

The British Consulate at Kaohsiung

高雄英國領事館

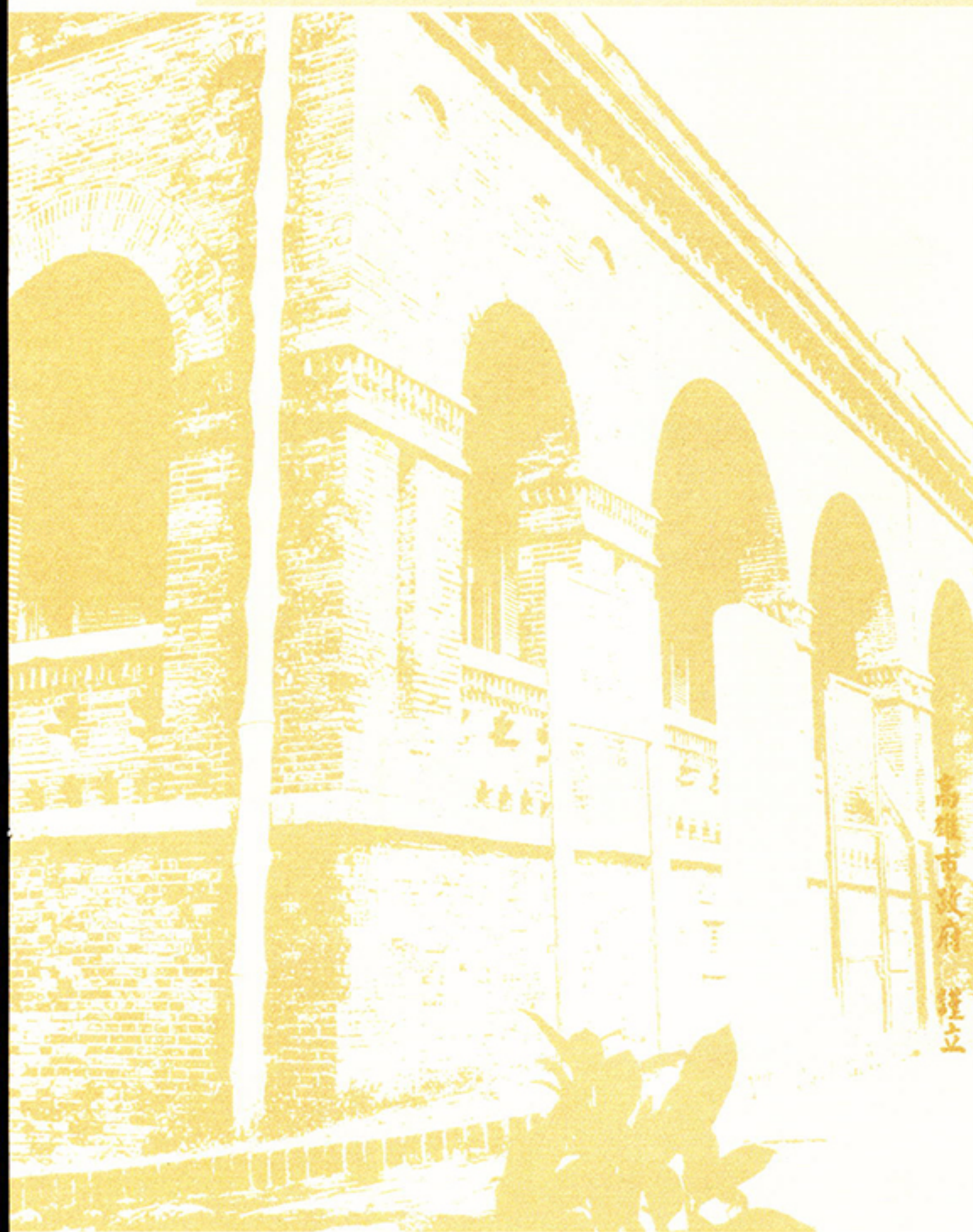
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重修前清打狗英國領事館碑記

高雄市前清打狗英國領事館，創設於清同治五年（民前四十六年，西元一八六六年）至今已有一百餘年之歷史，此一歐式建築，為台灣第一座洋樓，亦為國恥之證物。政府特列為古蹟，藉以惕勵國人明恥知病，奮起圖強。猶憶鴉片戰爭簽訂不平等條約，列強枷鎖於我國整整一百年（西元一八四二年至一九四三年），仰賴先總統蔣公繼承國父遺志，領導全民浴血抗戰，獲得勝利，廢除不平等條約，此為國人之榮。前清打狗英國領事館，居各國在台建館之首，惜因颱風侵襲，倒塌殆半。我全體市民緬懷蔣公廢除不平等條約，與保護文化資產，蒙王前市長王雲先生倡議，經歷任市長之重視，社會各界之支持，並蒙行政院文化建設委員會陳主任委員奇祿指導與支援，民政局許局長桂霖之審計，經委請中國文化大學李教授乾朗設計，工務局之監造，終於民國七十四年二月廿日開工。至民國七十五年十月廿五日竣工，費時兩年餘，原貌恢復，將整修本館經過，勒石誌念。

高雄市政府 謹立



Introduction

In front of the old British Consular building on the hill above Hsi-tzu-wan (西子灣) at ShaoChuanTou (哨船頭) in Kaohsiung City, Taiwan, stands a large stone stele inscribed with golden Chinese characters to commemorate the 1986 restoration of the building.

This recently-erected classical stele expresses the Chinese feeling of shame over the Opium Wars and the subsequent foreign fettering of the Chinese nation, and expounds on how Kaohsiung's mayor of the 1970s, Wang Yu-yun (王玉雲), had proposed that the then-ruined building be restored as a monument to Chiang Kai-shek's successful fight against foreign invaders and unequal treaties. (See SteleText.jpg for Translation Reference only)

On the stele is further inscribed that 'this ShaoChuanTou British Consulate building was established in 1866' and was 'the first Western-style building (洋樓) on Taiwan' and 'the first foreign consulate built on Taiwan'.



[IMAGE: stele1L.jpg . CAPTION: Stele in front of British Consulate at Kaohsiung]



* David Oakley : 英國人，旅居臺灣多年。

前言

在台灣高雄西子灣哨船頭山上的舊英國領事館前，豎立著一塊刻著金色中國字的石碑，以紀念該建築於一九八六年修繕完工。

新豎立的石碑上寫著中國人對鴉片戰爭及其後列強的侵略深以為恥，並述說七〇年代前高雄市市長王玉雲先生倡議修復當時已傾頹的英國領事館，以作為紀念蔣介石抵禦外侮及廢除不平等條約的經過。（如碑文所示）

石碑上還刻著：「哨船頭英國領事館建於西元一八六六年，為台灣第一棟洋樓，也是外國在台興建領事館之首。」



圖1：高雄英國領事館前的石碑



圖1-1：重修前清打狗英國領事館碑記

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. [IMAGE: WallmapL.jpg . CAPTION: Charts inside British Consulate]

Elsewhere, it is often asserted that the structure was built on the hill at ShaoChuanTou by the British trading company McPhail & Co (天利洋行) in 1866 and became the Consulate in 1867.

However, a map on the wall inside the Consulate shows an 1877 plan of the site with handwriting to say that it was purchased from one Lu Ta-tu (盧大度) on 22 January 1877.

Above this is another chart, apparently dated 1865, which shows the Consulate to be on the hill at that time

In trying to determine the actual date of construction, it is necessary to look at the

setting up of the Consulate at Kaohsiung (Takao, Takow) by Robert Swinhoe (鄒和), to examine contemporary deeds and documents, and even to look at the commercial and political developments of the time.

1. Early Days

In June 1861 the newly appointed British Vice Consul for Taiwan, Robert Swinhoe, arrived aboard HMS Cockchafer at Takow after the south-west monsoon had prevented him from landing at Taiwan-foo. He was under instructions to set up a 'Taiwan' consulate, though it was never clear whether 'Taiwan' meant Taiwan-foo (the capital, now Tainan) or the island of (Taiwan) Formosa. Swinhoe moved rapidly up from Takow to Taiwan-fu where he established the first British Consulate on Formosa in July 1861.

By the end of 1861 Swinhoe had again moved further north to Tamsui where he believed most trade was centered. By May 1862 his health was apparently so weakened that he was obliged to return to England, where he was to deliver several famous reports on Formosa during 1863 before again returning to Tamsui in February 1864. In August 1864, when he was ordered back to the south of Taiwan to re-establish the British Consulate, he proceeded not to Taiwan-foo but to Takow¹.



圖2：英國領事館內的海圖

此外，還說明這棟建築是由英國貿易商天利洋行於一八六六年在這山頭建的，一八六七年改為英國領事館。

不過館內一幅一八七七年的基地藍圖寫著該地是在當年一月廿二日向一位叫作盧大度的人購買的。

但該圖上方另一幅一八六五年的海圖標示著那時領事館就位於山丘上。

為試著找出興建的真正時間，實有必要從郇和和設立高雄領事館及當時的文獻資料甚至是政商發展活動著手調查研究。

一、早期狀況

一八六一年六月，受到西南季風影響無法在台灣府登岸的新任英國副領事郇和，踏上停泊在打狗港的Cockchafer號軍艦。他受命要設立「台灣」領事館，雖然此「台灣」並未明指是台灣府（當時的首府，現今台南）或只是指台灣島。但他很快的從打狗到台灣府，並於一八六一年七月在當地設立了英國在台灣的首處領事館。

是年底，郇和又赴更北的淡水，他相信那裡是大宗貿易的集散中心。一八六二年五月郇和顯然因健康因素奉召返國，至一八六四年二月在他重返淡水前，郇和在英國提出了一些有關台灣的著名報告。八月，郇和受命回到台灣南部重設領事館時，他是直奔打狗而不是到台灣府。

2. Ternate

Swinhoe arrived back in Takow in late 1864 and initially set up the British Consulate in quarters chartered for 6 months by the British government aboard Dent & Co's (甸德洋行) receiving ship 'Ternate' in November 1864².

On 4 February 1865 Swinhoe was appointed as full Consul to Taiwan.

After enduring six uncomfortable months on the Ternate, in May 1865 Swinhoe rented a two-storey Chinese house on the lagoon shore³. One can surmise that this was in preparation for the construction of a fitting residence on the recently-purchased site at Freshwater Creek (打水灣), ShaoChuanTou.



[IMAGE: swinhoehall2a.jpg . CAPTION: Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877); Courtesy Philip Hall]

3. Freshwater Creek

In November 1864, Swinhoe, acting through an agent named Sun Kho-kwan (孫可觀), had obtained the permanent lease* of a plot of land at ShaoChuanTou. This land is described in the Deed as being 'situated at Freshwater Creek (Ta Shui Wan, or 打水灣), Shaou-chuen-tow' with the Lagoon to the south⁴. Today, the site lies far from the shore, being behind the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau building on Lin-hai 2nd Road (蓮海路), due to silting and land reclamation in the lagoon.

The newly-appointed British Minister to China, Sir Rutherford Alcock, in 1865 described the Freshwater Creek site to the British Foreign Office in London as being suitable 'for a convenient cemetery but fit for little else'⁵. The site was further referred to by Major W Crossman in his July 1867 report as being 'far removed from the quarter where the small business (at Takow) is carried on'⁶. It can thus be presumed that official permission for the construction of a consulate at the Freshwater Creek site was withheld.

* Permanent lease. The Ching government did not allow foreigners to purchase land outright. 'Permanent lease' or 'perpetual leases' could however be granted by the Chinese land-owner to the foreigner giving him 'the right to use' the land. Under Japanese rule, foreigners in Taiwan were able to convert such permanent leases into full ownership under (Taiwan) Ordinances Nos 3, 4 and 5 (1907).

二、Ternate號商船

郇和於一八六四年底回到打狗後，先在一八六四年十一月把領事館設在英國政府向甸德洋行承租了六個月的Ternate號商船上。

一八六五年二月四日郇和晉陞為領事。

在Ternate號上忍受了六個月之後，郇和於一八六五年五月在潟湖邊租了一棟兩層的中式樓房，令人猜想他是在為哨船頭打水灣新購的土地上建一棟適宜的館舍作準備。



圖3：郇和（一八三六年至一八七七年）

三、打水灣

一八六四年十一月，郇和透過捐客孫可觀在哨船頭獲得一塊土地的永久租賃權，**權狀上註明該地位於南邊為潟湖的「哨船頭打水灣」。今天，這地方由於潟湖淤塞及墾拓的關係已遠離海邊，而位在現今臨海二路的高雄港務局後面。

一八六五年新上任的英國駐中國公使阿李國爵士（Sir Rutherford Alcock）向倫敦英國外交部形容打水灣這塊地「除了適合作一處很好的墓地外別無他用」。W Crossman少校在他一八六七年七月的報告中更說它離（打狗）商務活動的地方很遠，可能因此英國官方一直未把在打水灣興建領事館的核准發下來。

** 註：永久租賃權；清朝政府不允許外國人購買土地，永久租賃權是中國地主將土地使用權給予外國人的方式。在日本的統治下，一九〇七年台灣總督府律令第三、四及五號規定，在台灣的外國人可以將永久租賃權轉變為所有權。

In 1871, the British Consul William Gregory was permitted by the British Minister at Peking to wall off an area of the Freshwater Creek site for the burial of foreigners and to build a chapel thereon⁷. Thus from 1871 a part of the site was indeed used as a Foreign Cemetery. Around 30 foreigners, including two women and three children, had been buried at the Foreign Cemetery prior to 1895, when the island passed into Japanese hands⁸.

Interestingly this site was never transferred by Swinhoe to the British Crown and it took a rather dubious transaction by Consul Hewlett in May 1878 to 'reclaim' it for the British government following the early death of Swinhoe⁹.

In 1925 the major part of the site was sold. However British governments documents clearly show that the portion of the site used as a cemetery was retained by the British authorities to be administered by the Friends of the Foreign Cemetery¹⁰. Today the site is occupied by squatters and only the gravestone of William Hopkins can easily be found.

Thus the Freshwater Creek site, though often referred to as the 'Consular plot' in British Foreign Office documents, was never used as such. Nor was any other Consular site purchased at this time on the North, or ShaoChuanTou, side of the Lagoon. There are, however, two other Consular sites that have come to light at Chi-hou (旗後 - Chi-how, Kiao, Ke-how), on the South side of the Lagoon.

4. Swinhoe's House

The first Consular site at Chi-hou is the house that Swinhoe lived in after his charter on the 'Ternate' finished in May 1865.



[IMAGE: hopkinsL.jpg . CAPTION: Gravestone of William Hopkins]

一八七一年英國領事William Gregory經駐北京的公使同意，在打水灣這塊地圍出一區作為埋葬外國人的地方，並且建了一座教堂。於是，從一八七一年起那裡還真有一部分地方作為外國人的墓園。到一八九五年台灣割讓給日本人為止，約有三十位外國人，其中有兩位婦女三位小孩長眠於此。

有趣的是，郇和一直沒有將這塊土地過戶給英國政府，而是英國領事Hewlett用了非常奇特的交易方式後，在郇和過世不久的一八七八年五月才由英國政府「收回」。



圖4：William Hopkins的墓碑

一九二五年這塊地的大部分被賣掉，但英國政府的文件清楚顯示作為墓地的部分仍由英國保有，並交給外國墓園之友管理。今天這地方被私人佔用，只能發現到William Hopkins的墓碑。

因此，打水灣這塊地雖然在英國外交部的文件裏常被視為領事館館區，但從未如此使用過，同一時間也未在瀉湖的北邊---或是哨船頭---另外買地作為領事館用地。不過在瀉湖南邊的旗後地區倒發現有兩處。

四、郇和的住處

在旗後的首處領事館館區是郇和的住處，是在一八六五年五月Ternate號租期屆滿之後。

An 1880 land deed records the permanent leasing of a plot at Chi-hou in '1865 or 1866' by Li Chai (李察), who 'built thereon for the British subject Swinhoe, the said site being situated in the village of Chi-how on the shore of the lagoon'. Lest there be any mistake that this was not on Chichin, the deed also states that the site was bounded 'East by Tait & Co's godown lot, West by the Haikuan's (閩海關) boundaries, ... and North by the Lagoon'. It was not until 1880, after the death of Swinhoe in 1877, that this lot was then leased out again to Jamieson Elles of Elles & Co (怡記洋行). However in 1883, as Elles ran into financial difficulties, the lot lease was transferred to Tait & Co (德記洋行)¹¹.

Confirmation of the location of this first Consulate at Chi-hou can found on a sketch map drawn in April 1866 by Acting Consul Thomas Watters showing the 'route from Taiwanfu to Takau-kon (打狗港)' ¹². This map shows the route taken by Watters when travelling between Taiwan-fu and the Consulate, which is clearly shown to be on the southern side of the lagoon at Chi-hou.

The building was visited in May 1866 by Cuthbert Collingwood, who records a 'vice consul', presumably Watters, as being in residence ¹³. On the sixth of May 1866 Collingwood painted a watercolour showing the 'entrance to harbour, Ta-kau from the Consulate'. This beautiful picture, now in the Paul JJ Overmaat Collection, was painted from the Consulate verandah and shows part of a substantial structure.



[IMAGE: collingwdL.jpg . CAPTION: Collingwood's 'Ta-kau from the Consulate' ; Courtesy of the Paul JJ Overmaat Collection.]



[IMAGE:1865mapDetL.jpg . CAPTION: Detail of 1865 British Admiralty Chart ; Crown Copyright].

This painting also makes it possible to ascertain the general location of the building by taking a compass bearing on ShaoChuanTou and Ape's Hill (柴山). This locates the building as being in amongst the cluster of foreign residences shown, and marked 'Eng. Consulate', on an 1865 British Admiralty chart.

一份一八八〇年的地契上，記載著李察於一八六五或一八六六年永久租賃了一塊位於旗後的土地。李察就是「替英國業主郇和，在這塊位於潟湖邊旗後村的土地上施工的人」。為了避免誤以為這塊地在旗津，地契還把這塊地的界址做了說明：「東起德記洋行棧房，西止於閩海關、、、，而北至潟湖。」直至郇和一八七七年死後的第三年，也就是一八八〇年，這塊地又租給怡記洋行的Jamieson Elles，一八八三年在怡記洋行發生財務危機後，租賃權再轉給德記洋行。

這個在旗後的首處領事館的位置，從一八六六年四月由代理領事Thomas Watters手繪的台灣府至打狗港的航線圖上證實，這幅圖畫出Watters往來於領事館至台灣府的航線，領事館的位置清楚的位於潟湖南邊的旗後。

一八六六年五月Cuthbert Collingwood曾到此造訪，並記下有一位「副領事」（可能就是Watters）住在那兒。一八六六年五月六日Collingwood從領事館的陽台畫了一幅遠眺打狗港入口的「從領事館看打狗」水彩畫，此畫目前由歐福曼（Paul J J Overmaat）收藏，而畫中可以看到部分領事館的建築。



圖5：Collingwood的「從領事館看打狗」水彩畫



圖6：一八六五年的英國海圖

由畫中柴山及哨船頭的角度大概可算出領事館建築的位置，此一地點就在外國人住宅區之中，而一八六五年的英國海圖上也註記有「英國領事館」的字樣。

It should be noted that the Admiralty chart hanging on the wall of the Consular building on the hill at ShaoChuanTou, as pictured at the beginning of this article, is actually an updated version of this original 1865 chart. As the update was carried out in 1885, the new consulate buildings at ShaoChuan Tou had indeed been built and are therefore shown. Significantly, there are notes on the revised chart to show the dumping of rocks in 1884 by the Ching officials to block the harbour entrance against the French³⁵.

The large building shown on the 1865 Admiralty Chart to the south east of the Consulate, and to the right of the market, is presumed to be the second Chi-hou consular site.

5. McPhail Building

The second Chi-hou Consular site was most probably located just to the east of the Tien-ho Temple, and separated from the shore of the lagoon by a large open courtyard.

McPhail & Co, mentioned as possible builders of the ShaoChuanTou British Consulate building, had permanently leased a plot of land in November 1864 (Ching Tung-chih 3rd year) at Chi-hou, as proven by the reference in the Land Deed to the lagoon being to the North¹⁴.

Swinhoe had 'watched with satisfaction the completion of a new house' on the site by McPhail & Co, using materials and workmen from Amoy. Dissatisfied with both the crowded location and cramped condition of his current house, he wrote on 30 August 1865 to Thomas Wade, the British minister at Peking, to seek permission to lease or preferably to buy the newly-completed McPhail building. Swinhoe describes the building thus: 'On entering the hall by stone steps from the long courtyard which is approached from the harbour by a substantial jetty, you find on the right and left two long boarded rooms 66 X 20 feet. The right of these would serve for the offices and the two small rooms beyond on the same side for the servants' waiting rooms. The large room on the left of the hall and the two small rooms in its rear would serve for the constable, the jail, and public storerooms'. He further writes that though McPhail & Co preferred a long lease, 'they have consented to sell all right and title to house and ground for the sum of Sixteen Thousand Dollars [\$16,000]'¹⁵.

必須注意的是這幅掛在哨船頭山上領事館牆上的英國海圖---亦即本文開始時提到的那幅---為一八八五年版（原版是一八六五年），此時哨船頭新領事館早已蓋好，因此在圖上看得到它。耐人尋味的是，新版地圖上還註明了一八八四年清廷為抵抗法軍，在入港處堆積石塊的地方。

在一八六五年的英國海圖上，位於領事館的東南及市場右方的大建築物，被認為是旗後的第二處領事館區。

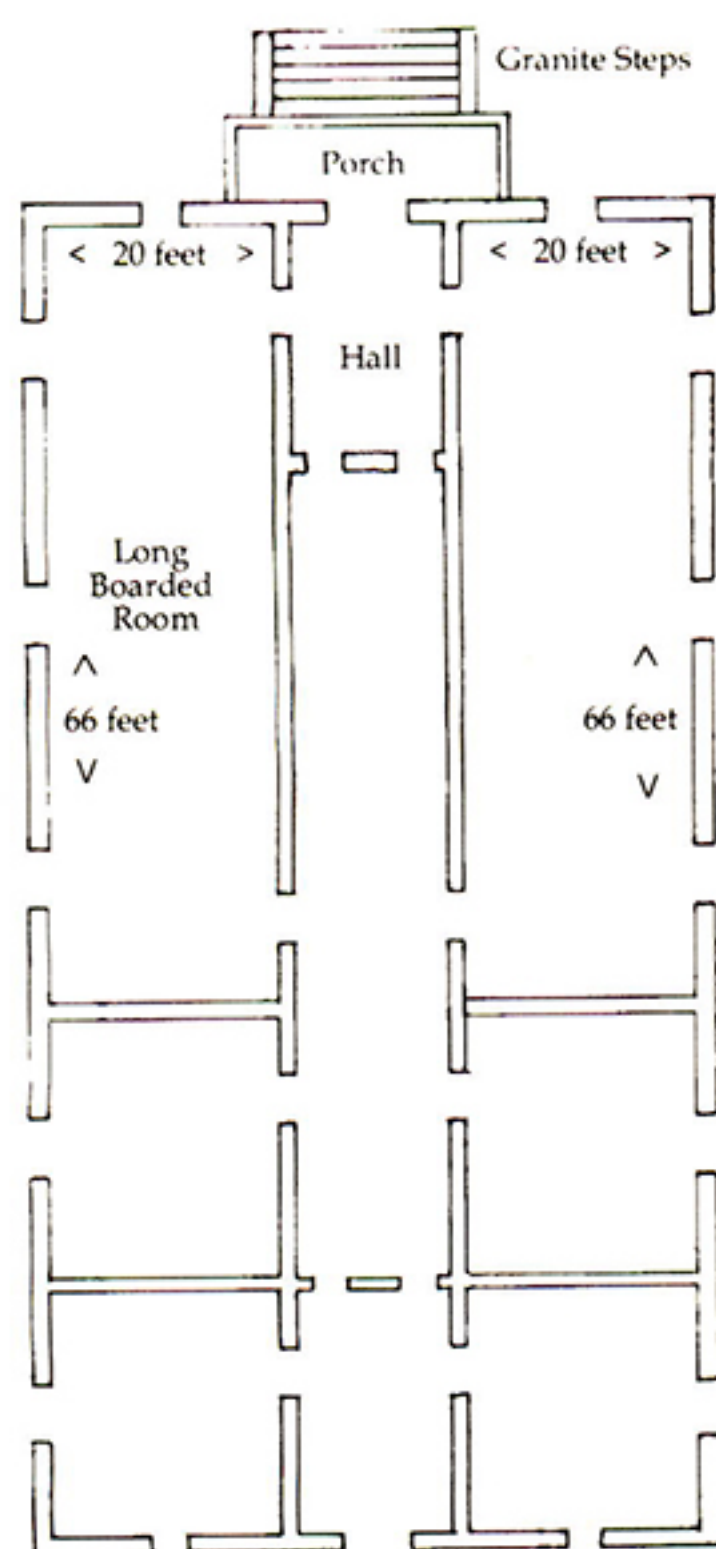
五、天利洋樓

旗後的第二處領事館區最有可能的位置是在天后宮的正東邊，被一個大庭院從瀉湖岸邊分開。

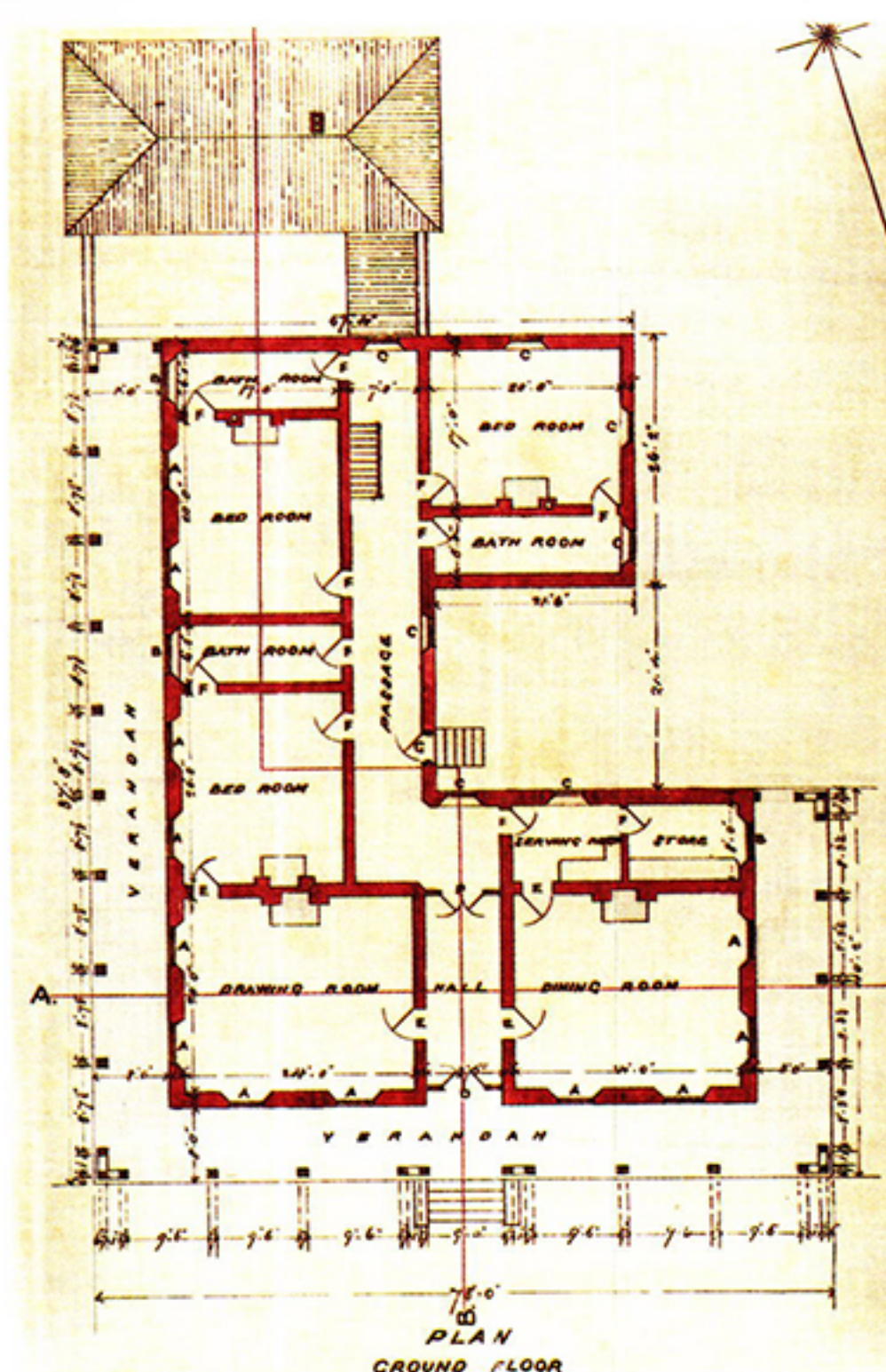
被認為是哨船頭英國領事館可能的起造人--天利洋行--在一八六四年（清同治三年）十一月在旗後永久租下了一塊土地，從地契的權狀證明該地是對著北邊的瀉湖。

郇和看了天利洋行在這裡以廈門的工匠師父及材料所建的房子後很滿意，相較於他當時住處的狹窄和擁擠，於是在一八六五年八月卅日寫信給北京英國公使威妥瑪（Thomas Wade），冀求同意以租甚至最好買下這新完工的樓房。郇和在信中這樣形容：「從港邊碼頭穿過長長的庭院沿著石階而上進入大門，就看到兩間長66呎寬20呎的大房間分別在左右兩邊，右邊的大房間將作為辦公室，其後的兩間小房間則作為僕役的工作準備室。左邊的大房間和兩間小房間則分別作為巡捕室、拘留室和儲藏室。」他更寫道：雖然天利洋行樂意長期出租，但也有意以總價一萬六千元出售土地權狀和房屋的所有權利。

The illustrations below compare a realisation of the building described by Swinhoe (on the left) with the architectural plan of the building on the hill at ShaoChuanTou (on the right). It is clear that Swinhoe's description does not match the ShaoChuanTou building.



[IMAGE: McPhail121.jpg . CAPTION: Possible Ground Plan of McPhail Building]



[IMAGE: ConsPlan.jpg . CAPTION: Ground Plan of Consular Residence on Hill ; Crown Copyright]

In 1867 the British government sent Major William Crossman to survey the consular sites, either existing or proposed, across Asia. In Crossman's subsequent July 1867 report, it is recorded that the Consul had leased 'premises at \$2,400 per annum for five years certain, with the option of purchase at any time for the sum of \$16,000' from a firm that 'has become bankrupt within the last few weeks, and the property will have to be sold' ... (although) the house itself is not very suitable, as the upper rooms only can be made available for a dwelling house' ¹⁶. The well-documented collapse of McPhail in May 1867 ¹⁷, and the fact that the purchase option amount is precisely as proposed by Swinhoe in his letter to Wade, lead to the conclusion that the building is indeed the McPhail one, but it is the McPhail building at Chi-hou.

下面左邊的圖是按郇和的描述畫的，右邊則是哨船頭山上建築的工程藍圖。顯然郇和所描述的和哨船頭的建築並不相符。

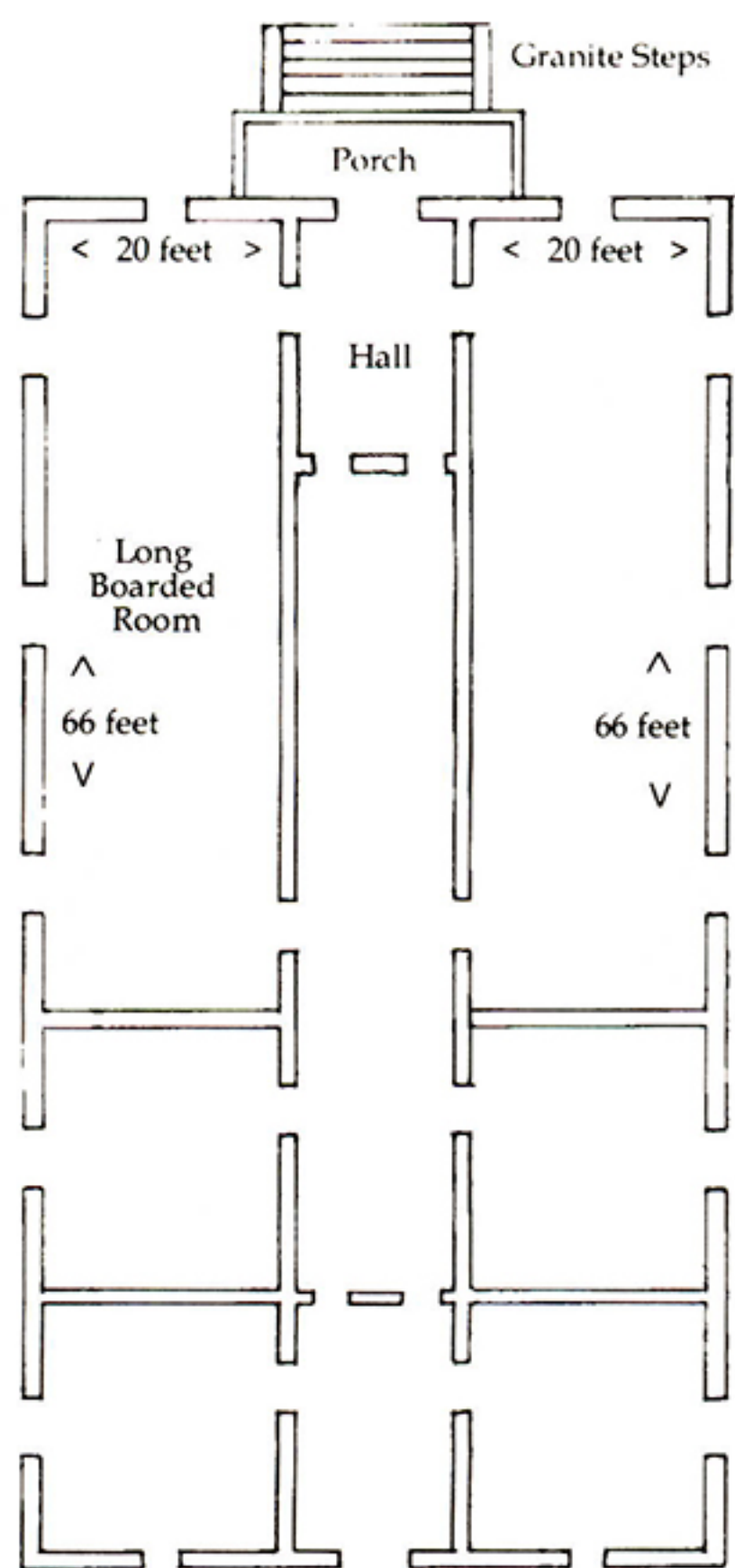


圖7：天利洋樓可能的藍圖

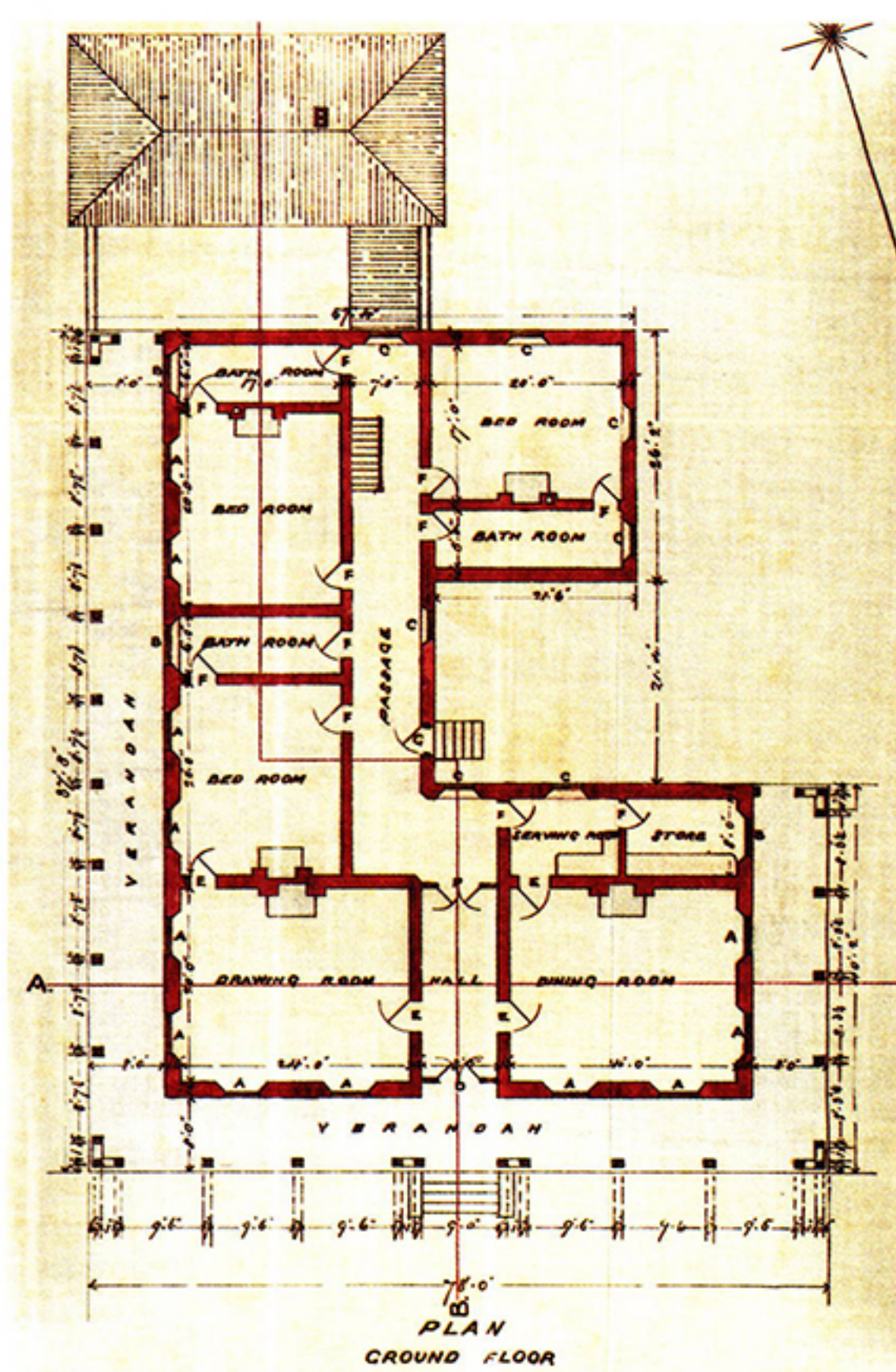


圖8：哨船頭山上領事館官舍工程藍圖

一八六七年英國政府派遣William Crossman少校到亞洲視察各地的領事館館舍，包括現有的和計畫要蓋的。後來在他一八六七年七月的報告中提到，有某領事「已經向一家即將在數週內破產並出售資產的公司，以每年兩千四百元的價格承租房產五年，並約定隨時可以總價一萬六千元購進、、、由於樓上房間只能改做住家，所以這棟房子本身並不適宜（作館舍）」。天利洋行是在一八六七年五月正式宣布破產，而由房價正如郇和寫給威妥瑪（Wade）的信中所提的價格一事看來，指的應是天利洋行的房子，但那是在旗後的天利洋樓。

The McPhail building was sold by Allan Bain, on behalf of the insolvent McPhail estate, to Tait & Co in August 1868 for an undisclosed amount. Interestingly, the Chinese land deed attached to the British Foreign Office file has been annotated 'Lease of British Consulate at Takao (to?) McPhail & Co' ¹⁸.

From contemporary maps and Swinhoe's description of the building it is possible to fix the location precisely. An 1875 engraving, after an 1871 photograph by Thomson shows the Consulate as the long pale building with five windows running along its second storey just to the right of the centre of the engraving.



[IMAGE : Thomson1875L . CAPTION: 1871 View of Chi-hou ; Courtesy The Reed Institute].

Ironically, Swinhoe was never to live in the Consulate building that he had so earnestly requested.

6. Swinhoe's Departure

Swinhoe had been joined at Takow by his pregnant wife Christina and one child after the opening of the first British consulate on the southern shore of the Takow lagoon. Mrs Swinhoe, as the only foreign woman, was fortunate that Dr William Maxwell was to arrive on 28 May 1865 during her pregnancy. Swinhoe's second child, named Robert Alfred Swinhoe, was born on 2 October 1865 at Takow, reputedly the first Western birth on Taiwan since Dutch times. After Christina's confinement, Swinhoe, upon the advice of Dr Maxwell, escorted his wife and child in November 1865 to Amoy, where her parents were missionaries and Swinhoe's brother-in-law was consul. Although Swinhoe returned to Takow in December 1865, he returned again to Amoy at the end of February 1866 leaving Watters in charge of the Taiwan Consulate from 1 March 1866.

天利洋樓在一八六八年八月由天利洋行委託Allen Bain以未公開的價錢售給德記洋行。有意思的是，附在英國外交檔案的中文契書上註記的是「打狗英國領事館（對？）天利洋行租賃契約」。

從當時的地圖和郇和對房子的描述，是可以確定它的地點的。在一幅一八七五年的版畫（參照Thomson一八七一年拍攝的照片畫的）中，可以看到領事館這棟長長的、灰白色、二樓有五扇窗一字排開的建築物，就在中間靠右的地方。



圖9：旗後遠眺

諷刺的是，郇和一直沒有住進他曾殷切期盼的領事館裡。

六、郇和的離去

在打狗瀉湖南岸首間英國領事館開館後，郇和和他有孕的妻子Christina及一個孩子一直都住在打狗。身為唯一的西方女子，郇和太太算是幸運的，因為在她懷孕期間William Maxwell醫生在一八六五年五月廿八日來到打狗，郇和家的第二個小孩Robert Alfred於一八六五年十月二日在打狗出生，據稱是自荷蘭時期以後第一位在台灣出生的西方人。由於Christina的父母在廈門傳教而且哥哥是駐廈門的領事，因此她分娩後，郇和在Maxwell醫生的建議下把太太和小孩護送到廈門。雖然一八六五年十二月郇和曾回到打狗，但一八六六年二月底再回廈門，而留下副領事Watters自三月一日起負責台灣的領事業務。

On 4 April 1866 Swinhoe was ordered to remain in Amoy as Acting-Consul whilst retaining the position of British Consul to Formosa¹⁹. In fact Swinhoe was to remain the Consul for Taiwan until 1873, though he returned to Taiwan only once, briefly, in early 1869 to handle problems related to the camphor trade and missionary activities, which had led to the dramatic and unauthorised use of gunboat diplomacy by Acting-Consul Gibson in November 1868²⁰.

7. Diplomatic Indifference

Following the use of gunboat diplomacy in 1868, the British government decided to take a much more conciliatory attitude toward the Ching authorities. The disturbances in Taiwan, which had seen fatal attacks on foreign missionaries and the burning of foreign missions as well as disputes over the camphor monopoly rights of the local circuit intendant (Tao-tai), had led to a use of force that was deplored by the British Foreign Office and led to the curbing of such provocative actions in China²¹. The British already had their hands full and resources at full stretch in managing a sprawling empire and had no wish to precipitate the collapse of the Ching Dynasty.

In their newly cooperative role in China, the British were seemingly content to meet their consular staff's objections to sub-standard accommodation at Takow by renting a new premises in the capital of Taiwan-foo. Acting-Consul Cooper, who relieved the hapless Gibson in July 1869 and who spent a mere seven months at the 'wretched consulate' before returning to Hong Kong to die of fever, may well have been the last consul to attempt to reside at Takow²².

The new Consulate, located at Taiwan-foo (Tainan) was a traditional Chinese building on the eastern wall of the Tao-tai's yamen²³. The location ensured prompt communication with the Circuit Intendant (Tao-tai) and was arranged by Acting-Consul Hewlett in 1872 following the expiry of the 5 year lease at Chi-hou. This was certainly the southern Consular seat in 1875 when Mr H J Allen of the British Consular Service visited Tainan, as he describes his pleasant stay 'in the hospitable yamen of the British Consul'²⁴.

As a reflection of this cooperative period of indifference, virtually no consular report emerged from either Takow or Taiwan-foo between 1871 and 1875²⁵.

一八六六年四月四日郇和受命留在廈門擔任代理領事，同時保有英國駐台灣領事的職位，直到一八七三年。這段期間，他僅曾因為要處理代理領事吉必勳（Gibson），於一八六八年十一月因樟腦貿易及宣教活動，以致未經授權即過當地動用砲艇外交之事，而於一八六九年初短暫回過台灣一次。

七、外交冷淡期

英國政府在經過了一八六八年的砲艇外交之後，決定對清廷採取較友善的政策。台灣的動亂造成對外國傳教士及團體機構的燒殺劫掠，以及當地道台對樟腦專賣的爭執，致使英國外交部不得不訴諸武力抑止這些挑釁行為。其實，英國已盡其所能地協助步履蹣跚的大清帝國，並不希望她很快地殞落。

英國在中國以一個新的合作角色似乎樂於見到他的領事館人員願意在台灣府城租一個新的處所，而反對遷就打狗較差的居住環境。一八六九年七月Cooper接替命運多舛的吉必勳（Gibson）為代理領事，而他僅在這條件很差的領事館工作了七個月，就在回香港的前夕死於熱病，也成為最後一位試圖駐節在打狗的英國領事。

在台灣府（台南）的新領事館是一棟傳統的中國式建築，就坐落於道台衙門的東牆邊，是代理領事Hewlett於一八七二年在旗後館舍的五年租約到期後安排的，以便於就近和道台能即時協商。該地即是一八七五年英國領事官H J Allen訪問台南時領事館之所在，亦是他所稱令其賓至如歸「設在衙門裡，待客慇懃的英國領事館」。

由於這段期間雙方冷淡以對，以致一八七一年至一八七五年間，幾乎沒有出現任何從打狗或台灣府來的外交報告。

However, with the return of Benjamin Disraeli as Prime Minister in 1874, the British were to take a much more assertive role in Asia: securing the 'coaling stations' for the naval and mercantile steamers; and seeking to stop the encroachment of other Western powers, such as Russia and France, and of the newly empowered Japan upon a sickly China. The incursion of the Japanese punitive expeditionary force, which landed at Liangkiau Bay (琅喬灣) in 1874, led to a reassertion of British interests in Formosa from the mid-1870s, despite the extent and quality of the Keelung coalfields having been largely discounted ²⁶.

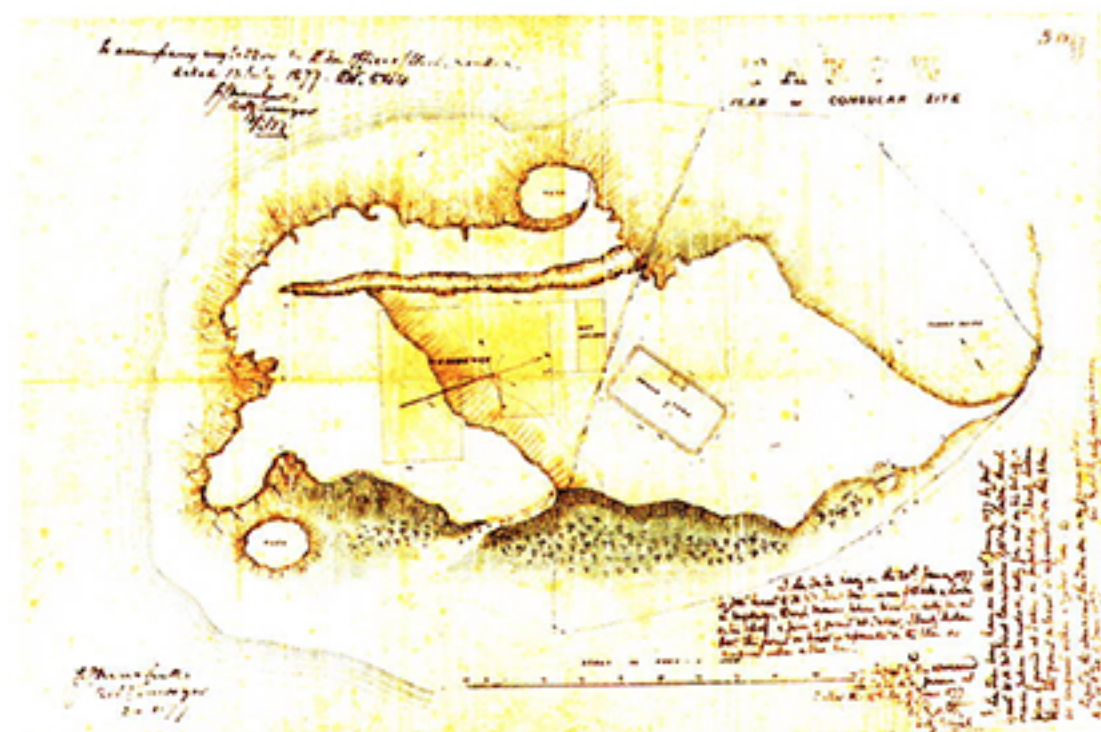


[IMAGE: disraeli6a.jpg . CAPTION: Benjamin Disraeli, British Prime Minister 1874-1880 ; Courtesy Stephen Luscombe]

8. Consulate at ShaoChuanTou

The British Consular authorities had already leased a site on the lagoon shore at ShaoChuanTou in 1876 (but with completion in 1880), when the old Brown & Co (水陸洋行) plot, which had originally been purchased by Captain Oliver of Dent & Co (甸德洋行) in 1860, was divided up between the Imperial Maritime Customs, Elles & Co, Mannich & Co (東興洋行) and the British Government ²⁷.

On 2 January 1877 Lu Tien-sung (盧天送) leased part of a site on the hill above the shoreline at ShaoChuanTou, where the Consular Residence now stands, to Francis



J Marshall acting on behalf of Her Majesty's First Commissioner of Works; and on 20 January 1877 Lu Ta-tu leased the remaining portion to the British Government, on this portion the Eighteen Kings Temple (十八王公廟) now stands ²⁸.

[IMAGE PlotSiteL.jpg ; CAPTION : 1877 Plan of Consular Residence Plot ; Crown Copyright]

但是在Benjamin Disraeli於一八七四年擔任首相後，英國為了確保海軍和商船的補給線，並防止蘇聯、法國等西方強權和新興的日本，覬覦積弱不振的中國，決定在亞洲擔負更強硬的角色。一八七四年日本遠征軍登陸琅嶠灣，使英國從一八七〇年代中期起，無視基隆煤田的品質和範圍已大大降低，而重申其在台灣的利益。

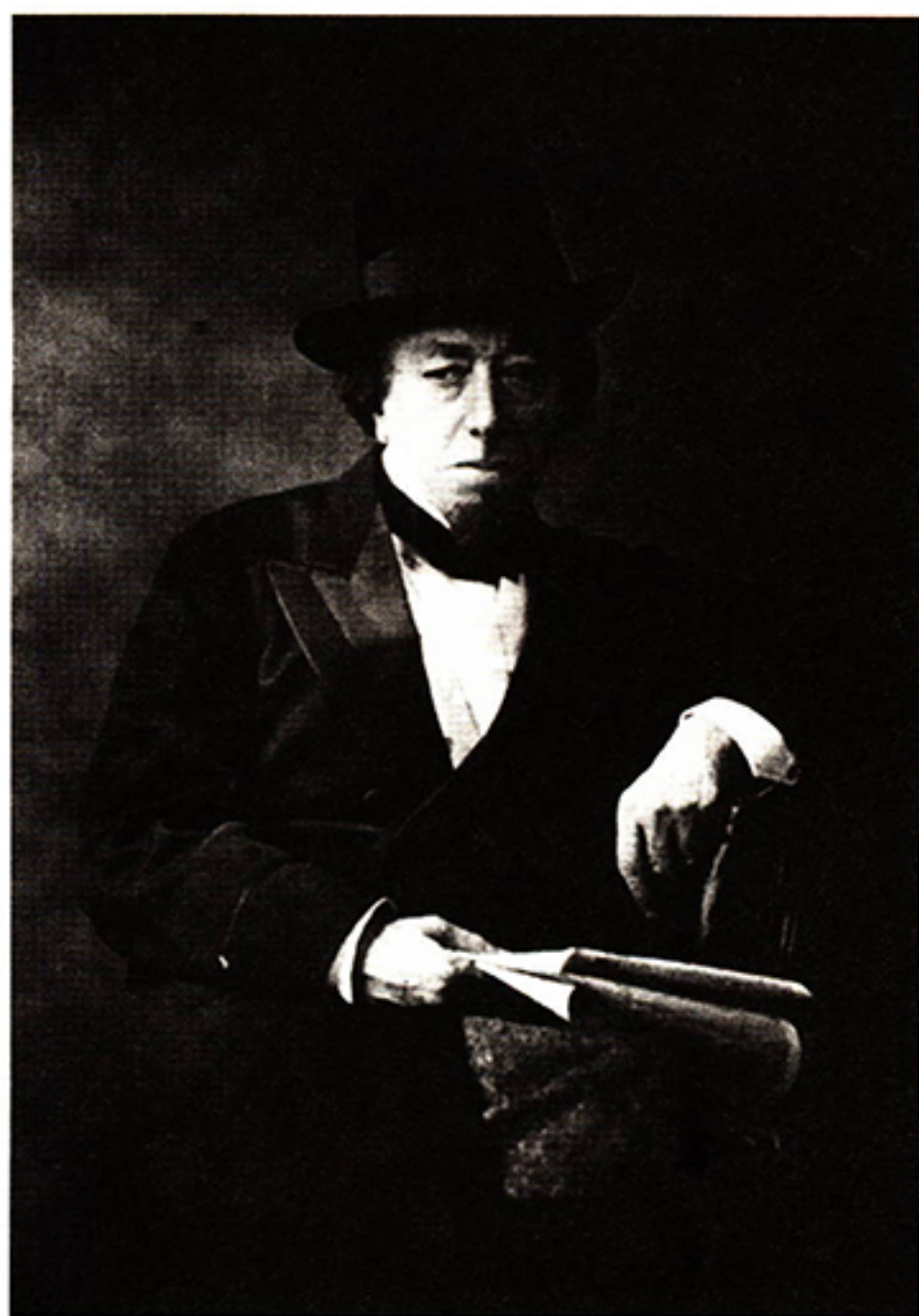


圖10：英國首相Benjamin Disraeli

八、哨船頭領事館

當最早為甸德洋行的Oliver上尉在一八六〇年買下，而由皇家海關、怡記洋行、東興洋行及英國政府分別使用的老水陸洋行的那塊地時，英國領事館當局已在一八七六年租下位於哨船頭瀉湖邊的地（但在一八八〇年完成）。

一八七七年一月二日盧天送租給代表皇家第一工程局局長的Francis J Marshall在哨船頭海岸線山上一部分的地，就是目前領事館官舍的位置。其餘

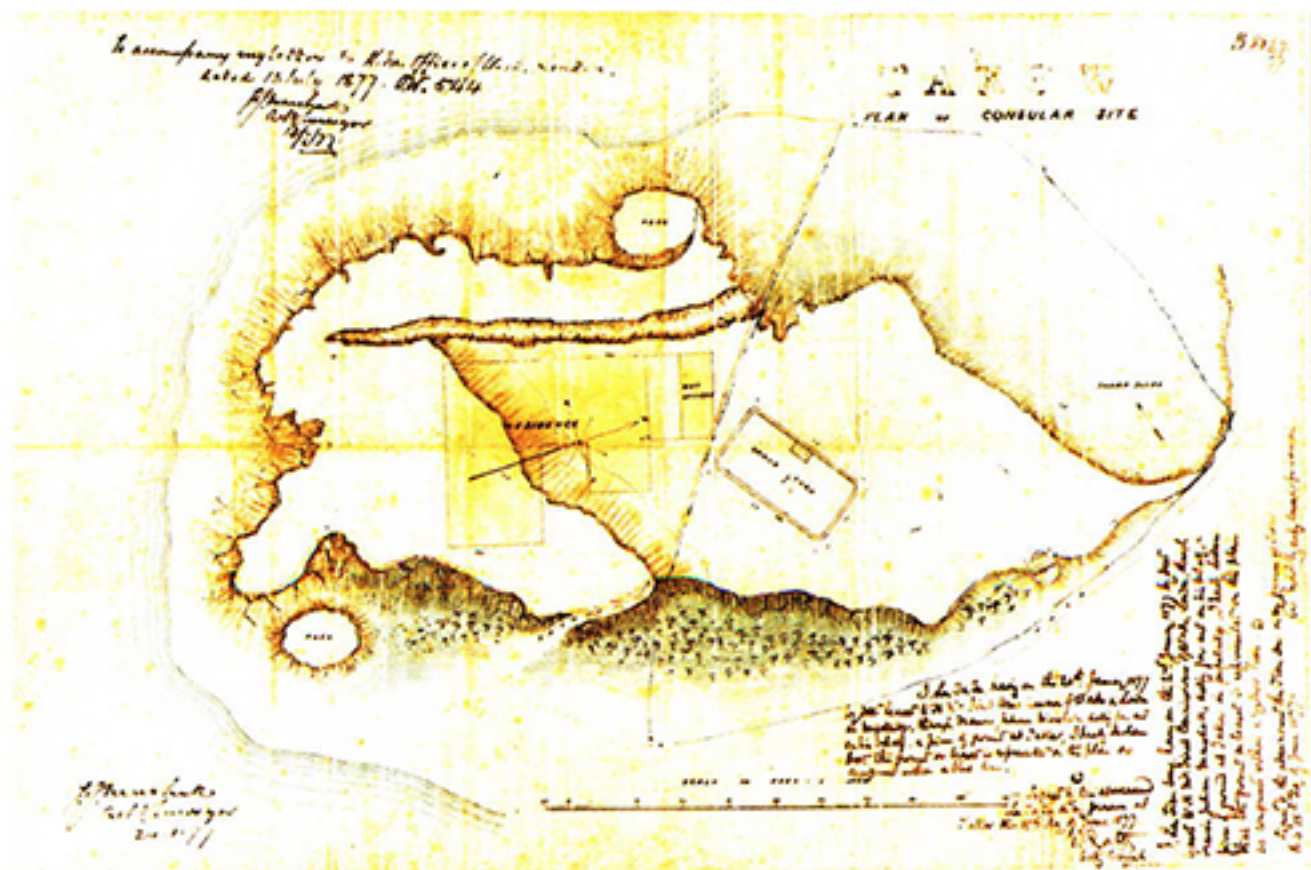


圖11：一八七七年領事館官舍基地藍圖

由盧大度在一八七七年一月廿日租給英國政府的地，就是現在十八王宮廟的位置。

The plan of the site before construction is dated July 1877, and it is a copy this plan which hangs on the wall at the old British Consulate today. The plan was accompanied by the original architectural drawings for the Consular Residence in a despatch by Julian Marshall, the British Government's Acting Surveyor of Works²⁹. As has been noted above, these architectural drawings do not match Swinhoe's description of the McPhail building.

In confirmation of the view that this was indeed a contemporaneous purchase of the vacant site, there is an interesting exchange of letters between Commissioner T F Hughes of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs (ICMC) and Mr Marshall. From these letters and other documents within the same government file, it is clear that the site was not only 'newly acquired' but that the Customs claimed certain 'squatter rights' thereupon due to some steps that had previously been built by Brown & Co up to the hilltop site³⁰.

The omission of the Consular Residence from a contemporary ICMC map suggests that the Consular Offices were built first, probably in the dry season of 1877/8. This date of construction is further supported by a statement in 'The China Consuls' that a 'new consulate was built at Takow in 1878'³¹.

Within the British government files is also a later plan showing both the Consular Offices, on the shore; and the Consular Residence, on the hill³². This later plan is dated August 1879, which suggests that the Consular Residence was built during the dry season of 1878/9.

Confirmation of this date of construction comes from another series of correspondence between the Imperial Maritime Customs and the British Government, this time between Commissioner H E Hobson and Consul A R Hewlett in 1879. Once again the exchange of letters is fundamentally about where the boundaries between the Consular Residence and Customs properties lie, but this time takes the form of a protest over a path built to carry building materials from the bottom of the hill to the top. In May 1879, Hobson was protesting that, since all building materials had been carried to the top of the hill, the path should be closed as earlier agreed³³. This shows that the construction of the Consular Residence was nearing completion in May 1879.



[IMAGE: PlotComp1Lt.jpg .
CAPTION: 1879 Plan showing
Consular Offices and Consular
Residence ; Crown Copyright]

此圖係複製目前掛在英國領事館牆上的動工前基地藍圖，標示的日期為一八七七年七月。它還附有由英政府代理工程測量員Julian Marshall速寫領事館官舍建築的原件。就像前面說的一樣，這些建築圖與郇和描述的天利洋樓並不一致。

為了證實這塊空地確實是當時購買的說法，在皇家中國海關局局長T F Hughes和Marshall先生相互間的信件中可以看出一些端倪。從這些信及此一政府檔案的其他文件中，明白顯示海關不單是買地而已，由於水陸洋行先前已修建了一些到山頂的階梯，因此還要求了地上物的權利。

由當時皇家中國海關局地圖漏了領事館官舍，可見領事館辦公室大概是先在一八七七至七八年的乾季建的。建築時間則由「中國領事」記述的「一八七八年興建打狗領事館」進一步證實。

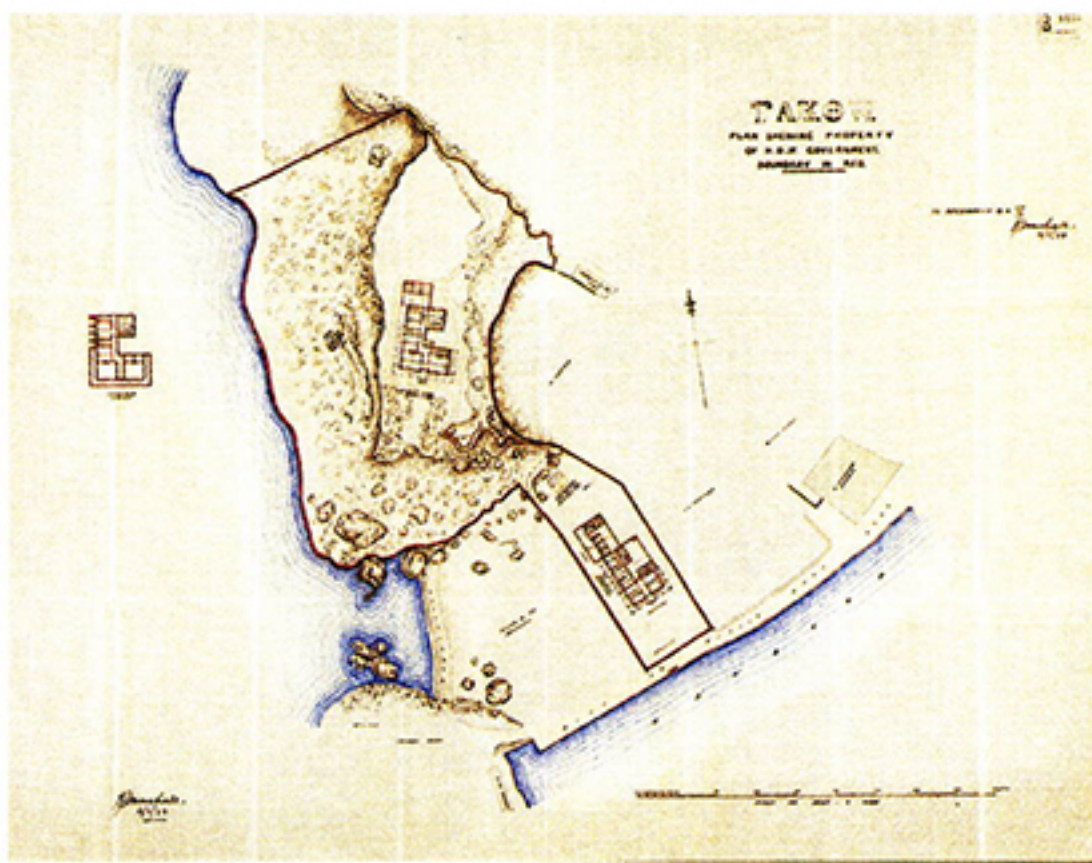


圖12：一八七九年顯示領事館辦公室及領事館官舍的藍圖

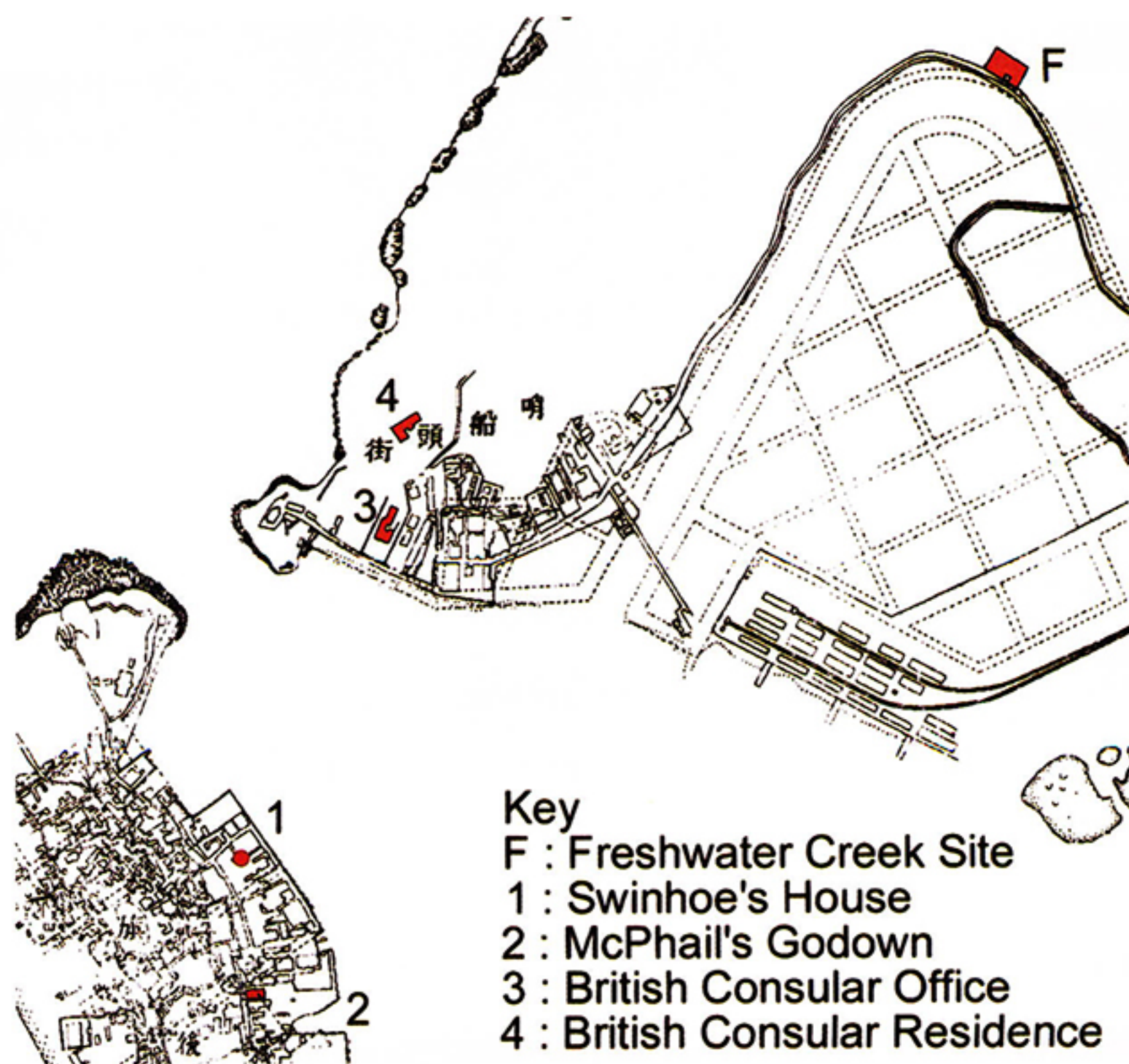
在英國政府檔案裏也有一張較新的藍圖，可分別看到領事館辦公室在岸邊，領事館官舍在山上，這張新藍圖的日期為一八七九年八月，顯示領事館官舍是在一八七八至七九年的乾季蓋的。

建造的日期也可從皇家海關局與英國政府間的來往書信中證實，時間是一八七九年，當時的局長為H E Hobson，領事是A R Hewlett。這些書信主要仍在討論領事館官舍與海關房產的界址，但也爭辯如何處理從山下搬運建材至山頂的小路。一八七九年五月在所有建材都運至山頂後，Hobson就主張應依先前的約定封閉小路。這說明了領事館官舍在一八七九年五月已接近完工。

Further support for the 1878 and 1879 construction dates comes from the brick import data contained in the Takow Trade Reports prepared by the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs³⁴. The number of bricks imported from Amoy in both 1878 and 1879 were just over half a million units, which far exceeded all earlier years except 1875. Although the present structure on the hill, which was based on the 1900 reconstruction plans, may use over three-quarters of a million bricks, the original structure, with its slender verandah pillars supporting wooden slatting, would have used far fewer bricks.

Map

A map showing the five sites is shown below. This map identifies the Freshwater Creek Site as 'F'; Swinhoe's House as '1'; the McPhail Building as '2'; the British Consular Office as '3'; and the British Consular Residence as '4'. This map is based on a 1908 Japanese map of Kaohsiung held at the UK Public Records Office.



[IMAGE : map.jpg ; CAPTION : Map Showing the Locations of the Four Consular Sites ; Adapted from 1908 Map under Crown Copyright]

從皇家中國海關局的「打狗港貿易報導」中有關紅磚進口的數字，可進一步證明建造時間為一八七八至七九年間。因這兩年由廈門進口的紅磚數都剛好超過五十萬塊，這數量遠比前些年的進口數多（除了一八七五年）。雖然目前在山頂上的建築是依據一九〇〇年的重建計畫建造的，大概用掉了七十五萬塊以上的磚，但當初的迴廊都是用細柱子撐起木板條，因此用的磚塊就少得多了。

關係位置圖

下圖將五個地區分別以"F"代表打水灣區；"1"代表郇和住處；"2"代表天利洋樓；"3"代表英國領事館辦公室；"4"代表英國領事館官舍。此圖係依據現存英國公共檔案局的一九〇八年日本高雄地圖繪製。

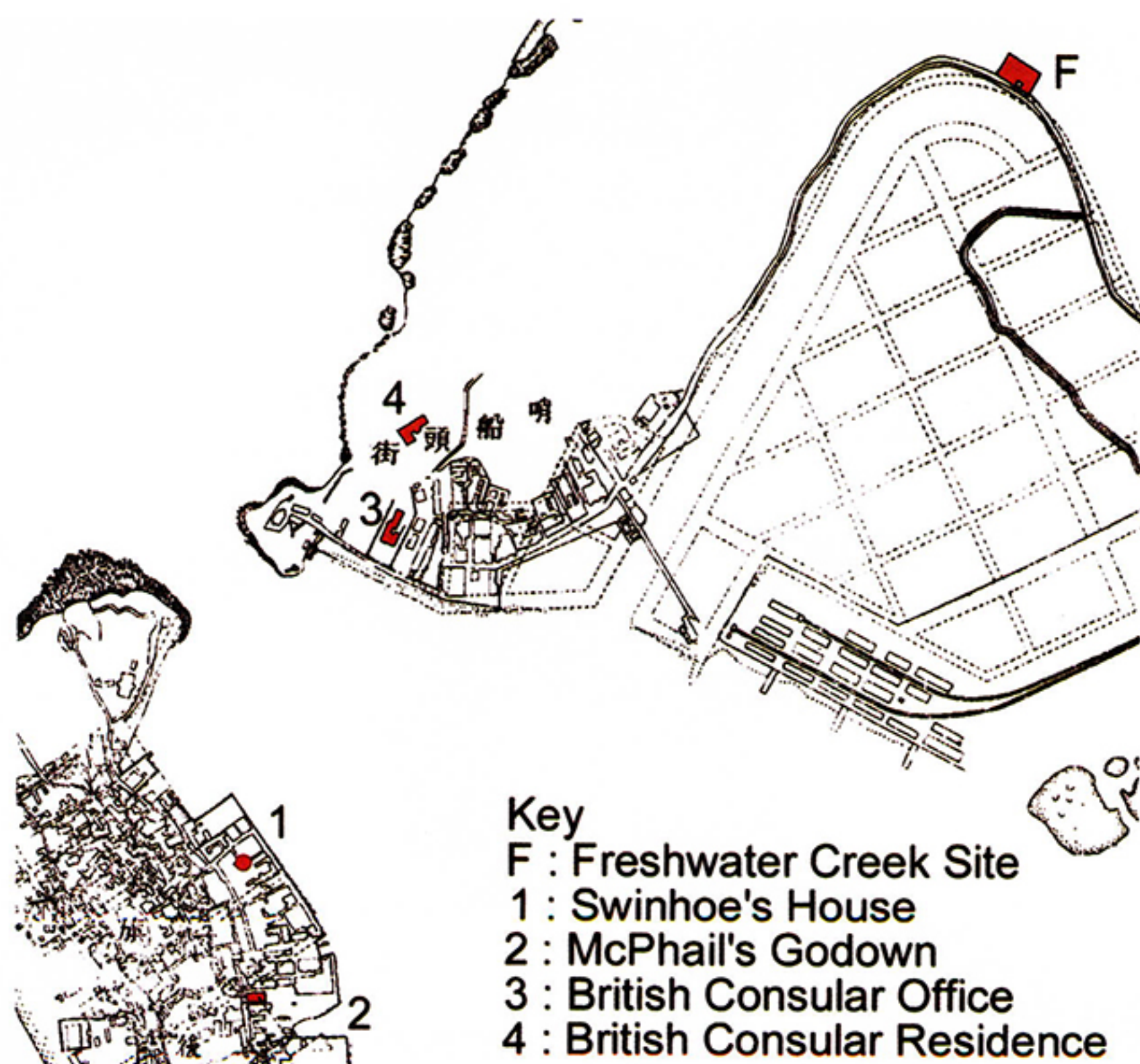


圖13：領事館館舍關係位置圖

9. 1900 Reconstruction

Following the French blockade of 1884/5 it was decided to build a new British Consulate at Anping in 1885. The decision to favour Tainan over Takow was due to the continued silting of the Takow Lagoon, which the authorities seemed loth so solve; and the decision to opt for Anping was due to the prevalence of typho-malarial fever in Tainan itself. Thereafter it appears that the Consular Residence on the hill at ShaoChuanTou was used only for a few months in each year and fell into disrepair.

The fragility of original pillared construction was seemingly weakened to the point of collapse by earthquakes and typhoons, with severe damage evident on the verandah areas and to the roof by 1899. However, in this period, the new Japanese rulers had already put great emphasis on Takow (Takao) as a port with great potential.

Accordingly in 1901 the British Consular Residence was extensively rebuilt with the new appearance being as today apart from the East wing. This rebuilding of the roof and verandah areas was supervised by Robert Hastings. Once again Amoy bricks were used and these were coated with lime cement on the external surfaces to protect the brick facings from the corrosive saline atmosphere³⁶. It should be noted that the practice of coating the external brick surfaces with cement was to protect the structure from the corrosive maritime atmosphere and was not related to any Japanese desire to hide buildings from aerial photography by American airplanes during World War II, as has frequently been reported.

10. 1986 Restoration

Considerable care was evidently taken with the 1986 restoration of the old British Consular Residence. The restoration, which was designed by Lee Chien-lang (李乾朗) of the Chinese Culture University, was begun in February 1985 and officially completed on 25 October 1986, Taiwan Retrocession Day. While the stated function of the present-day building may not meet with the approval of all, its preservation is to be commended. One can only hope that its older sister consular building on the shores of the lagoon can find some similar function in the bitter-sweet relationship between Taiwan and Great Britain, reflected in the opium-sugar trade that once so dominated the local market.

九、一九〇〇年重建

經歷了一八八四至八五年法國封鎖台灣後，英國決定在台南安平興建新的領事館。之所以輕打狗而厚台南的原因在於打狗潟湖持續淤積的問題，而當局又似乎無意解決。而決定選擇安平則是台南正流行傷寒瘧疾。此後哨船頭山上的領事館官舍每年僅使用幾個月，最後就荒廢了。

由於地震與颱風的關係，使得原本脆弱的柱子更顯得搖搖欲墜。加以迴廊和屋頂到一八九九年時已損壞的非常嚴重，而此時新的日本統治者，已視打狗為最有潛力的港口。

於是，英國領事館官舍除了東邊以外，在一九〇一年重新擴建成今天的樣子，而屋頂和迴廊的部分是由Robert Hastings監造的，用的也是廈門磚，外牆再敷以水泥以避免空氣中鹽分對紅磚面的腐蝕。必須一提的是，用水泥敷在紅磚外面的作法，是為了防止空氣中海鹽的侵蝕以保護結構體，而非一般盛傳，是二次大戰時日本為了隱蔽，以避免美國空軍從空中照相而要求的。

十、一九八六年修繕

一九八六年老英國領事館官舍的修繕工作顯然受到相當的注意，它是由中國文化大學李乾朗教授規劃，於一九八五年二月開工，至一九八六年十月二十五日臺灣光復節正式完工。現今這棟建築在功能上也許無法和它原先的完全一致，但它還是應該保存下來。唯一希望的是能在潟湖邊其它更老的領事館建築裡，發現一些在台灣與英國若即若離的關係中，足以反映當年曾在台灣市場佔有一席之地的鴉片蔗糖貿易中相同的歷史痕跡。

Conclusion

Based on the documentation examined above, it seems certain that the British Consular Residence on the hill at ShaoChuanTou was built in early 1879, and was the fourth British consular building at Takow.

The evidence also shows that the first British consular building at Takow, from 1865 to 1866, was Swinhoe's residence at Chi-hou. The second consular building was, in all probability, the McPhail building at Chi-hou for the period of five years from 1867 to 1872, whereupon the Consulate was effectively removed to Tainan. The third consular building at Takow was probably the British Consular Office built on the shore at ShaoChuanTou in 1878. Thus the British consular building on the hill would seem to be the fourth consular building, though it was used as a residence only.

The assertion that the building on the hill is the first foreign consulate built on Taiwan therefore also seems erroneous. The British Consular Office below the hill, on the shore of the lagoon, was probably built first in 1878.

Moreover, the claim that the Residence is 'the oldest Western-style building on Taiwan' seems unfounded. That honour might well belong to the restored Tait building at Anping, Tainan, which was built in 1866, or perhaps to one of the sadly neglected old buildings below on the shore at ShaoChuanTou.

One can only hope that the Kaohsiung City Government will continue its efforts in restoring and protecting buildings in Kaohsiung City, which has a heritage in foreign trade as rich as the well-visited Anping area of Tainan.

The author appreciates the generous help of Dr Yeh Chen-huei (葉振輝) of the National Sun Yat-sen University at Kaohsiung in the preparation of this article.

結論：

基於以上文件資料的研究，似可確信座落於哨船頭山上的英國領事館官舍是建於一八七九年初，也是在打狗的第四處領事館建築。

證據也顯示一八六五至一八六六年打狗首處英國領事館建築即是郇和在旗後的住處，第二處則最有可能是在旗後的天利洋樓，為期五年，自一八六七至一八七二年；其後領事館即遷至台南。第三處在打狗的領事館建築則為一八七八年建於哨船頭岸邊的英國領事館辦公室。因此，在山上的英國領事館建築似乎是第四處，而它只用來作為住所。

那些斷言在山上的建築，就是台灣的首座外國領事館，似乎也是錯誤的。因為在山南潟湖邊的英國領事館辦公室，就可能是在一八七八年先興建的。

此外，那棟號稱是「台灣最老的西式建築」的官舍似乎沒找到，它或許就是位於台南安平，建於一八六六年並經整修過的德記洋行，也或許是哨船頭南岸某棟不起眼的老房子。

希望高雄市政府持續盡力保護整修這些建築物，因為它們和遊人如織的台南安平區一樣，在對外貿易上具有豐富的歷史價值。

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