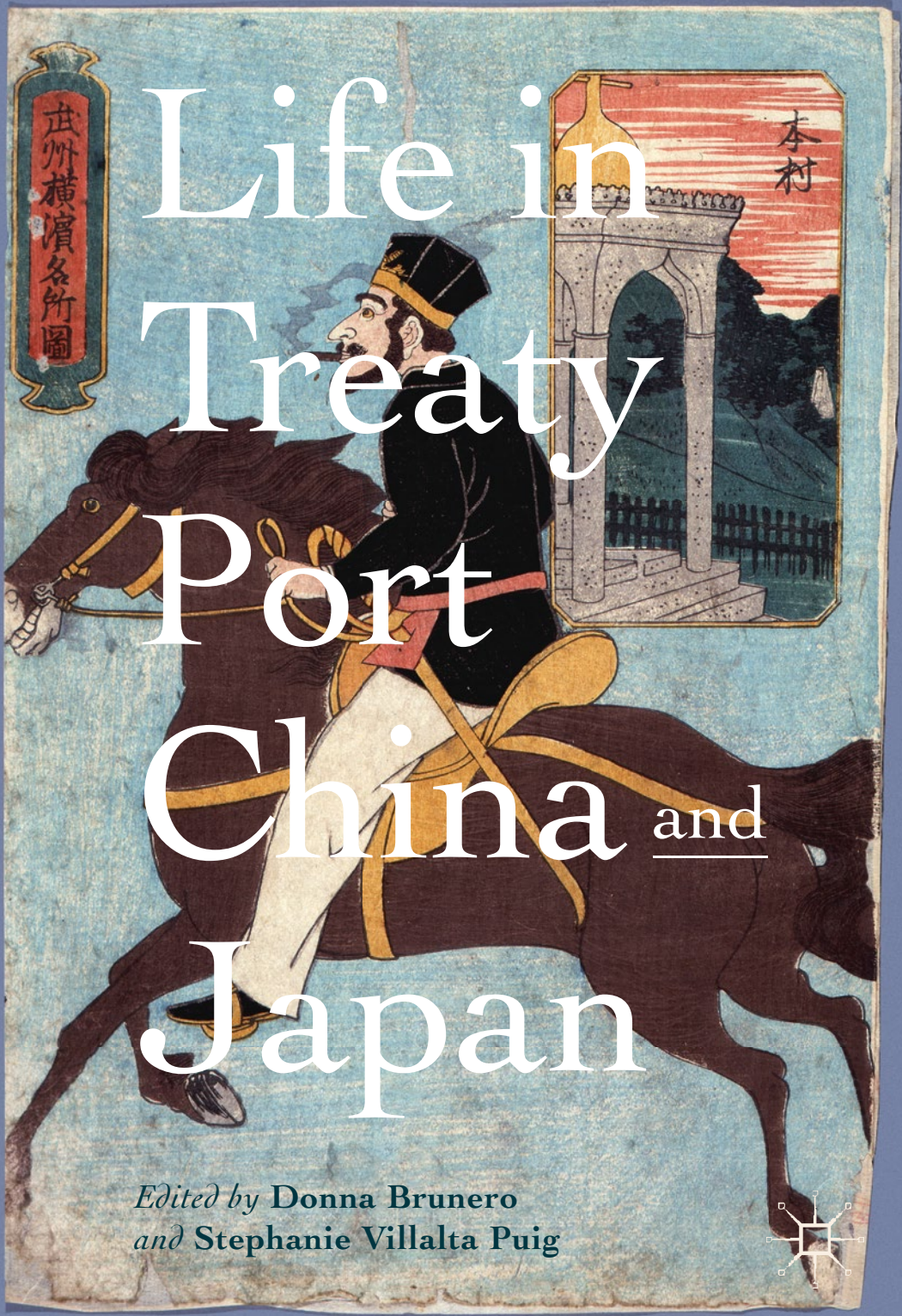

Life in Treaty Port China and Japan

Edited by **Donna Brunero**
and **Stephanie Villalta Puig**

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Editors

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palgrave
macmillan

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ISBN 978-981-10-7367-0 ISBN 978-981-10-7368-7 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018932910

Cover illustration: Yokohama Archives of History

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. part of Springer Nature
The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Foreword

Nothing has ever shouted 'treaty port' more loudly than Shanghai's iconic Bund. And no country ever tried as hard to end the system of 'unequal' treaties that created these ports as did China. Yet, as this truly interdisciplinary volume demonstrates, treaty ports were neither only Chinese nor confined to Shanghai. Indeed, my first visit to a former treaty port was not to Shanghai or anywhere else in China, but to Yokohama, as a very young boy, decades ago on an American passenger ship en route from San Francisco to Hong Kong. It was the first time I had ever seen snow—only a light, white dusting, but enough to remind me I was truly in a foreign land. The souvenir I purchased was a handmade figurine of a Japanese child, dressed in what then would have been called 'traditional costume'.

J.E. Hoare's chapter in this book reminded me that these 'sites of memory' have different meanings in Japan than they do in China, partly because of the two nations' different encounters with the West (and with each other), not to mention their respective post–treaty port histories. Similarly, I was struck while reading Yuanxie Shi and Laurel Kendall's chapter on treaty port souvenirs from Ningbo how probably no Japanese child at the time I visited Yokohama would have owned such a figurine as the one I bought, crafted to reflect a timeless Japan to satisfy a demand for curiosities by foreign tourists. And yet, as Simon James Bytheway's chapter on Japanese woodblock prints and printed ephemera argues, producing images of the Japanese 'at home' was a key part of the nation's modernisation.

As Donna Brunero and Stephanie Villalta Puig explain in their introduction, moving 'beyond the Bund' provides a more nuanced understanding of the cross-cultural (and indeed intracultural) encounters and exchanges

in these cities and towns. The nine chapters in this volume do so in four main, interrelated ways: geographically and physically, mentally and emotionally, medically and materially. Linking all these is, of course, the uneven power relationships that defined the treaty ports, regardless of when and where, though even those relationships were more complex than previous scholarship has often suggested.

Expatriate families on the China coast, Brunero argues in her own chapter, helped to create a feeling of stability and permanence through a wide repertoire of sites and activities, from 'treasured places' such as clubs and holiday homes to what we might call 'treasured practices' such as maintaining a garden or huddling round a gramophone or piano. (Incidentally, my family's piano in 1970s Hong Kong was also from the Robinson's Piano Co. mentioned in Brunero's chapter, engraved prominently with the declaration 'manufactured for the tropics'.) And as Robert Nield's chapter shows, expatriates in the 'lesser' treaty ports situated literally 'beyond the Bund' often tried to maintain their Britishness by recreating the life they had in Shanghai or in the other more developed ports. Life in these 'outports' could be isolated and lonely, though writing and receiving letters helped close the distance.

As much as treaty port residents might try to shape their own domestic worlds, they could not change environmental geography. Stephanie Villalta Puig's chapter on medical geography in China shows how the British experience there was a physical one. The medicine practised by the Imperial Maritime Customs Service aimed to protect its staff and their families in these sometimes hostile climes. Chester Proshan's contribution on cholera in Yokohama helps us to understand the relationships among empire, deadly disease, and the local 'matrix of ordinary life' in nineteenth century Japan, even though attempts by Japanese and international migrants to fight cholera never led to any changes in this matrix.

Treaty ports were from the outset about land and territory, and the right to live and trade there. However, as Yu Chen's chapter on Sino-Anglo land transactions in Xiamen (Amoy) shows, there was never one single 'rent-in-perpetuity' system that applied to all Chinese treaty ports. The most notorious feature of treaty ports was extraterritoriality: at least in China, this rankled nationalists more than anything. But Gonzalo Villalta Puig's chapter on the Malay murder trials reminds us that extraterritoriality also brought the rule of law and could benefit not only Britons, Chinese and Japanese in the treaty ports but also colonial subjects from other parts of the British Empire.

Perhaps most important of all, the chapters in this book remind us that although treaty ports were about law, diplomacy and power, they were also about living beings, both ordinary and otherwise: those who created them, those who lived in them and made them work on a daily basis, and those who eventually helped end them. And, as we see in Timothy Amos's chapter on horses and hostlers in Yokohama's foreign settlement, these living beings were not all human. For even horses mattered—practically, materially and symbolically—in life 'beyond the Bund.'

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Preface

This volume was conceived by two scholars of treaty port China, two scholars who originally lived elsewhere but whose careers led them to find themselves in Asia. Every other contributor is similarly also either based in Asia or spent significant parts of their lives there. It is not surprising, perhaps, to find that we shared a fascination for understanding the everyday life of foreigners in East Asia in a much earlier time. From the collective lived experiences that have come to inform each chapter, this book is a work of historical scholarship informed by the modern day and even mundane experiences of the routines of life: the weather, the family, health, ideals and fears of place, cultural considerations, material collections, stability of administration and regulations, memory, then nostalgia.

These routines are an endless source of fascination for people wanting to read more about the histories of globalisation, of expatriate life and the experience of being a resident in a place where the local and the foreign were bound together in the interests of trade, colonialism, adventure and travel. While this volume does not intend to take us chronologically to the present day, it does venture to explore some of these ideas in the historical context of the treaty port world.

This volume has its genesis in the Asian Studies Association in Asia Conference held at the National University of Singapore in 2014 within a panel dedicated to the treaty ports of China and Japan. While an initial concern was that our panel might be overly ambitious by combining both Chinese and Japanese treaty ports into a metageography, our discussions realised how the interplay of similar themes, concerns and potential interconnections were much more productive than the traditional approach of

restricting the discussion to a solely Chinese or a Japanese focus. Lingnan University in Hong Kong provided the perfect setting at its 2011 and 2015 conferences *Empire State of Mind: Articulations of British Culture in the Empire, 1707–1997* and *Among Empires: The British Empire in Global Imperial Context Conferences*, respectively, for similarly minded scholars to materialise these discussions into contributions. And it is with this view that we promote further comparisons, dialogues and scholarship in order to present the treaty ports as a more common East Asian phenomenon than the literature has previously acknowledged.

Singapore — Donna Brunero
Hull, UK — Stephanie Villalta Puig

Acknowledgements

We are grateful for the support and collegiality of our fellow treaty port enthusiasts who have collaborated on this project. By combining a diverse array of specialisations, we have all been challenged to think about our own scholarship in new and valuable ways.

Professor John M. Carroll of The University of Hong Kong has been more than a mentor; we are thankful for his generosity, with regard to both his time spent conversing over our ideas as this volume took shape and for his advice.

We would also like to express our thanks to the Yokohama Archives of History for their permission to use the *Famous Places: The Englishman and Motomura* print, dated 1860, for the cover of this volume.

Finally, we appreciate the assistance of the editorial and production teams of Palgrave Macmillan.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Donna Brunero and Stephanie Villalta Puig

What was everyday life like for foreigners in the treaty ports of China and Japan? The residents of the treaty ports—local and foreign, in the trading concessions of China and Japan—experienced vastly different realities in similar material conditions. How can we understand the routines and feelings of the residents whose material life was conditioned by extraterritorial regulations and life within the liminal worlds of the treaty ports? The careful study of everyday life is often overshadowed by the special status given to treaty ports as sites of power and contestation and symbols of modernity in scholarship and as the subject of nostalgia in popular culture. This volume moves 'beyond the Bund' and presents a more intimate view of the treaty ports as they were experienced by foreign communities.

The Treaty Ports: An Overview

The treaty ports of China and Japan are the remnants of a bygone era, of what some scholars could argue as evidence of the 'Great Divergence' that took place where Asia was 'left behind' by Europe and was then forcibly

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_1

brought into contact with foreign traders, diplomats and, importantly, gunboats in the long nineteenth century.[1] China was 'one of a handful of existing polities that escaped wholesale incorporation into one empire or another'. But, as evidenced in the treaty ports, its territorial integrity and sovereignty was 'degraded nonetheless'.[2] Following Qing defeats in the Opium Wars, the Treaty of Nanjing forced the Chinese to open a number of ports to British trade and residence; other foreign powers quickly followed suit, seeking similar privileges.[3] The initial ports of Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou, Xiamen (Amoy) and Guangdong soon flourished and the treaty port system grew to become a vast system of ports and outports on the China coast, also stretching inland along waterways and at the frontiers of Qing, and later Republican China.[4] As Robert Bickers observes, 'So as a Chinese man or woman, you could take a walk in Tianjin as recently as 16 March 1917 from the north-east gate of the port city, and traverse a French, a British and then a German concession'.[5] This same walk could lead one past the Belgian, Russian, Italian and Austro-Hungarian districts. This description captures something of the complex world of the treaty ports where China played host to numerous foreigners who existed in a world that was physically in China and, yet, often perceived themselves as 'set apart' by cultural difference, a separation reinforced through institutional and legal privilege.

The case of Japan was not dissimilar; despite a policy of isolation, the Japanese were aware of the European powers' expansion into Asia, and from the 1790s onwards, a 'steady stream of Western ships began to enter Japanese waters'.[6] By 1853, matters came to a head when Commodore Perry's squadron entered Edo Bay and threatened a forced opening of Japan.[7] To avert a similar fate to that of China, the Tokugawa elite agreed to limited access at a number of ports. It was, however, not a challenge that the Japanese were in a strong position to face. We should remember that despite an appearance of a system to cope with the new arrivals (foreigners) Japan by 1853 was in 'the throes of a revolution in economic and social matters'.[8] The Perry Convention, signed in 1854, was not very radical; it did not provide for foreign residence or trade, and access to ports was limited.[9] By 1858, other powers not only sought similar conventions but merchants demanded access to trade markets and Japan signed treaties which responded to these demands. These 'unequal treaties' reinforced European and American privilege and sounded the death knell for the Tokugawa, ushering in the Meiji era. In the Meiji era, Japan was 'remade', emerging as a modern, Asian power and one with imperial aspirations of

its own. While the treaty port system in Japan did not have the large number of ports or the same longevity of the Chinese experience, there were many parallels in terms of foreign attitudes; traders who were present in China often also had interests in the Japanese ports, similar institutions were created (although never a customs service), and foreign enclaves and amenities (such as the almost mandatory race course) were created. These treaty ports remained sites of conflict but also of contact and accommodation. It is through our abiding interest in the exchanges that took place, at the material level of the everyday, that the focus of this volume comes together.

Indeed, it is only recently that scholars are re-examining the place of the treaty ports in larger narratives of imperial and colonial histories of Asia.[10] The colonial relationship, and for the past three decades, the postcolonial interpretation of the power relationships at the treaty ports, often falls prey in historiography to dichotomies of power. The treaty ports of China and Japan are often examined as sites of cultural interaction and conflict. J.E. Hoare's seminal study of the Japanese treaty ports, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests, 1858–1899*, provides an eloquent demonstration of the early development of the treaty port settlements in Japan. The case studies of Yokohama and Nagasaki are notably marked by examples of accommodation, but also they often highlight the conflict that emerged in the treaty port environ—be it over the legal status of foreigners or concerns over port infrastructure.[11] Much of the historiography of treaty ports of China and Japan is coloured by power relationships—colonial, postcolonial, informal empire—at the expense of the practicality, reality and even mundanity of the lives of the residents.[12] This volume, then, merges these themes and dichotomies: nostalgia and reality, the everyday and the extraordinary, centre and periphery, local and foreign via case studies from China and Japan. And through this merger of themes come new interpretations of the material and lived experiences in East Asia's ports in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

By including both the Chinese and Japanese treaty ports in this volume, we ask our readers to explore the possible comparisons that can be made between the different treaty ports. As the broader body of scholarship on the Asian port city argues, ports can never be seen in isolation—they are always part of larger, interconnected maritime networks. Flows between ports were part and parcel of shaping the Asian maritime world.[13] Historiographically, China and Japan have been treated as separate case studies; East Asianists have tended to orient themselves to either a Sinocentric or Japanese-centric understanding of the treaty port phenomenon.

This approach, we argue, while providing a strength in terms of specialisation and detail, denies a sense of the dialogue and interplay of experiences that were common across the treaty ports of East Asia more broadly.

Life in Everyday China and Japan approaches treaty port history with a commitment to interdisciplinarity. While all chapters work within the discipline of history, many contributors write with methodology and training from other disciplines. This interdisciplinarity informs how we study material culture and what we mean by sociality, materiality, symbolism, law, medicine, architecture, art and, of course, culture. The inclusiveness here encompasses a broad range of scholars, beyond the traditional gambit of treaty port historians of Chinese and Japanese history to also include scholars of maritime history, science and empire, urban development, economic history, museum studies and law. The richness and creativity that inform the volume and the rigour of its primary source materials give the study of treaty port history a new dimension. By moving 'beyond the Bund' (the iconic Shanghai waterfront being a symbolic and visual reminder of the treaty ports as contact zones) and studying the history of everyday lives, this volume provides a new insight into cultural exchanges and materiality in the treaty ports. It lends a more nuanced understanding to the narrative of encounters between the East and the West in the treaty ports. And beyond this, the volume provides the potential for fresh approaches to thinking about the ordinary lives for residents (foreign and local) of the treaty ports.

It is perhaps not too surprising that a number of our contributors touched on the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, or close connections to it, to explore the treaty ports.[14] This institution was intimately connected with the treaty port phenomenon—it served as a cornerstone of the treaty port system—and forms a rich source of research materials for scholars; it serves as an entry point for considering the China coast on multiple levels, from political and economic to social and cultural. Other contributors, however, venture further afield with sources from legal cases, property titles, ephemera and curios. So, throughout the chapters, we have movement between formally produced materials from established institutions in the treaty port world, to items that were produced by now unknown artisans in a fleeting and transitory treaty port age. This range of sources and inspirations serves once again to point to the sheer diversity of sources and approaches available when approaching a study of the materiality of the treaty ports.

Treaty Ports as 'Suidi'

While there is a good body of scholarship on both the treaty ports of China and Japan, finding works that survey the historiography of treaty port scholarship is elusive. The most recent work in this regard is the 2016 edited volume by Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, *Treaty Ports in Modern China*. In the introduction to their volume, Bickers and Jackson outline how the Chinese treaty port has been studied but then also present the case for the commonality of the structure of the 'suidi', a typical 'any port' which can be used as a typology for thinking about the treaty ports in a general sense. This typology deserves some discussion as rarely have scholars tried to articulate a common framework for thinking about the treaty ports.

According to Bickers and Jackson, the suidi or the archetypal 'any port' is a 'narrative presentation of the rise and fall of a fictional 'representative' example' that allows the reader to see how time shaped the way treaty ports developed.[15] Many of the developments that the suidi experienced seem familiar in form and structure. The symbols of power in the opening of a new treaty port, the administration of land and other regulations, the rituals of holidays, clubs, churches, newspapers—at once class conscious and quasi-colonial, all feature in the suidi. Added to this, we should not overlook the scholarship by Jeremy E. Taylor on the symbolic (and practical) role played by the ubiquitous waterfront, the bund in East Asia, which, he argues, was a distinct feature not only of treaty port morphology but of its cultural and visual identity.[16] The bund served as a spatial reminder of the 'entire social system and lifestyle that came to East Asia with the treaty ports'.[17] So the bund, and the physical morphology of the port, is significant to the suidi. This volume explores and tests this typology by extending the notion of the suidi to the so-called outports, beyond the China coast and to the Japanese treaty ports. And in doing so, we demonstrate the potential for comparative work, and for scholars to reconsider the parallels between the Chinese and Japanese treaty port worlds.

When conceptualising this study of the treaty ports of China and Japan, one of the common elements that emerged among many contributors was a shared interest in the materiality and social aspects of life in the treaty ports. These transitory places, the suidi, however, become often extremely elusive when we try to investigate material culture in a systematic manner.[18] Often, the most obvious aspects of material culture are what have the strongest resonance, items of ephemera like the cigarette girl posters

of 'Old Shanghai' (which are reprinted and re-purposed, such is their popularity in the present day) as a well-known motif. In a bid to move beyond the stereotypical accounts and representations of the treaty ports, this section briefly surveys some of the works on material culture and the treaty ports that have served as inspiration for or provided direction in our understanding of the treaty ports. This volume does not focus on 'high arts' or objects and items of 'elite status', but on the more mundane aspects of life where, as our contributor Chester Proshan observes, the ordinary and extraordinary co-mingled in remarkable ways. The embryonic roots of mass-produced material culture is explored in this volume too in the form of tourist curios, as is the symbology of tribute taking societies against the foreign-led development of the rule of law at the various treaty ports, as Gonzalo Villalta Puig reveals.

One striking aspect of material culture studies is that they not only have the potential to cross regions but also are almost certainly interdisciplinary in nature.[19] Moving on from Fernand Braudel's scholarship on economic histories and everyday life in Western Europe, material culture has arguably enjoyed a surge in scholarly attention in the last two decades.[20] Arjun Appadurai's edited volume *The Social Life of Things* is perhaps the most pivotal work in drawing attention to material culture, as it brought together scholars from anthropology, history and other fields to discuss objects and the multiple meanings that they held.[21] For the historian then, the 'turn to the material' opens new possibilities for research, interpretation and collaboration, and can rightly be considered a dynamic field with still much potential. Furthermore, scholars who have studied the idea of Asian material culture argue that we should see the diversity of scholarly interest as a strength of material culture that allows for histories of lived experiences, sociality and symbolic rituals: these themes provide a connecting thread for many of the chapters in our volume.

In *Writing Material Culture*, Gerritsen and Riello observe that historians have often used the term 'material' very loosely to mean objects and the practices surrounding how these objects are used.[22] This volume defines material culture along similar lines, recognising that objects hold intrinsic value both at the time and in the context of their creation and use, but also subsequently in their 'afterlives' (how collectors and scholars have stored, used and understood them). We recognise that documents too, be they case law reports or title deeds, also take on material culture significance, as they were collected, bound, consulted, stored and sometimes reproduced as part of the treaty port world. In *Asian Material Culture*,

Hulsbosch, Bedford and Chaiklin make the observation that at the heart of material culture lie continuous, dynamic relationships and social actions which are forged between the object, the individual and society as a whole.[23] We should be cognisant that, while we look at objects as part of material culture and the materiality of the everyday, these objects were (and are) not static but rather subject to innovation and change on an ongoing basis. They, just like the treaty ports, are re-imaged, re-experienced and re-purposed.[24]

Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China by Frank Dikötter maps the changes in the material landscape of China from around the time of the opening of the treaty ports to the advent of communist rule in 1949.[25] Dikötter's work demonstrates how foreign objects and commodities became not only a status symbol for the elites, but gradually permeated all levels of society, shaping the daily routines of the masses.[26] The intertwining of the ideas of foreign/Western and that of the modern, Dikötter argues, meant that, over time, some objects were not only seen as signs of 'progress', of moving away from a traditional era, but also regarded with ambivalence.[27] This modernity was not, however, simply transplanted or imposed, but often the genesis of internal and external global forces.[28] Objects often attracted ambivalence, however, as sometimes they are assimilated, acculturated or seen as hybridised. This ambivalence is important to consider when we find how objects can have multiple meanings at the treaty ports. Objects can be seen as modern but at the same time may pose a challenge to social order or even reflect a greater ideological change that is taking place. Examples here include the act of horse riding not only for leisure but also for the social mobility that this activity conferred to the rider and the hostler.[29]

A fascination with the traditional, however, remains a potential pitfall for scholars of the treaty ports. Influentially, Dikötter provides a cautionary note: 'A refusal to engage with the presence of the modern has been one way to preserve the fiction of a more 'authentic' China to be discovered by romantic traveler and nostalgic historian alike'.[30] Likewise, *Spectacular Accumulation*, Morgan Pitelka's study of material culture in early modern Japan, notes the tendency for scholars (and the public) to view one collection and to imagine this as representative of an entire era. Such extrapolations are misleading, and demonstrate that material culture needs a deft touch and an awareness of the context as part of the methodology of material culture studies.[31] Reflecting on these issues, Shi and Kendall's chapter on carvings from Ningpo demonstrates that

reproductions of 'traditional' Chinese daily practices were often collected by tourists wanting something 'authentic' from China, echoing Dikötter's observation of the avoidance of the modern in favour of an idealised 'China'. Here the tensions between traditional and perceptions of modernity are important when we consider material culture.

Morgan Pitelka's *Spectacular Accumulation*, while examining an earlier period of Japanese history (he focuses on Tokugawa Ieyasu and the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century), raises a number of noteworthy ideas that resounded with our contributors. Pitelka's study of objects associated with power, and passed down through warrior lineages via Tokugawa Ieyasu (e.g. warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi's tea gathering in Kyoto in 1587),[32] questions whether such events were designed not only to impress elites but also to bring commoners into the appreciation of a 'collection'.[33] While our volume does not focus on elites, it does deal with the idea of collections, the physical displays of objects and expressions of power that came through their use. Pitelka also muses on the nature or legacy of items and describes them as often 'polyvocal' sources, as they speak on more than one historical experience.[34] Falconry is another intriguing aspect of Pitelka's work, and our examination in this volume of ponies, both in Japan and in China, reveals parallels in terms of thinking about animals as vehicles of sociality and mobility and as representative of class (or class aspirations).[35]

This study, through its various chapters, brings the material dimension to the fore in unexpected ways; from property titles, to health reports, to gramophones, tourist souvenirs, horses and saddles. All of these examples point to the ways in which material culture is diffused throughout the treaty ports. One of our overarching aims with this volume was to think how the treaty ports were experienced via material culture and what values were attributed to various items. No study can claim to be exhaustive, but via its focus on material culture and materiality, this book makes a contribution to our understanding not only of the treaty ports but also importantly of the everyday.

The chapters in this study are arranged thematically. Each theme is a reference to different aspects of material culture or materiality in the treaty ports. For this reason, the chapters are structured around key ideas such as everyday life, health and welfare, law and land, visualising the port and the legacies of the treaty ports. Within each section, and indeed, across sections, chapters speak to each other of shared experiences, common concerns and how the material aspects of life in the treaty ports form a strong focal point for considering treaty port history anew.

Part I: The Everyday

Donna Brunero opens Chap. 2 with an examination of sketches on the family life of treaty port China. These were produced by the famed Russian cartoonist Sapajou, known for his insightful and often whimsical humour relating to expatriate and settler life in 1920s–1930s' China. The chapter recreates the everyday concerns of resident families, using memoirs, personal papers and images from the ports. The humour of Sapajou's cartoons provides insights into not only the politics of Republican China but also, importantly, the more mundane existence of the everyday for the settlers on the China coast. Families created a sense of permanence in an often-transitory existence. In this chapter, readers are invited to consider how families created a sense of stability along the China coast and also how they remembered their time at the treaty ports. For a community whose life was intertwined with the China coast, recreating home was a major concern and items such as gramophones and even holiday homes took on special significance.

The layer of everyday experience of the family life of foreigners in China is enriched in Chap. 3 with the material and cultural tensions of the locals and Westerners who resided in treaty ports of Japan. Timothy Amos writes on 'Horses and Hostlers in the Making of a Japanese Foreign Settlement'. Horses, he argues, have for too long been regarded as a 'thing'—a by-product of treaty port literature on gunboat diplomacy. By focusing on the horse and acknowledging its status at the material and symbolic levels as gifts as well as 'technologies of power', Amos explores the way in which horses held symbolic meaning according to the level of sociality and interaction with residents at the Yokohama treaty port. Horses held high social status for Japanese elites and, accordingly, those who were not members of that elite were not allowed to ride them. Foreigners who engaged in horse riding for leisure were the subject of suspicions, they disrupted the socio-political order, and this eventually led to increasingly violent incidents against foreigners. Horses in everyday life then, held politically symbolic roles as conveyors of status and purveyors of civilisation, as well as their more practical uses as vehicles of transport and sociality. Hostlers too, the *betto*, disrupted and challenged existing social orders as they moved through the foreign settlement. The significance of these themes are so powerful that we have chosen to illustrate the front cover of our volume with a print derived from this study: 'Famous Places: The Englishman and Motomura' print, dated 1860, which is held in the Yokohama Archives of History.

In Chap. 4, 'Beyond the Bund: Life in the Outports' Robert Nield revisits the core and periphery thesis of empire with his typology of Shanghai as the core of treaty port life, 'the jewel in the crown of Britain's Chinese Raj'. The 'lesser of the treaty ports in China were referred to as "outports" by people at the commercial centre; people in the outports tried to replicate the life they had of or experienced in Shanghai' or they tried to return to the major ports. This chapter examines the lives of members of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service and also consuls, businessmen and ordinary folk. Considerations of their life at the outports are narrated: from contractual obligations, marriage and language to the experience of loneliness. Loneliness sometimes degenerated into boredom, and letter writing helped to dissipate the feeling of remoteness. Relations between foreign and local are also detailed: attitudes to technology and change, manners, social networks, clubs and facilities. A sense of 'Britishness', then, pervaded treaty port life even at the outports. Nield concludes that the outports consisted of 'a small number of ordinary foreign people leading perhaps privileged but unexciting lives in isolated places; when they departed, all their influence left with them' and appeals to new scholarship on the smaller foreign places in China that were beyond the Bund.

Part II: Health and Welfare

This section crafts the layer of health, mortality, disease and medical care as a material consideration for the everyday practices of treaty port living through studies that discuss medical experiences from China, and then from Japanese treaty port, Yokohama.

Chapter 5 articulates some of the immediate fears of residents. Stephanie Villalta Puig observes how, informed by the everyday physicality of living in the tropics, residents, upon arrival, immediately became aware of the limitations imposed on their life by the climate: 'The true advice is to make China as like Europe as we can'. Treaty port China, then, was often considered as a medical boundary between health and disease for the British constitution, and this chapter argues that climate was a conscious consideration for residents of the Chinese treaty ports. Climate shaped how you felt, your mood, what you wore, what foods you ate and what medical theory you subscribed to inform your hygienic practices and concerns. The environmental geography of China, at once imperial and borne of scientific language, is the focus of this chapter. Using medical documents

stationed at the treaty ports in the north, south and middle of China, Villalta Puig argues that the practices and interpretations of health and pathology made by British medical practitioners more commonly reflected the rhetoric of environmental geography than what the so-called objectivity of science might have otherwise concluded.

These diffuse Chinese medical treaty port experiences contrast with the reality of somewhat more centralised Japanese practices. In Chap. 6, 'Japanese, International Migrants, and Cholera in the Yokohama Treaty Port, 1859–1899', immigration historian Chester Proshan's investigation into health practices at Yokohama argues that 'experiencing the everyday … includes experiencing the extraordinary'. This port was 'a deeply riven sociocultural space'—as a hybrid maritime community, which ultimately created a culture of health as 'a serviceable civility', rather than an encompassing sense of community. These hybrid groups, in Proshan's examination of the response of Yokohama to cholera outbreaks of 1862, 1877, 1879 and 1886, came to ally together against the common enemy of disease. Paradoxically, however, despite this extraordinary bond in crisis, cholera did not lead to thinking about regrouping the nature of contact with those ordinarily outside one's group. Community divides remained ever present within the port setting—a characteristic of the suidi typology.

Part III: Law and Land

Law and order in the treaty ports were a conscious consideration for the safety and certainty of residents and their transactions. In that spirit, Gonzalo Villalta Puig and Yu Chen bring into the collection the legal side of life in the treaty ports. These were extraterritorial island-like jurisdictions where the 'rule of law' principle so central to the liberal tradition of the West merged with local customs, which often valued power and even superstition. British, American and other consular courts had a real presence in the life of residents as did the machinery of the law, which bureaucratised all manner of deals once the realm of custom. From murder cases to title deeds, the treaty ports did very much live the law and the materiality of their culture.

Legal scholar Gonzalo Villalta Puig, in Chap. 7, traces the development of extraterritoriality in the treaty ports, with a focus on the British experience in Shanghai. He reflects on the implications for material culture of

the first two murder cases decided by the British Supreme Court for China and Japan. The rule of law, Villalta Puig argues, and its promotion of equality before the law, was a potent imperialist, ideological, cultural narrative, often materialised in the judgements, which sought to moderate the illegitimacy of extraterritoriality as a matter of natural justice for the locals. Its reformist legacy reinstates the purpose of extraterritoriality.

In Chap. 8, urban historian and architect Yu Chen moves the narrative specifically to the southern Chinese treaty port of Xiamen. Chen analyses the Sino-Anglo land transactions in Xiamen, and details what the application of the 'rent-in-perpetuity' system entailed at this minor treaty port. In Xiamen, *Huaqi* was widely used in the Sino-foreign land transaction to legalise foreigners' land rights, and to protect the Chinese lessors' interests. The application of the 'rent-in-perpetuity' system in Xiamen presents an institutionalisation process that is different from those implemented in Shanghai. In Xiamen, *Huaqi*'s predominant role in legalising Sino-foreign land transactions lasted into the early twentieth century. The respect for local tradition and indigenous customs was recorded in *Huaqi* and had a direct influence upon the foreigners' development of leased land. The study of Xiamen title deeds allows us insights into the evolution of land transaction documents and the complexities of managing and supervising Sino-foreign land transactions in China's treaty ports; often, elements of traditional Chinese ideology mixed alongside Western practices. The significance of the material culture that this chapter uses—documents and maps—is noteworthy: physical title deeds were regarded as very important to the holder (and in fact, the provenance of such records remains contentious even in the present day, with the majority held in the British National Archives).

Part IV: Visualising the Port

On the traditionally understood theme of material culture, 'Visualising the Port' consolidates the everyday practices of life with two related but methodologically disparate chapters on the tangible remnants of living in the treaty ports of China and Japan. In Chap. 9, Yuanxie Shi and Laurel Kendall ask about the power relationships that crafted popular understandings of China through the tourist curios of those who visited the ports. In 'Who Miniaturises China? Treaty Port Souvenirs from Ningbo', these two curators unravel the story of a souvenir whose variations in the collections of the museum had hitherto been dismissed by others as simply tourist

curios of uncertain origins from Ningbo, China. Shi and Kendall's investigation shows that to the contrary, as 'a quintessential treaty port product', not only did these carvings represent modes of material production of the time but they also served as a tangible referent for 'China' as imagined and produced in a contact zone. The result, like treaty port life, was a souvenir that drew 'on traditional techniques to produce something completely new, the hybrid product of a hybrid place'. The souvenir allowed travellers to collect evidence of 'a timeless and remote Chinaland'. Nonetheless, three quarters of the figurines resembled daily life and imagined scenes of exoticised orientalism, and were works of handiwork and craftsmanship from local residents who, realising they lived in a hybrid treaty port world, crafted what the consumer market demanded—hybrid material cultures.

By contrast, in Chap. 10, 'The Arrival of the "Modern" West in Yokohama: Images of the Japanese Experience, 1859–1899', economic historian Simon Bytheway offers a revisionist take on the use of material culture in understanding representations of the foreign in the Japanese treaty port of Yokohama. With his training in economic history, he pieces together the socio-economic development of treaty port Japan through the gaze of Japanese woodblock prints and printed ephemera. The chapter examines 'historical presentation, representation, and re-presentation of modernisation, or Westernisation' revealed through the prints, including transportation, infrastructure and people. Bytheway demonstrates the ways that these images tell their own compelling stories. Importantly, he considers the agents and mechanisms (both institutional and individual) involved in the transmission of ideas and technology to Japan. Via these prints, we are introduced to the important rubric of *wakon yōsai* (literally 'Japanese spirit, Western technology'). Bytheway challenges the reader to appreciate one's own observations into the life, prejudices and evidence of the modernisation process that was happening in Yokohama. Bytheway observes that we all stand to benefit through a renewed examination of these prints as these often-overlooked treaty port images 'show us a new and changing Japan, fascinated and deeply enamoured with the West'. He describes these prints as 'often pregnant with meanings and purpose; at once didactic and ignorant, vivid and banal, beautiful and terrifying'.

Part V: Treaty Port Legacies

The volume concludes with an essay on memory and nostalgia by ex-British diplomat and historian J.E. Hoare, arguably one of the most eminent scholars of treaty port Japan. In Chap. 11, 'Memories of Times

Past: The Legacy of Japan's Treaty Ports', Hoare reflects on how the Japanese treaty ports have been steadily incorporated into the canon of history in Japan. As the foundational scholar of treaty port Japan, he also details the shift in historiography on both China and Japan over the last 40 years while contrasting the experience of the two. In Japan, 'the treaty ports and foreign settlements have been absorbed into the country's traditional culture and are seen positively. But assessing their real importance in the development of modern Japan remains difficult'. Foreign influences, on clothes, food and buildings, are evident. Japanese 'sites of memory', such as the physical remains of ports and museums chosen to celebrate them, allowed them to equally stress the quasi-colonial nature of their experience, the foreign use of force or displays of arrogance. At the same time, the revival of some former foreign residences as popular tea rooms reflects the ambivalence of the treaty port legacies.

Each chapter, we contend, furthers the understanding of treaty ports on the local level, and only through the lens of material culture can scholars better understand the local dynamics of the suidi. Each chapter adds material culture to the traditional study of treaty ports, and so challenges the traditional dichotomies that define treaty port history with the call to insert the categories of space, time and scale. We do this while respecting the historical specificity of each port, and drawing out the embryonic roots and connections between the treaty ports and East Asian 'colonial histories', to histories of the world, to the histories of culture and of everyday life.

Notes

1. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Pomeranz argues that this divergence started in the 1750s.
2. Robert Bickers, *Out of China: How the Chinese Ended the Era of Western Domination* (Milton Keynes, Allen Lane, 2017), pp. 14–15.
3. This was in part a reaction against the restrictions of the earlier Canton system but also a reflection of growing European ambitions to engage the East Asian market.
4. See Donna Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone in China: The Chinese Maritime Customs Service, 1854–1949,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 12–13, for the Customs Services' list of ports and outports.
5. Bickers, *Out of China,* p. 15.

6. J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858–1899,* (Kent: Japan Library, 1994) pp. 1–2.
7. Ibid. The Japanese were aware that Perry's black ships represented only the 'spearhead' of what would be a much greater force.
8. Ibid., p. 3.
9. Access was limited initially to the ports of Hakodate and Shimoda, and by 1858, Kanagawa, Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to foreign residence. Edo and Osaka were opened a decade later.
10. For example, see Robert Bickers, *Out of China*, for a discussion of the role of history (and the treaty ports) in modern Chinese statecraft. Also see Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot (eds), *New Frontiers: New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). For Japan, see the work of Harald Fuess, "Informal Imperialism and the 1879 "Hesperia" Incident: Containing Cholera and Challenging Extraterritoriality in Japan." *Japan Review,* No. 27, (2014). In this article, Fuess discusses the idea of informal empire as experienced in Japan.
11. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements.*
12. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, "Introduction" in Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, eds., *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power* (London: Routledge, 2016), for a recent historiographical assessment of the treaty ports, pp. 12–18.
13. Scholarship on the Asian port city is well developed; notable works include Frank Broeze (ed), *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the 16th–20th Centuries* (Hawai'i: Hawai'i University Press, 1989), and Frank Broeze's subsequent edited volume *Gateways of Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th-20th Centuries* (New York: Kegan Paul, 1997). A more recent addition to scholarship that traces the interconnectivity of Asian port cities is Haneda Masashi (ed), *Asian Port Cities, 1600–1800: Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions.* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009).
14. See chapters by Donna Brunero, Stephanie Villalta Puig and Robert Nield, for example.
15. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, Introduction, *Treaty Ports in Modern China,* p. 1.
16. Jeremy E. Taylor, "The Bund: Littoral Space of Empire in the Treaty Ports of East Asia" *Social History.* Vol. 27, No. 2, May 2002.
17. Ibid.
18. Bickers and Jackson, Introduction, *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Land, Law and Power,* p. 1.

19. See, for example, Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); more recent Asian Studies scholarship, specifically Barbara Andaya Watson (ed), Preface, in Marianne Hulsbosch, Elizabeth Bedford & Martha Chaiklin (eds), *Asian Material Culture* (Amsterdam: ICAS/Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
20. Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: Vol. 1. The Structures of Everyday Life*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, (1979) 1992).
21. Arjun Appadurai (ed), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
22. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "Introduction" in Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture,* pp. 1–2. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).
23. Marianne Hulsbosch, Elizabeth Bedford and Martha Chaiklin, "Asian Material Culture in Context" in Marianne Hulsbosch, Elizabeth Bedford and Martha Chaiklin (eds), *Asian Material Culture* (Amsterdam: ICAS/Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 12.
24. See the chapter by James Hoare for a discussion on the legacies of the treaty ports.
25. Frank Dikötter, *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
26. Ibid., p. 1.
27. Ibid., pp. 2–3.
28. Ibid., pp. 4–7. For a broader discussion again, see Christopher Bayly's magisterial work *The Birth of the Modern World 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004) for insightful reflection on foreign and indigenous contributions to creating 'modernity'.
29. See chapters by Timothy Amos and Donna Brunero in this volume.
30. Dikötter, *Exotic Commodities,* p. 4.
31. Hulsbosch, Bedford and Chaiklin, "Asian Material Culture in Context," p. 13.
32. Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), pp. 42–43. This grand tea gathering was intended to not only allow participants to enjoy tea but also witness the spectacle of Hideyoshi's impression collection of famous objects related to tea culture.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p. 176.
35. Pitelka, Chap. 4, "Lordly Sport: Raptors, Falconry and the Control of the Land," pp. 94–117.

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PART I

Everyday Life

CHAPTER 2

'Ponies, Amahs and All That …': Family Lives in China's Treaty Ports

Donna Brunero

The predominant image of early twentieth-century Shanghai is that of the 'Paris of the East': an intoxicating blend of the East and the West, an image which still resonates strongly in popular culture today.[1] Evocative images of the treaty ports and republican China were skilfully created by the Russian cartoonist 'Sapajou', who worked for the *North-China Daily News* (this was considered the pre-eminent paper in the Far East) and its weekly digest, the *North China Herald*, in the 1920s and 1930s. Alongside images of the high life, Chinese politics and Sino-Japanese tensions, this cartoonist juxtaposed images of the 'settler community' (as examined by scholars such as Bickers and Clifford)[2] at home in Shanghai's foreign concessions and the treaty ports more generally. A number of Sapajou's images represent a local settler's perspective, which was an alternative to the heady excitements of the high life often associated with the treaty ports. The stereotypical image of the treaty port community is evocative and often emotive, and yet surprisingly little has been written—until recently—to examine these foreign lives as part of larger narratives of settler histories or their links to broader imperial histories. Too often, the unusual and often tempestuous nature of the treaty ports overshadows the ordinary lives of foreigners based there. As demonstrated in the quote below, family lives often reveal much of the everyday experiences of foreigners in China:

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_2

> There was no permanency in the children's young lives. Frequent moves were unsettling. Elizabeth never experienced the security of a family home. The only place her father owned was at Mokanshan [Moganshan] in the Chekiang [Zhejiang] Mountains south-west of Shanghai, an ancient cottage called 'Chin Chia Shan' nestling on a mountain peak in a serene and beautiful environment.[3]

Anthony Hewitt's account of his wife's childhood, her father being a Chinese Maritime Customs Service (hereafter referred to as the CMCS) official, reflects on the transience of their lifestyle but also a nostalgia for 'treasured places' that were considered special for the family. In this case the cottage represented a sense of stability and refuge. This experience of a transient family life was largely representative of the experiences of many similar families whose livelihoods were intertwined with that of the treaty port world. It was often through simple acts such as maintaining a garden or gathering around a gramophone that a sometimes-disrupted family life was given a sense of stability and a veneer of permanence. I contend that through the examination of the material culture of treaty port families, we can gain insights into ordinary lives and the ways that simple objects took on additional significance as a means to negotiate a liminal existence for families who found themselves in a foreign land, straddling the worlds of China and Europe.

This chapter draws on memoirs of families who lived on the China coast (many in the employ of the CMCS) and also the cartoons of famous China coast cartoonist 'Sapajou' as a departure point for reflecting on the lives of foreigners who made their careers in China. This study also takes inspiration from an emerging field of scholarship on expatriate and settler communities in Asia.[4] The use of CMCS memoirs makes a valuable reference point as this institution, closely connected to the very genesis of the treaty port system in China, arguably represents a settler community in the way that CMCS men had their livelihoods inextricably bound in China.[5] Furthermore, CMCS staff and families were rotated through various ports and outports frequently and so straddled the worlds of settler families who remained in one port, such as Shanghai, for generations, and the fleeting existence of the expatriate who may be posted to the Far East on a short-term contract.[6] For families who moved throughout China, a sense of home was created through the cultivation of gardens, social gatherings at clubs and the comfort brought from objects associated with their 'other home' such as gramophones. This chapter uses memoirs and cartoons to

explore clubs, gardens and holiday homes (as retreats), gramophones (as gathering points), ponies (leisure) and amahs (domestic helpers), and in doing so to demonstrate their value by examining how settler families created a sense of stability in the domestic sphere.

Cartooning Everyday Life

This chapter uses some of the images of perhaps the best-known cartoonist of the China coast of the early twentieth century—'Sapajou'. Sapajou was the *nom de plume* of Georgi Avkentievich Sapojnikoff; he was one of the many White Russians who found themselves refugees in China and found work in China's treaty ports.[7] And Sapojnikoff's artistic talents and eye for detail led him to employment with the *North-China Daily News* (*Zilin Xibao*) and the *North China Herald*.[8] This press was considered the most prestigious English-language newspaper in the Far East in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9] It was the mouthpiece of the predominantly British community in Shanghai's international settlement. When Sapajou took leave, his cartoons were not replaced in the interim, a testament to the popularity of his works and the recognition that they were well-regarded as part and parcel of the China coast voice and identity.

While Sapajou was drawing and working from Shanghai, his works arguably found resonance all along the China coast and outports due to the wide circulation of the newspaper. His reach perhaps stretched further again as he also illustrated popular works of the era such as Carl Crow's *400 Million Customers* and the comically titled *China Rhymes, Two Classics of Old China Coast Poetry* by Shamus A'Rabbit (1937), among other projects.[10] Richard Rigby argues that the value in Sapajou's work is that his cartoons can be drawn on by scholars in a multitude of ways[11]; when viewed sequentially, we can trace China's political developments; thematically, they can reveal much of the views of the Shanghailander community (and China coast community) the paper largely represented, and also much of different political events, figures and developments. These cartoons also provided many depictions of the community they were based on, that of the foreigner and most often the Shanghailander in China.

Cartoons, as representations of popular culture and contemporary views, are valuable for thinking about everyday life in China. They are remnants of a print culture tradition for Western (or foreign) presses on the China coast, but the utility of Sapajou's cartoons goes beyond this; they are accessible, cleverly drawn, evocative and reveal attention

to detail. While Sapajou had a keen eye for events as they unfolded and the vagaries of human nature, the often-whimsical nature of his cartoons meant that they had wide appeal.[12] But beyond his astute political observations, Sapajou also provided an insight into some of the commonplace concerns for foreigners and their families based on the China coast. While the treaty ports and outposts may be considered the edges of formal empire, settler identities (such as that of the Shanghailander) were strong and preoccupations were often surprisingly mundane and locally-oriented.[13] It is here that we press beyond the glamour and glitz of the bund and into the residential quarters and ordinary lives of the port city dwellers. Sapajou's cartoons often feature objects or items of material culture and these, I would argue, are a valuable insight into the things, activities and places that were recognised and considered important in treaty port life. Some common motifs include the weather, motor cars, ponies, amahs (the trusty domestic help), the Chinese 'boy', and leisure activities such as musicals, hunting, sports and holidays on the coast. The Sikh sepoy or soldier often also appears in Sapajou's works as ubiquitous to the ordering of the port city (the Sikh policeman was also a 'signifier' of larger connections to British imperial networks and movement of imperial subjects in Asia).[14] These cartoons are significant not only for insights into popular culture of the time, but serve as a lens for seeing what material culture was important to foreigners in China and how they understood these objects.

Moving Beyond the Shanghailander

Very often, the foreigner in China is reduced to the Shanghailander; this is in many ways a reflection of the historical pre-eminence of Shanghai among the treaty ports, but it also provides insights into how the history of the treaty port system is often understood.[15] The Westerner residing in Shanghai, in his/her most recognisable form, brings this to life through cocktails, parties, pony racing and an almost complete removal from the realities of life for the Chinese populace. Here is a community typified as exclusive, privileged, and opinionated. The title of Nicholas Clifford's monograph *Spoilt Children of Empire* captures this idea succinctly; his study outlines the mentality of the Shanghailander and is perhaps one of the most memorable descriptions of such Westerners in Shanghai.[16] Alongside this privileged group was a community, however, of what Robert Bickers describes as the 'small treaty port people'—Britons whose lives and livelihoods were wrapped up in the port and in China (their residence was longer

term than the banking and other sectors where appointments may only be for a few years).[17] They often held competing and overlapping identities, and this is best seen in the way that local Shanghailander concerns could sometimes run counter to the China policies of the British Foreign Office.[18] Yet, at the end of the day, the identity of the Shanghailander was both imperial and British.[19] So there is more to the description (or identity) of the Shanghailander than what initially meets the eye. And often, this was a much more 'ordinary' life than what has been commonly depicted. The Shanghailanders were the most visible group of foreigners and therefore are relatively well-studied, but now their stories are being complemented by studies of other treaty port communities, including the German, French, Americans and Japanese communities.[20] Importantly, studies are also moving from Shanghai to the smaller ports, demonstrating that communities that formed in the lesser known ports could also develop identities, or take on a sense of belonging that was more dispersed as they viewed their links as being to the China coast more broadly than to any one place.[21]

It is only in recent years that scholarship has turned to a serious consideration of how foreign communities viewed themselves within the treaty ports. It is now generally recognised that foreign communities may indeed fit the category of settler community or that of more of an expatriate community, as often they shifted between these identities. This was typical of CMCS staff who might sometimes reside in Shanghai for extended periods but could be found throughout China. Often in CMCS memoirs there is a mention of the simple pleasures of social gatherings, hunting, sports and musical evenings. I argue that through such activities, these communities formed more of the bedrock of the settler community than those of the transient sojourners. These more 'ordinary' or everyday pursuits are often obscured by the dominant stereotype of the hard-living and often 'distant' expatriate community posted to China temporarily as part of a larger career progression.[22]

In contrast to the settlers, Westerners on a short-term contract in China were often seen as larger than life and typified (and lampooned) by Sapajou in his cartoons on the 'lady tourist'—a woman accompanying her husband for work and filled with big ideas and often an overzealous sense of the good they could do for themselves and also bring to China. Sapajou penned: 'Moved by the report of the Commissioner of Revenue, the Lady Tourist resolves to resuscitate the popularity of Sedan chairs'. Fig.2.1.

It is no coincidence that the 'lady tourist' is depicted as almost Amazonian in size and demeanour. She is meant to represent the larger than life and self-righteous view of a newcomer or the short-term

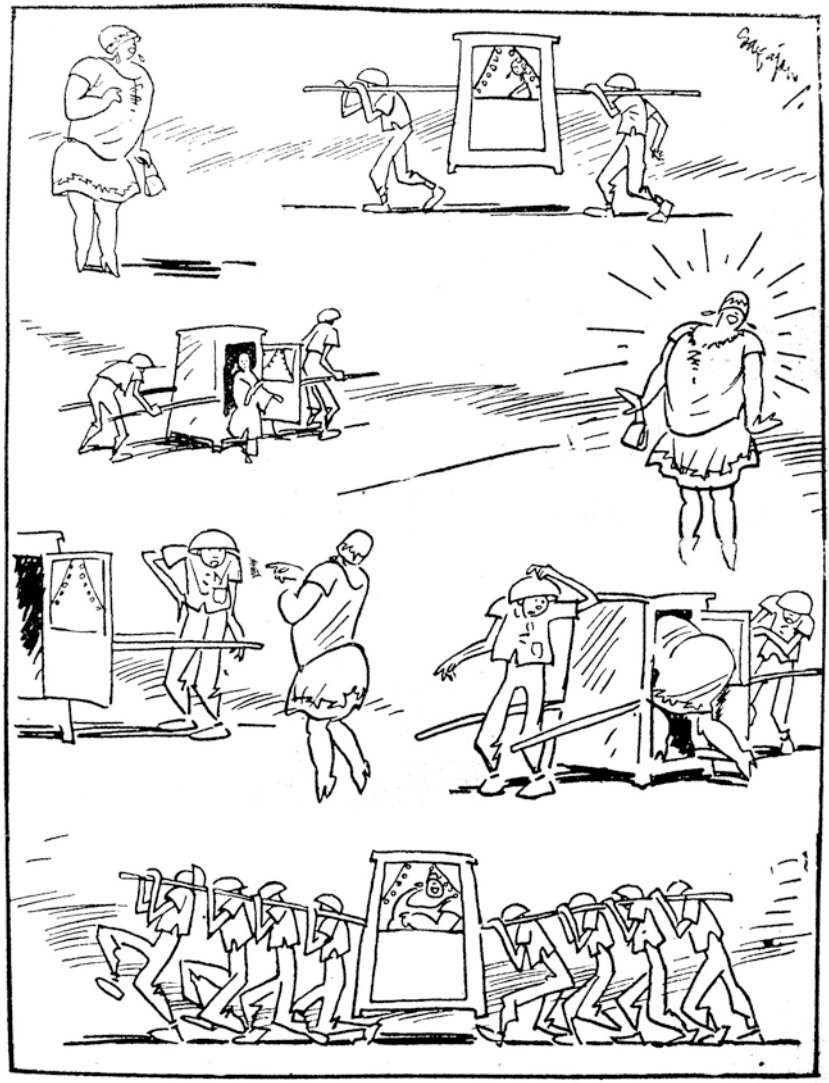

Fig. 2.1 'The 'lady tourist' and sedan chair' 7 April 1926, *North-China Daily News*

visitor in China. The use of a sedan chair is also significant, as Frank Dikötter reminds us, many foreigners of the early twentieth century travelled to China to find an 'authentic China' and in doing so ignored signs of modernity at all costs.[23] Individuals who were sojourners—or tourists—were the object of entertainment for the more seasoned old China hands. In a treaty port where rickshaws and motor cars had become the norm, Sapajou's featuring of quaint sedan chair is significant as it points to the readers' awareness of a tourist's nostalgia for traditional or authentic China. It is also noticeable that the Chinese in the cartoon are of secondary importance to the (mis)adventures of the lady tourist.

While this chapter examines the foreign community in China, this was by no means a homogeneous or unified group. The British were not the largest foreign community in China—the Russians (many of whom were refugees after 1917) and the Japanese were larger communities—but they were the *predominant* foreign community; as reflected in their primacy via institutions like the CMCS and their perceived influence over treaty port behaviours and social mores.[24] But even among Britons, class still had a major role to play in shaping who had access to places of recreation such as clubs and who remained outside these social networks. For a young Briton, a posting to China might mean an opportunity akin to 'becoming a gentleman in the colonies'—these aspirations to grandeur, however, were often quashed by the compatriots of any newcomer who was deemed an upstart or challenging the status quo.[25] Socialisation took place early on, and some of the same assumptions, structures and even vocabulary found its way from British India (the Raj) to the China coast.[26] While within white communities there was a level of inflexibility in terms of class, it still was understood that any European or American overseas occupied a status higher than most colonial subjects[27]; China's treaty ports were no exception. There was a discernable gap in terms of social standing, for instance, between a Briton and British 'protected subjects' such as the Straits Settlements Chinese or Indian Parsis for instance.[28] The cartoons of Sapajou also implicitly placed a Western audience above the Chinese, and the humour is directed for the benefit of his Anglo (and Anglophone) readership.

Ponies, the Amah and Gardens: Domestic Life

Memoirs of foreigners working in China provide a valuable source for thinking about the idea of ordinary lives beyond the reach of formal empire. An initial reference point in this chapter is memoirs by CMCS

staff. Many of the CMCS staff lived in China for extended periods and travelled through many of the treaty ports, both the big bustling ports and the drearily small outposts, often with their families in tow.[29] CMCS policies of rotating staff between ports meant that very often their families followed too, and this provides a wider lens than only examining accounts of family life in Shanghai.[30] This helps us to see the communities whose livelihoods were intimately tied to the treaty port system in a broader perspective.

Of the many memoirs drawn on in this chapter, one memoir to highlight is that of Yvonne King (née LeBas). This memoir, entitled *A Variegated Life*, was privately published in Australia, where Yvonne, her husband Harold and family relocated in the post–World War II years.[31] Yvonne King's account of her life is particularly interesting as she was born and grew up in China and married a CMCS officer. So the first three decades of her life were largely shaped by the China coast—in many ways, a settler story. As Yvonne comments:

> I was born in China because my father at the time was part of a very special organization known as the Chinese Maritime Customs … Naturally, I am proud to have had the good fortune of being born into that organization but also I am, to my knowledge, the only person who married into it as well so that for the whole of my 37 years in China, I saw life from a somewhat special angle.

Many of Yvonne King's reflections find resonance with other similar memoirs, but her long connection with the CMCS, and the perspective from a Customs family and then as a 'Customs wife', makes her story particularly compelling. In her account, as so many others, family life in China represented a stabilising and positive force amidst circumstances (the political turmoil of the late 1920s, for instance) where the foreign presence in China was sometimes tenuous. While employment policies may have called for staff rotation from port to port, the family or domestic sphere attempted to counteract this through creating a sense of constancy and a level of comfort. As Yvonne King recalled: 'Life in the CMCS was like having a huge family scattered all along the China Coast', as news often travelled regarding appointments, transfers and many families had heard of each other before the opportunity to meet.[32] One such encounter was that with the Hayley-Bell family. Yvonne's father was appointed as the Commissioner in Macao, replacing Colonel Hayley-Bell (and family), who

were returning to the United Kingdom on home leave. One of Yvonne's descriptions revolved around Mary Hayley-Bell, of her riding a pony along the Praya Grande, 'her long red hair flowing behind and sticking almost straight out because of the speed at which she was travelling'.[33] This brief encounter proved to become the basis of a lifelong friendship; the China connection proved strong. Yvonne's memoir provides an account of a relatively privileged youth in China, disrupted at times by the Chinese political upheavals which typified the warlord era. Otherwise, the domestic scene was depicted as routine with much emphasis on sibling rivalries, hijinks and adventures with periods of home leave in both France and the United Kingdom. We should bear in mind that that many CMCS wives on the coast were often from settler (China coast) families or had relatives in China. For foreign women in early twentieth century China, there were few work opportunities even in the 1920s.[34] Much emphasis was placed then on public life, women's social clubs and the importance (reminiscent of the British Raj) of a woman's role and responsibility in establishing a good domestic environment in a foreign land.

The Club

Clubs were a key in the imperial world, and so not too surprisingly, they were also found throughout China's treaty ports. Clubs provided accommodation, recreation, a library, a meeting hall and a place to form new social connections.[35] As Catherine Ladds explains in *Empire Careers*, clubs helped to reinforce social connections, to provide recreational facilities and to keep a distance between the foreigners and the Chinese.[36] Class too, could be reinforced via clubs and membership thereof. And the exclusive Shanghai Club (which boasted the longest bar in the world) exemplified this world of the elites. It is not too surprising that when capturing the excesses of the foreigner in China, the long bar was featured.[37] In Fig. 2.2, Sapajou contrasts the well-known snobbery of the British-dominated Shanghai Club with the relaxed atmosphere of the French Club (Sapajou had the rare distinction of membership to the Shanghai Club—the *only* White Russian member—a reflection of his popularity and status in the port community).[38] This cartoon makes it clear that the club was the domain of the foreigner and shaped by the social mores, however restrictive and pretentious, of the time. It was via the clubs that a newcomer was socialised into the treaty port world, via conversations, the sharing of information or talking shop; this was where the Old China Hand was created.[39]

Fig. 2.2 'The story of a sneeze: In the Shanghai Club and the French', 14 March 1925, *North China Herald*

Social clubs were established in many of the ports and outposts of China, and this reflects the idea of maintaining social norms even while living in China. Even the smallest outposts established clubs as a way of creating a focal point for social activities and building a sense of community. Through clubs, a sense of identity could be forged, linked to professional, racial, national and social status.[40] This is similar to the British clubs throughout the Empire (in Asia) and the role they played in reaffirming identity. Membership to the club meant access to social networks, which would reinforce a sense of connection to the China coast. As CMCS man C.A.S. Williams recalled: '[A]t most of the ports there was a Customs Club, with one or more billiard tables, and billiard tournaments were frequently arranged'.[41]

Gardens and Holiday Houses

What was important for CMCS families? Many memoirs reflect on the simple necessities—having a nicely appointed home, with comfortable outlook. A garden was a particular delight as it could be used as not only a retreat but to host garden tea parties and children's fêtes. If a nicely appointed home was important to the foreign family in China, the garden seems to have been almost as important as a source of entertainment, recluse and pleasure. During the chaos of the 1926–1927 Hong Kong and Canton Boycotts, Colonel Hayley-Bell, as CMCS Commissioner in Canton, brought his children to their residence in Shamian (Shameen) island. His daughter Elizabeth was 'surprised to find such graceful houses on the island … her garden contained a sweet little white rabbit, much to her delight'.[42] Yet when she and her siblings approached the und, they were jeered and pelted with stones by protestors. Here we can see how important the house and garden is as a contrast and retreat from the sometimes volatile port environment.[43] In a similar fashion, a residence was a focal point for leisure time—CMCS man A.H. Rasmussen spent much time tending to a garden surrounding a summer bungalow he purchased in Zhenjiang (Chinkiang); he bought and planted roses, bulbs from Holland, and cherry blossom trees and was very proud of the white picket fence erected at the entrance.[44] Here, by transforming the hillside bungalow, Rasmussen and his wife had carved out their own retreat, which in time included a badminton lawn, tennis courts and a vegetable garden (he was troubled by bandits but dismisses this as a mere nuisance). Rasmussen reflected: 'I shall always remember that early spring in my first garden, each day bringing new surprises and new pleasures'.[45] Gardens and houses not only reshaped the surrounding landscape but allowed families to recreate something from 'home'—a haven for entertaining and new spaces for sports and leisure. (The term bungalow, we should note, had distinct connections to British India.) Houses, however, were rarely permanent due to the nature of the job, and as CMCS man Christopher Briggs reflected, 'It was a roving life—you never expected to stay anywhere more than a couple of years and when told to transfer—you transferred'.[46] In this manner then, spending a few summers tending a garden provided a sense of permanence, even when this was often not the case.

Holiday Retreats

Having access to a holiday home was important for China coast families. Beachside bungalows and houses 'in the hills' made for a retreat from weather and/or the stresses of work.[47] Similar sentiments are often echoed in works on

colonial Hong Kong, British Malaya and India, so in this sense, the experience bore resemblance to that of the colonial settler communities elsewhere in Asia.[48] Holidays at the beach were a highlight for families—Weihaiwei was a common holiday destination with the CMCS holding three bungalows there. Yvonne King recalled spending three summers and two winters in Weihaiwei and that the summer months were filled with activity as friends and family converged on the hotels and accommodations available.[49]

In the cartoon presented in Fig. 2.3, Sapajou depicts the many ways people tried to escape the heat of summer, but underlying this humour is the notion that such trips were also important as a break from work, or for families to spend time together. It is noteworthy that the places (and activities) depicted by Sapajou reflected common holiday destinations and activities for foreigners. It is interesting for us to note that Sapajou features this quest to avoid the heat and to showcase a number of the possible holiday destinations that were preferred by foreigners residing in China. Here the ability to take a brief respite from work and weather was a privilege and one that is often recalled in many memoirs relating to China. CMCS commissioners could also use Customs vessels for social events and Yvonne King's memoir contains photographs of a day cruise from Macau hosted by her father.[50] These interludes were important for families as a break from the routine but often served to reinforce a person's standing within the port city world. Families of more eminent figures may have their pick of the best locations, others would make do with accommodations made available. The LeBas family (Yvonne King's family), being very large, and that of a CMCS Commissioner, often benefitted by being allotted the biggest of the bungalows. Holiday homes then form an important aspect of material culture—they served as places where holiday activities such as amateur theatre, paper chase, sports and musical evenings were held.

Musical Evenings and the Gramophone

Music and musical evenings formed a sense of community in many of the ports. Yvonne King recalled the arrival of a small gramophone as a tremendous excitement in her family. She describes the scene as such (c.1917):

> It [the gramophone] was carefully carried in by a few servants, covered with a big white sheet and none of us knew what it was. When it had been slowly placed in its proper position in the drawing room, it was ceremoniously unveiled by Father. What a terrific thrill—a big brown box that played music![51]

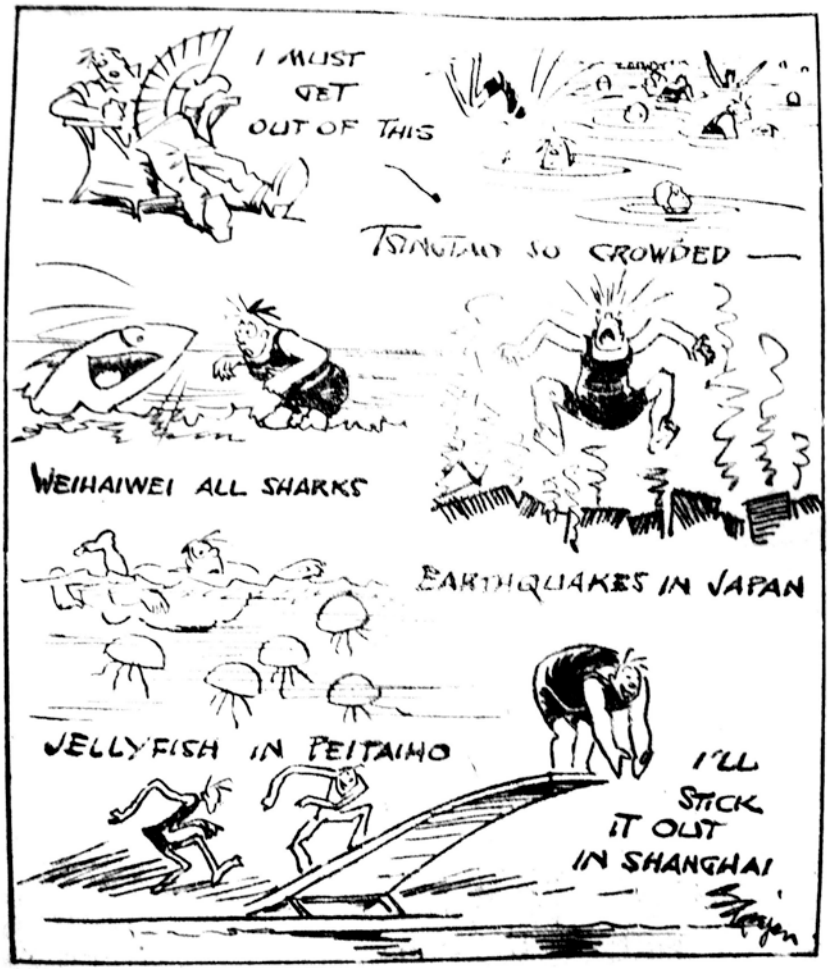

Fig. 2.3 'Hot weather philosophy in Shanghai' 19 July 1926, *North China Herald*

A gramophone brought music into the home and made accessible popular pieces and also more serious music and educational lectures. It became a focal point for families and their visitors. A family, however, provided a welcome change of scene for many young bachelors posted to China, Yvonne King observed: 'There was no shortage of young men in Peking

and as they mostly lived nearby, they often dropped in and enjoyed the homely atmosphere of our house'.[52] Not surprisingly she also mentions that the gramophone was kept constantly busy! Robinson's Piano Co. (of Nanjing Road) ran a series of advertisements in the *North China Herald* of the 1920s–1930s and specialised in not only pianos but gramophones, discs and even lecture discs on serious topics such as the 'Mandate of the League of Nations' (c.1929).[53] This indicates that home entertainment was sought after and was an important aspect of creating family life.

Radio was similarly regarded as an important breakthrough in providing comforts to those living in China. The *North China Herald* published a feature article in January 1927 extolling the virtues of the wireless radio and the way that it promised to 'annihilate space and time', a tempting proposition seeing that the article lamented that Shanghai was at a disadvantage with wireless radio as its broadcasting station was limited, 'giving us barely more than the crumbs that fall from the tables of our more fortunate friends at home'.[54] Gramophones and radios represented a connection to home, to the simple pleasures of music and a potential source of information.

Ponies

The pleasure of traversing the coast or countryside via pony is often related in many accounts of life in China. Ponies were a sought after and much discussed aspect of life on the China coast. For instance, CMCS man Rasmussen recalled:

> I loved riding in the early mornings … I generally rode out at six, when I went off night duty, and came back at nine. Riding was a very inexpensive hobby, the *mafoo* (groom) receiving sixteen shillings a month on which he kept the pony and himself.[55]

Rasmussen bought more than one pony during his years in China and had mixed success in finding a suitably tame animal for riding. In another memoir, C.A.S Williams recounts the use of the China pony from Manchuria as the preferred horse for racing and that race clubs were a place to not only bet, but for men to do business and women to outdo each other with their milliner's creations.[56] Williams took a strong interest in racing but with little success: 'I bought a horse in Peking, and persuaded a friend to ride him in the races, be he did not even cover the cost

of his keep, and so I sold him at a loss. Then he began to win!'[57] Ponies are a commonly mentioned feature of accounts of everyday life, and leisure and so too, Sapajou sketched them many times (see Fig. 2.4), the depictions from his Beijing (Peking) observations providing an impression

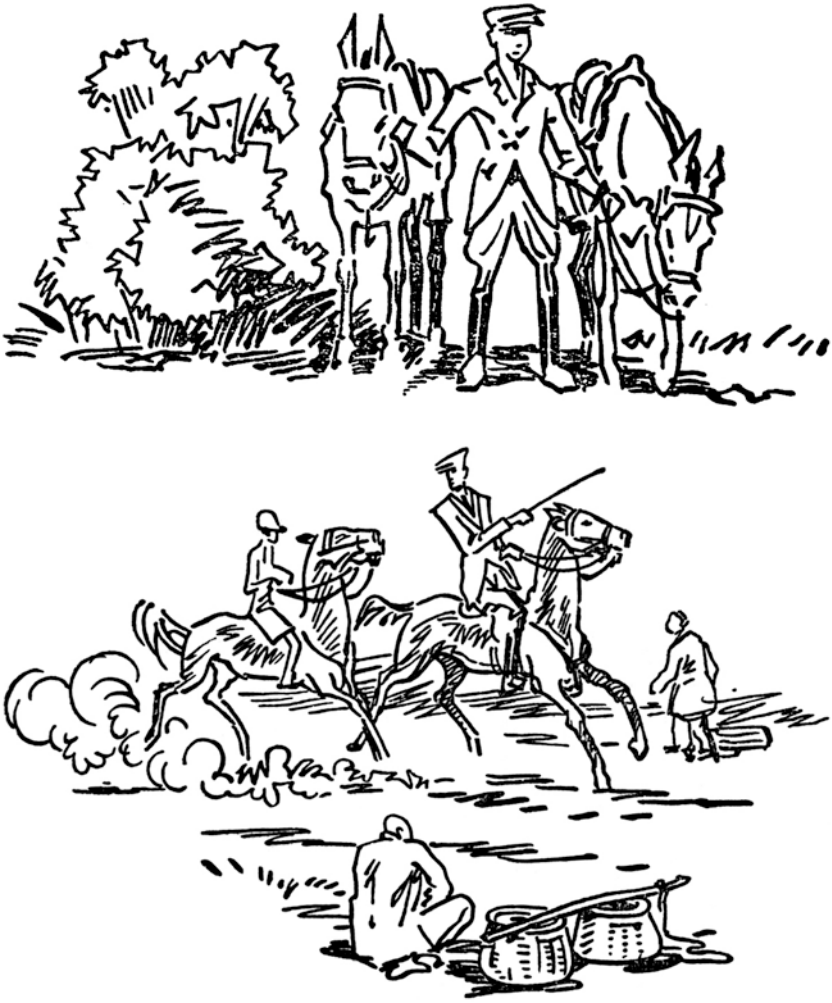

Fig. 2.4 'Silhouettes from Peking', 1926

of riding as a sport and one that set foreign and local apart. An emphasis on sports did in fact help shape treaty port identity, with inter-port games as an important feature; furthermore, sports such as paper chase or shooting also demonstrated a mastery of the local landscape.[58]

Ponies could be bought relatively cheaply and were considered useful for daily excursions and as a great activity for children. Yvonne King recounts that riding was a popular pastime, and as a child while the family was posted to Macao, she had her own pony (she also wrote admiringly of the Hayley-Bell children and their skill on horseback). As an adult while based in Yantai/Zhifu (Chefoo), c.1928–1930, while she didn't have her own pony, she was invited to join many country rides and was very glad she could borrow a pony from a Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Company employee who had a stable of several ponies and was 'most pleased to see them getting exercise'.[59]

Through the keeping of a pony for leisure, life for the settlers along the China coast appears very much on a par with colonial elites (settler communities) in other parts of the British empire. Catherine Ladds observes that for the CMCS staff, the ability to go hunting as a leisure activity would normally have been associated with the upper classes at home, and in China, it was a sign of social mobility that wouldn't have been otherwise enjoyed.[60] Illustrating this observation is Williams (a CMCS Commissioner), who, once retired, devoted a chapter of his memoir to hunting, aptly titling it 'With Gun and Dog'. Images of hunting as a hobby also often appear with reasonable frequency in Sapajou's cartoons.[61] In this manner, a pony represented not only leisure but privilege as one needed not only the money to buy a pony but the means to keep it, and this often included hiring a groom or stable hand. Importantly also for families, this meant that children could enjoy riding as a pastime.

Amahs and Domestic Help

For families of the China coast, the essential household staff were an important feature of creating comfort zones (and sometimes some grief due to miscommunication) in their daily lives. Good domestic help was an essential part of the experience of living in China's treaty ports; and keeping the home in good order while retaining a 'distance' from Chinese practices was important.[62] An amah and a boy (house manager and/or cook) were an important aspect of the household. While an amah might seem an odd choice for a discussion on material culture, in many ways, the amah became

commoditised and rendered relatively 'silent' yet ever present in accounts of family life. Yvonne King recounts that the 'servants' quarters' were strictly out of bounds to her as a child. But the family's amah stayed on to tend to the next generation of children, remaining with the family for some six decades. This in itself is an intriguing glimpse of a long connection and affection for the 'faithful, ever helpful and happy' amah. In Yvonne King's memoir, her Amah's story is described in this manner:

> It appears that she [Amah] was about sixteen when she was given away in marriage to a man she'd never before set eyes on, as was the Chinese custom. Her husband was an avid opium smoker and apparently did not work and life with him was hell. She had four or five children, all of whom died soon after birth. After her fifth child was born, she literally ran away from home.[63]

This amah (whose name is not divulged to the reader), despite a turbulent marriage, however, became part of the LeBas' family fabric, accompanying the family not only on various postings in China, but to Paris and London when the family was on leave. Having Amah accompanying them on the voyage to and from China (which took some 60 or so days by ship) was described by Yvonne King as a great help as otherwise her mother would have been 'tremendously busy' having four young children to care for.[64] Amah was described as fluent in 'pidgin English' (sic) and as faithful and appears fleetingly at the margins of family photos. Sapajou's depiction of the amah is often similar—a reflection of the marginality of such domestic helpers even though, ironically, they held important roles in allowing foreign families to function, and providing support and care for young charges. As Rasmussen also reflected, dependence on the amah and household help made it difficult to adjust on returning to Europe (or the United States), 'My wife and I were accustomed to a house full of servants to wait on us and here we had to do everything ourselves'.[65] In fact, the idea of having a ready supply of help in the house was a factor in drawing Rasmussen back to work in China, settling in Tianjin (Tienstin) with his family.[66] This is not without irony; Rasmussen started his career in the CMCS in the lowly outdoor service—it is telling that even from a relatively humble position within the China coast community, he grew accustomed to employing servants.[67] Having domestic support in the form of an amah was seen as part and parcel of the regular household routine in China; in some sense, the amah became commoditised, sought after and a valuable acquisition essential to the family household.

Creating a Sense of Permanence

Cartoons, while often speaking to a local audience and on contemporary issues, also provide valuable provide insights into the material culture of foreign families—the settlers—living on the China coast. The works of Sapajou are very iconic and associated with the political vicissitudes of the treaty port world and China's political turmoil, but they also provide insights into the everyday (and sometimes mundane) matters concerning foreigners who had livelihoods connected to the China coast. When combined with memoirs and news articles, we can glean a more intimate sense of everyday life for foreigners residing in many of China's treaty ports. These residents, sometimes shifting between the worlds of the expatriate and the settler, often looked to basic signs of modernity, of 'creature comforts' and of leisure pursuits when recreating a home life while in China. While the lives of CMCS families were liminal, a sense of permanence was created through tending gardens, by indulging in owning ponies and in enjoying seaside or hillside holidays, oftentimes with other families who were similarly transient and yet also saw themselves as settlers. It is through this camaraderie that a sense of community belonging was created for CMCS families.

By and large, family life along the China coast resembled that of other settler/expatriate communities in places recognised as part of formal empires (and imperial networks) such as British India or Malaya. Stability was often a much sought after quality. And while homesick bachelors could find comforts and refuge by spending time within such stabilising family surroundings; others were led astray with the wilder opportunities found at big ports. And for families, the often turbulent political scene of China in the 1920s and 1930s could be tempered through a focus on everyday routines; hence, a focus on ponies, gardens, music and other leisure pursuits.

Sapajou's cartoons remain a valuable source for thinking about the treaty ports and China coast life. These images serve to enrich our view of aspects of the material culture and lives of foreigners in the treaty ports. This lifestyle was indeed often a privileged one, and with benefits which would have been unthinkable at home, but the attempts to create a stable domestic sphere in spite of the impermanence of the port city enclaves and CMCS work also warrant further attention. Through creating a sense of a China coast network, families were able to find a solidarity and stability even when moving throughout the treaty port world. As eventually the treaty port world disappeared, what remained was a

nostalgia for a family life that was typified through ponies, the trusted amah, garden retreats and holiday houses. For CMCS families, everyday items gave an impression of permanence and stability in a rapidly changing milieu. By 1949, the treaty port world was swept away, but glimpses of these lives remain via Sapajou's cartoons. And other residues of a 'lost time' are evident through these memoirs with their descriptions of and sense of nostalgia for the homes of the China coast families.

Notes

1. Lethbridge, *All About Shanghai: A Standard Guidebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). A recent publication is Yvonne Schulz Zinda's discussion on Shanghai in popular culture in "Representation and nostalgic re-invention of Shanghai in Chinese film" in Arndt Graf and Chua Beng Huat, *Port Cities in Asia and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 150–161.
2. Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Class and Culture 1900–1949* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1999), and Nicholas Clifford, *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of 1920,* Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991.
3. Anthony Hewitt, *Children of the Empire* (Erskineville, Kangaroo Press, 1993, 1995) p. 22. This beloved holiday home was destroyed during the Japanese occupation.
4. See Robert Bickers (ed) *Settlers and Expatriates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) and two volumes in the 'Britain and the World' series by Martin Farr and Xavier Guegan (eds) *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century,* Volume 1: *Travellers and Tourists* and Volume 2: *Experiencing Imperialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) as examples of recent scholarship examining settler communities throughout formal and informal empire.
5. For the history of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, see Hans Van de Ven, *Breaking with the Past: The Maritime Customs Service and the Global Origins of Modernity in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) and Donna Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone in China* (London: Routledge, 2006).
6. There wasn't a fixed timing for rotation between ports, but depending on seniority and the needs of the CMCS, Indoor Staff may be rotated every three years, Outdoor staff a little less often, but overall, foreign staff rotated between ports more often than Chinese employees. See Donna Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone in China,* for a discussion of staff movements.

7. Sapajou's relatively privileged upbringing including education at an art school was disrupted by World War I. During the war, as a Lieutenant, Sapojnikoff was injured in battle, and with the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, he found himself like many other compatriots—in the position of a refugee in Shanghai in 1920. Nenad Djordjevic (ed), *Sapajou. The Collected Works of Old Shanghai's Greatest Cartoonist: The Early Years* (Pdf Edition) (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2011), pp. xxi–xxiv.
8. See Richard Rigby, "Sapajou" *East Asian History* 17/18 (1999), for an overview and analysis of Sapajou's works.
9. Frank H.H. King (ed) and Prescott Clarke, "A Research guide to newspapers on the China coast".(Harvard University: Harvard University Asia Center, 1965).
10. Carl Crow, *400 Million Customers,* London H. Hamilton, 1937, and Shamus A'Rabbit, *China Rhymes, Two Classics of Old China Coast Poetry* by Shamus A'Rabbit (1937) (republished in 2009 in Hong Kong by Earnshaw Books). Sapajou is also credited with influencing generations of cartoonists (perhaps the most notable being Hua Jun Wu, a PRC cartoonist who was inspired by an exhibition of Sapajou's work) and the well-loved Herge's Tintin series *The Blue Lotus* also seems to have drawn some inspiration from Sapajou's works. Rigby, p. 137.
11. Rigby, ibid., 135–137.
12. Paul Bevan, *A Modern Miscellany: Shanghai Cartoon Artists, Shao Xunmei's Circle and the Travels of Jack Chen, 1926–1938* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Bevan briefly discusses Sapajou's style and his relatively political 'neutral' tone in his cartoons.
13. See Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders and Others: British Communities in China 1843–1957" in Bickers (ed) *Settlers and Expatriates*, for a discussion of Shanghailander identity.
14. See Isabella Jackson, "The Raj on Nanjing Road: Sikh Policemen in Treaty-Port Shanghai". *Modern Asian Studies* (46:6, 2012), for an elaboration on the use of Sikh soldiers in China and also for the way in which Sikh imperial diaspora became something of an instantly recognisable 'short form' for the presence of the British influence.
15. Bickers, *Britain in China,* discusses the hegemony of the treaty ports for representations of China and the way in which this also influences scholars examining China, p. 60.
16. Nicholas Clifford, *Spoilt Children of Empire*.
17. Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders and Others: British Communities in China 1843–1957" in Bickers (ed) *Settlers and Expatriates*, pp. 269–301.
18. The journalist Rodney Gilbert's *What's Wrong with China* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1926) is a work detailing the political scene in China and is written very much from the Shanghailander's perspective.

19. Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843–1937" *The Past and Present,* no. 159 (May 1998). pp. 161–162.
20. See, for example, Chiara Betta, "From Orientals to Imagined Britons: Baghdadi Jews in Shanghai" *Modern Asian Studies,* 37(4) 2003, and Eileen Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
21. See Dorotheé Rihal, "The French Concession in Hankou 1938–1943: the life and death of a solitary enclave in an occupied city" in Bickers and Jackson, *Treaty Ports in Modern China* as an example.
22. In *Britain and Britons over the Seas*, Bickers makes the observation that people often shifted between categories of expatriate and settler. And sometimes, even they themselves were not so conscious of this shift.
23. Frank Dikötter, *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) pp. 4–5.
24. See Bickers, *Britain in China*, for a more detailed discussion of the position of Britons in China.
25. Catherine Ladds, *Empire Careers: Working for the Chinese Customs Service, 1854–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) p. 131.
26. Bickers, *Britain in China,* pp. 76–77.
27. Ladds, *Empire Careers*, p. 131.
28. See Bickers, *Britain in China,* pp. 12–14.
29. For a survey of all the treaty ports and outposts in China, see Robert Nield, *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015).
30. Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone,* Chap. 2 "An Institutional Review", for an overview of policies and also staff movements between ports. Also see Ladds, *Imperial Careers*, on the recruitment policies for Customs men.
31. Yvonne King shared access to a copy of her memoir with the author during field work and an interview in 1999 (in Melbourne, Australia).
32. Yvonne King, *A Variegated Life*, p. 19.
33. Ibid.
34. Bickers, *Britain in China,* pp. 88–89.
35. Ibid., p. 83.
36. Ladds, *Empire Careers,* pp. 133–134.
37. Rigby, p. 131.
38. Sapajou Cartoon, 14 March 1925, *North China Herald* in Nenad Djordjevic (ed), *Sapajou. The Collected Works of Old Shanghai's Greatest Cartoonist,* p. xxv.
39. Bickers, *Britain in China,* p. 78.
40. Ladds, *Empire Careers,* pp. 133–134.
41. C.A.S. Williams, *Chinese Tribute*, p. 113–114.
42. Hewitt, p. 25.

43. Homes formed a retreat particularly by the 1920s when anti-foreign (but more specifically anti-British) sentiment was harnessed by nationalist groups in a series of strikes and boycotts. This led to a reversal of British foreign policy in China and a 'gradual withdrawal' of British influence.
44. Rassmussen, *China Trader* (London: constable & Co, 1954), pp. 149–151.
45. Ibid., p. 151.
46. Christopher Briggs, *Hai Kuan: The Sea Gate* (Cheshire: Lane Publishers, 1997) p. 87. This is part of a chapter entitled 'The Good Life' and deals mainly with Brigg's time in Hong Kong and Macao.
47. Williams, *Chinese Tribute,* p. 58.
48. For comparative purposes, works by Dane Kennedy on hill stations, Maurizio Peleggi on colonial hotels in Asia as comfort zones and Tim Harper on the British in Malaya are useful.
49. King, *A Variegated Life,* p. 73.
50. Some of these images are reproduced in Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone in China,* pp. 49–53.
51. King, *A Variegated Life,* p. 8. c.1917–1920.
52. Ibid., p. 34.
53. See the *North China Herald*, May 1923, saw Robinson's Pianos of Nanking Road featured on the front cover of the paper, advertising not only gramophones but gramophones specifically suitable for the nursery. And Robinson's advertised a Columbia Records special offer in 16 March 1929, consisting of a series of educational lectures on world affairs of the time.
54. *North China Herald*, 4 January 1927, "The Wonders of the Radio" feature article.
55. Rasmussen, pp. 44–47. *Mafoo* was a pidgin English term for the 'horse boy' or groom.
56. Williams, *Chinese Tribute*, p. 117.
57. Ibid., p. 118.
58. Bickers, *Britain in China*, pp. 84–85. See also Timothy Amos' chapter in this volume for a discussion of horses and the ideal of sociality and social mobility in the Japanese treaty port setting.
59. King, *A Variegated Life*, p. 42.
60. Ladds, *Empire Careers,* pp. 140–141.
61. In the *North China Herald*, Sapajou sometimes depicts hunters shooting fowl as a holiday pursuit (see December 1923 for example).
62. Bickers, *Britain in China*, pp. 88–89. This was very reminiscent of the British Raj, where recreating home becomes a preoccupation both in town and in the hill stations.
63. King, *A Variegated Life*, p. 5. Yvonne explains that her family already had a baby-amah but required a wash-amah. Over time, this wash-amah became

the main domestic help for her mother, and for Yvonne when she had her own family.

64. Ibid., p. 5.
65. Rassmussen, p. 171.
66. Ibid., p. 176.
67. Bickers, *Britain in China,* p. 75.

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Fig. 3.1 Bushū Yokohama Meishozu Igirisujin Motomura (Yokohama (Musashi Province) Famous Places: Englishman and Motomura) by Yoshitora (1860)

CHAPTER 3

Horses and Hostlers in the Making of a Japanese Foreign Settlement

Timothy D. Amos

Introduction

As Commodore Perry sailed towards the shore line in Uraga Bay, to deliver the letters entrusted to his care by President Fillmore, the poet-turned-chronicler Bayard Taylor, also on board, had his eyes firmly fixed on the Japanese defences, noticing first the shore armaments and then the soldiers. Regarding the latter, he wrote that "[t]here were a number of horses, of a breed larger and much superior to the Chinese, and in the background we saw a body of cavalry."[1] Perry also noticed the horses, recalling that "[t]hose in front were all infantry, archers, and lancers; but large bodies of cavalry were seen behind, somewhat in the distance, as if held in reserve. The horses of these seemed of fine breed, hardy, of good bottom, and brisk in action; and these troopers, with their rich caparisons, presented at least a showy cavalcade."[2] To military men and their aides sizing up a possible enemy in the mid-nineteenth century, horses were a key indicator of military ground strength, as well as symbolically important in projecting an image of power.[3]

Horses in Japan had long symbolised high sociocultural status, superior military strength, and dominant political power. As Morgan Pitelka has noted, "the Tokugawa regime of proper behaviour included the acquisition,

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_3

use, and display of material culture and … this entire package of ritual was central both to the authority of the Tokugawa, as well as the attempts of feudal lords and their vassals to reproduce and to challenge it."[4] Horses counted among the gifts of one high-ranking Jesuit official to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[5] They were also given as official gifts between daimyo lords and the incumbent shogun prior to the arrival of Perry, and they also counted among the gifts offered by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to the shogunate.[6] Building on this tradition, horses and trappings were offered as gifts by both Westerners and Japanese officials in their dealings with each other at the end of the Tokugawa period. Horse trappings, and containers for them, began to be offered as official presents: the official shogunate craftsmen, for example, were ordered to build among other things a box in which the American president could place his horse trappings.[7] Horses were also given as official presents—Napoleon III famously gave the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu 26 Arabian horses.[8]

Such mutual gifts were doubtless aimed at securing recognition, agency, and position within an unfamiliar and differently structured social order.[9] Foreign dignitaries in the 1850s quickly became conscious of the status-based nature of horse riding in Japan and immediately upon arrival made personal requests to the Tokugawa shogunate for horses. Foreigners were also thereafter frequently assaulted or injured by people of samurai background when riding their horses, suggesting that the practice could offend the sensibilities of this status group because it usurped what was perceived as their unique privilege. Foreigners also increasingly noted with great chagrin that handlers hired to take care of their mounts often took excessive liberties, revealing ways in which horses could also participate in the disruption of Western social life in general, which was itself built upon a conception of an idealised status order[10] (See Fig. 3.1).

Horses for foreign dignitaries and treaty port residents also carried another heavy symbolic load: they functioned as an embodied extension of Western civilisation, requiring careful attention and protection to ensure acceptable levels of comfort, convenience, and social deportment within the treaty ports.[11] Not merely symbolically important objects that reflected (and participated in) status orders, becoming official gifts of exchange between powerful elites engaged in complex diplomatic interactions, horses functioned simultaneously as "technologies of power" deployed for various military and civilian purposes in the settlement of foreign treaty ports such as Yokohama.[12]

Before the completion of the Tokyo–Yokohama railway line in 1872, horses were the primary mode of transport for residents in Yokohama after ships, an important fact particularly given the considerable distances that needed to be travelled in order for foreigners to travel between Kanagawa and Edo (Tokyo) and the intense dislike most Westerners had for the *kago* (Japanese-style palanquin).[13] Moreover, the system of roads in Yokohama was specifically designed with horses in mind. With their proliferation in the settlement, various regulations and protocols for equine maintenance and mobilisation were devised. Furthermore, horses quickly became a focal point for key entertainments: local residents rode on horseback to Yokohama bluff, visited tea houses along the Tōkaidō highway, and competed in both official and unofficial horse races that became a hallmark of settlement life.[14] Meanwhile, local goods and produce required by Yokohama residents to maintain their livelihoods were also brought into the community via packhorses; and as the settlement became more established and travel restrictions between Yokohama and other places eased in the late 1860s, horse-drawn "stage" services commenced, facilitating both domestic travel and mail delivery.

Foreigners who maintained horses required hostlers and handlers (referred to as *bettō* in most of the literature) on their personal staff and, at one point or another, needed to come into contact with a range of specialised Japanese tradesmen, whether horse traders (who often doubled as veterinarians) or farriers.[15] Horses, central to settlement life in Yokohama, were therefore also an important kind of vehicle of sociality, bringing diverse groups of subaltern Japanese into contact with the foreign community in interesting ways. Such sociality was underpinned by the socially and economically marginalised, and it is therefore horses that enable us to better understand how the rich texture of subaltern material existence contributed to patterns of social life in the Yokohama treaty port.

Yokohama, perhaps Japan's most important nineteenth century treaty port, has hitherto been examined from various angles: as a site of transmission of goods, practices, and ideas; of international connections between Japanese and Westerners from vastly different classes and backgrounds attempting to form and maintain a community on foreign soil; as a place of representation indicating processes of fascination and familiarisation; as an instance of Western imperialism, the site for the implementation and reinforcement of legally sanctioned inequality; and as a place of resistance, where indigenous efforts to resist this imperialism were carried out.[16] How certain ideas of frontier settlement, as well as understandings of the

technologies of civilisation, shaped life and informed the historical contours of both treaty port development and early modern life in Japan is a relatively understudied area of the treaty port historical experience.

This chapter focuses on horses and their handlers, arguing that the former were crucial in the formation and establishment of treaty ports like Yokohama, and the transformation of the Tokugawa status system more generally, both at a material and at a symbolic level.[17] A fixation on the idea of "gunboat diplomacy," as well as a long tradition of treating horses as "things," as mere historical bystanders, has prevented historians from seeing how animals also helped to make history, not only in and around the treaty port, but also in transforming the very nature of the early modern Japanese status system. A focus on horses, moreover, usefully redirects attention towards the possibility of a multilayered analysis of subaltern history in imperial East Asia, pointing to records of the lives of people on the margins of late Tokugawa society such as hostlers and farriers as they interacted at multiple levels with treaty port residents and visitors. Horses in treaty port Japan functioned in various capacities as conveyors of status, facilitators of settlement, vehicles of sociality, and purveyors of civilisation during the early period of foreign interaction and establishment of Yokohama treaty port.

Early Foreign Engagement and the Finalisation of the Treaty Port

Townsend Harris (the first American consul to Japan) made much of horses. He noted in his journal that a horse and trappings from Edo arrived on October 22, 1856, after a request had been made of the Tokugawa shogunate for a suitable mount. Calling the fitted out horses "queer affairs," he noted that he had ordered them "to be sent to me from Yedo, not only for actual use, but to give me increased importance in the eye of the natives."[18] This first horse was not up to scratch, however: he noted in a letter to his granddaughter Kate dated November 21, 1856, that he was "daily expecting a horse, caparisoned with Japanese Saddle, stirrups, Bridle &c&c—the most singular affair you ever saw."[19] Harris further noted in his journal a few days later that some wrangling was indeed going on over horse selection, with the Japanese governor rejecting at least three steeds for various reasons including intemperance. The governor apparently promised to hand-pick a good horse himself as he argued that he was "responsible for my personal safety to both the

American and Japanese Governments, and if I should be killed by a vicious horse, he would have to perform the hara-kiri."[20]

Harris's new horse finally arrived on December 20, and although "not a high-mettled racer," it was apparently suitable for his purposes, although he noted with astonishment that the saddle and bridle cost more than the horse. From the same day, Harris also began to employ a groom for the horse at the rate of $1.75 per month. No mention was made of the groom's name, or the horse's either for that matter, but the former was a figure with an occupation of which Harris clearly viewed with some disregard: "The Japanese are no horsemen; both hands are employed in holding the reins; they have no martingale, the horse therefore carries his head very high with his nose stuck out straight. They therefore have no command over him. Usually the groom leads the horse by a third rein put on for that purpose."[21] Neither did Harris think much of the farrier arts in Japan, which involved shodding the horse with straw sandals that lasted only about an hour on the open road.[22] Harris noted that Henry Heusken, his Dutch interpreter, had his horse shod by a smith on the *Portsmouth* when they docked in port, something that created a "great sensation among the Japanese," who were apparently unfamiliar with the practice and who expected the groom to carry spare straw shoes to replace the ones which broke along the journey.[23]

From Harris's diary entry on May 21, 1857, it is apparent that Heusken (later famously assassinated while on horseback) also purchased a horse through the shogunate officials for a hefty price. This horse proved extremely difficult for him to ride and eventually had to be given away.[24] From around mid-1857, horses were important for outdoor exercise, which when undertaken with others became a vehicle for sociality, although with admittedly limited frequency. Harris recorded in his diary that he went for a ride on October 5, 1857, but lamented the lack of real riding areas in Shimoda. It is indeed difficult to see how Harris managed to ride his horse throughout the first three quarters of 1857, as he had parted with his saddle, loaned to a Commodore Armstrong in Hakodate.[25] Harris further mentioned in his diary that his horse riding gave no end of consternation to the Japanese authorities, who presumably worried that they would lose their jobs, or worse, should he come a cropper. Doubtless, Japanese concerns during this period were further linked to how this activity would be perceived by commoners, who understood horse riding through the lens of social status and thereby as an act when undertaken by foreigners that disrupted the domestic sociopolitical order. No doubt

some would also have held suspicions that foreigners who engaged in this activity were doing so for the sole purpose of reconnaissance.

Harris's horse got another workout on November 23, 1857, when he departed from Shimoda to travel to Edo for his first audience with the Tokugawa shogun.[26] This was a considerable "cavalcade" akin to a small daimyo retinue with about 350 persons, with Harris and his secretary Heusken on horses and led by a certain Kikuna, who was also mounted and said by Harris to have had a rank equivalent to captain. Along the way, Harris's horse "bit and kicked" him, drawing blood, and the accompanying Japanese physician, apparently with fear and trepidation at Harris's "exalted rank" (according to Harris), treated him with leeches. [27] Upon arrival in Edo, Harris requested that he be given space to ride his horse, apparently rejecting several smaller spaces offered to him in favour of a larger space close to the castle.[28] Harris's above request is captured in the Japanese records. On December 13, 1857, the Chief Inspector wrote to the Edo City Magistrate indicating that "the American consul" had sought permission to ride a horse and that this had been granted both to American officials and to interpreters. Permission had been granted to ride to an open field outside the Tayasu Gate near the castle, but it was made clear that a particular route had to be followed to get there. Moreover, the Tayasu Gate guards as well as other patrolling troops were ordered to ensure that spectators did not congregate there.[29] Three days later, another order from the Chief Inspector to the Edo City Magistrate indicated that these hours were restricted to between 3 and 5 pm, and that crowd control and other matters should be in line with the December 13 order.[30]

Machines of Settlement/Markers of Status

After considerable negotiations with Harris, the Tokugawa authorities began to construct the Yokohama treaty port, designing it in such a way that the foreign residents all lived in houses together in the same block with the central wharf in plain sight and with the entire settlement forming part of a grid that included the customs office, other officials' quarters, and merchant establishments.[31] The treaty port officially opened on June 2, 1859, and the new British Consul-General Sir Rutherford Alcock arrived on June 26. Harris meanwhile moved from Shimoda to Edo shortly after on July 7, 1859.[32] Alcock, also keenly aware of the cultural significance of approaching Japanese officials on horseback, noted in a letter to the Earl of Malmesbury dated July 9, 1859, that he

deliberately chose to ride on horseback for his first audience with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.[33] Perhaps concerned about what would happen if people were permitted to follow Alcock's example, the Senior Councillor soon after the opening of the Yokohama settlement instructed the Chief Inspector to ban all mounted entry as well as the leading of horses from the new road on Shibō to Yokohama township, with the official reason given as traffic congestion.[34] With growing numbers of foreigners residing in Yokohama, however, the amount of horse traffic in and out of the community also increased, likely rendering this statute unenforceable. In a publication dated about a decade later, the system of roads in Yokohama was apparently designed with horses in mind: "The new road [was] made for the use and convenience of foreigners, more especially for equestrians."[35]

The fact that horses were an important symbolic marker of status, however, meant that riding on them would seriously offend the sensibilities of some Japanese observers, particularly members of the samurai class. As increasingly large numbers of foreigners took to horseback to travel around the stipulated mobility zone around Yokohama or went on horseback to the US consul in Edo, violent incidents broke out against foreigners with increasing frequency. Alcock noted in a communication to the Earl of Malmesbury dated August 11, 1859, for example, the following examples of Edo-based attacks on Harris's secretary: "Some short time back Mr. Heuskin, the Acting Secretary to the American Legation, while quietly walking his horse through the city, and speaking to his groom, was assaulted by one of three officers, and received a violent blow across the body from an umbrella. The two companions of the assailant helped him to make his escape into a house. A few days later the same gentleman, riding again near the centre of the city, in company with the Dutch Consul, M. de Graaf, was assailed with stones, not by a few idle boys or individuals, but a mob in open day, and with such persistent violence that they were obliged to retreat."[36] Alcock, writing to Lord. J. Russell on September 20, 1859, noted that horses and grooms as part of a larger retinue were the marker of high status in Japan and that "[a]lone, and without attendants, on foot or on horseback, the American Minister or British Consul-General must expect to be hustled, mobbed, and stoned; happy if they escape more serious injury from some half-drunken retainer of a Damio [sic]."[37] Alcock, in a formal complaint to the Foreign Ministers on November 8, 1859, related an incident that happened to him on the Tōkaidō between Yokohama and Edo, in order to communicate some of the dangers foreign

residents were experiencing while travelling at this time. Riding past a group of drunken samurai, Alcock's groom brushed aside a man who collided with his horse, drawing the man's ire, and was apparently only persuaded from striking the groom (and perhaps the mounted Alcock) by Heusken, who had drawn his revolver.[38]

Social horse riding meanwhile became more prevalent at the turn of the decade. Francis Hall, upon his initial arrival in Yokohama in November 1859, quickly made the transition from foot to horseback, going for a series of rides the following month, most of them social in nature. On one occasion, General E.M. Dorr (acting US Consul at Kanagawa) supplied the horses, and Reverend Samuel. R. Brown (missionary for the Dutch Reformed Board) accompanied Hall on a ride of "five or six miles on the Tokaido towards Miaco [Edo]," careful to keep within the strict travel limits that had been imposed on the foreigners through the settlement treaty. The three men were followed by grooms who "attended us walking and running all the way near the horses' heads," shouting "'Hai,' 'Hai,' to every living obstacle in our way so that we might have a clear road." "Betto" was clearly a physically demanding occupation, for as Hall notes, "[o]ur footmen were pretty well blown by the time we reached home." Hall further records that the General's horses had "American saddles and bridles" but had been shod in the local manner. Hall did not have a very favourable opinion of the horses ("like a poor man's horse past work at home"), although he did notice that "there a few good and shapely animals owned by the wealthy and officials," a reference to those animals owned by members of the samurai class. [39] Hall's subsequent diary entry indicated that he was aware that horse riding was something that clearly indicated status: "The noble traveller takes in addition [to the norimon, or sedan chair] a saddle horse which [he] uses a part of the time."[40]

Shogunate officials meanwhile apparently struggled to keep up with foreign requests for horses and trappings. On December 22, 1859, Wakisaka Yasuori, Senior Councillor, notified the Magistrates in charge of Kanagawa (Yokohama), Nagasaki, and Hakodate that they should inform merchants in their respective areas that it was no longer necessary for foreigners to purchase weapons and horse trappings through official channels—merchants could engage in these kinds of sales directly. An addendum to this order stated that this would be the case only if the items were for personal use however; the exemption would not apply to trade items.[41]

Horses continued to be called upon for military service in China at this time and Japan came to be considered as a possible source of equine supply.

On January 13, 1860, Edward Barrington de Fonblanque and Sir Rutherford Alcock both received an audience with the Japanese Foreign Minister concerning horses. They communicated to him that Great Britain wished to purchase "three or four thousand" Japanese horses to take over to China, something both men were expecting strong resistance over considering that it might adversely affect Sino-Japanese relations. To their surprise, the main concerns raised by the Japanese officials were about fears of a decline in domestic supply. After some negotiation, the Japanese minister promised 1000 horses from "Niphon" (Honshu) and "as many more from the other two islands" (Shikoku, Kyushu), although Japanese records indicate that Hakodate was an important sourcing point as well.[42] Fonblanque secured permission to purchase land for the construction of stables in Yokohama and, working through the Kanagawa Magistrate, dealt directly with the horse traders ("persons appointed by the Government") to bargain prices for the horses and trappings, on which the shogunate received a commission on every sale. [43] Fonblanque went into considerable detail concerning the Japanese officials who were engaged to monitor the sale, as well as horse traders, who with "hilarity and good-humour" went to ingenuous lengths to beautify some of the specimens they tried to sell to Her Majesty's government.[44] Fonblanque actually began shipping his horses in May—in his words, "the first instance of equine emigration from Japan"—and the process of "slinging" the horses on board drew quite a bit of local interest. One of the transports, the *Forest Eagle*, carrying 200 horses encountered considerable difficulties on route, however, eventually returning to port with only 70 horses still alive and with many of the surviving maimed and needing to be put down.[45] This was not the only incident during the transportation process, moreover, with another contemporary reporting that a similar level of causalities had also been sustained aboard the *Kate Hooper*.[46]

In late September/early October 1860, Foreign Minister Matsudaira Yasuhide contacted the Kanagawa Magistrate concerning the proposed export of some horses by a Dutch merchant. The Kanagawa Magistrate was approached by the British Consul at Kanagawa F. Howard Vyse on behalf of the Dutch merchant and an exemption certification was refused, something that caused an outcry from the British Consul. Through this document, it also becomes clear that the number of horses initially requested by the British and French legations for export had been limited to 1000 and that basically the policy of permitting equine exportation to China was not favoured by the shogunate. The tactic eventually adopted

by the Japanese Foreign Minister thereafter was to insist upon such a hefty export tax (two dollars) that foreigners would baulk at even exporting horses they had employed for personal use.[47]

Print artists like Yoshikazu, Yoshitora, and Sadahide also published numerous prints of scenes of Yokohama in the years 1860–1861. These prints reveal horses mounted by military men, gentleman, and ladies, as well as draft animals pulling carriages. Yoshitora's "Eight Views of Yokohama in Bushū (Modern Musashi Province): Sunset Glow at Noge" also shows a mounted American officer riding (presumably at a considerable clip), with his groom or bettō running alongside, highlighting the way horses facilitated a close connection between the foreign community and the nearby Japanese community.[48] Francis Hall, by this time increasingly mobile on his own horse, made the following observation about his attendant while accompanying Townsend Harris partway to Edo: "Our *betto*, or groom, had according to the custom of the country run on foot with the horses, keeping pace with them. He ran ahead to the hotel of the felicities to inform them of the distinguished arrival."[49]

Joseph Heco, the famous castaway, included in his memoir a copy of "Notification No. 15," which was apparently issued in Yokohama on December 5, 1861, shortly after the assassination of Ii Naosuke.[50] This was a reproduction of a notification found in the very first edition of *The Japan Herald* dated November 19, 1861, entitled "Ruled and Regulations for the Peace Order and Good Government of British Subjects within the dominions of the Tycoon of Japan." The notification included the following statement on equestrian etiquette in Yokohama: "It has further come to the knowledge of the Japanese Government that furious riding in the streets of Yokohama is a common practice among foreigners, and not only among them but among their Chinese servants, by whom the lives of Japanese subjects are daily endangered, and one only recently sacrificed." The acting Consul Vyse advised that British subjects should "take earnest and effective steps to prevent servants thus bringing their masters into odium and disrepute. The very circumstances of these servants riding at all, is a violation of the custom of the country, and one which no doubt outrages the feelings and customs of the people."[51] While the circumstances surrounding the actual death mentioned in the document are unknown, such incidents doubtless contributed to the development of another feature of the settlement: road rules and etiquette. Vyse's notification, perhaps almost prophetically, anticipated a February 14, 1863, incident pertaining to the issue of mounted foreigners encountering

a daimyo procession returning to its domain from Edo. Going for an afternoon ride, Charles Lenox Richardson and his party were attacked, with Richardson being cut down from his horse and killed by numerous blows from swords, spears, and possibly other weapons.[52]

Japanese rules designed for domestic consumption concerning the riding of horses also began to rapidly transform from around this time. In August 1863, a new rule surfaced permitting the captain of the mounted guard to remain mounted through the "nine gates"—a reference to the gates of the imperial castle in Kyoto—if it was an emergency.[53] Regulations concerning the handling of the horses also became more detailed. In November 1864, as the shogunate embarked on its first expedition against Chōshū domain, it issued regulations as to what to do with its horses. Horses, when depositing manure, were to be taken to the side of the road and allowed to complete their business first before continuing on; when changing horse shoes, the horse should be ridden to a side street, the shoe changed, and the same horse then ridden again to the next stop; during a horse bottleneck, when horses becoming entangled together, a strict order of clearance needed to be followed; when riding and transporting horses, the names of both their owners and the squad they belong to must be displayed on a wooden sign and affixed to the ears of the horse; and during battle, anyone who lets go of their mount will be made to pay a fine, and the person in charge of holding the bridle shall be punished.[54] An entry for the *Illustrated London News* dated April 7, 1866, further noted that a certain John Richardson had taken the Senior Councillor to Kawasaki in a carriage, a historical first, creating a considerable spectacle among the local population.

Vehicles of Status/Purveyors of Civilisation

On the eve of the Meiji Restoration, status-based road rules were beginning to break down fast. Late in 1866, the shogunate gave permission for horse-drawn carriages employed specifically for the transportation of goods to be used in the city of Edo, on the five main highways, in postal towns, and in villages.[55] On February 20, 1868, orders concerning dismounting from horses and disembarking from carriages were handed down to both senior officials of the rank of daimyo and minor officials when travelling to Edo castle.[56] The English, moreover, scheduled to visit Edo Castle on March 26, 1868, along with their Japanese mounted guard, were given special permission to remain on horseback all the way through the castle gates.[57]

While these records all tend to read as documents concerned with the mechanics of status-based travel, the laws which followed on from them tended to focus more on questions of proper conduct and the safety of citizens. On March 19, 1870, the Meiji government issued a law specifically directed at Kanagawa and Shinagawa prefectures, stating that it was a serious offence to injure someone while driving a carriage and that forthwith driving at fast speeds along narrow stretches of highways and where there was traffic congestion was also forbidden and should be strictly enforced. Clearly, carriages were increasingly populating the stretch between Tokyo and Yokohama. A July 16, 1870, exposé in *The Far East* noted "coaches and carriages of all kinds plying between Yedo and Yokohama," something the author argued was bringing about changes in the Japanese social dynamic of dismounting or disembarking in order to show deference to people of higher status. This was again emphasised the following month, when traffic was again discussed: "[T]he road, hitherto innocent of wheels, is now covered with wheeled vehicles of many descriptions from the four horse coach to the one horse chaise" (*The Far East*, August 16, 1870). Japanese officials were thereafter given instructions concerning travel expenses, which involved riding in horse-drawn carriages on their way to official appointments.[58] On January 9, 1871, the Meiji government outlawed riding in carriages or on horses at night without lamps, a significant development given the absence of carriage culture in Japan prior to the arrival of the foreign settlers.[59] In June of the same year, it finally became legally possible for people of all social classes to ride horses (*The Japan Daily Mail*, January 6, 1872) (Figs. 3.2 and 3.3).

Despite the above changes in law, actual social practices predictably lagged behind legislation. On September 11, 1869, a serious attack was launched on the British legation while they were travelling to Kyoto to visit the Emperor. While this was perhaps the most serious and daring assault on a foreign legation in Japan, it is clear that assaults were very much a reality for Yokohama residents in the year following the Restoration. On August 25, for example, the Prussian diplomat Von Brandt carriage's was assaulted in the Japanese quarter of the settlement, with two men boarding his vehicle. They apparently dragged the bettō onto the road, an incident that eventually forced the lord of the vassals involved (Higashi Kuse Chinjo) to have to issue a public apology, which was posted on the various public notice boards in the community.[60] Older attitudes concerning how the lower classes should engage with horses were still clearly evident. In one letter to the editor, an incident involving a horse handler

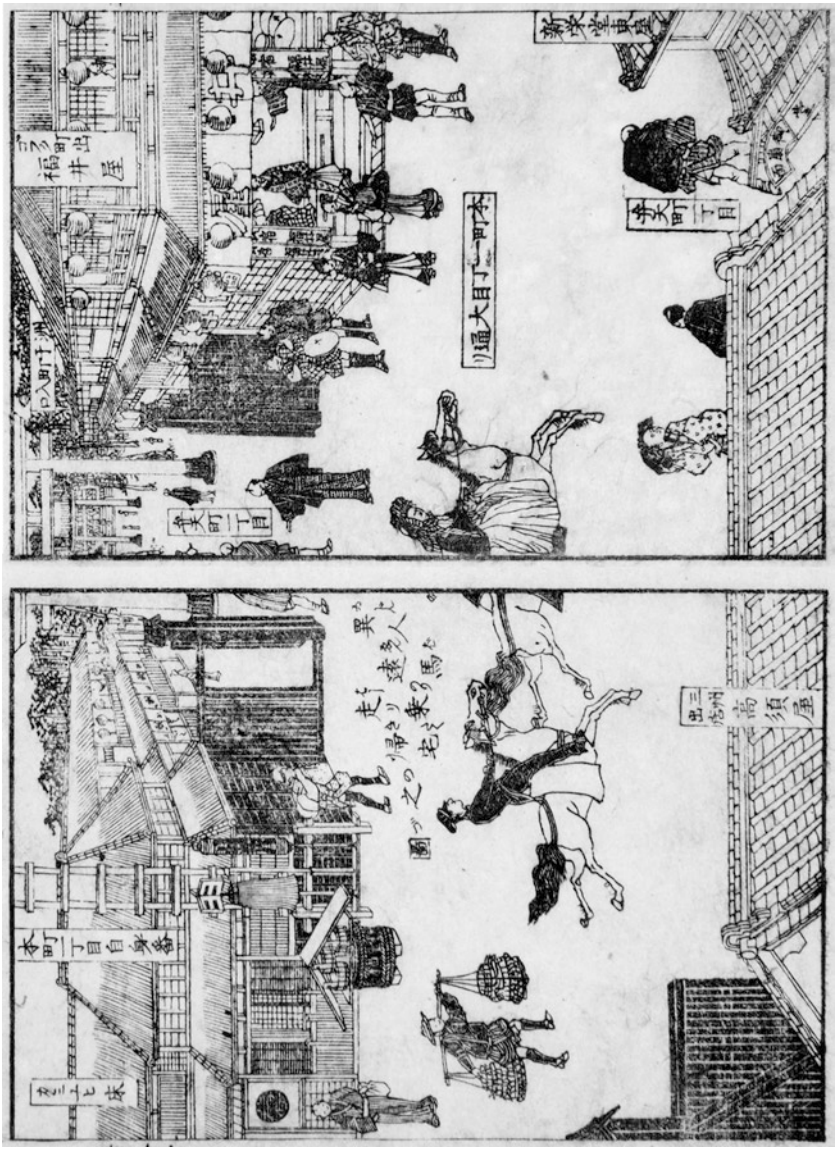

Fig. 3.2 *Yokohama Kaikō Kenbunshi (Record of sights and sounds of the opening of Yokohama) by Hashimoto Sadahide*, from the Gomi Bunko Collection

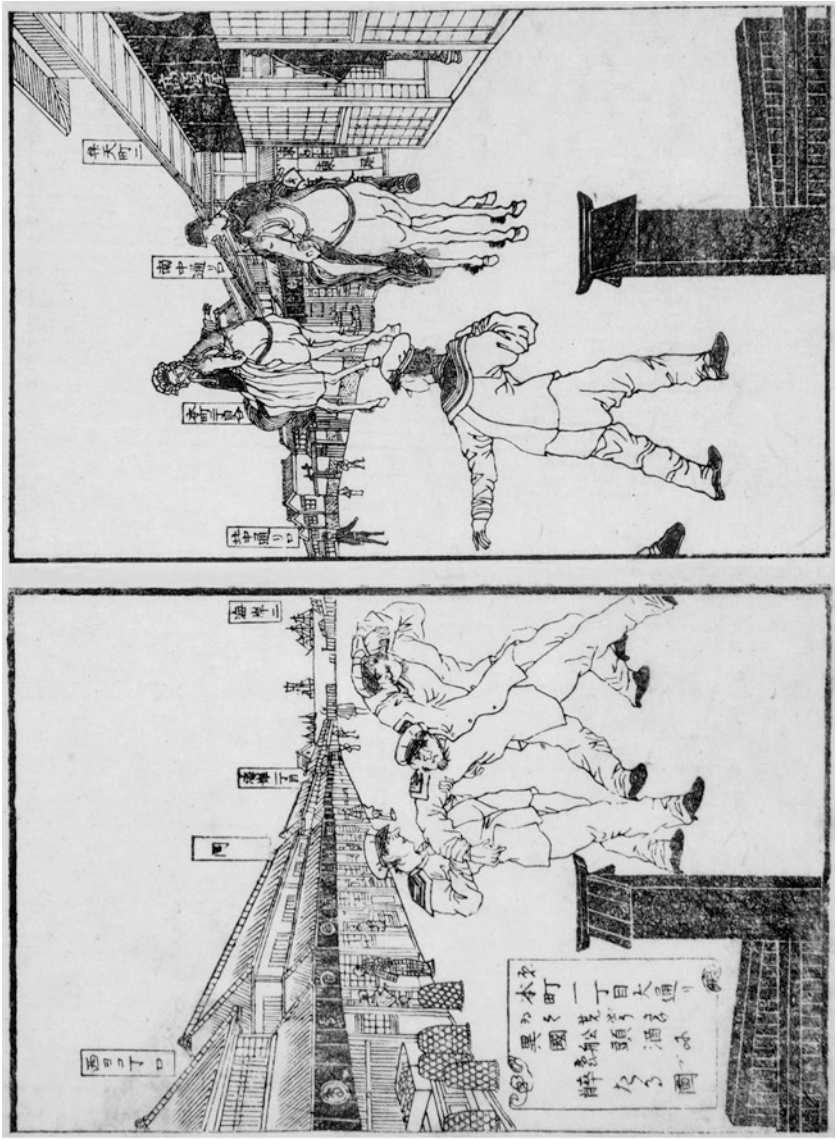

Fig. 3.3 *Yokohama Kaikō Kenbunshi (Record of sights and sounds of the opening of Yokohama) by Hashimoto Sadahide*, from the Gomi Bunko Collection

(who apparently died in custody) was explained by his employer as follows: "I had a betto, who in February last offended the Majesty of the Law by contenting himself with standing at my pony's head in the street, instead of holding it by the bridle. For this, he was arrested, and, despite my repeated efforts to obtain his discharge, he was kept in prison" (*The Japan Daily Mail*, June 1, 1872).

Bettō, meanwhile, while standing firmly on the frontlines of the civilisation tensions between Japanese and foreign communities, were clearly also enjoying some of their newfound freedoms, as evidenced in several complaints raised in letters to the editor about the horse riding culture in Yokohama: "It has been for some time a custom for bettoes to lead their masters' ponies up and down the Bund or Water Street. The uncertain tempers of many of these ponies are constant sources of danger both to those on foot and on horseback, and as it is a matter entirely within the province of the Municipal Director, we trust he will take the necessary steps to restrain so dangerous a practice. At the same time we would suggest that some restraint should be placed on the Japanese who now disport themselves on horseback. We may presume that there is some law against furious riding and should much like to see it put in force. The swamp is the place for these irregular horsemen" (*The Japan Daily Mail*, February 3, 1872). A further complaint made in *The Japan Daily Mail* on March 15, 1873, is equally illuminating: "We have on several occasions complained of that laxity in our Municipal regulations which permits bettoes in foreign employ to lead their masters' ponies up and down our narrow streets to the danger of all foot passengers. We again allude to the subject in the faint hope that some measures may be taken to prevent our lives, or, at least, our personal safety being constantly at the mercy of a number of bettoes who appear to assume that the streets were laid out for their especial benefit. Another class of betto equally obnoxious is that which insists upon galloping their masters' ponies about the streets at a furious pace and regardless of all consequences."

Relationships between bettō and their foreign employers could at times completely break down or involve criminal complicity. On August 23, 1872, a Japanese man, thought by the manager to be a former bettō, was apparently caught in the act of trying to set fire to German livery stables although he escaped capture (*The Far East*, August 23, 1872). On September 21, 1872, moreover, a substantial sum of money apparently discovered in a box placed on a stage coach travelling from Yokohama to Yedo was stolen and split between an English coach driver, a bettō, and a

Dutch Tsukuji resident. On his return to Yokohama, the Englishman confessed to his crime and the box's rightful owner demanded an arrest warrant for the other two accomplices. In this case, the bettō was arrested and made to stand trial in the foreign court (*The Japan Daily Mail*).

Horses rapidly transformed the geographical and social landscape of Yokohama in other ways, complicit in their very own Meiji revolution. Indeed so closely were ideas of horses and civilisation entwined during this period that some observers suggested that the quality of the horses available in a given country basically coincided with the national characteristics of the people who lived there.[61] The *Illustrated London News* noted on July 8, 1865, that samurai of various ages and foreigners had competed against each other in a horse race with the Japanese group putting on a good show. On January 1, 1867, an agreement concluded only a few days earlier by the Tokugawa shogunate and the Belgian diplomat Auguste t'Kint de Roodenbeeke came into effect concerning improvements to the Yokohama treaty port, construction of a racecourse and cemetery, and some other items. Both parties agreed to establish a racecourse, training ground, and riding ground, which were to be rebuilt on reclaimed land near Ooka River. A stable was to be built on the flatlands that overlooked Negishi Bay and the former racecourse at Minatozaki was to be made into a public park accessible by both foreigners and Japanese, which the Japanese government agreed to flatten and populate with trees.[62] The racecourse soon became a focal point of settlement life in Yokohama, although it is clear that racing horses was a practice not strictly speaking confined to the racecourse itself. In a humorous account of a local informal derby nicknamed the "The Hack Handicap," the authors, tongue in cheek, took great pains to mention the poor quality of the horses in Yokohama, the advanced age of many of the animals, and the highly questionable techniques by which old horses were "reconditioned" for sale. One Australian horse that they mention by name—Liver Cutter—was, they argued, initially purchased "as a small speculation in the horse-dealing line" and then "mashed and physicked [sic]": "his venerable teeth had been filed, his dock shortened, and legs trimmed," all this in an attempt to secure a higher price for the animal. Eventually, the horse was sold, but after having the horse in livery for a few weeks, it was sent for "liquidation to the proprietor," the owner concluding from the affair that they would "sooner be a dog and bay the moon than try to sell a screw in Yokohama."[63]

The race meets at Yokohama thereafter became quite a spectacle. For the Autumn Meet, "the banks and offices, in most instances, closed at noon on each day of the races in order to allow the employees to have a few hours holiday." The first and second days of the Meet were also apparently a hive of social activity: "Vehicles of all kinds were wending their way to the course. There comes a four horse coach crammed with the ordinary sight seers. Anon we see a tandem driven by some skilful hand, then a little basket gig, horsemen by the score, owners, jockeys and racing ponies jostle each other on the road to the racecourse, and for so small a place as Yokohama the scene is animated and lively to a degree" (*The Japan Daily Mail*, November 12, 1870). It appears that one route for the steady supply of race horses was Shanghai, one newspaper reporting in 1873 that "four China griffins" had been brought in on a "subscription plan" and that in fact several new stables were in the process of being built in Yokohama (*The Japan Daily Mail*, January 11, 1873). Intriguingly, horse races in Yokohama were split into China pony races and Japan pony races, with considerable disagreement over which was the preferred kind (*The Japan Daily Mail*, February 1, 1873).

Horses were, of course, also employed in various forms of transportation and communication. While evidence from the 1860s is hard to come by, it is clear that stage coaches were gaining in popularity in the early 1870s. When stables of the stage coach company operating in Yokohama, Sutherland & Co. were partially destroyed in a fire on January 6, 1872, Cobb & Co. took over (*The Japan Daily Mail*, January 6, 1872). In early February, the company advertised that they would be running "four horse coaches" out of Yokohama, twice daily to Yedo, as well as selling and hiring "carriages, harness, and saddle horses" (*The Japan Daily Mail*, February 10, 1872). Perhaps the most distinguished visitor to Yokohama during 1872 was the Meiji Emperor, however, whose visit provided an opportunity for the foreign community's horses to engage with royalty (one newspaper reported that "Messrs. Cobb & Co. furnished carriages for the conveyance of the Tenno and Suite to the Terminus") (*The Far East*, June 1, 1872). This trip was apparently to the royal taste, for *The Far East* further reported: "The Empress proceeded from Kanagawa to Shinagawa by train on 22nd August. We hear that her Majesty and suite travelled on the Tokaido in European carriages, with four horses and outriders. The upper windows of the houses were closed" (August 22, 1872). Another visit to Yokohama that would rival the imperial one was that of

the Grand Duke Alexis. *The Japan Daily Mail* reported as follows: "[S]ix carriages were in attendance and convey the Royal guest and his suite, one being a royal carriage with the Imperial chrysanthemum and *kiri* on the panels of the doors, and three being from the stables of Messrs. Cobb & Co" (November 16, 1872).

Conclusion

While the quality of horses available to a colonising power and how these horses should be bred for military purposes continued to be a topic of considerable concern, the idea of military conquest or occupation was never seriously entertained in the Japanese case. Ground-based weapons of war such as horses were mobilised less for some form of military or strategic purpose but to shoulder a politically symbolic role as conveyors of status and purveyors of civilisation, as well as to play a more practical role as machines of settlement and vehicles of sociality. Animals arriving in treaty ports in the holds of ships had various life trajectories and their actions shaped transport, communication, and land-based military defensive orientations, particularly in the early years of the port, but horses primarily became historical actors that contributed to and contested competing visions of power, wealth, status, and civilisation. Horses, moreover, central to settlement life in Yokohama as an important vehicle of sociality, brought diverse groups of subaltern Japanese into contact with the foreign community in interesting ways, challenging the Tokugawa social order at multiple levels. Such sociality was underpinned by those on the margins of late Tokugawa society and it is horses that enable us to better understand how the rich texture of subaltern material existence contributed to patterns of social life in the Yokohama treaty port and late Tokugawa shifts in the decline of the status order.

Notes

1. Bayard Taylor, *A Visit to India, China, and Japan: In the Year 1853* (G. P. Putnam & Company, 1855), p. 428.
2. Matthew Calbraith Perry, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1856), p. 254.
3. Although the horses on the shoreline certainly attracted the attention of these men, the amount of space allotted to them diminished in comparison

to descriptions of coastal armaments and the numerous instances of the US ships' ceremonial employment of cannons, no doubt intended to add weight to the thinly veiled threats made to the shogunate authorities about sailing into Edo Harbor. At the time of Perry's landing, however, and thereafter in the period during the establishment of the first multinational foreign settlement in Yokohama, the importance of maintaining cavalry units in the project of military overseas remained largely unchallenged. In the words of Viscount Canning to Lord Elgin on August 28, 1857, shortly after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, an absence of properly trained cavalry was "one of the greatest deficiencies in the field under which the government now labours." *Correspondence Relative to the Earl of Elgin's Special Missions to China & Japan, 1857–1859. Presented to the House of Lords by Command of Her Majesty* (London, Printed by Harrison & Sons, 1859), pp. 38–39. At the same time, Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853 only slightly preceded the development and production of the Springfield rifle, a weapon that would help revolutionize the way enemies confronted each other in battle. Such technological innovations in an important sense "dethroned" cavalry from their pride of place within a nation's military structure, a process that became increasingly conspicuous during the famous cavalry-based battles fought during the Crimean (1853–1856) and American Civil (1861–1865) Wars.

4. Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), p. 14.
5. "A Present of Arabian Horses," Yuki Ryogo (translated by Fumiko F. Earns), accessed April 12, 2017, http://www.uwosh.edu/home_pages/faculty_staff/earns/yuki.html
6. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 144; Harold John Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, [Conn.]; London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 360.
7. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryo Hensanjo, ed. *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo no sanjū ichi (Ansei rokunen jūichigatsu kara dōnen jūnigatsu)*, Dainihon Komonjo (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986), p. 329.
8. Mamoru Sawa, "Des Documents Sur S. Cazeneuve," *Keiai University Staff Papers* 70 (2007): p. 361.
9. See, for example, Mark Ravina, "Japanese State Making in Global Context," in *State Making in Asia*, ed. Richard Boyd and Tak-Wing Ngo (London and New York: Routledge 2006), p. 33, 38.
10. For a succinct summary of recent work on the Tokugawa status order, see Timothy Amos, "Genealogy and Marginal Status in Early Modern Japan: The Case of Danzaemon," *Japanese Studies* 33, no. 2 (2013): pp. 148–49.

11. This idea was inspired by the discussion of the role and function of horses during "white settler expansion" in Sandra Swart, "Riding High – Horses, Power and Settler Society, c.1654–1840," *Kronos* no. 29 (2003): p. 55.
12. Sandra Swart, "The World the Horses Made: A South African Case Study of Writing Animals into Social History," *International Review of Social History* 55, no. 2 (2010): p. 253.
13. There were different kinds of palanquin-style transports (*norimono*), some of which designed for the upper classes were quite luxurious and comfortable. Cheaper transports, however, often referred to generically by foreign visitors as *kago*, *kango*, or *norimon*, were largely described by foreign passengers as uncomfortable because of the cramped nature of the transport chamber and the difficulty inexperienced passengers often had in maintaining the required seating posture for long stretches of time. Sir Rutherford Alcock writes: "I had taken so great a dislike to the cramped space afforded by the ordinary Norimon, that I determined to go on horseback." Sir Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), p. 152.
14. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson have observed that racecourses were one of the earliest sites established by foreign communities within treaty ports. "Introduction: Law, Land, and Power: Treaty Ports and Concessions in Modern China," in *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power*, eds. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 3. Within the Japanese text, it should also be noted that the gambling which accompanied horse-racing also issued new challenges to the Tokugawa social order that had long considered betting on games of chance a terrible social evil.
15. Bettō was a common name used for a hostler or groom during the final decades of the Tokugawa period. Little research has been conducted on this occupation so the exact nature of their early modern group structure and labour scope is unclear. A number of images of bettō can be found in the International Research Center for Japanese Studies' Overseas Images of Japan Database available at http://db.nichibun.ac.jp/ja/d/GAI/
16. Michael R. Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 94; Pär Kristoffer Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century China and Japan* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Harold Williams, *Foreigners in Mikadoland* (Rutland, Vermont; Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 2011); Yuki Allyson Honjo, *Japan's Early Experience of Contract Management in the Treaty Ports* (London: Japan Library, 2003); Ann Yonemura et al., *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-*

Century Japan (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

17. Status (*mibun*) was the primary category of identification used to define one's core existence in early modern Japan. People's status was determined through their participation in status communities that existed in layers and pockets throughout the Japanese archipelago and came with an elaborate series of official rights and obligations. The complex intersection and interplay of these communities is usually referred to as the Tokugawa status system. For more on the importance of status in understanding early modern Japan, see, for example, David Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).
18. Townsend Harris, *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris First American Consul General and Minister to Japan/Introduction and Notes by M. E. Cosenza* (New York: Published for the Japan Society, New York, by Doubleday Doran, 1930), p. 242.
19. Letter 1 in *Some Unpublished Letters of Townsend Harris* (New York: Japan Reference Library, 1941).
20. *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan* (Garden City, NY: Published for Japan Society, New York, by Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 279.
21. Ibid., pp. 398–99.
22. While anecdotal, there is a possibility that Harris may have been key in the early transmission of American-style shodding practices in Edo. Ibid., pp. 291–92.
23. Ibid., pp. 398–99.
24. Ibid., p. 365, 83.
25. Ibid., p. 381.
26. Auslin calls this meeting "perhaps the gravest breach hitherto in Tokugawa diplomacy." *Negotiating with Imperialism*, p. 33.
27. Harris, *The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris: First American Consul General and Minister to Japan*, pp. 411–412, 26.
28. Ibid., pp. 488–489.
29. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryo Hensanjo, ed. *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo no jūhachi (Ansei yonnen jūgatsu kara dōnen jūnigatsu)*, Dainihon Komonjo (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985), p. 127.
30. Ibid., p. 238.
31. (1859). *On bōekiba* Retrieved August 2, 2016, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-151450869
32. Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*, vol. 1, 92; Seirō Kawasaki, "Origins of the Stone Tablets on the St. Luke's Hospital Grounds: An Episode in Early U.S.-Japanese Relations," *Tokyo kaseifuin tsukuba sōshidai kiyō dainishū* (1998): p. 20.

33. Great Britain. Foreign Office, *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan* (London: Harrison, 1860), p. 9.
34. Ryosuke Ishii and Hiroshi Harafuji, eds., *Bakumatsu ofurigaki shūsei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), p. 93.
35. William F. Mayers, 1831–1878 & Nicholas B. Dennys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of Those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hong Kong and Macao: Forming a Guide Book & Vade Mecum for Travellers, Merchants, and Residents in General by Wm. Fred Mayers, N. B. Dennys and Chas. King; Compiled and Edited by N. B. Dennys* (London: Hong Kong: Trubner & Co; A. Shortrede and Co., 1867), p. 536.
36. *Correspondence with Her Majesty's Envoy*, p. 32.
37. Ibid., p. 62.
38. Ibid., pp. 84–85.
39. Francis Hall, *Japan through American Eyes: The Journal of Francis Hall, Kanagawa and Yokohama, 1859–1866*, ed. F.G. Notehelfer (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 90–91.
40. Ibid., p. 94. It is clear that foreigners who wished to make the journey up to Edo were accompanied by mounted officials, points that both Francis Hall and Robert Fortune made in their diaries and journals, respectively. Robert Fortune, *Yedo and Peking: A Narrative of a Journey to the Capitals of Japan and China, with Notices of the Natural Productions, Agriculture, Horticulture, and Trade of These Countries, and Other Things Met with by the Way by Robert Fortune* (London: John Murray, 1863), p. 63.
41. Ishii and Harafuji, *Bakumatsu ofurigaki shūsei*, pp. 584–585.
42. Eikoku ryōji uma sanbyaki hiki kōnyu no ken (1860.3.21), *Hakodate bugyōsho monjo*, A 1-3/006, #108, from http://www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/sm/mnj/d/guide/a/A_1-3_006.htm
43. Edward Barrington De Fonblanque, *Niphon and Pe-Che-Li: Or, Two Years in Japan and Northern China* (London: Saunders, Otley and Co., 1862), 28, 33–35, 53–57. One newspaper report suggested that the average price Fonblanque paid for the horses was between 20–25 dollars. "Japan," *Empire* (Sydney, NSW: 1850–1875) 5 September 1860: 2. Web. August 3, 2016 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60497600
44. Fonblanque, *Niphon and Pe-Che-Li*, pp. 61–62. Fonblanque notes that some traders applied lacquer to the horses' teeth in order to conceal their age.
45. Ibid., pp. 127–129. On April 3, 1860, Alcock wrote again to the Senior Councillor, noting that the Foreign Magistrates had been in touch with him as they had been asked by his Hakodate Consul to be able to purchase and ship horses from that location as well for the impending war with

China. Hensanjo, *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo no sanjū nana (Mannen gannen sangatsu)*, pp. 189–192. The *Times* reported that the French brought no "artillery horses" with them and that "the ponies purchased in Manila and Japan have never seen a gun." OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. "The War in China," *Times* [London, England] 14 Sept. 1860: 8. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 2 August 2016.

46. David Field d.1868 Rennie, *The British Arms in North China and Japan: Peking 1860, Kagosima 1862* (London: J.Murray, 1864), p. 82.
47. Tokyo Daigaku Shiryo Hensanjo, ed. *Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo no yonjū san (Mannen gannen jūgatsu muika kara dōnen jūgatsu misoka)*, Dainihon Komonjo (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1991), pp. 60–66.
48. Yonemura, *Yokohama*, p. 121. It should be noted here that it is not clear whether this occupation was singularly undertaken by Japanese.
49. Hall, *Japan through American Eyes*, pp. 106–107.
50. Joseph Heco, *The Narrative of a Japanese; What He Has Seen and the People He Has Met in the Course of the Last Forty Years*, by James Heco; edited by James Murdoch. Vol. 1, (Yokohama: Yokohama Printing & Publishing Co, 1895), pp. 262–264.
51. Ibid.
52. "JAPAN," *The Sydney Morning Herald* (NSW: 1842–1954), February 20, 1863, p. 5. Retrieved August 12, 2016, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13074538. Despite the safety concerns, the military presence in mid-1860s Yokohama cannot be said to have been the strongest. One guide recorded: "The portion nearest the sea is occupied by the regiment stationed at the port, the other, formerly held by the Battalion of Royal Marine Light Infantry being, at present, empty." Mayers, p. 583.
53. Ishii and Harafuji, *Bakumatsu ofurigaki shūsei*, pp. 177–178.
54. Ryosuke Ishii and Hiroshi Harafuji, eds., *Bakumatsu ofurigaki shūsei*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), p. 325.
55. The law legalising the horse-drawn carriage in 1866 (November 15) can be found in the Keiki Jikki accessible through the *Dainihon shiryō sōgō deetaabeesu*, University of Tokyo (1984). Available online at Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/db.html
56. Ordinance 60. Naikaku Kanpō Kyoku, ed. *Hōrei zensho keiō yon* [Compendium of Laws and Ordinances, 1868], National Diet Library. http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/787948/61
57. Ordinances 126, 127. Naikaku Kanpō Kyoku, ed. *Hōrei zensho keiō yon* [Compendium of Laws and Ordinances, 1868], National Diet Library. http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/787948/76
58. Naikaku Kanpō Kyoku, ed. *Hōrei zensho*, National Diet Library. http://dajokan.ndl.go.jp 1870/12/25, no. 798.

59. Naikaku Kanpō Kyoku, ed. *Hōrei zensho*, National Diet Library. http://dajokan.ndl.go.jp 1870/12/25, no. 844.
60. United States. Dept. of State, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs: Diplomatic Correspondence, Etc.* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1869), pp. 815–817.
61. See, for example, Valentine Baker, *British Calvary* (London: Longman, 1858), pp. 4–10.
62. Appendix 4. Naikaku Kanpō Kyoku, ed. *Hōrei zensho keiō san* (1867), National Diet Library. http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/787948/357
63. Richard M. & Edward P. Elmhirst Jephson, *Our Life in Japan; with Illustrations from Photographs by Lord Walter Kerr, Signor Beato and Native Japanese Drawings* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), pp. 114–115.

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CHAPTER 4

Beyond the Bund: Life in the Outports

Robert Nield

By the end of the treaty port era (roughly 1840–1943), there were well over a hundred places in China where foreign merchants, their businesses and families had been present. A large number of these cities and towns do not feature in much of the literature that continues to be written about the foreign presence in China during that period.[1] Many treaty ports started out—and remained—very small. Naturally, therefore, the majority of scholastic attention is directed towards the larger, more commercially successful places.[2] And the largest and most successful of all was Shanghai. Hong Kong had the security and superior status of being British sovereign territory, but, given its more central location, foreign businesses tended to choose Shanghai as the base of their China operations. This chapter will introduce some aspects of the life enjoyed by foreigners in Shanghai during that period and use this to compare and contrast life in the smaller treaty ports—those which were "Beyond the Bund."

In addition to secondary literature relating to the subject, I have drawn on the wealth of detail contained in the annual reports by British consuls and a wide variety of other material not typically used in scholastic research: novels, observations by travellers and personal memoirs—of Customs people, consuls, businessmen and ordinary folk. My scope does not include

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_4

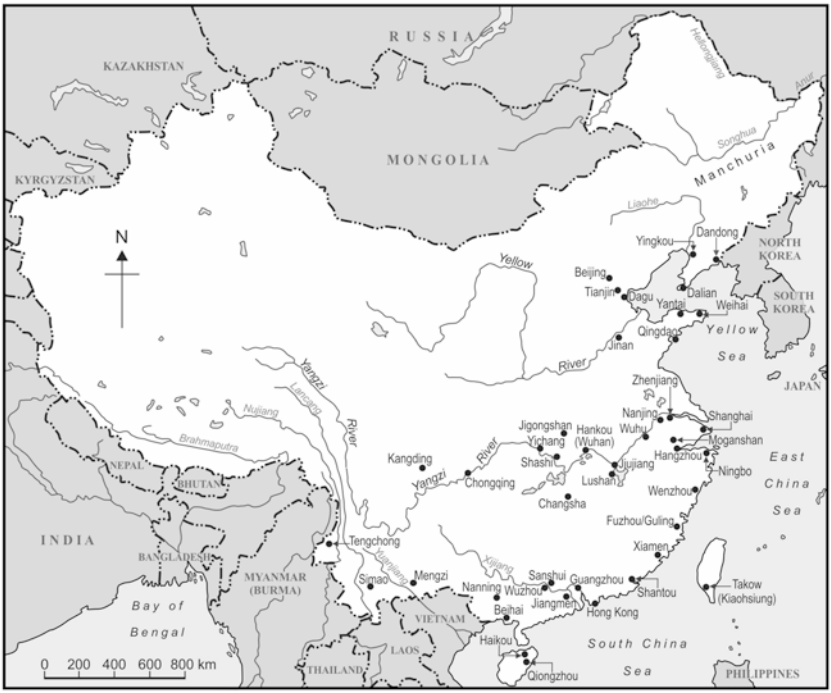

Fig. 4.1 Map of China's treaty ports and outports discussed in the chapter

missionaries; although they used the treaty ports as places of resort and sources of supply, their activities were otherwise relatively self-contained and do not lend themselves to this review. The voices brought to light in this chapter, often recording commonplace events and impressions, evoke breadth and depth that more tightly focused studies might overlook (Fig. 4.1).

Shanghai: And the Rest

Treaty ports were created as places where foreign merchants could live and conduct their business in relative safety, free from the exactions of Chinese law and taxation. The concept of extraterritoriality (of which more later) meant that foreigners were governed by their own laws as administered by

their consuls resident in China. Taxation, which in this context was restricted to import and export duties, was determined by the treaties and collected by the foreign-managed Chinese Maritime Customs Service. Within this overall framework, treaty ports became more or less formulaic: when a new one was opened, a Custom House was established, a consul (usually British) would take up residence, foreign merchants would set up their businesses and an area would be marked out for foreign occupation. Not all followed this pattern, but the larger ones did.[3]

My description of life in the smaller ports starts with a look at the largest. From a relatively sleepy start in the years immediately following 1842, the foreign population of Shanghai saw spectacular growth, reaching 28,000 by 1935, compared with Hong Kong's 21,000.[4] Although by this time eclipsed in terms of numbers by the Japanese, the British had from the outset been the dominant and most influential of Shanghai's foreign communities. The city's foreign settlement was never part of the formal British Empire, but many of its British residents behaved as though it was. Indeed, Shanghai has been described as "the jewel in the crown of Britain's Chinese Raj"[5] (Fig. 4.2).

Fig. 4.2 The Union Flag flying from near the British Consulate in Shanghai, c.1924. Image courtesy of Billie Love Historical Collection and Historical Photographs of China, University of Bristol

To keep the wheels of commerce turning, as well as those of the dependent Customs, local government and consular services, a constant supply of young recruits was required. Fresh off the boat, and often with only scant knowledge of China, these new arrivals were called "griffins."[6] The standard of living enjoyed by a griffin was, typically, far higher than he had experienced "at home." Servants were cheap; even junior foreign policemen had a household "boy," the disparaging term used for a Chinese servant.[7] At the other end of the social scale, in 1933, the Shanghai manager of British company Imperial Chemical Industries employed ten servants[8]; this was not considered unreasonable, even when such large households in Britain were becoming increasingly rare.

Principal employers of young Britons included all the famous names of the China coast trading community: Jardine Matheson, Butterfield & Swire, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank and, latterly, British American Tobacco and the oil companies. The senior executives, or *taipans*, of such large corporations may well have served time in one or other of the smaller treaty ports. But being part of the commercial heart of Britain's informal Chinese empire placed them in a different league.[9] Between their beautiful houses, spacious offices and lunches at the club, they no longer had the time or interest to concern themselves with the rest of the vast country.

There was no need for the *taipans* or their foreign staff to carry cash, except for the few cents needed for a rickshaw ride.[10] Purchases in shops and consumption at bars and clubs were signed for on a "chit" and paid, sometimes, at the end of the month. Hence the more high-spending young men never ran out of money—they simply signed more chits or, in serious cases, borrowed.[11] A man's position was "not ruled so much by what he can earn as by what he can owe and still remain at large."[12] There was, however, a limit; a man's career could be ruined by even the threat of legal action for recovery of debt. A police sergeant, for example, resigned in 1924 when the court pressed him to repay his creditors. Money was easy—especially when it was somebody else's—but apparent lack of it could be seen as "letting the side down".[13]

In 1923 it was reported: "There exists in Shanghai a standard of living which is extravagant beyond all necessity and beyond all reason, and … new arrivals … are tempted to maintain a standard beyond both their needs and their means."[14] And new arrivals were never in short supply. Furthermore, the fact that one's money went further, and that all of one's contemporaries were of similar circumstances and standing, made for an

active social life. After an evening at the club, it would not be unusual to bring a dozen friends home (a place usually shared with two or three others) for an unscheduled dinner. The servants quietly managed such surprises.[15] With all its attractions, diversions, efficient management and physical security, Shanghai was with some justification described as a "model settlement."[16]

Notwithstanding the privileged start that most of them had, juniors naturally aspired to become seniors. Those working for the Shanghai Municipal Council, as administrative staff or policemen, had to work their way up through the ranks. Young recruits into commercial companies and the Customs generally had to prove themselves elsewhere in China. Junior members of the consular service in particular faced a life of "constant upheaval as [they] were shuttled around from place to place to fill the gaps left by illness, retirement or leave."[17] The scores of lesser treaty ports in China were referred to as "outports" by people at the commercial centre. Yet to the extent possible, foreigners in the outports tried to replicate the life they heard of, or had experienced, in Shanghai. The smallest of them, however, could only manage the palest of reflections, "a faithful mimicry, in miniature."[18]

A number of foreign merchants specifically targeted one or other of the outports, tempted by the relative lack of competition with the larger players. (Jardines and Butterfield & Swire each had a presence in 12 or more treaty ports, but even these giants were susceptible to concentrated local efforts to displace their leadership position.) Recruits into the larger firms, as well as the consular service, would typically have been transferred to the smaller stations after an initial period of training and familiarisation, particularly in language skills.

The Maritime Customs Service employed foreign staff in great numbers. These fell into two distinct categories: "indoor" staff and "outdoor" staff. The former were the commissioners and their supporting office staff, people of management capability. They would have had a similar social standing to their consular and commercial peers and were usually recruited from their home countries. "Outdoor" staff were those who controlled the arrival and departure of shipping and inspected the cargo and, being employed locally, tended to remain in the port where they were signed on. The lowest grades included drifters and former seamen, and were looked down upon by the rest of foreign society.[19] The Shanghai consular report for 1900 makes sniffy reference to the European crews of sailing ships as being "of the very lowest class, a constant source of trouble when in port."[20]

Service in the outports was seen as a necessary step towards more exciting and rewarding things, although aspiring members of the Customs dreaded being "sent up country … or somewhere frightful."[21] All junior recruits were single; marriage was something that had to be waited for. Typical employment terms forbade a man from marrying without the permission of his employer, and this was rarely given during the first contract.[22] Marriage was prohibited also in practical terms: although they lived well, griffins could not afford to support a wife as well. Employment contracts were often for a period of five years, with only short periods of local leave permitted. Before starting a second contract, a trip "home" was allowed, up to a year, including the long sea passage there and back. This often enabled a man to find a wife and bring her to China.

Some youthful recruits into the consular service went on to have stellar careers, for example, Sir Harry Parkes (joined as an interpreter at Guangzhou in 1844, aged 16, later to become Britain's Minister to China) and Sir Robert Hart (went from being a 19-year-old interpreter at Ningbo in 1854 to Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs).[23] However, it was suspected that recruits to the China consular service were insufficiently qualified for better prospects, such as India or the diplomatic service.[24] The general run of British consuls in the outports was inevitably a mixed bag. Some interested themselves in local politics and other happenings, providing rich and useful commentaries in their annual reports to London. Others seemed to do the minimum, simply going through the motions. George Litton, returning as consul at Tengchong in 1903 after two years elsewhere, found that the consular records were exactly the same as he had left them; his stand-in appeared to have done nothing at all.[25]

For all foreigners in the outports, the ability to speak Chinese was, or should have been, important. Missionaries immersed themselves in the local environment and often became gifted linguists. The consular service preferred men who had studied some Chinese before heading east, whereas the Customs service, where promotion could depend on language ability, gave an allowance to senior staff to employ a language teacher.[26] Of the commercial firms, only the very largest would have afforded facilities for language training; junior staff were more often expected to pick it up as they went along. Travelling for weeks in the interior to see potential customers, with only a cook-boy and an interpreter for company, gave much opportunity for learning—if only to break the tedium.[27] During the treaty port era, such journeys would have been undertaken by river if possible,

given the poor or non-existent state of roads. In such regions as Manchuria, there was no choice but to suffer long and uncomfortable confinement in oxcarts.

Despite the best efforts to learn the language, spoken Chinese differed greatly from one part of the country to another. One could learn Mandarin diligently in Beijing, but then find that one could not be understood elsewhere. In 1903, the Consular Report for Guangzhou bemoaned: "It is a remarkable fact that in Canton … there is not a single member of an important foreign firm who can converse with a native in decent Cantonese."[28] Conversely, even when learning Mandarin became obligatory in the Customs, in the south, there was nobody who could teach it.[29] British company Brunner Mond was happy to recruit missionary Edward Little as a general manager despite his complete lack of commercial experience: he was fluent in the local language.[30] But in terms of missionaries wishing to take up commercial employment, Little was a rare find. Novelist Somerset Maugham, writing after his travels in China during the 1920s, noted: "[T]hey looked with distrust upon any man who studied the Chinese language. … it was well known that all those fellows who went in for Chinese grew queer in the head."[31] Besides, there was an ever-present fear of being seen by one's peers as having "gone native."

The Remoteness of Things

A consular official at Fuzhou who, in 1848, was granted home leave on the grounds of ill-health found that there was no means of getting away.[32] Throughout the treaty port era, many of the outports remained extremely remote. In 1881 a British consul took 58 days to travel by junk to Chongqing from Yichang, the nearest port downstream.[33] The first British consular official to go to Dandong in 1907 had to travel 950 kilometres on horseback; it took a month.[34] These, and many similar examples, served to remind foreigners in China of the precariousness of their existence (Fig. 4.3).

Western commercial penetration of China during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was driven by the conviction that so many millions of potential customers must surely lead to profitable business.[35] Yet the country was enormous and, by European and American standards, its infrastructure undeveloped. The British consul in Tengchong, in 1908, must have rued his misfortune to have been posted there; the nearest navigable water was nine days away, reachable only by mule.[36]

Fig. 4.3 The Union Flag flying above the fisherman's shack that was the British Consulate in Beihai, 1877. *The Graphic*, 5 March 1887

There were a number of consuls who could easily vie with one another for the dubious title of "the loneliest member of the service." The man posted in 1913 to Kangding was one. Based in this cold and desolate town 3000 metres up in the mountains on the Tibetan border, his job was to observe Chinese troop movements—hardly full-time employment.[37] The vice-consul posted to Dagu (near Tianjin) in 1872, despite having almost nothing to do, asked for a salary increase: he needed to buy numerous books to stop himself going mad.[38] Kangding was a purely political appointment, whereas the usefulness of Dagu faded when steamers replaced sailing vessels. Other remote stations had at least an initial pretence of commercial opportunity, such as Simao. Opened by France in 1895, a British consul was sent there in 1898 to protect Britain's interests.

The following year he reported that "the political and commercial importance of the place has been grossly exaggerated."[39] Three years later both powers had withdrawn.

Some junior consuls, with time on their hands, pursued scientific or other interests. Robert Swinhoe first arrived in Taiwan in 1861 as a consular interpreter. He rose to be a highly respected naturalist, systematically recording the island's flora and fauna in accordance with the new Linnaean system of taxonomy.[40] Posted to Chongqing in 1880, many years before there was any British trade to protect, Colbourne Baber discovered two new kinds of tea[41]; the Royal Geographical Society awarded Baber their Gold Medal.[42] Herbert Giles, while consul at Ningbo in the 1890s, compiled the first proper Chinese-English dictionary, building on earlier work by Thomas Wade, who had joined the service in 1843. But these men were exceptions. A British government enquiry in 1901 into its China consulates concluded: "[I]t is not in the interest of the public service that trained men should be compelled to pass some of the best years of their life in the almost complete idleness inseparable from places where there is little or nothing to do."[43]

Before the days of the telegraph, communication with one's superiors could be extremely slow.[44] Yet a number of consuls took their reporting responsibilities very seriously, writing with style. In an observation that today would simply be that "the market is moving sideways," the Xiamen consul reported in 1896: "Under present conditions there is not much prospect of any great expansion of trade at this port, nor, on the other hand, is it likely there will be a great contraction."[45] One of the service's longest reports, incorporating a beautiful and detailed hand-drawn map, came in 1897 from Shashi, one of the smallest ports. It included the opinion that "the port is as yet in its infancy, and it would be premature to give way to despondency about it."[46] Three years later, from the same port came one of shortest reports on record, just before the consulate closed; anti-foreign riots meant that despondency had by that time come to stay.[47] In other reports, a true "stiff upper lip" is displayed in the face of distinct adversity, such as this from Zhenjiang in 1888: "The destruction of all the Archives of the Consulate during the late riot must be my excuse for [the] somewhat meagre nature [of the report], and the great stress of work consequent on that destruction for the delay sending it."[48]

Letter-writing was indulged in by all as a means of dissipating the feeling of remoteness. Collections and deliveries may have been sporadic, but the arrival of mail from "home," or indeed anywhere, was an important occasion. On the island of Gulangyu (Xiamen), a flag was raised to signal

the arrival of the mail steamer.[49] At Jiujiang, the whole foreign community (14 people) would "lie breathless in long chairs on the [club's] tennis lawn, waiting for the arrival of the 'up-steamer' from Shanghai that brought us mails and provisions."[50]

All foreigners who lived in the major coastal or river ports knew the schedules of the Butterfield & Swire ships, and ladies in Wuzhou thought nothing of popping down to Hong Kong to see their dressmaker for a fitting.[51] The advent of railways should have made it easier to get around, but even in the 1920s, the unreliability of timetables affecting the outports meant that one had to go to the station and wait "maybe an hour, maybe a day."[52]

By 1873 the electric telegraph had been making great progress in many parts of the world, but not China. A demonstration in that year in Xiamen of the new invention drew hostile interest, prompting rumours that any installation would be pulled down as soon as the resident British gunboat was looking the other way. The rumours proved to be correct.[53] Over 20 years later, Consul Fraser in Wenzhou bemoaned that, with the continuing absence of the telegraph, the place was a "hermit port. The unfortunate Europeans … live very much under the same social conditions as Robinson Crusoe."[54] In 1897 the continued absence of a telegraph made it impossible to send a congratulatory message to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee.[55]

Both Wenzhou and Weihai claimed to be "the Cinderella port"; neither was as remote as Kangding, but neither appeared to possess much purpose.[56] And there were many others that could have justified the claim. Qiongzhou had been opened as a treaty port in 1858. Yet in 1886, the consul reported: "Reviewing the whole circumstances of trade of the port, it seems there is not much likelihood of it developing to any great extent."[57] A visitor ten years later recorded that there were "only twelve foreign residents altogether in Hoihow [Haikou, the port for Qiongzhou]: and I soon found that life was extremely monotonous there … in such a world-forgotten wilderness."[58] Even in Hankou, one of the larger treaty ports, Hongkong Bank man Charles Addis wrote in 1896: "Life in Hankow … can be demoralizing and difficult to keep intellectually alive. Three years is all one should stay in a Treaty Port."[59] When it was opened in 1858, Yingkou was the most northerly treaty port; nothing was known about it but its name. A written description in 1867 referred to it as "dreary in the extreme [and] little more cheerful than an Arctic swamp."[60] (I had the same impression when I visited 145 years later.)

Compensations for living in remote places were sought, and in some cases granted. Although the term "hill station" was never officially transported from British India into China, some treaty ports had hill-top retreats nearby where foreigners could escape the summer heat. Examples include Jigongshan (the retreat for Hankou), Guling (Fuzhou), Lushan (Jiujiang) and Moganshan (Hangzhou). The Customs staff at Chongqing had a bungalow in the hills. It took an hour to get there; each man had four sedan chair coolies to carry him, "a luxury later disallowed by the Audit Secretary in Peking."[61] There was even a danger of outport life becoming too sweet. "The *dolce far niente* life became so attractive, almost like a pleasant drug, that it … spoiled a big port for me the first few months I was in it," wrote a Customs man after two years in Jiangmen.[62]

Travelling required foreigners to carry their own medical supplies. Disease was common and death in the more remote places could strike at any time.[63] A visitor to Zhenjiang in 1885 saw the small English cemetery with 16 or 18 graves, representing "the mortality of the tiny European population during as many years."[64] A Zhenjiang Customs man, arriving in 1905, found that the concession's foreign population was 35, mostly bachelors, and "as there was no social life for us in the outdoor staff, we had to make the most of the club, and find other interests as well. … Some took to billiards, some to poker and whist, some to drink, some to riding and shooting, and some just disappeared. Many died."[65] He had arrived in the middle of a cholera epidemic. There was no hospital and "no facilities for [surgical] operations except on our own dining tables." The men took it in turns to help, and gained "a good deal of useful medical knowledge."[66]

Matters of Trade and the Role of the Consul

Britain's interest in China was to pursue trading prospects. There was initially a conviction that British merchants had to be based in each location where business was to be done, and that each place needed the support of a consul. However, Victorian traveller Isabella Bird noted that British merchants neglected existing Chinese business networks. Chinese merchants became well acquainted with British methods, "while of [Chinese] customs in trade … we know scarcely anything." She added that what was needed was "a preference for business over athletics, a working knowledge of the Chinese language and business methods, and a determination to succeed."[67] These damning observations, coming from somebody who

was not a businesswoman, bore more than a ring of truth. Yet it was with a conviction that the Chinese could not teach them anything that the British went about their business, particularly in the outports.

By the mid-1880s, it was generally believed that the traditional business handled by foreigners—principally import of cotton and woollen goods and opium, and export of tea, silk and porcelain—would, sooner or later, pass to Chinese merchants; the Chinese needed no expensive housing and other luxuries in order to conduct the business they had been doing for centuries. At Jiujiang, over 600 kilometres up the Yangzi River, "not a single piece of cotton or woollen fabric, nor a chest of opium can be sold on the local markets by a European importer. The Chinese … buy their goods in Shanghai, and import them themselves without the intervention of the European agent."[68]

This is not to say that foreign merchants in China no longer had any purpose. The twentieth century brought new businesses where the Chinese had not yet developed expertise—petroleum, tobacco, railways and heavy engineering. In addition, shipping, insurance and banking continued largely in foreign hands.

Britain enjoyed, for much of the treaty port era, the largest share of foreign trade in China. The British consular network was inevitably also the most extensive. The role of the consul was principally to safeguard the interests of his nationals and to act as a formal channel of communication with Chinese officials. His responsibility for actively promoting trade was ambivalent. At a basic level, it was quite usual in the outports for travelling British businessmen to stay with their local consul.[69] However, as British commercial dominance began to be challenged, consuls were increasingly expected to go looking for business opportunities. Many resisted. They felt themselves to be referees, to ensure that Chinese authorities and British merchants observed the rules, not players.[70]

Yet some consuls were more helpful than others, for instance, in their annual reports. From Yantai in 1886: "It seems to be taken for granted by many British manufacturers and merchants, that the way to produce goods suitable for the Chinese market is to slavishly copy native models … and to imitate favourite brands or marks. … Let the British manufacturer disabuse his mind of the idea that the Chinaman … will buy goods not on account of their intrinsic value or excellence but because a brand or mark strikes his fancy."[71] (The opposite would appear to be true today.)

Others expressed frustration at merchants' aloofness and apparent unwillingness to benefit from having their own "man on the spot." From

Xiamen in 1896: "It would [help] if more of the manufacturers who supply goods for this market would personally visit the country. No amount of reading of trade reports and of works on the country can make so vivid an impression as a personal visit."[72] From Yichang in 1898: "British manufacturers still continue to waste their money on … pricelists entirely in English, which gravitate to the wastepaper basket."[73] And again from Xiamen, in 1906: "There is … no market for motor cars here—there are no roads for them to run on. And to a very great extent … nine persons out of ten live in pretty much the same way … as their ancestors 1000 or 2000 years ago."[74]

Security in a Foreign Land

Westerners in China had little respect for Chinese law, seeing it as barbaric and arbitrary. As a protection, the first Sino-American treaty introduced the concept of extraterritoriality, whereby Americans in China would be subject to American law, administered by American consuls.[75] The most-favoured-nation principle extended the concession to all treaty powers. British consuls, seldom qualified to exercise their legal obligations, were advised to administer justice firmly but with "temperate and considerate indulgence."[76] There were occasions when consuls were required to apply the law to unruly nationals, particularly at the seaports. More demanding was their duty to maintain relations with the Chinese authorities, especially at the many times when anti-foreign feelings ran high. Even in periods of relative calm, there was an awareness among foreigners of being surrounded by a vast country containing countless unpredictable people. Arriving in Tianjin in 1863, Customs man Edward Bowra described it as "a dirty little hole of a town with about six Europeans and a hostile population of half a million."[77] Considering the forcible way in which the British had extended their reach beyond Guangzhou in 1842, it is not surprising that simmering hostility against them persisted throughout the treaty port era.

The British had the advantage of being able to "send a gunboat," and consuls often called in the Royal Navy for assistance, risking further resentment by doing so.[78] At Yichang, Isabella Bird noted "a British gunboat, a wholesome and not unneeded influence, lay at anchor opposite the town."[79] But this lifeline was not wholly reliable. Nanning, Changsha and Fuzhou, for example, lay on stretches of river that were sometimes too shallow for gunboats to approach. Furthermore, the navy could not be

everywhere at once, especially when crises flared up with little or no warning. Treaty ports with significant foreign communities had their own militias, into which able-bodied men were expected to enlist. There were no such arrangements in the outports, hence no such protection.

Threats could also come from outside China, although a war could be raging in one part of the country and people in a major city in another part know nothing about it. "The effects of the war with Japan were scarcely felt," wrote the British consul in Guangzhou in 1894.[80] The following year he reported that awareness increased only when the local population were obliged to contribute to the indemnity demanded by the victors.[81] Conversely, the report from Dandong in 1907 reads more like that from a war correspondent: "On February 20 Cossacks crossed the Yalu River. … The battle of Yalu was fought within a few miles of the treaty port."[82]

Anti-foreign trouble could erupt even before a foreign presence was established. The consular party sent to Jiujiang in 1861 to mark out a concession was repeatedly stoned and forced back.[83] The British consul sent to open a presence in Simao in 1897 was met by a crowd shouting "Kill! Kill!"[84] The reception given in 1876 to the first British consul at Yichang was so hostile that he had to withdraw immediately.[85] In many outports, the Commissioner of Customs (usually British) often ranked as the senior Chinese government official. This concept was very hard for many Chinese to understand. Hence, violence against foreigners included attacks on Chinese Customs facilities, such as happened in Yichang in 1884 and many times later.[86]

Even where the foreign presence had been long established, and nowhere was this more so than at Guangzhou, there were real concerns for safety. The consular report for 1886 stated: "[M]uch remains to be done … when you cannot venture a few miles only away without an armoury of swords and muskets."[87] The description in the Yingkou consular report for 1900 of the approach of the Boxer rebels reads like the coming of a typhoon, with a similar degree of foreboding and helplessness.[88] By way of extreme contrast to all this unpleasantness, Isabella Bird made a boat journey in 1897 from Hangzhou to Ningbo "without either a companion or servant, trusting entirely to the fidelity and goodwill of Chinese boatmen, and was not disappointed."[89]

With a local population that was by nature suspicious of foreigners, resistance was experienced in ways more subtle than open violence. Examples abound in the manner in which British consuls' residences were

granted—or not, as the case may be. Ningbo was one of the first ports to be opened, in 1844, but it was 20 years before the consul was given proper accommodation.[90] At Shantou, for the first nine months after arriving in 1860, the consul did not dare to even visit the city, for fear of the reception he would get.[91] Consul Meadows was given a temple to live in when he arrived at Yingkou in 1861; he was to die there seven years later.[92] The "residence" at Yichang was so bad that the consul had to build a boat, at his own expense, and live afloat for the next ten years.[93] The consul sent to open Qiongzhou in 1876 was allowed to rent a disused rope warehouse, the courtyard of which had been used as a public convenience and piggery.[94] Even 20 years later, no foreigner had been permitted to acquire any land.[95] American trader's wife Alice Hobart wrote of Hangzhou in 1919 that the local population was "anti-foreign in a suave gentlemanly way. It had no idea of murdering outright, but it limited the [area allocated for foreign business and residence] to a bit of low-lying land along the Grand Canal, a place infested with malaria mosquitoes."[96] The area was considered to be valueless and was quietly forgotten.

But when new consulates were built, they were generally of a very high standard. The consul at Beihai was moved in 1885 from a wooden hut on the beach to a granite-and-brick house standing in eight hectares. The new incumbent reported that he was "delighted with what he believed to be the strongest foreign building in China."[97] A visitor to the newly built consulate at Wenzhou in 1895 described it as "prosaic" and "of three storeys—remarkable for the East."[98] The patience of the Ningbo consul was rewarded with a two-storey brick house with arched verandas and a garden down to the river. Such impressive residences were necessary if the occupants were to project the power and authority they believed was required. In this respect, "face" was as important a concept to the British as it traditionally was to the Chinese. Consular officer Raymond Margary, travelling with only a servant from Shanghai to the far south-west in 1874, noted "the very high and proper sense of [a local mandarin's] obligations towards a British official."[99] Perhaps the most extreme demonstration of this "obligation" occurred in 1906 when Walter Clennell arrived in Jinan to open the British Consulate. He was immediately invited to dinner by the governor, where he was welcomed by a band playing "God Save the King" and "Rule Britannia."[100] (The motive for such a display was Chinese relief at having the British as a counter to German expansion in the province.)

Relations with the Chinese

Apart from the necessities of work and the employment of servants, there was virtually no mixing between foreigners and Chinese. The main foreign shipping firms operating in China segregated passengers between Chinese and foreign; tickets were sold at different places, with separate boarding and disembarkation.[101] Neither was there much interest on the part of each community in the other. Isabella Bird, describing the British Concession at Guangzhou in 1883, remarked: "The settlement, insular and exclusive, hears little and knows less of the crowded Chinese city at its gates. It reproduces English life as far as possible."[102] Lenox Simpson described Jiujiang as a "little port separated from the outer world and sunk in the middle of vast inland China."[103] It was easy to become introspective.

The Chinese were equally bewildered by the ways of the foreigner, who "recklessly waste[s] money … [and] pursues divers balls with bats and clubs; rides violently, without errand, across the face of the earth, and postures to the sound of horns with other men's wives."[104] J.O.P. Bland also wrote, "so long as we disturb not their ancient ways they are ready to accept us placidly as unexplained phenomena,"[105] adding that the average Chinese looks at the many competing foreign missionaries and wonders, "in his intrinsic agnosticism, that there should be so many divergent roads to Heaven."[106] He concluded by observing that all foreigners were trying to change China in one way or another, but China had been unchanged for thousands of years.

What appeared to be obstinacy stemming from tradition often frustrated foreigners' attempts to modernise China. In Hankou, in 1904: "Water and electric light are still only talked of, the firm objection of the Chinese authorities to giving foreigners any control within native limits proving a most serious obstacle to such schemes of improvement."[107] And at Nanjing in 1909: "Several attempts have been made to form a company to provide Nanking with waterworks [but] in the present temper of the Chinese, recourse to foreign assistance is out of the question."[108] The smaller outports were, naturally, even more primitive. Consul Little reported from Yichang in 1908 that there were "no roads, no wheeled vehicles, no municipal government, no street-lighting, no police, no fire brigade."[109] Even in the 1930s, Shantou had electric lighting only from 5.00 pm to 12.00 pm, with an extra three hours at weekends.[110]

On a personal level, foreigners were able to enjoy the benefits of unquestioning loyalty from Chinese servants. Writing about the arrival of

a new "boy" who appeared to know what was required of him without being told, Ronald Farquharson wrote: "It is no use endeavouring to fathom how such knowledge of one's habits or inclinations gets abroad in China; it just remains one of those unsolved mysteries of the East."[111] On a community level, however, the British in particular were very ready to claim superiority over the people in whose country they lived. In 1929, a time when the position of foreigners in China was increasingly precarious, there was a plan to open the Swimming Bath Club in the British Concession in Guangzhou to Chinese. This was deplored as it would render the facility "practically useless to the present white membership."[112] It was impossible to accept the Chinese as equals without sacrificing the economic and social advantages that made life in China so attractive to the foreigner.[113]

A Sense of Community

The Chefoo Convention of 1876 required treaty ports to have a defined area for foreign occupation[114]—either a "concession," land leased by the foreign government and sublet to individual merchants, or a "settlement," where the land was leased individually from the Chinese owners. In many of the smaller ports, however, such as Yichang, Wenzhou and Beihai, it was realised that too few lots would be sold to cover the cost of laying out roads and so on. Hence, the foreign area remained undefined. In the case of Shantou, geography determined that foreign settlement was established on both sides of a wide river estuary, with neither side being predominant. Fuzhou had no defined foreign area, owing to initial doubts as to where it was permitted to be. Nevertheless, Constance Gordon Cumming wrote of it in 1879: "Nowhere in all the East have I found a pleasanter and more genial community than [at Fuzhou] … a kindly, cheery society."[115] She also described the houses in the foreign area of Xiamen as "scattered in the most tasteful manner among the great rocks and foliage."[116] Mrs Archibald Little visited Wuhu in 1901: "The European community is small; the Consul's house stands upon a hill with a fine view, the Commissioner's house on a still higher hill with a finer view."[117] In Chongqing, the foreign community lived on the right bank of the river, where there were a number of small hills. On the top of each was a European house.[118]

Where concessions were established, even the smallest stood aloof from the surrounding Chinese cities. Gordon Cumming visited the British Concession at Guangzhou in 1879: "Here is transported an English social life so completely fulfilling all English requirements, that the majority of

the inhabitants rarely enter the city!"[119] Isabella Bird described in 1899 the Zhenjiang concession as possessing "a fine bund and prosperous-looking foreign houses, with a British Consulate on a hill above; trees abound."[120] And Jiujiang with its "pretty, shady bund, and pleasant foreign houses in shady gardens."[121] Some of the smaller outports were "attractively provincial, though for others they could represent a sentence of exile."[122]

In all these concessions, and even some informal settlements such as Yantai and Wuhu, the foreign community established committees for the maintenance of roads and provision of security. Consuls often acted as honorary chairmen, but when leadership fell into inappropriate hands, such as Zhenjiang in the 1880s, things could very quickly fall apart. The foreign community of 40, three-quarters of them British, elected as their leader a man described by the British consul as a "coarse, cantankerous, uneducated man of low tastes and malignant disposition." As a result, so much time was spent in feuding and in-fighting that the smooth running of the concession fell by the wayside. The consul reported in 1894 that "the place is full of animosities and spite."[123]

More often, however, the social niceties were observed. On arriving at a treaty port, a newcomer would first present himself to the consul.[124] Then one would have to "pay [one's] calls. People called on you first and then you had to return their calls, which was always quite exciting because there were no roads, except paths between paddy fields."[125] Even at Mengzi, a tiny community, "no woman thought of going out to tea without putting her gloves on."[126]

Social cliques inevitably developed, with some seeing themselves as big fish, albeit in a small sea. Differences in rank among the foreigners were as sharply defined as in the army. "For [a *taipan*] to sit down to dinner with a minor employee was as unthinkable as for a general to get chummy with a sergeant."[127] Missionaries were often looked down upon by the commercial and consular sets, being described by a visitor to Yantai in the 1870s as "charming men of great culture and sociability, but poor education and backgrounds far below gentility."[128]

Neither would the lower ranks of the Customs service, the "outdoor staff," be welcome in "society." Although writing of a fictional place, Maugham's comments are revealing: "[T]he only [other] foreigners in the village … were the tide-waiters. One of these had been an able seaman and the other was an Italian; they both had Chinese wives."[129] It was not only the "lower orders" who would run the risk of social ostracism by associat-

ing with Chinese women. "There was a certain liberty of behaviour and no one was thought the worse of, so long as the matter was not intruded on the notice of the ladies, if he had to live with him a little bright-eyed Chinese girl."[130]

Such distractions were inevitable. In the larger ports, discretion could be maintained by the use of a small apartment in a side street, away from prying eyes. In the more isolated foreign communities, there were very few eyes to pry.[131] Besides, there was in the outports an almost complete lack of entertainment. The Swires man in Wuhu in 1900 described it as "unspeakable in its dullness and lack of resources."[132] Arthur Hyde Lay, reflecting back on his service with the Customs from 1919 to 1946, expressed the drawbacks of a small community as being "the narrow outlook, petty jealousies, and the awful inquisitiveness of people leading changeless and monotonous lives."[133]

Isabella Bird wrote in 1899 of her stay in Yichang: "The British Consul … and the Commissioner of Customs, throw their spacious gardens open constantly, and by the exercise of much hospitality do their best to alleviate what, it must be confessed, is the great monotony of life in a small isolated foreign community. … the arrival of a stranger and of the mail boat and the changes in the customs staff are the chief varieties in life."[134] Maugham described a dinner party in an outport: "[G]uests and hosts had seen one another nearly every day for an intolerable number of years … China bored them all … they only knew just so much about it as was necessary to their business."[135]

Clubs served a necessary function. In the larger ports, such as Hankou, Tianjin and Shanghai, they were world class, occupying vast tracts of land, open to all nationalities (except, of course, Chinese) and offering a range of sporting and other activities. In outports, the clubs were necessarily scaled down but no less welcome. They would generally include a bar, a billiard table, perhaps a tennis court, but almost certainly a library. A club's library was seen as a retreat, in which members could read magazines and newspapers from "home," albeit a few months out of date. Some built up useful collections that could be studied, rather than simply providing light relief. Customs man Paul King wrote: "During the five years [in the 1870s] of my residence in Swatow [Shantou] many happy hours were spent [in the club library], which otherwise might have been hopelessly wasted."[136]

Initially, clubs were men-only affairs. In Victorian times, a member of the Jiujiang Club brought a woman in after midnight to play billiards. The

other members were so shocked that he was expelled, causing a long-lasting social schism within the tiny community.[137] As more foreign women came to the outports in the early twentieth century, with a mission to civilise their menfolk, decisions had to be made as to how welcome they were. Mrs. Archibald Little wrote in 1901 that the Yantai Club, "with the greatest liberality," was thrown open to ladies in the mornings.[138] In Jiujiang, in the 1920s, there was almost open rivalry for "first ladyship" between the wives of the consul and the Customs commissioner.[139] In 1938, when most of China was in turmoil, there was still a "big weekly do" at the Changsha Club on Saturday nights, with dancing and a buffet, followed by Sunday morning drinks on whatever gunboat was moored in the river. On 12 November that year, the town was almost completely destroyed by the Nationalists.[140]

The coming of foreign wives to China meant changes also to the way in which the men lived. They were no longer able to live at a club, or in a shared "mess." Instead, wives took on the often very challenging job of setting up a home and coping with frequent moves. Alice Hobart wrote: "In quick succession we may live in a Chinese palace, a Chinese warehouse, a vacated sing-song house, an English terrace house, a thatched-roof half-Chinese, half-white man's house, a wonderful many-windowed, many-chimneyed house … a house with a French touch, a junk turned into a houseboat, a luxurious apartment in a city…," and these could be "by Chinese-fish markets [or] on the banks of lovely rivers."[141] But in every case, the company furniture was "standardized like an orphan's uniform or a ward patient's bedgown."[142]

The sort of food that Europeans considered essential was often hard to come by. Dinner in Shantou in the 1870s was "largely 'metallic'," meaning tinned soup, tinned fish, tinned meat, tinned vegetables and, at Christmas, tinned plum pudding.[143] Even in the 1930s, there were no suitable shops in Shantou; food and ice had to be brought from Hong Kong.[144] Other parts of the country were better served. The foreign residents of Yantai enjoyed fresh local beef from Shandong and lamb from Mongolia. With a climate similar to that in England, some grew their own vegetables and fruit.[145]

A sense of "Britishness" pervaded much of treaty port life, nowhere more so than in Shanghai, with its Anglican cathedral, English schools, an annual parade on the British monarch's birthday "and the sober certainty of daily work with one of the British-owned companies."[146] Non-British communities in the larger ports would have their own facilities—Le Club Sportif or Club Germania, for example. In the outports the British usually

dominated although, except when driven by happenings in the wider world, individual national rivalries were rarely felt. According to Paul King: "[A]ll white men on the coast held together and sank their separatist tendencies."[147] Jay Denby put it somewhat directly in the 1920s: "To a Britisher … it is positively disturbing to find out what a really decent fellow a German, Frenchman, Italian, or indeed any foreigner, can be when you really get to know him."[148] Arthur Hyde Lay, as a Customs man, was an employee of the Chinese government, yet he found himself exhausted by the social events surrounding the coronation of King George VI in 1937.[149] In Qingdao, the showpiece of German cultural endeavour, the luxurious Edgewater Mansions apartment block, was completed just in time to host the Coronation Ball on 12 May.[150]

The Thin End of the Wedge

The end of the comfortable treaty port life that foreigners had enjoyed was not sudden. From 1911, it became inevitable, although the British in particular continued to think they were immovable; even in Shanghai in 1941, when the settlement was "an island in a Japanese sea," the *taipans* tried to continue as if nothing were happening.[151] Yet with the rise of Chinese nationalism in the 1920s, the British increasingly found themselves as bystanders. The early 1920s was a period of great upheaval and confusion. Increasing Russian influence, Sun Yat-sen's rise to prominence and rampant warlordism combined to make it unclear with whom foreigners should be dealing. The latter years of the decade saw clear demonstrations of anti-British sentiment. Even though new "open cities" (they were no longer called treaty ports as their opening was supposedly unilateral) were declared by China as late as 1923, the concept was increasingly seen as outdated, even inappropriate. Problems brought on by Japanese aggression made small enclaves of foreigners increasingly vulnerable and expensive to maintain. The forced return of the Hankou and Jiujiang British Concessions in February 1927 proved to be the thin end of the wedge.

In the following few years, the foreign-administered areas of Xiamen, Zhenjiang and Weihai were handed back to Chinese control. The foreign-dominated municipal committees in Ningbo and Yantai ceased to exist in 1927 and 1930, respectively.[152] Britons everywhere in China began to realise that much had been happening in the country and that their exclusivity and security were being undermined. Foreign commercial, religious and educational institutions were forced to integrate, using Chinese language and people.

Privileges that had been fought for repeatedly over the previous hundred years slowly faded away, as did the people who had enjoyed them. Speaking of his precarious position in China, one of Maugham's characters declared: "I'm happy enough here, but I don't want to live here always. I couldn't. I want England. … I shall be a funny fat elderly man when I go back … I know I shall be out of it, we fellows who've spent our lives out here always are, but I can potter about the local club and talk to retired Anglo-Indians."[153]

Conclusion

There is much evidence in China today that the so-called century of humiliation and shame is a prominent feature of the state-sponsored national psyche. Largely overlooked is the fact that many of twenty-first century China's major cities—such as Dalian, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tianjin and Wuhan—owe much of what they are to their foreign past. Yet a study of the life of foreigners in the less significant outposts of semi-colonial influence, as described in this chapter, reveals that there was a small number of ordinary foreign people leading perhaps privileged but unexciting lives in isolated places; when they departed, all their influence left with them. It is ironic, therefore, that even after the rampant anti-foreign activities in the 1920s, followed by the anti-just-about-everything destruction in the 1960s, much physical evidence of the foreign presence in these small, insignificant places survives: the British Consulate in Wenzhou, the Asiatic Petroleum Company's manager's house in Jiangmen, many of the buildings erected by the Royal Navy in Weihai and the Custom House in Sanshui, to name but a few. In writing this brief account, it is my wish that more attention is focused by scholars, both Chinese and foreign, on the less well-known activities of the smaller foreign places in China—those that were "Beyond the Bund."

Notes

1. Robert Nield's *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015) provides the only recent full listing of all such places, together with a detailed description of most of them.
2. See, for example, Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, eds. *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, land and power* (London: Routledge, 2016); Catherine

Ladds *Empire Careers: Working for the Chinese Customs Service, 1854–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Bryna Goodman and David S.G. Goodman, eds. *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World* (London: Routledge, 2012).

3. A comprehensive description of the genesis of a "typical" (yet fictional) treaty port is given by Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson in Bickers and Jackson, *Treaty Ports in Modern China*, pp. 1–10.
4. *China Proper* (London: Naval Intelligence Division, 1944), III 316; *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Hong Kong, 1935* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936), p. 4.
5. Robert Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 53.
6. A term in use in British India since the seventeenth century, where it referred to an inexperienced newcomer; it was also used to describe an untried horse at a racetrack. See Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions [1886] 1996), 395. Its use in China evidences a continuity in British attitudes from colonial India to semi-colonial China.
7. Bickers, *Empire Made Me*, 72. "Boy" is another term imported to China from other parts of the British Empire—see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 119.
8. Patrick Brodie, *Crescent over Cathay: China and ICI, 1898 to 1956* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1990), 179.
9. For a development of the concept of Britain's informal empire, see John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1953), pp. 1–15; and, more recently, "the imperial periphery" postulated by Jürgen Osterhammel in *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 430–434; and "the empire of the mind," argued by Robert Bickers in *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900–1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 1.
10. Christopher Cook, *The Lion and the Dragon: British Voices from the China Coast* (London: Elm Tree, 1985), 30.
11. Jay Denby, *Letters of a Shanghai Griffin* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1923), p. 105.
12. Denby, *Letters*, p. 91.
13. Bickers, *Britain in China*, p. 80.
14. Shanghai Municipal Council 1923 Salaries Commission Report, quoted in Bickers, *Empire Made Me*, 92.
15. Ronald Farquharson, *Confessions of a China Hand* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950), p. 112.

16. This seemingly self-satisfied term was used by the British in Shanghai since at least 1866. See Peter George Laurie, *The Model Settlement* (Unknown publisher, 1866).
17. John Darwin, "Orphans of Empire," in Robert Bickers, ed. *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2010] 2014), p. 336.
18. Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders and Others: British Communities in China, 1843–1957," in Bickers, *Settlers and Expatriates*, p. 289.
19. Ladds, *Empire Careers*, p. 64 and p. 89.
20. *Foreign Office Annual Series. Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance* (London: HMSO, 1900), p. 12. (Such reports hereafter abbreviated as, for example, "FO Shanghai 1900").
21. Said by a character in C.S. Archer's novel *China Servant* (London: Collins, 1946, 212), concerned that her husband may be posted to one of the more remote treaty ports.
22. The Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, for example, had a rule that no member of staff could marry if they had less than ten years' service in the East, although this was not systematically enforced; see Frank H.H. King, *The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China, 1864–1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 564.
23. See, for example, Stanley Lane-Poole, *Sir Harry Parkes in China* (London: Methuen, 1901); Zhao Changtian, *An Irishman in China: Robert Hart, Inspector General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs* (New York: Better Link Press, 2014).
24. Bickers, *Britain in China*, p. 75.
25. P.D. Coates, *The China Consuls: British Consular Officers, 1843–1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 384.
26. Ladds, *Empire Careers*, p. 92.
27. Farquharson, *Confessions*, p. 14.
28. FO Canton 1903, p. 11.
29. Paul King, *In the Chinese Customs Service: A Personal Record of Forty-Seven Years* (London: Heath Cranton, [1924] 1930), p. 23.
30. Brodie, *Crescent*, p. 34.
31. W. Somerset Maugham, *On a Chinese Screen* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922), p. 32.
32. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 120.
33. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 305.
34. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 392.
35. Although it was to be many years before there was a reliable census of China's population, the figure of 400 million was in general usage amongst foreigners. Newspaperman and advertising agent Carl Crow famously titled his book of recollections of 25 years in Shanghai *Four Hundred Million Customers* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937).

36. FO Tengyueh 1908, p. 3.
37. This was the only British consulate in China the chief object of which was surveillance. Tibet had taken the opportunity of the 1911 Revolution to declare its independence. The likelihood of a Chinese invasion, and the consequent threat to India's northern frontier, was of concern to the British. See Nield, *China's Foreign Places*, p. 225.
38. Lo Hui-min and Helen Bryant, *British Diplomatic and Consular Establishments in China: 1793–1949—II: Consular Establishments 1843–1949* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1988), p. 439.
39. FO Mengtsz 1899, p. 3.
40. Information seen by me in the former British Consulate at Takow (Kaohsiung), 17 June 2011.
41. *New York Times*, 2 May 1880.
42. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 313.
43. TNA, FO 228/1369, The Tower Report. British policy regarding the establishment of consulates changed shortly afterwards, although not out of concern for men wasting their youthful years; it became apparent that British imports and exports were increasingly being handled by Chinese, obviating the need for the presence on the ground of British merchants and consuls.
44. Correspondence files in TNA contain numerous examples of Foreign Office officials asking why reports were late or insufficiently detailed.
45. FO Amoy 1896, p. 2.
46. FO Shasi 1897, p. 13.
47. FO Shasi 1900.
48. FO Chinkiang 1888, p. 1.
49. Rev, J. Macgowan, *Pictures of Southern China* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1897), p. 162.
50. Paul King, *Customs Service*, p. 49.
51. Archer, *China Servant*, p. 148.
52. Cook, *Lion and Dragon*, p. 39.
53. *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 3 April 1873.
54. FO Wenchow 1894, p. 7.
55. Millicent Mary McClatchie, unpublished manuscript *In Varying Scenes and Climes (In China)—1895–1899* (Hong Kong Public Records Office, HKMS No 127, D-S 1–1, Chap. 23).
56. McClatchie, *In Varying Scenes*, Chap. 23. Retired diplomat Sir Eric Teichman also used the term to describe Weihai, a place in which the Colonial Office "had never taken more than a luke-warm interest." See *Affairs of China: A Survey of the Recent History and Recent Circumstances of the Republic of China* (London: Methuen, 1938), p. 196.
57. FO Kiungchow 1886, p. 3.

58. Charles J.H. Halcombe, *The Mystic Flowery Land: A Personal Narrative* (London: Luzac & Co., 1896), p. 163.
59. King, *Hongkong Bank,* p. 585.
60. William Frederick Mayers, N.B. Dennys, and Charles King, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan* (London: Trübner & Co, 1867), p. 540.
61. A.C. Hyde Lay, *Four Generations in China, Japan and Korea* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952), p. 45.
62. Hyde Lay, *Four Generations*, p. 39.
63. Cook, *Lion and Dragon*, p. 37.
64. Major Henry Knollys, *English Life in China* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885), p. 125.
65. A.H. Rasmussen, *China Trader* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954), p. 13.
66. Rasmussen, *China Trader*, p. 14.
67. Isabella L. Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (London: Virago, [1899] 1985), p. 62.
68. FO Kiukiang 1889, p. 4.
69. Brodie, *Crescent*, p. 30.
70. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 171.
71. FO Chefoo 1886, p. 5.
72. FO Amoy 1896, p. 22.
73. FO Ichang 1898, p. 5.
74. FO Amoy 1906, p. 7.
75. 1844 Treaty of Wanghia, Article XXI. Extraterritorial consular jurisdiction had been recognised in the Ottoman Empire since at least 1740. See Mariya Tait Slys, *Exporting Legality: The Rise and Fall of Extraterritorial Jurisdiction in the Ottoman Empire and China* (Geneva: Graduate Institute Publications, 2014).
76. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 55.
77. Austin Coates, *China Races* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, [1983] 1994), p. 47.
78. "Gunboat diplomacy" was by no means restricted to China, nor to the British. See, for example, Antony Preston and John Major, *Send a Gunboat! A Study of the Gunboat and its Role in British Policy, 1854–1904* (London: Naval Institute Press, 1967); and James Cable, *Gunboat Diplomacy 1919–1991: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994). Gunboat diplomacy is still being practised today in the South China Sea.
79. Bird, *Yangtze Valley*, p. 91.
80. FO Canton 1894, p. 6.
81. FO Canton 1895, p. 8.
82. FO Antung 1907, p. 3.

83. Coates, *China Consuls*, p. 259.
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PART II

Health and Welfare

CHAPTER 5

Treaty Ports and the Medical Geography of China: Imperial Maritime Customs Service Approaches to Climate and Disease

Stephanie Villalta Puig

Introduction

The effect of China's environmental geography on the British constitution was a major challenge to everyday life in the treaty ports. The observations from medical writings had implications for empire building. The concern was whether British bodies could live in the tropics, let alone conquer the tropics. Britons had, for a long time, died of until then unknown 'tropical' diseases. And they 'came to regard themselves as exotica in foreign soil'.[1] Given this concern for the health of British people in the tropics, British medicine was, for Warwick Anderson, 'able to mix a potent brew of race theory, geographical pathology, and global politics'.[2] Indeed, 'the colonisation of bodies was preceded from, and supported by, the medical colonisation of physical space'.[3]

The sizeable British communities in the physical space of treaty port China required, among other demands, British trained medical staff to treat them. In 1863, Robert Hart founded the Customs Medical Service.[4] He appointed many graduates of Scottish medical schools who would

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_5

have otherwise been unable to find employment in the United Kingdom. In 1870, when the Customs Medical Service started to publish its Medical Reports, there were 17 medical officers. Only one was Chinese. Among the duties of the medical officers were the inspection of ships, attention to the health of the crew and, of course, care of the health of the British community in the treaty ports. Many medical officers were actually based at missionary hospitals, which had opened before the establishment of the Customs Medical Service.

British medicine, as practiced by the officers of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, divided China's treaty ports into distinct geographical regions: Northern China, Southern China, and, while not explicitly typecast, described the features of what it understood as neither extreme, Central China. This chapter integrates observations made by officers and other British medical practitioners stationed at selected treaty ports in each region [from Newchwang (Yingkou) to Shanghai to Canton (Guangzhou)] in an attempt to showcase the everyday approaches of British medicine to health and disease.

British Medicine and Environmental Geography

Environmental geography shaped how Britons viewed landscapes and the people who inhabited them, and how they viewed their own place as Europeans in these landscapes and among these people. Thus, '[t]he framing of disease, the "environment" and "race" were part of the same manoeuvre'.[5] Disease was considered to be a geographical phenomenon.[6] Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, there were no tropical diseases, merely 'diseases in the tropics'. By this descriptor, British medical practitioners asserted that disease was the product of 'interaction between mind, body and the environment' rather than specific to geography.[7] Accordingly, British medical practitioners insisted on practising their ordinary medicine in the extraordinary conditions of the tropics, instead of practising tropical medicine as a separate discipline.[8] With the expansion of British settlement into tropical areas, British medical practitioners were called upon to survey new lands and report on their natural resources as well as on the diseases that might threaten British health. The health of local inhabitants, despite constitutional differences between races, was often considered. After all, Bridie Andrews remarks, '"Western" medicine is always defined by its others'.[9] Such surveys and reports would prove useful guides to the nature of various diseases.[10]

The literature that British medical practitioners read in order to settle in these new lands was based on colonial and exploratory experiences. Thomas Trapham's *Discourse on the State of Health on the Island of Jamaica* (1679) was one of the first works in the English language discussing tropical disease and medicine, while Thomas Winterbottom's *Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (1803) drew on seven years of observation in West Africa. James Johnson's *The Influence of Tropical Climates* (1813) went through several revisions and editions, while James Lind's *Essay on Disease Incident to Europeans in Hot Climates* (1768) was derived from the West Indian experience.[11] Thomas Henry Buckle's *History of Civilisation* (1878) argued that climate and food were immediate and direct influences on race.[12] Their collective emphasis was on preventative medicine through constitutional and therapeutic measures.

These medical treatises represented the world in terms of a north/south divide, a legacy of Galen's medical thought. The north represented temperate zones, while the south represented the tropical regions, both incurring a corresponding impact on constitutions. Two types of colonialism are often distinguished for the purposes of these texts. The first, white settler, was located in the temperate zones, while the territories in Africa and Asia were the tropics of the south.[13] As David Arnold points out, '[C]alling a part of the globes "the tropics" … was a Western way of defining something culturally and politically alien, as well as environmentally distinctive, from Europe and other parts of the temperate zone'.[14] Thus, the tropics were not only a physical space but also a conceptual space; when British medical practitioners described a climate as tropical, they registered the profound otherness that they encountered.

Environmental geography, then, was central to the experience of the colonies and any mission abroad, be it medical or otherwise. Before the 1830s, the consensus was that races could adapt their distinctive constitutions to different environmental circumstances, and so British medical practitioners encouraged their patients to follow local customs.[15] By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, there was no longer consensus. Some British medical practitioners such as Robert Knox believed that each race belonged to a specific region and would degenerate elsewhere.[16] To leave one's natural environment was to risk physiological and mental breakdown. Indeed, fiction often portrayed heat, humidity, and bad air to drive characters to suicide, murder, and melancholy.[17] The relationship between climate, human anatomy, and culture was perceived to correlate

with moral judgements about racial character.[18] Yet, at the same time, there were also other British medical practitioners who believed that there were no geographical limits to settlement and, thereby, entertained the possibilities of tropical acclimatisation. Doctors with tropical experience called for control of the environment with their advocacy of sanitarianism. Thus, there was a direct transfer of the ideas and practices of British sanitary reformers to the tropics.

The British Constitution in the Environmental Geography of China

Both schools of thought concerning the importance of climate and the ability of Britons to adapt to unfamiliar climates are evident in the medical reports of the British medical practitioners stationed across China's treaty ports, even though there was a growing acceptance of the possibility of human adaptation to climate and place. These reports documented geographical features and climate patterns. Starting with latitudinal and longitudinal references for the city in which the hospital or dispensary was located, British medical practitioners working for the Imperial Maritime Customs Service would describe the weather in full detail, with special note of temperature differentials. Such data was often accompanied by rainfall measurements, wind speeds, fog, rain, and snow grids, followed by reports of mortalities, prevalent diseases, and the health profile of foreign communities.[19] Subheadings such as 'Climate in relation to disease' were common.[20] This data, or 'panopticon', allowed medical practitioners and employers of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service to communicate between treaty ports with the Inspector General's Circular and Medical Reports.[21]

Studies on colonial societies 'were not conducted in an ideological vacuum'. In fact, 'British geographical knowledge in the nineteenth century … was largely a product of imperialism'.[22] Accordingly, colonial medicine during this period viewed China through a series of classificatory grids. One of these classifications was spatial, through topographical surveys and their relationship with the physiological and pathological effects of 'warm climates'.[23] China was regarded as an unfamiliar space and, therefore, possibly dangerous. In the Indian context, for example, diseases, while still obeying 'the same "universal" laws as in Europe, functioned in an unaccustomed or accentuated manner, and medicine, correspondingly, had to undergo "certain modifications" dictated by a different climate and appro-

priate to different human constitutions'.[24] The implications of these studies for the racial thought of the period were significant for what they had to say about British and Chinese bodies.

Dr Patrick Manson, the most influential doctor of the period, maintained that the constitution of race was adaptable to the environment in which it existed. With a Scottish medical degree, Manson understood race from a Darwinian perspective, in line with the philosophical natural history that he was taught at Aberdeen. He saw the character of each race as the result of the process of natural selection over many generations.[25] Thus, he argued that the Chinese province of Fukien (Fujian) was unable to supply its inhabitants with a meat diet, as it mostly grew rice and sweet potato, 'and the race must adapt itself to the digestion and assimilation of them' over time. Such observation, for Dr Manson, proved 'that wonderful adaptability which man along with some of the other animals possesses, has enabled him to effect the change from omnivorous to herbivorous, and to survive the process, and even develop into a vigorous race'.[26] Nonetheless, he also asserted that '[a]ppetites bred through many generations become instincts, and an Englishman must have his beef'.[27] While stationed at Fujian in 1871, Dr Manson settled his understanding of race:

> The principal influences directing the development of the permanent characters of any race of men are undoubtedly the climate and physical features of the country it inhabits, the food it is nourished by, and the diseases that destroy or impair it. These are the great agents of natural selection; the fittest to survive under these operations propagate the race and constitute its types. This is but an extension of the Darwinian hypothesis to the formation of the varieties of man.[28]

Although recognising the natural tendency of humans to develop improved constitutions and disease-resisting qualities, 'the acquisition of a high degree of civilisation, humanity and science, tends to the fostering and propagation of forms less able to resist disease, on account of its endeavouring to preserve, and its success in fostering the weak and susceptible'.[29] This drawback to civilisation, he believed, was such that 'the savage races exist by adapting themselves to circumstances, the more highly civilised races by adapting circumstances to themselves'. Dr Manson's advice, then, was:

> We should endeavour to make the climate suit us, not the climate. We ought always to remember we are exotics here, and that we should surely sicken

> and die if we did not in one way or another try to reproduce the circumstances of the lands in which our constitutions were bred. The advice that tells us to eat rice and practice all sorts of self-denial, should, if it followed up the principle it is founded on, tell us to eschew sun hats and umbrellas and to expose our shaved heads and naked bodies to the hardening and acclimatising rays of the midday sun, live in stuffy hovels, exclude ventilation and sleep on the ground floor. The true advice is to make China as like Europe as we can, and by cultivating temperance, remain vigorous to resist malign influences when they come.[30]

Other British medical practitioners stationed in China assumed that climate played a major role in disease transmission. The effect that the Chinese periphery had on the constitution of the British body was considered extensively by Dr James Henderson of the Customs Medical Service in his 1863 work *Shanghai Hygiene, or, Hints for the Preservation of Health in China*. Henderson reconciled classical and modern theories of British hygienic medicine and applied them to China. He issued many cautions to the British community in Shanghai and the rest of China on how to prevent disease when so far away from the metropolis.[31]

From about the 1870s, the *Customs Gazette* reports of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service evidence the falling influence of classical medicine—which identified climate and the environment to be the primary causes of disease—and the rise of a more experimental medical prognosis, one that searched for other factors such as causes of illness. In the *Customs Gazette*, British medical practitioners wrote their reports within a template, using prescribed categories. Climate was one of the first of these categories, with such comments often taking up more than half of the content of the reports. Some doctors, however, wrote that climate was not at all important to the health of their patients and would even apologise for not writing much on the topic. The truth is that most doctors, irrespective of the headings they were instructed to report on, acknowledged the influence of weather on the constitution and would either write around or against it. Despite the 'geopolitical imagery'[32] that turn-of-the-century Britons would have of China as a foreign, exotic, and thoroughly tropical space, the four seasons of China meant that British medical practitioners had to acknowledge the reality of living in China's cold, dry north, as distinct from China's hot, humid south, with China's middle vacillating between the two extremes, yet altogether tropical because of the Chinese difference.

Medical Reports from Northern China

Newchwang (Yingkou)

If politics determined the place of each treaty port in China, it was medicine that could determine the use for that geographical location. Even though the port of Yingkou, located near Manchuria in the very north of China, had been described as 'dreary in the extreme [with] no advantages to correct this feeling subsequently',[33] Dr James Watson's 1871 report saw this treaty port as a place for health. A description of the effects of climate on the constitutions of both locals and Britons occupied more than half his report. In line with the north/south principle of classical medicine, Dr Watson concluded that, being so far north, Yingkou was 'a sanitarium' for Britons.[34] The summer months of the province, he reported, were healthy and, therefore, ideal for Britons in China, who were 'oppressed by the trying summers of the southern ports'. The aesthetic beauty of the landscapes encouraged walking and other forms of outdoor exercise. Watson further praised the morning air as 'exhilarating in its charming freshness, while the cool evenings soothe and refresh the weak, and sleep, which here requires no wooing, is followed by increased strength and energy'.[35] Dr Watson's 1876 report, written while still stationed at Yingkou, remarked on the beneficial influence of what he considered to be the 'normal' climate of that region. A climate characterised by dry summers, strong and frequent winds, clear skies, and bracing air, 'while the general result has been that the natural stimulating character of the climate has replaced the depressing influences'.[36] Consequently, the general health of Britons and the well-to-do Chinese had been up to average, and if 'invasions of disease' had loomed during this time, 'these may have been independent of the heat, drought or climate, and may more properly be referred to the insanitary condition of the localities in which the disease I refer to manifested themselves'.[37]

Chefoo (Yantai)

Likewise, Yantai was a northeastern coastal town without a harbour that that did not freeze in the winter.[38] Dr J.G. Brereton, who was one of many practitioners stationed at Yantai, began his 1880 report with a table of thermometer readings. The mild winter was accompanied by an almost complete absence of serious affections, with bronchitis being 'liable to

take place in any climate'.[39] Yantai was particularly interesting for the amount of electricity in the air during the latter part of winter and early spring: 'During the operation of dressing the hair, in some instances large sparks of electricity were quite visible, but it has not been yet determined if an electrical condition of the atmosphere has any effect upon health or disease'.[40] Perhaps it was a mixture of the static electricity of this atmosphere, the very little snow that had fallen during the winter, and severe storms so infrequent that he reported on how 'we have had fine, clear, bracing weather, which imparted a sense of vigour and inclination for daily exercise. This latter was indulged in to a considerable extent, and I have no doubt contributed not a little to the general good health of the community'.[41]

Dr Myers, also at Yantai, began with the latitudinal and longitudinal references of his location, commenting on how this port lay on the same parallel with Athens, Smyrna, and San Francisco. This observation, in his opinion, explained the shared health benefits and restoring properties of these places, 'while it seems peculiarly free from any of the drawbacks existent in the climates of the similarly placed cities referred to'.[42] He also believed that the climate, while being mild, stood in marked contrast with the other ports in China because Yantai possessed 'that moderate dryness which is so essential a constituent of a bracing atmosphere'.[43] The level of ozone in the atmosphere, which was an important factor in determining a happy climate, was ideally suited to good health, unlike in other ports, where it might 'injuriously stimulate persons of weakly constitution'.[44] Yantai was seen to be a refuge for those deserting the excessive heat of the summer in other ports. Yantai summers were generally comparable with 'the most favoured watering places of Europe'.[45] Dr Myers thought that 'Chefoo offers opportunities for escape from tropical disadvantages which residents south of Shantung (Shandong) Promontory do not possess'. He went on to observe: 'Indeed I fancy it is no exaggeration to say that but few places equal and none surpass Chefoo in the privilege of possessing a temperature so happily adjusted by surrounding local influences'. Dr Myers added that, despite a severe winter, the cold did not seem to affect the healthy, or injure those with delicate constitutions.[46] Yantai had a blessed climate, lacking any sudden changes in weather, which was important as it meant a relative freedom from serious affections of the respiratory organs in the winter. He went so far as to recommend Yantai even to invalids suffering from 'hypatic or renal affections, dyspeptics' and, in short, 'to all those suffering from the effects of exhaustive disease,—the climate

of Chefoo offers unequalled advantages'. This was, in his opinion, due to the mild and genial nature of the atmosphere, the kept temperature, 'even under the exceptional heat of last summer, by the sea breezes,—and its chemical and health-productive purity … equally palpable to the exhausted invalid and to the scientific visitor'.[47] Dr Myers concluded that Britons could blend into northern China, a land with clearly favourable physical attributes:

> I think that as a sanitary resort few places in the world can enter into competition with our favoured port, while as a residence for the Western foreigner I defy any other country remote from the land of his nativity to present a locality possessing such a happy blending of all the climatic conditions essential to the preservation of health and vigour.[48]

Dr Carmichael also wrote on Yantai in 1876, similarly reporting his approval of the climate, beginning with thermometer and barometer readings.[49] He reported that, in his 14 years stationed at Yantai, he had only ever treated two cases of primary pneumonia amongst Europeans and thus conceded that, even in such a cold climate, Britons were exempt from this disease. This finding, he believed, was most probably due to the absence of moisture during the greater part of the year, for which Yantai winters were distinguished.[50]

Dr W.A. Henderson was less approving of Yantai's climate, and contrasted it in 1880 unfavourably with that of Shanghai. After one of his European patients who suffered from an excess of uric acid in the urine had left Yantai, he became free of the condition and recovered his original weight. Another patient, reported also to have a strong propensity for lithuria, was forced to seek temporary refuge 'in a moister climate, and invariably returned in a state of vigour, which he could not otherwise have attained'.[51] Another patient was so heavily affected with lithaemia that he was advised to leave Yantai, 'and the change was followed by the happiest results'.[52] He then proceeded to study these cases. The explanation for the presence of uric acid deposits in one locality and its absence in another was to be found in the difference between the two climates, 'the northern being dry and the southern, moist'.[53] His theory was such that a dry atmosphere might affect the lithic acid diathesis through elimination, oxidation, and the circulation. His prognosis, following a discussion of the different effects of dry and moist air, was that dry air robs the blood of its water through the lungs and skin. Perspiration is more intense in the dry than in

the moist climate. The moist climate reduces the evaporation from both organs. A dry atmosphere such as that of Yantai, then, had a detrimental effect upon a weak circulation.[54] In contrast, Dr Henderson noted that a 'great range of temperature simply means cool nights and the possibility of refreshing sleep, and the dryness of the atmosphere is the best remedy for systems poisoned by muggy, mildewy, and malarious climates of the south'. His remarks applied to the majority of Yantai residents, 'among whom are to be found splendid specimens of humanity, with livers equal to any festive occasion, and who will be able to enjoy their champagne and their champagne atmosphere to the close of the natural term of mundane existence'.[55]

Medical Reports from Central China

The north, then, was designated a temperate zone. Although the dryness or humidity of the air was of dispute, many practitioners could recommend northern treaty ports be used for therapeutic purposes for Britons located in the more southern locations in China. The indeterminate regions of China—the middle of China—were liminally spaced between both extremes of north and south, thereby making more ambiguous any designation of tropicality. Discussions of climate, and its subsequent bearing on disease, were frequent.

Shanghae (Shanghai)

Boasting a placement next to a plain and a placement close to the Yangtze River, Shanghai, the most European of all oriental cities, fell into the category of middle China, even though it was located more on the northern axis. Dr Alexander Jamieson was one of the many British medical practitioners stationed in Shanghai who wrote extensive reports. His reports in the 1870s, true to format, typically began with meteorological tables, stating the prevailing winds, gales, and barometer and thermometer readings.[56] Sometimes the climate analysis would spread over several pages.[57] The climate of Shanghai was often compared to that of European cities. Dr Jamieson was of the opinion that the climate in Shanghai was not as fatal to children as that of India, 'indeed in some respects children in Shanghai would seem to be more favourably situated than children in Europe'.[58] Although two infants had died during the winter months, he held that the mortality rate should be regarded to be very low, especially

when considering that the number of European children was very large in proportion to the adult population. Further, 'there is a yearly increasing number of families whose circumstances are not such as to place every luxury or even every necessary within their reach'.[59] This observation, in the footnotes, was compared with the infant mortality rates of European cities. In Manchester, one infant out of five was quoted to die during the first year of life. In Berlin, one in three infants died during the first year of life, with half of all born dead in two-and-a-half years. A third of all deaths in Berlin occurred during the first year of life, with summer having the heaviest death rate. This pattern was no different in Shanghai, where the summer season also was the most dangerous time of the year. In fact, August continually proved to be the most fatal month in Shanghai. Even the American cities of New York and Chicago had high mortality rates in August. In India, the death rate of European children was quoted by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to be 'the most painful feature of British rule in India', with 85 per cent perishing before the age of two.[60] By 1874, however, Dr Jamieson began to doubt the significance of the role that temperature played as a cause of sickness. Some of the afflictions he observed included acute dysentery, acute diarrhoea, remittent and intermittent fevers, typhoid, and rheumatism. Minor ailments such as neuralgia, lumbago, catarrh, and sore throat were brought to observation daily.[61] In his diagnosis of the nature of diseases, Dr Jamieson stressed the importance of personal behaviour:

> When the weather is hot on the contrary our tissue metamorphosis is of itself sluggish. If we then continue to consume the same amount of alcohol we artificially increase this inertness which can only result in an accumulation of partially transformed products within our organism. … The moral of course is that it is only by an abuse of terms that "total abstinence" can be qualified as "temperance".[62]

Ningpo (Ningbo)

Other British medical practitioners also saw a relation between climate and personal behaviour. Dr Mackenzie reported on the health of British residents at Ningbo, a coastal city situated close to the river Yung and famed for its fishing industry, in 1877. Their health was 'remarkably good, due, I have no doubt, in a great degree to the coolness of the summer, which permitted people to take more exercise than is customary among the majority of foreigners in the warm season'.[63]

Ichang (Yichang)

By contrast, Yichang, located inland in the middle of China had, by 1880, gained a reputation among some medical practitioners, for being unhealthy, all because three Commissioners had previously left the post seriously ill. Two had died of liver abscess after leaving Yichang, and the third, being the Assistant-in-Charge, suffered from mitral disease. Despite this coincidence, Dr E.P. McFarlane reported that he did not believe climate to be the cause of these diseases.[64] To the contrary, he was 'decidedly of the opinion that Ichang is healthy', based on the good health of the Britons residing there.[65] He described the air as 'bracing and enlivening in all the surrounding country', with the gorges of the Yangtze and the surrounding country making it attractive to the visitor and good for outdoor exercise.[66] Similarly, Dr A. Henry's report for Yichang of 1884 complemented the good health of residents during the summer months, noting the complete absence of epidemic disease. Dr Henry's analysis ascribed immunity and disease as much to meteorological conditions as to the sanitation of the place. If the climate was particularly dry with a high temperature, it would be more conducive to a severe epidemic of cholera and malarial disease, as compared with having a low temperature and frequent rain.[67]

Hankow (Hankou)

The health of the British community in Hankou, located far inland and slightly isolated in the middle of the country, was reported by Dr C. Begg to be, 'in spite of the unhealthy situation of the concession', better than that of any port in China.[68]

Medical Reports from Southern China

While British medical practitioners stationed in middle China found the environmental geography of the place difficult to categorise, southern China was, obviously, easier to classify as a warm, tropical space. Nevertheless, by and large, British doctors working in the south of China appeared to show surprise and alarm at the continued good health of the British residents under their care, so much so as to warrant the reassessment of the south as a tropical, diseased, and dangerous place.[69] Many British doctors reported how the general health of Britons, despite the received wisdom on the climatic causes of disease, had actually been favourable.

Amoy (Xiamen)

In 1872, Dr Muller and Dr Manson compared the winter climate of Xiamen with that of the most popular health resorts of the Mediterranean. Its only possible drawback was that the prevailing high winds of Xiamen were particularly difficult during the start of the monsoon, while the temperature was still high. This wind put those who were unprepared for cold weather and still in summer dress at risk of a chill that could then induce congestion of the liver, catarrh, or ague. With the monsoon, from the beginning of October to the middle of April, however, the temperature became 'more equable, rain seldom falls, the sky is clear and the air very dry and bracing'.[70] Malarial disease was less frequent in the winter than in the summer, although it did still occur. The cold weather in Amoy, the doctors claimed, was never intense enough to be unpleasant for a healthy Briton, even for outdoor exercise, and coughs and colds were easily avoidable. Acute diseases of the respiratory tract were rare, with pneumonia and severe bronchitis virtually unknown among resident Britons. Overall, the general health of the community did not suffer from the unusual cold of the last winter.[71]

Foochow (Fuzhou)

Located on the banks of the river Min and close to the sea, Fuzhou's reputation was one of beautiful natural scenery.[72] Dr T. Rennie's impression of the climate in Fuzhou in 1881 was that it was 'moist and enervating', with rain and thunderstorms scattered throughout the year.[73] The absence of windstorms was inconvenient as it made diluting 'and carrying off the abounding noxious effluvia from rice fields, drains and graves' impossible.[74] Marked and sudden changes of temperature were characteristic of the seasons here. The locals here, then, did not appear to be as healthy as those who lived in the mountains. The former were 'more irritable, and, though industrious, they have not the push or enterprise of their brethren in the southern part of the province'.[75] A class analysis was evident in Dr Rennie's report, in his observation that city dwellers found employment in various trades and manufactures, while peasants occupied the villages on the plain.[76] His advice for British residents was that climate did not need to be an important factor if they lived in suitable houses, had an abundance of cheap and good food, and were able to exercise readily. Even '[n]ervous affections, etc, so common among ladies, though to a great

extent dependent on a somewhat enervating climate', were largely preventable.[77] Males who avoided 'violent exercise as much as intemperance in eating and drinking' were reported to enjoy excellent health.[78] These principles were also applicable, to some extent, to females, for 'I do not think that temperate exercise could do otherwise than raise the standard of health of women, as well as preserve the health of men, and so aid in warding off climatic disease'.[79] Nutritious food, without adequate exercise in the open air, would lead to 'the accumulation of effete matter in the system', thereby lowering the standard of health and increasing the frequency of nervous and other affections among 'ladies'.[80] In the south, the busy season fell in the hot months and so 'by enforcing active and regular habits, doubtless renders climatic disease among male residents less frequent'.[81] The benefits of exercise could be seen by comparing 'the active, healthy, robust native women from the country', as seen in the settlement, with 'the indolent, withered-looking women of the city and suburbs'.[82] During the summer, the countryside was full of vegetation, with beautiful views from all directions of the settlement. For those who were 'suffering from enervation and the cramped conditions of settlement life', Fuzhou offered all types of excellent retreats.[83] Those depressed by the summer heat could enjoy sea breezes and cool nights. And the mountain scenery, which he claimed to be unrivalled in beauty and grandeur, abounded in the area.

Kiukiang (Jiujiang)

Jiujiang was a treaty port with a small foreign community near the mouth of a lake and with many European-style houses built, facing the river.[84] In 1877, Dr Jardine wrote of an above-average rate of sickness within the British expatriate community. The increase in diarrhoea, dysentery, and malaria was attributed to the peculiarity of the season, as it was not until July, August, and September that the peak became noticeable.[85] During what was a particularly mild summer, Dr Jardine expected the British community to experience 'at least the usual immunity from the disease', but he instead had to report a rise in the number of miasmatic disease cases.[86] This unexpected rise was due to 'the flood, which for ten weeks, partially deluged our concession and the low-lying surrounding districts'.[87]

While reporting on ringworm from southern China in 1878, Dr Patrick Manson commented on the major role that climate played in the spread of the disease from one person to another. When established in a body:

> it flourishes in China as well as in its home, as proven by the results of inoculation. Possibly, in the warm, moist, equable climate of the Straits, there is developed some fungus element which will not grow in the colder, drier climate of China, and the spontaneous spread of the disease is affected by this.[88]

For some British doctors, then, the south of China was a breeding ground for disease. Appropriate housing was recommended to prevent illness, often also a subject of discussion in medical notes.

Wu-hu (Wuhu)

Known for its rice distribution and an inland port, Dr A.S. Deane's report on the health of Wuhu in 1880 was quite positive towards both the unexpected mildness of the summer and the absence of floods. Only a handful of cases of intermittent fever and dysentery were reported, with most cases being eye complaints. Nevertheless, the health of the British community was not as satisfactory as Dr Deane would have wanted it. Many patients 'complained of a general feeling of malaise and considerable gastric disturbance, accompanied at times by diarrhoea, at others by constipation', when the temperature was 1.5 °F to 3.0 °F higher than usual, causing 'a general indisposition for work towards the afternoon, the rise in temperature being best marked at this time also'.[89] Dr Deane maintained, however, that the cause of such attacks was not to be found in lifestyle habits, and although the climate could sometimes be blamed, it was actually far from being unhealthy: 'On the contrary, I think one of the healthiest European settlements could be made here, a few yards more inland and at the back of the present foreign habitations'.[90] The houses were generally situated on the river bank's alluvial soil, which to him made their basements damp, rendering the air more humid 'and perhaps malarious at certain seasons'.[91] The structure of these houses, rather than the climate, produced unhealthy atmospheres. His advice to British residents in Wuhu, then, was to move their houses to the hills.[92]

Wenchow (Wenzhou)

Wenzhou boasted an attractive location, nestled on the bank of the river Ou.[93] Although the British presence in Wenzhou was insignificant, Dr MacGowan reported that the medical topography of the city—its situa-

tion, population, rivers, mountains, and plains—was still of interest. Dr MacGowan described Wenzhou in 1881 to have a distinct rainy season; 'nevertheless, for foreigners it is probably the healthiest portion of China'.[94] The summer heat of Wenzhou was generally moderated by rain and sea breezes, 'the thermometer seldom remaining long in the nineties', while winter rarely reached freezing temperatures.[95] This climate, then, was the ultimate prescription for a 'northern invalid who has been over-stimulated by ozone, positive electricity, hydrogen superoxide in the air, or whatever causes peculiarity of climate north of the Yangtze', who could in the south escape the Arctic blasts of higher latitudes.[96] His assessment was that 'Wenchow possesses the climate of Nice without a *mistral*'.[97] During the summer, the option was open to the tourist to cruise its islands and go fishing, while in the wintertime:

> [H]e may scale Alpine heights of illimitable extent, not needing to traverse a plain between this and the "Roof of the World;" and if endowed with requisite qualities, become a mighty hunter before the people, who here suffer from ravages by tigers, animals which are as troublesome here as they are under the equator or on the banks of the Amoor.[98]

The port, however, was unattractive to invalids and uninviting to patients as there was little suitable accommodation, such that it was only 'a delightful resort for those only who can "rough it"'.[99]

In 1884, Dr MacGowan commented on rainfall patterns. When the rice fields became dry, there was less water in the canals, with the consequence that the canals became 'more charged with excreta'.[100] At times, such conditions had the tendency to develop infectious disease. In other parts of the country, infectious disease developed under different conditions, with irregular rainfall patterns producing cholera if supplies of drinking water had become limited and polluted.[101] Generally, however, Wenzhou's atmospheric properties made it 'the most cleanly city in the Empire'.[102]

Dr MacGowan also offered his views on race and its significance to the discourse of climate and, thereby, the north/south divide. On the southerly region of Wenzhou, he wrote:

> If quest be made for average specimens of the Chinese race, this beautiful, fertile, and densely-peopled region will not furnish examples, the inhabitants comparing disadvantageously with those of adjacent portions of the Empire, being physically and intellectually inferior. They are of delicate frame, insignificant physiognomy, and microcephalic—small-brained.[103]

To be microcephalic—small-brained—is to suggest a racial hierarchy, with the small-brained presenting a less developed view of human evolution.[104] Further, it is a telling racial observation, for, despite the beautiful environment in which these people lived, they were ultimately 'physically and intellectually inferior'. The monotheism of Christianity and western science was so influential that, under Dr MacGowan's analysis, the southerners were predisposed to temple attendance, as 'a devout race', which was ultimately the cause of their social disorder and its corollary, 'their inferior physique'.[105] Wenzhou's situation, on reclaimed marshland and on canals with sluggish waters, meant that it could not 'but be the abode of intermittent fever'.[106] Nonetheless, almost paradoxically, he also offered hope 'to new-comers, who, after acclimatisation, do not regard it with dread'.[107]

Takow (Kaohsiung)

Taiwan too was believed to be a beneficial area. Dr Myer's account in 1881 of Kaohsiung noted the favourable effect that residence there had on tuberculosis. He was even of the opinion that its climate was more beneficial than that of England. Dr Myers based his opinion on several cases. One case was of a patient with a strong tendency to consumption, who, while in Takow, 'enjoyed vigorous health'.[108] It was not until he returned to England's 'fitful climate' that the germs so long dormant burst forth again.[109]

Hoihow (Haikou)

Dr Aldridge's report on Hoihow, in the southern tip of Taiwan, recorded the case of British residents, who, while in the northern ports, complained of stomach and biliary ailments, but after their arrival gained weight and improved substantially.[110] His report went to great detail, using another three cases to disprove the notion that climate was always the cause of disease and that, often, afflictions were hereditary. Yet, his later report changed tact as Dr Aldridge explained how, to guard against long and trying summers, Britons should live in Chinese-built houses. Were they able to live in these houses, their constitutions would be less vulnerable. Britons would find relief, given that 'that their constitutions have been enfeebled by excessive perspirations, sleepless nights'. Thus, he suggests the adaptability of race in a differing environment.[111] By 1883, Dr Aldridge reported

on how the summer had been trying to even the strongest of British constitutions. Nearly all sicknesses were avoidable if only they followed advice as to how to handle local and climatic causes of disease: 'There has been one death, and three or four persons have had to return to Europe on account of their being unable to continue residence here'.[112]

Swatow (Shantou)

Shantou had developed the reputation as among the healthiest ports in China and the location of several resorts.[113] Dr Scott commended the climate of Shantou in 1876 as 'one of the healthiest and most delightful in the world'.[114] The summer months were not very hot, and when it was, there was enough rain at night to make the air cool 'yet not enough to produce chills'.[115] A refreshing sea breeze cooled even the hottest temperature, 'which gives bloom to the cheeks and vigour to the frames of the most feeble'.[116] The climate was also highly suited to children, with Dr Scott having 'seen delicate children brought here almost dying who have got well and strong in a short time; and delicate adults who could hardly exist at home, or in other parts of China, quickly gain strength in this genial climate'.[117] Children aside, most of the Britons here were in some way connected to the port, from which came shipping-related diseases. Intermittent fever was prevalent among sailors who slept on open decks and swam under the hot sun. A person, he believed, who swam at an unseasonable time was almost certain to come down with a fever within a day, if not ague, which was relatively uncommon.[118] Dr Scott was, however, quite complementary of the healthiness of Shantou during the winter months. His reports extensively documented positive changes in the weather, including winds, barometer and thermometer readings, rain, fog, and tides.

Canton (Guangzhou)

Guangzhou was of key importance for foreign trade and heavily populated with Britons. In 1882, Dr Carrow's advice from Guangzhou was that, whenever Britons came down with a fever, he would order a change of climate or residence. The winters in Canton encouraged strong exercise, but the long hot summers were trying for even the strongest of constitutions.[119]

Conclusion

Ruth Rogaski reminds us of how 'conditions of foreign imperialism and domination—actual and potential—changed dramatically according to the time, geographical place, and the specific sector of life and ideas under consideration'.[120] Nicholas Thomas observes that so much writing on colonial discourses tends to forgo the diversity and conflict of opinion inherent in their various discussions. Instead, he appeals to specificity of time and place in research.[121] Certainly, the British medical practitioners stationed in the various treaty ports of China saw the relationship between climate and health in different ways. Some emphasised British adaptability to the climate, while others emphasised that Britons should make China as much like Britain as possible if their bodies were not to shrivel and die.

The British experience of life in treaty port China was a physical one, and a physical one that demanded medical knowledge. In line with the medical geography of the day, life in the imperial outpost of China demanded a field of knowledge to accompany its exploration and classification of foreign and local bodies. This chapter argues that the everyday practices and interpretations of health and pathology made by the British medical practitioners stationed in China's treaty ports more commonly reflected a particular ideology and rhetoric of environmental geography than what the so-called objectivity of medicine and science might have otherwise concluded. That everyday concern related to how an exotic body could flourish in a peripheral environment that was materially different to what they were otherwise used to in the metropolis of empire.

Notes

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CHAPTER 6

Japanese, International Migrants, and Cholera in the Yokohama Treaty Port, 1859–1899

Chester J. Proshan

Abbreviations

DCK Department of State, Despatches from US Consuls in Kanagawa, 1861–1897, File Microcopies No. 135.

Following Japanese name custom, in the chapter, Japanese surname precedes Japanese first name. An earlier version of the chapter was presented at the Fifth Conference of the Asian Society for the History of Medicine, Ajou University, Suwon, South Korea, 2010. Work on the chapter was a family affair. I would like to thank Yumura Reiko (my wife), Adjunct Professor, Japanese language, Komazawa University, and Yumura Hanna (my daughter), MA student, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, for translating and offering their insights into the Japanese language sources. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Sociology, Toyo University, for encouraging me to pursue the study. I wrote the chapter in retirement while Lecturer in the Department. I am responsible for all errors in the chapter.

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_6

DMJ Department of State, Despatches from US Ministers to Japan, 6 January 1886–9 July 1886, File Microcopies No. 133.
JWM *Japan Weekly Mail.*
NCH *North-China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette.*
RLJ Department of State, Records of the United States Legation in Japan, 1855–1912, Notes from the Japanese Foreign Office, 1 July–31 December 1862, Microcopy No. T-400.
YDN 『横浜毎日新聞』 *Yokohama Daily News.*

Introduction

On 6 June 1864, Francis Hall, an early international migrant resident in the Yokohama Treaty Port, wrote in his diary that a powerful earthquake occurred at 5 am. Japanese and international migrants, alike, rushed outdoors from their homes. The quake was sufficiently strong to wash water out of tubs. A friend of Hall, in the excitement of the moment, leapt undressed from his bedroom window.[1]

Experiencing the everyday, indeed, includes experiencing the extraordinary. The unusually fortuitous and unfortuitous happen. There is serendipity and exigency. The everyday and the extraordinary converge and intermesh—regardless of one's particularistic identity.[2] Ordinary lives contain the extraordinary, for good and bad. One way the unusually egregious impacted on individual and collective experience in the Yokohama Treaty Port was through sudden epidemics of serious diseases. What outbreaks of virulent illnesses occurred in the treaty port? What was the local response to such epidemics? How did individuals and groups make sense of what was happening? Most important, what light does the local response shed on the construction of the everyday in Yokohama? How did the community deal with the potential catastrophe?

In taking up these questions, this chapter focuses on one disease, cholera. Four outbreaks of the disease are examined (1862, 1877, 1879, 1886). Cholera in Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century has been recently examined.[3] Investigation includes recent studies on cholera and the treaty port of Yokohama. Most recently, Harald Fuess has examined cholera in the treaty port in 1879 from the point of view of diplomatic history.[4] In an earlier study, Ichikawa Tomoo examined the response of the prefectural government to the 1879 epidemic in Yokohama (the port is in the prefecture of Kanagawa).[5] Tsukata Kei and Tsuchimoto Toshikazu did

the same, focusing on toilet sanitation.[6] Otaki Toshio has examined various cholera outbreaks in the second half of the nineteenth century in Kanagawa.[7] Likewise, in his recent study on the experience of the British military in Yokohama in relation to smallpox and syphilis, A. Hamish Ion gives, also, some attention to cholera, as does Todd Munson in his recent study on the port's periodical press.[8] However, no recent study, it appears, focuses on investigating cholera in the particular context of local group interests, relations, and community figures (leaders and others). The local matrix—interplay of groups, individuals, agendas, and power in the community—has not been a centre of enquiry.

The local matrix has been prioritised in the recent literature on social history.[9] Addressing particularity, for example, is valued in understanding societies informed by empire and colonialism. Imperialism is not seen as uniform for manifestations of power or the consequences of the manifestations.[10] In this vein, grounding developments in governing local conditions is an important feature of contemporary work on empire and medical history. The historiography on public health in the British Empire, for instance, has recently been described as moving away from broad analyses and focusing on local dynamics—the sociocultural and economic forces at play in a particular place at a particular time.[11]

This chapter aims to present a case study on the interplay of Western Empire, deadly disease, and the matrix of ordinary daily life in nineteenth-century Asia. The Yokohama Treaty Port, a quasi-colonial construct, was a deeply riven sociocultural space. Contestation—economic and racial, engendered by cultural differences and national rivalries (in 1894, international migrants in Yokohama came from at least 16 nations)—was the norm.[12] Response to cholera in Yokohama—in 1862, 1877, 1879, and 1886—was framed by and impacted on the character and structure of local life. Yokohama was a vexed hybrid maritime community. Cholera, in the suddenness of its onset, powerful symptoms, and its ability to kill quickly, represents an existential medical threat. Charles Rosenberg, in his classic examination of cholera in nineteenth-century America, observed that cholera symptoms are striking and cannot be dismissed or romanticised.[13] A Japanese physician who encountered cholera, in the 1870s, wrote about sudden abdominal pain, diarrhoea, and vomiting, patients with severe cases dying within 24 hours.[14] Yokohama's encounter with the exigencies of cholera, in the four years under study, at one and the same time, led to community norms being reinforced and some striking and significant changes in thinking and behaviour. The material threat of cholera exacer-

bated the already problematised nexus of daily life—world view, institutions, and interpersonal relations. The everyday was reified and reconfigured. Tracing cholera in Yokohama means contextualising the everyday in the treaty port. The chapter finds that while the terms of daily life in the treaty port were renegotiated, as a consequence of cholera, the inherent "colonial"—and confounding—circumstances of ordinary affairs in local daily existence remained intact.

Contextualising the Yokohama Treaty Port: Historical Overview and Interpretive Frame

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Western powers—including Britain, France, Germany, and the United States—forced treaty ports on Japan, primarily to gain access to the country's domestic markets.[15] The Yokohama Treaty Port operated from 1859 to 1899 and grew, during the period, to become Japan's largest seaport (total population, 1889: Japanese, 120,000; international migrants, 4562).[16] The treaty port, as suggested above, pulled migrants globally. The diversity of the migrant population, for antecedents, drew attention. A British government official wrote, in the 1860s, about the migration stream—with English, French, Dutch, German, Italian, American, Greek, Chinese, and African individuals—being, in his opinion, a curious, incongruous motley.[17]

The features of Western imperial encroachment and population hybridity marked the local community. Japanese saw the Western powers through the governing principle of treaty ports—extraterritoriality—compromising Japanese sovereignty. In Yokohama and the other treaty ports, Japanese law did not apply. Rather, a signatory nation had legal jurisdiction over its citizens, foreign nationals being held accountable to law in their respective homeland, and legal cases being adjudicated through local consular courts.[18] In 1899, when the treaty ports ceased and Japan entered into new legal relations with Western nations, Komura Jutaro, the Japanese minister to the United States, observed that the development "marks the turning point in the diplomatic history, not only of Japan, but of the Oriental countries in general. It will be the first instance in which the Western powers have recognised the full sovereignty of an Oriental state."[19]

Also, Japanese, in daily intergroup contact, felt racially and culturally disparaged by the international migrants. In 1861, Rutherford Alcock, British minister to Japan, wrote in a confidential letter to the British

government, "No wonder we meet with hatred … distrust …. They [Japanese] know … our past history, and that of Europe generally in the East—how all began by … petition to trade, and ended by massacres … conquest …. shall we wonder, or be impatient … indignant … they distrust us?"[20] In 1899, with the treaty ports closing, Alfred Buck, the American minister to Japan, wrote about Western migrants, "They have … expected trouble under Japanese control; … it is not to be wondered at when it is considered for how many years they have lived in Japan but not of it …. They have regarded the Japanese as inferior."[21] As one Japanese newspaper, in 1883, wrote about the state of relations: the international migrant "regards the Japanese much as he would regard dirt … a savage."[22] An engendering arrogance was maintained by the international migrants throughout the treaty port period.

The international migrants, in turn, competed more than cooperated with one another. Migrant hybridity did not transmute into solidarity. Those from abroad were divided by cultural and racial differences, national interests, and economic competition. Chinese were the largest migrant group,[23] and they, as well as other migrants not of European antecedents, were generally disparaged by the (empowered) Euro-white minority. In 1870, a local Western newspaper wrote, "[S]ome are of opinion … it would be a great benefit if all… Chinese were deported … without going so far as that, we certainly think … they should be compelled to conform in some measure to such habits as tend to the convenience … of the white community."[24] In 1899, an American author who spent time in Yokohama wrote: "In the Settlement, back of … main street, … Chinese have a … corner to themselves."[25] In 1862, the US consul in Yokohama enumerated the American population in the treaty port as follows: "White male adults 43 … [white] women and children 17 … Colored male adults 3 … [colored] women 1."[26] In 1881, the Yokohama correspondent for a Singapore newspaper reported: "A … rumour obtains here now and again … Yokohama might, one of these fine mornings, be transmogrified into a British Crown Colony."[27] In 1886, a local (white) American merchant wrote to the US consul in Yokohama, "[O]fficial representatives of several of the European governments are instructed to further the commercial interests of their nationals in Japan, …. It would probably be very difficult to wholly neutralise the efforts of these representatives, but if American interests were similarly protected … the result might be advantageous to American trade."[28] The treaty port may have been a white hegemon, but shared European ancestry was no guarantee of Western migrant unity, let

alone comity. As one migrant wrote, "There are too many kinds of us …. You can't do much uniting in a community … Chinese, English, American, German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Indian, Parsee …. Even the white foreigners can't keep together."[29]

In many respects, Yokohama was more fraught agglomeration than community. As a migrant wrote in 1868, our "society is certainly a mosaic … it stands in constant danger of falling to pieces."[30] Another migrant wrote in 1872, "There are not more than 1500 foreigners in this empire … all trying to feed off … each other—Americans, English, French, Jews, Hollanders."[31] This embroiled population—of Japanese and international migrants—was engaged by cholera.

The 1862 Cholera Outbreak

Surviving sources about the epidemic, not surprisingly, are incomplete. The extant materials do, however, shed light on how the treaty port engaged this early outbreak of cholera. Four points in particular are notable and will be considered here.

First, there is the matter of the timing (inception and duration) of the outbreak. Cholera appeared in the summer. Hall noted in his diary for 30 August of cholera being present.[32] William Willis, a British physician living in Yokohama, wrote in a letter dated 4 September about the presence of cholera.[33] A newspaper in Yokohama reported on 25 October, "Many of our China friends have been deterred from intended visits to Japan by … the prevalence of Cholera in … Yokohama. We are glad to … re-assure them …. the health of the Settlement is now all that could be desired."[34]

Second, there is the matter of the disease's virulence. Official statistics for morbidity and mortality are, it appears, not available. Surviving accounts, however, indicate that incidence and death were great. Duane Simmons, an American physician, was present in Yokohama in 1862. Simmons, in 1879, wrote about the 1862 outbreak: "I have every reason to remember, from weeks of day and night work, [there] was a terrible epidemic, attended with great loss of life."[35] A report in the *New York Times* noted that Yokohama had suffered "severely."[36] A history of the treaty port, originally published in 1883, noted that 900 individuals had died from the epidemic, in Yokohama and the surrounding communities.[37] In 1990, writing about Japanese vulnerability to cholera in relation to major outbreaks of the disease in the second half of the nineteenth century, Margaret Powell and Anesaki Masahira noted some 3 people per

1000 had died of the illness, compared with a total national death rate in modern Japan of 6.2 per 1000.[38] In Yokohama, in 1862, the death rate from cholera was, it is likely, around 45 people per 1000.[39]

Third, there is the matter of how the local population made sense of what was happening. Events were understood, likely by many, in the following manner. As will be seen with the later outbreaks of cholera in Yokohama, the disease's path of transmission in relation to the treaty port was often connected, first, with China and, then subsequently, with arrival by ship in southern Japan (especially in the treaty port of Nagasaki), followed by movement north, over land and/or by ship, to Yokohama itself. As Stuart Eldridge, US sanitary inspector in Yokohama, wrote in 1899, at the end of the treaty port era, "The position of Yokohama renders it, in some sense, the sanitary gateway of the Far East. Through this port passes all … travel from China, that center of infection, where epidemics rage with little or no effort made for … control."[40] Origin of the 1862 cholera outbreak was, it is highly probable, associated with mainland Asia. On 28 July, for example, the US minister to Japan wrote to the US consul in Yokohama about cholera. The minister said that he had received a communication from the Japanese government, which had begun with the following words: "[W]e heard … at present … cholera prevails in China."[41] On 23 August, the British consul in Nagasaki wrote, "Her Majesty's ship 'Pearl' was anchored here with the intention of remaining for a fortnight … an outbreak of cholera induced Captain Borlase … to … proceed to … neighbouring anchorage."[42]

Similarly, Japanese were identified, it is highly probable, as most at risk. Stuart Eldridge, for instance, migrated to Japan from the United States in 1871.[43] Eldridge was a respected physician, who, besides becoming the American sanitary inspector in Yokohama, was also the medical director of the Imperial hospital in Kanagawa and the surgeon in charge of the foreign general hospital in Yokohama.[44] In 1878, Eldridge wrote about the 1862 epidemic: "[S]o far as I have been able to learn, … few foreigners … suffered from the disease."[45] The local newspaper that reported, in late October, on the end of the epidemic noted, "[W]e believe there have been but one … two slight cases amongst … Foreigners."[46]

Also, it is likely that there was a widely held perception that Japanese and the international migrants had available to them different resources to deal with the outbreak. Medical practice in Japan and in the West were different in 1862. In the years leading up to the opening of the treaty ports, the Japanese government was of two minds about Western medical

practice. Western medicine had been known in Japan for centuries. But primary medical praxis had been Chinese. In 1848, the Japanese government "decreed … Western medicine should not be practiced in Japan."[47] In 1854, the government rescinded the policy, re-permitting Western medicine.[48] However, in 1862, and for years to come, Chinese medicine predominated in Japan. Simmons, in his 1880 account, noted: "[D]octors of the Chinese school … form eight-tenths of … medical practitioners of the country."[49] In 1880, according to a Japanese newspaper, there were 659 physicians in Kanagawa Prefecture, 512 of whom were "practicing according to … Chinese or Japanese methods."[50] Chinese medical practice, introduced into Japan as early as the fifth century, was grounded in a Confucian world view, wherein human bodies were a microcosm of the macrocosmic universe, subject to the same macro-level rules.[51]

It is not known how many doctors from the West were among the international migrants in Yokohama in 1862. Some Western powers, including Britain, France, and the United States, had military in the port—these troops no doubt including practising physicians. At least six civilian doctors from Europe or the United States lived in the treaty port in 1862.[52] Among these physicians, besides Duane Simmons and William Willis, was James Hepburn, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, who practised in Japan for more than 30 years.[53] Science, during the nineteenth century, became increasingly important in Western medicine. However, this development was not straightforward and took place in a general context of impinging limitations. As late as the 1890s, in Europe, for example, hospital care outside major metropolitan areas was spotty.[54] Francis Hall was friends with James Hepburn. Through his diary, which comments on Dr Hepburn, Hall provides a window on the comparative limits and perceived value of Western medicine in the treaty port setting. Hall wrote, in 1860, about Hepburn trying to fix a shoulder dislocation by hitching the injured arm to a watch tackle on board a ship.[55] Hall wrote, in March 1861, Hepburn reported receiving increasing numbers of Japanese patients.[56] This situation was to soon change, with the Japanese government ordering Hepburn to stop practising among Japanese. "Dr. Hepburn's reputation spread in almost no time …. lots of patients came …. He was … diagnosing one hundred to two hundred patients a day, but …. in September the clinic was closed."[57]

Fourth, and most important, there is the matter of how those in Yokohama—Japanese and international migrants—acted in engaging the

1862 cholera epidemic. The surviving sources indicate that notions of other impaired, from the point of view of medical conditions, the actions taken. Particularistic interests superseded public health. The communication, mentioned above, that the Japanese government had had with the US minister, to illustrate, stated Japan's clear position in relation to the threat posed by cholera in China: "[W]e desire … you … communicate to the American Consuls at the several [treaty] ports, … they … prohibit … ship[s] coming from China … not having a health certificate from anchoring …, as the entire population might otherwise suffer from the said disease."[58] The minister's response, however, was less than fully supportive. The minister instructed the US consul in Yokohama as follows about the matter:

> Enclosed I send … translation of a letter … requiring vessels from China to produce a clear bill of health before coming to anchor in … Japan. I presume this is intended to apply to vessels, which shall leave China, after having received notice of this requirement. Meanwhile should any American vessel arrive and any opposition be made to her anchoring for want of such certificate you will direct a competent medical man to board her and if he shall certify … there is no cholera or infectious disease on board you will authorize the captain to anchor his vessel.[59]

(At the beginning of October, the US consul in Yokohama wrote to the US Secretary of State: "[S]anitary regulations are the same … they … have been to all bottoms except … to vessels coming from … China, which … having cholera or infectious disease on board are required to anchor below until a health certificate is produced from a resident physician here."[60]) Simmons assessed the medical resources Japan could marshal against the outbreak this way: "The visitation of 1861-62 found this country in much the position of all others of the Orient … regards … means for staying … epidemic ravages. The result was an immense destruction of life, of which only the vaguest account exists."[61] One international migrant wrote: "Japanese have tried to make out that [cholera] … was imported into this country by foreigners."[62] Apparently, the effort of Simmons, other medical practitioners, and other involved parties to try to help those in need was framed by the minimal commitment to a commonweal in Yokohama in 1862.[63] The outbreak, as Simmons wrote, was eventually curtailed, but not by human intervention. Rather, cholera, in the doctor's words, "exhausted itself."[64]

Indeed, ironically and tragically, neither Western nor Chinese medicine could do much against cholera in 1862. Simmons observed that, as late as 1879, Western medicine in the treaty port could not produce much lower mortality rates for cholera than traditional Japanese medical practices could.[65] Cultural production stood little chance against the disease at the time. Humans had no answer to the illness. Infection and death in Yokohama, in relation to cholera, in 1862, were largely experienced within the sharply drawn—and defended—boundaries of one's endogenous group.

The 1877 Cholera Outbreak

In September 1877, cholera erupted in Yokohama. On 15 September, a local newspaper wrote about "alarm … to the possible introduction of cholera."[66] The disease had broken out in China, and it was feared it would spread to Japan.[67] On 22 September, the newspaper reported: "The principle topic of the week has … been … outbreak of cholera among the … population of [the port]."[68] The American scientist Edward Morse, who was in Japan at the time, communicated to a periodical in the United States, "[A]s I am mailing this, … alarming news comes … cholera has made its appearance in Yokohama in the most emphatic manner."[69] On the 18th, up to 800 Japanese, according to a local Japanese newspaper, went to a Yokohama hospital, fearing they had cholera symptoms.[70] In late September, the prefectural government announced that those who died from cholera should not be taken to a temple but brought directly to a special burial area in Yokohama.[71] Through 9 November, there were 11,675 known cases of the disease nationally, with 6297 deaths.[72] On 8 December, the British Navy reported to the home government, "[C]holera still prevails at several … treaty ports, and is especially bad at Yokohama."[73] According to Japanese government records, in and around Yokohama, no new cases of cholera were reported after 16 December. The records state: "During the … epidemic, 719 persons were attacked within the port … 324 were cured … 395 died [death rate: 6.8 people per 1000]."[74]

The destructiveness and lengthy presence of cholera notwithstanding, response in Yokohama seems to have largely mirrored that evinced in relation to the 1862 outbreak. Particularistic differences dominated, not unified community action. As in 1862, extraterritoriality in relation to international maritime practices and disease epidemics became a point of

contention. In 1873, Japan took steps to have the various national powers in the treaty ports agree to follow maritime quarantines to prevent disease being imported from overseas, and thought it had achieved a consensus.[75] However, in 1877, Japan tried to implement such a quarantine for cholera in China, but the British minister to Japan was unsupportive, which led to the measure not being put into effect. Japanese government records state: "[A] telegram from … the Governor of Hongkong, … in reply to the inquiry of … the British Minister at Tokio, says, … there seems to be no fear of … further spread of the disease at Amoy."[76] Stuart Eldridge later reported to the US government, "[D]uring 1878, also a cholera year, [Japan] attempted to inaugurate precautions against the introduction … spread of epidemic disease. Strange as it may now seem, the efforts of the Japanese Government for … protection of its people were met by stringent, and for a time successful, opposition on the part of … representatives of more than one … great European power."[77] Harald Fuess has recently characterised the attitude of the British minister towards preventing cholera entering Japan through implementing maritime quarantine in this manner: the least disruptive the measure to trade, the better.[78]

Western migrants looked out, mainly, for themselves. Their interests, in the unfolding circumstances, were largely represented by one entity, the Board of Health of Yokohama. The board apparently comprised 12 Western doctors (civilian and military). Japanese and Chinese physicians were not members. Western migrants distancing themselves from the emerging medical emergency is illustrated through a statement the board disseminated on 26 September about the emergent threat:

> [We] have no wish to alarm … people of Yokohama, on the contrary, it is [our] … opinion … however great an epidemic may exist among the native population, … conditions surrounding foreign residents are such … extension to foreigners generally is unlikely …. Measures have quietly been taken, under … the Board … which we believe have placed the foreign settlement of Yokohama in as fair sanitary conditions as … possible under the circumstances [Duane Simmons reported that, in total, 19 non-Japanese contracted cholera in the treaty port].[79]

Western migrants expected Japanese to act, on the whole, for themselves. On 22 September, a local Western newspaper editorialised: "[W]e … have to … unite … with … the Japanese authorities … to stamp [cholera] … out."[80] Individual cooperation occurred. Duane Simmons, a member of

the Board of Health (at least one periodical from the period identified Simmons as the head of the board), provided medical counsel to Japanese officials.[81] "Dr. Simmons, sanitary inspector for the Japanese government for … Yokohama, reports …. [n]o means [is] … yet instituted in Japan to prevent importation of the disease from China."[82] Emile Massais, a French physician, died during the epidemic, "[T]he result of exposure to infection voluntarily incurred in his devotion to the public welfare [with cholera being prevalent among Japanese, the death, it is likely, occurred through care provided to that group]."[83] However, Japanese organised, in the port, independent of Western assistance, their own medical response to the scourge. The government records report: "Local Authorities … exerted themselves … to prevent … progress of the disease …. Medical and Sanitary Officers … inspected every house, and took every care for … disinfection …. diligent efforts … have not only given a good result directly, but … also awakened … people to Sanitary matters in general, to which, before this year, they had never given any thought."[84]

Western migrant opinion of this autonomous effort was mixed. A local Western newspaper wrote, "Japanese authorities, in … promptitude, courtesy, … intelligence of … action, have … set an example … to be followed by the foreign community of Yokohama."[85] Another local Western newspaper praised Japanese for being "earnest and thorough in … prompt measures they have carried out" but called for further "labours … [to] bring about … sanitary reform that shall be … permanent."[86] One Western writer (likely Duane Simmons) observed: "[N]ative authorities have … taken alarm … to the … introduction of cholera, … it is … substantial progress … this alarm has caused … regulations which, while very defective … are yet, … in … proper spirit and calculated, if stringently enforced, to effect great good."[87] Erwin Baelz, a German physician who practised and taught medicine in Japan for more than 20 years, starting in the 1870s, wrote in his diary for 4 October 1877: "[B]ad news … cholera in Japan. Introduced from China, it broke out … in Yokohama, …. about twenty deaths daily, almost exclusively among the Japanese."[88] Baelz attributed limiting spread of the disease "not so much to the well-directed attempts of … doctors and … police to check … diffusion" but "to the fact … summer is … over and … nights are … cold."[89] One Western newspaper in the treaty port saw determination by the Japanese being mitigated—and humorously leavened—by what it portrayed as Japanese innocence towards the advancements of the West:

> [Japanese] officers … selected to inspect … dwellings are sometimes more zealous than learned. A day … ago a policeman and … doctor on their round of inspection … poured a strong solution of carbolic acid, with instructions that twice or thrice a day each [resident] … should apply it to his or her upper lip with a … sponge, so that … germs of the disease might be destroyed before being inhaled. This was faithfully done, but the present state of the upper lips of that household render it necessary that some other method of keeping off the complaint should be adopted.[90]

A local Western newspaper wrote: "[A]ny one who has been in the East … knows how,—from … manner of living, … the food they eat, … filthy habits,—the lower order of natives court the disease."[91] Simmons forwarded his remarks that no means had yet been instituted in Japan to prevent cholera from China entering the country to the US Marine-Hospital Service in Washington.

Japanese, in turn, found the migrants' response to the Japanese approach to the epidemic unsettling. One Japanese newspaper wrote positively about Dr Simmons helping to fight the epidemic. "At Juzen hospital all doctors were called … each was put in charge of a local district … all [doctors] … following Simmons."[92] But, another Japanese newspaper took umbrage with "[a] foreign writer [who had] … said 'The Japanese Government being despotic and the people … obedient … efforts to stamp out [cholera] … will probably be successful.'"[93] Also, the Japanese newspaper that commended Dr Simmons later reported that local Western businesses were raising prices on medicines used to combat the outbreak. "Japanese pharmacists went to buy medicine for cholera from the foreign area's apothecaries … the Japanese tried to buy at a low price but the foreigners … wanted to sell at a high price."[94] Japanese were generally, indeed, not happy with the Western migrant response to the epidemic. The government records observed about the matter of quarantine and the role that had been played by the British government, "[I]t remains … an open question, whether … the seven thousand eight hundred persons, who died of cholera [nationally] in 1877, might not have been saved, if … medical inspection had been adopted at the open ports … when there had not yet been one case of cholera reported in our country."[95]

The communication, on 8 December, from the British Navy to the home government remarked: "[F]ortunately no cases have occurred in Her Majesty's Ships stationed at" Yokohama.[96]

No across-group consensus emerged, in the treaty port, in 1877, to combat the cholera threat.

The 1879 Cholera Outbreak

On 29 October 1879, Drs Nagashima, Isogai, Matsuzaka, and Geerts reported: "[N]o effective means of preventing cholera … can be taken, unless the foregoing conclusions are … followed by … practical execution."[97] This collaborative communication provides a window on local response to cholera in 1879. Perhaps for the first time in the treaty port's history, public health, in the eyes of many, if not the majority, stood above particularistic group interest. The emergence of this new consciousness—and attendant behaviour—is the focus of this section. What engendered the new consciousness? How was the new attitude manifested in Yokohama? Who supported the new thinking? Who did not?

Groups, reassessing their position in relation to cholera and realigning themselves in the local fabric of life, were at the heart of the treaty port's response in 1879. A number of individuals, from disparate groups, coalesced and mobilised to fight cholera. At the centre of these individuals' efforts was an ad hoc organisation they created: the Yokohama Local Board of Health. Minutes of the board's meetings, while not complete, have survived. These records provide insight into the publicly shared thinking of main actors involved in the local response to the medical emergency (the minutes were published in treaty port newspapers). How reliable are the minutes? Like any primary document, the minutes need to be used with care. Internal evidence indicates, however, that the board members wanted the historical record to be accurate. After an apparent, and inaccurate, "leak" from the board appeared in two local newspapers, the board voted to create "a committee of redaction, which … [would] prepare … minutes of each meeting, which … after being adopted by the Board … [would] be sent to … newspapers in an official way."[98] Board minutes were to present what the members took to be a truthful accounting of the words said at the meetings.

Approached in the above light, the board—the members, their actions, and their words—is a rich resource for understanding the newly emergent local response in 1879. Matters illuminated by the board meeting minutes include the following. First, the minutes make clear who was on the board and who was not. Board members were medical practitioners and government officials and administrators. The officials and administrators were Japanese. Nomura Yasushi, the governor of Kanagawa, was board chair.[99] The medical practitioners included physicians, other health care workers, and scientific researchers. The practitioners were Japanese and interna-

tional (Western) migrants. Conspicuously absent from the board were two groups: local officials (i.e., consuls, ministers) of the signatory powers that had entered into treaties with Japan and Chinese (migrant) physicians. While the number of board members increased over time, the original board had 17 members.[100]

Second, the minutes make clear why the board was formed. "The object …," it was stipulated at the board's first meeting (11 August), "is to take … measures against the further spread of the epidemic disease … in this *ken* [prefecture] … [and] to superintend … the nursing of … sick at … hospitals."[101] Cholera was first reported in Kanagawa no later than June, having first appeared in southern Japan and then spreading north.[102] By the end of the outbreak in the prefecture, in November, known cases numbered 2120 and deaths, 1498.[103] The threat posed by the epidemic was, unquestionably, immense. While nearly 8000 had died nationwide in the epidemic of 1877, 105,786 individuals, across the nation, were to succumb to cholera in the 1879 outbreak.[104] In Yokohama, Japanese, it appears, as in past epidemics, were the main victims. In his annual report for 1879, the surgeon general of the US Navy wrote: "Although … vessels on the Asiatic station frequented ports of China and Japan where cholera was prevailing …, but one case occurred, which recovered" [Duane Simmons wrote: the international population in Yokohama "suffered but little"].[105]

Third, the minutes give a sense of interaction among the board members. International migrants on the board included Drs Geerts (Dutch), Gütschow (German), Simmons, and Wheeler (British). How did Japanese and international migrant board members get along? What were relations among the international migrant members, given their disparate antecedents? As suggested in the case of publishing board minutes, board policy was to reach decisions through voting. The history of the votes illumines personal interaction among the board members. Unanimous tallies were common. In no votes, it seems, were the results split along Japanese–migrant lines. More particularly, proposals were "seconded" before votes. Japanese commonly seconded proposals tabled by international migrants and vice versa. Also, based on the minutes' text, national interest did not divide international migrant board members. Discussion pre-voting does not reveal national rivalries at play. Discussion among the board members, although sanitised text cannot be ruled out, appears to have been more collegial than "contested-colonial." On 10 September, for example, Dr Geerts observed: "[T]he foreign cemetery in Yokohama … is badly situated from

a sanitary point of view …. Drs. Miyajima, Wheeler, Gütschow and others were also of [that] opinion …. After … discussion, Dr. Gütschow proposed and all … members agreed … the Board does not consider the mode adopted in burying the last cholera corpse in the foreign cemetery … proper."[106] Evidence of authenticity in the minutes is suggested by the following exchange among board members, which occurred on 17 September:

> Dr. Simmons objected to … inspection being … house to house visitation …. The [chair] … remarked … it had been decided by the Board … house to house visitation should be made …. He felt … astonished … Dr. Simmons now came forward … to cancel a recent resolution of the Board. He pointed out the absurdity of such a proceeding and should not wish to bring as … [chair] such a proposal forward to … vote. Dr. Wheeler and … other members maintained … the original plan must be carried out, this was resolved upon accordingly.[107]

Fourth, the minutes point to how the board engaged, in the prevailing exigent conditions, three important groups in the treaty port not represented on the board: resident authorities from the signatory treaty powers, the general international migrant population, and ordinary Japanese. As board interaction with treaty power authorities was intertwined with the board's actions in relation to the general international migrant population, the two concerns will be discussed together. Board relations with treaty power authorities were mixed. As with past cholera epidemics, the locus of contention was extraterritoriality. The authorities championed their legal right to independent national action in the treaty port. The board focused on deadly infectious disease overriding the question of diplomat rights and legal jurisdiction. Several flashpoints between the two parties emerged.

One issue reprised the tension in 1862 and 1877 between extraterritoriality and maritime quarantine in the face of an outbreak of virulent disease. Japan wanted to implement a quarantine, but the foreign powers did not unanimously support the policy. Surviving sources indicate that Britain, France, and Germany supported Japanese-initiated quarantine only if the measure was first approved by the treaty signatory powers, Italy, Russia, and the United States, in contrast to accepting, outright, the quarantine.[108] The *New York Times* editorialised: "[T]he Imperial Government orders … strict quarantine for … protection of its principal seaport. The British Minister claims ex-territorial jurisdiction for British

ships, and says … British men-of-war will protect British vessels in breaking the blockade: Is it any wonder … a civilized Government, like that of Japan, is restive under treaty obligations which are cited to justify such arrogance as this?"[109] An Australian newspaper reported: "The German quarrel with Japan is said to be getting more serious. A German steamer was recently authorised by the German Envoy … to break the cholera blockade at Yokohama."[110] In 1880, when the Japanese government declared a quarantine against importing from China cattle infected with plague, the American minister wrote to the US State Department: "It has been privately stated to me … the representatives of … European powers accepted the situation …. It would seem from this … judgement … lives of cattle are of more value than … lives of human beings in Japan."[111]

Another concern for the signatory treaty powers, in relation to the 1879 cholera epidemic and extraterritoriality, was the rights of their nationals within the geographic boundary of the treaty port. Did the Japanese, through the operations of the Yokohama Local Board of Health or by some other means, have the legal right to promulgate public health policy in the treaty port? Did the international migrants, on the ground, need to obey Japanese health law? At least two local consuls took actions which brought these questions to the fore. In September, when a Briton died, from cholera, in the port, his burial became a point of concern between the board and the local British consul. A report to the board "shewed … burial was not in accordance with … rules followed in … burial of Japanese cholera-patients."[112] Also, in September, with regard to the house-to-house visitation mentioned above, which the board planned for the whole treaty port, a letter sent to local consuls requesting their cooperation with the work "received an answer … stating … all Consuls … with … exception of the Chinese Consul … approved … the measure."[113]

International migrants, within the borders of the treaty port (migrants could freely travel up to some 28 kilometres beyond the treaty port limits without obtaining a "passport" from Japanese authorities), did not need to follow Japanese public health law. Extraterritoriality bestowed exemption. As Dr Gütschow stated, in August: "[F]oreigners cannot be forced to receive a medical member of this Board into their houses."[114] Local consuls, as a body, may have expected their respective nationals to cooperate with Japanese, in particular the measures of the board of health. But, for at least one matter, such cooperation may have fallen short of expectations. Carbolic acid was a main disinfectant used in the treaty port to

address cholera. In the 1877 epidemic, a local Western newspaper wrote: "[I]mmense expenditure of … carbolic acid … [makes] the whole air of the settlement … redolent."[115] The marketplace, however, did not do a good job in making the disinfectant available for public health in a timely and affordable manner. Samuel Cocking, a local Western merchant, may have made, it appears, his stock of carbolic acid free to the community.[116] But profit seems to have been primary to many, if not most, of his competitors. Simmons wrote about the marketing of carbolic acid in Yokohama in relation to the cholera outbreak in 1879, "As this article is only obtained from Europe and America, advantage was taken by speculators, … native and foreign, of … great demand for it, so … price … per pound ranged from $1 to as high as $10."[117] In June, a Japanese newspaper wrote: "The price of carbolic acid has greatly risen in Yokohama in consequence of … cholera in Kiushiu and Shikoku [locales south of the treaty port]."[118] On 12 August, the Yokohama Local Board of Health minutes state: "[C]arbolic acid is now very high … price at Yokohama, and … difficult to be got in … quantity, especially … crude carbolic acid as … used in Europe."[119] On 18 August, the minutes report: "Crude Carbolic Acid … is not procurable … in Yokohama. Crystallised Carbolic Acid is far too high in price … and will be only applied in the sick room."[120] A local Western newspaper wrote about the response of the marketplace to the 1877 epidemic, "[C]hemists, suddenly find … they have '*aerated anti-cholera water*!' and disinfectants for sale; our leading storekeeper informs us … he has *anti-cholera sherry and port*" [emphasis in original].[121] In the 1877 epidemic, during one two-week period, carbolic acid prices tripled.[122]

For another matter, in relation to international migrants and the 1879 cholera epidemic, expectations possibly proved to be strikingly, as well ironically, misguided. As mentioned earlier, Chinese migrants were not treated as equals by Western migrants. More narrowly, Western physicians, as has been noted, did not hold Chinese medical practice in high regard. The board of health was surprised, no doubt, and perhaps chagrined, moreover, to learn, as it did, the following about cholera dispersion in the treaty port. "The Chinese Consul [reported] … 'he had addressed his countrymen at this place to have cleanliness observed, and … proof of its efficiency was … there had been no cases of cholera amongst … Chinese …. there were Chinese sanitary laws, … the Chinese must obey.'"[123]

How did the Yokohama Local Board of Health engage ordinary Japanese? Attitudes can be described as compassionate and forward-looking, but also paternalistic. Again, "slanting" of the board minutes

cannot be put aside as a possibility, but the surviving written account indicates a pattern of caring and sensitivity by board members towards those within the Japanese general public with whom they interacted. As the working class and poor were the chief victims of cholera, board member empathy focused on these groups. On 11 August, for example, the board decided "not to enforce that people who can be … nursed … at … home … should go against their will to … lazarets …. [and that] … family … shall freely enter the sick room … as soon as the patient has died, or has been removed to the hospital, or has recovered, and as soon as … subsequent disinfection of the room … has been effected."[124] On 12 August, the board decided, in relation to measures it would take to improve hygiene in private homes, "to pay the value of … objects thus destroyed to the proprietors of the houses."[125] On 18 August, the board decided to supply disinfectants "gratuitously to those … too poor to buy them."[126]

The human concern demonstrated by board members was underscored by a professional outlook which prioritised informed medical action in relation to community future needs as well as the present emergency conditions. Expertise and systematic planning based on rational application of resources were prioritised. On 12 August, the board discussed "having special Japanese professional men added …, to act as practical hygienists, sanitary chemists, and disinfectors. After … discussion … it was decided to have … at least one professional Japanese sanitary chemist added … and … to nominate a committee … charged with carrying out disinfection in an efficient manner."[127] On 27 August, T. T. Ninomiya, the sanitary chemist who had been added to the board, reported on his findings at one nearby community, "[C]hemical and microscopical analysis had proved … wells of drinking water … to be … highly polluted …. wells had been … closed … three tons … of pure drinking water was now daily brought to the village."[128] On 22 October, "Mr. Mita, Engineer to the Kanagawa Kencho [government], communicated to the Board … details of his … drain-sewer-system for … the town …. Dr. Geerts suggested … Mr. Mita … work out his plan … estimate … cost of his water-carriage system, per house … per inhabitant, … afterward an estimate … be made of the tank-system, … to compare … cost of both."[129] On 29 October, Drs Nagashima, Isogai, Matsuzaka, and Geerts recommended that "better regulation of … sanitary officers is … necessary and … more well qualified men … nominated as local sanitary inspectors."[130]

The health board at times, however, was notably authoritarian in dealing with ordinary Japanese. Help was proffered paternalistically. Those of

lower social station—and "lesser" knowledge—were expected to follow medical commands. The board essentialised the modern in relation to, what it saw as, the retardant traditionalism of the Japanese populace. On 22 August, for example, the board had the following exchange. The chair:

> asked what should be done at Hodogaya? … a person had fallen sick in that village, … family, friends, … neighbours surrounded the house and the patient; they … invoked the gods by reciting Buddhist prayers, but obstinately refused to receive … foreign medical aid from … physicians in charge. They strongly objected to be treated at a lazaret. Can we force them to receive medical aid …. Dr. Wheeler observed … to ask two or three Buddhist priests there to convince … people … we … wish to help them, … it is not wise to refuse … medical aid …. Dr. Hiodo thought … the choice …: 1, … let everything go as … is; … 2, … force people to be treated … in the hospital …. The Chinese doctors of the village also would not co-operate with our measures …. Dr. Gütschow remarked … it was … a … bad situation. In the case of compulsory measures, all … lighter cases would not be seen …. On the other side, such measures might cause a revolt amongst … people. After … discussion … it was decided not to use compulsory measures, but to try once more to tranquilise and convince … people, with the aid of … respectable citizens of the village.[131]

On 25 August, Drs Wheeler, Shima, and Hiodo reported about another village: "[P]eople … are poor, … ignorant … careless, and did not take … care for … disinfection …. a committee … should go at once … to warn and advise … people to observe cleanliness."[132] On 17 September, the chair stated: "[I]n several villages … ground is … low and swampy, it had been recommended to burn … cholera corpses, instead of burying them. As … people there are not accustomed to … cremation, they objected on religious grounds against … burning … the dead, … coolies even refusing … to bring wood to the cremation place. After Mr. Kawano … had gone …, for … explaining … to the villagers, and … a suitable place had been found … for burial or burning … people became satisfied and quiet."[133]

Domineering towards the general populace, the board could be equally superior with its Japanese support staff. On 17 September, in discussing the performance of the staff, Dr Geerts commented, "He did not wish … to treat the officers of the local Sanitary Bureau as children, but as he had found … much dirt and filth in … many places he could not testify to the efficacy of [their] … measures" [at the same board meeting, Duane Simmons used similar language in describing Japanese sanitary officers].[134]

Station, indeed, seems to have factored largely in the world view of the health board. On 1 September, Dr Geerts submitted, to the board, plans for new cremation furnaces: "[F]urnaces proposed were: … Furnace of brick and iron in which five coffins could be burnt at the same time …. Flame furnace for one person only, to be used by … better classes …. Shaft-furnace for one person only, to be used for the middle class …. It was resolved … erection of three furnaces should be commenced, after the Kenrei [the prefecture governor] had received … consent of … priests and … cost was accurately ascertained."[135] In death—as in life—rank mattered.

The 1886 Cholera Outbreak

In 1886, cholera, once again, struck the treaty port. In July, the American minister to Japan wrote to the US Secretary of State, "Cholera … exists in … epidemic form at … Yokohama …. The epidemic has, it is feared, only begun its terrible harvest of death."[136] Known cases eventually numbered 3087, deaths, 2199 (death rate: 20 people per 1000).[137] Japanese, as was usual, were main victims: "[S]trange to say … foreign residents …. enjoyed virtual immunity. From some unexplained cause the plague passes by their doors without entering."[138] Response to cholera, in 1886, in the treaty port, was akin to that manifested in 1879.

On the one hand, vexed matters from the past persisted, including the issue of extraterritoriality. Japan, as it had before, called for maritime quarantine. The United States, for example, supported the measure, but at the same time, the US minister wrote as follows to the Secretary of State:

> The petroleum trade is carried … by vessels going … from … Atlantic ports to Yokohama … and if the germs of the disease can be transported in clothing blankets, or otherwise then from that quarter danger may be apprehended. Of course, I know … Commerce, in … lust for gain, as a general proposition opposes all quarantine restrictions till the last hour, and often too late to prevent … fearful sacrifice of human life by timely and righteous (though comparatively insignificant) sacrifices of Trade, in establishing quarantine at our American sea ports trading with the East.[139]

On the other hand, the seeds of cooperation laid down to meet the medical emergency seven years prior had taken root and were there to be availed of. In 1886, to combat the cholera outbreak, Western doctors in

Yokohama, the records of the Japanese national government indicate, allied with Japanese physicians and officials. The records note: the emergency "regulations in the ground assigned for … residence of foreigners had been, heretofore, carried out by Dr. Wheeler, an Englishman, and Dr. Eldridge, an American; but the disease becoming severer, on … 6th [August] Dr. van der Heyden, a Dutch physician, was … requested to engage in the work."[140] The records also observe: in June, "Dr. Eldridge … a member of the Central Board of Health, reported to the Director of the Sanitary Bureau … diarrhea [had] … appeared in [the] … port … among Japanese and foreigners."[141] However, a shift in power and responsibility in relation to public health in the treaty port had apparently occurred, resulting, in 1886, in Japanese largely taking emergency medical measures on their own, with the authorised action to deal with cholera being led by the governor of Kanagawa (Oki Morikata).

On 14 December, with the epidemic at an end, international migrants in Yokohama called for a public ceremony to thank the governor and his staff for their work. A spokesman for the migrants said, at the event, that members of the port's international

> community … thought … to mark … the way … Mr. Oki and his officers had carried out their duties …, and … wished to show … they had not been unmindful of those efforts. Exposed as this community had … been, both Japanese and foreigners, to … common danger, they had seen with … gratification the very active … steps … taken for … preservation of … public health …. He hoped … Mr. Oki and his officers would accept the address as an indication of … good feeling … which existed between them and the foreign … community. Some … had been under the impression … they could not work together, but … spontaneous presentation of this address showed … foreigners were at all times ready to recognise … regulations … based on reason …, and … to the benefit of the general community …. looking at … [national] mortality returns …, upwards of 150,000 persons have been attacked by cholera … this last visitation, … of these upwards of 100,000 fell victims to the disease …. they knew … the efforts his Excellency had made, with the assistance of competent medical advisers, to deal with cholera had been largely successful in abating the disease, yet it must be manifest, when attention was given to the widespread nature of the disease in these islands, that, after all, the sanitary precautions … taken had been inadequate to arrest its progress where circumstances were favourable … it behoved this as well as other communities not to rely upon precautions taken on the spur of the moment with a view to checking the epidemic, but

> to pay attention to … general regulations which … promote … public health, and … provide the best possible obstacle to its spread and propagation …. we know … to most public officers … consciousness of having done their duty … is … enough,—yet we feel it … incumbent on ourselves, who have participated in … comparative immunity … residents of all nationalities have in consequence reaped, to congratulate you and your officers on the success … attended your conjoint exertions.[142]

Governor Oki responded: "[W]ith … utmost pleasure … I receive … this address, in which you and a large number of … foreign residents at this port are good enough to recognize in very flattering terms the efforts of myself and … health officials to check … cholera … which broke out early this summer …. I am very grateful for your appreciation of the public works undertaken for the benefit of the town."[143] The governor closed with these words: "I beg to say in conclusion, … the honour you have conferred on me is especially valued in view of the fact that it is the first instance of a similar recognition being offered to a Governor of this Prefecture by the foreign community since the port was opened to trade, now many years ago."[144] "[T]he health of His Excellency and his officials was then pledged in a glass of wine, after which the company separated."[145]

Noblesse oblige was publicly pronounced. The sentiment was politely but bluntly rejected. Life, as it had largely been in the treaty port, apparently went on.

Conclusion

Cholera, in the Yokohama Treaty Port, created, over time, it appears, a kind of circumscribed cooperation, a serviceable civility, not an encompassing sense of community. International migrants and Japanese came to ally themselves to fight a common enemy. Cholera redistributed power in the treaty port. It also reformulated group identity. Medical practitioners (Western oriented), Japanese authorities, and, as evidence indicates, social-welfare-minded business owners came together to meet public need (during the 1879 epidemic, "Messrs. Favre-Brand … [local Swiss merchants specialising in timepieces] presented … three bottles of paracotoine for trial at the cholera hospital"[146]). But the fundamental quasi-colonial nature of everyday life and relations apparently changed little. Cholera, it is clear, produced public intergroup bonds, which, in some instances, it is fair to

speculate, may have led to respectful social relations between Japanese and the international migrants. But the shared experience of cholera in the treaty port did not lead to deep rethinking about the nature of contact with those outside one's group.

Cholera, in the nineteenth century, it has been recently argued, raised the question of accountability of states to their populations.[147] In an imperial setting, were citizens, indigenes, subjects, and international migrants to be treated equally by the governing power(s)? Having the status of "mattering," in the eyes of the governing power(s), indeed, was the central point of contention (and competition) in the Yokohama Treaty Port. Contesting to matter "more"—if not most—was a dynamic that endured in and vexed the fabric of local daily life. From this point of view, the extraordinary, as manifested in the form of cholera epidemics, restructured and transfigured the everyday in Yokohama. It did not re-characterise it.

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PART III

Law and Land

CHAPTER 7

Extraterritoriality and the Rule of Law in the Treaty Ports: The Malay Murder Trials of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan

Gonzalo Villalta Puig

Introduction

Extraterritoriality is a legal principle that exempts the parties to which it applies from the jurisdiction of the local law.[1] It is tantamount to "legal Imperialism".[2] The collective imagination often associates it with life in the treaty ports of China and Japan.[3] This chapter discusses the application of extraterritoriality in the ports that Britain maintained in China and Japan under the *unequal* treaties that it had imposed by gunboat on the regimes of the Qing and Tokugawa.[4] It does not, however, examine the full period of extraterritoriality, nor does it examine the experience of the United States and the other treaty powers, for the production of a complete legal history is not its purpose. This chapter only examines the early history of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan and its resolution of the first and second murder trials that it ever decided—

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_7

the Malay murder trials—both of which involved non-Western victims and non-Western perpetrators. This chapter argues that extraterritoriality brought the rule of law and, with it, justness, if not always justice: generality, certainty and equality of treatment for the Chinese as much as for the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty from all the Crown colonies in the treaty ports. It is in this celebration of the rule of law and the condemnation of the rule of man that the chapter finds its true purpose. It does so in close reliance of the treaties and select cases as primary materials.

Origins of Extraterritoriality

Opium Wars

The story of extraterritoriality is well known, as is its history. The British Empire of the early nineteenth century was relentlessly on the lookout for new markets. Britain was a seafaring nation, first, but a mercantile nation, second. The British Empire was the empire of free, if not always fair, trade. At the time, Britain had a trade imbalance with China. China sold silk, tea and, of course, china in insatiably great quantities to Britain, while Britain sat back, unable to crack open the China market. Lord Macartney and his embassy to the Qianlong Emperor failed in utter embarrassment: "there is … no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians". Later embassies also failed until, that is, Britain discovered its true jewel of the crown, not India but Indian opium, with which it flooded the Chinese market to hook its customer base, the largest in the world now and then. The Chinese authorities, fearful of the health and welfare crisis brought on by the opium epidemic, sought to block the trade with Britain. Britain responded to the blockade with gunboats and, with gunboats … war. The gunboats won the war—the First Opium War—for Britain. And the price that the Chinese paid for peace was dear, very dear, for it was the perpetual cession of island of Hong Kong and extraterritoriality under the Treaty of Nanking of 29 August 1842.

Treaty of Nanking

The Treaty of Nanking was, in name, a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, further to Article I:

> There shall henceforward be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

Yet, peace and friendship were not the true objects of the agreement. Extraterritoriality was.[5] And it came a year later, under the supplementary Treaty of the Bogue of 8 October 1843[6] and under cover as the General Regulations, "under which the British Trade is to be conducted at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai".

Clause XIII on "disputes between British Subjects and Chinese" brought the all-important principle into force:

> Whenever a British subject has reason to complain of a Chinese, he must first proceed to the Consulate and state his grievance; the Consul will thereupon inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, he shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If an English merchant have occasion to address the Chinese authorities, he shall send such address through the Consul, who will see that the language is becoming; and, if otherwise, will direct it to be changed, or will refuse to convey the address. If, unfortunately, any disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of a Chinese officer, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably. Regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force; and, regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws, in the way provided for by the correspondence which took place at Nanking after the concluding of the peace.

Importantly, Article IX extended the principle to all British subjects, including "any Soldier or Sailor or other person,—whatever his Caste or Country,—who is a Subject of the Crown of England". Extraterritoriality and the scope of the principle were the very issue in question in the first murder case that came before the British Supreme Court for China and Japan (the Supreme Court). This court, established on 4 September 1865 in Shanghai, enforced extraterritoriality in the treaty ports and brought with its enforcement the rule of law to all subjects of the Crown in the treaty ports and, in their relations with the locals, to the Chinese also.[7]

A Note on Methodology

This chapter does not review the literature on the topic. It only surveys two select cases as a study into law as material culture in the treaty ports of China and Japan. It is helpful to observe that the legal scholar in the common law tradition regularly studies the cases as a source of precedent, binding precedent. Under the doctrine of *stare decisis*, a past decision should guide the decision of a new but factually similar case in the interest of consistency and, in turn, certainty in the law. It is not further to that doctrine that this chapter relies on case study methodology. The doctrine, nevertheless, informs it. This chapter parts from the premise that a case records so much more than the resolution of a conflict. It records history, the story of the parties and their conflict, their facts and circumstances. Yes, a case records history. It also records culture, material culture. Because the written word of the judge is in material form and because the written word of the judge is the articulation of the values of the state, a case is indeed a record of material culture. And the two Malay murder cases here document the efforts on the part of the judiciary as an arm of government to legitimise the otherwise illegitimate state structure in a foreign territory and culture. The British in Shanghai and the other treaty ports of China and Japan were few in number and so could not impose their will or rule, not physically at least. They were, however, anxious to secure their power, not in hard ways, as they could not, but in soft ways. And the British found a source of almost endless soft power in its judiciary, in its legal system and in the cornerstone of that edifice, namely the rule of law. The rule of law through its respect for legal equality gave the British establishment, however weak, a veneer of moral legitimacy. After all, the native, the local, the domestic legal system of China and Japan could and did not provide for the rule of law. It was only many years later[8] with the Charter Oath of the Meiji restoration in Japan and the foundation of the Republic of China that the "just Laws of Nature" replaced the "[e]vil customs of the past".[9] The Japanese were always more defiant of extraterritoriality than the Chinese, since the Qing dynasty had the perception that, as Manchu, they too were a foreign regime in China.[10] Until then, the treaty ports were realms of legal equality for the benefit of all in them, subject, that is, to the limitations of extraterritoriality. Despite the limitations, the treaty ports under the rule of law were a humanist utopia of justice relative to the brutality and inhumanity of the outside. It was through this value—the rule of law over the rule of man—that the British

and other treaty powers could effectively engage their subjects in the treaty ports into a perception of legitimacy. The irony lies in the contradictory nature of this perception, as extraterritoriality would, by default, signify the violation of the inalienable entitlement to territorial sovereignty of the Chinese and Japanese nations, which, only under duress, had agreed to their entry into the *unequal* treaties.[11]

Murder in Shanghai and the British Supreme Court for China and Japan: Case Studies of Extraterritoriality in the Treaty Ports

The case law of the Supreme Court documents the exemplary efforts of Sir Edmund Hornby, its first Chief Justice, to deliver justice to all in the treaty ports. The files of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan are in the National Archives. Easily enough, the majority of cases were reported, often with transcripts, in *The North-China Herald*, the English-language Shanghai weekly newspaper of the treaty port century. And it is indeed on the reports of this periodical that this chapter relies for its two case studies: *R v. Mohammed* and *R v. Ketchil*, both murder cases. A murder case as a case study is always illustrative, as it is the most solemn representation of the legal and judicial systems in action—the state versus the citizen or the community monopoly of violence in exchange for individual liberty under the social contract—and an ideal opportunity to test the rule of law. And the law did certainly rule over the treaty ports.

In a true exercise of justice, the two cases illustrate the application of extraterritoriality and the rule of law, including the right to trial by jury, to parties who would have been very much outsiders in the treaty ports: the Chinese, on the one side, and, on the other side, those on the real and imagined periphery of the British Empire, in this case, the Malays of George Town (Prince of Wales Island, British Malaya) either in transit through or resident in the treaty ports.

R v. Mohammed

The first of the two cases that are the subject of this chapter and the first murder case to ever come before the Supreme Court is *R v. Mohammed*, held on 17 November 1865 and reported by *The North-China Herald* only a day later, on 18 November 1865.[12] In this case, a Malay sailor

(Mohammed) murdered his (also Malay) wife (Leemah) in a patriarchal rage provoked by jealousy, gambling, prostitution and addiction to opium and alcohol. The facts say much about the many levels of exploitation and misery that were common in the underlife of Shanghai and other treaty ports.[13] It is, though, the statement of Chief Justice Hornby to the jury that is the subject of study here:

> In all cases of homicide the responsibility of a jury is of the most painful nature because on the verdict depends the life of a fellow-creature. Still there is a duty which society demands, and an obligation enforced by the oath taken to weight the evidence impartially. I premise these remarks more specially as this is the first case of murder brought before the Court.
>
> The position of the prisoner at the bar is most dreadful, standing as he does between life and death, accused of the most heinous crime whereof the Law takes cognisance. It is necessary to go back a little and consider that on the 21st October, in an upper room in a house in Bamboo Street, there was a living woman. That woman is now dead, and it is for you (the Jury) to decide by whose hand she died, who inflicted those mortal wounds, and took upon himself to hurry her into the presence of her Maker utterly unprepared. I ask you to consider these points carefully in order that you may recollect that your sympathies ought not exclusively to run in favor or the person before you. There was another being whom you have not seen for whom the same consideration is due, and therefore you must not allow your feelings to clash with the duty imposed on you.
>
> … Provocation may in some cases convert homicide into justifiable or excusable homicide, but of there be no sufficient provocation, homicide is murder. This then is the English law on the subject, and you must apply the law so laid down to the circumstances.
>
> … You possess, however, another right of which I would remind you. It is quite competent for you to recommend the prisoner to mercy. I do not advise you to do so, for society should not be exposed to the consequences of a man losing his temper and surrendering himself to the dominion of his passions, until he is so overcome as to lose all power of regulating his actions, and satisfies the ferocity of his nature by rushing on his wife and destroying her. The evidence proves conclusively that the wounds were inflicted with the greatest violence, and under the influence of ungovernable rage.
>
> I do not wish to sum up against the prisoner, but the duty of a Judge is most serious. He lays the law of the case before the jury, but it is for the latter to decide on the facts. If in your opinion the prisoner is guilty of murder, your verdict must be to that effect, but if on the contrary you think the provocation sufficient to convert murder into manslaughter, it will be your duty to bring in a verdict of that nature.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty. The Chief Justice passed the sentence of death with a recommendation of mercy to the Consul, since this was the first case of the kind brought before the Supreme Court.

R v. Ketchil

The second case that is the subject of this chapter is *R v. Ketchil*. It came before the Supreme Court on 17 May 1870 and *The North-China Herald* reported it soon afterwards on 28 May 1870. Like *Mohammed*, *Ketchil* was a murder case.[14] It similarly involved a Malay sailor with the difference that, in this case, the victim was a Chinese prostitute who he had brought to Shanghai from Hong Kong. The judgement was delivered again by Chief Justice Hornby, on 19 May 1870. His address from the bench to the friends and associates of the accused who had gathered in the courtroom and, through them, the entire Malay community of Shanghai was a most lucid restatement of the rule of law. In his address, the Chief Justice called for justness for all in the treaty ports and celebrated the principle of equality of treatment for the Chinese as much as for the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty from all the Crown colonies in the treaty ports. His words were a most perfect invocation of extraterritoriality under the treaties, which, ironically, albeit diplomatically unequal, brought legal equality:

> I have called you together to explain the fearful risk that Ketchil, a native of Penang, and a countryman of your own, stood in yesterday.
>
> You must not imagine, because the Jury took a most merciful view of his case, that crimes such as he committed will not be punished with the utmost vigour, even with death.
>
> Since I have been here, now nearly five years, you have behaved very well. This offence of Ketchil's is only the second serious crime that I have been called upon to punish. You have shown, yourselves, a respect for law, and I have every reason to be satisfied with you. I wish you to maintain this reputation.
>
> I wish the Malay race, here, to prove to the people, and to the authorities of other nations, that they are well-conducted and not unworthy subjects of their Queen; and that they are grateful to her for her protection, for she recognizes no difference between them and Englishmen.
>
> I wish you to warn your countrymen, not to imagine, because Ketchil has been treated with great mercy, that they may indulge in drink—be cruel and passionate, and commit crimes. Tell them to recollect that they are, here, in a foreign country, and that they must behave well to the native population.

> That, while Her Majesty protects them when wronged as her subjects, she is bound to punish them when they wrong others; and she will do so. And if she finds, in spite of warnings, they ill-treat and abuse the natives of China, or quarrel amongst themselves, and prove unruly subjects, that she may choose to withdraw her protection, and leave them to be dealt with by the local authorities. Tell them that it is the duty of men to protect women, and not ill-treat them, and that a man who illuses a woman is unfit to be considered as a man. Warn them that I am here to prevent crime, and to punish the guilty. This is the duty which your Queen and my Queen has sent me here to perform, and I will perform it. Tell your countrymen—especially the ignorant and the passionate—that I will not tolerate the use of the knife—that I will punish drunkenness severely, because it leads to crime; and that, if they, in their passion, in their anger, or in revenge shed blood, and death ensues, their lives shall surely pay the forfeit. I wish you to continue to be loyal and well-conducted subjects of our Queen, and to merit the protection that she extends over you all, equally, alike. I ask you the chief men amongst the Malays in China, to warn your countrymen—to tell them that I will report you as good subjects as long as I can do so, but if crime increases amongst you, you cannot, you must not believe that your Sovereign will look on without anger.

Mohammed and *Ketchil* document the impact that extraterritoriality had on life in the treaty ports of China and Japan. As case studies, their scope can only be narrow—the treaty port of Shanghai and the practice of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan—but wide enough to translate extraterritoriality from a concept of stolen sovereignty to a concept of human dignity as an extension of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Extraterritoriality, while unequal in origin (the *unequal* treaties), brought equality to its development (*equality* before and under the law). That is, extraterritoriality brought the rule of law, and through its governance, it brought legal equality for Britons and non-Britons alike, irrespective of caste and country.

The judiciary was the most effective instrument which the state of the informal empire had to legitimise its otherwise illegitimate presence in the treaty ports, because it allowed locals and non-locals to engage with the justice system. These judgements were a very real expression of material culture, not the culture of the ordinary inhabitants of the treaty port but the culture of the state at its most symbolic and solemn level. The words of the judge are the words of the state, words which materialise a culture: a culture desperate in its attempt to legitimise an illegitimate regime through notions of natural justice and mercantile pragmatism. The reality

is that the British in Shanghai and the other treaty ports did not have the majority of numbers. They may have had the gunboats, but they did not have the human resources to mechanise their rule. Their rule was, hardly, mechanic. It was, at best, informal—a kind of informal empire that struggled to legitimise its presence beyond the judiciary. The judiciary—the judges and courts, the British Supreme Court for China and Japan—was the most efficient and effective instrumentality available to the state, for it gave hope and, through hope, an opportunity for the subjects of that informal state to emotionally engage with it. It was the hope that comes with the rule of law, the principle, if not always the practice of equity and equality of legal treatment and redress. The informality of the British Empire in the treaty ports forced it to project its culture through just about the only channel that it had open, the judiciary. And it was a persuasive channel too, for it had powerful ideas and ideals behind it. The rule of law in exchange for extraterritoriality. And the rule of law for mercantile venture, because the rule of law allowed a sense of legal equality strong enough to foster civic hope through a legitimising engagement with the state that would bring the certainty and consistency necessary for trade.

Conclusion

In conclusion, *Mohammed* and *Ketchil* provide, together, a rare yet manifold insight into life in the treaty ports of China and Japan. First, the cases show that the treaty ports were not only a common home for Britons and other Westerners in cohabitation with their Chinese and Japanese hosts but also a space for the many peoples from the imperial periphery, including, of course, the Malays of George Town resident in or on visit to Shanghai. In other words, the treaty ports were more than a habitat for East and West. They were an environment for the formal and informal colonial world of empire, from Malaya to India. In that sense, the Supreme Court duly implemented the extraterritoriality treaty provisions. Secondly, the cases show that the rule of law did indeed rule over the treaty ports. The rule of law extended the principle of equality before the law to all in them. And the rule of law ruled over the rule of man, and it did so by virtue of extraterritoriality. This chapter, to conclude, is an acknowledgement of extraterritoriality, a sincere jurisprudential declaration of thanks and praise, for it brought justness and, often, justice to the treaty ports and, through them, a representation of the peoples of the world in the late nineteenth century: Britons and Chinese and Malays, all without exclusion and without prejudice.

Notes

1. T Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire, and China* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2.
2. Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism*, p. 13.
3. PK Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth-Century China and Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
4. Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment*, p. 4.
5. Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism*, p. 6.
6. Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment*, p. 51.
7. C Douglas, *Gunboat Justice (Volume I: White Man, White Law, White Gun (1842–1900))* (Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 2015), p. 32.
8. Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment*, p. 5.
9. The Charter Oath, 1868, Clause 4 (Emperor Meiji of Japan).
10. Cassel, *Grounds of Judgment*, 11; Douglas, *Gunboat Justice*, p. 28.
11. Douglas, *Gunboat Justice*, p. 30.
12. *R v. Mohammed*, accessed 1 August 2017, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/colonial_cases/less_developed/china_and_japan/1865_decisions/r_v_mohammed_1865/, Macquarie Law School: Colonial Case Law.
13. R Bickers and I Jackson, eds., *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).
14. *R v. Ketchil*, accessed 1 August 2017, http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/colonial_cases/less_developed/china_and_japan/1870_decisions/r_v_keechil_1870/, Macquarie Law School: Colonial Case Law.

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CHAPTER 8

"Rent-in-Perpetuity" System and Xiamen Title Deed: A Study of Sino-Anglo Land Transactions in China's Treaty Ports

Yu Chen

Introduction

The granting to foreigners the rights of dwelling and working in China's treaty ports was an unprecedented compromise that the Qing government made in the Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) on 29 August 1842. Before then, foreigners were confined in *Shisanhang* (十三行, the Thirteen Factories or the Thirteen *Hongs*) during the trading seasons under the Canton (Guangzhou) monopoly system. The Treaty of Nanking stipulated that superintendents, or Consular Officers, were appointed in each treaty port to act as "the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and their nationals."[1] However, there was no clear definition of the land and property rights to which foreign subjects would be entitled in China's treaty ports. Only after the supplementary Treaty of Hoo-mun Chae (Humen, Bogue) was signed on 8 October 1843 were foreigners officially entitled with the "right of leasing ground and houses" in the first five treaty ports.[2] It was the first time that foreigners' land and property rights were made legal in China.

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_8

Due to a lack of experience and precedents, Sino-foreign land transactions were conducted in various ways in these five treaty ports. In Guangzhou, most foreigners continued to stay in the Thirteen Factories through renting the factories from the hong merchants. After the eastern end of the Thirteen Factories was burnt down, the British managed to rent the site for a tenure of 25 years beginning on 21 November 1843.[3] The destruction of the Thirteen Factories in 1856 led to the British and French securing perpetual leases of the newly reclaimed *Shamian* (沙面, sand surface) as their concessions in 1862. For the British Concession, land was divided and subleased to their subjects through issuing 99-year crown deeds by the British consul.

In Shanghai, Kung Moo-Kew (宫慕久, Gong Mujiu), the *Daotai* (道台, Intendant of Circuit) of Soochow-foo (Suzhou Fu), together with the British consul Capitan George Balfour, worked out the first version of the Shanghai Land Regulations that was ratified on 29 November 1845. It stipulated the mode of acquiring land in the British Concession. First of all, Sino-foreign land transactions "must be deliberated upon and determined by the local authorities in communication with the Consul, both acting in conformity with the feelings of the local inhabitants."[4] Second, the foreign lessee was requested to increase the deposit money and to pay yearly rent at a fixed rate. Third, the foreign lessee could either cease the tenure or transfer the property at the original rate. Further, the Chinese lessor was not allowed to cease the contract or raise the rent. It is important to note that the first Shanghai Land Regulations aimed to ensure harmony between the parties involved and to avoid land speculation.[5]

To tackle these emerging problems with the Sino-foreign land transactions in the British Concession, the Shanghai Land Regulations were modified and released on 6 July 1854. The new version of the Regulations further specified the mode of foreigners' land acquisition, the ways of issuing and managing the title deed, and so on.[6] Sino-foreign land transactions must be, furthermore, certified by *Daotai* and registered with the respective Consulate (or Consular agency). In order to legalise Sino-foreign land transactions, title deeds were issued by *Daotai* to the foreign lessees. Hence the Shanghai title deed was known as *Daoqi* 道契 in Chinese and was officially used for Sino-foreign land transactions in Shanghai till 1930 when it was replaced with *Yongzu Qi* (永租契, perpetual lease) by the Republican government.[7]

In Xiamen, after the Qing government paid the indemnity in full, British troops evacuated from Gulangyu on 22 March 1845. Before then,

the British had already started to seek a permanent settlement in Xiamen. A few years of negotiation with local authorities led to the British practices of renting a "beach-ground" along the Inner Harbour on 9 February 1852. The initial tenure was 100 years and later changed to 99. The British proposed a six-clause Regulation on 29 February 1852 to reclaim and develop the site. The concession land was divided and subleased to the British subjects through issuing crown deeds by the British consul. Notably, the first three leases were issued on 1 January 1853.[8]

It is worth mentioning that at the state level, no regulation on foreigners' land acquisition existed until the Treaty of Tientsin (Tianjin) was signed on 26 June 1858. The Treaty's Article XII stated that foreigners "shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably, and without exaction on either side."[9] As it indicated, Sino-foreign land transactions were mostly driven by the market and decided by the involved parties. In Shanghai, the influx of a huge number of Chinese refugees during the Small Knife Riots stimulated land transactions in the foreign concessions. The Shanghai Land Regulations of 1854 had to address the fact of land speculation and the problem of how to administer the Chinese residents who lived in the foreign concessions.

With the booming of China's treaty ports, the tenure of Sino-foreign land transactions changed from short to long term. However, the idea of selling land to foreigners was unacceptable to the Chinese because of the traditional ideology that "all land under heaven belongs to the Emperor." On the other hand, the traditional Chinese laws on real property "were *comparatively* few and concise, and conveyancing, in particular, was extremely simple."[10] *Yongzu Zhi* (永租制, rent-in-perpetuity system) was established to define foreigners' land rights in China while also retaining China's territorial sovereignty and integrity. In practice, the execution of the "rent-in-perpetuity" system was left to the hands of local authorities and consuls (or consular agents) who were appointed in the respective treaty port. In fact, the supervision and management of Sino-foreign land transactions largely relied on the competence of local authorities and foreign representatives.

The practice of perpetually leasing land to foreigners varied in China's treaty ports because of the different agreements signed between the local authorities and foreign powers.[11] Generally speaking, there were two kinds of deeds used to document foreigners' land acquisition in China's treaty ports. The first type was represented by crown deed, which was

directly issued by the British consul to their nationals for the land rented by the British government from the Chinese government. The second type was title deed. The title deed was issued by the local authorities and registered with the respective consulate to manage land transactions between foreign and Chinese individuals. A typical example was the Shanghai title deed.

Existing research on the "rent-in-perpetuity" system is largely based on the studies of Shanghai title deeds. The adoption of the Shanghai title deed reflected the desire to remedy the ambiguity and intricacy of the Chinese deed for land transaction.[12] The impact of indigenous customs and local governance on foreigners' land acquisition in Shanghai was minimised after the prevalence of title deeds. Shanghai's experience reflected a predominantly Western influence on the management of foreign real estate in China's treaty ports. I argue, however, that this model is not necessarily applicable to other Chinese treaty ports (especially, the minor ones), following my analysis of the application of the "rent-in-perpetuity" system in Xiamen.

As "the largest and most conspicuous of the foreign communities" in China,[13] Britain set up a competent registration system to supervise and manage the real estate of British subjects in China. As one of the earliest foreign communities in Xiamen, Britain acquired a large amount of land after the First Opium War. With respect to the land within the British Concession, crown deeds were issued by the British consul. However, foreigners' land acquisitions were not confined to any particular area in the treaty ports as long as they could obtain legal agreement from either the local authorities or Chinese individuals. Most foreigners in Xiamen resided on Gulangyu and rented land from individual Chinese owners. Some of these properties were registered with the British Consulate in Xiamen through the application of title deeds.

Textual records of the real estate of British subjects in Xiamen, including various kinds of deeds, are available from the National Archives of the United Kingdom (formerly collected in the Public Record Office, quoted as PRO in this chapter). Drawing on these records, this chapter explores the Sino-Anglo land transactions on Gulangyu. Gulangyu became the last of the only two international settlements in China in 1902. Kulangsu (Gulangyu) Land Regulations and Bye-laws state that "existing land system continued in force and the Government land tax and foreshore tax continued to be collected by the Chinese authorities."[14] In other words, the land on Gulangyu, then, was still managed by the local government, rather than by the newly established municipal council. Sino-foreign land

transactions on Gulangyu were not interrupted by political change. Instead, these procedures were maintained and enforced well in spite of the unstable social environment of Fujian in the late Qing and the Republican era. These records provide a unique opportunity to observe the process of applying the "rent-in-perpetuity" system in Xiamen.

My investigation into Xiamen title deeds seeks to provoke a rethinking of the legal underpinning for Sino-foreign land transactions in China's treaty ports and to trace the formalisation of Xiamen title deeds. This chapter seeks to answer the following questions: what kinds of documents were used to legalise Sino-foreign land transactions? How should we evaluate the significance of title deeds in safeguarding foreigners' land rights? Were foreigner's land development plans immune from the constraints of local traditions and indigenous customs? How were title deeds institutionalised over the years?

Through my analysis of five properties that were perpetually rented by British individuals or institutes, I argue the legitimacy of the Chinese-language deed (coined as *Huaqi* 华契 by me) that was used prior to the application of title deeds. I also detail the supplementary role that title deeds played in legalising Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen. The terms and conditions of *Huaqi* embodied the traditional Chinese belief in *fengshui*, the relationship among neighbours, and the collective awareness of spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood. Hence, indigenous customs and local traditions continued to affect the foreigners' land development in Xiamen. Finally, I elaborate on the three different formats of the title deed and its formalisation in Xiamen. I argue that the deficiency of *Huaqi* in safeguarding increasingly mobile neighbourhoods and the significance of adopting title deeds in protecting foreign sojourners' interests in China's treaty ports.

Legitimacy of Huaqi (Chinese-Language Deed)

Existing textual records about foreigners' real estate on Gulangyu include a large number of Chinese deeds that were used to support the registration of title deeds. Among them was a particular type that was signed between the Chinese lessor and the foreign lessee. To distinguish it from other Chinese language deeds signed among the Chinese, I have coined this particular type of Chinese deed as *Huaqi*, for the purposes of this chapter. *Huaqi* was widely used in Xiamen to legalise Sino-foreign land transaction, and continued to be used even after the issuance of the first

title deed on 26 February 1879. Other than a few ten-year leases issued in the 1860s, *Huaqi* was mostly a perpetual lease. The following two cases demonstrate that *Huaqi* was the essential document to legalise Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen. It not only established foreigner's landholding rights, but also secured Chinese lessors' interests.

Case Study 1: C.A. Michelsen's Property

C.A. Michelsen, a Danish subject, was a long-time resident of Xiamen. From 1872, he started renting land at *Tianwei* (田尾, land-end) on Gulangyu. He managed to secure a combination of seven plots of land for building his villa. The property was transferred to Robert Hunter Bruce, a British subject, in 1902. It was registered as Lot No. 74 at the British Consulate in Xiamen on 7 July 1902. Prior to the registration, the title deed was approved and sealed by *Haifang Tongzhi* (海防同知, Maritime Sub-prefect) on 6 March 1902. This property was further transferred to *Lim Loh* (林露, *Lin Lu*) on 7 July 1903.[15] The title deed was associated with several Chinese language deeds. Among them were six pieces of *Huaqi* signed between five Chinese lessors and Michelsen from 1872 to 1896, regarding the seven plots of land at *Tianwei*. The others were deeds that Michelsen had received from the Chinese landlords.

Michelsen passed all these documents to Bruce as proof of his legal ownership over this property. An examination of these deeds reveals the land development of this area and the process of Michelsen's land acquisition at *Tianwei*. His first perpetual lease was signed with Huang Yiji (黄益记) for two large pieces of land in 1872. In the same year, he obtained a neighbouring plot from Huang Boyu (黄伯瑜). These three adjacent lands were combined into a site for his construction of Villa Avodale. Two years later, Michelson obtained another two adjacent lots from Hong Chang (洪昌) et al. and Huang Banliang (杨门黄伴凉, widow of the Yang family), respectively. In 1896, he further expanded his estate by perpetually leasing another two pieces of land from his neighbour Zhang Rong (张荣). Eventually, a magnificent residential site was formed at *Tianwei* around *Tanzai Shi* (潭仔石).

An examination of Michelsen's *Huaqi* shows that they were formatted in a generally consistent way with the following components: (1) names of the lessor(s) and lessee(s); (2) information about the land (i.e. source, locality, boundaries, measurements, etc.); (3) reasons for the land transfer; (4) land price; (5) terms and conditions; (6) duties of the lessor; (7)

立杜尽永远租字人洪昌等兹有承祖父在日创置山园壹所址在鼓浪屿土名田尾前
至潭仔石后至成记洋楼脚左至黄家园右至黄家田四至明白为界今因乏银别置
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为中人地保何钦（印一）

知见仝收银人洪六（画押）

洪泰（画押）

同治拾叁年伍月　　初二日立杜尽永远租字人洪昌（画押）

大丹国壹千捌百七拾四年六月　拾五日（印二）

代书人朱渊龙（画押）

备注：（印一）特授泉厦分府李给鼓浪屿保地保何钦为记

（印二）黄旗国钦命管理经商事务领事官之印DANSK CONSULAE AMOY KONGELIGT

Fig. 8.1 *Huaqi* signed between Hong Chang and Michelsen, 1874. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/17, Amoy: Lot No. 74 Bruce, R.H., 1902

signature of the lessor, middleman, witness and cash receiver, *Dibao* (地保, a semi-official group leader), as well as issued date and so on (see Fig. 8.1). This format was similar to that of the traditional Chinese deed in Xiamen.[16] The major difference was that the land transactions among

the Chinese were *Juemai Qi* (绝卖契, deed of perpetual sale), and *Huaqi* signed for Sino-foreign land transactions that were mostly *Yongzu Qi* (永租契, perpetual lease).

Michelsen's *Huaqi* carefully followed the local traditions involved with the dealing of land transfers. These included the Chinese lessor's declaration of the origins of the land and true ownership, and further stated that the proposed land transfers had been first known to their relatives and neighbours. After the proposals were turned down by these relevant persons, they either directly or through the middlemen approached Michelson to complete the land transactions. This kind of practice embodied *Qinling Youxian Quan* (亲邻优先权, the priority of relatives and neighbours) in land transfers in Xiamen. It protected the interests of involved families and neighbours, and also ensured a harmonious development of the neighbourhood. In these pieces of *Huaqi*, all Chinese lessors agreed that Michelsen could develop the land in any way he preferred.

Another distinguishing point of Michelsen's pieces of *Huaqi* was that five of them bore the official seal of DANSK CONSULAT (Danish Consulate) and He Qin (何钦). He Qin was the *Dibao* in-charge and middleman. As the treaties stipulated, Sino-foreign land transactions would be supervised by local authorities in communication with the respective consul. It is clear that Michelsen's land acquisition was witnessed by the Danish consul. He Qin was no doubt representing the local authorities. As the *Dibao* in-charge, he was a semi-official leader tasked with ensuring trustworthy and smooth land transfers in the neighbourhood. The *Baojia* (保甲, group watching) system had a long-lasting influence on civic activities in Xiamen even after it was opened as a treaty port. In the *Lujiang Zhi* (鹭江志, *Gazette of Egret River*) of 1766, Gulangyu was already recorded as one of *She* (社, district) in Xiamen.[17] In the *Gazette of Xiamen* (厦门志) of 1832, *Zhou Kai* (周凯) also elaborated on the necessity of strengthening the *Baojia* system in Xiamen.[18]

Michelsen had used these six pieces of *Huaqi* as the legal proof of his ownership of his real estate on *Tianwei* for 30 years (1872–1902). It is noteworthy that he did not apply for any title deed for this property during this long period of time. When he transferred this property to Bruce, all these pieces of *Huaqi* were used as the legal documents required to successfully complete this transaction. Clearly, the legitimacy of *Huaqi* ensured the foreign lessees' land rights, and the registration of the title deed was not popular in early Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen.

Case Study 2: O.B. Bradford's Property

Huaqi served as the legal document not only to establish foreigners' land rights but also to protect the Chinese lessors' interests as stated on the deed. In 1863, O.B. Bradford (the then Vice Consul of the American Consulate in Xiamen) leased several adjacent lots from ten Chinese lessors at *Shuzaiwei* (树仔尾, foot of baby tree) to form a large plot of land on Gulangyu. After he left Xiamen, these properties remained in Bruce's hands for unknown reasons. Some of Bradford's leases were not perpetual, with the result that the Chinese lessors could not receive rent after his departure. In 1893, five affected persons lodged claims to the local authorities. To resume their legal rights over the properties, they presented the *Huaqi* signed between Bradford and their family members from 28 May to 28 September 1863.

Bradford's *Huaqi* consisted of two pages—one written in Chinese and the other in English. The Chinese page bore a simple location map of the lot and the seal of Zheng Fu (郑福, the *Dibao* in-charge). Some of these pieces of *Huaqi* were associated with former deeds, whose amount was remarked on the back of the English page. In these five pieces of *Huaqi*, only the one with Huang Jing (黄景) was a perpetual lease. The other four lessors asked for ten-year rental periods and declared that they would renew the lease after the first ten years. The contents of these pieces of *Huaqi* showed that these Chinese lessors were neighbours and witnesses to each other. In other words, the land transfers to Bradford could be considered as a collective activity in the neighbourhood at that time (see Fig. 8.2).

With the coordination of the local authorities, Bruce signed a new *Huaqi* with Cai Quan (蔡全), Hong Niao (洪鸟), Hong Wencai (洪文才), Hong Qiu (洪球), and Hong Yi (洪意) in 1893, who were either sons or relatives of the five original Chinese lessors. These five pieces of the new *Huaqi* were perpetual leases and bore the seal of Zhang Yuankai (张元恺, middleman and *Dibao* in-charge). These pieces of *Huaqi* were formatted in the same way to recall the history and process of these deals. As declared, the Chinese lessors would not request any more rent in future. Hence, Bruce fully established his legal rights over this property in 1893. It is interesting to note that Bruce did not apply for a title deed for this property until 1901.

Both Michelsen's and Bruce's cases demonstrated the significance of *Huaqi* in legalising Sino-foreign land transactions and securing the interests of two parties. Even after the first batch of title deeds was issued in

立永远租字人黄渊兹有山园地声明图后
托中并地保永远租与
大合众国弥领事为业而约租银捌拾元
至十年后再贴地租一千式百文并缴上手
契一纸又立此永远租字付执为照
即日同中收过英银捌拾大员又照
知见周继兴知
中人蔡厖（画押）
同治二年七月初八日立永远约字人黄渊中
地保（印）
代笔林谦（画押）
备注：（印）特授泉厦分府俞官给鼓浪屿保地保郑福戳记
契约中附地图（略）

Fig. 8.2 *Huaqi* signed between Bradford and Huang Yuan, 1863. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/16, Amoy: Lot No. 4 Tait & Co. 1901

1879, most foreigners in Xiamen still held *Huaqi* as the legal documents for their properties. The legitimacy of *Huaqi* could be attributed to the unique civic laws in traditional Chinese society. Both *Hongqi* (红契, red deed, an officially certificated Chinese deed) and *Baiqi* (白契, white deed, an agreement signed by private individuals) were recognised in practice.[19] From this, it is reasonable to conclude that *Huaqi* signed between the Chinese and foreign individuals was regarded as *Baiqi* before it was officially certificated as *Hongqi* by local authorities.

Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen were conducted in a traditional Chinese way. To prove their legal land ownership, the Chinese lessors used to pass the foreign lessees all deeds related to the property. In fact, the Chinese had a long tradition of using *Maiqi* (卖契, deed of sale) to record the agreement reached by the seller and the purchaser. To prevent any disputes over the land transfer and declare his/her true ownership over the property, the seller was responsible for passing the purchaser

any *Qianshou Qi* or *Shangshou Qi* (前手契, 上手契, former deed) related to the property. If no former deed existed, the seller should declare the source of land in the deed.

Due to the legitimacy of *Huaqi* and other Chinese deeds, the British lessee submitted *Huaqi* and all other Chinese deed(s) as supporting documents when applying for a title deed for his/her land in the Consulate. Notably, many foreign lessees deposited their Chinese language deeds in the British Consulate when they completed the registration of title deeds for their properties. Bradford's case revealed the disadvantage of *Huaqi* in the management of foreigners' real estate management due to their temporary residency status in China's treaty ports. Gradually, foreign lessees recognised that applying for title deeds could render another layer of insurance over their land rights in Xiamen.

Supplementary Roles of Title Deed

Importantly, title deeds were not immediately adopted in Xiamen after the British set up their concession in 1852. Foreigners in Xiamen would have been aware of the Shanghai Land Regulations and the use of Shanghai title deeds. However, the first title deed was issued in Xiamen for Lot No. 1 on 26 February 1879. Even after then, many foreigners did not apply for title deeds for their properties in the manner which the previous two cases showed. At the turn of the twentieth century, more and more foreign lessees applied for title deeds, as it appears that foreign lessees found it important to seek consular service for the systematic documentation of land transactions by that time. The following two cases show the roles that the title deed played in safeguarding foreigners' land rights in China.

Case Study 3: The English Presbyterian Mission's Property

The British Consulate in Xiamen held a file regarding the English Presbyterian Mission's property on Gulangyu. This file consisted of an incomplete title deed and an "Index Map of Lots Marked P, Q, R, S, T, V, W." This map was drawn in Western style with the detailed record of the localities and sizes of ten lots that the Mission perpetually leased from different lessors at the foot of *Bijia Shan* (笔架山, Brush Holder Hill). This was the site of the Anglo-Chinese College in Xiamen. Moreover, this index map also marked out the amount and types of deeds they had received for the land transfers. Among the ten lots were three (i.e. Lot Nos. 57, 130

and 133) with title deeds. The other seven did not have title deeds. But the remarks on these lots showed that Lot No. S had four deeds with one map, Lot No. T with two deeds, Lot No. R with one deed, Lot No. P with one deed and one map, Lot No. Q with one deed and one map, Lot No. V with one deed and one map, and Lot No. W with eight Chinese language deeds and four English language deeds with translations.[20]

The examination on the existing title deeds for Lot Nos. 57, 130 and 133 showed that the Mission's land acquisition in this area continued for many years. Lot No. 57 was obtained from Thomasine Charlotte Nicolls (a British subject) on 19 January 1907. The registration of this Lot was completed by Ms Nicolls on 7 June 1899 after she perpetually leased it from Ms Chen of the Huang family (黄门陈氏).[21] The registration of the title deed for Lot No. 130 was completed by the Mission on 24 December 1914. The appended *Huaqi* showed that this plot of land was perpetually leased to the Mission by Huang Simei Hall (黄四美堂) in 1914.[22] As for Lot No. 133, the Mission completed the registration of the title deed on 4 December 1915, after perpetually leasing it from Zhong Maoling (钟懋舲) in 1914.[23]

The incomplete title deed for Lot No. 165 reveals that the Mission applied for a title deed for the listed ten lots as a whole on 19 October 1925. The application form, together with the deeds, was sent to *Siming* County (思明县) for approval on 25 October 1928. However, there was no follow-up to this application for unknown reasons. The absence of a registered title deed for this combined property did not affect the Mission's building of the Anglo-Chinese College on the site, because their land rights were legalised by various kind of deeds held by them over the years.

The study of the Xiamen title deed implies that the application for a title deed was not compulsory but largely depended on the willingness of the foreign lessees. However, the registration of the title deed ensured the Consulate as a British government agency to systematically record and supervise their nationals' real estate outside the concession. For archival purposes, each title deed was allocated with a lot number. The whole registration process could take a few days or several months to complete. If the registration of the title deed could not be completed, the Consulate may overlook the management of the property. That may impede their ability to protect the foreign lessee's interest if any problems were to occur in future land transfers. The following case study on Petigura's property on Gulangyu revealed the supplementary role that title deeds played in protecting foreigners' interests in Xiamen.

Cast Study 4: Phirozsha Jamsetjee Petigura's Property

In 1916, Phirozsha Jamsetjee Petigura obtained four adjacent lots at the conjunction of La Kee Tah Road (复兴路, Fuxing Road today) and Sin Lo Tao Road (漳州路, Zhangzhou Road today). As a British subject, he applied for title deeds for these lots and deposited all relevant documents at the British Consulate in Xiamen. An examination of these documents showed that he was active on Gulangyu in 1916. His investment in real estate started from the first lot that he requested from Motan Jehagir Ollia on 9 March 1916. Ms Ollia was also a British subject, who spent almost three months (from 26 October 1904 to 30 January 1905) to complete the registration of this property at the British Consulate. The land transfer from Ollia and Petigura was reported to the British Consulate and remarked on the same title deed accordingly.[24]

To expand the newly obtained property, Petigura directly rented the second lot from his Chinese neighbour Huang Malian (黄马连) through signing *Huaqi* in April 1916. Chen Zhongsi (陈种司) as the middleman witnessed the transaction. Petigura immediately applied for a title deed for this property. However, the registration took him almost eight months (from 5 May to 21 December 1916) to complete.[25]

On 10 June 1916, Petigura obtained another adjacent plot from Nusserwanjee Dadabhoy Ollia through his attorney. Mr. Ollia was a British subject who died in India. This transfer between British subjects was reported to the British Consulate in Xiamen and recorded on Mr. Ollia's title deed on 29 July 1916. The registration of the title deed was completed by him on 11 February 1882 after he perpetually leased it from the Chinese lessors—Huang Ning (黄宁) and Zeng Xunji (曾勳记) et al.[26]

As for Petigura's fourth lot on the site, the former deeds showed that this property was sold from Huang Xian (黄贤) to Huang Zhenqing (黄振清) in May 1916. Three months later, it was further transferred to Petigura through the middleman Chen Deyi (陈得意). Petigura applied for a title deed for this property on 23 August 1916. The registration was approved by *Siming* County, but remained incomplete for unknown reasons. It is interesting to note that no lot number was given to this property. The registration may have been disrupted by Huang Zhenqing's statement in *Huaqi*, which requested for the postponement of the land transfer. He even registered the property with *Siming* County and the Treasure Bureau in September 1918 (see Fig. 8.3).[27]

Form C.

[TRANSLATIONS]

Title Deed

I, Lai Ye Lai, Siu Ming, Magistrate of Amoy
hereby gives this Deed for the Renting of Land

I have received a communication from His BRITANNIC MAJESTY's *Consul at Amoy* stating that *the British Subject P. J. Pedigura*
therein described and called the Renter] has applied to Rent in perpetuity from the Proprietor *Ng Chin Ching* (黄振清)
a Lot of Land, situated at the Port of *Amoy on the Island of Kulangsu*, measuring in area
- mow, - fun, - le, - hoo bounded
North by *Public Road*
South by *"Ankee" Villa*
East by *Garden Wall of "Ankee" Villa*
West by *Garden Wall of "Ankee" Villa*
dimensions as in plan attached in this deed.

That the said Renter has paid to the said Proprietor a sum of *four hundred dollars*
for the land; and also that he will pay the land tax of - per mow Yearly in advance to the Chinese Government.

This coming before me the Intendant, I do hereby arrange and agree that the said Proprietor shall Rent the said quantity of Land to the said Renter upon the following conditions: -

That if the said Renter, his or their Successors or Assigns, shall hereafter make over his or their interest in the Ground now rented to another party, without reporting the same to his or their Consul for his assent and concurrence, and through him to the Intendant for the time being, and for the due registration of the Transaction in their respective Records, or if the said Renter neglect to pay Yearly in advance the said land tax of - per mow, after being ordered to do so, then and in each of these several cases, this Deed shall become null and void, and the proprietorship of the said Land, Houses and Tenements, shall revert to the Lord of the Soil.

A necessary Deed for the Renting of Land.

Republic Fifth year, L. S. *Eighth* moon *Twenty Third* day
(with the seal of the BRITISH CONSULATE and Signature of the in-charge officer)

August 23rd, 1916
Lei Ne
REGISTRATION COMPLETED AT
HBM CONSULATE,
this day of __ 19.

大中华民国福建思明县来
给出租地契事照得接准
大英领事官特 照会内开今据本国商人丕罗沙禀称在厦门鼓浪屿通商口
岸水远租得业户黄振清厝地，所址在鼓浪屿六耳礁新路头计 亩 分
厘 亮东至安记花园墙西至安记门口南至安记厝地北至马路四至丈尺俱
载明在所粘之地图内给时价龙银四百大员每亩计价 止其年租每亩
每年须预付银号等因前来本县已饬业户黄振清将该地租给丕罗
沙收用倘该丕罗沙并后代管业之人将来以其地转租不禀明本国领事官移
登籍及每年不将亩年租钱 预付银号违犯斯章并经严饬仍抗不遵
则此契作为废纸该地即归官须至租地契者

西历一千九百一十六年 月 日给地契第 号
民国五
（思明县印）

备注：该契附地图（略）

Fig. 8.3 The incomplete title deed for Petigura's fourth lot on the site, 1916. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/120, Amoy: Petigura, P.J. 1916

Although Petigura could not complete the registration of the title deed for one of the four lots, he held *Huaqi* and former deeds to establish the land rights over this combined property. When he died in Shanghai on 7 March 1921, this property was transferred to Oie Tjoy (黄奕住, Huang Yizhu) on 28 November 1921 through the appointed attorney. The land transaction was reported to the British Consulate in Xiamen and remarked upon the three registered title deeds. At the same time, the incomplete title deed for one of the four lots was noted by the British consul, who asked Petigura's attorney to pay the management fee in order to complete the registration and to ensure the land transfer.

Petigura's case further demonstrated that *Huaqi* was the essential legal document in Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen. Even though the lot did not have a title deed registered with the British Consulate, the foreign lessee's land rights were acknowledged. However, because of the foreigners' short-term stay in China's treaty ports, a registered title deed allowed the Consulate to effectively manage their properties and to protect their interests when necessary. For the transfer of the registered properties among the British subjects, the consul used to record it on the original title deed. There was no need to apply for a new title deed for the transfer. If the registered property was transferred to other nationals, the title deed would be cancelled accordingly. It is reasonable to conclude that the Xiamen title deed was a supplementary medium for the Consulate to engage in the management of their nationals' real estate in Xiamen.

Huaqi's Impact on Land Development

Composed in the traditional Chinese way, *Huaqi* included the terms and conditions set by the Chinese lessors, with regard to the future development of the leased land. In most cases, the Chinese lessors would allow the lessees to develop the land in any way they preferred. If the lot consisted of any element that may affect the *fengshui* of their families or neighbourhood, the Chinese lessors would list out the restriction on the land development as the terms and conditions of the deed. These concerns reflected the local traditions and indigenous customs in Xiamen. The analysis of Dr Lim Boon Keng's land acquisition and the construction of his bungalow (笔山路, today's No. 5 Bishan Road) on Gulangyu would demonstrate how the terms and conditions of *Huaqi* affected foreigners' land development in Xiamen.

Case Study 5: Dr Lim Boon Keng's Property

From 1909 to 1922, Dr Lim Boon Keng (林文庆, Lin Wenqing, a British subject)[28] and his wife Grace Pek Ha Yin (殷碧霞, Yin Bixia) took 13 years to complete their acquisition of five adjacent lots at the slope of *Bijia Shan* (笔架山, Brush Holder Hill) to form a spacious residential site for building their bungalow. On 11 December 1929, Grace Yin passed the five pieces of *Huaqi* to *Siming* County (the local authorities) for certification. At the same time, she also applied for a title deed for this combined property through the British Consulate in Xiamen. The registration was filed on 18 December 1929 and completed on 1 April 1930. It received the lot number 170 (see Fig. 8.4).[29]

The first plot was perpetually leased by Dr Lim from Huang Simei Hall in 1909, which was a piece of collective property of the Huang family. In *Huaqi*, the Huang Simei Hall declared that they had cleared any relevant right of relatives and family members before approaching Dr Lim through a middleman. The land transfer resulted from the need to raise funds for the repair of the deteriorated ancestor hall. Although the Huang family agreed that Dr Lim could freely develop the lot, he was bound to respect the particular terms and conditions in *Huaqi*. For example, he was not allowed to chisel the *Bijia Shi* (笔架石, Brush Holder Rock), which was an important *fengshui* rock in the neighbourhood. All graves within the limit should not be removed unless he obtained the permission from the proprietors of the affected graves.

In September 1911, Dr Lim perpetually leased an adjacent plot from Huang Shuixin (黄水心). In *Huaqi*, Huang stressed that this hill garden consisted of two parts demarcated by a path. Only the upper part along with the path was perpetually leased to Dr Lim, while the lower part along with some graves was not included in this land transaction. Over the upper part of the land, Dr Lim could build whatever he preferred. At the same time, Huang Shuixin passed three pieces of former deeds to Dr Lim to declare his land ownership.

After acquiring these two plots of land, Dr Lim did not start construction immediately. In 1913, he noticed that Xu Chuncao (许春草) was building on the site. He appealed to the Municipal Council to stop the construction and sued Xu to the Mixed Court. However, Xu won the suit because he held the former deeds for the lot. In addition, Dr Lim could not present any former deed for his transaction with Huang Simei Hall. Coordinated by Yin Xuepu (殷雪圃, Dr Lim's brother-in-law), Xu

大中华民国福建思明县长韩（杨印）　　为（思明县印）
发给地契事照接准
大英国驻厦领事官潘　照会内开兹据林文庆妻林殷璧霞禀称氏夫在
鼓浪屿笔架山下永远租得业户黄四美堂山园地一所即附粘地图内之β又
许春草山地一所即地图之丙又黄水心山园上段地一所即地图之乙又黄蔡氏公
山穴址二所比连地图之甲各立契清楚四面界墙东至下笔架山路郑地许地西至
上笔架山路南至黄地北至许地四至明白给各业户永远租金时价叁千捌百五十员
一租断绝口后无再找赎诸事等情前来除本署登记外相应照请会印等因准此
本县长业传该各业户讯明无误准给林殷璧霞收用倘将来地租他人不来禀及每
年不照纳钱粮违悖斯章并控饬不遵则此契作废地即充公须至租地契者
中华民国十八年　九月　　日给地契第壹号
一九二九　十二　十八　（思明县印）
备注：此契附地图（略）

Fig. 8.4 Chinese page of the title deed and attached map for Lot No. 170. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/82, Amoy: Lot No. 170 Lim, Mrs G.P., 1929

Chuncao agreed to transfer the land to Dr Lim. They signed on a *Huaqi* on 4 February 1912, which recorded the origin of this incident and the agreement by Xu. Hence, Dr Lim established his rights over this plot of land. At the same time, Xu also transferred the incomplete building and leftover materials to Dr Lim for his further construction.

The Lim family's construction of the bungalow affected the graves next to the Brush Holder Rock. Ms Cai of the Huang family (黄蔡氏, the

proprietor) was willing to relocate the graves after signing two perpetual leases with Grace Yin on the fourth moon and eleventh moon of the Lunar calendar of 1911, respectively. According to these pieces of *Huaqi*, the Lim family was allowed to develop the site in any way they preferred. Hence, they were able to form a spacious site for the construction of the bungalow along today's Bishan Road. The study of the Lim family's bungalow demonstrates that the family largely respected the terms and conditions of these pieces of *Huaqi* to retain the unique landscape of the site.[30]

Dr Lim's case demonstrates that at the beginning of the twentieth century, *Huaqi* was still widely used in Sino-foreign land transactions in Xiamen. Its format and contents largely followed those of the traditional deeds of sale. The first point to note is that the locality and boundaries of the land were described in text, making direct references to natural and artificial elements (i.e. rock, water, vegetation, grave, etc.), as well as neighbours. This kind of interpretation of land locality and boundaries relied much on the collective awareness of spatial characteristics of a stable neighbourhood. With the increasing mobility of the population and the arrival of foreigners, the ambiguity and intricacy of this traditional way of depicting land locality and boundaries may have contributed to disputes over land rights. Most Xiamen title deeds issued after 1898 had western style maps as an attachment to demarcate the land with accurate geographical information.

On the other hand, the terms and conditions of *Huaqi* embodied local traditions and indigenous customs, in particular the respect to rocks and graves. Rocks were used to define the geographical boundaries of the land, and also related to *fengshui*. The locals believed that any inappropriate chiselling of the rocks would disturb the spirit and destroy the *fengshui* of the site. Similarly, the integrity of the ancestors' graves was also significant to the families. All these concerns were reflected in *Huaqi* to regulate foreigners' development of the leased lands. It is reasonable to conclude that the unique landscape of Gulangyu was sustained over years by the adoption of *Huaqi* in Sino-foreign land transactions.

Formats and Formalisation of Title Deed

The studies of Shanghai title deeds show that the Shanghai Land Regulations (1854) defined the procedure for foreigners to lease land or purchase houses from Chinese proprietors in the foreign concessions. Foreigners' land acquisition must be first reported to a Consular represen-

tative to ensure that no impediment was associated with the property. A written document was required for such a report, which should show "locality, boundaries, and number of the *Too*, together with the measurement in *mow*, *fun*, and *le* of the said land."[31] A duplicate of the deed, accompanied by a plan with a clear demarcation of the boundaries, was submitted to the Consular representative, who would pass the documents to the *Daotai* to apply for a title deed for this property. After certifying the submitted documents, the *Daotai* would issue title deeds in triplicate accordingly, and a notice would be sent to the Consular representatives of Britain, France, and the United States in Shanghai, each of which kept a complete register of the land transaction and marked it out on a map for reference.[32]

The format and contents of the Shanghai title deed changed three times from 1847 to 1930. The first version of the Shanghai title deed was used until March 1853, which contained two separated components—one was in Chinese and the other in English. Its contents were largely based on the Shanghai Land Regulations issued in 1845. A new format of the Shanghai title deed was standardised after the second version of the Shanghai Land Regulations was released in 1854. The once separated English and Chinese components were consolidated in one piece, consisting of two Chinese pages and two English pages. This second version of the Shanghai title deed was used from February 1855 to March 1900. From 1900 onwards, the third version of the Shanghai title deed was adopted. The major modification of this version was to loosen restrictions on the Chinese leasing land in the Shanghai International Settlement.[33] From 1854, a western style map was used in the Shanghai title deed to secure accurate and detailed description on the lot and its immediate surroundings. Any subleasing or subsequent land transfer was recorded on the title deed accordingly.

Compared against the Shanghai title deed that was standardised after 1854, the Xiamen title deed went through a different institutionalisation process since the issuance of the first one in February 1879. In fact, the British Consulate in Xiamen had two separate registration systems for their nationals' real estates in this treaty port. For the lots inside the British Concession, crown deeds with their own lot sequences were used as early as 1 January 1853. For those outside the British Concession (mostly on Gulangyu), title deeds were issued in another independent sequence.

The analysis of the three versions of Xiamen title deeds shows that the first one was registered on 26 February 1879 for Lot No. 1, and the last

one on 1 April 1930 for Lot No. 170. It had three versions, each having different formats and issuing authorities. The first version was used from 1879 to 1910, having *Fujian Quanzhou Fu Haifang Zongbu Qingjun Fenfu* (福建泉州府海防总簿清军分府, Maritime Sub-prefect of Xiamen) as the approval authority. The second version was used during the period from 1910 to 1914, issued by *Fujian Fenxun Xingquanyong Dengchu Haifang Bingweidao* (福建分巡兴泉永等处海防兵备道, Intendant of Circuit). And the third version was issued by *Diaoshu Siming Xian* (调署思明县, *Siming* County Magistrate) from 1914 to 1930.

To understand the changes in the format and content, the first piece of each version of the Xiamen title deed was examined in detail, including those for Lot Nos. 1, 123, and 128. These changes reflected the local authorities' control over the Sino-foreign land transactions and the changing official interpretation of the "rent-in-perpetuity" system in Xiamen.

Located in the valley of *Wutu* (乌塗山窝), Lot No. 1 was perpetually leased by M.G. Scott (a British subject) from Huang You (黄有) and Huang Jinshan (黄金山) et al. This first version of the Xiamen title deed was in a printed form, consisting of two pages—one in Chinese and the other one in English. The title of the Chinese page was *Diqi* (地契, land deed), while that of the English page was "Title Deed." The Chinese page bore the seal of the Maritime Sub-prefect and was issued on the 30th day of the first month of the fifth year of *Guangxu* (光绪) reign (20 February 1879). The registration was completed on 26 February 1879. On the Chinese page, the Maritime Sub-prefect remarked that this lot was perpetually leased by Scott in 1872 and already registered with the local authorities (see Fig. 8.5).[34]

The first version of the Xiamen title deed showed that the format of its Chinese page bore the imprint of traditional Chinese deeds commonly used in this region. The English page was a simplified translation of the Chinese page. It started with the declaration that foreigners' land rights in China were protected by the treaties. The locality and boundaries of the lot were described in a traditional manner that relied on the collective awareness of spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood. The deed concluded with the statement of the Chinese lessor and the foreign lessee, such as the Chinese lessor already signed with the lessee on a deed of sale with *Dibao*'s seal (i.e. *Huaqi*).

As with the Shanghai title deed, the Xiamen title deed also had three copies, including the first one lodged with the Chinese government, the second with the Consulate, and the third with the lessee. The format of

TITLE - DEED

Whereas it is provided by Treaty that any British subjects shall be allowed to lease what land they may require for the building of houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial grounds, paying a fair price therefor; and whereas it has been represented by the British Merchant M. G. Scott, that he has acquired from the proprietors a lot of land measuring five mow five rên one li no haou being (Chinese) feet from N. to S. and (Chinese) feet from E. to W. = English sq. feet 36,381.

Bounded N. base of hill belonging to the Huang family.

" S. land belonging to the Hung family.

" E. hill belonging to the Hung family.

" W. garden belonging to the Huang family.

Situated in the valley of the Wu-t' u hill on Kulangsu.

I, Si Maritime Sub Prefect of Amoy, being satisfied on examination of the seller that the transaction is regular and that there is no objection to the transfer, have registered him as tenant in perpetuity of the said lot of land, subject to the provisions of the Land Regulations existing or hereafter to be drawn up in accordance with Treaties; and in support of the original Bill of Sale, signed by the proprietor and sealed by the Ti-pao, I do now issue this Title-Deed for the said land in triplicate, whereof one copy is to be retained by the Consul, one by the Sub-Prefect, and the third held by the tenant.

Amoy, 20th February 1879

Title Deed No. 1

Lot No. 1

Registered

(with the signature of H.A. Giles for) Consul.

H. B. M's Consulate,

(with the seal of H. B. M. CONSUL FOR AMOY)

AMOY, 26 February 1879.

地契

大清特授福建泉州府海防兼理糧捕分府李　　为

起地事照得条約第十一款内开英国民人在各口地方租地盖屋设立栈房礼拜堂医院坟墓均按民价公

平定议等语兹据英人　斯格　向原地主　黄有黄金山等　名下租得地基一段计五

亩　五分　一厘　营用长　丈　尺　寸长四丈　丈　尺　寸阔廣

四方八條算共三万六千三百八十一尺其四至东至洪家口地至黄家口脚

为界坐落在鼓浪屿乌涂山岭内现经本分府查明属实传讯原地主并无别人所有租送等及有碍情事所

合注册便该管业人照新章纳租地改添新章亦应一律恪遵除

已原地主照前立契画押并已地保盖戳外为此发给地契一式三张　存厅备一存

领事衙门一给管业人收执领租契者

咨原契系同治十一年黄有等所立将地四亩租与英人斐尔新即斯格业经八前分府于光绪二年查明在案今系和比新契合并登明

光绪五年正月二十日给（厦防分府印）

Fig. 8.5 Title deed of Lot No. 1. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/133, Amoy: Lot No. 1 Scott, M.G., 1879

the first version of the Xiamen title deed corresponded with the previous argument that *Huaqi* was the essential document to legalise the Sino-foreign land transaction. Hence the title deed was an official document to introduce proper management by the local authorities and the Consulate.

The second version of the Xiamen title deed was first used for Lot No. 123. This plot of land was perpetually leased by Mrs T.C. Nicholls from Huang Xie (黄协). Mrs Nicholls' application for a title deed for this property was approved by the Intendant of Circuit in the seventh month of the first year of *Xuantong* (宣统) reign (circa September 1909), but its registration was completed more than one year later on 2 November 1910. The Chinese page of the title deed was entitled *Fuqi* (副契, duplicate), and the English page "Title Deed" with small remarks of "Duplicate" and "Translation." This indicated that the title deed lodged with the British Consulate was a duplicate copy (see Fig. 8.6).[35]

The format and contents of the second version of the Xiamen title deed had some major changes. First, the authorising party was changed from the Maritime Sub-prefect to the Intendant of Circuit. Second, the title deed stated that land tax shall be annually paid in advance to the Chinese government by the lessee. However, the British Consulate remarked that the land on the Gulangyu International Settlement was not supposed to be levied by the Chinese government. Before a final determination was reached on this issue, no tax should be imposed on the land on Gulangyu. It is interesting to note that 14 of the existent first versions of the Xiamen title deeds were issued from 1902 to 1910. None of them mentioned the issue of land taxation on foreigners' real estate in the Gulangyu International Settlement, which was established in 1902.

Third, some declarations on this first version of the Xiamen title deed were removed, such as the declarations of the treaties and roles of *Dibao* in the transaction. Instead, the version stated that the Intendant of Circuit would duly send a deputy to confirm the measurement and boundaries of the lot. Fourth, this version stressed the importance for foreigners to abide by the terms and conditions of the title deed. As stated, the Chinese government remained "the Lord of Soil" who had the right to confiscate the properties if foreign lessees breached any term or condition of the title deed. It is apparent that the local authorities were concerned about the legal status of foreign lessees and had a better understanding of the "rent-in-perpetuity" system. More mechanisms to manage the foreigners' real estate were implemented in Xiamen.

DUPLICATE No. 123

[TRANSLATION]

TITLE DEED

Territories. Tsoiki at Amoy in the matter of issuing a title deed for the Renting of Land.

I have received a communication from the British Consul giving that

Mrs. T. C. Nicholls

[herein described and called the Renter] has applied to Rent in perpetuity from the Proprietor

Huang Hsieh

a lot of land, in the International settlement of Kulangsu, Amoy, measuring from north to South 57 chang 1 feet (English) 4 inches, from East to west 6 Chang 8 feet (English) 8 inches, and in area 1 mow, 9 fen, 9 li, 1 hao, bounded

North by

South by as on Chinese plan attached to Consular copy of deed.

East by

West by

That the said Renter has paid to the said Proprietor a sum of

for the land; and also that he will pay the land tax of _____ per mow yearly in advance to the Chinese Government.

This coming before me, the Intendant, I having duly sent a deputy to confirm the accuracy of all measurement and boundaries and do hereby arrange and agree that the said Proprietor shall Rent the said quantity of Land to the said Renter upon the following conditions:-

That is the said Renter, his or their successors or Assigns, shall hereafter make over his or their interest in the Ground now rented to another party, without requesting the same to his or their Consul for his assent and concurrence, and through him to the Intendant for the time being, and for the due registration of the transaction in their respective Records; or if the said Renter neglect to pay Yearly in advance the said land tax of _____ per mow, after being ordered to do so, then, and in each of several cases, this Deed shall become null and void, and the proprietorship of the said land, houses, and tenements, shall revert to the lord of the Soil.

A necessary Deed for the Renting of Land.

Hsien Tung 1 year, 5.8 7 moon __ day.

June 1909

10T No. 23

REGISTRATION COMPLETED AT

~~TSAIKI'S YAMEN~~ British Consulate

this 2nd day of Nov 1910.

(signed by H. G. Tours)

(with the seal of BRITISH CONSULATE AMOY)

大清欽命福建分巡興泉永等處海防兵備道部

給出租地契事照得接准

太英領事官來照会內开今有本案物人未十力姑娘自称在厦门鼓浪嶼公共租界內向业户黄协水處承租得口園地一段該地四至自南至北计伍拾陸丈會英尺肆英寸口东至西计陆丈陆英尺会计壹亩

玖分玖厘肆毫玖丝　西至　南至　北至　为界租价

洋银　元载明契約每年应納地税银壹拾伍两元以钱角伍分

正由管业商人按年繳納等医前来本道当经派员查明該地并无纠葛所有医界限丈尺亦经丈量明白应准該业户将地租给該商管业开店代表管之人将来倘以該地转租他人若不禀呈該管領事官照会本道注册及每年不将每亩地税银元预付粮柜收據违犯契章并经产物仍还不遵者則将此契作为废纸則地归官須至地契者

副契

百统元年七月　日　给地契地八号

此項租地经委员会同勘复举落　保　都一名　地方又

见实址　宅　分　厘　毫　册　号等地绘图到道

該同应照丈实由分管业相应批明备考　年　月　日批（兴泉永道印）

Fig. 8.6 Title deed of Lot No. 123. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/110, Amoy: Lot No. 123 Nicholls, Mrs T.C., 1910

The first copy of the third version of the title deed was issued for Lot No. 128. It was perpetually leased by E.Y.S. Lim (林桂园, Lin Guiyuan). The application for the title deed was submitted on 17 April 1914 and approved accordingly. The registration was recorded on 15 July 1914 and completed two days later. The contents of this version of the Xiamen title deed were similar to those of the second version. Notably, the Chinese page of the title deed was handwritten without a title. The major change was that *Siming* County was now the approval authority. However, the translation on the printed English page was still "Maritime Sub-prefect of Amoy." The minor change was that the English page had a small remark of "FORM C" in the title, and the clause regarding the annual land tax was crossed by hand (see Fig. 8.7).[36]

A detailed examination of Xiamen title deeds shows that there were different dates on application, approval, registration and completion. This demonstrates the whole process of applying for and registering a title deed in this treaty port. To apply for a title deed, the foreign lessee should submit the deed(s) signed with the Chinese lessor (i.e. *Huaqi*), together with other supporting documents to the respective Consulate for the local authorities' verification. After certifying the land transaction, the local authorities (i.e. Maritime Sub-prefect, Intendant of Circuit, County Magistrate) would fix their seal on the Chinese page of the title deed. All these documents would be returned to the Consulate for registration. After the lessee pays up the registration fee, the consul would sign and seal on the English page of the title deed. Once the title deed's registration was completed, the following land transfers would be recorded by the consuls at the blank of the title deed. Only after the lot had been transferred to a non-British subject would the title deed cancel accordingly.

The changes in the format and contents of the three versions of the Xiamen title deed reflect the Qing and Republican governments' different concerns about handling Sino-foreign land transactions. The Qing title deed showed the continuance of Chinese traditions, such as the roles that *Dibao* played in Sino-foreign land transactions. The Republican title deed emphasised territorial sovereignty through regulating terms and conditions of the foreigners' proprietorship.[37] Unlike *Huaqi*, Xiamen title deeds did not record the land price settled by the lessor and the lessee, which was always a key element in the Chinese deeds. Instead, the second and third versions of the Xiamen title deed raised the issue of land taxation on foreign real estate.

Form C.

[TRANSLATION]

Title Deed.

Lai Yo Lim, Maritime Sub-prefect or Amoy

hereby gives this Deed for the Renting of Land

I have received communication from HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY's Consul stating that

E. V. S. Lim

herein described and called the Renter] has applied to Rent in perpetuity from the Proprietor

Chiang Hsin Jong

a Lot of Land, situated at the Port of Amoy, on the island of Kulangsu, measuring in area

about three mow, fun, le, haou bounded at

North by Tse Ko Kee Road

South by Fu Min School (London Mission)

East by Messrs Boyd and Co's property

West by Main road.

That the said Renter has paid to the said Proprietor a sum of thirteen hundred

dollars, ~~for the land, and also that he will pay the land tax of per mow Yearly in advance to the~~

Chinese Government.

This coming before the Intendant, I do hereby arrange and agree that the said Proprietor shall

Rent the said quantity of Land to the said Renter upon the following conditions:-

That if the said Renter, his or their Successors or Assigns, shall hereafter make over his or their

Interest in the Ground now rented to another party, without reporting the same to his or their Consul for his

assent and concurrence, and through him to the Intendant for the time being, and for the due registration of the

Transaction in their respective records, or if the said Renter neglect to pay Yearly in advance the said

land tax of ____ per mow, after being ordered to do so, then and in each of these several cases,

this Deed shall become null and void, and the proprietorship of the said Land, Houses, and Tenements, shall

revert to the Lord of the Soil.

A necessary Deed for the Renting of Land.

3rd year of Republic year, L. S. 7th moon 15th day.

15th July 1914

LOT No. 128

REGISTRATION COMPLETED AT

H.B.M. CONSULATE,

This 17th day of July 1914. (with the signature of the British consul and the seal of BRITISH CONSULATE AMOY)

调署思明县来 为

给出租地契事照得按准

大英领事官李照会内开今据英国商人林桂园禀此明在厦门鼓浪屿迎商口

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后代管业之人将来以其地转租不声明本国总领事官移 登籍及每年

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抗不遵则此契作为废纸地即归官领至租地契者

民国 年 月 日 给地契第 号(福建思明县印)

Fig. 8.7 Title deed of Lot No. 128. Transcribed and drawn by the author. Source: PRO, FO678/79, Amoy: Lot No. 128 Lim, E.V.S., 1914

Most Xiamen title deeds adopted the traditional way of using text to describe the land's locality and boundaries. A few of them were attached with maps drawn in a traditional Chinese manner. These kinds of descriptions of the land could only be understood by the locals with the collective awareness of the spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood. As late as the end of the nineteenth century, Western-style maps appeared to demarcate property boundaries, attached to the title deed. The scientific accuracy of Western-style maps avoided the ambiguity of the textual descriptions of the lot boundaries. On the other hand, it also implied the increasing mobility of Xiamen's residents, which may not necessarily have been able to sustain the traditional way of depicting a stable neighbourhood space.

Conclusion

In Xiamen, *Huaqi* was widely used in the Sino-foreign land transactions to legalise foreigner's land rights and to protect the Chinese lessors' interests. Even after the first title deed was registered on 26 February 1879, many foreigners did not feel the urgency of applying for title deeds for their properties. Due to its legitimacy in Sino-foreign land transactions, *Huaqi* could be regarded as a white deed in Sino-foreign land transactions. When foreign lessees needed to apply for title deeds for their properties, *Huaqi* and any other former deeds were submitted for verification by the local authorities.

In many ways, *Huaqi* followed the norms of Chinese deeds in Xiamen. This ensured the consistent influence of the local traditions and indigenous customs on foreigners' land development in Xiamen. First of all, the priority of relatives and neighbours in land transfer was given notice in facilitating foreigners' land acquisition on Gulangyu. This simplified the process of combining small lots in the area to form a big site for building mansions.

The terms and conditions of *Huaqi* regulated foreigners' rights of land development. When a site consisted of physical elements that may affect the *fengshui* of the family or the neighbourhood, its redevelopment was carefully defined in *Huaqi*. These concerns were a representation of local traditions and indigenous customs. The respect to these terms and conditions of *Huaqi* contributed to the preservation of the natural and artificial landscapes of the site, such as rocks, water, and graves.

Huaqi followed the traditional way of using texts to describe a land's locality and boundaries. This practice relied much on the collective

awareness of spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood. It could be recognised by people living in the same neighbourhood for generations. Hence, they would not question the proprietorship. However, the ambiguity and intricacy of the written description of the property in *Huaqi* may contribute to disputes over foreigners' land rights and future land transfers. Western style maps that demarcated the land's locality and boundaries became a practical and scientific way for foreigners to protect their real estate in China's treaty ports.

The importance of registering title deeds was gradually recognised by the foreign lessees in Xiamen, who wanted to secure another layer of insurance for their properties. In contrast with *Huaqi*, which was a private agreement with less engagement by the local authorities, the registered title deed was associated with a consistent and reliable service by the Consulate. The registered title deed would be used to record any changes in proprietorship until it was transferred to non-British subjects. The registration of title deeds allowed the Consulate to efficiently manage their nationals' properties in Xiamen. Compared with Shanghai, the significance of title deeds was recognised considerably later in Xiamen. The first Xiamen title deed was issued almost 30 years after its Shanghai precedent appeared in 1847.

The three versions of the Xiamen title deed show the changes in its format from adopting the format of the traditional Chinese deed to addressing conditional proprietorships of foreign lessees. They implied the local authorities' increasing sense of territorial sovereignty. The registration process revealed that the local authorities were the main body involved in verifying Sino-foreign land transactions. Without their approval, no title deed would be issued. The Consulate's role was to register the title deed and to document any future land transfer related to their nationals' properties.

The application of the "rent-in-perpetuity" system in Xiamen presents an institutionalisation process that was different from those implemented in Shanghai. In Xiamen, *Huaqi*'s predominant role in legalising Sino-foreign land transactions lasted into the early twentieth century. The respect for local traditions and indigenous customs was recorded in *Huaqi* and in turn, influenced foreigners' development of the leased land. The study of the Xiamen title deed allows us to conclude that complex local contexts led to diverse ways of managing and supervising Sino-foreign land transactions in China's treaty ports, mixing traditional Chinese ideology with Western practices.

Acknowledgements This research originates from one chapter of the author's doctoral dissertation entitled "Urban Transformation in Semi-colonial China: Gulangyu International Settlement (1903–1937)," which was completed in 2006. It was presented in a few conferences and substantially revised for this publication. Special thanks are attributed to Donna Brunero for her editorial comments, and Jason Tzu-cheng Kuo for his proofreading assistance and constructive feedback. Any error in this chapter is solely the responsibility of the author.

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17. Xue Qifeng (complied), *Lujiang Zhi* (Gazette of Egret River), Xiamen: Lujiang Press, 1998, c1766, p. 46.
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20. PRO, FO678/44, Amoy: Lot No. 165 English Presbyterian Mission, Kulangsu, 1928.
21. PRO, FO678/109, Amoy: Lot No. 57 Nicholls, T. C. 1899.
22. PRO, FO678/46, Amoy: Lot No. 130 English Presbyterian Mission, 1914.
23. PRO, FO678/47, Amoy: Lot No. 133 English Presbyterian Mission, 1915.
24. PRO, FO678/114, Amoy: Lot No. 93 Ollia, Mrs. Metan Jehanger. 1904.
25. PRO, FO678/121, Amoy: Lot No. 136 Petigura, P. J. 1916.
26. PRO, FO678/115, Amoy: Lot No. 17 Ollia, N. D. 1882.
27. PRO, FO678/120, Amoy: Petigura, P. J. 1916.
28. Lim Boon Keng (1869–1957) was a famous Straits-born Chinese, whose grandfather originated from Haicheng, Fujian. Being the first Malayan to receive the Queen's Scholarship, he studied medicine at the Edinburgh University. After his graduation, he practised in Singapore and promoted social reforms in the then British Straits Settlement. He was invited by Tan Kah Kee to be the president of Amoy University from 1921 to 1937.
29. PRO, FO678/82, Amoy: Lot No. 170 Lim, Mrs. G. P., 1929.
30. Chen Yu. "*Yizhuan Yishi Xiangtu Qing: Jiedu Lin Wenqing zai Gulangyu de Goudi Zhiye*" [Learning from Lim Boon Keng's Real Estate Development on Gulangyu]. In *Lim Boon Keng de Xiada Qingyuan* [Lim Boon Keng and His Ties with the Amoy University], Lee Guan Kin (ed.), Singapore: Centre for Chinese Language and Culture, Nanyang Technological University and Global Publishing Co., 2009, pp. 87–117.
31. *Too* (tu) referred to the traditional land allotment that was recorded by the government. *Mow* (mu), *fun* (fen), and *le* (li) were the traditional Chinese units of measurement. In Ming and Qing dynasties, 1 mu was around 614.4 square metres. One mu was equal to 10 fen and 100 li.
32. Shanghai Land Regulations (1854), see note no. 6.
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34. PRO, FO678/133, Amoy: Lot No. 1 Scott, M. G., 1879.
35. PRO, FO678/110, Amoy: Lot No. 123 Nicholls, Mrs. T. C., 1910.
36. PRO, FO678/79, Amoy: Lot No. 128 Lim, E. V. S., 1914.
37. Fei Chengkang and Ma Xueqiang also pointed out the different proprietorships between the Chinese and foreign landholders in modern China. Fei, *Zhongguo zujieshi*, 91–2; Ma, *Cong chuantong dao jindai*, pp. 179, 199–200.

PART IV

Visualising the Port

CHAPTER 9

Who Miniaturises China? Treaty Port Souvenirs from Ningbo

Yuanxie Shi and Laurel Kendall

"The miniature is suitable as an item of collection because it is sized for individual consumption at the same time that its surplus of detail connotes infinity and distance," so writes Susan Stewart, in a work of cultural studies that casts a serious and critical gaze on objects commonly regarded as ephemera, objects like the whitewood figurines originating in the treaty port Ningbo (*Ningpo* 宁波) that are the subject of this chapter.[1] In an early twentieth century guidebook, Reverend Charles E. Darwent described tiny whitewood figurines from Ningbo as "models of sampans, junks, irrigation machines, wheelbarrows, etc., along with cleverly done groups from Chinese life, such as people eating, opium smoking, threshing wheat, etc."[2] Others portray grisly tableaux of punishment and torture either in the temporal or in the netherworld. As a child in 1950s' California, Laurel Kendall played with a small wooden sampan and a miniature sedan chair, gifts from a family friend in the US Merchant Marine. Years later, Laurel encountered an abundance of similar whitewood figurines (*baimu xiaojian* 白木小件, *xiao bai jian* 小白件) in a storeroom of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). Yuanxie Shi grew up in Ningbo

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_9

but only encountered whitewood figurines when she began an internship at the AMNH. Through fieldwork in Ningbo in the summer of 2015, Yuanxie was able to meet with Master Xu Yongshui (徐永水), one of the few surviving craftsmen, and learn of recent local efforts to document and preserve this all-but-vanished handicraft.

In this chapter, we consider the little wooden miniatures, seldom more than four inches high, as a quintessential treaty port product, both in the circumstances that assisted their production and marketability and as tangible referents for "China" as imagined and produced in a contact zone.[3] We describe the craft of making, probable origins, and the range and popularity of motifs consumed by foreign travellers who purchased these figures as souvenirs, bric-a-brac, and museum models. For Susan Stewart, the miniature is a "broad cliché illustrated by selected example,"[4] but is the cliché necessarily and exclusively a Western cliché? The carvings we describe first appeared in a treaty port; there is nothing like them in traditional Chinese decorative art. Even so, the little wooden people offer a point of intersection where the visual lexicon of "China" as anticipated by foreign visitors intersects with Chinese vernacular images which the treaty port carvers deployed in unprecedented ways, drawing on traditional techniques to produce something completely new, the hybrid product of a hybrid place.

Souvenirs/Models/Bric-a-Brac

Dean MacCannell characterises the souvenir as a "fallen object"—a cheap and infinitely reproducible thing whose primary value is as a signifier of the purchaser's authentic encounter with somewhere far away.[5] Susan Stewart distinguishes the souvenir as a commodity—the inexpensively reproduced place icon—from the souvenir as a trace or "sample" of deeply personal experience—the cork from a significant bottle of champagne, the pressed corsage.[6] Stewart interprets the souvenir, particularly the latter type, as a repository of nostalgia, an evocation of childhood, and a site of dissatisfaction with present circumstance. The little wooden figures in Chinese tableaux, in common with miniature tours Eiffel, five-inch totem poles, and doomed World Trade Centers in glass snow globes, hew more closely to MacCannell's understanding of the souvenir, but they also participate in the nostalgic illusion of, in James Hevia's words, "a timeless and remote 'Chinaland'" (see Fig. 9.1).[7]

Fig. 9.1 American Museum of Natural History: *Top left*: farmer with plough (AMNH 70.2/824); *top right*: execution scene (AMNH 70.2/820); *bottom right*: sedan chair (AMNH 70/1686); *bottom left*: spinning silk (AMNH 70/4609). Images courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History

As small, lightweight, portable, well-crafted works of handicraft, the little wooden people were ideal souvenirs for those who passed through the treaty ports. "Few better souvenirs of a trip to the Orient could be had than these tiny models picturing in wood various phases of Chinese life," one travel writer opined.[8] Others praised the high quality of the workmanship. Darwent called them "beautiful."[9] "The carving is marvelous," Agnes E. Bowen at the Brooklyn Children's Museum enthused, "—fine, but not too elaborate, yet all necessary detail is there. The features and characteristics of each person are individualised and there is a remarkable showing of action."[10] The little wooden people appealed to a Victorian decorative passion for assemblages of bric-a-brac that lingered on middle class what-not shelves well into the twentieth century. Rather than replicating a particular iconic site, the little wooden people evoke "China" in a broad and subliminally familiar sense. Carvings were only rarely inscribed

with specific place names, while a known bridge or pagoda could also stand for a genre of arched bridges and eight-sided pagodas—and similar figures were sold in different Chinese cities.[11] Some whitewood figurines became mobile commodities accessible to people who had never themselves visited China. In 1940, the Brooklyn Children's Museum purchased some from F.W. Woolworth Company, a "five-and-dime" store whose stock ranged from nail polish to live goldfish. After the Revolution, figurines were produced in a craft cooperative, then collective factory in Ninghai County (宁海县), Ningbo, and marketed overseas, primarily in France.[12]

In travel writing and museum notes, collectors regarded whitewood figurines as "souvenirs," "models," "bric-a-brac," or "toys" but never "art." In their mobility and legibility as Chinese things, they recall Eskimo soapstone sculptures, Pueblo figurative pottery, Navajo rugs, and many other hand-crafted objects that have come into being in contact situations, were initially marketed to tourists, and eventually circulated in a global marketplace for ethnic art.[13] But unlike these other examples, the Ningbo figurines emerged in a world where Chinese connoisseurship had already established hierarchies of artistic value.[14] By the late nineteenth century, foreigners were also purchasing Chinese art, catalysed by looting during the Opium Wars and subsequently fostered by the treaty port situation.[15] "Art," for these collectors, carried the weight of Chinese antiquity.[16]

The Carvers

There is no known pre-modern Chinese equivalent for small, free-standing, secular wooden figurines despite a penchant for miniaturisation in other forms of handicraft, votive offerings, and landscape architecture. Unlike wooden temple images that are either seated regally or strike operatic poses, all in antique dress, the little wooden figures perform quotidian acts in ordinary dress or are engaged in grisly tortures. Unlike other Chinese decorative art, most of these pieces lack auspicious associations and would not have been welcome decorations in Chinese homes of the period. Carved of cheap, soft, locally grown wood, they were meant for foreign consumption. Even so, the carvers' skill emerged from a well-developed Ningbo woodworking tradition. Social historians describe the Ningbo region from the late Ming into the early modern period as an increasingly well-integrated economy, the hinterland connected to the port by rivers and the port as a node in a coastal transport network intimately linked to Shanghai (上海)

up the coast.[17] Handicraft production developed in both volume and kind as transportation improved and where shrinking landholdings encouraged sideline specialisations.[18] Ningbo woodworking craft reached its peak just after Ningbo became a treaty port in 1842.[19] In the 1860s, Nicholas Belfield Dennys described furniture-making as the "chief specialty of Ningpo [Ningbo]."[20] As Hevia notes, the very existence of Dennys' 1867 guidebook evidences how the treaty ports swiftly became receptive harbourages for foreign visitors, some with an eye for local products.[21]

By 1900, improvements in global and domestic transportation and communication accelerated foreign traffic.[22] This fostered new goods and services, including a robust market in antiquities, curios, and souvenirs.[23] Here we find material evidence of the little wooden people of Ningbo. The earliest example in our survey of North American and British collections came to the Burke Museum in 1890 as the gift of a China missionary, John N.B. Smith. Pieces in the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology were accessioned even earlier, in 1882.[24] In his 1909 study of local businesses, Nyok-Ching Tsur, a native scholar of Ningbo, confirms the popularity of small figurines, which he characterises as one of the city's three major woodcraft products: "They correspond to the 'souvenirs' favored in Germany and are bought in China especially often by foreigners."[25] In the 1920s, Day advised travellers disembarking in Shanghai to visit Ningbo, 100 miles to the south:

> A few minutes' walk from the Bund will bring the visitor to the shops of the wood-carvers directly back of the Chinese post office … Inside each shop, sitting at a bench on which is arranged a great array of chisels, will be found from one to five men at work … While one person does the carving, another who is deft with the brush will add a touch of colour to the finished models, a touch of red on the lips, a tinge of green to the buttons, a dash of red and green to the sides of ladies' heads to suggest flowers stuck in the hair, and a dab of black and white to the eyes on the hulls of the boats.[26]

Local scholars believe that Ninghai carvers were the first to sell their carvings in the Ningbo harbour.[27] Handicraft was a mobile enterprise as aspiring craftsmen from peripheral villages sought their fortunes in the port. Master Xu recalls talk of carvers who went down to the wharfs, transporting their wares in carry-pole baskets, assailing the disembarking travellers with their limited vocabulary of foreign words.[28] From the mid-Qing, Ninghai carvers sold their wares in Shanghai and eventually in other Chinese cities, participating in the established practice of "business by the water" (*luohe shengyi* 落河生意).[29] They travelled on well-developed

networks of regional affinity, as Ningbo merchants and bankers did both before and after steamship traffic overshadowed Ningbo's importance for long-distance portage.[30] Day observed that Ningbo carpenters and cabinet-makers "have a high reputation wherever they go, and they are found in almost any city of China."[31] Some even went to Southeast Asia.[32]

In Ningbo, as in other Chinese cities, craftsmen clustered by occupation and were organised into craft guilds. Tsur described "eight wood carving shops … located together in that street near which the traffic of European and Chinese travellers is strongest. Here every traveller has to pass by if he wants to visit the city temple."[33] As with other crafts, this was a master–apprentice tradition. From age 13 or 14, the apprentice assisted with humble household tasks and only gradually received instruction in carving. While furniture producers often formed complex business partnerships, whitewood figurine carvers seem to have been independent producers with simple household workshops like the one Day described or itinerants who carried their tools from place to place.[34] Different lines of master–apprentice transmission probably account for variations in choices of wood, motifs, detail, and overall style in the figures that survive in museum collections.

The most likely antecedents for the whitewood figurines come from "Ning-style furniture" (*Ning-shi jiaju* 宁式家具) found in modest homes and decorated with delicately carved three-dimensional motifs called *jizi* (吉子) cast within a flexible wooden frame or *jiziban* (吉子板) as a point of joinery for a bed or standing chest.[35] With this joinery technique (*kaotou* 拷头), Ningbo craftsmen could use small pieces of local softwood, which is receptive to decorative carving but useless in Canton-style or Beijing-style furniture traditions, where hardwoods are prized.[36] Although today *jizi* are made by machine, craftsmen once painstakingly designed and executed these small carvings, borrowing popular motifs from paintings, for the quality of the *jizi* determined the quality of the entire piece.[37] Although the *jizi* are not free-standing, and their three-dimensional depth of field is necessarily shallow, they are approximately the same size as whitewood figurines, and the carved animals or human figures they display have the same black eyes and red mouths and lips, painted with similar pigments (compare, e.g. AMNH 70/4701 and 70/4615; see Fig. 9.2). Some whitewood figurines depict local customs and we also see this in the *jizi*, but exact correlations are rare and most whitewood figurines would not be auspicious imagery for a marriage bed.

Fig. 9.2 American Museum of Natural History: Comparisons of *jizi* and figurines (clockwise): *top left*: *jizi* scene (AMNH 70/4701); *top right*: figurine carrying bundle on a pole (AMNH 70/4615); *bottom right*: figurine tending geese (AMNH 70/4616); *bottom left*: crane motif (AMNH 70/4707)

Collectors and What They Bought

We began our survey with the 52 pieces at the AMNH and eventually located another 143 in other museums for a total of 195 figurines associated with 26 different collectors.[38] An additional 109 figurines appear in the published catalogue of Admiral Jules Le Bigot's collection and we have included these in our sample.[39] Admiral Le Bigot's collection witnesses a quintessential treaty port story; he placed Xujiahui Catholic Settlement under French protection during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and received the figures, made by the local T'ou Sè-Wè vocational school, as a gratitude gift.[40] Most whitewood figurines left China in the luggage of treaty port travellers and most met the souvenir's

usual fate: "Gathering dust in the unused drawing room, already destined for the attic, the souvenir is unable to anchor memory and is degraded to kitsch."[41] The 195 figures in our sample are exceptions, in most cases preserved because the collectors or their heirs considered a museum an appropriate place for them. Missionaries, missionary societies, businessmen, diplomats, Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, and members of The Explorers Club appear in museum accession records as donors of whitewood figurines.[42] We note, however, that absent one figure gifted by the descendants of a Penobscot sea captain,[43] and the extensive collection of Admiral Le Bigot, sailors are significantly absent from this sample despite their reputation as avid souvenir hunters in all possible ports. It is not surprising that missionaries are prominent among museum donors, given the fervour of missionary interest in China during the treaty port era. Missionaries contributed to the University of Washington's Burke Museum, the Brooklyn Children's Museum, and the AMNH. Figures in the British Museum come from the Methodist Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society. A.W. Bash went to China in 1896 for the American China Development Company, aspiring to negotiate concessions; his daughter, Clementine, who gave her father's figurines to the Burke, returned to China as a medical missionary.[44] James Wheeler Davidson was US Consul-General at Shanghai in 1905, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and The Explorers Club. One of his children recalled whitewood figurines being made for his father when the family lived in Shanghai.[45]

Ningbo figurines also appear as random souvenirs in the eclectic collections made by world travellers. Walter Hildburgh, who described his own activities as locust-like,[46] gave the AMNH nearly 3000 objects from his Asian travels but was abstemious with respect to whitewood figurines, providing the AMMH with just two exquisitely carved little whitewood figurines, a woman and a man who seem to be engaged in animated conversation (AMNH 70.0/5579AB). Did his eye happen to light upon them in a cluttered shop? Eugene Jackson Koop, Honourary Member of the Royal Geographical Society, recorded his purchase of a model "Sedan chair of wood … Shanghai, March 1, 1896," a relatively prosaic entry when measured against his acquisition of "Chinese weapons used in the massacre of the Christians in Kucheng (*Gǔtián* 古田) in the summer of 1895."[47] On this same extended journey, he also acquired such curiosities as, in Darjeeling, a double-headed drum made from the "skulls of man and woman taken in adultery, December 1895," and the previous August,

a "fork used by cannibals in the Fijis when eating human flesh." We may only speculate as to the content of the travel lectures that Mr Koop subsequently delivered to church societies and other groups in New York and Philadelphia. Ricardo A. Mestres who, with his wife, gifted the AMNH with 18 whitewood figurines in 1950 may never have visited China. As a youthful member of The Explorers Club, he had been designated "as the official grandson of the Club. The members on their return from various expeditions gave me the curios which I had sent to the museum."[48]

While museum records give us only partial and suggestive information about the people who passed through the treaty ports and picked up whitewood figurines on the way, a comparison of surviving examples suggests the sorts of images—China as remembered and imagined—that particularly appealed to them.

We may assume that some of the figures made by Ninghai carvers had less appeal than others or were too difficult to produce in volume. Carvers at the T'ou Sè-Wè school, who made Le Bigot's collection, produced complex tableaux of musicians, blacksmiths, and street-side vendors that do not appear in any other collection known to us. Clementine Bash's donation to the Burke Museum includes a seductive-looking woman in a loose robe lounging against an elegant table on which rests a water pipe (Burke 4033), an image suggestive of Chinese beauty paintings but in a louche mode; among the carvings we have seen, there is nothing else quite like it.[49] While we can be confident that our sample indicates the popularity of certain images, others may have been missed by the random chance of old souvenirs gifted to museums.

Roughly three-quarters of the figurines we identified (233 out of 304) portray daily life in China in the last years of the Qing, recalling other models from other parts of the world that were abundantly collected and deployed in exhibitionary settings from the late nineteenth century, the illusion of a world brought close, contained, and understood.[50] Some collectors intended the figures for museum or other exhibitionary purposes in the first instance. Berthold Laufer, collecting for the AMNH, exhibited whitewood figurines as examples of sophisticated Chinese woodcarving.[51] Erna Gunther, an anthropologist at the University of Washington, found whitewood figurines for the Burke Museum in Seattle thrift shops. Day used whitewood figurines to illustrate a hypothetical river journey into the interior.[52] The Brooklyn Children's Museum described them as an object lesson in social markers: "The passengers [on a river boat] have a matting awning to shield them from the weather but the poor woman poling the

boat has no such protection. A priest, however, has a large and handsome parasol and wears an odd hump in his dress, between the shoulders, just at shoulder line. Parasol and hump designate his office."[53] Missionaries, who used objects from the mission field to garner both material support and recruits, had been explicitly instructed to collect miniatures and models for the Missionary Exhibit of 1900, including 15 whitewood figurines now at the AMNH.[54] The affinity between whitewood figurines and museum models might explain why some collectors, or their heirs, saw anthropology collections as an appropriate final resting place for Ningbo figurines.

As souvenirs, some of the little wooden people replicated first-hand experiences. The popular Victorian travel writer Isabella Bird (Bishop)'s published account of her 1897 arrival in Shanghai enables a pairing of first impressions with whitewood figurines in our sample. Rickshaws "in the hundreds" greeted her arrival in Shanghai in 1897[55] (15 examples, 10 collectors). Sampans crowded the harbour and were everywhere on the Yangtze River[56] (15 examples, 10 collectors). In the Chinese quarter, she saw "wheelbarrows innumerable, some loaded with goods or luggage, while the coolies of others are trundling along from two to four Chinese men or women of the lower classes, seated on matted platforms on either side of the wheel, facing forwards"[57] (8 examples, 7 collectors). Here too, "a mandarin sweeps by in his gilded chair, carried at a run with his imposing retinue, but his lictors clear the way by means not available to the general public."[58] She describes the coordination required of the bearers both in their gait and in the constant simultaneous shifting of poles: "[A] stoppage, occurs every hundred yards, and always gives the impression that the shoulder which is relieved is in unbearable pain"[59] (18 closed chairs, 2 open chairs, 14 collectors). As a travel writer seeking material, Bird conveys a sense of voyeuristic fascination with Chinese street life: "The streets of Hankow (*Hankou* 汉口), like those of most of the large trading cities, present a perpetual series of dramas. In them hundreds of people eat, sleep, bargain, gamble, cook, spin, and quarrel, while they are the sculleries, sinks, and sewers of a not inconsiderable portion of the population … Itinerant barbers pursue their essential calling, carrying their apparatus on their backs, and perambulating the streets with a curious cry … many other industries are carried on in the streets …"[60] (22 porters, 10 collectors; 3 barbers, 3 collectors; 5 carpenters, 4 collectors; 8 pedestrians carrying parasols, 6 collectors; and numerous workshop tableaux and street-food vendors in Le Bigot's collection).

In the Republican Period (1912–1949), carvings of mandarins in sedan chairs, scenes of public torture, men with queues, and women with bound feet were anachronistic but still popular souvenir significations of China. In three of Le Bigot's execution scenes, the executioners wear Republican-era uniforms and one wields a rifle[61]; and a postman has a modern uniform.[62] The Burke has a single tableau of schoolboys with cropped hair (Burke 5-14124), but such modern associations are rare. Rickshaws (*jinricksha*), appearing first in the treaty ports, were exotic to both Chinese and disembarking travellers who saw them as locally signifying. Some whitewood figurines portray more private aspects of Chinese life carried out beyond the gaze of most Western travellers but still legible as Chinese things: a family eating from common plates (4 examples, 4 collectors), ancestor veneration (3 examples, 3 collectors), a couple on an opium bed (3 examples, 3 collectors), a bride and groom in traditional costume (2 examples, 2 collectors), and a traditional school (3 examples, 3 collectors). Other figurines enact rural life, ploughing fields (16 examples, 11 collectors), and irrigating rice paddies with foot-driven pumps (3 examples, 3 collectors). Ducks and geese are herded (4 examples, 2 collectors) and fish netted and trapped (5 examples, 3 collectors); women spin cotton and silk (6 examples, 4 collectors), weave cloth (4 examples, 3 collectors), and embroider (3 examples, 3 collectors); grain is mortared (2 examples, 2 collectors), threshed (4 examples, 4 collectors), and hulled (11 examples, 8 collectors); and raw cotton is carded (3 examples, 3 collectors) and put through a simple gin (1 example). Did these tableaux evoke for the viewer an "authentic" China absent the factories, cinemas, and other apparatuses of modernity in the treaty ports, or did they, with the miniature rickshaw pullers, porters, and sedan chair-bearers, witness a despotic and backward Oriental order? The farmer with plough and ox had been an auspicious symbol for nearly 2000 years, but on the cover of Pearl Buck's 1931 Pulitzer Prize–winning novel, *The Good Earth*, it represented a peasant life of unremitting effort, exploitation, and pain, even as Chinese writers of the Republican Period also described it.[63] Rudolf P. Hommel[64] and Franklin Hiram King[65] used photographs of some of these same activities to illustrate their studies, the former describing lives of "primitive toil," the latter praising the ingenuity of Chinese farmers.

Seventy-one of the whitewood figurines are in another mode as scenes of judgement, punishment, torture, and execution. Particularly popular were criminals encased in cangues (11 examples, 7 collectors), criminals in cages (8 examples, 8 collectors), and beheadings (7 examples, 6 collectors).

Some forms of torture—bodies sawn in twain (4 examples, 4 collectors) or ground in a mortar (1 example)—are obviously not of this world. These, and tableaux with demon-headed figures exacting punishment or hauling criminals away in chains, evoke the Chinese netherworld portrayed in temples honouring the Ten Kings of Hell. Some of the figures are difficult to situate and this is not surprising given the clear parallels between the Qing magistrate's court and the courts of the underworld in Chinese popular religious practice.[66]

Absent hell, nearly all of the subjects of whitewood figurines described above also circulated in treaty port–era Western photography of China, from the early work of John Thomson to that of Hedda Morrison in the 1930s and 1940s.[67] Hevia describes how newspaper illustrations, combined with illustrated books and boxed sets of stereographic slides, gave the foreign viewer a well-edited sense of knowing China from afar. With their almost eerie similarity to some of these photographs, both of grotesque torture and more picturesquely quotidian activities, the little wooden people of Ningbo nestle comfortably into Hevia's interpretation as replications of an imperial gaze, built upon a series of widely reproduced images that distance China in both time and space (see Fig. 9.3).[68] This is true, but also incomplete, for the treaty port market assumed both supply and demand. Supply, and the visual resources that enabled it, is the subject of our final section.

Where Do Images Come from?

Souvenir handicrafts emerge from a dialogic process; travellers' tastes encouraged carvers to keep producing sampans, rickshaws, sedan chairs, farmers with ox-drawn ploughs, prisoners in cangues and cages, and scenes of decapitation. Carvers in other workshops would have mimicked particularly popular forms while abandoning less popular or more difficult ones. But where did the subjects of the carvings come from in the first instance? Were the carvers copying photographs or were they, with the photographers, mimicking something else? In the early nineteenth century, when foreign trade was restricted to the port of Canton (*Guangzhou* 广州), genre images of Chinese life were being painted on tree pith for foreign consumption, most famously in the atelier of the painter Lum-qua (林官 or 琳呱). These paintings illustrate most of the activities performed by the figurines in similar compositions of spinning, weaving, and agricultural tasks; communal dining; shop interiors; opium smoking; execution

Fig. 9.3 American Museum of Natural History: Torture collected and photographed (clockwise): *top left*: archival photograph of wearing cangue, courtesy of Special Collections, American Museum of Natural History Library, Image number 336619; *top right*: two figures sharing cangue (AMNH 70.2/818); *bottom left*: figure wearing cangue (AMNH 70/1680)

scenes; and various this-worldly and otherworldly tortures.[69] While we may never know whether carvers in Ningbo consciously replicated the work of painters in Canton, they shared a common genealogy of Chinese graphic representation. Prototypes for nearly all of these images circulated in Chinese graphic arts, in most instances well before the production of export paintings, whitewood figurines, and China photography.

Craftsmen and vendors are nearly absent from traditional Chinese paintings, with a few rare exceptions.[70] Artistic portrayals of commercial activities found on the streets of a Chinese city gained popularity only after

Fig. 9.4 American Museum of Natural History: Being mortared in hell (clockwise): *left*: hell painting (AMNH 70/13330); *top right*: woman being mortared head first while a hungry dog licks the blood, courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture (Catalogue Number 5-14136); *bottom right*: shadow puppet mortar for grinding culprits in hell (AMNH 70/10166), both AMNH

1780 and circulated in popular prints by the mid- or late nineteenth century.[71] Scenes of the agricultural and sericultural cycles appear in the *Yuzhi gengzhi tu* (御制耕织图),[72] a late-seventeenth century homage to a thirteenth century original which subsequently circulated in multiple editions.[73] Illustrated encyclopaedias or *leishu* (类书) also contained scenes of practical activities such as spinning and borrowed eclectically from prior sources.[74] Illustrated works such as the *Shou shi tu kao* 授时图考 (*Illustrated study of seasonal agricultural tasks*) contain woodblock illustrations of traditional methods of fishing, tilling, irrigating fields with pumps, planting, harvesting, mortaring, threshing, milling, and sawing in compositions that suggest prototypes for both whitewood figurines and treaty port paintings.

Fig. 9.5 More hell torture: *top*: figurine being sawn in twain by hell demons (AMNH 70.2/822); *bottom*: shadow puppet demons wielding a saw (AMNH 70/10176)

By the eighteenth century, many of these images had reached Europe through the medium of Chinese export porcelain, rare examples of the books themselves, and later as Canton paintings. In Europe, they were being replicated, after a fashion, in various chinoiserie forms, including Sèveres porcelain, illustrated books, folios, and free-standing prints.[75] In the treaty port era, some of these same images would appear on cigarette cards, a promotional gimmick distributed in cigarette packs as a thoroughly hybridised presentation.[76]

The images of torture and execution have their own vernacular source in temple paintings and as illustrations for moral tracts (*shanshu* 善书).[77] The Courts of Hell and the punishments exacted there have a long pedigree in Chinese religious imaginary, appearing in the Dazu caves (大足石刻) in bas-relief dated to the Southern Song. An iconography of judgement and punishment reached Korea, Japan, and Vietnam through hell paintings, many produced in the Ningbo area.[78] Images of flogging, beheadings, and caning subsequently reached eighteenth century Europe on Japanese-painted porcelain and later in export paintings soon appropriated into Enlightenment portrayals of a despotic Orient.[79] Hell tortures maintained a tenacious popularity in the Chinese visual imaginary. In the early twentieth century, Laufer collected a full panoply of shadow puppets depicting ingeniously diabolic punishments. Notably, puppets parallel figurine portrayals of a mortar used to grind a malefactor from head to toe and of two demons bearing a saw (see Figs. 9.4 and 9.5, respectively).[80] In Beijing's Liulichang (琉璃厂) bazaar, he also acquired papier-mâché figures of a beheading scene subsequently catalogued as "toys" (AMNH 70/10863).

Conclusion

This project began with a sample of whitewood figurines purchased as souvenirs in the treaty ports and sometimes marketed abroad as China curiosities. The little wooden people reveal the popularity of certain motifs, both quaint and grotesque, and permit, following Hevia's "photography complex," an interpretation that weds them to other widely circulating, habitually replicated visual and textual representations of an exotic and distant China.

The range of motifs and the frequency with which certain forms appear in our 304 examples suggest the popularity of certain images in a treaty port imaginary of "China." Hevia's writings[81] and interpretations of Orientalism more generally[82] would lead us to anticipate that the little wooden figures were meant to embody a miniature inventory of quaint, exotic, and sometimes repellent Chinese things mimicking other visual representations of Chinese life that circulated in the treaty port era. It is easy enough to situate them inside the trope of a feminised or doll-like China: "So tiny and dear you'd like to pat 'em."[83] They offered visual validation to those who regarded China as a place of unremitting toil and Oriental cruelty, those who saw the figurines as ethnographic data of unique Chinese

lifeways, and those who waxed nostalgic, as Laufer did, for China as a place where the life of antiquity had persisted "until the fatal year of 1900."[84]

Through such an interpretive lens, the little wooden figures anchor Orientalist nostalgia in tableaux as Stewart suggests of other miniatures[85]; they are portable simulacra of imagined Chinese life commoditised for foreign consumption.[86] Through the standardisation of their own forms, which are simulacra of other China simulacra, they help to populate the Orient "as a map one already carried in one's head, as the reiteration of an earlier description."[87] From a Western perspective, once again, the story is about an imperial and Orientalising "us." This is a plausible interpretation but an incomplete one. At the most basic level of their materialisation, the little wooden people owe their existence to the ingenuity of the Ningbo carvers who adapted local woodworking traditions, applying their skills to cheap scraps of wood, creating small souvenirs for a new market of foreign travellers. Their ultimate prototypes came from Chinese two-dimensional graphic arts that had already been adapted for foreign consumption, even as other Chinese artists and artisans have freely borrowed patterns and images between painting and sculpture.[88] The whitewood figurines are souvenirs that appealed to Western tastes, but they are also and fundamentally works of Chinese handicraft. Whatever the reading of these objects in foreign possession, and to whatever degree the foreign buyers' tastes drove the market for rickshaws, sampans, peasants, and criminals in cangues and cages, the carvers found their own models in a well-established Chinese visual imaginary (the rickshaw is an exception). Where Hevia suggests that local agency can be read into the satirical poses struck by some of the subjects of imperial photography, we have tried to similarly restore a measure of agency to these carvers, likely at the bottom of the Ningbo woodworking hierarchy, who lived in the hybrid world of the treaty port and crafted appropriately hybrid things.

Notes on Transliteration

Chinese characters	*How it appears in the text*	*Pinyin*	*Wile-Giles*
宁波	Ningbo/Ningpo	Ningbo	Ningpo
白木小件	baimu xiaojian	baimu xiaojian	paimu hsiaochien
小白件	xiao bai jian	xiao bai jian	hsiao pai chien
徐永水	Xu Yongshui	Xu Yongshui	Hsü Yungshui
宁海县	Ninghai Xian	Ninghai Xian	Ninghai Hsien

Chinese characters	*How it appears in the text*	*Pinyin*	*Wile-Giles*
上海	Shanghai	Shanghai	Shanghai
宁式家具	Ning-shi jiaju	Ning-shi jiaju	Ning-shih chia chü
吉子	jizi	jizi	jitzu
吉子板	jiziban	jiziban	jitzuban
拷头	kaotou	kaotou	k'ao t'ou
古田	Gutian	Gutian	Kut'ien
汉口	Hankou	Hankou	Hank'ou
广州	Guangzhou	Guangzhou	Kuangchou
林官 or 琳呱	Lum-qua	Lin Guan/Lin Gua	Lin kuan
御制耕织图	Yuzhi gengzhi tu	Yuzhi gengzhi tu	Yüchih kêngchih t'u
类书	leishu	leishu	leishu
授时图考	Shou shi tu kao	Shou shi tu kao	Shou shih t'u k'ao
善书	shanshu	shanshu	shanshu
大足石刻	Dazu cave	Dazu shike	Tatsu shihk'o
琉璃厂	Liulichang	Liulichang	Liuli ch'ang

Notes

1. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 155.
2. Rev. Charles E. Darwent, "Native Stores – Curios," in *Shanghai: A Handbook for Travellers and Residents* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1911), p. xx.
3. Cf. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
4. Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 67.
5. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 148 and 159; and Stewart, *On Longing*, pp. 133, 139 and 150.
6. Stewart, *On Longing*, pp. 138–139.
7. James Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900–1901), Making Civilization," in *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), p. 98.
8. Edward C. Day, "Ningpo Wood Carvings," *International Studio* 80 (1925): p. 311.
9. Darwent, "Native Stores – Curios," p. xx.

10. Agnes E. Bowen, "Chinese Models," *Children's Museum News: The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences* VI, no. 5 (1919): p. 34.
11. Day, "Ningpo Wood Carvings," p. 314.
12. We are particularly grateful to Master-craftsman Xu Yongshui for sharing knowledge and memories, and for answering our persistent questions. Thanks are also due to the several museum professionals who responded to our queries: Ira Jacknis and Linda Waterfield (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California Berkeley), Sandra Vanderwarf and Allison Galland (Brooklyn Children's Museum), Alexandra Green and Sushma Jansari (British Museum), Rebecca Andrews and Ashley Verplank (Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture), Cipperly Good (Penobscot Marine Museum), and Nancy Bruegeman (Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia). We are grateful to the following scholars in China and the United States who shared ideas and information with us: Dorothy Ko, Chai Xuanhua, William Ma, Qiu Yanping, Zhang Yaping and Zhou Yi; and to Xincheng Shen for the 2012 AMNH internship report. In the American Museum of Natural History, thanks to Research Library, Director Tom Baione; in the Division of Anthropology, to Archivist Kristen Mable, Technical Support Barry Landua, Staff Artist Kayla Younkin; and very special thanks to Curatorial Assistant Katherine Skaggs for her involvement in every aspect of this project, including the final manuscript preparation. Xu Yongshui, interviewed by Yuanxie Shi, June 2015; also see *Annual Report* 统计年报 of the Shanghai Import and Export Company of Crafts and Art (1963), stored at Shanghai Archive.
13. Nelson H. H. Graburn, ed. *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976) and "Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Barbara A. Babcock, "Modeled Selves: Helen Cordero's 'Little People,'" in *The Anthropology of Experience*, eds. Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Ruth B. Phillips, and Christopher B. Steiner, eds. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); and others.
14. Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).
15. James L. Hevia, *English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 122–123; Karl E. Meyer, and Shareen Blair Brysac, *The China Collectors: America's Century-Long Hunt for Asian Art Treasures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

2015); Louise Tythacott, *The Lives of Chinese Objects: Buddhism, Imperialism and Display* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp. 51–102.

16. Craig Clunas, "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art," in *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Steven Conn, "Where Is the East?: Asian Objects in American Museums, from Nathan Dunn to Charles Freer," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 2/3 (2000): pp. 157–173; Hevia, *English Lessons*, pp. 132–133; Meyer and Brysac, *The China Collectors.*
17. Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865–1911* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 41–42, 68–69, 74; Yoshinobu Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977).
18. See Peter Schran, "Editor's Introduction to Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]," *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 15, no. 4 (1983): p. 8; Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," p. 402.
19. See Bingchen Zhang 张炳晨, "Ningshi jiaju chutan (san)" '宁式'家具初探(三), *Jiaju* 03 (1984): p. 30; Mei Chen 陈眉, "Qiantan Ningshi jiaju zhuangshi yishu fengge de xingcheng" 浅探宁式家具装饰艺术风格的形成, *Ningbo jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 8, no. 6 (2006); Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," pp. 410–411, 426; Nyok-Ching Tsur, "Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]," trans. Peter Schran, *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 15, no. 4 (1983): pp. 14–15, 75, 79.
20. Nicholas Belfield Dennys, *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A Complete Guide to the Open Ports of Those Countries, Together with Peking, Yedo, Hongkong and Macao* (London and Hong Kong: Trubner and A. Shortrede, 1867), p. 341.
21. Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 136.
22. Ibid., pp. 48, 136, 187.
23. Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 134; Meyer and Brysac, *The China Collectors*; Laurel Kendall, "'China to the Anthropologist': Franz Boas, Berthold Laufer, and a Road Not Taken in Early American Anthropology," in *Anthropologists and Their Traditions Across National Borders, Histories of Anthropology Annual 8*, ed. Regna Darnell and Fredric W. Gleach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014) and "A Most Singular and Solitary Expeditionist: Berthold Laufer Collecting China," in *The Anthropology of Expeditions: Travel, Visualities, Afterlives*, eds. Joshua A. Bell and Erin L. Hasinoff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
24. Karin Biermann, "Aufstellspielzeuge aus China: Kunstandwerkliche Miniatur-Holzschnitzerei des 19/20. Jahruhunderts im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde" [Standing toys from China: Artistic handicraft miniature wood-carving of the XIXth–XXth centuries in the Hamburg

Museum for Ethnography], *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg* 13 (1983).

25. Tsur, "Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]," p. 80.
26. Day, "Ningpo Wood Carvings," p. 311.
27. The Ninghai Bureau of Culture, Media and Publication website claims a 300-year history for wooden figure carving. A recent news report claimed one Shen Zhongze (沈中泽) as the first carver, but nothing more is known about him (see 宁海"白木小件"第四代传人——徐永水, Ningbo xinwen wang, accessed September 19, 2017, http://nh.cnnb.com.cn/system/2011/11/18/010176308.shtml; 宁海白木小件, Privacy & Terms, Baidu, last modified September 19, 2017, http://baike.baidu.com/view/3236653.html).
28. Xu Yongshui, interviewed by Yuanxie Shi, March 6, 2016.
29. Xu Yongshui, interviewed by Yuanxie Shi, June 2015. Also see 三寸木心——徐永水和他的白木小件, Dongnan shangbao, accessed September 19, 2017, http://daily.cnnb.com.cn/dnsb/html/2015-06/28/content_872130.htm?div=-1
30. Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China*, pp. 76–77; Tsur, "Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]," p. 15; Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland."
31. Day, "Ningpo Wood Carvings," p. 314.
32. 《宁海老房子》之一——顾宅, Ninghai xinwen wang, accessed September 19, 2017, http://nh.cnnb.com.cn/system/2013/04/15/010553586.shtml
33. Tsur, "Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]."
34. Shiba, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," p. 211; Tsur, "Forms of Business in the City of Ningpo in China [1909]," pp. 64–68; Xu Yongshui interviewed by Yuanxie Shi, March 6, 2016.
35. Craig Clunas, *Chinese Furniture* (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 1988), p. 33; Zhang, "Ningshi jiaju chutan (san)," p. 21. Also see AMNH collection 70/4700–4701, 70/4703–4705, 70/4707, 70/4708 for examples of *jizi*.
36. Chinese white poplar (*Populous tomentosa Carr*), ginko (*Ginko biloba*) and white tea tree (*Euonymus maackii*), all native to the Ningbo region, are used to carve whitewood figurines. See Bianzuan weiyuanhui编纂委员会, ed., *Ninghai xian wenhua zhi* 宁海县文化志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), pp. 233–234.
37. Chen, "Qiantan Ningshi jiaju zhuangshi yishu fengge de xingcheng" 浅探宁式家具装饰艺术风格的形成, p. 53.
38. Additional museums included: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley (56 figurines); Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, University of Washington (49); Brooklyn Children's Museum (13); Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia (11); Penobscot Marine Museum (5); and Peabody Essex Museum (1).

39. Christian Henriot and Ivan Macaux, *Scènes de la vie en Chine: Les figurines de bois de T'ou-Sè-Wè* (Sainte-Marguerite-sur-Mer: Équateurs, 2014). But we were not able to survey the 144 pieces in the Hamburg Museum of Ethnology. Please see Karin Biermann, "Aufstellspielzeuge aus China: Kunstandwerkliche Miniatur-Holzschnitzerei des 19/20. Jahruhunderts im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde," Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg 13 (1983). At the time of this writing, a few whitewood figurines were bobbing into view on eBay from anonymous estate sales and priced from under US$10 to over US$80, with the high end citing Henriot and Macaux's 2014 publication.
40. Henriot and Macaux, *Scènes de la vie en Chine*.
41. Maurizia Boscagli, *Stuff Theory: Everyday Objects, Radical Materialism* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 185.
42. Information on donors comes from the Division of Anthropology Archives of the American Museum of Natural History, Accessions 1900–31, 1902–4, 1910–4, 1932–26, 1950–1, 1969–29, 1983–26; Peabody Essex Museum Accessions 1910 E12953; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum Accessions 1326, 2076, 3845, 3921; Henriot and Macaux, *Scènes de la vie en Chine*; Frederick J. Heuser, Jr, "Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870–1923," *American Presbyterians* 73, no. 1 (1995): pp. 23–34; Kendall, "A Most Singular and Solitary Expeditionist: Berthold Laufer Collecting China," pp. 60–90; Sandra Vanderwarf (Curator & Collections Manager at the Brooklyn Children's Museum), email message to Shi, February 24, 2015; Sushma Jansari (Project Curator, Asian Ethnographic Collections at the British Museum), email message to Kendall, March 6, 2015; Nancy Bruegeman (Collection Manager at the Museum of Anthropology, UBC), email message to Shi, March 11, 2015; and Cipperly A. Good (Collections Manager/Curator at Penobscot Marine Museum), email message to Shi, March 16, 2015.
43. Cipperly A. Good, email message to Shi, March 17, 2015.
44. Heuser "Presbyterian Women and the Missionary Call, 1870–1923," p. 26.
45. Nancy Bruegeman, email message to Shi, March 11, 2015.
46. Walter Hildburgh, Wellcome Collection, assessed September 19, 2017, http://content.yudu.com/web/1n6mc/0A1n6md/ReadingRoomCompanion/flash/resources/216.htm
47. American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives, Accession 1969–29.
48. American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives, Accession 1950–1, Mestres to Shapiro, January 9, 1950.
49. George H. Kerr's glass painting, now in the Burke Museum (5-13975) and probably collected during his stay in Taiwan in the 1940s, shows a beauty with a crossed leg posed beside a table on which rests a water pipe, but her

pose is stiff, her clothing is tightly fastened, and her potentially erotic bound feet are decorously hidden.

50. Anita Herle, "The Life-Histories of Objects: Collections of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Strait," in *Cambridge and the Torres Strait: Centenary Essays on the 1898 Anthropological Expedition*, eds. Anita Herle and Sandra Rouse (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 87; Frances Larson, "The Things About Henry Wellcome," *Journal of Material Culture* 15, no. 1 (2010): p. 93. Stewart, *On Longing*.
51. "Laufer's Guide to the Southwest Gallery (Chinese Hall)," American Museum of Natural History, accessed on September 19, 2017, http://anthro.amnh.org//anthropology/databases/archives/LauferGuide.cfm
52. Day, "Ningpo Wood Carvings."
53. Agnes E. Bowen, "Chinese Models," *Children's Museum News: The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences* VI, no. 5 (1919): p. 35.
54. American Museum of Natural History, Division of Anthropology Archives, Accession 1900–31; Erin L. Hasinoff, *Faith in Objects: American Missionary Expositions in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
55. Isabella L. Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond: An Account of Journeys in China, Chiefly in the Province of Sze Chuan and Among the Man-Tze of the Somo Territory* (London: J. Murray, 1900; reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), p. 18.
56. Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, pp. 29, 75.
57. Ibid., pp. 18, 25.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 198.
60. Ibid., pp. 75–77.
61. Henriot and Macaux, *Scènes de la vie en Chine*, fig. 157, 162.
62. Ibid., facing figs. 142–144.
63. See Helen F. Siu, ed., *Furrows: Peasants, Intellectuals, and the State: Stories and Histories from Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
64. Rudolf P. Hommel, *China at Work: An Illustrated Record of the Primitive Industries of China's Masses, Whose Life Is Toil, and Thus an Account of Chinese Civilization* (New York: John Day, 1937. Reprint, Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1969).
65. Franklin Hiram King, *Farmers of Forty Centuries; or, Permanent Agriculture in China, Korea, and Japan* (1911. Reprint, Emmaus, PA: Rodale Press, 1973).
66. C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 156–158; Arthur P. Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*, ed.

Arthur P. Wolf (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 133–145.

67. See Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900–1901), Making Civilization," pp. 79–120; Hommel, *China at Work*; L. Carrington Goodrich and Nigel Cameron, *The Face of China: As Seen by Photographers and Travelers, 1860–1912* (New York: Aperture, 1978); King, *Farmers of Forty Centuries*; Hedda Morrison, *A Photographer in Old Peking* (Hong Kong, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) and *Travels of a Photographer in Old China, 1933–1946* (Hong Kong, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Stephen White, *John Thomson: A Window to the Orient* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985); Clark Worswick and Jonathan D. Spence, *Imperial China: Photographs 1850–1912* (New York: Penwick Publishing, 1978).
68. Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900–1901), Making Civilization," p. 98.
69. Ifan Williams, *Created in Canton: Chinese export watercolours on pith* 广州制作:欧美藏十九世纪中国蓪纸画 (Guangzhou: Lingnan meishu chubanshe, 2014).
70. At least one Song painting portrays a vendor. See Shijian Huang 黄时鉴, and William Sargent, eds. *360 professions in China: The collection of Peabody Essex Museum in U.S.A.*中国三百六十行:美国皮博迪艾塞克斯博物馆藏品 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), p. 7; Jiaju Wang, *Sanbailiushihang tu ji* 三百六十行图集 (Suzhou: Guwuxuan chubanshe, 2002). Craftsmen with shoulder poles appear in the Ming period painting "Handicraftsmen under a great pine tree," Smithsonian Institution, accessed September 19, 2017, http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?view=&dsort=&date.slider=&q=Landscape%3A+handicraftsmen+under+a+great+pine+tree
71. Wang, *Sanbailiushihang tu* ji, 2002.
72. Also known as *Peiwen zhai gengzhi* (佩文斋耕织). See Sören Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections* (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America, 1984), p. 120.
73. Edgren, *Chinese Rare Books in American Collections*, pp. 120–121.
74. Ibid., pp. 122–123.
75. Huang and Sargent, *360 professions in China*; Marcia Reed and Paola Demattè, eds. *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Getty Institute for Research, 2007), pp. 6, 161–165; Marcia Reed, "A Perfume is Best from Afar: Publishing China for Europe," in Reed and Demattè, eds. *China on Paper*, p. 22; Richard E. Strassberg, "War and Peace: Four Intercultural Landscapes," in Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, pp. 89–96.
76. Mo Zhang 张陌, "Yanhua zhong de sanbailiushi hang" 烟画中的三百六十行, *Wenhua yuegan* 12 (2014): pp. 104–107.

77. Anne S. Goodrich, *Chinese Hells: The Peking Temple of Eighteen Hells and Chinese Conceptions of Hell* (St. Augustin: Monumenta Serica, 1981); Wolfram Eberhard, *Guilt and Sin in Traditional* China (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967). Also see AMNH collection 70/11584–11612, 11618, 11620, 11624, and 11628.
78. Caroline Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution: A Primer on Japanese Hell Imagery and Imagination," *Monumenta Nipponica* 63, no. 1 (2008): pp. 12–13.
79. Reed, "A Perfume Is Best from Afar: Publishing China for Europe," p. 23; Reed and Demattè, *China on Paper*, pp. 163–165; Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 210–255, 221–224, fig. 49.
80. The mortar also appears in a hell painting in the AMNH collection (70/13330).
81. Hevia, *English Lessons* and "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900–1901), Making Civilization."
82. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*.
83. Bowen, "Chinese Models," p. 34. Compare Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 102. Bowen attributes the quote to a child viewing whitewood figurines in the Brooklyn Children's Museum in 1919.
84. Berthold Laufer, "Modern Chinese Collections in Historical Light," *The American Museum Journal* XII, no. 4 (1912): p. 137.
85. Stewart, *On Longing*, pp. 67–69.
86. Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 234.
87. Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 no. 2 (1989): p. 232.
88. Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), p. 171.

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CHAPTER 10

The Arrival of the "Modern" West in Yokohama: Images of the Japanese Experience, 1859–1899

Simon James Bytheway

In order to write about the history of Japan's treaty ports, my colleagues and I have been consciously trying to expand the scope of our enquiries by investigating Japanese and non-English language sources, and using the best available resources in new and innovative ways.[1] In my own studies, I started out by reviewing an extensive collection of personal papers, books, and newspaper articles, but found myself, time and time again, returning to woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*) and historical photographs to examine and consider the historical presentation, representation, and re-presentation of modernisation, or Westernisation, in treaty port Japan. These visual records of the treaty ports offer much more than a colourful addition to the written accounts of life within the confines of the treaty ports and adjacent foreign settlements; they eloquently provide their own accounts of Japan's remarkable, post-treaty socio-economic development. Thus, the images tell their own beautiful stories, but whose stories are they, why were they created, and to what ends? Who or what were the agents and mechanisms, individual and institutional, involved in the transmission of ideas and technology between the newly opened Japan and the industrialised

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_10

West? In the following study, I would like to discuss some of the most significant images and visual constructs of the treaty ports, which provide insights into a time of unprecedented interactions and cooperation, and introduce the concept of *wakon yōsai*, which is central to understanding Japan's historic experience of modernisation.

Woodblock prints have long been recognised as an important historical source for understanding the Japanese reaction to its forced opening by the great powers of the West, and a handful of publications deserve special attention. The pioneering Japanese post-war scholarship of Asahi (1953) and Higuchi (1955) acknowledged the profound historical importance of these images, particularly as they related to Yokohama and its surrounds.[2] Julia Meech-Pekarik was instrumental in re-introducing the Meiji print to Western academic discourse in 1986 with her *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization*. While almost all overviews of woodblock prints (*ukiyo-e*) collections and anthologies offer brief, sometimes disparaging, comments on "neo," "post-Edo," or "Meiji *ukiyo-e*," Meech-Pekarik treated Meiji-era woodblock prints as being the premier source of "impressions on a new civilization."[3] In 2001, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, deliberately focused on "modern" *ukiyo-e* in their *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912*.[4] More recently, in 2008, Barry Till, a curator from the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, British Columbia, published the similarly titled *Japan Awakens: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912*, which investigates the social context of economic development, or the "modernization milieu," of this truly remarkable period.[5]

The specialised category of Yokohama prints was extensively investigated in Ann Yonemura's *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* from 1993, which is lavishly illustrated with prints from the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.[6] Unfortunately though, interest in the woodblock prints of Yokohama (*Yokohama-e*) seems to have waned in the art world, and apart from a few exhibition catalogues, scholarship on this important and popular genre seems to be scarce. We wait in hope that new publications of Yokohama and Meiji-era *ukiyo-e* will emerge from museums and galleries in Europe and Japan, which also have large, high-quality *ukiyo-e* collections, such as the British Museum, the Japan Ukiyo-e Museum, the Rijksmuseum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Tokyo National Museum. Most likely, internet and Web-based technologies will increasingly provide images of Japanese woodblock prints by encouraging "image-driven scholarship" as part of larger educational projects or

products, as exemplified by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Visualizing Culture course.[7]

My personal conviction is that there are often subjects, like those presented by the pictures of Yokohama, which are far too important to be left to any one group of experts or specialists. We all struggle under perceived disciplinary boundaries, and art has often been used naively by non-art historians.[8] Nevertheless, the aesthetics of *ukiyo-e* need to be reconsidered in much wider, more liberal, sympathetic contexts which purposefully seek to examine the cultural and historical socio-economic impacts captured by these woodblock prints. Hopefully, historians and social scientists who are not afraid of being labelled as "generalists" or, indeed as "amateurs," will take up the challenge of using art and other visual images to complement our understanding of the past. We all stand to benefit, as these often-overlooked treaty port images show us a new and changing Japan, fascinated and deeply enamoured with the West. They are often pregnant with meanings and purpose—at once didactic and ignorant, vivid and banal, beautiful and terrifying. Beyond providing us with a presentation, representation, and re-presentation of the treaty ports of Japan, they also offer a tantalising vision of a future Japan almost "at home," as it were, with the world outside its borders, or very least, the outside world within its borders.

Defining *Ukiyo-e* and the Genre of Yokohama Pictures

The earliest known woodblock prints in Japan are thought to have come from China in the form of Buddhist scriptures and sermons during the late eighth century. Japanese use of the new technology evolved over centuries to its extensive use in the printing and applied illustration of books, mostly in black and white, but sometimes coloured by hand. By the late eighteenth century, however, printed text and the printing technique itself had made extraordinary inroads into Japan's increasingly urbane, cosmopolitan culture. Not only did book illustrations "slip from their covers" and become single-sheet prints, but the use of woodblock printing expanded radically to new media such as news-sheets, calendars, maps, votive slips, assorted programmes, advertising, and even such things as board games and playing cards. It is important to note that in almost all cases, the items listed above were produced *en masse* for commercial purposes. That is, these printed materials were designed to cater to the tastes of common

people (*heimin*) and thus they had to be cheap and sell in high volumes in order for their producers to both make a profit and stay in business.[9]

Today, Japanese woodblock prints are generically referred to as *ukiyo-e*, a catch-all term that originally used to describe a genre of book illustration and painting, but was later applied to an enormously wide range of single-sheet pictures. These artistic prints, steeped in their own particular technologies and traditions, are the quintessential woodblock print that reigned as the supreme form of mass pictorial reproduction in Japan from the eighteenth century until the early twentieth century. That notwithstanding, *ukiyo-e* is often presented as providing visions of an ephemeral, fleeting Japan, that of the erotic "floating world" of the *demimonde*, almost unknowable, certainly gone.[10] Yet an important theme in *ukiyo-e*, indeed a genre unto itself, was that of the exotic, maritime "floating world" of the treaty ports: Nagasaki and later Yokohama. The treaty ports were after all the official, negotiated site of interaction and mediation, where the West—with all its technological and scientific, business and cultural enterprise—arrived in Japan.

Dating from around the time just before the imposition of maritime restrictions on international trade (so-called *sakoku*) by the Tokugawa shogunate, and the creation of a Dutch factory on the small island Deshima, pictures of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki-e*) show diverse and often wondrous elements of trade with foreigners and bizarre foreign lifestyles. The themes ranged widely from strange, unimaginable animals to strikingly unfamiliar Dutch devices; in short, anything unique and exotic to Japanese people that offered "a glimpse of mysterious peoples and worlds from beyond the oceans."[11] These ever-changing woodblock prints were in continuous demand because they served a purpose similar to that of today's touristy picture postcards. *Nagasaki-e* were, however, more than just a personal reminder of one's visit to Nagasaki; they were inexpensive, light-weight, and convenient souvenirs that would be distributed as gifts to family and friends on returning home. And the giving of gifts—souvenirs—was an important social custom or obligation required by all conscientious Japanese travellers, and indeed it remains so even today. The centuries-long tradition of printing *Nagasaki-e* was thus to provide the archetype for the Yokohama prints under discussion here.[12]

There was literally nowhere else like Nagasaki in Japan until the opening of Yokohama as a treaty port on 1 July 1859. The prints that depict this new predicament of Japan's forced commercial opening with the West are called Yokohama pictures (*Yokohama-e*), although more

thematically diverse examples are now sometimes rebranded as images of civilisation and enlightenment (*kaika-e*). Many art collectors, critics, and self-proclaimed "noneconomic" historians, both in and outside Japan, romantically assert the transition from feudalism to capitalism as being a decadent time "when it all went wrong." Historians and social scientists who have invested heavily in researching Japan's remarkable experience of socio-economic development, however, are keen to point out that the late eighteenth century was a time of revolutionary change, defined by its great hope and "horizons of expectation" for the future.[13] The miracle (as it was later called) of the Industrial Revolution promised to improve the daily lives of all people in Japan. As gaudy and out of fashion as many of these pictures of Yokohama and Meiji era are today,[14] the positive vitality and social creativity expressed by these prints are undeniable.[15] The characteristically liberal use of vermillion in so-called red pictures (*aka-e*), for example, was because red is the colour of celebration, joy, and good fortune in Northeast Asian cultures, and was strongly associated with cherry blossoms and the Imperial family in Meiji Japan.[16]

It is to these images, broadly considered by their subject matter, to which we now turn.

Transportation: Ships, Steam Locomotives, Bicycles, and Buggies

Transport is an obvious place to start our discussion of historical themes in *ukiyo-e*. It should hardly come as a surprise that the "black ships" that "opened" Japan, and threatened to deliver "Westernisation," were themselves an important subject of study by Japanese artists.

A particularly fine example of the insides of a black ship is Unsen's *New Invention: German Battleship* (*Shinhatsumei: Doitsukoku gunkan*), reproduced by both Meech-Pekarik and Yonemura.[17] It strikes us today as an ambitious study, with its carefully captioned cabins and compartments revealing everything from the studied repair of its sails to the drilling of its marines and gun crews (see Fig. 10.1). The artist was reputedly commissioned to illustrate "the cross-section of a German battleship," but we are not sure by whom, and to what end.[18] Common sense suggests that this print was hardly likely to be of scientific or technical value to the newly formed Imperial Japanese Navy. I suspect that the print's true value was as an illustrated guide to the inside of a battleship for the ever-curious

Fig. 10.1 *New Invention: German Battleship* by Unsen (1874). Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart, S1998.65a-c

youngsters of Tokyo, who were as likely to see inside a battleship as I was to see inside the Space Shuttle. Beyond the evidential curiosity, there is also, I feel, a certain awe and admiration. Clearly, the artists and their publishers perceived that there was an audience demand for innovative prints, distinguished in detail and colour. Much seems to be made of the artist's almost slavishly detailed rendering of variously detailed subjects and arcane procedures in this and similar prints. Indeed, Meech-Pekarik went so far as to discuss the above picture under the rubric of "Worship of the West."[19] That said, I think it is useful to recognise the needs of intellectual curiosity, and separate them from those of imitation or worship. A fascination with "how things work" does not imply an unquestioned admiration, or some kind of uncritical acceptance, of them.

Woodblock prints were very much concerned with representing the "here and now" issues of their subjects and customers, and this is particularly so for *Yokohama-e*.[20] Fascination with the West's development of, and proud lead in, transportation technology went far beyond the steam-powered, coal-burning, soot-covered black ships, and extended to a multitude of new transportation technologies. All manner of ships and machines were at Japan's door, and thus needed to be catalogued and depicted.[21] The intense interest and excitement generated by these products of Western science and technology in Japan also illuminated

the depth and scale of its national predicament: its profound economic backwardness vis-à-vis the industrialised West. Countless variations of harbour side Yokohama prints, incredibly stocked with all kinds of small and tall ships, attest to their initial, if not enduring, popularity.[22] It is interesting to note that by 1880, when the threat of the Western colonisation had clearly subsided, imported goods essential to the development of mercantilist trade (such as "Western" iron, lead, nails, lamps, clocks, guard dogs, paper, cotton, soybean, and all manner of clothes) were then didactically illustrated as arriving in Japan on once-infamous foreign ships. The new Meiji image was informational, aspirational, and nationalist: Japan imports what is needed from the West in its "first steps towards prosperity."[23]

Infrastructure: Roads, Railways, Bridges, and Buildings

The revolutionary potential of the railway was quickly recognised by the leaders of Meiji Japan. Construction of Japan's first railway from treaty port Yokohama to Shinbashi, Tokyo, started almost as soon as the new regime seized power, and progressed despite the need for labour-intensive land reclamation and track fortification, and the construction of numerous capital-intensive bridges. The locomotives, carriages, other rolling stock, and railway lines were of British manufacture, and the entire project was funded with a high-interest loan, raised in London during 1870.[24] The line's completion in October 1872, just four years after the Meiji Restoration, was evidently a source of great interest and pride, and its inaugural services were widely celebrated, with the Emperor himself officiating in the most important ceremonies.[25] From then on, Japan never looked back, and the Japanese fascination with railways continues today.[26]

The preoccupations of *ukiyo-e* artists were also reflected in more utilitarian, popular prints. A steam locomotive is often seen crossing a handsome railway bridge, on a track of land reclaimed from the sea, with ubiquitous black ships in the background. There may be the Yokohama–Tokyo train timetable in the background (which details costs for each separate class of travel) for the travelling public, or even a beguiling beauty in a rickshaw somewhere in the foreground (see Fig. 10.2).[27]

It is tempting to think that Japanese women dressed in traditional kimono are used here as a comforting allusion, an "unchanging, unaffected"

Fig. 10.2 *Illustration of Tokyo–Yokohama Steam Train Timetable* by Yoshitora (1872). Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart, S1998.100

symbol of continuity, in a Japan that is confronting a seemingly inexorable scientific and industrial transformation. The fruits of new Western culture juxtaposed with those of old Japanese culture, as it were.

The triumph of steam is, of course, much more than just that of locomotive power, but that of the spread of commercial shipping, railways, the telegraph, tunnels, and bridges. For example, the venerable Azuma Bridge—the first Western-style, cast-iron bridge to span the Sumida River in Tokyo—featured in many Meiji-era prints, from celebrations of its opening in 1887 to its use in torpedo tests.[28] Photography may also be used alongside *ukiyo-e* as a valuable visual resource, and as something of an historical corrective. Indeed, the scientific use of photography was part and parcel of the modernisation it sought to capture.[29] Dallas Finn's superb *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan* beautifully illustrates, with 30 colour plates and 86 photographs and illustrations, the lighthouses, schools, banks, palaces, libraries, railways, the telegraph, and bridges of the new Japan. In an everyday photograph of the above-mentioned Azuma Bridge though, Finn wistfully notes the absence of "fine carriages and stylish ladies" but misses the point: the *glitterati* were there to experience the special occasions captured by the woodblock prints.[30] Ironically, modern (and very expensive) Western photography was not able to convey the excitement generated by the arrival of ships, the opening of railways, or of firework festivals, and many other events with the beauty and fidelity of the old woodblock prints.

A sense of admiration, optimism, and celebration pervades these images of treaty port life, which are, after all, testimonials to unprecedented technical achievements. Western technology is redefining, reinventing people's lives, and Japanese people are shown to be enjoying the change. Not only has Japan acquired the locomotive, but foreign drivers are shown to be instructing Japanese drivers how to drive the steam engine so that Japan can become independent of the need for foreign expertise.[31] It may be thought of as crude national propaganda, and it is certainly not without political content, for "aspirations and policies" of the Meiji oligarchy were often represented in the prints of commerce and industry at the time.[32] Nevertheless, there is no credible evidence of state interference routinely affecting the content or character of woodblock printing.[33] Moreover, we should keep in mind that even overtly political images would still have been required to garner sales by their publishers. Visitors from distant

towns and rural areas were buying these pictures of Yokohama and its surrounds to take home and hand out as souvenirs.[34]

Turning to architectural prints, we recognise the familiar fascination with transportation technologies, and the main "constructed" subjects are a source of tremendous popular curiosity.[35] For example, an "official" British building in Yokohama was presented as being peerless, "splendour beyond comparison" by Kunimasa IV in the 1870s.[36] Even the two-storied offices of Western merchants were thought to be marvellous and worthy of study (see Fig. 10.3).

Much of the minute detail, the didactic quality, of these architectural prints may be lost on a twenty-first century audience. In its own time, however, it was admired and celebrated without cynicism; in much of the same way as Japanese people of that time would celebrate a particularly fine view, children playing, or other "wonders of nature." It seems to me that the depth, or flush, of admiration expressed by works, such as the one above, soon became something of a "cultural" embarrassment to many Japanese people. Accordingly, the significance of Meiji Japan's infatuation with the West tends to be laughed away, downplayed, or flatly denied. Yet the exotic building stands in this triptych (as we suspect it did in reality) as a potent symbol of Western enterprise, worthy of both study and emulation.

Fig. 10.3 *Illustration of Foreign Establishments of Yokohama* by Hiroshige III (1876). Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart, S1998.29a-c

People: From Barbarians to Foreigners

As in the depiction of Western buildings, we also see respect, admiration, and more than just a little bit of voyeuristic curiosity in Japanese illustrations of "foreigner peoples" (see Fig. 10.4). From the time of the first Portuguese arrival in 1549, Europeans were typically depicted insensitively, with little individual differentiation in the genre of barbarian pictures (*namban-byobu*).[37] Their ships, weapons, armour, and guns were a source of intense interest and curiosity, but the barbarian's thoughts were considered dangerous, especially if religious in nature, and aroused much less contemporary interest in Japan. Similarly, in the centuries that followed, pictures of Nagasaki (*Nagasaki-e*) show diverse and often wondrous elements of foreign trade with the bizarre (but fascinating) barbarians. The wide-ranging themes they explored, both imagined and real, would inspire the genesis of Yokohama prints in the 1850s.[38]

Woodblock prints of treaty port Yokohama (*Yokohama-e*) were now showing foreigners (*gaikokujin*) as being subjects worthy of artistic study. Nevertheless, it can be said that something of the old *namban-byobu* and *Nagasaki-e* fascination with clothes, trade goods, and material culture, the "hardware" of the Europeans, is often reflected in the careful rendering of the residence's interior, its opened iron stove, and detailed light fittings (see Fig. 10.4). Sometimes "software," in the form of basic vocabularies and pronunciation guides, was provided in addition to showing how

Fig. 10.4 *Foreign Residence in Yokohama* by Yoshikazu (c.1861). Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart, S1998.84a-c

different foreigners apparently looked and dressed.[39] Educational and entertaining, pictures of foreigners "offered eye-catching, graphic guidance to the citizens of a highly self-conscious society."[40] In many cases, however, the "software" contents of the illustrations are naively stereotypical, if not fanciful. Generally, the idealised prints of Yokohama aimed to work *pleasingly* as art, rather than *accurately* as some kind of artistic almanac.[41]

Unlike *Namban-e*, *Yokohama-e* are known to have enriched their subjects with imagery from contemporary Western journals and illustrated newspapers, and the previous triptych may well be an example of that (Fig. 10.4), but as Edward Seidensticker noted:

> The pleasure of new things, railroads and violins and buttons and bustles, lends itself beautifully to graphic representation. Even when it suggests strongly that the artist never saw the object represented, the conviction that all is for the best in an interesting and exciting new world communicates itself.[42]

Increasingly, interaction with the foreign communities of the treaty ports provided new opportunities and insights into foreign cultures. Viewed through the lens of the treaty port, hitherto unseen sights, such as children playing, men taking photographs, or elaborately dressed Western women using sewing machines, took on a new meaning and importance for the Japanese audience.[43]

The splendid *Steam Train Railway by the Yokohama Seashore* by Hiroshige III has elements of nearly all of the previous prints, with the steam engine railway centre, black ships in the background, and the insight into the lives of the treaty ports foreigners in the foreground. There are also new delights in every corner—the juxtaposition of the traditional Japanese sailing ships with their coal-fired, steam-driven Western equivalents; the varied attire of the foreigners; and Western accoutrements, the umbrella (a contemporary symbol of cultural enlightenment), and man's oldest and best status symbol, the pooch (see Fig. 10.5). Another source of fascination in these Yokohama prints is the sudden appearance of Japanese women in all manner of Western dresses and attire. Similarly, "modern" Japanese men are shown alongside the Western men wearing appropriate items of foreign apparel (*yōfuku*), like a jacket, or trousers and boots, together with traditional native clothes (*wafuku*). Occasionally, exemplary "cultured" Japanese men are shown with new

Fig. 10.5 *Steam Train Railway by the Yokohama Seashore* by Hiroshige III (c.1874). Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Gift of the Daval Foundation, from the Collection of Ambassador and Mrs. William Leonhart, S1991.151a-c

haircuts in full, three-piece vested suits, often using Western accessories like umbrellas or reading glasses.[44] Having acquired the ways of the foreigner, the challenge was now for Japanese to somehow fuse these Western things with "Japaneseness" and make them their own—thus taking control, and claiming ownership, of them.

Once again, it might be alleged that the above print (Fig. 10.5) is much more than a picture postcard: it is a work of shameless propaganda. While I do not claim that images such as the above are free of political content, it seems to me that some Japanese art historians seem to be overly anxious to point out that there might have been "government pressure on … artists and publishers to emphasize the benefits of overturning *sakoku* policies and supporting new relations with the West."[45] It must be said, once again, that many of the works they allude to exude an almost unbridled enthusiasm, without any obvious censorship or authoritarian control, and that hard evidence of state interference appears to be scarce.[46] Moreover, the pictures of life from the treaty port era that we have been discussing were produced by artists and craftspeople for overwhelmingly commercial reasons. Beyond a handful of celebrated master artists, most of these people were effectively anonymous, part and parcel of the "oppressed" Edo (Tokyo) plebeian classes. As Nagai Kafu noted: "Is not the ukiyo-e the triumphal song of the common man who refused to bow down?"[47]

Conclusion

Japan's many-coloured, late-nineteenth century experience of modernisation is best understood under the rubric of *wakon yōsai* (literally "Japanese spirit, Western technology"). As the Meiji-era slogan proclaims, the challenge for Japan was to acquire foreign knowledge and technology, and then somehow fuse it with a native soul. Given Japan's backwardness vis-à-vis the Great Powers, and its endangered position owing to European imperialism in East Asia, these efforts went well beyond those of intellectual curiosity—they attempted to secure their nation's survival. Paradoxically, the acquisition of Western knowledge was thus a necessary (and risky!) part of the wider political economy of "catching up" which allowed Japan to maintain its national identity and independence.[48]

One theme that seems to reoccur throughout my studies on the Japanese experience of rapid socio-economic development is that of "Westernisation without the Westerner." Is there a denial of the opening and subsequent modernisation of Japan that exists beyond common historical sense? I know from my years of teaching in Japan that students have often been shocked, sometimes to the point of disbelief, to discover that their music, their cooking, their sports, or even their science has foreign antecedents. When I wrote that "… monetary values alone cannot fully express the socio-economic significance of the introduction of technology associated with the automobile, cannon, calculating machines, elevators, gramophones, or even something as simple as soap, cigarettes, matches, and the tungsten light bulb," I never thought that the nationality of these inventions would be brought into question.[49] Even today, I grapple with how to fully express the socio-economic significance of the introduction of Western technologies to a Japanese audience.

It must be said that it has never been my purpose to gloat in some phony triumphantalism or cause humiliation, and I recognise that sensitivity still surrounds the images of treaty ports of China and Japan. The treaty ports were, after all, conceived and terminated in waves of extreme "nationalist prejudice." It might also be said that the topic of treaty ports was almost erased from East Asian history (hence the importance of this volume). I strongly suspect, and openly acknowledge that this may be a marker of my education and upbringing, that the importance of a subject can be gauged by the level of embarrassment and discomfort it engenders in a community. And allow me to affirm my belief that evidence-based research and recognition of the past, rather than denial and ignorance, is

ultimately beneficial to all peoples and parties. The costs of getting these things wrong, of misunderstanding the Japanese experience of modernisation, and the way it arrived, and was channelled (both amplified and attenuated) through the treaty ports, have been tragically high.

Lord Redesdale recounted, in a speech delivered to the Japan Society of London in 1906, how foreign observers laughed patronisingly when Japanese sailors refused help from the serving foreign engineer on taking ownership of their nation's first man-of-war steamship. As a result, the ship's new Japanese crew was forced to circle around Edo Bay, desperately trying to learn how to control the ship's engines, until finally all the steam was exhausted and the ship's boilers cooled. In the space of just 40 years, however, the Japanese use of these technologies was to advance rapidly, to the point that they astounded the world by achieving comprehensive naval victories over both Chinese and Russian rivals.[50] And yet, while being the first non-European nation to defeat an European power (in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905), many people still failed to grasp the importance of Japan's pragmatic response to the challenge and threat of the Western powers. The great beauty of the scattered collections of woodblock prints of treaty port Yokohama is that they still reveal something of the Japanese reaction to "first contact," situating the Westerner—and especially Western technology—front and centre in the picture, and providing powerful evidence of a new Japan caught in the early throes of a most profound socio-economic transition.

Notes

1. For example, regarding the treaty port trade in precious metals, see Simon James Bytheway and Martha Chaiklin, "Reconsidering the Yokohama "Gold Rush" of 1859", in *Journal of World History*, 27:2 (June 2016), pp. 281–301.
2. Masahide Asahi, *Kaika no Yokohama-e [Pictures of the opening of Yokohama]* (Tokyo: Dezainsha, 1953), and Hiroshi Higuchi (ed.), *Bakumatsu Meiji no ukiyoe shusei [A compilation of ukiyo-e from the Bakumatsu and Meiji eras]* (Tokyo: Mitoshoya, 1955). Regrettably, subsequent generations have failed to take an active interest in the promotion and understanding of *Yokohama-e* and, more generally, Meiji-era *ukiyo-e*. For example, of the 364 titles listed under "ukiyo-e" at the National Diet Library in Tokyo, only Asahi's work has *Yokohama-e* in its title. The seemingly bizarre emotional fear and repugnance engendered by these woodblock prints in "post-modern" Japanese society is most often politely ignored by social scientists today.

3. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986). Some books (and collections) of *ukiyo-e* ignore Meiji-era *ukiyo-e* altogether, as if the popular art of *ukiyo-e* ends upon contact with the Westerner in the 1850s. For example, there is often no mention (and no images!) of Japan's forced opening in major works published by major institutions, as exemplified by Lawrence Smith (ed.), *Ukiyo-e: Images of Unknown Japan* (London: British Museum, 1988).
4. Museum of Fine Arts [MFA], Boston, *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001).
5. Barry Till, *Japan Awakens: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912* (Portland: Pomegranate, 2008).
6. Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).
7. Visualizing Culture, "Asia in the Modern World: Images and Representations" (owc.mit.edu, accessed 3/7/17).
8. For example, "reading art as text" may work for historians, but artists intentionally use visual art to reach those areas that rhetoric and prose cannot easily penetrate.
9. See Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Popular Prints: from Votive Slips to Playing Cards* (London: A & C Black, 2006), pp. 13–192.
10. Donald Jenkins, "The Roots of Ukiyo-e: Its Beginnings to the Mid-eighteenth Century", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), pp. 45–74.
11. Martha Chaiklin, "Nagasaki-e", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 225.
12. Martha Chaiklin, "Nagasaki-e", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), pp. 225–228, and Helen Merritt, "Woodblock Prints in the Meiji Era", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 245.
13. Stephan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 7.
14. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. xv.
15. The story of how pictures of Yokohama and the Meiji era changed from being popular souvenirs to becoming a "much despised" and marginalised art form in Japan has yet to be fully explained, but for an introduction, see

Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. xv, and Lawrence Smith (ed.), *Ukiyo-e: Images of Unknown Japan* (London: British Museum, 1988), p. 21. In order for Japanese people to become "modern," one of the first things that had to be civilised, or at least be seen to be Westernised, was native attitudes themselves, particularly towards the body, nakedness, mixed bathing, erotica, and sexuality. Common *ukiyo-e* themes, such as startling images of "spring pictures" (*shunga*) and licensed prostitution (which ranges from being gently risqué to erotic, or even pornographic), clashed against the moral righteousness and general prudishness of Victorian attitudes. That most valuable *ukiyo-e* collections, and almost all *Yokohama-e* collections, are held outside Japan today suggests that the popular (Edo) art of *ukiyo-e* sat uncomfortably with the progressive notion of a newly modernising Japan. See Lawrence Smith (ed.), *Ukiyo-e: Images of Unknown Japan* (London: British Museum, 1988), pp. 19–21.

16. For a detailed examination of contemporary Japanese culture, see the authoritative Kunio Yanagita, *Japanese Manners and Customs in the Meiji Era* (Tbunsha, 1957), and the more recent Daikichi Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
17. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), plate 16, and Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 72–73.
18. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. 99.
19. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. 99.
20. Katherine L. Blood, "Ukiyo-e and its Orbit: the Library of Congress Collections in Context", in Sandy Kita, Lawrence E. Marceau, Katherine L. Blood, and James Douglas Farquhar (eds.), *Floating World of Ukiyo-e: Shadows, Dreams and Substance* (Washington, DC: Harry N. Abrams with Library of Congress, 2001), p. 130.
21. Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 178–179.
22. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [AAM-SF], *Nagasaki and Yokohama Prints from the Richard Gump Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), p. 4, Helen Merritt and Shigeru Oikawa, "Yokohama-e", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 267, and Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Popular Prints: from Votive Slips to Playing Cards* (London: A & C Black, 2006), pp. 83–87.

23. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [AAM-SF], *Nagasaki and Yokohama Prints from the Richard Gump Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), p. 34.
24. Simon James Bytheway, *Investing Japan: Foreign Capital, Monetary Standards, and Economic Development, 1859–2011* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), pp. 89–90. Some of the locomotives, machinery, and paraphernalia associated with the original Yokohama–Tokyo railway line may still be viewed at Meiji Mura Museum, near Nagoya.
25. Dallas Finn, *Meiji Revisited: the Sites of Victorian Japan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1995), pp. 45–50, Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), pp. 82–88, and Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), p. 176.
26. See Naotaka Hirota, *The Lure of Japan's Railways* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1969), and Steven J. Ericson, *The Sound of the Whistle: Railroads and the State in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1996).
27. Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), p. 184.
28. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [AAM-SF], *Nagasaki and Yokohama Prints from the Richard Gump Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), pp. 36–37, and Museum of Fine Arts [MFA], Boston, *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001), p. 50.
29. Margarita Winkel, "Photography and Ukiyo-e Prints", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), pp. 270–272.
30. Dallas Finn, *Meiji Revisited: the Sites of Victorian Japan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1995), p. 145.
31. Museum of Fine Arts [MFA], Boston, *Japan at the Dawn of the Modern Age: Woodblock Prints from the Meiji Era, 1968–1912* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2001), p. 48.
32. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. xv.
33. P.F. Kornicki, "The Publishing Trade", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), pp. 312–314, and Sarah E. Thompson, "Censorship and Ukiyo-e Prints", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 322.
34. Helen Merritt, "Woodblock Prints in the Meiji Era", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 245.

35. Hiroshi Higuchi (ed.), *Bakumatsu Meiji no ukiyoe shusei [A compilation of ukiyo-e from the Bakumatsu and Meiji eras]* (Tokyo: Mitoshoya, 1955), pp. 20–32.
36. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [AAM-SF], *Nagasaki and Yokohama Prints from the Richard Gump Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), pp. 20–21.
37. Looking at "barbarians" in a *namban-e* picture, a friend said that they looked ridiculous; like "moustachioed meerkats standing to attention in exquisite, silk ponchos." The rub is that while the ship's personnel are generally treated with indifference, their ships and their cargoes are presented beautifully with care, and in great detail.
38. Helen Merritt and Shigeru Oikawa, "Yokohama-e", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 267.
39. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco [AAM-SF], *Nagasaki and Yokohama Prints from the Richard Gump Collection* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1981), pp. 18–19, Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. 23, and Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Popular Prints: from Votive Slips to Playing Cards* (London: A & C Black, 2006), p. 83.
40. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. 229.
41. Akira Tsukahara, "The Opening of Japan and Its Visual Culture", in Yukiko Shirahara (ed.), *Japan Envisions the West: sixteenth–nineteenth Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2007), pp. 208–210.
42. Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The World of the Meiji Print: Impressions on a New Civilization* (New York: Weatherhill, 1986), p. xii.
43. Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), pp. 130–159.
44. Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), p. 181.
45. Akira Tsukahara, "The Opening of Japan and Its Visual Culture", in Yukiko Shirahara (ed.), *Japan Envisions the West: sixteenth–nineteenth Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2007), p. 210.
46. P.F. Kornicki, "The Publishing Trade", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), pp. 312–314, and Sarah E. Thompson, "Censorship and Ukiyo-e Prints", in Amy Reigle Newland (ed.), *The Hotei Encyclopaedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), p. 322.

47. Rebecca Salter, *Japanese Popular Prints: from Votive Slips to Playing Cards* (London: A & C Black, 2006), p. 202.
48. See Simon James Bytheway and Michael Schiltz, "The dynamics of *wakon yōsai* (Japanese spirit, Western technology): The paradoxes and challenges of financial policy in an industrializing Japan, 1854–1939", in D. Bennett, J. Earnest and M. Tanji (eds.), *People, Place and Power: Australia and the Asia Pacific* (Perth: Black Swan Press, 2009), pp. 57–79.
49. Simon James Bytheway, *Nihonkeizai to gaikokushihon 1858–1939 [The Japanese Economy and Foreign Capital: 1858–1939]* (Tokyo: Tosui, 2005), p. 185.
50. Lord Redesdale [Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford], *A Tragedy in Stone, and Other Papers* (London: John Lane & Co., 1912), pp. 128–129.

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PART V

Treaty Port Legacies

CHAPTER 11

Memories of Times Past: The Legacy of Japan's Treaty Ports

J. E. Hoare

This chapter is more of an essay than a specialised paper. It looks at the way the Japanese treaty ports, once seen as the forward thrust of an alien world, have been steadily incorporated in the canon of history in Japan. Although some of its ideas have been inspired by works such as *The Invention of Tradition*[1] and some of the writings of Robert Bickers on the Chinese treaty ports, it is not theoretical.[2] Rather, it represents the reflections of one trained as a historian. In addition, it also looks at the wider legacy of the treaty ports, in an attempt to assess their role in the development of Japan since the 1860s. This last section is a return to a subject that I only ever properly looked at in an unpublished presentation on "Yokohama—key to modern Japan?" that I gave at the University of Sheffield in May 1972 and to which I had always intended to return one day. Here, I consider it in the context of the positive way the Japanese view the treaty ports.

I did not return to the subject until now for a variety of reasons. By 1972, my career had largely moved away from things Japanese. As a member of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Research Department, my focus shifted to China and, from the 1980s onwards, to the Korean Peninsula. Only in the 1990s did I ever spend much time on

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D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7_11

Japan, mainly concerned with issues such as the treatment of prisoners of war between 1941 and 1945 and on post-war Japanese apologies. Treaty ports played no part in this work, even if the historical background sometimes proved useful. The treaty ports never entirely disappeared from my life, and I produced a few academic papers about them. Later, I found myself playing a role in Sir Hugh Cortazzi's major project on *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, writing about subjects such as Britain's Japan consular service, newspapers and foreign employees.[3] A break from the office in 1992–1993 at last allowed me some time finally to focus on turning my PhD into a book. This involved a certain amount of updating, but relatively little fresh work had appeared on the subject. Where I failed was not to take sufficient account of the great increase in works on the ports in China and the new themes and issues being considered. Perhaps it was this that led one reviewer to say that the book had a somewhat dated air about it.[4]

One difference between China and Japan in this field was that there was not a great deal of new information emerging about the Japan ports and settlements, while the opening up of archives in China added a new dimension to historical studies. And of course, the major Chinese settlements, such as Shanghai, Guangzhou and Tianjin, were bigger and lasted longer. There was, frankly, more to say about China and more to explore. Analysis of the Japan ports will probably never match that of China, but the last 20 years have seen them come more into focus. As well as traditional areas such as treaty revision and extraterritoriality, one now finds studies of Chinatowns, cuisine, the Jewish community and much more. To work on the Japanese treaty ports is no longer the isolated experience it once was.

Japan was never as cut off from the outside world as was sometimes asserted in the nineteenth century. It had links, albeit tightly controlled ones, with its neighbours, China, Ryūkyū and Korea. As with Korea, China was especially important for Japan, particularly for its cultural traditions, which were steadily absorbed over the centuries. This process did not stop with Tokugawa rule.[5] Formal exchanges often served to cover trade, but there was also plenty of ordinary trade as well, sometimes mixed up with piracy or privateering. But both diplomacy and trade operated by East Asian standards and diverged notably from the systems that increasingly governed such activities in the Western world. Fourteenth or fifteenth century emissaries and merchants would have found plenty in common with their East Asian counterparts; their eighteenth century successors did not. It is true that as East Asia passed from a period of war and

turbulence into a more settled state at the beginning of the seventeenth century, controls on trade and other forms of contact became common. Even then, however, there were always outsiders who made their way to Japan and made a living out of what they did.[6]

It was the growing outside pressure on Japan from the mid-eighteenth century onwards that led East Asian countries to turn in on themselves and attempt to exclude the intruders. Such attempts failed. In the 40 years after 1840, the three East Asian nations were compelled to allow foreign trade and to accept the establishment of foreign communities on their territory. The treaty port system developed out of the colonial enclaves that European countries created as they pushed into Asia from the fifteenth century onwards. This was true in both physical and mental ways. A distinctive "treaty port architecture", some of which survives to this day, which owed much to Western-style buildings in India and Southeast Asia, could be found from Western China to Korea and Japan. The clubs, newspapers and various forms of entertainment were a common feature, recreating in miniature home life but again modified by the Indian or Sumatran experience. The treaty ports were not colonies, in that the host country retained formal sovereignty, but that often counted for little as far as foreigners' attitudes were concerned. The foreign settlements, often at first at least distinct enclaves cut off from the "native town", thought of themselves as separate entities. Extraterritoriality, especially as seen locally rather than in capitals, fostered this illusion. Englishmen, Frenchmen or Americans were, as far as they were concerned, quite outside the local legal system.[7]

The system and style of the ports opened in Japan at the end of the 1850s derived largely from British India and, following its defeat at the hands of the British in 1842, from China. The earliest treaties with Japan, negotiated by naval officers with shipping needs in mind, failed to address the issue of trade, and were rapidly replaced by more comprehensive documents that provided for trade, residence and the protection of extraterritoriality. These had little to do with any Japanese experience and reflected developments in China, where the Second Opium War (1856–1860—also known as the *Arrow* war) increased the Western sense of superiority and entitlement.[8]

Some trading took place before the treaties came into force in July 1859. That, plus an inflow of "adventurers" from the China Coast ports, contributed the air of slight lawlessness that would attach itself to Yokohama in particular. Many had expected that Nagasaki would be the

prime port in Japan, given its long tradition of links with the outside world. But many of those who went there quickly moved on. Nagasaki was too far from the centre and the great commercial cities. It remained a pleasant backwater, popular with the small foreign community and later the Chinese, but no more. A small Russian community added to the sense of being different. The northern port of Hakodate, also home to a Russian community, was equally off the beaten track. A few foreigners lived there, but there was no real foreign settlement. Hakodate mainly served the North Pacific whaling ships and later the pelagic seal fishers.

It was the new port of Yokohama that, by 1861, was clearly the main foreign settlement. Of course, as diplomats and consuls pointed out from the beginning, there should have been no settlement at Yokohama. Kanagawa was the place named in the treaty. But the Japanese were worried that Kanagawa, which stood on the Tokaido, the main east–west road thronged with feudal lords and their armed retinues going to and from Edo and Kyoto, many of whom opposed the presence of foreigners anywhere in the country, was too likely to lead to clashes to be safe. So a new town was constructed at the nearby village of Yokohama. There were diplomatic protests, amid fears that the new town would become effectively another Deshima, with contact between Japanese and foreigners severely restricted. But the Japanese persisted, using the bait of ready-constructed buildings, low rents and no upset charges. It was also true that Yokohama offered access to deeper water than Kanagawa, thus allowing ships to come close inshore. While the diplomats fumed, the foreigners established themselves in the new town, with Jardine Matheson, the principal British firm on the China coast, leading the way at No. 1 Yokohama, although it remained only an agency until 1870.[9] The foreign approach was typical. While no doubt companies such as Jardines saw themselves as being in Japan for the long term, many individual foreigners at the start, at least, thought of themselves as essentially transient. The first British minister to Japan, Sir Rutherford Alcock, recorded a conversation from his time in China that he thought summed up foreign merchant attitudes in both China and Japan: "In two or three years at farthest, I hope to realize a fortune and get away; and what can it matter to me if all Shanghai disappear afterwards in fire or flood?"[10] In time, this would change, and an established core of foreign residents and their families could be found in the main ports, with some maintaining Japanese links right up to the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941 and even post war.[11]

The original opening of the additional ports of Niigata and Hyogo, and the cities of Edo and Osaka, should have taken place by 1863 but was postponed because of Japanese concerns that it would add complications to internal politics, while the opening of Edo, in particular, would add to anti-foreign feeling. The anti-foreign feeling had not dissipated by the time they were opened in 1868, and the struggle for power that marked the end of Tokugawa rule and the "Restoration" of the Emperor added to nervousness. The handful of foreigners at Hakodate found themselves nervous spectators at the naval battle that finally saw the defeat of the Tokugawa forces, an event that did little to increase their sense of security. Only Hyogo, or rather the nearby village of Kobe, where the settlement was established, was a success, perhaps aided by the insistence of Sir Harry Parkes that there was to be no repeat of the experience at Yokohama and that the new settlement should have proper funding. Whatever the reason for that success, however, it undermined Osaka, since traders preferred the port as a place of residence. Osaka became a missionary centre rather than a place of trade. Niigata attracted few foreigners and no foreign trade because its harbour was behind a sandbar, preventing all but small boats coming in close. Edo's foreign settlement at Tsukiji was undermined by the Japanese government's willingness to allow its foreign employees to live anywhere in the city and, as at Osaka, traders preferred Yokohama. Like Osaka, the settlement area became an enclave for foreign missionaries, with churches and schools predominating.[12]

Yokohama thrived as a trading port, with the usual outward trappings of such places. But it was not a happy community. The early tensions between foreign officials and foreign residents regularly resurfaced. Alcock and his staff were banned from the Yokohama Club after he published what were regarded as disparaging comments in his account of his first three years.[13] Consuls received criticism for not taking the merchants' side in trading disputes, for not understanding trade and for writing unnecessary reports that were critical of traders and trading methods. When the merchant community was not fighting the consuls, it was scrapping over the expenses of going to law or the scurrilous comments of newspaper editors.[14] Before long, the disadvantages of having no upset fund to provide a proper infrastructure for the foreign settlement began to show in poor drainage and unkempt roads.

The greatest problem, however, was tension between the Japanese and the foreign communities. This occurred at times at all ports, but Yokohama seemed to suffer the most. Perhaps local officials close to Edo were more

nervous than their counterparts at distant Nagasaki or Hakodate and thus inclined to be more officious. Perhaps the foreigners at Yokohama were a far more mixed bunch than elsewhere, eager to make their money and go. And finally, the proximity both to Edo and to the Tokaido brought the problems that the Japanese had feared. There were too many proud armed Japanese men in the area, many of whom seemed to hate foreigners, whom they were more than willing to attack. Foreigners might be jostled, and occasionally killed, elsewhere—Sir Harry Parkes and his entourage came under attack at the opening of Hyogo (Kobe) in March 1868, and the last killing took place at Hakodate in 1874—but Yokohama was the main centre of danger. Memoirs, guide books and travel accounts listed the killings. The most notorious was the attack on Charles Richardson at the village of Namamugi in 1862, but there were many more.[15] Early Western photographers seemed to dwell on pictures of heavily armed Japanese. These, and gory photographs or engravings derived from them, of those killed and of the executions that followed, circulated among the foreign community and among a wider audience elsewhere through publications such as the *Illustrated London News*.[16] The presence of foreign troops at Yokohama from the mid-1860s to the mid-1870s, together with a general sense among foreigners of being isolated from the "civilised world", created an atmosphere of fear and apprehension for Japanese and foreigners alike. Language difficulties added to the problem, with few Japanese speaking any language but their own and few foreigners learning much Japanese beyond the curious "pidgin Japanese" enshrined in the "Yokohama dialect", although this has been disputed.[17]

Yet in spite of the fears and tension, the two sides were intrigued by each other. Many accounts note that while some Japanese were clearly very hostile to foreigners, others came to stare at them and to observe their behaviour. In the early days, they were likely to be chased away by Japanese officials or worried foreigners, but as time passed, such reactions diminished. Foreigners travelling outside the ports would find themselves surrounded by curious villagers, especially if they were eating or washing. Many woke up to find that holes had been poked through the paper windows of their inns. Foreigners displayed equal curiosity about the Japanese and sought opportunities to visit scenic spots and to view life away from the settlements. Again, surviving photographs provide abundant evidence of such interest. Before the days of cheap personal cameras, the prints made by professional photographers circulated in large numbers, sometimes as single prints, but more often in handsome albums, often bound

in silk or lacquer boards. Their survival testifies to the widespread interest in the subjects. It would not be long before the Japanese, who had at first been suspicious of cameras, would take to this new means of recording people and places and, indeed, would soon surpass their early mentors. Before many years had passed, Japanese photographers could be found all over the China coast and in Korea, as well as in Japan itself, though they faced stiff competition from Chinese photographers.[18]

Before the photographs, Japan had a thriving tradition of recording events in colourful woodblock prints. The art of making such prints dated from the early seventeenth century, and was perfected by 1800.[19] At Nagasaki, there developed a new style of print, devoted to the doings of the Dutch and the Chinese, with pictures of ships, of people dining, playing billiards and otherwise going about their daily lives. The foreigners might have seemed exotic and the prints often included foreign words in Roman letters to indicate their strangeness, but there was no hostility in the depictions. Travellers to Nagasaki bought them as souvenirs, and they may have had a use to the Japanese authorities for the light they cast on foreigners. The production of such prints lasted into the treaty port period, with fine pictures of the Russian Admiral Putiatin visiting the port in August–November 1853.[20]

Not surprisingly, therefore, from the 1850s onwards, a new genre of "Yokohama ukiyo-e" (prints of the Yokohama floating world) emerged and remained popular into the 1870s. The earliest examples tended to show foreigners in a rather grotesque manner—Commodore Perry was almost demonic in some, while the "black ships" in which he arrived, towered over the Japanese boats in Edo Bay, belching smoke and fire. Yet it was not long before the treatment became more gentle and accurate. As with Nagasaki, domestic scenes became popular—husbands and wives, women and children, people with dogs. Many prints showed foreign buildings such as consulates, trading houses and banks. Plans and maps of Yokohama and its harbour were another popular theme. Foreign recreational habits were of great interest, with prints showing the "People of the Five Nations"—those that first signed treaties with Japan—watching ships' bands playing on the Bund or else parading themselves. With the stationing of British and French troops at Yokohama from 1865, another rich source of prints was mined, with officers on horseback, troops in scarlet and white, and a plentiful supply of flags, not always accurately displayed. There was also a new element, for Japanese also featured in these prints, usually as observers of the passing scene but sometimes as active

participants in the affairs of foreigners. The foreign settlements and their inhabitants were becoming less an alien and disliked presence and more a part of everyday life.[21]

The process continued. The events of the Restoration years worried foreigners at the time, but it was soon obvious that a change was under way. The new rulers of Japan, while soon as determined as their predecessors to amend or, eventually, end the treaties, even if perhaps increasingly aware of how difficult this process might be, did not translate this into animosity towards the foreigners actually present in the country. With the disarming of the samurai class, they also introduced changes that made life less dangerous for foreigners. As we have seen, the attacks on foreigners did not stop immediately. But so much had the situation improved by the time of Consul Haber's death at Hakodate in 1874 that it did not affect the decision to withdraw foreign troops from Yokohama. Japan was clearly no longer considered a dangerous place. As time passed, the Japanese got used to the foreigners. Wearing foreign-style clothes, first seen among the Japanese military in the 1860s, became common after the Restoration, at least in the cities, especially when the emperor himself began to appear in Western-style dress. To some foreigners, the choice of foreign clothes might seem odd, but at least they were recognisably not traditional Japanese costume.[22]

In some ways, the settlements began to disappear from the Japanese consciousness after 1868. The prints changed, with the Meiji emperor, developments in Toyo, as Edo had become, and national events occupying centre stage. Gradually, as the century moved on, this began to change. The issue of treaty revision became a major issue, which in turn focused attention back on the foreigners in the country from 1882 onwards. As foreign opposition to Japanese demands developed, there was some return of inter-communal hostility, particularly at Yokohama. This reached its height in 1890 when it became clear that there would be no mixed court or foreign judges in Japan. When the first of the new treaties was signed with Britain in July 1894, there were dark murmurings from the foreign press and much talk of the "Good old days and Sir Harry Parkes".[23]

But it all came to nothing and five years later, when the new treaties came into force, the fears proved unfounded. This was partly helped by the determination on both sides to make things work. Despite all the earlier alarms, foreigners were not swept off to jail or singled out for attack. Joint committees helped to smooth the way, and in the settlements, there was no disruption of foreigners' lives or property. Inevitably, there were a

few problems, especially at Yokohama. There a dispute developed over the cricket ground. This was a prime site, to which Japanese were not normally admitted, in what had been the public gardens. The local authorities wished to repossess the cricket ground and offered an alternative site, which the cricket club rejected, insisting on rights that no longer existed—indeed, such rights may never have existed. The dispute was eventually settled satisfactorily. The British embassy's view was that was the situation had been made worse by the actions of John Carey Hall, the British Consul-General. Hall was reprimanded by London, but not replaced.[24]

Those five years also saw evidence that the settlements were very much accepted as part of Japan's recent history. Kobe led the way, with a two-volume history of the port since its establishment published in 1897.[25] It is not surprising that Yokohama, whose 50th anniversary fell just as the revised treaties came into force, does not seem to have marked it. In 1908, however, for the 60th anniversary, the city government published a volume in English.[26] Such works, sometimes in English and sometimes in Japanese, continued to appear until the 1930s. And while photographs and woodblock prints might no longer be published and circulated quite as frequently as they had been in the past, a new form of pictorial art appeared with the arrival of picture postcards. The earliest ones were issued by the Japanese Post Office, but from 1900, commercial companies were allowed to produce such postcards. The buildings and activities of the former foreign settlements were a popular theme, surviving as a genre into the 1930s. Numerous collections can be found on the internet and a number of books testify to their continued popularity.[27]

Now that the former foreign settlements were freely open to movement, they again became popular places to visit. Japanese flocked to the foreign restaurants, for, by 1900, foreign food had become quite well known and had even begun to change Japanese eating habits. Even more exotic than Western food, which must often have seemed bland and stodgy, was Chinese food. As a result, the "Chinatowns" that existed in Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki enjoyed a boom. From being viewed as slightly dangerous places—which perhaps added to the pleasure of going there—they became popular centres, a position that they retained well into the 1930s.[28] In 1916, Yokohama erected a memorial to the opening of the port, which survives to this day.[29]

The 1923 Kanto earthquake destroyed much of Yokohama's foreign settlement and killed a number of long-term foreign inhabitants. What survived, such as the Foreign Cemetery, was preserved and restored

Fig. 11.1 Yokohama Foreign Cemetery, photograph by J.E. Hoare

(Fig. 11.1). Chinatown had been particularly badly hit, but it re-emerged and continued to be a major attraction until the increased tensions between Japan and China in the 1930s. As a consequence, commemorative occasions such as the 75th opening of Yokohama in 1934 passed quietly. Elsewhere, the remaining settlements were still treated as part of Japan's heritage. Then came the war and the heavy bombing of Japan's cities, which destroyed much of what remained of the settlements—some 70% of the Kobe settlement buildings were destroyed, with heavy devastation at Osaka and Tokyo. There was little to destroy in Yokohama that dated from before 1923, but some corners did survive, including the Foreign Cemetery. At Nagasaki, a number of buildings from treaty port days remained after the atomic bomb attack of 1945, including the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Oura and the house of the British merchant Thomas Glover. This now forms the basis of the "Glover Garden" to which other buildings from around the city have been added. Together, they now form an important feature of the city's tourist industry, not least because some link them to the "Madame Butterfly" story (Fig. 11.2).[30] Hakodate never

Fig. 11.2 Nagasaki Glover Gardens, photograph by J.E. Hoare

had a foreign settlement as such. Foreign buildings were scattered all over the city and some survived the rather limited attacks that took place.

A defeated Japan in 1945 had other things to think about apart from tourism. But after 1952, when the country regained its independence, things began to change. In the light of post-war occupation and the new foreign presence in the country, the earlier period of close involvement with foreigners assumed a new significance. Much scholarly material on the settlements, such as Yokohama city government's multi-volume history prepared for the centenary in 1959, was published.[31] After so much destruction, it was perhaps understandable that buildings from the foreign settlements should be preserved and cherished. But this interest in the recent past did not stop at preserving buildings or producing historical works. There had always been some coverage of the treaty port period in Japanese museums, but as Japan approached the centenary of the end of the old treaties, new ones began to appear, while others expanded their coverage. A favourite site for such museums was old buildings dating from the treaty port period or closely related to it. These included former banks at Kobe and Yokohama and the Glover House at Nagasaki.[32] Another useful source of historic sites was former British consular buildings, which were no longer needed, as the British official presence in Japan shrunk after the Pacific War. Thus, the Yokohama Archives of

History, established in 1981, occupies the former British Yokohama consulate-general buildings, which date from the late 1920s. It has become one of the foremost centres for the study of the treaty ports, with a widespread collection of materials in Japanese and other languages. Its staff are particularly knowledgeable, and it is widely used by scholars. It has an active programme of exhibitions and publishes a wide range of material.[33] It is not the only treaty port–related centre in the city, however. The Yamate (Bluff) Museum and the surrounding area show life in the most select part of the city, which was a major centre for foreigners until the 1923 earthquake. Most of the buildings are post 1923, but the small museum is situated in the Yamate Jubankan restaurant, the only building to survive the earthquake. The Yokohama Foreign Cemetery is in the same area.[34] A small private museum has been created at Namamugi, to mark where Charles Richardson was killed in 1862. Nearby, there are also monuments to the spot where he was attacked and to where he died.[35] Hakodate turned the former British consulate, built in 1913, into the "Opening Port Memorial Hall" in 1992. It is available for weddings, and includes a tea room and a shop "brimming with British atmosphere", according to its publicity brochure. Even Shimonoseki, though not opened to foreign trade until after the end of the old treaties, has taken over the former British consulate—only opened in 1901, with the buildings dating from 1906—and uses it as a historical centre.[36] While not strictly a treaty port museum, the former summer villa of the British embassy near Lake Chuzenji, originally built in 1896 for Sir Ernest Satow, then British minister, has been reopened as a tearoom and centre about Satow and his long involvement with Japan.[37] Such places figure prominently in Japanese and foreign guidebooks and on sites such as TripAdvisor, and appear equally popular with both groups.

Whatever hostility to foreigners there once might have been has long been dissipated and the Japanese see the treaty ports and their physical remains as part of their history. There seems to be none of the ambivalence that can be found in China.[38] One factor is that while the Japanese might resent the "unequal treaties", they could at least claim that they had negotiated them as equals and could argue for their revision on the same basis. Another reason for the different Japanese attitude was the relatively short existence of the Japanese settlements, compared to China. While the latter, or at least a number of them, lasted 100 years, Japan succeeded in taking over its settlements in 40 years. The intrusiveness of the Chinese

ports on Chinese life was also far greater than in Japan, thanks to the terms that the Japanese were able to extract after the 1894–1895 Sino-Japanese War. Until the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the war, the foreign presence in China, while greater than the foreign presence in Japan, was not dissimilar in its behaviour or in its ability to trade. Shimonoseki changed that. In particular, the opening of the Yangzi River to foreign shipping and the ability to engage in manufacturing after 1895 were major differences. The Boxer Uprising of 1900 also made much difference to what foreigners were able to do in China than they had been in Japan. As Japan edged out of the treaty port system, it was responsible for an intensification of that system in China, which continued after other countries were prepared to modify their traditional position.[39]

Today, for whatever the reason, there is no doubt that in Japan, the treaty ports and foreign settlements have been absorbed into the country's traditional culture and are seen positively.[40] But assessing their real importance in the development of modern Japan remains difficult. Could a few thousand foreigners spread over four cities really have had much influence? There clearly were some influences, on clothes, food and buildings. Even in these areas, however, as important as the foreign influence might have been, it was much more likely that it was the Japanese government's efforts and policies that mattered. After 1868, the Japanese central and local governments built intensively in Western style, often far away from the foreign settlements.[41] Senior figures, from the emperor down, wore Western clothes. The armed forces, newly reorganised after the Restoration, wore Western-style uniforms. These uniforms, seen all over the country and far from the treaty ports, are much more likely to have influenced local people than anything from Yokohama or Kobe. And as, noted above, the Japanese did not lose control of manufacturing or access to the interior of the country. Thus, they limited foreign influence. Neither did they lose control of customs, as happened in China. Foreign shipping companies were marginalised. Tokyo and Osaka were important cities before the foreigners came and the handful of foreigners who did dwell there tended to be unrepresentative of the foreign community in general. Nagasaki's huge shipyards owed little to foreigners by the 1880s. Kobe and Yokohama were in a different category and one can make the case for the importance of their role. Even in those two ports, the limitations imposed on foreign activities and the reluctance of foreigners to give up their extraterritorial rights, a move that would have

provided better access to the interior and therefore to the real Japanese economy, meant that the role of the foreign settlements was always limited.[42]

Whatever the real importance of the ports in the making of modern Japan, for many Japanese they are an important part of their history, still retaining some of that exoticism that led their nineteenth century forebears rich and poor, high and low, to make the journey to Nagasaki or Yokohama, to behold these strange beings. The "sites of memory", such as the physical remains of the ports and the museums created to celebrate them, can be linked to the Japanese tradition of museum-going that took hold in the late nineteenth century under the advocacy of people such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and other modernisers.[43] "Celebrate" is deliberately chosen. The Japanese could equally stress the quasi-colonial nature of their experience, the foreign use of force or the routine displays of arrogance. This is what has tended to be the stress in China.[44] Each country draws on a similar past but presents it differently. Thus is tradition invented.

Notes

1. Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
2. Most recently in Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, eds., *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power*. Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2016.
3. This series and related volumes were published under the auspices of the Japan Society, London, from 1999 to 2016. Most were edited by Hugh Cortazzi, former British ambassador to Japan. I edited Vol. III.
4. The book was J.E. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements: The Uninvited Guests 1858–1899*. Folkestone, Kent, 1994. The reviewer was F.G. Notehelfer in *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1955), pp. 403–406.
5. Elegantly examined in Marius B. Jensen, *Japan and Its World: Two Centuries of Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980, pp. 9–24.
6. Themes examined in works such as Ronald P. Toby. *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984; Derek Masserella. *A World Elsewhere: Europe's encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990; and Marius B. Jansen. *China in the Tokugawa World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

7. Extraterritoriality, once a relatively specialised aspect of international law, has in recent years received more attention. See, for example, Pär Kristoffer Cassel. *Grounds of Judgment: Extraterritoriality and Imperial Power in Nineteenth Century Japan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012; Douglas Clark. *Gunboat Justice: British and American Law Courts in China and Japan (1842–1943)*. Hong Kong: Earnshaw Books, 3 vols. 2015; and, specifically on Japan, Christopher Roberts. *The British Courts and Extra–territoriality in Japan, 1859–1899*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Global Oriental, 2014.
8. W.G. Beasley. *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan*. London: Luzac, 1951, remains a good account of the issues over the two types of treaty. See also the detailed examination of the first treaties in William McOmie, *The Opening of Japan 1853–1855*. Folkestone, England: Global Oriental, 2006. Curiously enough, exactly the same thing happened in the British case when the first treaty was negotiated with Korea in 1882. Admiral Willis's treaty was replaced without ratification by one that allowed trade and residence on similar terms to those that prevailed in China and Japan. See J.E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999, pp. 171–172.
9. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports and Foreign Settlements*, pp. 6–7, and p. 195, note 26.
10. Rutherford Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 2 vols., 1863, I, pp. 37–38.
11. Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, pp. 24–25. One such family's links began with the arrival of John Carey Hall as a student interpreter in the Japan Consular Service in 1868. See Hugo Read, ed., *Consul in Japan: Oswald White's Memoir: 'All Ambition Spent'*, Folkestone, Kent: Renaissance Books, 2017.
12. Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, *Handbook for Travellers in Japan*. London: John Murray, 9th revised ed., 1913, p. 136.
13. Alcock, *Capital of the Tycoon*.
14. See the United Kingdom National Archives: Foreign Office records, FO 262/236, Exchange of letters between Russell Robertson, British Consul at Yokohama and the firm of Wilkies and Robison, who had complained about the conduct of the Yokohama Customs House, enclosed in Russell Robertson, Consul at Yokohama to F.O. Adams, Chargé d'Affaires Tokyo, no. 4, 9 January 1872. An interesting selection of court cases, based on contemporary newspaper reports, can be found at: http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/colonial_cases/less_developed/china_and_japan/ (accessed 26 May 2017).
15. Some of the attacks are listed in Hoare, *Japan's Treaty Ports*, pp. 10–11. See also Alcock, *Capital of the Tycoon*, I, 240–241, 331–332 and 341; Eliza

R. Scidmore. *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*. London Harper Brothers, revised ed., 1902, p. 28. Because of the fear of attack, many foreigners carried pistols, even if these were unlikely to be of much use in an attack from behind, the usual method of the Japanese: E.M. Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan: An Inner History of the Japanese Reformation*. London; Seeley Service, 1921, p. 47.

16. For examples of the photographs, see Terry Bennett, *Photography in Japan 1853–1912*. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2006, pp. 20, 62, 67, 107. For the *Illustrated London News* and Japan, see Terry Bennett, comp. *Japan and the Illustrated London News; Complete Record of Reported Events 1853–1899*. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2006.
17. When I made this point in my 1994 book, Professor F.G. Notehelfer challenged it, noting that a number of foreign residents could speak and a few even read Japanese; see *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 50, no. 3 (Autumn 1955), pp. 403–406. However, all the evidence I have seen points in the opposite direction. A few people did master the language, but most did not, relying, as Satow, who did know it, put it: "the foreigners who could speak Japanese might be counted on the fingers of one hand. Yet all knew a little. [while] A sort of bastard language had been invented for the use of trade"—see Satow, *Diplomat in Japan*, p. 23. This situation continued into the twentieth century.
18. The trajectory from Western through Japanese to Chinese photographers can be followed in great detail in Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China*. London: Quaritch, 3 vols. 2009, 2010, 2013. See also Mio Wakita, "Sites of 'Disconnectedness': The Port City of Yokohama, Souvenir Photography, and Its Audience" in *Transcultural Studies* no. 2 (2013), at: http://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de/journals/index.php/transcultural/issue/view/1369 (accessed 28 May 2017).
19. See "Ukiyo-e. 'Images of the Floating World'" in Louis Frédéric. *Japan: An Encyclopedia*. Trans. Käthe Roth. Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002, pp. 1101–1102.
20. Hosono Masanobu. *Nagasaki Prints and Early Copperplates*. Trans. and adapted by Lloyd R. Craighill. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978, especially pp. 32–57.
21. My real introduction to the rich world of the Japanese prints came in Tokyo in 1966, when I bought a copy of Tamba Tsuneo. *Nishiki ni miru Meiji tenno to Meiji jidai* ("The Meiji emperor and the Meiji period as seen in colour prints"), Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1966, and later discovered the same author's collection *Yokohama ukiyo-e/Reflections on the culture of Yokohama in the days of the port opening*, Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1962. Temba's images are small, and a much better perspective as well as a good cross-section of prints can be found in Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints*

from Nineteenth Century Japan. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1990. There are many other collections.

22. The *Illustrated London News* is as good a way as any to track the development.
23. Mrs Hugh Fraser, *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan*. London: Hutchinson, 2 vols. 1899, I, 199. The best recent account of treaty revision is Michael Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the culture of Japanese Diplomacy*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004.
24. John Carey Hall was, according to the ambassador, blind, deaf and stubborn. For very different versions of the story, see Mike Galbraith, "Cricket in Late Edo and Meiji Japan", in Hugh Cortazzi, ed. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* (Folkestone, Kent: Renaissance Books, 2015), Vol. IX, pp. 135–147, and J. E. Hoare, "John Carey Hall 1844–1921", in Cortazzi, ed. *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* Folkestone, Kent: Renaissance Books, 2016, Vol. X, pp. 278–291.
25. Murata Seiji, *Kobe kaiko sanjunenshi* (The 30-Year History of Kobe Open Port), Kobe: Kobe kaiko sanjunenshi kinenkai, 2 vols. 1898. Reprinted in a facsimile edition, Kobe: Chugai Publishers, 1966.
26. Yokohama-shi, *The city of Yokohama, past and present*. Yokohama: Yokohama Publishing Office. 1908.
27. "Japan's postcard history", at http://photojpn.org/PPC/gui/intro.html (accessed 29 May 2017), has a brief account. For collections of postcards, see: http://www.oldtokyo.com/ (accessed 12 March 2017) and http://www.oldphotosjapan.com/ (accessed 30 May 2017). Books on postcards include Brian Burke–Gaffney. *Nagasaki: A History in Picture Postcards/ Hana no Nagasaki arubumu Nagasaki hyakunene hizo engaki*. Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensha, 2005. There are many others. A major collection of postcards is the "A Neil Pedlar Collection" in the Yokohama Archives of History, which uses them frequently in publications: http://www.kaikou.city.yokohama.jp/en/reading-room.html
28. See Eric C. Han, *Rise of a Japanese Chinatown: Yokohama 1894–1972*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014. On food, including Chinese food, see Katarzyna J., Cwiertka, "Eating the World: Restaurant Culture in Early Twentieth Century Japan", *European Journal of East Asian Studies* Vol. 2, no. 1 (March 2003), pp. 89–116 and her *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2006.
29. http://www.yokohamajapan.com/things-to-do/jacks-tower/ (accessed 30 May 2017).
30. A brief account can be found at: http://travel.at-nagasaki.jp/en/what-to-see/11/ (accessed 1 June 2017). A recent biography of Thomas Glover is Alexander McKay, *Scottish Samurai: Thomas Blake Glover 1838–1911*.

Edinburgh: Canongate, 1993. Oura Cathedral, now a minor basilica, was the first foreign building to be designated a National Treasure, in 1933. It is likely to be nominated as a World Heritage Site by the Japanese government in 2018. "Nagasaki's Oura Church among Christian sites eyed for UNESCO Heritage listing", *Japan Times*, 25 July 2016.

31. Yokohama henshushitsu, eds. *Yokohamashi–shi* ("History of Yokohama City"). Yokohama: Yokohamashei, 5 vols. 1958.
32. A good-on-line guidebook to Kobe's museum is downloadable as a PDF—see: www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/pdf/kcm_e_guide.pdf (accessed 26 December 2017).
33. See the online brochure at: http://www.kaikou.city.yokohama.jp/en/
34. Its online brochure is much fuller than most: http://www.japanvisitor.com/japan-city-guides/yamate (accessed 1 June 2017).
35. John Ryall, "The Namamugi Incident" *Acumen: The Magazine of the British chamber of Commerce in Japan*, August 2012, at https://bccjacumen.com (accessed 10 July 2017). A print of the incident exists—see: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=15365001&objectid=783270 (accessed 10 July 2017).
36. A good account is available at: http://www.kyu-eikoku-ryoujikan.com/english/ (accessed 1 June 2017).
37. "British Embassy/s Meiji Era villa reopens in Tochigi", *Japan Times* 30 June 2016.
38. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson, "Introduction" in Bickers and Jackson, eds., *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power*, pp. 10–11.
39. Albert Feuerwerker, "Japanese Imperialism in China: A Commentary" in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds. *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 431–438.
40. An interesting analysis can be found in Yoshida Mitsukuni, Tanaka Ikko, and Sesoko Tsune, eds., *The Hybrid Culture: What Happened When East and West Met*. Hiroshima, Japan: Mazda, 1984.
41. Finn, Dallas, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*. New York: Wetherill, 1995.
42. J.E. Hoare, "Treaty Ports and Treaty Revision. Delusions of Grandeur?" in *The Revision of Japan's Early Commercial Treaties*. London: LSE STICERD Discussion No. IS/99?377, 1999, pp. 15–24.
43. The development of the museum in Meiji Japan is examined in Noriko Aso, *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.
44. See Robert Bickers, *Out of China: How the Chinese Ended the Era of Western Domination*. London: Allen Lane, 2017, Chap. 12.

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[1] Note: page number followed by 'n' refers to note.

D. Brunero, S. Villalta Puig (eds.), *Life in Treaty Port China and Japan*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-7368-7

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