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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE URBAN GEOGRAPHY OF NANKING

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Journal of the Geographical Society of China

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1. A Preliminary Study on the Urban Geography of Nanking (p. 39)

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Introduction

A metropolis being the highest form of the result of human effort on the earth it is necessary that geographers should give it added and detailed study. Nanking is one of eight metropolises in China with population of over a million each; it has been the capital of the country on and off during six dynasties for a combined total of 117 years, and occupies a unique position politically, economically and culturally. It is natural that such an important city should receive our attention.

This article is only an elementary study of the geography of Nanking based on statistics gained from various types of research conducted prior to the spring of 1950 aided by practical work by the authors between Sept. '49 and June '50. After touching briefly on the geographical background and historical development of the city, its structure and function are described and explained, and then finally, by gathering together the various factors, an opinion is offered regarding the construction of a new Nanking. The whole contribution is limited by the superficial scholarship of the writers, the temporary nature of the practical work they put in, their lack of materials of all kinds, and the many places where there have been mistakes and carelessness. e.g. An intimate connection between the city and the suburbs at Hsia-kuan, P'u-k'ou outside the Shui-hsi Gate and outside the Chung-hua Gate has grown up, but has not received adequate treatment here; and again, materials have not been obtained for a detailed comparative study of the rapid renewing of all social phenomena in the post-liberation city, where the business of reconstruction is bringing constant changes. Corrections from students of all groups will be welcomed and forbearance is asked until deficiencies and alterations are effected.

I. Geographical Background

(1) Location (Chart I) Nanking is situated 32°3' North lat., 118°47' east long., it has 14 hrs. 10 mins. of daylight at mid-summer and 9 hrs. 50 mins. at midwinter; clocks are 8 hrs. ahead of G.M.T. To the west and north winds the Yangtze, China's premier river; Hankow, starting point for ocean-going shipping, lies 730 Km. upstream, while P'ing-shan, which marks the beginning of boat transport on the river, is 2130 Km distant. (T.N. About 101°4'E long.) 380 Km. downstream is Woosung, where the river meets the Pacific, the world's largest ocean. Below Nanking city there is the flow of the diurnal tides so that steamers of up to 40 ft. draft have no difficulty in travelling up and down. Hence Nanking is fortunate in its location as regards both sea and land; among China's capitals of the past it is the one best qualified to be regarded as the "Maritime Capital". (Chart I. inserted here)

At Wuhu, Nanking and near Chinkiang is the last of the hilly areas that the Yangtze passes through; this marks the beginning of the delta and is also the place to which the great W. China plain, the large lake district of the central Yangtze, and the delta converge. The main roads that from ancient times have skirted

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the eastern end of the Ch'in-ling Mts. or have been connecting links between N and S here meet the E-W waterway of the Yangtze. The reason for Nanking having taken precedence over Wuhu and Chinkiang seems to lie in the following geographical advantages it possesses:-

- (1) The Yangtze, which flows towards the N.E. after passing Wuhu, suddenly turns near Nanking first towards the east and then south-east, forming an arc the convex side of which is to the north; this is the nearest point on its course to the large cities of the N. China plain. When the N-S railway line was first constructed in 1911, the termini were Tientsin and Pukow, only 1014 Km apart.
- (2) The river narrows to about 1100 metres between Pukow and Hsia-kuan, a distance which can easily be rowed across and narrower than at either Wuhu or Chinkiang.
- (3) The many streams and lakes and hills in the vicinity of Nanking, the natural defensive barrier of the Yangtze, where, as the saying goes, "Dragons coil among the mountains and tigers lurk among the rocks" combine to make it suitable as a military and political centre of China.

At the present time Peking has been restored to its place as the political centre of China, and a great wave of large-scale ree construction is sweeping across the N and the NE, but the Yangtze delta has not lost its position as one of the economic centres of the country; and while we may call the N-S lines (Peking - Tientsin - Pukow, Nanking - Shang-hai - Hangchow) the main arteries which at the moment connect up the political and economic centres of China, yet the water transport of the Yangtze, stretching E-W for over 2000 Km, may be called the economic vein of our country. The fact that Nanking is situated at the point where these two great thoroughfares meet is one of the basic reasons why it will continue to maintain its position as a great metropolis.

2. Climate (Chart 2. Note I) Most places in China lie within the monsoon region, and Nanking is no exception. The dry, cold continental monsoon, inclined towards the north, prevails from October to March. Mean barometric pressure for January, 765.6 mm., is the highest for the year, while the rainfall for the same month, 37.9 mm., is the second lowest for the year (the lowest being 36.3 mm. for December); during the colder months, the monthly barometric readings are higher than the mean annual pressure of 756.5 mm., and the six-months' rainfall of 268.7 mm. is only 27.5% of the annual total (977.6 mm.). From April to the first ten days of June the warm, moist south-east monsoon from the ocean gradually strengthens, but the force of the land monsoon is still great, and as a result of the interaction of the two, crowds of (?) "spearhead surfaces" are produced forming the irresponsible April showers. Heavy rains accompany the period of heat from the middle of June to the middle of July (these are called "Plum Rains"). The mean barometric pressure for July, 747.1 mm., is the lowest for the year, while the rainfall, 182.6 mm., is the highest monthly total. From mid-July to early September the monsoon from the sea has no rival and the rain slackens though storms are more numerous because of the influence of typhoons. (Chart 2 inserted here). After early September the NE wind obtains the mastery once more, the period of interaction being very temporary, and then the cold weather conditions come into force again.

Although Nanking is in the temperate zone and not far from the sea, yet the great changes from cold to heat are characteristic of its climate, the continental character of which is more apparent

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than at places of equal latitude such as Shanghai and Chungking. The mean annual temperature is 15.5°C; the January minimum averages 2.2°C and the July maximum 27.7°C, so that the annual variation reaches 25.5°C. The highest and lowest recorded temperatures are 43°C (13/7/1931) and 13.6°C (27/1/1933) resp. April temperatures (aver. 17.5°C) are slightly lower than for October (aver. 17.2°C), the compensating influence of the ocean being trifling. Nov. 7th is the average date of the first frosts, Mar. 20th that of the last frosts, the frostless period being thus 233 days.

By K'io-pen's classification Nanking has a temperate, moist climate (Cfa). Reckoning spring and autumn as those periods when mean temperatures of five-day groups lie between 10° and 22°C, summer as the period when these are higher than 22°C, and winter as the period when they fall below 10°C, then in Nanking spring begins on Mar. 17th and totals 65 days (10 days longer than in Peking); summer begins on May 21st and totals 125 days (20 days longer than Peking); autumn begins on Sept. 23rd and totals 65 days (20 longer than Peking); and winter begins on Nov. 27th and totals 110 days (50 days shorter than Peking). The spring is marked by much wind and rain; the humidity of summer is oppressive; in winter the north winds are cold and raw; the autumn is the best, with fine days and crisp air.

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(3) Topography and Hydrography. The district near Nanking is one of low hills. Chung-shan, the highest (212 metres altitude) has the form of an overturned boat, and rises 100 metres above the surrounding alluvial plain; from the olden times it has been called the key to Nanking. Looking westward from the observatory on the western extremity of the ridge (the site of the former T'ien-pao-cheng), the city with its surrounding river, lakes and hills is spread out at one's feet. The hills immediately to the north of Chung-shan are all of approximately the same height, 200 metres, (?), the lower slopes falling in steps to 40-60 metres, and consisting of loess of the 'Hsia-shu' system, making a confused pattern with the alluvial flats of the low places and forming an undulating surface. Amongst the many low hills (? mounds) near Yu-hua-t'ai, south of Chung-shan, is the valley of the Ch'in-huai-ho, lower than 40 metres in altitude, where the cultivated fields lie over against one another, and here and there the point of a Huang-t'u (or loess) hill breaks the monotony of the surface. The low-lying damp plain to the west of the city was originally the course of the Yangtze River; it has gradually formed by siltin since the end of the Southern T'ang dynasty.

Within the city the ground is mostly an alluvial plain, approximately 15 metres above sea-level, built up in recent times; it forms part of the Yangtze and Ch'in-huai river flats. The hills Fu-kuei, Fu-chou and Pei-chi-ko (where the NE section of the city adjoins Chung-shan) look like small replicas of Chung-shan in appearance; they have altitudes of 50 to 70 metres. There is a relatively extensive hilly area west of the Drum Tower, from Shih-tzu-shan (Lion Hill), passing Ch'ing-liang-shan, Wu-t'ai-shan and Ch'ao-t'ien-kung to Feng-t'ai-shan; the altitudes of these vary between 40 and 60 metres, appearances vary too; slopes are gentle, and most are covered with 'Hsia-shu' loess, their structure and height resembling that of the low hills near Yu-hua-t'ai south of the city. Under the loess in the Ch'ing-liang-shan district there is an outcrop of Pukow strata of red conglomerate, Tertiary period, which provides building material in an area where not much is found; for this reason Ch'ing-liang-shan used to be called Stone Hill. At Yu-hua-t'ai and the neighbouring hills there are beds of Yu-hua

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t'ai pebbles between the late tite (?loess) and Fukow strata; the stones being smooth and clean give much enjoyment. (T.N. Altitude figures given are all "above sea level").

The Yangtze after flowing NE from Wuhu enters the Nanking metropolitan area at Ta-sheng-kuan where it meets the Yun-liang-ho (Ridget Canal); still flowing NE it receives the water of a branch of the Ch'in-huai-ho at Pei-ho-k'ou, near which are the water works - water is led from here to storage tanks on Ch'ing-liang-shan from which the whole city is supplied. Chiang-hsin-chou (Mid-river Island), 26.3 sq. Km. in area, stretches from Ta-sheng-kuan to a point off Pei-ho-k'ou, and is separated from the south bank of the Chia-chiang, 400 metres wide, a place of concourse for launches and timber rafts, the main river being very wide and used by large vessels. The main Ch'in-huai current enters the Yangtze at Hsia-kuan ('Down-river Customs'); here because of the nature of the terrain the surface of the Yangtze suddenly narrows, the current is deflected to the east, flows past Yen-tzu-chi and Hui-chih-tu, and crosses the boundary of the metropolitan area again at Wu-lung-shan. Pa-kua-chou (an island or sand bank), 57.7 sq. Km. in area, stretches from Hsia-kuan to the foot of Wu-lung-shan, the Chia-chiang or branch separating it from Nanking serving as an anchorage for fishing and freight junks, steam-boats using the outside channel. The depth of the river within the metropolitan area would be from 15 to 50 metres and the width generally over 1500 metres; when the water is held back by the tides during the summer freshets the water level rises a little and the speed of the current is 2 to 3 knots: at times of high tide during the winter low water the water level rises 0.6 to 1.2 metres and the current is reversed for an hour or an hour and a half daily - the speed is reduced to 2 knots. At flood times inundation troubles at Chiang-hsin-chou, Pa-kua-chou and Hsia-kuan, with that whole low-lying region, are unavoidable.

The northern and southern sources of the Ch'in-huai-ho are in Chu-yung and Li-shui (counties) respectively; they join by the southern foothills of Chung-shan, and after flowing north the stream enters the metropolitan area at Shung-fang-men and thence to a point outside Chung-chi-men where it receives the clear waters of the city moat and divides into two parts. The outside branch, the Hu-ch'ing-ho, goes around the SE, S and SW of the city; the inside branch enters the city at T'ung-shui-kuan, joins up with the Yang-wu moat, the small Ch'ing-yeh canal, and the emerges on the west at the Chia-shi-men, and re-uniting with the outside branch follows around the city wall to the north until it enters the Yangtze. The main Ch'in-huai stream is about 51 Km. long; its western shore is the principal plain in the vicinity of Nanking, the river bed in its upper section is from 15 to 30 metres wide and in its lower section reaches a maximum of 70-odd metres; the depth of water in the summer is 3 metres (upper) 7 metres (lower), and launch traffic is possible as far as Li-shui. The inner branch of the Ch'in-huai with the city canals mentioned has been the centre for cultural activities in the city since the time of the six dynasties; now through the silting up that occurs year by year the bed of this branch is over 2 metres higher than that of the outer branch, and it is only during the summer and autumn that small junks can be forced through, while the canals dug by past generations are almost completely stopped up and only a few malodorous drains remain.

The main lakes near Nanking are the Hsuan-wu-hu on the east and the Mo-ch'ou-hu on the west, both probably oxbow lakes ('billabongs') left after changes in the course of the Yangtze. The former is about 12 Km. in circumference and ordinarily the water is 0.5 to 1 metre in depth; there are five islands; on the east it receives the water from the NW slopes of Chung-shan, and at Ch'ing-ch'i on the SW its waters are led off into the

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Ch'in-huai-ho. At the time of the six dynastiesthe Lake was connected with the Yangtze via Lion Hill and was used as a place for naval exercises; it was therefore a dangerous spot in times of trouble and the connecting channel with the river is now blocked up, and its military use has decreased. It has been changed into a public park since the close of the Ch'ing dynasty, lotus and water-chestnuts have been planted profusely, and the surroundings are now noted for the beauty of the scenery. The Mo-ch'ou-hu is about 2 Km. in circumference; Ch'ing-liang Hill is a little distance off, and there are many other lakes nearby; It has also been opened now as a park.

(2) Agricultural Division, or Use of the Land. Land utilisation near Nanking is complex, but the chief distinction of the whole is that between urban and rural use. In the city area the buildings are packed tightly together with a network of roads among them. It is the centre of political, commercial, cultural and other activities which are not engaged in agricultural production; that it influences, and is influenced by, the suburban area in which farming is central, is very evident, and there is a mutual inter-flow of goods. Apart from the city itself there are many market towns in the metropolitan district most of which are situated on the lines of land or water communication; e.g. Ch'a-lu-k'ou and Shan-fang-men in the valley of the Ch'in-huai-ho, T'iang-shan and Hsiao-ling-wei are among the hills of the eastern section, Ta-sheng-kuan, Hsi-shan-ch'iao, Shang-hsin-ho, Hsia-kuan, P'u-k'ou and Yen-tzu-chi are along the bank of the Yangtze. The relationship of these to the rural villages around is similar to that of Nanking on a small scale.

Farmlands within the metropolitan district are not extensive 1936 figures gave only 150,319 Mou, 21.5% of the total area. Of this, 124,500 Mou were paddy fields, 25,819 Mou were dry. (T.N. Figures are given). 20,000 Mou of paddy and 14,100 Mou of dry fields in the T'iang-shan area have not been included. Two grain crops a year are possible. The chief summer crop is rice, maize and soya beans being next; the chief winter crop is wheat, with subsidiary crops of barley and various types of beans. Immediately around the city and about Hsiao-ling-wei (T.N. This is about 3 Km outside Chung-shan-men on the main road to the east) the cultivation is mostly of vegetables and fruits. Agricultural produce of the metropolitan area is far from sufficient for its needs.

Concentration of farming in China is limited to the level ground (sic); the cultivation of the mountain slopes is very rude, and on the hills about Nanking there are few farms at an altitude of over 40 metres. The original woods of pine and deciduous trees have been almost completely cut down, and everywhere one looks, above the 40 metre line, one sees nothing but wild grass and bare hills, a circumstance wasteful as regards production, and giving rise to soil erosion. Quite a large area of the metropolis is taken up by the graves seen everywhere and by the mud and sand on both banks of the Yangtze. Recently the opening of waste land has been encouraged by the government and afforestation has been carried out at Yu-hua-t'ai and Purple Mt., a fine beginning to the reconstruction of a new age.

The total water surface in the metropolitan district is large - this may be regarded as another way in which the land is made use of, for the Ch'in-huai-ho and the Yangtze are communication arteries, and, besides, the latter is the source of the city's water supply. The Yangtze fishing industry, centred on Yen-tzu-chi, supplies a part of the fish consumed by the city's inhabitants, and there are countless pools in the area from which water is drawn off for domestic use or irrigation, and which serve in the breeding of fish, geese and ducks. The larger lakes

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are noted for the production of lotus roots, water-chestnuts and 'chiao-ts'ai'.

(5) Population (Chart 3 inserted here.)

At the time of the founding of the Republic in 1912 the population of Nanking metropolitan district was only 269,000 persons; nor was it more than 260,000 in 1927. It was after this, when the KMT government made it their capital, that the numbers began to increase and by 1935 the million mark was reached. With the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war in 1937, and the fall of Nanking, there was a sudden decrease, and the number in 1938 was 440,000 and not more than 650,000 at the conclusion of the struggle in 1945. With the return of the government to the city there was a large increase, the figure passing a million again in 1946, and in June, 1948, there were 1,230,000 inhabitants, the population having almost doubled in 2½ years. This is the highest recorded figure in the history of the city. (See Chart 3 and Note 2). The number had fallen slightly when the city was liberated in April 1949. In March, just before liberation, the populace numbered 1,142,441, of which 746,849 resided inside the city; at the end of June the number was reduced to 969,685, i.e. 172,756 less. It was in the city itself that the greatest difference was shown, viz. 142,266 or 82.3% of the total loss. The decrease was particularly noticeable in the newly built areas, No. 1 ward (East) and No. 6 ward (North). (Chart 4 inserted here)

Statistics of the Public Security Police office for mid-December 1949, show that residents in the metropolitan district then totalled 985,827 persons, an average of 17,812 per sq. Km. The number for city and suburbs was 587,554 or 59.6% of the above figure, the distribution of the population by wards being as shown in the following table: (See Note 3)

Ward	Area (Sq.Km.)	Population	Density (Persons/Sq.Km.)
1	10.06	113,274	8,673.3
2	2.90	31,202	31,448.9
3	2.18	67,248	29,012.8
4	2.17	68,601	39,908.3
5	6.46	130,409	20,181.8
6	13.36	102,790	7,693.3

From this table it is seen that the population is densest in the three southern wards of the city, Nos. 4, 2 and 3, and is the least dense in the northern, No. 6, and eastern, No. 1, wards. (See Chart 5). The south of the city is the site of ancient Nanking, and the population centre remained there even when the area was enlarged through an increase of numbers at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. With the extension and ease of communications in recent times the region of Hsia-kuan and Hsin-chieh-k'ou outside the city has gradually assumed importance, and the centre of population in the city has tended to move towards the north. Still, this centre was still at a point 200 metres SE of Hsin-chieh-k'ou in Dec. 1949 (See Note 4); this is about 2 Km. away from the geographical centre of the city, Drum Tower Hill, which lies towards the north.

(Chart 5 inserted here.)

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II. Historical Development.

(T.N. Sections previous to 1949 on pp.47,8,9 untranslated not being required for present study.)

(7) Since liberation. This took place in April, 1949, and during the past 3 years the government has put much effort into making changes designed to transform Nanking into a productive city. That these have been effective can be seen already, but since it is always hard to undo what has slowly grown up over a period, a number of unavoidable difficulties has, naturally, been encountered during the changing over process. Still the construction of a new Nanking will hardly be delayed by them.

(8) From a comprehensive survey of its historical development it is seen that Nanking's main function has been as a military and political centre of gravity for the middle and lower Yangtze; and at times when the country has tended to split up, this city has been the capital of the region. On two occasions also (at the beginning of the MING dynasty and during KMT times, 69 years altogether) when the country was unified, Nanking has been the national capital, the reason being that the unifying power originated in the South. So that the rise and decline of Nanking has always been dependent on the relative importance of the area south of the CH'IN-LING to the whole country. In olden days when the nation's centre was in the Yellow R. area, as during the HAN dynasty when the ratio of the populations of N. and S. China was 3.5 : 1, Nanking had no special standing; during the Later HAN dynasty this ratio fell to 1.5 : 1, and later, at the opening of the Six Dynasties, Nanking first came into prominence as a great city. By the end of the Epoch of the Five Dynasties (960 A.D.) South China had become the repository of the whole nation's wealth, and during the SUNG dynasty the population there for the first time exceeded that of the North; Nanking was then certainly set up as the national capital. With the change of maritime communications, the state of our country's development has evolved to the place where both land and sea are equally important, and since Nanking certainly has the qualification for a 'Maritime Capital', its future is naturally one of great hope.

III. Structure. (See Chart 7.)

(1) The form of the metropolis. City and suburbs have an area of 41.12 sq.Km., or 13.6% of the total metropolitan district; the shape is irregular, an unusual thing among the older cities which have come down from the feudal period. The narrowest E - W measurement (from HSUAN-WU-HU to TS'AO-CHIANG-MEN) is only about 3.5 Km; the longest N - S measurement (from YU-HUA-MEN to the northern base of Lion Hill) is 10.5 Km; the wall winds for 30.5 Km, and it is difficult to record fully all its ins and outs, the shape being influenced largely by local terrain. The south of the city on three sides is close to the CH'IN-HUAI-HO, which has been relied upon for defence since early times, and no alterations in the defence line were considered necessary when the city wall was built in the MING dynasty. There has been great expansion to the N and E; the two hills FU-KUEI-SHAN and FU-CHOU-SHAN are included in the city to the N.E., and nearby the two parts of HSUAN-WU-HU, lying outside, are a natural protection. On the western side, in order to keep the city boundary close to the CH'IN-HUAI main stream the CH'ING-LIANG and WU-T'AI hills have been taken inside; in the N.W. there is a corner which juts out like a horn so that SHIH-TZU-SHAN (Lion Hill) can be included - such regard to the situation of the hills and water was most suitable for the defence of the city in ancient times.

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There are now 13 gateways to the city; the Drum Tower is within comparatively easy reach of each one, and so, with a little accommodation of speech, it can be said to be the geographical centre of the city. The centre of activity is about HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU, which is the cross-roads where the N,E and S branches of CHUNG-SHAN Rd. and HAN-CHUNG Rd. meet, and the point to which old and new Nanking converge. Southwards, in the area west of the Nanking city railway (NING-SHIE T'IEH-FU), and especially along the banks of the inner branch of the CH'IN-HUAI-RO, the houses are crowded together, the streets are narrow and wet, and apart from a few broad modern streets which have been built, it is still an old-fashioned business and tenement district. To the north and east of HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU more modern development has taken place, particularly about CHUNG-SHAN Rd.; the streets and buildings are tidier and cleaner than in the south of the city, only most of the buildings follow the course of the road in a ribbon-development and spot-development manner, and there are many public buildings, gardens, parks and spare plots, the unsavoury heritage of the KMT regime, out of harmony with their surroundings and confusedly mixed with vegetable gardens. This jumble of Chinese and foreign ancient and modern remains shamelessly as Nanking's main feature.

(2) Pattern of land-utilisation in city and suburbs.
According to 1947 figures of the Nanking metropolitan government, the use and distribution of land in the six city wards and the HSIA-KUAN district was as shown in the following table:-
(Chart 7 inserted here:)

Use	Area (Sq.Km.)	% of total	Remarks
Military	7.781	15.72	Includes restricted building area
Government	4.037	8.15	Includes Central Govt. sites, and places for public and administrative use.
Cultural and Educational	3.001	6.06	Includes charitable and welfare organisations.
Commercial	0.564	1.13	Includes living quarters attached to business establishments
Industrial	0.75	1.19	Includes public utilities.
Communications	4.05	8.12	Includes airfield, railways, wharves, godowns, and road open to vehicular traffic.
Residential	13.887	26.03	Includes villas, living quarters for government servants and other groups, ordinary houses and booths.
Parks & gardens	0.185	0.37	Includes arenas and sports grounds.
Vacant	16.445	33.23	Ponds, and sites reserved by government and other groups, not included here.
Total	48.498	100.00	

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Chronologically, Nanking developed as a capital city earlier than Peking, but the latter has been the national capital almost continuously ever since the CHIN and YUAN dynasties (i.e. about the 13th century), while the former has risen and fallen, and has been cruelly ravaged by war a number of times; so that now there is very little vacant land in Peking city, whereas in Nanking it is still about one third of the total in spite of the way the KMT spread out and embellished the city, and the rapidity with which buildings sprang up in the N and E sections. It is evident that Nanking has not yet reached to full maturity. Because of the recent loss of its position as capital very many of its buildings have fallen into a state of neglect, and there is the appearance, as one might say, of temporary senile decay. In addition to the above, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the area is residential, while another $\frac{1}{4}$ is used for military and governmental purposes, but only 1.12% for commerce and 1.19% for industry. This seems proof enough that Nanking is basically a political and consuming metropolis. (T.N. 'Consuming' as opposed to 'producing'.)

The distribution of the different types of land usage is involved (lit. 'interlock like dogs' teeth); they are not as clearly marked off as in European and American cities. Generally speaking the main business district is at the centre of the city; a short distance off are the wholesale trade, the smaller light industries, and Class 2 & 3 residences; a little further off are the better class homes and cultural, educational and public buildings (locking in the south of the city); and finally there is the vacant land both within and outside the city, and in the northern suburb of HSIA-KUAN is the main industrial district. Lines of communication and business are scattered through every district. The distribution is given in more detail in the following paragraphs.

(3) Land in commercial use. Commerce gives the best representation of a city's economic activities; wherever the business offers the brightest display, there the city's centre and the tallest buildings will be located. The business districts of Nanking are in the form of a framework bordering the streets and the city centre, and extending through the south ward where the population is denser, the streets closer and the shops cover a wider area. The business centre was in the south of the city when it was made the capital in 1928; then there were many three-story buildings along SAN-SHAN-CHIEH (the middle section of CHUNG-HUA Rd.) which I suppose were the sky-scrapers of the time, and where the land was valued at 200 YUAN per FANG-CHANG. (T.N. 1 FANG-CHANG = 12.826 sq. metres by old units, or 11.111 sq. metres if newer municipal units are referred to.) At HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU the valuation was only 60 YUAN; at HUA-P'AI-LOU (the northern section of T'AI-P'ING Rd.) only 50 YUAN; and north of KU-LOU (the Drum Tower) below 20 YUAN. (See Chart 8, and Note 6.). After this the business centre gradually shifted towards the north, reaching HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU, where the newer buildings are over three stories high (the tallest is seven); HUA-P'AI-LOU now competes with SAN-SHAN-CHIEH ('Three Hills St. '); and along both sides of CHUNG-SHAN Rd. business is looking up. (Chart 8 inserted here);

A re-valuation of land by the People's Municipal Government was announced in May, 1950, when the highest rating of 1140 equivalent units per FANG-CHANG was a round HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU; the next highest, 950 units, was at HUA-P'AI-LOU and at SAN-SHAN-CHIEH, both the same; for the rest a higher valuation was put

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along the streets, such as CHUNG-SHAN Rd., CHUNG-YANG Rd., SHENG-CHOU Rd., and CHUNG-HUI Rd., than for the residential areas around them, while mounds and fields near the city wall were rated at less than 100 units. (See Chart 9, which is inserted here.)

Businesses of certain standards show regional division of work; e.g. financial interests are concentrated about HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU; silk and cloth shops are on CHUNG-HUI Rd., T'AI-P'ING Rd., CHIEN-K'ANG Rd., SPENG-CHOU Rd., and the Fish Market Street off CHU-CH'ANG Rd.; the grain business is carried on near the CHUNG-HUI-MEN; the modern department stores are in the neighbourhood of HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU, while the old-fashioned type are found mostly on CHIEN-K'ANG Rd., T'AI-P'ING Rd., YU-SHIEH-CHIEH ('Fish Market St.') and MI-LING; the majority of firms dealing in charcoal and sawn timber planks are located near the HAN-CHUNG-MEN; wooden furniture and utensils are mostly in YEN-LING-HANG near ERH-LANG-MIAO; general stores are scattered along all the small streets and lanes in the city, e.g. CH'ANG-LO Rd., HUI-SHIEH Street & YING-FU-HANG in the south; TA-KUANG Rd., TS'AI-SHIEH-K'OU (Vegetable Market), T'UNG-CHI-MEN Street, TAN-FENG Street & HU-NAN Rd. in the east; near SHUI-HSI-MEN and SHI-WEN in the west; near HSING-CHUNG-MEN and YEN-TS'ANG-CH'IAO (Salt Depot Bridge) in the north.

In addition to the regular shops there are still three kinds of semi-commercial activities carried on in Nanking:

(i) Old-fashioned semi-industrial, semi-commercial establishments, selling goods which they themselves have manufactured, mostly in places where the raw materials are relatively easy to obtain, and frequently near to other trades. e.g. Leather shops are concentrated in TS'ANG-HANG (Godown Lane), P'ING-SZU-CHIEH, TA-CH'IAO-SHIEH and KO-TZU-CH'IAO, near SHUI-HSI-MEN; most of the blacksmiths are on CH'ANG-CHIANG Rd. between TENG-FU-HANG and T'IEH-CHI-YING, in the stretch from MO-LING Rd. to CH'AO-T'IEH-KUNG, on MO-CH'OU Rd. and SAN-P'AI-LOU; hemp sacks are found in the MO-CH'OU Rd. region and shops selling bamboo ware are most numerous on TU-CH'UAN-HANG (Ferry Lane).

(ii) Stalls of small traders and vegetable sellers are scattered in all the small streets and lanes. Most of the timber and fuel is brought in through SHUI-HSI-MEN, HAN-HSI-MEN and T'AI-P'ING-MEN, and collects at HUNG-NI-KANG, the entrance to TAN-FENG St., and around SHUI-HSI-MEN; there are many cloth pedlars near HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU and in the CHIH-MEN-CH'IAO region; and stalls for second-hand goods are found at FU-TZU-MIAO, MO-CH'OU Rd. and MO-LING Rd. The 'Night Market' or 'Devils' Market', carried on before day break, used to be held in this latter region; now the trading is more strictly controlled.

(iii) Trading intermingled with residential districts, where the business does not take an important place, but the householders do a little on the side with very small capital. It is found in the lanes and alleys, as I-CHIH-YUAN FENG-FU-CHIEH, HUNG-WU Rd., CH'IEH-CHANG-HANG, JUNG-CHUNG-CHIEH and SHIH-PA-CHIEH.

(4) Land used for industrial purposes. Industry near Nanking has not done very well in the past; most of the larger factories were located at HSI-KUAN and along the two banks of the Yangtze, all that was inside the city being the CHIANG-NAN Motor Repair Shop (on CHUNG-YANG Rd in the north of the city). The locations of the small-scale factories in the city are difficult to show clearly on a map, scattered as they are through the lanes and alleys. Broadly speaking their distribution is closer around the business centres of HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU and (in the south) SAN-SHAN-CHIEH; e.g. of the 227 rice-hulling mills in the city, 70 are in the CHUNG-HUI-MEN district and 157 are spread all over the centre of the city.

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Of 215 private printing establishments, 12 are situated between the Drum Tower and PAI-HSIA Road, and 76 south of PAI-HSIA Rd. Hand-rolling of cigarettes, done in the homes, is carried on mostly in the north of the city near I-CHIANG-MEN; and cotton-weaving, also a home handicraft industry, about SHUI-HSI-MEN.

(5) Land used in communications. This, for Nanking and the HSIA-KUAN district, is 8.12% of the total, quite a large area, and does not include roads along which vehicular traffic cannot pass. The four types of communication for which city land is used are :*

(i) Roads - there is a close network; the width of the largest is 4¹/₂ metres; of centres (T.N. meaning probably open spaces at intersections) the largest is HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU, then come the Drum Tower (KU-LOU), TA-HSING-KUNG, SAN-SHAN-CHIEH at the entrance to SHAN-HSI Road. Existing roads and streets which will take vehicular traffic have an area 3.55% of the total. While buses travel on the main roads, horse carts and tri-shaws (three-wheeled rickshaws) are still important means of conveyance.

(ii) City Railway - from HSIA-KUAN to CHUNG-HUA-MEN through the following stations: SAN-PAI-LOU, TING-CHIA-CH'IAO, KU-LOU, CH'ANG-CHIANG-LU, PAI-HSIA-LU and WU-TING-MEN. The two ends link up with the NING-HU and the NING-WU lines.

(iii) Air Field - in the SE section of the city, lying off on the right front of MING-KU-KUNG, about 0.15 sq.Km. in area. An aviation centre to supplement the TAI-CHIAO-CH'ANG airport lying outside the SE of the city.

(iv) Inner CH'IN-HUAI-HO - an important communication route in ancient times, but now "a drain without a cover", with old traces of boats to be found only in front of FU-TZU-MIAO. Still, after the dredging being energetically carried on by the People's Govt. is completed, the busy water traffic of former days can be restored in this locality.

(6) Land used in administration. Nanking being the location of the KMT capital, the space taken by government bodies was considerable; they were spread all about the city but with a relatively greater concentration along both sides of CHUNG-SHAN Rd., where the Executive, Legislative and Judicial YUAN, and the Communications, Defence and Foreign Affairs Ministries were situated. After this is the region about CHUNG-SHAN East Rd. and CH'ANG-CHIANG Rd. (the old KUO-FU Rd.) The KMT Govt. had decided to make the area near MING-KU-KUNG into an administrative centre, but nothing was ever done to put/into effect.

(7) Cultural and Educational use of land. Cultural bodies seem to have been specially drawn to Nanking, the amount of space they occupy being rarely seen in China's other large cities. PEI-CHI-KO and the foot of FU-CHOU-SHAN has been the cultural centre of the city from olden days, and is still, containing as it does the Science College, Nanking University, East China Military Academy and the Nanking Library. This cultural section has been extending towards the west in recent years, past the Drum Tower. Here there are the CHIN-LING University and the CHIN-LING Women's College. It was decided in KMT times that the city's cultural centre should be around WU-T'AI-SHAN; and after some of the surplus administration buildings are altered for cultural use (See Note 7), cultural education in Nanking will have a bright future before it.

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(8) Residential use of land. The majority of buildings in Hanking city are still residences, collected thickly along the streets and roads for the most part, and in the southern section where the population is dense and the streets are narrow the congestion is particularly great. The houses become scattered on sloping grounds as at CH'ING-LIANG-SHAN in the west of the city, and among the open vegetable gardens as to the east of I-FSIN-CH'IAO on CHUNG SHAN East Rd., the foot of FU-KUEI-SHAN and the northern part of CHUNG YANG Rd. Residences may be divided into three grades, according to the building materials used and their type:

(a) First Grade - mostly Western style houses of two or three stories, recently built. Found mainly in the so-called New Residential Area of the NING-PAI and Peking Roads in the north of the city, the place where high KMT officials and foreigners banded together (like brigands), and distributed along both sides of CHUNG-SHAN North Rd. and CHUNG-YANG Rd. as well.

(b) Second Grade - including old style brick-and-tile built double-storied or single-storied houses, very widely distributed. Almost the whole section south of HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU is of this type, but north of this point they occur more irregularly. Area taken up by these two grades is about the same.

(c) Third Grade - mostly mud walls, thatch roofs and small rooms, found in dirty back alleys along the city railway and scattered among the vegetable gardens. There is also a mat-sled type with walls of bamboo, mostly in camps for refugees, as e.g., near SHIN-CHIA-WAN in the S.W. of the city, between CH'IA and PA-LU Streets in the central district, and at TUNG-FU-HANG off CHIANG-CHIANG Rd. The largest mat-sled area is close to HU-PEN-TS'ANG where out of a total of over 900 families more than 700 are refugees who feed themselves on bean curd dregs and tree leaves, or keep themselves alive with a meal or two of thin gravel.

9. Vacant land. 55.23% of the area of the city and suburbs (including HSIA-K'UEN) is vacant, and this figure does not include pools, nor yet vacant land reserved by Government bodies. The largest vacant district is the region of the mounds between Lion Hill and CH'ING-LIANG-SHAN, where houses are like isolated spots on a broad surface. The second largest area is that between CHUNG-YANG Rd. and the city railway; then there are FU-KUEI and FU-CHOU hills, and the SE and SW corners of the city. Under the summons of the People's Govt. these vacant areas (with the exception of the first, in which the hillsides are steeper, the soil thinner and much more neglected, besides which it is further from the centre of the city) have been brought into positive production; vegetables, wheat or beans have been sown, and some paddy fields prepared in the east, while groves of trees have existed for many years or have been newly planted on Lion Hill, PEI-CHI-KO and FU-KUEI-SHAN.

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IV Functions of Nanking

(1) Distribution of occupation: before liberation Nanking was an abnormal, a swollen, consumer city, as is amply shown by these occupational statistics published at the end of 1947:-

	Farm- ing	Min- ing	Indus- try	Com- merce	Transport & Communications	Public Service	Indepdnt Professions
Metro- politan district	70,096	2,203	90,446	161,628	39,888	96,626	60,062
City and suburbs	18,640	1,965	62,081	111,644	26,931	21,621	57,736

	Personal Service	Miscel- aneous	Total number with occupa- tions	No occupa- tion; over 12 yrs. old	No occupa- tion; under 12 yrs. old	Total population
Metro- politan district	205,544	38,310	764,803	111,754	245,583	1,122,140
City and suburbs	120,459	30,075	501,102	82,702	163,681	747,685

In the city and suburbs those with occupations are only 67.0% of the total: this includes those doing what is called personal service, such as women in the home, hotel boys, cooks, housemaids, servants and singing girls, who form 23.0% of the number with occupations; those in the public service, 14.3% (T.N. An error in reckoning here.); and independent professions, 11.5%. These three classes of non-producers make up 48.8% (T.N. This should be 38.8%. See my note above). Then there are those in business, 22.5%, and besides there are the labourers and transport workers who work for others, 12.5% and 5.3% only, the rest, like farmers and miners, not being enough to consider.

In the short space of a year since liberation, Nanking has been basically transformed; its military and political functions have vanished like smoke with the power of the reactionaries; and other things too have been swept away with them. Although the occupational statistics for January, 1951 differ in the methods of classification adopted, and so are not suited to detailed comparisons with the pre-liberation figures, still the main trends are apparent :-

	Farming	Industry	Commerce	Public Service	Medical	Home Duties
Metro- politan district	74,705	147,418	149,402	27,318	3,500	231,251
City & Suburbs	11,356	92,500	96,632	22,338	2,701	138,629

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	Miscellaneous	Total number with occupations	No occupation	Total Population
Metro- politan district	60,668	694,262	283,057	982,409
City & suburbs	51,202	416,252	167,486	583,738

These figures show that the % of those with occupations is slightly higher than before liberation, being 71.3% for city and suburbs. The change in distribution is seen most clearly in the Public Service (in which the educational world is included) the figure for which is only 5.5% of the total number occupied, or if we further add in those following the independent profession of medicine it only reaches 8.9%, which is not to be compared with the pre-liberation figure. The % in business (23.2%) is similar to the 1947 figure, but there is quite a difference in the quality of those so engaged. In reference to those engaged in industry and handicrafts, production workers and labourers, it should be said that the large number of those working in the transport and communications business is included, and the % ratio has risen to 22.2%. Changes for other occupations have been smaller.

(2) Military and Political Functions. In the picture of Nanking, military and political colours have been laid on heavily right from the time of its foundation as a city up to the present. Its prosperity has been usually in direct proportion to the size of the political arena of which it was the centre; when it was the chief city of the Yangtze valley or of the whole country the whole place and all its affairs throbbed with new life, but as soon as the political centre moved off elsewhere it became lonely and desolate forthwith. During the course of history such fluctuations have occurred several times.

The chief reason for its growth to a great metropolis with a million inhabitants in recent years was that the KMT government chose it as the controlling centre of the country and the result of that government's harsh despotism and centralisation of authority was gradually to cause congestion in the city by bringing the human and material resources of the whole country into it. The population increased threefold during the 22 years of Nationalist control, and north of HSIN-CH'EN-K'OU, which was a waste area before, large tent cities and roads sprang up together, becoming the Nanking New City district. The whole atmosphere of the place was poisoned with politics, army and government personnel were seen everywhere, bureaucratic capital entered by every pore, and it seemed that most of the trade, the communications and the amusements only existed to maintain or to adorn this overgrown structure of officialdom. Hence, among China's large cities, Nanking was the hardest hit after liberation, and it is essential that it be remade.

(3) Residential Function. In cities which engage in foreign trade, people from all parts congregate, and since Nanking has been the capital on several occasions, and a million people have collected there, the temperaments of its residents are particularly diverse and dialects of almost every place are heard; the pronunciation of N. Kiangsu is prevalent in the north of the city, while only a little of the pure Nanking local dialect remains in the south.

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Of the 982,409 residents shown by the January, 1950 statistics, there were 531,578 males, 450,831 females; the figures for the city itself were, males 314,312, females 269,426 making a total of 583,738. The preponderance of males seems to be a general characteristic of cities. Based on place of origin the figures are, for metropolitan district, local 427,933, outside 54,383, foreigners 93; for the city and suburbs, local 255,314, outside 328,362, foreigners 48. The number of foreigners in Dec. 1947 was 1181; this sharply declined after liberation, and the present continued decline is a result of the loss by the city of its position as capital. Again, on the basis of educational standards, 14986 people have received University education, 93,911 have passed through secondary schools, 249,453 have been to primary schools, making the number of literates 358,360, or 36.4% of the total population.

Among the different uses to which the buildings of the city are put, the first place, from the viewpoint of area, is taken by residences, and the proportion of this that first class homes occupy is probably the highest in the country. Many of these homes having been the property of KMT officials and the comprador class, it is only right that they should be confiscated and distributed among labouring people who have given worthy service. There is still much vacant land in the city, on which other fine homes can be built so that it is possible that Nanking might yet become one of the model residential cities of the country.

(4) Commerce. The basis of all Nanking's foreign trade in earlier times was satin; import and export customs duties during the early years of the republic each amounted to several million taels, the export duties being at times the greater. The importation of consumer goods rapidly increased after it became the capital in 1927, while exports immediately collapsed. Import dues on foreign goods received by the CHIN-LING (i.e. Nanking) Customs in 1932 tot 1166 33,173,859 YUEN, grains, metals, and kerosene being the chief, while export duty was only 351,685 YUEN, on the one line of frozen ducks. In 1933, 21,369,629 YUEN import duty was paid, and 1819 YUEN export duty on P.O. parcels. Figures for domestic trade through Nanking are very small also, the places with which business is done being only the few neighbouring counties, SU-HU along the Yangtze, and extending at the furthest to N. Kiangsu, N. Anhwei, N. Kiangsi and E. Hupeh along the Yangtze waterways and the Tientsin-Pukow railway.

Nanking's trade shows very clearly that it is a consumer city. Investigations undertaken in 1935 showed that of 13,003 traders in 96 types of businesses found in the metropolitan area, the most numerous were dealers in miscellaneous imported goods, 1881, and keepers of wine-selling restaurants, 1151; guest houses showed the largest amount of capital, over a million YUEN. Statistics for the end of 1947 showed 17,786 shopkeepers in the area, of which 5,702 were in the food business, that is almost one-third of the total; 1206 were in the clothing trade; 1085 ran general stores. At the time of liberation, of the 107 types of businesses only 18 belonged to the class of those dealing in essential daily commodities, 29 were making excessive profits on purely consumer goods and many others belonged to the semi-consumer type. This deformed development explains why there were temporarily some annoying regulations in the commercial world of Nanking in the early period after liberation (See Note 8), and explains too the necessity of changing the business of the city together with the difficulties this involved.

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According to figures for Oct. 1949 there were 19,260 business establishments of 106 types. 18 of these types had 300 or more shops. Grain merchants 770, iron goods 308, bamboo goods 313, miscellaneous goods 1310, department stores 670, hair-dressers 605, butchers 630, guest houses 310, bakers and vermicelli makers 1465, metals and electrical supplies 355, automobiles 528, cigarettes 669, coal dealers 313, horse cart proprietors 860, wine merchants 314, tailors 440, haulage cart proprietors 300, stoves 556. The five more important types are :-

(i) Grain Business. Rice is brought in from around WUHU (about 7/10) and from the valley of the CH'IN-WU-I-HO (3/10) and wheat mostly from Anhwei. The market is limited to the metropolitan area, business being brisk in Sept. and Oct., quiet in June and July. It is said that 40% of the grain merchants went in for speculation; those places went insolvent after the fixing of prices in the spring of 1950.

(ii) Miscellaneous goods (General stores). The majority are small shops. Such things as cigarettes are brought in large consignments to the HSING-CHUNG market place near HSIN-CHIEH-K'OU; other things such as fried goods and bean sauce have recently been sold wholesale. Since liberation business is only half what it was before, the vendors on the street stalls having taken it (from the regular shops).

(iii) Cigarettes. Widely distributed, the larger businesses being on SHENG-CHOU Rd. The majority of cigarettes are brought in wholesale by various Nanking trading companies, and are sold to the public through both retail and wholesale channels. The large firms at CHUNG-HUI-HEW, SHUI-HSI-MEN, HSI-KUAN and the HSING CHUNG market do a good deal of business with other cities and in rural districts, selling at LU-HO, WU-HO and the small shops around. The best months are Sept.-Oct. and Jan. to Mar. Since liberation business has been only 20-30% of what it used to be.

(iv) Silk and cotton piece goods. Mostly from Shanghai, WUSIN and HANGCHEW. The main object of consideration in marketing is the (?) individual salesman. These men travel a long way into the country districts, to Wuhu and to places along the Tientsin-Pukow railway, and account for 80% of the sales. Trade in cotton cloth is still good after liberation.

(v) Department Stores. The merchandise comes mostly from Shanghai; some is produced locally. There are retail and wholesale departments, outside markets (to Wuhu, PENG PU, HSUCFOU) taking about 10%; winter months are the best for trade. Of the different lines hand towels and rubber shoes sell best.

Regarding the interflow of materials between city and country, Nanking formerly stood in the position of one despoiling the district, the KMT government, through taxation, inflation of currency, etc., robbing the rural districts of all sorts of agricultural produce and raw materials, and in return giving a few daily necessities in small quantity, and hardly any tools of production. According to preliminary estimates for the autumn of 1949, Nanking's annual needs are 1,900,000 T.M.N. of vegetables, 60,000 T.M.N. of fish, 1,000,000 ducks, 35,000,000 eggs, 140,000 T.M.N. of pork, 20,000 T.M.N. of beef and 2,000,000 piculs of rice. Most of these food commodities are supplied by the nearby towns of HU-SHU, LI-SHUI and CHU-YUNG, and WUHU along the Yangtze; some come from more distant places in north and central Anhwei, N. Kiangsu and Shantung. Of fuels, coal comes from HU-I-NAN and far-off N. China, wood and charcoal are brought down the Yangtze and collected at SHUI-HSI-MEN and SHENG-HSIN-HO, reeds and straw come from PA-KUA-CHOU, CHUNG HSIN-CHOU and the hilly parts 20-30 Km., less than a day's journey, from the city, brought in

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by carriers and pack animals. The bulk of raw materials for other industries come from Kiangsu and Anhwei. The small volume of goods sent to the rural districts around Nanking consists largely of manufactured articles like cloth, matches, salt, incense braziers, kerosene, soap, and of the coarser commodities like hand towels, socks, knitted goods, etc. These go no further than to the northern districts of Kiangsu, Anhwei and Kiangsi and the eastern part of Hupeh. As to the relationship between Nanking and Shanghai, the latter supplies industrial manufactures and the former exports rice, other grain and farming products, so that it resembles one of Shanghai's rural districts.

(5) Industry. Here also the consumer nature of the city is shown. Nanking was noted of old for handicrafts, like silk weaving, engraving and printing, making of folding fans and ornaments, and particularly for the making of satin, which reached its peak during the 19th century when 200,000 people made their living by it, and there were over 30,000 weaving machines in the city. The products were sold at home and abroad, their value being over 10 million Customs taels annually. After the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty markets shrank, over-seas as well as at home, and the industry rapidly declined. There were 8000 machines left in 1927 and some 20,000 dependant on the work, but by autumn of 1949 there were hardly 200 operatives engaged by 30 establishments. There is not much hope of the restoration of an industry like this, ministering as it did to a feudalistic culture, apart from a thorough reorganisation.

There has been a small beginning of modern mechanised industry since the formation of the Republic, and development was more rapid after the city was made the capital in 1927. There were 847 factories in the metropolitan area in 1933 (mechanised industry and handicraft both included) - 57 for foodstuffs, 237 for textiles, 488 for building, 24 for machinery, 8 for chemicals, 3 for public industries, 30 for cultural industries, (See Note 9); all were short of capital and working on a very restricted scale, the latter being overlaid on the consumer side, as witness the 480,000 building contractors.

During the period of puppet government, industry already essentially wrecked was further destroyed; but after victory was attained and Nanking was restored for a time to its position as capital, such industry as was connected with political and military needs showed a small-scale development. In Oct. 1949 there were about 2276 factories (See note 10), and 19 trade unions had been organised; but there were only 26 of these factories with relatively large plants, such as the Public Power Station, the Public Water Supply, and the privately run P'U-FENG Flour Mills, S'UCU-TU Match Factory, YING-SHANG-BO Woollen Yarn Coy., etc. Cigarette factories were numerically the most numerous, machine rolled 76 and hand rolled 870; then cotton weaving 729; thirdly rice hulling 285; of the remainder those with over 100 factories were building contracting 232, steel and iron 205, printing 193, and manufacture of leather goods 129. It seems that all these factories possess certain characteristics in common:

(i) All, with the exception of the steel, machinery and chemical industries, belonged to the consumer class. In the past 10 out of 22 industries were producing goods for the enjoyment of KMT officials.

(ii) There were a few types of factories producing consumer goods which showed abnormal expansion, such as those for rice hulling and building contracting before liberation, and those making cigarettes and soap after liberation; this prosperity was only temporary.

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(iii) By far the greater number of factories were small; the number of handicraft workrooms was many times as great as the number using machinery (the hand rolling of cigarettes and most of the cotton weaving were purely home industries, and strictly speaking should not be called industries); the equipment was of the poorest, and standards of control and production technique were low; hence most of the products belonged to the class of goods to be kept away from.

(iv) Sources of raw materials and markets for products were mostly limited to the counties in the local vicinity.

(v) During the post-liberation period many industries were brought to a stop by the fall of the reactionary government, particularly those concerned with rice-hulling, printing, building, brick and tile making, steel and machinery. There has been a partial restoration recently with the aid and under the guidance of the People's Govt. e.g. work has been resumed in those 26 larger factories; 200 steel machine shops have commenced to make new farming implements and machinery needed for industrial production; over 50 contractors, changing their business policy, have joined up with the government's reconstruction schemes; of more than 100 printers, some have changed their plant to oil presses and looms, and others have moved to KAI-FENG, HOFEI and WUHU.

To sum up, Nanking's industries have not helped much in the past to develop the city, but on the contrary, they were fundamentally only the necessities of a political metropolis.

(6) Communications. The chief value of the city here lies in the fact of its location at the point of intersection of the E-W line of the Yangtze water transport and the N-S line of land transport. It was this position of outstanding advantage which expedited its growth in earlier times, and it still gives Nanking one of its chief functions in the present age.

Apart from this there is the NING-WU railway (to WUHU); there are the highways connecting the city to WUHU, HANGCHOW, WUSIH, LISHUI and HUSHU; there is the navigation along the CH'IN-HUI-HO; and there are the airlines opened in recent years to SHANGHAI, PEKING, SIAM, TIENTSIN, HANKOW, CHUNGKING and HONGKONG. Within the city are the city railway, wide modern roads, and up-to-date telecommunications equipment. These means of communication make Nanking an important pivot in the communications network of the country, being in a central position relative to the Yangtze delta, the central Yangtze area and the North China Plain.

(7) Cultural Affairs. Many government and private schools, were established in Nanking towards the close of the CH'ING dynasty in order to meet the needs of the new age, and after 1927 new educational development was particularly rapid. The figures concerning education at the end of 1947 are (for the whole metropolitan area): 185 primary schools with 2967 staff and 85,883 pupils (80.6% of the school-age children); 51 secondary schools with 2017 staff and 27,318 pupils; 11 universities and colleges for special courses with 2908 staff and 9,089 students; also 8 bodies, with a staff of 65, giving social education, 111 schools for social studies with 7225 students; thus the total number of those engaged in education was not less than 137,470 persons, or 12.2% of the total population of the metropolis.

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In the early stages after liberation, according with the general funeral condition of the city, the number of students decreased and a certain number of private schools of the shop type found it hard to keep going, while institutions like the College of Political Studies which were intimately connected with the KMT government disappeared root and branch. Yet this was a very temporary phenomenon only: now the KE-FING (i.e. Revolutionary) University and the East China Military University are training a large number of revolutionary cadres while other universities and secondary schools are either being newly opened or are moving in from other places, so that there is no doubt that before long higher education in Nanking will be in a much more flourishing condition than it was before liberation.

There are great hopes for the development of Nanking as a tourist resort, for the region to the east of the city containing HSUAN-YU-FU and Purple Mt. shows all the varied colours of lake and mountains scenery in one setting, and although it does not possess the exquisite beauty of the mountains and streams at KUEI-LIN, nor the quiet elegance of the HANGCHOW views, yet it has a natural beauty of its own, and if it were improved and thrown open to the public as a park it would doubtless attract many visitors. Amongst the green hills and ancient relics inside the city the inner CH'IN-HUAI is also the old-time centre of the red light district, and in the vicinity of FU-TZU-HIAO there still remains a feudal legacy of evil in the presence of 723 singing girls with 1252 dependents who need to be given a new start in life.

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V. The outlook (for the construction of a new Nanking).

Ancient Nanking was basically a military and political metropolis, and other occupations began as subsidiary to this, but after the developments and accumulations of over 2400 years a satisfactory foundation is there; and as a result of the labours of past generations there is a latent strength which ensures continued growth in the future.

The city was faced with a serious test after liberation, viz: how to overcome the great difficulties brought about by the loss of its position as national capital and become a strong People's Nanking in the New China of the New Democracy. Since we have not given the matter thorough study we can only put forward a few suggestions embodying some of the underlying principles:-

(1) The reconstitution of Commerce and Industry. The most pressing problem at the moment is how to change Nanking from a consumer into a constructive city. As regards industries it looks, from a national standpoint, as if the city will not be able to take a place of any special importance, particularly in heavy industry, and the few works that are already there will probably not be added to. Even so, after a period of energetic reconstruction, it should still be possible for it to remain as a centre for secondary light industries. In fact the whole of the Yangtze delta, led by Shanghai, will be one of the kernels of China's light industries; there are lots of markets here and plenty of labour available while all sorts of raw materials, and coal, can be transported cheaply from central and north China, and after the development of hydro-electricity on the CH'IBEN-T'ANG River there will be an even more plentiful supply of power. Silk weaving has had a glorious history in Nanking; if it can be turned into productive channels to meet the needs of the people at home and abroad its restoration should not be too difficult. Others such as cotton weaving, and industries producing foodstuffs and some of the daily commodities, are capable of great expansion.

Although production equipment in Nanking is meagre, yet it is still possible to make much more profitable use of it during the period in which difficulties must be met and overcome. We shall consider the position of four types (of industries):

(a) Purely consumer industries that are of no use to the masses of the people such as those based on superstition, should be allowed to disappear; it is unnecessary to show any indulgence here, as both labour and materials should be put to other uses. (E.g. There has been a large trade in paper money, figures and lanterns, also incense, candles and wooden articles used in temple worship in the past.)

(b) Industries which are primarily of use to the people but which in the past have been made to serve a reactionary government almost entirely, such as power plants and wireless stations whose chief function was to receive military orders and make city life more enjoyable, or many steel machine plants which only fitted spare parts to KMT government cars or made movable ramparts. These industries should be turned to a productive direction in order to proceed on a true path.

(c) Industries which do bring some profit to the community but which have been abnormally developed, such as the 285 rice hullers with 400 hulling machines; if fully utilised these could hull 1,200,000 piculs of rice a month, but 40% of their productive power was still lying unused even when their output was highest, and after liberation this rose to 80%. Apart from this, there was over-production in the contracting, printing and cigarette making businesses. Such should be partially retained, and their development assisted; the rest should be scattered to other places or change their trade.

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(d) Industries really needed in the community or which it is seen, in the light of investigation since liberation, should be revived, such as ammonium sulphate manufacture, flour milling, cotton weaving, oil extraction, tooth brushes and soap making, etc., should be well supported so that there will be general improvement in organisation, capital and technique.

The objectives mentioned in the above four types have been partially attained already under the direction of the Nanking People's Govt.

As regards commerce the work of reconstitution is more difficult. In the past what was sold at the shopping centres of Nanking was consumed within the city; transport was quite unimportant, and moreover business was accompanied by heavy speculation. After liberation the main consuming parties had gone, and the large new rural market had not yet opened up; and following on the general desolation there was a good deal of surplus business capital floating around for which no suitable outlet could be found. After industry has found its feet again and the general purchasing power has been raised, business (re-oriented to serve the people) should prosper, but it hardly seems possible for the old-fashioned businesses to sustain the weight of the daily, incessant, busy and complex relationships that will arise in the future by the interflow of urban and rural materials. Something more suited to this would be to set up in the city a strong structure of State management for the control of the chief articles of commerce and to direct the old-style business houses in the setting up of cooperative societies all through the country districts, so that the farming villages will come into direct contact with the State structure and the floccin of the middle man will be fundamentally abolished. The People's Govt. has already done some preliminary work in this direction, and it is hoped that it can be further developed.

(2) A new estimation of the political standing (of the city). The reactionary and corrupt KMT Govt. involved Nanking in its fall, so that it not only lost its position as capital but also it was unable to keep its place as the local military administrative centre. As a matter of fact there seem to be, in the whole country, only two places, Peking and Nanking, fit to be the capital city of New China, meeting as they do five basic conditions of a capital. (i) A geographical location equally advantageous to the maritime and continental parts of our country (Peking being more inclined to the latter, Nanking to the former). (ii) A central situation (about one-fifth of the area and three-fifths of the population of the country is contained in the section bounded on the N by the Yangtze, on the S by the HAN-LING, on the E by the ocean and on the W by the line from the TAI-HANG-Mts. to the eastern edge of the Kweichow plateau). (iii) Suited for national defence needs, i.e. situated at a defensive outpost or closely connected to routes along which aid could come from friendly powers. (iv) A pivotal position in regard to communications. (v) Ample resources nearby. From the point of view of the present situation, Peking naturally has the advantage, being the supply base of revolutionary force, and being convenient for our friendly relations with the U.S.S.R., for restraining Japanese imperialism and for developing North, N.W. and N.E. China. Still, if China's culture still continues to extend southwards and is to be passed on to the south west, to the islands and to Formosa, it seems as if Nanking might yet be valuable as a capital.

To sum up, Peking and Nanking are like the two ends of a wheel axle, being the political centres of the N and S respectively, having Tientsin and Shanghai as their commercial ports; and though there are much more vigorous economically, yet they cannot usurp the political standing. It is our humble opinion that if Nanking is not re-established as the capital, it should at least become a local political centre by the removal to it of the East China Military Commission.

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(3) Its construction as a Cultural City. The district is refined, with a strong literary foundation of which a large element still remains at present, both personnel and material (especially buildings). There would be nothing to hinder use being made of this element for the rebuilding of cultural affairs so that New China will be provided with talented men, and at the same time another avenue of prosperity will be opened for the city.

It seems that, with a little embellishment, a large park could be opened in the precincts of Nanking, reaching from HSUAN-WU Lake to CH'IE-SIA-SHAN and from FANG-SHAN to the Yangtze, thus providing a proper amusement centre for the masses besides attracting many travellers. Smaller parks could be set up also along the banks of the inner CH'IE-HUAI River and among the hills.

(4) Problems of City Planning. (T.N. No new or official aspects are put forward in this paragraph.)

(5) Removal of excess population for production elsewhere. If Nanking does not become the capital again, then we fear that even after all the new work of reconstruction has been carried out it will still not be able to sustain a population of over a million people. This will give rise immediately to unemployment problems with resultant riot in the community. This surplus then should be returned to their own native districts to engage in production there, or to other places where there is a shortage of labour. The People's Govt. has already taken the first steps in the development of this project.

(6) Other suggestions. In addition to the above-mentioned matters, there are many other things which might be attended to, as e.g. (i) The early completion of the railway south of the Yangtze, so that the resources of Kiangsi and S. Anhwei might be made available to the city; (ii) Afforestation of the hills inside and outside the city to make it green and beautiful and guard against soil erosion; (iii) Make greater use of much of the vacant land; (iv) Make a start on water conservancy projects such as Yangtze flood prevention, dredging of the CH'IE-HUAI-PO, draining the marshy ground in the SE of the city; (v) Complete the various community projects such as rebuilding untidy streets and houses, getting rid of illiteracy from the city, etc.

In conclusion, the new Nanking it appears will be an average size city of from half a million to a million inhabitants; it has a name in the world for culture and fine homes, but it has enough economic vitality to maintain itself without becoming an embarrassment to the people. A new Nanking will emerge after the casting off of its former swollen condition; difficulties there will be in the rebuilding process, but difficulties can be overcome.

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NOTES

1. Climatic data. All rainfall figures show the average for 35 years, viz: 1906-1957, and 1945-1947. Temperatures show the average for 19 years, viz: 1922-1937, and 1945-1947.
2. Population figures for Nanking prior to 1934 took in the city, HSIA-KUAN and PA-KU-C'U' only. It was in Sept. 1934 that figures for the area nearby began to be included; the TIANG-SEAN district was added in 1946; hence the increase of population for the metropolitan area is due partly to the enlarged scope of the census, and is not a true population increase.
3. The city wards have been quite changed since June, 1950.
4. We applied the centrogographical method in finding the population centre. This assumes that the population centre of each ward of the city coincides with its geographical centre.
5. Rapid increase in population was dealt with in previous section.
6. Because of the inadequacy of the available data for 1928 land values in Nanking city (there are only 8 records), it is probable that there are some inaccuracies in the chart showing lines of equal value.
7. A start has already been made in the changeover of old public buildings to educational use; e.g. the old Military Administration Bureau has been altered to the Second Field Military University, and the old Youth Bureau to the East China Branch of the People's University.
8. From statistics of April, 1950, during the year since liberation more than 80% of those engaged in contracting, automobile repairing, and the manufacture of ice, aerated waters and fruit juices have gone out of business; manufacturers of canned goods, nurseries and florists, curio shops, wooden furniture, Western restaurants and cleaners and dyers are going the same way. After the stabilisation of commodity prices this spring, those who had been relying on getting higher prices for hoarded goods, and those who had been going in for speculation in grain, maize, foreign luxury goods, and coal were also caught (lit. "sunk").
9. See China Economic Gazette (of the Reconstruction Committee) pp. 210-211, "Nanking".
10. Obtained by uniting material from several sets of research statistics (e.g. Nanking People's Govt. statistics and the Report on Economic Research for urban and rural Nanking); a number of handicraft industries have not been entered.

A list of 21 works of reference is appended.