

**Going Native: British diplomatic, judicial and consular  
architecture in China (1867-1949)**

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## Abstract

This research examines connections between British and Chinese architectural cultures in the history of Anglo-Chinese relationships. The research subject is British diplomatic, judicial and consular establishments built in China between 1867 and 1949. These consulates were established by the British government in a variety of Chinese environments, from freezing to humid climates, and from Muslim to Westernised Russian-Japanese dominated cultures. They become an ideal subject for an investigation into the interaction between Chinese and British cultures. Instead of repeating the dichotomy between Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism or between tradition and modernity, this research argues that British consular architecture was developed based on British's Orientalist impressions of the Chinese environment.

The research is carried out using the case study method in order to understand in detail the response of each British consulate to a variety of political, cultural, and geographical environments, and the craftsmanship then available in China. Together, it can also understand China's response to these political and economic institutions. Cases include the Peking Legation, the Shanghai British Supreme Court, the Canton Consulate, the Tientsin Consulate, and the British Consulates in the provinces of Yunnan and Manchuria. These cases are examined by mainly using correspondence between the Office of Works, Foreign Office and the Treasury. Counter-evidence is drawn from contemporary Chinese literature, such as *Lu Ban Classic of Carpentry* and *Yuan Yeh Craft of Gardens* as well as the diaries of Chinese people, to prevent misinterpretation of the correspondence as well as to reconstruct the late Imperial Chinese environment.

The final result of the research is presented in the form of a thesis whose structure consists of reviewing literature, a case study based on five British consulates, and a discussion about the development and characteristics of the British consulates. Finally, in the conclusion, the research finds great similarity between British and Chinese architectural cultures in the case of governmental buildings. Both the Chinese and the British chose identical strategies to face the varied conditions of the Chinese environment.

## Glossary of Key Terms

Terms and Explanation	Page
<p>Yin-yang or 陰陽 – literally shade and light, dark and bright, empty and full, up and down, or merely two things that are not necessary opposite one another. The influential Taoist idea mainly shows the constant shifting of two phases/polarities or (Yi/儀), that is born from one unity/eternity/chaos – 太極 or Tai-chi. Reischauer &amp; Fairbank explains in 1958 its difference from Mediterranean dualism and its importance in shaping the cultures of East Asia.</p>	58, 155, 203.
<p>Yi or 儀 – the character itself is meaningful. It can be phase as shown above. It is constantly referred to rituals, together with Li/禮 (manners or propriety). The term can also be understood as customs, and in addition, both Yi and Li are interchangeable in many cases, for instance Hevia adapts Li as rituals (1995).</p>	36, 61, 79, 91, 156, 329, 335.
<p>Jia-zi or 甲子 – a cycle of sixty years. It is constantly connected with ba-gua (eight trigrams, p. 58. It is evolved from four symbols/directions, and which evolved from two yis.) or <i>Book of Change</i> and thus it is generally believed that several jai-zi, if not one jai-zi later, a dramatic change would occur.</p>	131, 162.
<p>Feng-shui or 風水 – literally wind and water – is an knowledge to understand the flow of chi/氣 in nature. There were at least two schools in the feng-shui knowledge before the mid-nineteenth century.</p>	38, 45, 72, 73, 81, 292, 317.
<p>Chi or 氣 – the flow of energy or the energy itself. It flows within human body as well as in nature. Chi is frequently involved in feng-shui theory. Selecting a suitable site always equals to spot where the positive chi flows and a prosperous landscaping generally means to guide positive/warmer/dryer/lighter chi going by, not toward, the site and prevent the interfering of too much shade chi.</p>	72, 155, 203, 292.
<p>Ya-men or 衙門 – literally and originally means the front door of a governmental establishment. A ya-men is not only an office, e.g., the six ministries in Peking (pp. 87-88, 157), but also, in the cases of local government, residence of officials and their family, e.g, the Ya-men of the General-in-Chief to Canton (p. 180). After passing imperial examines, officials were expected to assign to a foreign land, where no connection of the official's relatives, so as to prevent corruption or favouritism. Therefore ya-mens are usually equipped with residences. A ya-men generally consists of several smaller compounds of courtyard house dwelled by junior officials, soldiers, guards, runners, servants or slaves.</p>	12, 20, 22, 62, 87-89, 92, 103-04, 106, 109, 114, 116-17, 151, 155-57, 161-64, 168, 178-89, 202-05, 222, 256, 258, 272, 306, 335-37.
<p>Jin or 進 – literally means entry, and is used in architecture as a courtyard or a hall. A term that is referred to how many courtyard/ hall a row of courtyard house consists of, or which courtyard/ hall. A compound may consist of several rows of courtyard house and each of them is organised at least one courtyard.</p>	163, 287, 316, 337, 343.
<p>Kang or 炕 – dormitory bed made of bricks or cob bricks with solid fuel heating beneath it.</p>	116, 125, 245, 250, 321, 337.

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## Chapter 1, Introduction

*As the Confucian philosophy does not require those who profess it to keep engagements that have been extracted from them by force, should they believe them to be wrong, hence that in course of time, should they continue to view the terms of the treaty in that light, a certain amount of uncertainty must exist in respect to their keeping to them, when fairly relieved from the overawing influence of a military occupation such as now exists at Tien-tsin. (J.F. Wade, 14 April 1861 in Rennie 1865: I, 85)*

## **Research Objectives**

Being one of the physical manifestations of ideology, consulate architecture is seen as a dual symbol of East-West intercourse and conflict. Interpretations of it are overwhelmingly influenced by political attitudes to history, from the colonialist invasion of Imperialism to the rightful representative securing fair trade. At the same time, it is technological modernisation that has attracted the majority of the architectural researchers in East Asia. They have sought to understand the nature of architectural modernity in terms of style, spatial meaning and its differentiation from earlier traditions.

A wider aspect can be provided by viewing it from the designers' and the users' standpoint. Attention can be drawn to the H.M. Office of Works and Public Buildings that oversaw the British consulate architecture in China after it set up its Shanghai branch in 1867. A yet wider aspect can be provided from the geographical viewpoint, as over one-third of the 43 consulate compounds were designed, constructed and physically maintained by the Office of Works in Shanghai in a variety of cultural, climatic and technical contexts. Furthermore, real estate registered to the consulate was also managed and traded through the Office of Works.

This research assembles original material for analysing the ideology of British consulate architecture in China, and for understanding the influence of the Chinese environment. It surveys many of the cultural, social, technological, political, economic and geographical factors that shaped the British consular, judicial and diplomatic architecture.

Instead of repeating the story of conflicts between Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism or between tradition and modernity, the research sets out to understand the interaction between the Chinese physical and ideological landscape and the British consular, judicial and diplomatic establishments. It is suggested in the hypothesis of the research that British consulates were designed to operate in a variety of Chinese environments based on the British officials' Orientalist impressions of China.

## Literature Review

Metcalf notes that there was 'outpouring' of nostalgic writing on the colonial architecture of India in the 1980's Britain. Although the connection between colonialism and the structure of social space was studied (King 1976), academic response came later in the late 1980's and continued to the 2010's. This response was inspired by Michael Foucault's theory of power and knowledge, but the decisive factor was Edward Said's *Orientalism*, 1978 (and later in 1993, *Culture and Imperialism*). In two and half decades to this year, it can be seen that this post-colonialist scholarship seemingly followed the similar route of imperialism, moving from Middle East, Muslim Africa, South Asia and finally reaching the Far East.

In terms of the built environment of British colonialism, Mitchell's *Colonising Egypt* (1988) begins to investigate the relationship of colonial governance and 'a new concept of space' in the colonised society of Egypt (ix). In the following year, Metcalf tries in *An Imperial Vision* the Foucaultian ideas on monumental architecture and key architects in British India (xi-xvi). In 1992, AlSayyad collects essays regarding the 'forms of dominance', and he himself contributes a study on the colonialism of Arabic urban spaces in Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia (27-43). He points out the pedagogy nature of the colonial cities (16). In one of these essays, Hosagrahar provides her view of the British invention of Mughal tradition, which enforced the legitimacy of British Raj in urban structure (83-84). In the late 1990's, the Saidian concept of Orientalism is tested in architectural design in Crinson's *Empire Building* (1996: 10), and again the power-knowledge theory in town planning by Home in *Of Planting and Planning* (1997: 1).

These studies focus more on the urbanism of British colonial societies, except Metcalf and Crinson. The studied areas are more concerned with the traditional concept of *Orient*. The Chinese societies in the British colonies, i.e., Singapore, Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, are left untouched until Home's book (1997) almost ten year behind the first post-colonial study on built environment discussed above. In addition, these works of the scholarship examine from top down colonist perspectives and how these perspectives constructed the spaces of colonised societies. Few of the colonised responses play a significant

part in these books. Çelik's study *Displaying the Orient* in 1992 is one of the few exceptions in this first ten years of critical colonial study in architecture. Providing both the Western and non-Western views (2-5), the architectural representations of Islam in World Exposition are given in this book.

Chinese's negotiation in power relation and urban built environment with colonialist Britain was first achieved by Yeoh's *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore* in 1996. She also tries to response to Crinson's question about 'the responses of "native" informants' (1996: 8). As earlier scholarship also argues, that indigenous forms were, under colonialist projects, constantly displaced or reformed is noted by Yeoh, she further points out that colonial dominance could not be practised without denial from the dominated subjects, who inherited the indigenous forms. (13-14). Different senses in reality and practice of cultures in the colonial Singapore, including British, Chinese and Indian, are treated as foundation of spatial contest in her book by examining the differences in defining and using of everyday social spaces between the colonists and the colonised. (10).

Few works continue Yeoh's step in the field of British colonial or semi-colonial architecture in China. In studies about British diplomatic architecture in the Far East, Hoare presents historical accounts of embassies respectively in China, Japan and Korea, clearly from a view of a formal public servant of Britain (1999). In studies about new architecture in China, Cody (2001) and Rowe and Kuan (2004) suggest to examine details instead of the defined results of representation, hybridity or power relation. They follow the tradition of architectural history and comprehensively examine how architects, both foreign and Chinese ones, balanced between traditional and modern and suggested new formulas with Chinese and European essences. These practices were concentrated in Chinese treaty ports, and thus their works exclude another possibilities of Westernisation that might have been exercised in other part of China.

At the same time, Indian architecture and urbanism in colonial context continuously contribute the majority of English-language scholarly in the second half of the 2010's. Hosagrahar notes Yeoh's work and suggests different explanation of modern development in Delhi between 1857 and 1947 in her *Indigenous Modernities* (2005: 1-2). Chattopadhyay points out the individuality of colonial modernisation in different place in her study on the perspectives of both British governance and Bengali practices in *Representing Calcutta* (2005: 3).

In 2007, Scriver and Prakash collect eleven essays, including Hosagrahar and Chattopadhyay's paper, on the history of built environment in British India and Ceylon. In the introduction of the book the editors invited researchers to critically interpret in-between spaces, where colonisers and colonised met and where the contradiction or colonial modernity took place in colonial context (6). Two main topics are discussed in the book. The Indian Public Works Department dominates the first topic, in which Scriver argues that the public works department served the British colonial government as an institution of rewriting the physical environment of India (73). He also finds colonial modernity in the local knowledge in remote India, where lacked of the colonial standard of architectural practice and building material supplied from colonial centre (47, 84). In the second topic that focuses on domestic and personal practices, Chattopadhyay points out the colonial and post-colonial legacy of 'Garden Houses' – where he argues to be the mediator between city and country and where the unexpected counter between British and Bengali occurred (196).

Legg's subtitle of his book – Delhi's urban governmentalities – shows that he studies Delhi in a different way from Hosagrahar. The British colonial authorities' means and problems of governing Delhi's three layers of landscape are examined by him based on Foucault's theories (2007: 2). From colonisers' top-down perspective, the old Mughal and the new British centres were, in fact contrarily to general understandings, controlled as one despite their different historic and social contexts (1). Another investigation into the complex details of governing a colonial city can be found in *Making Lahore Modern* (Glover 2008). In the chapter 6 of the book, Glover re-examines what he presents in earlier chapters how differently the citizens saw Lahore's urban transformation based on British's different imaginations, regulations and practices (xviii). Glover extends Hosagrahar's hybrid view of differences between cultural groups to diversities 'within' the different groups of actor that together transformed the city (xix).

Based on frameworks of earlier scholarship, increasing details about Indian colonial spaces are excavated and examined in the academia of the history of colonial architecture. Despite great academic interests in China's foreign concessions and despite considerable number of studies on foreign architecture in China, little of which attempts to test the hypothesis reviewed in this section and publish in Chinese or foreign languages.

Many people may have argued, especially Maoist historians, that China and the history of Chinese architecture are uniquely developed without much interference from the outside world. The tradition of Confucianism absorbed imported influences, such as stupa and torana from India or fountains from central Asia, and turned these imports into Chinese culture. However it is suggested in this thesis the existence of shared values that together shaped both Chinese and foreign architecture in China. That shared values in hypothesis can also be applied in this research to re-examine British consular architecture in China.

Nevertheless, Saidian or Foucauldian ideas are not going to be tested in this research although they provide useful tools for examining documents. Nor will Glover's complexities within actors be attempted for insufficiency of research time. This thesis provides alternative reality differ from widely accepted conceptions, which are greatly built upon British's academic and general publications, in each case study.

## **Research Questions**

Both in Chinese and English language and both in contemporary and present time, European buildings were expected to design to adapt to the Oriental climate of China. This research disagrees.

The hypothesis is suggested that, in order to sustain itself in the variety of Chinese environment, the British consulate architecture was designed by the Far Eastern Division, Office of Works, based on the architects and consuls' impression of China.

That is to say that this thesis tries to find out if the owners and designers of British consulate architecture chose to modify the design in order to better fit the local environment of politics, technology, climate, and culture.

The research question is asked from both sides. Internally, what was the essential part of British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture? This can be found out in correspondence when decisions had to be made because funds were not secured or local craftsmanship was insufficient. Drawings that architects prepared and discussions based upon can also provide evidence. Was there a prototype of British consulate design? In addition, what were the emotional or practical reasons behind this design of British consulates?



Externally, what image did consuls and architects intend to dress their consulates? What was their purpose to choose this image? In addition, did Chinese environment affect the design of British consular architecture? For the most obvious example, what was the damage to Canton consulate architecture in sub-tropical weather and did the architect of the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works change the design to adapt the climate? What kind of difficulty did the architects acquainted when consulate was under construction?

## **Methodology**

This research is carried out on a case study basis. PeKing, CanTon, ShangHai, TienTsin, and the consulates in YunNan and Manchuria Provinces are studied according to archival and literary evidence.<sup>1</sup> The posts along the YangTze River are excluded, because of their similarity in commercial character with the first five posts. Apart from their individuality and representation, the criteria for selecting research subjects for the most part depended on the wealth of accessible archives. Archaeological methods – on-site investigation and surveyed materials, which research of the architectural history greatly relied on – are excluded because the political sensitivity of the research subjects prevents close examination.

### **Archival research**

Archival research has played a large part in this thesis. Within the variety of archives consulted, the UK National Archives is the main material resource on which the work depends. A great quantity of material including architectural drawings and photographs along with memoranda, and letters exchanged between the members of the Foreign Office, Office of Works and Treasury, is categorised under WORK for both graphical and textual analysis of this research. First-hand documents ideally provide unpolished or undecorated thoughts, and therefore a researcher should use as many original documents as is practical. However there are dangers of being overwhelmed.

Opinions like ‘there really are no buildings in the country worthy of the [Chinese] people or their civilization’<sup>2</sup> or ‘Eastern houses always look so

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<sup>1</sup> The use of capitalisation in English spelling of Chinese names and terms is deliberate and explained in the later section of this chapter on Languages.

<sup>2</sup> Fergusson, James, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 685.

forbidding and uninteresting'<sup>3</sup> are already criticised by scholarship (Ito 1937; Meyer 1991; Nalbantoglu 1998; Thurin 1999); while ones like 'it is clear that the contractor has taken advantage of the Consul being unable to see that the work is properly executed to use bad materials'<sup>4</sup> may have been consciously edited out. Some seemingly neutral descriptions such as that 'the advent of the warm weather would be attended with sickness on the part of all living or working in the buildings'<sup>5</sup> may, as Edward Said questions, be '*uncritically re-echoed*' (1991) in certain conclusions.<sup>6</sup>

The emotional and ideological motivations that delivered statements such as 'the men of escort year after year find Peking a more dismal residence cut off from all the sources of recreation enjoyment and interest which those of their class find within easy reach in other countries'<sup>7</sup> are just as important as judging them as false or fact. They deserve more careful examination to reveal the underlying matter.

Archival research in the case studies provides a necessarily central process of turning raw materials into extracted substance. Analysing archives may involve a few simple steps but demands much time-consuming work. It involves scrutinising the documents in connection with the British consulates in China, most of which are collected under the catalogue WORK. As explained above, the main concerns of the British officials can be extracted and then reinterpreted through such case studies.

Drawings such as floor plan layouts, elevation images, instructions for construction and structural system plans, help reveal the hidden ideologies of the dialogues, whilst processes and methods of construction and impressions of completed consulate buildings are revealed in photographs. In later stages of the research, the results of archival research are combined with results from the literature review to bring the whole body of work to a conclusion.

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<sup>3</sup> Macartney, Catherine, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1931), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> WORK 10/430 '*Treasury*', 10 October 1862 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office.

<sup>5</sup> WORK 10/430, 3 April 1866 ShangHai Consulate.

<sup>6</sup> It is explained in Chapter 3, British Office of Works, Far Eastern Division: Theoretical Review and Its History.

<sup>7</sup> WORK 10/430, 28 March 1866 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office.

## **Native views**

For more than sixty years, the positivist methodology and archaeological approach influenced generations of architectural historians as they started their careers, until the research methods of literary criticism gradually became involved. Certain weaknesses of the positivist methodology, which is easily overwhelmed by the bias and prejudices hidden in materials – in archival material particularly – are addressed by critical theories. This is evident when the research engages cross-cultural relations, in which one group dominates another. In order to understand the fundamental attitude and the hidden message within the British statements, it has been crucial for this research to look to the Chinese literature on the same issues, such as building sequences, sanitary arrangements, spatial structures and so on, as counter-evidence.

Official documents stored in The National Archives (U.K.) at Kew, such as correspondence between architects, clerks of works, the Treasury and diplomats, provide the most detailed British perspective of the late Imperial Chinese context. The Chinese classics, the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, *LuBan Classic of Carpentry* or *Yuan Yeh Craft of Gardens* for instance, are used as reflected materials that help reconstruct the late Imperial Chinese environment. Supplementary materials have been found in periodicals published in Southeast Asia and the British Isles: *The Far Eastern Review* and *The Builder*, for instance, as well as contemporary literature that includes diaries, memoirs and novels from both sides.

## **Structure of the research**

The research has been carried out on three fronts: reviewing historical and theoretical literature, studying the British consular, judicial and diplomatic establishments, and assembling the findings from the case studies.

To provide comprehensive knowledge of the Chinese historical background and of present day scholarship in relation to this research, a review of the relevant literature forms the first part of the thesis. Chapter 2 involves popular opinions about historical developments roughly in the period 1842 to 1945. This epoch is widely regarded as the Modernising Period in Chinese history, involving dramatic changes in politics, sociology, culture and technology, which shattered and re-shaped China. Its complexity and contradictions are addressed within a wealth of scholarly conclusions, and it is therefore difficult to achieve a clear yet

complete critical synthesis. This thesis tries to achieve this by dividing the chapter into four subjects. These are the political and diplomatic backgrounds, the view of European architectural culture in the eyes of Chinese intellectuals, the development of the Chinese building trade as it moved from a carpentry base to contractors and the ideological developments within Chinese architecture. The initiatives of establishing the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works that oversaw the British consulate compounds are also included in Chapter 2. In Appendix I and II, the locations of the consulates and key events related to them are presented. The second chapter reflects the achievements of present day studies from architectural and historical disciplines regarding the historiography of Chinese modern architecture as well as the studies of consular architecture in China.

Part Two of the thesis establishes the main debates of this research. Each deals with different factors in the Chinese physical or ideological landscape that shaped British consulate architecture. The first four of the five chapters in this part examine separately the consular, judicial and diplomatic institutions of a post. The study of the PeKing Legation involves stylistic conflicts between the Chinese and British traditions. To continue the discussion on style, the images of justice in China and in Britain are presented in Chapter 5, which discusses several Chinese and British justice courts in ShangHai and in PeKing. The consular offices and residences in the CanTon region illustrate British political attitudes and the responses from the Chinese. The rebuilding project of the TienTsin Consulate was never completed, but the correspondence shows the central concerns of the consuls. The fifth chapter of this part (Chapter 8 of the thesis) studies the influence of geographical factors on the design of the consulate buildings, considering the SsuMao, TengYueh, YunNan Foo, Kashgar, Mukden, and Harbin consulates. [appendix i]

Part Three of the thesis contains two chapters that review and conclude the findings. Chapter 9 summarises the findings from each of the case studies in chronological order, and then the roles of the British and Chinese participants – the diplomats, the Treasury, the architects and the builders – are discussed before examining the image of British consulate architecture. The imperialist and orientalist display not only produced a reaction from the locality but also transformed the ideas of the Chinese about architecture in terms of appearance and

craftsmanship. Finally, this research tries to draw conclusions about the phenomenon of the British Diplomatic, Judicial and Consular architecture in China.

### **Time, space and language boundaries**

The time frame of this research spans between 1867, when Major William Crossman submitted his report that led to the establishment of the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works, and 1949, when Consulate-General in Shameen island was rebuilt from ruins after the 1948 Anti-British movement and when British authorities reached an agreement to move the division from Shanghai to Hong Kong. This period is also covered by the efficient documents of the National Archives, the U.K. and thus detailed information can be distilled and interpreted.

The discussion of the thesis is focused on the happenings inside the nine compounds of the British consular establishments, i.e., Peking Legation, Shanghai Supreme Court, Canton Shameen Consulate, Robertson's Yamen, and the bund site and KMA site of Tientsin consulate, as well as Tengyueh, Mukden, and Harbin consulates. Tamsui, Takao and Tsingtao consulates and Chinese Dali Yuan Supreme Court at Peking are included into discussions.

It should be necessary to understand the connection of the Far Eastern Division with the other colonial public works departments, such as that in Hong Kong, India or Malaysia. It is equally important to bring the parallel developments of public or private architectural practices in China into discussion. It could also be important to compare the activities of other consulates, e.g., France, Germany or Russia in China. However, as human nature, the consuls and the architects concerned only situations inside the boundary walls of their consulates or what immediately affected their living quality outside the compound. If consuls or architects did not write down in their correspondence, the thesis would not discuss, even with greater international, political or architectural events outside consular compounds might have influenced the decisions of consuls and architects.

In terms of language and translation, Chinese and English are the two main languages used in the research. Literature in Japanese is in a minority, but important. The presentation of the thesis involves efforts of translation from Chinese to English, especially in Chapter 2. In the case of Chinese materials that are written, or had been translated by other scholars in English, citation is noted with 'as quoted in'. Otherwise, quotation cites the original writer.

The translation or Latin alphabetic spellings of Chinese terms (e.g., personal name or place) used in this research are directly taken from the correspondence, with some minor alterations. For example the thesis uses AMoy instead of Xiamen and PeKing instead of Beijing. Terms from other colonial system, such as bund, verandah and godown (for warehouse), which originated in India and were widely used in a semi-colonial English-speaking society, such as in the treaty ports of China, are also directly adopted. The widely used system of the Chinese Hanyu Pinyin is employed when terms (mostly building parts and person) were unavailable in the archival and literary materials.

The main reason to use directly the terms from the archives is to conserve the verity of oral language of the then social contexts in China, even though the decision can cause confusion if terms do not appear in the dispatches or when they differ from the modern usage. There are a few points regarding the Romanisation that need to be explained.

Present-day Chinese research in English language intensively uses the Hanyu Pinyin (hereafter pinyin) system as means of Romanising names, cities, terms and so on, disregarding the fact that China was an idea and the centre of a civilisation rather than a state in the terms of modern politics. It also neglects the character of the Chinese language in the independence yet counter-influence of oral and written versions. Varying from region to region, there were numerous customs practised in a great variety of geographical settings using different speaking languages as cultural carriers. This was despite the fact that written characters were gradually standardised after the Chin Empire (221-207 B.C.) was established.

As well as the difference of tonal language, Chinese is expressed through the coding of different characters. Chinese terms are constructed in at least two or three characters, such as Bei-Jing or Pe-King; or Da-Qing (Great Qing) Di-Guo (Empire) and so on. It is a widely practised yet confusing custom to put all the characters of each term together without properly distinguishing between them. Take the Chinese for balustrade for an example. It would be written down as *langan*, but does this allude to Lang-An, which could indicate a personal or city name, or Lan-Gan meaning balustrade: which is the better guess? If it is written down as Lan Gan, which of these two characters is verb, adjective or noun? It confuses even most Chinese who are educated in Hanyu Pinyin. It is therefore

both for personal and academic reasons that the characters used in this thesis are distinguished by capitalising the first alphabetic letter of each character, such as PeKing instead of using a hyphen or space to link characters.

It is evident that the terms used in the correspondence reveal a great deal of misunderstanding or even prejudice by the British officials towards the Chinese language and culture. Taking Canton for example, as Farris has explained, Canton is a Portuguese mispronunciation of Guang-Dong, which was the title of the province where the trade took place – GuangZhou.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, it is clear that the colonial terms, such as ‘Boy’, or even the use of the terms foreigners/ Europeans as opposed to ‘natives’ represented colonialist attitudes. It nevertheless records a contemporary usage that reveals cultural and social attitudes relevant to this research.

### **Deficiencies in the methodology**

Certain weaknesses of this method of presentation are inevitable. The disadvantages include disregarding the difference in time in the Chinese references, a repeated appearance of the same subjects in the case studies, and the inevitable ignorance of some temporal and cultural factors. The approach of cross-referencing literature from two sides has led this research into a dichotomy between the Chinese and Britain Empires. However, it is important to start the research with denying the existence of commonalities between British and Chinese cultures. It is unfortunate that there is a shortage of recorded experiences and memories among the lower societies such as servants in the compounds, whether in a British consulate or a Chinese family.

Chinese scholars maintain that an insufficiency of literature concerning Chinese building traditions is due to a general disrespect towards trade in the Imperial era. This research argues that cosmological differences between the present age and the imperial societies causes present-day intellectuals to neglect the importance of Chinese novels (e.g., the four great classical novels: Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Water Margin, both 14c, Journey to the West, 16c and Dreams of the Red Chamber, 18c) that represent the culture and the reshaping of the society. Nevertheless, the materials of the Chinese architectural tradition

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<sup>8</sup> Farris, Johnathan Andrew, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', PhD (Cornell University, 2004), p. 3.

collected by this thesis (e.g., *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, 1766 and 1818 editions, including their supplemental materials of *Examples and Illustrations*; *Lu Ban Classic of Carpentry*, 16c and earlier; *Classic on Houses*, date unknown; *Yuan Yeh Craft of Gardens*, 1635, and *Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, 1699) are still insufficient to reconstruct the historical development and geographical diversity which this research has attempted to engage with. As a result a structuralist understanding that ignores the reasons of time, space and society has been necessary when counter-evidence from Chinese culture is required.

The advantages of the case study method include that it is easier to uncover detailed responses to circumstances. The method also has the consequence of repeating the same issues within different cases. This thesis also encounters the defect of repeating issues, and as a result some similarity, shown between chapters. Subjects like verandah, climate, craftsmanship, and realistic considerations involving the prices of land, materials, and labour are highlighted by the research. The conditions suggest that these issues were the main concerns occupying the British officials' minds, and distinguishing British consulate architecture from other European architecture in China. At the same time, this character allows the research to excavate increasingly into the core of the issue. Ignorance of the influence of time and of wider cultural context can be a defect of the case study approach, but it is complemented by the historical background provided in Chapter 2, which also helped decide the specific choice of cases among the British consular, judicial and diplomatic architecture.



## Chapter 2, Historical Background

*The “Oceanic People” did everything upside down. Their writing went from left to right, instead of from right to left, and horizontally in “crab-walk” fashion instead of from top to bottom. They put their personal names before their family names, and strangest of all, in writing addresses, they began with the house number, then the street, then the city, then the province, as if purposely to be contrary. They had to begin from the bottom if they wanted to know to which city a letter was going. And their women had large feet, a foot long, and talked in a loud voice, and had curly hair and blue eyes and went about arm in arm with men when walking.*

*All in all, the foreigners were the strangest imaginable sort of people.  
(as quoted in Lin 1939: 36)*

## Political and Diplomatic Backgrounds

August 1842 is marked by the Chinese as one of the humiliating times in Chinese modern history. The representatives of Chinese and British empires met at NanKIng and signed a treaty that ended the Anglo-Chinese War or the First Opium War, although the two sides barely thought of using war as a solution before. HongKong became part of the British Empire's collection of colonies, and five ports were opened, including CanTon, AMoy, FooChow, NingPo and ShangHai. British merchants and missionaries were allowed to build residences, trade houses, churches, and graveyards, and to carry out trade and religious activities freely in these ports. The diplomats and consuls were agreed to set up posts to monitor their own subjects.

Opium<sup>1</sup> is greatly condemned in present-day Chinese literature, both from the viewpoints of the Kuomintang and later the Maoists.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning, it played a minor part in the British list of goods for sale in the China market, alongside cotton, wool or hemp textiles, scissors, knives and other products that the merchants assumed the Chinese would need.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, opium can be read of as being frequently taken in contemporary Chinese novels and it evidently balanced the deficit in the British tea and silk trade until mechanised industries were legalised by the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. Fei, Cheng-Ching (J.K. Fairbank, 1907-1991) concludes that: 'the opium trade from India to China was the longest continuous and systematic international crime of modern times.'<sup>4</sup> This line has been widely quoted to describe the phenomenon.

Hobsbawn finds out that the British needed free trade with China in order to secure their economy, which had gradually declined.<sup>5</sup> This was still resisted by the Chinese until the following war. In the war, the throne was threatened in 1858

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<sup>1</sup> There had been justifications from the Western side to respond to critics inside British society soon after the interaction between the Ching empire and the English East India Company began. Economic approaches are the most popular method of presenting statements by selecting facts and Lane-Poole's biography on Harry Parkes is one of them, see Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), pp. 8-13.

<sup>2</sup> Li, Kan *et al.*, *History of Modern Chinese* (Beijing: Zhong Hua Book Company, 1994); Hu, Sheng, *From the Opium Wars to the May Fourth Movement* (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Michie, Alexander, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, 2 vols. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), Vol. I, pp. 416, 421-22.

<sup>4</sup> Fairbank, John K., *China Watch* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> Hobsbawn, Eric J., *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain since 1750* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1968), pp. 134-39.

by the Anglo-French alliance.<sup>6</sup> The Viceroy of the Two Kwang-Provinces Yeh, MingChen (葉名琛, 1807-1859), who together with the foreigners made the tension between China and the Western countries worse, was captured and taken to Calcutta, where he died.<sup>7</sup>

The royal gardens were looted and set on fire in 1860, under the order of J.B. Bruce, the 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Elgin, (1811-1863) in reaction to the arrest and execution of Westerners.<sup>8</sup> Most accounts claim that the uncountable treasury collected in the royal gardens and summer palace was the reason for the barbaric actions.<sup>9</sup> Ten more ports were opened, along with freedom to travel inland, mainly around the YangTze valley, for leisure, trade and missionary purposes. A triumph ceremony was held in the Ministry of Rites to mark the sovereign equality between the two empires, and a palace formerly belonging to a prince was occupied as the British Legation in the capital of the Ching empire in order to give an *English Lesson*.<sup>10</sup> As Alexander Michie put it: 'European intercourse, in short, had been one long lesson to the Chinese in the art of managing men from the West. Without meaning it, we had been teaching them how to treat us, just as we train animals to perform tricks.'<sup>11</sup>

Most of the British believed at this stage that there would be no more *Old Canton Fashion*. At the same time, the British also shared the same attitude with the then medical officer of the British Legation, David F. Rennie about 'satisfying the Chinese that we are a tolerably harmless and well-intentioned people, inclined to live with them on terms of amity rather than the contrary' after the Union Jack was hoisted over the entrance of the Legation on 26 March 1861.<sup>12</sup> However, 'as

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<sup>6</sup> Fairbank, John K., *China: A new history* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 201; Tsiang, T'ing-Fu, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History* (Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 1996), pp. 12-18.

<sup>7</sup> Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 12-18.

<sup>8</sup> Hsu, Immanuel C. Y., *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 264.

<sup>9</sup> Zheng, Shiqu, *The History of Modern China* (Beijing: Beijing Normal University Press, 2007), Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> The Tsungli Yamen, or the Chinese Board of Foreign Affairs was its pupil, see Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 68-70, 112.

<sup>11</sup> Michie, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, Vol. I, p. 32.

<sup>12</sup> The conception of the old Canton fashion in detail can be found in Chapter One of *the Life of Sir Harry Parkes* along with the dishonouring Hong of the trade system applied to the English East India Company and the sovereign inequality that limited the British diplomatic

flowers of rhetoric [were] wasted on a deaf man'<sup>13</sup> the English lesson failed. The British enthusiasm quickly faded away and was replaced by the disturbance of the Boxer Movement in 1900.

Coates reckons in his book that the period between 1860, when the allies retreated, and 1899, when the Boxers arose, represents a peaceful settlement. The operation of the Suez Canal reduced time and cost, increasing the competitiveness of Western products in China. The completion of the infrastructure in the treaty ports eased the disadjustment of the Westerners, and enhanced the pride of building a model semi-colony: Shanghai.<sup>14</sup> In fact the political circumstances outside the treaty ports were anything but peaceful. The Russians intervened in the border contest in northeast China and in Korean internal affairs, together with the Japanese and other Westerners.<sup>15</sup> The French moved north through Annam (Indo-China) since several colonies had been lost to British and Prussians. Tibet was considered the territory of Ching empire by China and a dependency by British India, turned into another competition between the two countries. So did Outer Mongolia lying between China and Russia.<sup>16</sup> The buildings studied in Chapter 8 were all set up in response to these situations.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, one of the consequences of the Sino-Japanese War, activated a more fundamental transformation of the landscape and politics of China than the other foreign treaties. With the indication of the most-favoured nations clause, foreign countries eventually gained approval to invest in large-scale manufacturing industries in China.<sup>17</sup> Modern industries in a Western sense were introduced and re-shaped the landscape dramatically with a significantly growing number of factories, collieries, plants and railways. The

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representatives under the local authority of Canton, see Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, Chapter I. It first appears in Rennie's journal and the British dislike of it can also be read at the same time, see Rennie, David F., *Peking and the Pekingese: During the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1865), for the quotation, p. 32; the term, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> Michie, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, Vol. II, p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 141-153.

<sup>15</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 265-68; Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 59-73.

<sup>16</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 389-393.

<sup>17</sup> Feuerwerker, Albert, *China's Early Industrialization, Sheng Hsuan-Huai (1844-1916) and Mandarin Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Köll, Elisabeth, *From Cotton Mill to Business Empire: the emergence of regional enterprises in modern China* (London; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

products of the factories included building materials, e.g., timber, tiles, bricks and terracotta, which participated with the smoking factories in shaping the treaty ports. China became a market as well as a manufacturing site for the imperialist countries under the definition of the Colonialist/ Imperialist economy. The wealth generally grew under the peaceful climate in the concessions although tension between the Chinese and the foreigners rose noticeably. Not only was TienTsin named the 'Wall Street of the East' for the concentration of eight colonial powers (Britain, France, Japan, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Belgium), but also the city was developed into an industrial hub for north China, next to ShangHai in the south.

Despite their being suppressed, it is clear that the shadow of the Boxer Movement on the Westerners was difficult to remove. A wealth of Western language research focuses on this topic. Hoare spends many pages making a detailed report on the mental and physical disturbances among the British in the Legation Quarter of PeKing. The words 'Lest We Forget' remained and were maintained on the bullet-scarred outer wall of the PeKing Legation until 1947.<sup>18</sup> Together with setting up a fully authorised and responsible department in charge of foreign affairs, and extraterritorial legation quarters in the capital in place of the crippling TsungLi YaMen, the allies claimed a great financial sum in penalty (over sixty-seven million pounds, not including interest for the next thirty nine years).<sup>19</sup> After 1909 the United States returned the penalty and requested that the Chinese set up a preparatory school for students to study in the USA. That school, later Tsinghua University, was established in 1911 and can be seen to be the only positive outcome of the Protocol from the Chinese point of view.

A further consequence of the suppression was that it enlarged the contradiction between the allies on the issue of northeast China. It finally led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. The emerging Japanese empire gained a path into China by controlling the railway and major harbours in South Manchuria, while North Manchuria remained under Russia after the war. Five years later,

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<sup>18</sup> Hoare, James E., *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), pp. 40-58.

<sup>19</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 479-482; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 365; Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 83-84.

Japanese sovereignty over Northeast China was secured by colonising Korea.<sup>20</sup> On the grounds of British interests, in order to compete with Russia and France, Britain was forced to form an alliance with Japan in 1902 after the agreement with Germany was broken. Later, the alliance allowed the Japanese to control Southern Manchuria.<sup>21</sup> The Japanese Minister to London, Kadota, defended later in 1978 the policy that a closer relationship between Japan and Britain was necessary for Japan's wish to solve peacefully the Russian threat to the Korean Peninsula to extend to the Japanese Archipelago.<sup>22</sup>

A question why the Imperial capitalists slowed down the pace, unlike Ottomans and Indians, of dominating Chinese at this point is frequently asked by historians. Hobsbawn's answer is, contrary to the Maoists' interpretation, because they had gained enough freedom that they had bargained for; but they eventually found themselves involved in China's political chaos as one of the consequences of their economic expansion.<sup>23</sup>

The founding of the republic on the first day of 1912 did not prevent China from further embroilment in internal and external contests. China remained disunited until 1928. North China was ruled by warlords and their unstable BeiYang Government in PeKing that held the representation of China with foreigners; while southern China lay under the control of Sun, Yat-Sen and his unrecognised Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang) Government, situated in NanKing.

The British diplomats, like the people of China, needed to adjust to the absence of a conservative tradition and to the emergence of the radical republic. The diplomats found ways of getting on with the warlords, and they held negative opinions on the new type of official.<sup>24</sup> Generally speaking, the republican

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<sup>20</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p 366; Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp.83-85; Wong, Shaofan, *The History of Chinese Diplomacy: Opium wars to Xinhai revolution (1840-1911)* (Zhengzhou: Henrn Peoples Publishing House, 1998), Chapter 7.

<sup>21</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 482-84; Lowe, Peter, *Britain in the Far East: A survey from 1819 to the present* (New York: Longman, 1981), pp. 73-81; Wong, *The History of Chinese Diplomacy: Opium wars to Xinhai revolution (1840-1911)*, Chapter 8.

<sup>22</sup> Kadota, Shozo, 'The Japanese Embassy in London and its Buildings', in Ian Nish (ed.), *Japanese Envoys in Britain, 1862-1964: A Century of Diplomatic Exchange* (Kent: Global Oriental, 2007), 1-7.

<sup>23</sup> Hobsbawn, Eric J., *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 160; Zheng, *The History of Modern China*, Chapter 1.

<sup>24</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 399.

revolution was unsuccessful, as the dying Sun himself admitted in March 1925. From the perspective of the Maoists, the failure of the revolution was an inevitable consequence of the natural weakness of the elites, but nevertheless it raised the awareness of the Chinese people of the need to resist imperialism and feudalism.<sup>25</sup> The Maoists believe that this resistance would finally be 'completed by the great number of the Chinese peasantry and proletariat'.<sup>26</sup>

The Japanese influences during the Chinese modern period continued in the politics and economy of China. The revolution that had overthrown the empire was largely organised by overseas Chinese students and elites based in Japan.<sup>27</sup> During World War One, Japan declared war on Germany and took over the German concessions in China, with a secret agreement between Britain, France, Russia and Italy in 1914. Along with the Twenty-One Demands in 1915 made to Yuan's government,<sup>28</sup> Japan then controlled a land area larger than Europe in the northeast territory of China.<sup>29</sup> By 1930, Japanese investments in China were greater than those of all other foreign countries put together.<sup>30</sup> On top of that, a puppet state was established at Manchuria in 1931 by reviving the retreated Ching emperor. The effects of this Japanese domination of north China on the erection of British consulates can be found in Chapters 7 and 8.

This complex and contradictory relationship between Japan and China lasted until the outbreak of war in 1937 between the two countries.<sup>31</sup> Although

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<sup>25</sup> In fact, the governing system practised by the Ching Empire was hardly in strict terms feudalism. The term 'semi-colony' was used by Karl Marx then by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. The terms semi-colonial and semi-feudal made their first appearance together, probably, in Mao's short essay *On Contradictions* in 1937, and since then they have been greatly used by the Maoists to outline the late Ching Empire as a backward, conservative, and complacent society. It thus is written in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and extensively, most times innocently, quoted by the Chinese around the world.

<sup>26</sup> Mao, Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* (Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1991), p. 660; Hu, *From the Opium Wars to the May Fourth Movement*, Chapter 25.

<sup>27</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 511, 547-552; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 367.

<sup>28</sup> Yuan, Shih-Kai (袁世凱, 1859-1916) was the first President of the Republican China. Along with his own secret political management under the table, he was elected because of being trusted by the monarchy since the Korean affairs and being the leader of the most disciplined and Westernised army in the imperial time. See Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 564-71; Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O., *China: Tradition & transformation* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), pp. 416-22; Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 95-97.

<sup>29</sup> Lowe, *Britain in the Far East: A survey from 1819 to the present*, pp. 99, 103-07, 117-19.

<sup>30</sup> Fairbank, *China: A new history*, p.241.

<sup>31</sup> Lee, Leo Ou-Fan, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 319-321.

diplomats in northeast China had predicted it, little action was taken.<sup>32</sup> Since A.N. Chamberlain and later W. Churchill were both convinced that conflicts in the Far East were insignificant to those in Europe and the Middle East, only minor diplomatic and financial efforts were made. Britain and the United States conveniently surrendered their extraterritorial and YangTze River navigation rights in 1943 just because the rights were practically of no use when almost one fourth of Chinese soil was occupied by Japan.<sup>33</sup> But the sovereignty over the HongKong colony was secured, and the KowLoon Fort enclave in between China and HongKong continued to be a sensitive issue after the Pacific War. Consequently, the CanTon consulate was again burnt down by the Chinese to protest against the British expulsion of HongKong residents in 1948.

On 1 October 1949, the new republic was entitled The People's Republic to dedicate itself to its people, just as the first republic had done in 1911. The British nationals' expectation of resuming their pre-war lifestyle and existence, especially their privileges in municipal autonomy, was held back by this development, as were the interests of the British diplomats. Even though the Ministry of Works and the Treasury protested, the Foreign Office agreed with the requests of the new Chinese authorities. In the last months of 1959, Liang-Koong Foo, where the British Legation had been stationed for nearly a century,<sup>34</sup> was surrendered along with all the British classic diplomatic policies that had been dedicated to the Celestial Kingdom.

## **European Architectural Culture in the Eyes of the Chinese Intellectuals**

### **Concessions**

The concessions and settlements in China have been another debating issue since the early twentieth century. However, it is agreed both by the Far Easterners and the Euro-Americans that the lands provided for these establishments were loaned to the British or French consuls on behalf of their governments by the

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<sup>32</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 486-87.

<sup>33</sup> Lowe, *Britain in the Far East: A survey from 1819 to the present*, pp. 160-63.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202; Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present*, pp. 73-76.



Chinese local authorities in perpetual lease with an annual fee.<sup>35</sup>

The first settlement for the foreign community in China was established in Shanghai under the agreement between the then Consul G. Balfour and the Chinese DaoTai (magistrate, provincial authorities) Gong, MuJiu (宮慕久) in 1845, which stated that the roads and bridges in the foreign community's territory should be the responsibility of the residents. The idea and method became standardised, and later the same practice occurred elsewhere in China:

*A location on the Canton river for warehouses, &c., and a site for a church, have been at length obtained, and at Shanghai our people have got about 100 acres for building, with roads, drainage, &c., all their own. At Hong Kong, every public work and building is now either finished or in progress, except a government house, for which a site and estimates have been got. The Chinese people, however, at Canton, Shingansze, &c., still look upon the English 'barbarian' as if he were 'a Bull in a China shop', and all and sundry 'looked upon as beasts', who dare to lift a little finger either in 'supplying with tiles, wood, granite, or other building materials', or in building for or otherwise aiding and abetting this 'detested brood' in their 'design upon the country'. (The Builder: 16 October 1847)*

In the then Ching government's eyes, the land was merely a piece of waterfront wasteland covered by tombs outside the Shanghai walled city.<sup>36</sup> The term 'concession' appeared in 1852 when Harry Parkes arrived at AMoy and solved Britain's difficulties in obtaining land by forcing the land to be reserved exclusively for the British subjects.<sup>37</sup>

Responding to the anti-foreign movements in 1927, the North China Daily retrospectively justified the concessions as being originally set up to isolate the aliens.<sup>38</sup> The nationalist conception of history can still be read in the Maoist textbooks, which claim that the 'Nations within a Nation' were where the smuggling of drugs and goods, oppressing Chinese labour, and breaking the

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<sup>35</sup> Cen, Dezhang (ed.), *A Brief History of Shanghai International Settlement* (Taipei: Wen Hai Press Company, 1931), p. 16; Fairbank and Reischauer, *China: Tradition & transformation*, 324.

<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/299 (1919-1934), 23 January 1924, H.P. Wikison to Divisional Architect; Zhang, DeYi, 9<sup>th</sup> month 2<sup>nd</sup> day of Tong Zhi 5<sup>th</sup> Year (1866) in Shanghai People's Publishing House (ed.), *Transcripts of Diaries in Qing Dynasty* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1982), p. 297.

<sup>37</sup> Cen (ed.), *A Brief History of Shanghai International Settlement*, p. 16; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 26, 115; Zheng, *The History of Modern China*, Chapter 3.

<sup>38</sup> North-China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., *The Foreigner in China* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News & Herald, Ltd., 1927), p. 11.

Chinese national economy took place under the protection of extraterritorial rights and the support of the home countries.<sup>39</sup> Not only the method used is agreed by present-day diplomatic historians, such as Coates, that the concessions were the results of 'forcefulness... for British residences and godowns'<sup>40</sup> but also the ambition is also popularly recorded in contemporary literature:

*Developing the very many latent resources of that mighty empire profitably; employing British capital... My plan, sir, is simply this – Get a concession from the Chinese, and make a railway and telegraph line from Calcutta, through the valley of the Burampootra, to Shanghai, one of our Chinese treaty ports. This would at once strike the admiration, excite the cupidity, employ the time and attention, and recall the minds of the people to that which they most love, –money making. I take it that it would naturally follow that the British ideas of commercial and industrial development (in a word, political economy) would take deep root in that interesting country. A Young China partly would make good progress, and a new civilization open up the vast resources of the greatest nation of the earth. (The Builder: 10 January 1863)*

It would be a surprise to find out that the then consuls saw it differently. Lane-Poole wrote in 1894 that 'the site of the European settlement at Shanghai was in no sense foreign property; it had not been conquered, bought, or rented from the Chinese Government; it was still as much Chinese territory as the Chinese city at its side. The English merchants of the flourishing young community had, however, adopted the theory that the British settlement was a sort of separate kingdom of their own'. But he continues that the foreigners still managed to collect taxes, repair infrastructure, and execute civil and criminal law among their people. It is also true that the Chinese government was unwilling to get involved in affairs inside the settlements or concessions.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, whether or not the foreign concessions belonged to the foreign communities in the treaty ports, the Chinese played a great part in sustaining the ports economically and provided most of the labour. Moreover, the Chinese became first the refugees and then taxpayers<sup>42</sup> of the municipal councils of the settlements after a series of rebellions against the Chinese government during the

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<sup>39</sup> Hu, *From the Opium Wars to the May Fourth Movement*, Chapter 4; Zheng, *The History of Modern China*, Chapter 3.

<sup>40</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 115.

<sup>41</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, pp. 480-81.

<sup>42</sup> The population ratio of foreigners to Chinese was approximately one European to five to ten Chinese.

1850s. After that, the concession culture was that the Chinese lived their own lives while the foreigners lived theirs'. The Chinese at this stage acted mostly as observers of the other culture in the concessions, and the following section collects what they saw.

### **Chinese culture in the concessions**

Western architecture arrived in China significantly earlier than the return of overseas Chinese architectural students. The rights of observation of the Oceanic architecture were thus largely reserved to educated Chinese. As soon as the infrastructure of the foreign concessions and buildings for the Westerners were completed one after another in China, they were well recorded in diaries. Among the foreign settlements, ShangHai was a perfect place for cultural inspiration. Although the Western quarter 'for three hundred years, was a place filled with ancient tombs and remote mounds, has been transformed into a sinful and flourishing land', as Zhang, DeYi (張德彝, 1847-1918) sighs in 1866,<sup>43</sup> by then, most of the required infrastructure in the International Settlement of ShangHai was either completed or underway. The first paved road was completed in 1856; gas lighting came in 1865; electricity in 1882 and running water in 1884. Later in the 1930s Mao, Dun (茅盾, 1896-1981) enthusiastically traces motorcars, electric lights, neon signs and imported products in his novel. Confusion of the then intellectuals over street scenes can too be found in their diaries. One of the earliest and most significant examples is presented in 1858 by Wang, Tao (王韜, 1828-1897) – a legendary interpreter of Chinese and Western cultures, claiming that ShangHai is a city of

*Grand bridges and harsh towers, magnificent buildings and colourful carriages, gods and devils gambling for beauties, horses disturbing dust above the sea, gem-like flowers disputing over the crown, jade-like birds singing to the sunset, and those products manufactured by machines, making ear-delightful and mixed-graceful sounds, clever ideas and skilful construction, nothing is strange. (Wang 1858: 12<sup>th</sup> month 2<sup>nd</sup> day of Xian Feng 8<sup>th</sup> Year<sup>44</sup>)*

Such impressionistic images appear and reappear in the diaries through similar interpretations.

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<sup>43</sup> Zhang DeYi, 9<sup>th</sup> month 2<sup>nd</sup> day of Tong Zhi 5<sup>th</sup> Year (1866), in Shanghai People's Publishing House (ed.), *Transcripts of Diaries in Qing Dynasty*, p. 297.

<sup>44</sup> Extracted from *Ibid.*, p. 252.

In addition to the exotic structures, imported products also fascinated the Chinese. It is particularly true in the early trading port novels: clocks, chessboards, leather sofas, carpets, mirrors, upright pianos, gas lamps and even the electrical typography machine were eye-witnessed. Some are believed to have exaggerated their excitement, as in the *Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (1898) by Han, BangQing (韓邦慶, 1856-1894), when the characters paid their visit to a then famous French watch and machine agent, Hope Brothers & Co.:

*Puppy birds in all colours fluttered their wings and sang; dummy animals in every size turned their joints and danced; bronze foreigner statues, four or five sitting in a row, played wings, strings and percussion instruments, performing a complete piece of music; the rest of the items, that could walk and move, like boats, cars, dogs, horses could hardly be counted in one night... (Han 1898: Chapter 6)*

However, the history of the East meeting the West suggests that the interaction between the foreigners and the Chinese was hardly smooth and often filled with contradiction and paradox. Despite enjoying Western material civilisation, Han's leading character confidently visits one sing-song girl's house after another, but he apparently is anxious when visiting a foreign factory:

*There stood an extreme tall and square foreign building after he entered the gate. It occurred to PuZhai that it could cause problems if rushing around at this sort of place, so he stood and watched, without daring to call for assistance. It happened that several bearers were shouldering a pole and running by, into a small door beside the building.*

*...As they stepped upstairs and pushed a screen door open, a narrow room in foreign style was seen, like a half-cut LongTang [alley], and a considerable number of metal and glassware instruments dominated the floor, only a set of half-desk and a seat of leather stood by the window. PuZhai asked: 'Er, You've seen XiaoCun, haven't you'? SongQiao immediately waved his hand and asked him to keep quiet, whispering: 'Take your seat, we will head north after I finish my work'. PuZhai nodded and sat down. SongQian gently closed the door and left in a hurry. Foreigners constantly came and went outside the room, and the sound of 'Click! Click' made by the boots on the wooden floor forced PuZhai to hold his breath and sit nervously. (Han 1898: Chapter 13)*

The social function of the Western buildings given by the Chinese can easily be observed when they enter or approach the building that there is a dominating relationship of the Western buildings over the Chinese. The dominance is not only shown in a visual form but also in an acoustic one and through the differences in clothing between the Chinese and the Europeans.

## Materialist architecture

Along with imported products, the descriptions of Western architecture are to a great extent focused on the interior design rather than the exterior perspectives. The interior spaces presented in the literature are rooms filled with fantastic goods in trading houses, such as GuangXin, YiHe and DunYu Trade House (presumably Trautmann & Co., De.) in the diary of Feng, FangQi (馮芳緝, ?-?). Such things can also be found in Han, BangQing and Zeng, Pu's (曾樸, 1871-1935) novels.<sup>45</sup> Zeng's *A Flower in a Sinful Sea*, in particular, can be read as an ideal subject for studying the Western architecture in China and abroad from the Chinese viewpoint. Zeng lived in the French Concession of ShangHai and owned a coffeehouse and a press house, devoting these to introducing French culture to his country. It can be thus argued that Zeng, Pu is the first one who was capable of capturing the distinguishing features of Western architecture in the history of Chinese literature. Even the pastoral image of the British Consulate-General to ShangHai as described by him is much sharper and clearer than that of Wang, Tao who literally took refuge for more than four months there before he left for exile in Europe.<sup>46</sup> The following description was written and serialised before 1916, when Chinese, Indian, and Japanese together with 'dogs and bicycles'<sup>47</sup> were still able to walk in and enjoy the public parks of the International Settlement:

*The Consulate held a flower exhibition just as expected. WenQing and BengRu went by carriage as last time, along the WhangPoo Bund heading to Hanbury Road, which led to the gate of the rear garden. Four constables stood outside the gate; nearby dozens of carriages parked on the grass. There was a Westerner whom one approached for enquiries. Each visitor paid one oceanic dollar as usual, collected a ticket of admission, and walked into the gate dashing, onto a green cloud of fine grasses, accompanied by two rows of bushes beside them. After they made several turns, they unexpectedly came across a high-rise oceanic building, with iron windows open on four sides, where*

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<sup>45</sup> Han, Bangqing, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (1898), Chapter 6, 13; Zeng, Pu, *A Flower in a Sinful Sea* (1905-1927), Chapter 3, 12, 31; Shanghai People's Publishing House (ed.), *Transcripts of Diaries in Qing Dynasty*, pp. 284-87.

<sup>46</sup> It is unclear which building he stayed during the time even with his diary studied. On Wang's exile, see Cohen, Paul A., *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T'ao and reform in late Ch'ing China*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

<sup>47</sup> Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945*, p.29. The sign 'Chinese and Dog' has been proven to be a political propaganda by Chiang Kai-Shek's Nationalist government, but it is true that Chinese (except being the servants of foreigners) were not permitted in public parks in the ShangHai International Settlement between 1916 and 1928.

*dozens of Chinese and Westerners leaned on the balustrades, looking far into the distance. By the doorway on the ground floor, outside the green painted iron rails, also leaned several free-vehicles [cycles]. Into the door, the French carpet beneath their feet was limply soft and more than two inches thick.*

*Bypassing the mountain-shaped screen, they looked left, where stood nothing but a spiral stair with handrail. Two of them moved on and stepped upstairs, where one could see crowds of gentlemen and ladies sitting, either using foreign dishes, or having coffee. (Zeng 1905-1927: Chapter 3)*

By the third decade of the twentieth century, the overwhelming majority of foreign capitalists had constructed a group of grand Neo-Classical style Asian headquarters that dominated the ShangHai Bund. They include the Russo-Asiatic Bank in 1902, Jardine, Matheson & Co. in 1922, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Company and Chartered-Standard Bank in 1923, Banque de l'Indo-Chine in 1924, Palace Hotel in 1908 and Cathay Hotel in 1929. The British Consulate-General to ShangHai and CanTon were both at the same time subject to rebuilding works that transformed the compound theme to glorify the empire. However, this changing generation of architectural aesthetics hardly meant anything to the Chinese and left no track in the literature until Liang noticed and embraced the emergence of the professional architects that brought the aesthetic transformation.<sup>48</sup> It can be argued that to mention a building of European or 'Oceanic' style could be inspiring enough to Chinese readers.

Despite that, evidence that Chinese intellectuals were sensitive to the different materials in Western architecture, as opposed to the vernacular Chinese buildings, can be found in both novels and diaries. Feng, FangQi recorded in 1861 that the BaoHe Trading House was 'of several rafters, iron for columns, stone for bricks, lead and tin for roof tiles' while Huang, FanCai (黃樊材, ?-?) says that 'foreign buildings stand loftily and arrogantly, pointing towards clouds and sky. Windows opened at every corner [of the house], glass was decorated in numerous colours, balustrades of iron and roof tiles of lead, door leafs of jade and door knockers of copper' are recorded in his diary of 1866.<sup>49</sup> Later, Shen, CongWen (沈從文, 1902-1988) states that the White Rabbit 'walked on a boulevard that was

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<sup>48</sup> Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, 'The History of Chinese Architecture', (1944) at Chapter 8.

<sup>49</sup> Huang, Fancai *A Note on Scenic Attractions of Shanghai* (1866); Shanghai People's Publishing House (ed.), *Transcripts of Diaries in Qing Dynasty*, p. 287.

constructed of redwood, cement, iron plates, and steel beams shipped from Europe' in his satirical novel *Alice's Adventure in China*.<sup>50</sup>

From a daily-life aspect, it is clear that 'these places have no deep relationship to us Chinese',<sup>51</sup> while it is also evident that the foreign material culture had gradually taken a significant part in Chinese daily life. The citations referred to above in a great part took place and were written down in metropolitan ShangHai, but it is also clear that the rest of the major treaty ports were similar, if less advanced, for it has been noted by Coates that the skilled workers of TienTsin were cycling busily between working sites.<sup>52</sup>

It is widely argued that the ideology elaborated from the *Book of Change* and *Tao Te Ching* believed that as a replaceable implement, the Western technology would follow the abiding Tao (way, philosophy) of Chinese civilisation and be reflected in the physical space of architecture.<sup>53</sup> In contrast, as recorded above, the civilians hardly seem to have experienced the inconsistency that concerned the officials. The Chinese in the cities (in fact, that also included the Chinese officials who expressed their worries) greatly enjoyed the variety of the Western material civilisation while finding no difficulties in continuing to practise the traditional Chinese way of life. Even the compradors,<sup>54</sup> who might have stayed in Westernised accommodation, were amused by Westernised entertainment and handled business with them while still living according to typical Chinese philosophies. Contrary to the official's worries, Western technologies had already been applied by Chinese following the principle of Tao.

The enlightenment, or rather the dramatic change of Chinese Tao, came to China significantly later than the arrival of the materialism from the West. Coffee

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<sup>50</sup> Shen, Congwen, *Alice's Adventure in China* (Haikou: Nanhai Publishing, 1928), Chapter 5.

<sup>51</sup> Originally from Wang Dingjiu, *Keys to Shanghai* (Shanghai: Zhongyang shudian, 1932), taken from Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945*, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 373-75.

<sup>53</sup> Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 48-50; Rowe, G. Peter and Kuan, Seng, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), pp.5, 30.

<sup>54</sup> The term means 'to purchase' in Portuguese. The Portuguese term, which then referred to a native servant employed by Europeans, in India and the East, to purchase necessities and keep the household accounts according to the Oxford Dictionary (p.630), also spread to the East as trade expanded. In China, it was then understood as 康白度 (KangBaiDu in Pinyin) by the Chinese. See Ge, Yuanxu, *Miscellaneous Notes for ShangHai Travellers*, 1867), Chapter II, p. 6. In China, the compradors were employed only in business circumstances and acted more like purveyors, for instance SongQiao. In fact, the Europeans' trading business in China was largely in the compradors' hands.

houses, cinema theatres, department stores, public parks and dancing clubs were according to Lee the flask in which the new culture eventually emerged and new ideas reacted. Westernised intellectuals, mostly writers, poets and artists, gathered in the Russian coffeehouses and enthusiastically discussed subjects covered by their new novels, the concepts from the West and their Western life-style.<sup>55</sup> Zeng, Pu at this stage, in his serialised novel, has noted the character of a foreign house in the western quarter of ShangHai:

*They stopped in front of a beautiful foreign building by the Range Road. ZiGu held her [CaiYun's] hands and helped her off the coach, gently pushed the doorbell, later an old servant opened the gate. CaiYun followed and entered the gate, passed a small area of grass, stepped onto a high set of stairs. ZiGu led her to familiar rooms, which were all oriented tidy and clean, graceful and exquisite. As upstairs, a bedroom, a sitting room; appliances and curtains, all parts of them were gorgeous and luxurious, truly a boudoir for a foreign lady. A maid, two servants, still stayed and were available to dispatch.*

*As they reached the large dining room, the main character of the large dining room was dominated by fire-red wallpaper. With the reflection of the ocean-green light from the electric lamps, the room seemed to radiate a thick and jade-coloured atmosphere of quiet and peacefulness. (Zeng 1905-1927: Chapter 31)*

In the meantime, a mixed sensation of humiliation, sorrow, self-abasement, and cultural arrogance towards the Chinese modern history also provide a seedbed for nationalism. The sensation reached its peak after 4 May 1919, when students were protesting against the disappointing results of the Paris Peace Conference that surrendered German rights in China to Japan. The student activism continued and evolved into China's first modern and liberal experiments in literature, science and philosophy.<sup>56</sup> Several works reflecting experiences of East/ West interaction were composed based on such a response:

*The Europeans in Shanghai apparently look much more evil and cruel, far more than they were in their homeland. An assembly can hardly reach a peaceful agreement at a place of this sort. One ought to aim fast*

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<sup>55</sup> Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945*, p.19.

<sup>56</sup> Schwarcz gives extensive details on the movement and its influences in her book. However, it is interesting to point out that, in contrast to the modern writers, the May-Fourth class's liberalism was only concerned with political and public cultural aspects. In their private sector, the Chinese Tao still dominated despite the convenience of Western technologies. Even the most radical, critical May-Fourth-generation who believed in Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy still accepted marriages managed and careers chosen by their parents, as she notes in Schwarcz, Vera, *The Chinese Enlightenment: intellectuals and the legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1990), p. 108.



*and grab quick if running a business, without getting out of luck. "Blowing buffalo hide (note: swaging)" is one of the necessary skills, one can tell from medicine vendors, it may also apply to politics. (Shen, C. 1928: Chapter 5)*

On the other hand, the Victorian generation apparently hiding hypocritically in a fake 'peaceful room made of colourful wrapping paper' while helplessly watching the surging world of the 1920-40s China transformed, is observed by Eileen Chang (張愛玲, 1920-1995).<sup>57</sup> Not only does young post-May-Fourth female writer address the spatial metaphor, but also class segregation in a tall apartment building (presumably based on her youth memory in Art Deco style Eddington House) where the white employer only stepped into the kitchen for drink or food in the fridge and flirted with his Chinese Amah (housemaid).<sup>58</sup>

Finally, it can be deduced from official correspondence of the Foreign Office and the Office of Works that for political and sometimes realistic reasons, the British consulate architecture occasionally adapted Chinese architecture into residences or offices, PeKing and CanTon being the most significant cases. Apart from the material convenience, Lin, YuTang's (1895-1976) novel provides an example that shows the space beneath the eaves as the first part of the building being transformed by additional works. Interestingly, the additional works in the British Legation at PeKing later attracted criticism from new diplomats as being *Europeanised*.<sup>59</sup>

*Huaiyu's house on Soochow Hutung, near the Legation Quarter, had previously been occupied by foreigners and had been modernised with electric lights, flush toilets, and a telephone. The rooms on different sides of the courtyard had been connected by enclosed corridors so that in winter one did not have to go out into the open to pass from one side to the other. (as quoted in Lin 1939: 437)*

### **The trained architect's perspective**

Certain professional publications are found to express the later, but widely known, experiences of the Western buildings in China. One of the earliest professional observations from Chinese on the foreign buildings is written by

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<sup>57</sup> Chang, Eileen, *Eileen Chang's Short Stories* (Taipei: Crown Publishing, 1954), p. 86.

<sup>58</sup> Chang, Eileen, 'Steamed Osmanthus Flower: Ah Ziao's Unhappy Autumn', in Eva Hung (ed.), *Traces of Love and Other Stories* (Hong Kong: Research Centre for Translation, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000), 59-91.

<sup>59</sup> Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present*, p. 73.

Liang, SsuCh'eng (梁思成 1901-1972). Liang was trained at the University of Pennsylvania (1924-1927) and Harvard (1928) and practised under Paul Cret (1876-1945, an *École des Beaux-Arts*, Lyon and Paris graduate) for a short period before returning to China. Despite underestimating the value of Western buildings between 1840s and 1920s, his opinion in 1953 on the character of early Western building designers in China was that 'the foreign builders, who practised at the time were mainly labourers or merchants who hardly understood their own culture, not to mention being trained in architecture and aesthetics; therefore the idea that the import of the Oceanic style [architecture] was initially dregs and dross' is widely quoted.<sup>60</sup>

Later architects held a relatively open mind on these buildings. Su, Gin Djih (徐敬直 1906-?) was a returning student in architecture from the University of Michigan (1930-?). His writings provide much detail on historic developments and the chief characteristics of the buildings, such as the design and construction sequences, floor layout and the materials used in the early stages, through his Western-trained eyes and understanding of Western materials. The term 'Bungalow' was also introduced to China, first by Su in 1964. In addition, the verandah used for the Western buildings is described by him as 'Compradoric Style, for it was a necessary blend of Chinese with foreign method'.<sup>61</sup> This term, despite its incompleteness in covering all aspects of the social and cultural character, was used until it was replaced by Fujimori's *Verandah Colonial Style* in 1993.<sup>62</sup>

For present day architectural scholars, the attitude towards European architectural culture in China is more or less swinging between the views of Liang and Su.

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<sup>60</sup> Liang, 'The History of Chinese Architecture', at Chapter 8.

<sup>61</sup> The typological term, the Comprador Style was initially argued by Murphey, see Murphey, Rhoads, *Shanghai: Key to Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 69. Later Su quoted and represented his idea in his book, Su, Gin-Djih, *Chinese Architecture -Past and Contemporary-* (HongKong: The Sin Poh Amalgamated (H.K.) Ltd., 1964), pp. 127-130.

<sup>62</sup> Fujimori, Terunobu, 'Verandah Style: The Origin of Chinese Modern Architecture', *The Fourth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Chongqing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993).

## From Carpenter to Contractor: technological viewpoints

### Before the opening of China

Long before the opening of China policy was imposed, there had already been a number of foreign buildings for the use of foreigners. Russian Orthodox, European 'Confucian' missionaries,<sup>63</sup> and a considerable number of Persian merchants once added a lightly exotic flavour to the imperial capital. They coexisted with local customs and remained disguised under the ritual of the Ching empire for over two centuries. The influence was insignificant, and few caught the attention of the emperor, but they were reflected in the Western-Ocean Palaces (six in total) and three fountains in the Royal Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan), designed by Italian Jesuit artist F. Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) with three other French Confucian missionaries J. Denis Attiret (1702-68), P. Ignace Sichelbarth (1708-80) and P. Michel Benoist (1715-74) between 1745 and 1759. Part of the garden in the Summer Palace was laid out by F. Pierre d'Incarville (?-1757).<sup>64</sup> The highly elaborate and exotic design represents the heyday of both European and Chinese monarchies.

The experiences of carrying out Western style structures in the Royal Summer Palace were recorded in *The Construction Manual for Yuan Ming Yuan* (圓明園工程作法) presumably in about the last three decades of the eighteenth century. European architectural phrases, Western-Ocean PoLang (西洋撥浪, plan), Western-Ocean RuYi LanGan (西洋如意欄杆, balustrade) for instance, were introduced to the Chinese higher class along with diagrams, such as the lay-outs of the gardens and the details of the fountains and statues.<sup>65</sup> The term 'Western-Ocean' revealed its roots, despite being modified by Chinese flavour, as most of the architectural historians refer to it as *Chinese Baroque*. They are the first few Chinese records about the Western architectural civilisation. After the key designer Castiglione died, the remaining fellows of the Confucian missionaries

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<sup>63</sup> The reason for referring to the European Catholics, whether in the Ming or Ching Court as Confucian Missionaries in this research is that the missionaries dressed as Confucian intellectuals after a series of debates on rituals, customs, and religion in the Vatican.

<sup>64</sup> Zhang, Fuhe, 'The Western-Ocean Palaces in the YuanMingYuan and the History of Chinese Modern Architecture', *Journal of Tsinghua University*, 1/1 (1986), 93-100.

<sup>65</sup> Muramatsu, Shin, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', PhD (University of Tokyo, 1987), p. 72; Zhang, Fuhe, *The Modern Architecture History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s* (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), pp. 9-10.

published a series of twenty engravings of his work, which consequently became widely known in the Western world.

For the domestic buildings, Song presents evidence indicating that landlords or bureaucrats displayed their wealth or social status through the Western-Ocean Baroque decorations. On the other hand, the nationalist historians argue that the contradictions in the site layouts and the façade orders between Western and the Chinese buildings in PeKing reflected the conflict between the two cultures and the impact on the Chinese tradition.<sup>66</sup> Muramatsu contradicts this, arguing in 1978 that most ordinary Chinese proprietors at the time still found it avoidable or unnecessary to choose the foreign style while erecting their properties.<sup>67</sup> The majority of carpenters and masons remained unfamiliar with imported architectural knowledge, and continued to practise traditional procedures of construction.

### **The age of carpenters**

Despite the Chinese emperor's choice of an Occidental fantasy in the Royal Summer Palace, foreign trade that had been authorised in the high Ching period of 1684 was restricted. The City of KuanTong, or CanTon, as most English speaking merchants called it, became the only port where trade was allowed to carry on and the Thirteen CoHong trade system (the *Old Canton Fashion*) was gradually formed. The order states clearly that the trade could not be directly practised between the two countries unless Chinese-authorised brokers were involved, and foreigners were not allowed to travel outside the Thirteen CoHong area, nor could Chinese visit, so as to stop smuggling. Buildings for the foreigners' accommodation and offices could only be leased and repaired using existing Chinese buildings lest 'lawless Chinese erect new and elaborated houses to attract foreign merchants for wealthy rental fee'.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Shen, Yang, 'Beijing Modern Architecture that Emerges in the Feudal Capital', in Bingde Yang (ed.), *Cities and Architecture of Modern China (1840-1949)* (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1990), 413-39, p. 414; Song, Weizhong, 'The Chinese Modern Architecture and Social Mentality before 1895', *Studies in Dialectics of Nature*, 13/3 (1997), 55-59.

<sup>67</sup> Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', p. 72.

<sup>68</sup> FO 233/189 (1759 EIC), 'Part of memorial representing that foreign merchants have been allowed to rent luxurious housing, to come and go as they please, and to contact Chinese traitors, manifold abuses resulting CH'IEN-LUNG XXIV 10m 25d'

All of the buildings and structures are believed to be either, as Chinese officials preferred, altered existing Chinese structures or new ones constructed by Chinese builders. The practice followed the traditional way of building – three tenths depending on the carpenter; seven-tenths on the master. Whether it was the owner or the designer who was responsible for the task, he cooperated with the chief carpenter in laying out the site, drafting plans, pointing out certain details, and leaving the rest of the details to the carpenters.<sup>69</sup> The physical and practical process of erecting buildings for foreigners, such as levelling the platform, positioning the plinths, erecting columns, placing beams, roofing, and so on can be paralleled based on the manual of carpenters – the *Lu Ban Jing* and other sources. However, whether the religious or ritual processes, such as ceremonies between stages of building or discussions on Feng-Shui geometry, were practised or not, particularly for religious structures, remains unknown.

When the number of foreigners and buildings for their accommodation concerned Confucian bureaucrats, Emperor JiaQing granted in 1814 the proposal to forbid citizens from working for foreigners without authorisation, from erecting foreign-style buildings, from using foreign languages for shop banners, carrying out trading business, or migrating from the inner land to where the foreigners were accommodated.<sup>70</sup> The Foreign Factories were exclusively built by authorised Chinese craftsmen and therefore, as Farris also discovers in his thesis, were of vernacular design until the 1822 fire, which led to the the rebuilding of the Thirteen Hong district.<sup>71</sup> This can be taken together with statements by Shen, Fu (沈復, 1763-1825) who writes in his biographical novel *Six Records of a Floating Life* (1808) that ‘the Thirteen Hong is situated west of the YouLan (Fragrant Lotus) gate, and has the same structure as seen in the Western-Ocean pictures’.<sup>72</sup> This provides a different, but impressionistic, observation, which may indicate that the

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<sup>69</sup> The saying comes from *Yuan Yeh* (園冶, 1635) or the *Craft of Gardens* by Ji, Cheng (計成, 1582-1642). This section is not concerned with the traditional method but its transformation, thus for more detail regarding the book and conventional practice of architecture, see Ruitenbeek, Klaas, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual Lu Ban jing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 30-31. For complete translation, see Ji, Cheng, *The Craft of Gardens*, trans. Alison Hardie in 1988 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1635).

<sup>70</sup> Le, Dehong, *Memoir on Qing Emperor JiaQing* (Volume 300).

<sup>71</sup> Farris, Johnathan Andrew, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', PhD (Cornell University, 2004), pp. 22-23.

<sup>72</sup> Shen, Fu, *Six Records of a Floating Life*, 1808), Chapter 4.

buildings in the Thirteen Hong settlement were of Western structure. Nevertheless, the phenomenon remained the same. Western architectural knowledge, such as the truss and load-bearing wall, as well as materials, such as iron nails, scarcely attracted the Chinese professionals.

After the first Opium war, the number of foreign buildings inevitably grew, so did the anti-foreign response from the Chinese side. The Guild of Masons and Carpenters of the Province of GuangDong (CanTon/ GuangZhou being its capital) made an announcement to its members in the fourth month of the agricultural calendar of the Ching Emperor DaoGuang 27<sup>th</sup> Year (1847):

*...Red hair<sup>73</sup> barbarians disturbed and declared war without reasons; occupied and built shops along the sea shore; thirteen streets and alleys in total; wished to build a temple for public worship; and also, across the river in Honan, to take possession of a tract of ground and to build a fort. There had been foreign soldiers surveyed lands (sic) yesterday; slight argument made by our citizens, gunshots and bombing in return; since then, lawless and godless so they acted; millions of citizens were grieved (sic) and aggravated.* The great body of masons and carpenters in the two cities [the old and the new] of CanTon, had held a public consultation, and agreed together, that if the English undertake the prosecution of their works, as aforesaid, the men employed in these trades shall none of them be permitted to engage to complete their works on their own responsibility. And if that in Hongkong, Macao, or Whampoa, there should be men who are willing to undertake it, the people of our two trades will make it their sort by name and kill them, and to notify the inhabitants of the district to burn the dwelling of every man who ventures to assume such as responsibility which will be done without the least delay. (Huang, Y.: Volume 24)

Three months later on 3 July 1847, *The Builder* – a newly established British periodical – translated the exasperated announcement into English with a few points excised (the italics in the text are *The Builder* version and the rest is the author's translation from the original announcement).

The anti-foreign, and certainly biased, attitude of the Chinese spread between the citizens in the period when the Chinese empire was shocked and humiliated by so-called aliens from the four outer regions. Equally, prejudice towards the

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<sup>73</sup> The phrase 'red hair' is solely referred to the English in some literature, the nation of red hair for instance. *The Builder* directly used English in place of red hair in the publication. However, sometimes the red hair was confused with the French during the Anglo-French alliance against the Ching empire. It is likely due to their shared role in the colonialist era. It is generally acknowledged for their hair colour but could also be the red St. George's Cross, because the United States was named 'the nation with flower flag' and Germany 'the nation with single eagle'.

Chinese architecture and the disillusioned fantasy of Marco Polo's glorious and grand Shang-Tu quickly appeared in the British community and, from the architectural aspect, in *The Builder*.<sup>74</sup> It can be seen in the article concerning an English architect, Edward Ashworth, who hired AChone, a Chinese ship carpenter, who was 'well accustomed to building for the Europeans, and he'll do anything you ask him', to erect a house:

*We have thus imperfectly traced the progress of construction and the difficulties which occur in the erection of an ordinary English house, where all is square work, line and rule work. A little reflection on the clumsiness in such simple constructions, awakens our wonder at the truth and correctness with which the complicated curves of elaborate temple roofs are produced, bristling with porcelain dragons, fishes, frets, and scrolls, exhibiting contortions of eaves, beard, gable, ridge, and hip, setting geometry at defiance, and yet in a manner symmetrically subservient to some of her rules, seeming, in the quaint contour of their fantastic crestings, to be less the productions of a plodding, persevering, unchanging people, than the magic creations of a race of fairies. (The Builder: 1 November 1851)*

It is clear that most of the British held the same attitude towards non-Western architecture as expressed by James Fergusson.<sup>75</sup>

The evidence that links the ship carpenters with the Lu Ban carpenters has not yet been properly explored in the academic sphere. Despite scarcely being noted in academia, the works of ship carpenters may have contributed significantly to the initial models of the foreign architecture in the treaty port period, since a decent craftsman of the Lu Ban guild was not expected to contract for erection works with the foreigners after the war of 1840. The erection was practised on an informal system whereby non-guild labourers carried out the work. The design was in the meantime worked in a conventional way. Chinese material additionally points out that after the opening of the ports, those who built buildings for the use of Chinese belonged primarily to members of the Lu Ban guild of ShangHai, and those who built for the foreigners were red members. The

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<sup>74</sup> The British public-sphere's procedure of negating China had in fact started long before the Macartney's embassy in 1793 as a response of the trend of Chinoiserie in the artistic and cultural practices of the time. See Hevia, James L., *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 68-74. However, the attitude soon spread widely in both academics and public publications when more intellectual agents entered China. The article in *The Builder* that presents Britain as a more advanced empire only treats architectural design as one of many cases.

<sup>75</sup> Fergusson, James, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 685.

two parties were to have no dealings with each other. The primary members were not allowed to make contracts with foreigners until 1868.<sup>76</sup> Zheng also argues that by then the Cantonese craftsman Zhao, DaoRen had already been capable of building Russell & Co. at ShangHai, in a sophisticated Victorian Gothic architecture with Arts and Crafts grilles.<sup>77</sup>

### **The age of contractors**

Large-scale projects are believed to have been built by Chinese labour and supervised by foreign and professional contractors, Basel & Frey for instance – a PeKing-based firm of consulting engineers and general contractors which practised both design and construction. The ShangHai based firms, such as Hoarth Erskine, Ltd., Olof Wijk & Co., and Denham & Rose carried out structural, civil, mechanical and electrical engineering works not only in China but also all around Southeast Asia. By 1908, the Hoarth Erskine's projects included the Thomson Road Waterworks at Singapore, wharves and warehouses at HongKong and CanTon, the Royal Palace in Thailand. There was a Chinese Road Bridge also built by Hoarth Erskine in ShangHai. Olof Wijk constructed several railway bridges. Denham & Rose paved roads and layed out the WooSung settlement, along with several private houses. In addition, it is believed that the merchandise agencies with wealth and capital, for instance Jardine, Matheson & Co. Ltd., also participated in the fast-growing building trade in China in numerous ways, including contracting for the erection of structures.<sup>78</sup>

New types of material and new structures began to appear first inside and then gradually outside the concessions. New materials, as described earlier, had attracted the attention of the Chinese intellectuals as early as the 1860s. It indicates that Chinese craftsmen were capable of handling new building materials such as metals by then. Iron, as the key material for Western industry, was introduced along with the requirement for ship repairs and later for large-span factories. It is believed that in 1866 the ShangHai Gas Company applied iron as

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<sup>76</sup> He, Chongjian, 'The Development and Character of the Construction Firms in Shanghai', *The Third Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Dalian: China Architecture & Building Press, 1990).

<sup>77</sup> Zheng, Shiling, *The Evolution of Shanghai Architecture in Modern Times* (Shanghai: Shanghai Educational Publishing House, 1999), p. 39.

<sup>78</sup> Wright, Arnold (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: Lloyd's Great Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., 1908), pp. 594-602, 628-30



the building material for its structures. Iron was also widely used in the buildings of The Self-Strengthening Movement<sup>79</sup> as trusses, columns or roof sheets, while it is argued that concrete was used in 1893 in the foundations of the HanYang Iron Works.<sup>80</sup> As the techniques were established, reinforced concrete construction became possible in the beginning of the twentieth century, such as for the floors of the St. Petersburg Russo-Asiatic Bank in 1902 in ShangHai, and the Cantonese Christian College in 1905 in CanTon.<sup>81</sup> In addition, He, ChongJian argues, with little evidence supplied, that the technique of concrete gravel finishing, which was a Japanese invention to imitate stone texture while flexibly providing elaborate details, was quickly copied by Chinese contractors after 1916 and later known as 'Shanghai plaster' in Britain's southeast Asian colonies.<sup>82</sup>

From the construction perspective, the load-bearing wall system is argued by scholars as being introduced into China as a foreign construction,<sup>83</sup> however, it had been actually one of the major conventional structure systems since the Ming empire (1360-1644), could be seen in PeKing and was widely used in the populous regions of southern China. The Western load-bearing wall system and the Chinese one only differed in the conceptions of the front and the material. Based on Liang's research, most Chinese scholars believe that the Chinese load-bearing wall system, or YingShan GeLin (硬山攔櫺, Flush Gable with Purlins placed on Walls), is the lowest rank of roof style, used for officials beneath the sixth-grade and citizens.<sup>84</sup> It was also widely used on the terrace shophouses

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<sup>79</sup> It is also known as the Foreign Matter Movement for the goal of Self-Strengthening is to 'learn from the foreigners in order to compete with the foreigners'. The idea was first suggested by Wei, Yuan (魏源, 1794-1856) in his work *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* published between 1843 and 1852. The book is the first of its kind that introduced the world outside China to the Chinese.

<sup>80</sup> Shen, 'Beijing Modern Architecture that Emerges in the Feudal Capital', pp. 49, 92, 136-38; Li, Zhizhen, 'The Foreign Matters Movement Architecture of WuHan in the Late Qing Period', *The Fourth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Chongqing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993); Liu, Xianjue and Yang, Weiju, 'The Function of Building Technology to the Modern Architecture of Nanjing', *Architectural Journal*, /11 (1996), 40-42.

<sup>81</sup> Farris, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', pp. 247-62; Shanghai Local Records Office, *ShangHai MingJianZhu Zhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 2005), p. 56.

<sup>82</sup> He, 'The Development and Character of the Construction Firms in Shanghai'.

<sup>83</sup> Zhang, 'The Western-Ocean Palaces in the YuanMingYuan and the History of Chinese Modern Architecture'; He, 'The Development and Character of the Construction Firms in Shanghai'; Liu and Yang, 'The Function of Building Technology to the Modern Architecture of Nanjing'.

<sup>84</sup> For roof types, see Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: a study of the development of its structural system and the evolution of its types*, ed. Wilma Fairbank

along the market streets of towns in CanTon and TaiWan to capitalise on the limited land. Nonetheless, the differences between the masonry-based and carpentry-based manner can be addressed.

It is believed, however, that at the initial stage, unfamiliarity with the Western methods of building led to circumstances in which the craftsmen's works were superficially alike, but structurally different. Liu and Yang point out that the vault of the 1870 Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in NanKing is actually made of wood in imitation of a Romanesque barrel vault.<sup>85</sup> However, the Chinese learnt and adopted imported technologies when they provided labour. The situation of foreign constructors dominating large-scale projects began to change in 1893. A Chinese construction firm completed the new (second generation) Maritime Customs House, which impressed the Westerners with its quality.<sup>86</sup> The contractor – YangRuiTai Construction Company – was founded by Yang, SiSheng (楊斯盛, 1851-1908), who started his career as a plasterer. From then on, he and his followers in the treaty cities began to challenge the dominance of the foreign firms in the construction and design professions.

Political stability in the treaty ports after the Boxer Movement was controlled provided a mild environment for the booming building industry. The division of the architectural professions was gradually shaped during this period. Muramatsu argues that before the Chinese architectural students returned from their education abroad, design and calculation were largely taken over by foreign architects and the Chinese were responsible for erections.<sup>87</sup> This is particularly evident at CanTon, ShangHai and TienTsin. By the third decade of the twentieth century, the majority of the landmark architecture, which was initially built by foreign builders, had been rebuilt by Chinese construction firms. One of the examples is that the new building for the Municipal Council of the ShangHai International Settlement was finished by YuChangTai Construction in 1922 after its eight-years construction period due to mistakes in design and delays caused by the First World War. Other buildings, such as the Russian Consulate-General (1914-16, by

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(Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1984), p. 12. For the rank of different roof types, see Liang, 'The History of Chinese Architecture', at Chapter 7.

<sup>85</sup> Liu and Yang, 'The Function of Building Technology to the Modern Architecture of Nanjing'.

<sup>86</sup> Shanghai Local Records Office, *ShangHai MingJianZhu Zhi*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>87</sup> Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', p. 48.

ZhouRui Kee), and the Cercle Sportif Français (1925-26, by YaoXin Kee) were all contracted with Chinese firms. Three major hotels in ShangHai – Park Hotel (1931-34, TaoFu Kee), Cathey Hotel (1926-29, New Jan Kee) and Palace Hotel (1906-08, by Wong Fah Ki) – were also built by Chinese hands regardless of the aesthetic expression.<sup>88</sup>

When the foreign communities in ShangHai were debating the phenomenon of the industrial Sinicisation in the 1930s, as argued by Delande, only a few companies with large capital ability were capable of competing with the Chinese ones.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, the Chinese combined modern technologies from the West with the traditional performance rooted in China, as He enthusiastically argues, their skilful performance created the 'International Architecture Fair' that has remained a 'wonder of the world' till today.<sup>90</sup>

Nonetheless, little literature has given attention to the changes in, or even the loss of, traditional construction methods and the ideological structure of architecture, particularly after the royal family abdicated. The efforts on absorbing and reproducing the foreign building technologies by the craftsmen have hardly been studied, except for the nationalist statements about resisting imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Chen agrees that the backwardness of the craftsman tradition that had been 'orally passed down, from master to pupils, based on experiences, mimicking precedent methods' should be ended by the modern technologies and knowledge in design and science that were practised by the foreign architects.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> *The Far Eastern Review*, (February 1905) 'Shanghai's New Hotel', p. 23; Shanghai Local Records Office, *ShangHai MingJianZhu Zhi*; Editors of Shanghai's Historic Buildings (ed.), *Shanghai's Historic Buildings* (Beijing: Guangming Daily Press, 2006).

<sup>89</sup> Delande, Natalie, 'Engineers Stood in front of Architects: The importance of technological culture to the history of Shanghai modern architecture', *The Fifth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Lushan: China Architecture & Building Press, 1998).

<sup>90</sup> He, 'The Development and Character of the Construction Firms in Shanghai'.

<sup>91</sup> Chen, Ganglun, 'From 'Colonial Transplant' to 'Classical Renaissance': The Division of Time and Ideologies of Design in Chinese Modern Architecture', *Ibid.* More details in the philosophy of ZhouLi will be presented in the case study of PeKing.

## **Encounter of the Classicisms: ideological practices**

### **Before the ideologies were formed**

Muramatsu suggests that there were four traditional systems in producing Chinese architecture. Those were bureaucrats, intellectuals, Feng-Shui masters, and carpenters. They can also be divided into designers (elites and Feng-Shui masters), builders, and the bureaucratic system.<sup>92</sup> From the construction perspective, it has been seen that the Western technological rationalism that the Chinese contractors and engineers learned, had led an initial path of architectural Westernisation in China, and at the same time drove off the existing arts and crafts tradition of timber frame structure and carpenters. On the other hand, Muramatsu argues that the practices of intellectuals as designers died away along with the empire, while the Feng-Shui geomancers concealed themselves beneath the new systems – the engineers and, later, the architects.<sup>93</sup>

This argument overlooks the geographical factor that the transformations essentially took place in the cities or at industrial sites near major cities, such as the KaiLan mining facilities [appendix.iii], as does the scholarship presented earlier. The great part of the rural areas remained unchanged and the conventional ways of building carried on there according to the normal practice. So it was practised at some remote treaty ports, such as SsuMao, TengYueh in the Province of YunNan and the Western remote town of Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan, where the British established consular services for political and military reasons.

The circumstances nevertheless indicate that the ideological dialogue would be carried out within the highly developed cities, as they were the interfaces between the Chinese and the Western civilisations. It has been widely maintained that from the Chinese viewpoint, encounters with the Western powers excited a

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<sup>92</sup> The bureaucrats, including the officials in the Department of Works, were all appointed through the Imperial Examination system since it was invented. As a result, the higher officers of the Department of Works were controlled by the Confucianist intellectuals, whose responsibilities were scarcely to draw plans or decide façades as expected today. Instead, their major duties were to carry out the civil engineering projects as the emperor requested, to supervise the procedure of erection works, and with the understanding of Feng-Shui as part of the intellectuals' basic knowledge, they cooperated with Feng-Shui geomancers (astrologists) in laying out royal palaces or tombs. As a result, the bureaucrats were in fact still intellectuals, and their profession in engineering or architecture was greatly limited to literature and theory, while practical calculations had to be given by the chief carpenter or foreman.

<sup>93</sup> Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', pp. 44-45.

series of passive or proactive ideological debates, swinging between 'Chinese learning and Western learning' or 'essential principles and practical functions'. In contrast to the Chinese, it is generally argued that, apart from physical difficulties during the initial ages, an ideological turn away from the Western civilisation hardly occurred to foreign architects.<sup>94</sup> Fu believes that the exception was the missionaries, who found opportunities to perform experiments on their Christian interpretations of Chinese character in their educational campuses.<sup>95</sup>

The struggle between Western and the Chinese civilisations occurred not just after the emergence of the Chinese architects but as early as the Opium Wars. The elites' anxiety regarding the future of the Chinese civilisation is suggested as the source of struggle by Rowe and Kuan. Further, the buildings for the Foreign Matters Movements, such as the Southern Yangtze/ KiangNan Arsenal at ShangHai (1865) or the Northern Ocean/ BeiYang Arsenal at TienTsin (1870) were built in the vernacular Chinese form, but their production line and site plan followed Western system. The idea for the arrangement, the majority of researchers together with Rowe and Kuan maintain, was to serve the ideology that 'Chinese learning is for essential principles, while the Western learning is for practical functions'.<sup>96</sup>

Counterexamples to the KiangNan and BeiYang Arsenals can be found with the JinLing Arsenal at NanKing (1866) and the Naval Shipyard at FooChow (1866). Regarding the former, there is not only a Westernised site layout, but also evidence of the Western method of brick-laying using Chinese grey bricks in the existing construction of the main, left and right shops of the JinLing Arsenal. A similar story can be found with several factories at the FooChow Shipyard (completed in 1868). In addition, the construction of the shops used timber trusses instead of the traditional layered wooden frame as roof structure. Examining the photographs of the FooChow Shipyard and other buildings, it can also be seen that

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<sup>94</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp. 33-43; Izumida, Hideo, 'British Architects in East and Southeast Asia 1830-1940', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 2/2 (2003), 131-136.

<sup>95</sup> Fu, Chao-Ching, *New Architecture in Chinese Classical Style: A Historical Research on Standardisation of New Chinese Architecture in 20th Century* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1993), pp. 94-100.

<sup>96</sup> Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', p. 76; Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp.10-11, 30.

the factories carry an entirely Western industrial appearance, not to mention the churches and houses in the compound for the British and French directors.<sup>97</sup>

The variety of architectural performances from the Foreign Matter Movement is greatly neglected by individual researchers due to their pre-occupied hypothesis. Furthermore, the history of KaiLan Mining shows that, although the administration offices were essentially Chinese in design, the workshops in collieries were European. Together, although HanYang Iron Works (1889), which was designed by E.P. Johnson and supervised by H. Hobson, applied large-span iron trusses in its six major shops, the administration building of its spin-off PingHsiang colliery was a mix of Chinese upturned roof, Christian church façade and verandah. The coexistence of Chinese and European architecture within one industrial establishment shows that the argument of Rowe and Kuan, and many others, not only misjudges the availability of building technologies in different regions but also the role they played.

It is difficult to argue that the variety of phenomena was caused by ideological motivation or by the early limitations of technology. Since the buildings were constructed by local Chinese craftsmen, it was most efficient and convenient to construct familiar shells in the conventional way to house the machinery, which was bought and directly shipped from foreign lands. As to the officials' intention of designate the appearance of building to serve Chinese essence or spatial structure for Western functionalism, there is little contemporary evidence to support Rowe and Kuan's argument.

### **Architectural education**

Officially, architecture as a profession in the higher education of China, instead of a matter of craft was initially announced in 1902 as part of the proposed programmes for lectures in the Imperial University of the Capital (later the University of PeKing).<sup>98</sup> The programme for architectural study took three years

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<sup>97</sup> Chen, Zhaojun, 'A Survey on Foozhou Naval Council and Shipyard', *The Fourth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Chongqing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993); Liu and Yang, 'The Function of Building Technology to the Modern Architecture of Nanjing'; Sha, Yongjie, *A Comparative Research between China and Japan on Development of Architecture in Modern Times* (Taipei: Garden City Publishers, 2001), p. 62.

<sup>98</sup> The Imperial University of the Capital was established in 1898 as a major mechanism of the Hundred Days Reform, based on the refunded penalty of the Eight Nations Alliance. It was the first higher education facilities as well as the administration of the new education system in a western sense. It was interrupted after the reform failed due to the coup planned by the Empress

to complete, and the first-year lectures included Mathematics, Mechanical engineering, Applied mechanics, Surveying, Geography, Geometry, Building materials, Constructions, Architectural design, Survey practice, Application and drafting of mechanics, Planning and graphics, Sketching, and supplemental lectures in history. Architectural design training was set up for first and second year students, while the Sketching and the Planning and graphics were practical lessons carried on through all three years. More theoretical lectures were introduced in the second year, such as Sanitary engineering, Hydraulics, Construction Methods, and Process metallurgy, along with the supplemental materials in aesthetics. The final year was designated for fieldwork. There was a Self-studying Essay and extra Drawing for pupils unwilling to take Seismology. Evidence shows that the 'Royal Order for the University' was to a large extent transplanted from the architectural courses of 1887 in the Imperial University of Tokyo. Excluded from the Chinese courses were Perspective, Steel structures, Constructions of Japanese Architecture, History of Japanese Architecture, and Regulations.<sup>99</sup>

In spite of these ambitions, no architectural courses were given in any faculty until 1923. Wei and Zhang argue that this significantly late arrival of the architectural courses was caused by a general lack of modern professionals in China's own architecture. They argued that the reasons for this were, first, that the traditional methods of bureaucratic administration were limited to the fields of politics, law and literature. Later, the urgent requirement for engineering professions, such as mechanics, mining and railways, followed the Self-Strengthening Movement that encouraged the spreading of practical knowledge through education. In the meantime, architecture – despite being the art and science of building in the West – was regarded as neither an art, such as politics and law, nor a science as railway and mining were regarded at this time in China. Based on their analysis, Wei and Zhang come to the conclusion that the architectural profession was socially disrespected and this is why insufficient

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Dowager, and later the Boxer Movement before its re-establishment in 1902. The proposal of establishing the university was drafted by Liang, QiChao, who was the father of the major figure in the modern history of Chinese architecture – Liang, SsuCh'eng.

<sup>99</sup> Lai, Delin, 'Materials regarding the History of Chinese Architectural Education during the Modernisation Period.' *South Architecture*, /3 (1994), 8-9; Xu, Subin, 'The Origin of the Chinese Modern Architectural Education and the Department of Architecture of the SuZhou Institute of Technology', *South Architecture*, /3 (1994), 15-18.

resources were provided for architectural education.<sup>100</sup>

Their analysis nonetheless ignores a historical fact that a great number of experienced craftsmen had been practising westernised methods of building for at least four decades in the treaty cities, along with a growing number of professional foreign architects. At the turn of the century, the Chinese contractors, as discussed above, had achieved an undeniable success in competing with foreign firms, mostly at the construction stage. The ignorance of the craftsmen's society reflects an ironic attitude, both at present and in the past, that despite technologies from the West being respected, the contribution of skilled workers was still disregarded. On the other hand, the practising foreign architects reached the considerable number of thirteen in ShangHai, and at least two in CanTon, as the consequence of expansion in trade and industry after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895.<sup>101</sup> The craftsmen as well as the foreigners are hardly regarded as sources of architectural education by some Chinese researchers.

A number of Western directors and educational courses in Physics, Mechanics, Chemistry and Liberal Arts were set up following the Foreign Matters Movement, while the establishment of architectural education only became possible when Western-educated Chinese students returned home from abroad. The first architectural programme in a Western sense was held at the Industrial School of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce by Zhang, YingXu (張鎡緒, 1877-?). Zhang majored in mechanics in the Imperial University of Tokyo, achieving the second grade in the Imperial Examination at the Capital (PeKing) after he graduated and returned to China in 1905. There is little evidence to indicate that the programme was actually given, and even if it was, it lasted for only six months in 1910.<sup>102</sup> Whether the lessons were actually given by Zhang or not, he published his lecture material through his book entitled the *The New Way of Building* (建築新法) in 1910. The book is significant because, since the

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<sup>100</sup> Wei, Li and Zhang, Pei-Fu, 'The Relationship between Modern Returned Students from Japan and the Beginning of Architecture Education in China', *Journal of JiangXi University of Finance and Economics*, /1 (2006), 68-70, 76.

<sup>101</sup> Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*.

<sup>102</sup> Lai, 'Materials regarding the History of Chinese Architectural Education during the Modernisation Period.'; Xu, 'The Origin of the Chinese Modern Architectural Education and the Department of Architecture of the SuZhou Institute of Technology'.



*GongBu GongCheng ZuoFa* (工部工程做法, *Building Methods of the Ministry of Works*) was published in 1734, there had never been any comprehensive book on the subject being written by Chinese. The title 'New Way' implies that the classical and traditional ways of building are excluded.

Steinhardt points out that, in the beginning, Chinese architectural training was established in South China, and concentrated in those wealthy and highly-educated cities of KiangSu province, like NanKing and SooChow.<sup>103</sup> After the revolution, the Republican government copied the 1902 'Royal Order for the University' as the new degree system for China from October 1912. The difference was merely the introduction of lectures in the Construction of Chinese Architecture, Reinforced Concrete, and Industrial Economics.

The establishment of the first full architectural programme in China was still postponed until 1923 when a department of architecture was founded in the SooChow Institute of Technology. The four main staff were again holders of Japanese degrees, from the Tokyo High School of Technology. The dean – Liu, Shi-Ei (柳士英, 1893-1973) along with three other lecturers were also for the first time teachers with architecture degrees and practical experience. Liu worked for a Japanese textile mill in ShangHai after he graduated in 1920 and a year later for his colleague Okano until the architectural programme in SooChow was founded. Liu, DunZhen (劉敦楨, 1897-1968), first studied mechanics and later transferred to Department of Architecture. He practised both in Japan and ShangHai after graduating in 1921 before joining the SooChow Institute of Technology.

Liu led students in practising architectural design, and lectured on Construction and Architectural history. Research shows that their aim was the same as their own learning background, which was to train pupils to be able to carry out their profession from the first stage of design, through the engineering calculations to the final task of building a building. Making use of extensive Japanese and English literature, it is said that an architectural education was finally introduced to the Chinese people through the Japanese system.<sup>104</sup> Four

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<sup>103</sup> Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman, 'China: Designing the Future, Venerating the Past', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 61/4 (2002), 537-548.

<sup>104</sup> Lai, 'Materials regarding the History of Chinese Architectural Education during the Modernisation Period.'; Xu, 'The Origin of the Chinese Modern Architectural Education and the Department of Architecture of the SuZhou Institute of Technology'; Wei and Zhang, 'The

years after the Institute was established, the students of years 1923 and 1924 completed their three-year courses. The years 1925 and 1926 along with the staff were then transferred to the newly set-up Fourth San Yat-Sen University, later the National Central University at NanKing. Three nationalist significances regarding the Institute are suggested by Xu. First, it realised Chinese's dream since the early twentieth century of founding a Chinese architectural education. The second is that it successfully grafted the Japanese educational system in architecture onto the Chinese reality, and the third is that it grew up from there in ever more branches.<sup>105</sup>

After 1914, overseas Chinese students in Europe and the USA began to return home to start their professional practices. Many of them also played important roles in architectural education in China. Wei and Zhang suggest that the Japanese influence in Chinese architectural education was, as a result, gradually replaced by European system.<sup>106</sup> The most embraced character in the scholarship is Pennsylvania and Harvard graduate Liang, SsuCh'eng. He came back to China in September 1928 and established another architecture programme at Northeastern University (Mukden, now ShenYang). Fairbank states that Liang and his wife Phyllis Lin – another Ivy-league graduate – together with two other Penn colleagues transplanted lectures and professional practice based on their experiences with Paul Cret. Muramatsu further lists the programme at Northeastern University including tracing off details of the Western classical orders, designing buildings in a Chinese classic form, and learning the history of Western and Chinese classic architecture.<sup>107</sup> It was a clear Beaux-Art system, whether the course subjects were Western or Chinese.

The efforts to found schools in the Central University of NanKing and the Northeastern University were soon interrupted by the Japanese military expansion into Northeast China, and later in the Far East. Before the Japanese hostilities, the

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Relationship between Modern Returned Students from Japan and the Beginning of Architecture Education in China'.

<sup>105</sup> Xu, 'The Origin of the Chinese Modern Architectural Education and the Department of Architecture of the SuZhou Institute of Technology'.

<sup>106</sup> Wei and Zhang, 'The Relationship between Modern Returned Students from Japan and the Beginning of Architecture Education in China'.

<sup>107</sup> Liang, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, pp. xiii-xv; Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', p. 143; Steinhardt, 'China: Designing the Future, Venerating the Past'.

establishment of the Beaux-Art education had formed and been merged with nationalism as a reaction to the long-lasting Western and Japanese Imperialist politico-economic practices in China. This will be explained in the next section regarding architectural styles.

In terms of Bauhaus influence, the modernist architectural education was founded in 1942 by Henry Wong (黃作燊, 1915-1975). Wu argues that he had studied at the Architectural Association where he met Walter Gropius (1883-1969), and, in 1937, had followed him to Harvard.<sup>108</sup> Wu continues, Wong invited other modernist enthusiasts from around the world to St. John's University in Shanghai. Former Bauhaus lecturer Richard Paulick (1903-1979), who took refuge from Nazi Germany with his wife, together with A.J. Brandt,<sup>109</sup> Lee, PoyGum (Pratt), Chester Moy, Cambridge-and-Harvard-trained Wang, DaHong (王大閔, 1918-), Luke, H.S. (陸謙受, 1904-1992 Dip.A.A., A.R.I.B.A.), Charles Chen (陳占祥, 1916-2001 Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education, Liverpool, UCL), and Mechanical Engineer Nelson Sun, amongst others, formed the architectural part of the programme. Painters like Cheng, Ji (程及, 1912-2005), Zhou, FangBai (周方白, 1906-2001), who was trained in Paris and Brussels, and Chinese teacher Chen, CongZhou (陳從周, 1918-2000), who was expert in Chinese literature, the history of gardening and architectural history, formed the rest.<sup>110</sup>

Despite wars that lasted until the 1950s the lecturers and students (St. John's was dissolved in 1949 and its architecture faculty was merged into Tongji University in 1952) managed to leave a minor modernist heritage to Shanghai. This includes the Yao residence in 1948,<sup>111</sup> the Faculty of Architecture building in

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<sup>108</sup> Wu, Jiang, 'Bauhaus' Influence in Shanghai', *2000 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture* (Guangzhou, Macou, 2000). It is only certain that Walter Gropius stayed in London and worked in Maxwell Fry's firm between 1934 and 1937 after the RIBA held an exhibition of his works, see Fry, Maxwell, *Autobiographical Sketches* (London: Elek Books, 1975), pp. 146-51. Henry Wong, or in Pinyin, Huang, ZuoXin's educational background, particularly his acquaintance with Walter Gropius, is entirely based on Wu, Jaing's research. So far as the available scholarly results in Western languages, such as Rowe and Kuan (in English) as well as Vöckler and Luckow (in German, used as reference in Rowe and Kuan's book, p. 257) all use Wu's study result.

<sup>109</sup> Apart from the name provided by Wu, Jiang, Brandt's background and works were unavailable.

<sup>110</sup> Wu, 'Bauhaus' Influence in Shanghai'.

<sup>111</sup> It is argued that P. Paulick was the architect. The St. John's University graduates: Li, DeHua and Wang, JiZhong were part of the design team. See Shanghai Local Records Office, *ShangHai MingJianZhu Zhi*, p. 416.

Tongji University by Ha, XiongWen and Huang, YuLin in 1953, and the rationalist motorway-led 1946 Grand Plan of ShangHai, led by Paulick, Brandt, Luke, Wong and four others.<sup>112</sup>

### Flowering of architectural styles

Before the architectural courses were set up and the overseas students returned to China, only buildings by foreign designers would be recorded, while the majority of others were by anonymous Chinese. There are a few exceptions. In 1906, the Army Headquarters in PeKing was drawn by Shen, Qi (沈琪, ?-?) from the Building Bureau of the Department of Supply, the Ministry of the Army. Another building was the Provincial Assembly of KiangSu, designed in 1909 by Sun, ZhiXia (孫支廈, 1882-1975) – an engineer graduate from the TongZhou Teacher's College. Later, an apprentice from the YeGuang Estate Investment Company began his own career in architectural practice by starting the Zhou, HuiNan's Modelling Office in ShangHai. Zhou's projects included the Da ShiJie playground (1917), TianZhan theatre, Central theatre and several Chinese-owned hotels. Zhang argues Zhou, HuiNan as the first Chinese architect.<sup>113</sup>

Their designs were made extensively in the Western classicist style. For example, the Army Barracks is of redbrick Victorian Renaissance mixed with Chinese Baroque decoration in its pediment. While the JaingSu Assembly building is another Chinese copy of Neo-Classicism with a pediment to mark its front façade and a central domical tower supported by Doric columns. Rowe and Kuan argue it was due to the Chinese attempt at modernisation following the failure of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898 that they eventually embraced a completely Westernisation.<sup>114</sup> Confirmation, as Lee also finds out, can be found in Tang, ZhenChang's observation that it began with shock, before turning to wonder, admiration and, eventually, imitation.<sup>115</sup> Other literature mostly describes the phenomenon as a citizens' and officials' worship of Western items.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp. 89-91; Shanghai Local Records Office, *ShangHai MingJianZhu Zhi*, pp. 416-18.

<sup>113</sup> Zhang, Fuhe, 'The Sketch on the "Zi-Li (independence)" Period in the History of the Chinese Modern Architecture', *The Fifth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Lushan: China Architecture & Building Press, 1998).

<sup>114</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, p. 43.

<sup>115</sup> Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The flowering of a new urban culture in China, 1930-1945*, p. 6.

<sup>116</sup> Sha, *A Comparative Research between China and Japan on Development of Architecture in*

In the twenties, the main theme of the foreign settlements remained to be European historical styles, despite the Chinese architects returning to China. The majority were from the United States. Chuang, Tsin (庄俊, 1888-1970) joined Henry K. Murphy's (1877-1954) firm after he graduated in 1914 from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign as a Civil Engineer. His practice in Murphy's firm included the Library (1919), and Grand Auditorium (1920) of TsingHua University. Being the first and most significant Chinese Beaux-Art architect, the grand manner was frequently adopted as his trademark after he began his own practice, and it was also greatly preferred by bankers. The KinCheng Bank in ShangHai (1926) and HanKow (1931), and the Bank of Communication buildings in TsiNan (1926), DaiRen (1930) and TsingTao (1931) all carry a clear theme of European Neo-Classicism.

Sha suggests that the performance of the Chinese architects was influenced by the then foreign, mostly Western, architects practising in the foreign concessions, overwhelmingly ShangHai. Rowe and Kuan state that, in the initialising stage of their practice, classical expression was relatively familiar to the returned architects, including Bei, ShouTong (貝壽同, 1875-1945, who graduated from Technische Hochschule, Berlin in 1915), Seng, Li-Yen (沈理源, 1889-1949, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 1915), and Kwan, Song-sing (關頌聲, 1891-1960, MIT and Harvard, 1919), while the language of traditional Chinese architecture 'was almost completely foreign to them'.<sup>117</sup>

For the foreign architects, it can be seen that American favourites such as Art Deco were emerging in ShangHai. Russian Art Nouveau was introduced to the Northeast China from the late nineteenth century. The majority that dominated the ShangHai Bund as well as other trade cities was nonetheless the Beaux-Art fashion and the HongKong and ShangHai Bank, ShangHai, by Palmer and Turner in 1923 became known worldwide. Other projects by the Western architects, as referred to above, included the buildings completed in Chinese hands – Russian Consulate-General (designed by Hans Emil Lieb), Cercle Sportif Français (by Leonard & Veysseyer), and Palace Hotel (Scott & Carter) – show interpretations

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*Modern Times*, p. 23.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81; Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, p. 57.

of the European classical style that consists of the right order of columns, decorated frames to openings, and a clear arrangement of the rough stone base, the body with elaborated capitals and the top with flowering pediments. The Shanghai Club of 1909, designed by Bertram H. Tarrant of the British Board of Works, was opened by British Consul-General Pelham Warren, and marks the heyday of British Victorian influence in China. As described by the *North China Daily News*,

*The design is in the English Renaissance style. The front is treated with a central entrance, two corner turrets and Tsingtao granite columns along the front of the dining room on the first floor. There are to be six stories including the basement. The construction will be fire-resisting throughout, steel girders, concrete walls and partitions and brick and stone walls being used. The foundations are a reinforced concrete raft. The basement, which is on the ground-level contains a bowling alley, barber's shop and oyster bar for the use of the members, and is approached from the main staircase, and by one lift. The accommodation mentioned above is completely shut off from the rest of the basement, which is given up to store rooms, wine cellars, a calorifier room, and a bicycle room.*

While the key space of the Club is the main hall, which is

*In English renaissance style, with Georgian treatment. It is surrounded by a colonnade of twin columns of a corridor leading to the dining rooms, card rooms, etc. The staircases, which will be of marble, are, on the right of the hall, and there are two lifts within the semi-circle formed by the stairs. The hall is 120 by 40 ft. and is to be paved with marble. The bar, which is in the same position as in the old club is 110 ft. by 30 ft. There is a domino room at the end of the hall, facing the entrance, and a billiard room for five tables is at the back, to the right... (The Far Eastern Review: March 1909)*

The landscape inside and outside the foreign concessions hardly saw any change before the 1930s. Geographical diversity remained so that the Art Nouveau style was continually practised by the Japanese after the Russians (Harbin) and the Germans (TsingTao) in the Northeast. As to the rest of the foreign-controlled areas, most buildings were still ornamented with the Western classical language by Chinese and Western architects. Meanwhile, the Chinese accommodation in the foreign concessions, particularly ShangHai, was largely rebuilt with modern materials, concrete or brick for instance, although their character remained Chinese.

On the other hand, the missionaries began to take another neo-classicist approach that situated a number of Chinese-form-Western-layout buildings in a

Western-orientated campus. Cases can be found at Atkinson & Dallas-designed St. John's College, where the Sherachevsky Building of 1884, the Graves Building of 1898 and later buildings such Mann Hall of 1909, are exclusively of neo-classical Chinese architecture. Henry K. Murphy was undoubtedly a key figure for such attempts at a Chinese architectural renaissance and his buildings include the YenChing University, PeKing (1918-27), PeKing Union Medical College (along with Harry Hussey (1881-1962), 1916-18), and GinLing College, NanKing (1918-23).<sup>118</sup>

Rowe and Kuan suggest that a specific style linking to the classic root of Chinese history was chosen by educational institutions, many of them religious organisations, for a clear political purpose, although they also agree it is oversimplified to connect a popular architectural expression with a political attitude.<sup>119</sup> However, in the matter of raising Chinese nationalism, it is particularly factual. Republican China was notionally united by the Kuomintang army in 1928 after a long period of civil wars between different warlords. Culturally, the modern cultural movement after the 4 May 1919 was skilfully replaced with patriotism by politicians. Then it was ironically interpreted into a Neo-Confucian Fascist practice – the New Life Movement – by Chiang, Kai-Shek in the 1930s.<sup>120</sup>

A new national appearance was needed. In 1932, *The Chinese Architect* magazine was founded and the statement in the preface of its first volume proposed 'to display the specialities of Eastern and Western architecture, in order to glorify the natural colour of our national architecture'. In the meantime, the association of ShangHai architects also invited the Chinese builders 'to use new knowledge to understand the traditional methods of construction; to use the Western material civilisation to enhance the natural spirit of our national art and culture; and together to create the architectural form that suits the requirements of

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<sup>118</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp. 61-68; Editors of Shanghai's Historic Buildings (ed.), *Shanghai's Historic Buildings*, pp. 150-153.

<sup>119</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp. 33, 55-56.

<sup>120</sup> Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: intellectuals and the legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, pp. 244-47.

our time'.<sup>121</sup> This encouraged the newly-emerging society to make the most of both cultures, but it is the second half of the sentence that usually plays the more important role in Chinese. The new intellectuals' responsibility was hardly concerned with the new technologies, or the specialities of the Western architecture, but with 'the requirements of our time', which has visibly appeared on the front cover of the 1932 *The Chinese Architect: a set of DouGong*.

The competition project of the Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum in 1925 is widely discussed and described as either a start line (from the Chinese architect's viewpoint) or a highlight of its sort. Lu, YanZhi (呂彥直, 1884-1929), who again was trained in United States at Cornell and worked for Murphy for three years after his graduation in 1918, won the first place. In his proposal, he placed the mausoleum at the end of the wide and straight worshipping path after a sequence of archways (PaiFang), gates and tablets; in addition the site is planned as a bell-shaped layout. All of this, including lines of cypress trees along the approach, obviously follows the standard of the nearby Royal Tombs from the Ming empire, despite the counter example that the layouts of the Royal Ming Tomb blend into the natural surroundings. In comparison with the glazed blue tiles that covered the gable-and-hip roof and DouGongs beneath it, the interior of the mausoleum, especially the crypt, is noted by Rowe and Kuan as a reference to Napoleon's Tomb.<sup>122</sup>

There were of course several buildings in the Chinese classic style before the Mausoleum, but Liang gives it the highest valuation that 'despite consisting of strong Western influence, the Sun Yat-Sen Mausoleum is truly the first new architecture designed by our citizen and in ancient style. It represents the beginning of the regeneration of our nation'.<sup>123</sup> The construction lasted from 1926 to 1929 and became the model for many following projects on both the urban and architectural scale, including NanKing's Central Administrative Area competition of 1929 and Metropolitan ShangHai Project (1929-1937) which embraces a series

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<sup>121</sup> Hou, Youbin, 'Cultural Collision and the Blend of Chinese and Western Architecture', *Huazhong Architecture*, /3 (1988), 6-9; Zhu, Yongchun, 'Main Trends of Ideals in Modern Chinese Architecture 1932-1937: Review The Chinese Architect', *2000 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture* (Guangzhou, Macau, 2000).

<sup>122</sup> Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, p. 69.

<sup>123</sup> Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, *The Collected Works of Liang Sicheng*, 9 vols. (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2001).



of public buildings by Doon, DaYu (董大酉, 1899-1973). These cases, regardless of competition or commission, were all expected to express the 'spirit of Chinese architecture' and the 'latest technological progress'.

The 1930s witnessed the widespread shift of Chinese architects from European classical appearances to Chinese classical ones, as well as an increasing variety within the Westerner-designed buildings. Apart from the slowly increasing modernist architecture, mainly residences of wealthy owners, and large-scale Art Deco apartments, the old idea of gaining China's admiration through constructing a grand Western model was replaced by orientalist reflection:

*Judging by the photographs of the Shanghai sea front, it appears that Western civilisation, as expressed in "Renaissance Palaces", has entirely dominated the European quarters of the city, to a greater extent even than in Bombay, where an Oriental flavour has been admitted. This complete Westernising of Oriental towns is surely an architectural disaster, and it is a good sign that more and more local character is now being sought. The French, in Algiers, turned out another Marseilles, but when, some years later, French architects set to work on Tunis they seem to have realised the mistake of transporting the West bodily into the East, and the European Tunis, in consequence, became far more interesting. Our architectural treatment of Shanghai probably appears ill-mannered to the Chinese; we obtain a concession whatever to their architectural taste and traditions. (The Builder: 18 March 1927)*

The practical approach of such exoticism is to take Chinese architectural elements, such as DouGong, tubular tiled roof and sculptures of celestial animals or symbolised Chinese characters, as themes for decoration. The Bank of China building at ShangHai by Luke, H.S., together with Palmer and Turner in 1937, is one example. The seventeen-storey building is crowned by a pyramidal upturned roof with DouGongs. Some Chinese sculptural ornament was put on the shoulders of the main body, which was also dressed in two columns of lattice windows with the Zhong character. In their next commission, Palmer and Turner placed a set of male and female Chinese lions in front of the Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch building guarding the gate-like triple-entrance doorway. Two octagonal windows resemble the YinYang BaGua (Eight Trigrams) are opened in the balustrade above the main entrance, while a plaque on the top is guarded by two dragons. All play key roles in Chinoiserie orientalism. The Chinese elements were merely one of the many academic selections of Art Deco exoticism in China.

Some modernist experiments, for instance I.S.S. Picardie Apartments, and Gascogne Apartments, both by Minutti & Co. between 1934-35, started to appear in ShangHai. Sha argues that the modern movement in Chinese architecture occurred steadily without the ideological debates seen in Europe and, in point of fact, it was promoted by the same group of architects.<sup>124</sup> The eclecticism between styles can chiefly be found in Slovak architect Laszlo Hudec's (1892-1952) commissions. Both his Wood Residence and Grand Theatre projects in 1936-38 tell a clear modernist concept of using new materials, new technologies, and pure form that follows function removing any historical indication. Contrarily, in his Joint Savings Society Building (1937), a classicist combination of cornices, medallions and consoles suggests the different attitudes of Chinese bankers and modern Chinese merchants.

It was suggested earlier that the architects and students of St. John's were the major Chinese figures in the modernist architecture movements in China. The other figure was Chuang, Tsin, and ShangHai again was the centre of the architectural experiments. After experiencing a (Western) Neo-Classical bank (1928), then an Art Deco market (1932), Chuang introduced the philosophy of modernism in the 1935 edition of *The Chinese Architect* and produced a modernist hospital for obstetrics and gynaecology in ShangHai. Rowe and Kuan additionally suggest that Allied Architects' Victoria Nurses' Dormitory project in 1930 is the model modernist building of the period.<sup>125</sup>

After the Pacific War ended, the modernist Chinese architects had a brief time to practice their ideas mostly on dwelling projects. However, as Sha argues, the influence of European modernist students of the 1940s is minor in China for lack of practice in Mainland China, and Rowe and Kuan add that it was immediately replaced by the Soviet influence.<sup>126</sup> The Bauhaus practices were criticised as 'Western capitalist' in Maoist China. The nationalist Big-Roof architecture continued to be a national style under the guideline of 'socialist

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<sup>124</sup> Sha, *A Comparative Research between China and Japan on Development of Architecture in Modern Times*, p. 91.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92; Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, p. 61.

<sup>126</sup> Sha, *A Comparative Research between China and Japan on Development of Architecture in Modern Times*, p. 155; Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*.

content and national form'. Integrating Soviet socialism and Chinese nationalism, the peoples' aesthetics for new China again embraced Chinese neo-classicism. After the completion of the simplified neoclassical Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall in 1977,<sup>127</sup> in contest with the defeated Nationalist government's grand neoclassical Chiang, Kai-Shek's Memorial Hall of 1976 in Taipei, both authorities continued their ideology of grand China traditionalism for another few decades. Ironically, these seemingly-backward practices<sup>128</sup> later became caught up in the trend of postmodernism.

## **The Establishment and Withdrawal of the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works**

### **Two Cosmologies**

In the series *The History of the King's Works* it is stated that the accommodation for the British diplomats was usually rented and only purchased in special circumstances, such as premises in Paris, Constantinople and Madrid which were built or altered by the British Works Department before 1851. One of the difficulties, says Port and Crinson adds, for the erection of the ambassadorial residence at Constantinople (1843-51, £78,000 in total) was the limited availability of local workmanship. In contrast, the Paris and Madrid embassies faced little difficulty in terms of obtaining materials, local builders and designs.<sup>129</sup>

Within the cultural sphere of the Chinese Empire, embassy missions between foreign countries and the Aisin Gioro's Empire of China were placed under a different cosmology. The relation between sovereign and his subjects in the Far East was interpreted as a relationship between the representative of heaven and his dependencies, which received reorganisation and a place on earth from the son of heaven annually.<sup>130</sup> This system was not only undertaken by the Chinese Empire

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<sup>127</sup> Wu, 'Bauhaus' Influence in Shanghai'; Rowe and Kuan, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China*, pp. 92-106.

<sup>128</sup> The Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall received criticisms from Japanese modernist architect Isozaki, Arata, see Muramatsu, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', pp. 1-2.

<sup>129</sup> Crook, J. Mordaunt and Port, M. H. (eds.), *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M. Colvin VI vols. (VI; London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1973), pp. 633-39; Crinson, Mark, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 128.

<sup>130</sup> As described in 2.1, the Tribute System, firstly presented by Fairbank is one of the rituals practised by the Son of Heaven and the dependencies. The fundamental philosophy that

as early as the crowning of its First Emperor (221 B.C.), but also by other kingdoms, the Nguyen Phuc of Vietnam and the Yi of Korea, for instance.<sup>131</sup> Therefore, the European expectation of an exclusive accommodation to house the stationed representatives from foreign nations in order to negotiate affairs on an equal basis for both parties was hardly appropriate for these countries. Residences annually prepared for the foreign embassies in order to rest, to rehearse rituals, and dress-up for ceremonies were what were considered satisfactory for China.

The Marcartney Embassy of 1793 was expected by the Chinese to follow standard principles of receiving investiture from Emperor Ch'ienLung through a series of ceremonies, regardless of the foreigners' requests. England's intention of establishing equality in trade and politics failed due to a misinterpretation of the nature of the rituals. However, the establishment of diplomatic services based on European standards was finally set up after 1840. The European diplomatic system of consular services was regulated through a treaty after the first Anglo-Chinese War, and later the Convention of PeKing of 1860 also recognised Western representatives in the capital. A corresponding ministry of the Chinese court was established and placed before all other ministries of state. As Hevia puts it, 'the foreign representatives made clear that the most important business of the Qing government would henceforth be its relations with the eleven foreign powers who signed the protocol [of PeKing in 1900]' and furthermore, 'at the level of the formalized routines and rituals of international relations, that Qing sovereignty was thoroughly and conclusively reordered'.<sup>132</sup>

Present-day envoys like Coates and Hoare maintain the idea that British sought equality in trade and diplomacy with the Chinese,<sup>133</sup> while it is believed on the Chinese side that it was a series of unequal treaties following the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 that brought China into the state of a semi-colony.<sup>134</sup> In studies of architectural history, the idea that consular and diplomatic establishments by

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organised such international relationship as well as mental cosmos in the East Asia is Li, or propriety.

<sup>131</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Teng, Ssu-Yu, 'On The Ch'ing Tributary System', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 6/2 (1941), 135-246.

<sup>132</sup> Hevia, *English Lessons*, pp. 249-50.

<sup>133</sup> Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present*, p. 5.

<sup>134</sup> Li et al., *History of Modern Chinese*; Tsiang, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History*, pp. 16-21; Hu, *From the Opium Wars to the May Fourth Movement*; Zheng, *The History of Modern China*.

the foreigners were the imperialist and colonialist representations of economic expansion and political suppression has been widely accepted by the Chinese public and by Chinese scholars, as shown earlier.

### **Establishment and Withdrawal**

As with Port's claims about the Constantinople Embassy, scholarly opinions about public involvement of the British Consulates to the Far East also refer to insufficient facilities, an unaccommodating climate and the unsanitary environment for foreigners, as well as local hostility. The need for purpose-built accommodation to house the consular works and residence was recognised by the home office after repeated requests submitted by the consuls.<sup>135</sup> The documents record the difficulties of finding accommodation, of obtaining satisfactory workmanship, and of predicting expenses as the three major reasons.<sup>136</sup>

Izumida notes that the construction and maintenance of diplomatic and consular buildings were under competent hands locally. The works in Japan were taken care of by Royal Engineers stationed at Yokohama. In China, buildings fell initially under the supervision of the Surveyor General's Office of the British Hong Kong government. Funds came from the financial body of the colonial government until 1860. Projects carried out in the Surveyor General's Office included the residence for student interpreters in the ShangHai Consulate designed in 1857, and the FooChow Consulate in 1858, both under the control of Acting Surveyor General Theo. H. Walker. In addition the YaMen of the CanTon Consulate in 1859 by C. St. G. Clevary and the layout of the ShaMeen Concession were supervised by the HongKong colony. A third way was to recruit the help of Western professionals based locally.<sup>137</sup>

From 1860 to 1866, funds for consulates came from the Foreign Office, voted with the Treasury's sanction. The HongKong Surveyor General and private architects were the main designers of the consulate architecture.<sup>138</sup> It can be read in the documents of the Treasury minutes that the consulate buildings at the first five ports were deteriorating physically, and a considerable sum of money was

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<sup>135</sup> Izumida, Hideo, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part I', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan*, 15 (1990), 93-104.

<sup>136</sup> WORK 10/430 'Treasury', 27 March 1965 Foreign Office Memorandum.

<sup>137</sup> WORK 10/430, 21 November 1865 PeKing Legation to F.O.; Izumida, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part I'.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

spent on repairs. However, it was still difficult for the British to make connections with the local guilds of carpenters or masons, so the figures on erection and maintenance were variable and unpredictable.<sup>139</sup> The most important compound after that at CanTon in China was ShangHai, where £3,033 was spent initially on obtaining land, and £18,317 on erecting and repairing the consulate buildings before 1865. As regards CanTon, the Parliament approved total £9,000 for new dwellings for consul officers in 1863. In the meantime, declining economic interest after HongKong was taken on as the new economic and political headquarters in the Far East gave the Foreign Office reasons to close down the Macau consulate – an important post during the Thirteen Hong period.<sup>140</sup>

The first file in the archives of the Office of Works associated with the physical establishment of consulates in China starts with an official letter from the Treasury to an officer of the Royal Engineers, William Crossman (1830-1901) dated 26 February 1866. He was requested to investigate the conditions of the consular posts in China and Japan, and to produce a report on the estimates and plans for each consulate. The Treasury considered that Crossman's service would provide more direct supervision of the expenses, together with standardising the procedure for erecting and maintaining structures for the British establishment in the Far East.<sup>141</sup> Although the want of standardisation was one of the causes, the possibilities of corruption are not mentioned in the archives or in Izumida's research. Nonetheless comparisons between Customs institutes were frequently made in reports, and the excessive use of space by the consulate along the YangTze River was noted to 'hardly appear justifiable' by Crossman after his investigation.<sup>142</sup>

The reason for choosing a Royal Engineer instead of an RIBA qualified architect, was to reduce the service costs.<sup>143</sup> According to Izumida's paper, it also seems that the Royal Engineers were more experienced in tropical conditions and in the fast production of fireproofing and buildings.<sup>144</sup> The connection between

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<sup>139</sup> WORK 10/430, 27 March 1965 Foreign Office Memorandum.

<sup>140</sup> WORK 10/430, 22 December 1865 Treasury Minutes.

<sup>141</sup> WORK 10/430, 26 February 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman.

<sup>142</sup> WORK 10/56/3 '*China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman*', 29 November 1866 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>143</sup> WORK 10/430, 22 December 1865 Treasury Minutes.

<sup>144</sup> Izumida, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part I'.

works departments of the British colonies and the engineering corps has also been discussed in the history of the Indian Public Works Department.<sup>145</sup> William Crossman's career involved public and military works in colonies such as Australia and Canada. However, China was his first oriental experience.<sup>146</sup>

From the viewpoint of the Treasury, fourteen consulate posts needed governmental funds, including CanTon, SwaTow, AMoy, FooChow Foo, NingPo, ShangHai, TaiWan Foo, ChinKiang, KiuKoang, HanKow, CheFoo, TienTsin, NewChwang, and Macau, which was then a Portugal colony.<sup>147</sup> In addition to the consul establishments, a palace at PeKing had also been occupied by the Legation. The Foreign Office also considered setting up a vice consular service at WhamPoa, a few miles downstream from the City of CanTon, due to British ships being blocked from reaching the coast of CanTon by Chinese forces.<sup>148</sup>

In the Treasury and PeKing Minister's instruction letters of early 1866, Crossman was advised to visit first the southern costal posts including the Formosa and Ch'aoChow Islands, then the YangTze River posts, setting sail from ShangHai. After he had gone on to visit the Northern consulates, the British Minister to PeKing R. Alcock would receive him at the Legation. Afterwards the consulates in Japan were on his schedule.<sup>149</sup>

In February 1867 the PeKing Legation informed all consuls in China that expenditure on buildings was not to be paid without Crossman's sanction, and that the Legation was going to act as supporter of the consul's requests. Funding for the AMoy Consulate was withdrawn after PeKing's notice.<sup>150</sup>

Crossman spent his first year travelling first to Japan then to South China, North China, and up the YangTzi River to examine sites. A year after his arrival,

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<sup>145</sup> Cuddy, Brendan and Mansell, Tony, 'Engineers for India: The Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill', *History of Education*, 23/1 (1994), 107-123.

<sup>146</sup> Vetch, R. H, 'Crossman, Sir William (1830-1901)', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>147</sup> Located in a colony of the Western nation, the Macau consulate can be an academically interesting case for comparison to understand what would the British have done under a slightly different political condition. Unfortunately, no record exists in the WORK category of the National Archive despite numerous of consul reports in the Foreign Office records. It will consume a great deal of time to examine all these documents.

<sup>148</sup> WORK 10/430, 22 December 1865 Treasury Minutes; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 108.

<sup>149</sup> WORK 10/430, 26 February 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440 'Letters from Sir R. Alcock', 28 April 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman

<sup>150</sup> WORK 10/431 'Treasury', February 1867 PeKing Legation to China Consulates, 23 February 1867 R. Alcock to AMoy Consulate, 20 March 1867 AMoy Consulate to PeKing Legation, 17 April 1867 R. Alcock to AMoy Consulate, 4 May 1867 PeKing Legation to Treasury.

Robert H. Boyce was sent to ShangHai to assist him as Clerk of Works in early 1867.<sup>151</sup> Provision of surveying instruments, accommodation and offices as well as an assistant clerk were sorted out one after another.<sup>152</sup> However, complaints of inefficiency were soon brought to the Foreign Office by ministers in PeKing; while at the same time the Treasury asked Crossman to concentrate only on crucial projects postponing the completion time of some buildings to save the budget till the next year.<sup>153</sup>

An independent division of the Office of Works was finally recognised by the British government as necessary in the Far East. Proposing construction projects after that followed the procedure at home and thus required delivery by the ShangHai Division to the London Office, and then to the Foreign Office. When the estimate was supported by the Treasury, it was presented to Parliament for approval. This procedure had been set up after the reform of the Office in the early nineteenth century.<sup>154</sup> The approved funds were sent by the Treasury to the Office of Works at ShangHai instead of to consular accounts before contractors could receive the payment.

In early 1872, the Office of Works took over the erection and maintenance of consular architecture in the Far East from the Foreign Office.<sup>155</sup> Two British Legations in China and Japan were informed in August.<sup>156</sup> The material consulted in this research is mostly correspondence between the Office of Works and its Far Eastern Division, the Treasury, the Foreign Office, and its Consulates.

In Izumida's paper, the changes in the heads and assistants of the ShangHai Division as well as the erection projects are tabulated. The East Asia works had two peaks – the first after Major Crossman landed in ShangHai in 1866 remaining

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<sup>151</sup> WORK 10/430, 20 October 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 25 January 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>152</sup> WORK 10/430, 27 February 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 9 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 26 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury; WORK 10/431, 3 May 1867 Treasury to W. Crossman, 16 April 1867 Treasury to W. Crossman, 3 May 1867 Treasury to W. Crossman.

<sup>153</sup> WORK 10/430, 11 March 1867 Treasury to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, April 1867 to Foreign Office, 16 December 1866 R. Alcock to Foreign Office.

<sup>154</sup> Crook and Port (eds.), *The History of the King's Works*, p. 104.

<sup>155</sup> WORK 10/56/4 'Transfer of charge of expenditure in respect of rents and taxes of diplomatic and consular buildings in China and Japan from the Foreign Office Vote to the Office of Works Vote', 1 February 1872 Office of Works to Treasury, 12 February 1872 Treasury to Office of Works, 22 February 1872 Foreign Office to Treasury, 2 March 1872 Treasury to F.O., 7 March 1872 F.O. to Japan and China Legation, 21 March 1872 Treasury to F.O.

<sup>156</sup> WORK 10/56/4, 21 August 1872 F.O. to Japan and China Legation.



until the mid 1880's, and the second from 1900 to 1920 as the consequence of renewed treaties.<sup>157</sup> However, Britain's financial status during and after the war reduced the allowance for services abroad, including for the Empire's public works departments in colonies and semi-colonies.<sup>158</sup> As stated in communications from the then head of the ShangHai Office – T.S.M. Terrace, the social and economic circumstances in ShangHai were unstable in terms of public health, freedom, currency rate and merchandise prices after 1945. In addition, British firms, presumably including contractors and suppliers of building materials, no longer existed in ShangHai to assist the Far Eastern Division.<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, as a Crown Colony, HongKong was reckoned geographically, politically, financially and hygienically appropriate as a place to set up the Ministry of Works's Far Eastern Headquarters.<sup>160</sup>

In a work review of the divisions of the British Ministry of Works from the imperial perspective, Cairo, New Delhi, Singapore, Rangoon, Bangkok and ShangHai were all on the list.<sup>161</sup> Most importantly on grounds of finance, it was estimated that the annual cost of £40,000 could be reduced to fifty percent if the office was transferred to HongKong.<sup>162</sup> Disadvantages, such as uncertainty of accommodation and doubts about HongKong's future, together with the need for months of adjustment, were seen as outweighed by the benefits.<sup>163</sup> A conclusion was reached between the three major bodies – the Ministry of Works, Foreign Office, and Treasury, as late as January 1949.<sup>164</sup> Accommodation was secured in September, but only temporarily.<sup>165</sup> The transfer of the Far Eastern Office, except

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<sup>157</sup> Izumida, Hideo, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part II', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan*, 16 (1991), 78-91.

<sup>158</sup> WORK 22/239 'Removal of Ministry of Works office from Shanghai to Hong Kong', 18 January 1947 Treasury.

<sup>159</sup> WORK 22/239, 3 December 1947 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>160</sup> WORK 22/239, 24 October 1947 Ministry of Works, Cairo to Ministry of Works, London, 3 December 1947 ShangHai Office to London Office, 12 January 1948 G.C. Wilson to Chief Architect Rutter, 13 January 1948, 19 February 1948.

<sup>161</sup> WORK 22/239, 24 October 1947 Ministry of Works, Cairo to Ministry of Works, London, 4 May 1948 to London Office.

<sup>162</sup> WORK 22/239, 24 October 1947 Ministry of Works, Cairo to Ministry of Works, London, 4 May 1948 to London Office.

<sup>163</sup> 17 advantages against 4 were listed in the appendix of the 3 December 1947 ShangHai Office to London Office despatch.

<sup>164</sup> WORK 22/239, 17 June 1948 British Embassy, NanKing to F.O., 9 August 1948 G.C. Wilson to R. Turner; January 1949 W.S.A. Winter to Secretary.

<sup>165</sup> WORK 22/239, 27 April 1949 ShangHai Office to London Office, 28 September 1949 London

for a clerk of works stationed in ShangHai, was not completed until four operative Chinese members of the division moved to HongKong with the rest of the remaining staff in 1950.<sup>166</sup> Adjustment to the currency, salaries, families, residences and final office and reorganisation of works and staff took at least another half year.<sup>167</sup>

The responsibility of the Far Eastern Headquarters included China, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. Resident clerks were stationed in PeKing, ShangHai, Tokyo and Singapore. The establishment were divided into Chief Architects, Engineering, Supplies divisions, and Works General Branch, together with resident clerks. The employees in June 1950 were nine Chinese staff, which included one technical assistant, two clerks, two draftsmen, one typist, one storekeeper, one office boy and one driver, and five British staff including senior architect, technology officer, assistant surveyor, chief clerk and one part-time stenographer. A further four Chinese positions – at least two draftsmen, messenger and godown (warehouse) coolie were requested. Western staff recruited were one secretary/ typist to assist the head of office and a deputy clerical assistant for the chief clerk. Local membership applied to a greater proportion but a less permanent part of the staff.<sup>168</sup>

## Summary

A number of scholarly contradictions can be found in details of these arguments, but they are less known in academia. In term of the building techniques, the way in which Chinese builders equipped themselves with the knowledge of iron or steel building elements, which was also relatively new to the

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Office, 13 February 1950 London Office to ShangHai Office.

<sup>166</sup> WORK 22/239, 1 November 1949 L.W. Johnson to R. Turner, 3 November 1949 Ministry of Works to Treasury, 8 February 1950 ShangHai Office to London Office, 13 February 1950 Memorandum, London Office, 22 February 1950 Minutes, London, 22 February 1950 ShangHai Office to London Office, 3 March 1950 London Office, 15 April 1950 Memorandum, London, 10 May 1950 Memorandum, London Office, 22 May 1950 Memorandum, London Office, 5 June 1950 HongKong Office to London Office.

<sup>167</sup> WORK 22/239, 12 December 1949 Ministry of Works to Treasury, 20 December 1949 Treasury to Ministry of Works, 3 January 1950 L.W. Jhonson to Chief Architect, 6 January 1950 Foreign Office to ShangHai Consulate General, 13 January 1950 ShangHai Consulate to Foreign Office, 21 September 1950 HongKon Office to London Office, 23 September 1950 Memorandum, London, 5 December 1950 Memorandum, London.

<sup>168</sup> WORK 22/239, 17 April 1950 Memo, London, 31 May 1950 HongKong Office to London Office, 15 June 1950 HongKong Office to London Office, 19 October 1951 HongKong Office to London Office, 1 July 1950 Memo, London.

European world, is taken for granted by nationalist assumptions. In terms of ideologies and appearance of architecture, to link 'Chinese learning is for essential principles, and the Western learning is for practical functions' to the outcome of 'Chinese façade and Western spatial organisation' is another example of the lack of solid contemporary evidence.

In the next chapter, the research continues to review the present-day historiography of modern architecture in the East Asia. The origin for the arguments on the development of Chinese modern architecture as presented above is revealed.

## Chapter 3, Theoretical Background

*Evidence matters most to present-day scholars when they carry out research. An old Saying – ‘seeing is believing’ means supporting theories with existing evidence so that it meets the scientific requirement. In terms of studying the plastic arts, the most important method is to actually examine the authentic work... Studying architecture also depends on this principle... Therefore, studying ancient buildings cannot be achieved without investigating and surveying the heritage on site. (Liang 1932, in 2001: 161)*

# A Theoretical Review of Modern Architecture in China

## Narratives of East Asian architecture

The most commonly practised study method of architectural history in the Far East is to match up historical records with existing archaeological evidence, such as structures, architecture or ruins.

The research method carried out on the history of architecture in Far Eastern countries is more or less laid down since Ito, Chuta (1867-1954) published his work *The History of Chinese Architecture*. Ito wrote in 1931 that 'the methodology for Chinese architectural research is, first to study historic records, [including calligraphy, painting, ritual vessels and sculptures] and second to examine existing buildings in the field. The result would be concluded as self-evident truth if the achievements of the two methods could match up to one other'<sup>1</sup>. In the same year, Liang Ssu-ch'eng (1901-1972) joined the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (Chung-kuo Ying-tsao Heueh-she, YTHS) and continued his study on the *Ying-tsao fa-shih* or *YingZao FaShi* (1103) – the Chinese *De Architectura*. Liang believed that apart from the classics 'the only reliable sources of information are the buildings themselves and the only available teachers are the craftsmen'<sup>2</sup>.

This not only marks Ito, Chuta's practice as the beginning of the modern historiography of Far-Eastern architecture, but also because of his motivation, marks the beginning of architecture as an expression of nationalism in the Far East. In other words, the establishment of a modern historiography of Far Eastern architecture was driven by the desire for nationalism and the forming of a nationalist country.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ito, Chuta, *The History of Chinese Architecture*, eds Yunwu Wang and Weiping Fu, trans. Qingquan Chen (Taipei: The Taiwan Commercial Press, 1937), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: a study of the development of its structural system and the evolution of its types*, ed. Wilma Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1984), pp. xv-xvi.

<sup>3</sup> For readers who are unfamiliar with the Chinese context and its history of architecture, Li's papers in English provide an entrance to understand the role of the Liangs, father and son, in Li, Shiqiao, 'Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 56 (2002), 35-45. However for more detailed examinations of Liang's nationalist, positivist and rationalist attitudes toward the history of Chinese architecture, Hsia provides a well-organised criticism in Chinese, see Hsia, Chu-Joe, *Space, History and Society: Selected papers 1987-1992* (Taipei: Radical Quarterly in Social Studies Research Series, 1993), pp. 1-40. As to nationalism in Japanese architectural historians, see Muramatsu, Shin, 'An Architectural History of Colonialism and its Descendants: Dreams of

Before the appearance of imported types of architecture – mainly the prolific appearance of buildings in Western styles – the Chinese objective in studying architecture had been different. Intellectuals were interested in Feng-Shui to seek the harmony in Chi/ energy between humankind, heaven and earth. The literature about this covers a wide range. At the same time the authorities focused on regulating standards and styles in order to meet expenses and to manage social status.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, whether they were scholarly or administrative efforts, the results are almost entirely textual and literary. Furthermore, Chinese attitudes toward architecture showed little concern for material aspects such as their physical preservation but were more concerned with renewal, as Needham and Ruitenbeek's argument shown in Chapter 2. The archaeological approach of Ito's method imported the materialist essence of the European tradition of architectural study into the Far Eastern intellectual community for the first time.

It would be incomplete to discuss the modern historiography of architecture in the Far East without bringing nationalism into the discussion. Despite its strong influence over the entire architectural education system, this nationalist tendency is addressed only by a minority of academic works, and often lies hidden behind the positivism of an archaeological approach. Ito's demonstration, linking the Horyuji Temple in Nara to the classic order of Greek architecture in 1893,<sup>5</sup> provides clear evidence. The links between Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng and Ito are unclear to this research for lack of direct evidence, but Liang's version of the Chinese Order in the early 1940's is another nationalist manifesto in architectural language.<sup>6</sup> Their attempts were certainly part of the practices of 'learn from the foreigners in order to compete with the foreigners', or *vice versa*.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless

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Architectural Historians Who Served the Army.' *International Symposium on Urban and Architectural Histories under Colonial Rule in Asia* (Taipei, 2000), 1-15.

<sup>4</sup> Among the examples, the *YingZao FaShi* (1103 A.D.) is one of the most recognised references world wide. The first English scholarly account that recognises its importance is Yetts's paper in 1926, see Yetts, W. Perceval, 'A Chinese Treatise on Architecture', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 4/3 (1926), 473-92. This research uses later copies inherited from the *YingZao FaShi*, such as the Chapters concerning duties of the Ministry of Works in different editions of the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, whose dates of publication cover the time range of this research.

<sup>5</sup> Muramatsu, 'An Architectural History of Colonialism and its Descendants: Dreams of Architectural Historians Who Served the Army.'

<sup>6</sup> Liang, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Wei, Yuan's slogan appeared right after the first armed encounter of Ching and Britain Empires, see Chapter 2. To apply Hevia's argument, both Ito and Liang's efforts came later than the

they also put Far Eastern architecture into the global context in a way that was compatible with the Euro-American standards, as noted by Li.<sup>8</sup>

The blind spot in the positivist approach has been presented in the Methodology section. The major issue is a researcher's ideological unawareness due to cultural, social and historical distance. Even Ito and Liang's seemingly rational use of survey tools and dimensioned drawings has unconsciously excluded the idealism of human experience and human scale in tradition, as argued by Hsia,<sup>9</sup> as well as aspects of the social context such as the processes and rituals of construction. Needless to say Feng-Shui, astrology and rituals that offered an important possibility for research are completely regarded as superstitious and backward.

Nevertheless, the historical practice provided a practical method to collect historic evidences as well as to weave a pattern of modern architectural history in China or Japan. It has been practised by more than five generations of architectural historians since Ito and Liang. Research on modern architecture also adopts positivism as its major research method by a great number of scholars in the Far East. The researchers referred to in this thesis, Fujimori, Izumida, Nishizawa, Zhang, Huang and part of Muramatsu's works for instance, including their studies on the consulate buildings in China, Korea and Japan, were carried out under this principle. Nonetheless, to apply positivism in their research does not automatically make the results a collection of historic evidence without perspectives. From the nationalist age of Liang and Ito to present day research concerning the history of modern architecture in the Far East, the arrival of modernity has been the main interest of a great part of academia.

### **Modernity, colonialism and Orientalism**

The meaning of modern, or modernity and its nature can hardly be omitted in the scholarly discussions of China/Western cultural interaction after the first Anglo-Chinese war. A great deal of historical publishing has devoted energy to literature, socio-political development and medical enlightenment (Schwarcz 1990; Lee 1999; Goldman and Lee 2002; Rogaski 2004). The modern architecture in the

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Westerner's discipline and thus can be seen to be one of the results of English Lessons, which is discussed in more details later.

<sup>8</sup> Li, 'Writing a Modern Chinese Architectural History: Liang Sicheng and Liang Qichao'.

<sup>9</sup> Hsia, *Space, History and Society: Selected papers 1987-1992*, p. 29.

Far East also attracts researchers in search of the definition of modernity. At the same time, almost all researchers in different disciplines agree with historians that the modern period in the Far East started with the Opium War. However, there is slight diversity in the meaning of 'modern' between fields.

Scholarly opinion identifies the modern period to describe the development of the built environment since the Opium Wars (1842), though the Chinese expression for it is usually JinDai (近代, Near-Period),<sup>10</sup> which refers to a period between classic and the modern/ present times. To name it as pre-Modern or near-Modern indicates that there are still debates about the quality of modernity of the buildings constructed then, whether the reason given is from a nationalist viewpoint claiming that they represent the colonialist invention of Western Imperialism, or whether they are simply regarded as not historically distant enough despite technological, ideological and aesthetic progress.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, some accept the term 'modern' but add 'colonial' as its adjective to emphasise the incompleteness, dependency and passive nature without reflexivity that were characteristic of the time. Hsia, Chu-Joe is one of the examples.<sup>12</sup>

The broadest yet plainest idea is given by Berman and Calinescu: that the state of being modern means consciously realising the difference, including changes in physical environment, whatever the emotional status,<sup>13</sup> although it is an entirely western idea developed after the Renaissance. Regardless of how the sense of time in China or in East Asian societies might have been experienced before the second half of the nineteenth century, a break with the past was clearly experienced after the 1840's – firstly by the elites, and then gradually by the general public. It is also impossible to bring back that sense now. That is to say the

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<sup>10</sup> Japanese also use kanji 近代 (きんだい, kindai) to refer to the same period, but it clearly means modern or modernising period, when Japan gone through the transformation of westernisation. The struggle between 近代 (near-period) and 現代 (now-period) only occurs in Chinese-speaking academia.

<sup>11</sup> Zhao, Guowen, 'Period-dividing Problem in Chinese Architecture 1840-1949', *The First Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Beijing: Huazhon Architecture, 1987).

<sup>12</sup> Hsia, Chu-Joe, 'Building Colonial Modernity: Rewriting Histories of Architecture and Urbanism in the Colonial Taiwan', *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 40 (2000), 47-82; Hsia, Chu-Joe, 'Theorizing Colonial Architecture and Urbanism: Building Colonial Modernity in Taiwan', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 3/1 (2002), 7-23.

<sup>13</sup> Berman, Marshall, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: the experience of modernity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982); Calinescu, Matei, *Five Faces of Modernity: modernism, avant-garde, decadence, kitsch, postmodernism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), pp. 3-5.



idea of modernity, including all the attempts to define or research it, is the consequence of being in a modernised society or of being westernised. Nonetheless, there are variations in the characteristics of modernity in the East Asia. This research thus only uses Modern architecture with capital M when it refers to the present-day scholarly that uses JinDai.

For the first category of definition the introduction of bungalow with verandah – entitled ‘Verandah Colonial Style’ meant a new type of building as well as a new philosophy of construction, so marks the origin of Modern architecture in China.<sup>14</sup> According to Fujimori, the verandah is widely accepted to be a distinctive construction of Modern architecture, and their existence served a climatic adaptation to the tropical weather.<sup>15</sup> Lin and Fu address the same phenomenon in colonised Formosa and add to it other practices aimed to achieve a comfortable and sanitary environment of colonialism in an economical and sustainable means.<sup>16</sup> Few except Izumida and Yeoh regard such buildings as a ‘contested space between European and Asian values’.<sup>17</sup>

The architectural language and grammars of Modern architecture have been extensively studied as well as their developments and cultural meanings. Dai, Ou and Luo hold that, being one type of Modern architecture, the British consulate architecture symbolised the colonialist and imperialist invasion of western countries on China and its people.<sup>18</sup> Zhang further argues that it was the eclecticism, rather than the modernism practised on most of the western legation

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<sup>14</sup> Fujimori, Terunobu, ‘Verandah Style: The Origin of Chinese Modern Architecture’, *The Fourth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Chongqing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993b).

<sup>15</sup> Shen, Fuxu and Huang, Guoxin (eds.), *A Glancing at Shanghai's Modern Architecture* (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2003); Editors of Shanghai's Historic Buildings (ed.), *Shanghai's Historic Buildings* (Beijing: Guangming Daily Press, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Lin, Szu-Ling, ‘The Experiences of Climatic and Environmental Modification on Colonial Architecture during Japanese Period’, (National Cheng Kung University, 2006); Lin, Szu-Ling and Fu, Chao-Ching, ‘Climatic and Environmental Modification---Knowledge System of Tropical Architecture during the Japanese Colonial Period in Taiwan’, *Journal of Architecture*, /59 (2007), 1-24.

<sup>17</sup> Yeoh, Brenda S. A., *Contesting Space: Power relations and the urban built environment in colonial Singapore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 243-71; Izumida, Hideo, ‘Kaki Lima as Contesting Space between European and Asian Values’, in Agus Saladin and Agus Budi Purnomo (eds.), *International Seminar Malay Architecture as Lingua France* (Jakarta: Trisakti University, 2005), 25-32.

<sup>18</sup> Dai, Zhigong, ‘Ensemble of the Former British Consulate at Zhenjiang’, *The First Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Beijing: Huazhon Architecture, 1987); Ou, Jie and Luo, Linhai, ‘The Modern Embassies in Shameen, Guangzhou’, *2000 International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture* (Guangzhou, Macou, 2000).

architecture in PeKing, that signified Western imperialist architecture's backwardness instead of advance.<sup>19</sup> Based on oral evidence that he collected from elder local villagers of ZhenJiang, Dai further argues that labour exploitation of thousands of Chinese builders was one form of British colonialism with the direct assistance of Ching officials.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, Japanese academia is more interested in clarifying historical facts and providing a general framework and characteristic of that period in architecture. It can be seen that the fields are carefully defined within Japanese academia, and Izumida, Hideo seems to be the scholar responsible for examining the British architects, including the British Office of Works, and their practices in the East and Southeast Asia (1989; 1990; 1991b; 1991a; 2003). Izumida's results provide useful information, including clear graphics and documents for pilot study before going to the UK National Archives. His typological perspective and period division are important reference for this research.

Other research on the architects and their theory along with their contribution to modernisation is becoming established. However most of the focus is on Western architects (Muramatsu 1993; Cody 2001; Izumida 2003), while Chinese or foreign contractors receive little attention (He 1990; Delande 1998). Not to mention the Chinese builders who had first hand experience with these colonialist or Modern architecture.

Another group of researchers cares little about the origin, typology or period divisions of Modern architecture, concerned instead with its ideological nature and its processes and consequences of enforcement. This approach is mainly achieved by linking it to colonialism or Orientalism. Firstly, the phenomenon that nationalist identities were intensively reproduced through architecture is pointed out by Muramatsu and Fujimori.<sup>21</sup> Cody argues in the case of Nationalist China that this initiated architectural modernity, and Izumida suggests that the same occurrence was led by the British authorities and architects in their Southeast

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<sup>19</sup> Zhang, Fuhe, 'A Historical Conception of the Dongjiaominxiang Letation Boudaries', *The First Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Beijing: Huazhon Architecture, 1987).

<sup>20</sup> Dai, Zhigong, 'Ensemble of the Former British Consulate at Zhenjiang', *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Muramatsu, Shin, 'A Research on the Transformation of Architectural Production System and the Traditionalisation of Architectural Design in China -1840~1977-', PhD (University of Tokyo, 1987); Fujimori, Terunobu, *Japan's Modern Architecture 2nd Vol. Taisho, Showa Periods*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993a).

Asian colonies.<sup>22</sup>

However, Hsia maintains, it is also a phenomenon of colonial modernity that the European standards were imposed on a society within a short time without awareness or reflection.<sup>23</sup> Despite the strong will to modernise, there was resistance and for Yeoh it is not just a model of superiority from the British Empire but also one of contested relations between colonialists and colonised.<sup>24</sup> She also argues, together with Scriver and Walker, that the space in-between – the hybridity of the spatial structure in the colonial societies – is mainly the colonisers' statement, imagination or ambition for modernity, even it was enacted in cooperation with the natives.<sup>25</sup>

As regarding the subsequent works of Said and his *Orientalism*, King, Crinson and Scriver suggest that when India was submitted to government under the crown, the British consciously mixed India's past into a new type of building 'bungalow' and new type of style 'Indo-Saracenic' after 1857 when Indians were up against British.<sup>26</sup> Conditions in Malaysia, Thailand, China, Japan and Korea suggested that the British intentionally repeated same pattern on the layout of treaty ports as well as architecture in each case.

Hobsbawn's *Invention of Tradition* reminds that it created an opportunity to invent a new disciplines and a new social order for colonised society.<sup>27</sup> This

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<sup>22</sup> Cody, Jeffrey W., *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture", 1914-1935* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2001); Izumida, Hideo, 'British Architects in East and Southeast Asia 1830-1940', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 2/2 (2003), 131-136.

<sup>23</sup> Hsia, 'Building Colonial Modernity: Rewriting Histories of Architecture and Urbanism in the Colonial Taiwan'; Hsia, 'Theorizing Colonial Architecture and Urbanism: Building Colonial Modernity in Taiwan'.

<sup>24</sup> Yeoh, *Contesting Space: Power relations and the urban built environment in colonial Singapore*, pp. 9-14.

<sup>25</sup> Scriver, Peter, 'Empire-Building and Thinking in the Public Works Department of British India', in Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernity: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007a); Walker, Paul, 'Institutional Audiences and Architectural Style', in Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernity: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> King, Anthony D., *The Bungalow: the production of a global culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 38-42; Crinson, Mark, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 185-89, 231-232; Scriver, Peter, 'Stones and Texts: The Architecture Historiography of Colonial India and its Colonial-modern Contexts', in Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007b), pp. 32-33.

<sup>27</sup> Hobsbawn, Eric J. and Ranger, Terence (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

phenomenon, argued by Comaroff and Meyer, not only projected an orientalist imagination onto the colonised but also reshaped the self-consciousness of the colonised society to serve the colonial purposes of the colonial authorities and missionaries.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, Crinson's arguments already demythologise the existence of a concrete Imperialist image and suggest reconsidering the factors in relation to the host of cityscapes and environmental contexts.<sup>29</sup>

The above research on 'colonial modernity' analyses its enforcing processes and its relation with colonialism or imperialism. Their perspectives adopt the latest trends of Western theories, or the perspective of East-West opposition. It can also be argued that arguments regarding colonial modernity as passive and uncritical neglect other forms of modernity. Attempts to judge colonial architecture as an invasion of western values, such as by Dai, Ou and Luo, Hsia, Zhang, Comaroff and Mayer, fell under another form of Western ideological control. Typical of this is Zhang's criticism about the classical eclecticism of the legations; persuaded of the perspective of linear progress, he misses the historical fact that the modernist experiments, which he reckons were superior to the eclecticism, were in a minority occurring mainly in Europe. Most substantially, the materials used to form arguments were greatly reliant on the Western sources, such as publications and governmental archives.

### **English lessons**

Crinson notes the different architectural practices of informal colonialism in the Near East from that practised in the British colonies.<sup>30</sup> Hevia's suggestions try to put equal weight on East and West cultures and concentrate on their differences.<sup>31</sup> In architectural histories focusing on power and spaces relations, Yeoh, Hosagrahar and Chattopadhyay have started examples in their studies on respectively in Singapore, Delhi and Calcutta. Perspectives toward local tradition (from foreigners' view) and imported forms and types (from local view) are

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<sup>28</sup> Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, L. John, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*, 2 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1991); Meyer, Eric, "'I Know Thee Not, I Loathe Thy Race": Romantic Orientalism in the Eye of the Other', *ELH*, 58/3 (1991), 657-699.

<sup>29</sup> Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture*, pp. 8-10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 9.

<sup>31</sup> Hevia, James L., *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. xii; Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 15.

examined in their books.<sup>32</sup> The results provide a further and clearer definition of semi-colonialism. However, is the practice that is used to study urbanism in these books also practical to study the architecture inside the relatively small area of British consular compounds? Further, it is pointed by Hevia that there was a strategic difference between the Euro-American colonialism in China (possibly in Japan as well) and that in the rest of the Asia. Therefore, it is necessary to return to suggestions provided by cultural and historical scholarship.

Hevia re-examines historic evidence along with previous interpretations concerning the major events of the Anglo-Chinese encounters, from Macartney's Embassy of 1793 to the end of the Victorian Imperial time in the early twentieth century. The differences of cultures and customs between the two nations were hardly new from a scholarly aspect but in the book, Hevia points out that the *Li*, or rituals, were deserving of more attention in examining the failure of the Macartney mission, while Orientalism was responsible for the success of the mission. *English Lessons* provides clearer views to examine the projects of British semi-colonialism. Further, Hevia also notes how the 'English Lessons' live on and continue to shape the understanding of the Occident as well as the Far East itself toward China's past.

Reviewers have pointed out some shortcomings in *English Lessons*. Apart from a few insufficiencies in translation and missed references pointed out by Wong,<sup>33</sup> Green and Wong note a minor essence of Sino-Western perspectives, which have been established since first encounter of China with West, insisting on the use of the term 'Euroamerican', for example, that excuses the part played by American imperialism.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Waley-Cohen identifies Hevia's Occident-centred conception that conceives Chinese values being outside the European ones. The influence of overseas Chinese, such as those in the United States and Southeast Asia, was also excluded from Hevia's research, Waley-Cohen continues.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> See Literature Review.

<sup>33</sup> Wong, J.Y., 'Review of English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65/4 (2006), 805-807.

<sup>34</sup> Green, Judith, 'Review of English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 68/1 (2005), 158-59; Wong, 'Review of English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China'.

<sup>35</sup> Waley-Cohen, Joanna, 'Review of English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in

Views given by Zhang, Shunhong from the Institute of World History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences provide not only an intellectual response from China but also an alternative way of examining the influence of English semi-colonialism. First, the duality of colonialism, particularly on the construction side, which the English Lessons provide, is questioned. Zhang rejects Hevia's suggestion that colonialists did not intend to completely colonise China, but claims instead it was due to the 'Chinese people's unyielding resistance'. The stress on the necessity of evolution, nationalism and progress in Zhang's review, such as that the 'backward one would be beaten in a time of colonialism and imperialism', suggests that the influence of semi-colonialist pedagogy lies deep within the ideologies of Chinese scholars. In addition, the criticism about Britain making China 'perfectly equal' and the argument that 'No colonial power ever intended to teach China to become a country as powerful as itself', allude that Zhang misunderstood the Hevia's point in chapter 10 of *English Lessons*.<sup>36</sup>

To Hevia the 'English Lessons' meant 'repeated oscillations of deterritorialization and reterritorialization'. It applies to firstly, the record of the existing pattern of China as the British understood it, and then to the way the pattern was destroyed through wars, and finally to the way China was reshaped through treaties as the colonialist powers wanted.<sup>37</sup> Four apparatuses of the process are commerce, military technology, translation and sovereignty. The part which the built environment played can be read in the private ownership of lands<sup>38</sup> and properties and also in the physical appearance of houses, offices, bridges, statutes and factories.<sup>39</sup>

Inspired by Hevia's two books, this thesis places more weight on the Chinese classics and literature to discover the British officials' conception hidden beyond their phrases. In order to prevent the danger of repeating existing opinions it is

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nineteenth-century China', *China Quarterly*, 179 (2004), 843-45.

<sup>36</sup> Zhang, Shunhong, 'Review of English Lessons: The Pedagogy of Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century China', *European Review of History*, 12/1 (2005), 163-65.

<sup>37</sup> Hevia, *English Lessons*, pp. 50-52.

<sup>38</sup> Private ownership of lands did not exist in the Chinese society. The foreigners achieved it in a way of perpetual rent. Almost all foreign concessions and settlements were ceased in this way between Chinese government and the foreign consuls through legal documents. The acquired land was then divided and sold to individuals. It is perfectly legal in the European conception. See Xu, Gongsu and Qiu, Jinzhang, *Status of the Shanghai International Settlement* (Nanking: Academic Sinica, 1933), pp. 3-7.

<sup>39</sup> Hevia, *English Lessons*, p. 68.

necessary to examine the British correspondence in relation to the Chinese administration, Feng-Shui, statutes, hygiene and so on.

Despite his apparently convincing case, this research does not attempt to reproduce Hevia's framework. Hevia objects to Marx and Fairbank's conclusions that see China as the passive pupil for the 'English Lessons',<sup>40</sup> but his narrative still leads to the same direction, i.e., that China is the victim of imperial pedagogy. Similar phenomena in the development of Chinese modern architecture seem to support Hevia's theory, as the last two sections of Chapter 2 have suggested. However, the wish to dwell or to work in a place that is formed in a similar way to those in the homeland is an universal phenomenon, and cannot be ignored in this research. The consulate architecture, in which the consuls lived and worked, and which the architects designed and maintained, is not only a physical pedagogy of British semi-colonialism, but also representative of Britain's Chinese life.

## Summary

The part two of this thesis explains the historical backgrounds and theoretical review that are related to the research. That includes political development focusing on the relationship between China and Britain, the opinions of foreign architecture given by educated Chinese, including architects, and the general development of architectural activities in China since 1842. Together, the chapter also presents the reasons of establishment and withdrawal of the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works – the design body of the British diplomatic, judicial and consular establishment in the Far East – based on the UK National Archive documents and Izumida's scholarship. In this chapter that tries to review theoretical arguments that related to the historiography of Chinese modern architecture shows a possible different perspective to examine British consular architecture.

In the next few chapters, the attitudes of British officials toward Chinese architectural style, Chinese justice, politics and climates under different circumstances are examined to try the hypothesis. Contemporary Chinese references are together introduced to find disagreements between the British attitudes and the then Chinese environment.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-13.

## Chapter 4, PeKing Legation

*There really are no buildings in the country worthy of the people or their civilization ... buildings within the walls of imperial city of Peking some way motify the opinion. Even these, however, are not such as we might expect to find among a people whose history and whose civilisation seems so exact a counterpart of that of Egypt. (Fergusson 1899: 685)*



## Introduction

Hevia reinterprets the intercourse of the British and the Chinese Empires and suggests in his book that through a series of practices in military affairs, translation, diplomacy, education *et cetera* China was recorded and further 'given the characteristics of Chinese mandarins as the British understood them'.<sup>1</sup> British colonialism was sensitive to the local contradictions in race, class and culture up to a certain point. The phenomenon can be read in the British Legation at PeKing as it occupied a former palace of a royal family member.

As it is important for later discussion, this chapter will first present the cultural background of PeKing – the political and cultural ideological centre of the Chinese Empire. The British Legation was set up in a palace that was originally built to house a prince, his family and his underlings. The architectural aspect of the palace and its social and cultural significance will also be presented. Discussions will follow about two transformations that took place in the Legation compound.

Present-day researchers tend to study Imperialist architecture through reading its solidified semantics or understanding its technological progress. This chapter aims to examine to what extent the British understood the Chinese architectural culture and how their understanding changed the cultural environment in the British Legation. This chapter reveals that the British treated the original prince's palace as what Hevia would call a nationalist's collection<sup>2</sup> that was reserved only to the highest ranking official, namely the Minister, while other Chinese characteristics were intentionally excluded.

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<sup>1</sup> Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 49-73, the quotation, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Hevia, James L., *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 84-90.

# PeKing

## The Capital of the Empire

The spatial arrangement of a Chinese city has been regulated and evolved since the *ZhouLi*, or *Rites of Zhou* laid down the guideline of an ideal city a few centuries before Christ:

*The artisans are tracing the layout of the royal capital. They form a square which has 9 li as the length of each side and each side has three gates. Within the capital there are nine lengthwise avenues and nine crosswise avenues, the lengthwise ones each nine chariot tracks wide. On the left side, [that is east of the central avenue], stands the Ancestral Hall and on the right side, [as seen from the north, where the king stands looking south], there is the altar of the spirit of the soil. In front, [on the southern side of the palace in the center] is the hall of audience and in the back, [on the northern side], are the public markets. They, as well as the palace, have a surface of one fu.<sup>3</sup> (Rites of Zhou, as quoted in Schinz 1996: 69)*

Its structure moreover mirrors the fundamental ideology of how the cosmos shall be organised regardless of the dynasty or the empire's progress. The general layout of PeKing existed before the Ching Empire overthrew the Ming Empire, but it was during the Ching period that the three layer plan of the Manchu city surrounding the Imperial and Forbidden cities was really settled and that the Chinese city was established next to the southern wall of the Manchu city.

The capital city of the Ching Empire was developed upon that of the Ming imperial family. Certain modifications including the orientation and scale of the Imperial Palace had to be made to fit its TianMing (天命, destiny and duties honoured by the heaven) and the different customs of the Ching Empire. Administration of the empire and its public works afterwards were positively necessary. Collective statutes on the responsibilities and services of the government were therefore made as a tradition passed down since the *ZhouLi*. In the ChienLung edition of 1766,<sup>4</sup> structures under the supervision of the Ministry

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<sup>3</sup> *Li* is a traditional measurement unit in length in China, and *Fu* in area. A *li* in the Zhou kingdom was approximately 300 *bu*, or 300 x 119.40 cm. A *Fu* equals 100 *bu* x 100 *bu*. When was the *ZhouLi* written is still a subject of debate, it first appeared as part of the royal library collection in the Han ear around the second century BC. For details, see Schinz, Alfred, *The Magic Square: Cities in ancient China* (Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 1996), as to the *Zhouli*, see pp. 66-69'; for PeKing city design, see pp. 288-292.

<sup>4</sup> The *Collected Statutes of Great Ching* was edited five times in 1690 (usually referred to the Emperor KangHsi edition), 1733 (in the Emperor YongCheng region), 1766 (Emperor ChienLung), 1818 (JiaQing) and 1899 (KwangHsu). Along with the *Statutes*, a great number of

of Works, including cities, canals, bridges, tombs and buildings, are given regulations in detail on their materials, scales, colours, and decorations in Chapters 72 to 76, under the title GongBu, literally Ministry of Works.

Other than the sitting of the Imperial Shrine of Ancestors on the left hand side (east) of the Imperial Palace and the Imperial Temple of State on its right hand side, along with the bell and drum towers that told the time, the most important structure of the city was formed by a series of gates, galleries, canals, bridges, celestial animals, fences and governmental organisations arrayed along the axis between the southern central city gates of the Manchu city and the Forbidden City. Most of the ritual and political events, such as annual trials, royal examinations, going to court, and returning of the emperor took place at this area about one thousand *bu* long (1504 m).<sup>5</sup> Other buildings that enriched the skyline of the capital were the glazed green roofs of the palaces for the royal princes, their families and dependants. Those buildings spread around the Manchu city and because of the social order even the governmental offices were incomparable in their height and elaboration.

The most important governmental offices, or YaMens<sup>6</sup> were lined up to the east and west of the central axis. Apart from institutes belonging to justice and civil services on the west, most of the YaMens were located on the east side of the central axis. According to importance, running from north to south, they consisted of Imperial ZongRen-Fu Clan Court, LiBu Ministry of Civil Services, HuBu

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*Examples and Illustrations* were separately edited from the *Statutes* since the 1766 edition. This research uses the 1766 and 1818, 1899 editions, including their *Examples and Illustrations* to understand time differences. The romanisation of the term used by Hevia is *Da Qing huidian* and its translation is *Assembled canon of the Great Qing*. The 1904 edition of the main text, the examples (he uses precedents, published in 1899) and illustrations (1818) are Hevia's major resources.

<sup>5</sup> A *bu* (a step), which, according to Schinz, was one of the measurement units used by the Ministry of Works, approximately equals 1.504 meter during the Ming Empire's era. The actual length of *chi*, *bu*, *li* and so on vary in different dynasties. The Thousand Pace Causeway is part of the Magic Square theory developed by Alfred Schinz to examine the design of an ideal Chinese city. For details on the PeKing Thousand Pace Causeway and measurement system see Schinz, *The Magic Square: Cities in ancient China*, p. 320. One interesting coincidence that Schinz may not have noticed is that the T-shaped plaza formed by galleries and offices (144 offices on each side, therefore 288 in total) between the DaChing Gate and TianAn Gate is named Thousand Pace/ Step Galleries, despite it being only about 1 *li*, that is 360 *bu* or 541.44m. The scale, plan and functions of the Thousand Pace Galleries can be read in the *Examples of the Collected Statutes of Great Ching* (KwangHsu edition), Chapter 862.

<sup>6</sup> YaMen (衙門) literally means the front door of a government establishment. The term is not only the designation of a governmental organisation, such as the GongBu YaMen (the Ministry of Works) but also in Chinese context a public residence of an official and his family.

Ministry of Revenue, LiBu Ministry of Rites, BingBu Ministry of War Affairs, GongBu Ministry of Works, HongLu-Si Protocol Department, Imperial QinTianJian Astrology College, Imperial TaiYi Medical College, the Royal Carriages Yard, the HanLin Academy and the HuiTung Residence for Tributary Envoys.<sup>7</sup> Besides defining the loations of the YaMens, the *Collective Statutes* regulates their scale:

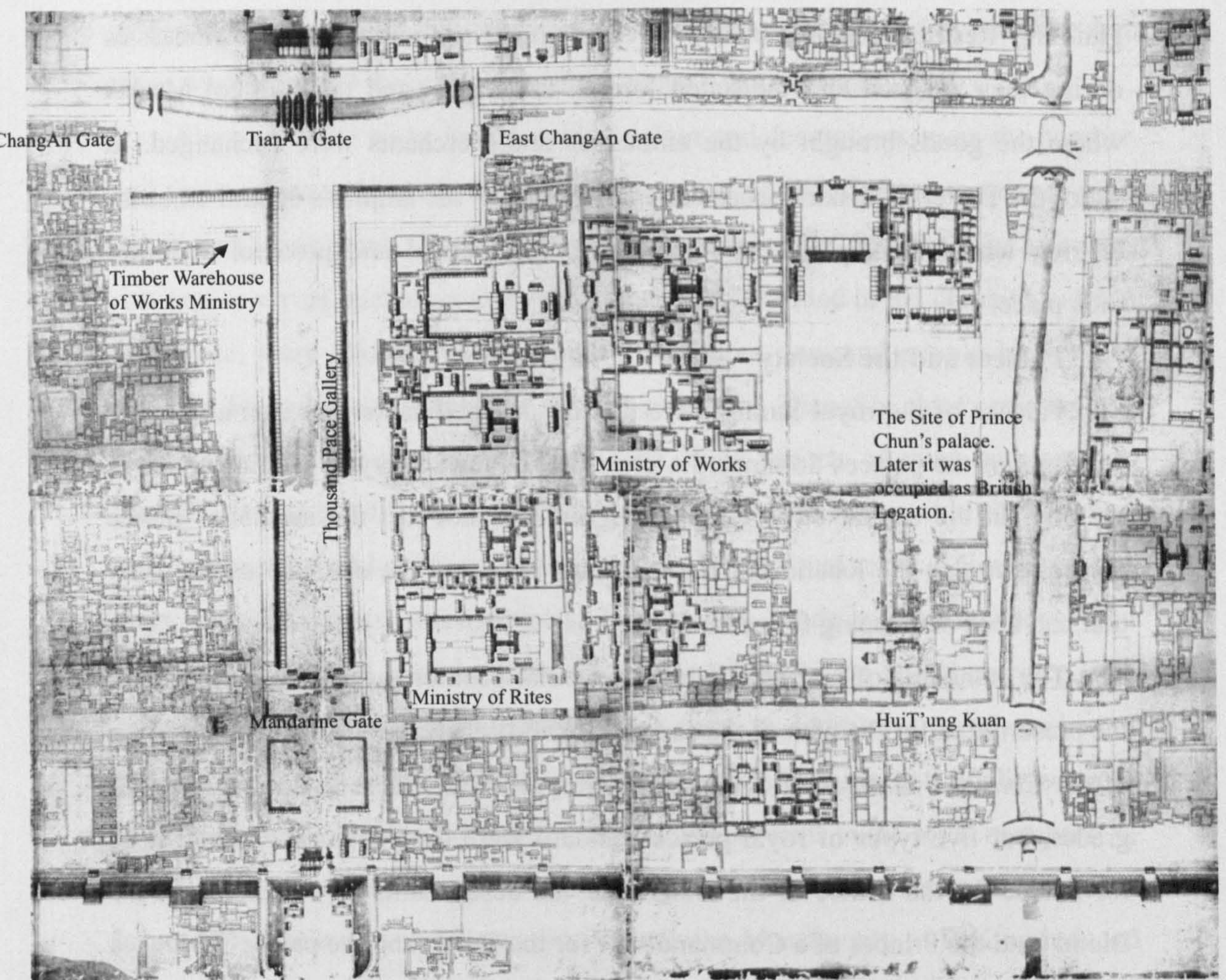
*There shall be one layer of boundary wall. The entrance of the yamen shall consist of two halls [main gate and ceremonial gate, running parallel to each other on the central axis]. The front hall shall be five bays wide, and the courtyard in front of the front hall shall be surrounded by left and right wings of row-houses, [facing the courtyard]. There shall be three bays in the corridor hall, [that crosses the second courtyard and links the front hall and inner hall]. The inner hall is three bays wide. The administration office halls on the left and right hand sides [of the second courtyard, and facing into it] are both three bays wide. The bases of the halls are two chi<sup>8</sup> high. The columns of the entrance halls decorate with coatings of black chalk. The beams and purlins apply five colours. (Collected Statutes of Great Ching 1764: Chapter 72)*

With the exceptions that the Royal Carriages Yard and Royal Academy, which faced north, and the YaMen of Tributary Envoys Residences, which faced south, the YaMens of all the Ministries faced the central axis, for their moral position was to assist the emperor (in the centre) in administering the empire [ill.4: 1] [ill.5: 9].

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<sup>7</sup> The Hui T'ung Kuan, or Hui T'ung Ssu I Kuan in full, as explained by Fairbank in his work was the accommodation provided for the tributary envoys during their mission to the capital of the empire after their long journey via land and/or seas. For details in the Tributary Diplomacy, see Fairbank, John K. and Teng, Ssu-Yu, 'On The Ch'ing Tributary System', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 6/2 (1941), 135-246.

<sup>8</sup> Two *chi* equals approximately 61.6 cm high, based on the Ching *chi* of 30.80 cm. The length conversion from *chi* to centimetre follows on Schinz's research, see Schinz, *The Magic Square: Cities in ancient China*, p. 421.



[ill.4: 1] PeKing (north to the top). Part of *the Complete Map of the Capital* (1750), showing the southern central axis of the Manchu City and the Thousand Pace Galleries where the announcement of the Royal Examination and the annual review of the administration of the empire took place. The Ministerial YaMens on the east of the central axis and further east near the canal are the HanLin Library and the Palace of a Commandery Chun, later the Liang-Koong Foo. Complete Ministerial Quarters, including the Judicial Quarter, and locations of the YaMens is shown in Chapter 5, [ill.5: 9].

In the map titled *the Complete Map of the Capital*, surveyed and drawn under the guidance of the Italian Jesuit missionary Giuseppe Castiglione in 1750, the spatial ideology of the structure in the capital and the empire can be clearly read. The later plans surveyed by the British on the ministry quarter and the blocks of the eastern quarter in the late nineteenth century suggest that the layouts of the area had remained unchanged since the map of 1750 was completed.

These blocks, frequently referred to as the Eastern Outskirt Lanes (東交民巷) became less important as the ministry quarter but remained an exclusive area for foreign affairs run by the Ministry of Rites. The establishments for the foreign affairs in this region included the Protocol Department, where the foreign tributary embassies learnt a proper manner and sequence of meeting the emperor, the

HuiTung Residence for Tributary Envoys which accommodated the embassies during their mission and translated foreign languages, and the Mongol Market where the goods brought by the embassies and merchants were exchanged. In short, the Eastern Outskirt Lanes can be regarded as the empire's central embassy district, where the diplomatic, interpreting, commercial and protocol activities took place.

### **Palaces and the Society**

Palaces of the royal family were usually the landmarks in a capital and the residents of the palaces dominated a great part of the society as well as trades in the city. In the capital city of the Ching Empire, not just the aesthetics of the palaces but also the location of the buildings represent the classical social order that had been developing for centuries.

The standards of houses for different social positions were stated right after the prescription for the plan of the capital city and canals in the ChienLung edition of the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*. Royal princes were divided into seven grades, but five types of royal palace standard were designated, including those for Palace for the Prince of the Blood, for the descendants of the Prince of the Blood (and the Princes of a Commandery), for the Beile (and the palace for Dukes of States) and for the Beizi.<sup>9</sup> The standards for the palaces differed from edition to edition, and the scale and appearance of the palace halls became increasingly elaborate as the Ching Empire progressed.<sup>10</sup> However, the aim of fitting the style of architecture to the right social position remained the same. Significant differences between different ranks were shown most notably in the height of the bases of buildings, and in the number of bays in the halls. The doornails, the immortal and celestial animals on the roof-ridges,<sup>11</sup> and claws of dragons or

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<sup>9</sup> Beile and Beizi mean respectively lord and second lord in Manchu.

<sup>10</sup> In the *Examples* of the last edition *Statutes* published in 1886, major reforms to the standard are recorded. The standards for palaces were first established during 1636-1646 (before the Kingdom of Ching captured the throne of the Ming Empire, PeKing) and were reformed in 1652, then again in 1661, see Chapter 869. The main texts of the *Statutes* of 1764 show that the standard became more detailed in terms of style and ornaments, and particularly in heights of the building bases, in comparison with the 1652 standard. There is little difference regarding the standards for palaces in the 1766 and 1899 editions, but only differences in expression. The scale requirements are identical.

<sup>11</sup> The ornaments on the roof, mainly on the ends of the ridges or hips are rich in their cultural and spiritual meanings as well as structural purposes, but to explain these in detail would not only cost space in this chapter but also mislead the discussion. Here I only present the cultural idea of the immortal and magic animals. On the classic Chinese architecture, namely the Northern

python dragons used on the structures of the houses are specified by number, and those who exceeded the allowance of the statutes would be punished.<sup>12</sup>

Along with the scale, height, width, colour and decorations, even the number and status of the servants in the royal palaces were controlled in accordance with the owners' social rank. Taking the Palace of the Prince of the Blood for example, servants or slaves, including those who worked and farmed in the domains outside his palace, were allowed to reach more than three thousand people in total. In addition, being officially appointed by the court, one ZhangShi chief secretary, six escorts of first rank and second rank each, eight escorts of third rank and six DianYi secretaries-of-rites of three different ranks were responsible for assisting every prince of the blood in royal duties of civil or national service. Housekeepers, dairy keepers, cooks, store-keepers, blacksmiths, blade-smiths, cowboys, and shepherds were also kept by both the prince of the blood and the prince of a commandery to run their properties. There were in addition a great number of soldiers and horses to guard the princes' palaces and domains, and finally eunuchs of varied number lived in the palaces as personal servants to the royal members.<sup>13</sup>

Li suggests that setting the princes' grand mansions in scale between the Imperial Palace and the ordinary dwellings in the Manchu city of PeKing reduced the contrast, as compared with the cityscape in the era of the Yuan and Ming Empires. Wu suggests that economically the life in a palace was self-sustaining society with its own food supply, product materials and workshops, and from the political aspect, with a large variety of human resources, conflicts between the princes and challenges to the emperor occurred throughout the history of the

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Chinese architecture, there are usually four sets of glazed terra cotta figures placed at each corner of the roof to indicate the status of the building as well as the social class of the occupant. A complete set consists of at least one immortal riding chicken (phoenix) on the extreme edge of the ridge or hip, one Ch'ui-Shou ridge-dragon heading the set and in between an odd number of Tsun-Shou magic animals. Respectively, those magic animals are dragon, phoenix, lion, giraffe, Pegasus and so on. The more magic animals there are, the more sacred the building. Nine figures is the maximum acceptable number and can only be applied on the royal palace, but the Hall of the Supreme Harmony in the Forbidden City uses ten to show its extreme greatness.

<sup>12</sup> *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, ChienLung edition 1764, Chapter 72. In the *Examples* of the KwangHsu edition, 1886, one of the Princes of the Blood was fined 2,000 Taels of Silver for allowing the bases of his palace to exceed the regulation, see Chapter 869.

<sup>13</sup> Wu, Jianyong, 'Princes' Life in the Palaces in the Ching Dynasty Beijing', in Gong Wang Fu Guan Li Zhong Xin (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on the Life in the Palaces in Ching Dynasty* (Beijing: Wen hua yi shu chu ban she, 2005).

Ching Empire since it was founded.<sup>14</sup>

The elaborate life style of the royals and nobles developed, and along with it trade in artefacts, literature, drama, music, and cuisine. Even gambling and prostitution in the city were encouraged by this society. A greater diversity in subordinate structures, such as gardens, could be achieved depending on the taste and wealth of the prince, although the main body of the palace was bounded by the statutes (or more accurately Li, the rites). Garden design and life in the garden evolved to a luxurious culture, which both physically and ideologically influenced the rest of the Ching Empire. The *DaGuan Prospect Garden* in the most emphasised Chinese novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* is just one of the examples. At the same time the informality and privacy of the gardens made them one of the places where politics could be enacted secretly but influentially. This aspect is discussed in more detail in the next chapter – the CanTon case study.

## Early Transformation

Immediately after the Royal Summer Palace – the YuanMing Yuan – was looted in 1860, James Bruce, Harry Parkes and James F. Wade planned a series of ceremonies within the YaMen of the Ministry of Rites to achieve a sovereign equality between the two countries. The dwelling of the Prince of the Blood, Yi, and latter the residence of Prince of the Blood, Kung, were occupied with the intention of use by the British Legation.<sup>15</sup> The purpose was the same with the capture of YaMens in the walled city of CanTon: a diplomatic and military demonstration that the foreigners were able to enter and take up prominent residence in the city.<sup>16</sup> Later, the Ching government handed over another royal family's palace east of the Ministry quarter, in the Eastern Outskirt Lanes. This palace was called the Liang-Koong Foo or literally the Palace of the Duke of

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<sup>14</sup> Li, Baochan, 'The Standards of the Palaces of the Imperial Family in Qing Dynasty and the Palaces in the "Complete Map of the Capital"', *The Conference on the Time and Space of Ancient Beijing* (Beijing: Beijing Institute of Social Science, 2000); Wu, 'Princes' Life in the Palaces in the Ching Dynasty Beijing'.

<sup>15</sup> The Prince Yi was responsible for keeping Harry Parkes and Henry Loch in custody. The Prince Kung was then the Representative of the Ching Empire. It is unclear whether because of the Prince Yi's hostility or the Prince Kung's role the house was demanded to be the seat of the British Minister to China. Jia, Zhen, *The Complete Account of Management of Alien Affairs (the Hsien Feng era)*, ed. Yunlong Shen (Taipei: Wen Hai Press, 1967), Chapter 68 (pp. 5454-55); Hevia, *English Lessons*, pp. 111-117.

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 6.



Liang. It had been built in the first two decades of the eighteenth century to house the Emperor KangHsi's seventh son, when he was granted the Prince of a Commandery or second-rank prince, Chun, in 1709 [ill.4: 1].

The evidence of Chinese archival memoranda suggests that the Ching government was allowed little time to suggest a solution offering a palace of the second-rank prince, or then of a duke, in exchange for that of a prince of the blood. The officials did not suggest moving the British Legation from near the east gate to the eastern outskirts of the ministry quarter either. Prince Kung states that the British rudely and irrationally claimed one prince's palace after another. In the end he had no choice but to agree to the British occupying the Liang-Koong Foo.<sup>17</sup> Disregarding the possibility of a secret agreement, it can be argued that the Liang-Koong Foo was a rational choice based on the Ching empire's order of cosmology. The main sequence of buildings consisting of entrance hall, main hall, inner hall, sleeping hall and a back house was transformed into the Minister's Quarter, and the side halls were occupied for other purposes.

Original design drawings and supporting literature regarding the Palace of the Commandery Prince Chun have not yet been found. However it is still possible to deduce the original design of the palace for several reasons. First, strict regulations on scale, colour, and decoration were applied to most of the public and royal buildings so therefore the main sequences of halls in palaces of the same status are identical. Second, the great similarity between the 1750 *Complete Map of the Capital* and later surveys by the British after the 1860s, indicates that only minimum changes were carried out on the city as well as on the buildings. Third, the description given by David F. Rennie accords with the regulations stated in the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*. Therefore despite of the lack of details on the Liang-Koong Foo in the 1750 map, owing to the buildings being under construction during the survey, the plan surveyed in 1869 and showing the layout of the Legation can be read in place of the original design.

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<sup>17</sup> Jia, *The Complete Account of Management of Alien Affairs (the Hsien Feng era)*, Chapter 68 (pp. 5454-55, 5520-24).

The standard for a palace of a second-rank prince as stated in the ChienLung edition of the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching* of 1766 determines that:

*There shall be five bays wide for the entrance hall, and three bays to be opened for doors. The base height of the gate shall be 2 chi 5 cun (0.7m). The compound shall be surrounded with high boundary walls. The main hall shall be five bays wide, and its base is to be 3 chi 5 cun high (1m). The adjoining buildings on each side shall be five bays wide. The main platform shall be paved with stone, set at a height of 4 chi 5 cun (1.3m). Upon the platform, an inner hall should be built five bays wide with a base 2 chi high.<sup>18</sup> The sleeping hall is to be five bays wide, and its base 2 chi 5 cun high. The back house is to be five bays wide, of its base 1 chi 4 cun (0.4m). Five halls in total. Beams and purlins of the main hall are to be painted with colourful flora and four claw dragons. The number of doornails and magic animals on the hips of the buildings shall be five seventh's of that on the palace of a prince of first rank. The rest of the rules [roof tiles in glazed green of tubular form, central columns of front gate coloured in red, and painted with golden dragon pattern, etc.] shall follow the standard for a palace of a prince of first rank. (Collected Statutes of Great Ching 1766: Chapter 72)*

The difference between the Statutes and the scale of the buildings shown in the later plans drawn by the British is that the bays of the inner hall are stated in the statutes to be five and the building only possesses three. The height of the bases of the buildings can only be judged through photographs, however it is difficult to estimate because the pictures were taken between the 1910s and 1920s and the paving of the legation site had undergone changes for at least half a century.

In 1860 Rennie described his first impression of the palace:

*April 1<sup>st</sup> –The Leang-koong-foo may be described as consisting of two sets of quadrangular courts, running parallel to each other, north and south, with a covered passage between them. These courts contain blocks of buildings, built in the ordinary Chinese style of architecture. The set of squares on the eastern side form the palatial portion, and contain the state apartments. The roofs on this side are covered with green glazed tiles, and supported by heavy columns of wood. The walls of the buildings consist of strong brickwork at the backs and sides. The fronts are only bricked about three feet from the ground, the remainder, including the doors, being formed of light lattice-work, covered with paper. The windows have large panes of glass in the centre of the lattice-work, which in the principal rooms is of very elegant design. The interior, though out of repair, is still very handsome; the ceilings of the state apartments being beautifully decorated with gold dragons, within*

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<sup>18</sup> In total, the base of the inner hall is 6 chi 5 cun, or approximately two metres high, based on the Ching Empire's chi unit. It is the highest building, therefore the most important hall of the whole compound.

*circles on a blue ground, which again are in the centres of small squares of green, separated by interesting bars in relief of green and gold.*

*... The domain is surrounded by a high wall, extending 760 feet from north to south, and 378 feet from east to west. The general character of the building is that of a palace, once princely, rapidly falling into decay. (Rennie 1865: I, 55-56)*

When the Legation members arrived at the palace in late March 1861, extensive repairs and alterations had been undertaken by approximately five hundred artisans, including carpenters, masons and painters under Adkins's supervision.<sup>19</sup> For the rest of its days constant repairs were hardly suspended, as shown by the numerous records of funding applications to the Treasury.<sup>20</sup> However, there is little evidence indicating the conception behind what Rennie describes as 'retaining as much as possible its Chinese character' while at the same time the Office of Works architects state that it is being 'adapted for European occupation' in the official correspondence. There is one more account given by Rennie concerning one of the contracts drawn up by the Chinese contractors, presumably concerning the sleeping hall of the palace used as the living rooms of the Minister:

*Estimate of the expense of repainting and varnishing the south and west faces of five rooms of the 'great building' – the north and east faces to remain untouched.*

*The six large pillars on the south front must be scraped down to the surface of the wood, then rubbed with 'oil-wash'; next, 'five coatings of lime-wash' must be applied, a coating of hemp-stuff, brickdust, and raw 'Tung oil' one coating. Next rub on the coating of fat, then apply one coating of Kuang, i.e., prepared 'Tung oil'; and lastly, finish with one coating of vermilion oil. Four sides of the inner pillars must be scraped, greased, and repaired (if any flaws exist), then covered with one coating of Kuang oil.*

*The window-sills, door-posts, door-wings, and interior woodwork of the five rooms (ceiling, &c., excluded), in addition to scraping, greasing, and repairing, must be lime-washed, painted, covered first with one course of Kuang oil, and next with one course of vermilion. Eaves,*

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<sup>19</sup> Rennie, David F., *Peking and the Pekingese: During the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1865), Vol. I, pp. 28, 81.

<sup>20</sup> The entire volume of the WORK 10/436 'Taku, Tiensin and Peking' (1866-68) and WORK 10/439 'Peking' (1867-1881) collects the correspondence between the then PeKing minister Rutherford Alcock and Royal Engineer William Crossman –representative of the Treasury between 1866-1867 for the diplomatic, consular and judicial establishment in China and Japan, and most of the letters from Alcock enclosed invoices for expenses and applications for funds for repairs to the Minister's Quarter.

*including upper surface of pillars, supports, interior supports, smaller supports, and eave cross-posts, to be decorated with gold.*

*On the west face, the superior woodwork, in addition to being scraped, greased, lime-washed, painted blue and green, as formerly, to be decorated with gold edge and 'large drops' (the pillars to be gold), but the upper and under surfaces of the inner 'eave-boards' to remain as before. The projection to be painted blue and green, as formerly. The outer surface of the white posts under the eaves, together with the tiles on the west face of the building, in addition to being scraped and greased, are to be painted green; while the upper beams of the eaves are to be washed and painted, and then varnished with a course of Kuang oil, and lastly covered with a coating of vermilion. The ends of the small rafters to be painted blue and gold, and ornamented with dragon's eyes and pearls. The upper rafter (next the tiles) to be green and white, and to have gold edges, and to be embossed, then to receive a coating of oil. The ends of the tiles to be washed and oiled with vermilion oil. On the western face the upper supports of the eaves, in addition to being scraped and washed, to be oiled with Kuang oil, and then finally to receive one coating of vermilion oil. (Rennie 1865: I, 96-97)*

The contract includes remarkable details on the working sequences of repairing woodworks and ceramics. The dazzlingly colourful paintworks on a palace can also be pictured from the Interpreter Gibson's translation, which is accurate to a certain point. The 'supports', mentioned in the third and final paragraphs of the contract, for instance, are probably the Tou-Kongs (Chinese bracketing structure system). Another term, 'large drops' is a direct translation of Da Dian-Jin (大點金, literally Large Drop of Gold), which actually goes together with the 'projection' – the Xuan-Zi (旋子) and Er-Lu-Ban (二碌瓣) in the next line. The Dian-Jins can be seen as the gilded hearts of flowers and the Xuan-Zi and Er-Lu-Ban as petals. They are one of the highly developed social symbols as well as a form of protection applied to the wooden beams and purlins of Chinese architecture.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The translation of Chinese architectural elements, such as tou-kongs, purlins, beams and so on has been more or less regulated in Chinese academia since Liang, Ssu Ch'eng and his colleagues in the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (Chung-kuo Ying-tsao Heueh-she, YTHS) carried out extensive research over Mainland China. In the main texts this research uses the YTHS and Liang's interpretation whenever it is necessary. However in order to present the understandings of the then British it is also important to keep the Rennie's texts unchanged. The other reason is that what Rennie recorded could have followed the terms the then Chinese craftsmen normally used. These two interpretations can be in parallel. For details on the architectural paintings, please see Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, *New Model Regulations and Calculations for Use in Building* (Taipei: Wen Hai Foundation for Culture and Education, 1985), p. 44-3.

Regarding the British Office of Works documents, one of the earliest accounts on the Legation is dated 1865, when 170 dollars (currency unknown) were spent on building a dining room in the fourth building of the palace and its kitchen as an extension behind it. In addition, the corridors that connected the rooms of the Minister's Quarter within the original inner and sleeping halls of the palace were built in 1865-67, along with the Chancery (the original main hall), 851 dollars in total being requested.<sup>22</sup>

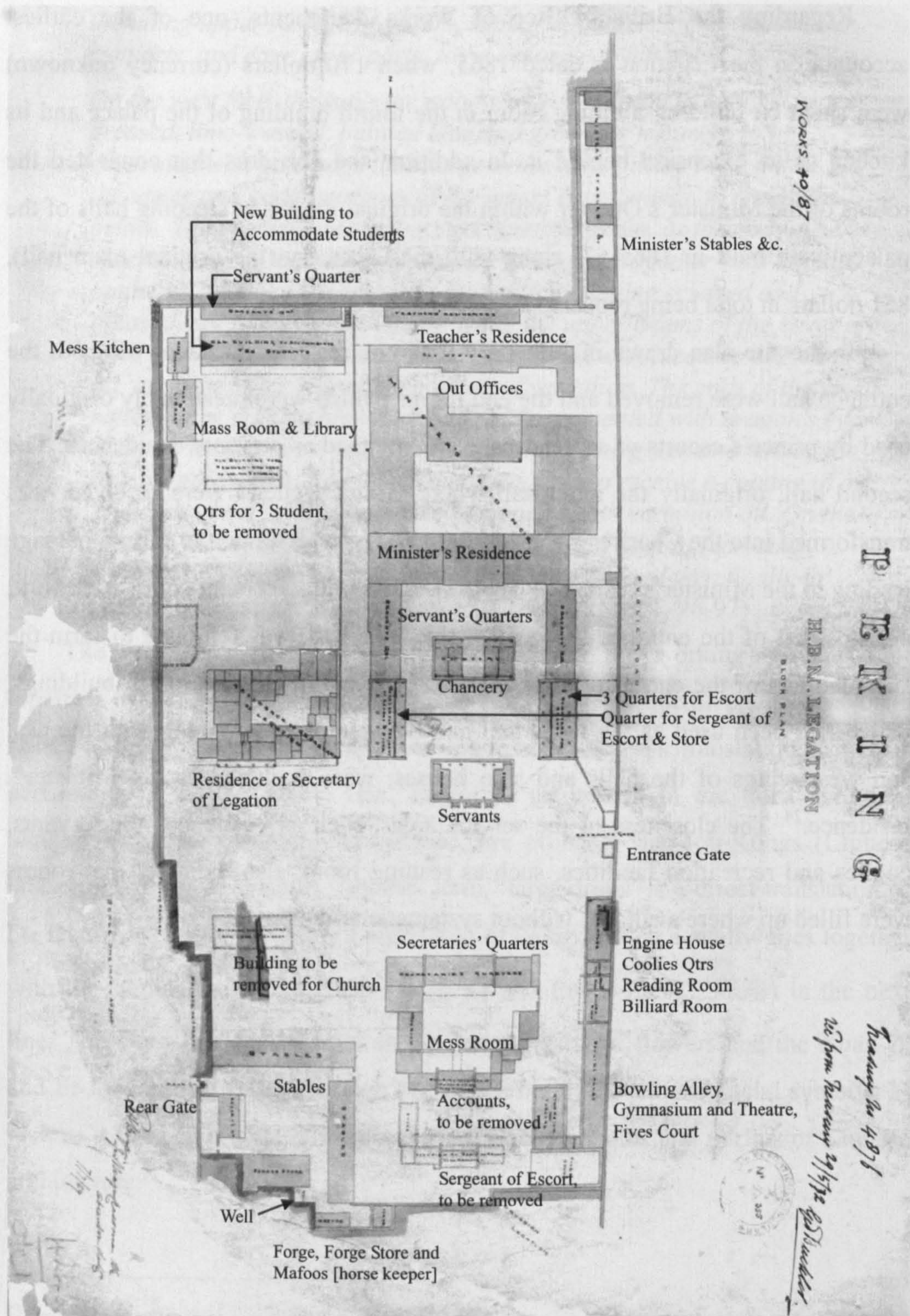
In the site plan drawn in July 1869 it can be read that the door-wings of the entrance hall were removed and the end rooms, which were presumably originally used by prince's escorts or secretaries, were assigned as servants' residences. The second hall, originally the main hall where ordinary guests were received, was transformed into the Chancery, and its central bay was left open to form a passage leading to the Minister's residence [ill.4: 2]. In Rennie's account, some brickwork, perhaps that of the entrance hall and of the main hall, was removed to form the surroundings of the entrance hall a garden.<sup>23</sup> The third and the fourth buildings, which had been used as the inner hall and the sleeping hall, along with the east and west wings of the halls and side houses, were occupied as the Minister's residence.<sup>24</sup> The closeness of the service areas, such as residences for servants, coolies and recreation facilities, such as reading room, also indicates that rooms were filled up where available without systematic arrangement.

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<sup>22</sup> WORK 10/436, 13 June 1868 Tientsin Consulate to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440 '*Letters from Sir R. Alcock*', 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>23</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 218.

<sup>24</sup> WORK 40/87 '*Block Plan*' 1869.



[ill.4: 2] PeKing Legation, 1869 site plan. Drawing is rotated so that north is to the top. The earliest drawing record collected by this research. Source: WORK 40/87, date: 1869

Relatively little change was applied on the main row of halls of the palace in comparison with the rest of the original buildings that were mostly condemned to demolition. On the other hand, partial and random alterations, such as plastering, bricking-up doors and windows, building extensions and painting, were carried out, and gradually the appearance of the Minister's Quarter changed in accord with the works. Building porches in a western manner, extensive use of sheet glass and fire grates or fireplaces with their chimneys added a more foreign character.<sup>25</sup> Above all, continuous bricking-up of the buildings, either to the front façade or to form an inner yard as seen on the photographs later, transformed the predominant carpentry character of the Chinese buildings into a masonry character.

Other than the Minister's Quarter, other spaces such as the residences of the legation secretaries and accounts, the escorts' quarters and stables, were at this stage all set within the existing Chinese buildings with necessary alterations, such as fireplaces and chimneys, along with a large number of servants and coolies' rooms.<sup>26</sup> However, new facilities, such as an engine room, a billiard room, bowling alleys, gymnasium, fives court, and theatre had all been installed in the Legation compound by 1869.<sup>27</sup> The justification presented by the then Minister to PeKing Rutherford Alcock as early in 1866 and many times afterwards was that 'young men require[ed] such facilities for the preservation of health in a city offering none, devoid of amusements or public places of resort'.<sup>28</sup>

As the want of space increased, more land was acquired in 1861, 1868, and 1876 and all existing Chinese structures, except the palace were pulled down to clear out ground and to provide materials for new buildings.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> WORK 10/436, 3 July 1866 R. Franklin to W. Crossman, 6 July 1866 R. Franklin to W. Crossman, 9 December 1867 TienTsin Consulate to W. Crossman, 15 December 1867 TaKu Consulate to W. Crossman; WORK 10/439, 20 October 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>26</sup> WORK 10/439, 27 April 1867 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>27</sup> WORK 40/87; WORK 10/436, 12 September 1866 TienTsin Consulate to R. Alcock, 19 September 1866 R. Franklin to R. Alcock, 20 November 1866 to W. Crossman, 25 April 1867 R. Franklin to W. Crossman; WORK 10/439, 11 January 1869 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 14 April 1869 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>28</sup> WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3 '*China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman*', 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 16 March 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>29</sup> WORK 10/439, 4 November 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 14 May 1869 R. Boyce; WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 16 March 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury; Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80; Hoare, James E., *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Richmond: Curzon,

After the palace, for the use of the Minister or sometimes for the Chargé d’Affaires, the Quarters for the Student Interpreters was most frequently on the list for consideration. As the British government established its China Consul Services, it decided to train its own officials and to promote senior officers within the service.<sup>30</sup> The contemporary Chinese noted this phenomenon. Wang, Tao remarks in his diary that:

*The British set consul services at every place [in China], and consuls are transferred from one to another. Xin JiaLi acts as consul to ChinKiang, W.H. Medhurst acts as consul to DengZhou of ShanTung [Chefoo], Mi TuoShi [presumably T.T. Meadows] as consul to NewChwang and Mukden, R. Alcock to ShangHai, D.B. Robertson to Canton. I observe the human resources of the British, and I find that those who are familiar with Chinese and foreign politics and languages, and are known for their talent and competence, are very few! Xin, Medhurst, Alcock and Mi as former interpreters staying in China for a long time, are well accustomed to Chinese people and their customs, and thus are excellent officials for that land. (10<sup>th</sup> month 2<sup>nd</sup> day of Xian Feng 9<sup>th</sup> Year (1859), p. 255-56)*

The institute was set up in the PeKing Legation. Initially the quarters for the Student Interpreters also used the west sequence of the palace buildings (as labelled in [ill.4: 2]),<sup>31</sup> but between 1867 and 1881, the focus of alteration works at the Legation was put on building a residential quarter with a mass room and a library for the Student Interpreters. Considerable attention was continuously paid to completing its facilities.<sup>32</sup> In August 1867, Alcock stressed the importance of the Students’ Quarter: ‘to preserve health and vigour to work in a member (sic) of students whose value hereafter to the service greatly depends on the progress made during a two years’ residence in Peking, and the habits of assiduous work required’. Alcock also expressed the hope that the Foreign Office would understand ‘how small will be the outlay and how great the boon to these youths just entering on their Chinese career’.<sup>33</sup> A large sum was concentrated on converting the students’ quarters, including the mass room and library, to house an

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1999), pp. 20, 24-25.

<sup>30</sup> Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 70-72.

<sup>31</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> WORK 10/439, 14 April 1869 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 14 May 1869 R. Boyce; WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 5 August 1867 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>33</sup> WORK 10/440 5 August 1867 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 5 August 1867 R. Alcock to Foreign Office, 16 December 1866 R. Alcock to Foreign Office.



increasing number of students, and later on replacing the original quarters with new purpose-built ones.<sup>34</sup>

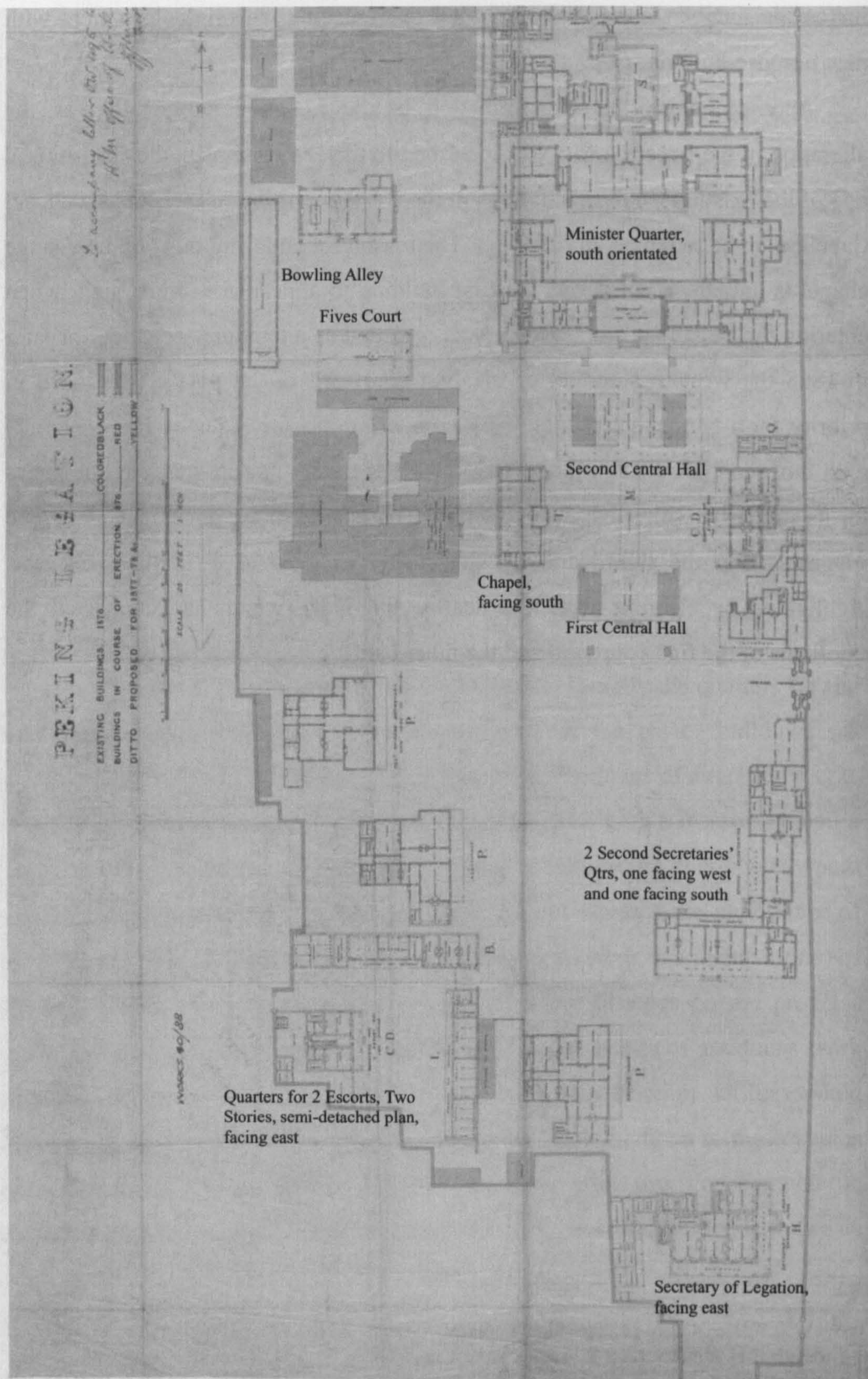
Another noteworthy transformation to the Legation compound was the alteration of the Legation Chapel. According to the 1869 site plan, the British used one of the existing Chinese buildings in the western portion of the site as a chapel (labelled 'to be removed' in [ill.4: 2]). The reason for choosing this building as the chapel is unknown, but it was the first building to appear in visitors' sight when entering the Legation. The building was regarded as a temporary chapel, for later in 1868 the western side-hall of the first courtyard of the palace was listed in priority for a permanent chapel.<sup>35</sup> By comparing the site plans of 1869 [ill.4: 2] with those in 1876 [ill.4: 3], and 1895 (WORK 40/89, not provided in this thesis for its similarity with [ill.4: 3]) and with the assistance of the documents, it can be suggested that the significance of the chapel (marked as T in [ill.4: 3]) was highlighted by clearing away the nearby side-halls, which had connected the side-halls of the first courtyard and the inner hall.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/439, 1 July 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 4 November 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 11 January 1869 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/439, 4 November 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 15 August 1876 T.F. Wade to F.T. Marshall; WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/55/3, 16 March 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>36</sup> WORK 40/87; WORK 40/88 '*Plan showing existing and proposed buildings*', 1876; WORK 40/89 '*Plan showing grounds and roads*', 1895



[ill.4: 3] PeKing Legation, 1876 site plan (north to the top). The suggested building works, such as the Secretary of Legation (marked H, Proposed for 1877/78), Second Secretaries (Under construction in 1976), Stables including Escorts (I, C & D, Proposed), Bowling Alleys (Under construction) and Fives Court (Proposed). (planned is cropped because limit of scanner)  
 Source: WORK 40/88, date: 1876

## Later Transformation

The British Legation's next massive alteration came after the Boxer Violence (1899-1900), in which the battles between the allies of the Ching army and the Boxers and the alliance of eight nations almost ruined the British Legation along with the adjoining Ministries of the Ching Empire. The sites of the ministries east of the central square of the city were all acquired by the British government. Its area extended to 36 acres from the original 6.5 acres (26,689 m<sup>2</sup>).<sup>37</sup>

The YaMens of the Imperial Clan Court, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Civil Services, and Ministry of Rites were completely demolished and cleared to form a 100 meter wide open zone and glacis. The buildings of the Ministry of War Affairs, Ministry of Works, and part of the Protocol Department were occupied and repaired as barracks for British troops.<sup>38</sup> The rest of the Protocol Department, the Imperial Astrology College and the Imperial Medical College became part of the Russian Legation. In addition, it was proposed to demolish the city walls of the Imperial City by the military as means of punishment. As part of the same bid for security it was also planned to raze the towers of the city gate and to remove the ramps leading to them.<sup>39</sup> The defensive works, including clearing sites, designing and supervision were carried out by Royal Engineers, who were expected to complete the work before the Emperor and Royal Courts of the Ching Empire returned.<sup>40</sup> [ill.4: 4]

Materials regarding the alteration of the Ministry of War and Ministry of Works are not available because the Royal Engineers maintained the military portion, while the discussion here is focused on the Office of Works and the Foreign Office.

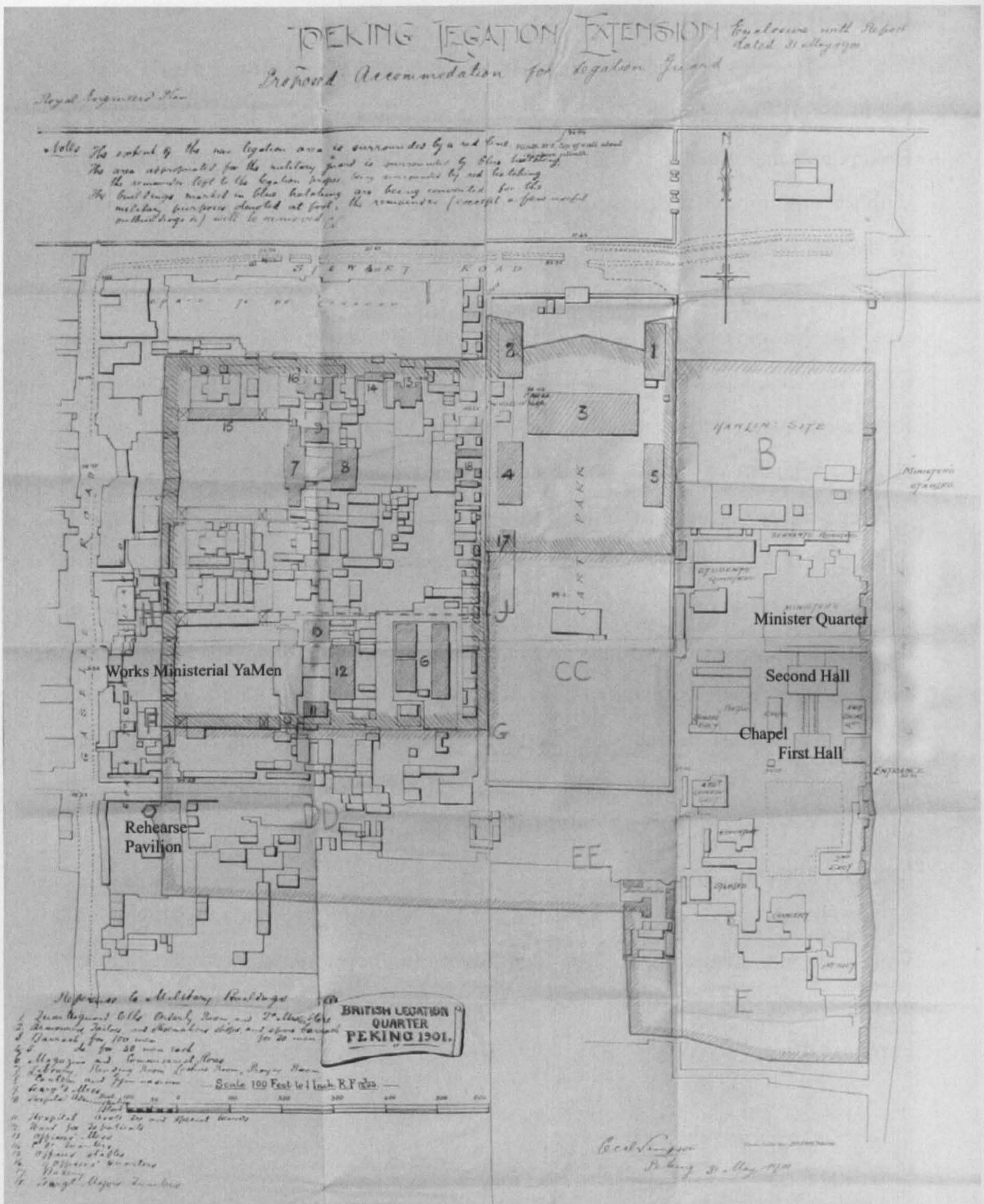
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<sup>37</sup> WORK 10/33/2 '1) *Extension of Legation compound by the readjustment of boundaries in the international settlement, and provision for the future security of the Legation quarter* 2) *Report of the International Military Commission on defence* 3) *Provision of accommodation for the Legation Guard*', 29 October 1900 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 12 February 1901 Military Commission Report; Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 56; Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present*, p. 47.

<sup>38</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 6 November 1900 Peking Legation to F.O., 9 May 1901 W.J. Downer, 16 April 1901 Peking Legation to F.O., 19 April 1901 F.O. to Treasury.

<sup>39</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 12 February 1901 Military Commission Report. The wall of the imperial city was eventually preserved as political gesture.

<sup>40</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 13 November 1900 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office, 12 February 1901 Military Commission Report, 16 April 1901 Peking Legation to F.O.



[ill.4: 4] PeKing Legation, extension (north points to the top). The hatched area on the west side (marked by numbers) indicates the Military Compound, and the east one (marked by letters) the Diplomatic Compound. The original YaMens of the War Ministry (number 7 and 8 in the map mark respectively the main hall and the rare hall of the ministry) and Works Ministry (12 marks the rare hall) can still be read from the site plan. The Protocol Department (where the DD was marked) can be identified as the hexagon shape building, which was the rehearsing pavilion for the members of the tributary embassy. The layout of the Legation shows little change to the planning of the buildings except that the occupants were moved from this building to another one.  
source: WORK 10/33/2, date: 1900

The Legation got the ruined south part of the Royal Carriages Yard, together with the HanLin Academy, which was set on fire by Chinese soldiers.<sup>41</sup> Most of the damage to the Legation buildings were temporarily repaired by military after battle ceased but further repairs were supervised by the Acting Surveyor of the Shanghai Office of Works – Cecil J.W. Simpson, who arrived in PeKing on 20 October 1900. Simpson wished to take the opportunity to reform the environment of the Legation, firstly, to clean away the insanitary conditions, and secondly to stop the transmission of typhoid by preventing water contamination. The practice that first occurred to the British minds was the enlarging of the Legation compound, and then the cleaning and relaying of surface gutters and underground drainage to reduce unnecessary curves and increase the size, as well as covering all water sources, including wells and distilled water tanks, and fitting water pump filters.<sup>42</sup>

During the next few years the disagreements between the diplomats and the military on the spaces in the site and even over political decisions continued. On the political issue, the aggressive military of the eight nations decided to demolish the walls of the Imperial City to make space for international gardens, which was also for both defending and attacking provisions. The civil officers disagreed, including the Surveyor of the Shanghai Office and the Minister of the British Legation, for diplomatic reasons.<sup>43</sup> To contest for more space for its own inhabitants, the Legation claimed that the entire site, including the military (left hatched area in [ill.4: 4]) and legation areas (right hatched area), belonged to the Legation, and insisted that the Royal Engineers should be under the command of Simpson. The civil officers also limited the conversion works to be carried out on

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<sup>41</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 29 October 1900 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 13 November 1900 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office, 29 March 1901 London Office to Shanghai Office.

<sup>42</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 29 October 1900 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 1 November 1900 C.J.W. Simpson to Dr. Dudgeon, 6 November 1900 Peking Legation to F.O., 13 November 1900 Shanghai Office to London Office, 15 February 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office, 7 June 1901 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office; FO 228/1442 '*From Tengyueh - Yunnanfu, Office of Works and Miscellaneous (Accounts)*', 16 January 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation, 13 February 1902 D. Browning to E. Satow, 8 July 1902 Shanghai Office to Peking Legation.

<sup>43</sup> It was proposed by Japanese Lieutenant-General Shiba, Goro to reduce the height of the wall to half of its original height. The letter sent by C.J.W. Simpson to London from PeKing dated 7 June 1901 suggested the South Imperial City Walls were decided to demolish. See WORK 10/33/2, 12 February 1901 Military Commission Report, 7 June 1901 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office.

the existing Chinese buildings, especially the one on the original Ministry of Works YaMen for hospital of 20 beds (number 12 in [ill.4: 4]). All further demolition to the existing buildings was at the same time restricted.<sup>44</sup> Other debates include the responsibility of housing the Military Attaché in the Legation, and the provision of a strip of land adjoining both compounds for the Legation's recreation ground (all in area DD of [ill.4: 4]).<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, both the diplomats and the army sought to occupy as large an area as possible and to rebuild boundary walls between the British and Russian Legations (the boundary line along the EE and E areas) against any Chinese threat. The act was justified on the basis of the miasma-like condition of the surrounding Chinese buildings, such as those in the Mongol Market south of the legation.<sup>46</sup>

The area of the Legation was extended at least four and a half times, but the inhabitation behaviour had changed from bachelor, who came to face the uncertainty of the most Eastern side of the Western universe alone, to a family base, that transported bunkers of personal items, pianos for instance, from Britain. John Jordan, the later British Minister to PeKing after the Boxer Protocol, pointed out how the development of time changed the society of the Legation in 1910.<sup>47</sup> In addition to the escorts that were stationed in the compound since the beginning of the Legation's history there was a standing army of two hundred soldiers and five officers. The Legation remained crowded. Both military and diplomats faced straggly arrangements of site layout and inadequate space for residence and recreation.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 7 April 1901 Royal Engineer Staff to Chief of Royal Engineer, 10 April 1901 Royal Engineer Staff to Chief of Royal Engineer, 29 May 1901 Peking Legation to British Military, 31 May 1901 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office, 5 June 1901 Peking Legation to British Military, 31 July 1901 internal memo to Secretary to Office of Works, London.

<sup>45</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 4 February 1902 Shanghai Office to London Office, 21 March 1902 F.O. to O.W., 24 March 1902 O.W. to F.O., 16 May 1902 War Office to F.O., 26 May 1902 F.O. to O.W., 27 May 1902 W.J. Downer to Secretary, 26 May 1902 F.O. to O.W., 4 June 1902 O.W. to F.O., 7 August 1902 F.O. to O.W., 2 June 1903 Shanghai Office to London Office, 12 August 1903 O.W. to F.O.

<sup>46</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 29 October 1900 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 6 November 1900 Peking Legation to F.O., 13 November 1900 Shanghai Office to London Office, 7 June 1901 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office.

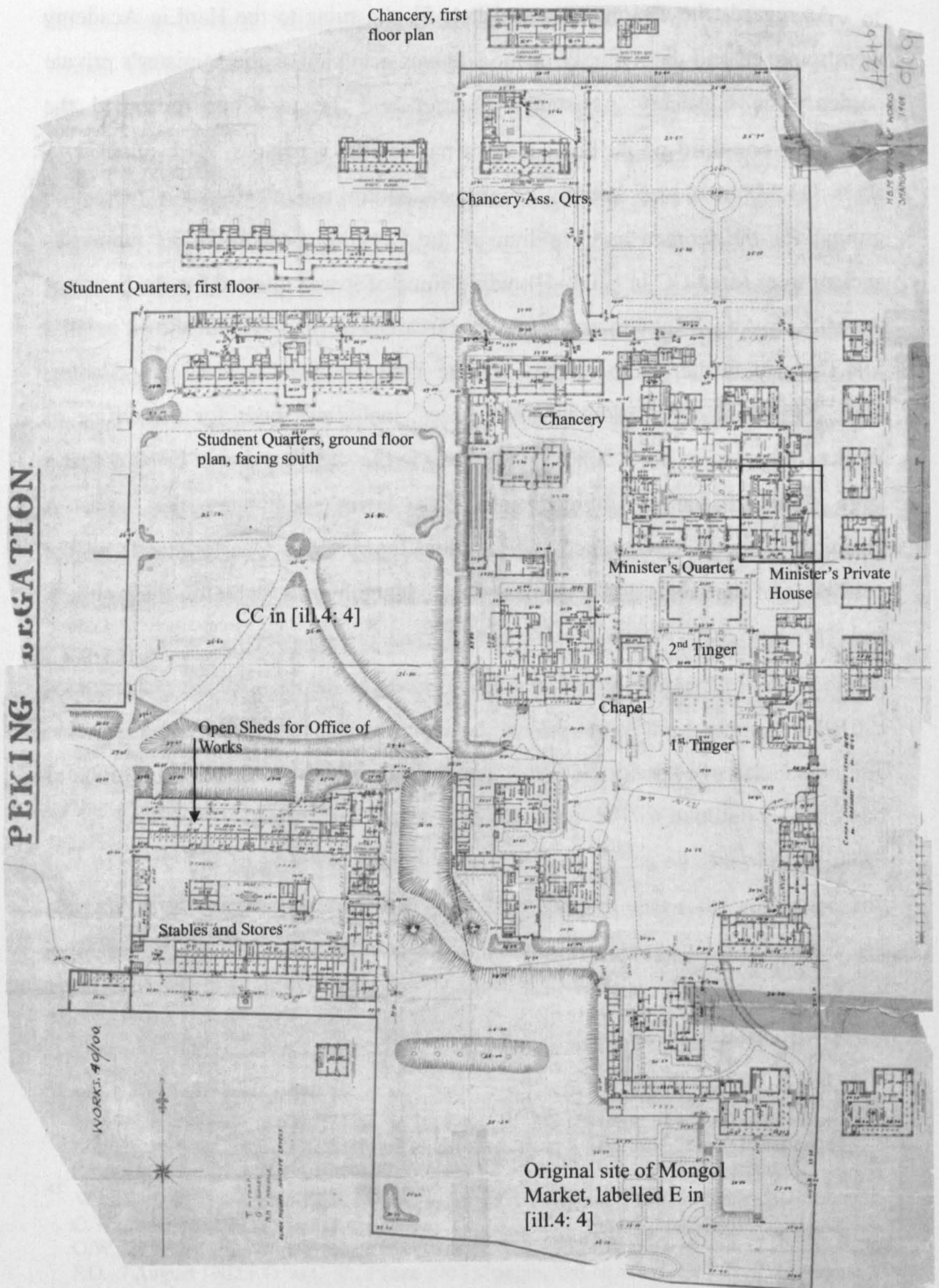
<sup>47</sup> WORK 10/371 '*Embassy: re-allocation, building and construction of residences*', 27 April 1910 S.M.C.D. to C. Simpson, 28 June 1910 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai.

<sup>48</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 19 April 1901 Peking Legation to F.O., 31 May 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office.

As regards the diplomatic area [ill.4: 5], the ruins to the HanLin Academy were removed and the majority of the site was occupied as the Minister's private garden. The Chancery Assistant's Quarter and Tennis Court occupied the remaining one-third of it. The southern part of the Carriages Yard, about 2.75 acres (11,148 m<sup>2</sup>) was initially recommended for use mostly as a recreation ground for the women and children of the Legation because of its numerous ancient trees (area CC in [ill.4: 4]), while some of it was allotted for the house of the Military Attaché and more secretaries (area DD of [ill.4: 4], not shown in [ill.4: 5]). The part further south of the Carriage Yard would be used as new Stables, Store Yards and other miscellaneous spaces, including sheds for the Office of Works (indicated in [ill.4: 5]). It can be read in the site plan drawn in 1909 that a large area of garden divided into five lawns dominates the land. A verandah-wrapped Renaissance style Student Interpreter's Quarter stands on the north side of the lawns and a Chinese-Renaissance hybrid Stable on the southern end.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 13 November 1900 Shanghai Office to London Office, 31 May 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office.



[ill.4: 5] PeKing Legation, diplomatic compound (north to the top). It shows the alteration made after the Boxer Movement (Military Attaché's quarter is now shown).  
 Source: WORK 40/100, date: 1909



The southern addition of the Legation, the space originally used as the Mongol Market (area E in [ill.4: 4]), where the Tributary envoys traded, was included in the area contained by the newly built boundary walls and suggested as gardens. However, the space for residence was increasingly cramped, so later in the second decade of the twentieth century the area was requested for use as bungalows for the Chinese Secretary, the First Secretary of the Legation and the Commercial Attaché. The funding for the reorientation was postponed by the 1911 Republic Revolution in China but the bungalows were completed in 1915.<sup>50</sup> Another piece of land – the HongLu-Si YaMen (area EE in [ill.4: 4], not shown in [ill.4: 5]), where foreign envoys had rehearsed the rites and ceremonies for meeting the Emperor, was burnt down, and the site cut into two parts by the boundary wall. Simpson suggested building accommodation for Student Interpreters and Assistants on the part that was included in the British Legation compound. In the end, about one-fifth of the land was taken by the army and a house for the Commandant was built on it. The rest of the land was used as a general recreation ground.<sup>51</sup>

The Minister's residence in the Liang-Koong Foo also underwent a certain amount of alteration although most of the plan was reorganisation to the spaces. Simpson states in 1900 that several war prizes were placed after the war in the well-furnished and undamaged entrance hall at the original sleeping hall by Lady Macdonald. The Office of Works was asked to pay for the carpets and curtains, which were bought by the Minister E. Satow, whether they were replacements of war damage or not. The palace was relatively little affected by the war except that rooms were filled with soldiers, and fire engines were urgently requested after the Boxer War when the Chinese tried to smoke the refugees out.<sup>52</sup>

Other than minor repairs, such as remaking the ceiling of the dining room, drawing rooms and the Nursery room as well as repairing a bullet hole in the

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<sup>50</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 31 May 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office; WORK 10/371, 3 July 1909 Shanghai Office to London Office, 27 April 1910 S.M.C.D. to C.J.W. Simpson, 28 June 1910 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 6 August 1910 C.J.W. Simpson to Principal Architect, 25 June 1912 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 8 February 1913 Treasury to O.W, 27 May 1915 R.J. Allison to Secretary.

<sup>51</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 13 November 1900 Shanghai Office to London Office, 31 May 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office, 2 June 1903 Shanghai Office to London Office, 12 August 1903 O.W. to F.O.; FO 228/1442, 20 March 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation, 21 March 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation.

<sup>52</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 13 November 1900 Shanghai Office to London Office.

portrait of the Queen, it was proposed that a double-storied block with verandah on the first floor be erected by the east side-hall of the third courtyard, next to the Minister's bedroom, to serve as his private house [ill.4: 6]. Its details are 'four framings of 6' by 6" timbers with two 6" by 4" uprights to each, all to tightly fit' in structure and '4 rooms 20 ft x 16 ft, with bathrooms (two on the ground floor and two on the first) and staircase'.<sup>53</sup> The new block along with the palace failed to attract the minister, however, and the main reasons given were that the new block was too close to the noisy street outside the compound, and that the palace was the most uncomfortable residence in terms of sanitary and heating apparatus in the Legation. Demands to reconstruct the Minister's residence began to appear in the correspondence and designs were drawn, but until the War between China and Japan forced the Legation move to Shanghai in 1938, the Liang-Koong Foo still stood.<sup>54</sup>



[ill.4: 6] PeKing Legation, Minister's residence. The two-storey building is the extension of the residence.

Source: WORK 55/17, date: unknown

<sup>53</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 1 November 1900 C.J.W. Simpson to Dr. Dudgeon; FO 228/1442, 10 October 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation; October 1902 memorandum by Shanghai Office.

<sup>54</sup> WORK 10/371, 28 June Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 6 August 1910 C.J.W. Simpson to Principal Architect, 22 March 1938 F.O. to O.W.

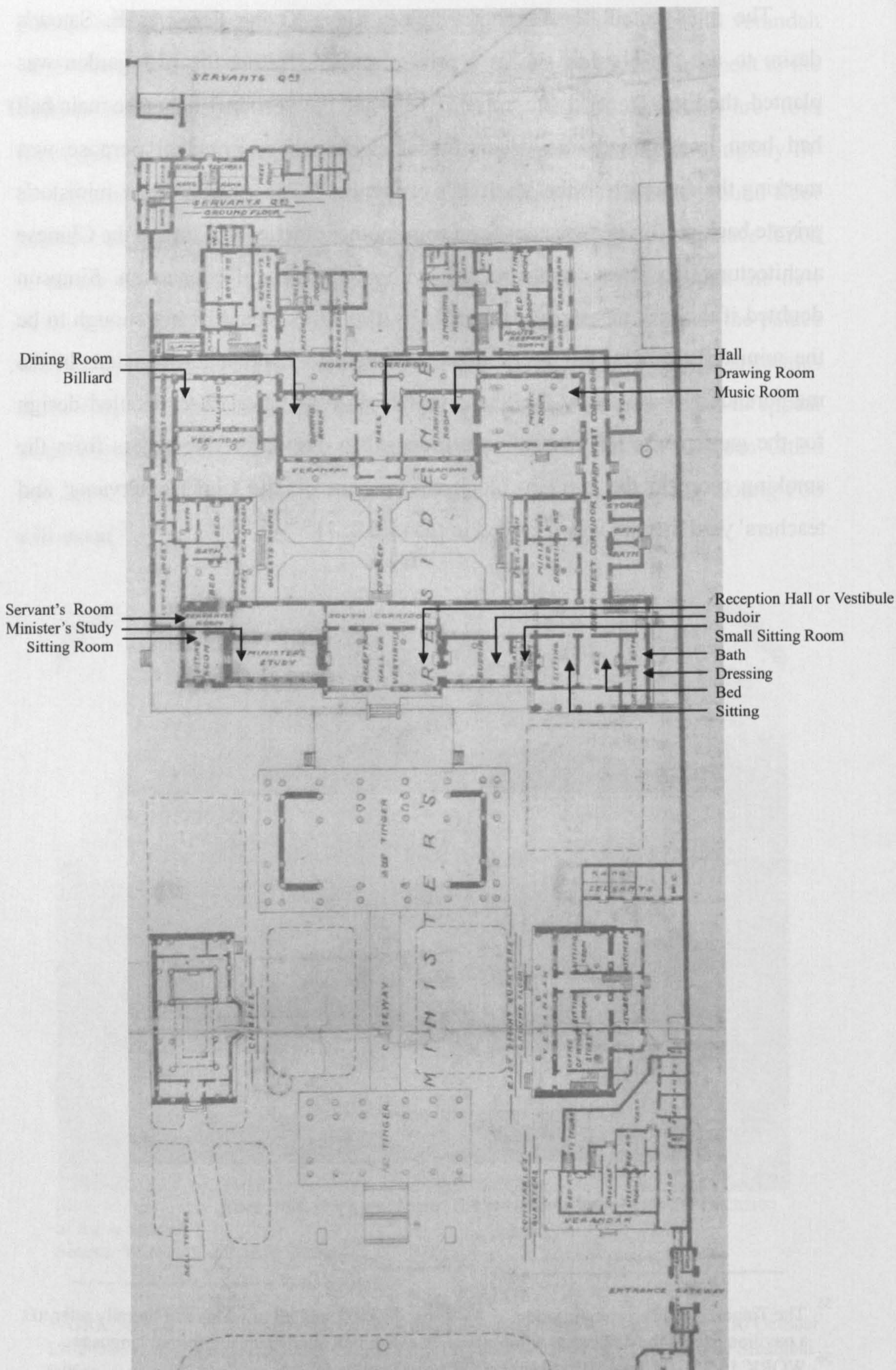
The most noted transformation to the Liang-Koong Foo was E. Satow's desire to use the HanLin site as a private garden. Before the rear garden was planted, the First Tinger<sup>55</sup> (the entrance hall) and the Second Tinger (the main hall) had been transformed into decorative elements whose principal purpose was marking the approach to the Minister's residence.<sup>56</sup> The making of the minister's private back garden in a western form was another practice that turned the Chinese architecture into an isolated structure without its cultural connection. Simpson doubted if the area measuring 100 yards by 100 yards would be big enough to be the minister's garden, but suggestions were sent to London for decision. In the memorandum prepared by the Shanghai Office in October 1902, detailed design for the garden was left empty but a proposal to draw a private access from the smoking room in the Nursery block and to shut off the Chinese servants' and teachers' yard by wall was recorded in plan [ill.4: 7].<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The Tinger, is a direct romanisation of 亭兒 or 亭/亭閣, and all of which can literally refer to a pavilion except the difference of intonation between PeKing dialect and formal language.

<sup>56</sup> WORK 10/371, 24 June 1910 Shanghai Office to London Office.

<sup>57</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 31 May 1901 Shanghai Office to London Office, 10 October 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation; October 1902 memorandum by Shanghai Office.



[ill.4: 7] PeKing Legation, plan of the Minister's quarter (north to the top).  
 Source: WORK 40/99, date: 1908

## Exclusion of the Chinese Characteristics

*Life would be intolerable to Western folks if it were not removed from the sights, noises, and odours of the streets; and fortunately the ruling local principle of spaciousness lends itself to the solution without running counter to any native practice or prejudice. The Legations, the customs, and the missionaries are in their various degrees established in "compounds" large enough to accommodate the members of their staffs in separate buildings with ample elbow-room, as in an Indian cantonment, interspaced with trees and sometimes gardens, the whole surrounded by a high wall and capable of defence. These seductive oasis in a wilderness of garbage, in a city of great distances, naturally conduce to stay-at-home habits and to segregation, which it requires some energy to overcome. (Michie 1900: II, 145)*

### Unsanitary

Michie states the overwhelming attitude of the British to the air and visual quality of PeKing. Except for their exotic excitement for the Orient or foreign lands accounts that link smells of the city with insanitary are regularly given by a great number of contemporary writers,<sup>58</sup> although in Lin, YuTang's nostalgic novel *Moment in Peking* the air quality of the city is hardly a problem for the Chinese or foreign characters.<sup>59</sup> It has been a common phenomenon in the official correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Office of Works regardless of seniority.

A few years after the legation was inhabited, Minister Alcock emphasised to Major William Crossman the necessity of sport facilities in the legation. The crowded, dusty and smelly PeKing city, where no public places of the European type was available, were the reasons for building two bowling alleys, one fives court, one small gymnasium, and numerous of tennis courts.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, the British undoubtedly noted and copied the Ching Emperor's tradition of leaving the city during the summer time. A month after the Union Jack rose on the Legation gate in April 1861, the site for the Summer Legation had been decided as

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<sup>58</sup> Such attitudes can also be found in Reid, Arnot, *From Peking to Petersburg* (London: Edward Arnold, 1899), p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> On page 100, Lin uses the famous or notorious sandstorm of PeKing as a hint of the death of one character, and from the page 170 to 172 he describes the beauty of the crystal blue sky during the wintertime and the lively spirits in the city, as well as how these two enrich each other. Lin, Yutang, *Moment in Peking: A novel of contemporary Chinese life* (New York: John Day, 1939).

<sup>60</sup> WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 5 August 1867 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

some of the temples at the Western Hill twelve miles west the city. Changing air in the Western Hills was annual routine for resort before the Pei-Tai-Ho increasingly became popular for the Legation members.<sup>61</sup> Bickers also points out that the ritual was not merely on hygienic grounds. It was developed in India from a desire to morally remove native influences and to culturally create a 'healthy climate (and one more akin to 'home')'.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from that kind of relief, the most common practice to improve the sanitary condition was to remove the source of dirtiness, namely the Chinese and the Chinese buildings, from the compound. After the Boxer War the sanitary anxiety together with the fear for another Chinese attack on the compound of the British Legation,<sup>63</sup> regarding both military and diplomatic sites, expanded enormously. Boyce's report on investigating the legation and consular buildings in China, Korea, Japan and Thailand, which was delivered in 1900, suggests for space and health reasons purchasing the Royal Carriages Yard, which was already occupied by the British troops.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the Chinese neighbours around the Mongol Market were accused of causing the 'crowded and filthy state' of the Legation, therefore about 14.75 acres more land were obtained apart from the Carriage Yard, including the HanLin Academy and other Chinese buildings such as the YaMens of the Ministry.<sup>65</sup>

Although the British community believed that their science of hygiene and sanitary matter was technically advanced, the documents reveal that there were still debates, even reactionary attitudes among British officials. In the first years of the twentieth century, three legation residences were infected with typhoid, and Dr. Poole died. It was not the first fatal case among Westerners in China or the last. The head of the Shanghai Office, C. Simpson, believed that the transmission of the typhoid bacilli was based on dried excrement and dust that flew about and to

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<sup>61</sup> WORK 10/56/6 'Reports (including original manuscript) on legation and consular buildings in China, Korea, Japan and Siam by R H Boyce, CB', 1899-1900; Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 109; Michie, Alexander, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, 2 vols. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), p. 154.

<sup>62</sup> Bickers, Robert A., *Britain in China: community culture and colonialism, 1900-1949* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 91-92.

<sup>63</sup> WORK 10/33/2, 7 June 1901 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office, 12 February 1901 Military Commission Report.

<sup>64</sup> WORK 10/56/6, 1899-1900; WORK 10/33/2, 6 November 1900 Peking Legation to F.O.

<sup>65</sup> WORK 10/33/2 29 October 1900 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai, 13 November 1900 C.J.W. Simpson to London Office.

infect uncovered water in yards or kitchens.<sup>66</sup> D. Browning, the newly appointed military medical officer who replaced the late Dr. Poole in 1902, questioned Simpson's misunderstanding of public health and argued that sewage contamination in the drinking water was the cause of the typhoid and enteric fever.<sup>67</sup>

Apart from differences in medical opinions, water closets were gradually populating bathrooms in China at that time, but the elder members of the Legation still preferred to use night stools.<sup>68</sup>

### **Political disrespect**

During the decline of the Ching Empire the contradiction between Chinese medical theories and the requirements of healing was increasing.<sup>69</sup> There is a great possibility that the consideration to exclude Chinese from the legation site was due to ideological differences in sanitary practices and personal hygiene, including cooking and use of herbs. A more fundamental reason can be read in the attempt to exclude all Chinese, regardless of rank, from the territory of the Minister's living space.

The social hierarchy was not only represented by the scale, decorations and colours of the architecture, but was also in the ritual practices where and when visitors were being received. This is not just a matter of individual practice in China but a worldwide phenomenon. *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence* by Huang, Liu-Hung (about 1633-?) is regarded as a junior officers' guide to his civil service in the Ching Empire, and it advises, 'if the predecessor or the garrison commander of the district comes to pay his respect, the new magistrate should invite him to the main hall. If educational officers come, they are invited to the inner hall. Both should be entertained with a tea reception. When they leave, the magistrate escorts them to the steps of the hall'.<sup>70</sup> Other

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<sup>66</sup> WORK 228/1442, 16 January 1902 C. Simpson to E. Satow, 16 January 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation, 8 July 1902 Office of Works, Shanghai to Peking Legation;

<sup>67</sup> WORK 228/1442, 17 January 1900s British Contingent, China Field Force to Peking Legation, 28 January 1902 D. Browning to Peking Legation, 30 January 1902 D. Browning to Peking Legation.

<sup>68</sup> WORK 10/371 28 June 1910 Peking Legation to Office of Works, Shanghai.

<sup>69</sup> More details are discussed in other chapter. Unschuld, Paul U., *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1985), p. 228.

<sup>70</sup> Huang, Liu-Hung, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, trans. Chu Djang (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1984), p. 97.

chapters detail when and where the official routines, such as roll call, receiving the seal of the city, offering to gods and so on should be exercised. Thus was Chinese society organised.

In *Peking and the Pekingese*, Rennie describes his experience of being invited to a house belonging to Hang-Ki – the Assistant Minister of the TsungLi YaMen—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ching Empire. On 25 April 1861, Parkes, Wade and Rennie arrived the northeast angle outside the Imperial City Wall in the Manchu city. They were received by Hang-Ki, who waited there at the front gate, and together they went ‘through two courtyards to his reception-apartment, which was fitted up with great taste and neatness. The room is of oblong shape, with two open partitions, the upper portions elaborately carved. These give the room a sort of division into three apartments. The central one, the door of which opens on the courtyards, contains the official reception-seat, consisting of two cushioned seats, raised a little from the ground, and separated from each other by a small table between them, on which tea is placed.’<sup>71</sup> Half a century later, Catherine Marcartny and her husband – the then Consul-General to Kashgar – were invited to dine with a Chinese military officer’s family in the Chinese city of Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan. They were first saluted by letting off crackers as they passed through the archway of the Ti-Tai’s YaMen. After the host and hostess conducted them into the house, the ladies were separated from the male guests and were presumably led to a hostess’s room in the sleeping hall, where a platform of Kang (heated bench) covered with ‘red mats and bolster-like cushions’ was prepared as the seat of honour for Lady Marcartny.<sup>72</sup>

Another example can be found in Rennie’s account of how the heir to the throne and minister of the TsungLi YaMen was received. At three o’clock in the afternoon, on 4 April 1861 or the 2<sup>nd</sup> month 25<sup>th</sup> day of HsienFeng 11<sup>th</sup> year (year of XinYu), the Prince of the Blood Kung made his first official visit to the British Legation. He was carried up in a chair directly to ‘the door of the room temporarily fitted up for the reception of Chinese visitors’, waiting there before Mr. Bruce – the British Minister to PeKing – came out and conducted him to the

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<sup>71</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, pp. 106-07.

<sup>72</sup> Macartney, Catherine, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1931), pp. 76, 80-81. The same practices can also be found in *Dream of Red Chamber*, see Guan, Hua-Shan, *A Study on the Architecture in Novel 'Dream of the Red Chamber'* (Taipei: Environment and Form, 1984), pp. 196-201.



apartment. 'The prince looked troubled, and by no means so easy as when we saw him two days ago' [in the temporary building of the TsungLi YaMen]. The British Minister to Peking's first official visit took place afterwards on 13 April.<sup>73</sup> The awkwardness of the Prince Kung was because of the Emperor HsienFeng's illness and failure to return to the capital, as he explained later, but it was also possible that Minister Bruce deliberately looked down on Prince Kung. The same kinds of practices were performed both in the English and Ching royal courts for political means, and the Prince Kung was certainly aware of his position.

Whether the British truly addressed and mimicked the spatial hierarchy and social order of the Ching Empire or not, the attempts of the British to exclude Chinese officials can be read in the archives. Despite the proposal's earlier rejection by the Treasury, Thomas Wade still justified the necessity to alter one side of 'the great building lying between the chapel and the escort's quarters' into a reception for Chinese officials, and the other for archives on 27 May 1874. The Treasury's reasons for disagreement were not presented, but it was possibly due to Wade's groundless excuse that: 'the great vestibule [the original inner hall, ill.4: 8], so far as dimension and beauty is concerned, is all that could be desired, but, being a vestibule, it cannot be used in winter when it is most wanted for such a purpose without great inconvenience. The fact that it is a vestibule, again, makes it impossible as a reception room for the Chinese'.<sup>74</sup> No matter whether it was the entrance hall or the main hall being converted into a reception room for the Chinese,<sup>75</sup> it obviously lowered the status of visitors from the Chinese point of view, particularly those who worked in the TsungLi YaMen as the parallel of the British Legation. The design was arranged for short stay and the furniture was unsuitable for discussing business.

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<sup>73</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 66, 84.

<sup>74</sup> WORK 10/439, 9 March 1876 Memorandum by T.F. Wade, 27 May 1874 T.F. Wade to R.H. Boyce.

<sup>75</sup> The account from H. Parker's daughter proves that the vestibule was still used as reception of the Chinese in 1883, see Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), vol. II, p. 369.



[ill.4: 8] PeKing, Legation, vestibule in the Minister's quarter, facing south.  
Source: WORK 55/17, no date given.

## Architectural Exhibition of Colonialism

### Eclecticism

The British tried to exclude the Chinese for hygienic and political reasons, but at the same time they also made efforts to retain and even to reproduce certain Chinese characteristics. The palace was under uninterrupted repairs to keep its Chinese appearance despite the ministers' attitude. When the legation gatehouse was to be renewed, R.H. Boyce prepared both European and Chinese designs in 1869, and suggested that Alcock obtain an estimate for the Chinese style gatehouse from Chinese contractors.<sup>76</sup> The Chinese building originally converted into the chapel was regarded by Alcock as undesirable for the purpose as early as 1866, and he ordered Crossman to pull it down and erect a new chapel near the site.<sup>77</sup> In 1869, Boyce also proposed an Italian and a Chinese design for the conversion work of the new chapel. His intention for the Chinese version was based on the economic consideration that the original materials of the old building could be adapted. In the end, the gatehouse was of classical European style.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> WORK 10/439, 7 July 1869 R.H. Boyce to R. Alcock.

<sup>77</sup> WORK 10/439, 6 May 1869 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440, 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 16 March W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>78</sup> WORK 10/439, 7 July 1869 R.H. Boyce to R. Alcock.

Regarding the chapel [ill.4: 9, 10], it is uncertain whether the Chinese and Italian designs were intended for the old Chinese building or the side-hall west of the first palace courtyard. However, in the site plan of 1876 and according to the letter sent by Wade on 15 August 1876, the Legation Chapel was already using the side-hall. It was possibly altered just few years before 1876, as its woodwork required repainting in that year.<sup>79</sup> The 1876 site plan shows that the original structure of the side-hall was scarcely changed, except for the entrance of the chapel being moved to the gable-end of the building and the original front façade of the Chinese building being bricked up on its ground floor. On the south ridge-end [ill.4: 9], which was ornamented with the glazed terracotta biting-dragon or biting-whale, the original sword-hilt part of the ornament was replaced by a High Cross. In addition, a Chinese hip roof with three celestial magic animals on the hips was chosen to highlight the entrance.

The intention of the builder or the designer was plain: that the status of the chapel entrance was designed to be lower than the main body of the building, because there were five magic animals on the flush gable roof and only three on the entrance roof. However, from the perspective of the Chinese architectural order, it is scarcely a proper practice to use a roof-type of a first class building as the setting of a lowest class building, not to mention that the face of the biting-dragon on the hip-roof entrance was in fact awkwardly half buried in the brick wall. The architect was arguably not aware of another choice of ridge-end terracotta decoration – watching dragon/ whale, which looked outwards.

But a glance at the surviving photograph suggests that the elegance of the curved roof as well as the accuracy of the structure and painting seems to obey the formulas and rules of Chinese classic architecture. A complete set of ridge-symbols includes one immortal-riding-chicken then an odd number of magic animals that is followed by a ridge-dragon. The absence of the two immortal figures from the both hips suggests not only that moral importance of the figures went unnoticed, but also that the structural module of the entrance was miscalculated, failing to allow enough space on the roof for entire sets of figures.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> WORK 10/439, 7 July 1869 R.H. Boyce to R. Alcock, 15 August 1876 T.F. Wade to F.T. Marshall; WORK 40/88, 1876.

<sup>80</sup> For a method to calculate and plan the relationship between the roof ornament, roof tiles and the roof structure, see Liang, *New Model Regulations and Calculations for Use in Building*, pp.



[ill.4: 9] PeKing Legation, exterior of chapel.  
Source: WORK 55/17, no date given.



[ill.4: 10] PeKing Legation, nave and reredos of chapel.  
Source: WORK 10/117, date: 1946-1951.

It seems that standardised roof-tile parts could still be economically supplied in the capital despite the Ching empire decaying. The glazed roof element of the immortal-riding-chicken was moulded into a typical corner end of a roof with perfect finishing of and it would cost reasonable efforts to stick a dragon (or another magic animal) on an ordinary corner finishing of the roof or to use another magic animal element as the corner decoration. Arguments between the builder and the person in charge – a clerk of works or the diplomats – and difficulties during the application are imaginable. At the same time, one finds on examining other photographs of the architecture in the minister's quarter, that most of the immortal-riding-chicken figures are missing and replaced by ordinary tubular corner tiles. There are many reasons why they might have been lost. On some buildings, for instance the main hall and the vestibule, the magic animals were almost all gone, only the fifth or seventh figure remaining [ill.4: 8]. They could have fallen off before or after the Legation was set up, and ordinary tiles for different parts were surely less expensive than the ornamented ones.

Furthermore, moving the building's entrance from the longer façade to its shorter one provided a longer interior axis and together with the original columns shaped a typical Christian church plan of one nave and two aisles on the sides.

Being a chapel in a British territory and used by Westerners nearby, religious debates about the rites and about the form and plan of the place of worship were unnecessary, and to turn the long axis of the building into the nave was presumably based on practical and conventional motivation. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the choice of the longer axis was considered more necessary than a choice west-east orientation.

The interior photograph of the legation chapel suggests that the decoration removed all influence of Chinese culture [ill.4: 10]. Despite having the timber frame structure retained, the sets of tou-kong were covered up by ceilings, always the first alterations to be made when British occupied a Chinese house. The reredos with its painting of Jesus and 'Christ Is Risen Alleluia' plate was decorated with Tudor pointed arch carving. The vault was studded with irises and crosses, and a motto saying 'O God Wonderful Art Thou in Thy Holy Places' was placed at the focal point of the nave. The upper space of the chapel, above the ceiling, was used as store room and occasional archive.<sup>81</sup>

Finally, while Wade explained again the necessity of stopping Chinese people before the vestibule, he at the same time planned to build a Chinoiserie extension as a ball room or smoking room behind the minister's quarters. He wrote on 9 March 1876 'for various reasons I should wish to see [it] built in Chinese fashion' and 'it would be lower in the wings East and West'. Based on Wade's design, the entertaining hall adjoining the inner hall of the minister's residence would again be entered at the gable end to highlight the long axis. Interestingly, just days later, Wade abandoned his own proposal and in August of the same year, he proposed instead that the entertaining room be 'Chinese style inside and European outside'.<sup>82</sup>

### **Hierarchy in styles**

Other than the palatial portion of the Legation, including the buildings surrounding the first, second and third courtyards, the erecting time and the occupants' rank left different states of Chinese-European hybrid on the buildings in the legation compound. Although the obtained correspondence between the Office of Works and the Foreign Office reveals little about the design concepts of

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<sup>81</sup> WORK 10/439, 14 March 1876 T.F. Wade to R.H. Boyce.

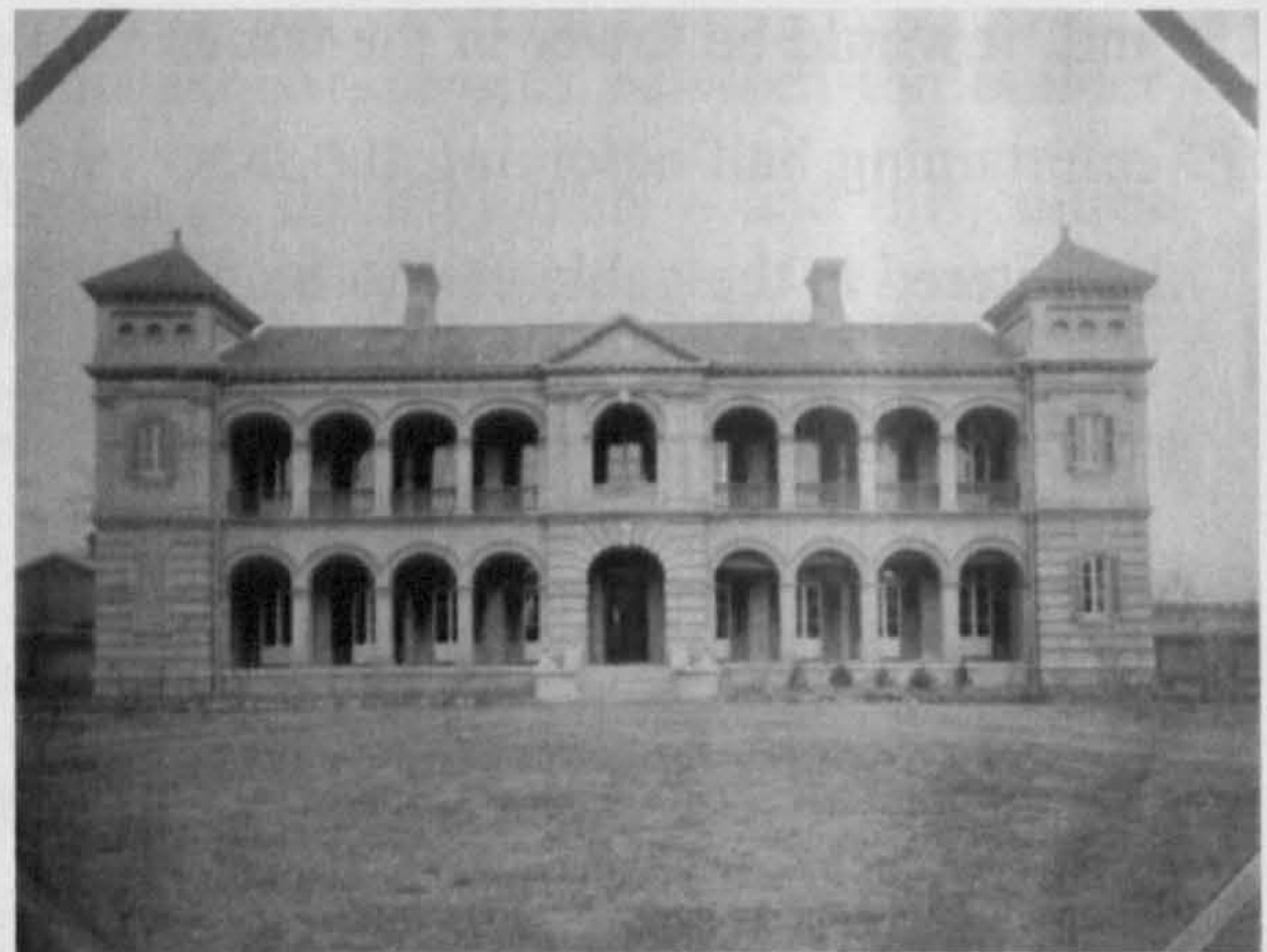
<sup>82</sup> WORK 10/439, 9 March 1876 Memorandum by T.F. Wade, 14 March 1876 T.F. Wade to R.H. Boyce, 15 August 1876 T.F. Wade to F.T. Marshall.

the building, the photographs can provide some basis for interpretation. The new buildings built in the first decade of the twentieth century include the Chancery of the Chargé d’Affaires, the Chancery Assistants’ Quarters, the new Student Interpreters’ Quarters, and the Legation Stables. They can all be read as European architecture with different Oriental flavours. The lower grade the building is, such as the Legation Stables, the stronger the flavour.

Comparing the office building of the Chancery with that of the Chancery Assistant for instance [ill.4: 11, 12], the appearance of both buildings may look like typical verandah architecture frequently built in Eastern countries, except that the verandah arches of the Chancery were closed by glazed windows. But examining the floor plans of the two buildings shows that they were designed to different concepts, despite the Chancery being an office building and the Chancery Assistants Quarter a multi-function dwelling and office. The large windows of the Chancery can be interpreted as providing sun light for the offices, and the verandah of the Chancery Assistant Quarters as providing sunshade. They are both reasonable design concepts, but one can argue that as both buildings are north-south orientated, why should one of them need sun light without concern about interior temperatures while the other needs a completely opposite function?



[ill.4: 11] PeKing Legation, south elevation of chancery.  
Source: WORK 55/17, no date given



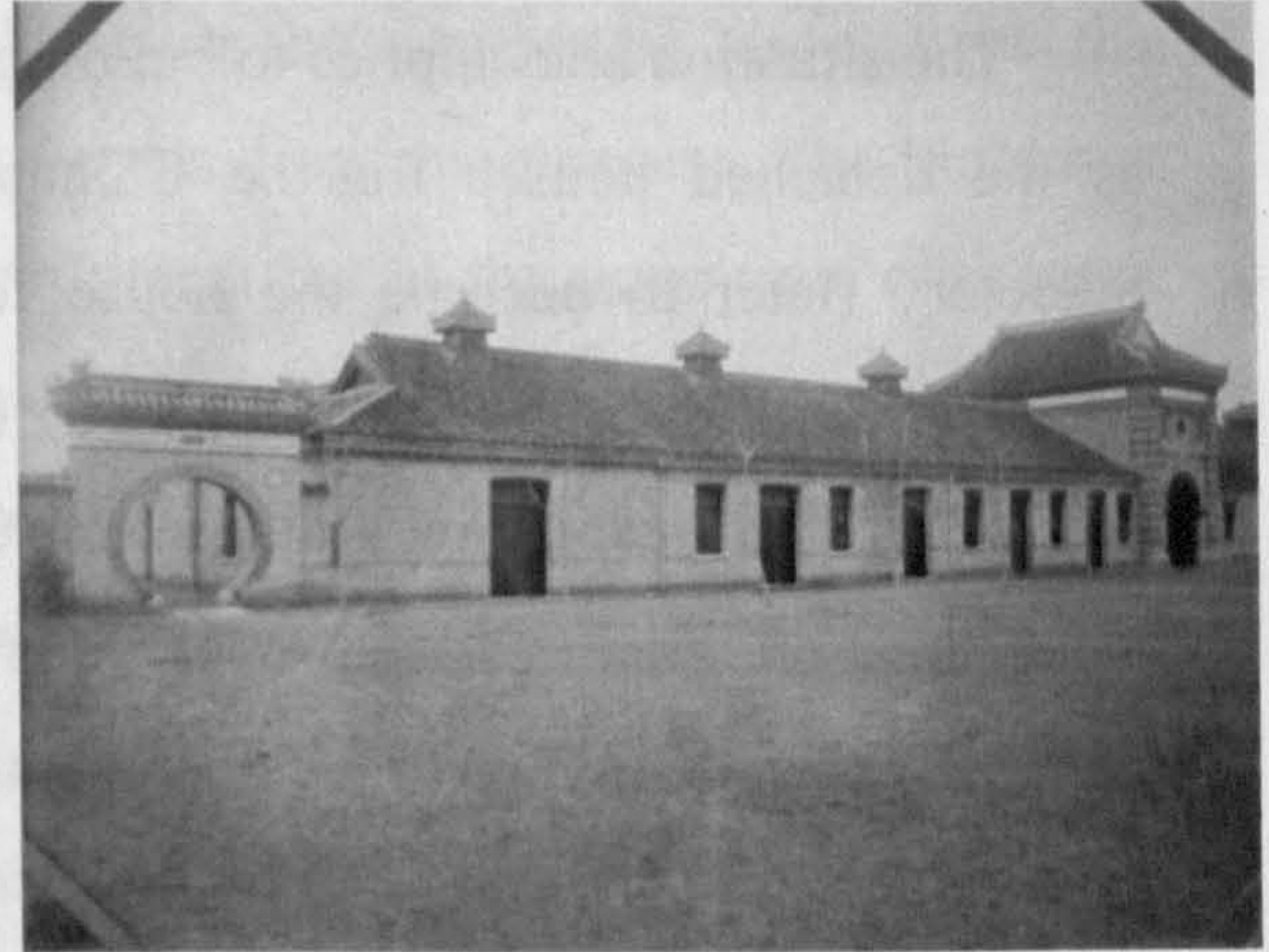
[ill.4: 12] PeKing Legation, south elevation of Chancery Assistants’ quarters.  
Source: WORK 55/17, no date

The Student Interpreters’ Quarters carry a style of English Renaissance enriched by a verandah [ill.4: 13]. The window frames on the central gable of the quarters would give the new student an impression of Chinese copper coins. In the case of the Legation Stables [ill.4: 14], the moon gate archway, the 90-degree

gable-and-hip roof, and the decorations all give strong favour of Chinese architectural language. Common European-Chinese eclecticist practices can also be read in the photographs, in that the Tou-Kongs were structurally and aesthetically treated in the same way as the medallion in European classical architectural orders.



[ill.4: 13] PeKing Legation, south elevation of Student Interpreters' quarters.  
Source: WORK 55/17



[ill.4: 14] PeKing Legation, east elevation of stable blocks.  
Source: WORK 55/17

Such practice is frequently maintained to be a rationalist eclecticism of the East and West architectural cultures, as defined in Rowe and Kuan's book,<sup>83</sup> however the interpretation rarely discusses the racial and class ideologies that are hidden behind the elaborated façade. The discussions earlier in this chapter suggest that the British officials were clearly aware of the class divisions represented in the spatial as well as in the aesthetic structures in Chinese civilisation. The exercise was not exclusive to Chinese architectural civilisation. Although the understanding of the British was scarcely deep enough, manipulating Chinese & European styles so as to divide classes is still a reasonable argument.

It can also be argued that the European-Chinese eclecticism was the result of Chinese builders and British architects working together. The style was produced as the architect drew the outline of the building and the local craftsmen finished it with the decorations of local culture.<sup>84</sup> It was partially right, but the phenomenon

<sup>83</sup> Rowe, G. Peter and Kuan, Seng, *Architectural Encounters with Essence and Form in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002). The same point can also be read in Izumida, Hideo, 'British Architects in East and Southeast Asia 1830-1940', *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 2/2 (2003), 131-136.

<sup>84</sup> One of the examples is Izumida, Hideo, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia,

also indicates that British architects paid relatively little attention on these secondary buildings, particularly as when the buildings were erected, the building trade in China was already familiar with European methods. Economic reasons were the other side of the phenomenon. Little information about the Chancery Assistants Quarter and the Legation Stables can be obtained from the correspondence of the Office of Works but it indirectly provides evidence.

The situation also applies to buildings built before the twentieth century, such as the detached houses for the Chinese Secretary and the Assistant Chinese Secretary (later to become the house for the Doctor and for the Commercial Attaché after 1900), the Office building (later occupied by the Assistant Chinese Secretary), the Accountant's house, the Chancery (later the Doctor's house) and the recreation facilities. However it is difficult to find sufficient discussion regarding these buildings in the documents.

## **Symbolism of Empires**

Style of architecture was important to an educated Victorian. Through style an image of power, progress, superiority or Empire could be presented. The cultural meaning of the style, particular the Western architecture in the East, is therefore the focal point of architectural studies in the present day. However, style was a more crucial issue for the Ching Chinese. The same images were established in different ways, through the number of magic animals, the scale of the buildings and the colour of materials. The demonstration of power was displayed by the width of the building, the height of the building platform, the elaboration of the roof, and more importantly the depth of the courtyard in front of the main halls.

The typical Chinese site plan with its central axis was easily noted and adopted by the British to show the power and prestige of the British Empire. Transforming the two original halls of the Liang-Koong Foo into archways also emphasised the importance of the Minister's Quarter. But as regards the rest of the spiritual symbols in Chinese classic architecture, the British were unaware of and cared little, despite their extensive repairs to maintain the palatial part as "Chinese" as possible. At the same time, the Chinese officials and other Chinese buildings were intentionally excluded from the Legation compound by extending



the compound site, stopping the Chinese officials from entering the reception room and pulling down the old Chinese structures except for the palace. Regardless of the progress of time and the interests of the Ministers, the palace in the British Legation was due to the nature of the Victorian intelligence, treated as an authentic item of Chinoiserie as in a museum.

Other buildings in the British Legation were treated differently. A public health driven attitude made every building in the compound, as well as the compound itself an isolated oasis in the surrounding environment. The buildings were self-isolated from the Oriental environment but at the same time connected with one another through a social hierarchy that decided the proportion of Oriental and European styles. As time progressed, the members of the Legation changed from bachelor based to family based. Houses became gradually more crowded, but the oasis attitude, as well as the politics outside the compound, encouraged a conservative management, so that few new erection projects and only repairs were authorised to the compound after the 1930s. The buildings became corrupted through out time, the most common problems being dampness and leaking roofs.<sup>85</sup>

The use of the Chinese classic language of architecture on the legation buildings, and especially the retention of the palace's original appearance are themselves demonstrations of the British preserving and reforming Chinese architecture. The alterations to the Minister's Quarter and the Church reveal misunderstanding by the British about the Chinese way of erecting buildings, but show also the British attempt at rewriting Chinese architecture and suggesting a modernised form for Chinese architecture, based on their own interpretation. Although the exteriors of the buildings were preserved in their Chinese character, the interiors were transformed for a Western way of life [ill.4: 15, 16]. Large glass windows and curtains replaced the lattice window. Sofas and armchairs were used in place of Kangs or uncomfortable Chinese chairs, which had been designed to straighten one's back and show correct propriety. A functionally based organisation of rooms additionally disconnected the link of interior and exterior, so the culture became disconnected.

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<sup>85</sup> WORK 10/757 *'Peking Diary by R G Scott: an account of the day to day activities and personal impressions of a mechanical and electrical engineer stationed at Peking from February 1958 to May 1960'*, pp. 2, 5-6



[ill.4: 15] PeKing Legation, morning room in the Minister's quarter. The drawing room on the farther end of the picture.

Source: WORK 55/17



[ill.4: 16] PeKing Legation, drawing room in the Minister's quarter. The other room to be the Morning Room.

Source: WORK 55/17

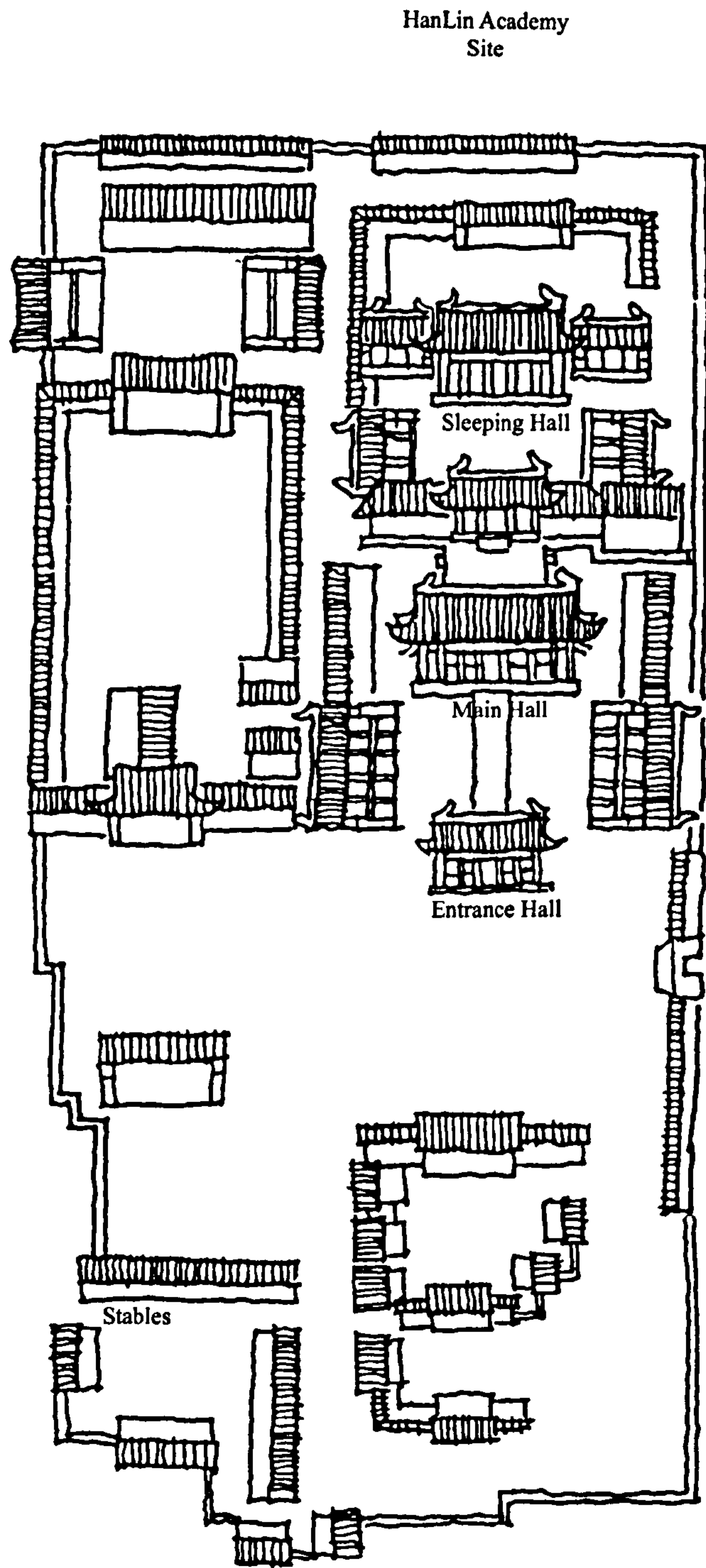
The spatial and also the social connection between humans and nature were changed from cosmological connection between courtyard/ nature and a hall/ human to an indoor basis that corridors were connected rooms and disconnected the relationship between humans and courtyard.

## Summary

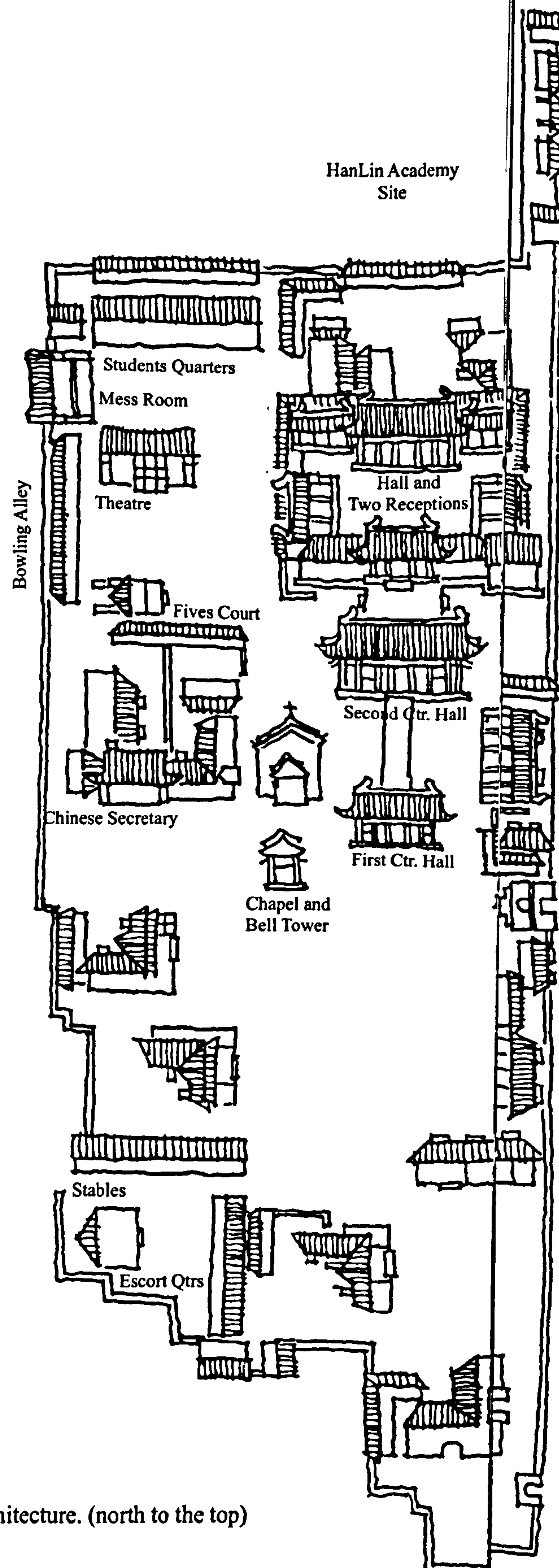
Chapter 4 investigates how the British turned a palace, which was built based on classical statutes of Chinese cosmology, into a diplomatic organisation for European standards [ill.4: 17]. British officials' attitude toward Chinese culture, government and people has been acknowledged by academia, and this research further suggests that the political intention of British officials was also practised in architectural ways. It is also suggested that stylistic manipulate was, instead of adapting available building and craftsmanship, was part of officials' experiment to habit European life in Chinese palace. At the same time, hierarchy was enhanced through not only magical roof animals but also the proportion of European and Chinese characters.

British officials' intention of manipulating Chinese and European architectural characteristics is continued to discuss in Chapter 5, which presents several British and Chinese judicial architecture and their cultural connection.

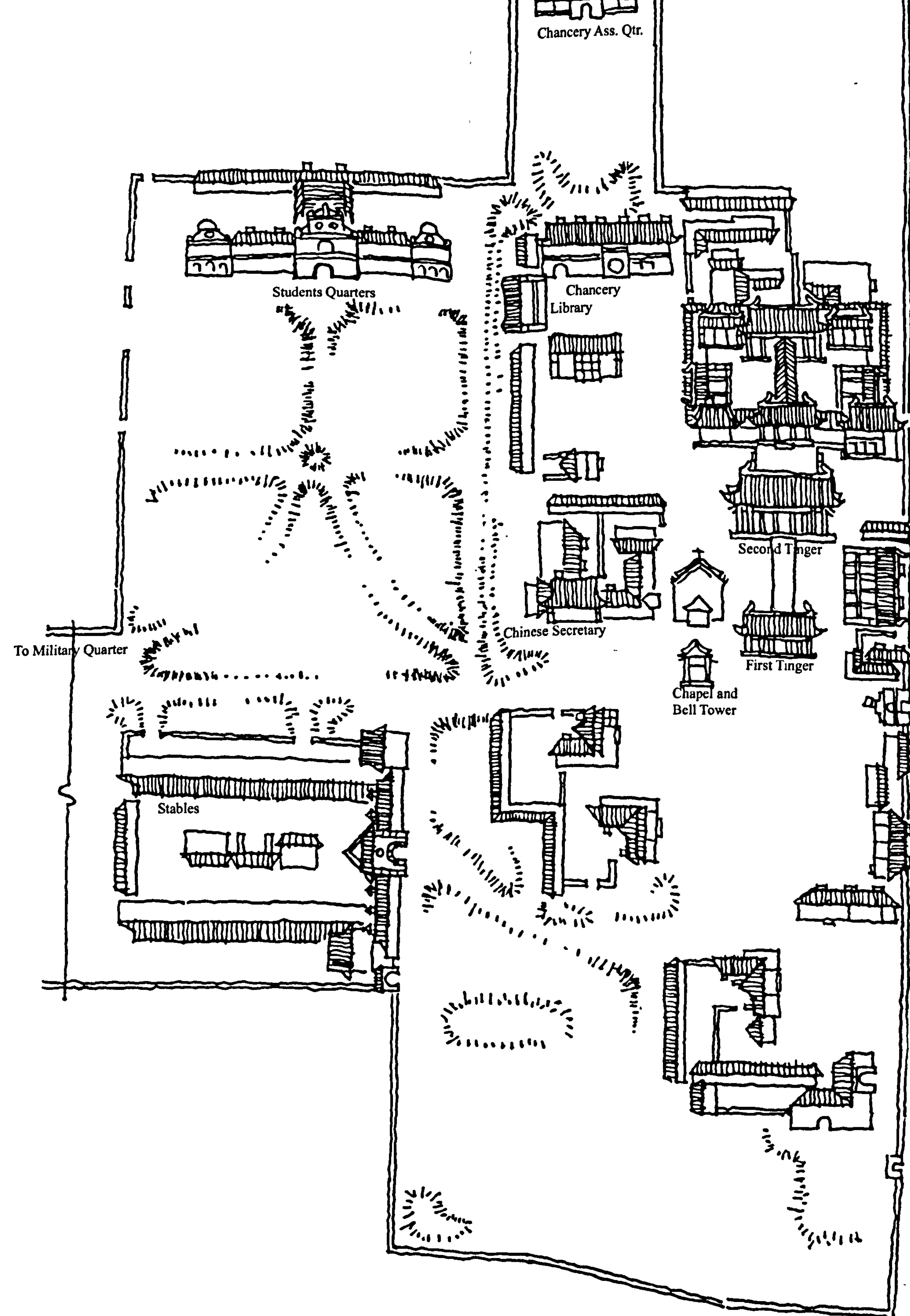
Reconstructed Plan before 1860



Plan in 1890



Plan in 1920



[ill.4: 17] PeKing Legation, showing the development of site and architecture. (north to the top)  
Source: Author, Scale: 1 inch = 120 feet

## Chapter 5, British Supreme Court, ShangHai

*To give the Chief Judge or Assistant Judge a small house, or even such an one as he could obtain in a good street or square in London with no compound round it, waiting reception and other rooms suitable to the climate and without stabling &c. would be to cast a reflexion on the position he occupies and to lower himself and his office in the eyes of the Public, Native as well as foreign. (Hornby 5 November 1866, WORK 10/432)*

*I went to interview the Mandarin who said that he was very sorry, but he really had no control over the villagers, that they were very bad men, and that he would send me a guard, to which I replied that I did not want one, preferring the Jacks. I kept a guard of six men in one of my cottages for three weeks... Of course I never tried another British subject accused of killing Chinaman at an outlying (sic) port, unless there was a gun-boat near at hand. (Hornby 1929: 245)*

introduction of extraterritoriality, writes of 'the laws of China being quite unsuitable to the requirements of Western existence'.<sup>1</sup> The only Chinese law the foreigners obeyed was the Chinese Customs Regulations,<sup>2</sup> and the Chinese Customs was in fact a British institution run by Robert Hart (1835-1911) from 1861 to 1911. Sixty years after the Bogue Treaty of 1843, one of the requirements of setting up model courts to 'awaken the attention of the Chinese' had, as C.S. Andres says in the *New York Times*, 'certainly dignified the British Government in the estimation of the Chinese and all other Asiatics'.<sup>3</sup>

Three courts of justice will be discussed in this chapter in order to understand from the architectural aspects the interaction of the Chinese and British justice systems. The British Supreme Court for China and Japan is discussed first, although its organisation came later than the International Mixed Court, which forms the first part of the Chinese reaction. Finally the construction of DaLi Yuan Supreme Court of the Empire of China can provide some understanding of the result of the interaction.

It is necessary to understand that these three courts presented in this chapter served different nationalities. The Mixed Courts dealt with cases involving the Chinese in the extraterritorial areas or both Chinese and foreigners, however it was an institution controlled by the British officials. To a great extent, the Mixed Court was, judicially and politically, an English designed court as a medium for both Chinese and British justice. Finally, the DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court of Justice at PeKing can be read as the ultimate stage of British judicial de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation.<sup>4</sup> The courts' differences in stylistic expression stand for changes in the Chinese judicial system.

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<sup>1</sup> Wright, Arnold (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources* (London: Lloyd's Great Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., 1908), p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Andrews, Champe S., 'A Day in a Chinese Criminal Court; Member of the New York Bar who sat with the native Magistrate administering Justice at Shanghai, describes some remarkable scenes.' *The New York Times*, November 18 1906, sec. Magazine.

<sup>4</sup> Although his book concentrates little effort on Britain's judicial reterritorialisation to China, the perspective is practical. See Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 128-142.

## **Extraterritorial rights and the consular service**

The Treaty of the Bogue in 1843 states in its ninth article that Chinese persons, who offend the laws of China, shall be handed over to and tried by the Chinese government, whether they took refuge in HongKong, or in English ships of war or commerce. In a like manner, English suspects were expected to obey the English justice.<sup>5</sup> This marked the beginning of the British extraterritoriality. Together with the 'Most Favoured Nation' clause in the eighth article, the Treaty of the Bogue also allowed other foreign nations to share the same privilege of extraterritoriality as the British subjects.

The extraterritorial rights maintained by consuls are always the furious target of anti-Imperialism in the East. Its origin varies depending on European or non-European perspective. Cartwright says it was practised for almost twenty centuries in the Mediterranean.<sup>6</sup> Platt argues that 'it was a natural development that merchants overseas, trading in alien and occasionally hostile cities, should band together, and that they should then appoint a spokesman or leader to conduct affairs of common interest with the local authorities. The local authorities, in turn, found it an advantage to delegate the detailed regulation and government of foreign merchants to their own leaders, often holding those leaders personally responsible for the good behavior of their nationals'.<sup>7</sup>

The consul establishment was most required in the lands of alien culture, particularly in hostile lands, which clearly mean the Levant and the Far East in Platt's book. It is also stated in the biography of Harry Parkes of 1894 that 'when a consul is stationed at some Eastern ports and has to deal with Asiatic officials and Oriental bigotry, his life is not uneventful. The Levant branch of the service has had its share of difficulties and danger'.<sup>8</sup> From the beginning the Consular services and its concept of extraterritorial rights formed itself part of what Said later identified as Orientalism,<sup>9</sup> and the attitude still existed in the 1970s.

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<sup>5</sup> The original text of the treaty uses English although it might refer to all British subjects, including Scottish and Welsh.

<sup>6</sup> Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, p. 401.

<sup>7</sup> Platt, D. C. M., *The Cinderella Service: British Consuls since 1825* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), p.69.

<sup>9</sup> In Said's definition, 'Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for

In China, a wealth of research maintains that the foreign merchants were preferred by the Chinese authorities to stay together. Mention of areas exclusively occupied in the cities by foreigners can be found in Chinese literature as early as the *Book of Han* (漢書, *Han Shu*) published in 111A.D. and the record can be traced back to 36 B.C.<sup>10</sup> Despite this familiarity with foreign districts in Chinese history, the scholarly findings show an entirely different attitude toward the foreign headman and the extraterritorial rights.

CanTon and Macao were the only two cities that allowed the foreign headmen and autonomy system to be practised within the foreigner districts. In Fei's book, the Portuguese government at Macao still declared themselves to be the Chinese Emperor's most obedient people and paid necessary taxes to the officials; while the Thirteen Hong district in CanTon was an isolated island where nobody with a weapon was allowed in and women were prohibited.<sup>11</sup> In some studies, such as Tsiang's, it is claimed that the Ching government automatically abandoned the judicial rights over foreign subjects even before the Macartney Embassy of the late eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, a more popular attitude maintains that all foreign disputes in civil and criminal cases involving Chinese subjects, including those in Macao, were tried by Chinese authorities, and sentences for murders were merciless: always death in the justice of the Ming and Ching empires.<sup>13</sup>

In short, the extraterritorial rights are hardly close to what Platt claims in the conception of modern Chinese people after WWII. Nevertheless, the above Chinese opinions neglect the ideological diversity in the judicial system between imperial and modern times. To be clearer, the issue of surrendering either judiciary or executive rights did not exist in Chinese minds. Furthermore most contemporary Chinese were scarcely acquainted with any difficulties over

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dealing with the Orient –dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it ... in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'. Said, Edward W., *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1991), p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Fei, Chengkang, *History of Concessions in China* (Shanghai: Shanghai Academic of Social Science Press, 1991), p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

<sup>12</sup> Tsiang, T'ing-Fu, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History* (Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 1996), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Fei, *History of Concessions in China*, p. 5-7.

extraterritoriality in their lives. Before the Revolution of the TaiPing Heavenly Kingdom affected the province where ShangHai sat in 1851, most Chinese were happy with keeping the foreigners outside the city walls, and letting them govern themselves. In contemporary literature little of the struggle in legal or sovereign rights dominates except the excitement of seeing exotic street scenes and fantastic machinery, or the uneasiness of encountering foreigners.

For some foreigners, 'Shanghai has a most complex system for the administration of justice'.<sup>14</sup> In an area no larger than six square miles, there were three kinds of court in the International Settlement. The Consular Courts, that were run by all treaty nations and mostly set up in consulates, executed the extraterritoriality over their own subjects. There were at least sixteen Consular Courts in ShangHai alone. After 1882 the Court of Consuls presided over by a number of councils was established to try appeals against the Municipal Council. Finally the Mixed Court was established in 1864 as a consequence of the treaty port's immigrating Chinese. Then, Macmillan continues, 'it may happen that as many as half a dozen courts of justice may be sitting in one day in different parts of the city dealing with the same case'.<sup>15</sup>

## **British Justice**

### **Practices in China**

Just a few years after the port was opened, the Foreign Office reckoned ShangHai to be the second most important posts next to CanTon. Even when the TaiPing revolution affected ShangHai during 1862 and 64, the economy, especially the real estate value in the settlement, was excited by the incoming Chinese merchants and civilians.<sup>16</sup> From 1851 to 1864 the British parliament sanctioned £16,817 in total for the consular building and gaol in order to maintain architecturally the commercial importance of the post.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Macmillan, Allister, *Seaports of the Far East; historical and descriptive, commercial and industrial, facts, figures, & resources* (London: W.H. & L. Collingridge, 1925), p. 216.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid; Xu, Gongsu and Qiu, Jinzhang, *Status of the Shanghai International Settlement* (Nanking: Academic Sinica, 1933), pp. 127-135.

<sup>16</sup> Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 130; 135.

<sup>17</sup> WORK 10/430 'Treasury', 22 December 1865 Treasury Minutes; WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Shanghai Consulate to F.O.



However the seemingly endless economic growth had its consequences, one of which was an increase in the crime rate. Before Harry Parkes assumed his consular duties at ShangHai in 1864, 'he had been interpreter for Admirals, Generals, and Ambassadors; he had taken his part in bombardments and campaigns; he had helped to negotiate treaties; he had governed a great city' of Canton. Lane-Poole uses these comments to emphasise the claim that duties at the ShangHai Consulate were considerably more difficult and heavy even than those at the CanTon consulate during the Arrow War. The reason was the increasing number of civil and criminal hearings, which could last more than a week and had to be heard by Parkes from nine to four daily when trials were on.<sup>18</sup>

On the Christmas Day of 1864, Parkes wrote to his wife that a request to set up an independent judicial service alongside the consular one in the Far East had been recognised in the British government.<sup>19</sup> Edmund Hornby, then Consular Judge to the Ottoman Empire, was asked to adapt his Oriental experiences to the new Supreme Court in charge of British subjects in China and Japan a few months later.<sup>20</sup> He landed in ShangHai in July 1865 and stayed in the seat of Chief Judge to the Far East until his retirement in 1876.<sup>21</sup>

Judicial consultation and final decisions were afterwards shifted from the British Minister in PeKing to the Chief Judge stationed in ShangHai. In addition to receiving reports from all posts and circulating guidance on outstanding cases via a gazette, Hornby himself spent his first two years of service touring different posts to hear appeals with the intention of setting up a uniform procedure of acting, decision-making and sentence-delivering in the Far East consulates.<sup>22</sup>

According to Hornby's correspondence, a courtroom had been set up since 1864 using part of the ShangHai consul's private residence in the office building.<sup>23</sup> It was a temporary arrangement but all cases within the ShangHai consular district and all appeals in the Far East were to be handled there until new accommodation

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<sup>18</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, pp. 467-75. For Parkes' part in Canton during the Arrow War, see Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, pp. 266-89; Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 104-07.

<sup>19</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, p. 475.

<sup>20</sup> Hornby, Sir Edmund, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable & Co, 1929), p. 191.

<sup>21</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O., a; *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, 204.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 255; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 168.

<sup>23</sup> WORK 10/430, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O.; WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

was ready.<sup>24</sup> Despite this location, documents indicate that the Supreme Court still had to pay an annual rent of £2,400.<sup>25</sup> Who the rent collector was is unclear. Apart from the annual cost of the courtroom, an extra of £817 was needed for the residences of the junior consular officers.<sup>26</sup> The correspondence does not clearly show the reason for this, but presumably the extra expense could have been due to the junior officers being requested to move out of the consul's house in order to make space for the court.

### **British court of justice in China**

When Royal Engineer William Crossman was sent to the Far East by the Treasury in 1866 to inspect the public buildings of the British government, both the Treasury and Rutherford Alcock duly informed him of the necessity of new accommodation for legal cases and officials' residences.<sup>27</sup> At that time, the posts run by the British Consular Service numbered thirteen in China, including the newly opened Yang-Tzi valley ports, Formosa Island, the Arrow War trophy of PeKing and TienTsin, together with the original five ports. To William Crossman, the Supreme Court could be his first major building project in China, for the others were mostly listed for repair and alteration.

Enquiries were sent to the Chief Judge on 27 October 1866, just after Crossman's arrival in ShangHai, and Hornby replied with idealised and grand imaginings of the future British Far Eastern Supreme Court at ShangHai. In a letter of enormous length, Hornby proposed that two courts would be needed, and that for the civil court that housed a few hundred people, one of the Vice Chancellor's Courts<sup>28</sup> near Lincoln's Inn was a perfect model to follow. Hornby

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<sup>24</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 168.

<sup>25</sup> WORK 10/430, 27 February 1866 Auditor-General in HongKong to Foreign Office, 28 March 1866 PeKing Legation to F.O.

<sup>26</sup> WORK 10/430, 28 March 1866 PeKing Legation to F.O.

<sup>27</sup> WORK 10/430, 26 February 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440 'Letters from Sir R. Alcock', 28 April 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>28</sup> They were part of the additions in 1819 and 1841 to the old Chancery Courts to house the Vice-Chancellors. A further addition made in 1874 by George Gilbert Scott, but its design could not have been considered in Hornby's suggestion of 1866. The 1819 addition of the courts was situated on the west side of the Old Hall. The 1841 addition in the Old Square was a temporary provision, which was demolished in 1883, and was described as so ugly that it 'not only disfigured Old Square but obstructed a view of the chapel and old hall' by *The Builder* in 1884. See *The Builder*, 31 October 1874, pp. 903-04, 19 January 1884, p. 90, 11 August 1888, p. 98. Spilsbury, William Holden, *Lincoln's Inn: Its ancient and modern buildings, with an account of the library* (London: William Pickering, 1850), pp. 39, 43; Graham, Clare, *Ordering Law: The architecture and social history of the English law court to 1914* (Aldershor: Ashgate Publishing

continued that Crossman should copy the design of Benches, seats, the Bar and the fittings in the Vice Chancellor's Court by obtaining the original drawings of that court. The numbers of the fittings was clearly requested, as well as other details, such as hangings, carpets and the design of the judicial desk. The other court – the police court – was planned to be smaller, simpler and cheaper, but ventilation and lighting were also required as good as that of the civil court.<sup>29</sup> Hornby intended to erect an exact copy of a British court in China.

Other facilities in the courtrooms included a Chief Usher's room, a room for two Constables, a Witnesses' room, a Jury room and quarters for Chinese coolies consisting of a sleeping room and a small kitchen. Besides the arrangement of the courts, a room was required for the Chief Judge, another two for the Assistant Judge and Police Magistrate, one for an English Interpreter's office, a secretary's office that accommodated two clerks next to the Chief Judge's office, and two more rooms for the use of civil clerk and police clerk. In addition to the financial clerk's room, eight primary offices in total were also asked for. As with the courtrooms, provisions of sufficient light and space were also needed for all other rooms, as well as efficient heating during the winter and ventilation during the summer. On top of that, three chief officers' offices were to be provided with retiring closet for ablutionary and other purposes in Hornby's plan. Other facilities included outhouses to store sedan chairs, coals, wood and lamps.<sup>30</sup>

The spatial structure was arranged in a way that the offices of the Chief Judge, Assistant Judge and Police Magistrate linked directly to the courts, with their own private entrances separated from the public ones. The civil clerk and police clerk's offices were placed where the public could gain access, to submit their claims and ask questions. The Interpreter was regarded as a superior officer, but Hornby attached the Interpreter's office to the Chinese servants' quarters. Furthermore, he stated 'it is absolutely necessary in this climate to have a wide verandah round the entire building'.<sup>31</sup> Hornby gave little opinion about the exterior structure, such as the appearance and ornamentation of the buildings, but it was extremely important

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Ltd., 2003), p. 386.

<sup>29</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 27 October 1866 W. Crossman to E. Hornby, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman; WORK 10/432 '*Supreme Court, Gaol and Naval Yard*', 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

<sup>30</sup> WORK 10/432 and WORK 10/56/3, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

<sup>31</sup> WORK 10/432 and WORK 10/56/3, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

to him that the building should be as large as possible, and that the distance between buildings should be as great as possible. He thought this would improve the exchange rate of fresh air and increase the wholesomeness of the buildings.<sup>32</sup>

Hornby continued his vision for each kind of staff accommodation. In his opinion, it was unnecessary to provide accommodation for chief judicial officers, because a unified standard of accommodation hardly met each officer's requirements. Thus he thought that providing allowances to cover their house rents would be a better solution.<sup>33</sup> However, a more fundamental cause might be that Hornby himself reckoned the consulate compound as being too crowded to leave an airy space between buildings and to offer sanitary satisfaction. He cared little for the condition of other officers, but used them to justify his point about not including the Chief Judge's residence. The correspondence that went back and forth between London and China in the next few months revealed his agenda.<sup>34</sup>

As for the rest of the judicial staff, the Chief Clerk would be provided with a sitting room, three bedrooms with bathrooms, and two servants' rooms with a small kitchen. The Interpreter's accommodation included a sitting room, a bedroom, a bathroom, and a servant's room attached. All four junior clerks lived in connected apartments consisting of a living room that served both sitting and sleeping. They dined together in a common dining room equipped with a kitchen and a boy's room.<sup>35</sup>

Three months later, Crossman informed the Treasury that the alteration plans for the consulate were ready. He estimated that the expenditure would be £25,000 to £30,000 [ill.5: 1, 2], excluding the £7,500 consulate residence project. Hornby's vision of a grand court to demonstrate the superiority of British justice had to be

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<sup>32</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 6 November 1866 E. Hornby to F.O.

<sup>33</sup> WORK 10/432, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 6 November 1866 E. Hornby to F.O., 8 February 1866 W. Crossman to Treasury, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury; WORK 10/430 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O. along with the documents in Hornby's autobiography. Although this was reckoned by Coates to be historically unreliable, it shows his pride concerning the then major figures of the Anglo-Chinese intercourse, such as Robert Hart, Halliday Macartney, and Thomas F. Wade, see Hornby, *An Autobiography*, pp. 238-39 for Hart and Macartney; pp. 243-45 for Wade. Incidents of consuls' uneasiness with the consular judges are found in Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/432 and WORK 10/56/3, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

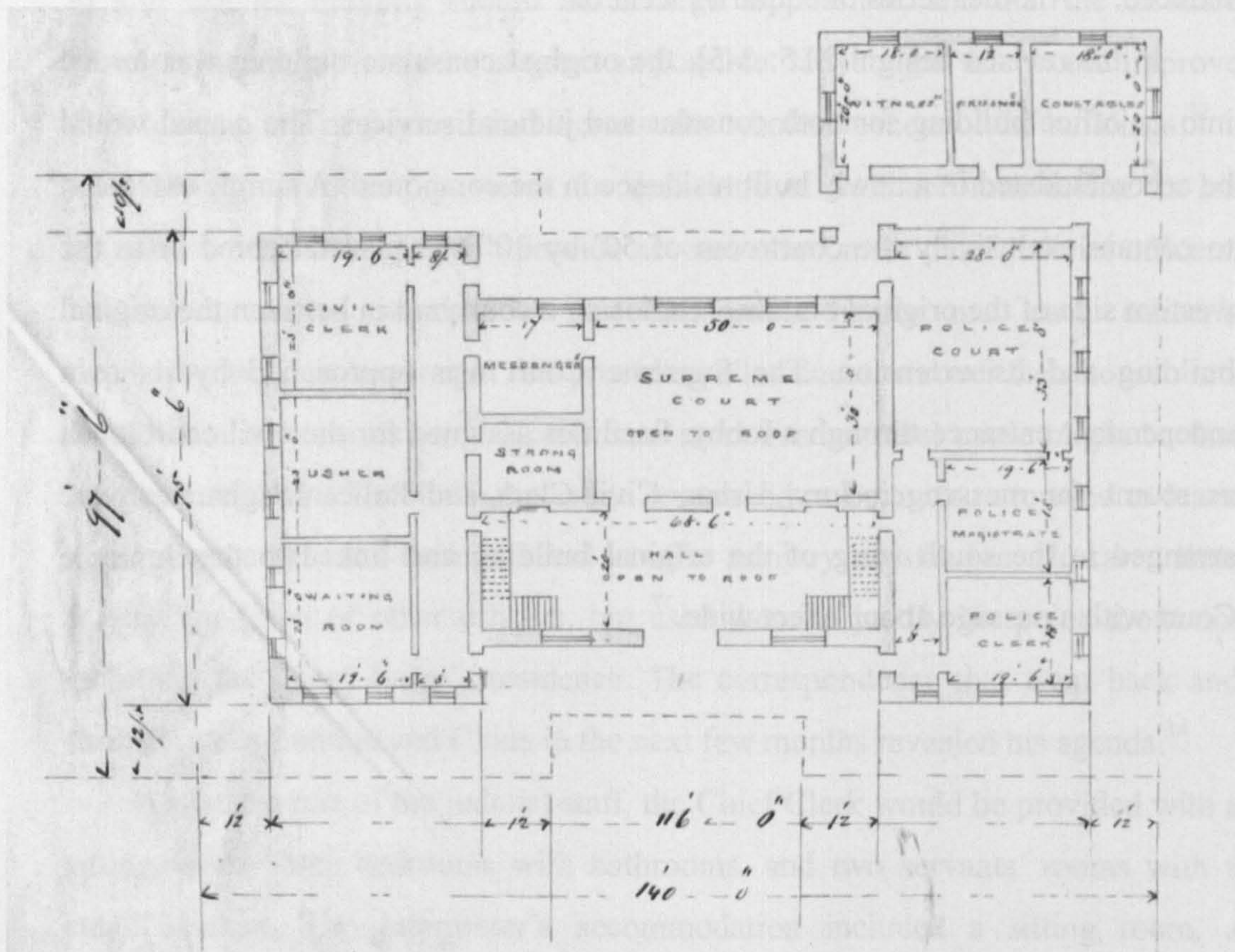
reduced.<sup>36</sup> Another series of enquiries went on.

In his revised design [ill.5: 3-5], the original consulate building was turned into an office building for both consular and judicial services. The consul would be accommodated in a newly built residence in the compound. A simple extension to contain exclusively the courtroom of 50' by 30' was placed behind or to the western side of the original building, enclosing a courtyard in between the original building and its extension. The Supreme Court was approached by its own independent entrance through a lobby. Facilities assigned for the civil court, such as rooms for messenger, Jury, Usher, Civil Clerk and Police Magistrate, were arranged in the south wing of the original building and linked to the Supreme Court with a passage about 8 feet wide.<sup>37</sup>

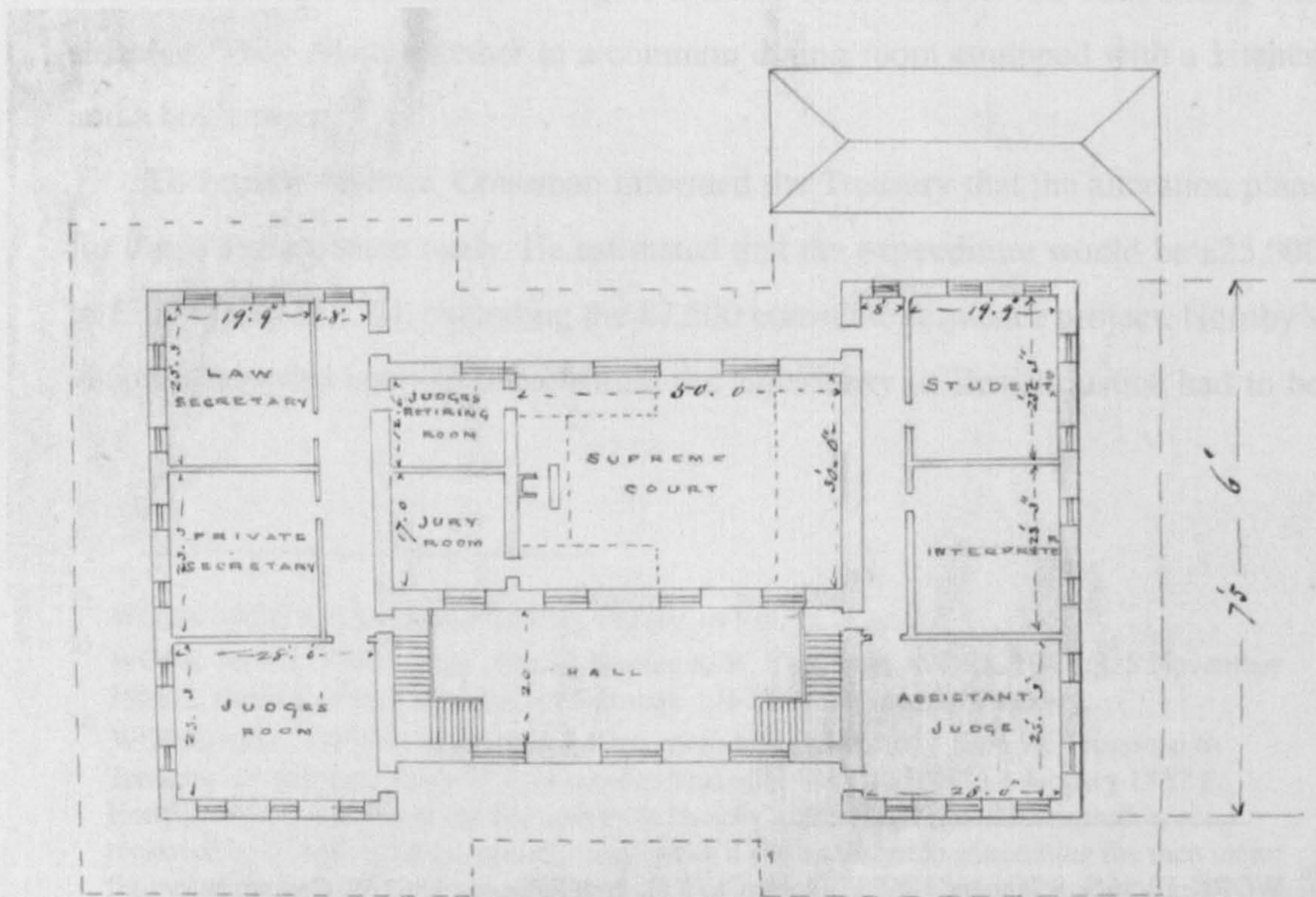
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<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O., b, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 29 March 1867 F.O. to Treasury and its enclosed plans No.2; WORK 10/33/8 '*Rebuilding of the Supreme Court and Consular Offices*', 26 April 1871 Consular Premises, ShangHai.

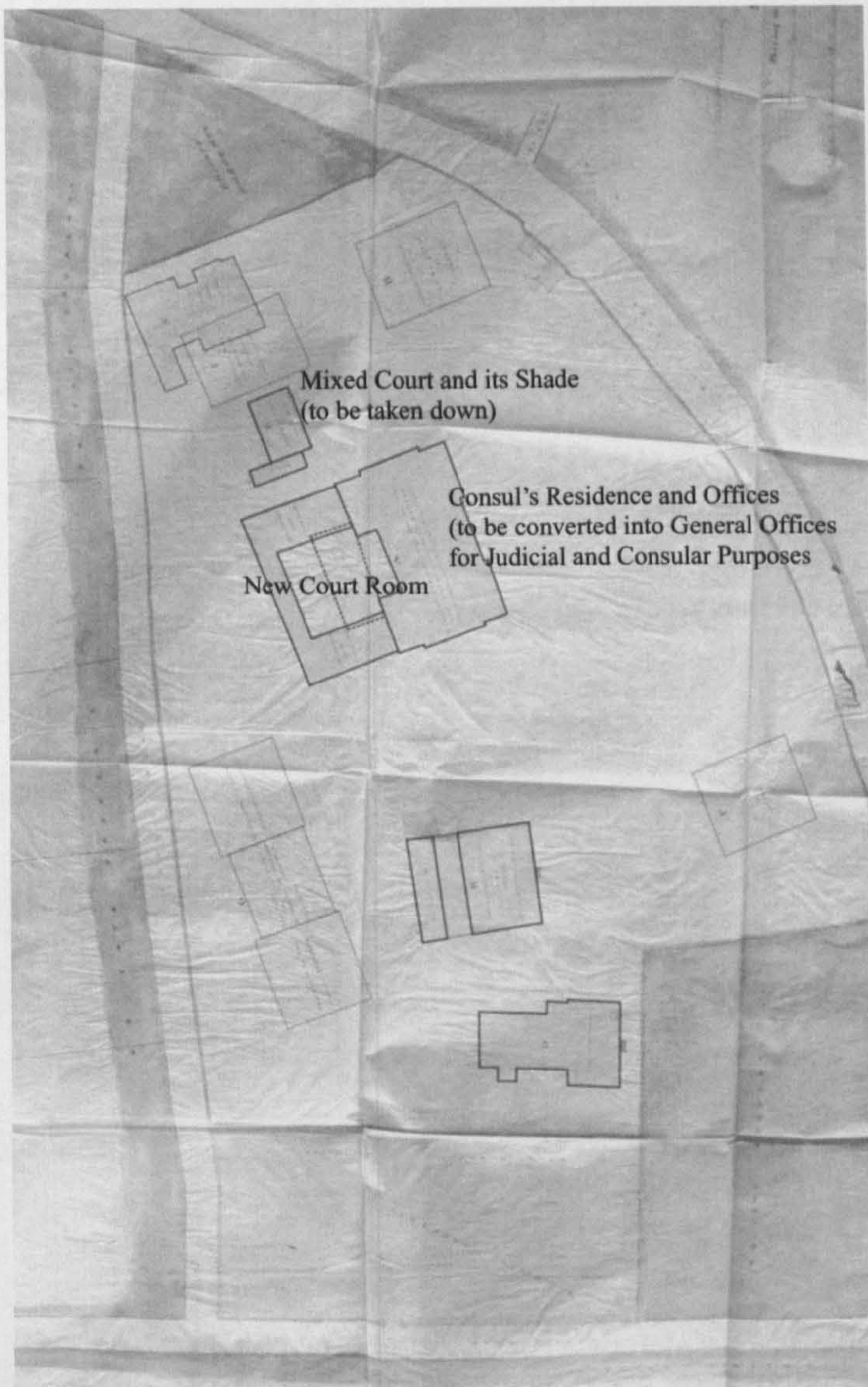
<sup>37</sup> WORK 10/56/3, plan No.3 enclosed in 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.



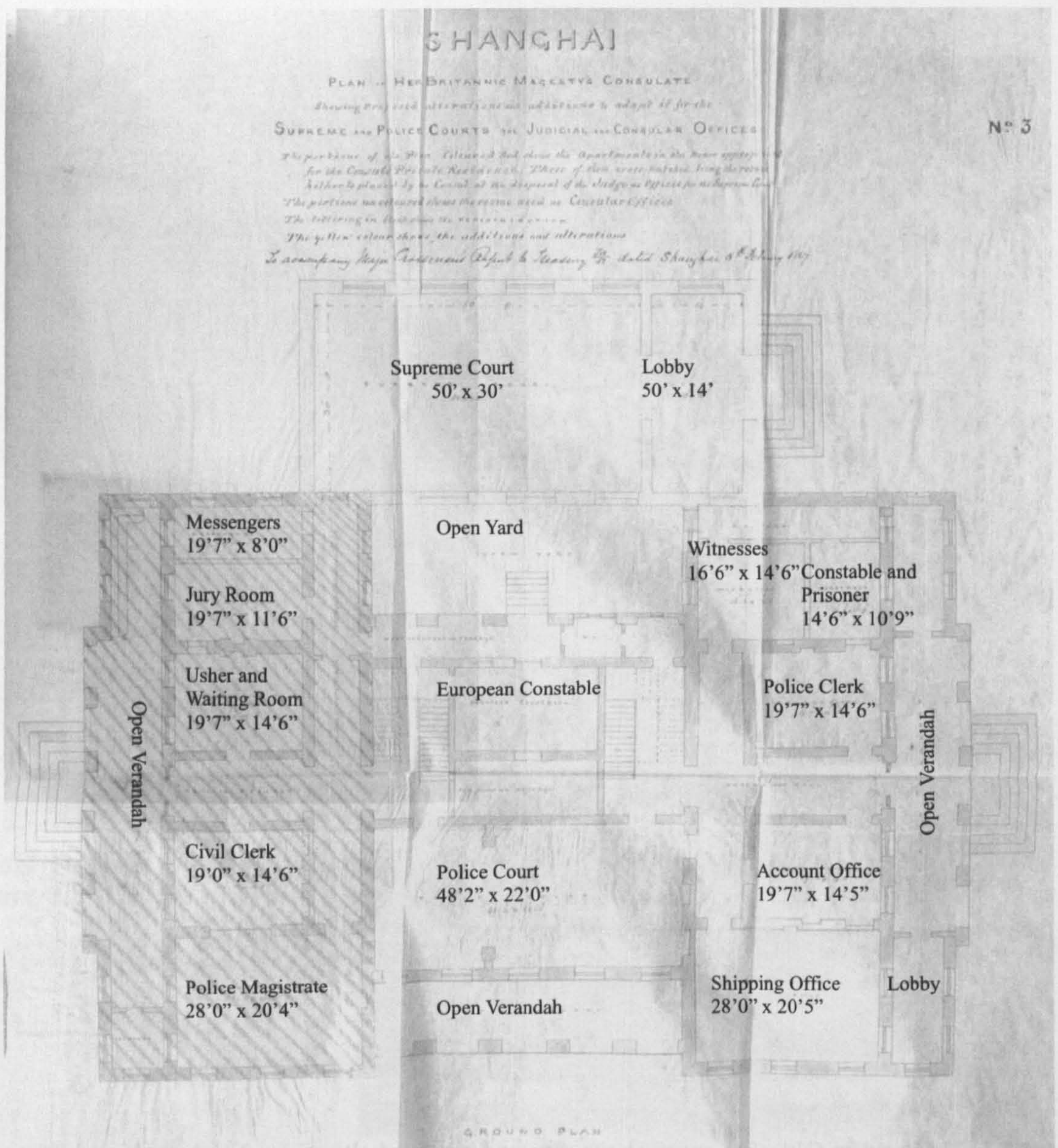
[ill.5: 1] ShangHai Consulate, ground floor plan of Supreme Court. The first proposal.  
Source: WORK 10/56/3, date: 1867



[ill.5: 2] ShangHai Consulate, first floor plan of Supreme Court. The first proposal.  
Source: WORK 10/56/3, date: 1867



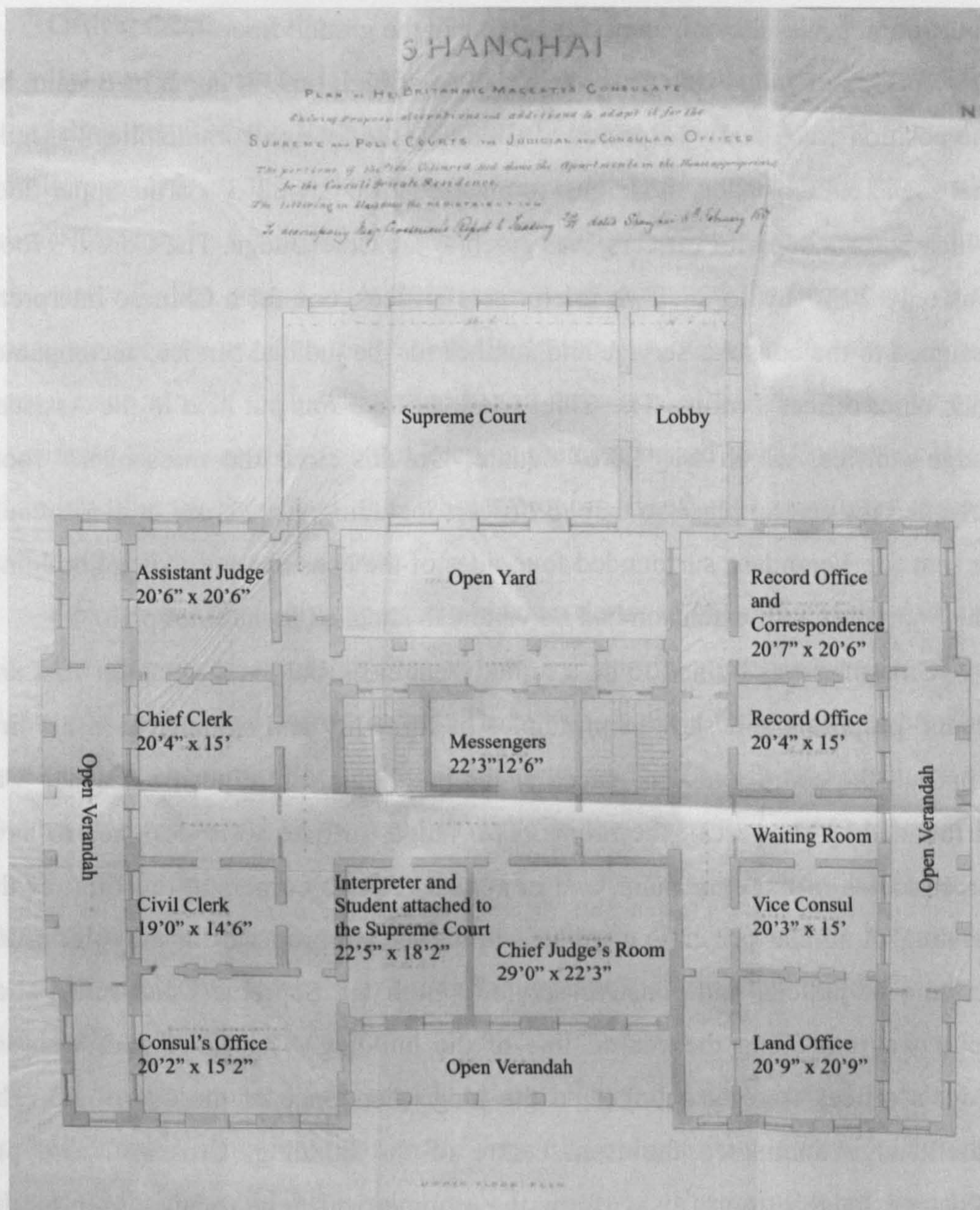
[ill.5: 3] ShangHai Consulate, original site plan and proposed alterations. North to the top. The blocks with dotted line and yellow hatch indicate proposed new buildings. The plan has minor modifications from the original sketch plan in WORK 10/56/3. Source: WORK 10/56/3, date: 1867



[ill.5: 4] ShangHai Consulate, ground floor plan of the general offices of judicial and consular services. The second proposal.

Source: WORK 10/56/3, date: 1867





[ill.5: 5] Shanghai Consulate, first floor plan of the general offices of judicial and consular services. The second proposal.  
Source: WORK 10/56/3, date: 1867

The Police Court was situated at the east end of the ground floor. It had to be reached from the Police Clerk's office, which linked to a room for constable and prisoners and the waiting room for witnesses before entering they entered the Police Court. The Witnesses' room and the constable and prisoners' rooms were placed alongside each other. An office for a European constable was put in the centre of the building, surrounded by two stair cases, one on each side.<sup>38</sup> The Shipping Officer's office, which was presumably the earlier temporary

<sup>38</sup> WORK 10/56/3, plan No.3 enclosed in 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

courtroom,<sup>39</sup> was the only consular service in the ground floor.<sup>40</sup>

The Chief Judge was rarely regarded as of high rank at home in Britain, but the position was greatly respected in China by the foreign communities.<sup>41</sup> Under that social circumstance, the largest room sized 29'0" by 22' 3" on the upper floor, which was for superior officers, was given to the Chief Judge. The Consul's room was only 20'2" by 15'2". Two interpreters' offices, one for a Chinese interpreter assigned to the consular service and another for the judicial service, accompanied each chief officer's office. The Chief Clerk's office was put next to the Assistant Judge's office, which was 20'6" square. On this floor the messengers' room occupied the central place so that all officers including vice consul or clerks could be sent for. Verandahs surrounded four sides of the consular and judicial building. The Supreme Court extension had no verandah attached in the floor plan.<sup>42</sup>

Crossman was trained to be a military engineer, but his designs for first and second proposals still showed principles of formality and symmetry. In his first proposal, the courtroom was placed at the building's centre position, which was surrounded by the rest of the rooms. Two judges' offices were designed to have direct access to the courtroom, and dominate the two corners at the front of the building. A similar principle continued in his second proposal for the joint office building of judicial and consular services. Both the Supreme Court and Police Court was put along the central line of the building. The Chief and Assistant Judge's offices were also linked to the judge's entrance of the courtroom. The Chief Judge dominated the front centre of the building. Crossman also put Assistant Judge's room away from the symmetrical centre, but closer to the courtroom. It is likely because that the Assistant Judge was more frequently attend trials than the Chief Judge. In terms of consular service, the consul's office was placed at the corner, and the vice consul's was on the other side of the building. These arrangements demonstrate a concept that the main user of the joint office building was the judges but not the consular staff.

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<sup>39</sup> WORK 10/433 '*Ningpu and Shanghai*', 18 January 1867 ShangHai Consulate to W. Crossman.

<sup>40</sup> WORK 10/56/3, plan No.3 enclosed in 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>41</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 168-69.

<sup>42</sup> WORK 10/56/3, plan No.3 and plan No.4 enclosed in 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

### **Officers' considerations**

Before Crossman's design settled down, a great deal of criticism was circulating between the PeKing Legation, Supreme Court, ShangHai Consulate and Foreign Office, although Crossman was at the time only directly responsible to the Treasury.<sup>43</sup> All superior officers agreed that the space between buildings was scarce.<sup>44</sup> The consul Winchester argued not only that the layout cut up the consulate ground, but also that the whole design was of bad taste, which 'would be inconsistent with the national dignity and influence' of Britain.<sup>45</sup> He continued to criticise Crossman's decision of keeping the condemned Vice Consular's House, claiming that it sacrificed the whole proportion of the consulate grounds, including views of his own house.<sup>46</sup>

Apart from constantly expressing his own desire to move out of the consulate site, the courtroom extension was valued by Hornby merely as two ordinary, ill-ventilated, low and narrow rooms. There was no place for the jury or the dock, and space between the Bar and the public was inadequate. He also predicted that the courtrooms would be too cold to write in the winter time and so hot in the summer that one would need to get fresh air on the verandah every half hour. He was of the same opinion about Crossman's design for the consul's independent house. Repeatedly, Hornby was trying to persuade everyone that the old Lincoln's Inn would be an ideal model.<sup>47</sup>

In protest against Winchester's opinion that the British consulate buildings looked humble in comparison with France's grand public office,<sup>48</sup> Crossman argued that 'it would be a great pity to sacrifice the comfort of the future occupants of the new house for the sake of improving the general appearance of the place, even were it improved so much as Mr. Winchester seems to anticipate'. Besides, he was confident of his taste in architecture.<sup>49</sup> Countering Hornby's idea of putting judicial facilities outside the consulate compound, Crossman protested

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<sup>43</sup> WORK 10/430 26 February 1866 Treasury to W. Crossman.

<sup>44</sup> WORK 10/440, 16 March 1867 PeKing Legation to W. Crossman, 16 June 1867 PeKing Legation to F.O.

<sup>45</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 7 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>46</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 7 February 1867 ShangHai Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>47</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O., b, 8 February 1867 E. Hornby to F.O.

<sup>48</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 7 February 1867 ShangHai Consulate to PeKing Legation

<sup>49</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

on grounds of maintenance, transportation, fire prevention and managing expenditure.<sup>50</sup> Crossman did not respond to the Chief Judge's request about the Vice Chancellor's Courts at Lincoln's Inn, but he asked the Treasury a few days later to transfer his request to the Office of Works to send complete drawings of the said courts.<sup>51</sup>

All diplomats, including those in PeKing and ShangHai, preferred having complete separation between the two establishments, or even getting the judicial establishment out of the consulate compound.<sup>52</sup> Hornby himself supported this idea. Indeed, he successfully convinced the Treasury in March 1867 that to purchase the existing buildings at the Supreme Court's disposal would be cheaper than erecting new accommodation.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, a final resolution to use the original consulate building as the Supreme Court and Consular Offices while building new residences for superior consular and judicial officers was transmitted after March 1868.<sup>54</sup>

### **Fire and rebuilding**

The new court stood for a very short time, for a fire destroyed it in 1870.<sup>55</sup> What can be found in the documents is that during the works, the judicial establishment was set up outside the compound.<sup>56</sup> Hornby stayed in a two-storey bungalow which he rented for £600 a year, including stables with several horses. His neighbours included the Law Secretary and Hornby's private secretary.<sup>57</sup> The fire restarted the discussion about whether to rebuild the consulate as in Crossman's design or separated as the Minister R. Alcock and Acting Consul Medhurst preferred. The judges – Hornby and his Acting Judge Goodwin – this time supported the combined scheme.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>51</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 21 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 17 April 1867 Treasury.

<sup>52</sup> WORK 10/432, 6 January 1868 ShangHai Consulate to W. Crossman, 13 February 1868 ShangHai Consulate to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440, 16 March 1867 PeKing Legation to W. Crossman, 16 June 1867 R. Alcock to Lord Stanley, F.O.; WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 ShangHai Consulate to F.O.

<sup>53</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 5 March 1867 F.O. to Treasury; WORK 10/430, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O., 11 March 1867 Treasury to W. Crossman.

<sup>54</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 26 April 1871 Consular Premises, ShangHai.

<sup>55</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 26 April 1871 Consular Premises, ShangHai.

<sup>56</sup> WORK 10/432, 6 January 1868 Supreme Court to W. Crossman.

<sup>57</sup> Hornby, *An Autobiography*, p. 261.

<sup>58</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 15 March 1871 PeKing Legation to F.O., 31 March 1871 Supreme Court to

On 2 March 1872, William Crossman's assistant and later his successor Robert H. Boyce reported to the Office of Works in London, which took over the management of British premises in the Far East in March 1872,<sup>59</sup> that tenders had been invited. With only small changes, such as introducing water closets, damp courses, eaves courses, cast iron gutters, and piping, to keep the new building more durable, the judicial and consular building was rebuilt as it was before the fire. Together with the original buildings, a gate house, sailors' waiting room and compradors' quarter were also included in the rebuilding scheme.<sup>60</sup>

The new building was handed over to the officers on 26 March 1873 and officially opened on 1 April. By the end of April, the ShangHai office had cleared the final payment with the contractor.<sup>61</sup> Few drawings, except those submitted by Crossman in early 1867 of the judicial and consular building, exist in the archives, but photographs taken four decades later can be used for discussion. Other than the Police Court extension completed between 1911 and 1913, they show the judicial and consular building very much as same as in Crossman's plans.

The front façade of the courtroom extension was changed to the west, instead of entering the building through the shorter side as Crossman had originally planned. This adjustment gives the Supreme Court a wider, and therefore grander impression to the public. The portico, supported by a pair of double Roman Doric columns, occupies the centre of the main façade, and carries the British royal arm of unicorn and lion. The ground floor, that itself serves as the base of the courtroom extension, can be seen as horizontally divided into the typical three portions of podium, rustication and entablature. On top of the entablature of the ground floor another three-layer façade is placed, but the upper floor is lighter in its motif, which consists of balustrades, Ionic colonnade and entablature. A hipped roof, which is surrounded by balustrades, and two brick chimneys, cap the extension. Vertically, the façade is also divided into three parts of two corners and

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F.O., 10 April 1871 F.O. to Treasury, 26 April 1871 Consular Premises, ShangHai.

<sup>59</sup> The Treasury provided funds, and the Office of Works established its Far Eastern Office in ShangHai that included the original service done by W. Crossman and R.H. Boyce. Boyce was promoted to be the Divisional Architect. More detail can be found in WORK 10/56/4 *'Transfer of charge of expenditure in respect of rents and taxes of diplomatic and consular buildings in China and Japan from the Foreign Office Vote to the Office of Works Vote'*

<sup>60</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 2 March 1872 Office of Works, ShangHai to Office of Works, London, 14 March 1872 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>61</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873 ShangHai Office to London Office, a, 24 April 1873 ShangHai Office to London Office.

a central colonnade. The colonnade was greatly adapted as one form of the verandah in the Far East [ill.5: 6].



[ill.5: 6] ShangHai Consulate, front elevation of Supreme Court, facing west.  
Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911

## Lawful China

### **The International Mixed Court, ShangHai**

The environment within the settlement where the Euro-Americans played European games was disturbed by the TaiPing Kingdom's rebellion against the Ching Court. Chinese took refuge in the ShangHai settlements and the population of Chinese expanded dramatically after 1853. Although the 1843 Treaty of the Bogue clearly states that wherever Chinese 'criminals and offenders have fled, communication shall be made to the proper English officer, in order that the said criminals and offenders may be rigidly searched for, seized, and, on proof or admission, of their guilt, delivered up', it does not clarify the distribution of responsibility between Chinese and the English governments within the concessions. There consequently arose the question of whose law the Chinese had to obey. Another question that followed was whether the foreigners whose country did not sign the treaty with China governed by Chinese laws?

Apart from in German territories in HanKow, TienTsin and TsingTao, where all citizens, including Chinese and all other foreigners, had to sign an agreement to swear obedience to the German laws,<sup>62</sup> the concessions of the other foreign countries were unprepared for the gradually expanding Chinese population.

On 25 March 1854, Consul Harry Parkes wrote to his wife from ShangHai that 'many of the people here entertain the erroneous notion that we can treat the settlement as foreign territory and ignore the Chinese jurisdiction over the several hundred thousand Chinese who have flooded the place'. A conference was called, and suggested setting up a joint judicial system where both Chinese and British judges sat in the court, where the sentence was mainly given by the Chinese authority if there were no objections from the British consular service.<sup>63</sup>

The International Mixed Court was established by the International Settlement of ShangHai on 2 May 1864.<sup>64</sup> Its Chinese Judge was represented by a commissioner appointed by the ShangHai Magistrate, for six days every week.<sup>65</sup> There is difference regarding the foreign representatives in literature sources. According to Cartwright in 1908, the foreign assessors were British consular officers, usually vice consuls for three days, and under the responsibility of the United States for two days. The Austro-Hungarian or German representatives would sit in on the final working day of the court.<sup>66</sup> He might have confused it with the organisation of the Court of Consuls. Most material suggests that the assessing representative depended on the nationality of the foreign interests in the case.<sup>67</sup> In the cases where only Chinese were involved, either the British or the United States vice consul still had to sit in the court.<sup>68</sup> During a trial, two officials,

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<sup>62</sup> Fei, *History of Concessions in China*, pp. 129-130, 147.

<sup>63</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, pp. 482-83.

<sup>64</sup> More details can also be read in Hudson, Manley O., 'The Rendition of the International Mixed Court at Shanghai', *The American Journal of International Law*, 21/3 (1927), 451-471.

<sup>65</sup> Ge, Yuanxu, *Miscellaneous Notes for ShangHai Travellers*, 1867), p. 17; Cen, Dezhang (ed.), *A Brief History of Shanghai International Settlement* (Taipei: Wen Hai Press Company, 1931), pp. 86-87; Xu and Qiu, *Status of the Shanghai International Settlement*, pp. 133-35.

<sup>66</sup> Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, p. 401.

<sup>67</sup> Ge, *Miscellaneous Notes for ShangHai Travellers*, p. 17; Macmillan, *Seaports of the Far East; historical and descriptive, commercial and industrial, facts, figures, & resources*, pp. 216-19; Cen (ed.), *A Brief History of Shanghai International Settlement*, pp. 86-87; Xu and Qiu, *Status of the Shanghai International Settlement*, p. 134.

<sup>68</sup> Andrews, 'A Day in a Chinese Criminal Court; Member of the New York Bar who sat with the native Magistrate administering Justice at Shanghai, describes some remarkable scenes.'; Hudson, 'The Rendition of the International Mixed Court at Shanghai'.

one from the Chinese side and the other from the foreign side, sat side by side behind the same desk, as shown in photographs from different eras.<sup>69</sup>

There was a similar institution in the French Concession. As to the other concessions or settlements, the courts were mostly set up in consulates. Otherwise the cases in the minor ports were tried in the nearest major posts or colonies.<sup>70</sup> This research focuses on the interactions between the British and Chinese cultures. In addition the ShangHai International Mixed Court is the most acknowledged and its scholarly materials are more collectable than with other mixed courts. Thus it is the International Mixed Court most controlled by British representatives that is discussed here.

Of the courtroom building it is maintained that it was initially located in NanKing Road.<sup>71</sup> However, according to Cen, Dezhang together with Major William Crossman's report to the Treasury, the first building of the Mixed Court was purposely built by the Chinese government within the British Consulate site. Crossman's drawing of the site plan [ill.5: 3] simply provides the outline of the building, which is approximately 50 by 30 square feet in a rectangular shape running parallel to the consulate office and consul's residence. Its appearance, structures, materials and floor plan are not recorded, but presumably the axial layout of the court was west-east as with the consulate building. The main entrance was also like the consulate building to the east.<sup>72</sup>

Cen continues that after 1869 the Chinese seat of the Mixed Court was reassigned to TongTzi, the secretary or right hand man of the magistrate, due to the insufficient rank and reputation of the appointed Chinese commissioner.<sup>73</sup> It was also the time when the design of the British Supreme Court for China and Japan was made and that of the consulate compound undertaken. After the Chinese government had been asked to take down the courtroom,<sup>74</sup> the Mixed

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<sup>69</sup> Tang, Zhenchang (ed.), *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity (1842-1949)*, trans. Yunzhong Lu (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (H.K.) Ltd., 1996), p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> Fei, *History of Concessions in China*, pp. 126-27.

<sup>71</sup> Tang (ed.), *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity (1842-1949)*, p. 44.

<sup>72</sup> WORK 10/56/3 'China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman', 8 January 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury; Cen (ed.), *A Brief History of Shanghai International Settlement*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>74</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury



Court was moved to the NanKing Road probably around 1868.<sup>75</sup> Its exact location is stated by Ge, YuanXu in 1876, as near the intersection of the NanKing and FoKien Roads.<sup>76</sup>

The limitation of knowing about the Mixed Court building only from a single photograph [ill.5: 7] allows only the exterior of the building to be read. Other than the double-eaves roof and the exaggerated upturned eave-corners that make it stand out from its neighbours and reveal its southern origin, little information about its layout, its colour or even its operation can be found. Ritually and traditionally, a screen wall placed in front of the front gate of the court, a pair of staff posts arranged to either side of the central axis and couple of archways guarding the main approaches are critical identifications for an official building. None of these can be seen in the picture. The reason could be partially because it was built in a western-planned neighbourhood, but it could also tell of its insignificance to officials. A piece of cloth that presumably belonged to one of the YaMen runners and which hangs under the eaves could support an assumption about irreverence.<sup>77</sup> The contemporary Chinese literature consulted gives no hint of its importance.



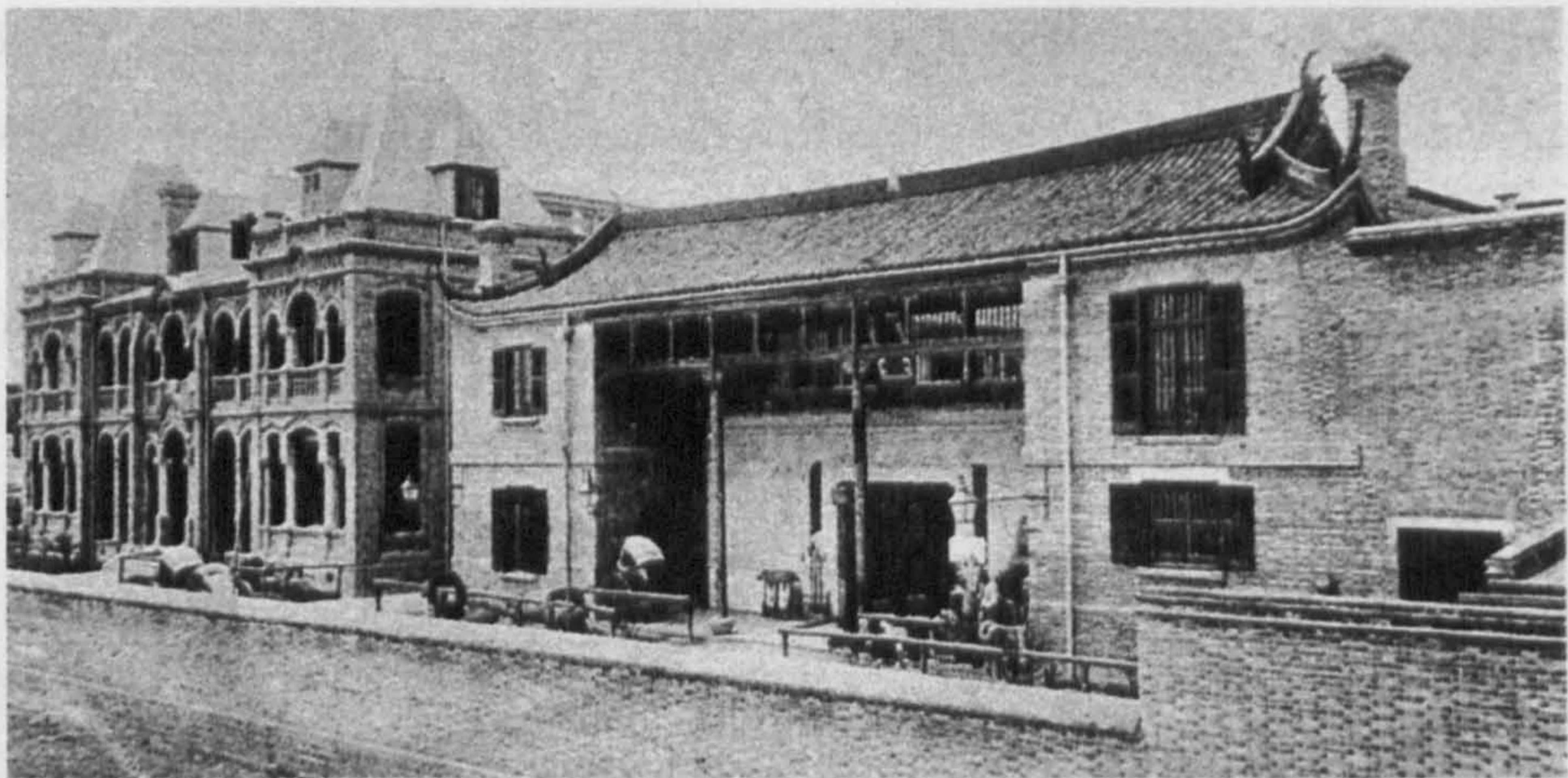
[ill.5: 7] ShangHai International Mixed Court, NanKing Road. Possible photograph, built in late 1860s or early 1870s.  
Source: (Tang 1996: 44)

<sup>75</sup> Hudson, 'The Rendition of the International Mixed Court at Shanghai'.

<sup>76</sup> Ge, *Miscellaneous Notes for ShangHai Travellers*, p. 17; Tang (ed.), *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity (1842-1949)*, p. 44.

<sup>77</sup> Tang (ed.), *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity (1842-1949)*, p. 44.

The next picture of the Mixed Court is unmistakably identified in both British and Chinese references [ill.5: 8]. The earliest publication of the photograph is seen in 1908's *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China*. Putting Wright and Darwent's contemporary record together, it can be deduced that the date the court moved into its new accommodation on Boone Road was probably just before the start of the twentieth century.<sup>78</sup> The new Mixed Court accommodation, designed by Atkinson & Dallas, is commonly maintained to be of semi-Chinese and semi-European style.<sup>79</sup> However, Reverend Darwent, the Minister of the Union Church at Shanghai, sees it as 'a dull red brick foreign building' and continues 'it is a pity the Chinese do not build in their own style'.<sup>80</sup>



[ill.5: 8] ShangHai International Mixed Court, Boone Road. Designed by Atkinson & Dallas and completed between late 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1908.  
Source: (Tang 1996: 44)

Carefully examining the picture it also suggests that Atkinson & Dallas's intention was closer to building a Chinese architecture, but in a modern form. Such types of architecture were part of the foreign architects' popular practices in the turn of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Examples can also be seen in

<sup>78</sup> Wright (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Other Treaty Ports of China: Their History, People, Commerce, Industries, and Resources*, p. 633; Darwent, Charles E., *Shanghai: a handbook for travelers and residents to the chief objects of interest in and around the foreign settlements and native city* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1920), p. 54; Sha, Yongjie, *A Comparative Research between China and Japan on Development of Architecture in Modern Times* (Taipei: Garden City Publishers, 2001), p. 94.

<sup>79</sup> Tang (ed.), *Shanghai's Journey to Prosperity (1842-1949)*, p. 44.

<sup>80</sup> Darwent, *Shanghai: a handbook for travelers and residents to the chief objects of interest in and around the foreign settlements and native city*, p. 54.

Chapter 2, including other Atkinson & Dallas projects in the St. John's University (1894-1904) and Henry K. Murphy's commissions for higher education institutes (1918-1923). Not only the alterations in the Minister's Quarter (1862-1920s) but also the Student Interpreters' Quarters and Stables (1910s) in the PeKing Legation were part of the practices.

The modernised Chinese classicist approach divides the courtroom façade into three vertical elements, two side bays and a wider central entrance bay, and two horizontal layers, rooftop and body. Additionally, a great pair of door wings about one storey high, presumably of Chinese type, surrounded by wide, possibly stone, light-coloured doorframe, highlights the central bay. On top of the gate hangs a rectangular shaped plaque written vertically in Chinese to tell its identity. On the building line, a pair of traditional columns, about as wide as the gate, supports the eaves of the gable-and-hip roof, and alludes to the division of the territory. The grid structure in between the eaves and columns was perhaps a mimicry of TouKungs, as was commonly seen on Westerner-designed Chinese type architecture. Not just the roofing surfaces but also the ridges are all shaped in elegantly curved lines. Along with the delicate decorations at each of the ridge-ends, the roof of the new Mixed Court shows either the origin of the constructors or the sensitivity of the architect to the regional character.

Some elements can be seen that were probably not part of Atkinson & Dallas's design, but which show the legal significance of the Mixed Court. These include a stand of knives and swords by the gate and a roofed lamp stand, an alternative to the plaque. However the architect seems not to have considered placing a screen wall. A drum by the entrance, a crucial symbol of traditional Chinese justice, is also excluded. Darwent also claims there is an old temple in the courtyard.<sup>81</sup>

Certain European traditions can however also be witnessed. For instance, the heavy masonry character of the two outer bays, despite the vertically glazed windows. Others include western lamps on the three corners of the outer bays and chimneys that break through the roof. The rainwater pipes were new constructions on Chinese buildings. Furthermore, the gutter would be extraordinary if it was deliberately shaped along with the curve of the eave. However, the expenses in

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

time, money and labour of gutter would have been saved if Atkinson & Dallas understood the fundamental reasons for projecting the eaves instead of making them flush with the walls.

### **The DaLi Yuan Supreme Court, PeKing**

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Ching Court attempted another bureaucratic and political reform. Preparing the establishment of the constitution and the judicial reform in the central government were the two most significant factors of the reform, which was completed in 1906. At the local level, the rights of administrative governing, executing justice, collecting revenue and even legal policy were all concentrated in the hands of the local magistrate.<sup>82</sup> There were in fact several independent justice organisations in the central government.

As stated in the both editions of the *Collected Statutes*<sup>83</sup> there were three judicial ministries in the court of the Ching Empire. The most acknowledged ministry was the XingBu Ministry of Justice /Punishment<sup>84</sup> in charge of 'legislating laws and regulating penalties so as to correct the manners of a nation'. The DuCha Court of Censorate controlled all civil and military officials and received civilians' appeals against officials in the name of the emperor. The responsibility of the DaLi-Si Supreme Court was reviewing all death sentences through out the empire, assisted by the two other judicial ministries. Despite being one of the three judicial ministries, the DaLi-Si was merely an assistant department. In 1899, the ideal scale of the XingBu (Justice/ Punishment Court) consisted of a Manchu minister, a Han minister (both sub first rank), and four

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<sup>82</sup> In *A Complete Book Concentrating Happiness and Benevolence*, the duties of magistrate at least includes tax collection, registration and assessment, cadastral survey, justice, selecting and cooperating with local headman, carrying out ceremonies, social welfare and education, postal service etc. See Huang, Liu-Hung, *A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence*, trans. Chu Djang (Tuscon, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1984).

<sup>83</sup> The *Collected Statutes of Great Ching* is generally referred as *Collected Statutes* in Chinese literatures, or specifically as *Collected Statutes of Emperor's title* when exactness is required. The historical origin and details of the *Collected Statutes* will be presented in the case study of the PeKing Legation.

<sup>84</sup> The term 'Punishment' has greatly served the foreigner's conceptions of Orientalism. It encouraged the idea that in traditional China there existed only punishment and no impartial system of justice, which was therefore 'unsuitable to the requirements of Western existence' as quote earlier. The *Analects* says in its chapter 2, section 3 that 'If the people be led by laws, and uniformity [is] sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity [is] sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good'. This was the highest standard for the laws of China. For Chinese elites, the worst punishments were being sent to the army and exile, although the death penalties were seemingly more popular. The translation of the *Analects* comes from James Legge.

deputies of both Manchu and Han races, while in contrast there were only four senior officers of sub third rank to handle the work of the DaLi-Si YaMen.<sup>85</sup>

Beside the three judicial ministries, a final appeal system, entitled DengWen Drum of Injustice, had been set up as early as the fourth century A.D. The DengWen Court of Injustice Drum was originally an independent institution, but in the 1766 edition of the *Collected Statutes*, the Court of Injustice Drum was combined into the TongZheng-Shi, the office that assisted the finalising and presenting of state papers from the provinces to the cabinet. Its purposes and function merit only a few lines in the 1766 *Collect Statutes*, and only two clerks, one Manchu and one Han Chinese, were assigned to translate and copy the letters. In the 1899 edition, the description of its duties was reduced to just four characters.

The physical locations of the YaMens deserve more attention than their duties and rank, for they indicate the moral and lawful position of the establishment within the empire. According to the 1766 *Collected Statutes* and the 1750 *Complete Map of the Capital* [ill.5: 9], they were placed near PeKing's West ChangAn Gate, set behind a row of HuTongs, and placed away from the central axis, unlike most of other ministries. Nothing in contemporary or scholarly literature explains this arrangement, but it might have been connected with the fact that they handled the Yin energy of the empire, and therefore should belong to west side. In addition, they decided the life or death of people, and thus generated negative or ill energy. Ordinary buffer mechanism such as screen walls in each one or extra inner gates<sup>86</sup> were hardly sufficient to absorb or to soften the strong energy. Considering these factors, the judicial YaMens had perhaps to be put aside from the central axis and behind blocks of dwellings to prevent the ill energy from affecting the empire.

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<sup>85</sup> *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, 1766, Chapter 68 and 81; *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, 1899, Chapter 53 and 69.

<sup>86</sup> Examining the 1750 Map, despite numerous lions, fences and archways, evidence of screen walls of the Ministerial YaMens cannot be identified. It is likely that boundary walls built behind the Thousand Pace Galleries, which was mentioned in footnote in Chapter 4, served the function of screen wall. According to Han's citation, the screen wall was set up inside the first gate hall, in front of the ceremonial gate. See Han, Bangqing, *The Sing-song Girls of Shanghai* (1898). In addition to that, between the ceremonial gate and the front hall there is a building consisting of three openings placed directly on the central walkway. The construction is not mentioned in the *Collected Statutes* and its purpose is unknown.

Despite its ideal role in reducing unreasonable sentences, it is stated in Han's journal article that the DaLi-Si YaMen (which reviewed death sentences) in the final years of the empire was inefficient, useless for its function, while inadequate financial support worsened the situation.<sup>87</sup> In addition, Wang argues that there was pressure on the Ching government, since Britain, the United States and Japan had agreed to surrender extraterritoriality if the laws of the Ching government met Euro-American standards.<sup>88</sup> Consequently in 1906, the XingBu Ministry of Justice changed its title to FaBu Ministry of Laws/ Justice as the national management of judicial affairs, while the DaLi-Si was promoted to the DaLi-Yuan to administer the affairs of judicial sentences and to govern the capital and provisional courts of justice.<sup>89</sup>

In the meantime, officials sought new accommodation for the newly established DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court as the responsibilities, administration, and organisation of the department were solidifying. The new location of the DaLi-Yuan remained in the Quarter of Justice, but moved slightly northward to the original site of TaiChang-Si Worshipping and Offering Department,<sup>90</sup> which was merged with the Ministry of Rites in early 1907.<sup>91</sup> The FaBu Ministry of Justice, lying south of DaLi-Si YaMen, took the original site of the DaLi-Si to enlarge its office space.<sup>92</sup> Later the YaMen of the LuanYi Rites Guards, northward, was given over to the use of the DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court.

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<sup>87</sup> Han, Tao, 'Historical Space of the Judicial Variation: From the Perspective of the Building of the Supreme Court in Late Qing Dynasty', *Peking University Law Review*, IX/2 (2008), 515-536.

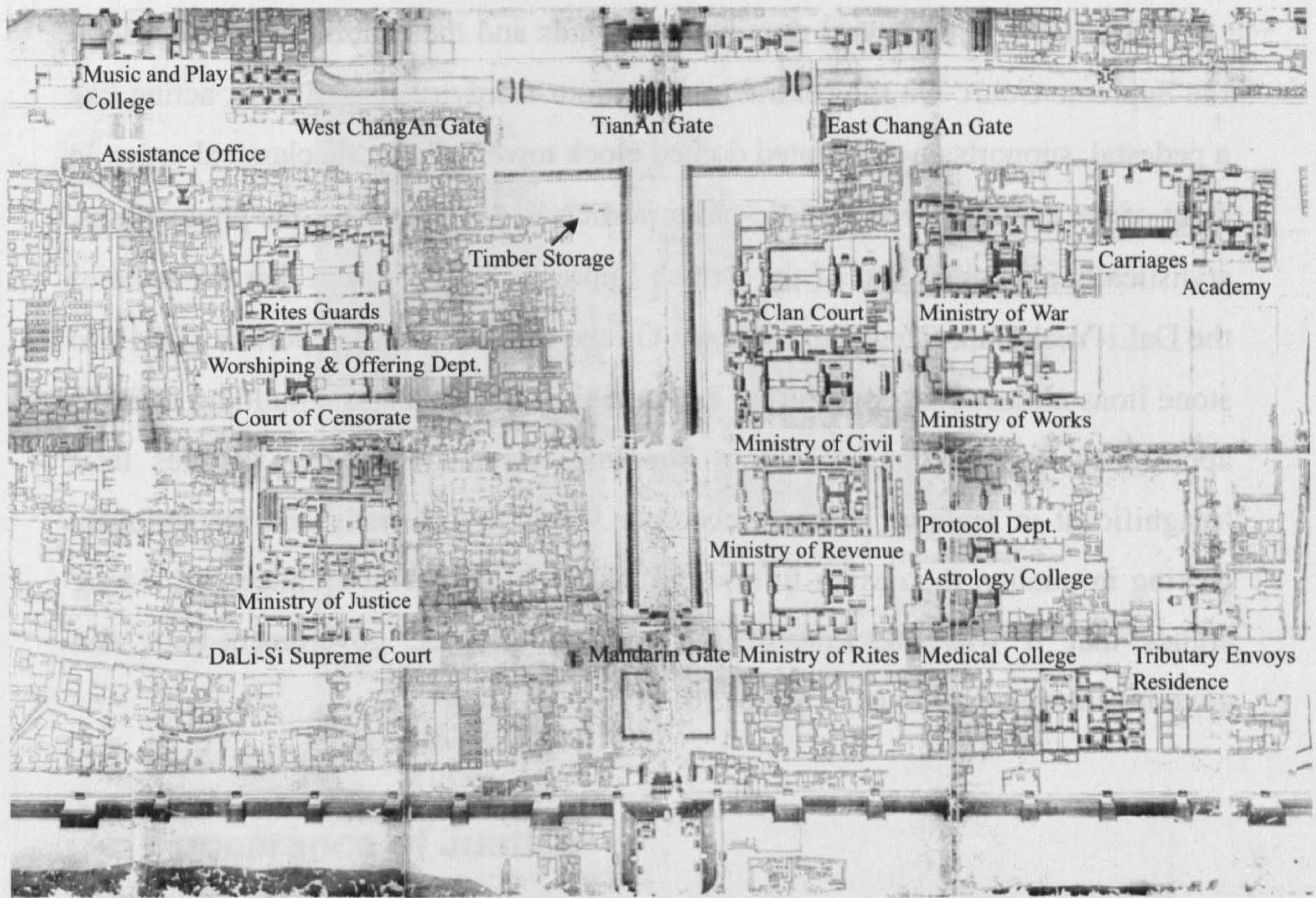
<sup>88</sup> Wang, Tay-Sheng, 'The Initial Encounter with Western-style Courts of Ch'ing and Republican China: A Discussion on the Institutions and Establishment of Courts', *Academic Sinica Law Journal*, /1 (2007), 105-162.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Han, 'Historical Space of the Judicial Variation: From the Perspective of the Building of the Supreme Court in Late Qing Dynasty'.

<sup>91</sup> Together with GuangLu-Si Royal Kitchen, and HongLu-Si Protocol Department, see Li, Kan *et al.*, *History of Modern Chinese* (Beijing: Zhong Hua Book Company, 1994), Chapter 6.

<sup>92</sup> No evidence shows there was a new building project for the new Ministry of Law/ Justice. Its original site, together with the site of DaLi-Yuan, now stands The Great Hall of the People and the formal building of Bank of China.



[ill.5: 9] PeKing, the 1750 arrangement of ministerial YaMens. The Ministry of Justice (including gaol) occupied the largest area in all YaMens. The plan of the Ministerial Quarters remained unchanged until the 1900 Boxer Movement, which destroyed East Ministerial Quarter (see Chapter 4). The 1906 Reform further changed the layout of West Quarter.

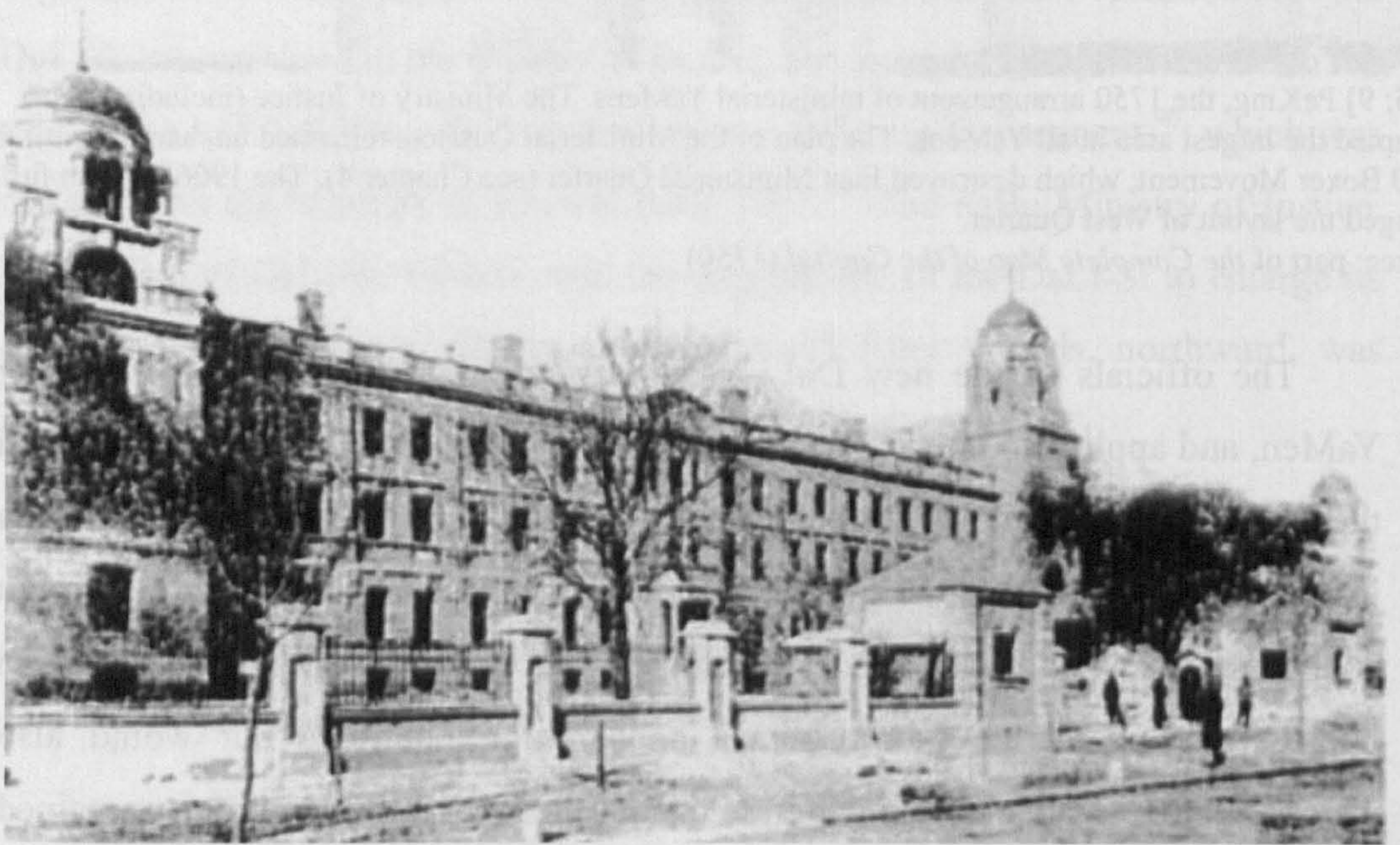
Source: part of *the Complete Map of the Capital* (1750)

The officials of the new DaLi-Yuan was unsatisfied with the old type of YaMen, and applied to house the new facilities, including the courts of justice and the gaols, in a new building. In the proposal submitted to the court, the DaLi-Yuan justified its position with the statement that ‘most of the law courts in the foreign countries look wholesome and extraordinary... it would not only be difficult to impress the people of both Chinese and foreign countries but would also disrespect the status of the Chinese justice system if the building remained humble and unchanged as it is’.<sup>93</sup> Between 1909 and 1911, examples of foreign law courts were collected, an engineering department was set up, the architect was commissioned and the plans for a new court building were drafted. The contractor A.H. Jagues & Co. started the construction in 1911.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Translated from the DongFang ZaZhi, or the Eastern magazine, as cited in Zhang, Fuhe, 'The Foreign Architects and Their Works at Beijing in the Early Ages of the 20th Century', *Treatises on History of Architecture*, XII (2000), 91-109.

<sup>94</sup> Han, 'Historical Space of the Judicial Variation: From the Perspective of the Building of the Supreme Court in Late Qing Dynasty'.

Externally, three towers dominate two ends and the centre of front façade of the Supreme Court. On the central tower, a four-storey rusticated base, acting like a pedestal, supports an elaborated domed clock tower of eclectic classical order. In front of the central tower, an attic-order portico is, to judge from the photographs, stylistically similar to that of the British Supreme Court, except that the scale of the DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court is larger. On the either side of the portico stand two stone lions almost one storey high. Presumably also judging the building from its appearance, Liang found the new Supreme Court about three decades later ‘magnificent in scale, of Renaissance style. Despite materially and meticulously lacking in quality, the design follows an acceptable order of architecture’. Liang argues that it was the first of the modern Chinese government-built and government-own buildings.<sup>95</sup> [ill.5: 10, 11]

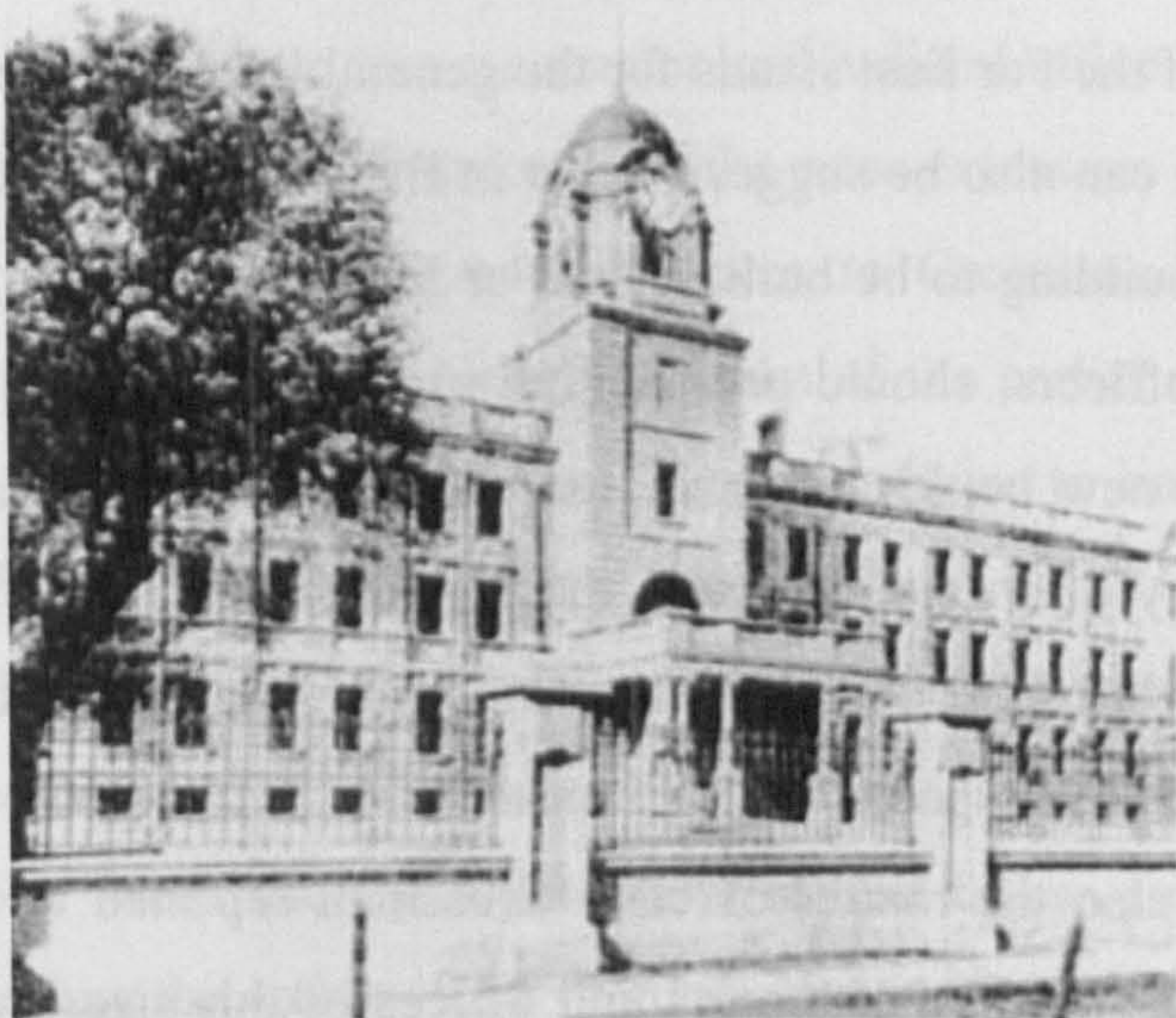


[ill.5: 10] PeKing DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court, front façade toward east.  
Source: (Zhang, F. 2004: 119)

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<sup>95</sup> Liang, Ssu-Ch'eng, 'The History of Chinese Architecture', (1944) at Chapter 8. He disregards the 1909 PeKing Army Headquarters, which carries Renaissance motifs with Chinese Baroque gables on its two ends, shown in Chapter 1.





[ill.5: 11] PeKing DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court, central entrance.

Source: (Zhang, F. 2004: 119)

## An Appearance of Justice

### Styles

To late nineteenth century Victorian intellectuals and architects, to build was to create meaning.<sup>96</sup> At that time meaning was expressed through the selection of style.<sup>97</sup> Eventually the debates formed the 'battle of styles' upon, first of all, what kind of style meant an Empire, and then what kind of style meant a Modern Empire? Such debates about style or Order might have started for Europeans with the Renaissance, but choosing decorations, materials, structures, scales and even colours had already regulated in every detail in continental China; and the language of architecture had been integrated with Chinese's daily and ritual life in every aspect since then.

It was the interior arrangements, rather than the exterior, of the Vice-Chancellors' Courts that were most likely what Hornby wanted Crossman to copy in 1866. As to the appearance of the planned British Supreme Court in ShangHai, he expressed little opinion, except that the new court needed to be as grand as possible and with the verandah mentioned in the correspondence. When

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<sup>96</sup> Crinson, Mark, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 9.

<sup>97</sup> Scriver, Peter, 'Stones and Texts: The Architecture Historiography of Colonial India and its Colonial-modern Contexts', in Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 46.

Hornby's letter was sent, he had in fact just arrived in China, and his understanding of the Far East stands for the general British impression of China to a great extent. It can also be suggested that in British minds there was a particular style of public building to be built in the Far East.<sup>98</sup> The style, preferred also by the diplomatic officers, should present 'an ornate façade resembling the palatial buildings of the new boulevards, which at once strike the eye as suitable to the wants and dignity of a great power in the first mart of China'.<sup>99</sup> Not merely for British subjects, the style of the British Consulate was designed also to impress the other nationalities, especially the Chinese.

There was also the matter of cost. Crossman reported to the Treasury the difficulties in early 1867 that 'courts and offices of this size even if the exterior elevation be made of as simple and inexpensive a character as possible, consistent with the public purposes for which the building is required, I found, after making very enquiry, could not be put up at Shanghai for less than £25,000, they might even [rise to] £30,000', if the law court and consular offices were two separate buildings.<sup>100</sup> In other words, the expense of the new office determined the final choice of style in Crossman's and the Treasury's decision-making processes. Nevertheless, which kind of 'style' was chosen precisely remains indistinct in the correspondence. Was the 'ornate façade' a collective tacit agreement between British officials?

It is unclear which drawings of the Vice-Chancellor's Court in London were sent from the Office of Works after Crossman's request in early 1867, but whether they were authentically medieval or of later Gothic Revival, the courts in Lincoln's Inn carried noticeable Tudor characteristics.<sup>101</sup> In addition, Hornby evidently did not ask that the new Supreme Court at Shanghai be designed according to the appearance of the Lincoln's Inn, but judging from his statements,<sup>102</sup> he was more interested in the elaborated design for his courts.

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<sup>98</sup> WORK 10/432, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

<sup>99</sup> The description was given by Winchester of the new French public buildings in the French Settlement of Shanghai, and the image was requested by him to apply to the British Consulate buildings. WORK 10/56/3, 7 February 1867 Shanghai Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>100</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>101</sup> Some, particularly those around the Old Square, are characterised Neo-Elizabethan by Pevsner and Cherry in Cherry, Bridget and Pevsner, Nikolaus, *London 4 : North* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 286-87.

<sup>102</sup> The opinion of having to have more luxurious and elaborated design in oriental lands than that

Furthermore, since the final conclusion was to alter the original building of consular offices and residence into a consular and judicial office by an addition of law courts,<sup>103</sup> the necessity of harmonising the new extension with the existing consulate building could be of greater concern to Crossman.<sup>104</sup> The resulting addition design reflects more the Neo-Classicism of the earlier consular building and the economic limitations rather than Hornby's desire to link the British Far Eastern Supreme Court to British justice's Tudor style.<sup>105</sup>

Taking a Chinese perspective, the classic Chinese architectural language was well standardised at the time of the Ming Empire. The modifications made under the Ching Empire were merely elaboration of the frame structures, such as TouKongs. Regarding the architectural match-up between function and style, there existed a dramatic ideological gap between the Western and Chinese cultures. For European-orientated conceptions, forms that express the identity of the building were far more important than other aspects of 'style' and thus the unity of forms in Chinese architecture became one of the characteristics that the foreigners could not understand.<sup>106</sup> Traditionally, whatever its occupants or its purposes, Chinese architecture was built in a similar form. The provincial YaMens, being administration centres as well as courts of justice, were no exception. However their identity could still be recognised from other elements as mentioned earlier.

Judging from photographs [ill.5: 10, 11], no indications point out there is any form of Chinese ornaments or model inside or outside the PeKing Supreme Court except for the three pairs of lions guarding the major entrances of the DaLi-Yuan. Designed by the same architect – Atkinson & Dallas – and the interval of completions are less than one decade, the stylistic change between the Mixed

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in home can be read in his letter to Crossman on 5 November 1866, WORK 10/56/3; and to the Foreign Office on 6 November 1866, WORK 10/56/3. Supporting evidence is also found that the price he paid for his residence was a means to express his social status along with other statements, see Hornby, *An Autobiography*, p. 261.

<sup>103</sup> WORK 10/440, 16 March 1867 PeKing Legation to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Supreme Court to F.O., b, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to treasury, 7 February 1867 ShangHai Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>104</sup> Its rebuilding completed in 1873 followed most of the original design therefore only Crossman's intention is presented here.

<sup>105</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 E. Hornby to F.O., b, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 29 March 1867 F.O. to Treasury and its enclosed plans No.2. Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, 1998, *The Buildings of England* (series ed. Bridget Cherry) London 4: North, London: Penguin.

<sup>106</sup> The attitude can always start from Fergusson's book, see Fergusson, James, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1899), pp. 687-685.

Court and the PeKing Supreme Court was momentous. Even though the 1906 reform was driven by the Empress Dowager and the Royalists' conservatism to cling on to power, the aesthetic debates between Oceanic and Chinese (or barbarity and ritual), which lasted for almost a JiaZi (sixty years) seem completely to have changed. The expressions of identity and hierarchy had veered completely to a European orientation and away from the Chinese statutory tradition. The authority of the PeKing Supreme Court is stated by its dominant image of three Western-style towers and the clock on the central tower, instead of the traditional expression of the old YaMen through colours, ornaments, and in the roofs of its gates and archways, in its staff posts and drum.

### **Layouts**

For reasons of health and impression both diplomatic and judicial officers had unreasonable delusions about the spaces between large buildings being ample in a limited area of compound.<sup>107</sup> When the Consul to ShangHai Winchester criticised Crossman's rearrangement of the consulate as 'a proposal so instinct with bad taste', what he really meant were the fragmented open spaces between the buildings affecting the wholesomeness of those buildings.<sup>108</sup> The healthy atmosphere and the visual impression, both highly valued by the British residents, will be discussed in the case study of remote consulates. This study must focus on the transformation in site planning of the two Chinese courts of justice.

In comparison with the two site plans, the two Mixed Courts and the PeKing Supreme Court show great variation.<sup>109</sup> In contrast the British (at ShangHai) and the Chinese (at PeKing) Supreme Courts are very similar to each other. The Mixed Courts were still organised based on the courtyard tradition of China. In the case of the second generation Mixed Court on Boone Road, three halls can be identified on the map. These three halls were placed parallel from east to west straddling the central axis that ran along the site.<sup>110</sup> In addition, there is a

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<sup>107</sup> WORK 10/432, 13 February 1868 Shanghai Consulate to W. Crossman; WORK 10/440, 16 March 1867 PeKing Legation to W. Crossman, 16 June 1867 PeKing Legation to F.O.; WORK 10/56/3 6 November 1866 E. Hornby to F.O. The topic of the area of the compound and the size of the buildings is commonly read regardless the consulate's geographical differences. It is focused in the case study on the remote consulates.

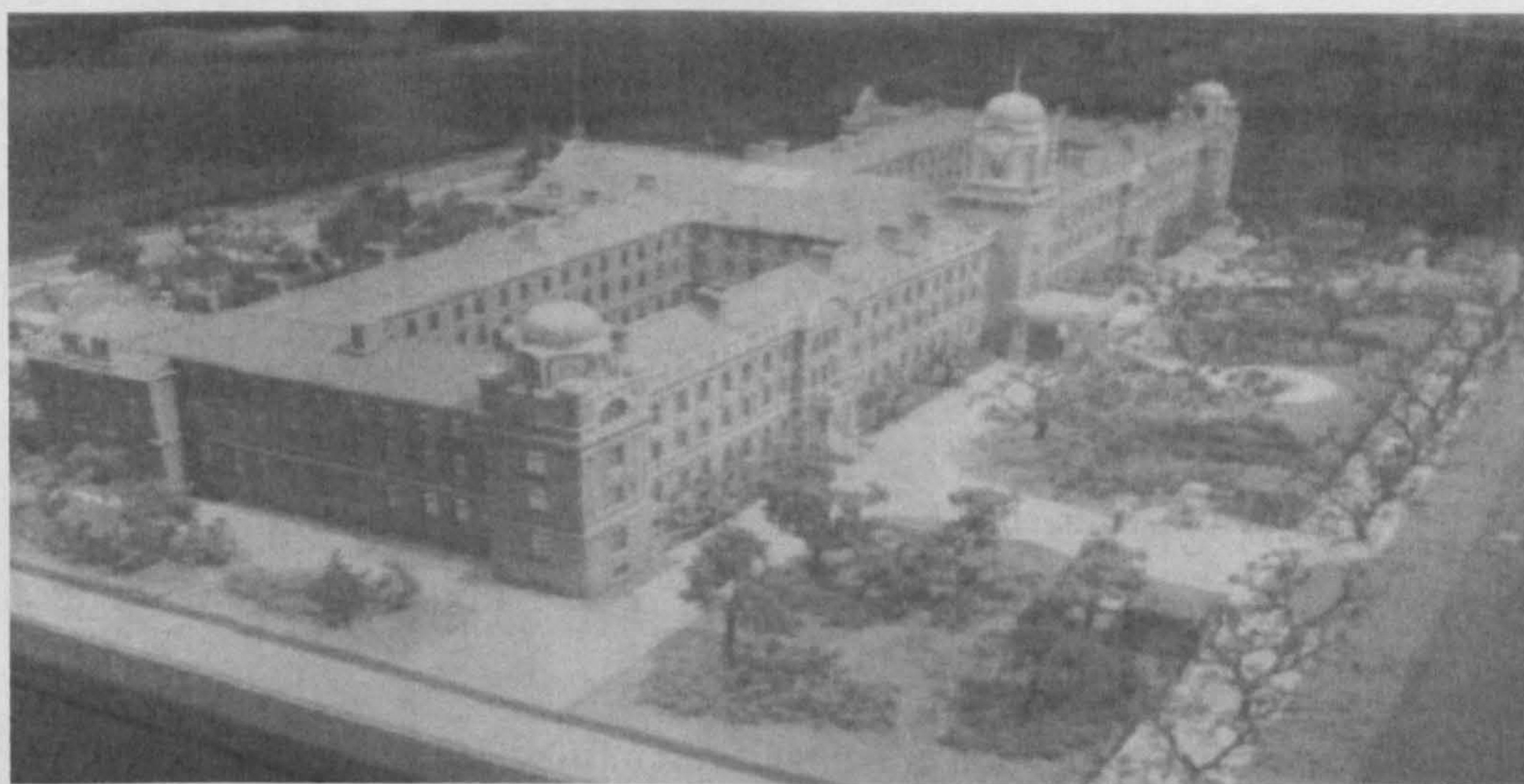
<sup>108</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 7 February 1867 ShangHai Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>109</sup> The plan of the first Mixed Court on NanKing Road cannot be found but most likely to be traditional lay-out of courtyards and halls run parallel to each other along the central axis.

<sup>110</sup> Zhang, Wei (ed.), *The Album of Shanghai during the Past 150 Years* (Shanghai: Shanghai

possibility that what Darwent refers to as an old temple in the courtyard was in fact the main hall as well as the courtroom of the Boone Road Mixed Court.<sup>111</sup> It can thus be argued that the centre of the Court, the courtroom still carried its Chinese tradition, at least externally.

The layout of the DaLi-Yuan is entirely European in fashion with one building alone dominating the central part of the site and offices are organised surrounding two courtyards [ill.5: 12]. The remaining part of the site is covered with European gardens with straight walkways cutting the open space into geometric flowerbeds. The DaLi-Yuan still follows the original orientation of west to east like the old three Judicial YaMens, but it was based on urban reality rather than cosmological beliefs. This can be shown by judging from its ratio of plan dimensions, changing to a wider front, as opposed to depth of plan. The spatial tradition of social hierarchy and unfathomable politics expressed by Jins/進 – the multi-layered privacy of deepness and indirect contact offered by the courtyard buildings – was at this point replaced by European expressions of power. In terms of site plan, the two Supreme Courts are for that reason identical. The sophisticated tradition that the central bays of the hall and its front courtyard were unified at event level but at the same time distinguished at hierarchy level gradually disappeared [ill.5: 13], as also shown in PeKing LeangKoong-Foo.

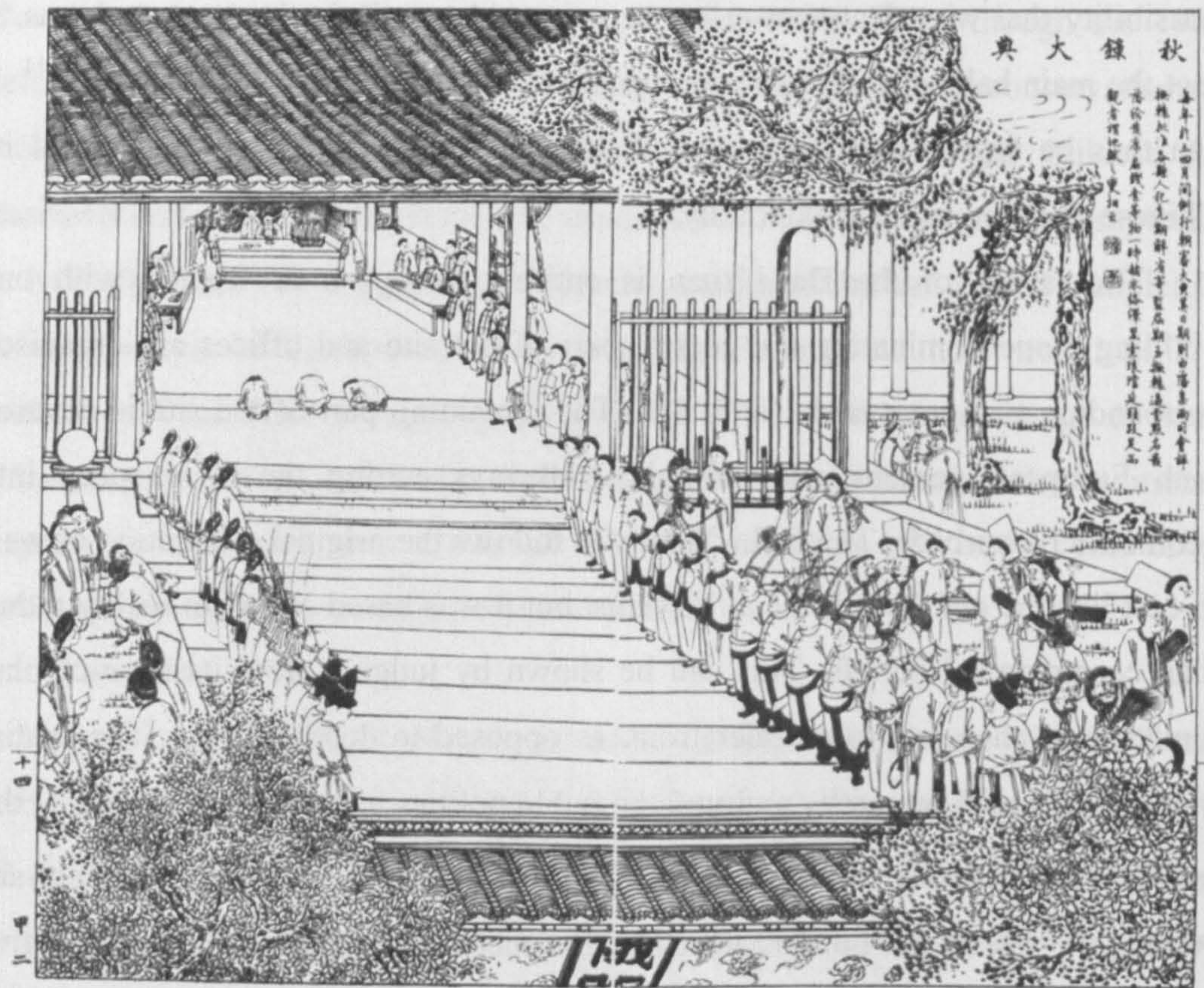


[ill.5: 12] PeKing DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court, recreated model.  
Source: (Han, T. 2008)

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Pictorial Publishing House, 2001), pp. 54-55.

<sup>111</sup> Darwent, *Shanghai: a handbook for travelers and residents to the chief objects of interest in and around the foreign settlements and native city*, p. 54.



[ill.5: 13] Traditional Courtroom (YaMen) in ShangHai. A similar scene possibly inspired Darwent to misunderstand it as 'an old temple', when describing the Boone Road Mixed Court. Source: *DianShi Zhai Illustrated Journal*, April 1884.

### Courtooms

Despite detailed information in Hornby's correspondence, the only picture left of the courtroom interior is that of a police or second court. The uncertainty is because the term 'police' in the caption is crossed out and 'second' substituted. The courtroom was possibly built around 1912 to 1913, since the captions of the pictures suggest that it was extension to the joint building of consular and judicial offices [ill.5: 14, 15]. More detail regarding the court cannot be found. It was perhaps set up to try minor cases whether criminal or civil. The fittings, such as the Royal Coat of Arms, the Bench, the Bar and the Witness Stand and such essential furniture of English courtrooms can be seen in the picture except that it was simpler. However the Dock where the prisoner was kept is not evident. It is difficult to identify the function of the courtroom [ill.5: 16].



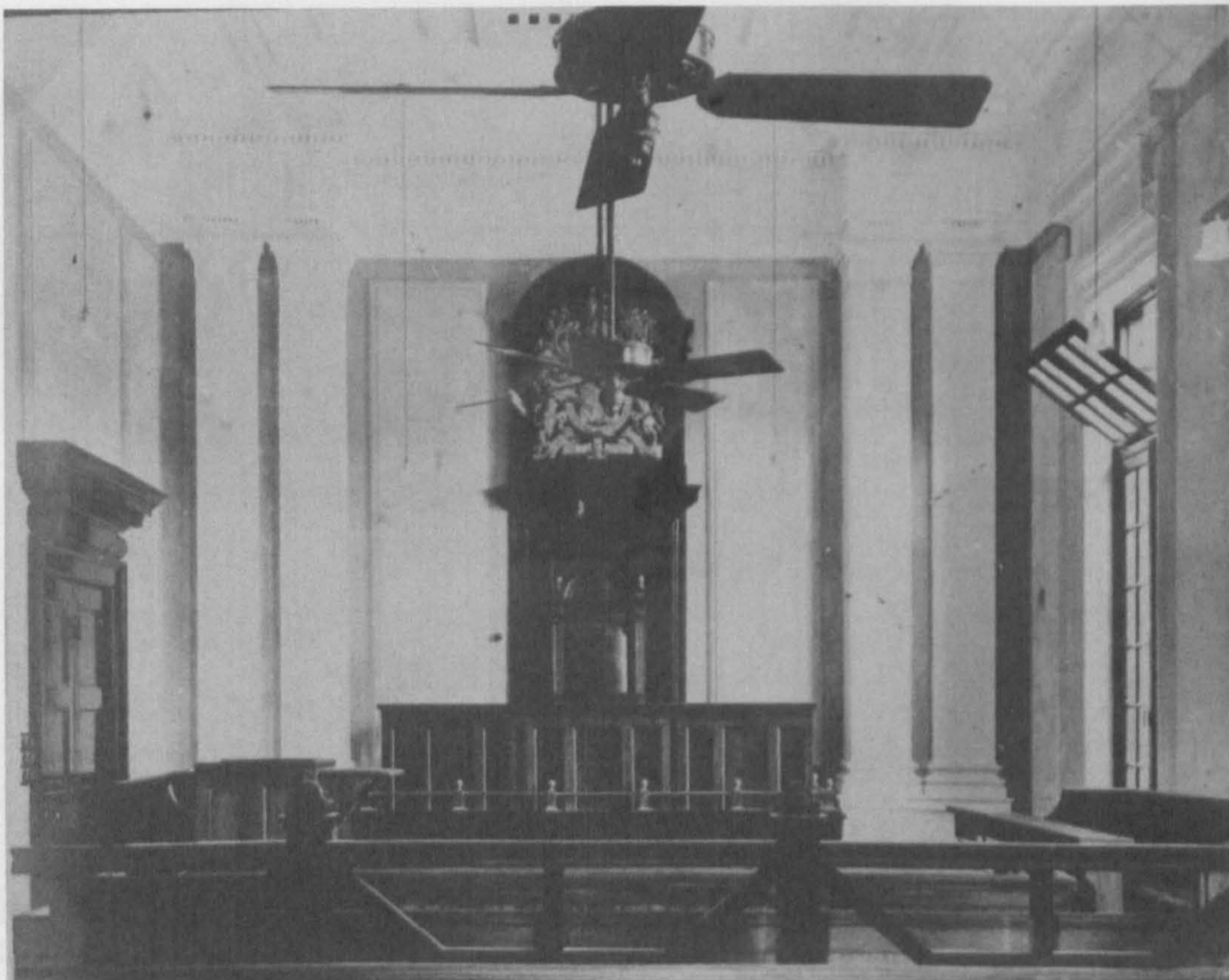
[ill.5: 14] ShangHai Consulate, 1913 extension of Supreme Court. New Police and/or Second Court on the right.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1913



[ill.5: 15] ShangHai Consulate, new Police and/or Second Court of Supreme Court.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1913



[ill.5: 16] Shanghai Consulate, new police or second courtroom. It was in the first floor of the extension building.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1913

Ceiling fans, electric lights, switches by the doors and perhaps more modern appliances were used to render a courtroom more comfortable; while the ventilation holes on the ceiling could have existed as early as the verandah existed in China. The modification of the new 1910s courtroom from the original 1873 formal courtrooms in their spatial arrangements is hard to tell because of lack of pictorial and textual evidence. However furnishings as well as the ritual of the trial were specialised at the end of the nineteenth century and passed down to the next century, according to Graham.<sup>112</sup> Hence, it is possible to suggest that the difference in its settings, spatial arrangements or segregation between classes were similar between the 1873 and 1913 buildings.

The differences from the 1873 building might include that the Criminal Evidence Act in 1898 gave the offender right to present evidence of his own for the consideration of the judge and jury.<sup>113</sup> The changes were however more

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<sup>112</sup> Graham, *Ordering Law: The architecture and social history of the English law court to 1914*, p. 325-26.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.



procedural than spatial; more about the ritual than about the courtroom itself. Most elements in the courtroom in the U.K. had gradually specified around 1790 and 1840 in their functions during the proceedings of trial, except the for prisoner being then allowed to move from the dock into the witness box.<sup>114</sup> Arguably, the similar design was introduced to ShangHai as early as Parkes acted judge.

In the picture of the courtroom, there seem to be three entrances. The most certain one is that for the judge, who was honourably isolated from the rest of those attendants.<sup>115</sup> The door is placed right behind the seat of the judge under the royal coat of arms. Due to lack of floor plans and written records it is hard to prove that the rest of the actors – jury, witnesses (maybe including the prisoners, if the courtroom served as criminal court) and lawyers all got into the room through the door behind the witness stand. Opposite to the witness stand, and behind the jury's benches, a door led outdoors to a verandah that could also serve as the entrance for the jury. The public possibly entered through other doors behind the camera. Nonetheless, it can be shown that spatial relationship and positions for the main actors in the 1913 courtroom was more or less the same as in the 1873 one, in which the jury sit opposite the witness just as the lawyers (with their clients) are opposite the judge. The bar further enhances separation of classes and professions.

The interior and fittings of the ShangHai Mixed Court and the PeKing Supreme Court tell a different story. The picture of the Mixed Court courtroom shows little spatial change from the traditional magistrate-decided justice system, regardless of its western kind of floors, doors, handrails and furniture [ill.5: 17]. Darwent says there were four courts in the new Mixed Court,<sup>116</sup> but it is needless to identify the type of courtroom in the photography because regardless of whether it was a criminal or civil case, the proceedings and spatial arrangements were the same. Both parties – the defendant and the plaintiff – had to be placed in front of the judges (both kneeling down before the twentieth century) while the remaining attendants stood on both sides. Seats were only provided for the judges.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> As Graham puts it –the god from Olympus. Ibid., p. 325.

<sup>116</sup> Darwent, *Shanghai: a handbook for travelers and residents to the chief objects of interest in and around the foreign settlements and native city.*



[ill.5: 17] ShangHai International Mixed Court, courtroom. Late Ching period.

Source: (Tang 1996: 45)

However the most notable difference between the traditional YaMen and the Mixed Court is not the spatial structure of different legal professionals, nor the absence of a plaque that says '(justice) clear as mirror', but the interference of power. The courtroom is divided in half way along its central axial, the Chinese and foreign officials occupying each side of the room. At the foremost position of the courtroom the foreign judge sat equally by the Chinese judge. In Parks's original plan it was not rightful if the foreign judge was giving sentences on cases involving only Chinese, but Fei, Xu and Qiu present evidence of foreign judges finding guilty and sentencing Chinese to punishments.<sup>117</sup>

Contemporary Chinese and foreigners were both aware of the conditions, but from different perspectives. Captain Champe S. Andrews – an American lawyer who visited a criminal proceeding in the Mixed Court in 1906 – was stunned by the absence of a jury, but when it came to the issues of joint trial of the Chinese he supported it, for

*Contrary to the rule in civilized countries, we shall presently see that every "foreigner" in Shanghai must be sued in the court established by his own country. But what of the jurisdiction over the Chinese in Shanghai?... in the administration of the law, as it affects the Chinese, the Council has wisely given the Chinese substantial recognition, though not a free rein. (Andrews 1906)*

Andrews believed that the institution of the Mixed Court protected the Chinese from the 'severe and unusual' Chinese criminal laws because there were foreigner

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<sup>117</sup> Xu and Qiu, *Status of the Shanghai International Settlement*, pp. 134-35; 138; Fei, *History of Concessions in China*, pp.138; 143-44.

officials 'keeping an eye on everybody and everything to see that all rules are obeyed'.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand, a satirical Chinese writer notes in his novel,

*The Chinese Judge of the Mixed Court, despite being titled Joint Judge, is actually a puppet; whenever he sees foreigners he is afraid, of irritating the foreigners, afraid that the foreigner will ask his superior to discharge him, and break his rice bowl [author's note: lose his job]; therefore when they hold the court together, the Chinese judge obeys whatever the foreigner judge says. The constables are hired by the foreigners and for the foreigners, thus he also fears them even in the ordinary days, let alone at the time when the constable becomes an accuser; it is therefore natural that he would sentence and punish the accused without asking if it is right or wrong. (Wu 1906: Chapter 10)*

The legal representative system existed, but according to Fei, only foreign representatives were allowed in and some times the foreign judge also played the representative part of the proceedings.<sup>119</sup> According to Andrews, representatives rarely showed up.<sup>120</sup> Even in the Republican era, the picture of the Mixed Court courtroom shows that the furnishing went through considerable improvement in specification, which includes a witnesses' area as seen in front of the public seats, desks for assistants and recorders of both sides, as well as the procedures of trial, but the signs of lawyers are still absent [ill.5: 18].



[ill.5: 18] ShangHai International Mixed Court, courtroom. It is possibly the Boone Road Mixed Court. This undated photograph is probably from the early republican time.

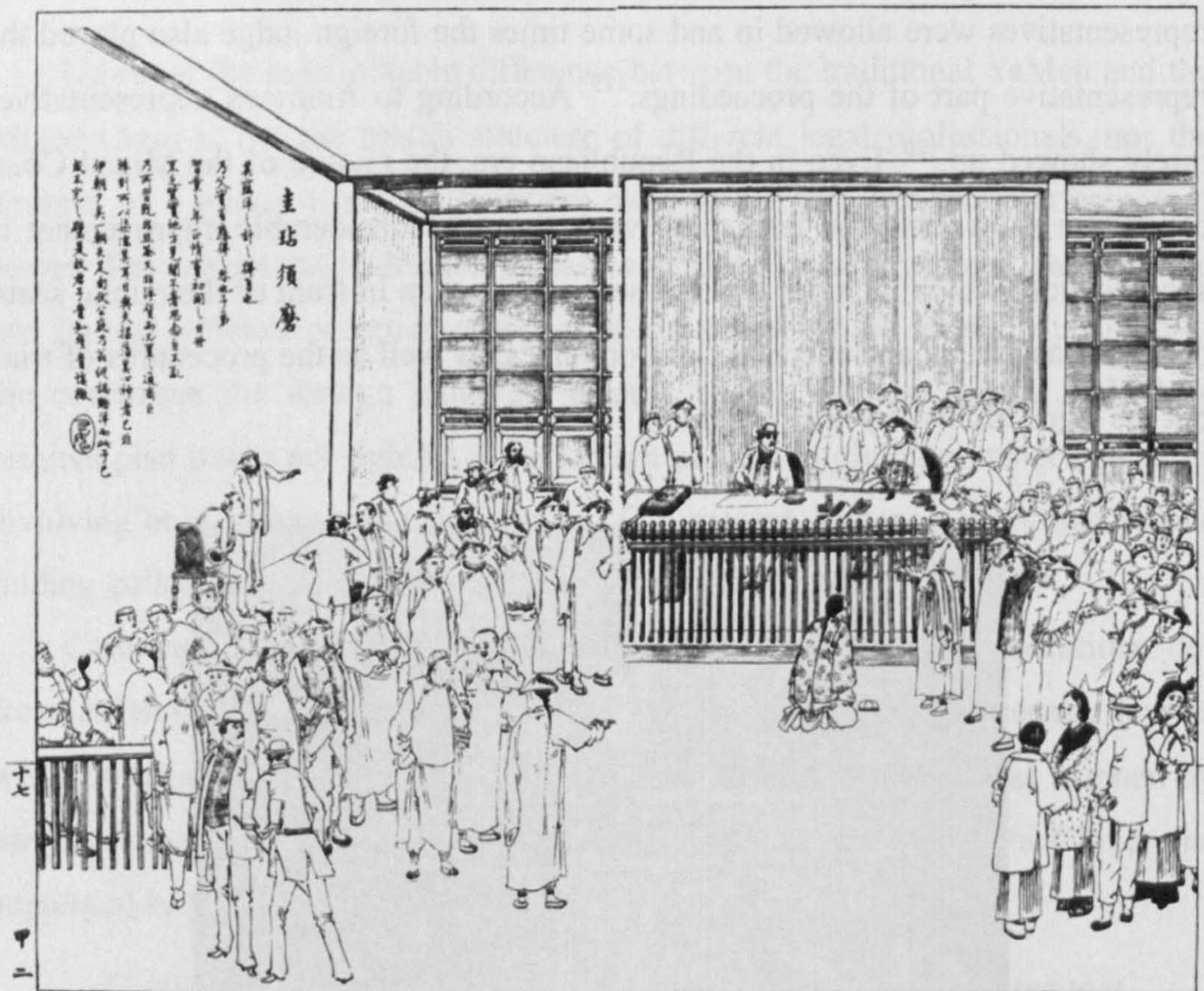
Source: (Tang 1996: 45)

<sup>118</sup> Andrews, 'A Day in a Chinese Criminal Court; Member of the New York Bar who sat with the native Magistrate administering Justice at Shanghai, describes some remarkable scenes.'

<sup>119</sup> Fei, *History of Concessions in China*, pp. 143-46.

<sup>120</sup> Andrews, 'A Day in a Chinese Criminal Court; Member of the New York Bar who sat with the native Magistrate administering Justice at Shanghai, describes some remarkable scenes.'

The photograph of the interior does not show constables and runners standing in line as traditionally required, only officials. The other contemporary evidence – a woodblock print article reported on the *DianShi Zhai Illustrated Journal* in the fourth lunar month of the GuangXu tenth year (1884) also shows the absence of runners and constables, whose duties included keeping orders, initiating the hearings, assisting interrogations, executing sentences, and so on [ill.5: 17]. On the other hand, a Sikh constable is seen at the very left of the photograph in comparison with only Euro-American gentlemen being seen in the print [ill.5: 17, 19].

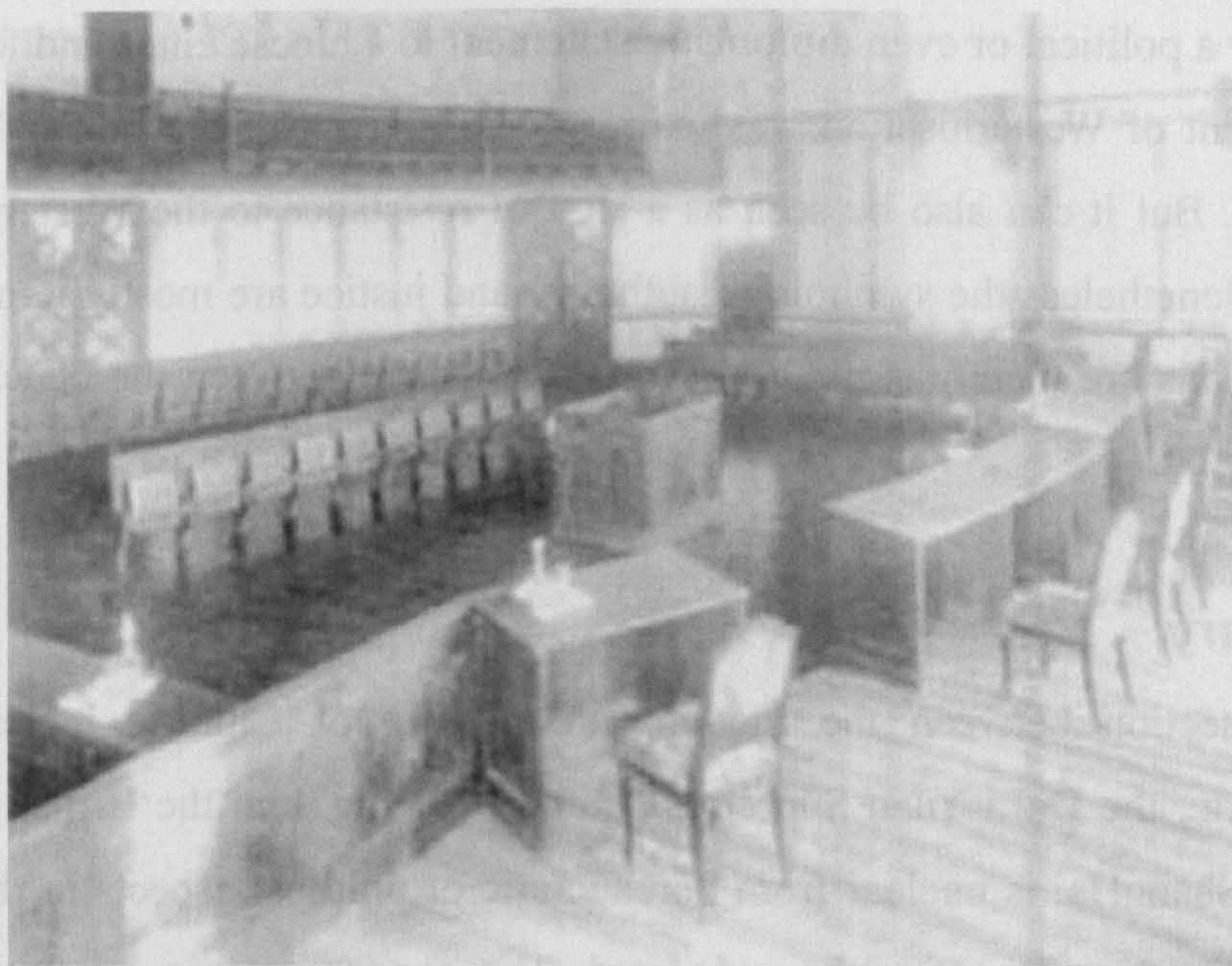


[ill.5: 19] ShangHai International Mixed Court, courtroom.  
Source: *DianShi Zhai Illustrated Journal*, April 1884.

More importantly, as mentioned earlier, a plaque, on which sea waves and clear sky with clouds blown away by a bright sun/ mirror are painted, with the motto '(justice) clear as mirror' or of related kind disappears from the courtroom of the Mixed Court. Serving the same purpose as the royal coat of arms in British courtrooms, the plaque represented the judge's impartial authority as well as the Emperor's surveillance from above. The absence of these two lawful symbols of

Chinese justice, together with the drum of injustice, provides further evidence of the British de-territorialisation of the Chinese justice system in the Mixed Court.

Finally, the furnishing of the courtroom in the DaLi-Yuan looks much the same as the Mixed Court, except there are seats for every attendant [ill.5: 20]. Again it is more complicated to identify which kind of courtroom is shown in the picture. The date of the photograph is also not stated. Little can be deduced based on the poor information given by the picture. Wang's study provides supportive material that the judges essentially inherited the social and legal position from traditional magistrates.<sup>121</sup> As a result, the English tradition of adversarial procedure since the eighteenth century in place of the inquisitorial one did in fact exist only on paper in the 1906 reform, as well as other Westernised judicial systems.



[ill.5: 20] PeKing DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court, courtroom.  
Source: (Zhang, F. 2004: 120)

<sup>121</sup> One piece of evidence is that the critical system for modern or western justice of selecting spokespersons for both defendant and plaintiff was postponed in the 1906 reform to prevent the rising of civilian rights over the royals. See Wang, 'The Initial Encounter with Western-style Courts of Ch'ing and Republican China: A Discussion on the Institutions and Establishment of Courts'.

In the picture, right in front of the judge's desk or bench a box is fitted, possibly to accommodate the suspect or witness. The system of having a legal representative was excluded from the 1906 justice reform, and it was only officially introduced after 1930.<sup>122</sup> The purpose of the row of seats behind the box is unfamiliar, possibly it was the witnesses' retiring area. Desks placed on both sides of the judge's desk are likely to have been for clerks or secretaries of law. It is also unclear whether the Ching government had adapted the jury system and whether places for jury in the courtrooms were installed in the DaLi-Yuan building. All in all, the fittings and spatial arrangements of the PeKing Supreme Court courtroom are unexpectedly temperate and simple, especially in comparison with its sophisticated exterior.

The judicial reform hardly caused much influence except for certain statements on paper. Its purpose, regardless of the initiatives stated above, was obviously a political or even diplomatic statement to Chinese elites and foreigners. A statement of Westernisation was expressed in its appearance rather than in its essentials. But it can also be seen as a sign of resistance to the Western judicial system. Nonetheless the symbols of authority and justice are mostly removed and what remains are merely stone lions and the distance between the bench and the witness.

## **Summary**

Connection between the modern architecture of Chinese higher justice system, e.g., the DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court in PeKing, and the British Supreme Court in ShangHai is unclear from bureaucratic or political aspects in this thesis, but stylistic connection can be suggested. The connection can be found in the difference of style, layout and courtrooms from traditional justice architecture. Together with British officials' experiments carried out in the PeKing Legation, the connection of these Chinese judicial buildings can be seen as the result of style and justice reform encouraged by British.

Hevia suggests that through the destruction of wars and the construction of treaties China was gradually reformed. The PeKing Legation and the justice

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<sup>122</sup> At the time, there were 2176 qualified lawyers in China. One third of them practised in the International Settlement of ShangHai while most of the rest were concentrated in major provincial capitals or the capital of China. See *Ibid.*

architecture seem to support the theory, but unavoidable destructions were actually the results of resistance from Chinese people. Confucian Chinese even burnt down the HanLin Academy – the essence of Confucianism – in order to drive aliens out of PeKing. The CanTon case study in next Chapter also presents the same Chinese attitude toward British's political agenda in their consulate architecture.

## Chapter 6, CanTon Consulate

*But the Treaty did not go far enough. It was perhaps impossible at that early stage to ask for more, yet there were statesmen who then foresaw that unless England obtained the right of direct representation through a Minister at the Court of Peking, the advantages secured by the Treaty of Nanking might prove illusory. So long as British interests depended upon the temper of local officials, a door would be left open for humiliation and outrage. The right of communication with the capital turned out to be a dead letter, except when enforced at the point of bayonet. (Lane-Poole 1894: 49)*



## Introduction

British envoys, both present and historical, and members of the general public have seen the Opium Wars as the result of seeking equality in trade and diplomacy with the Chinese empire. The *Canton fashion*, which refers to the monopoly trade between the thirteen Chinese companies (CoHong or Hong, also known in the English-speaking world as Factories) and the English East India Company, has been considered by the British an undesirable symptom of China's arrogance ever since free trade of Chinese goods was granted in 1833.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation receives some support from Chinese intellectuals, although only from a minority. Historian Tsiang, TingFu (1895-1965) writes of the post-1842 phenomenon that 'before the Opium wars, we [China] were not willing to give them [Britain] fair treatment; afterward, they were unwilling to treat us fairly'.<sup>2</sup>

Hevia sees it differently, for although he still concentrates on economic issues, he claims that it had been a long intention since the CoHong period to establish direct contact with the Emperor's Court so as to bypass the successful coast control of local officials.<sup>3</sup> Farris notes that although the aftermath of the war reduced the importance of the city in economics and politics, CanTon played a key role in the architectural interaction between China and foreign lands.<sup>4</sup> The political nature of the interaction is particularly shown by the way that the physical manifestations of ideologies were expressed by different social groups, particularly the nationalists.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Charter Act in 1833 removed the English East India Company's monopoly in trade. A diplomat's opinion can be found in Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 4; Hoare, James E., *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), p. 5. The medical officer David Rennie of the first British Legation mission to PeKing shows sympathy but still objected to the CanTon fashion, see Rennie, David F., *Peking and the Pekingese: During the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1865), pp. 32, 84. The record of public opinion was presented in Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> Tsiang, Ting-Fu, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History* (Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 1996), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Hevia, James L., *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 49-55; Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Farris, Johnathan Andrew, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', PhD (Cornell University, 2004), pp. 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> The Nationalist approaches of Chinese architecture are presented in Chapter 2. This case study focuses on the ideologies shown in the British CanTon consulate architecture.

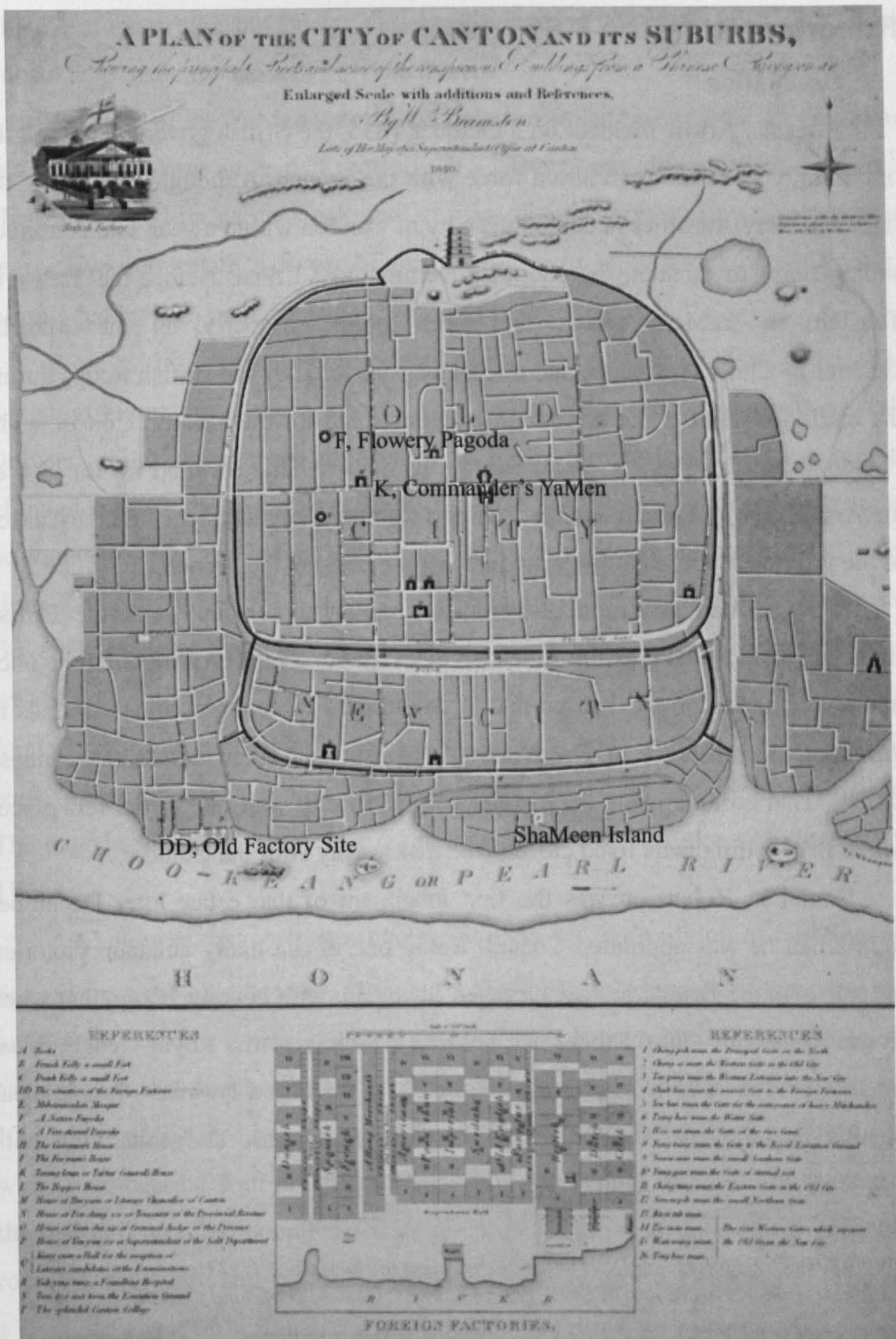
The CanTon Consulate was one of the few consulate buildings completed before the Office of Works' Far Eastern Division was set up in August 1872. There was little standard procedure before that regarding funding, erecting, and maintenance of Britain's public buildings. A series of buildings in CanTon were used for consular purposes in that situation, including a former Manchu General's YaMen<sup>6</sup> as Consul's residence in the Chinese City of CanTon, the British Consulate compound near the original Thirteen Factories site, the new Consulate compound on the ShaMeen island from 1865, and a Vice-Consulate at WhamPoa (黃埔).

In a map [ill.6: 1] drawn in 1840 by W. Bramston, later of the Superintendents Office at Canton, the YaMen is marked K, described as 'Tseang-keun or Tartar General's House'. The reference DD points out the location of the Foreign Factories. An additional drawing captioned 'Foreign Factories' at the bottom of the map illustrates the plan of the Thirteen Factories site. ShaMeen Island, on which the new British Consulate was established in 1840, is on the Pearl River south of the city.

Several negotiations of real estate between Germany, Russia and China were dealt with under the same system. CanTon's geographical location, the climate, the nationalist citizens and the closeness to the HongKong colony drew much more attention from the Office of Works and the Foreign Office in comparison with other parts of China.

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<sup>6</sup> The past history of the YaMen differs from source to source. It is positive that the premises were laid out in the age when the Ching Empire overthrew the Ming Empire. It was first used as a palace for one of the two princes who conquered the province in the mid seventeenth century, and later the site was transformed into the residence and office of the General-in-Chief to CanTon, who controlled the eight banners and shared power with the Viceroy.



[ill.6: 1] CanTon, and its suburbs.

Source: Hong Kong Museum of Art, online material, cwC\_1840\_AH64115\_Map, date: 1840

## Robertson's YaMen (1858-1928)

### Occupation

After the Arrow Incident on 8 October 1856, the British government took the opportunity of forming an allied force with the French. Although delayed by the Indian Mutiny, the allies occupied the City of CanTon within a year, and continued sailing north to threaten the central government of China. Before the Treaty of TeinTsin, a YaMen, which had been public property as the Manchu General-in-Chief's residence and office, was occupied by the British troops during the battle for CanTon. Later part of it was retained for the CanTon Consul.<sup>7</sup> The French share was Yeh's Viceroy YaMen, which was later levelled for the seat of the Archbishop of French Roman Catholic Church. They also received the YaMen of the Provincial Revenue Department,<sup>8</sup> which became the French Consulate.<sup>9</sup>

It was a demonstration of Britain's gunboat diplomacy<sup>10</sup> that the British could enter and dwell in the cities of the Chinese Empire. Earl Granvill once stated his opinion on the YaMen that 'it would be unwise, on political grounds to surrender the residence of Her Majesty's Consul at Canton within the Chinese City'.<sup>11</sup> That attitude made the YaMen within the city wall one of the few places where British diplomats lived closely and awkwardly with the Chinese.

Daniel B. Robertson was the first inhabitant of that estate after December 1858 when he was appointed Consul. Being one of the many amateur Victorian naturalists in the Orient, he had surveyed ShangHai with his own equipment when he served as Vice-Consul there. He became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1865 in spite of the fact that he had trained as a lawyer.<sup>12</sup> It is unclear whether he enjoyed living in a Chinese courtyard house and cohabiting with

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<sup>7</sup> WORK10/37/2, 'Yamen; sublease to the Government of Hong Kong (1922); return to the Chinese Authorities', Return of 1871; Return of 1873; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 191.

<sup>8</sup> Revenue Departments were usually the most important establishment of the provincial governments, and employed a large number of civil servants. A separated YaMen to house facilities such as treasury and offices was a common phenomenon.

<sup>9</sup> Farris, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', p. 136.

<sup>10</sup> Even in the post-WWII period, the gunboat policy was still considered efficient to control China by British officials, including some in the British Ministry of Works, see WORK 22/239, January 1949 W.S.A. Winter, London to A.S. 15, London.

<sup>11</sup> WORK10/37/2, 7 March 1881 Treasury to Office of Works.

<sup>12</sup> Editor, 'Obituary: Sir D. B. Robertson, C. B., K. C. M. G.' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, 3/6 (1881), 366-367.

Chinese of every sort, but Coates's statements suggest that he was the only British Consul who made the most of his time there.<sup>13</sup>

The lease of the YaMen was settled between Robertson and the Viceroy, Lao in October 1861, at an annual rent of 277.77 HongKong dollars (£59. 0s. 6d.).<sup>14</sup> The YaMen and its gardens covered an area of four acres and owned a park of nearly five acres with a forest of trees and a herd of deer, all of which were surrounded by high boundary walls.<sup>15</sup>

There is little textual and graphical information available in the United Kingdom about the estate. According to Farris, there are photographs at Yale University, and two of them are used in his thesis; nonetheless, the image quality of the pictures in the thesis gives little detail. He points out another source that can be found, despite low resolution, on the website of the Public Record Office of Hong Kong [ill.6: 2-3]. The images were taken by the daughter of Henry May, the Governor of Hong Kong in 1913, but the spatial relations in some of the pictures are difficult to link up.<sup>16</sup> A clearer image comes from a travelling photographer John Thomson in a book collected by the John Rylands Library [ill.6: 4]. In this book, Thomson uses the word Yamun, spelling based on the Cantonese dialect. The pagoda shown in the picture [ill.6: 4] is marked as F in the 1840 map [ill.6: 1].

A Cantonese, or more specifically LingNan (嶺南) tradition of building can be read from the photographs [ill.6: 2, 3]. The building consisted of front and rear halls and thus the dwelling presumably enclosed only one courtyard, as the records state and the photographs indicate. The front hall was possibly a gatehouse. It is sure that the rear hall was a three-room wide, two-storey high building with white load-bearing wall and black tiled roof. The central room on the ground of the rear hall was traditionally used as ceremonial hall as well as sitting/ reception room for daily life and continued in use as the Consul's drawing room. The left

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<sup>13</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 191.

<sup>14</sup> WORK10/37/2, 24 September 1861 D.B. Robertson to Viceroy Lao, 27 September 1861 Viceroy Lao to D.B. Robertson, 10 October 1861 D.B. Robertson to Viceroy Lao, 13 October 1861 Viceroy Lao to D.B. Robertson, 29 March 1927 J.F. Brennan to PeKing Legation.

<sup>15</sup> WORK 10/438 '*Canton and Amoy*', 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman; WORK10/37/2, 5 November 1883 A. Hewlett, 29 March 1927 J.F. Brennan to PeKing Minister; Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 138, 191-92.

<sup>16</sup> Photograph 08-19B-(148-155) '*Views of the residence and garden of H.B.M.'s Yamen at Flower Pagoda Street (Huata Street) Canton, 1913*', on line source, from PRO, Hong Kong.

room was occupied by a stair leading to the first floor, where the Consul's bedroom was, and the right room was used as a dining room [ill.6: 1, 2].<sup>17</sup>



[ill.6: 2] Robertson's Residence, 'The YaMen' inside the City of CanTon.  
Source: Photograph 08-19B-153, PRO, Hong Kong, date: 1913



[ill.6: 3] Robertson's YaMen, front elevation.  
Source: Photograph 08-19B-154, PRO, Hong Kong, date: 1913

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<sup>17</sup> WORK 10/438, 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman; PRO, HongKong, Photograph 08-19B-(148-155), online source; Farris, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', pp. 136-38.

The photographer Thomson mentions that Robertson's residence (he calls it the British Consulate) was situated in 'the rear-half of the Tartar general's yamun'. Before reaching the consul's residence came a ritual series of spaces or structures –'a triple gateway... a series of paved and highly ornamental courts... official reception-hall... passages adorned with quaint vase-shaped doorways... a profusion of wood panels... and private gardens and apartments of His Excellency's household'<sup>18</sup>. The ritual progress indicated the relationship of social position and private connection between the landlord and his guests.

The entire area, including Robertson's residence and the outer park together with the General's offices and residential area, covered more than ten acres. At least 3,500 soldiers and officers<sup>19</sup> were under the General-in-Chief's command and presumably stationed within that area or nearby. Additionally, the standards listed in the *Collected Statutes* or other materials regulated just the main houses, leaving the rest of the constructions, such as stables, servants' quarters or gardens, to develop freely. It is difficult to reconstruct possible site plan of the General-in-Chief's YaMen. Even the exact location and possible layout of Robertson's living environment in the YaMen are difficult to reason out. Nonetheless, Thomson's description gives the impression that Robertson dwelled in one of the most private courtyards of the General-in-Chief's YaMen. The primacy of the consul's residence had already delivered enough of a political message.

Farris argues that the house occupied by Robertson was 'a simple ... garden pavilion'.<sup>20</sup> This is based upon the idea that the more elaborated the architecture is, the higher the status of dweller. The circumstance that there was but one courtyard in Robertson's house seems to support the idea that the building was insignificant in the relation to the whole complex. However, the location and height of the space, rather than its ornament or complexity, tell more about the importance of the user of the space, as has been shown in the PeKing case study. Besides most of the garden structures were single buildings without an enclosed

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<sup>18</sup> Thomson, John, *Illustrations of China and Its People*, 4 vols. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873).

<sup>19</sup> *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, 1764, Chapter 63.

<sup>20</sup> Farris, 'Dwelling on the Edge of Empires: Foreigners and Architecture in Guangzhou (Canton), China', p. 371.

courtyard, so the independent character of Robertson's YaMen with its boundary walls and courtyard suggests some importance.

Furthermore, the appearance of garden pavilions tends to show the domestic, informal and leisure side of the landlord's personality rather than his social status, which is usually illustrated through his main house. To Ji, Cheng (計成, 1582-1642) – the author of *Yuan Yeh (Craft of Gardens)*, and Ts'ao Hsueh-Ch'in – the author of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, garden architecture should show a natural, even celestial beauty that is graceful and refined, in other words, picturesque.<sup>21</sup>

The picturesque quality of the garden can also be deduced from Thomson's description [ill.6: 3]:

*The consular residence is entered by a round opening in the wall, through which we can catch a glimpse, as we approach, of a court adorned with rockeries, of gold fish in vases, and pots of rare shrubs set in ornamental china stands. The house itself consists of two flats, and is purely Chinese in its construction. The only other buildings of importance in the enclosure are a suite of apartments built in a row, and approached by granite steps, frequently used for the accommodation of visitors. (Thomson 1873: 17)*

A few years after Robertson moved into the YaMen, several alterations were made to render the Chinese building more suitable for a British lifestyle. Robertson reported in a letter to Shanghai on 10 May 1866 to Major William Crossman that a Chinese contractor Aling had submitted estimates for the extension works of the consulate buildings in Canton and Whampoa. The intention was to relay and double the roof of his residence, and to strengthen its beams for 195 dollars. Another 14 Taels of Silver was included in the estimate for repainting the house.<sup>22</sup> What Robertson meant by doubling the roof could actually have meant laying a ceiling under the original roof as means of preserving heat during winter time, the necessity of which is revealed in his letters sent to the PeKing Legation.<sup>23</sup> Considering the needs of his visitors staying in the YaMen,

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<sup>21</sup> The *YuanYeh*, Chapter 1. For the DaGuan Garden of Prospect, see Guan, Hua-Shan, *A Study on the Architecture in Novel 'Dream of the Red Chamber'* (Taipei: Environment and Form, 1984), pp. 4-6, 231-34.

<sup>22</sup> WORK 10/438, 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman; WORK 10/56/3 'China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman', 21 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>23</sup> WORK 10/440 'Letters from Sir R. Alcock', 8 November 1866 D.B. Robertson to R. Alcock; WORK 10/56/3 8 November 1866 D.B. Robertson to R. Alcock.



Robertson furthermore requested a grant of 120 dollars for building a walkway with a roof of 73 ft. by 11 ft. between his house and the guest rooms to provide protection in heavy rains.<sup>24</sup>



[ill.6: 4] Robertson's YaMen, outer garden. Behind the trees and on the flight of stairs stands the ruin of the palace, which as once inhabited by the conqueror, faces forward. The ruined Flowering Pagoda can also be seen. It appears that to Thomson the garden and ruin, rather than the residence or the office building of the consulate, were more attractive. Source: (Thomson 1899: 66)

It took several months to clear the account. Nearly two-third of the first 500 dollars funding, at 239 dollars for relaying the roof, was spent on imposing the ceiling and painting. The expenditure for the covered-way was managed within the proposed budget.<sup>25</sup> Further adaptation and renewal works were undertaken from time to time to maintain the constructions, mostly of natural materials and vegetation, in the subtropical climate. In 1867, R.H. Boyce was sent to AMoy, SanTow and CanTon to assist W. Crossman. After visiting Robertson's YaMen, Boyce stated that it was in an unhealthy condition and suggested that Crossman approve Robertson's request on the repairs, although he argued that the \$300 expenditure required by Chinese contractor Aling was too much.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> WORK 10/438, 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

<sup>25</sup> WORK 10/438, 2 February 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

<sup>26</sup> WORK 10/438, 11 December 1867 R.H. Boyce to W. Crossman

## Abandonment

The upkeep of the YaMen was increasingly considered avoidable by the Office of Works after Robertson left in 1877. None of his successors were willing to live in a condition excluded from European life. Rising expenditure in maintenance of the YaMen made the Office of Works at London inform the Treasury that the cost of repairs was drying up funds, and every alternative had to be considered. The works department in London argued the necessity of keeping the YaMen. Nonetheless the only work undertaken by the Office was repainting the buildings:

*There is at Shameen, near Canton, a suitable Consular Residence, which, it is understood, is generally in occupation, on the other hand, the residence within the city which is of Chinese construction entails a yearly charge of about £120 for rent and repairs. By reference to a letter from Major Crossman to Your Lordship's board...it will be seen how decayed the buildings then were and they are now much more dilapidated. (WORK10/37/2, Office of Works, London, 26 November 1880)*

The ground which had once been laid out with terraces, walks and plantings was now filled with thick weeds, falling leaves, ruins and jungle despite two gardeners' efforts and the occasional help from Chinese neighbours – the Manchu soldiers quartered near by.

In the beginning of 1880's the ruins, rubbish and leaves were cleaned out. The courtyard dwelling building, terraces, turf and paths of the YaMen were repaired and renewed. The Viceroy paid 1500 dollars for the maintenance.<sup>27</sup> In addition, a sum of 15 dollars a month was granted for keeping the subtropical vegetation of the YaMen in order. The extra funding, either from the Foreign Office or from the Office of Works, was proposed to pay for three gardeners in the YaMen.<sup>28</sup> However the successors of Robertson, A. Hewlett, then H. F. Hance, reported to London that the site was neither in a comfortable situation nor good for health. Even within the Foreign Office, opinions had reversed since Earl Granville's and it was pointed out that for political reasons, it had already been an inconsequent decision financially and physically to retain Britain's right of

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<sup>27</sup> WORK10/37/2, 23 September 1881 Office of Works, London to Treasury, 29 September 1881 Treasury to First Commissioner of Works

<sup>28</sup> WORK10/37/2, 23 September 1881 Office of Works, London to Treasury, 25 July 1883 H.F. Hance to The Earl Granville, 5 November 1883 A. Hewlett.

residing within the Chinese walled cities.<sup>29</sup> A decision to retain the right of residing there was taken by the Foreign Office in 1884, but it is obvious that the YaMen had been left empty or occupied only for formal purposes after Robertson's withdrawal from CanTon.<sup>30</sup>

The condition of the YaMen changed, but it still remained isolated from its environment during the first quarter of the twentieth century, when an increasing number of cadets from the HongKong or Straight Settlement Government was sent to CanTon to learn Chinese. The HongKong government offered the Office of Works at ShangHai the possibility of transferring the lease of the YaMen to them, and applied to erect a block of bungalows there to accommodate the cadets. In the meantime, it remained deeply rooted in the British diplomats' minds that 'H.M. Government should retain the "sovereign rights" over the Yamen and that a permanent transfer to the Hongkong Government is out of question'.<sup>31</sup>

This attitude was particularly evident after the then Acting Consul-General J.F. Brenan discovered in 1927 in British files that the agreement between Robertson and the Viceroy stated clearly that the use of the YaMen as Robertson's dwelling had been a temporary loan limited to two years.<sup>32</sup> The copy of the agreement in the Chinese government's archives had been lost, so it was concealed from the Chinese authorities and the public.

At the same time, political circumstances in China were in a chaotic state and China was separately dominated by different regimes of warlords and political parties. Chinese officials were consequently hampered in concentrating on such property negotiations. Accordingly, the YaMen – an empty political symbol of the British hegemony – was reinstated to the Chinese government peacefully in 1928 irrespective of the rising tension of the Anti-British movements.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> WORK10/37/2, 25 July 1883 H.F. Hance to The Earl Granville, 5 November 1883 A. Hewlett, 31 December 1883 Foreign Office to Secretary, Office of Works

<sup>30</sup> WORK10/37/2, 10 January 1891 R.H. Boyce to Marshall, 17 March 1891 Office of Works, ShangHai to Secretary, 9 February 1922 G.J.T. Reavell to Chief Architect.

<sup>31</sup> WORK10/37/2, 6 May 1927 F.O. to O.W.

<sup>32</sup> WORK10/37/2, 21 October 1908 C.J.W. Simpson to Principal Architect, 27 January 1922 J. Bradley to G.J.T. Reavell, 6 May 1927 M.W. Lampson to A. Chamberlain.

<sup>33</sup> WORK10/37/2, 29 March 1927 J.F. Brenan to PeKing Minister, 8 June 1927 E.N. de Norman to E.N.R. Trentham, 1 July 1927 E.N.R. Trentham to E.N. de Norman, 6 May 1927 M.W. Lampson to A. Chamberlain, 18 July 1927 G. Mounsey to M.W. Lampson, 3 March 1928 J. Bradley to J.G. West, 3 February 1928 Chu, Chao-Hsin to Consulate-General, Canton, 16 February 1928 J.F. Bernan to M.W. Lampson.

## Repairing and Rebuilding the Consulate Buildings

### Withdrawal from WhamPoa

Along with Robertson's suggestions for repairing the YaMen, an extension proposal for consulate buildings at the Old Factory site in CanTon was included in the letter sent to Major Crossman on 10 May 1866. Work on the Vice Consulate at WhamPoa was also requested. The project intended extending the east side of the WhamPoa Vice-Consulate, and the expenditure for works and materials, such as floors, windows and doors added up to 750 HongKong dollars. To improve the CanTon consulate buildings, 374 dollars was spent on a verandah with staircase as the east extension to the vice-consul's house. This sum included closing the verandah in with Venetian blinds. The assistants' residence in the CanTon consulate compound was also to have its east and west verandah closed in with the Venetians blinds for 196 dollars.<sup>34</sup>

The sum of 500 dollars was transferred to Robertson's account in the Oriental Bank on 9 January 1867 to pay for the expenditure of the extension works and another sum of 450 dollars was sent to Robertson on 23 March.<sup>35</sup> However, the heavy rains and storm during South China's rainy season caused extra damage to the consulate buildings, both at the ShaMeen and WhamPoa sites. In a letter of 22 June 1867, Robertson wrote to Crossman that:

*The roofs of the buildings on Shameen have leaked considerably, and at the latter place [WhamPoa] the wall surrounding the compound has fallen in several places.*

*You [are] probably aware that this wall is constructed of mud only, which the rain having percolated, it crumbled away and fell in sections.*  
(WORK 10/438, 22 June 1867, Robertson)

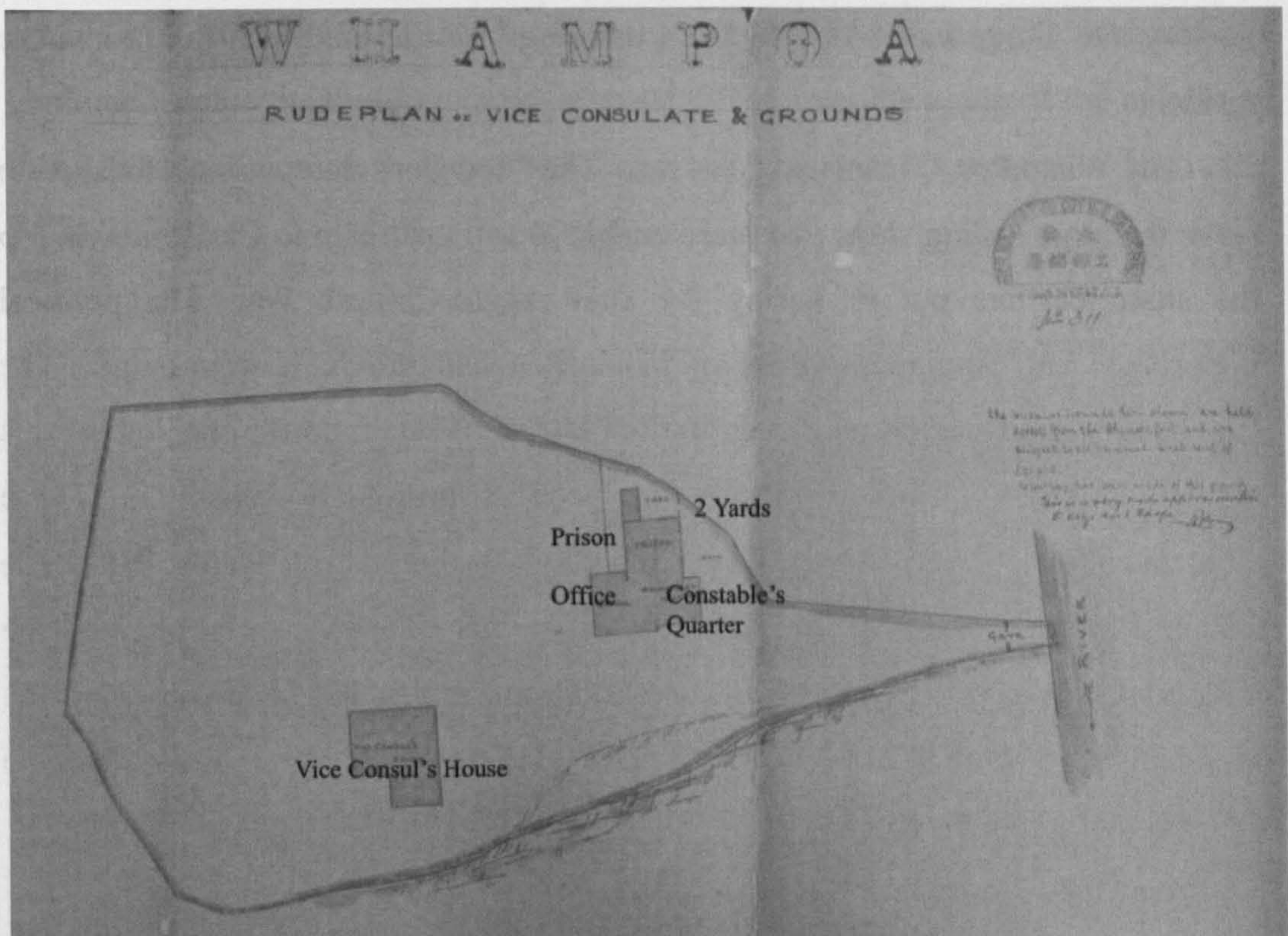
More funding was needed to repair the damage, and two new estimates for restoration were proposed. The damaged boundary wall 36 feet long at the WhamPoa consulate was first to be rebuilt with bricks. In an alternative plan, Robertson suggested to rebuild the damaged wall with the original material but covered with tiles along the top of all boundary walls to a total length of 574 feet to prevent them from being soaked. Robertson discovered a precedent in a similar type of mud wall, but much older, in the City, and he suggested it as a more

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<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/438 'Canton and Amoy', 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/438, 24 January 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman, 2 February 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman, 1 April 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

economical solution than continuously repairing the walls. The leaking roof on the WhamPoa Vice-Consulate was repaired in the final few months of 1867 and 300 dollars expenditure was requested. In addition, 30 dollars was requested for repairing five gates and applying a new coat of stucco to the boundary wall, and another 30 dollars for re-washing the roofs of the consulate buildings with China black [ill.6: 5].<sup>36</sup>



[ill.6: 5] WhamPoa Vice-Consulate, site plan. (Orientation not given)  
Source: WORK 10/55/2, date: 1890

Boyce drew up new contracts with Aling both for repairs to Robertson's YaMen and the buildings at WhamPoa in 1867. The contractor was asked to proceed with works during the Chinese New Year when Boyce was expected to visit CanTon to supervise the works and make necessary provision. However, Boyce stayed in Japan and there is no evidence to indicate that works were actually carried out during the Lunar New Year. Robertson's account for the consulate building was left empty, which forced him to advance one thousand dollars from consular funds to Aling. The due building funds were paid in more

<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/438, 22 June 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman, 4 October 1867 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

than a month later.<sup>37</sup>

Minimum repair for the CanTon posts required at least \$1500 (currency is not mentioned, presumably Mexican silver dollars or HongKong dollars). A considerable amount of money was spent on repairing aged buildings, which the consuls argued had once been the best ones on the south shore. Up to 1868, the amounts spent on repairing the consulate buildings had added up to \$8,936.90 on the WhamPoa Vice-Consulate and \$59,235.00 on the CanTon Consulate at the Old Factory site along with \$43,200.00 on buildings for the ShaMeen new consulate residents.<sup>38</sup>

The WhamPoa Consular Agent, later The Vice Consulate, was established to serve the large sailing ships that were unable to sail upstream to CanTon owing to the stone barriers put in during the first Anglo-Chinese War. The political importance and trading progress of WhamPoa had grown however under the expectation that it would take over, but the arrival of steam power enabled vessels to sail directly to CanTon without the need of porting at WhamPoa. These circumstances led the Minister at PeKing to close the post on 1 July 1889. The officials were withdrawn to CanTon, office servants were discharged, the buildings at WhamPoa were taken care of by constables and later valued by J.F. Marshall in 1890 at \$12,000 Mexican silver dollars when the Chinese Maritime Customs acquired the property.<sup>39</sup>

### **ShaMeen Consulate General**

The buildings on ShaMeen island in the meantime continued to need constant repair and fixing whenever the raining season ended in order to be habitable for another short period. Meanwhile, the Office of Works' Far Eastern Division was officially established in 1867 at ShangHai. The system of submitting a proposal, requesting payment and signing a contract was also gradually standardised.

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<sup>37</sup> WORK 10/438, 11 December 1867 R.H. Boyce to W. Crossman, 28 February 1868 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman, 27 April 1868 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman.

<sup>38</sup> WORK 10/430 '*Treasury*', 27 March 1965 Foreign Office Memorandum; WORK 10/438, Amounts Account; WORK 10/299 '*Consulate General: damage by floods; rebuilding; liability for payment of building fees; effects of a political upheaval 1927*', 14 November 1922 O.W. to Treasury, 3 March 1923 Treasury to O.W.

<sup>39</sup> WORK 10/55/2 '*Abolition of post; sale of buildings to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Department*', 10 October 1889 F.J. Marshall to Secretary, Office of Works, 22 May 1890 Foreign Office to Secretary, Office of Works. Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 108, 201-03.

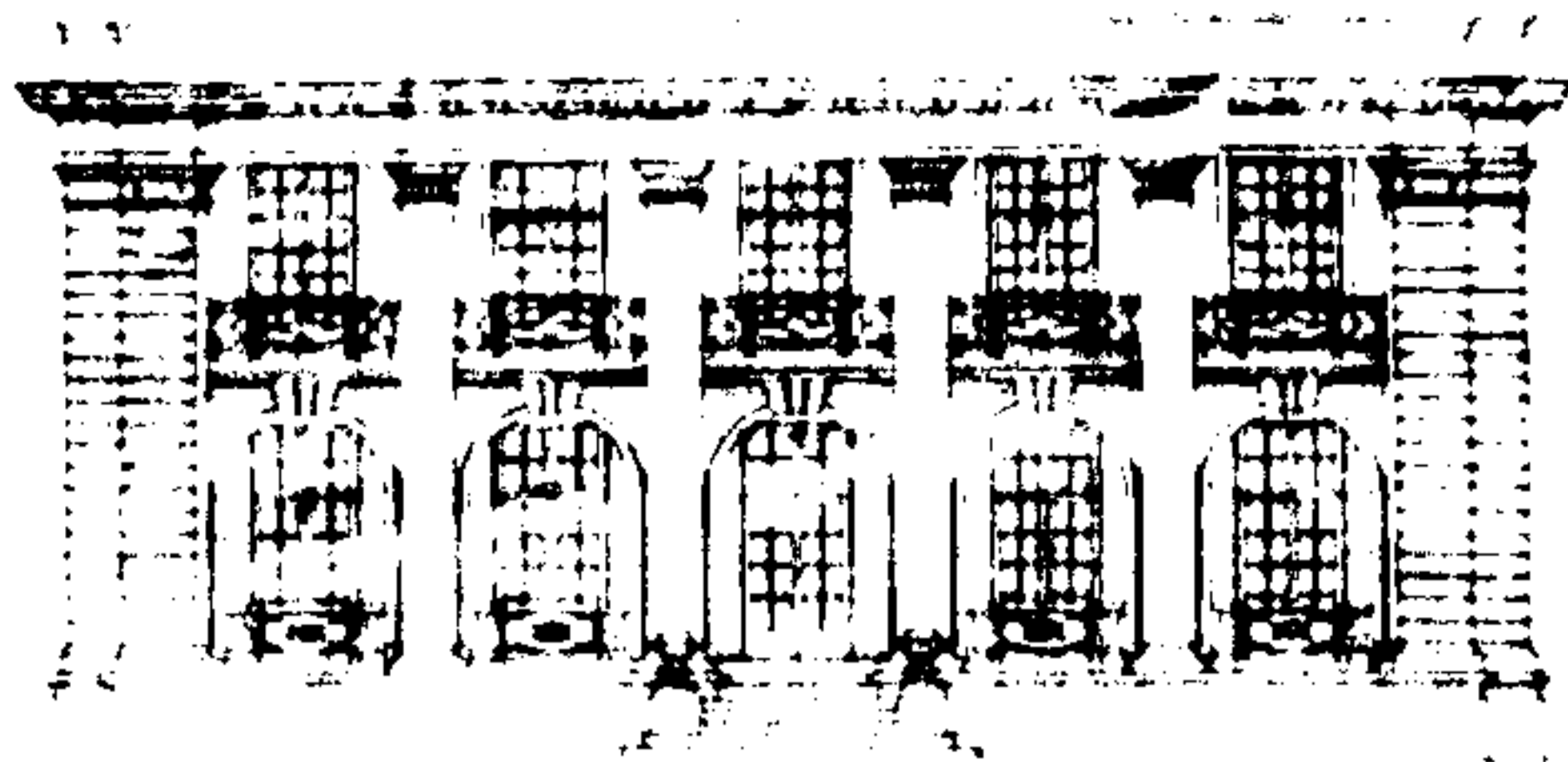
Located on the intersection of three rivers and positioned in a monsoon climate area, CanTon and its citizens faced heavy rains and typhoons every year, while serious floods threatened the city every three or four years. ShaMeen, developed on a sandbank, was more easily affected than the walled city [ill.6: 6]. In 1915, one of the most damaging floods in China's modern times placed the Thirteen Hong area as well as ShaMeen island under water for more than six days, and the damage to the consul-general's house on ShaMeen resulted in a request for rebuilding.<sup>40</sup> Despite the water having receded, the flood damage to the buildings continued inside the building structures and speeded up the aging of the buildings. Considerable funds were spent both on rebuilding and on repairs in following years [ill.6: 7, 8].



[ill.6: 6] ShaMeen Island. The square on the right indicates the compound of the Consulate-General  
Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1937

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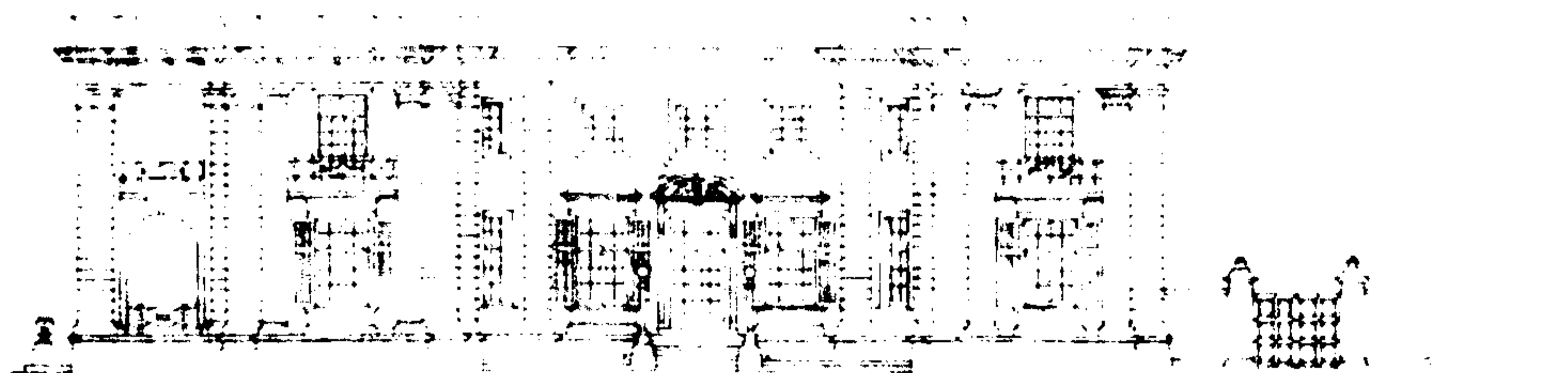
<sup>40</sup> WORK 10/299, 31 December 1928 O.W. to Treasury.



SOUTH ELEVATION

CANTON · CHINA · CONSULATE GENERAL

REBUILDING OF CONSULATE GENERAL'S RESIDENCE



EAST ELEVATION



SCALE OF FEET

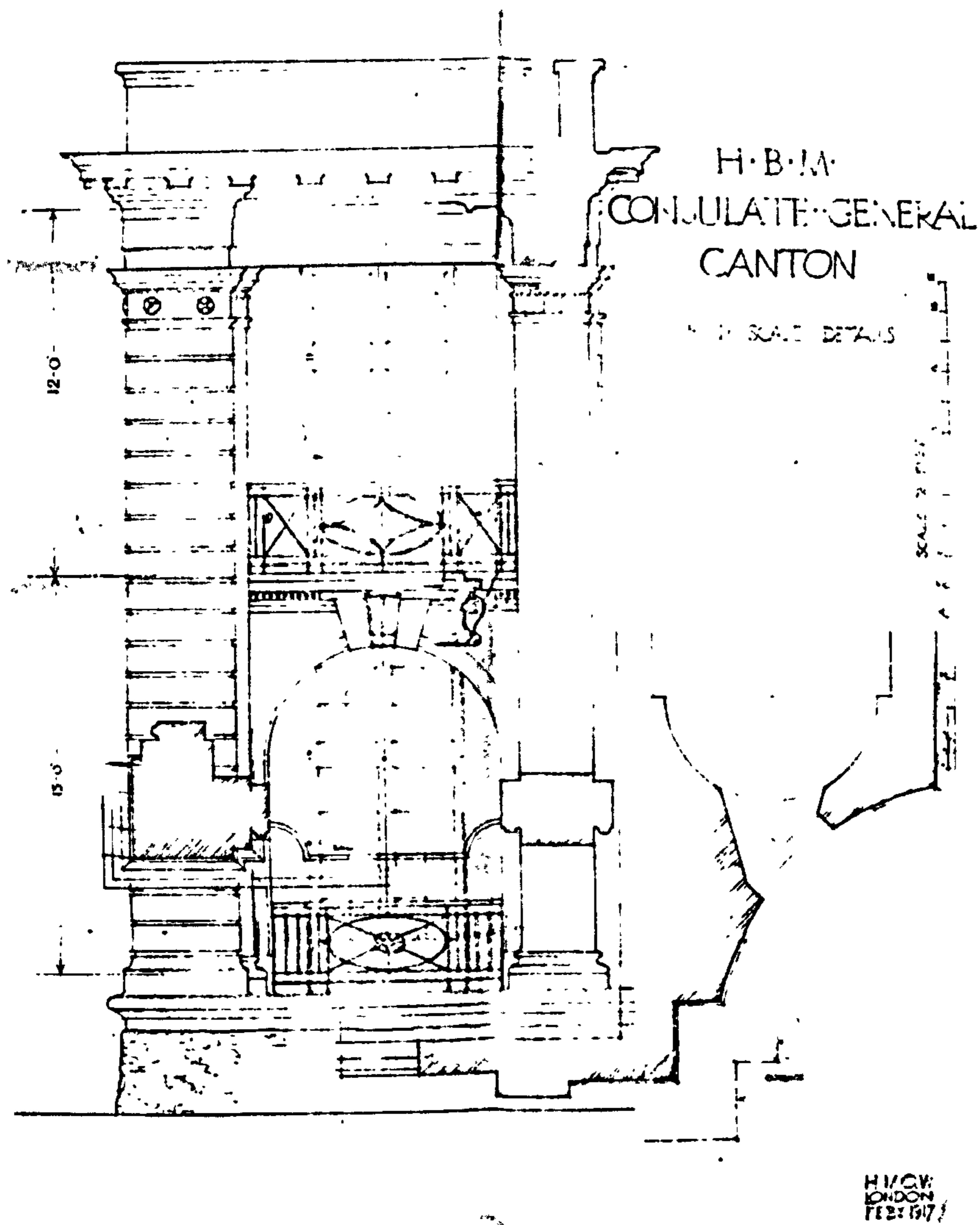
J. H. WYLLIE OF WYLLIE  
LONDON

[ill.6: 7] CanTon Consulate, elevations of Consul-Genral's residence. Rebuilding proposal.  
Source: WORK 40/454, date: 1917

After heavy rains and an earthquake in 1921, the Board's architects in China reported that the vice-consul's house of the British consulate-general at ShaMeen 'was in precarious condition; that the roof was riddled by white ants and had sagged to an ogee curve; that the N.E. verandah had settled and that the N.W. wall was considerably out of plumb', and that it was 'pervaded by a smell of dampness detrimental to the health of the occupant'. The Treasury approved the rebuilding scheme of offices and assistant's quarters on 23 December 1921 and the assistant's quarters had been demolished, but the First Commissioner of Works requested funds for another rebuilding scheme within a year for the reason that it required at least \$1,500 (currency unknown) to carry out minimum repairs to render the house in a liveable condition and \$7,000 to bring it up to a satisfactory condition. It was thus considered necessary to build a new accommodation for the vice-consul and his family. A request for £5,750 was then submitted to the Treasury for the next financial year's drafting services, and £10,500 in total was initially estimated for the erection of the new building.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> WORK 10/299, 14 November 1922 W. Leitch to Secretary, Treasury.





[ill.6: 8] CanTon Consulate, elevation details of Consul-General's residence.  
Source: WORK 10/299, date: 1917

In reply to Divisional Architect Bradley's proposal, the Chief Architect Richard J. Allison in London suggested reducing the cost to £9,000 by cutting down the proposed cubic volume of the house [ill.6: 9, 10]. The Chief Architect added that the cost was 'considerably in excess of the provision for a vice-consul's house at Nanking, but higher rooms and more extensive verandahs are necessary at Canton<sup>42</sup> so as to maintain interior temperature and humidity in a comfortable condition. The contradictory statements of the Chief Architect did not prevent Bradley's design with 'unnecessary height for architectural reasons' from being widely argued over.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> WORK 10/299, 17 November 1922 R.J. Allison.

<sup>43</sup> WORK 10/299, to J. Bradley, 24 January 1923 R.J. Allison to Secretary.

On 10 January 1923 George J.T. Reavell wrote to James G. West comparing Bradley's scheme with the adjusted one. The original proposed dwelling was 45 ft. in height by 2,363 square feet area (106,335 cubic feet) for the main buildings while the verandas were 41,580 cubic feet and the servants' quarters 14,220 cubic feet. The office's adjusted scheme reduced this by approximately 24,000 cubic feet or £1,000 to 37 ft. in height by 2,400 square feet (88,800) for main buildings, 38,016 cubic feet for verandas and 11,340 cubic feet for servants' quarters. Later West suggested to Allison that reducing Bradley's proposal of interior height from 15' to 14' (floor level to floor level) at the ground floor and 14'0" to 12'6" (floor level to ceiling) at the first floor would be sufficient for summer cooling.<sup>44</sup>

Unlike Bradley's vice-consul scheme, the other building project on the ShaMeen was questioned by some minor but influential 'advisers with a knowledge of China [who] considered the height of the rooms to be insufficient'.<sup>45</sup> The height of the rooms in the new consul-general's house rose from 13' to 15' at ground floor and 12'0" to 12'6" at first floor, while that of the new assistants' quarters was suggested to be increased by one foot at both ground floor and first floor level to 13' and 12' respectively.<sup>46</sup> All instructions from London reached Bradley in Shanghai on 21 February 1923.<sup>47</sup>

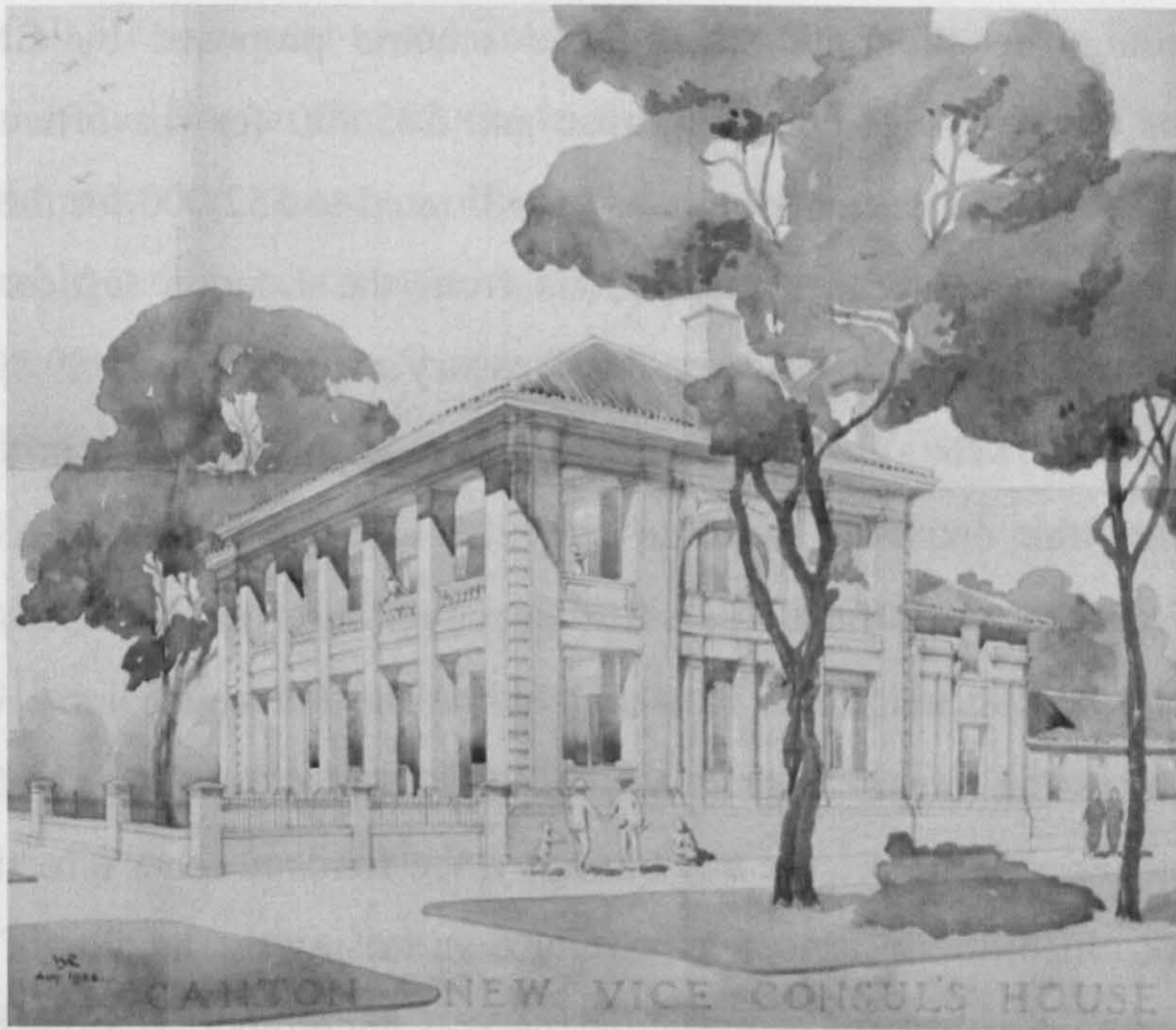
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<sup>44</sup> WORK 10/299, 10 January 1923 G.J.T. Reavell to J.G. West, 13 January 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect, 24 February 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect.

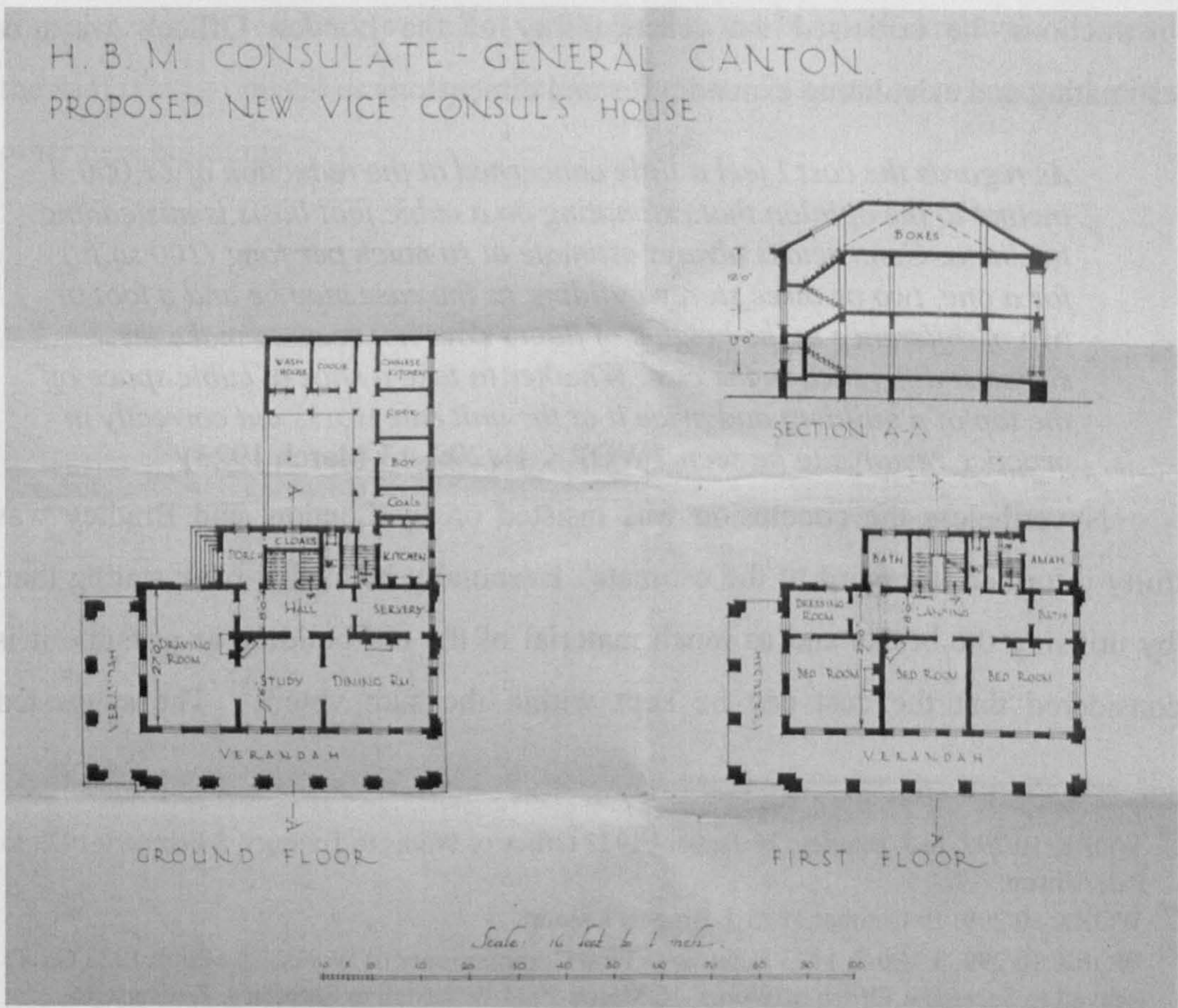
<sup>45</sup> WORK 10/299, 8 February 1923 R.A.Barker to R.J. Allison

<sup>46</sup> WORK 10/299, 8 February 1923 R.A.Barker to R.J. Allison, 10 February 1923 to Secretary, Office of Works, 24 February 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect.

<sup>47</sup> WORK 10/299, 23 February 1923 J. Bradley to Office of Works, London.



[ill.6: 9] CanTon Consulate, perspective view of new Vice Consul's house.  
 Source: WORK 10/299, date: 1922



[ill.6: 10] CanTon Consulate, proposed plans of new Vice Consul's house.  
 Source: WORK 10/299, date: 1922

Regarding the economic aspect, the scheme proposed by Bradley was \$56,000 for the new vice-consul's house and \$35,000 for the office. The sum approximately met the estimate but was later limited to \$52,000 for the house and \$28,000 for the other, under instructions from the London Office. The final estimate submitted in early 1923 for the Treasury's approval was £9,500 for next year's works, and \$76,000 for the whole project, after a decrease in volume and the removing the entrance lodge in the vice-consul's house.<sup>48</sup> According to Bradley's report in 1925, there was a further reduction of funds to \$69,000 after a further cut in ceiling heights.<sup>49</sup> However, while the reduced heights were again criticised, after the Treasury granted the fund, as too low and inefficient for lowering the indoor temperature and humidity, the funds in other directions had to be reduced to meet the increased expenditure on raising the heights of the rooms as the £9,500 fund could not be exceeded, as W. Leitch reported to the Secretaries of the Treasury and Foreign Office on 16 March.<sup>50</sup> When Bradley received these instructions, he criticised the practicability of the London Office's ways of estimating and calculating expenditures and dimensions:

*As regards the cost I feel a little concerned at the reduction of £1,000. I incline to the opinion that estimating on a cubic foot basis is misleading in China. Contractors always estimate at so much per fong (100 sq.ft.) for a one, two or three storey building as the case may be and a foot or two of difference in the heights of floors does not seem to make the slightest difference in the cost. Whether to take a slice of cubic space off the top of a building and price it at the unit rate works out correctly in practice remains to be seen. (WORK 10/299, 13 March 1923)*

Nevertheless the conclusion was insisted on by London, and Bradley was 'fully informed in regard to the estimate'. Eventually he cabled back stating that: 'by utilising the bricks and as much material of the old building as possible it is considered that the cost can be kept within the sum voted'.<sup>51</sup> The suggested

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<sup>48</sup> WORK 10/299, to J. Bradley, 26 January 1923 Office of Works to Treasury, 8 February 1923 to R.J. Allison.

<sup>49</sup> WORK 10/299, 19 October 1925 J. Bradley's report.

<sup>50</sup> WORK 10/299, 3 March 1923 Barstow to First Commissioner of Works, 13 March 1923 G.J.T. Reavell to Secretary, Office of Works, 16 March 1923 W. Leitch to Secretary, Treasury, 16 March 1923 W. Leitch to Under Secretary, Foreign Office, 31 March 1923 Treasury to Office of Works.

<sup>51</sup> WORK 10/299, 1 May 1923 G.J.T.Reavell to J.G. West, 2 May 1923 J.G. West to Director of Works, 11 May 1923 J.Bradley to Chief Architect, 11 May 1923 J. Bradley to Chief Architect, 20 May 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect, 4 June 1923 R.J. Allison to Secretary, Office of Works, 23 July 1923 to J.G. West.

estimate of £9,500 was sent to the Treasury to prepare for the Vote for Diplomatic and Consular Building in Parliament in the first half of 1923. This was standard bureaucratic procedure: however, the architects worried that the offers would be less favourable and the cost would be increased if it took too long.<sup>52</sup>

The progress on the vice-consul's house remained on paper throughout 1924.<sup>53</sup> The consulate's office and dwelling building was on the other hand completed and occupied on 7 April 1924 and a series of photographs – five exteriors and five interiors in total of the completed buildings – was sent to the London Office [ill.6: 11-16]. The photographs of the Neo-Classicist consulate buildings attracted overwhelming praise from London. The Chief Architect R.J. Allison proudly took the credit while the rest of the architects applauded the efforts of Bradley and his team in China.<sup>54</sup> Photographs indicate that the new office and assistants' quarters were designed according to the same aesthetic principles as the consul-general's new house, although the discussions on the new consul-general's residence were not catalogued in the National Archives. However the same design mistakes made in the consul-general's house were repeated in the other new buildings.

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<sup>52</sup> WORK 10/299, 11 June 1923 F.J.E.R., 28 June 1923 W. Leitch to M.F. Headlam, 30 June 1923 Treasury to Office of Works, London.

<sup>53</sup> WORK 10/299, 28 August 1923 to J.G. West, 28 August 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect.

<sup>54</sup> WORK 10/299, 26 May 1924 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T. Reavell, 24 July 1924 Office of Works, London to Foreign Office.



[ill.6: 11] CanTon Consulate, north and public façade of Office & Assistants' quarters.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date 1924



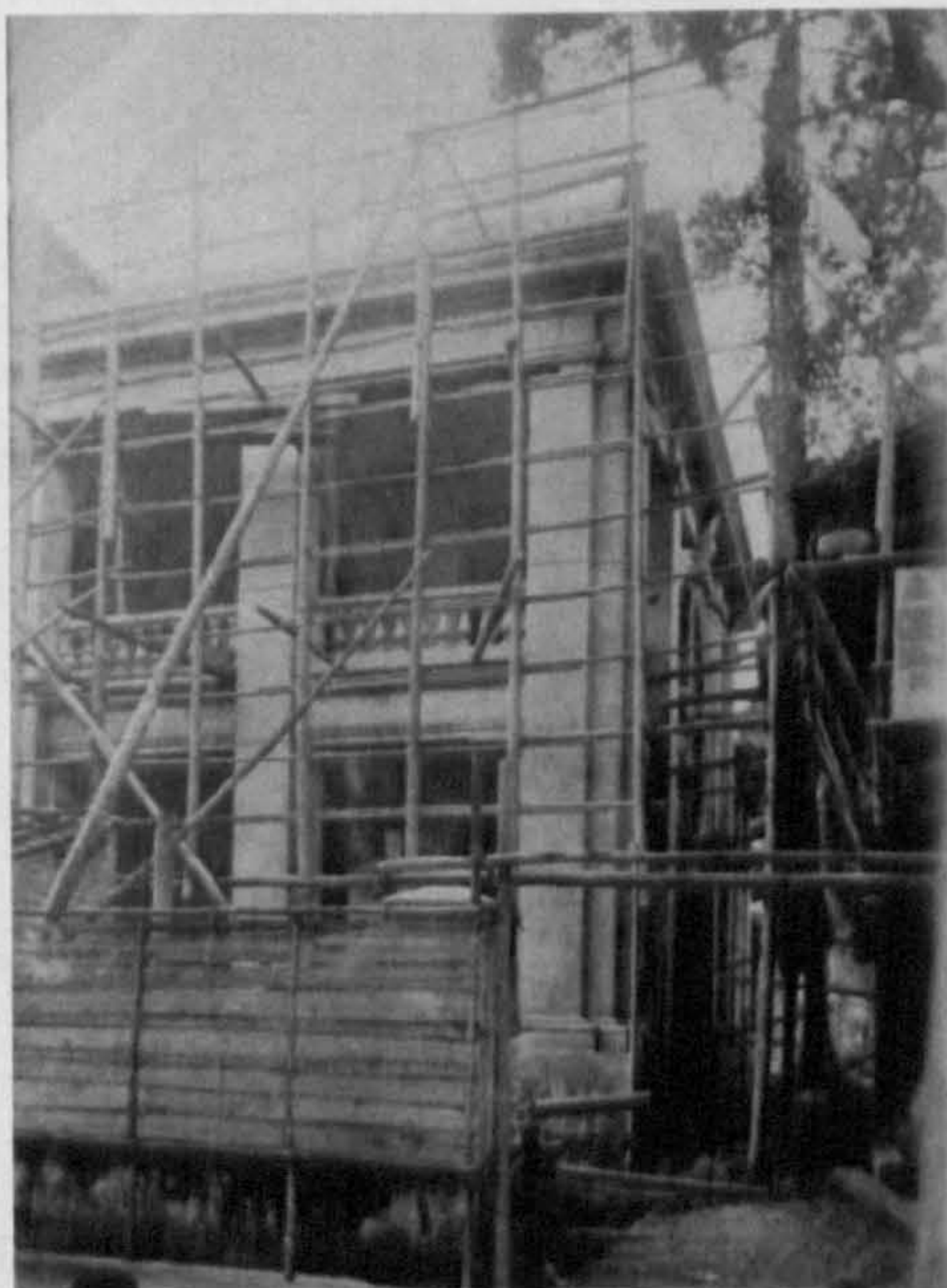
[ill.6: 12] CanTon Consulate, south façade of Office & Assistants' quarters.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924



[ill.6: 13] CanTon Consulate, south verandah of assistants' quarters.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924



[ill.6: 14] CanTon Consulate, consul-general's office. Looking to the south.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924



[ill.6: 15] CanTon Consulate, vice consul's residence under construction.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924



[ill.6: 16] CanTon Consulate, vice consul's residence under construction.  
Source: WORK 55/2, date 1924

The site and floor plan of the CanTon Consulate General [ill.6: 17] shows that the crucial role in consular business was morally played by the Consul-General, whose office [ill.6: 14] dominated the centre of the buildings. The public however cannot directly communicate to the Consul-General without being intercepted by the Shipping Officer (at the centre of the office building), Consular Assistants (on visitors' left hand side) or the Judge, who was acted by the Vice Consul sitting behind the Courtroom (on the right hand side). In addition, the public front facing north and the officers' front on the south side were designed in different concepts. Despite facing to the public, including other foreign residents in ShaMeen Island, the north façade was in fact the back of the building. Relatively smaller windows were set up on the north side [ill.6: 11] in comparison with the windows facing south and opening to verandahs [ill.6: 12]. The same principle was practised in another two consular buildings, i.e., the Consul-General and Vice-Consul's houses, to make activities open to the compound but close to the outside world.

The first floor of the Office and Assistants' Quarter was designed for two assistant officials and their families. The plan was divided into two residences and the south verandah was visually separated by barrier wall. Members of two families could still hear each other cross the wall [ill.6: 13]. Two houses had independent entrances to the north front and stairs, which were immediately linked to drawing and dining rooms of the two families. All rooms of the two quarters were designed with fireplaces, although they were unnecessary in the sub-tropical climate of CanTon. Judging from an extra study room, one more bedroom and an extra Amah's room, one assistant was senior in rank to the other. The senior assistant and his family also enjoyed larger part of the first floor verandah. In the senior assistant's verandah, a space above the Consul-General's Office was wider in ratio and was labelled as sleeping porch. Believably, the sleeping porch was used to escape summer heat indoor.

Principle of symmetry that balanced size and function is seen in these two quarters, although total volume in the two quarters was different. The central axis of the building mirrored spaces in two quarters, like two receptions, staircases, front doors, verandahs, corridors, even fireplaces, kitchen and serveries. However the symmetrical design that emphasised important spaces by placing them at the centre while lesser on the side and by increasing volumes and heights had

difficulties in terms of practical functions. Two families' food prepared in the kitchen in the ground floor had to be brought up to the servery<sup>55</sup> in the first floor, before meals could be presented in the dining room. Measures in floor plans also had to spare for communicating spaces, such as stairs and corridors. Redundant spaces also increased as the number of corners and corridor ends increased.

The two outer wings of the Office and Assistants' Residences building housed services. They occupied no less area than the main rooms of the building. On the ground floor of the service wings, they consisted of accommodation for servants (two rooms), cooks (two rooms), coolies (two rooms) and boy (one room, another assistant's boy's lived in the first floor above the kitchen), two officers' kitchens, one kitchen for possibly three constables, one smaller kitchen for all Chinese servants, gaol of two cells, store, godown, tingchai (adjoining the godown, could be Cantonese dialect for 'servant'), and wash room.

The two-cell gaol was located in the east wing, which also provided flats for constables in its first floor. Despite being asymmetric part of the Office and Assistants' Quarter building, the Constables' flats were more formal than the other service wing. Therefore the east wing was themed with masonry verandah, while the west wing was supported by timber posts. Three bedrooms were provided in the constables' wing, but there were only two bathrooms. The third bedroom, which had to enter through Bedroom No2, was the only room in the constables' flats not heated by fireplace. Furthermore, there was just one sitting room, which was adjoined to one of the bedroom.

A hall of 45'10" by 22'6" highlighted the symmetry of the consul-general's house. The dimension of the hall was as large as the vestibule in the Minister's Quarter in PeKing [ill.4: 7, 8]. The hall was led to three main receptions. On the left hand side, a door of 5 feet wide directly guided guests to the dining room, 25'9" by 19' in ratio. Between the dining room and the 22'6" by 19' drawing room, a sliding door of eight feet wide linked each other. Consul-General's Study, which was about the same size of the drawing room and was symmetrically placed at

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<sup>55</sup> Kitchen was generally designed to be near to the dining room in British consul's house (e.g., PeKing Minister's residence and in later cases, TienTsin, TengYueh, Mukden and Harbin) if not closer, although Girouard points out a common practice of keeping smells away by placing kitchen under an independent louvered roof in English country house in Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 280. Pantry or servery in British consulate was as in England directly adjoin to dining room.



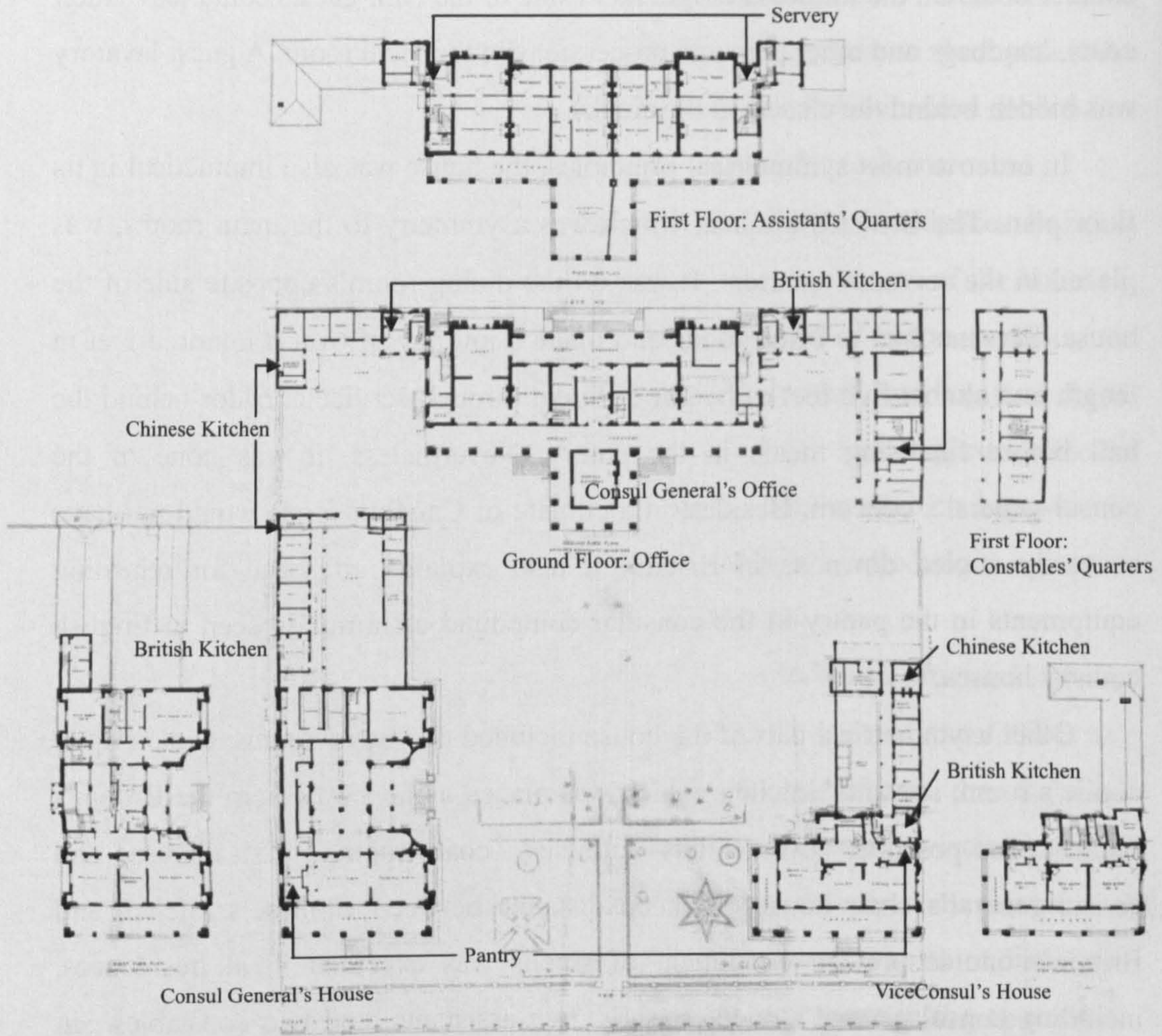
another side of the building, was less private in the three receptions with relatively smaller door. On the immediate right hand side of the hall, guests could leave their coats, handbags and other personal possessions in the cloakroom. A guest lavatory was hidden behind the closets in the cloaks.

In order to meet symmetrical principles, the house was also impractical in its floor plan. The British's kitchen, which was asymmetry to the main rooms, was placed in the servants' quarters. It was on the dining room's opposite side of the house. Servants had to bring foods and made a journey of over a hundred feet in length and almost five feet of height different through service corridor behind the hall before finalising meals in the pantry. Nevertheless, it was none of the consul-general's concern. Besides, in a climate of CanTon, foods would not have as easily cooled down as in Britain. It also explains no space for reheating equipments in the pantry in the consular compound as normally seen in English country houses.<sup>56</sup>

Other asymmetrical part of the house included two boys' rooms, cook's room, coolie's room, servants' kitchen, which was placed as far away from the Britain's kitchen as possible, two toilets cubicles, coal room, wash house and consul-general's chair house. To keep distance between Chinese's kitchen and Britain's one to prevent condiment of smells was executed in all residences, including consul-general's, vice-consul's, two assistants' and two constables', in the CanTon compound.

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<sup>56</sup> The link between the English country house and British consulate is discussed in Chapter 8, which concerns more moral structure of British consulate architecture.



[ill.6: 17] CanTon Consulate, site plan and floor plans. North to the top.  
 Source: WORK 10/300, date: 1925

## Political Determinism through Architecture

### The garden pavilion, where political games were played

There is no doubt that the decision to retain the YaMen, or more correctly its garden pavilion, was politically-led. However it was also a common practice to isolate an official from involvement in political agendas by stationing him in one of the most remote and private quarters of a premises. The solitude of Robertson's YaMen can be felt from Coates's study, which reveals that the Europeans' entertainments held in the Concessions of ShaMeen were cut off from Robertson in the evenings after the city gates were shut and the street barricades were closed. The garden pavilion was isolated from the outside world and even from its

Chinese neighbours, so reading and writing dominated Robertson's world at night. Even in the daytime, riding or walking singly in all weather conditions were his chief occupations, rather than office business.<sup>57</sup>

There is no evidence to support the contention that Robertson's placing in the pavilion of the General-in-Chief's YaMen resulted from Chinese officials' precautions to reduce Britain influence, or efforts of Chinese hospitality to treat Robertson as the most important foreign guest. The circumstance that he was literally locked up after sunset suggests one side of the story, while the fact that the Viceroy constantly paid for and sent troops to help tend the garden suggests another.

However he managed it, Robertson seems to have possessed the ability to make deep connections with Chinese officers in every position. Coates notes that he managed to understand and to reveal the real political environment of the Manchu monarchy and its royal court, and to carry out sophisticated secret services which were considered more valuable than all the other consuls' services put together. At the same time he still maintained links with European politics and sorted out conflicts between Chinese and British citizens.<sup>58</sup>

Similar cases of living in seclusion yet managing issues well can be found in Chinese history, of which Yuan, Shih-Kai (Garden of Concealing) and Mao, Zedong (Chrysanthemum Library) are two renowned cases.<sup>59</sup> Emperor Ch'ienLung dealt with his most confidential business in his private library – Hall of Three Scarcities – in a relatively small group of buildings (consisting of only one main courtyard) west of the main axis of the palace.<sup>60</sup> The Grand Council, or Office of Military Secrets – an informal policy-making body directly responsible to the Emperor in the inner court – was housed right in front of the enclosure that included the Hall of Three Scarcities. In the same building the Empress Dowager controlled China politics 'behind the curtain'. Similarly, in matters of foreign affairs, George Macartney and his embassy were received by Ch'ienLung in a Yurt (Mongol tent) at the YuanMin Yuan. The same principle was practised on the

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<sup>57</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 191-95.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Muramatsu, Shin, *Poisonous China: An anatomy of Chinese space* (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 1998), pp. 126-35.

<sup>60</sup> Apart from the informality of the west side, the other cultural meaning of the west end – the Yin or negative energy is discussed in the case of ShangHai and Chinese Supreme Court at PeKing.

Dalai Lama in the South Park outside the Manchu city of PeKing.<sup>61</sup>

The garden pavilion was indeed a simple structure but no more simple than a commander's tent in terms of politics. Its symbolic importance is particularly obvious in the picture of the interior of the Consul's drawing room [ill.6: 2, 18], showing that a flowery wooden lattice window dominates the centre of the room. On the first floor of the pavilion not only the balcony but also the vertical windows at the back of the building indicate that there should have been a rare garden of greater size, suggesting that the humble building was in fact the centre of a universe/garden where entertainments or political games could take place.



[ill.6: 18] Robertson's YaMen, drawing room. Despite highly sophisticated fittings, such as the lattice window and door, relatively simple western style furniture was provided. The desk by the central view-framing window is being used as liquor table.

Source: Photograph 08-19B-150, PRO, Hong Kong, date: 1913

On the other hand, the YaMen also acted as a tourist attraction for Europeans since it allowed indulgence in an exotic oriental scene without the consequence of a return gazed. Apart from John Thomson in the third quarter of the nineteenth

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<sup>61</sup> Hevia has noted the practical use of informal rituals and spaces for the 'problematic embassies' that includes Tibetan Buddhist Lords and European, American and Japanese were never received in the formal reception hall, see Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*, p. 44.

century, Iris Johnston, the daughter of Governor of Hong Kong, also visited the site in 1913. In 1867, Crossman already noted the trend, when he referred to the guesthouse in Robertson's YaMen, that 'a certain amount of accommodations (sic) is required for that purpose at Canton, which [is] not only one of the most interesting cities in China, but also being so close to Hongkong, will always be visited by foreigners of distinguished rank, many of whom the Consul is called upon officially to entertain'.<sup>62</sup>

### **Appearance and water leakage**

Two months before the completion of the new consulate office and its assistants' quarters, the ShangHai Office cabled the London Office declaring that the roof of the consul-general's dwelling was leaking seriously and required the relaying of gutters with lead immediately as the rainy season of CanTon was approaching.<sup>63</sup> The leakage problem was a result of mimicking European architectural vocabularies in the new consulate buildings at CanTon without considering the local climate.

The granite classicist design of the consul-general's house used grand but simplified columns that ran through two stories, topped by an entablature and parapet to form the motif of the house. The parapet had applied balusters as its decorative character, and it was supposed that water could be released during rain [ill.6: 19, 20]. However it proved insufficient, for the average rainfall could reach 200 mm daily at CanTon. The gutters placed between the baluster parapet and the pitched roof thus failed to direct the large volume of water into rainwater pipes in time. On the other hand, galvanised iron that was used for cost and time reasons during the war in China of 1919-20 when the initial construction works were carried out, was also responsible for water leakage. As a result water gradually penetrated into the structure.

A sum of £1,000 for relaying lead gutters for a total length of approximately 1800 feet caused debates and there was a search for alternative solutions to reduce the cost to the board.<sup>64</sup> While the system of guttering retained unmodified,

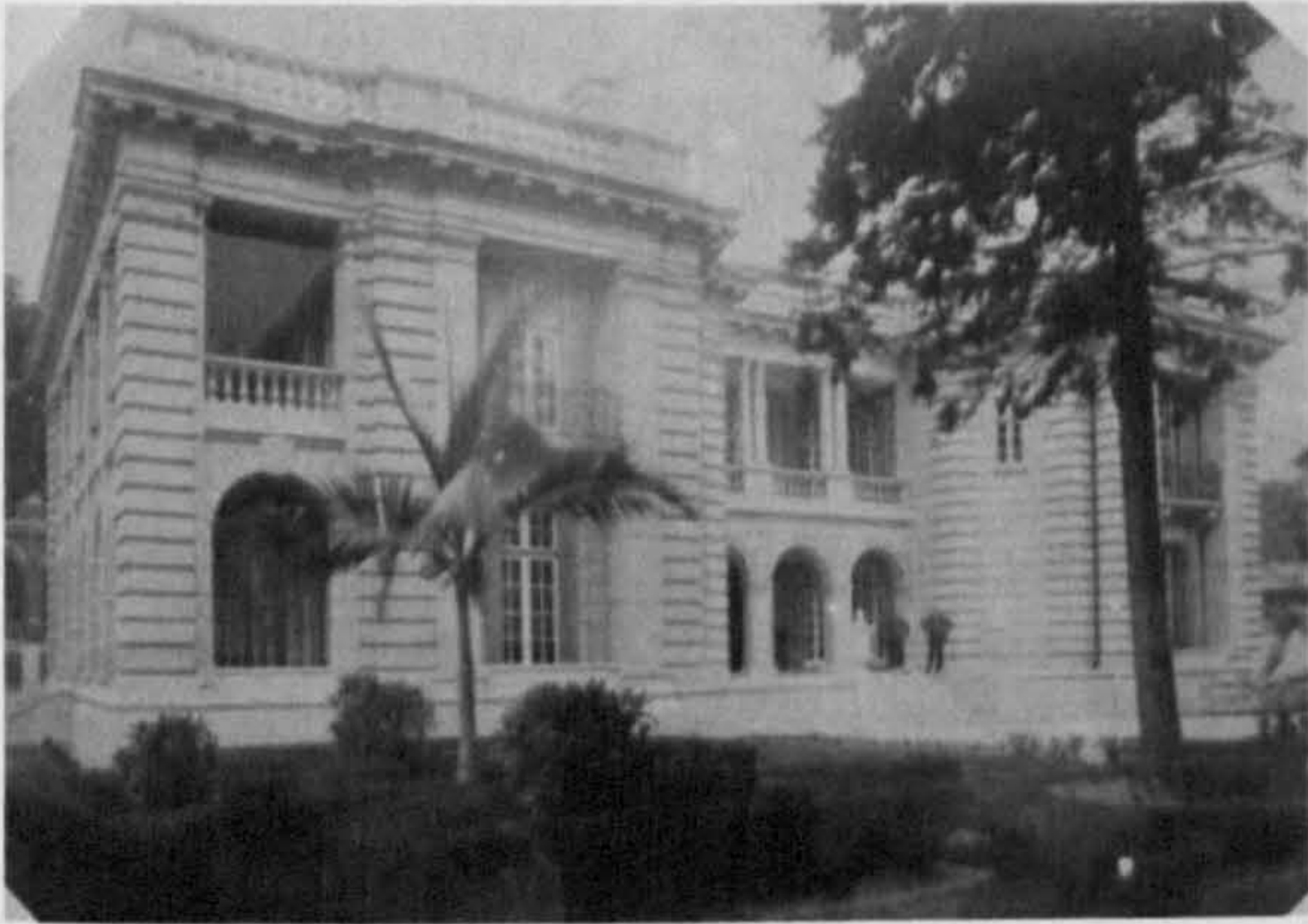
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<sup>62</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 21 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>63</sup> WORK 10/299, 14 February 1924 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London.

<sup>64</sup> WORK 10/299, 14 February 1924 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London, 18 February 1924 G.J.T. Reavell to J.G. West, 20 February 1924 J.G. West to Chief Architect, 22 February 1924 W.H.B. to C.Q.S., 1 March 1924 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London; WORK 10/300 *'Embassy: furniture and accommodation damage by white ants and*

leaking would continue, and in addition the high level of humidity and temperature would create further problems and cause more damage to the structure in the near future. This will be further discussed below.



[ill.6: 19] CanTon Consulate, east or front elevation of Consul-General's residence.

Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924



[ill.6: 20] CanTon Consulate, south and west elevation of Consul-General's residence.

Source: WORK 55/2, date: 1924

It can be seen in the photographs that the new office and assistants' quarters were designed in a similar Neo-Classical style to that of the consul's residence, but the Greek-themed roof of the building was adapted so that the eaves reached out beyond the building walls and gutters were fitted to the walls disguised as a cornice. The centre of the south façade was furthermore dominated by a complete Greek revival theme of pediment, entablature and columns as the focus of the compound. The modified roof and guttering system were less efficient than the Chinese architecture roof system in removing the rainwater and protecting the joints from sunshine and heat. Only three years after the building was completed, roof leakage appeared on the first floor where the assistants' quarters were located. The verandah on the south side faced the most serious situation due to extreme weather conditions such as rainfall and variations of temperature and sunshine.

The architects pointed out that the heat during the summer and the cold temperature during the rainy season caused irregular expansion and retraction to the material and the bolted connections. Together with continuing to relay the gutters, the best solution found for both consul-general's residence and the main building was that of rebuilding the roofs of two buildings with concrete structures. This was suggested first by a Cantonese contractor and later by the architects of

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*remedial action necessary'*, 15 June 1937 J.C. Clavering's report.

the Office after the problems were identified. Nevertheless, funds were only made available for repairing the roofs.<sup>65</sup>

### **Interior and termites**

The atmosphere of the compound remained largely undisturbed despite the political environment outside the concession being storm-like. CanTon was considered the best consulate in China by the incumbent Consul-General Phillips in 1929.<sup>66</sup> But the structures of the buildings were by then under threat of termites which had eaten the roof structure, skirting boards and doorframes of the consul-general's house, as well as the trusses of the roof and bathroom in the vice-consul's house. In the office and assistants' residence building termite-runs were found within the joints of the floorboards of the first floor, in the skirting boards and doorframes, but the trusses were intact because they had been replaced in 1934 for the same reason. Furthermore, the servants' quarters on the west side of the building were seriously damaged, and the building was thought in danger if a typhoon should strike CanTon. The unventilated, humid and dark environment of the attic space provided an ideal feeding ground for white ants, and the improper design of the roof structures aggravated the damage to the structures as well as to the furniture of the buildings.<sup>67</sup> The problem had already been reported in 1922, but was not taken into account for the new buildings, thus in 1937 the decision of replacing the timber structures with reinforced concrete was finally taken to save the buildings from collapse and to reduce the annual expenditure of 200 HongKong Dollars on termite treatments.<sup>68</sup>

On 19 July 1937, the then Divisional Architect at ShangHai J.C. Wynnes enclosed a group of drawings and calculations in his letter to the London Office regarding the replacement of timber roof structures at the consul-general's house with reinforced concrete beams and of the same for the accommodation for the senior vice-consul's servants. Wynnes also pointed out that due to the nature of the

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<sup>65</sup> WORK 10/299, 1 March 1924 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London, 30 July 1927 S.P. Wong to Office of Works, Shanghai, 5 December 1927 to Cloux, 10 January 1928 J. Bradley to J.G. West, 11 January 1928 J.G. West to Chief Architect, 19 January 1928 J. Bradley to J.G. West.

<sup>66</sup> WORK 10/300, 16 March 1937 T.D. Dunlop to Principal Secretary, Foreign Office.

<sup>67</sup> WORK 10/300, C.L. Chan to Office of Works, Shanghai, 15 June 1937 J.C. Clavering's report, 19 July 1937 J.C. Wynnes to Chief Architect.

<sup>68</sup> WORK 10/299, 14 November 1922 W. Leitch to Secretary, Treasury; WORK 10/300, 30 May 1937 C.L. Chan to Office of Works, Shanghai, 15 June 1937 J.C. Clavering's Report.

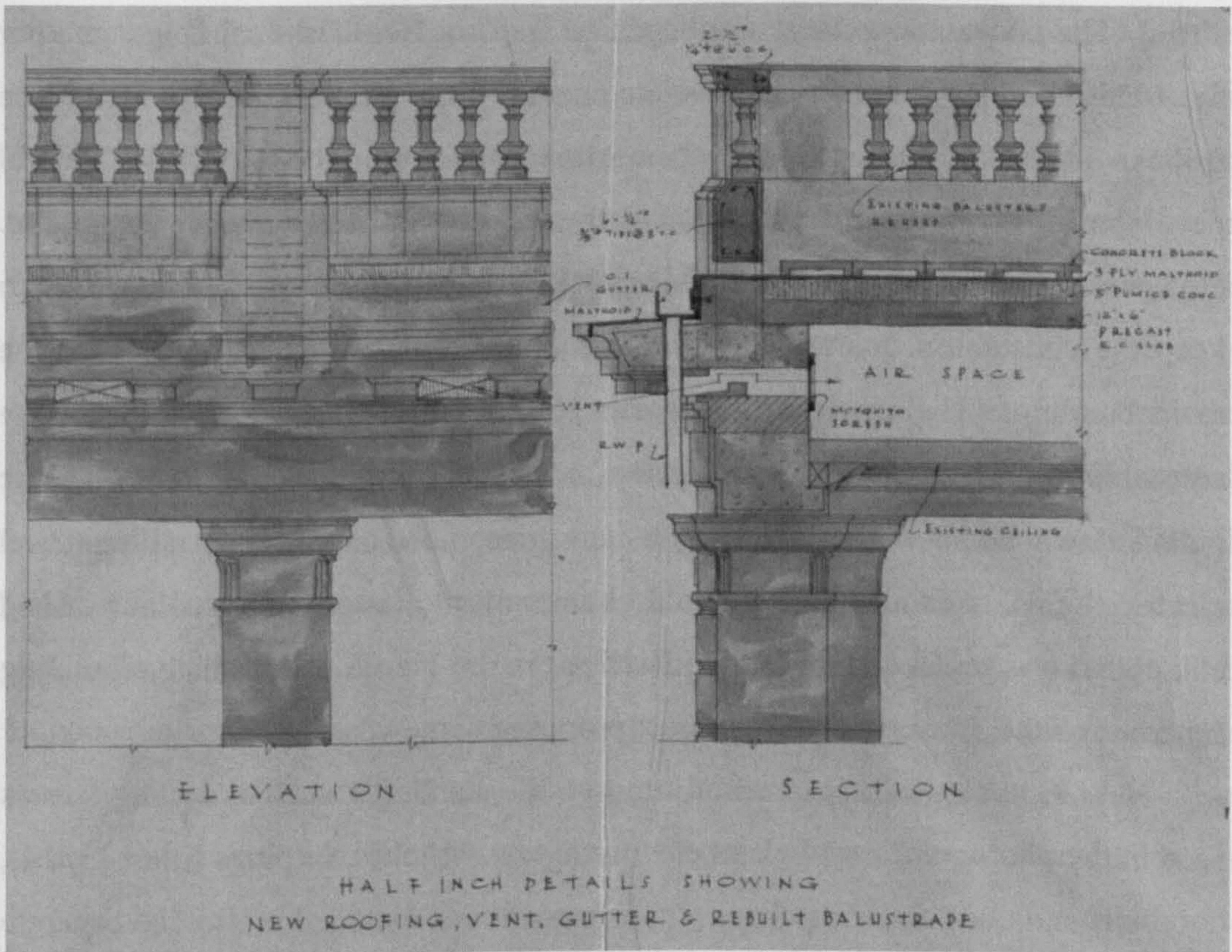
concrete works and the design of the original plan of the consul-general's house, it was impossible to construct pitched roofs following the original form, so the modified buildings were to have flat roofs. The proposed expenditure according to Wynnes was 38,000 HongKong Dollars for the consul-general's house and 4,000 for the servants' quarters, in total £2,400, but a final amount of only £1,000 estimate for the re-roofing project was included in the 1938 funds for the overseas public buildings.<sup>69</sup>

The proposed roof retained the old theme of a giant order façade but the previous mistaken details which had caused the penetration of dampness and the activities of termites were revised both materially and architecturally. The method of preventing dampness and biological damage adopted by the architects involved creating a well-vented under-roof space constructed in water-proof and inorganic materials. Apart from using concrete as the roof material, Wynnes and his assistants added a series of air vents for the space between the flat roof and ceilings both on the top of the roof and beneath the cornice [ill.6: 21]. The parapet was also lifted in order to let the water flow underneath to gutters placed outside the baluster parapet, on the cornice. Regardless of the fact that the malthoid (waterproofing material, as shown in [ill.6: 21], that three ply was applied) and concrete were about to become popular building materials in early twentieth century China, it can be deduced that the new details of the roof to some extent reduced the problems of dampness in the structure and indoor spaces, for the correspondence ended in January 1939 when the re-roofing works were nearly completed. Apart from the weatherproofing, the new material fortuitously provided the building with extra protection against the political weather of China a decade later.

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<sup>69</sup> WORK 10/300, J.C. 19 July 1937 J.C. Wynnes to Chief Architect, 5 November 1938 J.C. Wynnes to Chief Architect.





[ill.6: 21] CanTon Consulate, detail drawings of the new roof of Consul-General's house. Ventilation, gutter and balustrade are shown. Source: WORK 10/300, date: 1937

### Lifestyle changes

CanTon demonstrates the longest history of Chinese interactions with British representatives since the English East India Company in the mid-eighteenth century. The lifestyle of both British and Chinese was greatly modified by the development of technologies, reestablishment of life styles, and differences in perspective, and aesthetic appreciation followed.

The documents as well as the photographs from the trading period show that the consulate architecture was largely constructed in brick as its body, with timber beams as its floor support, and joinery such as windows and doors was also made of wood. Pine pillars were greatly used in verandahs. Discussions on the application of different kind of woods can frequently be found in the correspondence. The roofs were covered with tiles. The general colour and character were as a result of a warm and natural tone regardless of style and geographical location.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> WORK 10/438, 10 May 1866 D.B. Robertson to W. Crossman

The consulate architecture began to speak a Neo-Classical language after the 1925 rebuilding, with artificial stone façade, grand pillars, sheet roofs and iron grilles. Tones of the consulate then turned to a cold colour. As a natural development of architecture, different characters coexisted in the same compound. However, from time to time Consul-General Bertram Giles expressed his desire to keep the constable's quarter and even the boundary walls in harmony with the main buildings. The reorientation works conveniently caused the façade of the constable's house to be rendered. The boundary wall was on the other hand to be pulled down and rebuilt, including a new gate, new gate lamps, railings, and electric lights. Accordingly, the old theme of a plaster cream-colourwashed compound was replaced by granite plaster, as in the TienTsin Consulate rebuilding scheme and the Tokyo Embassy project proposed some years later.<sup>71</sup>

New technologies appeared to improve life standards, such as ceiling fans as seen in the photographs as well as electric lights, switches, or plugs [ill.6: 13, 14], doorbells and even electric pumps. Other innovations included reinforced concrete, thermo isolation blocks and low-pressure heating systems. Water closets began to appear in the compounds. However, even by 1937, most of the housework, including the removal of night soils, in the consulates was still done by Chinese servants. It can be seen in floor plans that many rooms are still labelled 'garden coolies', 'wash amah', 'boys' and so on, as in the plans of the consul's house.<sup>72</sup>

At the same time, improvements in engineering knowledge prevented the structures from falling apart. Cases of falling verandahs are recorded in archival and popular records in the early period. Comments about the Chinese builders' unfamiliarity with different types of construction or their dishonesty in using bad materials were given,<sup>73</sup> but this was partially because the British officials were new to different methods of erection. The introduction of engineering calculations in structural mechanics prevented the same failures from happening again as well

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<sup>71</sup> WORK 10/299, 18 March 1925 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T Reavell.

<sup>72</sup> WORK 10/300, 18 October 1937 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>73</sup> In the archival cases, as early as in 1862 the FooChow consulate's verandah was separated from the main building, see WORK 10/430, 10 October 1862 PeKing Legation to F.O. In the popular texts, Macartney also says in her book that the verandah in the British Consulate to Kashgar (established in 1904) 'fell down like a card house with the first sharp earthquake' after it was added to the consulate building, see Macartney, Catherine, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1931), p. 36. Chinese craftsmen's part in this situation is discussed in Chapter 9.

as reducing the waste of materials. Formulas and equations were presented for the examination and approval by the structural engineer at the London Office when the wooden trusses in the consul-general and other staff's residences were replaced with concrete beams.<sup>74</sup> Other than that, changes took place because of the increasing acquaintance of Chinese builders with the European construction methods, as described in Chapter 2.

The most dramatic differences in the compound were due not to the change in the westerners' lives but to those of the Chinese. In 1931, the consul-general proposed to relay the mosaic floor in the hall of his house to make it a dance hall [ill.6: 22], but the proposal was not supported by the architects. The suggestion was brought forward again in the end of 1934. Despite being agreed by the London Office, the architects were preoccupied by the termite damage and the reconstruction of the roof, so the subject was deferred until October 1937. A clear reason was given that 'the guests, particularly the Chinese who [were] keen on foreign-style dancing [had] been very disappointed at the lack of this customary form of entertainment'. Several substitute suggestions were made, such as laying teak parquet in place of the mosaic floor in the lounge hall or fitting a portable 5' by 5' sprung floor to cover a space of 25' by 20' at a lower cost. The architects at the London Office scarcely found the reason given appropriate, but suggested including it in the estimate for next year. Finally, the suggestion was not approved.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> WORK 10/300, 19 July 1937 ShangHai Office to London Office, 1 September 1937 London Office to ShangHai Office.

<sup>75</sup> WORK 10/299, 13 December 1934 to Chief Architect; WORK 10/300, 14 October 1937 J.C. Wynnes to Chief Architect, 11 November 1937 Director of Works to Chief Architect.



[ill.6: 22] CanTon Consulate, hall of Consul-General's house. It shows electric installations, lights and ceiling fans. Chinese arts of ordinary standard are also used to show the tastes of the consular officials.

Source: WORK 10/299, date: 1920's

## Political Costs

### Delays of completion and overestimates

CanTon was commercially important to Britain, but it was also a starting point for the political encounter between the Ching Empire and the British Empire. Political movement against foreign activities on Chinese soil were expanded from objecting to military might during the first Anglo-Chinese war, to boycotting building projects by British subjects afterwards. In the fourth month of the (lunar) calendar of the Ching Emperor Dao Guang 27<sup>th</sup> Year (1847 A.D.), the guild of masons and carpenters of the Province of Guangdong made an announcement to its members:

*...The great body of masons and carpenters in the two cities (the old and the new) of Canton, had held a public consultation, and agreed together, that if the English undertake the prosecution of their works, as aforesaid, the men employed in these trades shall none of them be permitted to engage to complete their works. (Huang unknown: Volume 24)*

The political cost of this could be reduced in the decades after the treaties were signed by hiring ship carpenters to carry out construction works, but the cost rose

as political activities became increasingly organised and influential. The difficulties became particularly evident after the ShangHai Division was established, because the wages for the architects, especially for the clerk of works who was stationed on site, were continuously paid regardless of whether the works had been called off.

It can be seen that the repair and reconstruction works were frequently interrupted by anti-foreign activities and conflicts driven by political purposes, especially as CanTon was the birthplace of the first Modern Chinese Revolution. During the rebuilding project for the vice-consul's residence, there were three interruptions. The first lasted from 16 July 1924 to 19 August 1924 because of an anti-British strike against the new ShaMeen Concession regulation that forbade Chinese from entering the island without photographic identities.<sup>76</sup> The strike was a success, and contractors returned to the working site in the compound, but later the works were again disturbed by a conflict between the armed merchant group of CanTon and the government led by Sun, Yat-Sen. On national foundation day of 10 October 1924, the merchant group opened fire on marching crowds of the KuoMinTang, including students and unions. This initiated a series of battles between the KuoMinTang army and the merchant group in the city. The incident was complained of by Roberts when he reported that the workers were blocked outside the island from carrying out the works of the vice-consulate house for eleven days from 15 - 25 October 1924,<sup>77</sup> although the British HongKong government, the HongKong and ShangHai Bank, British controlled Custom House and the British Consuls were partly responsible for encouraging the civil warfare.

One year later, J. Bradley again reported that works were closed and clerk of works had withdrawn to ShangHai in August owing to the strike and boycott of British interests. The Consul-General James W. Jamieson believed that the Soviets were behind the incidents and this assumption resulted in political actions in CanTon, where the British held decisive power, and in Harbin, where the Russians did.<sup>78</sup> As Bradley made clear, the political changes in south China affected the

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<sup>76</sup> WORK 10/299, 2 April 1927 J. Bradley to G.J.T. Reavell.

<sup>77</sup> WORK 10/299, 20 October 1924 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T. Reavell, 2 April 1927 J. Bradley to G.J.T. Reavell.

<sup>78</sup> WORK 10/525 '*Construction of offices for the Consulate-General*', 9 November 1925 J.W. Jamieson to PeKing Legation. Details about the Harbin consulate are discussed in Chapter 8.

expenditure on the works. He estimated that the work of the vice-consulate's house would cost \$83,616 (presumably HongKong dollars), which included \$55,616 expended for the earlier works and \$27,000 more in the future, so the total figure would be more than \$13,000 above the original approved funding.<sup>79</sup> Industrial actions were triggered by the nationalist movement against foreigners when the municipal police of the ShangHai International Settlement shot students protesting about a labour leader killed by the Japanese during the strike conflict. This forced the works to close for over a year from 21 June 1925 to 6 November 1926. The works at CanTon were completed around 31 March 1927 after a total stoppage of 550 days, and a final inflated figure of expenditure at £770 above the approved figure £8,870.<sup>80</sup>

The architects and diplomats kept on trying to maintain the compound in a temperate condition and undisturbed from the rapidly changing political climate, but the action in return disturbed the environment inside the compound. In response to the strife between the KuoMinTang and Communist Party, along with the frequent anti-foreign movements, troops were sent to each post to protect the British citizens. It was urgently demanded that the newly completed vice-consul's house on ShaMeen be provided as military accommodation for officers from 3 April to 10 May 1927.<sup>81</sup>

During the occupation by the British troops, the finishing of the electric fitting was postponed and the lower verandah and the dining room were damaged by the troops. An additional amount of \$162 was spent on the European engineer and workers for securing materials, completing installations, and repairing the damaged electrical light switches, wires of plugs and fan regulators.<sup>82</sup> The ShangHai Division and the War Office received claims from the electrical contractor William C. Jack & Co. Ltd. for compensation, but debates about whether to pay for the sum of less than £10 continued for more than three years.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> WORK 10/299, 19 October 1925 Bradley's Report.

<sup>80</sup> WORK 10/299, 2 April 1927 J. Bradley to G.J.T. Reavell, 2 April 1927 J. Bradley to G.J.T. Reavell.

<sup>81</sup> WORK 10/299, 4 April 1927 J. Bradley to Office of Works, London, 14 October 1927 W.G.S.J. to Cloux.

<sup>82</sup> WORK 10/299, 4 October 1927; J.M. Jack to Divisional Architect, 14 October 1927 W.G.S.J. to Cloux.

<sup>83</sup> WORK 10/299, 10 November 1930 J. Bradley to Secretary, Office of Works.

## **Council tax**

As rebuilding works on the compound were sanctioned by the London Office and working plans were submitted in December 1923 to the ShaMeen Municipal Council, the council charged a building fee of \$100 (currency unknown). Consul General B. Giles considered this unusual. According to the land regulations practised by the ShangHai Municipal Council, a sum of \$25 was claimed to apply for a building erection permit, but the land for the use of British government, including the British Consulate, the Custom House<sup>84</sup> and the Temple of Awards were exempted from the control of the municipal council. The Crown Advocate, H.P. Wikison thus believed that the order from the CanTon Municipal Council was due to the friction between the council and the consulate, owing to the fact that the lands of the British concessions were officially and essentially loaned to the British consulates instead of to the councils. He then suggested that the divisional architect should pass the case to the home authorities for further consideration.

In the mean time, Wikison added that the consulate general at CanTon should stress to the municipal council that the independence of the Office of Works and the Consulate General in the issue of erecting diplomatic buildings upon the consular sites should not be interfered with. There was clearly disagreement in the municipal council over the decision to refuse the claim when the First Commissioner of Works pointed out another parallel case in TienTsin, firmly stating the principle that the Crown was not bound by municipal regulations within the British concessions, and that the submission of building plans to the council was purely a symbolic duty. The matter was closed by the council's unwilling acceptance of the Office of Works' decision on 18 June 1924; however, the commissioner was not completely satisfied until the principle was made clear for each British concession.<sup>85</sup>

## **Attack and restoration**

During the Japanese invasion and the Pacific War that followed, CanTon and the other concessions in China were mostly taken over and governed by the

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<sup>84</sup> The maritime custom was a Chinese official establishment, but under the British control since Robert Hart was appointed Inspector General of the Chinese custom service in 1863.

<sup>85</sup> WORK 10/299, 8 January 1924 B. Giles to Divisional Architect, 23 January 1924 H.P. Wikison to Divisional Architect, 26 January 1924 W.J. Roberts to Chief Architect, 4 July 1924 Canton Consul General to PeKing Minister, 13 June 1924 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T. Reavell, 18 June 1924 R.M. Crosse to B. Giles.

Japanese military, while the British officers were largely at the same time called back to serve in the war against the Axis powers in Europe. Chinese people were distracted by the hostility of Japanese troops. The discussions between and within the Offices paused during that period, but as soon as the Japanese Emperor broadcast his announcement of the Termination of the War, the people of China and the citizens of CanTon shifted their attention back to the other group of intruders and the documents record this political phenomenon accordingly.

The long-standing Walled City of KowLoon beside the HongKong colony was literally outside the governance of HongKong and China. But when the British HongKong government evacuated the residents of the walled city in the name of public sanitation and firebreaks using tear gas and weapons, the reaction from the Chinese people was dramatic. Protestors including university and middle school students and union labourers marched from Chungshan (Dr. Sun, Yat-Sen) memorial hall in the City of CanTon through to ShaMeen Island on 16 January 1948 and all the British Consulate buildings, except the Consul-General's residence, were burnt down to a condition where only the structure remained.<sup>86</sup> It was the most serious physical damage to the Consulate since the Arrow incident of 1856 when the old factory buildings were burnt down; the psychological influences can be read in the telegrams sent to the Foreign Office. Consul-General Hall and his officers were escorted out of the island by the police during the demonstration, and afterwards temporarily used the HongKong and Shanghai Bank at HongKong as their residence and offices while the remaining officers stayed with friends.<sup>87</sup>

A detailed report on the damaged buildings was submitted on 3 February 1948 [ill.6: 23-27], and estimated costs were provided later on. In the estimate the main building, which had been the principal target of the protesters, would cost £91,600 for complete restoration, including knocking down and rebuilding the structurally dangerous first floor walls, removing the less than 10% remains of the floors and completely removing and rebuilding the bent steel trusses and reconstructing the interior, followed by £1,800 of electrical installation. The

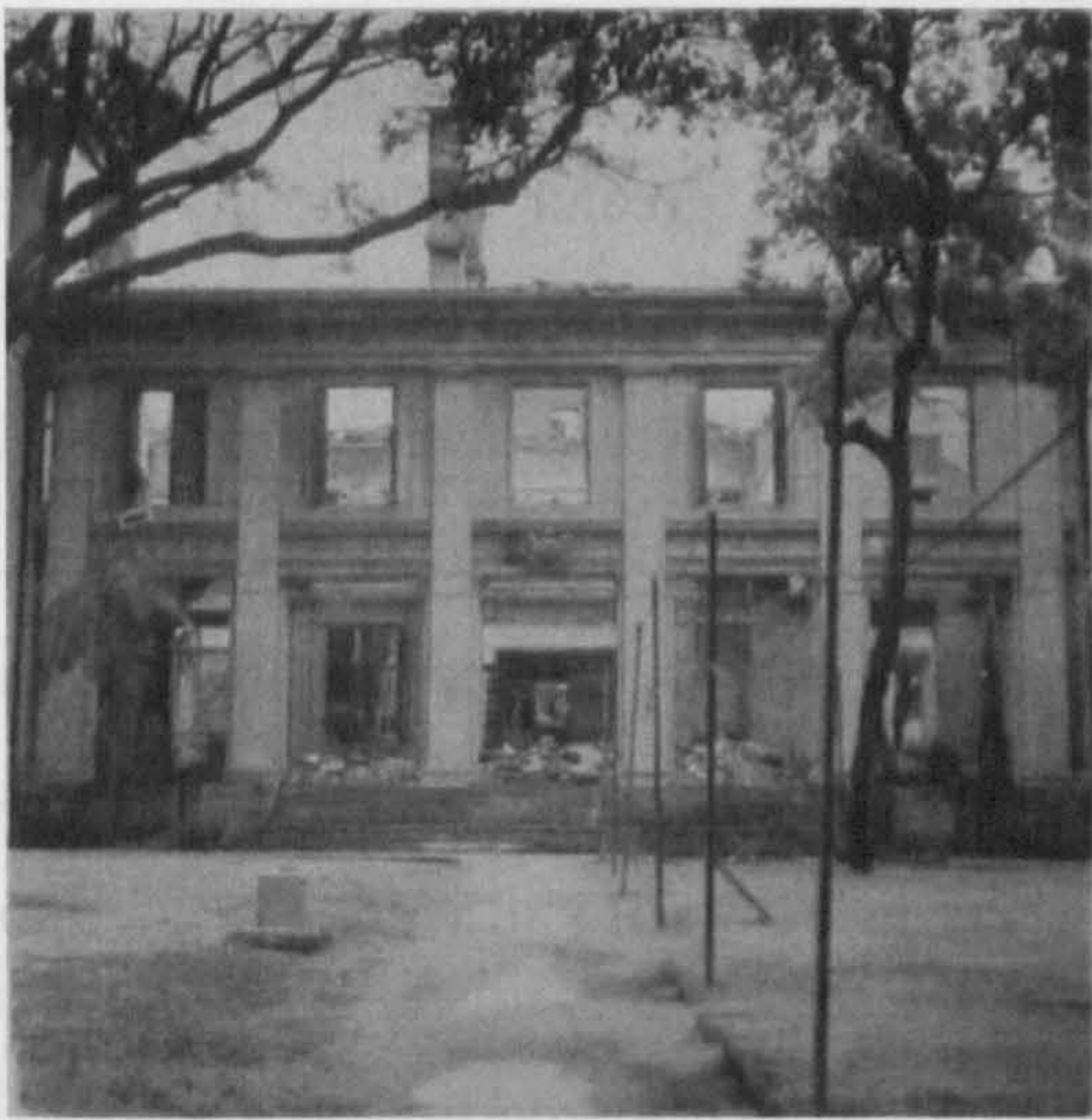
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<sup>86</sup> WORK 10/301 '*Embassy: riot damage and destruction*', 16 January 1948 Nanking Embassy to Foreign Office.

<sup>87</sup> WORK 10/301, 17 January 1948 Nanking Embassy to Foreign Office, 24 January 1948 Nanking Embassy to Foreign Office.



consul-general's house would require £4,400 to relay plaster, joinery and fittings on the indoor walls which had been the main target of damage along with furniture. The consul's house on the southeast corner of the compound needed £3,600 for repairs to the damaged joinery and fittings of the interiors. In addition, the cornice, wooden floors, roof structures and interior of the constable's house sited next to the main building were completely destroyed and required £4,000. An extra amount of £1,200 for electrical engineering was suggested for the three residences to reinstall electrical fittings. A total sum of £104,500 was finally submitted to the Foreign Office for consideration.<sup>88</sup>



[ill.6: 23] CanTon Consulate, damaged Office building. North façade.  
Source: 1948-1949, WORK 10/301, date: 1948



[ill.6: 24] CanTon Consulate, damaged Office building. Northwest angle.  
Source: 1948-1949, WORK 10/301, date: 1948



[ill.6: 25] CanTon Consulate, damaged Office building. South façade.  
Source: 1948-1949, WORK 10/301, date: 1948

<sup>88</sup> WORK 10/301, 3 February 1948 W.R. Morris to T.S.M. Terrace, 16 February 1948 Minister of Works, Shanghai to Minister of Works, London, 20 February 1948 T.A.H. to C.E. Shelley, 21 February 1948 Minister of Works to Foreign Office.



[ill.6: 26] CanTon Consulate, damaged  
 Consul-General's house. Front façade.  
 Source: 1948-1949, WORK 10/301, date: 1948



[ill.6: 27] CanTon Consulate, damaged  
 Consul-General's house. Interior.  
 Source: 1948-1949, WORK 10/301, date: 1948

Of all the damaged buildings in the compound, repairing the consul-general's house was treated as the most urgent, for it offered greater opportunity to be re-inhabited as the consul-general's flat and office. The ground floor was planned in the ShangHai Office to be restored as a temporary office for the consul-general while the first floor would be accommodation for him and his family members. The full fund of £12,000 for the three houses was approved on 20 March efficiently. The emergency strengthening of the structures proceeded, the contracts were signed, and restoration works commenced on 24 April and were expected to be finished in the end of July before the arrival of the new Consul-General, G.F. Tyrrell, with his wife and three children.<sup>89</sup>

On 16 June 1948, T.G. Champkins visited the post to inspect the progress of the restoration works, then nearly finished except for certain items of joinery and the constable's house that had suffered the most damage. The flagstaff and railings of the garden, had been completely restored. In contrast with the quick response of the residential restoration, the Ministry of Work explained to its architects at ShangHai that the decision about whether to restore the office building was difficult to reach in the Foreign Office, while the Foreign Office argued in turn that it was the Ministry of Works refusing to spend the money until the Chinese Government paid compensation, despite the proposal being reduced to £22,500. As a result nothing had been done since the examination of the building except the

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<sup>89</sup> WORK 10/301, 3 March 1948 G. Howard-Jones to Minister of Works, 20 March 1948 G. Howard-Jones to T.S.M. Terrace; Telegram 84/48, Minister of Works, Shanghai to Minister of Works, London, 25 March 1948 G. Howard-Jones to T.S.M. Terrace, 24 June 1948 T.S.M. Terrace to G. Howard-Jones.

removal of dangerous internal walls.<sup>90</sup>

### Distribution

When the new consul-general arrived at ShaMeen Island and occupied the restored residence on 11 September 1948, he found that his house, which was claimed to be finished by 14 August, was 'far from being "fully furnished and equipped" as [he had been] assured in London'. In addition the consul services were still being dealt with at a temporary office on 18 Fuk Hing Road since the Foreign Office had clearly stated several times that 'there can be no question of the ground floor being used for office [in the] meantime' to make sure that the consul-general exclusively occupied the building that suited his grade. Only the consul-general's house was used exclusively, the other two houses – the consul's and the constable's house – were shared by four consul officers. Tyrrell finally came to the conclusion and suggested to the Foreign Office that if the office block was restored, two more flats could be offered to the officers, and the temporary and unsuitable office could be given up.<sup>91</sup>

While alternatives for the office space were looked for and discussed between the diplomats and architects, political actions were also carried out claiming for compensation through the British Embassy at NanKing, where the capital of KuoMinTang China was located. Back at home by the Thames, the Members of Parliament were extremely dissatisfied with the slow response of the KuoMinTang government on the issue of compensation for the ShaMeen incident, overlooking the fact that the Communist army had drawn the complete attention of the KuoMinTang party. When questioning Christopher P. Mayhew, the Under Secretary of the Foreign Affairs, on 20 September 1948, Luke W.B. Teeling argued:

*Is the honourable Gentleman aware that this Question has been asked pretty frequently over the last six months, and we always get the same answer? It is (sic) not all that difficult to contact the Chinese Government and get an answer? (WORK 10/301)*

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<sup>90</sup> WORK 10/301, Telegram 84/48, Minister of Works, Shanghai to Minister of Works, London, 25 March 1948 G. Howard-Jones to T.S.M. Terrace, 1 July 1948 T.G. Champkins to G. Howard-Jones, 4 August 1948 T. Willson to G.F. Tyrrell, 1 September 1948 G. Howard-Jones to P. Jenkins, 3 September 1948 P. Jenkins to G. Howard-Jones.

<sup>91</sup> WORK 10/301, 9 June 1948 D.W. Pierotti to P. Jenkins, 17 June 1948 D.W. Pierotti to P. Jenkins, 14 August 1948 T.G. Champkins to G. Howard-Jones, 15 September 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to T. Willson.

One and half months later, Martin Lindsay asked:

*Has the Minister any hope at all that these negotiations are likely to bear fruit?* (WORK 10/301)

The Under Secretary was unable to defend these questions but continued expressing his regret. Compensation was never received either from the KuoMinTang or later from the Communist government.<sup>92</sup>

Before the Treasury finally approved the £27,000 reconstruction proposal on 19 February 1949, the political commotion which marked the eve of the KuoMinTang governance of Mainland China had caused loss of labour and time to the diplomats at CanTon, NanKing and London in finding suitable building both for their office and residences. It is evident that the architects at London were unwilling to respond despite the drawings having been prepared by the ShangHai Office as early as the proposed rebuilding stage. The withdrawn of the NanKing Embassy, when the Liberation Army of the Communist Party was threatening the KuoMinTang Capital, pushed the requirement for accommodation into a further crisis.<sup>93</sup> The civil war made foreign property owners on ShaMeen Island eager to realise their assets for quick cash, and opportunists from both sides were equally eager to take advantage. Negotiating on the lease details with owners, confirming the conditions of the properties, and even finding out who was the real tenant were time-consuming for the consulate officers.<sup>94</sup>

The consulate office moved out of the 18 Fuk Hing Road building into the Reiss, Bradley & Company building after the options passed from the Chartered Bank of India and Australia, which had been greatly damaged during the demonstration, to the Dent & Company and then to the Dodwell & Company building. Meanwhile the Information Section of the CanTon Consulate, whose offices had also been burnt down, continued to operate in the theatre of the former CanTon Club, although the owner decided to let the building to a long-term

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<sup>92</sup> WORK 10/301, 15 September 1948 British Embassy, Nanking to Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nanking; P.Q./B4672; P.Q./B5131; P.Q./B5169; WORK 10/302 '*Embassy: riot damage and destruction*', 12 January 1950

<sup>93</sup> WORK 10/302, 31 January 1949 Treasury to J.E. Winter, 4 February 1949 A.C. Shallis to J.E. Winter; R. Turner to T.S.M. Terrace, 15 February 1949 Foreign Office to Canton Consulate, 10 March 1949 G.F. Tyrrell to T. Willson.

<sup>94</sup> WORK 10/301, 29 November 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to T.S.M. Terrace, 2 December 1948 D.J. Gilmore to G.F. Tyrrell, 4 December 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to T.G. Champkins, 23 December 1948 T.G. Champkins to G.F. Tyrrell

occupier. The staff from the NanKing moved from the expensive hotel in HK\$135 per day into flats provided by the Reiss, Bradley & Company. The monthly costs of the rent to the Foreign Office before the reconstruction of the office building finished by August were HK\$1,400 for the Embassy and the consulate, \$600 for the Embassy staff's two flats, and an unmentioned amount for the inappropriate theatre. In addition, expenditure on the reconstruction works was expected to rise because extra office space would be needed for the addition of the NanKing staff and the Information Section, but funding was secured only for the restoration of ground floor office and first floor flats.<sup>95</sup>

The job was started on 1 April by the Chinese contractor, Messrs. Fudan (referred to as Aurora in Cantonese) who earned a high reputation in the reconditioning works of the consul-general and the constable's house. This firm was expected to finish the structure, joinery, and fittings by 31 August, followed by decoration, furniture and handing over by 11 October. Work went on from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., seven days a week, in order to complete the ground floor office for the officers before the arrival of the Liberation Army. The working programme was scheduled and strictly supervised by the Chief Clerk of Works, A.G. Belcher; the building was delivered to the Consulate-General on 9 October, and the communist forces entered the city on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

The letter sent to the London headquarters by Divisional Architect Champkins pointed out that the contract was carried out under very trying conditions as a result of the political instability in south China. The English-speaking foreman who had previously served in the KuoMinTang army, had to bolt from the site to a safe place after he sent a letter to Belcher stating 'I am apologising for leaving Your Majesty's job, but if the Reds catch me I am unable to apologise'.<sup>96</sup> The working hours were extended from 7 a.m. to 3 a.m. the following morning as the Red army was approaching; consequently along with the fund consumed Belcher had to secure the salaries with the help of the consulate. In the end, after the 10% retention sum was paid, the final figure was

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<sup>95</sup> WORK 10/301, 15 September 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to T. Willson, 3 November 1948 A.C. Shallis to Minister of Works, 25 November 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to T. Willson, 15 December 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to Foreign Office, 21 December 1948 G.F. Tyrrell to Foreign Office; WORK 10/302, 10 March 1949 G.F. Tyrrell to T. Willson, 11 March 1949 G.F. Tyrrell to Foreign Office.

<sup>96</sup> WORK 10/302, 16 December 1949 ShangHai Office to Ministry of Works, London.

£25,189, and £1,811 was saved.<sup>97</sup>

## Politics of Empires

We have seen that there was a specific architectural character applied to the consulate buildings at CanTon and that climatic considerations rarely affected decisions on the architectural classicism of the building. While the buildings were destroyed during the anti-British movement, the restoration projects also chose deliberately to continue with the exact European style as they were.

However, putting the CanTon consulate building projects into a wider context of ShaMeen island and China, it can easily be seen that the architectural aesthetics as well as the political and economic hegemonies that the new consulate office represented were hardly in a position to respond to the revolution in China during the twentieth century. On the contrary, the unpredictable and surging political conditions of China not only caused withdrawal of municipal tax from supporting the infrastructure of the island, but also increased construction costs, both in terms of time and money.

Roberts once explained rather frustratingly that: 'Canton should be accorded the most generous treatment as it is a very trying place to live in and anything in the nature of cramped quarters makes conditions intolerable beyond the possibility of imagination to anyone in England'.<sup>98</sup> Under the circumstances of CanTon, the ShaMeen, WhamPoa and YaMen sites were progressively more difficult to sustain. WhamPoa Vice Consulate was closed in 1889, and the YaMen was returned to the KuoMinTang government in 1928. The Consulate General on ShaMeen island operated even after KuoMinTang China was overthrown by the Communists, but most of the main buildings in the compound had been damaged and rebuilt twice excluding repairs. The second rebuilding of 1948 was evidently the result of the most serious damage since the late nineteenth century.

Regardless of the difficulties of the climatic or political environment of CanTon, the architects chose the most familiar kind of presentation without paying attention to local knowledge. Whether or not it had anything to do with the

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<sup>97</sup> WORK 10/302, 7 May 1949 A.C. Shallis to Minister of Works, 12 August 1949 A.G. Belcher to R. Turner, 16 December 1949 ShangHai Office to Ministry of Works, London, 21 September 1950 W.R. Morris to Minister of Works.

<sup>98</sup> WORK 10/299, 18 November 1926 W.J. Roberts to J.G. West.

European Classicism that the buildings adopted, the anti-British crowds were determined to destroy the consulate buildings. The natural environment of CanTon also proved destructive for as long as the building designs ignored natural phenomena. The British consulate case at CanTon shows, as Maoists argue, the representation of British imperialism in its social and political form; however, the response of the environment had an equal, and sometimes more dramatic effect, which the British did not expect.

## **Summary**

The British Consular Services was a political organisation, driven by Britain's economic and diplomatic needs. In the form of architecture, Britain's political agendas were demonstrated through a contrast in style with the Chinese. The ShangHai and CanTon consulates were designed to have a European appearance and maintained to keep it no matter how many times they had to be rebuilt. In fact, continual maintenance of the same appearance was also a political demonstration that Britain was powerful enough to face any challenge. The PeKing Legation shows that Chinese building elements could also be deliberately installed to be another part of the political manifesto.

Chapter 6 completes the discussion about the politics of architectural styles. In Chapter 7, The British Consulate to TienTsin will serve to demonstrate the hygienic and social factors in British consular buildings.

## Chapter 7, TienTsin Consulate

*There are much more healthy sites available in the residential quarter of Tientisn which are close enough to the business quarter not to interfere with the work of the Consulate and which would thus make a transference possible from every point of view. But, on sanitary grounds alone, I would recommend that [the] Consulate should be removed to a more open and less crowded site. (Gray, Medical Officer to H.B.M. Legation, 25 June 1920)*

*In summer when one could enjoy it, it is spoiled by the dust, smells and noises, and in winter when the river is closed and the Bund is quiet and peaceful, one is too cold to appreciate its good points. (Handley-Derry, 16 November 1922)*



## Introduction

The British Consulate to TienTsin was opened by J. Mongan in 1860, when the British troops occupied TienTsin and TaKu (大沽) forts in the Arrow War. The consulate was originally situated in a temple outside the east gate of the TienTsin walled city while the Allied Forces still controlled the city and the river to PeKing. It was later when the British concession at TienTsin was selected by H.S. Parkes, then Minister to China, that the consulate moved into the concession and occupied one of the dominant parcels of the concession on the HaiHo (海河, Hai river) bank [ill.7: 1-2].<sup>1</sup>

The first two consulate buildings were originally rented warehouses from two different foreign companies from November 1866.<sup>2</sup> After they were converted by a Chinese contractor Li, Jung-Ho under the supervision of Clerk of Works, K. Menger the buildings were used as official accommodation for the TienTsin Consulate from 1868. The vice-consul's house was purpose-built in 1909 after the completion of the assistants' quarters in 1896.<sup>3</sup> These two dwellings were both two storeys high with a central corridor plan, constructed in brick with timber floor and roof structures, and with verandahs facing east or west. It is stated in the documents that by 1879 properties were under the crown and all facilities in the compound were accommodated [ill.7: 3, 4].

However, the document fails to clear up the reason for the unusual situation that the two private warehouses were built on the site earlier than the consulate establishment, and that before October 1866 the consular accommodation remained temporary, with no plan drawn for the post.<sup>4</sup> An overwhelming number of proofs in public and archival texts show a common development, that the consulates were first established in perpetually leased lands<sup>5</sup> before other British

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<sup>1</sup> MPHH 1/675/27 '*China: Tianjin (or Tientsin)*'; Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> WORK 40/440 '*Letters from Sir R. Alcock*', 21 November 1866 J. Mongan to R. Alcock, 28 November 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>3</sup> WORK10/436 '*Taku, Tiensin and Peking*', 17 May 1867 J. Mongan to W. Crossman, 11 May 1897 W. Crossman to J. Morgan; WORK 10/398 '*Consulate: requisition of Kailan mining administrations property, adaptation of residence for Consul General, rebuilding schemes*', 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister, 12 June 1931 Minute.

<sup>4</sup> WORK 10/430 '*Treasury*', 22 December 1865 Treasury's Minute.

<sup>5</sup> Private ownership of lands did not exist in Chinese society. Therefore the only way to seize Chinese land into private ownership, as Europeans accomplished, was through a perpetual lease, see Chapter 3. The terms of leases were usually 99 years or 999 years.

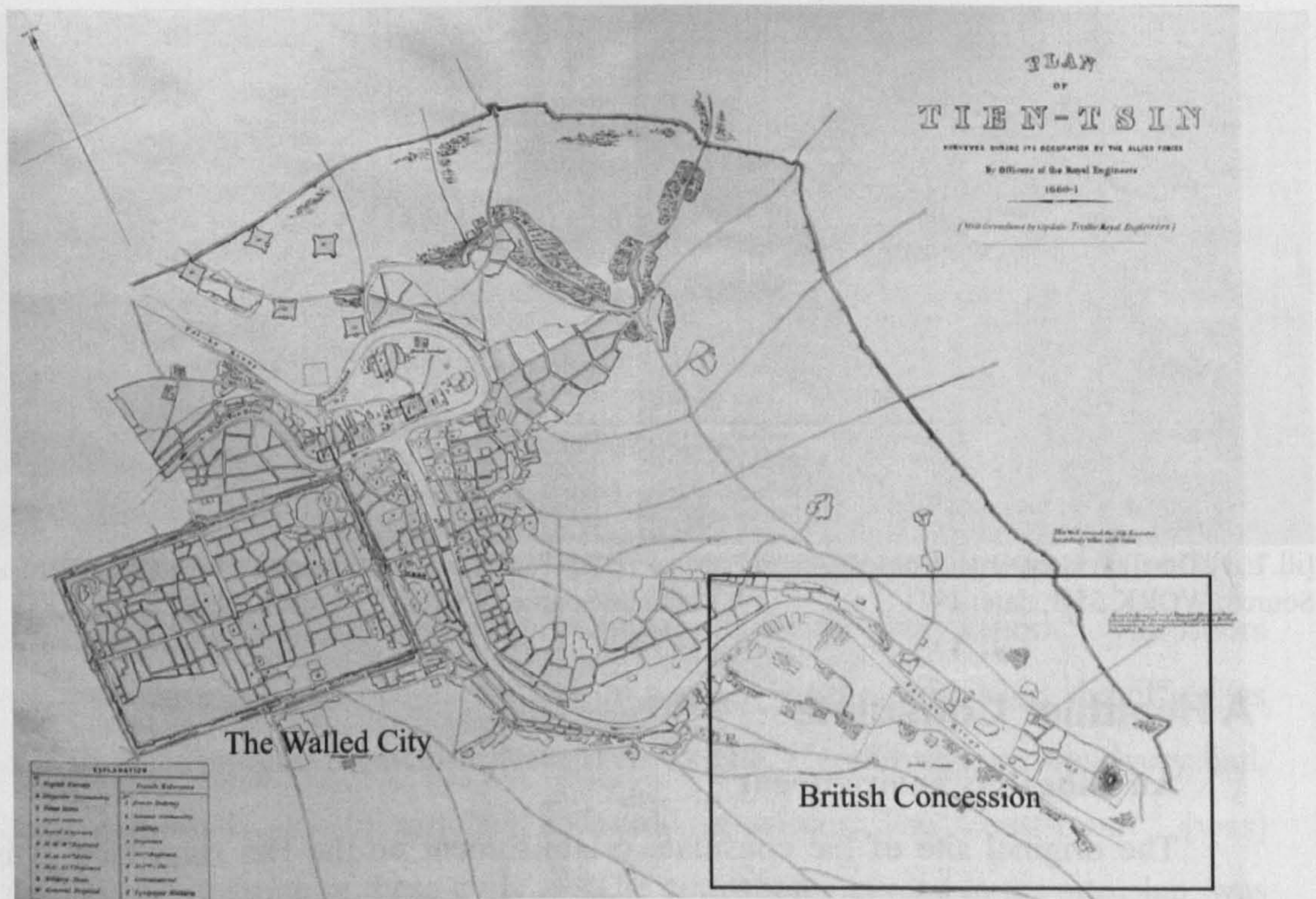
private sectors started theirs on divided lots of the seized land. The condition in TienTsin suggests that private business entered the potential trade port just after the concession was extracted and before the consulate site had been decided.<sup>6</sup>

It is read in this case that the TienTsin Consulate did not complete its rebuilding scheme initiated in 1919 – almost sixty years after the establishment of the post. The CanTon case has shown that the bureaucratic system held back the process of building or rebuilding works, and the TienTsin was a yet more extensive and wearisome process for the ShangHai Office staff. The entire process took more than eleven years before it was completely abandoned without any building being erected.

Nevertheless, this case provides an opportunity to examine the consuls' foremost considerations concerning their living environment and their daily activities in North China. The story began with a complaint on the hygiene issue made by the Consul General.

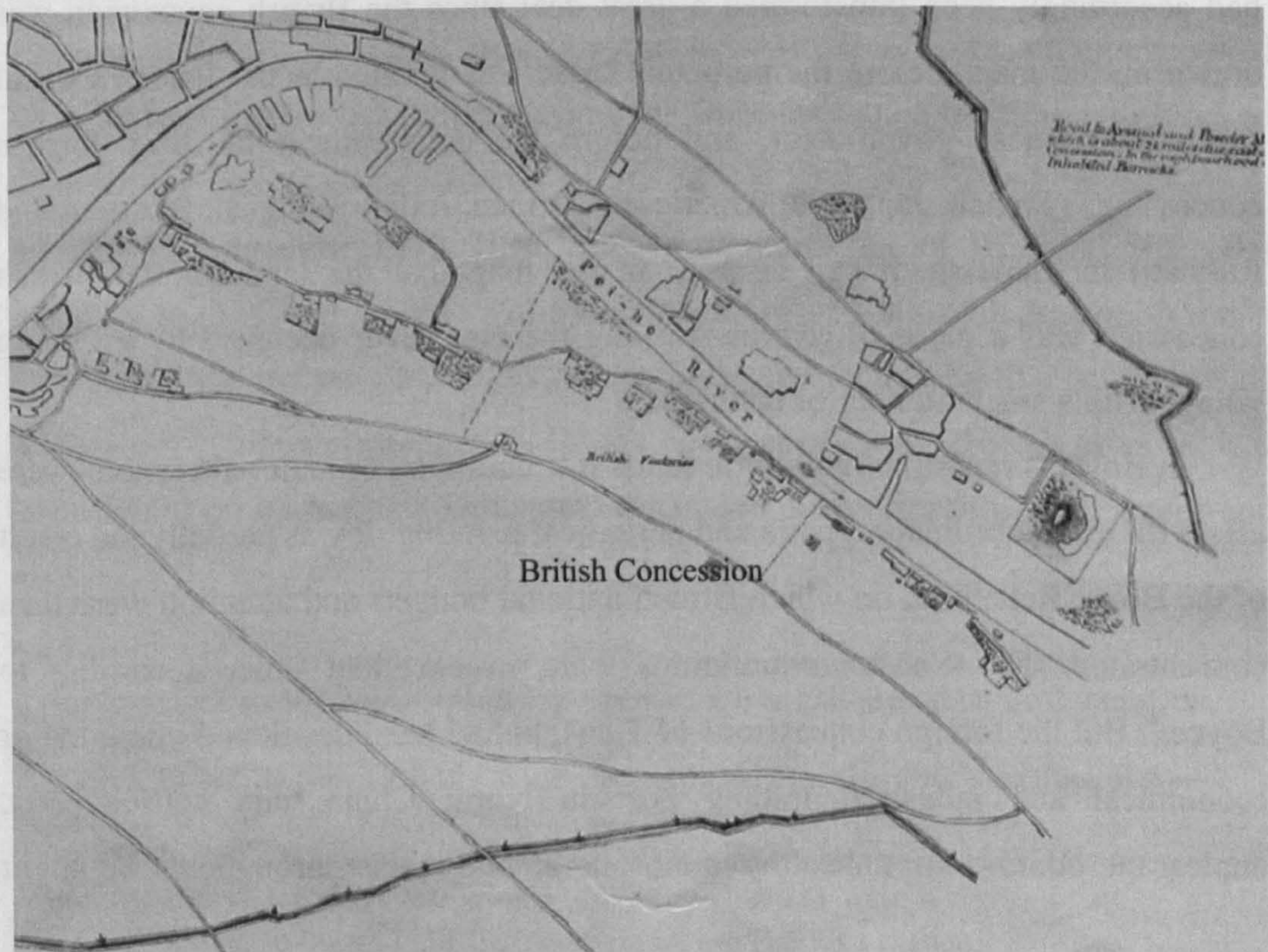
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<sup>6</sup> An account of the rush of enthusiasm among foreign companies for the trading opportunities at TienTsin can be found in Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 282., in which two firms withdrew their investment from the port. The archive also shows that the bankruptcy of Dent & Co., whose property was on loan to the British Consulate to TienTsin, gave the British government the opportunity to buy the buildings and the land. Some conversation that proves the development of the purchase can be read in WORK 10/56/3 '*China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman*', 29 November 1866 W. Crossman to Treasury, 8 March 1867 Treasury to F.O. 12 February 1867 PeKing Legation to F.O.; WORK 10/440 '*Letters from Sir R. Alcock*', 12 February 1867 R.Alcock to W. Crossman.



[ill.7: 1] TienTsin, 1861 plan (north to the top). The walled city, HaiHo (Hai River) and the British Concession are labelled.

Source: MPH 1/675/27, date: 1879



[ill.7: 2] TienTsin, 1861 plan. Partially enlarged from [ill.7: 1].

Source: MPH 1/675/27, date: 1879



[ill.7: 3] TienTsin Consulate, Consul-General's house.  
Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911



[ill.7: 4] TienTsin Consulate, Vice Consul's house.  
Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911

## A Healthier Consulate

### An unhealthy environment

The original site of the consulate establishment on the Hai river bank was occupied as soon as the compound moved into the British concession from outside the TienTsin walled city in late 1860's. The environment of this neighbourhood had accordingly been transformed a great deal since the British concession was drawn on the map. Before the perpetual lease was granted to the British Consul from the Chinese government, and before the development of other foreign concessions (French, Japanese, American, German, Italian, Belgian, Austrian and Russian) in TienTsin, it can be seen in the map that the land for the British concession was a piece of riverbank along the Hai River occupied by a fishing village with a small number of cottages.<sup>7</sup>

In Boyce's report in 1900, little funds for rebuilding or major alterations were asked for except ordinary repairs and periodical painting. It was partially the result of the Boxer Rebellion, on which British national budgets and attention were then concentrated. The Consulate buildings were in excellent order according to Boyce.<sup>8</sup> But the foreign concessions of TienTsin had been developed into a major economical and industrial trading port in North China, and consequently, unpleasant odours, an unhealthy atmosphere, and noise throughout the night

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<sup>7</sup> MPH 1/675/27 '*China: Tianjin (or Tientsin)*'.

<sup>8</sup> WORK 10/56/6 '*Reports (including original manuscript) on legation and consular buildings in China, Korea, Japan and Siam by R H Boyce, CB*', final draft.

increased as the concession grew.<sup>9</sup> The medical report sent by Douglas Gray, Medical Officer of the British Legation in mid 1920, points out that the consulate compound was surrounded by warehouses on three sides and on the fourth side there stood wool and hide factories [ill.7: 5]. In addition to the fluff and hairs which occasionally flew around the compound, large sewage pits nearby caused an undesirable smell, especially in hot weather.<sup>10</sup>

The interior environment was also condemned as the buildings aged. They were not built for office and residential purposes, and the plan suggests that the alterations were randomly placed wherever any empty place allowed. The need for septic tanks and sanitary installations appears in almost every report.<sup>11</sup> The floors vibrated alarmingly as people walked on them.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, the office, as described in another medical report given by H.F. Handley-Derry, was 'very bad, dark and small, hot in summer and cold in winter. The Court-room<sup>13</sup> [was] perhaps the epitome of these evils'.<sup>14</sup> The courtroom, as read in the site plan, was surrounded by servants' kitchen, strong room, shipping office and attached on the northwest side to a narrow verandah about 20 feet wide by eight feet deep as its entrance and only source of fresh air and light [ill.7: 12]. An addition marked 'New Office' further cut the front yard off from the office building and blocked more air and light from the offices.

On 11 November 1919, H.M. Spence of the Office of Works at ShangHai proposed to the Chief Architect of the London Office Richard J. Allison to retain the site and use the present buildings as offices, and then to build a house outside the original compound exclusively for the consular officers. Spence's proposal was later carried on by the new Divisional Architect, Julius Bradley. Both senior and

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<sup>9</sup> WORK 10/397 '*Consulate: requisition of Kailan mining administrations property, adaptation of residence for Consul General, rebuilding schemes*', 8 July 1920 Report on the Consul-General's Residence, Consulate-General, Tientsin.

<sup>10</sup> WORK 10/397, 25 June 1920 D. Gray, 5 December 1922 Foreign Office to Office of Works, London, 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry's report.

<sup>11</sup> WORK 10/397, 5 December 1922 F.O. to O.W, London, 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry's report, 19 March 1923 G.J.T. Reavell to J.G. West.

<sup>12</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>13</sup> The extraterritoriality clause of the Treaty of the Bogue in 1843 granted the British consuls the right to try British subjects in China. Therefore the British justice system, including court rooms, constables, and jails in the consulate were standard facilities at the established posts. For the justice system, please refer to the Chapter 6.

<sup>14</sup> WORK 10/397, 15 October 1921 ShangHai Office to London Office, 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry, 27 February 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect.

junior officials in the consulate experienced the same hygienic problems, but the decision of the diplomats was gradually made in favour of moving only higher-ranking officers' residences to a healthier new site, while junior staff – Junior Local Vice Consul and Constable, for instance – remained on the old site.<sup>15</sup> Inside the London Office the contradictions within the TienTsin Consul-General's suggestion were noticed and it was understood that the insanitariness applied equally to the habitations of the junior officers and the constable if they continued to live in the old site, and also that the identical hygienic matters would equally influence the new site, for it was still close to the unhealthy environment where there still stood factories and warehouses with the same inefficient sewage system.<sup>16</sup>

Another decade later, it can still be read in the correspondence that the hygienic problem near the Hai River bank was little improved. The polluted air that was 'filled with dust, hair and other impurities' around the compound transmitted a skin-related disease to L. Giles's daughter when he was Vice Consul to the post in 1915. She had to be treated in Japan. In 1930, Giles returned to TienTsin as Consul General and reported that the same disease had also affected the Vice Consul A.G.N. Odgen's children, although Odgen did not take up the argument.<sup>17</sup> In terms of architectural arrangement, two additions to the office building – the Pro Consul's Office and Waiting Room and the New Office – were demolished in 1932 as the photograph suggests. Despite the continuing state of the outer environment, this demolition brought more air and light into the offices.

A site near the old compound with three existing buildings on it was also considered for the future consulate compound at the same time. The existing three buildings, it was suggested, could be adapted into offices and flats. Although the wool and skin-cleaning factory was still operating, J.C. Wynnes – the new head of the division – argued only that rooms in the buildings were too dark to

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<sup>15</sup> WORK 10/397, 11 November 1919 ShangHai Office to London Office, 10 August 1920 W.P. Ker to R.H. Clive, 25 June 1920 D. Gray, 3 January 1921 G.J.T. Reavell to J.G. West, 13 January 1921 J.G. West, 5 December 1922 Foreign Office to O.W, 6 October 1924 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 9 May 1925 F.O. to O.W.

<sup>16</sup> WORK 10/398, 30 April 1925 T. Reavell to Chief Architect, 2 May 1925 C. Simpson to Chief Architect, 30 April 1925, 18 May 1925 T. Reavell to Chief Architect, 13 May 1925 R.J. Allison to Secretary.

<sup>17</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Legation to PePing Legation, 14 November 1930 J.C. Wynnes to J. Bradley.

accommodate the offices and residences.<sup>18</sup>

### **A cheaper real estate**

In 1900, Robert H. Boyce carried out an investigation of all Far Eastern consulate sites as his last service before retirement. He reported that the consulate property, including land at the size of about two acres and three buildings in TienTsin, was valued at £10,000.<sup>19</sup>

When it was agreed to move the post to a healthier place, the Office of Works suggested to the Treasury in January 1921 that the old site be sold for £37,500 in exchange for a new site at £9,975 in the Municipal Extension of the British Concession as a new British Consulate Compound. The estimated cost of the construction works for the houses and offices was expected to be £43,540.<sup>20</sup> After considerable efforts and negotiations over nearly two years between the Treasury, the PeKing Legation, the Foreign Office and China Consuls, the Office of Works in London and ShangHai, along with the TienTsin British Municipal Council, the proposed 2.5 acres site known as Elgin Gardens on the Racecourse Road by WeiTze Creek was abandoned due to the Santiago Legation in South America being considered more urgent by the Foreign Office.<sup>21</sup>

The TienTsin consulate scheme was therefore postponed to the 1923-24 financial year even though Parliament had approved the requisition of the Racecourse Road site early in 1921. In addition, the scheduled municipal sanitary improvements, which were to be carried out after 1923, made the removal scheme more critical, because extra expenditure on assembling modern sanitary apparatus was required.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> WORK 10/398, 12 August 1930 J. C. Wynnes to J. Bradley, 2 September 1930 D.N.D for J. Bradley to J.G. West, 11 October 1930 J.C.Wynnes to Office of Works, London, 14 November 1930 J.C. Wynnes to J. Bradley.

<sup>19</sup> WORK 10/56/6, final draft.

<sup>20</sup> WORK 10/397, 28 January 1921 O.W. to Treasury.

<sup>21</sup> WORK 10/397, 4 October 1920 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 5 October 1922 H. Montgomery to W. Ltitch, 16 October 1920 W.O. Keats, 12 November 1920 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>22</sup> WORK 10/397, 11 May 1921 Memoranda, 27 June 1921 W.P. Ker to B. Alston, 4 July 1921 G.L. Barstow to Treasury, 8 October 1921 J. Bradley to T. Reavell, 7 November 1922 W. Leitch to H. Montgomery, 22 March 1923 J.G. West to Chief Architect, 20 April 1923 J. Bradley to T. Reavell.

Before KaiLan Mining Administration (KMA)<sup>23</sup> offered an area of 8.5 mow<sup>24</sup> at the east corner of Meadow and Racecourse Road in late 1923,<sup>25</sup> the Office of Works at ShangHai had been valuing three offers in sequence from the British Municipal Council. The arrangement of residences for both consul-general and local vice-consuls had continued to shift between maintaining the existing unsanitary site as office and vice-consuls' residences, and removing all facilities to a new and healthier site away from the Bund.<sup>26</sup> In reply to the TienTsin Consul-General, General Manager of the KaiLan Mining Administration Patrick C. Young proposed to lease site on No.1 Racecourse Road, with the retired General Manager W.S. Nathan's house on it, for the Consul-General's residence.

The British Minister was pleased with the site after his visit to the port. He wrote 'The property is situated in a central position amidst pleasant surroundings and its location could in fact hardly be improved on, whilst the house appears to be well built and imposing and in every well suited as the residence of one of His Majesty's Consuls-General'.<sup>27</sup> The proposed house was surrounded by American Consulate across Meadows Road, the new KaiLan Mining Administration Head Office (completed in 1922)<sup>28</sup> immediately to the east, and All Saints Church with its vicarage to the west [ill.7: 6], so Acting Divisional Architect W.J. Roberts was assured by the Municipal Council that 'There are no factory buildings closely adjoining, and ... [it is] very unlikely that any would be built there'.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> A brief history of the KMA from a Western perspective can be read in FO 17/1759 '*Chinese Engineering and Mining Company*', Memorandum attached to 8 January 1901 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation. The KMA investments included coal mining; railway and wharf construction, brick, glass, cement and carpet (in orphanages run by the KMA) production, as well as Chinese labour export (was not mentioned in the Legation report, see *The Far Eastern Review*, 'Industries of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Company, Ltd., North China', II/12 (1906): 333-37.). Its capital capacity was £24,000 per annum when the British Minister to PeKing, Miles Lampson visited the KMA mines in October 1927, see FO 228/3595 '*Dossiers 8D. Kailan Mining Administration*', 25 October 1927 PeKing Legation to F.O.

<sup>24</sup> mow or 畝 is a unit used to measure the area of land in China; a mow is approximately equal to 7000 square feet.

<sup>25</sup> WORK 10/397, 27 December 1923 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London

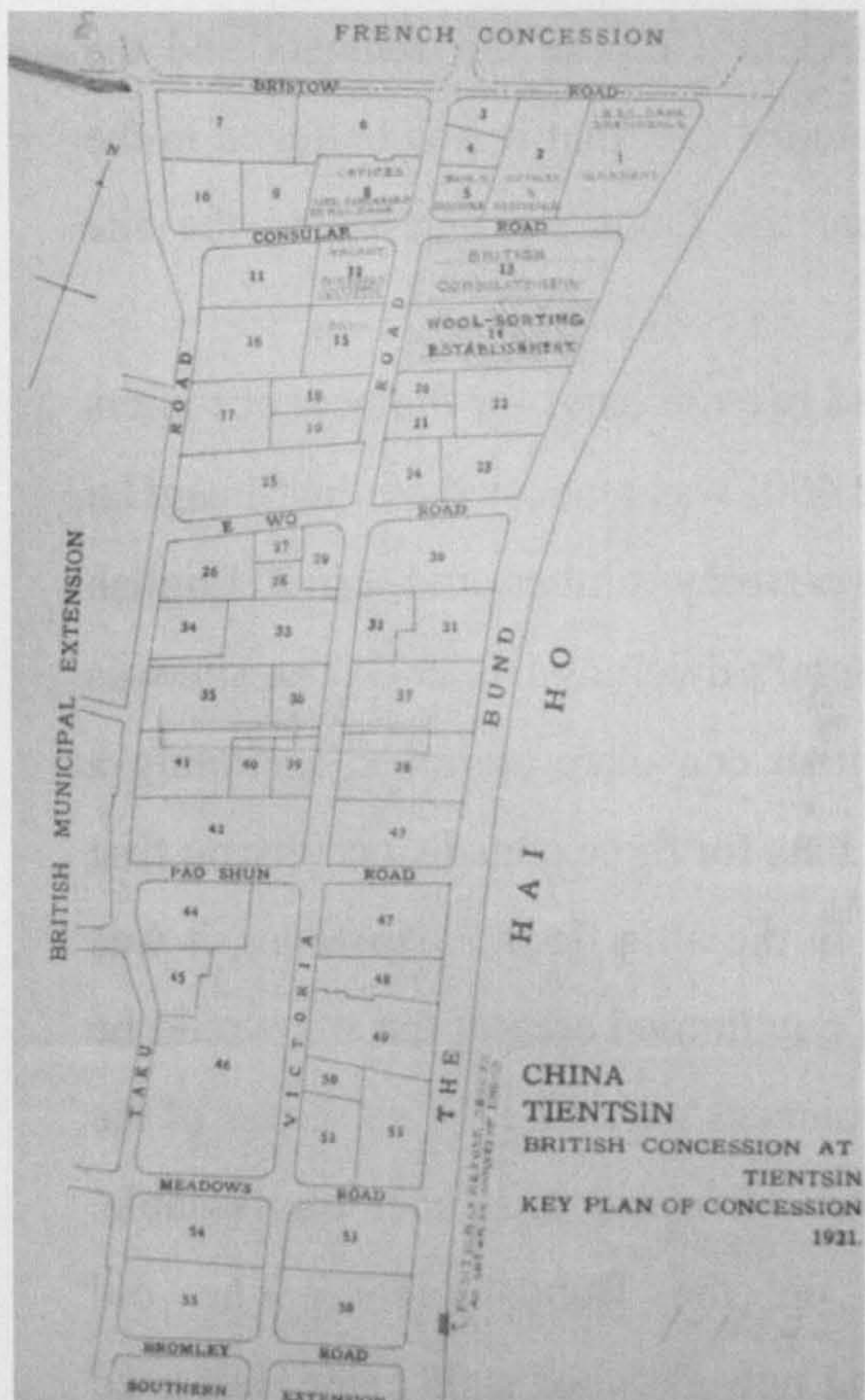
<sup>26</sup> WORK 10/397, On selection of site: 4 October 1920 W.P. Ker to R.H. Clive, 16 October 1920 W.O. Keats, 26 February 1920 J. Bradley to T. Reavell, 20 April 1923 J. Bradley to T. Reavell. On arrangement of facilities: 10 August 1920 W.P. Ker to R.H. Clive, 12 November 1920 J. Bradley to T. Reavell, 23 June 1921 J. Bradley to B. Alston, 8 October 1921 J. Bradley to T. Reavell, 5 December 1922 Foreign Office to W. Leitch.

<sup>27</sup> WORK 10/397, 29 January 1927 PeKing Legation to O.W. ShangHai.

<sup>28</sup> Guildhall Library, Chinese Engineering Mining Co. Minutes (ms 28378-9, 1922-24), log 2795, 2859, 2932, 2966, 3081.

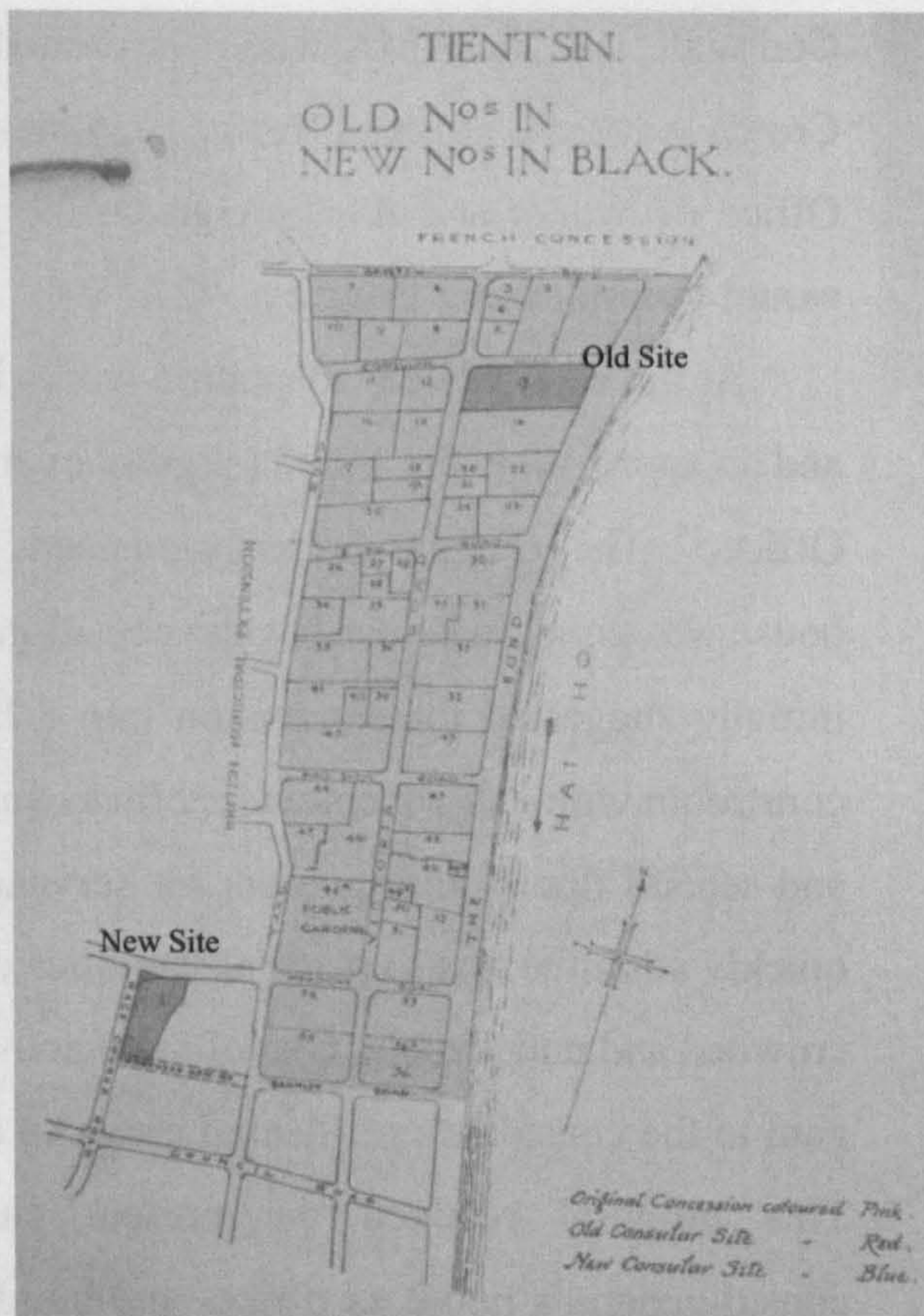
<sup>29</sup> WORK 10/397, 31 January 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office.





[ill.7: 5] TienTsin, British concession (north to the top). Industries around the compound of British Consulate are noted.

Source: WORK 10/397, date: 1922



[ill.7: 6] TienTsin, British concession (north to the top). New site to the west in the concession extension and old site by the bund.

Source: WORK 10/398, date: 1925

The two bodies agreed that after three years' lease from 15 March 1924 in monthly rental of 500 Taels of Silver, the consulate would buy the property on 15 March 1927 at Tls.120,000 (approximately £ 16,300, based on the currency at North China at that time).<sup>30</sup> This offer was largely preferred from the standpoints of both the ShangHai Office and the British Legation, although 8.472 mow (about 1.3 acres) was considered too cramped by the Legation for three consuls and consulate staff.<sup>31</sup> The scheme of purchasing the KMA property was accepted by the Treasury on 30 April 1924.<sup>32</sup> It did not take the Office of Works in London long to receive a telegram from Roberts stating that the deed between the TienTsin

<sup>30</sup> WORK 10/397, 22 January 1924 P.C. Young to Consul-General, Tientsin; Guildhall Library, ms 28378-9, 1922-24, log 3533, 3570.

<sup>31</sup> WORK 10/397, 29 January 1924 P.C. Young to Consul-General, Tientsin, 31 January 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office, 4 February 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>32</sup> WORK 10/397, 5 April 1924 G.L. Barstow to First Commissioner of the Works, 8 April 1924 Office of Works, London to Office of Works, Shanghai, 8 May 1924 TienTsin Consulate to Crown Advocate, ShangHai.

Consulate and the KMA would be issued by the Chinese Government and the Crown Advocate at Shanghai in 1924, despite the fact that it was believed in the Office of Works and the Foreign Office that the funds for purchasing the site would be unlikely to arrive by 1927.<sup>33</sup>

At the end of 1924, adaptation works had been in hand for the new occupiers and an approval of Tls. 3,000 (slightly over £ 400) was requested by the Shanghai Office.<sup>34</sup> The original butterfly-planned two-storey timber and brick English house was going to be used as the consul-general's dwelling [ill.7: 7]. The site was initially suggested for conversion into a British consulate complex, including a courtroom with its own entrance, offices and flats for three consuls occupying first and second floors, and quarters for servants in the attic floor.<sup>35</sup> However, it was quickly admitted that to place all facilities on one limited area of the site would be crowded and undesirable. One of the inconveniences would be the closeness of the gaol to the consulate's residential area. An alternative was soon back on the table. This proposal retained the present site on the Bund, keeping the old consul-general's house as offices and building new flats for staff alone, but used the newly purchased KMA property exclusively for the consul-general's accommodation.<sup>36</sup>

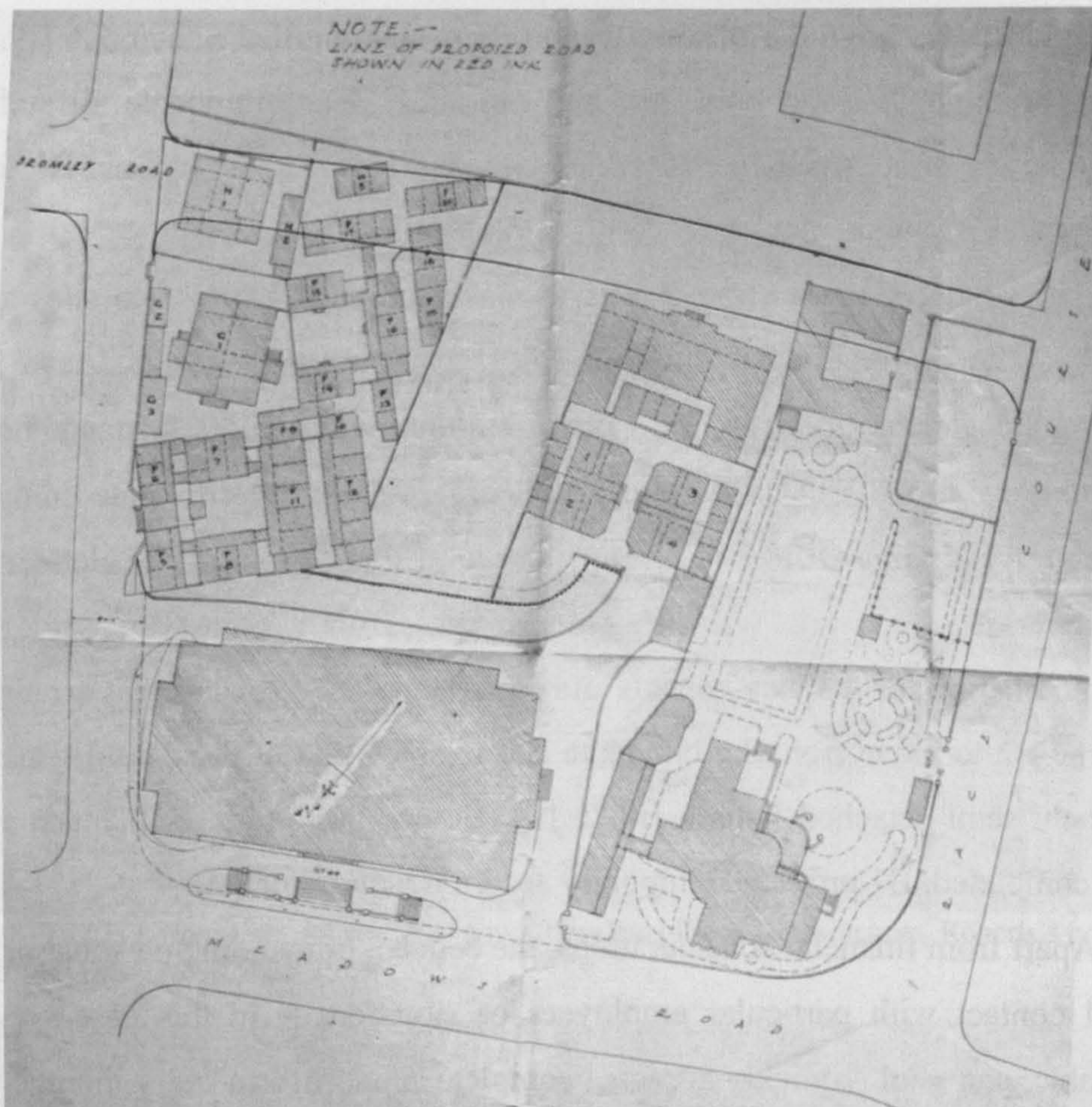
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<sup>33</sup> WORK 10/397, 31 January 1924 PeKing Legation to O.W., London, 8 April 1924 Shanghai Office to London Office, 26 September 1924 W.J. Roberts to Office of Works, London.

<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/397, 22 November 1924 Office of Works, Shanghai to Office of Works, London.

<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/397, 1 July 1924 W.J. Roberts to W.P. Ker.

<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/398, '*Consulate: requisition of Kailan mining administrations property, adaptation of residence for Consul General, rebuilding schemes*', 6 October 1924 W.P. Ker to R. Macleay, 7 February 1925 W.J. Roberts to T. Reavell.



[ill.7: 7] TienTsin, plan of KMA site (north to the bottom). General Manager's house, and proposed new road on the south side of it (on the top).  
Source: WORK 10/397, date: 1924

## Paper Architecture

When the Office of Works established its Far Eastern branch in 1867, the disadvantages of the bureaucratic system also affected the practices of the Far Eastern Division. These disadvantages included the slowness of decision-making process and the naivety of home officials about China.

After exchange of opinions between Consul-General W.P. Ker, British Minister Ronald Macleay, Director of Works George John Thrift Reavell and James G. West, Acting Divisional Architect W.J. Roberts suggested one original proposal and one alternative solution for the diplomats in 1925.<sup>37</sup> The former prepared scheme of housing all facilities on the purchased KMA site, including the existing two storey house for the consul-general's house and a newly built four or five storey building for offices with vice-consuls, assistants and constable's

<sup>37</sup> WORK 10/398, 6 October 1924 W.P. Ker to R. Macleay, 6 February 1925 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T. Reavell, 7 February 1925 W.J. Roberts to G.J.T. Reavell, 11 June 1925 O.W. to F.O.

residential flats above the offices, was at this stage entitled Scheme A [ill.7: 8]. The alternative of using both new and old sites to accommodate all staff and facilities was entitled Scheme B, which was divided into two phases: B1 for the old site and B2 for the new.<sup>38</sup>

The principle of Scheme B was to make the most of the two sites and to avoid an uncomfortable situation for the higher-ranking consuls. As a result Scheme B1 planned to erect a new office building with junior assistants' flat and constable's flat above it on the northeast corner of the old consulate compound [ill.7: 9]. A Shipping Office was set up close to the bund to house the clerical work, and the rest of the site was put on the market for sale. At the same time, accommodation for the vice-consuls and senior local vice-consuls was arranged in Scheme B2 to move from the bund site and to share that of the consul-general in two new semi-detached houses [ill.7: 10]. Before the buildings planned in B2 were completed, B1 provided temporary accommodation for staff.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from financial considerations, the concept of avoiding personal or even visual contact with particular employees or situations – in this case servants, constable, and gaol – quickly attracted complete support from every member who was going to live in the new compound and those who politically owned the two sites.<sup>40</sup> But the majority of the opinions from the Office of Works could hardly see Ker's point on the issue strongly enough to change to Scheme B from the original proposal, because the air pollution still existed. The First Commissioner of the Works, C.J.W. Simpson, further suggested that if the concern of the consuls was due to the limited size of land, a further purchase of land adjoining the KMA site could be taken into account.<sup>41</sup> The piece of land Reavell referred to was presumably located to the KMA site's south or southeast end, where stood a group of Chinese houses.

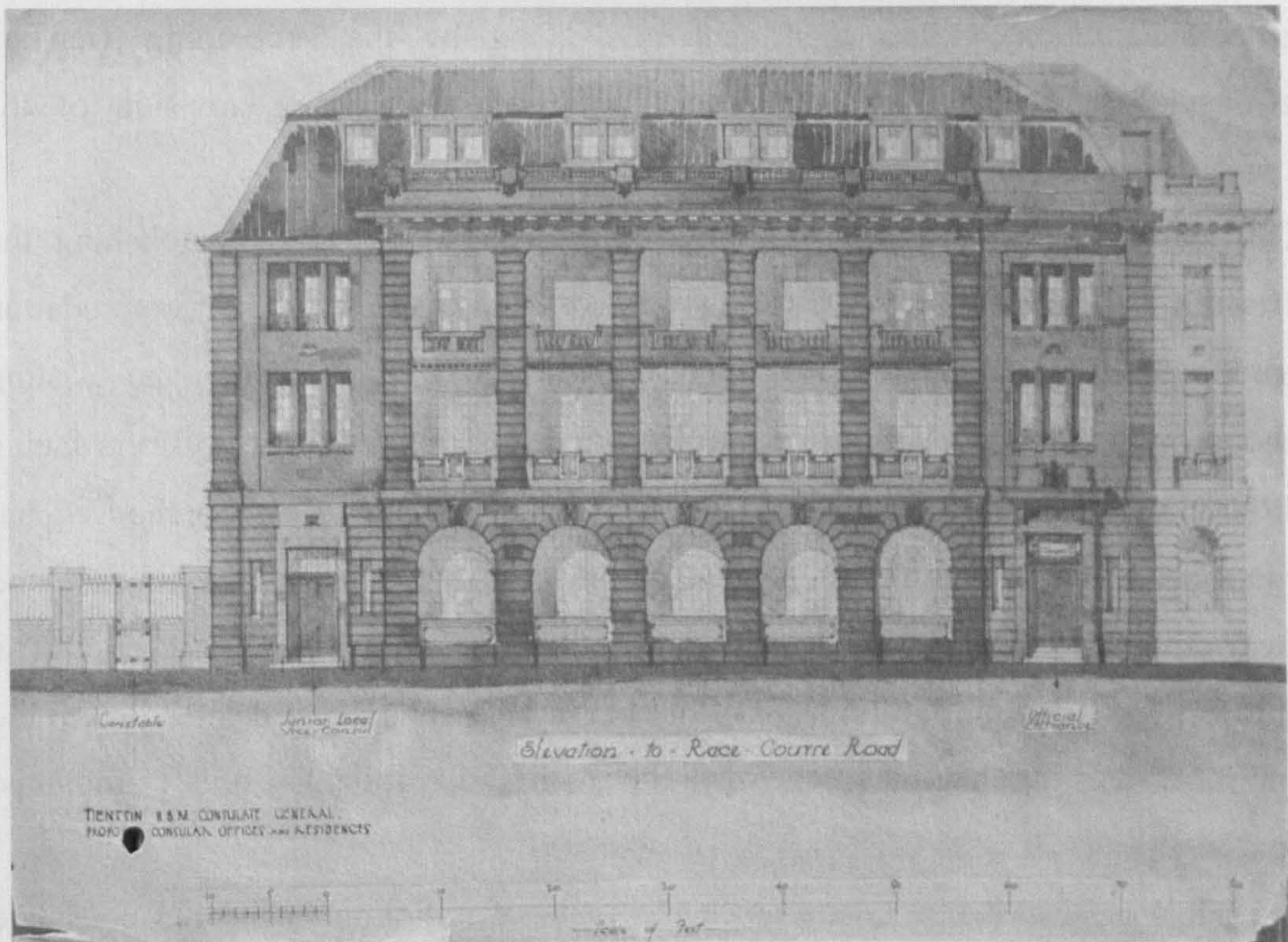
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<sup>38</sup> WORK 10/398, 6 February 1925 W.J. Roberts to T. Reavell, 9 February 1925 O.W., ShangHai to PeKing Legation.

<sup>39</sup> WORK 10/398, 6 February 1925 ShangHai Office to London Office, 7 February 1925 ShangHai Office to London Office, 9 February 1925 O.W., ShangHai to PeKing Legation.

<sup>40</sup> WORK 10/398, 6 October 1924 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 2 March 1925 PeKing Legation to F.O., 9 May 1925 F.O. to O.W.

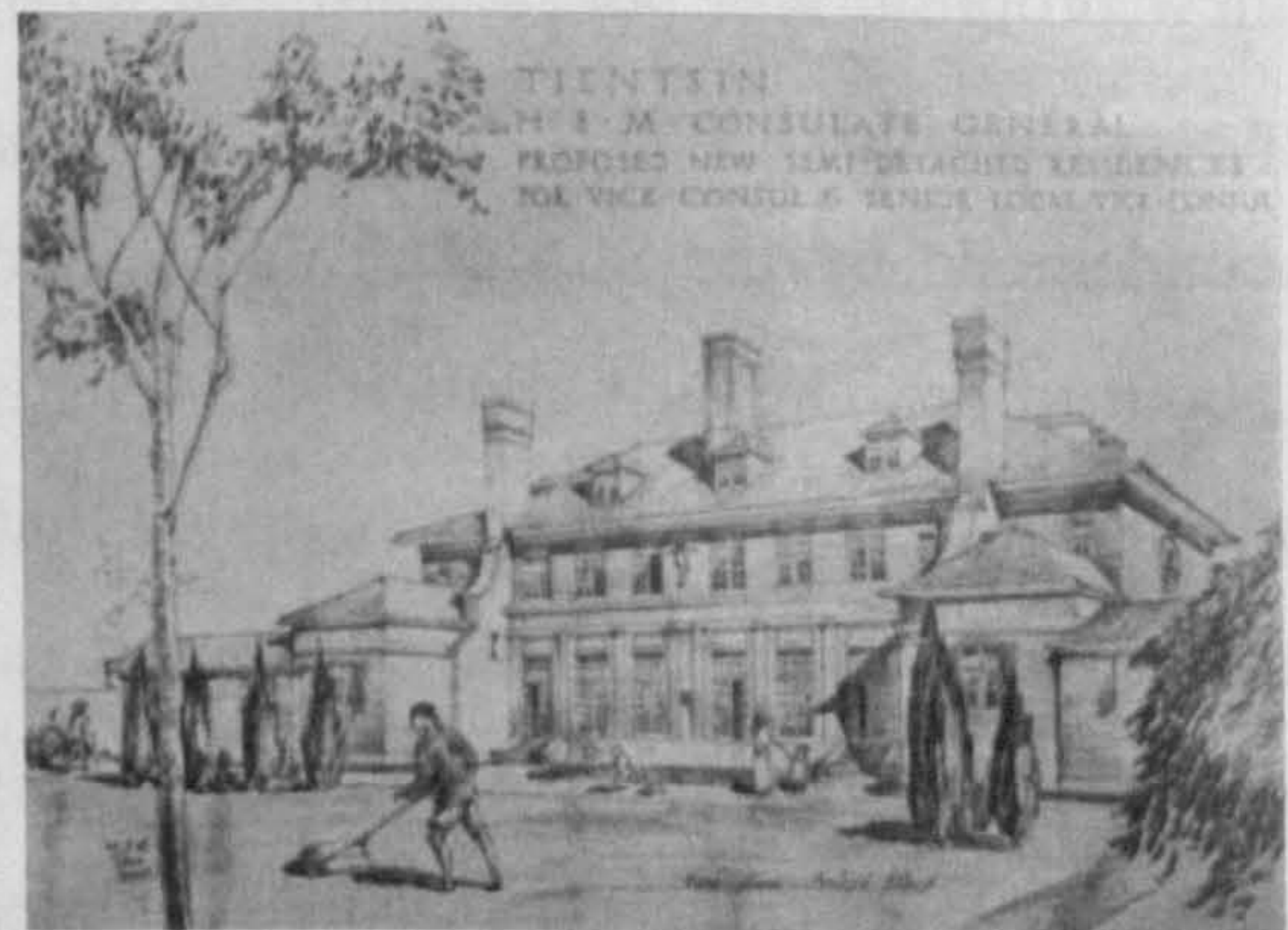
<sup>41</sup> WORK 10/398, 30 April 1925 T.Reavell to Chief Architect, 13 May 1925 R.J. Allison to Secretary, O.W., 15 May 1925 C. Simpson, 18 May 1925 T. Reavell to Secretary, O.W., 22 May 1925 R.J. Allison to Director of Works.



[ill.7: 8] TienTsin Consulate, scheme A of new Consulate office and residences, Roberts's proposal.  
Source: WORK 10/398, date: 1925



[ill.7: 9] TienTsin Consulate, junior officer's house in Roberts's Scheme B.  
Source: WORK 10/398, date: 1925



[ill.7: 10] TienTsin Consulate, semi-detached Vice-Consul's houses in KMA Site.  
Source: WORK 10/398, date: 1925

Scheme A was chosen after considering the Treasury's opinion and the hygiene principle in a conference involving both the Office of Works and the Foreign Office on 29 June 1925.<sup>42</sup> Over two years were spent on developing the project after the conference, and detailed design was about to finish to be ready for the Foreign Office.<sup>43</sup> A long letter, which Roberts called a 'very disturbing

<sup>42</sup> WORK 10/398, 22 May 1925 R.J. Allison to Director of Works, 2 July 1925 Minute, 4 July 1925 O.W. to F.O., 21 July 1925 F.O. to O.W., 21 August 1925 London Office to Shanghai Office.

<sup>43</sup> WORK 10/398, 7 December 1926 T. Reavell to J.G. West, 25 January 1927 to J.G. West.

recommendation'<sup>44</sup> was then sent to PeKing by the succeeding TienTsin Consul-General James W. Jamieson, criticising and urging revision of the proceeding scheme and suggesting three more new proposals.<sup>45</sup>

Jamieson's first proposal included, selling the old site, demolishing the former Nathan's house and erecting a building to house all the accommodation proposed. The second one involved selling the old site, retaining the existing house, and placing a building with office and flats for the higher officers facing Racecourse Road while adding a building with court, garages, warehouses and gaol behind the office building. The third suggestion was to sell the new site and tear down all buildings on the old site, and then put everything back on.<sup>46</sup> The project was again put at the head of the list in 1927, and again deleted due to the political tension that had developed between the Nationalist and Communist parties.<sup>47</sup>

It was almost nine years since the issue of pollution in the old consulate compound had first been raised. Numerous drawings were produced whenever a new proposal was put forward, but no building work was commissioned. Usable space became scarcer, for old buildings such as the assistants quarters were condemned by the ShangHai Office and the half-ruined constable's station was about to be. The air pollution still existed despite efforts made by the Municipal Council.<sup>48</sup> It can obviously be noted that the new Consul-General Lancelot Giles was left no choice but to submit a detailed explanation of the present circumstances and to present a complete set of requirements based on the original Scheme A after another three years since Jamieson's plan.<sup>49</sup> The procedure was started all over again and more plans were prepared in the ShangHai Office in response to another new consul's taste, delaying things for further four months.<sup>50</sup> In the meantime, Giles continued to live in the old Nathan's house, which had

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<sup>44</sup> WORK 10/398, 9 December 1927 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>45</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>46</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>47</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister, 19 June 1931 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>48</sup> WORK 10/397, 20 April 1923 ShangHai Office to London Office; WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Legation to PePing Legation.

<sup>49</sup> WORK 10/398, 11 July 1929 J.W. Jamieson to Peiping Minister, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

<sup>50</sup> WORK 10/398, 9 July 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister, 14 January 1931 E.M.B. Ingram to A. Henderson.

been designed at an enormous scale requiring luxury expenditure on maintenance, and to occupy the former consul-general's residence as his crumbling office, which had been standing for nearly seventy years.<sup>51</sup>

Three more proposals were sent from Tokyo by the Divisional Architect J.C. Wynnes, who had taken over the rebuilding project in 1930.<sup>52</sup> Two of them developed from previous suggestions. The first scheme was based on the integrated idea by Bradley to erect a new office and residence building on part of the old consulate site for the shipping clerk and to sell the rest of the old site. It also recommended improving the consul-general's house on the new KMA site by adding bathrooms, and arranging direct access for certain bedrooms. Furthermore, residences for one consul and two vice-consuls to be built on the new site were included in the first scheme. The second scheme proposed, based on Giles's plan, to sell the old site and build a new building facing Racecourse Road with offices on the ground floor, residential flats for consulate officers on the first floor, and the consul on the second floor. Servants, garages, warehouses, coal cellars and other services were placed at the rear of the office building, but no accommodation was provided for the constable. The final prepared scheme was based on Giles's new option for the British Legation, and its possibilities were explored when Wynnes visited TienTsin.

After this set back of three more months, the Treasury postponed the TienTsin project from being included in the 1931's Estimate of overseas public buildings, which slowed the project down even more.<sup>53</sup> After examination the premises were concluded to be structurally safe and unlikely to collapse unless the roofs were broken; it was suggested the buildings in the old site be repaired and continue in use for three more years, until 1933 when it was presumed that the new buildings would be ready.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of these further delays, the rebuilding project was included in the evaluation procedure and was reviewed by the Chief Architect together with the

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<sup>51</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Legation to PePing Legation, 14 November 1930 J.C. Wynnes to J. Bradley.

<sup>52</sup> WORK 10/398, 5 December 1930 J.C. Wynnes to M. Lampson.

<sup>53</sup> WORK 10/398, 14 November 1930 J.C. Wynnes to J. Bradley, 12 December 1930 J.C. Wynnes to Office of Works, London, 30 April 1931 R.R. Scott to Office of Works, London;

<sup>54</sup> WORK 10/398, 12 June 1931 Minute, 22 June 1931 W. Leitch to Foreign Office

Chief Structural Engineer.<sup>55</sup> All buildings except the former vice-consul's house on the old consulate site were demolished at the end of 1932 and the site was ready to be sold. The consulate officers withdrew from the old site and moved into premises in the ex-German Concession whilst working in offices of the former Russo-Asiatic Bank buildings offered by the Chinese Bank of Communication as the post's temporary office.<sup>56</sup>

Despite the fact that the Office of Works informed the Foreign Office on 15 September 1931 that the Office of Work was unable to carry out the service on the TienTsin scheme unless Parliament approved the funding, The Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works still carried out their preparation of detailed plans for the new TienTsin consulate building and awaited the arrival of funds.<sup>57</sup> However, L. Giles had realised that the rebuilding scheme was unlikely to be continued since all consulate officers and offices had been re-allocated.<sup>58</sup> The entire scheme was eventually abandoned.

The next correspondence regarding the TienTsin consulate buildings came after China's second revolution when the communists took over the governance of China, and all foreign invested industries were to be confiscated. The Foreign Office had another new but short-lived chance to put forward a suggestion to the Chinese authorities to exchange the present Consulate-General's house – the former Major Nathan's house – with another KaiLan Mining Administration property.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, that opportunity faded away because the next step taken by the new Chinese Government was to break off diplomatic relations with non-communist countries. Even though the British government quickly recognised the authority of the Communist party and re-established a diplomatic relationship with the new China, all diplomatic posts except the PeKing Embassy were closed and staff were withdrawn. Properties all over China owned by British consulates through the perpetual lease were returned to China, including TienTsin.

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<sup>55</sup> WORK 10/398, 14 August 1931 J. Bradley to Chief Architect.

<sup>56</sup> WORK 10/398, 5 May 1932 W. Leitch to Secretary, Treasury, 21 May 1932 E.J. Strohmenger to the First Commissioner of Works, 14 December 1932 L. Giles to Charge d'Affairs, 11 June 1937 D.T. Dunlop to A. Eden.

<sup>57</sup> WORK 10/398, 15 September 1931 W. Leitch to Foreign Office, 2 February 1932

<sup>58</sup> WORK 10/398, 14 December 1932 L. Giles to Charge d'Affairs

<sup>59</sup> WORK 10/398, 26 April 1950 Peking to Foreign Office.



## Hierarchy of Spaces

### Layout for higher-ranking officers

The documentation of the TienTsin Consulate-General rebuilding project shows that the structure, external appearance and even the living conditions within the new buildings were barely considered. Just like arranging guest seats at a formal dinner, the placement of every member of staff and building in organising an ideal neighbourhood was more fascinating to the consul-generals. The changing site layouts always indicate the political relations and social position between the consul-general and the consulate staff. The reason for erecting a building complex rather than a series of single buildings in the new site was that they required a sufficient space to divide the consul-general's residence off from the quarters of the other officers. The idea of sufficient space for a tennis court or an open space for enjoyment of all members was time and again brought forward, despite the rarity of garden parties in TienTsin, and despite the fact that tennis was usually played at the British Tennis Club.<sup>60</sup>

It can straightforwardly be observed from the documents that location, size and aspect of rooms and their purposes were organised corresponding to residents or users' rankings and positions. Jamieson's proposal was to place pro-consul's office, shipping office and archive room altogether, while offices for consul-general and vice-consuls were adjacent. This rational arrangement was later carried on by Giles who linked the consul-general's office with the consuls'.

Regarding the residential areas, the placing of flats for staff was based on the same discipline. Giles's 1930 scheme consists of offices in the ground floor, two vice-consuls' and one clerical officer's flats in the first floor, and one flat for a superior officer above them. Jamieson's 1927 plan does not mention the floor plans in his proposal, however it can be conjectured that it was intended to follow the same principle.<sup>61</sup>

Room size represents the ranking of consulate officers as well as spatial structure. Discussions of whether the proposed room sizes exceeded the normal requirements can regularly be read in the correspondence. Drawing room and

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<sup>60</sup> WORK 10/398, 31 January 1924 W.J. Roberts to Chief Architect, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

<sup>61</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M. Lampson, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

dining room are the focus of the attention in British houses, and occupy a larger area than any other rooms. Rooms over 500 square feet each (20 feet by 25 feet) for both drawing and dining room in the old consul-general house are seen on the detailed room plan presented to the Board meeting in the Office of Works, while smoking rooms and studies are 18ft. by 15ft. The average bedroom size was about 300 square feet in the old consulate buildings and it was increased in Roberts's proposal from 20ft. by 15ft. to 23 ft. by 20 ft., which varied according to officers' ranks.

Room sizes in the old buildings and even in the new designs were notably smaller in comparison with Major Nathan's house, which contained drawing and dining rooms each of 36'6" by 25'0" and a main bedroom of 25'0" by 20'0". In later proposals such as Jamieson's, some rooms were reduced in size, though insignificantly. The sizes for the consul's room were again enlarged in Giles's 1930 version, for there the consul's flat contains four 25ft. by 20ft. en-suite bedrooms for himself and his family, along with dining room and drawing room also of 25ft. by 20ft.

The configuration of the rooms indicates the sequence of British residents' daily activities in China. Both in the plans of the old consulate [ill.7: 11-13] and in Nathan's old house [ill: 14] it can be seen that a house was organised with a central corridor or hall with stair leading to a chain of rooms on the upper floor [ill.7: 12]. The dining room and drawing room can regularly be found placed to either side of the corridor or hallway in the old consulate-general, old vice-consul's and Nathan's houses. A morning room is usually placed beside the drawing room, indirectly in both consuls' cases, while in Nathan's house a smoking room is linked to the dining room with a direct entrance. The different arrangements of the ground floor in Nathan's and the consuls' houses led to the fact that British diplomats' life in some developed ports of China was developed to a family-based life style with children, about whom evidence can be found in numerous documents as well as on floor plans. In Jamieson's consulate complex accommodating offices and flats, the drawing and dining room were also placed to either side of the central corridor, but he placed a kitchen and a bedroom opposite the dining room along with two bedrooms and a water closet opposite to the drawing room, for there was more limited space in an apartment building than in a

free-standing building.<sup>62</sup>

### **Layouts for the rest of the staff**

Chinese servants were the majority of the employees in the consulate compound, often more than twenty persons. With pigtailed and skullcaps, they were an ideal ornament to indicate the position of the new buildings in the sketches [ill.7: 9, 10], despite the fact that most Chinese had gradually adopted a Westernised haircut after the republican revolution. In the floor plans of the old consulate buildings, rooms for servants can be seen behind each building on the old site, except for the consul-general's servants who shared a single building consisting of three kitchens, one latrine, a coal store and an individual office. This building covers the largest area among servant quarters, though space for each user was economically controlled to be equal. It is notable that, following the custom of Northern China, each residential area for the Chinese servants was built with Kangs<sup>63</sup>, except the rooms marked for 'Boys' [ill.7: 12, 13].

As usual in the commonwealth colonies, the houseboys were youths who served the hosts' activities in daily life, from cleaning the rooms and serving the dinner to changing clothes and delivering messages. They wore Western-style uniforms; lived a Western life-style, and were separated from the other Chinese servants and coolies. According to Ge's encyclopaedia of ShangHai, they were then mostly Cantonese, or otherwise from NanKing or ShangHai, young and smart, properly dressed. Their character also included responsibility and care.<sup>64</sup> In most cases, as also shown in the site plans of the TienTsin consulate, they slept close to the employer's building or next to the employer, and used the largest and most private rooms among all other servants [ill.6: 10][ill.7: 12, 13]. As a result, beds instead of Kangs were provided in the rooms for Boys serving the consul-general, the two assistant officers, and even the constable, only the vice-consul's houseboy being provided with a Kang.

From the discussions referring to the rebuilding project, it is clear that servants were expected to be at the same time functional but invisible to the everyday life of the consulate officers. Housed under the same roof with an

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<sup>62</sup> WORK 10/397; WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M.Lampson, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

<sup>63</sup> 炕, brick dormitory bed with solid fuel heating beneath it.

<sup>64</sup> Ge, Yuanxu, *Miscellaneous Notes for ShangHai Travellers*, 1867), Volume II, p. 6.

individual entrance was a satisfactory arrangement for servants in Victorian families in China as well as in Britain.<sup>65</sup> In Roberts's plan, the undesirability of the Chinese servants being seen entering or within the compound was prevented by arranging their access to official's flats from the road.<sup>66</sup> James W. Jamieson, on the contrary, preferred to separate servants' quarters according to their areas of responsibility in order to increase the consul's control of the servants. Accusations of bad behaviour like quarrelling and gambling were used to support his arrangement. An alternative showing the same attitude proposed by Lancelot Giles was to individually erect servants' quarters at the rear of the office building, where servants lived on the appointed floors according to their duties in the main office building.<sup>67</sup>

Separating the Chinese servants and their quarters from the sight of all British staff is also referred to in the correspondence in connection with the consulate's lower-ranking staff. In most circumstances, the constable and the gaol he operated were the first facilities excluded from the site if the area of the consulate compound was limited. He used a separated entrance from the rest of the officials if the flats of the consular staff were planned to be housed in one building complex, as Roberts designed in 1924 and 1926.<sup>68</sup>

The constable's building in the old compound included three cells and a yard for prisoners at the back of the building [ill.7: 13]. Services, such as coal storage, lavatory and a room for a houseboy were put into position alongside the cells. Except for the floor plan and place in the compound, the living quarters for the constable were a typical British house for ordinary family, consisting of storage, kitchen, and a sitting room on the left wing of the building. Across the central corridor there is one main bedroom placed just opposite the sitting room with fireplace and an independent bathroom, along with a smaller bedroom, which one had to pass through the main bedroom to enter. A short verandah is attached to the front of the building facing northwest.

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<sup>65</sup> WORK 10/397, 1 July 1924 W.J. Roberts to W.P. Ker; WORK 10/398, 7 February 1925 W.J. Roberts to T. Reavell, 31 January 1924 W.J. Roberts to Chief Architect.

<sup>66</sup> WORK 10/397, 1 July 1924 W.J. Roberts to W.P. Ker.

<sup>67</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M.Lampson, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

<sup>68</sup> WORK 10/397, 1 July 1924 W.J. Roberts to W.P. Ker; WORK 10/398, 7 December 1926 T. Reavell to J.G. West.

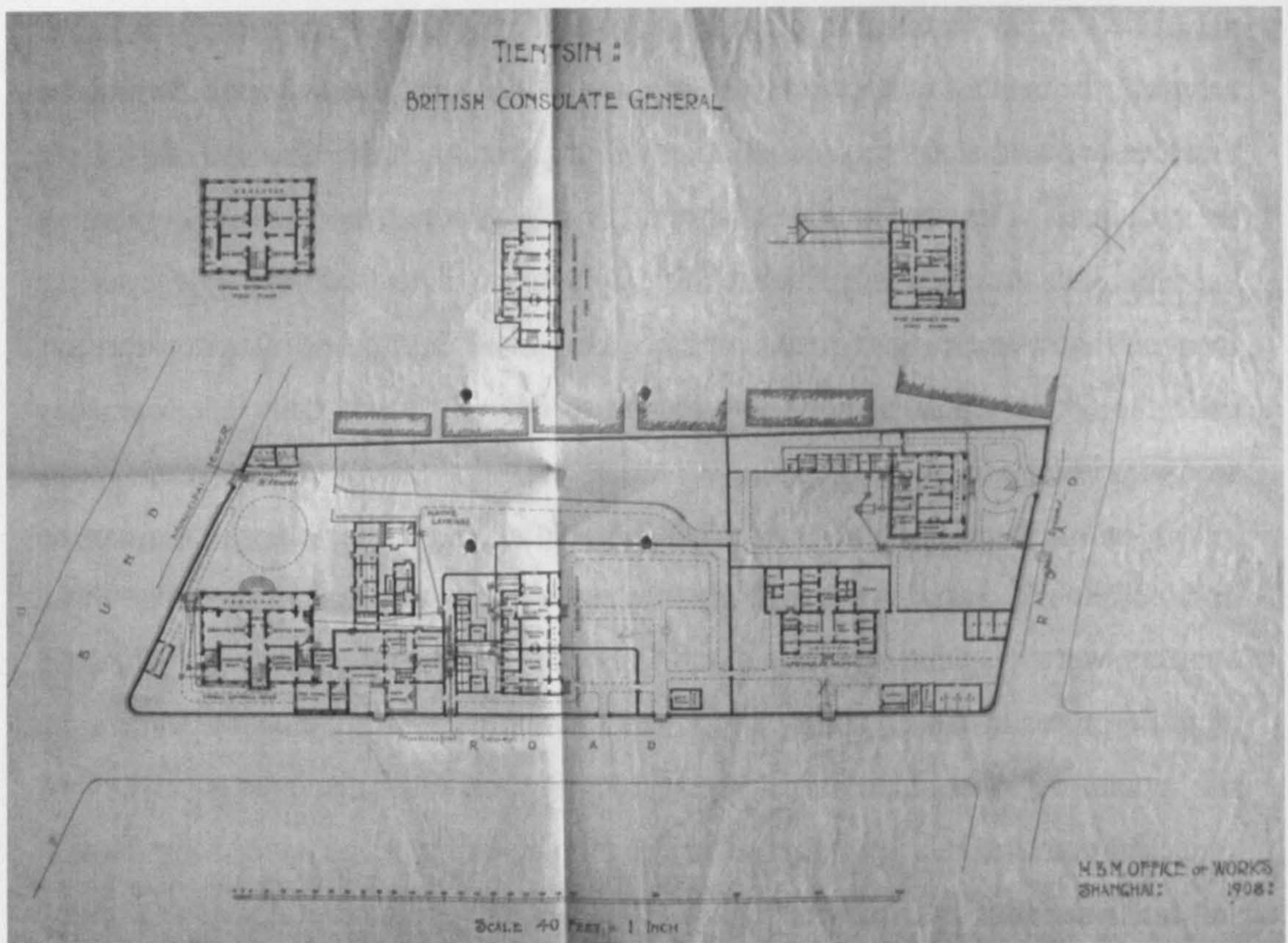
The future organisation of rooms in the new constable's building was never referred to in the rest of the files, and officers believed that it would be unnecessary to discuss the rooms' location or planning if the Chinese carried out their duties.<sup>69</sup> Despite the fact that the consuls rejected the idea of combining custody with the TienTsin British Municipal Council to maintain independence from civilian forces, it can reasonably be maintained that the extraterritorial rights gave the China Consuls more disturbance to their duty and daily life than they won in privileges.<sup>70</sup>

It is worth pointing out now that the spatial and visual segregation can be divided into different levels, and the lowest status is the Chinese servants whose quarters were concentrated in a back-to-back way to prevent any British staff, including the constable, having any visual encounter, as can be easily read in the site plans. At the same time, the gardens were also managed in ways of concentration, boundary wall, and orientation in order to provide every British staff member with 'rooms with a view'. The best view that carefully excluded any visual distraction including the sight of the staff's houses belonged to the head of the post, the consul.

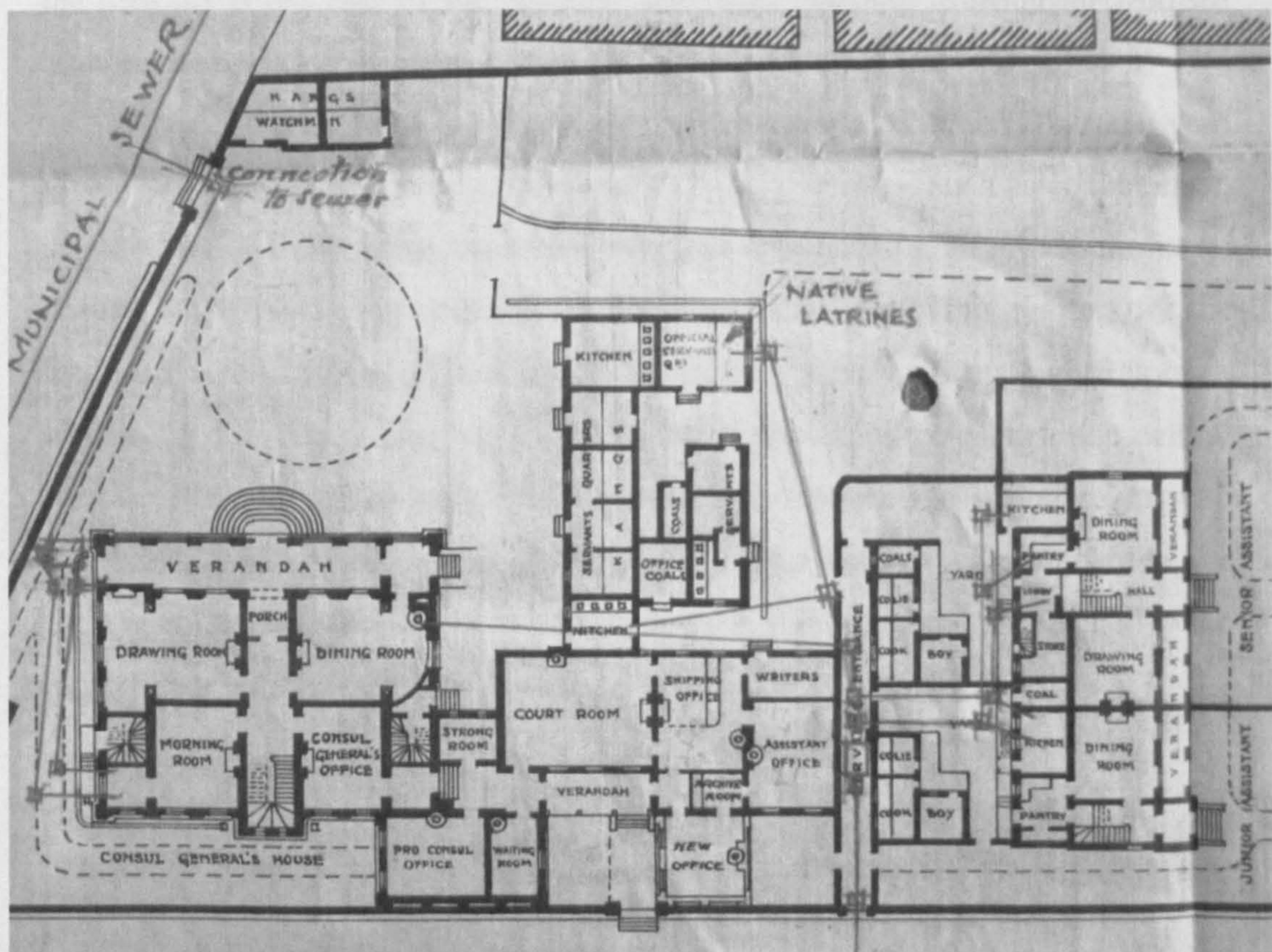
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<sup>69</sup> WORK 10/398, 15 Apr 1930 A.F. Aveling to W.G.E. Jones

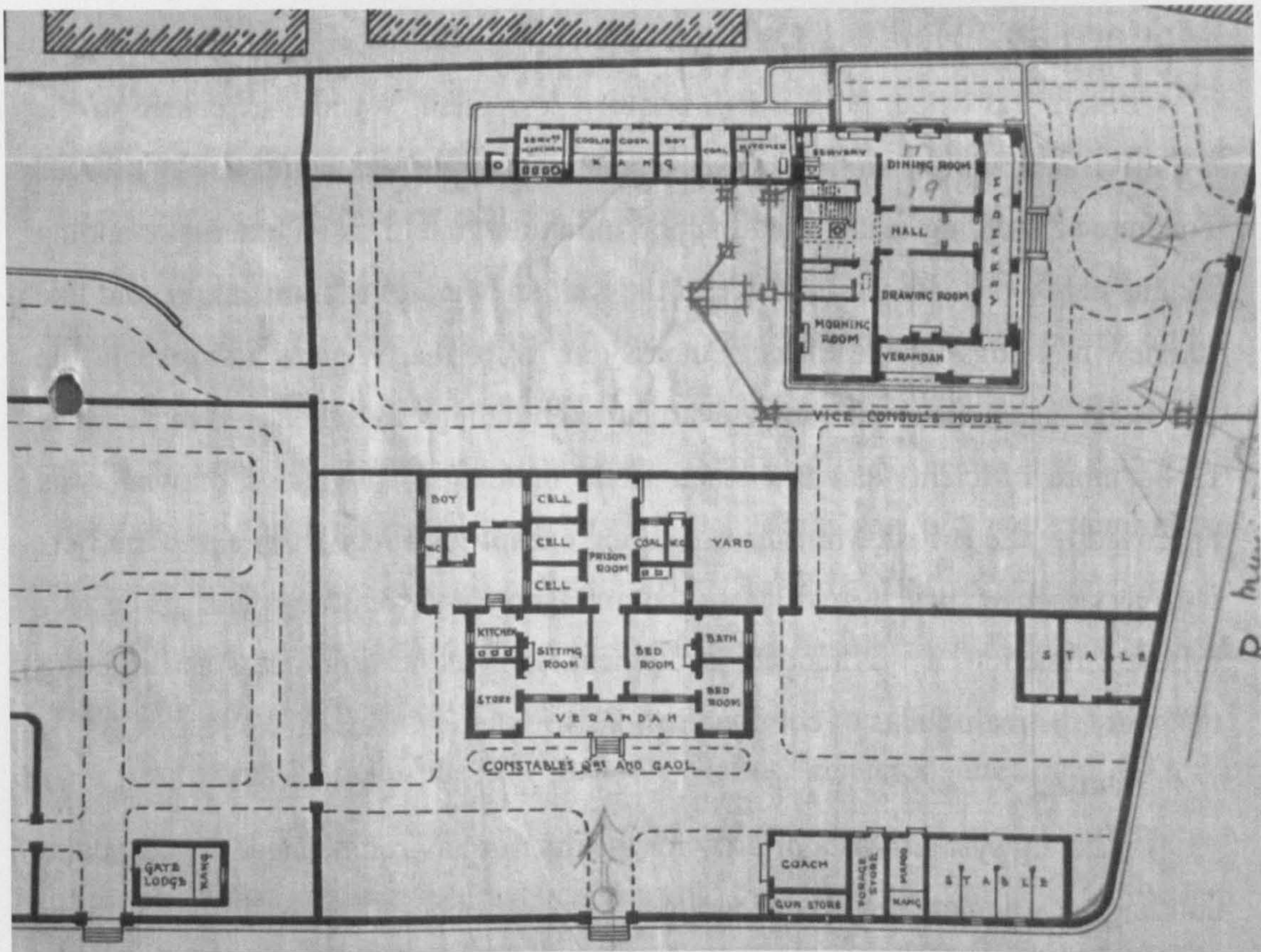
<sup>70</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M.Lampson, 10 March 1930 Lancelot Giles to Peiping Minister; Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 46-69.



[ill.7: 11] TienTsin Consulate, plan of old site.  
Source: WORK 10/397, date: 1908

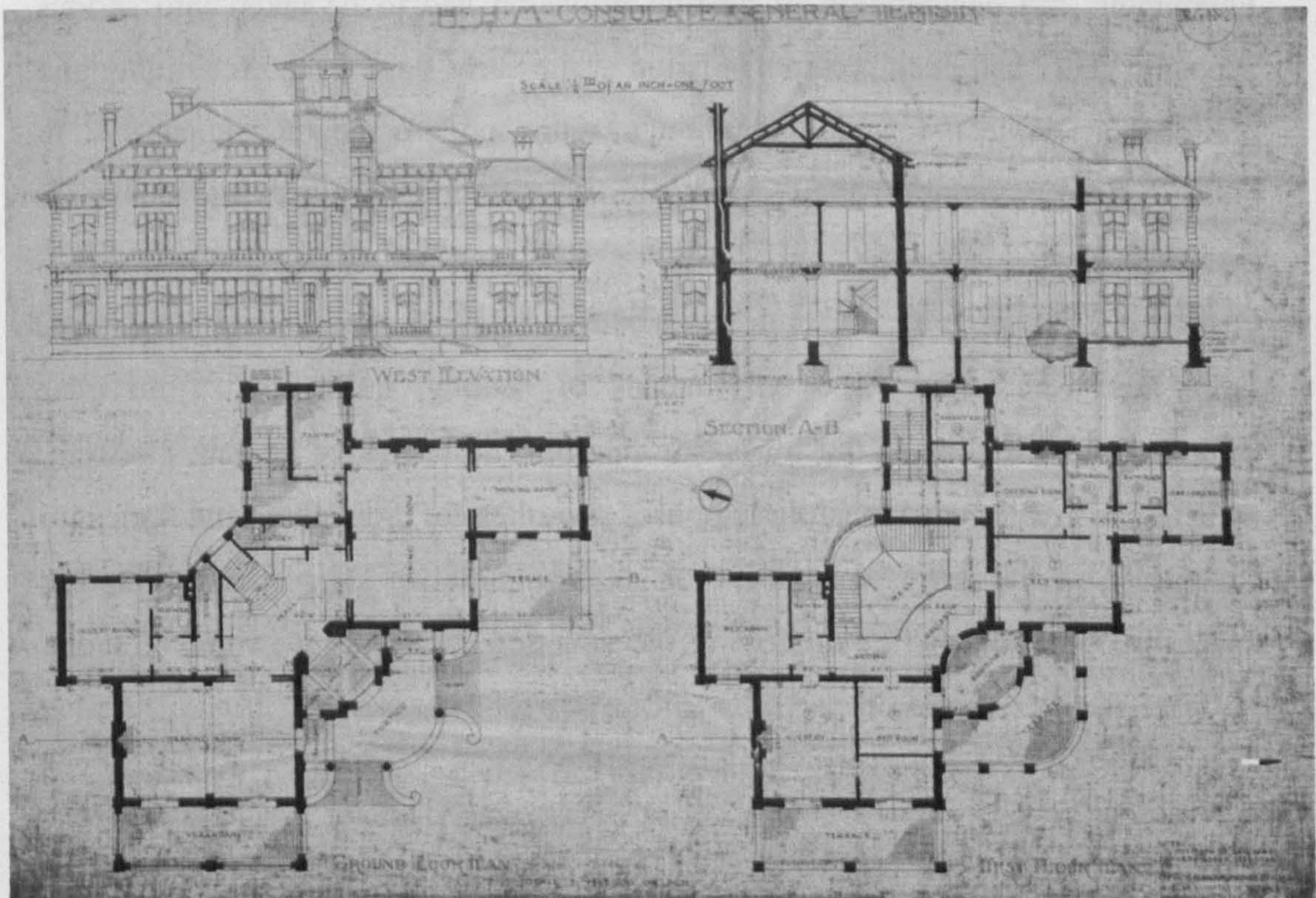


[ill.7: 12] TienTsin Consulate, plans of General-Consul's house, Office and court, Assistant's semi-detached quarters and servant's quarter. Part of [ill.7: 11].  
Source: WORK 10/397, date: 1908



[ill.7: 13] TienTsin Consulate, plans of Constable's house and gaol, and Vice-Consul's house. Part of [ill.7: 11].

Source: WORK 10/397, date: 1908



[ill.7: 14] TienTsin Consulate, floor plans of former KMA General Manager's house.

Source: WORK 10/398, date: 1948

## Modern and Healthy Design

Before the whole project was entirely postponed, Wynnes explained to the Minister at PeiPing<sup>71</sup> in 1930 that the rebuilding scheme should use reinforced concrete as building material and adopt 'imitation granite' as an external cladding like its neighbour – the head office of the KaiLan Mining Administration, and like the new buildings for the British Embassy in Tokyo that Wynnes was responsible for designing. Reinforced concrete structured buildings were believed by Wynnes to be more efficient than brick and stone buildings.<sup>72</sup> Wynnes's drawing was approved by the British Minister to PeiPing except for a request to equip the flats with a passenger lift.<sup>73</sup> Apart from the arrangement of buildings and spaces for different function, it was modern equipment, such as heating, baths and lighting that were the main focus of communications within the Office of Works.

### Heating

A heating system was a priority for the interior environments of the consulate buildings, particularly as the geographic position of TienTsin is in the northern part of the Chinese Continent. Unlike the southern treaty ports, such as CanTon or FooChow, Jamieson claimed that the average winter temperature was 35° Fahrenheit.<sup>74</sup> Consideration of heating provision had to be taken into serious account. There had been recommendation at the early stage of the rebuilding and reallocation project to equip buildings with modern heating apparatus in Handley-Derry's report, using the conventional methods, fireplaces and stoves for instance were insufficient.<sup>75</sup>

At the early stage heating equipment was of limited choice in China. Fireplaces were usually the only means of heating, quite apart from their emotional connections to the European culture. The Kangs or heating platform, which were greatly used in Chinese houses regardless of their status and scale, are never seen in the correspondence even as an alternative suggestion.<sup>76</sup> Another widely adopted method of improving the situation was closing in the verandah

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<sup>71</sup> 北平, PeKing was named PeiPing after the capital was moved to NanKing.

<sup>72</sup> WORK 10/398, 5 December 1930 O.W., ShangHai to PeKing Legation.

<sup>73</sup> WORK 10/398, 31 January 1931 J. Bradley to J.G. West.

<sup>74</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>75</sup> WORK 10/397, 5 December 1922 F.O. to O.W., 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry.

<sup>76</sup> Few Kangs are referred to in British's texts, one example being found in Macartney, Catherine, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1931), p. 81.



with glass. The practice is seen in photographs of the old residences of the consul-general (ground and first floor), and of the semi-detached assistant quarters (first floor). Handley-Derry's report also suggests that stoves were sometimes used to improve the performance of the glazed-in verandahs.

In the correspondence, Giles's requirements for a new office and residence provide further evidence of turning the verandah into a conservatory. Giles suggested glazing all south and west verandahs of the new accommodation, including two flats for the vice-consul and clerical officer on the first floor, and one flat for the consul on the second floor.<sup>77</sup> Jamieson did not mention the necessity of a glazed verandah, however he believed that to 'provide proper verandah space [was] afforded (a necessary in any case)',<sup>78</sup> which might connect to the precaution of heating in winter.

The consuls believed that central heating rendered the interior to a comfortable condition. Handley-Derry advised that central heating for the house of the consul-general was necessary if it would be adapted into offices,<sup>79</sup> although the architects concluded that the expense was not worth it.<sup>80</sup> In 1930, Giles suggested that the new consulate buildings 'should be centrally heated from [the] basement' together with fireplaces in some main rooms of the dwellings.<sup>81</sup> Nonetheless, the central heating was even more inefficient if the building was wrongly designed. Nathan's house was centrally heated and provided with a fireplace in almost every room, but with such a large hall and grand staircase together with a roof space that occupied almost 30% of the total cubic volume, the design of the house 'not only [increased] the difficulties of heating, but [made] it a matter of extreme difficulty to maintain an indoor temperature of 65° [Fahrenheit] throughout, except with an excessive fuel consumption'.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>78</sup> WORK 10/397, 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry; WORK 10/398 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M. Lampson, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to PeiPing Minister.

<sup>79</sup> WORK 10/397, 5 December 1922 F.O. to O.W., 16 November 1922 H.F. Handley-Derry.

<sup>80</sup> WORK 10/397, 5 December 1922 F.O. to O.W., 8 December 1922 Minute, 19 March 1923 T. Reavell to J.G. West.

<sup>81</sup> In the Consul's flat, there are fireplaces in the drawing room, study and in two large bedrooms. Fireplaces are found in the study and main bedrooms of the Clerk's flat, and in the drawing room and main bedroom in the Vice Consul's flat. See WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>82</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

Being a General Manager of the KaiLan Mining Administration, one of the British coal industry's investments in China, the fuel supply for Major W.S. Nathan's own grand house was little a concern to him during the wintertime. But the reason given by Nathan's successor, P.C. Young, when he decided to move out and was eager to sell the property was that the house exceeded the regular desires of ordinary individuals.<sup>83</sup> The property was unoccupied for two years before it was sold to the consulate.<sup>84</sup> When the first consul moved in he found out it was 'so cold in winter, no matter how much caloric energy may be expended'.<sup>85</sup> The argument of insufficient heating was confirmed by professional opinions from the Office of Works.<sup>86</sup> For the Foreign Office and the consuls the remarkable scale of Nathan's house perfectly met a consul-general's social position and his rank, but the luxurious expense of up-keeping for the house was a consequence that the diplomats were unwilling to take.<sup>87</sup>

Apart from the energy inefficiency of the diplomats' grand image of consular buildings, a contradiction can be read in both Jamieson and Giles's designs in that they all suggested the attic space was essential for thermo isolation to cool down the new flats in summer, while the heat lost during the winter was forgotten when they drew out their plans.<sup>88</sup> In a southern post like CanTon the attic space between roof and ceiling was also regarded as heat preservation during wintertime. The CanTon Consul Robertson wrote in 1866 to PeKing that 'I would also suggest the sitting room being ceiled, but I do not urge that as actually necessary, the winter season being so short'.<sup>89</sup> Heat loss or thermal isolation is the matter of cubic size of the attic space. Judging from the plans of Nathan's house the attic space occupies an enormous cubic space, greater than that shown in any other drawings of the Consulate architecture collected by this research.

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<sup>83</sup> WORK 10/397, 1 May 1924 TienTsin Consulate to O.W., ShangHai, 8 May 1924 TienTsin Consulate to Crown Advocate, ShangHai, 16 July 1924 KMA to TienTsin Consulate, 17 July 1924 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation; WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>84</sup> WORK 10/398, 17 June 1926 TienTsin Consulate to O.W., ShangHai.

<sup>85</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>86</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 June 1950 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>87</sup> WORK 10/397, 17 July 1924 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation; WORK 10/398, 31 January 1924 W.J. Roberts to Chief Architect, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister, 11 June 1937 D.T. Dunlop to A. Eden.

<sup>88</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>89</sup> WORK 10/440, 8 November 1866 CanTon Consulate to PeKing Legation.

### **Bath and lavatory**

Being built before and around the turn of the twentieth century, the houses in the Bund consulate site were criticised by Bradley as 'most inconveniently planned from the point of view of modern sanitary arrangements' in 1923. Night soil had to be carried away manually because the excavation of septic-tanks including effluent from a public sewers scheme could hardly be found in the city, let alone the provision of flush water-closets in the buildings. Improvements in bathrooms and installation of water closets are referred to in the documents whenever new scheme was proposed.<sup>90</sup>

Every view given by the Consul-General, the Inspector-General of Consulate Establishment from the Foreign Office, and the Architects from the Office of Works, suggests that Major Nathan's house was regarded as a house of enormous scale built in the first decade of the twentieth century. However it can be discovered simultaneously that Nathan's grandiose attitude toward his mansion caused considerable inconvenience for the coming users. The consumption of light and water in the house was also believed to be luxurious because of his social position and life style. However, Nathan's luxurious life style also meant that the his house was equipped with latest sanitary technology. Evidence of the water closets, discharge stacks and ventilating pipes can be read in the drawings of the KMA house. Although it is also recorded in the correspondence that Jamieson and Giles considered the baths in Nathan's house were inefficiently arranged, and they required them to be replaced with modern apparatus.<sup>91</sup> Terrace's statement of 1950 merely points out that some bathrooms were poorly placed in the floor plan, and it seems that the sanitary apparatus had either been replaced despite no evidence in despatches, or was still in satisfactory condition.<sup>92</sup>

The rebuilding scheme was finally abandoned and communications about the design of new consulate buildings never led to any physical result. Nevertheless, despite the fact that modern progress in building equipment had improved the internal conditions of buildings, it can be found that the consuls' ideal arrangement

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<sup>90</sup> WORK 10/397, 8 February 1923 Reports from J. Bradley, 19 March 1923 T.Reavell to J.G. West, 12 August 1930 J.C. Wynnes to J. Bradley.

<sup>91</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to PeiPing Minister, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to PeiPing Minister.

<sup>92</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 June 1950 ShangHai Office to London Office.

of sanitary equipment was bounded by a traditional or secure layout. J.W. Jamieson preferred to separate entire bathrooms from bedrooms in order to reduce the chance of unpleasant odour during the hot summer days, even though there were modern water closets.<sup>93</sup> But Giles planned every bedroom for the Consul (provided with four bedrooms), the Vice Consuls (two bedrooms), and the Clerical Officers (two bedrooms) to be accompanied by a bathroom.<sup>94</sup> It is unclear whether Giles trusted the performance of the modern apparatus or not, but since he criticised the bathrooms in Nathan's house it is safe to suggest that he was confident.

Nonetheless, the rebuilding project of TienTsin Consulate was never realised, and those suggestions were never tested in a real situation regardless of both being reasonable. The first sewage scheme in the British diplomatic facilities was completed in 1915 in the British Legation in PeKing.<sup>95</sup> It is unclear how much improvement in the sanitary modernity at the old consulate buildings took place because of inadequate of sanitary installations that had been pointed out for actual works to solve such issue can hardly be found in the correspondence. The TienTsin Consulate-General was at least ten years late in terms of sanitary technologies, although the post was noted as the second largest port after ShangHai whenever the consuls claimed for physical improvements.

## **Resurvey of Tropical Knowledge**

### **Verandah life**

It was reported in Chapter 2 that Fujimori argued from a stylistic point of view that the verandah was the origin of modern architecture in the Far East. It has also been shown that regardless of their ideological interpretations, the verandahs are maintained within the Far Eastern scholarship to have been an architectural mechanism of climatic and environmental adjustment. The theory has it that the colonisers, who came from northern geographic regions, developed the verandahs to help them adapt to the southern or tropical weather. Fujimori's immigration map of verandahs in Africa, the Indian sub-continent, Southeast Asia, and finally

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<sup>93</sup> WORK 10/398, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M. Lampson.

<sup>94</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeiPing Legation.

<sup>95</sup> WORK 40/100~104, 'Peking'; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 373.

the Far East matches developments in European colonialism, especially the English case provides evidence for the theory.<sup>96</sup>

In the Far East, wide adoption of the verandah as a motif in consulate architecture seemingly supports the theory. Macartney claimed that the verandah 'improved the look of the house vastly.'<sup>97</sup> J.G. West – one of the board members in the London Office – was also of the opinion that 'such features would obviously add to the attractions of the property'.<sup>98</sup> The study on the consulate buildings has shown that the British officials had a stereotype for a European architecture in Asia. In terms of office buildings, it is shown that there was less obvious intention of using verandah in the British Supreme Court than that in the CanTon and TienTsin consulates, although the Chief Judge to the Far East E. Hornby and other consular officers referred to it as a necessary part. In the TienTsin case, not only did it cover over 425 square feet (which is almost as large as the drawing room (530 sq. ft.) or dining room (500 sq. ft.) in the old consul's house, but also it dominated an important part of the new consulate design.<sup>99</sup> The glazed-in verandah suggests another practical justification. In the Mukden consulate, the closed-in verandah was 'a special feature, which [the consul stated was] common in Harbin and which allow[ed] of flowers and plants being grown in winter time when the inhabitants [were] closely confined to their houses'.<sup>100</sup>

The Minister's Quarter in the PeKing Legation was converted from a Chinese palace of princely level; as a result the verandah was scarcely mentioned in correspondence when repair and alterations were required in the palace. However another example of the want of verandah in the diplomatic architecture can be found in the Chargé d'Affaires's Chancery Office, which despite it not being functional also carries the image of verandah style.

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<sup>96</sup> Fujimori, Terunobu, 'Verandah Style: The Origin of Chinese Modern Architecture', *The Fourth Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture 1840-1949* (Chongqing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993).

<sup>97</sup> Macartney, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 36.

<sup>98</sup> WORK 10/525 'Construction of offices for the Consulate-General', 10 July 1925 J.G. West to G.J.T. Reavell.

<sup>99</sup> WORK 10/397, 4 March 1924 R.J. Allison to Director of Works, 1 July 1924 W.J. Roberts to W.P. Ker; WORK 10/398, 7 December 1926 T. Reavell to J.G. West, 1 October 1927 J.W. Jamieson to M. Lampson, 10 March 1930 L. Giles to Peiping Minister.

<sup>100</sup> WORK 10/524 'Construction of offices for the Consulate-General', 6 May 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office. The Mukden Consulate is discussed in more details in the next chapter.

As to the residential buildings, apart from the British Minister's Quarter in PeKing and Nathan's old KMA house in TienTsin, verandahs can be found in every consular house, including the four houses in this Chapter. The residences in the ShangHai consulate were built with verandahs despite being excluded from the case study. Before the fire destroyed the CanTon consulate buildings, houses were wrapped with verandahs. The rebuilding scheme of the CanTon consulate only reduced the verandah of the consul-general's office by enlarging the office space, presumably because of the introduction of ceiling fans. When W. Crossman just had arrived in China, his plans for the NingPo Consulate did not provide verandahs on most sides of the buildings, and the result was that the NingPo Consul complained.<sup>101</sup>

The difference between usages of verandahs can be divided by geography, in that the northern posts closed their verandahs in with glazing and the southern ones left theirs open. However, the consulate buildings both in the northern and in the southern region were all shaded by Venetian or bamboo roll-up blinds because of claims such as the weather being cold in winter and hot in summer: the common claims of officials regardless of the geography. The next Chapter will provide more evidence.

It is also worth noting that a common space on the fronts of Chinese architecture called 'under-the-eaves' had similar function to verandahs. However after the British consul moved into his first official consular accommodation, the 'under-the-eaves' were on the priority list to be closed in, as can be seen in the PeKing case. In Robertson's YaMen, another situation revealed in the correspondence of early 1867 is that Crossman requested Treasury funds for 'enclosing the verandah passage to the detached building [guesthouse]'.<sup>102</sup> The verandah passage alluded to by Crossman was probably the covered sidewalk (one side of the sidewalk usually bricked up to the roof and the other open to the courtyard) that linked two parallel halls of the courtyard house. Its exact place is nevertheless difficult to determine.

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<sup>101</sup> WORK 10/433 *'Ningpu and Shanghai'*, 28 May 1868 NingPo Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>102</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 21 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury

The above instances collected from the archives provide solid evidence that the verandahs were intended as means of climatic and environmental adjustment. Nevertheless, there are also examples that show the insufficiency of the verandahs for the Far Eastern weather, particular at the early stage of the China Consular Services. The Consul to TamSui at Formosa complained in 1889 that rainwater stayed on the verandah floor of the consul's residence due to the paving becoming concave. The water either evaporated or soaked into the solid floor, and caused malarial fever to the residents along with other failures in architectural design that caused damp in the house.<sup>103</sup> The CanTon case also shows the design shortcoming of the verandahs and the roofs above them that caused water leakage and humidity. Handley-Derry's observation also overthrows the hypothesis of turning the verandahs into sunrooms or conservatories:

*Large stoves in the verandah and hall, with good fires in the dining, drawing and morning rooms do nothing more than raise the temperature to a point where one shivers at a distance of a few yards from the fire. The bedrooms are left cold as it costs too much to heat them. (H.F. Handley-Derry 16 November 1922)*

Further evidence includes the claim in 1867 by the Chief Judge of the British Supreme Court at ShangHai, E. Hornby, that the verandah was useless to cool down the interior, and in the same post the verandah was criticised for causing heat loss in the vice consul's house during winter time.<sup>104</sup>

The difference between the Chancery and the Chancery Assistants' Quarters at PeKing indicates the image of verandahs having a significance beyond their practical functions to the British officials, even though adjustment to the tropical weather was the overt reason for requests for the addition of verandahs. The Consul to TamSui still regarded verandahs as essential in the local climate despite his earlier experience of their causing ill-ventilation and dampness.<sup>105</sup> The same considerations can be found in Jamieson and Giles's despatches. Consequently, even the seemingly functionalism of the verandahs conceals the spirit of an ideological meaning.

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<sup>103</sup> WORK 10/99 'Erection of buildings and wartime arrangements for caretaking', 11 November 1889 TamSui Consulate to Foreign Office.

<sup>104</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O., b, 8 February 1867 ShangHai Consulate to F.O.

<sup>105</sup> WORK 10/99, 5 May 1891 ShangHai Office to London Office

*The Consul-General's house, the garden laid out in four distinct levels, the handsome terrace overlooking a wide view of fields, river and hills, was divided from the rest of the Consulate by a large gateway and guard-room, where men in rich red uniforms were on duty. Outside these lordly grounds were bungalows for our doctor, the Indian clerks, the dispenser and the Chinese interpreter. A mud tennis court, a squash court, offices, garages, a dispensary, an ice pit and a complicated "village" for all the rest of the Consulate employees completed the grounds. (Shipton 1950: 45-46)*

Diana Shipton – the wife of the Consul-General to Kashgar – draws a romantic view of the Kashgar consulate. Spending daily life on a verandah satisfied partially the Europeans' needs for shade under the tropical sun, but the fact that its existence expanded to higher latitudes and cooler climates is perhaps explained by the need for standing higher up and looking down on the local people labouring, the picturesque scenes expanding and orders being executed.

### **Compound life**

*In principle I cannot doubt that you will agree with me in the conclusion that in such a climate as China affords, the transit policy for a government is to provide at once and permanently for those conditions of existence, so far as house accommodation is concerned, which are most conducive to health and efficiency in their servants. (R. Alcock, 5 August 1867)*

Locations of establishments, particularly of public buildings in a city, construct an urban political structure, as shown in Bremner's study on the institution of the India Office in London,<sup>106</sup> and as in studies of PeKing and CanTon diplomatic and consular establishments. At the same time, the public institutions' political status was secured through political means, which consisted of excluding other classes or even races, as the PeKing Legation has illustrated, and sustaining the position and image, as demonstrated in Robertson's YaMen and the ShaMeen Consulate. The Chinese political or moral structure was represented through similar principles as shown in the first section of the PeKing chapter.

Despite the political considerations that greatly interest historians of all fields, the consular establishments were in their very nature set up to serve and to monitor British subjects, such as merchants, missionaries, sailors, *et cetera*. More

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<sup>106</sup> Bremner, G. Alex, 'Nation and Empire in the Government Architecture of Mid-Victorian London: The Foreign and India Office Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 48/3 (2005), 703–742.



importantly, they existed also to protect trade between two countries.<sup>107</sup> With few exceptions, the consulates were required to be stationed at least near the local British community and where British business took place. 'It is desirable that the Consulate General should be in the British Concession or in the Concession extension', Bradley wrote in a letter to London's home office in 1920 concerning the selection of the TienTsin consulate site.<sup>108</sup> Thomas F. Wade disagreed with the decision of placing the CanTon Consul in the city; he wrote 'the consul should not reside exclusively or permanently in the City, where he is to a great degree inaccessible'.<sup>109</sup>

As a phenomenon, the consular officers discussed in this thesis were mostly placed in the foreign communities if not in British settlements. Simultaneously, they were expected to live and work at a same premises.<sup>110</sup> So far as the materials collected by this research are concerned, the Takao consulate in Formosa is the only case where the consul dwelled and worked in different places, although the house and office were built respectively on a hilltop and at the foot of that hill (altitude 356 m).

The reason given by Michie in the PeKing case was that the consul's and his family's compound had to be protected from the unsanitary conditions outside.<sup>111</sup> This may have been a reasonable decision in comparison with the compounds being established within the surrounding Chinese communities, given the differences in hygiene practices between the two cultures. However, as explained above, most of the consulates were set up inside foreign settlements, and in the neighbourhood where churches, trade houses and banks stood shoulder to shoulder. It then raises a question that few present-day historians find the obligation to answer: why did the consuls dwell and work in the same compound?

Hornby's determination to move out of the ShangHai consulate and the architect's response to it suggest some answers. In his despatch to the Foreign Office in January 1867, he first questioned Crossman and his superior over why

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<sup>107</sup> WORK 10/430, 22 December 1865 Treasury Minute.

<sup>108</sup> WORK 10/397, 12 November 1920 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>109</sup> WORK 10/440, 15 July 1866 T.F. Wade to W. Crossman.

<sup>110</sup> WORK 10/397, 12 November 1920 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>111</sup> WORK 10/440, 16 March 1867 R. Alcock to W. Crossman. Michie, Alexander, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, 2 vols. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), vol. II, p. 145.

the officials' houses should not be scattered over the settlement.<sup>112</sup> Crossman in replying made the point that grouped buildings were cheaper and easier to repair and maintain than scattered ones dotted about in different part of the city, and there was also the danger of fire.<sup>113</sup> Hornby's next question was to challenge the British general illusion that compound life provided fresher air and better health precautions, especially when the lifestyle changed, the population increased and the site became too crowded for ideal fresh airflow.<sup>114</sup>

*In the midst of the noise bustle and filth of the settlement surrounded by a garden, and in the immediate neighbourhood of a place where day after day sailors more or less drunk, more or less noisy, habitually congregate to smoke their pipes [and to] commit nuisances against every available wall and indulge in the foulest language. (WORK 10/56/3, E. Hornby, 8 February 1867)*

Hornby sketched this scene outside the ShangHai consulate compound, and the picture can equally be found in CanTon or HanKow, as part of the reality of the busy treaty ports. The problems of urbanisation and industrialisation, which were still an unsolved issue in the then Euro-American countries, were transplanted to the foreign concessions in China. The causes of the industrialisation are particularly neglected by urban and architectural historians. Despite accounts in despatches that imply that the air nuisances were caused by the local climate, or even by the nearby Chinese population,<sup>115</sup> it has been shown in the TienTsin case that it had closer connection with the compound life stereotype that consuls were required to reside and work inside the financial district of the settlement.

As a result, it is frequently read in the correspondence that there was a need to enlarge the consulate compound. The requests in the PeKing, ShangHai,<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O.

<sup>113</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury, 15 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>114</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O.

<sup>115</sup> In earlier case studies, Chinese buildings were the targets of such accusation. In Rogaski's book, apart from Chinese buildings, such concerns included Chinese-owned boilers, water that flooded over from near-by Chinese-own properties, and offensive matters from literally everything owned or run by the Chinese, such as pigs or night soil. See Rogaski, Ruth, *Hygienic Modernity: meanings of health and disease in treaty-port China* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2004), p. 203.

<sup>116</sup> Officials affiliated with the ShangHai Consulate, including consuls and the chief judge, did not ask for site enlargement, but competition between them for a larger lawn of green in front their house was obvious, as will be shown later. Meanwhile some members, E. Hornby for instance,

TienTsin and cases in the next chapter were driven by both internal and external pressures. The external pressure came not just from the impression about tropical character that will be explained in next chapter, but also from the Westerners themselves. The internal pressure was built up by the increased population within the consulates. The internal pressure grew for the entire foreigner community, and had since the early twentieth century turned into a family-based life style, but the officials were still required to dwell inside the compounds, near the increasingly polluted urban area. It became particularly evident when the suburbanising trend appeared in the foreign concessions by the 1930's.<sup>117</sup> Evidence from 1939 and even as early as 1913 show that certain staff dwelled outside the compound of PeKing for some years.<sup>118</sup>

It then explains the TienTsin consul's intention of moving to the KMA site (located in the concession extension where suburban life with well tended gardens and single standing villa-styled houses produced less tension than life near the bund) and preventing junior staff from moving in. It additionally explains why oriental nuisances, such as sights, noises, and odours on the streets, was just part of the reason for a compound lifestyle in TienTsin. The industrial and commercial pollution, seen as echoing that of Manchester or London, were also what the consuls wished to avoid.

Apart from the practical reasons already noted, the compound had its ideological side like the verandah, but also, as Crossman noted its sense of free space:

*His [C.A. Winchester, ShangHai Consul] great object is to save the open space of ground at present existing in front of the Consulate, this I imagine, must be for the sake of appearance only, for the ground is of no public benefit to the British Community (WORK 10/56/3, 15 February 1867)*

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were eager to move out of the consulate.

<sup>117</sup> Hornby had already noted this in 1867 and used the suburbanisation in London, Calcutta and Madras to support his request, see WORK 10/56/3, 8 January 1867 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O., b.

<sup>118</sup> WORK 10/371, 8 February 1913 Treasury to O.W., 14 April 1939 PeKing to British Embassy in ShangHai.

Presumably due to his engineering background, Crossman was wrong about the insignificance of architectural appearance, as Winchester kept pointing out:

*It is however something more than a "symmetrical arrangement." It is the question of preserving to our official buildings in this port a character suitable to our national position and influence. (WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867)*

Again, the compound had both its internal and its external needs. Externally, a compound design reserved an efficient space for the consulate architecture to demonstrate its prestige to its audiences (i.e., Chinese and foreigners of all nations) outside the compound. Internally, together with the verandah, it reserved for the consuls a picturesque view that was not interfered with by undesirable structures, which included not only Chinese but also the houses of his own lower ranked staff, as the discussion on the KMA site have shown.

On the other hand, as has been shown in the CanTon case, being an ideal neighbour also meant having the same aesthetic appearance of architecture near the site. The imperial British attitude toward other systems of architecture was thus put forward concerning the KMA site, as opposite the south aspect stood a group of traditional Chinese houses which were claimed to be 'though not offensive in appearance, are rather inferior looking back premises and do not constitute a very suitable outlook'. The same attitude applied in the PeKing case, in that the hierarchy was shown not only with respect to social status but also race. The problem was quickly solved by the Municipal Council who had planned to construct a new road passing though the south side of the KMA site.<sup>119</sup>

Therefore the promotion of the compound life had as an outcome that political wrestling between dominant parties competing with interests of the region formed part of the history. Since the consulates are most of the time the base for secret services, in this case, the Japanese refused to sell a parcel of land that the consul had indented for the new consulate compound.<sup>120</sup> The negotiations between Japanese, Russian and Chinese stockholders of the Chinese East Railway Company and those of the municipal council can be read in the next chapter. At the same time the politically-motivated competition in real estate resulted in violence as claimed by the British officials after the fire incident of the ShaMeen

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<sup>119</sup> WORK 10/397, 20 November 1924 T. Reavell to J.G. West.

<sup>120</sup> WORK 10/397, 12 November 1920 ShangHai Office to London Office.

Consulate-General. In Formosa, the Japanese colonial government's intention to exclude British influence from its colonial capital Taihoku is presented by Huang.<sup>121</sup> The other outcome of the compound life was economy in relation to land prices. High prices prevented the TienTsin consulate from obtaining properties.<sup>122</sup> Hornby frequently complained of the high rates in the International Settlement of ShangHai,<sup>123</sup> as did other British officials in different posts.

## Summary

Both Verandah floor plan and Compound layout had social and political meanings, quite apart from the need to adapt to the rain and heat of the local environment. The social meaning was evidently more important than the hygienic needs. The contemporary Chinese, such as Zeng, Pu understood the verandah as a place where people could lean on balustrades and look far into the distance, but not as a climatic mechanism. At the same time, the masculine and dominating image shown by a free-standing *oceanic* building was also understood by ordinary Chinese like Han, BangQing. The environmental adaptation of the verandahs and compounds was only understood by the Chinese after academic texts had explained them.

In the last chapter of the case study, the research will try to find out whether geographical factors changed the design of British consulate architecture. The cases involved are the British consulates to TengYueh, Mukden and Harbin.

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<sup>121</sup> Huang, Chun-Ming, 'An Architectural Investigation into the British Consulate in Tamsui during Japanese Governance', *International Conference on the Conservation of the Hobe Fort: revealing the 400 years of history* (Tamsui: Tamkang University, 2005).

<sup>122</sup> WORK 10/398, 10 March 1930 TienTsin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>123</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 6 November 1866 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O.; WORK 10/430 8 January 1867 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O.

## Chapter 8, YunNan and Manchuria Consulates

*The present [consul's] house was finished in 1913,... it was a solid, well-built house; very superior to the modest, native-style mud house which Lady Macartney describes as her first home in Kashgar. (Shipton 1950: 41)*

*The [consul's] house had originally been a native dwelling, built round a courtyard, and like all native houses had no windows, the rooms being lit by skylights. Eastern houses always look so forbidding and uninteresting, for all that can be seen from the outside is a high mud wall. (Macartney 1931: 34)*

*There seemed to be no desire to make their [Chinese] houses attractive, (with Chinese taste); their rooms were gaunt and uncomfortable, perhaps decorated with something ugly from the West... there was no spirit of vitality. (Shipton 1950: 42)*

*Later we put up a verandah, which improved the look of the house vastly. It was rather unfortunate that the native workmen forgot to fasten the parts together firmly, so that it fell down like a card house with the first sharp earthquake. It was put up again, but more securely this time. (Macartney 1931: 36)*

*Arriving at the British Consulate the sudden transition from the harsh desert to a well-appointed English home, seemed, literally, fantastic – as if by a turn of some magic ring, the whole place would disappear. (Shipton 1950: 40)*

## Introduction

As the Chinese economy was forced to open to the West and the tribute trade system became part of the worldwide capitalist economy in 1842, China's relationship with its dependencies became subject to international negotiation.<sup>1</sup> Several boundary conferences and commissions were set up to distinguish the Celestial Empire from the foreigners' colonies.<sup>2</sup> In order to document and assist commercial activities between the colonies and China, it was considered necessary for the foreign countries to set up consul services close to the borders of their colonies. The fact that consuls, in addition to their specific duties, were usually members of the boundary commissions, reveals the close connection. Examples can be seen in British Burma, French Indo-China and YunNan Province, or Russian Siberia, Japanese Korea, and Manchuria.

The consulates in SsuMao, TengYueh, YunNan Foo, Kashgar, Mukden, and Harbin are studied together in one chapter in order to understand the geographical factors in designing the consulate architecture. Among the consulates, the SsuMao, TengYuen and YunNan Foo were situated in the YunNan, south of China. The Mukden, and Harbin consulates were built in the extreme north, while the Kashgar consulate was located on China's west side. The geography, religion and customs in these places were different from one another. There is little similarity between them, except that the *Drawings of Collected Statutes of Great Ching* marked most of the cities and their governmental districts in the Atlas section,<sup>3</sup> and that Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> A description of the tribute system can be read in Fairbank, John K., 'Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 1/2 (1942), pp. 129-149. Its ideological importance for Chinese culture in maintaining the harmony between heaven and earth can be read in Hevia, James L., *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing guest ritual and the Macartney embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 9-15. and Hevia, James L., *English Lessons: the pedagogy of imperialism in nineteenth-century China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 15-16, 120.

<sup>2</sup> By tradition, the Chinese conception of boundary and territory diverged from the Euroamerican ideologies; and China's practice of external affairs was also different from the Euroamerican one. The differences in ideologies caused misunderstandings between China and Europe as early as Macartney's Embassy to China. It can be said that the acts to distinguish China from the rest of the world, that is to say to re-draw China's boundary through a series of legal exercises, i.e. treaty, commission and conference, were one of the long-lasting endeavours of reforming old China's ideologies and re-writing them according to Western concepts. For more detail, please refer to Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*, pp. 31-56.

<sup>3</sup> The *Drawings of the Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, 1899, Chapters 146, 148, 154, 155, 217, 224, 248, and 252. The City of Harbin had been developed as an important border city of mixed cultures when the *Drawings* published in 1899, but it does not exist in the Atlas. The reason can be found in the preface of the 1899 edition of the *Drawings* that the officials used the earlier copies from the JaiQing edition, or even the ChienLung edition in order to save time. Chapter 4

civil and military officials (generally of ethnic Han, Manchu or Mongolian) were stationed in these cities.

Previous cases have shown that the architects, at least the clerk of works, visited the consulate sites from time to time after William Crossman was sent to the Far East. He spent the first year of his Far Eastern service visiting about 20 posts in China and Japan. The frequency of visiting working sites increased after modern means of transportation were established in China, such as railways and steamer lines. However, the correspondence shows no evidence of the Far Eastern Division staff visiting the remote posts, such as TengYueh and YunNan Foo.

At the same time, the previous cases illustrate that the consuls' despatches, which described experiences of the varied conditions in local environments, influenced the layout of the consulates. Different situations are found in this chapter. The designs for these consulates were still prepared by the architects in ShangHai in a standardised model, under which the geographical differences in those coast posts and the opinions of the consuls on site were disregarded.

## **Geographical Diversity**

The British government set up the SsuMao Consulate on the border between China and Burma in 1897. The institutions at TengYueh (1899), YunNan Foo (1902), Kashgar (1904), Mukden (1906), AnTung (1908) and Harbin (1910) followed. They were the third wave of setting up British consulates in China, after the coast posts (1843-1864) and the Yangtze River posts (1861-1902). They are the final results of Britain's economic expansion and of their policy to open up China. Eventually, within a great variety of geographical and cultural contexts there were British consulates to supervise commercial activities and practise extraterritorial rights wherever British trades took place. The most favoured nation clause gave other Western countries, and later Japan the same rights, but over one third of the total consular, judicial and diplomatic establishments in China were entitled His/Her Britannic Majesty's. The only other institutions that can be numbered with the Britain consulates are the Chinese Maritime Customs, which were, as pointed out previously, more or less British organisations.

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provides more information about the *Collected Statutes of Great Ching*, and its supplemental materials.



Sensitivity over the boundary politics is particularly evident in the works of Chinese Maoist historians who interpreted the consul services as an agent of Western Imperialism. The agent, on the one hand was a tool for inspecting other Imperialists, as Fang says. Fang argues that the consul establishments in YunNan were intended by the British government to monitor French activities.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the consulates were means of challenging other Imperialists. Most of the time they were both, as Yuan argues. At the west end of China, the British Consulate to Kashgar in Chinese Turkistan (SinKiang, or literally the New Territory as known by the Ching Empire) represented a political, economic and cultural invasion and a means to contest Russia's ambitions to take over Central Asia.<sup>5</sup>

At the northern border of China, what is now known as Outer Manchuria, or Priamurye as the Russians called it, was occupied by Russians during the TaiPing Revolution (1851-1864) and the Arrow War of 1856, Tsiang argues.<sup>6</sup> Yang and his editors make the accusation that the Czar's Empire seized the northeast territory of China by unfair treaties concerning military matters, railway commissions, customs taxes, forestry, justice and administration, with Harbin as the headquarters for the invasion.<sup>7</sup> In response to the Russian expansion, the British Foreign Office believed that developing British interests in North Manchuria required a consulate at Harbin, Coates states. Furthermore, Fang links the political action of the Mukden Incident in 1931 with the promotion of the Harbin consulate to Consulate-General, while Coates merely reports the accuracy of the consuls' prediction of the Japanese taking over Manchuria.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Fang, Jianchang, 'Foreign Consulates in Yunnan over the Recent Past', *The Ideological Front*, 29/1 (2003), 109-114.

<sup>5</sup> Yuan, Shu, 'About the British Consulates in Xinjiang', *Journal of Xinjiang Normal University (Social Science)*, 22/3 (2001), 52-58.

<sup>6</sup> Tsiang, Ting-Fu, *An Outline of the Chinese Modern History* (Beijing: Oriental Publishing House, 1996), p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Yang, Bingde (ed.), *Cities and Architecture of Modern China (1840-1949)* (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1993), pp. 190-91; Fang, Jianchang, 'On Foreign Consulates in Heilongjiang Province in Modern Time', *China's Borderland History and Geography Studies*, 10/3 (2001), 61-73.

<sup>8</sup> Coates, Patrick D., *The China Consuls: British consular officers, 1843-1943* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 393, 486; Fang, 'On Foreign Consulates in Heilongjiang Province in Modern Time'.

The political and social considerations imposed on China by the British pursuit of prestige,<sup>9</sup> as seen in the above Chinese articles, are normally discounted in Western literature; instead, it is more than frequent to emphasise that the consul services were carried out in difficult conditions. Coates states that the first consul to YunNan, J.W. Jamieson, was surrounded by local Chinese shouting 'kill, kill!' in one of the cities on the route to open SsuMao in 1897. The next consul to SsuMao and TengYueh, George J.L. Litton, was also nearly killed by local people when he was working with the British-controlled Burma-China boundary commission on the Burma border in 1900.<sup>10</sup>

Geographically the YunNan Province [ill.8: 1], as well as being the source of six major Chinese river systems including the Yangtze River, is the source of the Mekong River which crosses five countries. The climate at the southern border is generally considered mild, but six months of rain and cloud from the southwest sometimes troubled the consuls. Health problems are reflected by the fact that medical allowances appear in the discussions between the Foreign Office and the stationed officers, and that a medical officer was requested from Burma.<sup>11</sup> The remote position and topographical character of posts such as TengYueh meant that officers, as well as certain required building materials, would take 23 days journey from the provincial capital of YunNan or 49 days from the Office of Works at ShangHai via British Burma. The erection period as well as the expense of new consulates was increased, because TengYueh is 5,480 feet (over 1,600 meters) above sea level, and YunNan Foo lies at 6,370 feet (nearly 2,000 meters), with deep gorges cut by the six major river systems.<sup>12</sup>

In Northern China, the Province of Heilungkiang (River Amur) in Manchuria, situated in the north-eastern Plain and on the middle stream of the Sungari River, is subarctic, humid with a freezing winter, but it covers a large area rich in resources,<sup>13</sup> though the textbook-like description by Yang ignores the fact that the area was known as the Great Northern Wasteland due to its wetlands and marshes.

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<sup>9</sup> The term 'British prestige' is frequently referred to in the correspondences in the archives and will be presented as later.

<sup>10</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 314-18.

<sup>11</sup> FO 288/1442 'From Tengyueh - Yunnanfu, Office of Works and Miscellaneous (Accounts)', 17 February 1902 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation; WORK 10/633 'Purchase of a site for the Consulate', 29 July 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>12</sup> WORK 10/633, 4 May 1904 ShangHai Office to London Secretary.

<sup>13</sup> Yang (ed.), *Cities and Architecture of Modern China (1840-1949)*, p. 190.

It was an important land route to China for Europeans, and Fang argues that despite it having less foreign subjects than the coast ports, more than fourteen countries instituted their consul services at Manchuria with the intention of competing for its agricultural resources with the Russians and Japanese.<sup>14</sup> The National Archive documents reveal that British consuls faced considerable difficulties with the six-month long winter together with political uncertainty due to its position, and conditions which slowed down building work extensively.

### CHINA CONSULAR SERVICE POSTS IN MAINLAND CHINA, FORMOSA, AND KOREA

The international and internal boundaries shown are those of 1910. The consular post at Kashgar was a Government of India post.



[ill.8: 1] Map of China Consular Service Posts, with terrain highlights on YunNan and Manchuria provinces, and cities' geographical information, including latitude and elevation.

Source: background map of China, Coates 1988; terrain, Google Map

<sup>14</sup> Fang, 'On Foreign Consulates in Heilongjiang Province in Modern Time'.

## Southern Border Consulates

Despite the political initiatives of the SsuMao service, the real situation was quite unlike what British envoys in PeKing and London expected. As the first officer to open the post at the end of 1897, J.W. Jamieson found SsuMao hardly a commercial port for China and Burma. Trade carried out by the locals was scarce with small capital by his standards, and silver was the only currency accepted in the area. He immediately suggested moving the consulate to the capital of YunNan province. In 1899, he was transferred to open TengYueh – another treaty port in YunNan. The service of the SsuMao consulate was covered by the Consulate-General at YunNan Foo after 1902.<sup>15</sup>

During his service in TengYueh, Jamieson first stayed in a house that, as Coates puts it, was a ‘granary whose walls were tumbling down, whose doors were lacking, and whose roof leaked like a sieve’. Coates adds that he later moved into a YaMen.<sup>16</sup> In the National Archives document, the occupied Chinese building was referred to as an Inn, which commonly means a barracks that was a military camp for soldiers instead of a YaMen for official residence and office. It was a typical Southern Chinese building [ill.8: 2-5], with latticework paper windows and a roof of heavy ceramic concave tiles to weigh down the building. Despite Jamieson bringing a skilled Chinese carpenter with him for repairs and alterations, when the proposal of building a new consulate arose three years later, it was disparagingly referred to as a ‘glorified mud hut’ by the consul.<sup>17</sup> Apart from this attitude towards conventional Chinese buildings, the unhealthy environment caused by surrounding Chinese neighbours was commonly used as a reason for a new consulate.<sup>18</sup>

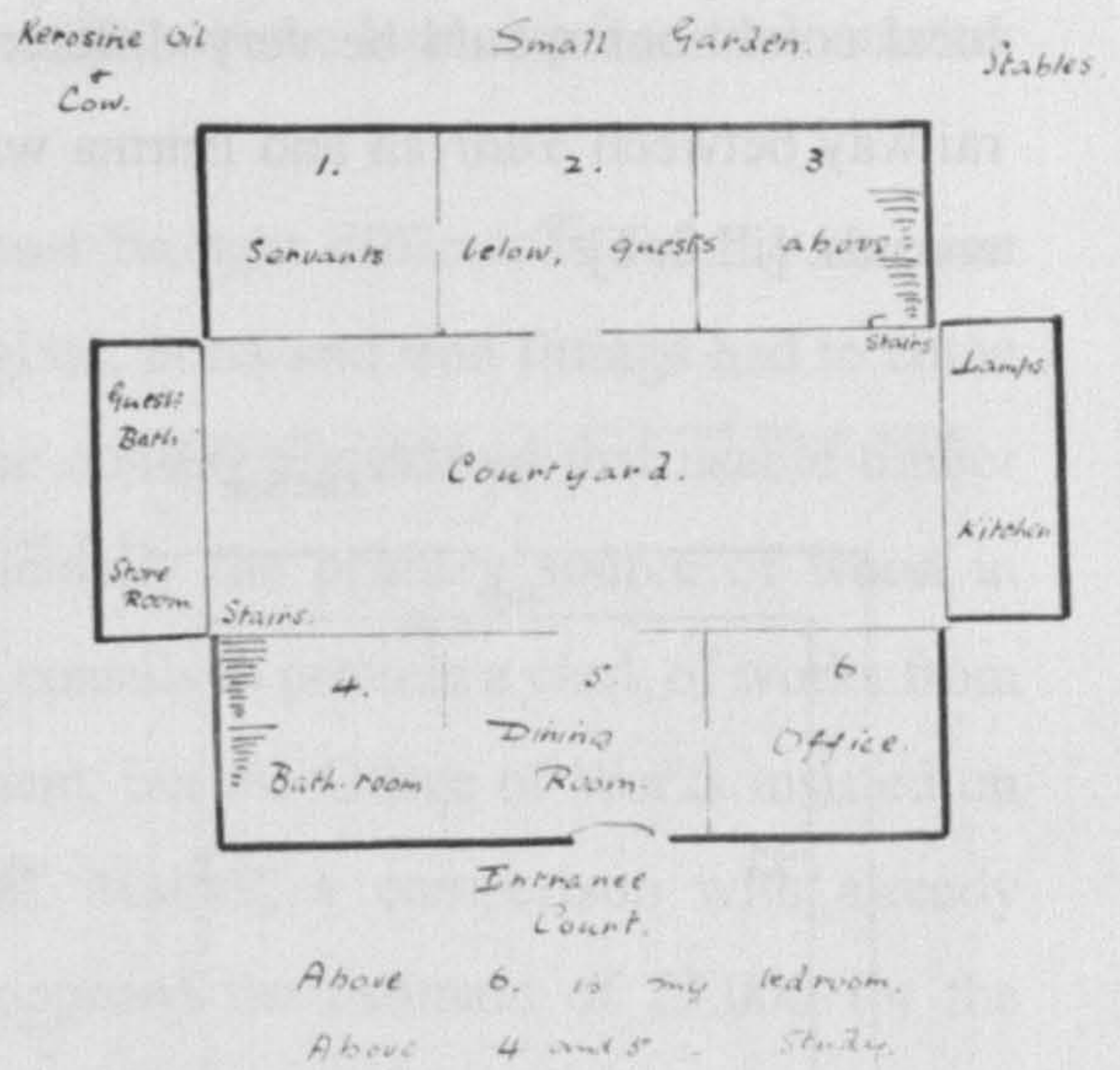
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<sup>15</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 316-18.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.

<sup>17</sup> WORK 10/633, 29 July 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>18</sup> WORK 10/633, 29 July 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation..



[ill.8: 2] Teng Yueh Consulate, 'The Inn'.  
Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910

[ill.8: 3] Teng Yueh Consulate, plan.  
Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910



[ill.8: 4] Teng Yueh Consulate, courtyard of the Inn.  
Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910

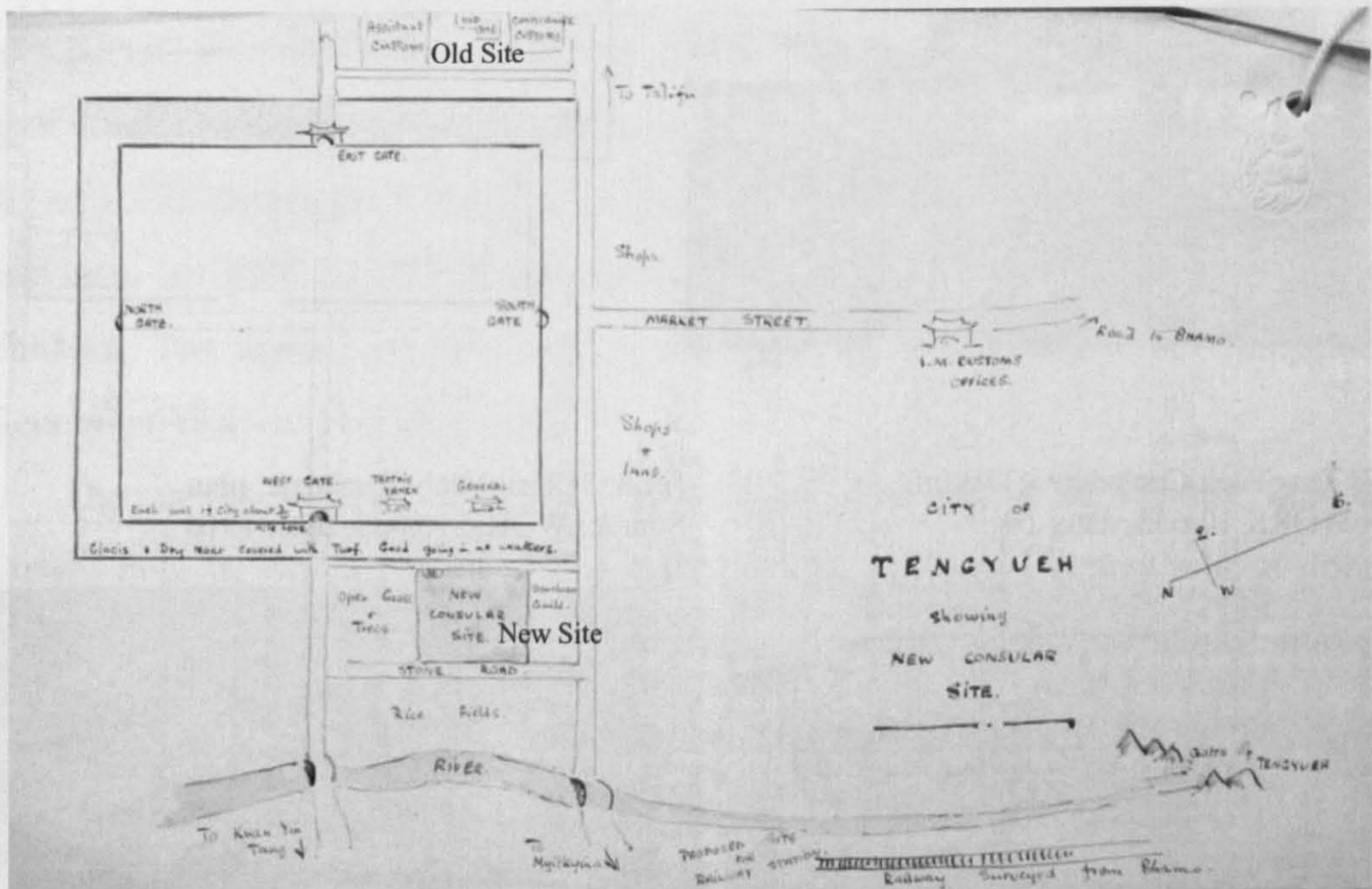


[ill.8: 5] Teng Yueh Consulate, upper floor.  
Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910

On 30 June 1903, Divisional Architect William Cowan at Shanghai reported to the Secretary of the Office of Works at London that a parcel of land outside the East Gate of the Teng Yueh walled city had been purchased at the cost of Tls. 1,000 (£133/6d./8s.) by the consul for the new consulate site. It took at least ten years for the concept to be settled, and buildings were finally constructed between 1921 and 1930.<sup>19</sup> During the long period of discussion, social circumstances on both sides of the border were changing. The site outside the East Gate was selected because the YunNan-Burma highway was under construction. In responding to the construction of the YunNan-Vietnam railway by the French, the British planned another railway line from Bhamo to Teng Yueh. Acting Consul H.E. Sly expressed his concern to the PeKing Minister John N. Jordan in 1908 that the

<sup>19</sup> WORK 10/634 'Disposal of the Consulate', 22 April 1960 Office of Works to Foreign Office.

local conditions would be very different from that of 1903, when the proposed railway between YunNan and Burma was completed. So did the earlier and later consuls. [ill.8: 6]<sup>20</sup>



[ill.8: 6] TengYueh, showing the new and old consular sites. The proposed railway is also marked.

Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910

More land, and a purpose-built consulate, were required to ‘represent to the Chinese officials and people the prestige of the Government,’<sup>21</sup> and negotiations to acquire surrounding lands from locals were proceeded with. Concerning the anti-foreign atmosphere caused by earlier French mining negotiations, Acting Consul A. Rose was still convinced that forcing landlords to transfer their land with the help of Chinese officials could be pursued as a last resort. The reaction from local Chinese landlords was realistic that ‘a foreign government [was] a mine of wealth which may legitimately be exploited to the best advantage’.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, the effort to purchase additional land adjoining the site failed. The intended site was then disposed of, and a few pieces of land outside the West Gate were selected under the consideration that the new Bhamo-Tengyueh railway

<sup>20</sup> WORK 10/633, 24 July 1908 TengYueh Consulate to Office of Works, ShangHai, 26 November 1908 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation, 10 February 1911 Office of Works to Treasury.

<sup>21</sup> WORK 10/633, 29 July 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>22</sup> WORK 10/633, 24 August 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation, 2 December 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

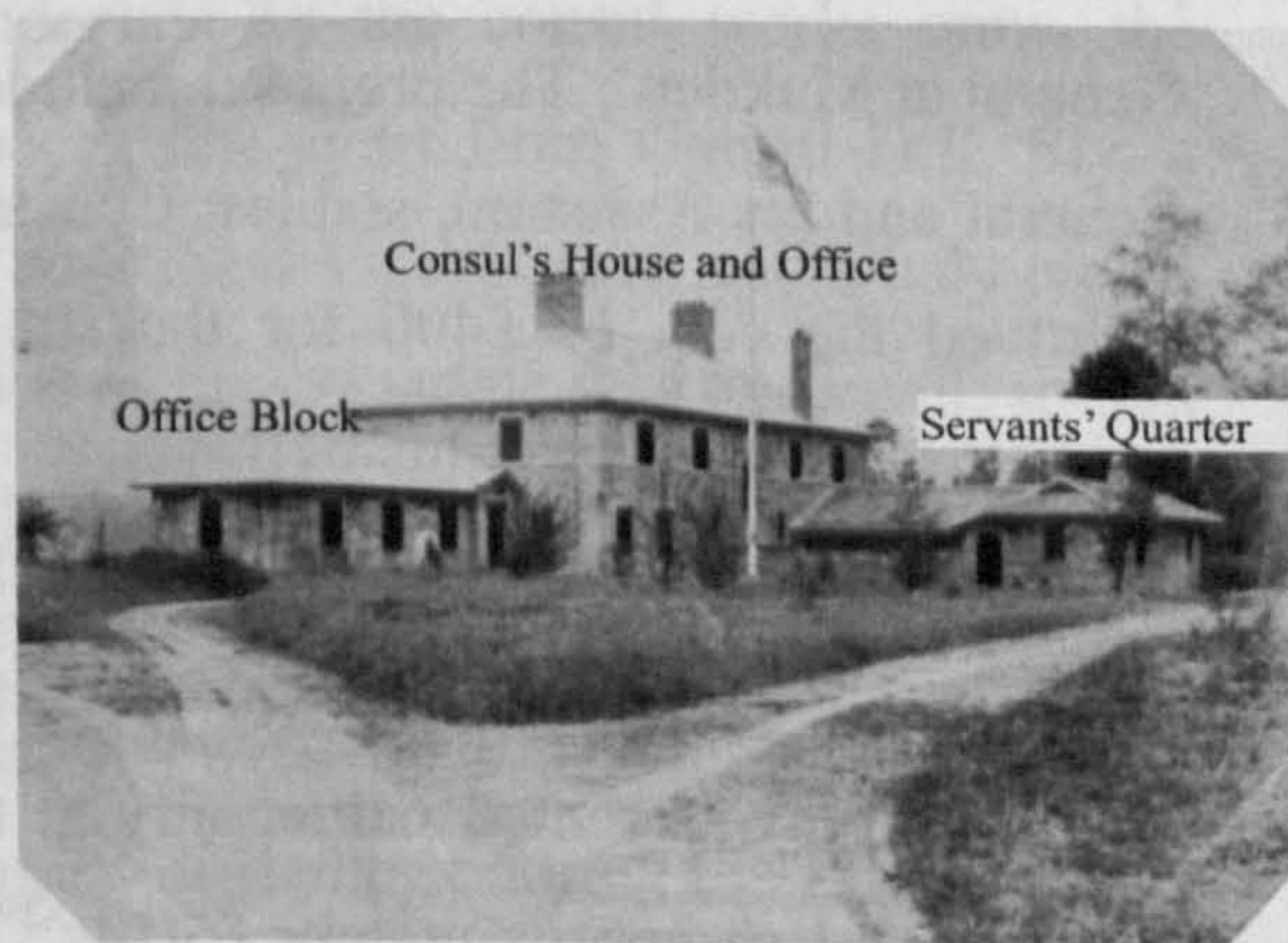
station was to be built near the gate. To acquire all the land required took another ten years.<sup>23</sup>

The geographical isolation of the post brought difficulties for the erection works, and particular materials, such as glass, brass and iron fittings had to come from Irrawady or Bhamo. In addition, the consuls considered that usable timber was scarce in YunNan, though it was actually the primary source of wood in China.<sup>24</sup> There was a suggestion from the consuls to provide a clerk of works from the closer British Burma Works Department, but the Office of Works insisted on sending their supervisor from ShangHai. Making a comparison with already developed posts, the home authorities opposed the estimate of £3,000 for the erection, which was much higher than that of Shimonisiki in Japan (£1,050) while the annual salary of the TengYueh consul at the post was a mere £800. No residence but only offices were accommodated in the Shimonisiki Consulate, and further justifications raised by the officers were that facilities such as the laundry, dairy and kitchen garden, along with ponies and a cow, were necessary for a remote consulate such as that at TengYueh.<sup>25</sup> [ill.8: 7, 8]



[ill.8: 7] TengYueh Consulate, front elevation of Consul's house.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-1935



[ill.8: 8] TengYueh Consulate.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-1935

<sup>23</sup> WORK 10/633, 2 December 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation, 10 February 1911 Office of Works to treasury, 30 September 1911 Divisional Architect to Principal Architect, 3 December 1925 Divisional Architect to Principal Architect.

<sup>24</sup> WORK 10/633, 2 December 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation. For public works' wood supply in the Imperial China, see *Statutes*, 1899, Chapter 58 and Ruitenbeek, Klaas, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual Lu Ban jing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 9-12.

<sup>25</sup> WORK 10/633, 3 August 1905 London Office to ShangHai Office, 8 September 1905 ShangHai Office to London Office, 3 November 1908 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation, 26 November 1908 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation, 29 July 1910 A. Rose's memorandum, 23 September 1910 Office of Works to Treasury.

## Northern Border Consulates

Mukden was opened in 1906 as the first of the three northern border consulates. The consul of the first term, H.E. Fulford, reckoned the post to be a political one in 1911, for few commercial activities took place and the political climate varied. The next consulate was stationed at the Korea-China border city AnTung in 1908. The service lasted only seven years because of its insignificant contribution. Harbin developed on Chinese soil but was unlike any other Chinese city. Being the headquarters of the Russian-governed Chinese East Railway and of the Russian army during the Japanese-Russian war (1904-05),<sup>26</sup> Harbin was a Russian city with the Japanese Yen as its dominant currency.<sup>27</sup> Under such conditions, R. Willis was appointed as the first consul from 1910.

R. Willis, as Fulford's successor, left his wife and children at NewChwang to take over the service at Mukden, and also found it difficult to find proper accommodation after occupying various Chinese buildings. Answering the demands of the diplomats in China, the Office of Works reported to the Treasury in early 1908 that 'it is necessary for political reasons to acquire a site and to proceed with the erection as soon as possible of suitable buildings for a Consulate General at Mukden'. The proposal included provision of residences for the Consul General and his Assistant, stables, Constables' quarters, and a gaol. The Treasury approved the cost of £400 for the site and £10,000 for the buildings.<sup>28</sup> This estimate later proved optimistic.

On the title deed signed on 2 May 1908, land equivalent to 20.28 mou (3.3 acres, or about 13 hundred square meters), located outside the west gate of Mukden city, was rented perpetually at the cost of £215 down payment and an annual rental of approximately £5/14s.<sup>29</sup> In spite of the architects' worry about winter breaking work, the erection of the structure was completed early in 1910 and the north-south oriented house for the Consul General with its office wing was

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<sup>26</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 392-94.

<sup>27</sup> At the beginning of the document, Russian Roubles and Japanese Yen were both used in the discussions on prices. As the correspondence progressed, the Yen increasingly dominated the dispatches between the officials.

<sup>28</sup> WORK 10/358 'Consulate: purchase of land, proposals and erections of residential and office buildings for political reasons' 2 January 1908 Office of Works to Treasury, 28 January 1908 Treasury to Office of Works.

<sup>29</sup> WORK 10/358, 7 April 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office.

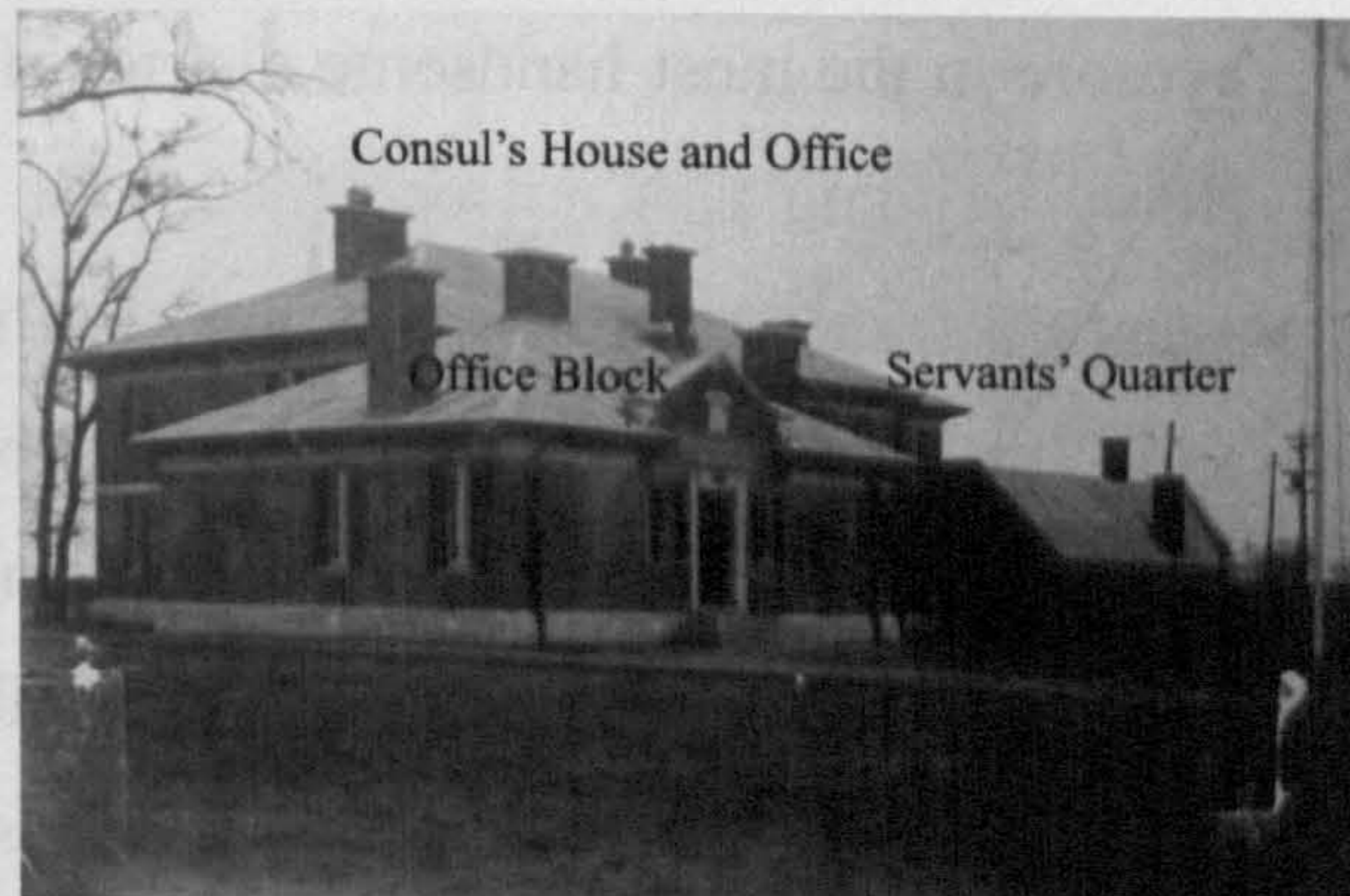


occupied by the second half of 1910 [ill.8: 9, 10].<sup>30</sup> However, disagreement between the architects and diplomats over the cubic size of the rooms, from the perspectives of the efficiency of heating and the social status of the Consul-General, resulted in the situation that Willis found it expensive to keep such a large house.<sup>31</sup>



[ill.8: 9] Mukden Consulate, front elevation of Consul-General's house.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-1935



[ill.8: 10] Mukden Consulate.

Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-1935

After Willis was sent to Harbin, a building built and owned by the Russians was rented as both consulate and residence. As the consul works grew, the building needed by 1918 to contain spaces for, apart from Consul H.E. Sly, a Russian interpreter, a Chinese writer, an additional Vice-Consul, and a lady typist. Sly reported to his superiors that the space of the consulate was too small, so that only bachelors could be comfortable with it. The crowded environment also provoked concerns about health, particularly under the circumstance of holding legal proceedings. The proposal to obtain a new site and to build a purpose-built consulate was raised in 1917.<sup>32</sup> But financial difficulties during the European war postponed a large number of funding requests, and when Sly bought 1-3/4 acres of land without approval at a cost more than double the earlier-agreed amount, the

<sup>30</sup> WORK 10/358, 30 September 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office, 16 February 1910 Mukden Consulate-General to Office of Works, ShangHai, 22 November 1910 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>31</sup> WORK 10/358, 30 September 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office, 24 October 1908 to Secretary, 5 March 1909 Mukden Consulate-General of PeKing Legation, 26 April 1909 ShangHai Office to London Office; Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 393.

<sup>32</sup> WORK 10/524 'Construction of offices for the Consulate-General', 14 January 1918 Office of Works to Treasury c.c. Foreign Office, 25 January 1918 Foreign Office to Office of Works, 6 February 1918 Treasury to Office of Works, 15 November 1910 Harbin Consulate to PeKing Legation.

Treasury furiously refused to repay the money. Sly's time-limited decision was supported by the architects of the Office of Works and the £5,269 expenditure was finally covered by the Foreign Office.<sup>33</sup>

As the primary developer and landlord of Harbin, the Chinese East Railway Company demanded that the new building should be built before May 1922 so as to encourage the real estate market. Nevertheless, the consulate site was left as 'an eyesore in the most handsome district of city' until 1927 and the proposed three-storey building was not occupied until 16 June 1930.<sup>34</sup> Considerable time was spent on fruitless discussions about selling the plot and buying a new one, and about measures such as building the boundary wall and garage to avoid the enforcement of a 140,374.30 Roubles fine. This was partially because of political developments as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Japanese and Chinese involved in the municipal governance also increased the uncertainty that affected the Consul's decision.<sup>35</sup>

Unlike most Chinese cities, where the British had largely to deal with heat and damp, discussions on the Harbin and Mukden cases concentrated on heating efficiency, since for at least seven months of the year they required heating. The British Minister at PeKing, J. N. Jordan, preferred fireplaces, and a hearth indeed dominated the focal point on the central axis of the Minister's Residence in PeKing. He suggested the grand but expensive fireplaces as a means of heating in the Mukden Consulate-General. On grounds of economy, Simpson and Fulford together with Willis convinced Jordan to adopt a low-pressure hot water heating

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<sup>33</sup> WORK 10/524, 24 September 1917 PeKing Legation to Office of Works, ShangHai, 30 October 1917 Office of Works, ShangHai to PeKing Legation, 4 June 1919 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office, 12 July 1919 ShangHai Office to London Office, 9 August 1919 Office of Works to Treasury, 18 August 1919 Treasury to Office of Works, 28 September 1920 J. Bradley.

<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/524, 29 July 1920 ShangHai Office to London Office, 15 September 1920 G.J.T. Reavell to Secretary, 21 October 1920 Foreign Office to Office of Works, 14 March 1923 ShangHai Office to London Office, 27 February 1923 Chinese East Railway to Harbin Consulate; WORK 10/525 '*Construction of offices for the Consulate-General*', 27 June 1930 ShangHai Office to London Office, 29 September 1927 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office.

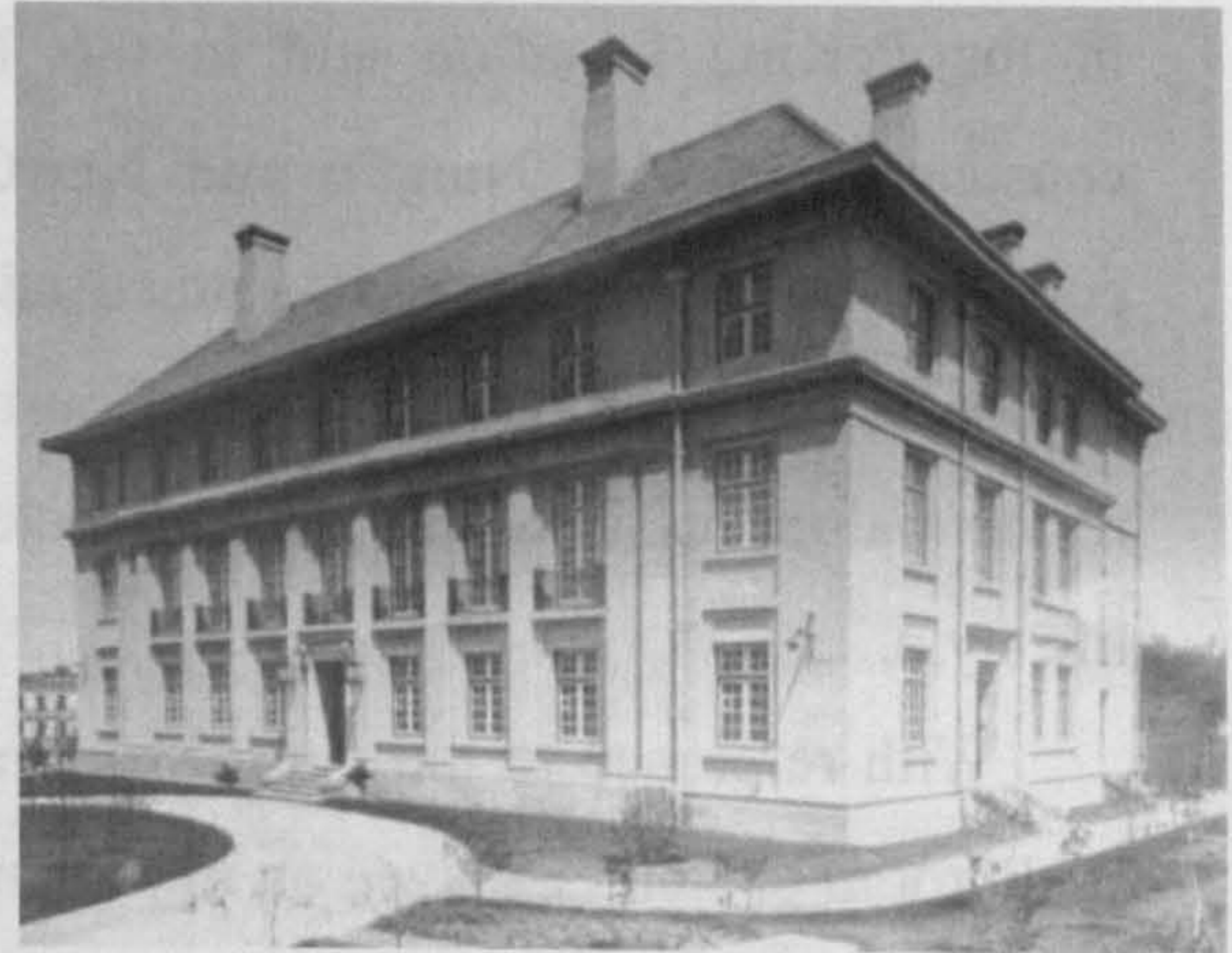
<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/524, 19 May 1922 PeKing Legation to Harbin Consulate, 11 August 1922 C. Simpson, 15 November 1922 Harbin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 4 January 1923 Harbin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 23 January 1923 G.J.T. Reavell to J.G. West, 14 March 1923 ShangHai Office to London Office, 22 March 1923 Office of Works to Treasury, 30 April 1923 Treasury to Office of Works, 15 August 1923 ShangHai Office to London Office, 20 November 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office, 28 August 1925 ShangHai Office to London Office, 8 February 1926 ShangHai Office to London Office.

system for the Mukden Consul-General's house.<sup>36</sup> But the plans show that the completed consulate was built with a fireplace in every major room.<sup>37</sup> It can also be read that for the purpose of increasing room temperature easily, the height of the rooms was reduced to 11'0" for the ground floor and 10'0" for the first floor by the architects, but the diplomats found these reductions 'embarrassing'.<sup>38</sup> [ill.8: 11, 12]



[ill.8: 11] Harbin Consulate, consul's residential entrance.

Source: WORK 10/525, date: 1925



[ill.8: 12] Harbin Consulate, office façade and entrance.

Source: WORK 10/525, date: 1925

## British Prestige

### Moral structure

*The whole matter would have to be regarded from a large point of view, bearing in mind that extreme political desirability at the present time of maintaining British prestige in this unsettled part of the world, by the provision of dignified premises for the representative of His Majesty's Government. (H.W. Spence, Divisional Architect, ShangHai, 1919)*

In Boyce's 1900 investigation, the standardisation of the number of rooms was established according to consuls' ranks as well as the importance of posts.<sup>39</sup> The standard was formalised based on a typical British lifestyle that had gradually

<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/358, 30 September 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office, 5 March 1909 Mukden Consulate-General to PeKing Legation, 3 June 1909 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office, 10 June 1909 Foreign Office to Office of Works.

<sup>37</sup> WORK 40/256 'Plans of ground and first floors' 1910; WORK 40/258 'General site plan' 1912.

<sup>38</sup> WORK 10/358, 30 September 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office, 24 October 1908 to Secretary, 5 March 1909 Mukden Consulate-General of PeKing Legation, 26 April 1909 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>39</sup> WORK 10/56/6, Appendix A in the final draft.

been imported or shaped, changing from a bachelor basis to a family basis before Boyce's 1900 standard.

The geographical diversity between Southern and Northern China rarely affected the layouts of the consulate architecture or the diplomats' way of life. The residences were planned with at least three living or reception rooms, which included a drawing room, a study and a dining room. Along with the YunNan and Manchuria consulates [ill.8: 13, 14], this typical plan can be seen in all residences in the PeKing Legation and in the TienTsin and CanTon consulates. Other consulates, such as NingPo and NewChwang, that were not included in but collected by this research, also practised the same principle.<sup>40</sup> Although the study on the British ShangHai Supreme Court and its influences does not focus on the residential discussions, the plans collected by this research also show an identical life style.

With reference to the consul's moral position in a consulate compound, his study room or library played an important part. The TengYueh consul's office was situated in the residential wing between his study, which was for his private use, and the office area. The consul-general's office in Mukden was located in the office block, but also in between his private reading room and his staff's offices. The plan became a standardised design after the twentieth century as long as the circumstances required an office-residence consulate complex building. In the NingPo consulate, which was laid out as a single consulate complex by Crossman in 1867, the consul's office was put in between his residence and the consulate office wing, although his study was placed beside his drawing room, and the dining room was connected to his office.<sup>41</sup> Together with all three primary cases studied in this chapter, the design of the DaiRen (Port Arthur) Consulate, which was submitted in January 1912, has shown the layout of linking the consul's study and office together and placing them in between his domestic area and the office area.<sup>42</sup> Although the CanTon Consul dwelled and worked in two different

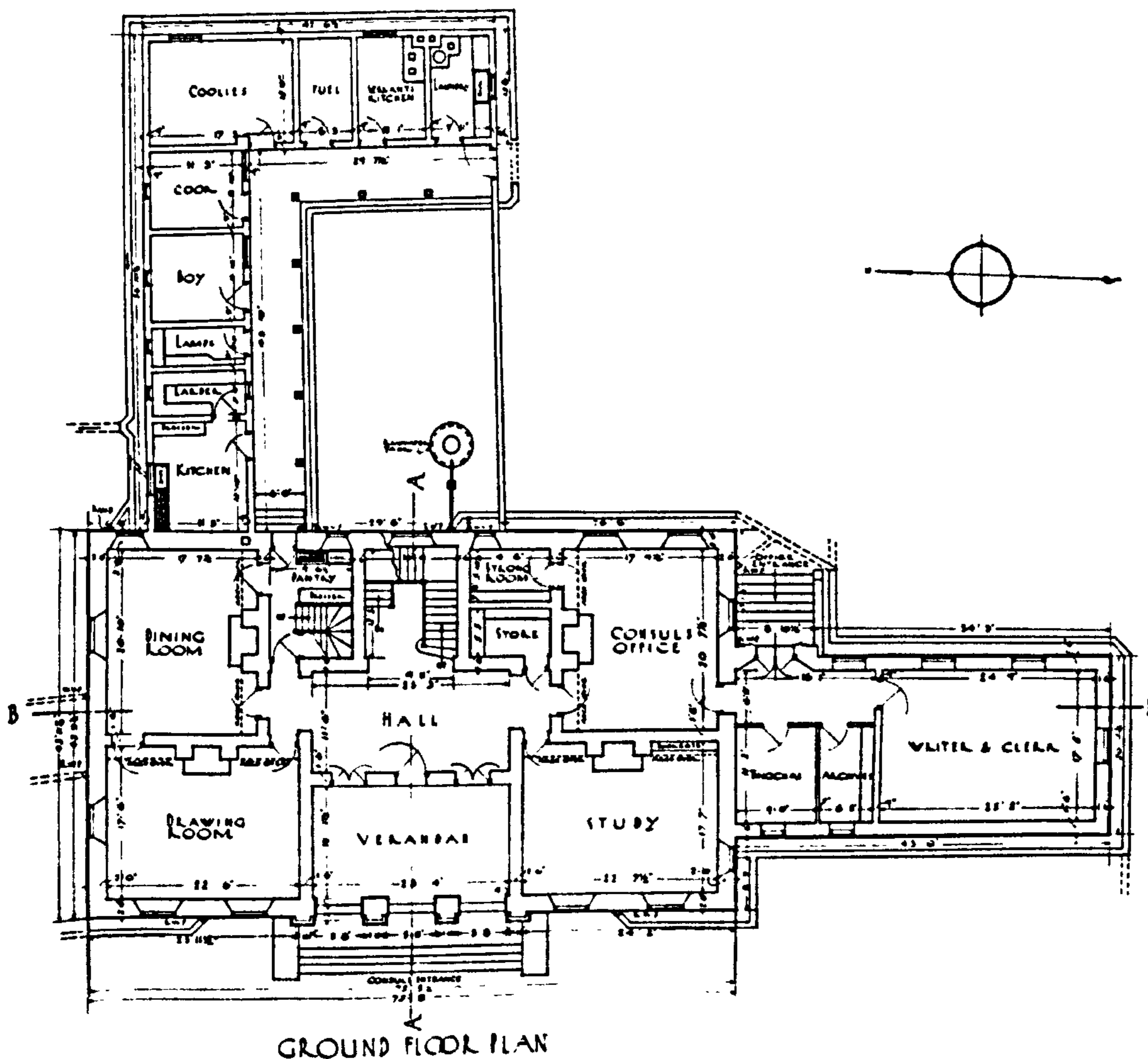
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<sup>40</sup> WORK 10/56/3 '*China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman*', 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury; WORK 10/80 '*Purchase and rebuilding: lease of consuls residence (Newchwang)*', drawings.

<sup>41</sup> WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>42</sup> MFQ 1/958/2-4 '*China. 'Dairen [now Dalian]. Proposed consular buildings'. 3 sheets of sketch plans detailing rooms, walls, doors, windows, stairs, dimensions, etc: (2) ground and first floor plans; (3) front and side elevations, section and basement plan; (4) plan of buildings, consular*

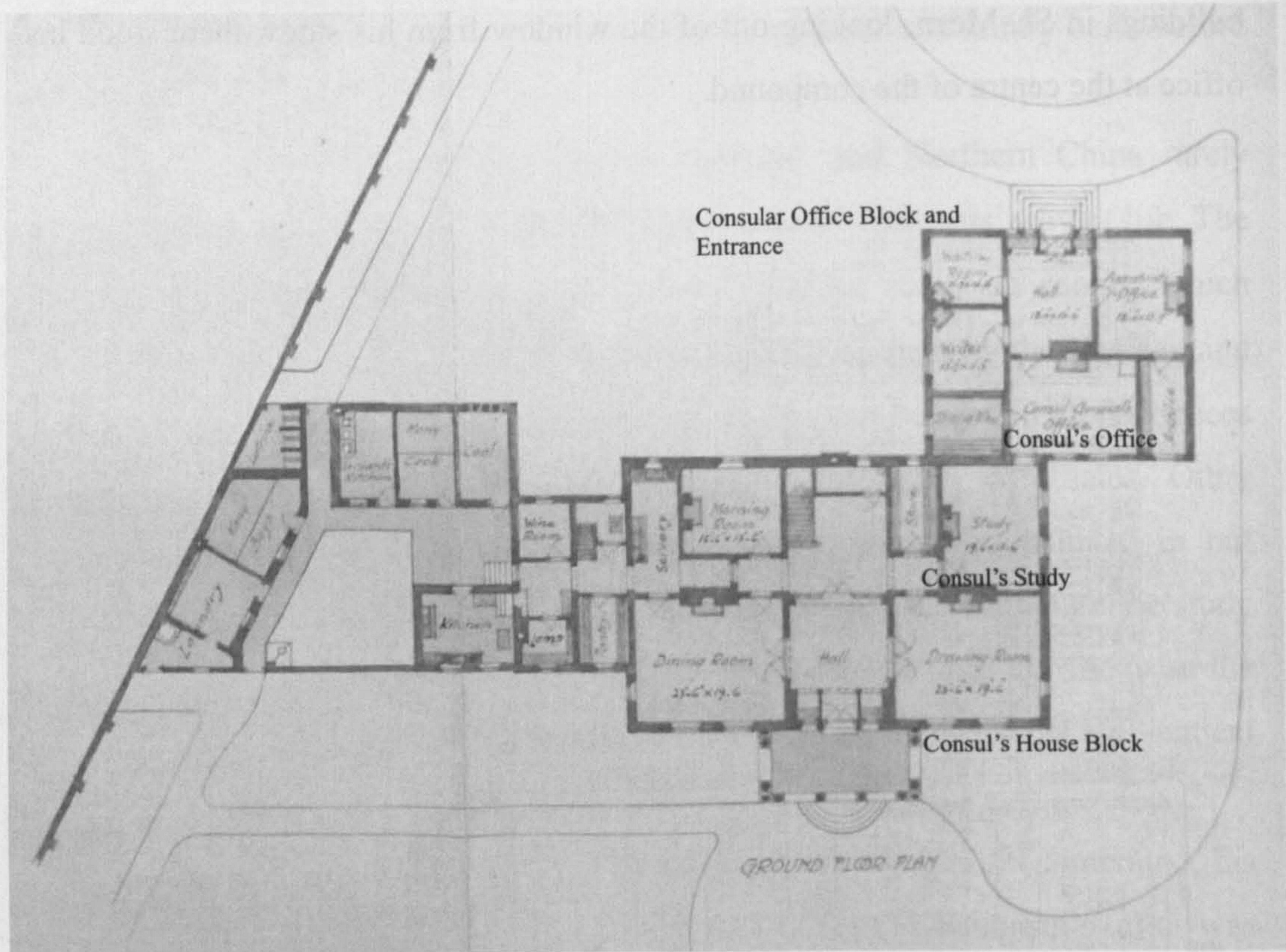
buildings in ShaMeen, looking out of the window from his study, there stood his office at the centre of the compound.



[ill.8: 13] Teng Yueh Consulate, ground floor plan (north to the left).  
Source: WORK 40/467, date: 1930

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*ground and perimeter wall. Scale: (2-3) 1 inch to 16.5 feet; (4) 1 inch to 32 feet. [By] H B M [His Britannic Majesty's] Office of Works, Shanghai. Initialed by His Majesty's Divisional Architects: Herbert Ashmead and Cecil Simpson, 4 January 1912. Originally with a letter from Cecil Simpson, to Sir C M Macdonald, H B M Ambassador, Tokyo, 18 May 1912'.*



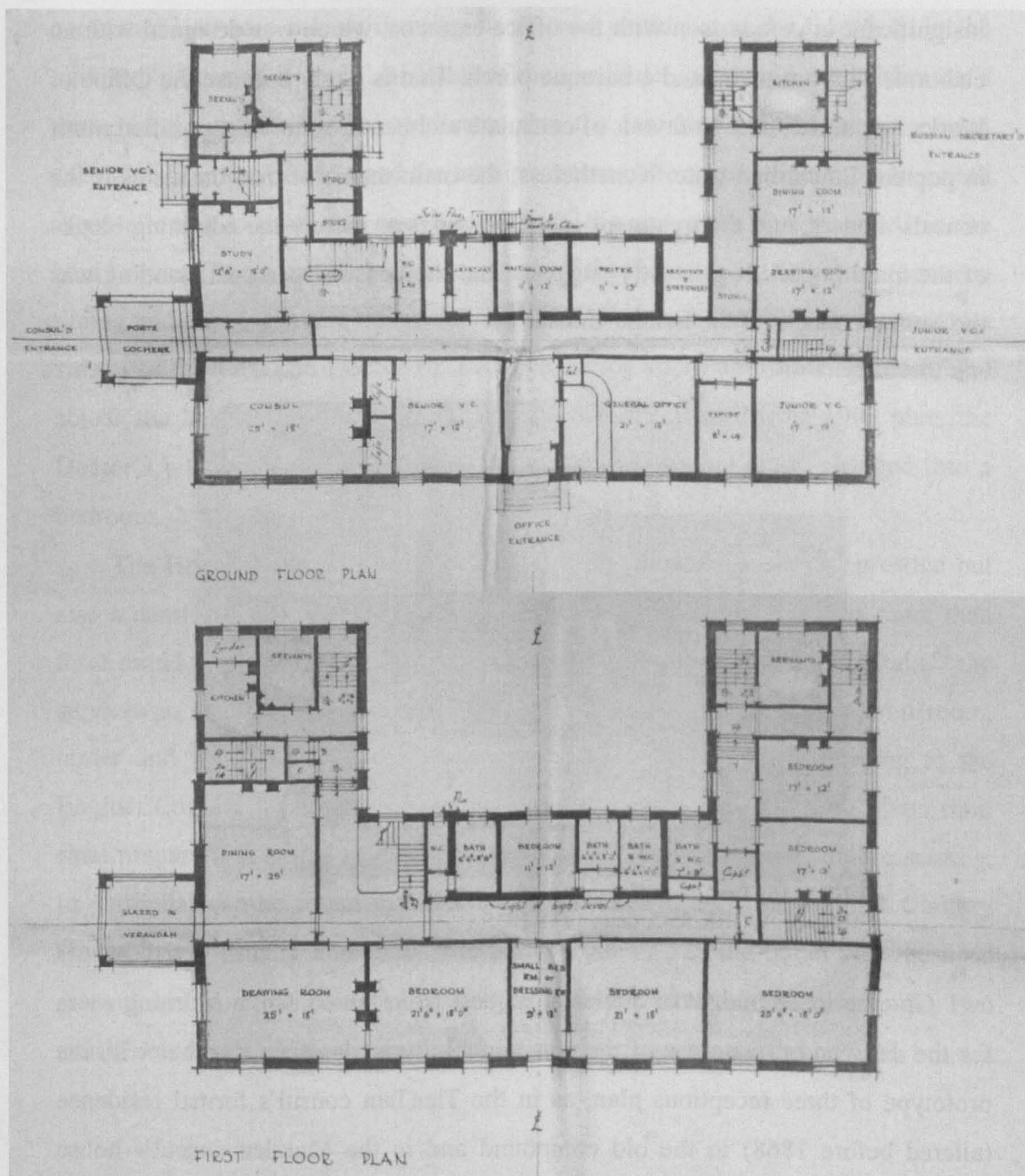
[ill.8: 14] Mukden Consulate, ground floor plan.  
 Source: WORK 40/256, date: 1910

The Study of the Harbin consul was also sited between his living quarters and the public office, but its outcome was different from the others. The architects proposed to build a high-rise single building to compare with nearby buildings and to save expenditure on construction,<sup>43</sup> but it turned out to be a challenging decision. The diplomats, except the Foreign Office, strongly opposed designs that increased the opportunity of meeting people not of their social status. The PeKing Minister, Ronald Macleay, complained to Austin Chamberlain of the Foreign Office that ‘the provision of one building for the offices, the quarters of the junior staff and the residence of the Consul clearly gives the latter no privacy at all, and it is obviously inconvenient for him to have to use the same staircase as the Vice-Consul’.<sup>44</sup> As a result, the Harbin consulate tried to show a glorified classical image on the outside, but the interior is crowded, even crippled. Halls with elaborated sets of stairs, as seen in the TengYueh and Mukden cases, cannot be

<sup>43</sup> WORK 10/524, 18 June 1924 G.J.T. Reavell to R.J. Allison; 23 June 1924 R.J. Allison to Director of Works; 5 August 1924 Office of Works to Treasury.

<sup>44</sup> WORK 10/524, 29 July 1924 Foreign Office to Office of Works; 19 December 1925 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office.

found in the Harbin consulate, and a considerable amount of space (and presumably energy on heating) was wasted on long dark passages to meet the requirement of separating people of at least four different ranks.



[ill.8: 15] Harbin Consulate, ground and first floor plans.  
 Source: WORK 10/525, date: 1925

It is also evident in both northern and southern consulates that the front façades of the office blocks [ill.8: 16] were remarkably humbler than those of the consuls' houses, whose entrances were highlighted with various kinds of *porte*

*cochere*. The consul's residence building on ShaMeen Island is grander than the complex building of the consular office and junior officer's flats. The TienTsin case shows a similar arrangement. However, the floor plan of the DaiRen Consulate shows differently that the entrance of the consul's domestic area is insignificant in comparison with the office entrance, which was designed with an elaborate flight of stairs and a baroque porch. That is likely because the Office of Works was at that time in favour of consulate architecture showing a unified motif in popular Edwardian taste. Nonetheless, the main theme of the consulates is the consuls' houses, and the treatment of office wings as merely the adjoining blocks of the main houses consistently suggests that the consuls' personal standing was the central concern of the British Consul Services.



[ill.8: 16] TengYueh Consulate, office entrance.  
Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-1935

Given a loose budget or a special request from the consul, a Morning room for the daily and private use of the consul's family is also seen together with the prototype of three receptions plan, as in the TienTsin consul's formal residence (altered before 1868) in the old compound and in the Mukden consul's house (both in proposed and finalised plans, built in 1910). Interestingly, the morning rooms in these two cases opened their windows to the north, instead of the commonly acknowledged east-facing. There is no sign of a morning room in the PeKing Legation, but a Music room is seen as another use of a daily sitting room in the plans of the Minister's Quarter.



Apart from that, a vestibule, a boudoir, a sitting or small sitting room, a minister's private study, a billiard room and a smoking room were all available in the Minister's Quarter depending to the status of visitors and the purpose of entertainment. The boudoir, which originally referred to a lady's bath and dressing room and later to a private drawing room, was exclusive to the Legation. In the Minister's Quarter, it was placed east of the vestibule, in relation to the Minister's study on the west side. This indicates that the feminine side of reception was taking place in the boudoir and the less important male guests (in comparison with those allowed to enter the drawing room of the minister) were received in the study room. Others can be seen in quarters of the Secretary of Legation (between dining and drawing room, connected with inner hall and verandah on the rest two sides), of the Legation Doctor (in between dining room and drawing room, and across the hall linked to the study) in the 1876 site plan. In the 1909 plan, the Doctor's boudoir was changed to a study and the original study changed into a bedroom.

The British consuls' life in China represented not only British prestige but also a comforting need to connect to a familiar homeland, which was more than three months' journey away. Regardless of their social background in Britain,<sup>45</sup> the services in the consulates usually included the pantry, the servery, lamp room, larder and wine cellar. These spaces were typically laid out according to the English Country-House prototype. The pantry, in which foods were given their final preparation including reheating, distribution and decoration before serving, in particular can be found in all five case studies. In a typical English Country House it was usually known as 'the butler's pantry', as the butler was the head servant and point of contact between the landlord and the other servants. Two available consuls' domestic records confirm the existence of the position but not

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<sup>45</sup> Some were born into a well-established class like G. Balfour and T.F. Wade (GEMG, KCB) who both came from families with positions in the army. R. Alcock (KCB) had a doctor father, and D.B. Robertson's (KCMG, Kt., CB) father was entitled esquire. Some came from bourgeois families, such as H.S. Parkers (GCMG, KCB) who came from an Ironmaster's family. While some came from relatively humble society, for instance, the father of T. Adkins was a farmer in Stratford-on-Avon, and H.G. Howlett was also of farming stock. Many more were appointed to their China service because of connections to the Church. See Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1894), p. 3; Michie, Alexander, *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era*, 2 vols. (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900), pp. 1-2; Coates, *The China Consuls*, pp. 491-542.

the title.<sup>46</sup> Alterations in terms, such as servants being called 'Coolies', and a housemaid or nurse 'Amah' met the circumstances of China and Far East.<sup>47</sup>

Apart from their different positions within a building representing social associations, efficiency of spatial use was also important for the perceived moral structure. This is particularly evident in the arrangement of the servants. Despite holding different ideas, J.W. Jamieson and later L. Giles were both of the opinion that surveillance and control were needed to manage the servants, and in the drawings of the consulate plan spaces for each of them, servant space was divided in the same way by the architects.

From the aspect of site planning, the moral structure of the British consulates was spatially arranged through not only putting the consuls' office in between his private space and clerks' office but also assigning different dwellers to different corners of the compound. The TienTsin case shows that, the consular staff resided in different floors according to their ranks, that is the higher the floor, the higher the rank. This case also shows that, from the consuls' perspective, there was identical treatment to the lower ranking officers and the Chinese servants, while at the same time, the servants' quarters were also arranged in a way to avoid direct visual contact with the rest of the consular staff.

Other than moral and emotional arrangements of the consulate spaces, the practical part of the plan, namely the storage, was occasionally described in the correspondence. For Chief Judge to the Far East Edmund Hornby, an outhouse for his sedan chair was also necessary.<sup>48</sup> Such needs for horses, motorcars and sedan chairs can also be found in site plans of the consulate architecture. A large area was used for stables in the PeKing Legation, and considerable efforts were put in to its design. Furthermore, a certain volume of warehouse to keep packing cases

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<sup>46</sup> In Shipton's case, Gyalgen played the role, while in Macartney's record, it was likely to be Isa, the Boy, see Macartney, Catherine, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1931), p. 88; Shipton, Diana, *The Antique Land* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1950), pp. 43-44. In other cases, it was most likely that the houseboy acted as butler in the consul's families.

<sup>47</sup> Parallels between the typical country houses and the consular staff's residences are obvious based on drawing evidence. Details on the original English Country-House can be read in Girouard, Mark, *Life in the English Country House: a social and architectural history* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 274-86; Muthesius, Hermann, *The English House*, ed. Dennis Sharp, trans. Janet Seligman (London: Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1979), pp. 124-35.

<sup>48</sup> WORK 10/432 'Supreme Court, Gaol and Naval Yard', 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

and luggage was essential in each consulate compound to allow for the constant coming and going of the officials.<sup>49</sup> Together with its other purpose of showing the occupants' wealth and status, it is seen in this case that even the warehouses or garages served at political role, as the section on compound life in Chapter 7 suggests.

Both Chinese and European, or British houses, represent their own cultural principles relating to dwellers and users, and established between the dwellers and their society. The practices tend to ignore the geographical factor, as the case of the consulates shows. So does the Chinese architecture in PeKing (Chapter 4), CanTon (Chapter 6) and TengYueh [ill.8: 2-5]. The relationship was achieved mostly by linking the different societies of dwellers with different styles, as in the PeKing case. In that instance, the Chinese had used numbers, magic animals or doornails, heights and widths of halls. On top of them, colours and painting of materials categorise the social status of house owners. The British way was using proportions in the mixture of styles to distinguish classes. That meant more European style, the higher the rank of the dweller, but together with that, the British Minister reserved the right to dwell in an authentic Chinese palace with its interior completely Europeanised.

At the same time both Chinese and British architecture developed their spatial language of privacy and primacy, and the identical practices of the Chinese and the British that the deeper Jin one penetrated the more private the space. This can be seen in the both PeKing and CanTon cases. While the Chinese used screen walls, thresholds and gateways to distinguish genders and classes; it can be seen that the PeKing Legation used Queen Victoria's portrait, a desk in the middle of the vestibule, and openings leading to the minister's study or his wife's boudoir at either side of the vestibule. As to consulates in China, it was consul's office or his private study played the role of dividing privacy and public. Another architectural arrangement that defined privacy in consulates was floors – ground floor for more public use and upper floor for retire.

The alteration practised in the palatial part of the PeKing Legation and in the design of the new DaLi Yuan together demonstrate a functionalist element that

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<sup>49</sup> WORK 10/299 '*Consulate General: damage by floods; rebuilding; liability for payment of building fees; effects of a political upheaval 1927*', 18 March 1925 ShangHai Office to London Office.

was added to the Chinese spatial tradition. Traditionally the moral function of spaces, including rooms, walkways and courtyards, was arranged in accordance with the user's class status. The centre bay of the main hall and the courtyard in front of it could be used for holding a birthday ceremony or for trying suspects. Attendants at both events lined up according to their ranks and relationship to the main performers or host of the event. In the modification of both case studies, such rooms were assigned different functions (vestibule, laundry room, court of justice or fives court, for instance). Different performances were expected to take place in different spaces, that is a court of justice was used only for a trial, a church only for worshipping god, and a drawing/ living room for a birthday party or for daily family activities. The sanctuary place for emperor/ heaven/ gods or goddesses/ and ancestors which had once dominated the centre of the main room<sup>50</sup> was removed, and the room was turned into an empty hall or merely a passage in the PeKing Palace. The justice court case shows an identical situation of performing trial and sentence exclusively in the courtroom, together with removing the symbolic surveillance of the emperor from the courtroom.

Finally, it seems that social disturbance between members in the complex cannot be ignored when a standardised order of space is transplanted without acknowledging the different cultural backgrounds. This presumably applies both the Chinese and British households, although the proofs from the Chinese side are absent in this research. There were at least an Indian cook, a Kashgari gardener, three Indian government servants and some others with Muslim and Tibetan backgrounds when Macartney lived in Kashgar.<sup>51</sup> The posts in YunNan were expected to be the same except for different combination of ethnic groups,<sup>52</sup> but the plan of servants' quarters in the TengYueh consulate shows little variety from the other cases. Ethnic divisions such as that one part of the garden was separated by matting screens for Hindu castes while the Ladakhis and Muslims used the other part of the garden during occasions, can be read in Macartney's description,

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<sup>50</sup> Boerschmann, Ernst, *Chinese Architecture and its Relation to Chinese Culture* (Washington: Government Print Office, 1912).

<sup>51</sup> Macartney, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*, pp. 37-38, 96-101.

<sup>52</sup> Although YunNan province was also greatly influenced by the Han and Confucianist culture, there was also Muslim society as well as minor ethnic cultures that linked to Indochina and India.

although all the servants were Muslim in religion.<sup>53</sup> However, more evidence regarding the potential for social disturbance is difficult to extract, and the reason for this could be that the servants were controlled under a greater authority (i.e., the British or the Chinese moral structures),<sup>54</sup> apart from the resource shortage that all materials came from the ruling classes of the British and Chinese cultures.

### Craftsmanship

*May 19th. [1861] –Yesterday evening a corporal of Royal Engineers, who has been employed for some weeks in connection with the repairs going on in the Legation, intimated that he did not like his position at Peking, and was desirous of rejoining his corps at Tien-tsin. It appears that he considers himself to have been slighted professionally on several occasions, owing to the taste of the Chinese carpenters having been preferred to his own. The truth is, the corporal is a little jealous of the superior abilities and the extent of knowledge of the Celestials in many matters regarding which it was supposed they would require tuition from him. (Rennie 1865: I, 168)*

The erection of the consulate architecture was greatly dependent on local craftsmanship. Before the Far Eastern Division was instituted in Shanghai, the consuls of the post had to monitor the erection of their own consulates. Despite the Victorian enthusiasm for architectural style, the consuls had little knowledge of the processes of building work, which would be yet more alien to them if they were assigned to the Far East posts. In the meantime, most of the Chinese workers were well equipped to deal with timber structures, or even masonry civil engineering. Rennie shows his admiration of the efficiency of Chinese carpenters and their tools in his log on the alteration works of the British Legation at PeKing.<sup>55</sup>

However the Chinese builders were first forbidden to take on foreign works, as shown in Chapter 2, and later found themselves unfamiliar with alien constructions such as the bungalows with verandah. Rennie's respect is an isolated case, and the manner of the first PeKing Minister F.W. Bruce – younger brother of the Earl of Elgin, who gave the order to loot the YuanMing Yuan – is more typical, as he wrote to the Foreign Office, on 10 October 1862 in request of professional

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<sup>53</sup> Macartney, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*, on religion, p. 94; on division, pp. 96-97.

<sup>54</sup> Macartney describes her army of servants 'just like children to manage' (p. 89), and although "running" the house was not an arduous job' according to Shipton, servants were full of 'laziness, deceit and inefficiency' to her (p. 43).

<sup>55</sup> Rennie, David F., *Peking and the Pekingese: During the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1865), Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

superintendence to public buildings in East Asia:

*The history of the Consular buildings at Foo-chow-foo is a warning not to allow important and expensive buildings to be undertaken without proper superintendence. It is clear that the contractor has taken advantage of the Consul being unable to see that the work is properly executed to use bad materials, and the consequence is that it is impossible to foresee what expense maybe required in the shape of repairs. (WORK 10/430)*

Another verandah falling accident is also illustrated by Macartney – the wife of the Kashgar Consul-General of the first term – who uses a milder tone, that ‘it was rather unfortunate that the native workmen forgot to fasten the parts together firmly, so that it fell down like a card house with the first sharp earthquake’.<sup>56</sup> The evidence that was provided by the Consul C. Sinclair show otherwise. The bricks used in the FooChow consulate were soft red bricks, and the mortar consisted almost entirely of mud.<sup>57</sup>

After the ShangHai Office was established, the supervision was first under the eyes of Major W. Crossman, and afterwards of R.H. Boyce. However, the works that covered China and Japan could not all be under the supervision of one person. The works on-site were finally the responsibility of the clerks of works.<sup>58</sup> European builders hardly took part in the consulate contracts. Even with special materials, encaustic tiles manufactured in Stoke upon Trent, for instance, operations were undertaken by local workmen. Whatever the case might be, the clerks of works controlled the quality of the works by following the instructions sent by manufacturers if necessary.<sup>59</sup>

‘No foreign buildings have yet been built there, and foreign building methods have to be learned by tradesmen and local materials exploited’, the Divisional Architect W. Crown concluded concerning the ability of the builders in

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<sup>56</sup> Macartney, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> WORK 10/430, 10 October 1862 PeKing Legation to F.O.; 27 August 1862 FooChow Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>58</sup> Under the category WORK 10/451 ‘*China and Japan: return of receipt and expenditure for homes and lands at the Treaty ports; amended draft for 1878-1879*’ receipts and expenditures are collected by Robert H. Boyce and signed on 27 March 1873, when he was assistant surveyor and acted as clerk of works. Afterwards, the professional clerk of works increasingly appears in the services of the ShangHai Office.

<sup>59</sup> WORK 10/99 ‘*Erection of buildings and wartime arrangements for caretaking*’, 11 November 1889 to F.O.; 10 April 1890 ShangHai Office to London Office; 29 May 1891 ShangHai Office to London. The tiles were asked for by the TamSui consul in 1889.

TengYueh.<sup>60</sup> In addition the builders were condemned by A. Rose for being unwilling to follow the contract. Considering the circumstances, building a Chinese-outline consulate was an acceptable compromise to the consuls.<sup>61</sup> Conversely, the architects, such as the head of the ShangHai Division C.J.W. Simpson, saw no reason to build in Semi-Chinese Style, in spite of the Chargé d’Affaires W.G. Max Müller’s assertion that ‘the Officer who [had] been long resident on the spot [was] best qualified to pronounce an opinion’. Eventually, the office’s clerk of works left with plans of a two-storied foreign style building for TengYueh to supervise the building works.<sup>62</sup>

The correspondence contains little information regarding British’s comments on the skills of the Mukden builders, but in Harbin the local craftsmanship was disrespected despite it being a westernised city in every aspect.<sup>63</sup>

The TengYueh case shows that the Chinese builders were questioned for their capability to complete foreign building methods and for laziness for delaying the works at the consulate building.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, the sophisticated knowledge and practices of Chinese contemporary carpenters and masons, together with their unfamiliarity to the European system of construction, should be taken more seriously into account. Stone structures were commonly reserved for tombs and graves. This is because stone is excluded from the Wu Hsing, or Five Phases of Change, in which each phase evolves from and resists another.<sup>65</sup> As a result, stone was regarded as the material of death. Even though masons eventually proved willing to build a stone house for living people, the British expectation to carve as precisely as the contract designed<sup>66</sup> would cost the Chinese builders, who could

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<sup>60</sup> WORK 10/633, 21 July 1905 TengYueh Consulate to Office of Works, ShangHai, 8 September 1905 Office of Works, ShangHai to Office of Works.

<sup>61</sup> WORK 10/633, 21 July 1905 TengYueh Consulate to Office of Works, ShangHai, 29 July 1910 A. Rose’s memorandum, 1 August 1910 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office.

<sup>62</sup> WORK 10/633, 5 September 1910 ShangHai Office to London Office, 1 August 1910 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office, 30 September 1911 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>63</sup> WORK 10/524, 6 March 1918 ShangHai Office to London Office (from Harbin), 12 July 1919 H.W. Spence to R.J. Allison.

<sup>64</sup> WORK 10/634, 25 July 1960 Office of Works to Treasury.

<sup>65</sup> Needham also notes the decisive factor of five phases –gold (metal), wood, water, fire, and earth, alone with other cultural ones in the usage of materials in Chinese buildings. Needham, Joseph, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), vol. III, pp. 90-91.

<sup>66</sup> By the time contracting system had evolved to a point that detailed working drawings were produced, the builders were better supervised to exactly reproduce the design. For more discussion, see Chapter 9.

still be very unfamiliar with the details, considerably more time than they first agreed.

Second, the correspondence fails to point out a widely acknowledged Chinese belief that a dwelling designed to face the west and in front of a river that curved toward it would suffer a negative energy, which would harm the occupants as well as the builders [ill.8: 17]. In terms of orientation, one of the most valued principles of the Chinese architecture is the priority of south-facing over all other directions, and then of east over west. Some of the respected instructions for the building trade, such as the *Lu Ban Carpenter's Classic*<sup>67</sup> or the *Classic on Houses*, all value east over west. The *Classic on Houses* even clearly states that facing west benefits a dwelling of afterlife.<sup>68</sup> In other words, a single building facing west would only be a tomb, particularly if it was planned to be constructed in stone. There is a case shown in Rennie's 1861 PeKing log that when T.F. Wade made his enquiry about the oversight of the teachers' quarters, the language teacher of the Legation replied according to his understanding to PeKing Almanac that 'it is not considered propitious to reside in a new house the door of which opens to the west in place of the east'.<sup>69</sup>

As regards the river flow, the Feng-Shui theory holds that one form of water brings fortunes, but also misfortunes. The preferred and most basic theory of site-selection, as shown in the *Lu Ban Classic*, is a south-facing house situated in front of a mountain and behind a river that flows eastward and curves outward like a full bow. This was not merely a myth but also a scientifically based, in that unpleasant direct sunlight and flood would be unavoidable. Long negotiations under those circumstances were inevitable. Further evidence can be seen with the

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<sup>67</sup> The *Lu Ban Jing* has been passed down through generations by the Chinese carpenters as a general guideline for building a house and making furniture as well as other wooden structures. The Feng-Shui, or the geomancy in brief, which means an art and science of selecting a good building site and laying out a sustainable dwelling also occupies a great part of the book. The ideal related to the door and site can be read in Ruitenbeek, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China*, pp. 183-87; 278-89.

<sup>68</sup> The clear publishing date and creator of the *Classic on Houses*, *Zhai Jing* or *HuangDi Zhai Jing* is unknown. According to Ruitenbeek the *Zhai Jing* is the oldest available achievement among numerous Chinese work on the study of Feng-Shui. It is presumably a short essay consisting of two parts collecting texts since the Tang Empire, and the whole work focuses on the orientation of houses, both for the living and for the dead. See *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>69</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. II, pp. 59-60. The final decision can be found on the legation plan of 1869 that the teachers' residence is placed behind the minister's quarter and facing south as the minister's quarter does. See WORK 40/87 'Block Plan' 1869.



Mukden consulate that the Consul-General's house was planned facing south, and that it was completed within two years of its design being approved.



[ill.8: 17] Teng Yueh, view from the consulate, looking west, and river.

Source: WORK 10/633, date: 1910

Harbin was ranked 'very far from being a city on Chinese lines. It [had] been laid out by the Russians on European lines with wide streets and spacious circles. The buildings [were] substantial and pretentious'.<sup>70</sup> At the same time, both Russian and Chinese contractors were considered by Bradley as 'being equally unprincipled and quite unacquainted with sound work as we understand it'.<sup>71</sup> Therefore the London Office understood that the building standard in Manchuria, which was under great Russian and Japanese influence and had been extensively developed since the early twentieth century, was 'though pretentious, extraordinarily slipshod and unworkmanlike'.<sup>72</sup>

The Harbin case was delayed for more than ten years. Technological and workmanship improvements in the local building trade were likely among the causes, especially in erecting Western type buildings after years of such practice, but even then the Shanghai Office questioned the capability of the Italian tender.<sup>73</sup> Other possible causes of delay include the ten years of uncertainty in politics and economy forced on the Office of Works as well as the Foreign Office

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<sup>70</sup> WORK 10/524, 6 March 1918 Shanghai Office to London Office (from Harbin).

<sup>71</sup> WORK 10/524, 6 March 1918 Shanghai Office to London Office (from Harbin).

<sup>72</sup> WORK 10/524, 12 July 1919 H.W. Spence to R.J. Allison.

<sup>73</sup> WORK 10/525 5 May 1927 Shanghai Office to London Office.

compromising their standard. The final act of the erection project was to exclude Russian influence for political reasons as well as accepting the ability of the Chinese contractor. Fu Hsing Engineer & Construction was commissioned with the contract over Italian and Russian tenders, even though Fu Hsing had not been invited in the first place.<sup>74</sup>

### **Oriental anxiety**

*Since the rains have set in, that is to say, within the last fourteen days, there has been a change in the character of the sickness prevailing, small-pox and the spotted fever having been succeeded by a disease which, from the description given of it, would seem to be ague; and this corresponds with my experience inside the Legation, several cases of that disease having occurred of late. Though the general character of the weather continues very warm, there are occasionally somewhat sudden falls of the thermometer... from 85° to 75°. These sudden changes from great heat to comparative coolness, operating on constitutions impaired by previous excessive heat and general defective hygiene, are no doubt the cause of the aguish type of disease. (Rennie 1865: I, 343)*

D.F. Rennie – the Legation doctor of the first term – enthusiastically records symptoms of diseases he heard of and treated in China. With the memory of the Crimean War still present, fever, ague or malaria was then of great concern to British travellers in the East. According to Rennie's observation it did not just occur in hot climatic conditions but was also attached to a sudden change in temperature. Heat is repeatedly referred to as the cause in fatal cases in Rennie's two volume of diary. He does not use the term miasma, but the linkage in Rennie's account between heat, the local climate and diseases is the same as that between miasma and tropical vapours in the general British belief.<sup>75</sup>

Even at the beginning of the twentieth century, Florence Nightingale's theory established in mid-nineteenth century that diseases were transmitted through human breath and miasma in the environment was still rooted in the British mind,<sup>76</sup> and it is particularly evident in their attitudes to Eastern countries.

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<sup>74</sup> WORK 10/525, 10 December 1925 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office, 4 May 1926 Office of Works to Treasury, 5 May 1927 ShangHai Office to London Office, 21 March 1927 PeKing Legation to Harbin Consulate, 28 March 1928 Clerk of Works to ShangHai Office, 10 April 1928 Harbon Consulate to Office of Works, ShangHai, 2 November 1928 W.G.E. Jones to J.G. West.

<sup>75</sup> Rogaski, Ruth, *Hygienic Modernity: meanings of health and disease in treaty-port China* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 78-92.

<sup>76</sup> Florence Nightingale's theory of miasma and an ideal design of a healthier interior at the time can be read in Thompson, John D. and Goldin, Grace, *The Hospital: a social and architectural*

Looking for the term in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the miasma is mostly connected with marshes and swamp (Macculloch 1827: Malaria i, I) as well as with gaols (*Good's Study Medicine* 1822-34, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., II, 423). It 'may be carried by the wind and atmospheric currents beyond the limits of the area in which it is produced', as Bristowe explains in 1876 in *Theory and Practice of Medicine*. In 1844 it was linked to India (H.H. Wilson II, 20).<sup>77</sup> The PeKing case shows the contradictory hygienic understandings between the technical members of the British government in China even though the field had expanded for almost twenty years since the 1884 International Health Exhibition in London.

Bacilli were acknowledged by the British in the early twentieth century, as presented in Chapter 4, but Nightingale and other people in the mid-nineteenth century knew nothing of germs. Disregarding the half-century difference in microorganism knowledge, the British believed that environmental sanitary conditions were directly linked to the health condition of individuals. In their beliefs, openness, fresh air and, most of all, avoidance of condemned sources were the essentials of a hygienic environment,<sup>78</sup> and this was the belief of the British officials in China.

Consuls of different terms all connected the unsanitary environment with their undesirable Chinese neighbours and their structures. The Consuls' letters show their wish to avoid the danger that 'cabins and other similar Chinese structures will be run up on all the grounds in the quadrangle not acquired by us' by rounding up and enlarging the consulate compound.<sup>79</sup> With well-wooded ground to the south side of the site, the moat and wall of the walled city on the east, the river on the west, and a spinney to the north, A. Rose believed in 1910

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*history* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 155-160. In Strachey's book of 1918, the link between diseases and unclean air can be discussed in his description of the Scutari hospital and new type of hospital in Strachey, Lytton, *Eminent Victorians* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1948), pp. 119, 146.

<sup>77</sup> The above quotations are cited from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, under Miasma and Miasm.

<sup>78</sup> The narrow, crowded and filthy Old London Street was used in the International Health Exhibition to demonstrate the concept, and a diagram of placing brown mist on a crowded neighbourhood in east London indicated the spread of disease. See Adams, Annmarie, *Architecture in the Family Way: doctors, houses, and women, 1870-1900* (Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. 10-12.

<sup>79</sup> WORK 10/633, 24 July 1908 Teng Yueh Consulate to Office of Works, ShangHai, 23 September 1908 Office of Works, ShangHai to PeKing Legation, 24 August 1910 Teng Yueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

that the site was large enough to keep away the Chinese and their buildings.<sup>80</sup>

At an early stage of the Mukden consular service, several Chinese buildings, including a temple, a barracks, and two rooms in an ordinary courtyard house, were used as consulate, and it is clear that few British judged them as decent.<sup>81</sup> In the Russian-governed city of Harbin, the diplomats felt anxious about sanitary conditions during legal hearings in the crowded environment of the initial consulate building, which was rented and not purpose built. After purchasing a new site in 1919 that was surrounded by the South Manchuria Railway Office, Russo-Asiatic Bank, Post Office, and Centrosoyuz (England) Limited, as well as other modern enterprises, the Consulate General to Harbin was concerned less with the 'native character' of the neighbourhood than in competing with the surrounding buildings in height and style.<sup>82</sup>

The same beliefs about sanitary conditions can be found in all other four cases, about potential unhygienic risks of the local environment, of the local architecture and of the local people. PeKing Minister R. Alcock reckoned the PeKing city offered no preservation of health 'with [its] execrable roads and blinding clouds of dust, which no one would willingly encounter for pleasure'.<sup>83</sup> Describing his experience of the Chinese climate and building Edmund Hornby claimed that 'garments have to be changed, and washing several times in the day is necessary, and no building in the East is either healthy or convenient'.<sup>84</sup> Apart from that, 'the climate' regularly appeared in his despatches when he asked for grander house, wider space between houses, larger courtroom and better equipment.<sup>85</sup> As to the consuls, the danger of the post came not just from the hazardous local environment, to which the foreign industrialists also contributed, but also from the unfriendly local people. The factories and ships that surrounded the TienTsin consulate compound polluted the environment and transmitted

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<sup>80</sup> WORK 10/633, 24 August 1910 TengYueh Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>81</sup> Coates, *The China Consuls*, p. 393.

<sup>82</sup> WORK 10 524, 15 November 1918 Harbin Consulate to PeKing Legation, 5 February 1921 Treasury to Office of Works, 11 February 1921 R.J. Allison to J.G. West, 15 August 1923 ShangHai Office to London Office, 21 August 1923 PeKing Legation to Foreign Office, 18 June 1924 G.J.T. Reavell to R.J. Allison, 23 June 1924 R.J. Allison to Director of Works, 29 July 1924 Foreign Office to Office of Works, 5 August 1924 Office of Works to Treasury.

<sup>83</sup> WORK 10/440 '*Letters from Sir R. Alcock*', 14 December 1866 R. Alcock to W. Crossman.

<sup>84</sup> WORK 10/33/8 '*Rebuilding of the Supreme Court and Consular Offices*', 31 March 1871 Supreme Court, ShangHai to F.O.

<sup>85</sup> WORK 10/432, 5 November 1866 E. Hornby to W. Crossman.

diseases to the compound residents. The political climate in CanTon destroyed the British establishments several times, including the Old Factory in 1856.

The British officials' impressions of the uncleanness of the Chinese people and environment were normally given by the life style of working-class with which the foreigners were mostly acquainted. But a wealth of present-day scholarly and popular works regarding the Chinese public sanitary engineering and medical treatments reach different conclusions from those of imperial times. For instance, alluding to the superstition of Chinese medicine, Rennie uses the testimony of a well-educated Chinese official, who remarked that the British having only one pulse was 'a more convenient arrangement than theirs, which was a very complicated one, the pulses being so numerous, according to Chinese doctors, as to amount in all to four hundred and one'.<sup>86</sup> To distinguish minor changes in pulse is well recognised as an important and practical technique of medical diagnosis. Nonetheless the Western prejudice met little resistance from the Chinese side because the compound-based life style excluded any possible conflict.

There are a few other architectural arrangements worth pointing out in terms of preventing tropical diseases. When tropical diseases were still a nameless threat in the early twentieth century, mosquitoes were clearly disfavoured, and the YunNan Fu consul asked to install mosquito screens in his house and office.<sup>87</sup> Debates about mosquito screens being justified for the building or not were the focus between the consul in Harbin and the architect in ShangHai.<sup>88</sup> Apart from extending the compounds to keep away assumed sources of disease from the nearby environment and people, it seems that few precautions in the way of mosquito screens were taken. Macartney was unaware that the double door arrangement in the Kashgar consulate was local knowledge to prevent flies or mosquitoes from entering.<sup>89</sup> The drawings of details show one mosquito screen door set up between the hall and the staircase of the Mukden consul's house [ill.8:

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<sup>86</sup> Rennie, *Peking and the Pekingese*, Vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>87</sup> WORK 10/633, 29 July 1910 A. Rose; WORK 10/343, 8 December 1936 YunNan Foo Consulate-General to Office of Works, ShangHai, 14 July 1938 YunNan Foo Consulate-General to ShangHai Embassy.

<sup>88</sup> WORK 10/525, 15 October 1929 ShangHai Office to London Office, 22 November 1929 J. Bradley to Secretary; 27 November 1929 to Chief Architect.

<sup>89</sup> Macartney, *An English Lady in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 88.

18]. However, there is little evidence to indicate that the double-glazed windows were also fitted with screens [ill.8: 19]. The Harbin consulate finally used them for the protection of the kitchens and larders from flies, but little is known regarding the mosquito screens of the house. In the case of TengYueh, despite the consul suggesting it, no further discussion is found.<sup>90</sup>

## Summary

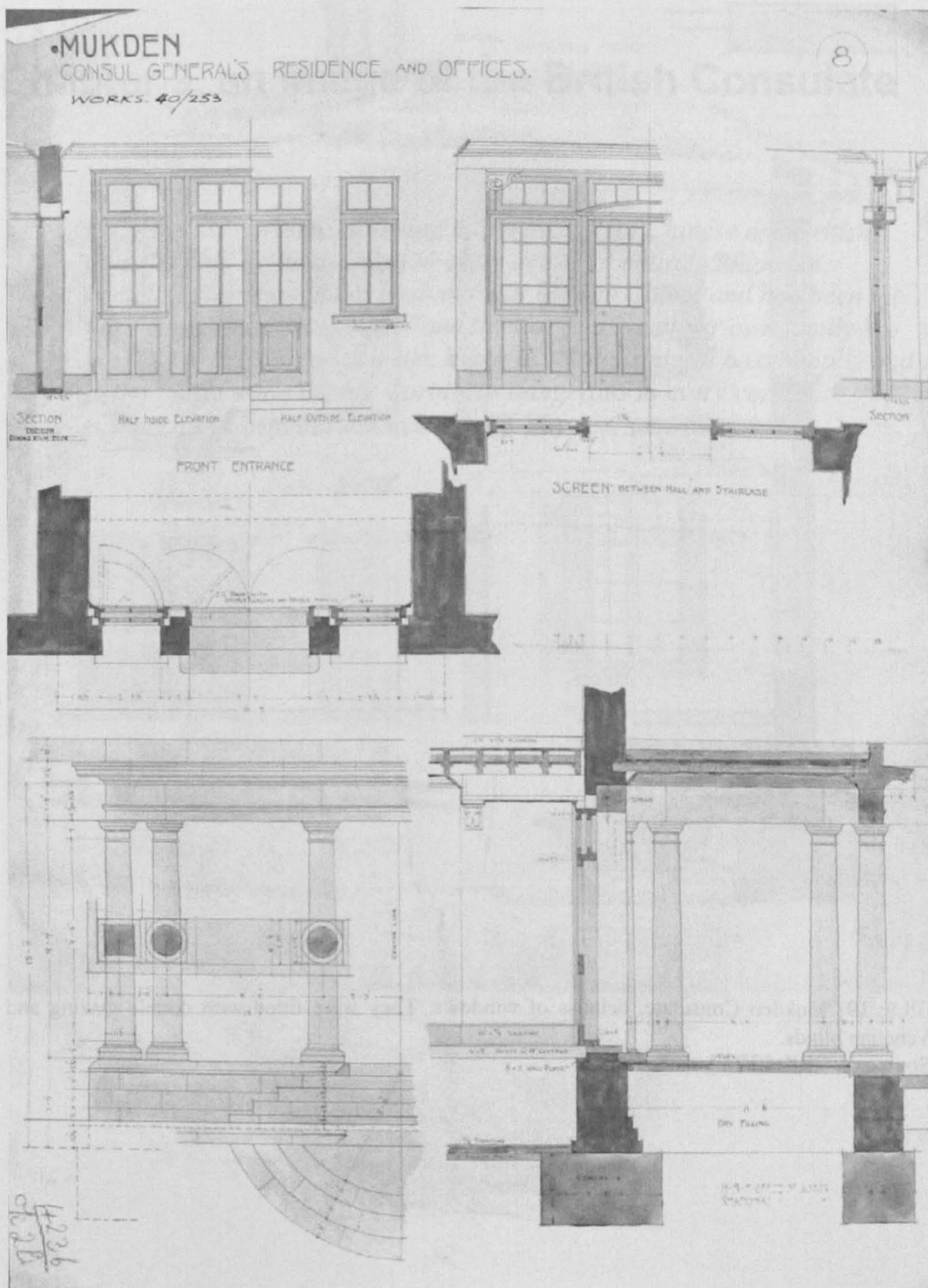
It has been found that the variety of geography, local customs, and even craftsmanship had little effect on the design of British diplomatic, judicial, and consular architecture in PeKing, ShangHai, CanTon, TienTsin, TengYueh, Mukden and Harbin. It is also suggested that these buildings were not built with locally available materials or craftsmanship, but that all details were specially chosen to meet the consuls and architects' requirements. The first and most important requirement was the central position of the consul (or minister) in the compound. They preferred British life in a British-planned house, which included fireplaces and at least three receptions (drawing, dining and study) as well as pantry, and a site which included lawns, flower beds and kitchen gardens. Social hierarchy was also transplanted with slight adaptation, like 'boys' as butlers, 'amahs' as housemaids and 'coolies' as servants, so that the consuls could easily cross the geographical and cultural gaps. Cultural and climatic adaptations, such as the verandah were applied not just because the British officials believed in its function but also because it carried cultural messages.

It can also be found that dampness, leakage, termites and odours were a result of building masonry architecture without regard for local architectural knowledge. Together, setting fire and firing guns at the consulates were the Chinese response to consulates' political aggression (regardless of their European or Chinese architectural appearance). Accidents with falling verandahs can be suggested as the consequence of requesting builders to build an unfamiliar construction or cheating. On the other hand, air pollution equally affected the health of members in TienTsin and ShangHai consulates and that of residents in many industrialised towns in Europe and America.

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<sup>90</sup> WORK 10/525, 15 October 1929 ShangHai Office to London Office, 22 November 1929 J. Bradley to Secretary; WORK 10/633 29 July 1910 A. Rose.

The above describes the situation as deduced from documents. Disagreements between the architects and consuls can also be seen in the correspondence, and the next chapter places more attention on the relationship between four roles involved in the construction of British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China.



[ill.8: 18] Mukden Consulate, detail drawings of porch, doors and screen.  
Source: WORK 40/253, date: 1909





## Chapter 9, an Image of the British Consulate

*Ms. Ashe was British, marrying into a hybrid [of Chinese and British], thus she paid extra attention to every detail, to entirely Anglicise herself... even though her husband was born in China, and had been the third generation living there; and the last relative of her own family has passed away... her life was like living in a colourful gift box, happily and delightfully; while the big world was dangerous in every corner... (Chang 1944, republished in 1954: 83-86)*

## From South to North

After the establishment of the first five consulates in 1843, the British government gradually expanded its influence in China from south to north, from coast cities to inland towns. Before the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works was withdrawn to HongKong in 1950, the British consulate expansion can be postulated in the following pattern. In the coast ports and later the YangTze River ones, an economic model was set up. Afterwards architectural experiments of a culturally eclectic kind took place through a series of alterations and remodellings in the PeKing Legation. The connection between the PeKing DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court, the International Mixed Court in ShangHai, and the British Supreme Court in the ShangHai Consulate reveals the architectural influence in the judicial system. For the consideration of East and Southeast Asian politics, posts were set up in different situations to define borders.

CanTon was initially of commercial importance in the era of the English East India Company, but it was also a starting point for the political encounter between the Ching Empire and the British Empire. Examining the CanTon consulate building scheme within a wider context, it can be seen that the British consulate architecture was little concerned with revolutionary China. That was the intention of the British officials in the Chinese Consular Services and the Office of Works. The CanTon consular establishment was by design a political element imposed by the British government on China, built in ignorance of the hostile social and natural circumstances. The consequence was that, as Roberts once explained rather frustratedly, 'Canton should be accorded the most generous treatment as it is a very trying place to live in and anything in the nature of cramped quarters makes conditions intolerable beyond the possibility of imagination to anyone in England'.<sup>1</sup>

PeKing Legation and TienTsin Consulate were both instituted in northern China in 1860, and the two posts were as closely connected as the Chinese Empire's capital and its international port. Furniture and supplies reached PeKing after the TienTsin consulate signed for the parcels and informed the Legation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WORK 10/299 '*Consulate General: damage by floods; rebuilding; liability for payment of building fees; effects of a political upheaval 1927*', 18 November 1926 W.J. Roberts to J.G. West.

<sup>2</sup> WORK 10/439 '*Peking*', 20 October 1868 R. Alcock to W. Crossman, 22 July 1869 TienTsin

The allied force of eight nations marched from their own municipal autonomies in TienTsin to the Legation District during the trouble of the Boxers. The architectural eclecticism, whose highest cultural form meant imperial power with a Europeanised lifestyle in the Legation, demonstrates the British control of two cultures. TienTsin was at the same time developed into a commercial and industrial port for the legation, but the pattern of industrialisation followed by pollution and rising land prices was repeated in the concession. The British officials condemned the old site, but the rebuilding of the consulate was never completed due to bureaucratic slowness, high land prices and political uncertainty.

ShangHai's rapid development of commercial importance in the treaty ports and the consulate's location in the middle of a completely Europeanised settlement gave the British officials little to be concerned about. However given the circumstances of its commerce and its closeness to the Chinese society, conflicts between the British and Chinese subjects were frequent. The attention of the British government to the post shifted to Chinese judicial reform, since the trade between the two countries had been successfully established. The DaLi-Yuan Supreme Court of the Ching Empire in PeKing was the result of another British attempt at architectural reform. The spatial structure changed from a series of courtyards along the central axis to rooms linked by corridors and surrounding two courtyards. The importance and secrecy of an establishment that explained itself through its deepness changed to an emphasis on its wideness and height to show authority and prestige. At the same time, the spaces inside the DaLi-Yuan new building showed westernised furnishing, but neither the symbols related to the European justice system nor those of the Chinese one were displayed.

The posts along the Yangtze River mark the second wave of expanding British economic influence in inland China. The establishment of consulates was reached its peak between 1861 and 1880 – 19 in total. Due to their similarity in commercial character with the first five posts they are excluded from the thesis, despite the consequence that their individualities in geography, politics or even leisure are also absent although they would enrich the completeness of the thesis. The architectural developments of British consulates in the YangTze valley could possibly provide alternative aspects from those seen in the other establishments. In

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Consulate to PeKing Legation, 11 October 1869 R. Alcock to R.H. Boyce.

addition, the reasons for large sums of money being spent on consulates without authorisation<sup>3</sup> open new suggestions of possible corruption or architectural problems. Nevertheless, to select as part of archival interpretation one or two model posts from SooChow (1896), ChinKiang (1861), NanKing (1900), WuHu (1877), KiuKiang (1861), HanKow (1861), YoChow (1900), ChangSha (1905), ShaSi (1897), IChang (1877), ChungKing (1877), ChaengTu (1902), and TaChienLu (1913), whose individual characters were all different from one another, would have been difficult to complete within the limited period of study.

Being part of the third wave of development from 1897-1930, and belonging to the border type (after the coast and inland ports) of the consulate architecture, the ports in YunNan, Manchuria and Chinese Turkistan were built up under different climatic and geographical conditions. Again, the sequence was first in the southern ports (1897-1902), which were close to British and French colonies, then in Kashgar (1904) as the consequence of the 'Great Game' with the Russians, and finally the north (1906-1930), where three major players (i.e., Japan, Russia, and China, see Chapter 1) in Asia added further tension. The consulates were built in places where the weather ranged from freezing to dry heat or humid, and whose culture varied from Muslim to Westernised Russian-Japanese dominated, and whose elevation was as high as 2,000 meters above sea level. The British officials disrespected the craftsmanship that had evolved and been adapted in the vicinity for centuries. They feared tropical diseases thought to be caused by crowding, and associated with heat and smells. Nevertheless, their designs for these different places remained similar, not to mention the life style in the compounds.

As it can be seen up to this point, the design principles of British consulate architecture changed little through time. Even when the European in the East and West began to rethink their 'complete Westernising of Oriental towns',<sup>4</sup> and even when the cultural landscape of concessions was replaced by different styles, little adjustment in the consulate appearance, not to mention the spatial structure, was considered by either the consuls or the architects in the 1920s.

The British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China seem to be a maladaptive design whose social structure and spatial organisation had gone

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<sup>3</sup> WORK 10/56/3 '*China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman*', 29 November 1866 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>4</sup> *The Builder*, 18 March 1927. Full text is quoted in Chapter 2.

through little change since 1872. The floor plans and site layouts are identical in all cases, regardless of their date of completion studied in the thesis. The time factor that the progress of domestic technologies and the increase of family member also affected little. Most obvious but the only change in respond to the progress of time was that more bedrooms were wanted. The spatial structure of consulate, especially that in consul's house, remained unchanged.

Fireplace and verandah, as two cultural symbols, still existed in consulate architecture whenever it was built, or whatever new technology, central heating or ceiling fan for instance, was fitted. The Wash House and Iron Room [ill.4: 3] in the PeKing Minister's quarter were replaced by Minister's housing block might have suggested the improvement of domestic technology, but it could also be the Minister wanted more space.

The evidence of Music room and Nursery in the 1876 plan of PeKing Legation suggests the existence of family life with children in the Legation before 1876 [ill.4: 3]. Change in the organisation of dwellers in other consulates might come later. Nevertheless, little change in the plans of house in PeKing Legation can be found between [ill.4: 3 (1876)] and [ill.4: 5 (1909)]. The Morning room that appeared in the 1908 plan of TienTsin Consul-General and Vice Consul's residences might be the result of change in dweller member [ill.7: 12], but little evidence of the late nineteenth century can prove it.

Despite criticising the PeKing Legation as too Europeanised in 1955, residents enjoyed a European style of living, which had not changed much since the opening of the legation, including billiards, fives games, bowling, piano playing and watching plays. Those cultural phenomena were partially due to the discomforts, unfamiliarity and homesickness of British officials.<sup>5</sup> The British emotionally and culturally needed a home-to-home connection to their familiar rhythms of life in an uncertain part of the world. Among all the cases studied, Robertson's YaMen was the only exception; however after he left his post, none of his successors was interested in living the same kind of life.

We might conclude that this life style of the consuls, together with a standardised design of floor plan and site layout, had been decided before the Far

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<sup>5</sup> Yet, political agenda can be found even in these forms of entertainment, as seen in Shipton, Diana, *The Antique Land* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1950), p. 51.

Eastern Division was set up in the ShangHai Consulate, and the design, particularly its spatial organisation, altered little after that. As to the part of the Division, it can be suggested that the architects in ShangHai were merely responsible for realising the structure of life and solving problems that might have interfered with the consuls' life in China.

## Control and the Uncontrollable

*The circumstances are in many points exceptionable and involve considerations rather falling within the province of the political & administrative agents of the Government than the Architect. (R. Alcock 16 June 1867)*

*Peking workmen at best are both slow and idle. Everything depends on the vigilance and intelligence with which they are overlooked. There are many charges for a certain number of workmen in completing a specific work which are in my opinion altogether disproportioned (sic) to the work done; but it admitted of no better check. (R. Alcock 11 January 1869)*

This thesis asks several questions from both Chinese and British sides in order to examine the nature of the British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China. First, in response to Hevia and Crinson, what essences were designed into the architecture to sustain itself in the environment of China, and how did the Chinese environment relate to the new design of architecture, in its cultural, climatic and geographical ways? Further, what kind of society and life style were formed inside the consulate compounds? The answers to these questions have gradually been given in a series of case studies.

However, there are also questions that have been believed important and yet proved too difficult to explain in the case studies: was the design of the British consulate architecture a result of collective minds or of individual will? As a collective body of funding, supervising and maintaining, what was the influence of the British bureaucratic system on the Divisional architects' design? Apart from the relationship between the architects and the consuls, in what way did the Chinese builders take part, other than carrying out construction works, in the age of consulate building? Did the part played by the builders also influence the character of the British consulate architecture in China?

Both the Chinese and English literature acknowledge the CanTon Guild of Carpenters's 1847 declaration that prevented Chinese builders from carrying out

erection or alteration works for foreigners. The announcement must have affected the construction of the consulate. At the same time, the tendency to disregard local workmanship since the beginning of the trade port era has appeared in every case in this research. These opinions were quite opposite to those in the era of the Thirteen Factory. Could the British position have been partly due to the Chinese builders' conflict against foreigners and their different way of building? Chapter 8 has presented one aspect of this possibility. It is necessary to investigate the roles of those directly involved in forming the image of British consulate architecture. Again the roles represented the difference between the two cultures.

### **Architects and their commissioners**

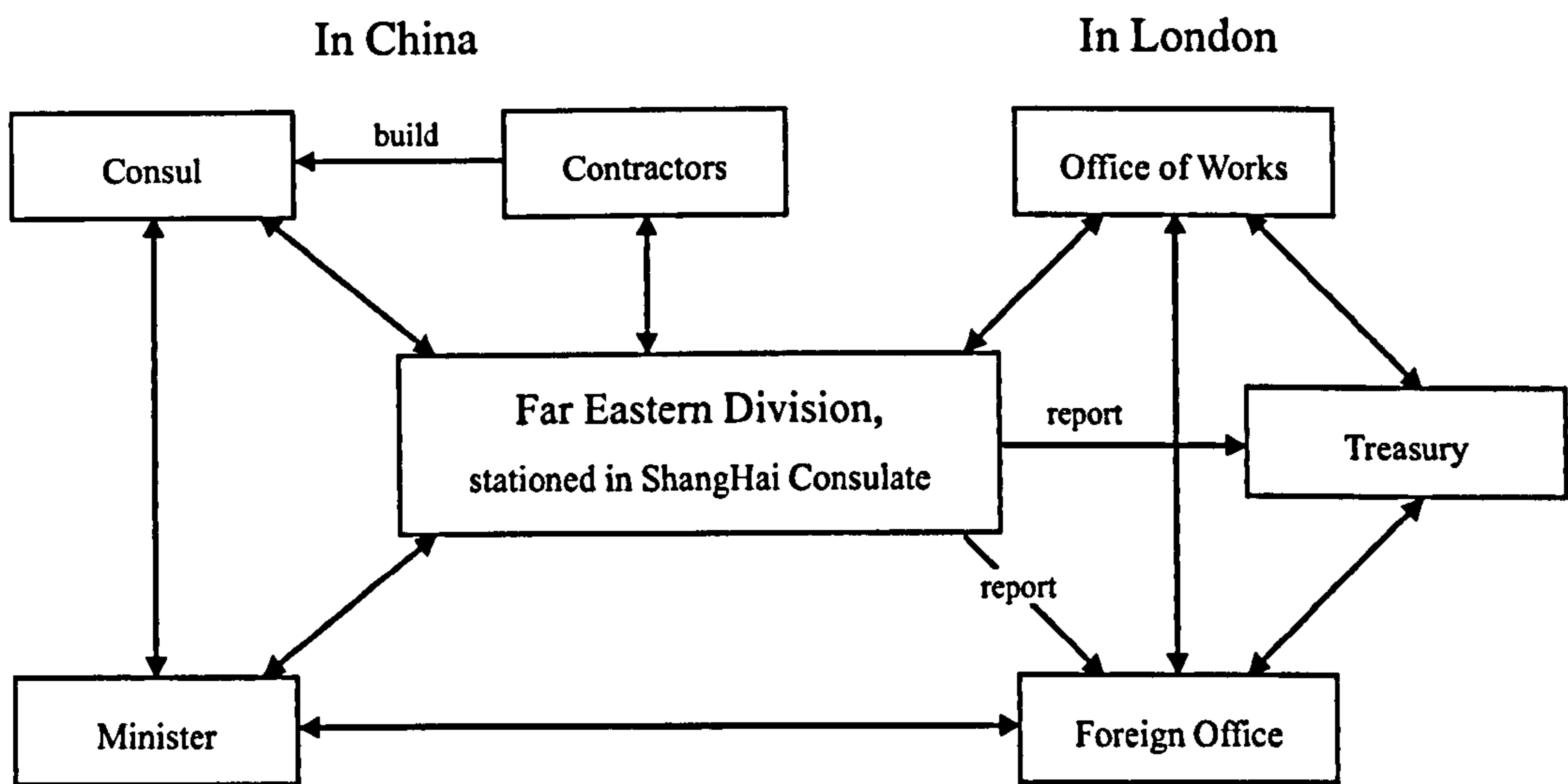
After the Office of Works took over the responsibility for public buildings abroad and set up its Far Eastern Division in Shanghai in early 1872, the procedure of building a consulate gradually took the standard form of proposal, revision, sanction, contracting, erection, and finally opening. In William Crossman's time, he alone was in charge of gathering information from and negotiating between different governmental organisations and their agents in China. Chapter 2 shows the brief development of the Shanghai Office. The cases studied from Chapter 4 to 8 have shown how the Shanghai Office pushed through the procedures.

In general and according to the documents collected, a project started with letters from the consul in post to the British Minister or his Chargé d'Affaires in the PeKing Legation, and to the Divisional Architect in the Shanghai Consulate. Before making his proposal, the consul usually occupied a rented building, whether of foreign or Chinese construction, from a foreign or Chinese landlord, for a particular period of time. The reason given for the proposal was generally the poor state of the original structure or the unsanitary condition of the surrounding area. Most of the time, the reason given by the consuls was both.

The drafts were replied to and forwarded to the legation and the London headquarters after communications back and forth regarding the local aspects and spatial requirements. In the meantime, both the Foreign Office and the Office of Works informed the Treasury about the project. Then the two departments received notices from their stationed agencies. The Treasury decided how much would be included in the annual estimates, and waited for the British Parliament's sanction. The Foreign Office decided the general features of the new consulate

after the sanction for the budget arrived. The two departments then directed their conclusions to, and discussed the revisions with, the London Office of Works. Together with the Board's opinions on the design, the Office of Works then forwarded all information to its divisional architect in ShangHai.

In China, the Legation received instructions from the Foreign Office regarding London's decision. The details, such as materials, construction, furniture and fittings were dealt with between PeKing, the consulate post, and ShangHai before tenders were invited for the final design. The whole construction was divided into different contracts, e.g., general works, masonry, electrics, plumbing and stoves (for the kitchen that prepared the officials' meals). Individually, the ShangHai Office alone drew up independent contracts with different traders and supervised the works through its own clerk of works on site. The winning contractor communicated mainly with the ShangHai Office or the clerk of works, and occasionally with the posted diplomats, regarding change of design, period of construction, obtaining of materials, rising prices, and other possible factors that might affect the works. The relationship of the main agencies of the consulate design and construction is displayed in the diagram [ill.9: 1].



[ill.9: 1] The Roles and Relations in the British Consulate Architecture Construction System after 1972.

Source: author

Sketch plans would be revised several times. Documents travelled from London to PeKing or ShangHai. The Division's staff, such as the clerk of works or architect, left ShangHai for the consulate sites covering China, Korea, Japan and



Southeast Asia [appendix i]. There were several projects to be dealt with at the same time. Initially maritime transportation was presumably responsible to ship plans in Crossman's time, and later the drawings travelled by train via Siberia. Progress in communication technology saved time in documental travel, from over four months in 1862 to just days in the 1930s. Wired instructions to and from London took just hours after the 1920s. Time of travel for personnel was reduced and comfort increased as the railway system across Asia progressed. However, all these developments did not necessarily reduce the time between drafting and building completion. What mainly slowed down the projects, as the CanTon, TienTsin and TengYueh cases have shown, were indecisive consuls, unpredictable politics, changing prices, and uncooperative builders, but the bureaucratic system of the British Empire delayed the constructions most of all.

It is ironic from London's perspective to examine the business of the ShangHai Office in connection with its purposes of establishment. The Treasury sent Crossman to China in order to avoid the frequent and large number of demands for instructions or authority. What the Treasury tried to avoid, it in fact contradicted with its other goal of providing efficient supervision of the works. The entire procedure was literally done through paperwork. If any structure or instruction was not written down in dispatches, no action could be taken in China. In the meantime, London admitted difficulties in reaching judgements even with reports from their local agents. For example, the London Board was unable to decide which parcel of land should be obtained for the future TienTsin consular compound. Poor judgement in international politics is seen in the TengYueh case. The bureaucrats later rejected in 1872 R. Boyce's proposal to include new structures or apparatuses that met the new requirements 20 years after the competition of the ShngHai Consulate. The Treasury refused in 1919 to pay for a piece of Harbin land because it was not authorised.

Before the Far Eastern Division was formally established, Rutherford Alcock had ruled out responsibilities being shared simply between the diplomats and the architects.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the crucial members of the division, especially those in the early stages like W. Crossman, R.H. Boyce, (arguably F.J. Marshall and W. Cowan) and C.J.W. Simpson, all came to China with an engineering background

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<sup>6</sup> WORK 10/440 *Letters from Sir R. Alcock*, 16 June 1867 PeKing Legation to F.O.

that was expected to solve problems but not to design architecture. An assisted role was carried out through the service of the Division until its withdrawal in 1950.

Architecturally, the consuls already had a concrete idea of what a British consulate should be. When the architects submitted proposals that might have better suited the situation, they were generally turned down by the diplomats. In TengYueh, where the foreign methods of construction were unfamiliar to the local builders, a mixed construction of Chinese structure and European interior was a practical and quicker solution. The arrangement of open spaces in the ShangHai Consulate compound shows the contradictions between the ideas of R.H. Boyce and those of the consuls (including the judicial officials) in 1867. Eventually Boyce gave in. As for the other cases, the ShangHai Division usually followed the consuls' instructions.

Nevertheless, the architects in the ShangHai Office had some room for architectural creativity in spite of their obedience in the correspondence. The external form of the consulate architecture, or the style of it, were their most obvious attempts. The architects hardly sensed the complexity of the Chinese geographical or cultural contexts. Inside the well-developed concessions, named publicly as 'Paris of the East', 'Wall Street of China' and so on, the city identities were quickly picked up. A building with German style roof was the design concept for the 1919-established Consulate to TsingTao,<sup>7</sup> which was still under strong home German influence [ill.9: 2, 3].<sup>8</sup>

In the 1920s, the architects seemed to be attracted by the image of the grand free-standing complex building. The correspondence suggests that the architects had spotted the trend of high-rise building as a powerful symbol of an enterprise. Being one of the major competitors against Russia, W.J. Roberts successfully

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<sup>7</sup> The documents about the construction of the TsingTao Consulate cannot be found in the WORK or the FO category of the UK National Archive collections except photographs. Despite it being included in the 1952 maintenance list of the Far Eastern Division, it remains uncertain if the Division designed the building or whether it was in rented accommodation. This thesis makes the assumption that it was one of the ShangHai Office's design projects based on the evidence that the photograph albums are in the ShangHai Office's portfolios. For the list of public building overseas maintenance and special services, see WORK 22/239 '*Removal of Ministry of Works office from Shanghai to Hong Kong*', 1 January 1952 Far Eastern Division, HongKong to London Office.

<sup>8</sup> Japan seized all German territories in 1914 by declaring war on Germany, at the outbreak of the First World War, see Chapter 2. Japan's sovereign over ex-German lands in China was secured in Paris Peace Conference in April 1919.

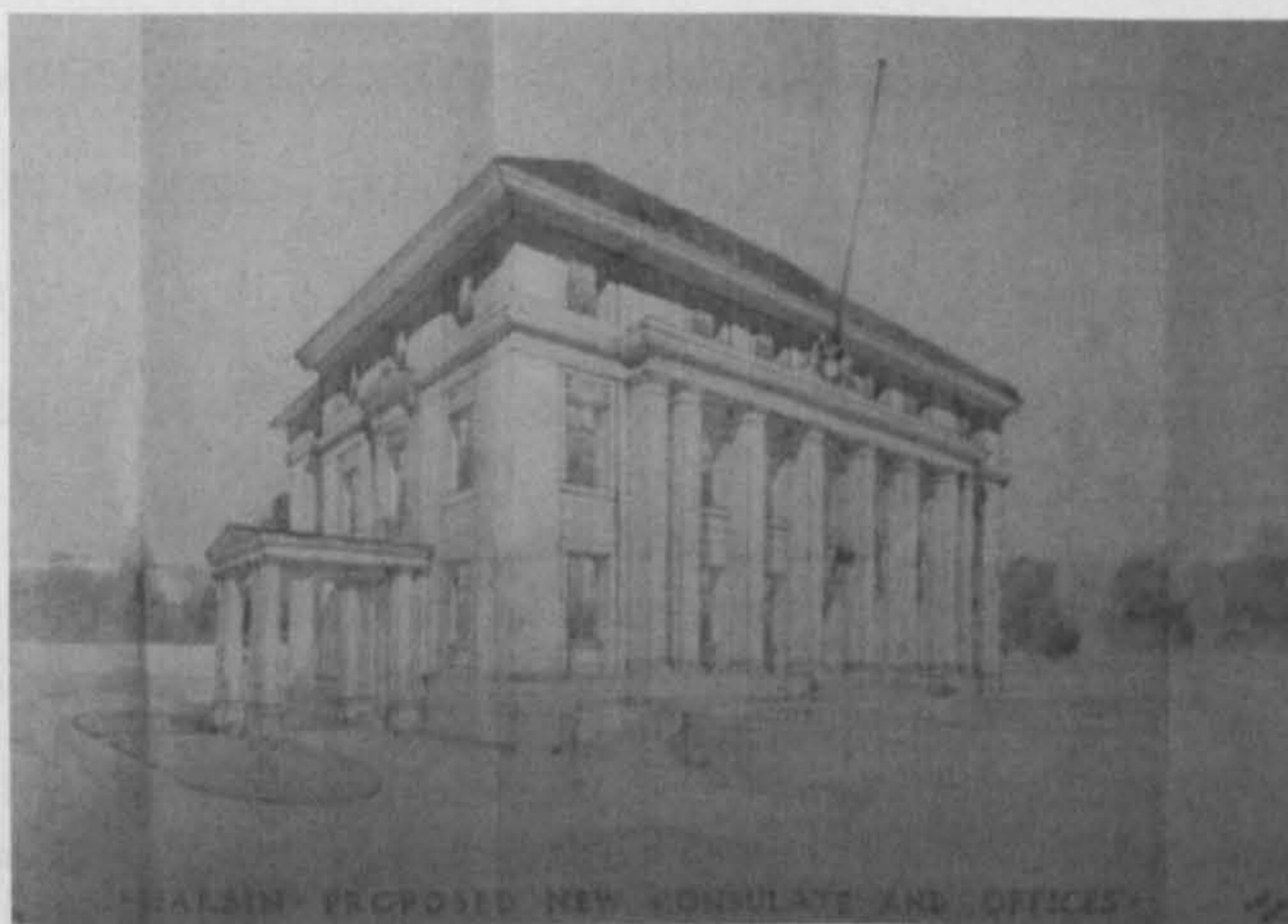
persuaded two other departments in late 1925 to raise a consulate three-storeys high plus one-storey roof in Harbin. Before Roberts's proposal was approved, the architects' aim to manifest the order and legitimacy of Britain in China had been shown in J. Bradley's earlier sketches [ill.9: 4], but the PeKing Minister rejected Bradley's 'clumsy and unsuitable' design.<sup>9</sup> The problems of single building design that the minister criticised, such as flow of planning, plumbing and privacy control, actually remained unsolved in Roberts's attempt. It is the only case in this study that reserved a wider neo-classical façade for the office entrance.



[ill.9: 2] TsingTao Consulate, residence and Office and its neighbourhood.  
Source: WORK 55/3, date: 1911-35.



[ill.9: 3] TsingTao Consulate.  
Source: WORK 55/17, date: 1911-35.



[ill.9: 4] Harbin Consulate, J. Bradley's proposal.  
Source: WORK 10/524, date: 1924.

<sup>9</sup> WORK 10/524 'Construction of offices for the Consulate-General', 19 December 1924 PeKing Legation to FO.

When the verandahs were still a dominant motif of British consulate architecture, an indication of changing taste took place in 1908. A set of drawings was prepared by C.J.W. Simpson for the Mukden consulate with bay windows facing south in the dining and drawing rooms of the ground floor. The theme continued to the upper floor, repeated in the two bedrooms.<sup>10</sup> No evidence suggests that the consul requested it. The proposal was not realised, but in 1924 the Consul to Harbin began to appreciate bay windows for his house.<sup>11</sup> The TsingTao Consulate shows the same favouring of the bay window. There was a bay window at the centre of the first floor. A balcony was located by the side of the bay window [ill.9: 2].

The British Legation in PeKing shows another of the architects' experiments with styles. A failure to recognise the principles of classic Chinese architecture has been pointed out in relation to the Legation Chapel. Nevertheless, some characteristic essences of Chinese architecture were preserved. The number of magic animals, which in the Chinese imperial system symbolise the correct hierarchical relation with other buildings, was seemingly acknowledged and repeated in its porch and its bell tower [ill.9: 5]. The Stables, probably in use before 1915, combined an experimental mixture of rational Western planning and romantic Chinese detail. Together with the Chancery Office and the Chancery Assistant's Quarters, they perhaps reflect the skilful practice of C. Simpson or H. Ashmead and their draughtsmen in the ShangHai Office.

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<sup>10</sup> WORK 10/358 '*Consulate: purchase of land, proposals and erections of residential and office buildings for political reasons*', 30 September 1908 ShangHai Office to London Office, 24 October 1908 to Secretary.

<sup>11</sup> However, it seemed to the consul that a bay window and an enclosed verandah were the same construction, see, WORK 10/524, 6 May 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office.



[ill.9: 5] PeKing Legation Chapel, entrance façade and bell tower.  
Source: (Cranmer-Byng 1963)

### **Builders and their contract owner**

In the era of Thirteen Factories, few residents disliked the condition of the Hongs they dwelled in as well as the conventional Chinese craftsmanship that they represented. The foreigners' opinions changed to the opposite side after the China market was opened until the beginning of the twentieth century. The Shanghai New Customs House and its architect, Palmer & Turner, received honours from the foreign societies following its completion in 1893, but the contractor's name, Yang, SiSheng, was then less regarded.

At the same time, the potential of Chinese builders working on consulates was still undermined by their British clients. Few contemporary accounts held a positive opinion of them like Rennie's.<sup>12</sup> Part of the reason is that some erections were carried out by ship carpenters at the early stage of the trade ports. There was also the problem of inexperience. Nevertheless, some Chinese builders did earn a reputation for reliance from the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works in the mid 1920s, with politics at their back, while others remained disregarded.

The Craftsmanship section in Chapter 8 presented another possible perspective for the interaction between the builders and their clients, but can it be explored further? Can the reason behind the incident of the falling verandah have been the Chinese builders' opposition to the emerging European architecture? The first record of the Chinese builders causing the verandah's fall in the WORK

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<sup>12</sup> Rennie, David F., *Peking and the Pekingese: During the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1865), pp. 27-28, 168.

category was dated at 1862,<sup>13</sup> which is fifteen years after the statement from the Guild of CanTon Carpenters. Considering that the event might have taken place some time before the dispatch was drafted, it suggests another possibility more crucial than mere unfamiliarity with new construction.

In the same year that the Treasury was increasing supervision on the expenses of the consulate construction and maintenance in East Asia, accounts of the Chinese builders' working processes began to collect in the WORK files. Apart from the reports of Ashworth (1851) and Rennie (1860), one of the earliest evidences is a building estimate written in Chinese for the NingPo Consulate. Possibly drawn up in early 1864,<sup>14</sup> the estimate shows how contemporary Chinese understood the European buildings and how the builders communicated with their clients. An English translation accompanied it, which also provides a chance to understand how the British saw the same subject:

*Two buildings, 45 ft broad x 60 ft deep, with three 遊巡 (sic) 8 ft broad each.*

*Foot of wall 4 ft 5 in high. Below story 15 ft high. Up story 15 ft high. (sic)*

*The whole height 34 ft 5 in. (sic)*

*The work will be undertaken including a passage in the middle building for the consideration of \$21,600. Wood materials excepted.*

*In all three building for the sum of \$33,900.*

*Timber, hinges, locks, iron materials, glass, varnish, paint &c for the sum of \$12,300. (WORK 10/433, 29 August 1865, b)*

The interpreter first put 'porch' with a question mark following the Chinese term 遊巡 (literally roam and rounding)<sup>15</sup>, and then another hand remarked '(can't

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<sup>13</sup> WORK 10/430 'Treasury', 10 October 1862 PeKing Legation to F.O.

<sup>14</sup> The proposal was disposed of because it was drawn before Crossman's taking over of the supervision in the East Asia. See, Izumida, Hideo, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part I', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan*, 15 (1990), 93-104; Izumida, Hideo, 'British Consular and Legation Buildings in East Asia, Part II', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan*, 16 (1991), 78-91. However the outcome of Crossman's final design in 1870 was ideally similar to Xu's. The design, although being one single standing building, consisted of three blocks. All three were built with verandahs. Each block was divided into two sides by a central hallway. See WORK 10/56/3, 8 February 1867 W. Crossman to Treasury.

<sup>15</sup> The term is pronounced in YouXun in mandarin and YeuZoen in local dialect. The dialect pronunciation is important in this section to demonstrate the cross cultural interaction, thus official mandarin and local dialect are placed together as technical terms applied.

make out what it is)' under it. Presumably later, a third person added 'verandah'.<sup>16</sup>

There are some differences between the English translation and the original Chinese estimate. Firstly, the term *Oceanic* is placed before the *house* to identify that the works would be to raise foreign buildings. The Chinese copy organised its sentences differently as well. It constructs a sequence as follows: oceanic house with two Jins (進, courtyard) and their dimensions, verandah and its width, foot of wall and its height, heights of ground and upper floors, height in total of the buildings and its material and labour expenses (21,600 oceanic silver), exclusion of wood material, middle building with a passage in it, together three buildings. The second line explains the extra expenses for materials (12,300 oceanic silver), and the final line is material charge for three buildings (22,900 oceanic silver). The estimate ends with 'estimated by Xu, DeHua', the name of the service provider. [appendix iii: 1]

The Chinese still applied the idea of courtyard houses to describe the number of buildings. That is to say the builders understood it as 'to build a set of oceanic houses consisting of three courtyards/ halls (進, Jin)'. The final result could be a row of three courtyards and three halls including a gatehouse, or three courtyards and three halls with the first courtyard open (very likely to a stretch of fields) depending on local circumstance or the client. The Chinese version does not provide further information about its layout. On the other hand, the British understood it as to build three single buildings. This could have caused arguments during the actual construction works, because of different ideas about site arrangements.

Along with the site planning, there is one expressional difference between the English and Chinese copies, and the Chinese builder's confusion can be seen in it. The original Chinese line runs 'plus a central courtyard/ hall with a walkway in it, [thus] in total three courtyards/ halls of oceanic houses'. No matter whether it is *a passage in the middle building*, as the British understood it, or *a central hall with a walkway in it*, as the Chinese put it, what they indicate could be the same central hallway as that in the junior legation staff's residences [ill.4: 3, 5], all the British officials' houses at the original TienTsin consular compound [ill.7: 11-13], or the

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<sup>16</sup> WORK 10/433 'Ningpu and Shanghai', 29 August 1865 NingPo Consulate to Surveyor General's Office, HongKong, b.

residential blocks of the TengYueh [ill.8: 13] and the Mukden [ill.8: 14] Consulates. In comparison with Chinese architecture [ill.6: 2, 3, 17] [ill.8: 3, 4], *a walkway in a hall could be an unimaginable concept for the builders in the first instance.*<sup>17</sup> Consequently, the line was written only after the expenses had already been valued and another estimate had to be made for the third building.

The next two accounts were kept in mid 1871 when houses for the Law Secretary and Chief Clerk of the ShangHai British Supreme Court were proposed. These two contracts were written in English, and then stamped by the contractors with their own Chinese names written out. One of them is a general contract [appendix iii: 2] that agreed for Wong, MaoChang 'to supply all the labour and materials, which are to be the best of their respective kinds, necessary for the entire completion of the above mentioned buildings, and in every respect similar to the adjoining new houses for the Interpreter and Consular Assistants, and to the extent shown on plans no.370/374 and dated 23 March 1870, with the exceptions hereinafter stated, for the sum of dollars 11,700'.<sup>18</sup> The exceptional materials, counting grates, chimneypieces, locks, bolts, brass catches, hinges and screws, eaves gutters and down pipes, were provided by the ShangHai Office. The contractor's payments included the fitting of the above items.<sup>19</sup>

The synopsis, which is not seen in the 1865 estimates, lists that Wong, MaoChang and his builders should follow such instructions as that a three feet deep and 2'6" wide concrete foundation be applied under all main walls, and that it be two feet deep and two feet wide under all lesser walls. The style of roof follows that of the Interpreter and Assistants' houses, and the detailed sizes of materials such as principals, purlins and girders are all explained.<sup>20</sup> The details of masonry were isolated from the general contract. It was tendered by Sun, SingCung, who agreed with his builders to follow the exact design [appendix iii: 3]

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<sup>17</sup> If they finally realised what they were supposed to do, the design would almost certainly have offended them because a house being cut through right in the centre to make a passage was a doomed one. No evidence in contemporary materials can be cited to support the argument, although in present-day public or scholarly literature it is a Feng-Shui concept that is little challenged.

<sup>18</sup> WORK 10/33/9 'Erection of residences for the Law Secretary and Chief Clerk', 31 July 1871 contract between Wong and ShangHai Office on behalf of Office of Works.

<sup>19</sup> WORK 10/33/9, 31 July 1871 contract between Wong and ShangHai Office on behalf of Office of Works.

<sup>20</sup> WORK 10/33/9, 31 July 1871 contract between Wong and ShangHai Office.



drawn by the ShangHai Office at the expense of \$1,100.<sup>21</sup> The Chinese builders, who had once followed the *Lu Ban Classic of Carpentry* or other construction manuals, had to adapt themselves to the Western standard contracting system. One contract applied only to one erection work, and each contract stated individually the materials, dimensions, and most of all the appearances, differently from another.

Similar was the case in the 1872 rebuilding of the ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office.<sup>22</sup> With the exclusion of the stone works, the bidding estimate of Chiew, LeeFung demonstrates the ability to manage Western methods of construction using Western materials [appendix iii: 4].<sup>23</sup> A few details are worth pointing out. First, the builders had by that time understood more about the European idea of architecture. Chiew uses *Lou*, which means single-standing multi-storey structure, to refer to the building. Furthermore, it is very likely that the Chinese had by then developed a term – 人字 or Nyin-Shaped to describe the triangulation in European roof structure, or maybe more precisely the king post truss.<sup>24</sup> A traditional term *Chia/ Ka*,<sup>25</sup> which refers to the distance between two purlins or simply the number of purlins, was still applied. Materially, concrete, or 康葛里脫 (KangGeLieTou/ KhaonKehLiThoh) as Chinese Mandarin/ Shanghainese pronounced it, began to be used in the foundations, hallway floors, and possibly for verandahs in this case.<sup>26</sup> Iron nails, alien to Chinese carpentry,

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<sup>21</sup> WORK 10/33/9, 1 August 1871 contract between Sun and ShangHai Office.

<sup>22</sup> WORK 10/33/8 'Rebuilding of the Supreme Court and Consular Offices', 2 March 1872 ShangHai Office to London Office, 28 February 1872 tender estimate submitted by Chiew, LeeFung.

<sup>23</sup> The construction took unreasonably a whole year to complete the two-storey judicial and consular office building, and comprador's quarters, sailors' waiting room &c. altogether at expenses of \$24,400 for general contract, 2,844 for stone works, 1,535 for English ironmongery, 724 for local-supply ironmongery and 57 for fixing eave gutters and grates. Approximately £6,000 in total for the rebuilding works. The London Office regarded the final result as 'satisfactory'. WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873 ShangHai Office to London Office.

<sup>24</sup> The triangular shape is an unfavoured feature in Chinese architecture, especially in load-bearing structures.

<sup>25</sup> Liang explains *Chü-Chia* (literally lifting the purlins) and how it affects the pitch and curvature of roofs in his *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, but he missed the fact that craftsmen largely used *Chia* to describe the depth of a building under the modular system of TouKung. It is unclear, due to the impossibility of further investigation into the subject building, whether the composition of the roof structure of the British Judicial and Consular Office building followed the European or the Eastern system.

<sup>26</sup> Chiew's estimate may refer to the verandah in different terms from that in the NingPo case. It could be a walkway or verandah. The use of concrete as the verandah floor can be seen in the case of TamSui Consulate. The construction uses iron sheets as a mould as well as for its ceiling

were also used in the works.<sup>27</sup>

Together with the design and dimension of the judge's seat (180 oceanic dollars), the daily activities inside the building can also be deduced. Details such as nineteen bells (total 103 dollars), presumably for calling for the office servants or messengers, can be found in the estimate. Ten knocking bells, presumably clocks, and six toilet sets are also in the fittings list. Chairs, desks and clothes stands and hangers together with two shoe racks, or boot scrapers, are all required. Precautions such as the provision of an iron door for the archive store are explained fully in size, thickness and installation.

Terms and conditions, for instance that three oceanic dollars would be removed daily from his wages if a worker showed laziness, were then already part of the contract. Six dollars daily might be claimed from the four thousand dollars deposit by the client for delay in completion. The deadline might be postponed if continuous rain affected the works. Incidental damage and fire insurance were also the contractor's responsibility. However this research cannot determine whether Chiew's estimate distinguishes any differences between the Western standard of the terms and conditions and the Chinese one.<sup>28</sup>

Less than ten years after the Treaty of NanKing, Chinese builders already expected that they could and would build any building foreigners asked them for, but at the same time their ability was greatly questioned. The ShangHai Division's contracting system was systematically developed based on this expectation. It was a necessary means of controlling the Chinese builders to build in the way that the British consuls desired. Under such a system, it seems that Chinese builders were left with only two options: either to build exactly as they asked for, or to refuse. No further evidence suggests there was any conscious challenge from Chinese builders in the construction of British Consulate architecture after 1868,<sup>29</sup>

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finishing.

<sup>27</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 28 February 1872 tender estimate submitted by Chiew.

<sup>28</sup> WORK 10/33/8, 28 February 1872 tending estimate submitted by Chiew.

<sup>29</sup> In 1924 the builders in CanTon were allied and made claims to the Office of Works to pay the contractor in full before relaying gutters, which were leaking seriously just after the building was completed. The cause could be the economic decision during wartime of using galvanised iron in the newly commissioned building. Information in the document does not led to judge if the claim was driven by then political tension between China and the Britain or by the disagreement between the contractors and the ShangHai Office. See WORK 10/299, 14 February 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office, 16 June 1924 London Office to ShangHai Office, 3 July 1924 ShangHai Office to London Office.

although the consequence of the Chinese people's industrial actions were evident in the CanTon case. A possible third way of using charms or spells to curse commissioners, needs evidence from on-site investigation. Deliberately choosing an imbalanced and therefore unlucky number had already been prevented by the contracting system.<sup>30</sup>

It is at this point arguable that the relation between Chinese builders and British consulates became established on a more professional and less political basis. Even in remote districts, where Chinese builders probably remained unaware of the European methods of construction, the relationship stayed professional. Acting Consul G. Litton to TengYueh reckoned 'nothing will induce them to grasp the idea that a contract must be done up to time & according to specification' after he helped the Customs with their customs house construction.<sup>31</sup> The contrast provides a chance to clarify the difference in professions as practised in China and in Britain. Both the customs house and the consulate were designed facing west, and as was shown in Chapter 9, it would have been considered rather *unprofessional* by the Chinese carpenters if they had simply continued without questioning the design.

Nevertheless, the craftsmanship of the Chinese building tradition was limited to its minimum, although it is commonly suggested that the glazed ventilation holes at the foundation walls, glazed balusters, and ceramic roof tiles, and other Chinese characters were part of the Chinese builders' contribution. The design of the PeKing Legation shows that it was part of the ShangHai Office's intention to manipulate the style. If Chinese builders had any influence in the alteration of the Legation Chapel, the biting-dragon terracotta on the Church porch would have been replaced by a more suitable watching-dragon [ill.4: 9][ill.9: 5].

It is also evident that the Chinese builders were only responsible for the materials, with little affect on the appearance of the buildings [appendix iii: 4]. The stone works were separately contracted in order to reach an outcome as

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<sup>30</sup> The *Lu Ban Class of Carpentry* includes elaborate instructions about secret symbolic markings that can be inscribed within the joints in order to bring the houseowner good or ill-fortune, as well as propitiatory rites that can be enacted against such curses. See, Ruitenbeek, Klaas, *Carpentry and Building in Late Imperial China: A Study of the Fifteenth-Century Carpenter's Manual Lu Ban jing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), pp. 82-89.

<sup>31</sup> WORK 10/633 'Purchase of a site for the Consulate', 21 July 1905 TengYueh Consulate to ShangHai Office.

correct as the drawings [appendix iii: 3]. Even the ironmongery was shipped from England or bought from local foreign suppliers. At places as remote as TengYueh, the ShangHai Office insisted on using their own clerk of works and their own design to build a European building at the border of Bummer and YunNan.<sup>32</sup> According to the evidence gathered so far, the hypothesis that the Chinese characteristics in British consulate architecture were local contribution deserves a more detailed test.

The most likely part for which the Chinese builder took responsibility could be the servants' quarters, which usually adjoined the back of the main building, and whose layout was usually disregarded during the discussion process. However, the plan of the servants' quarters in many cases show Western spatial organisation, especially in the connection of kitchen, pantry and dining room, as described in Chapter 6 and 9. It is also an unsolved question how accommodation for servants or even slaves was designed in the Imperial time of China. Kangs in the servants' quarters can be suggested as the contribution of Chinese builders' knowledge. In most of the plans of the consulate architecture, the interiors of the servants' quarters were left empty except those shown in [ill.4: 7], [7: 12, 13] and [8: 14]. Nevertheless, almost no evidence can be found to credit the builders' contribution of local knowledge.

So far the above evidence shows no contradiction with the arguments presented in Chapter 2 that the Chinese builders expanded their knowledge of the European architectural system through one contract after another. Some months after the contract of the ShangHai Judicial and Consular Office was signed, the architect changed the original design and asked the contractor to place a weatherboard above the eaves to throw the rain off. Additional payment for the extra labour and materials was requested, and the Office of Works at London considered it 'reasonable'.<sup>33</sup> As their understanding and experiences advanced,

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<sup>32</sup> Apart from that, competition between the Far Eastern Division and the Works Departments in the Britain's Far Eastern colonies, including Burma, can also be suggested in this case, although the colonial works departments were also formed of engineers, see Cuddy, Brendan and Mansell, Tony, 'Engineers for India: The Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill', *History of Education*, 23/1 (1994), 107-123. The Far Eastern Division could have held a superior attitude toward the Works Department of the colonies, because the Division was an overseas branch run directly from the London Office of Works. Despite that, the Kashgar consulate was under the Works Department of British India.

<sup>33</sup> WORK 10/33/8, ShangHai Office to London Office, 14 November 1872 ShangHai Office to

the Chinese took over what once was the business of the Far Eastern Division. In mid 1927, Wong, ShingPing visited the ShaMeen Consulate to examine what caused the roof leakage. In a few days the ShangHai Office received Wong's suggestion, which was recommended to the London Office.<sup>34</sup>

Since the Chinese had to build as exactly as possible to the architects' design, or at least to build something that looked like the drawings, then the failures of the British Consulate architecture were due to lack of knowledge on either the British or the Chinese side. Evidence can be found in the ShangHai<sup>35</sup> and TamSui cases of odours rising from the basement, insufficient exchange of air in the ShangHai and ShaMeen consulates, inefficient thermal isolation (PeKing, TienTsin), water leakage (PeKing, ShaMeen), white ants (ShaMeen), falling verandahs (FooChow, Kashgar), and so on.

## **An Image of the British Consulate**

It is stated in Chapter 2 that the Works Department only took over the care of the diplomatic establishments for unusual occasions. Embassies in Istanbul, Paris and Madrid were these occasions. Conditions in the Far East were also unusual enough for the British government. The Foreign Office had to set up a joint service consisting of diplomat, justice and consuls. An Office of Works's division was also established in ShangHai to take care of accommodation for these establishments.

Istanbul Embassy was the first British public building in Asia. The construction date of the new embassy building there between 1844 and 1851 was the same era that the British established their first five Far East consular posts. When the conference on the establishment of the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works was held in 1865, E. Hornby relayed the benefit of his Istanbul experiences.<sup>36</sup> The link between the Istanbul embassy and the Far Eastern establishments was evident, and the connection was made first the diplomats and then by the architects.

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London Office, 28 November 1872 London Office to ShangHai Office, 23 January 1873  
London Office to ShangHai Office.

<sup>34</sup> WORK 10/299, 30 July 1927 Wong to ShangHai Office, a, 30 July 1927 Wong to ShangHai Office, b.

<sup>35</sup> WORK 10/430, 3 April 1866 ShangHai Consulate to PeKing Legation.

<sup>36</sup> WORK 10/430 22 December 1865.

*The History of the King's Works*, together with Crinson, credits the Office of Works and its architects,<sup>37</sup> but this thesis suggests that the consuls themselves were a decisive factor in the process of consulate image forming. *British Prestige* was frequently stressed whenever and whatever the consul asked for – a new residence, installation of water closets, extension of a verandah or just improvement on the gutters. British prestige was the privilege that the Foreign Office gave to the consuls so that they could rightfully present their requests to the Office of Works and the Treasury. The requests demanded that British prestige be presented both internally and externally. The consuls' domestic wishes ranged from simply improving their life standards in a far-away home to reconnecting with the social order from home and to ease their homesickness. Their external needs included demonstrating British civilisation and power.

As a result, a familiar spatial structure mixing homeland and Orientalist impressions was formed to provide the British officials with a sense of stability and belonging. The standardisation of such a spatial structure also made the officials, who were constantly posted from one city to another, acquainted with their future accommodation. So a consul or other officer could easily prepare himself with necessaries of groceries, furniture and clothing, even servants beforehand,<sup>38</sup> and could quickly pick up the tasks handed over to him by his predecessor on arrival. It is then understandable that a considerable number of despatches were prepared by *acting* officials.

A clear appearance of British consulate architecture had to be consciously maintained regardless of environmental damage. The damage came from a hostile society as seen in the CanTon case, from natural hazards as also seen in the CanTon case, from industrial pollution in the TienTsin case, and from objections by the builders in the case of the TengYueh consulate. In addition, the bureaucrat was another potential cause of destruction, as in the decay of buildings due to extensive process of application and sanction (TienTsin), and passive response to local estate market (TienTsin, Mukden) and politics (TengYueh, Harbin). Architects contributed their unfamiliarity to local building knowledge.

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<sup>37</sup> Crook, J. Mordaunt and Port, M. H. (eds.), *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H.M. Colvin VI vols. (VI; London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1973), pp. 633-39; Crinson, Mark, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 128.

<sup>38</sup> FO 678/1478 'Yunnanfu: Plans of Consulate Site', 20 December 1907 Wilkinson to Sly.

Nonetheless, the diplomats and their architects deliberately chose to repeat exactly the same appearance in the rebuilding projects of the ShangHai (1872), TienTsin (1919, uncompleted) and CanTon (1921 and 1948) consulates.

Chapter 7 argues that the verandah floor plan and the compound site layout both represented a British Oriental anxiety, and it is clear that these two major characteristics dominated the British consuls' minds as the image of British consulate architecture. They were both developed following the consuls' needs for hierarchical social order, but they also had the external function of showing British power and order to the rest of the world. The image of the verandah and compound also sent out a message of British consulate architecture's cleanness and pureness in contrast with the disordered and filthy Far East.

All in all, the most important image of the British judicial, diplomatic, and consular establishments in China was the consul's sense of privilege in his compound, as Chapter 8 further suggests. British prestige was frequently referred to as the reason for a wider verandah or a grander building, but national pride could be sacrificed if there was any contradiction with the consul's privacy. As the result, spaces in the consulates were arranged around the comfort of the consuls, whose office and private study were at the centre of all activities. The consuls' favours (e.g., access and views to gardens, woods and landscape) were reserved for him while his disfavours (e.g., other consular staff and Chinese characters) were cleared out of his sight.

Clerks were employed to help the consul with his duties. The deepest space they could reach was the consul's private study, unless they were treated as the consul's close friends. But little information is provided as to whether the assistant's residence and its connection to the consul's house were designed differently based on the race of the occupants.<sup>39</sup> Servants helped with the consul's daily activities. Although they had access to every space, the spatial organisation concealed their appearance and prevented them from interfering with the consul's life. The visitors used a different entrance, which was clearly distinguished in dimension and style, according to their social statutes. The image, which consisted

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<sup>39</sup> It is seen in photographs that the assistants of the remote consulates were generally Chinese [ill.6: 18, 19 (1924)], [ill.8: 4 (1910)]. Based on the dress of the Chinese, and the social structure of the time, the Chinese characters in the photographs are unlikely to be of any other occupation but the consuls' assistants. It is however clear that the separation of meal was based on racial issue.

of verandah, compound and consul's office/ study, was enhanced through daily rituals,<sup>40</sup> and dressing codes,<sup>41</sup> such as tea break in their summer dress on the verandah.

The role of the architects was to sustain the consul's life style, which had existed before they were introduced into the system. As a result, they had to communicate with every member in the system [ill.9: 1]. The architects in ShangHai realised a British idea of Chinese life for the consuls through contracting and supervising constructions.<sup>42</sup> New technologies, durable materials and climatic mechanisms, such as concrete, weather boards and ceiling fans, were adapted partially for Western superiority,<sup>43</sup> but more for practical reasons of securing the comfort of the consuls. Their privilege was further secured through the ShangHai Office's dealing in real estate so as to keep away any disturbance from the out side world. The builders were required to build houses according to detailed specifications.

After surveying the Victorian buildings built in the Near East, Crinson concludes there was no shared image for British architecture, despite a shared attitude toward the Orient. One of the reasons, he continues, is that there was no simple and unified audience or player, i.e., race and culture, that the British

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<sup>40</sup> The daily sequence of the consul's family life can be read in Shipton, *The Antique Land*.

<sup>41</sup> Evidence from the British side can be found in FO 228/1442 '*From Tengyueh - Yunnanfu, Office of Works and Miscellaneous (Accounts)*', 16 October 1902 O.W., ShangHai to PeKing Legation.

<sup>42</sup> Interestingly enough, throughout the service of the Far Eastern Division, accommodation for the architects was never filed in the document. Even Boyce's rebuilding scheme of the ShangHai Consulate did not include his residence. The architects were sent to ShangHai only to design houses for diplomats and consuls. W. Crossman and R.H. Boyce evidently stayed in rented accommodation, and arguably so did their successors and junior members of the Division. For the conditions of the Far Eastern Division, details can be found in WORK 22/22/1 '*China: general conditions of service*' (1897-1937), WORK 22/22/2 '*China and Japan: Clerks of Works; conditions of service*' (1907-1942), WORK 22/237 '*China staff: general conditions of service; allowances and leave etc*' (1938-1951). This research did not embrace systematic examination of the files.

<sup>43</sup> Demonstrating the superior power of Western technology, especially military forces, was an important part of colonialism. It is studied in several books and research papers. There was intensive use of up-to-date scientific knowledge in drainage and sewage systems, as seen in Chapter 4 and 8. There was also a pedagogy of disciplining Chinese servants to use these technologies, as seen in Chapter 4. However not only inefficiency and contradictions but also resistance from Western residents are found in the documents, as presented in Chapter 8. Showing the verandah was another aspect. A mixture of Western rationalism (floor plan, room functions and building technology) and Chinese romanticism (appearance) in the PeKing Legation and ShangHai Mixed Court was also the intention.



architecture could refer to and address.<sup>44</sup> These conditions applied equally to the Far East, except that according to this thesis there was a collective mind of players, namely the consuls and the British Legation to PeKing. In terms of China services, these players also shared similar opinions about local climate, craftsmanship and people. As a result, an identical image of the British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture that was designed to respond to the local environment (verandah and compound), and craftsmanship (contracting system) can be suggested.

In addition, the British consulate architecture was also designed to represent Britain's China policy. Although it is shown by this thesis that, like 'the Orient', China was rather an idea, which consisted of different kinds of religion, culture, language, climate, and geography, it was also Britain's intention to form China into a unified state with clearly defined borders (YunNan, Chinese Turkistan and Manchuria), one cultural root and one government (PeKing). The concessions in CanTon, ShangHai, and TienTsin were intended as China's examples. Slight alterations to local conditions, such as the enclosed verandah for cold climate and the 'boy' who acted the role of butler, were necessary, but the essence had to be conserved. The European essence included a language of architecture and spatial structure with the consul's office/ study in the centre of it, together with compound and verandah life style.

Hybridity of form and structure was allowed in British consulate architecture, but only to serve the political intention of the diplomats as well as the social segregation between them. It is frequently argued in academia, that the eclecticist approach of styles and arrangement of spaces where private/colonised and public/colonist forces met is one aspect of colonial Modernity.<sup>45</sup> It seems most evident in the study of PeKing Legation. In other cases the roof of consular buildings are most frequently suggested to be example of hybridity [ill.6: 15, 16]. However, it was suggested in the Chapter on the PeKing Legation that these things were a deliberate demonstration of racial or cultural hierarchy. Concerning the Chinese builders' part in this hybridity, the evidence is unclear.

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<sup>44</sup> Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture*, pp. 227-29.

<sup>45</sup> Discussions about the contested spaces between the colonised public and the administrative colonisers and its resulting hybridity, such as Yeoh, Hosagrahar, Chattopadhyay and Izumida's, focus only on formal colonialism in colonies.

Although this research has made no attempt to repeat Hevia's argument, there is inadequate evidence to prove that Chinese builders were given 'English Lessons' through the contracting system. It is still vague how much the Chinese builders contributed to the image of the British consulate, despite an intensive search through the archives and literature. The consulate servants' role is also difficult to address. As to the ordinary Chinese people's role in shaping the consuls' life and the consulate architecture, an ignored and yet remarkable contribution can be found in the correspondence with the night-soils carriers, whose strike in a joint boycott in 1925 directly led to the increasing installation of flush water closets and the improvement of sewage system in the ShaMeen Consulate. W.J. Roberts reported on 19 October 1925 that 'I consider this an urgent service as the coolies who remove the night-soil are withdrawn during strikes and the occupants of the house exposed to dangers to health'.<sup>46</sup>

## Summary

In the construction relations of British public works in China (arguably also in Japan, Korea, Thailand and the Philippines), architects were placed at the centre of Chinese and British cultures, but consuls dominated the key role in decision-making whether in correspondence or in the consulate compounds. The British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China was thus designed by consuls for themselves, and the image the consuls carefully chose had political, social and cultural meanings. It showed the superiority of British power through masculine free-standing buildings, verandahs and classical orders. It showed the hierarchy of British society through its spatial organisation. It showed the progress of British culture by mixing European and Chinese styles. It showed the strength of British influence by continually maintaining this kind of image. British consulate architecture was systematically built, from south to north, in cities which had economic, diplomatic, political and cultural importance, so that the influence of the image could be spread.

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<sup>46</sup> WORK 10/299, 19 October 1925 ShangHai Office to London Office, 13 May 1926 G.J.T.R. to Secretry, 19 May 1926 R.A. Barker, but the responses in the London Headquarters were more interested in expenditure of installation being too high, see 12 November 1926 F.J.E. Raby and 21 November 1926 GJ. West to Chief Architect. The joint strike also slowed down the works of the Vice Consuls's House on ShaMeen Island, see Chapter 6.

The image of the British consulate architecture also consisted of less political parts. The buildings had to provide the British officials not only basic shelter in all types of climate, but also home-to-home comfort. When the understanding about another side of the world was unavailable to all races, familiarity of home life-style, religious and even entertainments was humankind's basic needs. It is evident in the British consulate architecture in China, and arguably all consulates designed by the Office of Works in Asia.

In the conclusion of this thesis, the idea – to go native, or to do as Romans do – that is constantly debated in both Chinese and Western cultures when one visited foreign lands is applied to discuss the nature of British consulates.

## Going Native: Conclusion

入國隨俗，進退循儀

*When in Rome, do as the Romans do.*

## **Consuls' Design for the Consuls**

This research set out to examine the connection between British consular architecture and Chinese political, technological and cultural climate, based on an assumption that British consulates were designed to adapt the Oriental environment of China, as a great number of contemporary and present writings have suggested.

Case studies based on British officials' correspondence and using Chinese literature as counter-evidence were designed to try the hypothesis. Cases selected according to the availability of material and their individual value were selected and examined over the following five chapters. During the process of study, some answers to the research questions emerged. The first such question tried to find out what was the intention of the architects and diplomats when they built their consulates, apart from satisfying their need of a comfort place to dwell and work on the remote land of China? The following question asked did the Chinese environment of politics, technology, culture and climate shape the British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China?

The political intention in the appearance of the buildings obviously offended the Cantonese. The same image haunted some Chinese like Han, BangQing and annoyed others like Wu, JianRen and Shen, Congwen. The eclecticism of Chinese and European architectural styles served the purpose of class division. The spatial message of the Legation vestibule disturbed Prince Kung. The masculine image of the ShangHai consulate provided a refuge for Wang, Tao. Its spatial structure also took over the implications of Chinese architecture, as evidenced by the PeKing DaLi Yuan Supreme Court. Class segregation was not only expressed through spatial and stylistic arrangements that separated assistants, servants and visitors in accordance with their social relations with the consuls, but also in the concessions: a phenomenon noted by Eileen Chang. Rationalism in symmetrical and functional arrangements in spaces was phased by Zeng, Pu and Lin, YuTang. The hidden class message of the verandahs is still little learnt and criticised in academia, along with the hygienic and racial requirements of extending compounds. All these attempts were secured by contracts that removed Chinese builders from their seven tenths share of the design process. Its influence was further maintained by the ShangHai Office's management in real estates.

It was also found that little of the Victorian physical prestige was suitable for the political, climatic and biological conditions in China. The consuls' houses and offices suffered constantly from damp, termites, leakage, odour, pollution, insufficient design and incomplete workmanship, and occasionally also from fire, flood, and bullets. The architects were unable to design a consulate that better fit its local condition, although they had tried to familiarise with the site by visiting it and consulting the consul. This was partially due to the architects' obedience to the consuls' opinions. Although both architects and consuls agreed with the climatic function of verandah it proved that the verandah was insufficient to Chinese climate. The class even racial message of verandah was the hidden agenda for being designed. The second reason was that both the consuls and the architects shared a British prestige that regarded the European classical order, which was comparatively vulnerable to Chinese weather, of British consular architecture as superior over the Chinese one. Nevertheless it can be suggested that Chinese environment was destructive, even to Chinese architecture whether they adopted the advantages of both architectural cultures or not, between 1842 and the 1960s.

Only the consular society, together with three spaces contained the consul's life style, was sustained in all types of weather, all conditions of geography, and all climates of politics. It can even be suggested that the time factors such as the improvement of technologies or the increase of family members changed little of the consular society, as well as consul's study/office, verandah, and compound. Within the studied period of time, these spaces remained to be the dominated structure in consulates despite consuls might spend more time with his family.

Other than China consuls' society, which needed to show to audience inside and outside the consulate, British way of life not only had its political purpose but also a basic human need. The memoirs of two consuls' wives – Catherine Macartney and Diana Shipton, who dwelled in Kashgar in respectively 1898-1918 and 1946-48 – remind us that British as well as Chinese need to feel at home even in a least accessible land far away from the centre of Britain and China. Ceiling [ill.4: 10][ill.8: 5], fireplace, curtain, sofa and carpets [ill.4: 15, 16][ill.6: 14] were also necessary furniture to ease British's longing for home.

A phenomenon of the British diplomatic, consular and judicial architecture in China was described in Chapter 9, revealing the forces that tried to control the

uncontrollable factors before the image of the British consulates was settled. This thesis has suggested that the British consulates were, rather than mere designs by the Far Eastern Division of the Office of Works, planned by the consuls for themselves from the beginning of treaty port trade age. The consuls together with the minister in the PeKing Legation played the role of master and made seven tenths of decisions. The architects in ShangHai decided the rest of the three tenths. The bureaucratic system in London, i.e., the Office of Works, Foreign Office, and the Treasury, checked if the expense and design met with the status and importance of the consulate, just like the role of the *Collected Statutes* in the Imperial Ching.

Although the diplomats, the architects and the bureaucrats played different roles and disagreement between the three sides was frequent, they shared the same Victorian values. These values of Christian life, social hierarchy, imperial duties, and even prejudice or superiority over another culture (not just China but also other countries, e.g., Russia or Italy) were lectured in the PeKing Legation based on the Public School educational system. The rituals of Sunday service in the chapel, living and studying in the student quarters whose plan was the prototype of consulate and where servants were already supplied, and games in the fives court and bowling alleys, were played in PeKing despite the background of Student Interpreter (consul-to-be). As a result, similarity in the consuls' opinions regardless of their post and background was significant because they were also given their 'English Lessons'.

As to the builders, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that they did any more than providing labour for the works. As to the servants, they were important mechanism that kept the consulate, as well as consul's China life, running. In short, the existence of Chinese was expected to be both invisible and efficient at the same time.

In Chapter 9, the research tried to answer some arguments raised in Research Question. There was a clear image of the British consulate architecture in China, in contrast with the Victorian architecture in the Near East, not because there was a unified audience, but because there was a clear motivation and player. In comparison with the argument that the resulting hybridity grew from the clash of the coloniser and the colonised, it was suggested that the mixture of architectural languages and spatial structure was an attempt of class segregation, which applied

on both Chinese and British races. Finally, it may be evident that the British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture was physically designed to adapt Chinese environment, but these consulates hardly withstood the Chinese environment of politics, climate, and culture.

### **Research limitations**

The correspondence in the UK National Archive provided a certain level of evidence about what kind of life the consuls wanted in China and how the architects realised it in physical ways. The first consequence of heavily relying on the correspondence was that a detailed outcome was limited by the availability of the material. The TsingTao British consulate, for instance, could have been the counter-evidence to complete the thesis. Second, the insignificance of the chosen cases might have been overcome by an intensive historical review and extension of the research question, but the limited study period still forced the YangTze Valley cases to be excluded from the thesis.

However the greatest methodological disagreement, which was not foreseen at the beginning of the research, was the lack of individual opinions. The importance of cultural and geographical diversity is stressed in the thesis, but difference within the collected minds, i.e., the origins of the consuls, the education of the architects, the regions of the builders, had to be neglected. All the technical texts from the Chinese side were also necessarily treated without differences in time and region as a unified situation, and this treatment in effect repeated the British officials' shared attitude toward China. The British minister's, consul's and architect's individual opinions about individual situations were presented, but the thesis still grouped those quotations into two categories, namely the diplomats' and the architects'. There were different reactions from the diplomats and the architects to the Chinese background, but the thesis could not study the difference.

### **Further research suggestions**

There are still great scholarly spaces in need of investigation in the modern history of Chinese architecture, including the foreign architecture in China. Chapter 2 shows disagreements between references: especially there is a lack of information to show how Chinese labourers learned to install large scale metal building elements. Also, nationalist declarations that Chinese builders were capable of building a sophisticated Victorian architecture were hardly questioned, as special materials were still largely imported. How did Chinese contractors, such



as Zhao, DaoRen or later Yang, SiSheng, understand how to install grills, electrical services, and plumbing? These questions were hardly noted.

Some of the above questions have been presented in this thesis that the Chinese contractors were mainly responsible for general contracts. That is Chinese builders only built the main body, including installing metal parts and wooden fittings. Special installations, plumbing, electrics and gas fittings for example, were still controlled by Westerners. However, a closer study of the Chinese builders with regard to their reactions, their roles and their perspectives in the age of transformation, of Westernisation, should be very encouraging with the help of more materials unearthed. The research furthermore suggests rewriting a modern history of Chinese architecture from the point of view of the builders, instead of the architects or even the contractors.

### **Conclusion**

Both Chinese and Western culture agree that 'if you were in Rome, live in the Roman way; if you are elsewhere, live as they do there'. Nevertheless, would a Roman really be expected to 'live as the native do' if the Roman were in a native land? Equally, Chinese constantly referred China 'the country of Li and Yi/manners and rituals' and it also indicated that the people around the country of Li and Yi were uncivilised tribes without Li and Yi.

Cantonese builders saw British behaving irrationally and violently. They expected red hair aliens to live as Chinese did. Any one, regardless of his origin of race, had to pass the tests of Yi and Li together with Chinese classics before he was assigned government position. He lived and worked in a standardised YaMen, according to his statutes, wherever that was in Kashgar or CanTon. So should these British consuls. Foreigners had to learn Chinese Yi and Li in the PeKing diplomatic quarter, where Protocol Department and Envoys' Residence were located and run more like a manner school.

J.F. Wade distrusted those who professed Confucian philosophy. He expected none of British officials to go native in China. The Chinese manner should be minimised in consulates where British officials lived and worked in. The minister also lived in a European life, despite his residence was altered from a royal palace. Living in a classic Chinese architecture and keep its appearance authentic demonstrated the minister's superior to not just the officials in the Legation

compound but also those British consuls all over China. Being one of the first professional sinologists, Wade did not reckon living in a royal palace an act of going native, but class privilege. Nor did it an act of doing as Chinese did, but British prestige.

The debate about being West or East in China was not as simple as merely to go native or to do as the Romans do.

British consular society was sustained based on ideas of universal knowledge rather than any consciously held distinction between East and West. Following their common sense, the British actually built what the Chinese would also build. The British consulate architecture was designed as the same compound idea as suggested in the *Lu Ban Classic of Carpentry* and Ji, Cheng's *Craft of Gardens*:

*If the four sides are all alike, this is called a "golden bushel"./ It means opulence and a thousand acres of good land./ If fence and wall surround the house without a gap,/ Both the family's wealth and number of people will increase, year after year. (as quoted in Ruitenbeek 1996: 282)*

*If there is the merest fraction of land beside or behind your mansion, you can construct a garden there; not only is it convenient for enjoying your leisure moments in, but it can also be regarded as an excellent cordon for protecting the house. (Ji 1635, as quoted in Hardie 1988: 51)*

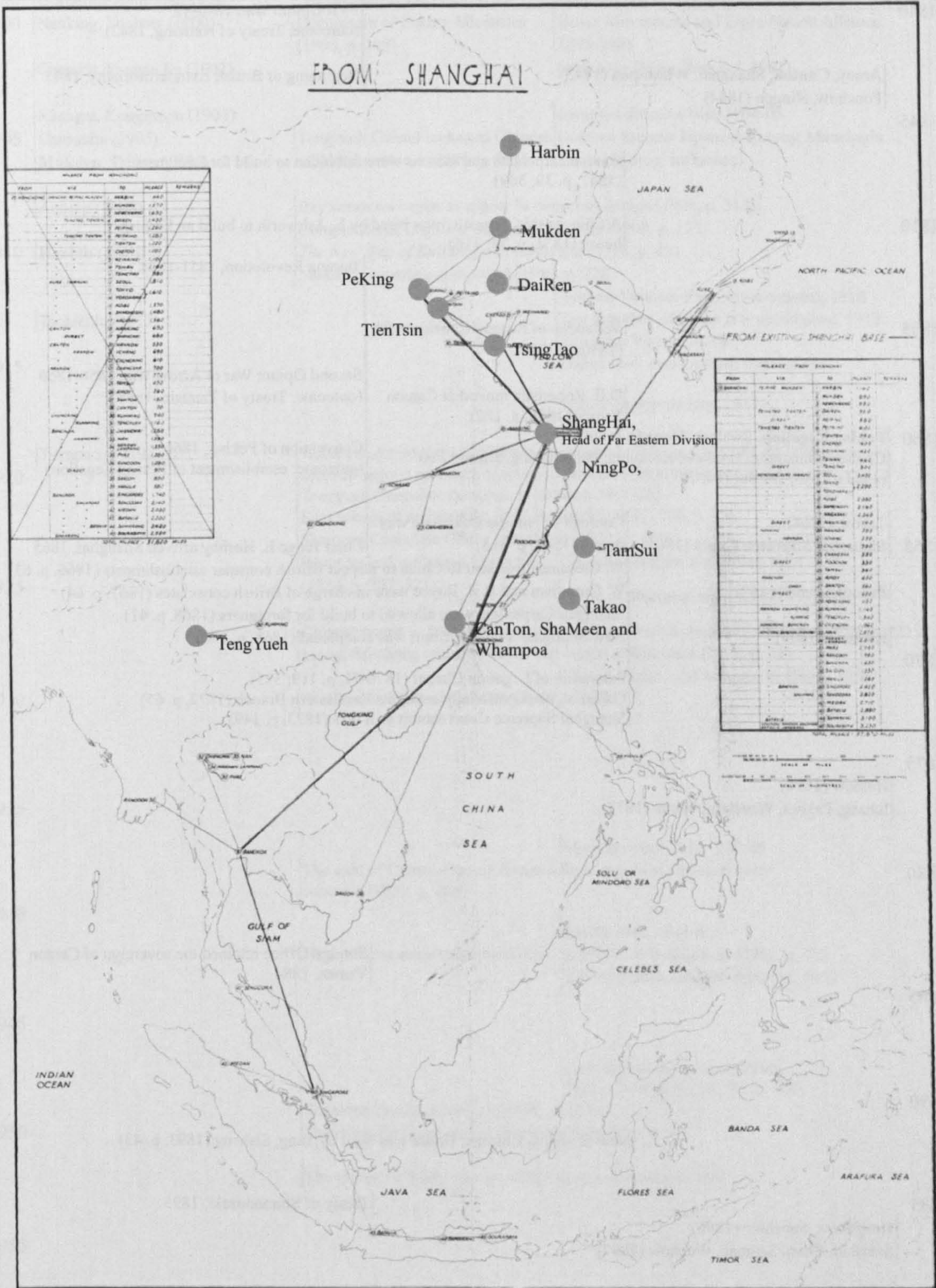
Both consulate and YaMen were built on the same principle of spatial standardisation so that the consuls and Huang, LiuHung could familiarise themselves months before reporting for his duty, as remote as TengYueh the post might be:

*You must bring with you a boy and a cook,... I advise you to bring a quantum suff. of your own knives and forks;... At l'Union C.I. [in Hanoi] lay in a stock of groceries and wines;... bring with you from Canton some drawing pins, some quarto cream laid paper, some type-writer ribbons, and a few forms for copies of birth registers. I think we have enough of all other stationery... if you have a favourite saddle, bring it with you, but remember that the local pony is very small. As you knew, the chic thing in Chinese eyes is to ride a mule. I do neither, but have 4 chairbearers and a Hongkong mountain chair,... Uniform also, of course, as you will be calling on a Gov. Gen. who is rather a stickler for etiquette. I don't think I should bother to bring any whites; in my 4 years in Yunnan I have never worn them; but in Tongking and southwards from Mengtzu the French sport them... Leggings are indicated, and above all a sunhelmet... You need not bring anything in the furniture line, except table-gear and bed-gear., a kerosene stove from Hanoi. (W.H. Wilkinson to H.E. Sly, 20 December 1907 on Sly's journey from CanTon to YunNan)*

An analogue between a British consular compound and a YaMen can be suggested except in appearance and the life style within. The appearance of a consulate was preserved for its political importance and basic comfort of home-reminding, and in fact, so was that of a YaMen. Despite material life was different in a consulate and a YaMen, for instance sofas and Kangs, the social and spatial hierarchies were centred on consul or magistrate.

The thesis asks whether the Chinese environments shaped British consulate architecture. None is suggested because it was unnecessary. Neither verandah nor compound was developed to respond to the Chinese environment. Both cultures maintained their life style as well as their social and spatial hierarchies regardless of the variation in environmental conditions.

# Appendix I, Public Buildings Under the Maintenance of the Far Eastern Division in China, East Asia and South East Asia



Note: Cases referred to in the thesis are marked and labelled.  
Source: WORK 22/239, date: 1947

## Appendix II, Key Dates and Events that Relate to the Development of British Diplomatic, Judicial and Consular Architecture in China

Date	Consular Establishment	Architectural Development	Political Development
1840			First Opium War, 1840-42 (outcome: Treaty of Nanking, 1842)
	Amoy, Canton, Shanghai, Whampoa (1843) Foochow, Ningpo (1844)		Beginning of British Extraterritoriality, 1843
1845		Canton carpenters and masons were forbidden to build for foreigners (1847, p. 39; 309)	
1850		A Chinese ship carpenter was hired by E. Ashworth to build an English house (1851, p. 34; 316)	Taiping Revolution, 1851-1864
1855		Verlandah of Ningpo Consulate fell (1850s, p. 290)	
		D.B. Robertson moved in Canton Yamen (1858, p. 182)	Second Opium War or Arrow War, 1856-1860 (outcome: Treaty of Tientsin, 1858)
1860	Peking Legation, Swatow, Tientsin (1860) Chefoo, Chinkiang, Hankow, Kiukiang, Newchwang, Taiwan Foo (1861), Taku, Tamsui (1862)		Convention of Peking, 1860 (outcome: establishment of Peking Legation)
1865	Takow (1864) Shanghai Supreme Court (1865)	Contract of Ningpo Consulate was drawn (1864, p. 315)	Chief Judge E. Hornby arrived Shanghai, 1865
	Pagoda Island (1867)	W. Crossman was sent to China to inspect British consular establishments (1866, p. 63) W. Crossman and R.H. Boyce were in charge of British consulates (1867, p. 64)	
	Keelung (1869)	Shanghai Carpenters were allowed to build for foreigners (1868, p. 41) New Shanghai Supreme Court was completed (1868, p. 148)	
1870		Alteration of Legation Chapel (1870-75, p. 119; 315) Office of Works officially set up its Far Eastern Branch (1872, p. 65) Shanghai Supreme Court rebuilt as it was (1873, p. 149)	
1875	Hoihow (1876) Ichang, Pakhoi, Wenchow, Wuhu (1877)		
1880			
1885			Foreign Office retained the sovereign of Canton Yamen, 1884
1890			
		New Shanghai Customs House was built by Yang, Sisheng (1893, p. 43)	
1895	Hangchow, Soochow (1896) Samshui, Shasi, Ssumao, Wuchow (1897)		Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895
	Tengyueh (1899)		Boxer Movement and Eight-Nation Alliance, 1899-1901

Date	Consular Establishment	Architectural Development	Political Development
1900	Nanking, Yochow (1900) Chengt'u, Yunnan Fu (1902)	Occupation of Peking Ministries (1900, p. 105)	Boxer Movement and Eight-Nation Alliance, 1899-1901 (outcome: Boxer Protocol, 1901)
1905	Kashgar, Kongmoon (1904) Changsha (1905) Mukden, Tsinan (1906)	Tengyueh Consul reckoned Chinese builders unethical (1905, p. 291)	Japanese-Russian War, 1904-05 (Korean became Japanese Colony, Manchuria under Japanese Influence)
	Antung (1908)	Bay windows began to appear in consulate design (1908, p. 314) Completion of Legation Students' Quarters (1909, p. 122)	
1910	Harbin (1910)	<i>The New Way of Building</i> was published (1910, p. 49) Mukden Consulate completed (1910, p. 278)	
	Tachienlu (1913)		Yunnan-Vietnam Railway completed, 1910 The Republic of China was established, 1912 European War, 1914-18 (Japan took over German concessions)
1915			Bolshevik Revolution, 1917
1920	Tsingtao (1919)	Water closets intensively fitted in consulates (1910s, p. 115; 149; 212; 255) Medical reports reckoned Tientsin Consulate unhealthy (1920, p. 232) Tengyueh Consulate completed (between 1911-25) First school of architecture in China established (1923, p. 50) Shameen Consulate Office completed (1924, p. 199)	
1925		Water leaked in Canton Consulate (1924, p. 207; 321)	Canton Merchant Rebellion, 1924 Strike in Shanghai and Canton, 1925-26
		Chinese began to take over inspecting the problem of consular buildings (1927, p. 323) Liang, Ssucheng returned China and taught architecture (1928, p. 51)	
1930		Harbin Consulate completed (1930, p. 280)	Canton Yamen was returned to China, 1928
1935			Sino-Japanese War, 1937-45
1940		The roof of Canton Consul-General Residence was replaced with concrete (1939, p. 209)	
		Henry Wong established modernist architectural programme (1942, p. 52)	Pacific War, 1941-45
1945			End of British Extraterritoriality, 1943
			Anti-British movement, 1948 People's Republic of China, 1949
1950		Shameen Consulate rebuilt (1949, p. 212) ShangHai Division moved to HongKong (1950, p. 67)	
		The Office of Works closed its Far Eastern Division (1953)	
1955			
			Site of Peking Legation returned to China (1959)

Appendix III,

Contracts and Estimates drawn between the Far Eastern Division,  
Office of Works and the Chinese Contractors or Tenders

洋屋兩進高進深四拾五尺闊拾尺外加進巡底位每位闊捌尺牆脚高四尺五寸  
樓下高拾五尺樓上高拾五尺共高三拾四尺五寸五釐計工料甚詳式參卷下陸伯員正木料表  
又中進道路左內共做洋屋層進

外加水料鐵釘鐵器諸瑣油漆共計工料甚詳壹式參卷下陸伯員正

三進泥木石油漆玻璃銀木料共計工料甚詳壹式參卷下陸伯員正

徐德華啟

Shanghai

auth 5913

Contract for building residences for the  
Law Secretary  
and  
Chief Clerk

Copy



昌茂黃

Wong Mao Chang hereby tender and agree to

supply all the labour and materials, which are to be the best of their respective kinds, necessary for the entire completion of the above mentioned buildings, and in every respect similar to the adjoining new houses for the Interpreter and Consular Assistants, and to the extent shown on plans No 373/374 and dated 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1870, with the exceptions hereinafter stated, for the sum of Dollars Eleven thousand, seven hundred.

811,700 <sup>50</sup>/<sub>100</sub>

Grates and Chimney pieces for the lower rooms.

Exceptions Grates only for the upper rooms

referred to Hooks, bolts, brass catches, Hinges and Screws for doors  
Cave gutters and down pipes.

But, the above tender includes the proper fitting and fixing of all these articles.

Further, with the exception of the Stone damp course to all the walls, and chaper walls and paving, Her Majesty's Office of Works is to supply and fix all the other stone work required in the buildings, within ten months from this date.

Synopsis of Contract

Concrete under all the main walls 3ft deep and 2ft 6" wide.

Lower walls 2ft " 2. "

Reinches for all concrete.

Damp course stone full width of walls, and not less than 4" thick.

Footing walls 26 inches thick.

W.M.C.

4882720  
WORK 10/33/9

[appendix.ii: 2] Contract of General Construction of the Houses for Law Secretary and Chief Clerk of the Shanghai Supreme Court, between Wong, MaoChang and Shanghai Office of Works. Page 1. Source: WORK 10/33/9, 31 July 1871.



Superstructure walls 21" thick to level of upper floor,  
 from thence 16 1/2 inches thick.  
 Inside walls — 10" thick  
 Sleepers — 10" x 17"  
 Partitions — Lath and plaster on timbers 4 1/2" x 2 1/2"  
 Roof Same as that on the Interpreter's and Assistants Quarters.  
 Truss Principals — 8" x 6"  
 Purlins — 6" x 3"  
 Girders — 10" x 5"  
 Struts and small timbers 5" x 5"  
 Skating under tiles 3/4" Japan boarding  
 Roof Iron straps 2 1/2 x 1/2" — bolts 1 1/2" diameter  
 Ceiling joists under Girders 4 1/2" x 2"  
 Sills, ridge 3/4" Native manufacture  
 Floors to lower rooms, joists, China pine averaging 6" x 3"  
 Boarding 1 1/2" Singapore plank, tongued and  
 grooved in widths under 5 inches.  
 to upper rooms — Oregon pine joists 12" x 2" with bridging  
 pieces 8"  
 Joists to main hall — 8" x 2"  
 Boarding same as for lower rooms  
 Skirting 8" high, moulded on top, skirting  
 in main hall 6" high.  
 Cr. Entrance Doors — 2 — same as those fixed to Interpreter's house  
 Folding Doors — 1  
 For lower rooms 10 doors — 10" description  
 upper — 13 " — 2 " —  
 kitchen 8 " — 3 " —  
 3 sets of principal stairs, as there already fixed.  
 3 sets of coolies stairs.  
 12 Venetian Sashes and frames for lower rooms.  
 11 " " " top

0058

15 ditto ditto - In back brausah and passage. Angle  
Staff, but in jamb lining or architrave.  
14 do do Small windows and Venetian shutters.  
7 do do Windows.

Plasterer - Lath and plaster all ceilings except lower  
brausahs, which are to have cross lattice  
work, coloured white.  
Plaster all walls, and run cornices and  
centre pieces as in the rooms of the  
Interpreter's house.  
Colour to whatever tint may be required.

Bells - To supply and fix all bells.

Brausah floors - To pave the brausah with stone and tiles as  
in the present brausah.

Store-room - Provide and fix three tiers of shelves in store  
room, all round walls, and one side of back kitchen.

To build and complete out offices similar to those at  
present existing, with the addition of forming  
a covered passage and small closet over the  
coolies stairs to Chief Clerk's house.

To supply and fix 5 bath trays, connect the  
waste pipes with drains, and to form  
underground drains from them to the  
main drain.

Supply and fix wood chimney pieces to upper floor  
five places, if required.

Paving - To pave the yard and round parts of  
house with broken porcelain and  
stone paving as shown.

Glaze all windows & with 16oz Glass, stopped in  
with English putty

Varnish twice done, and oil once all woodwork on  
Exposed faces

Paint and line margins to all floors

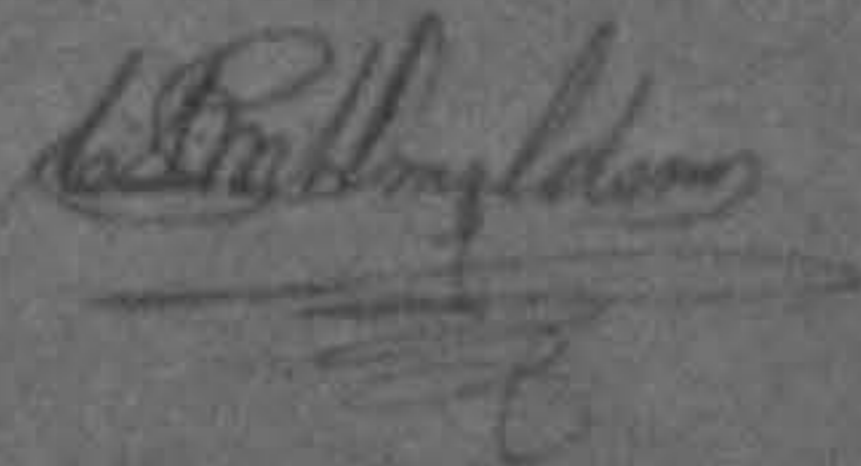
Paint Ears Gutter's three times inside and out.

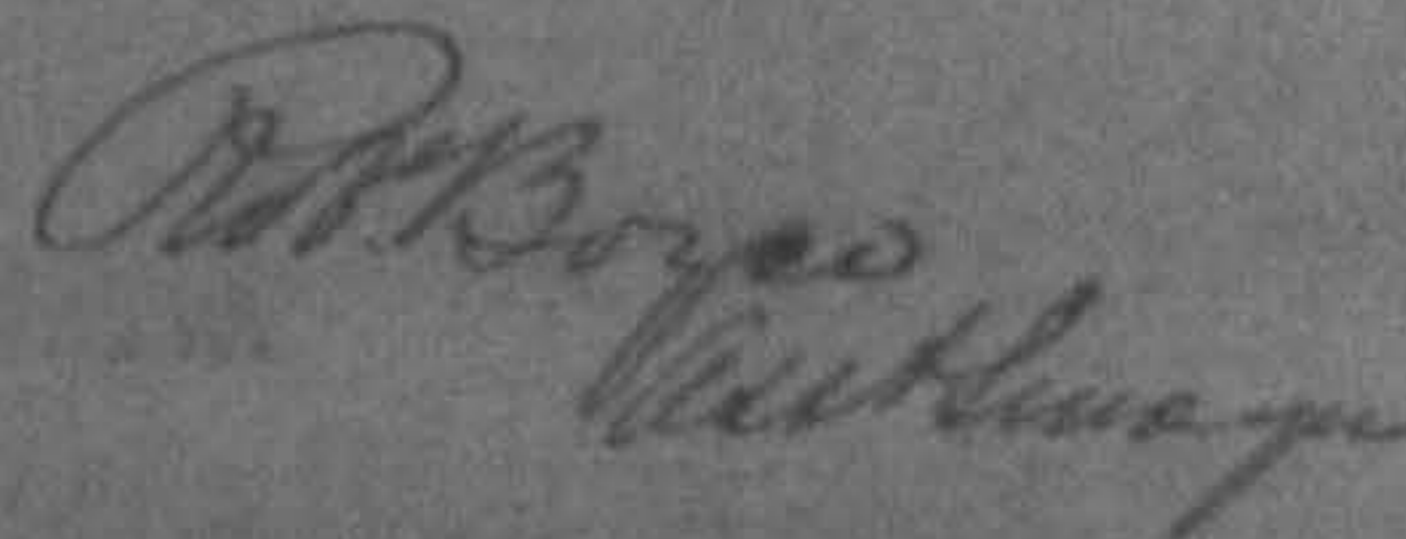
Paint all down pipes three times

Remove all rubbish, level ground all round, and  
leave all in clean and perfect condition

Accepted on behalf of Her Majesty's Office  
of Works, this 31<sup>st</sup> day of July 1871

Witness to signature



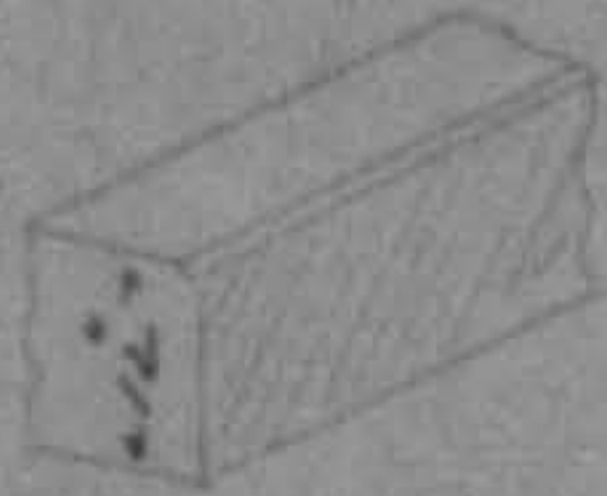


Shanghai  
Residence of the Law Secretary & Chief Clerk.  
 Contract for Stone work

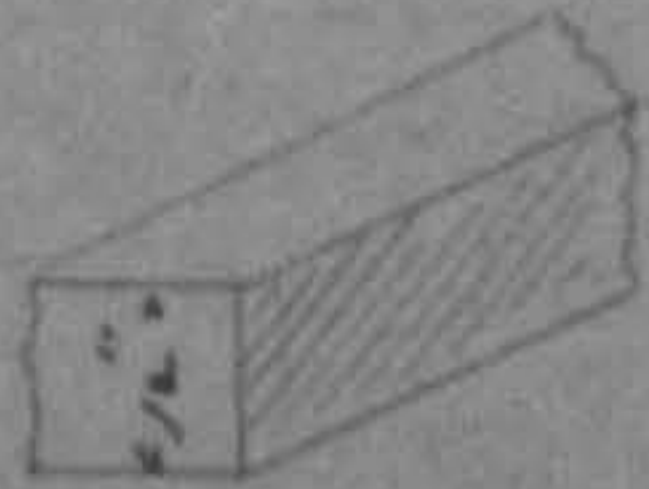
COPY

Stamp  
 孫信耕

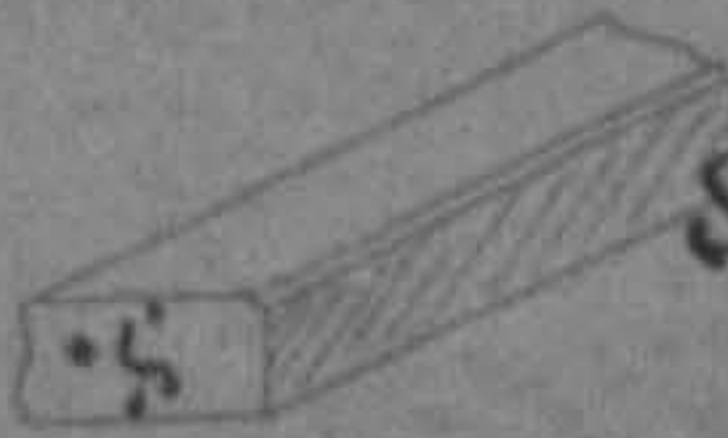
I Sun Sing Cung hereby tender & agree to supply and fix the following Stone work, all labour, Carriage and delivery at the works included, in the above mentioned new buildings, at the following rates, viz.



Base Course 12 high and from 6 to 9" thick Chf on top edge and finish with on face at per Chf  $\$3.25$



Base Course for verandah like same dimensions as last at per Chf -  $\$5.15$



Skirting for lower verandah at per Chf  $\$2.25$



Plinth Course (red stone) each 21 wide, 6 thick and Chf as above at per Chf  $\$7.00$

Preparing and setting only any of the above mentioned stone work may be supplied by the Office of works - at per Chf -  $\$1.50$

4882720  
 WORK 10/33/9

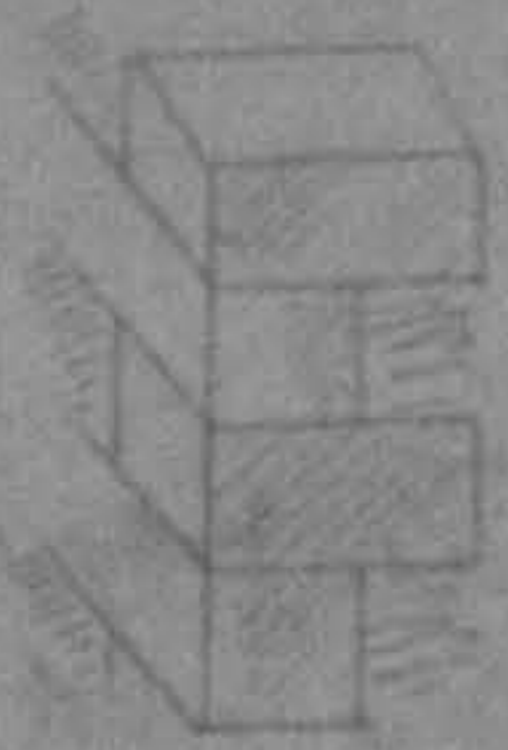
[appendix.ii: 3] Contract of Stone Works of the Houses of Law Secretary and Chief Clerk of the Shanghai Supreme Court, between Sun, Sing Cung and Shanghai Office of Works. Page 1.  
 Source: WORK 10/33/9, 1 August 1871.



Windowsills for 4 ft spans @ Each 2<sup>00</sup>  
 Ditto " for 2 ft " @ " 90<sup>00</sup>



Heath Stones & kind and in size  
 as per plan @ each 1<sup>75</sup>/<sub>100</sub>

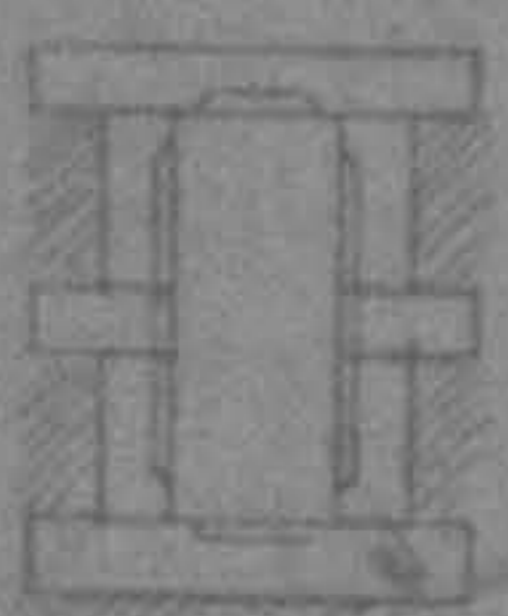


Quoin stones @ Each 3<sup>50</sup>/<sub>100</sub>

Facing Quoin Stones only @ each 1<sup>50</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



Span Bottom stones for ventilating  
 party @ per pair 3<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



Stone Jamb, heads, and sills for  
 small windows @ 7<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



Fitting and fixing complete the  
 stone work of this window  
 and making good depression @ 1<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



Ditto the stone dressing to  
 entrance door. Also see plan  
 and including the supply  
 of four brass studs @ 12<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



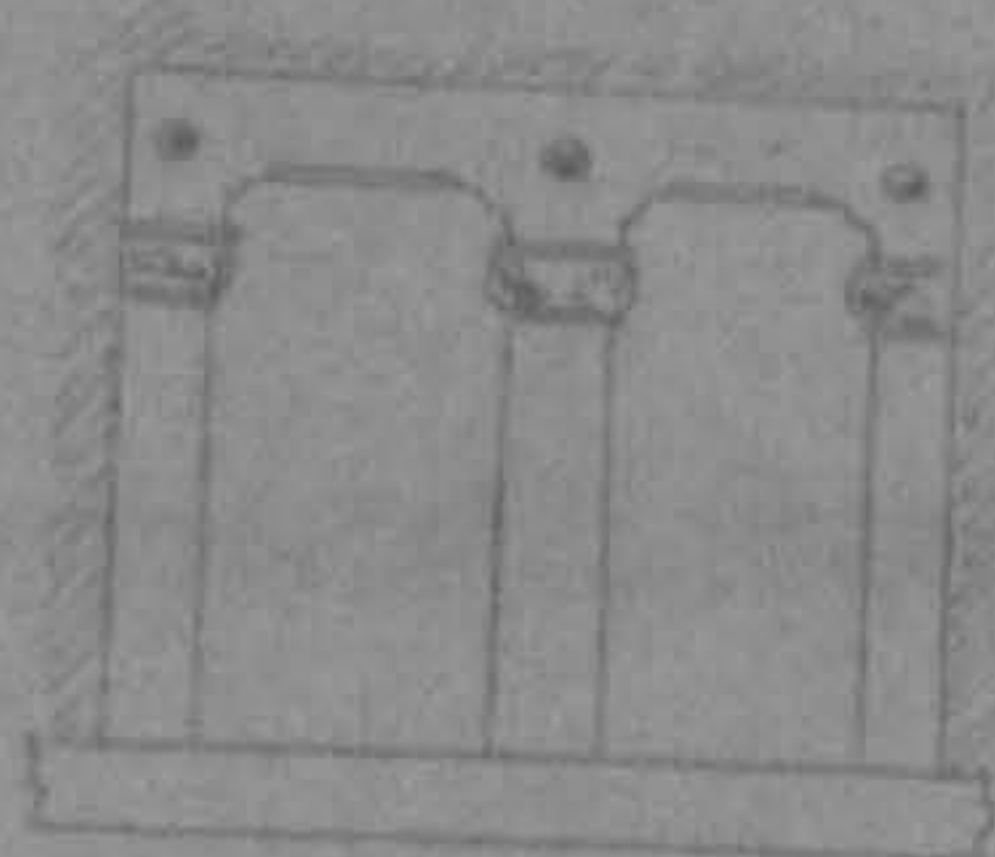
Stone tops and weatherings  
 for chimney stacks  
 complete @ 1<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>



Large course for set  
 in two thicknesses @ 1<sup>00</sup>/<sub>100</sub>

[appendix.ii: 3] Contract of Stone Works of the Houses of Law Secretary and Chief Clerk of the Shanghai Supreme Court, between Sun, Sing Cung and Shanghai Office of Works. Page 2.  
 Source: WORK 10/33/9, 1 August 1871.

Setting only, any similar cases come to the last, which may be supplied by the Office of the Chief Clerk of the Court



Stone Lintel for three columns as per sketch - \$122  
 Caps for each and Curved @ 7 each  
 Center Column with arch @ 802  
 Side ditto 3 - @ 64-



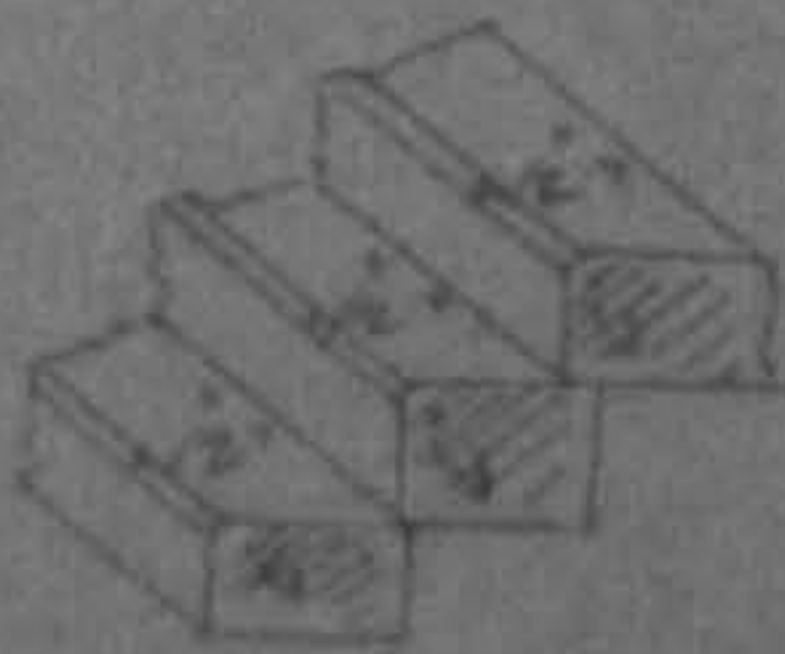
Lintel for space in the archway  
 Supply of Center Column & cap  
 Setting and fixing lower moulding and base stone  
 Supplying two pieces of prepared stone and making good defects  
 Complete @ \$152  
 5 Support & pier stone and base for arch under - @ 1250



Lintel Stone - @ \$8.00  
 2 Support Stone @ 10.00 - 20.00  
 Cap Moulding @ 7.50  
 Prepared Stone @ 8.00  
 Base in 3 pieces @ 5.50  
 Moulded stone under @ 5.00  
 2 Support Stone @ 10.00 - 20.00  
 3 Vessive Stone @ 4.50  
 Base Stone to pier 3 @ 5.00  
 Complete -



5 Support & pier stone and the base for space under  
 End - @ \$1250 } 12.50



Steps come as drawn last and set in position @ \$350

Total for both and \$1100

Accepted on behalf of the Office of the Chief Clerk of the Court

*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*  
 1st August 1871

四層設計 開大英公館式層樓工料帳

長外面 兩向每向捌丈九尺六寸 深外面 兩向每向四丈五尺 勒脚牆高八捌寸外勒脚拆做

厚三十寸內勒脚仍照老勒脚厚念四寸不拆做勒脚以上牆高壹丈六尺外牆厚念寸

內牆厚拾五寸樓上牆高壹丈五尺外牆厚念寸內牆厚拾五寸以及絞鏈棟背螺釘

鎖勾屋面白鉄并鉄火鑪鉄洋臺火爐架于白鉄水落流筒一切俱已 大英公館

自辦所有玻璃包在其內俱用大英中號玻片并以為照

康葛里脫 洋貳拾元 跌脚綠 洋壹百九拾元

加厚加大砧 洋四百五十五元 文書間搬擊 洋九拾五元

加厚新放砧 洋五十捌百五十九元 審事臺 洋壹百捌拾元

加厚方砧 洋壹百四十五元 北大閘內門 洋念捌元

加大瓦片 洋叁百五十三元 屋面鋪白鉄工食 洋五拾五元

拔灰式 洋壹千五百卅七元 釘鉄 洋壹百六拾壹元

[appendix.ii: 4] Tending Estimate of ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 1, the Office Building. Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.

粗絨四百拾担	洋參百念捌元	大扶梯鉄欄干款	洋陸拾四元
砂坭	洋壹百捌拾元	裝鈴拾九只	洋壹百念零元
方磚下 <small>墊底層高廿三和土煨高以</small>	洋壹百念元	油漆工料	洋零百元
地板下 <small>墊磚石日三寸</small>	洋念捌元	勒脚石 <small>火</small>	洋壹百元
地掘柵 <small>計卅四十六方</small>	洋零百四十五元	下台口石	洋壹百念五元
地板 <small>紅板厚寸二分</small>	洋零百拾三元	裡面周圍押石	洋四百念元
下天幔 <small>九十二方</small>	洋壹百九式元	上下風洞石 <small>卅九寸連五寸方銹柵</small>	洋九拾捌元
文書間 <small>天式間幔</small>	洋四拾元	點水石 <small>三寸厚片</small>	洋捌拾元
樓掘柵 <small>用什料</small>	洋捌百拾六元	南走廊墁板石	洋式百回拾元
文書間掘柵 <small>什料</small>	洋零拾四元	煤間墁板石	洋拾陸元
樓板 <small>厚寸二分</small>	洋陸百念三元	西天井石	洋回拾壹元
上天幔 <small>什料</small>	洋四百拾五元	火鑪底石 <small>什料</small>	洋捌拾八元
屋頂 <small>什料</small>	洋壹百七十五元	大石臨步式了	洋五拾元

[appendix.ii: 4] Tending Estimate of ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 2, the Office Building.  
Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.



木  
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上天慢  
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# 共 揭 計 工 料 英 洋 貳 萬 叁 千 元

## 計 開 門 房 間 平 房 式 宅 工 料 帳

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丈  
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尺  
高  
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*Chiew Lee Fung*  
*Estimate of*  
*May 1873*  
*See memo*

[appendix.ii: 4] Tending Estimate of ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 3, the Office Building and the Gate House. Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.

博公館

台電

元月

元月

Chen Lee Fung

抄

統共捐計工料共洋貳萬四千四百圓正

共捐計工料共洋壹千四百元

Sato H. mae  
Sailor's home  
Estimate  
\$1,400

Sotabaru by the S. 244  
Sotabaru  
Sotabaru

方碑	米百塊	洋	念壹元	天幔	廿方	洋	四拾圓元
西瓦	瓦萬五千塊	洋	七拾貳元	門窗	卅壹	洋	壹百念四元
板灰	壹百拾塊	洋	捌拾貳元	釘鉄	貳担	洋	拾四元
粗絨	念担	洋	拾五元	火鑪	石圓卅	洋	拾貳元
地板	東洋寸松板	洋	陸拾六元	油漆		洋	壹拾貳元
掛棚	建木九方半	洋	零拾貳元	水石	作九百	洋	零百拾
柱子	木念根計方	洋	零拾貳元				

[appendix.ii: 4] Tending Estimate of ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 4, the Gate House. Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.



4882182

WORK 10/33/8

6796150 (Mr Hsin-Yin Huang)

Closure status: Open

做法格局

保洋四十元存與彼處倘若過期每日除洋六元其四十內扣  
 算一切磚木料要辦項高所用一應外國貨物到怡和碼頭存  
 在棧房內包工人自己拿取若在火輪船及夾板船上不涉  
 包工人拿取一切工程照樣做就倘有樣內小色不齊者亦  
 在其內倘若生活包定不能轉包別人如若磚木料上在  
 作內收取過洋欵即時不能搬出他處要生活完工方可  
 搬回內外舊勒脚牆拆做要東家看過方可砌上牆如  
 若生活包定有一切壞處連火廢一應包工人自己保險如  
 磚料列作內照價付七五折木料付一半價上首相洋四十元  
 餘後四月收洋照付要經手人一手住在作內不能走脫以  
 便相商倘若生活過期不能完工外國人另請別人完工  
 將保洋四十元內扣算倘有天雨連綿博愛士叫停工言  
 明停一月補四十五天如磚木料有次化質即時換過如不  
 肯換東家叫人自拆亦算包工人之帳

28C



4  
W  
461

4882182

WORK 10/33/8

6796150 (Mr Hsin-Yin Huang)

Closure status Open

Reading Room

肯後東家四人自折才算色之人中  
二 四配四開生

灶間四向要打實疊竹筴開門一對造房處肆向亦要打實  
疊竹筴開門兩對作內匠工人火便并灶間陽水須要  
潔淨如有臭氣不當心懈怠者每日扣洋三元如生活完  
工并一切壞處修好有化員在地上均要搬空勒脚牆折至  
地面平外牆側石從擺過勒脚牆砌就要填磚層至欄柵  
十八寸走路做康克利脫三十寸厚在後灰沙要清水調  
紙中灰要早打上下內外牆頭繞用新放磚生活要頂  
好烟熄洞週圍砌牆寸厚下層鉄火斗十一隻照獄房  
樣式裝就上下火爐底版石長五尺闊三寸對極下層  
欄柵下鎖口石要四寸厚橫擺南北大石踏步兩折做下  
層樣內有黃色者即新牆脚出風洞上下要石頭并鉄  
柵五分方在內後天井礮版石加添做明溝南北走廊鋪  
粗礮版石式方簷口挑頭石中台口石法圈上下盤石虎  
頭牌石中層挑頭石欄杆上下帽頭石窗檻石空窗天  
盤石烟熄頂石一切東家自辦又磁器欄杆亦自辦灰沙  
架子在內帳簿房內鉄欄柵下擺十寸闊四寸厚蓋口石  
計八丈下鋪一寸厚各板中做康克利脫屋面板子東洋板

[appendix.ii: 4] Terms and Conditions, Synopsis of the Works of the ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 2, Synopsis.  
Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.

木料并樓地欄柵，共用花旗洋松門窗踢腳線、樓地  
 板，統用新葛波紅板，六尺開間，欄柵擺花樣兩樣，上  
 層樓板一吋五分厚，下層地板一吋厚，約四寸闊，將釘做  
 大間踢腳線十五寸高，小間踢腳線八寸高，一吋五分厚，石  
 步梯扶手，闊四寸半，厚三寸半，下嵌鐵板，三公分厚，一寸半  
 闊，鐵欄杆，一吋三分方，用長繩洋花，每根計重七錢，  
 屋而中央鋪白鐵，東家自辦，做工在內，屋頂內鐵用，統  
 用二寸半闊，四分厚，南北大門，用油木，二寸半厚，洋門或  
 寸半厚，玻璃百叶窗，共要二寸半厚，後天井鐵挑台，鐵  
 欄杆，裝工并鋪二吋厚紅板，帳簿房內，做鐵門兩扇，高  
 六尺四寸，闊三尺，提一寸半，檔一吋三分，鐵板二公分厚，重約為百  
 念磅，外面裝洋門，欄柵兩間，板厚二寸，下二寸四分，上二寸八分，  
 十五寸，水手馬字房內，做台子兩張，長十尺，闊三尺半，上鋪  
 綠呢，又台子張，長廿尺，闊二尺半，台面二寸厚，要做東洋櫥木  
 東家自己，看面櫃檯抽斗，共用新葛波，抽斗單張，六寸高，  
 按察司，台子椅子，并鐵欄杆，照東洋去式，上下扶手，用  
 新葛波，台面板料，用花旗松木，門房板牆，改六寸厚，磚  
 牆火爐角，并磚牆角，統做包角線，門簾棍，桃頭，十二  
 尺，新葛波做，每五元，洋門窗內，并踢腳線，牆內，要擺  
 木浴磚，白鉛活氣管，一吋長，十丈，六分圓，衣架廿五，每根木  
 勾子四隻，裝鈴十九，分擊鐘十式，只為桶箱六只，看南洋  
 門式，上面雙被板，裝鐵鏈，鞋架兩丁，每丁重十五磅，柱一  
 寸半方，中央三分厚，鐵板箭則，天幔用三分厚，各子板  
 門窗棧地板，統添瑞，每尺重十六兩。

[appendix.ii: 4] Terms and Conditions, Synopsis of the Works of the ShangHai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 3, Synopsis.

Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.

3644 (18 Sept) to Mr.  
 was sufficient authority  
 on works — see  
 list [2074]k

加 加 加 加 康 自 鎖 內 厚 長

Shanghai with 20 3/4  
 Supreme Court & Consular  
 Offices  
 Terms of Contract and  
 Specifications  
 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 1872

To accompany Mr. Meyer's  
 letter to H. H. Office of Works  
 dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1872. No.

門式上面雙被板裝鐵釘、鞋架、雨、每、重、十五、磅、柱、一  
 寸半方、中央三分厚、鐵板、箭、則、天、慢、用、三分厚、各、子、板、  
 門、窗、樓、地、板、統、添、瑞、每、尺、重、十六、兩、  
 勾、子、四、隻、裝、鈴、十、九、分、擊、鐘、十、式、只、是、相、和、六、口、看、四、

加 大 瓦 片 拾 七 萬 塊 洋 卷 百 五 十 五 元  
 鐵 洋 卷 鋪 洋 紅 板 板 每 卷 洋 卷 百 六 拾 五 元

[appendix.ii: 4] Terms and Conditions, Synopsis of the Works of the Shanghai Supreme Court and Consuls Office, given by Chiew, LeeFung, in one page. Part 4, Synopsis. Source: WORK 10/33/8, 24 April 1873.

## Bibliography, The UK National Archive Catalogues

Reference	Title	Covering Dates	Usage in Chapters
WORK 10/299	Consulate General: damage by floods; rebuilding; liability for payment of building fees; effects of a political upheaval 1927.	1919-1934	Chapter 2, Chapter 6, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/300	Embassy: furniture and accommodation damage by white ants and remedial action necessary.	1937	Chapter 6
WORK 10/301	Embassy: riot damage and destruction.	1948-1949	Chapter 6
WORK 10/302	Embassy: riot damage and destruction.	1948-1950	Chapter 6
WORK 10/33/2	1) Extension of Legation compound by the readjustment of boundaries in the international settlement, and provision for the future security of the Legation quarter 2) Report of the International Military Commission on defence 3) Provision of accommodation for the Legation Guard.	1900-1903	Chapter 4
WORK 10/33/8	Rebuilding of the Supreme Court and Consular Offices.	1871-1873	Chapter 5, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/33/9	Erection of residences for the Law Secretary and Chief Clerk.	1871-1872	Chapter 9
WORK 10/37/2	Yamen; sublease to the Government of Hong Kong (1922); return to the Chinese Authorities.	1883-1922	Chapter 6
WORK 10/371	Embassy: re-allocation, building and construction of residences.	1909-1942	Chapter 4, Chapter 7
WORK 10/343	Consulate: proposed exchange of government site including proposals for the erection of temporary building by general liaison office on Government site.	1937-1951	Chapter 8
WORK 10/358	Consulate: purchase of land, proposals and erections of residential and office buildings for political reasons.	1907-1959	Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/397	Consulate: requisition of Kailan mining administrations property, adaptation of residence for Consul General, rebuilding schemes.	1920-1954	Chapter 7
WORK 10/398	Consulate: requisition of Kailan mining administrations property, adaptation of residence for Consul General, rebuilding schemes.	1925-1954	Chapter 7
WORK 10/430	Treasury.	1865-1867	Chapter 1, Chapter 3, Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/431	Treasury.	1867-1868	Chapter 3
WORK 10/432	Supreme Court, Gaol and Naval Yard.	1865-1868	Chapter 5, Chapter 8
WORK 10/433	Ningpu and Shanghai.	1865-1868	Chapter 5, Chapter 7, Chapter 9
WORK 10/436	Taku, Tiensin and Peking.	1866-1868	Chapter 4, Chapter 7
WORK 10/438	Canton and Amoy.	1866-1868	Chapter 6
WORK 10/439	Peking.	1867-1881	Chapter 4, Chapter 9
WORK 10/440	Letters from Sir R. Alcock.	1869	Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9

WORK 10/524	Construction of offices for the Consulate-General.	1917-1925	Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/525	Construction of offices for the Consulate-General.	1925-1946	Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8
WORK 10/55/2	Abolition of post; sale of buildings to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Department.	1889-1891	Chapter 6
WORK 10/56/3	China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman.	1866-1867	Chapter 3,
WORK 10/56/4	Transfer of charge of expenditure in respect of rents and taxes of diplomatic and consular buildings in China and Japan from the Foreign Office Vote to the Office of Works Vote.	1872-1874	Chapter 3, Chapter 4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/56/6	Reports (including original manuscript) on legation and consular buildings in China, Korea, Japan and Siam by R H Boyce, CB.	1899-1900	Chapter 4, Chapter 7, Chapter 8
WORK 10/633	Purchase of a site for the Consulate.	1903-1926	Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 10/634	Disposal of the Consulate.	1956-1962	Chapter 8
WORK 10/99	Erection of buildings and wartime arrangements for caretaking.	1874-1944	Chapter 7, Chapter 8
WORK 22/239	Removal of Ministry of Works office from Shanghai to Hong Kong.	1947-1953	Chapter 3, Chapter 6, Chapter 9
WORK 40/252	Detail section: doors and windows.	1909	Chapter 8
WORK 40/253	Detail of front entrance.	1909	Chapter 8
WORK 40/256	Plans of ground and first floors.	1910	Chapter 8
WORK 40/258	General site plan.	1912	Chapter 8
WORK 40/467	Consulate-General: ground and first floor plans.	1930	Chapter 8
WORK 40/87	Block plan.	1869	Chapter 4, Chapter 8
WORK 40/88	Plan showing existing and proposed buildings.	1876	Chapter 4
WORK 40/99	Block plan showing buildings in detail.	1908	Chapter 4
WORK 40/100	Block plan showing buildings and drains.	1909	Chapter 4, Chapter 7
WORK 40/101	Block plan showing buildings and drains.	1909	Chapter 7
WORK 40/102	Block plan showing buildings and drains.	1909	Chapter 7
WORK 40/103	Revised sections showing drainage.	1913	Chapter 7
WORK 40/104	Block plan showing surface water drainage.	1915	Chapter 7
WORK 55/2	Canton, Nanking, Amoy, Changsha, Chefoo, Chinkiang, Chingking, Daren, Foochow, Hangchow, Hankow, Ichang, Kirkang, Kiungchew, Kuling, Mukden.	1911-1936	Chapter 6
WORK 55/3	Shanghai, Swatow, Tientsin, Tsinanfu, Tsingtao, Wenchow, Wuchow, Wuhu, Yunnanfu, Hong Kong, Tengyueh, Harbin, Weihaiwei.	1911-1935	Chapter 5, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9
WORK 55/17	Photograph album of Consul's houses and related buildings in Newchwang, Ningpo, Pagoda Anchorage, Pakhoi, Peitaiho, Peking and Shanghai.		Chapter 4, Chapter 9
FO 17/1759	Chinese Engineering and Mining Company	1900-1903	Chapter 7
FO 228/1442	From Tengyueh - Yunnanfu, Office of Works and Miscellaneous (Accounts).	1902	Chapter 4, Chapter 9
FO 228/3595	Dossiers 8D. Kailan Mining Administration	1927	Chapter 7
FO 233/189	Part of memorial representing that foreign merchants have been allowed to rent luxurious housing, to come and go as they please, and to contact Chinese traitors, manifold abuses resulting CH'IEN-LUNG XXIV 10m 25d.	1759 EIC	Chapter 2



MFQ 1/958/2-4	China. 'Dairen [now Dalian]. Proposed consular buildings'. 3 sheets of sketch plans detailing rooms, walls, doors, windows, stairs, dimensions, etc: (2) ground and first floor plans; (3) front and side elevations, section and basement plan; (4) plan of buildings, consular ground and perimeter wall. Scale: (2-3) 1 inch to 16.5 feet; (4) 1 inch to 32 feet. [By] H B M [His Britannic Majesty's] Office of Works, Shanghai. Initialed by His Majesty's Divisional Architects: Herbert Ashmead and Cecil Simpson, 4 January 1912. Originally with a letter from Cecil Simpson, to Sir C M Macdonald, H B M Ambassador, Tokyo, 18 May 1912.	1912	Chapter 8
MPHH 1/675/27	China: Tianjin (or Tientsin). 'Plan of Tien-Tsin Surveyed During its Occupation by the Allied Forces...'. Reference table. Compass indicator. Surveyed by officers of the Royal Engineers, 1860-1861; with corrections by Captain Trotter, Royal Engineers. Lithographed at the Intelligence Branch, Quarter Master General's Department, Horse Guards, 1879.	1879	Chapter 7

## Chinese Classics

*Book of Change, or I Ching (易經)*

*Rites of Zhou, or Zhouli (周禮)*

*Analects, or Lunyu (論語)*

*Classic on Houses, or Zhai Jing (宅經)*

*Lu Ban Carpenter's Classic, or Lu Ban Jing (魯班經)*

*Yuan Yeh The Craft of Gardens (園冶), 1631*

*A Complete Book Concerning Happiness and Benevolence (福惠全書), 1695*

*Collected Statutes of Great Ching (大清會典), 1766, 1818 and 1899 editions, along with Examples and Illustrations*

## Other Archival Sources

Archive	Reference and Title	Covering Dates	Usage in Chapters
Guildhall Library	ms 28378-9, Chinese Engineering Mining Co. Minutes	1922-24	Chapter 7

## Periodicals

*The Builder*

*DianShi Zhai Illustrated Journal (點石齋畫報)*

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As to use of language in bibliography, the thesis applies provided title even with it is only an alphabetic spelling from publisher (not library). The title is accompanied by its original language title (in Chinese or Japanese) and its literal translation. In case of no alphabetic translation available, author's translation is used.

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