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## Early Film Culture in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Republican China

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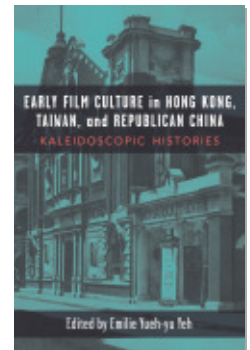
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PART II

*Intermediaries, Cinephiles, and Film Literati*



## CHAPTER 7

### *Toward the Opposite Side of “Vulgarity”*

#### The Birth of Cinema as a “Healthful Entertainment” and the Shanghai YMCA

*Yoshino Sugawara*

#### EMERGENCE OF MODERN MOVIEGOING: MOVIE EXHIBITION AT THE SHANGHAI YMCA

Almost a decade after the arrival of movies at the end of the nineteenth century, movies were exhibited in Shanghai as one of the attractions or stage performances at various amusement venues, which varied from traditional theaters to teahouses.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the twentieth century, alongside the gradual increase in the number of movie houses owned by foreigners, movies became increasingly popularized. The stable supply of electricity through the River Power Plant, established in 1913, accelerated the greater accessibility of movies in the city. At this point, so-called civilized drama, an elementary style of modern drama, became popular and was frequently performed in theaters; at the same time, a new style of amusement hall called *youxichang* gained in popularity with the community. These newly emerged venues for various styles of attractions and performing arts became the main stage for movie exhibitions.

Simultaneously, the transition and diversion of movie exhibition venues brought about a change in spectatorship; in other words, drama and movie journalism set up particular discourses revealing how “modern” and “civilized” audiences were different from “traditional” audiences. At traditional drama theaters and teahouses—which had been the favorite venues

for movie exhibitions before the emergence of exclusive movie houses—“Usually, the people in the audience drank tea, cracked nuts, ate candies, talked with each other, and joked and laughed among themselves during the performance.”<sup>2</sup> Along with the emergence of exclusive movie houses, these attitudes of traditional theatergoers became problematic, especially with regard to managing movie spectators’ manners and the hygiene of the exhibition venues.<sup>3</sup> Moviegoing at *youxichang* was no exception. Though these novel amusement halls were gradually gaining popularity in Shanghai, they were also turning into a target of social criticism wherein they were accused of causing disruption in the social order. While some said that *youxichang* was the favorite venue for prostitutes and married people having secret love affairs, others spread the rumors that gave the amusement halls an immoral reputation.<sup>4</sup> The social criticism was also directed against the values in the exhibited films; among these, female nudity and cruel depictions of crime in detective movies were the main target.<sup>5</sup> Just after a murder case in 1920, one in which a white-collar worker killed a prostitute, many newspapers in Shanghai sensationally reported the case on a daily basis, with some of them pointing out that the murderer had been influenced by detective movies.<sup>6</sup> A year after the murder, China’s first full-length feature film, *Yan Ruisheng* (dir. Ren Pengnian, 1921), was based on the case; journalists maintained discourses according to which similar criminal cases were frequently portrayed, which resulted in the accusation that movies had a destructive influence on society.<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, what these discourses regarding movies implied was their apparent intention to identify two definite styles of movie sphere; movies in Shanghai were inseparable from “vulgarity” during the early decades, very different from later decades in which another sphere of movie culture had emerged. In fact, by the second and third decades of the twentieth century, the various activities of educational institutes and students tried to remove what were called “vulgar” elements from the context of movie exhibition.<sup>8</sup> Most of these activities were merely onetime events and were not perpetual; however, one exception was the Shanghai YMCA, which is this article’s focus. The Shanghai YMCA not only conducted periodic movie exhibition programs as, in their words, a “wholesome and healthful entertainment,”<sup>9</sup> it also clearly recognized the role of movies in social education; this organization played an unequivocal role in the cinema history of Shanghai.

Furthermore, the Association’s “wholesome and healthful” movie shows

promoted a new attitude toward movie spectatorship as well as its modernization in the same way as the movie journalism discourses. With this novel movie spectatorship, the popular attitude of moviegoers who took over that of the traditional theatergoers, such as "eating, drinking, chatting while laughing with each other, simultaneously watching and listening to drama performances,"<sup>10</sup> would shortly be challenged and so resulted in the modernization of traditional theaters. That is to say, the Association's movie exhibitions were intended to invent the "modern" movie sphere wherein "modern" spectatorship, definitely divided from that of traditional theatergoing, was exclusively conducted; through this the YMCA desired to be a part of social reform, which originated from the May Fourth Movement as well as the new cultural elites in the new era.

With regard to the relationship between the movies and the disruption of social orders, some governmental and police agencies tried to keep "unfavorable" situations under control; however, Shanghai's semicolonized and dividedly ruled political circumstances did not allow them to successfully do so. Instead of controlling them, some organizations began to authorize "favorable" movies and other visual aids that were considered positive and useful for social reform. Accordingly, these movements were synchronized with conservatism prevalent in the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. At this juncture, we can say that the movie reform conducted by the Shanghai YMCA was a different version of this global conservatism. With its claim to be "wholesome and healthful," regardless of the dubiousness of the slogan itself, the Association's movie exhibition venue was the first institute that renewed the experience of moviegoing, which later became the norm during the reform and gentrifying of commercial movie houses in the 1920s. In addition, the YMCA also created an advantageous condition for developing China's earliest film productions, which aimed at reforming society through movies; establishment of the Film Section of the Commercial Press was one of the most significant by-products of the Association's movie activities. Not only were several members of the Film Section of that company members of the YMCA,<sup>11</sup> the section's activities also took on the Association's principle of "wholesome and healthful" moviegoing.

Although the film exhibitions by the Shanghai YMCA had a broad influence on China's film history, the historical significance of the Association's role has not been paid much attention by scholarship. Therefore, this chapter will reevaluate the Shanghai YMCA's film exhibitions, with focus on the

Association's earliest film activities. Although some difficulties remain in terms of primary source materials, I will nevertheless envisage what these film exhibition activities were like, as well as their significance for China's early film history.

#### CULTURAL SALON OF NEW ELITES: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ROLE OF THE SHANGHAI YMCA

Shanghai became one of the most important commercial ports in China after the Opium War. The Bund, located running along the Huangpu River, which crossed the city vertically and divided it into east and west shores, was Shanghai's earliest developed area. Important administrative offices of the Municipal Council of International Settlement were located in this area, as well as skyscrapers of large-scale foreign and multinational firms, such as banks and trading companies. Northward from this area, the Garden Bridge was built across the Suzhou River and toward Hongkew, the opposite side of the Bund. In 1900, Robert E. Lewis, an American missionary, opened the Shanghai YMCA in Hongkew with the support of Cao Xuegeng. The early activities of the Association were simple and small-scale; the members held periodical meetings for prayer and gatherings for Bible readings at Lewis's home on Broadway Road (present-day Daming lu). When established, the Association was anxious that "Shanghai's culture and society was extravagant, which might wreck young men's morality"; hence the Association aimed "to plant three disciplines: the education of moral, intellectual, and physical discipline."<sup>12</sup> Although it had only thirty-five members just after establishment,<sup>13</sup> it grew rapidly when the meeting venue was transferred to the Bund; in 1902, membership reached more than 650.<sup>14</sup>

In 1907, the Shanghai YMCA moved its meeting venue to the Bund, No. 120 Sichuan Road. The building consisted of four floors with a modern design; there was a gymnasium with professional equipment at the ground level, and a reading room and library were located at the first level, where electric fans and cold drinks were provided to members during summer.<sup>15</sup> Members enjoyed the latest issues of magazines that many elites preferred to read, such as *Oriental Magazine*, *Women's Magazine*, and *Educational Magazine*, as well as *Science*, which was edited by the Chinese Association for Science, with the aim of expanding scientific knowledge among a broader range of readers.<sup>16</sup> The number of library visitors reached more than one

hundred.<sup>17</sup> Another feature at the second level was the large hall; located at the west side of the building, this hall was capable of hosting seven hundred people. The "Martyrs' Hall," named after the martyrs of the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the twentieth century, had a stage at the front and furnished theater seats imported from Grand Rapids, Michigan, a city famous for manufacturing furniture.<sup>18</sup> In 1915, the hall was also equipped with electric fans, so as to "keep the inside of the hall cool during the high-temperature season."<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the building ran a restaurant that provided both Chinese and Western cuisine, and had a modern stage where the members enjoyed performances of orchestras.<sup>20</sup> Overall, there seemed to be no question that the Association had great advantages in terms of its equipment and facilities compared to other educational and entertainment institutes.

Varied institutes for sports with brand-new equipment were another reason why many young people were attracted to the Shanghai YMCA. The Association offered not only a gymnasium and track field, but also a swimming pool—the first one in China—located inside the building and filled with warm water; the number of pool users reached more than twenty-seven thousand within one year of its opening.<sup>21</sup> Other examples that reinforce how attractive the Association was include its night school for education in various professions as well as its middle school, and its support for various types of education, including information about studying abroad. Its collective service regarding education increased the number of those that attended the Association. In 1918, addressing the increase in the number of automobiles, the Shanghai YMCA opened a driver's school; the Association had the good sense to take up such new opportunities. The YMCA building would be "easy to access" one could "conduct academic research, enjoy hobbies and entertainments, gentry hygiene and cultivation, and seek morals." The Association took pride in its uniqueness, as there were "no such clubs like ours."<sup>22</sup> The Shanghai YMCA's practice of carrying out modern recreation was, indeed, quite radical.

After the system of the imperial examination was abolished in China, a number of newly emerged elites, instead of the traditional literati, became the core of society in large cities in China, and Shanghai was no exception. These newly established elites displayed common characteristics that were particular to their strata: speaking good English, having a strong and healthy body, and being profoundly interested in improving society. The Shanghai YMCA was the right venue for them if they hoped to succeed in business as well as in self-actualization; indeed, it became a cultural salon for them. Many of those



that gathered at the venue did not have much interest in religion; for those who “wanted to learn English, and were interested in sports,” the Shanghai YMCA was “extraordinarily attractive.”<sup>23</sup> There seems to be no doubt that many of the big wheels in the political and commercial society of Shanghai were also the members of the Association. In addition, famous novelists, performers, and filmmakers joined the members’ list, one after another.<sup>24</sup>

Among the various activities, occasional entertainment meetings allowed people without membership to participate. It is worth noticing that the entertainment meetings included magic shows, modern drama, singing, and dances—which were typical favorite performances for students’ entertainment in that era—as well as speeches with magic lantern slides and movie exhibitions, that is, performances making use of modern media. The Shanghai YMCA recognized that such entertainment activities could supply, for its members and their families, opportunities to “enjoy the best sort of entertainment,” and believed that “music, storytelling, sleight-of-hand, the illustrated lecture, and the moving pictures are principal features of such entertainments.”<sup>25</sup> According to the Association, participating in its activities could not only improve social skills,<sup>26</sup> but also provide opportunities for the members to communicate with others of different ages and from different professions.<sup>27</sup> The members would get together at the Association beyond their traditional human networks, based on blood relationships and regional ties; in this modern sphere, members trained in modern learning and sociability, which was especially significant when considering the social role of the Association.<sup>28</sup> When entertainment meetings were initiated in the second decade of the twentieth century, the YMCA’s activities for improving and educating society had just been set up. Members who had learned how to be “free of the suspicion of self-interest and trained in pooling the energies of the middle class” through the Association, “the only place where all the guilds could meet on neutral ground,” were “in a unique position to bring together the scattered energies of different groups within the middle class,” and had unequivocal influence to conduct social reforms.<sup>29</sup>

#### “WHOLESOME AND HEALTHFUL” ENTERTAINMENT: MOVIE EXHIBITIONS BY THE SHANGHAI YMCA

As indicated in table 7.1, the Association ran three different styles of movie exhibition events during the 1910s; among these, movie exhibitions “(1) as

entertainment" and "(2) as visual aids for lectures (including utilizing lantern slides)" were the most prominent. It is notable that the aim of watching movies in this context was exclusively to create a "healthful" entertainment in order to improve society, while simultaneously strengthening members' chances of getting better occupations, which were novel attitudes for moviegoers. In the following sections, I will sketch the actual conditions of the Association's movie exhibitions as concretely as possible, while focusing especially on exhibition types (1) and (2), as previously mentioned.<sup>30</sup>

### *Movie Exhibitions as Entertainment*

The Shanghai YMCA had begun to show movies as early as in 1907. According to a newspaper article,<sup>31</sup> movie exhibition was at first a onetime activity, not periodic. Because of the lack of available historical materials, there are no remaining sources that tell us anything about the actual situation of the exhibition, which makes it difficult to conclude to what extent the Association recognized the significance of movies for society. However, along with the proliferation of movie exhibitions, which developed early in the second decade of the century, the occasions for entertaining and communicating with members had started. Grand Entertainment and Members' Entertainment were the favorite occasions. When they were set up in 1907, such entertaining and communicating activities were primarily regarded as occasions for cultivating individuals; among them, meetings for Bible reading were the most popular. However, the aim of these activities was soon changed, and entertainment became the highest priority, while drama, games, and magic became the favorite programs.<sup>32</sup> Movie exhibition was no exception, and became highly popular. Due to its members' needs, the Association set up periodic movie programs in 1913, which ran once a month, apart from the summer and winter vacations. Two years later, along with the increased frequency of Grand Entertainment, which now occurred once a week, the frequency of movie exhibitions also increased rapidly, and the times and dates of the exhibitions were regularized to every Saturday at eight o'clock.<sup>33</sup>

Compared with other commercial movie exhibitions, the Shanghai YMCA's periodic movie exhibitions were advantageous in terms of the ticket price, the capacity, and the equipment at the venue, as well as its way of selecting movies. The representative movie exhibition venues in Shanghai during the 1910s are shown in table 7.2, and it is quite obvious that the Association, as a movie house, offered ticket prices that rivaled those of com-

mercial movie houses, which offered the cheapest ticket prices.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the capacity of the Association's hall was in no way inferior to that of movie houses run by foreigners.<sup>35</sup> In the middle of the 1910s, the Association held its Grand Entertainment twenty-seven times a year, and almost three hundred members and related individuals, on average, took part in each of these meetings.<sup>36</sup> During this period, small and middle-scale movie houses held approximately four to five hundred seats. From these facts, it can be concluded that the Association's movie exhibition was inclusive and professional and that it was not inferior to commercial movie houses.

In its management of movie exhibitions, the Shanghai YMCA was superior to other movie houses. Utilizing ticket numbers for seats is one of many examples: the Association decided to sell tickets with seat numbers as early as in 1913, when it set up their once-a-month movie exhibition. Distributing commentary books or pamphlets is another good example. Although publishing such printed materials for audiences became more popular in the 1920s, the Association distributed these print media as early as 1914.

It is notable that the Association, unlike commercial movie houses, did not aim to earn a profit; in some cases exhibiting movies actually lost money.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the purpose of movie exhibitions was firmly set on advancing the Association's own principles. One important reason for the Association's movie exhibitions became popular was that many of the participants were newly emerged urban elites who spoke good English, had a substantial knowledge of commerce, science, and public health, and preferred physical training—that is to say, those who enjoyed the modern way of life and modern values. It can be said that the Association's principles of “wholesome and healthful” entertainment were welcomed widely by these urban elites.<sup>38</sup>

The wholesome fare that the Shanghai YMCA tried to offer can also be observed in the movies exhibited. Its principles for selecting movies appeared explicitly in magazine advertisement. The Association repeatedly stressed its way of “selecting academic and moral movies,”<sup>39</sup> offering a cheap price, but also supplying refined tastes that would be effective for both mind and body.<sup>40</sup> According to these sources, it is clear that the Association defined itself as utterly different from commercial movie houses.

Taking the above into consideration, one simple question arises: which films did the Association actually project? It is hard to specify the titles of the films that were screened, primarily because of the deficiency of historical source materials that indicate particular titles and other details about the movies that were exhibited, either in the Association's magazine or in

advertisement for the events. Even if some sources remain, in most cases they are written in Chinese characters, thus lacking the original movie titles. In spite of this, reliable sources show that the Association's principle for selection was that movies "not only . . . be interesting, but also . . . have good influences on both mind and soul." Films about industry, education, comedy, and science were preferred.<sup>41</sup> Although highly distinguished movies were limited, the Association generally preferred movies with stories. Despite the Shanghai YMCA's desire for highly cultivated movie selection, the Association also wanted to entertain its members and their companions, who were family members or friends in most cases, by simultaneously supplying opportunities for communicating with each other as part of the movie exhibition events.

Among the story films screened by the Association, serial short movies were favorites, as well as films based on history and literature. Many French films were selected until the middle of the 1910s: for example, *Les Misérables* (dir. Albert Capellani, 1912, shown in May 1913), probably *Zigomar* (dir. Victorin-Hippolyte Jasset, 1911) and its predecessors (screened in September 1913),<sup>42</sup> and the *Fantômas* series directed by Louis Feuillade (screened intermittently from March to November 1914). In addition, the Association started to show documentary films about World War I much earlier than commercial movie houses (titles are unknown, screened September 1914). After regular movie screenings were set up in 1917, American films constituted the main program for the events. Literary films, such as *Julius Caesar*, based on the Shakespeare's play (title unknown, screened in September 1916) became popular, as well as other story films, especially those concerning World War I. Detective movies also entertained members, including serial short movies like *The Strange Case of Mary Page* (dir. J. Charles Haydon, 1916; from this series, four titles were screened in March 1917), and *Graft* (dir. Richard Stanton, 1916, screened from April to June 1916), as well as full-length detective feature films, *For the Defense* (dir. Frank Reicher, 1916, screened in November 1916). Those movies, especially the presentation of full-length feature films, were very rare and had not been exhibited in commercial movie houses in Shanghai, which exclusively and repeatedly screened short serials.<sup>43</sup> Exhibiting full-length feature films was a significant characteristic of the Association's movie selection.

Documentaries and newsreels reporting current world trends were selected as frequently as story films. Among them, those about World War I were highly popular. Other specific films included private travelogues shot

on the occasion of members' trips abroad,<sup>44</sup> which in most cases were shot in the United States. An explicit, recurring trend of the movies selected by the Shanghai YMCA is that the Association recognized watching movies as pure recreation, rather than as a strictly academic activity. However, in regard to the attitude of the moviegoers, it was also significant that the members attending the movie exhibitions were more concentrated on the act of watching the movies than traditional theatergoers were, as they acquired new knowledge and enjoyed modern and intelligent recreation simultaneously by means of watching movies.

The reform of spaces for movie exhibition was another aim of the Shanghai YMCA's desire to provide "wholesome and healthful" entertainment. As previously mentioned, commercial movie houses in Shanghai in the 1910s were full of "vulgarity" and noise because of their unruly audiences. However, at the Association's movie exhibitions, "inside the venue there was neither noise nor smoking," and it was "quite orderly,"<sup>45</sup> because the audiences gathered, more or less, under the name of religious faith. Among the audience members were many interested in reforming society, and this kept away "immature" or "backward" audiences from a "modern" and "homogeneous" community.<sup>46</sup> In another words, the Shanghai YMCA tried to take going to the movies away from traditional theatergoing, and establish a space for modern movie exhibition in the context of modernization and the reform of society.

### *Movie and Lantern Slide Exhibitions as Visual Aids for Lectures*

As early as 1903, the Shanghai YMCA had already utilized magic lantern slides as visual aids for lectures, with satisfying results.<sup>47</sup> However, it was not until 1911 that the Association started showing magic lantern slides abundantly and periodically. That year, Clarence H. Robertson, a missionary who held a doctorate in engineering, set up a series of science lectures with some other colleagues that used a large number of magic lantern slides. Robertson's science series consisted of five lectures regarding scientific knowledge, which were offered seventy-eight times during the first four years, and the number of attendees for each lecture reached more than three hundred.<sup>48</sup> In 1913, they again organized another lantern slide lecture on public health, aiming to reduce the risk of infection that had been threatening Chinese society. This lantern slide lecture, again, was a great success, which led the Association to establish an exclusive section regarding developing, promoting, and even producing magic lantern slides that were particular to their own

purposes. For this reason, William Wesley Peter, who had formerly lived in Beijing as a medical missionary, was invited to the Shanghai YMCA to set up the Health Section under the jurisdiction of the Religious Department, which controlled the series of lectures. From that time on, the Association became more amenable to presentation of magic lantern slides, and later movies, as part of lecture series. In the second year after the establishment of this new section for lantern slide lectures, the Association began to produce its own lantern slides; under the direction of Peter, the lecture section designed, produced, and purchased visual aids for its lectures.

During the 1910s, other educational institutes, such as the Association for Social Education and the Society for Education in Kiangsu Province, took a great interest in lantern slides for pedagogical use and social reform. In 1914, a representative culture industry firm, Commercial Press, started selling magic lantern slides as visual aids for education, which satisfied the social demands for social education and reform. It is worth noting that, before the Commercial Press started selling sets of magic lantern slides, it held a premiere screening of them at the Shanghai YMCA.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the audience that gathered at the Association had reliable aesthetic views of modern visual culture and was capable of reviewing them.

It can be said that lectures with visual aids were "wholesome" entertainment that met the demand of the Association's principles. According to the Association's annual reports, the lectures were held once a week, every Wednesday night at eight o'clock, and each time 100 to 250 audience members participated.<sup>50</sup> After 1917, another lecture series was set up, intended for moral education; these attracted 80 to 100 attendees.<sup>51</sup> During the 1910s, lantern slides were still the core medium for these lectures, but they were gradually replaced by movies after the middle of the decade.

The titles of lectures that used visual aids can be seen in table 7.3. It is evident that the Association, apart from religious titles, most likely favored topics regarding social education and public health and those that provided better knowledge of industrial techniques.<sup>52</sup> Shortly after the arrival of movies in Shanghai, a reviewer noticed that movies could be very useful for spreading knowledge, especially regarding techniques from the field of medical studies.<sup>53</sup> However, the commercial movie spaces in Shanghai were filled with "vulgarity," as previously mentioned, which made it impossible for movies to take any responsibility for social education and reform. It was the Shanghai YMCA that uncovered the educational value of movies, which had been buried beneath the context of the traditional amusement, and

thereby offered many opportunities to enjoy the stimulating experiments in synergy between this modern visual medium and social education. Furthermore, the Association also eagerly supported E. D. Douty, a representative of the United States Conditioning and Testing Co., who visited the Association in order to develop the silk industry in the Far East and hold a lantern slide lecture in Shanghai (indicated in table 7.3) with the aim of improving industrial lectures.<sup>54</sup>

For improving industrial movies, the significance of the American consulate in Shanghai is unmistakable. Among the consulate's bureaucrats, Julian Arnold, a trade commissioner dispatched from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Commerce Department, played an important role in distributing American industrial movies. Having stayed in the Far East for many years, Arnold recognized the importance of movies for educational use.<sup>55</sup> World War I had just been declared, and the United States aimed to extract large profits from the Far East. At the end of 1918, the Consulate General of Shanghai held a large-scale industrial movie exhibition meeting with more than one thousand invited guests, including important politicians and influential persons from Shanghai's economic society.<sup>56</sup> Arnold was the guest of honor, which suggests that both the Shanghai Consulate General and the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce were aware of the significance of industrial movies in China.<sup>57</sup> The Shanghai YMCA and the Consulate General maintained a close relationship,<sup>58</sup> as the institutions shared common interests, even in the distributing of American industrial movies in China. From this point of view, it can also be said that the exhibition of industrial movies by the Shanghai YMCA promoted American interests against the Chinese movie market, and simultaneously created the foundation for American movies to be spread throughout China.

Throughout the 1910s, the relation between movies and education was strengthened; the Shanghai YMCA's movie exhibition activities contributed to this connection. Since the arrival of the May Fourth Movement, science and democracy had become the mainstay for China's establishment of modern culture, which involved a large number of intellectuals. In the middle of the 1910s, magazines about general interest and enlightenment of society, such as *Oriental Magazine* and *Women's Magazine*, set up columns that exclusively focused on science, aiming to spread the general and practical knowledge of science across a broader range of readers. In these science columns, academism was maintained to some extent; however, new scientific knowledge was also popularized so that ordinary readers could

grasp it. Movies were introduced in these columns as an application of modern technology, primarily emphasizing the system and construction of projecting techniques. Movies also became a favorite theme in *Science*, a famous magazine edited and published by the Chinese Association for Science, which had a tremendous influence on the development of science knowledge in China, and which suggested that movies were—contrary to commercial movie exhibitions in which movies were consumed as entertainment products—accepted by all as a new and advanced modern technology. Eventually, during the second decade of the twentieth century in Shanghai, movies found and established a strong connection with education; the Shanghai YMCA was certainly one of the catalysts that brought about this connection.

The Shanghai YMCA's educational and industrial usage of movies makes it apparent what role the Association played in advocating movie exhibitions; namely, it recognized movies as an intelligent entertainment and utilized them not purely for sensory stimuli, but also to dispense knowledge. Movies, therefore, broke away from the cultural customs of traditional entertainment and were established as a contemporary medium.

## CONCLUSION

The movie exhibition activities of the Shanghai YMCA seem to be erased from the history of Chinese cinema, primarily because of the anti-Christianity movement that reached its zenith in 1924 and the anti-imperialism that spread during the same era.<sup>59</sup> The improvement and development of commercial movie exhibition venues in the middle of the 1920s also eroded the advantages of the Association's film exhibitions: namely, their novelty and rarity.

Nevertheless, the Shanghai YMCA's movie exhibitions indeed demonstrated crucial influences. In particular, it cannot be ignored that the Association was well aware of the significance of utilizing movies as a visual tool for social education and proved this through its own operations. The direct and deep relationship between the YMCA and the Film Division of the Commercial Press, one of the earliest film producers in China, was significant. It was, according to the general discourse of Chinese film history, an American cinematographer traveling through China with his companions to shoot short movies in China who introduced a cinematographic camera to the



Commercial Press, inciting that company to produce movies. However, this was merely one of the motives for the firm to begin film production. Bao Qingjia, one of the important founders of the Film Division of the Commercial Press, was a member of the Shanghai YMCA and, when establishing the Division, he adhered to the same principles as the Association. The Association for Encouraging Good Will, a recreation group among workers at the Commercial Press, is a good example of how deeply the Film Division shared the Association's principles. Established in 1913 by a few workers, including Bao Qingjia, the Association for Encouraging Good Will declared that its goal was "educating good workers through the three principles of intellectual, moral, and physical discipline," and the Shanghai YMCA was the very venue of these activities.<sup>60</sup> Thus, the Film Division of the Commercial Press maintained close relations with the Association; the Division learned skills in producing magic lantern slides and movies from the Association, as well as how to develop various visual aids for social education.<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, the Shanghai YMCA strongly stressed the importance of improving movie exhibition venues and equipment. He Tingran was one of the enthusiastic members of the Association, who later became a representative entrepreneur of a movie house business in Shanghai, which maintained the principle of supplying "highly and purely cultivated" movies.<sup>62</sup> Graduated from St. John's University in 1916, He Tingran taught English at a school that was run by the Association, and also worked for Isis Theatre, the first movie house established by a Chinese. As the manager of this theater, He engaged

Table 7.1 Three Styles of Movie Exhibition by the Shanghai YMCA in the 1920s

| Style  | Organized by  | Aim of exhibition                | Frequency of exhibition           | Primary type of movie exhibited                                      |
|--|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. As entertainment  | Social Department (formerly Department of Friendship and Entertainment) | Entertainment                    | Once a week                       | Feature films (long length, serials)<br>Travelogues, newsreels, etc. |
| 2. As visual aid for lectures (including utilizing lantern slides) | Social Department / Religious Department                                | Entertainment / Social Education | Once or twice a week <sup>a</sup> | Industrial movies<br>Educational movies                              |
| 3. As other style  | Each related department   | Recreation                       | Irregular                         | Feature films<br>Newsreels, etc.                                     |

Source: Issues of *Shanghai qingnian* and *Shenbao*.

<sup>a</sup>Although lectures were given once or twice a week, not every lecture exhibited movies or slides.

Table 7.2. Movie Houses in Shanghai during the 1910s

| Type of exhibition venue                      |              | Name of venue   | Established in | Number of seats | Most expensive ticket                    | Least expensive ticket               |
|---|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| Commercial exhibition venue run by foreigners |              | Apollo          | 1910           | 700             | [1.5 yuan]                               | [1 yuan]                             |
|   |              | Embassy         | 1914           | 850             | [1.5 yuan]                               | [1 yuan]                             |
|   |              | New Helen       | 1913           | 500             | 0.3 yuan                                 | 0.1 yuan                             |
| Commercial exhibition houses                  | Movie houses | Isis            | 1917           | 1,000           | 0.5 yuan                                 | 0.1 yuan                             |
|   |              | Republic        | 1915           | 400             | 0.2 yuan                                 | 0.1 yuan                             |
| Commercial exhibition venues (run by Chinese) |              | Amusement halls | New World      | 1915            | [600]                                    | 0.3 yuan (admission fee)             |
|   |              |                 | Great World    | 1917            | [600]                                    | 0.2 yuan (admission fee)             |
| Non-commercial exhibition venues              |              | Shanghai YMCA   | 1900           | [800]           | 0.2 yuan (if not holding the membership) | 0.1 yuan (if holding the membership) |

Source: S. Cheng, ed., *China Cinema Year Book*. Numbers of seats in brackets are derived from C. J. North, *Chinese Motion Picture Market* (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1927); ticket prices from ads in *Shenbao* in January 1918; and prices in brackets from *Film Magazine* 1, no. 2.

Table 7.3. Lectures with Visual Aids at the Shanghai YMCA in 1917

| Date        | Subject  | Lecturer  | Type of visual aid       |
|-------------|--|---|--------------------------|
| March 28    | Brain health   | Yu Huangbin (medical doctor)                                      | Movie                    |
| April 8     | Rebirth and renewal  | Guo Bingjun (Commercial Press, the YMCA member)                   | Movie                    |
| June 27     | Education of blind children  | Fu Bulan (president of Shanghai school for the blind)             | Lantern slides and movie |
| July 6      | Advantages and disadvantages of usage of Chinese silk by American silk industry and Japanese methods for sericulture | D. E. Douty (United States Conditioning and Testing Co.)          | Movie                    |
| September 9 | Christianity can improve the society   | Feng Jianguang (minister)   | Movie                    |
| November 14 | Individual hygiene   | Hu Xuanming (alumnus of Johns Hopkins University, medical doctor) | Movie                    |
| December 28 | Methods of farming and agriculture   | Zhang Tiancai (alumnus of Cornell University)                     | Movie                    |

Source: Issues of *Shanghai qingnian* and *Shenbao*.

in various improvements and developments, which included programming loftier movies and improving movie pamphlets. In 1926, He became independent from Isis and established his own movie exhibition network, after which he dominated Shanghai's movie market, with the aim of modernizing movie exhibition circles, until he moved to Hong Kong after World War II. As a scholar of Chinese cinema history, Xiao Zhiwei, points out, "Movie house etiquette in China was developed deliberately and consciously by the modernizing elite in order to shift away from and provide a contrast to the traditional theater."<sup>63</sup> According to the arguments above, by using the term "elite," Xiao does not merely intend its surface meaning, but also includes merchants who sought profits as well as a loftier vision of social well-being. He Tingran is a typical example of such a newly emerged merchant. He maintained few documents that showed his principles or philosophy, as he was not an intellectual who expressed his ideas with words. However, some newspaper and magazine articles reported on his way of managing film theater companies, and clearly show that he shared the Association's principles for entertainment: namely, contributing to society by supplying "wholesome and healthful" movies.<sup>64</sup>

The Boy Scout Section of the Shanghai YMCA renovated the building in 1914 and opened a new garden on the roof; from this open-roof garden, the panoramic scenery of the entire city of Shanghai could be enjoyed. Especially at night, when the commercial neon signs of Great World, one of Shanghai's famous amusement halls, shone like stars, a large number of brilliant neon signs spread through the nightly scene.<sup>65</sup> During the 1910s, the open-roof garden was the primary venue for the Association's recreation events, during which a cool breeze outside the building could be enjoyed: members enjoyed their "wholesome and healthful" entertainment while watching the neon signs, symbols of the "vulgarity" of commercial entertainments. That venue emerged as the opposite of vulgarity, and contributed to the establishment of a new film culture in China. The attempt by the Shanghai YMCA to break from traditional theatergoing and construct a new way of viewing movies promoted more space for modern moviegoers.

## Notes

1. The original work on this chapter was published in *Japanese Journal of Image Arts and Sciences* 90 (2013): 41–56, while the Chinese version appeared in *Communication and Society* 29 (2014): 151–175. Each version was supported by Grants-in-Aid for Sci-

entific Research funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (21720129 and 25870929). In the English version, I have slightly adjusted the first section according to the reviewer's comments.

2. Zhiwei Xiao, "Movie House Etiquette Reform in Early-Twentieth-Century China," *Modern China* 32, no. 4 (2006): 516.

3. Ken, "Yingxi guanzhong zhi shijie" [Ten Prohibitions of Moviegoers], *Film Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1922): 202. Citation refers to the following reprint edition: Jiang Yasha, Jing Li, and Chen Zhanqi, eds., *Zhongguo zaoqi dianying huakan* [Chinese Early Movie Magazines], vol. 1 (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2004). This article appeared in one of the earliest movie magazines in China and itemized ten prohibitions that would improve people's manners in movie houses; these included refraining from "putting your legs under your front chair" and "speaking in loud voices that bother calmness and comfort," as well as recommendations "to put your hand on the seat when you stand up"; with respect to hygiene of the movie houses, it also prohibited "to bring food with hulls," "to wipe your snot on the surface of the chair," as well as "to smoke inside the auditorium, so as not to obscure the screen with smoke." Furthermore, some reminiscences regarding the early memories of movie houses in Shanghai, for example, Ana pointed out the loudness and bad manners at Hongkew Cinema and Victoria Cinema in the following article: "Shanghai dianyingyuan de jinxi" [Old and New Stories about Film Theaters in Shanghai: Part I], *Shenbao*, November 2, 1938, 13. As to the manners of moviegoers and improving the circumstances of movie houses, there were continued arguments among journalists until the middle of the 1930s. Among them, the most representative "bad" behavior was the following: "Inside a small or middle scale movie house, if there appeared a man and a woman kissing on the screen, the audiences get excited, shouting 'Good!' and whistling too enthusiastically, which makes me suffer a headache" ("Dianying zatan (er)" [A Sequel to Miscellaneous Impressions about Movies], *Shenbao*, January 14, 1925, 8).

4. Great World, a famous amusement hall, was one explicit example of the "immorality" of those venues, which "was full of prostitutes in such quantity that almost every guest could get one"; Nakagawa Yoichi, "Shina no eiga" [Movies in China], *Eiga jidai* (1926): 34. Great World was also notorious as a spot where many couples could meet in secret and enjoy adultery (Lubinsheng, "Jiating zhi heimu" [Gossips about Families], in *Zhongguo heimu daguan* [Collections of Gossips in China], the first issue of vol. 1 (Shanghai: Zhonghua tushu jicheng gongsi, 1918), 5-6.

5. For example, *Her Painted Hero* (dir. F. Richard Jones, 1915), exhibited at the Apollo Theatre in June 1918, was criticized by one person who accused it of containing a woman's nudity. The audience member wrote a letter and reported it to the Municipal Council of International Settlement, which conducted an investigation regarding the movie ("Viloudaki to Canning," June 5, 1918, U1-2-548. Shanghai Municipal Archives). With respect to the control "immoral" movies by the Shanghai Municipal Council, see Zhao Weiqing, *Shanghai gonggong zujie dianying shencha* (1927-1937) [The Film Cen-

sorship of the Shanghai International Settlement (1927–1937)] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2012), especially chapter 2.

6. “Maitian faxian nushi sizhi” [The Fourth Report on Finding a Woman’s Body in a Wheat Field], *Xinwenbao*, June 19, 1920, n.p.

7. In his reminiscences, the famous film director Cheng Bugao describes how many crimes of the era were influenced by American detective movies and how those criminals learned criminal techniques through such movies. Cheng Bugao, *Yingtan yijiu* [Reminiscences of the Film World] (Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 1983), 38–41.

8. The World Chinese Student’s Federation and the Society for Education in Kiangsu Province were the representatives.

9. Providing “wholesome and healthful entertainment” was the aim of the recreation meetings by the Shanghai YMCA (Shanghai YMCA, “Annual Report for 1917,” *Shanghai qingnian* 17, no. 11 (1918): 17).

10. Xu Jianxiong, *Jingju yu Shanghai dushi shehui (1867–1949)* [Peking Opera and the Urban Society in Shanghai] (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2012), 238.

11. The list of the Association’s members, including employees of the Commercial Press, appears in “Huiyuan timing” [List of Members], which was published in *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 31 (1917): n.p. *Shanghai qingnian* was edited in both Chinese and English by the Shanghai YMCA; because some of the early Chinese issues of the magazine were deficient in page numbers, I am unable to list some the page numbers of the sources from this magazine.

12. “Qingnianhui ershinian lai zhi xiaoshi” [A Short History of the YMCA’s Last Twenty Years], *Shenbao*, April 20, 1918.

13. Shanghai YMCA, “Benhui huiwu baogao jilue” [A Brief Report of the Association], *Shanghai qingnian* 18, no. 43 (1919): n.p.

14. Kenneth Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 586.

15. For the original literature, see the Shanghai YMCA’s report “Rizeng yuesheng” [Gradual Development], *Huiwu zazhi* 6, no. 18 (1908): n.p., the predecessor of *Shanghai qingnian*. Because of the difficulty in accessing the original source, I have referred to the phrases quoted in the following source: Zhang Zhiwei, *Jiduhua yu shisuhua de zhengzha: Shanghai jidujiao qingnianhui yanjiu 1900–1922* [The Struggle between Christianity and Secularization: Research on the Shanghai YMCA, 1900–1922] (Taipei: Taiwan daxue chubanshe, 2010), 192.

16. Shanghai YMCA, “Cangshushi tonggao” [An Announcement from the Library], *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 32 (1917): n.p.

17. Shanghai YMCA, “Qingnianhui cangshushi qishi” [Information from the YMCA Library], *Shanghai qingnian* 14, no. 15 (1915): 8.

18. Robert E. Lewis, *Search of Far Horizons* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2003), 100.

19. Shanghai YMCA, “Jiaoji bu” [Department of Friendship and Entertainment], *Shanghai qingnian* 14, no. 24 (1915): 6.

20. Regarding the equipment in the new building, see the following source: Robert E. Lewis, "Report of Robert E. Lewis, Shanghai, 1907," in *The Archives of the Young Men's Christian Association in China at the University of Minnesota Libraries: The Annual Reports 1896–1949*, ed. Chen Su, Dagmar Getz, and David Klaassen (Guilin, Guangxi: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012), 3:79.

21. Shanghai YMCA, "Annual Report for Year 1916," *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 8 (1917): 11.

22. Shanghai YMCA, "Qingnian julebu" [The Club of the Youth], *Huiwu zazhi* 6, no. 18 (1908): n.p. Due to the difficulty in accessing the primary source, I refer to the quotation in the following source: Zhang, *Jiduhua yu shisuhua de zhengzha*, 191.

Other magazine articles reported on the pride of the Shanghai YMCA in how modern its services were; the Association's building was equipped with new furniture and electronic fans and provided cold drinks as well as ice cream, which proved the Association was "not to be compared with other amusement open-roof gardens in Shanghai" (Shanghai YMCA, "Jiaoji bu," 6). Compared to the Carlton Hotel, one of the finest hotels in the city, the services and equipment of the Association were indeed in no way inferior.

23. Hiratsuka Yoshinori, *Hiratsuka Yoshinori chosaku shū II: Chūgoku kindai kyōikushi* [Selected Works by Hiratsuka Yoshinori II: The Modern History of Education in China] (Tokyo: Kyōiku kaihatsu kenkyūsyō, 1985), 142. Original work published 1942.

24. As to the relation between the Association and the politics and financial society in Shanghai, see Zhang, *Jidujiao yu shisuhua de zhengzha*, 157–172. With respect to its relation with Shanghai's film and arts circles, the following persons were members of the Association: Yuan Lüding, one of the directors of Star Motion Picture Company, Fang Shubo and Bian Shuying, both engaged in the management of Star Motion Picture Company; Bao Qingjia from the Film Division of the Commercial Press; Shi Shanyuan and Lu Jie, core members of the Film Association in China; Tang Jishan, a member of United Photoplay; He Tingran, the owner of a representative movie house chain in Shanghai, and Wang Dungen, a multitalented artist also known as journalist and drama critic.

25. Shanghai YMCA, "Annual Report for Year 1915," *Shanghai qingnian*, n.d.: 9.

26. Shanghai YMCA, "Annual Report for Year 1915."

27. Shanghai YMCA, "Minguo wunian ji yujiuyiliunian Shanghai jidujiao qingnianhui baogao" [Social Department, Annual Report for 1916 by the Shanghai YMCA], *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 8 (1917): n.p.

28. Several articles in the Association's magazine repeatedly stressed the importance of new communication between young men beyond their traditional ties (Shanghai YMCA, "Minguo wunian ji yujiuyiliunian Shanghai jidujiao qingnianhui baogao," 19; Hu Yongqi, "Qingnianhui yu qingnian zhi guanxi" [The Relation between the YMCA and Young Men], *Shanghai qingnian* 17, no. 1 (1918): n.p.)

29. Shirley S. Garret, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895–1926* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 127–128. According to Alain Corbin, recreational activities in the United States developed as self-training and self-

empowerment, rather than as entertainment during spare time in between work (Alain Corbin, dir., *Rejā no tanjō* [The Birth of Recreation], trans. Watanabe Kyōko (Tokyo: Hujjwara shoten, 2010), 13–14. Original work published as *L'avènement des loisirs, 1850–1960* (Paris: Aubier, 1995). Therefore, the Shanghai YMCA's recreational activities can be said to reify the principle of the American way of recreation.

30. Here I want to make a brief remark on the third type of movie exhibition run by the Association. This type was conducted primarily on the occasion of various religious activities, meetings for special events, as well as ceremonies arranged by the schools that were run by the Association. During religious activities, movies were often screened with a somewhat religious subject, although among the various movies exhibited on the other occasions, majorities were for entertainment purposes.

31. "Qingnianhui xuyan dianguang yingxi" [The Sequel Movie Exhibition by the YMCA], *Shenbao*, September 27, 1907, 19.

32. Zhang, *Jiduhua yu shisubua de zhengzha*, 199.

33. Shanghai YMCA, "Qing kan yingxi" [Watch the Movies], *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 48 (1917): n.p.

34. In other cases, showing a membership card instead of paying the admission fee was also popular.

35. Until the middle of the 1920s, the audience of the Carlton Theatre, Apollo Theatre, Embassy Theatre, and Isis Theatre, which exclusively exhibited European and American movies, were primarily foreigners and the upper-class Chinese, though most of those who preferred attending Hongkew Cinema, New Helen Theatre, Republic Theatre, Faguo Theatre, and Chapei Cinema were middle- and lower-class Chinese and children ("Dianying zatan" [Miscellaneous Impressions about Movies], *Shenbao*, January 13, 1925, 8).

36. According to annual reports published by the Association, the number of participants in Grand Entertainment in each year were as follows: in 1915, 33 occasions with 11,356 participants: in 1916, 23 occasions with 8,449 participants: in 1917, 22 occasions with 4,980 participants: in 1918, 32 occasions with 9,262 participants: in 1919, 24 occasions with 7,854 participants.

37. The activities provided by the Shanghai YMCA were mainly supported by membership fees, tuition at its attached schools, admission fees for the gymnasium, and donations; therefore, it can be said that the ticket fees for the Association's movie exhibitions were not for gaining profits. The report on its activities in 1919 indicates that the income of the Social Department, which managed various entertainment activities, remained at only 211.35 yuan, while its expenses exceeded 1,000 yuan (Shanghai YMCA, "Annual Report for Year 1919," *Shanghai qingnian* 19, no. 8 [1920]: 31–33). Although the YMCA's income was apparently deficient compared to its expenses, it sometimes did not dare to ask ticket fees, as aforementioned, which implies that the Association's movie exhibitions were not aimed at profits. Another point worth noting is that the rental fees for movie prints for the Association's activities were extraordinarily inexpensive. According to a newspaper report, the rental fee for each one thousand feet of newsreel,

produced by the Film Division of Commercial Press, was 180 to 190 yuan. The report also indicates that one thousand feet of a regular feature-length film was rented at 220 yuan, while *Flesh Soup* (*Xiaofu geng*, dir. Ren Pengnian, 1922), a longer feature film with eight reels, was rented at 2,000 yuan ("Shangwu yinshuguan suochu yingpian zhi tongji" [Statistics about the Movies Produced by Commercial Press], *Shenbao*, May 10, 1923, 17). On the other hand, the rental fees for movie prints exhibited at the Association in 1919 were only 266.38 yuan overall (Shanghai YMCA, "Annual Report for Year 1919," 33). Furthermore, the film prints were often forwarded from other YMCAs, in different areas, to the Shanghai YMCA, which suggests that the Association established its own network of film distribution in the area, which made it possible for the Association to provide such cheaply priced movie screenings. In the Chinese version of this article published in *Communication and Society*, the figures listed for the Social Division's income and expenses for film rental fees in 1919 contained typographical errors; the numbers presented in this English version are correct.

38. Zhang points out: "The reason Grand Entertainment gained such popularity was deeply related with the strong social demand for entertainments, as well as the deficiency of amusement venues during the 1910s" (*Jiduhua yu shisuhua de zhengzha*, 201).

39. "Qingnianhui jinwan zhi lequ" [Tonight's Entertainments at YMCA], *Shenbao*, April 13, 1918, 10.

40. Ad of the Shanghai YMCA, *Yingxi zazhi* 1, no. 2 (1922): 80. Reprint, Jiang, Jing, and Chen, *Zhongguo zaoqi dianying huakan*, 166.

41. Shanghai YMCA, "Qing kan yingxi."

42. The particular title of the series that was screened cannot be distinguished, as the newspaper advertisements for the movie exhibition only indicate the name of the protagonist, "Nieke wentuo zhentan an" [The detective cases of Nick Carter], and do not include the original title (ad for Shanghai YMCA movie exhibition, *Shenbao*, September 24–26, 1913).

43. With respect to the exhibition of foreign movies in Shanghai during this era, there have not been enough inclusive works; however, Qin Xiqing's "1920 niandai: minzu rentong yu Zhongguo zaoqi dianying de quel" [The 1920s: National Identity and Establishment of the Early Chinese Cinemas], (PhD diss., Film Art Research Center of China, 2006) provides an elemental but essential understanding of it.

44. Exhibiting travelogues shot by Tang Jishan, one of the founders of the China Photoplay Company, from his trip to the United States are one representative example of such movies. See "Qingnianhui jinwan zhi yingxi" [Tonight's Movies at the YMCA], *Shenbao*, April 20, 1918, 11.

45. Shanghai YMCA, "Tonglehui zhaochang kaihui" [Grand Entertainment Is Opening as Announced], *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 37 (1917): n.p.

46. The Association's tendency to establish its own institutes, instead of attending those of the local society, for avoiding "vulgarity" is also recognized in the case of the barber inside the Association's building. According to the Association's explanation, as the ordinary barbers in the city were much inferior in terms of hygiene and held no official



license, the Association uniquely opened its own barbershop for its members (Shanghai YMCA, “Qingnianhui lifachu” [The Barber of the YMCA], *Shanghai qingnian* 14, no. 15 (1915): 14).

47. Charles W. Harvey, “Annual Reports of Foreign Secretaries of the International Committee, October 1, 1902 to September 30, 1903,” in Su, Getz, and Klaassen, *Archives*, 2:164.

48. William Wesley Peter, “Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1914,” in Su, Getz and Klaassen, *Archives*, 7:192.

49. Ad for Commercial Press, *Xinwenbao*, January 11, 1914. Regarding the production of lantern slides by Commercial Press, Huang Dequan’s article (“Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan chuchuang huodong yingpian kao” [Study of Early Filmmaking by Commercial Press in Shanghai], *Contemporary Cinema* 170 (2010): 56–63) presents a predominant and significant study. However, while it can be determined at what particular time Commercial Press started to produce lantern slides by merely employing historical resources—including the diary of the founder of that company—these sources do not pay attention to why and how they started to do so in terms of their relationship with the Shanghai YMCA.

50. According to the annual reports of the Association, the numbers of lecture series held on every Wednesday night and their attendants were as follows: in 1916, they were held 23 times with 6,154 attendants; in 1917, 50 times with 5,167 attendants; in 1918, 52 times with 5,229 attendants; in 1919, 23 times with 5,140 attendants.

51. “Minguo qinian ji yiqian jiubai shiba nian Shanghai jidujiao qingnainhui baogao—deyu bu baogao” [Report of the Lecture Department, in the Annual Report for 1918 by Shanghai YMCA], *Shanghai qingnian* 18, no. 4 (1919): n.p.

52. Overall, the screening of travelogues was also popular in the series, with a few exceptions where movies were provided that were not related to the theme of the lectures.

53. An allegedly first report of watching movies in China, “Weichunyuan guanyingxi ji xuqiangao” [Sequel Article about Watching Movies in Weichunyuan], *Xinwenbao*, June 13, 1897, n.p., pointed out the effectiveness of utilizing movies for learning medical techniques and other practical skills.

54. E. A. Turner, “Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1917,” in Su, Getz, and Klaassen, *Archives*, 11:79.

55. Arnold believed that various types of educations were needed in China that went beyond classrooms; he suggested that various styles of media, including lecture meetings, printed media, and movies, would be helpful for education (“Shina to kinsei teki kōgyō (shita)” [The Sequel of New China, and Modern Commerce and Industry], *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, February 22, 1918, n.p.).

56. The industrial movie exhibition was held on December 18 of that year. The exhibition was held from 9:00 p.m. until 11:45 p.m., and consisted of the following titles: the first section projected *How to Manage Trades and Management of Retail Shops*, *How to Produce Glasses*, and *Short Comedy: The Lamb*, while the second section screened *The*

*Latest Way to Manufacture Watches, The Process of Producing Exquisite Crafts, and Short Comedy: Revealing That Man's Ghost* ("Guan Meiguo shiye yingpian ji" [A Record of Watching American Industrial Movies], *Shenbao*, December 19, 1918, 10).

57. See "Guan Meiguo shiye yingpian ji." Other guests at the exhibition included Zhu Baosan and Lao Jingxiu from financial society in Shanghai; and Ge Gongzhen, Zhao Zhonghui, and Zhu Shaobing from the journalist community. There were also representative individuals from famous foreign firms and institutes, such as Standard-Vacuum Oil Co., Steiner & Co. Representatives from the educational society also participated, which included G. A. Fitch and Li Qifan from the Shanghai YMCA, Zhu Youyu and Naodeng (allegedly the name of a foreign teacher) from Saint John's University, as well as Kuang Fuzhuo and Jiang Menglin from the Commercial Press.

58. Zhang, *Jiduhua yu shisuhua de zhengzha*, 159.

59. About the influence of the anti-Christianity movement against the Association, see Zhang, *Jiduhua yu shisuhua de zhengzha*, 382–389.

60. "Gongjie qingnianhui zhi chengji" [The Activities of the Young Men Association in the Laborers' Society], *Shenbao*, September 15, 1914, 10.

61. For example, just after the Shanghai YMCA set up its lecture series with lantern slides, it imported slides from the United States. Later, when the Association decided to produce its own original slides, it entrusted the production to the Commercial Press (G. H. Cole, "Annual Report for the Year Ending September 30, 1914," in Su, Getz, and Klaassen, *Archives*, 7:170). Another example shows the deep relation between these two institutes; when the Film Division of the Commercial Press was shooting one of its earliest newsreels, *The Fifth Athletic Meeting in Far East*, W. W. Peter, a significant person who managed the visual aids of the Association, supervised the filmmaking ("Shangwu yinshuguan huodongbu jinkuang" [The Recent Situation of the Film Division of Commercial Press], *Shenbao*, June 11, 1921, 11).

62. "Beijing daxiyuan kaimu guanggao" [Ad for the Opening of the Peking Theatre], *Shenbao*, November 7, 1926, 1.

63. Xiao, "Movie House Etiquette Reform," 515.

64. The Shanghai Amusement Company, a film theater company run by He Tingran, had several directors that were simultaneously members of the Association. Regarding this issue, see Yoshino Sugawara, "Beyond the Boundary between China and the West: Changing Identities of Foreign-Registered Film Theatre Companies in Republican Shanghai," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 9, no. 1 (2015): 23–41.

65. Shanghai YMCA, "Jiaoyi dahui zhi sheng" [The Success of the Member's Entertainment], *Shanghai qingnian* 16, no. 27 (1917): n.p. The open-roof night gardens where people could enjoy eating and drinking among various attractions gained popularity just after the start of stable electricity distribution in 1913. Identical to the case of the barber aforementioned in this chapter, the Association's summer entertainment on the roof garden of its own building provided a "healthful" night garden, without "vulgarity."