in the sense needed to give life true meaning. The skyscraper hotel may have offered "sacred space" for monetary exchange and gain in much the same way the Woolworth building did, but even as sacred space for this purpose, its meaning is enigmatic because it is located between China's and the West's traditional architectures.

The simple fact that the Park Hotel did not display any immediately obvious elements of Chinese tradition illustrates how it paradoxically represented "old Shanghai." It represents, or "re-presents," as Harries says,[37] some way in which its makers understood the world. Its makers were a specific group of the Chinese bourgeoisie. For them, traditional Chinese architectural forms, while still embedded in the minds and imaginations of the millions practising popular religion, failed to respond to an architectural climate in a city that embodied, for that bourgeoisie, the hope for China's future and its own advancement in wealth and power.[38] Aside from the technology required to construct a tall building, the hotel's design responded in other ways to the spirit hopeful of China's future well-being that motivated modernization permeating Shanghai. Art Deco imagery and other signs of Western knowledge served as a metaphor for the potential for progress through scientific ways of viewing the world.

However, outward signs alone could not transform Shanghai into a replica of the Western "wealthy and carefree society" from which Art Deco emerged. Carol Lynne Waara, in her examination of Chinese art periodicals, found that while these magazines targeted the general reader and advocated modern Western cultural products in an attempt to make art accessible to a wide readership, in actuality only the elite minority brought such items into their homes. New furniture and Western-style homes may have been intentionally styled -- in the West -- to be functional and so accessible to all, but the real needs of the Chinese majority had little or nothing to do with such luxuries.[39] The periodicals did engage in satire to highlight the contrast between the rich and the poor in Shanghai. Waara describes one cartoon of a

> Westernized man in a top hat, representing China's banking community, apparently wedding a more traditional Chinese woman in high mandarin collar and simple,

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[36] Ibid., p. 184.

[37] Harries, p. 184.

[38] Gaining power through modernization is a perspective explored by Prasenjit Duara, "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity," Journal of Asian Studies 50 (Feb. 1991), pp. 67-83.

[39] Waara, pp. 231-234.

> old-fashioned hair-style, representing rural China. The caption reads, "Is eternal cooperation possible?"[40]

But, as she explains, the publishers of these magazines, while "affirming the possibility of redemption, of social rebirth," were still part of bourgeois society, even if on its edge.

The irony of modern art magazines appearing in a society whose majority could not read, and of the drastic contrast between wealthy, modernized coastal cities, representing very few Chinese and the much larger rural areas racked by political and economic turmoil, was keenly visible in the architecture of Shanghai.[41] Even though the Park was owned by Chinese, it nevertheless employed a form that did not relate to most of China, nor even to much of Shanghai's Chinese community.[42] Chinese housing areas and small neighbourhood stores were clustered together in compounds, and opened onto the street directly from the ground-floor living room which was almost always used as commercial space.[43] The sense of shared space conveyed by the neighbourhood stores that served local residents, and inevitably by the cramped living quarters, when posed against the nearby monuments to Western business along Nanking Road and the Bund, highlights the privilege exercised by wealthy foreigners and Chinese.

The "façadism" of Shanghai's Western architecture, the result of an apparent competition for visibility, hid ordinary buildings and squalor in the most populated areas.[44] It was not unique to Shanghai; other cities, particularly New York, with its fleet of skyscrapers, also belied endemic poverty through impressive buildings. During the planning stages for the solid, monumental Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank in 1919, a brief from the London head office advised, "Spare no expense but dominate the Bund."[45] As a result, the bank's dome was placed forward rather than over the building's centre so as to loom over the Bund. Not just the Westerners subscribed to the promotion of dominance. A Chinese businessman of the day observed, "Why spend money on what no one sees?"[46]

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[40] Ibid., p. 245.

[41] Of the total population of China, from a 1922 count of 400 million people, 6.6 million were enrolled in elementary schools, and 183,000 in middle schools: John K. Fairbank, China, A New History (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), p. 261.

[42] Hanchao Lu, "Away from Nanking Road: Small Stores and Neighborhood Life in Modern Shanghai," Journal of Asian Studies 54 1 (Feb. 1995), p. 93.

[43] Lu, p. 96.

[44] Sergeant, p. 167. A recent article on Shanghai's architecture compares the "façadism" of today's constructions to those of the 1920s and 30s: Michael Leech, "Shanghai's Deco Shangri-La," History Today, 43 (Sept 1993), p. 5. While Nanking Road symbolized Shanghai like the Eiffel Tower stood for Paris or the Empire State Building for New York, Hanchao Lu's study shows that Shanghai's busiest street had little to do with the lives of ordinary Chinese people: "Away from Nanking Road: Small Stores and Neighborhood Life in Modern Shanghai," Journal of Asian Studies 54, 1 (Feb. 1993), p. 93.

[45] Sergeant, p. 167.

[46] Ibid., p. 126.

The false fronts were visible to the critical observer, however. Writers W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood had little good to say about the city's presentation in their observations, made while travelling in China in the mid-1930s and published in 1939:

> Seen from the river, towering above their couchant guardian warships, the semi-skyscrapers of the Bund present, impressively, the façade of a great city. But it is only a façade. The spirit which dumped them upon this unhealthy mud-bank, thousands of miles from their kind, has been too purely and brutally competitive. The biggest animals have pushed their way to the brink of the water; behind them is a sordid and shabby mob of smaller buildings. Nowhere a fine avenue, a spacious park, an imposing central square. Nowhere anything civic at all.[47]

It could be argued that the Park Hotel was an effort at creating civic space, since it faced the racetrack and catered to Chinese and Westerners alike. It is also, as I have shown, a well-planned, well-built hotel. Nevertheless, the hotel competed with other Shanghai buildings, and was complicit with foreign architecture throughout Shanghai in its intent to "inspire awe and a sense of permanence in the onlooker." The intent never quite succeeded, but was an "almighty bluff . . . [T]he squalid and shabby lurked just around the corner."[48] To visitors, it was, and is, not difficult to call the city's bluff. The similarity between the scale of architectural growth of Shanghai and New York and Chicago cannot be ignored: the façade-like nature of the two American birthplaces of the skyscraper drew criticism from Louis Sullivan as well as from outsiders.[49] The search for a modern architecture to represent the economic miracle of the New World embodied in New York City, however, can scarcely be compared to the great scale of the quest for comfort by a select few in as relatively small an enclave like Shanghai. Shanghai's modernization was based on architectural products from a myriad of cultures out of place, often borrowed and adapted by a culture that had not experienced the kind of industrial revolution that laid the groundwork for modern architecture in Western countries.[50]

Thus, the Park Hotel may be seen as an integral part of Shanghai's façadism. It also represented a period of complex struggle against the stultifying, lingering traditions of late imperial China through the use of modernizing ideas borrowed from the West. As a product of a privileged group it had little to do with the rest of China, even though the owners may have been sincere in intending both to create a hotel to attract international tourists to China and to advertise their financial success. The symbolism of capitalist

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[47] W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood, Journey to a War (1939; London, 1973), p. 227.

[48] Sergeant, p. 97

[49] Curtis, pp. 223, 225.

[50] The unnaturalness of the built environment could reflect a passion for democracy superimposed on China when it was not yet ready for such great change. On the steps countries take on the road to successful democratic government, see Robert D. Kaplan, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" The Atlantic Monthly 280, 6 (Dec. 1997), pp. 56-61.

success was further complicated by the participation of a Hungarian architect, whose choice of building type seems never to have been in question. His presence in Shanghai may be explained through the city's attractiveness to foreigners but his subsequent employment by Chinese businessmen indicates the hotel owners' complicity with a capitalist ideology that had only recently become part of China's future.[51]

In Chapter Two, the intent of the Park's architect and owners to erect a building to compete with other tall structures in Shanghai was illustrated through particulars about its site and foundations, drawings, and published floor plans which are at odds with the hotel's actual orientation. The fundamental message in its height was advertising: our company can afford to erect a building that competes with the most prestigious and luxurious precedents in town. "Too much cannot be said," reported The China Press of the hotel's grand opening, "of the efforts towards which the management of the Park Hotel has gone to provide guests with the best."[52] Like the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, "the size and cost of the building expressed confidence in Shanghai in a form everybody could appreciate. Profit followed upon confidence and the bank's owners intended the new building to be as much about propaganda as profit."[53] Clearly, public relations were at least as strong a motivating force as the notion that the building demonstrated the "aspirations of mankind," or even that because of land prices Hudec was forced to build tall. Good public relations make economic sense, and the best means of advertising has always been visibility, which the Park Hotel possesses in abundance.[54] Other tall buildings, particularly those such as the Chrysler and the Empire State Building built in New York during the heyday of skyscraper construction before World War Two, rose as a direct result of the owners' desire to advertise their companies.

In the context of advertising, the presence of the J.S.S. head office in the hotel's basement -- vaults and deposit boxes -- and on most of the first floor -- banking space for transactions -- cannot be ignored. Even though locating the bank there must have had practical value,[55] the combination of bank and hotel blatantly demonstrated the buying

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[51] Waara, p. 30, cites Rhoads Murphey's grim statistics of numbers of Chinese bodies picked up on streets in the International Settlement: 5,590 in 1935, and 20,746 in 1937: Shanghai: Key to Modern China (Cambridge, 1953), p. 12.

[52] The China Press, 1 Dec. 1934, p. 26.

[53] Sergeant, pp. 167-8. Sergeant also notes that the Park Hotel "expressed [the owners'] new-found confidence with a building as modern and luxurious (and, of course, as tall) as anything built by the foreigner": p. 272.

[54] Advertising as a major factor in choices of height among New York's tall buildings is explored by Carol Willis in Form Follows Finance, p. 43, and Betsky, "Lost Horizons," pp. 9-29.

[55] Perhaps the advantage was in the large basement area, necessary for a tall building, that could provide excellent security for the large vaults housing 6,000 safety deposit boxes; or maybe the weight of these vaults could be borne better by a greater load-bearing potential of the soil at this location than at the

power of Shanghai's capitalists. The new building, in fact, was advertised as the Joint Savings Society Building before and during construction, complete with writeups of the society's history and financial statements. The reporting of the building's height in association with the name of its owners was no coincidence.[56] That the Park Hotel was called the Joint Savings Society Building until its opening suggests both Hudec's and the owners' full compliance with the meaning of propaganda such a tall building conveyed both to those familiar with New York and those unfamiliar with the history of America's message of a "new life."

Though the combination of hotel and bank may simply have been a marriage of convenience, it does convey an explicit consumerism. In the West, where banks and hotels have their own distinct architectural heritages,[57] it has not been the practice to combine two such entirely separate functions under one roof. The same dual function is only today being repeated in recreational buildings through the advent of sterile, purely functional automated banking machines. To the Western eye today, that odd juxtaposition of bank and hotel demonstrated an intention to broadcast financial services to a consumer-oriented clientele, perhaps of both tourists and businessmen, an intention displayed elsewhere in Shanghai. Waara notes a photo collage of modern buildings in Shanghai which openly communicated that "capitalism and art make impressive partners."[58] The value of advertising, explained a Chinese writer in 1934, was not lost on businesses which made increasing use of graphic arts in the service of competition.[59] The Park Hotel as advertisement was the ultimate embodiment of this spirit.

In Chapter Three, Hudec's efforts to create a skyscraper were shown to indicate his intent to utilize a particular building type previously unfamiliar to him. If a type is "invented for a specific purpose and achieves a general validity . . . through repeated use,"[60] then, as a skyscraper -- the tallest in Shanghai, East Asia, and Europe -- the Park Hotel inherited validity from the history of the type in America. By the time the hotel

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Szechuan Road site, as discussed in Chaper Two. It is beyond the scope of this paper to uncover these reasons, and it is too ambitious to investigate here precedents in Shanghai for other bank/hotel combinations, other than to note that I have not seen any in my readings.

[56]For example, "22-Storey Building Facing Racecourse Will Be Tallest Skyscraper on 4 Continents," The China Press, 5 Nov. 1931, p. 1; "Shanghai to have Twenty-Two Storey Building," in "Building" Section, The China Journal 16 (1932), p. 29; "Tallest Building Between London and Tokyo Soon Ready," Industrial Annual Trade Review, April 1933, p. 9. HC #776.

[57]See Chapters 11 and 12 in Nikolaus Pevsner, A History of Buildings Types (Princeton, 1976), pp. 169-212.

[58]The two-page set was titled in Chinese, "Zhichi Shanghai fanrong di daqiye," (translated as "Uphold Shanghai's thriving big businesses), and in English, "Vanity Fair of Shanghai:" Waara, p. 235, fn. 115.

[59]Ibid., p. 235.

[60]Kostof, A History of Architecture, p. 35.

opened on December 1, 1934, Shanghai was beginning to experience the delayed effects of the world-wide Depression; the rate of building had slowed, and large-scale projects remained on the drawing boards.[61] In height, the Park Hotel was the most ambitious building constructed before the economic collapse of the building boom, rivalled only by the Bund's Broadway Mansion.[62] This circumstance of timing locates the hotel directly in the stream of skyscraper development in America. New York skyscrapers, to which the Park Hotel was compared, conveyed symbolism accessible to both Chinese and Western societies: they were "superhuman, seemingly conscious of their own mystic symbolism, [and] deliver[ed] America's message of a colossal reality, of a new life and its unbridled force."[63] A comparison of the Park Hotel with the Empire State Building goes beyond details such as rubber flooring and high-speed elevators.[64] Finished only three years before the Park, the Empire State, as Aaron Betsky anthropomorphized it, took a "solitary stance" as the tallest building in the world, which made it a "lonely symbol of the breakdown in logic that produced it."[65] Betsky explains that the density of skyscraper construction dictates the development of skyscraper design, which is a victim of rental markets: "a skyscraper is only as high as the rents can command, and ... its domain will always remain limited." The cyclical nature of the real estate industry, Carol Willis has shown, shapes the form of building on the growth of business districts; the tallest buildings tend to appear at the end of a cycle of increasingly high land prices.[66] But if a city does not grow, neither will the high rents necessary to create and maintain skyscrapers be sustainable. So the skyscraper is a sign of economic prosperity of a certain type. Given that the money that created the Shanghai of the 1930s both reached its maximum and

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[61] See Coble, "The Silver Crisis and Economic Depression in China," Ch. 6 of Shanghai Capitalists, p. 140-160. While the China Press (5 Nov. 1931, p. 3, HC #1277) reported great confidence in the real estate market in 1931, by 1935 the China Weekly Review ("Collapse of Raven Interests--Cause, Probable Effect and Possible Recovery," 1 June 1935, p. 6) blamed the collapse of the real estate boom for the closure of some foreign banks in Shanghai, leaving the Park Hotel the distinction, despite hot competition from the 1932 revised plan for a 22-storey Broadway Mansions instead of 19-storey on the Bund, as the tallest building in Shanghai.

[62] The Mansion's plans were changed in 1932 from a building of 19 to one of 22 storeys, the same number as in the Park Hotel, but the Mansion was at least 20 feet shorter in total height. The precise height of these buildings is uncertain; Zhang Zaiyuan, "From West to Shanghai," p. 93, says the Mansion is 76.7 m, and the Park Hotel is 83.8 m, while Torsten Warner says the Park is 87 m. Warner's figure corresponds to reports at the time of the hotel's opening -- 285 feet, plus a 15 foot flagpole bringing the total height to 300 feet: p. 132

[63] L.B. Namier, "Skyscrapers," in Skyscrapers and Other Essays (New York, 1968 [1931; 1927]), p. 1.

[64] See "Dunlop Rubber Floors Grace Parts of the J.S.S. Building," Commercial Engineer [Shanghai], Oct. 1934, p. 19, HC #776.

[65] Betsky, "Lost Horizons," p. 9.

[66] Form Follows Finance, pp. 166-167; for a more detailed exploration of the morphology of central business districts and the cycles of tall buildings, see Willis's Part II, "Just Speculating: Observations on the Dynamics of CBDs," pp. 145-186.

became scarce during the years in which the hotel was built and for almost fifty years after, the Park stood as the last and tallest tall building on Shanghai's skyline.

The Park remained the tallest building in Shanghai into the 1980s, when it finally began to share the horizon with other tall buildings pushed upwards by the renewal of Shanghai's economic and technological potential. In other cities, skyscrapers do not remain alone for long; even before World War Two, the skyscraper-studded cityscapes of America fostered explorations of style and practicable solutions to functional problems.[67] In retrospect, this growth and the migration of European architects to America before and after the second World War, almost inevitably gave birth to the Miesian design of the 1950s, a massive, unadorned, prismatic block that complemented the grid of the American city and dislodged the awkward references to past traditions in large buildings.[68] Despite Kostof's assertion that skyscrapers are meant to be "admired from all sides and to command a large visual territory,"[69] throughout skyscraper development they were constantly eclipsed and overshadowed by closer, newer, and taller buildings. If "for the starkest effect, the freestanding tower should rise alone in the center of the city-form, . . . what modern institution," Kostof goes on to ask, "might deserve such distinction?" Cohen notes further the environment of urban growth in which skyscrapers thrive: "as a species, [they] fit into any environment in which they can multiply."[70]

The Park Hotel is an anomaly among its species. It did not share its environment with any similarly ambitious structures for many years because of economic depression, world war, and Communist revolution, yet it has endured as a landmark for generations. Adhering to Kostof's prescription, from within it commanded a wide territory and from without it dominated Shanghai's skyline from the race course and from up and down Nanking Road (figs.22, 23). If the American city became "a collection of tall buildings concerned with the visual effect they are creating among others who posture in like manner, keen on holding a distinctive place in the skyline,"[71] Shanghai missed the historical circumstance of America, where the competition to express capital through architecture only escalated. This left the Park Hotel, like the Empire State Building, as a "lonely symbol of the breakdown in the logic that produced it."[72] Today, having survived decades of turmoil

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[67] Kostof, The City Shaped, p. 326.

[68] Jordy explains that the pre-WWII skyscrapers were essentially gawky compilations of parts, as is indeed the Park Hotel. Jordy, Impact of European Modernism, p. 225.

[69] Kostof, The City Shaped, p. 326.

[70] Cohen, p.11. Especially by the 1950s, when skyscraper design had evolved into an "international style," or style interchangeable with any large city in which they appeared, the tall building environment leaves the Park Hotel and Shanghai in the dust: Willis, p. 8.

[71] Kostof, The City Shaped, p. 326.

[72] Betsky, p. 9.

that began by freezing Shanghai's architectural development, the hotel is still seen as a symbol of the "old Shanghai," and "a part of the City History [sic]."[73]

As Witold Rybczynski has claimed, "designing buildings according to types . . . is a reflection of the common institutions and values that society holds dear."[74] The values of the American society from whence the skyscraper originated and to a different degree, those of the European society from which Hudec came -- namely democracy, free enterprise, and the use of technology to create a higher standard of living -- were paralleled even in remote Shanghai. The hotel, like any structure, responds to its own peculiar environment; as a skyscraper, it "embod[ies] the intentions of the particular group of people who built [it],"[75] because of the large outlay of capital needed for the substantial visibility required for public relations. The adulation of the Park's modern facilities -- the most up-to-date equipment, the fastest elevators, the best view, the similiarity to New York skyscrapers and a height evoking a technological world -- reveals, as well, the more elusive meanings behind the Chinese bourgeoisie's embrace of modern life that current scholarship is just beginning to investigate. The next chapter will conclude this study by examining some of the implications these meanings have in the hotel's present context -- a city of tremendous growth.

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[73] Park Hotel website, http://www.bta.net.cn/travel.cn/hguoji.htm, p. 1.

[74] Rybczynski, Looking Around, p. 147.

[75] Domosh, p. 322.

"Commentary"

by W.H. Auden

. . . in an international and undamaged quarter,
Casting our European shadows on Shanghai,
Walking unhurt among the banks, apparently immune

Below the monuments of an acquisitive society,
With friends and books and money and the traveller's freedom.
We are compelled to realize that our refuge is a sham.

For this material contest that has made Hongkew
A terror and a silence, and Chapei a howling desert,
Is but the local variant of a struggle in which all,

The elderly, the amorous, the young, the handy and the thoughtful,
Those to whom feeling is a science, those to whom study
Of all that can be added and compared is a consuming love,

With those whose brains are empty as a school in August,
And those in whom the urge to action is so strong
They cannot read a letter without whispering, all

In cities, deserts, ships, in lodgings near the port,
Discovering the past of strangers in a library,
Creating their own future on a bed, each with his treasure,

Self-confident among the laughter and the petites verres,
Or motionless and lonely like a moping cormorant,
In all their living are profoundly implicated.

-- Christopher Isherwood and W.H. Auden, Journey to a War (1939), p. 262

CONCLUSION

The Park Hotel embodies paradoxes that characterized the Shanghai of the 1930s. It was an attempt, by an architect of European roots and his Chinese clients, at building an American-style skyscraper in the age of the Empire State Building in a city with neither a European nor an American architectural heritage. It was a hotel and bank combined in one blatant expression of Chinese ownership and economic ambition. Just as the Empire State Building was long the ultimate representation of free enterprise and American commerce, the Park Hotel was the ultimate symbol of Western-style modernization for its Chinese entrepreneurs and subsequent generations of Chinese.

For the study of architectural history, the hotel represents a collection of ideas and experiments that helps flesh out research on the dispersal of American skyscraper types and technology throughout the world. The work of Jean-Louis Cohen is one of the most thorough recent studies on this subject but is necessarily limited to a discussion of the exchange of ideas between America and Europe.[1] During the critical years at the beginning of a century characterized by increasingly fast global communication, architects struggled with defining national styles and erecting functional yet aesthetically pleasing buildings to counter the threat of anonymity caused by standardization and mechanization. In a city such as Shanghai, where nationalist concerns and social welfare of their host country did not seem to affect what came off the drawing boards of foreign architects, their architecture, built for different reasons than that in Europe and America, has left historians a legacy unlike that of most other places in the world.

As the last and tallest building erected in China before the Communist takeover, the Park Hotel petrified the interwar period's modernizing ideology so that the hotel does indeed appear today as a symbol of "old Shanghai." Four years after the hotel was completed, Christopher Isherwood and W. H. Auden observed that in Shanghai "the mechanism of the old life is still ticking, but seems doomed to stop, like a watch dropped in the desert."[2] The Communist promises to remake the country for the benefit of the vast majority, and subsequent events fuelled by survival needs and passionate loyalties, soon outran the euphoria of capitalist dreams in China's port cities. Shanghai left its track of emulating the Western cityscape after the completion of the Park Hotel. In a limited way, Shanghai resembled the early-twentieth-century American city, with its "new landscape of highrises," which, says Spiro Kostof, harboured a "willfulness . . . that sounded a

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[1] Scenes of the World to Come, Chapter 5: "Europe Interprets the Skyscraper," pp. 105-134.

[2] Isherwood and Auden, p. 252.

premonitory note."[3] The cityscape of old Shanghai -- again, like American cities in their early stages -- represented a pace of economic activity that was slowed almost to a halt but is now being revived.

The symbolic value of the Park Hotel, as presented in this thesis, would appear to substantiate its heritage value today. In fact, the Park -- alternately called the *Guoji* or International Hotel -- is undergoing renovation to restore the hotel's Art Deco features lost in the last redecoration scheme.[4] Its future looks secure; it figures in a long-term computer-generated profile of Shanghai development published in the July 1995 issue of Architectural Record (fig. 69). Despite its restoration, the value placed on it by its current owner, the government-run Jin Jiang International Hotel Management Corporation,[5] is unclear. The skyscrapers around the racecourse were "a reminder of the past most working-class Shanghainese said they preferred to forget."[6] Old Shanghai's architecture was built in the service of a bourgeois class, and is "evidence of the invasion of colonial forces," as the state-run China Pictorial Magazine described Shanghai's "Collection of the World's Architecture."[7] Much of it is being demolished to make way for urgently needed adequate housing. The Park Hotel is a centrepiece of that Western architecture whose future is uncertain, but whose past, as has been shown, is nonetheless part of Chinese history.

One possible explanation for the Park's restoration is that it coincides with similar efforts in the Bund area to restore the city as a financial centre. Amidst the demolition, plans to rejuvenate the financial district -- the Bund and surrounds -- are "surpassed in scale and symbolism only by [Hong Kong's] return to Chinese rule in 1997."[8] Since 1994, international businesses have been targeted to occupy -- in some cases, re-occupy -- Shanghai's showcase properties.[9] To attract foreign capital, the Bund figures prominently in the city's revival plans because of its nostalgia value. During an inspection tour of the area in 1992, premier Deng Xiaoping vowed that the city would be "rebuilt into a financial and free currency exchange center as it had been in the past."[10] The city needs to be

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[3] Kostof, City Shaped, p. 324.

[4] This information is from Shanghai resident Tess Johnston: Personal Correspondence, October, 1997.

[5] "Jin Jiang International Management Corporation. Description and reservation information," Website, 1996: http://www.bta.net.cn:80/travel.cn/hguoji.htm. The corporation also owns the former Cathay and Peace Hotels, Grosvenor House, and the Y.M.C.A. Hotel next door to the Park.

[6] Sergeant, p. 104.

[7] Qin Shou-ou and An Zhao, "A Collection of the World's Architecture," 2 (1990), p. 27.

[8] Murphy, "Nostalgia for Sale," p. 7.

[9] Ibid., p.12.

[10] Sun Shuqing et al, "The Bund, A Financial Street in Shanghai," China Pictorial Magazine 1 (1996), p. 20. See also Sun Shuqing, "The Changing Shanghai," China Pictorial Magazine 2 (1995), pp. 16 - 19.

rebuilt, since until the early 1980s, "Shanghai's once virtually unchallenged status as China's premier industrial and exporting powerhouse was gradually eroded" through neglect and high taxes.[11] Exports passing through Shanghai dropped from 30 per cent of the country's total in 1928 to 7 per cent in 1992.[12] Today, the rhetoric in Chinese and Western coverage of developments freely employs the words "rebuild," "rejuvenate," and "restore" -- testimony to the self-conscious changes China is making in relation to the world markets and to the softening of its attitude toward its capitalist past.[13] In keeping with the size of the city (over 13 million) and its myriad social problems, such as inadequate housing and transportation, any focus on heritage conservation is based on the financial gain to be had from the nostalgic value foreign businesses and tourists place on Shanghai's history.

Does this thesis have any value to Shanghai and the Park Hotel other than the establishment of its heritage value? An understanding of the manner in which the hotel represents an exchange of ideas across cultures may contribute to current architectural practice in Shanghai, and to the current trend toward Chinese modernization, but only with more research on these areas that is beyond the scope of this thesis. The similarities between pre-Communist Shanghai and the city today, despite the present, far more complex, political situation, suggest an application for the information on the hotel's origins and its interpretation. Its environment provided the logic that produced it, because the "city enables the skyscraper." But, as Hubert Damisch continues, "it is architecture . . .

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[11] "Shanghai, City of Glitter and Ghosts," The Economist, Dec. 24 1994/Jan.6 1995, p. 40.

[12] Tony Walker, "Old Dragon Roars Again," Financial Times Survey, 2 June 1993, p. 1. I am indebted to Martin Hudec for lending me his collection of articles on Shanghai, which include the ones in the Financial Times Survey and the International Herald Tribune.

[13] Some Chinese sources still review the city's history with no mention of the "golden age of China's bourgeoisie." For example, Wu Punpu and Xu Tongfu, in "Shanghai Replays Role as an Oriental Metropolis," Beijing Review, 2-9 May 1993, p. 12, jump from Shanghai's history in Qing period (1644-1911) when it was "a metropolis . . . that attracted numerous merchants and countless ships," to the 1950s when the city became China's foreign trade centre.

Of the many articles concentrating on architecture in Shanghai's race into international status once again, Chinese articles tend to focus on the successes, while foreign correspondents point out problems and paradoxes. See Wu Yunpu and Xu Tongfu, cited above; five full pages devoted to the issue in the Financial Times Survey, 2 June 1993, pp. 1-5; Kevin Murphy, "Nostalgia for Sale in Shanghai," International Herald Tribune, 8 Aug. 1994, pp. 7, 12; "Shanghai, City of Glitter and Ghosts," pp. 20-42; Andrew Jacobs, "Surprising Shanghai," Art and Antiques, Sept. 1994, pp. 39-41; Grant W. K. Sung, "Shanghai Express," Architectural Record, July 1995: PR28-PR33; ""China's Challenge," Maclean's 108, 36 (4 Sept. 1995), pp. 24-29; "Shanghai Woos World's Bankers," Beijing Review, 38, 1 (2-8 Jan. 1995), p. 37; "Shanghai Sets Up International Financial Center," Beijing Review 38, 41 (9-15 Oct. 1995), pp. 25-26; Pamela Yatsko, "Field of Dreams," Far Eastern Economic Review, 18 July 1996, pp. 69-70; Pamela Yatsko, "Surplus Stores," Far Eastern Economic Review ,3 Oct. 1996, pp. 94-95; and Michael Sorkin, "Hyper Growth in South China from the Pearl River Delta to Shanghai," Architectural Record 7 (1997), pp. 72-82.

that "makes" the site."[14] The "site" is again being "made" because the rebuilding of Shanghai is once again "enabling" skyscrapers. Despite the speedy dwarfing today of the Park inspired by a political party that openly disparaged the Republican period, the building boom eerily parallels that during which the hotel itself was built. The CAD drawing and other views of Shanghai today show a forest of new skyscrapers (fig. 71),[15] including the 468-meter space-ship-like Orient Pearl TV Tower visible at the far right of the drawing. Shanghai is also the site of the next entry -- soon to be finished -- in the race for the world's tallest skyscraper.[16] Still symbols of "laissez faire" economy and the freedom of individual enterprise, skyscrapers seem appropriate for a city that Canadian writer Peter C. Newman predicted would emerge as "the commercial headquarters for the People's Republic," and perhaps the world in the 21st century.[17]

The freedom architects enjoyed in Shanghai as a foreign enclave, relative to that in most other cities in the world, enabled creative and eclectic building styles that presaged the post-modern buildings now springing up throughout Shanghai. Whatever the cause, strong economic growth opens up opportunities to foreign architects so that the building boom of the 1920s and early 1930s mirrors that of today.[18] The foreign cultural products that marked the city's rise to the place of fifth largest city in the world in the 1930s continue to figure in the city's growth into what Michael Sorkin calls a "generic city" filled with "generic architecture."[19] Across the river from the Bund, the new development zone in the Pudong area, being established with incredible speed, has become "a remarkable urban free-fire zone, a museum of late-20th-century edge urbanism,"[20] which will soon include

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[14]"Preface" to Cohen, Scenes of the World to Come, p. 11.

[15]Reporting on the growth of Shanghai's skyline, see Joe Studwell, "China's Message to the World: Taller Towers Really are Tops," Journal of Commerce, 12 Aug. 1996, p. 4a; and Susan Noakes, "Canadian Firm Closes China Offices," Financial Post Daily 9, 88 (5 July 1996), p.14.

[16]The future home of the Shanghai World Financial Centre, the skyscraper is designed by Kohn Pederson Fox, and is supposed to reach 1,510 feet: "Z-4 Project: The Vertical Masterpiece," Discover, March 1997, p. 27; Ann C. Sullivan, "Asia's Tallest Towers," Architecture 85 (Sept. 1996), pp. 159-165.

[17]Peter C. Newman, "The Dawn of a New Millenium," Maclean's [Toronto edition], Dec. 30 1996/Jan. 6 1997, p. 51. Modern Shanghai, reported the Beijing Review 38, 41 (6-15 Oct. 1995), p. 25, plays host to "2,500 Chinese and 140 foreign-funded financial institutions. The operational foreign-funded banks and financial companies account for thirty percent of the country's total, with combined assets of US$6.84 billion, or fifty percent of the national total."

[18]The following treat the trend of the first half of the 1990s in which Canadian architects found good business prospects in China: "China Opens Its Arms to Canadian Design and Technology," Canadian Business, June 1994, pp. 65-89; "International Networking," B.C. Business Magazine 23, 1 (Jan. 1995), pp. 38-45; Rod Mickleburgh, "Building Great Walls: Canadian Architects in China," Globe and Mail, 1 Feb. 1997, pp. C1, C3. On the problems of working in Shanghai, see Richard D. Rush, "Shanghai: Home of the Handmade Highrise," Progressive Architecture 76 (March 1995), pp. 35-36, and Bronwen Ledger, "The China Trade," Canadian Architect 40, 6 (June 1995), pp. 12-15.

[19]Sorkin, p. 80.

[20]Ibid., p. 75.

the world's tallest building. If the factors that shaped the Park Hotel are found to be not so different from those of contemporary Shanghai, may we expect innovation and creativity in the vein of the Park Hotel, perhaps even solutions to the ongoing debate of how to utilize the technology and meaning of modern architecture in the service of a national Chinese style?[21] Or will the result be an extension of Shanghai's early cityscape of the Western enclaves, generally dictated by competition and profit and, even in the 1930s, criticized for lack of cohesion, planning, and construction standards?[22] Either way, the Park Hotel survives as a reminder of a period in China's history when modernization was believed by many Chinese to be their country's hope for new life.

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[21] On the extended debate on national style and modernism, see Robert Fan, "Efforts to Revive Chinese Architectural Beauty, " Shanghai Sunday Times, Xmas Issue, 1929, n. p., HC #771; Liang Ssu-Ch'eng, "China's Architectural Heritage and the Tasks of Today," People's China 21 (1 Nov. 1952), pp. 31-36, reproduced in China's Cultural Legacy and Communism, Ralph Croizier, ed. (New York, 1970), Ch. X: Architecture, pp. 256-264; David Cohn, "The Search for National Forms and Modern Techniques," Architecture, Sept. 1985, p. 78; and Wang Feng, "Debate Over Modern or Traditional Architecture in Beijing," Beijing Review, 9-15 Sept. 1996, pp. 17-19.

[22] For example, Komor Janos, "Epites es epiteszet Shanghaiban," Epitoiopari Szemle (1937), p. 2, HC #771, Trans. Gabriella; R.A. Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine," L'Architecture d'Aujourdhui 10 (October 1938), pp. 66-68, HC # 767. On the problems caused by Shanghai's growing spurt, see Sorkin, pp. 72 - 80; Yatsko, "Surplus Stores," pp. 94-95; Rush, pp. 35-36; Kevin Murphy, "Gridlock: Up the Creek in Shanghai," International Herald Tribune 6-7 Aug. 1994, p. 7.

PRIMARY SOURCES

The Hudec Collection, referred to as H.C. in the thesis text, is considered the primary research source. This bibliography lists the major newspapers used from the Collection and their locations.

At the time of writing, the organization of the Collection is not yet complete, but I have tried to indicate the location of citations as clearly as possible. Boxes 1 and 2 contain Newspaper Cuttings of Our Buildings, (referred to as NCOB), #771, Newspaper Cuttings of Our Buildings No.2 (referred to as NCOB No.2), #776, Scrapbook VI - Public Buildings - Churches, Schools, (referred to as Scrapbook VI, pages individually numbered), and numerous journals containing relevant articles listed below. Box 2 also contains loose photographs and some drawings, whose identifying numbers are provided in the text. Drawers 29 and 30 contain folders with items not in scrapbooks or boxes. The "Newspapers" Folder 8, containing newspaper clippings not otherwise located in the scrapbooks, and again identified by number within the text.

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APPENDIX A

Hudec Collection

The Hudec Collection was graciously donated to the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery by the members of the Hudec family, including Hudec's widow, Mrs. Gisella Hudec, and their children Martin, Theodore, and Alessa, over a period of time from 1994 to 1996. At present it resides in the University of Victoria's Special Collections in varying states of organization. Over a thousand items are contained in the Hudec Collection, including scrap sheets with rough calculations, sketches, finished presentation drawings, blueprints, personal correspondence, and photographs from Hudec's architectural practice in Hungary and Shanghai, as well as various letters and lecture-notes dating to his period in California. Some projects by Hudec represented in the collection were exhibited March 24 - April 24, 1998, in the McPherson Library Gallery in a show curated by the author. Included in this appendix are the projects known to have been executed by Hudec.

LASZLO E. HUDEC, KNOWN COMMISSIONS[1]

* denotes Chinese clients

1. HUNGARY PHASE

1914 Plan for large building in Budapest

ca 1914 Plan for octagonal building, Besztercebanya

ca 1914 Church drawings, Besztercebanya

ca 1914 drawings for large building, Budapest

2. BEAUX-ARTS PHASE AND ARTS AND CRAFTS DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

1919 International Savings Society Building

""" and Apartments (both with RA Curry)[2]

1920 Chinese American Bank of Commerce (with RA Curry)

1922 McTyiere School (with RA Curry)[3]

1923 American Club (with RA Curry)[4]

1922-26 17 Lucerne Road personal residence

1931 57 Columbia Road personal residence

1930 Weekend bungalow for F. Raven family

1928-? ten houses for Asia Realty Company,[5] Columbia Circle

1930 Plan for Spanish-style mansion, Wei-hai-wei Road

???? mansion on Route Pichon, probably for Frenchman, M. Katz[6]

3. TRANSITIONAL PHASE

1923-27 Paulun Hospital, Fengyang Lu (Burkill Road)[7]

*1926 Moore Memorial Church, Methodist; Honkow and Thibet Road[8]

1926 Country Hospital, Great Western Road and Ave. Foch[9]

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[1] Compiled from the Hudec Collection, Box 1 and 2 and Drawer 29, 30, in the University of Victoria, McPherson Library Special Collections, and other sources as indicated.

[2] Johnston and Erh, A Last Look, p. 35. Johnston says it had French owners, but does not acknolwedge Hudec as the architect.

[3] Johnston and Erh, p. 59, but they don't acknowledge Hudec as architect. See also Cody, Henry K. Murphy, p. 156, n105, where Cody says Hudec did most of the drawings for the building while R. A. Curry's assistant ca. 1920.

[4] Johnston and Erh, p. 42.

[5] Ibid., p. 86.

[6] "Ladislaus Hudec (1893-1958)," Magyar Épitömüvészet 3, (1971), 56. HC #1, Box 1.

[7] Warner, p. 134-137.

[8] Ibid., p. 132, says the church was built in 1929, and calls it expressionistic.

[9] Ibid., p. 136. It is now called Hua Dong Hospital with 125 beds on Yan'an Xilu. Also see pamphlet on

*1928 Joint Savings Society head office, Szechuan Road and Hankow Road[10]

*1929 Chapei Power Station/waterworks[11]

1927 Estrella Apartments, Joffre and Route Des Soeurs[12]

1928 Burlington Apartments

4. GOTHIC (OR EXPRESSIONIST) MODERN PHASE

*1930 Chekiang Cinema, Chekiang Road

*ca 1931 Garage, Burkill and Park Roads

*1930 China Baptist Publication Society, 209 Yuen Ming Yuen Road;[13] in 1937 Hudec's office was located on the eight floor[14]

*1930 Christian Literature Society Building, 128 Museum Road[15]

*1931 Isis Theatre[16]

1931 Project for luxury Ambassador Apartments, between Rue Corneille and Rue Moliere, fronting the French Municipal Park, not known if built[17]

1931 Avenue Apartments[18]

*1931 Science Building/laboratory for Chiao-Tung University, for Engineering Exhibition[19]

*1932 Carlton Theatre[20]

1932 New German Evangelical Church, Great Western Road, corner Ave. Haig[21]

*1932 Chapei funerary chapel, also known as the Catholic Country Church[22]

1932-33 Union Brewery, Ichang Road[23]

Hua Dong Hospital in Hudec Collection, # , and Johnston and Erh, p. 60.

[10] Shanghai Sunday Times Industrial Section, (Supplement to Special Xmas Issue, 1926). HC #245.

[11] Article in Shanghai Sunday Times, (Xmas Issue), 1929, NCOB, HC #771.

[12] Israel's Messenger, 4 Jan. 1929, n.p., NCOB,HC #771.

[13] Scrapbook VI, HC #723.

[14] Torsten Warner, personal correspondence, July 31, 1997.

[15] Scrapbook VI, Hudec Collection #723.

[16] The China Press, 15 Feb. 1931. NCOB, HC #771.

[17] Owned by the China Realty Co. Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury, 22 Jan. 1931 in NCOB, HC #771.

[18] The China Press, 12 Nov. 1931, NCOB #771.

[19] North China Daily News, 30 March 1933, NCOB, #771. According to Voh-Kee Construction Company, Ltd., China Builds: Twenty-five Year's Progress (n.p., 1946), p. 32, the Science Building was begun in February of 1931 and finished in November, 1931. See also photographs in R.A. Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine," p. X671, HC #768.

[20] The Shanghai Spectator, 6 April 1933, NCOB, HC #771; China Press 12 Nov 1931, HC #275.

[21] Shanghai Sunday Times Industrial Section (Supplement to Xmas Issue, 1932). NCOB, HC #771; Warner, pp. 132-133.

[22] Ibid., p. 132. Warner calls it the Catholic Church, also another expressionistic building; "it is the twin building of the German Church in terms of architectural expression;" China Press 1929, HC #266.

*1933 Grand Theatre, Bubbling Well Road[24]

*1933 Lafayette Theatre[25]

*1934 Park Hotel, Bubbling Well Road[26]

5. EUROPEAN MODERN PHASE

1936 Hubertus Court[27]

*1936 Home of Y.T. Shen[28]

*1938 Home of D.V.Wood (or Woo)[29]

1941 Auditorium for Italian O.N.D. Club[30]

1941 Laboratory for German School[31]

*??? Plaster model for residence for Chinese owner[32]

*??? Chao Tai Fire and Marine Insurance Co. Ltd, maybe on 122 Canton Road[33]

???? Drawing for N. Y. K. Building - probably for Japanese client[34]

c.1938 Project for China Merchants C. Building[35]

KNOWN PROJECTS, NO IMAGES AVAILABLE

1927 Plan for Shanghai Leather Company, maybe built[36]

???? Tannery - same as above?

???? Margaret Williamson Hospital[37] on Fangxie Lu 419

???? St. Luke's Hospital, Jiujiang Lu 219 (today local town hall)[38]

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[23] Shanghai Sunday Times Industrial Section (Supplement to Xmas Issue, 1931). HC #771, NCOB.

[24] The Shanghai Spectator, April 6, 1933 and American Exporter, October 1933 in HC #771, NCOB; #776, NCOB No. 2; #768, Der Baumeister, Monatshette Fur Baukultur und Baupraxis Vol. 33, Mai 1935, pp. 178-183; # 768, L'Architecture d'Aujourdhui 4, 7, Sept. 1934, pp. 55-57.

[25] Scrapbook VI; Der Baumeister 5,33 (Mai 1935).

[26] NCOB No. 2; HC Newspaper Folder; HC # 771, NCOB: Voh-Kee Construction Company, Ltd., China Builds: Twenty-five Year's Progress (n.p., 1946), p. 25.

[27] Now the Da Hua Guest House, renovated in 1987. See pamphlet in HC, Miscellaneous Folder.

[28] Drawing in Scrapbook VI.

[29] HC #773, Space and Form (Tér és Forma), XII, 4 (1939-1940); HC #7, Kokusai-Kentiku, 16, 8, Aug. 1940; Kroker, "The Building Industry in China," p. 316; Johnston and Erh, p. 87.

[30] HC, Box 2.

[31] HC, Box 2.

[32] HC #776, NCOB No. 2.

[33] HC #741, Scrapbook VI.

[34] HC #742, Scrapbook VI.

[35] Photograph in Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine," p. X69.

[36] Plot plan dated 1927, Shanghai Leather Co. folder, HC #.

[37] Proposal in HC #771, NCOB; Warner, p. 136, including address. He says it is "in the old Chinese city, now a women's clinic."

[38] Warner, p. 136. Can find no other reference to this building.

APPENDIX B

The Park Hotel and J.S.S. Board of Directors

Listed below are the Joint Savings Society board members in the order they appear in An Oriental Skyscraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building (Shanghai, circa 1934). Additional known information on different spellings of names is included in brackets. Sources that discuss biographical details are footnoted.[1]

Dr. W. W. Yen [Yen Hui-ch'ing[2]], Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
Dr. C. T. Wang [Wang Cheng-t'ing (Ju-t'ang)[3]], Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. K. P. Chen [Chen Kuang-fu[4]], General Manager of Shanghai Commercial Savings Bank[5]
Mr. Y. F. Kwei, Manager of Realty Dept., National Commercial Bank
Dr. D. C. Wu [Wu Ting-ch'ang[6]], General Manager of Yin Yieh Commercial Bank and the J.S.S.; General Manager of the Joint Treasury until 1935[7]
Mr. T. M. Chew [Chou Tso-min[8]], General Manager of Kincheng Bank; executive director of the J.S.S.[9]
Mr. Y. Hou [Hu Yun[10]], General Manager of China and South Sea Bank
Mr. F. B. Hsu, General Manager of Continental Bank
Dr. Y. M. Chien [Chien Yung-ming (T. Hsin-chih)[11]], Assistant General Manager or Vice President of J.S.S.[12]
Mr. Fred C. Sze, Manager of J.S.S.[13]

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[1] This list is the order in which the directors appear in An Oriental Skyskraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building. HC #6. Since this source dates from the 1930s, the names appear first in the then-fashionable Shanghai format, using the western custom of placing the (initialized) given names in front of the surname, as explained in Pan Ling, In Search of Old Shanghai, p. 47. Chinese spelling of names, found in various biographical entries, compendiums, and other sources appear in square brackets.

[2] Boorman, Biographical Dictionary, Vol. IV, pp. 50-52; Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China (Hong Kong, 1954), p. 249-250.

[3] Boorman, Vol. III, pp. 362-364; Perleberg, p. 225; and Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders, by the Chinese Communist Party, mimeographed for private distribution by the Committee on International and Regional Studies, J.K. Fairbank, ed. (Harvard University February 1948), n.p. According to Fairbank's introduction, this publication came into the hands of a private American citizen in China, and was translated under "American supervision in China."

[4] Boorman, Vol. I, pp. 192-196; Perleberg, p. 29.

[5] Bergère, Golden Age, p. 132.

[6] Biographies of Kuomintang Leaders, n.p.; Perleberg, p. 240; and Boorman, Vol. III, pp. 452-453.

[7] Boorman, Vol. III, p. 452.

[8] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 427-429.

[9] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 427.

[10] Coble, p. 321 n. 79.

[11] Boorman, Vol. III, 379-381; Perleberg, p. 47; and George F. Nellist, ed., Men of Shanghai and North China: A Standard Biographical Reference Work (Shanghai 1933), pp. 70, 75.

[12] The difference in terms appears to be a discrepancy in translation: Boorman calls him the Assistant General Manager while Nellist uses the term Vice President.

Mr. Jean Z. Y. Horn, Sub-Manager of J.S.S.
Mr. Sheng J. Wang, Manager of Credit and Research Dept., J.S.S.
Mr. Z. L. Loo, Chinese Manager of Bills Motors
Mr. L. S. Tan, Continental Bank

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[13] Nellist, p. 379. His uncle, Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, was the Chinese ambassador to the U.S. in the 1920s: Seagrave, The Soong Dynasty, p. 91, and Sao-Ke Alfred Sze, "The Chinese Point of View: Reason and Justice in Treaty Revision," in Conference on American Relations with China, A Report on the Conference Held at John Hopkins University, Sept. 17-20, 1925 (Baltimore, 1925), pp. 18-20.

APPENDIX C

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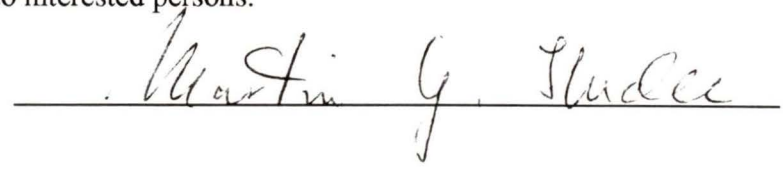
Gisella Hudec or designate: 

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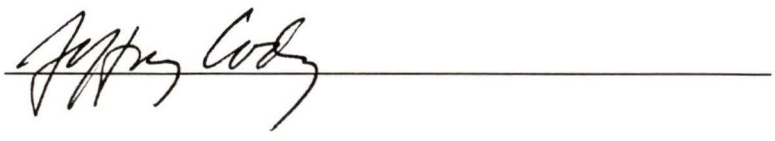
Signed: 

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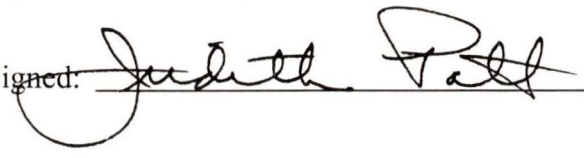
Signed: 

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Copyright permission granted by photographer Deke Erh, for images from Tess Johnston, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), by e-mail, Feb. 12, 1998.

Fig. 1. Laszlo E. Hudec in his office, Shanghai, 1942.
Scanned photograph.
Source: HC #102, Photo Album.

Fig. 2. Opening ad for Park Hotel.
Scanned newsprint.
Source: HC #257, China Press 1 Dec. 1934, p. 26.

Fig. 3. L. E. Hudec.
Park Hotel, Shanghai, ca 1934.
Scanned image
Source: HC #768, G.H. "Das Grand Theatre -- In Shanghai," Der Baumeister 33, 5 (Mai 1935), pp. 181.

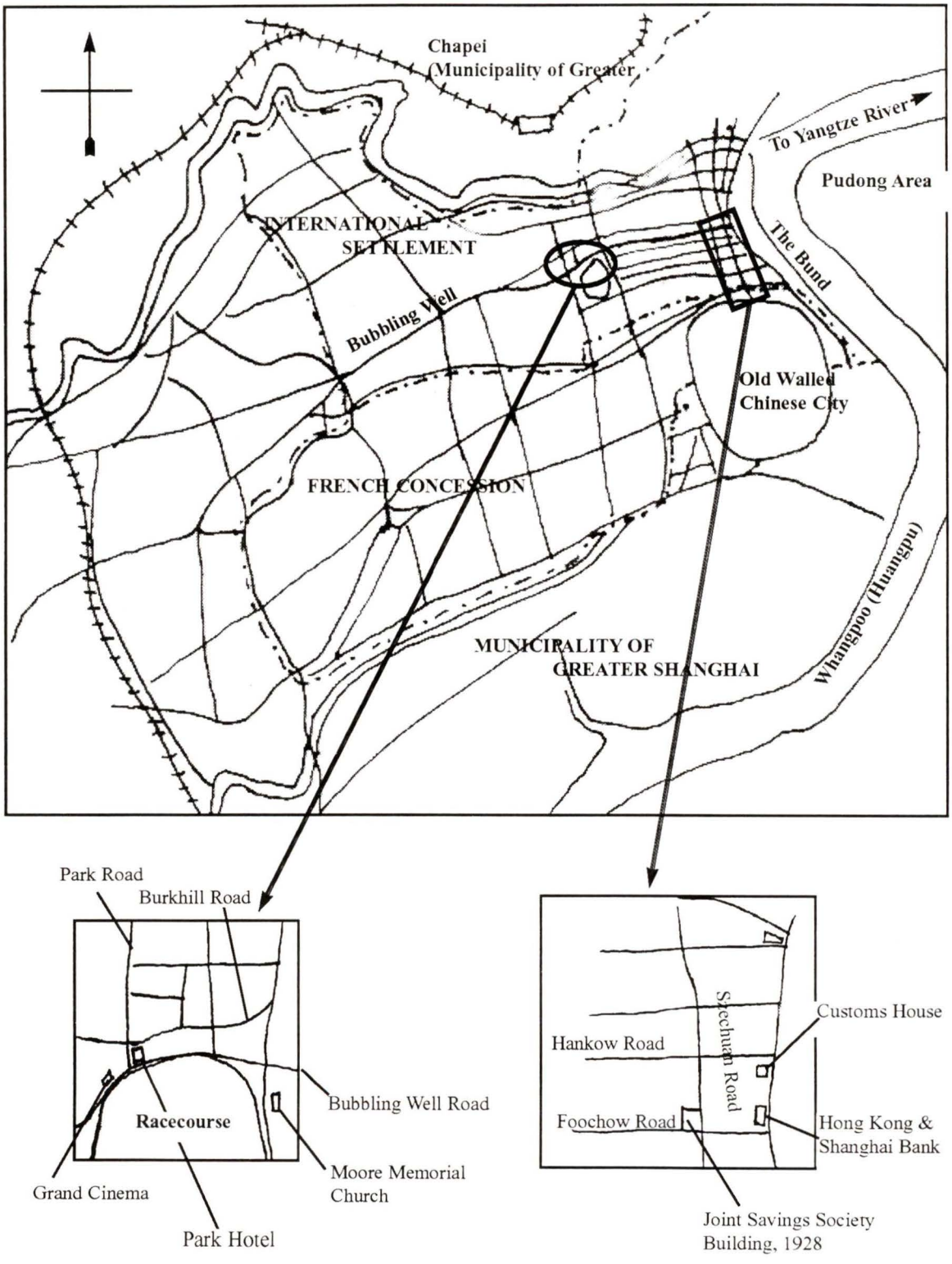


Fig. 4. Map of Shanghai, ca 1934

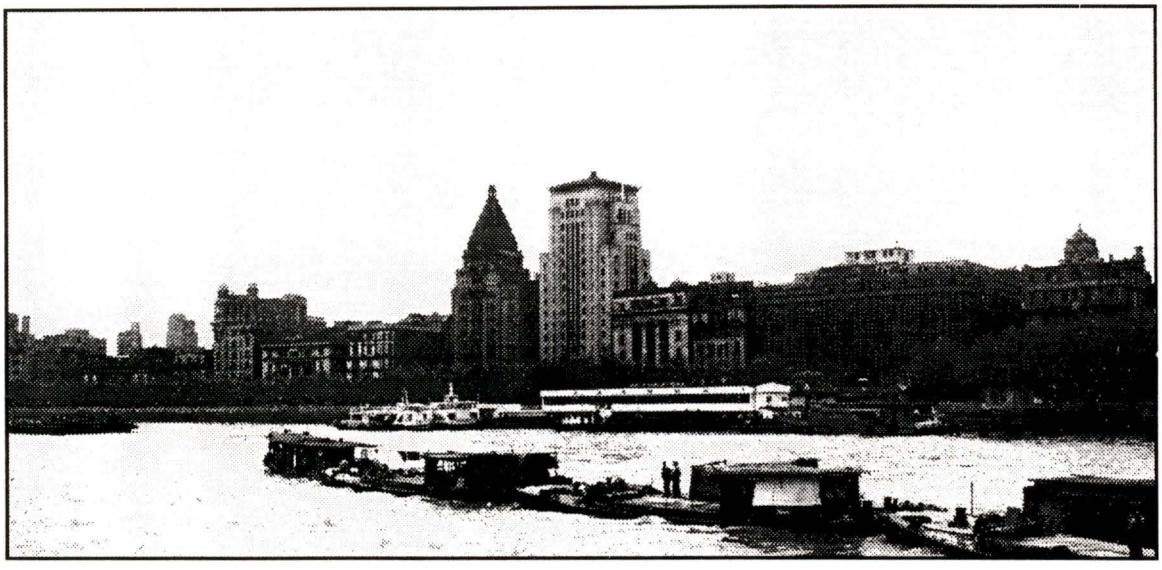


Fig. 5. The Bund from the Huangpu River. The tallest buildings in the centre are, on the left, the Cathay Hotel, 1929, and on the right, the Bank of China, 1937.
Scanned slide.
Source: Dr. Judith Patt, ca 1984.

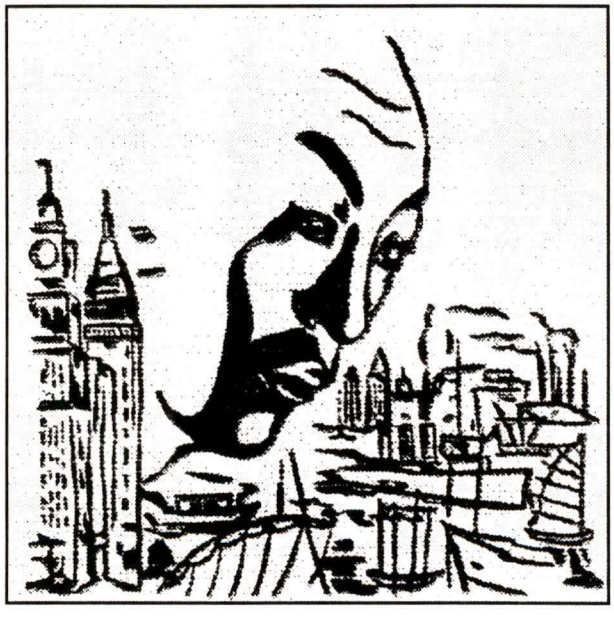


Fig. 6. The Bund.
Scanned image.
Source: Vicki Baum, Shanghai '37 (New York, 1940), cover.

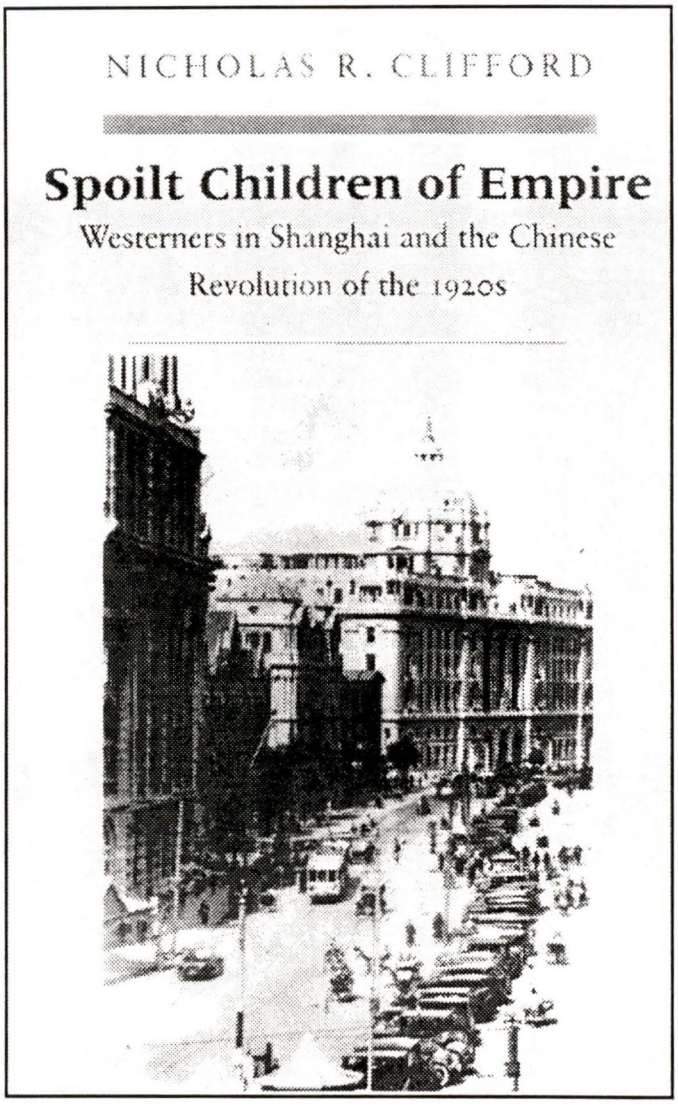


Fig. 7. The Bund.
Scanned image.
Source: Nicholas R. Clifford, Spoilt Chidren of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 37 (Ann Arbor, 1979), cover.

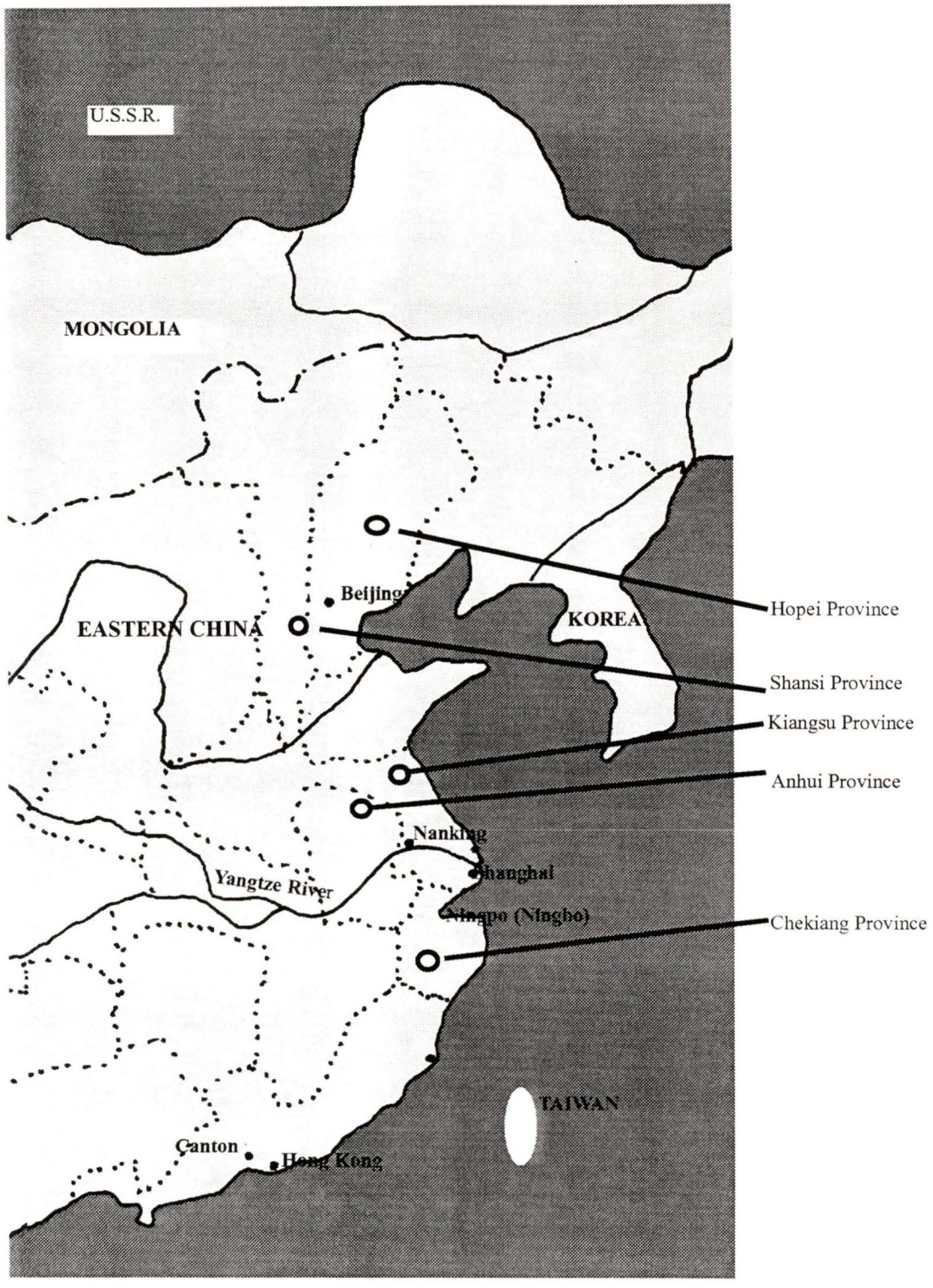


Fig. 8. Map of China, ca 1925

top:

Fig. 9. L.E. Hudec. Joint Savings Society Building, Shanghai, 1928.
Scanned image.
Source: Deke Erh, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 50.

bottom:

Fig. 11. L.E. Hudec. Intersavin (International Savings) Society building, 1919.
Scanned image.
Source: Deke Erh, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 35.

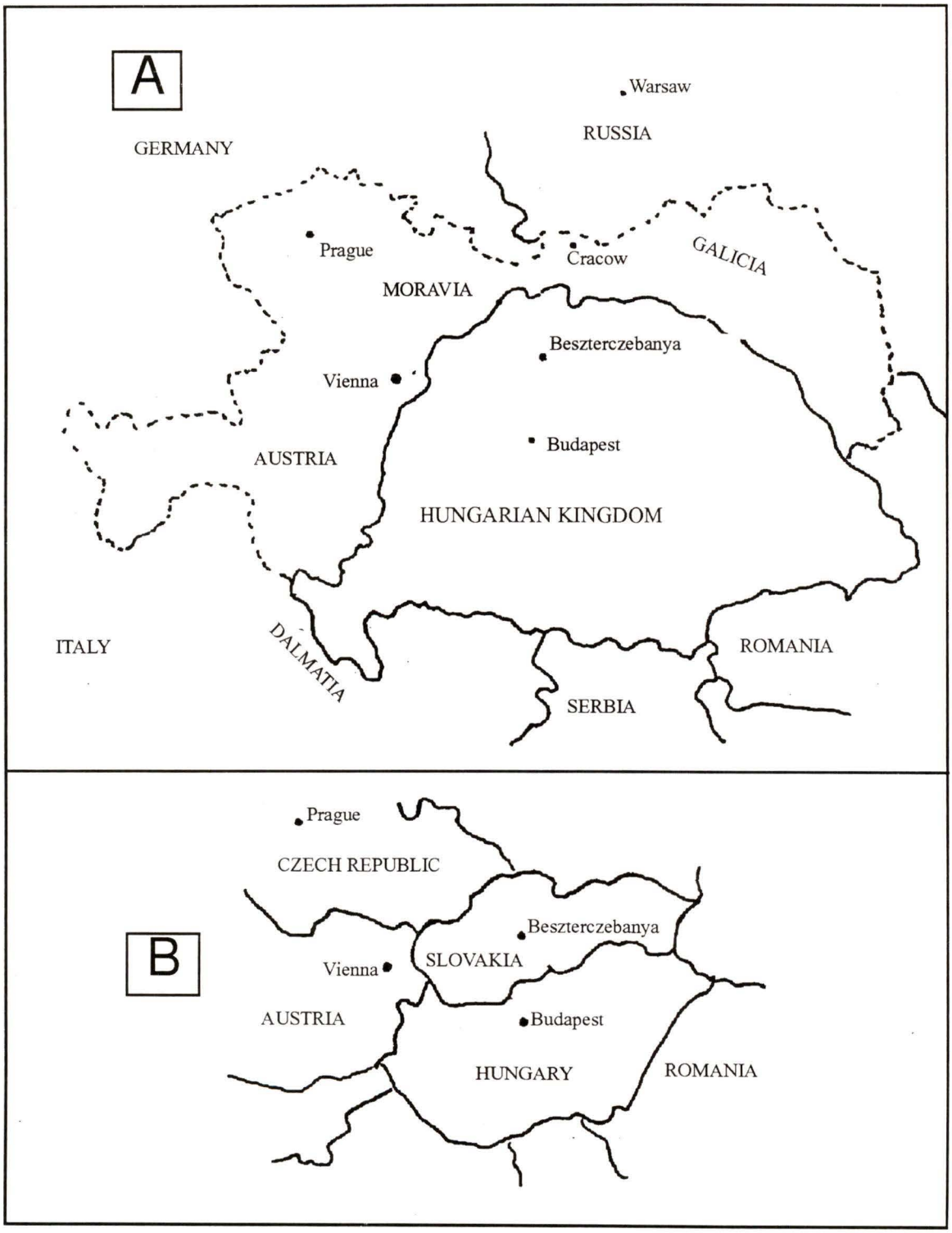


Fig. 10. Maps of Hungary showing Hudec's birthplace, Beszterczebanya
A: In 1914, as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
B: In 1992, in Slovakia, but known now as Banska Bystrica

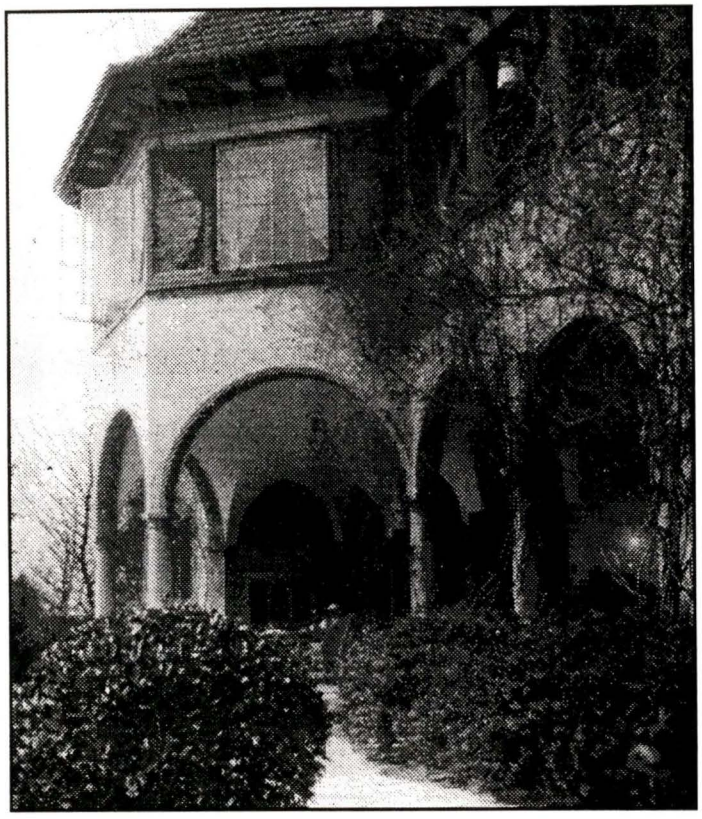


Fig. 11. L.E. Hudec. House at #17 Lucerne Rd, Shanghai, 1922-26.
Scanned photograph.
Source: HC #1229.

Fig. 12. L.E. Hudec. House at #57 Columbia Rd, Shanghai, 1931.
Scanned image.
Source: HC #1233.

Fig. 14. L.E. Hudec. Moore Memorial Church, Shanghai, 1926.
Scanned image.
Source: Deng Ming, Chinese ed., and Zhou Zhende, English ed., Survey of Shanghai, 1840s-1940s (Shanghai, 1993), p. 106.

top:
Fig. 15. L.E. Hudec. China Baptist Publication Society building, Shanghai, 1930. Scanned pencil crayon drawing.
Source: HC #724, Scrapbook VI.

bottom:
Fig. 16. L.E. Hudec. China Christian Literature Society Building, Shanghai, 1930. Scanned photograph.
Source: HC #771, NCOB.

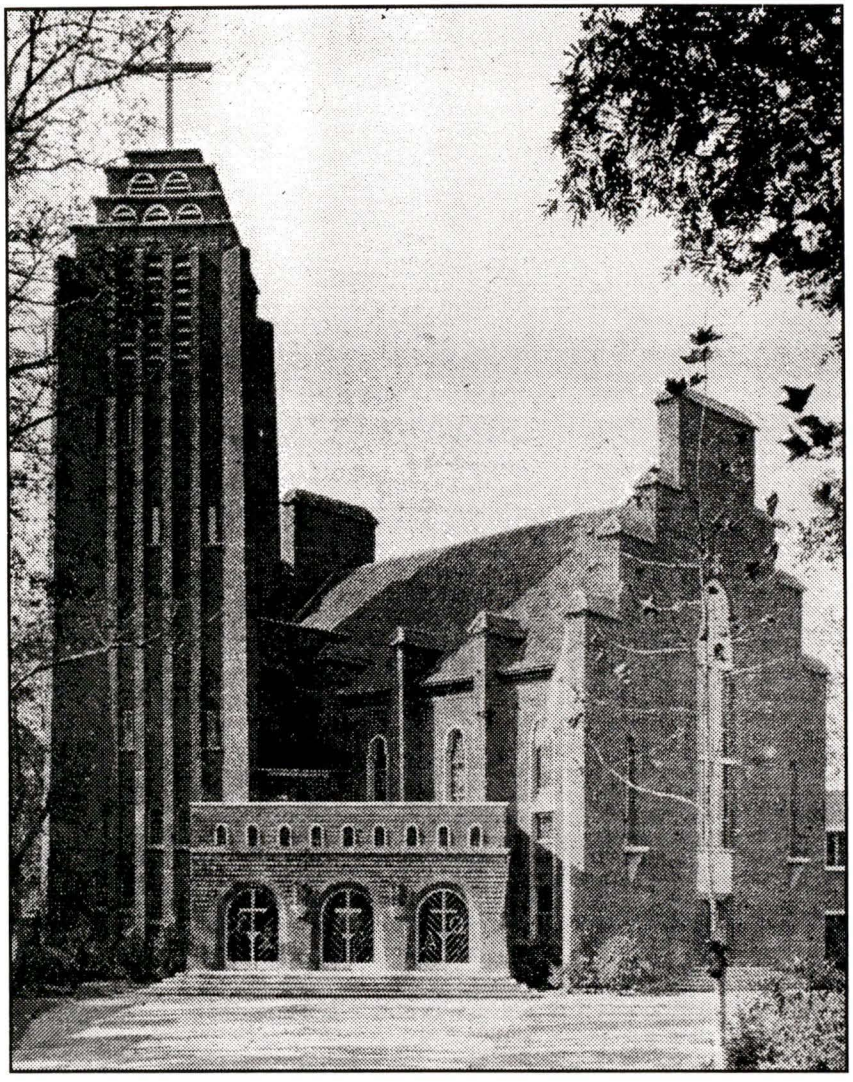


Fig. 17.

L.E. Hudec.
German
Evangelical
(Protestant) Church,
Shanghai, 1931.
Scanned photo
graph.
Source: HC #21,
Photo Album.

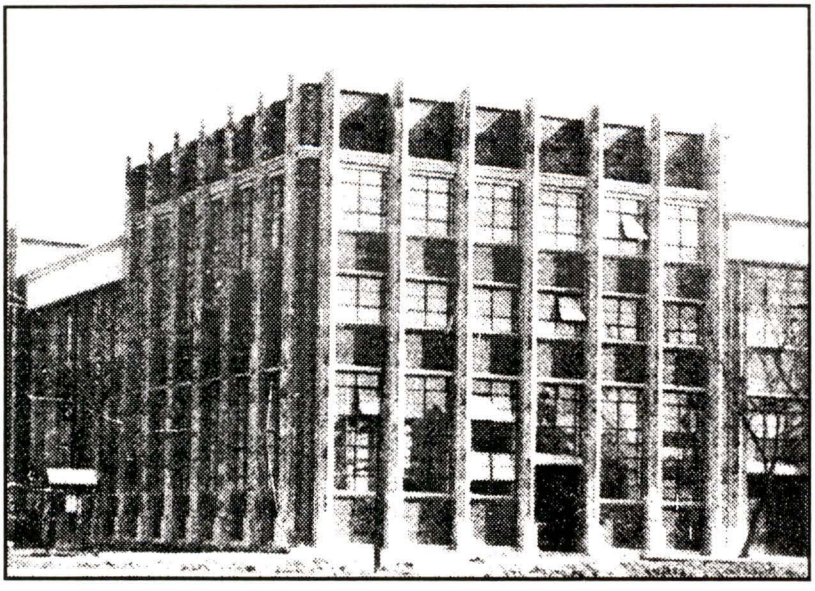


Fig. 18.

L. E. Hudec
Chiao-tung University
science building/laboratory,
Shanghai, 1931.
Scanned image.
Source: HC #767, R.A.
Hamburger, "L'Architecture
en Chine," L'Architecture
D'Aujourdhui 9, 10 (0ct.
1938), p. X-71.

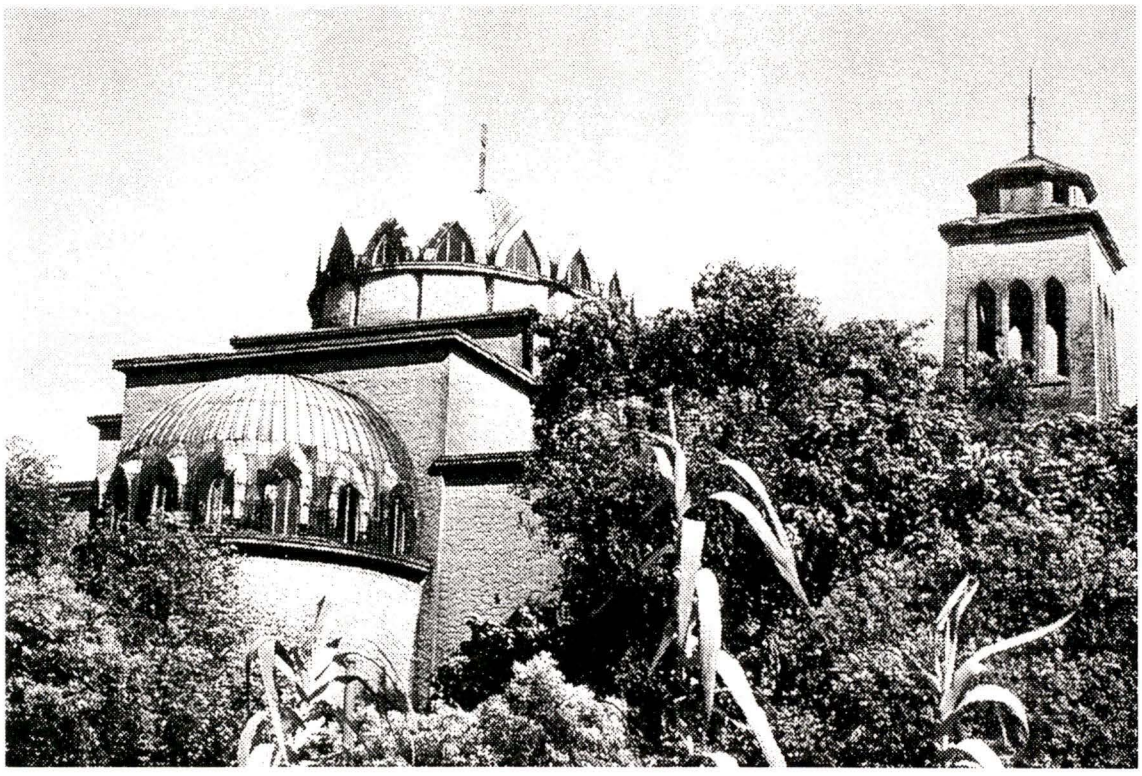


Fig. 19a. L. E. Hudec. Chapei Funerary Chapel, Shanghai, 1932.
Scanned image.
Source: Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 49.

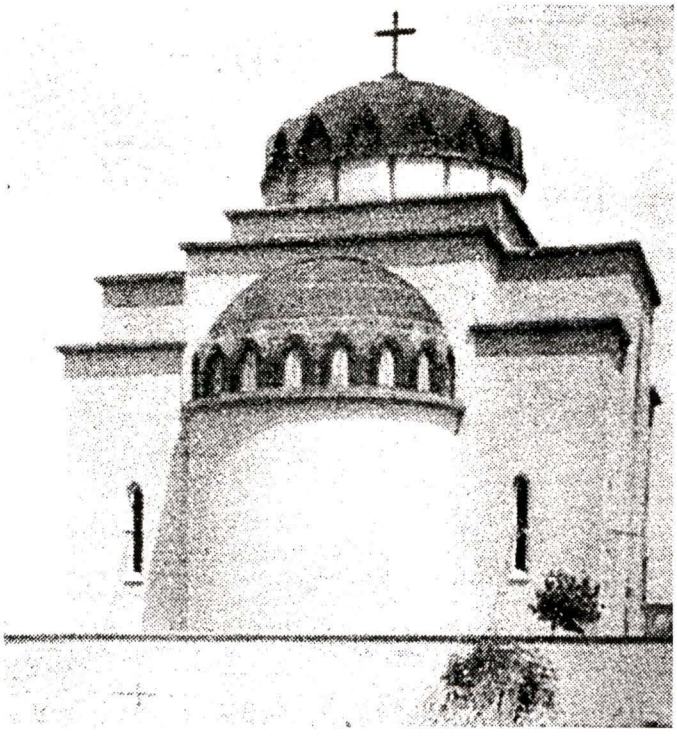


Fig. 19b.
Chapei Funerary Chapel, ca 1932.
Scanned image.
Source: HC #771, NCOB No.2.

Fig. 20. L.E. Hudec. House of D.V. Woo[d], Shanghai, 1938.
Scanned image.
Source: Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 87.

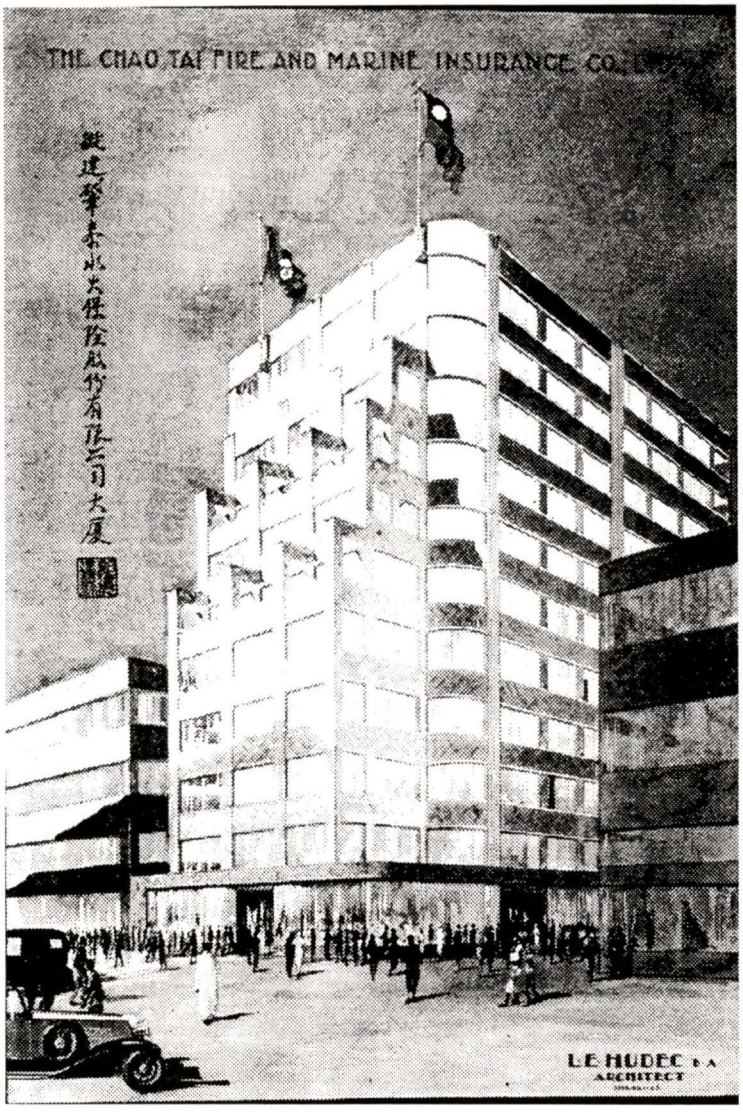


Fig. 21. L.E. Hudec. Chao Tai Fire and Marine Insurance Co. building (Project), Shanghai, n.d.
Scanned photograph.
Source: HC #741, Scrapbook VI.

Fig. 22. View east, showing racecourse and International Settlement, Shanghai, ca 1935.
Scanned image.
Source: Deng and Zhou, Survey of Shanghai, 1840s-1940s, frontispiece.

Fig. 23 . View east of Nanking Road toward the Bund, ca 1935. The pointed roof of the Cathay Hotel is just visible.
Source: Deng and Zhende, Survey of Shanghai, 1840s-1940s, p. 66.

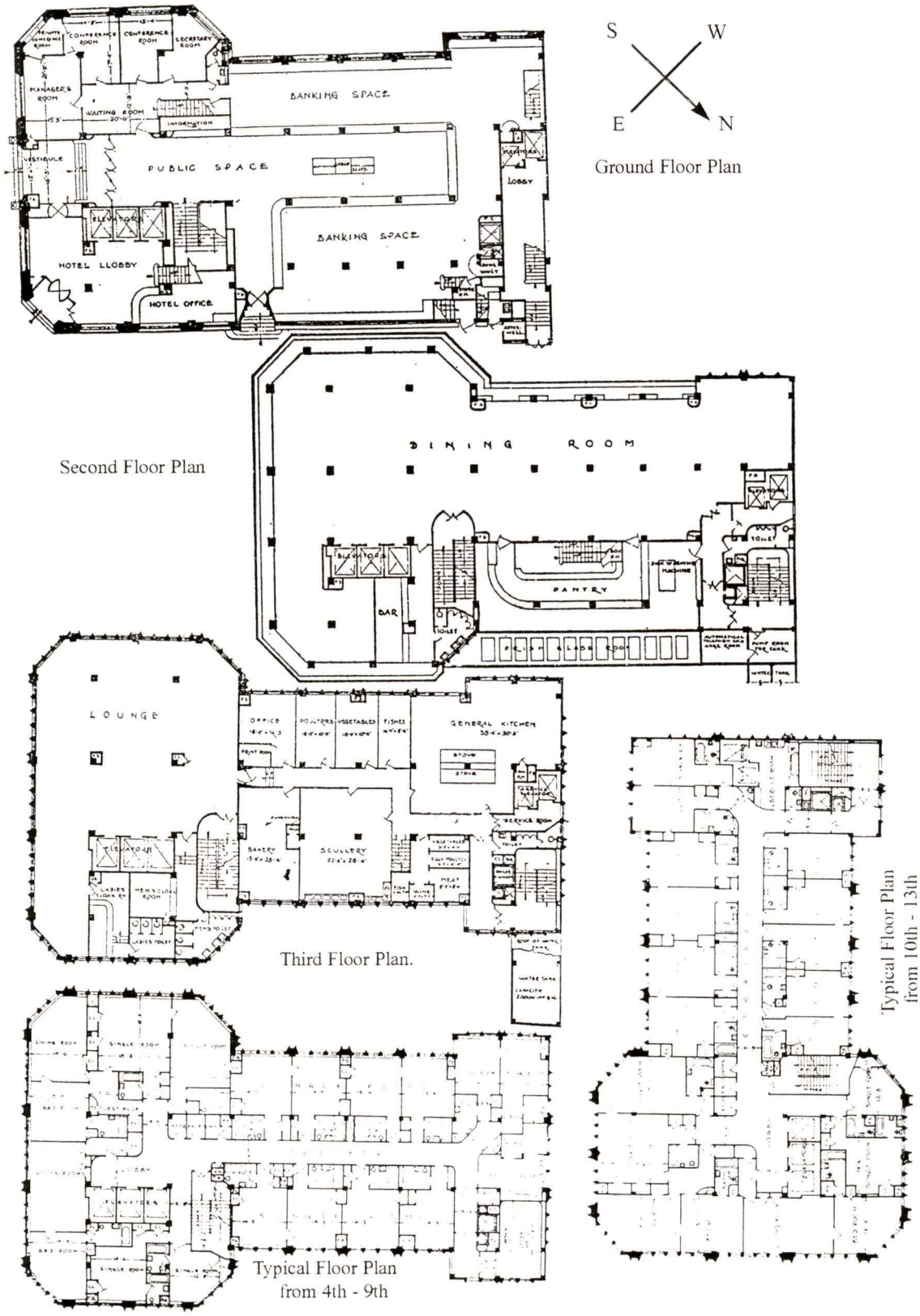


Fig. 24a. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel floor plans: First to thirteenth floors.
HC #6: An Oriental Skyscraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building, pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 10.

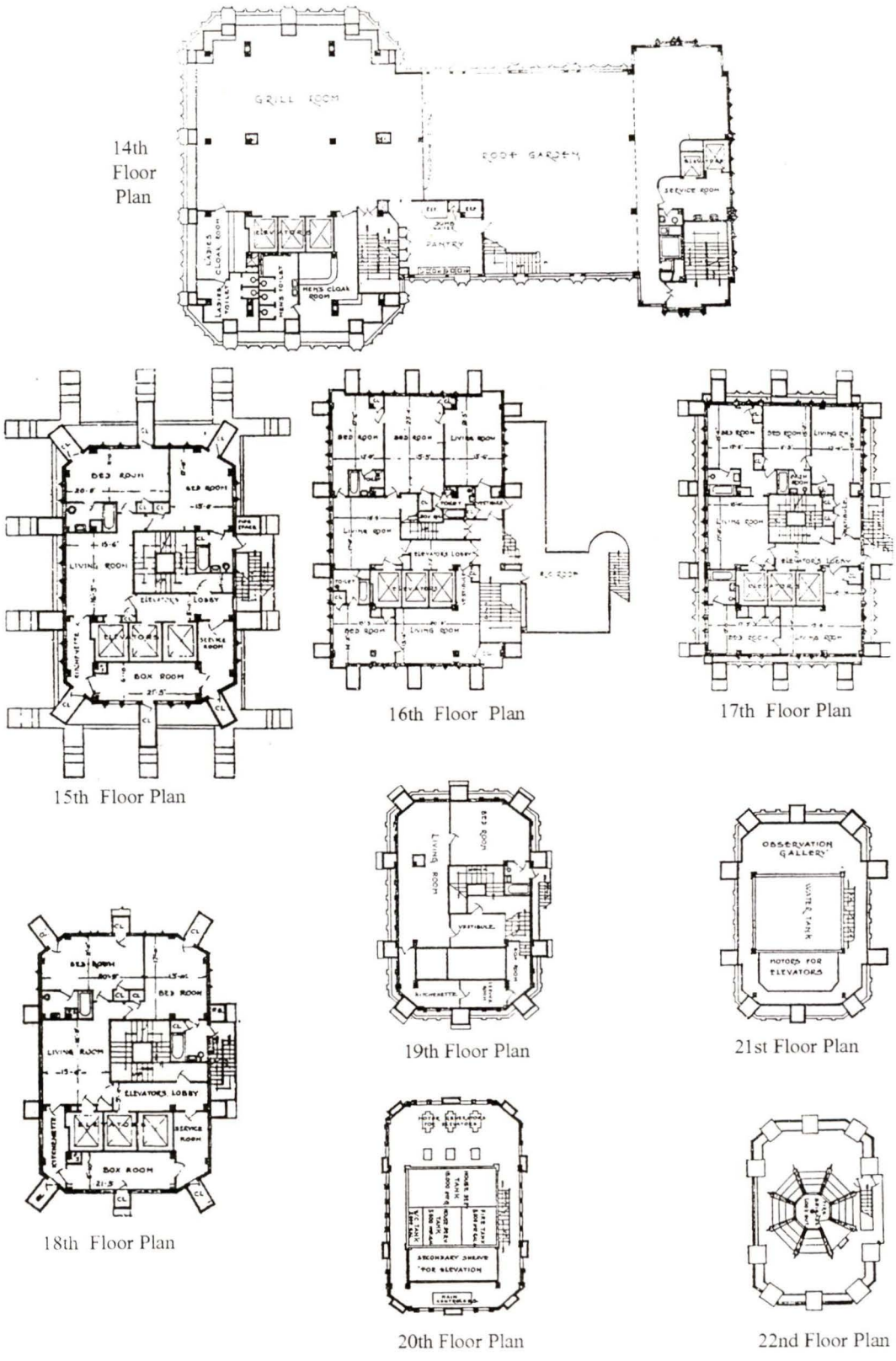


Fig. 24b. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel floor plans: Fourteenth to twenty-second floors. HC #6: An Oriental Skyscraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building, pp. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Fig. 25. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel, façade, first three storeys.
Scanned photograph.
Source: Dr. Jeffrey Cody, April 1996.

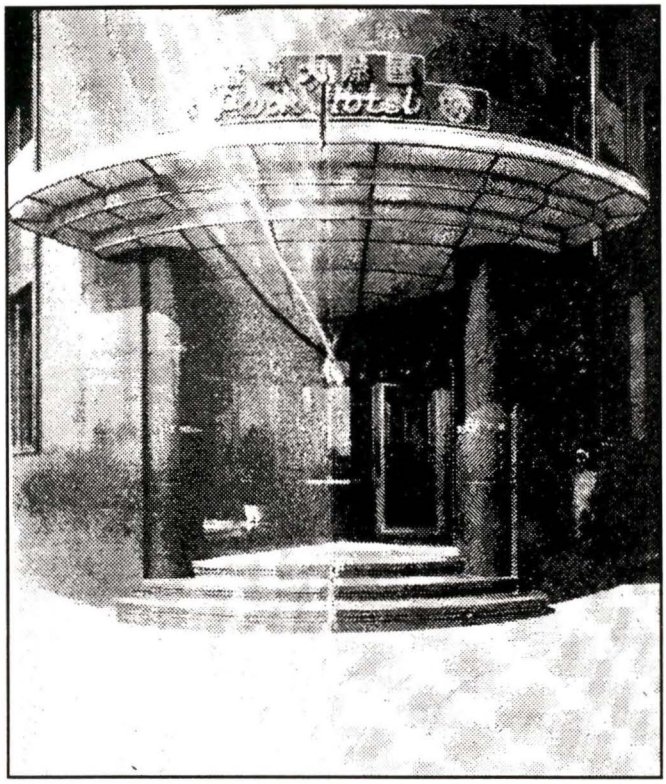


Fig. 26. Park Hotel. Southeast entrance at Bubbling Well Rd and Y.M.C.A. building. Scanned newsprint.
Source: HC #776, NCOB: The Hotel Review 42, 312 (July 1935), pp. 40-41.

Fig. 27. Park Hotel. Detail of corner, next to Y.M.C.A.
Scanned photograph.
Source: Dr. Jeffrey Cody, April 1996.

Fig. 28. Park Hotel. Detail, top southwest corner.
Scanned photograph.
Source: Dr. Jeffrey Cody, April 1996.

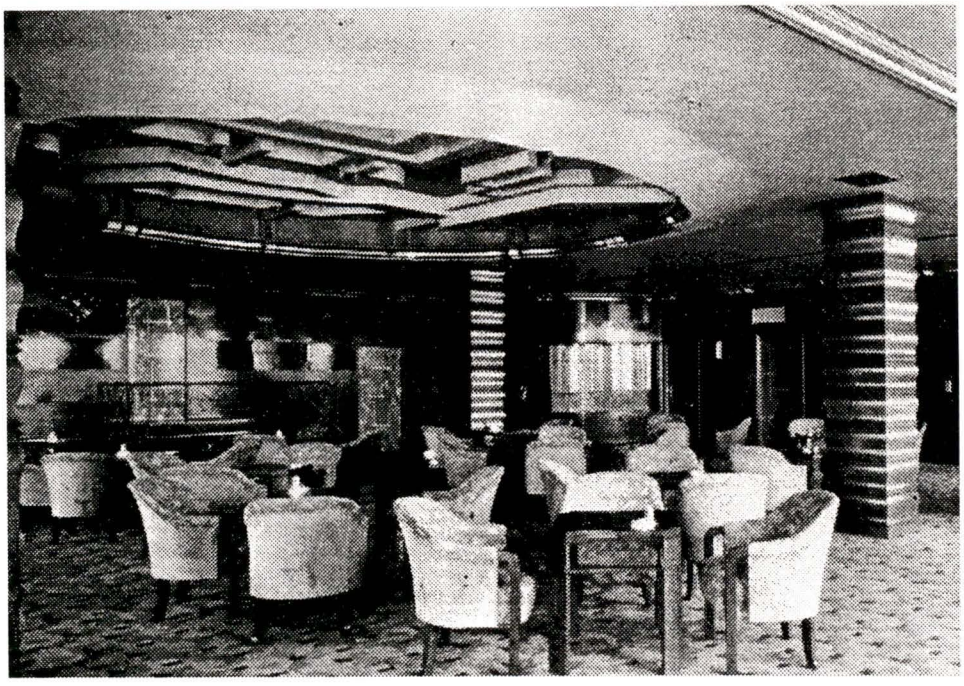


Fig. 29. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel. Lounge.
Scanned image.
Source: HC # 766, Sprinkler Bulletin June 1935, p. 1357.

Fig. 30. Palmer & Turner. Cathay Hotel, Shanghai, 1929. Lobby.
Scanned image.
Source: Tess Johnston and Deke Erh, A Last Look: Western Architecture in Old Shanghai (Hong Kong, 1993), p. 99.

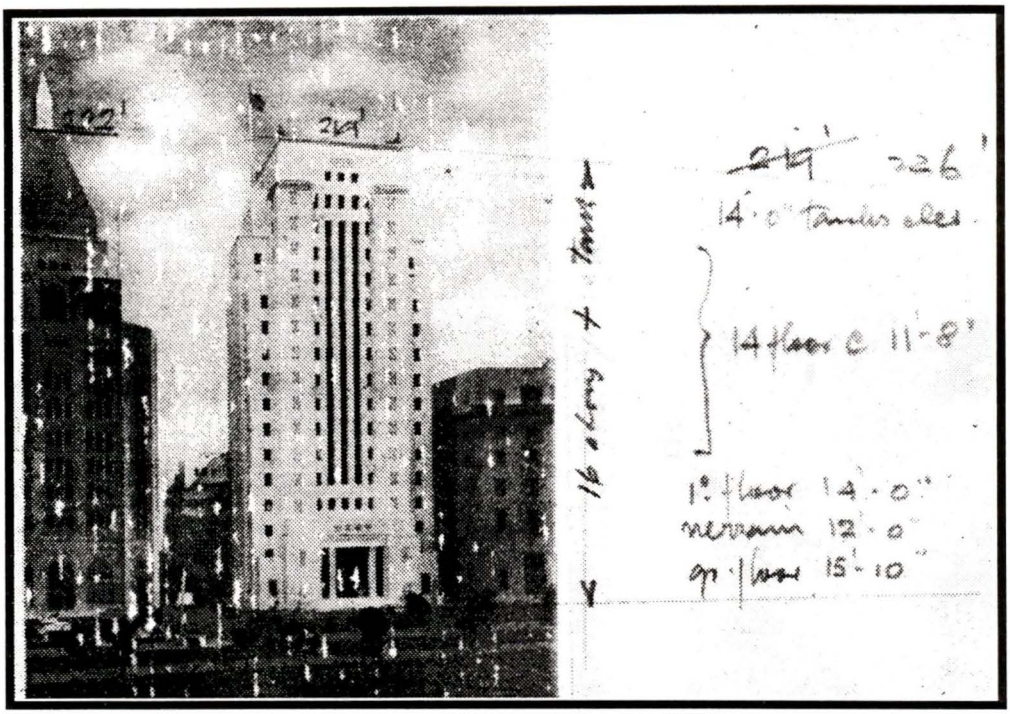


Fig. 31. Palmer & Turner. Bank of China,, 1937, and notations in Hudec's hand.
Scanned newsprint, pen ink.
Source: HC #4, Photo Album.

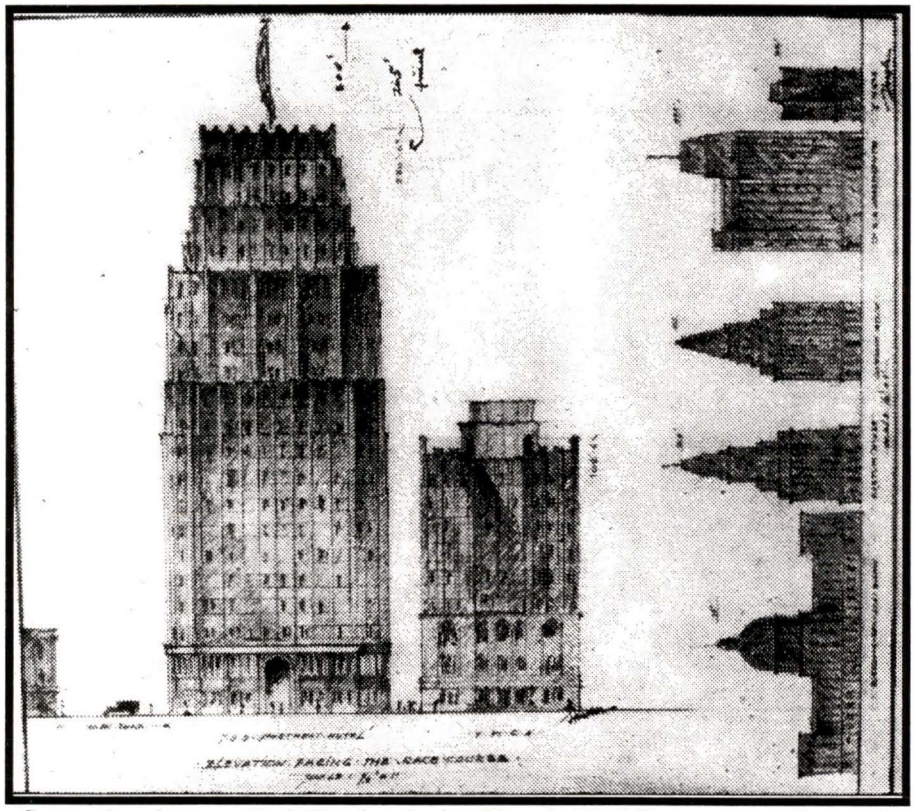


Fig. 32. Comparison between Park Hotel and other Shanghai buildings: *across* Park and Y.M.C.A.; *up*: Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, Customs House, Cathay Hotel, Park Hotel, Y.M.C.A.
Scanned photograph of drawing.
Source: HC #3, Photo Album.

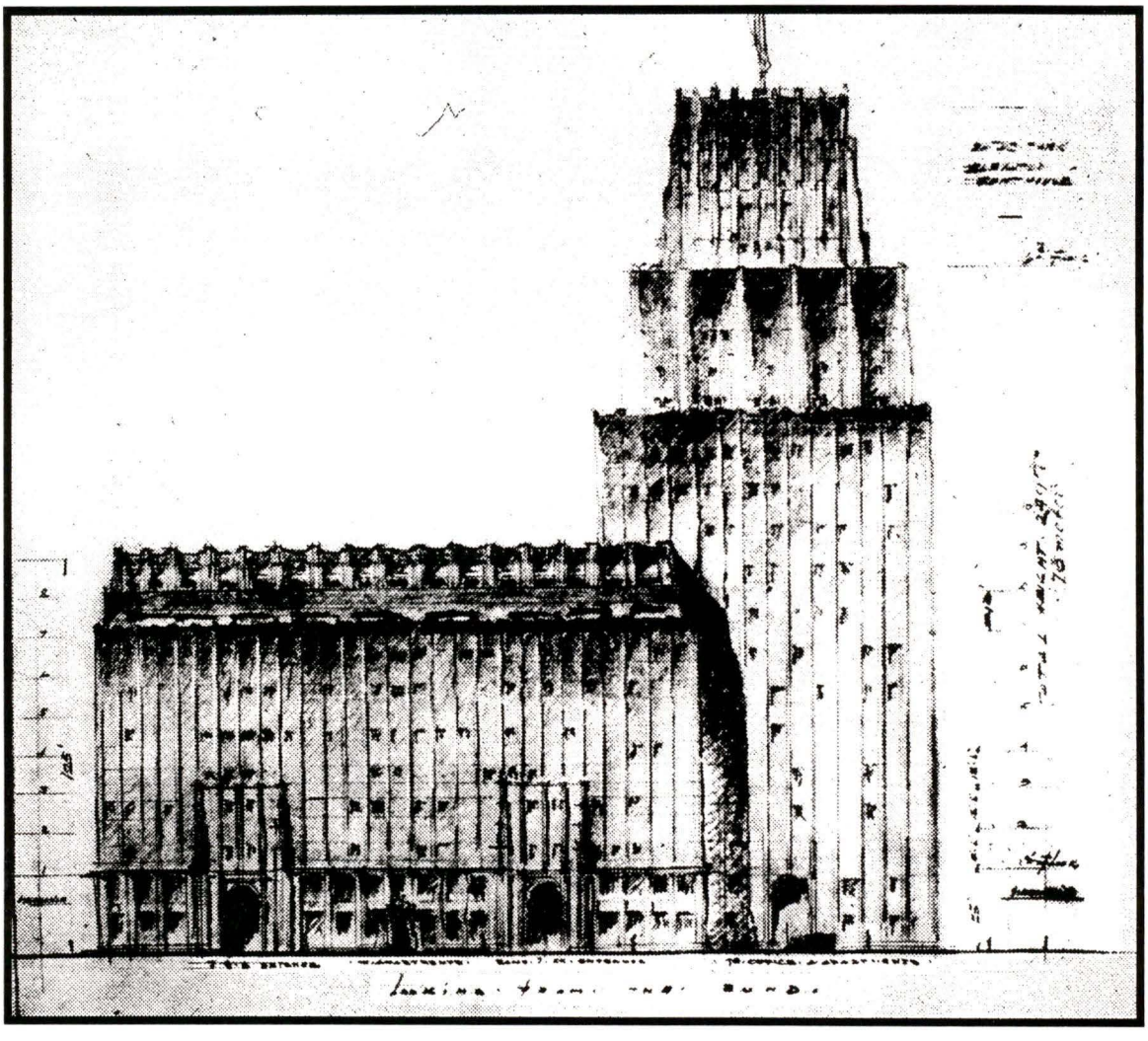


Fig. 33. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel,
"Looking from the Bund." ca 1930.
HC #5, Photo Album.

Fig. 34. Palmer & Turner, Cathay Hotel, 1929.
Photo: Dr. Judith Patt, ca 1984.

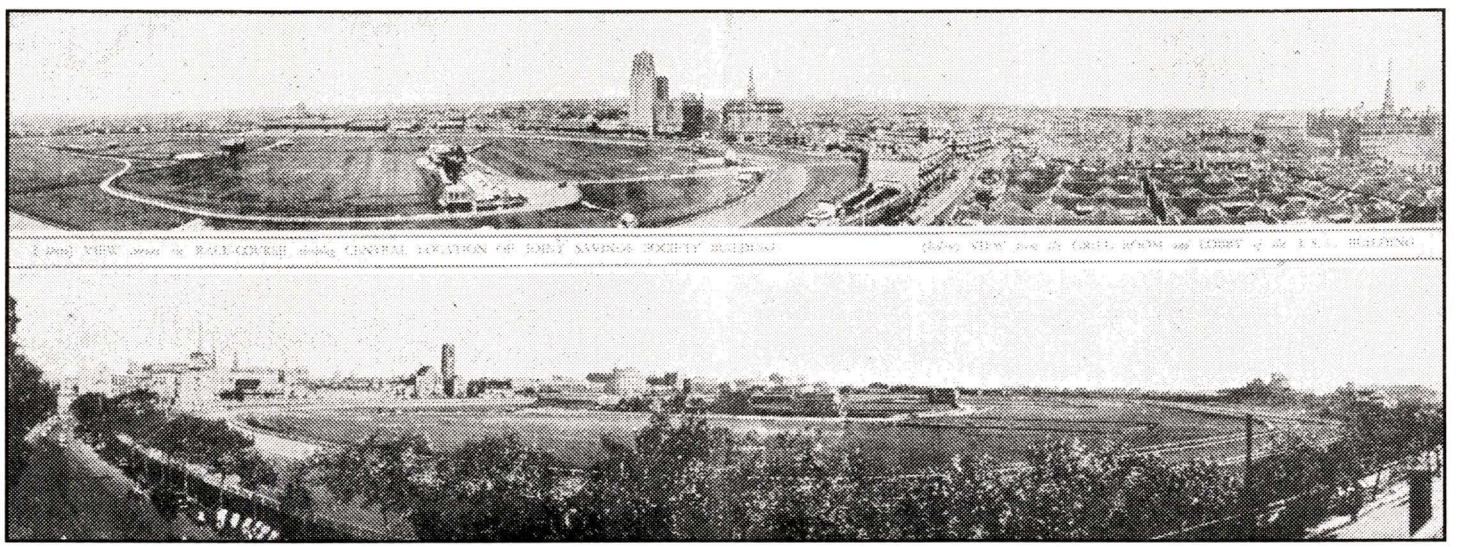


Fig. 35 . Two views of Shanghai. top: "Racecourse and Central Location of Joints Savings Society Building." bottom: "View from the Grill Room and Lobby of the J.S.S. Building."
HC #6: An Oriental Skyscraper: The New Joint Savings Society Building, pp. 8-9.

Fig. 36. Park Hotel, view from rear west side, corner of Burkill and Park Roads. Note first two floors at lower right flush to the front of the hotel. The garage is also by Hudec.
HC #767: R.A. Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine," L'Architecture D'Aujourdhui, p. 75.

Fig. 37. Park Hotel and surrounds. View west from the Bund.
Scanned image.
Source: Deng and Zhou, Shanghai Survey, 1840s-1940s, p. 67.

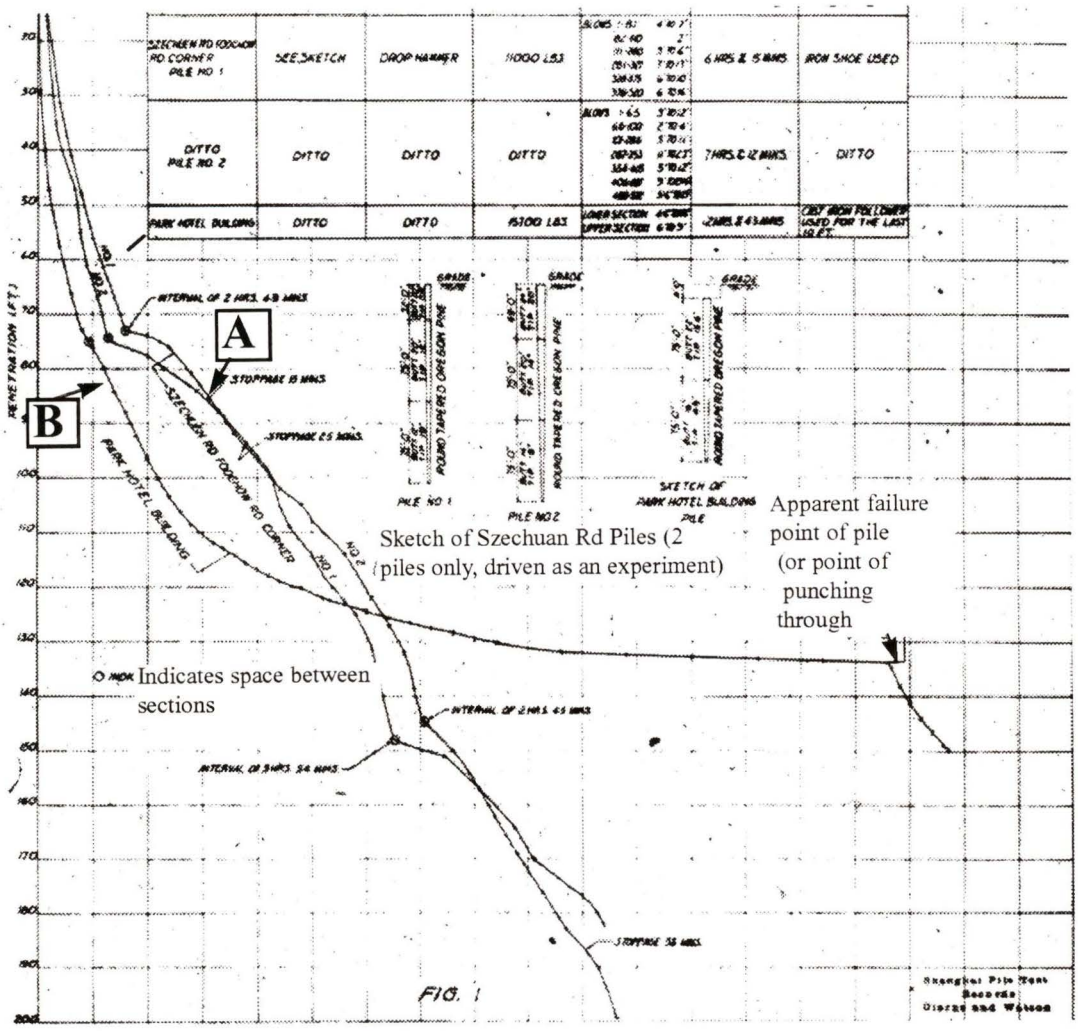


Fig. 38. Graph showing result of test pilingss for two locations: A: two results at corner of Szechuan and Foochow Rds; B: Park Hotel site.
Submitted by LE. Hudec in Clarke et al, "Pile Driving and Test Loading Records," No. I-4, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Soil Mechanics and Foundation Engineering June 22-26, 1936, vol II, p. 223 Fig. 1.
N.B.: Some lettering has been replaced, verbatim, for sake of legibility.

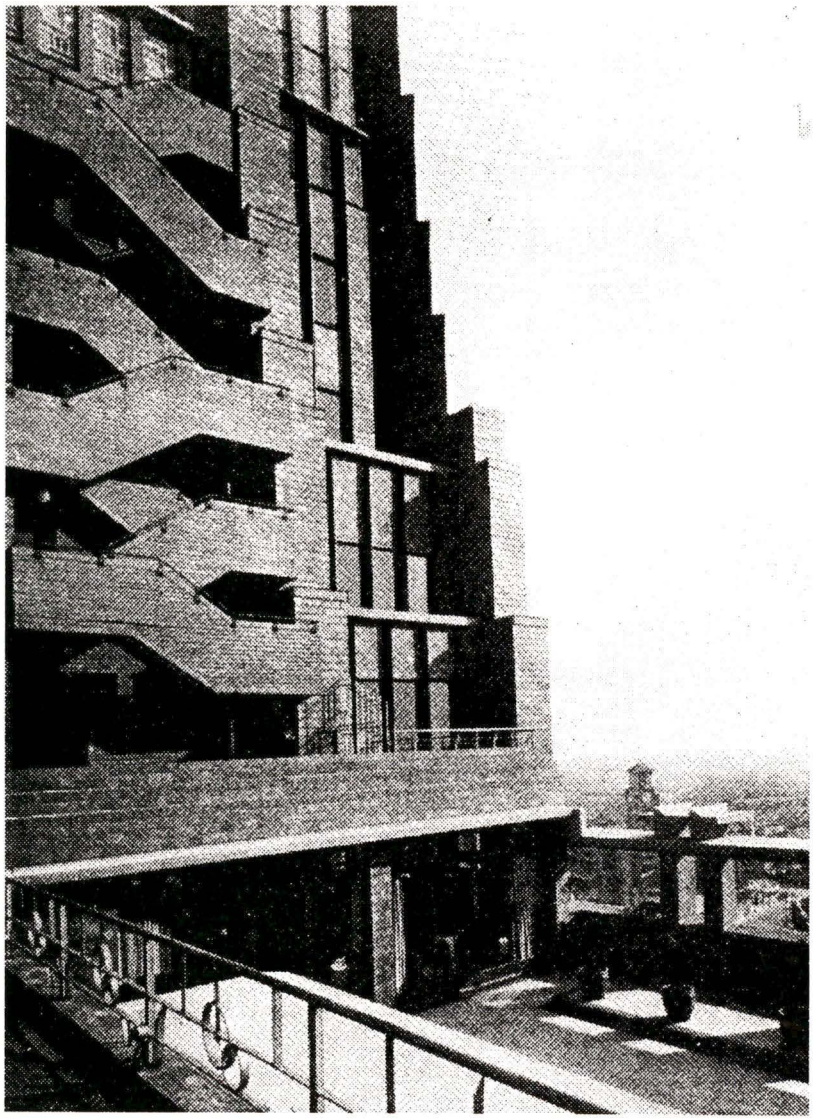


fig. 39. Park Hotel, roof garden of 14th floor, 1934.
Scanned image.
Source: HC #767, R. A. Hamburger, "L'Architecture en Chine, L'Architecture d"Aujourdhui 9, 10 (Oct. 1938), p. X-75.

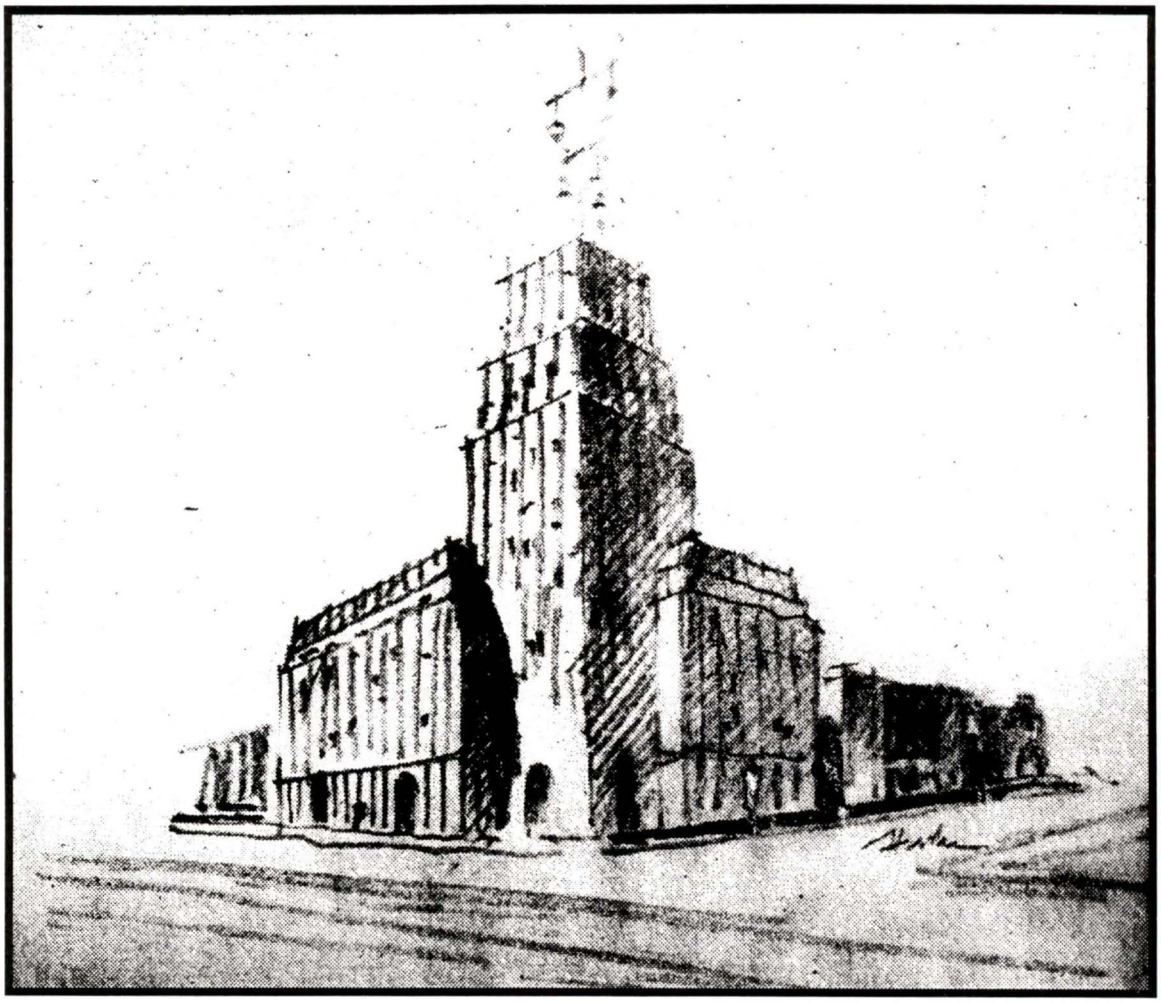


Fig. 40. L.E. Hudec. Sketch of Park Hotel, proposal, ca 1930. HC #347.

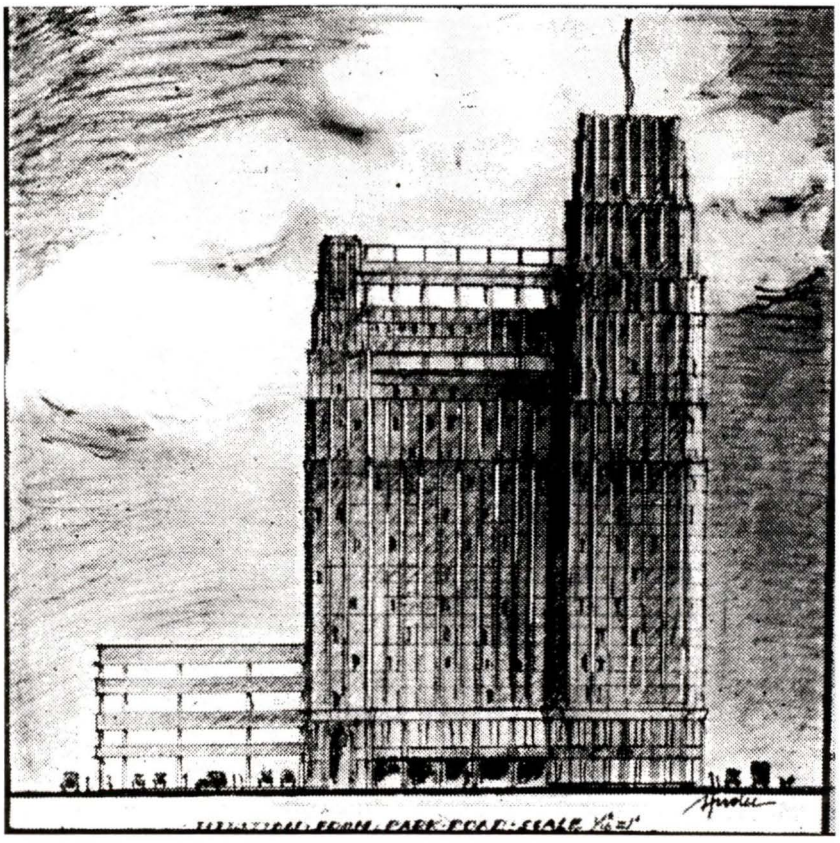


Fig. 41. L.E. Hudec. Proposal for Park Hotel, ca 1930.
"Elevation from Park Road"
Scanned image.
HC #736: Scrapbook VI.

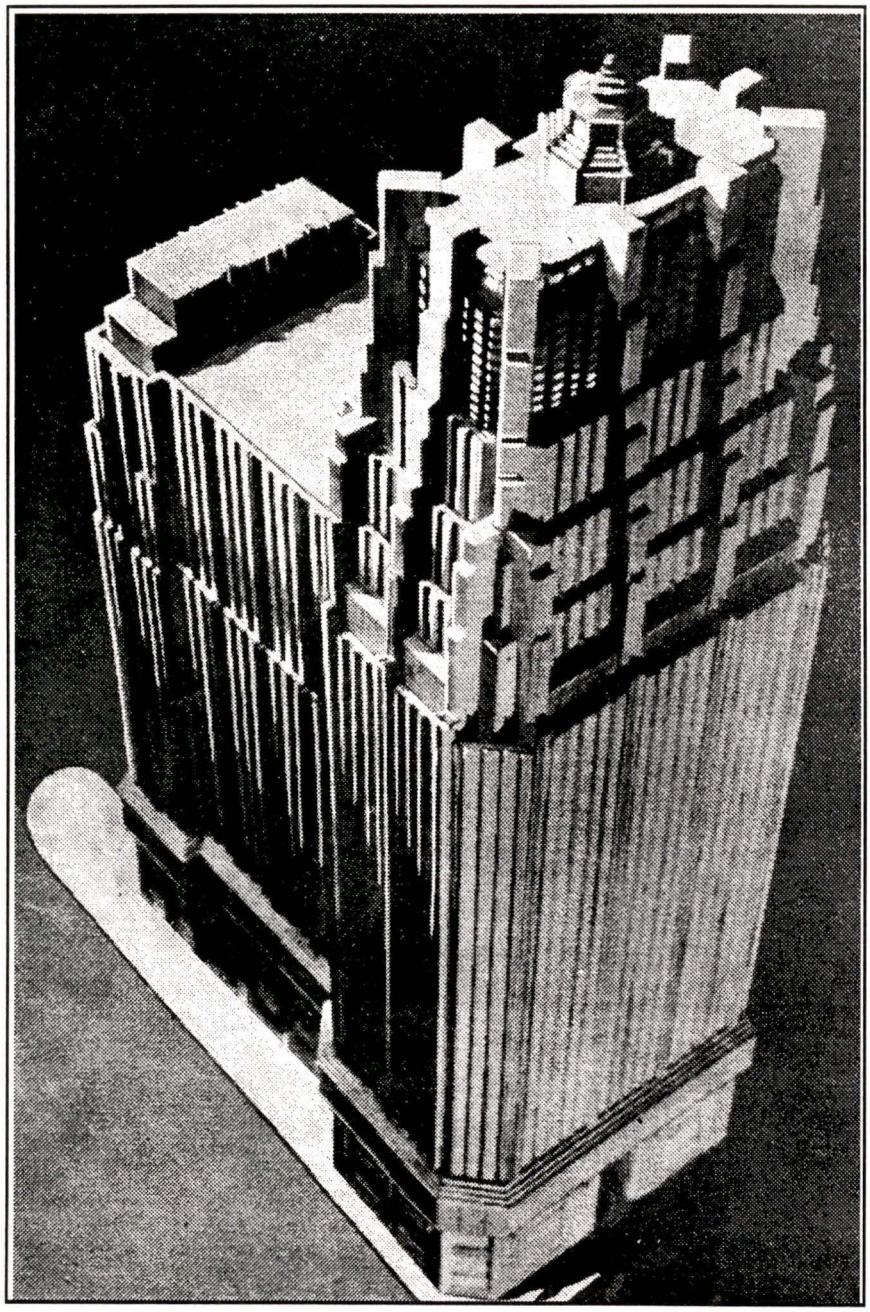
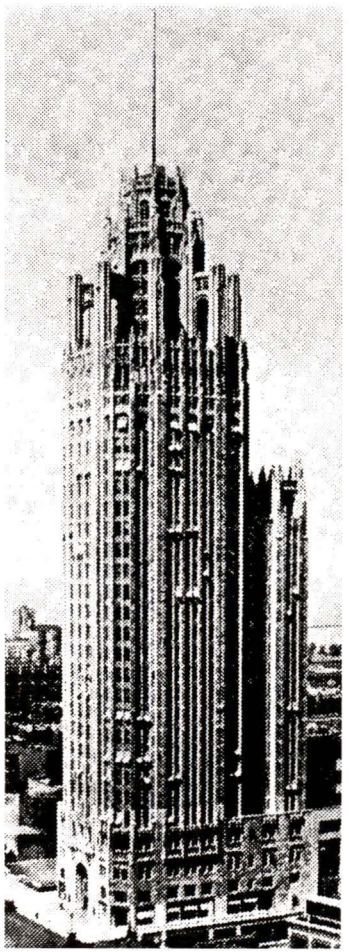
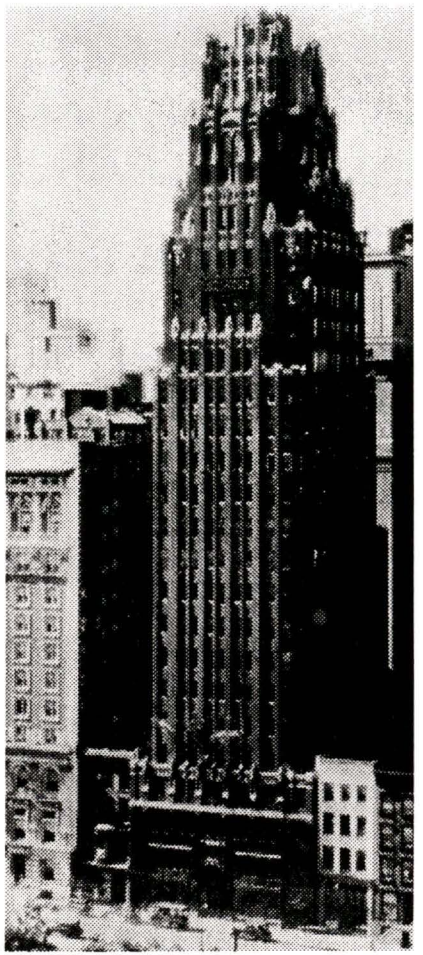


Fig. 42. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel, model. ca 1931.
Scanned image.
HC #776, Commercial Engineer, J.S.S. Supplement, 3, 6, (Oct. 1934), cover page.





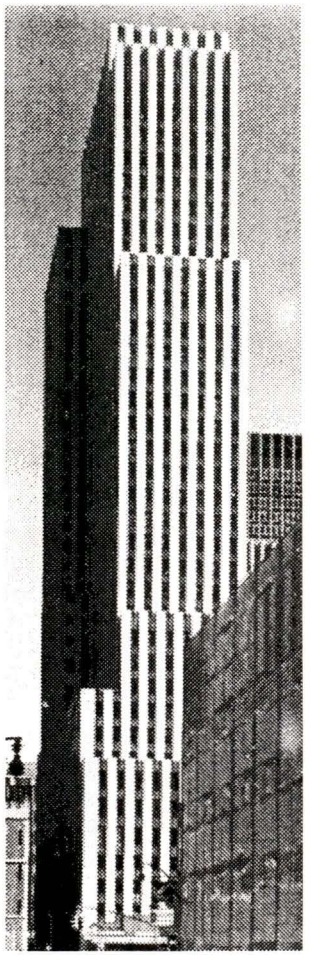


Fig. 43. John Mead Howell & Raymond Hood. Chicago Tribune Building, Chicago, 1924. Scanned image.
Source: Paul Goldberger, The Skyscraper (New York, 1981), p. 51.

Fig. 44. Raymond Hood. American Radiator Building, New York, 1924. Scanned image.
Source: Paul Goldberger, The Skyscraper (New York, 1981), p. 60.

Fig. 45. Raymond Hood. Daily News Building, 1931, New York.
Source: Cervin Robinson and Rosemarie Haag Bletter, Skyscraper Style: Art Deco New York (New York, 1975), fig. 35C.

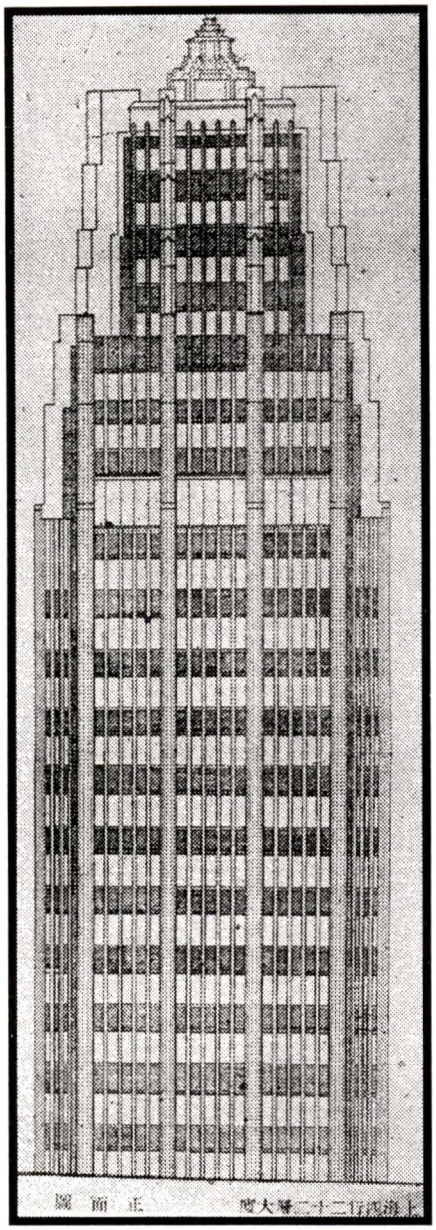
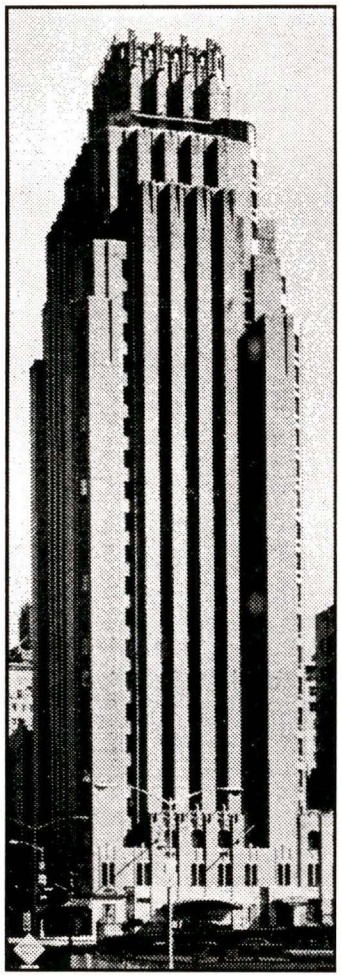
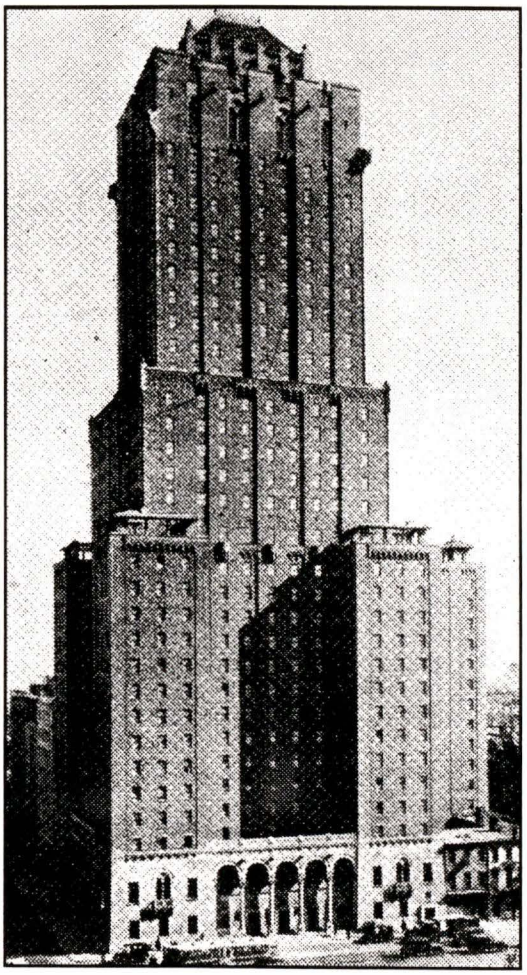


Fig. 46. Park Hotel, frontal elevation.
HC #771, NCOB.

Fig. 47. Howe & Lescaze. Philadelphia Saving Fund Society Building, Philadelphia, 1929-32.
Scanned image.
Source: William H. Jordy, The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century, (New York, 1986), fig. 35.





Left: Fig. 48. John Mead Howell. Panhellenic Hotel, 1927, New York.
Scanned image.
Source: Robinson and Bletter, Skyscraper Style, Art Deco New York, fig. 8.

Right: Fig. 49. Arthur Harmon. Shelton Hotel, New York, 1924.
Scanned image.
Source: Paul Goldberger, The Skyscraper, p. 61.

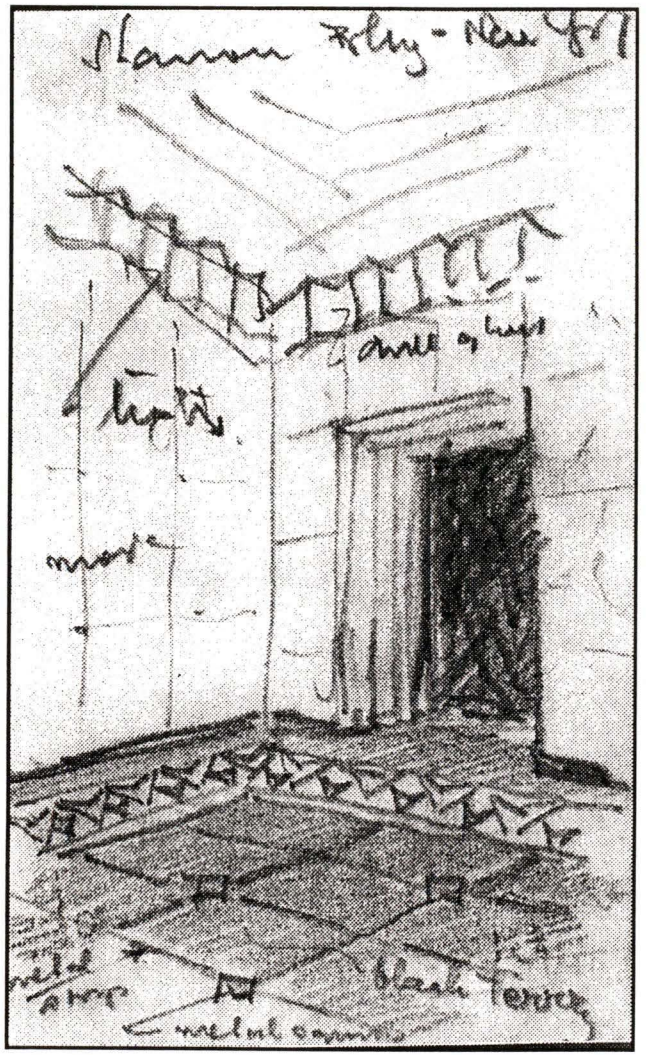


Fig. 50.
L.E. Hudec. Sketch of "Shanon Bldg - New York," 1927/28.
Chanin Building evelator lobby, 1927-28.
Scanned sketch.
Source: HC #642, "Reise Skizzen."

Fig. 51.
Sloan & Robertson. Chanin Building, New York, 1927-28.
Scanned sketch.
Source: Robert A. M. Stern et al, New York 1930 (New York, 1987), p. 593.

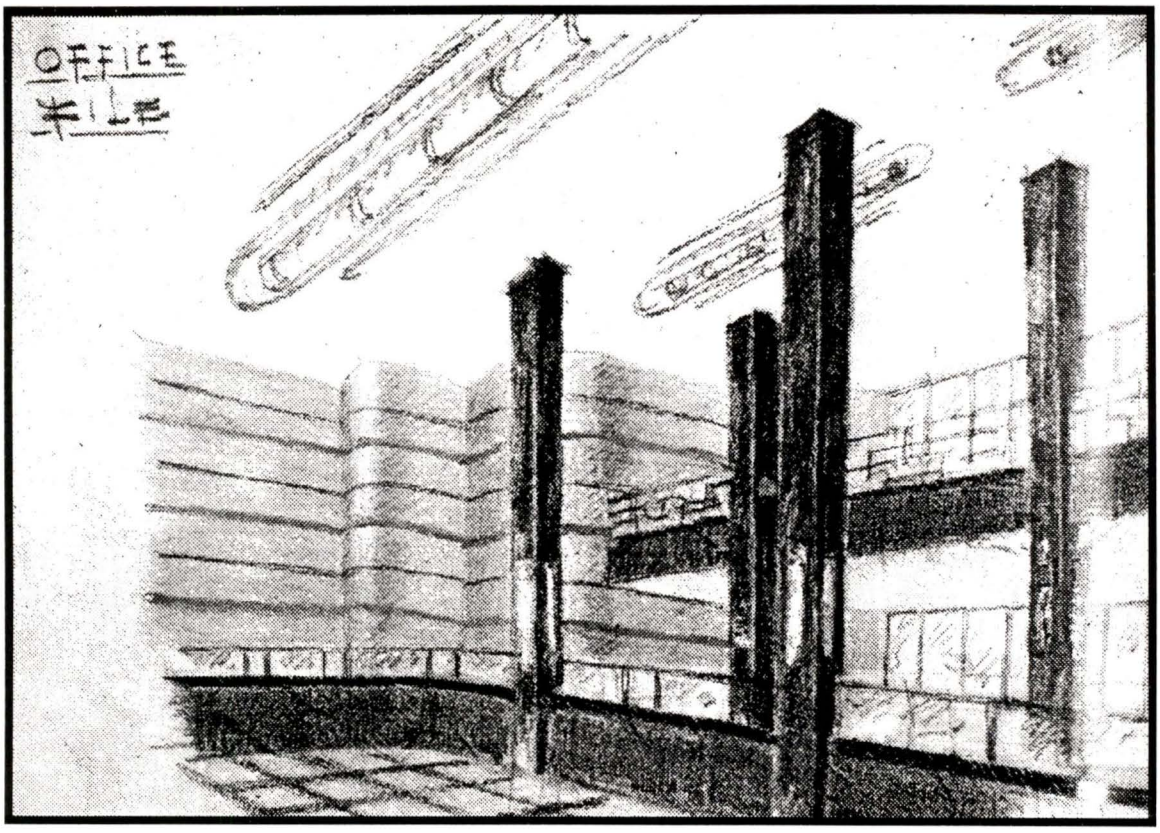


Fig. 52. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel, banking space.
Coloured pencil sketch..
HC #738, Scrapbook VI.

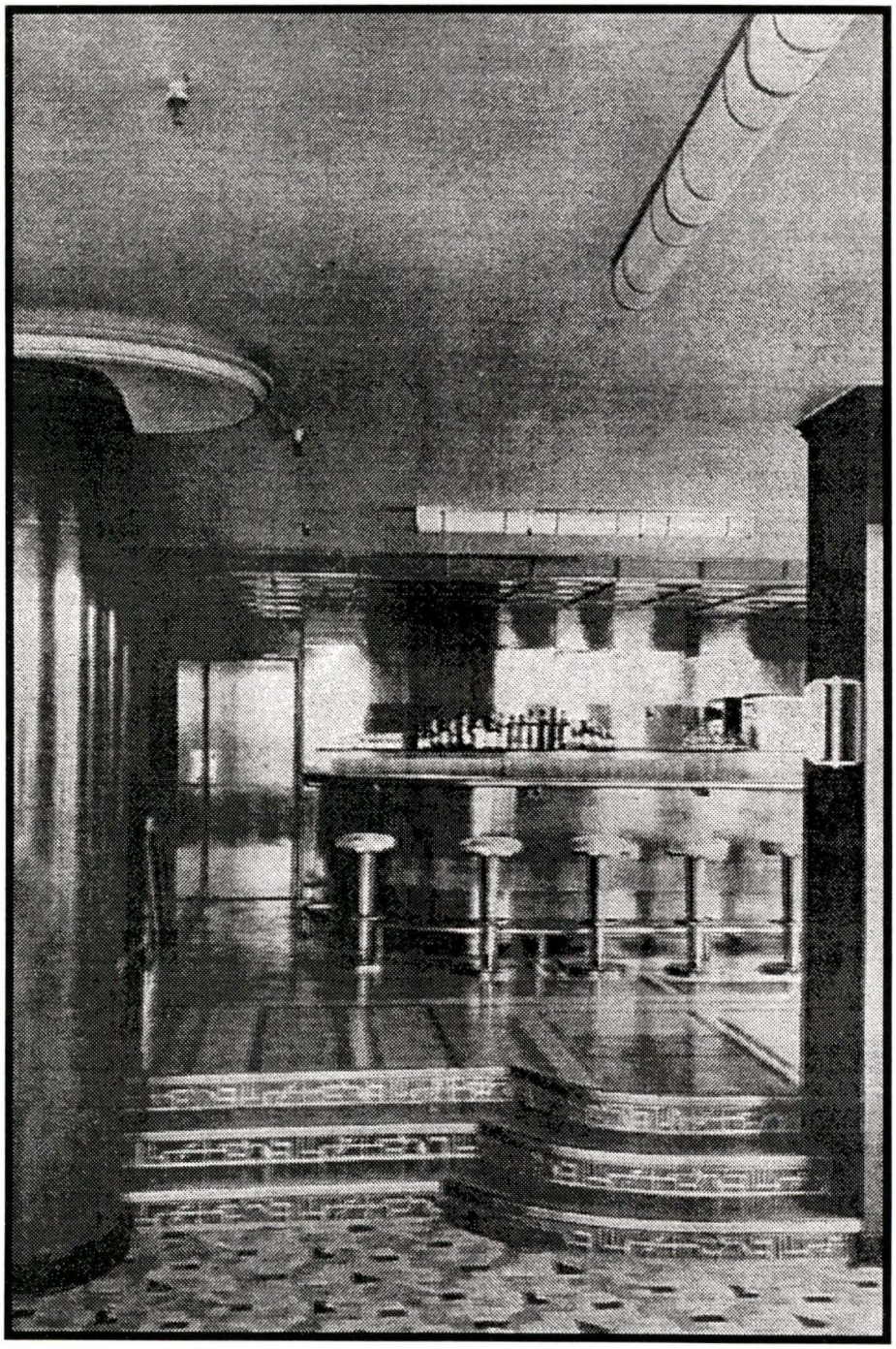


Fig. 53. L.E. Hudec. Park Hotel, bar.
Scanned image.
HC #776, NCOB No.2, Park Hotel, Shanghai: The Most Modern Hotel in China, Operated by the International Hotels, Ltd., n.p.

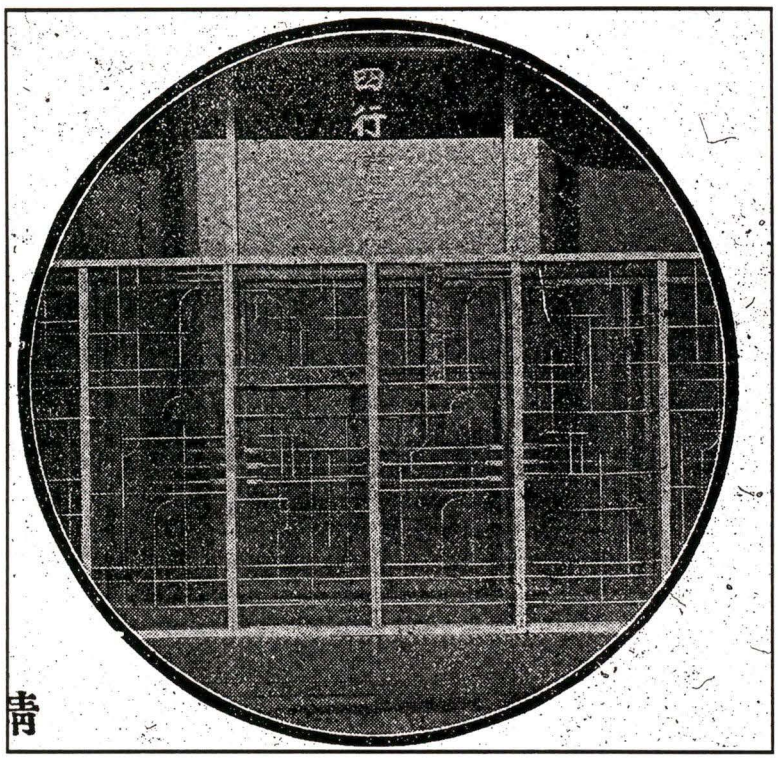


Fig. 54a. Park Hotel. Grillwork in entrance doors.
Scanned newsprint.
Source: HC #776.

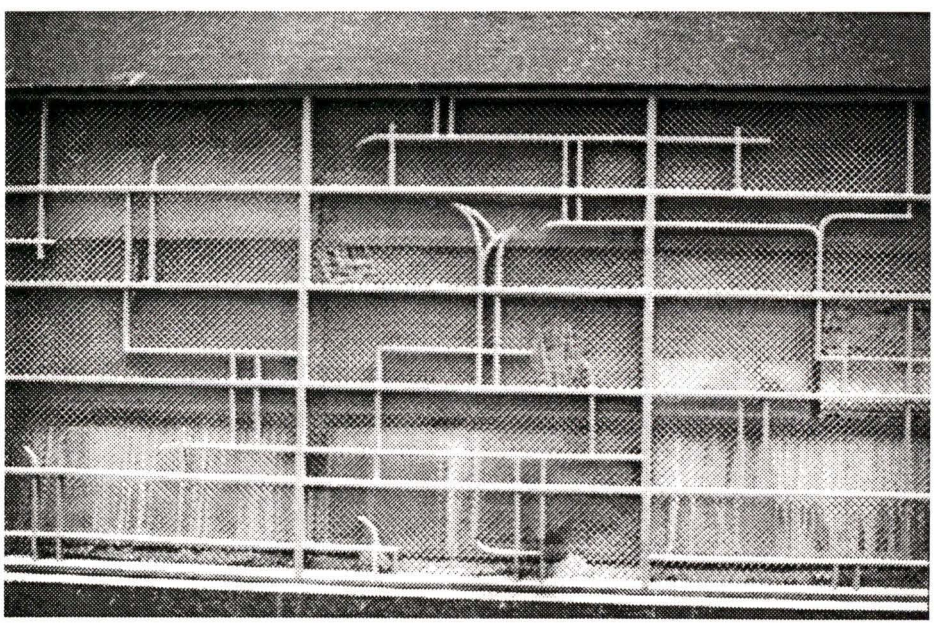


Fig. 54b. Park Hotel. Metal grill protecting basement windows.
Scanned photograph.
Source: Sunni Nishimura, summer 1997.

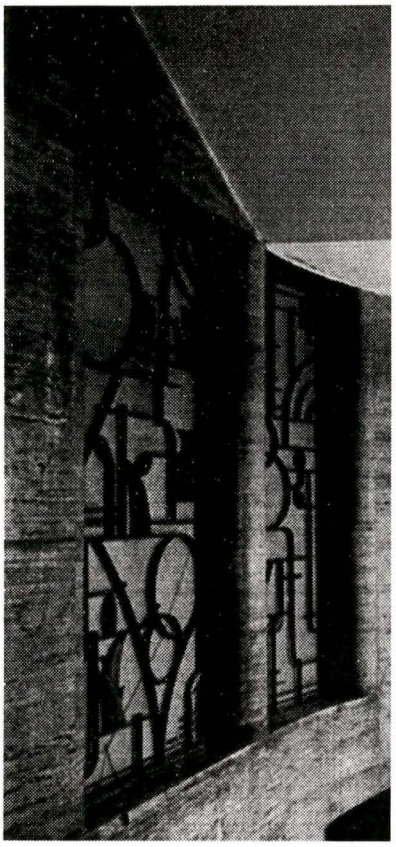


Fig. 55. L. E. Hudec. D.V. Woo house, 1938, window detail. Scanned image. Johnston And Erh, A Last Look, p. 87.

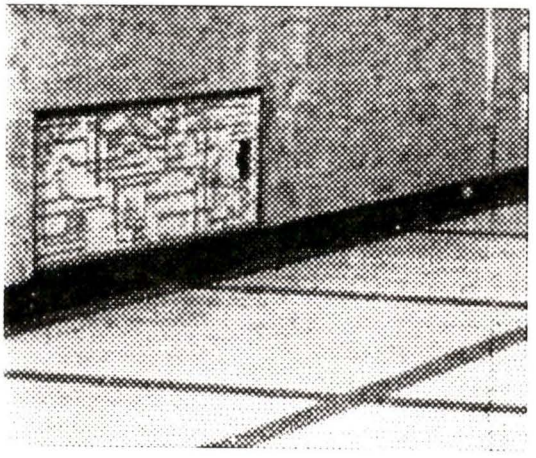


Fig. 56. L. E. Hudec. Grand Theatre, detail. Scanned image. Source: H.C. #771, G.H., "Das Grand Theatre--In Shanghai," Der Baumeister 33, 5 (Mai 1935), p. 41.

Fig. 57. Karl Ehn. Karl-Marx-Hof, 1927, Vienna. Scanned image.
Source: William J.R. Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, 3rd ed. (N.J., 1996), p. 254, pl. 311.

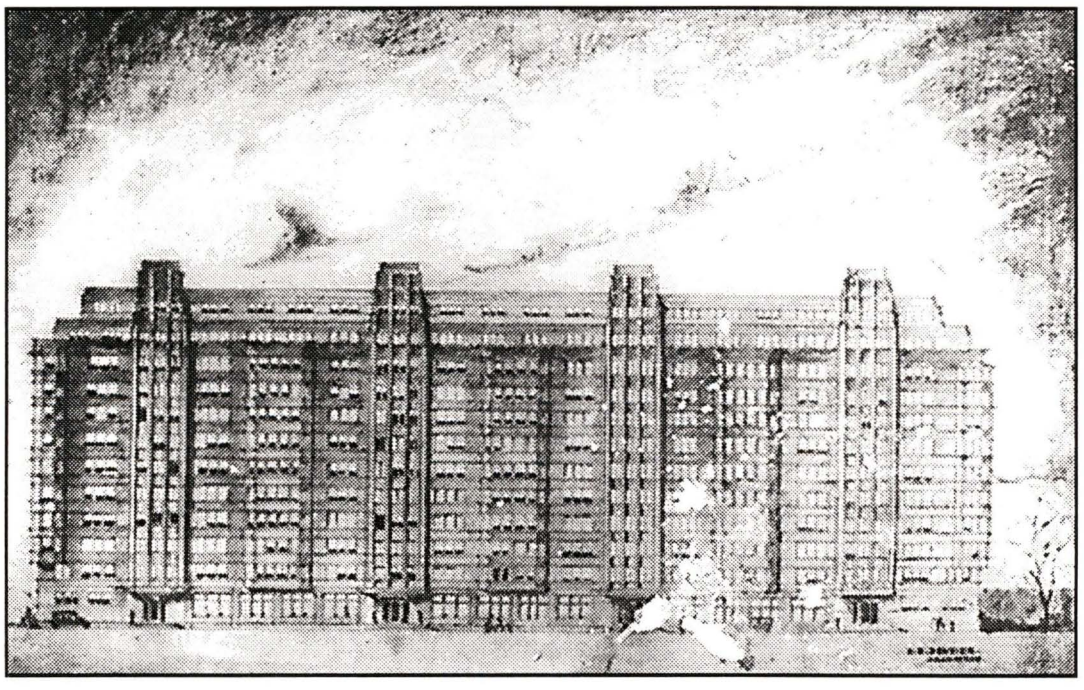


Fig. 58. L.E. Hudec. Ambassador Apartments, 1931 (project).
Scanned photograph of drawing.
HC #729, Scrapbook VI.

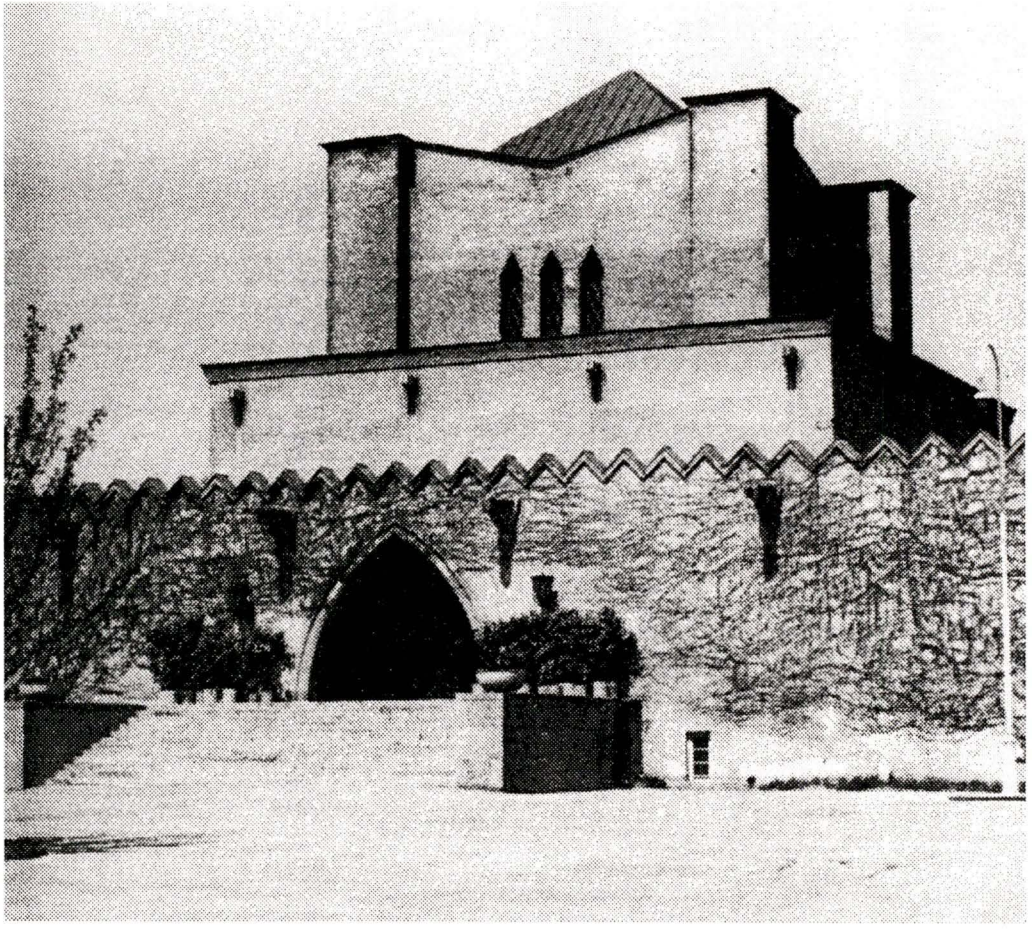


Fig. 59 Clemens Holzmeister. Krematorium, Vienna, 1921/22.
Scanned image.
Source: Wilhelm Holzbauer, Clemens Holzmeister (Vienna, 1982), p.16.

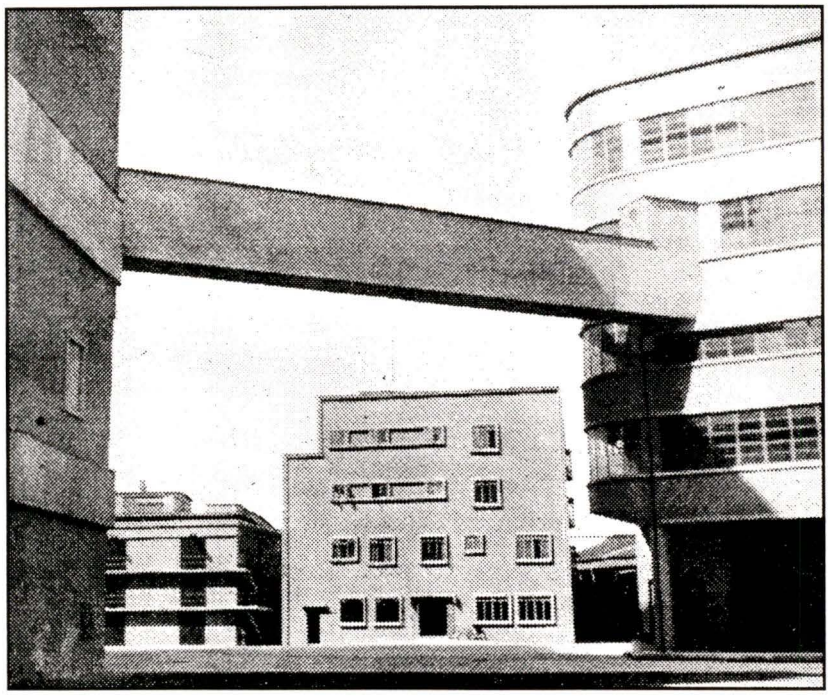


Fig. 60. L.E.Hudec. Union Brewery, Shanghai, 1932-33.
Scanned image.
Source: HC #7, "Union Brewery, Shanghai," Kokusai-Kontiku 14, 12 (Dec. 1938), p. 414.

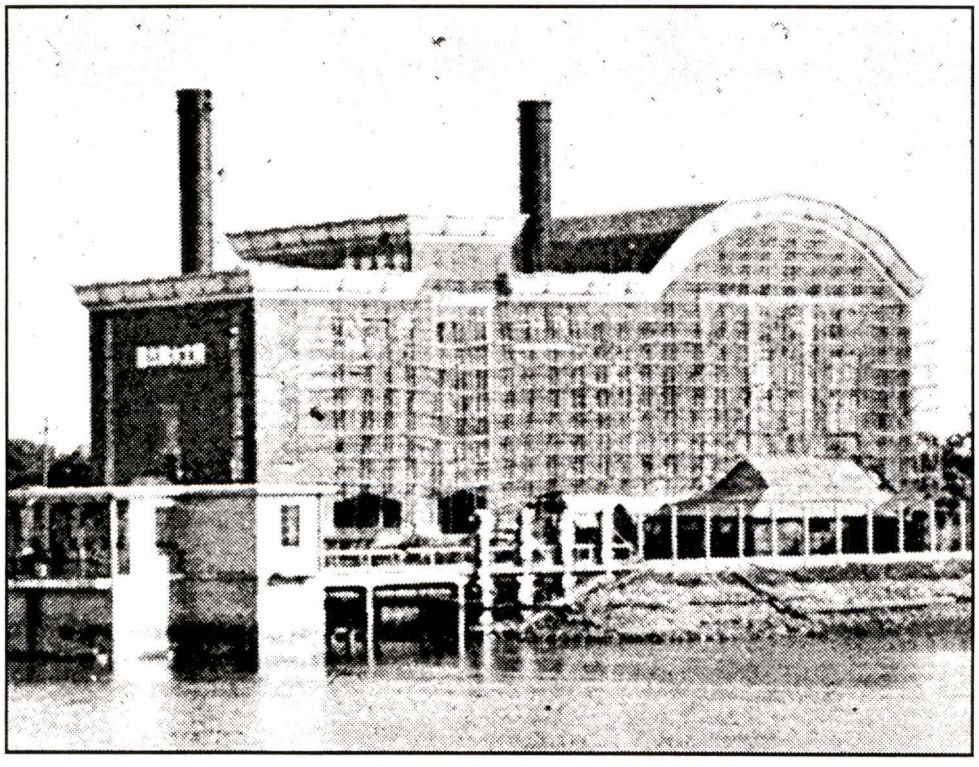


Fig. 61. L.E. Hudec . Chapei Water and Power Station, Shanghai (Municipality of Greater Shanghai), 1931.
Scanned image.
HC #708, Scrapbook VI.

Fig. 62. M.Weber. St. Boniface(R.C.), 1925-27, Frankfurt-Sachsen.
Scanned image.
Source: Hugo Schell, Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (Munich/Zurich, 1974), Pl. 54.

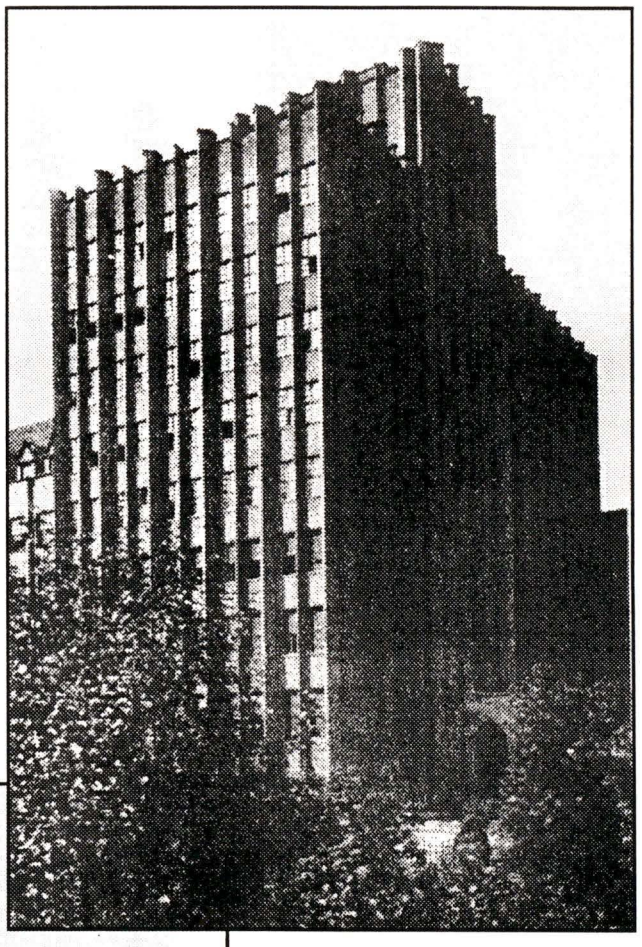


Fig. 63. Paul Bonatz. Stummkonzern Skyscraper, Dusseldorf, 1925. Scanned image. Source: Arnold Whittick, European Architecture in the Twentieth Century (New York, 1953), Pl. 3A.

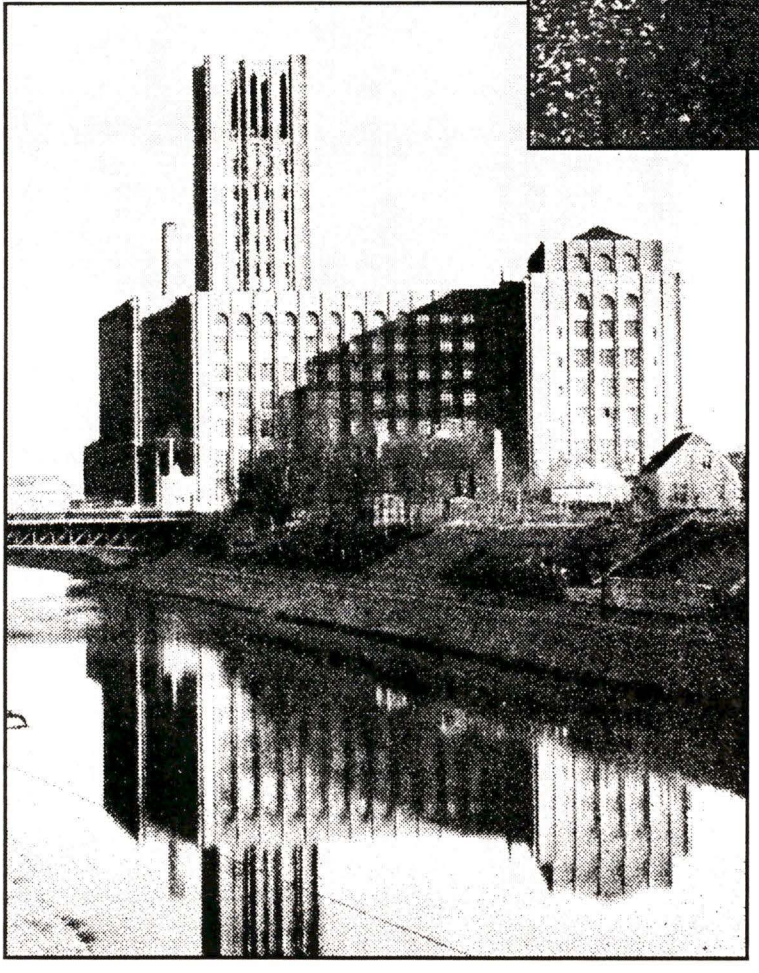


Fig. 64. Eugene Schmohl. Book Printing Works, Tempelhof, Berlin, 1926. Scanned image. Source: Arnold Whittick, European Architecture in the Twentieth Century (1953), Pl. 3C.

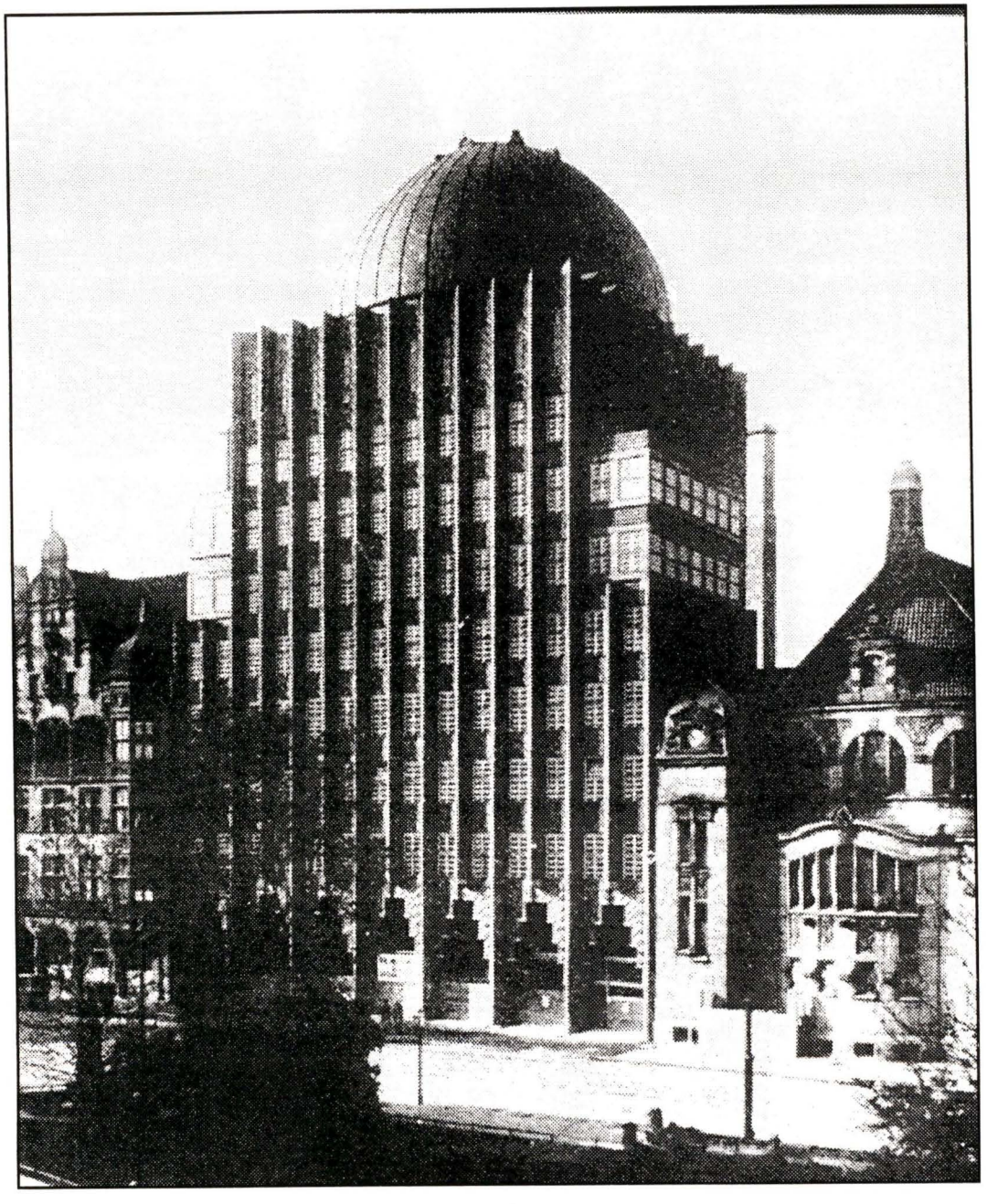


Fig. 65. Fritz Höger. Hanover Advertiser Office, Hanover, 1927.
Source: Arnold Whittick, European Architecture in the Twentieth Century, (1953), Pl. 3A

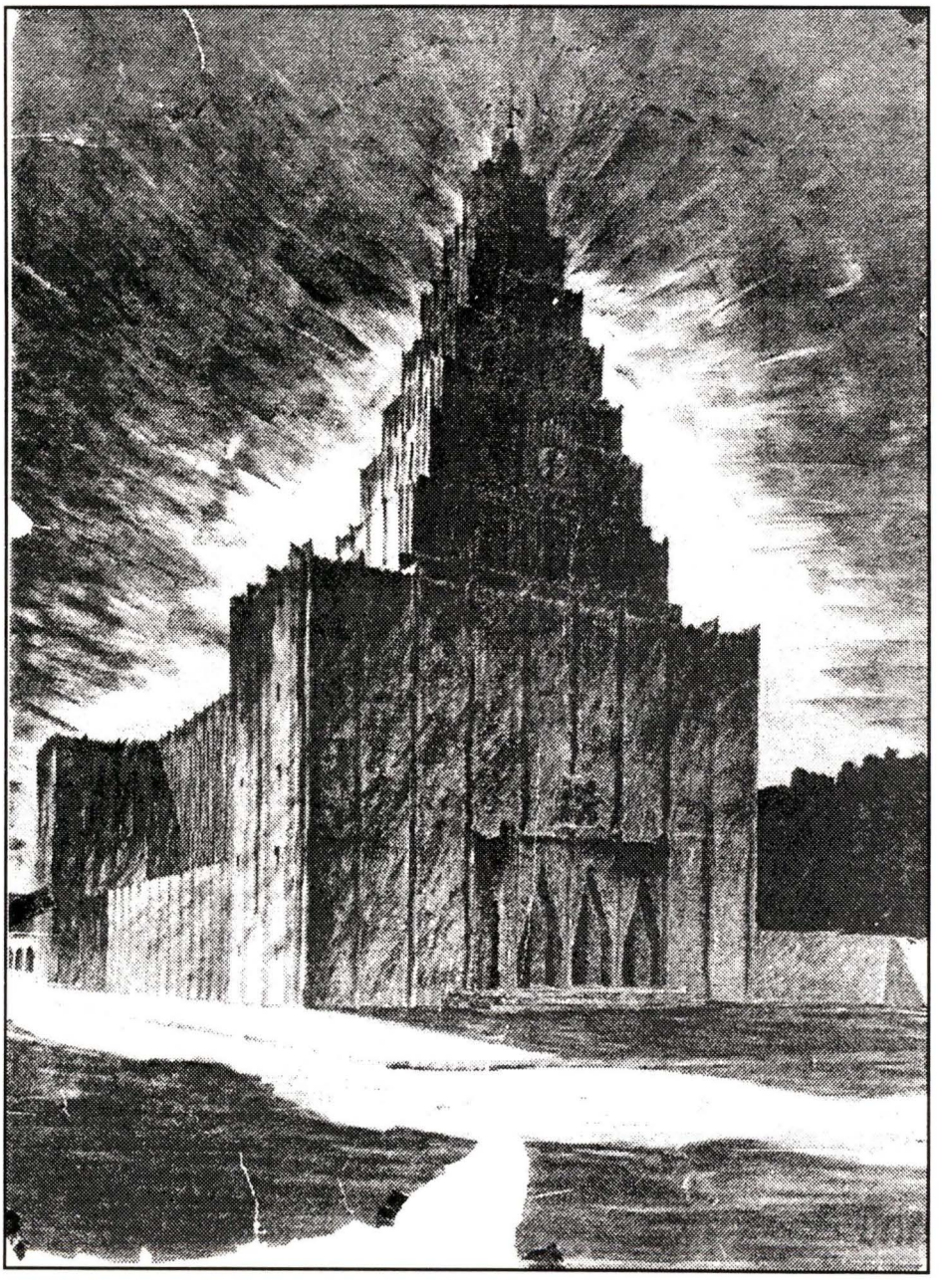


Fig. 66. Dominikus Böhm. Soldiers' Memorial Church, Göttingen, ca 1923.
Scanned image.
Wolfgang Pehnt, Expressionist Architecture in Drawings, (Stuttgart, 1985), p. 87 fig. 78.

Fig. 67. "I Believe in Shanghai."
HC #273, Asia Realty Company, Realty Market 5, May 1928, frontispiece.

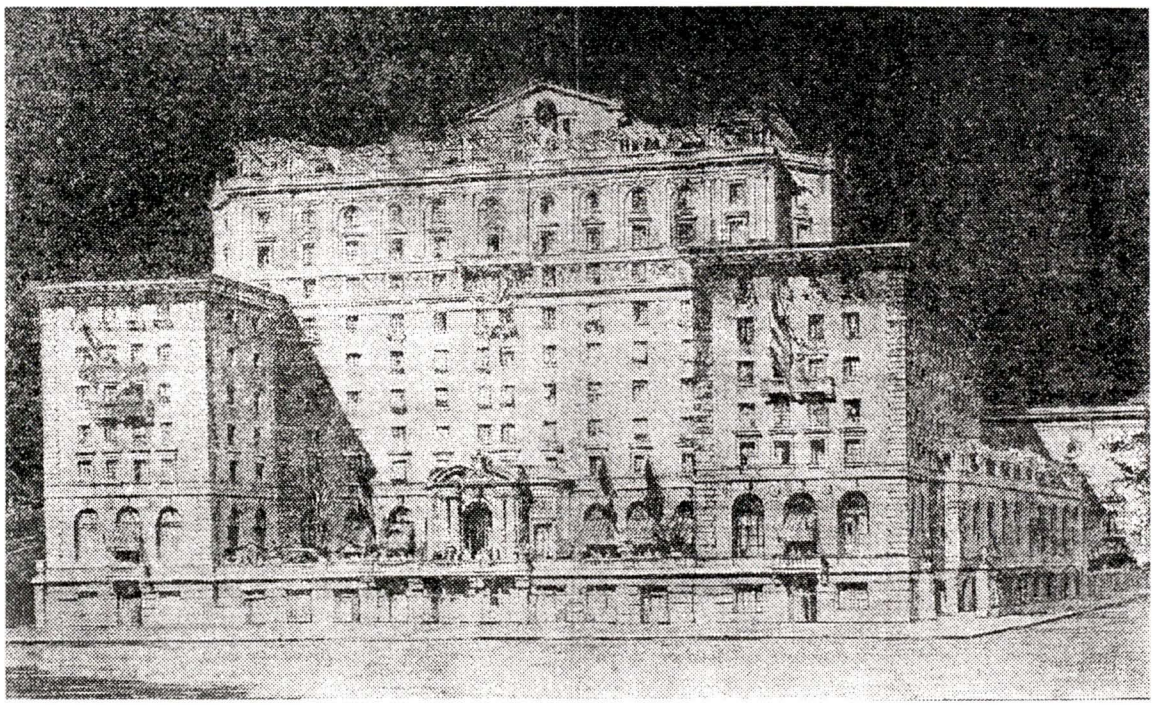


Fig. 68. Warren & Wetmore. "New Monster Hotel . . . Opposite the Racecourse." (Project) Planned with main entrance on Bubbling Well Road, back entrance on Burkill Road, either in same site as the Park Hotel, or beside it.
Scanned newsprint.
HC #237, n.d.

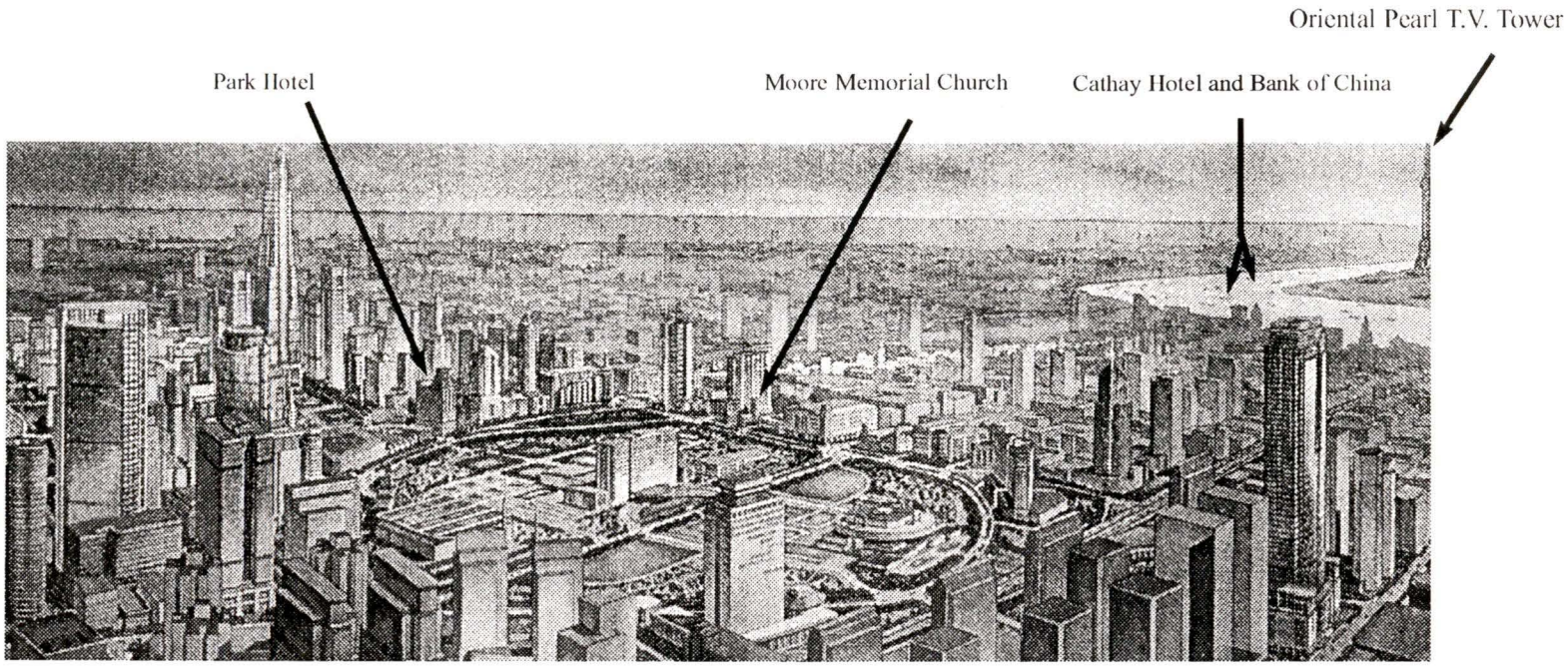


Fig. 69. Huangpu Master Plan, Shanghai, ca 1997.
Scanned drawing by HOK.
Source: Grant W. K. Sung, "Shanghai Express," Architectural Record 7 (1995), p. PR32.

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The Park Hotel (1931-1934) and Its Architect, Laszlo Hudec (1896-1956): "Tallest Building in the Far East" as Metaphor for Pre-Communist Shanghai

Author [redacted]

Lenore Ruth Hietkamp
April 20, 1998