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Original Article

Public Space, Urban Culture and Modernity: Cafes in Modern Shanghai (1900-1949)

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of coffee shops and other public spaces in modern Shanghai shows the appearance of the “mass” centered on the middle class. Furthermore, we can further explore the different development paths of the publicity of modern Chinese urban society. The emergence of new public leisure spaces, such as cafes, provides a model of modern life style and a stage of daily publicity for the middle class in Shanghai. With the convenience provided by this kind of public space, people are able to clean up their old opinions and be better at accepting new ideas. A more sensitive and flexible public opinion of Enlightenment has gradually formed in urban life.

Key Words: Cafe, Public Space, Modernity, Shanghai, Urban Culture

I . Introduction

There is a proverb that “cafes are the best places to reflect western culture.” In the history, coffee shop presents a unique cultural phenomenon.¹⁾ In the discussion of Habermas, coffee shop is the embodiment of the public domain. In the 1930s, under the pen of Shanghai literati (left-wing literature and new sensationalism, etc.), coffee shops were more endowed with the value of imagining the West. “Coffee shops are indeed one of the great symbols of modern life and a masterpiece of human beings in the 20th century.”²⁾ On the one hand, the café in Shanghai is a symbol of modern western civilization. Middle class members can easily exchange ideas and participate in political debates here, and intellectuals can collectively participate in plans to improve China’s society and national salvation. The cafe located in the Shanghai concession is, to some extent, an imagination of the western public sphere, which coincides with the keen expectation of the left-wing intellectuals for modernization after the May 4th movement. When entering this kind of new public space, the experience as a semi colonial country and the hierarchical order and power relationship contained in this public space are weakened and even covered. However, in fact, in the first half of the 20th century, the public space is often a small group of people’s assembly. Its interior is equal and open, not limited by identity, status and origin, but not everyone can get the qualification to join. These spaces often require participants to have certain consumption ability and have a good education. This is a field of communication, an occasion of conversation, and an open social occasion in which ordinary people can participate. The emergence of cafes and various places of entertainment make it possible for ideas to collide and spread, thus the concept of “the public” is initially formed. As if cafes played a role in the formation of civil society in the 18th century in the west, only in London in the 18th century,

1) There are some research papers on the study of modern Shanghai coffee houses, such as laikwan Pang, the collective subject of Chinese intelligences and their cafe culture in Republic Shanghai, *Inter Asia Cultural Studies* 7, No. 1 (March 2006): 24-42. Hu Yuehan: tea houses, taverns and coffee houses: Shanghai in the period of the Republic of China Leisure life of knowledge groups (1927-1937), *Journal of Hengyang Normal University*, No. 2, 2015; Wang Qiong and Wang Junke: café: the imagination space of modernity at the beginning of the 20th century in Shanghai, *Yuehaifeng*, No. 4, 2006; most of these studies are from the perspective of Shanghai modernity, literary modernity and colonialism, especially focusing on the restoration of intellectuals and café s Miscellaneous relationship. As a public space or even the public domain, coffee shop and the relationship between the public, modern life style, and the shaping of public ideas, are lack of attention. This paper attempts to discuss these areas.

2) *Shenbao*, August 20, 1928, 30th Edition

cafes were “only men were allowed to enter the coffee social circle”.³⁾ As Leonore Davidoff, a British historian, points out in his book “Family Wealth: Men and Women in the Middle Class of Britain from 1780 to 1850,” “Although there are not cafes, salons and social gatherings, the public idea will certainly come into being, but with them, the public idea can become an idea, and then become an objective requirement.”⁴⁾ The development of the public sphere in the early modern Europe promoted the expansion of capitalism, such as coffee shops, bars, squares and other public spaces, which became the germinating place of social activities and public opinion, allowing people to exchange on a voluntary basis.

II . Cafe : An Exhibition Place of Modern Lifestyle

Coffee entered modern China before the Opium War. The Qing Dynasty closed its doors and kept only one trading port in Guangzhou. Foreign businessmen living in Guangzhou could not find a coffee shop and could only open their own. Around 1836, just around today’s thirteen line clothing wholesale market in Guangzhou, The Dane opened a coffee shop, which was the first coffee shop in Guangzhou and the first coffee shop in China.

The earliest coffee supplier in modern Shanghai was the J.LLEWELLYN & CO.LTD opened by J. Llewellyn, a British pharmacist, at No. 1, Lane Garden (now Nanjing East Road) in 1853. Although it was called a drugstore, it also deals in cakes and foreign food. In Shanghai, going to the coffee shop for coffee was a popular leisure way in the French concession, and the coffee shop was mainly distributed in Avenue Joffre in the French concession. It was different from the public concession which was full of skyscrapers and department stores and exudes commercial atmosphere everywhere, it showed the French cultural sentiment. In addition, the cafes in Shanghai not only had French style, but also Italian and Russian style. The North Sichuan Road was also the place where the cafes were concentrated. The cafes here were opened by both White Russian and Japanese. In particular, the layout of the coffee shop set up by the Japanese was quite distinctive. The red lanterns were hung in

3) Habermas, *Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, Cambridge 1989, p.33.

4) Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p.416.

the style of Japanese and the waiters speak Japanese. This was the place that the overseas students who once traveled and studied abroad to Japan loved to go.

The popularity of cafes shows not only the exotic style, but also the imagination in the new entertainment places. Like movies and cars, cafes are also a symbol of modernity, a kind of modernity glittering with French artistic charm and delicacy. The federal cafe in the public concession, Renaissance cafe on Avenue Joffre and other lower grade cafes met fierce competition from the luxury cafe of the people Gautier and Henry Regnier around 1930. Cafe was very popular with writers who came back from Japan, because cafe was already popular in Japan, and the coffee civilization is famous for works such as “Coffee Forum” and “night of cafe”. For young intellectuals, the teahouse has lost its charm. But in the old town and the working-people areas, even in the concession, the teahouse is still a place for people to come and go.⁵⁾

The cafes are indeed one of the main features of its integration with western culture. According to Xue Liyong’s research, the earliest recorded historical documents of coffee in China can be traced back to the 1887 “A hundred chants of the Shenjiang River”.⁶⁾ One of the bamboo words described that western restaurants offered coffee to customers after they had used the main course. In the early days of Shanghai, there were at least five translation methods or writing methods for coffee: “kowitz”, “Gaoferi” “Jiali”, “kaufei” and coffee. Among them, the translation of coffee into “kowitz” and “Gaoferi” appeared in the novels of late Qing Dynasty. The word “kaufei” is borrowed from Japanese language instead of transliteration. For example, in the 1920s and 1930s, there were many Japanese cafes in Shanghai, with the name of “kaufei” written on them.⁷⁾ Shanghainese, who worked as an employee in the foreign trade company, also followed the western diet, eating western food and drinking coffee. The staff of Shanghai foreign trade companies were not used to the bitter taste when they drink coffee for the first time, which was called cough potion. Many early western restaurants provided cafes, such as Sullivan, Kay Commander, etc., but the real business cafes appeared later. The guide to Shanghai, published by the commercial press in 1909, cafes had not been recorded in a separate coffee shop. It is just that when introducing western dishes, including coffee, it was not called coffee at that time, but called “Jiaferi”.⁸⁾ There were 35 western restaurants in the Shanghai

5) Bergère, Marie-Claire, *Shanghai: China’s Gateway to Modernity*, Stanford University Press, 2009.

6) Xue Liyong: *The History of the Old Shanghai Concession*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2002 edition, p.280.

7) Yu Zhi: *Modern Shanghai*, Shanghai Bookstore Press, 2003 edition, p.10.

8) Shanghai Commercial Press: *Shanghai guide*, 1909 edition, hotel 1, page 6. According to another statement, by 1886, a coffee shop with independent business appeared in the public concession (now Hongkou District), that is, “Hongkou

guide published in 1918, but only one coffee shop. After 1920, coffee shops were more common.⁹⁾ Cafes were becoming more and more popular. When Huang Chujiu built the Dashijie 1917, he never forgot to set up a cafe on the roof of the world. By the end of the 1920s, coffee shops had become fashionable. It had become a common way of leisure for intellectuals to invite friends to have tea or coffee and exchange ideas at the same time, or even just kill time. In 1920s, a large number of coffee houses emerged: DD's on Avenue Joffre, Renaissance, Balkans, Turkchenko, Constantinople, Weiduoli, Sullivan on Nanjing Road, Sullivan branch on Jing'an Temple Road, DD's cafe, Feida, Kay Commander, royal family, Barcelona, Sevina, Liddell on Avenue du Roi Albert (now South Shaanxi Road), Gongfa and shanghaijia on North Sichuan Road attracted the middle class of the city with their elegant layout and strong European style. By the 1940s, coffee shops were more diversified. According to statistics in 1946, "there were 186 registered cafes in Shanghai, including cafes set up in restaurants, hotels, entertainment places, nightclubs and other places. It was estimated that at that time, there were no less than 500 places to drink coffee."¹⁰⁾ Even some theatres had special cafes. "A new cafe in a big theatre needs to hire more tea rooms. It's smart. If you're innocent, please go to Chen Jun, No. 2, xinqun Hotel, Shengping downstairs, Foochow road."¹¹⁾

Coffee shop is not a place that everyone can afford, "In DDS or Sullivan chocolate shop ,coffee was more than two cups of 1 yuan, cake was more expensive, about 5 yuan."¹²⁾ Other data showed that in the 1930s, the price of coffee was generally between 20-75 cents, and the entertainment places in the concession were more expensive.¹³⁾ In double voice, Zhang Ailing described her shopping with Yan Ying for shoes and going to the coffee shop to stop. "In the coffee shop, everyone needs a cream cake, another cream, a cup of hot chocolate and cream, and another cream."¹⁴⁾

Huang Zhenyao, a critic, claimed in an article entitled "we are the bottom of Shanghai", that Shanghai's cafes at that time were mainly concentrated in the French Concession and Hongkou

coffee shop" is mainly open to Mariners. This cafe not only serves coffee, but also yellow beer and black beer, but not spirits or other alcoholic beverages.

9) Shi Lei, Chu Yanhui: *Life of Overseas Chinese in Old Shanghai*, China Welfare Society Press, 2004 edition, p.12.

10) Xue Liyong: *The History of the Old Shanghai Concession*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2002 edition, p.283.

11) *Shenbao*, January 25, 1929.

12) Li Oufan, *Shanghai Modern : The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China 1930-1945*, Harvard University Press, 1999

13) Xu Chi, *All Living beings in Shanghai*, Shanghai New China Press, 1942 edition, p.79.

14) Tao Fangxuan: *Food of Zhang Ailing*, Shanghai Far East Publishing House, 2008 edition, p.167.

(Japanese populated area). The cafes in French Concession were mainly on Avenue Joffre. On Avenue Joffre, different cafes had different atmosphere. For example, “Barcelona” and “Seville” on Avenue du Roi Albert (now South Shaanxi Road) were full of Spanish flavor. Some stateless emigrants liked Barcelona. Apart from coffee, they also had some real and fake passports.¹⁵⁾ DD’s also had a kind translation - brothers, Kavkas, Renaissance and Constantinople were the most famous four of them. It can be said that coffee shops and bars are the main force of western food industry on Avenue Joffre. For example, the Tekachenko brothers coffee restaurant (changed its name from Alcazar coffee restaurant in October 1933 to riyalin) was not only one of the earliest garden restaurants opened in Shanghai, but also the largest one in French concession, with more than 100 coffee tables in one garden; the Renaissance coffee shop was the salon where Russian and overseas Chinese gather; the DD’s coffee shop was also the meeting place for Chinese and foreign scholars.¹⁶⁾

DD’s cafe was one of the most famous cafes in Shanghai at that time. The store was opened by a White Russian with a strong French Russian flavor. Therefore, many young men and women of white Russian had their first job in Shanghai as waitresses in DD’s, which showed the reputation of DD’s in Shanghai. Its specific house number at that time has not been known, but it is said that “DD’s on Avenue Joffre is only a stone’s throw away from Lyceum Theatre. If the drama ends quite early, you might as well bend in and sit in for a while, and go home no later. This coffee house with a strong Russian-style is not as popular as Kafkas, but it is in danger of being popular and beautiful. It’s not as good downstairs as upstairs. The drinks are ordinary. The cake is huge. There’s a Vienna style one.”¹⁷⁾ It’s very good. DD’s Cafe has two floors, and the stairs are spiral. In addition, from the perspective of the design of the main gate and the internal architecture of the cafe, there is a very obvious sign, which has a semicircle arch structure and adopts a western style architectural style, presenting a grand, luxurious and open style. In addition, there was a DD’s on the opposite side of Sullivan on Jing’an Temple Road. The environment of DD’s was elegant, with a good mood. “But the price of drinks is high, and a cup of cocoa costs more than 200000 yuan. Fortunately, most of the visitors are foreigners, and they can’t earn our legal currency.”¹⁸⁾ But even so, there were still some people with endless stream, who liked to go there for a rest. Because they liked the “DD’s” light

15) Shi Lei, Chu Yanhui: *Life of Overseas Chinese in Old Shanghai*, China Welfare Society Press, 2004 edition, p.12.

16) Zhu Minyan, Shanghai local chronicles office: *Shanghai Famous Street Chronicles*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2004 edition, p.108.

17) *Xinmin Evening News*, February 28, 1947, 3rd Edition

18) *Xinmin Evening News*, March 16, 1948, 4th Edition.

layout is very soft and beautiful, a light blue, or purple red, as if in a trance in the mysterious cabin.¹⁹⁾ Its seat was a large sofa base, which was very comfortable. Most of the regular customers here were gentle outsiders. The environment was quiet, which was a good place to talk about love. At that time, according to statistics, most of the customers in the hotel were Mr. long gown, most of the customers of department stores were the modern ladies, and most customers of the coffee shops were the pairs of in couples.²⁰⁾ Cui wanqiu, a scholar, also solemnly introduced that DDS was a coffee shop operated by white Russian with completely European equipment, which had clean tables and chairs, and western music playing in the room. Coffee was also made sweet and delicious. Most of the modern people in Shanghai liked to meet friends here. The stairs were spiral, and the upstairs offered Russian food. In the evening, there was a White Russian band, which can dance.²¹⁾ In addition, there are two slot machines in DD's Cafe. "Coffee drinkers like to play. Although the chips are quietly eaten by the slot machine, the players are still willing to be eaten by it."²²⁾ "DDS cafe, a famous cafe on Avenue Joffre, is diagonally opposite Cathay Theatre," Actor Gu Yelu recalled later. Actors in the field of drama and film, such as Shi Chang, Han Fei, Liu Qiong, Wu Yin and I, often visit. Downstairs is the coffee shop. There are two silver Shakers (slot machines). The customers who went to drink coffee like to play. This machine can change ten chips for one yuan. Some of them will spit out several chips, and many of them will be eaten. It's said that all the corners in the machine will be spit out (English Name: cannibal). It's good luck for those who play this machine. But it's just heard, but there's almost no such miracle. Otherwise, this machine is not called slot machine. Nevertheless, the player is willing to be eaten by it."²³⁾

In addition to all kinds of modern things, singing and dancing is also a regular program in DD's Cafe. In July 1937, when DD's Cafe Club opened, it invited Melzer (k), a famous female dancer who was good at folk dance to perform. It was called "beauty, extraordinary ballet talent and perfect dancing skills" by the time. She never rigidly repeated imitation, but constantly innovated and shaped her own image. Her figure is as exquisite as the ancient Greek and Roman statues, full of gentle and beautiful female characteristics. Melzer's Waltz stunt made the whole audience fall for it. Frantsisko, another female dancer, was also very passionate.²⁴⁾ The sound equipment of DD's Cafe was also very

19) *Xinmin Evening News*, March 31, 1948, 3rd Edition.

20) *Xinmin Evening News*, November 27, 1947, 4th ed.

21) Yu Zhi: *Modern Shanghai*, p.14.

22) Yu Zhi: *Years of Compassion*, Wenhui Press, 2008 edition, p.214.

23) Yu Zhi: *The Wind Blows the Leaves*, Wenhui Press, 2013 edition, p.64.

24) Wang Zhicheng: *Russian Musicians in Shanghai: 1920s-1940s*, Shanghai Conservatory of Music Press, 2007 edition,

high-end. According to the memory of Zheng Rude, a regular customer (Zheng Yimei's son), "DDS cafe on Huaihai middle Road was quite famous in Shanghai. There were two DDS cafes in this city, the another one was on Nanjing West Road (jing'ansi Road), close to Maoming North Road (murmuring Road), whose reputation was no less than that of Huaihai Road, because this one played jazz music and world famous music all day, a floor type electric record player with 12 degree bass speaker (the best sound equipment at that time), attracting numerous young men and women, but the grade is high. The DDS in Huaihai Road only provided coffee and has no music, so the business was not as good as that in Nanjing West Road. The waitress of the latter hired two Russian girls (who were still foreign waitresses until the mid-1950s). They didn't speak or understand Chinese. Fortunately, the college students who often ran here always spoke a few words in simple English, which could also be dealt with."²⁵⁾

As a kind of new social space, the coffee shop has generated an interactive picture with the new social relationship. The emerging middle class in Shanghai had been incorporated into the logic network woven by the invisible hand of western consumerism symbolized by coffee shops. With the development of cafe culture, the essence of consumerism in cafe was becoming more and more intense. Some cafes even had all kinds of modern new toys to attract customers. For example, the famous Sullivan candy store had massage electric chairs; the New York coffee shop had lottery machines and so on.²⁶⁾ In the Royal cafe, there were fire extinguishers, medical and health equipment, etc., and the emergency exit, health equipment, telephone, etc. which were all completely available. In addition, cafes such as DD's, Kafkas, Arcadi and the Turkchenko brothers also had dance floors.

Coffee shops in this period were more connected with intellectuals. On the one hand, the cafe in Shanghai is an important place to show modern urban civilization, on the other hand, it also represents the cultural imagination of the middle class. In order to practice the cultural ideal of the middle class, the supplement of Shen Bao set up the column of "coffee caboose", which provided a free discussion space for the middle class intellectuals. On August 8, 1928, an advertisement entitled "Shanghai coffee" was published in the column of "coffee caboose". The advertisement claimed: "we found our ideal paradise where I met the celebrities in today's literary and art circles, such as Gong binglu, Lu Xun, Yu Dafu, and met Meng Chao, Pan Hannian, Ye Lingfeng, etc. some of them

p.431.

25) Yu Zhi: *The Wind Blows the Leaves*, Wenhui Press, 2013 edition, p.64.

26) *Shenbao*, April 4, 1929.

talked about their ideas there, some of them meditated in silence...²⁷⁾ Zhang Ruogu, a scholar who had studied in France, often talked and laughed with Tian Han, Fu Yanchang, Zhu Yingpeng and other friends in the Balkan coffee shop which opened by the Russians on Avenue Joffre, “Talking about literature and art, current affairs, dignitaries, nationalities and the world.”²⁸⁾ Zhang Ruogu once lamented that there was no Art Cafe opened by Chinese people in Shanghai (the late 1920s). He thought that art cafe was “a kind of equipment for modern urban life”.²⁹⁾ From the perspective of Shanghai’s modernity, it is considered that “cafe, cinema and car” together become an important symbol of the modernity of urban life. He put the cafe in the context of urban middle-class people’s life, and summed up three kinds of fun that people were keen to go to the cafe: (1) the stimulation of coffee itself, the effect “is no less than opium and wine”; (2) the cafe provides a place to talk with friends, “this is the joy of life”; (3) there are beautiful waitresses in the cafe.³⁰⁾ Although there are also male waiters in the coffee shop, it seems that the customers here are more attracted by female waiters in the coffee shop. There are two kinds of waitresses in the old Shanghai coffee shop: one is a foreign woman, the other is a Chinese girl. Among the foreign women, there are many white Russian women.”

On Avenue Joffre, there were many celebrities who called it Russian street. Russians was mainly engaged in coffee shops and groceries, while women were mainly employed as waitresses and dancers.³¹⁾ The waitresses were all well-trained and provide convenient services. “If you want a cup of coffee in a cafe, and you spend an afternoon or an evening in it, the waiter will never give you the look.”³²⁾ In addition, some high-grade cafes also required waiters to wear uniform.³³⁾ For example, the waiters in Sullivan wear green and white skirt uniform all the year round. There were even stories about Cinderella, a white Russian waitress, who found a happy cross-border marriage in a coffee shop. For example, the Shanghai Times wrote that a Russian waitress aged 28 who came from a famous family. Before the revolution, her family was rich. “In recent years, everything has been lost.

27) Revolutionary advertisement, *Yusi*, Vol. 4, No. 33, 1928, pp. 44-48.

28) Zhang Ruogu: coffee, art circle, *Shenbao*, November 4, 1927, 22nd edition.

29) Zhang Ruogu: coffee, art circle, *Shenbao*, November 4, 1927, 22nd edition.

30) Zhang Ruogu: *Symbol of Modern City Life*, published in Coffee Forum, Shanghai Zhenshanmei bookstore, 1929 edition, pp 3-8.

31) *Shenbao*, September 3, 1929.

32) Dong Leshan: Drinking Coffee in Old Shanghai, *Dongleshan Anthology (Volume 1)*, edited by Li Hui, Hebei Education Press, 2001 edition, p 226.

33) Shubi: *The Memory of An Old Collar in Shanghai*, China Writers Publishing House, 2002 edition, p 265.

A year ago, she came to Shanghai from Harbin to seek business. She started to get a job in a coffee shop in Avenue Joffre for several months. She only had little disposable income and did not enough money for food. There was a Chinese man who came to Shanghai from the South and worked for a long time. One day, he met the Russian waitress and they had a very speculative conversation and fell in love. Finally, they had a good marriage.³⁴⁾ Both Chinese and foreign waitresses have one thing in common: low status and poverty. Therefore, the coffee shop is not only a space for sexual vitality, but also a metaphysical space where the waitress tempts the men to consume coffee and wine, while playing the role of “the other”. In the cafe, the field of power has been gendered, and waitresses have replaced the role of prostitutes in other spaces. In the coffee shop, intellectuals are not only releasing the extra libido, but also enjoying the pleasure brought by gender consumption, immersing in the aroma of coffee, venting their extra hormones!

In the 1930s, cafes gradually became dance halls full of eroticism. It even triggered an order to ban young students from entering. For example, in 1934, under the New Life movement, “The police office banned students from entering dance halls and cafes. The purpose was to prevent the bad influence of young people’s real life.”³⁵⁾ There were even some cafes reduced to gambling places, such as the newspaper’s article reported that “Victor Ackerman, a Russian, set up a large gambling cave in the secret group of the Universal cafe, No.109, Yuyuan Road, which was captured by the police at 11:00 p.m. on February 10 this year. Because it was built across the border, it was transferred to the Procuratorial Office of the local court. Victor Ackerman paid 1000 yuan in cash for bailing.”³⁶⁾ At the same time, the dancers in the cafe were often controversial.³⁷⁾ In addition, the coffee shop was also a place for some secret revolutionary activities. For example, Pan Hannian and other Central Intelligence Agency personnel of the Communist Party of China chose the cafes to inform the superior, namely Jiangsu provincial Party committee, of the information obtained from the inside of the Kuomintang. The contact information between Pan Hannian and Jiangsu provincial Party committee was conveyed through LAN LAN, an actress of the drama company. They often met at the “DDS” cafe. Pan Hannian gave the secret to LAN LAN, and Sun Yefang (Secretary of Cultural Committee). In this way, they keep in touch with their superiors. In October 1931, Pan Hannian, then the chief of Central Intelligence Agency of the CPC Central Committee, and his assistant Ouyang Xin

34) *Shenbao*, May 24, 1934.

35) *Shenbao*, December 23, 1934.

36) *Shenbao*, March 10, 1937.

37) *Shenbao*, September 15, 1929.

(pseudonym Wang Zichun) met Yuan Shu at a White Russian cafe in Jing'an Temple, Shanghai. Since then, Yuan Shu met with Pan Hannian at a senior cafe at Lafayette Road, Shanzhong Road in French concession on a regular basis as a joint location.³⁸⁾

Even though the government always wants to regulate and control public places such as coffee shops through various social infiltration. But cafes are still attractive to students, company employees, and intellectuals. Cao Juren recalled, "I don't like coffee. It's the manifestation of the yokel. Therefore, I seldom get to understand the Paris sentiment on Avenue Joffre in Shanghai and the mysterious scenery on the North Sichuan Road. My friend, who loves "hatching" coffee shop, is poetic and funny. I'd better go to "hatching" tea house with Mr. Zhang (Tianfang). Mr. Zhang, he is a doctor of literature from the University of Paris. He took me to the teahouse and became a fetish for a long time. He plays with his antiques, and I play with my current directors. I have my own income. I'll go back with pleasure and wait for others."³⁹⁾ Cao Juren regards himself as a native and has an obvious attitude of rejection towards the cafe, preferring to taste tea in the traditional cafe. He also pointed out that his tea friend was overseas returnee. The implication is that he despises his friends who love "hatching" the cafe. Cao's nationalist attitude is a conscious resistance to the western colonialism implied by the cafe. However, it is quite interesting that in another historical material, Cao Juren claimed that he loved coffee and was totally different from each other. According to his recollection, "when we drink coffee, we love to go to the cafe on the seventh floor of the international hotel. There, facing the horse racing hall, the breeze comes slowly, which can relieve the summer heat. It's quite like sitting in Peninsula Hotel, Hongkong."⁴⁰⁾

At that time, the coffee shop in Shanghai seemed to be the exhibition place of western imported products and lifestyle. Because, passers-by on the roadside can see the leisure and comfort of people tasting coffee in the cafe through the window along the street of the cafe. Most of the cafes in Shanghai are railway seats, which are arranged with different characteristics. One thing is the same: quiet. At first, people wondered why the people inside were whispering like they were saying romance words, as if they were totally different from the traditional social occasions of Chinese people - the teahouse, which was cold and uninhabited. In a sense, this is also a collision between

38) Edited by the Research Office of party history of Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of China: *Pan Hannian in Shanghai*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1995 edition, p 37.

39) Cao Juren, Cao Lei, Cao Xianyong: *Spring and Autumn in Shanghai*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1996 edition, page 249.

40) Cao Juren, Cao Lei, Cao Xianyong: *Spring and Autumn in Shanghai*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1996 edition, page 136.

Chinese and Western cultures, and the result is that the coffee shop robbed the business of the teahouse. Fortunately, it's in Shanghai. If it's in hinterland, the cafe can only come and go in a gray way. Because of the elegant atmosphere and comfortable environment of the cafe, the fashionable Shanghai talents will step out of the hot and noisy teahouse one after another, and step into the quiet cafe door.⁴¹⁾ In Zhang Ruogu's article, the author wrote: "it's really interesting to sit there. There is a small upright table with a small side of plain white cloth, a small porcelain bottle, and two or three fresh and fragrant flowers. From the brilliance of silver vessels, there is a faint reflection of the jade faces of the men and women beside. There are three or five groups of young men walking outside the window Women, a team of people walk along the street. It's a common stroller on Avenue Joffre at nightfall. In Shanghai, there's only this road. In the shade of trees, there are all kinds of middle and upper class friends, friends and families. Among them, there are French, Russian, and many Chinese. Men don't wear hats, and women wear scattered hair. Here they are A walk around the neighborhood I can't hear the noise of cars and horses, the shouting of peddlers, and I can't breathe the stink of dust. There are only subtle fans dancing, the vibration of metal spoon and fork couple touching the magnetic cup, and one or two lines of piano music sent from upstairs..."⁴²⁾ The emergence of cafe provides a symbolic space of western culture for citizens. As the western scholars Douglas and Isherwood think, any choice of objects is the result of culture, which creates culture. People communicate with other consumers through consumption, and the accumulation of these cultural consumption behaviors constitutes the creation of culture. The fundamental basis and meaning source of this system, as well as the real communication of consumer culture, is a hidden cognitive order.⁴³⁾ In this sense, the consumption of coffee by the middle class in Shanghai was very popular. They like to experience what others (Westerners) are going through, and the fact that foreigners are going through and like something will make the employees in Shanghai rush for it.

41) Jiang Weimin, editor in chief: *Fashionable Grandma: Pursuing the Fashionable Life of Old Shanghai*, Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2003 edition, p 87.

42) *Shenbao*, August 11, 1928

43) Douglas and Isherwood., *The World of Goods* (Routledge, 1996), pp.52-68.

III. “Production of Space” and Coffee Shop as Public Space

The cafe is also what Bourdieu calls a “compartmentalized” space. A regular customer recalled that when he first walked into Guangming Cafe (the predecessor of the people’s Hotel), he went into the red carpet. Because the leather shoes used to have hard leather soles, he walked all the way, only heard the sound of leather shoes “creak” without any other sound. It was this initial impression that made the old man persistently associated the coffee shop with the words “grade” and “taste” in the future. It’s true that the coffee shop is a relatively high-end place, but the coffee shops on the street are not a place where pedestrians can enter at will, and those who enter must always pay attention to their dress and behavior. If you rush in wearing a vest and slippers, don’t blame the waiter for inviting you out. At that time, there were several kinds of Chinese who went to the coffee shop. The most important ones were the senior staff who worked for foreigners. In today’s words, they were white-collar workers of foreign enterprises. Most of them are the staff in the office on the Bund. Before going to work in the morning, they go to the cafe on Nanjing Road to have a coffee, bake sandwiches, spread jam or butter, and then go to work after eating two pieces.⁴⁴⁾ Take sevina cafe for example. It was located in the opposite side of rally ball stadium in South Shaanxi Road. Before the Anti Japanese War, most of the customers were Spanish rally ball players and pearly foreign women. Chinese people would not go there. After the Anti Japanese War, it became a place for Chinese Dramatists to go in and out. The entrance is the train seat between the north and the south, customers who returned from Chongqing often sat in the north, and Shanghai customers often sat in the south. It seems that there is a difference between Jing and Wei, but the stars on the seat are bright.⁴⁵⁾ Sevina cafe had simple equipment, low price and few customers. At that time, many film workers, painters, writers and poets, mainly from Kunlun film company, often sat at several fixed tables from afternoon to evening.⁴⁶⁾ According to the memory of Feng Yidai, a scholar, “when I left Shanghai in 1938, there were concessions. In some buildings on the Bund of Nanjing Road, such as the grand and luxurious Huizhong Hotel and the Sassoon building, and the cafe on the capital building of Fuzhou Road, the Chinese couldn’t enter. The Japanese militarists took back the concessions on our behalf, and these

44) Jiang Weimin, editor in chief: *Fashionable Grandma: Pursuing the Fashionable Life of old Shanghai*, Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2003 edition, p.87.

45) Feng Yidai: *Washing Up the Lead*, China Worker Press, 2007 edition, p.79.

46) Zhaohua, *A Supplement of Liberation Daily*, Chinese Dictionary Press, 1996 edition, p.440.

places opened for the Chinese.”⁴⁷⁾ This mood is obviously complicated and delicate.

Drinking coffee also has its internal way, or it can also be called “coffee scriptures”! According to a regular customer, “Other things, you can also drink French coffee, that is, put a small half spoon of brandy in the coffee. If you put whisky, it will become royal coffee in England, and put rum into Washington coffee in the United States. These coffees have a smell of wine.” “There’s a rule for coffee. Spoon can’t be put in the cup. After mixing the sugar, the spoon should be put on the tray.” In the impression of the old coffee customer, these unwritten rules seem to be from Hollywood movies. “There are three steps to drinking milk coffee: the first step is not to drink coffee, but to smell it, and how about its fragrance.” The second step is to put down the coffee cup, not put sugar, not put milk to drink two, taste its original juice. Finally, put milk and sugar to drink.⁴⁸⁾ To emphasis on modern things such as coffee, to some extent, metaphors a kind of identity “separation”. It is not only separated from other social classes in the city, especially the lower class of the city, such as the working class and the urban poor, but also different levels of the middle class.

The location of the cafe is not disorderly, but in accordance with the location of the city. The taste consumption of middle-class citizens to coffee shops is not only reflected in the skill or doorway of drinking coffee. It is more reflected in where to taste coffee.

For the middle class cultural taste revealed by the cafe. In the intellectual class, they also hold different views and attitudes. For example, Lu Xun’s critical tone of the so-called “revolutionary cafe” which located in North Sichuan Road was very spicy and spare no effort. According to Rao Hongjing, who ran the cafe, there were many people going to drink coffee after the cafe opened. Lu Xun wrote: “the door is a glittering glass signboard, the upstairs is” our celebrities in today’s literary and art circles”, or talk, or ponder, in front of a large cup of steaming proletarian coffee, and in the distance are many “dirty peasants and workers”. They are drinking, thinking, talking, guiding and gaining. That is, but it is also an “ideal paradise.”⁴⁹⁾

Lu Xun’s satire on the revolutionary intellectuals in the revolutionary cafe, especially his emphasis on the word proletarian coffee. In Lu Xun’s view, these left-wing scholars met in cafes and talked freely about the revolutionary ideals of the proletariat. The left-wing intellectuals appreciate and enjoy the consumption culture and life style of the middle class. Through the coffee shop as the

47) Feng Yidai: *Washing Up the Lead*, China Workers Press, 2007 edition, p p.79-80.

48) Jiang Weimin, editor in chief: *Fashionable Grandma: Pursuing the Fashionable Life of Old Shanghai*, Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2003 edition, p 88.

49) Lu Xun: *Revolutionary Cafe*, Yu Zhi, Cheng Xinguo: *Records of Old Shanghai Customs (I)*, Wenhui press, 1998 edition, p.5.

object, the clumsy imitation of Shanghai's colonial modernity on the western "middle class life style" is presented and revealed one by one. In Lu Xun's view, the cultural significance of coffee tasting and the symbolic orientation conveyed through its appearance are so incompatible with the proletarian revolutionary cause. Although Shanghai coffee shop is called revolutionary coffee shop, its western connotation and even strong sense of exclusion are beyond doubt, which is obviously contrary to the proletarian revolutionary ideal advocated by the left-wing intellectuals as coffee consumers. In the distance background, many "dirty peasants and workers" that they should really care about are just placed in the urban landscape of left-wing intellectuals' self weaving as the background, cutting the industrial and agricultural revolution from its real social foundation. In order to express the dissatisfaction and resistance to this artificial middle class cultural interest and colonial modernity, like Cao Juren, Lu Xun himself basically only drinks tea, but also green tea. Lu Xun himself also said from time to time, "I use the coffee drinking time of others in my work."⁵⁰ In Lu Xun's choice of drinking Chinese green tea or coffee as a foreign product from the West, it's not hard to find the contradiction and dilemma between tea and coffee. Lu Xun's rejection of coffee (in the West) and his favor for green tea (in China) no longer only resulted from his personal preference, but also expressed that when the intellectual elites encountered the western culture as "the other", they consciously adhered to their identity and obligations to the traditional cultural identity in the face of the digestion process of traditional Chinese culture and social ethical values under the impact of the West. However, it can be found in other historical materials that Lu Xun did not completely exclude coffee shops; on the contrary, he often met with some left-wing literary youth here. For example, Lu Xun often invited some literary youth to meet in the White Russian cafe on North Sichuan Road. The cafe is close to Lu Xun's apartment and Uchiyama bookstore. In June 5, 1930, Lu Xun asked Roushi to meet him here; in December 1932, Ge Qin and several friends were thirsty to see Lu Xun in the mountain bookstore. For the convenience of conversation, Lu Xun came to the cafe with them to talk. In 1934, Lu Xun and Xu Guangping asked Xiao Hong to meet at the cafe.

On the other hand, Lu Xun mainly focused on criticizing the traditional Chinese culture represented by the ancient "Beijing" in the May 4th movement, but in the 1930s, Lu Xun paid more attention to the critical examination of the modern Chinese culture represented by the "present" Shanghai style? In 1930's China, there was a process of industrialization and urbanization in the trading port city with Shanghai as the center. The modern urban civilization established according to the western model has developed rapidly. The consumption culture marked by the buildings of

50) *Complete Works of Lu Xun, Vol. 20*, People's Literature Press, 1972 edition, p. 663.

ballroom, park and international hotel has been extremely expanded. Obviously, Lu Xun found a new reproduction of the relationship between oppression and slavery in the modern urban civilization of Shanghai, not limited to the production of space. In modern things such as coffee shops, the fierce men who are not afraid to move forward always find a “semi colonialism” in the social and cultural structure of Shanghai concession. The modernization process of Shanghai society in 1930’s was accompanied by “semi colonialism”, which is unavoidable. Through these appearances, we can see the collision and mixture of the new and old cultures.

Now it seems that Lu Xun’s exclusion of coffee shops inevitably has a misunderstanding of the times. From 1927 to 1929, Lu Xun and the left-wing literature group had different views on the “revolution”. Therefore, around different understandings of the revolution, Gongka cafe, located on North Sichuan Road, had become an ideal place to discuss these political topics and a veritable public sphere. Many preparatory meetings before the official establishment of the “leftist League” were held in the public coffee shop. According to Xia Yan, “the preparatory meeting is usually held twice a week, sometimes every two or three days. The venue is almost fixed in a small room on the second floor of the coffee shop, which can accommodate a dozen people.”⁵¹⁾ In Lu Xun’s diary on February 16, 1930, there was also a record of “drinking coffee with Roushi and Xuefeng in the afternoon”.⁵²⁾ A group meeting of the National Salvation Association was held secretly in Sullivan coffee house, where the propaganda work related to the Anti Japanese national salvation movement was discussed. Sullivan coffee house is “a rather luxurious and famous entertainment place in Shanghai, with high prices. Every noon and afternoon at 3 or 4 o’clock, the so-called overseas Chinese and so-called ordinary high-level Chinese come to eat, drink tea, coffee or Ice cream.”⁵³⁾ Sullivan cafe is a high-level entertainment place in Shanghai, which had been chosen to hold a meeting by the National Salvation Association Group, it is quite unexpected and has a protective effect. Some left-wing writers even used the cafe as a studio and meeting room. For example, Feng Yidai recalled that “Xia Yan lived in a lane house on Jing’an Temple Road, near the DD’s Cafe.” At that time, I was running a “world Morning Post”. If you have any questions, you can find them all in this shop. I call it Xia Lao’s reception room. This cafe has a special feature. The coffee is cooked and sold on the counter. When it is cooked, it is full of fragrance. The blue flame on the first floor is particularly striking in the dark shop, which makes people daydream. Sometimes Xia Yan wrote his popular essay “earthworm’s

51) Xia Yan: *Lazy Pursuit of Old Dreams* (Supplement), Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2006 edition, p. 99.

52) *Complete Works of Lu Xun, Vol. 14*, People’s Literature Press, 1981 edition, p. 810.

53) Gu Zhizhong: *A Journalist’s Life*, Jiangsu Ancient Books Publishing House, 1991 edition, p.578.

eye" in the slot, which made the reactionaries have a headache."⁵⁴⁾ Similarly, DD's, with its elegant environment, had a strong French Russian flavor, so it also attracted many people in the literary and art circles like the coffee shop in Paris. Scholars and poets were the customers here, and even many people had fixed seats here. For example, on March 4, 1947, "the preparatory meeting for Tian Han's 50th birthday celebration will be held at Avenue Joffre brother's Cafe at 3pm this day." Such a thing was not the only case; there should be many such cases. Many writers had been forced to flee to the cafe for a quiet writing environment because of their narrow living space (in fact, most of them live in caged pavilions, so they are also called "Pavilion" Writers), and the noise in the lane interferes with their writing.⁵⁵⁾

Cafe itself came to China as a product of Western civilization, and the intellectual group undoubtedly has a rather contradictory and delicate psychology. On the one hand, cafe is a metaphor for imperialist aggression, a symbol of ideology as a way of life for the middle class, which seems to be fundamentally opposite to the ideal of national liberation and revolution. However, the urban middle-class citizens, especially the intellectuals, get concrete and real modernity experience and sensory pleasure by drinking coffee in the coffee shop. Experience and experience in public spaces such as coffee shops provide a "cognitive framework" that can be "understood" (or misunderstood), and a "discourse model" that can be expressed.

A writer also recalled the rise of Shanghai cafes in the 1930s. According to his recollection, the special coffee shop in Shanghai was probably founded in "the seventeen or eight years of the Republic of China". I'm afraid some of the new writers of literature and art in China are still the first ones who didn't get along with coffee. "At that time, the coffee shop was still unique in Shanghai." In the year of the Republic of China, when Proletarian Literature was just rising in China, I didn't know who had the chance to open the first coffee shop in the history of Shanghai on the North Sichuan Road, known as the mysterious street, with the signboard of "Shanghai jiawangfei". From the word "coffee" "written as" "jiawangfei", we can know that people would drink it at that time, coffee was not popular in Shanghai. This first coffee shop can also be opened first. There were also waitresses in it, so it attracted the general sensitive new literature and art writers to flock to it. Everyone thinks that there would be some "smoothies" in it, especially the general prose writers such as Jiang Guangci and Ye Lingfeng, who would arrive every day. They even unconsciously got their real experience in life from the coffee shop, written into their so-called works of Proletarian Literature, had become

54) Feng Yidai: *Washing up the Lead*, China Workers Press, 2007 edition, p.78.

55) Su Zhiliang: *A History of Shanghai Urban Area (Volume II)*, Xuelin Press, 2011 edition, p.1056.

the material of counterattack against the cynicism of pros writers.”⁵⁶⁾ It can be seen from this that the early cafes were really related to a group of cultural people and writers. The relationship between writers and cafe is a common phenomenon in western society, especially in Paris, France and other places. It can be seen that, taking the group of literati and writers as an example, the coffee shop is the gathering place for people with the same cultural and economic background, sometimes even their main workplace.

Unfortunately, the two coffee houses are claimed to be the first to appear in Shanghai (in fact, they are not), but they both seem to be ephemeral and disappear quickly. In the middle and late 1930s, “The gathering place of the cafe was quite different from that of the literati and poets. That is to say, the cafe, which used to be a flash in the pan, has been in the prime for a while. However, today’s cafe has no literary and artistic atmosphere, and it’s filled with ordinary people and upstarts; and the band, female songs Hands, dancing, etc. It goes against the tenet of the cafe.”⁵⁷⁾ From this point of view, it also shows that the expansion of the coffee shop customer group, it had become an entertainment place that the majority of citizens, mainly the urban middle class, are willing to patronize.

IV. Conclusion

In general, coffee shops, together with the rising magazines and cinemas, have become a model of the family life of the middle class in Shanghai, a model of westernized scientific health and reasonable living habits, a dichotomy rooted in the traditional / modern, China / West, the “foreign world” and the “local world”, and they have self-awareness of modernity and try to compete with the so-called ignorance, superstition and decline The model of consumption pattern separated by rural social areas. As the stage of social and political activities, cafes play a central role in urban life, which is an important field of national and social life. As a dynamic public space, coffee shop plays an important role in the rise and development of public life and public domain with the expansion of

56) Shi Tan: Art Coffee, *The Taste of Shanghai*, edited by Yang Binhua, Time Art Publishing House, 2002 edition, p.113. In addition, the two coffee houses mentioned here are the earliest specialized coffeehouses in Shanghai, which seems to conflict with the previous *Shanghai guide*. The records in the 1917 Shanghai guide still prevail. It is suspected that the author’s information is wrong.

57) Shi Tan: Art Coffee, *The Taste of Shanghai*, edited by Yang Binhua, Time Art Publishing House, 2002 edition, p.115.

economy and the rise of business and consumer culture. This is also a significant sign of the gradual growth of the civil society in modern China. At the same time, it should be noted that coffee shops and cinemas are popular public places for leisure and entertainment. Their own operation, like public affairs, depends on the participation of the public, and they are also spaces for making the public.

Shanghai's huge European architecture and brick roads built in the first half of the 20th century reflect the city's great integration with the world. These places constantly remind people that the construction of old Shanghai lacks the overall planning and layout - but its charm is enduring. The emergence of new public leisure spaces, such as parks, cinemas and cafes, has provided a model of modern life style and a stage of daily publicity for modern urbanites (such as the middle class).

The emergence of public spaces, such as cafes, cinemas and parks, shows the emergence of "mass" centered on the middle class. Furthermore, we can further explore the different development paths of the publicity of modern Chinese urban society. For Chinese people, there is only private space and official space. In such a public space as cafe, every individual has equal rights and should be respected. In these public spaces, urbanites who have just left rural life experience modern life characterized by Western material civilization. This kind of modern leisure life in the industrial era meets the needs of people who are eager to relax after working nine to five days a day. Outside the private field of urban families, an open public space has been created. With the convenience provided by this kind of public space, people are able to clean up their old opinions and be better at accepting new ideas. A more sensitive and flexible public opinion of Enlightenment has gradually formed in urban life. What's more, in this space, people can maintain rich and changeable "weak contact" with strangers they meet. The openness of the space makes them get rid of isolation, make them close to each other, better participate in public life, and integrate into the new urban community. Thus, in addition to the family space that pays attention to private morality, gradually cultivate the "public personality" that cares about public affairs. As a result, cafes are not only places for leisure, but also places for people to spend time and escape from their hard work and business. It's a serious social situation with structure. Although the structure is limited, it has considerable flexibility. Different from teahouses, coffee houses represent the interest of the rising professional elites, provide new entertainment and leisure ways for urban residents, and reflect a significant social differentiation of urban society. The essence and significance of this differentiation still need more analysis. For example, for some social groups (such as literati groups) and ethnic groups, coffee shops are the gathering place of people with the same cultural and economic background, and the main activity center of their social communication. In a word, the catalytic effect on community and public space is the main contribution of cafe culture to modern China. The essence of modern urban life is the expansion of the citizens, the emergence of the enlightened masses and the formation of the mass society. As

Habermas thought, the public in modern society formed from these social occasions, and thought that the public was only an extension of the core of coffee shop, so it also set the tone of “public”.

At the same time, we should also see that through the historical narration of this tiny public space, we can know that the society of the Republic of China cannot be simply described as the rose colored Shanghai modern. Before 1949, Chinese capitalism grew up difficultly under the conditions of bureaucrats and semi colonies. Even in such a modern industrial and commercial city as Shanghai, there is no complete sense of civil society. What we see more, is the middle class people in Shanghai who have the character of “small citizens”. Although their development direction of modernity is very clear. However, in modern Shanghai, the order of “mass” hindered the progress towards a mature and responsible “civil society”.

Ethical considerations

Ethical issues (including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and/or falsification, double publication and/or submission, and redundancy) have been completely observed by authors.

Conflict of Interests

The authors have no conflict of interests to declare.

[原始中文]

公共空间、城市文化与现代性：近代上海的咖啡馆 (1900-1949)

1. 引言

有一句谚语说：“咖啡馆是最能体现西方文化的场所。”在历史上咖啡馆更多的呈现一种独特的文化现象，在哈贝马斯的讨论中，咖啡馆正是公共领域的具象体现。¹⁾ 在30年代上海文人的笔下（左翼文学和新感觉派等），咖啡馆更多的被赋予了想象西方的价值，“咖啡店的确是现代生活之一大象征，也是二十世纪人类的一大杰作”。²⁾ 一方面上海的咖啡馆，是西方现代文明的表征。中产阶级分子们可以在这里轻松地交换主张，参与政治性辩论，知识分子们在这里可以集体参与改进中国社会及民族救亡的谋划。位于上海租界内的咖啡馆，在某种程度上是一种对西方公共领域的想象，这恰恰与“五四”运动以后左翼知识分子对现代化的热切期望不谋而合。在进入这类新型公共空间的时候，作为半殖民地国家的经验和这种公共空间所内含的等级秩序与权力关系都被淡化乃至遮蔽。然而事实上20世纪上半叶的公共空间在很多时候是一小群人的集会，其内部是平等开放的，不受身份、地位、出身的限制，但是并不是每个人都能获得加入的资格，这些空间往往要求参加者有一定的消费能力并且受过良好教育。这是一个沟通的领域、交谈的场合，而且是公开的、一般人即可参与的，在都市广泛存在的社交场合。咖啡馆以及各种娱乐场所的出现使得思想的碰撞和传播成为可能，由此“公众”的概念初步形成。仿佛如咖啡馆在西方18世纪市民社会形成过程中所起作用一般，只不过

1) 关于近代上海咖啡馆的研究，已有一定的研究论文加以探讨论述，譬如，Laikwan Pang（彭丽君），“The Collective Subjectivity of Chinese Intellectuals and Their Cafe Culture in Republican Shanghai” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (March 2006): 24-42. 胡悦晗：《茶社、酒楼与咖啡馆：民国时期上海知识群体的休闲生活(1927—1937)》，《衡阳师范学院学报》2015年第2期；王琼、王军珂：《咖啡馆：上海二十世纪初的现代性想象空间》，《粤海风》2006年第4期；这些研究大多是从上海摩登、文学现代性和殖民主义的角度来探讨，尤其聚焦于知识分子与咖啡馆的复杂关系。对于作为公共空间甚至公共领域的咖啡馆，以及咖啡馆与市民大众、现代生活方式、公众观念的塑造之间关系，则缺乏关注，本文试图从这些领域加以探讨论述。

2) 悟：《咖啡店中的女侍》，《申报》1928年8月20日，第30版。

在18世纪时候的伦敦，咖啡馆是一个“只有男人才被允许进入‘咖啡社交圈’”。³⁾正如英国史学家蕾欧诺尔·达维多夫 (Leonore Davidoff) 在《家庭财富：1780-1850年间英国中产阶级的男人与女人》一书中所指出的，“虽说不是有了咖啡馆、沙龙和社会聚会，公众观念就一定会产生，但有了它们，公众观念才能成为观念，进而成为客观要求。”⁴⁾公共领域在近代早期欧洲的发展，促进了资本主义的扩张，像咖啡馆、酒吧、广场等公共空间，成为社会活动和公众舆论的萌发地，让人们在自愿的基础上进行交流。

II. 咖啡馆：现代生活方式的展示场所

咖啡进入近代中国是在鸦片战争前，清朝闭关锁国，只留广州一个通商口岸，在广州居留的洋商找不到咖啡馆，只能自己开店。大约1836年前后，就在今天广州十三行服装批发市场附近，丹麦人开了一家咖啡馆，那是广州的第一家咖啡馆，也是中国的第一家咖啡馆。

近代上海最早提供咖啡的，是英国药剂师劳惠霖 (J. Lewellyn) 在1853年于花园弄 (今南京东路) 1号开的老德记药店。它虽叫药店，但也经营糕点和洋食。在上海，去咖啡馆喝咖啡这种休闲方式盛行于法租界，咖啡馆也主要分布于法租界霞飞路。这里与布满摩天大楼和百货公司、散发着商业气息的公共租界不同，处处展示的是法国的文化情调。此外，上海的咖啡馆不仅有法国情调的，还有意大利和俄国情调的咖啡馆，北四川路也是咖啡馆比较集中的地方，这里的咖啡馆有白俄开设的，也有日本人开设的。尤其日本人开设的咖啡馆的布置颇有特色，张挂和式年红灯笼，侍者均操日语，这是曾经东渡扶桑的留学生们爱去的地方。

咖啡馆的流行，一面展现了异国风情，一面也在新建的娱乐场所中呈现了想象力。同电影和汽车一样，咖啡馆也是一种现代性象征，一种闪烁着法兰西艺术魅力、精致的现代性。公共租界的联邦 (Federal) 咖啡馆和霞飞路上的文艺复兴 (Renaissance) 咖啡馆以及其他档次稍低一点的咖啡馆，在1930年前后遇到了豪华的卡迪尔 (Theophile Gautier) 和雷尼尔 (Henride Regnier) 咖啡馆的激烈竞争。咖啡馆很受从日本回来的作家青睐，因为咖啡馆在日本早已普及，咖啡文明由于《咖啡座谈》和《咖啡店之一夜》等作品而闻名。对年轻的知识分子来说，咖啡馆让茶馆失去了魅力。但在老城和工人聚居区，甚至就在租界，茶馆依旧

3) Habermas, *Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*, Cambridge 1989, p.33.

4) Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p.416.

是人来人往的地方。⁵⁾

上海的咖啡馆的确是其融合西方文化的主要特征之一。据薛理勇的考证，中国最早记载咖啡的历史文献可追溯至1887年的《申江百咏》，其中一段竹枝词描写了西方餐馆在客人用过主菜之后，向他们奉上咖啡。⁶⁾ 早期上海对咖啡的翻译至少有五种译法或写法：“磕肥”，“高翻”、珈琲、考非、咖啡。其中将咖啡翻译成“磕肥”和“高翻”等词在晚清的小说中时有出现。而“珈琲”一词则不是从译音而来，而是从日语借用过来的。如20世纪二三十年代上海有多家日本的咖啡馆，店名就写着珈琲二字。⁷⁾ 在洋行中任职员的上海人也随西人之饮食习惯，吃起了西餐，喝起了咖啡。上海的洋行职员初喝咖啡，很不习惯其苦涩之味，喻之为喝咳嗽药水。很多早期的西餐馆都提供咖啡馆，如沙利文、凯司令等，但真正营业性的咖啡馆出现较晚。1909年由商务印书馆出版的《上海指南》，尚无单独的咖啡馆记载，只是在介绍西式菜肴时，包含咖啡在内，当时不叫咖啡，而称为“加非”。⁸⁾ 1918年出版的《上海指南》上有西餐馆35家，而咖啡馆仅一家，1920年以后咖啡馆才较普遍。⁹⁾ 咖啡馆日渐风行起来，以至于1917年黄楚九兴建大世界之时，都不忘在大世界屋顶上特设立一个咖啡厅。大致到了20年代末，咖啡店俨然已成了一种时髦事物。约朋友一起一边喝茶或喝咖啡，一边进行思想交流，甚至只是消磨时光，业已成为知识分子普遍的休闲方式。1920年代始大量涌现的咖啡馆：霞飞路上的D D'S、文艺复兴、巴尔干、特卡琴科、君士坦丁堡、伟多利，南京路上的沙利文，静安寺路上的沙利文分店、D D'S C a f e、飞达、凯司令、皇家，亚尔培路（今陕西南路）上的巴塞龙那、赛维纳、立德尔，北四川路上的公啡、上海珈等，多以其精雅的布置和浓郁的欧陆风情吸引了城市中产阶层的光顾。到了40年代，咖啡馆的经营形式更趋于多样化。据1946年统计，“上海登记注册的咖啡馆为186家，如加上餐馆、旅社、娱乐场所、宵夜店等处设立的咖啡间，估计当时可以饮到咖啡的地方不下500家。”¹⁰⁾ 甚至有戏院也专门开设咖啡馆，“某大戏院新添咖啡馆须添雇茶房数位，凡口才伶俐，身家清白请即到四马路升平楼下新群旅馆二号陈君接洽”。¹¹⁾

咖啡馆不是每个人都能消费得起的地方，“DDS或沙利文巧克力店的咖啡是两杯1元多，蛋

5) (法) 白吉尔著：《上海史：走向现代之路》，王菊译，上海社会科学院出版社2005年版，第226页。

6) 薛理勇：《旧上海租界史话》，上海社会科学院出版社2002年版，第280页。

7) 余之：《摩登上海》，上海书店出版社2003年版，第10页。

8) 上海商务印书馆：《上海指南》1909年版，酒店一第6页。另有一说法，到1886年，公共租界（今虹口区）出现了一家独立营业的咖啡馆，即“虹口咖啡馆”主要对航海人员开放。这家咖啡馆不仅供应咖啡，还出售黄啤酒及黑啤酒，但不卖烈性酒或其他含有酒精的饮料。

9) 石磊、楚焰辉：《老上海侨民生活》，中国福利会出版社2004年版，第12页。

10) 薛理勇：《旧上海租界史话》，上海社会科学院出版社2002年版，第283页。

11) 《招请茶房侍者》，《申报》1929年1月25日，第19版。

糕则更贵，约5元”¹²⁾ 另有数据显示，1930年代，咖啡一般的价格在2角—7角5分之间，租界里的娱乐场所更贵。¹³⁾ 张爱玲在《双声》中，描述她与炎樱逛街买鞋后到咖啡馆歇脚时，这样说道，“在咖啡馆里，每个人一块奶油蛋糕，另外要一份奶油，一杯热巧克力加奶油，另外要一份奶油”。¹⁴⁾

评论家黄震耀在一篇名为《我们底上海》的文章中认为，当时上海的咖啡馆主要集中法租界及虹口（日本人聚居区）这两个地区。其中法租界内的咖啡馆主要集中在霞飞路上。在霞飞路上，不同的咖啡馆有不同的氛围，如亚尔培路（今陕西南路）上的“巴赛龙那”和“塞维尔”充满了西班牙情调。一些无国籍侨民喜欢上巴赛龙那，除了喝咖啡，再有就是搞几本真真假假的护照。¹⁵⁾ 的的斯（DD'S也有个亲切的译法——弟弟斯）、卡夫卡斯（Kavkas）、文艺复兴（Renaissance）、君士坦丁堡（Constantinople）是其中最著名的4家，可以说咖啡馆和酒吧是淮海路西餐业的主力。如特卡琴科兄弟咖啡餐厅（1933年10月易主盘于里亚林改名阿尔卡扎尔咖啡餐厅），不仅是上海开设较早的花园餐厅之一，其规模更居法租界之首，仅一个花园，即可置咖啡桌百余张；文艺复兴咖啡馆是俄侨聚会的沙龙；DD'S咖啡馆又为中外雅士汇聚处。¹⁶⁾

DD'S咖啡馆是当时上海最负盛名的几家咖啡馆之一。该店由一个白俄开设，有着浓厚的法俄风味。所以很多白俄青年男女到上海后的第一份工作就是在DD'S当招待，DD'S在上海的名声由此可见一斑。它当时的具体门牌号已经不得而知了，不过据说“霞飞路的DD'S，离兰心只不过一箭之遥，假使散戏颇早的话，不妨弯进去坐一下，再回家也不迟。这家罗宋作风很浓的咖啡馆，虽然还不至于像对过的卡夫卡斯那样门可罗雀，却今有兴美人迟暮之虞。楼下不如楼上，饮料平常，蛋糕特大，有种维也纳式的，甚好。”¹⁷⁾ DD'S咖啡馆有两层楼面，楼梯采用的是螺旋形。此外，从咖啡馆的大门设计和内部的建筑来看，有一个很明显的标志，都呈有半圆拱形的结构，采用的是西式的建筑风格，呈现出气派、豪华、开阔的风格。另外，静安寺路上沙利文的斜对面也有一家“DD'S”。DD'S的环境是优雅的，情调颇佳，“惟饮品价昂，可可一杯竟需20余万元，好在前往者多为洋人，赚不了我们的法币也。”¹⁸⁾ 不过即使这样，喜欢到那儿去休息一下、歇歇脚的仍是络绎不绝。因为他们喜欢“DD'S灯光布

12) 李欧梵著：《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国（1930-1945）》，毛尖译，北京大学出版社2001年版，第146页。

13) 徐迟等：《上海众生相》，上海新中国报社1942年版，第79页。

14) 陶方宣：《张爱玲美食》，上海远东出版社2008年版，第167页。

15) 石磊、楚焰辉：《老上海侨民生活》，第12页。

16) 朱敏彦、上海市地方志办公室：《上海名街志》，上海社会科学院出版社2004年版，第108页。

17) 《今宵何处去》，《新民晚报》1947年2月28日，第3版。

18) 《天上宴开东洋进宝》，《新民晚报》1948年3月16日，第4版。

置的极为柔和优美，一片淡蓝色，或者紫红色，仿佛置身于迷离恍惚神秘小屋中。”¹⁹⁾ 它的座位是沙发大库座，舒适异常，这里的常客又大多是些文质彬彬的外人，环境静悄悄的，是一个谈情说爱的好地方。当时有人统计，酒店座上客以长衫先生为多，百货店顾主，以摩登女士为多，咖啡馆则以成双作对者为多。²⁰⁾ 文人崔万秋也郑重其事地介绍道：DDS是白俄经营的咖啡馆，设备完全欧洲式，桌椅整洁，室内播放着西洋音乐。咖啡也煮得香甜可口。上海的摩登人士多半喜欢到这里会朋友，楼梯作螺旋型，楼上供给罗宋大菜，晚间有白俄乐队，可以跳舞。²¹⁾ 此外，DD' S咖啡馆中设有两台吃角子老虎机，“去喝咖啡的客人都喜欢玩，虽然筹码被老虎机无声无息地吃掉，但是玩者依然是心甘情愿地被它吃掉身上的角子。”²²⁾

演员顾也鲁日后回忆：“DDS咖啡馆，这是霞飞路上有名的咖啡馆，在国泰电影院斜对面。话剧、电影界的演员如石挥、韩非、刘琼、吴茵和我，常去光顾。楼下是咖啡室，有两台摇银机（吃角子老虎机），去喝咖啡的客人都喜欢玩，此机一元可换十只筹码，有的会吐出几只筹码，多的会吐被吃掉了。传说机子里的角子会全部吐出来（英文叫“夏克堡”），那是玩此机者交好运了。但这只是听说，却几乎没有出现过这等奇迹，不然这机子就不叫是吃角子老虎机了。尽管如此，玩者依然是心甘情愿地被它吃掉身上的角子。”²³⁾

除了种种摩登玩意儿，歌舞表演也是DD' S咖啡馆的常备节目。1937年7月，弟弟斯咖啡馆夜总会开业时，便曾邀请擅跳民风舞之著名女舞蹈家梅尔策(Mel'tser, K)献艺。时人称其集“美貌、非凡的芭蕾才华和完美无缺的舞技”于一身。她从不刻板地重复模仿，而是不断创新，塑造自己的形象。她的身材有如古希腊罗马雕像那样精美绝伦，充满温柔优美的女性特色。梅尔策的华尔兹特技舞使全场为之倾倒。而另一位女舞蹈家弗兰齐丝科(Frantsisko)的舞步亦十分火辣奔放。²⁴⁾ DD' S咖啡馆的音响设备也是相当高档，据一位老顾客郑汝德（郑逸梅的公子）回忆：“淮海中路（霞飞路）上的DDS咖啡馆在沪上颇有名气。在本市有两家DDS咖啡馆，另一家在南京西路（静安寺路），靠近茂名北路（慕尔鸣路），名声绝不亚于淮海路那家，因为这一家整天播放爵士乐、世界名曲，一只落地式电唱机，配了十二度低音喇叭（当时最好的音响设备了），吸引了无数青年男女，但档次都是高的。淮海路的DDS只喝咖啡，没音乐听，所以生意反而不如南京西路那家好。后者的女招待，雇用了两名身材健美的俄国姑娘（直至五十年代中期，仍然是外国女招待），她们不懂中文，好在一般常跑这里的

19) 英冬：《闲谈上海几个咖啡室》，《新民晚报》1948年3月31日，第3版。

20) 《上海点滴》，《新民晚报》1947年11月27日，第4版。

21) 余之：《摩登上海》，第14页。

22) 余之：《岁月留情》，文汇出版社2008年版，第214页。

23) 余之：《风吹叶子》，文汇出版社2013年版，第64页。

24) 汪之成：《俄侨音乐家在上海：1920S-1940S》，上海音乐学院出版社2007年版，第431页。

大学生，简单英语总会说上几句的，也可以对付了。”²⁵⁾

咖啡馆作为一种新的社会空间，这一空间和新的社会关系生成了互动的图景。上海新兴的中产阶级，被纳入了咖啡馆所象征的西方消费主义的无形之手所编织的逻辑网络。随着咖啡馆文化的发展，咖啡馆的消费主义本质越来越浓烈，有的咖啡馆甚至为招揽顾客，内设了各种摩登新玩艺儿。比如著名的沙利文糖果店，就在其店内设有按摩电椅；纽约咖啡店，内设有抽奖机等等。²⁶⁾ 在皇家咖啡馆中，则有灭火器及卫生医药设备等，太平门、卫生设备、电话等一切完备。此外，如 DD'S、卡夫卡斯、阿凯第、特卡琴科兄弟等咖啡馆还设有舞池。

这一时期的咖啡馆更多的是和知识分子联系在一起。上海的咖啡馆一方面是展现现代都市文明的重要场所，一方面它也代表着中产阶级的文化想象。为了实践中产阶级的文化理想，《申报》副刊《艺术界》专门开办了“咖啡座”栏目，为中产阶级知识分子提供了自由讨论的空间。1928年8月8日，“咖啡座”栏目刊登了一则题为《上海咖啡》的广告。广告上说：“发现了我们所理想的乐园……在哪里遇见了我们今日文艺界上的名人龚冰庐、鲁迅、郁达夫等，并且认识了孟超、潘汉年、叶灵凤等，他们有的在那里高谈着他们的主张，有的在那里默默沉思……”²⁷⁾ 曾留学法国的文人张若谷就经常与田汉、傅彦长、朱应鹏等几位友人在霞飞路上俄国人开设的巴尔干咖啡店内一边喝咖啡一边谈笑风生，“从‘片莱希基’谈到文学艺术、时事、要人、民族、世界……”²⁸⁾ 张若谷曾感喟十里洋场的大上海（当时指1920年代后期）没有一家中国人开的文艺咖啡馆，他认为文艺咖啡馆是“现代都会生活方面应有的一种设备”。²⁹⁾ 从上海现代性角度出发，认为“咖啡馆和电影院、汽车”一起成为城市生活现代性的重要标志。他把咖啡馆放置在都市中产阶级市民生活的背景之下，总结出时人热衷于去咖啡馆的三种乐趣：（1）咖啡本身的刺激，效果“不亚于鸦片和酒”；（2）咖啡馆提供与朋友长谈的地方，“此乃人生之乐”；（3）咖啡馆里有动人的女侍。³⁰⁾ 虽然咖啡店里也有男侍，但来此消费的顾客似乎是被咖啡馆内的女侍所吸引。在旧上海的咖啡店做侍女的一般有两种人：一类是洋女人，另一类则是中国女孩。洋女人中又以白俄女性为多，“对于霞飞路，多有名之曰罗宋街者。（罗宋即俄人之译音）此辈俄人率皆以营咖啡馆及杂货铺为业，而妇女则以充侍女舞女者为多。”³¹⁾ 女侍应生也都服务周到，“沙利文咖啡馆的女侍应生也都彬彬有礼，训练有素。在咖啡馆中要一杯咖啡，泡上一个下午或者一个晚上，服务员绝不会给你脸

25) 余之：《风吹叶子》，第64页。

26) 《申报本埠增刊》广告，1929年4月4日。

27) 《革命广告》，《语丝》1928年第4卷第33期，第44—48页。

28) 张若谷：《咖啡》，《申报》副刊《艺术界》，1927年11月4日，第22版。

29) 同上。

30) 张若谷：《现代都会生活象征》，载《咖啡座谈》，上海真善美书店1929年版，第3—8页。

31) 《沪哈二埠白俄人之生活》，《申报》1929年9月3日，第21版。

色看。”³²⁾ 此外，一些上档次的咖啡馆还规定侍应生要穿统一制服，如沙利文中的侍应女郎常年穿着绿白相间的裙式制服，天热时是布料，秋凉后则换成呢料。³³⁾ 甚至有白俄女侍应生在咖啡馆里觅得美满跨国姻缘的灰姑娘故事，如“上海泰晤士报云，俄女某，年二十八，系出名门，革命之前家产饶富。近数年内，尽失所有。一年前由哈尔滨来沪觅业，奔波数月，始于霞飞路某咖啡馆谋得一席，月入颇微，仅敷温饱。近有一男子，自南方来沪，小作盘桓，其人于商界居要职。某日与女遇，谈颇投机，无何，由友交而入恋爱，乃向女求婚”。³⁴⁾ 无论是中国人还是洋人女侍，她们都有一个共同点：地位低下，生活贫困。由此咖啡店既是性欲的活力空间，同时也是具形而上意味的，女侍在这里诱惑男性在咖啡和酒上消费，同时又扮演“他者”的角色。在咖啡馆内，权力的场域被性别化了，女侍取代了类似其他空间中的妓女角色。在咖啡馆内，知识分子不仅是在释放着多余的力必多 (libido)，同时也享受着性别消费所带来的愉悦，沉浸在咖啡香气中，发泄自己多余的荷尔蒙！

咖啡馆在30年代逐渐成为如舞厅一般充满着色情的意味。甚至引发当局下令禁止青年学生入内。如1934年，在新生活运动之下，“警视厅亦下令禁止学生入舞场与咖啡馆矣，其用意无非在预防青年实际生活上之恶影响耳。”³⁵⁾ 甚至有一些咖啡馆沦为赌博场所，如报纸载文称“俄国人维克多阿克门在愚园路一四〇九号万国咖啡馆秘密组设大赌窟，被捕房于本年二月十日下午十一时破获。因系越界筑路，故移送地方法院检察处。该维克多阿克门交一千元现金保，听候侦查。兹又查得当时在内与赌者有阿拉拿维同基（业新闻记者）、夏比罗（业跑街）、郭邱比（业捐客）、伯基（业音乐师）、白拉拿司（业跑街）、因向洛维司基（无业）。在第一特区法院时，曾幸交保故依法应一并归地方法院管理，经马检察官于下午开庭讯问结果各交五百铺保元听候核办，开已侦查完毕即将提起公诉。”³⁶⁾ 同时，咖啡馆中的舞女也经常引发争议，譬如“昨晚八时二十分，法租界二洋泾桥朱葆三路二十号 Alcazgr Cafe 咖啡馆门口，有一美国舞女身着海军男子服装在该店阶前跳跃，向守门人叫骂、状苦癫狂。据云，欧西风尚除 Carnivanl 嘉年华会日或特别宴会时男女均不得乱着服装，致扰秩序。闻该舞女一向在该处一带咖啡馆充舞女。昨晚忽易海军男服致守门人禁止入内，故情急叫骂，甚至用酒瓶掷击”。³⁷⁾ 咖啡馆的公共性，也使得社会各色人等群聚于此，暴力冲突也时有发生，譬如报云“昨日上午四时许，百老汇路四海咖啡馆来有虹口汇山捕房三道头英人金克司、同友饮于该馆，移时突来美国人三名，不知何故，顿起争、双方大用其武。结果经人劝散然尚不

32) 董乐山：《在旧上海喝咖啡》，李辉编《董乐山文集》（第1卷），河北教育出版社2001年版，第226页。

33) 树棻：《豪门旧梦：一个上海“老克拉”的回忆》，作家出版社2002年版，第265页。

34) 《俄女良缘幸福》，《申报》1934年5月24日，第11版。

35) 《禁止学生跳舞季》，《申报》“时评”，1934年12月23日，第6版。

36) 《俄人设赌窟侦查完毕提起公诉》，《申报》1937年3月10日，第17版。

37) 《守门人禁止入场，舞女情急掷酒瓶》，《申报》1929年9月15日，第15版。

肯干休，后岗捕巡差至此，见金克司背后之衣为人刀刺所致，深入数寸，英捕尚不知觉，谅系气盛之故。捕遂疑心美国人所为即将该凶犯带回捕房。”³⁸⁾此外，咖啡馆也是一些秘密革命活动的开展场所。例如，潘汉年等中共特科人员选择在咖啡馆将从国民党内部获取的情报迅速地通知上级即江苏省委。潘汉年与江苏省委的联系方式，是通过剧社女演员蓝兰传达，他们经常约在“DDS”咖啡馆见面，潘汉年把密件交给蓝兰，由蓝兰托文委书记孙冶方上交，通过这种方式与上级保持联系。³⁹⁾另一事例则是，1931年10月的一天，当时正担任中共中央特科情报科长的潘汉年和他的助手欧阳新(化名王子春)在上海静安寺的一家白俄咖啡馆正式会见袁殊。此后，袁殊定期在法租界善钟路拉斐德路口一家高级咖啡馆与潘汉年见面，作为接头地点。

即便政府始终希望通过各种社会渗透来规范、掌控如咖啡馆这类的公共场所。但咖啡馆仍然对学生、公司职员、知识分子独具吸引力。曹聚仁回忆道，“我是不爱喝咖啡的，这是土老儿的显明。因此，上海霞飞路上的巴黎情调，北四川路上的神秘风光，我都很少机会去领会。我的朋友，爱‘孵’咖啡馆的，说得诗一般风趣，我还是跟张老先生(天放)，去‘孵’茶馆的好。张老先生，他倒是巴黎大学的文学博士，带我上茶馆，日久成癖。他玩他的古董，我玩我的今董，各有所得，尽兴而归，且待别论。”⁴⁰⁾曹聚仁以土老儿自居，对咖啡馆持有明显的排斥态度，而宁愿选择传统的茶馆品茶。而且还特意指出他的茶友乃是“海归”博士。言下之意，显然是鄙薄他那群爱“孵”咖啡馆的朋友们的洋派。曹氏的民族主义态度，是对咖啡馆所隐喻的西方殖民主义的自觉抗拒。然而，颇为有趣的是，在另一段史料中，曹聚仁则声称爱喝咖啡，前后判若两人，据他回忆：“喝咖啡，我们爱到国际饭店七楼的咖啡厅去，那儿，对着跑马厅，清风徐来，可以消暑，颇有坐香港半岛的味儿。”⁴¹⁾

当时上海的咖啡店，俨然成为了西方舶来品和生活方式的展示场所。因为，在路边行路的过路人，可以透过咖啡馆的沿街窗户窥见在咖啡馆内品尝咖啡的人们的悠闲与安适。上海的咖啡馆里大部分是火车座，布置得各有特色，有一点却是相同的，那就是：静。一开始，人们觉得奇怪，为什么里面的人都像在说情话一样窃窃私语，好像和中国人传统的社交场合——茶楼完全不同，冷清，没气氛。从某种意义上，这也算是中西文化的碰撞，其结果则是咖啡馆抢了茶楼的生意。幸好是在上海，如果换在内地，那咖啡馆就只能灰溜溜地来，也灰溜溜地走了。正因为咖啡馆情调幽雅、环境舒适，追逐时尚的上海人才会陆续从热热闹闹

38) 《咖啡馆中武剧，英捕背上一刀》，《申报》1930年11月17日，第11版。

39) 中共上海市委党史研究室编：《潘汉年在上海》，上海人民出版社1995年版，第37页。

40) 曹聚仁、曹雷、曹宪铺：《上海春秋》，上海人民出版社1996年版，第249页。

41) 曹聚仁，曹雷、曹宪铺：《上海春秋》，第136页。

的茶楼走出来，又不约而同地踏进，安静的咖啡馆的大门。⁴²⁾ 在张若谷的《忒珈钦谷》一文中，作者写道：“坐在那里真觉得有趣得很，一只小方正行的桌子，上面摊着一方细小平贴的白布，一只小瓷窑瓶，插了两三支鲜艳馥香的花卉，从银制的器皿上的光彩中，隐约映现出旁座男女的玉容绰影，窗外走过三五成群的青年男女，一队队在水门汀街沿上走过，这是每夜黄昏在霞飞路上常可看见的散步者，在上海就只有这一条马路上，夹道绿树荫里，有各种中上流的伴侣们，朋友们，家族们，他们中间有法国人、俄国人，也有不少的中国人，男的不戴帽子，女的也披着散乱的秀发，在这附近一带徘徊散步。……听不见车马的喧嚣，小贩的叫喊，又呼吸不到尘埃臭气，只有细微的风扇旋舞声，金属匙叉偶触磁杯的震声与一二句从楼上送下的钢琴乐音……”。⁴³⁾ 咖啡馆的出现，为市民提供了一个关于西方文化的象征性空间。正如西方学者道格拉斯和伊斯伍德所认为的，任何对物品的选择本身，都是文化的结果，也就造就了文化。人们透过消费与其他消费者沟通，而这些文化消费的行为累积起来就构成了文化的创制。这个系统根本的基础与意义来源，以及消费文化所要真正传达的，乃是一个潜藏的认知秩序。⁴⁴⁾ 就这一意义而言，上海中产阶层对咖啡的消费是非常从众的。他们喜欢体验别人（西方人）正在经历的事情，仅仅是洋人正在经历和喜欢某样东西的事实都会使上海的公司职员们对此趋之若鹜。

III. “空间的生产”与作为公共空间的咖啡馆

咖啡馆俨然还是个布迪厄所谓的“区隔”空间。有位老咖啡客回忆说，当年，他第一次走进光明咖啡馆（人民饭店的前身），进去就是红地毯，因为以前的皮鞋是硬皮底，一路走过，只听见皮鞋“咯吱咯吱”的声音，没有其他声响。就是这最初的印象，使老人在今后的日子里，一直固执地把咖啡馆和“档次”、“品位”这些词联系在一起。的确当时咖啡馆是比较高档的场所，满街的咖啡馆却不是满街的行人都能随便进入，进去的人必须时时注意自己的着装和举止。如果穿着背心和拖鞋贸然闯进去，那就别怪服务员不客气地把你请出去了。那时候去咖啡馆的中国人分几种，最多的是那些帮外国人做事的高级职员，用今天的话来说，就是

42) 蒋为民主编：《时髦外婆：追寻老上海的时尚生活》，三联书店出版社2003年版，第87页。

43) 张若谷：《忒珈钦谷》，《申报》副刊《艺术界》，1928年8月11日，重印于许道明、冯金牛编《张若谷集：异国情调》，上海汉语大词典出版社1996年版，第12-15页。

44) Douglas and Isherwood., *The World of Goods* (Routledge, 1996), pp.52-68.

外企白领。他们多为外滩写字间里的职员，早上上班之前，先到南京路上的咖啡馆里小坐片刻，要一杯咖啡，烘好三明治，涂上果酱或黄油，吃两片再去上班。⁴⁵⁾再以赛维纳咖啡馆为例，该咖啡店位于亚尔培路（今陕西南路）回力球场对门，抗战前座上大都是西班牙回力球手和周身珠光宝气的洋女人，中国人是不去的。抗战后成了中国剧人进出的地方。进得店门是南北两行靠壁的火车座，经常在北首坐着重庆归来的游子，南首坐着上海的剧人，似乎这里存在泾渭之分，但也掩不住座上的星光璀璨。⁴⁶⁾赛维纳咖啡馆设备简单，取价低廉，顾客也不多。当时以昆仑影片公司为主的不少电影工作者，还有画家、作家和诗人，据有几张固定的桌子往往从下午坐到晚上。⁴⁷⁾据文人冯亦代回忆，“1938年我离开上海时，还有租界，南京路外滩一些大厦里，如堂皇豪华的汇中饭店和沙逊大厦以及福州路都城大厦楼上的咖啡座等，原来中国人是进不去的，日本军国主义者代我们收回了租界，这些场所也为中国人开门了。”⁴⁸⁾这种心情显然颇为复杂微妙。

饮用咖啡也是有着其内在的门径，或者也可称之为“咖啡经”吧！据一位老咖啡客回忆说，“其他么、还可以喝法式咖啡、就是在咖啡中放小半勺的白兰地，如果放威士忌，就变成英格兰皇家咖啡、放入朗姆酒就是美国华盛顿咖啡，这些咖啡都带着酒香。”“喝咖啡还有个规矩，调羹不能放在杯子里，调好糖以后，调羹要放在托盘上。”在老咖啡客的印象中，这些不成文的规矩似乎都是从好莱坞电影中学来的做派，“喝奶咖也有三步曲：咖啡上来，第一步不是喝，而是闻，闻闻它的香味怎么样。第二步放下咖啡杯、不放糖、不放奶要清的喝两口，品它的原汁原味。最后再放奶放糖喝。”⁴⁹⁾对咖啡之类的摩登玩意儿的讲究，某种程度上隐喻了一种身份的“区隔”，不仅区隔与都市内其他阶级，特别是作为城市下层阶级的如工人阶级、城市贫民等，同时也是中产阶层内部不同层次的区隔。

咖啡馆的选址也不是杂乱无章的，而是暗暗的与城市的区位定位相合。中产阶层市民对咖啡馆的品位消费不仅体现在饮用咖啡的技巧或者门道上。更加体现在到哪儿的咖啡馆去品尝咖啡。

大大小小的咖啡馆、却良莠不齐。懂行的人都知道、上海的咖啡馆也是分区分段的。

第一段，外滩到河南路、这段是真正喝咖啡的地方、要求很高，咖啡馆里一般只选用两个牌子的咖啡、一个是SW、另一个是MIXWHE：RHOUSE。当年它们均属于美国

45) 蒋为民主编：《时髦外婆：追寻老上海的时尚生活》，第87页。

46) 冯亦代：《洗尽铅华》，中国工人出版社2007年版，第79页。

47) 解放日报社副刊编：《朝花》，汉语大词典出版社1996年版，第440页。

48) 冯亦代：《洗尽铅华》，第79-80页。

49) 蒋为民主编：《时髦外婆：追寻老上海的时尚生活》，第88页。

的“王牌”咖啡、咖啡豆先要炒、炒出来之后用酒磨、然后再烧，来这段喝咖啡的才是品尝咖啡。

第二段，河南路到黄陂路，这段路属热闹地段，四大公司汇集于此、再加上大光明电影院，所以喝咖啡的对象就不一样了，是一些“白相”人。有的来逛马路、买东西，累了，投个咖啡馆歇歇脚：有的去电影院看戏、时间没到，所以喝一杯，总体来说比较随便。

第三段，成都路到静安寺附近，这一段外国人比较多、咖啡馆也很集中、多是一批写字楼的白领来吃早点、喝下午茶。⁵⁰⁾

对于咖啡馆所透露的中产阶层文化品位。在知识阶层中也是持有不同的看法与态度的。譬如鲁迅对位于北四川路的号称“革命咖啡馆”的批判语调甚是辛辣、不遗余力。据具体经办这家咖啡馆的饶鸿竞回忆，咖啡馆开张后去喝咖啡的人很多。⁵¹⁾ 鲁迅写道：“门口是晶光闪烁的玻璃招牌，楼上是‘我们今日文艺界上的名人’，或则高谈，或则沉思，面前是一大杯热气蒸腾的无产阶级咖啡，远处是许许多多‘龌龊的农工大众’。他们喝着，想着，谈着，指导着，获得着，那是，倒也实在是‘理想的乐园’。”⁵²⁾ 他继续辛辣、甚至于有些尖酸刻薄的讽刺道：

何况既喝咖啡，又领“教益”呢？上海滩上，一举两得的买卖本来多。大如弄几本杂志，便算革命；小如买多少钱书籍，即赠送真丝光袜或请吃冰淇淋——虽然我至今还猜不透那些惠顾的人们，究竟是意在看书呢，还是要穿丝光袜。至于咖啡店，先前只听说不过可以兼看舞女，使女，“以饱眼福”罢了。谁料这回竟是“名人”，给人“教益”，还演“高谈”，“沉思”种种好玩的把戏，那简直是现实的乐园了。

但我又有几句声明——

就是：这样的咖啡店里，我没有上去过，那一位作者所“遇见”的，又是别一人。因为：一，我是不喝咖啡的，我总觉得这是洋大人所喝的东西（但这也许是我的“时代错误”）不喜欢，还是绿茶好。二，我要抄“小说旧闻”之类，无暇享受这样乐园的清福。三，这样的乐园，我是不敢上去的，革命文学家，要年青貌美，齿白唇红，如潘汉年叶灵凤辈，这才是天生的文豪，乐园的材料；如我者，在《战线》上就宣布过一条“满口黄牙”的罪状，到那里去高谈，岂不褻读了“无产阶级文学”么？还有四，则即使我要上去，也怕走不到，至多，只能在店后门远处彷徨彷徨，嗅嗅咖啡渣的气息罢了：你看这里面不很有些在前线的文豪么，我却是“落伍者”，决不会坐在一屋子里的。

50) 蒋为民主编：《时髦外婆：追寻老上海的时尚生活》，第86页。

51) 饶鸿竞：《创造社资料》，福建人民出版社1985版，第915页。

52) 鲁迅：《革命咖啡馆》，余之、程新国编：《旧上海风情录（上）》，文汇出版社1998年版，第5页。

以上都是真话。叶灵凤革命艺术家曾经画过我的像，说是躲在酒坛的后面。这事的然否我不谈。现在所要声明的，只是这乐园中我没有去，也不想去，并非躲在咖啡杯后面在骗人。⁵³⁾

鲁迅对革命咖啡馆内左翼革命知识分子辛辣的讽刺，尤其体现在对无产阶级咖啡这一用词的强调。在鲁迅看来，这些左翼文人，在咖啡馆内聚会，畅谈无产阶级的革命理想。左翼知识分子欣赏、享受着中产阶层的消费文化和生活方式，通过咖啡馆这一客体，将上海的殖民现代性对西方“中产阶级生活方式”的拙劣模仿一一呈现、表露无疑。在鲁迅看来，品尝咖啡的文化意义及透过其外观所传达的象征取向与无产阶级革命事业是如此不协调。上海咖啡馆虽然名为革命咖啡馆，但其西方内涵乃至强烈的排拒性的社群意识却是毋庸置疑的，明显是和作为咖啡消费者的左翼知识分子所宣扬的无产阶级革命理想背道而驰。而远处的许许多多他们真正应该关心的“龌龊的农工大众”，则只是作为背景虚置在左翼知识分子自我编织的都市图景中，将工农革命和它真正的社会根基切割开来。为了表达对这种矫揉造作的中产阶级文化趣味和殖民现代性的不满与抗拒。与曹聚仁一样，鲁迅本人也基本上只饮茶，而且还只是绿茶。鲁迅自己也不时地谈到：“我是把别人喝咖啡的工夫都用在工作上的。”⁵⁴⁾在鲁迅对饮用中国绿茶还是作为西方舶来品的咖啡的取舍过程中。我们不难发现这种对茶和咖啡的矛盾和两难态度。鲁迅对咖啡（西方）的排斥和对绿茶（中国）的青睐，不再仅仅只是导因于个人的喜好，而更表达知识精英在遭遇作为“他者”的西方文化时，面对传统的中国文化与社会伦理价值在西方冲击下的消解过程，自觉地固守着个体对传统文化身份的认同与义务。然而，在其他史料中也可发现，鲁迅也不是完全排斥咖啡馆，相反他经常和一些左翼文学青年在此碰头见面。譬如鲁迅也经常约一些文学青年在四川北路的白俄咖啡馆中见面。白俄咖啡馆离鲁迅寓所和内山书店很近。1930年6月5日，鲁迅约柔石在此见面；1932年12月，葛琴和几位朋友在内山书店遇见鲁迅，为方便谈话，鲁迅同他们一起到此咖啡馆谈心。1934年，鲁迅和许广平约萧红到这家咖啡馆见面。

而从另一层面而言，鲁迅在五四时期主要着力于对“古之‘京’”所代表的传统中国文化的批判，而到了1930年代，鲁迅更为关注的是，对“今之‘海’”所代表的现代中国文化的批判性审视呢？在1930年代的中国，以上海为中心的通商口岸城市有一个工业化、城市化的过程，按照西方模式建立起来的现代都市文明得到了快速的发展，以舞厅、公园、国际饭店等建筑物为标志的消费文化曾有过极度的膨胀。显然，鲁迅在上海现代都市文明中发现了新的压迫与奴役关系的再生产，不仅仅限于空间的生产。在诸如咖啡馆这样的现代事物中，不惮于前行的猛士总能在上海租界的社会、文化结构中发现一种“半殖民性”。上海社会1930年代的现代

53) 鲁迅：《革命咖啡馆》，余之、程新国编：《旧上海风情录（上）》，第5-6页。

54) 许广平：《鲁迅全集编校后记》，《鲁迅全集》第20卷，人民文学出版社1972年版，第663页。

化进程是与“半殖民地性”相伴随的，对这一历史事实是无法回避的，透过这些表象所看到的是新旧两种文化的碰撞与杂糅。

现在看来，鲁迅对咖啡馆的排斥不免有着时代的误会。1927-1929年间，鲁迅与左翼文学群体对“革命”的理解有着完全不同的看法。于是，围绕着对革命的不同理解，位于北四川路的公啡咖啡馆成为了讨论这些政治话题的理想场所，是一个名副其实的公共领域。“左联”正式成立之前的多次筹备会议均在公啡咖啡馆中进行。据夏衍回忆，“筹备会一般每周开两次，有时隔两三天，地点几乎固定在公啡咖啡馆二楼一间可容十二三人的小房间”。⁵⁵⁾ 1930年2月16日的鲁迅日记中，也曾有“午后同柔石、雪峰出街饮加菲”的记载。⁵⁶⁾ 救国会的一次小组会议则选在沙利文咖啡馆中秘密进行，会上讨论有关抗日救亡运动的宣传工作，沙利文咖啡馆是“上海相当华贵而享有盛名的消遣场所，取价也高，每当中午和下午三四点，寓沪外侨和所谓一般高等华人，拥拥挤挤地都到该处去吃饭喝茶喝咖啡或冰淇淋。”⁵⁷⁾ 沙利文咖啡馆是上海档次较高的消遣场所，救国会小组择定在该处开会颇能出其不意，有掩护作用。而有些左翼作家甚至将咖啡馆作为工作室兼会客室使用，如冯亦代就回忆“夏衍老人住在静安寺路一所弄堂房子里，附近就是DD'S（蒂蒂斯）咖啡馆。我当时在办一张《世界晨报》，有事请教，就都在这家店里；我把这里称作夏老的会客室。这家咖啡馆有个特色，喝的咖啡都是在柜台上现煮现卖的，煮时清香满室，一楼蓝色的火焰在幽暗的店里格外夺目，令人好作遐想。有时夏衍老人就在卡位里写他脍炙人口的《蚯蚓眼》短文，使反动派头痛万分。”⁵⁸⁾ 同样地，环境优雅的DD'S因为有着浓厚的法俄风情，所以也像巴黎的咖啡馆一样，吸引了许多文艺界人士。文人骚客是这里的座上宾，甚至有许多人在这里有固定的专座。例如在1947年3月4日，“田汉五十寿辰庆祝筹备会，定于本日下午三时于霞飞路弟弟斯咖啡馆举行。”这样的事情不是唯一的个案，应该还有很多此类事例。不少作家因为自己居住的地方很狭小（事实上他们大多住在牢笼似的亭子间里，所以又被称为“亭子间”作家），再加上里弄里的喧闹给写作的干扰而不厌其烦，被迫逃到咖啡馆里求个清静的写作环境。⁵⁹⁾

正如著名学者罗兹·墨菲（Rhoads Murphey）在论述近代上海发展时说：“就在这个城市，胜于任何其他地方，理性的、重视法规的、科学的、工业发达的、效率高的、扩张主义的西方和因袭传统的、全凭直觉的、人文主义的、以农业为主的、效率低的、闭关自守的中国——两种文明走到一起来了。”⁶⁰⁾ 咖啡馆本身作为西方文明的产物来到了中国，知识分子群

55) 夏衍：《懒寻旧梦录（增补本）》，三联书店出版社2006年版，第99页。

56) 鲁迅：《日记十九》，《鲁迅全集》第14卷，人民文学出版社1981年版，第810页。

57) 顾执中：《报人生涯——一个新闻工作者的自述》，江苏古籍出版社1991年版，第578页。

58) 冯亦代：《洗尽铅华》，第78页。

59) 苏智良主编；《上海城区史》下册，学林出版社2011年版，第1056页。

60) 【美】罗兹·墨菲著：《上海：现代中国的钥匙》，章克生等译，上海人民出版社1986年版，第4页。

体对此无疑是抱着相当矛盾的微妙心理。一方面，咖啡馆隐喻着帝国主义的侵略，象征着作为中产阶级生活方式的意识形态，似乎是与民族解放、革命理想根本对立的。然而，城市中产阶级市民群体，尤其是知识分子，却通过进入咖啡馆内饮咖啡，获得了具体真切地现代性体验与感官愉悦。咖啡馆等公共空间内的体验和经历提供某种得以被“理解”（或误解）的“认知框架”、得以被表达的“话语模式”。

一位作家也在30年代回忆起上海咖啡馆的兴起过程。据他回忆，上海专门的咖啡馆大概初创于“民国十七、八年间的事情来。最初和咖啡结不解缘的，恐怕还得数中国的一部分新文艺作家。”那时咖啡馆在上海还是绝无仅有，“就在普罗文学刚在中国抬头的民国17年那一年，不知什么人灵机一动，竟在号称神秘之街的北四川路上，开设了上海历史上破天荒的第一家咖啡馆，招牌名叫‘上海珈王非’，从咖啡二字写成珈王非这一点上看，就可知道那时喝咖啡的风气在上海还没有普遍。这第一家咖啡馆倒也能开风气之先，在里面还雇用着女招待，因此引得一般多情敏感的新文艺作家趋之若鹜，大家都想到这里面来获一些‘烟土披里纯’，尤其是一般普罗文作家如蒋光慈、叶灵凤等，更是每天必到的，甚至还不知不觉把他们从咖啡馆得来的现实生活的体验，写进他们的所谓普罗文学作品里去，成为反对普罗文学作家们冷嘲热讽的反攻资料。”⁶¹⁾ 从中可知，早期的咖啡馆的确是与一班文化人和作家有关。作家与咖啡馆的结缘可以说是西方社会的普遍现象，尤盛于法国巴黎等地。可见，以文人和作家群体为例，咖啡馆对这一社会群体来讲是其文化和经济背景相同的人的聚集地，有时甚至是他们的主要工作场所。

可惜的是，这两家咖啡馆在上海据说是最早出现的（事实上则不然），但都宛似昙花一现，很快地销声匿迹了。而到了30年代中后期，咖啡馆与当年文人骚客的聚集之所已大不相同了，即作者所谓“往日如鲁殿灵光昙花一现的咖啡馆，到了现在，竟会风起云涌的盛极一时，不过今日的咖啡馆，文艺气息已经丝毫没有，充塞其间的也都是凡夫俗子，暴发户之流；而乐队，女歌手、舞蹈等。直与坐咖啡馆的宗旨背道而驰。”⁶²⁾ 由此看来，也说明了咖啡馆顾客群体的扩大，已然成为以城市中产阶级为主的广大市民都乐于惠顾的娱乐场所。

IV. 余论

61) 史谭：《文艺咖啡》，杨斌华编《上海味道》，时代文艺出版社2002年版，第113页。另关于此处叙述中称这两所咖啡馆是上海最早的专门咖啡馆，似与前文中《上海指南》一处有冲突，仍以1917年《上海指南》记载为准。疑为作者信息有误。

62) 史谭：《文艺咖啡》，杨斌华编《上海味道》，时代文艺出版社2002年版，第115页。

总体而言，咖啡馆与日渐兴起的杂志和电影院一道成为了上海中产阶级家庭生活的样板，一种西方化的科学健康和合理的生活习惯的模范，一种根植于传统/现代、中国/西方、“洋世界”和“土世界”的对立二分，并自我意识到现代性并试图与所谓愚昧、迷信和落后的乡村社会区隔开的消费方式的范本。咖啡馆这类公共空间是上海城市文化的重要载体，它们作为社会与政治活动的舞台，在城市生活中扮演着中心的角色，是国家与社会生活的重要领域。咖啡馆作为一种充满活力的公共空间，随着经济的扩张，商业和消费文化的兴起，对公共生活和公共领域的兴起和发展发挥了重要作用。这也是近代中国的市民社会渐渐成长的显著标志、同时，也要注意，咖啡馆与电影院这类流行的休闲娱乐的公共场所，其本身的经营也和公共事务一样，要依赖于大众的参与，而且也是制造公众的空间。

法国学者列斐伏尔认为：“空间的生产，在概念上与实际上是最近才出现的，主要是表现在具有一定历史性的城市的急速扩张、社会的普遍都市化，以及空间性组织的问题等方面。”“对生产的分析现实我们已经由空间中的事物的生产转向空间本身的生产”，⁶³⁾ 列斐伏尔尝试由空间实践 (spatial practice)、空间再现 (representations of space)、再现空间 (representational spaces) 三个向度来探讨空间生产的问题。

上海巨大的欧式建筑和20世纪上半叶修建的砖头道路反映了这个城市曾经与世界的大融合。这些地方不断地提醒着人们，老上海的建设缺少整体的规划布局——但其魅力经久不衰。公园、电影院、咖啡馆等新型公共休闲空间的涌现，为近代都市人（如中产阶级）提供了一个现代生活方式的样板与日常公共性的展示舞台。时人如此赞誉当日上海之世界性都市图景：

今有人焉，游踪所至，忽抵上海，耳目之所接触，不啻身入欧美都市也，楼阁之巍峨，道路之平坦，旅店俱乐部之伟丽，游览之处，则公园及大桥在焉，交通之具，则汽车电车及公共汽车备焉，洋商林立，电炬灿烂，凡此皆在欧美所习见者。⁶⁴⁾

作家陈西滢也对上海的诸娱乐空间在物质层面给予的舒适感和娱乐予以了很高的评价：

我们再到静安寺路和霞飞路的附近去走一回，就可以看见无数的宽敞的花园，精致的别墅，住在里面的舒服，再走到南京路，极大规模的百货商店一连就有三个，其余的中国的，外洋的种种色色的衣食杂用的商铺，五光十色，叫人眼睛都看得晕花。此外有的是戏园、电戏、咖啡馆、跳舞场、公娼、私娼、赌场、烟窟，以及种种说不

63) Henri Lefebvre, "Space: Social Product and Use Value", in Freiberg, J.W. (ed), *Critical Sociology: European Perspective*, pp.285-295. New York: Irvington. 亨利·列斐伏尔：《空间：社会产物与使用价值》，包亚明主编《现代性与空间的生产》，上海教育出版社2003年版，第47页。

64) 【美】卜舛济著：《上海租界史略》，岑德彰编译，上海勤业印刷所1931年版，第1页。

出，想不出的奇奇怪怪的消遣的花样，娱乐的场所。⁶⁵⁾

咖啡馆、电影院、公园等公共空间的涌现，展现了以中产阶层为中心的“大众”（mass，群众）的登场。甚而可进一步探讨近代中国城市社会的公共性的不同发展路径。对于中国人来说，传统上只有私人空间和官家的空间。在咖啡馆这样一个公共空间，却是每一个个体都拥有平等权利，都应受到尊重的空间。在这些公共空间内，刚刚脱离乡村生活的都市人体验了以西方物质文明为表征的现代生活。这种现代休闲生活在工业化时代满足了人们在一天朝九晚五工作之后渴望放松的需求。在都市家庭私人领域之外，创造了一个开放性的公共空间。凭借这类公共空间所提供的便利条件，使人们荡涤往昔的陈见，更善于接受新思想、新观念，城市生活中慢慢形成了一种启蒙式的更为敏锐、更为灵通的公众舆论。更为重要的是，在这一空间内，人们可以和邂逅的陌生人保持丰富多变的“弱联系”，空间的开放性使他们摆脱孤立，促使他们彼此接近，更好的参与公共生活，融入新的都市共同体内，从而在注重私德的家庭空间之外，逐渐培育关心公共事务的“公共人格”（public person）。⁶⁶⁾于是，咖啡馆不仅仅是休闲场所，为了让人消磨时光并且逃离原本辛苦的工作和生意的放松场所。而是一个有结构的严肃的社交场合，这个结构尽管有限，但是具有相当的弹性。与茶馆不同，咖啡馆代表了日渐兴起的专业精英的志趣，为城市居民提供了新的娱乐休闲方式，反映了城市社会一个重大的社会分化，这一分化的本质和意义尚需要更多的分析。譬如，咖啡馆对某些社会群体（例如文人群体）和族群来讲是其文化和经济背景相同的人的聚集地，是他们社会交际的主要活动中心。进而言之，对社团和公共空间的催化作用是咖啡馆文化对于现代中国的主要贡献。现代都市生活的本质是市民的扩大，是启蒙了的大众的出现，是大众社会的形成。正如哈贝马斯所认为的，近代社会的公众从这些社交场合中成形，并认为公众只是对咖啡馆这个核心的扩展，因此也定下了“公众”的基调。

同时也要看到，透过咖啡馆这一微小的公共空间的历史叙述可以知道，不能简单地将民国社会描绘成玫瑰色的上海摩登，在1949年之前，中国资本主义是在官僚和半殖民地的条件下艰难成长的。所以即使在上海这样非常现代（摩登）的工商业城市，也没有形成完整意义上的市民社会，更多看到的是具有“小市民”性格的上海中产阶级人群。尽管他们的现代性发展方向是很明确的：讲规则、讲理性、崇拜西方。但是，最终在近代上海，“大众”的秩序妨碍了向成熟化、负责任的“市民社会”迈进的苗头。

65) 陈西滢：《西滢文录》，辽宁教育出版社2000年版，第8页。

66) 这种“公共人格”作为一种普遍的尝试的体现。此处的“常识”回归到它的拉丁文意义——“社群的通感”（sensus commune）。

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