

# Modern Chinese History as Reflected in a Teahouse Mirror

**Abstract:** Food and culture are inextricably intertwined in China, and perhaps nowhere more so than in Cantonese teahouses and their dim sum. Books, journals, photographs, and chronicles can tell us much about what life was like between 1880 and 1949 as Guangdong Province began to modernize. But perhaps even more fascinating is the way in which those massive changes were echoed in the teahouses and snacks of its capital city, Guangzhou. For, in addition to being delectable tidbits, dim sum can provide intriguing clues to the country's migration patterns, regional cuisines, various ethnicities, and

foreign influences. Echoes of China's past have somehow managed to be ensconced within these dainty morsels, making a dim sum brunch an excellent opportunity not only to dine exceedingly well, but also to understand a city's fascinating modern history during seventy tumultuous years.

**Keywords:** dim sum, teahouses, Tou Tou Koi, Guangzhou, modern Chinese history, Chinese cuisine, Cantonese cuisine

IT IS EASY TO FEEL overwhelmed in a busy Cantonese teahouse, for as cart after cart trundles by your table, stacked high with bamboo steamers and teetering saucers of pastries, a fog of indescribably delicious aromas begs you to wave them down. While you try to figure what to order, waiters weave their way through the crowded aisles carrying trays filled with platters fresh from the kitchen, tempting each diner they pass into ordering the exact same thing. That is why, even if the wait is only a few minutes, it can still feel like an eternity until that first glorious bite, that moment when all those aromas finally coalesce on the tongue. Such seduction is part of great dim sum's appeal, and there is nothing else like it in the world.

We in the West often refer to any and all of these delicacies as dumplings, but truth be told, a proper array of dim sum is incredibly complex and layered. There are baked and steamed buns to be sampled, as well as braised and roasted meats and poultry, stuffed vegetables and bean curd, bubbling casseroles, and deep-fried morsels, as well as a spectrum of luscious sweets that defy you to pass them up even though you are stuffed to the gills. But as intriguing and mouthwatering as each of these dishes are, and as fun and exotic as a teahouse may be, they at times can even prove to be unexpectedly marvelous windows into the modern history of Guangzhou, that fabled capital of Guangdong.

For example, books, old photographs, and memoirs that touch on the teahouses of South China show us in unmistakable ways who was able to savor their dim sum, as well as why and how. And moreover, this delectable Cantonese subcuisine

also contains a number of dishes that suggest where their culinary ancestors hailed from and how they evolved, revealing in the process a complex web of migration paths, foreign influences, and long journeys all wrapped up in dainty parcels.

Telling the story of modern China through the prisms of teahouses and dim sum might seem odd, but nevertheless they offer fascinating glimpses into how Cantonese tea snacks and Guangzhou society evolved over the course of around seventy years—between 1880 and 1949—from the time when China was starting to transform into a modern nation up until the establishment of the People's Republic. During this long process, China's age-old hierarchies were gradually overthrown in favor of democratic ideals, a middle class grew up in the ashes of empire, women's feet were unbound as they took more than a few tentative steps into society, and the first tendrils of Western influence seeped into everyday life.

But all of this requires a bit of historical background to set the stage. During the eighteenth century, China had been one of the largest and most successful empires on earth with over a third of the planet's population. Only a hundred years later, however, China was widely regarded as ripe for the picking, for massive corruption had loosened the tenuous grasp of the Qing dynasty's (1644–1911) Manchu rulers on society. European colonial powers, Russia, the United States, and Japan circled around China, taking increasingly larger bites and forcing it into humiliating concessions, including treaty ports and permanent colonial outposts like Hong Kong and Macau. China's mortifying defeat in 1840 by Britain during



ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLYN PHILLIPS © 2017.

the First Opium War pried open the country's ports to foreign influences and soon even to the forced legalization of the drug. And as if that were not enough, the Taiping Rebellion devastated the land over fourteen long years and resulted in more than 20 million deaths.

China was therefore more than ready for change, and in Guangdong a generation of free thinkers and revolutionaries sprang up, including the father of modern China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Others, though, seemed more anxious for the respite that teahouses provided from all that change. Much as people of every walk of life nowadays congregate in coffee

shops or wine bars to read, write, chat, argue, or canoodle over a tableful of refreshments, Guangzhou's teahouses came to offer a variety of gathering places that just about anyone could afford. And again like today, these ranged all the way from simple to-go stands to fancy salons, with the range and variety of beverages and snacks increasing in direct correlation to the place's price and status.

For example, the classy and popular Tou Tou Koi Teahouse first opened its doors in 1880, serving its customers simple green *gusu* tea from Suzhou and delicate dim sum. The shop gained prominence thanks to the calligraphy on its sign, courtesy of

the great scholar and political reformer Kang Youwei, a frequent customer whenever he lectured in Guangzhou. Tou Tou Koi and the area's teahouses multiplied quickly and before long were able to function much like restaurants, with some providing seating for around a thousand (invariably male and relatively well-heeled) customers. Smaller, more refined places sprang up in their wake and were referred to as tea quarters or tearooms in an attempt to make them appear sophisticated. These appellations would generally be carved and painted in either gold or black on red grounds, which was deemed particularly auspicious.

Even though places like Tou Tou Koi all had “tea” in their names, they were first and foremost places where dim sum could be enjoyed. Plates with nine of the supremely delicate shrimp dumplings called *har gow* no larger than your thumb were the most popular items. The hot dim sum in these teahouses were so fresh that no dish was ever rewarmed for service. That is why teahouse dim sum are even now sometimes referred to by a term that means “immediately steamed,” which shows us that dim sum have traditionally been cooked to order.

Cantonese dim sum culture took off during the latter half of the nineteenth century in the old quarter of Guangzhou known as Sai Kuan, where every inch of these four-storied buildings was put to good use, for wedding-style dragon and phoenix ceremonial pastries were offered in the ground-floor bakeries, while the teahouse customers strolled upstairs to the dining areas. Teahouse dim sum started out as little more than hefty steamed buns, but soon specialized dim sum restaurants opened for business, and both the variety and quality of these snacks evolved rapidly.

Cantonese dim sum were originally based on local foods, like the sweet, reddish roast pork known as *char siu* and the Pearl River Delta's wonderfully silken fresh rice noodles. But dim sum took its inspirations, too, from all over the country, for China is an enormous land—about the size of Europe—and so is home to no small number of individual cultures and gastronomic traditions. These are, in turn, some of the reasons why Guangzhou's dim sum repertoire is so vast and varied.

Generally speaking, China's food cultures have historically been divided into north and south, with the Yangtze River usually standing in as the local Mason-Dixon Line. Up near Beijing, Chinese still tend to enjoy the quivering jellies and the soft cakes made from bean and rice flours that were designed for such elevated places as the imperial palace and noblemen's homes. Because they were often made with some sort of sweetener like sugar or maltose, northerners came to call all of them “sweets” even if they happened to be one of the few savory items.

Chefs living south of the Yangtze, however, created a larger range of savory snacks that even today comprise the

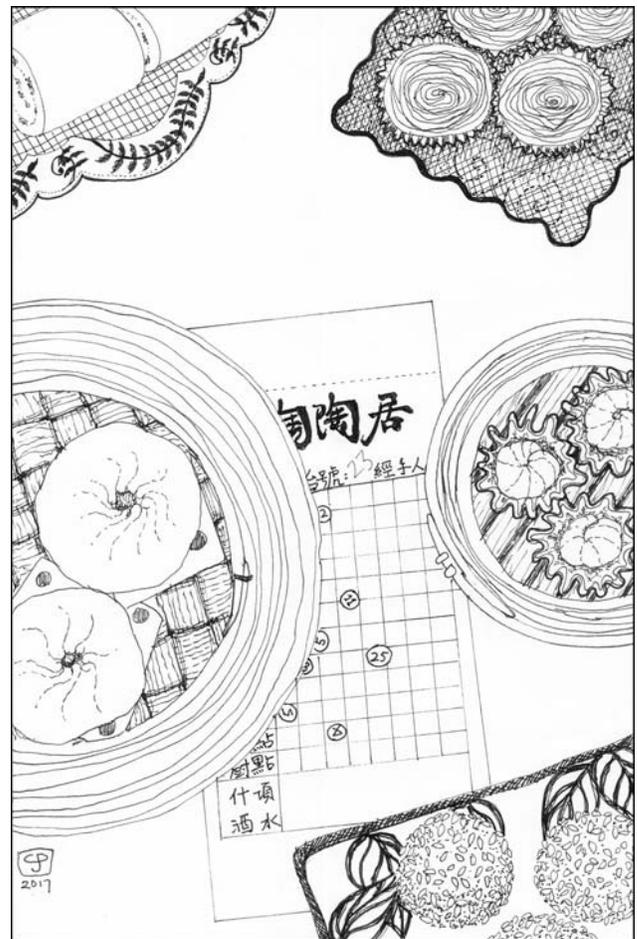


ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLYN PHILLIPS © 2017.

lion's share of a teahouse's dim sum offerings. At the same time, they also downscaled northern originals, like the stuffed steamed buns known as *baozi*, so that they could slide effortlessly onto a dim sum menu.

Another big difference between northern and southern tea snacks is that the former tend to be so uncomplicated that good home cooks have traditionally prepared them on a regular basis using family recipes, but that is rarely the case in places such as Guangdong, most likely because Cantonese dim sum are more time-consuming to make, and also because it is just so much more convenient to visit one of the local teahouses, where an array of baked, steamed, pan-fried, deep-fried, and braised foods are there for the asking. Even so, some of what we think of today as undeniably Cantonese dim sum actually reveal a spectrum of influences. For, over thousands of years, as China's people migrated in search of better places to live, they brought their favorite foods with them. At the start, these people mainly drifted south from Han Chinese homelands in the north near the Yellow River on their way to warmer climes. China's map

grew as the rich Yangtze River Valley was settled, and then other waves settled in the central highlands and in the coastal south-east, including Guangdong.

Vegetarian soy skin rolls and pearl meatballs, for example, were directly influenced by very similar sophisticated treats served in Suzhou and Hangzhou's chic salons and restaurants along the Yangtze, while Beijing's imperial trove of sweets is echoed in the shimmering squares flavored with red dates or wolfberries that stud dim sum dessert carts. Other more savory things on the order of pot stickers and steamed dumplings boast a Muslim ancestry that wound its way from Central Asia across the Silk Roads into the imperial capital before heading south into Guangdong. All of these and more were then filtered through the refined aesthetics of traditional Cantonese cookery into delicate offerings that complement the local dim sum.

By the end of the Opium Wars in 1860, foreign influences had also begun to infuse Guangdong's dim sum with a trickle of culinary innovations. That is why today we can find catsup, Worcestershire sauce, and curry slipped into certain savory dishes, custard pies turned into the miniature beloved classics found in every teahouse, Indian samosas and mango puddings given a Chinese twist, and eventually even Mexican *conchas* showing up under the guise of snow-topped buns.

As a result, Cantonese-style dim sum is almost astonishing in its range of flavors, textures, cooking styles, and ingredients. They are so complex that more than a thousand different varieties exist, a total that no other area in China comes even close to matching. In fact, the cookbooks of most Chinese food cultures tend to lump their own variations on the dim sum theme with other local snacks. But that is not the case with Cantonese dim sum, which has developed into a separate branch of cuisine specifically designed to accompany nothing less—and nothing more—than a pot of the finest tea.

A good explanation as to why the appreciation of dim sum and tea turned into a culture of its own lies in the climate: the southeast quadrant of Guangdong is subtropical, and so appetites can lag. The perfect solution to this has been to offer an array of scaled-down meals throughout the day instead of three big squares. Teahouses in Guangzhou therefore offered “three teas and two meals,” which meant that in addition to lunch and dinner, customers could stop by for breakfast, afternoon, and evening teas that included a fine array of delicate delights, of course. This unique style of dining saw its heyday during the first decades of the twentieth century, when Guangdong's cuisine was at its most diverse and striking, and by 1928 the city of Guangzhou had a whopping 416 teahouses.

By the time the Roaring Twenties hit Guangzhou, the most deluxe places to enjoy tea came to be called tea pavilions, no

matter how many stories tall they happened to be, for this name was accorded solely due to the refined and expansive surroundings. Their customers tended to be wealthier and better positioned in life, so the service there was invariably superior and the dim sum exquisite. The prelude to visiting a fine teahouse would include an inspection of the tea leaves to ensure that their quality was as excellent as expected and the water was of the correct temperature. If satisfied, these guests were presented with a pencil and a little booklet listing the available dim sum. A waiter would then tear their orders out of the booklet so that the kitchen could pan-fry, steam, bake, or deep-fry these dishes on the spot.

Diners feasted upstairs on their dim sum and tea in privacy and comfort. These teahouses often situated their kitchens between the second and third floors so that hot dim sum could be delivered efficiently to these dining rooms and therefore lead to a faster turnover. The floors were divided into carved wood dining halls with scores of tables, exclusive private dining chambers, and booths decorated with stained glass, calligraphy, and paintings. Waiters carefully balanced the dishes on their arms or arrayed them on trays as they clambered up and down the stairs. Later on, steamers and plates were rolled around the room between the tables by the waitstaff on small dim sum carts.

Three or four dim sum sat in each plate or steamer basket, just enough to satisfy a taste for a certain item and still leave room for many more varieties to be sampled. Dim sum with the same prices were served on dishes displaying matching patterns and shapes so that servers could tell at a glance how much to charge; that is why adding up the bill for a dim sum meal is still referred to as *tai sou* in Cantonese—literally “look and calculate.” However, teahouses soon got wise to customers sneaking the plates into their bags, which is why servers even now use small wooden chops to stamp the small tallies on each table, marking each item in sections according to the price.<sup>1</sup>

Elegance was the byword at these tea pavilions. For example, Chinese olive pits provided the delicate fuel for the pottery braziers under the teapots at Tou Tou Koi, and freshly drawn water from the Nine Dragons Springs—in the White Cloud Mountains ten miles north of the city—was used to brew their tea. It should be noted that running water was still not available in Guangzhou during the 1920s, so the cheapest places drew brackish water from the Pearl River. But Tou Tou Koi excelled at making its guests feel cosseted, and thus a dozen or so wiry men shouldered heavy buckets three or four hours each way to the springs just to ensure that the teahouse's great tea leaves lying in their Yixing pots were being steeped in the best water possible.

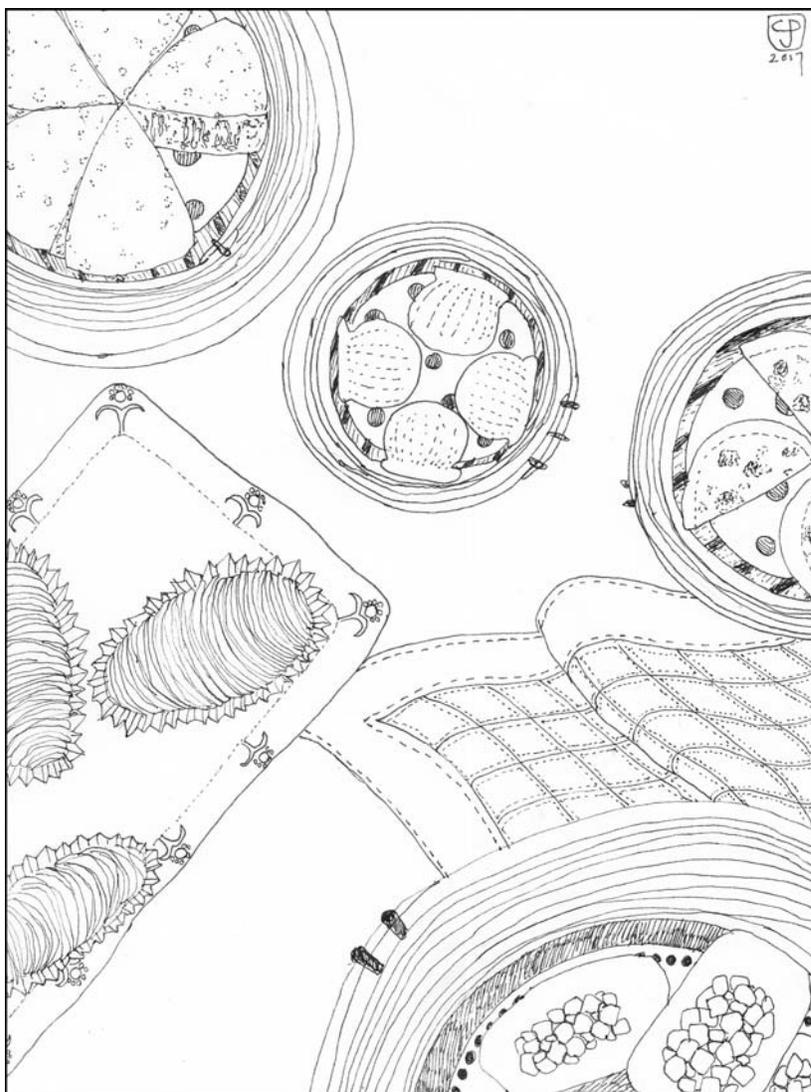


ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLYN PHILLIPS © 2017.

But despite—or perhaps even because of—such self-indulgence, this was also a time of political and intellectual foment throughout the country. Guangzhou found itself in the center of much of the action, as both the Communists and the Nationalists were active there. In the eight years between the anti-imperialist and student-led May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the outbreak of civil war in 1927, populism was on the rise. In those egalitarian times, Tou Tou Koi became less of an exclusive teahouse and more of a gathering place for the literati, but business nevertheless fell off so precipitously that the teahouse was forced to close its doors that same year, only to reopen in 1933 as life returned more or less to normal.

While all of that was going on, the common man found places of his own to enjoy tea and dim sum. Swarms of

customers converged every dawn on inexpensive shops that offered substantial filled steamed buns and steaming cups of tea. Then, between seven and eight o'clock, students and civil servants ordered two or three kinds of dim sum before huddling around the day's newspapers, followed by smalltime businessmen who showed up after ten for the promise of a tiny bit of office space that cost little more than the price of a simple breakfast. But not everything was business and politics. Gentler pastimes found homes in such places as the busy old teahouse called Zyu Guan Lan on Coeng Sau Street, where the tea patrons known as "finch friends" took their birds out for airings, and their intricate cages were hung from wires strung across the ceilings so that both birds and humans could converse while lazing away an afternoon.

The practice of sipping hot tea and eating dim sum in Guangzhou's specialized tearooms is known as *yum cha* in Cantonese, which means "drinking tea," and this relaxed practice of casually selecting small plates and steamers filled with fresh snacks eventually made the southern way of dining on dim sum much more popular than its northern counterpart in Beijing, which is one of the reasons why there were so many—and so many different kinds of—teahouses in Guangzhou.

The cheapest places to drink tea and eat snacks in Guangzhou at that time were the "two-penny shops." First set up amid the grocery and butcher stalls along the city's lanes, these joints offered little more than cups of hot tea served with a pair of snacks—what was referred to locally as "one cup and two pieces"—and were mainly patronized by such people as laborers, rickshaw runners, and sedan chair carriers. But these were not the earliest customers, for wet-market grocers headed to the fish and produce wholesalers after midnight to select the next day's offerings and then relaxed over their snacks and jasmine tea in the cool, dark hours between three and four o'clock in the morning. Most of these shops brewed their tea in thick celadon teapots made in the famous Cantonese pottery town of Shekwan. They also offered stuffed steamed breads and other cheap snacks like sweet steamed cakes and simple rice noodles fried with pickled mustard greens. In fact, noodles of all sorts were offered as part of the dim sum menu in every level of teahouse. Silky fresh rice ones were purchased from specialty shops, while the fancier teahouses employed professional pasta chefs to roll out Guangdong's famously tensile golden noodles from a mixture of high-gluten flour, eggs, and alkali. However, by the 1930s, this traditional skill had largely been replaced by machines in the name of progress.

Because this country is so large and Guangdong is tucked far away in its southernmost reaches, its capital city remained relatively unfazed by many of the horrors of the early 1930s as Japan began its bloody foray into northeastern China. And so, at least until the Japanese finally occupied the city in 1938, life continued fairly unabated as its citizens attempted to shut out the world. The fancier teahouses were especially skillful at throwing up urbane bulwarks against unpleasant times through a maze of ornamental decorations and high ceilings, while seasonal displays of tastefully carved and gilded wooden moon cakes added an extra layer of bling in the autumn months.

In many ways, China's obsession with achieving exquisite variations on culinary perfection found its ultimate home in the city's stellar tearooms. Unlike today's dim sum restaurants,

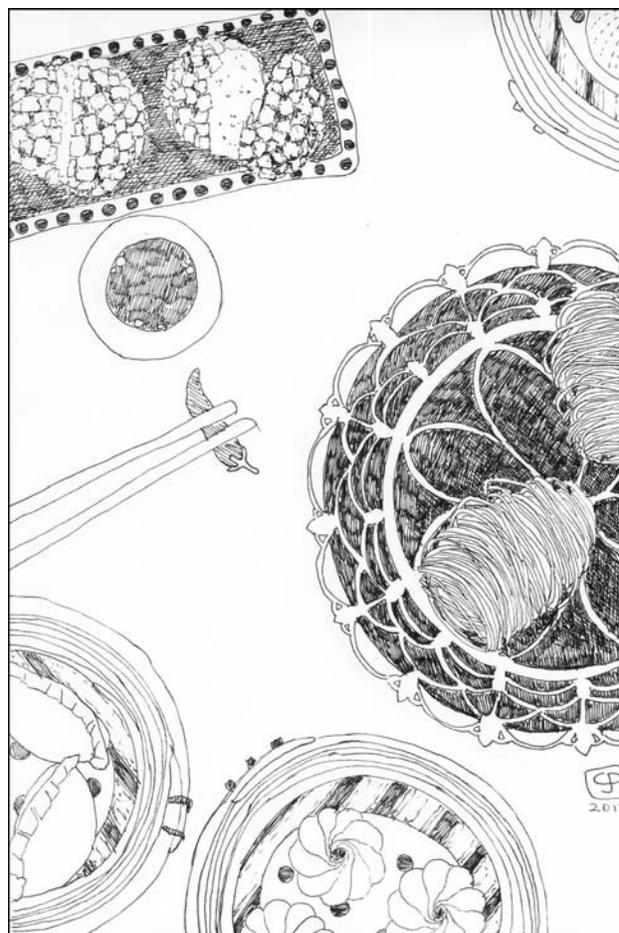


ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLYN PHILLIPS © 2017.

where the menus rarely change, seasonal treats were the hallmark of the best places in times gone by:

During the warm days of spring, dim sum with the correct balance between heavy and light were eaten, like *shao mai* [cup-shaped steamed dumplings] and *fun gor*.<sup>2</sup> On hot summer days, cleansing and cooling items were preferred, such as Cantonese boiled dumplings and fresh water chestnut gelée. For the cool days of autumn, one would search for more warming and fortifying things, like soupy packets stuffed with crab roe and chicken buns seasoned with dried scallops. (Lian 2002: 110)

At times these dishes showed incredible imagination and became fanciful in the extreme. Delectably fatty dry-cured ducktails from Nan'an in Fujian Province, for example, appeared in some of Guangzhou's more inventive winter dim sum, where they filled both flaky pastries and *fun gor*. And during the hot summer months, when cicadas buzzed in the nearby trees, the giant water bug the Chinese call the "sweet olive cicada" appeared on schedule, and these too would be turned into little tarts.<sup>3</sup>

Sweet dim sum on the menu then were a bit different from today's reliance on baked and steamed items; instead, as Guangzhou was located near the dairy farms in the Pearl River Delta, custard-like confections were popular and included milk curdled with fresh ginger juice into a trembling pudding. Generally speaking, Guangzhou's dim sum could be further divided into standing items, seasonal offerings, weekly specials, banquet dishes, holiday treats, the house's signature creations, and dim sum designed to withstand traveling, as well as foods that were meant to be eaten for breakfast, lunch, and as late-night snacks.

As a result, these teahouses had two different areas for their chefs, depending upon whether they specialized in pastry or dim sum. The pastry chefs were in charge of the ovens, and so they prepared baked goods made with Chinese puff or short pastry, as well as holiday foods and gift baskets filled with in-house candies and preserved fruits. Dim sum chefs, on the other hand, comprised the main workforce for teahouses, as they supplied the steady stream of dishes that sailed out of the kitchen and into the dining rooms. By the late 1930s, Guangzhou's teahouse culture was so highly developed that it had "four great masters" of dim sum, and signs by the teahouses' front doors often proudly announced the names of their head chefs. Moreover, new varieties of dim sum were invented virtually daily to attract customers away from the competition.

Rivalry among these teahouses was fierce, and so inspiration was sought from the tea pastries of Shanghai and Beijing, as well as the West. It should be kept in mind that foreigners were still firmly ensconced in the colonies of Hong Kong and Macau, and remained as an occupying presence in many major China treaty ports—including Shanghai and Guangzhou—up until the end of World War II. It was therefore only natural that some of their culinary concepts managed to slip out into China's bakeries and teahouses. These in turn led to new fusion-type creations, especially within the realm of puddings, baked rolls, and turnovers, as well as such beloved pastries as custard tarts and Malay steamed cakes. The thin starchy coatings and wrappers used in both sweet and savory items also underwent more than a bit of transformation:

If we concentrate only on the changes and development in the variety of "wrappers," the main types of dim sum wrappers during the 1920s included such things as raised (for filled buns), wheat starch, *shao mai* (i.e., egg dough), crystal bun, crispy batter, sticky rice, and boiled dumpling wrappers. By the 1930s, the varieties of wrappers commonly used by chefs included . . . puff pastry, Cantonese short pastry, [and so on, for a total of 23 types] that were prepared by pan-frying, deep-frying, steaming, baking, and roasting (Feng 1986: 4).

But even before there was mention of food at these dining places, the tea had to be selected. Customers at the nicer

teahouses were always—and still are—offered a variety of teas as the first order of business. Earlier on in the last century, if something like *pu-erh* (a compressed or brick tea) were ordered, the waiter would provide a large teapot covered with an upside-down teacup, and the pot was refilled as needed for a total of three or four times before the tea became too weak to drink. Teahouses traditionally offered their guests tea in covered porcelain cups that would be constantly refilled by the attentive staff; however, from the thirties to the mid-forties, due to the privations caused by the war against the Japanese invasion, they started to use aluminum teapots instead. From a practical stance, this cut down considerably on the waitstaff's responsibilities and meant less breakage, but the taste of the tea suffered as a consequence, so many teahouses returned to using covered cups or teapots made of porcelain once the war had ended.

Varieties from other parts of China would also be made available, including a good selection of unfermented green teas, semi-fermented oolongs, and the completely fermented black teas. A tea master who acted much like a sommelier supervised the purchase, storage, and selection of these tea leaves. The compressed teas were especially prized by teahouses, since they are one of the few varieties that improve with age, and so a six or seven years' supply would often be laid in by the tea masters, much like good red wines.

Entertainment eventually became another important draw for the livelier teahouses, and singers were hired to add even more panache. Storytellers, Cantonese opera singers, musicians, and other entertainers attracted clientele to these places. Blind songstresses enjoyed a brief popularity that peaked in the early 1920s and then just as suddenly declined, with sighted female songstresses taking their place around 1923. At the same time that women started to work in teahouses, they also were actively recruited as customers, for the women's movement was starting to take off in China, and so some places offered a modicum of egalitarianism with their tea, such as the one on Wing Hon Street that operated as "an equal rights tearoom for women."

But all in all, women were the diversion in one form or another in Guangzhou's teahouses at that time, rather than the ones being diverted. Female servers were pressured into entertaining their male customers in licentious places that were only ostensibly teahouses, and some even set up banquettes where the customers could get cuddly with the waitresses. Advertisements became suggestive at times, and fresh flowers were displayed at the front door to let potential customers know what was in store for them, since a "flower customer" in Chinese means a "john." An even more outrageous place called Sex! also opened briefly for business before being shut down.

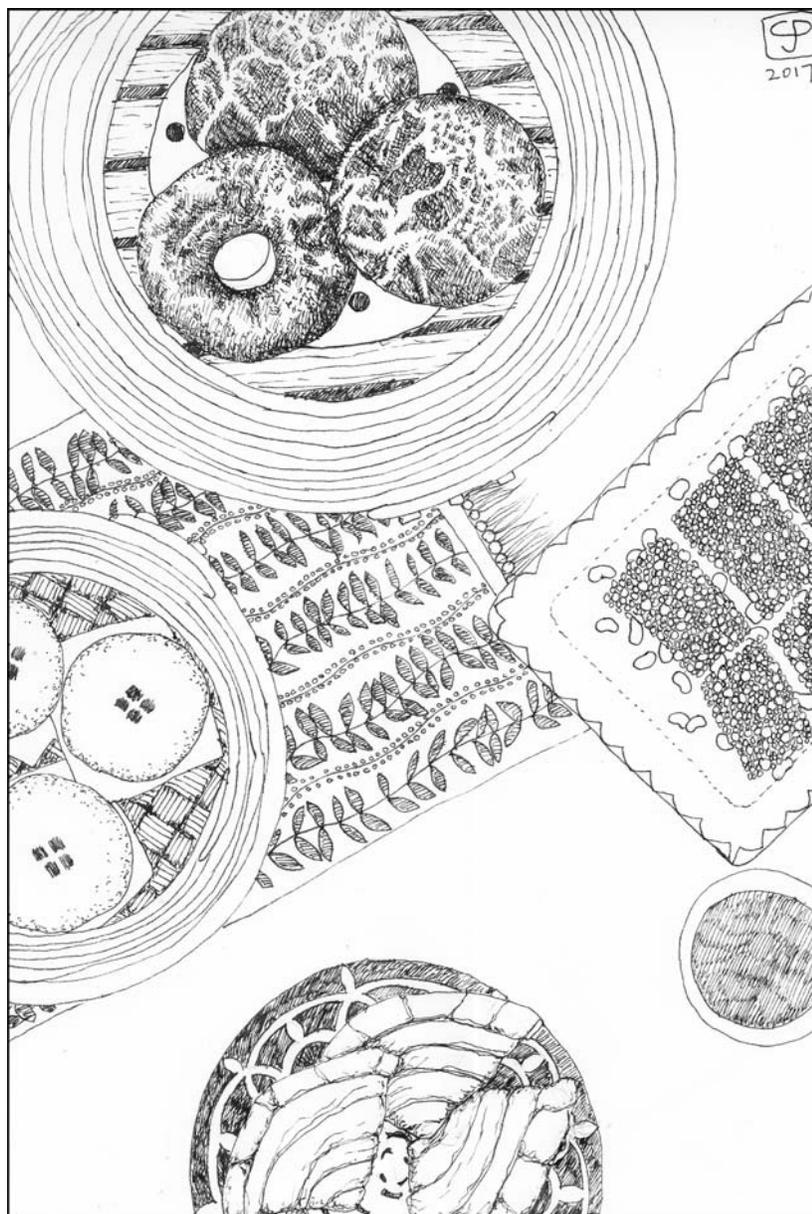


ILLUSTRATION BY CAROLYN PHILLIPS © 2017.

But, for the most part, these places were all about the food. Guangzhou (and by extension Xiamen, Hong Kong, and Macau) has been particularly renowned for its dim sum breakfasts, which generally consist of things like noodles, sweets, and cakes, as well as more savory dishes like braised pork liver, chicken feet, and *char siu*. Teashops opened for the morning meal at around 6:00, and as in tearooms throughout the rest of China, Guangzhou's were places where business and private matters could be discussed in quiet surroundings, so that everything from lawsuits to romantic trysts took place over a pot of excellent tea and an array of fresh dim sum.

And even today, if you are paying close attention while you linger over your snacks and pot of tea, you will see a bit of that still going on in a Chinese teahouse, no matter whether it is a cavernous dim sum hall, a modern bubble-tea shack, a crowded brunch spot, or a hip fusion dessert shop. Lives and societies evolve, and so both teahouses and their dim sum have had to keep up in order to remain relevant. That is why, back in the eighties, while American restaurants were stacking their foods and adding fancy squiggles to everything, Hong Kong dim sum masters reflected the desire for excess by cradling foie gras, shark fin, and bird's nests in

delicate pastry packets, sometimes even with a touch of gold foil to take things truly over the top.

But those are the exceptions. Hello Kitty emerges now and then in steamed bun form and Western ideas like pastry cream and French puff pastry might occasionally be called upon to dazzle customers, but dim sum chefs have for the most part performed their remarkably inventive magic by making clever variations on traditional dishes. Some of these concepts are most likely here to stay, as when a sprinkle of cocoa powder transforms a puff of steamed bread into a forest mushroom or dark espresso colors the deep, crunchy syrup that coats a plate of deep-fried riblets. Things like these keep the dim sum repertoire from becoming stale, while at the same time honoring the past.

As we brunch into the future, the ways in which we enjoy our tea and dim sum will continue to develop and morph to fit the times. And we will be the better for it, for you can't have China without the tea, and tea just isn't the same without dim sum. ☺

#### NOTES

1. The author first became aware of this during the mid-1970s, when the secretary at her Taipei language school boasted how she always slipped many of the serving plates into her purse and so got away with paying very little whenever she went out for dim sum.
2. *Ngo ze fan guo*, or *Ejie fenguo* 娥姐粉粿 (“Ejie’s fun gor”) date from the early twentieth century. These translucent half moons were named after a reputedly beautiful woman from the Pearl River Delta town of Shunde who worked in a Guangzhou teahouse located in the Sai Kuan district. Wrapped in thin wheat starch pasta, Shunde-style *fun gor* are served in small steamers; however, the earliest record of *fun gor* dates from the Ming dynasty, when the wrappers were made out of sticky rice flour.
3. *Gwai faa sim*, or *guihuachan* 桂花蟬. The author’s husband also remembers these water bugs being sold on the streets of Guangzhou when he lived there as a child in the late 1940s. The vendors pinned the live insects to boards, selling them for fifty cents a pair, the same price as a bowl of the wonton soup that he much preferred.

#### REFERENCES

- Anderson, E. N. 1988. *The Food of China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Chan Mung Yan (Chen Mengyin) 陳夢因. 2008. *Yuecai suyuan lu* 粵菜溯源錄 [History of Cantonese dishes], rev. ed. Hong Kong: Baihua.
- Chen, Pearl Kong (Jiang Xianzhu) 江獻珠. 2009. *Zhongguo dianxin* 中國點心 [Chinese dim sum], vol. 1. Hong Kong: Wanli.
- Chen Zongmao 陳宗懋, ed. 2000. *Zhongguo chaye dacidian* 中國茶葉大辭典 [Dictionary of Chinese tea]. Beijing: China Light Industry Press.
- Coe, Andrew. 2009. *Chop Suey: A Cultural History of Chinese Food in the United States*. London: Oxford.
- Feng Mingquan 馮明泉. 1986. “Mantan Guangzhou chalouye” 漫談廣州茶樓業 [A discussion on Guangzhou’s teahouse industry]. *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao* 廣州文史資料 [Literary and

- historical materials on Guangzhou], vol. 36, 1. www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gzws/gzws/ml/36/200809/t20080916\_8058\_3.htm. Accessed May 17, 2016.
- Feng Shufang 馮淑芳. 2014. “Yuan zi Guangzhou de zhuming chalou ji Xicanting” 源自廣州的著名茶樓與西餐廳 [Famous teahouses and Western restaurants that originated in Guangzhou]. *Xianggang jingguan wenhua daoyou* 香港景觀文化導遊 [Guide to Hong Kong’s sites and culture]. Hong Kong: Forms Publications (H.K.).
- Gray, John Henry. 1878. *China: A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People*. London: Macmillan.
- Gu Zhongzheng 顧中正. 1980. *Zhongguo dianxin* 中國點心 [Chinese dim sum]. Taipei: Republic of China Publishers.
- He Yuhua 何裕華. 2015. “Laochalou zhan zhengui laozhaopian zhongchake shuo Guangzhou jucheng shi” 老茶樓展珍貴老照片眾茶客說廣州舊城事 [An article on photographs about life in Guangzhou’s old teahouses]. *Yangcheng wanbao* 羊城晚報 [Guangzhou evening news], February 26, 2015. www.ycwb.com/ePaper/ycwb/html/201502/26/content\_655033.htm?div=1. Accessed May 17, 2016.
- Hong Zhu 洪燭. 2003. “Nanfang de xiaochi” 南方的小吃 [Southern snacks]. In Ajian 阿堅 et al. *Zhongguoren de chi* 中國人的吃 [Food of the Chinese]. Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian.
- Huang Boli 黃柏莉. 2014. “Jindai Guangzhou de gonggong kongjian yu gonggong shenghuo (1900–1938), yi gongyuan, zhalou wei zhongxin de kaocha” 近代廣州的公共空間與公共生活 (1900–1938) — 以公園、茶樓為中心的考察 [Public spaces and public lives in modern Guangzhou (1900–1938): A study that centers on public parks and teahouses]. *Kaifang shidai* 開放時代 [Era of openness], vol. 6.
- Li Shuping 李淑蘋 and Wang Xiaona 王曉娜. 2014. “Jindai Guangzhou guji tanxi” 近代廣州警姬探析 [An analysis of blind songstresses in modern Guangzhou]. *Gansu shehui kexue* 甘肅社會科學 [Gansu social sciences], April.
- Li Xiaojun 李曉軍. n.d. “Chali qiankun da, beizhong riyue chang — chalou yu Minguo Guangzhou shimin shenghuo” 茶裏乾坤大，杯中日月長 — 茶樓與民國廣州市民生活 [A study on teahouses and the lives of Guangzhou’s citizenry during the Republic]. *Guangzhou wenshi* 廣州文史 [Literature and history in Guangzhou]. www.gzzxws.gov.cn/gxsl/gzwb/201308/t20130801\_31813.htm. Accessed May 13, 2016.
- Lian Zhenjuan 連振娟. 2002. *Zhongguo chaguan* 中國茶館 [China’s teahouses]. Beijing: Minzu University of China.
- Lin Wanyi 林萬儀. 1996. “Xianggang dangdai Yuequ nüling yanjiu” 香港當代粵曲女伶研究 [A study of contemporary Chinese teahouse songstresses in Hong Kong]. Doctoral thesis, Music Division, Graduate School of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Liu Fang 劉枋. 1980 [1975]. *Chi de yishu* 吃的藝術 [The art of eating]. Taipei: Dadi.
- Liu Zhenwei 劉震慰. 1978. *Guxiang zhi shi* 故鄉之食 [Hometown foods]. Taipei: Central.
- Lixin 力新, ed. 1983. *Yincha mantan* 飲茶漫談 [Chats about drinking tea]. Taipei: National Publishers.
- (Warring States) Mencius 孟子 (Meng Ke 孟軻). *Mengzi* [Mencius], “Gaozi” shang 孟子：羔子，上.
- N.a. 1935. “Nüzhaodai shidai zhi chalou” 女招待時代之茶樓 [The era of female servers in teahouses]. *Guangzhou minguo ribao* 廣州民國日報 [Guangzhou Nationalist Daily], vol. 11.
- Pang Guang 龐廣. 2003. “Jindai Weixinpai lingxiu Kang Youwei” 近代維新派領袖康有為 [Contemporary Reform leader Kang Youwei]. *Zhongzhou jin gu* 中州今古 [Zhongzhou today and yesterday], vol. 4.
- (Qing) Qu Dajun 屈大均. N.d. *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 [New essays on Guangdong].

- Wu Ruiqing 吳瑞卿. 2006. *Shile you wenhua* 食樂有文化 [The culture behind the joy of eating]. Hong Kong: Commercial Press (H.K.).
- Xiong Feiying 熊飛影 et al. 1963. “Guangzhou ‘nüling,’” 廣州‘女伶’ [Guangzhou’s “songstresses”]. *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao* 廣州文史資料 [Guangzhou literary history materials], vol. 9.
- (Qing) Xu Ke 徐珂, ed. *Qing bai leichao* 清稗類鈔 [A literary sketchbook of historical anecdotes from the late Qing].
- Xue Xiaoxian 薛效賢 and Zheng Xiangju 鄭祥菊, eds. 2008. *Zhonghua mingdian wenhua yu zhizuo* 中華名點文化與制作 [The culture and making of famous Chinese treats]. Beijing: Huaxue.
- Yan Jinming 嚴金明 and Yu Xun 虞迅. 2004. *Yuecai pengdiao gongyi* 粵菜烹調工藝 [The art and craft of cooking Cantonese cuisine], vol. 2. Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.
- Yan Zhaoliang 嚴兆良, ed. 1978. *Zhongguo dianxin xiaochi* 中國點心小吃譜 [Chinese dim sum and snack recipes]. Taipei: Wuzhou.
- Yi Zhongtian 易中天. 2007 [1997]. *Du cheng ji* 讀城記 [Notes on the reading of cities]. Shanghai: Shanghai Arts.
- Yu Yue 余悅. 2002. *Zhongguo chayin* 中國茶飲 [The drinking of Chinese tea]. Beijing: Minzu University of China.
- Zeng Muye 曾牧野, et al. 2005. *Huashuo Lingnan* 話說嶺南 [Talks about Guangdong]. Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Publishing.
- Zhang Tiejun 張鐵君. 1980. *Chaxue manhua* 茶學漫話 [Ramblings on the study of tea]. Taipei: Altai Publishing.
- Zhang Wei 張偉. 1988. “Dianxin yu miandian” 點心與麵點 [Dim sum and pastries]. *Zhongguo pengren* 中國烹飪 [Chinese cuisine], June.
- Zhang Yan 張研 and Sun Jing 孫京, eds. 2009. *Minguo shiliao congkan* 民國史料叢刊 [Collected historical materials from the Republic]. “Guangzhoushi shangye fenleibiao” 廣州市商業分類表 [Table of businesses in Guangzhou city], vol. 603. Zhengzhou (Henan): Daxiang Publishing.
- Zhou Zuoren 周作人. 2002 [1956]. “Nanbei de dianxin” 南北的點心 [Northern and southern dianxin]. *Mupian ji* 木片集 [Collected planks]. Shijiazhuang (Hebei): Hebei Educational.
- Zhu Zhenfan 朱振藩. 2005. *Shi sui zhi wei* 食隨知味 [Restaurant reviews by a Taiwanese columnist]. Taipei: Maitian.