



中國的租界

上海市歷史博物館等 編

公共租界石



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中國的租界

陳愛君題



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2004

THE FOREIGN
CONCESSIONS
IN CHINA

上海市歷史博物館等 編



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提起租界，人們立刻會回想起中華民族在近代遭受過的百年屈辱。這種屈辱，曾經深深地刺痛中國人的心。

租界是西方列強對華侵略、強迫中國簽訂不平等條約的產物。在中國的領土上，特別是各重要通商口岸，竟出現大小近三十個不受中國政府管轄和法律約束、而實行外國殖民統治的“國中之國”。趾高氣揚的洋人，儼然以主人的姿態君臨在這塊土地上。當時一本相當流行的書，書名就叫《冒險家的樂園》。而中國人却只能忍氣吞聲地接受他們的統治。這正是半殖民地社會的重要體現。

這些租界對中國的走向現代化確曾起過不可忽視的作用。很多現代企業、銀行、公用設施、文化事業等最早出現在租界中，社會結構乃至風俗習尚等有了顯著的變化，並且對周圍地區產生強大的輻射作用。研究中國近代社會變遷時，不能不重視這種現象。但它們當時主要控制在外國人手裏，為他們服務，任由他們擺布。中國人（除少數“高等華人”外）並沒有什麼權利可言。大家熟知，上海租界的幾處公園曾禁止狗與華人入內，便是一個突出的例子。這怎麼能不使每個有愛國心的中國人感到悲憤？只有當租界收回後，它所留下的現代成果才真正成為中國人自己的財富。

我曾在上海租界中長大，直到成為一名中學生，對這些有着切膚的感受。但現在的年輕人，對半個多世紀前的這些社會現象也許已很難想象。

我很高興，上海市歷史博物館同其他博物館合作，在上海古籍出版社支持下，能够編輯出版這樣一部圖文并茂、內容豐富、生動形象地再現當年歷史情景的《中國的租界》。年長的人，可以從中勾起許多回憶；年輕的人，也可以從中瞭解許多原來不瞭解的事情，感受到近代中國曾經走過一條多麼崎嶇曲折的道路。

編者和出版社要我為本書寫幾句話。寫下這些，就算是對本書的一點讀後感吧！

金冲及

2004.1

近代中國的租界，是一個值得人們注意的大問題。從 1845 年中國產生第一塊租界開始，到 1945 年全部租界被收回為止，在一百年的時間裏，人們對它始終有一種說不盡道不明的感受。在近代中國，它曾使人憤恨，它也曾讓人爲之向往。近代中國的民衆之所以憤恨，是因爲租界侵奪了中國的主權，中國人民飽受着欺凌。近代中國的民衆之所以向往，是因爲租界帶來了西方的近代文明，讓中國人也看到了國家發展的方向和希望。

在政治上，租界是一塊由外國人直接統治和管理的地方，它存在的本身就是對一個主權國家的一種赤裸裸的剝奪。租界裏的外國官員、警察、大兵時時都在刺激着每一個富有愛國心的人們，由此，收回租界的呼聲時刻回蕩在近代中國的上空，要求祖國獨立的願望日夜縈繞在人們的心頭。但是，同封建的帝王制度相比，近代資本主義在體現近代文明的共和制、官員的權力制約機制、民主的發展和法制化方面，畢竟是大踏步地向前邁了一大步。

在經濟上，租界客觀上推動了租界城市經濟的發展。通過租界這一窗口，近代的資本主義生產方式在中國應運而生，一批租界城市引進了前所未有的先進生產力，逐漸地走上了近代化的道路。但是，換取這些進步的代價是巨大的，除了改變已有的奴役和被奴役的中外關係，民族資本主義經濟雖被催生，却無法走上獨立自主的發展道路。

在文化上，近代的租界城市成了西方文化和中國文化的交匯處。報刊、學校、出版脫離了封建官府的控制，文化市場得到了發展。人們的思想和言論自由受到相應的保護，原有的思想觀念受到了巨大的衝擊。這一文化思想交融的過程，既是一種“西化”，是對西方文化的吸收，也是一種“化西”。自然，這種租界文化的半殖民地標記也是十分明顯的。

在都市社會生活方面，租界帶來的進步和它烙下的半殖民地印記也是顯而易見的。歐風東漸，崇洋求新，舊俗嬗變，新舊交替。中外不同社會生活的衝撞、交融，使租界社會形成了獨特的民俗風情。這種新的都市社會生活，既表現出了進步，也帶來了流弊叢生；既充滿了生機和活力，又呈現了畸形和病態。

由于租界是外國列強在侵略戰爭勝利後取得的不平等條約的產物，因此它的開闢，對中國而言必然是一種耻辱，它自然受到中國人民的強烈反抗。中國人民對租界的抗爭形式是多種多樣的，反對租界的擴張、要求收回租界強奪的司法主權、反抗租界的苛捐雜稅、反抗外人暴行的鬥爭、持久的華人參政運動等等都是中國人民愛國意志的表達。

經過一百多年持續不斷的鬥爭，中國人民終於正式收回了列強在中國的租界，並完成了收回在華外國租界的法律程序。從此，一個主權完全獨立的新中國又屹立在世界的東方。

“落後就要挨打”，近代租界的歷史又一次證明了這個顛撲不破的真理。記取這些歷史的教訓，有利于我們和我們的後人能更好地投身于今天的建設事業。

張仲禮

2004.2

在今天的中國，租界早已成了歷史的陳迹。租界，今天對絕大多數人們來說，幾乎是一種陌生的事物。一個70歲以上的長者，也許還能依稀記得自己的孩提時代曾住在租界城市裏的生活。如果稍年輕一點，還能從自己的父輩的記憶以及租界的建築、市容的舊貌中推測租界時代朦朧的繁華或黑暗。至于我們的下一輩，他們大都只能從教科書和電影、小說的故事情節中來體會領略租界的歷史踪迹了。

長期以來，租界又是一個讓人們難以言說的“怪物”。就租界給人們生活的感受來講，對當年租界的始作俑者和曾在租界的拓展中發了橫財的人們，租界曾是他們“創造”或為他們創造過財富的天堂。而對於當年生活在租界社會底層的勞苦者而言，租界則是他們的地獄。就是對一般的中小職員，一般的勞動者而言，他們對租界也有一大把說不盡、道不完的辛酸苦淚。就租界對近代中國社會的作用來說，有的從社會發展的角度來看，把租界的一套有效的管理制度稱作是國人應該學習的“模範”，但也有的人從國家主權喪失的角度稱租界是近代國人的莫大耻辱。在探求近代中國社會發展和淪喪的軌迹時，論及租界的歷史地位，有的人稱租界是中外社會、經濟、文化交流的一個“窗口”和“通道”，也有的國人把租界定義為侵略的“跳板”和“大本營”。兩種絕然相反的評價，猶如水火之不相容，冰炭之不同器，讓人難以辨明。

其實，租界作為近代中國國情的一個重要組成部分和十分明顯的標志，從其產生開始就有着特殊的兩重性。租界隨着鴉片戰爭中國被列強戰敗而產生、發展，它曾是外國列強侵略中國的首批灘

地，也是東西方列強將西方文明移植進中國的第一塊試驗地。從主權角度講，它既然對中國人民是一種耻辱的標志，那對殖民者而言必定是榮耀的象徵。租界對中國社會經濟文化的影響也是有其兩重性的，它既是東西方列強攫取中國財富的特殊管道，也是維繫中國與世界聯繫的重要紐帶。它既是輸入和展示西方文明的通道，也是中國人觀察世界和吸納近代文明的窗口。還需要指出的是，租界給近代中國的發展帶來的某些積極的刺激作用，決不是東西方列強的本意。正如馬克思在《不列顛在印度的統治》一文中，痛斥英國在印度進行野蠻的殖民統治，同時也造成了印度的社會革命時所指出的那樣：“英國不管是幹出了多大罪行，它在造成這個革命的時候畢竟是充當了歷史的不自覺的工具。”東西方列強在中國建立的租界半殖民地統治，也充當了推進和刺激中國社會進步，引發近代中國社會變革的“歷史的不自覺的工具”。因此，我們可以，也應該對租界的各種不同作用作出實事求是的分析。

《中國的租界》一書，集中了上海市歷史博物館、天津市歷史博物館、武漢市博物館、廈門博物館、廣州博物館、重慶市博物館、鎮江博物館、浙江省博物館、九江市博物館、蘇州革命歷史博物館、青島市博物館、煙臺市博物館以及法國外交部檔案館提供的有關租界的圖片和文物，以圖錄的形式，形象直觀地對租界在近代中國政治、經濟、社會、文化等各方面產生的作用進行了分析和考察，同時也反映了近代中國租界產生、發展直到被收回的全過程，是一本反映近代中國租界和近代中國國情的大型圖錄。如果圖錄的出版能有助于今天的人們瞭解昔日的租界，有助于人們瞭解和學習中國近代史，有助于人們理解近代中國的國情，那就達到了編寫者的初衷。當然，我們也非常願意聽到學術界、文博界和社會各方面對本書的意見，以便我們能把今後的工作做得更好！

潘君祥

2004年2月

January 2004

PREFACE ONE

JIN Chongji

Once mentioned, concession reminds people of the Chinese nation's suffering and humiliation over one hundred years in modern history, which has been deeply tormenting every Chinese people.

Concession was a product of unequal treaties China was forced to sign with western powers upon their invasion into China. In China's territory, especially in those important open commercial ports, there were about thirty "states within the state" exempted from China's jurisdiction and under foreign colonial domination. Those bloating foreigners deemed themselves hosts on China's land, while Chinese people had to endure their domination without protest. A then popular book was just entitled *Paradise of the Adventurers*. It is a major feature of a semi-colonized society.

These concessions however played an important role in China's process towards modernization. Many modern enterprises, banks, public infrastructures and cultural facilities were first seen in the concessions; social structures and even traditions and customs witnessed significant changes, and greatly influenced the surrounding areas. This cannot be neglected when one studies social changes of modern China. But these concessions were mainly controlled by foreigners and served the foreigners. Chinese people (except for a few "high-class Chinese") didn't have any rights. A typical example was, as everybody may know, that in several public gardens within concessions in Shanghai, dogs and Chinese were forbidden to enter. Wasn't this enough to make

any patriotic Chinese people feel sad and angered? Only when the concessions were returned to China, the modern facilities became Chinese people's own fortune.

I myself grew up till a high school student in one of the concessions in Shanghai and had a personal experience of this history, but for young people today, it may be difficult for them to imagine all these social phenomena half a century ago.

I am glad that the Shanghai History Museum, in cooperation with other museums and under the support of Shanghai Guji Publishing House, publishes this *The Foreign Concessions in China* with excellent pictures and substantial content, vividly representing the historical scenes. Old people will be evoked memories of the past, and young people will learn many unknown facts and feel the twisty history of modern China.

The editors and the publishing house asked me to write some words about this book. I am writing down all these words just as reflections on the book.

February 2004

Preface Two

ZHANG Zhongli

Concession in modern China is a problem worth attention. In more than 100 years from the establishment of the first concession in China in 1845 till the return of all concessions in 1945, people had a complicate feeling towards concession. In modern China, people hated concession, but also yearned for it. They hated concession because it infringed China's sovereignty, Chinese people suffering all kinds of oppression and humiliation. They yearned for concession because it brought along western civilizations and also showed Chinese people direction and hope of national development.

Politically, concessions were places directly ruled and administered by foreigners, the existence itself being a plain aggression of a sovereign state. Foreign officials, policemen, and soldiers in the concessions often upset every people patriotic of their motherland. Therefore, the voice of taking back the concessions echoed all the time in China, and the desire of obtaining motherland's independence never ended. However, compared with feudal systems, modern capitalism was a big stride forward in aspects of modern civilized republicanism, mechanism restricting officials' power, development of democracy and legalization.

Economically, concessions in fact pushed forward the urban development. Through the concessions, modern capitalist production began to develop, and unprecedented advanced productivity was introduced, leading to China's modernization. However, the cost of exchanging for the progress was huge. National capitalist economy was stimulated, but lost its independent development status.

Culturally, modern concession cities became exchange places of western and Chinese cultures. Newspapers,

schools and publishing houses broke away from the control of feudal government, and cultural markets were developed. People's thoughts and freedom of speech were protected, and the old ideology was greatly shocked. This process of cultural integration was not only a "westernization" absorbing western cultures, but also an impact on the western cultures. Naturally, the concession culture was obviously marked with features of a semi-colony.

In respects of urban and social life, progress brought by the concession and its semi-colonized features were also obvious. Western styles were brought to the east, people liking foreign things, old traditions under change and the new replacing the old. Crashing and exchanging of Chinese and foreign social lives cultivated unique folk customs in the concessions. This new trend of urban social life on the one hand was a progress, on the other hand brought all kinds of abuses; it was full of vigor and vitality, but also featured by abnormality and morbidity.

As concessions were products of unequal treaties signed with foreign powers after the victory of their invasion into China, their establishment was definitely a kind of humiliation to China, thus strongly resisted by Chinese people. Chinese people protested against the concessions in various ways. Protesting against the expansion of concessions, demanding the return of juristic sovereignty of the concessions, resisting exorbitant taxes and levies, struggling against foreigners' violent acts, long-lasting campaigning for Chinese people's participation in politics, etc. were all manifestation of Chinese people's patriotisms.

After more than one hundred years of continuous struggle, Chinese people at last formally took back all concessions occupied by western powers and completed necessary legal procedures. Since then, an independent new China with full sovereignty has been standing erect in the east of the world.

"Lagging behind will suffer beating." The history of modern concessions once again verified this incontestable truth. To further understand modern China's situation and remember these historical lessons are beneficial for us and our descendants to more actively take part in today's construction course.

April 2004

PREFACE THREE

PAN Junxiang

In current China, concession has already become a historical memory. For most people today, concessions are almost something new. An elder people over 70 years may still vaguely remember life spent as a child in a concession. If a little younger, he can still guess about the prosperity and darkness of the concession period from his elder generation and the concession buildings and relics. As to our next generation, they can only get some idea of the historical concessions from their textbooks, films and novels.

Concession has been an elusive "monster" for a long time. As to people's feeling of concession, for those builders of the concessions and those made a great fortune from the expansion of concessions, they were their creation, or the paradise where they created fortune. But for the toiling masses living at the social bottom in the concessions, concessions were their hell. Even for ordinary employees and labors, they suffered endless torments in the concessions. As to the concession's role in modern Chinese society, someone, from the perspective of social development, regarded the effective concession administrative system as a model to be learned by Chinese people, but others, from the perspective of an infringed national sovereignty, deemed concessions a gross insult to modern Chinese people. Exploring the social developmental trajectory of modern China, when assessing the historical value of concessions, some claimed that concessions were a "window" and "channel" of Chinese and foreign social, economic and cultural exchanges, and others defined concessions as "an access board" to or "the headquarters" of invasion. These two completely opposite assessments, like water versus fire, or ice versus charcoal, are totally incompatible and difficult for people to distinguish.

In fact, concession as an important integrant and a hallmark of modern China embodied special duality at its very beginning of establishment. It was established and developed along with the defeat of China by western powers in

the Opium War. It was the first place in China invaded by foreign powers, and also the first experimental site where western powers transplanted their civilizations into China. In respect of sovereignty, it was an insulting mark to Chinese people, but a symbol of glory for colonists. The impact of concessions on China's society, economy and culture was also of dual nature. It was a special channel of foreign powers grabbing China's fortune, but also an important link bridging China and the world. It was a channel importing and displaying western civilizations, and also a window for Chinese people to observe the world and absorb modern civilizations. It should be pointed out that the positive stimulation brought about to modern China by concessions was absolutely not the original intention of foreign powers. In his article "British Rule in India", Marx sharply denounced Britain's barbarous colonial rule in India, but it also cultivated the social revolution in India. He pointed out, "Whatever crimes had Britain committed, it unconsciously served as a historical tool cultivating the social revolution." The semi-colonial rule by foreign powers in concessions in China also served "unconsciously as a historical tool" pushing forward and stimulating China's social progress and evoked the social revolution in modern China. Therefore, we can and should analyze different impacts of concessions in a realistic way.

The Foreign Concessions in China collected pictures and historic relics provided by Shanghai History Museum, Tianjin History Museum, Wuhan Museum, Xiamen Museum, Guangzhou Museum, Chongqing Museum, Zhengjiang Museum, Zhejiang Provincial Museum, Jiujiang Museum, Suzhou Revolutionary Museum, Qingdao Municipal Museum, Yantai Municipal Museum, and Archives of French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It presents a vivid and visual investigation and analysis on various impacts of concessions on China's politics, economy, society and culture in modern history. At the same time, it also reflects the whole process from the concessions' emerging, expansion till returning to China. It is a rich collection of pictures recording concessions in China and China's national conditions in modern history. If the publishing of this book can help people today to learn more about concessions in the old time, to learn more about China's modern history, and to learn more about national conditions in modern China, then the original intention of the editors is satisfied. At the same time, any comments on the book from academics, museums and other social circles are most welcome, and we will try to promote our work in the future!

序 一 金冲及 / 3

PREFACE ONE JIN CHONGJI / 8

序 二 張仲禮 / 4

PREFACE TWO ZHANG ZHONGLI / 10

序 三 潘君祥 / 6

PREFACE THREE PAN JUNXIANG / 12

目 錄
CONTENTS

一、話說租界 / 18

I. AN INTRODUCTION TO CONCESSIONS

二、形形色色的各地租界 / 32

II. CONCESSIONS OF ALL FORMS IN DIFFERENT PLACES

1. 設立最早的上海租界 / 32

1. CONCESSIONS IN SHANGHAI WHICH WERE ESTABLISHED AT THE EARLIEST TIME

2. 天津九國租界 / 44

2. CONCESSIONS IN TIANJIN INCORPORATED WITH NINE NATIONS

3. 漢口五國租界 / 50

3. CONCESSIONS IN HANKOW INCORPORATED WITH FIVE NATIONS

4. 其他各地的租界和特殊區域 / 56

4. CONCESSIONS AND SPECIAL REGIONS IN OTHER PLACES

三、租界：“國中之國” / 82

III. CONCESSIONS: “STATES WITHIN A STATE”

1、工部局和公董局 / 84

1. SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AND FRENCH CONSEIL MUNICIPALE

2、巡捕房和巡捕 / 94

2. THE MUNICIPAL POLICE AND POLICEMEN

3、立法和司法權的喪失 / 102

3. LOSS OF LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL POWERS

4、耀武揚威的外國駐軍 / 106

4. THE ARROGANT FOREIGN ARMIES IN CHINA

5、從江海關推向全國的海關制度 / 120

5. SPREAD OF CUSTOMS SYSTEM FROM THE IMPERIAL MARITIME CUSTOMS TO THE WHOLE NATION

四、租界的城市基礎設施建設 / 126

IV. URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE CONSTRUCTION IN CONCESSIONS

1、“萬國建築博覽會” / 128

1. THE MULTI-NATIONAL BUILDING EXHIBITION

2、道路和橋梁 / 148

2. ROADS AND BRIDGES

3、輻射國內外的航運碼頭 / 164

3. SHIPPING WHARFS CONNECTING THE DOMESTIC AND THE OVERSEAS

4、城市交通工具 / 176

4. URBAN TRANSPORTATION VEHICLES