Der Adler im Drachenhort

German Imperialism in Kiautschou

In the Context of Sino-German Perception

Yannik Streiss

M.A. Thesis (60 Credits)

East Asian Culture and History

Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring 2019
Der Adler im Drachenhort - German Imperialism in Kiautschou

In the Context of Sino-German Perception

Yannik Streiss

M.A. Thesis (60 Credits) [EAST4591]

East Asian Culture and History [Asia and Middle East Studies (master’s two years)]

Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Spring 2019
Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the exploration of the different Sino-German perceptions and consequences thereof within the colonial context of the German leased Kiautschou concession in China during the years of 1897 and 1914. This master thesis is an addition to the previous scholarly investigations of the Sino-German relations regarding foreign colonialism in China and thus connects the field of German imperialism with the Colonial and Postcolonial research on perception and action within the colonial sphere.

One of the central findings the thesis presents is that, while in the context of modern Imperialist analysis the period is often divided into two clearly distinct timeframes, the spectrum of perceptions presented within the different interactions of individuals, groups and institutions in and outside of the concession paint a vastly broader spectrum of viewpoints present at any given time. It shows that perception and actual political action are not always equal. The investigation of different events within a larger context of ideas, demonstrates a more diverse field in which different actors act and write according to different interpretations of the world around them. The paper also finds that within the semi-colonial context certain layers among the colonized Chinese subjects indeed had some form of agency which constructed unique perceptions and is frequently expressed and narrated by interaction patterns within the colonial field. Finally, the thesis finds that the German view, while not always directly influencing Kiautschou policy, was quite diverse even up until the dawn of World War I.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to extent my thanks and gratitude towards my thesis supervisor Professor Vladimir Tikhonov, who was essential to the writing process of this paper. Vladimir not only provided me with the initial inspiration for the topic, but he was also always available with indispensable advise and comments to support the conception and development of this Master thesis.

Further, I would like to thank my family in Norway, who has greatly supported me and kept me on track during the long months of researching and writing on my thesis. In this context, I want to especially acknowledge the help of my mother Birgit, who more than once assisted me with the decryption of Imperial era German handwritten accounts.

Finally, I want to thank my girlfriend Wen, who was of great support throughout the last year and greatly helped me with the interpretation of Chinese sources.

Yannik Streiss

Flateby, May 25th, 2019
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... V
Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... VI
Table of Contents .............................................................................................................................. VII
1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................................... 1
   1.1 Introduction of the Thesis ........................................................................................................ 1
   1.2 Methodological Considerations .............................................................................................. 5
   1.3 Chapter Outline ....................................................................................................................... 6
2 Theoretical Background & Literature Review .............................................................................. 7
3 German and Chinese Relations and Perceptions before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 – 1895 ................................................................................................................................. 24
4 Germany, China and Kiautschou after 1895 .............................................................................. 37
   4.1 Germany and the Occupation of Kiautschou - Before 1898 .................................................... 37
   4.2 The Kiautschou Concession 1898 – 1905 ................................................................................ 44
   4.3 Changes Mid-1900 and onwards ............................................................................................ 62
5 A Changing Empire: China during the period of the German lease ...................................... 69
   5.1 Late Qing in China: Crisis and Reform .................................................................................. 69
   5.2 Modernity and the Nationalist Awakening in the context of Sino-German interactions 72
   5.3 Aftermath of the Boxer War .................................................................................................. 74
   5.4 Shandong Province and the German concession ................................................................. 75
   5.5 The Chinese subject in the Concession ............................................................................... 77
6 Conclusion ...................................................................................................................................... 90
Bibliography ................................................................................................................................... 94
1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the Thesis

“The sudden fall of Tsingtao on the 7th [November 1914] and its unconditional capitulation on the 10th came as a complete surprise to the Chinese masses who had been led to believe that the Germans were to defend their least territory to ‘the last man and horse.’ As the Germans had spent so much money and brain in building up the beautiful port, which is called ‘little Germany’ in the Far East, it was expected that their last desperate plan would be to blow up the entire town so that only a piece of barren ground would be left to the victors. In the eyes of the Chinese, especially those officials and students who have been educated in Germany the feeble resistance of the German garrison on the night of the 6th, and the subsequent unconditional surrender to the Japanese is a serious loss of German prestige.”

The 19th and early 20th century marked a great period of change for the Chinese state. It saw the invasion and partial subjugation by foreign forces, multiple defeats in combat by European and Asian powers and the collapse of the old Empire system with the abdication of the last Manchu Emperor Puyi [溥仪] (1906 – 1967) in 1912. While this timeframe represents a period of immense humiliation to the Chinese people, that still influences political interpretations of Chinese history today, it also gave birth to an adamant nationalist spirit inspired and carried by a new class of political thinkers who rose to prominence under the failing late Qing period. This national consciousness was not exclusively restricted to the upper intellectual classes but affected all layers of Chinese existence and gave birth to new ideas about political and social belonging and the restructuring of society and the state. The Chinese individual became an active part within the struggle to create a new nation, and while not always positive, the sheer power and impact of the reimagining of a citizen’s place within his or her own state cannot be understated.

1 South China Morning Post “German Prestige Gone” December 1, 1914, P. 6
At the same time, the modern age up until World War I, also greatly shaped the development of the German nation, bringing utmost changes during the course of several decades which directly guided and influenced the modern creation of the German state. The establishment of the German Empire out of a loosely tied together community of states and kingdoms, the subsequent race for Imperial competition and recognition and the utter defeat of the German forces serve as a blueprint of German Imperial ambitions during this period and subsequently influenced the historical and political development of Germany after the end of the Great War.

On many occasions during this period, the Chinese and German people were in contact with each other. From early Jesuits active under the Ming and early Qing empire, over early Prussian merchants trading in the Canton region, to Chinese scholars visiting Germany in order to learn about the benefits of the Western methods of social and political organization. However, none of these contacts were as significant and as influential on the relationship between the Chinese and German Empire as the colonial acquisition made by the Germans in the Province of Shandong in 1897.

Germany as a late Imperial power, had a grand wish to participate in the global frenzy for colonies and prestige. In this regard, the great British Empire was often held in equal measure as inspiration and as competitor. The economic and national benefits reaped by the other Empires were too tempting for the young German Empire to not participate in the immense scramble for colonies. With one eye focused on the success of British-India, the Germans wished a “place under the sun” for themselves. This rising demand of nationalist success and a global German venture resulted in the occupation of a small bay in the Shandong province of the Chinese Empire. This prestige project, renamed by the German forces to Kiautschou, was meant to become the greatest of German colonial ventures, a “model colony” in fact. The intention was to equally elevate the German prestige among its international competitors and bring great benefits to themselves and the perceived inferior indigenous people.

During the same period, the Chinese Empire struggled to cope with the overpowered Imperialist colonizers who were eager to “divide the melon” for their own economic access to the resources and large market China represented. The 19th century was characterized by an intense quest for solutions to solve the problems caused by the foreign strangle hold on the Empire. From the self-strengthening movement beginning int the 1860s to the reformation
attempts and revolutionary ideas of the late Qing period, many attempts were made to reevaluate China’s role in this new world order, which was violently forced upon them.

One of the most important factors during this period was the introduction and increased contact with new Western ideas and powers. Perception played a crucial role in the choice of action on either side of the colonial sphere and decades of constant transformations were inspired by the ever-changing focus on what would benefit one’s own Empire the most. The late Qing and early republican period were strongly characterized by many adjustments made following the failure of older concepts and the need to find new perspectives. The destruction of a century old worldview and the slow recognition of the Empire’s redefined position in comparison to the foreign invaders forced the Chinese intellectual class and the population as a whole to redefine their perception of the “barbarians”. This demand, however, was not exclusive to the Chinese Empire. Other imperial powers, which hoped to increase their benefits and rewards gained from the colonial ventures, had to adjust their perspective themselves. Perception became essential to the action of individuals and states alike and many foreign powers realized that a brute force initiative alone will not suffice for the proper exploitation of their colonial position on Chinese soil. In addition, the fact that China was never fully colonized and only partially or semi-colonized meant that total domination was avoided, and in many cases, China needed to be approached in a rather different way than other colonized areas.

The German occupation of Jiaozhou was directly influencing the extreme historical development of the Chinese Empire and as such, while often overlooked because of its size, it is a crucial part for the understanding of Western Chinese interaction and perception. The circumstances surrounding the lease of 1898 to 1914 do not only provide us with an insight into Sino-German relations, but also the general state of the Empires involved and the great changes the two of them had to face. The rather violent and hostile beginnings of the concession and the much softer political and cultural approach in later years, contribute to an image of a struggling German Empire, which projected their own issues directly onto the colonial sphere. The nationalist awakening and the cooperation and resistance to the German colonizers, provide us with an understanding of an Empire in turmoil, which desperately tries to redefine and strengthen itself against the issues cause by foreign and domestic actors. The results of mutual interactions and interpretations vastly affected and penetrated all layers of society within both nations and can be shown to be of concern to the individual as well as to the governmental sphere.
In this paper I intend to evaluate the development and differences of the perceptions within and surrounding the Kiautschou concession of both the Chinese and German people. I will try to paint an image of the changing nature of opinions voiced by the different social spheres influenced by the colonial effort and also how these views differed between and within different groups. Further, I want to establish how interactions with different institutions and characteristics of the concession were influenced by the spectrum of interpretations. This means that the national intend as well as the local interpretations must be taken into consideration. The individual’s action within the colonial context, might not always be informed by the general narrative and thus, the existence of multiple viewpoints about the colonial venture in China and Germany may present us with a better insight on why certain action took place within the concession. This paper will also explore whether the actions conducted within the colonial field represent the perceptions each nation, group or individual held at the time. In this context, the nature of power relations plays also an important role. It is important to establish to what extent the Chinese subject had a potential to act with agency. This is a difficult aspect to assess, since true agency within a colonial setting is a heavily discussed subject among modern scholars. The intention is that a look at the relationships and the extent of the action of the colonized within the colonial system, will give us adequate information about the subject’s state of agency and perception. At the same time, the colonial enforcement has to be seen from outside of the strictly documented nature of the German government in Kiautschou. While these documents will provide us with an essential understanding of the development of the colony itself, the actual intentions and perceptions can only be satisfactorily achieved with a look in the national and individual narrative about the colonized nation and the domestic and international conditions of the colonizers.

In this paper I will argue that while the strict separation of sentiments is often attributed to different periods of the concession, the existing viewpoints within the interactions of different layers in both nations is in fact more diverse and not as clearly distinguishable. I intend to show that the German action is heavily influenced by the self-imposed pressure through the tireless pursued of the world policy from the late 1890s onwards and that the later years, while characterized by a softer political and cultural approach, are interpreted by multiple groups and actors in quite different ways. My objective is to paint a coherent image which will add to the existing research on the field of foreign Imperialism in China and will provide further information about the different perceptions within the colonial context. In sum, I will pursue the questions of “How was each nation and action perceived and which consequence
or action resulted out of this?”, “What can certain actions tell us about the nature of their perception towards the colonizers or colonized?” and “How diverse is the spectrum of perceptions in the Kiautschout context?”

1.2 Methodological Considerations

The basis of my research consists of three questions which need to be addressed each for themselves. The material for each of those sub-topics ranges from the use of primary sources to secondary sources. However, since my Topic is not concerned with the modern perspective and current situation of the two countries of China and Germany, the use of surveys, interviews and excursions or fieldworks were excluded as non-viable methods. Therefore, a study and analysis of secondary sources and primary accounts will be the central method of this master thesis.

Firstly, it is important to establish a knowledge basis of the background conditions surrounding the formation and occupation of the Kiautschou concession. This requires an understanding of the Prussian and later German position on the world stage as well as the Chinese relations with Prussia and early attempts at economic treaties such as the events of the Eulenburg expedition. This part does not only demand an understanding of Prussian and German trade strategies to China via sea or Siberia, but also requires a clear understanding of the Sino-German relations during the periods of Prussian ventures to China and subsequently German interest in trade with the Chinese Empire. The use of secondary and primary literature can be very helpful to that extent. The study of secondary accounts can give an appropriate overview of the general situation during the 19th century and may also provide impressions concerning the relations between the Chinese and the Germans. More detailed aspects however need to be approached through the study of primary literary sources.

The next point which needs to be addressed is the political situation concerning the period of 1898 to 1914 for the area of Kiautschou in the Chinese province of Shandong. This will also be based on readings of secondary and primary literature. The secondary literature can again be useful to establish a general overview and understanding of the local and international situations. This requires literature, which is not only concerned with the local Kiautschou conditions but will also provide us with information about the mutual perception and self-image of the two nations. Furthermore, the careful study of secondary literature about the dealings of the Chinese leadership with the presence of the German colonial power on a
political level is a necessity. However, to properly link the actions of the local administrations with the perceptions that each nation’s people had of each other, primary sources must be carefully studied in both German and Chinese. These will reveal the initial conditions and the actual reasoning of each political change or action taken by local and national actors and will be very helpful in establishing a proper timeline of events as well as connecting the change in attitude of the population with given events.

The third sub-topic which needs to be addressed and needs to be set in direct connection with the first two points is the mutual perception of the Chinese and Germans. I want to establish a reasonable overview over what each nation’s people thought about the other and how perception changed over time on an administrative level and among commoners. The basic idea is to establish a coherent illustration of the historical development of national and local perception relating to politics enforced onto the colonial area. The analysis of actions within the colonial field as well as degrees in the context of general perception will help to provide us with insight about the motivation and subsequently the perception of the observed individual, group or political entity.

1.3 Chapter Outline

In the Introduction, I have outlined the importance of the analysis of perceptions within the context of the Kiautschou concession and framed my main intentions with this Master Thesis and the methodological considerations. In the following Chapter 2 I will discuss the theoretical framework from which to analyze the Kiautschou concession and give an overview of the academic state on the topic presented. Chapter 3 will give a brief introduction of the historical events and perceptions prior to the end of the Sino-Japanese war in 1894. It is important to establish the context from which the occupation of the Jiaozhou Bay occurred and the state of 19th century Sino-German relations up to this point. In Chapter 4 and 5 I will present the period following the Sino-Japanese war from the perspective of first the German Empire and colonizers and then from the Chinese Empire and colonized subjects. In the final Chapter 6, I will summarize my findings, connect them to my research topic and discuss my conclusions. I will also address limitations and further research possibilities concerning my thesis.
2 Theoretical Background & Literature Review

COLONIALISM & IMPERIALISM

It is often proposed that colonialism and modern imperialism are two concepts which at times can be addressed interchangeably and as such have a very strong connection to each other. In this light we find a need to establish the general difference a nation state and an empire represents. Jürgen Osterhammel proposes that some of the main distinctive features between an empire and a nation state can be found within the structures which lay at the base of the ideas present among the elites. From an imperialistic perspective the outer boarders are more defuse and less defined and the foundation of nation states is usually from below and made in the interest of the people while modern empires are constructed from above. The people themselves also associate differently with their own country. In a nation state the people belong through citizenship, within imperial nations however (if citizenship recognition exists) they become part of hierarchic structures. Cultural and linguistic traits are usually shared within the entire population of a nation state while the imperial counterpart presents these traits mostly within the elite class. The role of possessions is also expressive as a distinctive factor between the two state forms. The nation state usually has a relation to a specific land, but within imperialism a specific land usually has a relation towards the empire. The close connectivity between land and empire and the creation of a relation outside of the clear boundaries usually associated with nation states shows why colonialism and imperialism are strongly connected with each other and thus usually together play an important part in the analysis of any modern colonial setting.

In her discussion about colonialism and post-colonial theory Ania Loomba gives a basic definition of Colonialism as the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods and is heavily expressive of a relation between two peoples (in this case the colonizers and the colonized). She also underlines that in the thought history concerning colonialism different forms of colonial theory are being distinguished. In Marxist theory for example, earlier colonies are differentiated from later Western (European) ones through the strong drive of capitalist characteristics. The mere extraction of resources was overshadowed by large scale

---

3 Ania Loomba. Colonialism/Postcolonialism. (New York: Routledge, 2005), P. 8
reconstruction and redirecting of economic streams between colonizing nations and colonized countries. While the colonizers generally apply these changes in a matter of self-interest the exchange usually happens in a two-way flow.\textsuperscript{4} She notes that, in the spirit of Lenin’s thought on colonies, the subordination of other nations was essentially necessary in context of the new emerging economic structures since wealth and labor force imbalances essentially required a shift to the domination of other nations in order to bolster the labor force needed. This need often manifested in the creation of urban sectors but as Frederick Cooper points out: “Colonial economies fostered an urban sector, but not an urban society, with the material and social resources for workers to make a life or for officials to shape the life.”\textsuperscript{5} To what extent this is applicable to the creation of the German colony in China stands to be argued especially in light of the fact that the German imperial effort in the perceived Orient is often described as an application of semi-colonial activities. The sovereign was not dethroned, but the establishment of the treaty port system, adverse trade deals and military interventions (among others) were limiting the sovereign’s power while the execution of absolute power over the territory by the Colonizers was not given.\textsuperscript{6}

Lenin further explains his semi-colonial idea by analyzing the way in which capitalism developed hand in hand with the expansion of imperial nations. He saw the lure of high profits leading to the export of capital into the colonies (dominant through British engagement) and the expansion of capitalist cartels resulting in a widening of influential spheres beyond the national borders.\textsuperscript{7} In the Leninist interpretation the colonial powers sought to tie up all raw materials through the national effort which at the same time is strongly supported by monopolizing capitalist structures. In sum the mercantile effort becomes the central motive for the imperial expansion and the creation of colonies and any surrounding action (such as militarism) become means to a capitalist end. This also agrees with the view of Rosa Luxemburg, who added that the expanding capitalist structures (in

\textsuperscript{4} Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, P. 9
\textsuperscript{5} Frederick Cooper. Colonialism in Question – Theory, Knowledge, History. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) P. 186
\textsuperscript{6} Malte Fuhrmann “Germany’s Adventure in the Orient – A History of Ambivalent Semicolonial Entanglements” In German Colonialism – Race, The Holocaust and postwar Germany. Ed. Volker Langbehn & Mohammad Salame, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011) P. 125
order to refrain from collapse) are strongly dependent on non-capitalist regions which was a need which formed the basis of imperialism.8

In general, economic relations and the interaction of different spheres are central to the understanding of modern colonial structures. Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein’s presentation of the three spheres of core, periphery and semi-periphery (based on earlier ideas by for example Gunder Frank) are part of the world system theory. He proposes that strong central core powers are able to steer towards an unequal exchange and as such appropriate the surplus of the world economy.9 In his eyes “an empire is a mechanism for collecting tribute … In a capitalist world-economy, political energy is used to secure monopoly rights.”10 Further, he states that as an empire the state becomes more responsible to ensure that trade is conducted as usual and less the central economic enterprise. In this context the imposing of once will from a strong nation onto a weaker one is seen as strictly imperialistic and the existing imbalance of power dictates decision over who can set the rules economically, politically, militarily and so on.

The 19th century Imperialism especially in connection with the colonial effort in China is often described as “free trade imperialism”. David Hume had the opinion that the free trade imperialism would represent means for the transfer of wealth from wealthier to poorer states. However, this idea was mostly only applicable up until the 1880s when strong protectionism made its return and the anti-imperial quality of initial free trade imperialism was abandoned.11 This led authors such as Rudolf Hilferding to argue that imperialism needs the expansion to a most possible large territory, the protection against outside forces through tariffs and the upkeep of resource areas for the exploitation for monopolistic (capitalist) structures and thus he sees a strong link between capitalist colonialism and protectionism. As he puts it: “[w]hat was once a defensive weapon of the weak has become an offensive weapon in the hands of the powerful”12

In general, it can be stated that most theoretical approaches about the nature of Imperialism strongly point out its economic motivation. While the Marxists argue that any action taken place within the colonial sphere is in support of the mercantile effort, other theorists add

---

10 Noonan, Marxist Theories of Imperialism P. 153
12 Kiely, Rethinking Imperialism, P. 58
dimensions of general global power relations and propose possibilities for beneficial models for the colonized. Within most theoretical approaches to Imperialism, domestic and international conditions are connected (at least on some level) and influence the colonial action taken by the Empires and nations involved.

**PERCEPTION & COLONIALISM**

Cultural understandings played an essential role to the colonization of other nations. Edward Said proposed that the knowledge of the orient was informing and shaping the colonial power of the European nations, and the way in which other nations were perceived had a profound influence on the way in which colonial strategies were enacted. In this sense description informed reality. This interpretation forges a tight connection between perception of and the power over the colonized nations. The realization that perception had impact on colonial action leads Said to argue that images were created to assist the desired action. He states that “the ‘study’ of the Orient was not objective but […] a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar […] and the strange.” This resulted in the exaggeration of differences and further Orientalizing of the Orient and Westernizing of the West. Said sees this connection as unbreakable and that describing the orient could not be decoupled from the colonial environment and thus the knowledge of it could never be objective or “innocent”. These new interpretations of the Orient became tools of self-identification and reclassifications of one’s own nation. A dichotomy of good and bad, clean and dirty or superior and inferior was created along the lines of an “us vs them” mentality. However, Loomba points out that this strict interpretation may be contra productive since it denies the possibility of any other description of the Orient and alternative forms of knowledge and takes away any form of agencies from the colonized themselves.

The knowledge created about European nations during new exploration trips during the 18th and 19th century was part of a new restructuring of the European perspective. New travel writings and surveys entered Europe from many different places around the globe and helped to establish this essential self-image which not only contributed to a national image but also to a new understanding of a collective European civilization. This image was based on absolute assumptions about values and properties meaning that the role of stereotypes is

---

13 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, P. 42
14 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, P. 43
15 Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, P. 47
deposited as a function which creates simplification or reduction of more complicated knowledge and thus helps to create the divisive dichotomy between colonizers and colonized. One major carrier of the torch and a multiplier of the effectiveness of stereotypes was the European view on science. Sciences played a crucial role from the late 18th century onwards. Not only because of its reputation as precise and its proposed infallibility, but also as Marie Louise Pratt points out, it articulated the imperial frontier and was in return also informed by it.

These stereotypes are not only essential for the creation of opposite imagery, but as stated before they provide the basis for any colonial action itself. Whether the motives are described as elevation or subjugation of another nation, racial classification and properties often provide the necessary justifications for action. In fact, the elevation and the subjugation are often directly mixed with each other to create an atmosphere of pity and antagonism. For example, the African subject could be regarded as wild and uncivilized (as such “justifiably” subjugated) and at the same time the idea of “washing black people white” was the embodiment of a colonizers promise of elevation towards the pitied nation or people of Africa. The general European notion of what was sometimes referred to as the “colonialism du progrès” and the connection between the new found ideas about civilized values such as France’s liberty, fraternity and equality caused the colonial effort to be filled with ideas of inferiority and need for elevation.

Further, the scientific community provided the ammunition for the establishment of both these sentiments towards colonized nations. It actively developed and not diminished the savage stereotype of barbarism and excessive sexuality, which in the colonial context was often used as a sign of threat. Some Authors argue that the upkeep of the racial stereotype through the academic institutions was in fact necessary in the capitalist-oriented colonies of the West. It allowed the race to be strongly connected to the ideas of class perception and locked the inferior subjects in the working class never to be recognized as potential rulers. Albert Memmi demonstrates this sentiment by pointing out that “the colonized is never characterized in an individual manner; he is entitled only to drown in an anonymous

---

16 Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, PP. 53 - 55
17 Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, PP. 56 - 57
18 Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, PP. 99 - 100
19 Cooper, Colonialism in Question, P. 172
collectivity”. This meant that in the eyes of the colonizers the colonial subject could not exist as an individual and was tightly bound to capitalist class structures.

COLONIALISM AND THE GERMAN CASE

In his analysis of the German colony in Qingdao, George Steinmetz points out the insufficiency of the theoretical basis of Marxist and World Theory interpretations of colonialism. He states that World-system and Marxists attempts at explaining the Imperial phenomenon are often too narrow to account for certain variations in specific regions. Marxists, for example, have difficulties to account for certain action which is contra to the interest of the mercantile actors. World System Peripheralists often cite resistance and collaborations of the colonized as shaping colonialism, but again variations such as the strong violence by Germany's first half in Kiautschou and the later milder period of what Steinmetz refers to as “Sinophilia” (to a certain degree) do not fit into the standard interpretation. He says that finding one certain theory which can account to the German colonial effort in its entirety seems difficult. Further, he argues that its best to view the colonial state as a “semi-autonomous field with its own specific form of symbolic capital, its own specific stakes of competition” and he says that “the colonial state was not completely immune to [...] external pressures, but these pressures were mediated by the state's internal competitive dynamics.” he thus proposes a theory of modern colonial states articulated on the lines of the “sovereignty criterion” (a state rules over another state section) and “the rule of difference” (the local population is inferior in some way). Violence within the colonial field becomes a legitimizer to recognize a given area as some form of state, which may not be recognized by international law. From a German colonizers point of view the subject was usually treated as a distinct group and “although colonial governments multiplied distinctions among the colonized in an effort to dilute opposition, the entire colonized population was juxtaposed against the colonizers in a binary legal, political, and social structure”. This meant also that, while cultural injection was active through missionaries and similar means, assimilation is seen as breaking the rule of difference. This means that from a German point of view

---

20 Loomba, Colonialism/Postcolonialism, P. 118
22 Steinmetz “The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914” P. 591
23 Steinmetz “The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914” P. 593
familiarity is preferred over assimilation otherwise the state would move away from imperial status.

As we will explore later the colonial effort in China was closely connected to German nationalism, militarism and ideas of German prestige as well as superiority. Frederick Cooper points out: “*Germany's brittleness as an empire-builder reflected its catch-up position, its need to make economic advancement a specifically German project in opposition to a British empire that could defend and live off its economic lead*”24 and as Klaus Mühlhahn pointed out: “Colonies were terrains where projects of power and concepts of superiority were not only imposed, but also engaged and contested in the colonies and at home.”25 Meaning there was a close connection between domestic and foreign engagement expressed in the colonial effort. This found frequently expression in the transference of national problems onto the colonial sphere such as resolving questions of nationalism and identity on the colonial level.

Alfred von Tirpitz (1849 – 1930) for example drew direct connections between the strength of the nation, which he saw in the development of navy forces, and the colonial effort stating that “*the accumulation of giant nations like Panamerica, Greater Britain, the Slavic race or the Mongolian race under the leadership of Japan will destroy or almost extinguish Germany […] in the course of the next century, if Germany does not become a great power outside the borders of the European continent. The imperative basis for that […] is a fleet*”. 26 Thus, in his eyes and in the eyes of many people involved in the German leadership, including Wilhelm II, the success of the colonies was bound to the success of the navy and would lead to great improvements to the German standing among other powerful nations. As such Semi-colonialism in China was a new opening window for Germany’s new imperialist vision expressed through the Weltpolitik.

**NATIONALISM AND THE GERMAN COLONIAL EFFORT**

The creation of Germany is sometimes perceived as a unique event in the 19th century, since the creation of a strong power center usually takes a long period of time, but from a European

---

24 Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, P. 183
26 Mühlhahn “A New Imperial Vision? The Limits of German Colonialism in China” P. 132
perspective the German foundation in 1871 seemed to almost happen overnight\textsuperscript{27} In his analysis of national identity, Anthony D. Smith points out that a national identity “involves some sense of political community, history, territory, patria, citizenship, common values and traditions”\textsuperscript{28}. Sebastian Conrad states that after the formation of Germany it lacked any unifying markers to create an identity which then was expressed in a search for uniqueness since it couldn’t claim to be a colonial empire (Like France and England), trade supremacy (like England) or to have reclaimed a border like the United States.\textsuperscript{29} The German nation was in principle created before a German identity was established leading to a sentiment not unlike that expressed by Italian statesman Massimo D’Azeglio (1798 – 1866) (“We made Italy, now we must make Italians”) “We have made Germany; now we must make Germans”\textsuperscript{30}. Nationalism and the creation of a national Identity was thus a necessary consequence and not a cause of this new German state.\textsuperscript{31} This lack of nationality was perceived as a patch work nation problem created by Bismarck, but not solved by him\textsuperscript{32} and the lack of a binding, consensual set of political practices and traditions and consistent national symbols\textsuperscript{33} did not help the establishment of a German national identity either.\textsuperscript{34} This crisis for identity was on some occasions deeply connected with the colonial effort in China and discussions on the Chinese people and state.

Culturally the Colonial effort became also an essential point for German nationalism in China. As George Steinmetz points out “All forms of colonialism involve a cultural, political, and psychological assault on the colonized”\textsuperscript{35}, but these forms can take very different strategies and outcomes, and the implementation of such strategies can have vastly different effects on the colonized people. Sabina Groeneveld suggests that Colonies were a concentrated form of expression of central values, traditions and other characteristics and the identification of the new home of the colonizers with the concept of “Heimat” (Complex

\textsuperscript{27} Imanuel Geiss. “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik”, In Escape into War?: The Foreign Policy of Imperial Germany, ed. Gregor Schöllgen, (Oxford: Berg, 1990) P. 112
\textsuperscript{29} Sebastian Conrad [Translated by Sorcha O’Hagan] Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) P. 73
\textsuperscript{31} Mark Hewitson. “Nationalism”, In The Ashgate Research Companion to Imperial Germany. ed Matthew Jefferies (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) P. 125
\textsuperscript{32} Jenkins “Particularism and Localism” P. 199
\textsuperscript{33} For example: After the foundation of the German Empire, the state did not have a universal national anthem
\textsuperscript{34} Mark Hewitson Nationalism, P. 126
\textsuperscript{35} George Steinmetz “The Colonial State as a Social Field: Ethnographic Capital and Native Policy in the German Overseas Empire before 1914”, P. 589
German notion of Homeland) was very central to the creation of an imagined community far away from home.\textsuperscript{36} The accurate analysis of the colonial effort and changes in perception must therefore not ignore the cultural ideas which Germany brought to its colonies and what meaning they carried with them.

**RACISM, PRESTIGE AND THE GERMAN COLONIAL EFFORT**

The German discourse on race saw a mixing of different German terms in their meaning. In his discussions on the origins of Hitler´s notions of People (Volk) and race, German historian Roman Töppel notes that eugenics and racial thought in connection with the perception of different people (Völker) can already be seen in works by French diplomat and racist theorist Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816 – 1882).\textsuperscript{37} Gobineau identifies the mixing of races as the end of a culture.\textsuperscript{38} He equates the mixing of people and the influence they have onto each other with the notion of race mixing.\textsuperscript{39} Töppel points out that Gobineau´s works became very popular among German racists around 1900 (for example also later influencing German eugenicist Hans F.K. Günther (1891 – 1968)) and he also identifies a shift in public debate of the proposed origin of the Arian race from India to North-Germany and Scandinavia around the same time.\textsuperscript{40} In this spirit many arguments and discussions made about the “Volk” were transferred in meaning to talk about the race as well. It is also important to note that in Gobineau´s work, which was first published in 1855, the yellow and the black races were described as the “lower varieties” (niederer Varietäten) of Human races.\textsuperscript{41}

Race discussions and especially scientific race analysis during the turn of the century increased significantly. Though the concept of race was not cut in stone, many attempts were made by serious scientific studies to categorize the races. In a paper on the racial anatomy of the Chinese people, for example, German pre-historian Ferdinand Birkner (1868 – 1944) tried to demonstrate the differences of northern and southern Chinese through anatomic measurements.\textsuperscript{42} Though inconclusive in its final remarks, the paper shows the generalizing

\textsuperscript{37} Roman Töppel. “’Volk Und Rasse’ – Hitlers Queellen auf der Spur” Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte Vol 64, No. 1 (2016): P. 15
\textsuperscript{38} Arthur d. Gobineau. Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen [Translated by Ludwig Schemann] (Stuttgart: Frommanns Verlag, 1940) P. 301
\textsuperscript{39} Gobineau Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen P. 298
\textsuperscript{40} Töppel “’Volk Und Rasse’ – Hitlers Queellen auf der Spur” PP. 19 - 20
\textsuperscript{41} Gobineau Versuch über die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen P. 291
\textsuperscript{42} Friedrich Birkner. Beiträge zur Rassenanatomie der Chinesen (München: Alphons Bruckmann, 1904)
and diffuse nature of the racial debate, but also that in the mindset of many people (even scientists) the “colors” of races were set, just the number of subcategories and members of each “color” were not. Scientific inquiries into race played an especially important role, because even in the 20th century they were perceived as unpolitical and “untouched by consumerist intentions”.43

The declining imperial powers of Persia and China opened a vacuum which was needed to be filled by another power center.44 The creation of the new German nation in the heart of Europe had a strong influence on the European balance of power45 and there was a need and demand for new power centers to expand, which was a view not only held by Germans.46 After Wilhelm II took power Bismarck’s continental policy [Kontinentalpolitik] was quickly replaced by a new “world policy” [Weltpolitik].47 It is to note that in the German political debate, the notion of a Weltpolitik was not a new idea and it was already discussed widely in the 1840s.48 During the end of the 19th century the Weltreichslehre or the notion of a few nations taking over the world, was very influential in imperialist thought and the desire for worldwide militarism and power politics was strong in the relatively young German nation.49

For some people the foundation of Germany was just “a starting point for a German Weltmachtspolitik”50 which was expressed in the Weltpolitik and colonial effort. The Weltpolitik also made it possible to link German nationalism with events far away, a notion with which boarders did not limit national effort.51 Though the Weltpolitik and its expression of a Social-Darwinian world view was first politically established in the 1880s and 90s, its roots can be traced back to the 1860s.52 Biologist Ernst Haeckel (1834 – 1919) stated that “For it is the same principles, the struggle for existence and natural selection, working in civil society, which drive the peoples irresistibly onwards, step by step, to higher cultural stages […] This progress is a natural law which no human force can permanently

---

44 Geiss “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” P. 108
45 Geiss “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” P. 110
47 Geiss “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” P. 111
48 Geiss “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” P. 113
49 Geiss “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” PP. 114 - 115
50 Max Weber at Freiburg University in 1895 here quoted in Geiss, I. “The German version of imperialism, 1898-1914 : Weltpolitik” P. 113
51 Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 239
Later, social Darwinism was extended from smaller matters and projected onto greater entities such as nations and races. These notions were mostly established in a liberal and conservative sphere with an academic background, but during the 1890s also shifted to the radical and socialist political spectrum in Germany (Alfred Ploetz (1860 – 1940), for example, who coined the term “racial hygiene” [Rassenhygiene] started out as a socialist).

After the loss of China to the Japanese forces in 1895 the “sick man” [Kranker Mann] metaphor used in Germany for the failing Ottoman Empire was extended and applied to the Chinese nation as well. Even though it was very clear that the colonial effort in political debates was quite divided and even contested, to some extent the colonies were areas in which superiority was strongly demonstratable as an effort to increase German prestige and act in the sense of a Social-Darwinian worldview on a global scale. The Expedition to China in 1860 and the integration of her into the world market after the opium wars changed China’s image and status in Prussia and later Germany. In fact, the venture for an economic position of the Germans in China began already with the end of the first opium war in 1842. Since then, German mercantile and military expansions into China was seen as a necessity in order for Germany to grow to the status of a Great nation. The sentiments of prestige, power and the strengthening of a nation found dominant expression within the German Navy. Alfred von Tirpitz noted that the national expansion on the basis of naval development is essential for the survival of a modern nation and his Social-Darwinian understanding of the development of the world, led him to remark that colonies such as China will ensure the success of the German race and nation. Tirpitz and German diplomat to China Edmund Freiherr von Heyking (1850 – 1915) while looking at possible concession zones in China,
noted that it was their mission to lift the German prestige in China.\textsuperscript{62} Besides technical superiority and the strive for political and economic power, the need for prestige and the role of colonial fantasies became also an essential part of the \textit{Weltpolitik} from the 1890s forward.\textsuperscript{63}

Other aspects of the racial debate had also strong implications for and originating from the colonial effort. The societal discussion about the status of the Chinese people and nation in discussions of German colonies in China is often expressed as an image of “People of Culture” [\textit{Kulturvolk}] against “People of Nature” [\textit{Naturvolk}]. Though the Chinese were not explicitly denounced as a savage people of nature, George Steinmetz suggests that the defensive stance of many Sino-experts after 1900 points towards a shift in the image of the Chinese nation within German public discourse.\textsuperscript{64} Steinmetz continues to state that after 1904, especially through experiences made in the Kiautschou concession however, it seems that the colonial effort in China shifted back again to a view of the Chinese as a non-savage people of culture.\textsuperscript{65}

\textbf{GERMAN WORK AND THE CHINESE WORKER}

Very central to the German self-image against other workers was the German understanding of the “German Work” (\textit{Deutsche Arbeit}). In his 1862 book on German work the novelist Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823 – 1897) writes that all people (\textit{Volk}) have their own attributes and differences which are expressed through their work.\textsuperscript{66} He links culture and national work and emphasizes that when the work grows the nation will grow with it. National identity and personality are expressed through work [\textit{herrausgearbeitet}] and he says that the essence of people [\textit{Volkstum}] and work are also specific to locations.\textsuperscript{67} In his mind new interpretations of the worker will be directly connected to new understandings of the meaning of being German (\textit{Deutsch sein}).\textsuperscript{68} In Riehl’s view the lazy people [\textit{Völker}] will be worked away [\textit{hinweggearbeitet}] and thus will disappear without the use of violence.\textsuperscript{69} However, at the

\textsuperscript{63} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 39
\textsuperscript{64} George Steinmetz. “‘The Devil’s Handwriting’ – Precolonial Discourse, Ethnographic Acuity and Cross-Identification in German Colonialism” \textit{Comparative Studies in Society and History} Vol 45, No. 1 (2003): P. 50
\textsuperscript{65} Steinmetz “‘The Devil’s Handwriting’ – Precolonial Discourse, Ethnographic Acuity and Cross-Identification in German Colonialism” P. 50
\textsuperscript{66} Wilhelm H. Riehl. \textit{Die Deutsche Arbeit} (Stuttgart: Gotta’scher Verlag, 1862) P. 61
\textsuperscript{67} Riehl \textit{Die Deutsche Arbeit} P. 62
\textsuperscript{68} Riehl \textit{Die Deutsche Arbeit} P. 257
\textsuperscript{69} Riehl \textit{Die Deutsche Arbeit} P. 64
same time he also finds that the destruction of the native American people by the white man was “an expression of the work that destroys the weak nations [ein Ausdruck der Arbeit der die schlaffen Nationen zerstört]”. This points to an essential understanding that a people can disappear in its entirety by the work performed by another people in the same space. In the following decades, German work became a symbol of national pride and uniqueness which later even led to the notion of a “Staat der Arbeit” in Nazi Germany.\textsuperscript{70}

The demand for Chinese laborers was very present in political and public discourse during the later 19\textsuperscript{th} century and up to World War I. For example, in the 1890s Prussian politician Adolf von Heppe (1836 – 1899) requested Chinese workers to boost the West-Prussian labor shortage which was caused by the lack of polish workers based on the Russo-German dispute in 1885.\textsuperscript{71} In general, Sebastian Conrad suggest that Chinese workers were not seen as a national threat to Germany and they were often described as hard working and good farmers with few needs.\textsuperscript{72} The emphasize of agricultural skills as well as for example the later comments on boiler room tolerance were mostly because these were the sectors in which Chinese workers were requested from.\textsuperscript{73} Conrad identifies in the debate about Chinese laborers in Germany two important sides. One of Cultural essentialism and the other of Labor as a commodity.\textsuperscript{74} The one side usually saw the beneficial and profitable advantages that cheap and hardworking Chinese workers posed for the German economy, while others mixed their fight for labor rights with racial undertones of the yellow peril and an “us vs them” mentality which at the same time was to establish a national identity.

The discussion of race and labor in Germany had a direct influence on identity politics and definitions such as race, nation, citizenship and the colonial venture.\textsuperscript{75} Law making became a “dynamic site” for the definition of identities and even though racial laws in Germany never came to pass (mostly because of a lack of clear boundaries), the propositions and discussions of exclusion laws build a line on which some elements of the German public discourse tried to define a self-identity.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{70} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany PP. 73 - 74
\textsuperscript{71} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 203
\textsuperscript{72} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany PP. 204 - 208
\textsuperscript{73} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 219
\textsuperscript{74} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 218
\textsuperscript{75} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 242
\textsuperscript{76} Conrad Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany P. 243
**THE COLONIAL SUBJECT**

Nationalism was not only a question driving the Colonial power, but it became also a tool for interpretation for the colonized nation and individual. The wide cultural and identity differences which were created or enlarged by colonial activity forced the anti-colonialist (or anti-imperialist) need to “create new and powerful identities for colonized peoples and to challenge colonialism not only at a political or intellectual level, but also on an emotional plane.” The very nature of nations as Benedict Anderson points out was the creation of imagined communities, born with the failure and demise of feudalism and the rise of capitalism. The actual existence of created identities according to Frederick Cooper is not necessary. He supposes that identification is achieved through the relation to another person or through the relation to a certain category (such as race). Further he states that the position of a certain identity being in practice among a group of people does not necessarily warrant that this identity strictly exists. The interpretation of these identities is also essential to understanding them. Cooper says that identity “tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity).” Thus, there is need for a complete sense of understanding of the context of any identity, be it colonizer or colonized, to properly demonstrate their purpose and expression.

New forms of widespread media such as newspapers fueled the formation of new connections which in turn gave birth to a nationalist sense among the colonized peoples. This emerging nationalism among the colonial subject can be interpreted as a “derivative discourse” since much of it originated from the colonizer’s literature. This would lead one to believe that imitation was one of the characteristics of these nationalist movements. However, Loomba points out that the national discourse often included a genuine non-western notion in which cultural markers and identities are created, invented and often reinvented. Nations were built not only by forging bonds, but also by fracturing others and by new-interpretations and selective treatment of events of the past and through that a reinterpretation and establishment of a people’s own history. While one form of nationalism led to colonialism, another lead to anti-colonialism in colonized countries. This restructuring, which is both

---

77 Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism PP. 155 - 156
78 Cooper Colonialism in Question PP. 62 - 71
79 Cooper Colonialism in Question P. 59
80 Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism P. 158
81 Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism PP. 158 - 169
found in nationalist and pan-nationalist sentiment, creates communities which then have to be endowed with a historical, racial and cultural unity which (not unlike the stereotyping efforts of colonialists) in practice both simplifies complex cultural formations and performs its own exclusions.\cite{Cooper72}

One problem with the creation of national identities within colonial states is expressed by Frederick Cooper who states that “the state monopolizes, or seeks to monopolize, not only legitimate physical force but also legitimate symbolic force, as Bourdieu puts it. This includes the power to name, to identify, to categorize, to state what is what and who is who.”\cite{Osterhammel90} Jürgen Osterhammel however, remarks that the status of semi-colonies applied by thinkers to the Western colonies in China is based on the fact that none of the Chinese 18 core provinces ever fell completely to the control of another state and as such no foreign power ever was in a position of absolute power over the identity of the subject.\cite{Osterhammel90}

This means that in context of the colonial power, it is important to establish how the power relations in connection with the subject are in order to understand the agency that the subject possesses. This will enable us to establish a basis on which we can judge how far the creation of an identity and perception is possible while under the power structure of a colonial empire. Klaus Mühlhahn seems to agree and points out that “they [modern Chinese historians] called semicolonialism, a term describing a transitional state wherein various forms of foreign hegemony coexisted with remnants of formal political sovereignty of the dominated country.”\cite{Mühlhahn90} Which would give these semi-colonies different qualities for subjects to act or use their voice in when compared to other full-fledged colonies.

A central question within academic works surrounding the colonial subject is the question of the voice of the colonized. Can the subaltern or subject speak, and do we romanticize them when they do? In her book Loomba presents the notion of Indian scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak who proposes that it is impossible for the colonized voice to be recovered, especially in respect to sexualized hierarchies.\cite{Loomba90} This point stems from her interpretation that the native men can find a way to speak, but individuals or groups further down the hierarchy may not. Loomba comments on this saying that “Spivak effectively warns the postcolonial critic against romanticising and homogenising the subaltern subject. However, her insistence on

\begin{itemize}
  \item \cite{Loomba178} Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism P. 178
  \item \cite{Cooper72} Cooper Colonialism in Question P. 72
  \item \cite{Osterhammel90} Jürgen Osterhammel “Die Chinesische Revolution als Prozeß der Dekolonisierung” In Das Ende der Kolonialreiche – Dekolonisation und die Politik der Großmächte, ed. Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1990) PP. 119 - 120
  \item \cite{Mühlhahn90} Mühlhahn “A New Imperial Vision? The Limits of German Colonialism in China” P. 131
  \item \cite{Loomba194} Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism P. 194
\end{itemize}
subaltern “silence” is problematic if adopted as the definitive statement about colonial relations.”\textsuperscript{87} Loomba goes on to point out that the distinction within subaltern groups is important, but to generally dismiss all speech by the colonized subject would be wasteful. The lack of control within the colonial field does not necessitate that the subject has no form of power at all and the creation of the colonial subject’s own history may not be jeopardized by the circumstances they are in either. Another warning about the interpretation of the colonial subject’s voice is given by Cooper (referring to the African case), who points out that not every act should be identified as resistance or speaking since that \textit{“may narrow our understanding of African history rather than expand it.”}\textsuperscript{88} However, he also points out that the colonial subject had means to act such as legal courts which \textit{“became another instrument through which indigenous people (bringing claims of various sorts and contesting colonial initiatives) could try to manipulate legal systems and make themselves into ‘legal actors.’”}\textsuperscript{89}

It is important to be aware of two notions when interpreting thought of the colonial subject. Anti-imperialist and anti-colonial thought may not accurately give us a complete image of the subject and the reality in which they act and not every notion should be romanticized as an act of resistance, but rather be carefully examined in its context to fully understand its place in the narrative of the colonized people.

In his paper on the formation of Chinese merchant groups Sun Lixin proposes that a better theoretical lens from which to approach the colonial subjects would be the interaction theory \textsuperscript{90} One should no longer just regard the colony as a unilateral political power structure but try to explain the colonial situation as an intercultural interaction. The intended goal is to achieve a description of the colony as a complex social structure that emerges from the mutual contact, overlapping and intermingling between foreign and local culture. In his eyes that would mean that even under extreme conditions the subject has agency and is able to play an active part within the colonial area.

\textbf{MAJOR WORKS ON GERMAN IMPERIALISM IN SHANDONG}

The German colonial action in Shandong in the context of imperialism, colonialism and mutual interaction of Sino-German actors has seen multiple great contribution within the

\textsuperscript{87} Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism P. 195  
\textsuperscript{88} Loomba Colonialism/Postcolonialism P. 203  
\textsuperscript{89} Cooper \textit{Colonialism in Question} P. 173  
academic realm. Two of the most significant contributions to the topic were authored by Klaus Mühlhahn\textsuperscript{91} and John E. Schrecker\textsuperscript{92}. Mühlhahn’s work focuses primarily on the interaction between the German rule and Chinese resistance within the colonial context. While Schrecker’s excellent account of the history of German Imperialism and Chinese nationalism, draws most of its findings from interpretations of the sources provided by the foreign diplomatic interactions, such as documents taken from the interaction of the Zongli Yamen [总理衙门] (the Chinese department of foreign affairs).


3 German and Chinese Relations and Perceptions before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 – 1895

EARLY 19th CENTURY GERMAN VIEW ON CHINA

It is important to understand that throughout the 19th century the image of China was created more artificially than objectively. A real image of China did not exist in the German literature and instead was constructed and often remained unaffected by commercial and socio-political relations. In the first half of the 19th century a rather romantic image of China dominated the imagination of most German citizens. Since many German authors such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel based their opinions on English and French sources without ever even having any real knowledge of or contact with China, this image was very persistent and ever hardly broken. The static image of an unchanging country, which is without love but commanded relationships and compared to the West still relied on countrywide slavery was spread by German writers. Hegel’s exclamation of “It has always remained what it was” underlined the fate of China being removed from history in German perception. It is very clear that this image of China was very dominating even up until the 1840s and 50s with German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling describing China as a tyrannical nation, which hinders personal freedom and progress of any kind since thousands of years. Some modern historians suggest that depending on the mindset of the Western observers the observation of a static or stagnating China might be understandable. William T. Rowe writes that “[...] Western observers who increasingly took ‘machines as the measure of men’ were probably not wrong to find in the Great Qing empire little evidence of basic technological innovation”. Historian Michael Adams underlines this point in his work on Machines as the measure of Men. He points out that the Industrial revolution and the subsequent spread from England to Middle-Europe and France birthed a new understanding of European standing to travelers, missionaries and colonialists alike. The dominant nature of science, machines and

93 Ernst Rose. “China as a Symbol of Reaction in Germany, 1830 – 1880” Comparative Literature Vol. 3, No. 1 (1951): P. 57
94 Rose “China as a Symbol of Reaction in Germany, 1830 – 1880” P. 58
97 Adas Machines as the measure of men P. 133 - 134

24
technology was quickly transcribed to feelings of overconfidence and superiority against all other forms of current or past societal existences. During the 19th century science and technology did not become one of many distinguishing features but became the only meaningful standard on which to measure civilization. Thus, other civilizations which were not able to achieve the same level of scientific and technological achievements were considered as “failed” or not real civilizations, which became a distinguishing factor within colonial policy and ambition. However, China was not only attacked for its perceived political and technological uncivilized properties, but also for its cultural inferiority. Julius Leopold Klein described the Chinese Drama as “the lowest stage of dramatic development.” In sum China served as a political and cultural example for “tenacious conservatism” and “single minded reaction,” which was later used during the Young Germany era as a viewpoint from which to write comparisons about the status of Europe.

The notion of a romanticized but negative Chinese image in the first half of the 19th century is however not absolute. To claim that it was purely negative ignores that there are quite some aspects about the perceived Chinese country the German literature embraced and praised. One example is the admiration of the Chinese script, which functioned as a universal communicator between people who did not speak the same language. Furthermore, it is certainly not surprising that the general German population had only a very reduced image of China and the Chinese since the contact between the two people was extremely limited throughout the 19th century. For example, during the first half of the century much of the public accounts between Chinese and Germans (on German soil) was based on reports and writings about the first two Chinese (Feng Yaxing and Feng Yaxue) who in 1822 arrived in Germany via a naval route from South China. In general, the number of Chinese in Germany was extremely low during the 19th century. Meaning that the public German opinion was mostly formed by second or thirdhand accounts which in most cases were extremely biased.

1850s and onward

98 Adas Machines as the measure of men P. 136
99 Adas Machines as the measure of men P. 153
100 Rose “China as a Symbol of Reaction in Germany, 1830 – 1880” P. 63
101 Rose “China as a Symbol of Reaction in Germany, 1830 – 1880” P. 65
102 Erich Gütinger. Die Geschichte der Chinesen in Deutschland – Ein Überblick über die ersten 100 Jahre ab 1822 (Berlin: Waxman, 2005)
During the 1850s the consequences of the Opium war\textsuperscript{103} started to greatly affect the image of China in Germany, while the reactionary view never really disappeared until the Post World War II era, German perception of China acquired a much larger spectrum.

Towards the latter half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century the western powers applied their changing understanding of civilization and culture more and more to their view on the Chinese empire. Civilizations were greatly reevaluated during the course of the century and new criteria were established to differentiate themselves from the barbaric people. Advances in education, science, arts and commerce among other fields became markers placed on the civilization idea. They became affirmations of superiority over barbaric people and the general standard for what was viewed as barbaric was greatly informed through the colonial experience. Cultural injection such as “the adoption of Western diet, dress code and other life-styles, along with the denunciation of ‘barbaric’ customs such as polygamy and slavery, were regarded as significant signposts in becoming a ‘civilized’ nation.”\textsuperscript{104} This new adopted image of civilization became part of an accelerated globalizing effort which characterized the lifetime of the German empire.\textsuperscript{105}

Demands for global colonial engagement which strengthened the German prestige and military can be found already during the 1840s. In a memorandum concerning Prussia’s standing and future prospects, demands were strongly made for developments in the direction of becoming a sea- and colonial power. H.v.d. Oelsnitz writes that “the Prussian people cannot honor themselves and their new constitution in a better way, cannot show its worthiness and intelligence more clearly, than by the immediate involvement in the domination of the world.”\textsuperscript{106} He further underlines the importance of the navy to achieve said goals, stating that the new found German power must not “fall like a mild rain on our Earth, but must cross it like a powerful stream, which then rushes to the sea to fertilize far away spaces.”\textsuperscript{107}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} British Chinese war from 1839 – 1942 which forcefully opened up China to the British Empire
\item \textsuperscript{104} Hon Fai Chen. \textit{Civilizing the Chinese, Competing with the West – Study societies in Late Qing China.} (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017) P. 10
\item \textsuperscript{105} Matthew Jefferies. \textit{Contesting the German Empire, 1871 – 1918.} (Malden: Blackswell Publishing, 2008) P. 167
\item \textsuperscript{106} H.v.d. Oelsnitz. \textit{Denkschrift über die Erhebung Preußens zu einer See-, Kolonial- und Weltmacht ersten Ranges} (Berlin: Verlag von Carl I. Klemann, 1847) P. 3 - 4
\item \textsuperscript{107} Oelsnitz \textit{Denkschrift über die Erhebung Preußens} P. 9
\end{itemize}
Before the acquisition of the Kiautschou concession, Germany considered at multiple times the benefits of a territorial presence in China and in general this idea developed strongly during the 1860s especially after the perceived economic possibilities of millions of customers which were now partially reachable through the 1859 - 1862 Eulenburg expedition. Despite Germany’s earlier trade contacts, especially through Prussian merchants during the 1820s to 1850s and the establishment of Richard von Carlowitz as the first Consul to China in 1847, the Eulenburg Treaty signed in 1861 between China and Germany was a great step forward for Sino-German relations and trade. To strengthen their own economic basis in Asia the establishment of harbor or coaling stations were seen as the ideal means to not only improve mercantile opportunities but also at the same time establish an appropriate local military strength. Thus, under the right circumstances, Germany regarded the acquisition of a colony in China a desirable goal.

However, during the Bismarck era, Germany, unlike many other European nations, had a rather restrained policy towards China until the 1890s and the emergence of the Weltpolitik. After 1871 Bismarck was against a colonial policy, and showed greater concern about political strengthening and the German situation in the middle of Europe. The sacrifice of colonial ventures was one cost of Bismarck’s policy who didn’t want to risk any stable relations with other nations through colonial competition across the globe. German policy as such was cautious and conservative towards any interest in China with the goal of non-disturbance of any alliances and thus the German Empire was mostly involved in arms sales which were often positively received by the Chinese counterparts. The German merchants at the time did not often identify themselves as Germans leading some high officials to receive it as a detriment to German prestige. In his memoirs Alfred von Tirpitz recounts a case of a German merchant Schwarzkopf who renamed himself as “Blackhead”,

---

108 Mühlhahn “A New Imperial Vision? The Limits of German Colonialism in China” P. 130
and he describes this as a great loss of German character [Deutschtum] on the international stage.\(^{113}\) This signified to him a deep national crisis where the proper support and sense of national pride is not developed as it should. Besides that, Germany at times was engaging in diplomatic missions such as their support of China during the 1874 Taiwan incident\(^{114}\).

Which in the context of German ambition in China is rather ironic, since German advocates for colonies had considered Taiwan (Formosa) as a perfect place for a German settlement in Asia and anticipations for the acquisition of the Island during a possible conflict with China were expressed.\(^{115}\) The vast changes in German ambition on the world stage are greatly underlined by the reluctant Bismarck’s acceptance of the new call for colonies. Referring to a change in colonial demand he remarked in 1889: “I don’t feel empowered to throw stones in the path of the great Reich’s locomotive once she has chosen her track”.\(^{116}\) Thus, when Bismarck’s political career came to an end at the turn of the decade, great changes to German foreign policy began to appear. Militarism and a strengthened focus on colonial achievements guided the choice of international alliances which meant a complete reduction of the core principles of Bismarck’s European policy within a few years.\(^{117}\) In addition the colonial department in the foreign office of Germany was added in 1890\(^{118}\) being a strong marker for an emerging and focused colonial policy.

After the establishment of the German Empire, German writers haven often used the Chinese global position as points from which to evaluate and inform their own perception of the Chinese people and especially the Chinese worker since there was an existing interest in some German circles to encourage the immigration of Chinese labor forces and to support the use of Chinese coolies. For example, in his book about Chinese emigration, German ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844 – 1904) evaluates global Chinese labor movements as human floods [\textit{chinesische Menschenflut}]\(^{119}\) and goes on to describe the Chinese worker as a cheap and diligent Asian who’s main ambition are the accumulation of money.\(^{120}\) In his eyes the Chinese prefers work which both requires effort and endurance and thus he is well suited


\(^{114}\) Japan invaded the island of Taiwan, in China also referred to as the Mudan Incident [牡丹社事件]


\(^{116}\) Knoll & Hiery \textit{The German Colonial Experience} PP. 15 - 16


\(^{118}\) Jefferies \textit{Contesting the German Empire} P. 174

\(^{119}\) Friedrich Ratzel. \textit{Die chinesische Auswanderung: Ein Beitrag zur Cultur- und Handelsgeographie}. (Breslau: Kern, 1876) P. 229

\(^{120}\) Ratzel \textit{Die chinesische Auswanderung} P. 229 - 131
for “lower mechanical work” [Mechanischen Arbeiten niederer Art]. These are qualities which are connected to racial properties, in which only the pure races have certain attributes that can be lost through racial mixing. Ratzel points out that “the weak aspect of mixed races […] is within the economic life, because without exception they are wasteful and lazy. The control over the Chinese labor force is also often considered by German thinkers, and Ratzel himself suggests that the Chinese worker is flexible under violence, and happy without great reward. In sum “the Chinese worker had the reputation of being diligent, strong, skillful and economic viable, furthermore he was judged as very adaptable to harsh climates and to have a dislike for alcohol. Therefore, they possessed the ideal requirements for the execution of hard manual labor.” Thus, the Chinese worker was often described in the framework of usefulness which informed later ambitions of Germany in China when it came to questions of labor.

**ORIGIN OF MODERN CONCEPTS IN CHINA FROM THE WEST**

Ideas about the standing and meaning of Chinese people were not exclusively late 19th century inspirations of foreign literature. During the time of the Ming – Qing dynastic transition, Wang Fuzhi (1619 – 1692) already posted questions about possible biological differences between others and the dominating culture. This was strongly related to the Chinese view on superiority and assimilation of the perceived savage people surrounding the empire. This thought process even reached ideas about sub-categories within the Han-Chinese ethnicity itself and whether everyone was the same kind of min [民] [people] or if some groups differentiated themselves through some qualities. However, many modern concepts as they were understood during later nationalist ideas were first introduced either through Western sources or Japan. During the Late Qing period the literati (mostly through the help of study societies) introduced terms such as “civilization” and “culture” carrying the modern meaning and being distinguished from the older notions of a “barbaric vs civilized China” mindset. This late adoption of a new self-image was in part born out of earlier ideas of infallibility of Chinese culture. European gain in China up until the mid-19th century was

---

121 Ratzel Die chinesische Auswanderung P. 233
122 Ratzel Die chinesische Auswanderung P. 239
124 Rowe China’s Last Empire P. 100 - 101
125 Chen Civilizing the Chinese, Competing with the West – Study societies in Late Qing China P. 2 - 3
generally perceived and explained as a graceful concession by the Emperor and not as an over-civilized and powerful nation’s advantage over China. Events such as the Opium War of the 1840s did in fact not result in questions concerning China’s cultural and moral superiority.126

**CHINA IN CRISIS**

The Sino-French war of 1885 was the beginning of a steep decline for the Chinese self-perception and the view on its place in the world.127 The common idea, which was even upheld in Asia after the Opium War, of China as a high culture to which other cultures will submit to started to fade. While China was still able to withstand any great demands for concessions by the western powers it became clear that the 1860s modernization program128 was still too weak to compete with the colonizers. This resulted in years of gradual foreign gain over China and as Lu Xun later described the situation: China became an “iron house without windows, totally indestructible, with many people sleeping soundly inside, about to be asphyxiated”.129 Later some Chinese thinkers even wished for a more total defeat during the 1885 war, such as Chinese reformists who “believed that the concession granted by France in the peace treaty disguised the failure of the old regime and created lasting ambiguities in the political and social content of Chinese nationalism.”130 Though the *Yangwu* or Self-Strengthening movement [*洋务运动*] did not show the desired improvements yet, it was still pursued strongly after 1885 with an increased stress on naval development and acceleration in civil enterprise. Chinese troops training under European officers (Mainly German and British) increased in the years 1885 – 1894 from 40,000 to over 100,000 and at the same time the number of warships and total tonnage of the Chinese fleet increased significantly as well.131 Military spending made by far the largest portion of the *Yangwu* efforts while the civil enterprises were very dependent on foreigners. Industry such as the Iron and steelwork production plants were established in Hanyang, which later had to be refinanced through help of the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank and saw completion in June of 1894. Ideas about military strength and machinery were strongly supported by *Yangwu*

---

126 Chen Civilizing the Chinese, Competing with the West – Study societies in Late Qing China P. 19
128 Self-strengthening movement or *Yangwu Yundong* [*洋务运动*]
129 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 245
130 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 255
131 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 262
statesmen such as Li Hongzhang (李鸿章) (1823 - 1901) who was convinced that Chinese customs and culture as well as social systems were superior, and inferiority could only be found in cannon, railways and machinery. He understood that “machinery was the dynamic of Western civilization so he made use of it”. These ideas were especially strongly expressed during considerations of learning from the West in the 1870s. Chinese statesman Zeng Guofan (曾国藩) (1811 – 1872) and Li suggested in a proposal that “Westerners seek knowledge for actual use. Regardless of whether they are scholars, workers, or soldiers, they all go to school to study and to understand the principles, to practise on the machines, and to get personally familiar with the work. They all exert themselves to the utmost of their ingenuity, and learn from one another, in the hope that there will be some monthly difference and yearly improvement.” Chinese diplomat Guo Songtao (郭嵩燾) (1818 – 1891) agreed, expressing a wish for Chinese to travel to Western nations to learn their methods and implant them in China. These proposals to send students to the west were however dropped during the 1880s and were generally regarded as a failure.

While it is true that the Yangwu movement was mostly kept up until the last decade of the 19th century, new ideas developed exposing the perceived weaknesses which the movement failed to rectify. During the 1870s Manchu statesman Wenxiang (文祥) (1818 – 1876) already warned of the inaction and disregard of foreign action as a mixture for disaster especially in light of the 1874 Taiwan incident involving Japan. This marked the beginning of a period filled with demands for stronger reforms to the Chinese political landscape which would also in turn mean a reevaluation of China’s place in the world. As early as 1879, Chinese diplomat Xue Fucheng (薛福成) (1838 – 1894) wrote that “the empire has to be changed from a divided world, in which the Chinese are segregated from the barbarians to an integrated world in which China and foreign countries are in close connection” and “if we run after others with our worn-out knowledge, what can we do, it may be asked, when there is no way to surpass them?”. He advocated that to surpass and pursue are concepts that China cannot allow itself longer to ponder about. From the 1880s onwards, scholars such as reformist Zheng Guanying (郑观应) (1842 – 1922), Xue Fucheng, student in France and later

133 Teng & Fairbank China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923 P. 91
134 Teng & Fairbank China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923 P. 101
135 Teng & Fairbank China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923 P. 90
136 Teng & Fairbank China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923 PP. 142 - 143
scholar and official Ma Jianzhong 马建忠 (1845 – 1900) and Chinese translator, journalist and reformer Wang Tao 王韬 (1828 – 1897) expanded on the critique towards the Yangwu movement. The demands for political reformism came from a large spectrum of Chinese society and critique was brought forward multiple times by people such as Hong Kong physician and essayist Kai Ho 何神啟 and often cited foreign examples such as Britain, Germany and Japan as inspirations. 137 While being opposed by pro-Yangwu thinkers, the ideas spread through the ruling class and finally in 1894, Chinese scholar and imperial tutor Weng Tonghe 翁同龢 (1830 – 1904) presented writings by Yangwu critics and reformists to the emperor.

The Post Sino-French war era and the slow division of China gave birth to different sentiment among the Chinese elite’s on how to approach the issue of foreign claim to Chinese territories. Since the 1840s resistance had been a must, but the methods of which have been conceived very differently. Li Hongzhang believed that “using one barbarian to control another barbarian” was appropriate. 138 This however meant also for the Chinese that there were expected demands from the concessions given to the foreigners. Chinese official Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (1837 – 1909) on the other hand proposed another alternative. In his eyes the use of Chinese living in other territories like Southeast Asia and Australia would help to pressure the western powers there. Diplomatic demands and the spread of propaganda pamphlets were some of the tools he envisioned as an appropriate response. 139 The Chinese population generally perceived the weak state as a failure of the mandarins and the gentry class, which resulted in multiple revolts during the 1880s and 1890s. 140

During the later parts of the 19th century however, anti-foreign ideas became more widespread. Fueled by sentiments against the Manchu rulers, anti-missionary protests became more common. This had a great impact on negotiations with foreign nations since the authority’s ability to prevent upheaval required more awareness of demands from foreigners to China. 141 This dislike towards foreigners was also observed within the Chinese elites. Li Hongzhang stated about the Empress Dowager that “in the realm of foreign affairs, although

137 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 282
138 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 260
139 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 261
140 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 276
141 Chesneaux & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 276
the Empress Dowager followed the general advice of her officials, there seemed to be always present in her mind a feeling of hatred toward the foreigners.”

At the same time, through the increased contact with the west, Chinese Scholars well understood the general foreign perception of themselves. In 1877 for example, Ma Jianzhong reported on his own study experience in France and wrote that “Westerners have had little contact with us Chinese and usually are scornful of us. Therefore, whenever there is a Chinese student who knows a little and understands half of what he has studied, he is praised as being extraordinary. This “being extraordinary” [as an individual] is just a sign of being despised [as a race].”

SINO-GERMAN TRADE AND EARLY DIPLOMACY

The lack of naval trading groups between Germany and China during the first half of the 19th century meant that most of the trade between the two states was via the Russian land route. This meant that general contact was very scarce. Even German merchants who were active in sea trade, were not recognized as such since they often imitated British merchants to facilitate transactions. In sum, during the first half of the 19th century, Germans were not perceived as any differently within China than most other Westerners who were in contact with Chinese traders and therefore, the Chinese people were unclear about Germany’s position among the other Western countries and ethnic groups. Thus, the understanding of the Germanic people was in general too obscure and in the Chinese mind they belonged to the general collective of the barbarian or "foreign devil" [洋鬼子]. This was in line of the imperial view which portrait the Western nations as desolate and barbaric [荒蛮] who were not to be assimilated like the Eastern neighboring nations. The main reason for this was that communication with nations in the east was possible while the westerners did not share the Chinese writing system, which represented a main marker for civilizable barbarians.

However, some members of the new emerging literati, during the period after the treaty of Nanjing in 1842, started to be concerned about a new world view. Two documents released

---

142 Teng & Fairbank *China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923* P. 89
143 Teng & Fairbank *China’s Response to the West – A Documentary Survey 1839 – 1923* P. 95
146 Peace treaty signed after the First Opium war
during the 1840s showed that at least the intellectual class in China had some form of understanding of the German area in Europe. The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms [海国图志] and the Sketch of the World Geography [瀛环志略] both feature information about the German geographical locations with the addition of some characteristics.\textsuperscript{147} Despite of the lack of any direct information about the characteristics of the German area, western documentations brought to China over the course of the previous centuries provided the Chinese literati with a rudimentary understanding of the importance of Religion in Germany’s day to day life and in society as a whole.\textsuperscript{148} To what extent these images were clearly formed is hard to say, especially in light of the fact that in some geographical works German features and those of other areas (such as North Africa) were confused.

Due to the Self-strengthening movement, the 1860s, 70s and 80s saw a steep increase in arms dealing with European nations. During this time Chinese perception of German goods was extremely positive and after the 1880s and Li Hongzhang’s special deal with the German arms and steel manufacturer Krupp the Chinese leadership placed a great trust in German products.\textsuperscript{149} This meant that naval ambitions, such as the development of the Beiyang (北洋) fleet was mostly reliant on German arms trades. In general, Krupp became not simply an arms provider for the Chinese empire, but also introduced a large number of advanced technological knowledge to the Chinese market.\textsuperscript{150} This meant that besides the trade with cannons and gunships, Germany was also involved in military training, railway engineering, coal mine exploration and other aspects of Chinese development.\textsuperscript{151}

The new expansions of trade relations with China also resulted in an increase of German companies on Chinese land. While in 1849 only four German companies were registered in China, in 1872 that number increased to 40 and in 1884 to 64.\textsuperscript{152} On the dawn of the occupation of the Jiaozhou Bay area (胶州湾) the number of German companies in China

\textsuperscript{148} Han “Kenntnisse der Chinesen von Deutschland in den 1840er Jahren” P. 10
\textsuperscript{151} Wang “Zhang Zhidong Yu Deguoren” PP. 99 - 105
\textsuperscript{152} Zhou “Di yi Ci Shijie Dazhan Qian De ZhongDe Maoyi” P. 47
surpassed 100. A good example for the spread of German business interest in China is the company of Carlowitz & Co (礼和洋行), which started in Hong Kong in 1866, came to Shanghai in 1877, Tianjin in 1886, Hankou in 1891 and finally in 1897 opened businesses in Qingdao and Jinan. Banks also played an important role in German-Chinese trade relations and in 1889 the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank was founded in Shanghai which throughout Germany’s engagement in China opened offices in Shanghai, Tianjin, Hankou, Hong Kong, Jinan and Beijing. All these developments in business relations made Germany the second largest importer in China by the end of the 19th century.

The 1870s saw the first official visit of a Chinese minister in Germany. Liu Xihong 刘锡鸿, who was very well known to subscribe to Anti-foreign sentiments and strongly opposed westernization ideas, arrived in Germany in 1876 where he established the first Chinese embassy. His observations of Germany were designed to give the Chinese leadership impressions on the development of Western nations and possible ideas on improvements. In his report he makes notes of German militarism and that in his eyes wealth represents the strength of the West. However, his extreme conservatism and disregard for Western development lead him to be extremely underwhelmed by his observations in Germany. After returning to China, he strongly advised against the Yangwu movement and among other things the construction of the railway and instead advocated a return to older systems and principles to reestablish China’s past glory. Other Chinese authors, who experienced Europe first hand painted a different image of Germany. Wang Tao’s publication on the Franco-Prussian war [普法战纪] for example, created a whole new image of Germany as a world power in Chinese discourse. While the image of Germany among the political class was not always regarded as very positive, some Chinese authors still suggest that from the German unification onwards Germany began to become a model for the future development of China in the late Qing Dynasty in terms of military, political, industrial and municipal construction and education systems. Some contemporary Chinese even considered

---

153 Zhou “Di yi Ci Shijie Dazhan Qian De ZhongDe Maoyi” P. 47
155 Zhang “Lun Wanqing Shou Renzhu De Gongshi Liu Xihong – Zai Deguo de Huodong yu Sixiang” P. 34 - 35
156 Zhang “Lun Wanqing Shou Renzhu De Gongshi Liu Xihong – Zai Deguo de Huodong yu Sixiang” P. 35
158 Zhang. “Wanqing Shouci Lüxi Guanyuan Haiwai Youji Zhong De Deguo Xushi” P. 71
Germany as the “most friendly of Western nations” [最友善的西方国家] as a result of diplomatic efforts during the Taiwan incident and friendly arms trade deals up until the mid-1890s.\textsuperscript{159}

The conflict with Japan over Korea resulting in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 – 95 was another devasting blow to any strong self-image of the Qing Empire at that time. Especially since the Chinese leadership publicly portray Japan as inherently inferior to China.\textsuperscript{160} This realization “broke the neck” of any reasonable Yangwu support and in practice served as the breaking point of the whole initiative.

\textsuperscript{159} Hu “Cong Shiji Zhi Jiao – Qing Zhengfu Daibiao De Liang Ci Chufang – Kan Jindai Deguo – Dui Hua Zhengce De Jubian” P. 61
\textsuperscript{160} Chesneau & Bastid & Bergère M. China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution. P. 285
4 Germany, China and Kiautschou after 1895

4.1 Germany and the Occupation of Kiautschou - Before 1898

**CHANGES TO THE GERMAN ATTITUDE PRIOR TO THE OCCUPATION OF JIAOZHOU**

During the Sino-Japanese War the leadership under Kaiser Wilhelm II. (1859 – 1941) was decidedly pro-Japan, but at the same time they also recognized that economic, naval and missionary interests in China needed to be taken in account for further action. Most of the western countries increased their naval presence up to and during the Sino-Japanese war with the exception of Germany, which did not have the possibilities and political support to realize the Kaiser’s naval ambitions. The rather small German East-Asian naval squadron [Kreuzergeschwader] active in Asia demonstrated to the German leadership the utter lack of naval power of the German Empire. The incident of the Sino-Japanese war was thus used in arguments by Wilhelm II for an expansion of German naval military power “for the colonies”. At the same time Wilhelm II tried to use the incident as a unifying force of the Western powers against the threat of the yellow peril. For example, he used the rhetoric of the yellow peril to convince Russia to an alliance for the protection of European-Christians and the “cross” against the Mongols and Buddha from the east.

The devastating defeat of China during the Sino-Japanese war brought great changes to Germany’s (and more generally European) perception of opportunities in East Asia. The Deutsche Kolonialzeitung (Mouthpiece of the German Colonial Society) released an article in September of 1895 celebrating the opening of the German concession in Tianjin but arguing that the time may have come for the acquisition of a proper German naval base in China. They underlined that with the collapse of China’s military power the German government must act quick before any recovery on the Chinese side will once again impede the establishment of a German base. An earlier article released in April evaluates that the

162 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 222
163 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 222
164 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 229
165 Gustav Meinecke. "Deutschlands Stellung in Ostasien" Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. September 28, 1895, P. 1 - 2
implications of the Sino-Japanese peace treaty for Germany was the loss of opportunity for any action towards Taiwan.\textsuperscript{166} Further, the analysis of economic and militaristic advantages of a base in China shows the thirst for a German standing in East-Asia. That meant that China was not only regarded as a state, but as an abstract opportunity. During the same year the same newspaper released multiple articles on the question of further German engagement and possibilities in Asia. In August the paper underlined that “since the Chinese sooner or later need to grant more opening, we may be able to acquire a station in China through tactical acts.”\textsuperscript{167} It is interesting to note that in this context the desired result is described as “German influence in foreign nations” which during later years broadened to the ideas of a German home away from home on Chinese soil. This article also shows the Chinese laborer had great value in the mind of German colonizers and they describe the cultivation of the Negro into a proper worker as too expensive and as such the diligent Chinese coolie would make a much better replacement. The central issue between 1895 and 97 was not only to find the right time to demand a concession from the Chinese empire, but also which location would be most suited. In his memoirs Alfred Von Tirpitz points out that in 1895 the Jiaozhou Bay was still considered an inferior location.\textsuperscript{168} The main reason was that the location was considered too far north and thus Amoy [Xiamen / 厦门] was generally favored to avoid any complications with Russia. However, Amoy was soon recognized as problematic as well since it was basically home to an English settlement and more and more the idea of Jiaozhou being ideal for military fortifications and mercantile expansion spread within the naval and imperial leadership. The Jiaozhou Bay area located in the province of Shandong did not only appeal to the German leadership because of its geographic position, rich products and relatively pleasant climate, but also because of its strategic place and key area for Western Christian missionary efforts and the existing strong establishment of religious forces within the region.\textsuperscript{169} In fact, the German religious leaders active in Shandong had great personal interest to contribute to the taking of Jiaozhou. In 1896, Bishop of the German Shandong Mission Johann Baptist Anzer (1851 – 1903), who believed that the Germans need to teach the Chinese proper respect\textsuperscript{170}, personally recommended Jiaozhou as the best opportunity for the

\textsuperscript{166} Gustav Meinecke. “Der Japanisch-Chinesische Friedensvertrag” \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}. April 27, 1895, P. 1

\textsuperscript{167} Gustav Meinecke. “Die Lage in Ostasien” \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung}. August 17, 1895, P. 1

\textsuperscript{168} Tirpitz \textit{Erinnerungen}. P. 61


\textsuperscript{170} Heirold \textit{Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt} P. 245
German Empire and he was involved in the 1897 occupation effort seeing it as a great opportunity for the mission and the German nation.\textsuperscript{171} This shows that multiple layers of the German society were interested and involved in the occupation of Jiaozhou for their own personal and nationalist reasons. Tirpitz wanted a stronger naval force and Anzer wanted support for the missions.

Other locations, such as Zhoushan [舟山], were also discussed\textsuperscript{172} but as Tirpitz remarked: "I saw myself, if Qingdao was not considered, facing with an impossible decision."\textsuperscript{173} He believed that the best way to acquire a lease for Jiaozhou would be one which keeps China’s face as well as a strategy that seemed least like a hostile takeover by Germany.\textsuperscript{174}

The general stand of the German government towards China was that they regarded a concession and coaling station in China as a reward for their efforts during the Sino-Japanese negotiations. For example, German advisor to Li Hongzhang and customs officer Gustav Detring (1842 – 1913) was directly involved in the establishment of contact and negotiations between the Chinese and Japanese leadership.\textsuperscript{175} The direct interference of Russia, France and Germany during the negotiations convinced the Japanese Empire to abstain from the taking of the Liao Dong peninsula, and while this success (from the German side) was mostly subscribed to the actions of diplomat Max von Brandt, it created an idea in the mind of Chinese officials that the European advisors created useful contacts which could help China to achieve positive results for herself.\textsuperscript{176} This resulted in a closer cooperation between German institutions and European advisors in China. Thus, Gustav Detring himself also played an important role in the selection of Jiaozhou as the location of German interest since in 1896 he was welcomed by Kaiser Wilhelm II in Berlin for discussions on the

\textsuperscript{172} The German leadership had several different spheres arguing against each other for different locations. For example, the foreign department wanted Kiautschou, while the naval forces argued for Amoy and the Kaiser himself was interested in Weihaiwei for a considerable amount of time. For more info see: Heirold, H. \textit{Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt – Die Kreuzergeschwader der Kaiserlichen Marine als Instrument der deutschen Kolonial- und Weltpolitik 1885 bis 1901}. (München: Oldenburg Verlag, 2013) PP. 238 - 263
\textsuperscript{173} Tirpitz \textit{Erinnerungen} P. 62
\textsuperscript{174} Tirpitz \textit{Erinnerungen} P. 65
\textsuperscript{175} Vera Schmidt. \textit{Aufgabe und Einfluß der europäischen Berater in China – Gustav Detring (1842 – 1913) im Dienste Li Hung-Changs} (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1984)
\textsuperscript{176} Schmidt \textit{Aufgabe und Einfluß der europäischen Berater in China} PP. 71 - 73
establishment of a colony in China and while Detring’s own position was rather restrained, he may have suggested Jiaozhou bay as the best location for a German treaty port.

For the German leadership, people and national ambition, it represented the final achievement in a long struggle to claim a price in China. Elisabeth von Heyking (1861 – 1925), wife of the German diplomat Edmund Friedrich Gustav von Heyking (1850 – 1915), wrote in her diary about her first visit to the Jiaozhou Bay area before the occupation: “Captain Thiele hoisted the German flag above our tent, and what we [the Germans] have yearned for whole heartedly became seemingly true”. She and her husband were directly involved in the search for a valid reason to take Jiaozhou for the German empire. On 30th of October for example, Chinese locals threw stones at them while they were boarding a ship. The incident was unsuccessfully used to make demands for the handover of the Bay to the German Empire.

THE OCCUPATION OF JIAOZHOU

The long sought-after reason for the occupation of Kiautschou came on November 1st in 1897. Two German missionaries were killed in Juye [巨野] county in the Chinese province of Shandong. As soon as the Kaiser was informed of the incident he demanded immediate retaliation through the occupation of Jiaozhou Bay. In a letter to then secretary of state of Foreign affairs Bernhard von Bülow (1849 – 1929) the Kaiser exclaimed that “thousands of German Christians will breath lighter, knowing that the German naval ships are close, hundreds of German merchants will celebrate, that the German Empire finally set foot into Asia. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese will tremble, feeling the iron fist of the German Empire heavily on their necks.” German chancellor at the time Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst (1819 – 1901) underlined the colonial euphoria with his (reluctant) exclamation towards the Kaiser: “Now or never.” At the same time (7th October) Admiral Otto von Dierderichs (1843 – 1918) received the command to take the Bay at once. Negotiations with Russia, who had claims [Ankerrecht] to the bay since they used it as an

---

177 Schmidt Aufgabe und Einfluß der europäischen Berater in China P. 86
179 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 272
180 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 273
181 In private letters to his son, he admits that he was very skeptical but did not want to admit any fear (”die Hosen voll”) or doubt in front of the Kaiser and against German ambition, See: Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 277
182 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 277
anchoring station before, were the main issue regarding the occupation. Diplomat Edmund von Heyking (1850 – 1915) believed that more time was necessary and sent out a telegram to Diederichs to delay the order of occupation. However, the telegram reached Diederichs after the occupation already occurred and was thus seen as impossible to follow up on, since giving up now would mean too great of a loss of German prestige.

On November 14th, 1897, about six hundred navy soldiers led by Diederichs and Captain Hugo Zeye (1852 – 1909) on three ships (among them the cruisers Kaiser and Prince Wilhelm) participated in the initial occupation of the Jiaozhou Bay area. The event was rather uneventful, especially since the Chinese General did not interpret the approaching ships as a threat and even invited the soldiers into the Chinese fortifications. The taking of Qingdao was accompanied by a euphoric feeling of German national pride and prestige. In description of the raising of the German flag on Chinese soil, the act is expressed as an honor and final achievement of what Germany and Diederichs himself have sought after for so long. The “place under the sun” [Platz an der Sonne], as state secretary von Bülow will refer to it in a speech later that year, was under German occupation.

The delayed telegram which was unable to reach Diederichs on time was largely perceived as a blessing in disguise. As Elisabeth von Heyking describes the event in her diary on the 17th of November, she adds that: “From this moment on we regained our courage, because now they [the German troops] can hardly leave [Jiaozhou] again. God bless the Navy!”

The proclamation handed over by Otto von Diederichs in Chinese made notions that Germany’s intentions are of a friendly nature and no law-abiding citizen shall be harmed, but at the same time the Chinese were warned that anyone resisting the German officers shall be dealt with to the utmost extent of the Chinese law. However, if any harm was to come to a German soldier, the person responsible would be punished under German military law [shot]. In addition, the proclamation reads: “Avoid resisting whatever the German authorities shall

---

183 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 280
184 It was not uncommon for foreign ships to dock in the bay and it was probably interpreted as a military exercise by foreign troops
185 Heirold Reichsgewalt bedeutet Seegewalt P. 283
186 Knoll & Hiery The German Colonial Experience P. 52 - 53
188 See: Heyking Tagebücher aus vier Weltteilen Chapter 8
189 The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Germans At Kiaochou Bay”. December 3, 1897, P. 29
decide to do hereafter […] not only will you find it of no advantage to you, but you will find
that you will have invited destruction upon yourselves.” Thus, the strict and dominating
nature of Germany’s intention as well as the violent response to any resistance (which would
eventually dictate the initial phase of the colonial policy towards China) were made very
clear.

The German newspapers at the time of the occupation of the Bay, connected the Haitian
incident (The Lüders Affair\footnote{Diplomatic crisis involving Germany and the Haitian government in 1897}) and the Juye incident as two acts of necessary retaliation. A
short report on the frontpage of the Berliner Tageblatt on 16\textsuperscript{th} of November stated that the
German Empire is determined to make both China and Haiti pay for what they did and that a
serious demonstration of the power of the German fleet against China is already in
progress.\footnote{Arthur Levysohn. “Kleiner Bericht [Small Front Page Report]” Berliner Tageblatt November 16, 1897, P. 1} However, publicly the occupation was portrait more as a bargain chip to pressure
the Chinese to atone for the crimes against German citizens and property than as a long term
colonial base. The same attitude was first portrait in the Kolonialzeitung, which described the
occupation as a “Faustpfand” (literally “Fist-deposit”; a loan of collateral security) for the
committed atrocities.\footnote{Meinecke, G. “Die Deutschen in Kiao-Tschau” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. November 27, 1897, P. 1 – 2} These sentiments were greatly inspired by speeches of the Kaiser
who in 1897 besides strongly promoting naval armament, underlined the occupation of
Jiaozhou as a measurement of revenge and as a gesture to ensure the safety of others in

At the same time, great efforts were made to portrait the Chinese Empire as barbaric as
possible and the German counter response as completely justified. The colonial newspaper
writes that “Finally the necessary consequences against the increasingly brutal Chinese has
come” and that “the German action is supported by international law.”\footnote{Gustav Meinecke. “Die Deutschen in Kiao-Tschau” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. November 27, 1897, P. 1 – 2} The Norddeutsche
Allgemeine Zeitung added that “Those who are familiar with the Chinese, know, that they
only understand the language of the ‘Barbarians’, when they [the Barbarians] talk to them
[the Chinese] with cannon boats and soldiers.”\footnote{Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung “Ausland Rundschau” November 19, 1897, P. 1} By the end of November 1897 however it
was already clear to the international community in China that the idea of a short term
occupation was not Germany’s true intention, but that “whatever China’s reply may be, a German force will remain in Kiaochou for a considerable time.”

The lease was completed in Berlin by Tirpitz and Friedrich August von Holstein (1837 – 1909), and he saw his role as head of the Reichsmarineamt [German Imperial Naval Office] as conquering the new-colonized people and defending the step with what he called “peaceful cultural work [Friedliche kulturarbeit]” and in the spirit of German prestige it was very important to him to show “what Germany was capable of”.

The lease agreement between China and the German Empire was signed and finalized by Baron Edmund von Heyking, Li Hongzhang and then Minister of Revenue Weng Tonghe on the 6th of March 1898. In its introductory remarks it underlines the friendliness the German government has shown towards the Chinese after the cruel Juye incident and the concession should be considered a reward to bring the two states closer together. An area of 50 kilometer around the Jiaozhou Bay was handed over to the German government in which the Chinese Empire would relinquish all her sovereignty. The lease was set up for a period of 99 years and guaranteed the construction of German fortifications for the protection of whichever project Germany desired in the area. The local Chinese population was to be put under the protection of the German government and promised to keep their land unless it was claimed for other purposes. Section II of the agreement underlined the demand for the establishment of mining and railway rights and Section III makes the Chinese Empire responsible for assisting the German leadership in the colony if needed.

Internationally the taking of the Bay had rather grave consequences for the Chinese Empire. The occupation is often seen as the starting point for the most intense period of the scramble for concessions by the European powers. Russia, for example, acted in the guise of protecting China against the German Empire and send ships to Lushun [旅顺] and Dalian [大连] in December of 1897 which ended in a 25-year lease from China signed on the 27th of March 1898. Britain, France and Italy were all interest in widening their spheres of influence, though the Italian demand was denied by China. From the pacific side the USA was occupied with

---

196 The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Germans in Kiaochou”. November 26, 1897, P. 2
197 Tirpitz Erinnerungen, P. 65
198 Knoll & Hiery The German Colonial Experience P. 53 - 56
the conflict with Spain and Japan extended her sphere of influence towards Fujian. This struggle for influence in China became so extreme that by the dawn of WWI, missionary and orientalist Herbert Gowen (1864 – 1960) wrote: “By 1899 in all China’s three thousand miles of coastline, there was not a harbor in which she could mobilise her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner”.

4.2 The Kiautschou Concession 1898 – 1905

**MILITARISM AND GERMAN NATIONALISM**

The idea of militarism and the strength of the German nation as well as German prestige and culture was strongly connected to the colonial effort before and after the occupation. Wilhelm II himself believed that the success of his world policy was strongly depending on an expansion of militaristic gestures, resulting in the armament of the German navy, more military parades and the Kaiser embodying this new image himself by usually wearing and being depicted in military uniforms. At the same time, the acquisition of Kiautschou was also portrayed as a positive event for the Chinese people and carried strong notions of a superior nation civilizing the inferior. To this the German colonial newspaper wrote (in the period before the concession treaty was signed): “We completely feel, that only a mighty position of the German Reich at sea can lead to a long-term and full preservation of our People’s character and values [Volkstum]” and “If the German Reich succeeds to establish a port and mercantile base in Kiautschou and to establish a point of origin for the construction of a northern railway, then it will be of great use to the Chinese empire.” The soldiers involved in the colonial effort were praised as “Colonial men [Kolonialmänner]” and much of the nationalistic and civilizing speech was exaggerated and lifted high by the colonial press to serve the political purpose of countering any criticism at home.

**GOVERNMENT AND LAW**

---

202 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Zur Flottenfrage [On the naval Question]” January 8, 1898, PP. 2 - 3
203 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau” January 6, 1898, PP. 3
204 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau” February 24, 1898, P. 1
From the very beginning, a large degree of independence and autonomy of the imperial naval government in Kiautschou from the German government in Berlin was seen as extremely important for a smooth development of the colony. In the eyes of the Kiautschou administration, it formed the basis of viable interactions within the concession, especially given the distance and time it would consume to receive acknowledgement from the German government for any necessary action.\textsuperscript{205}

Chinese participation within the colony was permitted only to a certain extent and strictly controlled by the Governor of Kiautschou. Third Governor of Kiautschou Paul Jaeschke (1851 – 1901) established a new committee, which had the stated goal of the inclusion of the civil community in the development of the colony. Three representatives were chosen through different criteria for the committee.\textsuperscript{206} The first person was chosen by the governor, the second was to be a non-Chinese person in the trade register (Every company registered had one vote) and the third member was chosen among all property owners who paid more than 50 dollar per year in property taxes. This implied that the third member could have been a Chinese resident, but the added monetary condition basically excluded most Chinese from consideration for the committee. This is shown on multiple occasions, such as after the voting in March of 1899 when the third committee member turned out to be a German Mr. Diederichsen from the company Diederichsen, Jebsen & Co.\textsuperscript{207}

The German government in Kiautschou made use of several bilingual press publications established in the colony to inform European and Chinese about news and regulations. General news articles were often only published in German and most of the articles on crimes, new regulations and statements about land auctions were (besides being published in German) translated into Chinese. As such the administration of land and the control of the Chinese subject can be seen as the main driving force portrayed within the German Kiautschou press.\textsuperscript{208}

\textsuperscript{205} Alfred Kirchhoff. "Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 1900, PP. 2
\textsuperscript{206} Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报] "Verordnung" March 15, 1899
\textsuperscript{207} Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报] "Aus Tsintau" March 29, 1899, P. 2
\textsuperscript{208} See for example the bilingual selection within the Amtsblatt für das Deutsche Kiautschou-Gebiet [青岛官报] [Official gazette of the Kiautschou-area]
On paper the ideas concerning the governing of the Chinese population were accompanied by a sense of self-reliance. It was proposed that the Chinese population was essentially separated from the European population and should not be hindered from executing their own free lives. However, it was quite clear that from a German point of view supervision was essential “especially health issue related” and thus governmental interference into the Chinese section of the colony was frequent.

To the German government in Kiautschou the Chinese also served a purpose in the upkeep of order within the Chinese settlements. The Chinese troops [Chinesentruppen] created under guidance of experienced German officers were used to keep order in the Chinese villages and labor camps in and around Qingdao. The colonial observers not directly involved however, were critical towards the training of what they perceived as inferior and barbaric people, since in their mind it opened the possibility of raising an enemy that could someday rise up against the Germans. While the civilizing mission was often underlined as a goal in China, many commentators seemed to agree that keeping the Chinese subject inferior was essential for the German domination of the Kiautschou area.

The introduction of German law became another point of pride and marker of civilization among the German leadership. While in reality, there was a strong separation between judicial treatment of the Chinese population and the German colonizers, the image of true justice arriving in China was an essential part of the colonial justification. The introduction of the code of law was seen as a step forward for the Chinese people and an establishment of a proper order. As an 1899 article in the Deutsche-Asiatische Warte states: “An imperial [German] judge presides over the administration of justice [in Qingdao] and leads to the realization of the Chinese that before the law, everyone is equal.”

The establishment of a new German law was not only a proposed import of a German sense of justice, it also served as a capitalist restocking tool for any construction site which needed an injection of cheap labor. Thieves and Robbers were quickly processed in the German

209 Kirchhoff “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899” PP. 2
210 While they were used to enforce German will, they were plagued by blackmail and corruption scandals against the Chinese locals, see: Sun, L. & Wang, B. “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui” Shandong University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), No. 2 (2007): P. 70
211 Johannes Wilda. “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung March 1, 1900, P. 4
system and when found guilty, they were sent off to forced labor for a period up to four or five years. Since the cheap Chinese workers were essentially fundamental for the financial survival and proper development of Kiautschou the German colonial press described the arrest of large groups of supposed robbers as “Keffeltreiben” (An aggressive animal hunting strategy). Many edicts passed by the German Governors demonstrate the laws role in the creation of a forced labor class. For example, a police ordinance degree by governor Rosendahl in 1898 demanded the strict protection and conservation of trees, shrubs and grass. Any person who acted against this demand was either fined [Europeans] or sent to forced labor [Chinese]. This combined the scientific superiority, which Germany saw in their forestation efforts, with the legal measures to supply German projects with cheap workers.

RECONSTRUCTION, HYGIENE AND CULTURE

The early public descriptions of Qingdao in German media were heavily influenced by a biased view of Chinese hygiene and general living conditions as inferior. Early travel reports from Qingdao and the surrounding area described the Chinese houses as “miserable”, “dirty” and the living conditions as backward. The authors of these early reports took great care to underline the western superiority and the positive influence the foreigners had on the Chinese. The general sentiment is summed up in the notion that “if the old China would be left by herself, she would die out.” Thus, one justification of the colonizers in China was that whatever progress China believed to have, in most Western eyes it was described as in dire need of help. This view was very central to the construction and re-settlement policies applied during the first few years in Kiautschou. In a newspaper article recounting a speech about the achievements of second Kiautschou Governor Carl Rosendahl (1852 – 1917), who left office a few days later, the paper praised the transformation of the small houses in the “tiny and dirty Chinese village [Chinesendorf] of Qingdao” to a “nice place” and how German technology, punctuality and reliability brought a piece of the Heimat to China. Early descriptions carried this image of the dirty, uncivilized Chinese village to the general public. In his travel writings from Qingdao in 1899 author Paul Goldmann (1865 – 1935) describes his disappointment with being European in China since he always imagined China

---

213 Wilda “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung March 1, 1900, P. 5
214 Wilda “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung March 1, 1900, P. 5
215 Knoll & Hiery The German Colonial Experience P. 308
216 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Die Stadt Kiautschou [The Town of Kiautschou]” April 12, 1898, P. 2 - 4
to be so colorful, but being there himself he states that cities in China are all tainted in a color which he dubs “Coolie Paint Gray” [Kuli Anstrich], proposing that “maybe the Chinese prefers that [color] since it comes close to the dirt he lives in.”\(^{218}\) Throughout his comical writings he creates the image of a failing China which is culturally and socially declining and slowly falling apart. He goes on to make note of the devastated temples and the bleak hills surrounding the Qingdao area and writes that “Chinese trees have been in a century long war [with the people] and apparently the trees have lost [...] sadly it didn’t go the other way around.”\(^{219}\) Forestation became essential to the cultural work done in Kiautschou and thus it seemed to be a common sentiment by visiting and local Germans alike.

To ensure the full control of the Chinese settlements in Qingdao a strict land ownership policy was put in place, which gave tight control to the Kiautschou government. Though in theory land property was owned by the Chinese a fear of rising land prices and loss of German control over urbanization plans led to the creation of an arrangement which forced the Chinese population to only be able to sell their property to the German government who would sell it further or use it for their own purposes.\(^{220}\) Peterson & Xiao summarize the development of the land property policy in Kiautschou as follows: “All private land was taxed according to its assessed value at an initial rate of six percent, and subjected to an increment tax of one third of the net profit when sold. After 25 years had elapsed, reassessment was to take place [...] In transfer of ownership, the government had the prior right of purchase at the price reported, thus discouraging anyone from reporting a lower sales price in order to reduce his increment tax [...] In 1903, a method of increasing the annual tax on vacant or underdeveloped land was adopted. Land not utilized for the purpose for which it had been purchased from the government was taxed after 1906 at nine percent instead of the usual six percent, with a three percent increase every three years thereafter until an annual tax of 24 percent had been reached. When properly improved, its tax would revert to six percent.”\(^{221}\)

The theme of the transformation of Qingdao and the critical emphasize on a clean and culturally European or German establishment was essential within the first few years of the

---


\(^{219}\) Goldmann *Ein Sommer in China* P. 32


development of the concession. During the initial reconstruction phase before 1900, all of the Chinese Qingdao core villages were purchased and destroyed on the basis of health reasons. This marked the first of many major land grabs under the guise of hygiene measurements by the German Kiautschou government. German urban planning divided the central area of Qingdao into four sections. The central European residential area in which any Chinese were denied from settlement, Dabaodao [大包岛] (Often referred to as the Chinese city in German documents) to the North-East became the commercial and industrial area, and the two Chinese worker camps in the East and West, Taitung (Taidong) [台东镇] and Taixi [台西镇], were established in the vicinity. At first, Taidong became also the home to the new market area for the Chinese population since the old “poor Han market” [穷汉市] was removed under the guise of hygiene measures. In addition the great influx of Chinese merchants and workers into the area resulted in the further establishment of the close by settlement of Yangtschia ts’un (Yangjiacun) [杨家村] to accommodate thousands of new Chinese settlers.

The removal of the “dirty upper and lower Village” and the denial of Chinese settlement into the newly established Western quarters as well as the re-settlement of the Chinese population and removal of their perceived terrible housing and straw mattress camps was celebrated within the German press as a construction of a “healthy European quarter”. Health requirements within Kiautschou essentially became the scientific basis for urban planning and construction. Thus, the violent relocations and reconstructions, characterizing the initial years of the concession’s early urban planning projects, were justified by the strong need for hygienic measurements, which by themselves had strong connections to German militarism in which hygiene was considered crucial to the military effort and the proper upkeep of a strong military force with sufficient combat experience. To justify any reconfiguration of the colonial area, the Chinese subject was very often displayed as the carrier of diseases and because of that “the establishment of a new Chinese city was an

---

224 Heinrich Mootz. Die Namen der Orte in Deutsch Schantung (Tsingtau: Missionsdruckerei, 1901) P. 10
225 Mootz Die Namen der Orte in Deutsch Schantung P. 13
226 Kirchhoff “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899” P. 3
227 Wilda “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” Deutsche Kolonialzeitung March 1, 1900, P. 4
228 Liang “Deguo Zujie Jiaozhouwan Gonggong Weisheng Guanli Yanjiu” P. 356
229 Liang “Deguo Zujie Jiaozhouwan Gonggong Weisheng Guanli Yanjiu” P. 356
essential medical policy”. That meant that not only the housing units themselves needed to be portrait in a unhygienic state, but the Chinese population as well. Many envisioned construction projects came to fruition through arguments of cleanliness. The local Chinese were described as “relieving themselves all over” which was responded to with the immediate demand for the construction of a new central water reserve and line. Further, the development of the Qingdao area resulted in a high influx of Chinese people into the German concession and as such the mobility of diseases increased, culminating in, for example, a rising risk of typhoid, cholera, dysentery and small pox infections among the locals.

Under these circumstances, the construction efforts, however, did not only have negative effects for the local Chinese population. The facts that missionary work was strong in the Jiaozhou region and “where there are missions there are western hospitals” contributed to an increasingly positive health profile among the Chinese population. The construction of missionary health facilities from 1898 onwards effectively invited a significant portion of the Chinese population to better treatments than the traditional Chinese medicine could provide. Over the entirety of the lifespan of the German concession the number of Chinese patience and treatment days recorded increased quite significantly. While this effort by the missionaries was undertaken with a great emphasize on self-interest, supporting the spread of Western Christian values, the benefits for the local population should not be underestimated.

Some modern Chinese scholars point out that the strong nationalistic planning and construction in Qingdao ushered in the area of proper urbanization and in particular, that public health management connected to the colonial effort had made long lasting breakthroughs and continuous benefits to the local population. However, it must be recognized that the medical treatment was once again heavily divided and the Chinese and European population were treated at different facilities throughout most of the existence of the German concession, with the European population generally having access to much better

---

230 Wilda “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” P. 5
231 Kirchhoff “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899” P. 3
233 See for example the steady increase recorded in the yearly “Memorandum on the Development of the Kiautschou-area” [Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes]
234 Liang “Deguo Zujie Jiaozhouwan Gonggong Weisheng Guanli Yanjiu” P. 357

50
facilities. This implies that though some form of medical progress was shared with the Chinese population, the Chinese subject was still left in an inferior position.

The new found emphasize on scientific achievement and the resulting reconstruction of the colony was deeply rooted in German (and Western) interpretation of the world. Wilhelm II had a much stronger tendency to admire the development of technology than his predecessors and was filled with a will to do good for the German people through the creation of a machine society [Maschinen Gesellschaft] based on scientific superiority. The rivalry with other western nations about technological and scientific superiority and the measurement of different stages of scientific and technological development became great influencing factors onto colonial policy. The general feeling among the German population towards technological superiority and the measurement of civilization through science and technology is often portrait in travel writings. In his writings about his visit to Kiautschou Author Hans Weicker presents a picture of a Chinese in Qingdao on a bicycle and describes it as “a sign of progress.” The simplest of technological goods introduced in China were symbolic for the superiority of Western civilization.

The forestation effort, the import of German plant life, and the construction of cultural institutions such as schools were regarded as one of the most important issues to create a proper home for Germans and would help to avoid the separation of German merchant families. These discussions within the German press were part of the initial change of purpose of the concession from a point of German influence in the Asia market, to the creation of a land with German cultural and social identity. The general focus on the support of the German merchant through the introduction of German cultural goods becomes clear when comparing the observation in the colonial press regarding the establishment of the same institutions for the German and Chinese population. While the missionary run schools for the Chinese are mentioned as promising the true focus of reports on education was the German school reserved for European students, which was considered the actual cultural highlight since it offered the Germans (and Europeans) in China a chance for proper “German

236 Düwell “ Wilhelm II. - Kaiser zwischen Modernität und Nervosität – ‘Mental Maps’ und ‘Cultural Turns’ in der Neuorientierung der deutschen Politik seit 1906” P. 427
237 Hans Weicker. Kiautschou – Das deutsche Schutzgebiet in Ostasien (Berlin: Verlagbuchhandlung Alfred Schall, 1908) P. 184
The German leadership applied strict measurements to support these cultural imports into the concession. In general, the desire for a German Heimat in China was quite strong within the German population and each German who moved to Qingdao brought with him his own unique understanding of Heimat. New constructed villas and streets adopted German names and landmarks were often inspired by Germans involved in the Kiautschou venture (such as the Diederichs Mountain). The usage of street numbers was perceived as a “sign of German order” coming to China. This sentiment went so far that in later years German residents experience Qingdao as a strictly German place and greatly distinguished them from the other Chinese cities they have seen. In this regard it is also important to point out that during the entire period of the colonies existence, the average German contact with Chinese people was extremely limited. “Many Germans in Qingdao experience regular contact with Chinese only when interacting with house servants.” Often treating their servants quite harshly and expressing a feeling of superiority (Herrengefühl) above the Chinese they interacted with. Qingdao in that respect was most developed since many observations made by local Germans during later years were that the interactions between foreigners and Chinese in other parts of the concession seemed much more natural. Cultural injections were not only restricted to creation of institutions and landscape, but also affected the Chinese people directly. In Qingdao, Chinese cook servants were trained to become familiar with the German language and German cuisine and thus forced to adopt a culture more familiar to the colonizers.

The injection of German culture was not merely a measurement to prepare the creation of a German Heimat in Asia, but it was also seen as a requirement for Germany’s successful venture in China. Early German use of aggression towards China, created the realization among many German officials that it was an unrealistic goal to conquer China by force. Thus, in order to achieve greater economic success in China cultural influence was seen as the key to opening the Chinese hinterland. Thus, the introduction of the “Western methods” [西方的

---

238 Kirchhoff “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899” P. 3
241 Groeneveld “Far away at Home in Qingdao” P. 71
242 Groeneveld “Far away at Home in Qingdao” P. 73
243 Groeneveld “Far away at Home in Qingdao” P. 73
244 Groeneveld “Far away at Home in Qingdao” P. 74
方法] through cultural exports to China became an essential aspect to the development of the Kiautschou concession.\[^{245}\] These cultural developments were desires expressed by the German leader, who wished for Kiautschou to represent an origin point for the proper introduction of German cultural values into the Chinese state. The sentiment of naming Kiautschou the "model-colony" [Musterkolonie]\[^{246}\] represents the ideas of Germans who were convinced that "China will be deeply and continuously influenced by [German] culture. Confucian and Western thought will not stand in conflict."\[^{247}\]

Predominantly, culturally and socially the Chinese subject in Qingdao was treated as inferior and submissive in comparison to the German self-image. For example, when Prince Heinrich of Prussia (1852 – 1929) first visited Kiautschou in 1899 the German soldiers arranged a costumed show for the visitor in which they displayed the Chinese submission to power (in form of the kowtow) as “good Chinese tradition”.\[^{248}\]

**ECONOMY, LABOR AND MERCHANTS**

From the German point of view labor was the essential lifeline for the success of the colonial venture and as such Germany often regarded labor connected to cultural value.\[^{249}\] Cultural benefits within the concession would derive directly from labor and the risk of labor shortage for the planned construction projects was from the beginning a major focus of the German leadership.

The Chinese worker, who was of great interest to the Germans at the time was usually portrait in travel reports published in the German press as distinct from other Coolies and colonial subjects. While perceived as a “dirty worker class”,\[^{250}\] exclamations such as “the inhabitans [Chinese in Kiautschou] are strong, healthy, good spirited and diligent people and can easily be made into excellent workers”\[^{251}\], which portrait the Chinese worker in the context of labor utility, were designed to reinforce the image of the usefulness of the Chinese to German labor problems and to justify the exploitation of the local Chinese labor force in

\[^{246}\] Cui “‘Shijie Zhengce’ Shiye Xia De Deguo Dui Hua Wenhua Zhengce” P. 68
\[^{247}\] Paul Rohrbach quoted in: Cui “‘Shijie Zhengce’ Shiye Xia De Deguo Dui Hua Wenhua Zhengce” P. 68
\[^{249}\] Knoll & Hiery *The German Colonial Experience* P. 173
\[^{250}\] Kirchhoff “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899” P. 3
\[^{251}\] Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau” February 24, 1898, P. 2
Kiautschou. In general, the training of the Chinese worker was celebrated by the colonial press as one newspaper states in 1899 that the reconstruction of Qingdao and the constant influx of indigenous people only proofs that the German knows how to raise the worker properly. The merchants and workers in Kiautschou played often the greatest roles in local descriptions since the mercantile endeavor fueled by expectations of labor and money was greatly seen as the main advantage of the possession of a German concession in China.

The interest of the Chinese worker was not only a local issue, very early on suggestions were made to use the local labor resources in other German colonial locations. The Chinese coolies were regularly portrayed as an excellent solution to questions of labor in other territories and as the colonial newspaper remarks: “Following our acquisition of Kiautschou, we [the Germans] are in the lucky position, to have direct access to strong and skilled workers [...] instead of a constant complain about labor shortage, we should rather pressure interested parties, to transform Kiautschou as fast as possible into a Coolie shipping port.” This strongly supports the view that in the capitalist colonial era the Chinese worker was merely perceived as a commodity who had its usefulness applied to the modern mercantile and labor needs on a global stage. Besides the use of the Chinese worker force the German state regarded work as a disciplinary action to raise the indigenous population into a proper human. Domestic notions of the tramp and the savage became similar in this regard and the work-shy were forced to labor in order to rehabilitate them. The work-shy essentially became another aspect of the “other” to the German identity and were incorporated in plans to fill colonial labor shortages.

At the same time reports about the contact with Chinese merchants and the attraction of businesses was also essential for the German colonial image. The initial phase is often praised by news reports such as exploits on the vast attractions of Chinese merchants into the Kiautschou area, because in the German view “the Chinese [merchant] is superior” and

253 Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Die Arbeiterfrage in den Kolonien” July 28, 1898, P. 2
255 Though unlike Russia and France these plans of sending domestic workers to colonial worker camps never left the planning stage in Germany
256 Knoll & Hiery The German Colonial Experience P. 202
“scents best, where something is to be earned.” In reality the influx of Chinese merchants was the basis for any economic viability of the concession and during the first years, without the construction of proper infrastructure, the Chinese comprador was essentially the only effective way of dealing with the Shandong hinterland. This meant that the influx of Chinese people was based on a great benefit for Chinese merchants to start a business and accumulate a certain amount of wealth through the German presence. The early establishments of German oriented merchants in the Chinese merchant quarter of Da Bao Dao [大鲍岛] adopted rather racist and bizarre sounding names such as the 1898 registered Chinese businesses of “Cheap Jack” and “Schinschang-Bismarck” (Schinschang being a German racist exclamation of the Chinese language). Some modern authors have suggested that this was most likely done to attract customers through an appeal to German patriotism within the young colony.

After 1900 the Kiautschou government had frequent meetings with the Governor of Shandong in order to construct a proper economical network with Chinese merchants, which would help to profit the German venture in Kiautschou. To this end the attraction of Chinese merchant guilds were deemed as vital within the colony. In the latter half of 1901 for example, the Kiautschou governor was greatly interested in the establishment of the Ningpo (Ningbo) Merchant Guild and cooperated with the governor of Shandong on this matter. These guilds or trade houses were responsible for the contact to the hinterland and were involved in the establishment of facilities to accommodate the Chinese merchants visiting Qingdao. In principle the introduction of Chinese guilds made the smaller compradors obsolete within the transaction chain between Kiautschou and Shandong. Thus, from the German point of view “it goes without saying that the wishes of such highly influential association receives a lot of cooperation from the German governor.” However, at the same time the Germans were quite aware of the political character of these guilds and believed that a thorough inspection was necessary before allowing the establishment of any Chinese guild in Qingdao.

258 A merchant apparently responsible for meat deliveries, see: Goldmann Ein Sommer in China: Reisebilder (Frankfurt a. M.: Rütten & Loening, 1899) P. 37
259 Knoll & Hiery The German Colonial Experience P. 202
260 Many Chinese guilds were attached to localities in name
261 Heidelberger Zeitung “Handels- und Erwerbsverhältnisse in unserer Kolonie Kiautschou” October 15, 1901, P. 1
Besides concerns about hygiene and forestation, the German developments in the field of sciences such as ethnography also caused a different mindset attitude towards their own ability to comprehend the occupied area. China represented to many German colonizers a special case, since in comparison to the African endeavors, China and the Chinese was to some extent treated as a studied and understood nation and people. The colonial newspaper wrote in 1898 that “we [the Germans]do not stand in front of a new phenomenon, such as was the case when we administrated the undeveloped, partly unknown African colonies, in which some missteps were to be expected, on the contrary we are dealing with familiar conditions [in China].”\textsuperscript{262} The same sentiment was adopted by the imperial naval leadership, in his memoirs Alfred von Tirpitz proclaimed [referring to the Kiautschou concession]: “The German understands how to satisfy the indigenous people.”\textsuperscript{263} The state of knowledge concerning China among the German researchers was seen as far surpassing the knowledge about the African continent and presented a perceived advantage for the German cause in China. German press releases were often concerned with a display of insights into the Chinese and their history. Those description were often filled with Social-Darwinian and labor focused narratives of China’s need for Western guidance. For example, German-American sinologist Friedrich Hirth (1845 – 1927) underlines in one of his lectures that concerning the silk trade “the apathy of the Chinese producers must be counteracted by the untiring motivation, advice and correction of the European experts.”\textsuperscript{264} Many experts in the fields of Asia and China were important to the demonstration of the validity of German interest in Kiautschou. Max von Brandt (1835 – 1920), a German diplomat, expert on East-Asia and author of various public books about China, wholeheartedly supported the Kiautschou colony. In a speech concerning the development of the concession he underlined the economic prospects following the proper construction of a railway to connect to the Chinese hinterland, and that German newspapers’ skepticism towards the occupation should soon be proven wrong by the expected economic results.\textsuperscript{265} In the spirit of Germany’s competition with other colonial powers, he further compares it to the taking of Hong Kong by the British and the initial skepticism by the British public towards it.

\textsuperscript{262} Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiaotschau” January 20, 1898, P. 3  
\textsuperscript{263} Tirpitz Erinnerungen, P. 67  
\textsuperscript{264} Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “China und sein Außenhandel. – Nach einem Vortrag des Herrn Professor Friedrich Hirth, gehalten am 10. Februar in der Abteilung Frankfurt a. M.” February 24, 1898, P. 4 - 6  
\textsuperscript{265} Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Ueber Politik, Handel und Kunst in Ostasien” October 27, 1898, P. 2 - 4
This emphasizes that the colonial knowledge derived from the German sciences was an important political tool in which experts’ perceptions played a strong role for the support of German mercantile interests in East-Asia.

**VIEW ON THE CHINESE REFORM MOVEMENT IN 1898**

The failed Hundred Days’ Reform\textsuperscript{266} of 1898 initiated by Kang Youwei [康有为] (1858 – 1927) was received quite critically by German experts on China. It became an important topic of discussion before the years of the Boxer rebellion, since it was seen as giving the Germans access to knowledge about the state of China and information about the best courses of action moving forward. Max von Brandt commented on it in the same year by saying that to him it seems that China is in a state of “disorder”, blaming the weakness of their leadership for the failure of the reform.\textsuperscript{267} He concludes that in his view China’s leadership is too weak to initiate any significant changes and as such a new administration would be necessary to achieve meaningful and lasting reforms. This supported the German feeling of superiority over this Empire in turmoil.

**INITIAL COLONIAL CRITICISM TOWARDS THE CONCESSION**

Even among members of the colonial society, the German colonial engagement in China was not always viewed and received with a strictly positive attitude. One major reason for this was the fact that over the years there was never any real economic benefit to the colonial upkeep and the state was usually forced to subsidize the costs instead.\textsuperscript{268} The sought-after trade which came with the acquisition of colonies was also rather minor compared to the total foreign trade of Germany.\textsuperscript{269}

The early years of the Kiautschou concession thus were often accompanied with comments about the economic viability of the German colony. Journalist and Author Johannes Wilda (1852 – 1942) was featured in a major article of the *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* expressing some of these concerns quite open. He was keenly aware of the economic challenges the Chinese venture posted and suggested in 1900 that it will still take quite a few years until the German investments into the colony will have a chance to break even and he predicted that

\textsuperscript{266} More information on the Nature of the 100 Days’ Reform in the Section on Chinese developments

\textsuperscript{267} *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* “Ueber Politik, Handel und Kunst in Ostasien” October 27, 1898, P. 4

\textsuperscript{268} This was not exclusive to the German colonial venture and was a general problem for most colonial activity by the Western powers

\textsuperscript{269} Knoll & Hiery *The German Colonial Experience* P. 193
actual good profits won’t be reached before 10 or 20 years into the future.\textsuperscript{270} He further underlines that naturally stores and “subaltern work” will fall onto the Chinese population, who will also have to carry most of the taxes to generate income for the colony. In an interest of fairness, he suggests some nature of compensation for the subaltern workers who make a “great sacrifice” for the survival of the colony. The German overdevelopment of architectural prestige is also addressed, and he exclaims that he “hopes, the locals [Germans in Qingdao] will refrain from so called ‘glorious architecture’ [Prachtarchitektur]”.\textsuperscript{271}

**THE CHINESE VIOLENCE AS JUSTIFICATION OF GERMAN ACTION**

German newspapers established in Asia described any incident concerning mistreatment of Germans in China in excruciating details to justify any action against the Chinese population as an appropriate response. In November of 1897 the *Deutsche-Asiatische Warte* for example, described alleged crimes against Pastor Georg Stenz by Shandong Chinese in a very detailed manner.\textsuperscript{272} They “ripped out each hair separately”, “severely beat him”, “hung him on to a wooden beam to break his arms” and despite any pleading for mercy he received none. These depictions were very significant to the German colonial effort, since they served as a political and moral justification for any action deemed necessary and classified the local Chinese population as a wild people who needed to be commanded with an iron fist. The major effect of this was a strengthening of militaristic efforts within the Kiautschou colony and its surrounding area. For example, in an article titled “An act of Self-Help” on the defense of missionary efforts in Shandong in March of 1899, which involved 100 men with artillery and machine guns, the *Deutsche-Asiatische Warte* writes that “no spirit of war, but a policing measurement is the nature of these actions” with the stated purpose of “achieving the necessary authority in their [the Chinese] eyes.”\textsuperscript{273} This response was enacted after a supposed mistreatment of a German by Chinese in the town of Jimo, though at the time of the military action the man in question was already (supposedly) released, but an inspection group of the German military arrested a few Chinese anyways.

\textsuperscript{270} Johannes Wilda. “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* March 1, 1900, P. 3
\textsuperscript{271} Wilda “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes” P. 4
\textsuperscript{272} *Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes* [德属胶州官报] “Schwere Misshandlungen durch Eingeborene”, November 12, 1898, P. 5
\textsuperscript{273} *Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes* [德属胶州官报] ”Ein Akt der Selbsthuelife” March 29, 1899, P. 2
As such any major and minor incident was immediately interpreted to be the deliberate action by the Chinese population and during the period of the Boxer rebellion these suspicious and public accusations were only strengthened.  

THE BOXER REBELLION 1899 – 1901

The period of the Boxer Rebellion is marked with a great shift of violent outbreaks towards the Chinese population by the Western powers. The German leadership was very adamant to make a point of superiority towards the rebellious Chinese forces. When the first expedition corps were sent off to China in July of 1900 the Kaiser held a speech in which he greatly connected German pride, prestige and superiority with the events unfolding in China. He stated that Boxers and the killing of the German diplomat Clemens von Ketteler gravely insulted the German flag and that the German conscious was damaged and thus an exemplary punishment must be made against all evildoers. Some authors suggest that the killing of the diplomat Clements was the main reason for German brutality during the Boxer campaign, and while it was certainly used as a central argument (of many) for German action in China, the general violent nature of the German (and Western) attitude towards China cannot be pinpointed to a singular event. For example, in his description of his experience during the war in China, German geographer Georg Wegener writes that the looting and mistreatments of locals were justified as the proper response to the attack on fleeing Europeans from the Baoding missionary area in Shandong.

Just days after the his first speech to German naval soldiers, during the sendoff of the ship Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm to China, Wilhelm II once again underlined that “China needs to pay with blood for what they did.” Finally, on 27th of July the Kaiser held his infamous

---

274 For example, a small fire in 1901 was immediately and without proper evidence described as an act of arson on the part of the Chinese coolies. See: Amtsblatt für das Deutsche Kiautschou-Gebiet Vol 5 (1901): P. 88
275 The Boxer Rebellion was an Anti-Christian, Anti-Foreign and Anti-Imperial uprising against the Emperor and the Western forces in China between 1899 and 1901
276 Ketteler was killed in Beijing on 20th June 1900
277 Obst Die Politischen Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. - Eine Auswahl. PP. 197 - 198
279 Any occurrence of violence towards any German in China was useful to the image of the “ruthless Chinese” in public discourse
280 Georg Wegener. Zur Kriegszeit durch China – 1900/1901 (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1902) P. 140
281 Obst Die Politischen Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. P. 201
Hunnenrede (Hun speech) at the port of Bremen which became the symbol for the aggressive and violent action during the Boxer war. He denounces the Chinese as uncultivated and insulting the 1000-year-old people’s rights [Völkerrechte], citing that a culture not raised on Christian values is far inferior and will meet destruction when faced with great challenges. During the climax of the speech he exclaims^{282}: “No Pardons, No prisoners. Just like Attilah is known through the ages for his greatness so shall the Name Germany become famous in China so that no Chinese would ever dare to give any German a dirty look again.”^{283} It is important to note that while this deep nationalist sentiment of the “iron fist”^{284} was essential to Germany’s engagement during the Boxer War, the speeches themselves became more European in nature, to create a unity among the nations against the perceived enemy in the East. As Wilhelm himself puts it in November of 1900: “The events in the far east have invoked a great feeling of excitement among the civilized people [gesittete Völker] on Earth.”^{285}

The German brutality was noted in multiple cities all over China and the Chinese press published several articles demonstrating how the German use of violence became more frequent and arbitrary. A letter published by The North-China Herald in November of 1900 for example, describes how “German soldiers had been trying to stab people with their swords” in front of the German consulate in Shanghai.^{286} The Germans are reported to have been kicking and knocking down several Chinese onlookers and the author of the letter underlines his disappointment with the foreign brutality by stating that “the men [German soldiers] should also be taught that they are here for the protection of law-abiding people, native as well as foreign.” Other international newspapers (even outside of China) added further accusations towards the German soldiers by publishing alleged quotes written by German soldiers. One letter from the 26th of August 1900 describes how naval soldiers imprisoned 16 Chinese and tied them together by their hair tails and punched them until “the blood flowed out of their bodies. It was awful.”^{287} The Chinese prisoners who were shot on the spot were forced to dig the graves themselves. Another published letter, supposedly from

---

^{282} Many German newspaper omitted this part of the speech, see: Obst, M. Die Politischen Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. P. 204

^{283} Obst Die Politischen Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. PP. 204 - 205


^{285} Obst Die Politischen Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. P. 222

^{286} The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Unruly Soldiers” November 14, 1900, P. 22

^{287} The Times of India “The Kaiser’s Command: Germans Slaughter Prisoners” November 22, 1900, P. 6
a German soldier to his mother, describes “such murdering and slaughtering” as “awful” and he goes on to depict in excruciating detail the murder of Chinese prisoners and his own shock over atrocities committed by the German soldiers: “Sunday afternoon we had to stab seventy-four prisoners with the bayonet [...] Let me close in the hope that it won’t go on much longer so, otherwise one will not know, or rather one will forget, whether one was ever a human being.”²⁸⁸

In general, the German occupation force in Beijing and other parts of China was perceived as extremely negative not only by Chinese, but also by the international community (who themselves did not refrain from great violence towards the Chinese). German soldiers are quoted in German newspapers and the international press as “having the pleasure”²⁸⁹ to be involved in multiple executions while stationed in Beijing. The Chinese subject was essentially degraded to the status of a lower animal. Forced labor and random acts of violence accompanied the gruesome executions. As one soldier describes the situation in Beijing: “If anyone has work to do, he seizes on a couple of Chinamen in the street, ‘who are hauled off’ to perform it [...] these fellows [Chinese] cannot be treated as men.”²⁹⁰ The German soldiers’ inflated self-image and the demands of an iron fist response to the Boxers from Kaiser Wilhelm II are laid bare in writings such as this exclamation in a letter originally published in the Wiesbadener Volksblatt: “We lead a genuine highwayman’s life here; we commandeer whatever we desire to have.”²⁹¹

Reports like these did not always stay unanswered. German residents in China often sent letters of their own to the international press demanding a revision of the events and in support of their soldiers described the events as exaggerated and false. They accuse the false reports to be born out of a general ill-feeling against the German military.²⁹²

The violence of the German soldiers was deeply connected to a sense of prestige and national pride to serve and proof oneself for the German nation. Following the German campaign in China and the end of the Boxer rebellion, reports of romanticized and glorified travel accounts were published all over Germany. The imposing German soldiers, who strikes fear and respect in every Chinese and “with wide open eyes and attentive ears dreams of winning

²⁸⁸ The Times of India “The Kaiser’s Command: Germans Slaughter Prisoners” November 22, 1900, P. 6
²⁸⁹ The Times of India “German Troops in China: What they really did” December 24, 1901, P. 6
²⁹⁰ The Times of India “German Troops in China: What they really did” December 24, 1901, P. 6
²⁹¹ The Times of India “German Troops in China: What they really did” December 24, 1901, P. 6
²⁹² The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Ill-Behaved Germans” November 14, 1900, P. 22
“one’s spurs” on the battlefield, became a widely portrayed image in German literature. Further, the destructive nature of the Boxer war through the western forces was designed to demonstrate the inferiority of the Chinese people in all its shapes and forms. The destruction of Chinese walls, for example, was an act against the “high-walled exclusion”, since missionaries have portrayed them for a long time as a symbol of “misguided pride on the part of a [Chinese] city’s inhabitants.”

4.3 Changes Mid-1900 and onwards

CHANGES IN GERMAN VIEW ON COLONIALISM AND THE GLOBAL POSITION OF GERMANY

During the beginning of the 1900s German colonialism went through a period of great mishaps which had increasingly significant effects onto the way colonies were perceived and approached. The battle of Waterberg of 1904, which marked the pinnacle of the German colonial genocide of the Herero people in German South West Africa, led to many German officials questioning the violent nature of the colonial policy. Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow (1849 – 1929) expressed great concern about any violence in the colonies and saw it as a “great damage to the German prestige” among the other civilized nations. This and similar events were the cause for several reformations of the colonial policies around the time of the so called Hottentotten election [Hottentottenwahlen] in 1907. Considerations of humanitarian issues and questions of usefulness [Nützlichkeitserwägungen] of certain colonial policies and actions were raised.

At the same time Germany also ran into multiple problems with the other Western powers. The 1905 Moroccan crisis and the resulting strengthening of the Anglo-French Entente

---

296 A Reichstags election in Germany greatly influenced by the Herero genocide and Nama (called Hottentotten in Germany at the time) uprising
297 Gründer Deutscher Kolonialismus P. 150
298 International crisis over the status of Morocco involving Germany, France and the UK
increased the fear of a two-front war among the German leadership. In addition the development of the Bagdad railway [Bagdad Bahn] up until 1907 also soured the relations between Germany, Britain and Russia with Britain and Russia’s relations improving over their engagement in Persia. This left Germany in a dire position and in need of alliances to compensate for the new dangers posed by the surrounding European powers. This meant that during the later years of the concession China was treated more in the prospect of becoming a potential ally than as a pure colonial nation to be subjugated under German superiority. This new view is sometimes described as an idea of peaceful imperialism [friedlicher Imperialismus] which meant also a step away from earlier notions of “trade follows the Flag” [Der Handel folgt der Flagge] policy.

CHANGES OF GERMANIES ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHINESE

After the mid-1900, many published travel writings and books on the Chinese people were usually presented in a more positive light. While the Chinese worker was still praised continuously as diligent and a reliable source of labor, the Chinese people socially and culturally were also slowly portrayed in a different way. German-Australian biologist Dr. Joseph Lautere describes in his experience in China that “the Shandong people distinguish themselves through politeness and […] pleasant manners.” Even some writings on the Yellow peril changed somewhat, with some authors recognizing the Chinese people as stronger than the European nations. Racist author Heinrich Driesmans (1863 – 1927) for example, admired the Chinese people’s ”strong public spirit [Gemeinsinn] and [their] general character of mutual support, from which [the Western people] are still far away.”

He describes the Chinese as inherently having a “racial power” [Rassenkraft] which “we [the West] are biogenetically inferior to.” This change of image was however not universal or absolute, and racial thinkers still greatly attacked the Chinese state and people.

300 Düwell “Wilhelm II. - Kaiser zwischen Modernität und Nervosität” P. 418
301 Düwell “Wilhelm II. - Kaiser zwischen Modernität und Nervosität” P. 443
302 A sentiment dominating the initial colonial venture, separating it from the British notion, which first had strong economic ventures and then strongly dominated a state colonially
303 With a great exception being the perceived radicals during the 1911 revolution
305 Heinrich Driesmans. Deutsche Kulturliebe (Berlin: Verlag des Vaterländischen Schriftenverbandes, 1912) P. 22
306 Driesmans Deutsche Kulturliebe PP. 23 - 24
However, the change of Kiautschou policy and the partial influence the German international standing had on the German perception of China was not absolute. Many writers, especially Germans concerned with Social-Darwinian questions, continued to paint a cruel image of the Chinese nation. After 1900, the increased emergence of the notion of human races and discussions about it brought forth a whole spectrum of racial scientists [Rassenforscher] from many different fields who mostly portrait different and contradictory negative ideas about the Chinese or Yellow race. In his 1905 description of the Slavic and yellow races, Albrecht Wirth (1866 – 1936), describes perceived subcategories of the Yellow race. He puts Chinese, Thai, Mongoles and Finns into one category, while remarking that Japanese and Koreans do not belong to the Chinese Race.307 In his view, one of the distinctive markers that create a racial distance between Chinese and Japanese, is that the Chinese race has a strong body odor while the Japanese’s is only very weak in nature. He connects culture and behavior with racial tendencies [nachwirkungen der Rassenanlagen]308 and attacks the Chinese as one of the lower races beneath the Russians and Japanese.309 Chinese culture and tradition has not the continuity of European culture,310 the Buddha from Asia will come to destroy Europe311 and the West-Arians need to unite against the East-Asians.312 Wirth describes the whole expression of the German people [Gesamtton des deutschen Volkes] as Arian in nature, underlines that a nation needs to defend itself and that “whoever lets his actions be guided by emotions will be torn apart [Wer aber für Gefühlswerte sich einsetzt, wird zerfetzt und zerstört].”313

During later years of the German Empire in Shandong, the colonial press published multiple articles expressing a form of change in attitude towards the perception of the Chinese Empire and people. In general, the field of Sinology was criticized as rather lacking compared to the self-assuredness that was displayed in the early years of the concession. In a 1912 article of the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung the general attitude towards the Chinese and the way the leadership reassured themselves through superficial interpretations of the Chinese culture, nation and people is questioned. “The mistrust into the [German] sinology finds a certain excuse within the reign of dilettantism, who, though manifold, but filled with great

307 Albrecht Wirth. Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr (Berlin: Verlag von Gose & Tetzlaff, 1905) P. 4
308 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 5
309 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 20
310 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 19
311 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 23
312 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 27
313 Wirth Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr P. 29
superficiality, wrote about the interesting intellectual life of these ancient civilized people.\textsuperscript{314} This recognition of failure coined a new wave of critique towards the state of German knowledge on China, represented through authors such as sinologist Otto Franke (1863 – 1946) who published articles in the colonial press (and elsewhere) reinterpreting the image China had been given in the public eye.

While the spread of German culture was still a strong goal for the Kiautschou government, the general tone surrounding the discussion became more positive. An element of cooperation and mutual benefit was replacing the strict narration of German superiority. Central to this sentiment was the Sino-German college [\textit{Hochschule für Spezialwissenschaften mit besonderem Charakter}] in Qingdao established in 1909. The German colonists hoped to lay the foundation for the influence of German culture on Chinese culture through the establishment of a shared primary and secondary school.\textsuperscript{315} It was often praised as a positive and peaceful way to spread German spirit and character and was at the same time valued by the Chinese for its educational benefits (Since it was accessible for German and Chinese students alike).\textsuperscript{316} The general idea was however that the education of the Chinese subjects would eventually lead to economic benefits for the concession. As doctor and officer of the navy Viktor Praefcke (1872 – 1962) wrote in his report on the purpose of the medical department of the Sino-German college: \textit{“The medical department shall educate young Chinese in the basics of medicine, that they may use the acquired skills on their sick fellow countrymen.”} He goes on to say that this should open up a market to sell German medicinal goods in China and thus the education of students became the training of potential customers as well.\textsuperscript{317}

The greater emphasize of a friendlier colonial policy characterized by a cultural exchange strongly influenced the German narrative of Sino-German perceptions. Cui Wenlong summarizes the cultural development in Qingdao as playing an important part of the “world

\textsuperscript{314} \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} “Ostasiatische Neubildungen (Schluß)” March 30, 1912, P. 5

\textsuperscript{315} Shaofeng Zhao & Wenlong Cui “Qingmo Deguo Dui Hua Xuexiao Zhengce Yu Qingdao Mengyang Xuetang De Chuangban” \textit{Journal of Jiangnan University}, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2016): P. 59

\textsuperscript{316} \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} “Ostasiatische Neubildungen” March 23, 1912, P. 2 - 3

policy” of the post 1890s German Empire. It was recognized by the German leadership that, though Germany might be superior in pure force, to actually reach China, a new cultural political course needed to be established.\textsuperscript{318} Thus, foreign examples were incorporated into a new political idea, deviating from the usual militarization policies initially carried by world policy ideas. This new direction however did never come to full fruition, since the outbreak of World War I and the occupation of Kiautschou by Japanese forces in 1914 meant the loss of the colony for the German Empire.

It is important to note that the new political direction did not only inform German action in China but had effects on the treatment of Chinese workers oversee as well. Chinese workers overseas, such as the merchants in the German colonies were also lifted to a different status. On January 6\textsuperscript{th}, 1912 the Chinese in Samoa were recognized as enjoying the same rights as non-indigenous people. At the same time their legislative power was increased, meaning that if a German supervisor was to receive too many complaints, his rights to oversee Chinese workers could be revoked.\textsuperscript{319}

George Steinmetz summarizes the spirit governing the period from 1904 onwards as follows:

“A very different construction of the colonized emerged in Qingdao the decade leading up to World War I. New colonial institutions appeared 1904 which entailed a view of the Chinese as civilizational equals. This ran directly counter to the policies of the colony's founding period.” The Chinese, especially the wealthier and more educated Chinese, were described as a Kulturvolk of cultural or civilized people.\textsuperscript{320} Though he underlines that this image created was not absolute and in German public and scientific discourse China kept swinging between the status of Natur- and Kulturvolk.

**THE KIAUTSCHOU CRITIQUE IN GERMAN PUBLIC DISCOURSE**

From mid-1900 onwards, the concession received increasingly more criticism from the German public. One major point of concern was the increasing costs of the upkeep and development of Kiautschou which grew in 1908 to about 110 million Reichsmark and in the final year of 1914 exceeded approximately 200 million Reichsmark.\textsuperscript{321}

\textsuperscript{318} Wenlong Cui. “‘Shijie Zhengce’ Shiye Xia De Deguo Dui Hua Wenhua Zhengce” *Journal of Jiangnan University (Humanities & Social Sciences)* [江南大学学报（人文社会科学版）] Vol. 13, No. 3, (2014): P. 74
\textsuperscript{319} Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Chinesen in Samoa [Chinese in Samoa]” March 23, 1912, P. 7
\textsuperscript{320} George Steinmetz. “‘The Devil’s Handwriting’ – Precolonial Discourse, Ethnographic Acuity and Cross-Identification in German Colonialism” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol 45, No. 1 (2003): P. 50
\textsuperscript{321} Mühlhahn. “A New Imperial Vision? The Limits of German Colonialism in China” P. 129
German journalist Otto Corbach (1877 – 1938), who lived in Qingdao between 1900 and 1902, released an article in 1909 strongly criticizing the German desire to hold onto the Kiautschou concession. He writes that after twelve years “under the sun” and after millions in investments “it is still not possible to see when the East-Asian baby will be weaned off Mother Germania’s breasts.” He opposes the glorification and misrepresentation of Kiautschou’s success in the German press describing that people come to Qingdao, receive servants from the government, get shown around and in the evening they write reports about the great development of Qingdao “and all the world rejoices.” If Qingdao truly desired to become independent and financially successful he says the white population needed to shrink from 1000s to 100s and live off the “taxes for the preservation of the German rule” paid by the Chinese population. In his eyes the German life in China (as portrayed to the public) is artificially created and does not reflect the real circumstances. Corbach goes on to describe the development of the Chinese population in the concession. He says that “the self-confidence of the Chinese people [Chinesentum] prospered to such an extent, that one cannot help but notice a strong movement in Shandong, which has no other goal than to force [hinauszuekeln] the Germans out of Shandong and Kiautschou.” The Chinese guilds decided to boycott the Germans in Kiautschou and all of Shandong. For multiple weeks the boycott was supported, and ships arrived and left empty at the same time. Reproducing a statement made by Der Ostasiatische Lloyd he writes: “It seems to us, as if in this economically important subject [for the German colony], the Governor [of Kiautschou] has not shown his full potential […] it is a sign of regrettable weakness.” Corbach ends his article with the words: “Today’s request is: Out of Kiautschou!”

Other German writers strongly agreed with Corbach’s views. German field marshal Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833 – 1913) wrote in an article released in the same year that while the occupation of Jiaozhou at first had a political purpose it is now merely a burden to the German Empire. He questions why the upkeep of the Kiautschou concession would still

---

323 Corbach “Fort aus Kiautschau!” P. 137
324 Corbach “Fort aus Kiautschau!” P. 137
325 Corbach “Fort aus Kiautschau!” P. 138
326 The Chinese boycott against Germany is discussed further down
327 Corbach “Fort aus Kiautschau!” P. 138
328 Corbach “Fort aus Kiautschau!” P. 140
make sense and that it may be wiser to abandon it. Von Schlieffen underlines that the open statements of failure should not be avoided any longer and Germany ought to change her course towards a smaller but working operation. In the authors mind the concession has become a diseased limb of the German Empire which is in need of a swift amputation. He also recognizes the rising strength of the Chinese through Japanese influence in the area proclaiming that “the Japanese headmaster is waking China out of its centuries long lethargic state.”

The critique of the Kiautschou possession was not only restricted to the German press. Chinese newspapers themselves recognized the German failure of profit within the concession and casted doubts on the economic viability. German criticisms such as those voiced by naval officer and journalist Ernst Graf zu Reventlow (1869 – 1943) were published in the South China Morning Post to underline the theatrical nature of the original occupation of Kiautschou and question the military position in the Jiaozhou Bay area. The threat of Japan (economically and militarily) to the German possession was already obvious to the international observers back then and as Reventlow is quoted: “Commercially […] it [Kiautschou] is at best only a speculation, politically it is an anxiety, and as a military position it is already lost.”

---

330 Schlieffen “Politische Wetterleuchten in Ostasien” P. 170
331 South China Morning Post “The Future of Kiaochau – Germany’s Position in the Far East” September 24, 1907, P. 11
5 A Changing Empire: China during the period of the German lease

5.1 Late Qing in China: Crisis and Reform

LI HONGZHANG’S VISIT TO GERMANY

The changing nature of Sino-German relations after the Sino-Japanese war are to some extent well demonstrated by Li Hongzhang’s visit to Germany in 1896. His intended task was to show China’s gratefulness for the German support during the final negotiations and to build upon this experience to enhance diplomatic relations between the two states. Li was treated quite well and even had the opportunity to meet with Otto von Bismarck who was occasionally depicted as a counterpart to Li. It was quite clear already that at this time, the two nations had a utterly different understanding of the nature of China’s appreciation. While China was under the impression that this gesture of a state visit and personal appreciation delivered by Li Hongzhang would be sufficient, the German leadership expected to be rewarded a piece of land in China as appropriate compensation. Li, who was not in a position to negotiate such a notion, neglected to further discuss the matter. This directly caused the German leadership to perceive China as ungrateful for the German support given after the war. While China to some extent failed to comprehend this change in relations, this event marked a clear change in national perception between the two nations which would lead to the increasingly hostile attitudes of the German Empire against China in an effort to achieve economic prosperity and maintain German prestige.

THE NEED FOR REFORMS

Many Chinese historians deposit that while the 19th century was in general problematic for the Chinese Empire, “the deep crisis of the Chinese nation began after the Sino-Japanese war

---

332 Li was sometimes referred to (for example by the French newspaper Le Siècle) as the Chinese or Yellow Bismarck
335 Hu “Cong Shiji Zhi Jiao – Qing Zhengfu Daibiao De Liang Ci Chufang – Kan Jindai Deguo – Dui Hua Zhengce De Jubian” P. 63
and with the occurrence of the Jiaozhou incident [...] which set off a sharp turn towards a sinister frenzy of the imperial powers to divide China." While merchants and workers in China might have observed the occupation as an event of low impact (at first), the Chinese literati and upper class responded rather strong against the hostility of the German forces towards the Chinese. The scramble for concession which followed the 1897 occupation of Jiaozhou Bay showed an immense pressure towards reforms to the Chinese leadership and caused a feeling of anxiety for the Chinese upper class and bureaucrats. New measurements needed to be found and implemented in order to stabilize and revitalize the lost self-perception of a strong China. This essentially split the search for solutions to China’s problems into different groups, most notably the late Qing reformists such as Kang Youwei and revolutionaries under leaders such as Sun Yat-sen.

Ideas about the origin of the strength of industrialized nations were critical to the further development of reforms within the Chinese nation. The scholar Kang Youwei was convinced that the application of a "constitutional government and convening of parliament" were major driving forces behind the perceived superiority of other nations. The convictions came out of lessons learned from European history, where, for example, the sudden abdication of the French monarchy became a signifier for authoritarian issues. Kang formulated these interpretations within direct demands for an adoption of a proper constitution and he thought it to be wise to follow a strategy which will allow China to “break away from the thousand-years-long habit of self-conceit and self-delusion.” This included active improvement measures of the country along the lines of Peter the Great (Russia) and Meiji (Japan). These demands were in essence top-down solutions, much different from later ideas of an overthrow of the government as proposed by the revolutionaries. Within his new approach of comparing Imperial structures to the Chinese case he often used foreign nations as reference points from which to inspire change in China.

339 Kang Youwei tried to implement reforms in the so called Hundred Days’ Reform in 1898, but failed and he was subsequently exiled
341 The Qing attempted this once again during the Mid-1900 but with far less conviction than Kang displayed
342 Xiao A Modern China and a New World P. 208
343 Wang “You Mangmu Paiwai Dao Wenming Kangzheng” P. 32
In February of 1898, in a discussion on governmental systems, he voiced great admiration for the British and German nation, since they seemed to him as the most powerful and rich with a mixed monarchical system.\textsuperscript{344} The intended goal was to pick and choose the best features of the governments of Germany, England, US and so on and implement them within a new Chinese government. Kang Youwei’s main ambitions are not to be confused with the idea for China to become one among many and “just” another great power. His focus lay in the preparation of a “backward nation for participation in the forward march on the road to world harmony and human happiness.”\textsuperscript{345} Some authors describe his main goal as “to help China to acquire ‘the Faustian character of Western civilization.’”\textsuperscript{346} After the failure of his attempted reforms in 1898 Kang Youwei was forced into exile for several years. During this time, he traveled to many different Western nations (including Germany) in order to understand which advantages these states hold that would benefit the Chinese Empire. In his writings on the German nation he noted many social and political aspects and commented on observations in the areas of education, military and others.\textsuperscript{347} His views were greatly influenced by his impressions of the Western nations and inspired in Kang’s mind new sets of ideas on the transformation of China.\textsuperscript{348}

Germany did not only serve as a political interest, but the failed Yangwu movement’s impression of German industry and machines, as well as the heavily industrialized endeavor in Kiautschou, were still influencing early 20\textsuperscript{th} century interest. As a result, during the period of the five ministers’ expeditions from 1905 – 1906, a delegation led by minister Dai Hongci (1853 – 1910) was sent to different nations in order to improve the Qing governments increasingly worsening situation. The main focus during their visit in Germany was on education, science, technology and industry. Politics played a rather smaller part of the investigation.\textsuperscript{349} In his analysis of the delegation Wang Tao of Nanjing University connects this one-sided view of Germany as a technological nation to the fact that in Chinese

\textsuperscript{344} Xiao A Modern China and a New World P. 209
\textsuperscript{345} Xiao A Modern China and a New World P. 194
\textsuperscript{346} Xiao A Modern China and a New World P. 195
eyes today Germany still enjoys a perception of high-quality automobile and machine manufacturing.

5.2 Modernity and the Nationalist Awakening in the context of Sino-German interactions

GERMANY AND THE RISE OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

The rise of Chinese nationalism in the 20th century was accompanied by the deepening of the national crisis following stronger Chinese semi-colonization, caused by the scramble for concessions. Some authors suggest that if the thoughts governing the Chinese enlightenment from the late Qing Dynasty to the May Fourth movement mainly came from British and French literature, then Chinese nationalism mainly draws inspiration from German sources.350

Liang Qichao351 [梁啟超] (1873 – 1929) is arguably one of the strongest influencers among reformists after the failed reform movement of 1898. During the late Qing period, Nationalism [国家主义 / 民族主义] became the most powerful and lasting socio-political trend emerging within the modernization efforts of Chinese thinkers and influenced many new works released. Liang’s publication, the “New people” [新民说], was centered around nationalistic ideas and concerned with the construction of a modern nation-state based on its citizens.352 In his works, Liang argues that the construction of the “new people” was essential to the future development of China, because he saw them as the foundation of a reformed system, creating a new government and subsequently a new country. China needed to establish the new nationalist attitude in order to withstand the other Imperial powers. His ideas of nationalism entailed that people from different social backgrounds, who share the same language and religion with the same customs, become independent, self-governing and strive for public welfare. Liang was one of the first Chinese to identify a difference between the Western imperial nationalism of aggressor nations and the nationalism he saw characterizing the resisting oppressed nations.353 Politicization was the key to reach this stage of general national consciousness. Thus, he fused the ideas of Anglo-American style of free

351 Former apprentice of Kang Youwei, involved in the reform movement of 1898 and subsequently exiled
353 Gao “Zhongguo Xiandai Guojia Zhuyi Sichao De Deguo Puxi” P. 10
democracy with the German nationalism of obedience to the nation as a whole. During his period of exile in Japan from 1898 to the fall of the Qing Dynasty he became increasingly more radicalized. His political opinions were shaped by many different (even contradicting) sources, such as by swiss political scientist Johann Kasper Bluntschli (1808 – 1881) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778) and he frequently published translated texts in his newspaper Qing Yi Bao [清议报]. In the very same newspaper, Liang often expressed his opinions concerning the German action in China and the concession of Kiautschou. While he often portrayed the Germans as hostile and in a negative light\textsuperscript{354}, at some occasion he also commented positively on aspects of the management of the concession by the German leadership.\textsuperscript{355} Liang became convinced that China’s biggest problem was that a true national quality was lacking. Therefore, the national organization at its core (such as in the German Empire) was the greatest of necessities in Liang’s view.\textsuperscript{356} Modern historian Gao Like argues that the conditions under which China existed, the bullying by stronger nations, being cut apart like a melon and searching for national independence and social progress, provided a fertile soil in which German nationalism could be transplanted into China.\textsuperscript{357}

Nationalist Sun Yatsen [孙中山] (1866 – 1925), who is revered in China as the “Father of the Nation”, also frequently sought inspiration from the German methods to solve not only national questions but find solutions to social and economic problems in China. Since 1905 Sun Yatsen developed a great interest in the Kiautschou concession when looking into benefits of the land reform\textsuperscript{358} applied by the German government, but he was not able to actually visit the concession until 1912. During the revolutionary period of 1911 the Qingdao chamber of commerce in cooperation with the Guangzhou and Sanjiang Guild Halls (among others) jointly issued an invitation letter to Sun. Though, the Shandong revolutionaries Xu Jingxin [徐镜心] (1874 – 1914) and Liu Guansan [刘冠三] (1872 – 1925)\textsuperscript{359} were mostly predisposed towards an address by Sun to the people in Qingdao, Sun himself was also interested to inspect the German facilities and policies for the benefit of the new Chinese

\textsuperscript{354} Qing Yi Bao Quanbian Diwuji "Lun Deguo Zai Zhongguo Zhi Shili", P. 166 Via: \url{http://www.bnasi.eu/BN/Periodiques?ID=75} [Accessed: 20.05.2019]
\textsuperscript{355} Qing Yi Bao Quanbian Diliuji "Deguo Jingying Jiaozhou", P. 166 - 167 Via: \url{http://www.bnasi.eu/BN/Periodiques?ID=75} [Accessed: 20.05.2019]
\textsuperscript{356} Gao "Zhongguo Xiandai Guojia Zhuyi Sichao De Deguo Puxi" P. 10
\textsuperscript{357} Gao "Zhongguo Xiandai Guojia Zhuyi Sichao De Deguo Puxi" P. 18
\textsuperscript{358} German Wilhelm Schrameier who was one of the men responsible for the land reforms in Kiautschou was later working together with Sun Fo (son of Sun Yatsen) and other Canton authorities to put together a plan for a land reform there as well
\textsuperscript{359} Who handed Sun the letter in the city of Jinan
nation. He believed that at this moment in time “national and civil rights have been achieved. Only the people's livelihood [民生主义] has yet to be started. What we are committed to in the future is on this matter.”

Thus, his focus shifted greatly on livelihood questions and establishment for a proper industry for the people leading to economic vitalization for China. In this context he paid great attention to the German industry, the railway system and the German school system. During his time spend in Qingdao, though it was a foreign occupied territory, Sun did not express much of a negative sentiment towards the Germans. In fact, he concluded that Qingdao could serve “as a future model for a Chinese city [未来中国城市楷模]” and that “Germany is in almost every aspect our ready-made teacher [德国几乎在每一个方面都是我们的现成的老师].”

5.3 Aftermath of the Boxer War

While the 1896 visit of Li Hongzhang to Germany demonstrated the change of German attitude towards China, the visit of reformer and ambassador to Germany Yin Chang (1859 – 1928) and Zaifeng Prince Chun (1883 – 1951), while mostly seen as a success, showed a hardened tone by the self-assured German Kaiser. The main goal of the mission to Germany was to apologize for the death of German diplomat Clemens von Ketteler. The Chinese were generally treated with respect during their visit, however when they were to meet Kaiser Wilhelm II, he demanded that the Chinese envoy kowtow before him as a sign of respect. Within the socio-political and cultural understanding of the Chinese visitors this posed a rather great problem. The act of the kowtow would represent an act of subjugation under the Kaiser of Germany and would symbolically justify German extortion and interference in Chinese affairs. Though, his decision was questioned the Kaiser did not change his mind until Bernhard von Bülow personally advised him of the possible

362 Especially the Jiaoji Railway between Qingdao and Jinan [胶济铁路]
363 Zhai “Sun Zhongshan 1912 Nian Qingdao Zhi Xing” PP. 106 - 108
364 Zhai “Sun Zhongshan 1912 Nian Qingdao Zhi Xing” P. 107
365 Zhai “Sun Zhongshan 1912 Nian Qingdao Zhi Xing” P. 106

74
negative effects for Germany’s international standing. This event can be interpreted in two lights, either that the Kaiser demonstrated a great deal of ignorance and lack of knowledge towards Chinese state customs, or that the buildup of German national arrogance after the implementation of the world policy and the Boxer war reached to such an extent, that the Kaiser saw himself above the Chinese. Nevertheless, this state visit demonstrated another shift in Sino-German relations between the time of Li Hongzhang’s visit and the period following the Boxer war.

5.4 Shandong Province and the German concession

THE SHANDONG POLITICAL RESPONSE TO GERMAN IMPERIALISM

The German militarization and violent responses to any issues in the new established Kiautschou area led to a general state of anger among the Shandong leadership. During the initial years the Governors heavily criticized Germany’s use of force and the atrocities accompanying it. During the first two years of the German presence in Shandong, Governor Zhang Rumei [张汝梅] (? – 1902) sent multiple complains about the German behavior to the Chinese government, strongly condemning the Kiautschou leadership (especially Governor Paul Jaeschke) for being unpunished and not persecuted for murder against the people of Shandong. His successor Yu Xian [毓贤] (1842 – 1901), who’s contribution to the escalation of the Boxer rebellion is heavily discussed by many scholars today, also frequently expressed disapproval about the behavior and presence of the foreigners in the province. While his involvement with the Boxer rebellions is still quite unclear, it is however factual that he frequently made use of anti-German (and anti-foreign) rhetoric which could have been directly supporting the Boxers.

However, the Shandong Governors were also aware of the possible educational assets the German concession might provide. Shandong Governor Zhou Fu [周馥] (1837 – 1921), for

---

368 Wang “You Mangmu Paiwai Dao Wenming Kangzheng – Zhongguo Dui Dezhan Jiaozhouwan De” P. 33
369 Wang “You Mangmu Paiwai Dao Wenming Kangzheng – Zhongguo Dui Dezhan Jiaozhouwan De” P. 33
371 Governor from 1902 - 1904
example, thought it would be wise to “observe and emulate the benefits”\textsuperscript{372} of the Kiautschou development. While the opening of Qingdao through German forces was involuntary, he believed that a rational and practical approach was essential.

**THE SHANDONG POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND THE LATER YEARS**

The period following the reduction of German violence within their colonial effort was noted by many Chinese locals as well. Germany was relaxing their strong grip over the province of Shandong and people such as Shandong governor from 1900 – 1901 Yuan Shikai [袁世凱] (1859 – 1916), and some of his successors like Zhou Fu were praised for their contribution to the Chinese countereffort to regain some power over Germany in the province.\textsuperscript{373} The reduction of Germany’s power to the level of the other foreign Empires in Shandong was seen as a great step towards righteousness. A Chinese article originally published in the Nanfangbao [南方報] states that as long as the Kaiser does not make up his mind to give Kiautschou back to China, it will be treated by the Chinese government as another Alsace and Lorraine “and there can never be other feelings than those of hatred and resentment.”\textsuperscript{374} Further stating that if the Kaiser would be as good a politician as he is a soldier, he would right the wrongs and lend a hand to China in need.

This demonstrated a great friction between Chinese and Germans in the Shandong policy. The low wages of the coolies and the increases in taxes caused a high degree of dissatisfaction. Also, the German mining conditions, excluding Chinese from the mining business, was another point adding to the irritation towards the German Empire and in general it was felt that “the Chinese will submit to the present conditions only because they are not in a position to pursue any aggressive policy.”\textsuperscript{375} In addition, German reactions to local resistance was rather strict. During the Chinese boycotts against the German mining interests in 1908, the Governor of Shandong was demanded to interfere and subsequently dissolved the Chinese mining societies which were strongly involved in pro-boycott

\begin{footnotes}
\item[373] *South China Morning Post* “Germany in Shantung: A Chinese View” June 12, 1906, P. 7
\item[374] Article from Nanfangbao published in: *South China Morning Post* “Germany in Shantung: A Chinese View” June 12, 1906, P. 7
\item[375] *The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette* “Tsingtao: Unrest in Shantung Railway Matters British Naval Visitors” October 31, 1908, P. 16
\end{footnotes}
propaganda in the Shandong region.\textsuperscript{376} The mining society was made responsible for the withdrawal of labor forces, discrediting German goods and railway enterprises and threaten the closure of all Chinese stores in Qingdao if Germany would not renounce their claim to mining rights in Shandong.

In general, though, the relationship dynamics after the Boxer war changed significantly between the Kiautschou concession and the Shandong officials. The influence and power of the German governor was greatly reduced and besides the German industrial ventures in other parts of the province, his authority was completely restricted to the concession itself.\textsuperscript{377} The political spirit of the Shandong leadership after 1901 is usually characterized by a reorganization of goals through the new nationalist character which lead to various measurement of improvements to compete and control German interest in the province. The main ambition was based on challenging the German monopoly within the economic sector through the use of infrastructural improvements and treaties granted to competitors such as Japan.\textsuperscript{378}

5.5 The Chinese subject in the Concession

\textit{KIAUTSCHOU AS A SPHERE OF WESTERN INFLUENCE}

Through the development of the Kiautschou area, the local Chinese population was exposed to many new institutions and ideas, which they did not have access to before. This shaped the Chinese perception of the Western methods and at the same time provided means for the local population to engage in acts of beneficial cooperation, resistance and self-education. The influence was felt everywhere in the Shandong region and people from small villages and family settlements outside of the Kiautschou region were tempted to go to Qingdao to benefit of the new economic landscape established there.\textsuperscript{379}

While initially the focus of newspapers such as the Chinese \textit{Dongfang Wuzhi} \textsuperscript{[东方务志]} were more hostile, concentrating on the violent and ruthless nature of the takeover of

\textsuperscript{376} \textit{Unknown Newspaper} “Der Gouverneur von Schantung” September 10, 1908, Das Bundesarchiv, RM 16/43, Nr. 462, P. 37
\textsuperscript{378} Wang “You Mangmu Paiwai Dao Wenming Kangzheng” P. 36
\textsuperscript{379} Mouchun Yang, \textit{Yi Ge Zhongguo Cunzhuang – Shandong Taotou} (Nanjing, Jiangsu People’s Publishing House \textsuperscript{[江苏人民出版社]}, 2001)
Jiaozhou by the German forces in Shandong, over the course of the next few years the perception of German Kiautschou went through several changes. More attention was given to the general organization of the colony and the immediate pure indisposition against the Germans was mixed with a curious analysis of modernization efforts, national action and business initiatives in and around the concession. Other newspapers such as the Beihua Jiebao [北华捷报] adopted generally a more positive view of the Germans in Qingdao. The editorial position and the influence resulting of the various newspaper articles released in China had a strong image on the perception of the colonial city and the subsequent interactions resulting from it.

To the Chinese population in direct contact with the German concession, the presence of a new western sphere of influence brought great social changes and had a profound impact on social development among the locals. A new local class emerged which exhibited significant transformations in their lifestyle. The clothing some Chinese were wearing changed from simple homemade clothing to more advanced designed clothes, supported by the new introduction of import goods such as dyes. Chinese food culture also changed to some degree. Among the wealthier Chinese residents, Western beer, wine and pastries, were perceived as a mark of a civilized higher living standard. In addition to food and clothing the settlements themselves underwent also significant changes. Chinese architecture (especially within the Dabaodao [大鲍岛] area), which were traditionally build from stone and wood, were starting to be constructed from different materials such as concrete. Transportation conditions were improved through the German investment in infrastructure. While the carriages and later automobiles were only used by the Germans and high-class merchants, the general travel routes were upgraded, and the increased use of bicycles was beneficial to the main population.

---

383 Changes in architecture and a cross-cultural influence on the German colonizers was also observed. For example, the in 1911 completed “Prince Henry Hotel”, exhibited some traditional Chinese architectural elements, such as the Veranda using wood material commonly used in Chinese designs. See: Wang, R. “Qianxi Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongxi Jianzhu Wenhua De Pengzhuang Yu Jiaorong” Heilongjiang History [黑龙江史志] No. 333 (2014): P. 56
384 Tian. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 31
385 Tian “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 32
Sport as one of the various German cultural imports had also a significant influence on the wealthier Chinese locals. While these activities were first limited to the Western residents living in Qingdao, over the course of the concession they became partially accessible to the Chinese. In fact, the introduction of Western sports was considerably enforced through the school system. In 1901, for example, one newly founded local missionary school (later named “Lixian School” [礼贤书院]) had mandatory sport exercise classes introduced to the curriculum. Also, in 1908 a Mr. Liu Han [刘鹤] organized a middle school youth group dedicated to the exploration of German aspects of social life in Qingdao.\(^{386}\) In sum, the closer the contact was between the Chinese and Germans in Kiautschou the more it influenced the Chinese perception, interest in learning and the adaptation of social features found within the concession.\(^{387}\)

**LAW AND GOVERNANCE**

The introduction and enforcement of the Western (German) law also heavily influenced and changed the Chinese subject over the course of the existence of the concession. The legal model applied to the colonies became an important representation of the Western methods to local people. While the laws main intend was to accommodate the beneficial development of the concessions, it provided the Chinese population at the same time with a new perspective which shaped and informed legal agency within Kiautschou.\(^{388}\) In fact the introduction of this German legal system into China fell together with a period in which the Chinese people were trying to identify methods on how to change their own laws. Thus, it stands to reason that the increased contact between local Chinese and Western law through the Kiautschou concession had a profound impact on further considerations.

Some modern Chinese scholars thus propose that China was in the position of an intellectual import nation [输入国] which was provided by export nations [输出国] with a new influx of Western methods.\(^{389}\) Xie Kun argues that in this model, these exporting countries implement their ideas, such as Western law, actively within another nation and naturally are met with acts of resistance, but also acceptance and cooperation. These intellectual exchanges can be

---

\(^{386}\) Tian “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 33
\(^{387}\) Tian “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 34
\(^{389}\) Xie “Xifa Dongjian Zhi Shu” P. 53
quite complicated, but Xie proposes that while the colonial powers themselves were strongly opposed, the imposed western methods were not greatly resisted.\textsuperscript{390}

The construction and import of the Western-style judicial system in Kiautschou\textsuperscript{391} eventually led to changes in parts of the litigation habits of the local Chinese people.\textsuperscript{392} This directly led to more active legal demands by the Chinese subject in which, for example, even smaller matters were more and more requested to be heard in a Western legal court.\textsuperscript{393} The Chinese interpretation and perception of Western law greatly developed under these conditions and eventually many major cases were raised through the access of legal means. In 1911, a debt litigation case against the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank helped to demonstrate successfully that the German law could be used in the Chinese favor and even to win a case against a strong imperial nation such as the German Empire.\textsuperscript{394} This contributed to the changing perception that the law served as a self-strengthening mechanism and was universally for everyone.

The German rule of Kiautschou was divided between Chinese and Western consideration, usually strictly separating the two. However, the relatively softer approach (especially during later year) of the Kiautschou government, left the possibilities open for the Chinese population to participate in political and social management, as well as using the system provided to achieve benefits for themselves. For example, in 1902, under Kiautschou governor Oskar von Truppel (1854 – 1931), a Chinese committee was established [中华商务公局]. Before that a group of German translators was in charge of most cases concerning Chinese civil and criminal matters.\textsuperscript{395} The Chinese committee had 12 members, who aided locals with the registration of houses, solving of conflicts in commercial cases and also helped to communicate central issues to the Governor. This committee was established to build trust and smooth relations in cases where Chinese people were involved.\textsuperscript{396} Further, the Chinese committee established by the Kiautschou governor, was in direct response to the

\textsuperscript{390} Xie “Xifa Dongjian Zhi Shutu” P. 53
\textsuperscript{391} Similar effects were observable in other concessions, such as British Weihaiwei
\textsuperscript{392} Xie “Xifa Dongjian Zhi Shutu” P. 55
\textsuperscript{393} An act that could be considered a form of passive resistance
\textsuperscript{395} Yanwen Chu. “Qu Gongsuo – Deguo Qinzhan Woguo Qingdao Shiqi Deguo Dui Huaren De Sifa Shezhi Tanjiu” Legal System and Society, No. 9 (2011): P. 7
\textsuperscript{396} Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1901 bis Oktober 1902 [Memorandum concerning the Development of the Kiautschou-Area in the time of October 1901 to October 1902]
demand of Chinese businessmen for a better way to defend their own interests. The committee was in existence until 1910 when it was replaced by a different system involving a four-member board of trustees. While institutions like this were not meant to provide the Chinese population with any real power, they were an essential result of the softer colonial approach after the initial phase of the concession.

MEDICINE AND SCIENCE

For the Chinese living in Qingdao, the German occupation became an access point for Western technology and science. Through the establishments of the missionary hospitals, Western medicine was introduced to Qingdao and gradually gained recognition from the Chinese public. These health facilities also actively supported the westernization of the Chinese against the perceived inferior use of traditional Chinese medicine, by directly introducing the Chinese population to medical knowledge, equipment and drugs. Traditional Chinese medicine was very central to the ideas of well-being among the local Chinese population, and thus, the process of recognition of the benefits of Western medicines was not universal. The Shandong province had a rich Buddhist tradition which was usually standing in opposition to Western medical procedures and the Jimo [即墨] region (which was very close to the concession area and within the Sino-German buffer zone) was famous for traditional Chinese medicine. This history, plus rumors among Chinese people about cannibalistic Western medicinal believes were some of the main factors for the avoidance of Western medicine. The positive effect of Western hospitals against the occurring diseases in the Qingdao area, however, brought more and more patients seeking help to the missionaries leading to a steady annual increase of treatment hours in Kiautschou religious hospitals.

QINGDAO GUILDS AND MERCHANTS AS POINTS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

---

399 Sun “Lun Dezu Shiqi De Qingdao Jiaohui Yiyuan” P. 84
400 The buffer zone was a larger area between Kiautschou and the rest of China in which China was not allowed to make any arrangements without German agreement
401 Sun “Lun Dezu Shiqi De Qingdao Jiaohui Yiyuan” P. 84
402 See for example the rising number of Chinese patients registered in the Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebiets [Annual Memorandum concerning the Development of the Kiautschou-area] (Berlin: 1898/99(1899) – 1908/09(1910))
The initial fear of the German leadership that the occupation might have a negative effect on local economic ties to the Chinese merchants resulted in an interest in reports on Chinese behavior within the cities around China. However, as some reports showed from received telegrams, “*The Chinese merchants and in general the Chinese people in Tianjin, Jifu [Zhifu] [芝罘], Shanghai and the rest of the coast, seem to be absolutely indifferent towards the occupation of the Jiaozhou bay.*”\(^{403}\)

Qingdao represented a great new mercantile sphere for many Chinese in the area and thus attracted a steady influx of merchants seeking business opportunities or more rewarding work. The steady financial influx, development investments and presence of foreign banks in the area further contributed to a growth of merchant associations in Qingdao.\(^{404}\) In general, after the occupation, economic development and trade became increasingly prosperous for the Chinese merchants, employment opportunities increased, the local population had multiple new opportunities to make a living, and their living standards and quality of life improved to some extent.\(^{405}\) This change in living standards for the higher merchants was also expressed through a change in the outward appearances. Western style clothing became a choice for higher merchants and business people as well as Chinese involved with the German government and high standing compradors. This change was accompanied by a changing tailor market, for example, with the opening of Chinese leather shops in 1905 to meet the new demands of the rising merchant class.\(^{406}\) The rapid development of the Qingdao economy for the Chinese merchants also resulted in a surge of mixed architectural structures. In order to show their new status, many higher Chinese businessmen began to build imitations of Western style villas. Multistory buildings essentially became a sign of Sino-German cross architecture, distancing the wealthy merchants from the traditional Chinese buildings, which did usually not have multiple floors with stairs.\(^{407}\) This meant that German clothing and housing units were perceived quite desirable by the wealthier Chinese traders and merchants.

\(^{403}\) *Der Oberschlesische Wanderer* “Deutsches Reich” December 16, 1897, P. 1


\(^{405}\) Tian. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 31

\(^{406}\) Tian, L. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 31

The increase of Chinese merchants in Qingdao was not only provided by the nearby Shandong regions, but merchants from the southern provinces of (Guangdong etc.) came to Qingdao as well. The tight connections Qingdao had with other places in China such as Guangdong, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Anhui, Tianjin, Ningbo and others, contributed directly to the influx of Chinese merchants from all over China. Leading to an increase in local merchant guilds. The dealings with foreign goods, while damaging the smaller local family businesses, even helped some of the larger merchants to enjoy a quite extravagant lifestyle.

During the early years many merchants would arrive from the local Shandong guild factions Bangpai. The merchants put great effort into the adoption of local business practices and the new cultural circumstances, doing their business by day and spend the evenings trying to learn the European languages to increase their chances for contacts with the foreign traders. Sun Lixin described the general condition of Chinese merchants as such: “The [Chinese] business people's mentality is generally relatively open, good at accepting new things, able to understand and master foreign cultures relatively quickly, adopt a more flexible struggle strategy, and quickly improve their own quality through learning.” This allowed business men such as Zhang Yanshan [张彦山] (1862 – 1941) and Ding Jingchen [丁敬臣] (1880 - ?) to climb the business ladder rather quickly and received significant mercantile strength and standing in Qingdao. These strong mercantile groups, which were often represented through various locality or profession guild halls, played an important part in acts of resistance against the foreign powers in China and signify not only an adaptation of Western means in the spirit of success, but also a new national conscious of demanding economic rights to be respected.

One early examples of merchant involvement in activities against the German interest is the Tianhou Temple incident. After the German occupation of Jiaozhou Bay, the commencing violent demolition of the original Chinese buildings caused strong protests and

---

409 Tian. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Shehui Fengshang De Bianqian” P. 32
410 Sun. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongguo Shangren Qunti De Xingcheng” P. 3
411 Sun. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongguo Shangren Qunti De Xingcheng” P. 4
412 Sun. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongguo Shangren Qunti De Xingcheng” P. 7
413 Owner of the Import Export business Yuelai [悦来], mining company Yueshang [悦升] and salt company Yongyu [永裕]
dislike among the Chinese population. In addition, one central structure, the Qingdao Tianhou temple, was declared part of the planned European area.\textsuperscript{414} As one of the oldest buildings on the Qingdao coast line the palace served as a cultural center for fishermen to offer sacrifices and pray. The planned destruction resulted in further angry responses and efforts by the Chinese population to convince the German leadership to leave the temple untouched. Early Qingdao merchants Hu Cunyue [胡存约] (1859 – 1916) and Fu Bingzhao [傅炳昭] (1865 – 1946) negotiated with the German leadership against the destruction of the Tianhou temple.\textsuperscript{415}

From the mid-1900s on, political demand by the merchant groups started to become more prominent. In a 1904 translated letter to the German administration, some Chinese companies complained to the colonizers that “there is no doubt that Qingdao was not build for the Chinese […] [however] it is easy to underestimate the significance of Chinese businessmen to the prosperity of our colony.”\textsuperscript{416} This shows that the merchant class of Qingdao became increasingly aware of the fact that they were essential for the economic interest of the German government and as such were in a position from which they were able to execute their own agency within the colony.

One important fact within the semi-colonial context of Qingdao, which gave the merchants some room of independence, were that many businesses were not completely dominated and monopolized by the German forces. For example, the area surrounding Qingdao had many salt production fields, which the German leadership tried to take control over. However, over the course of the concessions the business was never fully monopolized and is sometimes described as existing in a semi-independent state [半独立].\textsuperscript{417} This was confirmed during the later years, when Chinese investors became increasingly worried that the Germans would be able to acquire most of the profits of the salt fields and early republic investigator Ling Wenyuan [凌文渊] (1876 – 1944) came to conclude that most of the salt industry was still in Chinese hands.\textsuperscript{418} The initial freeport system (and later new customs systems\textsuperscript{419}) established

\textsuperscript{414} Wang “Qianxi Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongxi Jianzhu Wenhua De Pengzhuang Yu Jiaorong” P. 56
\textsuperscript{415} Wang “Qianxi Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongxi Jianzhu Wenhua De Pengzhuang Yu Jiaorong” P. 56
\textsuperscript{416} Sun “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongguo Shangren Qunti De Xingcheng” P. 8
\textsuperscript{417} Chenxi Yu. “1897 – 1914 Nian Qingdao Yanye Chukou Gaikuang Ji Qi Bianhua Tanxi” Research in Economic and Social Sciences, No. 5 (2016): P. 449
\textsuperscript{418} Yu “1897 – 1914 Nian Qingdao Yanye Chukou Gaikuang Ji Qi Bianhua Tanxi” P. 449
\textsuperscript{419} Often seen as a free trade zone system, see: Sun, L. & Wang, B. “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui” Shandong University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), No. 2 (2007): P. 67
in Kiautschou, the better infrastructure and the semi-independent status gave the Chinese merchants new strategies, benefits and possibilities to adjust and deal with the changing conditions. That meant that a considerable degree of businesses had agency to act and react according to the subjects will. This is expressed by the effective use of boycotts as reaction to international or local incidents. The merchant’s unique position to engage with foreigners and learn about trade rules and regulations and at the same time being already familiar with the Chinese system, endowed the merchants in Kiautschou with a certain amount of power that other layers of the Qingdao Chinese society did not have.\textsuperscript{420}

On several occasions Qingdao became the stage of expressions of Chinese resistance to foreign treatment and a place where the political landscape and Chinese socio-political awareness was developing among the workers and merchants. The Anti-American boycott in 1905\textsuperscript{421} had great effects on the behavior of Chinese merchants in the German concession. It was openly discussed and implement in the German concession from about August of 1905 onwards.\textsuperscript{422} During this time the Qingdao Chinese board of guild associations became the only institution able to regulate who (among Chinese merchants) was allowed to trade American goods by using their seal or stamp as a mark of authority.\textsuperscript{423} Any merchant not following the rules in place were regarded as public enemies and managers of foreign firms were “respectfully requested” to honor the regulations put in place by the Chinese guilds. Being an important port city, Qingdao became a focus for many of the pamphlets circulated by the merchant guilds and associations. These institutions had considerable strength and thus the Kiautschou concession was perceived as a stage on which they were able to enact resistance against foreign mistreatment. As they express it themselves in one of their pamphlets: “Boards of trade can light the match, but it may take armies to extinguish the conflagration.”\textsuperscript{424} The boycott signifies a new perspective of the Chinese merchants, as one Chinese Mr. Li writes out of Qingdao: “The lapse of 20 years [of American mistreatment of Chinese] has brought a change. The people are having their eyes opened.”\textsuperscript{425} He further

\textsuperscript{421} A boycott reacting to Anti-Chinese events in America starting on 10. May 1905
\textsuperscript{422} The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Tsingtao” August 25, 1905, P. 15
\textsuperscript{423} The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Fresh Anti-American literature in Tsingtao” September 15, 1905, P. 34
\textsuperscript{424} The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Fresh Anti-American literature in Tsingtao” September 15, 1905, P. 34
\textsuperscript{425} The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Boycott” August 18, 1905, P. 28
deposits that the boycott is the “best if not the only means” for Chinese merchants to push against the imperial treatment of Chinese as well as to reach any of their goals.

In 1908/09 another boycott hit the Qingdao area, in which the Chinese merchant guilds and associations actively protested the Kiautschou concession by refusing any trade involving German goods. “Schools, streets, and railways, shipping trade, cotton goods, petroleum, and village schoolmasters even, in the whole coast districts, are falling or threaten to fall, under the ban of the Guardians of the National honor.”426 “Powerful merchant guilds which have the whole trade of China in their hands”427 were opposing the German presence in Kiautschou428, leading to an almost complete halt of Chinese imports from Shanghai to Qingdao.

The protection of civil rights developed gradually within the Kiautschou system through the foundation of the great guilds such as the Guangdong Guild Hall [广东会馆] and the 1910 established Qingdao Business Association [青岛商务总会].429 These institutions opened the Chinese merchants up to new ways of fighting against the colonial authorities and defy laws or regulations which they perceived as countering their own interest. This, however, did not automatically imply that the merchant associations were only driven by financial gain. The goals often carried a nationalist sentiment with them along the line of the realization that “we [the Chinese] are all business managers when it concerns the patriotic duty [一切经纪，当以爱国为本分]”430

STUDENT RESISTANCE IN SHANDONG AND QINGDAO

The Sino-German school was established in 1909 for the initial cost of 600.000 Mark with an annual calculated cost of 150.000 Mark. It was a cooperative project between the German and Chinese government, which both shared the maintenance cost and administrative responsibilities. Publicly, the Chinese government received the project with great sympathy

426 South China Morning Post “Boycott at Tsingtao” January 20, 1909, P. 7
427 South China Morning Post “Boycott at Tsingtao” January 20, 1909, P. 7
429 Sun & Wang “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui”P. 68
430 Sun & Wang “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui”P. 68
and the establishment gave the impression that a tendency for modernization was among the Chinese leadership.\textsuperscript{431} This signified a shift in German perception towards the Chinese as well as opening of new possibilities of young Chinese in the concession. They were no longer exclusively treated as economic middlemen and workers, but also given access to cultural and intellectual goods.\textsuperscript{432} During the initial planning of the Qingdao College, Grand secretary Zhang Zhidong was at first not convinced by the benefit of the application to let the students of the Sino-German school in Qingdao participate in the state examination\textsuperscript{433}, however the final arrangement of the school gave students this opportunity anyways. In the colonial context, the allowance of graduates to take the Chinese state exams was quite unique among colonial schools. The school became a very influential sphere, in which the students educated and radicalized themselves and opened the way to a strong national sentiment among the young Chinese locals. Though, the German leadership perceived the school mostly as a vehicle to increase German power within China, it also opened a gateway for the Chinese to a better education and even possibilities of further studies in foreign nations. In fact, the education provided by the only non-religious scholarly institution established in modern China through Chinese-foreign cooperation clearly demonstrates that although the Chinese were dissatisfied with the dominant position of the colonial rule, they attempted to learn and implement western methods to learn about and improve their own situation.\textsuperscript{434} Further offers of free German language educations throughout the Shandong region, in the spirit of cultural transactions, were however, received poorly and the request was denied on the basis of avoiding the development of an educational monopoly by the German government in Shandong.\textsuperscript{435}

Many of the Chinese students within the Sino-German school system were exposed to cultural exports through the import of western literature and at the same time were influenced by Chinese nationalist writers and activists. In the mid-1900, several nationalists returned to China from Japan and settled in Qingdao. One of them, Chen Minghou [陈明侯]

\textsuperscript{431} South China Morning Post “German High School for Chinese” January 8, 1909, P. 7
\textsuperscript{432} Shaofeng Zhao & Wenlong Cui “Qingmo Deguo Dui Hua Xuexiao Zhengce Yu Qingdao Mengyang Xuetang De” Journal of Jiangnan University, Vol. 15, No. 1 (2016): PP. 54 – 59
\textsuperscript{433} South China Morning Post “Chinese News: Conservatism” June 20, 1908, P. 11
\textsuperscript{434} Xie “Xifa Dongjian Zhi Shutu – Jiaooa yu Weihaiwei Zujiedi Fazhi Shijian Yangben Kaocha” P. 59
\textsuperscript{435} South China Morning Post “Germany in Shantung” March 22, 1910, P. 7
(1881 - ?)\textsuperscript{436} established the short-lived Rising Sun School\textsuperscript{437} in 1908. Many revolutionary thinkers were employed there as teachers and while the extent of its success is unknown, it was seen as a place to “create students with a global vision and citizen spirit.” \textsuperscript{438}

Over the course of several years, the Chinese student’s patriotic character increasingly developed and were expressed on different occasions within the different school systems. One such case occurred in 1912 in the Qingdao Shufan Girl’s School [青岛淑范女中]. When Prince Heinrich of Prussia visited Qingdao, the Germans expected all the students to participate in the welcome and farewell ceremonies. The female students of the school however refused to participate and wrote in big Chinese characters the sentence “\textit{Do not welcome the dog Prince Heinrich [不欢迎亨利狗]}\textsuperscript{439}” on the Blackboard. This event is identified by Sun Lixin and Wang Baoning as one of the earliest acts of student resistance in the history of the Chinese student movement.\textsuperscript{440} This protest, however, went completely unnoticed or ignored by the Germans themselves and the visit of Prince Heinrich was portrayed without any signs of negative occurrences.\textsuperscript{441}

The strong Anti-German sentiment during the last few years of the Kiautschou concession had great effects in many layers of Chinese existence. The students were often seen as the force which will lead to the “\textit{ultimate regeneration of China}”.\textsuperscript{442} From 1910 onwards the number of riots against the occupiers were increasing in areas close to both Qingdao and British Weihaiwei [威海卫]. The students were motivated by multiple anti-Imperialist sentiments introduced to them through different sources (Western and Chinese). They realized that “\textit{Tsingtao [transformed] into the most European town in the Far-East}”, which could have never been achieved without the “\textit{irksome}” innovations for the Chinese

\textsuperscript{436} Who was also responsible for the establishment of the Chinese mining society involved in the 1908 dispute, see: Jianjun Zhu. “Nationalism and Pragmatism – The Revolutionists in German Qingdao (1897 – 1914)” In \textit{German Colonialism Revisited – African, Asian and Oceanic Experiences}, ed. Nina Berman & Klaus Mühlhahn & Patrice Nganang (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2014) P. 183

\textsuperscript{437} The school was closed within less than a year in December of 1908.


\textsuperscript{439} Sun & Wang “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui” P. 69

\textsuperscript{440} Sun & Wang “Deguo Zhimin Tongzhixia De Qingdao Zhongguoren Shehui” P. 69

\textsuperscript{441} \textit{Deutsche Kolonialzeitung} “Prinz Heinrich von Preussen in Kiautschou [Prince Henry of Prussia in Kiautschou]” October 26, 1912, PP. 4 - 6

\textsuperscript{442} \textit{The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette} “Anti-Germanism in China” July 15, 1910, P. 12
population there. Fueled by recent German acts of aggression and demands the nation was perceived in a much less favorable light in the mind of the revolutionary forces in China. At the same time, many students recognized the beneficial nature of the Western education and graduates, such as later Qingdao mayor Zhao Qi [赵琪] (1882 - ?), were able to reach higher ranking positions through their education in Kiautschou.

Towards the end of the concession, a number of revolutionary leaders saw benefits in learning from the German colonizers. Among them, Sun Yatsen, who during his visit to Qingdao in 1912, advised the students in one of his speeches at the Sino-German school that “You study at the school, the opportunities are better, the famous German teachers teach you new knowledge, the Germans' strenuous efforts and culture, the science and especially their laws, are famous in the world. You should follow the example of Germany and study with all your heart. What you see here should be worthy of your imitation, and your goal is to extend this model to all of China and build the motherland to completion.” This underlined the desire for the Chinese students to use all that can be learned from the colonizers to improve their own nation. Hostility, fueled by a newly developing sense of patriotism, and a thirst for knowledge went hand in hand among the Chinese students in the German concessions.

---

443 The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Anti-Germanism in China” July 15, 1910, P. 12

6 Conclusion

“The heart is partial, the habits powerful, the facts insidious, and the illusion easy. The Observer must be circumspect without becoming pusillanimous; and the reader, obliged to see by intermediary eyes, must watch at the same time the reason of his guide and his own reason.”

The interactions between the Chinese and German Empire and people during and surrounding the Kiautschou lease period between 1898 – 1914 are not dominated by rather black and white sentiments towards each other. The thesis has shown that during the years, while general tendencies were presented among the different Empires, a wide spectrum of views and interpretation not only of the “other” but also of the “self” contributed to the overall development during this period in Chinese and German history.

The German initial goal of a strong economic base of German influence in foreign nations, was supplemented with the cultural and nationalist desire to build a home away from home. Originally, hostility was seen as the best method to gain economic and militaristic goals in the perceived sick Empire of China. A great spirit of national ambition, hunt for prestige and competition with the other Imperial nations was the driving force behind much of the colonial venture and perception in China. With the changing conditions within the international standing of the German empire throughout the 1900s, the German government was forced to abandon this strategy and approach the Kiautschou concession in a more cooperative light. This period was strongly characterized by intentions of cultural injections and non-violent means of achieving German ambitions. However, while the contact became friendlier, economic schemes were not abandoned in favor of a more equal field of interaction. The general impression that this period gives us, is not one of Sinophilia as George Steinmetz suggests, but rather of unavoidable necessity. Justification was always one of the main concerns behind German action, and as such the reinterpretation of China in the face of an international worsening situation, needed a more positive framework to be justified as well. While the change in the colonial press and the new interpretation of German sinology

---

certainly show the desire to better the understanding of the Chinese Empire and later Nation. The racial, and Social-Darwinian interpretation of China was still a strong force within the German Empire. Action did not always agree with perception and vice versa. While the German government tried to avoid a hostile strategy towards the Chinese, many European citizens within the concession did never abandon their self-righteous, nationalist and colonial superior perception and feeling, which painted an understanding of the Westerner above the lowly Chinese in every way.

Different spheres existing in the German state adopted different methods of dealing with the new world order established during the late 19th century and early 1900s. Some German writers were certainly of the opinion that with the loss of international allies a different tone towards China and the Chinese needed to be infused into the colonial effort, while others still thought a hard push against economic freedom of the Chinese (as with the mining societies) and a mistrust fueled by racist yellow peril fearmongers was a path Germany could not afford to leave. It is only possible to draw clear lines from an institutional analysis and thus build a general assumption about different defined periods during the Kiautschou concession, but the deeper one looks into all the groups connected to the construction of a German perception of China, the more these boundaries become cloudy.

The Chinese people within and outside of the concession are often bound by certain power structures. Thus, when interpreting the changes in perception within the Chinese population it is important to understand how different layers of the Chinese societies deal with the German intrusion into their nation and the development of the Kiautschou region. The initial hostility to a foreign nation, while mostly universal among the Chinese, did not have too severe of an effect on the merchant class. While it is hard to make general statements about the prevailing condition of a whole class of people, it can be reasonably assumed that the Chinese compradors and merchants realized that the foreign presence within Shandong embodied a useful economic opportunity. That meant that initially merchant interactions with the concession was decidedly distinct from the other spheres. While newspapers, intellectuals, imperial and regional political forces were strongly condemning the occupation of the Jiaozhou area, the merchant class quickly build up a strong cooperative economic base from which to improve their own lives. The further the concession developed the more it was received in a rather positive light by many actors within the other spheres of interaction. Regional officials, while critical of the German land-grab, recognized the access to Western knowledge and goods as an opportunity to improve their own suffering state. Intellectuals,
who more and more showed interest in the study of foreign nations for the benefit of the Chinese people, showed a mixture out of curiosity for the intellectual goods imported into the Empire through the German presence and hatred towards the foreign nation itself.

The socio-political influence that the Western sphere posed also determined the slowly evolving national spirit in China as a whole. German law, land reforms and education systems became sites on which Chinese thinkers were inspired and able to acquire a new view on the world and self. The political awakening within and outside of Kiautschou was often expressed through acts of resistance by the merchant and later student sphere. In the case of the merchant class, this defying spirit was shown very early on, for example, during the Tianhou temple incident. However, it was not only resistance that narrated the socio-political change of perception of the Chinese people, many (among them Sun Yatsen) saw it as a national duty to use the available Western systems in order to build a proper understanding of the benefits for the Chinese nation. The broad spectrum of action and interpretations of Germany within different Chinese spheres between 1897 and 1914, demonstrates again that clear lines can only be drawn when we move away from the particular and only regard the general. Throughout the lifetime of the German concession in Shandong compliance and resistance were both prominent among the Chinese inside and outside of Kiautschou. International pressure against Germany created situations of softer colonial policy, and the new access to ideas over time created more opportunity for resistance and cooperation to gain benefits for the Chinese state and local population.

The central question whether the colonial subject has a voice, is connected to the extent of the power relations within the colonial sphere of influence. This thesis shows that the semi-colonial nature and the lack of absolute control over the economic circumstances gave the Chinese merchants within Qingdao considerable power for agency. They were well aware of the dependency of the German nation on connections to the hinterland and the slowly progressing infrastructure and the lack of understanding of the Chinese system, did not open the possibilities for the German colonizers to fully control the economic exchange. Thus, within that system the merchant had power to act. Further the cultural policy and the introduction of the Western principle of laws meant that during the later years the Chinese subject could become a legal actor and demand certain rights to be recognized against the German authorities. This extended even to cases against major colonial institutions such as the Deutsche-Asiatische Bank. These developments marked a major shift in self-perception
as an individual with certain rights to claim and a change in perception of the value of the Western legal system introduced to the region by the German Empire.

Another aspect of the semi-colonial existence is that China itself was never fully colonized. That meant, that while within the concession political power was extremely limited, the Chinese state was able to counteract some of the German influence for herself. The equalizing of the mining rights to other nations for example, was a move by the local officials to severely limit Germany's power within the region of Shandong while still reaping the benefits of the established infra-structural advances. As such Germany was seen as a threat to be countered, but also as a possible source of benefits to the whole province.

In sum, the close analysis of the different perceptions in China and Germany provides us with significant insight in the large scope of groups and actors within the German Imperial context. Further, it can inform us about the different motivations resulting out of the knowledge created through the observations, interpretations and interactions taking place within the Kiautschou context.

This study is limited to only a small part of the many spheres and layers which were active during the period of German Imperialism in China. Further investigations could be concerned with other spheres and colonial settings in which we may find similar or even different views represented. During the German occupation of Jiaozhou, other cities such as Hankou and Tianjin were also struggling with the German presence and had unique experiences which could reveal more information about the nature of local relations between the two Empire. It is also important to note that the intellectual class in China has a vast amount of written accounts on their view of the European nations and a closer analysis as well as a more detailed study of those sources might result in new insights into the Chinese upper-class view. The very nature of the analysis of perceptions of individuals and groups acting within the colonial context means that a vast number of viewpoints are available from which to approach this subject. As such this paper represents a stepping stone, one aspect of a bigger picture which needs to be filled by more contributions to the subject of German Imperialism in China.
Bibliography


Chen, Hon Fai *Civilizing the Chinese, Competing with the West – Study societies in Late Qing China*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2017

Chesneaux, Jian & Bastid, Marianne & Bergère Marie Claire. *China From the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1976


Cui, Wenlong [崔文龙]. “'Shijie Zhengce' Shiye Xia De Deguo Dui Hua Wenhua Zhengce [‘世界政策’视野下的德国对华文化政策]” [German Cultural Policy towards China from the Perspective of "World Policy"] *Journal of Jiangnan University (Humanities & Social Sciences) [江南大学学报（人文社会科学版）]* Vol. 13, No. 3, (2014): PP. 67 – 75


*Der Oberschlesische Wanderer “Deutsches Reich [German Empire]“ December 16, 1897, P. 1


Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报] “Schwere Misshandlungen durch Eingeborene [Serious mistreatment by indigenous people]” November 12, 1898, P. 5

Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报] “Gouverneur Rosendahl” February 15, 1899, P. 1 – 2
Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报]
“Verordnung [Directive/Regulation]” March 15, 1899

Deutsche-Asiatische Warte – Amtlicher Anzeiger des Kiautschou-Gebietes [德属胶州官报]
“Aus Tsintau [From Qingdao]” March 29, 1899, P. 2

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Zur Flottenfrage [On the naval Question]“ January 6, 1898, PP. 2 – 3

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau [Kiautschou]“ January 6, 1898, P. 3

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau“ January 20, 1898, P. 3

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Kiautschau” February 24, 1898, P. 1 – 2

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “China und sein Außenhandel. – Nach einem Vortrag des Herrn Professor Friedrich Hirth, gehalten am 10. Februar in der Abteilung Frankfurt a. M. [China and her foreign trade – Based on a lecture by Professor Friedrich Hirth on February 10th in the Frankfurt Main department]” February 24, 1898, P. 4 – 6

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Die Stadt Kiautschou [The Town of Kiautschou]“ April 12, 1898, PP. 2 - 4

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Die Arbeiterfrage in den Kolonien [The question of labor in the colonies]“ July 28, 1898, PP. 1 - 2

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Ueber Politik, Handel und Kunst in Ostasien [On Politics, Trade and Art in East-Asia]“ October 27, 1898, P. 2 - 4

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Chinesische Sprichwörter [Chinese idioms]“ November 3, 1898, PP. 4 – 7

Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Chinesen in Samoa [Chinese in Samoa]“ March 23, 1912, P. 7


Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Ostasiatische Neubildungen (Schluß) [East-Asian Reshaping (End)]“ March 30, 1912, P. 5

96
Deutsche Kolonialzeitung “Prinz Heinrich von Preussen in Kiautschou [Prince Henry of Prussia in Kiautschou]“ October 26, 1912, PP. 4 - 6

Driesmans, Heinrich. Deutsche Kulturliebe. Berlin: Verlag des Vaterländischen Schriftenverbandes, 1912


*Heidelberger Zeitung* “Handels- und Erwerbsverhältnisse in unserer Kolonie Kiautschou [Trade and Economic conditions in our Colony Kiautschou]” October 15, 1901, P. 1


Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst v. *Schantung und Deutsch China – Von Kiautschou ins heilige Land von China und vom Jangtsekiang nach Peking im Jahre 1898 [Shandong and German
China – From Kiautschou to the holy land of China and from the Jangtse River to Beijing in the Year of 1898]. Leipzig: Verlag von J.J. Weber, 1898


Kang, Youwei [康有为]. *Bu Deguo Youji [补德国游记] [Supplements to the Germany Travels]*, 1907, Via:  http://www.cnthinkers.com/thinkerweb/literature/441552  [Accessed: 20.05.2019]


Kirchhoff, Alfred. “Aus der Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit vom Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899 [From the memorandum concerning the development of the Kiautschou area in the period of October 1898 to October 1899] Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, January 1900, PP. 2 - 4


Levysohn, Arthur. “Kleiner Bericht [Small Front Page Report]“ *Berliner Tageblatt* November 16, 1897, P. 1


Liang, Qichao [梁启超]. Xin Min Shuo [新民说] [New People] Via:

Loomba, Ania. Colonialism/Postcolonialism. New York: Routledge, 2005

Luxemburg, Rosa The Accumulation of Capital. 1913 Via:


Meinecke, Gustav. “Die Lage in Ostasien [The Situation in East-Asia]“ Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. August 17, 1895, P. 1

Meinecke, Gustav. “Deutschlands Stellung in Ostasien [Germany’s position in East-Asia]“ Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. September 28, 1895, P. 1 – 2


Mootz, Heinrich. Die Namen der Orte in Deutsch Schantung Tsingtau: Missionsdruckerei, 1901


*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* “Ausland Rundschau” November 19, 1897, P. 1


Riehl, Wilhelm H. Die Deutsche Arbeit [The German labor]. Stuttgart: Gotta’scher Verlag, 1862


South China Morning Post “Germany in Shantung: A Chinese View” June 12, 1906, P. 7
South China Morning Post “The Future of Kiaochau – Germany’s Position in the Far East” September 24, 1907, P. 11

South China Morning Post “Chinese News: Conservatism” June 20, 1908, P. 11

South China Morning Post “German High School for Chinese” January 8, 1909, P. 7

South China Morning Post “Boycott at Tsingtao” January 20, 1909, P. 7

South China Morning Post “Germany in Shantung” March 22, 1910, P. 7

South China Morning Post “German Prestige Gone” December 1, 1914, P. 6


Sun, Lixin [孙立新]. “Dezhan Shiqi Qingdao Zhongguo Shangren Qunti De Xingcheng [德占时期青岛中国商人群体的形成]” [The Formation of Qingdao Chinese Merchants


Sun, Yat-sen [孙中山]. Sun Zhongshan Quanji – Di 2 Juan [孙中山全集] [Complete works of Sun Yatsen] Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company [中华书局], 2006, P. 319


The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Germans in Kiaochou”. November 26, 1897, P. 2

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Germans At Kiaochou Bay”. December 3, 1897, P. 29

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Ill-Behaved Germans” November 14, 1900, P. 22

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Unruly Soldiers” November 14, 1900, P. 22

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “The Boycott” August 18, 1905, P. 28

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Tsingtao” August 25, 1905, P. 15

The North - China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette “Fresh Anti-American literature in Tsingtao” September 15, 1905, P. 34
"Tsingtao: Unrest in Shantung Railway Matters British Naval Visitors” October 31, 1908, P. 16

“Anti-Germanism in China” July 15, 1910, P. 12

“The Kaiser’s Command: Germans Slaughter Prisoners” November 22, 1900, P. 6

“German Troops in China: What they really did” December 24, 1901, P. 6


“Perspectives on early Commercial activity in the Jiaozhou area by the “Jiaozhou Bao”” History Teaching [历史教学] No. 24 (2015): PP. 49 – 53


Wilda, Johannes. “Einige Bemerkungen zum Etat des Kiautschougebietes [Comments on the budget oft he Kiautschou concession“ Deutsche Kolonialzeitung March 1, 1900, PP. 3 - 5

Wirth, Albrecht. Die gelbe und die slawische Gefahr [The yellow and the slavic danger] Berlin: Verlag von Gose & Tetzlaff, 1905


