

The Foreign Cemetery at Kaohsiung

—一座落於高雄的外國墓園—

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* David Oakley : 英國人，旅居臺灣多年。

(中文摘要)

約自西元 1855 年起，近二世紀的外國禁令被迫鬆綁，外國商人又開始出現於台灣各港市。

當時高雄港，亦稱[打狗]，吸引許多來自歐美從事樟腦、糖及鴉片貿易的商人。西元 1870 年之前，依記載死於高雄的外國人約有 6 人，一般相信皆葬於目前[哨船頭]山坡上一處未登記的小墓園裏，即是目前[十八王公廟]的所在地。

西元 1864 年，郇和 (Robert Swinhoe) 已於[哨船頭]買下一塊地，準備興建英國領事館，但英國政府否絕了這項提案，卻於 1871 年將這塊地的使用權讓與當地的外國社團，做為外國墓園。這篇文章不僅追溯自 1860 年代至今這塊高雄外國墓園的歷史，並探討其複雜且極具爭議性的土地所有權的問題。

西元 1871 年至 1896 年間，有 38 位外國人葬於高雄外國墓園，其中 6 位是[中國海關]的員工，包括一位負責建造[旗後]第一座燈塔，使高雄居民受益良多的[司登得]先生 (George Carter Stent)。而除了 6 位中國海關的員工，另有一位[李麻牧師] (Hugh Ritchie)，他捐出畢生的積蓄，做為南台灣第一所女子學校的創立基金。



日本佔據台灣期間，高雄外國墓園的所有權皆屬於英國政府的，日本政府也全力維護墓園，以示尊重。然而，當中國國民黨統治台灣之初，首先，於西元1950年將高雄外國墓園所有權據為己有，之後又於西元1968年變更地目，關了墓園。在關閉墓園當時，既有之墓碑及遺骸並沒受到妥當的處置及基本的尊重。

整個台灣有四處外國墓園：馬公、基隆、淡水及高雄。馬公墓園關閉於西元1954年，當時，政府很小心地將其墓碑及遺骸移至基隆外國墓園安置。直至今日，基隆及淡水外國墓園皆受到妥善照顧，唯獨高雄墓園幾已被破壞殆盡。

今天，幾乎所有高雄外國墓園的追溯資料已不存在，也很少人知道這塊墓園。然而，暫且不談葬於此墓園的人百年前對台灣究竟有多少貢獻，這些死者，不管男、女或小孩，本應受到基本的尊重。

因此，作者真誠希望高雄當局能找出對策，試圖喚起人們對這些死者的回憶與尊重，並保護葬於高雄外國墓園地底下的死者遺骸，免其續遭破壞。

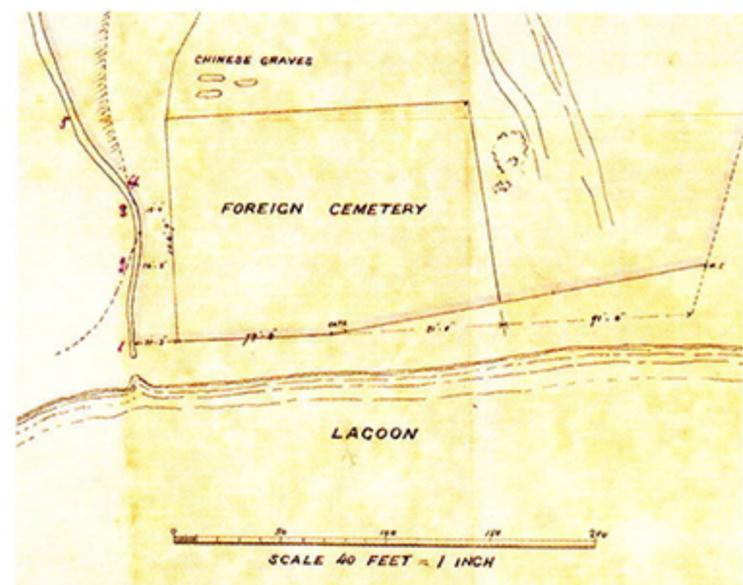
Introduction

From around 1855 foreign traders reappeared in the ports of Taiwan after a two-century ban imposed by the Ching Dynasty began to break down.

The port of Kaohsiung [高雄], then known as Takao or Takow [打狗], attracted camphor, sugar and opium traders from Europe and the Americas; the port of Tamsui [淡水] attracted foreign traders in opium, camphor and tea. Pirates, wreckers, age and disease inevitably took their toll on these foreign traders.

In these early years, prior to 1870, about half a dozen foreign deaths are recorded at Kaohsiung, and it is believed that the bodies were buried in a small graveyard located on the hill at ShaoChuanTou [哨船頭] where the 18 Kings' Temple [十八王公廟] now stands. Yet this graveyard, built on wasteland, had no legal title.

In the late 1860s, as the British government sought to expand and legitimise their rights in China, a previously purchased area of land was ceded to the local foreign community for use as a Foreign Cemetery at Kaohsiung. The plan on the right, from the British Foreign Office files, drawn in 1905, shows the Foreign Cemetery on the shore of the Kaohsiung Lagoon.



Detail from 1905 British Plan
(British Crown Copyright)

Today, almost all traces of the old graveyard have gone and the site is known to few people. However, those men, women and children that lie buried in this cemetery at Takow deserve to be remembered, not least for the contributions they made to Taiwan over 100 years ago.

This article traces the history of the Foreign Cemetery at Kaohsiung from its

beginnings in the 1860s up to the present time, and studies the contentious issue of site ownership.

Swinhoe's Consulate

As with many tales about Takow, this story begins with Robert Swinhoe (鄒和), the eminent Victorian naturalist and British consular official. Swinhoe, aged just 24, had been appointed as the first British consular officer to Taiwan in December 1860, following the Treaty of Tientsin. In June 1861 Vice-Consul Swinhoe arrived at Takow on board HMS Cockchafer and travelled overland from Takow up to Taiwanfu [Tainan, 台南], where he succeeded in opening the first British Consulate on 10 July 1861. Swinhoe then moved the consulate up to Tamsui in late 1861, where he believed there was a better prospect for trade.

However, in early 1864 the British Foreign Office sent Swinhoe down to Takow once more, with orders to establish the British Consulate in that port. Arriving at Takow in September 1864, Swinhoe succeeded in setting up the British Deputy Consulate on board Dent & Co's (甸德洋行) receiving ship 'Ternate', upon which the British authorities had taken a six-month lease, in November 1864.¹

In that same month of November 1864, desirous of constructing a proper house at Takow, Swinhoe had used his own



Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877)
(Courtesy Philip Hall)

money to purchase an area of land at ShaoChuanTou that was initially known as the Freshwater Creek (打水灣) Site, Subsequently as a the Consular Plot, and later as the Cemetery Lot. Swinhoe enclosed part of this site with a gated wall and set a watchman inside in preparation for the construction of a consulate that could also serve as a suitable home for himself and his young wife Christina. Yet official permission for the construction of a British Consulate upon the site was never to come, and Swinhoe was forced in May 1865 to rent a house at Chi-hou [旗後], on the southern side of the Takow Lagoon, to house the pregnant Christina and to function as the first shore-based British Consulate at Kaohsiung.²

Alcock's Visit



During the early summer of 1867, Sir Rutherford Alcock, the newly appointed British Minister to China, made an inspection tour of the southern Treaty Ports accompanied by Major W Crossman, a British government surveyor.

Alcock reported to Lord Stanley at the British Foreign Office in London that the Freshwater Creek site chosen for a Consulate by Swinhoe was 'inconveniently situated, unapproachable by boat from the shoal water and difficult to access by land'. Major Crossman agreed with this assessment, adding that the site was 'far removed from the quarter where the [trade at Takow] is carried on'. The watchman at the site was therefore discharged and plans to construct a consulate at Takow put aside until some ten years later. The British contented themselves with leasing a large building, known as the MacPhail (天利洋行) building, as Consulate at Chi-hou, then the focus of the Takow trade.³

In his report to the Foreign Office, Alcock remarked that the Freshwater Creek site 'might make a convenient cemetery and seems fit for nothing else'. He added that he had 'authorised ... the Acting Consul [Charles Carroll] to offer it to the small community

as the Government's contribution to a cemetery if they chose to undertake all farther expenses to make it fit for the purpose and maintain it in good order'.⁴

A few days before Alcock had arrived at Takow in June 1867, the body of an American officer, Lt. Cmdr. Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, Jr., had been brought to Takow for burial. Although it is most probable that Mackenzie 'was buried with full military honors in the garden of the British Consul', presumably in the grounds of the leased McPhail building, as related in US Navy records, it is also possible that he was buried in a small cemetery that is believed to have existed on the hill at ShaoChuanTou where the Eighteen Kings' Temple now stands, as implied by Pickering who was present at the time⁵. Little is known about this earlier graveyard but the graves there seem to have been relocated in early 1877 to the Takow Foreign Cemetery. As for Mackenzie's remains, they were retrieved by an American warship in 1869 and taken back to the United States.

After the departure of Sir Rutherford Alcock, Acting Consul Carroll issued the following Consular Notification:

"The undersigned, having pointed out to H. M. Minister [Alcock] the want experienced at this port of a proper and fitting burial ground, has been directed to inform the Community that Sir Rutherford Alcock is prepared to recommend Her Majesty's Government to cede as a gift to them the piece of ground known as the Consular Site on the Takao side, on condition that the place shall be kept in decent order and a small mortuary chapel built therein.

The undersigned would be glad to know if the Community is prepared to accept the ground on the above terms.

(signed) Chas. Carroll"⁶

However, Carroll was to soon leave Takao and problems over the camphor trade and the missionary activities in Taiwan during 1868 soon pre-occupied his successors and the traders. As a result, it seems that the Takao foreign community did not take up this offer until several years later.

Consul Hewlett

In November 1870, the British Acting-Consul Archer R Hewlett took up the matter of the proposed cemetery again with the local foreign community by holding a Public Meeting at Takao. At this meeting a Committee was formed to proceed with the establishment of a Foreign Burial ground under the terms originally stipulated by Sir Rutherford Alcock.

On 10 March 1871, the Committee, whose members were Dr James Laidlaw Maxwell, William Cartwright and Allan Weatherhead Bain, reported back to Acting Consul Hewlett as follows:

"Sir,

Having reference to the proceedings at a Public Meeting held under your presidency in November [1870], we have the honor to forward the enclosed statement of the monies contributed, chiefly by the Foreign Residents at this port and Taiwanfu, for the construction of a public burial ground at Takow.

The Chinese contractor here has offered to undertake and complete the necessary works for \$350. The terms of his contract involve the levelling and preparation of the ground, the building of a surrounding wall which has a circumference

a Foreign Burial ground at Takow	
Ellis & Co	\$ 50
A. W. Bain	10
W. Cartwright	10
W. H. Saylor	10
Hugh Ritchie	10
Sait & Co	50
J. C. Masson	10
H. K. Jones	10
D. Muller	50
P. L. Warren	10
"Hammoma"	5
First Mate	2
"Candace"	5
"Alerta"	5
"Vondel"	10
"Rio de la Plata"	5
"Alphon"	5
A. Laurent	10
J. P. Launderson	5
D. Manson	10
J. L. Mannell	10
A. R. Hewlett	10
P. F. da Silva	10
R. J. Lent	10
	<hr/>
	Total \$ 322
(signed) Allan W. Bain	

1871 Donation List
(British Crown Copyright)

of about 53 chang^a, the erection of a bamboo shed to serve as quarters for the guardian, and the laying of a brick way through the centre of the allotment. Another \$30 will subsequently be required for covering the enclosure with turf. The sum already subscribed - \$322 — is now in Mr Bain's hands, and we anticipate little difficulty in raising the remainder.

We beg that you will inform us whether building operations may be commenced on the ground Her Majesty's Government are disposed to cede for this purpose.

Dr Maxwell who was also appointed a member of the Committee is, as you are aware, away from the island at the present time.

We are, Sir, your most obedient servants
(signed) William Cartwright; Allan W Bain.

Members of the Committee.”⁷

By 16 April 1871, Acting Consul Hewlett was able to make a formal request to the new British Minister at Peking, Thomas Francis Wade, that a portion of the original Consular Plot at Freshwater Creek, measuring 144 feet by 81 feet, be transferred to the foreign community for use as a Foreign Cemetery, despite there being insufficient funds to construct a mortuary chapel, as originally stipulated by Sir Rutherford Alcock. Hewlett also noted in his despatch to Wade that “one interment had taken place on this ground previous to my arrival [20 January 1870] and (that) there are now three graves there”.⁸



1882 Photograph of Wickham's Grave
(Courtesy Lambert van der Aalsvoort)

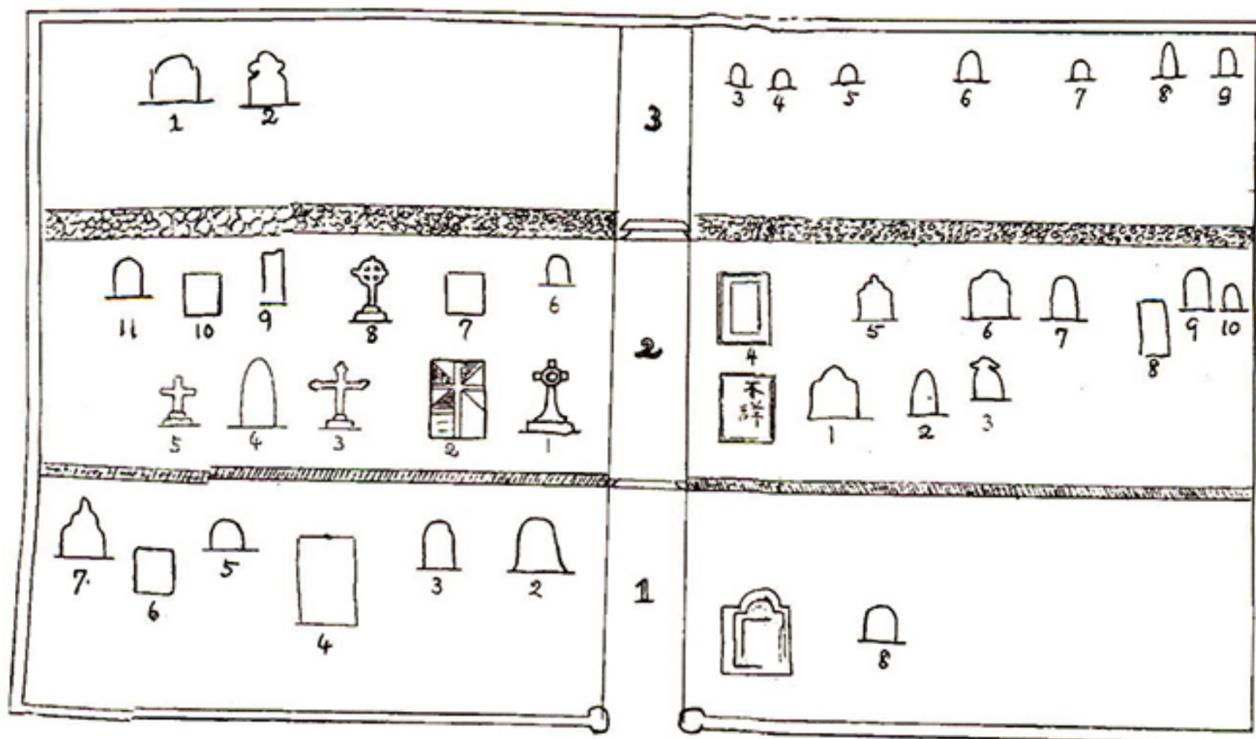
^a Chang [丈] is a Chinese measure, equivalent to approximately 10 feet or 3 metres.

The work carried out by the contractor to prepare the site for use as a Foreign Cemetery can be partially observed in the 1882 photograph on the left. The site was divided into three horizontal levels across the hillside with a path running through the centre of the graveyard and up the hill. The photograph on the left, actually depicting Benjamin Wickham's grave, is taken on the second level, and clearly shows the wall retaining the third level and the steps between the levels two and three. Although the steps and the two levels survive to this day, all traces of the graves shown in the photograph have disappeared beneath various constructions.

Thus, from 1871 a section of the Freshwater Creek Consular plot, purchased by Swinhoe in 1864, became the Foreign Cemetery at Kaohsiung.

Foreign Cemetery Burials

Burials were conducted at the Foreign Cemetery until shortly after the start of Japanese rule in 1895. The best record of the burials comes from a list prepared in 1925 by an employee of Samuel, Samuel & Co⁹, which enclosed the following plan of the cemetery layout:



1925 Plan of Layout of Graves at Takow Foreign Cemetery
(British Crown Copyright)



As has been described above and can be seen on the plan, the graveyard was surrounded by a wall and divided into three levels, with the entrance gate being onto the first level and on the shore of the Kaohsiung Lagoon. Using the above plan, the graves can be identified, showing the name and any additional recorded data, as follows¹⁰:

LEVEL 3 (North)		
Left (or West) of Path		
1	John BELL	A Baltimore-born steward on board the American barque 'Charlotte Ann Littlefield', who died from tuberculosis at Takao on 19 September 1880.
2	William HOPKINS	An Irish seaman from the barque 'West Glen', who drowned while crossing the sandbar at Takow on 20 July 1880, aged 24.
Right (or East) of Path		
3	I. MILLIS	Died 1875.
4	H. ANDERSON	
5	J. JOSEPHSON	
6	Charles NEWMAN	A British stoker from the British Royal Navy ship 'HMS Dwarf', who drowned while trying to cross the Takao lagoon on a catamaran on 3 December 1871.
7	J. ANDERSON	Died 1871.
8	Catharina Maria KOORDERS	
9	Asmus Friedrich ASMUSSEN	Probably the grave of a Norwegian sailor who drowned at Takao in 1873, after jumping overboard from his ship.
LEVEL 2		
Left (or West) of Path		
1	Mary Donnithorne WARREN	The wife of the British Consul, (Sir) Pelham Laird WARREN. She died of 'drain poisoning' at the British Consular Residence at Takao on 14 January 1884, aged 33.
2	John William HARWOOD	A British trader who died of Bright's Disease at Takao on 3 August 1880, aged 40 years.
3	Charles Henry VOSTEEN	The infant son of (Captain) Hermann and Emma VOSTEEN, who died on 30 June 1884, aged 16 months.
4	George Carter STENT	The British Assistant-in-Charge of the Takow Chinese Customs Service, who died on 1 September 1884, aged 50 years.
5	(indistinct)	
6	P C KRAAL	The British, Singapore-born, agent of Elles & Co at Anping, who died on 23 April 1883, aged 35 years.
7	Robert WILSON	A British trader in the employ of Bain & Co, who died at Takao on 11 June 1877, aged 32, after spending 13 years on the south China coast.
8	Benjamin Robert WICKHAM	A British employee of Tait & Co, who died of tuberculosis at the age of 29 on 11 January 1880.
9	Friedrich Wilhelm HULSE	From Hamburg. He died on 19 April 1882, aged 40.
10	Johann EGGERT	From Boesch. Died 19 August 1882.
11	David BROWNE	His gravestone was simply marked 'Sacred to the Memory of David Browne, Tidewaiter, Customs Service'.

Right (or East) of Path		
1	Conway Knox FLETCHER	An Irish Assistant in the Chinese Customs Service, from Dun Laoghaire, who died at Takao on 2 March 1893, aged 23.
2	Alphonse Hermann ROGISTER	A native of Hamburg and Tidewaiter in the Chinese Customs Service, who died at Takao on 17 March 1889, aged 38.
3	Dajibhai Dadabhai OLLIA	A Parsee commission agent for Ollia & Co. Killed in a riot over a camphor dispute at Chushan, Nantou County, at a time of booming camphor prices, on 28 January 1896, aged 61 years.
4	George GUE	A British Tide-Surveyor in the Chinese Customs Service, who died in 1876, aged 39.
5	George J ELIOTT	A British Tidewaiter in the Chinese Customs Service, who died at Takao 9 April 1878, aged 42.
6	August W BOLINCKE	A German Tidewaiter, from Lubeck, in the Chinese Customs Service, who died at Takao on 1 December 1879, aged 32.
7	Claus KROHN	The Klostersande-born Master of the small Anping steam-launch 'SS Sin Taiwan', who died from heart failure aboard his steamer on 20 June 1879.
8	H D J WILBRAND	A Hamburg-born captain, who died in the wreck of the British barque 'Caroline Hutchings', just to the north of Takao, on 24 August 1874.
9	Hugh RITCHIE	The second English Presbyterian missionary to arrive at Takao. He died of fever at Tainan on 29 September 1879, and was buried next to his son in the Takao cemetery.
10	Robert H RITCHIE	The son of Rev Hugh and Eliza Ritchie. He died of dysentery and fever, aged 3, on 23 June 1873.
LEVEL 1 (South)		
Left (or West) of Path		
2	Jacob MEWES	A Hamburg-born sailor aboard the Hamburg schooner 'Chusan', who died in May 1864.
3	T W OHM	Died on 24 September 1886(?).
4	Hans RAWERT	The captain of the Hamburg schooner 'Magto' who was murdered, aged 43, by wreckers on 29 August 1859 after his ship was stranded half a mile north of Takao during a typhoon.
5	[indistinct]	
6	Fernandez de la CRUZ	A (presumably) Manilaman aboard the American barque 'Science' of Robinet & Co. He died at Takao on 13 July 1858.
7	John CLAREY	An Irish gunner aboard Jardine's opium receiving ship 'Pathfinder', who died on 12 August 1863, aged 52 years, having served more than 20 years on the coast of China.
Note: The graves in the above section were probably relocated from an earlier graveyard.		
Right (or East) of Path		
[1]	Mortuary Chapel	The 1925 plan shows the remaining portion, a shrine, of the Mortuary Chapel erected in memory of Mary Warren, who died in 1884.
8	Percy LORD	A British surgeon aboard the Royal Navy ship 'HMS Tweed', who died of fever at Takao on 8 June 1895, aged 29 years.

Although there are many tales attached to the monuments in the graveyard, this article will look at just three. The first two brief stories relate to the graves of George

Carter Stent and the Rev. Hugh Ritchie, who both made particular contributions to south Taiwan; the third relates to the Mortuary Chapel erected in memory of Mary Warren.

George Carter Stent

As his gravestone records, George Carter Stent [司登得] died on 1 September 1884, at the age of 50, while serving as the Acting Commissioner of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs at Kaohsiung.

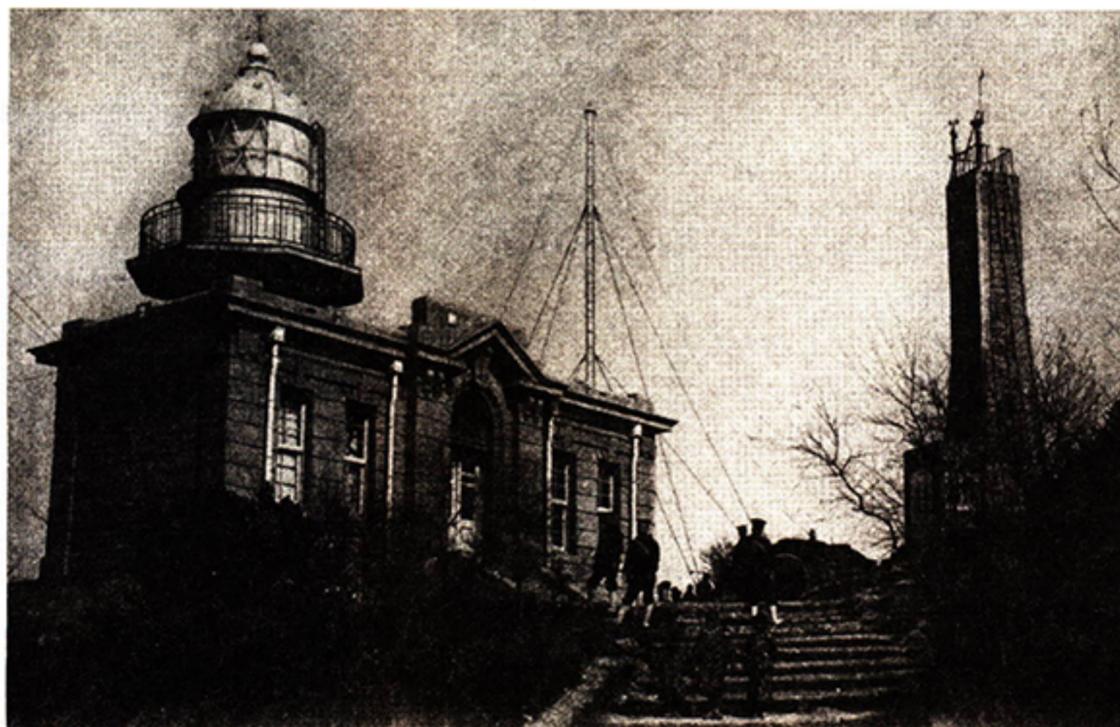
Stent was born in Kent, England, in 1833. After serving in the British army during the Indian Mutiny, Stent came to China to serve in the Peking Legation Guard during the early 1860s. Stent's facility in learning colloquial Chinese attracted the attention of Robert Hart, the British Inspector General of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, who put Stent to work on compiling a Chinese-English Dictionary that was soon on the desk of every Customs employee.



George Carter Stent (1833-1884)
(British Crown Copyright)

Stent rose up through the ranks of the Chinese Customs and, in 1882, was appointed to Kaohsiung.

While serving as Acting-Commissioner at Takow in 1883, George Carter Stent oversaw the construction of the first lighthouse on Saracen's Head at Chi-hou (on the right in the photograph).



1918 Postcard showing Stent's Lighthouse (on right) at Chi-hou.

This was a huge benefit to the safety of mariners on the west coast of Taiwan, and a later lighthouse (shown on the left of the photograph) built by the Japanese remains at the same site today, together with the base of Stent's lighthouse.

Rev. Hugh Ritchie

Hugh Ritchie [李麻牧師], according to his gravestone in the Foreign Cemetery, was born at Millport, Scotland, on 14 September 1840. After studying at the London Missionary Society College, Ritchie was sent out as the third Presbyterian missionary to Taiwan. His predecessor, David Masson, had been swept overboard and drowned shortly before ever reaching Taiwan.

Hugh Ritchie, who had married Eliza



REV. HUGH RITCHIE.

Rev Hugh Ritchie (1840-1879)
(Courtesy English Presbyterian Mission)

Caroline Cooke shortly before his departure from the British Isles, arrived at Takow on 13 December 1867 and joined Dr. James Maxwell at the Mission at Chi-hou. He was just in time for the tumultuous events of 1868, when the local population strongly resisted the proselytising efforts of the foreign missionaries.

Ritchie and his wife raised two sons on Taiwan, including one called Robert Hugh Ritchie, who died at the age of three in 1873 and was buried in the Takow cemetery. Ritchie himself died of fever on 29 September 1879 at the age of 39 and was buried beside his son in the Takow graveyard.

After his death, Ritchie's widow continued their work of promoting the education of women. Eliza Ritchie poured all of the family's savings into the founding of the Tainan Presbyterian Girls' School, which opened in 1887 as the first girls' school in southern Taiwan. Although rebuilt in 1923, the school continues today as the Chang Jung Girls High School [長榮女中].

Mortuary Chapel

The original conditions for the establishment of a Foreign Cemetery on British property, as stipulated by Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1867, included the provision that a Mortuary Chapel be erected. Although the Committee had earlier been unable to raise the money, the tragic death in 1884 of Mary Warren, the wife of the British Consul Pelham Warren, so saddened the small community that sufficient funds were immediately forthcoming to erect a Mortuary Chapel in her memory.

According to letters from the Warren family, the small Mortuary Chapel so funded was built out of wood; within were a wooden lectern, to hold a Bible for a daily reading of the Bible, and a finely engraved red granite tablet. Upon the tablet the following gilded inscription was carved:

“In Affectionate Remembrance of Mary Donnithorne Warren, Wife of Pelham Laird

Warren, H.B.M.'s Acting Consul, whose death on the 14th Jan, 1884, overshadowed a social happiness and unity she had actively promoted and fostered. The Mortuary Chapel is erected as a Token of Gratitude and Esteem by past and present Residents at Takao and Taiwan-foo.

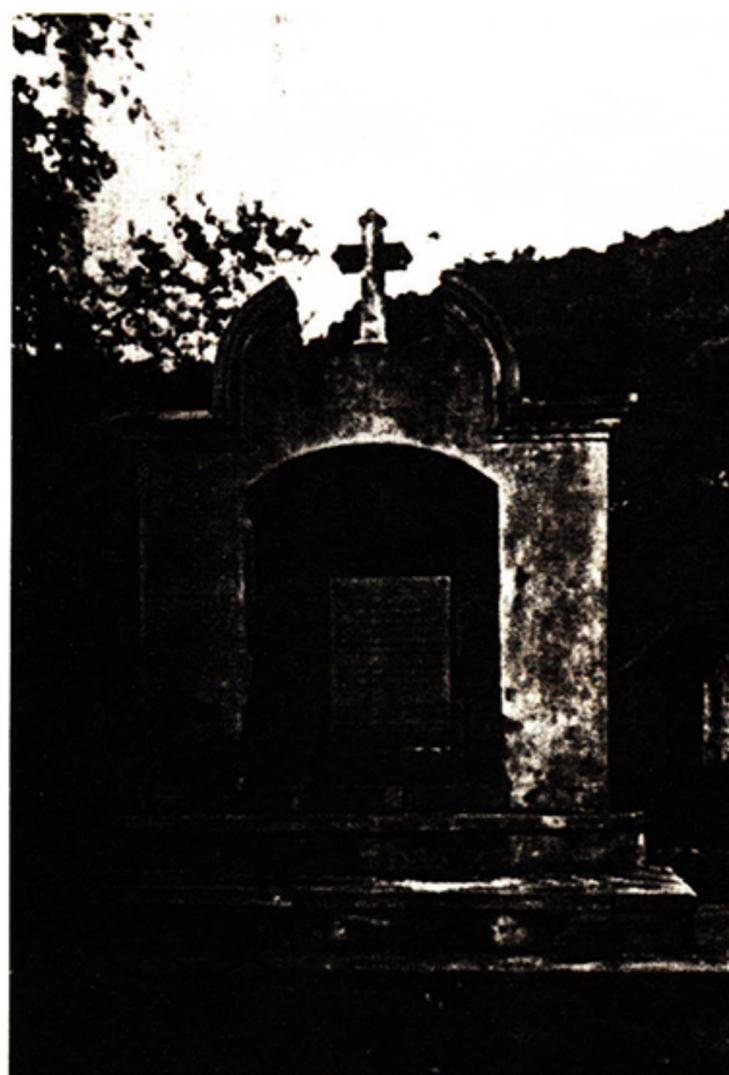
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To those who Impelled by Bereavement come Hither in Future,
This gentle life so honoured in continuance and deplored for its end
still breathes a comfort born of loving memory."

In 1907, the British Acting Consul at Tainan, A R Firth, recorded that the chapel still stood on the site.¹¹ However, by 1910 the small wooden chapel had fallen into ruin. Sir Pelham Warren then requested that the chapel be dismantled and that a shrine be erected to house the inscribed red granite tablet. The shrine was duly erected out of stone, and is shown in the photograph on the right.

In 1915, the wooden lectern from the chapel was discovered in an outhouse of the British Consular Offices at ShaoChuanTou. The lectern is believed to have been sent over the same year to Dorothy Hanwell, the Warrens' daughter, then living in Shanghai, China, who had arrived as a baby at Takow with her mother in 1883.

The shrine survived in reasonable condition until 1958 when the granite tablet was stolen. However the tablet was recovered by the Kaohsiung police and reportedly cemented back into place within

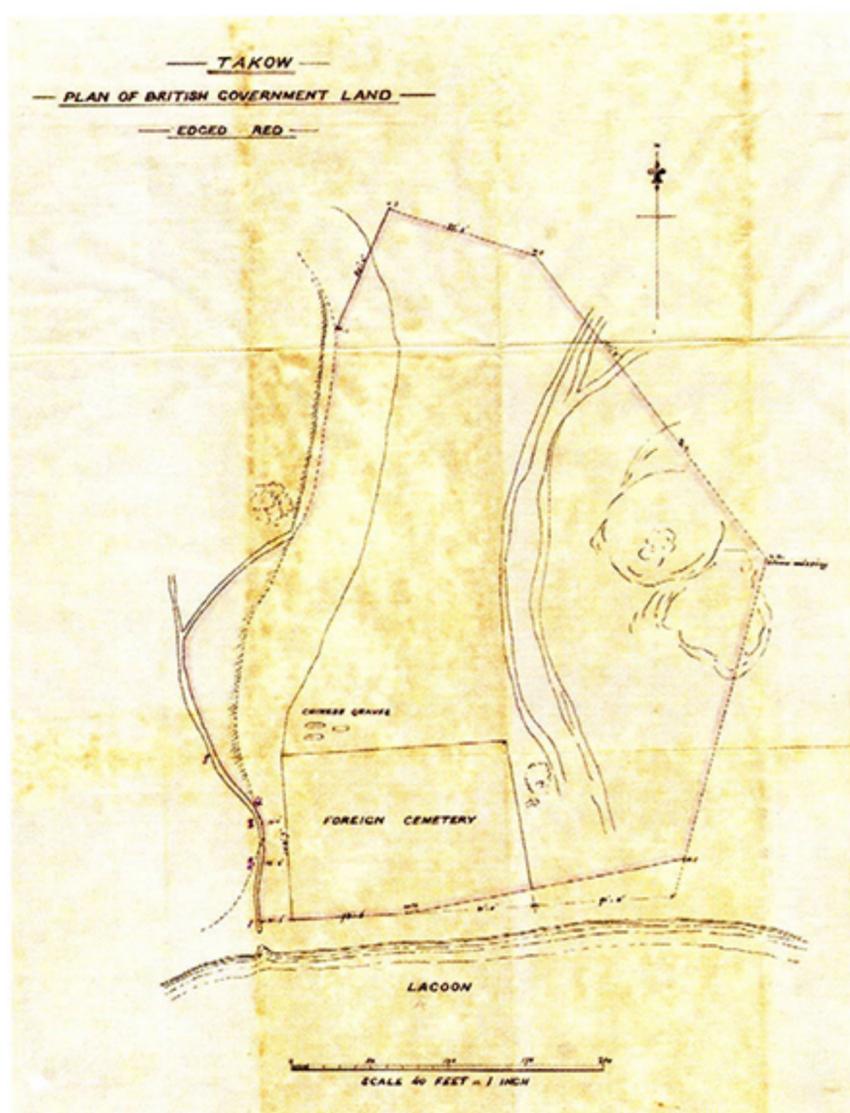


Mary Warren Shrine
(British Crown Copyright)

the shrine.

At some time between 1968 and 1972, the shrine is presumed to have been demolished and a small house built upon the site.¹²

Site Ownership



1905 British Plan of whole Cemetery Lot showing Foreign Cemetery (British Crown Copyright)

In examining the question of site ownership for the Takow Foreign Cemetery, it is important to distinguish between the two sites referred to as the 'Cemetery Lot' and the 'Foreign Cemetery'. The Cemetery Lot was the name given by the British authorities after about 1870 to refer to the entire site purchased by Swinhoe in 1864. The Foreign Cemetery was a section of the Cemetery Lot that was ceded by the British Government to the local foreign community.

Consul Robert Swinhoe had ceased to live at Takao after 1866,

though he remained British Consul to Taiwan until 1873. The next British Consul, C Alabaster, did not even take up his post, and his replacement, W E King, probably also never came to Taiwan. However, in 1877, the experienced Archer Hewlett was once more appointed to Taiwan, this time as the Consul. Consul Hewlett soon set about putting affairs at Takao in order and his period as Consul would see the construction of the British

Consular Offices and the British Consular Residence at ShaoChuanTou in 1877/79.¹³

Hewlett soon discovered that, while Swinhoe had indeed purchased the site in his own name, he had never transferred the site to the British Crown. As Swinhoe had since died on 28 October 1877, it took a rather dubious transaction by Consul Hewlett in May 1878 to 'reclaim' it for the British government.¹⁴

The site was registered as a Perpetual Lease, as foreigners did not have the right to purchase property under the Ching Dynasty. The first registration was in the name of the British First Commissioner of Works. However, following the Japanese takeover of Taiwan in 1895, the Cemetery Lot was transferred into the name of the His Britannic Majesty's Commissioners of Works and Public Buildings.¹⁵

As the new Japanese rulers sought to reform and modernize the land registry system, application was made on 18 September 1907 by Acting British Consul Firth, on behalf of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, to re-register the plot as a Perpetual Lease. At this time, the plot was described as having been leased from Hwang Tsing on 31 May 1878, and was recorded as Register No 26 at the Tainan British Consulate.

On 2 September 1909, the new Acting Consul at Tainan, Mr W Massy Royds, was able to report that the Formosan Government had recognised the validity of the Chinese deed for the Cemetery Lot, and thus the Perpetual Lease. Consul Royds also noted that, unlike other holdings, no annual payment needed to be made 'in respect of the Cemetery lot at Takow'.¹⁶

Partial Sale of Cemetery Lot

In 1925, the British Commissioners of His Majesty's Works and Public Buildings sold that part of the Cemetery Lot lying outside of the Foreign Cemetery to the Imperial



Japanese Government. Moreover, there is no doubt that ownership of the actual Foreign Cemetery remained with the British Government after 1925.

Prior to the sale, the British Consul at Tamsui, Mr G H Phipps, had, in a letter dated 3 November 1924, reported to the British Ambassador in Tokyo as follows:

“Sir,

... I have received a communication from the director-general of the government of Formosa ... informing me that proposals for purchasing H.M. Government properties in South Formosa, exclusive of the Takao Foreign Cemetery, for the figure named, have been submitted to the Central Government, [and that] the requisite sum will be included in the 1925/6 budget and laid before the forthcoming session of the Diet.”¹⁷

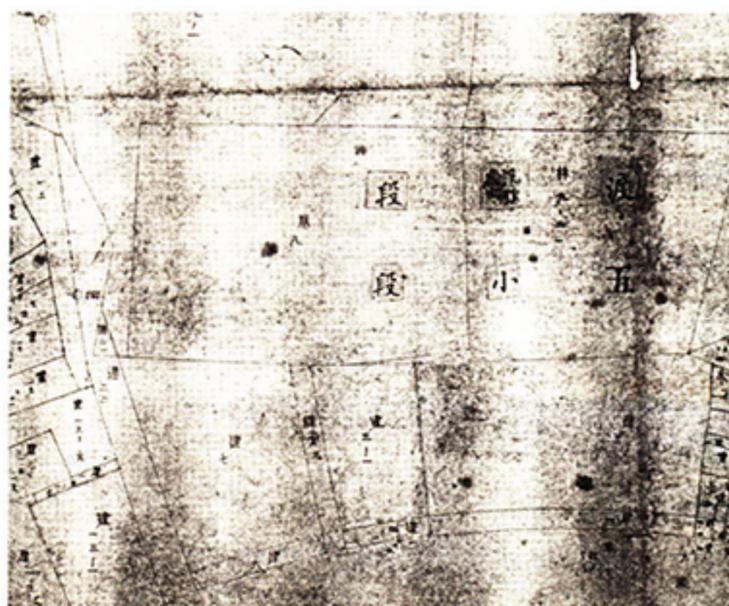
Although the contract for the sale, dated 4 December 1925, does not specifically mention the exclusion of the Foreign Cemetery from the Cemetery Lot sale, the schedule for the sale shows that the area of the sold portion of the Cemetery Lot is exactly that of the original area less the area of the Foreign Cemetery.¹⁸ This is further clarified in a Memorandum written by British Consul E H de Bunsen, Phipps' successor at Tamsui, on 4 February 1925, in which he states:

“The portion of the so-called ‘Cemetery Lot’ which is enclosed by a wall and actually taken up with graves remains registered in the name of the Commissioners. Relevant entry in Tainan District Court P.L. [Permanent Lease] Register is No.2 Takao. It will be noted from Mr. Phipps' desp.No.40 to Tokyo dated July 9th 1924 that no taxes are payable in respect of this cemetery. The area is 0.1606 Ko (i.e. 1.0027 Ko less 0.8421 Ko as per schedule to Enclosure 1).”¹⁹

The Japanese Land Register shows the Cemetery Plot as being Ban-chi 127, Aza Shosento Takao, Takao City, Taiwan Province; after the sale of the major portion of the Cemetery Plot to the Japanese Government on 3 November, Taishou 14 [1925], the Foreign Cemetery is given as a residual entry under Ban-chi 127-8, with an area of 0.1606 Ko. No subsequent sale of the Foreign Cemetery is recorded in the register, although the plot's

registration is changed to Ban-chi 8, 5-chome, Minato-machi [湊町五丁目].²⁰

After the 1925 sale the British Consulate maintained a Takao Foreign Cemetery Fund on behalf of the foreign community. The accounts of this fund show that disbursements were made on a regular basis for the upkeep of the cemetery at least until December 1934, though the accounts continue through to 30 June 1940.²¹



Japanese Land Registry Plan with Chinese overlay (Courtesy Yen Cheng Land Administration Office)

A 1971 letter in the British Foreign Office files contains the information that, in March 1937, there had been an exchange of 'Notes' between the British and Japanese governments on the question of perpetual leases. In this communication it was agreed that the perpetual lease system should come to an end as from 1 April 1942, and that such leases should be converted into rights of ownership. However, the writer of the 1971 letter, Consul Thomas Duffy, asserts that no further action was taken by the Japanese authorities in Taiwan to issue such deeds.²²

At some stage between 1917 and 1958, the Takow Cemetery was 'taken over by the Imperial War Graves Commission' though 'no expenditure for upkeep (was) sanctioned'.²³ The Imperial War Graves Commission was originally a British government department set up to manage sundry graveyards throughout the world. However, their successor organisation, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, has been unable to trace any record of the Takow cemetery in their files.

The Japanese Land Registry records and the Japanese plans clearly show that, despite the sale of the major part of the plot of land bought by Swinhoe, the walled section enclosing the foreign graves remained in the possession of the British government up until the defeat and departure of the Japanese in 1945.



Foreign Cemetery Post-1945

The investigation into the story of the Foreign Cemetery after 1945 is severely hampered by the legal status of Taiwan (Formosa) within the Republic of China (ROC), the complexity of diplomatic relations between the ROC and British government, and the destruction and/or disappearance of a major portion of ROC official documents prior to 1985. However, all the relevant Land Records from Japanese and Nationalist times^b have survived, as well as copious British Foreign Office files on the legal status of British properties on Taiwan. Notwithstanding these documents, the author was obliged to rely also on sometimes unsubstantiated oral history obtained through interview.

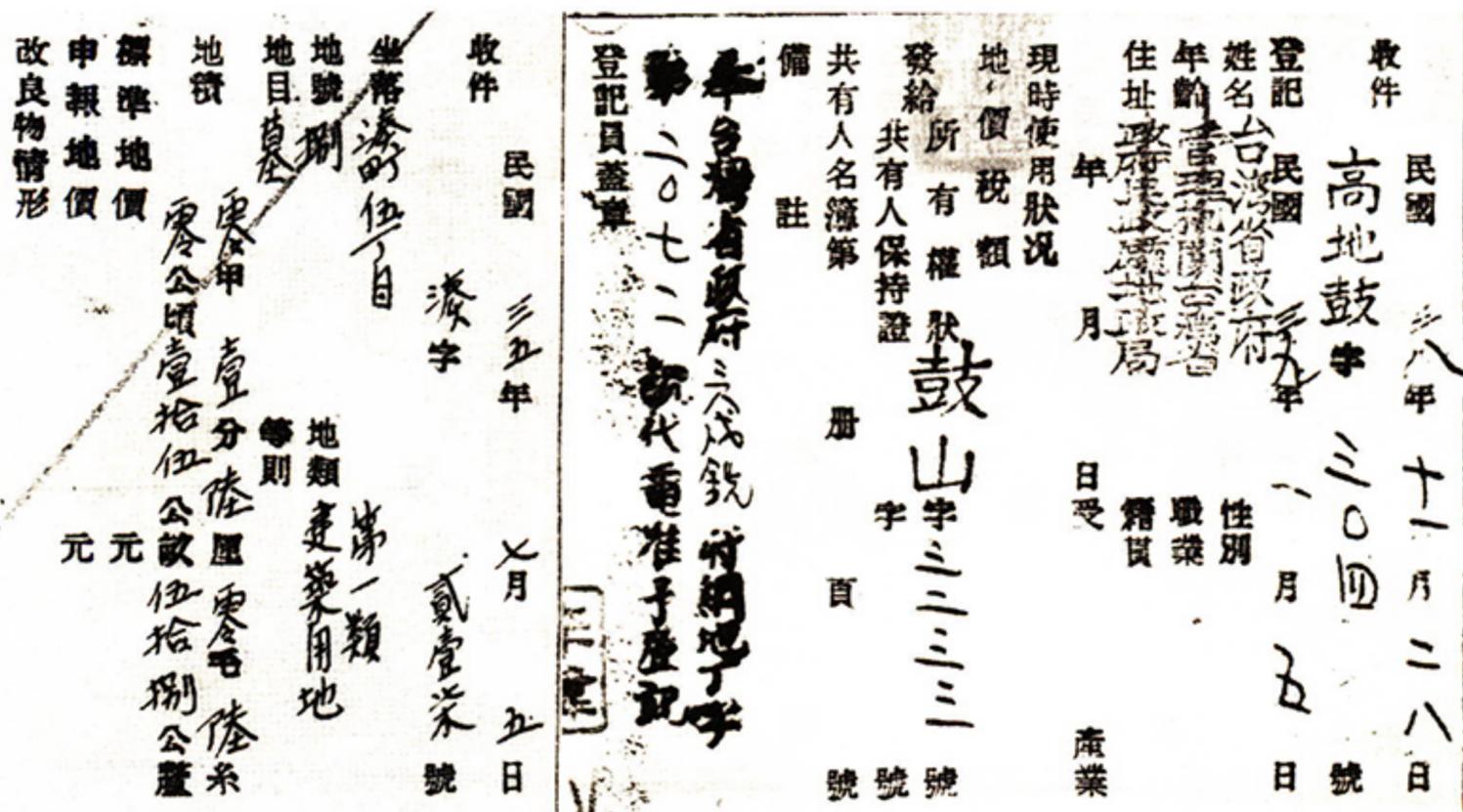
With regard to the legal status of Taiwan under ROC rule, the first document is the 1943 Cairo Declaration. This declaration clearly stated the intention of the Allied Powers, then represented by the British Prime Minister Churchill and the US President Roosevelt, that Formosa be restored to the Republic of China^c. Although the Chinese Nationalists were allowed to take control of Taiwan in 1945, the British subsequently held the view that the Allies approval of Chiang Kai-shek's takeover of Taiwan did not constitute a legal transfer.²⁴ As early as 1948, in other words prior to the defeat of the Nationalists on the China mainland, the British government was expressing the impossibility of legally registering property in Taiwan prior to 'a formal Treaty of Peace between the Allied Powers and Japan'.²⁵ The 1950 draft of the peace treaty with Japan provided that the final status of Taiwan be decided by Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States. Although the 1951 San Francisco Treaty omitted this article, it was not signed by

b However, many official documents relating to the Land Registry entries have been destroyed under a 15-year rule.

c The actual wording reads: "All territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." It is worth noting that the same document asserted Korea's right to independence 'in due time'.

either of the nominal governments of China, as neither the People's Republic of China nor the Republic of China were invited to participate²⁶. Thus the status of Taiwan was never legally resolved, especially in the eyes of the British who had formally recognised the People's Republic as the legitimate ruler of China on 6 January 1950.

The first entry to be found in the Land Register of Kaohsiung City concerns the 'Land Description' (see image below left). Stating that, on 5 July 1946, with receipt number Tso-tzu-217, the land, located at 5-chome Minato-machi, was registered as Lot No 8, under the Category 'Graveyard'.



Details from Page 9 of Registration No 133 in Kaohsiung City Land Register (Courtesy Yen Cheng Land Administration Office)

However, the first entry under 'Ownership' does not occur until 28 November 1949, when an application, with Receipt No. Kao-ti-ku-tzu-304 [高地鼓字三〇四號] was received (see image above right). This application was made in connection with the Taiwan Provincial Government's issuance of regulations for the re-registration with the ROC authorities of properties held in Taiwan and entered in the Japanese Land Register. The regulations provided for seizure by the Nationalists of land not claimed within two

months of a public announcement by the city or county land administration authorities.²⁷ The British government demurred from registering their properties, such as the graveyard at Takow, as they did not accept the legality of Nationalist rule in Taiwan. Moreover, the British fully expected the Chinese Communists to invade Taiwan in the very near future and did not wish to jeopardise their clear claims based on Ching Dynasty documents.²⁸ However, it is interesting to note that, despite the British declining to re-register their consulate at Tamsui, the Nationalists accepted their right of ownership.

The cemetery land was subsequently registered on 5 January 1950, under the provisions of the above regulations, with the new owner being the Taiwan Provincial Government, and the administration agency being the Bureau of Land Administration, Department of Civil Affairs, Taiwan Provincial Government. On the Land Register entry it is stated that approval to register was given in the Provincial Government's (undated) letter 'with Ref. No. 38-hsu-hsien-fu-kang-ti-ting-tzu-2072' [38戌銑府綱地丁字第2072號].²⁹

It should be noted that the Nationalists had effectively been defeated in Mainland China by October 1949, when Mao Tse-tung had proclaimed the People's Republic of China at Beijing. While the British authorities had indeed re-registered properties on the Mainland with the Nationalists during the period 1946-1948, they had not done so on Taiwan due to concerns about its legal status. In 1949, the British had commenced registering property with the People's Republic of China.³⁰ Thus it was apparently after the loss of control of China proper that the Nationalists had set the wheels in motion for the seizure of foreign-owned properties on Taiwan.

It is further worth noting that the British Government was to formally recognise the People's Republic of China as the legitimate ruler of all China on 6 January 1950, the day following this registration of ownership change, which was apparently made somewhat before the expiry of the two month period. However, the Nationalists demurred from seizing the unregistered Consulate site at Tamsui, as they needed to keep diplomatic channels open. A subsequent Nationalist central government ruling made in March 1950

directing that, despite Britain having severed diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, the permanent leases of British government agencies should continue to be respected had little effect on local jurisdictions: the cemetery remained in Nationalist hands.³¹

By the late 1950s and early 1960s the graves were clearly almost forgotten and falling into disrepair. However, oral history accounts record that there were still ‘around 30 graves’ in fair condition at this time.

An indication of the state of the graveyard may be surmised from a report that appeared in the *China Daily News* of 31 July 1958. This article records the theft by one Kuo Chen-mao [郭陳懋], also recorded as Kao Chen-mao [高陳懋], and subsequent recovery by the local police, of the polished red granite tablet, measuring ‘about 3 x 2 feet’, from the Mary Warren Shrine. According to British records, the tablet was subsequently ‘put back in its proper place in the Kaohsiung cemetery by the police administration’.³²

The British Minutes regarding the theft show the extent of official ignorance and seeming indifference concerning the graveyard. The then British Consul comments that this incident ‘may throw light on the location of the cemetery & who, if anyone, now looks after it’.³³ However, there is no record of any further action being taken, and Land Registry records merely show the 1964 change of administration agency to the Department of Finance within the Taiwan Provincial Government, under Tsai-chan-tzu-66669 [財產字第六六六六九號] dated 12 September 1963.

In 1967 the fate of the Takow Cemetery was sealed. On 9 August 1967 the Provincial Government issued Fu-min-ti-chia-tzu-64711 [府民地甲字第六四七一一號] whereby it was approved to alter the category of land from ‘Graveyard’ to ‘Building’, and the alteration was registered on 18 January 1968, with Receipt No. Kao-ti-ku-tzu-120 [高地鼓字 120 號]. At or around the time that the land category was changed from ‘graveyard’ to ‘building’, two events happened. One was the reported visit to the graveyard by two as-yet unidentified foreign nuns, who allegedly then filed a complaint



with the authorities over the apparently wanton destruction and unauthorised occupation of the Takow Foreign Cemetery³⁴. The second was the construction of a temple on the site of the cemetery.

The temple, built in 1967 according to the son of its builder³⁵, is the Yueh-ti-tien [嶽帝殿]. The main god, Tung Yueh Ta-ti [東嶽大帝], is a King of Hell in the underworld who is able to control the ghosts of the dead. The temple was allegedly built on open ground, but presumably was on top of several graves, as another resident [name



Tablet above Yueh-ti-tien Temple at Cemetery
(Photograph by author)

withheld] said that there were around 30 gravestones around when he was a boy (in the 1960s), and that the people drove the gravestones into the ground as they built. However, two other residents, both surnamed Hung [洪], whilst agreeing that nearly all the gravestones were standing in 1968, stated that the gravestones were systematically removed by some 'old soldiers', who lived in the area immediately to the north of the cemetery, and that the land, once cleared, was sold in small parcels as building plots.

It is also asserted by the builder's son that the temple was previously located some 10 metres to the southeast of its present position, indicating the approximate location of the Mary Warren Shrine. It is believed that, subsequent to the sentencing of a thief surnamed Lin [林] to a term of 7 years' imprisonment for the theft of two gravestones from the site, his sister, decrying her family's ill-fortune, sought to placate the foreign souls by performing worship at the Mary Warren Shrine and at the grave of William

Hopkins. After the sister, described as the guardian of the Yueh-ti-tien temple, died, the shrine appears to have been demolished and the present Yueh-ti-tien temple built as part of a large two-storey, and later three-storey, building. It should be noted that this sister, surnamed Lin [林] was married to the builder of the temple.

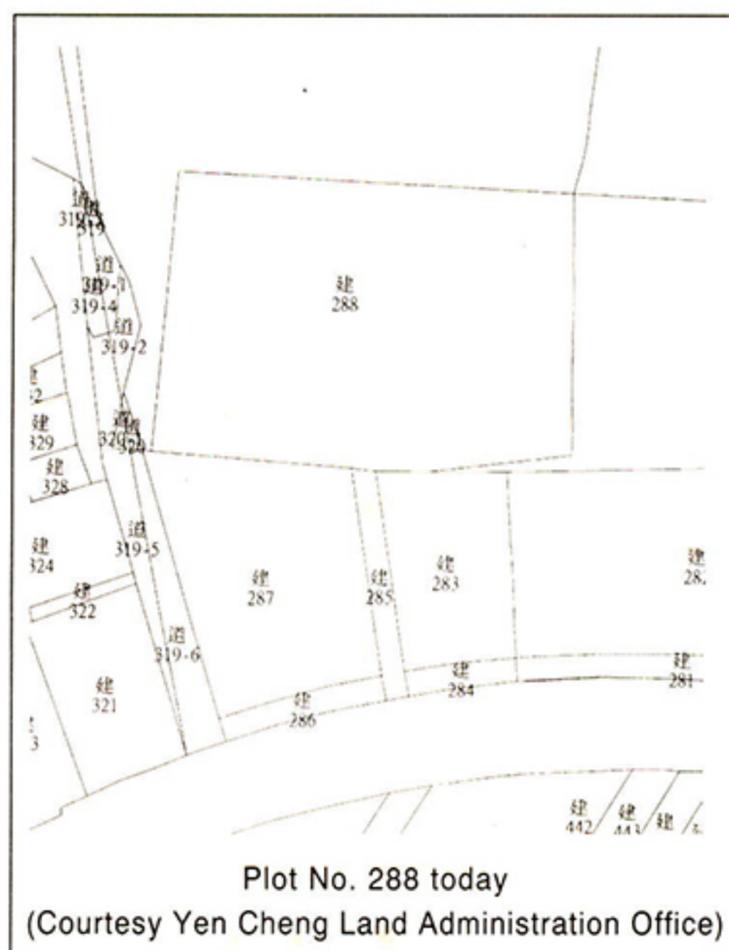
By 1972 the plot had been effectively carved up among the new 'landholders'. Claims that graves had been removed by the Funeral and Burial Management Office, Bureau of Social Affairs [殯葬管理所], were, upon informal enquiry to the Section Chief Mr Wu [吳組長], to prove unfounded.

Present Day

Today the site is registered to the ownership of the Kaohsiung City Government, with the administration agency being the Bureau of Finance [高雄市政府財政局].

The site had been transferred to the Kaohsiung City Government on 24 May 1982 with title number (71) Yen-chuang-tzu-8517 [(71)鹽狀字8517號]. At this time the site was described as Lot No 8, Subsection 5, Tu Chuan Section, Ku Shan District [鼓山區度船段五小段].

Following a re-surveying of the site in 1983, the area was reduced from 1558m² to 1516 m² and a new title of (72) Yen-chuang-tzu-25333 [(72)鹽狀字25333號] issued. At this time the site was given the new and current registration of Lot No. 288, Subsection 2, Ku Nan Section, Ku Shan District [鼓山區鼓南段二小段 288 地號].



In the same year, the Administration Agency was changed from the Bureau of Social Affairs [高雄市政府社會局] to the Bureau of Finance [高雄市政府財政局] at Kaohsiung City Government under Yen-ti-(erh)-tzu-3407 [鹽地(二)字3407號].

Upon visiting the site at Lane 60, Teng-shan Street, Ku-shan District, Kaohsiung City [高雄市鼓山區登山街60巷], the author could find evidence of only three remaining graves, which are pictured below.



On the left is shown the gravestone of Conway Knox Fletcher, a young Irishman in the Chinese Customs Service; on the right is shown the gravestone of William Hopkins^d, a young Irish sailor who drowned crossing the sandbar; and in the centre is the plinth of the memorial to Mary Donnithorne Warren, the wife of the British Consul Sir Pelham Laird Warren.

^d For detailed information about William Hopkins, see the interesting research by Mai Han-ming [麥漢鳴] privately published as 魂歸原鄉 [A Soul Returning to the Hometown], January 2004.

Conclusion

The Kaohsiung Foreign Cemetery site, having been purchased by Swinhoe in 1864, was used for the burial of foreign nationals from 1871 until 1896. Six of the graves commemorate employees of the Chinese Customs Service and include the grave of George Carter Stent who, by constructing the first lighthouse at Chihou, brought great benefit to the inhabitants of Kaohsiung. Hugh Ritchie, who gave all his money towards the founding of the first Girls' School in south Taiwan, also lies buried in this graveyard.

The cemetery continued in British ownership throughout the Japanese period, when it was maintained and respected by the Japanese authorities. The advent of Nationalist control of Taiwan saw the ownership first seized from the British in 1950 and then the site closed as a graveyard in 1968. At the time of closure, no apparent attempt was made to respect the graves or remains of the persons buried there, many of whom had made significant contributions to Kaohsiung and Taiwan.

There were three other foreign cemeteries in the Taiwan area: one on the Pescadores [澎湖], at Makung [馬公]; and two on Taiwan, at Keelung [基隆] and Tamsui. The Makung cemetery was carefully closed in 1954 with the remains being transferred to the Keelung Cemetery. Both the Tamsui and Keelung cemeteries are today well cared for, and only the Kaohsiung cemetery has fallen into such disrepair and ruin.

It is to be hoped that the present-day authorities in Kaohsiung might seek to safeguard both the memories and the remains of those who lie in this near derelict and forgotten graveyard.



Map showing Present-day Location of Kaohsiung Foreign Cemetery



Detail of 2001 Kaohsiung City Map showing Site Locations
(Map by kind permission of Outdoor Life Books Co Ltd [戶外生活圖書股份有限公司])

Acknowledgements

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Footnotes

- 1 Hall, Philip B.; 'Robert Swinhoe (1836-1877) FRS, FZS, FRGS: A Victorian Naturalist in Treaty Port China'; *The Geographical Journal*, Vol 153, No 1, March 1987, pp. 37-47.
- 2 Oakley, David; *Taiwan Historica*; Vol 55, No 3, pp.232-262.
- 3 'Consular Establishments', *British Parliamentary Papers*, vol. 2, Irish University Press, p 231.
- 4 FO 17/476, Peking Despatch No. 117.
- 5 Pickering, WA; 'Pioneering in Formosa', Repr. SMC Publishing Inc., Taipei, 1993, p.182.
- 6 FO 228/505; pp. 228-291.
- 7 op. cit.
- 8 op. cit.
- 9 Takow Foreign Cemetery file. Held at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Listed under T280D230- 001-006, 淡水、打狗、臺南等外國墓地資料.
- 10 Gravestone inscriptions recorded in 1926; Otness, 'One Thousand Westerners in Taiwan, to 1945', Taiwan Institute of History, 1999; *British Consular Records; Chinese Maritime Customs Reports*.
- 11 FO 678/3156
- 12 Hung interview, March 2005.
- 13 Oakley, David; *Taiwan Historica*; Vol 55, No 3, pp.232-262.
- 14 FO 678/3156
- 15 Hozan Cho General Office, No: 11304. 23 November 1905.
- 16 WORK 10/210
- 17 WORKS 10-33/10, p.167.
- 18 WORKS 10-33/10, pp.189-191.
- 19 WORKS 10-33/10, p.192.
- 20 Yen Cheng Land Office; *Japanese Land Register*, p.00347.
Map Reference 高雄市渡船段圖 28 葉之內第 24 號
- 21 Takow Foreign Cemetery file. Held at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Listed under T280D230- 001-006, 淡水、打狗、臺南等外國墓地資料.
- 22 FCO 21/870.
- 23 Tamsui Foreign Cemetery file. Held at Academia Sinica, Taipei. Listed under T280D230- 001, p.2.

- 24 Kerr, George; 'Formosa Betrayed'; p 465.
- 25 FO 765/5; pp.116, 130-1.
- 26 Hung Chien-chao, 'A History of Taiwan'; Il Cerchio Iniziative Editoriali, Italia; pp. 275-7.
- 27 Regulations for Verifying Certificates of Land Ownership and Renewing Titles of Land Ownership in Taiwan Province [台灣省土地權利憑證繳驗及換發權利書狀辦法]. Promulgated on May 2, 1947
- 28 See discussion of this point in FCO 21/870.
- 29 Land Register of Kaohsiung City, Registration No. 133; held at Yen Cheng Land Administration Office, Department of Land Administration, Kaohsiung City Government.
- 30 WORK 10/311.
- 31 Taitien No.39/1064 from the Executive Yuan, 24 March 1950, in FO 371/133560.
- 32 China Daily News, July 31, 1958.
- 33 T280D230- 001-006
- 34 Hung interview, March 2005.
- 35 The names of the builder and his son are known to the author.

