

The emergence of Veranda Style in Foochow: based on the former British Consulate from a Western perspective

Hantao Wang

Supervised by Dr Bruce Induni

A dissertation submitted to Cardiff University in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

The Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University

December 2019

APPENDIX 1: Specimen Layout for Declaration/Statements page to be included in Taught Master's Degree Dissertations

CANDIDATE'S ID NUMBER:

Please circle appropriate value Mr / Miss / Ms / Mrs / Rev / Dr / Other please specify

CANDIDATE'S SURNAME: Wang CANDIDATE'S FULL FORENAMES: Hantao

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

STATEMENT 1

This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MSc (insert MA, MSc, MBA, MScD, LLM etc, as appropriate)

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

STATEMENT 2

This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A Bibliography is appended.

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

STATEMENT 3 – TO BE COMPLETED WHERE THE SECOND COPY OF THE DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED IN AN APPROVED ELECTRONIC FORMAT

I confirm that the electronic copy is identical to the bound copy of the dissertation

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

STATEMENT 4 I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

STATEMENT 5 - BAR ON ACCESS APPROVED

I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loans after expiry of a bar on access approved by the Graduate Development Committee.

Signed Hantao Wang (candidate) Date 16/12/2019

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Bruce Induni, who suggested me to insist on this research topic, helped transcribe the unrecognisable handwriting of the archival materials and guided me on further directions when my research was stagnant.

I would also express my appreciation to Dr Oriel Prizeman and Dr Christopher Whitman, the leaders of the MSc Sustainable Building Conservation. I am more than happy to be admitted in this course with a background of civil engineering.

Moreover, I would like to show my gratitude to the partners in the volunteer organisation of Fuzhou Architecture Heritage, who inspired me to discover the local architectural history in Foochow.

Additional thanks to the staff of the Cadbury Research Library, the Special Collections, SOAS Library and the National Archives, who offered sufficient support for me to dig into the stacks of archival materials.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for giving me the opportunity to study in UK to fulfil my dreams.

Abstract

This academic work briefly reviews the development of veranda as an architectural element in Foochow (Fuzhou), a coastal city in Southeast China. The city occupies an important role in the history of colonialism in China as it was one of earliest treaty ports opened after the Opium War. A foreign settlement appeared in the suburbs in about 1855 and the veranda style was then introduced by British merchants and diplomats. This work aims to discuss how the construction of veranda was influenced by local craftsmen or social environment, and how veranda was in turn localised in native houses. The historic background in the 18th century and the architectural significance in colonial architecture precede the introduction of Western architecture in the foreign settlement of Foochow with the case of British consulate buildings in Foochow. Although the consulate was almost demolished later, the discussion is developed with materials in the British National Archives. In case study, construction of British consular buildings was reviewed from the points of both British officers and Chinese contractors to suppose a possible Chinese influence on veranda. Moreover, the humble building of servants' quarters was referred to as an early example of localised veranda in Foochow, combined with more projects built for native residents. Finally, it is concluded that influences on both cultures with veranda are actually a cultural phenomenon in the process of colonial modernity.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Justification and motivation.....	3
1.3 Research aim and objectives.....	5
Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework and Methodology	6
2.1 Theoretical framework	6
2.2 Methodology.....	12
2.2.1 Archival research	12
2.2.2 Structure of the research.....	14
2.2.3 Limitation	15
Chapter 3 Historical Background	15
3.1 Foreign acquaintance with Foochow before 1842	15
3.2 Contact and conflict in Foochow after 1842	17
3.3 Relocation of British consulate responding to the thriving tea trade.....	22
Chapter 4 Architectural Significance	24
4.1 Veranda and its origin from Indian Bungalow	24
4.2 Veranda/colonial style in China.....	29
4.2.1 Veranda in Western architecture	29
4.2.2 Veranda in Chinese architecture	39
4.3 Evolution of the Foreign settlement in Foochow	53
4.3.1 General Distribution	53
4.3.2 Commercial zone	66
4.3.3 Residential zone	73
Chapter 5 British Consulate: An Example of Evolving Veranda Style	83
5.1 The old consular buildings: copy and paste	84
5.2 The consul's residence rebuilt in 1868: absorb and create	90
5.3 Western architecture in a Chinese impression.....	96
Chapter 6 Conclusions and Discussion	102
List of Figures.....	105
Reference	108

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This academic work focuses on Western architecture in the foreign settlement of Foochow (Fuzhou). As a normal provincial capital in south-eastern China today, Foochow was one of the first five treaty ports opened by the Treaty of Nanking after the First Opium War in 1842, together with Shanghai, Ningpo (Ningbo), Amoy (Xiamen) and Canton (Guangzhou). The garrison city of Foochow seats at the foot of northernmost mountains, three miles south of which were the Chinese trading quarter on the north bank and the former foreign residence on the south bank of River Min, the water route of tea transportation (Fig 1).

The academic work focuses on the colonial architecture in the foreign settlement, with the example of the British Consulate in Foochow, whose construction records are still preserved in the UK National Archives. The historic background of the settlement's emergence is introduced in the first section, that British diplomats were first nominated to work in Foochow in the two decades after 1842. Interaction between the "intruders" and local society are described according to the official correspondence in and between both empires. The following chapters would attempt to discuss and conclude the architectural reflection of such interaction or conflicts by means of case study.



Figure 1 Map of Foochow in 1880s, consisting of the garrison city on the north, the commercial district on the north riverbank and the opposite foreign settlement (Lith. c1880)

1.2 Justification and motivation

Compared to the other four first treaty ports in China, there has been inadequate attention paid to the architectural history of the foreign settlement in Foochow. The two popular examples in Chinese architectural history in early modern period are Shanghai and Canton, respectively for a continuous development as a fashion centre in China and the status of the sole legal trading port authorised by the Qing government in 1757. As Foochow was a declining treaty port in early the 20th century, the development in architectural styles stopped did not catch up with modern trends. Different from Shanghai, where new styles and techniques could be spread timely from the West, the buildings in Foochow gradually developed into a special style which well combined Western structure and native elements. Foochow was a typical example to embrace the progressive Western influences, attributed to the long history of cultural communication and its later decadency.



Figure 2 Perspective of Fukien Christian University by Murphy & Dana Architects (Lai et al. 2016)

In contrast to taking only one section, quantitative master theses focus on the modern architecture in Foochow. Xue (2000) is the first one to start such systematic discussion. She divided the general development of early modern architecture in Foochow into four

main phases, the initial boom (1844-1897), transfer to native city (1898-1927), recovery (1928-1937) and final stagnation (1938-1949). Though the discussion is slightly superficial, the pictures contained are of high value after the demolition and urban reconstruction in recent years. Later, she also specifically introduces the general construction situation of Foochow foreign settlement based on the general situation of Foochow trading, the main construction activity and the building characteristics in the latter half of the 19th century (Xue 2004a). Zhang's master (2003) thesis comprehensively introduced the history of Christian architecture in Foochow in a chronological order, with the support of abundant description from missionary journals and memoirs of missionaries. This thesis contains church, school, hospital and missionary residence and further discusses how missionary activities promoted natives to accept modern (read Western) lifestyles. This piece of work also shows the possibility and necessity to study Western architecture in Foochow from the accounts of European residents. Yu (2005) carries out the discussion of the same group of buildings by dividing them into trading factories, consulates, the arsenal and church buildings. His scope of discussion covers contemporary Chinese architecture and the imperial navy arsenal in the suburb, showing a broader historic context. Wu (2007) specialise in discussing commercial buildings in Foochow after its opening in 1844. Yan (2013) confines the research scope to the foreign settlement at Nantai, on the south bank of Min River, with more records of current situations in details. A applicable research based on the former American Consulate is completed by Li (2015), in which construction details and feasible conservation techniques are described. However, the fact that the authors are mainly from Fujian implies that this research field has only attracted a native attention yet.

As one of the earliest cities open to Western countries, Foochow was frequently mentioned in official records during its early political, economic prosperity, as well as missionary journals when it transformed into a Christian centre in South-eastern China. Few researches were done before with the support of archival materials in UK, including

documents from Foreign Office in the National Archives and from Christian Mission Society in Cadbury Research Library. That would be the research gap of this study.

1.3 Research aim and objectives

Though the foreign settlement of Nantai has been legally protected by the municipal government in 2013 (Bureau 2013), only 8 buildings, containing two former consulates, one community club, three commercial buildings and two school buildings, are listed as the Historic Sites Protected at the Provincial Level (Heritage 2019), which has been the highest rank among the historic area so far. Buildings in the case study, the Consular Church and the remains of Consular Office, is listed as the Historic Sites Protected at the Municipal Level and as Reserved Historic Building respectively. After reading the accounts from UK, the author believes these buildings deserve more attentive protection than the current conditions.

In order to achieve the aim, it is necessary to complete the following objectives.

- i. Review the historic background of the foreign settlement, especially based on British activities in Foochow.
- ii. Review the architectural significance of the Western architecture in Foochow, from consulates, trading houses in classical Western styles, to churches, schools and hospitals mixed with native elements.
- iii. Analyse the changing attitudes of Western residents to architectural styles and its reflection in details, mainly based on the three phases of construction of Foochow British Consulate.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework and Methodology

2.1 Theoretical framework

In order to stress the significance of the buildings commissioned by British government, the academic background should be delivered by connecting East and West, because such buildings were constructed with synergy of the two civilizations. The location, layout and architectural styles are not simply themselves, but an expression of political presence, which is the same in India (King 1984). The following aspects of literature will be briefly introduced to help readers find out how the case in Foochow is consistent with the generality, as well as the peculiarity attributed to the unique environment in Foochow.

To align with the case study, buildings built by British people is primarily discussed and introduced. Besides, as UK is the first Western great power to establish its own settlement or concession except the Portugal settlement of Macau since 1553, architecture in British colonial style was also an example for later construction by other powers, like France, German and USA.

Research of colonial architecture emerged firstly a branch of colonial study in the 19th century. It aimed to learn more about native architecture and create an adaptive but declarative buildings for Western residents, who were considered superior to locals in a colonial society (Smith 1867-68). The prevalent Western centrism in architectural study can be clearly illustrated by “the Tree of Architecture” (Fig 3) (Fletcher 1961), where non-Western architecture were considered as side branches in the architectural history.

Colonial architecture and urban planning became an independent research field in about 1970s with the rise of postmodernism (Liu 2013). Focus on daily life and local issues has become a trend in Western academic circles.

Prof. Anthony D. King is one of the first researchers to apply anthropological methods in study of colonial architecture. His monography on bungalow, the first and the most

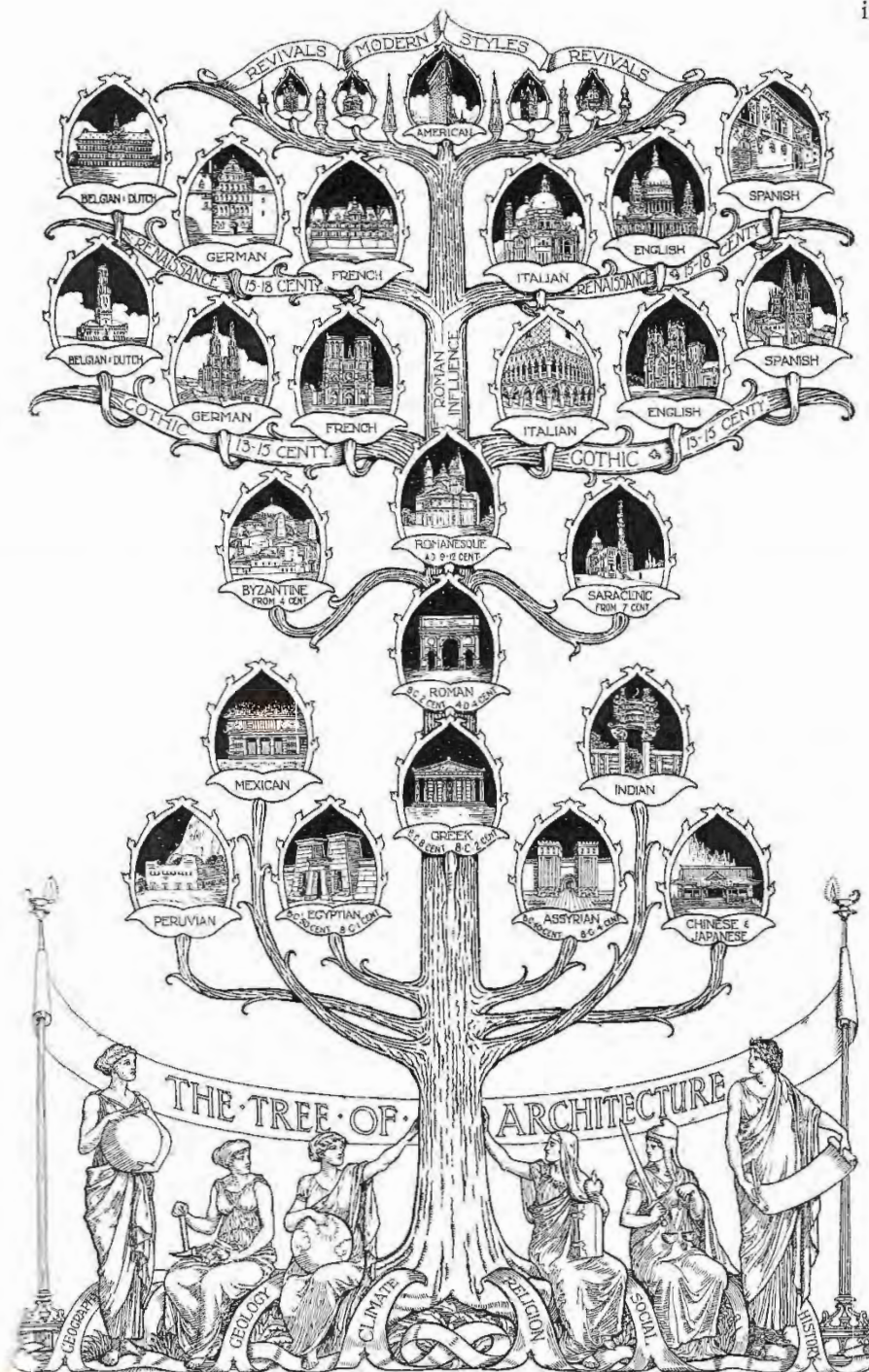
comprehensive one so far, discussed its Bengal origin, as well as the later popularity back to British Isles, America, Australia and colonies in Africa (King 1984). The diverse perspectives are adopted to discuss the development of veranda under a Western effect, similar to his previous monograph focusing on the colonial urban architecture in India, where attention is paid to the different living spaces of various social classes and ethnic groups. In addition to the grand planning of New Delhi, King also discussed the Western influences and Westernisation on common residential space (King 1976). Research on the formation of veranda as the thematic element of a style is often connected to a colonial background, which actually requires a multifaceted thinking as King has done before. His research on the complicated cultural, technological, ideological and economic repercussions of an architectural style (mainly bungalow) inspires later research in similar context.

Analysis of the colonialism process in China is often based on major cities in China, which means there could be more research on minor ones, such as Foochow, where there was once a considerable foreign popularity. Participation of the architecture of governance (consulates, town halls, memorials, etc) in the extraterritorial mechanism of Shanghai is studied by Roskam (2019), considering the division of the Public Concession, the French Concession and the Chinese municipality, and relations among foreign expatriates, governments of their home countries and native community. This kind of architecture attributed not only to the modern metropolitan of Shanghai, but to the modernisation at a deeper level, such as the architectural professionalism in China. Two main references on British architecture and its influences in Chinese treaty ports completed by Chinese also focuses on major cities. Huang discusses different development of British consular and juridical buildings in Peking (as the political centre), Tientsin (in a wretched living conditions), Shanghai (in an international community) and Canton (in an isolated settlement out of security) (Huang 2010). Fang's thesis (1995) on the influences of British architecture in Shanghai and Tientsin involves the four main styles popular in UK at the

same time, that is, Anglo-Indian, Victorian, Beaux-Arts and modern architecture.

However, minor ports in China also attract some worldwide attention. Except some memoirs of former residents in these cities, a great amount of relative research has been done in the University of Bristol. Nield (2018) discusses the elements that obstruct the development of minor ports with the case studies on Wenzhou and Jiangmen. Cartier carries out a comparative study in the urban development of the three treaty ports, Foochow, Ningpo and Amoy, concluding that the different economic traditions were the main force of development, without adequate consular support of foreign governments in other ports (Cartier 1992). A guidebook of architectural remains at Nantai was completed by Prof. Harold M. Otness, but it has been only cited by Mr Robert Nield (2015) and the original text is unavailable online.

Architecturally, research on veranda/colonial style in East Asia has been led by Japanese researchers for long. Hideo Izumida is one of the earliest researchers from the East to make use of materials from Foreign Office, Office of Works and Treasury in the National Archives of UK. He brought out a brief but comprehensive conclusion of consular and juridical construction in the East Asia, containing Hong Kong, mainland China, Taiwan, Japan and Korea (Izumida 1990,1991). Besides, he also discusses how European life in Southeast Asia have been changed by suitability to the weather and vernacular architecture, which also focus on Indonesia developed by Dutch East India Company (Izumida 1997). Though Izumida aims to pave the way for further research of Japanese modern architecture, which limits more attention to specific projects outside Japan, his work outlines the approximate range of archival reference for subsequent researches on consular and judicial architecture (Huang 2010) and professional activities of British architects in China (Zheng 2014). These two studies both reveal the decisive roles of Major William Crossman and the Shanghai branch of Office of Works in constructing consular buildings in East Asia.



WISTER FLETCHER, INV.

This Tree of Architecture shows the main growth or evolution of the various styles, but must be taken as suggestive only, for minor influences cannot be indicated on a diagram of this kind.

Figure 3 The Tree of Architecture (Banerjee 2009)

Although Japanese scholars did not fully agree with King that veranda originated from India, their works did arouse the recognition of veranda's significance in architectural study. In the first paper introduced in China, Fujimori firstly suggests that "veranda style" should replace the customal name of "colonial style", and asserts that it is the outset of the history of Chinese modern architecture (Fujimori and Zhang 1993). Prior to that, the veranda has only been studied from its fair thermal effect and therefore encouraged to apply to architecture design (Sheng 1962; 1963).

Adverse influences on local architecture in China have not been studied systematically, except some documentary articles. However, veranda appears as a Western icon in the cultural landscape of Southeast China costal districts. It was brought by local merchants developing enterprises overseas in Southeast Asia, where veranda style architecture prevailed. In her PhD thesis, Yang introduces and analyses veranda constructed within the fold houses in the Minnan region ("Southern Fujian"), and further defines veranda style architecture accepted and promoted by local elites living in and around foreign settlements as a global "pan-colonial veranda style" (Yang 2011).

The Christian church's changing attitude to adaptation from Chinese traditional architecture from 1870s, which was also expressed by the churches and school buildings erected by the missionaries (Fig 4,5), was explained by Liang in the theory of architectural translatability (Lai 2009). Relative research still needs extension today. Only one paper has been found to discuss the prototype of single-tower Gothic church and how it was translated into vernacular architecture with an the example from Fujian Province (Tang and Li 2019). However, architectural translation seems to have a weak relationship with buildings commissioned by British government, so it will not be discussed in-depth in this study.



Figure 4 Church building transforming the traditional gable as its façade, Fuqing, Fujian (2019b)



Figure 5 The church building combining native roof and Gothic windows, Hua Deng, Fujian (2019c)

The participation of native contractors and craftsmen in constructing Western official buildings involves attention from the academic field of construction history. Research in the construction history in China is unfolding and mainly focus on traditional architecture, based on construction treaties like Yingzao Fashi ("Building Standards") and Gongbu gongcheng zuofa zeli ("Engineering Manual of the Board of Works") (Addis 2014). Pan focuses on building specification, construction process and workers' organisation of building projects in China commissioned by Westerners, supported by a memoir of British architect who was supervising a project in Hong Kong in 1845 (Pan 2014). Her discussion is based on the methods notified by the Construction History Society of UK, which focus on the building crafts and craftsmen, as well as public understanding of building technology (CHS 2014). Limited to the sparse existing records, Chinese construction history in modern period under a Western force is still a relative new field of research.

Specifically, a China-Belgium academic cooperation is doing a meaningful research on transcribing a handbook written by French Jesuit architect, Alphonse De Moerloose, on church construction, mostly in North China (Coomans and Xu 2016). Coomans further discusses the historic background and repercussions of this movement in Chinese Catholic Church, not completely successful, initiated in around 1922 by the Holy See nuncio, Celso Constantini (Coomans and Cui 2016).

2.2 Methodology

This study is carried out on a case study basis. The main research objects are the three generations of British consulate buildings. On-site investigation is excluded because of the current occupancy by military branches.

2.2.1 Archival research

Archival research is a main resource of this study. The National Archives of the UK is the main source of project files, including correspondence among officials and architects,

surveying supports and drawing plans. Most of them are categorised under FO (Foreign Office). The drawing plans, on-site photographs and correspondence relating to the Shanghai branch of British Office of Works are categorised under WORK. As the consulate occupy a dominate position on the hills along the Min River, it appeared frequently in the albums of foreign residents and travellers. The clearest photographic record of the first consulate building before the reconstruction in 1867 was contained in an album collected by G. E. "Chinese" Morrison, an Australian journalist and Chinese specialist.

First-hand documents help understand the situations by reading and considering viewpoints of the related personnel themselves, while the researchers should also notice the inadvertently revealed Western-centrist opinions, like "Eastern houses look strange and uninteresting" or "the local contractors applied defective materials and failed to do his duty". Bear in mind that it might be the truth in the eye of outsiders, but there are always reasons to unwrap the misunderstandings, referring to the Chinese accounts or social background. Comparison of site plans and photos of different periods reveal intuitive expressions of the changes. Besides, the specification and detailed drawings are of great value to show architects' attitude to the east, hidden behind the façade and bearing walls.

The memorials and biographies published in the 19th century make up another major source to learn the social background in Foochow at that time. On one hand, those written by diplomats reveals official interactions, as a cross-reference of correspondence between the Chinese mandarins (high-ranking officials) to the emperor. Detailed conditions of the two sites arranged for the British consulate can also been found in this part of materials. On the other hand, missionaries stationed in Foochow recorded the everyday life of native people due to the nature of their work. Some descriptions and sketches of the early churches and buildings of schools are of great value before the invention of photography, including an account of interior furnishing of the first church

established in the walled city, which was arranged in a vernacular appearance but left no relative drawings or photos.

2.2.2 Structure of the research

With the abundant research mentioned above, this study is to prove the significance of veranda style in Foochow in historical, social and architectural aspects. Discussions are developed by recording relative historic events, introducing the social background, describing the architectural details and comparing different generations of the consular buildings.

In recording historic events, both British and Chinese accounts are selected to describe general situations of British trading in the East and the status of Foochow before the initial British arrival in 1843. Before the establishment of consulate on current site, British consuls kept seated in the walled Chinese city for about 15 years. Introducing what British figures encountered in that site also sets the stage for its moving to the suburbs.

The social background, in this case, consists of introductions of the foreign settlement which was indirectly opened by the erection of the new British consulate, and British bureaucracy concerned with consulate construction, involving the Foreign Office in London, the Minister Plenipotentiary, the Consul at Foochow and, specifically, the British Office of Works. The former aspect of discussion helps to realize the social effect of the buildings, in consolidating a foreign community and influencing the general appearance of the settlement. The other part aims to understand the consular buildings from a viewpoint of construction history, combined with the correspondence and memorandum concerning the expenditure of the projects.

As a core part of this dissertation, architectural significance would be introduced with the general development of the colonial architecture in East Asia and the construction details applying Western techniques and materials. In case study, different styles before and after the reconstruction of consul's residence are described with reference to the general

trend of colonial architecture in East Asia. The specific features of the new appearance are compared with those of vernacular architecture in South China and other Western buildings in Foochow, as well as other Chinese ports to make out the possible roles of native builders and elements in the design process. The author attempts to explain the motivation to construct the consular building as what it looks like in different periods by introducing historic background collected from archival materials.

2.2.3 Limitation

The limitation of this study lies in lack of materials to fully support the demonstration of where a certain style of architecture originated, so this study would prefer to investigate the changing process of Western residences in a wider prospective, and reveal the styles created by the foreign settlers with the records of their lifestyles adapting to the East. What's more, though the site of the British consulate is now closed to the public, the surveying reports in China, and the building records of the consular offices and church deposited in UK are adequate to support the study.

Chapter 3 Historical Background

3.1 Foreign acquaintance with Foochow before 1842

History of the Sino-British relationship began with the expanding British trading activities. Early in Ming dynasty, Captain John Weddell enforced an unsuccessful deal with China and failed to build a formal relationship, after being obstructed by Chinese government and the Portugal at Macau for six months. After conquering the Koxinga power on Taiwan, claiming itself the rump state of Ming Dynasty, Qing government resumed coastal trading and set up four customs offices in 1684, responsible for Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong respectively. Though Foochow was then first officially opened, little foreign merchants came for trading, which was actually the ideal condition by the government.

The Chinese tributary trading system should be introduced to understand the conditions in Foochow. It had been jointly created on the Sino-barbarian frontiers of China and jointly operated as the medium for Sino-foreign intercourse over the centuries. It was a part of Confucian ritual religion, with the ideology that the “middle country” should show its dominant power to surrounding barbarians by summoning and rewarding them at a fixed interval. Such “rewards” later came into being the unequal returns to the other countries in this trading system and most countries were also willing to do so. In order to reflect strict alignment to ritual rules, scales and intervals of tributary trading was decided by Chinese government, and no other trading was approved out of the regulation (Fairbank 1953).

In the tributary system, Foochow acted as the specific port for Ryukyu Kingdom for more than 400 years. When Ryukyu was defeated by the Satsuma Domain of Japan in 1611, the invader was also ruled out of the tributary system because of raiding of Japanese pirated on the China coast. Strangely yet naturally, Foochow became de facto the trading port for Japanese goods, which Ryukyu was threatened to trade secretly. Generally, the chartered trading with Ryukyu promoted the development of Foochow, but it served political ends, rather than economical (Gong 2006), which means the official opening of Foochow was not meant for the unknown Western merchants, especially those from Britain.

Based on the deep-rooted belief that coast defence is more important than trading in a natural economy, the government hoped most of trading could be confined at Canton (belonging to Guangdong province), a traditional international port with a relatively marginal location in the whole empire. But the ambiguity was broken when an interpreter of British East India Company, James Flint, set sail for Tientsin, the main port near Peking, to complain for the unreasonable fees of Guangdong Customs and request for a normal trading route to Ningpo in Zhejiang, which is later known as “Flint Affair”. Finally, Emperor

Qianlong decided to punish related personnel of both sides to settle the dispute. The significant Canton system was later announced to legally restrict Western trading only in Canton, along with trivial limitations. The merchants were only allowed to live in a demarcated block and they must leave Canton in winters. The famous Thirteen Hongs ("trading factory") were privileged by the government to deal with specific kinds of goods. Western merchants were neither allowed to reach out to locals apart from these hongs with a strong official background (Tashiro 1992).

As famous as the visit of James Flint was the voyage of Hugh H. Lindsay along the China coast by the steamer the Lord Amherst in 1832, two years before the dissolution of EIC's monopoly at Canton. The Lord Amherst was despatched to explore the possibility of expanding trade to ports north of Canton, which for many years had been the only place permitted for foreign intercourse. Captain Lindsay started out from Macao and sailed northward, passing Hong Kong and later visiting Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai, Korea and the Ryukyu Islands. Before approaching Foochow native city, a small fleet of Chinese navy tried to drive it out, but failed out of its shrinking. The Lord Amherst made its own way to the waters facing the Foochow customs office to enforce a trade again. The last major Western contact with Foochow ended with an specially allowed trading on board, far away at the mouth of River Min. However, Captain Lindsay learnt that local merchants were no more willing to do so than himself, contrary to the conservative official policy (Lindsay and Gützlaff 1834). The observation of dilapidated fortress and loose morale of soldiers indirectly resulted in the breaking of the First Opium War (Hsü 1954).

3.2 Contact and conflict in Foochow after 1842

After ratification of the Treaty of Nanking, Foochow was not opened immediately until the first British consul, George Tradescant Lay, was sent to the new treaty port in 1844. The duty was then entrusted to Mr. Lay, who as an experienced official was well equipped

for what was realised would be a difficult and delicate work owing to the fact that the Emperor had only with the greatest reluctance allowed Foochow to be included in the list of Treaty ports (Wright and Cartwright 1908). Great indisposition from local mandarins were anticipated. Foochow seldom acted as a prosperous trading port like Canton, especially after the rise of Zayton (Quanzhou) in Tang Dynasty, though they are both major provincial capitals in southern China.



Figure 6 The first consul's residence at Foochow, 1844 (Michie 1900)

The tedious bureaucracy seated in Foochow also resulted in the emperor's comment that "Only Foochow (in the five demanded ports in the Treaty of Nanking) must not be granted, and another town is available to be the alternative if the British insisted on opening five ports in total" (Qiu 1990). In its recorded history since 202 BC, Foochow has almost always been the political and economic centre of the administrative area covering the current Fujian Province, and became the temporary capital of rump states of two central dynasties. In Qing Dynasty, the Viceroy of Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces was also seated in Foochow, superior than the provincial governor. At that time, there

was four levels of officials in Foochow, from the viceroy, general of Manchu garrisons, provincial governor, mayor and county magistrate, the first three of whom were respected as mandarins ("Manchu Lords", officials of high ranks). Civil and military officials remaining in the city contained not only "the administrative commissioners, the inspector, ministers of salt, grain supply and education", but also "a large number of officials-designate and officials retired from the central government" (Doolittle and Hood 1868). Though it was a common case in major cities, it would inevitably lead to poor communication inside the bureaucracy to deal with foreign affairs (Zhong and Chi 2015).



Figure 6 The second consul's residence at Foochow, 1848 (Michie 1900)

After Mr Lay landed Foochow in 1844, the viceroy and the administrative commissioner perfunctorily granted him accommodation in a folk house in the suburbs, as the first generation of British Consulate in Foochow (Fig 6). It was "built on piles on a mud flat, apart from the city, and above the bridge, where the tide as it ebbs and flows, daily sweeps up to his door" (Michie 1900). Mr Lay seemed, as the Viceroy Liu reported to Emperor Daoguang, happy to live there. However, Sir John Francis Davis, Governor of Hong Kong, visited Foochow half a year later and found his consul in such a "miserable dwelling" (ibid). He strongly demanded to accommodate Mr Lay inside the walled city

immediately. At the beginning, the mandarins were not willing to do so, seizing the ambiguity in the Chinese version of the treaty, which allowed British consuls to reside “at the city”, but did not regulated precisely inside or not. Mr Davis and Mr Lay finally succeed in moving to another residence at Tao-shan-kuan, a temple in disrepair on a Wu-shih-shan (“Black Rock Hill”) at a corner within the city (Fig 7).

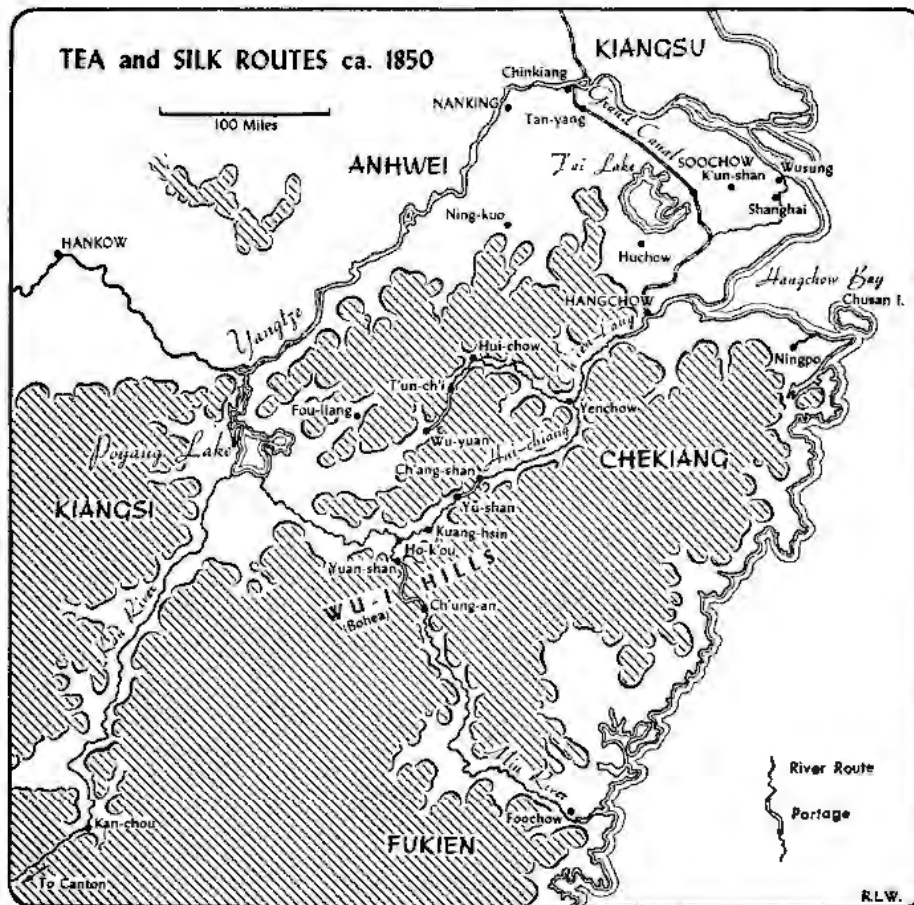


Figure 7 Tea and silk routes ca. 1850 (Fairbank 1953)

Mr Rutherford Alcock, later Minister Plenipotentiary of China and Japan, succeeded Mr Lay one year later. Though Foochow was advised to open for its convenient water course connecting the regions of tea production, Bohea (Wuyi) range (Fig 8) and the huge potential of local consumption, few deals were made in Foochow in the following eight years. Besides unfamiliarity to foreign merchants, the secret obstruction from the local governments played a major role (Jiang 2008). As mentioned above, the mandarins were

still attempting to preserve the dignity of the provincial capital, but they were all aware that violation of the treaty would arouse severer intervention by British force. In one hand, they asked guild leaders and senior citizens to advise local merchants not selling goods to the foreigners, so that the British consul would not notice. Shocked by British repression in the Opium War, local merchants agreed to do so out of their own resent. In the other hand, numerous checkpoints were set on the trading route between Bohea Mountain and Foochow, which greatly delayed the time required for transportation and promoted tea sellers from inlands to switch to Canton or Shanghai for deals (Qiu 1990). When meeting with British consuls, the mandarins pretended to show sympathy and explained that local people were stubborn and refused to interact with foreigners (Lane-Poole and Dickins 1894).

Besides, Shen-kuang-szu Incident, a small but historic conflict broke out against the foreign residents in 1850 and 1851. In 1845, the consul and mandarins agreed that no foreigners except diplomats were allowed to reside in the city. Consul Gingell asked the county magistrate, Xinglian, to seal on a lease for renting Shen-kuang-szu Temple on Wu-shih-shan for two missionaries of Methodist Episcopal Mission. Without considering the legitimacy, Xinglian did as requested. Soon later, the commissioner Jiyu Xu discovered the case and urged the missionaries to move to Nantai, where a compound of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was under construction. The British missionaries had to return their residence and moved to the nearby British consulate, but refused to move out of the city (Kirby 1966). The incident was solved so far, but there would be greater repercussions. The solution dissatisfied radical officials in the central government who insisted on early deportation of the missionaries, so that the moderate officials of the viceroy and the administrative commissioner were removed from position. Besides, the missionaries remained on the hill for nearly three more decades and turned it into a Christian centre in the city (Li 1992). The famous anti-missionary riot, the Wu-shih-shan Case, was inevitably stimulated in 1878, leading to

demolition of the compound and British concession to return the Tao-shan-kuan Temple to local community, while a new one had been established on the current site twenty years ago.

3.3 Relocation of British consulate responding to the thriving tea trade



Figure 8 Territories controlled by the Taiping in 1854 (Zolo 2008)

The gloom of trading in Foochow came to a turn in 1853, when the Taiping Rebellion cut off the trading routes from Bohea, in northern Fujian, to Shanghai and Canton (Fig 8), so tea merchants had no choice but to have a try at Foochow. What's worse, there was a severe price deflation since late 1840s. It was attributed to the secret prohibition of local trading as well as the drain of silver to import opium. The viceroy urged to the emperor this year that the secret prohibition should be temporally suspended to rescue local economy (Jiang 2008). Nearly at the same time, the Russell & Company from America sent its comprador into Bohea range and returned with a full load, which can be speculated with the acquiescence from the viceroy. The restriction was known by foreign consuls in 1855 after the provincial governor formally wrote a memorial to Emperor Xianfeng, the successor of Daoguang, to extensively open the port of Foochow (Lyu 1855;

Fairbank 1953). The unexpected success resulted in the immediate gathering of merchants from Canton and Shanghai. Number of merely British companies reached 21 in 1858.

No sooner had the American cargo ships returned from Bohea than the foreign residents began to take actions. The British consul ordered the merchants to suspend the tax payment, forcing the mandarins to agree with new lands to be rented. Later in the same year, the emperor approves a request of renting the later site of consular compound transferred by the viceroy (Wang 1855). Actually, the chosen open riverside hill garden was expected with a much lower rent compared to the intended usage. British consuls refused to move out of the city, based on the fact that the consulate at Foochow remained the only one in the walled city after the completion of new consulate at Shanghai in the foreign concession, in spite of the allowance to reside "at the cities and towns" in the Treaty of Nanking. In 1867, Sir Rutherford Alcock, as the Minister Plenipotentiary of China, refused the suggestion of William Crossman, Director of Works, to give up the old consulate in the city, which required worthless maintenances. He clarified that "there were important political considerations, which render it necessary that the temple at Woo-si-shan should be retained" (TNA 1867).

The new consulate was erected in 1858. It belonged to British government until being sold in 1967. However, the old consulate was finally given up after the anti-missionary riot in 1878 as a concession. We could suppose that another reason might be the inconvenient location and transportation as the foreign settlement at Nantai was developing rapidly on the other bank of the River Min. Apart from the merchants, American missionaries also built a large compound at Nantai, containing a church in Greek classical styles, a school and several residences. The foreign residents had to build a church specially for themselves with the support of British consulate. The Foochow branch of Imperial Maritime Customs Service, under the administration of foreign

personnel, also moved to Nantai in 1861 for effective supervision over foreign companies.

Chapter 4 Architectural Significance

Veranda, as a building construction, is popular in British former colonies, spreading on the coast of continents except Europe. It is roughly defined as a roofed, open-air gallery or porch, attached to the outside of a building. The most specific definition of veranda is that it surrounds all sides of a building, buffering external effects well. A popular point of view is that veranda was initially borrowed from South India, the distribution area of the language its name belongs to. It is also believed that veranda is an instinctive reflection of the hot and humid tropical weather, supported by the same popularity of veranda between South part of Asia and the Caribbean. The difference among veranda, terrace and balcony is shown in Fig 9 (Liu 2010).

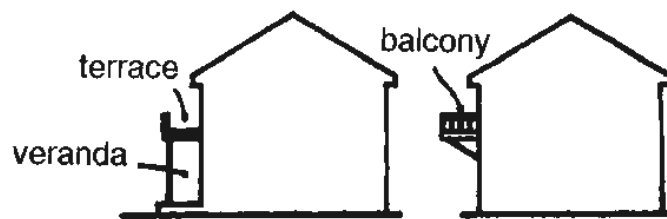


Figure 9 Illustration of veranda, terrace and balcony (Liu 2010)

4.1 Veranda and its origin from Indian Bungalow

A veranda is literally defined as “an open portico or light roofed gallery extending along the front (and occasionally, other sides) of a dwelling or other building, frequently having a front of lattice work, and erected chiefly as a protection or shelter from the sun or rain” (OED 2019).

It appeared as an icon that distinguish the bungalow in India from other Western architecture in East Asia. In Western recordings, the “bungalow” is a euphony of “banggolo” in Hindi, referring to a vernacular dwelling in Bengal. Banggolo was then only a general name, denoting all local buildings with a lofty two-sided roof, bamboo

structure, mud walls, and especially, without a veranda. However, the real banggolo was not the true prototype for the European bungalow, which is exactly defined by a veranda. Wealthy families would prefer constructing a chauyari (literally “four sides”) as residences (Nilsson et al. 1968). Besides, a variant of this style has a further projection right next to the roof on each side, covering a veranda all around the house (Fig 10). Daily activities happen in the centre square, but there are no particular accounts about how local residents took advantage of veranda. It could be suggested that the veranda is only a place for leisure, as long as a sign of social status. What's more, it was not in India that veranda solely appeared. It was also a part of cultural landscape in Dutch East Indies, which was also referred to as the prototype of Dutch colonial style. It could be concluded that veranda is a spontaneous reaction for the climate. According to Martin Heidegger's explanation of existential space in phenomenology, meanings appear when an object begins to relate with its surroundings.

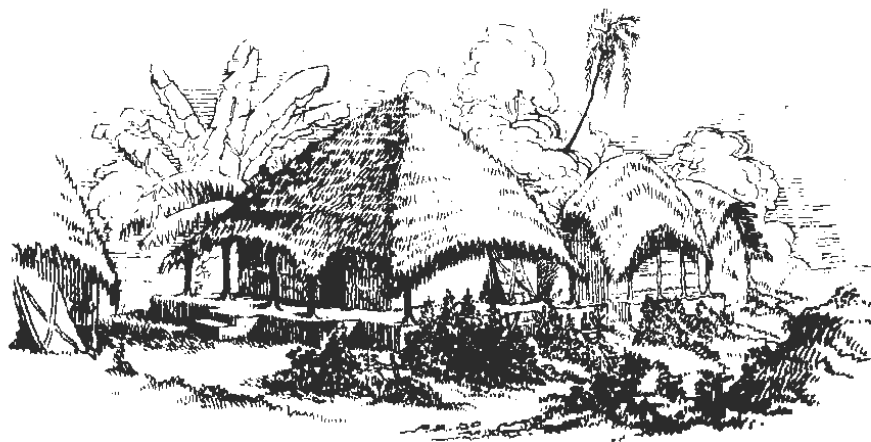
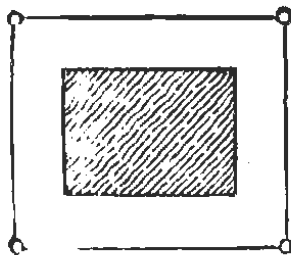


Figure 10 Original plan, an illustration of the chauyari and the curvilinear-roofed banggolo (King 1984)

In spite of the resemblance of original bungalow, British residents improved construction details when building their own kind of bungalow (Fig 11). Basement and walls were built with sun-dried bricks and eaves were aligned to the level. Corners in original veranda were divided as bedrooms, so the remaining part turned to venues to have a sit and enjoy the scenery, served by a native servant (Fig 13). Europeans have made great improvements in this kind of building, have surrounded it with a gallery to exclude the heat, have introduced windows, have divided it into convention apartments and have suspended cloth ceilings to free them from the vermin that occupy the thatch (Buchanan 1838). Veranda became so necessary later that it was constructed in spite of irregular ground plans in later variations (Fig 12). It was the boarding area of palanquins, because the out-offices were believed to soil the interior of vehicles. Veranda was also a space for social activities, guests of minor importance would be received by the host here, because the inner hall was considered a relatively private living space (King 1974). When the veranda was left unused, servants were also allowed to stay there.

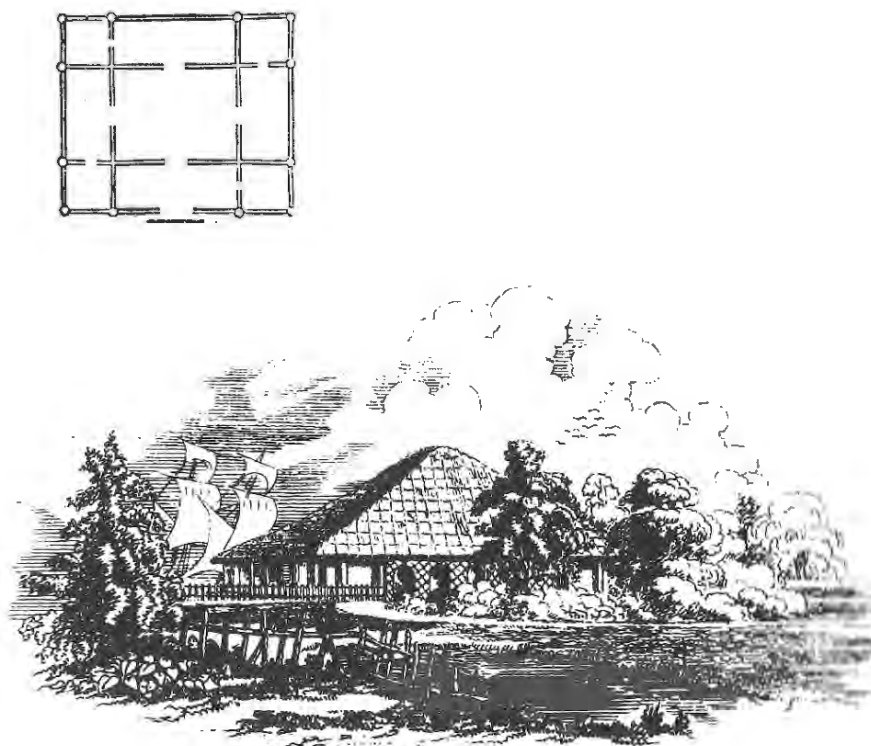


Figure 11 The adapted "bungalow" for Europeans residents, with a partitioned veranda (King 1984)

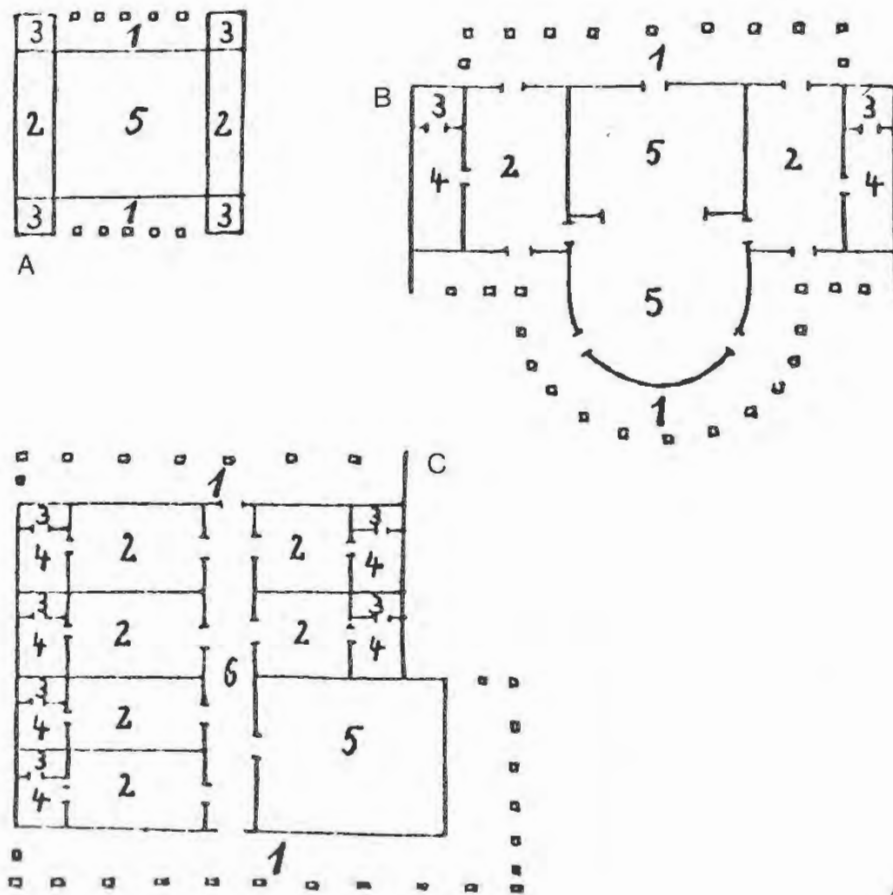


Figure 12 Domestic space: evolution of ground plans (King 1984)

A: Basic form; B & C: Developed form

1. Veranda, 2. Bedroom, 3. Bath, 4. Dressing room, 5. Living room, 6. Hall

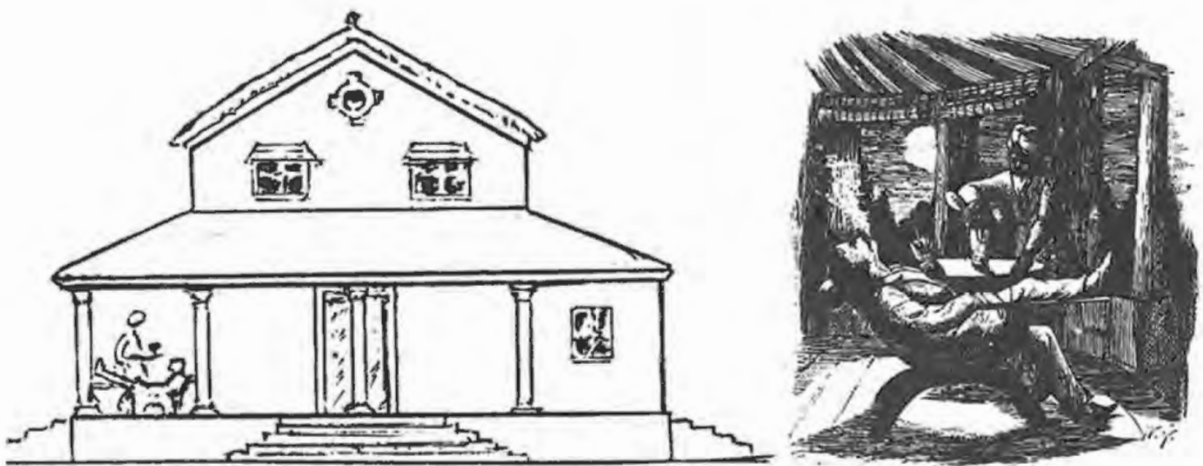


Figure 13 Semi-private area: uses for the veranda (King 1984)



Figure 14 Colonial space in Cawnpore: civil station, cantonment and city, 1931 (@Alamy 2019)

Daily life centred at bungalow and its compound incubated a European community divided from the natives. The location of the bungalow in its compound, away from Indian settlements, expressed the political and social relationship between the occupants of both. As Fig 14 shows, the urban area of Cawnpore was divided into the Civil Station (political centre), the City (native settlement) and the Cantonment (foreign settlement). Defensive walls were specially built to get rid of native disturbance, implying an independent identity of British colonist (King 1976). Because colonists tended to denounce and reject native culture, the similarity of such identity in different colonies explains the wide and fast distribution of veranda style in the future.

It is concluded in *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values* that culture is the mediator which influences man's perceptions of his environment (Tuan 1990). Bungalow changed from a temporary borrowing from the colony as a last resort into a symbol of British colonial living. When British residents moved from India to another colony, he would feel more "at home" in a bungalow rather than in a classical house, especially if he had spent years in a bungalow before. It added to the topophilia of British merchants and diplomats by the wide distribution in later colonies and concessions, such as Australia, Singapore and those in East Asia.

Apart from the thoughts of nostalgia, the veranda is also a universal European solution of the extreme climate in temperate zones, to construct a healthy living environment. As an official architect from UK, Mr Roger Smith listed the construction details required to overcome the climatic determinants: the intense light, heat, seasonal and torrential rains, and the wind, dust and thunder storms. "A screen called a veranda is essential and it becomes, in fact ... the leading feature of buildings in the tropics." (Smith 1867-68)

4.2 Veranda/colonial style in China

4.2.1 Veranda in Western architecture

Studies on veranda style architecture are enlightened by Fujimori, who advocates to replace the term "colonial style" with a more descriptive "veranda style" and draws up an illustration on its development in China into four phases (Fig 15). First, veranda style architecture in China appeared in mid-19th century and was finally replaced by classical architecture in the 20th century. Second, veranda is the decisive element built with stone or cement, which would be sometimes imported from abroad. What's more, veranda has a cultural meaning as an indispensable part of foreign residents' daily life (Fujimori and Zhang 1993).

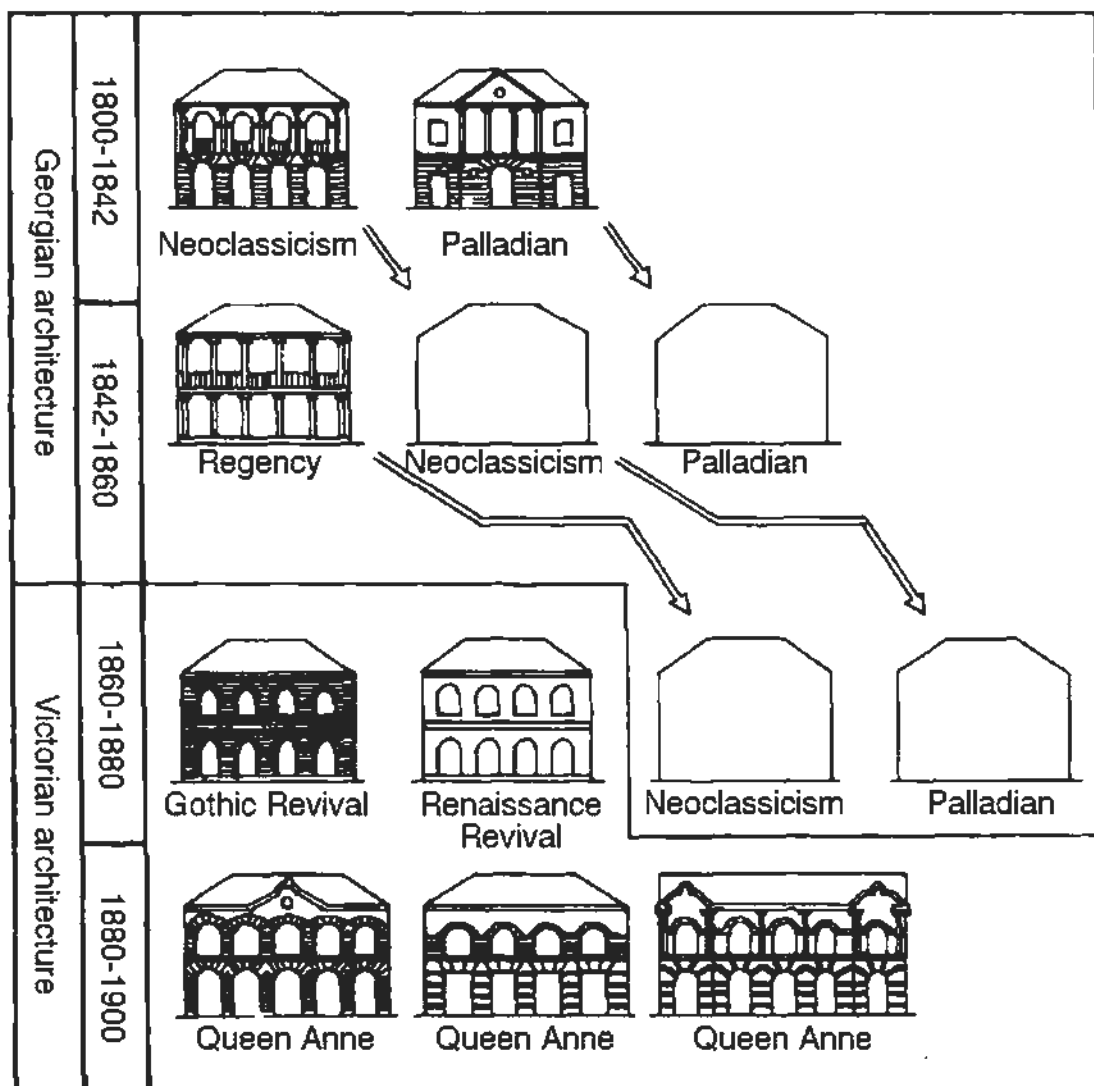


Figure 15 Development of Veranda Style in China (Fujimori and Zhang 1993)

In China, veranda style first appeared in the Thirteen Hongs in Canton, where foreign merchants were formally allowed to trade and reside since 1686. As British merchants made up more than half of the total, the architectural style was strongly influenced by British taste (Tashiro 1992). Before the demolition in the great fire in 1822, the first generation of factory houses were more or less classified in Georgian style. Palladian motif was obviously shown in British and Dutch factories on the ground floor arcade (Fig 16). The general façades, however, assembled more the terraced house in British cities which adopted plain surface with accentuated details, in this case, the classical pilasters (Fig 17).



Figure 16 Canton Harbour and Factories with Foreign Flags (unknown 1805)



Figure 17 View of the front of the hong buildings at Canton (unknown 1807)



Figure 18 View of Factories (unknown 1839)



Figure 19 The Thirteen Hongs (unknown 1852)

After the fire, the Venetian arcades of the British Factory was replaced by rustication. Some verandas of other buildings were stripped off to construct more substantial neoclassical facades (Fig 18). After the Opium War in 1842, the buildings were unified in a Regency colonial style (Fig 19), consisting of pure columns with simple capitals as shown in Fig 15. Burnt down again in the Arrow War, this settlement was finally abandoned and was moved to an artificial island in the Pearl River due to safety concerns (Fig 20). Though veranda still appeared in the new buildings, it gradually gave way to Baroque or Classical decorations (Fig 21). When dissemination of information became much faster than decades before, popular styles in the home country, rather than the traditional but simple

veranda style would be adopted. Veranda was then only built to adapt the uncomfortable climate, just like what the British did on their first arrival to India.

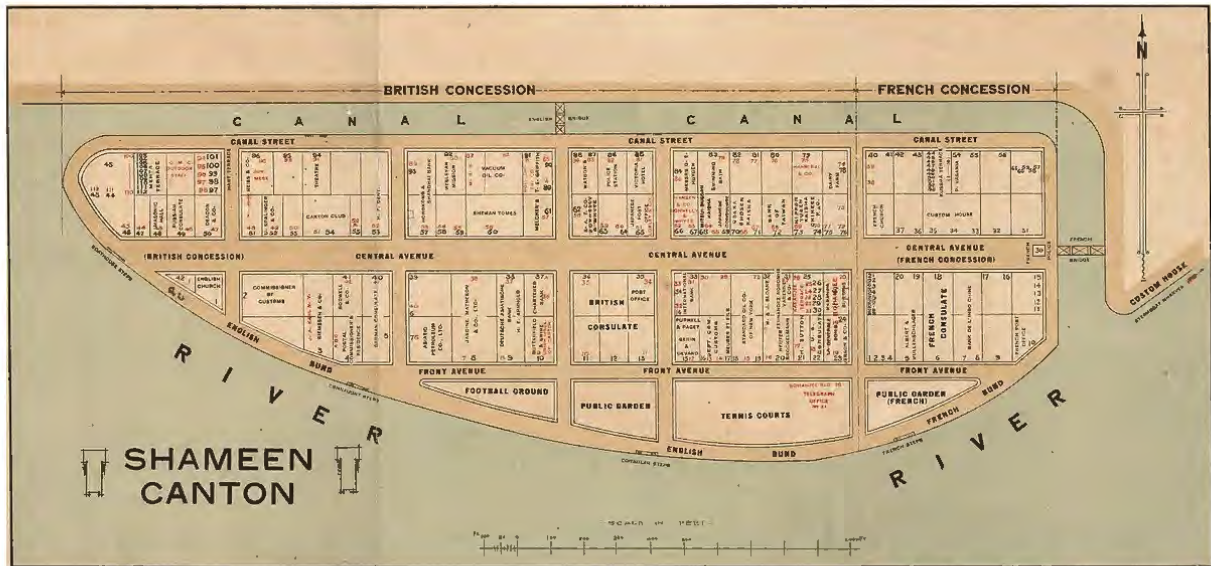


Figure 20 Cadastral map of Shameen, the foreign settlement in Canton (unknown 1920-1929)



Figure 21 The Custom House, Canton (1916) (Time-137 2019)

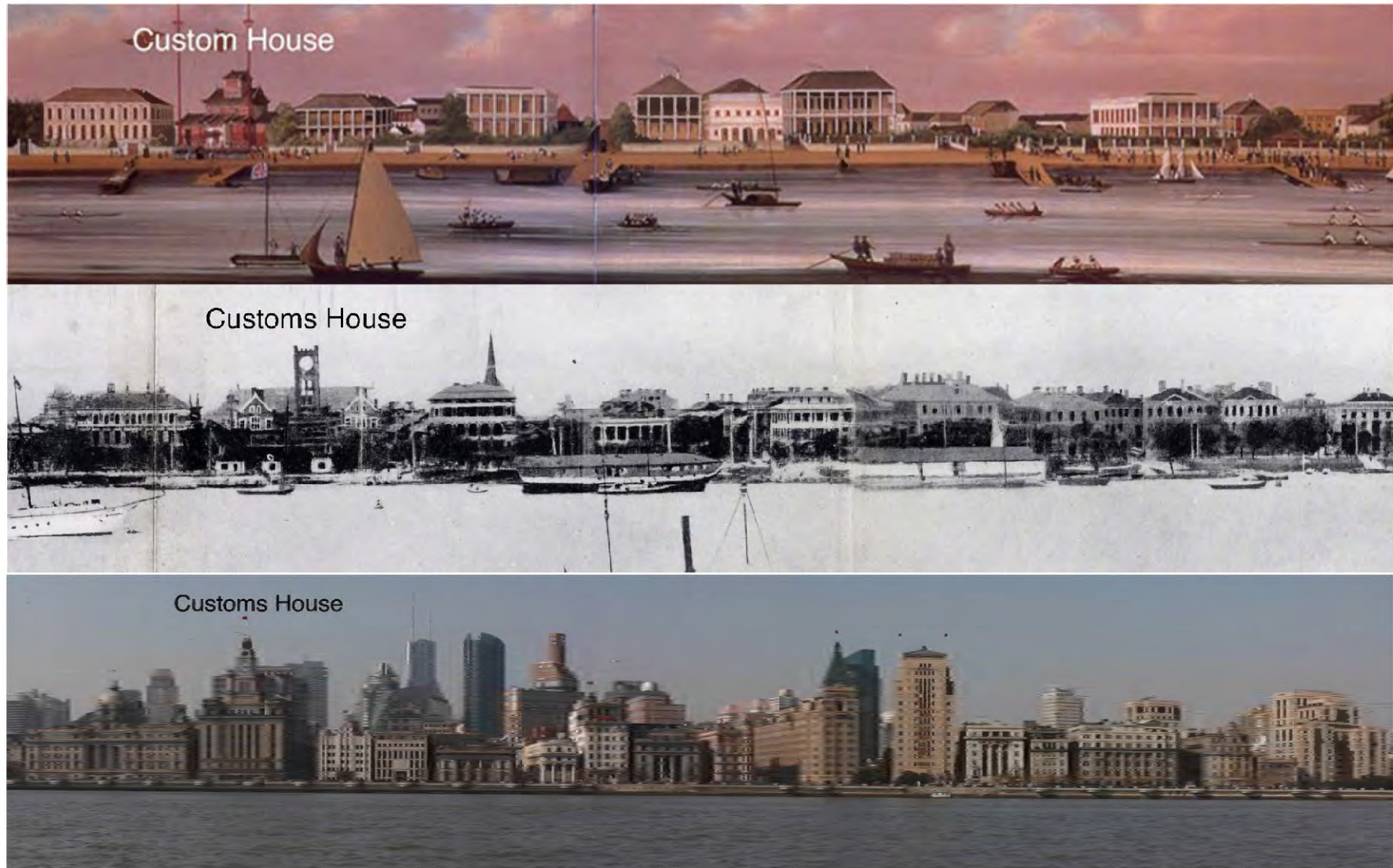


Figure 22 The Bund, Shanghai in 1849, 1894 & 2012, marked with the site of Custom House (unknown 1849,1894; Fischer 2012)

In northern cities like Shanghai, veranda inevitably disappeared in most buildings after 1880s, except consulates and law courts whose construction was finally approved by the minister in Peking along with bureaucracy in London (Huang 2010). The opinion of British government that veranda should be insisted in constructing consulates further proved that this element was considered an icon to preserve a superior political existence in Chinese community (Hoare 2014). As an international metropolitan, pursuit for modern architecture reshaped the Bund for a second time after the reconstruction in the early 20th century, which erased veranda from dominant façades (Fig 22). The early Regency veranda style can be distinguished from the later Victorian variant in the changing general view.



Figure 23 Pavilion in Haishan Xianguan ("Wonderland of Sea & Mountains"), Canton (yanemon 2019)

Generally, the development of veranda style, in a narrow sense, those relative to colonial activities, can be divided into four main phases, emergence, beginning, thriving and

declination. Veranda in its emergence was still confused with the half-open corridor in Chinese traditional architecture (Fig 23). The Western houses were designed in Palladianism (Fig 16) or Neoclassicism (Fig 17), but both recognised with the intruding veranda on the façade. Later, the veranda was constructed in a monotonous, columned box-like façade corresponding to the Regency style in UK. One of the earliest examples in this phase is the Flagstaff House in Hong Kong (Fig 24), which was copied for early consulate buildings (to be discussed in the case study at Foochow). After the Arrow War, 13 more ports, on coastal areas and along the Yangtze River, were forced open to foreigners. The veranda style thrived due to the high demand of construction. Victorian Gothic (Fig 25) and Renaissance Revival (Fig 26) styles appeared in respond to contemporary popularity, contesting with the old styles. The exposition of red or dark cyan brick without plastering, and strips made up of stone shows a new taste of veranda style. In the two decades before 1900, Gothic (Fig 27) and Queen Anne Revival (Fig 28) styles were prevalent in new buildings. In this later period, variant patterns and polychrome in decorations began to seize the feature of veranda in the façade. Although veranda remained a major element in some buildings, the specific veranda style was gradually replaced by formal classical styles. Thus, Fujimori claims the veranda as a style diminished in China in 1900s. However, it was becoming right then more and more common in Chinese architecture, containing factories, government halls, and even a new style of vernacular houses.



Figure 24 Flagstaff House, Hong Kong (1846) (Bruce 1846)



Figure 25 The office of Russell & Co., the earliest building (1850) remaining in the Bund (unknown 2019c)



Figure 26 No. 136, Hankou Rd, Shanghai (unclear) (DaoYeJun 2016)



Figure 27 Imperial Bank of China (1897) (unknown 2019a)



Figure 28 Shanghai Land Investment Co. (1908) (unknown 2019b)

4.2.2 Veranda in Chinese architecture

Witnessing the demolition of the Old Summer Palace by Anglo-French Coalition in the Arrow War, the Qing government had to adjust the previous foreign policy considering China as the “Central Kingdom of the world”. With the support of the actual ruler, Empress Cixi, some statesmen advocated the idea of “Chinese Learning as Substance, Western Learning for Application”, and set about establishing modern industry in China. As a part of the Westernisation Movement, modern industry was set up by superior officials in several provinces, such as arsenals at Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, Hankow, Foochow and Si'an. As industrial buildings were then totally strange to Chinese, foreign engineers were employed as consultants, or to direct the whole construction. A French naval officer, Prosper Giquel, took the responsibility of constructing Foochow Arsenal. Some of the factories and offices built in 1870s remains intact (Fig 29).



Figure 29 Assembly workshop and drawing office of Foochow Arsenal (1885) (Taojiang 2007)

In 1906, the Late Qing Reform was announced to accept Western system to convert the absolute monarchy into constitutional monarchy. Statesmen were sent abroad to investigate. The Imperial Examination was replaced with Western-style schools. Local autonomy was practised by setting Provincial Consultative Councils. The overall Western system was studied by the government, not only Western techniques studied in the failed Westernisation Movement. Buildings with verandas were commonly built as government halls, but strictly speaking they are not included in the veranda style because they were not built by colonists as defined by Fujimori. A number of government buildings were completed, some of which were featured by veranda (Fig 32-34). The hall of Qing's War Department at Peking should be specially mentioned, because it was designed and built

by Chinese staff without foreign support. The designer, Qi Shen, was a militia railway engineer educated in China. Though the building seems in line with Renaissance style from a distance, a Chinese taste is shown by the decoration details on the façade (Fig 34), which were completed all by skilful Chinese craftsmen (Ma 2017). Xiyang Lou (“Western-mansions”) Style architecture was used to define buildings that blended traditional decoration in Peking and the Western style of Xiyang Lou (Western mansions), a group of buildings in the Old Summer Palace, built in 18th century by Chinese craftsmen under the supervision of the European artists, to entertain the Emperor Qianglong (Fig 30). However, this style is not exactly the same as the “genuine” Xiyang Lou, but refers to the hybrid styles created by folk craftsmen and inspired by Xiyang Lou at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries (Fuhe 2004). Xiyang Lou Style and its earlier Japanese counterpart, Giyōfū (pseudo-Western style) architecture (Fig 31), were often mentioned as typical examples of architectural transplantation in East Asia. The two styles both vanished after true Western-style architecture was introduced to higher education and engineering departments (Lai 1994).

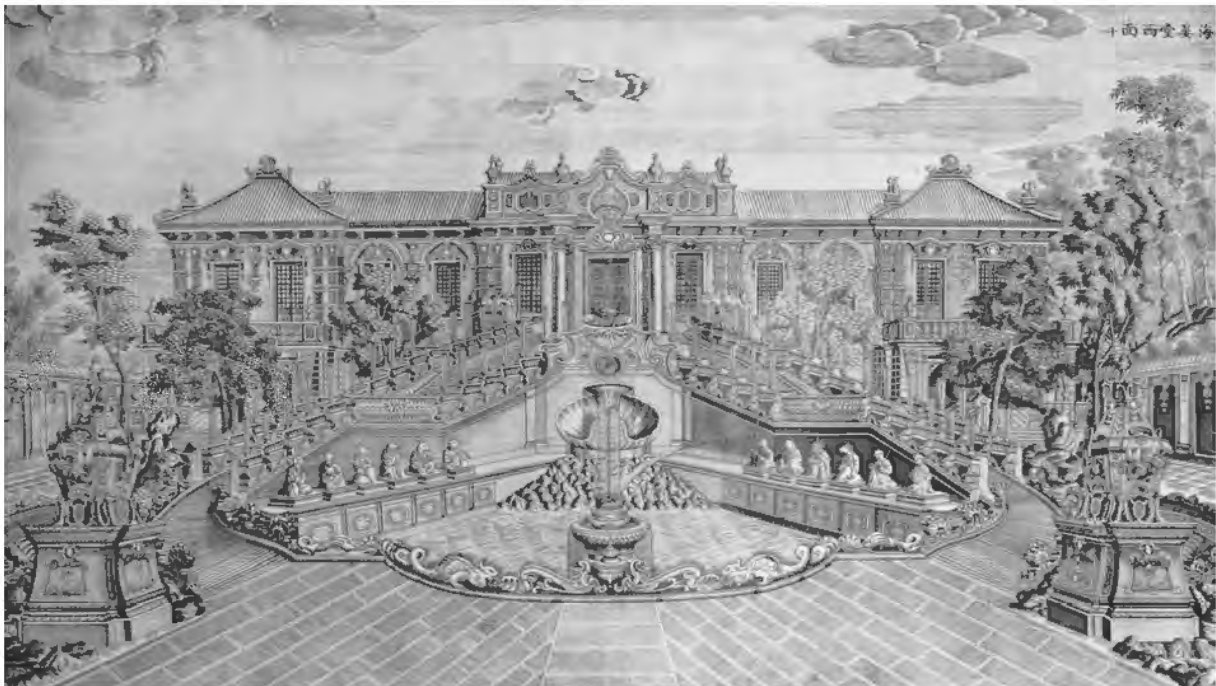


Figure 30 Haiyan Tang of the Xiyang Lou, Old Summer Palace (Tyg728 2019)



Figure 31 Former Kaichi School in Matsumoto, Japan (1876) (Wiiii 2009)

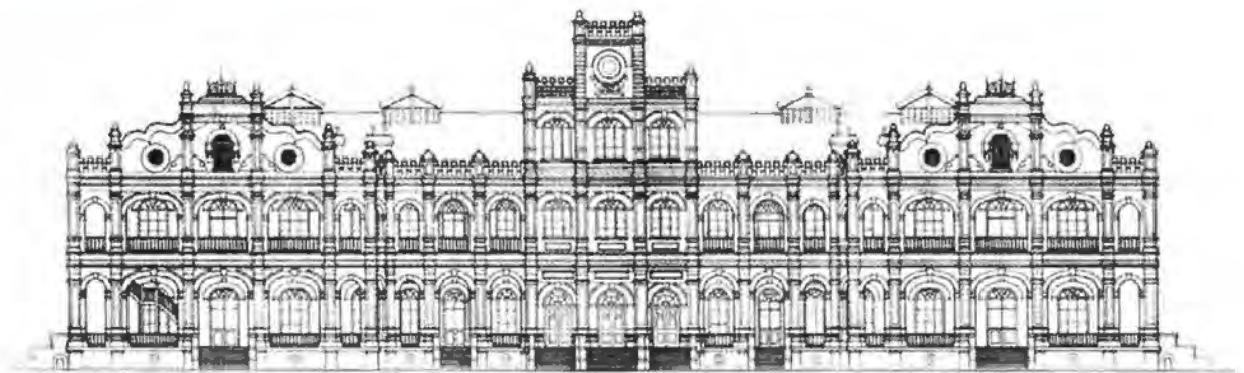


Figure 32 Front Elevation of the hall of War Department, Peking (1907) (Fuhe 2004)

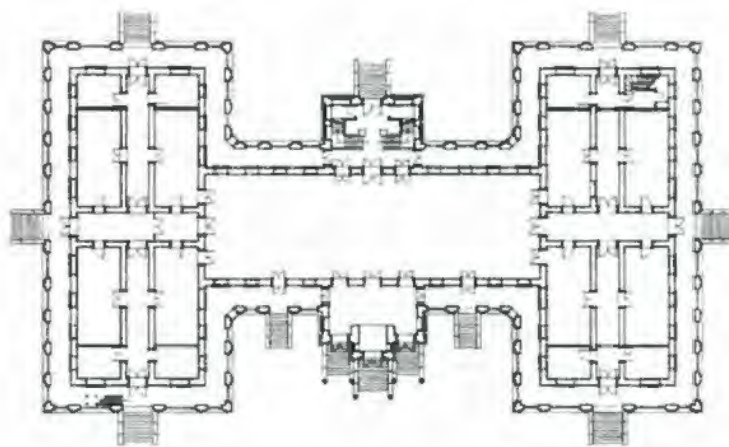


Figure 33 Ground floor plan of the hall of War Department (ibid)



Figure 34 Decoration details on the façade of the hall of War Department (Ma 2017)

In the meantime, the office of Jilin-Changchun sub-province was designed in veranda style to declare national authority to foreign intruders, opposite to the original intention brought by its British counterparts. It is located in Changchun in Northeast China, which was later temporarily ceded to Japan as the puppet state, Manchukuo. Not in the city centre, the office was built next to the Japanese concession to resist further expansion with the imposing Western style (Fig 35), though in vein. The veranda was built in the improper far north, just because the resisting spirit hidden behind the façade weighed more than the functional consideration. In some way, this construction achieved the same goal as British consulates in veranda style at Shanghai or cities in further north.



Figure 35 The main hall in the office of Jilin-Changchun sub-province (1908) (unknown 2019d)

It is concluded that when two different architectural culture came into contact for the first time, imitation, coercion and resistance would happen spontaneously from each other. Then understanding for the other culture would go deeper from appearance, inner techniques to space perception (Matsumura and Bao 2003). This theory can explain how veranda style was accepted by native people in East and Southeast Asia after it was superseded in formal buildings, which is named “pan-veranda style” (Yang 2011). This folk fashion is briefly introduced in the following paragraphs with the examples in southern Fujian (Minnan) region.

Long before Amoy (Xiamen) in this region was opened as one of the first five treaty ports in 1842, local residents, Hoklo people, had been familiar with Western style architecture. Large-scale of immigration from Fujian dated back to 16th century when sea ban was partially abolished by opening the only trading port, Yuegang, in southern Fujian. The first generations of Chinese immigrants acted as compradors between Western colonists and the indigenous. Though they still cared about their hometown by fundraising to repair ancestral shrines, most of them settled down and their unique culture thrived.

Architecturally, folk houses built by these immigrants were an impulse of Minnan Chinese culture into the “barbaric lands”. Chinese decorations, native lofty roof and colonial veranda were organised in one mansion. Although veranda was borrowed from Western building to adapt to the harsher climate than in China, it was arranged in an overall order of elements from the motherland (Fig 36, 37). Veranda, altered from the first hall in the building complex, played the same role as in Western colonial lifestyle (see Section 2.1). In early 15th century, when the marine routes from China to Southeast Asia, even as far as Africa were traced in the seven expeditions led by Chinese Admiral Zheng He, Westerners were still exploring other continents. The whole Nanyan region (“beyond the South China Sea”, containing Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia) were contained in a Chinese cultural circle (Matsumura and Bao 2003). For instance, Thailand royal palace were once rebuilt imitating styles in South China; the Vietnamese palace was even named after the Forbidden City in Peking.



Figure 36 Yang Amiao residence in Quanzhou (unknown 2019e)



Figure 37 Mansion of Be Biau Tjoan, a Minnan magnate in Indonesia (Page 1860-1872)

However, the situation was completely reversed in 18th century. When new immigrants came to Nanyang in 18th century, Westerners has established a solid social structure, in which Westerners occupied post of administration, previous Chinese immigrants acted as wealthy but powerless comprador, and indigenous people were forced to work for producing raw materials. It was no more a “barbaric land” there. A newcomer had to follow the rules made by Westerners if he wanted to make a fortune in the strange land. As a result, Western styles were considered more distinguished than Chinese ones, which was expressed in the transition of the construction of folk houses. In early 19th century, Chinese residential areas in downtown of Southeast Asia cities were built with continuous veranda along the street (Fig 38). Chinese elites later moved out of the downtown and built veranda style residences in the residential suburbs in late 19th century (Yeoh 1996). These residences are indistinguishable from surrounding Western bungalows from the appearance (Fig 39).



Figure 38 Chinatown in Singapore (Sengkang 2006)



Figure 39 Sun Yat-sen Memorial, Singapore (1901) (Sengkang 2019)

Meanwhile, residences commissioned by overseas Chinese merchants in their hometown were more or less localised in styles. The projects were mainly completed by local

craftsmen, based on the blueprints delivered from abroad. Some were even directed by the commissioner's relatives who had visited Nanyang before. Thus, most of the Minnan Yanglou buildings ("Western mansions") were constructed with a Chinese understanding of Western decoration and veranda.

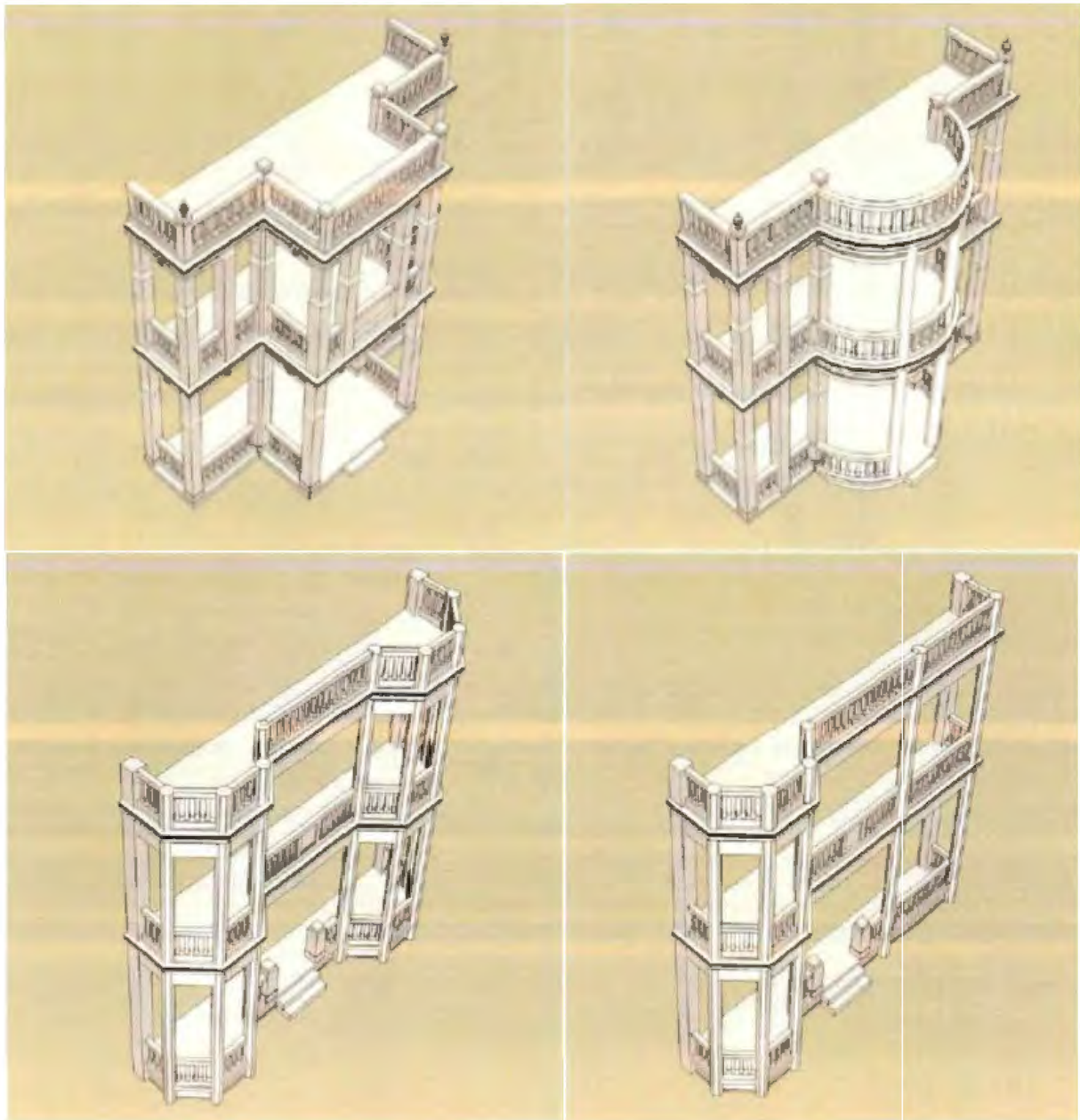


Figure 40 Four variants of veranda plans in Minnan (Yang 2011)

The general layout of these Western residences still follows traditional principles, such as symmetry and Confucian ritual orders (Fig 41). Built as a decoration to show off, the simple rectangular veranda is re-created into different plans, combining oriel window and protruding porch (Fig 40). In many cases, the veranda was moved inside the courtyard or even settled at a corner of the courtyard (Fig 42). A greater degree of architectural mutation has occurred, which can be considered as a further localisation of veranda style.

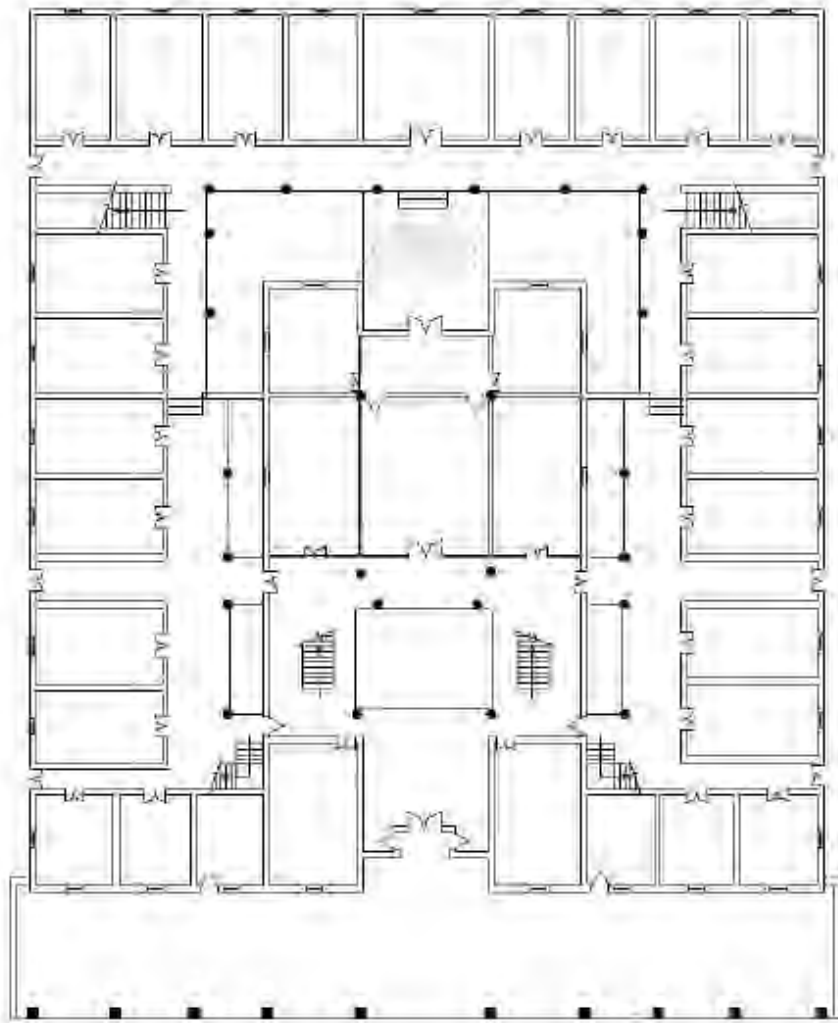


Figure 41 Ground floor plan of a Western residence in Quanzhou (Liu 2011)

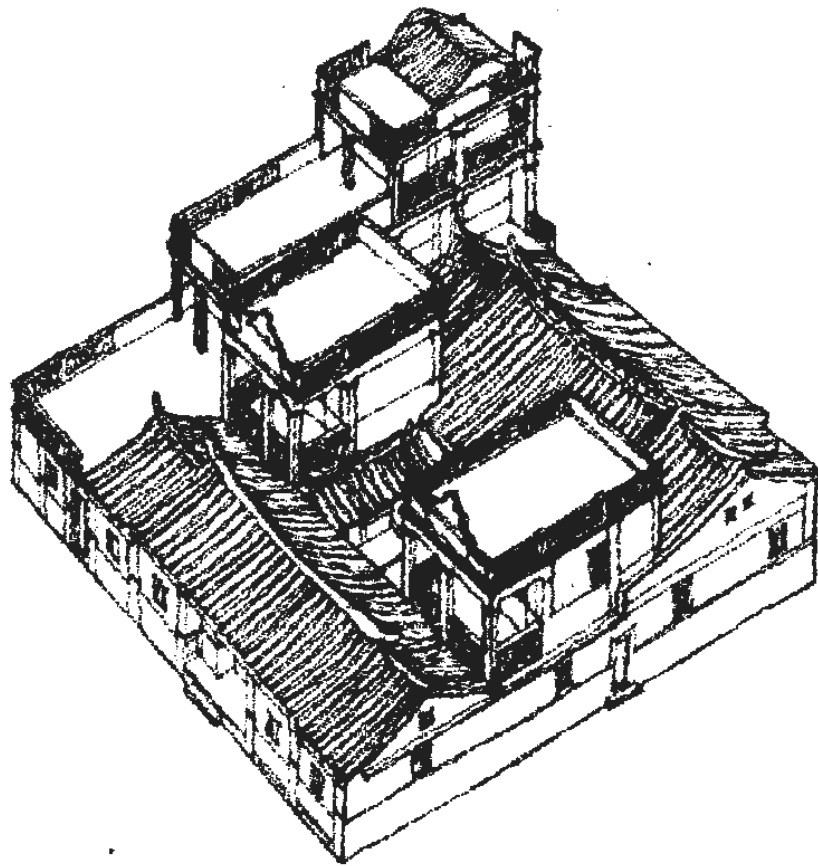


Figure 42 Verandas inserted into a traditional courtyard (ibid)

The original veranda style was not an ornate one, because the bungalows were not intended to use for long, as a Western resident in Shanghai confessed, “I hope to realise a fortune, and get away; and what can it matter to me, if all Shanghai disappear afterwards, in fire or flood?” (Dong 2001) When the veranda was considered an icon of advance, it was not reasonable to leave it plain and ordinary. Apart from classical and gothic composition and details directly influenced by the churches and official buildings in the treaty port of Amoy, craftsmen tried to apply Islamic (Fig 43) and Chinese eclectic patterns (Fig 45) on the veranda. The former was an imitation to the Spanish Moorish style in Philippines (Fig 44), which was a main destination of immigrants from Quanzhou. It was also possibly influenced by the Muslim population, whose ancestors settled in Quanzhou and engaged in trade since 10th century. The latter echoed the official advocate of the “Inherent Chinese Style” in major cities in 1930s (Fig 46). Compared to

the northern official styles adopted by the government, local Minnan style was juxtaposed by veranda to express national identity.

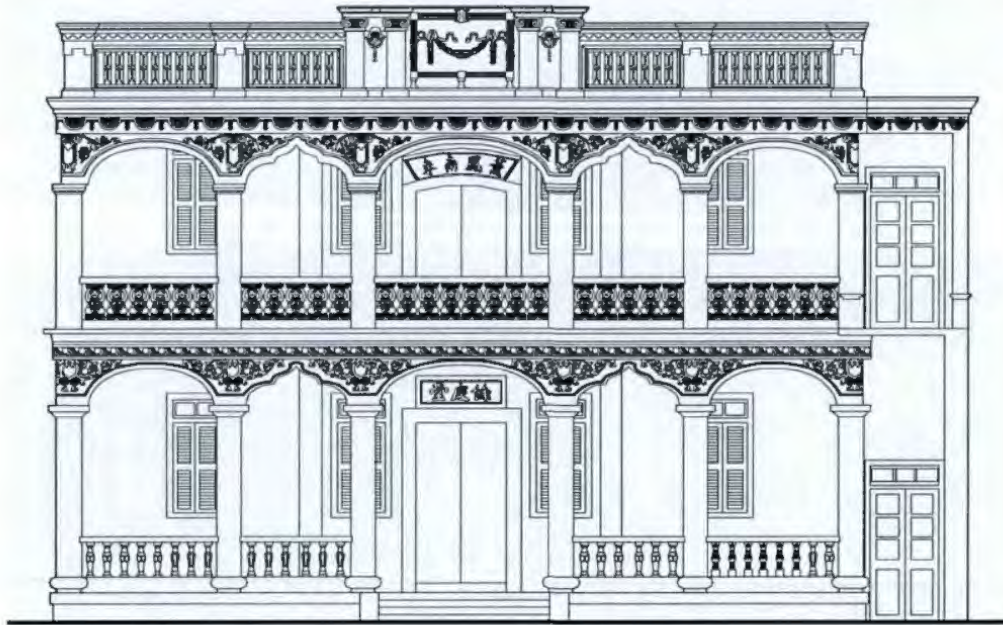


Figure 43 The façade with Islamic influences in Quanzhou (Yang 2011)



Figure 44 The façade with Islamic influences in Philippines (Joelador 2013)



Figure 45 Hai Tian Tang Gou Mansion in Amoy, combined with Minnan Style (1920s) (unknown 2017)



Figure 46 Former Shanghai Municipal Hall, combined with Chinese Official Style (1933) (Legolas1024 2019)

4.3 Evolution of the Foreign settlement in Foochow

Western buildings commissioned or designed by foreigners are mainly missionary, official, residential and commercial buildings. They can be divided into three categories by location, the missionary buildings inside the city, bungalows at the resort of Kuliang (Fig 54) and the foreign settlement of Nantai (Fig 49-51).

4.3.1 General Distribution

As Foochow was under the provincial bureaucracy for centuries, there was a common resistance to Western buildings in local society. As foreign residents were not welcomed, only missionary buildings managed to be built in the garrison city, including churches, schools and hospitals. Even so, missionaries had to think over how to interact with local society, or they would as well be expelled by public opinions as the Anglican Church in the Wu-shih-shan Case. With a hope to relieve, influence and convert local people, these buildings were designed in a stronger Chinese influence, either the popular style in Foochow (Fig 47), official style practiced by Henry Murphy (Fig 48), or even Art Deco introduced from modern Shanghai (Fig 49).



Figure 47 Central Institutional Church in downtown (1938), with a traditional gable (GnuDoynng 2010)

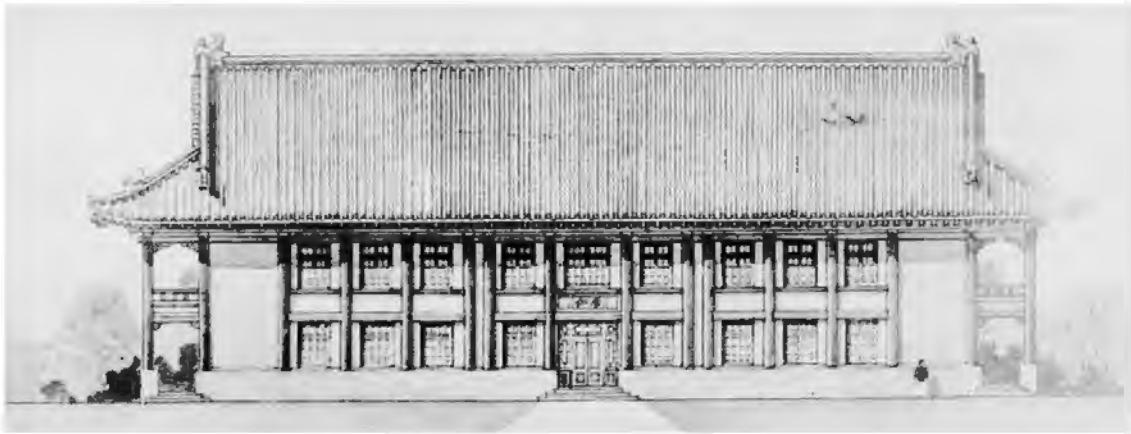


Figure 48 Sketch of dormitory of Fukien Christian University (1924) (Asia 1882-1977)



Figure 49 Sketch of Foochow Christian Union Hospital (1937) (unknown 2009)

The first bungalow on Kuliang (“drum pass” in Chinese), eight miles east of the walled city, was completed in 1886 by a British doctor (1909), four decades after the opening of Foochow. The resort is a late product of Western community in China. Previously, missionaries would like to establish isolated compounds in remote countryside, which contained their residence as well as service venues like churches, hospitals or schools, in fear of robbery or even targeted attack. Compared to the compounds, Westerners lived a peaceful and enjoyable life at Kuliang. A committee was even called out by residents to carry out daily management of fundamental facilities like construction of roads, clubs and post service, acting as an unofficial municipal council (EM 2019). Actually, some local people were willing to lease their lands to Western individuals, which was often at a considerable rent and guaranteed by British consulate. However, the first construction

still irritated gentlemen in the city, who feared that the Feng Shui was disturbed and managed to buy the new house and demolish it. Sometime later, foreigners began to build new houses on sites that could not be seen from the city on the plan and succeeded in residing at the resort in the following summer (Macgowan 1897). After two decades of development, Kuliang became a must-visit attraction of Foochow. In republic era, even local elites would buy a property here to try a “modern” lifestyle in summer (1999). A lively and well-planned residence came into being (Fig 59).



Figure 50 Bungalow of the Bathgate & Company at Kuliang (Zhihai 2012)

Bungalows at Kuliang were supported by rough stone walls and light wooden roof truss, which could be easily created with materials on nearby highland (Fig 50). The bungalows were built in simple appearance, considering the destruction by violent typhoons resembled the origin in India. The phenomenon is valuable to understand the immanence of the ideal Western life without the evolved decorations. In spite of the plainness, veranda remained an indispensable venue (Fig 51), like a spiritual sustenance of the

homesick people. There appeared several stores, open only from June to September, including food stores, bookstores, stationery stores, cloth store and even two speciality stores of Foochow lacquer, a popular handicraft (EM 2016)! Without classical decorations used in the foreign settlement, the buildings are more similar with local ones, contributing to an overall harmony.

Kuliang became famous when an old lady visited Foochow from the US to seek for the residence of her husband in his childhood, which was considered significant in restarting cultural communication in 1990s (Xinhua 2017).



Figure 51 Family gathering in bungalow at Kuliang (Oswald 1860-1890)

The foreign settlement at Nantai must not be ignored in the introduction of Western architecture in Foochow. From the first land transaction in 1855 to the deportation of foreign residents in 1950, Nantai transferred from an invasive foreign community to a qualified urban area and education zone recognised by local residents.

Western buildings in the greater Nantai region consisted of trading factories on the riverbank and the residences of foreign or local people (Fig 54). Unfortunately, the commercial zone was almost destroyed in recent redevelopment (Fig 55, 56). Only the Custom House was rebuilt elsewhere with actually inconsistent “renovation” (Fig 52, 53). Besides, modern construction terribly spoiled the riverfront as a complete landscape (Fig 57). Fortunately, most of the residential zone was timely announced as a historic conservation area in 2013, which contained fifteen historic buildings protected by law (listed buildings), twenty-three “valuable modern buildings” and 119 preserved historic buildings (recommended but not stipulated) (Fig 56).

Recently, a famous real estate developer was invited as the contractor of the urban renovation, transforming the riverbank area into another commercial complex (Fig 58). Consequence of the urban renovation in modern China still remains to be witnessed and experiences remain to be learnt or criticised. But the values of the foreign settlement in architectural research deserves more attention and actions, before it was reshaped into a strange new one.



Figure 52 Custom House and Bund, Foochow, 1913 (unknown c.1920)



Figure 53 The rebuilt Custom House in 2017 (screenshot from Baidu Map)

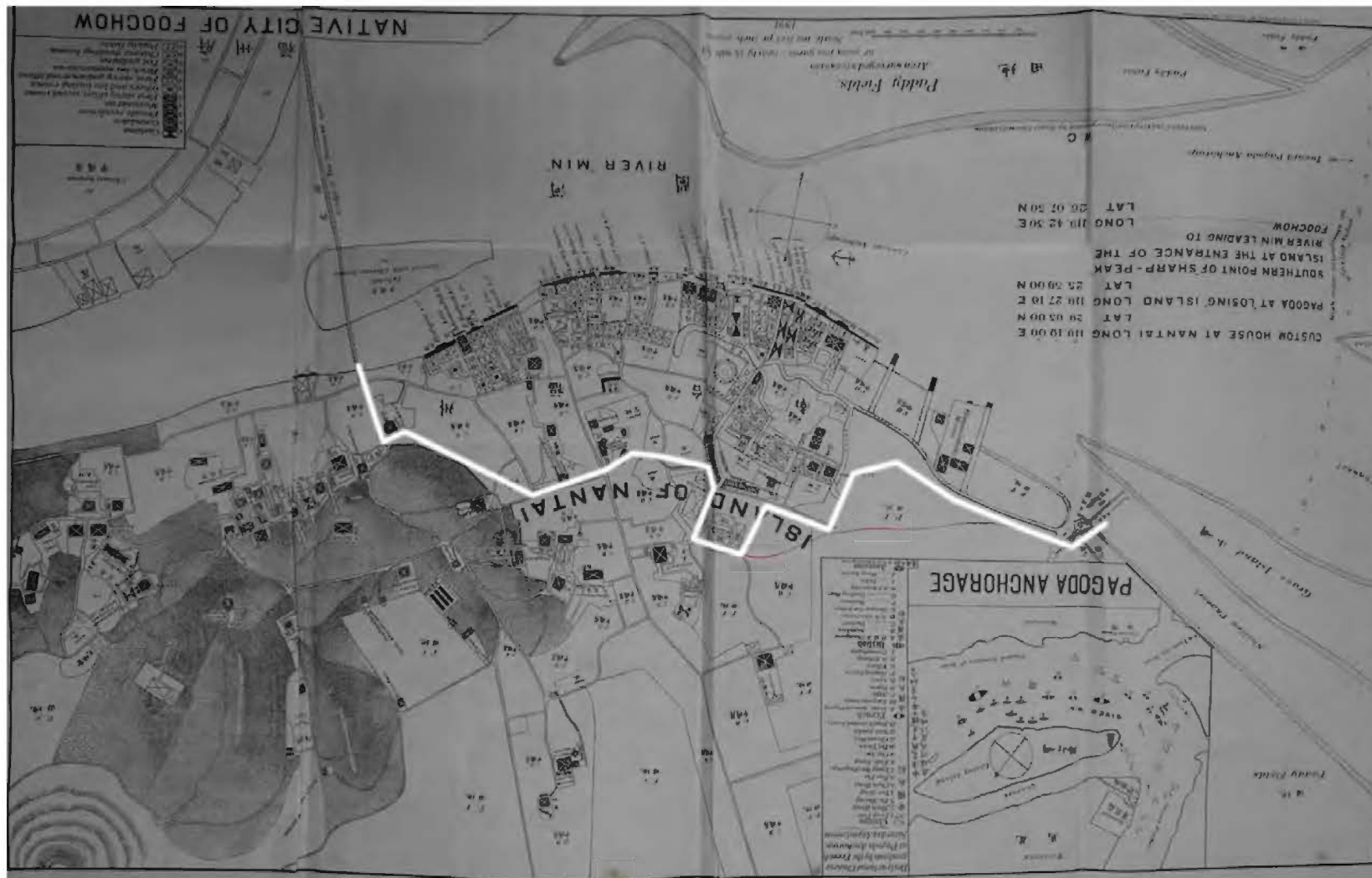


Figure 54 Map of Foochow (foreign settlement) in 1891 (offered by Fuzhou Architecture Heritage)
 The white line drawn by a reader divided the residences to the north and trading factories to the south

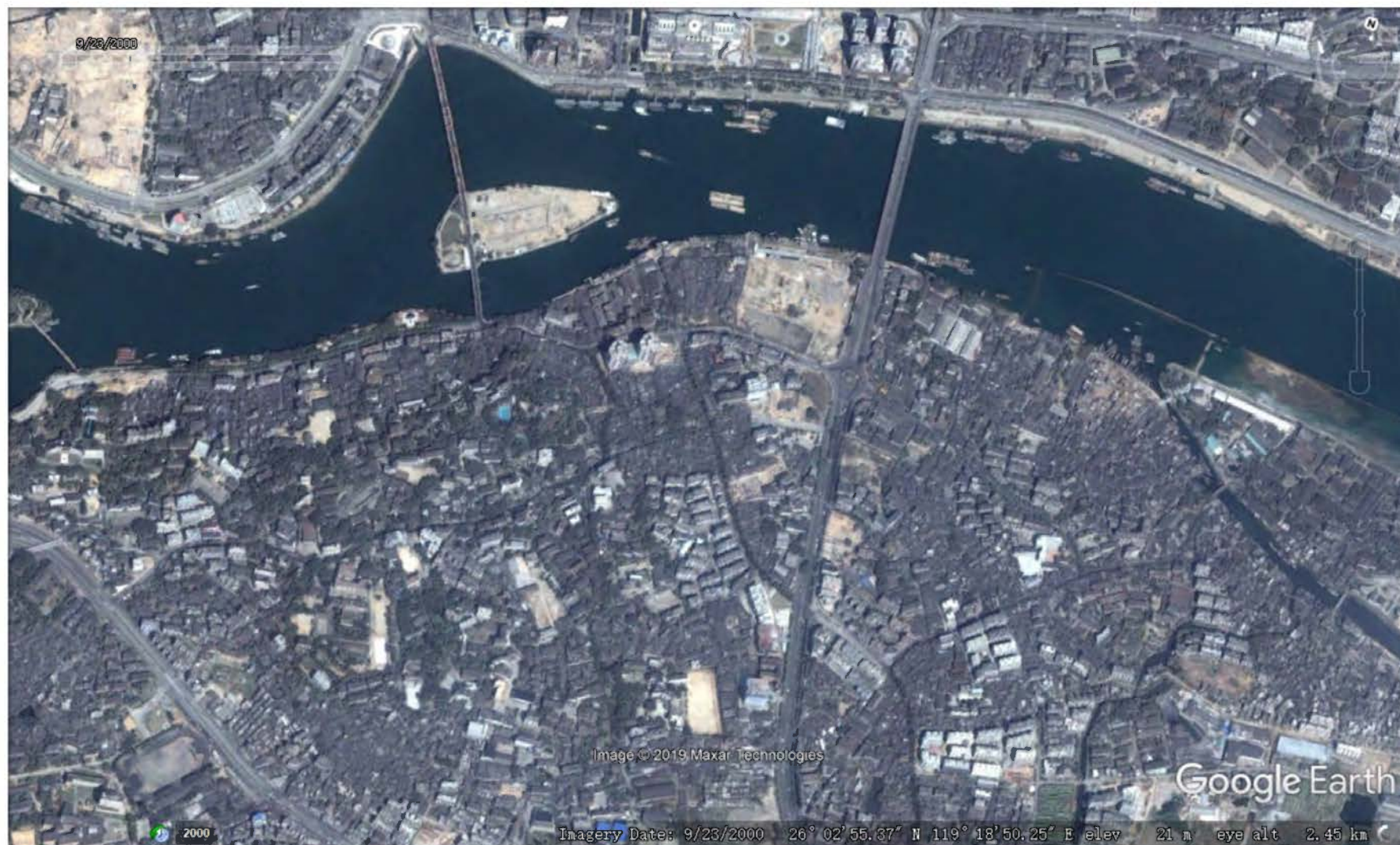
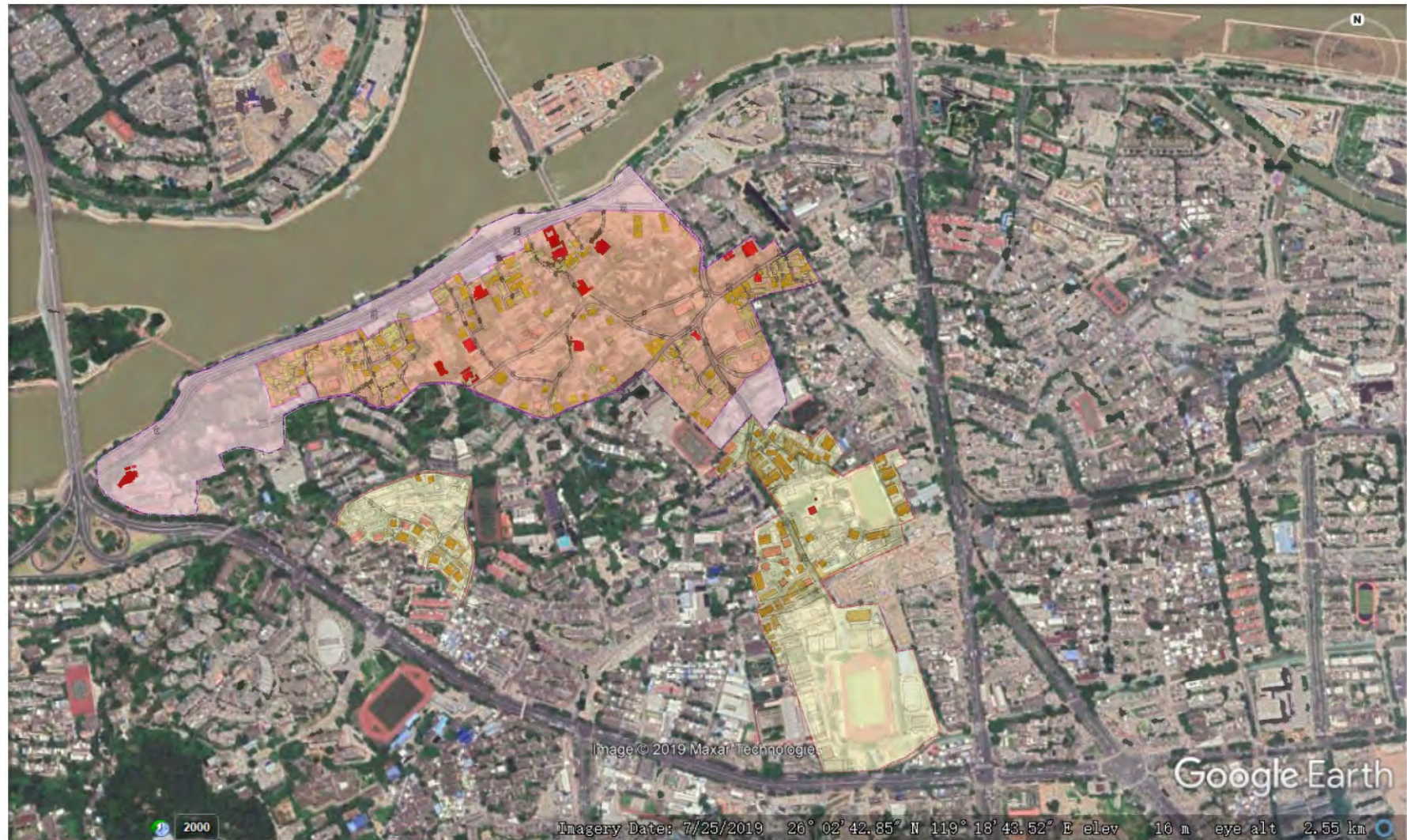


Figure 55 Satellite imagery of Nantai district in 2000 (screenshot from Google Earth)



*Figure 56 Satellite imagery in 2019, marked with the historic conservation areas (drawn by author)
Protected buildings in scarlet, valuable buildings in light red and preserved buildings in light brown.*



Figure 57 General views of river front in 1860s, 1900s and 2006 (Ermiaoxuan 1940s; Xi 2006; Morrison c.1870)



Figure 58 Rendering of the recent (from 2016) renovation project (unknown 2018)

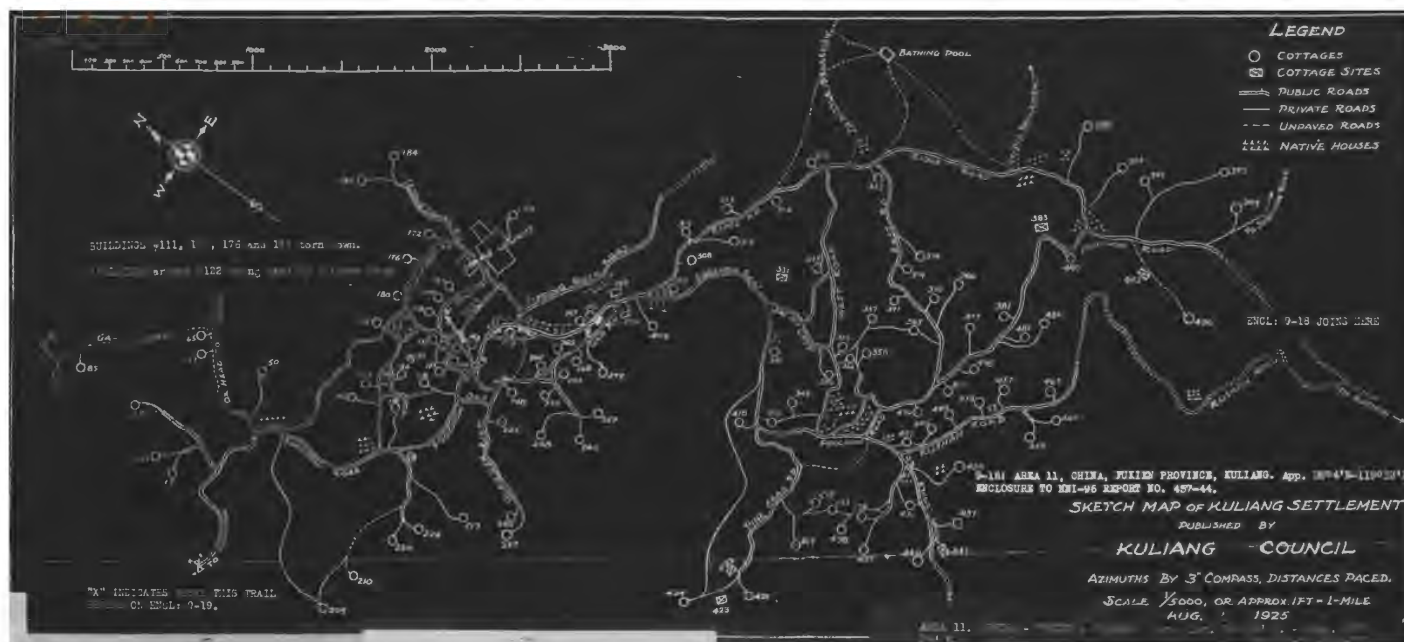


Figure 59 Sketch Map of Kuliang Settlement, published by Kuliang Council (1925)



Figure 60 The Bund (a), Foochow in 1860s (Morrison c.1870)



Figure 61 The Bund (west half), Foochow in 1860s (ibid)



Figure 62 Map of commercial zone in 1868 (Sawa and Lesgasse 1868)
 Dark blue for offices, light blue for offices and residences combined, grey for open fields, green for Chinese houses.

4.3.2 Commercial zone

The great success of the first massive tea export by the Russell & Company from America (see Section 3.3) attracted numerous large trading companies to come and have a try, in spite of predecessors' misfortune. In 1855, several cases of land transaction between natives and foreign merchants were reported to the emperor. The British consul also managed to find a formal seat close to the emerging trading zone.

The transaction in Foochow was different from common practice, which was however a normal case in the early treaty ports. Since land purchase was prohibited in the Treaty of the Bogue in 1843, foreigners had to “perpetually lease” with Chinese landowners with a triplicate signed agreement in consideration of an annual rent in the future. Each copy should be kept by lessor, lessee and the British consulate. There was even a dispute between British consulate and native landowners on rent adjustment under the severe inflation during the Second Sino-Japanese War (TNA 1942/43).

Until 1858, there has been at least 21 hong, two banks and several professional tea inspectors in the commercial zone (Fig 62) (Wilkinson and Liu 1962). The impressive landscape was the riverfront between the warehouses and the river, called “the Bund” in Foochow (Fig 60, 61). The hong gathered at only one certain section of the riverbank, which was built early in 15th century as the official salt terminal in Foochow. It was so crowded that two hong had to establish their compounds in the native commercial zone across the river. According to the 175 records of persons concerned with trading and foreign community based at Foochow in 1874, the general population of foreign residents were estimated at about 200, consisting mainly of British and American nationals (1874).

The earliest veranda style in Foochow probably appeared in this zone with support of examples from historic photographs. It is normal that first Western visitors were not architects or builders, so they had to employ local craftsmen to build some comfortable

residences. Local houses were considered “low, dark, hot, filthy, and necessarily unhealthy” (Maclay 1861). However, the fact was that no craftsmen could satisfied the commissioners without any piece of related knowledge, which also happened in India a century before (Fig 64).

In the case of Foochow, the original veranda was an abrupt collage of open corridors over the enlarged façade of traditional warehouse (Fig 63). It is not hard to assume that the ground floor was truly used as warehouse and the first floor, living areas of the staff, was specially requested to build with a veranda, The staff might be a little disappointed for this unfamiliar veranda, but it was actually better than the surrounding folk houses!

It seems that this “primitive” veranda style became more formulative later. A photo in 1895 shows a residence (marked on the old maps) with an Asian local hip-and-gable roof. The veranda was built in a normal size, with simple wooden beam-column structure. The complete enclosure of lathing and shutters, seemingly an imitation of local formal houses (Fig 66), implied the intention to create a comfortable living space (Fig 65).



Figure 63 Sassoon & Company in c.1870 (with the permission of British Library) (1870d)

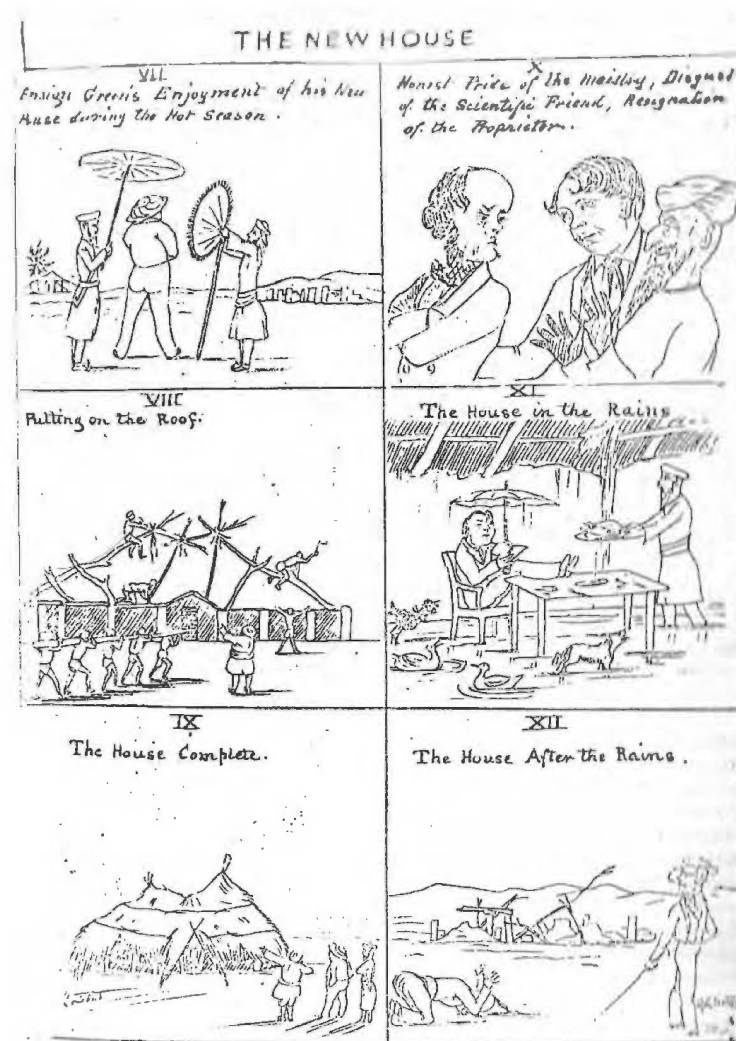
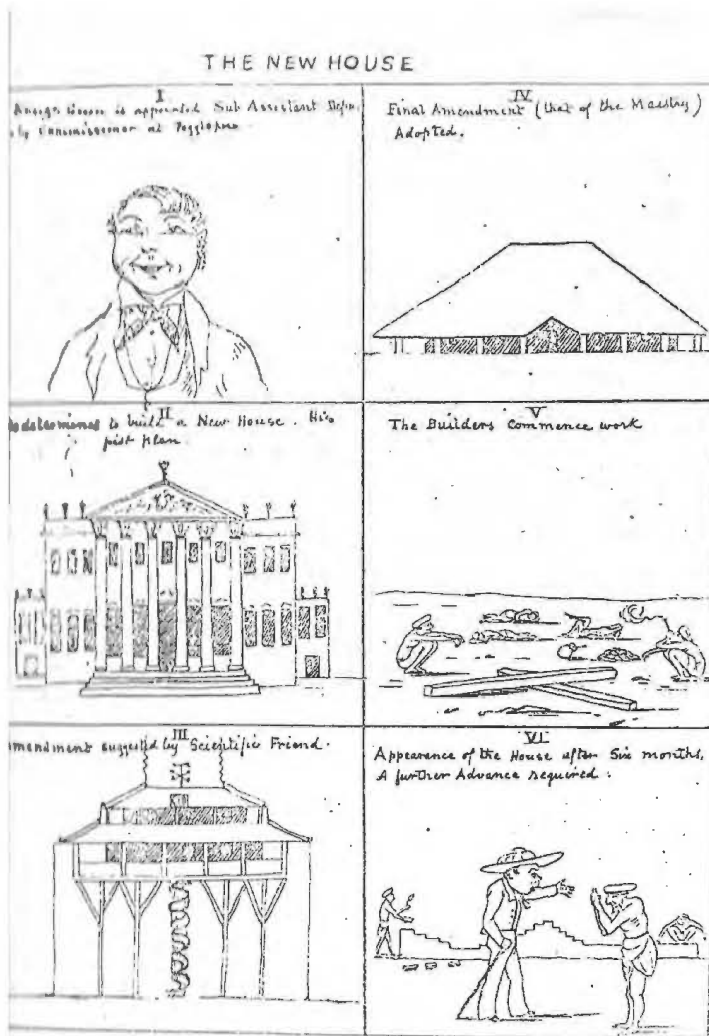


Figure 64 A cartoon about bungalow as a product of cultural differences (King 1984)

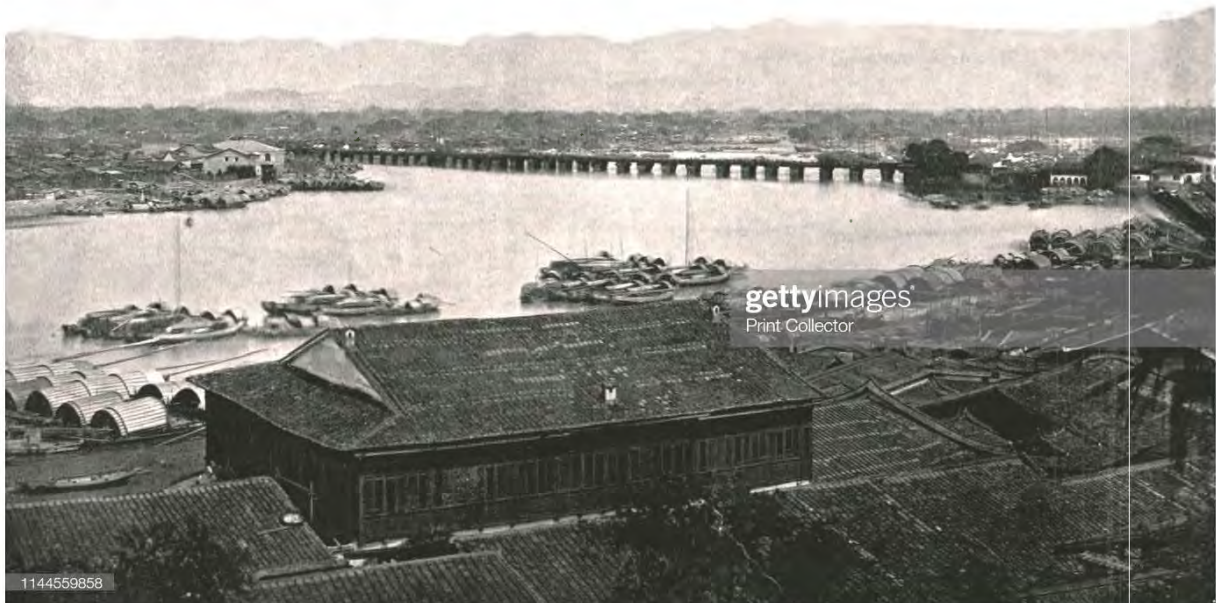


Figure 65 The residence of "Rev Hamilton" in 1895 (2019d)



Figure 66 Main hall of Tao-shan-kuan Temple (Re 2017)

Another veranda style in early periods were highlighted with a rusticated and arcaded ground floor, which was substantial compared to the traditional wooden upper storey. One of the examples was sure to be built by the first American missionaries before 1855 (Maclay 1861). The columns seemed to imitate the effect of rustication (Fig 67, 68). The proof of its local builders was the saddle-shaped gables popular in Foochow.



Figure 67 Former estate of American Board Mission (façade) (TungHing 1876)



Figure 68 Former estate of American Board Mission (Chinese gable) (Morrison c.1870)



Figure 69 One estate of Jardine, Matheson & Company (ibid)

The style further approached Neoclassicism with later examples before it was superseded by the Regency veranda style brought from Hong Kong. As the first two British companies in Foochow following the Russell & Company, Jardine Matheson & Company owned several plots at Nantai, including this office and dwelling combined at the main traffic near the bridgehead (Fig 69). Typical hip roof finally appeared. Ground floor was fully rusticated with symbolic capitals. However, wooden enclosure remained on the upper floor, but instead adopted Western shutters. The strong financial power of such a large company might explain the adoption of a relatively classical style, which was only possible conceived by professional architects or experienced Western builders.

In another case, the veranda was transformed into enclosed corridor or divided rooms, which might reflect the changes in staff composition. The company was established on the Zhongzhou island in the River Min. On the plot stood a large and lofty godown, a building for office and dwelling, which was the landmark of the island for more than a century. When the house was built in 1860s (Fig 70), the high arcade on the ground floor was not required not for traffic, because there was the dock a few metres lower outside.

Besides, the staff were not possible to work or stay inside all the time, for the wooden grills without shutters could shelter the users from rain or in winter. Construction of the arcade could only be explained by the request to build a Western colonial lifestyle. However, the arches were found to turn into normal windows before 1895 (Fig 71), which could be assumed that the increasing Chinese staff did not need such a venue of Western lifestyle anymore.



Figure 70 Bull, Purdon & Company in 1860s, with the highlighted arcade (ibid)



Figure 71 Bull, Purdon & Company in c.1895 (Society 1895-1901) (with the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library) (CMS 1895-1901)

The Imperial Custom Service was established in 1854, directed by Sir Robert Hart, a British employee of the Chinese government. It administered Chinese foreign trade, including taxation and maintenance of shipping facilities, to help China integrate into the global trading system. Architecture style was also included in its Westernisation. Since the Custom House was built in 1861 on the riverbank, the style of commercial and residential areas merged with each other. Classical styles finally took the place of the said improvised style, a product of Western construction with local support.

4.3.3 Residential zone

In the first few years after 1863, foreign merchants tended to rent folk houses as temporary bases. Although missionaries had to rent some land for erecting churches, they still chose to spend only a part of the budget to build temporal wooden residences (Fig 72). It was because the “intruders” themselves were even not sure whether they had to leave the feudal capital like the poor merchant before (Maclay 1861). Fortunately, the concern did not come true and the settlement began to take shape since then.

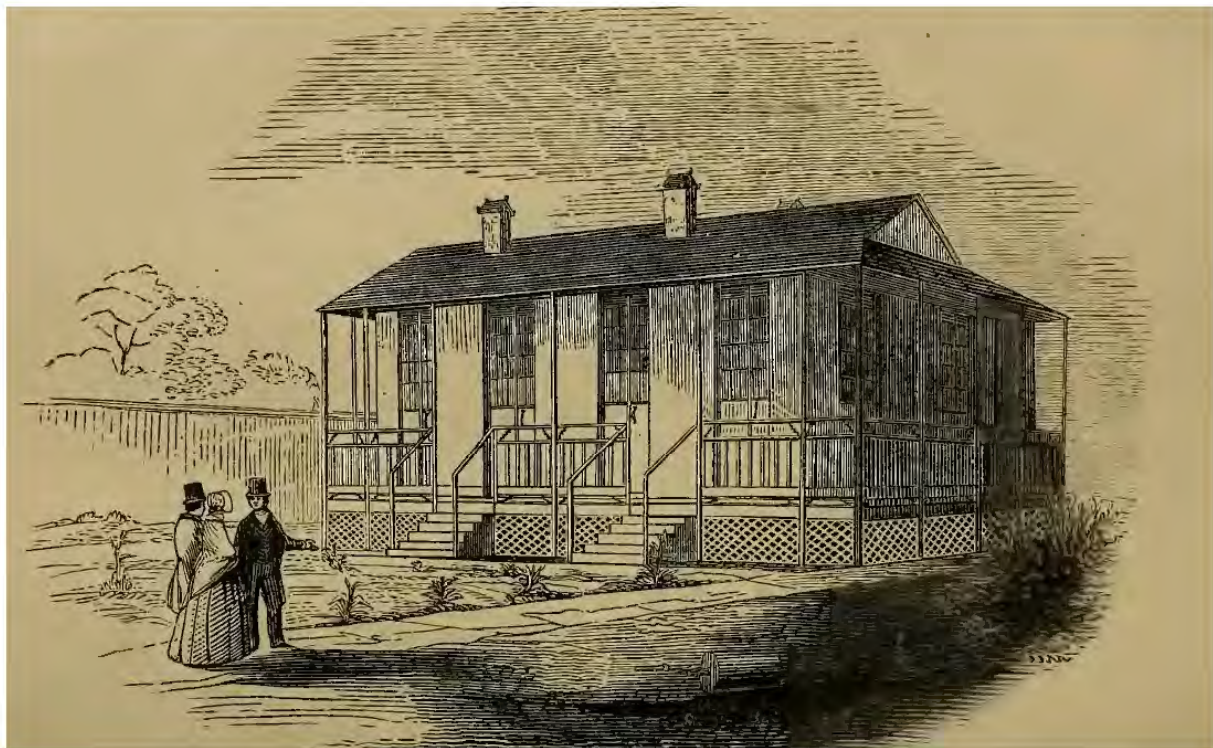


Figure 72 First Dwelling-House built by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1855 (Maclay 1861)

Before the British consulate formally gave up its occupancy in the walled city in around 1880, the earlier style had taken shape in Nantai. In one hand, the simple wooden verandas were replaced with brick columns or sophisticated lathing (Fig 72). The complete enclosure of shutters was assumed as a Westernisation of local construction spontaneity of the hot and humid weather in Southeast and East Asian (Fujimori and Zhang 1993).

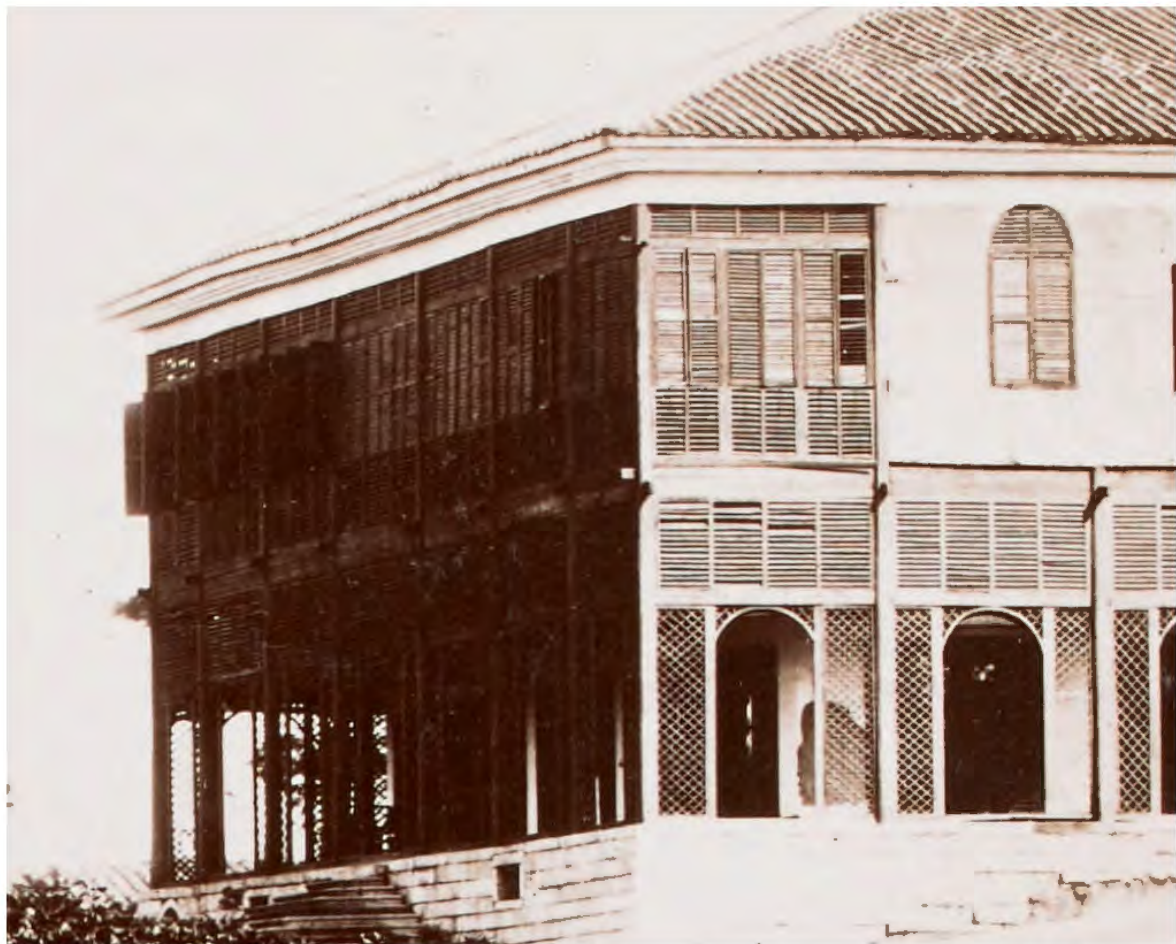


Figure 73 Veranda enclosed by shutters and lathing (with the permission of British Library) (1870b)

In the other hand, “pure” colonial style was introduced in the same time, because of the convenience to employ architects and contractors from major ports. It is confirmed that architects from Hong Kong & Shanghai, contractors from Canton were employed by British Office of Works to participate in projects at Foochow. Therefore, the whole construction system was directly adopted from those main ports.

Within ten years, buildings with various functions appeared in the settlement, including consulates, churches, a club, a theatre, sports facilities and residential houses. Divergence in building styles followed. Design of stately houses adhered to the decoration requirements of traditional Western styles, like classical capitals, smooth cornice, original corbels (Fig 74) and the slightly wider doorway in the centre of the façade.



Figure 74 Classical details on Russell & Company (with the permission of British Library) (1870c)



Figure 75 The wider doorway in the centre of the building of Dent & Company (Morrison c.1870)

St John's Chapel is an exception in the surrounding colonial style, which was originally proposed by foreign merchants. As the British consul was the protector de facto of the foreign residents, the commission was transferred to the Surveyor General's Office at Hong Kong. The signature on the sketches is identified as Thomas L Walker, the assistant of Surveyor General. He was a pupil of Augustus Charles Pugin, and an executor of his will with several works remaining in England (Stephen and Lee 1885). So far, Mr Walker is the earliest known British architect whose work remains to date in Foochow.

The chapel was designed in the model of common parish chapels in the UK, featured with the F-shape floor plan (Fig 77), the Celtic Cross decoration and a conical bell tower suited for small chapels (Fig 76). Mr Walker reported in his letter to the British consul at Foochow that all materials except the stone should be imported from abroad, such as the wood from Singapore and custom-made wrought iron from the UK. Unfortunately, Mr Walker died early in 1860 before the chapel was completed in 1862. His design of the attached parsonage thus had to be abandoned without further revision (TNA 1856-1872).



Figure 76 St John's Chapel, dedicated for the international community (1858) (Thomson 2019)

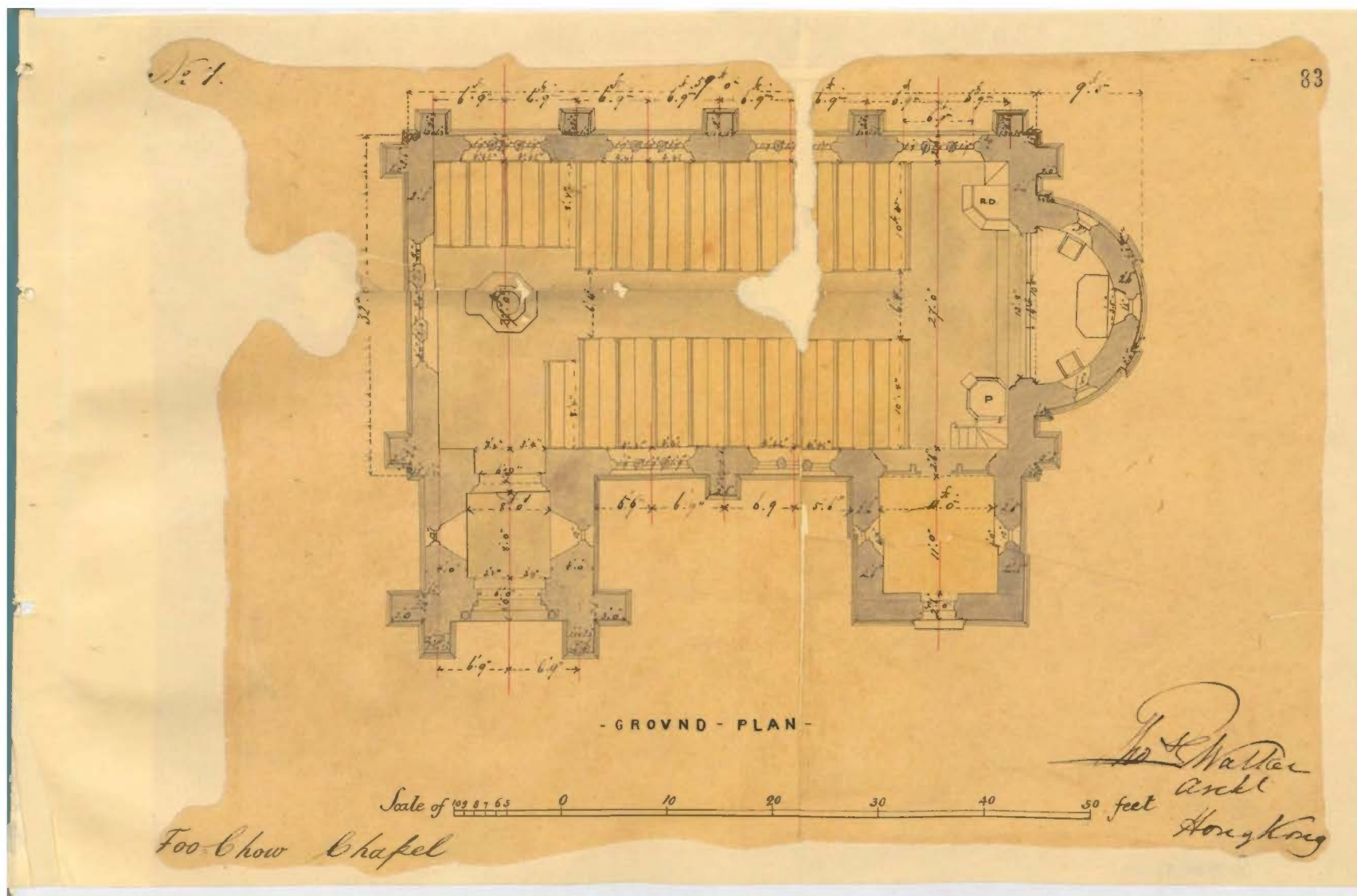


Figure 77 Plan of St John's Chapel, Foochow by Thomas L. Walker in 1858 (Walker 2019)

Besides, some other styles popular in major city appeared in Foochow, however with few examples, mainly consular buildings. The British consulate was rebuilt in a recreated neo-classical style. The German consulate was castellated and adjoined by a well-arranged garden (Fig 78). The American consulate was rebuilt on an irregularly shaped plan of the previous building, which resulted in a novel appearance with a blend of Art Nouveau (Li 2015). The other half of the old building was cut off and levelled into green space between the consul's residence and the office (Fig 79). The consul's residence took advantage of the remaining foundation, where the original protruding part on the front elevation was replaced with a two-storey porch (later blocked for more rooms) (Fig 80, 81).



Figure 78 German consulate in Foochow (1906)



Figure 79 The previous residence on the site of American consulate (unknown 1880s)



Figure 80 American consulate in Foochow (Zhihai 2011)

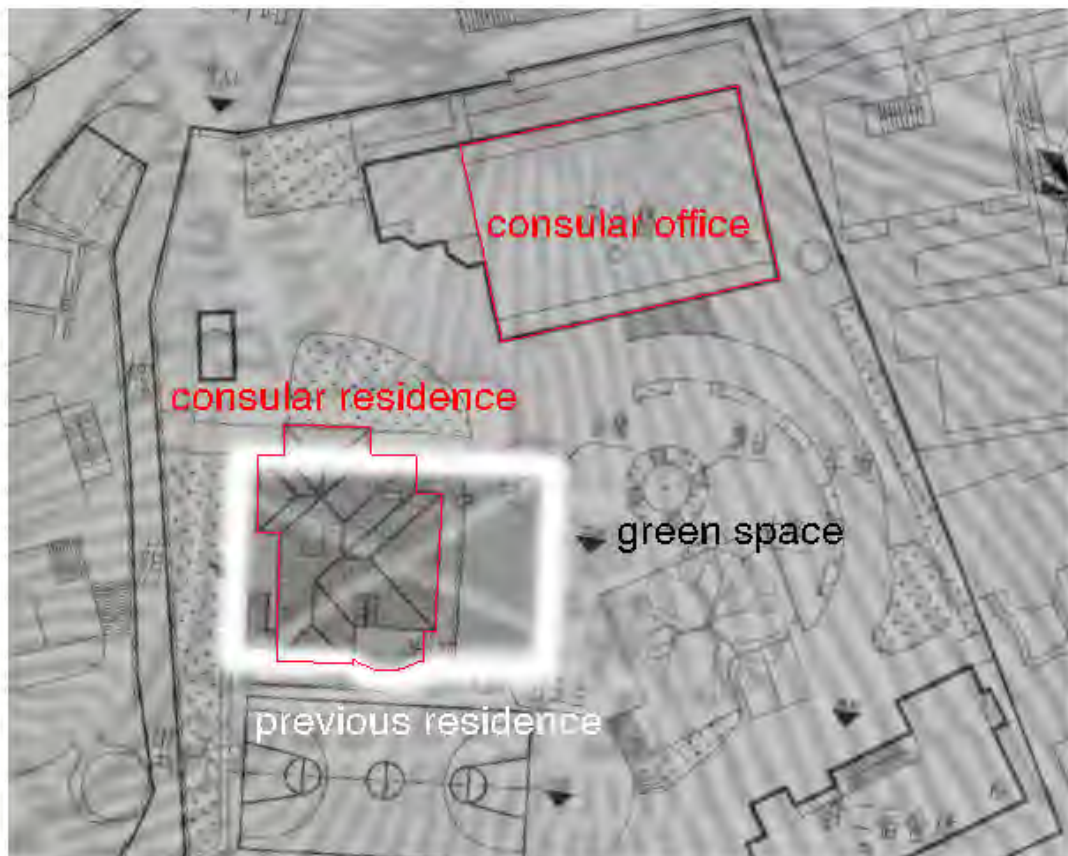


Figure 81 the site of American consulate before and after (drawn by author)

Besides, veranda was borrowed from Western nostalgic images and used in school and hospital buildings as a passage suitable for local climate. Different from pursuing a sufficient distance between residences to ensure air circulation and a healthy living, high utilisation of land should be first considered to build these buildings of public welfare (Xue 2004b). Thus, the plans were always long rectangle or just an irregular aggregate adapted to the territory (Fig 82, 83), rather than square plan of early stately house. Decades later, veranda remained a neutral symbol of public buildings, and the colonial connotation left by Westerners was gradually erased.



Figure 82 CMS (Church Mission Society) Girls School, Foochow (With the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library) (CMS 1898-1906)

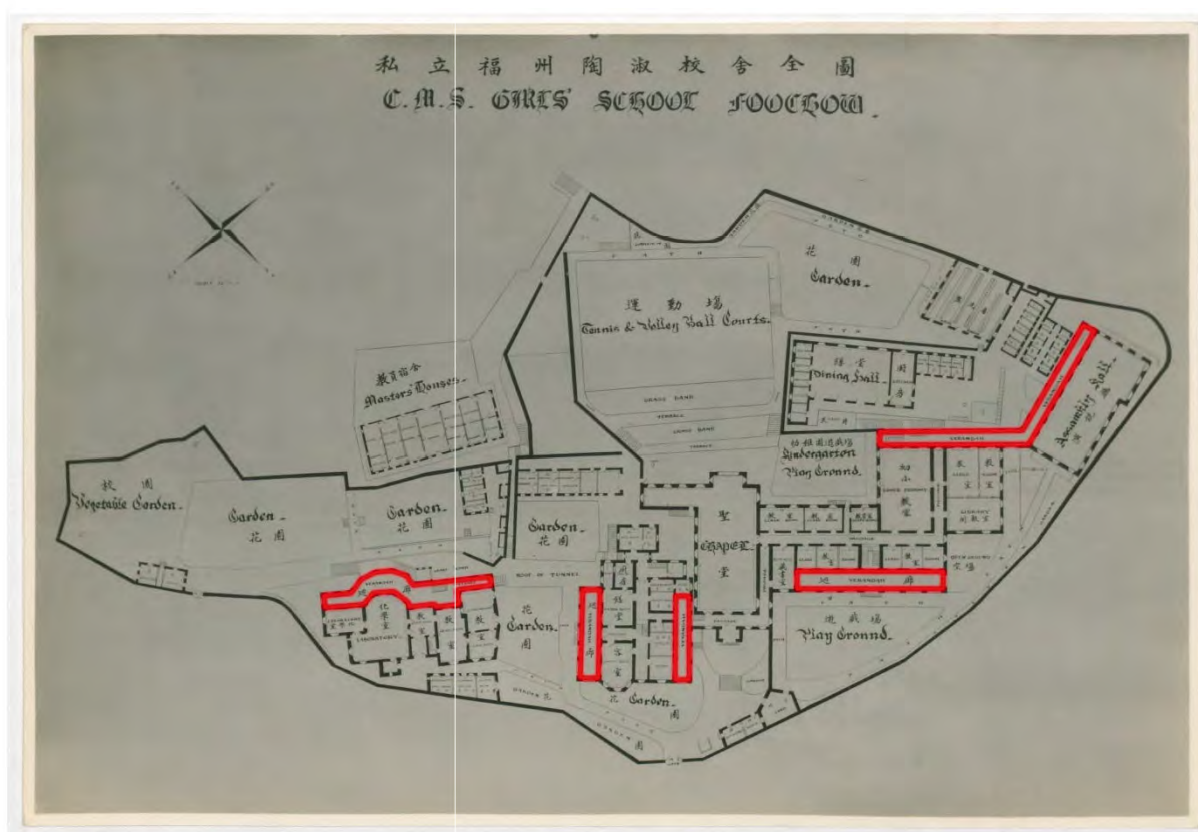


Figure 83 Plan of the CMS Grils School, Foochow, with verandas marked (With the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library) (CMS c 1909-1950)

In the past, the foreigners were considered to be barbarians, who were addicted in robbery and slaughter. Arrogance of the Chinese reached a climax when five ports were forced to open after the Opium War, including Foochow. In the early days when the port was opened, the locals did everything they could to expel foreigners out of the city. One of local literati specially named his home as “pavilion for shooting eagles”, because the first British consulate could be seen from over there, and it happens that Britain and eagle are pronounced the same in Chinese (Xue 2000). Conservatism in local society led to instinctive fear for all foreign cultures. While the vitality of a city lies in commercial activities. After all, residents benefited from increasing trade. After accepting the foreign presence for decades, Sino-foreign tension eased significantly with increasing understanding. Missionary work became a strong link between the two cultures. For instance, missionary schools were so popular in the poor, because they not only cared about students’ everyday life, but also imparted employment skills to them. More locals were employed by foreign residents as decent interpreters, rather than the humble servants (Fig 84).



*Figure 84 Fancy dress ball at the British consulate (unknown 1895)
Notice the Chinese in the rear right.*

Chapter 5 British Consulate: An Example of Evolving Veranda Style

The style of administrative buildings should not be studied only from what it looks like, but also from a political consideration, especially for those in colonies. Foucault's theory of normalising power could be quoted to describe the influences on surroundings of the consular compound. The consul's residence in the unique style, dimly seen through the balustrades over the enclosure, which was slightly higher than the average human height (Fig 85), implied that the British consul took duty on daily affairs of the whole settlement, and that it was where you could ask for support.

However, this unique eclectic Neo-classical appearance did not show up until the residence was rebuilt in 1869 (Fig 86). This chapter would introduce the two generations of the consular building in different kinds of veranda style and the reconstruction process with the support of historical photographs and archives of the Foreign Office. The possible contribution of Chinese builders would be discussed.



Figure 85 The enclosure of British consulate and the Foochow Club in late C19 (Drew 190-?)



Figure 86 The new British consul's residence completed in 1868 (TNA 2019)

5.1 The old consular buildings: copy and paste

When British consul in Foochow realised the commercial importance and convenience of Nantai, he would have to report his intentions to the Minister in Peking before taking actions on the new consulate. There was a routine on the construction of official buildings in colonies within the complex cumbersome bureaucracy connecting London with Calcutta, Hong Kong, and later, Shanghai.

In the Thirteen Hong period, merchants had no choice but to rent the house built by Chinese companies. However, the merchants did carry out some reconstruction themselves which was reflected by the Western façades in later paintings (Fig 18). As Western fashions remained mysterious to most Chinese in the 18th century, these works should only be directed by Westerners, either the merchants themselves or the Royal Engineers of the British East India Company (EIC) (Izumida 2003). As the EIC was allowed to seize the administrative and military power, it was supposed that H.M Government in

London need not care much about the expenditure on construction. The affairs of construction in East Asia were transferred to the Surveyor General's Office in Hong Kong after it was established in 1843 (Peiran 2016), proved by the correspondence on the early maintenance of consulate in Foochow before a new inspector was nominated by officers in London (TNA 1865-1867).

In general, a project started with letters from the consul at the port to the Minister Plenipotentiary in Peking, and the Surveyor General in Hong Kong. Drafts drawn by the Surveyor General were then forwarded to Foreign Office and Office of Works in London after confirming the local aspects and spatial requirements with the consul and the Minister. In the meantime, both departments informed Treasury about the project, who would decide the annual estimate for the project and wait for sanction from Westminster. Foreign Office would decide the general features of the new consulate after the sanction for the budget arrived. Foreign Office and Treasury 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 back to Hong Kong. Further details would be confirmed among the Surveyor General, the Minister and the consul, before tenders were invited to compete for the project in Hong Kong (Huang 2010).

According to one essay of Hideo Izumida, the Foochow Consulate was designed in 1858 by the Acting Surveyor General, Theo. H. Walker, which was later cited by several papers. It is convincing that the first plan of the Consulate in Foochow was fully instructed by Surveyor General's Office at Hong Kong. However, the author finds out by comparing the correspondence that Izumida might mistake the signature of the aforementioned Thomas L Walker, the designer of the consular chaplain chapel and died early in Hong Kong before extending his career like contemporary architects.



Figure 87 Consular office, Consul's Residence and the Foochow Club House (from left to right) in 1860s (unknown 1890s)



Figure 88 The old consul's residence from southeast before 1862 (Morrison c.1870)



Figure 89 The old consul's residence from northwest (with the permission of British Library) (1870a)



Figure 90 The south elevation of the Queens House invented by Inigo Jones in 1639 (Campbell)

The first British consulate in Nantai was built in around 1858, consisting of the consular office, the consul's residence and the building of Foochow Club (Fig 87-89). Especially, north façade of the old consul's residence borrowed from the Queen's House designed by Inigo Jones (Fig 90). Its designer remains unclear, but was probably Mr George Whitfield, a partner of the Whitfield & Kingsmill Architects in Shanghai, and later planned the new settlement in Yokohama. He was appointed by the British Consul work out the estimates of repairs in 1865. In the correspondence, he seemed familiar with the structure of existing buildings, even offering a specification for Chinese builders on construction details (TNA 1865-1867). The first generation of consul's residence was built in a Regency veranda style, like the earliest existing example, Flagstaff House in Hong Kong. Beams and columns were vertically jointed with each other, rather than classical arcade of the Neoclassical façade. White-painted façade with plain striped decorations also suggests the effect of Regency architecture from UK. The projecting verandas were located only on north and south, open to the exterior.

The embarrassment was mentioned by Mr Edward Ashworth, one of the earliest British architects to practise in Hong Kong, in a record of Chinese builders that their works were always out of control even provided with a professional drawing, which they observed for the first time and had no ideas how to work as instructed. They were never able to construct as designed until Mr Ashworth himself made several models to show construction details in three-dimensional ways. Though local craftsmen were so "unbearable", foreign residents had to hire them to build houses because of nothing more than the lack of skilful Western builders in China. Without any choice, local craftsmen had to complete the projects with simple imitation. Although the idea to stay briefly in China contributed to the carelessness to the building quality, poor imitation was doomed without accurately understanding the fundamental details of Western structures. In a letter to the Surveyor General in Hong Kong, the consul at Foochow reported the conditions when the consulate was first built in 1858.

"It was the first house of the sort built in Foochow, was under no kind of supervision save such imperfect and unprofessional supervision as the consul here was able to afford to it, and the contract for a house of its dimensions was unfortunately restricted by the home authorities to so inadequate an amount that, in order to make a project on the transaction, the builder had of necessity, to make use of the cheapest workmen and materials obtainable (TNA 1865-1867)."

It was no surprise that a considerable portion of the front veranda fell four years after the completion, after two days of heavy rain in summer. The residence was evacuated as soon as possible and an experienced Cantonese builder was invited to carry out an on-site survey. The downfall was attributed to inferior building materials, including insufficiently calcined bricks and mortar composed mixed with little lime, which rapidly failed saturated by rain. Though two proposals to repair or rebuild were worked out by the Cantonese builder, the Minister in Peking insisted asking the Surveyor General in Hong Kong to send Mr Whitfield from Shanghai to survey the buildings in Foochow and work out another proposal. However, this proposal was again turned down by the Minister because he considered the estimate too small to ensure "effective repairs". By then, the old consul's residence had become too dilapidated to be repaired.

There were several factors leading to the downfall and the eventual abandonment of the old consul's house. In one hand, potential preparedness of Chinese government and unfamiliarity of local craftsmen rendered the task to build a consulate in Western styles tougher than in Shanghai or Canton. On the other hand, the British officers also ignored the immediate suggestions of the Chinese builder. Mutual distrust and isolation were normal in the early period of cultural interactions and conflicts between China and the West. Besides, the ineffectiveness of British bureaucracy resulted in the serious delay of more than three years, which worsened the conditions of the damaged building.

5.2 The consul's residence rebuilt in 1868: absorb and create

Exactly in order to improve the poor communication among relevant departments of Her Majesty's Government, a new post was required in charge of the diplomatic and consular buildings in China and Japan, as a channel of communication between British officers on the two sides of the world.

In March 1864, a conference was held at the Office of Works with representatives from departments of Her Majesty's Government concerned with affairs in East Asia, to decide on nominating a director responsible for projects of consular and judicial buildings in China and Japan. Nomination of a professional architect was excluded due to salary considerations. This acting officer should receive full instructions and powers regarding the discharge of the duties to be committed to him. In cases agreed by superior officials, he is authorised to dispose the balance available on the vote for the project in a most economical manner, by approving or to withholding payments to contractors. He is also obliged to report upon seeking lands for further construction and maintaining existing buildings at each port. In planning new projects, he should advise the government on whether to use the existing buildings built by merchants or erect a new house under the superintendence of the Surveyor General at Hong Kong. He should send estimates of the required work back to UK as soon as he could to make departments at London aware in advance. Specifically, his should also "consider whether, for consular purposes, and with a view to economy, buildings in the European or in Chinese style are most desirable". As per the discussion, William Crossman, a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, was later appointed to this post in February 1866. Later in that year, he was sent by Office of Works to inspect, rebuild or extend the existing estates. Six years later, his assistance, Robert H Boyce, was nominated as the first director of the Far East division of the Office of Works, which withdrew to Hong Kong in 1949. The department was responsible for all institutional buildings in China, Japan and Korea, whose records are well organised in the British National Archives.



Figure 91 The consular office and assistants' residence renovated in 1865 (TNA 2019)

In 1865, the building of offices and assistants' quarters was renovated under the instruction of General Surveyor in Hong Kong. There seemed to be some reconstruction, as the attached roof covering the veranda integrated with the main roofing. Besides, single columns surrounding the veranda were replaced with double ones, which made the façade more rhythmic (Fig 91).

In 1867, Major Crossman finally decided to take down the dilapidated consul's residence. Although he designed floor plans for the new building (Fig 92), construction was carried out by another Cantonese builder, Chiu Ah Wei. Since Major Crossman noted in his letters to Treasury that the remaining work was left for Mr Boyce after he had left Foochow to inspect other ports.

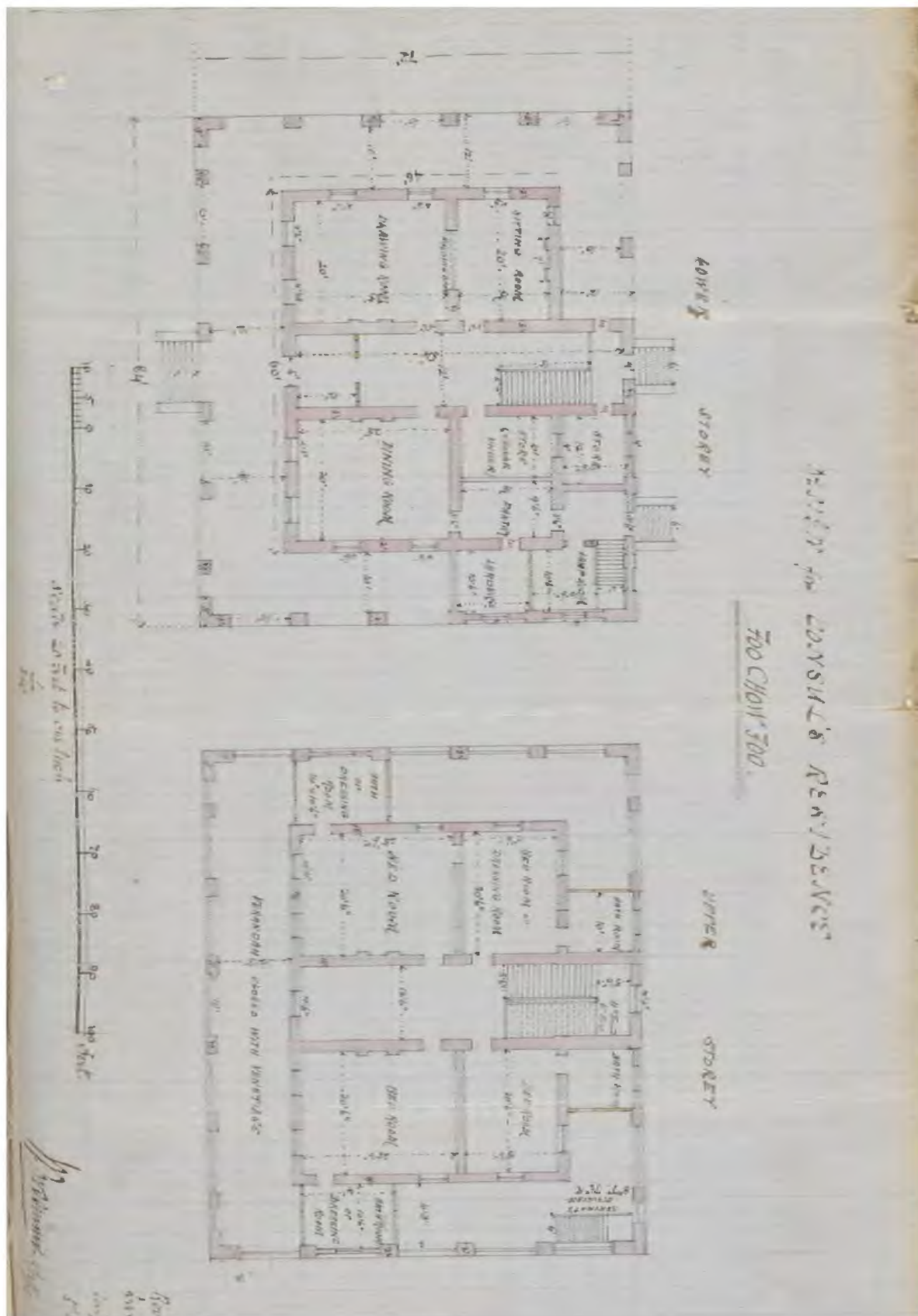


Figure 92 Design for the consul's residence in Foochow by Major Crossman (TNA 1865-1867)

The eclectic façade was generally in a Neoclassical background, with the Tuscan square columns, the balcony and the Baroque vase-shaped balustrade parapet over the main entrance. Rhythm of the facade is composed by two sizes of semi-circular arches. Bays at both ends will be divided in halves by the small arch, while the large arch will occupy the middle bays, centralising the facade and highlighting the sense of authority. The strip beneath cornice and columns of two sizes were all specially painted in red, which is an expression of Queen Anne Revival. With comparison of the decoration patterns between the residence and folk houses in Guangdong (Fig 93-96), it could be inferred that the Cantonese builders also participated in the design of the façade to some extent, which was a blend of Chinese elements in Western background.



Figure 93 Vase-shaped balustrade of Canton folk houses (2019a)



Figure 94 Balustrade parapet over the main entrance of the consul's residence (TNA 2019)



Figure 95 Latticed window in Canton folk houses (1963)



Figure 96 Vent coverage on the façade of the consul's residence (TNA 2019)

Since the city of Canton was confirmed as the sole legal trading ports between the West and China, builders in the city became more familiar with Western building construction than any other folk artisan in China. Before the four other treaty ports were opened, they had been able to set up the “Thirteen Factories” as instructed by foreign merchants. Naturally, British officials tended to employ Cantonese to build formal buildings for them. It is clearly noted in the correspondence that inspection and reconstruction of the consul’s residence, as well as construction of the nearby consular chapel were all carried out by Cantonese builders (TNA 1858-1864). The author would like to suppose that these craftsmen were not only responsible for the construction, but even more or less engaged in the design of the building facades. Some preliminary research from the point of

construction history could be carried out with the description of architects and consuls on construction details, however the lack of materials in Chinese remains to be solved.

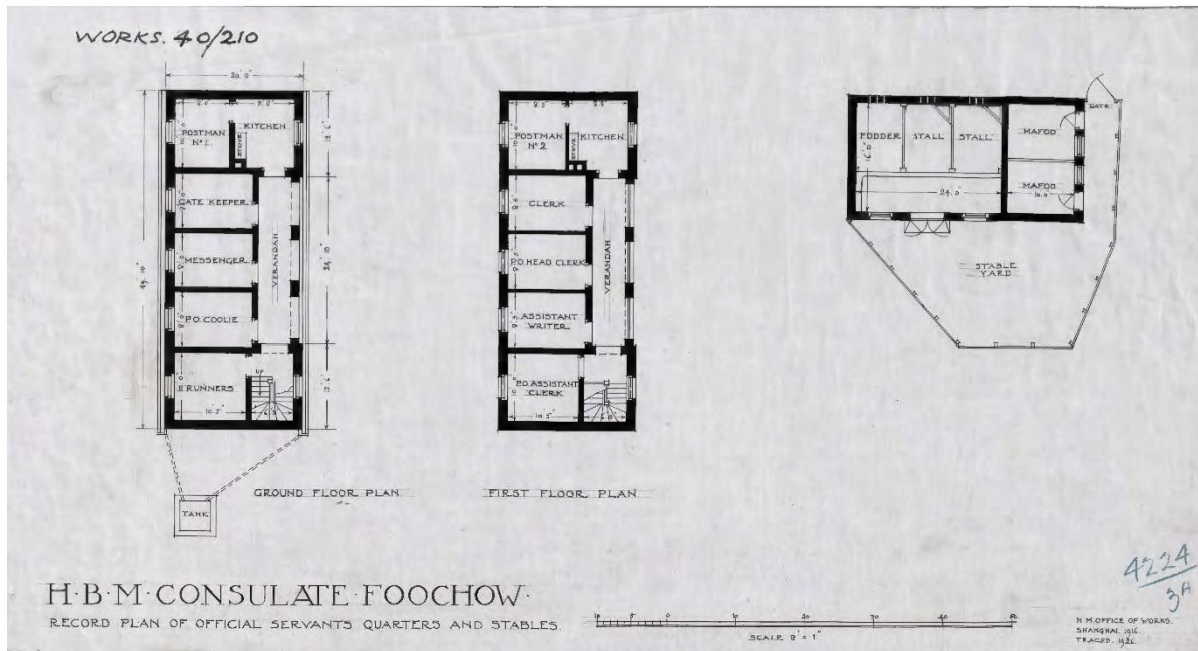


Figure 97 Plans of servants' quarters and stables in the British consulate(TNA 1866-1867)



Figure 98 Façade of the servants' quarters (TNA 2019)

5.3 Western architecture in a Chinese impression

Due to the insignificance of servants' quarters, no relative record has been found in correspondence of most British consulates in East Asia. It is supposed that these humble buildings were actually designed by Chinese contractors (Huang 2010). Thanks to the photographic and drawing records of the survey in 1911, we could get a glimpse of this easily overlooked building (Fig 97, 98). Proof of veranda style localisation could be observed on the building that decorations were simply different bricklaying, slightly protruding capitals and visual comparison between brick wall and stone lintels.

Although Cantonese builders had completed several projects for British proprietors, they were always destined for new projects and would not stay in Foochow for long. Therefore, local builders had to get familiar with Western styles to get the opportunity to contract projects from foreign or native residents. In the early 20th century, more and more local elites were attracted to the emerging educational zone of Foochow. In contrast, Foochow transferred from a treaty port into a Christian centre in Southeast China, and still attracted a large number of missionaries. But they would not build new residences on purpose, for they were not here to enjoy. Though Nantai was again occupied by local residents, their taste was gradually westernised, such as the favour for houses in Western styles, including the veranda style. Interestingly, what the local residents considered Western was also experiencing a process of localisation, as a result of local builders' understanding and recreation.

Small projects like villas were often carried out by local craftsmen, which could be seemed as a native impression the Western architecture. Various Western projects had been completed by local craftsman, from the temporal residences on the first foreign arrival, then stately houses as instructed by the employers, to a mixing of Chinese and Western elements. Chinese roof was one of the popular elements to add upon veranda (Fig 99), which would later be widely adopted in the school buildings in Amoy by the overseas Chinese businessman Tan Kah Kee (Fig 100). In some complicated cases, Chinese

elements were arranged to create veranda space in a Chinese taste (Fig 101,102).



Figure 99 Chinese roofing over a Western structure (Zhihai)



Figure 100 Qunxian Hall, Xiamen University (Zhangzhugang 2012)



Figure 101 The semi-open veranda in the Lin Sen Mansion (photographed by author)



Figure 102 The enclosed veranda in the Lin Sen Mansion (photographed by author)

Western style also imposed a subtle influence on native architecture in Foochow. In one hand, Western style was regarded as advancement. Though the structure of main buildings remained traditional, classical elements were applied to façade along with other styles. Geometric order was seldom considered, and the only attention was paid to whether the façade was “gorgeous” enough. It happened that temples in the countryside looked exactly the same as the International Mixed Court designed by Atkinson & Dallas, which suggested an interesting phenomenon of mutual simulation.

At that time, foreign architects were only engaged in large projects like hospitals and school buildings, like the general plan of Fukien Christian University (Fig 103) by Henry Murphy, the building of Hwa Nan College (Fig 104) by Wilfred W. Beach and the Hall of Young Men's Christian Association in Foochow (Fig 105) by Shattuck & Hussey Architects. Apart from Colonial style, there also appeared Neoclassicism, Queen Anne Revival, Victorian style and Eclecticism. Later in early the 20th century, Sino-Christian Style became popular when it was decided to expend the missionary work by establishing educational and medical service for Chinese common people.



Figure 103 General plan of Fukien Christian University by Henry Murphy (Church 1900-1930b)



Figure 104 Hwa Nan College by Fred H. Trimble from the USA (Church 1900-1930a)



Figure 105 Young Men's Christian Association in Foochow (Dunch 2001)

Chapter 6 Conclusions and Discussion

This academic work tries to understand the participation of veranda in the evolving Western architecture, conclude its effect to foreign and local residents and prove its significance in a larger background of Chinese modernity. This aim has been partially achieved with complete research on the historical and architectural significance in Chapter 3 & 4. However, the case study is not fully developed due to limitation of time to collect more materials on Westerner's attitude to veranda in this city.

More specifically, Chapter 3 introduces general research conclusion concerning interpretation of the colonial architecture. Architectural research should focus on not only the features of one specific style, but also consider more about the relative "human". Certain social elements produce the corresponding architecture. Besides, the system connecting on the construction is also a meaningful subject, which however requires large amount of archival research and systematic conclusion. In the beginning, veranda style was forcibly inserted in to local landscape to announce the specific existence in the unfamiliar society, or a different world from the West. Since local authorities in China were not taken down by the Imperialists except several colonies, conversion of Chinese attitude to the West helped the popularise the veranda style.

Chapter 4 introduces and understands the historical significance of veranda style in Foochow, the most self-contained one of the first five international trade ports in China. Local people initially resented veranda and the Western power represented by this architectural space, which was proofed by several incidents between local residents and foreign people. However, the ignorance of local customs also escalated the collision, which was learnt by missionaries to erect buildings in mock-Chinese style and offer free service to poor people. Resentment at Western culture further dissipated after government's advocacy in the Self-Strengthening Movement, where advanced industrial buildings were in Western style. Native taste gradually accepted the veranda

and considered it as a symbol of modernity. In Foochow, most of the existing buildings in veranda style were built by the natives in the 20th century.

Chapter 5 introduces the evolution of veranda style in a general national background and in a narrower scale of Foochow, combined with the historical background in the previous chapter. Veranda was firstly a nostalgic symbol of British colonists in India and Dutch colonists in East Indies. But it then became a symbol of colonial society following the extension of British sovereignty. The veranda first appeared in the trade port in Southern China, without connection to local society. But as the Western culture attracted excessive attention, it was even borrowed to defend the Japanese invasion in a national context. Conditions in Foochow was not so complicated, because of the mentioned self-retained thought, in other words, the deep-rooted cultural identity. The development of veranda style in Foochow seemed to have no connection with the native city opposite the river.

Chapter 6 attempts to discuss influences of veranda on Foochow local buildings, based on the example of two generations of British consul's residence and the servants' quarters. In spite of the decades of development of Western styles in Nantai or the summer resort of Kuliang, buildings in the walled, native city only received a localised Western influence, mainly on decoration details. The general layout, however, remained inherent with Confucian requirements. Combination of the veranda with local taste is achieved by directly adding a Chinese roof over a Western structure, or by constructing with local materials and elements, however the veranda space was no difference from a Western one. In generally, almost no attempts to establish an eclectic style had profound repercussions, which was also the common case in the whole country, apart from several major cities.

As Hsia maintains, the veranda style in East Asia was a phenomenon of colonial modernity that the European standards were imposed on a society within a short time without

awareness or reflection. The result of such instant exertion has two-sided influences which made colonies or foreign settlement different from other places. As a unique instance of trade ports, further analysis on the relationship between Western architecture and the social development of Foochow remains to be done.

As for the British consulate in Foochow, more archival materials need to be collected to answer more detailed questions? Who were the consul's residence built for? Apart from consul himself, did Major Crossman design to make a deliberate gesture on somebody else? Were they Chinese populace and Mandarins, or foreign residents including diplomats of other countries? How did the Western supervisor and Chinese contractor collaborate to complete the construction with minimal expenditure, which was repeated by the lords in London? All these questions are also applicable to other consulates in East Asia.

List of Figures

Figure 1 Map of Foochow in 1880s, consisting of the garrison city on the north, the commercial district on the north riverbank and the opposite foreign settlement.....	2
Figure 2 Perspective of Fukien Christian University by Murphy & Dana Architects.....	3
Figure 3 The Tree of Architecture	9
Figure 4 Church building transforming the traditional gable as its façade, Fuqing, Fujian.....	11
Figure 5 The church building combining native roof and Gothic windows, Hua Deng, Fujian.....	11
Figure 6 The second consul's residence at Foochow, 1848.....	19
Figure 7 Tea and silk routes ca. 1850	20
Figure 8 Territories controlled by the Taiping in 1854	22
Figure 9 Illustration of veranda, terrace and balcony	24
Figure 10 Original plan, an illustration of the chauyari and the curvilinear-roofed banggolo	25
Figure 11 The adapted "bungalow" for Europeans residents, with a partitioned veranda.....	26
Figure 12 Domestic space: evolution of ground plans.....	27
Figure 13 Semi-private area: uses for the veranda.....	27
Figure 14 Colonial space in Cawnpore: civil station, cantonment and city, 1931.....	28
Figure 15 Development of Veranda Style in China.....	30
Figure 16 Canton Harbour and Factories with Foreign Flags, c. 1805	31
Figure 17 View of the front of the hong's at Canton, after 1807	31
Figure 18 View of Factories, 1939-1840.....	32
Figure 19 The Thirteen Hong's, c. 1852	32
Figure 20 Cadastral map of Shameen, the foreign settlement in Canton.....	33
Figure 21 The Custom House, Canton (1916)	33
Figure 22 The Bund, Shanghai in 1849, 1894 & 2012, marked with the site of Custom House ...	34
Figure 23 Pavilion in Haishan Xianguan ("Wonderland of Sea & Mountains"), Canton	35
Figure 24 Flagstaff House, Hong Kong (1846)	37
Figure 25 The office of Russell & Co., the earliest building (1850) remaining in the Bund	37
Figure 26 No. 136, Hankou Rd, Shanghai (unclear).....	38
Figure 27 Imperial Bank of China (1897).....	38
Figure 28 Shanghai Land Investment Co. (1908).....	39
Figure 29 Assembly workshop and drawing office of Foochow Arsenal (1885)	40
Figure 30 Haiyan Tang of the Xiyang Lou, Old Summer Palace.....	41
Figure 31 Former Kaichi School in Matsumoto, Japan (1876).....	42
Figure 32 Front Elevation of the hall of War Department, Peking (1907)	42
Figure 33 Ground floor plan of the hall of War Department	42
Figure 34 Decoration details on the façade of the hall of War Department.....	43
Figure 35 The main hall in the office of Jilin-Changchun sub-province (1908).....	44
Figure 36 Yang Amiao residence in Quanzhou	45
Figure 37 Mansion of Be Biau Tjoan, a Minnan magnate in Indonesia	46

Figure 38 Chinatown in Singapore.....	47
Figure 39 Sun Yat-sen Memorial, Singapore (1901).....	47
Figure 40 Four variants of veranda plans in Minnan.....	48
Figure 41 Ground floor plan of a Western residence in Quanzhou.....	49
Figure 42 Verandas inserted into a traditional courtyard.....	50
Figure 43 The façade with Islamic influences in Quanzhou.....	51
Figure 44 The façade with Islamic influences in Philippines.....	51
Figure 45 Hai Tian Tang Gou Mansion in Amoy, combined with Minnan Style (1920s).....	52
Figure 46 Former Shanghai Municipal Hall, combined with Chinese Official Style (1933).....	52
Figure 47 Central Institutional Church in downtown(1938), with a traditional profile of gable....	53
Figure 48 Sketch of dormitory of Fukien Christian University (1924).....	54
Figure 49 Sketch of Foochow Christian Union Hospital (1937).....	54
Figure 50 Bungalow of the Bathgate & Company at Kuliang.....	55
Figure 51 Family gathering in bungalow at Kuliang.....	56
Figure 52 Custom House and Bund, Foochow, 1913.....	58
Figure 53 The rebuilt Custom House in 2017 (screenshot from Baidu Map).....	58
Figure 54 Map of Foochow (foreign settlement) in 1891.....	59
Figure 55 Satellite imagery of Nantai district in 2000 (screenshot from Google Earth).....	60
Figure 56 Satellite imagery in 2019, marked with the historic conservation areas.....	61
Figure 57 General views of river front in 1860s, 1900s and 2006.....	62
Figure 58 Rendering of the recent (from 2016) renovation project.....	63
Figure 59 Sketch Map of Kuliang Settlement, published by Kuliang Council.....	63
Figure 60 The Bund (a), Foochow in 1860s.....	64
Figure 61 The Bund (west half), Foochow in 1860s.....	64
Figure 62 Map of commercial zone in 1868.....	65
Figure 63 Sassoon & Company in c.1870 (with the permission of British Library).....	67
Figure 64 A cartoon about bungalow as a product of cultural differences.....	68
Figure 65 The residence of "Rev Hamilton" in 1895.....	69
Figure 66 Main hall of Tao-shan-kuan Temple.....	69
Figure 67 Former estate of American Board Mission (façade).....	70
Figure 68 Former estate of American Board Mission (Chinese gable).....	70
Figure 69 One estate of Jardine, Matheson & Company.....	71
Figure 70 Bull, Purdon & Company in 1860s, with the highlighted arcade.....	72
Figure 71 Bull, Purdon & Company in c.1895 (with the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library).....	72
Figure 72 First Dwelling-House built by the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1855.....	73
Figure 73 Veranda enclosed by shutters and lathing (with the permission of British Library).....	74
Figure 74 Classical details on Russell & Company (with the permission of British Library).....	75
Figure 75 The wider doorway in the centre of the building of Dent & Company.....	75
Figure 76 St John's Chapel, dedicated for the international community (1858).....	76
Figure 77 Plan of St John's Chapel, Foochow by Thomas L. Walker in 1858.....	77

Figure 78 German consulate in Foochow	78
Figure 79 The previous residence on the site of American consulate.....	79
Figure 80 American consulate in Foochow	79
Figure 81 the site of American consulate before and after	80
Figure 82 CMS (Church Mission Society) Girls School, Foochow (With the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library).....	81
Figure 83 Plan of the CMS Grils School, Foochow, with verandas marked (With the permission of Church Mission Society and Cadbury Research Library).....	81
Figure 84 Fancy dress ball at the British consulate	82
Figure 85 The enclosure of British consulate and the Foochow Club in late C19	83
Figure 86 The new British consul's residence completed in 1868	84
Figure 87 Consular office, Consul's Residence and the Foochow Club House (from left to right) in 1860s.....	86
Figure 88 The old consul's residence from southeast before 1862	86
Figure 89 The old consul's residence from northwest (with the permission of British Library).....	87
Figure 90 The south elevation of the Queens House invented by Inigo Jones in 1639.....	87
Figure 91 The consular office and assistants' residence renovated in 1865.....	91
Figure 92 Design for the consul's residence in Foochow by Major Crossman.....	92
Figure 93 Vase-shaped balustrade of Canton folk houses.....	93
Figure 94 Balustrade parapet over the main entrance of the consul's residence	93
Figure 95 Latticed window in Canton folk houses.....	94
Figure 96 Vent coverage on the façade of the consul's residence.....	94
Figure 97 Plans of servants' quarters and stables in the British consulate.....	95
Figure 98 Façade of the servants' quarters	95
Figure 99 Chinese roofing over a Western structure	97
Figure 100 Qunxian Hall, Xiamen University	97
Figure 101 The semi-open veranda in the Lin Sen Mansion (photographed by author).....	98
Figure 102 The enclosed veranda in the Lin Sen Mansion (photographed by author).....	99
Figure 103 General plan of Fukien Christian University by Henry Murphy	100
Figure 104 Hwa Nan College by Fred H. Trimble from the USA.....	101
Figure 105 Young Men's Christian Association in Foochow.....	101

Reference

- 1870a. Fluss bei Fu-Tcheu [River at Foochow]. Photographer: Unknown.
- 1870b. Fremden Wohnungen in Fu-Tcheu [Foreign residences in Foochow]. Photographer: Unknown.
- 1870c. Fu Tscheu von der Wasserseite I [Foochow from the waterfront, no. 1]. Photographer: Unknown. British Library.
- 1870d. Grosse Brücke über den Min bei Fu-Tcheu [the great bridge over the Min River at Foochow]. Photographer: Unknown.
1874. The Directory & chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay states, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c. *Directory and chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay states, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c.* Hongkong: The Hongkong Daily Press Office.
1906. Postcards printed with photos of the German Consulate in Fuzhou issued in the late Qing Dynasty or the Republic of China. Amoy xiaocheng jiuying.
1909. *The Directory & Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, &c: With which are Incorporated "The China Directory" and "The Hong Kong List for the Far East"*. Hongkong daily Press office.
1925. 'Sketch Map of Kuliang [鼓嶺] Settlement Published by Kuliang Council'.
1963. Guangzhou wailang shi shenghuo jian (the veranda style complex building at Guangzhou). *Architectural Journal* (05), p. 27.
1999. *Fuzhou shi Jiaoqu zhi (Chorography of the Suburban District, Fuzhou City)*. Fujian Education Publishing House.
- 2019a. Guangzhou shi lishi jianzhu xiushan tuze (Illustrated Guidance of Guangzhou Historic Buildings Renovation). In: SCUT, A.D.R.I.o. ed. Guangzhou Municipal Housing and Urban-Rural Development Bureau.
- 2019b. Mission Photograph Album - China #14 page 0169. *UMC Digital Galleries*. General Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church.
- 2019c. Mission Photograph Album - China #16 page 0065. General Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church.
- 2019d. The River Min and the Great Bridge, Foochow, China, 1895. View of... @gettyimages.
- @Alamy. 2019. Stock Photo - Cawnpore/Kanpur town city plan. Key buildings Cantonment. British India 1931 map. @Alamy.
- Addis, B. 2014. Editorial. *Construction History* 29(2), pp. i-v.

Asia, U. B. f. C. H. E. i. 1882-1977. Typical Dormitory at Fukien. *Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia*. Foochow, China: Divinity Library.

Banerjee, J. 2009. The Winter Smoking Room, Cardiff Castle, South Wales, by William Burges. In: 9d.jpg ed. The Victorian Web.

Bruce, M. 1846. File:Flagstaff House.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. In: House.jpg, F. ed. *image/jpeg*. Hong Kong Museum of Art.

Buchanan, F. 1838. State of Arts and Commerce in Dinajpoor. In: Martin, R.M. ed. *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India: In Relation to their Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Fine Arts, Population, Religion, Education, Statistics, etc.: Volume 2: Bhagulpoor, Goruckpoor, and Dinajepoor*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 922-996.

Bureau, F. U. a. R. P. 2013. *Yantai shan lishi wenhua fengmao qu, Gongyuan lu lishi jianzhu qun, Machang jie lishi jianzhu qun baohu guihua gongshi gao (Draft of conservation plan for Yantai Mountain, Gongyuan Path and Machang Street historic areas)*. Wikisource. Available at: <https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E7%83%9F%E5%8F%B0%E5%B1%B1%E5%8E%86%E5%8F%B2%E6%96%87%E5%8C%96%E9%A3%8E%E8%B2%8C%E5%8C%BA%E3%80%81%E5%85%AC%E5%9B%AD%E8%B7%AF%E5%8E%86%E5%8F%B2%E5%BB%BA%E7%AD%91%E7%BE%A4%E3%80%81%E9%A9%AC%E5%8E%82%E8%A1%97%E5%8E%86%E5%8F%B2%E5%BB%BA%E7%AD%91%E7%BE%A4%E4%BF%9D%E6%8A%A4%E8%A7%84%E5%88%92%E5%85%AC%E7%A4%BA%E7%A8%BF> [Accessed: 11.27].

Campbell, C. The Elevation of the Queens House to the Park at Greenwich Invented by Inigo Jones 1639... - National Maritime Museum. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.

Cartier, C. L. 1992. *Mercantile cities on the South China coast : Ningbo, Fuzhou, and Xiamen, 1840-1930 / Cartier, Carolyn Lee*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms International.

CHS. 2014. *WHAT IS CONSTRUCTION HISTORY?* Available at: <http://www.constructionhistory.co.uk/about-construction-history-society/construction-history/> [Accessed].

Church, B. o. M. o. t. M. E. 1900-1930a. Mission Photograph Album - China #2 page 0055. The General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church.

Church, B. o. M. o. t. M. E. 1900-1930b. Mission Photograph Album - China #9 page 0211. *Mission Photograph Album - China #9*. The General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church.

CMS. 1895-1901. Album of photographs relating to Japan, China, Canada, Africa, Middle East, England. *Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers*. Cadbury Research Library.

CMS. 1898-1906. Photograph album of Miss M. E. Kirby, CEZMS missionary 1898-1906. *Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers*. Cadbury Research Library.

CMS. c 1909-1950. Photographs of CMS Girls' School Foochow. *Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers*. Cadbury Research Library.

Coomans, T. and Cui, J. 2016. From Western-Christian to Sino-Christian: Architecture as Tool of Insulturation in China, 1919-1939. *History of Architecture* (02), pp. 190-200.

Coomans, T. and Xu, Y. 2016. *Building Churches in Northern China. A 1926 Handbook in Context*. Beijing: Intellectual Property Rights Publishing House.

DaoYeJun. 2016. The building at No. 126, Hankow Rd. @atwikijp.

Dong, S. 2001. *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*. HarperCollins.

Dongqi, Z. et al. 2013. The Variation Characteristics Analysis and Data Processing on Temperature Data over 100 Years in Fuzhou. *Advances in Meteorological Science and Technology* 3(05), pp. 52-55.

Doolittle, J. and Hood, E. P. 1868. *Social Life of the Chinese: A Daguerreotype of Daily Life in China*. London: S. Low, Son, and Marston.

Drew, E. B. 190-? Foochow club. *Edward Bangs Drew Collection*. Harvard-Yenching Library.

Dunch, R. 2001. *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927*. Yale University Press.

EM. 2016. *Were there shops on the mountain one hundred years ago?* Guling – Kuliang. Available at: <http://www.guling-kuliang.com/were-there-shops-on-the-mountain-one-hundred-years-ago/> [Accessed.

EM. 2019. *Short introduction to Kuliang*. Guling – Kuliang. Available at: <http://www.guling-kuliang.com/short-introduction-to-kuliang-%e9%bc%93%e5%b2%ad%e7%9a%84%e5%8e%86%e5%8f%b2/> [Accessed.

Ermiaoxuan. 1940s. Tang Xi: xiangjiao yu gujie fangxiang de shenzhai dayuan, wo geng xihuan Yantai shan de kaifang yu xihua (Xi Tang: I prefer the openness and Westernisation on Mount Yantai, to the grand residential complex in the native city). In: Cangqian, G.v.o.M. ed. Lihan, Wang.

Fairbank, J. K. 1953. *Trade and diplomacy on the China coast: the opening of treaty ports, 1842-1854*. Cambridge: Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Fang, Y. 1995. Influences of British architecture in China: Shanghai and Tientsin 1843-1943.

Fischer, J. P. 2012. File:2012 Bund Shanghai.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. Wikimedia Commons.

Fletcher, B. 1961. *A history of architecture on the comparative method*. 17th ed., / rev. by R.A. Cordingley. ed. New York: New York : Scribner.

Fuhe, Z. 2004. *The Modern Architectural History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s*. Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

Fujimori, T. and Zhang, F. 1993. The veranda style: the starting point of Chinese modern architecture. *Architectural Journal* (05), pp. 33-38.

GnuDoyng. 2010. File:Flower lane church 2010.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*. Fuzhou, China: own work.

- Gong, G. 2006. *A Research into the Development of the Contemporary Port Economy of Fujian*. PhD, Fujian Normal University.
- Heritage, F. A. 2019. *Yantai shan jindai jianzhu qun (Modern Buildings at Yantai Mountain)*. FZCUO. Available at: <http://www.fzcuo.com/index.php?doc-view-1558.html> [Accessed: 11.27].
- Hoare, J. 2014. *Embassies in the East : the story of the British and their embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the present*. London : Routledge.
- Hsü, I. C. Y. 1954. The Secret Mission of The Lord Amherst on The China Coast, 1832. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17(1/2), pp. 231-252. doi: 10.2307/2718132
- Huang, H.-Y. 2010. *Going native: British diplomatic, judicial and consular architecture in China (1867-1949)*. University of Sheffield.
- Izumida, H. 1990. Early British Diplomatic and Consular Buildings in East Asia (1). *JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS OF JAPAN* 15, pp. 93-104. doi: 10.24574/jsahj.15.0_93
- Izumida, H. 1991. Early British Diplomatic and Consular Buildings in East Asia (2). *JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS OF JAPAN* 16, pp. 78-91. doi: 10.24574/jsahj.16.0_78
- Izumida, H. 1997. Changing European life style in Asia and the birth of the verandah house アジア在住ヨーロッパ人の居住適応とヴェランダ式住居の誕生. 35, pp. 9-30.
- Izumida, H. 2003. A Study on British Architects in East and Southeast Asia: 1830 - 1940. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering* 2(2), pp. b131-b136. doi: 10.3130/jaabe.2.b131
- Jiang, X. 2008. "si gang" de fuhuo: yige guojia de shijiao (Revival of a "Dead Port": a national viewpoint). *Journal of Fuzhou University(Philosophy and Social Sciences)* (03), pp. 5-9+112.
- Joelador. 2013. File:Maria Ledesma Golez Ancestral House, Silay City, Negros Occidental.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. In: Maria Ledesma Golez Ancestral House, S.C., Negros Occidental.jpg ed. *image/jpeg*. own work.
- King, A. D. 1974. The colonial bungalow-compound complex: a study in the cultural use of space. *Journal of Architectural Research* 3(2), pp. 30-43.
- King, A. D. 1976. *Colonial urban development : culture, social power and environment*. London: London : Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- King, A. D. 1984. *The bungalow : the production of a global culture*. London: London : Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kirby, J. 1966. The Foochow Anti-Missionary Riot August 30, 1878. *The Journal of Asian Studies (pre-1986)* 25(4), p. 665. doi: 10.2307/2051497
- Lai, D. 1994. guanyu Zhongguo jindai jianzhu jiaoyu shi de ruogan ziliao (historical data about architectural education in modern China). *South Architecture* (03), pp. 8-9.

- Lai, D. 2009. Liang Sicheng "jianzhu keyi lun" zhiqian de Zhongguo shijian (practices in China before Sicheng Liang's "architectural translatability"). *Architect* (01), pp. 22-30.
- Lai, D. et al. 2016. *Zhong guo jin dai jian zhu shi (History of Chinese Modern Architecture)*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.
- Lane-Poole, S. and Dickins, F. V. 1894. *The life of Sir Harry Parkes, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., sometime Her Majesty's minister to China and Japan*. London, New York: Macmillan and co.
- Legolas1024. 2019. File:Aerial view of Former Shanghai Municipal Hall/now Shanghai University of Sport.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*. own work.
- Li, X. 2015. *Study on Restoration Design of th former American Consulate in Fuzhou*. master, Huaqiao University.
- Li, Y. 1992. Shengguang si gong'an bianxi (Discrimination of Shen-kuang-szu Incident). *Historical Research* (06), pp. 70-79.
- Lindsay, H. H. and Gu'tzlaff, K. F. A. 1834. *Report of proceedings on a voyage to the northern ports of China, in the ship Lord Amherst. Extracted from papers, printed by order of the House of commons, relating to the trade with China*. London: B. Fellowes.
- Lith., H. S. c1880. City of Foochow. In: Office, F. ed. *Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office (FO)*. St Martins Lane, W.C.: The National Archives (TNA).
- Liu, Y. 2010. cong wailang shi jianzhu kan Zhongguo jindai jianzhu shi yanjiu (1993-2009) (Study on the history of modern Chinese architecture from the perspective of outer corridor architecture (1993-2009)). *2010 nian Zhongguo jindai jianzhu shi guoji yantao hui lunwen ji (International symposium on the history of modern Chinese architecture in 2010)*. Beijing, pp. 9-26,667.
- Liu, Y. 2011. Categorization and Distribution of Verandah Style Architecture in China. *South Architecture* (02), pp. 36-42.
- Liu, Y. 2013. Colonialism and A New Research Paradigm of Modern Chinese Architectural History. *Architectural Journal* (09), pp. 8-15.
- Lyu, Q. 1855. Minsheng zhengzhou yunxiao chashui shu (Memorial on levying taxes of tea transportation and sales). In: Sheng, K. ed. *huangchao jingshi wen xubian (Sequel of the Official Correspondence)*. Wujin: Sibu lou.
- Ma, Y. 2017. *War Department on South Building of the Qing Dynasty Construction Practice Research*. Master, North China University of Technology.
- Macgowan, J. 1897. *Pictures of southern China*. London: Religious Tract Society.
- Maclay, R. S. 1861. *Life among the Chinese : with characteristic sketches and incidents of missionary operations and prospects in China*.
- Matsumura, S. and Bao, M. 2003. Dongya jianzhu shijie erbai nian. dier zhang: Niyang, Ouhua, Gongxue (Two Hundred Years of the East Asian Architecture World. Chapter 2: Pseudo-Western, Europeanisation, Engineering). *Treatises on History of Architecture* 17(01), pp. 232-248+278.

- Michie, A. 1900. *The Englishman in China during the Victorian era, as illustrated in the career of Sir Rutherford Alcock*. Edinburgh [etc.]: W. Blackwood & sons.
- Morrison, G. E. c.1870. 'Album of Hongkong Canton Macao Amoy Foochow'. NII 'Digital Silk Road' / Toyo Bunko.
- Nield, R. 2015. *China's Foreign Places: The Foreign Presence in China in the Treaty Port Era, 1840–1943*. Hong Kong University Press.
- Nield, R. 2018. *Hopes Unrealised: The minor British treaty ports of Wenzhou and Jiangmen* University of Bristol.
- Nilsson, S. Å. et al. 1968. *European Architecture in India, 1750–1850*. Faber.
- OED. 2019. veranda | verandah, n. : Oxford English Dictionary.
- Oswald, J. C. 1860–1890. John C. Oswald's photo-album, volume 1. *China Collection*. London: Archives and Special Collections, SOAS.
- Page, W. 1860–1872. File:COLLECTIE TROPENMUSEUM Het huis van de Majoor der Chinezen Be Biauw Tjoan TMnr 60043635.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. Tropenmuseum.
- Pan, Y. 2014. Revealing a History of Construction behind the Western Facade: Based on an Architect's Memoir of an English House Project Published in 1851. *The Architect* (04), pp. 117–126.
- Peiran, H. 2016. *Cheng chuan li xin : Xianggang cheng shi gui hua fa zhan shi, 1841–2015 (Evolving Legends of the City: A History of Urban Planning in Hong Kong, 1841–2015)*. Zhonghua Book Company (Hong Kong).
- Qiu, Y. 1990. di yi ci yapien zhanzheng zhihou Fuzhou wenti shiliao (Archives on Fuzhou issue after the First Opium War). *Historical Archives* (02), pp. 44–48.
- Re, R. 2017. Taoist temples (original works). *Daoshan guan (Fuzhou, Fujian)* [Online] Available at: http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_50227d3f0102xlv7.html [Accessed].
- Roskam, C. 2019. *Improvised city : architecture and governance in Shanghai, 1843–1937*. Seattle : University of Washington Press.
- Sawa, H. and Lesgasse, J. 1868. Fukushū nandai no zu (Plan of the foreign properties at Foo-Chow). *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*.
- Sengkang. 2006. File:Kreta Ayer Road 2, Oct 06.JPG - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*. own work.
- Sengkang. 2019. File:Sun Yat Sen Nanyang Memorial Hall 5, Aug 06.JPG - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*. own work.
- Sheng, Z. 1962. wailang shi de shenghuo jian (veranda style complex building). *Architectural Journal* (04), p. 31.
- Smith, T. R. 1867–68. On buildings for European occupation in tropical climates, especially India.

Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, pp. 197-208.

Society, C. 1895-1901. Album of photographs relating to Japan, China, Canada, Africa, Middle East, England. *Church Missionary Society Unofficial Papers*. Cadbury Research Library.

Stephen, L. and Lee, S. 1885. *Dictionary of national biography*. London: London : Smith, Elder, & Co.

Tang, L. and Li, Z. 2019. Translation and Transplantation: Zhengshentang as a Sacred Prototype and Pragmatic Collage, Yuankeng Village, Fujian Province. *Heritage Architecture* (01), pp. 99-106.

Taojiang, L. 2007. xianjin shangcun de chuanzheng jianzhu. fzcuo.com.

Tashiro, T. 1992. Guangzhou shisan yiguan yanjiu (Research on the Thirteen Hongs in Canton). In: Ma, X. et al. eds. *The Architectural Heritage of Modern China: Guangzhou*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.

Thomson, J. 2019. Foochow (Fuzhou), China: a church by John Thomson. *wet collodion negatives*. @ExploreWellcome.

Time-137. 2019. File:yue haiguan dalou.jpg - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. In: dalou.jpg, y.h. ed. *image/jpeg*. Wikipedia.

TNA. 1856-1872. Foochowfoo, Church Accounts, etc. Volume 2. *Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office*. The National Archives.

TNA. 1858-1864. Foochowfoo, Church Accounts, etc. Volume 1. *Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office*. The National Archives.

TNA. 1865-1867. Treasury. *Records of the successive Works departments, and the Ancient Monuments Boards and Inspectorate*. The National Archives.

TNA. 1866-1867. China Buildings; reports from Major Crossman. *Records of the successive Works departments, and the Ancient Monuments Boards and Inspectorate*. The National Archives.

TNA. 1867. Consular buildings. Volume 2. *Records created or inherited by the Foreign Office (FO)*. London: The National Archives.

TNA. 1942/43. Foochow: Consular Property. *FO*. China: The National Archives.

TNA. 2019. Canton, Nanking, Amoy, Changsha, Chefoo, Chinkiang, Chingking, Daren, Foochow, Hangchow, Hankow, Ichang, Kirkang, Kiungchew, Kuling, Mukden. *Records of the successive Works departments, and the Ancient Monuments Boards and Inspectorate*. The National Archives.

Tuan, Y. F. 1990. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*. Columbia University Press.

TungHing. 1876. Bridge of Boats. Foo Chow. China. Fuzhou, China: J. Paul Getty Trust.

Tyg728. 2019. File:Yuanmingyuan haiyan.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. In: haiyan.jpg, Y. ed. *image/jpeg*. Wikimedia Commons.

unknown. 1805. Canton Harbor and Factories with Foreign Flags, c. 1805. In: cwC_1805_E78680_Flags.jpg ed. Photo Jeffrey R. Dykes.

unknown. 1807. View of the front of the hong at Canton, after 1807. In: cwC_1807_AH6428_Court1_sc.jpg ed. PEM.

unknown. 1839. View of Factories, 1839-40. In: cwC_1839-40_E81458_AmGarden.jpg ed. Photo Jeffrey R. Dykes.

unknown. 1849. General view of the Bund (painting) - 1849-1850 | Virtual Shanghai. *image/jpeg*.

unknown. 1852. Loading Tea at Canton, ca. 1852. In: cwC_1852c_E83553_Tea.jpg ed. Mark Sexton Photo.

unknown. 1880s. Photograph, 'Few remaining bricks' Foochow' [Fuzhou, China]. *China Collection*. Archives and Special Collections, SOAS.

unknown. 1890s. Photograph, cityscape showing a river, boats and waterfront buildings. *China Collection*. Archives and Special Collections, SOAS.

unknown. 1894. General view of the Bund - 1894 | Virtual Shanghai. In: 1894, G.v.o.t.B.-. ed. *image/jpeg*.

unknown. 1895. Photograph, 'R.W.Mansfield's Fancy Dress Ball. H.B.M. Consulate 22nd March 1895'. *China Collection*. Archives and Special Collections, SOAS.

unknown. 1920-1929. File:Shameen Canton.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. In: Canton.jpg, S. ed. *image/jpeg*. Wikimedia Commons.

unknown. 2009. Fuzhou: 85 sui laoren juan zhengui lao zhaopian, jie xiehe "honglou" wangshi (Fuzhou: 85-year-old donated precious old photos to expose the past of "Red House" in Foochow Christian Union Hospital).

unknown. 2017. Hai Tian Tang Gou Mansion | Kulangsu (Gulangyu). Kulangsuland.org.

unknown. 2018. Wanke jingran zuoqi le lishi fengmao qu guihua baohu? (Vanke actually planned and protected the historical style area?). *Assbook sheji shitang* [Online] Available at: http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI2MTM2MjE0Nw==&mid=2247513780&idx=1&sn=d19655c51a30c0a7c7ad8ef6494e569f&chksm=ea596e38dd2ee72e8028b797022c9e2064f15a1264b66edd230e23b1ae6f0190e6d49d08e143#rd [Accessed: 11-06].

unknown. 2019a. 2A003 - Imperial Bank of China. heritage-architectures.com.

unknown. 2019b. 2A017 - *Shanghai Land Investment Co.* heritage-architectures.com. Available at: [Accessed.

unknown. 2019c. 4A021 - Qichang Hong (Russell & Co.). heritage-architectures.com.

unknown. 2019d. Ji Chang daoyin gongshu. Academy of Architectural Heritage.

unknown. 2019e. Residence of Amiao Yang. newton.com.tw.

unknown. c.1920. Postcards: Fuzhou. You Have Been Upgraded.

Walker, T. 2019. The National Archives.

Wang, Y. 1855. Ying lingshi guan yaoqiu zudi jiangai gongsuo (British consul requested a plot rented for the new consulate). In: Guo, Y. ed. *New Archives on China's Relations with Great Britain, France, America, and Russia (1850-1863)*. Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

Wiiii. 2009. File:Former Kaichi School 2009.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*. own work.

Wilkinson, F. E. and Liu, Y. 1962. The Early Days of the Treaty Ports of Foochow. In: Zheng xie fu jian wen shi zi liao bian ji, s.E.O.i.F.P.C.o.C. ed. *Fu jian wen shi zi liao: Xuan ji (Anthology of Fujian cultural and historical materials)*. Vol. 1. Fuzhou: Fujian People's Publishing House, pp. 137-166.

Wright, A. and Cartwright, H. A. 1908. *Twentieth century impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and other treaty ports of China: their history, people, commerce, industries, and resources*. Lloyds Greater Britain publishing company.

Wu, Q. 2007. *kaibu hou Fuzhou shangye jiequ ji jianzhu yanjiu (a study on commercial areas and buildings in Fuzhou after port opening)*. master, Huaqiao Univeristy.

Xi, T. 2006. Tang Xi: xiangjiao yu gujie fangxiang de shenzhai dayuan, wo geng xihuan Yantai shan de kaifang yu xihua (Xi Tang: I prefer the openness and Westernisation on Mount Yantai, to the grand residential complex in the native city). In: Cangqian, G.v.o.M. ed. Lihan, Wang.

Xinhua. 2017. China Focus: U.S. families trace their history to Chinese village. In: Yi, Y. ed. Xinhuanet.

Xue, Y. 2000. *Fuzhou jindai chengshi jianzhu (modern urban architecture at Foochow)*. master, 同济大学.

Xue, Y. 2004a. 19 shiji xia banye Fuzhou juliudi jianshe gaikuang (construction of foreign settlement in Fuzhou from 1850s to 1900s). *Chinese & Overseas Architecture* (03), pp. 85-87.

Xue, Y. 2004b. Study of the Developement of Foochow Modern Campus. *Fujian Architecture & Construction* (03), pp. 21-23.

yanemon. 2019. Haishan xianguan. baike.com.

Yang, S. 2011. *Analysis of The Cultural Landscape of The Veranda Architecture in Hometown of Minnan Overseas Chinese in Modern Times*. PhD, South China University of Technology.

Yeoh, B. S. A. 1996. *Contesting space : power relations and the urban built environment in colonial Singapore*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Yu, H. 2005. *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu de yimian jingzi - Fuzhou jindai jianzhu yanjiu (a Mirror of Chinese Modern Architecture: Resaerch on Modern Architecture in Fuzhou)*. 硕士, Southeast University.

Zhang, J. 2003. *A study of Christian Architecture in Fuzhou*. master, Fujian Normal University.

Zhangzhugang. 2012. File:Xiamen Daxue 20120226-01.jpg - Wikimedia Commons. *image/jpeg*.

own work.

Zheng, H. 2014. *Research on British Architects in Modern China (1840-1949)*. PhD, Tsinghua University.

Zhihai, C. Historic photograph of Longfeng Xiaozhu. FZCUO.

Zhihai, C. 2011. American consulate in Foochow. FZCUO.

Zhihai, C. 2012. Guling Bailingwei bieshu (House of Arthur Qilliam Billing, Kuliang). In: Billing, V.o.H.o.A.Q. ed.

Zhong, W. and Chi, X. 2015. wangtu yu biancheng: wukou tongshang qianhou Fuzhou cheng zai Qingting shiye zhong de yanbian (Emperor's Land or Frontier City: The Evolution of Fuzhou City in the Qing Dynasty's Perspective Before and After the Five Ports of Commerce). *Journal of Fujian Normal University(Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* (01), pp. 103-109+169-170.

Zolo. 2008. File:Taiping2.PNG - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. In: Taiping2.PNG ed.