

鼓浪屿研究

第四辑

Journal Of Gulangyu Studies

主编 周旻



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Timeline of the British Presence in Xiamen

David Woodbridge 著 李琼花校审*

1670—The first British ship, belonging to the East India Company, comes to Xiamen.

1677—The East India Company receives permission from Zheng Jing (郑经) to open a trading station in Xiamen.

1680—The Qing captures Xiamen. The East India Company is forced to leave the city.

1684—With permission from the Qing, the East India Company returns to Xiamen and re-establishes a trading station there.

1757—The Qing decides that, from henceforth, all European merchants must carry out their trading in Guangzhou. This became known as the Canton System. Consequently, the East India Company was required to abandon its trade at Xiamen.

26th August, 1841—Xiamen is captured by British forces during the Battle of Amoy.

29th August, 1842—The Treaty of Nanjing is agreed by Britain and China. According to the terms, Xiamen is one of the five cities designated as treaty ports and henceforth open to foreign trade. Article XIII stipulated that Gulangyu would continue to be occupied by British forces until all the reparations owed by the Qing had been repaid, and all arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants were completed.

September 1843—Henry Gribble is appointed as the first British Consul in Xiamen.

2nd November, 1843—Xiamen is officially opened to foreign merchants.

July 1844—The first missionaries from the London Missionary Society arrive in Xiamen.

1845—British troops depart from Gulangyu.

May 1850—The English Presbyterian Mission begins operating in Xiamen.

1851—A British Concession is established, located along the harbour front in Xiamen, opposite Gulangyu.

1877—The English Presbyterian Mission opens the Amoy Girls' School on Gulangyu.

1878—The Gulangyu Road and Cemetery Fund Committee is established, in order to make improvements to the facilities on Gulangyu.

1897—The Anglo-Chinese College is started on Gulangyu. It is primarily the work of the English Presbyterian Mission.

1st May, 1903—Gulangyu becomes an International Settlement, governed by its own

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Municipal Council.

December 1921—March 1922—A major boycott takes place against the British company Butterfield & Swire, regarding the boundary of the company's lot in the British Concession.

1925—Anti-imperialist protests take place in the British Concession, in response to the incident of May 30th in Shanghai.

17th September, 1930—The British Concession in Xiamen is returned to the Chinese government.

1943—Gulangyu's status as an International Settlement is ended.

Trade and Commerce

—German Involvement in Xiamen After the First Opium War 1842-1917(III)

Rigger Manuel 著 李琼花校审*

The German consul often noted that “German shipping and trade” were significant in Xiamen. However, most scholars note that the trade between Germany and China was insignificant before the First Opium War. Previous work on the categorization of German trade from 1905 to 1933 divides the trade into an early development from 1905 to 1913, a suspension of trade from 1914 to 1919, and an expansion from 1920 to 1933.^② How does the supposedly high German trade in Xiamen and the low general trade fit together?

One part of the answer is that the local trading houses were primarily active in shipping and coast trade where they traded Chinese and not German products. Another part is that the perception of a significant German trade in Xiamen was distorted through the chartering of German ships. Later Maritime Customs documents contain the German trade volume for some years. However, the entries do not reflect the trade volume by German merchants. German ships were often chartered by Chinese merchants, and the Maritime Customs entries thus included some parts of the Chinese trading volume. Additionally, local trade and German commercial activity were mostly limited to shipping.

This article investigates local trading establishments as well as import and export between Germany and Xiamen. A special feature of German trade in Xiamen was the purchase of Krupp cannons for Hulishan and other forts in and around Xiamen that is discussed in a section. Other sections also investigate whether Germany was locally involved in the opium or coolie trade.

1.1 Local German Banks

No German bank was in Xiamen during the unequal treaty time.

The only German bank in China was the German Asiatic Bank(Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, 德国银行) which never opened a branch in Xiamen. Was there no incentive for opening a branch?

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② Ping-Yin Ho. The Foreign Trade of China [M].Shanghai:The Commercial Press, 1935:212.

German banking interests started late, when in 1885 the first German study commission visited China to investigate investment opportunities. The commission resulted in the founding of the German Asiatic Bank which was the first non-British bank in China. It was founded as a consortium of German banks in Shanghai in 1889 to participate in the Chinese railroad business, to invest in ships, and to win grounds against other nations.

In 1903, branches of the German Asiatic Bank were only listed for Hankou while a branch for Beijing had already been announced.^① Figure 1 shows an example of an advertisement from the 3 September, 1914 which presents the branches of the bank. Until 1917, when the bank had to close down in China, the German Asiatic Bank only had branches in Shanghai (1889), Tianjin (1890), Hankou (1898), Qingdao (1899), HongKong (1900), Jinan (1904), Beijing (1905), and Guangzhou (1910).^{②③}

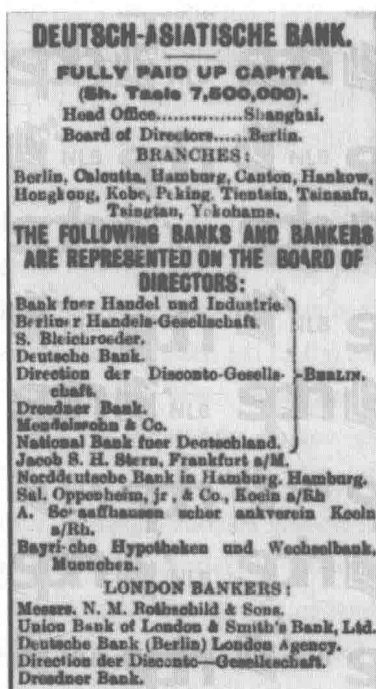


Figure 1 German Asiatic Bank Advertisement 1914^④

In 1911, the Amoy Business Directory listed the Bank of Taiwan, the Bank of Communications, the HongKong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, as well as agents of the Merchantile Bank of India, the National Bank of China, the Nederlands Indische Handels

① Germany, Export[J]. 1903(25):412.

② Heinrich Schnee. "Deutsch-Asiatische Bank" Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon I[EB/OL]. 1920, <http://www.ub.bildarchiv-dkg.uni-frankfurt.de/Bildprojekt/Lexikon/php/suchedb.php?surname=Deutsch-AsiatischeBank>.

③ Eberstein. Hamburg-China[M]. Geschichte einer Partnerschaft, 1988: 197-199.

④ Banking. Deutsch-Asiatische Bank. The Straits Times[EB/OL]. 03 Sept. 1914, <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/Digitised/Article/straitstimes19140903-1.2.93.1.aspx>: 14.

Bank, and the Ta-Ching Government Bank. There were also many small native banks in Xiamen.

Overall, there was no incentive for opening a branch of the German Asiatic Bank in Xiamen. Xiamen did not have many big investments that could use a loan of a bank. An exception was the construction of the railway to Zhangzhou, but which was built without a treaty that could have forced a foreign loan. Additionally, there was a high competition of banks on which long-standing businesses already relied, such as the biggest German company Pasedag & Co. which relied on the HongKong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.^①

Apart from the commercial aspects, German banks were a political tool to compete with the British and secure influence in China. With the seizing of Jiaozhou, however, German efforts concentrated on the area of Shandong. There, e.g., the German Asiatic Bank gave loans to the Chinese government for constructing railways. Thus, without significant commercial and political incentives in Xiamen, a branch probably did not receive serious consideration.

Still, traveling reports mention that the HongKong & Shanghai Banking Corporation acted as an agency for the Berliner Disconto-Gesellschaft which was part of the German Asiatic Bank consortium which is also shown in Figure 1.

1.2 Local German Currency

Although there were many currencies circulating in Xiamen, a German currency was not one of them.

Pitcher noted that there were “at least six or seven different kinds of the dollar coin in circulation at this port, viz. the Yen, Mexican, HongKong, French, Straits, and Hupeh dollar and some Manila pesos”.

The Maritime Customs confirmed this by its statistics of the yearly import and export of currency. In 1909, American and English gold coins, Mexican, HongKong, Carolus, Chinese, Philippine, Japanese, French Indo-China dollars as silver coins, as well as Chinese copper coins showed up in the statistics.^② However, in this and all other years no import and export of German currencies showed up. Also the yearly written reports frequently mentioned high variations in the exchange rate, but never for a German currency. Still, Chen Guolin showed that German currencies before and after the founding of the German empire reached Xiamen. Moreover, German coins that had been minted in Jiaozhou reached Xiamen and have been

① The Straits Times. An Enemy Dividend Account[EB/OL]. 20 Aug. 1917, <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/Digitised/Article.aspx?articleid=straitstimes19170820-1.2.55>.

② 中国第二历史档案馆, 中国海关总署办公厅. 中国旧海关史料(1859—1948)[M]. 北京: 京华出版社, 2001: 556.

preserved until today.^① Probably, the German currencies did not acquire significance in business transactions in Xiamen.

1.3 Local German Firms

The number of firms in Xiamen was continually low and large companies never exceeded six. Were there important German companies in Xiamen?

Table 1 shows the amount of German firms in China as well as in Xiamen, and the total number of foreign firms in Xiamen for comparison.^②

As argued in the following passages, the German company Pasedag & Co. was one of the first firms in Xiamen and existed until after the outbreak of the First World War. It was thus the only German firm in Xiamen in 1874, 1875, and 1911.^③ Gerard & Co. was another company that was mentioned in 1881.^④ Through the “Sugar Boiling Pan Incident” it is apparent that Gerard & Co. existed until at least 1884. Another known German company was Petersen & Co. which was together with the Pasedag & Co. involved in the Deli coolie trade starting from 1888. In 1898, the company was mentioned together with Pasedag & Co. as the only German company in that year. The company thus at least existed between 1891 and 1898.

Overall, it seems likely that Pasedag & Co. was the only German company until 1875. It is possible that in 1881 or before, Petersen & Co. and Gerard & Co. started to operate. In about 1898, Gerard & Co. ceased to exist. Petersen & Co. operated at least until 1898, more likely it only disappeared a few years after. In 1906, the company was reported to have already ceased to exist several years ago. In 1911, only Pasedag & Co. was left.

It is not possible to rule out the possibility that for certain years the number of German companies was higher. It is even likely that, e.g., the watchmaker Otto Martin as one of the first Germans (see Table 1) operated as a company. However, if a company existed that stayed unmentioned, then it was probably only of minor significance. This includes the company around 1900 that stays unexplained. The consular reports for 1900 and 1902 state that 27 and 25 foreigners^⑤ were associated with the companies. The unexplained company thus probably only

① 陈国林.外国金属货币[M]//厦门货币图录.厦门:厦门大学出版社, 2012:135-140.

② The table was aggregated from various sources, similiarly to the table for the German population. The table represents a plausible development and some of the different sources for the same years contain equal data.

③ Also Pitcher mentions Pasedag & Co. as one of the companies that has been existing for over 50 years. (Pitcher 214)

④ Germany. Reichsministerium des Innern and Germany. Auswärtiges Amt and Germany. Reichswirtschaftsministerium, Deutsches Handels-Archiv. Zeitschrift für Handel und Gewerbe[M].1881(1): 525.

⑤ The report does not state whether the workers were all German, or also included other foreigners or Chinese. However, another source shows that around 1900, 26 German foreigners were working at a German company. (Pitcher 217)

included one or a handful of people.

In, e.g., 1906 the German consul stated that “one can only talk about one company” since besides the company Pasedag & Co. the second “firm” was a ship’s chandler without properties and capital.

Table 1 Number of German Firms in China and Xiamen 1850-1919

Year	German firms in China	German firms in Xiamen	Foreign Firms in Xiamen
1850	7 ^①	—	—
first firms (around 1850) ^②	—	1	11
1865	—	—	15 ^③
1872	40 ^④	—	—
1874 ^⑤	—	1	25
1875 ^⑥	—	1	17
1880	—	—	24 ^⑦
1881	50 ^⑧	3 ^⑨	23 ^⑩
mid-1880s	—	—	24 ^⑪
1886 (1885?)	—	3 ^⑫	—
1892	78 ^⑬	—	—
1898 ^⑭	80	2	—
1900 ^⑮	—	3	148
1902 ^⑯	145	2	181
1905 ^⑰	—	2	289
1906	—	2 ^⑱	—
1911 ^⑲	—	1	363
1913	296 ^⑳	—	—
1919	2 ^㉑	—	—

①W. Schüler.Abriss Der Neueren Geschichte Chinas (Bod Third Party Titles, 2013) 149.

②R. Nield:The China Coast. Trade and the First Treaty Ports [M]. HK: Joint Publishing, 2010: 104.

③A. Wright and H. A. Cartwright. Twentieth Century Impressions of HongKong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources[M].Lloyds Greater Britain publishing company, 1908: 820.

④BArch R 901/5150. Trade Report 1901 and 1902.

⑤中国第二历史档案馆, 中国海关总署办公厅. 中国旧海关史料 (1859—1948) [M].北京:京华出版社, 2001:719.

⑥中国第二历史档案馆, 中国海关总署办公厅.中国旧海关史料 (1859—1948) [M].北京:京华出版

社, 2001:129.

⑦A. Wright and H. A. Cartwright. *Twentieth Century Impressions of HongKong, Shanghai and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* [M]. Lloyds Greater Britain Publishing Company, 1908: 820.

⑧BArch R 901/5150. Trade Report 1901 and 1902.

⑨中国第二历史档案馆, 中国海关总署办公厅. *中国旧海关史料 (1859—1948)* [M]. 北京: 京华出版社, 2001:373.

⑩中国第二历史档案馆, 中国海关总署办公厅. *中国旧海关史料 (1859—1948)* [M]. 北京: 京华出版社, 2001:373.

⑪R. Nield. *The China Coast. Trade and the First Treaty Ports* [M]. HK: Joint Publishing, 2010: 109.

⑫PA AA R 9208/951. 77.

⑬BArch R 901/5150. Trade Report 1901 and 1902.

⑭Unknown. *Ost-Asien* [J]. 1898(1): 127.

⑮BArch R 901/5150. Trade Report 1901 and 1902.

⑯BArch R 901/5150. Trade Report 1901 and 1902.

⑰PA AA R 9208/953. 225.

⑱PA AA R 252853. 9.

⑲Philip Wilson Pitcher. *In and About Amoy. Some Historical and Other Facts Connected with One of the First Open Ports in China* [M]. Second Edition. The Methodist Publishing House in China. Shanghai and Foochow, 1912: 216.

⑳William C Kirby. *Germany and Republican China* [M]. Stanford University Press, 1984: 16.

㉑William C Kirby. *Germany and Republican China* [M]. Stanford University Press, 1984: 16.

Xiamen with firms in 1898 was far behind Shanghai with 26 German firms, HongKong with 16, Guangzhou with 9, Tianjin with 14, and Hankou with 5 firms.^① In terms of local German companies, Xiamen was thus negligible. Only 2 of the 80 German companies in China were based in Xiamen in this year.

It is not surprising that no more foreign or German firms operated in Xiamen. Although Xiamen was known as a city with many returned overseas Chinese that got rich abroad and returned living an affluent life in Xiamen, the demand on foreign imports could be satisfied with the few local all-rounder firms which also operated in the coast trade and as charterers.

Additionally, Xiamen continuously lost economic importance after the First Opium War. While the number of German firms in China continuously increased, the number of German firms in Xiamen stayed almost constant. Until 1872, only 40 firms were in China, one of them being the Pasedag & Co. In 1881, even 3 out of the 50 German companies in China were located in Xiamen. However, in 1902, there were only 2 local German companies, contrasted by 145 in the whole country. In 1913, the number climbed up to 296. With the First World War the German companies ceased to exist.

It seems that around 1900 the number of foreign firms in Xiamen increased rapidly, thus

① Unknown. *Ost-Asien* [J]. 1898(1): 127.

giving an alternative explanation for the diminished German shipping, namely through the displacement of German companies. Table 2 shows the number of foreign firms in 1902. Especially the Japanese imperialism and expansion to Xiamen could have been a reason for the decline of German shipping through the displacement of German companies.

Table 2 Number of Foreign Firms in 1902

Nationality	Firms
German	2
Japanese	107
British	43
Spanish	12
American	8
Dutch	5
French	3
Danish	1

However, the high number of foreign firms is only an illusion. With the Japanese expansion to Taiwan (and Xiamen) the number of Japanese and their firms in Xiamen indeed increased. However, the German consul determined for the year 1902, that there were only two German, nine British, one American, and several Japanese companies. The other companies' owners were all Chinese, which acted under protection by a foreign country. Germany as the only country did not grant this right to the Chinese merchants, thus letting the number of German firms appear smaller. The number of foreign firms thus stayed almost constant throughout the treaty time, invalidating the alternative explanation for the displacement of German companies.

The German companies were not involved in direct trade with Germany. In 1904, the consul noted that "the local German firms already gave up their efforts to get a larger amount of German import trade into their hands years ago". When the local German firms found a German article that they could sell well, Chinese customers quickly sent a sample to their agents in HongKong, which then also imported the article. The merchants in HongKong then tried to lower the price significantly, so that the local German business could not compete. The consul ascertained that "it is reasonable that German merchants only deal in seldom cases with the import of new goods, when they have full security, that Chinese merchants cannot directly get the articles".

The next sub sections will present more information about the individual companies.

1.3.1 Pasedag & Co. 1854-1917

Pasedag & Co. (宝记洋行, abbreviated 宝记, and in HongKong known as Poa-kee) was

the most important German company in Xiamen. It was founded in about 1854 as the first German company^① and as one of the first firms in Xiamen generally. The founder was the German C. J. Pasedag who was also consul for Hanover, Hamburg, and Prussia.^②

Pasedag made high profits with the rice trade in the initial years, together with Siemssen & Co. to which he had a good relationship.^③ However, after 1864 the rice export from Taiwan was no longer allowed and this business perished.^④ Still, the company did not go bankrupt and continued to operate in other fields.

During its later existence, the company was noted as an “agency concern”, “shipping business”, or “general import and export business”. In reality, the company was continuously active in all these businesses. This was not unusual and the first firms in Xiamen tended to be general trading houses and only few specialized in specific businesses. The generality of business areas was also noted by Möring who described the business field of Siemssen & Co. and the associated companies before 1914 as an “all-rounder business over half the world”.

The company changed its owner at least once, when on the 1 January, 1864 Pasedag left his company in Xiamen and another one in Ningbo. Pasedag returned from Xiamen to Germany in November 1883. Probably August Piehl who was consul of the Netherlands, and vice-consul for Sweden and Norway took over the office, who was already living in Xiamen since at least 1878. In its later years, Pasedag & Co. moved its headquarters to Taiwan.

Sources from the 1890s show that August Piehl became a later owner of the company and together with B. Hempel he led a large coal trade. At this time the company was noted as an agency for the shipping companies Asiatic Petroleum Company, the NDL, the HAPAG, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and the British India Shipping Companies. B. Hempel was also a German and came in 1891 to China. From 1902, he served as a consular of the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway.^⑤

Pasedag & Co. was known to participate in the coolie trade. In 1902, 12 German steamers transported 8,234 passengers, most of them were coolies, in 1903, 23 German steamers, 13,960 passengers, and in 1904, 16 German steamers, 101,119 passengers. Most of them went onto the account of Pasedag & Co. Pasedag & Co. also initiated the “Deli Project” in which the company wanted to establish a direct coolie export to Deli. However, it transferred this business to Petersen & Co.

The consul also noted that Pasedag & Co. employed four Chinese agents in the interior

① Mike Peters. City with Beauty and Age [EB/OL]. 29 Jan. 2013, <http://www.fjfao.gov.cn/english/livinginfujian/tourism/201301/t20130129624973.htm>.

② R. Nield. The China Coast: Trade and the First Treaty Ports [M]. HK: Joint Publishing, 2010: 104.

③ Maria Möring. Siemssen & Co. 1846-1996 [M]. Band 55 der Veröffentlichungen der Wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Forschungsstelle e.V. Verlag Hanseatischer Merkur, 1996: 69.

④ Eberstein. Hamburg-China [M]. Geschichte einer Partnerschaft, 1988: 103.

⑤ 厦门市鼓浪屿—万石山风景名胜管理区管理委员会. 鼓浪屿公共租界工部局的董事会 [EB/OL]. Feb. 2013, <http://go.gly.cn/s/a/201302/512.html>.

which frequently led to negotiations with the authorities, often requiring action of the consulate. Although not noted by the consul, the four Chinese agents were probably set up as coolie traders, since Chinese were usually the middlemen for the coolie trade.

An investigation following a notification of the forced deletion of the ships of Pasedag from the shipping register sheds some light on the size of the company in 1893 and 1894. At this time, the sole owner of the company was still August Piehl, registered as a citizen of Lubeck in Germany. He operated the company from Xiamen and had no representatives in Germany. Four barks were registered on his name that all operated in the coast trade. At this time, over 50% of the German ships were already steamers. The German consul presented in 1906 a comparison of Pasedag & Co. with Siemssen & Krohn in Fuzhou. In contrast to the organized and controlled business of Siemssen & Krohn, the business by Pasedag & Co. was not really clear. The consul noted that “it is difficult to define in what business Pasedag & Co. mainly is engaged at all”. While in Fuzhou, Siemssen & Krohn concentrated three fourths on the tea business, among other smaller businesses such as its sawmill, Pasedag & Co. seemed only to “technically limit itself to the petroleum and coal import and the export of coolies”. Instead, the company was also known to “operate all possible export and import businesses, so that one can see that it [the business] is constantly fluctuating back and forth”. In contrast, the business of Siemssen & Krohn increased slowly but constantly through the years. Pasedag & Co. was also a smaller company than Siemssen & Krohn in Fuzhou. Section 6.2 supports this hypothesis based on the properties noted by the consul. Siemssen & Krohn’s properties not only exceeded Pasedag & Co.’s, but all the German properties in Xiamen taken together. The consul mentioned that the position of Siemssen & Krohn in Fuzhou is “incomparably more important than the position of the firm Pasedag & Co. among the companies in Xiamen”. While the consul estimated Siemssen & Krohn to be in the first business tax category (erste Gewerbesteuerklasse), he would group Pasedag & Co. at best into the second.

As seen above, one later field of Pasedag & Co. was the petroleum trade. When after 1895 private Dutch enterprises turned their attention to China, often German trading companies such as Pasedag & Co. acted as their agents. Dutch companies in Xiamen included the JCJL, NIHB, and Royal Dutch/Shell. Royal Dutch built kerosene tank installations in Xiamen in 1898. In 1900, it was the third largest oil importer in China, behind Standard Oil and STT. In 1903, STT and the Royal Dutch combined their Asian efforts in the Asiatic Petroleum Company.^① The German consul noted the “success of a local German company with the import of Sumatra Petroleum” the first time for 1894, probably when Royal Dutch started its efforts in Xiamen.^②

① Frans-Paul van der Putten et al. *Corporate Behaviour and Political Risk: Dutch Companies in China, 1903-1941*, Diss., Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Leiden University, 2001:19, 22.

② Pitcher states that the Asiatic Petroleum Company was established in 1907. However, several sources note that the business had been initiated years before. (Pitcher 215)

When Royal Dutch company was established in 1903, Pasedag & Co. represented it until at least 1906.^①

Around 1911, Pasedag & Co. also appeared in the *Amoy Business Directory* as agency for the National Bank of China.

Pasedag & Co. outlived the outbreak of the First World War but the business of Pasedag & Co. stagnated. The company could not longer act as an agency for enemy states. Violations resulted in law cases, such as a case against Thoresen & Co. The company supplied five petroleum stoves to Pasedag & Co. when the company was acting as an agency for the East Asiatic Trading Company.^②

After the outbreak of the First World War, German companies could still continue with their business until 1917 when the Chinese government expropriated the companies and seized the goods. Pasedag & Co. among other German companies thus ceased to exist in 1917.

1.3.2 Petersen & Co. 1888-1898

Petersen & Co.'s business field was similar to Pasedag & Co.'s. The company operated as a trading house, participated in the coast trade as well as in the coolie transport. From 1888 to 1890, Petersen & Co. even operated the coolie trade to Deli on its own, after the company took over the business from Pasedag & Co. Petersen also occupied several small vessels under his and the company's name. Additionally, all the German ships during the existence of Petersen & Co. were either consigned to his company or to Pasedag & Co. In 1906, the consul mentioned that with the vanishing of Petersen & Co. a small decline of German commerce in Xiamen could be felt.

1.3.3 Gerard & Co. 1881-1884

Regarding Gerard & Co. little is known. It was most probably founded by "Gerard" who was one of the first German inhabitants in Xiamen and was registered as a grocer. Gerard & Co. engaged in the manufacturing of iron pans for which he also had a furnace, which eventually led to the "Sugar Boiling Pan Incident". Additionally, the firm operated as a trading house. There are no hints that Gerard participated in the coast trade or operated ships himself.

① Contracts with the period of validity from 1903 to 1905 indicate that Pasedag & Co. acted on behalf of the Asiatic Petroleum Company (Putten et al. 73). Trade reports from 1903 and 1906 by the German consul also acknowledge the development of the petroleum trade that was represented by the German company (BArch R 901/5150 Trade Report 1903) (BArch 5036 Trade Report 1906).

② The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser. Enemy Trading in Hong Kong [EB/OL]. 30 May 1916, <http://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/Digitised/Article/singfreepressb19160530-1.2.44.aspx>; 7.