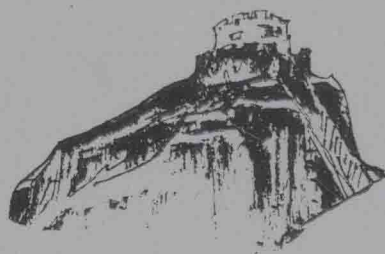


鼓浪屿研究

第二辑

Journal Of Gulangyu Studies

主 编 周 旻



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厦门市社会科学界联合会
厦门大学人文学院
厦门市社会科学院
合 编

鼓浪屿国际研究中心
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The International Settlement on Gulangyu

David Woodbridge*

Gulangyu was distinctive among the foreign concessions and settlements in China during the first half of the twentieth century because it was an international settlement, not governed by the officials of a single foreign country, but instead through the collaboration of different foreign powers, in cooperation also with China. This article will examine how Gulangyu came to receive its status as an international settlement, and what the intentions were of those who formulated its distinct form of municipal rule. It will also examine the challenges faced by the settlement during the 1920s, when growing anti-imperialist feeling in China resulted in many questioning the legitimacy of Gulangyu's status, and efforts were made to reform its government. The article will examine these events primarily from the British perspective, using a number of documents relating to the British presence in Xiamen. These are predominantly British consular records, but also documents relating to British missionaries, bankers and merchants. By doing so, the article will place Gulangyu in the wider context of British colonialism in China, showing how the evolution of the island's unique administration was a result of wider developments in China's relationship with the foreign powers that had a presence in China at this time.

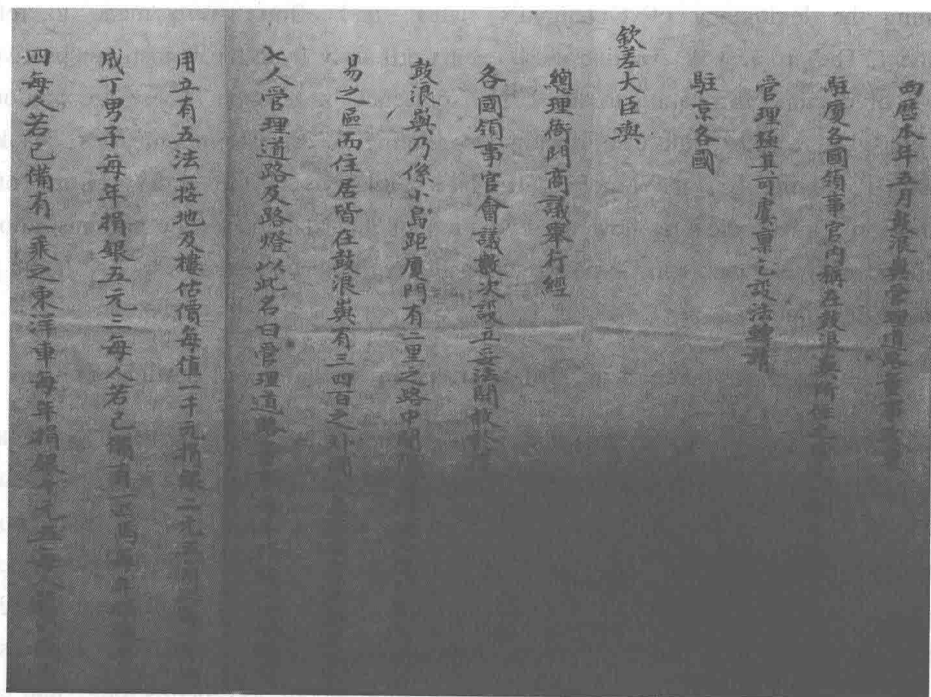
The Establishment of Gulangyu as an International Settlement

The primary aim of Britain in fighting the Opium Wars was to enable secure access to China for British traders. The Treaty of Nanjing (1842) designated five cities as treaty ports: Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai.^① In a number of the treaty ports areas were leased by the Qing to the British government. These areas were known as British concessions, and they provided areas under British governance where British traders could conduct commercial activities in the treaty ports. In Xiamen, a British concession was established in 1851. It consisted of a stretch of foreshore about 300 metres long, and consisting of nine lots that were sublet to British merchants, who constructed offices, warehouses and jetties.

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① Subsequently, other towns, both on the coast and inland, became treaty ports, so that by 1917 there were 92 in total. Bryna Goodman and David S.G. Goodman eds., *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday, and the World*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2012, p.2.

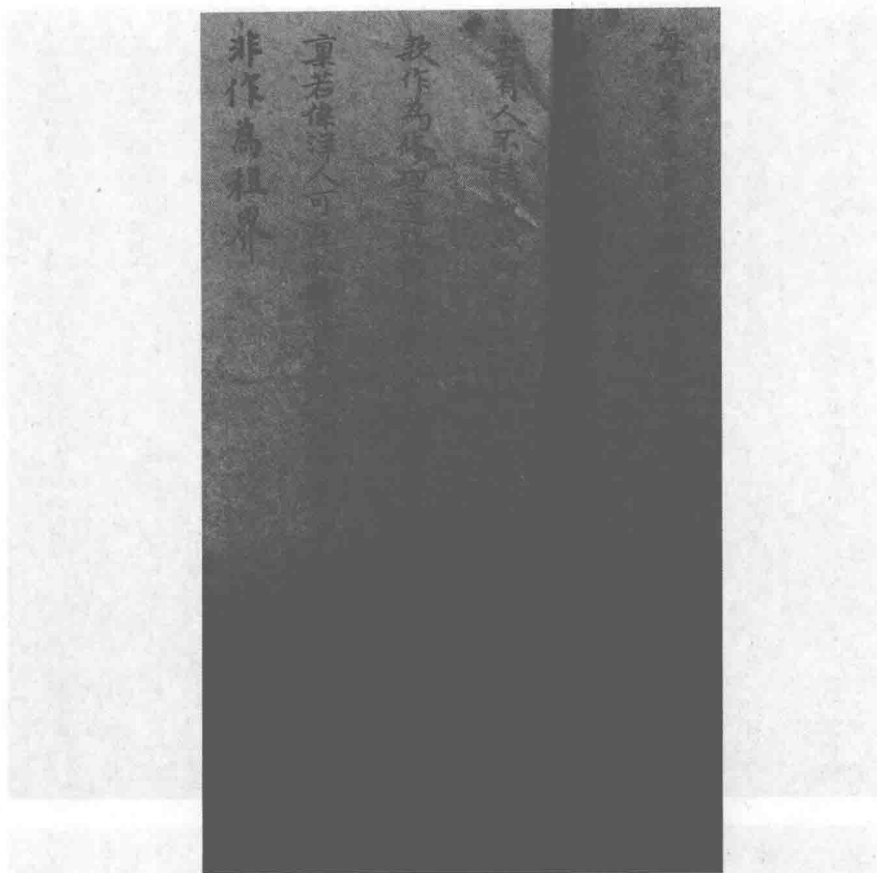
The British concession in Xiamen therefore became the centre of foreign commercial activity in the city. However, Gulangyu became the preferred place of residence for these traders, along with the various other foreigners who now settled in the city. Because Gulangyu was not a foreign concession, foreigners had to individually rent land or property from Chinese owners on the island. As the foreign community grew on Gulangyu, they were keen to make improvements to the facilities and infrastructure on the island. In 1878 they established the Gulangyu Road and Cemetery Fund Committee in order to raise funds to build new roads and maintain the foreign cemeteries.^① The following source reveals how the work of this Committee had been expanding over time. It is a report sent to Beijing describing some of the measures that the Committee had implemented, and seeking support for further plans. It describes the taxes to be collected from the residents of Gulangyu in order to maintain the island's roads and street lights; sanitary regulations to be enforced in order to prevent the spread of disease; and a licensing system for particular occupations, including opium houses, shops selling alcohol, pawn shops and slaughter houses.



^① James A. Cook, *Bridges to Modernity: Xiamen, Overseas Chinese and Southeast Coastal Modernization, 1843—1937*, PHD Thesis, University of California, 1998, pp.119 ~ 120.

一乘之馬車每年捐銀十元通本島
事因之權柄設立免病章程或如
多華人而鼠竊之患亦多於此
各國領事官以管理道路事宜
人捐銀其可以設立免病章程人知不
患其四如有煙館及於屋中斗牛等
作此等生意各國領事官立有明
在鼓浪嶼管理道路之董事會
之人可以議舉所有捐銀五元之人
輸心樂從於稅務司即可長作董事

加多不過一倍即如一款之地
角極多不過捐至五元又如二款
不過捐至十元又如三款每人若已
多不過捐至十元又如四款每人若已
十元極多不過捐至二十元又如五款每人
捐銀十元極多不過捐至三十元
捐銀不過壹百元七款係開張賣酒店
八款係開張賣酒或賣茶
照捐銀不過五元十款係在鼓浪嶼
每一箱氣油捐銀一元每箱煤油捐銀



©The National Archives of the UK FO 1080/210.

These proposals show how the foreign residents on Gulangyu sought to introduce a modern, Western-style form of municipal administration on the island. However, the Gulangyu Road and Cemetery Fund Committee had limited powers to implement such a programme, as it was not an organisation approved by the Qing government. This source shows how the Committee appealed to the Qing government in Beijing to obtain greater powers to carry out their programme for municipal development on Gulangyu. Indeed, just a few years following this, the Qing began discussions with the foreign powers in Xiamen regarding the possibility of granting Gulangyu's foreign residents more power over the island's administration. The following source, a letter from R.W. Mansfield, the British consul in Xiamen, to Ernest Mason Satow, the British Minister in Beijing, contains details of some of these negotiations.^①

*H.B.M. Consulate
Amoy, March 21. 1901*

^① There were a few words in some of the original documents used in this article that could not be accurately identified. In the transcriptions, these words are indicated by the sign "[]".

Sir,

I had this day the honour to forward in cypher a telegram to the following effect.:

The Viceroy of the Minche is now favourable to the proposition that the Island of Kulangsu should be made a foreign settlement on the same lines as the Foreign Settlement in Shanghai and if Prince Ching should ask his opinion by telegraph he will report favourably. If the arrangement is authorised in principle, Land Regulations could be drawn up and submitted to the various Foreign Ministers for approval later on. The Foreign Consuls here are all in favour of the proposal.

Many efforts have been made in the past to effect what now appears feasible. As long ago as 1877 certain Municipal Regulations were sent to the British Minister and were approved as far as he was concerned in a despatch dated Feb. 3. 1877.

At the beginning of 1900 the scheme was again afoot but the troubles in the north interfered. Yen Nien (延年) then Taotai here was in favour of it, but the Viceroy stated that he could not assent without memorialising the throne. Yen Nien though no longer Taotai is still residing in Amoy and has been working with the U.S. Consul to obtain the Viceroy's approval. I enclose translation of a telegram received by Yen Hsien from the Viceroy on the strength of which there was a meeting of the Consular Body who all declared themselves favourable to the proposal as regards the Island of Kulangsu and agreed to telegraph to their respective ministries recommending it to their consideration. Some correspondence has, I understand passed between the US Consul here and the US Minister who is in possession of all the details of the question.

It appears highly desirable that the present opportunity should not be lost. Independently of the necessity which exists for placing the locality, where all the foreigners reside, under some sort of sanitary system in this plague-infested port I think that the incident of last year would be less likely to recur if an international settlement existed. The Viceroy's telegram purposes that the settlement be on plans similar to those prevailing in Shanghai, but of course in a small place like this any Land Registrations would require to be much modified.

Trusting that you may be able to give your support to the proposal,

I have, etc.

R.W. Mansfield^①

In the above letter, the British consul reported on how agreement had been reached between Chinese and foreign officials regarding proposals to make Gulangyu into an international settlement. He referred to previous, failed, efforts to bring this about, most recently in 1900, when 'troubles in the north', that is, the Boxer uprising, prevented the plan from being implemented, and he urged that the opportunity now provided should not be passed up. In the final paragraph, the British consul provided two reasons in support of the proposals. First, he mentioned the desirability of placing Gulangyu 'under some sort of sanitary system in

^① Despatch, General Series, No. 5, 21 March 1901, © The National Archives of the UK: FO 676/16.

this plague infested port.' In the years preceding this letter, Xiamen had experienced a number of outbreaks of cholera and other diseases. The British consul hoped that the establishment of an international settlement might make it easier to impose sanitary regulations on Gulangyu, and thereby make the island less susceptible to outbreaks of disease. The consul then commented that the establishment of an international settlement would mean that 'the incident of last year would be less likely to recur.' He was referring to events that took place in August 1900, when Japanese troops had briefly occupied Xiamen and Gulangyu. The British consul hoped that having Gulangyu as an international settlement would act as a deterrent to future Japanese attempts to take control of the island.

Regarding the form that the new administration should take, the consul suggested that the settlement proposed for Gulangyu should be 'on the same lines as the Foreign Settlement in Shanghai.' In Shanghai there had originally been foreign concessions belonging to three different countries: Britain, France and the USA. In 1863 Britain and the USA had unified their concessions to form the Shanghai International Settlement. Subsequently, the Shanghai Municipal Council had been formed in order to administer this settlement, and this Council was run not by foreign consuls, but by councillors elected by ratepayers living in the settlement. It was now proposed that Gulangyu should be governed according to this model.

In the months that followed, discussions took place in order to decide the regulations that would govern the proposed international settlement. The following report, written by the British consul in Xiamen and dated 1st February 1902, provides a summary of the progress of these discussions, and reveals some of the main points of disagreement they brought up.

Report on Draft Regulations and Byelaws for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy

The principal objects aimed at in drafting these Regulations and Byelaws have been to create a foreign body having control over the sanitation, policing and voirie of the Island of Kulangsu, and power to raise funds for these purposes. Abortive efforts have been made for many years to obtain this control, and that the Chinese authorities are now willing to give it, due to their fears lest the valuable harbour of Amoy should become the prey of one or other of the foreign powers.

The Regulations and Byelaws have been drafted on the lines of those in force in Shanghai, with the necessary modifications and omissions. As they now stand they are accepted by the Taotai and the Consular Body. Two points are however left in abeyance to be settled in Peking.

The first of these is that of Chinese representation on the Municipal Council. There was much discussion over this and the Consuls eventually consented to one member of the Council being a respectable person appointed by the Taotai. They objected however to two Chinese members on the ground that in the event of only a quorum of the Council being present at a Council Meeting resolutions might be passed by the Chinese []. It was eventually agreed to put

in the 2nd Clause “one or two” leaving the decision to the Ministers and Chinese Plenipotentiaries. I see no objection to one member of the Council being Chinese, as he [] be rather an adviser than a voter, and would moreover be perhaps useful as a means of communicating with the Taotai. Otherwise the less of the Chinese element there is in the administration of the Settlement, the better.

A more important question is Clause 15 which has been left blank. The words the Taotai wished to insert were as follows:

Joint Protection of Amoy: Kulangsu being made into a settlement the merchants of all nations reside there. Amoy is a Chinese and foreign trading centre of the utmost importance and must be jointly protected by all nations including China.

The Consuls were of opinion that such a clause was more in the nature of a diplomatic understanding than a Land Regulation. On the other hand the Taotai regarded its insertion in the Regulations as a matter of supreme importance, and it was finally agreed that the question should be left over to be decided in Peking. It appears to me that a clause might without difficulty be drafted which without committing the Powers would satisfy the Chinese [].

The last paragraph defining the word “foreign” of Clause 4 was the subject of much discussion among the Consuls, the Japanese Consul urging that he had no power to argue to a clause excluding Formosan Japanese subjects of Chinese race. The other Consuls were all in favour of the paragraph and it was inserted on the understanding that the Japanese Consul would leave the discussion of it to his Minister. I consider it all important that the paragraph should remain as it is. The Japanese enrol as Japanese subjects not only all natives of Formosa, but also practically any natives of Amoy who apply and will pay the fees. They have probably at present about 1000 persons of purely Chinese race enrolled at the Consulate. Our instructions only to recognise as British Subjects those who have been born in a British Colony of parents who were also born or naturalised there, make our list a much smaller one, but as years go on the number must inevitably greatly increase. The United States and Spain and Holland also have a certain number; all these practically are of pure Chinese blood, wear Chinese dress, live as Chinese and are Chinese in their ideas. It is necessary to look forward in making Regulations and it appears to me that if these persons are admitted as voters and as members of the Municipal Council, a time will come when the latter will be entirely elected by this class. When this was pointed out to the Taotai he made no difficulty about the insertion of the paragraph, but the question may be raised by the Japanese Minister...

R.W. Mansfield

Consul

Amoy

Feb. 1. 1902.^①

① Report on Draft Regulations and Byelaws for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy, © The National Archives of the UK; FO 676/16.

This report shows the perspective of the British consul on what the purpose of the international settlement was to be. The consul stated, at the start, that the 'principal object' was to 'create a foreign body having control over the sanitation, policing and voirie [roads] of the Island of Kulangsu'. Again, the importance to the foreign community of having modern infrastructure, particularly roads and sanitation, can be seen here, as well as the power to enforce compliance to their reforms. To this end, the British consul considered that the Kulangsu Municipal Council (KMC), whose job would be to administer the international settlement, should be made up mostly of foreign councillors. As he expressed it: 'the less of the Chinese element there is in the administration of the Settlement, the better.' To the British consul, then, the purpose of the international settlement was to remove Gulangyu from Chinese control, and to establish a more modern, Western-style administration.

Nevertheless, there was agreement that there would also be one Chinese councillor on the KMC, to be appointed by the Daotai (道台). Although the expressed intention was to produce an international settlement modelled on that of Shanghai, in this the KMC diverged from its counterpart in Shanghai. The Shanghai Municipal Council was made of councillors from a number of different nationalities, but Chinese residents were not, at this time, allowed to serve. The Chinese representation on the KMC was to be far smaller than that of the foreigners, but it nevertheless represented a participation in the administration of the international settlement, something that set it apart from Shanghai.

The report also highlights one of the main Chinese concerns during the negotiations. The Daotai is said to have asked for an additional clause to be inserted in the land regulations that guaranteed the 'joint protection of Amoy.' While the establishment of an international settlement would ensure that Gulangyu received foreign protection against future potential Japanese incursions, the Daotai wanted also to commit the foreign nations to defending the rest of Xiamen, if the need arose. The British consul, however, wanted to avoid such a commitment. Ultimately the consul's view would prevail, and no such clause would be included in the final regulations for the international settlement.

The final section of this report described a discussion about the definition of the word 'foreign' in the regulations. Many of the nations represented on Gulangyu owned colonies that had large Chinese populations, for example Britain controlled modern-day Singapore and Malaysia, Japan had recently taken possession of Taiwan, the USA governed the Philippines, France controlled Vietnam, and the Netherlands possessed parts of modern-day Indonesia. A large proportion of the Chinese populations in these colonies had ancestral ties with Fujian province, and increasing numbers were returning to the province, and some were settling on Gulangyu. Many of these people could claim to be subjects of a foreign power, and might

therefore qualify to serve, as 'foreigners', on the KMC. Indeed, it would appear from this report that the Japanese consul hoped this would be the case, perhaps viewing it as a means by which Japan might dominate the KMC. The other foreign consuls, however, sought to avoid a scenario whereby overseas Chinese might eventually exert a dominating influence in the KMC. Again, it can be seen how the Western powers sought to constitute the international settlement in such a way that it maximised the control they had over the administration of Gulangyu.

On 10th January 1902, the Land Regulations for the Settlement of Gulangyu were agreed and signed by Qing officials and the foreign consuls in Xiamen. These land regulations outlined the form that the KMC would take:

The Municipal Council shall consist of 5 or 6 persons, who shall be elected by ballot of qualified voters at the Annual General Meeting, together with the Chinese gentleman appointed by the Taotai, and shall hold office until the election of their successors at the next following Annual General Meeting.

The following persons are qualified to vote at all public meetings of ratepayers:

- 1.— *Foreign owners of land on Kulangsu registered at a Consulate and of an assessed value of not less than \$ 1,000.*
- 2.— *Authorised agents or proxies of land owners as above who are absent from the port.*
- 3.— *Foreign annual taxpayers of \$ 5 and upwards exclusive of license fees.*

The following persons are qualified for election as Councillors:

- 1.— *Foreign owners of real estate on Kulangsu of an assessed value of not less than \$ 5,000.*
- 2.— *Foreign residents on Kulangsu paying rate on an assessed annual rental of \$ 400 and over, whether such rental or rates be paid by the firm, society or company to which they belong or by themselves personally. Provided always that only one member of such firm, society or company or one occupant of any house be eligible to sit on any one Council...*

In the above clause, the term 'foreign' is to be interpreted as meaning of persons not of Chinese race, and does not include persons of the race who may by birth or naturalization abroad have become the subjects of foreign countries.

When in pursuance of these Regulations the Council shall have been duly elected by all the powers, authority and control conferred by the Bye-Laws now sanctioned and annexed to these Regulations and all the rights and property which by such Bye-Laws are declared to belong to any Council elected as aforesaid shall vest in and absolutely belong to such Council and to their successors in office. And such Council shall have power and authority from time to time to make other Bye-Laws for the better enabling them to carry out the objects of these Regulations and to repeal, alter, or amend any such Bye-Laws, provided such other Bye-Laws be not repugnant to the provisions of these Regulations and be duly confirmed and published; and provided also that no Bye-Laws made by the Council under the authority of these Regulations except such as relate

solely to their Council or their officers or servants shall come into operation until passed and agreed upon by the Taotai and the Treaty Consuls, approved by the Chinese Government and the Foreign Ministers in Peking, and the ratepayers in public meeting assembled.^①

The KMC would be foreign-dominated. There would be five to six foreign councillors, and just one Chinese councillor, who would be selected by the Daotai.^② The foreign councillors would be selected by voters, but to qualify as a voter you had to be a ratepayer, as well as a foreigner. What is more, a foreigner was to be defined as someone not of Chinese race. In this way, overseas Chinese who were subjects of foreign powers would be unable to participate in the election of the KMC. It can be seen, then, that while Gulangyu was to become an international settlement, and not a foreign concession, the land regulations ensured that foreign interests would still dominate the governance of the island.

However, even despite this, the international settlement on Gulangyu would be governed in a very different way to foreign concessions, such as the British concession in Xiamen. The British concession was conceded by the Qing to the British government, as a consequence of China's defeat in the Opium Wars. It was governed directly by British representatives in China, specifically the British consul in Xiamen, who was responsible to the British Minister in Beijing. However, Gulangyu's new status was the process of negotiation between China and the foreign powers. The basis of rule for the international settlement was in the land regulations and bye-laws, signed by the Chinese government, and by the consular representatives of Japan, Britain, the USA, Germany, France, Spain, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden. Together, these consuls formed the Consular Body, led by one of the consuls who was designated the Senior Consul.

The land regulations vested the authority to govern Gulangyu in the KMC, the majority of whom were elected by Gulangyu's foreign ratepayers. The international settlement was therefore run not by foreign or Chinese officials, but by its own ratepaying residents. However, the decisions made by the KMC still had to be approved by the Consular Body in Xiamen. They could then also be overturned in Beijing by the foreign ministers, collectively known as the

^① *Land Regulations for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy*, pp.3 ~ 5, © The National Archives of the UK; FO 228/3470.

^② It was stated in the *Report on Draft Regulations and Byelaws for the Settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy*, quoted above, that it had been agreed that the land regulations would provide provision for 'one or two' Chinese councillors. This seems to have been left undecided. In the version of the land regulations quoted here, provision for just one Chinese councillor is made. However, a later British consular report states that 'By the Land Regulations, as accepted locally, only one Chinese gentleman nominated by the Taoyin is allowed, although the Chinese version and our own King's Regulations give one or two.' (Amoy Intelligence Report for the half-year ending 16 March 1926, p.201, © The National Archives of the UK; FO 228/3281). In practice, however, the number of Chinese councillors does not seem to have risen above one prior to 1926.

Diplomatic Body. Therefore, the government of the international settlement was dependent on three separate bodies: the KMC; the Consular Body; and the Diplomatic Body. Sometimes the interests of these three bodies were aligned, but increasingly, as time progressed, their interests would clash, and agreement between them would be more difficult to achieve. Decisions were made more difficult by the fact that representatives from different countries participated in each of the three bodies. In addition, China had a representative on the KMC, and Chinese officials were also able to liaise with the Consular Body and the Diplomatic Body in decisions regarding Gulangyu. In each of these three separate bodies, therefore, decisions had to be reached through consensus between members of different nationalities.

A delay of over a year followed the completion of the land regulations, but on 1st May 1903 a force of eight Sikh policemen began patrolling on Gulangyu, signifying the start of the new, municipal administration.^①

In 1908, a US battleship squadron visited Xiamen, and they were given a grand reception by local Qing officials. To mark this occasion, which lasted from 29th October to 4th November, souvenir programs were produced, which contained an introduction to Xiamen written by the American missionary Philip Wilson Pitcher.^② This included a description of Gulangyu:

This small island of irregular oval form about a mile and a half long by half a mile wide, lies within easy rowing distance of Amoy city. It has consequently been the residential quarters of the mercantile and missionary community in this part of the Far East. For situation and natural attractions, with its beautiful harbor and grand hills above it, it is unsurpassed anywhere along this entire coast. From two hundred to two hundred and fifty foreigners reside here in very comfortable homes; and since the inauguration of the Municipal Council's regulations these homes have been placed under vastly improved conditions...

Kolongsu became an International Foreign Settlement in 1903. It has the unique distinction of being governed by representatives of at least six different nations. Everything thus far has been most happily conducted, and with very little friction. This is worth noticing under a new regime like this. Improvements are being made all the time, but changes such as are contemplated are not consummated in a day, or a year. Time and patience however will bring about many improvements in sanitary and other conditions. Certainly the situation is ideal, and

① This was reported in a despatch, *General Series*, No. 4, 24 June 1903, © The National Archives of the UK: FO 676/16. Sikh policemen, from India, had formed the core of the police force for the Shanghai International Settlement for a number of years prior to this. The policemen who now served on Gulangyu were taken from this Shanghai Municipal Police Force.

② Pitcher wrote several books about Xiamen and China, including: *Fifty Years in Amoy or A History of the Amoy Mission, China* (1893); *In and about Amoy: Some Historical and Other Facts Connected with One of the First Open Ports in China* (1909).

it should be possible to make this not only the most beautiful, but the most delightful and salubrious place to be found, ever increasing the comforts and happiness of those whose lot is cast in this small corner of the Flowery kingdom.

Besides the foreign residences on Kolongsu there are located here the higher educational institutions of the three Protestant missions; Douglas Memorial Church erected in 1880 for Chinese services to the memory of Dr. Carstairs Douglas, LL.D., one of the pioneers of the English Presbyterian Mission; Talmage Memorial Hall, the home of the Union Middle School, erected to the memory of the Rev. J.V.N. Talmage, for more than forty years a missionary of the American Reformed Church Mission at Amoy; Hope and Wilhelmina Hospitals, a Union English Chapel built in 1863, where services in English are held every Sabbath; London Mission Church, a very large and commodious place for Chinese religious services built recently with a seating capacity of nearly a thousand. There are also the Consulates of Great Britain, Germany, United States, France and Japan; several post offices; two club houses with reading rooms and libraries; two hotels, several drug stores, and a haberdashery. Wherever there is a community in the East there you will be pretty sure to find a recreation ground. Kolongsu has one of the finest Recreation Grounds along the coast, where the foreigners indulge in recreation and health-giving exercise - just as important as one's meals out here - such as tennis, cricket, and hockey.

Kolongsu is not only the residence of foreigners. There are natives in evidence on every hand. On this same island, perhaps a mile and a half long and half a mile wide, there are three distinct Chinese villages with a combined population of 4,000 or 5,000 persons.^①

Written five years after the inauguration of the international settlement, Pitcher speaks positively about its impact. He writes enthusiastically about both the natural situation of the island and its facilities, and paints an attractive picture of the quality of life enjoyed by the foreign community. From Pitcher's perspective, therefore, the establishment of the KMC has served to improve it as a site of residence for foreign merchants and missionaries. He gives only brief mention to the island's Chinese population, but, significantly, notes its size compared with that of the foreign community. With between 4 000 and 5 000 people, the Chinese population of Gulangyu vastly outnumbered the foreign population, of 200 to 250. While Pitcher says he had observed 'very little friction' in the operation of the new administration of the international settlement, it would not be long before the discrepancy between the large size of the Chinese population and its small representation on the KMC would begin to create tension on the island.

① *Souvenir programme of the Reception Tendered to the United States Battleship fleet at Amoy, 1908*, © SOAS Library: PP MS 47/08/02.