Chapter 11 ‘A Foreign Cosmopolitanism’: Treaty Port Shanghai, Ad Hoc Municipal Ensembles, and an Epistemic Modality

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> If cosmopolitanism means an abiding curiosity in ‘looking out’, then Shanghai in the 1930s was the cosmopolitan city par excellence.
>
> (Lee 1999: p. 315)

COSMOPOLITAN AND COLONIAL: THE TREATY PORT

Shanghai Studies in recent decades, for example Leo Lee’s *Shanghai Modern*, has not only substantiated but also brought the idea of a cosmopolitan Shanghai into sharp focus. In centring his discussion on Shanghai’s writers and translators, Lee highlights a Chinese cosmopolitanism in the early decades of the twentieth century, and a distinctly cosmopolitan city shaped by ‘the western hegemonic presence [of] bank and office buildings, hotels, churches, clubs, cinemas, coffeehouses, restaurants, deluxe apartments and a racecourse’ (Lee 1999: p. 6). In attending, for example, to Zhang Ruogu (張若谷) and other Francophile writers in Shanghai’s cafés, Lee observes a ‘bohemian self-image’ in and through which they are said to ‘embrace western modernity openly, without fear of colonisation’ (Lee 1999: p. 312). A westernised Shanghai provides fertile ground, then, for a Chinese cosmopolitanism to take root. Further the very cosmopolitanism of Shanghai can be noted in its myriad communities; as Jeffrey Wasserstrom points out, ‘by the 1930s, no other Chinese city had large blocks of new immigrants, sojourners and second-generation settlers with ties to such a wide array of different places [and in addition] most of China’s other regions were represented within the local demographic kaleidoscope as well’ (Wasserstrom 2000: p. 193).

Yet, the backstory here – a cosmopolitan city with a deep-seated colonial influence – is found wanting. For the emergence of a 'global Shanghai' was inextricably tied to its status as a treaty port (1842–1943), a multi-colonial setting rather than a colony with no fewer than a dozen signatory foreign powers, many an imperial power too, with Britain, France, Japan, Russia and the United States as notable examples. Indeed, the presence over time of these powers and their settler, expatriate and/or émigré communities was part and parcel of the globality of the treaty port and its appearance on the (then-imperial) world map.

The establishment along China's coast, waterways and railways of treaty ports such as Shanghai, Tianjin and Hankou, which numbered no fewer than eighty at the start of the twentieth century, had an earlier history in the southern port of Canton, and in the precarious trade relations there between Qing Empire officials and foreign merchants since the mid-eighteenth century. The East India Company's attempted import of opium became a catalyst for Sino-British conflict from the late 1830s through to the early 1840s, a series of clashes known generally as the First Opium War. Following the Qing Empire's defeat in 1842 and exploitative agreements now commonly referred to as the 'Unequal Treaties', signatory foreign powers, first Britain, with others following suit, were guaranteed a host of economic privileges and jurisdictional immunities aimed at serving their (respective) interests in China – a cumulative act of legal imperialism. Its pervasiveness meant, too, that multiple groups of signatory subjects were able to reside and lease land at favourable rates, and to do trade in ports deemed strategic locations, enabling them to expand further beyond Canton throughout the later decades of the nineteenth century. Shanghai of the 1930s, arguably the most prominent treaty port at the time, can be described as an administrative 'city of cities' comprising Greater Shanghai, a municipality run by the Chinese Nationalists; the French

Concession, which was presided over by the French Consul-General; and the so-called International Settlement – a merger of the English and American Settlements with other signatory powers in it. The Settlement was overseen by the British-influenced Shanghai Municipal Council, which was answerable to the Settlement's various foreign as well as Chinese ratepayers, namely its taxpayers.

To be sure, *Shanghai Modern* is less concerned with the city's status as a treaty port than with the writings in the 1930s of Zhang and his contemporaries. Zhang's encounter with an imperial anthem casts doubt, however, on whether he was always able to maintain his 'abiding curiosity' and cosmopolitan outlook as Lee sees it. In a *Shenbao* (申報) review, Zhang, penning as the paper's music critic, recounts a concert with the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra, an ensemble administered chiefly by the British. The concert, which was presented by the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), concluded with Weber's *Jubel Overture*, with the tune 'God Save the King' appearing toward the end of the piece.[1] As employees of the British-influenced SMC, whose executive councillors and senior employees were mostly British/-affiliated subjects, the Orchestra's musicians, none of whom were British, had no choice but to oblige and play it. Zhang, in contrast to the other (foreign) patrons, saw no reason to rise for the anthem; the coercive message of empire disconcerted him, a self-made cosmopolitan and an apparent epitome of modern Shanghai.

Zhang's account exposes, moreover, an ambiguity of self-positioning within the treaty port, whose 'cosmopolitanism' and image as a cosmopolis are in many ways a strange yet striking outcome of the legal imperialism of the Unequal Treaties. By extension, this lived experience of self-positioning is not unique to Shanghai's Chinese writers or for that matter Chinese historical actors. In the cosmopolitan and colonial setting that is the treaty port, its foreign

locals – unlikely subjects at first glance – face a similar predicament over time. Especially noteworthy are Shanghai's British administrators, specifically the senior employees in charge of the SMC Secretariat. Amid and despite the prevailing institutional worldviews, their agency and handling of musical matters reveal a self-positioning more complex than meets the eye. Ad hoc municipal ensembles in the 1930s, catering for (well-heeled) individuals, clubs, hotels and societies, provide a fascinating case for that reason, if not for the fact that they have hitherto been neglected in Chinese- and English-language scholarship, which has tended to focus on their parent ensemble, the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra. The provision of private services by 'subsidiary' ensembles of the Orchestra came about earlier in the century; however, while their surviving records date back to the 1910s, the Municipal Dance Band, originally termed the Jazz Band, was only set up in the 1930s.[2] Related documents tell, for example, of the Shanghai Country Club's brief engagement of the newly available Dance Band, exposing not only the musical criticisms of the Club, an establishment in which the SMC had a stake, but also the curtness with which it replaced the Band with a British military band for its balls.[3] The Dance Band's termination saw, shortly after, a memo to SMC Secretary John Robert Jones from Deputy Secretary George Godfrey Phillips, in which the latter expressed some frustration and sympathy for the fired musicians.[4] Such concern was offset at the same time by Phillips's 'neutrality' as an administrator who opted not to question the Club's decision. But, precisely because of their teetering between duty and empathy, senior employees like Phillips and Jones were also caught between their personal sentiments and the exclusionary worldviews of treaty port institutions such as the SMC and the Country Club. Phillips's education at Harrow and Cambridge, coupled with Jones's background as a barrister, might suggest that these men continued to enjoy privileged status as they switched from their legal professions in the empire to senior administrative posts in the treaty port.[5] Yet there was more to that trajectory, and their actual circumstances merit closer attention.

The SMC in the 1930s employed nearly 10,000 people of multiple nationalities. Yet despite its size the SMC cannot be deemed a monolith, and Isabella Jackson (2017) has extensively explored that aspect, noting both a transnational colonialism and an increasing Chinese participation from the late 1920s. The SMC's multinational workforce should not, however, detract from the British administrative presence in treaty port Shanghai since its establishment in 1842. Of the SMC's executive council and senior employees in the Secretariat, Jackson observes:

> The most important trading companies in Shanghai, representing the interests of big businesses, dominated [the executive council], and most of these companies were British […] The SMC usually preferred to recruit foreign staff directly from Britain as far as possible, though it also recruited locally and from the British empire […] [The] secretaries were typical employees in many ways, in terms of their background (British or Anglophile and middle class) and also, significantly, in the force of their personalities […] Heads of SMC departments were almost all British [with Mario Paci, the Orchestra's Italian Music Director as the key exception], as were their deputies for the most of the existence of the SMC.
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> (Jackson 2017: pp. 81, 97–8, 100)

The facts point, then, to a symbolically British, colonial institution whose senior employees were unelected officers often hired directly from the empire, and to an institutional worldview reflective of the British presence in the treaty port. Yet the same facts can also be limiting, inasmuch as they shed little light on how such individuals as the officers operated within a parochial sphere of influence, and how they handled and responded to situations

similar to that involving the Municipal Dance Band and the Country Club. On that basis it makes sense to bring these individuals into the picture, and to locate Shanghai of the 1930s as a setting *at once* cosmopolitan and colonial.

'A FOREIGN COSMOPOLITANISM'

It is important to understand, how, at one level, historical actors such as Phillips and Jones position themselves, and at the other, the ambivalence they encounter. This finds resonance, too, with Sarah Collins and Dana Gooley's idea of a critical cosmopolitanism. In essence, Collins and Gooley caution against conflating cosmopolitanism with the transnational, the international and the global, and argue instead for a tighter focus on questions of stance-taking:

> [In] emphasising its philosophical and attitudinal aspects, [our idea of cosmopolitanism] disjoins it from the stereotype of the rootless or effete cosmopolitan, which took place in the late nineteenth century and effectively reduced 'cosmopolitan' to an identity marked by a a lifestyle of luxury and travel […] The risk [with the co-application of concepts] is that as the term [cosmopolitanism] expands to all kinds of global phenomena and circulations its critical and ethical dimensions will get lost in the wash and it will become a generalised synonym for globally interrelated phenomena.
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> (Collins and Gooley 2017: pp. 141; 150)

Their discussion of a critical cosmopolitanism as an attitudinal cosmopolitanism – one that is not predefined by such markers as 'identity' – extends, moreover, to an increased reflexivity around the writing of music history:

> What new cosmopolitan discourse can offer our own work is a heightened alertness to the ways in which our own standpoints – the places where we stand geographically, socially, politically, and aesthetically – inform our understanding of the standpoints of musicians and musical listeners of the past.
>
> (Collins and Gooley 2017: p. 160)

The cosmopolitan subject is thus a dual subject *co*-defined by the historical actor and the historian. Collins and Gooley's idea can be pushed further too, for the agents in and of music history do not just comprise musicians and listeners, and stance-taking is not merely concerned with analysing what the available source documents can reveal about them and their sentiments. It is also concerned with interpretation as an (inevitably) adjudicative act, through which registers past and present, for example colonial documents and their postcolonial readings, are brought into play. In other words, stance-taking suggests not only an examination of individuals and their circumstances, but also, an epistemic modality through which the historian (re)calibrates knowledge while mediating between past and present. The need to traverse that ever-widening gap echoes what John Lewis Gaddis has observed: 'The past is something we can never have [in the present]. For by the time we've become aware of what has happened it's already inaccessible to us: we cannot relive, retrieve, or rerun it as we might some laboratory experiment or computer simulation. We can only *represent* it [author's italics]' (Gaddis, 2002: p. 3). Sanjay Seth (2007; 2018) goes further; with reference to western education in colonial India and the historiography of 'non-

western pasts', he theorises history as a code in and through which representation of the past writes itself (back) into historical knowledge.[6] In other words, such knowledge and its 'foundational assumptions' cannot be assumed (Seth 2007: p. 9).

Yet, the very (in)stability of historical knowledge is also a salient point insofar as colonial settings and stance-taking are concerned. While Collins and Gooley are careful not to overplay global circuits of power, notably circuits of empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is worth applying their idea of cosmopolitanism to such settings as treaty port Shanghai of the 1930s, and to the port's symbolically colonial institutions and key employees. So appears the variant idea of a foreign cosmopolitanism, which can be explored through the surviving documents of the SMC. Given their provenance in a treaty port institution, these documents suggest the possibility of fusing Collins and Gooley's idea of an attitudinal cosmopolitanism with postcolonial readings of colonial documents as exemplified by the work of Ann Laura Stoler, and of Ricardo Roque and Kim Wagner. Stoler advocates reading along rather than against the colonial 'archival grain'; with reference to the Netherlands Indies she speaks (metaphorically) of the granular textures of archival material (Stoler 2010: pp. 49; 53). And in emphasising archival granularity, she notes disparate affective registers within Dutch colonial documents, thereby cautioning against a Foucaultian reification of colonial authority (Stoler 2010: p. 43). Similarly, Roque and Wagner call for a reading of colonial documents that distinguishes between 'different accounts and [focusses] on the documents' distinct histories and itineraries, which confer to each individual account its peculiar historical specificity and biographical identity' (Roque and Wagner 2012: p. 14). In other words, Stoler, Roque and Wagner all warn against taking colonial documents for granted, highlighting instead the importance of troubling interpretatively such documents from within. In that sense their readings throw into relief both the agency of the historical

actor, and that of the historian challenging existing metanarratives about colonial authority.

In bringing cosmopolitanism, colonial documents and postcolonial readings together, the dual agency of the actor and historian is rendered even more explicit. That is to say, the idea of a foreign cosmopolitanism helps not only to bring to light the stance-taking of the treaty port's senior administrators, but also to calibrate an alternative knowledge around historical stance-taking. Here, the historical actor is a foreign municipal employee who may not always be an unquestioning bureaucrat, but is examined instead as an individual negotiating institutional worldviews. And in investigating the foreign municipal employee within a symbolically colonial institution, the historian intervenes by probing beyond the idea of Shanghai as, simply, the 'cosmopolitan city par excellence', and exploring how this more complex, alternative knowledge can be brought to bear on the writing of twentieth-century colonial music history.

AD HOC MUNICIPAL ENSEMBLES

The Dance Band and other 'subsidiaries' provide some useful insights into institutional worldviews within the treaty port, and to understand what those worldviews were about, it makes sense to begin with the SMC's citywide publicity in September 1934 for ad hoc municipal ensembles, namely its promotion of the Orchestra's semi-public and private services: 'Any number of musicians from the complete Orchestra down to a single soloist may be engaged and a small concert band and a jazz band have recently been introduced to meet the needs of the smaller type of public functions.'[7] Targeted recipients extended from consulates, the French Municipality and the (Nationalists') Shanghai City Government to

chambers of commerce, national societies, and clubs, hotels and associations such as the Chinese and Foreign YMCAs. Accompanying the announcement was a table of particulars regarding 'the nature of performance, whether concert, dance or otherwise'; the number of musicians; and requirements for 'any special music or national anthem'.[8] The ensembles were listed as follows:

> Half Orchestra
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> Full Brass Band
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> Special Small Concert Band (for Dinner Music, Private Entertainment, Receptions, Ceremonies, Weddings, etc., consisting of five first-class musicians (Europeans), i.e., Piano, First Violin, Second Violin, Cello and Double Bass)
>
> New Jazz Band (To consist of seven musicians, i.e., Piano, Violin-Saxophone, Saxophone-Clarinet, Trumpet, Trombone, Double Bass and Drummer)
>
> Individual Musicians
>
> Pianist
>
> Soloists[9]

The scope of the publicity reveals the importance attached to these ensembles – potential streams of revenue for a parent ensemble confronted throughout the 1930s with the threat of abolition, and with complaints from disgruntled funders, the International Settlement's ratepayers, about the Orchestra's programming and the expenses entailed.[10] The SMC's publicity speaks also of an 'inclusive' worldview in which ad hoc municipal ensembles were promoted as citywide services in and across the treaty port, covering the gamut of classical, light and dance entertainment. Yet at a deeper level, this worldview is also symptomatic of British self-regard, which can be observed in a local British report from the 1930s. Given that

the report dates from around the same time as the said publicity, it makes sense to read the two together. Looking back at the history of the International Settlement, the report lauds the Settlement as 'an unprecedented chapter in the history of the world's municipalities'; comparing it with the French Concession, it notes, furthermore, that the 'difference of spirit characterising the authorities of the Settlement and the French Consul-General [resulted] in the liberal administration of the Settlement on the one hand and the autocratic manner in which the French Concession was governed by the French Consul on the other'.[11] Viewed in the light of the report, the ad hoc ensembles were not only (envisaged as) citywide services, but were also bound up with British civic pride in the treaty port.

Despite the Chinese and foreign establishments for which the publicity was intended, and the SMC's attempted promotion across the treaty port of its musical services, the ad hoc ensembles smack of an exclusionary worldview centred around race, class and genre. 'First-class musicians' in the Special Small Concert Band were deemed synonymous with Europeans – a blatant exclusion of the Orchestra's Chinese, Filipino and Japanese players. The New Jazz Band, arguably a bold venture for a municipal classical ensemble, was renamed a month later as the Dance Orchestra, though it continued to be referred to by some as the Jazz Band and by others as the Dance Band. Regardless of the name change, whether classical musicians could pass muster as jazz musicians was a key concern for members of the SMC's Orchestra and Band Committee such as L. R. Hossenlopp.[12] They were sceptical from the outset about jazz as a 'class of music', with Hossenlopp cautioning: 'whether this Band [should] be maintained [must] be considered after a fair trial, in say six months' time'.[13]

In contrast to the Jazz Band, the ad hoc classical ensembles had a more positive reception. The reply from B. James, Manager of the New Asia Hotel is telling in that regard:

> We are glad to receive your letter of September 26 saying that the services of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra are available for concert engagements. Our hotel does not permit any sing-song girls, mahjong [a Chinese tile-based game], or any other things that would debase the morals of our guests, so we need to have wholesome entertainment for them. In fact we have often been asked by our guests where to get the services of a high-class Orchestra. We were not able to inform them before. Now that we have received your letter, we believe that it comes to us very timely. We propose to give the concerts in our auditorium on the seventh floor for our guests free of charge. We are not making it a business by charging our guests for admission fees. We have several hundreds [of] guests in our hotel everyday and no doubt when they hear the performance of your Orchestra they will remember it. This is also an indirect way for you to find customers for your Orchestra. Now we would like to engage the service of your Half Orchestra once each month during the whole year.[14]

Judging from his response, James wanted to instigate good morals at the Hotel, and associated the Orchestra with 'wholesome' and 'high-class' entertainment. With the Half Orchestra, he saw an opportunity to counter such vices as prostitution (sing-song girls) and gambling (mahjong) with monthly auditorium concerts. James's enthusiasm for the Half Orchestra, coupled with Hossenlopp's reservations about the Jazz Band, casts doubt, too, on whether the ad hoc ensembles could provide classical, light and jazz entertainment on equal terms. James's aversion to mahjong and sing-song girls, a courtesan tradition originating from the nineteenth century, suggests, moreover, his disdain for Chinese popular entertainment at the New Asia. The (enforced) differentiation here between high- and low-status, western and non-western entertainment reaffirms, even if only inadvertently, the

exclusionary worldview of the SMC.

To be sure, the ad hoc ensembles announced in 1934 cannot and do not entirely reflect musical values in a treaty port that was municipally divided. Yet the publicity for these ensembles, coupled with its various recipients across the treaty port, also attests to the SMC's ongoing influence in musical matters, and to the expansion of that influence beyond the International Settlement. Their different perspectives notwithstanding, Hossenlopp and James both equated the Orchestra with European classical music presented by the SMC, a symbolically British institution of which the Orchestra, an emblem of that tradition, functioned as a department. These individuals adopted a stance distinct from that of Collins and Gooley's (shifting) cosmopolitan subject, remaining attached to an institutional worldview shaped by race, class and genre.

Against that status quo, the SMC's British senior administrators may seem unlikely cosmopolitan subjects due to their close connections with empire and their privileged status as officers-in-charge. But, precisely because of that status and their visible involvement in treaty port administration, they were frequently called upon to set forth their views, and not surprisingly, their individual voices find expression in the paperwork concerning the Country Club's engagement of the Municipal Dance Band, which also echoes what Stoler, Roque and Wagner have emphasised about the textured nature of colonial documents.

Having specially recruited Henry Nathan, a celebrated bandleader to train the musicians, the Band appears to have made a successful début at the Country Club, reported as a 'favourably judged' trial.[15] Nathan was in charge of the All-American Dance Orchestra at the (upscale) Cathay Hotel in the International Settlement; with the Municipal Band he was tasked with

rehearsing a large dance repertoire for the Club's balls. Yet despite its initially positive reception the Band's subsequent performance was met with much criticism, with the Club's General Secretary issuing a complaint to the SMC Secretariat: 'The music is laboured and although the Band usually starts the evening by playing in a fairly brisk manner, it gradually becomes lifeless and too slow, also the time [tempo] varies during a number. It is considered that too many new tunes are attempted.'[16] Three weeks later the Band was fired: '[T]he small improvement in [its] playing is not sufficient to warrant continuing with their services any longer.'[17] Mario Paci, Music Director of the Municipal Orchestra sent this protest to the Secretariat:

> [The musicians] report to me that their success was continually marred by the fact that when the dancers were enthusiastically calling for encores, which they would have given with pleasure to keep alive the merry mood of the ball, the [Club] Secretary was always there to emphatically order not to give [too] many encores, saying that the Club would not make any business in drinks, if people keep on dancing. It is conceivable that the dancers, all members of the Club, were disappointed and dissatisfied. Further the musicians report to me that the Club [has] engaged a band of fourteen players [from] one of the British military bands present in Shanghai, at a much lower charge, [and] they are convinced that the reasons for [cancelling] the service of the Municipal Jazz Band should be found not in the standard of playing but in the Club's wish to reduce the expenses, while making a larger show with fourteen players instead of seven, and help[ing] and support[ing] the British soldiers.[18]

Whether or not the said issues constitute cause for termination is beside the point; worth noting, rather, is the Country Club's replacement of the Municipal Dance Band with a British

military band, and the Club's assistance to British troops stationed in Shanghai. The British 'disposition' of the Country Club should not come as a surprise though, considering that its members included such figures as Allan George Mossop, Chief Judge for the British Supreme Court in China. Whereas the SMC's worldview is defined by race, class and genre, the Country Club's worldview centres conspicuously around local British interests.

Paci's letter to the SMC Secretariat did not go unheeded, prompting shortly after a memo in which Deputy Secretary G. G. Phillips indicated to Secretary J. R. Jones his frustration: 'I suppose we can do nothing? I pass this on to you because there seems to be a good deal in what Paci says.'[19] Phillips's sentiments were echoed to an extent by Jones: 'I think there is a good deal in what Paci says. It is no use taking any action but I suggest reporting the facts to the [Council's] Band Committee and pointing out to the Club that it is not a satisfactory position.'[20] There followed a letter of protest to the Country Club, a copy of which was circulated to the Orchestra and Band Committee, with a member commenting, 'much too mild! Very unsatisfactory in fact', while another disagreed: 'I don't think it wise to pursue the matter further; it will not do the Orchestra any good. The actual mistake was to hold out the Orchestra as ready to take jazz contracts, knowing it is not specially trained in this class of music.'[21] Differences among the members did not deter a second letter of protest from Phillips: 'I would point out that much time was given in an expensive preparation to meet your Club's requirements; that other engagements have been refused; and that the cancellation adversely affects the reputation of the musicians.'[22] A brief reply from the Club's Secretary concludes the (surviving) correspondence: '[T]he decision which involved finding another dance band was come to with the greatest regret.'[23]

Stoler's idea of the colonial archival grain is pertinent here, with the Secretariat responding not unanimously but ambiguously to the termination by a local British establishment of a new municipal ensemble. Phillips's position can be described as one of allegiance and ambivalence, inasmuch as he was not forthcoming about the course of action the Secretariat should adopt; his empathy for Paci and the musicians was made clear all the same, albeit in private. The 'historical itinerary' to which Roque and Wagner draw attention is relevant too, for in reading Phillips's memo and letter of protest, there is a sense that he vacillated between the worldviews of the institutions he served, and personal sentiments arising from his role as a municipal officer. The worldviews of the SMC and the Country Club doubtless reflect the British influence in the treaty port, yet Phillips's memo also suggests he was en rapport with Paci and the musicians, and was fairly sympathetic to the ill fate of the Municipal Dance Band. In comparison with Phillips, Jones seemed to play by the book but was not averse to pursuing the matter further in writing. He did not object to a second letter of protest to the Club, whose emphasis was on the tarnished reputation of the musicians, though contrary to suggestions from the Orchestra and Band Committee, Phillips did not raise the question of compensation with an institution whose ethos he would likely have had an affinity with, given his apparently elite background.

On the surface this amounts to nothing more than Secretariat paperwork, but, precisely because it involved senior municipal officers, the paperwork exposes an ambiguous self-positioning within seemingly dominant institutions of power in the treaty port, and stance-taking by actors like Phillips who mediated between the prevailing worldviews and their personal sentiments. In that sense their behaviour is not dissimilar to what Collins and Gooley have observed about 'cosmopolitan stance': '[It] does not negate modes of belonging and cannot be their substitute. Rather, it takes distance from existing attachments, in a

manner that limits the beholder's ability to invest in them exclusively or unilaterally' (Collins and Gooley 2017: pp. 156–57). As officers in charge of the SMC Secretariat, Phillips and even Jones disengaged briefly from the institutional worldviews with which they were familiar, shifting to a position from which they acted (to a certain degree) for the musicians affected by the Country Club's decision. Their repositioning, however temporary, meant, too, that these actors were not always duty-bound to the institutions they served and liaised with. Their world-belonging in the treaty port was less a set belief than a contradictory state of mind, meaning that their cosmopolitan stance developed alongside as well as in (some) conflict with treaty port institutions. And in fusing Collins and Gooley's idea of an attitudinal cosmopolitanism with Stoler, Roque and Wagner's readings of colonial documents, it also becomes apparent, through the surviving paperwork, that while the Deputy Secretary and Secretary felt compelled to respond to the Club's (mis)treatment of the Municipal Dance Band, they did not record similar sentiments. Far from being a uniform body of documents, this paperwork sheds light not only on the administrators as (unwitting) cosmopolitan subjects, but also on their agency as individuals, notwithstanding their shared affiliation as senior employees.

AN EPISTEMIC MODALITY

The foregoing analysis reveals an element of stance-taking within a symbolically colonial institution, complementing as well as complicating such narratives as *Shanghai Modern*, which have tended to engage with questions of cultural identity rather than with the actual circumstances encountered by individuals and their shifting outlooks. Such analysis is significant, moreover, in terms of its epistemic modality: an alternative knowledge (re)shaped

around the dual agency of the actor and historian, given that historical knowledge is continually (re)written, and that the so-called past is a product of its historical representation in the present.

To elaborate it is worth returning once more to Collins and Gooley, who, having discussed the parameters of a critical cosmopolitanism, conclude their article with the following remarks:

> Cosmopolitanism, then, does not have fixed social coordinates and does not determine a specific politics, but emerges in consciousness relationally, as a reaction to the appearance of narrow or limited interests, and normally in some sort of critique or disapproval of the exclusivity of those interests.
>
> (Collins and Gooley 2017: p. 160)

In a similar vein, historical actors such as Phillips respond to 'narrow or limited interests' precisely because of their position as insiders, which allows them some purchase to query, albeit to a limited degree, the values and practices of the institutions they worked for and corresponded with. It may seem counterintuitive to cast these insiders as cosmopolitan subjects, but by the same token, the keywords with which they are easily associated – status and privilege – can lead to a priori assumptions about the ways they conduct themselves, not least an indifference to 'the exclusivity of [institutional] interests'. The agency of the historian proves an especially important intervention here, with the effect of recalibrating knowledge as a matter of historical representation. That is to say, the idea of a foreign cosmopolitanism urges the historian to dislodge from (which is not to reject) such narratives as *Shanghai Modern*, and to mediate anew between past and present by poring more closely

over colonial documents such as those archived within and by the SMC. In that regard, the historian acts too as a cosmopolitan subject who, having detached from the existing knowledge, takes another stance with a view to exploring other cosmopolitan expressions in addition to an emergent Chinese modernity. Accordingly, cosmopolitanism in the context of the treaty port is understood to reflect not only native cultural discourse, but also foreign individuals and their stance-taking within symbolically colonial institutions, as the case of the ill-fated Municipal Dance Band has come to show.

This alternative knowledge also suggests a different conception of twentieth-century colonial music history, especially in light of the trend in recent decades to trace and assess colonial influence in so-called global terms. Notable examples include Andrew Jones's *Yellow Music* (2001) and Michael Denning's *Noise Uprising* (2015); both give insight into the transnational movement around the globe of musicians, recorded music and related paraphernalia in the early decades of the twentieth century. In orienting his discussion around the 'Chinese Jazz Age', Jones situates Chinese cultural production, and by extension the writing of Chinese cultural history amidst such processes as the transmission of new sound technologies. Denning, who is interested in the phenomenon in the late 1920s of recording sessions with vernacular musicians, locates this phenomenon in what he describes as 'an archipelago of colonial ports'. Although they pose different research questions, the resultant knowledge nonetheless centres around the global technological circulation of musical culture. Denning, for example, describes the vernacular recording sessions as constitutive of a 'world musical revolution'. Yet, this 'worldness' of culture is neither synonymous nor entirely reflective of musical activity on the ground. Granted, Jones's and Denning's narratives of transnational musical culture do not preclude them from examining the localities in which everyday activity shapes and reshapes musical culture, but ultimately, their observations are part and

parcel of an overarching narrative concerned with meta-global processes. The idea of a foreign cosmopolitanism, which emphasises simultaneously the actor's and the historian's agency, suggests by contrast a different leverage: an applying of (more) interpretative pressure to musical activity and its attendant sentiments, whilst keeping in mind the peculiar, global condition of a twentieth-century cosmopolitan city that was inextricably bound up with the legal imperialism of the nineteenth century. The epistemic modality of a foreign cosmopolitanism facilitates, then, not only another conception but also another epistemology of colonial music history – one that brings to the fore the very slippage over time between cosmopolitan and colonial values, not least the subjects for whom that constitutes a lived experience.

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[1] *Shenbao*, 28 May 1927.

[2] Regarding the Orchestra's private services, see, for example, U1-3-1105 and U1-5-117 at the Shanghai Municipal Archives (hereafter SMA).

[3] SMC dossier titled 'Orchestra and Band: Outside Services'; SMA, U1-4-935.

[4] SMA, U1-4-935-2444, January 1935.

[5] Jones, a native of Llanuwchllyn in Wales, later moved to Hong Kong and became a legal advisor to the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation; passed away in 1976.

[6] Sanjay Seth, 'Does History Travel? Historiography and Non-Western Pasts', a Critical Theory Seminar at All Souls College, University of Oxford, 15 February 2018.

[7] SMA, U1-4-935-2491, 26 September 1934.

[8] SMA, U1-4-935-2389-90; see also U1-4-939-0132-0134.

[9] SMA, U1-4-935-2389-90.

[10] See SMA, U1-4-939 for a 'summary of attempts' to abolish the Orchestra (1927; 1928; 1931; 1934; 1935; 1936).

[11] The report appears in the reprint of *Land Regulations and Bye-Laws for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai* (Shanghai: A.B.C. Press, 1937); held now at the Xujiahui Library in Shanghai.

[12] Hossenlopp was Manager of Marcel, a French restaurant and confectionary; *A Guide to Catholic Shanghai* (Shanghai: T'Ou-Wè-Sè Press, 1937).

[13] SMA, U1-4-935-2460, 16 and 24 October 1934.

[14] SMA, U1-4-935-2432, 28 September 1934.

[15] SMA, U1-4-935-2468, début in October 1934.

[16] SMA, U1-4-935-2452, 3 December 1934. Thanks to Derek Scott for pointing out what might have been a symptom of a common problem – musicians negotiating between their performance and maintaining a strict tempo for dancing.

[17] SMA, U1-4-935-2450, 27 December 1934.

[18] SMA, U1-4-935-2446-2449, 5 January 1935.

[19] SMA, U1-4-935-2444, 7 January 1935.

[20] SMA, U1-4-935-2444, 7 January 1935.

[21] SMA, U1-4-935-2443, 10 January 1935.

[22] SMA, U1-4-935-2440, 11 January 1935.

[23] SMA, U1-4-935-2438, 18 January 1935.