

GOLDEN-SILK SMOKE

A History of Tobacco in China, 1150–2000



CAROL BENEDICT

A

Philip E. Lilienthal

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B O O K

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A History of Tobacco in China, 1550–2010

Carol Benedict



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To the memory of James Stephen Benedict, M.D. and M.F.A.

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Introduction

When American tobacco tycoon James Duke (1865–1925) heard about the invention of the cigarette-rolling machine in 1881, he reportedly leafed through an atlas to find the legend listing the world's largest population. China, with its then-430,000,000 potential customers, he told company executives, "is where we are going to sell cigarettes."¹ When informed that the Chinese did not yet smoke cigarettes, Duke said he supposed they could learn. Now, more than a century later, with 350 million-plus smokers, the world's most populous country has indeed become its largest consumer of manufactured tobacco products.² Although in the twentieth century, transnational corporations such as Duke's own British-American Tobacco Company certainly played a role in creating the present huge demand for cigarettes, extensive tobacco use in China stretches back well before the current modern era of "globalization." Indeed, several centuries before Duke ever conceived of bringing American tobacco to Chinese consumers, it was already there.

Tobacco, a New World crop long cultivated in both North and South America, initially arrived in East Asia in the sixteenth century, carried there by the European ships that were creating new webs of trade across the world's oceans. Christopher Columbus and his crew were the first Europeans to encounter tobacco.³ On his initial voyage, Caribbean natives presented Columbus with dried tobacco leaves, but the mariner scarcely took notice of them. Within a few decades, however, many Spaniards living in Hispaniola had learned to smoke. Those involved in the transatlantic maritime trade were also precocious smokers.⁴ Initially identified closely with Amerindian idolatry, tobacco's adoption by Europeans back home, while relatively rapid, was not immediate. Eventually Spaniards developed a taste for Indian tobacco, inadvertently internalizing Mesoamerican beliefs and practices even as the domi-

nant colonial discourse continued to condemn tobacco use as diabolical. A turning point came in the 1570s, when several Spanish physicians began to praise tobacco's medicinal properties. Europeans began importing tobacco in commercially significant quantities only in the 1590s, but by then, Iberian mariners had already carried tobacco to ports around the world, including those connecting Southeast and East Asia. By the early seventeenth century, tobacco was being widely cultivated and consumed in the Philippines, Java, India, Japan, and Korea, as well as areas of Ming China and early Qing Manchuria.⁵

Once it was introduced into mainland East Asia, Chinese farmers began to domesticate New World tobacco. The plant first took root as a commercial crop along the South China seaboard in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the midst of the political and military turmoil that roiled China Proper throughout the seventeenth-century Ming-Qing transition (1620s–80s), coastal migrants carried tobacco to new areas in the interior. By the time Qing troops entered Beijing in 1644, tobacco was widely grown in many communities along the Southeast Coast, in the Northeast, in the Lower Yangzi River Delta, and on the North China Plain. Forty years later, when the Qing finally consolidated their hold over the entire Chinese empire, tobacco cultivation had spread throughout much of the Yangzi River highlands in southern and central China as well as parts of the far west. By the 1750s, tobacco had become an important commercial crop not only for many local Chinese communities but also for the broader Qing political economy. It served as a revenue source for the government and provided a livelihood for millions. Transported over long distances to markets throughout the empire, tobacco was enjoyed by both men and women of all ages. It had, in other words, been fully appropriated by Chinese local cultures of production and consumption. As tobacco aficionado Chen Cong noted somewhat matter-of-factly at the end of the eighteenth century, “It originally came from beyond the borders, but in every place it has reached, it has become a ‘local product.’”⁶

This book—a social and cultural history of tobacco use in China from circa 1550 to the present—seeks to analyze the historical factors that shaped Chinese tobacco consumption over the *longue durée* while also contributing to an emerging historiography of Chinese consumption in cross-cultural perspective. It weaves together two closely related thematic strands in making its central arguments. The first theme concerns broader connections and commonalities China shared with other societies not only in its initial early modern encounters with tobacco but also in the “cigarette century” of our own times.⁷ In line with recent scholarship on the global transmission of New World tobacco, I examine the highly contingent and dynamic historical processes through which the long-standing Amerindian practice of smoking “became Chinese.” Once tobacco arrived in maritime East Asia on board European ships, the plant did not disperse naturally across the landscape as is sometimes implied in histories detailing the diffusion of New World crops within China. Ordi-

nary people—merchants and migrants, soldiers and sailors, poets and courtesans—passed along both the material culture of tobacco and its social meanings and uses. As a consequence of the actions of many local agents, Chinese communities domesticated global tobacco. How they did so not only highlights the new world of goods available to many late Ming and high Qing consumers; it also illuminates ongoing modalities of Chinese adaptation of foreign things, ideas, and practices.

Chinese cultural borrowing from “beyond the borders” did not end once Chinese coastal residents first took up the long pipe in the sixteenth century. Even after tobacco became a “native” crop widely cultivated throughout the empire, new forms of tobacco use continued to be introduced from abroad: Middle Eastern and Indian water-pipe tobacco, Euro-American snuff, Southeast Asian *madak* (tobacco mixed with opium), and hand-rolled Filipino cigars were all imported at some point in tobacco’s long history in China. In each instance, Chinese consumers enthusiastically embraced these foreign innovations and made them their own. Only in the late nineteenth century, when China faced significant external threats, did imported tobacco products—in the form of machine-rolled cigarettes—come to be regarded as alien and somehow not authentically Chinese. Even so, the “foreign” cigarette was enthusiastically taken up by many members of the new social classes then emerging in Chinese cities. In the early twentieth century, foreign tobacco companies found a ready market for their products among Chinese consumers already accustomed to appropriating new forms of tobacco from abroad.

While the first thread of investigation implicitly compares China’s historical experience with tobacco to that of other societies undergoing similar transformations in local cultures of consumption as the global web of commerce became ever more intricate after 1500, the second theme addresses change and continuity in Chinese consumption patterns across the late imperial–modern divide. Until recently, histories of Chinese consumer culture have been roughly divided between those that focus on luxury consumption in the prosperous urbanized region of Jiangnan in the late Ming and high Qing periods and those that document the origins of modern “mass” consumption in Republican-era Shanghai.⁸ A third group concentrates on the resurgence of consumerist values and behaviors in Chinese cities after the post-Mao economic reforms were launched in 1978.⁹ Such clearly defined temporal frames allowed for richly textured studies of Chinese urban consumer culture in each distinct epoch. However, the relationship between documented patterns of late Ming– and Qing-era consumption to those that unfolded in the twentieth century remains largely unexamined, as do important changes in the consumer habits of those living outside China’s major cities.

Focusing on the ever-shifting patterns of consumption and social meanings of one commodity widely used by both urbanites and country folk, this study analyzes the history of Chinese consumption as it actually occurred over many centuries rather than as measured against an idealized path leading to a homogenized

“consumer society” modeled on Western Europe or North America. Stressing global conjunctures and interconnections over a narrative of Western expansion and convergence, I situate China’s dynamic cultures of tobacco consumption within the specific contexts of the late Ming Empire (1550–1644), the early and high Qing (1644–1820) eras, and the late Qing and Republican periods (1880–1949). Taking such a long view brings to the fore the key arguments advanced in the pages that follow. From tobacco’s initial introduction in the sixteenth century to the subsequent inclusion of snuff, water-pipe tobacco, rolled cigars, and manufactured cigarettes in the repertoire of Chinese consumption practices, China’s indigenous cultures of tobacco use have consistently unfolded within a broader world-historical frame. The creative appropriation of imported tobacco initiated in the late Ming continued throughout the Qing and into the twentieth century when cigarettes began to be widely sold in China. While recognizing that the expanding scale and scope of Chinese consumer culture in the twentieth century was unprecedented, particularly in the decades after 1978, this study argues that local cultures of Chinese consumption—as evident in the history of tobacco use across nearly four hundred years—were not produced solely by global capitalism in the Republican period or by China’s “opening” to the West in the 1970s and 1980s. Rather, China’s contemporary “cigarette culture”—and by extension its broader consumer culture—emerged out of an evolutionary process that unfolded in fits and starts over many centuries through ongoing, if sometimes interrupted, Chinese engagement with an already interconnected world.

CHINESE TOBACCO CONSUMPTION IN GLOBAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The history of a single commodity obviously cannot provide a full picture of the twists and turns of consumer behavior or values in any society. China’s large population, its vast geographical extent, and its complex and varied social structures mean that any generalizations about smoking habits in the aggregate at any particular moment are bound to be flawed. Moreover, the concept of consumer culture itself must be used with caution. The earliest scholarship on the history of consumption, conducted primarily by historians of Europe and North America, tended to assume that consumer culture was an exclusive phenomenon that spread outward from a single Euro-American source to transform the “traditional” and “static” consumption regimes of the non-Western world.¹⁰ More recently, recognition that the contours of early modern consumer culture as defined by the initial wave of consumption scholarship may not have been unique to Europe has stimulated new research on the history of consumption in global and comparative perspective. Emphasizing the centrality of consumption in all societies, many historians have abandoned the search for the origins of the singular “consumer society” in fa-

vor of approaches that allow for a broadening of the temporal and spatial dimensions of consumption.¹¹

Tobacco provides a unique opportunity for just such a cross-cultural and trans-regional comparison of divergent yet parallel consumption patterns. As one of the first commodities from the Americas to traverse the world's oceans, the leisurely enjoyment of tobacco became a unifying pastime for early modern consumers around the globe.¹² In its subsequent form as the industrially produced cigarette, tobacco was integral to the creation of the heterogeneous globalized mass consumer culture of our own time. Indeed, throughout the twentieth century the cigarette was a powerful signifier of modernity in many societies because it seemed to offer consumers of both genders and various social groups greater convenience, wide-ranging choice, and a predictably standardized smoking experience.¹³

To be sure, tobacco use was already socially inclusive in many societies, including China's, long before the cigarette became a hallmark of modern mass consumerism. In this regard it is important to recognize that "tobacco" was never one unitary thing. Classified by the scientific name *Nicotiana*, tobacco plants are divided into many different species but only two, *Nicotiana tabacum* and *Nicotiana rustica*, are ingested by humans. Highly variegated in quality and flavor as well as the manner in which they were historically produced—as a sideline crop cultivated for use in the immediate locality or as a commercial commodity shipped over long distances for sale to consumers far removed from the farm—these two species of tobacco also differed greatly in the forms in which they were consumed. Pipe tobacco, chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars, and cigarettes are just some of the ways people in disparate cultures have used *N. tabacum* and *N. rustica* over the centuries. Tobacco's versatility meant that it could be sold either as an exotic indulgence to the very rich or as an everyday luxury to the hardworking poor. Whether in Qing China, Mughal India, the Ottoman Empire, Safavid Iran, imperial Russia, or the early modern Atlantic world, tobacco readily found buyers at all levels of the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Although globalized early on in ways that allowed for ordinary as well as conspicuous consumption, the manner in which tobacco was ingested and the social meanings it acquired varied historically from place to place. Admittedly, as a psychoactive substance, tobacco has many social, psychological, and somatic attractions that transcend culture. Yet neither the addictive qualities of nicotine nor the gratifying sensation of smoking fully explain tobacco's global diffusion or socially differentiated patterns of smoking. The concept of addiction can help to explain why individuals continue to smoke once they are hooked, but it is of little use in seeking explanations of why they begin smoking in the first place or why some people in a particular society smoke but others do not. As recent tobacco control research makes clear, the social context of smoking matters a great deal. Individuals may choose to take up smoking, but they do so within particular historical, social, and cultural frameworks.¹⁴ Consumption practices, even of habit-forming products such

as tobacco, are not natural and self-evident facts but are historically contingent and culturally specific in ways that need to be explained.

As a new commodity that appeared in many societies across Eurasia at roughly the same time, tobacco can thus serve as an important comparative indicator of changing consumer tastes across cultures, not just among the wealthy elite but among ordinary people as well. Indeed, tobacco is the only early modern “drug food” that took hold in China.¹⁵ The other addictive consumables that entered the global stream of commerce after 1500 simply do not have the same degree of comparability. Sugarcane and tea were domestically grown products with long histories in China.¹⁶ De-cocted opium (taken orally as a medicine) and distilled alcohol in China similarly predate by many centuries the early modern “psychoactive revolution.”¹⁷ Smokable opium appeared only after tobacco did, first showing up in the seventeenth century as a mixture of raw opium and shredded tobacco known as madak.¹⁸ Chocolate and coffee, both mild stimulants with addictive qualities, never caught on in China (until quite recently), although both were grown in the nearby Philippines under Spanish colonial rule.¹⁹ The divergent global histories of these different substances underscore the highly contingent nature of the transculturation process.²⁰

Tobacco also differed from the edible New World consumables that entered China in the sixteenth century. Sweet potatoes, peanuts, and maize were all food crops with high nutritional value. As such, they helped to dramatically boost Chinese population growth particularly during the eighteenth century.²¹ Tobacco was emphatically not a food, nor was it a beverage, even though seventeenth-century Chinese likened the sensation of deeply inhaling its intoxicating smoke to that of imbibing alcohol. Nicotine, one of tobacco’s most powerful chemicals, stimulates brain cells to release certain neurotransmitters such as dopamine and epinephrine.²² It alters one’s mood and temporarily suppresses the appetite but provides no sustenance. In this sense, tobacco was an everyday treat, not a daily necessity. Moreover, the other New World imports tended to be grown primarily for local use within the household. In contrast, many Chinese farmers specialized in commercial tobacco, cultivating premium products that merchants sold to distant urban customers. The highly variegated nature of Chinese tobacco meant that even the laboring poor could occasionally indulge in a pipeful or two, but they did so for pleasure or self-medication, not for subsistence.

The appropriation of American tobacco by Chinese consumers required learning new habits just as it did for those in other Old World societies. In hindsight, smoking—the act of inhaling burning substances through the mouth and drawing them into the lungs—seems to mark a major cultural watershed in Chinese modes of consumption. Not only did the arrival of tobacco subsequently facilitate opium smoking, but it also introduced Chinese consumers to another novel form of ingestion—snorting snuff into the nasal passages. Yet if smoking and snuffing tobacco were revolutionary transformations in the use of the body, these behaviors

were not necessarily perceived as such at the time. Due to a paucity of sixteenth-century sources, we cannot know for certain how the Chinese who first encountered tobacco responded to this exotic new practice. By the time Chinese authors began to write about tobacco in the early 1600s, it was already well entrenched as a commercial crop along the Southeast Coast. There are, however, several reasons to think that the transculturation process in China went relatively smoothly. Whereas many in Christian Europe and the Islamic Middle East were initially repulsed by tobacco smoke, seeing in it the fires of eternal damnation, smoke in Chinese religious, philosophical, and medical thought generally carried only positive connotations.²³ Smoke served to protect the community from harm, and its prophylactic qualities ranged from the practical to the symbolic: it warded off pesky insects and protected against offensive odors. Smoke transmitted messages from the mortal to the spirit world, honored the dead, and purified the living. Whether curling up in fragrant wisps from incense burners on ancestral altars, wafting up from under the *kang* bed-stove, or emanating from the kitchen hearth, smoke was considered to be a good thing.

Tobacco also entered China unburdened by the xenophobic reactions of sixteenth-century Europeans who condemned it as a barbaric Amerindian custom, or those of seventeenth-century Ottoman scholars who fulminated against it as a Christian plot designed to undermine Islam.²⁴ Chinese literati who wrote about tobacco in the 1600s were fully aware that it came from abroad, yet this fact elicited no particular disapprobation. Indeed, for the first century or so that tobacco circulated in China, it was readily referred to by its foreign name, *danbagu*, rather than the sinicized term *yancao* (literally meaning “smoke grass”), suggesting its exoticism was a widely accepted fact.²⁵ Yao Lü, in the earliest extant Chinese reference to tobacco (1611), also referred to it as “*jin si xun ye*” or “golden shred inebriant.” In one of the earliest English-language histories of Chinese tobacco, L. Carrington Goodrich rendered this somewhat poetically as “gold-silk-smoke,” the more liberal translation I have borrowed for this book’s title.²⁶

To the extent that Ming-Qing commentators disdained tobacco, their disapproval had more to do with anxieties about the class-transcendent nature of pipe smoking than it did with tobacco’s overseas origins. As in Europe, tobacco initially trickled in from the borderlands to the metropole and percolated up from the lower classes to the elite. Eventually it even crossed over to “respectable” women in the inner quarters. The idea that high officials and genteel women were engaging in the same bodily practice as peasants and prostitutes unnerved some Confucian elite. Tobacco’s exoticism, however, did not become an issue until the late nineteenth century when foreign companies began importing machine-rolled cigarettes into coastal treaty ports.

To be sure, tobacco smoking was the cause of much debate among China’s leading literati in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, just as it was concurrently among European and Middle Eastern doctors, theologians, and jurists. Yet

Chinese objections to tobacco were somewhat muted in comparison to the vociferous campaigns launched by physicians and religious authorities in other Eurasian societies. Short-lived but highly draconian anti-tobacco laws were promulgated in the 1630s both by the last Ming emperor and by the first Qing emperor. As I have argued elsewhere, the late Ming–early Qing prohibitions had more to do with gaining state control over a valuable strategic and economic resource than with moral outrage or concerns about the health and well-being of imperial subjects.²⁷ In the early eighteenth century, neo-Confucian statecraft activists attempted unsuccessfully to ban tobacco, arguing that its cultivation wasted arable land intended for grain.²⁸ However, morally charged polemics about the intrinsic “evil” character of tobacco such as that penned by James I of England did not show up in China. Nor was there ever a diachronic shift in Chinese medical thinking away from largely positive assessments of tobacco to more negative ones such as occurred in Europe from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.²⁹ In the Chinese medical tradition, flexible classificatory schemes allowed tobacco to be conceptualized as a powerful panacea and a gratuitous inebriant at the same time.

Viewed as having significant health benefits and analogized to other ingestibles thought to have medicinal properties, tobacco in China was nonetheless used primarily for recreational purposes just as it was in Europe and the Middle East. Tobacco’s initial popularity flowed not simply from its greater availability as Chinese farmers began to produce it and long-distance merchants began to trade in it. Nor did consumer demand for this exotic new commodity surge simply because of its reputation for warding off disease. Tobacco was above all a leisure good used in socializing. Shared among friends and offered to strangers, tobacco was the perfect complement to tea, alcohol, good food, and the other small gifts and flourishes that signified the generosity of hosts and the camaraderie of guests. The social nature of tobacco—central for its dissemination in other cultural contexts as well—was the primary reason it diffused widely throughout mainland East Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Smoking was a behavior almost always acquired through interactions with others because novice users had to learn how to inhale, how to light and hold the pipe, and what type of tobacco was best. Transmission of such information was initially conveyed directly between friends, colleagues, and associates through wide-ranging social networks. Itinerant peddlers, tobacco merchants, and established shopkeepers also “advertised” their wares directly to customers either by word of mouth or through the use of illustrated signboards. In the early seventeenth century, some physicians and literati began to write about tobacco, and an even greater proliferation of textual information about the plant and its uses appeared in eighteenth-century literati jottings (*biji*), published connoisseur guides, and popularized materia medica. Printed advertisements and popular visual representations of smoking came along much later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Then as now,

friends already habituated to tobacco remained the principal means through which the uninitiated learned to smoke.

The centrality of tobacco as a social lubricant in China from the late Ming period on represented not so much a “revolution of sociability” as it did a broadening out and further entrenchment of Chinese patterns of leisure already in place.³⁰ In contrast to Europe and the Middle East, where new institutions such as the coffeehouse greatly facilitated the sociable gathering of smokers, in China such venues—the tea-house, theaters, courtesan houses, and restaurants—could already be found in many cities and towns.³¹ Pipe tobacco was simply added to the tea, alcohol, and snacks already ingested in these semipublic arenas. To be sure, tobacco shops where customers could sample the wares were new in the seventeenth century, but these establishments never became as prominent in Chinese public life as did the European or Middle Eastern coffeehouse. Although many tradesmen and commoners smoked openly on the street, the wealthy and powerful preferred to smoke together in secluded courtyards or interior rooms. This was especially true for upper-class women, who could smoke freely without any social disapprobation, so long as they did so privately at home.

By the mid-eighteenth century, a wide array of tobacco products cultivated under many variant conditions circulated through Chinese long-distance trade networks. The diversification of Chinese tobacco into various articles of commerce, some of which were conspicuously consumed in lavish displays of wealth, suggests that a dynamic fashion system of tobacco consumption was in place fairly early on. Modes of consumption gradually came to be further differentiated into the more “refined” habit of snuff-taking by the cultural elite of the eighteenth century and the smoother, cooler smoke from water pipes favored by elite women, older men, and southerners in the nineteenth century. Eventually, the imported cigarette replaced these earlier forms of fashionable consumption. Yet tobacco’s basic social functions remained remarkably consistent across rank, class, and gender even as more expensive grades of tobacco and new ways of ingesting nicotine emerged over time. The central role tobacco played in China’s particular culture of sociability remained largely unchanged over nearly four centuries. Tobacco’s continued utility for building and maintaining *guanxi* (social connections) goes a long way toward explaining not only the rapidity with which it spread throughout China in the late Ming and early Qing period but also its ongoing pervasiveness in Chinese society down to the present.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE ACROSS THE LATE IMPERIAL–MODERN HISTORICAL DIVIDE

If the leisurely consumption of pipe tobacco and snuff in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made Chinese consumers participants in a globalized early mod-

ern culture of tobacco, the introduction of the industrially manufactured cigarette at the end of the nineteenth century in some ways marked an even greater convergence between Chinese smoking practices and those found in other world regions. The machine-rolled cigarette first began to gain popularity among smokers in China's coastal treaty ports in the 1880s. Some forty years later, it not only had become the preferred tobacco product for millions of Chinese men and some Chinese women but had also entered the Chinese cultural imagination as the ultimate symbol of a highly developed Westernized lifestyle that many aspired to and many others abhorred. Indeed, the cigarette, produced as it was in factories using innovative technologies, marketed through graphics-rich advertising, and distributed by large multinational corporations to consumers the world over, quickly became emblematic of the presumed irreversible melding of disparate local cultures of consumption into one mass global market centered on Western Europe and the United States.

Often overlooked in the focus on the rapid changes occasioned by mechanization of the cigarette industry are significant continuities in tobacco use the world over. In both the United States and Great Britain, for example, older forms of tobacco consumption continued to be proportionately larger than manufactured-cigarette smoking until the outbreak of World War II.³² Even after the cigarette came to dominate sales globally, "traditional" tobacco products were continually refashioned in ways that infused them with new utility and meaning. The cigar, for example, celebrated by connoisseur magazines and sold in specialty shops, is now making a comeback as a recycled emblem of masculine sophistication and taste.³³ Another illustration of this recycling phenomenon is the current proliferation in American cities of "hookah bars" that cater to trend-setting twenty-somethings eager try the "latest thing" by smoking flavored tobacco through the classic Middle Eastern water pipe.³⁴ The "hookah," which not so long ago served as an emblem of "Oriental" decadence, has once again become chic. These examples underscore the important point that the stylish consumption of tobacco, like fashion more generally, does not necessarily proceed in set linear stages toward the truly innovative, but is just as likely to circle back to revive earlier forms.³⁵ Nor do prevailing tastes always move from a single center outward toward a periphery. New styles and trends move across space and transcend cultural boundaries in surprising and unexpected ways.³⁶

The fashion of smoking tobacco rolled in paper began to take hold among certain segments of the Chinese urban population in the late nineteenth century, simultaneously with the ascendance of the global cigarette in other countries. Sales of machine-rolled cigarettes in China underwent explosive growth in the opening decades of the twentieth century, rising from about 300 million sticks sold per year in 1900 to over 80 billion in 1937.³⁷ Historians often assume that this rapid increase in the total numbers of cigarettes sold is indicative of dramatic changes under way

in Chinese consumer culture more broadly. Cigarettes, along with toothpaste, knitted stockings, kerosene, and so on, are often listed among the “entirely new” objects of Western material culture said to have instigated China’s mass consumer society.³⁸ The cigarette, the consummate *modern* commodity, is regarded as an early harbinger of the “consumer revolution” that many believe originated in Shanghai in the early twentieth century and finally came to fruition after Deng Xiaoping launched his program of economic reform in 1978.

Certainly in China as elsewhere, the cigarette has served as a compelling symbol of Western-style modernity ever since its introduction in the 1880s. However, as Arjun Appadurai has argued, the social meaning of things does not emanate solely from objects themselves; people create such meaning within particular historical contexts and distinct social settings.³⁹ The notion, pervasive in China as elsewhere, that the cigarette was uniquely modern and Western was socially constructed during a time when many Chinese found themselves struggling with personal, group, and national identities in the face of both foreign imperialism and internal chaos. Especially after the collapse of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911–12, the cigarette became a central prop for Chinese urbanites seeking to express their new sophistication, progressive political stance, and enlightened way of thinking. Choosing to smoke a cigarette rather than a pipe signaled not only a personal sense of style but also where one stood on the pressing issues of the day.

Although pipe tobacco went out of fashion among many forward-looking urbanites in the first half of the twentieth century, the “traditional” pipe had remarkable staying power in many areas of China. Continuities in Chinese smoking practices, especially among the rural majority, were not simply manifestations of cultural conservatism, however. Smoking preferences were also grounded in certain economic realities China faced as a relatively poor country in an age of expansive global capitalism. In theory, the mass-marketed cigarette was available to all. In reality, cigarettes were somewhat more expensive than cut tobacco. Although some among the urban and rural poor may have enjoyed an occasional factory-produced cigarette, for the most part, the broad base of Chinese citizens continued to smoke much more affordable pipe tobacco.

Despite parallels with Western Europe and North America, China’s own “cigarette century” was thus historically more akin to that of countries such as Egypt or Russia where the tobacco market remained bifurcated between rich and poor and between city and countryside.⁴⁰ In China, as in other countries subject to external political and economic interference in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, price played a major role in determining who smoked what. However, the culturally constructed iconography of the cigarette as the quintessential modern consumer good also contributed to new social distinctions between smokers.⁴¹ Whether in art, film, or literature, the long-stemmed pipe was consistently depicted

as a uniquely “Eastern” manner of enjoying tobacco that was leisurely and relaxed but also hopelessly “backward.” In contrast, the cigarette was viewed as a more dynamic, Western way of inhaling nicotine.

In truth, there was nothing inherently “modern” or “Western” about the cigarette itself, even if contemporaries (and later historians) thought about it as such. Consumers in many societies had smoked tobacco rolled in paper long before the invention of the Bonsack rolling machine in the early 1880s. Cigarettes just happened to enter China during the nadir of Chinese wealth and power and, as such, took on a particular association with the more powerful industrialized nations of Western Europe, North America, and Japan rather than countries such as Turkey, Egypt, or the Philippines where hand-rolled cigarettes had been popular for decades. When viewed not as a totally new, Western import but rather as a variant form of a commodity already familiar to millions of Chinese smokers, the cigarette ceases to be emblematic of revolutionary transformations set in motion by foreign technology and transnational corporate marketing and instead becomes an ordinary object of everyday use, creatively appropriated by Chinese consumers in much the same way as other imported tobacco products had been in earlier centuries.

Representations of the tobacco pipe as culturally authentic but politically regressive and the cigarette as dynamic, modern, and politically enlightened can be found in other contexts, such as Egypt.⁴² Indeed, the following chapters suggest that the history of the mass-marketed cigarette looks rather different when viewed not from those societies that enjoyed the benefits of global hegemony and economic ascendancy, but from those that entered the twentieth century under the threat of military occupation or economic dependence. Under such conditions, widespread associations of the “modern” cigarette with Westernization gave rise to considerable ambivalence about this new method of smoking tobacco. Even as they embraced the cigarette as a badge of their own progressive modernity, many twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals remained apprehensive about the “foreign” nature of the cigarette. The development of Chinese-owned tobacco companies and agitations on the part of the National Products Movement to “buy Chinese” eased these anxieties somewhat,⁴³ but for many in the Republican era, the cigarette remained a symbol not only of modernity but of economic and cultural imperialism. China’s experience with the global cigarette was thus quite different from that of “the West,” although not necessarily in ways that set modern Chinese smoking cultures entirely apart from “the rest.”

The twentieth century also saw the emergence of new social attitudes that shifted long-standing terms of tobacco use and proper feminine comportment. An influential fin de siècle anti-smoking movement, spun off from American and British temperance campaigns, held that a society in which substantial numbers of women smoked was “uncivilized.” This sentiment, spread around the world by evangelizing Christian missionaries, along with the Social Darwinist notion that women who

smoked contributed to the degeneration of their race, combined with preexisting indigenous ideas about the impropriety of women smoking in public to form a nationalistic elite discourse directed against all women who smoked. In societies such as China, Japan, and Egypt, where there were previously no gender divisions in smoking practices (except in cultural limits on *where* respectable women could smoke), the early twentieth century saw educated elites pushing for new standards of female behavior that included abstention from tobacco altogether. Ironically, this was precisely the point at which Western women were beginning to use the ready-made cigarette as a “torch of freedom,” quite literally lighting up their path toward equality with men.⁴⁴ The twentieth century thus marked a division between wealthier Western countries where women smoked cigarettes and less affluent societies where women by and large did not.⁴⁵

The gendered history of tobacco in twentieth-century China underscores a key argument threaded throughout the following chapters: there can be no single history of consumption that leads inexorably toward global homogenization of disparate consumer cultures. Chinese encounters with global tobacco, whether in the sixteenth century or the twentieth, were historically unique, highly contingent, and context specific. To be sure, Chinese smokers continually interacted with foreign goods, ideas, fashions, and global economic forces as they constructed their own situated and resilient local cultures of consumption. Such resiliency was not always constant or absolute. Local agency could be overpowered by external influences and powerful geopolitical currents. Such was the case at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, when Chinese intellectuals appropriated certain Orientalist ideas about the “uncivilized” nature of female smoking. Nor did all localities benefit equally from China’s intensifying engagement with an ever more integrated global economy, particularly during the modern era when such involvement was compelled by military force and carried out on highly unequal terms. The history of the machine-rolled cigarette in Republican China reveals that many were shut out, either by poverty or changing political and gender norms, from the proliferating world of goods that cascaded through the global and domestic economies. While such exclusion from manufactured cigarettes may have protected women and the poor from tobacco’s harms, it also suggests that there were significant social and spatial limits on access to manufactured consumer goods more generally in the late Qing and Republican periods. True “massification” of factory-produced cigarettes came only after 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) created a somewhat more egalitarian society and especially after rural standards of living began to rise in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Tracing changes and continuities in Chinese tobacco use over many centuries reveals enduring Chinese values and habits of consumption, even as it highlights ongoing parallels and links that China shared with other societies undergoing slow but certain transformations in local consumer cultures from 1500 on. Whether we

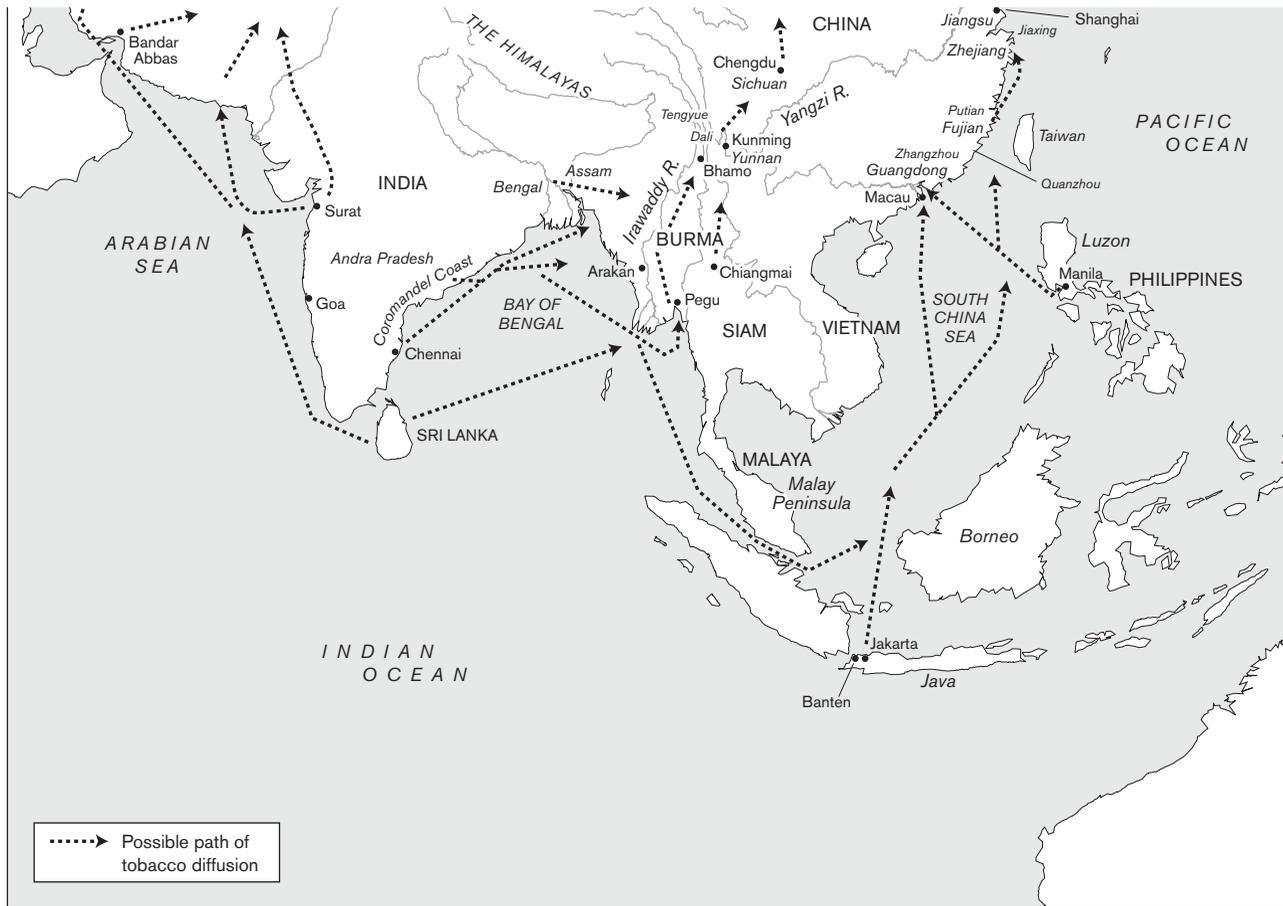
look to the 1630s, the 1720s, the 1930s, or the 1990s, we cannot find an explosive “consumer revolution” that dramatically marks one epoch off from the past. Instead, as in Europe and North America, only fragmented and very gradual but nonetheless dynamic transformations were continually under way across the entire period that tobacco products circulated through Chinese markets. Such transformations did not proceed in a series of precise linear stages that moved neatly from tradition to modernity. As in other contexts, older forms of Chinese tobacco consumption were constantly recycled even as new ones emerged. Only by attending to the significant role the past continues to play in the present can we begin to more fully understand the heterogeneity of local practices and beliefs that continue to evolve in unexpected ways in our own era of intensified global integration. The long history of tobacco in China—the “local product” that came from “beyond the borders”—helps to illuminate the ways in which Chinese producers and consumers continually created and re-created their own localized cultures of consumption over many centuries even as the forces of globalization proceeded apace.

Early Modern Globalization and the Origins of Tobacco in China, 1550–1650

Tobacco was initially carried across the world's oceans on European ships in the pockets of those people—sailors, slaves, and merchants—whose labors made possible the entire early modern enterprise of maritime trade and overseas colonialism.¹ In the vibrant port cities of the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea, European seafarers passed along knowledge of Amerindian tobacco to their local counterparts, who in turn initiated others in this new practice. In many parts of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, coastal farmers acquired seeds early on and began producing tobacco for sale in local markets even as other groups of cosmopolitan travelers transported this new commodity to settlements far removed from the initial port of call. In the intensified era of sustained transoceanic and intercontinental encounters that characterized the expanding world of trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, tobacco was disseminated far and wide by people of many ethnicities on the move.

Tobacco swept into China on the same crest of global mobility that carried it to Africa and other parts of Eurasia. When and how tobacco first entered China cannot be documented with any precision. However, as active participants in early modern transregional trade networks, many Chinese would have had ample occasion to encounter this curious new plant and its uses. The maritime zones along the southern coast and the northeastern Liaodong Peninsula, the two major channels through which tobacco was introduced into the East Asian mainland, were diverse regions of cross-cultural interaction (map 1). Prior to the 1560s, when the Ming dynasty lifted official bans on overseas trade, Chinese merchants based in Fujian carried out clandestine commerce with their counterparts in Japan and Southeast Asia.² As Europeans joined Asian actors in the region, traveling not only along the sea lanes that had long connected East Asia to the Indian Ocean realm but also from





MAP 1. Introduction of tobacco into Chinese borderlands, ca. 1550–1650.

the Atlantic world and even directly across the Pacific, the vigorous maritime networks centered on coastal China were increasingly linked to broader transoceanic economies. The habit of tobacco smoking, rapidly becoming a fixture among European, Arab, and Indian mariners in the second half of the sixteenth century, was readily appropriated by Chinese, Japanese, and Southeast Asian merchants and sailors at about the same time.

The northeastern frontier also proved to be highly porous, particularly in the early seventeenth century when political instability allowed privateers to slip across Ming defense lines into Manchu-held territory. Koreans, having acquired tobacco from Japanese traders, transported Korean varieties into Manchuria in the 1620s and 1630s.³ Smugglers operating off the western coast of the Korean Peninsula did the same with Chinese tobacco. Despite the efforts of the early Qing state to ban it, many among the Qing conquest elite were already dedicated smokers by the time the Manchus took Beijing in 1644.

Even as European and Asian mariners were plying the waters off China's eastern coast, caravan traders were winding their way across the mountain passes that separated northeastern India and Upper Burma from China's southwestern provinces. Still others were crossing the Takla Makan and Gobi deserts to oases along the ancient routes that connected northwestern China to Central Asia, the Middle East, Russia, and India. These overland travelers brought a distinctive type of tobacco and new ways of smoking it through water-filled vessels to inland communities in the western borderlands even before it became a commonly cultivated crop in many interior regions of China Proper.

That tobacco entered mainland East Asia in the sixteenth century and diffused widely in the early 1600s has been detailed in many other works. This study follows the basic contours of that well-known story.⁴ However, the history of tobacco's introduction into China often begins and ends with the Europeans whose ships carried it from the Americas to the offshore islands and coves of southeastern China. In contrast, this chapter emphasizes the highly interactive nature of the diffusion process along multiple Chinese frontiers. It highlights the ways that Asian actors participated fully in tobacco's transmission through the interconnecting networks that linked the Chinese empire to far-flung places across both the world's oceans and the Eurasian continent. The history of tobacco's interactive emergence in both eastern and western Chinese borderlands serves to underscore late Ming and early Qing China's ongoing and intensifying involvement with the broader early modern world.

THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO TO MARITIME MING CHINA

Interactions between Asians and Europeans in the harbors of maritime East and Southeast Asia provided the earliest opportunities for Chinese acculturation of to-

bacco, although how this process actually occurred must remain highly speculative. The initial exchange of tobacco most likely occurred between the multilingual cosmopolitans who moved through this realm. Perhaps after the Portuguese began frequenting the islands along China's southern coastline from the 1520s on, the slave of a Portuguese sailor demonstrated the use of his tobacco pipe to an interested Chinese smuggler.⁵ A Japanese resident of Nagasaki in the 1570s, having acquired the smoking habit from Portuguese traders, may have introduced tobacco to Fujianese merchants sojourning in Japan.⁶ Or a Franciscan friar, having crossed the Pacific from New Spain to Manila in the mid-1580s, passed on to his Chinese acquaintances knowledge of tobacco's medicinal uses he had gleaned from Amerindian informants.⁷ More likely, an enterprising Fujianese merchant, emboldened by the 1567 decree lifting restrictions on trade with Southeast Asia and enticed by the opportunities afforded Chinese merchants in Manila, traded some of his cargo for "*danbagu*" (tobacco) seeds and brought them back to southern Fujian.⁸ In short, any one of the European or Asian agents moving between the ports of East and Southeast Asia in the vibrant Nanyang maritime arena could well have been the first to bring tobacco to the Southeast Coast.

Whenever and however it got there, tobacco was already well established as a commercial crop in coastal Fujian and some districts of Guangdong by the early 1600s. Yao Lü, a resident of Putian County in Xinghua Prefecture (Fujian), offers the earliest textual confirmation (1611) of tobacco cultivation in China. In the section about the native products of Putian in his commonplace book, *Lu shu* (The book of dew), Yao Lü recorded encountering many local medicinal plants, including a strange new herb called *danbagu* that came from Luzon (Philippines) and was cultivated by farmers in Zhangzhou with such enthusiasm that "now there is more in Zhangzhou than in Luzon, so they export it to that country to sell it."⁹ Yao Lü notes that the herb was also readily available for sale in his home district. By the 1640s, tobacco use in Putian was quite extensive. In 1648, when Qing troops barricaded the city walls against Ming loyalists, tobacco became so scarce and expensive that a "tobacco seller, who wished to go out and purchase tobacco" from local farmers, petitioned to be allowed to leave the ramparts. Instead, his nose was cut off so as to discourage other petitioners.¹⁰

Tobacco cultivation was common in other areas of southern Fujian in the early seventeenth century as well, particularly the coastal prefectures of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.¹¹ Indeed, counties in Zhangzhou, particularly Shima, Changtai, and Pinghe became the primary producers of "Shima yan," widely regarded throughout the seventeenth century as one of the finest tobaccos available (see chapter 2). Tobacco cultivation also began in some coastal areas of Guangdong in the late Ming, although tobacco did not become a major cash crop in that province until the eighteenth century.¹²

The most important markets for Fujian tobacco were the cities and towns of Zhe-

jiang and Jiangsu.¹³ Initially pipe smoking in the Jiangnan region was restricted to those disdained by elite society—itinerant merchants, soldiers, bandits, and the like—but gradually the practice became more fashionable among the gentry (see chapter 3). Ye Mengzhu (1624–ca. 1693), a native of Shanghai who grew up during the last years of the Ming dynasty and lived through the transition to Qing rule, was a keen observer of changing trends in Songjiang Prefecture. In a collection of “miscellaneous jottings,” Ye summed up how tobacco spread to the Lower Yangzi region from southern Fujian in the decades from 1620 to 1644: “The tobacco plant first came from Fujian. When I was young, I heard my grandfathers say that there was tobacco in Fujian, and that you could get drunk smoking it. They called it ‘dry liquor.’ There was none in our region, however. During the Chongzhen era [1628–44], someone named Peng got some seeds, from where I do not know, and planted them in this soil. He picked the leaves, dried them in the shade, and then got workmen to cut them into fine shreds, which he consigned to traveling merchants to sell.”¹⁴

Ye’s contemporary, Wang Pu, a native of Jiaying Prefecture, southwest of Shanghai, confirms the growing popularity of smoking in the region and suggests that cultivation in Jiaying began in the final decades of the Ming dynasty.¹⁵ Another resident of Songjiang Prefecture, Zeng Yuwang (ca. 1610–?) noted that before 1644 there had never been local smokers in his home village and that “only the Fujianese used it.” After the Qing conquest, however, “there is not an official or soldier who does not smoke. It has even extended to the common folk; eight out of ten is the proportion for the past twenty years.”¹⁶

The many long-distance traders who traveled between the Jiangnan region and Tianjin and Beijing along the Grand Canal further served to carry tobacco from Zhejiang and Jiangsu to the northern provinces of Shandong and Zhili. In the late Ming, the junks transporting tribute grain from the south to the capital and the northern border defenses were also allowed to carry nonofficial goods tax-free up to a certain weight.¹⁷ At some point Fujian tobacco came to be included among these extracurricular cargoes. Peasants in Yanzhou, Jining, and other Shandong districts lying along the Grand Canal most likely began growing tobacco prior to the Qing conquest, although the first record of tobacco cultivation in that province dates to 1647.¹⁸ Certainly by 1644, tobacco smoking was widespread enough among urban residents of northern China to ensure the success of Shanxi merchant Zhang Pukai, who sometime in the waning years of the Ming dynasty opened a tobacco shop just outside Tianjin’s city wall. The Zhonghe Tobacco Shop (Zhonghe Yanpu) was not only Tianjin’s earliest permanent store front; it also became its longest-running family enterprise, continuing on as a tobacco emporium well into the twentieth century.¹⁹

Chinese officials resident in Beijing did not mention this new commodity until the 1630s.²⁰ In 1637, the poet Shen Hanguang (1620–77) named Fujian tobacco as one of the finest products available in Beijing shops, and he noted that it was correspondingly expensive.²¹ Shen’s ranking suggests not only that different varieties

of tobacco were already for sale in Beijing markets but also that tobacco smoking was established enough in the capital by that time for connoisseurs to make such distinctions.²² Yang Shicong (1597–1648), a late Ming official from Shandong, confirms the popularity of tobacco in 1630s Beijing, observing that “it has gotten to the point where there is no one who does not use it.”²³

As in the Jiangnan region, rising demand for tobacco in Beijing led local farmers to plant it in the surrounding suburbs. Yang Shicong observed that although tobacco was “not seen in ancient times,” it had been gradually spreading “by degrees” throughout the Chongzhen period until, by 1640 or so, it was cultivated “everywhere,” even in districts near the capital. Yang went on to note that tobacco farming was highly profitable: “Within the last twenty years, many people in the Beijing area are growing it. What they make from planting one *mu* of tobacco is equal to what they can make from planting ten *mu* of grain fields.”²⁴

Knowledge of tobacco and techniques for its cultivation diffused fairly rapidly over the relatively level terrain of the North China Plain from Zhili to Shanxi and Shaanxi. In 1637 Shen Hanguang noted that it was already being grown in his home district of Yongnian County (on the border of western Zhili and eastern Shanxi).²⁵ By the early Qing period, tobacco farming was also under way in the alluvial plains surrounding the Yellow River and its two largest tributaries, the Wei and Fen rivers. Farmers in Quwo County (Shanxi) began cultivating tobacco in the lower reaches of the Fen River valley in the early or mid-seventeenth century.²⁶ By 1673, tobacco grown along the Wei River in Meiyuan County near Xi’an had already acquired a national reputation for excellent quality (see chapter 2).²⁷

Tobacco spread along the eastern seaboard from Fujian to the Jiangnan region, through the Grand Canal zone, and across the North China Plain largely as a consequence of the intensified foreign trade and domestic commerce characteristic of the late Ming period. While some Chinese may have become habituated to tobacco smoking through interactions with the Portuguese along the southern coast of Guangdong, Chinese sojourners who ventured overseas to Manila were the agents most likely to have brought tobacco back to Fujian. Once it was established in growing areas along the southern coast, merchants and other sojourners began carrying it northward. Entrepreneurs such as Mr. Peng of Shanghai recognized the marketing potential of this novel commodity and began cultivating it soon thereafter. The process whereby someone like Peng obtained seeds from some “unknown place,” planted them, “picked the leaves, dried them in the shade, and then got workmen to cut them into fine shreds” before “consigning them to traveling merchants to sell” was no doubt replicated over and over again in the waning decades of the Ming dynasty.²⁸ By the late 1630s, commercially produced Chinese tobacco was already being grown in communities up and down the eastern seaboard and was circulating widely through the interregional networks of trade that linked urban centers in North China and the Jiangnan region to the broader maritime world.

THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO EARLY QING
MANCHURIA AND EASTERN MONGOLIA

The northeastern frontier region of Liaodong, a second corridor for tobacco's entry into the East Asian mainland, was linked in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to expanding webs of transregional exchange by virtue of its diplomatic and economic relations with Korea, its ties to Central Eurasian trade circuits, and the considerable commerce Jurchens (Manchus) conducted along the northern Ming frontier. Bordering on the kingdom of Korea, China Proper, the Mongolian steppes, and Siberia, Manchuria was also the site of significant political, diplomatic, and military activity from the 1580s on. The dynamics through which tobacco was introduced into the region were therefore somewhat more variegated than along the southeastern coast: generals, soldiers, and diplomats all joined merchants, mariners, and migrants in bringing tobacco to the Northeast.

In the late sixteenth century, when tobacco first began to appear in maritime Northeast Asia, the Ming dynasty controlled the entire lower Liao Valley and the Liaodong Peninsula, administering this territory as part of Shandong Province. This was soon to change, however. In 1618, tensions that had been building for some time between the Ming and Nurhaci (1559–1626), the leader of a confederation of Jurchens from the area around Jianzhou, erupted into open warfare. By 1621, Nurhaci had annexed most of Liaodong, and his troops controlled all of its major towns, including Shenyang (Mukden). Nurhaci's eighth son, Hong Taiji (1592–1643), who became khan upon his father's death in 1626, declared himself emperor of a new dynasty—the Qing—ten years later and renamed his Jurchen subjects “Manchus.” After several years of military harassment and successive border raids by Hong Taiji's troops, the northern Ming defenses finally crumbled entirely in 1644, leaving the way open for the Qing to take Beijing and conquer all of China. In the interim, tobacco took hold in the territory controlled by the early Qing state.

As in southeastern China, tobacco first entered Manchuria as an item of trade from the East Asian maritime realm, either by way of Japan and Korea or from the Ming jurisdictions of Shandong or Liaodong. For a time, it remained below the radar of Qing authorities, and so it is impossible to say when it first arrived. It was probably in circulation by 1625 or so.²⁹ The Japanese had known of tobacco possibly since the 1570s.³⁰ Koreans became acquainted with it around 1616 or 1617,³¹ probably as a result of its importation into the coastal port of Pusan from the Japanese island domain of Tsushima.³² Koreans began to cultivate and market tobacco in the early 1620s. It was wildly popular among them almost immediately, because its medicinal qualities were said to rival those of ginseng.³³ Probably for these same reasons, Koreans found a ready market for tobacco among the Liaodongese (both Chinese and Jurchen) shortly thereafter.

Chinese merchants may have traded tobacco at the northeastern frontier mar-

kets even before rising tensions with the Ming led Nurhaci to annex Liaodong in 1621. The Jurchens had access to the natural resources of Manchuria, including sable furs, pearls, and wild ginseng, all of which were highly desired by their Korean and Chinese trading partners. Up to 1618, when Nurhaci took the town of Fushun, site of the largest and most prominent frontier market, legitimate cross-border trade between the Jianzhou Jurchens and the Han Chinese was conducted at five sites set aside by the Ming for this purpose.³⁴ At these fairs, held nearly every day by the late sixteenth century, the Jurchens exchanged products of the northern forests for foodstuffs, textiles, iron implements, farm oxen, and agricultural tools.³⁵ When Nurhaci's troops entered Fushun, merchants from several different Chinese provinces were in residence.³⁶ At least some of these sojourners were from southern cities where tobacco was beginning to circulate, and it is possible that these merchants had already brought samples forward to the northern frontier even before Hong Taiji succeeded Nurhaci as khan.

Tobacco might also have entered Manchu-controlled territory through eastern Mongolia.³⁷ From at least 1631 on, Mongol leaders and Hong Taiji exchanged tobacco as diplomatic gifts.³⁸ Like the Jurchens, the eastern Mongols probably procured tobacco from several sources including traders from Central Asia. In the 1620s, merchants from the Uzbek khanate of Bukhara, for example, were selling tobacco smuggled across Russia or carried along Central Eurasian caravan routes to settlements in southern Siberia despite severe restrictions on tobacco imposed by Russian tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1618.³⁹ In the 1630s, Bukharans were also carrying Chinese tobacco along with tea, rhubarb, and textiles to Muscovite settlements in Siberia.⁴⁰ Several routes between China and the Siberian outpost of Tobolsk took them across the Mongolian grasslands, and it is almost certain that they traded tobacco with various Mongol confederations along the way.⁴¹

Chinese merchants engaged in trade along the northern Shanxi-Shaanxi border likely supplied Mongols with Chinese-grown tobacco as well, although when such trade actually began is unclear. There are no records of such commerce prior to 1644, but the trade may well have predated the Qing conquest. According to Tan Jicong, the compiler of the 1673 Yansui gazetteer, "in the distant past" Shaanxi-Shanxi merchants brought in substantial customs revenues because they dealt in large volumes of tobacco.⁴² Yansui (or Yulin), a garrison lying along the line of the Great Wall in northern Shaanxi just south of the Ordos region, had long been a center for the tea-for-horses trade between the southern Ordos Mongols and the Ming Chinese. For many years prior to 1673, however, "the frontier posts have been crowded and profits in the markets have been small." As a result, the big merchant houses that dealt in tobacco had "met with difficulties." Tan Jicong noted that ten years earlier, in 1663, the governor-general of Shaanxi-Shanxi had requested that the throne remit customs duties on tobacco, but even this did not bring the large firms back into the tobacco trade; instead the trade devolved to many smaller private merchants who "ex-

change goods without cease.” The declining fortunes of the Shaanxi-Shanxi tobacco merchants must have occurred well before 1663, suggesting that the Mongolian borderland tobacco trade, as well, had a longer history.

That commercial tobacco was entering both Mongol and Jurchen territory via the frontier horse markets even before 1644 is further suggested by Fang Yizhi (1611–71), the early Qing intellectual who observed that while tobacco had originally appeared in Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in the Ming Wanli era (1573–1620), it had gradually spread from there to the “Nine Borders.”⁴³ Wang Pu, the Jiaying native mentioned above, underscores this possible route of transmission, noting that by the 1630s tobacco smoking was prevalent among Ming soldiers stationed along the Great Wall and that a small amount of tobacco could easily be exchanged for horses, because “the people on the northern frontier are subject to disorders caused by Cold and they cannot be cured without tobacco.”⁴⁴ Wang Pu’s assertion suggests that Chinese merchants may have been dealing in tobacco as well as tea and textiles along the northern frontier for some time.

In the Northeast, official Ming-Jurchen trade relations were sundered in 1618 as a result of increased hostilities and then outright war.⁴⁵ Chinese privateers nonetheless continued to deal clandestinely with the Liaodongese throughout the 1620s and early 1630s. Silver from Japan and the Americas as well as Chinese textiles, tea, and livestock continued to be exchanged for sable pelts and ginseng, albeit in greatly reduced quantities.⁴⁶ Eventually (certainly by 1631) Chinese tobacco was also being smuggled into Manchuria from garrisons nominally loyal to the Ming dynasty.⁴⁷ Korean smugglers also braved the unpredictable waters of the Korea Bay, sneaking across Ming lines to bring contraband Japanese or Korean tobacco into Manchu territory.⁴⁸ At the same time, agriculturalists in Liaodong began to cultivate tobacco, despite strict prohibitions against tobacco issued by Hong Taiji from the early 1630s on.⁴⁹ Tobacco consumption within southern Manchuria was clearly on the increase throughout the 1630s, although harsh penalties were imposed on any commoner caught smoking. Yang Fangxing, a Chinese general serving the Manchus, memorialized Hong Taiji about tobacco in the Northeast early in 1633, noting that although the leaves were of no benefit (and smelled terrible besides) “Manchus, Chinese, officials, and commoners” all used it.⁵⁰ By 1638, smoking in Shenyang was so prevalent that the Korean author of the *Simyang changgye* (C. *Shenyang zhuangqi* [Letters from Shenyang]) noted, “There is a prohibition in the capital [Shenyang], but it is still used without restriction” because “it is desired by everyone.”⁵¹

The Qing conquest elite were thus enamored of smoking long before they passed through Shanhaiguan to rule over China. This was true of both genders and all status groups. Many of the unfortunate residents of Liaodong caught up in Hong Taiji’s dragnet against tobacco in the late 1630s were women.⁵² After the bans were lifted in 1641, even prominent members of the imperial lineage such as Imperial Regent

Dorgon (1612–50) smoked openly.⁵³ Chinese literati in the newly conquered territories frequently remarked upon how pervasive this social practice was among Qing soldiers and officials, as did European observers present in China at the time.⁵⁴ In Sichuan, according to genealogist Fu Yiqiang (dates unknown), tobacco was “indispensable” for Mongol and Manchu banner troops, possibly because they believed it would protect them from the malarial miasmas (*zhangqi*) of the Southwest (see chapter 4). The Fus hastened to provide it to the new arrivals by converting their fields to tobacco.⁵⁵

As suggested by the Fu family genealogy, Qing bannermen were agents for tobacco’s even wider dispersal throughout other areas of China Proper after the conquest. For a few years before 1644, due to late Ming prohibitions against tobacco that paralleled those in force in Liaodong, Jiangnan officials banned tobacco.⁵⁶ As a result, cultivation in Songjiang Prefecture dropped off. The arrival of banner troops restimulated the local tobacco industry such that “suddenly merchants arrived from all corners, so the planters went back to planting and the profits they made doubled.”⁵⁷ Gradually, tobacco was appropriated by the upper gentry as well, and by 1670 smoking was prevalent in the Jiangnan region even among the Han gentry elite (see chapter 3).

The entry of Qing troops into Beijing also reanimated the North China tobacco trade. Farmers in Shandong districts lying along the Grand Canal, particularly in Jining and Yanzhou, began replanting tobacco for sale in the capital. By 1647 tobacco farms were ubiquitous throughout Yanzhou Prefecture. As one gazetteer compiler observed, “Now it is grown throughout the district. Every year a steady stream of merchants comes from Beijing to buy up the [Yanzhou] tobacco and they have set up tobacco guilds in many places.”⁵⁸ Similarly, farmers in the suburbs around Beijing intensified cultivation of tobacco after the Qing conquest. Père Louis Le Comte (1655–1728), a French Jesuit who arrived in China in 1687, described tobacco growing just outside the city walls.⁵⁹ This locally grown tobacco was sold primarily for non-elite consumption, however. Wealthier smokers preferred tobacco products brought in not only from Manchuria and Fujian but also newly established growing districts in far distant locales scattered across the empire, including some in China’s far western borderlands.

THE INTRODUCTION OF WATER-PIPE TOBACCO INTO THE WESTERN BORDERLANDS

China’s international trade relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries extended not only over the waters to Japan and the maritime realm of Southeast Asia but also across Eurasia to the kingdoms of mainland Southeast Asia and the empires and khanates of Central, South, and Southwest Asia. The process under way along the eastern seaboard, whereby local cultivators began growing tobacco soon

after its introduction, was also occurring in other coastal areas of Asia in the late sixteenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century, tobacco grown along the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea, or the eastern Mediterranean was circulating along well-established overland tracks that linked continental Eurasia with China's western border regions. Traders moving along the Sino-Burmese frontier brought tobacco from eastern India to southwestern China, while still others transported tobacco smuggled into Russia or grown in India, Persia, or Anatolia into eastern Siberia, Mongolia, and the Eastern Turkestan territories that would become Xinjiang. Yunnan and Gansu, the two western Chinese provinces connected to mainland Southeast Asia and Central Eurasia via overland routes, served as the borderland crossroads where many subjects of the Ming and Qing dynasties first learned to inhale Asian-grown tobacco through water pipes.

The custom of drawing tobacco through water was unique to those parts of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa that were connected commercially by the shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean and culturally by the Muslim diaspora. Spread by *hadj* pilgrims, Indian merchants, and African, Persian, Arab, or Central Asian traders, water pipes of various constructions, ranging from the Indian *huqqah* (or hookah), Arab *nargilah* (or narghile) or *shishah*, and Persian *qalyan*, came to be used in India, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, Madagascar, and East Africa and throughout much of Southeast Asia as well as in western China. Although the exact origins of the water pipe are unknown, southern India seems the likely starting point. The earliest water pipes consisted of hollowed-out coconut shells with straight bamboo reeds serving as pipe stems (*nargilah* is a Sanskrit word for coconut). This simple design, easily accessible to poor people, was used along the southeastern coast of India in the sixteenth century and may have been adapted by other precocious smokers throughout the Indian Ocean realm. By the early seventeenth century, more elaborate forms were in use both in western India and Persia.⁶⁰

The earliest extant Chinese water pipes date from the eighteenth century. With their solid one-piece containers and long gooseneck stems, they more closely resemble the simple pot-shaped design of the original Indian *huqqah* than do the nineteenth-century Chinese-style pipes that were smaller and more portable than those found elsewhere.⁶¹ The “bong” pipe still prevalent today in western Yunnan and also in Burma, northern Thailand, Malaysia, and Borneo also suggests Chinese and Southeast Asian elaboration on the initial Indian form.⁶² It is possible that sojourning Chinese encountered the practice of filtering tobacco smoke through water in the Nanyang seaports also frequented by Indian traders. Several Chinese sources indicate that early smokers along the eastern seaboard used water to filter tobacco smoke, though how they actually did so remains unclear.⁶³ However, it is just as likely that this South Asian method of smoking tobacco spread overland into western China along the long-standing trekking routes that connected Yunnan and Gansu to newly established tobacco-growing regions in other parts of Asia.

Tobacco first arrived in the eastern Indian Ocean realm on Portuguese ships in the mid-sixteenth century around the same time it was being introduced into coastal China. Already by the mid-1500s, Portuguese mercenaries and private traders had established themselves in scattered coastal outposts throughout the Bay of Bengal. Villages that came under their control began planting tobacco in the late 1500s.⁶⁴ Other indigenous farmers quickly followed suit. By the early seventeenth century, tobacco grown along the eastern coast of India was being exported to Southeast Asia. European travelers reported seeing tobacco smokers in Malaya in 1608, Burma in 1616, Siam in 1622, and Vietnam in 1631.⁶⁵ Bengal, Andra Pradesh, and Chennai (Madras) quickly emerged as major growing regions, as did the Coromandel Coast. The Portuguese friar Sebastian Manrique (1587–1669) observed tobacco cultivation in Bengal during his travels through India between 1629 and 1643 and noted that this commodity was exported in great quantities to Arakan, an independent Burmese kingdom located on the northern curve of the bay.⁶⁶ By the 1620s, Indian tobacco had also become an export item of some importance in the interregional trade between southeastern India and Pegu (Bago in today's Myanmar), a seaport at the mouth of the Irawaddy River that had strong commercial ties to India and Sri Lanka.

Yunnan was linked to coastal Burma through an intricate network of roads, mountain trails, and rivers that had long connected southwestern China to peninsular Southeast Asia, northeastern India, Tibet, and Central Asia. The main trunk of this ancient "Southwest Silk Road" passed from Chengdu in Sichuan through western Yunnan into Upper Burma and from there to the Indian states of Assam and Bengal.⁶⁷ One of several branches off this overland trek followed the Irawaddy River through Lower Burma to Arakan. Another passed through Chiangmai in northern Siam and arrived at Pegu. Yang Bin and Shen Laichen, who have studied commerce along these overland routes in great detail, persuasively argue that until the early Qing period when a dramatic upsurge in Han Chinese migration into the Southwest began to draw western Yunnan ever more tightly into the broader Chinese political economy, the southwestern border region was economically oriented primarily toward the eastern Indian Ocean.⁶⁸ Trade between Burma and Yunnan was especially brisk in the final decades of the sixteenth century because demand for Burmese gemstones increased dramatically among late Ming Chinese elite. The Ming court used large quantities of silver, some of which was mined in Yunnan, to purchase rubies, amber, and jade from the Shan states of northern Burma. Chinese silver flowed to Arakan and Pegu in exchange for goods brought in from Bengal and other Indian Ocean regions. One 1580s report describes more than two hundred merchants and thirty heavily loaded boats headed up the Irawaddy toward the Chinese frontier.⁶⁹

The Tai, Burmese, Lao, and other traders who moved goods from the coast to the interior did not leave many written records of their activities, and there are few

Chinese accounts of the road beyond the far western town of Tengyue. We know many of the commodities that were carried along these borderland tracks, but not all. Gold, silver, weapons, copper and iron vessels, Chinese silk, and Pu'er tea were taken to Lower Burma and India in exchange for elephant tusks, Indian textiles, raw Burmese cotton, and the Indian Ocean cowry shells that continued to be used as currency in Yunnan well into the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ Spices and drugs such as asafetida and rhinoceros horns were also moved by boat from the Burmese coast upriver to Bhamo, where they were transferred to caravans of ponies that carried them through Upper Burma to the markets of western Yunnan. As a rare but relatively light commodity that could easily be transported in bulk on horseback, tobacco was plausibly included in such cargoes as well.

Although contemporaneous evidence for the actual transmission of Indian-grown tobacco to Yunnan through Burma is absent, the historical conditions necessary for this to have occurred were certainly in place by the late sixteenth century. Qing-era gazetteers report that farmers in districts of western Yunnan along the road to Bhamo were already growing tobacco at the end of the Ming Wanli period.⁷¹ This suggests diffusion across the Burmese border. Two other New World plants, maize and sweet potatoes, made a remarkably early appearance in western Yunnan—in Dali by 1563 and Tengyue by 1574—a fact that underscores the close economic ties the interior borderlands of southwestern China shared with the littoral societies ringing the Bengal Bay.⁷² Late Ming gazetteers for many of the other districts in western Yunnan record cultivation of maize and sweet potatoes much earlier than do those for other areas of the province. In prefectures farther east, these crops were not listed as local products until the mid-eighteenth century. While this geographical discrepancy might be explained by cultural or economic differences between Han Chinese resident in the eastern part of the province and the distinctive ethnic groups that remained the majority in the west, a more plausible explanation is that these exotic plants reached farmers in western Yunnan first because of the intensive overland interactions between Dali and the Burmese coastal regions connected to broader Indian Ocean circuits of trade. Tobacco grown in eastern India could easily have been introduced into the southwestern borderlands around the same time.

The other possible route for the introduction of Asian water-pipe tobacco into China passed through the steppes of southern Siberia, the high deserts of north-central Eurasia, or the oasis towns of Eastern Turkestan (now Xinjiang) into the far northwestern province of Gansu.⁷³ Lanzhou, Gansu's capital, came to be known fairly early for its finely shredded “yellow-flower tobacco” (*huanghua yan*), which was smoked exclusively in water pipes. Located on the well-traveled “Imperial Highroad” that ran from Beijing in the east through the Zungharia and Tarim basins in the west, Lanzhou was a crossroads for all manner of goods, peoples, and customs.⁷⁴ While *N. tabacum* almost certainly arrived in Gansu from other Chinese provinces,

the fragrant *N. rustica* plant that secured Lanzhou's reputation as a premier growing region for water-pipe tobacco may well have dispersed along the Central Eurasian caravan networks that linked Lanzhou not only to the khanates of Eastern Turkestan and Transoxiana but also to the empires of Russia, India, and the Middle East.

Farmers in eastern Gansu began growing tobacco sometime in the early to mid-seventeenth century. Exact dates are not known, but already in the early Qing period, Chinese physicians were celebrating Lanzhou's "yellow-flower tobacco" for its reputed medicinal properties.⁷⁵ In 1650, following the violent suppression of rebellious Muslims who rose up in 1648–49 against the Qing forces occupying Lanzhou, the Shaanxi governor-general sought to placate Hui Chinese merchants by issuing certificates authorizing them to sell tobacco as well as tea and silver. This policy suggests that the tobacco trade along the Gansu corridor was already well established by that point.⁷⁶

Certainly Chinese-grown tobacco had already entered Central Eurasian trade circuits even before the Qing conquest. As mentioned earlier, the borderland trade fairs were a likely source for the tobacco that eastern Mongols exchanged in their dealings with the Manchus in the 1630s. "Bukharan" traders—a group that likely included many Eastern Turkestanis from Turfan and the Tarim Basin cities—were already carrying finely cut Chinese tobacco to Muscovite settlements in western Siberia as early as 1637.⁷⁷ Chinese tobacco remained a mainstay of the Bukharan caravan trade throughout the seventeenth century and was much in demand among not only Mongols, Russians, and Siberians but also the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Uighurs of Turkestan.⁷⁸ When Russian-sponsored trade missions began traveling these same overland routes in the second half of the seventeenth century, they found that Chinese tobacco was a much-desired commodity throughout Siberia and Mongolia.⁷⁹

The provenance of "Chinese tobacco" carried to southern Siberia and Russia is uncertain, but Gansu seems a likely source. According to the Croatian Jesuit Iurii Krizhanich (1618–83), who was exiled to the Siberian city of Tobolsk between 1661 and 1676, Bukharans there dealt in two types of tobacco from China, one with a dark color and a pleasant aroma but a very powerful psychotropic effect, and the other a finely shredded greenish tobacco that was much milder. The dark variety was likely a type of *N. tabacum* grown in western Gansu and known simply as "western tobacco" (*xiyan*). The best-quality Gansu tobacco—the famous "yellow-flower tobacco" grown only in districts close to Lanzhou—had a greenish tint, was cut into very fine shreds, and could be smoked only in water pipes.

Named for the tiny yellow flowers that appear on the *Nicotiana rustica* plant, Lanzhou huanghua yan was processed from a species cultivated today in areas of western China (Gansu, Qinghai, Xinjiang, Sichuan, and Yunnan), northern and northeastern India, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, and parts of the Middle East and

northern Africa. In contrast to the far more common *Nicotiana tabacum*, *N. rustica* has a short growing season and fares best in cool temperatures and at higher altitudes. A hybrid of two wild tobacco species originally found in Peru, *N. rustica* was first domesticated in the Andes. Over many centuries Amerindian agriculturalists gradually diffused this species northward to the woodlands of North America, where English colonists encountered it when they first arrived in the Chesapeake region.⁸⁰ Europeans then transported it from North America to Europe and Asia in the late sixteenth century.

It is unclear how *N. rustica* ended up in distant Gansu. As noted earlier, tobacco cultivation was already under way in parts of Shanxi and Shaanxi in the early seventeenth century, and the Lanzhou tobacco trade may simply have been an extension of cultivation elsewhere in northern China. It might also have been carried northward from Bengal or Assam by way of Yunnan and Sichuan, because Lanzhou was situated on a northern branch of the Southwest Silk Road. However, the introduction of “yellow-flower tobacco” into the Gansu corridor from northwestern India or eastern Persia by way of Xinjiang, or from Russia by way of Siberia and Mongolia, cannot be ruled out.⁸¹ Already in the early seventeenth century, tobacco grown in northern India or in territories controlled by the Ottoman Empire was beginning to circulate along Central Eurasian trade routes.⁸² For example, tobacco smoking was widespread among residents in the Mughal outpost of Qandahār (now the third-largest city of Afghanistan) when Heinrich von Poser (1599–1661), a German nobleman, passed through the Indo-Iranian trading center in 1621.⁸³ The oasis towns in the Turan depression of Transoxiana (now southwestern Kazakhstan, northwestern Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) first acquired tobacco in the early 1600s, most likely from Iran.⁸⁴

Tobacco, including *N. rustica*, also grew in the area around Yarkand, located in the far southwestern corner of the Tarim Basin in an area known as Kashgaria (Kashgar and Yarkand). Yarkand was both a mining town and a major entrepôt in Xinjiang’s trade with South Asia and the Himalayan countries.⁸⁵ Chinese mercantile penetration into the westernmost reaches of Xinjiang did not occur until the eighteenth century or later,⁸⁶ and so it seems more plausible that Indian or Bukharan merchants moving through passes in the Karakoram, Pamir, and Hindu Kush mountain ranges brought *N. rustica* into Kashgaria from northern India or eastern Persia in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The Eastern Turkestani who brokered the trade between northwestern China and the cities of southwestern Xinjiang in the late Ming may well have been the first to carry “yellow-flower tobacco” to Gansu along with precious nephrite jade, mined in the Kashgaria region.

Tobacco was also circulating widely in seventeenth-century Russia.⁸⁷ The commodity first appeared in Moscow around 1609. Despite repeated official injunctions against it, merchants of many nationalities continued to smuggle tobacco into Russian territory throughout the 1600s. English and Dutch traders brought American

tobacco directly into their shared port of Arkhangel'sk in the far north or sold it to Swedish intermediaries in Baltic ports who then traded it with Russians along the northwestern Russo-Finnish frontier. Beginning in the 1620s, Greek and Turkish traders carried tobacco grown along the southern Ottoman coast of the Black Sea to Moscow via Moldova and Ukraine.⁸⁸ By the 1630s, Ukrainians were cultivating their own tobacco and smuggling it along with forbidden vodka into Muscovy in exchange for furs and animal hides.⁸⁹ Diasporic Hindu merchants from northern India and Bukharan traders from Central Asia were also importing tobacco produced in northwestern India or eastern Persia into the Muscovite port of Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea at midcentury.⁹⁰ Tobacco remained technically illegal in Russian territory until Peter the Great reversed the bans against it in 1697, but for decades official Russian embassies had routinely used tobacco as diplomatic gifts in Siberia and Mongolia. Some of this likely ended up in the markets of northwestern China.⁹¹

Ultimately, the origins of Gansu's "yellow-flower tobacco" remain a mystery. Fragmentary evidence suggests, however, that by the early to mid-seventeenth century, tobacco—whether grown in Anatolia, Ukraine, Moldova, India, or Persia, or smuggled across Russia from Ottoman or European ports—was already circulating in the Central Eurasian territories that had direct commercial and cultural ties to China's far west. Given the distances and difficulties of travel over land as opposed to water, frequent and sustained opportunities for tobacco's easterly diffusion from Russia, northern India, or Central Asia into northwestern Chinese borderlands were almost certainly more limited than they were along the eastern maritime frontiers of late Ming China or early Qing Manchuria. Nonetheless, the presence of tobacco in many interior areas of the Eurasian continent by the mid-seventeenth century, from Qandahār to Lanzhou, underscores the fact that these inland territories were not remote, isolated regions entirely cut off from the expanding maritime circuits of early modern trade. When political conditions allowed for safe passage, overland routes were utilized by people on the move. Vanguard smokers transiting through oasis towns and merchants dealing at borderland trade fairs may well have been the first to bring *N. rustica* to Gansu. As a consequence, Lanzhou, China's gateway to the distant "western regions," became famous for its "local" yellow-flower tobacco—a species that had first been hybridized centuries before on the other side of the world.

The introduction of New World tobacco into Chinese borderlands was part of a complex and sustained globalized process that followed many paths and involved many different actors. The increased presence of European ships in Asian waters after the 1520s was a necessary precondition for tobacco's initial entry into maritime China, because the seeds and leaves of the tobacco plant first arrived in Asian

ports on oceangoing vessels. We think of these ships as “European” because Iberian monarchs or English and Dutch investors financed them and men such as Ferdinand Magellan, Thomas Cavendish, and Cornelis de Houtman served as captains. Yet the early modern maritime world was by necessity a multicultural one. Given that many sailors died of scurvy and other diseases during the voyage, the crews manning European ships often included Arabs, Asians, and Africans picked up along the way.⁹² The shared experience of a life at sea facilitated the transmission of exotic new customs from one sailor to the next. It is not surprising that the earliest adopters of Amerindian tobacco included many among the itinerant labor force who rigged the sails and propelled these ships across the world’s oceans from Veracruz or Bahia to Manila and Macau. Habits acquired on deck easily spilled over to the wharves of Asian port cities. Economic success in these polyglot settings required openness to unfamiliar habits, new foods, and novel fashions. Inhaling the smoke of burning tobacco leaves through a long tube, reputed to have significant health benefits, probably appealed to the local dockhands and merchants who met up with globe-trotting mariners in these cosmopolitan spaces.

As the webs of global maritime commerce thickened, the opportunities for the cross-cultural transmission of tobacco from ship to shore increased. More frequent and sustained contact in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries between seafarers already habituated to tobacco smoking and those in coastal communities as yet uninitiated to the practice greatly facilitated tobacco’s spread to many inhabitants of Asian and African littoral societies. Between roughly 1570 and 1620 tobacco appeared in seaports as diverse as Manila, Banten (western Java), Nagasaki, Surat, Bengal, Arakan (Burma), Mocha (Yemen), Kilwa (eastern Africa), and Istanbul. This convergence was partially a consequence of European commercialization of American-grown tobacco around the turn of the seventeenth century. After nearly a hundred years during which tobacco was associated with Amerindian barbarism, Europeans finally began to recognize tobacco’s potential profitability. In the 1590s, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English smugglers began carrying large amounts of tobacco across the Atlantic from Spain’s Caribbean colonies, having exchanged it for slaves along the Gold Coast of Africa. By the early seventeenth century, Spanish and Portuguese tobacco grown on Venezuelan or Brazilian plantations using African slave labor had become so commercially viable that early English, Dutch, and French settlers chose to plant it in their Bermuda, Caribbean, and Chesapeake colonies. The volume of tobacco shipped across the ocean soared to meet rising consumer demand in northwestern Europe. As supplies of American-grown tobacco increased, European tobacco traders actively began to seek out new markets, smuggling American-grown tobacco, for example, into Russia or exchanging it for Asian luxury goods in far-flung imperial outposts such as Bandar Abbas, Surat, Goa, Batavia, and Macau.

At the same time, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonizers began to encour-

age tobacco cultivation near their coastal fortresses along the east coast of Africa, on the Indian subcontinent, in mainland Southeast Asia, and throughout the island archipelagos of the Philippines and Indonesia. Local African and Asian cultivators soon began growing tobacco in interior regions far distant from the coast. It did not take long for tobacco to become an indigenous crop in many agrarian economies of Africa and Asia, including those of southern China, northeastern Manchuria, the Mughal Empire, the eastern Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Swahili Coast. Long-distance traders then carried this new commodity overland to inland territories. By the 1630s, tobacco grown in many parts of Eurasia as well as the Americas was circulating widely through both the maritime and transcontinental trade networks that connected China to the emerging early modern global economy.

The history of tobacco's introduction into the borderlands of late Ming China and early Qing Manchuria confirms the conclusions of those scholars who have long argued that China was not isolated and closed off from the rest of the world during this period. The many different routes by which tobacco arrived in China—via Iberian and Asian mariners along the Southeast Coast; Japanese, Korean, and Chinese diplomats, soldiers, and merchants in the Northeast; Central Asian and Russian traders in the Northwest; and Southeast Asian trekkers in the Southwest—vividly illuminates the many and varied transregional networks of long-distance trade that China participated in during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As an entirely new commodity imported from the Americas, one that was simultaneously taking hold in many other Old World societies, tobacco, with its complicated itinerary across oceans and continents, underscores the growing interconnectedness of the early modern world. People of many different nationalities, traveling from multiple points of the compass, brought tobacco to the edges of the Chinese empire. In the interactive zones of China's early modern frontiers, tobacco began its initial transformation from exotic import to local Chinese product.

The Expansion of Chinese Tobacco Production, Consumption, and Trade, 1600–1750

Despite its common origins in the Americas, New World tobacco followed a somewhat different historical trajectory in China than it did in Europe. In contrast to early modern Europeans, who eventually consumed imported tobacco grown by enslaved laborers on colonial plantations and distributed by royal monopolies or government-chartered joint-stock companies, Chinese consumers for the most part smoked tobacco grown in China on countless small family farms spread across the empire. Much of this domestically produced tobacco was traded locally or intra-regionally, but by the eighteenth century a thriving market had also developed for high-end tobacco leaf produced in specialized growing districts situated around the country. Processed in tiny workshops located near tobacco farms in the mountainous peripheries of China's nine macroregions, premium regional tobaccos were aggressively marketed by the large merchant groups that dominated China's long-distance trade. With several notable exceptions, including the aforementioned tobacco grown in coastal Fujian, Liaodong, and Shandong and that produced in far western Gansu, the most famous varieties smoked by elite Qing consumers originated in the hill country of southern, central, and western China settled by Hakka and Han migrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

By the mid-eighteenth century, mainly as a consequence of large-scale migration into the Yangzi River highlands, a two-tiered system of tobacco production and consumption was firmly in place. Peasants smoked affordable tobacco grown locally, while the moneyed elite conspicuously consumed expensive tobaccos transported over great distances through China's integrated market economy.¹ The wide variety of tobacco products on offer at different levels of the marketing hierarchy meant that tobacco was readily available to both urban and rural consumers at all

income levels. To be sure, wide gaps existed between the quality and price of tobacco sold locally and those of the heavily processed leaf carried along mountain tracks and shipped downriver to wealthy consumers in China's urbanized cores. However, the infinite assortment of domestically grown tobaccos that emerged by 1750 or so allowed for a dramatic expansion in tobacco smoking among both rich and poor in virtually all corners of the empire.

There was nothing foreordained about this process of expanded domestic production, this extensive product diversification, or the emergence of socially inclusive patterns of tobacco consumption. Under other circumstances, shredded pipe tobacco might have become an imperial monopoly akin to ginseng, which was controlled by the Imperial Household across nearly the entire Qing period. Or it might have remained an expensive import out of reach for ordinary consumers, like the snuff tobacco favored by the eighteenth-century political elite (see chapter 5). It might even have been banned altogether, as it was for several years in the 1630s both in Qing Manchuria and Ming China.² Instead, under the particular historical conditions of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tobacco became a freely traded cash crop cultivated by smallholders on innumerable tiny plots in the hill country above the Yangzi River and its tributaries. Large-scale migration, extensive land reclamation, and the relative absence of imperial authority in many upland locations during the chaos of the Ming-Qing transition facilitated the cultivation of tobacco in many mountainous areas of Fujian and Jiangxi between 1620 and 1650. After about 1680, as the pace of highland migration intensified, entrepreneurial farmers in territories farther west also got into the tobacco business. By the time officials serving the Yongzheng (r. 1723–35) and Qianlong (r. 1736–95) emperors decided that cultivation of this non-edible crop wasted good land and should be “torn out by its roots,” tobacco had already become a mainstay of many local economies. The only thing left for Qing rulers to do was to capture in the form of customs duties some small percentage of the revenues tobacco was already generating across the empire.

DIFFUSION OF TOBACCO AS A COMMERCIAL CROP THROUGH THE YANGZI RIVER HIGHLANDS

Although many coastal residents and some in the interior were well acquainted with tobacco in the late Ming, dissemination both of the plant and the practice of smoking throughout the entire Chinese empire took some time. As noted in the first chapter, tobacco was under cultivation in many communities along the southeastern seaboard by 1600 and had arrived in some northern districts by the 1630s. It had also appeared in Manchuria and the far west even before the Qing conquest. Lanzhou's special water-pipe tobacco was already renowned in the early Qing period, and tobacco from southern Fujian was sold in cities from Hangzhou to Bei-

jing even prior to 1644. The emergence of other famous regional tobaccos, however, occurred more gradually. The primary engine driving this process of spatial diffusion and regional specialization was the considerable geographic mobility characteristic of the late Ming and early Qing periods.

Southern Fujian (Minnan) served as the epicenter for the empire-wide dissemination of tobacco. A highly mobile society, Minnan had been both a target of and a source for extensive migration since at least the 1550s. The late Ming expansion of overseas trade greatly stimulated commercial agriculture and handicraft production, especially in the coastal prefectures of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.³ Sojourners from other areas of China arrived in southern Fujian to take advantage of new economic opportunities even as Zhang-Quan merchants set sail for Manila, Batavia, and other foreign ports. When Minnan's explosive economic growth slowed in the seventeenth century, the flow reversed course. The breakdown of social and political order along the coast, occasioned first by pirate raids in the 1620s and 1630s and then by Zheng Chenggong's (1624–62; also known as Koxinga) regional rebellion against the Qing in the 1640s and 1650s, led many refugees to relocate either eastward to Taiwan, northward to Zhejiang, or westward to the hill country of western Fujian (Minxi).⁴ Movement away from the densely populated southeastern littoral into the mountainous interior was further stimulated by the "coastal removal" policies of the early Qing government in the 1660s. When stability was finally restored after 1681, even more residents left the coast and moved into northern Fujian (Minbei) or crossed over the mountains into the highlands of eastern Jiangxi. From there they moved on to Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Shaanxi, Sichuan, or Yunnan (see map 2).

Whichever direction they went, merchants and migrants moving outward from southern Fujian to other areas of China dispersed knowledge of tobacco and techniques for its cultivation. In some cases, sojourners who had traveled to the Southeast Coast brought tobacco seeds back with them when they returned home. For example, in Hubei's Shishou County peasants "with a talent for making profit" planted seeds they had obtained in Fujian.⁵ A fellow named Zhang Shiying was reputedly the first to bring tobacco seeds to his home district of Quwo in the Fen River valley of Shanxi, following an extended stay in southern Fujian (see map 1).⁶ In other instances, the introduction of tobacco to inland communities occurred on the initiative of Fujian merchants who used expanding networks of interregional trade to peddle tobacco as well as tea, books, bamboo paper, and other specialty items produced in their local districts.⁷ During the Kangxi period (1662–1722), for example, a father-and-son team traveled from southern Fujian to open a tobacco shop in Lanzhou. Cities and towns in Henan, Hubei, Jiangxi, and Taiwan all had shops specializing in Fujian tobacco run by proprietors originally from Minnan.⁸

While individual sojourners helped to spread tobacco far and wide, the primary agents for the spatial diffusion of tobacco from the Southeast Coast to provinces in

the interior were largely entrepreneurial farmers on the move. Tobacco, like the other New World crops introduced into China in the sixteenth century, eventually came to be grown primarily in upland regions by Han or Hakka Chinese who migrated from long-settled areas of Fujian and Guangdong into the hills and narrow valleys of the mountains that defined the drainage basin of the extensive Yangzi River system. Over the course of three centuries, in several waves of large-scale migration that occurred roughly from 1550 to 1850, migrants known as *pengmin* or “shack people” opened up the Yangzi highlands and integrated previously isolated mountain peripheries into the expanding commercial economy of late imperial China. Cultivating cash crops on hillsides and using resources found in the forests, they produced a wide range of commodities for sale to lowlanders in macroregional cores: paper and woodblocks for printing; lumber and bamboo; indigo, ramie, and hemp; cane sugar; and tobacco.

The designation *pengmin*, a derogatory term applied to highland migrants by locals or officials concerned about their potential lawlessness, referred to the rickety shelters many built upon arrival in a new area.⁹ *Pengmin* were a varied lot: some were rootless men looking for work, and others constituted families that cleared and farmed the land. Merchants also came prepared with capital to invest in cash-cropping and handicraft production.¹⁰ Many shack people spoke Hakka; indeed the first wave of *pengmin* migration, under way from the mid-1550s to the early 1600s, emerged out of the traditional Hakka heartland lying along the borders of western Fujian (Min), southeastern Jiangxi (Gan), and northwestern Guangdong (Yue). The Min-Gan-Yue border region then served as a staging area for further *pengmin* migrations to sparsely populated uplands along the Yangzi and its tributaries in Hunan, Hubei, Sichuan, and southern Shaanxi. Other Hakka settled in the mountains lying astride the borders of northeastern Jiangxi, northern Fujian, southern Anhui, and western Zhejiang. Still others moved out of western Fujian into Guangdong and Guangxi, progressively opening up highlands along the West River system and eventually pushing into Guizhou and Yunnan.¹¹

Tobacco, a cash crop that could be cultivated using dry-field agriculture on hillsides as well as in mountain valleys, was readily grown by these entrepreneurial migrants. This was especially true of the Hakka. Indeed, an extraordinary congruence exists between patterns of Hakka migration and the spatial diffusion of tobacco as recorded in local gazetteers, suggesting that tobacco cultivation was primarily introduced into China's interior provinces by the disparate waves of Hakka migrants who moved from western Fujian and northern Guangdong into the Yangzi highlands beginning in the late Ming and continuing into the early and mid-Qing. More deeply involved in the market than most peasants, Hakka farmers deliberately gravitated to the hinterlands of higher-order commercial centers near the headlands of major river systems, where they could more easily sell their cash crops, including tobacco, to brokers and wholesalers. Able to take advantage of the additional labor



MAP 2. Diffusion of tobacco cultivation in southern, central, and western China, ca. 1550–1800.



afforded by their uncharacteristic gender-neutral division of household labor—Hakka women and adolescent children routinely worked in the fields—Hakka reduced their production costs by farming in areas where rents were low, taxes marginal, and transportation relatively inexpensive.¹² This gave them an edge over lowland competitors, making upland tobacco cultivation relatively profitable. As a result, many of the major tobacco-producing areas of southern, central, and western China came to be located in the Lower, Gan, Middle, and Upper Yangzi highlands settled by Hakka.

Hakka sojourners, known for their skill at upland cash-cropping, mining, forestry, and handicraft production, likely first encountered tobacco along the coast of southern Fujian in the late sixteenth century. In the 1550s, many Hakka from Tingzhou Prefecture in western Fujian (the Hakka heartland) migrated to the foothills surrounding the coastal districts of Fuzhou, Quanzhou, and Xinghua.¹³ In the hills above Putian and Xianyou, these “guest people” and their descendants cultivated commercial crops using slash-and-burn and dry-field techniques. Once tobacco arrived along the coast of Fujian sometime in the second half of the sixteenth century, it too entered their farming repertoire.¹⁴

By the early to mid-seventeenth century, tobacco was under cultivation in the Min-Gan-Yue border region where Hakka traditionally made their home.¹⁵ Li Shihong (1618–97), a native of Changting, noted that tobacco cultivation was omnipresent throughout western Fujian during his lifetime, having been initiated there by Hokkien-speaking sojourners from Zhangzhou.¹⁶ Many local Hakka families soon began to specialize in tobacco farming as well. Members of both the Zou and Ma lineages that dominated the Minxi commercial book-publishing business—a mainstay of the Tingzhou economy from the early Qing period on—had already diversified into tobacco by the late Ming period.¹⁷ Entrepreneurial endeavors of this sort established western Fujian as one of the empire’s most important tobacco-growing centers, especially the areas around Changting, Shanghang, and Yongding. Wang Tinglun (Jian’an), the prefect of Tingzhou in the late seventeenth century, observed that tobacco was planted on more than 30 percent of the arable land in the prefecture.¹⁸

Hakka settlements in the southern Gan highlands of eastern Jiangxi, located just across the mountains from Tingzhou, saw an influx of tobacco-growing migrants from western Fujian between 1620 and 1650.¹⁹ By the time the Qing pacified the Gannan area in 1651, tobacco cultivation was already widespread in mountain hamlets, especially in Ningdu and Ganzhou prefectures.²⁰ The most important processing center in southeastern Jiangxi was located in the county seat of Ruijin. Eventually every district surrounding Ruijin grew tobacco.

As they migrated outward from western Fujian and the southern Gan highlands, Hakka introduced tobacco into the northern Lingnan region, first cultivating it in Nanxiong Prefecture along the southern border with Jiangxi and then diffusing it

to mountainous areas of Guangdong and Guangxi lying along the West River system.²¹ Tobacco cultivation had also begun in some coastal areas of Guangdong (Gaozhou and Zhaoqing) in the late Ming, but it did not become an important cash crop there until Hakka migration diffused it more widely into the interior, a process that took place primarily in the eighteenth century.²² Hakka sojourners from Nanxiong, for example, established tobacco farms in the hills of Foshan near Guangzhou in the early Qianlong period.²³

Hakka migrants from Fujian and Guangdong also carried tobacco to the Xiang-Gan uplands, which divided the Gan River basin of western Jiangxi from the Xiang River basin of eastern Hunan. Much of the tobacco grown by pengmin in the uplands lying along the Xiang-Gan border was processed by Shaanxi-Shanxi merchants for long-distance transport in Hengyang, a city located on the Xiang River.²⁴ “Hengyang tobacco” was also processed in Xiangtan, which at the time was the major collection point for all production in the Xiang River basin.²⁵ Tobacco farming may have begun in the foothills surrounding Hengyang in the late Ming period, but it really got going in the Xiang River highlands after 1680 when the warfare and rebellions of the Ming-Qing transition had ceased.²⁶ In northwestern Jiangxi and northeastern Hunan, which saw substantial Hakka immigration from western Fujian and northern Guangdong during the Shunzhi and Kangxi reigns (1644–1722), tobacco came to be an important agricultural commodity only in the early eighteenth century.²⁷ By the early Yongzheng era (1723–35), commercial tobacco farming was prevalent in Jiangxi’s western hill country of Yuanzhou and Ruizhou prefectures, as the governor of Jiangxi discovered when he investigated the background of the Wen Shanggui Rebellion of 1723.²⁸ Just across the border in northeastern Hunan, in mountainous areas of Yuezhou Prefecture, early-eighteenth-century Hakka immigrants from Jiangxi were also farming tobacco.²⁹ Tobacco cultivation was similarly under way by that time in the upland prefectures of southern Hunan (Chenzhou and Yongzhou), as well as in the low mountains that separated the Xiang River basin from the Zi River drainage to the west.³⁰

Another stream of pengmin migration, primarily from Hokkien-speaking areas of southern Fujian but also some Hakka-speakers from Tingzhou, brought tobacco into northern Fujian (Minbei) in the mid- and late seventeenth century, and from there across the Wuyi Mountains into the northern Gan highlands of northeastern Jiangxi.³¹ This border region, lying at the conjunction of the Gan Yangzi, the South-east Coast, and the western periphery of the Lower Yangzi, bordered on Jianning Prefecture in northern Fujian and was not far by mountain path to Pucheng County, a regional processing center that became famous for its tobacco in the early eighteenth century. Pucheng had served as the pivot for long-distance trade between northern Fujian and other areas of China since at least the tenth or eleventh centuries, and several overland routes linked it to the northeastern Gan highlands and the Lower Yangzi.³² During the Ming period, books printed by well-known pub-

lishing firms located in nearby Jianyang Prefecture transited through Pucheng to be sold throughout China, as well as in Japan and Korea.³³ The Jianyang book trade diminished significantly in the early Qing, and from then on the Minbei economy, already in relative decline since the mid-1550s, increasingly lagged behind that of Fujian's coastal districts.³⁴ Nonetheless, towns in northern Fujian, including Pucheng, remained important entrepôts for the tea and rice trade both into Jiangxi and Zhejiang and down the Min River to Fuzhou.³⁵ While not as significant to the Minbei economy as tea, "Pucheng tobacco" was an important new agricultural commodity grown in northern Fujian beginning in the seventeenth century.³⁶

Over time, as migrants from Fujian moved farther into the northern Gan highlands, "Pucheng tobacco" also came to be grown in the hilly areas of northeastern Jiangxi as well as northwestern Fujian.³⁷ By the mid-Qing period, Guangxin Prefecture had become a major center for the production of tobacco, a development that was the direct result of Fujianese migration.³⁸ Tobacco cultivation was most extensive in Guangfeng, the county lying just across the border from Jianning, and the leaves produced there were initially marketed in distant locales by Fujianese merchants as "Pucheng tobacco."³⁹ "Guangfeng tobacco" eventually achieved a degree of fame in its own right, and by the early nineteenth century, connoisseurs such as Wang Xin included it in lists of superior tobacco.⁴⁰ Yushan and Xincheng, two counties settled by Hakka tobacco farmers from Fujian, also became important tobacco-producing districts.⁴¹

Tobacco cultivation was already under way in the border region of southern Anhui and western Zhejiang in the late Ming period, following an early wave of pengmin migration from the northern Southeast Coast into the uplands of the Huang and Tianmu mountain ranges. Hakka speakers made up a relatively smaller proportion of pengmin in this upland area of the Lower Yangzi region, but some of the earliest arrivals were from Tingzhou, the center of tobacco production in western Fujian.⁴² Others came primarily from counties of northeastern Jiangxi such as Yushan and Guangfeng where tobacco was already commonly grown. Districts surrounding Anqing Prefecture in Anhui and Chuzhou Prefecture in Zhejiang became well known as tobacco-processing districts after new arrivals from Fujian and Jiangxi settled there in the eighteenth century.⁴³

To the west, pengmin migrants from Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, and Guangdong began to grow tobacco in the highlands of the upper Han River basin after the Qing suppressed the final challenge to their rule, the Three Feudatories Rebellion (1673–81).⁴⁴ Prior to that point, these highlands, which lie along the borders of northern Sichuan, northwestern Hubei, and southern Shaanxi and which effectively define the boundaries of the Middle Yangzi, Upper Yangzi, and Northwest China macroregions, were largely virgin forest. In the 1720s, particularly after the Yongzheng emperor initiated generous land reclamation programs, an increasing number of pengmin farmers moved into the Qinling foothills lying along the northern bank of the

upper Han River and into the Daba Mountains to the south. Eventually, by the early nineteenth century, tobacco came to be grown abundantly in the fertile alluvial valley surrounding Hanzhong and Ankang. As Yue Zhenchuan described the area in the Jiaqing period (1796–1820): “In [Hanzhong] town where the merchants gather, three or four out of ten shops are tobacco shops; in Chenggu north of the Xu River the fields are all covered with tobacco plants . . . at harvest time [the leaves] hang like clouds from every roof timber. To become a wealthy merchant one needs to do no more than deal in silk in the summer and tobacco leaves in the autumn.”⁴⁵ Merchants in turn shipped this “Hanzhong tobacco” down the Han River to markets in Hubei, Hankou, and beyond. Other districts lying along tributaries of the Han River, particularly counties such as Junzhou in Hubei and Dengzhou in Henan, also began to cultivate tobacco for local, regional, and even international markets in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶

As noted in chapter 1, tobacco was under cultivation in the Wei River Valley (Meiyuan County) of central Shaanxi even before 1644.⁴⁷ In the early eighteenth century, large numbers of emigrants from Hubei and Sichuan moved into the southern foothills above the Wei River and the Qinling Mountains of southern Shaanxi, and some began cash-cropping tobacco. Most upland peasants in Shaanxi did not grow tobacco for commercial sale, however, perhaps because they could not compete with that produced in the highly fertile silt-laden loess soil of the Yellow River Valley.⁴⁸

The eighteenth century also saw the establishment of tobacco farming in the fertile but abandoned farmland of the eastern Sichuan basin and the high plateau of northeastern Yunnan. As noted in the first chapter, tobacco likely first entered southwestern China from India via Burma in the late Ming period, but Han Chinese settlers did not really begin to cultivate it extensively either in Sichuan or Yunnan until after the conclusion of the Three Feudatories Rebellion brought in many more immigrants to the Southwest from Hunan and other provinces to the east.⁴⁹ By the early nineteenth century, tobacco grown on the Chengdu Plain had become quite famous, especially that from Pixian County.⁵⁰ Some of the tobacco leaf cultivated in Pixian was handled by Shaanxi merchants headquartered in Hanzhong who marketed it as “Hanzhong” tobacco.⁵¹ Mountainous areas of southeastern Sichuan, bordering on Guizhou, also grew much tobacco.⁵² Farmers in the suburbs of Kunming began cultivating it and other cash crops from about 1700 on. By 1790, according to one observer, “over half the farmland near Kunming is planted with tobacco. More families sell tobacco than rice.”⁵³

By 1800 or so, the westerly diffusion of tobacco cultivation from the Southeast Coast to provinces in the interior was more or less complete. Thereafter, the continued expansion of tobacco farming occurred primarily in districts nearby or adjacent to regions where tobacco was already established as a commercial crop. For example, in the nineteenth century, Chaozhou came to be known as a center for

tobacco grown in the hill country of the Mei River basin of northeastern Guangdong, but this development was largely an extension of the vibrant tobacco industry initially centered upriver in Tingzhou Prefecture. Similar extensions of tobacco farming into newly opened territories continued throughout the early nineteenth century as more and more upland farmers turned to cash-cropping tobacco.⁵⁴ Eventually, peasants in the lowlands of central China began to cultivate tobacco as well. In Hunan, districts surrounding Changsha, for example, were converted from rice paddies to tobacco farms in the period from 1830 to 1870 because profits from tobacco were “several times greater” than grain.⁵⁵

CASH-CROPPING TOBACCO IN THE HIGHLANDS

Tobacco was a favored cash crop in the Yangzi River highlands because it was relatively easy to handle and it could be produced with varying degrees of attention and care. Flue-cured Bright tobacco, which is the dominant form of the plant now cultivated globally, is extremely labor-intensive and capital-consuming. Under certain conditions, however, especially if quantity rather than quality is the aim, tobacco can be grown with only a minimum of effort. Upland tobacco farmers initially held certain advantages in this regard over those who cultivated tobacco on the plains. These differences go some way toward explaining why many of the premium regional tobaccos favored by elite Qing smokers were primarily grown in distant mountain peripheries rather than lowland cores.

Tobacco requires soil relatively rich in nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium. Without continual crop rotation and the heavy application of fertilizer, tobacco quickly exhausts the nutrients of even the richest soil, resulting not only in environmental degradation but inferior tobacco. To grow it in heavily populated areas already intensively farmed required extensive inputs of labor. First planted in seedbeds, the tiny sprouts had to be watered at least once a day and kept shaded from the sun, then transplanted gently by hand. The plant beds then required continual hoeing to keep the field clear of weeds. Proper fertilization with relatively expensive bean-cake was essential because night soil imparted an unpleasant flavor to the leaves. After about two months, the lower leaves and the topmost shoots were removed to prevent flowering, thereby stimulating leaf growth and increasing the uptake of nutrients. Finally, the leaves were picked in stages, with those lowest on the plant being cut first, the middle layers second, and so on. All of these delicate operations required much time and effort. Transplanting the seedlings and harvesting the leaves were the most labor-intensive phases of the process, and small producers likely had to hire extra hands during these periods or draw on reciprocal labor exchanges with others in the village.

The costs of growing tobacco in lowland cores could thus be relatively high.⁵⁶ In eighteenth-century Jining (Shandong), situated on the level plains surrounding the

Grand Canal, twice as much labor was reputedly required for tobacco than for maize. The cost of farming tobacco was as high as 75 percent of returns, while that for maize was only 20 percent.⁵⁷ The nineteenth-century statecraft writer Bao Shichen (1775–1855), admittedly interested for ideological reasons in highlighting the high costs of cultivating tobacco in comparison to food grains, estimated that fifty man-days were needed for one *mu* of tobacco, while twelve to thirteen were needed for cotton, beans, sorghum, or maize and only eight or nine for rice.⁵⁸ Bao Shichen also estimated that tobacco required ten times more fertilizer than did paddy rice.

In contrast to lowland farmers, those who grew tobacco in the highlands were able to keep labor and input costs relatively low. In upland areas where newly reclaimed land allowed for slash-and-burn agriculture, tobacco seeds could be broadcast directly in the ground, thereby skipping the labor-intensive transplantation phase. The soil in newly cleared land tended to be quite rich, and so fertilizer was not warranted. The requirement to weed extensively was also low under such conditions. If fertilizer was needed, mountain growers could use readily available wood ash, at least until the trees in a particular area were gone. Topping the plant to prevent flower growth and suckering the leaves to enhance aroma could also be dispensed with if leaf quality was secondary to lowering costs. Labor inputs could be minimized by harvesting the leaves all at once, rather than in stages. Hakka households could draw on the household labor of women, another added advantage.⁵⁹ Moreover, farmers who planted tobacco in dry fields on mountain slopes did not need to invest in the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems.

Once harvested, whether in the uplands or on the plains, little preparation was needed before tobacco leaves could be sold to the brokers who carried it to market towns for processing. Prior to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, tobacco was cured by hanging the leaves in the open air, by drying them in the sun, or by roasting them over a fire. None of these methods required any outlays for special equipment or buildings.⁶⁰ The leaves were simply dried and then passed on to dealers, who graded them and sent them on either for sale locally as “raw tobacco” or else for further processing (see figure 1).

Tobacco processing was done in specialized workshops that ranged in size from small family-run operations with three to five workers to large manufactories (*changfang* or *zuofang*) with many employees. Small-scale brokers most often served as middlemen between farmers and large tobacco merchants. Midsize tobacco firms (*yanhang*) also purchased tobacco directly from producers and then processed it for sale to consumers. Situated in intermediate or central market towns strategically located on or near the tributaries of navigable waterways, tobacco firms often had processing sheds in the back of their establishments and retail shops in the front. They tended to employ around ten people. Larger processing and wholesaling facilities in local or regional cities could employ upwards of fifty people.⁶¹ Over time, tobacco processing became a specialized handicraft industry in many



FIGURE 1. Frank Meyer (1875–1918). “Tobacco leaves drying on a rack” (near Yangping, Shaanxi). Photographs of Frank N. Meyer, 1912–1915; copyright President and Fellows of Harvard College; Photographic Archives of the Arnold Arboretum. Used with permission.

county seats located in or near the premier growing regions. For example, Yongding, the bulking center for tobacco grown in western Fujian, had only one tobacco workshop in 1736, but by 1820 this number had grown to more than one hundred.⁶² Ruijin, the processing center for tobacco grown in the southern Gan highlands, also had a large number of tobacco workshops. Merchant investors from Zhangzhou or Tingzhou who had initially provided the capital needed to open land for tobacco cultivation also engaged large numbers of wage workers in “several hundred” processing sheds situated in the county seat.⁶³

Workshop employees, whether toiling in small manufactories or large, handled the tobacco somewhat differently depending on how it was to be marketed (as pipe tobacco, water-pipe tobacco, or snuff), but the basic process was fairly straightforward.⁶⁴ The leaves were first removed from the stalk and then broken into pieces. These were scattered on a wooden dais and trodden underfoot. The tobacco was then sprinkled with sugar, wine, spices, and oil and dried, then sprinkled and dried again and again. The more times this process of oiling and drying was repeated, the higher the quality of the final product. The mixing of condiments with the tobacco



FIGURE 2. Hedda Morrison. “Tobacco shop interior showing men operating a tobacco press, Rear view,” 1933–1946. Hedda Morrison Collection, Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University; copyright President and Fellows of Harvard College. Used with permission.

required a degree of skill and was usually done by trained workers. Once permeated with oil and spices, the leaves were gathered together and packed between boards to be pressed into cakes (see figure 2). (Excess oil was pressed out of the tobacco and used for other purposes, such as insecticide). After about twelve hours in the press, the cakes were removed and (for pipe tobacco) cut into shreds. The processed tobacco was then wrapped in paper and sold in varying weights. Preparing tobacco in this way greatly reduced its bulk while increasing its value, and it was in this form that shredded pipe tobacco was transported from mountainous peripheries to urbanized cores.

Tobacco merchants frequently provided start-up loans or extended credit to tenant cultivators. Such financing was often essential for upland farmers, even if it placed them deeply in debt, because landlords typically demanded large nonrefundable rent deposits up front and rental payments had to be paid in cash. For the same reason, peasant producers frequently mortgaged their tobacco crop at an agreed-upon fixed price in advance to local dealers who then resold it at the market price to the larger manufactories in the regional processing centers. Both the risks and the rewards of fluctuating prices were thus borne by the merchant middleman, not the farmer. Indebtedness, crushing poverty, and arduous, back-breaking work was the lot of most tobacco farmers in the Yangzi highlands, just as it was elsewhere

in China, but the incentives afforded by the small payouts made by buyers, together with fairly reliable yields of subsistence food crops, encouraged many pengmin migrants to try their hand at cash-cropping tobacco.

Most smallholders likely earned at most only a tiny bit of money from tobacco. This they used to meet tax and rent obligations, to pay off debts, or to cover extraordinary expenditures. About tobacco farming in the foothills surrounding Hanzhong, Yan Ruyi (1759–1826) observed: “When one farmer owns several dozen *mu*, he will plant a few fields of tobacco. One *mu* can yield 300 to 400 catties of tobacco leaf, which can be sold for twenty to thirty strings of cash. The money is for paying taxes, buying salt and cloth, and for special occasions such as funerals and weddings.”⁶⁵ Some managerial landowners and rich peasants whose land was planted in tobacco, however, did quite well for themselves. The 1785 Jining County gazetteer has a record of one Zang Xi, a provincial graduate of 1672, whose family “for generations has combined study with farming.”⁶⁶ Although Zang Xi converted his tobacco fields over to maize (hence the laudatory mention in the gazetteer), it appears that the family originally had extensive holdings planted in tobacco, which they oversaw themselves. In nineteenth-century Jining, six families controlled tobacco production and processing, with an annual turnover of two million silver taels.⁶⁷ In some instances, even shack dwellers could rise from destitution to relative affluence by growing tobacco.⁶⁸

Growing tobacco in the uplands involved certain risks, to be sure. Dry-field agriculture relied solely on rain water, and a heavy downpour or a prolonged drought could be disastrous. Disease and pests were constant dangers, and mold could destroy the leaves during the curing process. Still, tobacco is relatively hardy, and at the end of the season there was generally something to harvest. Seeds were easily obtained, as one tobacco plant produces hundreds but only about fifty to seventy-five grams are necessary to plant a hectare of land. A relatively short growing season meant that subsistence food crops, particularly highly caloric sweet potatoes or maize, could be grown in the same fields. Clearing the land was obviously very labor-intensive but many pengmin farmed plots that had been previously settled before the disasters of the mid-seventeenth century. These lands were easily recovered. Moreover, clear-cutting could be completed in the winter when there was little agricultural work to do. Sometimes this arduous work was done by unattached young migrants whom landlords hired specifically for this purpose. The “mountain lords,” as these landowners were called, invested substantial capital to open large tracts of land and then either hired seasonal laborers or rented it out to farm tobacco.

The best tobacco and the highest yields came from fields that had long lain fallow. Investors and cultivators alike understandably gravitated toward previously untilled land that lay close to riverine transport. Given tobacco’s high uptake of nitrogen and potassium, however, all too soon upland agriculturalists who planted tobacco were left with land that had lost much of its fertility. We do not know how

rapidly Chinese tobacco eroded virgin soil in the Qing period, but in contemporary India, the cultivation of tobacco in mountain areas causes a loss of forty-five kilograms of topsoil on every acre per year. In contrast, cotton loses seven and a half kilograms per acre per year.⁶⁹ Tobacco's negative impact on soil fertility in China was likely on par with that of maize, a potassium-hungry crop grown in the Yangzi River highlands.⁷⁰ Certainly many local officials were concerned about tobacco's adverse effects on mountain land. The compiler of the 1819 edition of the Nan-xiong (Guangdong) gazetteer observed: "The profit obtained [from tobacco] is much greater than rice. But the tobacco is all planted on the hill tops. As soon as the land is opened, the soil deteriorates and erodes. Any heavy rain silts the rivers and there is fear of imminent flooding. But because of the large profit it is tolerated."⁷¹ Clearly, there was money to be made in highland tobacco farming. For many cultivators the anticipation of short-term gains seems to have outweighed the long-term consequences of tobacco's ecological effects.

REGIONAL SPECIALIZATION, EXPANDED TOBACCO ACREAGE, AND INCREASED PER CAPITA TOBACCO CONSUMPTION

Once tobacco had denuded the soil, upland farmers had a choice. They could abandon tobacco altogether and grow other crops that were less nutrient dependent, or they could cultivate their plots using the more labor- and input-intensive techniques used on the plains.⁷² Alternatively, they could move onward or upward in search of fallow and hence more fertile fields. The decisions countless families made in the aggregate in response to the dilemma posed by the diminished fertility of land farmed in tobacco gave rise to two secular trends important for the broader history of Chinese tobacco. First, the utilization of more intensive cultivation techniques in the highlands generally improved the overall quality, flavor, and aroma of tobacco grown in mountain peripheries, even though this option required greater expenditures of labor and capital. This in turn led connoisseurs to identify certain peripheral growing regions as the source for the "best" and most desirable high-end premium tobaccos. Tobacco imported from these famous mountain districts fetched very high prices in urban cores, a development that encouraged merchants and "mountain lords" to invest even further in tobacco production in these specialized districts. In some areas—western Fujian and southeastern Jiangxi, for example—tobacco eventually became the dominant cash crop and the primary handicraft industry.

Second, pengmin continued to open new tobacco fields, both higher up in areas they had already settled and in new areas where tobacco cultivation had previously been unknown. As a result, the total acreage of tobacco cultivation increased, and the number of localities where tobacco was grown proliferated. Yang Guo'an,

China's leading historian of tobacco, estimates that some five million mu (approximately 833,333 acres) were planted in tobacco by the mid-Qing period.⁷³ In comparison, tea had an estimated cultivated area of some 5.21 million mu and cotton acreage was about ten million mu.⁷⁴ The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the continued expansion of tobacco farming as peasants in new areas began growing it for sale in local, regional, national, and even international markets.⁷⁵ By the early twentieth century, more than a million acres of Chinese land were devoted to growing tobacco.⁷⁶

The geographical diffusion of tobacco cultivation from the Southeast Coast into the Yangzi River highlands suggests that aggregate demand for tobacco was rising from about 1600 to 1750. There are unfortunately no quantitative measures of tobacco output for any of the specific growing regions discussed here that would allow us to establish reliable estimates of per capita tobacco consumption during the Qing. Only the most fragmentary information exists about tobacco crop yields per acre China-wide before 1900. Shi Qi and Fang Zhuofen estimate that the average yield for tobacco on Qing farms was 150 *jin* per mu, or 1,184 pounds per acre.⁷⁷ This statistic is higher than recorded yields in parts of southern China during the 1920s and 1930s,⁷⁸ and it is high relative to average yields in the United States in the early twentieth century. Yields of about 800 pounds per acre were standard on American farms until New Deal legislation passed in the 1930s facilitated the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides such that output increased to over 2,000 pounds per acre by the 1960s.⁷⁹ Chinese intensive agricultural techniques, employed in the lowlands and eventually in the highlands as well, especially the liberal application of fertilizer and vigilant attention by household members to weeds and pests, might well have resulted in yields higher than those obtained on preindustrial American farms. The fact that crop rotation was the norm and that tobacco was often planted on newly opened and highly fertile land may have boosted Chinese production as well, at least until such land gave out. Nonetheless, Shi and Fang's estimate for yields in the eighteenth century is probably exaggerated. If Yang Guo'an's assessment of five million mu under tobacco cultivation in the mid-Qing period is in the right ballpark, and if we use a more conservative figure of 800 pounds of tobacco yielded per acre, and if we assume that the population in the mid-eighteenth century was somewhere between 170 and 225 million,⁸⁰ then we get an approximate per capita tobacco consumption range between three and four pounds of tobacco per person per year.⁸¹ These figures are comparable or even higher than those estimated for England and Wales between 1698 and 1752.⁸² They are also higher than the estimated two pounds consumed annually per capita in China in the 1930s, though they are below the five to six pounds per adult per year in the United States during the same decade.⁸³ Further research is needed before these crude estimates of per capita tobacco consumption in the eighteenth century can be taken as definitive, but if confirmed by other data, they support Kenneth Pomeranz's hypothesis of ba-

sic comparability in Chinese and Western levels of tobacco consumption before about 1800 but increasing divergence thereafter.⁸⁴

The steady spatial expansion of tobacco cultivation to new growing districts across the empire from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century did not necessarily mean that per capita tobacco consumption among all social groups was continually rising over the entire Qing period. Pomeranz posits a contraction in popular consumption of “drug foods,” including tobacco, after dramatic eighteenth-century population growth began to put pressure on food supplies in regional peripheries.⁸⁵ Without more reliable output figures, it is difficult to know whether growers scaled back commercial tobacco production in the nineteenth century such that popular consumption of locally grown tobacco diminished over time as Pomeranz posits. However, the continued expansion of tobacco acreage in specialized districts suggests that at least there was no significant contraction in *elite* consumption of premium tobacco across the Qing period. Indeed, already in the early eighteenth century, merchants were transporting large volumes of tobacco grown in the Yangzi River highlands to urban elite in China’s major cities.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LONG-DISTANCE TRADE IN TOBACCO

The dual trends of intensified regional specialization on the one hand and the expansion of total acreage under tobacco cultivation on the other allowed for significant product diversification that in turn greatly facilitated socially inclusive patterns of consumption, at least through the eighteenth century. Like tea, medicine, liquor, textiles, and the many other commodities that circulated long distance through interregional trade networks during the high Qing period, large merchant houses competitively marketed tobacco products from different regions at all levels of the urban hierarchy.⁸⁶ To be sure, domestically grown tobacco varied greatly across a broad spectrum of price, quality, and desirability. Pipe tobacco ranged from the coarsest locally grown and unprocessed leaves to the finest premium regional tobaccos cultivated and processed in the most famous growing districts. The bifurcation of tobacco into two broad classes of inexpensive “raw” tobacco and highly processed premium leaf meant that many people, not just the very wealthy, could take up smoking.

Varieties of Chinese Tobacco

Chinese farmers cultivated both ingestible species of *Nicotiana*, but *N. tabacum* was by far the most commonly grown. A tall plant standing one to three meters, *N. tabacum* produces pink, red, or purple flowers and has large leaves. It grows best in tropical or temperate climates but can also grow in cold or even semiarid zones. In China, it was cultivated solely for use as shredded pipe tobacco, and its price ranged widely depending on the provenance and quality of the leaves. The *N. rus-*

tica plant is smaller than *N. tabacum* both in height and leaf size, and it produces only greenish-yellow flowers. In China, *N. rustica* was cultivated only in certain areas for use in the water pipe, most prominently in Gansu and western Fujian. More highly processed than *N. tabacum*, tobacco made from *N. rustica* tended to be very expensive.

Chinese tobacco was further differentiated by product labels—brand names, in effect—that in theory allowed Chinese smokers to make informed choices about the quality of the tobacco they were purchasing. Tobacco products were commonly labeled after the locality where the leaves were cultivated or processed. Leaf processed in the many districts described above—Pucheng, Hengyang, and Hanzhong, for example—followed the common practice of labeling a particular “brand” after its place of origin. Over time, particularly as the number of regional and local varieties greatly proliferated, tobacco grown in different areas of the country also came to be known for certain distinguishing qualities or characteristics. Thus the yellow-hued, finely shredded *N. rustica* grown in the mountains of western Fujian and processed in Yongding was identified as “fine shred tobacco” (*tiaosi yan*), the coarser and darker *N. tabacum* product from Zhangzhou was called “crow black tobacco” (*wuhou yan*), and the slightly greenish Lanzhou *N. rustica* was known as “green fine shred tobacco” (*qingtiao yan*).

The different qualities such as color, texture, and aroma described by these colloquial names arose at least partially from the varied environmental conditions under which these disparate kinds of tobacco were produced. Before chemical processes were invented in the industrial age to manipulate the taste of tobacco, flavor was highly dependent on natural factors such as soil composition, climate, and the amount of rainfall in any given growing season. Tobacco grown in the loess soil found around Lanzhou was not the same, for example, as that cultivated in the acidic red soils of Pucheng or the brown soils of Jining.⁸⁷

Social and institutional formations affecting land use under diverse agricultural regimes (tax rates, property rights, farm size, available labor, lineages, and access to markets) often determined the particular cultivation techniques employed (and hence quality) as much as or even more than did natural factors. Cultivated for the most part on small plots by tenants or owner-cultivators using primarily household labor, tobacco in some areas was also planted by hired laborers on larger farms overseen by managerial landlords or merchant entrepreneurs. Whether or not tobacco was intercropped or double-cropped with other plants also affected its quality. In lowland areas of southern China where irrigated fields were the norm, tobacco flourished alongside paddy rice; in upland plots, it was interspersed with subsistence crops such as sweet potatoes and maize. Its relatively short growing season (60–150 days) allowed it to be triple-cropped in some areas. In the north, it was often planted in the spring or summer after the winter wheat was harvested, and in the south it was rotated (usually in the fall) with broad beans, sweet potatoes, and sugar as well

as rice.⁸⁸ In some areas of intensive cultivation, such as Zhangzhou Prefecture, tobacco was planted in specific plots only every other year or even every third year.⁸⁹

The prestige of a particular regional “brand” accrued in several ways. Word of mouth obviously played an important role in building brand loyalty early on. Shopkeepers and merchants also proactively marketed their products, hanging signposts advertising the fact that they sold “famous” “Shima” or “Pucheng” or other regional tobaccos.⁹⁰ Gazetteer compilers also sang the praises of tobacco grown in their native places, comparing the local leaf to that produced in the most famous areas of production.⁹¹ In the eighteenth century, specialized handbooks on tobacco also began to appear. Such guides—for example, Wang Shihan’s *Jin si lu* (A Record of Golden Shreds) and Chen Cong’s *Yancao pu* (Tobacco Manual), advised readers on the quality of tobacco grown in different regions as well as the appropriate accessories needed to fully enjoy the smoking experience.⁹² Over time, partially as a consequence of the publicity provided by such publications, certain regional tobacco products became quite famous.

The relative rankings of premium regional tobaccos in connoisseur literature were quite stable but were not completely static—different regional brands rose and fell in prominence over time. In the seventeenth century, “Shima” tobacco, grown in Zhangzhou, was considered by many to be the finest tobacco in the land.⁹³ In the eighteenth century, “Shima” tobacco was displaced first by “Pucheng,” then by “Yongding” tobacco.⁹⁴ Yongding’s reputation was assured after Qianlong’s Imperial Household Department elevated “*tiaosi yan*” to the position of “superior” tobacco suitable for imperial consumption.⁹⁵ Such a designation made Yongding tobacco highly prized and very expensive. During the Daoguang period (1821–50), for example, *tiaosi yan* processed in Yongding sold for more than one thousand strings of cash. This contrasted with lower grades from other parts of western Fujian that were valued at between one hundred and two hundred strings of cash.⁹⁶

The higher-priced Yongding “brand” was consumed only by the extremely well-to-do. Other famous tobaccos, while not quite as expensive as *tiaosi yan*, nonetheless remained luxury commodities out of reach for most smokers. Merchants whose products came from less distinguished areas sometimes associated their own wares with more prestigious tobaccos, claiming that their own leaf mimicked the quality and flavor of better-known varieties. Thus Sichuan tobacco grown in Pixian was marketed by Shanxi-Shaanxi merchants as “Hanzhong” tobacco, and that grown in Guangxin (Jiangxi) was initially identified as “Pucheng” tobacco. Consumers had to be constantly on guard lest they purchase “counterfeit” tobacco.

Tobacco Merchants

Like many other local products traded empire-wide, the finest and most expensive tobaccos were handled by members of the famous large merchant groups of late imperial China (*shangbang*), particularly those from Huizhou, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and

the tobacco-growing regions of Fujian and Jiangxi. Fujianese merchants from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and Tingzhou dominated the “*tiaosi yan*” tobacco trade in western Fujian and the southern Gan highlands. Extralocal transport of “Pucheng tobacco” was conducted by sojourning merchants from Huizhou (Anhui), southern Fujian, and Jiangxi.⁹⁷ Huizhou merchants also controlled the tobacco grown in the Lower Yangzi highlands, carrying tobacco processed in Anqing (Anhui) to Yangzhou and other Jiangnan urban centers.⁹⁸ Shanxi-Shaanxi merchants from northwestern China handled “Hengyang tobacco” grown in the Xiang-Gan area.⁹⁹ At one point, Shanxi-Shaanxi merchants operated nine specialized tobacco firms (*tang*) and thirteen wholesale dealerships (*hao*) in Hengyang.¹⁰⁰ Like their counterparts in the southern and northern Gan highlands, who similarly concentrated on markets in the Lower Yangzi region, the Pearl River Delta, and the northern cities of Beijing and Tianjin, tobacco merchants from Shanxi and Shaanxi carried tobacco grown in the Xiang-Gan highlands to cities and towns lying along the north-south axis of the integrated Qing market economy, bundling “Hengyang” tobacco into “Jingbao” for transport to Beijing and “Guangbao” for sale in Guangdong.¹⁰¹

Shanxi-Shaanxi merchants also controlled the western tobacco business, dominating the trade in southern Shaanxi (Hanzhong), Sichuan (Pixian), and Gansu (Lanzhou). Tobacco merchants from Shanxi were active in Beijing from at least the early eighteenth century on: the Hedong tobacco guild repeatedly sponsored construction on the Three Sages temple beginning in 1727.¹⁰² Shaanxi merchants from Hanzhong sold tobacco grown in Sichuan to markets in Hubei.¹⁰³ Shanxi merchants from the lower valleys of the Fen River controlled the tobacco trade from Junzhou (northwestern Hubei) to Hankou.¹⁰⁴ As noted in the first chapter, there was also a considerable market for Shanxi-Shaanxi “western” tobacco in Xinjiang, Mongolia, southern Siberia, and even Russia. By the eighteenth century, this trade, also managed by Shanxi-Shaanxi mercantile houses, had grown considerably. In the late Qing period, Quwo County in Shanxi served as the premier growing center for tobacco transported overland via Zhangjiakou to Mongolia and Russia with more than eighty thousand mu planted in tobacco. Production averaged between four and five thousand tons annually.¹⁰⁵

Volume of Trade

Already by 1750, substantial amounts of Chinese tobacco were circulating transregionally within China. Although we do not know the volume or the value of the tobacco that large merchant houses moved along the T-shaped arc of the China-wide market economy, we know this trade was large enough to contribute to Qing imperial coffers in the form of internal customs duties. Records from the Beixin customhouse indicate that in the 1750s, large quantities of tobacco produced in the Min-Gan-Yue border region and processed either in Pucheng, Yongding, or Ruijin were being carried across mountain passes to the Lower Yangzi region. At midcentury,

tobacco produced in the upland regions of western Fujian and eastern Jiangxi was one of the most important commodities passing through the Beixin customhouse.¹⁰⁶

There are no direct figures for revenues collected at Beixin specifically for Fujian-Jiangxi tobacco, but we know that tobacco was an important source of revenue for the customhouse, at least in the mid-Qianlong period.¹⁰⁷ Between 1755 and 1756, at least 250,000 jin (360,000 pounds, or 180 tons) transited through this office. Kōsaka Masanori estimates that the actual figure could have been twice (500,000 jin) or possibly even four times that amount. Kōsaka's assumption that the volume of Fujian-Jiangxi tobacco was three or four times the recorded amount leads him to estimate revenues on tobacco at between 30,000 and 60,000 silver taels. If we accept this estimate as close to the actual revenues generated by the long-distance tobacco trade at Beixin, the taxes collected on tobacco there constituted between 14 and 27 percent of the entire customs revenues collected in 1755 (220,535 taels).¹⁰⁸

Although these estimates are fragmentary, from them we can at least ascertain that the value of mountain-grown tobacco carried from western Fujian and the Gan highlands of eastern Jiangxi to the Lower Yangzi Delta in the mid-eighteenth century was substantial relative to the value of other goods being transported along the same route. In their memorials, customs inspectors stressed that fluctuations in the tobacco trade greatly affected overall revenues of the customhouse, and this further suggests that tobacco was a relatively important commodity for trade along the Qiantang River. For example, in 1764, the tobacco harvest was poor, and the volume of trade and the customs revenues at Beixin decreased dramatically as a consequence.¹⁰⁹ Evidence from Beixin also underscores the market segmentation of premium regional varieties because the customhouse taxed tobaccos from divergent areas at different rates: Fujian tobacco was taxed at the highest rate (4.60 taels per 100 jin), which further suggests it was regarded as having a higher overall quality and value than other varieties.¹¹⁰

Tobacco Retailing

As tobacco cultivation expanded across the empire over time, new varieties of both inexpensive and exorbitantly priced tobacco products continually became available to consumers at both ends of the socioeconomic hierarchy, from poor peasants to powerful officials. Qing-era tobacco retailing thus proceeded on two parallel tracks: high-end tobaccos processed in the famous centers of production were sold in specialized shops as luxury goods in China's major cities, while cheaper forms of shredded tobacco, readily available in most temple fairs or local periodic markets, provided a simple pleasure for the vast majority of the urban and rural poor.

Tobacco was sold at all levels of the late imperial marketing system, from the imperial capital down to the standard marketing town. Beijing, as the home not only of the Imperial Household but also of powerful officials, wealthy merchants, and well-connected bannermen, had a wide array of specialized shops that pur-

veyed tobacco of all kinds. By 1717, if we judge by the many signboards reproduced by the illustrator of the scroll commemorating the Kangxi emperor's sixtieth birthday, Beijing retailers sold pipe tobacco imported from many famous growing districts, including Jining, Shima, Pucheng, and Shetang.¹¹¹ While pictorial representations alone cannot be taken as definitive proof that premium tobaccos from distant growing districts were on offer in Beijing shops, the meticulous inclusion of signboards advertising famous regional brand names in this painting suggests tobaccos from Shandong, Fujian, and Hunan were well regarded in the capital during the Kangxi period. One hundred years later, a well-to-do customer in one of Beijing's larger tobacco shops could purchase pipe tobacco from virtually any corner of the empire.¹¹²

Wealthy consumers in the major cities of the Jiangnan region (Nanjing, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, and Suzhou), Tianjin in the north, Hankou in the Middle Yangzi, and Guangzhou in the south also had considerable choice among different tobacco products sold in specialized tobacco shops. Tianjin's earliest tobacco emporium, the Zhonghe Yanpu, established in the late Ming period, has previously been mentioned.¹¹³ Zhonghe, like the famous Bei Yu Feng store in Beijing, sold pipe tobacco, water-pipe tobacco, and snuff of many different grades and qualities. These were imported from all over the empire as well as from abroad.¹¹⁴ By the middle of the Qing dynasty, tobacco shops were common throughout Beijing. In the Qianlong era, at least as represented in Xu Yang's 1770 scroll painting, Suzhou had eight up-scale tobacco shops, three of which specialized in tobacco from northern Fujian.¹¹⁵ By the mid-eighteenth century, Shanghai imported not only domestically grown tobacco from Fujian and Guangdong but also very expensive tobacco from Japan.¹¹⁶ Residents of Guangzhou, after 1760 the only coastal port where European and American merchants were allowed to conduct business, had access not only to domestically produced tobacco but also to Brazilian and Chesapeake snuff tobacco processed in Europe (see chapter 5). Nineteenth-century Hankou had a "dizzying array of retail shops" including those that specialized in processed tobacco from Hanzhong (Shaanxi) and Junzhou (Hubei).¹¹⁷

Some but not all of the tobacco products widely available in the large cities of the richest macroregions could also be found lower down the urban hierarchy and in more peripheral areas of the country. Shops (*yandian*) that sold many varieties of tobacco, either locally grown or imported from farther afield, could be found in many standard marketing towns and local cities as well as regional metropolises. Wu Ying, a sixty-year-old *shengyuan* (licentiate) from Pingnan County in Xunzhou Prefecture (Guangxi) who became caught up in the Qianlong literary inquisitions in 1780, noted that in the bigger towns of Guangxi, there were twenty to thirty retail tobacco shops; in medium-sized markets, about ten; and in small market towns, five or six.¹¹⁸ Fang Bao (1668–1749), the scholar-official who led a campaign against tobacco during the early Qianlong era, complained in 1736 that even the

smallest and most remote areas throughout the Lingnan region had small tobacco shops.¹¹⁹ The retail structure of Qing tobacco marketing was rounded out by itinerant merchants who carried tobacco and tobacco paraphernalia directly to consumers within urban neighborhoods, to rural periodic markets, or to remote villages. In some instances, the itinerant tobacconists not only sold tobacco but also rented out pipes so consumers could smoke on the spot (see figure 3).

By all accounts commercial tobacco cultivation expanded greatly during the late Ming and early Qing periods. Tobacco came to be widely planted in many Chinese localities by 1750 or so. Beginning along the coast of Fujian, merchants and migrants dispersed knowledge of tobacco farming up and down the eastern seaboard, across the North China Plain, onto the Loess Plateau of northwestern China, and into the Yangzi River highlands of southern, central, and western China. Eventually, tobacco was grown in nearly every province. Compilers of nearly two hundred Qing-era county-level gazetteers included tobacco in their lists of “local products.”¹²⁰ We can assume it grew in many other districts as well, even if the gentry who edited such compilations did not always catalog it.

To be sure, as a cash crop grown largely for sale rather than solely for household consumption, tobacco was limited in its geographical diffusion. For example, in the Wei River Valley of central Shaanxi, tobacco was grown in only a few low-lying suburban counties near Xi’an, despite the fact that other New World crops became staples in the foothills. In other areas, such as western Hunan and in Hubei along the lower reaches of the Han River, tobacco was of little importance until the nineteenth century. Moreover, tobacco was not widely grown in the Pearl River Delta, nor was it grown much after the seventeenth century on the plains surrounding Beijing or in the urbanized core of the Jiangnan region. Although some farmers in exurban areas of China’s major cities produced low- or medium-priced tobacco, wealthy smokers in these economically central places preferred high-end premium tobaccos imported from coastal Fujian, Shandong, Gansu, and the specialized growing districts that emerged in the Yangzi River highlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Regional specialization in the Qing tobacco industry reflected the openness to the market characteristic of the late imperial agrarian economy. In some areas of China—western and northern Fujian, the Gan River highlands, the Xiang-Gan border region, the upper Han River basin, and the Chengdu Plain—commercial tobacco farming was highly developed. In the Qianlong period, about 60 percent of the tobacco produced in Fujian was transported to other provinces or exported to Taiwan and Southeast Asia.¹²¹ The most important markets for Fujian tobacco were the cities and towns of the Jiangnan region, but Fujianese merchants carried “Shima,” “Pucheng,” and “*tiaosi*” tobacco far and wide, establishing shops in distant

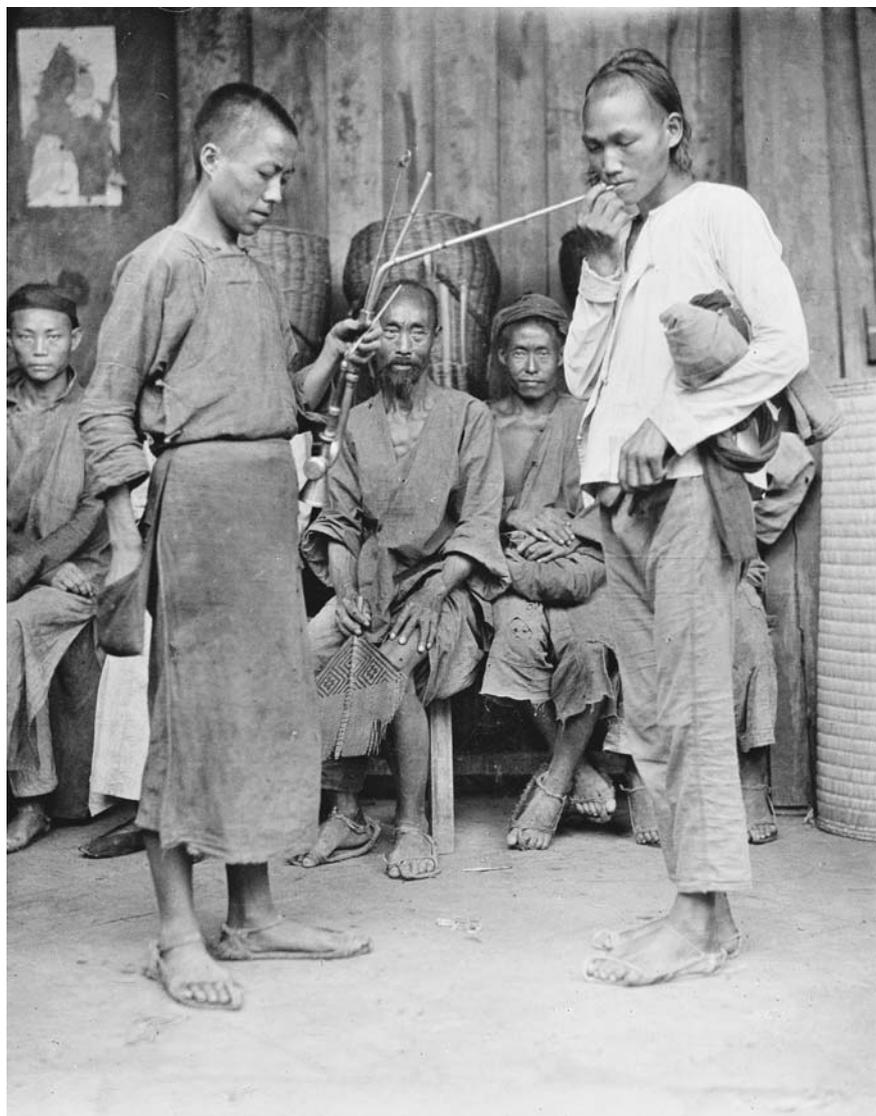


FIGURE 3. Sidney D. Gamble. "Renting Smoke," 1917-19. In Sidney D. Gamble Photographs; Archive of Documentary Arts, Duke University; no. 65A-354. Used with permission.

Sichuan and Gansu.¹²² Zhang-Quan merchants involved in the Nanyang trade also successfully marketed Fujian tobacco to Chinese living overseas.¹²³ Tobacco grown in specialized districts of northwestern China was similarly produced largely for export to consumers in Central Eurasia, Siberia, and Russia.

Extensive cultivation in so many areas of the empire made tobacco increasingly accessible to many consumers, including those of relatively modest means. By 1750 or so, there was an astounding variety of different kinds of tobacco available to status-conscious consumers with money quite literally to burn. At the same time, the number of inexpensive tobaccos available for local consumption expanded. Almost from the beginning then, tobacco purchases proceeded on two levels, one driven by concerns over price and the other by a desire to use only those tobacco products that set the smoker apart as a member of a fashionable minority. Increasing demand for tobacco, on the part of both rural smokers and those in the cities, was met by an expansion of acreage under cultivation and by increased commercial specialization. China's integrated empire-wide market for specialty items allowed large mercantile houses to carry premium regional tobaccos from mountainous peripheries to urbanized cores. A lively network of market towns and rural periodic markets, provisioned by itinerant peddlers and sojourning merchants, ensured circulation of inexpensive tobacco products to villages and smaller towns as well. Only after about 1800, when demographic growth began to press against food supplies, was there possibly a contraction in the consumption of tobacco among those less well off.

Elite smokers living in the urbanized inner cores of the most commercialized and prosperous regions (the Lower and Middle Yangzi, the Southeast Coast, Lingnan, and North China around Beijing and Tianjin) were clearly the primary customers for the most highly valued premium tobaccos grown in distant mountainous hinterlands. These peripheral areas were all of a particular type: they were invariably located near the tributaries of major river systems and always within reach of a major commercial center where tobacco leaves could be processed and bulked for transport long distance. In the seventeenth century, previously unexploited uplands near the heads of Yangzi River tributaries in the peripheries of the Southeast Coast, the Lower and Gan Yangzi, and Lingnan macroregions proved to be ideal locations for commercial tobacco production. The disruptions of the Ming-Qing transition and the consequent depopulation of certain zones suitable for cash-cropping tobacco encouraged many peasants to plant it in the Middle and Upper Yangzi regions, especially after the Qing successfully put down the Three Feudatories Rebellion in 1681. The Hokkien, Hakka, and pengmin migrants who settled these territories found that tobacco farming in the highlands could bring in a bit of extra cash. Some farmers in areas of distant Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan similarly found tobacco cultivation to be somewhat profitable, and they too began to produce premium regional tobaccos for sale through the long-distance distribution channels of China's integrated market economy.

Qing tobacco farmers were not all destitute peasants driven by poverty to eke out a living on marginal land in remote uplands. Many were deliberately drawn by the economic opportunities they perceived in the risky but potentially rewarding venture of farming tobacco in the hill country. Enjoying relatively low production and transportation costs, entrepreneurial migrants recognized the potential profits to be made in growing tobacco in the highlands, and they expressly cultivated it to sell to merchants who controlled the long-distance trade in commodities transported interregionally. The spatial diffusion of tobacco from the Southeast Coast to other regions of China, under way from at least 1600 on, can thus largely be explained by the myriad decisions of many Chinese actors (peasants, laborers, and merchants) who saw tobacco as a source of, if not wealth, then at least financial support beyond mere subsistence. As a consequence of the collective agency of many strategizing individuals who responded to rising consumer demand for an exotic new commodity, tobacco became a highly commercialized and diversified agricultural product that circulated widely both through local markets and through regional and long-distance trade networks stretching across the empire.

Learning to Smoke Chinese-Style, 1644–1750

From its earliest introduction in the late Ming period to its wide dispersal in the Qing era, New World tobacco traveled in multiple directions and along myriad paths to become “Chinese.” This process of transculturation was not unique to China, of course, but occurred at roughly the same pace in other parts of Eurasia where other people were first learning to use Amerindian tobacco. As in other contexts, tobacco became indigenized in China in culturally specific ways even as it became a globalized phenomenon. Moreover, in China as elsewhere, a critical number of reasonably well-off smoking aficionados had to emerge before an integrated market for premium tobacco products could exist. This was achieved only after the practice of smoking was appropriated from below by the Han Chinese elite in the mid- to late seventeenth century.

Pipe smoking initially caught on in Chinese borderlands among those with relatively low social status. Along the southern coast, sailors and private merchants were among the first to try tobacco; on the northern frontier, soldiers, privateers, and freebooters were early smokers. The Manchu and Mongolian nobility took to the pipe quickly, as did commoners in Liaodong and eastern Mongolia. From the vantage point of the Han Chinese, however, all Mongols and Jurchens were rough-and-ready frontiersmen. The Eastern Turkestanis, Chinese Muslims, Dai, Naxi, and other peoples who traded tobacco along the western frontier were perhaps even further removed from the center of “civilization” in the consciousness of Han Chinese. Tobacco use in China thus began along the fringes of the empire among those most looked down upon by Ming high society.

Tobacco was only gradually introduced into the cultural world of the Han elite. Qing bannermen and officials, many of whom were already habituated to tobacco

when they took control of northern China in 1644, played a crucial role in the gentrification of tobacco because they made smoking respectable for those who held office. Following the conquest, certain influential Han Chinese scholar-officials in Beijing and the cities of the Lower Yangzi began to gravitate toward tobacco because they believed it to be beneficial for health or because they found it useful for entertaining. Early adopters then tutored others via the transregional networks that connected geographically dispersed elite communities. By 1700, many among the upper classes, both men and women, knew how to smoke. Certainly by the 1730s smoking was *de rigueur* within certain Jiangnan scholarly circles. The eighteenth-century poet Li Ê (1692–1752) succinctly summed up the broad social range that pipe tobacco spanned in his lifetime, highlighting its use by those on the two extremes of the status hierarchy: “Now, powerful men and young girls—there is no one who does not consume it.”¹

The crossover of smoking from commoners to elite and from men to women was by no means predetermined and indeed might not have happened at all if tobacco had reached China in another era. As is well known, one of the most notable characteristics of late imperial society was the phenomenon of heightened social mobility brought about by the internationalization of the commercialized economy in the late Ming. Massive imports of Japanese and New World silver in the sixteenth century had created new social conditions under which those from differing social backgrounds could interact. A new cosmopolitan elite emerged in China’s largest cities, comprising wealthy merchants, degree-holding officials, and semi-retired literati.² Tobacco was regarded from the outset by many among this eclectic coterie of merchants, artists, and scholars as a substance that could express hospitality, concentrate the thoughts, enhance sexual pleasure, and maintain or restore health. Viewed in such a positive light, it readily crossed status, class, and gender lines already made porous by the intensified commercialization and economic competition of the age.

Once tobacco entered the rarefied realm of the urban cosmopolitan elite, it, like many other luxury items, became a topic of interest for the arbiters of taste who wrote about such things. Beginning in the late seventeenth century and intensifying in the eighteenth, well-known literati and famous scholar-physicians (*ruyi*) highlighted the marvelous properties of tobacco in a broad array of texts. Publications ranging from materia medica (*bencao*) and miscellaneous jottings (*biji*) to anthologies of poetry all included references to the exotic new herb that reportedly had the power to heal or prevent disease, to intoxicate like alcohol, to soothe like tea, and to ease all manner of social interactions. Specialized tobacco texts also began to appear, including guidebooks that instructed the novice on the finer points of smoking among gentlemen. Such books appealed especially to those among the newly rich wishing to purchase the trappings of literati culture. Their appearance toward the end of the eighteenth century underscores ongoing status anxieties pro-

voked by the class-transcendent practice of pipe smoking and also marks the point at which pipe tobacco, as opposed to snuff or water-pipe tobacco, began to be regarded by many urban trendsetters as vulgar.

For roughly the first century of Qing rule, the long pipe was the primary utensil used by all Chinese tobacco smokers, regardless of socioeconomic class, spatial location, or gender. Pipe tobacco's initial popularity among men and women and commoners as well as the elite was in no small measure a consequence of its reputation as an effective panacea against all manner of ailments. The reputed health benefits of tobacco, theorized in learned seventeenth-century medical writings, were widely advertised to the eighteenth-century reading public via popularized medical texts that circulated through a thriving long-distance book trade. Itinerant book merchants carried commercially produced handbooks to interior cities and smaller towns, thereby spreading word of tobacco and its uses to rural gentry around the country. At the height of the Qing, many among the upper classes, including residents in areas far distant from the traditional publishing and consumption centers of the Lower Yangzi region, had access both to information about tobacco and to famous high-grade tobaccos. By the mid-eighteenth century, pipe smoking had become nearly universal as an everyday luxury among rich and poor alike. Men and women, young and old, high and low, country folk and city dwellers—all had learned to smoke.

How and why pipe smoking was so readily shared across class and gender lines in the first Qing century is the subject of this and the following chapter. I first discuss the reasons elite men took up tobacco, arguing that smoking fit neatly into the highly sociable and leisurely lifestyle enjoyed by the privileged few. I then describe pipe smoking among commoners and among women. In chapter 4, I turn to Chinese medical explanations of tobacco, emphasizing the highly contingent and contextual basis on which tobacco entered late Ming and early Qing materia medica. While the reputed healing properties of tobacco greatly facilitated its assimilation into the consumption practices of the Chinese political elite, medical explanations offered by literati physicians also provided a way for the upper gentry to reconcile their tastes for a common pedestrian substance with their sense of cultural superiority over their pipe-smoking inferiors.

TRICKLE-IN AND TRICKLE-UP TOBACCO

Seventeenth-century Chinese literati, confronted with the unprecedented social practice of smoking, were only vaguely aware of the global circuits and transregional networks that had brought tobacco to their local communities. In the miscellaneous notes essayists wrote about the plant, many sought to identify tobacco's place of origin. Some, such as Li Shihong, thought it came from Japan.³ Others noted that it first entered Fujian from Luzon, the main island of the Philippines where the Spanish

established their colonial capital in 1571.⁴ Still others such as Yang Shicong believed it was brought into Guangdong via Macau and was then carried northward by Ming soldiers mobilized to fight the Manchus along the northeastern frontier.⁵ Few concerned themselves with where tobacco had initially come from, although at least one early observer recorded that the people in the Philippines “got their seeds from the Great Western Ocean,” that is, from European or Asian traders traveling through the Indian Ocean realm.⁶

What these early commentators stressed above all else was the remarkable way in which this new custom “trickled in” and “trickled up” from spatial and social peripheries to the center, from the borderlands to inland cities and then to the rural hinterland. They observed that it moved swiftly up the social ladder, from soldiers, decadent youth, and marginalized frontiersmen to elite men and even to “respectable” women. For some, this was cause for alarm: they condemned tobacco as an “evil” that fathers could not stop youngsters from trying or that officials could not keep peasants from growing.⁷ For others, the “heavenly fragrance” that could “cause Cold to disappear and loneliness to evaporate” was cause for celebration.⁸

Seventeenth-century literati were acutely aware of the porosity of the social boundaries that separated them from lower-class smokers. Shen Hanguang, the poet from southwestern Zhili mentioned in chapter 1, quite explicitly described how tobacco percolated up from below to the Beijing elite: “In 1637, when I was at the capital, I saw an edict forbidding [the use of] tobacco. I did not know what tobacco was. A year later, after the defense of the city, I gradually noticed a few people in my district using it, but they were attendants, people of the lower classes, and soldiers. After a while many people of the upper classes took it. Now I hear that even among the occupants of the women’s quarters there are some who use it. This is remarkable. . . . I do not know when it began; most probably not more than thirty years ago.”⁹ Dong Han, a Shunzhi-era *jinshi* (presented scholar), lamented how this “bad habit” had spread first from the cities to the countryside and from men to women such that “all engage in this evil behavior.”¹⁰ Wang Shizhen (1634–1711), early Qing poet, official, and patron of the arts, wrote at the turn of the century about the omnipresence of tobacco smoking as well as the ubiquity of its cultivation: “Now [among] high-ranking officials, their subordinates, the gentry, and women, there is no one who does not use tobacco. Farmers plant fields of it in endless succession and yield large profits . . . nowadays it is everywhere, not just in Fujian.”¹¹

For some among the late Ming and early Qing elite, this new habit percolating up from below was a *déclassé* practice that had to be stopped. Tobacco’s crossover appeal aggravated preexisting anxieties about the breakdown of status distinctions brought about by the intensive commercialization, urbanization, and monetization of the economy that occurred in the latter half of the Ming dynasty.¹² Shanghai resident Ye Mengzhu described tobacco as something only “vagrants and bandits” consumed.¹³ Zeng Yuwang accused Fujianese “delinquents” of bringing tobacco to his

home district in Songjiang Prefecture, and he warned his readers about tobacco's dangers by using an anecdote about a salt worker's son who became tipsy while smoking too near the boiler used to decoct salt. The unfortunate youth fell into the boiling cauldron, dying instantly.¹⁴

Significantly, anti-tobacco rhetoric was seldom framed in xenophobic terms. Many of those who wrote about tobacco's origins in the seventeenth century knew full well that it had entered China from abroad. While some were curious about its route of transmission, its ultimate American origins were not remarked upon. Of greater interest for seventeenth-century literati was the way in which tobacco so quickly entered the rhythms of everyday life. Such a sentiment is evident, along with a faint hint of chauvinism, in the comment of Shi Runzhang (1619–83) where he writes, "This tobacco originally came from abroad. But now it is acclimated everywhere until it is a native product, and its poison has disappeared."¹⁵ In a poem praising tobacco's "marvelous pleasures," Chen Yuanlong (1652–1736) noted that "this strange plant comes from the Western territories but has spread into the families of Han Chinese."¹⁶ Although some Confucian moralists and statecraft activists continued to rail against tobacco well into the eighteenth century, their objections and proposals to ban a substance they regarded as wasteful were swept away by the sheer size and scale of the market for domestically grown tobacco that had already developed. Tobacco's opponents also had to contend with powerful figures who themselves were smokers. Localization of New World tobacco within China succeeded in no small part because of its eventual acceptance by certain influential members of the political and belletristic circles situated in Beijing and the cities of the wealthy Jiangnan region.

TOBACCO SMOKING AMONG THE URBAN COSMOPOLITAN ELITE

The geographic mobility of migrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries facilitated tobacco's spatial diffusion across the late imperial landscape, but it was the considerable *social* mobility characteristic of late Ming and early Qing society that first brought tobacco into the homes of China's elite. Commercialization of the Chinese economy, long under way, intensified in the period between 1550 and the 1620s, stimulated in part by China's increased participation in international trade. As Craig Clunas and Timothy Brook have argued, the intensified pace of both domestic and maritime commerce in the late sixteenth century led to a blurring of the boundaries separating officials (*guanli*) and degree-holding literati (*shenshi*) from free commoners (*liangmin*).¹⁷ Affluent merchants, a category that the idealized Confucian model of Chinese society placed on the very bottom rung of the social hierarchy, in reality enjoyed relatively high status by virtue of their ability to maintain a lifestyle reminiscent of the official scholarly elite. Their increased prosperity

in the late Ming period enabled them to educate their sons well enough to pass the civil service examinations, an achievement that made one eligible to serve in the imperial bureaucracy. They also had the wherewithal to serve as patrons for unemployed artists and scholars. Through such patronage they brought commercial and scholarly communities together in unprecedented ways.¹⁸

The considerable fluidity of late Ming society gave rise to new anxieties about the breakdown of established status distinctions. These uncertainties were generated not only by the lower orders emulating their social superiors but also by the gentry reaching downward to adopt the styles and habits of ordinary folk.¹⁹ Many aspiring degree candidates came from upwardly mobile commoner families. These students, however, had not yet been schooled in the styles, gestures, and conduct befitting a true “gentleman.” As they moved up in the world, they carried local habits and culture along with them. Other young elite with impeccable pedigrees, who came of age during the waning days of the Ming, threw themselves into hedonistic pleasures only money could buy—prostitutes, gambling, wine, and fine food in expensive restaurants. Such indulgences, centered in the courtesan quarters of Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou, were generally an accepted part of the social life of ambitious young men, though for some conservative members of high society, excessive displays of conspicuous consumption were considered unbefitting upright Confucian scholars, even if they might be expected from the vulgar *nouveaux riches*. Tobacco smoking was one custom that passed from the floating world or the busy commercial realm to the magistrate’s *yamen* and the scholar’s studio as a consequence of this intensified intermingling of disparate social groups from the late Ming period forward.

Although ostentatious displays of wealth on the part of both merchants and the scholars they supported were temporarily disrupted by the chaos and disorder of the Ming-Qing transition, the luxury economy centered on Beijing and the cities of the Lower Yangzi had largely recovered by the late seventeenth century. The opening decades of the eighteenth century saw the reemergence of opulent lifestyles among a growing number of prosperous merchant families, especially in the city of Yangzhou.²⁰ Material wealth, while still not as important a determinant of social position as an imperial degree, nonetheless served as a significant measure of status. Members of the merchant class who had enough money to acquire large garden estates and to collect antiquities, famous paintings, or rare books, combined commercial enterprise with classical scholarship and literary patronage in a bid to enter the ranks of the scholarly elite. While largely conforming to the tastes and conventions of the *literati*, these powerful merchants now confidently retained certain components of non-elite local culture.²¹ The leisure sites they owned or patronized in the imperial capital or cities of the Lower Yangzi region (private gardens, pleasure barges, theaters, wineshops, and teahouses) greatly facilitated social mixing, serving as a middle ground between high *literati* culture and popular com-

mercial taste. Many early tobacco smokers with relatively high stature likely first learned how to use the pipe from merchant patrons, literary friends, or courtesan favorites in these venues.

The gentrification of tobacco smoking in Beijing and the Jiangnan region, already under way before the Qing conquest, was fairly well along by the Kangxi era. The capital, where many high-ranking officials resided or sojourned, was the most important center for luxury consumption during the early Qing period.²² As noted in chapter 2, Beijing tobacco shops sold many different products, including premium regional tobacco imported from distant cultivation centers. From descriptions provided by foreign diplomats and missionaries, it seems that Manchu and Chinese officials serving under the Shunzhi (r. 1644–61) and Kangxi emperors were among the primary consumers of the pipe tobacco sold in these shops. For example, Jan Nieuhof (1618–72), a cartographer who traveled with the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) trade mission to Shunzhi's court in 1655–56, commented that most scholar-officials carried “two little Purses, wherein they put Tobacco, which is taken by them with great delight, insomuch that the Noblest Visitants are treated with the same, it being brought them by a Servant of the House.”²³

While tobacco smoking among the seventeenth-century southern literati was initially not as common as among northerners, a number of renowned Kangxi-era scholar-officials from the Jiangnan region were reputed to be heavy smokers. On one of his southern tours, the Kangxi emperor, openly disdainful of pipe tobacco, supposedly chided two high officials, Chen Yuanlong (already mentioned) and Shi Yizhi (1682–1763), about their habit by presenting them with crystal pipes designed to draw flame as well as smoke to the lips when they inhaled.²⁴ This story may be apocryphal, but from his poetry it appears that Chen Yuanlong was quite enamored with tobacco: he wrote about the inhalation and exhalation of its “rosy cloud” as a form of Daoist-inspired *qigong*.²⁵ Yet another high-ranking Kangxi-era official, Suzhou-born Hanlin academician Han Tan (1637–1704), had a national reputation as an ardent smoker and a heavy drinker. His colleague, Wang Shizhen, famously recorded an anecdote about Han Tan's dual passions: “Han Tan loved to smoke tobacco and to drink wine. In Kangxi *wuwu* (1678), when the throne appointed him and me to go to the military examination halls as examiners, he would not let his hand be separated for a moment from his wine cup and his tobacco pipe. I jokingly remarked, ‘These two things are for you as bear and fish were to the ancients. That I know. But if as a last resort you have to give up one which will it be?’ After long thought, Han replied, ‘I'll give up wine.’ Everybody laughed.”²⁶

The linkage Wang Shizhen makes between tobacco and alcohol in this anecdote was quite natural because both were considered by seventeenth-century Chinese to be intoxicants. Many early Chinese accounts describe tobacco as a powerful inebriant: the late-Ming physician Zhang Jiebin (1563–1640), for example, warned that if a person inhaled more than one or two puffs of tobacco smoke, he would “fall

down drunk and it will take a long time to revive him.”²⁷ While for Zhang Jiebin this quality rendered tobacco a potent drug that had to be used with caution (see chapter 4), for certain *bon vivants* it further recommended the inclusion of tobacco alongside alcohol as a staple at the official banquets, private dinner parties, and literary gatherings that were the wellspring of Ming-Qing literati culture. In his poem extolling the wonders of smoking, Chen Yuanlong quipped that tobacco had significant advantages over alcohol at such gatherings because it “intoxicates men without emptying the wine and entertains guests without wasting the tea.”²⁸

Chen Yuanlong’s identification of tobacco as an excellent substitute for tea when entertaining was not entirely whimsical. Just as tobacco came to accompany wine in the leisure activities enjoyed by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century male elite, so too did it join tea as the quintessential expression of hospitality when receiving guests. Proper etiquette required that a host offer tea to every caller upon arrival regardless of rank: not to do so was a breach of protocol and a loss of face for the host. Cordially offering visitors a pipe along with tea, snacks, or alcohol signaled one’s generosity, good manners, and refinement. Tobacco became part of these long-standing rituals of conviviality from at least the early seventeenth century on: Ni Zhumo (ca. 1600–?) observed that the presentation of tobacco to guests “to show respect” was already a common daily practice among “Northerners” by 1624.²⁹ Dong Han, the Shunzhi-era *jinshi* degree holder mentioned above, commented on such usage, stating that “when guests and hosts meet” they always smoke together.³⁰ Tea and tobacco have remained the proper ritualized offerings Chinese hosts make to visitors down to our own times.

Tobacco’s intoxicating properties and its utility in receiving guests made it a desirable item for at least some among the highly sociable Jiangnan scholarly elite who dominated the late imperial cultural landscape. In both the late Ming and early Qing periods, literati and semi-retired officials maintained extensive transregional social networks using a set repertoire of leisure activities. They traveled to visit distant friends and acquaintances. They organized outings to scenic or historic sites, hosted banquets in the Jiangnan pleasure quarters, formed poetry clubs, and arranged gatherings of famous writers and artists. They also wrote prolifically about their social lives, and they affirmed their literary friendships through the publication of collected anthologies and commentaries on each other’s work. These pastimes, paid for by powerful officials or wealthy merchants, marked highly educated men as members of an exclusive community whose interactions were generously “lubricated by wine, tea, and the exchange of poetry.”³¹

Tobacco fit neatly into the culture of leisure and male sociability enjoyed by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists, poets, and men of letters. Once taken up by some, it was further diffused to others through direct social encounters and also indirectly through the many poems and anecdotes about tobacco that began to appear in print in the late seventeenth century. One of the earliest such references was

the brief note on tobacco that Wang Shizhen included in his *Xiang zu biji* (Orchid Notes), published in 1702.³² Of course, this was not the first such description of tobacco in a Chinese text: indeed, the bulk of the short entry is a paraphrase of the information contained in Yao Lü's earlier, 1611 reference (see chapter 1). Nonetheless, Wang Shizhen's elevated stature and national reputation as a precocious scholar and accomplished poet meant that his writings were quite influential. In this sense, his brief discussion of tobacco made it more highly visible than ever and may even have lent a certain degree of legitimacy to the practice of smoking among those still suspicious of its plebian origins.

Wang Shizhen, who figures prominently in Tobie Meyer-Fong's detailed reconstruction and analysis of elite culture and identity in late-seventeenth-century Yangzhou, was the primary sponsor of several famous literary gatherings held there during the 1660s.³³ Such parties evoked similar affairs organized in Suzhou and Nanjing in the waning years of the Ming dynasty, and they served to reinvigorate Yangzhou's cultural life by drawing well-known literary and artistic figures to the city. These events were almost certainly the occasion for the further propagation of smoking among the literati elite. Wang Shizhen appears not to have smoked himself, but some within his extensive social circle did. Dong Yining (late seventeenth century), who became acquainted with Wang Shizhen in 1659 and then occasionally socialized with him in Yangzhou during the 1660s, was identified as a pipe smoker by his friend You Tong (1618–1704), another luminary in the late-seventeenth-century Jiangnan belletristic scene.³⁴ For the Yangzhou set that revolved around men like Wang Shizhen, smoking one's pipe was clearly as much a part of early Qing literati culture as drinking wine with friends, writing matched rhymed poems, seeing the sights, or recording one's experiences in anthologies of anecdotes and essays.

Not all early Qing scholar-officials approved of tobacco, by any means. Beginning in the Yongzheng period and intensifying in the Qianlong reign, a number of scholars sought earnestly to return tobacco acreage to grain in order to boost food production. Within the broader context of the Yongzheng emperor's energetic land reclamation programs, several officials argued that more food could be produced for an expanding population if tobacco cultivation were limited or even prohibited.³⁵ In 1726 the Board of War president, Fahai (1671–1737), complained that tobacco "was of no benefit to the common people" but it was nonetheless grown for profit on prime arable land. Fahai called for a ban on tobacco grown by wealthy families.³⁶ Sometime in late 1726 or early 1727, the acting governor of Guangxi, Han Liangfu (early eighteenth century) expressed similar concerns about tobacco farming and other commercial agriculture in Guangdong, noting that "the people of Guangdong seek only money and profit, and plant much of their land with such things as *longyan*, sugarcane, tobacco, and indigo with the result that they have much wealth and no rice."³⁷ The Yongzheng emperor apparently shared Fahai's and Han

Liangfu's concern over the effects of cash-cropping generally and the extravagance of tobacco specifically. Early in 1727 he ordered the governors of Fujian and Guangdong to persuade peasants in these areas to no longer plant this commercial crop.³⁸ In response the two governors wrote memorials protesting that agricultural specialization in their respective provinces created wealth rather than squandering it. Yongzheng, seemingly unimpressed with such arguments, issued several more edicts over the course of the year exhorting other officials to encourage those who had already planted fertile land with tobacco to “pull it up by its roots.”³⁹

By the time the Qianlong emperor ascended the throne in 1736, tobacco was evidently something many influential high officials enjoyed, though it remained a target of crusading anti-tobacco statecraft activists such as Fang Bao and Chen Hongmou (1696–1771).⁴⁰ Fang Bao, who worried that the cultivation of cash crops such as tobacco aggravated the risk of famine, was particularly zealous in his campaigns. Beginning in 1736, he repeatedly urged the emperor to ban its cultivation outright or at least to limit it to marginal land not used for grain.⁴¹ Although for a time, it appeared that Qianlong might endorse these proposals, critics of Fang Bao's ideas such as Sun Jiagan (1683–1753) quickly pointed out that tobacco was already an “everyday comestible” consumed by “tens of millions” of Chinese subjects.⁴² Sun might well have added that among those millions were tobacco-smoking scholar-officials who were loath to give up their pipes. The poet Shen Deqian (1673–1769), one of Wang Shizhen's followers, was one such influential smoker. Shen, who became a trusted adviser to the Qianlong emperor, wrote a poem in which he praised the “fiery vapor” spewing from his chest in white clouds to “swirl through the nine layers of heaven.”⁴³

Many among Shen Deqian's generation of literati, active in the first half of the eighteenth century, regarded tobacco as a marvelous substance that, like wine, was meant to be enjoyed with friends and celebrated in verse. Qing-era tobacco poems collected in various anthologies from the early Qianlong period onward were likely written while their authors were smoking with friends at poetry parties. Certainly many of the lyricists knew one another personally or by reputation. For example, numerous members of the influential Yangzhou-based Han River Poetry Society (*Hanjiang shishe*) wrote poems about tobacco. This society, established through the sponsorship of the salt merchants Ma Yueguan (1688–1755) and Ma Yuelu (1697–1766), sustained a highly visible social network of poets, scholars, and artists in the 1730s and 1740s. Society participants met regularly to drink, to smoke, and to compose poetry together. Consciously emulating the leisure activities and scholarly pursuits of their late Ming and early Qing predecessors, the Han River group played rhyming games or collectively improvised poetry on selected themes. Elaborate entertainments followed the poetry sessions. Utilizing their own publishing facilities, the Ma brothers then printed and distributed collections of poems produced at such gatherings. The commercial book trade ensured that such works circulated far be-

yond Yangzhou. An improvised poem written by a particularly notable literatus or powerful official at such a party might be widely quoted by educated men throughout the empire.⁴⁴ Tobacco poetry produced in the early eighteenth century likely originated in the leisure activities of poetry clubs such as this one.⁴⁵

Li Ê, a member of the Han River Poetry Society and a leader of the western Zhejiang school of lyrical poetry (*Zhexi ci pai*) was an ardent poetic promoter of tobacco. In the preface to a lyric entitled “Tian xiang” (The Heavenly Fragrance), Li Ê established himself as an enthusiast (“I am especially fond of it”) of the exquisite herb whose “flavor surpasses that of wine.”⁴⁶ While observing that “there is no one who does not use it,” the lyricist also lamented that so few had “sung its praises, thus hiding this marvelous plant in obscurity.” For this reason, Li Ê said, he felt compelled to take up his brush to illuminate its excellent attributes.⁴⁷ The lyric itself describes tobacco as an “immortal herb” (*yaocao*) bestowed from the heavens.

Li Ê was a native of Qiantang (Hangzhou), a key entrepôt for tobacco produced in the uplands of the Lower Yangzi region as well as western Fujian and eastern Jiangxi (see chapter 2). He likely acquired his tobacco habit in his youth. Born into a poor family, Li Ê was still a child when his father died. His older brother became a tobacco merchant to support the family⁴⁸—apparently with some success because Li was able to devote himself to his studies, passing the provincial-level examination in 1720. His subsequent attempt to pass the special *boxue hongci* exam (Erudite Literatus) in 1736 failed, and he became a tutor and scholar funded by various patrons, most notably the Ma brothers.⁴⁹ Li Ê was thus one tobacco-smoking literatus who rose from humble merchant origins to become a widely respected man of letters. Given that his literary success was funded at least in part by profits from his brother’s tobacco business, it is perhaps not surprising that he wished to sing its praises.

The joys of smoking tobacco were among the themes taken up by other poets of the Han River Poetry Society as well as by those inspired by them. Indeed, given the many lyrics about tobacco produced by members of this society, one imagines that the “heavenly fragrance” served as the inspiration for poetic improvisation on more than one occasion. For example, the Ma brothers’ long-term houseguest, Chen Zhang, also a native of Qiantang and a key figure in the Han River group, penned a lyric about smoking tobacco together with his good friend Li Ê.⁵⁰ Another famous member of the society, Quan Zuwang (1705–55), wrote an early prose-poem (*fu*) on tobacco entitled “Danbagu fu” (A Rhapsody on Tobacco) in which he summed up tobacco’s considerable virtues from the point of view of sociable male literati: “Alcohol is good at dispersing depression. Tea is good for quenching thirst. Yet neither can be compared to tobacco. . . . When one is depressed, tobacco can cheer the spirit, guide the *qi* and open up spiritual passages—a plant of immortality. It can dispel boredom and preoccupation—[and is] a necessity for daily life.”⁵¹ Quan Zuwang, well-known for his historical writings, was also a close friend of Fang Bao, the statecraft activist who had urged the Qianlong emperor to ban tobacco. On the

matter of smoking, however, Quan clearly aligned himself with Li Ê, Chen Zhang, and other scholars and artists in the Ma brothers' social circle.

In sum, among the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Jiangnan urban elite, smoking one's pipe congenially with friends came to symbolize the life of leisure educated men enjoyed as guests of wealthy merchants or official patrons. Although pipe smoking was a habit originally copied from the lower classes (or, as in Li Ê's case, carried along with them as merchants took on the trappings of literati culture), elite men smoking together and writing poetry about the "heavenly fragrance" at exclusive literary gatherings transformed it into a stylish token of elegance.⁵²

To be sure, smoking then, as now, was not always pursued with friends and associates. It was also something done when alone, during quiet moments of reflection. In many a writer's studio, the long pipe and the tobacco pouch lay alongside the brush pot, the ink stone, the scholar's stones, the fine books, and the exquisite hanging scrolls that provided just the right atmosphere for literary creativity. When, despite such refined surroundings, the poet lacked inspiration, a puff of fine tobacco could clear the mind.⁵³ Tobacco was also just the thing to lighten one's mood. Xu Antai, a late-eighteenth-century scholar from Louxian (near Shanghai), captured this sensibility in his poem:

When quietly alone in the pavilions of embroidery and the halls of calligraphy,
 What better to disperse sadness than the "herb of longing?"
 The attendant arrives with my long pipe of Xiang River bamboo;
 All through the long night I inhale smoke and chant poems.
 The general term for this virtuous plant whose fire is divine is "tobacco."
 The gentleman edits the first section of its genealogy,
 Seeking literary allusions, he finds they are abundant in the learned texts.
 They are even handed down in the commentaries on tea and in the records
 of medicinal herbs.⁵⁴

The final stanza of Xu Antai's poem highlights the fact that many eighteenth-century scholars wrote extensively about tobacco. The "gentleman editor" Xu Antai refers to is his friend Chen Cong, author of *Yancao pu* (The Tobacco Manual), first published in 1805. Chen Cong, born in the middle of the eighteenth century, came from an old established family in Qingpu near Shanghai.⁵⁵ A devoted smoker (*yanke*), Chen made it his life's work to create a classic on tobacco that would rival Lu Yü's (733–804) famous eighth-century *Cha Jing* (Book of Tea). Between 1785 and 1805, he gathered references from more than two hundred texts, including local gazetteers, poetry anthologies, miscellaneous notes, and prose essays. He then collated these to form the encyclopedic text that remains the most exhaustive source of information about tobacco in the Qing period still available.

Chen Cong's compendium was certainly the most comprehensive text on tobacco

published during the Qing, but it was not the first. Several of the 210 titles Chen Cong lists in the opening pages of his treatise appear to be specialized anthologies of tobacco poetry such as those that might have emerged out of the gatherings of the Han River Poetry Society. One such work, edited by Chen Xiduan (early eighteenth century), entitled *Yancao chang he shi* (Tobacco Songs and Poems), included a 1751 preface by Li Ê.⁵⁶ The anthology itself did not survive, but Li Ê's preface indicates that a group of early-eighteenth-century luminaries, led by Lu Pei (1686–1752) of Pinghu County, wrote these poems while socializing together.

Other specialized tobacco texts from the early eighteenth century were more enduring. Most notable was Wang Shihan's (b. 1707–?) *Jin si lu* (A Record of Golden Shreds).⁵⁷ This work, which has a preface date of 1737, combines early Qing tobacco poetry, including that of Li Ê, with seventeenth-century discursive references to tobacco. It is not clear when Wang Shihan's text was first published—Chen Cong notes that he had heard of it but had not seen it—nonetheless, this early-eighteenth-century work initiated a tradition of focused scholarship on Chinese tobacco that continued up to Chen Cong's time and beyond.

Given the large number of literary citations to tobacco uncovered by Wang Shihan and the even greater number referenced by Chen Cong, it seems certain that most erudite men in the eighteenth century would have encountered pipe tobacco, if not directly then through such texts. For those still uninitiated in the ways of refined smoking, Lu Yao's (1723–85) *Yanpu* (The Tobacco Manual), published sometime after 1774, came to the rescue.⁵⁸ Written in the tradition of the commercially produced guidebooks to genteel taste that had been extraordinarily popular since the late sixteenth century, this set of essays referenced earlier works about tobacco, rank-ordered various premium regional tobaccos, provided advice on the length and type of pipe suitable for gentlemen, and discussed proper smoking etiquette.⁵⁹ Lu Yao also outlined the best times to smoke, most of which were periods of leisure enjoyed only by those with access to money.⁶⁰ While ostensibly aimed at literati who smoked, a guide to tobacco such as this could also be utilized by aspiring merchants or others who sought entrée into the ranks of the cultured elite. Indeed, *The Tobacco Manual* set out boundaries between vulgar and refined modes of smoking in ways that underscored the fact that pipe smoking remained a common practice among farmers and laborers even as it was absorbed into the leisurely world of wealthy merchants and the poets and artists they supported.

TOBACCO SMOKING AMONG COMMON FOLK

Pipe smoking, which in the seventeenth century had percolated up to the scholarly elite from their contacts in the commercial world, never became an exclusive practice but remained one that commoners shared with their social superiors throughout the entire Qing period. Even as poets and officials were taking up this new habit

with enthusiasm in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, tobacco smoking was simultaneously trickling “inward” and “downward” from the more highly commercialized and urbanized coast to broader masses of people in smaller cities, towns, and villages.

By 1750 or so, tobacco smoking was common throughout much of rural Qing society. Peasants who did not produce their own almost certainly bought inexpensive pipe tobacco from peddlers or from shops in the standard marketing town, although we have no way of gauging how much. Statistical surveys conducted in the 1920s and 1930s suggest that Chinese agriculturalists and laborers smoked a great deal of tobacco, which they either grew themselves, received as wages, obtained on credit or as gifts, or paid for in cash. In the early twentieth century John Buck found that over four-fifths of all farm families surveyed reported some cash expenditures for tobacco, the proportion being a bit greater for those in East Central China than for those in North China.⁶¹

The Buck survey data obviously cannot be taken as evidence of conditions in earlier times. What little evidence there is suggests that per capita consumption of tobacco in eighteenth-century China was on the order of three pounds of tobacco per person per year, more than enough to provide many smokers a pipeful or two of tobacco every day.⁶² There were undoubtedly distinct regional differences in levels of rural tobacco consumption: poorer residents of Fujian and eastern Jiangxi, for example, almost certainly smoked more tobacco than did those in areas where tobacco was not grown commercially. But even this limited quantitative evidence accords with many textual references, both Chinese and foreign, that describe tobacco smoking in Qing China as nearly universal.

The pervasiveness of pipe smoking in China, even among children, was a constant theme in European travel writing from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Father Johann Grueber (1623–80), a Jesuit resident in the capital between 1659 and 1661, observed that “the ‘Tartars’ [Manchus] and the ‘Chinese’ [Han], the men and the women are great takers of tobacco.”⁶³ John Bell made a similar observation in 1721, and added that, “besides, great quantities are sent to the Mongalls [*sic*], who prefer the Chinese manner of preparing it before every other.”⁶⁴ At the end of the eighteenth century, Aeneas Anderson, who accompanied Lord Macartney in 1793–94, noted as the mission traveled through Shandong Province:

We passed a great number of tobacco plantations. The Chinese cultivate and manufacture this plant in a very superior degree, and are supposed to possess greater varieties of it, than any other country in the world. The quantity of tobacco consumed, and, of course, grown in China, must be beyond all calculations, as smoking is universally practiced, and, by all ranks and ages. Children, as soon as they have sufficient strength or dexterity to hold a pipe in their hands, are taught by their parents to smoke, which they feel not only a habitual amusement, but is considered a preservative against all contagious diseases.⁶⁵

William Alexander (1767–1816), the draftsman who accompanied the Macartney embassy, similarly noted that it was not unusual to see even young girls with tobacco pipes.⁶⁶

Chinese literati also remarked upon the widespread practice of tobacco smoking among women, children, and the laboring classes. As Bao Shichen put it, “It is found from the mountains to the sea. Men, women, old, and young: there is no one who does not smoke tobacco.”⁶⁷ Based on Bao’s early-nineteenth-century observations, it appears not only that peasants were fond of smoking but that they paid for their tobacco with cash. Bao goes on to say, “Among workers, there is not one who doesn’t smoke. Those who till the fields frequently sit on the paths dividing the plots, light their pipes and chat . . . each person wastes no less than seven or eight coins cash each day on tobacco. A family of ten spends no less than ten pieces of silver [per year] on tobacco.”

It seems that during the high Qing, peasants and workers, at least in the more prosperous economic areas, were able to purchase small amounts of tobacco with some frequency. Indeed, there are indications that peasant consumption of non-essential items in general increased between 1700 and 1800 in the wealthier urbanized areas in the Yangzi River Delta. According to Fang Xing, the percentage of the family food budget expended by Jiangnan farmers on nonsubsistence items such as soy sauce, meat, fish, vegetables, and wine between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries rose from one-fifth to one-third.⁶⁸ Although Fang Xing does not list tobacco among items purchased, it seems inconceivable that Jiangnan peasants would buy wine but not inexpensive tobacco. Indeed, Bao Shichen’s observations suggest tobacco consumption was as common as wine among farmers, if not even more so, at least in the early part of the nineteenth century.

TOBACCO SMOKING AMONG QING WOMEN

In the early and high Qing periods, tobacco smoking not only was shared across class boundaries but transcended gender divisions as well.⁶⁹ Scholars who wrote about tobacco in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries frequently commented on its ubiquity in the “inner chambers” (*guige*) of cultivated women (*guixiu*). In his brief note on tobacco mentioned above, Wang Shizhen highlighted the omnipresence of tobacco smoking among women.⁷⁰ Shen Chiran (Qianlong-era *ju ren* [recommended man]) similarly described how tobacco and smoking had become common across the genders and generations in his lifetime: “When I was a child, those who consumed it were few. Twenty years later, men, women, old, young, no one is without a pipe in their hand.”⁷¹ Clearly, as pipe tobacco trickled inward geographically and upward socially to the male elite, it also entered the boudoirs of elite women.

Precisely when significant numbers of women began smoking must remain

something of a mystery. Women in Liaodong, including many among the Manchu nobility, smoked tobacco even before the Qing conquest. This practice continued among Manchu women in the northern capital: the Kangxi emperor (1654–1722), born ten years after the conquest, mentions that he smoked as a child in the company of his wet nurses (though he reputedly detested tobacco smoking as an adult).⁷² According to Shen Hanguang, some upper-class Han Chinese women residing in Beijing were already using tobacco in the late 1630s. Zhu Zhongmei (1621–61), a female lyricist from Nanchang (Jiangxi), wrote a poem about a tobacco-smoking beauty sometime between 1630 and 1660 (see the poem later in this chapter).⁷³ These fragments from the seventeenth century suggest that at least some women from reputable families in both northern and southern China learned how to smoke before or soon after 1644.

How elite women first took up smoking is another elusive puzzle. An entry in Chen Cong's compendium suggests that many were initially tutored by their husbands or other male relatives.⁷⁴ It is also possible that gentry women were instructed by concubines or female servants from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who were already habituated to smoking before they entered the family compound. In the late Ming period, some women may also have learned how to smoke from courtesan acquaintances. As Dorothy Ko demonstrates, the early seventeenth century saw many friendships develop between educated women and literate entertainers. Respectable women also frequently imitated the fashion trends set by courtesans at the time.⁷⁵ Smoking may well have crossed over from the "floating realm" of public entertainers to "respectable" women in just this way.

*Tobacco Smoking among Courtesans,
Prostitutes, and Female Entertainers*

Sometime in the early seventeenth century, tobacco smoking came to be an indispensable part of the commercialized hospitality offered in high-class courtesan houses. In particular, the presentation of a tobacco pipe to male guests became customary as part of the "opening the teacup" ceremony whereby a client paid a courtesy visit to a woman in her room, signaling his intentions to host a banquet in the hopes of eventually sleeping with her.⁷⁶ Not only did courtesans offer tobacco to their clients, but they themselves smoked along with them as they conversed late into the night.⁷⁷ Many hedonistic young men of the late Ming era who enjoyed carousing in the Jiangnan pleasure quarters may well have first learned to smoke from paid female companions (or vice versa).

The events of the 1640s took a heavy toll on Jiangnan courtesan culture: the Qinhuai district in Nanjing, where many female entertainers resided, was destroyed and did not recover until the late eighteenth century. In other cities, such as Yangzhou, rebuilding of the pleasure quarters began within a few years of the Qing conquest.⁷⁸ Along with repairs to the city walls, reconstruction of local landmarks, and restora-

tion of administrative buildings, the early Qing period saw the reestablishment and expansion of facilities devoted to entertainment and recreational sex.⁷⁹ Courtesans were frequently present at literary gatherings such as those hosted by Wang Shizhen in the 1660s.⁸⁰ Much had changed, of course, and for many literati, late Ming courtesan culture had come to represent “a lost world of elegance, destroyed by the brutal Manchu conquest.”⁸¹ Tobie Meyer-Fong points out, however, that at least in Yangzhou, “pleasure was not simply the locus for nostalgic fantasies about the former Ming but was also a very real aspect of the city’s reconstruction.”⁸² As the long-distance luxury economy centered on Jiangnan recovered, many of the products popular among courtesans and their clients, including premium regional tobaccos, reappeared. When Wang Shizhen’s friends and acquaintances lit up their pipes in the lovely private gardens or renowned scenic areas of Yangzhou, their female escorts likely joined them in this recreation.

Perhaps because beautiful and accomplished courtesans enjoyed tobacco together with their patrons, Chinese men, like their European counterparts, often associated smoking with sexual promise.⁸³ Delicate women blowing clouds of smoke fascinated some early Qing poets, several of whom penned “boudoir poems” containing images of beautiful women (*meiren*) smoking alone in their apartments or together with their lovers. While in earlier centuries *meiren* referred to palace ladies, from the middle-to-late Ming on, the term referred primarily to idealized courtesans imagined to possess attractive physical features and to engage in specific activities such as preparing tea, catching butterflies, or watching flowers on a spring morning.⁸⁴ Early Qing manuals about *meiren* catalogued such pastimes, summarizing them in phrases that could be used in a poem.⁸⁵ Along with “swinging in the rain of falling flowers” a beautiful woman also “holds the jade [pipe stem] between her lips, exhales, and smiles beautifully.”⁸⁶ This last behavior is found in a more extended tableau about a tobacco-smoking beauty attributed by You Tong (1618–1704) to his friend Dong Yinong:⁸⁷

Rolling up the pearl curtain, afraid of the morning chill,
The servant stokes the fire in front of the mirror stand.
Morning clouds and evening rains are common occurrences,
Again Mt. Wu dissolves into smoke.⁸⁸

Black silken threads [of smoke] surpass fragrant grasses,
The small mouth, as red as a cherry, desires it most certainly.
Who can teach virtue to the young and inexperienced?
When we mated in a former life, we
followed the correct path and did not smoke.

To cut the love knot would be a pity.

She holds the jade [pipe stem] between her lips, exhales, and smiles beautifully.
From the upper stories comes the clear sound of the girl playing the flute,⁸⁹

In the midst of the brilliant sound, she kindles the purple smoke.

Heavenly tobacco intoxicates the beauty.

Getting dizzy, she laughs joyfully, her coiffure half askew.

Promising the handsome young man to cease,

She is only sad Purple Jade vanished in smoke.⁹⁰

On a snowy day, under the smoky canopy,

The weak gentleman is also asleep half drunk.

He courteously mails a letter to the lady in Tiantai,

Saying “Do not cultivate peach blossoms, only cultivate tobacco.”

The inscription on the red pipe is destroyed; the silver pipe is burnt,

The fragrant dressing case is damaged and the correspondence exhausted.

Once again teach the maid servants to spoil the ladies of high rank,

Waiting on them as curling smoke [rises] during their games.

On one level, this poem can be read as a Ming loyalist’s nostalgic lament for the days of his youth prior to the destruction wrought by the Ming-Qing transition.⁹¹ On another level, it is a love poem that highlights a beautiful woman’s fondness for tobacco and alludes to the intermingled activities of smoking and sex.

The connection between smoking and sexuality forged in the seventeenth century continued throughout the high Qing. The delights found in the Jiangnan pleasure quarters during the eighteenth century included ample amounts of pipe tobacco along with catered gourmet picnics on the river and round-the-clock gaming tables.⁹² In the popular songs about courtesan life collected in the early nineteenth century by Hua Guangsheng and translated and analyzed by Paul Ropp, several stanzas highlight the ongoing centrality of tobacco in the ritualized expressions of hospitality prior to the commercialized sex act.⁹³ For example, the anonymous author of “Tan wugeng” (Sighing through the Night’s Five Watches), expresses her frustration and despair at having to converse with and then sleep with drunken boors:

When the night drum sounds the second watch,

The moon casts a cold shadow on the window.

How pitiful, entertaining guests is so difficult;

How annoying

To have to talk with every guest who comes and goes.

Tobacco and tea I serve with my own hands;

Maintaining friendly smiles all the while.

What is truly frightening:

To encounter drunken guests at the banquet table;

“Ill-fated beauty” does not begin to capture the shame.

How many days until I can escape this mire? (My god!)

Yet for the sake of money I have to endure it all.⁹⁴

The iconic Qing “beauty,” whether in poetry, narrative prose, or popular visual representations, was often portrayed smoking alone in her boudoir in ways that were

erotically suggestive. Such representations were part of a much longer literary and artistic tradition that displayed a solitary woman in a sumptuous interior pining for her absent or lost mate.⁹⁵ These “boudoir laments” (*guiyuan*) carried forward the themes and conventions of sixth-century courtly love poetry and Tang dynasty song lyric. The forlorn pipe-smoking beauty became a familiar trope in the Qing period and was eventually reinscribed in twentieth-century cigarette advertisements (see chapter 9).

One example of a melancholy feminine smoker filled with desire comes from the poem “Meiren dan yan tu” (A Portrait of a Beauty Smoking Tobacco), written by female poet Zhu Zhongmei sometime during the Ming-Qing transition:

The lovely lady’s face powder is flawless, her light gauze and narrow sleeves complement her fresh make-up.

The smoke, like a sorrowful melody from a reed-whistle flute [*beijia*], swirls in the breeze. Her lips are lightly touched by the powerful fragrance.⁹⁶

Zhu Zhongmei’s composition suggests that it is an inscription poem for an actual portrait of a woman smoking her pipe. I am unaware of any seventeenth-century paintings of female pipe smokers, but such images became quite common later on, especially in commercialized illustrations such as those found in nineteenth-century New Year’s prints. A Jiajing-era print produced in Suzhou’s Taohuwu workshops, for example, shows just such a beauty demurely smoking a silver water pipe alone in her luxurious quarters (see figure 4).

Eventually, smokable opium, widely regarded as an aid to sexual performance, came to accompany tobacco in the “arts of the bedroom.”⁹⁷ Indeed, beginning in the late eighteenth century, courtesans often provided their customers with opium pipes along with tobacco.⁹⁸ In the nineteenth century, brothels in many areas of China were called “chambers of smoke and flowers” (*huayanjian*), “smoke and flowers” being a euphemism for prostitutes. Tobacco, conceptualized in Qing medical literature as having strong warming and replenishing qualities (see chapter 4), was thought to reinvigorate bodily yang *qi*, a therapeutic function that benefited the generative vitalities of both sexes but specifically helped men suffering from impotence. Moreover, the yang of tobacco nicely counterbalanced the yin qualities of opium, which was thought to prevent premature emissions and prolong sexual stamina.⁹⁹ The two were often smoked together prior to coital relations, either as madak or in rotation, using different pipes.

For elite males living in the Ming and Qing eras, *some* forms of female tobacco consumption were thus associated with sexuality from very early on. Women who smoked together with men openly or in semipublic venues, be it in common brothels or high-class courtesan houses, were assumed to be sexually available to more than one man. This assumed link between public smoking and promiscuity was a constant undercurrent in Qing-era tobacco culture, although, as discussed in the



FIGURE 4. “A Beauty Enjoying a Smoke.” From Jiangsu guji chubanshe, *Suzhou Taohuawu muban nianhua* (Taohuawu woodblock New Year prints, Suzhou) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), plate 38.

following section, female smoking held many other meanings and associations as well. Throughout the late imperial period, virtuous and chaste women *could* smoke in seclusion with family and friends, even with male guests, without any fear that aspersions would be cast upon their good name. The act of smoking itself was not seen as a sign of female impropriety; what mattered above all was *where* and *how* a woman smoked her pipe.

Smoking among “Respectable” Women during the High Qing Period

By the eighteenth century, the renewed interest of male intellectuals in the study of classical texts, combined with Qing state policies that focused on women and the family, led to the reassertion of what Susan Mann calls the “familistic moralism” of

the high Qing period.¹⁰⁰ Seventeenth-century romanticism receded and erotic “boudoir poetry” became less common. However, despite its centrality in the social and sexual encounters carried out in brothels and courtesan houses from the seventeenth century on, tobacco smoking was never something that only “fallen” women did. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, pipe smoking was a respectable feminine practice for women of all social backgrounds, including the wives of the upper gentry.

Women in elite homes generally smoked privately in their inner apartments or in the interior gardens of their family estates. Their own bedchamber was a favorite spot for many female smokers to light up, either by themselves or with their husbands or female intimates. The image of a solitary smoker alone in her dressing room is invoked by an obscure female poet, identified only as the wife of Master Lü of Jinghai (near Tianjin), who wrote about the inconvenience of maneuvering her extraordinarily long pipe in such close quarters: “This long stick of a tobacco pipe is too big to put on my dressing table / When I raise it, it tears the window paper. So I hook the moon light and drag it in.”¹⁰¹

As noted earlier, references to women smoking alone in their boudoirs could be erotically charged. Indeed, “The Long Pipe” poem is written in the style of the boudoir lament and is evocative of a woman yearning for her absent husband. Sometimes, however, representations of solitary women smokers merely signified that smoking was an everyday pleasure enjoyed in leisurely solitude by women as well as men. Many women, it appears, smoked a pipe of tobacco upon first awakening. Jin Xueshi (eighteenth century), for example, wrote about the propensity of seventeenth-century Suzhou ladies to puff on a pipeful of tobacco before getting out of bed at noon.¹⁰²

Women may have smoked alone on waking, but during the day their smoking tended to be more social. At home, respectable women smoked together with other women, their husbands, male family members, or even male guests. Tobacco smoking as an expression of female homosociability is richly on display in Wenkang’s (1798?–1865?) late Qing novel *Ernü yingxiong zhuan* (Tales of Romantic Heroes). In one scene, the wife of the main character An Xuehai smokes tobacco and chats with another woman while seated on the *kang*. In yet another chapter, the female protagonist, Zhang Jinfeng, and her mother smoke together after a meal.¹⁰³

The novel also provides ample evidence of men and women smoking pipes together in domestic settings. At one point, Zhang Jinfeng smokes tobacco while her husband, An Ji, tries to engage both Jinfeng and his second wife, He Yufeng (also known as Thirteenth Sister), in a raucous drinking game in their apartments.¹⁰⁴ In this instance, the two wives are unhappy with An Ji’s behavior, and He Yufeng upbraids him while Jinfeng sits silently smoking. Indeed, smoking together was not always harmonious: Janet Theiss relates the (1740) case of the daughter of a provincial examination graduate who married into a wealthy literati family in Suzhou, Henan. When she objected to her husband taking one of her own maids as a



FIGURE 5. “An Enchanting Scene of Spring Renewal.” Notice ladies smoking pipes in the lower left-hand corner. From Liu Jian, ed., *Tianjin Yangliuqing huashe cang Zhongguo Yangliuqing nianhua xianban xuan* (Chinese Yangliuqing New Year’s prints from the collection of the Tianjing Yangliuqing Artists Association) (Tianjin: Tianjin Yangliuqing hua she: Xinhua shudian Tianjin faxing suo, 1999), 466–67.

concubine, he hit her in the face, managing to shove the pipe she was smoking into her throat, thereby killing her.¹⁰⁵

Freak homicides aside, men and women smoking together was generally taken as a sign of domestic tranquility. Men often retired to the women's quarters to smoke. Susan Mann and Francesca Bray have both pointed out that the quiet apartments of the "inner chambers" served as a refuge for overstressed men in a complex and competitive world.¹⁰⁶ Drawing on evidence found in the Japanese compilation on Qing customs the *Shinzoku kibun* (Recorded Accounts of Qing Customs), Bray in particular highlights the "agreeable intimacy" men enjoyed with their wives in the sequestered women's section, noting that they would frequently "repair to the women's quarters to drink tea and smoke a pipe."¹⁰⁷

Sociable smoking on the part of respectable women extended to smoking with male guests as well. In *Tales of Romantic Heroes*, An Xuehai calls on Deng Zhenbiao, an elderly but still vigorous former strongman who early in the novel serves as He Yufeng's guardian. When summoned by Deng's daughter (Madame Chu) to help with refreshments for their visitors, Deng's concubine offers the long pipe (which she has already been smoking) not only to An Xuehai but to Madame Chu as well. Both demur.¹⁰⁸ This fictional account of a woman smoking in front of guests, rendered more humorous by the vulgarity with which the rural concubine offers up her own pipe and what she calls her superior tobacco to her social betters, is paralleled by observations by foreign travelers to China. William Hunter, for example, writes of a New Year's feast he attended (as a boy) shortly after his arrival in Guangzhou in 1824 where most of the women were smoking "long thin delicate" pipes.¹⁰⁹ Visual representations of women smoking pipes with family and friends in domestic spaces were similarly quite common in the late nineteenth century, as evidenced by their frequent inclusion in popular New Year's prints such as those produced in the workshops of Yangliuqing (see figure 5). From many disparate sources it appears that throughout most of the Qing era no impropriety was associated with women smoking pipes in front of men, so long as they did so in the proper domestic setting.

Before leaving the subject of smoking among Qing women, it is essential to mention a subset of women for whom tobacco was associated not only with sexuality, sociability, or relaxation but also with intellectual work and literary accomplishment. At least some women writers in the early and high Qing eras smoked, and they shared with male literati the notion that tobacco cleared the mind and inspired great poetry. Like their male counterparts, female smokers who wrote about tobacco (at least those whose works survived down to the present) tended to be linked to one another through various literary networks. One of Yuan Mei's (1716–98) female disciples, Luo Qilan (1755–1813?), mentions in passing that she smoked while composing poetry.¹¹⁰ The connection between creativity and smoking is also made

in a poem about tobacco written by another of Yuan Mei's female students, Gui Maoyi (c. 1762–1832):

Beyond knowing that drinking quenches thirst and eating satisfies hunger,
 The strange and wonderful smell of tobacco wafts through the air.
 Discussing the ancients, suddenly the window is astonishingly filled with fog,
 Drumming out the (poetry) meter together, the mouth surprisingly produces
 [the smell of] fragrant lotus.
 The slender sticks of incense burn slowly, giving off puffs of smoke,
 Filling the pipe, I take a swallow [of smoke].
 The wisps of smoke circle through the exquisite pearl hanging screen,
 Its shadow passes across the golden tripod and seal into the new garden.
 The speckled bamboo pipe is superbly crafted,
 The silver lacquer is displayed to beautiful effect.
 Attending the feasts, I take along my constant companion the writing brush,
 Climbing to see the famous sites, I carry my pipe along with my whip.¹¹¹

In this poem, Guo Maoyi has appropriated the male literati's sensibility of tobacco and the tobacco pipe as essential accoutrements of the scholarly life. Other, more obscure female poets also wrote about the pleasures of smoking tobacco while writing. Shen Cai (late eighteenth century), for example, wrote, "I suspect I am a fairy banished from heaven. In the foggy smoke, I am satisfied without fine wine. Those who smoke tobacco do not desire food or drink, refuse all meals and only burn tanbagu [tobacco]."¹¹²

Elite women, be they high-class courtesans or gentry wives, were generally depicted as smoking in seclusion. In contrast, ordinary women by necessity smoked in public, either in the marketplace or in the fields. Even when they smoked at home, they did not necessarily do so privately, because the odor of tobacco smoke escaping from small houses or courtyards would have alerted neighbors or passers-by to the behavior of the housewife within. In both literati culture as discussed above and in more popular cultural forms such as ghost stories, a woman smoking alone often signified unfulfilled sexual desire. On occasion such behavior was taken as an invitation to flirt. In several eighteenth-century rape cases analyzed by Janet Theiss, the fact that a woman was smoking alone on her threshold or even in her own home was interpreted (mistakenly) by the alleged rapist as a signal that the woman was willing to engage in illicit sexual relations.¹¹³ Paola Paderni describes a 1735 murder case in which the husband, who killed his wife and brother because he suspected them of having an affair, cites his wife's unusual nocturnal smoking as evidence of her illicit conduct.¹¹⁴ Lucie Olivová notes that in several of Yuan Mei's short stories, characters use the ploy of asking for a light from tobacco-smoking women as a way to start up a conversation.¹¹⁵ In real life, this was the strategy used by a hired laborer convicted in 1735 of murdering his girlfriend's other paramour. The affair, which ended violently when the jealous laborer slit his rival's throat, began when

he entered the doorway of the young woman's home with the pretext of asking for a light for his pipe.¹¹⁶ A woman openly puffing away on a tobacco pipe was thus associated in some quarters with sexual licentiousness long before the cigarette came to be identified with the free and easy "Modern Girl" of the twentieth century (see chapter 9).

Confucian Anti-smoking Moralism Directed at Women

The linkage between promiscuity and women smoking publically, evident in eighteenth-century court cases and literary texts, led some literati to condemn smoking by women as immoral. Disapproval of female tobacco use was never entirely absent from Confucian discourse. As noted earlier, Shunzhi-era scholar Dong Han was appalled by the fact that women engaged in this "evil behavior."¹¹⁷ However, Dong Han and other Confucian moralists were against *all* elite smoking, male or female, because they considered this a vulgar custom appropriated from below and therefore not fit for gentlemen or their wives. For Dong Han, genteel women puffing on tobacco only revealed the depravity that reverse cultural mimicry of social inferiors had brought to his social class just prior to the collapse of the Ming dynasty.

In the eighteenth century, statecraft activists such as Fang Bao and Chen Hongmou also condemned smoking by both men and women. Their primary objection was the inherent waste of using good land to grow a nonfood crop. Such activists considered frugality and self-control to be necessary to achieving the betterment of society. They discouraged overindulgence of any sort, be it drinking, eating, engaging in sexual activity, or smoking tobacco. As William Rowe points out, Chen Hongmou detested tobacco and made its eradication a lifelong campaign. His aversion arose not over puritanical disgust with women smoking, however, but from his deeply held belief in the virtues of personal and familial restraint.¹¹⁸

The Confucian critique of tobacco as a wasteful extravagance was directed at *all* tobacco producers and consumers, not at female smokers in particular. To smoke was to indulge one's own pleasure at the expense of one's extended family and, by extension, the imperial order. Although both sons and daughters could be criticized for being too spoiled, there was nonetheless a gendered dimension to Confucian notions of filial piety because women were expected to manage the household with strict economy in order to preserve its wealth for the patriline. Thrift and frugality were therefore specifically female virtues, "considered essential not only for poor households but also for the proper management of elite households."¹¹⁹ Women were generally expected to consume less than their male relatives, and in many homes they ate sparingly only after the men had finished.¹²⁰ Women who smoked liberally, therefore, could be accused of pursuing a luxurious lifestyle unseemly for a woman of modesty and restraint. Ning Lao Tai-tai, the subject of Ida Pruitt's twentieth-century "autobiography of a Chinese working woman," recounts the story of her own sister who "had not learned to work" but had "learned to smoke."¹²¹ The sister's smoking

habit led her mother-in-law to complain that her daughter-in-law was good “only for luxury.” Their conflict culminated in the daughter-in-law’s accidentally setting the bed on fire by hiding her lit tobacco pipe under the matting when her mother-in-law suddenly entered the room. This resulted in a beating not only by her mother-in-law but by her husband as well.

Confucian ideals of filial piety, moderation, and strict economy thus informed an indigenous strand of gendered anti-tobacco thought, which while not as pronounced as Victorian mores against female smoking were in England and the United States, nonetheless led some women (and men) to forgo the practice. In his analysis of the portrayal of nonsmokers in late Qing fiction, Keith McMahon notes that while smoking was socially acceptable for both genders and across all social groups, several nineteenth-century novels reflect hierarchies of virtue in which the most prominent and respectable men and women are all nonsmokers.¹²² In *Tales of Romantic Heroes*, for example, the Confucian exemplar An Xuehai, his son An Ji, and the main female heroine and woman warrior, He Yufeng (Thirteenth Sister), all do not smoke, though many of the central “virtuous” characters do. McMahon points out that the nonsmokers are “the purest and highest in the social hierarchy. They are the good officials, the righteous strong-man, and the woman warrior who, though she eventually becomes wife and mother, still retains features of her superchastity.”¹²³

The gender neutrality of Confucian discourse regarding female smoking thus extends only so far. The association of nonsmoking with feminine virtue, however subtle, was clearly present in Ming-Qing thought. Wenkang’s fictional account suggests that the habit of women smoking tobacco, even as it became pervasive throughout Qing society, was regarded by some as frivolous, wasteful, or even immoral. Add to these objections long-standing associations between tobacco smoking, female entertainers, and commercial sex work, and it becomes clear that female smoking was not a universally accepted practice among the Chinese Confucian elite. Despite the protestations of Confucian moralists, however, smoking among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women appears to have been generally regarded as quite respectable, *if* it was confined to the inner quarters where proper women were to remain.

For the first century or so that tobacco was present in China, before snuff-taking became fashionable in the eighteenth century and water pipes even more so in the early nineteenth century, smoking tobacco in long pipes was a cultural practice widely shared across spatial, class, and gender lines. The habit of smoking a pipe initially flowed upward from socially marginalized groups to the political and social elite. In the process it was transformed from a vulgar habit of “vagrants” and “delinquents” to a respectable social practice that even gentry women could enjoy. Once pipe smoking entered the cultural repertoire of influential literati such as Wang Shizhen and

Li Ê, its further dispersal through transregional elite networks, both directly through social contacts and indirectly through the written word, was virtually assured. For many among the wealthy and powerful, the smokable plant imported from abroad and written about by so many prominent authors was a remarkable substance that enhanced both hetero- and homosociability, complemented the leisurely enjoyment of the arts, and ensured domestic tranquility. Over time it became essential to the rituals of hospitality central to all social, official, and erotic encounters. It promoted literary production, both among male and female writers, and it soothed scholar-officials in temporary retreat from the highly competitive bureaucratic world. In sum, the Ming-Qing elite smoked tobacco for many of the same reasons their social inferiors did: to relax, to while away the time, to socialize with others, to create a particular self-image, and to control stress, to mention just a few. Today's smokers would likely list similar reasons for inhaling nicotine.

While Chinese tobacco users of earlier centuries shared many of the rationales and motivations for smoking with consumers in the present, one key justification employed by smokers in the past is no longer invoked by contemporaries. Few would now claim that they smoke to improve their health. Yet the idea that tobacco was a wonderfully efficacious medicine that could prevent or treat a host of ailments was important for its acceptance by the social and political elite of China just as it was in Europe and the Middle East. Although few Chinese physicians actually used tobacco to treat disease, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century medical theories about tobacco's medicinal uses, discussed at length in the following chapter, provided upper-class smokers with an important justification for tobacco's leisurely consumption. The incorporation of tobacco into the *materia medica* of highly regarded Confucian scholar-physicians and the subsequent broadcasting of its reputed health benefits via popularized medical handbooks firmly cemented acceptance of the new custom of smoking among both elite men and gentry women, not only in Beijing and the cities of the Jiangnan region but also in urban centers and small towns across the empire.

Tobacco in Ming-Qing Medical Culture

In 1752, Li Ê, the Han River Poetry Society lyricist who had so passionately promoted tobacco during his lifetime, passed away in his beloved city of Hangzhou. The exact cause of death is uncertain. In the year just before he died, however, Li Ê sadly noted that although his desire for tobacco was still great, he could no longer smoke because his lungs were diseased (*fei ji*).¹ Physicians in attendance at the time of Li's passing would not have explained his affliction in terms of cancer, emphysema, or any other smoking-related illness now associated with tobacco. Instead, Li's doctors would have observed that his Lung viscera had been lethally damaged by injudicious consumption of the Pungent and Hot qi of tobacco over many years such that the original influences needed to sustain life (*yuan qi*) had been depleted to the point of exhaustion.²

Viewed from within the cosmological framework of the “medicine of systematic correspondences,” the main strand of classical Chinese medicine that would have generated such a diagnosis,³ Li Ê's transgression was not that he enjoyed the occasional pipe or two, but that he smoked far too much over the course of his lifetime. As a self-acknowledged “tobacco lover” who took up smoking in his youth, Li Ê might well have lived beyond sixty years of age had he heeded the advice offered up by countless works on “nourishing life” (*yangsheng*) or healing disease with food (*shiliao*) or by materia medica (*bencao*) available in Ming-Qing book markets. Such works typically urged readers to greatly limit, though not abandon entirely, their consumption of “potent” (*youdu*) substances like tobacco.

That tobacco could harm the body was already recognized by Chinese physicians in the early seventeenth century. Indeed from the 1620s onward, those who wrote about tobacco persistently included cautionary notes about its potential dan-

gers as well as recommendations for its medicinal use. In contrast to Europe, where there was a very gradual slide away from largely positive medical assessments of tobacco in the seventeenth century to more negative ones later on,⁴ in China both views of tobacco were held simultaneously, often by the same physician. Well into the early 1900s, numerous medical texts continued to list “smoke grass” (*yancao*) as a remedy that could be deployed against certain ailments, even though these same texts generally warned against excessive use.⁵ While recognizing that Ming-Qing doctors understood tobacco’s harmful effects from the outset, we still need to explain why most materia medica that included tobacco framed it as both beneficial and detrimental to health. Only if we pay close attention to the specific historical contexts in which tobacco entered the Chinese medical corpus do the highly nuanced late imperial interpretations of tobacco’s effects on the human body, both positive and negative, come fully into view.

Tobacco arrived in China during a time when many literati physicians (*ruyi*) were open to new drugs and innovative therapies. This was especially true of doctors from the urbanized coastal basin of China’s great Yangzi River, the cultural and economic heart of the Ming Empire, and home to the most influential Chinese medical scholars of the time.⁶ Many Jiangnan physicians believed they were practicing medicine in a totally new disease environment, and to some extent, they may have been right. The greater geographic and social mobility that accompanied the profound social and economic changes under way—commercialization of the economy, intensified urbanization, and expansion of interregional and overseas trade—also increased the danger that communicable diseases might diffuse more widely and more quickly than ever before. Indeed, a series of severe epidemics hit many Jiangnan communities during the 1580s and again in the 1640s.⁷ Particularly during the outbreaks of 1640–44, physicians treated patients to no avail. Moreover, the relentless spread of syphilis—commonly regarded as a disease new to China in the sixteenth century—led some to conclude that the canonical texts handed down from the Han dynasty via Song imperial medical publications and then revised by Jin-Yuan scholars no longer fully addressed the medical issues of the day.⁸ As a consequence, late Ming medical culture was characterized by an unusual degree of diversity among competing schools of medical thought, at least some of which promoted experimentation with new herbal remedies and alternative methods of healing, including those introduced from abroad.⁹

Smoking tobacco, an innovative therapy made familiar by way of analogy to other ingestibles, was adopted enthusiastically as a medicinal by Chinese physicians influenced by one particular strand of the medicine of systematic correspondences, namely the “warm and replenish” (*wenbu*) school. This current of thought was influential among many Jiangnan scholar-physicians in the late Ming period, but was far from hegemonic. Those working in other traditions, particularly those who followed the “nourish the yin” (*yang yin*) school, criticized the use of tobacco, regarding

it as a potent substance they believed totally detrimental to human health. Even for those who favored the use of warming and replenishing remedies, the hot and acrid smoke of tobacco was seen as beneficial only in the short-term for the treatment of certain types of disorders suffered by those with particular constitutions.

The dangers of excessive tobacco use as theorized by seventeenth-century authors were widely broadcast in the eighteenth century by popular medical handbooks published and distributed throughout the empire. Yet many Chinese continued to smoke. Admonitions about the long-term negative consequences of smoking were constantly mitigated not only by cross-cutting advice in the medical texts themselves but also by the wide variety of tobacco products available on the market, which were conceptualized by consumers as having distinct medicinal qualities. Merchants played up the health advantages of their particular product, even developing new ones to sell. By the mid-eighteenth century, the imagined differential health benefits of China's myriad tobacco products allowed individual smokers to believe they were ingesting a substance that was good for their *own* health, if not for that of others, despite persistent medical warnings to the contrary. Because there was a tobacco for every body, everybody could smoke without worry or care. And they did.

ANALOGIZING TOBACCO

Chinese medical thinking about tobacco in the late Ming period, set as it was within the distinctive cosmological framework of the medicine of systematic correspondences, was quite different from that of early modern Europe. From the start, Europeans recognized tobacco as neither food nor drink, but rather as a separate genre of consumable substance.¹⁰ This resulted in considerable classificatory confusion and polemical debate: Was tobacco a vice or a virtue? Did it provide sustenance, or was it an ephemeral pleasure? Was it a potent medicinal or a gratuitous inebriant? Eventually, these theological and medical debates were settled in favor of tobacco, and a consensus emerged that tobacco use in moderation was neither sinful nor harmful to human health. Indeed, for a time in the seventeenth century, tobacco was regarded by many as a "universal panacea." This largely positive view of tobacco held sway until the nineteenth century when Euro-American physicians again began to oppose tobacco use on medical as well as moral grounds.¹¹

While tobacco smoking in China precipitated its own set of controversies, in Chinese medical circles the essential nature of tobacco itself was never at issue. Tobacco fit neatly into the broad spectrum of ingestible substances that included both food/drink (*yinshi*) and medicine (*yao*). Tobacco smoke, like all substances taken in through the nose and mouth, was thought to directly enter the Stomach and Spleen (*piwei*), one of the Five Visceral Systems of Function (*wuzang*), which together linked all parts of the human body in patterned physiological processes to

produce both normal and pathological conditions.¹² From the Stomach, the qi of tobacco, like that of other ingestibles, was distilled and dispersed throughout the body. Distinctions between food and medicine were a matter of degree, not one of essentialized difference. Anything ingested could prevent disease when used properly, but it could also cause illness when taken in excess, in the wrong combination, or during the improper season. Within this flexible conceptual framework, there was no need to identify tobacco smoke as either fundamentally detrimental or beneficial for human health: it could be either or both depending on the predispositions of the user and the particular conditions under which it was inhaled.

Seventeenth-century Chinese authors thus easily equated tobacco with other foodstuffs, beverages, and medicine already included along the continuum that encompassed all ingesta. It was often likened to alcohol because of its supposed inebriating properties, and it was popularly called “dry liquor” (*ganjiu*) or “fire liquor” (*huojiu*).¹³ Sometimes it was termed “smoke wine” (*yanjiu*).¹⁴ Many of the extant seventeenth-century Chinese texts that discuss tobacco do not use the term “inhale tobacco” (*xiyān*) but rather “eat tobacco” (*chiyān* or *shiyān*).¹⁵ Li Ê, for example, explicitly labeled tobacco a beverage, grouping it together not only with tea but with the six beverages (*liu yin*) passed down through the ages: boiled water, soybean milk, sweet wine, cool water, decocted medicine, and elixirs.¹⁶

In Ming-Qing medical texts all ingestibles, be they food, beverages, or medicines, were capable of profoundly altering the balance of yin and yang qi in the human body. The term *qi* is not easily rendered into English and therefore is generally not translated. Charlotte Furth describes it aptly as “the fundamental energy at life’s source, the unitary One prior to all differentiations.”¹⁷ Sometimes discernible as mists or vapor, at other times completely hidden, qi courses through all things: the heavens, the earth, and the human body. A tiny bit of the qi that fills the cosmos is bestowed upon each individual at the moment of conception. This “original qi” (*yuan qi*) is the stuff that maintains life, sustains growth, and supports generative vitality. It declines as the body ages, gradually being used up until it is completely gone and death occurs.

Yin-yang dualism, the most fundamental division within Chinese cosmology, governs the first perceptible transformation of original qi into the myriad phenomena of the material world.¹⁸ As forces of change, these two complementary opposites constantly interact. Yin is associated with darkness, cold, moisture, passivity, the moon, night, and the feminine principle; yang symbolizes brightness, dryness, the sun, fire, warmth, activity, and the masculine principle. In the body, yin and yang regulate the movement of qi (the generative yang energy essential for life and health) and Blood (the yin vitalities and the bodily fluids that carry them). Health is maintained and life prolonged by harmonizing the vital yin-yang forces to ensure the proper flow of qi and Blood throughout the body. Disease arises when the delicate equilibrium between yin and yang is disrupted in some way: by one of

the six external excesses (*liuyin*), by a surfeit of activity or emotion, by excessive lust or overindulgence in sex, by improper or gluttonous eating or drinking, or by compulsive smoking.¹⁹

The potent ability of ingestibles to alter the body's yin-yang balance mandates close attention to the medicinal properties of *all* substances taken in through the mouth or nose. According to the Chinese system of correspondences, every ingestible possesses one or more of the yin or yang qualities known as the Five Savors (*wuwe*): Sweet (*gan*), Sour (*suan*), Bitter (*ku*), Pungent (*xin*), and Salty (*xian*). Sweet and Pungent savors are characterized as yang; the other three as yin. In addition, things ingested also have specific qualities (*xing*) identified as Cold (*han*), Cool (*liang*), Warm (*wen*), and Hot (*re*). The savor of a particular substance, which may or may not correlate to its taste in the mouth, indicates which Visceral System of Function it is most likely to affect once distilled by the Stomach and Spleen. Pungent, the savor associated with tobacco smoke, goes from the Stomach directly to the Lungs (*fei*).

These concepts informed seventeenth-century views that habitual tobacco use was unhealthy. Like many of his contemporaries, for example, the philosopher Fang Yizhi regarded tobacco smoke as a potent medicinal. Fang warned, however, that long usage would harm the Lung cavity (*fei jiao*) such that all other medicines would have no effect. Those afflicted with lung disease caused by excessive tobacco smoke would suddenly vomit a yellowish liquid and die.²⁰ Shi Runzhang, an early Qing scholar-official, also warned readers about the health dangers of tobacco consumption, noting that bees all died "immediately" after sucking on the nectar of tobacco blossoms. He further recounted the story of a friend who was tremendously fond of tobacco and who smoked more than one hundred times a day. According to Shi, this person came down with a strange ailment that caused his head to swell up. His gums developed oozing pus-filled sores. Although he recovered, at one point he was on the verge of death.²¹

Like alcohol, then, or indeed, any potent ingestible substance, tobacco smoked to excess was harmful and could even threaten life itself. From the vantage point of Chinese pharmacotherapy, these qualities meant that tobacco had considerable toxicity (*youdu*). This did not mean that it was a substance to be avoided entirely but rather one to be used with care for the treatment of acute conditions, such as the intermittent fevers caused by miasmatic vapors (*zhangqi*) characteristic of the far south.²² As Frédéric Obringer has documented, there was a long tradition of treating intermittent fevers (*nüe* and *zhang*), including the disease biomedicine identifies as malaria, with toxic drugs, including arsenical compounds such as realgar (*xionghuang*) and arsenic anhydride (*pishuang*).²³

Tobacco's popularly imagined utility as an antifebrile agent for the prevention and treatment of miasmatic vapors (*zhangqi*) is undoubtedly one of the reasons it caught on quickly in the subtropical areas of coastal China in the sixteenth century.

Yao Lü observed that smoking could guard against zhangqi. He also noted that ground-up tobacco leaves applied as a poultice on the scalp could kill head lice, a practice common among precontact Amerindians that was known to seventeenth-century European herbalists as well.²⁴ Ni Zhumo, one of the first scholar-physicians to write about tobacco, identified the sapor of the drug as both Pungent and Bitter (*wei ku xin*) and the quality of its qi as Hot. He placed tobacco in his “poisonous herbs” (*ducao lei*) section, thereby underscoring that this was a potent drug that had to be used with caution. In his view, when inhaled, the qi of tobacco had the power to ward off the Cold of wind and rain, the qi of mountain *gu* poisoning (*shan gu*), and demonic pathogens (*guixie*), all of which could cause intermittent fevers.²⁵ Ni Zhumo’s contemporary, Zhang Jiebin, whose sophisticated theoretical justification for smoking is discussed in greater detail in the following section, also highlighted its efficacy for the treatment and prevention of southern fevers. He related an anecdote about tobacco-smoking soldiers who entered territory in Yunnan that was filled with malarial miasmas and yet who contracted no disease.²⁶

In his materia medica, Zhang Jiebin analogized tobacco to betel nut (*binglang*), a substance widely used throughout areas of southern China. Zhang noted that tobacco, while more intense than betel nut, had a similar capacity to boost bodily qi, thereby improving resistance to fevers. For this reason, “people in Yunnan, Guangxi, and Guangdong use it daily.”²⁷ Betel quid, which consists of the nut of the areca palm, the leaf of the betel pepper plant, and slaked lime (most often obtained from oyster shells), has a long history throughout Southeast Asia and coastal areas of China.²⁸ When chewed in small doses, the juice of these combined ingredients energizes the body, producing a slightly euphoric sensation; arecoline, one of the major alkaloids in the areca nut, has an effect similar to nicotine in stimulating the central nervous system.²⁹ Heavier doses, however, often result in sedation. Historically, throughout the areas of Asia where it was consumed, betel nut was thought to have a wide range of therapeutic uses including the promotion of digestion, treatment for diarrhea, expulsion of intestinal parasites, and prevention of tooth decay.³⁰ In southern China, the most common medical usage was for the prevention of intermittent fevers caused by miasmatic vapors.

Betel nut, as a substance commonly consumed along the southern coast and widely understood to have significant health benefits, was the most likely vehicle through which vanguard Chinese smokers in Fujian or Guangdong approached tobacco. Late Ming materia medica characterized both as Pungent and Warm, and both were commonly consumed non-edibles ingested in ways that distinguished them somewhat from food or drink. As Anthony Reid notes, betel nut was a natural bridge for tobacco when it was first introduced into Indonesia, because its physiological effects on the central nervous system were similar and because tobacco could be substituted for betel in ritualized social interactions.³¹ Edmund Scott, a member of the newly established English East India Company, observed both betel

chewing and tobacco smoking among Chinese merchants on the Indonesian island of Java during his stay there from 1602 to 1605.³² It is not difficult to imagine how merchants from Zhangzhou, who dominated the Sino-Javanese trade at the time, might have brought tobacco back home along with Javanese betel nut.³³

Betel was chewed only in southern China, where the ingredients were readily available and the menace of intermittent fevers ever-present. In northern China, with its strong winds and cold winters, tobacco was conceptualized as somewhat more analogous to drugs with strong warming qualities such as the ginseng (*ren-shen*) used to treat Cold Damage disorders (*shanghan*).³⁴ This important nosological category referred to a wide range of febrile diseases that were acute at onset and had hot sensations as their primary sensations.³⁵ Zhang Ji (150–219 C.E.), the classic authority on Cold Damage, identified numerous manifestations of *shanghan* that could be treated with ginseng in the canonical *Shanghan zhabing lun* (Treatise on Cold Damage and Miscellaneous Disorders).³⁶ In the late Ming period, at least in the Jiangnan region, the use of ginseng for the treatment of Cold Damage fevers was highly controversial because the drug was viewed as a powerful stimulant of yang qi, and therefore not suitable for delicate southern bodies. Many physicians preferred to prescribe drugs that would clear heat or drain sensations of fullness or repletion, especially painful congestive accumulations in the chest.³⁷ Nonetheless, ginseng was prescribed by some southern physicians for patients suffering from such conditions. Northerners, thought to have more robust constitutions to begin with, were said to better handle powerful yang boosters; ginseng consequently was quite popular as a remedy in northern China, Korea, and Manchuria in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

There are several varieties of ginseng, and the different types do not share the same medicinal properties. Tobacco was most closely analogous to Panax ginseng, the type that grew wild in Manchuria and Korea. Like Panax ginseng, tobacco was popularly identified as a powerful stimulant of original qi and thus was regarded as capable of enhancing the body's resistance to Cold Damage. Tobacco's presumed efficacy against Cold and Dampness remained one of the central tenets of certain seventeenth-century Jiangnan physicians who emphasized its health benefits as a strong warming and replenishing agent that, like ginseng, could boost yang vitalities and promote original qi. It was these perceived qualities that spurred Ming-Qing physicians to accept it as an effective medicinal despite its perceived dangers.

TOBACCO AND THE "WARM AND REPLENISH" CURRENT OF THOUGHT

Inhaling the smoke of burning tobacco directly into the body was novel for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chinese, just as it was for those in other Old World societies. Understood by analogy to share certain properties not only with alcohol but

also with commonly consumed substances such as betel nut and ginseng, the plant was readily assimilated into China's long tradition of medical botany and dietetic *medica*. We should not assume, however, that it was immediately conceptualized as "Chinese." The terminology used for tobacco throughout Northeast Asia indicates that it was most definitely recognized as a new thing imported from abroad. Most seventeenth-century Chinese authors referred to tobacco not by its Sinicized name, *yancao*, but rather as *danbagu* or *danrouguo*, terms transliterated from the Spanish "el tabaco."³⁸ The Manchus transliterated the word as "dambagu" in early seventeenth-century documents, and the Japanese rendered it from the Portuguese as "tabako."³⁹ The continued use of the foreign word throughout the seventeenth century served to underscore tobacco's newness and its alien origins.⁴⁰ Moreover, many late Ming and early Qing commentators observed that tobacco was something "not heard of in ancient times" but was a substance only recently seen.⁴¹

Tobacco's very novelty recommended its use to a particular group of scholar-physicians who approached the medical canons of antiquity with skepticism, preferring to rely on their own direct clinical experience. Its assimilation into Chinese materia medica was thus achieved not only because analogies could be drawn between tobacco and familiar time-honored herbals but also because some late Ming physicians believed this new foreign drug could assist them in addressing what they believed were the unprecedented epidemiological challenges of the age.

Specifically, tobacco was a welcome addition to the drug arsenals of physicians such as Zhang Jiebin, who followed the "warm and replenish" doctrine (*wenbu xuepai*) of Xue Ji (ca. 1488–1558). Xue Ji, whose ideas influenced many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jiangnan practitioners, is primarily known for his synthesis of the views of Li Gao (1180–1251) and Zhu Zhenheng (1282–1358), two of the "Four Masters" of Jin-Yuan revisionism.⁴² Li Gao famously put forward the thesis that all illness originates with dysfunction in the Spleen and Stomach, the organ system responsible for transforming food, drink, and medicine into the vital essences of qi and Blood. Damage to the Stomach and Spleen was considered quite serious because this was the Visceral System of Function that regulated the digestive and metabolic functions of the human body: should damage occur to these processes, the preservation of good health in general was in jeopardy. Li Gao emphasized above all the importance of replenishing the Stomach and Spleen with yang substances that radiated warmth, in order to replenish the inner fire that fuels the original qi.⁴³ His doctrine came to be known as the "replenishing Spleen and Stomach" current of thought (*bu piwei xuepai*).

Zhu Zhenheng, the last of the four great Jin-Yuan masters, emphasized protection of the vulnerable Kidney organ system rather than the Stomach and Spleen.⁴⁴ In contrast to Li Gao, he argued that the body's yin qi was always deficient and therefore needed protection from excessive yang, manifested as Ministerial Fire (*xianghuo*), the qi that animated all human action (mental thought and physical move-

ment). With excessive or inappropriate behavior, this Fire could overtake the body's yin fluids (Water and Blood) and cause illness. Zhu Zhenheng's signature clinical strategy was to "nourish yin and make Fire descend" by prescribing substances with the yin sapor of Cool and Bitter. He particularly warned against medicinal substances having hot, dry properties that could further weaken the body's yin. His famous maxim "Yang is always in excess, yin is always deficient" (*Yang chang you yu, yin chang bu zu*) formed the basis for the "nourish the yin" current of thought (*yangyin pai*).

Each of these theories remained influential throughout the Ming period, and adherents of both traditions continued to elaborate on them. In the sixteenth century, Xue Ji drew from both to form the ideas that later came to be known as the "warm and replenish" school. Xue Ji accorded central importance to *both* the Spleen-Stomach and the Kidney organ systems. Following Li Gao, he advocated treating ill patients using warming substances to first restore the metabolic functions of the Stomach and Spleen. He also accepted Zhu Zhenheng's notion that drugs with strong warming tendencies could overstimulate the Ministerial Fire, thereby endangering Blood and Water. He thus prescribed strong warming yang medicines followed by cooling yin substances to keep this dangerous Fire in check. Although Xue Ji incorporated ideas from both systems, his treatments were more inclined toward substances with yang qualities that could refuel the body's inner Fire, rather than those with yin qualities used to boost Blood and Water.⁴⁵

The prescription of strong yang "warming and replenishing" remedies such as ginseng and astragalus (*huangqi*) is evident in the case histories of many literati doctors who practiced in the Jiangnan region during the mid- and late Ming period. This was the regimen, for example, preferred by Wang Ji (1463–1539) in many of the clinical encounters outlined in his *Shishan yian* (Stone Mountain Medical Case Histories).⁴⁶ Cheng Congzhou (1581–?), a Huizhou doctor residing in Yangzhou in the 1610s and 1620s, similarly favored "warming and replenishing" prescriptions that included ginseng and astragalus, particularly in cases of acute febrile disorders such as might occur in epidemics.⁴⁷ This therapeutic strategy, aimed at treating internal deficiencies of yang qi in order to restore the metabolic functions of the Stomach and Spleen, was sometimes criticized by rival physicians and patients alike, many of whom understood such illnesses to be caused primarily by external heteropathies such as Cold Damage. Other physicians, adherents of the "nourish the yin" current of thought, railed against the "fad" of prescribing potent and "fiercely strong" warming and replenishing medicines.⁴⁸ While suspicious of "warm and replenish" pharmaceutical strategies in the treatment of acute fevers, many patients themselves self-medicated with warming-and-replenishing medicine such as ginseng to boost their yang qi when they thought their primary generative vitalities were threatened. Such remedies were believed to speed convalescence, to improve one's general resistance to illness, and to medicate depletion disorders that manifested as menstrual irregularity in women and sexual impotency in men.⁴⁹

Depletion disorders, whether due to a deficiency of yin or of yang, could adversely affect female fertility and male virility and were thus of considerable concern to physicians and patients alike.⁵⁰ Joanna Grant sees a heightened emphasis on depletion disorders in late Ming medical texts.⁵¹ She argues that the tendency of Wang Ji and others to frequently invoke this diagnosis was a manifestation of a more generalized anxiety about the moral consequences of the rapid socioeconomic changes under way in the prosperous Jiangnan region in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As noted earlier, this was a time when many physicians believed they were dealing with unprecedented challenges in the form of new diseases such as syphilis. Thought to have come into China through Guangzhou, syphilis was often associated with sojourning merchants and others who traveled widely. In addition to syphilis, which was understood to be sexually transmitted,⁵² doctors like Wang Ji believed that new levels of immorality, impropriety, and lasciviousness concomitant with rising commercial wealth led to widespread yang depletion disorders among elite men. According to many late Ming physicians, depletion due to intemperance was best treated with drugs that first warmed and then replenished.⁵³

In theory, both men and women could suffer from yang depletion: male and female bodies in late Ming medical culture were conceptualized as highly androgynous and, except in the limited spheres of obstetrics and reproductive medicine, homologous along a shifting continuum of yin and yang.⁵⁴ In practice, subtle and implied gender differences often crept in at the point of the diagnosis and treatment. Joanna Grant demonstrates, for example, that Wang Ji diagnosed yang depletion in a majority of his male patients but seldom identified this syndrome in his female patients.⁵⁵ In case after case, he prescribed “warming and replenishing” drugs to boost the yang qi of the Huizhou merchants who formed his primary clientele.

Yang depletion disorders were gendered male because they were conceptualized as arising from behaviors that men, particularly those with access to money and leisure, were thought to engage in more frequently than women. In Wang Ji’s view, his male patients put their health at risk by crossing moral boundaries of frugality and abstinence into the hedonism of overindulgence. Eating overly rich food, drinking to excess, and having intercourse too frequently all threatened to deplete the body’s original yang qi, bringing on exhaustion (*lao*) and leaving one especially vulnerable to external heteropathies such as Cold, Wind, or nüe or zhang fevers. Excessive sexual activity could result not only in yang depletion but also in genital sores, leprosy (thought to be a sexually transmitted disease), or a multitude of other diseases. For Wang Ji, yang depletion among elite men was thus very much a sign of the times: increasing extravagance and declining moral values, especially among the newly rich, were linked to the concept of the physical and ethical decay of the ruling scholar-official elite. In this climate of heightened moral and medical anxiety, the tendency of physicians such as Wang Ji, Cheng Congzhou, and others to prescribe “warm and replenish” remedies to boost yang qi can thus be seen as an

effort to shore up literati masculinities made vulnerable by association with the debauched and opulent lifestyles of the mercantile class. Tobacco, regarded as a strong yang replenisher, came to play a role in this project as well.

Zhang Jiebin, a well-known advocate of the “warm and replenish” doctrine, was one of the first learned scholar-physicians to take note of tobacco. A native of Shanyin County in Zhejiang, from a politically well-connected family, Zhang Jiebin spent much of his life in Beijing.⁵⁶ After a stint in the military, he studied medicine in the capital and practiced there for many years until 1620, when, in his late fifties, he returned to Zhejiang to write his highly influential *Zhangshi leijing* (Mr. Zhang’s Classified [Inner] Canon) and to compile his collected works (*Jing Yue quanshu*). For about half of his medical career, Zhang adhered to the “nourish the yin” current of thought. Then, around the age of forty, on the basis of his own clinical observations, he began to believe that bolstering and maintaining the yang component of the body through the constant replenishment of warming substances to protect the Spleen and Stomach was the key to preserving good health and curing disease.⁵⁷ It was from this vantage point that Zhang Jiebin took an interest in the reputed medical benefits of smoking.

In the materia medica section of his collected works, most likely published around 1636, Zhang Jiebin included a discussion of tobacco wherein he laid out the properties and characteristics of the plant as well as indications for its use and its effects on the body. Zhang Jiebin was not the first physician to describe tobacco: Ni Zhumo and several more obscure medical writers had done so even earlier.⁵⁸ However, Zhang Jiebin was by far the most influential. His brief monograph, which appears in the “marshland herbs” section (*xicao bu*) of the longer work, was often quoted in subsequent texts, and his theoretical understanding of tobacco continued to inform Chinese medical writing about tobacco down to the twentieth century.

According to Zhang, tobacco’s quality was Warm (*qi wen*), and its sapor was Pungent (*wei xin*). The basic nature of tobacco, as an herb that ascended upward and outward to protect Heat, was pure yang (*chun yang*). These properties of Warm, Pungent, ascending, and pure yang necessarily made tobacco a highly effective and powerful medicinal substance in Zhang Jiebin’s view. He believed that tobacco, like ginseng, strengthened and replenished the original yang influences (*yuan yang*) of the body, which in his view were “alone the supreme value for man!”⁵⁹ In contrast to those who advocated “nourishing the yin,” Zhang Jiebin thought it impossible to have an excess of yang qi. For him, the inhalation of tobacco smoke through the mouth and throat enabled its vitally warming and replenishing yang qi to move rapidly through the body to heat each of the Five Visceral Systems of Function. Once inhaled deeply into the lower body cavity, its yang qi ascended to warm the Heart and Lungs; descending it warmed the Liver, Spleen, and Kidney.

With the revitalized yang influences thus gained through smoking, Zhang believed, the body could overcome a host of ailments, including those with external

or internal etiologies as well as those brought on by improper diet, excessive sexual activity, or exhaustion and overwork. This included epidemic disease and acute fevers caused by the six excesses, particularly Cold and Dampness. As a powerful yang drug, tobacco had the ability to close off the interstices and pores (*couli*) from the heteropathic qi of Wind, and it could alleviate rheumatic pain in the joints and bones brought on by Cold. Zhang also noted that it was useful to ward off miasmatic vapors (*shanlan zhangqi*) found in wooded mountainous regions and the subtropical regions of the far south.

Following in the tradition of Li Gao and Xue Ji, Zhang Jiebin also emphasized the utility of tobacco for treating disorders that arose from internal causes, particularly those affecting the Spleen and Stomach. By warming the Spleen-Stomach organ system, tobacco had the power to aid digestion, to disperse fullness after eating, to arrest the violent vomiting of *huoluan* (literally, “sudden chaos”),⁶⁰ and even to eliminate intestinal parasites. When the metabolic functions of the Stomach and Spleen were restored with the aid of revitalizing tobacco smoke, they could again deliver essential nourishing influences throughout the body. Tobacco further enabled the flow of vital qi by dispelling stagnant or turbid Cold, by breaking up stagnant congealation (*yuji*), and by preventing Blood stagnation.⁶¹ All in all, tobacco for Zhang Jiebin was a powerful remedy whose primary clinical use was to assist those with stagnant or depleted yang qi. In other words, tobacco fundamentally protected or revitalized those men whose uncontrolled appetites had led them to overindulge at the banquet table, in the courtesan quarters, or in the concubine’s boudoir.

To be sure, like many of his contemporaries, Zhang Jiebin recognized tobacco as a potent substance (*youdu*) and urged that it be smoked only in moderation, the smoker inhaling only one or two puffs at a time. Otherwise, he warned, smokers would “fall down drunk,” and it would take a very long time to revive them. In such instances, the patient could be treated with a replenishing broth made from white sugar water. And, in Zhang’s view, tobacco was definitely not indicated for those with strong yang preponderance. For such patients, inhaling this powerful yang substance would provoke the Ministerial Fire to the point of qi depletion. Even for those whose yang qi was weak, tobacco was beneficial only in the short term. When used excessively over a long period, tobacco’s yang qi eventually exhausted the original yang influences that Zhang Jiebin regarded as the essence of life. Zhang Jiebin concludes his entry on tobacco with these words of warning: “People all like to use it but they do not yet see its damaging effects.”

Zhang Jiebin’s identification of tobacco as a warming substance that could boost yang qi if used in moderation provided seventeenth-century male elite smokers and their physicians with a theoretical medical justification for its leisurely consumption: it could serve as an antidote to the ill effects of intemperance. The ability of tobacco smoke to correct the harms brought on by overindulgence was made explicit by Shen Mu, a Shunzhi-era physician who included an entry on tobacco in his text

Bencao dong quan (Materia Medica Clearly Explained), published in 1661.⁶² Shen Mu basically followed Zhang Jiebin's characterization, noting that tobacco is Pungent and Warm and its primary benefit is to cure rheumatism brought on by Cold and Dampness, to dissolve congestion, to loosen phlegm, to improve circulation of qi and Blood, and to resolve stagnation of various sorts. Like Zhang Jiebin, Shen Mu noted that tobacco could intoxicate a person, but he went on to say that tobacco could also sober a man up or at least lessen the effects of a hangover. Moreover, it could make a man full when he was hungry and make a man hungry when satiated. "For this reason, people use it to accompany wine and tea. They never tire of it, even when smoking all day long and they cannot leave it alone. For this reason, it is called the 'herb of longing' [*xiangsi cao*]." This poetic reference to the (as yet unknown) addictive qualities of tobacco, later used to describe opium as well, underscores the ways in which the medicalization of tobacco served unwittingly to justify elite adoption from below of what was fundamentally a substance that above all provided them pleasure and enjoyment. Tobacco might, in the words of Li Ê, "cause Cold to disappear," but an even more important function was to make "loneliness evaporate" through its inclusion in the myriad leisure activities of the sociable literati male elite.⁶³

TOBACCO IN POPULARIZED MEDICAL TEXTS

As a renowned physician whose works were frequently quoted, Zhang Jiebin's views on tobacco worked enormous influence on subsequent generations of medical scholars and indeed on popular understandings of the health effects of tobacco more generally. About ninety Qing-era materia medica discuss tobacco.⁶⁴ Many of these, especially those published in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, were simplified versions of Zhang Jiebin's more sophisticated entry, composed in easily understood language with both the clinician and the layperson in mind. Stripped down to the most essential content, these descriptions appeared in pharmacological primers that served as introductory textbooks for beginning medical students or as popular family almanacs.⁶⁵ These concise summaries were in turn excerpted in the specialized connoisseur literature about tobacco that began to appear in the eighteenth century. As such, they provide some insight into what literate Chinese thought they were doing to their bodies when they smoked tobacco.

Wang Ang (1615–99?) was one of the first medical popularizers to include tobacco in a simplified materia medica. From a Huizhou merchant family connected with the Huanduzhai publishing firm in Hangzhou, Wang Ang turned to medicine quite late in life.⁶⁶ Following a philanthropic impulse to redistribute some of his wealth for the greater good, Wang Ang devoted himself to writing medical books from about 1663 to 1694. He strongly believed in making medical texts accessible to a broader public: he donated his writings to booksellers, urging them to distrib-

ute them free of charge. His *Bencao beiyao* (Complete [corpus] and essentials of materia medica), published in 1683, was written in a clear and straightforward style. His intended audience included practicing physicians in need of a ready reference tool, as well as layman who might keep the book on hand for medical emergencies at home or while on the road.

Wang Ang's brief entry on tobacco in the *Bencao beiyao* is a distillation of previous medical writing on the substance. The influence of Zhang Jiebin and Shen Mu is readily apparent. The summary is direct and to the point:

Tobacco: Drains, moves qi, disperses Cold. Sapor: Pungent; quality: Warm; has toxicity.

Cures rheumatism caused by Wind, Cold, and Damp, stagnant qi and stopped-up phlegm, also, miasmatic vapors of wooded mountains. Its qi enters the mouth, but it does not circulate with the regular intensity. In an instant, it moves through the entire body. When sober, it can make one drunk; when drunk, it can make one sober. When hungry, it can make one feel full; when full, it can make one feel hungry.

People use it to accompany wine and tea. For an entire lifetime, they never tire of it (an old name for it is "herb of longing"). But the Fire qi [of tobacco] burns and suffocates; it destroys Blood and shortens years. People are unaware of this. Fujian produces the best tobacco. (When water is in the pipe, it can cut the toxicity).⁶⁷

The accessibility and popularity of Wang Ang's text, as distinguished from the specialized nature of such materia medica as those produced by Zhang Jiebin or Shen Mu, meant that this information about tobacco likely had a much wider circulation than did the earlier texts.

Wang Ang's concise summary of the medical benefits and dangers of tobacco was replicated in numerous other eighteenth-century works. For example, the tobacco entry in Wu Yiluo's (eighteenth century) *Bencao congxin* (New compilation on materia medica), first published in 1757, picked up directly from Wang Ang:

Tobacco: Pungent, Warm. Drains yang qi. Moves through the channels. Cures miasmatic vapors of wooded mountains. (During the Ming period, soldiers who entered malarial territory in Yunnan all contracted disease except those who smoked. Since that time, people in the borderlands all use it).

[Wards off] the yin heteropathies of Cold and Dampness. Drives out the foul and kills pests. (Using the juice, it can poison lice; the water from the tobacco pipe can cut the poison of snakes).

Its qi enters through the mouth. In an instant, it moves through the entire body. (Its character is pure yang. It can move qi and disperse obstructions).

It is used to accompany wine and tea. In an entire lifetime, one never tires of it. (So it is called the "herb of longing.")

But, its Fire qi suffocates and burns. (It especially heats the yin of the Lungs. It causes people to suffer from sore throat and pharynx. Spitting blood and the loss of voice are common among those who cannot keep themselves from smoking).

[Tobacco] destroys Blood and shortens years. Those who guard their health keep it at a distance.

The best tobacco is produced in Fujian. (The most expensive is called “Golden silk smoke” or “danbagu.” People from Zhangzhou imported it from abroad and planted it in Putian. Now it is everywhere, not just Fujian).⁶⁸

Wu Yiluo, a scholar-physician from Haiyan in Zhejiang province, considered the *Bencao congxin* to be an expansion and rectification of Wang Ang’s popular pharmacopoeia.⁶⁹ His tobacco entry provides a bit more information culled from seventeenth-century texts than does Wang Ang’s. For example, he includes Zhang Jiebin’s anecdote about Ming troops in Yunnan and Yao Lü’s recommendation that it be used to treat head lice. In general, however, popular and widely disseminated materia medica such as these provided eighteenth-century readers with the same basic information about tobacco’s impact on the body. To the extent that this lore was repeated many times in other books about tobacco—for example, in Lu Yao’s *Yanpu*—it can be taken as the conventional wisdom about the health effects of tobacco at the time.⁷⁰

In these highly accessible texts, the dangers of smoking are listed alongside its presumed health benefits. The authors clearly perceived the detrimental effects of habitual smoking on the body, particularly the lungs. Although the term “addiction” was not yet part of Chinese medical thinking, they also noted tobacco’s powerful hold on those who smoked. Wang Ang and Wang Yiluo both reiterated the seventeenth-century poetic metaphor of tobacco as the “herb of longing.” Each entry also highlighted tobacco’s importance in social situations (“it accompanies wine and tea”), and each implies that its utility for entertaining can perhaps better account for its continued usage than can its reputed medicinal qualities, which were offset by the fact that smoking “shortens one’s years” and that those who “guarded their lives” avoided it.

TOBACCO AND BODIES OF DIFFERENCE

Many scholar-physicians from Zhang Jiebin to Wu Yiluo observed the long-term negative consequences of smoking tobacco, and yet they continued to list it as an efficacious herbal remedy in their respective materia medica. Tobacco, like all ingestibles in the extensive Chinese materia and dietetic medica, was conceptualized as a substance that had distinctly different effects on discrete human bodies, depending on time and circumstance, as well as individual predispositions, temperament, and conduct. Its capacity to benefit or to harm the human body could be

judged only on a case-by-case basis. Nonetheless, by identifying tobacco as a potent yang replenisher whose basic qualities were Hot/Warm and Pungent, Ming-Qing scholar-physicians were in effect cordoning off the presumed medical benefits (and the corresponding harms) of smoking to certain social groups, defined by gender, generation, and spatial location.

As noted in chapter 3, by the early eighteenth century, smoking was a thoroughly assimilated part of elite women's culture. In Chinese medical writings about tobacco, however, smoking was implicitly gendered male. This was so despite a general trend in Ming-Qing medical thought toward deemphasizing gender difference with regard to health and illness.⁷¹ In theory, because the Chinese medical body was androgynous, both men and women whose yang qi and yin Blood were in balance could safely smoke in moderation for a time without ill effect. Over the long term, however, the continual inhalation of pure yang qi in the form of smoke might lead to a body of yang surplus and yin deficiency, with all the attendant health problems such an imbalance of yin and yang entailed. In clinical reasoning, the scenario of yang surplus and yin deficiency was far more likely to occur among women of child-bearing age than among men or postmenopausal women. Males in general tilted more toward yang along the shifting continuum of possible yin-yang configurations and for this reason could presumably tolerate higher levels of strong yang qi from tobacco smoke. Moreover, menstruation could potentially leave women in a state of yin depletion because Water and Blood were vital yin substances necessary for reproductive health. Already at risk for this syndrome, women had to be especially careful not to take on excess yang. Accordingly, older women whose reproductive years were behind them might smoke without harm, but younger healthy women who smoked risked menstrual irregularities and infertility. Thus, the unknown writer of the *Mindong bencao* (Eastern Fujian Materia Medica) insisted that tobacco should never be prescribed for pregnant women.⁷² The same treatise, however, advised the use of tobacco to replenish yang when a woman's uterus was Cold (*funü baohan*) or when menstruation was already irregular (*yuejing bu tiao*).

Warnings about the differential health effects of tobacco on men and women show up in the earliest seventeenth-century medical writings. As mentioned above, Ni Zhumo included an entry on tobacco in his *Bencao huiyan* (Illustrated Materia Medica), first published in 1624.⁷³ Although Ni Zhumo cited references to tobacco found in other pharmaceutical texts, his is the earliest such commentary to have survived, predating Zhang Jiebin's discussion by some ten years or so. Ni Zhumo was of the view that the classical materia medica needed to be periodically updated as society and humankind changed.⁷⁴ It was perhaps in this spirit that he included the new plant in his text, a book that aimed above all to provide a simplified reference tool for practicing clinicians.

Ni Zhumo's entry on tobacco is not as theoretically sophisticated as Zhang Jiebin's, and there are fewer embedded clues as to where he stood on the controversies be-

tween the “warm and replenish” and “nourish the yin” currents of thought. Like Zhang, he regarded tobacco as a significant yang booster and explicitly recommended its use as such for both genders and all generations. When the body’s yang qi was stagnant due to accumulated Cold, tobacco smoke could dissolve phlegm, stimulate the appetite, and restore thirst, allowing the qi to flow freely through the circulation channels. If women smoked, they could remove blockages in their lower abdomens. In children, tobacco smoke had the power to reduce swellings in the belly (*ganji*).⁷⁵ However, like Zhang Jiebin, Ni Zhumo warned that some people, especially those suffering from yin deficiency, *must not* smoke. Patients whose yin depletion manifested as spitting up of blood and dryness in the lungs, or those with severe depletion fatigue (*xulao*), would suppress their yang qi entirely if they inhaled tobacco, “and it will be like dying.”

Depletion fatigue, thought to be brought on or exacerbated by unbridled emotionality, was one of the few syndrome clusters explicitly gendered female in late Ming medical texts.⁷⁶ A syndrome resembling the tubercular “consumption” of early modern European medicine, *xulao* was marked by slow, chronic wasting, loss of appetite, cold sweats, and sometimes coughing with bloody sputum. While both men and women could suffer from depletion fatigue, women were considered more at risk because they were perceived as less able to control their emotions than were men. Indeed, the fragile, ailing, consumptive beauty whose *lao* illness was brought on by excessive female emotion, including lovesickness and pent-up sexual desire, was an archetypal character in Ming-Qing narrative fiction.⁷⁷ The most extreme form of depletion fatigue manifested as “bone-steaming” disease (*gu zheng*), in which heat arises out of the interior of the bones and dries up the yin vitalities of young women, leading to shortness of breath, dizziness, fainting spells, cold extremities, hot flashes, and eventually chronic coughing, aching ribs, expectoration of blood, and finally death. Biomedicine might identify this course of illness as consistent with tuberculosis, but in late imperial Chinese novels these were signs of repressed sexual frustration and dangerous emotionality—consumptive syndromes that manifested as the ultimate and lethal female sickness.⁷⁸ In actual clinical practice, these were the patients Ni Zhumo warned against smoking at all costs.

Ming-Qing medical writing about the gendered health effects of smoking was thus mixed. Women could benefit from tobacco, depending on their emotional predispositions, age, reproductive status, and stage of life. Tobacco’s yang qi might help women with abdominal obstructions of various sorts—masses, lumps, or circulation blockages. So too might women suffering from amenorrhea, excessive menstrual flow, other menstrual irregularities, or a “Cold” uterus be aided by smoking tobacco. Those with consumptive disease, especially young women suffering from the highly gendered form of depletion fatigue, could be lethally harmed by the hot, dry yang smoke of tobacco, as could the fetus of a woman who had already conceived. Over time, many female smokers, seeking to reduce the adverse effects of

yang qi as described in the medical literature, gravitated toward varieties of tobacco thought to have less potent yang qualities, such as “orchid tobacco” from Yunnan (Lanhua yan). They also took up the water pipe because its cooling and gurgling waters were thought to act as a filter for yang qi.

To be sure, elite men smoked water pipes as well, and the “hookah” was far more important as a signifier of status than it was of gender. In Ming-Qing medical writing, however, corporeal difference was explicitly structured less by gender or class than it was by geography and climate. Indeed, the Qing period witnessed the emergence of a new Jiangnan-centered medical tradition—the *wenbing* current of thought (*wenbing xuepai*)—which conceptualized southern bodies as distinctly different from northern ones. In so doing, *wenbing* theorists asserted the primacy of local medical knowledge and native-place identity over the universal canonical authority of the Cold Damage tradition.⁷⁹ *Wenbing* physicians increasingly wrote about disorders specific to the South, especially those that manifested as epidemics thought to be caused by spatially specific and localized qi. This resonant local qi (*diqu* or *tuqi*) was a concept reappropriated from the classical Han medical tradition that had long been used to explain human and cultural diversity. According to this idea, the six climatic excesses—Wind, Cold, Fire, Summer Heat, Dampness, and Dryness—were not equally distributed across the landscape, and as a consequence, certain diseases, *nüe* and *zhang* fevers in the South or Cold Damage in the North, for example, occurred more readily in some locations than in others.

Different climates and topography also gave rise to distinctive native produce, local customs, and styles of cooking, which in turn influenced the physical constitutions and physiological processes of the people who lived in distinct regions. Northerners, coming from a cooler climate and living in a more arid locale, were generally thought of as hardy and robust, able to withstand the onslaught of potent purgatives and strong replenishers. Southerners, living at lower elevations in the dampness and humidity of the coastal climate, were delicate and frail, requiring tonics and more gentle revitalizing remedies.

In the late Ming period, these spatioclimatic explanations of human variation were overlaid with socioeconomic ones.⁸⁰ Commoners who worked the land were strong like northerners, with firm Visceral Systems of Function and tight pores that closed their bodies off from the threat of external heteropathies. Those who worked with their minds instead of their hands, however, tended to be weak and soft, their viscera unprotected and their pores loose, making them extremely vulnerable to outside attack or internal dysfunction. According to this conceptualization, the southern Jiangnan literati and those among the Lower Yangzi merchant class were most at risk of developing serious illness, as a consequence of both their wealthy and luxurious lifestyles and the locally resonant qi of their damp and low-lying native place.

Tobacco entered China just as these long-standing ideas about regional variations in climate, environment, and disease were being reformulated and reframed

to form the Jiangnan-based wenbing medical tradition. Marta Hanson, who has written extensively on the creation and elaboration of the wenbing doctrine, argues that the geographical distinction between northern and southern diseases and the people who lived in each zone had become *the* most important theoretical division in medical texts by the late Ming period.⁸¹ Tobacco was readily incorporated into this burgeoning medical regionalism. In the earliest extant texts about tobacco it was thought to have differential effects depending on location: in the South it prevented intermittent malarial fevers, and in the North it warded off Cold Damage. Some Jiangnan physicians also believed that its strong yang qi had more adverse effects on delicate southern bodies than on northern ones. Adherents of the “nourish the yin” doctrine, for example, deplored the use of hot and acrid substances, including tobacco, for southern men as well as for women.⁸² Even among supporters of the “warm and replenish” current of thought who sought to bolster the yang qi of depleted Jiangnan male elite, spatial considerations were of significance when determining whether or not tobacco would benefit or harm a particular patient.

Recommendations for differential tobacco usage based on the patients’ place of origin can be found in several Qing-era materia medica, including Zhang Lu’s (1617–99) *Benjing fengyuan* (Elucidation of the Meaning of the Original Classic), completed in 1695.⁸³ Zhang Lu was a scholar-physician from Changzhou, a prefectural capital just east of Suzhou in Jiangsu province. Although he was not an advocate of the emerging wenbing doctrine, as a physician resident in Suzhou he undoubtedly knew many doctors who were.⁸⁴ He clearly shared his colleagues’ ideas about the distinctiveness of southern bodies. Like many scholar-physicians of his generation, Zhang Lu came from a family of officials, but he himself repeatedly failed to pass the civil service examinations and elected instead to follow a career in medicine. He was well versed in the medical classics and wrote extensively, especially after retreating to a mountain abode for ten years during the Ming–Qing transition. His most famous work, *Zhangshi yitong* (Mr. Zhang’s Treatise on General Medicine), took him fifty years to complete. Modeled on Wang Kentang’s (1549–1613) compendium (published in 1602) *Liuke zheng zhi zhunsheng* (Standards of Diagnosis and Treatment of Six Branches of Medicine), which brought together many doctrines and styles of practice, Zhang Lu’s text included an array of eclectic doctrinal approaches. Chinese medical historians nonetheless now associate him primarily with the “warm and replenish” doctrine. In contrast to Zhang Jiebin, however, Zhang Lu was not at all enthusiastic about tobacco smoking, especially for southerners.

Zhang Lu placed tobacco in the “Fire” (*huobu*) section of his materia medica and prefaced his description of the “fire of yancao” (*yancao zhi huo*) with a discussion of regional variations between northern and southern cooking styles, resonant local qi, and patients’ constitutions. According to Zhang, northerners used coal fires to cook their food without ill effect because their original qi was sufficient to bear

coal's strong Heat. The wood fires used by those in the South in his view were weaker than coal, and for this reason southerners were not as strong and powerful as those in the North. If southerners ate things cooked over coals, they became ill. By way of analogy, the Warm and Pungent properties of tobacco smoke were just fine for northerners, but they were too strong and hot for southern bodies. Zhang Lu conceded that some eye doctors had successfully used tobacco in formulas, utilizing its Pungent and Warm qualities to disperse the accumulated Cold of cataracts. However, beyond this usage, Zhang Lu had nothing positive to say about tobacco.

Regionalism of the sort raised by Zhang Lu in conjunction with tobacco continued to be an important element in medical thinking about smoking throughout the Qing period. Physicians writing in the mid-1700s parsed the perceived therapeutic merits or demerits of different regional types of tobacco in much greater detail than had their predecessors. In an entry on tobacco in his supplement to the *Bencao gangmu* (Systematic Materia Medica), for example, Zhao Xuemin (ca. 1719–1805) included an excerpt from the *Bai cao jing* (Mirror of One Hundred Herbs), written by his younger brother, Zhao Xuekai (eighteenth century).⁸⁵ Zhao Xuekai's catalog of tobaccos began with Shima tobacco grown in Zhangzhou (Fujian). Black in color, this fierce tobacco, also called Black tiger (*hei laohu*), caused the smoker to spit up yellow sputum if used to excess.⁸⁶ In contrast, powdered tobacco from Changshan (Zhejiang) had a miraculous ability to dissipate phlegm. "Even old people who are coughing up phlegm all through the night can stop coughing if they use this tobacco." Hengyang tobacco from Hunan was peaceful and tranquil in character. Not only could it move Blood, but it could even arrest the progression of depletion fatigue. Lanzhou's (Gansu) water-pipe tobacco was good for sobering one up after drinking alcohol, and tobacco grown in Chaozhou (Guangdong) was said to greatly aid digestion, though it was so fierce that it weakened the body "unto death."

Zhao Xuekai's characterization of the medicinal qualities of the various premium regional tobaccos available in Hangzhou's markets in the mid-eighteenth century indicates that by that time there was a tobacco for nearly everybody. The harsh smoke produced by tobacco leaves from Shima and Chaozhou were clearly not suitable for women of reproductive age, the elderly, or frail scholars from the South, but even they could smoke the lighter and more fragrant products from Changshan or Hengyang. As tobacco cultivation spread and as more and more premium regional tobaccos were sold in China's more prosperous cities and towns, tobacco merchants deliberately diversified their products for different customers. Shaanxi merchants involved in marketing Lanzhou water-pipe tobacco, for example, sold "green fine shred tobacco" (*qingtiao yan*) to elite customers in Beijing and in the Lower Yangzi region, touting its abilities to ward off epidemics and intermittent fevers. In Sichuan, these same merchants traded in "cotton tobacco" (*mianyan*), said to be more suitable for those living in the more arid conditions of the western regions.⁸⁷

The tendency to associate certain varieties of regionally grown tobacco with particular health benefits was supported by nonmedical writing about the plant. Connoisseur guides penned in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries all highlighted the medicinal qualities of different regional tobaccos. Chen Cong, for example, notes that Chaozhou tobacco could be used by southerners for the treatment of indigestion.⁸⁸ Jining tobacco, however, having been produced in the colder areas of Shandong, caused yellow mucous to run continually from the nose and was to be avoided by southern gentlemen and their wives at all costs.

Despite the ubiquity of tobacco smoking throughout Chinese society and the frequency with which it was mentioned in Ming-Qing materia medica, there is little evidence that doctors actually used it much as a drug in clinical practice. Tobacco rarely appeared in formularies (*fangshu*) or medical case records (*yi'an*), the two sections of Ming-Qing medical texts that reflect what physicians actually did in practice.⁸⁹ Those who did refer to tobacco in their formularies, such as Ye Tianshi (1667–1746), primarily discussed the external application of tobacco paste to painful joints or open sores, not tobacco inhaled as smoke or snuff.⁹⁰ In his recapitulation of other medical writings about tobacco, Zhao Xuemin cataloged a few instances in which tobacco smoke, tobacco stalks and leaves, pipe oil, and the water from water pipes had been recorded for use (either internally and externally) to treat various disorders and conditions.⁹¹ These included cataracts in the eyes, catarrh of the nasal cavity (inflammation of the mucous membranes with offensive discharge), “foot qi” (*jiaoqi*), worms and other creatures (*chong*), snakebites, “blood collapse” (*xuebeng*), external wounds, sores, and ulcers.⁹² For the most part, tobacco appears not to have been prescribed by classically trained physicians at all. Its continued inclusion in materia medica up through the early twentieth century was more a sign of its importance as a common everyday ingestible with medicinal properties than as a widely used medicine.

In the end, although tobacco was included in many Ming-Qing materia medica, most nonmedical authors conceptualized it, on the sliding scale of ingestible substances, as more akin to food and drink than to medicine. Tobacco merchants may have marketed it as a health aid to their customers, but they sold it in specialized tobacco shops, not in dedicated drug stores. The editors of many Qing-era gazetteers that listed tobacco as a local product placed it in the section on local manufactures (*huo zhi shu*) rather than the one that listed native medical plants (*yao zhi shu*). In this sense, tobacco in China, as in Europe, was widely recognized more as a “drug food”—an ingestible whose primary purpose and function was to bring pleasure rather than health to the consumer. Nonetheless, tobacco’s continued inclusion in various materia medica across the Qing period indicates that it was never completely regarded solely as a recreational drug. Even in the late twentieth cen-

tury, it retained its reputation as an effective medicinal for the treatment of certain conditions such as indigestion (see the epilogue).

Easily analogized to foodstuffs, beverages, and certain medicinal substances, tobacco was nonetheless clearly unique. Although one “ate” or “drank” it, it neither provided sustenance nor relieved thirst, despite Li Ê’s suggestion that tobacco was the eighth beverage “for the ages.” From the vantage point of those who used it, tobacco perhaps most closely resembled betel nut, alcohol, or tea—substances that intoxicated or stimulated the central nervous system in ways not altogether dissimilar to nicotine, and that were used socially in ways very similar to tobacco. This was certainly the way that poets such as Li Ê approached tobacco: in addition to comparing his much-loved “immortal herb” to fine wine and aromatic tea, Li Ê also noted that tobacco was even better than betel nut for entertaining after drinking and dining.⁹³ Lu Yao, in his eighteenth-century guide to genteel smoking, similarly compared it to betel.⁹⁴ Like betel nut in the south and ginseng in the north, tobacco was widely understood to have healing qualities, even if it was not usually categorized, sold, or used as a drug per se.

The presumed therapeutic benefits of tobacco undoubtedly contributed to its rapid diffusion throughout the empire, as vanguard consumers believed they were ingesting a substance that was good for their health or, at the very least, not particularly harmful. Yet Chinese literati physicians, beginning with Ni Zhumo and Zhang Jiebin in the early seventeenth century and continuing with the medical popularizers Wang Ang and Wu Yiluo in the eighteenth century, consistently pointed out the dangers of tobacco as well as its reputed health benefits. Most people living in Qing China—both men and women, young and old, literati and laborer—smoked anyway.

Over time, as tobacco cultivation spread to new areas around the empire and as tobacco merchants imported new types and varieties from regional peripheries into urban cores, medical warnings about the detrimental health effects of tobacco became somewhat moot. Chinese tobacco, never actually one unitary thing, splintered into myriad varieties, each conceptualized as having different qualities depending on the locally resonant *qi* of the area of production and the particular constitution of the individual consumer. The ready availability of different premium regional tobaccos with their presumed differential health benefits enabled eighteenth-century elite consumers to ignore the persistent cautionary notes that appeared in both learned medical texts and the more popularized versions. What scholar-officials and wealthy merchants could not so easily overlook, however, was the fact that they shared the habit of pipe smoking with common farmers, laborers, and others of lower status. Anxieties over the class-transcendent nature of pipe smoking, more so than concerns over their health, drove the elite, not away from tobacco, but toward the new, more fashionable ways of consuming it that emerged in the second century of Qing rule.

The Fashionable Consumption of Tobacco, 1750–1900

Chinese tobacco, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century and beyond, formed part of a dynamic domain of consumption that changed over time. Used by all ranks, classes, and both genders, Chinese tobacco was never one undifferentiated commodity: people in China, as elsewhere, consumed the substance in socially stratified ways that varied in accordance with price, changing social norms, ideas about its medicinal qualities, and the dictates of fashion. The gradual geographical diffusion of commercial tobacco cultivation that occurred between 1600 and 1750 as outlined in chapter 2 resulted not only in a profusion of inexpensive local tobaccos but also in a proliferation of premium regional tobaccos that could be sold for relatively high prices. This trend, combined with the importation in the eighteenth century of fancy snuff from Europe and the Americas and fine tobaccos from Japan and Korea, enhanced possibilities among some quarters for the conspicuous consumption of tobacco as a means of displaying one's wealth or status.

The "stylish" consumption of tobacco was initially limited to well-off smokers (or those having rich patrons) with access to extremely expensive shredded pipe tobacco. At first, the number of renowned "brands" was quite limited and included only those varieties grown in or near famous processing centers along the eastern seaboard. Over time, regional specialization and product diversification meant that many more people could purchase distinctive tobacco products according to their economic means. The particular "brand" of tobacco selected depended on not only its perceived health benefits or the personal preferences of the smoker but also changing aesthetics of taste. These fashionable patterns of tobacco consumption were not fixed but continued to change as social inferiors attempted to emulate the

smoking habits of the upper gentry and as trendy elite attempted to avoid those tobaccos they now deemed *déclassé*.

By 1750 or so, this fashion system of tobacco use had generated significant differences along the dual axes of class and spatial location. Such divergence occurred not only in the kinds of tobacco purchased but also in the modes of consumption employed. While those among the lower ranks of society continued to smoke cut tobacco in long pipes, the elite increasingly switched to snuff and water-pipe tobacco. Over time, these more fashionable ways of consuming tobacco also percolated down the social hierarchy to the “middling sort” in Chinese cities. By the nineteenth century, many consumers living in the most prosperous and commercially vibrant areas of the country, especially in Beijing, Guangzhou, and the cities of the Lower Yangzi region, preferred these more “refined” forms of tobacco. Differentiated patterns of tobacco use, already under way as the eighteenth century began, continued to change in the nineteenth century as cigars and cigarettes were introduced into coastal cities from overseas.

Elite abandonment of shredded tobacco for snuff during the eighteenth century and the subsequent popularity of the water pipe in the early nineteenth century occurred within a broader world context. Both snuff and the water pipe were initially imports from abroad: one from the capitals of Europe and the other from the bazaars and coffeehouses of the Islamic and Indian Ocean worlds. The Chinese readily appropriated and transformed these foreign goods, just as they had earlier embraced loose tobacco smoked in the Amerindian-style pipe. Their success in developing indigenous forms of snuff, snuff containers, water-pipe tobacco, and water pipes should not obscure the fact that style-conscious Chinese were participating in a globalized culture of fashionable tobacco consumption. In tracing changing modes of tobacco use in China from about 1750 to 1900, this chapter thus underscores the interactive nature of Chinese local smoking culture with broader transregional trends. Importation of the industrial cigarette at the end of the nineteenth century was not a radical rupture with the past but was rather a further manifestation of this earlier cosmopolitan heritage.

THE CONQUEST ELITE’S IMPORTED SNUFF

Pipe tobacco, even the highest-quality kind imported from distant places and smoked in the most beautiful long-stemmed pipes, was nonetheless something that elite smokers shared with their social inferiors. It could thus be difficult to sort out what made smoking a token of elegance rather than a mark of vulgarity. The guides to tobacco published in the eighteenth century, particularly Lu Yao’s *Tobacco Manual*, were written at least partially to address such concerns.¹ In addition to providing advice about fine tobacco and the proper utensils to be used, Lu Yao laid out several rules of etiquette to be followed by refined smokers. For example, accord-

ing to Lu Yao it was inappropriate for a gentleman to smoke when listening to the zither or when looking at plum blossoms. Moreover, it was imbecilic to smoke when walking on fallen leaves, when standing near a pile of old paper, and so on. As Timothy Brook points out, Lu Yao's long list of the dos and don'ts of smoking was intended above all to delineate the styles and forms that set the refined smoker apart from the uncouth one.² The challenge for the elite consumer of tobacco, of course, was the difficulty of maintaining a clearly superior pose in a society in which smoking was so common. Careful selection of premium brands, the use of distinctive pipes, and adherence to certain rules of etiquette might signal one's elevated status to a degree, but in the end, the pipe-smoking literatus or high official was engaging in exactly the same behavior as the rustic peasant or humble laborer.

The ease with which a person from the upper tiers of society could descend into vulgarity by smoking a pipe is underscored by representations in the novel *Tales of Romantic Heroes*, mentioned in chapter 3. In this text both virtuous and villainous male and female characters smoke.³ However, virtually everyone who uses tobacco comes either from the countryside or from a lower-class background. With one exception, none of the urban characters with higher social status smoke the long pipe. The one educated smoker, an elderly teacher, is portrayed in extremely unflattering terms: he has oily dandruff flakes in his hair, and his pipe has not been cleaned in so long that its mouthpiece is permanently affixed to its stem. Nominally a member of the elite, the teacher does not even know how to properly prepare or care for his expensive ebony pipe; instead of removing the old ash, he stuffs fresh tobacco into the bowl over and over again until the pipe is so filthy "it is impossible to clean until the day he dies." This man and his smoking habits are so disgusting that none of the servants want to help him light up; in the end the young girl called upon to do so lets him do it by himself. The teacher then becomes so engrossed in conversation that he does not realize when his pipe fills up with saliva.⁴ This account, while fictionalized, associates pipe smoking with a general lack of cultivation. No wonder An Xuehai, the one truly urbane gentleman in the novel, continually insists that he "does not know how to smoke" and sticks to drinking Shaoxing wine instead.⁵

Although *Tales of Romantic Heroes* was written toward the end of the nineteenth century, pipe smoking was already viewed by some as a vulgar and nasty habit in the early Qing period. As noted earlier, the Kangxi emperor reportedly could not abide pipe tobacco.⁶ Yet it was during Kangxi's reign that a new form of tobacco—snuff or "nose tobacco" (*biyan*)—became extremely fashionable among both the powerful conquest elite in Beijing and influential literati in the Jiangnan region. Snuff and snuff bottles were required accessories for well-connected Qing patricians throughout the eighteenth century. They were frequently used in the elaborate system of gift exchange at the highest echelons of society. Snuff in turn came to be popularized such that by the early nineteenth century it too was consumed by those of somewhat lower rank and status, especially in the port city of Guangzhou.

Pulverized tobacco inhaled through the nose had been employed by Amerindians for millennia, but its use by others became widespread only in the seventeenth century. After Spanish pharmacists began pushing tobacco as a cure for all ills in the late sixteenth century, snuff began to be manufactured in Spain.⁷ Initially, upper-class Andalusians considered snuff beneath them, but gradually over time, Spanish elites came to favor this form. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the Spanish and Portuguese royal tobacco monopolies were producing snuff in fairly large quantities to meet growing demand in other parts of Europe as well. Snuff became all the rage among the French beau monde in the 1720s. It was regarded as a particularly refined mode of consuming tobacco, and snuff-taking subsequently developed into a highly elaborate and ritualized practice with its own codes of etiquette. Throughout the eighteenth century, snuff occupied an important place in European political affairs and diplomatic relations, and the snuff box became “the great political gift of the age.”⁸

As is well known, snuff became fashionable in the eighteenth-century Qing court as well. Jesuit missionaries were probably the first to bring snuff into China, though when this initially occurred is unclear.⁹ In 1684, during his first southern tour, Kangxi met with Jesuit Fathers Jean Valat (1614–96) and Giandomenico (Jean-Dominique) Gabiani (1623–94) in Nanjing, who presented him with European snuff, a substance with which he already seemed acquainted.¹⁰ In 1713, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, the Jesuits Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720) and Simeão (Joseph) Soares (b. 1641), gave Kangxi two bottles of snuff, and the following year they presented the emperor with twelve bottles of *amostrinha* on behalf of the Senate of the City of Macau.¹¹

Amostrinha, a finely ground snuff made in Portugal from Brazilian twist tobacco, appears to have been especially popular with members of the Qing court, and it became a ubiquitous feature in the conduct of Sino-European diplomatic relations over the course of the eighteenth century.¹² At the time, Brazilian tobacco grown in the province of Bahia was the most widely disseminated type of tobacco in the world, with well-established markets in Europe, North America, and Asia.¹³ Bahian growers specialized in twist or rolled tobacco, using an elaborate process of curing that gave the tobacco a distinctive, sweet aromatic flavor.¹⁴ Repeatedly twisting the tobacco around a sturdy pole to form balls (*rolos*) while soaking it in oils and herbs imparted its unique flavor, and also added a green sheen that served to better preserve the tobacco as it was transported across the oceans.¹⁵

Throughout the eighteenth century, European rulers and their emissaries routinely included fine Brazilian snuff and European snuff boxes as gifts in their presentations to Qing emperors.¹⁶ Roman church officials, on a mission seeking to extend papal authority over Chinese Catholics and to assert control over Jesuit missionaries in Beijing, brought Brazilian snuff and Venetian-manufactured snuffboxes to Kangxi in 1705–6 and again in 1720. In 1725, the third and final embassy from Rome sent by Pope Benedict XIII to congratulate Yongzheng on his ascension to the imperial

throne brought “eleven ivory embedded snuffboxes; a pair of snuff canisters and leisure items such as snuff bottles.” The envoy also carried fifty jars of snuff “made in Naples in the manner of Brazil.”¹⁷ Two years later, in 1727, the Portuguese ambassador offered carved crystal bottles with amostrinha and snuffboxes manufactured in Paris and London.¹⁸ Brazilian snuff and European snuffboxes were still very much in vogue in the imperial court at the end of the eighteenth century when Dutch ambassador Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812) presented the emperor with gold and amber snuffboxes and his ministers with tobacco from Brazil in 1797–98.¹⁹

While amostrinha and other high-quality snuff made with Brazilian tobacco were preferred by members of the Qing court, snuff manufactured in other European countries, particularly Spain and France, also found favor. Spanish snuff, possibly carried across the Pacific from New Spain as part of the galleon trade, entered China via Manila.²⁰ French snuff was imported in packages bearing the fleur-de-lis. Sometime in the eighteenth century, Beijing snuff shops adopted this symbol as their emblem.²¹ Early dealers in foreign snuff, many of whom were Roman Catholic converts, were said to have made immense fortunes in Beijing.²²

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, some domestically produced snuff, made in the Beijing Imperial Workshops from tobacco grown in Yanzhou (Shandong), began to appear.²³ Wang Shizhen was among the first to note the indigenous manufacture of “tobacco for the nose:”

Recently in the capital, they make a kind of snuff which can brighten the eyes and which can be used to avoid epidemic disease . . . [Glass snuff] bottles come in many different shapes and a variety of colors: red, purple, yellow, white, black, green and so forth. The most admired are white like rock crystal and red like crimson mica. Ivory is used to make the spoon, which is used to convey snuff to the nose and is then replaced in the bottle. These items are all manufactured in the Imperial Household Department workshops. There are also some that are made in imitation by those in the general population, but they are never up to such standards.²⁴

Both the Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors are known to have enjoyed snuff prepared according to a particular recipe, now lost, in the Palace Workshops (*zao-ban chu*).²⁵ The Guangzhou Imperial Workshops produced a wide variety of snuff containers beginning in the early eighteenth century and probably also began manufacturing snuff at that time.²⁶ Certainly by the Qianlong era, Guangdong was an important producer of domestic snuff, as attested to by Li Tiaoyuan (1734–1803) in the miscellaneous notes he made while residing in that province.²⁷ Certain areas of Sichuan became famous for snuff tobacco, and it was also produced in Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

Many high-ranking officials in Beijing appear to have genuinely preferred foreign snuff over that produced at home. There was probably a discernable discrepancy in the flavor of snuff produced in Europe versus China, though the allure of the exotic

may also have played a role. While Chinese snuff bottles were exquisitely crafted, domestically produced snuff itself was rather plain in comparison to the highly processed European forms. Chinese snuff dealers merely crushed dried tobacco leaves in a mortar to a fine powder and then sifted it several times. They then scented the powder with “flowers and essences” for immediate use.²⁸ This technique was also used in Europe to produce simple and inexpensive types of snuff. For the premium product, however, manufacturers took much more time and care. Tobacco leaves, already coated repeatedly with oils and herbs and hardened into twisted ropes or spiraled *carottes*, were ground to a fine powder. The pulverized tobacco was then moistened repeatedly with a mixture of vinegar and alcohol or boiled to help it mature. Finally flavors and perfumes were added. A wide variety of different snuff tobaccos were produced in this manner, each carrying a name that conveyed the meaning of its origins and essence. Thus *tabac d’Espagne* was reddish, perfumed with civet, musk, and cloves, while *tabac de Pongibon* was yellow and perfumed with civet and sweetened with sugar, orange flowers, and jasmine.²⁹ Preparation of high-quality snuff could take weeks. The best or most expensive snuff was laid down for several years or even decades. For true connoisseurs, the longer the fermentation process, the better.

Even after it began to be made within China, snuff retained its association with the outside world. Indeed, as James Millward has pointed out, the Qing culture of snuff and snuff bottles displayed an “exuberant cosmopolitanism.” Widely eclectic and syncretic in material, technique, and subject matter, snuff bottles themselves “often positively celebrated the foreign.”³⁰ Nephrite jade from the mountains and deserts of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang); coral from the Japan Sea; jadeite and amber from Burma; painted enamels on gold, copper, and glass (a technique learned from Swiss and French Jesuits); ivory from southern Asia and Africa; and amber from the Baltic, along with glass, porcelain, bamboo, lacquer, and so on, were all ingeniously crafted into the beautiful handheld objects known as snuff bottles.³¹ Some bottles portrayed European subjects: blond women and children, foreign sailors, gentrified dandies wearing three-cornered hats, and pastoral scenes complete with country mansions.³² Others replicated European watch faces, another imported object very much in vogue among the eighteenth-century Chinese elite.³³

Qing-era writings about snuff describe it matter-of-factly as a product imported from overseas. The “Snuff Bottle Song” (*Biyang ge*) of Kang Faxiang (eighteenth century), for example, highlights its foreign origins. After an extended ode praising snuff bottles made with Burmese jade, coral ones “found by crisscrossing the azure seas,” and those meticulously crafted in Chinese lacquer and porcelain, Kang Faxiang turns to the qualities of snuff itself:

A marvelous plant, the absolutely unique tobacco.
And this wonder drug is also not the *yabulu*³⁴
But a special kind of foreign tobacco.

Not produced in China but imported from abroad.
 It is its virtue to clear out one's Blood,
 To liven up the nostrils, and reinvigorate one's spirit.³⁵

In a passage from Cao Xueqin's (1715?–1763) masterpiece *Shitou ji* (The Story of the Stone) the main character, Jia Baoyu, highlights the exoticism of snuff and snuffboxes as he attempts to help one of his maids get over a cold: "Fetch the snuff," Bao-yu commanded. 'If sniffing it can make her give a few good sneezes, it will clear her head.' Musk went off to do his bidding and presently returned with a little oval box made of aventurine, edged and embellished with gold. Bao-yu took it from her and opened it. Inside the lid, in West Ocean enamel, was a picture of a naked, yellow-haired girl with wings of flesh. The box contained snuff of the very highest quality, which foreigners call *uncia*.³⁶ The story continues with Skybright, the sick maid, inhaling the snuff and Baoyu deciding that once she has started using European medicine, she might as well "go the whole hog." He sends Musk to a neighbor's for "some of that Western stuff she uses to make her headache plasters with."

This identification of snuff with Europeans was not just a literary convention but had some basis in fact. Throughout much of the eighteenth century, the highest-quality snuff circulating in the exalted circles such as Baoyu (and the author Cao Xueqin) belonged to continued to come from tobacco grown in the Americas and manufactured in Europe. Most of this entered China via Macau through the agency of the Junta do Tabaco, a Goa-based administrative arm of the Royal Portuguese Tobacco Monopoly.³⁷ Believing that an immense market for Brazilian tobacco existed in China, the Portuguese sought to extend their tobacco exports to Macau for sale in Guangzhou beginning in 1712.³⁸ By that time tobacco was already a well established crop in China, so nothing much came of these plans, with one important exception: while there was absolutely no market for imported pipe tobacco, there was a small but growing demand for high-quality snuff, especially for Portuguese-made amostrinha. Whereas in 1716, the governor of Macau estimated that the annual market for Brazilian snuff tobacco in the colony was only two hundred *arráteis* (pounds), by 1720, this had increased somewhat to about two thousand *arráteis*, with more than one-half being in amostrinha.³⁹ Although small in volume, these imports could be quite lucrative. Proceeds from sales of Brazilian snuff in Macau were used to purchase gold, which in turn was traded for highly profitable commodities (such as pepper) in Goa that were then sold in Lisbon. George Souza notes that in 1720, the amount of Brazilian tobacco re-exported to China was one-tenth or less of the tiny amounts shipped from Lisbon to Goa. Nonetheless, the revenue generated by snuff sales in China in that year was one-fifth of the revenue generated by the same commodity in Goa.⁴⁰ Such profit maximization, even on very small quantities of amostrinha, made it worthwhile for the Portuguese to continue to ship Brazilian tobacco products to Macau throughout the eighteenth century. Initially such shipments were highly irregular, but

from 1758 on, shipments of amostrinha arrived annually in the colony. Portuguese imports of Brazilian tobacco into China continued into the nineteenth century, though they fell off sharply after the Brazilian independence struggle of 1822–23.⁴¹

Brazilian snuff imported into Macau was sold or given to Qing officials in Guangzhou for presentation to the emperor. In 1719, for example, the Senate of Macau sent forty-eight bottles of amostrinha to the Kangxi emperor via this channel.⁴² In 1721, the Senate forwarded snuff to the Qing court, including the top grade “flying snuff” (*feiyan*) and the second-best grade of “bean snuff” (*douyan*).⁴³ According to the *Aomen jilue* (Outline Record of Macau), this “bean snuff” was “as green as the color of a mandarin duck’s head,” a possible reference to the greenish tint of Brazilian twist tobacco. The Senate of Macau also routinely included bottles of amostrinha, along with other gifts, with its annual payment of land rent. Eventually these gifts came to be expected such that every year the procurator of the Macau Senate had to send an annual quota of tobacco and snuff to the Xiangshan magistrate for delivery to Beijing.⁴⁴

Beyond the requisite snuff for the Imperial Household, the Portuguese also gave gifts of amostrinha to various Guangdong authorities in order to facilitate trade at Guangzhou.⁴⁵ As an item of high value with a distant provenance, Portuguese snuff was an excellent commodity for this purpose. Light and easily carried yet exotic and rare, gifts of amostrinha could be presented to officials to obtain permission to trade at the annual fairs in Guangzhou. Individual officials in turn sent bottles and even chests of imported Brazilian snuff to the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong emperors as personal tribute throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁶

Unlike pipe tobacco, which had trickled up and in from the spatial and social margins to become widely consumed by all groups of society, snuff entered China primarily through diplomatic channels and initially circulated only among those with connections to the political center. As such, it retained a special status well into the Qing period as a singularly upper-crust mode of consuming tobacco. While no sumptuary laws restricted snuff consumption to the conquest elite in Beijing or to those with ties to the Imperial Household, its rarity effectively made it a restricted commodity, initially used only by those in the highest ranks of society. Over time, however, the practice of snuff-taking and the use of foreign snuff fanned out from Beijing via the Qing gift economy to the urban cosmopolitan elite in the Jiangnan and Lingnan regions. In Guangzhou, contacts between Qing officials, Cohong merchants, and foreign traders allowed imported snuff to slip from the orbit of diplomatic and tributary relations to circulate more broadly throughout elite society as a marketable commodity as well.

TRICKLE-DOWN SNUFF

Having received fine snuff from European diplomats, the Imperial Workshops, or officials serving in Guangdong, the emperor in turn presented it to imperial relatives, high officials, artistic and literary notables, and foreign emissaries as part of

the intricate system of gift giving that lubricated the hierarchically arranged social and political relations of late imperial China. Some was redistributed to other Asian royals as part of the tributary system that characterized China's interstate relations with its neighbors.⁴⁷ More significant for the downward social diffusion of snuff that is my focus here, the Kangxi emperor began making presentations of snuff to numerous Han Chinese officials during his tours of the Jiangnan region in the early eighteenth century. One interchange of this sort was between Kangxi and his tutor, Gao Shiqi (1645–1703). In 1703, upon the occasion of Gao's retirement, Kangxi presented him with two snuff bottles (including one of his own) and a jar of foreign snuff.⁴⁸ Kangxi similarly bestowed a glass snuff bottle and imported snuff on Wang Hao (jinshi, 1703) in the same year and gave two gold-flecked blue-glass snuff bottles to Song Luo in 1705 on his tour of Suzhou.⁴⁹ Such gifts continued under the Yongzheng emperor and expanded greatly under Qianlong; in 1755 the imperial workshops provided Qianlong with five hundred glass snuff bottles to be used as gifts (largely for Mongol allies helping to fight the Zunghars) during the emperor's sojourn at Rehe (Chengde).⁵⁰

High-ranking officials in turn gifted imported snuff and finely crafted bottles to their own clients and friends. The famous seventeenth-century artist Shitao (1642–1707), who was commissioned to paint portraits of Gao Shiqi, Wang Shizhen, and other luminaries with connections to the court, reportedly owned a snuffbox made from a human skull that may have been given him by the emperor himself.⁵¹ Others of lower social rank also received snuff receptacles as gifts from members of the Imperial Household or from their patrons in the ranks of the literati. In the course of Qianlong's second southern tour in 1757, his mother was said to have presented a snuff bottle to the Shrine of Compassionate Deliverance (Huiji ci) in Huai'an Prefecture, Jiangsu.⁵² Zhu Lüzhong (eighteenth century), compiler of *Tanbagu bai yong* (One Hundred Songs about Tobacco), refers to varied types of snuff bottles he obtained in the capital for presentation to two intimates of differing social status back home: "For the young man, it's bright translucent glass; for the concubine, it's plain glass."⁵³ Such exchanges were thus not only an important part of upper-class eighteenth-century diplomatic, court, and banner life; they also initiated the process whereby snuff connoisseurship moved outward and downward from the imperial center to the provinces.

While fine snuff circulated first and foremost as a gift item in the upper stratosphere of the Qing elite, as the century progressed, it gradually began to enter the market economy. This occurred first in Guangzhou. As the port of entry after 1760 for all Euro-American goods, Guangzhou emerged in the next decades not only as the key node for international trade but also as a prominent center for scholarship and the arts, including the culture of snuff. Snuff-taking, by then widely regarded as a more refined mode of tobacco consumption than pipe smoking, appealed to the wealthy Cohong merchants aspiring to enter the ranks of the literati. Able to acquire high-quality snuff from their foreign contacts, either as gifts or through purchase, they in

turn made presentations of this rare commodity to Qing officials or to the local cultural elite. It was this merchant-scholar-official nexus that allowed imported snuff to become more broadly popularized in other urban areas in the nineteenth century.

Among European producers, the Royal Portuguese Tobacco Monopoly enjoyed the greatest success in the small niche market that developed in Guangzhou for this luxury good.⁵⁴ This was partially due to the advantages Portugal enjoyed over the Spanish or French royal tobacco monopolies by virtue of its vanguard colony at Macau. More important, the preferences of Chinese consumers for the strong sweet flavor of Brazilian twist tobacco ensured its welcome both in the halls of power and in the marketplace. Indeed, Portugal's greatest competitors in the snuff trade were not other royal monopolies but entrepreneurial "country traders," particularly the English, who bypassed the royal monopoly system altogether and smuggled snuff tobacco into southern China from the Indian port of Surat.⁵⁵ A large percentage of the tobacco grown in Brazil, possibly as much as half, was diverted into a flourishing illegal trade with networks throughout the global economy, including Goa, Macau, and Guangzhou. Bahian growers often depended on English or Dutch intermediaries to transport their tobacco to Asia, a service Portugal's commercial rivals were more than willing to provide.⁵⁶

The Brazilian snuff imported into China, whether legally or illegally, inevitably passed through Guangzhou and the hands of the Cohong merchants. As the sole agents authorized by the emperor to conduct trade with Europeans after 1760, these merchants were in a unique position to obtain highly prized foreign snuff either for their own consumption, for gifting to local notables, or for resale. Along with the clocks, watches, and mechanical toys that constituted the bulk of the "sing-song" trade, the Cohong merchants forwarded most of this precious foreign snuff for presentation to the emperor. But again like European watches, and other such goods, at least some of it ended up in the marketplace, circulating more widely among sophisticated Chinese urbanites in southern China as well.⁵⁷

Commercialized snuff appears to have taken off in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. When European country traders first began calling in at Guangzhou in larger numbers in the mid-eighteenth century, the elite practice of snuff consumption was largely hidden from view. Some concluded that "the Chinese" simply did not use it. Pehr (Peter) Osbeck (1723–1805), a Swedish shipboard chaplain who was in Guangzhou from August 1750 to January 1751, did not encounter any snuff-takers among the merchants he dealt with. On this basis he stated boldly: "They [the Chinese] do not cut their tobacco, but smoke the leaves such as they naturally are. Taking snuff and chewing of tobacco are not yet in fashion among them."⁵⁸ His comment suggests that snuff was not yet common among the Guangzhou commercial elite.

When Lord Macartney traveled to both Guangzhou and Beijing at the end of the eighteenth century (1793–94), he found snuff circulating more widely within southern China, although in his account and that of his secretary, Sir George Staunton, it

remained a habit largely confined to scholar-officials. Macartney wrote in his journal: “They [the Chinese] almost all smoke tobacco and consider it as a compliment to offer each other a whiff of their pipes. They also take snuff, mostly Brazil, but in small quantities, not in that beastly profusion which is often practised in England, even by some of our fine ladies.”⁵⁹ Staunton further elaborated on the use of snuff by officials: “Tobacco is taken in powder likewise by the Chinese. A mandarine is seldom without a small ornamental phial to hold his snuff, of which he occasionally pours a quantity, equal to a pinch, upon the back of his left hand, between the thumb and index, which approaching to his nose he snuffs up several times a day.”⁶⁰

In contrast to these eighteenth-century accounts, European travelers in the early nineteenth century made more frequent references to snuff-taking among the Guangzhou commercial elite. John Francis Davis (1795–1890), employed as a clerk by the British East India Company in 1813 (later to become the second governor of Hong Kong), noted that he seldom encountered a Chinese merchant without his snuff bottle.⁶¹ Clarke Abel, traveling from Guangzhou to Beijing with Lord Amherst’s mission, liberally distributed Brazilian snuff as gifts and gratuities to all he met along his journey:

I should have been puzzled to substitute any adequate form of donation, if I had not fortunately ascertained the excessive fondness of all classes of the Chinese for snuff. Sir George Staunton having put in my possession several bottles of Brasil snuff, which they prefer to any other, I always started on my excursions furnished with a good supply, in small packets, and found them accepted as a sufficient and grateful reward for any service. It was highly amusing to see the eagerness with which any one who had just obtained a packet was assaulted by those about him. The instant the paper was opened, thumbs and fingers from all quarters speedily emptied its contents.⁶²

This anecdote suggests a degree of acquaintance with foreign snuff on the part of ordinary Chinese by the time (1816–17) Abel was traveling throughout the empire. In the years between Osbeck’s visit and Abel’s, snuff-taking appears to have become more widely practiced in Guangzhou, or at least more visible to foreign visitors.

Foreigners trading in Guangzhou in the early 1780s, perhaps somewhat optimistically, perceived an increased demand in the city for this product and acted accordingly by increasing imports.⁶³ The Portuguese took the lead in this endeavor, but traders of other nationalities soon sought to catch up. Imports of snuff into Guangzhou from Macau intensified after 1781. This was partially because in that year the annual shipment of Brazilian snuff from Goa was greater than expected. More important, stores of snuff had been accumulating in Macanese warehouses since 1767, when the Portuguese Junta do Tabaco jacked up prices so high that the Chinese *hong* merchants simply refused to buy much. All of the tobacco in storage as well as that arriving in the annual shipments from Goa suddenly became available on the Guangzhou market in 1784, when the Junta agreed to sell the accumu-

lated snuff at a lower price. In 1786 Monsieur Helfflinger, a French observer, perhaps witnessing this sudden infusion of snuff tobacco from Macau, noted that the importation of Brazilian tobacco constituted one of the principal activities of the Portuguese colony. He further urged the French to imitate the Portuguese example, as the Iberians conducted such trade “much to their advantage.”⁶⁴

The Americans, new to the China trade, carried Chesapeake snuff on several voyages to Guangzhou in the 1780s (in the years before the extremely profitable trade in Pacific Northwest sea otter pelts and Turkish opium made all other cargoes less attractive to investors). The small, eighty-five-ton sloop *Experiment*, the second ship to sail from the United States directly to Guangzhou (in the wake of the extremely successful voyage in 1784–85 of the *Empress of China*), carried four casks of “best Scotch snuff” to Canton along with its main cargo of American ginseng.⁶⁵ By the time the *Experiment* arrived in Guangzhou in the summer of 1786, the price for ginseng had fallen significantly, and the subscribers realized only about 8 percent on their initial investment (in contrast to the 25 to 30 percent profit made by subscribers in the initial *Empress of China* venture). Chouqua (Chen Zuguan, 1705–89), the hong merchant who purchased the *Experiment*’s cargo, paid only \$100 for the entire 1,078 pounds of snuff that had cost the shipper \$305, and the cask of tobacco sold in Guangzhou went for half of its cost in New York. It would appear that either the market for foreign snuff had become saturated by the time the *Experiment* off-loaded its cargo, Scotch snuff made from Chesapeake tobacco failed to impress those accustomed to the Brazilian product, or Chouqua was a shrewd trader who drove a hard bargain. Still, U.S. ships continued to include American tobacco and snuff among their cargoes: the *Astrea*, which sailed for Guangzhou in 1789, carried more than one thousand bottles of snuff and 552 pounds of manufactured tobacco.⁶⁶ At least some of this snuff was intended as “crumshaw”—gifts used to ease business transactions—from the Americans to their new contacts among the Cantonese hong merchants.

The Cohong merchants may have been among the first nonliterati to participate in the Qing culture of snuff connoisseurship. Like the salt merchants of Yangzhou a century earlier, the Cohong merchants were nominally of lower social rank than the Lingnan scholarly elite, but they nonetheless served as the sponsors and patrons of local Cantonese scholars and artists even as they strove to take on the trappings of literati status for themselves.⁶⁷ Snuff-taking and the exchange of snuff bottles seems to be one aspect of the scholar-official’s lifestyle that they readily appropriated. Commercial portrait artists working in the port in the early decades of the nineteenth century rendered both merchants and “men of letters” holding snuff bottles in their hands.⁶⁸ While we cannot be sure that the men portrayed in these paintings actually used snuff, we can conclude that the snuff containers they elected to hold while sitting for portraits were intended to signify their entry into the ranks of the cultural elite.

By the mid-nineteenth century, fashion-conscious Guangzhou consumers no longer needed political connections to obtain imported snuff, because commercial

supplies had greatly increased. When the Treaty of Tianjin was signed in 1858, during the second phase of the opium wars (1856–60), foreign snuff was the only tobacco product on which a specific rate of duty was fixed, suggesting its value was significant enough for the signatories (the Americans, French, and Russians) to single it out.⁶⁹ Eventually many more foreign merchants got into the snuff business and supplies of commercial snuff increased accordingly.⁷⁰ Now anyone with money could purchase the many varieties of snuff tobacco coming in from Brazil, Cuba, the Philippines, or Europe.

Although the extent to which snuff use trickled down to ordinary consumers in the nineteenth century is not clear, this trend was commented upon by contemporaries. Shen Yu (1779–1851), the author of *Qiuyin zaji* (Miscellaneous Jottings made in the Autumn Shade), noted, with some exaggeration, that “the use of snuff bottles arose with the present dynasty [Qing], and at first this custom was limited to the Eight Banners and to the official class, but in recent times no small tradesman or even lowly shepherd boy would be without one.”⁷¹ While it seems unlikely that “lowly shepherds” were partaking of imported snuff, many tradesmen, petty merchants, and lowly functionaries undoubtedly were.

More concrete evidence of the popularization of snuff in the nineteenth century comes from the history of snuff containers themselves. The sheer number of snuff bottles manufactured in the Daoguang and Jiaqing periods still available to collectors indicates an expansion in production after 1800. Moreover, from the Jiaqing period forward, snuff bottles began to be made from a larger and less expensive range of materials. Whereas in the eighteenth century the imperial workshops produced delicate bottles of glass, jade, and painted enamel wares, in the nineteenth century, porcelain bottles, especially those decorated with cobalt blue and white underglaze, relatively cheap to manufacture in large quantities, were most numerous.⁷²

The vast majority of porcelain snuff bottles from the Jiaqing and Daoguang periods are fairly plain, suggesting that they were intended for everyday use.⁷³ This in turn indicates the widespread demand for powdered tobacco during its heyday in the early part of the century. To be sure, snuff-taking remained largely limited to elite consumers in Beijing, Guangzhou, and the cities of the Jiangnan region, and even there its use was minuscule when compared to the much larger demand for domestically produced pipe tobacco that characterized consumption patterns in other areas. Evariste-Régis Huc underscored both this regional and social disparity in patterns of tobacco consumption when he noted: “Snuff-takers are less numerous in China than smokers; tobacco in powder . . . is little used except by Mantchoo [*sic*] Tartars and Mongols, and among the Mandarins and lettered classes. The Tartars are real amateurs [connoisseurs], and snuff is with them an object of the most important consideration. For the Chinese aristocracy, on the contrary, it is a mere luxury. . . . Peking is still *par excellence*, the locality of snuff-takers.”⁷⁴ Nonetheless, by the early nineteenth century, snuff-taking had clearly diffused both

more widely throughout the empire and further down the social scale than had been the case in the eighteenth century.

Yet another indication of the popularization of snuff comes from the history of Qing publishing. Books about snuff connoisseurship began to appear only in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The production of such texts, similar in form and content to the manuals on pipe smoking that had emerged a century earlier, was a sure sign that the uninitiated, feeling insecure about their own knowledge of the aesthetics and style of snuffing, sought advice from these commercialized guidebooks. First published was Zhao Zhiqian's authoritative and comprehensive monograph on snuff and snuff bottles, the *Yonglu xianjie* (Leisurely Investigation into the Realm of Yong Lu). Written between 1864 and 1880, the *Yonglu xianjie* first appeared in 1880 in a collection of Zhao's works.⁷⁵ This was followed in 1889 by Zhou Jixu's *Yonglu xianjie pingyu* (Comments on the *Yonglu xianjie*) and several similar texts.⁷⁶

Like Lu Yao's earlier inventory of pipe tobacco, these essays are centrally concerned with establishing the practices that set refined snuff consumption off from more vulgar forms. The author of the first such guidebook, Zhao Zhiqian (1829–84), was himself relatively new to the ranks of the scholar-official class. Zhao came from a Zhejiang merchant family but passed the juren exam in 1859 and entered the imperial bureaucracy, serving as acting magistrate in various places in Jiangxi.⁷⁷ Clearly a snuff enthusiast, Zhao Zhiqian disdained those who participated in the culture of snuff with no knowledge of its intricate subtleties or history. In his manual, he complains about “successful officials and great merchants” who argue over which type of jade should be the most highly esteemed.⁷⁸ Zhao laments the lack of genuine scholarship on the subject and is critical of nineteenth-century innovations in snuff bottle design, carping that the current fad for bottles with narrower mouths is “a complete revision of the old way of doing things. When the vulgar with their little knowledge use it as the basis of argument, it always turns out to be the most superficial nonsense!”⁷⁹

For Zhao, the real problem with the contemporary nineteenth-century culture of snuff was its broader appeal to consumers beyond a small cadre of elite scholar-officials. In his view, true connoisseurship is by its very nature elitist and therefore beyond the comprehension (or pocketbook) of hoi polloi. In one passage, Zhao extols the fine qualities of a set of very expensive snuff bottles, the primary benefit of which is that they are not accessible to the ordinary consumer: “In the capital there is something called ‘The Thirteen Grand Guardians.’ Each box contains thirteen snuff bottles, of which some are square and some are triangular, and these are extremely elegant. In 1871, I happened to see one by chance. As the entire price was astronomical, it was not something that poor people would dare stop in to ask about.” Similarly, Zhao explains that the real treasures to be found among antique snuff bottles could not be purchased in shops but were held as heirlooms in “old families and prominent households.”⁸⁰

Zhao Zhiqian's text concerns itself primarily with explaining what constitutes the best or highest-quality snuff and the most esteemed types of bottles. In this regard, for all of its elitist bravado, it served as a primer for those from more humble backgrounds who wished to participate in the culture of snuff but who did not necessarily know the most refined ways of doing so. For example, Zhao advises those readers who might be confused by the many grades of snuff available in the marketplace to distinguish among "nine ranks" just as they might do with officials: "One should go no further than those that can be listed as 'upper middle.' There are certainly a great number that fall below this grade, but [as with lesser officials] the names of those in this pedestrian group are too numerous to record."⁸¹

Such a passage addresses the anxieties of fashion-conscious consumers seeking to rise above mediocrity through the display of fine material things rather than through scholarly achievement—the only option for many among the lower gentry in the nineteenth century. Denied entry into the ranks of officialdom as a result of rapid population increase and the stagnant number of bureaucratic positions, many men from families such as Zhao's had money and education but no imperial degree. While the audience for Zhao's manual could buy the expensive snuff he recommended, they did not necessarily possess the same high status as those who had traditionally used snuff. Along with similar guidebooks of this genre, Zhao Zhiqian's handbook thus indicates that snuff-taking had broadened out and trickled down the social scale. Snuff was now a common everyday luxury item that could be obtained by anyone willing and able to pay for it.

By the late nineteenth century, as with pipe tobacco, there was wide variation in the types of imported snuff available in China's major cities. Inexpensive snuff produced in China catered to the "very poorest classes," while that from France, Austria, Germany, and Italy occupied the middle price range. The most expensive snuff continued to be imported by Portuguese and Spanish traders, but now these products originated in Cuba or the Philippines rather than Brazil. Parsi traders in China sold snuff made from Persian-, Arabian-, and Indian-grown tobacco. English firms also traded snuff to a "considerable" degree, though American-made snuff was "practically shut out of the market," at least according to American entrepreneurs seeking to get in on this trade.⁸²

In the eyes (or noses) of Chinese connoisseurs such as Zhao Zhiqian, these newer varieties from far-flung places simply did not measure up to classic Brazilian *amostrinha*. Zhao was offended by the notion that fine snuff was now being transported on steamships ("the aroma of coal and dampness accumulates") and that it was being carried along with "cottons and silks, leads and tins, furs and leathers, all of which seem to have the odor of sheep."⁸³ "The snuff that comes off foreign ships is also of inferior quality," Zhao lamented; "it is not at all the kind that used to be had in former times. How true it is!" This nineteenth-century nostalgia on the part of an educated merchant's son for the foreign snuff of old not only reveals

increased hostility toward Euro-American goods in the post–Opium War period but also underscores the value and significance of imported tobacco for eighteenth-century elite (and would-be elite) Chinese consumers of snuff. Such imports may never have been substantial in terms of volume, but their limited circulation among a small circle of politically connected men made them highly desired items of luxury consumption for those aspiring to elite society.

Although the habit of snuff-taking became more widespread in the nineteenth century, it always remained relatively upscale until it faded away along with the Qing dynasty. Nineteenth-century merchants and lower gentry participated in the culture of snuff, but peasants and laborers did not. Nonetheless, the popularization of snuff among petty urbanites and lower gentry in turn made it increasingly less desirable for elite connoisseurs in coastal Jiangnan and Lingnan, and by the end of the century the habit of snuff-taking had retreated northward and inward once again.⁸⁴ Already in 1894, snuff was passé, as one foreign observer noted: “Snuff is seldom served at social gatherings today—it being no longer fashionable. But at private dinners, stag parties, and legation ceremonies, its use is still observed, although each snuffer carries his own private supply these days.”⁸⁵

By the early twentieth century, the use of snuff was no longer a sign of elite status but instead had come to be associated almost exclusively with certain ethnic groups, particularly the Manchus and Mongols.⁸⁶ Several snuff manufacturers—about five or six—were still operating in Beijing during the Republican era. The most famous was still the Tian Hui Zhai, which produced between 300,000 and 400,000 jin (400,000 to 530,000 pounds) of snuff per year. Only 5 percent of this was sold in the city, however. The majority of it was carried to Inner Mongolia, Tibet, or Qinghai. For many Beijing residents, snuff had become completely outmoded, and the only people who still used it were opera singers, ex-officials who had served under the Qing, and “old people with conservative habits.”⁸⁷ By the 1930s, only 1 percent of the estimated 1.2 billion pounds of tobacco consumed annually was taken as snuff, whereas 80 percent continued to be used in the form of pipe tobacco.⁸⁸ Tobacco consumers among the social, cultural, and political elite of Republican-era China rejected snuff entirely, gravitating toward a new form—the imported brand-name cigarette—to mark their superior station in life.

THE LANDED GENTRY’S WATER PIPE

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the emergence of the vogue among the upper elite of smoking special “water tobacco” (*shuiyan*). Initially imported into China from the Islamic world and the Indian Ocean realm in the seventeenth century, Chinese water-pipe tobacco came to be produced primarily in Gansu and western Fujian (see chapter 2). As with snuff-taking, the use of water-pipe tobacco began among the upper echelons of society and only gradually trick-

led down to a broader constituency. In contrast to snuff, however, which remained largely confined to a few cities, water-pipe tobacco came to be widely diffused throughout the entire country. Once it became fashionable, expensive water-pipe tobacco of different varieties and provenance began to circulate not only in China's major cities but among rural gentry as well. The cooler, smoother smoke of specially processed tobacco inhaled through the chambers of the water pipe appealed especially to southern literati and gentry women, partially for the medical reasons outlined in the previous chapter. Status and class played a significant role as well, however, because the water pipe was considered to be more elegant than the long pipe. Indeed, throughout the last century of the Qing dynasty, water pipes served as the classic symbol of the leisurely life of the landed gentry. Eventually, as the urban elite abandoned snuff-taking and pipe smoking in favor of manufactured cigarettes, water pipes became almost exclusively a rural phenomenon, lingering on in many areas of China well into the twentieth century.

Although they initially adopted the water pipe from India or the Middle East, the Chinese eventually developed a distinctive form that was smaller and more transportable than those found elsewhere.⁸⁹ The earliest Chinese water pipes, dating from the Qianlong era, were solid (one-piece) casts of alloyed metal (white silver, bronze, or brass) with long slender stems. The water reservoir was shaped in the form of a cone at the base of the pipe. Some were decorated with lacquer or gold-accented mouthpieces or had small tobacco containers along the side of the pipe.⁹⁰ Eighteenth-century pipes are now extremely rare, suggesting that their usage was quite limited. The absence of Qianlong-era water pipes made from less costly materials indicates that such utensils were likely the sole provenance of the extremely well-to-do or those with high social status.

By the early nineteenth century, the numbers of people using water pipes noticeably expanded. During the Jiaqing and Daoguang periods, water-pipe tobacco, especially that grown near Lanzhou, became something of a fad among the cosmopolitan urban elite. Lanzhou tobacco was specifically handled by entrepreneurs from Tongzhou and Chaoyi counties in east-central Shaanxi, who in the opening decades of the nineteenth century began actively promoting “green fine shred tobacco” (qingtiao yan) to customers in Beijing, Tianjin, and the cities of the Middle Yangzi region as a prophylactic against epidemic disease.⁹¹ Qingtiao yan became extremely popular among the Jiaqing and Daoguang political elite, especially those staying in the summer capital of Chengde. So many merchants brought water-pipe tobacco from Gansu to Chengde in 1817 that the Jiaqing emperor issued an edict warning them that they would be arrested as vagrants if they tried to sell their wares in the resort.⁹² The emperor also asked officials serving in Gansu to persuade farmers there to convert tobacco land back to grain. At least one official, Liang Zhangju (1775–1849), reported that while he had attempted to prohibit the “frequently desired Gansu water-pipe tobacco” from being sold, he was advised against this by

those who argued that to do so would diminish peasant profits in a “barren place” where it was difficult to farm grain successfully.⁹³

The craze for Lanzhou tobacco stimulated innovation in less expensive water pipes made from a wide variety of materials (nickel, zinc, copper, and bamboo). It was during this era that the Chinese water pipe evolved into the hand-held object easily recognized as the classic Chinese design. As with long-stemmed “dry” pipes and snuff bottles, the date of manufacture, the materials used in construction, and the form of the pipe were all reliable indicators of the economic and social status of its owner. Some were finely crafted, elaborately engraved with calligraphy, or decorated with cloisonné or inlaid with ivory. Such pipes, designed to be presented as gifts or displayed in the home, were often inscribed with the names of the people who had commissioned the pipe as well as the name of the recipient. Others, produced for a broader market, were simply stamped with the craftsman’s name, his logo, and a guarantee of authenticity for the particular type of metal used in the pipe’s manufacture. Still others were imprinted with the name of a particular city in a manner reminiscent of contemporary souvenirs.

Chinese water pipes were prized personal possessions often shared communally. Less affluent families typically owned one pipe, which was used by all smokers in the household, while wealthier consumers might have their own pipes for personal use and others for visitors. Detachable mouthpieces made of jade, mother-of-pearl, horn, or amber allowed pipes to be passed around safely among family members, intimates, friends, business contacts, or theatergoers.⁹⁴ Trendsetters in early nineteenth-century Yangzhou, for example, sported fashionable water-pipe tobacco pouches along with jade mouthpieces stuck in their belts as they moved about the streets of the city.⁹⁵

In comparison to long pipes, water pipes were relatively inconvenient to use when out and about. There were small pocket pipes that could be carried in a pouch, but the average size was about twenty-seven centimeters in height and 374 grams in weight.⁹⁶ Moreover, water pipes required cool, clean water, which was not always available when on the road. The relatively stationary nature of water pipes and the cooler smoke they provided led to their widespread preference among certain segments of the population, particularly gentlewomen, southern literati, and the elderly. These were people more likely to be at home or in the studio, where the necessary paraphernalia were close at hand. Although there is no way of knowing the degree to which Chinese elite women preferred water-pipe tobacco over other forms, after about 1800 it seems they generally favored the water pipe. Pictorial evidence suggests that it was considered quite normal for both high-end courtesans and respectable upper-class women to own and use this utensil. Late-nineteenth-century newspaper lithographs, for example, frequently depicted women holding them.⁹⁷ Water pipes were often used as props (along with teacups and flowers) in the many photographic portraits taken of women in Chinese treaty ports during the second half of the nineteenth century (see figure 6).⁹⁸



FIGURE 6. “Chinese Lady.” Chinese Historical Postcard Project (image no. cn00002); Régine Thiriez, Editorial Director. Used with permission.

To be sure, men used water pipes too, a fact indicated by their widespread appearance in nineteenth-century photographic portraits of upper-class men as well as women. Indeed, Régine Thiriez, who has analyzed these portraits in detail, argues that the inclusion of such objects serves primarily to mark class and status rather than gender. According to Thiriez, portraitists all along the China coast used such paraphernalia in very similar ways and did so in response to customers’ demands. The inclusion of water pipes in so many of these portraits, most commis-

sioned by the subjects themselves, signaled the gentility of the client just as snuff bottles had for an earlier generation of portrait sitters.

As suggested by their ubiquity in late Qing photographs, water pipes came within reach of an even wider social spectrum across the nineteenth century.⁹⁹ After the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) and particularly from 1891 to 1921, the Lanzhou tobacco industry expanded greatly such that a truly national market for Gansu water-pipe tobacco emerged. This development could have come about only if demand had broadened among economic classes beyond the top elite. Whereas previously, Tongzhou and Chaoyi merchants had carried qingtiao tobacco to cities in northern China and along the Han River to Hankou, they now transported it all over the country.¹⁰⁰ Jingyang County near Xi'an served as the wholesaling center for redistribution by the Tong-Chao clique to Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Huguang, and Guangdong, as well as towns and cities in northern China. The most important markets, as with other premium regional tobaccos in earlier centuries, were the cities and towns of the Lower Yangzi region. During the late Qing and early Republican eras, in Shanghai alone there were nine firms dealing exclusively in Lanzhou tobacco, and in Nantong there were five. Suzhou had four. By the end of the nineteenth century, the eighty or so family-run tobacco processing firms in Lanzhou were shipping some 9.2 million jin (more than six thousand tons) of Lanzhou tobacco to major urban markets throughout the empire and even overseas.¹⁰¹

By the early twentieth century, when cigarettes began to displace other forms of tobacco, water-pipe tobacco was widely consumed in many parts of rural China as well as by coastal urbanites. During the Republican era, however, city dwellers began to reject water pipes as backward and “feudal,” preferring the “modern” manufactured cigarette. Rural inhabitants and those living in small and midsize towns, however, continued to use the classic “hookah.” This mode of consumption persisted into the 1950s in some rural areas, but after the revolutionary movements of land reform, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution, this practice basically vanished, along with the old landlord class.

The history of tobacco use from about 1750 to 1900 reveals an impulse toward its fashionable consumption among some segments of the population in certain areas of the country. After Portuguese diplomats and Catholic missionaries introduced the European vogue of snuff-taking to the social and political elite, pipe smoking came to be increasingly identified as vulgar. Instead, foreign snuff became *de rigueur* among the Beijing conquest elite, the Jiangnan literati, and the wealthy Cohong merchants in Guangzhou. For much of the eighteenth century, imported snuff from Brazil processed in Portugal was the powdered tobacco most highly favored by the influential political and commercial minority that had access to this rare commodity. Similarly, water-pipe tobacco, more elaborately processed and grown in only select

regions of the country, became quite popular among the elite in the early nineteenth century.

Once imported snuff began to circulate commercially in Beijing and Guangzhou at the end of the eighteenth century, some among the merchant and petty urban-ite classes took to snuffing tobacco. Over the course of the nineteenth century, water-pipe tobacco also began to reach a broader market, becoming the preferred form for elite Chinese women and rural gentry. Just as these older modes of tobacco use were becoming more and more widespread and, in the eyes of some urban elite, increasingly rustic, manufactured cigarettes began to appear. Modern, fashionable, and easily arranged via advertising and mass marketing into hierarchically stratified brands that reflected one's status, cigarettes provided the perfect substitute for "old-fashioned" water pipes and snuff among the emerging urban intelligentsia and new entrepreneurial business classes of Republican China.

Not everyone was so enthralled with cigarettes. In 1944, Wu Zuxiang (1908–94), a preeminent modern writer, identified water pipes and water-pipe tobacco as a uniquely Chinese form of smoking.¹⁰² In an extended essay on the subject, discussed in much greater detail in chapter 8, he extols the "ancient" Chinese practice of smoking tobacco in water pipes as the embodiment of China's unique collective spirit, which he contrasts with the materialism and individualism represented by the "foreign" culture of cigarette smoking. In fact, the history of Chinese water-pipe tobacco, snuff, and even cut tobacco reveals that these modes of consumption were relatively recent innovations that emerged not from China's unique cultural traditions but from the Qing Empire's continued interactions with the outside world. The highest-quality snuff circulating in the markets of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China had a distant provenance in the Bahian region of Brazil. The distinctive Chinese water pipe was the product of China's participation in foreign trade on two fronts: the maritime trading world along the coast and the trade with Central Asia and India conducted along the expanding western border. Even "dry" Chinese pipe tobacco, the most highly localized form of tobacco, produced in many regions of China from the seventeenth century on, was traded internationally. Some among the elite favored tobaccos imported from Japan or Korea, while Chinese merchants carried Chinese tobacco to Southeast Asia, Mongolia, and Siberia in the eighteenth century and then sold it to Europeans for re-export to broader global markets in the nineteenth. When foreign-made cigars and cigarettes began to be imported in the 1880s and 1890s, they were easily incorporated into a highly developed indigenous smoking culture already accustomed to adapting new products from distant lands.

The Emergence of the Chinese Cigarette Industry, 1880–1937

Tobacco use was already pervasive throughout China when the machine-rolled cigarette first began to take hold in Chinese treaty ports toward the end of the nineteenth century. These cities, like other parts of the world where cigarettes began to displace traditional forms of tobacco in the 1880s and 1890s, were directly linked to the globalizing industrial economy. In some ways, the growing popularity of cigarettes in the late Qing and early Republican periods represented a remarkable transformation in consumer preferences in China, just as it did in other markets targeted by newly established transnational tobacco companies. The extraordinary success of the cigarette in China marked a dramatic shift in Chinese smoking culture away from handcrafted “native” pipe tobacco and snuff toward high-volume mechanized and standardized, rolled tobacco products marketed by foreign firms using modern advertising. Packaged and sold at various price levels as a branded product of uniform quality, the global cigarette penetrated deeply into local Chinese society and culture, and cigarettes eventually became the most common form of tobacco used in many parts of the country.

In other ways, the history of the cigarette in China was simply an amplification of earlier patterns of tobacco production, marketing, and consumption. Certainly the mechanized production of cigarettes was novel in China, just as it was in the United States and elsewhere. Nonetheless, cigarette manufacturers benefited greatly from the fact that many Chinese were already habituated to tobacco. The dynamic fashion system of tobacco use already evident in some quarters also facilitated the cigarette’s absorption into China’s local cultures of consumption. Indeed, the process whereby cigarettes came to be incorporated into the everyday lives of ordinary Chinese was not all that different from what had occurred with snuff and water-pipe

tobacco in earlier times. Just as these other upscale tobacco products began as socially proscribed commodities that only gradually trickled down the socioeconomic hierarchy, luxury cigarettes first took hold among urban sophisticates living along the coast and only then spread downward to the lower classes and inward to those in the interior. By the 1930s, cigarettes had become ubiquitous among all social classes in some coastal cities and had made significant inroads among the economic elite in many inland communities as well.

The agent most responsible for introducing the industrial cigarette to local Chinese markets was unquestionably the giant British-American Tobacco Company (BAT). With its enormous production capacity and marketing structures that facilitated distribution down to the village level in many areas of China, BAT was unrivaled in its ability to sell cigarettes to Chinese consumers.¹ As Sherman Cochran has argued, the history of the modern cigarette in twentieth-century China is incomplete without attention to the Chinese merchants, entrepreneurs, and industrialists who expanded the domestic market either by serving as sales representatives for BAT or by creating rival companies that catered to consumers in markets not well served by the foreign corporation.² Within the context of growing Chinese nationalism and the anti-foreign commodity boycotts that took place repeatedly from 1905 into the 1930s, some domestic Chinese cigarette firms, most notably Nanyang Brothers Tobacco (Nanyang xiongdi yancao gongsi), were able to build customer loyalty for their own “national” products. Others such as Huacheng Tobacco (Huacheng yancao gongsi) and Lixing Tobacco (Lixing yanchang) consolidated their consumer base by pitching their brands to particular social groups in distinct locales—Shanghai’s new professional salaried class, petty urbanites, and factory workers, for example, or dockworkers and boatmen along the Lower Yangzi River.

After 1925, British-American Tobacco, Nanyang Brothers, and the larger Chinese mechanized firms all faced competition from independent entrepreneurs who produced hand-rolled cigarettes in thousands of tiny manufactories more akin to Qing-era tobacco-processing workshops than to modern factories. These local proprietors and their predominately female labor force created “brand-name” cigarettes that were highly standardized, were of factory quality, and yet were still made by hand. Such cigarettes, produced in small towns or cities in a “traditional” fashion, replicated a “modern” commodity often associated with the West. Cigarettes thus embodied the complexities and paradoxes of early-twentieth-century consumer culture in China: neither totally new nor completely old, neither purely a foreign industrial import nor an indigenous handicraft, the Chinese cigarette was instead the product of the dynamic interactions between global and local processes and continuing traditions and emerging modernities that refashioned Chinese cultures of tobacco consumption anew.

ORIGINS OF THE INDUSTRIAL
CIGARETTE IN CHINA, 1880–1902

Cigarettes, in China as elsewhere, are now primarily associated with the modern globalized mass consumer culture that ultimately emerged along with industrialization. The development of new technologies for cigarette production and marketing in the latter part of the nineteenth century enabled the establishment and growth of transnational tobacco firms whose expansive search for new markets carried the machine-rolled cigarette around the world. In many societies, however, including some in Asia, the cigarette itself was not new. The habit of smoking bits of tobacco wrapped in bark or leaves was first practiced by Amerindians in Central and South America. Homemade cigarettes and cigars known as *bungkus*, *bidis*, or *shuruttus* (cheroots) were found throughout the eastern sector of the Indian Ocean, the Indonesian archipelago and Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines from about 1660 on.³ The seventeenth-century Spanish, having encountered this mode of consumption in the Americas or perhaps in Southeast Asia, smoked “papelates” (or *papalettes*)—tobacco wrapped in fine paper. In the 1830s these *papelates* crossed over into France where they were renamed cigarettes.⁴ French-style cigarettes began to appear in various cultural contexts shortly thereafter—for example, Russia and England in the 1840s, Egypt in the 1850s, and the United States around the time of the American Civil War.⁵

Pre-rolled cigarettes remained expensive luxury items produced exclusively for wealthy consumers until two key technological innovations—flue-curing and mechanized production—launched the era of the modern mass-marketed cigarette. Up to the mid-nineteenth century, tobacco was universally air- or sun-cured by farmers the world over. These methods of processing were somewhat unreliable, turning out tobacco leaf that varied greatly in quality. In the 1840s, American producers in the Piedmont region of Virginia and North Carolina, where sandy soil gave rise to a strain known as Bright tobacco, began processing their crops using flue pipes that channeled intense heat from a furnace into a curing shed. The new method allowed for much greater quality control and produced tobacco that was much easier to inhale. After the American Civil War ended, northern tobacco companies began to blend Bright tobacco together with the Turkish tobacco already used in hand-rolled cigarettes, thereby achieving top-grade cigarettes at a somewhat cheaper cost.

The worldwide popularization of the cigarette followed the invention in the 1880s of mechanized rolling machines. The first such design, developed by James Bonsack, appeared in 1881. Two years later in 1883, W.D. and H.O. Wills, an English firm based in Bristol, began producing cigarettes with the Bonsack machine, and the following year, James Duke, head of the American Tobacco Company (ATC),

invited Bonsack to set up his invention at Duke's factory in Durham, North Carolina.⁶ While the most skilled hand rollers could produce about 3,000 cigarettes per day, the Bonsack roller could make about 120,000 in the same amount of time. Once operating efficiently, the device could produce 200 cigarettes per minute.

Machine-made cigarettes filled with standardized blended American and Turkish tobacco could be produced at a fraction of the cost of hand-rolled ones, and this allowed for an enormous expansion of production. In the 1880s and 1890s Anglo-American tobacco companies including Wills and ATC combined high-volume output with a strategy of mass-marketing low-priced products to middle- and low-income consumers in England and the United States.⁷ These two companies and several others then carried this extraordinarily successful approach to selling cigarettes of uniform quality to consumers in markets abroad, including those of the Qing Empire.

Hand-rolled cigarettes were already circulating in some coastal Chinese markets even before industrially produced cigarettes began to appear in the 1880s. One early source for imported cigarettes was Manila. In the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, the Spanish colonial government had set up cigar and cigarette factories under the control of the Philippines tobacco monopoly (established in 1781), but these products were primarily sold within the archipelago itself or were transhipped to Mexico. After British and American merchant houses established themselves in Luzon in the 1820s and 1830s, exports of Filipino tobacco leaf and hand-rolled tobacco products began to flow to markets in Australia, California, Singapore, Hong Kong, and southern China, as well as to Spain.⁸ Shortly before the colonial tobacco monopoly was abolished in 1881, mestizo Chinese and overseas Chinese merchants got involved in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes using tobacco grown in northern Luzon.⁹ "Luzon tobacco," as these products were known, were sold primarily within the Philippines, but some were exported to China or areas of Southeast Asia. Cigars appear to have become something of a fad among certain Cantonese dandies at midcentury, as evident from the paintings of cigar-smoking men produced by Cantonese artist Tingqua (Guan Tinggao, c. 1809–?) in the 1830s and 1850s.¹⁰ Frederick Porter Smith, a Presbyterian medical missionary, reported in the early 1870s that many Cantonese smoked both cigars and cigarettes made in the Philippines.¹¹ Zhang Tao, a resident of Tianjin, noted in 1884 that the habit of smoking tobacco leaves rolled in paper in "imitation of Western ways" was quite popular among Cantonese merchants doing business in that city.¹² Cigars imported from the Philippines also began to find a market in Shanghai during the 1880s.¹³

While ready-made cigars and cigarettes rolled by hand were already known to some Chinese treaty-port residents in the 1870s and 1880s, foreign firms began systematically importing machine-rolled ones into Chinese coastal cities only in the early 1890s. Duke's American Tobacco Company was one of the first to market its products in Shanghai, working through its local agent, Mustard and Company (Lao

Jinlong), to sell its popular Pin Head brand sometime around 1890.¹⁴ In 1891, a small factory operated by Mustard and Company began producing cigarettes in Shanghai.¹⁵ The British firm W.D. and H. O. Wills was also active in Shanghai in the 1890s, promoting its Pirate and Ruby Queen brands through its agent, Rex and Company.¹⁶ Several British and American mercantile houses based in Shanghai also established cigarette manufactories between 1890 and 1902.¹⁷

The Chinese cigarette business was by no means an exclusively Anglo-American operation in these early years. The Kyoto-based Murai Brothers Tobacco Company, the largest cigarette manufacturer in East Asia at the time, sold its Peacock brand in Shanghai beginning in 1897 through the auspices of the Mitsui Trading Company.¹⁸ Some Turkish businessmen with ties to India established the Taipei Tobacco Factory (Taipei yanchang) in Shanghai in 1898. This company produced not only manufactured cigarettes but also small-scale mechanized cigarette-rolling machines that it sold to Chinese start-up firms.¹⁹ The Russian firm A. Lopato and Sons set up cigarette-manufacturing facilities in the multiethnic frontier settlement of Harbin soon after its 1898 founding by Russian engineers working on the Chinese Eastern Railway.²⁰ Meanwhile, Chinese and foreign merchant houses based in Manila continued to import cigars and cigarettes from the Philippines into the cities of southern China.

Chinese entrepreneurs also got into the expanding cigarette market in the late 1890s, albeit using labor-intensive methods rather than mechanized ones. The first Chinese factory to produce rolled cigarettes was opened by three Cantonese merchants in 1898 at Yichang in Hubei Province. The Maoda Rolled Tobacco Manufactory (Maodo juanyeyan zhizao suo) operated for only two years, closing in 1900.²¹ Several hand-rolling ventures, including one set up by a man named Fan Shanqing, also got started in Shanghai around 1899. The “Fanqingji” workshop employed about fifty female hand-rollers (some of whom could roll 1,500 to 2,000 sticks per day) and used shredded Chinese tobacco imported into Shanghai from long-established tobacco-growing regions in Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian. Fanqingji’s customers were primarily members of the working class in Shanghai, but its distribution networks extended to the Jiangnan hinterland as well as to Fujian, Guangdong, and even Guangxi.²² Many Chinese customers actually preferred the harsher smoke provided by cigarettes rolled with more familiar “native” tobacco over those made with milder Virginia or Turkish leaf. They were also likely appreciative of the lower cost of products hand-rolled in coarse paper with domestically grown tobacco.

The manufactured cigarette industry in China had its origins between 1890 and 1902, a mere decade after the development of the Bonsack mechanized rolling machine made it possible for Anglo-American companies such as W.D. and H. O. Wills and the American Tobacco Company to produce low-cost standardized cigarettes for emerging mass markets in the United States and England. The near-monopolization after 1902 of both global and Chinese markets by the British-American To-

bacco Company has often obscured the transnational and highly competitive nature of the industry in China during these early years. To be sure, even in the 1890s, the main players in the Chinese cigarette business were Anglo-American firms or those run by American expatriates in Shanghai—ACC, Wills, ATC, and ATC's Japanese subsidiary (after 1899), Murai Brothers. Foreign nationals from Turkey, Russia, and Japan, as well as Chinese hand-rolling workshops, all jostled for market share alongside the better-capitalized British and American firms.

Most of these small start-ups did not last long. The era of the big multinational tobacco companies—dominated by BAT with its global reach and its ability to penetrate deeply into local Chinese markets—was dawning as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth. The 1890s were nonetheless an important transitional moment in the history of tobacco marketing and consumption in China. Many entrepreneurial agents, both foreign and Chinese, were involved in the initial importation of rolled tobacco products and the establishment of the earliest mechanized cigarette factories and hand-rolling workshops. The introduction of the cigarette into China was not simply the unidirectional transfer of new technologies, commodities, and consumer culture from an industrialized Anglo-American society to an agrarian China, but was part of a more complicated transnational and even multidirectional global process that involved businessmen from many different backgrounds as well as the Chinese themselves.

THE BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY
AND EXPANSION OF THE CHINESE CIGARETTE
MARKET, 1902–1937

By the turn of the twentieth century, many consumers in Shanghai and several other treaty-port cities had made the switch from pipes or snuff to factory-made cigarettes. Although foreign businessmen may have envisioned the Chinese interior as a limitless market, few cigarette firms had ventured into sales territory beyond the coast.²³ In 1902, however, after the merger of Duke's American Tobacco Company and the Imperial Tobacco Company of England and the subsequent establishment of the British-American Tobacco Company, BAT and several other mechanized firms began to market cigarettes more widely throughout the empire.

BAT was unquestionably the dominant player in the Chinese cigarette industry throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The multinational's market share never slipped below 55 percent, and for much of the Republican period it remained substantially above that (in the 60 to 80 percent range) (see table 1). The reasons behind BAT's extraordinary success in selling cigarettes in China are complex and varied and have been ably analyzed by both Sherman Cochran and Howard Cox. Economies of scale, capital-intensive technology, vertical integration of production and distribution, low labor costs, diplomatic support from the United States and

TABLE 1 Cigarette Sales in China, 1902–1941 (BAT versus rival firms, various years)

<i>Year</i>	<i>BAT sales (cases of 50,000)</i>	<i>BAT sales (percent share)</i>	<i>Rival firms (cases of 50,000)</i>	<i>Rival firms (percent share)</i>	<i>Total (cases of 50,000)</i>	<i>Total (sticks in billions)</i>
1902	12,682		n.a.			
1909	80,353		n.a.			
1910	105,548		n.a.			
1911	129,933		n.a.			
1912	142,933		n.a.			
1914	187,969		n.a.			
1915	179,127		n.a.			
1916	192,975		n.a.			
1918	267,202		n.a.			
1919	309,028		n.a.			
1920	340,419		n.a.			
1921	355,610		n.a.			
1922	405,707		n.a.			
1923	509,478	79.3	132,643	20.7	642,121	32.1
1924	634,624	82.1	138,704	17.9	773,328	38.7
1925	587,950	77.1	174,886	22.9	762,836	38.1
1926	580,413	70.4	244,032	29.6	824,445	41.2
1927	562,690	67.7	268,497	32.3	831,187	41.6
1928	516,419	61.1	328,439	38.9	844,858	42.2
1929	820,431	68.4	379,027	31.6	1,199,458	60.0
1930	877,905	65.3	466,813	34.7	1,344,718	67.2
1931	823,764	60.1	545,962	39.9	1,369,726	68.5
1932	797,146	62.3	482,811	37.7	1,279,957	64.0
1933	791,953	59.9	529,844	40.1	1,321,797	66.1
1934	708,162	54.9	581,212	45.1	1,289,374	64.5
1935	752,777	56.9	569,464	43.1	1,322,241	66.1
1936	877,376	63.3	509,558	36.7	1,386,934	69.3
1937	1,118,616	67.2	546,471	32.8	1,665,087	83.3
1938	901,939	73.0	333,819	27.0	1,235,758	61.8
1939	871,943	64.1	487,943	35.9	1,359,886	68.0
1940	885,518	58.5	627,005	41.5	1,512,523	75.6
1941	894,909	59.8	602,725	40.2	1,497,634	74.9

SOURCE: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan 1983: 2:512, 733; Cox 2000: 157.

NOTE: Sales for BAT include Yongtaihe sales; rival firms' sales include only mechanically rolled not hand-rolled cigarettes.

Britain, skillful advertising, aggressive pricing, and a willingness to undercut all competitors, using ethically questionable practices, all helped BAT achieve and maintain its supremacy. Above all, as both authors attest, BAT's strong market share rested on its ability to deliver its goods not only to large urban markets along the coast but to cities, towns, and even villages in the interior as well.²⁴

In several focused studies of BAT and its sales operation, Sherman Cochran in particular demonstrates that the key ingredient for the corporation's success in penetrating local Chinese markets was its heavy reliance on Chinese sales agents and merchants with considerable experience in the tobacco business.²⁵ BAT was able to build on the extensive sales networks and distribution channels already in place for the sale of both imports and "native" tobacco, utilizing commissioned Chinese sales agents who took responsibility for distribution of BAT's products at local, regional, and eventually national levels. These men came from merchant families that had been in the tobacco business "for generations" in their respective locales and, as such, were extremely well connected via regional native-place associations, a trait that ensured receptivity at the local level for the "foreign" commodities they were selling. As Cochran notes, "Once this [BAT's] marketing system delivered the goods to the core of a regional market, Chinese agents and merchants, not Westerners, invariably managed local distribution."²⁶

The preexisting distribution networks employed by BAT and its commissioned agents leave little doubt that the company was able to sell cigarettes in all regions of the country. Cigarettes were shipped into the interior on railroads and steamships and then transported overland to distant markets. Camel caravans disembarking from Zhangjiakou (also known as Kalgan) and Datong carried cigarettes beyond the Great Wall to Mongolia and Xinjiang.²⁷ Mule trains were used to transport cigarettes across the southwestern Yun-Gui plateau.²⁸ Cigarette cases were moved in carts, wheelbarrows, and on men's backs from railroad depots in Manchuria to settlements along the Russian border.

Such broad distribution of tobacco products manufactured overseas or in Shanghai factories to "remote" areas is impressive, but it is perhaps less so when we recall that the long-distance transport of processed tobacco both within the Qing Empire and across its fluid borders had a long history, dating back at least to the seventeenth century. In many instances, BAT products were transported over the very tracks traversed by the tobacco traders of old. For example, the routes used by Shanxi merchants from Tongzhou and Chaoyi counties to carry tobacco from Lanzhou to Beijing were now used to transport cigarettes (often on camelback), in the opposite direction.²⁹ The same caravan routes used to transport cigarettes on mule back to markets in Yunnan and Guizhou had been used in earlier centuries as well.³⁰

Although its distribution and transportation networks were perhaps less innovative than is commonly assumed, BAT did employ new mass-marketing techniques much to its advantage, bringing an unprecedented level of intensity and skill to the promotion of its products. In both his longer business history of BAT and in an essay specifically addressing the role of Chinese agents in creating and implementing BAT's advertising campaigns, Cochran provides ample evidence that BAT's logo (a

bat—an auspicious symbol for the Chinese), beautifully designed calendar posters (*yuefenpai*), and posters promoting its cigarettes were ubiquitous throughout the entire country, from Shanghai to other cities and even small towns and villages.³¹ As Cochran points out, BAT advertising—like its distribution systems—was successful only to the extent that the corporation incorporated local knowledge provided by its Chinese employees. The company utilized Chinese artists to design its ad copy and sent teams of “snipers” to plaster any available surface in town and country alike with its handbills and placards.³² Many Republican-era travelogues, penned by both foreigners and Chinese, attest to the pervasiveness of the BAT handbill, even in the small out-of-the-way market towns. Mary Gaunt, for example, an Australian woman who traveled from Beijing to Chengde in 1913, reported seeing BAT advertising posters for Rooster, Peacock, and Purple Mountain cigarettes in mountain villages along the route.³³ According to Mao Zedong, Hatamen cigarettes were readily available in market towns alongside the mountainous Jiangxi-Guangdong border in 1930.³⁴ A Chinese journalist writing in 1934 observed, “Many rural Chinese villages still don’t know who in the world Sun Yat-sen is, but very few places have not known Ruby Queen cigarettes.”³⁵

Of course, to say that Chinese peasants knew of Ruby Queen cigarettes or other BAT brands is not to say that they actually smoked them. Of all the mechanized cigarette firms operating in China before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, BAT had the greatest success in selling cigarettes outside of major cities. However, even BAT failed to create a class-transcendent mass market for industrial cigarettes in all areas of the country. In the first half of the twentieth century, China was a relatively poor country with a social structure of deep inequality. While BAT products made significant inroads among wealthy city dwellers, urban professionals, petty urbanites, factory workers, and the landed rural gentry, the vast majority of urban and rural poor simply could not afford even the least expensive of BAT’s cigarettes (see chapter 7).

To be sure, Chinese consumers of all income levels were exposed to visual *images* of the global cigarette through BAT’s intensive advertising campaigns. Desire for this commodity arguably was democratized in advance of purchasing power. As demand for rolled tobacco products among price-conscious consumers increased, many small- and midsize Chinese tobacco firms emerged. Using domestically grown tobacco and implementing cost-saving measures such as hand-rolling low-grade tobacco in recycled paper, Chinese companies carved out niche markets overlooked by or beyond the reach of BAT. As time went on, the increased availability of cheap domestic alternatives produced in small factories or “traditional” tobacco-processing workshops made cigarettes even more popular in many markets around the country. Even so, they did not completely displace pipe tobacco for some time to come.

NICHE MARKETING BY CHINESE
CIGARETTE COMPANIES

From 1902 until 1941, when World War II forced the company to close down its Chinese factories, British-American Tobacco maintained its dominant sales position. BAT's primary competitor throughout the Republican era was the Chinese-owned Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company.³⁶ At various times the giant multinational also had to contend with rival foreign firms, such as Liggett and Myers (American), Ardath International (British), and the Japanese-owned East Asia Tobacco Company (Tōa Tabako Kabushiki Kaisha). Over time, other Chinese cigarette firms, particularly the Huacheng Tobacco Company, successfully competed to a degree with the BAT juggernaut.³⁷ Like BAT, most domestic Chinese cigarette manufacturers located their headquarters and factories in treaty-port cities such as Shanghai, Tianjin, Yantai, or Hankou.³⁸ Unlike BAT, however, Chinese firms generally narrowed their target audience to specific groups of potential customers. Some, like Huacheng Tobacco, marketed cigarettes as upscale luxury goods to cosmopolitan urban dwellers—both those with a great deal of disposable income and those on more limited budgets who aspired to upward mobility. Others focused on the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, providing extremely cheap cigarettes to those who could not afford even the least expensive brands produced by the bigger companies. Whether targeting the rich or the poor, Chinese cigarette companies survived only when they successfully managed to carve out a niche market beyond the competitive reach of BAT.

In the period between the establishment of the Chinese Republic (1912) and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937), the growth of domestic Chinese cigarette manufacturing was explosive.³⁹ Thomas Rawski estimates that the number of cigarette-rolling machines and workers in Chinese-owned factories increased at an annual rate of 26 to 30 percent per year between 1912 and 1936, and cigarette production expanded at an annual rate of about 20 percent over the same time frame.⁴⁰ To be sure, this growth was not constant but followed a pattern set in 1905–6 during the first commodity boycott directed at foreign companies: during periods of intense political activity, numerous Chinese cigarette firms were set up, only to later run up against vigorous BAT competition when the high tide of nationalist fervor subsided. The number of Chinese-owned cigarette factories thus surged between 1905 and 1908, when more than twenty machine-rolled cigarette companies were established. These companies, all tiny in comparison to BAT, were able to expand while the boycott was under way, but once it ended late in 1906, BAT reasserted itself, driving most Chinese-owned companies out of business. A similar rush occurred in the teens and twenties in response to the Republican revolution itself, the May Fourth movement of 1919, and especially the May 30th movement of 1925. The anti-British protests and boycotts unleashed after International Settlement po-

lice shot and killed eleven Chinese demonstrators on Nanjing Road ushered in a host of new cigarette manufactories, especially in Shanghai: in 1924 Shanghai had 14 Chinese-capitalized firms; in 1925 that number increased to 51; in 1926 there were 105 firms; and by 1927 the number had reached 180.⁴¹

With the exception of Huacheng Tobacco Company, which grew to be the second-largest (after Nanyang Brothers) Chinese-owned cigarette company in China during the 1920s and 1930s, the factories formed from 1912 to 1927 were all relatively small. Most had only one to four rolling machines and a capital base of less than 100,000 yuan.⁴² In some cases, their diminutive size was an advantage because it allowed them to operate under BAT's radar. This was the case, for example, for Delong Tobacco Factory (Delong yanchang). Delong, founded initially in 1905 as the Delun Tobacco Factory (Delun yanchang), set its prices very low, selling a pack of ten cigarettes for about one-tenth or one-fifth of the cheapest BAT brands. This made its products popular with Shanghai workers and laborers.⁴³ In most instances, however, Chinese-owned companies were undercapitalized, were deeply in debt, and operated with obsolete or overstressed equipment. Unlike BAT, which had managed to seamlessly integrate tobacco purchasing with cigarette production and distribution by training Chinese agriculturalists in Shandong and Henan to grow (American-seed) Bright tobacco, Chinese firms often had difficulty obtaining the milder type of tobacco needed for producing higher-quality cigarettes. Zhensheng Tobacco Factory (Zhensheng yanchang), for example, producer of Rickshaw and China brand cigarettes, found it extremely difficult to obtain American Bright tobacco during the First World War, and so it switched to Chinese-filler tobacco—a business decision that resulted in a drop in sales.⁴⁴ Facing adversities in production as well as stiff competition in sales, most of the smaller Chinese firms went out of business after only a few years of operation. Nonetheless, while they remained in existence, they served as purveyors of cigarettes to social groups and local markets not yet targeted by the larger Chinese or foreign firms. As such, they, along with BAT, were important agents for the downward social and inward spatial diffusion of cigarettes from the urban elite in treaty-port cities to ordinary people living in smaller cities and towns in other parts of the country.

The Lixing Tobacco Factory well illustrates this last point. Founded between 1912 and 1913 in Shanghai with an initial capital base of 40,000 yuan by a merchant named Zhang Zhuqing, Lixing started out with only one rolling machine. Like his previous employer, Delong Tobacco, Zhang focused on selling cigarettes to lower-income groups. The company developed a generic, no-name cigarette made from low-grade Zhejiang tobacco that was wrapped in coarse paper made from recycled newspapers and packed in the old cigarette cartons of other brands. These were then distributed to ports along the Yangzi River by boatmen commissioned by the company to sell these cheap cigarettes to dock and transport workers in towns up and down the river.⁴⁵ While such pirating (in this case, of brand-name cigarette packs)

posed real problems for the larger firms, recycling and the use of cheap materials and locally grown tobacco brought the price of pre-rolled cigarettes within reach of the working poor outside the treaty ports and thus helped to democratize the use of the cigarette.

Small firms like Lixing and Delong tried to compete against BAT's least-expensive brands: the far more successful Huacheng Tobacco Company focused on selling medium-grade and high-end cigarettes to salaried workers and middle-class consumers in Shanghai, a strategy that paid off handsomely over the long run. Huacheng actually had two incarnations: it was initially founded as a limited stock company in 1917 with only one rolling machine and a capital base of 4,000 yuan.⁴⁶ It sold its Three Flags brand in limited markets throughout Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Shandong. In 1924, when this small company failed, its assets were acquired by a group of experienced tobacco merchants, managers, and distributors from the Ningbo region of Zhejiang.⁴⁷ Under the new management team, two more rolling machines were added, more capital was raised, and the workforce was increased to 140 employees. New brands were developed and vigorously promoted in Shanghai and throughout the Lower Yangzi region with great success. Huacheng then extended its distribution networks outward to Guangzhou and cities situated in the Middle and Upper Yangzi River basins. From the time of its reorganization in 1924 until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, Huacheng remained consistently profitable: starting with an initial capitalization of 40,000 yuan in 1924, the company built its financial assets to 3.6 million by 1933.⁴⁸

Huacheng was one of the few Chinese-capitalized cigarette companies established in the 1920s that actually turned a profit. Most of the mechanized cigarette firms founded in the wake of the May 30th movement did not survive into the 1930s.⁴⁹ After the Guomindang Party restored relative political stability in Shanghai in 1927, the number of Chinese cigarette firms contracted once again. Most could not compete against a newly reassertive BAT, and many had been adversely impacted by the 50 percent ad valorem tax on tobacco and tobacco products that the Guomindang levied once it took control of the city. After the Ministry of Finance reduced the tax to 27.5 percent in January 1928, BAT reasserted its position as the leading cigarette firm in China. Operating under Guomindang rule in the last years of the 1920s, BAT posted its highest sales in China ever.⁵⁰ In contrast, many Chinese firms ceased production altogether in 1928–29.

Even Nanyang Brothers Tobacco, which suffered from heavy losses in the late 1920s, struggled to regain its former luster.⁵¹ Internal mismanagement resulted in shortfalls of more than 5.7 million yuan between 1927 and 1930. For a time in the early 1930s, Nanyang had to shut down its factories in Shanghai, retreating to Hong Kong, where the company was forced to go deeply into debt. Nanyang eventually resumed production in Shanghai, producing more cigarettes there than ever before. It remained the second-largest company operating in China after BAT, but it

never again achieved the success it had earned in the early 1920s. Huacheng's capitalization, in contrast, climbed from 3.6 million yuan in 1933 to 12.4 million yuan in 1936.⁵² Meanwhile, the Japanese East Asia Tobacco Company and several independent Japanese firms were expanding not only into Manchuria but also into the North China and Lower Yangzi markets by establishing factories in Beijing, Tianjin, Qingdao, and Shanghai. Eventually Tōa displaced Nanyang Brothers Tobacco as BAT's chief rival in China. All the while, smaller Chinese manufacturers continued to produce cigarettes for local and regional markets, despite government tax and licensing policies that favored the larger firms.⁵³

BAT continued to thrive even in the face of new competition from Japanese concerns. Having absorbed its main international rivals in the mid-1920s (Liggett and Myers and Ardath International) and no longer facing intense competition from Nanyang Brothers, BAT's sales soared, jumping from 26 billion sticks in 1928 to 42 billion in 1929.⁵⁴ BAT's expansion continued throughout the 1930s, although its market share in the Northeast was increasingly challenged by Tōa after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Even so, BAT managed to maintain its supremacy in the puppet state of Manchukuo at around 75 percent and actually saw its sales there double in the period from 1931 to 1937. By 1937, the "high water mark of the company's sales operations" in China, BAT was selling on the order of 55 billion cigarettes throughout the entire country.⁵⁵ After the outbreak of war between China and Japan in 1937, BAT found it increasingly difficult to operate and its sales fell off, particularly in the Lower and Middle Yangzi regions. The entry of the United States into the war in December 1941 brought BAT distribution in China to a complete halt during the four years of active combat in the Pacific. The company reemerged for a time after the end of the war in 1945 but then collapsed after the Communist victory in 1949. In 1953 BAT relinquished its remaining Chinese property to the People's Republic of China and removed its operations, now greatly reduced, to Hong Kong.

THE HAND-ROLLED CIGARETTE INDUSTRY

In the early 1930s, before Japanese tobacco firms began encroaching on markets in regions other than Manchuria, BAT's most aggravating competition came not from other foreign or domestic mechanized rolling manufacturers but from the myriad small workshops that produced hand-rolled cigarettes throughout the Lower Yangzi valley and the tobacco-producing areas of Anhui, Henan, Jiangxi, and Shandong. The hand-rolled cigarette industry, which had died out in Shanghai by the 1920s, got going again in smaller towns and cities around 1925 and grew rapidly over the next ten years.⁵⁶ Operating with rudimentary hand-cranked equipment, these manufacturers could produce cigarettes at much lower cost than could industrial plants, even accounting for economies of scale. Using poorly compensated female work-

ers, hand-rolling workshops were generally located near both tobacco-cultivating areas and the major urban markets for cigarettes in the Jiangnan subregion, and in central and northern China. Producers thus saved on labor and transport costs and did not have to invest in or maintain expensive industrial equipment.⁵⁷ Low-grade flue-cured Chinese tobacco and small quantities of sun-cured tobacco, procured directly from peasant cultivators, were used in these cigarettes rather than more expensive imported American leaf or the higher grades of Bright tobacco grown in Shandong favored by industrial manufacturers. Moreover, hand-rolled cigarettes were not subject to the same rates of taxation as manufactured ones. These firms often imitated the brand names of large companies, labeling or packaging their products in a similar manner, thereby saving on advertising as well.

Hand rollers were quite skilled, making cigarettes virtually identical to factory-made machine-rolled ones.⁵⁸ Many workshops pirated brand-name cigarettes outright, rolling low-quality tobacco in counterfeit papers or those imprinted with trademarks of popular foreign brands that had been smuggled into the provinces from Shanghai or Hong Kong. The finished product was then sold at much lower prices than even the cheapest factory-produced cigarette. These “traditional” firms, using handicraft production techniques and native-place marketing networks more akin to those previously used to process and sell premium regional pipe tobaccos produced a “modern,” highly standardized, and “branded” product that rivaled and, in some cases, outsold the machine-rolled “global” cigarette produced in the mechanized factories of Durham, Bristol, Shanghai, or Tianjin. The average consumer could not easily distinguish between the counterfeit hand-rolled product and the authentic machine-rolled one. Many consumers remained wary of “fakes,” but sales of hand-rolled cigarettes nonetheless soared, especially in the early 1930s.

The hand-rolling industry, which by 1934 occupied an estimated 25 percent share of the Chinese cigarette market, cut deeply into BAT sales, particularly in North China and the Lower Yangzi region.⁵⁹ Imports of leaf tobacco from the United States into China dropped about 75 percent in volume from 1934 to 1935, partially due to rising prices of American flue-cured tobacco at the time and increasing competition from Japan, but also because so many Chinese consumers were purchasing hand-rolled cigarettes rather than factory-made ones.⁶⁰

The Guomindang regime was under considerable pressure from BAT and the British Legation to shut down hand-rolling workshops. The policy of taxing different types of cigarettes using widely varying rates was a particular bone of contention. In January 1928 the Nanjing government had introduced a system of consolidated taxation that applied only to manufactured cigarettes.⁶¹ The system, which was continually revised over time, imposed different levies on various grades based on their sales value, imposing a fixed rate per case of 50,000 on each class along a sliding scale. Between 1930 and 1934, the level of consolidated tax on the cheapest grade

of factory-made cigarettes rose from \$32 to \$80 per case. Hand-rolled cigarettes, considered part of the “native” tobacco trade, were initially not subject to taxation at all. In 1930 the Ministry of Finance imposed a tax of about \$10 per case on all cigarettes rolled by hand.⁶² Authorities had great difficulty collecting this tax, however, and BAT executives continued to be incensed at what they regarded as unfair and misguided taxation policies.⁶³

The Ministry of Finance, faced not only with the lobbying efforts of BAT and foreign diplomats but also significant loss of tax revenues due to cigarette counterfeiting, eventually implemented policies designed to control and reduce the number of hand-rolling workshops.⁶⁴ In 1934 all hand-rollers were required to be licensed and to use only authorized and unmarked cigarette papers. To facilitate tax collection, tobacco manufacturing was limited to those cities with existing industrial plants, including Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou, and Qingdao. Any factory already established outside these four industrial centers was to be closed or moved within three years.⁶⁵ After 1936 the government also tried to reduce the output of hand rollers by revoking licenses in quarterly blocks using a quota system based on the drawing of lots. While such measures may have slowed hand-rolling production to some extent, many local producers simply ignored the new regulations. As J. Barnard Gibbs noted in 1938, “Thousands did not register and many continued to use contraband paper.”⁶⁶ Failure to comply with government regulations meant that counterfeiters continued to slipstream on the advertising and marketing efforts of larger companies by producing extremely cheap cigarettes that closely resembled name-brand products. While such pirating was a constant irritant and even a threat to BAT and the other major firms, illegally produced hand-rolled cigarettes were no doubt welcomed by many consumers because they brought a “standardized” and “modern” hand-rolled product within reach of those who could not afford even the cheapest factory-produced brand.

The cigarette, one of the first mass-marketed products of the industrial era, is often thought of as the quintessential symbol of the homogenizing forces of modern Western consumer culture. The ubiquity of Pin Head, Peacock, or Ruby Queen cigarettes in Chinese markets in the 1920s and 1930s is taken as evidence of the power and potential of global capitalism to transform the everyday life of “traditional” Chinese consumers for better or for worse. In particular, BAT’s dramatic success in delivering machine-rolled cigarettes to millions of Chinese customers, not only in coastal treaty ports but in the interior as well, seems to provide a premier example of how China’s incorporation into the globalizing industrial economy through the agency of Western multinational corporations initiated new cultures and habits of consumption. The shift in consumer preferences from pipe tobacco and snuff to

cigarettes is regarded as part and parcel of the “internationalization of daily life” occasioned by China’s encounter with Western-style capitalism and modern Euro-American consumerism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁷

Although manufactured machine-rolled cigarettes indisputably entered treaty-port China as a foreign import, and although the modern Chinese cigarette industry developed largely as a result of foreign direct investment, imported industrial technology, and new forms of advertising and mass marketing brought in from the United States, England, and Japan, the success of the global cigarette in local Chinese markets was built on foundations laid much earlier. Foreign companies benefited immensely from the fact that a well-established interregional market for tobacco products of all kinds, including those imported from abroad, already existed in China. Hand-rolled cigarettes were being imported into China by foreign and Chinese merchant houses even before Anglo-American cigarette companies set their sights on the vast China market. The long-distance transport of BAT cigarettes from Shanghai to the hinterland, which so impressed observers at the time, in many instances followed in reverse the very same routes long traversed by merchants carrying premium regional tobaccos grown in distant peripheries to centers of concentrated consumption along the eastern seaboard. Moreover, reliance on Chinese-commissioned agents and merchant firms with long experience in the tobacco business was crucial for BAT’s considerable success in selling cigarettes to Chinese customers.

Acceptance of the cigarette by many Chinese consumers was relatively rapid and straightforward, at least partially because many Chinese consumers were already well acquainted with other imported tobacco products. To be sure, highly standardized machine-made cigarettes filled with American or Turkish flue-cured tobacco were new to China just as they were elsewhere around the world. Many Chinese tobacco users gravitated easily to this novel form of a well-known commodity. Some early adopters, such as the Cantonese businessmen operating in Tianjin in the 1880s, were drawn to rolled tobacco products precisely because they were considered exotically Western. Others only gravitated to the cigarette once it had “become Chinese,” a process that was eased by the development of “transitional” products such as cigarettes with built-in mouthpieces or hand-rolled cigarettes filled with domestically grown tobaccos that many Chinese smokers preferred.⁶⁸

Indigenization also occurred within the cigarette industry itself as Chinese entrepreneurs established local companies that competed with BAT and other international firms. During the transitional decade of the 1890s, entrepreneurs of many ethnicities and nationalities jostled to get into the emerging Chinese cigarette market. Overseas Chinese and foreign merchants operating in the Philippines got a jump on the competition, importing hand-rolled cigars and cigarettes made with “Luzon tobacco” into southern cities even before Anglo-American cigarette firms began operating in China. Only after 1902, when Imperial Tobacco and ATC joined forces as BAT, did the giant conglomerate prove to be an almost unbeatable force. Even

so, creative niche marketing on the part of smaller Chinese-owned concerns allowed many to stay afloat for a time. A few even prospered.

In time, Chinese-owned businesses such as Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company appropriated the domestically produced cigarette as a “national product,” using the language of nationalism to claim its authenticity as a distinctly “Chinese,” as opposed to “Western,” commodity, even when the raw material, industrial machinery, or technical know-how were all imported.⁶⁹ Other Chinese firms, most notably Huacheng Tobacco Company, played up the “foreign” aspects of their cigarettes in order to attract city dwellers for whom the cigarette represented a luxurious urban style of life that they regarded as distinctly Western-inspired. Yet even as they pitched their novel “modern” products using new technologies and mass-marketing techniques, the larger cigarette companies, both foreign and domestic, found that the most effective way to increase sales was to rely on long-established native-place-based Chinese trading companies. Older time-honored techniques were also utilized in the production of standardized “brand name” cigarettes as proprietors of small hand-rolling workshops and their female workers created factory-quality cigarettes that were both “modern” and “traditional,” “foreign” and “native” at the same time.

Although millions of Chinese consumers smoked them by 1937, only a fraction of China’s vast population actually purchased cigarettes rolled by machine in industrial factories. To be sure, as Sherman Cochran has argued, the foundations for the “massification” of the Chinese cigarette in the second half of the twentieth century were already being laid by foreign and domestic cigarette companies in the decades before 1949.⁷⁰ The relatively rapid *spatial* diffusion of manufactured cigarettes from the coast to the interior and from cities to the countryside effected by BAT and its commissioned agents, along with its pervasive mass-marketing campaigns, ensured that most local populations were at least exposed to images of this new type of tobacco product by the 1930s, even if they could not afford to buy it outright. But to say that BAT’s industrial cigarettes were widely advertised is not to say that they were consumed by all. The democratization of desire created by transnational advertising eventually spurred consumer demand for cigarettes in interior markets such that local entrepreneurs began to manufacture cheap imitation products that more people could afford. The history of these smaller firms and hand-rolling workshops is often overlooked in histories of the “modern” cigarette industry. Yet, alongside BAT and the bigger tobacco companies, these tiny businesses were important agents for the delivery of affordable cigarettes to the broad base of consumers at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Expansion in the production of Chinese cigarettes from 1890 to 1937, whether carried out in an industrialized factory or a handicraft workshop, was quite dramatic. Even so, the history of the industrial cigarette in the late Qing and Republican periods raises questions about the extent to which a “mass” consumer culture

can be said to have existed beyond coastal treaty ports in the decades leading up to 1949. The chapters that follow probe in greater detail significant economic, social, and cultural limitations on the mass consumption of machine-rolled cigarettes in the Republican era, particularly during the Nanjing Decade (1927–37). Chapters 7 and 8 emphasize significant socioeconomic and cultural barriers to cigarette use on the part of the urban and rural poor that were erected both by regional and class inequalities and by the social construction of the cigarette as a uniquely urbane, modern, and upscale commodity imported from abroad. The final chapter examines newly constructed cultural taboos against female tobacco use that inhibited many women from smoking cigarettes.

Omnipresent representations in the media of the cigarette as “Western,” “modern,” and “masculine” marked it as an exclusive product reserved for only certain kinds of people. New-style intellectuals, fashion-conscious urbanites, forward-thinking technocrats, and up-to-date businessmen took up cigarettes to underscore their identities as progressive citizens of an emerging modern nation. Cultural conservatives and those identified either by themselves or others as more “traditional” continued to smoke the classic Chinese-style pipe. Many women, chastened by new social attitudes that regarded female smoking as disreputable, simply abandoned tobacco smoking altogether. Cigarettes, whether produced in foreign-owned factories or local hand-rolling workshops, *were* pervasive both in society at large and in the cultural imaginaries of Republican China. However, for both economic and cultural reasons, shredded tobacco smoked in pipes, not cigarettes, remained the most common form of tobacco consumed by the vast majority of Chinese smokers until after the Chinese Communist Party came to power in 1949.

Socially and Spatially Differentiated Tobacco Consumption during the Nanjing Decade, 1927–1937

By 1927, as the Nanjing Decade began, China's cigarette industry was well established. Even as the fortunes of individual companies rose and fell, consumer demand for cigarettes only continued to increase. The Chinese cigarette market, whether supplied by transnational tobacco companies, Chinese-owned mechanized firms, or localized hand-rolling workshops, expanded spectacularly between 1900 and 1937. The ready availability of cigarettes in most areas of the country encouraged many Chinese smokers to abandon snuff and pipe tobacco in favor of rolled tobacco products. In the long run, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, cigarettes displaced other forms of tobacco almost entirely. In the short term, however, at least through the 1930s, the introduction of branded proprietary cigarettes did not immediately transform the socially differentiated patterns of tobacco consumption evident under the Qing.

Due to significant price differentials between cigarettes and pipe tobacco, a bifurcated tobacco market, similar to that which had existed in earlier centuries, continued on in many areas of China. Wealthy tobacco users, who had previously gravitated toward foreign snuff, fine water-pipe tobacco, or expensive premium regional tobaccos, now preferred imported cigarettes. Petty urbanites, whose predecessors had purchased inexpensive porcelain snuff bottles or cheap brass water pipes in imitation of the moneyed elite, continued the practice of social emulation when they bought less expensive brands of ready-made cigarettes. The urban poor made do with the cheapest cigarettes produced in smaller Chinese factories, or they smoked pipe tobacco as their forebears had done. Peasants by and large continued to smoke pipe tobacco grown locally. Within China's deeply inequitable social structure, manufactured cigarettes were, by and large, expensive luxuries rather than items of every-

day mass consumption. Although cigarettes were widely available in rural markets as well as in cities and small towns, cigarette smoking remained predominantly an urban and coastal phenomenon throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century.

This chapter outlines the spatial and socioeconomic contours of tobacco consumption during the Nanjing Decade, the period between 1928 and 1937 when the Guomindang Party under Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi, 1887–1975) proclaimed a unified national government with its capital at Nanjing. Although several provinces were still under the control of regional warlords and the Guomindang faced both the internal challenge of the Communists and the external threat of encroaching Japanese militarism, the period was nonetheless marked by relative stability and political unity. Tracking divergent patterns of cigarette and pipe tobacco consumption is thus more feasible for this decade than for the more chaotic war years (1937–45 and 1947–49) that followed.

After a general overview of national-level smoking trends in the 1930s, the chapter looks specifically at tobacco use in three different localities: industrial Shanghai, nonindustrial Beijing, and rural Dingxian (Hebei). It seeks to address a set of interrelated questions: how much tobacco was being consumed in the 1930s, who was smoking what, and where were they smoking it? Taken together, the three case studies reveal significant regional and class differences in levels of Republican-era cigarette consumption. In Shanghai, a coastal treaty port with a relatively large middle class and the center of Chinese cigarette production, people of all income levels smoked cigarettes. In Beijing, cigarettes were embraced by some, but a strong market for shredded pipe tobacco remained in place, especially among the broad base of the urban poor. A two-tiered pattern of tobacco consumption—those somewhat better off purchased cigarettes, while the vast majority continued to smoke pipe tobacco—also obtained in Dingxian.

Cigarettes, a general class of products that varied widely in price and quality, were among the least expensive items produced in Chinese factories. This fact has often led to the assumption that cigarettes quickly became an item of mass consumption even in rural areas in the opening decades of the twentieth century.¹ In fact, the evidence from Shanghai, Beijing, and Dingxian suggests that during the Nanjing Decade there were significant socioeconomic differences in patterns of cigarette consumption both between city and countryside and between rich and poor. In the aggregate, there were large numbers of cigarette smokers in each place. When measured in terms of per capita consumption, however, it becomes clear that beyond the industrial treaty ports, manufactured cigarettes were not yet readily consumed at all socioeconomic levels. A socially inclusive mass market for cigarettes similar to that which obtained in Shanghai simply did not exist in either Beijing or Dingxian. In this regard as in so many other realms, the experience of Shanghai and other manufacturing centers cannot be generalized as representative of “all of

China.” By the end of the Nanjing Decade, the machine-rolled cigarette had clearly become a mass consumer good in some parts of China, but not necessarily in all. Throughout the 1930s, most Chinese smokers still inhaled their tobacco through long pipes, the utensil that had entered China in an earlier age of globalization.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF TOBACCO CONSUMPTION DURING THE NANJING DECADE

Before launching into a discussion of socially differentiated modes of tobacco use in these three different localities, it is useful to have a general sense of the economic conditions that prevailed in China at the time. Historians continue to debate whether or not socioeconomic inequalities were on the increase in the decades leading up to the Communist revolution, but few dispute that the Chinese economy in the 1930s was on the whole very poor. Loren Brandt notes that per capita GNP in the mid-1930s was sixty yuan, which, converted into current U.S. dollars, was only \$200 to \$250.² The majority of China’s 500 million-plus people resided in the countryside: nearly two-thirds of China’s GNP originated in agriculture, and about three-quarters of the population derived their living primarily from farming. Most peasants actively participated in the relatively commercialized economy—as much as 40 to 45 percent of farm produce ended up on the market—and they themselves bought agricultural products and handicrafts. The use of foreign goods and domestically produced industrial commodities, while on the rise in some regions, remained limited in most.³

Although extremely cheap machine-rolled cigarettes were available in markets beyond the coast, in general, cigarettes were more expensive than pipe tobacco. As a result, pipe tobacco far outpaced sales of cigarettes in most parts of the country. In 1936 a pack of the most popular cigarette brands sold wholesale for 1.25 yuan (37 cents in 1936 U.S. dollars) per thousand. The best grades sold for about 6.07 yuan (US\$1.81 in 1936 U.S. dollars) per thousand. The most expensive imported cigarettes sold wholesale for as much as 22 yuan (US\$6.56) per thousand.⁴ In the mid-1930s, close to one billion (80 percent) of the approximately 1.2 billion pounds of tobacco consumed in China annually (not including Manchuria) were used in the form of pipe tobacco (both cut tobacco and water-pipe tobacco), and only 150 million pounds (15 percent) were smoked as factory-made cigarettes (4 percent was consumed as cigars and 1 percent as snuff).⁵ With an estimated population of 500 million in 1933, annual consumption of pipe tobacco was thus in the range of two pounds per capita, while tobacco consumed in cigarettes was about a third of a pound per capita. In 1931–32, the Nanjing government estimated that Chinese smokers annually consumed two hundred sticks per capita, or half a cigarette per person per day.⁶ By contrast, U.S. tobacco consumption in the early 1930s was estimated at 6.6 pounds per capita per annum, and U.S. cigarette consumption in 1931

TABLE 2 Per Capita Consumption of Machine-Rolled Cigarettes in 1935

City or Province	Estimates of Annual Sales by Province ^b				Recorded Sales Data for January ^c		
	Population (millions) ^a	Pieces (billions)	Annual per Capita Consumption (estimated)	Daily per Capita Consumption (estimated)	Pieces (billions)	Monthly per Capita Consumption	Daily per Capita Consumption
Shanghai	3				0.474	158	5.09
Jiangsu (including Shanghai)	40	13	325	0.89	1.462	37	1.18
Jiangsu (excluding Shanghai)	37				0.988	27	0.86
Zhejiang	22	8	364	1.00	0.712	32	1.04
Hubei	27.3	8	293	0.8	0.374	14	0.44
Hebei ^e	34	8	235	0.64			
Guangdong	34.8	8	230	0.63	0.708	20	0.66
Anhui	24	4	167	0.46	0.374	16	0.50
Shanxi	12.4	2 ^d	161	0.44			
Fujian	13.1	2 ^d	153	0.42			
Jiangxi	16.5	2 ^d	121	0.33	0.152	9	0.30
Hunan	33.4	2 ^d	60	0.16			
Henan	36.3	2 ^d	55	0.15			
Shandong	40.3	2 ^d	50	0.14			
Sichuan	59.2	2 ^d	33	0.09			

^aPopulation figures from Perkins 1969: 212.

^bEstimates for number of cigarette pieces sold annually by province in 1935 from Gibbs 1938: 31.

^cSales data for January 1935 from *Shangye yuebao* 1935: 2–3.

^dI use the midrange of 2 billion pieces for the seven provinces Gibbs (1938) lists in the 1–3 billion pieces category. Clearly any change in the total number of pieces consumed in any one of the provinces would impact its position in the relative ranking. This list is thus very approximate and does not necessarily reflect actual per capita consumption figures for any of the provinces.

^eApproximate. Perkins (1969) gives 1933 Hebei population as 30.6 million but does not include Tianjian, Beijing, or Rehe.

was about 2.5 cigarettes per person per day over the course of a year.⁷ At the time, cigarettes were still not the predominant form of tobacco consumed even in the United States, but per capita American cigarette use clearly outpaced that in China.⁸

To be sure, Chinese cigarette consumption was on the rise in the 1920s and 1930s, just as it was in the United States. Aggregate cigarette consumption in China, which at the beginning of the twentieth century was in the range of about 300 million pieces, rose to an estimated 7.5 billion in 1910, 22.5 billion in 1920, and 68 billion in 1930.⁹ Recorded sales remained steady at about 65 billion during the years of the global depression but then jumped to more than 83 billion in 1937 (see table 1). These figures leave little doubt that cigarette use was expanding dramatically throughout the Republican era. Moreover, Sherman Cochran's detailed studies of BAT's extensive marketing networks indicate that machine-rolled cigarettes were being distributed to the lowest levels of the urban hierarchy throughout all of China's macroregions from the early twentieth century on.¹⁰ Yet to say that sales of cigarettes were booming or that they were widely marketed throughout China is not to resolve the question of who was actually buying or smoking them. For this, we need per capita consumption figures disaggregated by social, economic, and geographic characteristics. Regrettably, such statistics are not readily available. Crude estimates of annual sales broken down by province for 1935 gathered by J. Barnard Gibbs suggest that Chinese cigarette purchases were heavily concentrated in eastern provinces with large cities (Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Guangdong) and tapered off as one moved inland.¹¹ These estimates are much too rough to derive precise per capita consumption figures from them, but the overall pattern is confirmed by recorded sales data collected by the Ministry of Commerce from some provinces for January 1935.¹² This fragmentary evidence suggests that consumers living in major metropolitan areas along the coast smoked proportionally more factory-produced cigarettes than did their counterparts in interior cities, smaller towns, or villages (see table 2).

Cigarette consumption was highest in more industrialized areas where machine-rolled cigarettes were actually produced and where the growing industrial sector contributed to higher standards of living relative to other parts of the country. In the Northeast, for example, then under the control of the Japanese, cigarettes represented a much larger percentage (60 percent) of the 85 million pounds consumed annually between 1935 and 1939. Only 40 percent, or approximately 34 million pounds, was consumed as pipe tobacco. With an estimated population of 33 million, this put Manchurian tobacco consumption at 3.6 pounds per capita, of which 2.6 per pounds per capita were in the form of cigarettes. However, cigarette use in the Northeast was primarily confined to cities. Rural inhabitants purchased only 15 percent of the total number of cigarettes sold.¹³

Cigarette consumption was also relatively high in Chinese treaty ports such as Tianjin and Guangzhou. Tianjin had several cigarette factories, and Guangzhou lay

very close to BAT and Nanyang's factories in Hong Kong.¹⁴ BAT regional sales figures from 1931 suggest that per capita consumption of cigarettes in Guangzhou may have reached as many as nine or ten sticks per person per day.¹⁵ We know that factory workers in industrial Tianjin used a portion of their wages to buy cigarettes in the 1930s, though this was one of the few non-essential items (tea and wine being the others) that they splurged on.¹⁶ Based on this admittedly sketchy information, it would appear that the most concentrated centers of consumption for machine-rolled cigarettes, like the markets for premium regional tobacco in earlier times, were found in the larger cities situated along the T-shaped arc defined by the eastern seaboard and the Yangzi River. Now, however, the port city where more industrial cigarettes were smoked than any other was China's biggest and newest metropolis: Shanghai.

SHANGHAI'S MASS CIGARETTE MARKET

Shanghai had several characteristics that facilitated mass-marketing of machine-rolled cigarettes. First, massive numbers of cigarettes were produced in Shanghai itself, a fact that led to generally lower prices for smokers living in the city. Second, the large number of tobacco concerns operating within the city, including Chinese companies that used low-grade tobacco grown domestically, meant wide-ranging choice and competitive pricing for smokers of all income levels. Third, Shanghai's extensive manufacturing and commercial sectors supported a relatively prosperous middle and a comfortable lower-middle class, as well as substantial numbers of wage-earning factory workers. Generally literate and with some disposable income, Shanghai's "petty urbanites" (*xiaoshimin*), as this middle group was known, could afford to purchase industrial cigarettes.¹⁷ Finally, Shanghai's commercial geography, which included neighborhood retail areas as well as specialized shopping districts, provided residents throughout the city ready access to manufactured cigarettes.

As the center of both the machine-rolled cigarette industry and the advertising business that supported it, cigarettes were synonymous with Shanghai. BAT had its headquarters in the city, of course, and both Nanyang Brothers and Huacheng Tobacco had factories there. Forty-eight of the fifty-six Chinese-owned cigarette companies operating in China in the mid-1930s were located in Shanghai.¹⁸ In 1934, about 60 percent of the cigarettes produced in China were turned out by Shanghai factories. In 1935, the top twenty domestic manufacturers (including Nanyang Brothers and Huacheng) produced more than two billion cigarettes in one month alone.¹⁹

A large percentage of the billions of sticks made in Shanghai were sold within the city itself or in the surrounding Jiangnan region (Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces) (see table 3). Guangzhou and its hinterland formed another strong market for cigarettes produced in Shanghai, as did the Yangzi River port of Hankou and its Middle Yangzi hinterland. Sales thinned out in areas farther removed from these large cities. By 1931, BAT cigarettes were not selling as well in Shanghai as were those of its part-

TABLE 3 Sales Distribution of Shanghai-Produced Cigarettes by Province, July 1931–June 1932

<i>Province</i>	<i>Cigarettes sold (cases of 50,000 cigarettes)</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>
Jiangsu	310,312	36.1
Zhejiang	172,648	20.1
Guangdong	107,395	12.5
Hubei	66,503	7.7
Anhui	54,271	6.3
Hebei	36,170	4.2
Fujian	31,447	3.7
Shandong	29,642	3.5
Jiangxi	25,243	2.9
Liaoning	12,536	1.5
Guangxi	3,934	0.5
Henan	3,156	0.4
Shaanxi	1,967	0.2
Hunan	1,967	0.2
Jilin	1,083	0.1
Shanxi	428	<0.1
Rehe (Jehol)	375	<0.1
Heilongjiang	3	<0.1
Total	859,077	

SOURCE: Yang Guo'an 2000: 489.

TABLE 4 Cigarette Sales in Four Cities, 1931 (Cases of 50,000)

	<i>BAT</i>	<i>Yongtaihe, Ltd.</i>	<i>Rival brands</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>
Shanghai	8,591	51,774	62,591	122,956	48
Guangzhou	6,420	0	72,005	78,425	31
Hong Kong	10,346	0	17,481	27,827	11
Beijing	14,954	5,100	5,088	25,142	10
Total	40,311	56,874	157,165	254,350	100

SOURCE: Cox 1997: 56.

ner, the Yongtaihe Tobacco Company, or rival Chinese-owned companies. Nonetheless, the breakdown of cigarette sales in four Chinese cities in that year reveals that more machine-rolled cigarettes overall were sold within Shanghai than in Hong Kong, Guangzhou, or Beijing (see table 4). The combined sales of BAT, Yongtaihe, and rival brands totaled more than six billion sticks in Shanghai in that year, putting the per capita consumption in the city at more than five cigarettes per day.²⁰

In Shanghai, as in other Chinese locales, the number of cigarettes smoked per

day likely increased with personal income. Businesses, trading companies, and factories located in Shanghai, which dominated the industrial, commercial, and financial sectors of the national economy, paid higher wages (10 percent above the overall average and 18 percent higher than the average for all other areas).²¹ This enhanced the purchasing power of Shanghai residents for all manner of manufactured goods, including cigarettes.²² No surveys were taken of cigarette consumption among high-ranking officials, capitalists, or educated professionals, so we do not know how many sticks the truly elite smoked, but some intellectuals and urban professionals, who occupied the lower rungs of the elite class, reported smoking as many as fifty to ninety cigarettes a day.²³ Bureaucrats and businessmen, who often ritually exchanged cigarettes to smooth transactions, likely consumed as many or even more than writers and artists did. A relatively small group of urban elite thus helped elevate Shanghai's per capita consumption by individually smoking an inordinate number of sticks every day.

While chain-smoking among the upper classes enhanced cigarette sales, the majority of cigarettes sold in Shanghai were actually mid- or low-grade products purchased primarily by the white-collar workers (*zhiyuan*) and better-off factory employees (shop stewards, floor supervisors, etc.) who constituted Shanghai's relatively large middle and lower-middle class. This group of "petty urbanites," composed of office clerks, secretaries, shop assistants, and minor officeholders, as well as skilled factory workers, numbered around 300,000 in the mid-1930s and together with their families constituted more than 40 percent of the city's population.²⁴ They were generally literate and as such were the target demographic for the best-selling brands advertised in many newspapers and popular periodicals such as *Shenbao* and *Liangyou* (Young Companion). Although they individually smoked fewer cigarettes than the city's wealthier elite did, petty urbanites as a group largely drove cigarette sales in the city, both because of their proportionately large numbers and the greater amount of disposable income they had as salaried or wage-earning employees than the even greater numbers of unskilled factory workers, day laborers, and urban poor had.

Cigarettes were among those manufactures that rank-and-file factory workers in the tier just below petty urbanites could actually afford. That ordinary workers purchased cigarettes is confirmed by survey data collected between November 1927 and December 1928 on the living standards of Shanghai cotton mill workers, a group that while well-off by overall Chinese standards was less affluent than the average office worker or shop clerk (see table 5). Out of 230 families surveyed, only 9 had no expenditures at all on cigarettes. On average, the other 221 families consumed 185 packs of ten cigarettes per family per year, with one pack being consumed every two days.

A larger study of 305 working-class families residing in all five districts of the city conducted between April 1929 and March 1930 found that 282 (92.5 percent)

TABLE 5 Average Annual Expenditure on Cigarettes of 230 Working-Class Shanghai Families by Income Group, November 1927-December 1928 (Income and expenditures in Chinese yuan)

	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Total average income per family</i>	<i>Total average expenditures per family</i>	<i>Expenditures on cigarettes</i>	<i>Cigarettes as percentage of total income</i>
Under \$240	42	200.16	244.80	6.60	3.3
\$240-\$360	90	301.18	311.52	7.32	2.4
\$360-\$480	46	417.24	393.84	7.92	1.9
\$480-\$600	34	535.32	496.92	7.20	1.3
\$600 and over	18	762.60	680.16	10.44	1.4
Total or average	230	390.72	382.56	7.56	1.9

SOURCE: Calculations based on Yang and Tao 1981: ii-vii, 35.

TABLE 6 Average Annual Expenditure on Cigarettes and Wine of 305 Working-Class Shanghai Families by Income Group, April 1929-March 1930 (Income and expenditures in Chinese yuan)

	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Total average income per family</i>	<i>Total average expenditures per family</i>	<i>Expenditures on cigarettes/wine</i>	<i>Cigarettes and wine as percentage of total income</i>
\$200-\$299.99	62	\$266.33	\$337.20	\$12.53	4.7
\$300-\$399.99	95	\$344.48	\$385.17	\$19.34	5.6
\$400-\$499.99	80	\$443.47	\$466.14	\$21.04	4.7
\$500-\$599.99	31	\$546.26	\$565.94	\$17.21	3.2
\$600-\$699.99	25	\$644.68	\$668.30	\$28.10	4.4
700 and above	12	\$773.14	\$795.79	\$24.30	3.1
Total or average	305	\$416.51	\$454.38	\$19.10	4.6

SOURCE: Bureau of Social Affairs 1934: 100, 102, 162.

of the families surveyed purchased cigarettes and only 10 families (3.3 percent) recorded purchases of pipe tobacco (see table 6). On average, the 282 families consumed 232 packs of ten cigarettes per family per year, or 1.38 per person per day.²⁵ These families spent an average of 0.044 yuan for each pack of cigarettes, for a total annual expenditure of 10.28 yuan. This represented about 2.47 percent of their total annual income (on average 416.51 yuan per family). Fifty-three percent of the annual household budget was spent on food, 8.3 on rent, 7.5 percent on clothing, 6.4 percent on fuel and light, and 24.6 percent on miscellaneous expenses, including cigarettes.²⁶ As the disapproving sociologists who conducted the survey were quick to point out, Shanghai factory workers spent far more on cigarettes and wine together (19.10 yuan a year, or 17.1 percent of the total miscellaneous expenses and 4.6 percent of total annual income) than they did on education, books, or news-

papers (1.45 yuan per year or 1.3 percent of the total miscellaneous expenses).²⁷ The earlier survey of cotton mill workers found a similar pattern: the average annual expenditure of 230 families on cigarettes and wine was 12.57 yuan per family, with cigarettes averaging 7.56 yuan or nearly 2 percent of the total family budget.²⁸

Prices for some cigarette brands sold in Shanghai, especially those produced by small Shanghai-based manufacturers, were so low that they could even be purchased by the extremely poor unskilled laborers who resided in the shantytowns along the city's outer boundaries. People from Subei, rural immigrants from the part of Jiangsu north of the Yangzi River who were forced by poverty to live in relative squalor and who did Shanghai's least-lucrative and more undesirable jobs, were the primary customers for Great Eastern Tobacco (Dadong yancao) products, for example.²⁹ Rickshaw pullers, most of whom came from the poorest counties of Subei, earned an average monthly income of nine yuan, less than half that of a factory worker. Nonetheless, many could likely afford an occasional cheap cigarette.³⁰

Shanghai's socially inclusive cigarette market was at least partially a function of the varied and diversified nature of its cigarette industry. Shanghai residents could choose not only between the many products manufactured by the three leading firms (BAT, Nanyang, and Huacheng) that marketed their products interregionally but also among those of the myriad smaller concerns that produced solely for the Shanghai market. Several of the smaller Chinese-owned firms, especially those dealing in very inexpensive cigarettes, had considerable success in selling their products within both the city and its immediate hinterland. Others, such as Great South-eastern, sold the bulk of their cigarettes not in Shanghai itself but to rural markets in Jiangsu and Zhejiang.³¹ Most of the smaller domestic companies did not trade beyond the Lower Yangzi Delta, however, and so the number of consumers with access to the widest range of extremely inexpensive brands was spatially limited to Shanghai and core exurban areas in the immediate region.³²

Competition between various firms for the Shanghai and Lower Yangzi markets led to considerable brand diversification and market segmentation among Shanghai-based manufacturers. The two largest companies, BAT and Nanyang Brothers, owned dozens and dozens of trademarks, each designed to appeal to the status and identity of the individual smoker.³³ BAT's most popular sellers were Ruby Queens, Pin Head, Pirate, Chienmen, and Hatamen, while Nanyang offered up the best-selling Golden Dragons and Pearl. By 1936, building on the enormous success of its two flagship brands, The Rat and My Dear, Huacheng Tobacco had developed more than twenty others.³⁴ The smaller Chinese-owned firms also developed their own memorable brand names, although many imitated or even copied outright the names and logos of better-known products. Historian Fang Xiantang estimates that more than one thousand different cigarette products were circulating in Shanghai's markets in the 1930s.³⁵

The many foreign and domestic brands produced in Shanghai factories were

readily available throughout the entire city, not only in the more “modern” commercial districts along the Bund and Nanjing Road but also in the back-alley compounds where the bulk of the city’s residents lived. Along with the rise of department stores and other new-style retail outlets, twentieth-century Shanghai and its suburban areas saw the emergence of neighborhood “tobacco and paper” stores (*yanzhi dian*), a sort of convenience store where residents could purchase cigarettes by the stick or the pack.³⁶ These stores could typically be found at the entrance of each alleyway compound in local neighborhoods and near tramway and bus stops. The shops stayed open long hours—they usually closed only after dark—and they stocked a wide variety of goods in addition to cigarettes.³⁷ Customers “came in one after the other from early morning until night,” often hanging around to chat with the proprietor or other patrons.³⁸ According to Lu Hanchao, tobacco-and-paper stores were the fastest-growing trade in the city. In the early 1930s, there were some 1,500 of them scattered about different neighborhoods. By 1937 there were 3,400, and by 1949, there were some 8,600.³⁹ Peddlers also carried cigarettes directly into alleyways, along with newspapers, rice, salt, needles, thread, matches, soap, toys, and many other items.⁴⁰

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND BRAND CHOICE IN SHANGHAI

Although cigarette consumption in Republican-era Shanghai was socially inclusive, manufactured tobacco products, like the premium regional tobaccos sold earlier in China’s urbanized cores, could serve as status symbols, depending on the brand selected. Foreign cigarettes or those made in China entirely with imported Virginia tobacco represented only a tiny fraction of the total number of cigarettes sold in Chinese markets, but they were far and away the most prestigious. For many Chinese consumers, industrial imports were highly desirable because they were associated with the wealth and power of the West and Japan. National Products Movement activists sought to counter the allure of the foreign in order to bolster China’s own industrial development. While such efforts reduced sales of imported cigarettes somewhat, they never quite succeeded in overturning the predisposition to value foreign brands over those produced domestically with Chinese-grown tobacco.

Foreign expatriates and the Chinese economic, political, and cultural elite living in Shanghai’s International Settlement or the French Concession purchased the most expensive imports, including British-made Garricks, State Express 999, or State Express 555.⁴¹ French brands, such as FOB, and American ones, including Chesterfield, Lucky Strike, and Camel, were also available to those with money. These premium brands were very costly: the price for Garricks in 1938 was listed at forty-four yuan per thousand.⁴² State Express 555, a brand especially pervasive throughout peninsular Southeast Asia, where many Shanghai capitalists conducted busi-

ness, was preferred within the business community. State Express 999s, longer and thinner than other brands, were reputedly the cigarette of choice for Shanghai upper-class matrons (*taitais*) who smoked.⁴³ Other, slightly less expensive high-class cigarettes popular with “great merchants and frustrated warlords” included BAT’s Capstan and Three Castles.⁴⁴ The packs of both brands presented “manly” images that no doubt played well with the “playboys” (*anlegong*) who frequented Shanghai’s cabarets, bordellos, and gambling establishments.⁴⁵ Capstan, Three Castles, and other similarly top-grade locally produced brands were among those given away for free in Shanghai’s many casinos and high-class brothels.

In Chinese writings from and about the 1930s, imported British cigarettes are memorialized as the epitome of high-class luxury. Mao Dun (1896–1981) inserted Garrick cigarettes several times in his novel *Midnight* to signal the opulence as well as decadence of the upper-bourgeois Shanghai lifestyle.⁴⁶ The poet Zhu Xiang (1904–33) stated in an essay about his personal smoking history that Garrick cigarettes were the best he had ever inhaled.⁴⁷ Qi Jun (1918–2006), the accomplished writer from Taiwan who grew up near Shanghai, recalls that her father, a high-ranking Guomindang official, kept his Garricks and Three Nines in a special glass case. When she decided to try smoking for the first time, she turned to her fourth uncle for tutelage. He insisted that she bring him one from her father’s stash, not the Ruby Queen proffered by her second uncle for the project. Later, when she asked the second uncle why he did not smoke the more fragrant brands her father preferred, he replied, “How can we commoners obtain such good foreign cigarettes? Your father is a big official!”⁴⁸

Imported cigarettes were no less pervasive in Shanghai’s pavilion rooms of “enlightenment” than they were in its halls of vice or corridors of power. Many of the iconoclastic cultural elite and political dissidents who made the city their home were heavy smokers. Many preferred foreign brands. Most famously, Lu Xun (1881–1936), who settled in Shanghai with his former student Xu Guangping (1898–1968) in 1927 and lived there until his death from tuberculosis in 1936, was seldom without a cigarette.⁴⁹ In a subsequent memoir about Lu Xun’s love of smoking, Xu Guangping recalled that her most vivid memory upon first meeting him was his incessant smoking of “one cigarette after another.”⁵⁰ He had no fixed brand, generally preferring cigarettes that could be bought in volume (tins of fifty or one hundred). While living in Beijing and Guangzhou in the 1920s, he favored popular BAT cigarettes (Ruby Queens, Pirate, and Pin Head). In Shanghai, where “the selection of cigarettes was much greater,” Lu Xun’s favorite brand came in a red tin and featured a picture of a black cat, most likely Craven “A” (Carreras Limited), though Xu Guangping did not recall its name.⁵¹ As this imported brand was a bit more expensive than the one he usually smoked, Xu Guangping brought home the Black Cat brand only on occasion, though friends presented Lu Xun with as many as ten of these tins at a time.

Other Shanghai-based authors similarly immortalized their favorite foreign brands in their writings. Lin Yutang (1895–1976)—the editor of various Shanghai literary magazines, including *Lunyu* (The Analects) and *Renjianshi* (Human Affairs), that championed the “literature of leisure” (*xianshi wenxue*)—favored Capstans.⁵² Zhu Xiang may have been fond of top-grade Garricks, but he sampled many other brands during his smoking career. Having started with American Tobacco’s Lucky Strikes while studying abroad in the United States, Zhu moved on to Huacheng Tobacco’s My Dear brand upon returning home. “I smoked every kind of cigarette,” he wrote. “Imported and domestic; short, grand, Navy cut and Straight cut; with an ivory holder and without; with a paper filter and without; Three Castles, Ruby Queens; from a soft pack, a round tin, or a square box. . . . I smoked them all.”⁵³

Cigarette smoking was an integral part of the bohemian lifestyle pursued not only by well-known literary figures but also by anonymous “pavilion room men of letters” (*tingzijian wenren*). Pavilion rooms were tiny chambers built over the kitchen at the back of alleyway, or *shikumen*, houses where many petty urbanites lived.⁵⁴ Having their own entrance, and separate from other rooms of the house, these rooms were typically sublet by what Lu Hanchao terms “intellectual vagrants”: educated single youths from the provinces, college and high school students, freelance writers, commercial artists, dramatists, musicians, and so on. One essayist fondly remembers his tiny abode thus: “After supper a group of my friends who were lonely would come over to my place to chat. The little room would be full of people—chairs and my tiny iron-framed bed were occupied by one buttock after another. We smoked cigarettes, laughing and wrangling. Every one felt free, being unrestrained and undisciplined.”⁵⁵

The smoke-filled pavilion rooms were also the meeting places and training grounds for radical youth who eventually left Shanghai and joined the Chinese communist movement. Many revolutionaries—Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Chen Yi included—were lifelong chain-smokers who began their habits as young men in Shanghai, long before they arrived at Yan’an.⁵⁶ These aspiring young intellectuals and revolutionaries likely smoked medium-grade cigarettes produced in China such as My Dears, Golden Dragons, or Ruby Queens.

These best-selling brands were all made in Shanghai factories using top-grade imported Virginia tobacco blended with Chinese-produced flue-cured tobacco. They were in the upper price range of the midlevel cigarette. Less expensive mid-range products, including Huacheng’s The Rat and Nanyang’s Pearl, appealed primarily to Shanghai’s petty urbanites.⁵⁷ These brands were filled with medium-grade Virginia tobacco combined with domestically produced flue-cured leaves. Other brands, such as BAT’s Chienmen and Hatamen, were completely filled with Chinese flue-cured tobacco and were also popular with middle- and lower-income groups.⁵⁸ In his reminiscences about learning to smoke as a youth, prominent essayist Liang Shiqiu (1902–87) recalls that while high-class cigarettes were all im-

ported, “ordinary people” like himself smoked domestically produced brands such as Pearl and Chienmen.⁵⁹ In Qi Jun’s home, her second uncle, who styled himself as a simple “farmer” (*zhongtian ren*) smoked Pearl, Ruby Queen, and Great Wall cigarettes.⁶⁰ In fact, these midrange brands produced by the three big companies (BAT, Nanyang, and Huacheng) were out of reach for most farmers and laborers, but the middling sort of urban office worker could comfortably afford them.

The Nanjing government categorized more than 83 percent of all the sticks produced in Shanghai in 1931 as “low-grade” cigarettes (see table 7). Billions of these cheap cigarettes, marketed with countless imaginative brand names, were readily available not only to the middle and lower-middle class but even to the urban poor. The number of these bargain brands was so vast it would be impossible to catalog even a fraction of them. Each brand’s pack was unique, though smaller firms often copied the logo, brand name, or packaging of the more popular ones, giving rise to considerable overlap in theme, color, and layout of cigarette packs.⁶¹

The lowest-grade cigarettes, those made from poor-quality Chinese tobacco and wrapped in rough paper, found a market among residents in Shanghai’s poorer outlying districts. Huacheng’s managers, for example, found that consumers in the heavily industrialized Zhabei section vastly preferred Huacheng’s Fairy and Flower Flag brands over The Rat.⁶² Several Chinese-owned companies, especially Luxin Tobacco Company, specialized in extremely inexpensive cigarettes: its Fee Niu (Flying Fairy) brands, also popular in Zhabei, were at the very bottom of the recommended price list posted by the Shanghai Tobacco Trade and Exchange Association in 1938.⁶³

Republican Shanghai’s many cigarette factories produced billions of cigarettes packaged in a kaleidoscope of different brands and product types. Sold everywhere throughout the city and its immediate suburban hinterland, these products were readily available at small kiosks and large department stores alike. From the consumer’s point of view, such ready availability and extensive brand diversification meant that there was wide-ranging choice along the axes of quality and price. Rich and poor, high and low, people of Shanghai (Shanghaiens) smoked cigarettes. In a sense, tobacco consumption in this one Jiangsu city had come full circle: upper- and lower-class people were using exactly the same mode of nicotine delivery, just as the literati and laborer had both smoked the long pipe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Of course, the big tycoon and successful entrepreneur were not smoking the same product as the laboring poor. Cigarettes were arranged in ordered hierarchies of taste that separated the haves from the have-nots just as pipe tobacco “brands” had been differentiated by class in the Qing period. Any potential status anxieties over the class-transcendent nature of cigarette smoking were easily allayed by the new industrial practices of proprietary branding, product differentiation, and targeted market segmentation. Although Qing-era merchants had attracted upscale customers by using regional labels for their premium pipe tobacco, they did not have

TABLE 7 Production of Cigarettes by Grade in Shanghai Factories, Foreign and Domestic, 1931

	<i>Cases (50,000) produced in Chinese-owned factories</i>		<i>Cases (50,000) produced in foreign-owned factories</i>		<i>Total, domestic and foreign</i>	<i>Percent of all cigarettes produced, 1931</i>
	<i>Percent of total</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>	<i>Percent of total</i>		
High	120.8	3.70	3,143	96.30	3,263.8	0.4
Middle	83,767.5	59.49	57,037.2	40.51	140,804.7	16.1
Low	435,266.9	59.53	295,930.3	40.47	731,197.2	83.5
Total	519,155.2	59.31	356,110.5	40.69	875,265.7	100

SOURCE: Fang Xiantang 1989: 115-16.

the wherewithal to package or advertise their products in ways that allowed for immediate brand recognition “on the street.” Cigarette companies not only labeled their packages but rolled each stick in paper stamped with the company or brand name. With commercial branding, elite and commoner could easily share the cigarette as their preferred mode of smoking because perceived differences in the quality of distinctive brands made it possible for the wealthy to maintain their dignity even when publicly using the same commodity as the working poor. Moreover, brand preferences were extremely useful for communicating one’s social status or personal identity to strangers within the context of anonymity imposed by an urban population of more than three million people.

The mass-produced cigarette in Shanghai was thus simultaneously, depending on the particular brand, a sign of social inclusion and an emblem of elite privilege. This had been true of other tobacco products in the past, especially pipe tobacco. But whereas pipe tobacco came to be spatially equalized throughout the country during the Qing period, smoked by urban and rural denizens alike (albeit in different grades), in the 1930s, cigarettes were still widely regarded as part of a lifestyle that was distinctly urban, “Western,” and “modern,” typified above all by Shanghai and its unique “Shanghai style” (Haipai). The pervasive consumption of the industrial cigarette by the people of “modern” Shanghai, be they wealthy, middle income, or poor, set them apart in their eyes from their more “traditional” compatriots in other parts of China, many of whom continued to smoke the classic “Chinese” pipe.

BEIJING’S BIFURCATED TOBACCO MARKET

Shanghai’s mass-marketed smoking culture was more socially inclusive in the 1930s than perhaps that of any other Chinese city. Virtually every Shanghairen who smoked, including those among the working class and the laboring poor, consumed tobacco rolled in paper. As harsh as they might have found life in the big city, the rural immigrants who came to Shanghai to find work could buy or bum an occa-

sional cigarette. This was also true of Tianjin, Guangzhou, and other treaty-port cities along the coast or the Yangzi River.

Beyond the treaty ports, mass adoption of the machine-rolled cigarette occurred more slowly. Beijing is a case in point. Cigarettes were introduced into the northern capital somewhat later than they were in Shanghai, with the first imported brands (Peacock, Pin Head, and Cycle) being sold only around 1900.⁶⁴ Cigarette sales in Beijing picked up after the 1911 Revolution ushered in the “western clothing craze” (*yangfu re*) of the early Republican era.⁶⁵ Cigarettes, along with khaki uniforms, Western-style suits, straw boaters, and leather shoes, were embraced by many upscale residents as symbols of the new epoch. Cigarette boutiques began to appear in the city’s new commercial districts shortly after 1911, and within five years, reportedly as many as three hundred shops were selling them.⁶⁶ By 1913 vendors were also selling cheap hand-rolled cigarettes in the stalls clustered in the Outer City near the city gates.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, considerable demand for pipe tobacco continued within the city up to and even after the outbreak of war in 1937.

In contrast to Shanghai, where cigarettes had largely displaced other forms of tobacco by 1928, the Beijing tobacco trade remained bifurcated between cigarettes and “native” pipe tobacco. Each of the two trades had its own parallel and mutually exclusive professional association.⁶⁸ The native tobacco association numbered sixty mercantile houses in 1931 (down from four hundred in the late Qing). Another fifty or so nonmember firms that dealt in shredded pipe tobacco or snuff were also operating in the city. The Beijing Cigarette Association consisted of 270 firms, with another 150 additional enterprises waiting to join. Altogether some 530 large and small wholesale firms were distributing tobacco products in Beijing in the 1930s.

Although the cigarette business was clearly up-and-coming, the native tobacco trade continued to hold a substantial share of the Beijing market. “Native” tobacco firms handled about 1.5 million jin (750 thousand kilograms) of shredded tobacco annually, while Beijing cigarette firms sold about a billion pieces per year.⁶⁹ Assuming that the cigarettes contained about 0.75 grams of tobacco each, the amount of tobacco consumed in cigarette form (750 thousand kilograms) was roughly equivalent to that smoked in pipes. With the city’s population in the range of 1.5 million,⁷⁰ this put annual per capita consumption for both pipe tobacco and cigarettes at about one jin (500 grams, or a little more than a pound). Annual per capita cigarette consumption was approximately 670 pieces, or two per person per day, not an insignificant number but still about half the number of cigarettes smoked per person per day in Shanghai during the same period.

In the 1930s, Beijing’s economy differed from Shanghai’s in several significant ways that served to slow mass adoption of the cigarette. First, Beijing was not itself an industrial producer of cigarettes: two early ventures, the Beijing Patriotic Cigarette Factory (Beijing Aiguo zhiyan chang), founded in 1905, and the Beijing Great Elephant Cigarette Factory (Beijing Daxiang juanyan chang), established in 1906,

both failed after only a few years of operation.⁷¹ Beijing had several manufactories where cheap cigarettes were rolled by hand, and the city's vibrant culture of recycling meant that even leftover tobacco from cigarette butts was resold. As noted in chapter 6, the Guomindang restricted cigarette manufacturing to certain cities after 1934, and Beijing was not among them.⁷² There were thus no mechanized cigarette manufactories in the city until the Japanese established one in 1940.⁷³ All cigarettes sold in Beijing (except those rolled by hand) had to be imported from abroad or were produced in Shanghai, Tianjin, or Hankou. This obviously increased the price of manufactured cigarettes for Beijing consumers.

Second, in comparison to Shanghai, Beijing's population was by and large quite poor. Whereas in Shanghai a proportionally large middle stratum of salaried "petty urbanites" possessed sufficient discretionary income to purchase midrange cigarettes, in Beijing, nearly three-quarters of the population lived at or below poverty level. The working poor made up an estimated 47 percent of the population, the truly disadvantaged 9 percent, and the utterly destitute 17 percent. Another estimated 22 percent—shopkeepers, teachers, and minor officials—somewhat akin to, if less well-off than, Shanghai's petty urbanites—remained precariously close to the edge of poverty. The "well-to-do," a group comprising the extremely wealthy (rich merchants, bankers, and high officials) and the urban professional class and cultural elite—government workers, professors, college students, writers and other intellectuals—represented less than 5 percent of the population.⁷⁴ In 1928, after the Guomindang moved the national capital to Nanjing, many government workers—who had formed the wealthier segment of Beijing society—left the city. Thereafter Beijing's social structure became even more weighted toward the bottom.

Due to the city's lack of industrialization and its bottom-heavy social structure, Beijing residents on the whole had less disposable income to spend on nonessential items such as cigarettes. A high percentage of residents' income went toward food and manufactured textiles that had to be imported from other areas of China. Other than kerosene and machine-woven cotton, which were found in nearly every household, few Beijing households owned manufactured industrial products.⁷⁵ Instead, utensils and basic household items were generally handicraft items produced locally. Although even the poorest Beijing residents purchased tobacco—it was one of the few everyday luxuries lower-income people enjoyed—many continued to buy the cheapest pipe tobacco rather than machine-rolled cigarettes brought in from the coast.

A third reason manufactured cigarettes did not find their way into the homes of many ordinary Beijing residents can be found in the spatial layout of commerce in the city.⁷⁶ In contrast to Shanghai, where retail outlets selling industrial wares were located in virtually every neighborhood, in Beijing such merchandise was largely limited to the upscale shopping districts of Wangfujing, Xidan, and the Qian Gate area. Situated "downtown"—near the former Inner City, where the wealthiest in-

habitants still lived, and not far from the Legation Quarters—department stores, shops, and boutiques in these three areas were the primary purveyors of high-end imported industrial products. Not only were such establishments inconveniently located for the majority of Beijing's less affluent residents, but their up-scale appearance and modern facades were intimidating to many. Indeed, the shabbily clad were quickly shown the door if they did venture inside. Most preferred to shop closer to home, in local stalls or the neighborhood temple markets that provided more familiar and less expensive local handicrafts that met daily household needs.

Beijing had no equivalent of Shanghai's neighborhood "tobacco and paper" store. Tobacco retailing was divided between specialized cigarette stores and well-established tobacco shops (*yandian*). Traditional tobacco shops, which did not sell cigarettes, were found in many parts of the city well into the Republican era, both along main thoroughfares and in the many small lanes (*hutongs*) that wound through all districts of the city.⁷⁷ Specialized cigarette wholesalers and retail shops were present in the city from the first decade of the twentieth century on, but due to the widespread practice on the part of the bigger tobacco companies of signing exclusive contracts with the independent mercantile houses that distributed their products to local retailers, these shops tended to sell the brands of only one company.⁷⁸ The scanty number of retail outlets in Beijing meant much less choice in general for Beijing consumers.

Consumer choice was also constrained by the fact that many fewer inexpensive brands circulated in Beijing than in Shanghai. As noted above, there were no locally owned and operated Chinese cigarette factories in the city. Instead, BAT dominated sales, occupying 59 percent of the Beijing market in 1931.⁷⁹ Nanyang Brothers cigarettes also sold well in Beijing in the 1930s, though not as well as BAT brands.⁸⁰ Tōa Tobacco imported cigarettes produced in its Manchurian and Tianjin factories, and some of the smaller Tianjin and Shanghai firms may have as well. Yongtaihe Tobacco (BAT's Chinese subsidiary) was quite active in the city, and Ruby Queens were a best seller in Beijing as they were elsewhere.⁸¹ Other popular brands included (BAT) Pin Head, Peacock, (Tōa) Dragon, and (Nanyang) Great Wall.⁸² BAT's midrange London (Straight Cut) was common, as was Chienmen (Grande). Three Castles (Grande) and Garrick cigarettes were the most expensive in Beijing, just as they were in Shanghai.

While well-off smokers had access to the same brands as their counterparts in Shanghai, the extremely cheap machine-rolled cigarettes produced by the many small Chinese-owned factories located in the Lower Yangzi Delta were not available to lower-class consumers in Beijing. To be sure, many vendors and peddlers sold cheap cigarettes in the temple markets favored by most urban residents. These were not produced in industrial factories, however. Some were likely rolled by hand in the workshops that existed inside the city as well as in the outlying suburbs.⁸³ Tianqiao, the notorious flea market and popular entertainment district near the

Temple of Heaven, had four shops that specialized in bargain-priced cigarettes, as well as numerous booths that sold them.⁸⁴ Tianqiao merchants had a reputation for dishonesty, and it was widely believed, probably correctly, that the brand-name cigarettes purchased there were counterfeit. At least some of the cigarettes sold in Tianqiao were rolled with tobacco recycled from cigarette butts swept up off opera house floors. Many shoppers also claimed that they were often shortchanged by these traders and that the cigarette booths never gave customers as many cigarettes as were paid for.⁸⁵

Beijing's bifurcated tobacco market was a consequence primarily of certain economic realities it faced as a nonindustrialized city in an age of expansive global capitalism. Once the key node in North China's vibrant long-distance trade networks, by the 1930s, Beijing was a city in economic decline. A majority of its residents lived in dire poverty. Although even the poor purchased tobacco, many continued to buy the cheapest pipe tobacco rather than purchase cigarettes brought in from coastal manufacturing centers. Due to the fragmentation of retailing in Beijing whereby imports and domestically produced industrial goods tended to be sold only in certain kinds of shops in limited locations, machine-rolled cigarettes were simply not as available to tobacco smokers in Beijing as they were to those in Shanghai. Cigarette sellers operating in the temple markets where the vast majority of people shopped were suspected of dishonesty, and their packaged goods were perhaps not as appealing to consumers as shredded tobacco, which could be immediately assessed for quality and weighed on the spot. All of these factors served to slow the development of a genuine mass market for cigarettes in the former capital until after 1949.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN BEIJING'S PATTERNS OF TOBACCO CONSUMPTION

Both pipe tobacco and cigarettes found a market in Republican Beijing, but the consumers of these two types of products were by and large from different socio-economic backgrounds. While many, perhaps even most, of Beijing's residents purchased tobacco in the 1930s, brand-name cigarettes appear to have been bought primarily by the upper elite or by the urban professionals who participated in the new culture of industrial consumption centered on the department stores and specialty retail shops found "downtown." Of course, many among the laboring poor smoked cheap hand-rolled cigarettes, but an even larger contingent continued to favor pipe tobacco primarily for the reasons identified in the preceding section. For many Beijing consumers in the 1930s, cigarettes remained a luxury item, to be held in reserve for guests or special occasions.

Surveys conducted in Beijing during the late 1920s and early 1930s indicate that most households purchased tobacco, although as might be expected, the percent-

age of total income spent varied by income group. Such expenditures were at a minimum for those on the lower rungs of the pay scale. Many Beijing families used more than 70 percent of their total income on food, and only 3 to 8 percent on miscellaneous items, which included education, sanitary expenses (soap, toothpowder, etc.), gifts and other social expenses (for weddings and funerals), rates and services (night-soil collection, street lighting and cleaning), utensils, and transport, as well as everyday luxuries like wine and tobacco.⁸⁶ In a study conducted between 1926 and 1927, Sidney Gamble found that 77 percent of the families surveyed (217 out of 283) purchased tobacco of some kind. Those earning twenty-nine yuan or less per month spent less on tobacco on average than did those in the middle group. The contrast was especially great between those families earning more than one hundred yuan per month and those in the lowest income category: the better-paid families spent on average nearly eight times as much on tobacco than did those with lower income. Families in the upper-income group were either buying tobacco in greater quantity or they were buying more expensive tobacco products (machine-rolled cigars and cigarettes). Possibly they were doing both (see table 8).

The sociologists who conducted these surveys in Beijing did not always separate cigarettes out from loose tobacco. Nor did they consistently distinguish between expensive water-pipe tobacco and the cheaper kind smoked in regular pipes. It is therefore difficult to assess on the basis of these studies alone whether or not the higher expenditures on tobacco recorded by upper-income families reflects purchases of machine-rolled cigarettes or other forms of tobacco. However, government tax figures from 1930 indicate that the value of cigarettes sold in the city by then was vastly greater than the value of water-pipe tobacco: cigarettes represented a value of 856,789 yuan in that year, whereas water-pipe tobacco represented only 4,906.4 yuan.⁸⁷ Moreover, the weight of the total amount of water-pipe tobacco imported into the city in 1930 was only on the order of 67,059 jin (73,920 pounds), whereas imports of shredded pipe tobacco were about 718,602 jin (792,123 pounds). It would appear that cigarettes were displacing water-pipe tobacco—the traditional preference of the elite—more quickly than they were pipe tobacco—the type of tobacco traditionally smoked by more ordinary folk.

The bifurcated socioeconomic pattern of tobacco consumption implied by this statistical information is borne out by descriptions of individual family budgets included in Gamble's survey. Many of the poorest families spent some of their extremely limited income on pipe tobacco. For example, a hard-pressed family of seven, headed by a forty-five-year-old rickshaw puller (he was the main breadwinner for his wife, mother, two sons, and two daughters) had an average monthly income of nineteen yuan. Originally the rickshaw man had owned his vehicle, but when he fell sick for two months, he was forced to sell it for seventeen yuan. Neither this payment nor the extra funds the wife brought in by washing clothes were enough to make up for the shortfall brought on by his illness, and so the family sold

TABLE 8 Expenditures for Tobacco by Monthly Income Group, Average per Year for 217 out of 283 Beijing Families Reporting, 1926–1927 (Chinese yuan)

<i>Monthly income*</i>	<i>Average expenditures on tobacco</i>
5–29	2.37
30–99	7.19
100+	18.55

SOURCE: Gamble 1933: 337.

*One hundred and thirty-five families, or 48 percent, had incomes of less than 29 yuan a month; 39 percent received between 30 and 99 yuan per month, and 13 percent had incomes of 100 yuan or more. It is not clear from the Gamble survey how many families in each income group reported purchases of tobacco.

one of the girls (they had previously given away two other children). Sixty-six percent of this family's income went toward food, more than half of which was inexpensive corn flour. Another 12 percent went for fuel and water, 2.3 percent for clothing, and 5.6 percent for rent. Even so, the rickshaw puller spent twenty-one coppers a month for pipe tobacco.⁸⁸

Those slightly better off spent a greater percentage of their income on tobacco products than did the desperately poor, and they may well have been purchasing cigarettes rather than pipe tobacco. For example, a young childless couple, the man thirty years old and the woman twenty-eight, derived their income, which averaged fifty-four yuan per month, solely from rental properties. They owned their own home and spent only 26 percent of their annual income on food. Their expenditures on meat were unusually high—24 percent of the total food budget. They spent 65 percent more on clothing than was average for their income group and a whopping 119.45 yuan (17 percent of their total budget) for entertainment. This included 2.35 yuan a month for tobacco products, 2 yuan lost at gambling, and 25 yuan for opium.⁸⁹

We cannot say with certainty that this family of two was purchasing manufactured cigarettes rather than pipe tobacco, because in this instance Gamble did not distinguish between cut tobacco and cigarettes. We do know that cigarettes, as opposed to pipe tobacco, were purchased by several families for special occasions such as weddings, birthday celebrations, and funerals. Some families offered their guests pipe tobacco at such events, but cigarettes were clearly a more expensive form purchased by those of greater means. Whereas expenditures on pipe tobacco for parties and funerals were usually under one yuan, those on cigarettes were generally several yuan or more. Moreover, cigarettes were more likely included when the celebration took place at a new-style restaurant rather than in the specially constructed mat-pavilions traditionally used on such occasions. The choice of which

kind of tobacco product to serve wedding attendees appears to have largely been dictated by income: the poor offered up pipe tobacco, while those a bit better off splurged on cigarettes.⁹⁰

Of course, this is not to say that poorer residents of Beijing did not smoke cigarettes at all. There is ample evidence of the presence of lower-class cigarette smokers in Republican-era Beijing, just as there is for many other areas of China. For example, in her 1919 description of her “nearest neighbors in Peking,” a “poor class of families for the most part,” Fannie Wickes described a rickshaw puller and his “untidy wife who is never seen without a cigarette.”⁹¹ Across the street lived a soldier’s family whom Mrs. Wickes described as “the really elite of the alley.” The soldier’s mother and young wife “dress in silk and satin and take turns smoking the water-pipe, unless they happen to prefer cigarettes.” Ning Lao Tai-tai, the subject of Ida Pruitt’s classic biography of a lower-class woman, usually smoked a pipe but enjoyed the occasional cigarette Pruitt gave her during interviews.⁹² Many photographs document cigarette use by lower-class residents, including one taken by Sidney Gamble of a clearly impoverished boy with a crude hand-rolled cigarette in his mouth (see figure 7).

By the 1930s the urban poor could in many ways emulate the refashioned smoking culture of the elite and middle-class without necessarily purchasing industrial cigarettes imported from the coast. Although Beijing had no cigarette factories, it did have several hand-rolling workshops that manufactured cheaper brands: these facilities likely provided the bulk of inexpensive cigarettes to city residents. The very poor also had access to cheap cigarettes via the extensive recycling networks central to the city’s economy.⁹³ Sweepers in city theaters made money by collecting cigarette butts off the floor and then selling them to cigarette stalls in Tianqiao to be rerolled.⁹⁴ Paper collectors, a common sight throughout the city, picked used cigarette boxes out of the rubbish to be sold again, presumably with repackaged counterfeit hand-rolled sticks. The teahouses, inns, and shops that attempted to lure customers in by giving out free cigarettes to passersby may have been another source of machine-rolled cigarettes for those with little or no money to buy them. Some might even have smoked the last shreds of tobacco in the cigarette butts they found lying along city streets.

City-wide consumption of manufactured cigarettes probably increased somewhat after the Japanese army invaded and occupied the city in 1937.⁹⁵ In 1940 the Japanese established a cigarette factory in the eastern suburbs that was capable of producing 7.5 billion pieces per year. The majority of these were sold to Japanese soldiers, however, with a much smaller percentage entering the markets of the city. After the war ended in 1945, several small-scale cigarette manufactories were set up, but overall consumption of cigarettes in Beijing remained low, even in the late 1940s. When the Communists took over in October 1949, the number of machine-rolling plants in the city jumped from eight to seventeen, while the number of hand-rolling

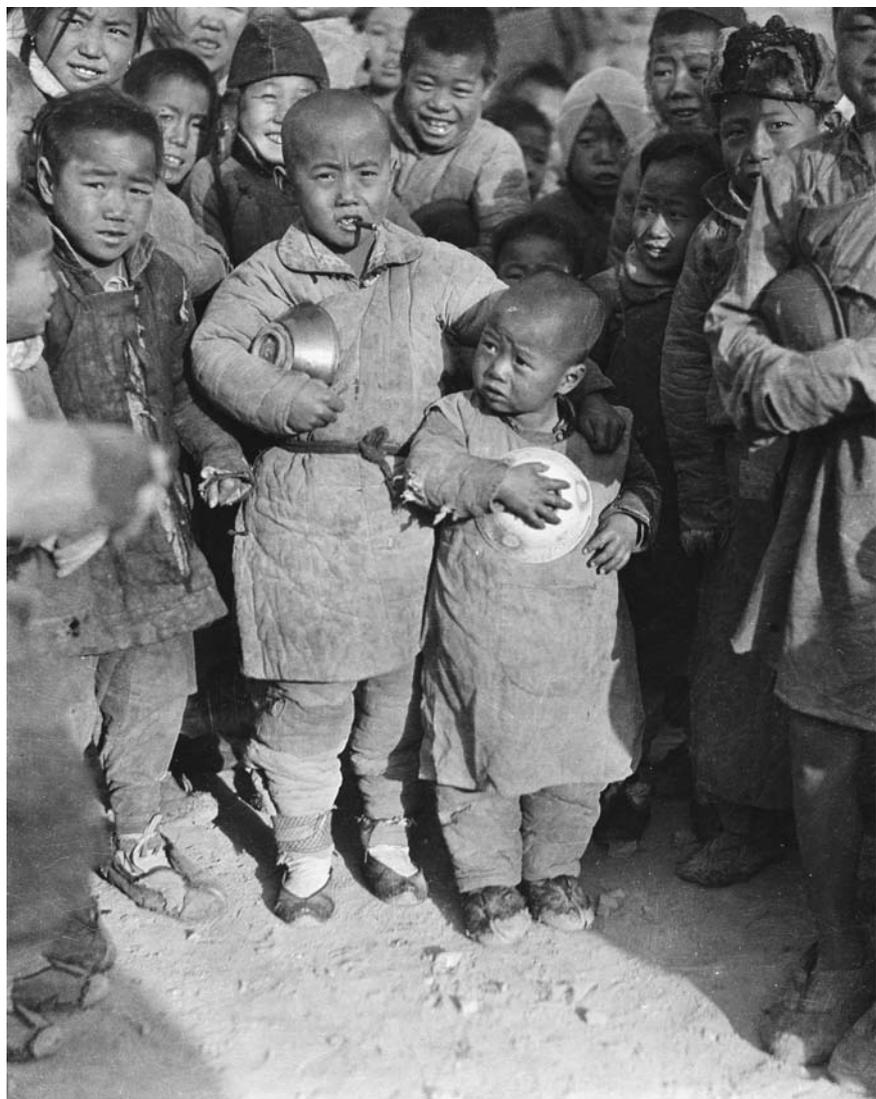


FIGURE 7. Sidney D. Gamble. "Congee Distribution, smoking boy and others," Beijing, 1917–1919. In Sidney D. Gamble Photographs; Archive of Documentary Arts; Duke University (no. 222–1243). Used with permission.

workshops increased from two to seventy-three. Nonetheless, in that year sales of machine-rolled cigarettes in Beijing was on the order of 1.25 billion pieces, or only about 1.5 cigarettes per person per day. By 1959 this had increased to 5.5 billion pieces, or about four cigarettes per person per day, slightly below the number smoked in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s.⁹⁶

Before surmising that lower levels of per capita cigarette consumption in Beijing relative to Shanghai were simply manifestations of the degree to which Beijing lagged behind Shanghai on a simple developmental trajectory moving from the agrarian Chinese past to a modern industrialized future, we should recall the complexities involved in the manufacture and sales of cigarettes in North China throughout this period. The area around Beijing, as elsewhere, saw a surge in handicraft production and consumption of hand-rolled cigarettes in the late 1920s and 1930s.⁹⁷ Cigarettes were among the many new-style commodities that small handicraft manufactories in Beijing and its suburbs began to produce in tried-and-true ways. Just as imports of other industrial products from the coast stimulated consumption and led to local production, so too the arrival of the industrial cigarette led to the establishment of workshops where cheap cigarettes were rolled by hand.

Following the line of argumentation used by Madeleine Yue Dong in analyzing similar production facilities for other consumer goods in Republican Beijing, we should note that these manufactories were not simply holdovers from the imperial period; handicraft production of cigarettes was as new to the city in the 1920s and 1930s as was the manufacture of many other inexpensive daily use items, such as knitted face towels or socks.⁹⁸ In this sense, Beijing was “not lagging behind other coastal areas in terms of its integration into the new global economy; rather, it was being integrated into that system in complex and at times detrimental ways.”⁹⁹ The dynamic relationship between the old and new, as expressed in the hybridized production of rolled cigarettes in handicraft workshops along with many other “modern” goods produced in “traditional” ways, gave rise to novel modes of production and consumption in Beijing just as they did in Shanghai. Consumers in both cities were being impacted by global capitalist industrial production in a more tightly integrated world system, albeit in distinctly different fashions.

PATTERNS OF TOBACCO CONSUMPTION IN 1930S DINGXIAN, HEBEI

Machine-rolled cigarettes were widely available throughout much of rural China by the 1930s, but as in Beijing, the low price of pipe tobacco relative to industrially produced cigarettes made cut tobacco much more affordable for the rural poor. Information about actual consumer behavior in small towns and village communities during the Republican period is hard to come by, and it is therefore difficult to document per capita smoking rates outside major cities. However, limited data for

the well-studied county of Dingxian in Hebei Province suggests that pipe tobacco was indeed used more generally by farm families in the 1930s than were machine-rolled cigarettes. Dingxian, the headquarters and focal point of James Yen's (Yan Yangchu, 1893–1990) progressive Mass Education Movement and Rural Reconstruction Institute from 1926 to 1937,¹⁰⁰ was the site of several extensive social surveys in the late 1920s and early 1930s, including one on farm family budgets conducted in 1928–29. Financed by Sidney Gamble and directed by Li Jinghan (Franklin C. H. Lee), investigators collected daily accounts of income and expenditures for thirty-four families in three villages for one year. This sample was by no means random: all the families owned land, and although none were labor-hiring landlords, they generally belonged to a higher-income group than the average family. Nonetheless, only 35 percent (twelve out of thirty-four) of these better-off rural families purchased cigarettes. In contrast, 76 percent (twenty-six out of thirty-four) purchased on average 6.3 jin (6.8 pounds) of pipe tobacco per year.¹⁰¹

Although there are discrepancies between the Chinese version of these survey results and the English-language account later compiled by Gamble, both find relatively low per capita rates of cigarette consumption among the twelve families that purchased them.¹⁰² The original survey results, published in China in 1933, find that on average, each of the twelve families (with an average of six people per family, or seventy-two potential smokers) purchased only 7.7 packs of ten cigarettes over the course of the entire year (for a total of 92.4 packs of ten). On a per capita basis, this works out to only 12.83 cigarettes per person per year, or 0.04 cigarettes per day. Gamble's results, which are based on more carefully tabulated versions of the same survey data, are higher: a total of 262 packs of ten cigarettes for all twelve families over the course of the year (21.83 packs per family per year). This comes out to thirty-six cigarettes per person per year, but still less than one cigarette per person per day (0.10). Of course, it is probable that only one or two members of each family actually smoked them—most likely the male head of household—so daily consumption per individual smoker may have been somewhat higher. Families might also have purchased cigarettes primarily to offer to guests rather than for personal consumption.

Twelve families is admittedly a very small sample size on which to base such broad conclusions. However, other information from the Dingxian surveys similarly suggests relatively low per capita cigarette consumption rates in the county. The wholesaler who handled all cigarette imports (from the coast) for Dingxian reported that the monthly consumption in the entire county was some five million cigarettes. With a population of about 400,000, this means that per capita cigarette consumption in the county was about 150 cigarettes per person per year, or less than one cigarette per person per day. These per capita figures are in line with estimates for cigarette consumption on the national level provided by the Nanjing government's consolidated tobacco tax bureau in 1930–31 (see earlier discussion).¹⁰³

The relatively low levels of cigarette consumption recorded for Dingxian compared to Shanghai cannot be accounted for by lack of access. Cigarettes, both those industrially produced and those rolled by hand, were readily available in Dingxian: the county seat, located on the railway between Baoding and Shijiazhuang a few hundred kilometers from Beijing, had two cigarette distributing agents as well as three pipe tobacco stores. There was also a cigarette-rolling workshop that employed six workers in town.¹⁰⁴ On market days, held twelve times per month, eleven roadside stands sold cigarettes, and on nonmarket days, six cigarette stalls were permanently open in the central market town. Cigarettes were also sold in several of the smaller standard marketing towns and temple fairs of the county. At the well-attended annual fair held in the small village of Yao Lu Chuang, fourteen stalls sold miscellaneous food items, three sold meat, three sold wine, three sold tea, and eleven sold cigarettes.¹⁰⁵

Brands available in Dingxian included Yizhong (BAT) Tobacco's Hatamen, The Baby, Rooster, and London (Straight Cut). Cigarette prices ranged from 3.5 to 6 cents per box of ten.¹⁰⁶ Between July 1930 and June 1934, the price of Hatamens in Dingxian averaged 6.8 cents for a pack of ten. A pack of ten The Baby cigarettes sold for on average for 5.4 cents, while a ten-pack of Rooster brand averaged 4.2 cents over the same time period.¹⁰⁷ In Shanghai, Hatamens were on the lower end of the price scale. In Dingxian, they appear to have been among the higher-priced brands for sale. This suggests that most cigarette smokers in Dingxian simply did not have the wherewithal to purchase the more expensive cigarettes sold in the city.

Brand-name cigarettes were on offer in numerous venues in Dingxian, but relatively few residents seem to have purchased them. Instead, rural families by and large bought locally grown tobacco. Certainly for those families that did buy tobacco, pipe tobacco was a much better value than were rolled cigarettes. The twelve families (out of thirty-four surveyed) that purchased cigarettes spent on average 5 cents per package of ten cigarettes; over the course of the year, they spent on average 1.09 yuan total for 21.8 packs of ten. Assuming that each cigarette contained 0.75 grams of tobacco, an annual expenditure of 1.0 yuan bought 150 grams, or one-third of a pound of tobacco. In contrast, the twenty-six families that purchased pipe tobacco spent on average 1.03 yuan over the course of the year. This slightly smaller outlay bought almost twenty times more tobacco (6.8 pounds).¹⁰⁸ Few families, no matter their income bracket, splurged on tobacco and wine.¹⁰⁹ Together, these expenditures represented 1 percent or less of total income for the thirty-four families surveyed (see table 9).

The evidence from Dingxian suggests that an urban-rural gap in smoking habits was one manifestation of the very real economic divisions that existed between city and countryside in the 1930s. To be sure, Dingxian was in many ways an atypical rural community. Already in the early Republican period, the modernizing national government had labeled it a "model" county because the reform-minded magis-

TABLE 9 Average Annual Expenditure on Tobacco and Wine of Thirty-four Dingxian Families, by Income Group, 1928–1929 (Income and expenditures in Chinese yuan)

	<i>Number of families</i>	<i>Total average income per family</i>	<i>Expenditures on tobacco and wine</i>	<i>Tobacco and wine as percentage of total income</i>
\$100–199	8	166.75	0.95	0.6
\$200–299	9	262.65	1.19	0.5
\$300–399	14	345.00	3.51	1.0
\$400–500	3	454.65	2.88	0.6
Total or average	34	290.95	2.24	0.7

SOURCE: Gamble 1954: 118, 123.

trate had carried out successful campaigns against foot-binding and popular religious practice.¹¹⁰ Subsequent efforts established elementary schools in every village and converted traditional academies to new schools. Located relatively close to Beijing—about six or seven hours by train—the experimental programs of the Mass Education Movement brought some thirty urban intellectuals and professional researchers and their families to live in the county seat. These 200 people in a town of approximately 11,500 would not have been inconspicuous.¹¹¹ Moreover, in the early 1930s a steady stream of visitors from the city—friends, political tourists, reporters, and officials—continually arrived to observe the social and agricultural experiments being conducted in the district.¹¹²

Dingxian, like many other Chinese agrarian communities in the early twentieth century, participated directly in global manufacturing circuits. Before the world depression and the instabilities caused by Japanese aggression began to disrupt the local economy in 1931–32, village weavers in Dingxian used cotton thread from India, Australia, and Shanghai to produce cloth that was re-exported directly to Manchuria and indirectly to foreign markets through Tianjin and Shijiazhuang. That industrial cigarettes were sold in a locality like Dingxian with immediate economic and cultural ties to broader regional, national, and global networks is thus unremarkable. What is perhaps more surprising are the relatively low levels of per capita cigarette consumption found even in this well-connected rural community in the 1920s and 1930s.

The degree to which local populations gravitated to machine-rolled cigarettes has often been taken as one indicator of the extent to which industrial products were actually reaching ordinary consumers in rural areas and at the lower reaches of the socioeconomic hierarchy in Republican China. In his fine business histories of the British-American Tobacco Company, Sherman Cochran argues that BAT's exten-

sive marketing and distribution networks, along with the company's flexible and elastic pricing strategy, enabled it to sell its products even to poor peasants in the interior almost from the beginning of the century. He writes, "As evidence that it [cigarette smoking] had penetrated the lower classes and become commonplace among the poor as early as 1911, [an observer] noted that bearers and carters and other haulers of heavy loads gauged the distance between two points not by miles but by the number of cigarettes smoked en route."¹¹³ Cochran's extensive anecdotal evidence about poor rural cigarette smokers, of which this is but one example, suggests that manufactured cigarettes were among the few factory-produced goods consumed everywhere in Republican China regardless of location or class. Cochran himself was careful to qualify this evidence, noting that the native pipe tobacco industry had remarkable staying power and that the farther one moved from the treaty ports, the fewer machine-rolled cigarettes appeared.¹¹⁴ Other scholars have been less judicious, boldly asserting that by the 1930s the ready-made cigarette had become a mass consumer good, smoked not only by modern urbanites but also by "poorer urban denizens" and "traditional peasants."¹¹⁵

While it is true that cigarettes were widely available in Republican China, we should not assume that all cigarettes consumed during those decades were produced in mechanized factories. The generic class of cigarettes, like that of pipe tobacco, was never one undifferentiated thing but included a wide range of products made not only by BAT and other foreign companies but also by smaller Chinese companies, hand-rollers, and counterfeiters. The "bearers and carters" who marked their progress by the number of cigarettes smoked in 1911 may well have been smoking coarse cigarettes made from "native" tobacco and wrapped in recycled newspaper. The Beijing rickshaw puller dragging away on a cigarette may well have been smoking a rerolled counterfeit "brand" purchased at the Tianqiao fairgrounds.

Indeed, the expansion and intensification of brand-name "pirating" on the part of the many localized hand-rolling workshops that popped up after 1925 meant that inexpensive "brand-name" cigarettes were available to Chinese consumers in small towns and villages as well as large cities. As a consequence, more and more rural folk and urban poor likely switched to cheap cigarettes in the 1920s and 1930s. Certainly the fact that hand-rolled cigarettes occupied a 25 percent market share in 1934 suggests just such an expansion in lower-class and rural consumption. Classified as "native" tobacco products for tax purposes, hand-rolled cigarettes do not show up in Republican-era statistical information about cigarette production or consumption and, for that reason, are not represented in the rough per capita consumption figures presented in this chapter. It is thus almost certain that many more laborers and poor peasants were smoking crude cigarettes than are indicated in these fragmentary statistics. It should not be forgotten, however, that a cheap counterfeit hand-rolled cigarette in the mouth of a lower-class smoker might appear similar to or even identical with a machine-rolled one, a fact that could lead observers to con-

clude that the cigarette had been produced in a distant Chinese or American factory, when in reality it came from a nearby handicraft workshop or the bootlegger's urban haunt.

The multifaceted nature of the Chinese cigarette trade—sales of locally produced or counterfeited brands overlapping those of tobacco products manufactured in distant industrial plants—greatly complicates the story of the “mass-marketed” cigarette and its role in the rise of “modern” consumerism in twentieth-century China. Contrary to those who see a genuine nationwide mass consumer market for industrial cigarettes already in place by the 1930s, this study finds that significant spatial and socioeconomic differences in patterns of tobacco consumption, also evident under the Qing, persisted well into the twentieth century. Among the three case studies examined here, only in Shanghai did lower-class consumers purchase machine-rolled cigarettes. In Beijing and Dingxian, manufactured cigarettes appear to have been primarily bought only by the financially more secure families. Inspired by pervasive advertising and media representations of the “modern” cigarette, many country dwellers and urban laborers may have aspired to smoke this new form of tobacco neatly rolled by machine. Many may have done so using less expensive hand-rolled or recycled products. For the vast majority of Chinese consumers, however, smoking cheap “native” tobacco was still a much better bargain than was the “newfangled” industrial cigarette.

The Urban Cigarette and the Pastoral Pipe

Literary Representations of Smoking in Republican China

The socially and spatially differentiated smoking habits outlined in the preceding chapter were part of a growing urban-rural divide in China that by the 1930s “was palpable and real.”¹ In the early twentieth century, industrialization in the treaty ports brought about intensified urbanization along the coast.² As urban standards of living improved relative to those in the countryside, the notion that it was better to live in a city than in a small town, already percolating in the late Qing period, emerged full-blown. Millions of rural immigrants moved to the city, drawn by factory jobs and the expectation of a better life. The sharp contrast between the decorum and dress of long-established “city folk” (*shimin*) and that of recent arrivals intensified metropolitan disdain for “country bumpkins” (*tubaozi*) and their traditional ways.³ Habits and customs now largely associated with the countryside, such as foot-binding, popular religion, and arranged marriages, were increasingly viewed by urban sophisticates as evidence of agrarian China’s supposed immobility vis-à-vis both the industrialized West and the modern Chinese city. Pipe smoking, once a cultural practice widely shared along an urban-rural continuum, was similarly regarded by many city dwellers as an old-fashioned “remnant” of traditional rural Chinese society, having no place in the modern world.

Disparities in standards of living between industrial cities and the countryside provided the material basis on which smoking habits diverged along geographical lines in the first half of the twentieth century. As argued in the preceding chapter, in the 1930s a socially inclusive mass market for machine-rolled cigarettes was in place only in Shanghai and a handful of other coastal treaty ports. In nonindustrial cities and small towns in the interior, machine-rolled cigarettes tended to be smoked

primarily by a relatively well-off minority. Pipe tobacco remained the more affordable alternative for the vast majority of Chinese smokers. These social and spatial differences in tobacco consumption, largely rooted in regional economic inequalities and income disparities between rich and poor, were reinforced by the many cultural representations of divergent smoking practices that appeared in Republican-era media. In films, magazines, newspapers, and tobacco advertisements, cigarettes were consistently portrayed as imported Western commodities that appealed primarily to fashionably up-to-date urban cosmopolitans. In contrast, the tobacco pipe was identified as a rusticated relic used only by cultural conservatives residing in backward places where time seemingly stood still.

Representations of the “urban cigarette” and the “pastoral pipe,” pervasive in both popular and highbrow culture, are particularly evident in Republican-era literature. As potent symbols of China’s encounter with the industrializing West, cigarettes figured prominently in the writings of many twentieth-century authors, most of whom dealt in one way or another with the theme of the integration of local Chinese communities into the globalized capitalist economy. Some Shanghai-based writers, especially those working in the “Shanghai style” (Haipai), celebrated the cigarette as a symbol of China’s emerging modernity. For them, the tobacco pipe, itself originally a foreign import, was now relegated to the rural imaginary as authentically Chinese but hopelessly outdated. Others, writing in the “Beijing style” (Jingpai), lamented the transformations symbolized by the cigarette’s displacement of the pipe. For these authors, long-standing anxieties about foreign imperialism and the moral degradation effected by urbanization informed images of the “Western” cigarette as corrupting and corrosive of deeply held Chinese values. The long-stemmed “pastoral pipe,” now idealized as the crystallization of Chinese culture, became a symbol of the cultural integrity imagined to exist in the bucolic countryside beyond the decadent city.

Such representational use of tobacco products to demarcate an idealized Westernized cityscape from an authentic but static native place was not peculiar to Republican China. Indeed, in other countries threatened by or already under foreign occupation, educated elite similarly differentiated between “traditional-indigenous” smoking practices on the one hand and the “modern” pre-rolled cigarette on the other.⁴ Transnational tobacco advertising and Hollywood films featuring glamorous cigarette-smoking actors only served to underscore this message. The globalized iconography of the cigarette as the quintessential *modern* commodity in turn shaped local consumption practices by suggesting that there were progressive (civilized) and regressive (uncivilized) ways to consume tobacco. To become modern, many Chinese smokers believed, they now had to light up shredded tobacco wrapped in fine imported paper rather than inhale it through sticks of native bamboo.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS
OF THE “MODERN” CIGARETTE

Despite its standardized appearance, its production in industrial factories, and its handy portability, the machine-rolled cigarette was not intrinsically more “modern” than other types of tobacco products. Some scholars have argued otherwise, contending that the physical design of the cigarette was particularly suited to the modern age.⁵ To be sure, the smaller size of the cigarette and its relatively light weight meant that it could be held easily in the mouth while one did other things with one’s hands. This quality made it popular with the new urban classes that worked in factories or offices. Indeed, some see the cigarette as an essential enhancement to modern industrial productivity because its ease of use and its stimulating properties (with only moderate and transitory effects) allowed workers to smoke on the job while concentrating on the task at hand. Other forms of tobacco are assumed to have been consumed only during long periods of idleness and thus are regarded as more suited to agrarian societies, in which time is presumed to have moved much more slowly.⁶

Such attribution of an essentialized “modern” quality to cigarettes overlooks the fact that smoking tobacco neatly rolled in paper was not an innovation of the industrial era (see chapter 6). Moreover, the shift in international taste from snuff, chewing, and pipe tobacco to cigarettes was initially shaped not by cigarettes mass-produced in Western factories but by high-end luxury cigarettes rolled by hand in Middle Eastern establishments.⁷ Nor was the cigarette the only convenient way to enjoy tobacco while multitasking. Other forms of tobacco—snuff-taking and chewing tobacco come to mind—provided similarly snappy ways of administering nicotine to the body. Chewing tobacco, which was historically the most prevalent form of tobacco used in the United States, merely had to be placed between the cheek and gum to be enjoyed. Snuff similarly required virtually no preparation at all but simply had to be placed in the nose and snorted (though a handkerchief had to be kept at the ready for unsightly drippings from the nasal passages). Tobacco smoked in pipes was also often consumed quickly and on-the-go. The truly revolutionary product of the nineteenth century that enabled smokers to pick up the pace of smoking was not the cigarette *per se* but the friction match. Before the invention of the safety match in 1844, smokers around the world used tinderboxes to light wooden or paper spills, which they then used to light their tobacco, a relatively slow and cumbersome process that could take up to several minutes.⁸ The safety match, first imported into China in the 1860s, undeniably made smoking more efficient and enabled tobacco smokers—whether of pipes or cigarettes—to light up anywhere with a minimum of fuss or bother.⁹

The idea that the cigarette was somehow uniquely modern emerged less out of qualities inherent to the cigarette itself than from potent social meanings about cig-

arettes constructed during an age of rapid industrialization and rampant imperialism. Although rolled tobacco originated with the Amerindians and was modified many times by disparate cultures prior to the industrial revolution, once it began to be machine-rolled in Anglo-American factories, it took on an iconic status around the world as a uniquely Westernized commodity. Cigarette companies then found it advantageous to market their products as highly convenient and “hygienic”—two qualities valued by consumers in the early twentieth century. Smokers who wished to fashion themselves as progressive and up-to-date, whether in New York or Shanghai, readily gravitated to this newly reinvented form of an old product. Well-educated elite, who were vanguard cigarette smokers in many societies, then attributed the cigarette’s global success to its distinctive physical form and its presumed capacity to meet the particular demands of an accelerated pace of modern life. Sociologists and historians soon followed suit.

Nor were cigarettes in China ever exclusively Western imports, even if that is how contemporary Chinese thought of them at the time. As noted earlier, the first cigarettes to circulate in China were hand-rolled in Manila with Luzon tobacco and were imported by mestizo or overseas Chinese resident in the Philippines. The vast majority of cigarettes consumed in China after 1900 were actually low-grade cheap brands made with domestically grown tobacco. To be sure, a very large percentage of these cigarettes were manufactured by BAT or its Chinese partners. By the 1930s, however, Chinese-owned tobacco companies and hand-rolling workshops controlled a significant share of the cigarette market. As noted in previous chapters, at least one-quarter of the cigarettes Chinese smokers consumed during the 1930s were hand-rolled using native tobacco. Despite the complex realities of the modern Chinese cigarette market, in Republican-era cultural representations, the cigarette was invariably imagined as a foreign item consumed only by those affecting a particular Westernized lifestyle. The pipe, in contrast, was nostalgically rendered as a genuine Chinese artifact of a bygone age.

THE CIGARETTE IN THE URBAN IMAGINARY OF SHANGHAI

In Chinese modernist literature, especially in the writings of those associated with the Haipai, or Shanghai, style, cigarettes were above all identified with the modern cityscape. Shanghai-based writers, especially those who penned short vernacular essays for literary journals or popular magazines, frequently chose the cigarette as a topic in the 1920s and early 1930s. Journals such as Lin Yutang’s *The Analects* offered up lighthearted reflections on smoking. Lin himself wrote numerous essays between 1929 and 1935 about the pleasures of cigarette smoking, including a relatively famous and highly sardonic piece about the “immorality” of quitting.¹⁰ In the essay, Lin notes that after three weeks of “straying” from the path of smoking and

submitting to the “temptation” of quitting, he happily sent his servant out for a pack of Capstans.

Writers affiliated with the Crescent Moon Society (Xinyue she) also turned their attention to cigarettes, utilizing them as symbols of certain Western values and ideologies they admired. The romantic English-trained poet Xu Zhimo (1897–1931), for example, wrote a piece entitled “Xiyan yu wenhua” (Smoking and Culture) that appeared in the society’s journal *Chenbao fukan* (Morning Post Literary Supplement) in 1926.¹¹ The essay credits the smoke-filled salons of Oxford and Cambridge universities (Xu Zhimo had studied in Cambridge for two years) with nurturing the talents of great British politicians, scholars, poets, artists, and scientists. Xu implies that Chinese universities could do with a bit of what he calls “smoking-ism” (*chouyanzhuyi*), by which he means engaged debate and discussion (carried on while chain-smoking cigarettes), in order to open students’ eyes and to awaken their self-awareness just as Cambridge had done for him.

Cigarette imagery was also central in the writing of several Shanghai writers associated with the Les Contemporaines (Xiandai) group and the New Sensationists (Xin ganjue pai). Known for their impressionistic descriptions reminiscent of the actual metropolitan environment of Shanghai, these authors used brand-name cigarettes as well as other commodities to underscore the materiality of modern urban culture. Foremost among these was Mu Shiying (1912–40), who, in Leo Oufan Lee’s words, “embodied the temper and spirit of a truly urbanized writer.”¹² Mu Shiying projected his lifestyle as a cosmopolitan Shanghai urbanite, including his penchant for smoking imported cigarettes, into his fiction. Cigarette brands of one kind or another—Camel, Chesterfield, Capstan, The Rat, My Dear, and Hatamen, as well as his favorite, Craven “A”—all made their way into his narratives. As Shu-mei Shih points out, in this regard, Mu Shiying was following the example of Japanese New Sensationist author Yokomitsu Riichi (1898–1947). In Yokomitsu’s story “The Lit Cigarette,” translated into Chinese in 1930 (as “Dianle huo de zhiyan”), the male author self-reflexively discusses his attraction to his female readers, a running commentary punctuated by foreign cigarette brand-names presented in their original language.¹³

Mu Shiying similarly uses cigarettes as key props in his fiction. One of his most famous short stories takes its title from the imported British (Carreras Limited) brand Craven “A.”¹⁴ In the story, first published in 1933, Craven “A” refers both to the cigarette and also to the dance hall hostess Yu Huixian, who is the object of the male protagonist’s (Yuan Yecun) desire.¹⁵ Shu-mei Shih has analyzed the ways in which the conflation of Yu Huixian’s identity with a foreign commodity renders her an inanimate object whose “existence matters only insofar as she triggers a repressed sexual longing” in Yuan Yecun.¹⁶ Yet if Yu Huixian is dehumanized by Yuan’s practice of calling her only by the tobacco product she consumes, by the same token, the foreign cigarette is anthropomorphized as an object of obsession. Yuan Yecun’s

attention is first drawn to Yu Huixian as the “pure aroma” of Craven “A” “slowly floats by amidst the jazz music.” In a long eroticized reverie about the “terrain” of the mysterious and intriguing woman’s body, whose name is as yet unknown to him, he fixates on her mouth, the “volcano” with pulsating fire at its core that emits sultry puffs of fragrant Craven “A” smoke.

Connections between Craven “A” cigarettes and sexuality continue throughout the story. After sitting down with Yuan Yecun and his friend, who makes introductions, Yu Huixian flirtatiously asks Yuan to retrieve a Craven “A” cigarette from her own table. When he says, “I have cigarettes,” she says, “No. I want Craven ‘A.’” He asks her why, and she replies, “I love their light, faint ashy flavor.” Their dalliance then plays off the images on the packaging: He brings back the red tin with the black-cat logo and says, “I’ll call you Miss Craven ‘A.’” She responds, “Be careful, black cats bring bad luck.” He answers, “Black cats are also symbols of happiness.” She then laughingly replies, “Then I’ll call you ‘black cat,’ o.k.?” In the end, the liaison between Yuan and Yu proves only temporary, but Yuan’s infatuation with and commitment to Craven “A” cigarettes continues. In the final scene, he sits smoking one by himself, in the haze seeing the image of a tired and lonely middle-aged woman.

Mu Shiyong also utilizes different cigarette brand names to signify the class and social status of his characters as seen in “Hei xuanfeng” (Black Whirlwind) his early story about lumpen-proletariat factory workers. One character, in conversation with his buddies from the factory, sums up the differences between laborers and university students: “They [university students] . . . have money, so they can get western-style houses built, and these houses with strong fire-proof and wind-proof walls and big iron gates are impregnable fortresses. You with your strength and code of honor can build nothing better than thatched sheds that will go up like a torch. . . . They smoke ‘Capstans’; Big Brother can’t afford anything more expensive than ‘The Rat.’ . . . They apply Stacomb on their hair; we have petroleum on ours. They go to college; we labor.”¹⁷ In this story, the semiotics of class difference marked by Shanghai cigarette brands is starkly revealed.

In “Yan” (Smoke), yet another story with a class-based theme, different cigarettes are used to mark the relative success or failure of the main character, an aspiring young college graduate with a degree in economics who has big plans to build a major corporation.¹⁸ When the story opens, the young entrepreneur has a new silver cigarette holder as well as a new Parker fountain pen and other material totems he uses to signal his entrée into the Shanghai business class. He smokes Chesterfields and Camels together with his university buddies as he regales them again and again with his business plan and how it is going to make him rich. In the end, none of his grand ambitions go anywhere. After finding himself bankrupt and penniless, he throws an empty Chesterfield pack on the ground, fishing in his pocket for spare change to buy some more from the local tobacco-and-paper store, but he is able to come up with only sixteen coppers. When the proprietor asks him “What brand?”

he shamefully replies, "Hatamen." As he takes the Hatamen cigarettes from the seller, he almost cries, sensing that "he was just like that paltry cheap cigarette." He opens the pack, lights up a cigarette, and slowly walks away.

Mu Shiyong's stories underscore the boundedness of Shanghai's urban smoking culture even as they celebrate the pervasiveness of cigarette smoking throughout the city. In Mu Shiyong's imagined world, the most desirable brands, Craven "A," Chesterfield, Camel, and Capstan were foreign imports or those made with top-grade imported Virginia tobacco. Hatamen cigarettes, produced in Shanghai with Chinese-grown flue-cured tobacco, were "paltry" and "cheap," not worthy of a successful modern entrepreneur or a sophisticated urban dandy. Only rough-and-tumble exurban factory workers smoked The Rat or other Chinese brands, in his view. His stories lay bare the intense desire on the part of the Shanghai cultural and intellectual vanguard to possess emblems of international modernity, including imported brand-name cigarettes. Yet in venerating the more exotic foreign brands available only to the wealthy and denigrating the local products "ordinary" people actually smoked, such fictional representations reinforced the image of the cigarette as a Western-style new product linked to a distinctive Shanghai lifestyle. These ongoing associations of the cigarette with "the West" and the particular urban milieu of Shanghai were in turn paralleled by contemporaneous representations of the "traditional" pipe as emblematic of the countryside and of "older" cities like Beijing.

THE NOSTALGIA OF PIPE SMOKING IN "OLD BEIJING"

Pipe smoking continued on in Beijing throughout the Nanjing Decade, primarily because it was the cheapest form of tobacco available to those with limited spending power. Yet literary representations of pipe smoking as an essentialized part of traditional Chinese culture also reinforced its inclusion in the repertoire of everyday practices considered to be an integral part of life in the former capital. In contrast to Shanghai, which was defined as a highly Westernized modern city where everything was new, Beijing, the center of power in late imperial China, came to be widely regarded in the 1930s as the historical depository for cultural traditions and old customs. Such images of "old Beijing" were often imposed on the city by intellectuals disdainful of "obsolete" practices, but they were also embraced by neotraditionalists who saw great value in retaining distinct localized customs in the face of the encroaching globalization epitomized by the highly commodified culture of Shanghai.¹⁹

Historical anecdotes about everyday practices in "old Beijing" were a popular genre in the 1930s.²⁰ Inspired by nostalgia over a way of life many feared was rapidly disappearing, writers such as Jin Shoushen (1906–68) wrote special columns for newspapers and magazines chronicling Beijing's traditional customs. In such works, pipe smoking was frequently placed alongside cricket fighting, lantern shows, pet

bird keeping, local foods and fashions, and seasonal festivals as illustrative of a distinctive and slow-moving Beijing lifestyle. Jin himself cataloged several famous “old-style” tobacco stores, the types of pipe tobacco they sold, and the tobacco paraphernalia favored by Beijing residents. Sketches of ordinary people lighting up and smoking their distinctive long pipes accompany the text.²¹ All of the illustrated figures are dressed in Chinese-style robes and caps, which highlights Jin’s portrayal of pipe smoking as a remnant of the past.

Such representations of “traditional” Beijing, while partially based in material realities imposed by Beijing’s lackluster economy as discussed in the preceding chapter, also reflected the city’s bid to reinvent itself after the national government moved to Nanjing in 1928. As Madeleine Yue Dong points out, the image of Beijing as the repository of ancient traditions was deliberately reinforced in the 1930s by urban planners seeking sources of revenue.²² With Beijing unable to compete with the treaty ports as an industrial center and no longer serving as the capital, city officials instead focused on building the city into a tourist destination. Beijing opera, imperial architecture, historical sites, and traditional handicrafts were to be the draw and the city’s oldness was to become, not merely a sign of obsolescence, but an asset.²³

Within the complex cultural, political, and economic milieu of China in the 1930s, pipes were deployed as signs of the more leisurely “art of living” now associated with “traditional” Beijing. Cigarettes as a signifier of the “modern” figured prominently in fictional narratives written about Republican Beijing, just as they did in works set in Shanghai. When placed within the context of the “old” city, however, now newly recast as the storehouse for time-honored Chinese customs, cigarettes also signaled the dangers many Beijing-style intellectuals associated with the homogenizing forces of globalization. Whereas Mu Shiying and other Shanghai writers utilized brand-name cigarettes to celebrate Shanghai’s exceptional modernity, commodification, and internationalism, urban cosmopolitans who wrote about Beijing in the 1930s tended to equate cigarettes negatively with total Westernization, urban decadence, and the decline of long-standing Chinese moral values. Pipes, in contrast, were nostalgically linked by such writers to an idealized and idyllic pastoral countryside.

Such a dichotomous use of cigarettes and pipes is found in the fiction and essays of Lao She (1899–1966), the Republican-era writer whose name is perhaps most closely linked to the city of Beijing.²⁴ In *Luotuo Xiangzi* (Camel Xiangzi), Lao She’s classic novel of decay and despair in 1930s Beijing, cigarettes serve as one of the urban pleasures that seduce and eventually destroy the main character, Xiangzi. Xiangzi comes to Beijing from the countryside as a young man. Initially a nonsmoker, he is strong, industrious, and determined to make a better future for himself, setting aside some of his earnings as a rickshaw puller in order to one day buy his own vehicle.²⁵ This ambition requires that he forego the drinking, gambling, and smoking enjoyed by other rickshaw men in the yard, a sacrifice he occasionally regrets but

does not abandon.²⁶ After three years, he manages to buy his own rickshaw, but then loses it almost immediately when he is kidnapped by warlord soldiers. Thereafter, Xiangzi repeatedly strives to climb out of poverty only to lose his hard-earned money to one misfortune after another. Xiangzi spirals downward into decadence, first being enchanted by women and wine, then by cigarettes.²⁷ Tigress, his first seductress, tricks him into marrying her by pretending she is carrying his child. She eventually does get pregnant but then dies in childbirth. After her funeral, Xiangzi takes up drinking and smoking with a vengeance, even though he does not really enjoy it: "Bitterness flooded his soul, blazing anger dried his tears and he puffed furiously at his cigarette. The more he disliked smoking, the harder he smoked. When the packet was empty, he rested his head in his hands, the same acrid bitterness in his soul as his mouth."²⁸

Later in the narrative, Xiangzi's despair has turned into resignation, but he continues to smoke nonetheless: "Smoking had become an addiction. Whenever he sat in the rickshaw waiting for a fare, his big hands would grope under the footrest where he kept his cigarettes. He would puff slowly, his eyes intent on the spirals of the smoke drifting upward. Then he would nod, as if he had reached some kind of conclusion."²⁹ Whereas earlier he had eschewed rowdy drinking and gambling parties, he now participates fully, always passing around his packet of cigarettes among his colleagues and then volunteering to buy more when they run out.³⁰ Finally, when he learns that a prostitute he has fallen in love with has committed suicide, he hits bottom: "Wine and tobacco became his friends once more. If he didn't smoke, how could he think? And if he didn't get drunk, how could he stop thinking?"³¹ Xiangzi, the upright young peasant, has been reduced by the city to self-indulgence and self-pity. In the end, he shuffles along, head down, looking for cigarette butts to pick up off the ground.³² His acquired cigarette habit is a symbol of his descent from proud abstinence and integrity to degeneracy and despair.

Lao She's representations of the cigarette as a symbol of moral decay brought on by Xiangzi's migration to Beijing from the countryside can be contrasted with his description in the novel of tobacco pipes. In a moment of nostalgia for his hometown, Xiangzi recalls "old men basking in the winter sun or sitting under the autumn moon, sucking bamboo pipes, silent and still. Though too young to imitate them, he had enjoyed watching them, certain that they must be savoring something very special. Now, although he was in the city, the peacefulness of the Cao household reminded him of his village and made him feel like smoking a pipe himself and ruminating."³³ For Xiangzi, and perhaps for Lao She as well, the conjured image of elderly peasants leisurely smoking traditional tobacco pipes is a refuge from the harsh life he has found in the abandoned capital. Lao She's rickshaw puller, like his Subei counterpart in Shanghai, has become a cigarette-smoking urbanite. But whereas the Shanghai puller might take pride in having been transformed into a modern Shanghairen by virtue of this shift in habits, in Lao She's vision, the ciga-

rette was a symbol of the potential risks of Western-style urbanized modernity under the conditions of economic deprivation and dislocation that Beijing was experiencing in the 1930s.

In many of Lao She's short stories, cigarettes similarly serve to register the author's ambivalence about the transformations under way in Beijing as a result of its disadvantaged incorporation into the commodified global economy. In "Lao zi hao" (An Old and Established Name), the new manager's practice of distributing free cigarettes to all customers, even to "someone buying as little as a half foot of plain cloth," disturbs a dignified longtime employee who equates such promotions with the hustling of street walkers.³⁴ Not only does the shop now fill up with the smoke fired up by its increasingly déclassé clientele ("soldiers, street cleaners, and waitresses"), but such business practices have reduced this "old and established name" to the level of its competitor across the street, whose manager is always "shuffling around in down-at-the-heel shoes with a cigarette dangling from lips that occasionally opened wide enough to reveal gold-capped teeth." The reputation of a well-established fabric store has thus been sullied by vulgar Western-inspired sales tactics, smoke-filled rooms, and the crass practice of handing out free cigarettes to all comers.

Lao She's ambivalence about cigarettes is also evident in several essays he wrote about smoking in the 1930s and 1940s. By his own admission, Lao She was addicted to cigarettes, having taken up the habit at the age of twenty (circa 1919).³⁵ In an essay penned in 1934 for Lin Yutang's journal *Renjianshi*, Lao She noted that smoking was part of his every waking moment: no matter what he was reading, looking at, or listening to, he puffed faithfully away on his cigarette. His habit dictated where he went and who he saw: for example, he avoided the library because it prohibited smoking. Books informed him that smoking was bad for his health, and he momentarily thought about quitting, but he had already lit another one before the thought of giving them up was even finished.

In yet another essay written in Chongqing in 1942, Lao She described the efforts of his friend He Rong (1903–90) to quit smoking.³⁶ Having traveled together as war refugees from Wuhan, the two took up quarters in one room. In Wuhan, where they had been active as leaders of the All-China Resistance Association of Writers and Artists, they preferred to smoke BAT's Chienmen (Grande) and Embassy cigarettes because Ruby Queens did not have enough flavor. Once they arrived in Chongqing, where their favorite brands were unavailable or too expensive, they found that Ruby Queens had somehow become more satisfying. Gradually BAT's lower-grade Pirates and Hatamens also "became our friends." But just at the moment that they had grown accustomed to the taste of the less expensive and more popular brands, He Rong decided to give up smoking altogether because of the expense involved. His willpower lasted for one day—an experience that was excruciating for both of them because Lao She did not dare light up while He Rong was in the room. The next day He Rong returned home with some cheap local cigarettes. "Try these," he

urged Lao She. “Just a copper a stick! With these, who needs to quit smoking?” However, neither man could stand the harsh smoke produced by the local product.

The next time He Rong quit, he could make it without tobacco for only half a day. By the afternoon, he had purchased a pipe and some shredded tobacco. “A few *mao* for tobacco leaves, enough to smoke for three or four days—why quit smoking tobacco?” he said. But after a few days of smoking the pipe, Lao She’s roommate complained that the pipe was inconvenient to carry about. He therefore gave it up and went back to machine-rolled cigarettes, even though they were inordinately expensive.

Eventually, inflation in wartime Chongqing made cigarettes so costly that even Lao She tried to give them up. In an essay written in 1944, Lao She discussed the challenges he faced in quitting his pleasurable addiction.³⁷ According to his narrative, inflation brought on by the wartime economy had pushed the price of the normally inexpensive Pirate cigarettes to more than one hundred yuan per pack. Down to his last Hwa Lee stick, Lao She noted that the price of that brand was increasing by ten yuan per day. Under such circumstances, he felt he had no choice but to quit. But he soon found that “without cigarettes, I could not write.” After six days he began to think he would finish his novel only if someone were to guarantee him a daily supply of Camel cigarettes until the war was over. Seeing as this was impossible, he decided he must soldier on and not capitulate to his addiction.

Lao She’s sketches about cigarette smoking, published in popular magazines and newspapers in the 1940s, are somewhat more lighthearted than his fictional representations of cigarettes as symbols of urban decadence and moral corruption. But brand-name cigarettes nonetheless emerge in these essays as cosmopolitan objects of desire representative of a particular urban milieu: the modern industrial city. Lao She mentions the BAT brands he and He Rong favored in Wuhan by name, but the cheap, locally produced cigarettes He Rong procures in Chongqing are described only as “native cigarettes,” which he cannot abide. He Rong tries to smoke inexpensive tobacco in a classic Chinese-style pipe, but finds it inefficient and ultimately unsatisfying. “Having taken up cigarettes, there is no going back!” he says. He might well have been speaking of the irreparable social transformations he believed were being wrought by industrialization itself.

Lao She’s dichotomized use of cigarettes as symbols of “the decadent, the modern, and the foreign” and pipes as “moral, traditional, and Chinese” is reminiscent of the *xiangtu Zhongguo* (rural or native place) sensibility that many cultural historians find in the literature of the Beijing style (Jingpai). Lao She himself is not generally classified as part of the Jingpai group, but his “images of Beijing and Beijing mentalities are nevertheless grounded on cultural configurations similar to those of Beijing trends.”³⁸ Cultural historian Zhang Yingjin identifies several key features that link the works of Lao She to other “Beijing types,” including Wu Zuxiang (1908–94) and Shen Congwen (1902–88). These traits include an ethnographic interest in the

mentalité and material culture of the everyday life of ordinary people, a technique that imparts a strong populist and regional flavor to such writings; the celebration of basic human goodness and the idealization of childhood, which engender an aura of nostalgia for the past; and a deep appreciation for the beauty of nature and those who live close to it, which gives rise to “a distinctive lyrical mode with regard to the rural and a satirical mode with regard to the urban.”³⁹ Lao She, one of the few writers of the “Beijing type” who actually grew up in the northern city, does not deal as directly with the countryside in his novels and short stories as do the two regionalist writers discussed later in this chapter. Although his stories and novels are replete with references to urban cigarettes, the pastoral pipe appears only occasionally—as in the passage from *Camel Xiangzi* cited above. Nonetheless, the metaphorical use of cigarettes in both his fiction and his prose reveals a fundamental apprehension about the social and cultural effects such industrially produced and highly seductive consumer goods will have not only on the cultured city of “old Beijing” but also on an imagined idyllic village in the rural hinterland.

CIGARETTES AND PIPES IN REGIONALIST LITERATURE OF THE 1930S

The use of cigarettes as a sign of the unfortunate ascendance of capitalist, modern, and urban values in an idealized agrarian China is clearly evident in the works of “Beijing-style” regionalist writers Wu Zuxiang and Shen Congwen. Both are renowned for their portrayals of village life. Wu Zuxiang’s fiction is almost exclusively about the small town in southern Anhui where he grew up; Shen Congwen set his stories in the western Hunan Sino-Miao border region of his own childhood. Both emigrated to the city: Wu Zuxiang took permanent leave of his rural roots in 1925 at the age of seventeen in favor of various urban residences (briefly Shanghai, then Beijing, Nanjing, Chongqing, and again Beijing), and Shen Congwen departed home for Beijing in 1922 at age twenty. Nevertheless, both imaginatively returned to the countryside many times in their creative writing. Many of their stories deliberately contrast a simpler and more natural rural landscape with the crass materialism engendered by modern consumer-oriented city life. Like Lao She, each nostalgically renders the tobacco pipe as a symbol of an authentic Chinese way of life that was rapidly succumbing to the corrosive effects of Western material culture embodied in the industrial cigarette.

Wu Zuxiang’s short stories are generally set in small towns very much like his hometown of Maolin. Situated in an area of southeastern Anhui lying to the south of the Yangzi River about 350 miles from the coast, Maolin was in the hill country above Wuhu, the nearest Yangzi river port. During Wu Zuxiang’s childhood, the overland trip from Maolin to Wuhu took about three days, but from there more rapid water transport was available to Nanjing, which lay only about a hundred miles

farther downstream.⁴⁰ Merchants from Huizhou and other mercantile hubs had long linked Maolin and the surrounding countryside to the vibrant trade networks of the Lower Yangzi, and their localized investments had helped generate relative prosperity throughout the area.

As Maolin was connected to the broader Lower Yangzi economy centered on Shanghai, cigarettes imported from the coast were already being sold there in the 1910s. Wu Zuxiang, like many writers of his generation, began smoking as a young man, having first been introduced to cigarettes via collectible cigarette cards. (This was not an uncommon way for Chinese youth to get hooked on cigarettes). Wu himself preferred cigarettes made entirely from Virginia tobacco.⁴¹ Several of his short stories reference BAT and Nanyang Brothers cigarettes, and it is possible that he smoked these in Maolin even before setting out for Shanghai and beyond in 1925. For example, in “Fan jia pu” (Fan Hamlet), the protagonist, a young rural woman who operates a roadside stall, formerly sold Fairy Island and Pirate cigarettes along with tea to the many travelers who pass by.⁴² Wu uses the absence of these items in the woman’s inventory during the 1930s to signal the hard times brought to village communities in southern Anhui by the global depression.

Although cigarettes were already part of rural life in Maolin when Wu Zuxiang was a boy, and even though he himself smoked “foreign” cigarettes, Wu uses them in his fiction to highlight significant urban-rural differences. This is evident in a story first published in February 1932 entitled “Jin xiaojie yu Xue guniang” (Miss Jin and the Xue Girl).⁴³ This story uses familiar tropes to contrast urban decadence with rural purity: the modern seductions of the city are symbolized by a cigarette-smoking femme fatale, while the old-fashioned charms of the countryside are embodied in a plain but virtuous village girl. The narrator, a recent college graduate teaching high school in Beijing, runs into an old flame from back home. Xue, the ex-girlfriend, lives a fast life in the city. Her promiscuous behavior has led her to be shunned by everyone but the narrator. When she invites him to dinner, he accepts, even though the renewal of this relationship causes his fiancée, a rustic girl named Jin, to break off their engagement. The country woman Jin is humble and demure; the citified Xue is impulsive, passionate, and unrestrained.⁴⁴ Like her life, her room is disorderly and in disarray, piled helter-skelter with clothes, socks, towels, and discarded cigarette packs. Although Wu Zuxiang sets the story in Beijing, Xue and her maid converse using expressions from the Shanghai dialect, a technique that, as Philip Williams notes, serves “to remind the reader that they [the characters] have come under the influence of Shanghai, the freewheeling but injustice-laden treaty port that our meliorist author condemned in 1931 as ‘the central point of infection of the disease affecting all China.’”⁴⁵ The “infectious disease,” of course, was the ill effects of Western-style industrial capitalism on the rural Chinese social order, symbolized above all by the sexually promiscuous woman carelessly tossing aside cigarette packs after she recklessly burns through their contents.

In “Guanguan de bupin” (Little Lord Guanguan’s Tonic), another story written in 1932, Wu Zuxiang likewise stresses the negative outcomes of rural China’s links to the world economy, particularly during the years of the global depression.⁴⁶ The author incorporates cigarettes, in this case, BAT’s Ruby Queens and Pirates, into the story as an example of the way that foreign manufactures have displaced native handicrafts to the detriment of China. Guanguan, the narrator, is the spoiled and self-centered son of a wealthy landlord. While pursuing a hedonistic lifestyle in Shanghai, Guanguan is involved in a high-speed car crash. Guanguan survives the accident only because he receives a blood transfusion from one of his family’s impoverished tenants, who must sell his blood at the foreign hospital to meet his rent obligations. Guanguan returns to the countryside to convalesce and while there follows a recuperative diet that includes fresh mother’s milk, provided by none other than the blood-donor’s wife. The peasant woman humiliates herself by openly expressing her breast milk to furnish Guanguan with his daily tonic. In the end, the tenant is unjustly arrested for banditry and beheaded on the orders of Guanguan’s uncle, the local militia commander.

Cigarettes enter this story in the context of a discussion about the roots of rural poverty carried on between Guanguan’s uncle, his uncle’s cronies at militia headquarters, and Guanguan’s cousin, a businessman from the city. An old militiaman opines that the cycle of Fate is in a downward spiral, not only in China but in Japan and America, where millions of people are also unemployed. The distant cousin disagrees, arguing that the incursions of foreigners and their consumer goods, not fate, are the cause of China’s economic problems. The cousin goes on to observe that a wide range of items, including homespun cloth, bean oil, and tobacco and pipes used to be produced by Chinese “for our own use” such that “the money went back and forth from one hand to the next among ourselves.” Previously, “you lit your pipe with a flint and a twist of paper; when did you ever see anybody strike a match and light up a cigarette, a Ruby Queen or a Pirate brand?”⁴⁷ In pursuing such arguments, Wu Zuxiang’s character contrasts the fragmented and impoverished countryside of the 1930s with the vibrant and thriving rural economy he believes existed in the preindustrial age. In his view, machine-rolled cigarettes, along with factory-made textiles and refinery kerosene, have brought to an end the days of peace and plenty villagers enjoyed in the past.

Nostalgia for a vanished rural way of life is the central theme in a 1944 essay written by Wu Zuxiang entitled simply “Yan” (Tobacco).⁴⁸ In the essay, penned while he was living in the inflation-ridden wartime capital of Chongqing, Wu Zuxiang writes that he was pained when his children, who had little to eat, commented that his daily pack of cigarettes was equivalent in price to one jin of meat. Although he wanted to swear off smoking on hearing this, his prior experience with quitting suggested that he would make it only ten days or so. Nonetheless, he cut down on his daily quota of cigarettes and, like He Rong, switched to cheaper local brands. After

taking one puff of the “native cigarettes,” however, he could not stop coughing. Seeing his discomfort, his wife brought home a bamboo water pipe and some high-quality water-pipe tobacco. As this was the type of tobacco Wu Zuxiang had grown up with as a boy, this was like “an old friend returning.”

His wife’s gift immediately plunges Wu Zuxiang into a wistful reverie about his childhood, and this in turn gives rise to contemplation of the elements of Chinese culture that have been irrevocably lost through contact with Western civilization. Upon reflection, Wu Zuxiang observes that the water pipe “was the crystallization of our Chinese culture.” The elaborate rituals associated with smoking the Chinese water pipe—placing just the right amount of tobacco in the reservoir along with the proper level of water, lighting it with a paper spill, passing it back and forth between friends and family—epitomized the leisurely, sociable, and genial lifestyle enjoyed by the rural gentry in earlier times. He ruminates on the luxuries afforded the traditional family patriarch in the olden days: a man who could smoke his pipe all day long while studying or relaxing at home if he wished, relying upon his children or the women of the household to prepare his pipe and to keep it filled. Wu Zuxiang then contrasts this companionable way of smoking to “foreign-style” cigarettes, which he says are generally smoked alone. Even when smoking with friends, there are no rituals one can engage in to replicate the kind of intimate sharing implied by passing along the hookah. Instead, all one can do is to open a pack and offer a mass-produced stick to the other. “He smokes his and you smoke yours. Your hearts and spirits are separated.”

With such musings, Wu Zuxiang concluded that the pipe was completely different from the cigarette. The water pipe embodied the “spirit” of Chinese civilization and enshrined all “the characteristics of ancient agrarian culture,” both good and bad, including the unyielding authority of the family patriarch and the rigid family clan system, but also the relaxed art of living enjoyed in the unhurried countryside. The cigarette, in contrast, with its background in “Western industrialized culture” was a product of the culture of material progress, individualism, and social alienation. In Wu Zuxiang’s view, the cigarette could be smoked quickly, anonymously, and without any kind of social interaction whatsoever. Such isolation was unthinkable in village communities that enjoyed social solidarity.

In the end, although it causes him great sorrow, Wu Zuxiang realizes that he cannot smoke the water pipe after all, because he is already a modern urban man cut off from his rural roots. The circumstances necessary for a leisurely communal smoke no longer obtain. He is not the head of a large extended family but the co-parent of a nuclear family. His thoroughly modern wife goes out to work, and she cannot and will not wait on him hand and foot. His children go to school and are too busy to help him with the water pipe and its related paraphernalia. He himself must work hard to make a living, and it is highly inconvenient to prepare the pipe or to smoke it while reading, writing, or walking about outside. Wu concludes, “All

things considered, I had best still smoke cigarettes.” On the one hand, Wu Zuxiang’s essay can be read as an ironic commentary on the privileged position of the old-style male elite. On the other hand, the essay also genuinely laments the encroaching impact of industrialization, modernity, and the urban lifestyle on an idealized, idyllic rural and somehow more authentically Chinese past.

Shen Congwen, another great regionalist writer of the 1930s, also utilizes tobacco products to signify the profound differences he believed existed between the city and the countryside, the past and the present, and the West and China. Shen was an accomplished and prolific author whose fictional works became widely re-acclaimed only in the 1980s, after the CCP lifted the mandate that all literature follow the form and content of socialist realism.⁴⁹ Born into a relatively well-off military family and raised in a peripheral section of the northwestern Hunan frontier, Shen’s background made him unusual among well-known May Fourth-era intellectuals, most of whom, like Wu Zuxiang, came from scholar-gentry or merchant families living in more prosperous regions. Shen received little formal education. After a stint in the local militia, Shen sought broader opportunities by making his way to Beijing in the early 1920s. Shut out of formal university training by his lack of a primary school diploma, he fell in with Ding Ling (1904–86) and her lover Hu Yepin (1904–31) and others among the Beijing avant-garde.⁵⁰ He began writing in earnest in 1924. From that point until 1948, when he penned his last work of fiction, Shen Congwen produced a massive oeuvre that some consider “the most distinguished single body of short and medium-length fiction in twentieth-century China.”⁵¹

Many of Shen’s stories and novellas, particularly those written in the late 1920s and early 1930s, take up the theme of the urban-rural schism in a manner that celebrates the pastoral while not obscuring the harsher realities of peasant life. David Der-wei Wang, for one, argues that Shen’s works are not so much an idealization of an idyllic rural setting as a “lyrical realism.”⁵² Nonetheless, many of his stories, especially pieces written before he returned for a disillusioning visit to his native place in 1933–34, optimistically render the countryside as the repository of enduring and humane values that he believed could sustain Chinese culture in the face of urban corruption and decay. Unlike most Chinese fiction of the period, Shen does not portray “country folk” formulaically as poor and oppressed masses passively waiting to be redirected by urban intellectuals. While not perfect, the rural people of western Hunan are basically good and virtuous because they live close to nature and labor on the land. Set upon by outside forces beyond their control, including global capitalism, government bureaucracy, warlord armies, and the alien mores and customs of city folk, the humble people of the border region retain their dignity, integrity, and self-determination by holding fast to their simple and plain way of life. It is the decadent local elite who are degraded by the creeping commercialism and urban materialism that enters the countryside from Shanghai and other Westernized industrial centers.⁵³

Different types of tobacco products appear in Shen Congwen's stories quite explicitly as symbols of this dichotomized moral landscape. Whereas cigarettes are presented as artificial commodities foisted on them by the Westernized city, pipe tobacco is portrayed as part of nature's bounty. In his recollections of childhood and his early education, Shen mentions tobacco along with other natural mountain products such as tiger skins brought to the local market by Miao chieftains.⁵⁴ Elsewhere, Shen idealizes pipe tobacco as a mainstay of local agriculture and handcraft production that is produced by honest toil and hard work and is part of a simple barter economy.⁵⁵ Yet in reality, as Shen himself pointed out in his autobiography, the tobacco trade in western Hunan had long been dominated by sojourning merchants from Fujian, suggesting that his native place had been incorporated into long-distance regional trade networks centered on the coast long before the intrusion of global capitalism brought in manufactured cigarettes.⁵⁶

In Shen Congwen's fiction, the tobacco pipe, which shows up quite frequently, is invariably smoked by poor but honorable stalwarts who labor on the river or the land. Indeed, the pipe almost always symbolizes virtue in Shen's stories. The boatmen who work on river freighters in the story "Baizi" are all "Mercury-like nimble-footed heroes" because of their ability to tirelessly climb the mast to untangle the rigging when necessary. In this story, as in many others, Shen Congwen extended country virtues even to these rootless transport workers, in a bold challenge to more conventional views of such men as dangerous drifters who lacked a fixed abode.⁵⁷ As they come into port, these good, honest, hardworking men stand on deck smoking their long pipes, dressed in their home-spun shirts, eagerly anticipating the welcome they will receive in dockside brothels.⁵⁸ The sailors count tobacco, wine, and women—who delight in their presence—among their few simple pleasures in a life of unremitting hardship.⁵⁹

Cigarettes rarely appear in Shen's stories. When they do, they are always smoked by urbanites. For example, Little Ruan, an idealistic Communist from Hefei (Anhui) who attends school in Beijing in the story "Daxiao Ruan" (Big Ruan and Little Ruan) is a cigarette smoker.⁶⁰ In "Caiyuan" (The Vegetable Garden), a Manchu bannerman from Beijing relocates his family to a provincial town just before the 1911 Revolution. The father takes up an official position in the Qing bureaucracy but then dies a few years before the Qing are overthrown. His son, who is ultimately executed as a leftist radical by the Guomindang in the late 1920s, remembers his father as a "dignified man smoking a Capital cigarette." While Shen depicts this uprooted Manchu family sympathetically as victims of political forces beyond their control, he also uses the industrial cigarette to underscore the changes wrought by urbanites and their foreign ways when they are transplanted to the rural hinterland. The narrator comments, "At that time it was very fashionable to smoke a Western brand. Today, of course, even workers can buy the My Dear brand, and they no longer use flints and long-stemmed pipes."⁶¹ Shen Congwen, like so many of his

contemporaries, including Lao She and Wu Zuxiang, thus appears to have regarded the cigarette as the ultimate symbol of the displacements and disruptions the Chinese social order experienced in the twentieth century. For Shen, however, it is the corruptions and complexities of city life generally, not simply the specific encounter with things foreign, that most profoundly intrudes on the rural idyll.

The contrast between the pastoral pipe and the urban cigarette is perhaps most clearly drawn in “Zhangfu” (The Husband), a story Shen Congwen wrote in 1930.⁶² This tale is set in a dockside town (similar to that portrayed in “Baizi”) where women from the countryside work as prostitutes on riverboats as a matter of course because farming by itself cannot provide subsistence in this impoverished backwater. The male protagonist is a somewhat naïve peasant man who comes to visit his wife on her floating brothel, a practice that Shen presents as common and routine. In this case, the husband humbly accepts being cuckolded time and again by drunken sailors and liquored-up merchants, repeatedly crawling meekly into the afterhold as his wife conducts business in the main cabin. In the end, however, his repressed anger and shame surfaces, and he somehow finds the courage to take his wife home, thereby forgoing the much-needed extra income she earns from her sex work but regaining his self-respect and human dignity.

Shen Congwen quite explicitly deploys brand-name cigarettes as a symbol of the urban corruption of rural values, signified by the “traditional” pipe. As he prepares to make the ten-mile hike into town to see his wife, the husband will “put on his freshly washed and newly starched clothes, hang from his waistband the short-stemmed pipe that never leaves his mouth when he’s working . . . and set off for the city as if going to meet a long-lost relative.” Upon arrival, however, he is shocked by his wife’s citified appearance, “the long eyebrows plucked so thin by tweezers, the white face powder and crimson rouge, the city affectations and city clothes—these are enough to fluster a country husband to the point that he doesn’t know how to treat her.” His next shock comes as he takes out his pipe and flint for a smoke. She grabs these rustic items from his hands and instead thrusts “a delicate Hata-men-brand cigarette into his thick, coarse palm.” After the initial surprise, the husband finds he “enjoys the novelty of these machine-made cigarettes,” and throughout the duration of his visit he puffs away on Hatamens while his wife receives customers. In the final scene, however, when the farmer recovers the fortitude needed to reject such tainted city mores, he takes up his pipe and tobacco pouch and, together with his wife, returns home.

In Republican-era literary discourse, cigarettes were consistently depicted as modern, urban, and foreign, while pipes were portrayed as traditional, rural, and Chinese. But the meanings of these dichotomized images clearly shifted depending on the particular strategy an individual author adopted when negotiating China’s cul-

tural relationship with industrial Japan and the West within the geopolitical and economic context of imperialism. The close identification of pipe smoking with the countryside and with “old” cities such as Beijing, a generalized custom long practiced throughout both urban and rural China and not just in small towns or the former capital, can be viewed within the context of the efforts of some Chinese writers, especially those active in Beijing academic circles, to reassert the validity of indigenous practices in the face of the universalizing claims of “Western civilization.” By redefining pipe smoking as part of the leisurely “art of daily living” enjoyed by cultured Chinese against the backdrop of the commodification of the highly convenient but artless mass-marketed global cigarette, Wu Zuxiang was staking claims for the universal value of communalism and social solidarity over what he perceived as the hyperindividualism and loneliness of the West. Similarly, by equating the peasant’s pipe with time-honored values of honesty, integrity, and moral clarity and the industrial cigarette with decadence, avarice, and greed, Lao She and Shen Congwen were articulating alternative, rural-based paths toward modernity.

For many Republican-era intellectuals, especially those associated with the Beijing-based Jingpai group, cigarettes were emblematic of the intrusion of modern, capitalist, Western values into China, while pipes signified the continuation of authentic and valuable local traditions that could serve as a basis of a new, more equitable society. As urban cosmopolitans, Lao She, Wu Zuxiang, and Shen Congwen romanticized the pastoral pipe as a holdover from the distant past, now found, they believed, only in localities far distant from the industrialized city. In their eyes, pipe smoking, along with other authentic Chinese customs, endured only in the timeless local spaces of the native place or the rural village, in smaller interior cities, or perhaps in the quaint lanes of the “old” capital. As they struggled to build a new Chinese nation, many sought to protect these localities from what they believed to be the detrimental effects of commodification and mass marketing on the part of transnational companies such as BAT. The presence of Ruby Queens, Pirate, or Hata-men cigarettes in a local community indicated that it had already been ensnared in global capitalism’s net and that the erosion of the more genuine indigenous cultural practice of pipe smoking was well under way. The fact that tobacco smoking itself was originally a foreign import or that much of the premium pipe tobacco sold in local Chinese markets came from distant localities and was handled by traveling merchants from outside the immediate area was completely overlooked. Also ignored was the fact that many cigarettes sold locally, even some that appeared to be imported, were actually hand-rolled in workshops situated not in Shanghai or Tianjin but in the native place itself.

The ongoing association of the cigarette with the city and the pipe with the countryside had a basis in material reality. As indicated in chapter 7, upper- and middle-class urbanites smoked far more factory-produced cigarettes than did rural residents or the urban poor. However, this urban-rural gap in smoking habits was not

entirely new: the patterns of Qing-era tobacco use outlined in chapter 5 indicate that significant socioeconomic differences in Chinese tobacco use were already present well before the twentieth century. Peasants and laborers, whether resident in the city or the countryside, overwhelmingly smoked cheap pipe tobacco produced locally. Both urban- and rural-based gentry smoked more expensive pipe tobacco, often imported from distant provinces, or they indulged in specialty water-pipe tobaccos grown in the mountains of western Fujian or faraway Gansu. Those in the highest echelons of society snuffed tobacco imported from the Americas, or smoked fine pipe tobaccos brought in from Korea or Japan. Location in the urban hierarchies of China's macroregions obviously mattered in terms of what types of tobacco products were available to consumers: those living in the economic cores of the North China, Lingnan, or Middle or Lower Yangzi regions had much more choice than did those living elsewhere. But only the wealthiest—be they urban- or rural-based—could afford to purchase the most exotic products. In this sense, in late imperial China, class was more significant than geography in determining which particular product was consumed.

In the early twentieth century, consumer choice, not only of the type of tobacco smoked but also of the mode of consumption (cigarette or pipe), continued to be dictated largely by income. As a relatively poor agrarian country in a rapidly industrializing world, economic conditions in Republican China put significant constraints on the mass consumption of manufactured goods, including machine-rolled cigarettes. In most areas, smoking habits divided along class lines much as they had under the Qing. Beyond the treaty ports, wealth continued to separate smokers of cigarettes from poorer consumers of pipe tobacco, just as snuff-taking and smoking the water pipe had distinguished an earlier generation of elite consumers from their social inferiors. In the 1920s and 1930s, however, material reality was enshrined in both popular and elite culture fundamentally as a consequence of location rather than class. The "urban cigarette" came to symbolize all things modern and Western, while the "pastoral pipe" signified "traditional rural China." The foregrounding of urban-rural *cultural* differences in twentieth-century literary works meant that the main fault line between cigarette and pipe smokers was now perceived to run between town and country, not between rich and poor, even though socioeconomic inequalities can more readily explain differences in smoking behaviors than can the perceived urban-rural cultural gap.

By emphasizing spatially defined cultural differences in China's newly refashioned but still bifurcated smoking culture, writers such as Lao She, Wu Zuxiang, and Shen Congwen were reporting on one of the many economic realities that separated the rural and urban poor from the middle and upper classes that lived primarily in the city. Although Chinese intellectuals recognized the disruptions and displacements effected by global economic developments on the poor, they did not always fully acknowledge that these differences in smoking behaviors were fundamentally

rooted in socioeconomic and regional inequalities that they themselves benefited from. They may have lamented the transformations under way in their native places as a result of China's encounter with global capitalism, but when they themselves reached for a smoke, they inevitably picked up a pack of British-, American-, or Shanghai-made cigarettes. Locally produced "native" cigarettes or the outmoded pastoral pipe—that "crystallization of Chinese culture"—were not for progressive and forward-looking men such as themselves.

To be sure, literary associations of the tobacco pipe with country folk were not altogether new in the twentieth century. In the late-nineteenth-century novel *Tales of Romantic Heroes*, pipe smoking was portrayed as a rustic habit indulged in primarily by those from the countryside. However, in Wenkang's narrative, smoking was depicted as socially acceptable for both rural men and women.⁶³ In contrast, Wu Zuxiang's and Shen Congwen's rural pipe smokers and Lao She's cigarette-smoking urbanites are invariably male. The only women smokers who appear in the Republican-era fiction discussed thus far are dangerous and promiscuous femmes fatales living in or adversely influenced by the Westernized city of Shanghai. This dramatic shift in representations of women who smoked mirrored a profound and highly gendered transformation under way in China's smoking culture in the early twentieth century. Elite women, formerly full participants in this culture, gave up their pipes in the decades between 1900 and 1949, just as their husbands did. Unlike their menfolk, however, these women by and large did not take up cigarettes, because smoking, once a normal part of many women's daily routine, was becoming increasingly disreputable for women. In the twentieth century, the notion that cigarette smoking was not suitable for respectable women gradually took hold throughout society. As a result, China became a nation not only of cigarette-smoking urbanites and pipe-smoking peasants but one divided between males who smoked and women who did not.

New Women, Modern Girls, and the Decline of Female Smoking, 1900–1976

From the seventeenth until at least the late nineteenth century, many Chinese women of all social ranks consumed tobacco just as their menfolk did. Granted, there were gendered differences in the location of consumption: Chinese men could smoke in public, but well-mannered women smoked privately out of view. As detailed in chapter 3, historical and literary representations of Qing-era women consuming tobacco—be it the peasant woman with her rough-hewn pipe or the upper-class matron with her more elegant and refined water pipe—are too common to allow for any other interpretation. Prior to 1900, Chinese women, “respectable” or not, smoked tobacco.

And then, in the twentieth century, many women stopped. Or, to be more precise, smoking among women gradually died out as fewer women initiated smoking to begin with. Certainly by the time the People’s Republic of China was established in 1949, smoking among women was on the decline.¹ After 1950, there was a steady *decrease* in the numbers of young women who initiated smoking: whereas the proportion who started to smoke before age twenty-five was 10 percent for all urban women born before 1940, it was only 1 percent for those born between 1950 and 1964. Only 4 percent of rural women born before 1940 began to smoke before age twenty-five, and only 2 percent of rural women born between 1950 and 1964 did.² Few younger women, especially those born after 1965, smoked cigarettes at all. By 1996, the percentage of women who smoked was less than 3 percent of all women.³

This change in behavior—from a society in which many women smoked tobacco to one in which few do—is especially interesting when it is contrasted with the gendered patterns of smoking in Great Britain and the United States over the same time period.⁴ In those countries, tobacco smoking (or snuffing), which had been ac-

ceptable for women in the eighteenth century, became stigmatized among middle- and upper-class women during the industrial revolution and remained so throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Some nineteenth-century British and American women continued to smoke privately, but public consumption reemerged only after World War I when cigarette smoking became a symbol of the new freedoms of movement, education, and occupation that Anglo-American women were gaining in the early twentieth century. Although some bold women began publicly smoking cigarettes in defiance of social convention before 1914, only in the 1920s and 1930s did the practice again become respectable enough in the United Kingdom and the United States for significant numbers of women to smoke openly.

Urban Chinese women were similarly seizing new opportunities in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Women in this era, as Weikun Cheng puts it, were “going public,” entering new girl’s schools, joining the embryonic industrial workforce, enjoying leisure pursuits at teahouses and theaters, and even traveling abroad.⁵ Educated women increasingly participated in the political movements and social reform efforts that marked the New Policies era (1900–1911). Rural women entered the cities to work in new factories, and female vendors moved about freely on public thoroughfares. For some daring “new women” (*xin nüxing*), openly smoking cigarettes served as a sign of youthful rebellion and personal emancipation just as it did for their counterparts in the West. For others, smoking cigarettes quietly at home was merely a matter of personal taste. Nonetheless, Confucian social norms continued to dictate that “good” girls remain out of sight. Respectable women who smoked cigarettes were therefore still largely obscured from view before the Republican Revolution of 1911–12.

The collapse of the Qing monarchy and the subsequent discrediting of Confucianism as a basis for ordering society made Chinese women more visible, both on city streets and in the flourishing print culture of urban China. The establishment of the Republic of China early in 1912 fully legitimated women’s entry into public life. Indeed, in theory, “going public” became imperative not only for socially conscious and politically aware “new women” but for all female citizens of the new republic. Women were now expected to unbind their feet, go to school, and work outside the home in order to build the nation.⁶ As a consequence, girls from respectable families began to enjoy even more freedom of movement. Many took up the Western-inspired styles of dress and modes of behavior that were fashionable at the time. This included the habit of smoking cigarettes in public, a practice first made trendy in Shanghai by celebrity courtesans.

In contrast to the United States and Great Britain, where the growing visibility of women smokers in the years just before and after World War I eventually resulted in greater tolerance for this social practice, in China the higher profile of female cigarette smokers after the 1911 Revolution meant that the long-established propriety of feminine smoking in private gave way to increasing social disapprobation

of this behavior once women took their smoking public. These revised social mores, summed up on the widely repeated aphorism that “good girls don’t smoke,” eventually became so entrenched, they sometimes appear to have existed for centuries.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the Chinese idea that only “bad” women smoke cigarettes is not a residue of the distant Confucian past but is largely a product of the late Qing and Republican eras. It was then that Chinese elite, in dialogue with a transnational anti-tobacco movement then circling the globe along with evangelizing Protestant missionaries, began to construct a discourse highly critical of women who smoked cigarettes. Initially confined to missionary circles, temperance associations, and newspaper editorialists, this critical elite discourse gradually entered the popular vernacular via an eclectic assortment of media ranging from print advertisements to movies and radio plays. By the 1930s, tobacco smoking was coded as a behavior engaged in only by *certain* kinds of women. More specifically, the cigarette, already associated with the fast-paced urban lifestyle of Shanghai, was widely identified during the Nanjing Decade with a particular stigmatized type of “new woman” known as the “Modern Girl” (*modeng nüzi* or *modeng xiaojie*). Portrayed in the mass media and elite discourse as flamboyant, hypersexualized, and politically apathetic, the Modern Girl was the quintessential “bad girl” who flouted social convention and defied the changing norms of respectable womanhood. From the vantage point of cultural conservatives, reformers, and revolutionaries alike, she completely ignored China’s modern predicament, choosing to focus on “trivial” matters of fashion and beauty rather than the crucial project of revitalizing the nation. Once cigarettes became emblematic of the Modern Girl’s presumed lack of virtue and tainted patriotism in the 1930s, any Chinese woman who smoked them was potentially suspect. Those who sought respectability, especially after the CCP came to power in 1949, by and large chose not to smoke.

BECOMING VISIBLE: SHANGHAI COURTESANS AND “NEW WOMEN” TAKE SMOKING PUBLIC, 1900–1915

When machine-rolled cigarettes first began to appear in China’s coastal cities in the 1890s, smoking pipe tobacco in private was still a reputable practice for women of all social classes. Whereas in England and America, women were culturally barred from consuming tobacco even in the seclusion of their own homes, the issue in China was not whether decent women consumed tobacco—they clearly did—but whether or not strangers saw them doing so publicly.

To be sure, if the accounts of foreign travelers to China are to be believed, the cultural prohibition against women smoking in public was widely ignored by many Chinese women, especially those from the poorer classes. Euro-American travelers to China, predisposed by Orientalist sensibilities to notice that which was different from their own experience, were endlessly fascinated by the smoking habits

of the women they observed as they moved about the country. Isabella Bird, voyaging on the Yangzi River in 1897 aboard the barge of a three-generation family, noted that the wife, “a comely, healthy, broad-shouldered woman with bound feet, worked and smoked all day, and contrived to steer the boat as she stooped over the fire or the wash-tub.”⁷ Similarly, photographer John Thomson, in his travels through Fujian and also along the Yangzi River in 1870–71, noted that women on board Chinese junks invariably smoked tobacco just as profusely as their husbands did. During his travels through Taiwan in 1871, Thomson found not only that Hokkien women all “made vigorous and unceasing use” of their bamboo pipes but that they all eagerly dragged on the cigars he offered them.⁸ For his account of the smoking habits of Chinese *elite* women, however, Thomson was forced to rely on intelligence provided him by missionary wives who had more direct contact with such women.⁹ Refined ladies, it seems, kept their smoking hidden from view.

The alacrity with which pipe-smoking peasant women in Taiwan accepted Thomson’s gift of cigars highlights the fact that many Chinese women were already accustomed to smoking tobacco when cigarettes first began to appear in Chinese markets. Precisely when Chinese women began to smoke cigarettes privately is a matter of some speculation. Journalists began to comment frequently on this phenomenon only when female cigarette smoking became more visible publicly, just before and after the 1911 Revolution. Xu Ke (1869–1928), based on his reading notes of late Qing newspapers, says that cigarette smoking among women actually became popular during the New Policies reform era.¹⁰ According to the Tianjin newspaper *Dagong bao* (L’Impartiale), even the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835–1908) and her palace women took up cigarettes at this time.¹¹ Katherine A. Carl, the American artist commissioned to paint Cixi’s portrait for the 1904 World Exposition in Saint Louis, observed Cixi smoking imported cigarettes in 1903, and she noted that the empress dowager was “extremely graceful in her use of both the cigarette and the water-pipe.”¹² Cixi was said to be especially fond of Peacock cigarettes, a brand initially produced by the Japanese firm Murai Brothers Tobacco Company and then taken over by the British-American Tobacco Company in 1904. During the 1905 Chinese boycott of BAT, at least as reported by *Dagong bao*, Cixi threw eight boxes of Peacock cigarettes into a palace lake. She also prohibited palace women and others from smoking cigarettes inside the Forbidden City during the boycott.

In the waning years of the Qing dynasty, as cigarettes became even more readily available in Shanghai and other treaty ports, women who smoked them became more visible than ever before. This enhanced visibility occurred partially because women began to substitute cigarettes for water pipes as they increasingly moved about in public. Also, visual images of female smokers became much more prominent in the burgeoning print media, particularly in newspaper cartoons, illustrated pictorials, and cigarette advertisements. In the first two decades of the century, the cigarette was not yet fully symbolic of the particular type of decadent woman that later came

to be identified as the Modern Girl, and as a result there was no reason for ordinary women to fear censure for smoking cigarettes quietly at home. However, even in these early years, some women recognized the power of the visual to communicate their refashioned identities as “new women”: to be *seen* smoking cigarettes on the street—a commodity already emblematic of urban cosmopolitanism and progressive politics—was to define oneself as the quintessential modern woman.

As with many other new fashions and stylish innovations imported from abroad in the late Qing period, Shanghai courtesans—arguably China’s original modern women—were the first to smoke cigarettes openly. As noted earlier, tobacco had long been an integral part of the entertainment cycle in courtesan houses and a well-appointed courtesan’s room always had at least one gold or silver water pipe. Although in earlier centuries, courtesans, like the wives of the gentry, smoked in secluded settings, by the late nineteenth century the “working women” of Shanghai did not limit their tobacco smoking to their chambers. Courtesans already carried pocket-sized water pipes and boxes of matches with them as they moved about the city, going from one entertainment establishment to another. The eminently portable cigarette tin was likely a welcome innovation for these peripatetic women just as it was for their patrons.

While public use of tobacco pipes elicited little comment, women openly smoking “Western-style” cigars or cigarettes were novel and therefore newsworthy. Reports of courtesans smoking rolled tobacco products first began to appear in the press around the turn of the century. An 1897 *Youxi bao* (Entertainment News) report, for example, describes the appearance and public behavior of a cross-dressing “beauty”: “Last night around nine o’clock, a top courtesan who had changed into men’s clothing paraded on Foochow [Fuzhou] Road. She was wearing a long gown of silk gauze, silk-topped boots, and long pants underneath. She carried a folding fan made entirely of bone, and she sported a cigar!”¹³

What made this anecdote sensational was not that the courtesan was smoking tobacco, but that she was smoking a product (the cigar) widely associated in the late nineteenth century with foreign men, quite publicly on a major thoroughfare, while dressed in men’s clothing. This gossipy tidbit, published in a tabloid that catered to petty urbanites, was symptomatic of an intensifying fascination with courtesans and their activities that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1900 Shanghai courtesans were already highly visible public figures whose behavior and lifestyle were open to scrutiny by the population at large.¹⁴ This celebrity status was fanned by the newly established popular press and made possible by innovative technologies of lithography and photography that had been imported into treaty ports in the latter half of the century. Through these new media, pictures of cigarette-smoking courtesans could be broadcast widely to readers around the country. Their visual example then enticed other urban women to smoke their rolled tobacco products openly on the street in full view of strangers.

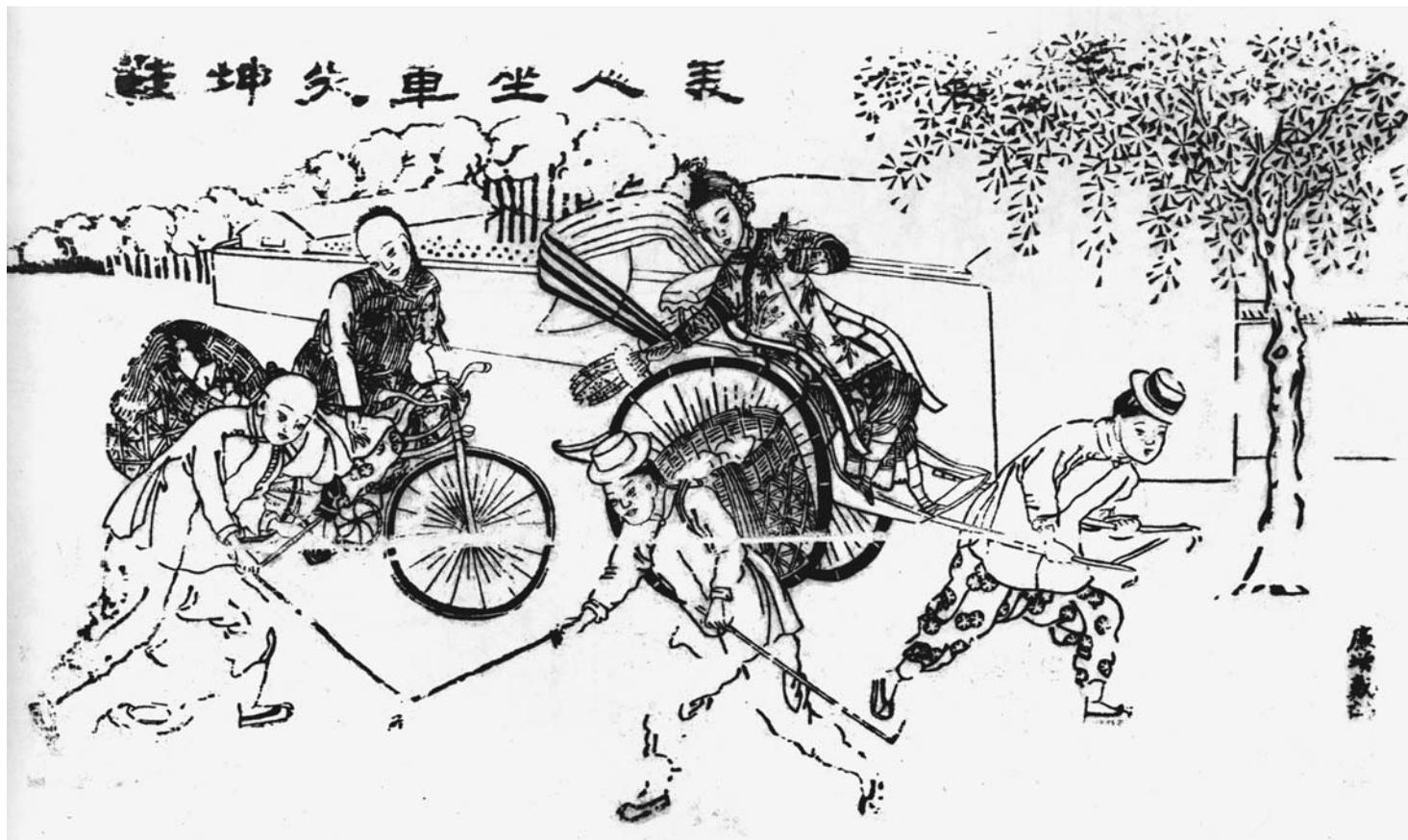


FIGURE 8. "Beauty Sitting in a Rickshaw Loses Her Shoe." From Liu Jian 1999: 541.

Pictures of courtesans smoking cigarettes began to appear in visual media after about 1900. One example, identified by Lucie Olivová, was a Yangliuqing (Tianjin) New Years' print (*nianhua*) titled "Meiren zuoche shi kunxie" (Beauty sitting in a rickshaw loses her shoe) (see figure 8).¹⁵ The illustration shows a courtesan sitting in a rickshaw holding a cigarette. Not only is this "smoking beauty" riding in a rickshaw, a mode of transportation invented in Japan in the 1860s and introduced into the foreign concessions of Shanghai only in the 1870s,¹⁶ but she has dropped one shoe and her bound foot is publicly exposed, a condition that would have been seen as immodest or even highly erotic by those who viewed it.¹⁷ Male pedestrians are retrieving the lost shoe with their walking sticks, and a young gentleman on a bicycle is helping the courtesan to direct them.

The fact that this woman is shown smoking tobacco is unremarkable: illustrations of women smoking pipe tobacco with guests and family members at home or alone in the seclusion of their boudoirs were already quite common in nineteenth-century wood-block prints.¹⁸ What is different about "The Lost Shoe" is that the courtesan here is depicted as smoking in a very public space. Catherine Yeh argues that such images of courtesans moving about in public, frequently published in the popular periodical press during the late Qing period, helped to transform the Shanghai courtesan from the secluded, cultured beauties of an earlier age into China's first female public personalities.¹⁹ Earlier portraits of courtesans, such as the one discussed in chapter 3, were always set in interior spaces or private gardens.²⁰ In contrast, "The Lost Shoe" shows a beauty moving through the unique urban environment of Shanghai. The courtesan's consumption of certain Western-style products, signaled here by the "modern" cigarette, and her provocative public behavior and style of dress (her exposed foot), prefigured the Modern Girl phenomenon of the 1920s and 1930s. Above all, this illustration presents the late Qing courtesan as the iconic *modern* woman of Shanghai: she is out and about, riding in rickshaws, freely going to and fro, boldly interacting with men on the street, all the while holding her lit cigarette aloft and trailing clouds of smoke behind her.

By all accounts, the "respectable" wives and daughters of the urban elite first began to openly smoke cigarettes in imitation of fashionable Shanghai courtesans around the 1911 Revolution. An article in the *Shenbao*, published in 1912, put it this way:

Recently in the courtesan world, there has appeared a new fashionable commodity called the cigarette. The cherry-red little mouth [of the courtesan] inhales and exhales on a stick inserted between the lips. [She] does not fear the drying or cracking effects on her marvelous tongue or her fragrant throat.

I have seen Western-clothed prostitutes in rickshaws, with cigarettes in their hands, spewing smoke incessantly along the journey. Whatever the style of clothing the courtesans wear, respectable women soon imitate. Now that smoking cigarettes is so fashionable, probably in a few months time, respectable women will also be smoking.²¹

In his survey of local customs, published in 1923, Hu Pu'an (1878–1947) similarly traced cigarette smoking among upper-class Chinese women back to the example set by Shanghai courtesans.²² Hu noted that this trend, which had originated among Shanghai-based entertainers, had “spread throughout the entire country. . . . All of the women are smoking cigarettes because it is in vogue. Having one cigarette is considered insufficient, so to be fashionable you must have a gold box full of cigarettes with a gold-tipped cigarette holder. In the maidens’ boudoirs, smoking is the main subject and at poetry gatherings, ladies study how to smoke, saying it helps them to write verse. . . . Seven out of ten have cigarettes [stuck between] their cherry lips. They smoke like crazy. Those who in the past were fragrant of mouth are now stinking of tobacco.” Sure enough, in the months leading up to the 1911 Revolution newspapers reported that “women from reputable families” could be seen walking through the streets, their natural feet shod in leather shoes, wearing skirts that revealed their calves, and smoking cigarettes or cigars.²³

In the immediate aftermath of the Republican Revolution, when affecting foreign mannerisms was a sign of one’s commitment to the new nation, a woman openly smoking a cigarette was not only acceptable for some opinion makers but was even to be applauded. For example, an article that appeared in the Japanese-owned *Shengjing shibao* (Mukden Times) in 1912 made a forceful comparison between two types of beauties:

A traditional beauty is weak but a fashionable beauty is active. A traditional woman prefers small feet but a new woman is afraid her feet are not big enough. A traditional woman learns how to do needlework but a new woman goes to school. *A traditional beauty keeps in her mouth flowers of cardamom but a beauty today smokes a cigar. . . .* A traditional woman observes the three bonds and five relationships, but a new woman pursues liberty and equality. . . . *A traditional woman worships spirits and the Buddha, but a new woman loves her nation.* [emphasis added]²⁴

The juxtaposition of cigar smoking with the patriotism of the modern-style beauty is significant here because rolled-tobacco products were already associated with the West (see chapter 8). In the early Republican period, however, a woman could still smoke a cigarette or cigar without being accused of insufficient national loyalty.

Indeed, positive images of earnest and patriotic “new women” smoking cigarettes soon began to appear not only in newspaper accounts but also in commercial art. One New Year’s print, most likely created around this time, shows a girl student with bound feet and a Western-style straw hat riding a bicycle and smoking a cigarette (see figure 9).²⁵ No precise date for this image is available, but it is composed in the style of “reform New Year pictures” (*gailiang nianhua*), which first appeared around 1900, and it is consistent with those that championed education for girls in the New Policies period.²⁶ The image likely dates from the early 1910s, right around the time when cigarette smoking among women was first becoming more



年画
黄陂

FIGURE 9. "Cigarette-Smoking Woman on Bicycle." From Hubei meishu chubanshe, *Minjian meishu: Hubei muban, nianhua, jianzhi, piying* (Folk art: Woodblock prints, New Years' prints, paper cuts, and leather silhouettes) (Wuhan: Hubei meishu chubanshe, 1999), 49.

FIGURE 10. Cigarette card for Pirate Cigarettes, ca. 1908. From Chaonan Chen and Yiyou Feng, *Old Advertisements and Popular Culture: Posters, Calendars, and Cigarettes, 1900–1950* (San Francisco: Long River Press, 2004), 62. Used with permission.



visible in Chinese society.²⁷ When considered alongside similar reform prints depicting female students and girls' schools from the same era, this illustration presents cigarette smoking and cycling as two activities, like military drills, that modern women would naturally gravitate toward.²⁸

The long-standing propriety of feminine pipe smoking and the newly established respectability of openly smoking cigarettes in some quarters, even if somewhat tenuous in society at large, facilitated commercial advertising that utilized images of reputable women actually holding or smoking cigarettes. Such representations were possible in China long before they became acceptable in either Great Britain (early 1920s) or the United States (after 1926). British-American Tobacco was among the first to use smoking women in its cigarette advertisements. In a series of cigarette cards issued in 1908 entitled "Women and children enjoy themselves," BAT depicted cigarette-smoking mothers together with their children. Many of the women on the cards are shown holding cigarettes, and at least one shows a mother holding her baby while accepting a light from a young girl (see figure 10). Two other women sit, one on a bench in a pavilion, the other on a slope with two children, smoking cigarettes as their children play.

In the years immediately following the Republican Revolution, some Chinese tobacco companies, especially Nanyang Brothers but others as well, made a bid to redraw the image of the patriotic "new" female smoker as one who smoked only national brands made in China. As noted in earlier chapters, this strategy was part of the broader National Products Movement that sought to redirect consumer spending to goods manufactured by native Chinese companies. A collection of Nanyang Brothers advertising sketches from the early Republican period includes images of many "new women" smoking cigarettes.²⁹ Although clearly "modern" in appearance, these women are all portrayed nonetheless as upstanding and respectable. They are generally shown together with children, husbands, or other fam-



FIGURE 11. Sidney D. Gamble. “Woman and cigarette,” 1924–27. In Sidney D. Gamble Photographs; Archive of Documentary Arts, Duke University (no. 462–2663). Used with permission.

ily members. Some smoke while walking about outside; others smoke inside shops; still others are presented in the classic interior scene adopted from the traditional “beauties” portraits and foreshadow the images that later came to dominant cigarette advertisements in the late 1920s and 1930s.

For many women in the late Qing and early Republican periods, smoking cigarettes instead of a pipe must have been a fairly prosaic and unremarkable activity. Just as village women in Taiwan eagerly accepted cigars from John Thomson in the 1870s, Ning Lao Tai-tai, the working-class informant interviewed by Ida Pruitt in the 1920s, for example, easily took cigarettes in lieu of a pipe from Pruitt during their conversations.³⁰ Sidney Gamble photographed a middle-aged and a younger woman nonchalantly holding cigarettes in their hands next to an even older woman holding a pipe (see figure 11). In the era before the 1930s, when images of highly eroticized women smoking cigarettes began to be widely used in tobacco advertisements and popular culture more generally, cigarettes were not necessarily em-

blematic of a particular lifestyle or personal identity, although they clearly were for some self-styled “new women.” For those already accustomed to inhaling tobacco smoke through pipes, drawing on a cigarette was a novel but nonetheless familiar way to enjoy tobacco’s pleasures.

To be sure, the cigarette was from the outset regarded in the dominant political discourse as a foreign commodity, and its industrial manufacture marked it as “modern” even before commercial advertising and popular culture enshrined it as such. Made fashionable for women by highly visible Shanghai courtesans in the late Qing period, cigarettes were further legitimized by the Republican Revolution and the new codes of etiquette and decorum that made it respectable, even desirable, for women to imitate Western styles of dress and behavior. Women’s gradual entry into the public realm—their attendance at school and their participation in the workforce—provided them, no less than their American or European counterparts, with opportunities to discard the past and to reject established gender norms. Being *seen* to smoke “Western” cigarettes rather than a “traditional” pipe could thus serve as an outward sign of one’s new feminine identity as a modern woman committed to social change, political reform, or personal emancipation. In the late Qing and early Republican periods, either as a fashion or a political statement, and sometimes as both, some women gave up their “old-fashioned” tobacco pipes and took to smoking “modern” cigarettes publicly, just as their forward-looking husbands did. Many more women simply adopted the cigarette quietly as a matter of personal taste without any fanfare. For them, rolled tobacco products were simply a handy way to indulge a smoking habit formed long before cigarettes appeared on the scene.

THE EMERGENCE OF A CRITICAL ELITE DISCOURSE DIRECTED AGAINST FEMALE SMOKING, 1900–1915

Apprehending why trend-setting courtesans, stylish palace ladies, or progressive “new women” switched from tobacco pipes to cigarettes in the late Qing and early Republican period is not difficult when we recognize that private tobacco use by women was already quite common. The introduction of yet another form of nicotine delivery—the cigarette—must have been welcomed by many women as well as men. The challenge for this study is to explain why tobacco smoking among Chinese women appears to have declined over time even as cigarettes began to appeal to many men.

The gendered history of tobacco consumption in twentieth-century China is complicated, and many factors no doubt inhibited women from initiating cigarette use. For one thing, many women simply did not have sufficient income or control over family resources to purchase cigarettes for themselves. The changes discernable for urban women in the opening decades of the century described above were not equally dramatic in all parts of the country. As noted in chapter 7, machine-

rolled cigarettes, even the cheapest ones made from domestic tobacco and produced in Chinese factories, were expensive relative to pipe tobacco. Prior to the 1950s, when the CCP nationalized the tobacco industry and began to mass-produce cigarettes, per capita consumption rates in general were quite low relative to the United States and Great Britain. Sales and consumption of cigarettes in China—which in absolute numbers were astounding (nearly seventy billion sticks sold in 1930)—were largely concentrated in coastal provinces and larger cities. Although both men and women residing in treaty ports had access to industrially produced cigarettes, in rural areas and in inland cities, manufactured cigarettes were likely consumed primarily by male heads of household in those families with enough discretionary income to afford them.

In addition to these economic factors, the respectability of female smoking was increasingly being called into question in the early twentieth century. By 1911 or so, the idea that politically loyal and morally virtuous women should refrain from smoking even when at home was taking hold among China's reform-minded educated elite. Early Republican intellectuals, concerned in particular about the eugenic consequences of female tobacco smoking, appropriated three thickly entangled ideas from the international anti-cigarette movement then emanating from Great Britain and the United States: first, the Orientalist view that any society in which large numbers of women consumed tobacco was “backward” and “uncivilized”; second, the notion that only sexually promiscuous women smoked cigarettes; and third, the idea that tobacco was a “race poison” that should *never* be consumed by women of child-bearing age. These imported concepts were combined with preexisting Confucian notions about the impropriety of women smoking in public and equally long-standing Chinese medical ideas about the dangers tobacco posed for female fertility. Out of this *mélange* of foreign and indigenous thinking about women and tobacco came a new critical elite discourse directed against *all* female smoking, regardless of age or venue.

Smoking, Orientalism, and Unruly Female Sexuality

Although tobacco use by women was common in many cultures at the time, including Southern and Eastern Europe, nineteenth-century British and American travelers to China—mainly missionaries, merchants, colonial officials, and adventurers from the emergent middle class—frequently remarked on a phenomenon they regarded as exotic and peculiar to the “Orient.” The pervasiveness of female pipe smoking in China was held up as a prime example of China's presumed failure to progress beyond a certain level of civilization. Henry Charles Sirr, who resided in Canton in the 1840s commented, for example: “Smoking tobacco is carried to a very great extent, and little girls of five years of age are allowed to commence this disgusting and pernicious habit; and an embroidered tobacco-bag is a necessary appendage to a female's dress, from earliest childhood to advanced age.”³¹ This sentiment was echoed by Julia Corner, an Englishwoman who traveled through China

in the 1850s: “Every Chinese lady has her richly-ornamented pipe, which would really be an elegant appendage if it did not involve so unfeminine an indulgence.”³²

Such Orientalist disapprobation was quite common among the foreign merchants and missionaries who first encountered China’s gender-neutral smoking culture in the nineteenth century. Yet at the time, Anglo-American social mores against female smoking were actually relatively new. In both preindustrial England and North America, there is no evidence that tobacco use was proscribed by gender, although as in Qing China, there were cultural restrictions on where and how women could smoke.³³ With the advent of the Victorian era, these restrictions became absolute prohibitions, at least for middle-class women. The masculinization of smoking in Great Britain and the United States, which was largely complete by the 1830s, rendered female tobacco use invisible in these societies except as it appeared in sexually charged settings such as brothels or burlesque halls. Actresses, prostitutes, and “fallen” women smoked, but reputable ladies emphatically did not. To protect the delicate sensibilities of respectable women, men never smoked in their company but withdrew to another room or to the all-male club.

With these changes in social mores, female smoking increasingly came to be identified with promiscuity. The eroticism of a woman smoking, initially associated with prostitutes and “loose” women, was eventually displaced onto non-European women as the century wore on. Dolores Mitchell’s analysis of late-nineteenth-century tobacco art demonstrates that sexualized images of “exotic” women smoking were widespread in late Victorian England and Progressive-era North America.³⁴ Alluring portraits of Turkish, Spanish (including Gypsy), Native American, and African women appeared frequently on cigar labels and in early cigarette advertisements. Toward the end of the century, pornographic postcards of colonized women smoking tobacco became quite popular in both the United States and England. Images of scantily clad or nude women of uncertain ethnicity displayed with hookahs or cigarettes were available at corner tobacco stores in both countries. As Penny Tinkler notes, a visual link between smoking and unruly female sexuality was thus well established in both countries before the outbreak of World War I.³⁵

In the opening decades of the twentieth century, the British and American discourse that labeled female smokers as fallen women remained prominent. Foreigners living in China at the time, many of whom were Protestant missionaries, viewed the new fashion of cigarette smoking among Chinese women through the same moralistic prism they had previously used to judge women who smoked pipe tobacco. Now, however, their disdain was directed toward the “swaggering, manly, suffragette type” of “new woman” who, in their eyes, was inappropriately absorbing all the bad aspects of Western culture but none of its Christian virtues.³⁶ According to one observer, “crude feminism” was influencing young women in China’s cities to swing “over to undisciplined individualism,” as evidenced by “young men and women together getting up fêtes, smoking cigarettes, and travel-

ing in trains.”³⁷ One missionary serving in Xi’an in 1913 used the following anecdote to underscore how Chinese women were going astray following the momentous events of 1911:

They ask for liberty and education . . . for power, for political rights, while as yet, alas, the far greater majority even of the middle and upper classes are without the training which can enable them to wield power. . . . A handsome, wealthy young lady of Sianfu [Xi’an] imagines that she is proving her emancipation by standing for hours outside her husband’s gate, on a main thorough-fare, smoking cigarettes. Gaily dressed in a pale blue silk robe, with manners far too freely, utterly scandalizing all respectable Chinese who passed by, the poor lady honestly believed that she was acting the correct part of the “new woman,” and was following the customs of the West.³⁸

Even worse than Chinese women imitating British or American suffragettes was the possibility that Western ladies might actually be learning this pernicious habit from “their sisters of the Far East,” as suggested by one author who found the smoking behavior of the “women-folk of one third of the human race” neither “winsome nor sweet.”³⁹

Tobacco as “Race Poison”

Foreign criticisms that the smoking habits of Chinese women, even when conducted behind closed doors, made China a “semicivilized” country dismayed Chinese intellectuals who were highly attuned to such slights. Others worried that even reputable women, if seen by foreigners while smoking on the street, would be taken for common prostitutes. Yet the argument that resonated most powerfully with late Qing and early-Republican-era Chinese who opposed tobacco was the notion that nicotine, like opium, would destroy the Chinese race. Initially propagated by Protestant temperance missionaries, by the turn of the century the idea that tobacco was a “race poison” was bolstered by the “science” of Social Darwinism. Together with the Victorian-era sensibility that women who smoked were promiscuous and “uncivilized,” Anglo-American identification of tobacco as a source of “national degeneration” and “physical deterioration” resonated with reform-minded Chinese intellectuals and nationalist politicians for many decades to come.

Arguments against tobacco use that utilized the language of “national degeneration” and “physical deterioration” had first begun to appear in British and American temperance tracts and medical journals in the 1850s.⁴⁰ The increase in cigarette smoking in the 1880s and 1890s occasioned by innovative mass-marketing practices inspired a new generation of anti-tobacco activists who revived slogans about tobacco and national degeneration. Emerging within the context of the “new imperialism” characteristic of the last two decades of the century, and influenced by the fresh intellectual currents of eugenics and Social Darwinism, anti-cigarette rhetoric of the late nineteenth century focused on the dangers smoking represented

for the nation, not just the health or morality of the individual. Newly established anti-cigarette leagues focused their efforts on eradicating smoking among juveniles and women, the two groups whose “physical deterioration,” it was believed, placed the nation’s collective health most at risk.

Late Victorian and Progressive-era temperance literature repeatedly referred to the alarming rise in cigarette smoking on the part of boys, especially those in the lower classes, and many argued that the “dirty habit” stunted their physical growth and led to a deterioration of their cognitive abilities.⁴¹ Of primary concern, both in the British Isles and in the United States, was the impact that smoking supposedly had on the fitness of military recruits. Cigarette-smoking boys raised the specter of a weakened army ill-prepared to defend the nation on the home front, let alone in territories overseas. In a climate of heightened international competition brought on by the scramble for colonies in Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Middle East, the identification of cigarette smoking as a source of national degeneracy, especially after the Spanish-American conflict of 1898 and the second Boer War (1899–1902), was a powerful platform utilized by activists lobbying for anti-smoking legislation not only in England and the United States but around the world.⁴²

Anti-smoking organizations initially focused their efforts on juvenile smoking, but as the numbers of British and American female cigarette smokers rose in the early decades of the twentieth century, activists focused increasingly on the issue of tobacco use, motherhood, and the potential degeneration of the race. Infused with eugenicist concerns, the emerging campaigns against women smokers reflected elements of the Victorian ideology of separate spheres, according to which, women were moral custodians of the home but as such they were also guardians of the nation. John Harvey Kellogg, an avid anti-tobacco reformer (and brother to the founder of the Kellogg cereal company), was convinced that cigarettes were eugenically disastrous for women. A charter member of the Race Betterment Foundation, Kellogg was one of the first prominent Americans to label tobacco a race poison. He argued that cigarette smoking would “unsex” women by producing “premature degeneration of the sex glands.” He also pointed out that in France, where many women smoked freely, the “feminine mustache” was “becoming noticeably more frequent.” Ultimately, the increase of the tobacco habit among white women would result in “race degeneracy” such that, he predicted, “no [white] babies will be born” at all in the year 2000.⁴³

*The World Woman’s Christian Temperance Union
and Its Anti-smoking Campaign in China*

The specter of national annihilation brought about by cigarette-smoking boys and their mothers was initially raised in East Asia by American female missionaries working with the World’s Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WWCTU). Founded in 1884 as an offshoot of the national Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (estab-

lished 1874) in the United States, the WWCTU promoted a global sisterhood among temperance activists. Under the “Do Everything” policy of the Union’s charismatic second president, Frances E. Willard (1839–98), the global agenda of the organization included the cause of women’s suffrage, labor issues, rescue work among prostitutes, and petitions against opium and other narcotics as well as alcohol and tobacco.⁴⁴ As Ian Tyrrell and Manako Ogawa have argued, the WWCTU fully embraced nineteenth-century ideologies of imperialism and racial prejudices manifested as Orientalism.⁴⁵ The WWCTU expanded overseas “hand in hand with frameworks of imperialism,” integrating into its organizational structure the assumed cultural, religious, and racial hierarchies that fueled late-nineteenth-century colonial expansion.⁴⁶

The idea that tobacco smoking among women and children led to national degeneracy, together with the Victorian-era Orientalist sensibility that “civilized” and chaste women did not smoke, provided WWCTU temperance activists with a global anti-smoking agenda. From the internationalist perspective that animated the organization, it was not enough to oppose cigarette use within domestic borders; the anti-smoking campaign had to be carried to “backward” nations such as Japan and China where children and women were not yet protected from tobacco’s degenerating effects. The status and treatment of women abroad was one of the main criteria by which Willard and her emissaries judged the level of “civilization” attained by any particular nation. The conventions of Anglo-American Victorian bourgeois culture, of course, formed the yardstick against which each non-Western society was measured. Tobacco smoking by Japanese and Chinese women, unheard of in polite and respectable middle-class American and British circles, was thus taken, along with polygamy, foot-binding, and seclusion, as an indication of the degree to which East Asian women were downtrodden and therefore desperately in need of assistance from the WWCTU.

For WWCTU missionaries and other temperance advocates, opium smoking, even more so than tobacco consumption, signaled the depths of depravity to which the “ancient” Chinese civilization had already sunk. Such notions were rooted in a racialized view of addiction that held that the Chinese people had a particular affinity for opium smoking and that this marked them as a degraded race headed toward extinction.⁴⁷ Widespread tobacco smoking, especially among women, was taken as yet another sign of China’s long slide toward oblivion. The link between female tobacco use and cultural backwardness was made quite explicit in the anti-smoking literature of the time. John Harvey Kellogg, for example, wrote, “Among civilized nations, tobacco has never been used by women to the same extent as by men.”⁴⁸ Alicia Helen Neva Little (1845–1926, also known as Mrs. Archibald Little), a prolific travel writer and ardent campaigner against foot-binding, identified female smoking (both tobacco and opium) as one of the sources of China’s lack of economic productivity:

Except among the poorest of the poor, who do field-work or carry water, the women of China do little beyond suckling children and making shoes, except in the treaty ports, where now large numbers of them are employed in the factories lately started. They smoke and gossip, give and go to dinner parties, and one of their great delights is to go on pilgrimages to distant shrines. . . . Even when nuns invite ladies to come and enjoy themselves with them, it means drinking wine, smoking, and playing cards; and not uncommonly, in the west of China at all events, smoking includes opium-smoking.⁴⁹

The message of these foreign critics was clear: to save China, Chinese women not only had to unbind their feet, become educated, and move into the productive workforce but also had to give up tobacco along with their opium pipes. In so doing, wives and mothers would serve as strong moral exemplars for their husbands and children, leading them away from the “race poisons” that threatened the very foundations of Chinese civilization.

In the late nineteenth century, Europeans and Americans were leveling similar criticisms against Japanese women, many of whom also smoked pipe tobacco. However, in 1900, Japanese anti-smoking activists working in concert with foreign WWCTU missionaries persuaded the Japanese Imperial Diet to pass an anti-juvenile smoking bill. Coming eight years before the Children’s Act made it through the British Parliament in 1908, this bill was widely perceived by foreigners as a sign that Japan was advancing in the ranks of the world’s “civilized” nations. In contrast, many remained contemptuous of Qing China because in their minds the Chinese government was unconcerned with prohibiting any addictive substance, most especially opium but also tobacco. The Guangxu emperor promulgated an edict against opium in 1906, but according to Western anti-opium tracts written at the time, the Chinese government could not enforce such laws even if it wanted to, because the Chinese people, being “morally weak,” “passive,” and “the slave of circumstances,” were innately prone to smoking it.⁵⁰ Similarly, when the emperor banned the sale of tobacco to children in 1907 and followed this in 1908 with an edict prohibiting juvenile smoking, it was widely assumed the regulations would have little effect.⁵¹

Given the relative decrepitude of the Qing dynasty at the time, doubts over the ability of the imperial government to enforce such regulations were probably not unduly pessimistic. Rather than press for changes in government policy, anti-cigarette activists in China focused their efforts on reforming the habits and daily practices of Chinese women with the expectation that they would set the proper moral tone for their sons and daughters. In missionary schools established for girls, smoking was strictly forbidden.⁵² In the years just before the Republican Revolution, several missionary-run schools in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai established associations that campaigned against cigarette smoking among women.⁵³ In one Beijing school, Sarah Boardman Clapp Goodrich (1855–1923), who became di-

rector of the Chinese Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1910, established the Women's Society to Stop Cigarette Smoking (Funü jiexi zhiyan she).⁵⁴

Indeed, the women of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, both foreign and Chinese, were in the forefront in pushing forward a new gendered anti-smoking platform in China. WWCTU's early membership rolls included some of China's leading and most influential social feminists, including Liu-Wang Liming (1897–1970), the director of the Chinese WCTU throughout the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁵ In many ways, Liu-Wang Liming represented the politically engaged “new Chinese woman” who became increasingly visible in the opening decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Born in 1897, Liu attended elementary school from the age of ten, and she enrolled in one of the few middle schools in her region that accepted female students. Liu-Wang's mother was president of one of the earliest WCTU branches in China and was such an ardent supporter of the temperance association that she named Liming after Frances Willard. Liu-Wang Liming was thus known in English-speaking circles as Frances Willard Wang. One of the first girls in her district to refuse to have her feet bound, Liu eventually won a scholarship to Northwestern University, headquarters of the WCTU. Upon her return to Shanghai in 1920, Liu-Wang became active in the women's suffrage movement and the Birth Control League as well as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In 1934 she published *The Chinese Women's Movement*, a book that explored the importance of women's political and economic independence, the need to reform the Chinese family system and marriage customs, and the central role women would play in China's national salvation.⁵⁷ It was within this context that she followed Frances Willard in ardently opposing all tobacco, opium, and alcohol use. Like Willard, Liu-Wang Liming argued that wives and mothers needed above all to serve as shining beacons of smoking abstinence for their families as well as the rest of society. They therefore should *never* smoke tobacco, whether in public, at home with their families, or even when alone.

THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ANTI-CIGARETTE MOVEMENT IN CHINA

The women of the WWCTU were not the only social reformers concerned about the evils of cigarette smoke for women in the late Qing and early Republican eras. In the period between 1900 and the First World War, influential Chinese officials and reform-minded male intellectuals concerned about China's future selectively melded imported arguments against cigarettes such as those circulated by the WWCTU with preexisting indigenous ideas to form a new, hybridized critical elite discourse directed against feminine smoking. Articles and editorials that highlighted tobacco's harmful effects on women as well as children and youth proliferated in Chinese newspapers, particularly in the years just before and after the 1911 Revo-

lution. Following the example of foreign missionaries in China and Progressive reformers overseas, some Chinese activists organized their own anti-cigarette associations. In all instances, the most compelling argument marshaled against tobacco use by its modern Chinese critics was its detrimental effects for the collective strength of the nation.

Chinese intellectuals were clearly stung by Western critiques of China as an “uncivilized” society where so many women still smoked tobacco, where men smoked in front of ladies, and where children were still allowed to smoke unfettered by anti-juvenile smoking tobacco laws. In response, some urged their compatriots to quit smoking altogether. One area of major concern was smoking by children. The journalist An Jian, for example, called on China to “learn from progressive countries” and to outlaw smoking among youth.⁵⁸ Ding Fubao (1874–1952), the classically trained scholar who made a name for himself as a translator of Western medical texts, similarly denounced cigarette smoking among young people, using the civilizational discourse favored by foreign temperance advocates at the time. In a speech published in *Dagong bao* in 1911, Ding relayed his shock at having seen both boy and girl students, often of no more than ten years of age, smoking cigarettes in Beijing between 1903 and 1905. At the time, Ding was teaching mathematics and physiology at the newly established Metropolitan University in the capital:

Because of this, I knew that the schools in Beijing had not yet prohibited smoking. Fathers, older brothers, teachers, and other adults did not yet know that cigarettes impede [good] hygiene. Before being employed there, I had no idea that young people acted as they wished and smoked tobacco. Beijing is a virtuous place but it has this uncivilized aspect. I honestly did not anticipate this. . . . When I returned to the south, I saw youth smoking cigarettes there as well. Indeed, there are many more in the south than even in Beijing.⁵⁹

In the years surrounding the Republican Revolution, as cigarette-smoking women became more visible in society, newspaper editorialists increasingly focused on the “problem” of female cigarette smoking as well as the dangers of juvenile smoking. This discourse against women smokers competed with that being concurrently constructed both by tobacco advertisers seeking to entice women to buy their products and by social commentators who regarded public female smoking as a sign of much-needed gender equality. However, in the eyes of many prominent opinion makers, feminine cigarette smoking constituted “inappropriate behavior” akin to gambling, playing mah-jongg, putting on make-up or provocative clothes, and walking together with men on the street. Female smoking, which had long been quite acceptable in domestic settings, was nonetheless highly provocative when carried on outside the confines of the home. Women who smoked openly were therefore quite shocking and taken by many observers as a dismaying example of “women behaving badly.”⁶⁰



FIGURE 12. “A Young Miss Likes to Smoke Green Pack Cigarettes Every Day.” From *Shenbao*, 24 June 1912, p. 3.

Paul Bailey points out that the disproportionate focus in early Republican newspapers on the transgressive behaviors of women, including cigarette smoking in public, spoke to deeper anxieties about the pace and direction of social and cultural change in uncertain times.⁶¹ Yet the particular concern expressed about female smoking paralleled in many regards those propagated by the WWCTU and other transnational anti-cigarette organizations. Objections to female smoking often hinged on perceived problems arising from women’s appropriation of new and highly unstable gender identities. In language reminiscent of John Harvey Kellogg’s writings about the “feminine mustache,” Chinese journalists fretted that women were becoming just like men and that cigarette smoking was a visible sign of this gender-bending trend. For example, an article from the *Beijing Daily* lamented that “women are imitating men in everything today, in their clothes, hats, shoes, hairstyles, spectacles, and cigarette smoking. . . . Men are becoming feminine and women masculine.”⁶²

Although not always expressed explicitly in eugenicist terms, vernacular fears of an unsettled sexual hierarchy, in which women behaved just like men and thus failed to reproduce children, raised the specter of national extinction. The impact cigarettes would have on women’s ability to bear healthy and strong citizen-soldiers was thus already apparent, if not fully articulated, in newspaper articles written about women and smoking that appeared just after the 1911 Revolution. A cartoon from *Shenbao*, published in 1912, hints at the adverse effects cigarette smoking might have on a woman’s reproductive health, albeit in a humorous way. Titled “A Young Miss Likes to Smoke Green Pack Cigarettes Every Day,” the first panel depicts a young woman puffing away on a cigarette (see figure 12). The second panel shows a doctor examining her to find the cause of a severe stomachache. Still smoking away,

she reclines on the couch. In the third panel, the physician pulls out a pack of Green Pack cigarettes from her abdomen. Yet another cartoon from the same era shows a mother smoking while nursing her baby—the ash from her cigarette falls onto the baby's face. The message here is clear: a mother who loved and cherished her son would not smoke.⁶³

Many Chinese newspaper columnists further echoed their foreign contemporaries in expressing anxieties about the sexual impropriety of female cigarette smoking.⁶⁴ Xu Ke, for example, observed that Westerners jeered at Chinese women who smoked in the same manner that they would a common prostitute.⁶⁵ Schoolgirls openly smoking cigarettes seemed too reminiscent of flamboyant and aggressive streetwalkers, such as the one satirized in a 1912 *Shenbao* cartoon (see figure 13). The cartoon is titled “The Prostitute Smokes a Cigarette.” In the first panel (far right), the woman is standing on a street corner, puffing up huge billows of smoke as a customer approaches. The caption reads, “See me smoking a cigarette. How fashionable!” In the second panel, her client is holding her in a passionate embrace, kissing her full on the lips while her cigarette smolders in one hand held behind her back. In the final panel, he is hurrying away, saying that the terrible smell of tobacco from the cigarette is too much to bear. The sensibility that cigarettes were vulgar was exacerbated by the knowledge that many foreigners viewed female smokers through an eroticized Orientalist gaze and that Anglo-American moralists critically judged as “uncivilized” those societies in which this practice was not exclusive to men.

Chinese male intellectuals campaigned against female smoking not only with words but also with actions, establishing anti-cigarette leagues of their own. One well-known Qing personality who got involved in this cause was the politician and statesman Wu Tingfang (1842–1922). Wu, who studied law in England and was the first Chinese barrister to practice in Hong Kong, was tapped by the Qing dynasty to serve as minister to the United States, Mexico, Peru, and Cuba from 1896 to 1902 and again from 1907 to 1909. Upon his return to Shanghai from the United States in the spring of 1910, Wu Tingfang declined any further governmental service and instead turned his attention to social issues, albeit ones with political overtones. Wu Tingfang became a leader of the late Qing queue-cutting campaign, a movement broadly supported in China's major cities, and he served as the president of the National Products Preservation Association from 1913 to 1916. During these years he also established and led the Shanghai Anti-cigarette Smoking Society (Shanghai quan jie zhiyan hui) and the Hygiene Society (Weisheng hui).⁶⁶

A small Chinese-led anti-cigarette association had already been established in Shanghai in 1908, but Wu Tingfang undertook to reinvigorate the group upon his return to China in 1910. At the time of its reorganization in the spring of 1911, the society's officers included some of the most influential figures in Shanghai political and business circles: Chen Runfu, chair of the Shanghai General Chamber of Com-



FIGURE 13. “The Prostitute Smokes a Cigarette.” From *Shenbao*, 20 June 1912, p. 3.

merce; Shen Dunhe, a prominent comprador; and Li Pingshu, head of the Shanghai Self-Governing Bureau and the Shanghai Merchant’s Volunteer Corps Association, all served as vice-presidents for the association.⁶⁷ The society, with between two and three hundred members, was the largest anti-tobacco organization in China at the time, surpassing the foreign missionary–led WCTU of Shanghai. By his own admission, Wu Tingfang’s anti-cigarette organization was directly inspired by the American eugenics and temperance movements, especially the work of John Harvey Kellogg and Mary Foote Henderson (1841–1931).⁶⁸ The stated aim of the Anti-cigarette Smoking Society was to inform the public about the dangers of cigarette smoking, especially for women and young people. At one of its earliest meetings, the proceedings of which were reported in *Shenbao*, Chen Runfu spoke about the harm smoking caused women as well as children.⁶⁹ An anti-smoking rally organized by the society and held on June 27, 1911, attracted a thousand supporters; a similar demonstration in the southeast section of the city a week later had about six hundred participants.⁷⁰

Some might argue that the anti-tobacco efforts of organizations such as the Chinese WCTU and the Shanghai Anti-cigarette Smoking Society were historically insignificant.⁷¹ Certainly, as discussed in chapter 7, the number of cigarettes sold in China only continued to trend upward after the fall of the Qing dynasty. Yet it must be recognized that the historical impact of these organizations and the ideology on which they were based were profoundly gendered. While arguments against male cigarette smoking fell largely on deaf ears, those marshaled against women began to enter the popular vernacular through a wide array of mass media. When combined with a globally circulating visual culture that continued to eroticize women who smoked, and with lingering Chinese suspicions about the chastity of women who smoked in public, the early twentieth-century identification of tobacco as a “race poison” provided the elite scaffolding on which widespread popular disdain

for female smoking was subsequently constructed. During the Nanjing Decade, this critical anti-smoking discourse eventually came to be directed at a particular type of woman, the cigarette-smoking “Modern Girl.”

CIGARETTES AND THE “MODERN GIRL,” 1927–1937

Whereas in the teens and early twenties all types of women could be shown smoking cigarettes in advertisements and other visual media, after about 1927, representations of women who smoked cigarettes increasingly featured a particular type of trendy and fashion-conscious young woman known as the Modern Girl. Little respected by political activists of any ideological persuasion or either gender, Modern Girls were the subject of criticism and satire throughout the 1930s. They were lampooned in cartoons, spoofed in radio broadcasts, and stereotyped in Chinese feature films. Through these media, the iconic image of the female smoker as an immoral and unpatriotic woman, already apparent in early Republican newspaper editorials and cartoons, spread beyond the rhetorical confines of politically engaged Chinese intellectuals to permeate popular culture. Somewhat ironically, even tobacco advertisements that featured images of the new Chinese woman in the guise of the eroticized Modern Girl—the aesthetic that dominated many forms of commercial advertising throughout the Nanjing Decade—served to undermine the respectability of female smoking. Smoking, once a common, socially inclusive, and reputable practice for all women, was increasingly depicted in the 1930s as an exotic, exclusive, and risqué habit of the Modern Girl.

While popular culture helped shape the emerging association of smoking with the Chinese Modern Girl, this image was at least partially molded by real modern girls themselves. Many young urban Chinese women embraced the cigarette as a symbol of youthful rebellion and social emancipation in the 1920s just as their counterparts did in the United States and Europe. The actual Chinese modern girl distinguished herself from other women in the post-World War I period by bobbing her hair and dressing in revealing but fashionable short dresses that exposed her arms and legs. Her love of pleasure, explicit eroticism, and apparent disregard for convention, especially her rejection of domesticity and sexuality within the confines of marriage and reproduction, set her apart from other “new women.”⁷² She, like her kindred spirits abroad—the British-American flapper, Japanese *moga*, French *garçonnes*, and German *neue Frauen*—also smoked cigarettes as an open sign of rebellion.

Smoking a cigarette in public drew attention to the modern girl. Within the Chinese context, where private smoking had long been an acceptable practice for women, this was perhaps less a dramatic gesture than in the United States or Great Britain, where such behavior was essentially taboo in any setting. Nonetheless, as noted earlier, smoking in public was already freighted with sexual significance, both

from within the Chinese tradition and now also in the commercialized images imported from Hollywood and from advertising agencies headquartered in New York, London, and Tokyo. Within this globalized context, a young woman with a cigarette was increasingly understood in China to be signaling her sexual availability, not asserting her political rights. Of course, for iconoclastic Chinese modern girls, in revolt against a sexual double standard, this was precisely the point. The modern girl, by dressing provocatively and openly smoking cigarettes in certain venues associated with the fast and furious urban lifestyle—nightclubs, dance halls, restaurants, and race tracks—helped to make smoking risqué for women. She also opened herself up to criticism, censure, and satire in the various new mass media that now informed public opinion.

The cigarette-smoking Modern Girl was a favorite subject of editorialist cartoons published in the popular periodical press throughout the late 1920s and 1930s. Sometimes merely humorous and at other times quite pointed, cartoons in mass-circulation newspapers and magazines depicted women who smoked as a distinctive type of headstrong young urbanite. For example, one that appeared in 1928 in *Funü zazhi* (Ladies Journal), entitled “The New-Style Housewife” (Xin shidai de zhufu), lampoons the henpecked husband who is under the thumb of his thoroughly “modern” wife (see figure 14). One panel shows her leisurely smoking a cigarette while her husband, who has already spent the money she has budgeted for his monthly cigarette quota, is reduced to inhaling the fumes of her secondhand smoke. Gendered role reversal is the theme of another cartoon published in 1933 in *Ling Long* (Elegance) magazine (see figure 15).⁷³ The first panel shows a fat pipe-smoking literatus with two female “playmates,” one chained to his belt and the other strapped to his pipe; the next panel shows a cigarette-smoking woman kissing one of her two male “playmates” while the other one has tumbled to the floor. Modern girls, the cartoon suggests, have adopted masculine vices, including cigarettes, so completely that they have replaced the decadent male Confucian polygamist of old.

The cigarette-smoking Modern Girl also figured prominently in the new medium of radio. In his fine history of Shanghai radio broadcasting during the Nanjing Decade, Carlton Benton notes that some of the most popular *kaipian*, brief songs that introduced stories told in the *tanci* style, were those that skewered the Modern Girl’s excessive consumption practices.⁷⁴ These songs mocked the overconsuming modern woman whose permed hair, painted lips, powdered cheeks, silk stockings, high heels, and foreign cigarette were always essential props. *Kaipian* aurally reinforced images of cigarette-smoking women as immoral creatures whose “distinguishing trait was gross consumption unguided by refinement or patriotism.”⁷⁵ Entrepreneurs, whose interests were served by encouraging such consumption, also used *kaipian* to advertise their products, and they tended to modify the lyrics of songs such as “The Shanghai Girl” and “The Rich Young Miss from Shanghai” (two of the most popular *kaipian* in the 1930s), making her into an elegant



(3) 新文化生活夫婦的經濟，各自獨立，他因每月進款中擔負了多少生活費，至半月中已無錢買煙吸用，只得當她吸煙時，聞些煙氣，借此過癮。

FIGURE 14. "The New-Style Housewife" (Xin shidai de zhunü). From *Funü zazhi* (Ladies Journal) 13, no. 1 (January 1928): 25-26.



漫畫的檢討

時代不同之玩偶 (沈寶輝)

這能代表全體女子嗎？

珍玲女士：從一本漫畫集裏，我看見了這一幅。不禁引起一些感慨。現在女子真能夠玩弄男子嗎？她們有這樣能力，她們願意這樣做嗎？

以前，男子拿玩偶來對付女子，那是真的。便是男子自己也承認了。現在，女子的地位，總算有點進步了，女子所受的壓迫也比較輕了，但是神經過敏的男子便要說「女子把男子作玩偶」了。自然現在有一些所謂交際花，確有過顛倒男子的事實，但這只是男子自動地投入去，而不是因了什麼壓迫。況且這一小部分女子，能夠代表全體女子嗎？

(玉卿)

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FIGURE 15. "Playthings of Different Eras" (Shidai butong zhi wanou). From *Ling Long* 95 (1933): 681. *Ling Long Women's Magazine*; C. V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University. Used with permission.

lady of leisure rather than a grotesque spectacle of greed. According to Benton, the radio audience, many among which were women, resisted these more sympathetic renderings, preferring those versions that caricatured the Modern Girl as overly selfish and self-indulgent.

China's fledgling motion picture industry similarly perpetuated the image of the pleasure-seeking female smoker as a Modern Girl. When Shanghai-based film-

makers wished to signal a woman of dubious moral character, they merely needed to place a cigarette in her hand. In this they followed a well-established Hollywood convention that had associated female smoking with wickedness ever since Theda Bara first appeared with a cigarette in *Carmen* (1915).⁷⁶ Fifteen years later, it was becoming more acceptable for British and American women to light up both on the silver screen and in real life. In films from the 1930s, sultry actresses such as Marlene Dietrich, Bette Davis, and Greta Garbo all liberally puff away. Although the characters played by these leading ladies were not necessarily “wicked” women, they were clearly sexually experienced. As Penny Tinkler notes, their cigarettes “sent smoke signals of sensuality and sophistication, unmistakable invitations to a seduction.”⁷⁷ In Shanghai and other Chinese cities where these films were distributed, the association of the cigarette with female sexual desire was reinforced by publicity shots published in fan magazines and women’s journals of movie stars like Katherine Hepburn and Carole Lombard with cigarettes held seductively to their lips.⁷⁸

Shanghai filmmakers poached from Hollywood’s globalized language of sex and the cigarette when making their own modernist films. Actresses in films such as *Yecao xianhua* (Wild Flower), *Sange modeng nüxing* (Three Modern Women), and *Xin nüxing* (New Women) all smoked on screen. They did so, however, within the particular localized historical context of Chinese poverty, political instability, and the threat of foreign imperialism. As Miriam Hansen points out, the relationship of Shanghai movies to those produced in Hollywood was not one of outright imitation but rather a reconfiguration of foreign and indigenous discourses on the meanings of modernity.⁷⁹ Within the Chinese frame, a cigarette in the hand of a woman on screen not only signified her dangerous sexuality but also served as a symbolic representation of Western urbanization’s presumed assault upon what was imagined to be the essential values of agrarian China (see chapter 8). Paul Pickowicz observes that many Chinese films in the 1930s, like the literary works discussed in the previous chapter, adhered to a polarization of good and evil, urban and rural, traditional Chinese values and decadent foreign influences, all of which were embodied on screen in the figures of chaste women who did not smoke and “fast” women who did.⁸⁰

To be sure, China’s leading ladies, like their foreign counterparts, seldom played these roles in stark melodramatic tones, and their performances were often nuanced in ways that added substantial moral ambiguity to the “virginal innocent” and “vixen” binary of earlier Hollywood films.⁸¹ But, in Shanghai no less than in Hollywood, an actress with a cigarette *always* signified sexual sophistication, whether she played a seductive femme fatale, a conniving mistress, or a prostitute with a heart of gold. The consistent portrayal of female smokers in Chinese films throughout the 1930s as sexually seasoned women reinforced long-standing associations between cigarette smoking and promiscuity. At the same time, the contending trope of the politically and socially emancipated female smoker whose cigarette use sig-

naled her equality with men gradually faded from view in the popular mass medium of film.

A similar transformation was under way in commercial advertising. Tobacco companies in China, no less than cigarette manufacturers in England and the United States, utilized the globalized image of cigarette-smoking Modern Girls in their efforts to increase sales to Chinese consumers. Commercial artists working in Shanghai in the 1920s and 1930s created their own unique vision of the Chinese Modern Girl, portraying her as a fashionable and glamorous beauty reminiscent of but nonetheless quite distinct from the models that graced Japanese, European, and American tobacco advertisements around the same time. The iconic figure of the modern urban beauty, widely reproduced in newspaper advertisements, magazines, and cigarette cards, and most famously on calendar posters (*yuefenpai*), was designed to appeal to consumers of both sexes in order to sell a wide array of products from mosquito coils to batteries, as well as cigarettes.⁸² Artists rendered many different feminine archetypes in these advertisements: historical beauties, girl students, demure wives, vibrant athletes, flirtatious coquettes, and posh urbanites. However, even in cigarette advertisements, women are seldom shown in the *act* of smoking. Those ads that did show women with lit cigarettes, like the figures with crossed legs and exposed armpits that Francesca Dal Lago has analyzed, were generally eroticized in ways that suggest the cigarette, like the smoking woman herself, was there for men's voyeuristic enjoyment.⁸³

Throughout the Nanjing Decade, tobacco advertisements featuring female smokers generally employed one of several variant images of the Modern Girl. Some displayed liberated young women languidly smoking at home. Weipin Tsai argues that such representations, plentiful in the 1920s as well as the 1930s, were emblematic of a new consciousness among urban middle-class women that they were now free to pursue a lifestyle based on individual taste and autonomous choice.⁸⁴ Aside from her mischaracterization of female tobacco use as historically unprecedented in 1920s China (which it clearly was not), Tsai makes a valid point that these images legitimized feminine leisure and luxury in ways that undermined traditional Confucian notions of the properly frugal housewife. However, as noted in chapter 3, portrayals of women smoking alone in interior spaces were hardly new: the iconography of a solitary woman dreamily smoking in her living room hearkens back to early-nineteenth-century illustrations of "smoking beauties." Indeed, captions for these ads were often written in the style of traditional boudoir laments. For example, the text that accompanies one Tower brand advertisement analyzed by Tsai reads: "There is a beautiful lady, with a lovely, pretty smile. Her gorgeous eyes are full of longing. There is nothing to do in her room except smoke and enjoy it."⁸⁵ The autoerotic overtones in this advertisement are clear even as it celebrates the woman's escape from the drudgery of household chores or the scolding of her mother-in-law.

Many advertisements from the 1930s were even more sexually explicit. Xie



FIGURE 16. Advertisement for My Dear cigarettes, by Xie Zhiguang. From Yi Bin, *Lao Shanghai guanggao* (Old Shanghai advertising) (Shanghai: Shanghai huabao chubanshe, 1995), 54–55.

Zhiguang (1900–1976), the commercial artist who rendered numerous paintings advertising My Dear cigarettes, for example, was known for his portraits of curvaceous nudes and sensual modern belles.⁸⁶ Xie Zhiguang's cigarette-smoking women are all sexually alluring.⁸⁷ One well-known and long-running image advertising My Dear cigarettes showed a worldly woman looking directly out of the frame, with a manicured hand held to her chest and a cigarette dangling from her lips (see figure 16). In the globalized iconography of female smokers that circulated in the 1930s, a glamorous woman who dangled her cigarette in this way always signaled sexual availability.⁸⁸

Other artists toned down overtly seductive images in favor of those that featured well-groomed women sharing cigarettes with male intimates. Particularly in the late 1930s, many showed men and women smoking together while sharing leisure pursuits and activities.⁸⁹ While these advertisements pick up on the theme of the modern ideal of equality and companionship between men and women, sexual intimacy is always implied. Moreover, such images often evoke the delights found in the mistress's boudoir rather than the bedroom of the faithful and loving wife. Collectively these images contributed to an emerging connotation of cigarette smoking as a behavior unsuitable for the old-fashioned “good wife and wise mother” or the “authentic” new woman who sought to form a romantic but monogamous bond with her male companion within the confines of a eugenically healthy modern-style marriage.

Still another type of cigarette-smoking Modern Girl appeared frequently in tobacco ads toward the end of the decade. Following a trend evident in transnational cigarette marketing, these advertisements portrayed well-groomed and fashionably dressed women smoking together with female friends (see figure 17). While in some markets, such as the United States and Great Britain, such representations signaled the newly established respectability of smoking cigarettes among smart and stylish middle-class homemakers, in China these images were more evocative of a particular type of woman widely denigrated by feminists and reformist intellectuals as superficial and shallow *taitai*. Translated literally as “Mrs.,” *taitai* referred to wives of elite officials or wealthy businessmen who could afford a comfortable upper-class lifestyle. *Taitais* were disdained by those who fashioned themselves as “authentic” new women, because, though educated, they held no job or social position of their own but instead relied on their husbands for economic support.⁹⁰ Able to afford nannies and domestic servants, these ladies of leisure had little to do, it was commonly believed, other than socialize.

After about 1927, most illustrations and advertising copy featuring women smoking cigarettes were focused almost exclusively on the modern urban beauty whose image and lifestyle were being widely denigrated simultaneously in cartoons, on the radio, and in feature films. Although each subtype of the cigarette-smoking Modern Girl was different, all signaled in one way or another a lack of feminine virtue.

白金龍香煙



良煙如益友



南洋兄弟煙草公司出品

FIGURE 17. Golden Dragon cigarette advertisement showing female friends smoking together. From *Liangyou* (Young Companion), no. 164 (January 1940): 7.

Illustrations of beautiful models smoking cigarettes likely appealed to many women, but others, both conservatives and progressives, would have been offended by the sexually explicit nature of many of these advertisements. Still others would have found reprehensible the life of luxury and privilege portrayed in them, particularly at a time when many ordinary Chinese were experiencing extraordinary economic hardship. After the Mukden Incident of 1931, Japan inexorably pressed its claims to territory in Manchuria and launched a series of aggressive military maneuvers against Chinese cities in the North and East. With China and Japan on a collision course toward war, images of pampered mistresses waiting impatiently for their lovers or capricious socialites whiling away their time smoking and gossiping in luxurious surroundings must have rankled ardent nationalists on both sides of the political spectrum. Taking on the identity of a sensual and alluring *femme fatale*, a glamorous urban sophisticate, or a pampered bourgeois socialite may have appealed to some women, just as the “Shanghai look” favored by courtesans had attracted some urban women in the late Qing period. However, for many women, cigarettes, now potent symbols of a particular type of Westernized and hypersexualized femininity, were not for them.

CIGARETTES AND THE “MODERN GIRL”
AS TARGETS OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY
POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, 1934–1976

Images from the 1930s of cigarette-smoking women were explicitly eroticized in ways that illustrations of women smoking from the early Republican period generally were not. In the 1910s and 1920s, a woman could be shown openly brandishing a cigarette as a sign of her newly acquired freedoms and her commitment to progressive social change. By the 1930s, the cigarette had become a defining characteristic of the decadent urban Modern Girl. This changing imagery, from those that showed ordinary women smoking cigarettes, including mothers, wives, “new women,” and patriots, to those that depicted female smokers as alluring and exotic creatures, did not simply demonstrate the influence of global popular culture or greater social tolerance for open displays of female sexuality, though it did do that. More fundamentally, this shift in representational strategy reflected the vernacular ascendancy of the critical elite anti-smoking discourse that had marked female cigarette smoking as licentious, vulgar, and eugenically dangerous earlier in the century. From the vantage point of committed Chinese nationalists, whether on the right or the left, a cigarette in the hand of a woman, now widely understood to be a sign of lackluster political convictions as well as loose sexual morals, could signify only that the woman was a threat to the urgent project of national salvation.

To be sure, considerable ambiguity surrounding feminine cigarette smoking was still evident in women’s magazines and other periodicals popular with women in the

1930s. Representations of women smoking found in *Ling Long*, for example, are decidedly cacophonous. On the one hand, in the magazine's movie supplement, Chinese actresses such as Zhu Qiuhua and Liang Saizhen pose jauntily with cigarettes, while in the fashion section, female models holding long cigarette holders are portrayed in stylish *qipaos*.⁹¹ On the other hand, the editorial position of the journal can only be characterized as disapproving of women who smoked. Over the years of its publication, the woman's magazine published numerous articles about the physical and moral hazards of cigarettes, including essays on their detrimental effects on women's bodies, on their reproductive capacities, and on young children.⁹² The editors warn women that tobacco is "poisonous" and will lead them toward other vices including alcohol, gambling, and prostitution.⁹³ In one late issue, the glamorous cover girl Xu Ling is wrapped in a white fox stole while holding a smoldering cigarette in her elegant black-gloved hand. Inside the very same issue is an article advising mothers not to set a bad example for children by smoking (see figure 18).⁹⁴

The many visual and textual references to cigarettes in publications such as *Ling Long* thus presented decidedly mixed messages in the 1930s: women who smoked were depicted both as glamorous sophisticates and as seductive *femmes fatales*. The cigarette was simultaneously held up as an emblem of personal choice and autonomy and a sign of women's blind subjugation to fashion or to foreign imperialism. A cigarette in the hand of a woman was sometimes portrayed as the height of elegance and refinement and at other times as a sign of a woman's lack of virtue or discernment.⁹⁵ Discussions and debates over the meaning of female smoking, not unlike those under way in other countries including the United States and Britain, continued even as the clouds of war gathered and then broke over Northeast Asia in 1937. They were settled only after 1949 when Maoist revolutionary aesthetics rendered feminine cigarette smoking, now considered bourgeois and altogether decadent, as completely unacceptable for women of good political character.

The critical discourse that regarded the elimination of female tobacco use as an essential ingredient in the construction of a eugenically healthy modern nation was first given concrete form as public policy during the Guomindang's New Life Movement of the 1930s. The New Life Movement fundamentally sought to mobilize the population to improve personal hygiene in order to strengthen the nation. The ideological foundations of the movement mixed selective elements from Confucianism with Protestant notions of puritanical asceticism, and also blended fascist views of the paramountcy of the state with the values of military-style discipline and order. Yet at its core was the Social Darwinist idea, brought forward from the early twentieth century, that the material and spiritual "degeneration" of the Chinese people was the fundamental reason for China's contemporary national crisis.⁹⁶

For Chiang Kai-shek, the primary author of the New Life program, the immediate threats posed in the early 1930s by Japanese encroachment on Chinese territory in the Northeast and the Communist establishment of a rural soviet in Jiangxi



FIGURE 18. Xu Ling as covergirl. From *Ling Long* 268 (1937): 1. *Ling long* Women's Magazine; C. V. Starr East Asian Library, Columbia University. Used with permission.

was a manifestation of China's decline in the global hierarchy of civilizations. These dangers were brought about because of deficiencies in the Chinese people themselves. According to Chiang, China's political weakness was rooted in the people's indifference to basic standards of hygiene and public morality. Only a thorough reform of Chinese manners and grooming habits en masse could save China from

the threat of Japanese invasion or Communist takeover.⁹⁷ How individuals looked or acted—whether or not they behaved in ways that were “civilized” as measured against Euro-American standards—was not mere window dressing, it was the key to China’s national survival.

Cigarette smoking was a target of the New Life Movement from the outset. Although his American-educated wife, Song Meiling (1897–2003), was a lifelong smoker, Chiang Kai-shek himself maintained a reputation as one who neither smoked nor drank.⁹⁸ He clearly viewed smoking as one of the many vices that symbolized the moral and spiritual degeneration of the Chinese people. In the speech launching the New Life Movement, given on February 19, 1934, Chiang explained how an incident a few days earlier had refocused his resolve to initiate a “movement to achieve a new life.” After seeing a schoolboy smoking a cigarette on the streets of Nanchang, Chiang said, he imagined how the boy would likely grow up to become an opium addict as an adult.⁹⁹ At the time, his car was moving too fast to stop and reprimand the child. He then recalled another previous encounter, with a ten-year-old child he had seen smoking on the streets of Jian’ou in Fujian. Upon inquiring how the child’s parents could permit such behavior, he learned that juvenile smoking was still quite common in that part of the country. In words reminiscent of the anti-cigarette movement of the late Qing and early Republic, Chiang lamented that this kind of behavior on the part of young people was one of the main causes of China’s inability to defend itself against foreign aggression.

In Chiang Kai-shek’s view, for a person to be seen smoking a cigarette publicly was not only to be considered “undesirable and slovenly”;¹⁰⁰ it along with other behaviors such as public urination and indiscriminate spitting undermined the government’s essential project of national rejuvenation. Eradication of cigarette smoking thus became one of the ninety-six specific rules listed in the official handbook of the movement issued along with its general principles.¹⁰¹ On paper at least, throughout the 1930s, smoking was restricted in many workplaces, people were barred from smoking on the streets, and public places were made smoke-free. In some communities, soldiers or students patrolled the streets, insisting that those smoking publicly put out their cigarettes.¹⁰²

Although men also had to be trained away from bad habits such as spitting and cigarette smoking, the burden of embodying the spirit of “new life” and national regeneration fell disproportionately on women.¹⁰³ The body of the Modern Girl became the New Life Movement’s main target because she was seen to contain all of the “vices of modernity that were believed to bring forth moral degeneration and hinder China’s national salvation.”¹⁰⁴ In addition to prohibitions against public smoking, bans against “strange and outlandish” clothes were passed and regulations governing female clothing and hairstyle promulgated. Permanent waves, high heels, and cosmetics were discouraged, as were foreign-style clothing. These dress codes were often enforced by local police. In some instances, so-called Smashing

Modernity Gangs viciously attacked women wearing “modern” attire or those who smoked openly. Many women no longer dared to carry their cigarettes with them in public.

One woman whose public smoking habit was impacted by the New Life Movement was Chiang Kai-shek’s own wife. Song Meiling, the daughter of a wealthy self-made Chinese entrepreneur, grew up in North Carolina and was educated at Wellesley College between 1913 and 1917, during a time when young women in the United States were increasingly taking up cigarettes as a sign of their own emancipation. Although raised in a strict Methodist household, where alcohol, card games, and dancing were all forbidden, Song smoked menthol cigarettes from at least 1921 until a few years before her death at age 105. Although she abhorred the label new woman, preferring the more neutral “Returned Student,” Song was nonetheless a quintessential May Fourth–era social feminist. Deeply committed to the cause of rebuilding China, she married Chiang in 1927 after nearly a decade in Shanghai living at home as a single upper-class daughter of privilege who concerned herself with various social issues and political movements of the day. Although she did not take to the streets or involve herself directly in political actions such as the May Fourth movement of 1919, she volunteered for a time at the reform-oriented Shanghai YWCA and served on the Shanghai Municipal Council as a member of the child labor commission.

A driving force behind the New Life Movement from the beginning, Song Meiling may well have been its co-architect. Officially she headed only the women’s division of the movement, but after 1936 she and the more American, Christian-oriented elements of the Guomindang movement were left in charge.¹⁰⁵ In the tradition of Frances Willard and Liu-Wang Liming, Song called on the women of China to take up their true calling as guardians of public morality from within their traditional roles as mothers and wives. This included the eradication of “bad” habits such as smoking. According to Song, the “authentic” Chinese modern woman would not only forgo cigarettes herself but work to ensure that others did not smoke. In an article written in 1936, Song wrote that women especially had a responsibility to lead the way toward the eradication of this vice: “The women must realize that mostly their thoughts and actions are not right, and they must emancipate themselves from ignorance and inertia. Their family life should be orderly, their houses clean, and they should resolutely work against gambling, smoking, drinking, extravagance, and other bad habits of life.”¹⁰⁶

Although such language required Song Meiling to hide her own cigarette-smoking habit from public view, political rhetoric of this sort reinforced and gave even greater weight to the images of superficial and selfish cigarette-smoking Modern Girls already widely circulating in cigarette advertisements, movies, and other popular media. The message was clear: only “bad” girls smoked openly; respectable women, like their grandmothers and great-grandmothers, had to be more discreet.

If they smoked, they should do so privately. Better yet, they should give up pernicious tobacco altogether in order to keep a well-run home as a foundation on which an orderly nation might be constructed.

In the spring and summer of 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and the Guomindang were forced by the advancing Chinese Communist army to retreat to Taiwan. Song Meiling, in New York at the time, soon rejoined her husband on his island base. Although they remained implacable military and political enemies, the CCP and the Guomindang both continued to promote female avoidance of tobacco as a mark of patriotic womanhood. On the mainland, male leaders of the CCP, from Mao Zedong to Deng Xiaoping, famously smoked cigarettes with abandon, but female party members and many educated urban women now abstained, at least publicly. By the 1950s, female cigarette smoking was no longer respectable even in private; indeed, in some circles it was considered traitorous.

Throughout the Maoist period (1949–76), women who smoked were explicitly labeled as bourgeois or decadent persons who had betrayed Mao's revolutionary line. In literary works and films, they were generally portrayed as seductive foreign spies or dissolute prostitutes. Such caricatures helped to reduce the dwindling number of female smokers even further. Girls who were "Born Red" (after 1949) vividly remember the first time they saw a woman smoking and how shocked they were at such behavior.¹⁰⁷ Although many young men, especially those "sent down" to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), learned to smoke during those years, smoking among young women in similar straits was linked directly to sexual promiscuity. One young woman, "sent down" to a state farm in 1968 recalled: "At that time there was an unwritten rule on the state farm. Smoking was prohibited and love was prohibited. At every meeting, large and small, the leadership reminded us of these prohibitions and warned us."¹⁰⁸ Zhong Xueping, another woman who came of age during the Cultural Revolution, recalls her initial impression of an older woman assigned to be her mentor in her new job as a waitress in a hotel restaurant: "Everything Liu shi fu did confirmed my negative image of her, including smoking. In movies I had seen, only entertainers, Nationalist spies, and prostitutes smoked. Although my father smoked a pack of cigarettes a day, it never occurred to me to question him or associate his smoking habit with a negative image. This was reserved for women, and Liu shi fu's smoking habit made me wonder if she could be trusted and if she was good enough to be my mentor."¹⁰⁹

Indeed, distant echoes of the New Life Movement anti-smoking campaigns sounded in the Red Guard actions in the opening months of the Cultural Revolution. Encouraged by Mao Zedong and his wife, Jiang Qing, to smash the "four old" elements within Chinese society—old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking—Red Guards launched campaigns against public smoking reminiscent of those that had targeted Modern Girls in the 1930s.¹¹⁰ Throughout the Cultural Revolution, accusations against female "class enemies" frequently included the charge,



FIGURE 19. “Jiang Qing as Smoking Serpent.” From Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), between pages 334 and 335. Used with permission.

evident in the earlier New Life campaigns, that only the sexually decadent and unpatriotic woman smoked cigarettes, wore high heels, used foreign perfume, or permed her hair. When her opponents finally toppled Jiang Qing after Mao's death in 1976, propaganda posters depicting the infamous “Gang of Four” invariably portrayed the much-reviled female leader as a cigarette-smoking she-devil (see figure 19). Ironically, the risqué cigarette-smoking Modern Girl, whose image was at least partially constructed by strong and outspoken women such as Liu-Wang Liming, Song Meiling, and Jiang Qing herself, was transformed by the Maoist revolutionary aesthetic into a potent symbol that could be used to overthrow the most powerful and politically-engaged “new woman” of China's revolutionary era.

The view that only women with tarnished morals or dubious nationalist credentials smoked cigarettes was constructed slowly over the course of the twentieth century. In the opening decade, when China was still ruled by the Qing dynasty, tobacco smoking, whether of cigarettes or pipes, was something that respectable women did at home. At the time, Shanghai courtesans, China's first female celebri-

ties and the fashion trendsetters of the day, began openly smoking cigarettes as they traveled around the city. After the Qing emperor abdicated the throne, “new women,” girl students, and female activists also began stepping out and boldly smoking cigarettes in public venues. In the early Republican period, cigarettes, like unbound feet or cropped hair, symbolized a woman’s commitment to Republican ideals and the new political order. Cigarette manufacturers capitalized on this sensibility in their advertisements, readily portraying women who smoked as patriotic daughters, good wives, and wise mothers well into the 1920s.

Of course, there was disapproval of women smokers in China even before 1900. A woman who smoked outside the confines of her own home was widely regarded as uncouth or worse, as unchaste. Long-standing associations between public smoking and promiscuity were reinforced once Chinese intellectuals became aware of the prominent Anglo-American discourse of the Victorian era that linked female tobacco use to prostitution. At the time, British and American anti-tobacco activists espoused the Orientalist view that societies such as Japan and China in which women were allowed to smoke freely even at home were less “civilized” than were countries such as the United States or Great Britain where few women smoked even in private. Such sentiments were backed by the staunch belief, rooted in the Protestant temperance tradition and given renewed vigor by the global anti-cigarette movement of the Edwardian and Progressive eras, that certain “race poisons” including tobacco contributed to the further degeneration of already “degraded” national populations in Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

Condemnation of tobacco as a drug that, like alcohol or opium, would lead to racial extinction when used by juveniles or by women of child-bearing age resonated powerfully with articulate and influential fin-de-siècle Chinese intellectuals. Within the heightened international climate of concern over the links between tobacco and “national degeneration” characteristic of the early twentieth century, cigarette-smoking women began to be regarded as selfish, pleasure-seeking, self-indulgent consumers of a “foreign” product that threatened to undermine their reproductive capacities and destroy their moral authority over the Chinese family. Dismayed by British and American condemnation of Chinese women who smoked, and concerned that respectable women who did so on the street would be taken for common prostitutes, reformist intellectuals developed their own anti-smoking discourse that they directed against women smokers who dared to smoke openly.

Over time, this elite anti-female smoking rhetoric gained ground among urban intellectuals and political leaders. Bolstered by the surge of cultural and political nationalism that took hold in Chinese cities, especially after the May Fourth incident of 1919, the notion that smoking by women threatened the health and well-being of the nation began to swell in the 1920s and 1930s just as many Chinese women were reinventing themselves as “new” emancipated women in step with like-minded women around the world. From their particular vantage point as feminists

struggling for women's rights in a patriarchal society, and as nationalists seeking to end China's national humiliation and subjugation to imperialism, forward-looking Chinese women, unlike their Anglo-American counterparts, did not necessarily embrace the cigarette as a symbol of gender equality. Instead, because this "foreign" commodity was often coded in elite political discourse and the popular vernacular as a threat to the nation or as a frivolous indulgence of apolitical and sexually promiscuous "Modern Girls," many Chinese feminists who claimed identities as "patriotic" and "authentic" "new women" chose not to smoke cigarettes. By the time the Guomindang Party initiated drives both against the body of the modern girl and against cigarette smoking as part of its broader New Life campaign, it was becoming ever more difficult to be a modernized exemplar of patriotic womanhood while wreathed in smoke.

In their advertising campaigns, transnational and domestic tobacco companies inadvertently underscored the message of those opposed to female smoking on moral or political grounds. Although earlier in the century, tobacco companies had been able to employ long-standing cultural idioms that displayed genteel women enjoying tobacco in domestic settings to create new images of respectable women smokers, by the 1930s, advertisements that included women smoking cigarettes almost exclusively represented the Modern Girl in all of her various guises. Such advertising mirrored themes used to attract female smokers in the United States and Europe, both then and now: cigarettes were portrayed as elegant, romantic, sexually attractive, sociable, emancipated, feminine, and rebellious. As such they undoubtedly had an appeal for certain women. Within the context of burgeoning Chinese nationalism and growing revolutionary fervor in the 1930s and 1940s, however, such images were perhaps not as enticing to the majority of Chinese women as manufacturers hoped. For many Chinese, a cigarette in the hand of a Modern Girl signified not sophistication or glamour but loose morals, foreign decadence, bourgeois extravagance, and insufficient national loyalty. These were the associations that came forward into the post-1949 revolutionary era, a time when "respectable" women and "good" girls did not smoke, because to do so was not only provocative but also potentially seditious. In the face of such powerful social and political taboos, most women in Mao's China elected not to smoke at all.

Epilogue

Tobacco in the People's Republic of China, 1949–2010

Tobacco's centuries-long career in China sheds light on many themes: the history of Chinese material culture, China's long-standing participation in transregional and international trade, and shifting patterns of popular and elite consumption, as well as the changing intersections of gender and consumption. Taking the long view, as I do in the preceding pages, not only allows for comparisons with other societies undergoing similar transformations in their own local cultures of tobacco consumption since 1550 or so; it also facilitates analysis of continuity and change in Chinese consumption practices across the late imperial–modern divide. Earlier chapters describe China's dynamic culture of tobacco use from the late Ming period through the mid-twentieth century. It remains to bridge past and present by examining the most significant shifts that have occurred in Chinese tobacco consumption since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949.

Much about China's particular smoking culture has changed over the past sixty years. Most notably, the machine-rolled cigarette has triumphed. Whereas in the 1930s, only 15 percent of total tobacco consumption was in cigarette form, filtered cigarettes now constitute 95 percent of the domestic market.¹ Hand-rolled cigarettes, long-stemmed pipes, and water pipes remain prevalent only in certain regions, particularly in the Northeast and Southwest. Snuff has largely fallen out of favor altogether, though in recent years flavored smokeless tobacco has made a comeback among hip young urbanites.²

Tobacco remains an essential part of the Chinese economy; indeed, its importance has only increased over time. The People's Republic of China is now the world's leading producer and consumer of tobacco. Chinese farmers grow a third of the world's tobacco crop, and China's state-run tobacco industry produces in excess of

2.2 trillion cigarettes a year. An estimated four million Chinese households rely on tobacco for their livelihood, either as tobacco farmers, cigarette industry employees, or cigarette retailers. More than 300 million Chinese men and 20 million Chinese women currently smoke, one-third of all smokers worldwide.³ China is also the country with the highest number of smoking-related deaths—one million each year, or one in four such deaths around the globe. The economic costs from tobacco are very high (an estimated US\$5 billion in 2000) and are expected to increase as the number of new smokers grows along with the population.⁴

Tobacco use, once a respectable practice for Chinese women as well as men, has become almost exclusively a male habit. Men are fifteen times more likely to smoke cigarettes than are women: about 60 percent of all Chinese men over age fifteen smoke, but less than 3 percent of women do. Cigarette smoking among men now occurs in all income and occupational groups, and smoking remains prevalent among many businessmen, white-collar workers, and urban professionals as well as among farmers and factory workers. In 2004, smoking prevalence among Chinese male physicians, for example, was more than 40 percent.⁵ Men also bear the brunt of smoking-related illness: by the early 1990s, tobacco was already responsible for one in eight male deaths, but only one in thirty-three for Chinese women.⁶ However, many women die each year as a consequence of passive exposure to cigarette smoke.⁷

During the Republican era, factory-made cigarettes were relatively expensive and remained out of reach for the majority of rural and low-income consumers. In today's China, rural cigarette smokers outnumber those in cities, and smoking prevalence rates are higher in the countryside (32 percent) than they are in urban areas (25 percent).⁸ Rural households now consume more cigarettes than do urban households, though the average price paid per pack is lower among rural smokers than among urban ones. Sixty-two percent of urban smokers report smoking at least ten cigarettes per day, but the figure for rural smokers who smoke ten or more per day is 70 percent.⁹ The economic burden of smoking in rural areas is particularly high. Not only do rural smokers spend a higher percentage of their total income on cigarettes than do smokers in the city, but many farmers cannot afford to pay for health care when they develop smoking-related illnesses.¹⁰

Cigarette smoking, once the hallmark of the cosmopolitan urban elite, is increasingly becoming proletarianized. Prevalence rates are currently highest among poor (those earning less than 5,000 yuan per year) and low-income households (those with annual incomes between 5,000 and 9,999 yuan) and lowest among those with annual incomes above 10,000 yuan.¹¹ Highly educated men now tend to smoke less than do those with only moderate schooling, and office workers smoke less than manual laborers or factory workers.¹² In 1996, 70 percent of men with little or no education smoked, while only 54 percent of university graduates did. By 2002, smoking among college-educated men had dropped to 45 percent, while rates among less educated men remained high.¹³

Tobacco use among female smokers is also divided by educational level: only 1 percent of highly educated women smoked in 1996, but about 8 percent of poorly educated women did.¹⁴ Female rural-to-urban migrants are much more likely to smoke than are women in the general population. A study conducted in 2002 found that smoking among female migrants was ten times that of the general female population in the comparable age range.¹⁵

The ascendancy of the manufactured cigarette in China as an item of mass consumption in the countryside as well as among low-income urban smokers occurred largely as a consequence of economic policies and developmental strategies pursued by the CCP after 1949. To be sure, the foundations for genuine massification and rustication of the industrial cigarette had already been laid much earlier both by China's tradition of tobacco use and by the many foreign and domestic tobacco companies, large and small, that purveyed cigarettes to Chinese consumers in the late Qing and Republican periods. Following the establishment of the People's Republic, however, the CCP greatly expanded the Chinese tobacco industry, making cigarettes more available and affordable for the "masses" than ever before. The following sections briefly summarize the main developments, first from 1949 to 1976 and then from 1978 to 2009, that have contributed to China's contemporary "cigarette culture." I conclude with a discussion of the relevance of historical perspectives for dealing with China's burgeoning epidemic of smoking-related disease.

DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS, 1949–1976

The Chinese tobacco industry has undergone many structural reforms since 1949. The autarkic policies of the Maoist era (1949–76) obviously differed dramatically from the market reforms and internationalization under way since Deng Xiaoping and his successors ascended to power in 1978. Nonetheless, the general trend from 1949 to the present has been one of ever-intensifying production, sales, and consumption of factory-made cigarettes. Notwithstanding annual fluctuations and more extended periods during the 1960s when production stagnated or declined, total domestic annual production of cigarettes grew from 80 billion in 1949 to 238 billion in 1958, 392 billion in 1970, 852 billion in 1980, 1.6 trillion in 1990, 1.7 trillion in 2000, and 2.2 trillion in 2009.¹⁶ The average number of manufactured cigarettes smoked per person per day (among smokers) rose steadily from one in 1952 to four in 1972, and ten in 1992. It has remained at about fifteen cigarettes per day per smoker on average since 1995.¹⁷

The Maoist years saw no interregnum in the development of China's tobacco industry or in its emerging culture of cigarette consumption. To be sure, the greatest boom in cigarette sales came about only after 1978, but certain policies introduced between 1949 and 1976 paved the way for the subsequent explosion of cigarette use

in the post-Mao period. Because cigarettes were regarded as more modern than other forms of tobacco, and because tobacco cultivation and cigarette manufacturing supported peasant livelihoods, created factory jobs, and generated tax revenues, the CCP was fully committed to building up the tobacco industry. Even before 1949, the party had operated cigarette manufactories in its base areas as a means of provisioning soldiers.¹⁸ After nationalizing all tobacco companies and ousting foreign competition in the 1950s, the government deliberately boosted the overall supply of cigarettes by encouraging local production of cured tobacco and establishing new factories in the interior. Substantial gains were made in the 1950s, at least from 1949 to 1958, during which period the annual growth rate in cigarette production was about 11 percent per year.¹⁹ The increased availability of inexpensive cigarettes in the 1950s encouraged many smokers to switch to rolled tobacco products. In cities such as Beijing, where the per capita use of cigarettes remained relatively low before 1949, per capita consumption of cigarettes rose to about five cigarettes per day.²⁰ Cigarette consumption increased even in some rural areas: a survey of ninety-nine cooperatives in Shanxi Province conducted over the 1949–57 period, for example, found that per capita cigarette consumption tripled, even though consumption of pork and edible oil declined over the same time period.²¹

Cigarette production slowed after the Great Leap Forward (1958–60), and cigarettes were scarce during the Three Hard Years (1959–61) that followed. The new economic policies of the early 1960s (1961–65), however, saw further reorganization of the industry. As part of a broader retrenchment effort designed to rationalize industrial production and establish a viable urban economy, the government established the Tobacco Industrial Corporation in 1963 and implemented certain efficiency-enhancing and cost-cutting measures. Production capacity rose 35 percent, and inexpensive low-grade cigarettes once again became available to many consumers in Chinese cities.²² Traveler's accounts from the 1960s and memoir literature written retrospectively testify to the ubiquity of cigarettes in urban areas throughout the Cultural Revolution.²³ Indeed, cigarettes were one of the few pleasures many urbanites enjoyed during those turbulent years.

Cigarettes, like many other consumer goods at the time, were governed by China's system of rationing from the 1960s through the 1970s. Special coupons, known as *xiangyan piao*, were issued monthly to every urban household. The voucher system did not preclude smokers from buying loose tobacco on the open market, and not all cigarettes were subject to rationing across the entire Maoist period.²⁴ Premium cigarettes, however, were hard to come by, largely because they were held in reserve for those with political connections. Special coupons for their purchase were distributed to the general public only before important holidays. Low-grade cigarettes, however, could be purchased at any time if they were available in state-run stores. Ironically, the cigarette voucher system, because it provided regular and equalized

access to a limited commodity, had the effect of encouraging many nonsmokers, including some women, to begin smoking.²⁵ In most homes, however, cigarettes were consumed only by male heads of household.²⁶

Vouchers were restricted to those age sixteen and older, but young people often gained access to cigarettes by pilfering their parents' stash.²⁷ This was made even easier during the most chaotic years between 1966 and 1969, when many teenagers were basically left without adult supervision. Many young men who came of age during the 1960s and early 1970s remember fondly how they first learned to smoke as adolescents.²⁸ Then as now, young people were introduced to smoking primarily by their peers. With productive work and schooling halted by political campaigns at the height of the Cultural Revolution, many found little to do other than sit around and smoke together.²⁹ When young urban men were sent to work in rural villages, they continued to smoke. Cadres seldom enforced anti-smoking rules against sent-down male youth, though they were very strict with young women caught smoking.³⁰

Despite modest gains in production, factory-produced cigarettes remained in short supply throughout the Maoist years, particularly in the countryside. Between 1952 and 1982, peasants were allowed to plant and sell sun-cured tobacco outside the state plan, and as a result, pipe tobacco remained the most affordable tobacco product in rural areas just as it had been in the Republican era.³¹ Even in the early 1980s, cigarettes remained too expensive for most peasants, and in many villages cadres were the only people who smoked them.³²

Cultural attitudes held over from the pre-1949 period also continued to dissuade many peasants from smoking cigarettes. The contrasting tropes of the "pastoral pipe" and the "urban cigarette," so prominent in the 1930s, were reinscribed in CCP political culture. Well into the 1970s, cigarettes continued to be marked as cosmopolitan commodities suitable only for city people. In feature films and propaganda posters from the Cultural Revolution era, cigarettes are generally displayed only in the hands of urban factory workers, soldiers of the People's Liberation Army, or male officials. Women were *never* shown with either pipes or cigarettes, but the honest and hardworking male peasant smoking his long pipe was an iconic image that appeared again and again.³³

The gap between urban and rural smoking habits remained wide enough in the 1960s and 1970s to render the cultural politics of smoking somewhat fraught. Cigarette smoking among men remained a widely accepted practice, but cadres who smoked had to choose their tobacco products carefully. Smoking premium brands or imported Albanian cigarettes could bring about charges of extravagance or corruption.³⁴ Many with ready access to cigarettes elected to smoke pipes to signal that they were not above the "masses." This could lead to accusations of fraud and hypocrisy, however. A big-character poster (*dazibao*) leveled against one rural official during the Cultural Revolution, for example, claimed that he stuffed high-quality cig-

arette tobacco into his pipe bowl rather than local tobacco leaf. During Red Guard raids, the discovery of a stash of foreign cigarettes could bring serious charges of counterrevolutionary activity.³⁵ In general, however, accusations that smoking was bourgeois or decadent were directed primarily against women who smoked. For men, especially for CCP members and cadres, smoking was a quotidian, indeed even necessary, way to build social and political connections in troubled times.

The practice of *fayan*, whereby one man pulls out a pack of cigarettes and offers one to all other men present, became much more prominent among men after 1949.³⁶ Although reminiscent of the camaraderie established when Qing scholars and officials smoked pipe tobacco together, and although not unlike sociable smoking among friends in the Republican period, sharing cigarettes became even more essential for the cultivation of *guanxi* during the Cultural Revolution.³⁷ Along with high-quality alcohol, premium cigarettes became the favored gift presented to officials by those seeking access to limited goods or services. Cultural Revolution memoirs are replete with examples of how the exchange of cigarettes was critical for getting things done, from mitigating the outcome of police interrogations to sealing economic transactions.³⁸ The male ritual of swapping cigarettes held up even under the harshest circumstances: political detainees accused of counterrevolutionary tendencies shared the cigarette butts dropped by prison guards amongst themselves. Even those “struggled against” were occasionally offered cigarettes by political activists during their ordeal.³⁹

Perhaps the most lasting legacy from the Maoist period for contemporary patterns of smoking behavior was the intensified masculinization of smoking. With many women already eschewing cigarettes for the reasons outlined in chapter 9, the idea that tobacco smoking was “manly” came even more to the fore. There was no commercial advertising in Mao’s China, but cigarette packaging took on a distinctly revolutionary, nationalistic, and virile cast after 1949.⁴⁰ Propaganda posters celebrated cigarette smoking as a particularly macho thing to do. Above all, citizens of the People’s Republic of China were repeatedly confronted with images of China’s most powerful leaders, especially Mao Zedong himself, holding or smoking cigarettes (see figure 20). Unlike Chiang Kai-shek, whose antipathy to tobacco was enshrined as state policy during the New Life Movement, Mao was a lifelong chain-smoker who made no effort to conceal his habit from public view. Indeed, he frequently called attention to himself as a smoker, not only by lighting up when meeting with foreign guests and dignitaries but also in the banter he engaged in on such occasions.⁴¹ In many of the images of the “Great Helmsman” disseminated over the years, cigarettes were constantly on display in ways that served to underscore his power and authority. Other images humanized Mao by showing him smoking cigarettes together with the “masses.”⁴²

Between 1949 and 1978, exchanging cigarettes and smoking together thus became one of the most important ways men could build and maintain supportive

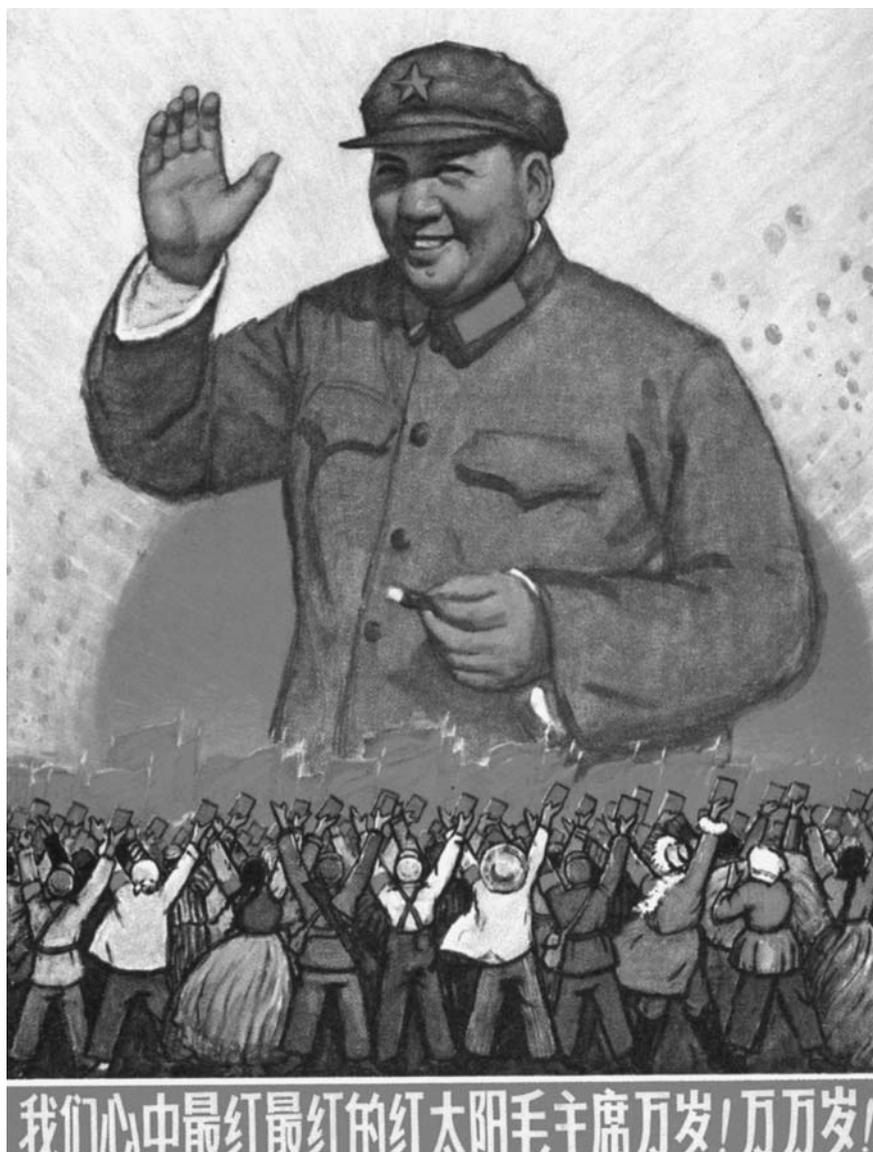


FIGURE 20. “Long Live Chairman Mao, the reddest sun in our hearts.” Shanghai People’s Fine Arts Publishing House, 1967. Reproduced in Lincoln Cushing and Ann Tompkins, *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007), 124.

homosocial networks during dangerous political times. The use of cigarettes to negotiate deals “through the back door” also became ubiquitous in urban areas during these years. It is not accidental that smoking prevalence rates are now high among older male CCP members, senior doctors, and others who held power and influence during those years.⁴³

The value of cigarettes as a symbolic exchange commodity receded in the 1980s and 1990s as rising standards of living made even premium cigarettes more readily available to anyone with money. Yet cigarettes continue to occupy a special place in the gift economy of contemporary China. As in the past, smoking among Chinese men remains above all a highly ritualized expression of friendship and an important mode of sociable interaction with others. The continued importance of cigarettes for the formation and maintenance of male social networks remains a fundamental reason smoking continues to be so ubiquitous among Chinese men today.

DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS, 1978–2010

The reforms launched by Deng Xiaoping after 1978 brought about a dramatic expansion in cigarette production and consumption. Compared to the 5.1 percent average annual growth rate achieved between 1952 and 1970 (due largely to slowdowns during the Cultural Revolution), cigarette manufacturing grew at an average annual rate of 12.3 percent between 1980 and 1990.⁴⁴ Consumer demand for cigarettes soared as higher incomes enabled urban smokers to buy more expensive brands and as large numbers of rural smokers switched from pipe tobacco or hand-rolled cigarettes to factory-made ones. Per capita consumption rates among those age fifteen and above more than doubled between 1965 and 1990, from 2.4 cigarettes per day to 5.4 per day, falling slightly to 4.9 cigarettes per day in 2000.⁴⁵

The astronomical growth in China’s tobacco industry that occurred across the 1980s and early 1990s was only partially a response to pent-up demand unleashed by market reforms. Shifting state taxation policies also played a big role in boosting cigarette production and sales, especially in the countryside.⁴⁶ In particular, the fiscal responsibility system implemented in 1980 as part of the reform program provided strong incentives for local governments to develop tobacco in their jurisdictions. Under new revenue-sharing agreements between the central government and localities, municipal and provincial governments were allowed to retain more tax receipts than had previously been the case. Tobacco was a particularly lucrative source of government financing because a special agricultural tax was levied on tobacco leaves and sales taxes on cigarettes were set high. Local governments, enticed by potential revenues from tobacco, encouraged its cultivation, and many districts rushed to build new cigarette factories.

Although the CCP had intended to retain centralized control over the industry through the establishment in 1983 of the State Tobacco Monopoly Administration

(STMA) and its management arm, the China National Tobacco Corporation (CNTC), in reality the Chinese state tobacco monopoly in the 1980s and 1990s was highly decentralized. By 1990 or so, all provincial-level regions except Tibet had cigarette plants, and many local governments did as well.⁴⁷ In addition to cigarette-rolling plants established by provincial or municipal authorities, the 1980s also saw the emergence of many unauthorized out-of-plan factories built by townships and villages. Like the hand-rolling workshops that had competed with BAT and other major companies during the Republican period, these small manufactories quickly captured a significant share of the burgeoning rural market by offering low-income smokers extremely inexpensive cigarettes. As rural consumers began to purchase cigarettes rather than pipe tobacco, sales soared: total consumer spending on cigarettes quadrupled between 1980 and 1992.

Decentralization allowed for enormous expansion in domestic cigarette production and sales throughout China, but it weakened the competitive capacity of China's national tobacco industry overall. Throughout the 1980s, central STMA and CNTC authorities were unable to reduce the size of out-of-plan production, and by 1987 the supply of low-grade cigarettes increased to the point that state revenues were slipping.⁴⁸ Small township and village enterprises not only created a glut of cheap cigarettes but also siphoned off raw materials needed by the larger state-run factories. This became a serious problem in the 1990s as the Chinese economy was increasingly internationalized. China's anticipated participation in the World Trade Organization promised to bring intensified competition from transnational tobacco corporations, most of whom were eager to enter China's vast cigarette market.⁴⁹ Although China is now the world's largest producer of cigarettes, the state tobacco monopoly and its constituent companies do not have the economic resources or the production capacity to compete head-on with Philip Morris International, BAT, or Japan Tobacco.⁵⁰ Indeed, the annual income and profits from the entire Chinese tobacco industry are lower than those of Philip Morris alone.⁵¹ No single Chinese brand currently dominates the domestic market: the top Chinese brand leader, Hongtashan, has a domestic market concentration ratio of only 2 to 3 percent, while Marlboro has 39 percent ratio in the United States and 61 percent worldwide.⁵² Moreover, the majority of cigarettes produced in China are low-grade high-tar products that do not sell well in export markets.

Since the late 1990s, China's tobacco industry has been undergoing fundamental structural reforms designed to enhance its global competitiveness. In the lead-up to China's accession to the WTO in 2001, the STMA began to encourage cooperation between CNTC's provincial-level companies. Provinces with relatively weak industries were required to shut down factories, while those with the most profitable enterprises were allowed to build up their industries through mergers and acquisitions. Through the extended process of decentralization in the 1980s, followed by interregional agglomeration from 1998 to the present, some of China's

poorest regions have emerged as cigarette-manufacturing powerhouses. Yunnan is now the nation's preeminent tobacco-producing region and one of its leading producers of cigarettes.⁵³ In 2006 Yunnan's Yuxi Hongta Group was the leading cigarette manufacturer in China, with a national market share of 6.4 percent.⁵⁴ Another large segment is headquartered in Hunan Province. Shanghai, the center of cigarette production in the first half of the twentieth century, remains a key player in the industry: the Shanghai Tobacco Group, which now manages factories in Beijing and Tianjin as well as Shanghai, had a market share of 5.8 percent in 2006.⁵⁵ In the future, STMA aims to build up these three regional centers into even bigger and more globally competitive tobacco groups.

In recent years, STMA has focused on improving product quality and innovation. Building on long-standing folk beliefs about the therapeutic properties of tobacco, Chinese manufacturers now market cigarettes with added Chinese medicinal herbs.⁵⁶ These "new-blend" cigarettes have grown increasingly popular both in China and the broader East Asian region, even though their reputed health benefits are unfounded. The tar content of filtered Chinese cigarettes is also being reduced to bring them in line with international standards and make them more marketable abroad.⁵⁷ In 2009, out of 2.25 trillion cigarettes produced, "only" 535 billion were reported to be low grade. STMA has also trimmed the number of domestic brands from 1,181 in 2000 to 154 in 2008. The goal is to eventually create ten major brands that will have the same brand-name recognition internationally as Camels or Marlboros.

Consolidation, product improvement, and quality control have begun to pay off in the form of expanded exports. In 2008 the value of exports attributed to the Chinese tobacco industry increased by 22 percent.⁵⁸ Shanghai Tobacco Group, for example, has recently introduced its Golden Deer brand to Taiwan and the Philippines. Yuxi Hongta exports its products to Hong Kong, Macau, Southeast Asia, Europe, Africa, Australia, and the Americas. Chinese tobacco companies are also beginning to set up joint ventures in other countries: in August 2008, for example, Yuxi Hongta acquired a 61 percent share in the Laos-China Fortune Tobacco Company.

Although STMA has been concentrating on the development of premium, mid-level, and "new blend" cigarettes, inexpensive brands favored by low-income and rural consumers continue to dominate domestic sales. In 2007 low-priced cigarettes accounted for 86 percent of the Chinese market.⁵⁹ Moreover, many unauthorized or illegal factories not controlled by STMA continue to produce cheap cigarettes. In both urban and rural areas, wholesale and retail sites for illegal cigarettes (both foreign and domestic brands) operate completely out in the open. STMA estimates that 100 billion cigarettes circulating in Chinese markets are now smuggled or counterfeit.⁶⁰ Because so many cigarettes in China are produced and sold illegally, sales and consumption figures are undoubtedly higher than reported in official statistics.

With more than 1.3 billion people and an estimated 350 million smokers, China has become a highly sought-after target for transnational tobacco companies. After nearly half a century during which they were excluded from the China market, foreign companies returned in the late 1980s, forming joint ventures with Chinese factories to manufacture famous international brands. Ambivalence about the “foreign” cigarette, so evident in modern literature from the 1930s, is long gone. Cigarettes are now so completely part of everyday Chinese life that they have by and large lost all association with the “West.” However certain international brands, especially those with a long lineage in China, retain a great deal of cachet among certain segments of the population. BAT’s State Express 555 brand, for example, is once again popular among businessmen.⁶¹ Other brands, such as Marlboro, Camel, Hilton, and Mild Seven, enjoy widespread name recognition, even though relatively few people in China actually smoke them.⁶² As the Chinese economy grows and incomes increase, demand for foreign brands is going up, particularly among young adult urban males.

Although sales of foreign cigarettes are on the increase, opportunities for transnational tobacco companies to gain a foothold in China have been carefully controlled by the STMA. Seven years after China entered the WTO, the market share for imported brands remained small, rising from 1 percent in 2004 to 1.6 percent in 2008.⁶³ Nonetheless, the prospect of even a minuscule share of such a huge market mesmerizes foreign tobacco company executives. As the public affairs manager of Rothman International put it, “Thinking about Chinese smoking statistics is like trying to think about the limits of space.”⁶⁴ Of particular interest to international marketers are the very low prevalence rates among Chinese women (2.6 percent of females over age fifteen in 2008).⁶⁵ The presumption is that female smoking will only increase as the Chinese industry is further opened up. If cigarette manufacturers can encourage enough women to smoke to bring female prevalence rates up to the Western European level of 20 percent, sixty-five million new smokers will come on line.⁶⁶

Tobacco companies are working hard to make this happen, targeting young Chinese women with themes of sophistication, beauty, and glamour as well as youthful rebellion and female independence.⁶⁷ Since 1992, when China first banned advertisements that portrayed people smoking, manufacturers have been somewhat hampered by a growing web of governmental regulation that culminated in a total ban on all tobacco advertising by 2011. Of course, marketers have found many ways around such restrictions. It remains to be seen whether or not contemporary Chinese women will respond to indirect marketing ploys such as fashion shows or product placement in sitcoms or movies. Both smokers and nonsmokers assembled in focus groups of Beijing high school girls aged sixteen to nineteen in the summer of 2006 were aware of cigarette logos that appeared in television shows, and they could identify sponsors of various sporting events.⁶⁸ While earlier studies found

that few high school students started smoking because they “believed smoking makes people look elegant,” the high school girls surveyed in 2006 were all aware that their favorite actors and singers were smokers, and they said they believed these celebrities are more glamorous when they do so.⁶⁹ If this view is widely shared among young women in China, we can expect female smoking rates to climb sharply.

The possibility that smoking will once again become a normalized and respectable behavior among women and girls, with a consequent rise in female smoking prevalence, is a very real possibility. At the same time, China’s future smoking patterns will not necessarily follow the same historical trajectory that occurred in the United States or Western Europe during the past “cigarette century.” The emergence of the particular ideological and political discourse of the Chinese “Modern Girl,” which resulted in the *decline* rather than the increase of female smoking in twentieth-century China, suggests that the propriety of female smoking behavior in any given society is constructed in response to specific historical, political, social, and economic conditions. Advertising images very similar to those deployed in mid-twentieth-century American and British contexts that conferred respectability on female smokers had the exact opposite effect in a militarily besieged and economically unsettled China. Obviously, conditions in contemporary China are very different now than they were when transnational tobacco companies first tried to entice Chinese women to switch from pipes to cigarettes using imagery borrowed from Anglo-American advertising. But we should not assume that globalized marketing in the present, any more so than in the past, will be received in every context in precisely the same way. To be most effective, tobacco control strategies designed to counter such pitches need to attend to specific local histories of global tobacco.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA’S CONTEMPORARY EPIDEMIC OF SMOKING-RELATED DISEASE

This book has focused primarily on continuity and change in Chinese tobacco use from the late Ming to the present in order to shed light on China’s dynamic local cultures of consumption within the contexts of both early modern and modern globalization. It should not be forgotten, however, that tobacco is deadly. At present, smoking in China accounts for about 14 percent of total adult male mortality and 3 percent of total adult female mortality.⁷⁰ In 2002, not only did active smoking cause nearly one million Chinese deaths, but another 100,000 Chinese died as a consequence of exposure to secondhand smoke. In the next two decades, if the number of smokers continues to grow at present rates, smoking-attributable deaths in China are predicted to rise to over two million per year.⁷¹ The extensive use of tobacco in the past presumably caused much sickness and death as well, though we have no

way of knowing just how much. The human cost of tobacco smoking in China over four and a half centuries must have been great even if, in the absence of quantitative data, we cannot know tobacco's exact impact on China's morbidity or mortality before 1950 or so.

From at least the seventeenth century on, Chinese physicians were well aware of tobacco's detrimental health effects, and some even described it in ways consistent with the modern concept of addiction. Nonetheless, tobacco was historically regarded in China as good for health, or at least not particularly harmful. The general public is now well aware of tobacco's dangers: 88 percent of Chinese smokers polled in the mid-1990s said they know smoking is bad for them.⁷² Notions that tobacco can be beneficial to health nonetheless continue to linger. A survey conducted in the 1990s found that many think smoking one or two cigarettes a day can prevent malaria or illness from dampness or cold.⁷³ Puffing on a cigarette is thought to reduce bloating of the stomach, to cure food poisoning, and to settle digestive troubles brought on by nervousness or anxiety. Tobacco continues to be used in many rural communities as an effective pesticide: smoking in the summer is said to reduce the number of insects that buzz around one's face, washing one's hair laced with tobacco juice is still employed to kill lice, and the oil from a tobacco pipe is used to treat snakebites.

In China today a vibrant, medically informed tobacco control movement is led by government health agencies, Chinese physicians, and anti-tobacco activists. Such efforts, under way in earnest since the early 1990s, are now spearheaded by the Ministry of Health's National Tobacco Control Office. In 2005 China ratified the World Health Organization's Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC). State-run media now widely disseminate information about tobacco's dangers, and all cigarette packs are required to carry health warnings. In 2008 Beijing successfully carried out a "Smoke-Free" Olympic Games, and Shanghai rejected a substantial tobacco sponsorship for its 2010 World Expo. In June 2009 the Finance Ministry raised taxes on tobacco products, primarily to increase revenues but in part to discourage smoking.⁷⁴ Indeed, over the past decade, smoking prevalence rates have declined slightly and nearly ten million Chinese smokers have quit.⁷⁵

Although some strides toward reducing smoking have been made, enforcement of and compliance with China's many anti-smoking laws remain weak. Smokers frequently ignore "No Smoking" signs, and smoking continues even in public spaces, where it has been banned.⁷⁶ Government controls on direct advertising of cigarettes on television and radio have been fairly effective, but there are no clear restrictions on billboards or Internet tobacco ads and also few restrictions on tobacco company sponsorships. Formula One Grand Prix racing in Shanghai, for example, is sponsored by manufacturers whose logos appear on drivers' uniforms and the race cars themselves. Tobacco companies also sponsor individual athletes at major competitions. Tobacco control experts also complain that STMA has failed to insure that

its constituent companies adhere strictly to the guidelines of the WHO's Framework Convention. Health warnings on cigarette packs, for example, which are supposed to take up no less than 30 percent of the package's area, are either too tiny to be easily read or appear in English, which many smokers do not understand.⁷⁷

As health researchers are quick to point out, a major barrier to effective tobacco control in China remains the considerable economic clout wielded by China's highly profitable tobacco industry. Government at all levels continues to benefit directly from tobacco farming and cigarette production. The central government alone derives roughly 8 percent of its revenues from cigarette production and sales. In certain areas, particularly the Southwest, agricultural taxes on tobacco leaf production remain a vital part of government financing. The conflict between the economic interests generated by the tobacco industry and the well-being of the population remains a central dilemma for Chinese policymakers today, no less than it did for Qianlong's statecraft advisers in the early eighteenth century.

Perhaps the biggest hurdle for tobacco control in China is the significant social function smoking continues to play in contemporary Chinese life, especially among men. Medical anthropologist Matthew Kohrman has found in recent ethnographic interviews with Chinese smokers that most are quite cognizant of the health risks posed by their daily habit. Even so, they are reluctant to abandon the rituals of cigarette exchange that support their masculine identities and sustain their bonds with colleagues and friends.⁷⁸ Acutely aware that smoking rates are declining in the West, many of his contacts signaled their strong desire to quit smoking and expressed their frustrations over their own personal "weakness" and "lack of will power." According to Kohrman, Chinese tobacco control campaigns are increasingly coding cigarettes not only as "unhealthy" but also as "uncivilized" (*bu wenming*). This language is highly reminiscent of that used earlier in the twentieth century to discourage women from smoking. Historically resonant idioms that mark smoking as an individual moral failing and smoking cessation as a patriotic duty may well discourage many men from smoking. But the rhetoric of personal weakness accompanying such messages comes at a huge psychological cost to the individual smoker. More important, it displaces the blame for China's current epidemic of smoking-related sickness and death away from the governments and corporate entities, both foreign and domestic, that continue to profit from this highly addictive substance.⁷⁹

Historical studies such as this one that pay attention to the ever-changing social contexts within which smoking behavior occurs can aid tobacco control policy by shedding light on the broader sociocultural processes that encourage or discourage individual smoking behavior. Tracing the long but dynamic history of tobacco use in China from 1550 to the present indicates just how deeply rooted tobacco smoking is in the social fabric of everyday Chinese life. Recognizing, for example, that the current widespread practice of *fayan* is a contemporary variant on long-standing rituals of homosociability and male camaraderie that stretch back centuries

underscores the immense hurdles Chinese men face as they struggle individually to avoid becoming smokers or quit once they start. At the same time, an appreciation of the many changes that have occurred in Chinese smoking behavior in the past, including the relatively recent abandonment of tobacco by the female half of the population, points to possibilities for future transformations in male attitudes and behaviors as well. By situating China's contemporary epidemic of smoking within a much longer historical frame, this study thus contributes to the ongoing efforts of those who hope to eradicate a product that is so adversely affecting the health and longevity of millions, not only in China but around the world.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Dobson 1946: 18.
2. Gonghuan Yang, "Prevalence of Smoking in China," in T. Hu 2008: 18.
3. Norton 2008: 45–49.
4. Norton 2008: 102–3.
5. George B. Souza, "Philippines," in Goodman 2005 2:410–13; Reid 1985; Gokale 1974; Sihn and Seo 2001; Barnabas T. Suzuki, "Tobacco Culture in Japan," in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 76–83.
6. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (1/5b): vol. 1117, p. 416.
7. A. Brandt 2007.
8. On the history of consumption in late Ming Jiangnan, see Clunas 1991 and Brook 1998. On Qing-era elite consumption, see P. Ho 1954; Hsü 2001, and Finnane 2003. Many studies touch on consumption and culture in late Qing and early Republican-era Shanghai. Those that explicitly place the origins of modern mass consumer culture in Shanghai include W. Yeh 1997 and L. Lee 1999.
9. See, for example, Davis 2000 and Croll 2006.
10. For a critique of this approach, see Clunas 1999.
11. Brewer and Trentmann 2006: 5.
12. Grehan 2006: 1354.
13. Schudson 2001: 489–94.
14. Poland et al. 2006. These insights are in turn derived from the extensive scholarship that stresses the importance of social context for understanding consumption practices. The classic work is Mintz 1985: 152–58.
15. On tobacco as a "drug food" see Mintz 1985: 180.
16. Pomeranz 2000: 117–24; Mazumdar 1998: 13–59; Gardella 1994: 21–33.

17. On the “psychoactive revolution,” see Courtwright 2001: 1–5. On the history of Chinese opium, see Zheng Yangwen 2005.
18. Dikötter, Laamann, and Zhou 2004: 32–36.
19. Foreman 1906: 289, 301.
20. Courtwright (2001: 3) points out that the early modern “psychoactive revolution” did not include many regionally popular plant drugs such as betel nut, kava, and peyote. This fact provides further evidence that the addictive qualities of consumable substances alone are not sufficient to explain their cross-cultural transmission.
21. P. Ho 1959: 183–84.
22. Leslie Iversen, “Why Do We Smoke? The Physiology of Smoking,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 318–24.
23. Brook 2002a: 2.
24. Norton 2008: 52–60; Grehan 2006: 1361–62.
25. *Danbaju* was a direct transliteration of the Spanish *el tabaco*, which in turn derived from Taíno, a language spoken by the Arawak Indians of the Greater Antilles (Norton 2008: 86).
26. Yao Lü [1611] 1995 (10/46a): vol. 1132, p. 704; Goodrich 1938: 649.
27. Benedict 2011.
28. Dunstan 1996: 204–05; see also Rowe 2001: 130, 161–62.
29. Stewart 1967.
30. On the early modern “revolution of sociability,” see Bayly 2002: 54.
31. D. Wang 2008: 5–8. On the coffeehouse in England and the Middle East, see Cowen 2005; Grehan 2007: 135–46; and Matthee 2005: 165–72.
32. Goodman 1993: 93–94.
33. Shapiro, Jacobs, and Thun 2000.
34. Edds 2003: A3.
35. The concept of “recycling” culture comes from M. Dong 2003: 11.
36. Chew 2003.
37. H. Lee 1934: 37; Cox 2000: 157.
38. David Strand, “New Chinese Cities,” in Esherick 2000: 219.
39. Appadurai 1986.
40. Shechter 2006: 68; Starks 2006: 57.
41. Noah Isenberg, “Cinematic Smoke: From Weimar to Hollywood,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 248–55.
42. Shechter 2006: 122–26.
43. Gerth 2003: 56.
44. Tate 1999: 93–94.
45. Waldron et al. 1988.

CHAPTER 1

1. Norton 2008: 156–61.
2. Ptak 2004: 157–91.
3. Sihm and Seo 2001: 23–59.

4. Laufer 1924; Wu Han 1961: 17; Wang Wenyu 2002: 7–13; Timothy Brook, “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 84–91.
5. Some Chinese archeologists believe that pipes (dated 1549) found in a Ming dynasty kiln in Hepu County, Guangxi, were used for smoking tobacco (Zheng Chaoxiong 1986). For those who take issue with this view, see Wang Wenyu 2002: 10.
6. Suzuki 1991.
7. Franciscans were important conduits for the transmission of indigenous Amerindian practices such as smoking to European settlers (Norton 2008: 88–89). On Franciscans in Manila, see Cummins, 1986: 76, 82.
8. Lin Renchuan, “Fukien’s Private Sea Trade in the 16th and 17th Centuries,” in Vermeer 1990: 163–215.
9. Yao Lü [1611] 1995 (10/46a): vol. 1132, p. 704. See also *Zhangzhou fuzhi* 1613: 27/25a. Zhang-Quan merchants also transported tobacco to Taiwan in the early seventeenth century (Ng Chin-keong 1983: 109; Wu Han 1961: 18).
10. Eduard B. Vermeer, “The Decline of Hsing-Hua Prefecture,” in Vermeer 1990: 115.
11. *Zhangpu xianzhi* 1700: 3/32b; *Zhangzhou fuzhi* 1715: 39/3a–3b; *Pinghe xianzhi* [1719] 1889: 10/7, 23; *Longxi xianzhi* 1762: 19/22a; *Yunxiao tingzhi* 1816: 6/3a.
12. Liu Cuirong 1978: 141.
13. The eighteenth-century tobacco aficionado Chen Cong noted: “The tobacco produced in Fujian, beyond that sold within the province, is mostly shipped to Jiangsu and Zhejiang. . . . With the southeast monsoon, several 100 ships all set off for Jiangsu to sell it.” (Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (2/5a): vol. 1117, p. 425).
14. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/167.
15. Wang Pu [1799] 1968 (5a): 720.
16. Zeng Yuwang 1982: 5.
17. Fan I-chun 1992: 140.
18. Jing Su and Luo Lun 1978: 84.
19. Qu Zhenming “Sanbainian yandian hua cangsang” (Tales of the vicissitudes of a three-hundred-year-old tobacco shop), in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 415–17.
20. Brook (2008: 121) notes that tobacco appears in a 1596 text (see, Shen Bang 1980: 134, 146). It is difficult to determine whether this text refers to tobacco, because the term used is *yan zi* rather than the more common *danbagu* or *yancao*.
21. Shen Hanguang, *Chi shantang fushi*, n.d.: 1/11, in Yang Guo’an 2002: 3.
22. Timothy Brook, “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 85.
23. Yang Shicong 1977: 1:182–83. For more on Yang Shicong’s reaction to smoking in late Ming Beijing, see Brook 2008: 119–23.
24. Yang Shicong 1977: 1:182–83.
25. Shen Hanguang, *Chi shantang fushi*, n.d.: 1/11, in Yang Guo’an 2002: 3.
26. Liang Sibao and Zhang Xinlong 2007: 44.
27. *Yansui zhenzhi* 1673: 2.4/22b–23b.
28. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/67.
29. Fuchs 1940: 86.
30. Smoking was already quite popular in Nagasaki in 1609 when the Dutch arrived (Barnabus T. Suzuki, “Tobacco Culture in Japan,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 77).

31. Wu Han 1980: 9:3626–27.
32. On Korean-Japanese trade relations during the early seventeenth century, see S. Kim 2006: 216–21. Between 1684 and 1710, shredded tobacco and Japanese smoking pipes were among the export items the Tsushima daimyo's representatives sold at Pusan (Tashiro Kazui 1976: 94). When this trade in Japanese tobacco began in Korea is unclear.
33. Wu Han 1980: 9:3626–27; Sihm and Seo 2001: 25–32.
34. Serruys 1975: 117–21.
35. Roth Li 2002: 23.
36. Kanda Nobuo 1955–63; 1:93 (Tianming 3/4/16).
37. Li Yiyun 2001: 56–62.
38. Kanda Nobuo 1955–63: 5:465–69 (Tiancong [TC] 5/1/16–5/1/29); 502–4 (TC 5/4/12); 511–17 (TC 5/4/25–5/6/11); 607–11 (TC 5/12/5–5/12/14); and 744 (TC 6/4/14).
39. A. Burton 1997: 508–9.
40. A. Burton 1997: 502.
41. A. Burton 1997: 405–12.
42. *Yansui zhenzhi* 1673: 2.4/22b–23b.
43. Fang Yizhi [1664] 1983 (9/28b): vol. 867, p. 939.
44. Wang Pu [1799] 1968 (5a): 720.
45. Roth Li 2002: 41.
46. Di Cosmo 2008: 14–15.
47. Kanda Nobuo 1955–63: 5:473 (TC 5/2/01).
48. Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan 1936: 3:227.
49. In May 1633, Sun Degong, a Chinese general loyal to the Manchus, noted in a memorial to Hong Taiji that tobacco farming was under way in Liaodong (Pan Zhe, Li Hongbin, and Sun Fangming 1989: 2/60).
50. Pan Zhe, Li Hongbin, and Sun Fangming 1989: 2/41–43.
51. “Simyang changgye” 1970: vol. 3, no. 7, p. 73.
52. Benedict 2011.
53. In 1646, the Korean court sent Dorgon a gift of tobacco because he was reputedly fond of smoking (Wu Han 1980: 9:3755).
54. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/167; Martini 1654: 34.
55. Guo Shengpi 1993: 210.
56. On the illegality of tobacco in late Ming China, see Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/167; Shen Hanguang, *Chi shantang fushi*, n.d.: 1/11, in Yang Guo'an 2002: 3; and Li Shihong [1833] 1990: 25/1365.
57. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/167; *Haiyan xianzhi* 1748: 1/5a–5b.
58. Jing Su and Luo Lun 1978: 84.
59. Le Comte 1697: 1:168.
60. Rudi Matthee, “Tobacco in Iran,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 58–60.
61. Garnier 1993: 13–83; I. Johnson and Brooke 1977: 62–67; T. Nakano 1984.
62. Water pipes modeled on the Indian huqqah were common in Siam in the late seventeenth century (Höllmann 2000: 310).
63. Lu Yao notes that early on, the Fujianese smoked tobacco through sips of water held in their mouths. Lu Yao [1833] 1995 (46/1b): vol. 1117, p. 483.

64. Newitt 2005: 114–16; Venkatachalapathy 2006: 33.
65. Höllmann 2000: 308.
66. Gokhale 1974: 485.
67. B. Yang 2004: 293.
68. L. Sun 2000: 23; B. Yang 2004: 293.
69. Lieberman 2003: 145.
70. L. Sun 2000: 120.
71. The Qianlong-era (1790) Tengyue prefectural gazetteer states that tobacco cultivation in Tengyue began in the Ming Wanli period (*Yunnan sheng yancao zhi* 1993: 23). The late Qing edition notes that areas of western Yunnan with large minority populations all planted tobacco from very early on (*Tengyue Zhouzhi* 1897: 3/29a).
72. P. Ho 1955: 194.
73. The Tarim Basin was renamed Xinjiang once it came under the control of the Qing in the 1750s (Millward 1998: 20).
74. Lipman 1997: 14, 18–23.
75. A passage written by the early Qing physician Shen Tingdui about the healing properties of Lanzhou water-pipe tobacco is included in Zhao Xuemin [1765] 1998: 31.
76. Wakeman 1985: 824.
77. A. Burton 1997: 502.
78. For example, Iurii Krizhanich describes the exchange by Kalmyk Mongols of livestock, slaves, and Chinese tobacco for Russian goods near the Irtysh River in the 1660s (Dmytryshyn 1985: 437).
79. Adam Brand, “A Journal of the Embassy from Moscow into China, Overland,” in Collins 2000: 46, 67, 70.
80. Steven Sarson, “Chesapeake Region,” in Goodman 2005: 1:119.
81. Guo Qiyuan, a statecraft official writing in the Qianlong era, states that water-pipe tobacco grown in Fujian originally came “from the northwest.” He may be referring to the *N. rustica* that entered China from a westerly direction and then was taken up by Fujian cultivators (Guo Qiyuan, “Lun Minsheng wuben jieyong shu,” in He Changling [1826] 1972 (36/7–8): vol. 731, p. 1305–6). Wang Xin similarly noted that water-pipe tobacco originated in the northwest and spread eastward into China Proper (Wang Xin 1805: 8/205a).
82. Matthee 2005: 127–28.
83. Steensgaard 1999: 61.
84. Matthee 2005: 119–20. Tobacco was under cultivation in both Balkh (now in northern Afghanistan) and Bukhara (Uzbekistan) by the late seventeenth century (McChesney 1996: 42–43).
85. Henderson and Hume 1873: 329.
86. Millward 1998: 138–49.
87. Romaniello 2007: 914–37.
88. Kotilaine 2005: 444.
89. Kotilaine 2005: 413, 419.
90. A. Burton 1997: 478.
91. In September 1657, Tsar Aleskei Mikhailovich sent the Bukharan Seitkul Ablin on a trade mission to the Chinese empire. According to the tsar’s instructions, Ablin was to present

126 pounds of tobacco to Kalmyk Mongols along the way. A similar mission led by a Moldavian nobleman to the Zunghar Mongols in 1675 included 720 pounds of tobacco for presentation to Galdan (Dmytryshyn 1985: 338, 399).

92. Games 2008: 81.

CHAPTER 2

1. Fan I-chun's (1992) study of the Qing market economy demonstrates that by the eighteenth century, many agricultural products, including tobacco, were traded over a large geographical area shaped like a T, with the north-south axis marked by a line arcing from Beijing to Guangzhou and the east-west axis defined by the Yangzi River. Long-distance trade flowing along these axes integrated six of G. William Skinner's nine macroregions (North China, the Gan, the Middle and Lower Yangzi, the Southeast Coast, and Lingnan).

2. Goodrich 1938: 648–57.

3. E. Rawski 1972: 67–77.

4. Shepherd 1993: 86, 96; Averill 1983: 84–126; Cao Shuji 1985: 32; Cao Shuji 1986: 12–37.

5. *Shishou xianzhi* 1866: 3/61.

6. *Quwo xianzhi* 1880: 20/4b.

7. Brokaw 2007: 207–11; Guo Shengpi 1993: 210.

8. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 2, 391.

9. Averill 1983: 85; Osborne 1989: 142.

10. Osborne 1989: 143–44.

11. Leong 1997; Entenmann 1980: 35–54; Lee 1982: 711–46.

12. See G. William Skinner's introduction to Leong 1997: 8–9.

13. Leong 1997: 46–47.

14. Hakka farmers in some areas of the Fujian interior were growing tobacco by the early seventeenth century (*Ningyang xianzhi* 1692: 2/11b–12a; *Longyan xianzhi* 1689: 2/26b–27a).

15. *Ninghua xianzhi* [1684] 1869: 2/104; *Yongding xianzhi* 1830: 1/16.

16. Li Shihong [1833] 1990: 25/1365.

17. Brokaw 2007: 43; Chen Zhiping and Zheng Zhenman 1988: 105–6.

18. Wang Tinglun (Jian'an) [1699] 1997: 6/9b.

19. Cultivation began in Jiangxi's Shicheng County in the 1630s. Shicheng is situated just across a mountain pass from Fujian's Ninghua County (*Qianlong Shicheng xianzhi* 1781: 1/49–50). Fujianese migrants began producing tobacco in Ruijin County during the late Ming decades (*Ruijin xianzhi* 1683: 2/8b, 27b–28b; (*Xuxiu Ruijian xianzhi* 1710: 4/62a; *Gan xianzhi* 1872: 33/1a).

20. At the very end of the Ming, rebel groups composed of tobacco farmers were found in Xingguo County, suggesting that cultivation was already widespread in Gannan by then (Leong 1997: 139–40).

21. *Nanxiong zhouzhi* 1819: 9/35a. On the diffusion of tobacco cultivation from Guangdong to the Southwest via the West River system, see Tao Weining 2002: 100–101.

22. Marks 1998: 311.

23. Liu Cuirong 1978: 141.

24. Perdue 1987: 28–31.

25. Tobacco grown in Guidong County, for example, was taken both to Hengyang and also to Xiangtan for processing (*Guidong xianzhi* 1866: 8/5).
26. Huang Benji [1848] 1985: 41; *Hengyang xianzhi* 1874: 10/1a–7b; *Qingquan xianzhi* 1763: 6/4.
27. Hakka migrants from Guangdong were cultivating tobacco in Xiushui (Jiangxi) and Yining (Hunan) in the early Qing (Cao Shuji 1986: 23).
28. Wen Shanggui, a failed tobacco grower originally from Shanghang in western Fujian, led other pengmin tobacco farmers in a revolt in the Wanzai and Xinchang areas in 1723. See *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* 1977–99 1:198–99 (*Yongzheng* 1/4/21).
29. Perdue 1987: 97.
30. *Guidong xianzhi* 1866: 8/5; *Yongzhou fuzhi* 1828: 7/42a.
31. *Pucheng xianzhi* 1900: 7/3; *Nanping xianzhi* 1828: 6/5b; *Guangxin fuzhi* 1783: 2/68b; *Yushan xianzhi* 1823: 11/2a–2b.
32. E. Rawski 1972: 61–64; Chia 2002: 20–21.
33. Chia 2002: 152–53, 257.
34. E. Rawski 1972: 95–96.
35. Chia 2002: 152.
36. *Pucheng xianzhi* 1900: 7/3.
37. *Guangxin fuzhi* 1783: 2/68b; *Yushan xianzhi* 1823: 11/2a–2b.
38. Cao Shuji 1986: 31.
39. *Guangxin fuzhi* 1783: 2/68b.
40. Wang Xin 1805: 8/204b.
41. *Yushan xianzhi* 1823: 11/2a–2b; *Xincheng xianzhi* 1870: 1/17a–18b.
42. Leong 1997: 154.
43. *Ningguo fuzhi* 1810: 18/7a; *Susong xianzhi* 1921: 17/3a–4a.
44. E. Rawski 1975: 63–81; Vermeer 1991: 300–29.
45. Yue Zhenchuan, “Fuzhi shihuo lun,” in He Changling [1826] 1972 (36/7–8): vol. 731, pp. 1306–7.
46. Liu Ts’ui-jung 1980: 58–68; Wang Wenyu 2002: 46–48.
47. *Yansui zhenzhi* 1673: 2.4/22b–23b.
48. The tobacco produced in Huazhou, for example, sold within only a forty-mile radius (Kaplan Murray 1985: 76, 80).
49. Entenmann 1980: 35–54; Lee 1982: 711–46.
50. *Pixian zhi* 1870: 40/38a–38b.
51. Peng Zunsi 1816: 75/17b–18a.
52. *Naxi xianzhi* 1813: 3/18; Peng Zunsi 1816: 75/17b–18a.
53. Wu Daxun [1790] 1998 (2/40b): vol. 12, p. 42.
54. Liu Ts’ui-jung 1980: 60.
55. Perdue 1987: 247.
56. John Buck’s 1920s agricultural survey (1982: 230), for example, found that tobacco grown in Shandong required between two hundred and one thousand man-work units per hectare. Such surveys must be used with caution when assessing Qing-era labor inputs, because twentieth-century Shandong producers were growing a different kind of tobacco (American Bright seed tobacco) for a different purpose (manufactured cigarettes) than that

cultivated by most Qing peasants. They were also flue-curing, which required substantially more labor than did air- or sun-curing.

57. Jing Su and Luo Lun 1978: 83.

58. Bao Shichen [1872] 1968 (26/2b): vol. 294, part 3, p. 1764.

59. A description of tobacco cultivation in early nineteenth-century Xincheng, Jiangxi, for example, suggests that production depended mainly on family rather than hired labor (*Xincheng xianzhi* 1870: 1/17a–18b). In Xincheng, a predominately Hakka area, women as well as men worked in the tobacco fields (Fu Yiling 1977: 110–11).

60. Gibbs 1938: 17.

61. Xie Zhongba 1710: 8/36–40.

62. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 2.

63. Xie Zhongba 1710: 8/36–40.

64. Chinese tobacco processing methods are described by Gray 1878: 147–48.

65. Yan Ruyi [1829] 1991: 9/12b.

66. Jing Su and Luo Lun 1978: 83.

67. Bao Shichen [1872] 1968 (26/2b): vol. 294, part 3, p. 1764.

68. Xu Dixin and Wu Chengming 2000: 151.

69. World Health Organization 2004: 139–49.

70. Osborne 1989: 167–68.

71. *Nanxiong zhouzhi* 1819: 9/35a.

72. The 1689 Longyan (Fujian) gazetteer, for example, advises hillside tobacco farmers to more carefully irrigate, weed, and fertilize their tobacco fields in order to increase yields “several-fold” (*Longyan xianzhi* 1689: 2/26b–27a).

73. Yang Guo’an 1985: 206.

74. Xu Dixin and Wu Chengming 2000: 123–29.

75. George B. Souza (2007: 48–51) demonstrates that Chinese tobacco was already exported throughout Southeast Asia from about 1675 to at least 1720. As indicated in chapter 1, Chinese tobacco was also exported to Mongolia and southern Siberia in the seventeenth century.

76. On early Republican tobacco production statistics, see Gibbs 1938: 19.

77. Xu Dixin and Wu Chengming 2000: 127.

78. Gibbs (1938: 19) records an average yield in the years between 1934 and 1936 of 1,028 pounds per acre. Buck (1964: 225) found similar average yields for the period between 1929 and 1933, with the overall average yield at 989 pounds per acre.

79. Goodman 1993: 197–98.

80. Population figures are taken from Pomeranz (2000: 121). If we use the higher, 380 million figure Pomeranz gives for 1850, the annual per capita tobacco consumption drops to 1.75 pounds per year, still a respectable amount in a preindustrial economy.

81. Using Shi Qi and Fang Zhuofen’s higher yield figure of 1,184 pounds per acre but retaining the same acreage and population results in a higher per capita consumption figure of between four and five pounds of tobacco per person per year.

82. Tobacco imports into England and Wales in the period between 1620 and 1799 averaged about two pounds per capita per year (Shammas 1993: 179–80).

83. A 1950s U.S. government report says that American tobacco consumption grew from

1.70 to 5.16 pounds of tobacco per adult from 1918 to 1940 (Milmore and Conover 1956: 107). By 1950, American consumption of tobacco had risen to 7.5 pounds per adult, with 72 percent of that consumed in cigarette form (Goodman 1993: 94).

84. Pomeranz 2000: 117–18, 125.

85. Pomeranz 2000: 123.

86. Hamilton and Lai 1989: 253–79.

87. Gibbs 1938: 6–8.

88. Buck 1982: 167–76.

89. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 23.

90. “Wanshou shengdian” [1717] 1983–86: 41/5, 19, 26, 29, 35, 62.

91. The Qianlong-era Haiyan gazetteer (Zhejiang), for example, noted that Haiyan tobacco “is comparable to that grown in Fujian” (*Haiyan xianzhi* 1748: 1/5a–5b). The editor of the 1870 Pixian County gazetteer (Sichuan) boasted that Pixian tobacco rivaled Zhangzhou’s (*Pixian zhi* 1870: 40/38a–38b).

92. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (1/5b–13a): vol. 1117, pp. 416–19; Wang Shihan [1737] 1886: 5a–5b.

93. Ni Zhumo [1624] 1694: 5/25b.

94. Lu Yao [1833] 1995 (46/1b): vol. 1117, p. 483; Wang Xin 1805: 8/204b.

95. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 26.

96. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 185.

97. *Yushan xianzhi* 1823: 11/2a–2b.

98. *Huaining xianzhi* 1825: 7/3a–3b.

99. *Qingquan xianzhi* 1763: 6/4; Tian Peidong 1995: 97–101; Zhang Haiying and Zhang Zhengming 1995: 41–42, 46.

100. Huang Benji [1848] 1985: 41; *Hengyang xianzhi* 1874: 10/1a–7b.

101. *Qingquan xianzhi* 1763: 6/4. On the commercial activities of these firms in Guangdong, see also *Hengyang xianzhi* 1874: 10/1a–7b.

102. Naquin 2000: 77. See also stele inscriptions recording activities of the Beijing-based Shanxi tobacco guild in 1770 and 1779 reproduced in Peng Zeyi 1997: 49–50.

103. Yang Guo’an 2002: 212.

104. Rowe 1984: 228.

105. Xu Tan and Qiao Nan 2007: 80.

106. Kōsaka Masanori 1991: 39, 43–50.

107. *Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 1982–87: 3/518–19 (Qianlong 17/8/01).

108. Fan I-chun 1992: 171.

109. *Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 1982–87: 24/585–86 (Qianlong 30/4/13).

110. *Beixin guan zhi* 1713: 13/27a–27b.

111. “Wanshou shengdian” [1717] 1983–86: 41/5, 19, 21, 26, 29, 62, 63, 71; 42/6, 7.

112. Gu A’chao 1995: 271–72.

113. Qu Zhenming “Sanbainian yandian hua cangsang” in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 415–17.

114. Zhou Junqi 2002: 133–34.

115. For “Pucheng” tobacco signboards in a painted Suzhou cityscape (c. 1770), see Xu Yang 1999: 1, 18, and 24. While these representations cannot tell us whether “Pucheng” to-

bacco was indeed for sale in Suzhou, Xu Yang's inclusion of such signboards suggests that "Pucheng" tobacco already had a degree of cachet among the scholarly and artistic elite by the Kangxi period.

116. L. Johnson 1995: 161.

117. Rowe 1984: 69.

118. Wu Ying's estimates of the size and number of Guangxi tobacco shops are extant because they appeared in an anti-tobacco tract he wrote that was later deemed treasonous by the governor of Guangxi, Yao Chenglie. This work is reproduced in Wu Ying [1780] 1986: 2/493–501.

119. Fang Bao 1991: 263.

120. Wang Wenyu 2002: 16.

121. Tobacco grown in Pinghe (Zhangzhou, Fujian), for example, was explicitly grown for export "outside of the province" (*Pinghe xianzhi* [1719] 1889: 10/7a). The 60 percent figure comes from Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 168.

122. Fujian sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 1995: 2, 391.

123. For example, Chen Yilao, a highly successful Zhangzhou entrepreneur involved in the Nanyang trade in the 1730s and 1740s, found he could make quite a profit selling Zhangzhou tobacco to sojourning Chinese in Batavia (Ng Chin-keong, "The Case of Ch'en I-lao: Maritime Trade and Overseas Chinese in Ch'ing Policies, 1717–1754," in Ptak and Rothermund 1991: 373).

CHAPTER 3

1. "Tian xiang," in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/15b–16a): vol. 601, pp. 400–401.

2. Rowe 2002: 544.

3. Li Shihong [1833] 1990: 25/1365.

4. Yao Lü [1611] 1995 (10/46a): vol. 1132, p. 704.

5. Yang Shicong 1977: 1:182–83.

6. Xiong Renlin, "Diwei," in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (1/2b): vol. 1117, p. 415.

7. Guo Bocang 1886: 4/36b–37a.

8. "Tian xiang," in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/15b–16a): vol. 601, pp. 400–401.

9. Shen Hanguang, *Chi shantang fushi*, n.d.: 1/11, in Yang Guo'an 2002: 3; see also Goodrich 1938: 650.

10. Dong Han [1705] 1980: 3/11a.

11. Wang Shizhen [1702] 1982: 3/1b.

12. Clunas 1991: 5; Brook 1998: 153–237.

13. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/167.

14. Zeng Yuwang 1982: 5.

15. Shi Runzhang, [1833] 1990: 990. Shi Runzhang, a native of Xuancheng, Anhui, obtained the jinshi degree in 1649. From 1661 to 1667, he served in northwestern Jiangxi, where tobacco cultivation was well under way (Hummel 1943: 651).

16. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (5/7a–7b): vol. 1117, p. 455. Chen Yuanlong was a member of the illustrious Chen family of Haining, Zhejiang. He passed the jinshi exam in 1685 and served in the Grand Secretariat from 1729 to 1733 (Hummel 1943: 97).

17. Clunas 1991: 160–65; Brook 1998: 139–40.
18. Clunas 1991: 141–73; Brook 1998: 222–37.
19. Brook 1998: 257.
20. P. Ho 1954: 130–68; Hsü 2001: 17–27; Finnane 2003: 62–68.
21. Hsü 2001: 62–63.
22. Naquin 2000: 623–32.
23. Nieuhof [1669] 1673: 254.
24. Xu Ke [1917] 1984: 4:1554–55. Chen Yuanlong's biography is discussed above. For biographical details on Shi Yizhi, see Hummel 1943: 650.
25. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (5/7a–7b): vol. 1117, p. 455.
26. Wang Shizhen [1709] 1997: 2/30. Han Tan was an official and scholar from Changzhou, Jiangsu. He took first place in the 1673 metropolitan and palace exams and became chancellor of the Hanlin Academy in 1697. Han Tan apparently drank himself to death in 1704 (Hummel 1943: 275).
27. Zhang Jiebin [1636] 1994: 639.
28. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (5/7a–7b): vol. 1117, p. 455.
29. Ni Zhumo [1624] 1694: 5/25b.
30. Dong Han [1705] 1980: 3/11a.
31. Meyer-Fong 2003: 4–5.
32. Wang Shizhen [1702] 1982: 3/1b.
33. Meyer-Fong 2003: 28–29.
34. You Tong, “Dong Wenyou ‘You meiren chi yan shi’” (Dong Wenyou's “Beauty smoking tobacco”), in Yang Guo'an 1999: 54–55. “Dong Wenyou” is the style name of Dong Yining. He was a native of Wujin (Jiangsu). On the connection between Dong Yining and Wang Shizhen, see Meyer-Fong 1999: 49, n. 1.
35. For an excellent discussion of the Yongzheng's land reclamation policies, see Marks 1998: 292–308.
36. *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* 1977–99: 6:137–38 (Yongzheng 4/6/10). Fanghai, a jinshi in 1694, was the president of the Board of War from 1726 to 1727 (Hummel 1943: 795).
37. Han Liangfu was one of the first officials to respond to Yongzheng's land reclamation initiatives in 1724 (Marks 1998: 292). His memorial complaining about cash-cropping in Guangdong is quoted by the governor of Fujian, Chang Lai in *Gongzhongdang Yongzheng chao zouzhe* 1977–99: 8:25–26 (Yongzheng 5/4/13).
38. Rowe 2001: 161.
39. *Da Qing Shizong Xian (Yongzheng) Huangdi shilu* 1964: 59/11 (Yongzheng 5/7/1).
40. Rowe 2001: 161–62, 215; Dunstan 1996: 205, 241.
41. Fang Bao 1991: 262–63.
42. Dunstan 1996: 243.
43. Shen Deqian, “Shen Deqian gui yü” (Shen Deqian returns to the countryside), in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (5/8a): vol. 1117, p. 455. Biographical details are from Hummel 1943: 645–46.
44. Hsü 2001: 29.
45. See the comprehensive collection of Qing-era tobacco poetry reprinted in Yang Guo'an 1999: 3–147.

46. “Tian xiang,” in Li Ê, [1884] 1978 (2/15b–16a): vol. 601, pp. 400–401.
47. Precisely when Li Ê wrote this lyric is unclear. It appears in Wang Shihan’s anthology of writings about tobacco, which has a preface date of 1737 (Wang Shihan [1737] 1886: 1).
48. “Li Fanxie mu jie ming,” in Quan Zuwang [1804] 2003; 2:464–65. In 1720, at the age of sixteen *sui*, Quan traveled to Hangzhou to sit for the provincial-level examinations. He failed, but while there attracted the notice of Cha Shenxing (1650–1727), a former Hanlin academician who wrote disapprovingly about tobacco (Yang Guo’an 1999: 34). Two years later he returned to Hangzhou, where he met Li Ê. From 1729 on, Quan stayed periodically at the Ma brothers’ home in Yangzhou. Between 1737 and 1748, Quan visited the Ma residence almost annually as a participant of the Han River Poetry Society (Hummel 1943: 203–5; Hsü 2001: 48–49).
49. Hsü 2001: 47–48.
50. Chen Zhang, “Chen Zhang (Shouyi),” in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (8/3a): vol. 1117, p. 471. Chen Zhang was the poet-in-residence in the Ma brothers’ compound, living in their garden residence for more than twenty years from the 1730s through the 1750s (Hsü 2001: 45–46).
51. “Danbagu fu,” in Quan Zuwang [1804] 2003; 2:76–78.
52. Timothy Brook, “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 88.
53. Cai Jiawan 1826: 5b.
54. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (“*Tisi*”/8a–8b): vol. 1117, p. 480; Brook 2002b: 5–6.
55. Timothy Brook, “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 87.
56. “Yancao chang he shi xu,” in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/17a–17b): vol. 602, pp. 871–72.
57. Wang Shihan [1737] 1886: 1a.
58. Lu Yao [1833] 1995 (46/4a–4b): vol. 1117, p. 484; Timothy Brook, “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 88–89.
59. When Lu Yao actually wrote this text is uncertain, but the work contains a postscript written by Yang Fuji dated 1774. According to Brook (2002a: 14), it may not have circulated in print until 1833. Yang Fuji was a Qianlong-era *jinshi* from Zhenze (Wujiang), Jiangsu (Yang Guo’an 1999: 15).
60. Brook 2002b: 5.
61. Buck 1982: 413.
62. Based on Yang Guo’an’s estimate of five million mu (833,333 acres) under cultivation in the mid-Qing period, an estimated yield of eight hundred pounds per acre and a population of between 170 to 225 million (see chapter 2).
63. Thévenot 1696: 26–27.
64. Bell [1763] 1965: 167–68.
65. Anderson 1795: 187–88.
66. Alexander and Mason [1805] 1988: 196. (Children holding pipes are shown in Plates LXVII [p. 141] and LXXV [p. 157]).
67. Bao Shichen [1872] 1968 (26/2b): vol. 294, part 3, p. 1764.
68. Fang Xin 1996: 91–98.
69. Few women wrote about their own tobacco use. Moreover, elite women generally smoked at home, so their smoking habits were less visible to outside observers. As a conse-

quence, there are relatively few sources related to female smoking in the early Qing period. By necessity, this discussion of feminine smoking in the Qing period is more synchronic than is the earlier section about smoking among elite men, and it includes sources from across the entire 1644–1911 period, rather than just the first century of Qing rule.

70. Wang Shizhen [1702] 1982: 3/1b.

71. Shen Chiran [1809] 1885: 3/1b–2a.

72. Spence 1975: 155–56.

73. Shen Hanguang, *Chi shantang fushi*, n.d.: 1/11, in Yang Guo'an 2002: 3; Zhu Zhongmei, "Meiren dan yan tu" (Portrait of a beauty smoking tobacco), in Yang Guo'an 1999: 46. For Zhu Zhongmei's biography, see Hu Wenkai 1985: 274.

74. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (2/15a): vol. 1117, p. 430. This entry states that smoking first began among men and then spread to the inner quarters.

75. Ko 1994: 266–74, 259.

76. Hershatter 1997: 92; Henriot 2001: 34; Yeh 2006: 25, fig. 1.3.

77. Finnane 2004: 221.

78. Meyer-Fong 2003: 20–24.

79. Meyer-Fong 2003: 56; Finnane 2004: 176–78.

80. Meyer-Fong 2003: 45–46; Finnane 2004: 259.

81. Paul Ropp, "Ambiguous Images of Courtesan Culture," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 19.

82. Meyer-Fong 2003: 56.

83. On smoking and sexuality in England, see Tinkler 2006: 105–31.

84. Wu Hung, "Beyond Stereotypes: The Twelve Beauties in Qing Court Art and the 'Dream of the Red Chamber,'" in Widmer and Chang 1997: 322–38.

85. Wu Hung, "Beyond Stereotypes," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 327.

86. The first example comes from Li Suiqiu's early Qing manual about beautiful women, "Huadi shiyi," which is quoted in Wu Hung, "Beyond Stereotypes," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 327. The second one comes from Dong Yining's poem.

87. You Tong, "Dong Wenyong 'You meiren chi yan shi,'" in Yang Guo'an 1999: 54–55.

88. According to literary tradition, the amorous goddess of Witch Mountain (Wushan) proposed to King Xiang of Chu, promising to make clouds and rain "every morning and evening." "Clouds and rain" is thus the conventional euphemism for sexual intercourse.

89. The flute is an overt erotic symbol (Yeh 2003: 420).

90. This references a Six Dynasties ghost story about Ziyu (Purple Jade), Princess of Wu, who reputedly "flew off into smoke."

91. On the tendency of late-seventeenth-century literati to eulogize Ming courtesan culture, see Ropp, "Ambiguous Images," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 19.

92. Mann 1997: 129–30.

93. Ropp, "Ambiguous Images," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 35–41.

94. Ropp, "Ambiguous Images," in Widmer and Chang 1997: 39.

95. Laing 1996: 68–91.

96. Yang Guo'an 1999: 46.

97. Zheng Yangwen 2005: 10–24.

98. Finnane 2004: 221; McMahon 2000: 160–69.

99. Dikötter, Laamann, and Zhou 2004: 88.

100. Mann 1997: 21–22.
101. “Chang yanguan shi” (The long pipe), in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (3/7a): vol. 1117, p. 435.
102. Jin Xueshi, “Guifang xi yan” (Tobacco smoking in the ladies’ boudoir), in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (3/3b–4a): vol. 1117, p. 433.
103. Wenkang [1878] 1991, chap. 20, p. 227; chap. 9, p. 96.
104. Wenkang [1878] 1991, chap. 30, p. 379.
105. Theiss 1998: 263.
106. Mann 1997: 49, 53; Bray 1997: 146.
107. Bray 1997: 65–67, 146.
108. Wenkang [1878] 1991, chap. 15, p. 162.
109. Hunter 1885: 226.
110. Olivová 2005: 232. For Luo Qilan’s biography see, Hu Wenkai 1985: 761–62.
111. Gui Maoyi, “Gui Maoyi Pei shan” (Gui Maoyi’s jade pendant), in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (6/12a–12b): vol. 1117, p. 466. Ko (1994: 126) provides a brief biography of Gui Maoyi.
112. “Shen Cai hong ping” (Rainbow scrolls of Shen Cai), in Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (7/4a): vol. 1117, p. 468. Shen Cai was from Pinghu County in Zhejiang. She is the author of *Chunyu lou ji* (Spring rains anthology), which has a preface date of 1782 (Hu Wenkai 1985: 365).
113. Theiss 2004: 156–57, 167–68.
114. Paderni 2002: 48.
115. Olivová 2005: 240–41.
116. Paderni 2002: 62.
117. Dong Han [1705] 1980: 3/11a.
118. Rowe 2001: 162.
119. Bray 1997: 243.
120. Bray 1997: 131.
121. Pruitt [1945] 1967: 30–31.
122. McMahan 2002: 155–62.
123. McMahan 2002: 159.

CHAPTER 4

1. “Yancao chang he shi xu,” in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/17a–17b): vol. 602, pp. 871–72.
2. The convention of capitalizing translations of Chinese medical terms that are not reducible to anatomical structures or bodily fluids in English is well established. I follow that practice here.
3. “Systematic correspondences” came to be the central conception of Chinese medicine from roughly the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. This belief—related to the dominant Confucian ideology of the time—held that everything in the natural and social world was intended to be in harmony. Confucian scholars consciously attempted to systematically correlate the natural universe, the state, and the individual human body in complex systems of relationships (Unschuld 1985: 51–100).
4. Stewart 1967: 228–68.
5. Jiangsu xin yixueyuan [1912] 1977: 1913.

6. Leung 2003a: 389–96.
7. Hanson 1997: 100–10.
8. Hanson 1997: 39–42.
9. Hanson 2006: 115–16.
10. Norton 2000: 371.
11. Stewart 1967: 244–47.
12. The other four are Lungs (*fei*), Heart (*xin*), Liver (*gan*), and Kidney (*shen*). The Five Visceral Systems of Function are not anatomical organs in the biomedical sense, even though they are named as such. Conceptualized more in terms of what they do than what they are, they do not exist in specific cavities of the body but serve to store specific bodily vitalities and perform essential tasks. On this point, see Rogaski 2004: 33.
13. Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/67; Fang Yizhi [1664] 1983 (9/28b): vol. 867, p. 939.
14. Yang Shicong 1977: 1:182–83.
15. Li Shihong [1833] 1990: 25/1365; Wang Pu [1799] 1968 (5a): 720; Zeng Yuwang 1982: 5; Ye Mengzhu [1935] 1981: 7/67.
16. “Yancao chang he shi xu,” in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/17a–17b): vol. 602, pp. 871–72.
17. Furth 1999: 21.
18. Farquhar 1994: 32–36.
19. The six external excesses occurred when the normal manifestations of qi in the environment, the six climatic configurations (*liu qi*) (Wind [*feng*], Cold [*han*], Summer Heat [*shu*], Dampness [*shi*], Dryness [*zao*], and Fire [*huo*]), occurred either out of season or excessively in the appropriate season. Sometimes called external heteropathies (*waixie*) or external illness factors (*waibingyin*), these climatic configurations were conceptualized as attacking the body from without, usually through the pores. Following a series of epidemics in the late Ming period, Wu Youxing (1582–1652) introduced the idea that such external heteropathies could also enter the body through the mouth or nose. This concept increasingly took hold from the early Qing on (Hanson 1997: 58, 141).
20. Fang Yizhi [1664] 1983 (9/28b): vol. 867, p. 939.
21. Shi Runzhang [1833] 1990: 990.
22. The nosological category of intermittent fevers (*nüe* and *zhang*) included malaria but was not identical to it. For this reason, I translate *zhangqi* as “miasmatic vapors” rather than “malaria.”
23. Obringer 2001: 200–202.
24. Yao Lü [1611] 1995 (10/46a): vol. 1132, p. 704. A powerful insect killer, nicotine was widely used historically as a pesticide. Amerindians used paste made from ground-up tobacco leaves to remove ticks as well as lice from the human body (Wilbert 1993: 152). Nicholas Culpeper (1616–54) ([1652] 1770: 326) also noted that tobacco could kill head lice. Tobacco juice mixed with water was traditionally sprayed over plants to rid them of pests. On such usage of tobacco as an organic pesticide both in China and Europe, see Needham, Huang, and Lu 1984: 316–17. Scientific studies have confirmed that water extracts of nicotine kill soft-bodied, sucking, or rasping pests when used as a fumigant (J. Rechcigl and N. Rechcigl 1999: 110–11).
25. *Gu* poisoning (*shan gu*) is an ancient term with complex meanings ranging from food poisoning to black magic. In the Ming dynasty, *gu* poisoning began to be associated with

minority peoples in the far south, and from the seventeenth century on, it was associated specifically with the Miao people of the Southwest (Hanson 1997: 75–84). The pathogenic influence of demons (*guixie*) was accepted by many scholar-physicians in the Ming-Qing periods, and numerous late imperial medical texts outline various ways of exorcising them (Unschuld 1985: 215–23).

26. Zhang Jiebin [1636] 1994: 639.

27. Zhang Jiebin [1636] 1994: 639.

28. Reid 1985: 529–47.

29. Pickwell, Schimelpfening, and Palinkas 1994: 329.

30. Rooney 1993: 25–29.

31. Reid 1985: 535.

32. Zheng Yangwen 2005: 42.

33. Yao Lü's entry on tobacco ([1611] 1995 [10/46a]) is followed almost immediately with one on locally grown betel nut. Betel nut from Java was a major import into Zhangzhou in the early seventeenth century (Stephen Tseng-Hsin Chang, "Commodities Imported to the Chang-chou Region of Fukien during the Late Ming Period. A Preliminary Analysis of the Tax Lists found in the *Tung-hsi-yan kao*," in Ptak and Rothermund 1991: 159–94).

34. The Cold Damage doctrine forms one of the main strands within the classical Chinese medical tradition. It dates to the Later Han dynasty (25–220 c.e.) and the *Treatise on Cold Damage and Miscellaneous Disorders*, by Zhang Ji (also known by his style name, Zhang Zhongjing). The work was compiled around 206 c.e. but was not widely disseminated until the late eleventh century. For more on Zhang Ji's treatise and revival of the Cold Damage doctrine under the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), see Goldschmidt 2005: 53–90.

35. Cold Damage disorders may correspond in biomedical terms to anything from a common cold to typhoid.

36. S. Kim 2006: 35–38.

37. Furth 1999: 238.

38. Yao Lü ([1611] 1995 [10/46a]) uses the term *danbagu*; Fang Yizhi ([1664] 1983 [9/28b]) uses both *danbagu yancao* and *danrouguo*. Quan Zuwang ([1804] 2003: 2:464–65) uses *danbagu*.

39. Kanda Nobuo 1955–63: 5:465–69 (Tiancong 5/1/16–5/1/29), 5:502–4 (TC 5/4/12). 5:511–17 (TC 5/4/25–5/6/11). On Japanese terminology, see Suzuki 1991: 2–3.

40. Drugs originally imported into China from abroad often retained transliterated names in materia medica. For other examples, see Unschuld 1986: 219.

41. Commentaries on tobacco's novelty appear in many texts. See, for example, Zhang Jiebin [1636] 1994: 639 and Quan Zuwang [1804] 2003: 2:76–78.

42. The other two are Liu Wansu (1120?–1200) and Zhang Congzheng (1156–1228).

43. Unschuld 1985: 178–79.

44. Furth 2006: 429–34.

45. Unschuld 1985: 198.

46. Wang Ji lived and worked in Qimen County, located in the southern Anhui prefecture of Huizhou (Grant 2003).

47. Furth 1999: 237–44.

48. Furth 1999: 214.
49. Furth 1999: 238.
50. Furth 1999: 187–88.
51. Grant 2003: 158–59.
52. Leung 2009: 45–47.
53. Grant 2003: 79–81.
54. Furth 1999: 25–48.
55. Grant 2003: 116–40.
56. See biography in Hummel 1943: 26–27.
57. Unschuld 1985: 199.
58. Hao Jinda 1987: 227.
59. Unschuld 1985: 199.
60. Although often translated as “cholera,” *huoluan* referred to many other disorders whose primary symptom was severe and unrelenting diarrhea.
61. *Yujie* is a general term for qi that has knotted up in one place and blocked circulation. It is signaled by lumps, nodules, and sensations of fullness (Sivin 1987: 162).
62. Terajima Ryōan [1713] 1906: 1410–11.
63. “Tian xiang,” in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/15b–16a): vol. 601, pp. 400–401.
64. Hao Jinda 1987: 227.
65. Leung 2003b: 130–52.
66. Widmer 1996: 110.
67. Wang Ang [1683] 1998: 119–20.
68. Wu Yiluo [1757] 1960: 88.
69. Unschuld 1986: 173–74.
70. See, for example, the entry on the medicinal properties of tobacco in the first section of Lu Yao’s *Yan pu*, which is nearly identical to Wu Yiluo’s text (Lu Yao [1833] 1995 [46/1b]: vol. 1117, p. 483).
71. Furth 1999: 134–54.
72. Jiangsu xin yixueyuan [1912] 1977: 1913.
73. Ni Zhumo [1624] 1694: 5/25b.
74. Unschuld 1986: 169–70.
75. Ganji was a disease specific to children that manifested as a swollen potbelly. It is now understood to be caused by malnutrition (Xiong Bingzhen 1999: 63–103).
76. Furth 1999: 79–81.
77. Schonebaum 2004: 199–227.
78. Schonebaum 2004: 225.
79. Hanson 1998: 517–18.
80. Hanson 2006: 151–54.
81. Hanson 2006: 163.
82. Furth 1999: 151.
83. Zhang Lu [1715] 1996: 2–3.
84. On the network of seventeenth-century Suzhou physicians and Zhang Lu’s place in it, see Chao 2009: 112–17.

85. Zhao Xuemin and Zhao Xuekai lived in Hangzhou, where their father served as an official in the Qing salt monopoly. Little is known about Zhao Xuekai, other than that he wrote numerous medical texts. Zhao Xuemin is more famous, having authored the *Bencao gangmu shiyi*. This work, which has a preface date of 1765, aimed to correct mistakes in Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu* (Systematic Materia Medica). In addition to tobacco, Zhao Xuemin described many newly imported foreign drugs, including smokable opium (Unschuld 1986: 167).
86. Zhao Xuemin [1765] 1998: 24.
87. Li Gang 1997: 363–64.
88. Chen Cong [1805] 1995 (1/3a–3b): vol. 1117, p. 420.
89. Hao Jinda 1987: 227–28.
90. Ye Tianshi 1963: 43.
91. Zhao Xuemin [1765] 1998: 27–29.
92. *Jiaoqi* has been retrospectively diagnosed as beriberi, a disease caused by lack of thiamine (vitamin B₁). (Furth 1999: 82–83). “Blood collapse” is a gynecological disorder characterized by incessant heavy bleeding.
93. “Tian xiang,” in Li Ê [1884] 1978 (2/15b–16a): vol. 601, pp. 400–401.
94. Lu Yao [1833] 1995 (46/1a): vol. 1117, p. 483.

CHAPTER 5

1. Lu Yao [1833] 1995 (46/3a–3b): vol. 1117, p. 484. For descriptions of various types of classic Chinese pipes, see Rapaport 1977: 78–87.
2. Timothy Brook “Smoking in Imperial China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 88; Brook 2002b: 5; Olivová 2005: 245.
3. McMahon 2002: 158–59.
4. Wenkang [1878] 1991, chap. 37, p. 501.
5. Wenkang [1878] 1991, chap. 15, pp. 159, 162.
6. Spence 1975: 155.
7. Norton 2008: 184.
8. Marsh 1988: 25.
9. Some scholars mistakenly credit Matteo Ricci with the introduction of snuff into China in 1581 (see, for example, Dikötter, Laamann, and Zhou 2004: 25). Ricci did not even arrive in Macau until August 1582, and he first went to Beijing only in 1598. The source for this incorrect information was most likely Zhao Zhiqian's *Yonglu xianjie*, which states that Ricci offered snuff to the Wanli emperor in 1581 (Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 1). The *Yonglu xianjie* has been adeptly translated by Lynn 1991: 5–26. I have generally retained Lynn's translations, after checking them against the original.
10. Chang Lin-sheng 1980: 6.
11. *Arquivos de Macau*, 3^a Série, 5, no. 6 (June 1966): 305–306.
12. Souza 2005: 20.
13. Global networks of trade for Brazilian tobacco are described in Wimmer 1996: 4.
14. Barickman 1998: 178.

15. Wimmer 1996: 81–82.
16. Chang Lin-sheng 1980: 7. According to Laufer (1924: 88–89), imported snuff is listed in a Guangzhou customs tariff as early as 1685.
17. *Guangdong tongzhi* 1731: 58/13b–14a; Curtis 1991: 8.
18. Biker et al. 1879: 27–28, 108.
19. Van Braam Houckgeest 1798: 377–79.
20. Legarda 1999: 34.
21. The *fleur-de-lis* served as the trademark of snuff dealers in Beijing (Huc 1855: 204; Laufer 1924: 88).
22. Huc 1855: 204.
23. Laufer 1924: 89.
24. Wang Shizhen [1702] 1982: 7/131.
25. Yang Boda 1996: 66.
26. Moss, Graham, and Tsang 1993: 1:296.
27. Li Tiaoyuan [1778] 1969: 5/18a. Li Tiaoyuan was a Sichuan native who took his jinshi degree in 1763. He first went to Guangdong in 1774 and remained there until 1780 or 1781 (Hummel 1943: 486–88).
28. Huc 1855: 204.
29. Libert 1986: 8–9; Goodman 1993: 74.
30. Millward 2001: 4.
31. Moss, Graham, and Tsang 1993.
32. Kleiner 1994, figs. 3 and 4.
33. Moss, Graham, and Tsang 1993: 2:437.
34. *Yabulu* is a plant native to Central Asia. Chinese physicians prescribed it to speed the healing of external injuries (Lynn 1991: 26n108).
35. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 11.
36. Cao Xueqin and Gao E 1973–86: 2:536–37.
37. Lugar 1977: 35; C. Hansen 1982: 149–151.
38. Souza 1986: 181.
39. Souza 2005: 24.
40. Souza 2005: 24.
41. Lugar 1977: 52–53.
42. Ljungstedt 1836: 76–77.
43. Zhang Rulin [1751] 1998 (“*xia*”/39a): vol. 1, p. 259.
44. Lapa 1968: 294; Curtis 1991: 8.
45. Souza 1986: 195–96.
46. Extant “palace presentation lists” (*gongzhong jindan*) held in the Ming-Qing archives in Beijing indicate that the *hoppo* (superintendent of Guangdong Maritime Customs) and other Guangdong officials routinely included foreign snuff as gifts sent to the imperial court from the Kangxi period through the end of the eighteenth century (Yang Boda 1987: 40–50).
47. On the use of snuff and snuff bottles in the conduct of China’s foreign relations, see Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 1–2.
48. Gao Shiqi 1912: 3/4b. Gao Shiqi served as Kangxi’s tutor (Hummel, 1943: 413–15).

49. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 3. On Kangxi's gift to Song Luo, who was serving as provincial governor of Jiangsu in 1705, see Yang Boda 1987: 26, 62.
50. E. Rawski 1998: 176. On Qianlong's bestowal of gifts to Oirat (Western) Mongol leaders at Chengde in 1755, see R. Yu 2004: 87.
51. Hay 2001: 3. According to Hay (p. 18), Shitao, who resided in Yangzhou, received a brief audience with the Kangxi emperor in 1689.
52. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 1.
53. Zhu Lüzhong, *Tanbagu bai yong* (One hundred songs about tobacco), 1797, in Yang Guo'an 1999: 39. Biographical details of Zhu Lüzhong are sketchy: we know simply that he was a native of Haiyan (Zhejiang) and his style name was Yifei (Yang Guo'an 1999: 119, n. 6).
54. Antonil [1711] 1968: 133.
55. Documents in the Brazilian archives indicate a great deal of Portuguese concern about competition with the English in China in the Brazilian snuff trade. I did not have access to these materials, but Lapa (1968: 296) used them extensively in his discussion of the problems the Portuguese encountered in exporting tobacco to China in the late eighteenth century. On Surat as the center of the Indian Ocean tobacco trade, see Gokhale 1974: 484–92.
56. C. Hansen 1982: 149.
57. On the growing desire for imported clocks and watches among China's expanding elite consumer class in the eighteenth century, see Pagani 2001: 121–22. Finnane (2003: 409) notes that foreign clocks and watches were in steady demand by Yangzhou elite in the early nineteenth century.
58. Osbeck 1771: 237.
59. Macartney 1963: 225.
60. Staunton 1797: 2:354.
61. Davis 1836: 328.
62. Abel [1818] 1971: 140–41.
63. *Arquivos de Macau* 3^a Série 9, no. 1 (January 1968): 42.
64. Dermigny 1964, 3:1254n3.
65. Fontenoy 1995: 292.
66. Dulles 1930: 44–45.
67. Miles 2006: 63–74.
68. One such famous painting (c. 1805) by Guan Zuolin ("Spoilum") now held in the Peabody-Essex Museum shows the silk merchant Eshing grasping a porcelain snuff bottle (Crossman 1972: 16–23).
69. Yan Wei, "Manhua jiu Zhongguo de yan shui" (A brief discussion of old China's tobacco tax), in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 65–71.
70. Pond 1894: 510.
71. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 7.
72. Kleiner 1994: 10, 35.
73. Kleiner 1994: 29.
74. Huc 1855: 204.
75. Lynn 1991: 6.
76. Liu Shengmu [1903] 1929.
77. Biographical details are from Hummel 1943: 70.

78. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 7.
79. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 8.
80. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 6.
81. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 6.
82. Pond 1894: 510.
83. Zhao Zhiqian [1880] 1937: 4.
84. Gibbs 1938: 35.
85. Pond 1894: 510.
86. Lee 1934: 11.
87. Gu A'chao 1995: 122.
88. Gibbs 1938: 28.
89. Garnier 1993: 9; I. Johnson and Brooke 1977: 62–67.
90. Laufer 1924: 13; Rapaport 1997: 83–84.
91. Yue Zhenchuan, “Fuzhi shihuo lun,” in He Changling [1826] 1972 (36/7–8): vol. 731, pp. 1306–7. The 1820s saw the arrival of pandemic cholera in China, which may account for the sudden keen interest in this product (MacPherson 1998: 487–519).
92. *Da Qing Renzong Rui (Jiaqing) Huangdi shilu* 1964: 336/26b–27a (Jiaqing 22/11): 8:4957–58.
93. Liang Zhangju [1875] 1969 (8/18b–19a): vol. 438, pp. 420–21.
94. I. Johnson and Brooke 1977: 67.
95. Finnane 2003: 412.
96. I. Johnson and Brooke 1977: 67.
97. Wu Jiayou 2001: 672–73, 684–85, 712–13, 740–41, 742–43.
98. Thiriez 1999: 83, fig. 5.
99. Liang Zhangju ([1875] 1969 [8/18b–19a]: vol. 438, pp. 420–21), for example, noted in the early nineteenth century that “those who smoke water tobacco are common and profits are great.”
100. Li Gang 1997: 98, 356.
101. Li Gang 1997: 358, 356.
102. Wu Zuxiang 1988: 178–84.

CHAPTER 6

1. Cochran 1980, 2000; Cox 1997, 2000.
2. A detailed history of the Chinese domestic cigarette industry has yet to appear in English, though there are many such studies in Chinese. The most comprehensive survey remains Fang Xiantang 1989.
3. Reid 1985: 536.
4. Goodman 1993: 97.
5. Goodman 1993: 97–98; Shechter 2003: 53.
6. Cox 2000: 27.
7. Cox 2000: 49, 57.
8. Legarda 1999: 89, 101, 103, 115–34.
9. Wickberg [1965] 2000: 98–99.

10. Crossman 1972: 113.
11. Smith 1871: 220.
12. Zhang Tao [1884] 1986: *xia*/137.
13. Wickberg [1965] 2000: 84.
14. Fang Xiantang 1989: 7.
15. Qu Zhenming, “Lao Jin Long yanghang juanyan chang” (Mustard and Company’s foreign cigarette factory), in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 402–404.
16. Shanghai shehui kexueyuan 1983: 2:424.
17. Longtime Shanghai resident E. Jenner Hogg established the American Cigarette Company (ACC) and set up the first cigarette-rolling factory in Pudong (Shanghai) in 1890. The American Trading Company (Maosheng yanghang), which dealt in other imported products such as American-made soap, opened a Shanghai cigarette factory in 1892. Mercantile Tobacco Company (Meiguo yancao gongsi) began operating in Shanghai circa 1893 (Fang Xiantang 1989: 7–10).
18. Yang Guo’an 2002: 65, 462.
19. The Taipei Tobacco Factory used a blend of American, Indian, and Chinese tobacco in its cigarettes. After 1902 it could not compete with BAT, and in 1907 it moved its factory to India (Fang Xiantang 1989: 10).
20. On the history of A. Lopato and Sons Company in Harbin, see Mi Dawei, “Heilongjiang sheng juanyan hangye de zaoqi lishi” (The early history of the cigarette industry in Heilongjiang Province), in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 144–48.
21. Yang Guo’an 2002: 67.
22. Fang Xiantang 1989: 11–12.
23. Fifty percent of the cigarettes produced in the American Cigarette Company’s Shanghai factory, for example, were sold in Shanghai itself, 40 percent were sold in areas of northern China, and 10 percent to various markets along the Yangzi River. The majority of Taipei Tobacco Factory’s products were sold in Shanghai and Yantai. A small percentage was exported to India (Fang Xiantang 1989: 10).
24. Cochran 1980: 33–35; Cox 1997: 55.
25. Cochran 1980: 27–32; Cochran 2000: 60.
26. Cochran 1980: 32.
27. Yang Guo’an 2002: 401; Cochran 1980: 19, 85.
28. Cochran 1980: 19.
29. In 1924 BAT’s “Frontier” Division had warehouses in Zhangjiakou, Fengzhen, Yihua, Xibaotou, Guihuazhen, Lamamiao, Datong, Yuzhou, and Kulun (Yang Guo’an 2002: 59). Although certainly more remote from coastal cities than other subregions where BAT had warehouses, these cities and towns were located along well-traveled trade routes linking Shanxi with Beijing that had been utilized by Shanxi tobacco traders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
30. On Yun-Gui caravan trade routes in the nineteenth century, see B. Yang 2004: 292.
31. Cochran 1980: 19–22, 134; Cochran 1999: 37–58.
32. Cochran 1999: 50.
33. Gaunt 1914: 233. Despite Gaunt’s description of these mountain villages as isolated and remote, they actually lay on a well-traveled route between Beijing and Chengde.

34. Mao Zedong 1990: 69.
35. Cochran 1999: 57.
36. Cochran 1980: 54–77.
37. On the history of the Huacheng Tobacco Company, see Fang Xiantang 1989: 105–8, 127–30 and Fraser 1999: 99–150.
38. Other foreign firms with factories in Shanghai as well as Sino-foreign joint ventures are listed in Fang Xiantang 1989: 290; see also Yang Guo'an 2002: 462–63.
39. T. Rawski 1989: 71.
40. T. Rawski 1989: 355.
41. Yang Guo'an 2002: 69.
42. Fang Xiantang 1989: 26–31.
43. Fang Xiantang 1989: 14.
44. Cochran 2000: 64–68. On Zhensheng Tobacco, see Yang Guo'an 2002: 466.
45. Fang Xiantang 1989: 27.
46. Fang Xiantang 1989: 23.
47. Fang Xiantang 1989: 24.
48. Lou Dexing 1996: 218; Fang Xiantang 1989: 129.
49. After 1928, the number of Chinese-owned firms decreased from 182 in 1927 to 94 in 1928. In 1929 there were only 79, in 1930 there were 65, in 1931 64, and in 1932 only 60 (Yang Guo'an 2002: 69).
50. Cochran 1980: 171, 193.
51. Cochran 1980: 190–97.
52. Fang Xiantang 1989: 129.
53. Cochran 1980: 199.
54. Cox 2000: 11.
55. Cox 2000: 149, 195.
56. Gibbs 1938: 34.
57. Of course, BAT also saved labor costs by hiring women to work in its factories, but the foreign corporation frequently had to contend with strikes, a problem that did not plague the smaller workshops (Perry 1993: 135–66).
58. Gibbs 1938: 35.
59. Cox 2000: 187.
60. Institute of Pacific Relations 1936: 25–27.
61. Chi 1935: 636–37.
62. Institute of Pacific Relations 1936: 26.
63. Cox 2000: 187.
64. See Yang Guo'an (2002: 792–821) for Ministry of Finance regulations applied to hand-rolling workshops.
65. Chi 1935: 631.
66. Gibbs 1938: 35.
67. The phrase, the “internationalization of daily life” is from Esherick 2000: 1.
68. The San Francisco-based John Bollman Company, for example, imported “Russian-style cigarettes with built-in mouthpieces into Shanghai beginning in the 1890s. These were quite popular in Japan and northern China (Cox 2000: 67).

69. On the absurdities of ascribing national identities to goods manufactured within the globalized economic system, see Gerth 2003: 19–24.
70. Cochran 2006: 166–67.

CHAPTER 7

1. Zhou Xun, “Smoking in Modern China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 167.
2. L. Brandt 2000: 28.
3. Buck 1964: 459–60; Horesh 2009: 64.
4. Gibbs 1938: 34. In Hangzhou in 1929, the lowest grade of shredded pipe tobacco sold wholesale for .20 yuan per jin (one jin equals 17.5 ounces or 500 grams); the medium grade was .40 yuan per jin; and the highest grade was .60 yuan per jin (“Tobacco Crops of Chekiang,” 1929: 806–10). Assuming that one cigarette contained .75 grams of tobacco, the cigarettes noted in the text, if sold by weight, would have ranged from .83 yuan to 14.60 yuan per jin.
5. Gibbs 1938: 28.
6. Lee 1934: 37.
7. Gibbs 1938: 28; Centers for Disease Control 2009; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division 2000.
8. Only in 1941 did cigarettes come to represent 50 percent of total American tobacco consumption (Goodman 1993: 93–94).
9. For 1910 and 1920 figures, see Lee 1934: 37. For 1930, see table 1.
10. Cochran 1980: 27–35.
11. Gibbs 1938: 31.
12. *Shangye yuebao* 1935: 2–3.
13. Gibbs 1940: 17.
14. BAT and Tōa Tobacco had factories in Tianjin, as did several smaller Greek- and Chinese-owned companies (Lee 1934: 30). On BAT and Nanyang factories in Hong Kong, see Cochran 1980: 108–11, 198.
15. In 1931, a total of 78,425 cases of 50,000 were sold in Guangzhou (Cox 1997: 56). According to a municipal census conducted in 1932, Guangzhou had a population of 1,122,583 (Tsin 1999: 122). This means that per capita consumption in Guangzhou in that year may have been on average nine to ten cigarettes per day.
16. A survey of eighty-seven cotton mill worker families conducted in the period from November 1929 to October 1930 revealed that Tianjin workers spent 2.46 percent of their annual expenditures on cigarettes and wine. (Food occupied 63.79 percent, rent 7.06 percent, clothing 6.74, fuel and light 9.68, and miscellaneous [including cigarettes and wine] 12.73 percent). Together, cigarettes and wine were the largest expenditures in the “miscellaneous” category, representing nearly 20 percent of the total (Fong 1932: 140–41).
17. On Shanghai’s “petty urbanites,” H. Lu 1999: 61–64.
18. Fang Xiantang 1989: 57–58.
19. Gibbs 1938: 32; Fang Xiantang 1989: 117–18.
20. Greater Shanghai, which included the foreign concessions, had a population in the early 1930s of about three million (H. Lu 1999: 55). The rate of about five cigarettes per per-

son per day is confirmed by monthly sales figures for cigarettes for January 1935 collected in *Shangye yuebao* (1935: 2–3). (See table 2.)

21. T. Rawski 1989: 81.

22. Bureau of Social Affairs 1934: 148.

23. The poet Zhu Xiang (1904–33) says he smoked more than ninety a day, and Lu Xun (1881–1936) reportedly smoked more than fifty a day (Zhu Xiang 1998: 215; Xu Guangping 1945: 18).

24. H. Lu 1999: 62–63, 167.

25. The average number of family members per family (for the 305 families) was 4.62. The 282 families that purchased cigarettes consumed on average 232 packs of ten for a total of 2,320 cigarettes per family per year or a total of 654,240 cigarettes per year. Assuming these 282 families were of average size, this translates into 502.2 cigarettes per person per year or 1.38 per person per day (Bureau of Social Affairs 1934: 159).

26. Bureau of Social Affairs 1934: 165.

27. Bureau of Social Affairs 1934: 168.

28. Yang and Tao 1931: 70–71.

29. Fang Xiantang 1989: 109.

30. H. Lu 1999: 75–76. Lu notes (p. 96) that many rickshaw pullers purchased cheap opium. They likely could afford cheap cigarettes as well.

31. *Shangye yuebao* 1935: 2–3.

32. Fang Xiantang 1989: 118–19.

33. Hong Lin and Qiu Leisheng 2001: 6–39, 368–469.

34. Fraser 1999: 123.

35. Fang Xiantang 1989: 123.

36. Chen Liang 1940: 14–15.

37. H. Lu 1999: 250–52.

38. Lu Xing'er, "Yanzhi dian" (Tobacco and paper store), in Yang Guo'an 1999: 378.

39. H. Lu 1999: 251.

40. H. Lu 1999: 209.

41. The two State Express brands belonged initially to Ardath International, BAT's main rival in the period just after the First World War. Imperial Tobacco (Great Britain) and BAT bought out Ardath in 1926 (Cox 2000: 268).

42. Yang Guo'an 2002: 936.

43. Deng Yunxiang 1996: 29–39.

44. The identification of Three Castles with "great merchants and frustrated warlords" appeared in a Huacheng Tobacco marketing survey (Fraser 1999: 127).

45. Wakeman 1995: 21.

46. Mao Tun [1939] 1957: 42, 70.

47. Zhu Xiang 1998: 212–18.

48. Qi Jun 1981: 83–88.

49. Lu Xun began smoking cigarettes while in Japan. Although Xu Guangping initially found Lu Xun's smoking habit alluring, by 1926 she was urging him to quit for reasons of health. Lu Xun eventually developed a hand tremor that he attributed to his heavy cigarette use.

By 1929 Xu Guangping had given up trying to persuade Lu Xun to stop smoking (McDougall 2002: 20, 156).

50. Xu Guangping 1945: 18.

51. Craven “A” was known as Black Cat (Heimao) in Chinese and came in a red tin with a black-cat logo (Hong Lin and Qiu Leisheng 2001: 472).

52. Lin Yütang [1932] 1995: 616–20.

53. Zhu Xiang 1998: 215.

54. H. Lu 1999: 170.

55. H. Lu 1999: 171.

56. On the smoking habits of Mao Zedong, Chen Yi, and Deng Xiaoping, see Cheng Gao 1995: 120–24.

57. Fraser 1999: 147–48.

58. Deng Yunxiang 1996.

59. Liang Shiqiu 1999: 87–90.

60. Qi Jun 1981: 85.

61. “Old” Shanghai cigarette packs, like Qing-era snuff bottles, are wonderfully eclectic miniature works of art. Obviously, because they were designed to be thrown away rather than cherished, they were made from cheap materials (paper, cardboard, galvanized tin, or Bakelite plastic). Nonetheless, many of them, like the extant Art Deco cigarette advertising posters from the same period, are exquisite in design. Hong Lin and Qiu Leisheng (2001) provide an excellent catalog.

62. Fraser 1999: 127.

63. Yang Guo’an 2002: 936.

64. Gu A’chao 1995: 120.

65. Harrison 2000: 49–60.

66. Gu A’chao 1995: 272.

67. Gaunt 1914: 33–34.

68. Yang Guo’an 2002: 1138–39.

69. Yang Guo’an 2002: 1139. In 1931 the major tobacco companies together sold 25,142 cases of 50,000 each in Beijing (Cox 2000: 56).

70. M. Dong 2003: 322n3.

71. Gu A’chao 1995: 3–4, 69.

72. Gibbs 1938: 32.

73. Gu A’chao 1995: 123.

74. A police survey conducted in 1917 indicated that 12 percent of the city’s population lived below subsistence (M. Dong 2003: 214). A similar survey, carried out by the Beiping (Beijing) Police Department in December 1926 and cited by L. K. Tao (Tao Menghe) in his analysis of the budgets of sixty Beijing families published in 1928, found that nearly 17 percent of the population was destitute with no means of livelihood and that 9 percent of the employed lived in such dire poverty that they could not subsist without charity or government interventions (L. K. Tao 1928: 18–19).

75. M. Dong 2003: 157.

76. M. Dong 2003: 142–71.

77. Gu A’chao 1995: 271.

78. Cochran 1980: 33.
79. Cox 1997: 56.
80. Yang Guo'an 2002: 1138.
81. After BAT's 59 percent sales in the city, Yongtaihe occupied another 20 percent in 1931, and rival brands 20 percent (Cox 1997: 56).
82. Jin Shoushen 1989: 222–23.
83. M. Dong 2003: 184; Gu A'chao 1995: 70.
84. M. Dong 2003: 174.
85. Goldstein 2007: 70; M. Dong 2003: 184.
86. L. K. Tao (1928: 55) found that on average families earning 200 yuan a year or less spent more than 70 percent of their wages on food. Sidney Gamble (1933: 290, 301) observed that in 1926–27, 45 percent of 283 families (across a wider spectrum of income ranging from 8 to 550 yuan per month) spent more than 50 percent of their budget on food, and some of them spent more than 80 percent. The families in Tao's study on average spent a little more than 3 percent of their income on "miscellaneous" expenditures, including tobacco. In Gamble's more representative sample, the percentage of the total family budget spent on miscellaneous items ranged from 8 percent in the lowest income bracket (59 yuan per month) to 55 percent in the highest (300 or more yuan per month).
87. Yang Guo'an 2002: 1139.
88. Gamble 1933: 251–53.
89. Gamble 1933: 266–67.
90. Gamble 1933: 207, 220, 223–28.
91. Gamble 1921: 332.
92. Pruitt [1945] 1967: 2.
93. On recycling in Beijing, see M. Dong 2003: 172–207.
94. Goldstein 2007: 70.
95. Gu A'chao 1995: 123.
96. Gu A'chao 1995: 70, 123.
97. Gibbs 1938: 35.
98. M. Dong 2003: 135.
99. M. Dong 2003: 140.
100. Hayford 1990.
101. Gamble 1954: 115.
102. Li Jinghan [1933] 1992: 319; Gamble 1954: 115.
103. Gamble 1954: 341; Lee 1934: 37.
104. Gamble 1954: 283, 316.
105. Gamble 1954: 286, 413.
106. One Chinese silver dollar (yuan) equaled one hundred cents. Gamble 1954: 341.
107. Li Jinghan 1934: 242–45.
108. Li Jinghan [1933] 1992: 320.
109. Gamble 1954: 123.
110. Hayford 1990: 86–88.
111. Hayford 1990: 103; Li Jinghan [1933] 1992: 122.
112. Hayford 1990: 143.

113. Cochran 1980: 27–28.
114. Cochran 1980: 34–35.
115. Zhou Xun, “Smoking in Modern China,” in Gilman and Zhou 2004: 167; see also Gerth 2003: 51.

CHAPTER 8

1. Esherick 2000: 11.
2. Mann 1984: 79–113.
3. H. Lu 1999: 5.
4. See Shechter (2006: 119–53) for a discussion of these issues in another cultural context.
5. Schudson 2001: 490.
6. Hughes 2003: 89–94.
7. Shechter 2006: 45.
8. Christy 1903.
9. Dikötter, Laamann, and Zhou 2004: 204–5.
10. Lin Yütang [1935] 1995: 616–20.
11. Xu Zhimo 1926: 21.
12. L. O. Lee 1999: 25.
13. S. Shih 2001: 261.
14. Mu Shiyong 1998: 107–23.
15. S. Shih 2001: 318–21.
16. S. Shih 2001: 321.
17. Mu Shiyong 1998: 3–15.
18. Mu Shiyong 1998: 298–305.
19. S. Shih 2001: 153–57.
20. M. Dong 2003: 258–65.
21. Jin Shoushen 1989: 217–23.
22. Madeleine Yue Dong, “Urban Reconstruction and National Identity, 1928–1936,” in Esherick 2000: 121–38.
23. M. Dong, “Urban Reconstruction,” in Esherick 2000: 132–35.
24. Lao She is the pen name of Shu Qingchun. Born into a Manchu family in 1899, Lao She grew up in Beijing but primarily resided elsewhere as an adult (London, Shandong, Wuhan, and Chongqing). From 1946 to 49, Lao She was in the United States on an extended tour sponsored by the U.S. State Department’s cultural cooperation program. After returning to China in 1949, he lived in Beijing until he committed suicide during the Cultural Revolution (Lao She 1999: 273–305).
25. Lao She 1996: 1:382. For an English-language translation of the novel, see Lao She 1981.
26. Lao She 1996: 1:410.
27. Lao She 1996: 1:469–70.
28. Lao She 1996: 1:537–38.
29. Lao She 1996: 1:542.
30. Lao She 1996: 1:542–43, 550.

31. Lao She 1996: 1:563.
32. Lao She 1996: 1:579.
33. Lao She 1996: 1:428.
34. Lao She 1996: 2:368–74.
35. Lao She 1934: 23–24.
36. Lao She 1942.
37. Lao She 1944.
38. Y. Zhang 1996: 26.
39. Y. Zhang 1996: 25.
40. Williams 1993: 13–22.
41. Williams 1993: 26.
42. Wu Zuxiang [1934] 1956: 1–50 (cigarettes are mentioned on p. 3).
43. Wu Zuxiang 1996: 41–57.
44. Williams 1993: 51–54.
45. Williams 1993: 54.
46. Wu Zuxiang 1996: 58–74.
47. Wu Zuxiang 1996: 70.
48. Wu Zuxiang 1988: 178–84.
49. Kinkley 1987: 273–74.
50. Kinkley 1987: 31–33, 68–79.
51. Williams 2001: 50.
52. David Der-wei Wang 1992: 247–89.
53. Kinkley 1987: 158–59, 162.
54. Kinkley 1987: 24–25.
55. Kinkley 1987: 170. See, for example, Shen's use of pipe smoking as a sign of frugality and simplicity in "The Frontier City" (*Bian cheng*) and "The Yellow Chickens" (*Huiming*), translated by Ching Ti and Robert Payne in Shen Congwen 1982: 61–69, 190–289.
56. Kinkley 1987: 13.
57. Kinkley 1987: 160.
58. Shen Congwen 1928: 933–37.
59. Lau, Hsia, and Lee 1981: 223.
60. Shen Congwen 1937: 88–110, translated by Jeffrey Kinkley in Shen Congwen 1995: 320–45.
61. Shen Congwen 1929: 1615–20, translated by Jeffrey Kinkley in Shen Congwen 1995: 305–19.
62. Shen Congwen 1930: 669–79, translated by Jeffrey Kinkley in Shen Congwen 1995: 29–53.
63. McMahon 2002: 155–62.

CHAPTER 9

1. G. Yang et al. 1999: 1247–53.
2. B. Liu et al. 1998: 1411–22.
3. Women in the Northeast and those belonging to certain ethnic minority groups in the

Southwest still smoke tobacco pipes (Kohrman 2004: 242, n. 2). On the *non*-smoking habits of most contemporary Chinese women, see Wank 2000: 277–78.

4. Tate 1999: 93–145; Tinkler 2006: 41–75.
5. W. Cheng 2000.
6. Harrison 2000: 72.
7. Bird [1899] 1987: 30.
8. Thomson 1899: 116–17, 178.
9. Thomson 1899: 18–19.
10. Xu Ke [1917] 1986: 13/6363.
11. “Taihou jieyan que wen,” *Dagong bao*, 27 June 1905.
12. Carl [1907] 2004: 19–20.
13. C. Yeh 2006: 60.
14. C. Yeh 2003: 397.
15. Olivová 2005: 247.
16. H. Lu 1999: 68.

17. Liu Jian (1999: 606) dates this image to the late Qing and early Republican period. James Flath (personal communication with author) suggests it might date from 1905 or 1907, a time when images of women riding in rickshaws were quite common.

18. For other examples of women smoking pipes in domestic settings, see Liu Jian 1999: 112, 120, 261, 279, 450–51, 466–67.

19. C. Yeh 2006: 4.
20. Jiangsu guji chubanshe 1991, plate 37.
21. *Shenbao*, 22 June 1912, p. 9.
22. Hu Pu’an [1923] 1986: 3/133.
23. *Shibao*, 12 September 1911.
24. *Shengjing shibao*, 25 September 1912, p. 7.
25. Olivová 2005: 247.
26. Laing 2000.

27. Both James A. Flath and Ellen Johnston Laing, leading authorities on nianhua prints, concur (in personal communications with the author) that this image likely dates to the late Qing or early Republican periods. It was possibly created in the 1920s, however, because this idiom continued to be produced well after the May Fourth movement (Flath 2004: 128–32).

28. See Yangliuqing New Year’s print showing military drills at a girl’s school with the drill instructor smoking (Liu Jian 1999: 530).

29. *Guanggao daguan* n.d.: 4a, 22b, 23b, 31b, 40b.
30. Pruitt [1945] 1967: 2.
31. Sirt 1849: 2:44.
32. Corner 1853: 196.
33. Penny Tinkler, “Women,” in Goodman 2005: 2:679.
34. Mitchell 1992: 329.
35. Tinkler 2006: 113–14.
36. Montgomery 1915: 146.
37. Lambert 1913: 139; Montgomery 1915: 146.

38. M. Burton 1918: 113–14.
39. Ready 1904: 192–93.
40. Walker 1980: 392–94.
41. Welshman, 1996: 1379–86; Hilton 1995: 587–607.
42. The decades that spanned the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth witnessed passage of a host of anti–juvenile smoking laws in both the United States and Britain, as well as Germany, Austria, Italy, Portugal, and Japan. Great Britain passed the Children’s Act in 1908, which limited tobacco use to persons over sixteen. Fears of “physical deterioration” aroused by British military failures in the Boer War and specific anxieties about the effects of cigarette smoking on the vigor of British soldiers were the primary reasons behind passage of this legislation (Welshman 1996: 1383–84).
43. Kellogg 1922: 123.
44. Ogawa 2007: 26.
45. Ogawa 2007: 24; Tyrrell 1991: 106.
46. Ogawa 2007: 24.
47. Dikötter, Laamann, and Zhou 2004: 3–4, 100.
48. Kellogg 1922: 120.
49. Little 1899: 178–79.
50. McMahon 2002: 74.
51. “Jin xi zhiyan,” *Dagong bao*, 5 February 1907; “Jin xi yanzhi,” *Dagong bao*, 21 November 1908.
52. W. Cheng 1995: 63.
53. *Dagong bao*, 19–21 June 1910, 15 and 16 September 1910, 27 and 28 November 1910, 23 February 1911, 25 February 1911, 2 April 1911.
54. Sarah Goodrich was historian L. Carrington Goodrich’s mother.
55. Wang Zheng 1999: 135–43.
56. Edwards 2003: 374–76.
57. Liu-Wang Liming 1934: 181–96.
58. An Jian, “Beijing guanचा shixiao lu,” *Dagong bao*, 27 November 1907.
59. Ding Fubao, “Yanshuo zhiyan zhi hai,” *Dagong bao*, 17 April 1911. See also, Ding Fubao 1903: 3/19–22.
60. Bailey 2006: 157–97.
61. Bailey 2006: 159.
62. *Beijing ribao*, 11 August 1910.
63. *Shenbao*, 26 June 1912, p. 3.
64. *Shenbao*, 20 March 1912, p. 8.
65. Xu Ke [1917] 1986: 13/6363.
66. Pomerantz-Zhang 1992: 171–72, 189–90, 234.
67. “Quan jie zhiyan zhiyuan hui,” *Shibao*, 8 June 1911.
68. Mary Foote Henderson was a wealthy Washington socialite in the 1890s and early 1900s. A supporter of women’s suffrage, Henderson was also a strong advocate for temperance, anti-smoking, and vegetarianism. One of her books inspired Wu Tingfang to become a vegetarian and to forgo all alcohol and tobacco (Wu Tingfang 1914: 200–201).

69. “Quanjie zhiyan hui jishi,” *Shenbao*, 9 May 1911, p. 2.
70. “Quanjie juanyan dahui,” *Shibao*, 3 July 1911; “Bu xi juanyan dahui,” *Shibao*, 8 July 1911; “Bu xi juanyan dahui,” *Dagong bao*, 15 July 1911.
71. Dikötter, Laumann, and Zhou 2004: 203–204.
72. Yen 2005: 165–86.
73. “Shidai butong zhi wanou,” *Ling Long* 95 (1933): 681. The editorial comment that accompanies this cartoon is highly critical of it. The editor notes that while it is true that certain “social butterflies” have “wildly” taken up men’s activities, including cigarette smoking, this was so of only a small minority of women.
74. Benton 1996: 240.
75. Benton 1996: 227.
76. Tate 1999: 137.
77. Tinkler 2006: 122.
78. *Ling Long* 81 (1933): 30; 82 (1933): 71.
79. M. Hansen 2000: 10–22.
80. Pickowicz 1991: 46–47, 50.
81. M. Hansen 2000: 16.
82. Laing 2004: 3.
83. Dal Lago 2000: 103–44.
84. W. Tsai 2006: 140.
85. Nanyang Tobacco Company, Tower cigarette ad, *Shenbao*, 25 May 1923, p. 8, reproduced in W. Tsai 2006: 139–40.
86. Laing 2004: 157–60.
87. One of Xie’s paintings, which appeared on the back cover of *Manhua shenguo* (Cartoon Life) in 1934, shows a blonde nude holding a smoldering cigarette in her hand while sprawled on her back on a rumpled bedsheet (Laing 2004: 159).
88. Tinkler 2006: 125.
89. See tobacco advertisements analyzed by S. Shih 2007.
90. Wang Zheng 1999: 20.
91. *Ling Long* 81 (1933): 30; 82 (1933): 71; 171 (1935): 291; 174 (1935): 483; 55 (1932): 220; 23 (1931): 825; 71 (1932): 980.
92. *Ling Long* 240 (1936): 1687–86.
93. *Ling Long* 15 (1931): 525; 268, (1937): 1, 48–49.
94. *Ling Long* 268 (1937): 1, 48–49.
95. *Ling Long* 240 (1936): 1687–88.
96. Dirlik 1975.
97. Dirlik 1975: 954–59.
98. On Song Meiling’s smoking habit, see L. T. Li 2006: 61, 106, 213, and 453. On Chiang Kai-shek’s habit of not smoking, see page 340.
99. Jiang Jieshi [1934] 1975: 18.
100. Statement made by Guomintang spokesman in 1936, quoted in Dirlik 1975: 950.
101. “Xinyun shi nian” [1934] 1975: 386.
102. Yang Guo’an 2002: 908.
103. Y. Gao 2006: 562–63.

104. Yen 2005: 166.
105. Dirlik 1975: 948.
106. Diamond 1975: 10.
107. Li Lanni, “Kan nüren xiyan” (Upon seeing a woman smoking), in Yang Guo’an 1999: 395–97.
108. Honig 2003: 151.
109. Xueping Zhong, Wang Zheng, and Bai Di 2001: 123.
110. Bowman 2000: 73.

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1. Elisa Tong, Ming Tao, Qiuzhi Xue, and Teh-wei Hu, “China’s Tobacco Industry and the World Trade Organization,” in T. Hu 2008: 217.
2. Gartmen 2009.
3. G. Yang, “Prevalence of Smoking in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 17.
4. Anita H. Lee and Yuan Jiang, “Tobacco Control Programs in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 41.
5. Michael Ong, Yuan Jiang, Elisa Tong, Yan Yang, Quan Gan, and Teh-wei Hu, “Chinese Physicians: Smoking Behavior and Their Smoking Cessation Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice,” in T. Hu 2008: 64. On the reasons for high smoking rates among Chinese cardiothoracic surgeons, see Kohrman 2008: 9–42.
6. B. Liu et al. 1998.
7. Quan Gan, Kirk R. Smith, S. Katharine Hammond, and Teh-wei Hu, “Disease Burden from Smoking and Passive Smoking in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 83–104.
8. Zhengzhong Mao, Hai-Yen Sung, Teh-wei Hu, and Gonghuan Yang, “The Demand for Cigarettes in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 141.
9. Yuanli Liu, Keqin Rao, Teh-wei Hu, Qi Sun, and Zhengzhong Mao, “Cigarette Smoking and Poverty in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 177.
10. In 2002, urban poor families (monthly per capita income less than 143 yuan per day) spent 6.6 percent of their total income on cigarettes, while the rural poor (monthly per capita income less than 54 yuan per day) spent on average 11.3 percent of total income on cigarettes (Teh-wei Hu, Zhengzhong Mao, Yuanli Liu, Joy de Beyer, and Michael Ong, “Smoking, Standard of Living, and Poverty in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 166). In 1998, per capita medical spending was 247 yuan (7 percent of total income) in urban areas and 134 yuan (9 percent of income) in rural areas. Forty-two percent of urban residents, but only 9 percent of rural residents, have health insurance coverage (Y. Liu et al., “Cigarette Smoking and Poverty,” in T. Hu 2008: 178).
11. Z. Mao et al., “Demand for Cigarettes,” in T. Hu 2008: 140–43.
12. G. Yang et al. 1999: 1249.
13. G. Yang et al. 2000: 6; G. Yang, “Prevalence of Smoking,” in T. Hu 2008: 21.
14. G. Yang et al. 2000: 6.
15. X. Chen et al. 2004: 666–73.
16. G. Yang et al., 2008: 1701; also, Yurekli and de Beyer 2003.
17. G. Yang, “Prevalence of Smoking,” in T. Hu 2008: 17.
18. Y. Peng 1997: 239.

19. N. Chen 1967: 188–89.
20. Gu A'chao 1995: 124.
21. Vermeer 1982: 8.
22. Xu Lu 1987: 283.
23. Barcata 1968: 44; Galston 1973: 77; Kang Zhengguo 2007: 122.
24. Whyte and Parish 1984: 87–88.
25. Fang and Rizzo 2009.
26. Song 2001: 283–87.
27. Kang Zhengguo 2007: 60.
28. Shen 2006: 99; Kang Zhengguo 2007: 56.
29. Kang Zhengguo 2007: 83.
30. Y. Pan 2003: 99; Honig 2003: 151.
31. Y. Peng 1997: 115, 230.
32. H. Li 2009: 252; Y. Pan 2003: 99.
33. Landsberger 1995: 40–41, 61, 104; Cushing and Tompkins 2007: 123–24; Min, Duo, and Landsberger 2008: 56, 57, 70, 132.
34. H. Li 2009: 126.
35. Gao Yuan 1987: 128–29; Ling 1972: 52.
36. Kohrman 2007: 104; Kohrman 2008: 25–26.
37. Wank 2000: 269; M. Yang 1994: 128; Y. Yan 1996: 57–61, 131.
38. Shen 2006: 190; Y. Pan 2003: 217.
39. Kang Zhengguo 2007: 156, 161; He Liyi 2003: 4.
40. Kohrman 2008: 26.
41. Porter 1997: 252.
42. Mao is often depicted with a cigarette in his hand when meeting with peasants, some of whom smoke pipes but never cigarettes. See, for example, the famous painting from the early 1970s *Heart-to-Heart Talk (Zhixin hua)*, reproduced in Landsberger 1995: 40.
43. Z. Pan 2004: 313.
44. Bramall 2000: 48–49, 148.
45. World Health Organization 1997; Yurekli and de Beyer 2003.
46. H. Zhou 2000.
47. Tong et al. “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 213–14.
48. H. Zhou 2000: 125.
49. O’Sullivan and Chapman 2000: 293.
50. Tong et al., “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 220.
51. J. Wang 2009: 178.
52. Tong et al., “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 235; J. Wang 2009: 178.
53. Eng 1999: 319; Tong et al., “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 214.
54. Glogan 2008; J. Wang 2009: 185.
55. Glogan 2008.
56. A. Chen, Glantz, and Tong 2007.
57. Tong et al., “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 229. The average tar level is now 13.2 milligrams, down from 25 milligrams in the 1980s but not yet at the international standard of 11.2 milligrams.

58. “Shaping Up” 2009.
59. Glogan 2008.
60. Tong et al., “China’s Tobacco Industry,” in T. Hu 2008: 241.
61. Wank 2000: 273.
62. A consumer survey conducted in eight Chinese cities in September 2004 found that only 6 percent of respondents actually smoked foreign cigarettes. Twenty-five percent of respondents said they would prefer State Express 555s if they smoked a foreign brand, and 9 percent would choose Marlboros (Garner 2005: 239–41).
63. Glogan 2008.
64. Mackay 1997: 77–79.
65. G. Yang, “Prevalence of Smoking,” in T. Hu 2008:17.
66. Glogan 2008.
67. O’Sullivan and Chapman 2000: 292–302.
68. M. Ho et al. 2007: 359–60.
69. Z. Pan 2004: 309–15.
70. Q. Gan et al., “Disease Burden from Smoking and Passive Smoking in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 90.
71. Anita H. Lee and Yuan Jiang, “Tobacco Control Programs in China,” in T. Hu 2008: 41.
72. Z. Pan and D. Hu 2008: 119.
73. Zhang Jianyue, “Yancao de yaoyong jiazhi chutan” (A preliminary discussion of tobacco’s medicinal value), in *Zhongguo yancao gongzuo bianjibu* 1993: 441–42.
74. “China Raises Tax on Tobacco Products,” 2009.
75. G. Yang, “Prevalence of Smoking,” in T. Hu 2008: 17.
76. Kohrman 2004: 212–13.
77. “Experts Criticize Tobacco Control System” 2009.
78. Kohrman 2004: 224–26.
79. Kohrman 2007: 90–94.

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