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THE ROLE OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN NAVY IN COLONIAL AFFAIRS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
Albert Harding Ganz, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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The maxim "trade follows the flag" was a commonly accepted one in the latter decades of the Nineteenth Century. That there was a close relationship between commercial and colonial activity and the direction of naval policy was generally assumed, and in Germany the Flottenverein (Navy League) and the Kolonialverein (Colonial Society) supported each other's goals in advocating imperialistic expansion. Warships required coaling stations, and mercantile interests needed raw materials and markets for their goods; the interdependence was obvious.

But the story of the German Navy's role in colonial affairs is not so simple. The majority of Germany's African and Asian colonies were precipitously acquired by Chancellor Bismarck in 1884, at a time when the little German Navy was headed by Leo von Caprivi, an Army general who had no interest in colonial ventures. Then too, German steam-sail warships, sailing ships with auxiliary steam propulsion, were not yet dependent on coaling stations. When the Navy did become interested in overseas bases in the 1980s, because of the technological transition from sail to steam and because of the appeal of a commerce-
raiding strategy of cruiser-warfare, it discovered that none of Germany's existing colonies fulfilled its logistical and strategic requirements. Indeed, colonial unrest only made even greater demands on ships and men than anticipated, and when the Navy was called on to participate in colonial affairs by administering the Schutztruppen (colonial forces), it showed extreme reluctance to do so.

The cruiser-warfare strategy utilizing overseas bases was never really implemented, primarily because the Navy had no single head after 1889. In that year Navy administration was divided into three equal departments, each usually in conflict with the others. A coherent strategy and ship-building program was only introduced with the accession of Admiral Tirpitz to the Reichsmarineamt (Reich Navy Office) in 1897. He was determined to concentrate on a battle fleet in home waters, and in general opposed further overseas commitments. The warships that dramatized German political policy in Samoa, South Africa, and Morocco were not under his operational control.

The striking exception to the Navy's attitude toward overseas enterprises was its acquisition and administration of Kiaochow in China. If this acquisition was incompatible with Tirpitz's battle fleet policy, it nonetheless served a valuable function in its own right. Kiaochow was also
unique in that it was the only one of Germany's possessions abroad that was administered by the military establishment. There were intrinsic differences between this protectorate and Germany's other colonies; yet the storm of controversy that arose concerning the civilian-administered territories left Kiaochow unscathed, and signified the unique achievements of the German Navy in operating beyond its accustomed sphere.

Most of the material for this subject is found in the personal papers and the German naval archives located in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau, and I would particularly like to thank Oberarchivrat Dr. Sandhofer for his helpful comments and suggestions. Additional related material is found in the Bundesarchiv itself in Koblenz. Then too, I would like to gratefully acknowledge the helpful guidance of my adviser, Professor Andreas Dorpalen, and finally the assistance and encouragement of my wife Diane.
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STEAM-SAIL FRIGATE "LEIPZIG"
Built 1877

LIGHT CRUISER "EMDEN"
Built 1908
CHAPTER I

GERMANY ACQUIRES AN EMPIRE

On 24 April 1884, German Consul General Lippert in Capetown, South Africa, received a telegram from Chancellor Otto von Bismarck:

According to statements of Mr. Lüderitz [British] colonial authorities doubt as to his acquisitions north of Orange river being entitled to German protection. You will declare officially that he and his establish­ments are under protection of the Empire.¹

The territory in question was a barren strip of land along the southwest African coast, acquired from various native chiefs by an enterprising Bremen merchant, F.A.E. (Franz Adolph Eduard) Lüderitz. Its economic value was somewhat less than obvious. For mile after monotonous mile the coastline stretched, depressing in its featureless uni­formity, forbidding in its uninhabitable appearance. Seamen knew it by the ominous name "skeleton coast," for the wrecks of hapless ships were plainly seen, their bones

¹BA-K Kl. Erw. 340/I. BA-K will be cited for Bundesarchiv-Koblenz, which has the Nachlässe of various colonial officials and documents of Foreign Office depart­ments concerned with colonial affairs. The records of the later Reichskolonialamt itself are located in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Potsdam, D.D.R., and are not currently available to American researchers.
Map 1. Africa in 1914

AFRICA IN 1914
Scale 1: 40,000,000

Railroads - —-
Falls, rapids ——
bleaching white in the hot sand. Any survivors almost always perished in the quicksands or in the Namib desert stretching inland. This desert wasteland itself, and the Kalahari desert farther on, was sparsely populated by the primitive Hottentot-Bushman, a nomadic people many of whom lived in holes in the ground and communicated in an adumbrated language of clicks. Bismarck himself later referred to the area contemptuously as a "little pot of sand." Yet Southwest Africa had become the first German colony; for Bismarck's telegram marked a dramatic change in the course of German history, and Germany was about to become an imperial power with responsibilities that would encompass the globe.

Southwest Africa had been a nagging if relatively insignificant irritation in Anglo-German relations for several years. In 1880 a stolen cow had sparked one of the periodic tribal wars between the Namas or Namaquas, a Hottentot people, and their more militant Bantu neighbors

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The remark of Mary Townsend in The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire 1884-1918 (New York, 1930), p. 130, that Southwest Africa was "the only one [of Germany's colonies] entirely suited climatically to white settlement" is curious at best. Much of the area is still virtually uninhabited. A vivid description of the British-owned Walfish Bay region was later written by the Resident Magistrate Emile Rolland in his report of 20 December 1886. A copy is in BA-K Kl. Erw. 340/III Bd. 2.
to the north, the Hereros. Members of the German Rhenish Missionary Society, scattered in the hinterland, headed for the coast when their mission stations were burned in the fighting. They appealed to the German government for protection, which in turn informed the British government that "any measures ordered or intended for the protection of the life and property of English subjects in consequence of the war . . . may be extended to German missionaries and traders there."4

The British, however, who had assumed ownership of the one decent harbor on that coast, Walfish Bay, were unwilling to extend their commitment. "Her Majesty's Government," wrote Foreign Secretary Lord Granville to Berlin, "cannot be responsible for what may take place outside British territory, which only includes Walfish Bay and a very small portion of country immediately surrounding it."5

3The principal linguistic and ethnic groupings of sub-Saharan Africa are the Bantu and the Sudanese Negro, the latter reflecting Hamitic influence. In eastern Africa Semitic (Arabic) influence is represented in the Swahili dialects. The more primitive Pygmies and Hottentot-Bushman are primarily found in southwest Africa.

4Raymond Walter Bixler, Anglo-German Imperialism in South Africa 1880–1900, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1932, p. 2.

England was thus on record regarding the limits of her southwest African interests. The indiscriminate extermination of elephants and ostriches during the Herero-Nama war, in fact, caused a slackening in the ivory and feather trade, and Cape Colony merchants were now primarily interested only in the seals and valuable guano deposits of several rocky islands off the coastal indentation called Angra Pequena.6

Meanwhile the Bremen merchant F.A.E. Lüderitz, who had operated a factory at Lagos on the West African Guinea coast until bankrupted by a discriminatory English tariff, hoped to establish another factory in southwest Africa. At Capetown he purchased and outfitted the brig Tilly, loaded her with merchandise and rifles, and in April of 1883 dispatched her to Angra Pequena under his young agent Heinrich Vogelsang. There Vogelsang erected a prefabricated hut and then worked his way inland to the native settlement of Bethanie, to negotiate a treaty with the Hottentots. For some 200 rifles and 2000 RM, Captain Joseph Frederick signed his mark to a paper giving Lüderitz title to the land between the Orange River and

6Guano is the dried excrement of sea birds used in the manufacture of gunpowder and fertilizer. The English traders were later to charge that the activities of German traders were "disturbing" the birds, and hence the digestive and excretory process by which guano resulted. Bixler, p. 21.
26° South Latitude, a strip twenty miles wide, and to all the rocks and islands within cannon-shot of the mainland.\(^7\)

The Cape traders were greatly angered by Lüderitz's coup, and agents of De Pass, Spence & Co. set out for Angra Pequena by steamer. There they found the Germans had built three stores and opened communications with the interior by bullock wagon to trade various articles for ostrich feathers, ivory, sheep and cattle. The English, finding Vogelsang absent, hauled down the German flag and ran up the British flag before departing. Vogelsang simply ran up his own flag again when he returned. The Cape traders had meanwhile deluged the Foreign Office with treaties signed by various Namaqua chiefs, granting them the rights to the disputed lands, and in September the British duly dispatched the gunboat Starling to investigate matters. When she returned, complacently reporting that the whole German undertaking was likely to fail anyway, an angry party of

\(^7\)Esterhuyse, pp. 38-40. Photo-copies of numerous native treaties are in BA-K Kl. Erw. 340/I. There is some confusion as to the exact price the Germans paid, especially as subsequent treaties were concluded extending the territory up to 22° South Latitude and then to the Portuguese Angola boundary. Townsend, p. 128, notes the presents included an assortment of toys, mostly lead soldiers. The Cape Boers referred to the area as the Transgariep.
Cape traders determined to take matters into their own hands.  

Late on 19 October 1883 Colonial Secretary Lord Derby was roused by a telegram from the English Consul at Capetown:

"Ministers inform me party English traders start tomorrow morning for Angra Pequena it is said with the intention of expelling Germans recently established there. Please instruct me."

Derby promptly forwarded the note to Foreign Secretary Lord Granville who answered on the 22d,

"... a gunboat should be ordered by telegram to proceed to the spot to prevent a collision, and also to report upon the actual state of affairs."

H.M.S. Boadicea was hurriedly dispatched to Angra Pequena but soon returned; for the traders, lost in the interior, had failed to arrive. The British did find, however, that Chief Joseph Frederick confirmed his deal with Lüderitz. Ignorant of European geography or law, and quite unimpressed with the British map, he casually denied his predecessor's sale of the same locality to the British.

The German government had in the meantime made four official inquiries as to the extent of British territorial

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8 The incident is related in Bixler, pp. 9-11, Esterhuyse, p. 41, and Hodge, p. 21.

9 Hodge, p. 21.
claims, and had not received any satisfactory reply. Bismarck became increasingly impatient with British dalliance and finally granted Reichsschutz to Lüderitz for his claims on 14 March 1884. A few weeks later he sent his momentous telegram to the German consul at Capetown, and Germany had become a colonial power.

Just why had Bismarck, who so emphatically later insisted "Von Haus aus bin ich kein Kolonialmenschen," led Germany down the road to imperialism? His motives are perhaps as complex as that great figure himself.

In 1879 Bismarck shifted from a laissez faire policy to one of protectionism, as German business was increasingly faced with foreign competition, over-production, and

10 February, 10 September, 17 November, and 31 December 1883, all discussed at length in Hodge.

11 It is uncertain just when the English realized the importance of Bismarck's pronouncement. Hodge, p. 36, says the telegram was kept secret as Bismarck was still awaiting an official reply to his 31 December inquiry, and the English did not learn its contents until published in the 26 May Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. Esterhuyse, p. 52, says Ambassador Münster did tell Foreign Secretary Granville, but gave him the wrong impression as he himself only vaguely understood it, or perhaps disapproved the affairs. On 29 July 1884 the British formally acknowledged the German claims excepting Angra Pequena and the guano islands.

12 Bismarck's original words were, "Ich bin kein Kolonialmensch von Hause aus gewesen." Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstags (cited hereafter as Reichstags Verhandlungen), VII. Legislaturperiode, IV. Session 1888/89, 27. Sitzung, 26 January 1889, p. 621.
declining markets. If protective tariffs were one way to assist German business, then expansion of foreign trade was another. Colonies, it was generally felt, provided markets for excess production; and this undoubtedly played a major role in Bismarck's reversal of policy regarding colonialism.  

This general economic depression also had repercussions on the social and political scene, of which the Socialist Party in particular was quick to take advantage. The acquisition of colonies might well divert attention from domestic problems, and act as a "safety valve" to release internal social and political pressures building up. The English Annual Register for 1884 acknowledged this situation, pointing out that Bismarck hoped to counteract the Socialist movement with colonies, thus "providing new markets for the products of German industry and opening vent for the superfluous energy which is now often employed in agitation."  

13 This was certainly the impression left with businessmen like Siemens who had substantial interests overseas. See Karl Helfferich, Georg von Siemens (Berlin, 1923), vol. 2, pp. 274-275.

14 Annual Register (1884), p. 296. That German colonialism resulted from domestic motives rather than foreign policy considerations has most recently been advanced by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Bismarck und der Imperialismus (Köln, 1969). In this he expands on Hans Rosenberg's thesis (in Grosse Depression und Bismarckzeit, Berlin, 1967) that over-production resulted in a Great Depression lasting from 1873 to 1896, with consequent social and political unrest.
national unity and purpose that had been declining since the heady days of unification.

The first political test of imperialism abroad, however, the Reichstag debate over the Samoan Subsidy Bill of 1880, was not encouraging. The Hamburg firm of Godeffroy and Son, which had monopolized the copra, coffee, cocoa, and sugar trade of Samoa for two decades, was finally forced to borrow money from Baring Brothers of London. The failure of the firm would jeopardize German interests in the South Seas, and Bismarck introduced a bill that would grant an annual government subsidy to Godeffroy and Son, enabling them to keep their trade under the German flag. The bill was finally voted down as inaugurating state-directed colonialism, although a private company did assume Godeffroy's debts. Bismarck, politically astute enough not to champion an uncertain cause, had remained aloof from the debates.15

Nonetheless, with the increasing emigration abroad and expanding commercial and maritime interests in the next years, a growing enthusiasm for colonialism was manifested in Germany. Several societies had already been formed to promote exploration, colonization, and overseas trade, and in 1882 these efforts were given a unity of direction and purpose with the founding of the Kolonialverein.

15 Townsend, pp. 72-76.
Simultaneously, a shift had occurred in Germany's relations with England and France. Tentative negotiations for an Anglo-German alliance had come to naught and Bismarck found Prime Minister Gladstone to be less amenable than his predecessor Disraeli. In France, conversely, the new Jules Ferry government pursued a policy of reconciliation with Germany, and Bismarck was prepared to reciprocate.

But it was growing irritation with an England smugly conscious of the supremacy of her world power, that brought matters to a head. In annexing the Fiji Islands in 1874, England had evicted a number of German settlers and traders there; subsequent German demands for indemnifying the colonists were ignored. In 1876 and 1879 Bismarck negotiated treaties to protect German interests in the Tonga and

16 Schulteiss' Europäischer Geschichtskalender (Berlin, annual, 1884), Anhang IV "Die deutsche Kolonialpolitik nach den offiziellen Weissbüchern," p. 418, notes that according to his five "White Books" Bismarck had succeeded in "swatting two flies with one blow: putting England in its place and drawing France closer to him."

A.J.P. Taylor, in Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 1884-85 (London, 1938), p. 6, argues that Bismarck created colonial friction with England to demonstrate his friendship for France. "The German colonies were the accidental by-product of an abortive Franco-German entente." This is perhaps too simplistic; Taylor's propensity for viewing events in a narrowly diplomatic sense tends to obscure other factors. Admittedly Bismarck was first and foremost a diplomatist, but it is doubtful that he bungled into colonialism by "accident." The accession of Salisbury's Conservatives in England and the rise of Clemenceau's Radicals in France in 1885, however, reversed the diplomatic situation once again.
Samoan Islands, but elsewhere Imperial Britain paid little heed to the claims of a nation whose naval impotency limited her influence to the coast-line of the European continent.

In Africa the explorations of Stanley and Livingstone had opened up the vast reaches of the "dark continent" for colonial penetration. In 1882 England concluded a convention with France dividing the territory north from Sierra Leone on the west coast between them, and in 1884 concluded a similar agreement with Portugal regarding the Congo River basin. Both treaties established high customs duties that virtually excluded merchants of other nations. There was much indignation on the part of German business interests, and the Boards of Trade of the big maritime centers Hamburg and Bremen protested to the government. Bismarck in turn angrily repudiated the terms of the Congo agreement, and his insistence on maintaining the principle of equality of trade in the Congo finally resulted in the Congo Conference of November 1884.17

At the same time, England's dilatoriness regarding Lüderitz's Southwest Africa claims exasperated Bismarck; Great Britain would have to be reminded that Imperial Germany was not a nation to be casually ignored in world

17Germany's overseas interests and difficulties are discussed by Townsend, pp. 72 ff.
affairs. In extending official protection to Lüderitz's acquisitions in April of 1884, then, Bismarck was giving a rebuke to England, was placating frustrated social and business elements in Germany by encouraging commercial maritime enterprises overseas, and was giving official sanction to missionaries, explorers, and colonists to pursue their activities under the auspices of the Imperial German flag.

Whatever the interests that desired a colonial empire, the small German Navy was not among them. Yet the existence of overseas colonies, linked to the homeland by maritime commerce, ultimately depended on the protection of naval units abroad.

At the time of Germany's unification, the Prussian "Navy" had consisted of a miniscule coastal flotilla of obsolete gunboats. Its commander was Prince Adalbert of Prussia, a cousin of King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, holding the resounding title of Chef des Oberkommandos der Marine from 1849 to 1871. The Prussian Navy had only played an incidental role in the birth of the Second Reich, however, and Prince Adalbert sought in vain appropriations necessary to create a Navy commensurate with Prussia's increasing political and economic importance.18

18 For the early history of the German Navy see Vizeadmiral a.D. von Mantey, Deutsche Marinegeschichte (Charlottenburg, 1926), Chapter I.
Meanwhile there was some concern over the growing number of Germans emigrating abroad, lost forever to their homeland. Various colonization projects had been suggested to the Prussian government and the Navy. Their purpose was not only to keep German emigrants German, but also to settle areas that would provide raw materials and markets for German commerce. Localities where Germans had settled—the Dutch East Indies, the Rio de la Plata estuary of South America, the Mosquito Coast on the Caribbean side of Nicaragua, certain African locations, Costa Rica which would make an admirable site for a projected railroad across the Latin American isthmus—all had been proposed. But Bismarck was unconcerned with colonization, and Prince Adalbert was only interested in it as a rationale for an expanded fleet.\(^1\) When one Karl H. Perrot wrote, suggesting that the West Indies be colonized and that coffee, cocoa, and sugar plantations be initiated, Prince Adalbert replied politely that the idea was "not

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\(^1\)Townsend, p. 57, however, says that Prince Albrecht [sic] "strongly advocated the acquisition of colonies." She quotes him as saying: "For a growing people there is no prosperity without expansion, no expansion without an oversea policy, and no oversea policy without a navy." If he did advocate colonialism, it is not immediately apparent.
without interest," but that it "really isn't within my sphere."20

Adalbert's successor, however, Lieutenant General Albrecht von Stosch, was more receptive to the idea of colonization, primarily for political reasons. Stosch was an infantry general with experience in the Franco-Prussian War, and it was indicative of the unhappy situation of the Navy of the new German Reich that it was an Army general who was **Chef der Kaiserlichen Admiralität** from 1871 to 1883. He did not, in fact, even assume the title of Admiral until 1875. Stosch was not especially interested in the Navy, but he saw it as a challenge, and took his work seriously.

20BA-MA Fach 4349 Admiralität XIX 1.1.-2; Perrot to Adalbert, Trier, 24 June 1861; Adalbert to Perrot, Berlin, 27 July 1861. Minister of war General von Roon, who was concurrently Minister of the Navy, likewise received numerous colonization schemes.

BA-MA will be cited for Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau, the location of all the German naval records. The material is in bundles catalogued by a "Fach" or shelf number. The records themselves carry the original archival reference by department: Admiralität, Marine Ministerium, etc.; and after 1889, RMA-Reichsmarineamt, MK--Marinekabinett, and OKM--Oberkommando der Marine, later ADM--Admiralstab der Marine. The volumes microfilmed by the British Admiralty also bear a PG number. This microfilmed material has been shared with the U.S. Navy, catalogued by a reel "T" number; and as this microfilm is transferred to the National Archives it receives a reel "TA" number. The microfilming was only done selectively, and the multiplicity of reference systems is an unfortunate burden on the researcher.
In his *Denkschrift* of 6 May 1872 Stosch outlined the goals guiding the construction and employment of the Navy: protection of sea-trade, defense of the coasts, and the development of an offensive capability. The last, he emphasized, was in no way meant to challenge the major European powers, but was only to enable Germany to take the initiative under certain circumstances. The real strength of the Reich, he maintained, rested "with the point of the bayonet of the Army." Bismarck, in fact, once sarcastically observed, "We have a fleet that is unable to sail, so we cannot be injured in distant parts of the world."

Bismarck's real animosity toward Stosch, however, was motivated by jealousy of Stosch's close relations with the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, who later briefly ascended the throne as Kaiser Friedrich III. Stosch shared the more or less liberal views of the future monarch in opposition to Bismarck's policies and served as his unofficial advisor; and the Crown Prince, who had secured the Admiralty post for his friend, promoted the Navy and Stosch

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in minor ways. Yet even before he knew he was dying of cancer Friedrich became apathetic and resigned, and it was the ambitions of Stosch himself that Bismarck was suspicious of.

Stosch privately proposed the acquisition of colonies to absorb German emigration, and also to divert attention from the divisive social effects of Bismarck's Kulturkampf against Catholicism. To his friend Gustav Freytag, journalist, historian, and Navy publicist, who raised objections to this idea, Stosch wrote:

But even if you are right in this, it is another question whether our situation does not make it our duty to support measures which increase German power and the goals attainable by the spirit and which are in opposition to the destructive elements of the Kulturkampf. You have repeatedly said that country people like to fill their idle minds with the overseas world, the emigrants, and foreign conditions. Then the thought of overseas undertakings would exercise a stimulating power over German hearts and would be fundamentally popular.

Aware of Bismarck's hostility, however, Stosch thought it best that he remain anonymous, for "... the great Chancellor would be won over to my plans much sooner by the press than if I presented them." 23

23 Letter, Stosch to Freytag, 22 April 1875, quoted in Hollyday, p. 120. Stosch's ideas on the overseas emigrants were also later quoted in the article "Seest-Interessen," Nauticus (Berlin, annual, 1899), pp. 319-322.
The Admiralty chief did encourage colonial interests in the Reichstag, and in December 1876, at a time when King Leopold II of Belgium was sponsoring an international conference of geographers and explorers in Brussels, he warmly encouraged the German geographer Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen's "German National Committee of the International Association for the Exploration and Opening of Central Africa." He was less encouraging, however, to various individuals who proposed places abroad where the German flag might be raised.

As a possible instrument of colonial undertakings Stosch briefly contemplated German missionary activity. It was unfortunate that Catholic missionaries looked to France for protection and Protestants looked to England, for "Missions and trade always go hand in hand," and the fruits of this activity were lost to Germany. "In the

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24 Stosch to Richthofen, 13 December 1876; BA-MA Fach 7169 RMA II. 2.1.5.17. PG 68858. Richthofen, who had travelled widely in Asia and later taught geology at the Universities of Bonn, Leipzig, and Berlin, was at this time the President of the Society for Geography in Berlin.

25 For example, Stosch wrote to Otto Siemon in Panama, that no German naval station in the area was intended, 27 July 1878; also, correspondence with Eduard Delius, 1879-1880, reference Costa Rica, Bogota, and even a part of the Pikens District in the state of South Carolina, to which Delius had inherited the land title; BA-MA Fach 4349 Admiralität XIX 1.1.3.
future," he wrote von Gossler, Prussian Minister for Spiritual, Educational, and Health Affairs, "the Prussian missionary must realize the glory of his God, not only in increasing the number of believers among the heathens, but also in that the highest honor of his worldly life, his fatherland, contributes to the glory of his God." Gossler was less than enthusiastic regarding giving political direction to missionary activity, however, and pointed out objections both numerous and discouraging.26

A few months later Stosch wrote an anonymous article entitled "German Colonization" which was polished by Freytag and published in the Kölnische Zeitung. There he concluded that missionaries were "strong Christians, but weak Germans;" merchants abroad likewise had little national feeling, usually depending on England's omnipresent Royal Navy for protection. Stosch placed his faith, rather, in the German peasant who emigrated with his family. If annual emigration could be channeled to one spot, a self-sufficient colony could be established. And as the primary cause of emigration was the burden of military service, Stosch suggested easing this burden for colonists,

26 Stosch to Gossler, 26 December 1882; Gossler to Stosch, 29 January 1883; BA-MA Fach 7169 RMA II. 2.1.S.17. PG 68859.
perhaps relying on the Landwehr for their training and defense.27

Stosch's colonization ideas, however, were politically motivated, and did not reflect the requirements of the Navy itself. The small steam-sail warships cruising on foreign station had little need for the coaling stations that were to become so vital later, and their requirements for occasional repairs and overhauling were adequately met by the various ports of the world. The small Navy budget, in addition, would not justify the expense of acquiring, developing, and maintaining Germany's own naval bases overseas.28

Career Navy officers hoped that Stosch's successor would come from their own ranks and lead the Navy to better days, but this was not to be. From 1883 to 1888 the next head of the Navy was another Army general, Graf Georg Leo von Caprivi, later German chancellor. A General of Infantry, with experience on Moltke's General Staff, Caprivi had little interest in the Navy and even less in colonial

27Kölnische Zeitung article of 22 July 1883 discussed in Hollyday, pp. 252-253.

28German naval service abroad, from supporting financial claims in Haiti to saving crews of ships stranded off the Liberian coast, is detailed in Mantey. See also "Die deutsche Flotte und der deutsche Handel," Nauticus (Berlin, annual, 1900), pp. 237-248.
affairs. His policy was determined by his preoccupation with a possible two-front war by France and Russia against Germany. The Navy's strategy was to be merely the passive one of coast defense; and overseas commitments and adventures could only detract from this primary role. Protecting the trade-routes and the occasional requirements of gunboat diplomacy were minor supplementary obligations.

For the development of the Navy Caprivi years verged on the disastrous. While other nations were experimenting with developments in reciprocating steam engines, armor plate, and ordnance advances, German naval technology languished. The Caprivi era was most typically reflected in the building of the eight Siegfried-class ships, stubby little coast defense vessels mounting three 9.4 inch or 24 cm battleship guns in barbettes. While sporting names like Beowulf, Heimdall, and Odin from heroic Germany mythology, the ships had only limited range and sea-going capabilities. Caprivi's Navy played no role in the growing general interest in overseas colonies.

29 For example, Caprivi's correspondence with Hatzfeldt of the Foreign Office regarding Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg's ideas of a settlement in Paraguay, January 1884; BA-MA Fach 4349 Admiralität XIX 1.1.-2.

30 Technical details of warship construction are most precisely given in Erich Gröner, Die deutschen Kriegsschiffe, 1815-1936 (München-Berlin, 1937).
In 1884 the German Navy was merely the obedient instrument of colonial acquisition. Its requirements were not considered in the formation of a colonial empire. Yet it was patently obvious that the existence of the far-flung colonies would be dependent on the Navy's ability to sustain and defend them. There is no evidence, however, that the Navy was even solicited for an opinion.

Once Bismarck had made his decision to give Imperial sanction to Lüderitz's claims in Southwest Africa, events moved with startling rapidity. Both the gunboat Wolf, homeward bound from Singapore, and the frigate Leipzig, on station in the South Seas, received orders for Southwest Africa. It would be several weeks, however, before they could arrive. Frigate Elisabeth and gunboat Möwe left Hamburg at the same time, the former carrying Lüderitz on board. At Lisbon Möwe picked up Dr. Gustav Nachtigal, an explorer who was then German Consul General in Tunis. He went as Imperial Commissioner in West Africa with instructions "to further German interests there and to report upon a scheme for consular appointments on that coast."31

31Hodge, p. 63. It is not clear if Nachtigal's activities were to apply only to Southwest Africa, or to all German interests along the way—as he did in fact interpret them. See also Harry R. Rudin, The Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1919 (New Haven, 1938), p. 36. For the personal experiences of a naval doctor see Harry Koenig, "Heiss Flagge!" Deutsche Kolonialgründungen durch SMS "Elisabeth" (1934).
Nachtlgal was to examine all treaties, ensuring there was no conflict with other claims, and to place as much of the hinterland under German control as possible.

On 4 July 1884 Nachtlgal arrived off Togo on the West African coast, and landed to claim the territory for Germany.

English and Hamburg traders had recently quarreled in Togo, and in the previous winter one Lawson had proclaimed himself king at Little Popo. In January the German corvette Sophie had anchored off-shore to support her countrymen, and a landing party under Lieutenant von Trützschler had arrested Lawson and several natives. As an English subject Lawson was released, but three Negroes were taken back to Germany to impress them with European power. They were just now returned on board SMS Möwe, and native King Grigi and the princes of Little Popo were sufficiently impressed to request German protection. Nachtlgal was glad to oblige them, and on the 5th of July raised the German flag at Bageida to a thundering 21-gun salute. The ceremony was repeated at Lome the following day, as much to impress the natives as it was to observe the formalities of national sovereignty.32

32Mantey, p. 138; Townsend, p. 143. Little Popo later became Anecho, the German administrative center. Togo was an area of 34,000 square miles, though with a coast only 30 miles long, and 2.5 million population.
The Möwe moved along the coast, past Nigeria, and on 12 July dropped anchor in the Cameroon River off Belltown, just north of the equator. The region near the coast was swampy and filled with mangrove trees. At low tide mud flats were exposed covered with a sickening slime extremely offensive to Europeans. Clouds of mosquitoes rose from the dank wetness carrying the malaria—though this was not yet realized—that was the chief cause of the high death rate among the early whites and also the natives from the interior. Dr. Max Buchner, Nachtigal's assistant and temporary governor of Kamerun, later said it would be "mass murder" to send white settlers there.33

The coastal belt was covered with rain forest, creating a cathedral gloom of tropical hardwoods entangled with vines and creepers, constantly dripping in the humid air. The rivers were not navigable, but blocked by sand bars, rapids, and trees fallen in decay. Nonetheless trade had been established with the interior, and these interests were to receive the protection of the German Reich.

Nachtigal called Kings Bell and Aqua to a "Palaver," and gave official sanction to the treaty to which they and their underlings marked their crude Xs:

We give this day our rights of Sovereignty the Legislation and Management of this our

33Rudin, p. 116.
Country entirely up to Mr. Eduard Schmidt acting for the firm of A. Woermann and Mr. Johannes Voss acting for Messrs. Jantzen & Thormählen both in Hamburg, and for many years trading on this River.

There followed various reservations respecting cultivated property and the validity of other treaties. On the 14th Nachtigal, accompanied by a naval detachment from the Möwe, stood with the resident Germans and the native chiefs while the German flag was raised at Belltown. The flag was also raised in Bimbia a few days later.

Meanwhile the English Consul in the Gulf of Guinea, Hewett, arrived on the gunboat Flirt to claim the same territory for England. But he was three days too late, for which he received the uncomplimentary epithet "Too Late Hewett." English traders and missionaries had for some time been apprehensive of French designs in the Gulf, though Gladstone's government had been slow to forestall these. They never anticipated the German move. A mad scramble for treaties now ensued, with German agents handing out trinkets and little German flags as proof of German authority. "Too Late Hewett," the laughingstock of the coast, redoubled his efforts to get native Xs on English treaties; but Kamerun was left a German possession.

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34 Treaty of 12 July 1884 (in English), BA-K Kl. Erw. 340/I. Kamerun was an area finally of some 305,000 square miles with a 183 mile coast, and some 3.5 million inhabitants.
Steam-sail frigate SMS Leipzig finally arrived off Southwest Africa from the South Seas by the middle of July 1884. She had encountered numerous delays, but even then had to await the frigate Elisabeth, held up by head-winds and bad weather. SMS Elisabeth finally reached Angra Pequena on 6 August, her coal bunkers practically empty.

The two warships anchored in the sandy cove, and early the next morning a detachment of sailors rowed ashore to be met by the handful of traders and natives there. While the warships boomed out a 21-gun salute, Captain Schering of SMS Elisabeth ran up the imperial colors and Captain Herbig of Leipzig read out the short proclamation that Lüderitz's claim was placed "under the protection and sovereignty of His Majesty Kaiser Wilhelm I." The proceedings were closed with three cheers, "Hoch auf Seine Majestät!" 35

Leipzig returned home to Wilhelmshaven in October 1884. Lüderitz had meanwhile transferred to the gunboat Wolf which went along the Southwest coast, raising the flag at Sandwich Harbor, Swakopmund, Cape Cross, and Cape Fria, while the restless trader made treaties with every

35 Kapitän zur See a.D. Hugo von Waldeyer-Hartz, Admiral Hipper (Leipzig, 1933), p. 46; Esterhuyse, p. 56. Angra Pequena was renamed Lüderitz Bay. Lüderitzland became German Southwest Africa, later 322,000 square miles with a 686 mile coast, and a population of some 200,000 natives.
tribe encountered. The British by now were quite apprehensive as to Germany's colonial intentions, and in the course of negotiations Lord Granville asked Herbert Bismarck whether the Germans contemplated ultimate extension of their territory eastward toward Bechuanaland and the Boer Republics. Bismarck retorted, according to Granville, not very politely, that this was a "question of mere curiosity" and "a matter that does not concern you." 36 Prime Minister Gladstone, however, was not perturbed. "If Germany is to become a colonizing power," he later said, "all I can say is God speed her. She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of mankind." 37

The German Chancellor had not yet finished. German explorers had penetrated the area of East Africa later called Tanganyika, and Bismarck appointed Dr. Rohlfs consul there on 1 October 1884. Impetus was given to the German commitment by an erratic twenty-eight year old adventurer named Karl Peters. With three compatriots Peters sailed for East Africa in the autumn of 1884, passing through the British-controlled island of Zanzibar unrecognized, using false names, travelling third class, and disguised as

36 Bixler, pp. 28-29.

workmen. They then crossed to Sadani on the mainland, and canoed up the Wami River to Usagara in the interior, where Peters induced a dozen chiefs, bedazzled by trinkets and befuddled by grog, to sign away their territories. Returning to Berlin, Peters jubilantly pressed Bismarck for an Imperial Schutzbrief. The Chancellor demurred at first; but when Peters threatened to sell his treaties to that colonial enthusiast King Leopold of Belgium, or to the British, Bismarck gave in and gave his claims official sanction on 27 February 1885.38

With British encouragement, the Sultan of Zanzibar protested the German treaty claims; but Bismarck dispatched an awesome force—the iron-clad warships Prinz Adalbert, Stosch, Elisabeth, and Gneisenau, later joined by Bismarck and gunboat Möwe, under Captain Paschen—which dropped anchor in Zanzibar harbor on 7 August 1885. The Sultan Said Barghash hastily withdrew his opposition in return for recognition of his "independence."39

An international commission (English, French, and German) was appointed to adjust the various conflicting claims. As settled in the following year, the Sultan's


39Paschen's squadron in Mantey, p. 144. England was preoccupied with the Mahdist rebellion in Egypt that had brought Gordon's death at Khartoum in January.
"integrity" was finally limited to Zanzibar itself and two other off-shore islands, Pemba and Mafia, and a strip of the mainland coast ten miles wide. This strip, and the territory inland, was divided into spheres of influence between England and Germany, lands known later as Kenya and Tanganyika. The Sultan had experienced an old Swahili proverb: "When two elephants fight together, it is the grass that is trampled."40

Bismarck had acquired another colony, German East Africa, stretching from the coast, with a potentially good harbor in Dar-es-Salaam, inland to Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa. The tribes of the interior were primarily Bantu Negro, while the coast and Zanzibar were largely inhabited by Arabic peoples, who had alternately subjugated and traded for ivory and slaves with the peoples of the interior since the seventeenth century. With its varied vegetation and climate, from the tropical lowlands of the Rufiji River delta to the uplands of the Serengeti Plain and snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro, the Tanganyika

40Listowel, p. 17. Many of the inland Bantu tribes, however, did not acknowledge the Sultan's sovereignty, and had signed Peters' treaties for protection from the savage activities of the Arab slave-traders. In 1888 Germany purchased virtual control of the coastal strip (collection of all customs duties, monopoly rights of mining and road and railway construction, and regulation of commerce) from the new Sultan Said Kalifa.
territory promised to be the most attractive and most successful of the German colonial enterprises.41

But Bismarck was not content with staking out German claims only in Africa. The New Guinea Company formed by the bankers Hansemann and Bleichröder requested the protection of the Reich in May 1884, even as the government was extending official sanction to claims in Africa. The company had assumed the Godeffroy liabilities and proved quite successful in the South Seas copra trade (copra being the oil extracted from dried coconuts and used in soaps and industrial lubricants), until British and Australian incursions threatened. In August Bismarck dispatched an imperial commissioner, von Oertzen, to take possession of the island archipelago to the northeast of New Guinea, and Dr. Finsch, an explorer, travelled throughout the area handing out little German flags to the puzzled but friendly aborigines. (Fortunately Finsch did not encounter the Papuan head-hunters, who had savored other white visitors.)42

41 German East Africa, later named Tanganyika Mandate and now Tanzania, measured 384,000 square miles with a population of some 3 million inhabitants. The oldest known remains of primitive man have recently been found in the Olduvai Gorge of the Serengeti Plain.

42 These activities are discussed by several sources. It is not obvious, however, just what the official status of the Company, or either von Oertzen or Dr. Finsch, was. The Foreign Office joined in enthusiastically, encouraging the Navy to consider Palawan Island in the Philippines as
In Capetown the frigate Elisabeth received orders for Sydney, Australia. In October 1884 she rendezvoused with the gunboat Hyâne, and the two ships cruised the South Seas claiming various territories for Germany with a flag-raising, a salute, and a "Hurra auf den Kaiser!" Northeastern New Guinea became Kaiser-Wilhelmsland when the flag was raised at Finsch-hafen on 27 November. Other territories included the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands. While they offered good trading prospects, these tropical islands were never meant for European habitation. The sparkling water and white beaches and the groves of cocoanut trees leaning languorously seaward camouflaged a jungle interior of tangled vines and lush vegetation that bred myriads of centipedes, mosquitoes, and other foul, disease-bearing insects. The German, who insisted on his heavy meals and full-bodied beer, was particularly susceptible to the enervating effects of the tropics. Even the London Times, previously jealous of Germany's acquisition, later observed that "Reports from Kaiser Wilhelm's Land seem to show that this territory is useless for European colonization. Since the founding of the colony nearly

a possible coaling station; but more sober investigation showed, as Consul Graf Solms wrote from Madrid, that Palawan was "incontestably Spanish." Foreign Office to Caprivi (Admiralität), 25 August 1884; Solms to Bismarck, Madrid, 4 October 1884; BA-MA Fach 4349 Admiralität XXIX 1.1.3.
every single official of the first administration has fallen a victim to the influence of climate."^{43}

In August of 1885 Bismarck announced his intention of extending imperial protection to the Caroline Islands, and a detachment from the gunboat *Iltis* raised the flag over the Hemsheim factory on Yap Island. This brought an unexpectedly strong reaction from Spain on the part of her trading interests there, and Bismarck was quick to sacrifice the islands for political advantage. He "generously" referred the dispute to the Vatican; as expected, Pope Leo XIII awarded the Caroline and Palau Islands to Spain, with safeguards for German commercial interests—and Bismarck had won the good will of the Pope and the Catholic Center Party in the Reichstag.^{44}

Germany did gain the Marshall Islands, where the firm of Robertson and Hemsheim conducted trading activities. Copra was the principal product of this string of some two thousand tiny islets and coral atolls, their calm,

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^{43}*Times clipping of 15 February 1892 in Ba-Ma Fach 5117 OKM II.D.23.*

The South Pacific possessions measured 93,000 square miles with an estimated 180,000 inhabitants. The American soldier and Marine, who came to know the South Pacific so intimately, have left vivid descriptions of Guadalcanal, Bougainville, New Britain, and New Guinea, lands unchanged since the German flag waved over them.

^{44}Germany later gained the Carolines, along with the Palaus and Marianas, sold by Spain after the disastrous 1898 war.
sparkling lagoons sheltered from the ocean by surf-fringed necklaces of off-shore reefs. In October of 1885 the gunboat Nautilus raised the flag over Jaluit, and Bismarck made it official a few months later.

In less than a year and a half, Bismarck had secured for Germany a colonial empire of extensive size, if not wealth. This empire, however, was not to be the political and economic asset that Bismarck had perhaps thought it would become. Militarily it was a liability, and the Navy was to play a reluctant role in its maintenance.
CHAPTER II

NAVAL SERVICE IN THE EMPIRE

The first difficulties in regard to the newly-acquired colonial empire arose in the realm of administration. It is evident that Bismarck hoped to avoid embarrassing political commitments and expenses by having private enterprise assume the burden of administering and developing the colonies the Reich had gained. "Germany will do what England has always done, establish Chartered Companies, so that the responsibility always rests with them."¹

But if the mineral and agricultural resources of the colonies were to be profitably tapped, harbor facilities, railroad and river navigation systems, mining and agricultural machinery and processing plants, as well as housing

¹Townsend, p. 119. Bismarck expanded on this idea in the Reichstag on 26 June 1884 in answering Eugen Richter's objections that a colonial policy would involve expense and naval power. Reichstags-Verhandlungen, V. Legislaturperiode, IV. Session 1884, 42. Sitzung, vol. 2; 26 June 1884, p. 1062.

Bismarck had perhaps failed to learn from the experience of the British East India Company, whose responsibilities in India had been assumed by the Crown following the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.
and medical facilities, would all have to be constructed. It is a simple economic fact that there must be an initial outlay of funds before returns can be expected. German capital was more readily invested in industry at home than in commercial enterprises abroad, however, and the individuals and merchant firms at whose instance the colonies had been acquired, could not begin to finance their development. In addition, however, these circles were politically astute enough to realize that the government, having extended official protection to the colonies, was committed to retaining them; what private interests could not or would not do, would have to be handled by the government.

On 25 September 1884 Bismarck met with a number of Hamburg traders interested in Kamerun, including Adolf Woermann, W. Jantzen, and J. Thormählen, at his Friedrichsruh estate. There he suggested that the government undertake the responsibility for matters within the jurisdiction of the departments of war, foreign affairs, and justice, while the merchants assumed the commercial and administrative aspects. But the traders held out for full government responsibility, complete with an imperial governor, and in the end they prevailed.2

As if to illustrate their point, friction in Kamerun grew into open violence a month later between the pro-

2Rudin, pp. 121-122.
German tribes Bell and Aqua, and the pro-English tribes Joss and Hickory. To demonstrate German strength, a squadron under Rear Admiral Knorr, consisting of the frigates Bismarck and Gneisenau and the corvettes Olga and Ariadne, left Wilhelmshaven for West Africa. When King Lock Priso of Hickory Town, who had not accepted German rule, rebelled against King Bell in December, his followers crossed the river separating them and burned Bell Town. Dr. Max Buchner, temporary German Imperial Commissioner, requested that Knorr intervene.

When the presence of the warships anchoring offshore failed to have the desired effect, a landing party under the Bismarck's Captain Karcher debarked in boats at dawn on the 20th and rowed up-stream. As they came up the river they were fired on from the buildings of the British Baptist Mission. The warships opened fire with their guns, the marines went ashore, and the natives fled into the bush. The British missionaries, who the Germans felt were responsible for inciting the natives, had to submit to a search of their buildings. The British traders demanded compensation for losses to their goods. But at Buchner's request Admiral Knorr established martial law to restore

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3Mantey, p. 141, does note that much of the tribal hostility resulted from arrogance on the part of those natives who felt they could depend on German power.
order, and the German government countered official British claims by threatening to reopen the question of German claims regarding the bombardment of Alexandria. Anglo-German boundary disputes and other problems were ultimately resolved, and the disgruntled English missionaries and traders finally left. But the commercial companies were less than ever willing to assume any administrative responsibilities, and Dr. Max Buchner stayed on as Imperial Commissioner. A similar situation prevailed in Togo.

Four German companies were formed specifically for the colonies, the East African Company, the New Guinea Company, the Southwest African Company, and the Jaluit Company. Of these four, only the first two were chartered companies with sovereign rights; and only the New Guinea Company and the Jaluit Company survived after 1890.

In Southwest Africa Lüderitz was soon faced with bankruptcy and sold all his holdings to a company of businessmen combined for that purpose as the German Colonial Society for Southwest Africa in April 1885.

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4The incident is discussed in Rudin, pp. 55-56, and Mantey, pp. 141-143. Mantey notes that German casualties were one killed, eight wounded; Rudin mentions that a factor in Woermann's employ was killed. Native casualties, as was typical of the time, were apparently not important enough to mention.

5Freiherr von Soden was appointed High Commissioner for Togoland, succeeded in 1885 by Ernst Falkenthal when von Soden replaced Buchner in Kamerun.
Desperately he began exploring for minerals that might yet justify the colony, but drowned at sea in September 1886, sailing from the mouth of the Orange River to Lüderitz Bay (Angra Pequena).  

The future of exploitation was so unpromising that the new company refused to accept a charter conveying sovereign rights, and Bismarck finally dispatched Dr. Heinrich C. Goering as Imperial Commissioner. Goering arrived in 1886 to find himself in the middle of the perennial Herero-Namaqa native war. But to Goering's persistent requests for a German military presence Bismarck replied that "Armed intervention would, in any case, not correspond to our colonial system." Neither the German government nor the Southwest African Company would assume responsibility for the colony, and the whole problem was left to the unhappy Goering.

The Company for German Colonization, under whose auspices German East Africa had been staked out by Karl Peters, did receive a charter conveying sovereign rights;  

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6Esterhuyse, pp. 89-92.

7Berlin (Dr. Krauel of the Foreign Office) to Goering, 19 September 1887; BA-K Kl. Erw. 340/III vol. 2. Goering hoped to kindle enthusiasm for the colony in Berlin by announcing that gold had been discovered there. He then took ship for home and got as far as Lisbon where a sharp rebuke from the Chancellor sent him back to Africa. (Goering's son Hermann was the Nazi leader and creator of the Luftwaffe.)
but faced with native unrest, instigated primarily by the coastal Arabs who felt German administration would disrupt their age-old slave trade, the Company relinquished its sovereignty and left the administrative burdens to the government.  

Peters himself enthusiastically explored the hinterland beyond Lake Victoria, signing treaties with various native chiefs along the way—and returned to find all such German claims traded to England for the North Sea Island of Helgoland. For in the meantime Bismarck had been dismissed by the young Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the more pliable Leo von Caprivi had succeeded him; and "der neue Kurs" apparently did not include colonial expansion. Bismarck's disgruntled criticism of the Helgoland Treaty, as well as of his successor, prompted the colonial expansionists to found the Pan-German League on 1 July 1890, whose expressed purpose was "to arouse patriotic self-consciousness at home . . . and, above all, to carry forward the German colonial movement to tangible results."

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9 Townsend, p. 165. The wording of the constitution of Alldeutscher Verband as given in the appendix of Mildred S. Wertheimer, The Pan-German League (New York, 1924), is slightly different.
The privileged companies were commercial enterprises and had neither the means nor the interest in exercising sovereign rights over the territories where they were active. What they wanted was government protection for their activities, and this they eventually received.

To coordinate colonial administration, the Kolonial-Abteilung of the Foreign Office was created on 1 April 1890, initially headed by Dr. Friedrich R. Krauel. Three months later he was succeeded by Dr. Paul Kayser, a one-time judge and administrator, who directed colonial affairs for the next four years. In addition the Kolonialrat was formed, an advisory council representing various segments interested in colonial activities. Of the first nineteen members nominated by the Chancellor from the names submitted, twelve represented mercantile firms directly involved, two each spoke for the Kolonialverein and the missionary societies, and three for the interests of the general public.  

Imperial commissioners were reappointed as governors for the colonial protectorates, now consisting of Togo, Tanganianka, and Kamerun. 

10Townsend, p. 159. In 1895 the membership was raised to twenty-five, with each member holding office for three years. The Kolonial-Abteilung became a separate agency as the Reichskolonialamt in 1907. Directors of the Kolonial-Abteilung and the Reichskolonialamt are given in Appendix II.
Kamerun, Southwest Africa, East Africa, and the South Seas, the latter including New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelmsland), the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Solomons. Each governor had a small staff, usually including a judge, a tax-collector, a doctor, and a post-master, and later district officials (Bezirksamtmänner).  

Germany also wanted to acquire some of the Samoan Islands, but encountered English and American opposition. All these countries had commercial interests there, and the United States had been leased a naval station in the excellent harbor of Pago Pago (Pango Pango) on Tutuila in 1872. The Germans were primarily interested in the main islands Savaii and Upolu, where the Godeffroy firm traded in copra. The Navy, however, was not particularly interested, as the port town of Apia on Upolu had no harbor where wharfs and facilities could be constructed. All cargo had to be discharged into lighters, and the roadstead itself was sheltered from the occasional typhoons only by a reef offshore. The Americans already possessed the best harbor in Samoa. Nor were the islands suitable for European settlement. One steamer captain's blunt opinion of

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11 The Carolines, the Marianas (except Guam), and the Palau Islands, all purchased from Spain on 10 December 1898, and the Marshalls after 1906, were included in the South Seas protectorate. The Samoan possessions, received in 1899, had their own governor; and the Kiaochow Schutzgebiet, occupied in November 1897, was administered by the Navy.
the place was: "Ja - that is the damned mosquito-Hell of Apia. I'll never go on land into that terrible nest."\(^{12}\)

The friction among the three nations, only temporarily ameliorated by the tripartite condominium of 1879 regarding relative interests, was exacerbated by the conflict of native political factions who sought to "use" the whites for their own ends. In 1888 the German officials engineered the removal of King Malietoa in favor of Tamasese, and Malietoa was deported to Kamerun. The British and Americans backed one Mataafa, however, and open warfare ensued as each aspirant attempted to convince the leading chiefs of his power.

When Mataafa was defeated in battle, his followers took to guerrilla attacks which involved the European trading community as well. Three German warships, the corvette Olga and the gunboats Adler and Eber, were on hand, and early on 18 December a landing party of 140 sailors and marines put ashore in small boats off Bailele. The leading pram was met by a volley of shots, however, and two lieutenants were killed. The remainder took refuge in

\(^{12}\)Otto Riedel, Der Kampf um Deutsch Samoa (Berlin, 1938), p. 28. The 26-year old Riedel came to Samoa in 1893 as agent for the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagengesellschaft. He admitted that the tropics were not the paradise they were supposed to be. Various items and reports concerning the Navy and Samoa are in BA-MA Fachs 5078 and 5079 ADM-B II. Samoa.
the trading station until Eber and Adler closed in, giving fire support, and landed more troops. This scattered the natives back into the hills, but thirteen more Germans had been killed in the bitter struggle.\textsuperscript{13}

Tension mounted, especially as it was discovered that German servicemen had been killed with rifles brought in by British and American traders. March of 1889 found the shallow harbor of Apia crowded with the three German warships, the American frigate Trenton and corvettes Vandalia and Nipsic, and the British cruiser Calliope, all poised for a shooting war. At this point nature intervened suddenly and violently. On the 14th squall weather set in, with wind-whipped sheets of rain, and by the 16th the wind had grown to Force 12, full hurricane. Adler and Eber were dragged onto the coral reef and shattered, the American ships went down or were broken by the angry surf. Olga's captain intentionally stranded her on the sandy beach to save her. HMS Calliope alone had engines strong enough to put to sea and ride out the typhoon.

International animosities were forgotten as rescuers reclaimed half-drowned sailors from the sea, regardless of nationality. When the storm subsided, only the stranded and

\textsuperscript{13}German casualties are given in Mantey, p. 169. Friction was also caused by bringing in black natives from the Solomon Islands as plantation laborers.
capsized hulks of the warships remained in the placid waters now quietly lapping at the beach. "All of us who experienced this fearful disaster," a witness later recalled, "had the feeling that into all mortal plans and works the South Seas had intentionally hurled the primitive violence of its eternal power."14

England, Germany, and the United States, chastened perhaps by Nature, resumed their faltering negotiations. Yet the agreements signed the following year, while outlawing the trading of arms, ammunition and liquor, and promising to "recognize the independence of the Samoan government and the free right of the natives to elect their Chief or King and choose their form of government according to their own laws and customs," only postponed the settlement of the issue. Malietoa was the only ruler the three nations could agree on, and he was reinstated.15

But the other contenders to the Samoan throne pursued their intrigues, and political instability continued. The California-born wife of novelist Robert Louis Stevenson wrote a letter to a friend from their Samoan estate

14 Quoted by Riedel, p. 61; Riedel was twelve years old at the time. Mantey, p. 171, states that 93 German officers and men were lost. The storm is vividly described in Edwin Hoyt, The Typhoon that Stopped a War (1968).

15 The Samoa reports and agreements are in BA-MA Fach 5117 ADM-B II.D.23.
Vailima, that was published by the New York Herald: "We live in constant tumult of threatened war and massacre of the whites. There are no men-of-war here but one German ship, and that don't [sic] count, as it only makes trouble. I wish our country would send us a [war]ship." The Samoan situation simmered uneasily for another decade, until Malietoa's death reopened the controversy.

Neither the commercial companies nor the imperial governors appointed to the colonies could begin to cope with the problems that arose. It was the warships of the Navy, then, that were called upon to police the trouble-spots of the Empire.

Tribal unrest broke out in Kamerun in 1890, much of it the result of attempts to exploit the natives as laborers. A significant role had been played by Christian missionaries who, concerned with native laziness, taught that labor was a moral virtue. The Catholic mission there even depicted a shining cross with pick and shovel on its seal, embellished with a scroll at the bottom bearing the words "Cruce et Labore," indicating that man is saved by faith and work. Business interests took ready advantage

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16 New York Herald newsclipping of 15 August 1891 in BA-MA Fach 5078 ADM-B II. Samoa.

17 Rudin, p. 318.
of the labor force that was thereby created, as plantation workers and carriers, but native pride and tribal animosities led to a number of raids and incidents. In 1891 the gunboats Habicht and Hyâne arrived off Kamerun to pacify the rebellious Abo tribesmen.

It was often difficult for the critical civilian observer to understand what impact warships had on the natives invisible in the equatorial jungle.

Once, I remember, we came upon a man-of-war anchored off the coast. There wasn't even a shed there, and she was shelling the bush... Her ensign dropped limp like a rag; the muzzles of the long six-inch guns stuck out all over the low hull; the greasy, slimy swell swung her up lazily and let her down, swaying her thin masts. In the empty immensity of earth, sky, and water, there she was, incomprehensible, firing into a continent. Pop, would go one of the six-inch guns; a small flame would dart and vanish, a little white smoke would disappear, a tiny projectile would give a feeble screech—and nothing happened. Nothing could happen. There was a touch of insanity in the proceeding, a sense of lugubrious drollery in the sight...

While the moral and political aspects of colonial punitive expeditions might be debated, they nonetheless usually accomplished their purpose. The natives in general had a fear of explosive shell-firing artillery that verged on the superstitious, especially as those shells often came

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over the intervening jungle from an invisible gun miles away. The early skirmishes were primarily with coastal tribes whose settlements were particularly vulnerable to off-shore naval gun fire. However, even inland tribes could be effectively engaged with guns, whose range exceeded five miles. Ships could determine their firing position by triangulation, the intersection of compass azimuths from recognizable terrain features such as hills, islands, and rivers, or locate their target by smoke from native encampments, and occasionally an observer would be stationed ashore who could direct fire adjustment by signal flags from a vantage point. In addition, of course, armed landing detachments would put ashore and move inland, supported by naval guns. Technology gave the Europeans a tremendous advantage in overcoming the adversities of climate and geography and native guile.

In Kamerun a landing force of sixty men went ashore under Lieutenant Krause, and joined Captain von Gravenreuth's three companies of native Polizeitruppen for an expedition inland. Although the hostile Abo tribesmen generally faded away with little resistance, the Germans burned several of their huts and destroyed some of the crops they had planted. With this the unfortunate natives agreed to abide by German rule. But not all such

\[19\] Mantey, p. 176.
colonial unrest was so quickly settled.

In Southwest Africa tribal warfare and recurring famine in an unproductive land created a deplorable situation that had repercussions for the European settlers and traders there. In January 1888 the Hottentot chieftain Hendrik Witbooi, having defeated the Hereros, had turned on rival Namaqua tribes and scattered them, while European settlers sought safety at British-owned Walfish Bay.

Witbooi ignored Imperial Commissioner Goering's demands to cease his depredations, as Goering had no force to back them up. Finally the Caprivi government realized that Bismarck's "non-intervention" policy had only encouraged Witbooi, and in March of 1893 German troops arrived to bring peace to the colony. The Hottentots were an elusive foe, however, and it was only after an exhaustive campaign that Witbooi surrendered a year and half later.20

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20 The Hottentot War is covered in Generalmajor u. Gouverneur a.D. Theodor Leutwein, Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Berlin, 1907). See also the unpublished 99-page manuscript "Südwestafrikanische Erlebnisse" by Friedrich von Lindequist, later Governor of Southwest Africa (1905-07) and Secretary of the Reichskolonialamt (1910-11); Lindequist Nachlass, BA-K Kl. Erw. 275.

The capture of Cape Colonist Robert Duncan, Witbooi's most important arms dealer, was instrumental in ending resistance. (Esterhuyse, p. 209.) Certain unscrupulous German traders likewise supplied firearms to the natives. The merchant Woermann, however, a National Liberal Reichstag member, ingeniously defended his own arms trade in West Africa. The rifles were obsolete, he argued, ammunition was in short supply, and the natives were inaccurate marksmen; and the firearms were less dangerous to Europeans
While most of the German troops returned home, others were retained as cadre for a colonial defense force (Schutztruppe). Their organization was later standardized and, following the Schutztruppe experience in East Africa, put under the Navy for administrative purposes in 1894—but the Navy had little interest and no commitments in the colonies, and the Schutztruppe episode is a curious chapter in its history.

In East Africa the German attempt to suppress the vicious slave trade provoked conflict. The Oman or Muscat Arabs based on Zanzibar had long profited from the incessant tribal warfare of the Bantu tribes inland, who sold as slaves the prisoners of other tribes captured in raid or battle. In August of 1888 rebellion finally flared at Pangani, led by a red-bearded Arab half-caste named Bushiri-bin-Salim. The German company, having no resources of their own, turned to the government for help.

A German squadron of four ships under Admiral Deinhard was formed off Zanzibar to blockade the East

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21 See the later report on the general political picture of the Kolonialgebiet, including the slave question, of 1 September 1892; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXII h./vol. 1 PG 67346.
African coast between 4° and 9° South Latitude (Mombasa to Kilwa). The British cooperated by patrolling to the north and south of this zone. The task fell to young officers and men in small, open boats. Steam pinnaces carried sufficient coal for a 24-hour period, and towed additional coal in a jolly-boat. They were usually manned by one lieutenant, one petty officer, a translator, and seven to fourteen sailors. Intercepting and inspecting the vessels of sullen and hostile Arabs was a task often fraught with sudden danger, while patrolling the monotonous coast under a broiling equatorial sun was very tedious duty. Most difficult was the supplying of water, three litres of water per man being reckoned. In one month gunboat Möwe and its launch searched 363 suspicious vessels, while armed dispatch boat Pfeil searched 411. The greatest interception of slaves came in December 1888 when a steam-pinnace and a cutter of Leipzig stopped two dhows with 146 slaves.  

22Mantey, pp. 172-173. The squadron consisted of frigate Leipzig, corvettes Carola and Sophie, and gunboat Möwe, joined in January 1889 by small cruiser Schwalbe and dispatch boat Pfeil.  

See the British Admiralty Letters of Authorization to the German small cruisers Seeadler and Condor, 9 August 1895, allowing them to visit and detain English merchant vessels suspected of engaging in the slave trade. The Germans reciprocated, and as the policy was based on a treaty signed 20 December 1841 by England, Austria, France, Russia, and Prussia, a similar agreement probably obtained in 1888. Ba-MA Fach 5232 ADM-B VII. 3.-8.
As Bushiri's depredations continued, the Reichstag voted two million marks for "the suppression of slavery and the protection of German interests in East Africa."

Hauptmann (Captain) Hermann von Wissmann, a traveller and explorer of great reputation and energy, was sent out as Imperial Commissioner with a number of soldiers, to be supplemented by native recruits, to restore order.²³ German volunteers were first discharged from Army active duty, and then reassigned as colonial troops later called Schutztruppen. Wissmann's lieutenants also recruited former British Sudanese soldiers in Cairo, Zulu soldiers in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), and native Askaris of the German East Africa Company. The questionable military status of these Schutztruppen was resolved in 1891 by placing them administratively under the control of the German Navy, as were the Southwest African Schutztruppen three years later.²⁴

Deinhard's squadron had already cleared Dar-es-Salaam with a landing party, and a naval contingent was added to Wissmann's force when it arrived in the spring of 1889. Bushiri occupied a fortified camp near Bagamoyo on the

²³Listowel, p. 18.

²⁴See Ernst Nigmann, Die Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika (Berlin, 1911). Nigmann was a Schutztruppe Hauptmann, 1903-1910.
coast, and on the 8th of May Wissmann's force attacked it.
The field guns were masked by the high underbrush, but the
Sudanese eagerly went in chanting their Moslem war cry—

Dajim ho, dajim Allah
Allah ho, dajim Allah!

accompanied by German marines with bayonets aslant.25
Bushiri himself escaped to the interior to raise those
Bantu tribes which collaborated with the coastal Arabs.

One of Bushiri's allies, a Segu chief named Bwana
Heri, continued the struggle. His wealth had come from
hongo (tribute) paid by slave-caravans on their way through
his territory to the coast, a trade now interrupted by the
German blockade. In January a band under his son Abdallah
had attacked a British wagon train, killing fifteen native
porters and murdering the English missionary Brooks; they
reputedly cut off both arms of the deadman, mutilated the
body, cut it to pieces and threw them "into all four
directions of the wind."26

25 "Eternal is He, eternal is God; God is He, eternal
is God!" Ibid., p. 132. Despite the protests of certain
missionaries, the Germans wisely did not attempt to convert
their Moslem Schutztruppen.
Mantey, p. 174, notes that Unterleutnant Schelle of
SMS Schwalbe was the first to enter the camp, and was shot
down there. Another Navy detachment was in reserve, but
charged enthusiastically anyway.

26 Richard Reusch, History of East Africa (New York,
1961), p. 308. "Bwana Heri" was Swahili for "Lord of Good
Luck."
On 6 June 1889, supported by the fire of Deinhard's warships, Wissmann assaulted Bwana Heri's position at Sadani, the caravan terminus point at the mouth of the Wami River opposite Zanzibar. The natives were scattered or captured, but Bwana Heri himself escaped. While Wissmann pursued him inland, landing parties from the warships cleared Pangani and Tanga on the north coast.

Bushiri offered sharp resistance to the German forces relentlessly pursuing him, but cut off from the necessary munitions by the blockade and driven into territories alien to him, his followers began to desert. In December he was betrayed by one of his lieutenants, and a German detachment found him starving and half-naked in a hut. Led to Pangani in chains, the Arab slave-trader was publicly hanged on 9 December 1889. Bwana Heri fought on from the Unguru Mountains, but after Wissmann chased him from his fortified camp on 4 January 1890, the exhausted Bwana Heri surrendered in exchange for a pardon.27

In May corvettes Carola and Olga pacified Kilwa, Lindi, and the coast south of the Rufiji, and on 29 September 1890 the coastal blockade was officially called off. The Germans, in fact, compromised with the disgruntled Omani aristocrats, who then provided each major coastal

27The chief returned to Sadani and rebuilt the town. He died peacefully in Zanzibar many years later.
town with a liwali (governor) and the hinterland with subordinate administrators called akidas, thus regaining some of their former prestige.\(^8\)

Although Wissmann's force had been created as an ad hoc formation, it became apparent that a permanent colonial military force would have to be created. While the officers and enlisted personnel came from the federal armies of the Reich, there was no imperial "Army," as there was a "Navy," and it would be inappropriate to put the imperial colonial or protectorate forces under one of the states, specifically Prussia. For this reason, and because of the geographic and transportation factors involved, it was decided to put the Schutztruppen administratively under the Navy.

The Navy itself had undergone an administrative change, following the accession of Kaiser Wilhelm II to the throne. In 1888 General von Caprivi, the later Chancellor, was succeeded at the Imperial Admiralty by Vice Admiral Graf von Monts. But when Monts died suddenly on 19 January 1889, the Kaiser took the opportunity to increase his own control over the Navy by applying the "divide and rule" concept. On 30 March 1889 the Admiralty office was dissolved into three departments: the Reichsmarineamt (RMA)

or Imperial Naval Office, under a State Secretary appointed by the Chancellor, with responsibility for the administrative and technical development of the Navy; the Oberkommando der Marine (OKM) or High Command of the Navy, under a Commanding Admiral appointed by the Kaiser, with responsibility for operational planning and exercising operational control over all naval forces; and the Kaiserliches Marinekabinett (MK) or Imperial Naval Cabinet, an advisory cabinet to the Kaiser which transmitted his wishes to the other departments. In addition the MK controlled personnel appointments and promotions. There was constant friction between the three departments, as the Kaiser alone was their superior.  

On 22 March 1891 the troops of the East African Reichskommissar officially became Kaiserliche Schutztruppen. Premier-Leutnant von Zelewski succeeded Wissmann, who returned to Germany, in command of these forces, and

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29 See Walter Hubatsch, Der Admiralstab und die Obersten Marinebehörden in Deutschland, 1848-1945 (Frankfurt, 1958), cited hereafter as Der Admiralstab. The first heads of the RMA, OKM, and MK, were Admirals Heusner, replaced by Hollmann in 1890, von der Goltz, and Freiherr von Senden-Bibran, respectively. In 1899 the OKM was abolished as the Kaiser was determined to exercise personal command over forces at sea, and the operational planning section went independent as the Admiralstab der Marine (ADM) or Admiralty Staff of the Navy, with departments A (Europe), B (Overseas), and C (Central). The heads of the Navy departments are given in Appendix I.
Preiheirr von Soden was appointed Imperial Governor. For personnel and military affairs, the Schutztruppen were administered by the Reichsmarineamt, while for operational utilization they were subordinated to the civilian governor or the Kolonial-Abteilung of the Foreign Office, created on 1 April 1890. "This duplication was not entirely fortunate, all the more so as the troops were, and remained, an inconvenient appendage for the Reichsmarineamt which considered them as completely alien. An end was made to this duplication a few years later." On 16 July 1896 the Schutztruppe were officially transferred to the Kolonial-Abteilung.

There was some discussion in 1890 of creating a colonial flotilla, which Hollmann at the RMA apparently favored only because it would justify an increase in the size and budget of the Navy. Von der Goltz at the OKM, however, had pointed out that there were insufficient officers and ships for the present year. Ultimately ships

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30 Orders appointing Zelewski, previously of Infantry Regiment No. 99, to the Schutztruppen, 5 March 1891; BA-MA Fach 3431 MK XXIV.a. vol. 1 PG 67406.

31 Nigmann, p. 23; Allerhöchste Verordnung of 16 July 1896 on p. 75. Also BA-MA Fach 4120 OKM II 6.A.13. Officers in the East African Schutztruppe were listed in the Marine-Rangliste from 1892 to 1895 (and 1894 to 1895 for Southwest Africa and Kamerun), and in the Armee-Rangliste after 1895.
on foreign station assumed the responsibilities of such a flotilla.  

Regarding the organization of the colonial troops, "The German military personnel assigned to the Schutztruppe consist of officers, medical officers and junior officers of the German army [des deutschen Heeres—sic] on the basis of voluntary applications." For discipline they were under the standard military code of justice, administered by the Navy. The term of service was three years, with a four-months paid furlough to Europe for each year, with a promotion in rank upon assignment, all to encourage volunteers. Schutztruppe pay was handled by the Foreign Office.

The East African Schutztruppen served as the model for the units formed in Southwest Africa in 1894, its first commander being von Francois. In Kamerun Acting Governor Leist had organized a police force on 16 November 1891, and this became the Kamerun Schutztruppe on 9 June 1895.  

(Only native police troops were created for Togo and the South Seas.)

Although the naval squadron and the colonial troops had indeed cooperated during the Bushiri Revolt, it was scant justification for the inclusion of the Schutztruppe on foreign station assumed the responsibilities of such a flotilla.  

32 Hollmann (RMA) to Senden-Bibran (MK), 14 December 1890; Von der Goltz (OKM) to Senden-Bibran (MK), 27 November 1890; BA-MA Fach 3431 MK XXIV a. vol. 1 PG 67406.

33 Rudin, pp. 193-194.
in the Reichsmarineamt. The RMA only controlled the Schutztruppe for five years until the organization was placed under the Kolonial-Abteilung of the Foreign Office in 1896, with its own Oberkommando der Schutztruppen in Berlin. There was little change in the units themselves, although the tour of duty for Germans was extended to four years.34

The Navy, we recall, had little interest in the colonies thus far acquired, and came to resent the continual requests for warships and landing parties. The protectorates in Africa had few harbors suitable for naval use, and those that existed were either under British control (Walfish Bay and Zanzibar) or would be quite expensive to dredge and construct facilities for. In addition, the colonies merely constituted further responsibilities for a Navy that was already pressed to meet its world-wide obligations. Finally, the colonies had been acquired for economic and political reasons, and were unrelated to any strategic and logistical requirements of the Imperial Navy. These became manifest only in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

341896 Regulations; BA-MA Fach 4120 OKM II.6.A.13. It is interesting to note the differences in the pay scale between colonies. A sergeant received 3,600 RM in East Africa, 4,000 RM in Kamerun, and only 1,500 RM in Southwest Africa. This may have been qualified by uniform, billeting, and commissary allowances and benefits not specifically listed.
CHAPTER III

THE STUTZPUNKT CONCEPT:
A STILLBORN STRATEGY

The German Navy, we saw, played no role in Bismarck's decision to acquire a colonial empire, and took little interest in its maintenance. Its attitude changed, however, during the 1890s, because of three factors: the desire of the young Kaiser Wilhelm II to build a more impressive Navy, the formulation of a strategy for that Navy, and the technological transition from sail to steam, making coaling stations distant from home waters mandatory.

A German fleet could never hope to match the leading fleet (the Royal Navy) in size; therefore a more subtle strategy had to be developed that would avoid a major fleet confrontation. The answer was a commerce-raiding strategy. Whereas such commerce-raiding cruisers had formerly been sailing-ships, generally independent of bases, the logistical requirements of the coal-burning steam engines now being adopted made frequent refuelling essential. A strategy of commerce-raiding cruiser-warfare, therefore, demanded German bases around the world. Taking such a strategy to its logical conclusion, the Germany Navy of
the 1890s would be expected to promote actively a colonial expansion that would satisfy its strategic and logistical needs.

In 1890 an American naval officer and president of the Naval War College, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, published *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, in which he maintained that in the history of the world it was sea power that had always decided the destiny of nations. Mahan's concepts found an immediate and enthusiastic champion in Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Mahan was to influence German naval thought strongly. In June 1892 the Kaiser, quoting Mahan, insisted that Germany's future lay on the water, and Mahan's book became required reading for German naval officers. In 1894 the Kaiser, who had just formally opened construction of the strategically important Kiel Canal, sent a telegram to Poulney Bigelow that was forwarded to Mahan:

> I am just now not reading but devouring Captain Mahan's book; and am trying to learn it by heart. It is a first-class book and classical in all its points. It is on board all my ships and constantly quoted by my Captains and Officers.¹

Mahan maintained that control of the sea was secured by decisive fleet action. For a nation with an inferior

¹Quoted in Captain W. D. Puleston, U.S.N., *Mahan* (New Haven, 1939), p. 159. Mahan's ideas were also presented in numerous other books and articles.
fleets, Mahan believed that its most useful disposition would be to leave it within an impregnable port, ready to sally forth, maintaining its threat as a "fleet in being" and tying down enemy forces needed elsewhere. In an 1899 article following the Spanish-American War, however, he concluded that the value of such a fleet had been "much overstated."²

Concurrently with the interest shown in Mahan's work was the vogue enjoyed by a French school of thought, the "Jeune Ecole" or "Young School," led principally by Admiral Théophile Aube who later became Minister of Marine. Faced with the impossibility of challenging British naval supremacy, the "Jeune Ecole" revived the commerce-raiding (la guerre de course) strategy, which German writers picked up as cruiser-warfare (Kreuzerkrieg). While torpedo boats prevented a close blockade of home ports, commerce-raiders would prowl the trade routes of the enemy, sinking ships and disrupting maritime commerce—"Shamelessly attack the weak, shamelessly fly from the strong."³ With the

²Quoted by Margaret Tuttle Sprout in Edward Meade Earle, ed., Makers of Modern Strategy (Princeton, 1952), pp. 433–434. During both World Wars, however, German surface units tied down superior British forces and destroyers while U-boats and commerce-raiders played havoc with British shipping. But Mahan could not have anticipated the submarine.

³See Theodore Ropp's discussion in ibid., pp. 450 ff.
The problem of protecting the trade routes from commerce-raiders continued to plague England, and as late as 1905 the Naval Intelligence Department chiefs met with First Sea Lord Sir John Fisher to consider the alternatives. Patrolling the trade routes was discarded as spreading available resources too thin. Convoying had been necessary in the days of sail, for the uncertainties of wind and weather and the lack of communication made close protection necessary. But steam and telegraphy had reduced the hazards, and the time lost in organizing convoys and proceeding at the speed of the slowest vessel, rendered convoying impractical. The third alternative was to station cruiser squadrons at the focal points of converging trade routes such as the Azores and the Cape of Good Hope. Less fuel would be consumed and the ships would be easier to maintain based on ports, and the forces would be concentrated for action. This was the method selected by the British
Admiralty, and put into operation in 1914.4

The concept of cruiser warfare was attractive to the German Navy, for it implied an active role by a small fleet, and in addition would not require large funds that an obstinate Reichstag would be unlikely to allocate. Admiral von Hollmann, the new State Secretary of the Reichsmarineamt in 1890, in particular favored the idea. Kreuzerkrieg was the dominant strategy of the German Navy for the next several years, until Admiral Tirpitz succeeded Hollmann in 1897. The RMA was not itself responsible for the development of tactics and strategy, this being the province of the OKM; but Hollmann was in a position to implement his strategy, for it was his office that submitted building programs to the Reichstag. Although the OKM had operational control over forces at sea, it would have to work with the type of ships, in this case cruisers, that Hollmann provided—and cruisers could not fight a fleet engaged against battleships.

Hollmann nonetheless encountered difficulties, for his counterparts at the Oberkommando der Marine did not favor the cruiser-warfare concept. This was true of both

4Arthur J. Marder, The Anatomy of British Sea Power (New York, 1940), pp. 98-100. France was still the primary commerce-raiding threat in the early 1900s, despite the Entente Cordiale. In 1917 the Admiralty only reluctantly adopted the convoy system against the U-boats under American pressure.
Admiral von der Goltz and Admiral von Knorr, who succeeded him in 1895. The Kaiser's naval adviser, Freiherr von Senden-Bibran at the Marinekabinett, likewise opposed Hollmann, primarily because he felt the RMA chief was not the man to create a stronger Navy.\(^5\) Caught between the enthusiastic and impatient Kaiser and an unresponsive Reichstag, and harassed by the OKM and MK, Hollmann was on the defensive with whatever policy he initiated. The building programs of the 1890s, in fact, consisted of battleships and cruisers, developed with no thought of tactical or strategic coordination.\(^6\)

The real driving spirit behind the cruiser concept was Vice Admiral Victor Valois, who pursued the idea in a number of publications and published a book on the subject. Commerce-raiding would be valid against most potential enemies, he said. This was especially true of England who, by virtue of her maritime supremacy, was "the nation against which all the rest of the sea powers, including

\(^5\)See, for example, Knorr's Denkschrift of 28 November 1895 setting forth the OKM views on the future development of the fleet which attacks Hollmann's policy; Hans Hallmann, Der Weg zum deutschen Schlachtflottenbau (Stuttgart, 1933), Chapter 4 (hereafter cited as Hallmann, Schlachtflottenbau). See also Eckart Kehr, Schlachtflottenbau und Parteipolitik, 1894-1901 (Berlin, 1930), pp. 51 ff.

\(^6\)The four Brandenburg class and five Kaiser class battleships were all built during the decade. Until this time, Caprivi's Siegfried class coast-defense ships had mounted the largest guns in the German Navy.
Germany, must direct their preparations." England's most vulnerable point was the sea-trade upon which she depended for her existence, for her commercial interests were "strewn throughout the entire world. . . ."\(^7\) The Royal Navy, he maintained, would expend much effort and material in attempting to protect England's world-wide trade routes from the ravages of a relatively small number of German raiders.

Simultaneously with the adoption of the Kreuzerkrieg strategy by the RMA there occurred developments in naval technology that profoundly affected the tactical implementation of that strategy. No longer could commerce-raiders like the Confederate Alabama keep to the seas for months at a time. The transition from sail to steam meant that bases overseas were now necessary, and this requirement caused a renewed interest on the part of the Navy in colonial affairs.

By the 1890s the transition from sail to steam propulsion throughout the German Navy was complete.\(^8\) Germany's

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\(^7\)Quoted in Tirpitz's undated Denkschrift on Valois' Kreuzerkrieg, 1899; BA-MA N 257/44, Tirpitz Nachlass. Valois had commanded the Kreuzergeschwader as Kontre-admiral, 1890-1892.

\(^8\)The Condor class unprotected cruisers, of which Geier was completed in 1895, would appear to be the last of the German steam-sail warships. They had a square-rigged foremost and a fore-and-aft gaff-rigged mainmast abaft the funnel. Several later gunboats also had masts, but these were apparently only for staysails to lie hove-to in a storm.
first fully steam-powered ironclads with no masts and rigging had been the four Sachsen class battleships, completed between 1878 and 1883. They mounted six 10 1/4-inch or 26 cm. guns in barbettes with four funnels amidships, and only carried 700 tons of coal maximum. Cruising at 10 knots, their range was 1940 nautical miles—or little more than half-way out across the North Atlantic before running out of fuel. At their maximum fighting speed of 14 knots, their range was 700 nautical miles—scarcely enough to carry them across the North Sea and back, allowing for no maneuvering. The fact that the ratio of coal consumption to increased speed was geometric rather than arithmetic, made even the most careful calculations contingent upon the need for additional power in case of enemy action or unforeseen foul weather conditions.

Nonetheless, the great advantages of steam power over sail in being independent of wind and current far outweighed the disadvantages, and other considerations based on ordnance and technological advances resulted in the universal adoption of steam as the sole means of propulsion by the 1890s.

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Gröner, p. 20. The lighter ships had a somewhat better radius of action. 1877-built steam-sail frigate Leipzig carried 370 tons of coal, with a range of 2330 miles at 10 knots (two-thirds the distance across the Atlantic), or 1580 miles at 14 knots. Such ships went under sail as much as possible, to conserve their precious coal reserves.
Coal consumption, then, was the dominant problem in the employment of warships. The armored cruiser Scharnhorst, Graf von Spee's flagship in the Far East at the outbreak of the war in 1914, carried 2,000 tons of coal giving her a radius of action of 5168 miles at a cruising speed of 10 knots, enough for 21.5 days. A 15-knot speed reduced the range to 3513 miles and 9.8 days, while at 20 knots the range was only 2222 miles, with coal bunkers empty in 4.6 days. The light cruisers, with less displacement but also with less coal capacity, reflected similar limitations. Under wartime conditions, then, warships engaged in Kreuzerkrieg would have to replenish their coal supply at least once a week. Poor quality coal, fouled boilers, or barnacled hulls, could further reduce operating efficiency by over 10%.

10 Kapitän zur See Erich Raeder, Der Kreuzerkrieg in den ausländischen Gewässern (Berlin, 1922), vol. 1, p. 74. Gröner's figures, based on the 1906 design performance data, differ slightly. Raeder, Hipper's Chief of Staff at Jutland in 1916, directed the Kriegsmarine during World War Two until 1943. The Scharnhorst coal consumption calculations are diagramed in Raeder as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Speed</th>
<th>Coal used per day</th>
<th>per 100sm</th>
<th>Radius of action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scharnhorst</td>
<td>10kn</td>
<td>93t</td>
<td>38.7t</td>
<td>21.5 days 5168 sea miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15kn</td>
<td>204t</td>
<td>56.7t</td>
<td>9.8 days 3513 sea miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20kn</td>
<td>432t</td>
<td>90.0t</td>
<td>4.6 days 2222 sea miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The process of coaling was such difficult, tedious, and time-consuming work, that warships could only refill their bunkers while at anchor in a sheltered harbor. In addition, stock-piled coal supplies ashore or in colliers made a harbor-base mandatory.\textsuperscript{11} While coaling, a process that might take two days for a large cruiser, the ship was virtually defenseless. Her gun muzzles were covered and elevated out of the way, and tarpaulins were strung everywhere over the decks to absorb the coal dust. When coaling from a shore base, walkways were erected to connect the companionways that led to the coal holds with the warehouses ashore. Virtually the entire crew—or preferably native handlers when they were available—were involved in shuttling the heavy baskets of coal abroad, and dumping them down the coal chutes into the bunkers.

When no port facilities were available, coal was brought alongside in colliers or lighters, shovelled into sacks, and swung up on deck in a cargo net by the boat crane. The crew was divided into four divisions to rotate

\textsuperscript{11}The introduction of fuel oil for capital ships during World War One greatly eased the logistics problem. In World War Two German surface raiders like the Graf Spee rendezvoused with oil tankers in mid-ocean and refueled via flexible hoses passed across, making Kreuzerkrieg logistically practicable, and in the Pacific major American fleet operations were sustained by refueling at sea. In 1914 light cruiser Emden only remained at large briefly by utilizing the coal of captured ships and by coaling at uninhabited islands in the Indian Ocean.
the most odious task, trimming up the coal bunkers below decks. Coaling was most hated in the tropics, where sooty, sweaty grime was combined with sun-stroke and heat-exhaustion, and the temperature climbed above 110°F. in the stifling holds below the hot iron decks. To attempt to coal a ship without doing so in port, was a task that verged on the impossible; and Germany did not have the bases overseas that her Navy would require.

If Germany were to pursue a strategy of Kreuzerkrieg then, it was obvious that the commerce-raiders would have to operate from overseas bases. Mahan himself had realized the strategic changes wrought by steam propulsion. He emphasized the steaming radius of warships and the need for a coaling station network, "which every naval station should frame for itself." Such bases were later defined by Admiral Eduard von Knorr, chief of the Oberkommando der Marine (1895-1899): "The ideal base is a good harbor favorably located, which offers everything necessary for the berthing, equipping, and maintenance of a large number

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12 Edwin P. Hoyt, Kreuzerkrieg (Cleveland & N.Y., 1968), p. 106. The difficulties of coaling that so pre-occupied the Germans are also discussed in Raeder and other sources.

13 Second in a series of articles after the Spanish-American War by Mahan, which the Germans avidly followed, in the London Times of 1 December 1898; BA-MA Fach 5086 OKM II.Am.11a. The point was implicit in some of his earlier articles as well.
of ships, and which, through natural and artificial defensive works, can hold out for a long time against a sea and land attack.\textsuperscript{14}

In her existing overseas possessions, Germany did not have the potential for such a base. Nonetheless various colonial officials realized the advantages of interesting the Navy in developing a naval base in the territories under their jurisdiction, for no other agency appeared likely to provide a suitable harbor. In Southwest Africa von Francois, appointed Imperial Commissioner in 1891, was irritated at being dependent on British-owned Walvis Bay. The British had been particularly uncooperative during the Witbooi fighting, and he prevailed on the Foreign Office to consider developing Swakopmund just to the north. Under the instructions of the Foreign Office the gunboat Hyäne had visited the inlet in April of 1890, but at the time Captain Freiherr von Sohlern reported it as unsuitable for development. At Francois' repeated urgings Hyäne called again more than two year later, in August of 1892, and this time a party successfully landed with surf boats. Francois constructed a station building there and in February 1893 the small cruiser Falke described it as a

\textsuperscript{14}Denkschrift from Knorr to the Kaiser dated 13 July 1898; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXII h./vol. 1. PG 67346.
satisfactory anchorage—but it was a long way from being a satisfactory Stützpunkt.\textsuperscript{15}

More importantly, however, a base in Southwest Africa would not satisfy the requirements of an effective commerce-raiding strategy. The British trade-routes from the Far East through the Indian Ocean converged at the Gulf of Aden to pass into the Red Sea and through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean. The harbor of Dar-es-Salaam in German East Africa was favorably located for operations against the Gulf of Aden traffic and the Navy later joined with the Colonial Office to develop the port, although it was embarrassing that British Zanzibar was in sight across the bay. Secondary trade-routes rounded the Cape of Good Hope, touching at Capetown, South Africa; but in Southwest Africa neither Swakopmund nor Lüderitz Bay would suffice as a Stützpunkt, and the West African colonies also offered no potential base.

Thus the Kreuzerkrieg advocates in the German Navy were ever alert to the possibilities of other colonial acquisitions that would be more satisfactory for their purpose. It was no coincidence that Admiral Valois himself was the Executive Vice President of the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft for a time, and that a number of other naval

\textsuperscript{15}Esterhuyse, p. 170.
officers were members of that society. The Colonial Society and the German Navy League, formed in April 1898 for the purpose of arousing national interest in, and enthusiasm for, an expanded Navy, supported each other's efforts. Naval publications were also sympathetic to colonial enterprises.

While Admiral Hollmann was at the RMA between 1890 and 1897, then, certain officers in the German Navy favored a Kreuzerkrieg strategy. Apparently no specific plans were ever drawn up, however, detailing a network of strategically located bases around the world. Hence no concerted policy was proposed to acquire particular areas, perhaps because the Navy itself was in disagreement about the Stützpunkt strategy. In any case there was an

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16 See for example some of the later (1900 and 1901) correspondence between Valois, on behalf of the Colonial Society, and the Reichsmarineamt, regarding the distribution of Schutzgebiet regulations within the Navy, and the expanded interchange of various publications between the two organizations. BA-MA Fach 4349 RMA XIX.1.1.2.

17 The articles in the annual Marine-Rundschau, "Eindrücke aus Deutsch-Ostafrika," pp. 387-398 (1896), and "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der deutschen Kolonialgebiete," pp. 246-266 (1897) may be cited as examples of this. After 1897, it might be noted, the goals of the Colonial Society and the Navy League were somewhat contradictory, for Tirpitz as RMA chief intended to concentrate on building a battle fleet in home waters.

18 In addition, Hollmann was reluctant to take advantage of opportunities that arose. Following the Jameson Raid into the Transvaal of December 1895, the Kaiser apparently considered the acquisition of Delagoa Bay, a Portuguese-owned harbor in southeastern Africa, as "compensation." But the "Kruger Telegram" was the only action
obvious dilemma posed to the cruiser-warfare advocates: the necessary bases would have to be acquired in a world already divided up by the colonial powers, and over which Great Britain exercised a preponderant influence.

Realistically, then, the cruiser-warfare strategy was almost impossible of fulfillment, and in the end the Stützpunkt strategy was abandoned altogether. Admiral Alfred Tirpitz in particular, who had already made a name for himself in revising torpedo-boat tactics and who entertained ambitions of succeeding Hollmann at the RMA, questioned the validity of a world-wide cruiser-warfare strategy based on overseas Stützpunkte. As England was the leading power at sea, Tirpitz came to the conclusion that Germany must build a main battle fleet concentrated in home waters. Building of cruisers for operations abroad would only detract from the strength and the primary mission of that fleet. As he later put it, "Viewed purely strategically, it is not through cruiser-warfare, but exclusively through squadron-warfare in the North Sea, that it is possible to strike the weak part of English sea taken. "This forfeiture or non-acquisition of Delagoa Bay," complained the Kaiser a few days later, "will have to be heavily paid for in the future, and we shall some day deeply regret it." Kaiser's marginalia, Chancellor Hohenlohe to Kaiser, 7 January 1896; Lepsius, Bartholdy and Thimme, ed., Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette: 1871-1914 (Berlin, 1927), No. 2618. Hereafter cited as GP.
power—namely with our strength concentrated close by against a portion of the total British strength." Knorr and Senden-Bibran agreed with Tirpitz, and later played a major role in engineering Hollmann's dismissal and Tirpitz's appointment in 1897.

Meanwhile the Navy carried out its routine responsibilities of patrolling the Empire. Deinhard's squadron that had been formed to blockade the East African coast against the slave traders, remained in existence as the Kreuzergeschwader, the Cruiser Squadron, which cruised abroad and could be directed to points where it was required. In the years that followed, the Navy's warships ranged the oceans of the world, protecting German (and European) interests and citizens when insurrections broke out in Chile and Brazil, emphasizing demands for compensation regarding incidents in Morocco, Venezuela, Cuba, Haiti and Crete, and hunting down pirates in the Gilbert Islands of the Pacific Ocean.

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20 When Rear Admiral Valois succeeded Deinhard in 1890 for a two-year tour of duty, the Cruiser Squadron consisted of steam-sail cruisers Leipzig, Sophie, and Alexandrine. There were also ten gunboats, corvettes, and cruisers on the various foreign stations. Ships in the Rangliste der Kaiserlich Deutschen Marine (Berlin, annual), 1891. Hereafter cited as Rangliste. There is a complete set at the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg im Breisgau.
The majority of time at sea by the ships on foreign station, however, was spent in carrying dispatches and making routine calls, training young cadets, charting unknown waters and currents to aid navigation, and coming to the assistance of an occasional ship in distress. Though the German Navy was small, the red, white and black ensign with the imperial eagle might be seen in any harbor of the ports of the world; but none of these ports were German. Even if strategic considerations no longer required bases abroad, the practical problems involved in maintaining a naval presence on the far side of the world still remained; and to remedy this situation the Navy ultimately came to seek a base in East Asia.
CHAPTER IV

THE SEIZURE OF KIAOCHOW

European trade with Manchu China had been steadily increasing for some time in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The British had seized the initiative, and as a result of the Opium War of the 1840s had been ceded Hong Kong, as well as being granted treaty rights opening several other ports, including Shanghai, to European merchants. By the 1890s three German firms maintained regular sailings to the Far East: the Kingsin Line of Hamburg, and the Rickmers Line and Norddeutscher Lloyd of Bremen.\(^1\) While the Lloyd was subsidized by a government mail contract, the other two lines found business unrewarding, for British competition in particular was severe. In addition, British agents under the energetic guidance of Sir Robert Hart, China's Inspector General of Customs, played a predominant role in the Chinese customs service; and while relations between English and

\(^{1}\)Lamar Cecil, *Albert Ballin* (Princeton, 1967), p. 66. The Chinese treaty ports, eventually some sixty-nine in number, were ports opened to foreign trade (principally English); foreign ships, persons, and property enjoyed extraterritoriality, immunity from local (native) jurisdiction.
German merchants in the Far East were generally cordial, the British advantage—and profit—in collecting customs duties was resented. Nonetheless business opportunities beckoned, and Albert Ballin's giant Hamburg-Amerika Line (HAPAG) was showing interest in the China trade.

To protect the growing German mercantile activity in China, the German Navy had maintained a small flying squadron east of Suez since 1882. But with the additional demands of the African colonies gained in 1884, and with numerous requirements for warships in American waters, the enlarged Cruiser Squadron had been authorized in 1890. Yet it had no base of its own for the necessary overhauling, repairs, hospitalization of sick or wounded crewmembers, and coal re-supply. The Squadron, usually to be found in East Asia, was dependent on Nagasaki in Japan or British Hong Kong; its own requirements were hence low-priority, and at Hong Kong berthing space had to be reserved some nine months in advance, and even then might be cancelled at short notice.²

The solution to the dilemma seemed to present itself in 1894 during the Sino-Japanese War, when Japan conquered Korea, a Chinese vassal state, and utterly routed the

²Alfred von Tirpitz, My Memoirs (New York, 1919), vol. I, p. 95. Subsequent direct quotations are from this English translation of Tirpitz's Erinnerungen. In November 1890 there were three steam-sail cruisers in the Cruiser Squadron, and a fourth cruiser and two gunboats in the area on detached service. Rangliste, 1891.
Chinese military. Kaiser Wilhelm believed that the imminent collapse of a decadent China would initiate a scramble for the spoils. To Chancellor Hohenlohe he expressed the fear "that England, without entering into understandings with other powers, might soon proceed to take possession of Shanghai and certain strategically important points," and that "Russia and France might also take possession of certain important points." He advised that if this should occur, "we should not permit ourselves to fall short or to be taken by surprise. We also require a base in China, where our annual trade is valued at 400 millions." The Kaiser proposed that Germany prepare to take Formosa by entering into a secret understanding with Japan, and by issuing the necessary directives to the East Asiatic Squadron. "Haste is necessary, as information has come to hand that France is already angling for Formosa." Four days later the German envoy at Peking, Count Schenck zu Schweinsberg, made a similar proposal, suggesting the Pescadores Island off Formosa or Kiaochow Bay on the Shantung Peninsula.

3Kaiser's telegram quoted by Chancellor Hohenlohe to Marschall, 17 November 1894; G.P., 2219. Shanghai was, at the time, a treaty port. The Kaiser's trade statistics were exaggerated, by whatever currency denomination employed. In 1895 the value of German trade was some 48,000,000 Marks. John E. Schrecker, Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism (Cambridge, 1971), p. 23 fn.

4Referred to by Marschall writing to Hollmann, 11 March 1895; G.P., 3645; also BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1., PG 60942
With the military defeat of China, there was much speculation during the late winter of 1894-95 as to what Japan's peace terms would be. On 11 March 1895 Foreign Secretary Marschall von Bieberstein wrote Admiral von Hollmann, State Secretary of the Reichsmarineamt, that certain other powers "will take advantage of the opportunity offered to seize for themselves various points or tracts of land in the form of compensation. It may be that Germany will be in a position to share in the intervention, and will then claim suitable compensation in the form of Chinese territory." He requested that Hollmann draft a memorandum setting forth the reasons why the Navy desired a Far Eastern base or coaling station, and suggesting localities that might be suitable, should the occasion arise for obtaining such a base. The acquisition of Formosa, he felt, would only lead to difficulties with other powers, and require a disproportionate amount of strength to secure.\(^5\)

On 17 April Hollmann replied in a long twelve-page report with the conclusions that the Reichsmarineamt, as well as Admiral von Knorr's Oberkommando der Marine, had arrived at.\(^6\) From the first, Hollmann believed that a Far

\(^5\)Marschall to Hollmann; ibid.

\(^6\)Hollmann to Marschall, 17 April 1895; BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1., PG 60942; also G.P., 3646. In addition, Hollmann's ideas are presented in a memorandum of 6 April, Knorr's ideas in a letter dated 24 March.
East base should be chosen primarily for its commercial possibilities. As German trade there extended from Singapore in Malaya north to Hakodate in Japan, he favored two bases, one in the north and one in the south, "which must be on the main trade routes, and must themselves already possess significance in a commercial respect; dead places, not capable of development, are worthless." He emphasized that "such places can alone be considered which are populated and which possess trade connections. The question of defensibility is only of secondary concern."

Commercial considerations would locate the East Asiatic Cruiser Squadron where its presence was most required, and port facilities mutually beneficial to business interests and the Navy should encourage political cooperation between the two.

Hollmann named three pairs of locations in the order of their desirability. The first were the Chusan Islands in the north, Amoy in the south. Both had large harbors which could be fortified without difficulty. The Chusan Islands were close to the major port of Shanghai and the mouth of the Yangtze, which tapped the resources of central and northern China. Amoy was a thickly-populated little island with a coastal port opposite Formosa, favorably located regarding the maritime traffic that funneled through the Formosa Strait. On the other hand Chusan could
never compete commercially with Shanghai, and the British might be sensitive about a German naval presence in the immediate vicinity; and as a treaty port, Amoy presented certain diplomatic difficulties.

Secondly there was Kiaochow Bay on the Shantung peninsula in the north, and Mirs Bay adjacent to Hong Kong in the south. The advantages of Kiaochow were its healthy climate and the resources of the Shantung peninsula, principally coal, but it was reputedly blocked by ice from December through March. Mirs Bay was more favorable, but British Hong Kong, Portuguese Macao, and the treaty port of Whampoa, already served maritime trade from Canton and the rich province of Kwantung.

Third in desirability was Montebello Island, which might be valuable were Korea opened commercially, but which was in both the Russian and the Japanese sphere of interest. The Pescadores Islands off Formosa were favorably located, but had no hinterland, and in any case went to whoever controlled Formosa itself. There was, Hollmann noted, insufficient information to draw conclusions regarding other possible localities.

Much would depend, of course, on the peace terms Japan imposed on China; and on that same 17 April 1895

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7 The location of "Montebello Island" is uncertain; it could not refer to the Monte Bello Island group off western Australia however.
the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. By its terms Korea was granted nominal independence, and Japan was ceded Formosa with the off-shore Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung peninsula; the latter, with its fortified naval base of Port Arthur, was strategically located to control the Yellow Sea and the approaches to Peking and Manchuria. The surprising military strength and formidable extension of Japanese power into the area caused a flurry of excitement in the European world, especially as it was an Asiatic people who were displaying tendencies that were demonstrably European. That a non-European nation was acting unilaterally, assuming prerogatives the Great Powers felt were theirs, was quite unacceptable. Russia was the most interested party, but even as Foreign Minister Lobanov was urging Germany to join with the other powers in a combined protest to Japan, the OKM was reporting to the Kaiser "that orders had been issued to the Cruiser Squadron in the Far East to take up positions in northern Chinese waters and to prepare to support Russia with force, if necessary."

On 23 April representatives of Russia, France, and Germany in Tokyo presented notes to the Japanese foreign office "recommending" that Japan relinquish the Liaotung peninsula on the Chinese mainland, and two weeks later she

8Knorr to Kaiser, 18 April 1895; BA-MA, ADM-B I.1.11. quoted in Steinberg, p. 75.
reluctantly did so. The three European powers then, in a manner only to be comprehended in the context of the imperialistic immorality of the time, demanded "compensation" of China for themselves. Russia received the right to construct a railroad across Manchuria to her port of Vladivostok with a spur line south into the Liaotung peninsula just denied Japan, and supervision of Chinese finances in the north; France received railroad rights and mining concessions in the south; and Germany came out a poor third with two minor trading concessions in Hankow at the confluence of the Han and Yangtze rivers, an inland port, and in Tientsin, the treaty port for the Peking region.9

But Germany's real desires were revealed to the Chinese on 29 October when Envoy Schenck carried out Marschall von Bieberstein's instructions to inform the Chinese government of Germany's need for a coaling station on the Chinese coast. It was made clear that this was to be acquired as compensation for her part in the intervention. The Chinese objected that similar demands would be made by the other powers were she to give in. Schenck

replied that this would not be so, as the other powers already had coaling facilities in the area. Nonetheless the demand was dropped, as too much time had passed to capitalize on the original issue. But for the next two years, until the necessary "moral" pretext for the seizure of Kiaochow in November 1897, the German Navy and the German government made a thorough study of the question of acquiring a port in China.

The commercial reasons for the acquisition of a port were perhaps best summarized at the time of the seizure of Kiaochow by Foreign Secretary von Bülow before the Reichstag:

We require a port of entry to the Chinese market for economic reasons. France possesses such a port in Tonkin, England in Hong Kong, and Russia in the north. The Chinese Empire, with its enormous population of almost four hundred millions, constitutes one of the richest potential markets in the world. If we wish to progress economically, politically, materially, and morally, we must not cut ourselves off from

10 Marschall to Radolin, Ambassador at St. Petersburg, 25 October 1895, G.P., 3653; Schenck to Foreign Office, 29 October 1895, G.P., 3655; Marschall to Schenck, 1 February 1896, G.P., 3660. While prestige undoubtedly played a role in the intervention, the documentary evidence indicates that the real motivation was the desire for a coaling station in China.

11 Reichstags Verhandlungen, IX. Legislaturperiode, V Session, 1897/98, 35. Sitzung, 8 February 1898, p. 895. Protection of Christian missionaries, curiously enough, never did seem to be used as an argument.
that market. We must rather take care that we are admitted to that market on a basis equal to that of other powers.

The Navy's requirements were later summarized by Admiral von Tirpitz. The volume and extent of German trade necessitated the protection of a naval squadron, and this squadron required a base where ships could be equipped, refitted, and provisioned, and where sick or wounded personnel could be hospitalized. "Apart from everything else," Tirpitz wrote, "the lack of a base hampered us, because the sole factor of power which protected German labor and made any impression upon the hostile authorities, was our flying squadron, and the existence of this depended upon the Hong Kong docks and consequently upon the favor of Britain."\(^{12}\)

In wartime a base would be a refuge for merchantmen, and provide an uninterrupted source of supply of coal and provisions. During the recent Sino-Japanese War, in fact, the supply of coal had been cut off entirely for a short time. From the Far East Admiral Hoffmann, commanding the cruiser squadron, had observed, "How self-evident the

\(^{12}\)Tirpitz, I, p. 91. Tirpitz likewise realized the commercial advantages of such a base. "If German trade was ever to cease being a go-between for English and Chinese products, and to begin putting German wares on the Asiatic market, it needed its own Hong Kong just as our squadron did." The Marine-Rundschau argued the question in such articles as "Der deutsche Seehandel" and "Der Besitz von Kolonien"; Marine-Rundschau (Berlin, annual), 1895, 373 ff. and 709 ff.
demand for a Stützpunkt for a sea-power must appear to the Chinese government can be proved by the Chinese-English treaty of 1843. In Article III of this treaty concerning the cession of Hong Kong, the wording reads:

It being "obviously" necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required and keep stores for that purpose, etc.\textsuperscript{13}

In seeking a location that suited their needs the Germans were handicapped by a lack of information, for most of the Chinese coast was poorly charted. The only real source of any value was the monumental five-volume work on the geography of China by Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen, based on his travels in the 1860s. But Richthofen's work was not written from a nautical point of view; the data required by the Navy could only be obtained by a detailed reconnoitering of the Chinese coast by the ships of the East Asiatic Cruiser Squadron, and Admiral Hoffmann received orders to do so. As squadron commander, Hoffmann bore all the logistical and administrative burdens that would be greatly reduced were Germany to have her own naval base; his enthusiasm for the task of finding one is understandable. He was also aware of the political considerations, and voiced the apprehension many Europeans

\textsuperscript{13}Hoffmann to Knorr (OKM), 26 August 1895; BA-MA Fach 7562, OKM Kreuzergeschwader G. IIIa. Hoffmann's quotation marks.
felt at the sudden emergence of a militantly aggressive Japan. "Japan dreams of forcing the Europeans out of East Asia," he reported from Hakodate, the northern Japanese naval port. "East Asia for the East Asiatics, 'i.e. for the Japanese; that is the leitmotif which they will pursue."14

Any German acquisition would have to be discussed with England, as "sovereign of the seas," and Lord Salisbury was sounded out on the matter. The Conservative Prime Minister (who acted as his own Foreign Secretary) had no objection regarding the German plans, but warned against taking a treaty port. Chusan, for example, would thus be eliminated. The 1846 Boca Tigris Treaty between Great Britain and China stated that "on the evacuation of Chusan by Her Britannic Majesty's forces, the said island shall never be ceded to any other foreign power."15

The English apparently considered an increased German presence in the Far East an asset vis-a-vis French, Russian, and Japanese encroachments. When a German mission house

14Hoffmann to Knorr (OKM), 26 August 1895; BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942.

15Ralph A. Norem, Kiaochow Leased Territory (Berkeley, 1936), pp. 16, 18. When British and American missionaries at Rutschöng were murdered in August, Ambassador Hatzfeld reported England as also considering seizing a Chinese port. See Hatzfeld to Foreign Office, 30 August 1895, G.P. 3647.
at Swatow on the South China Sea was destroyed by Chinese anti-foreign elements in September 1895, the Shanghai Mercury commented, "We should not be in the least surprised to discover that in the Swatow incident, of whose details we are yet in ignorance, Germany has just had put into her hands that very opportunity of intervening in China that she has long been on the look-out for. We shall soon see." Regarding the incident "we hope the German Administration will exact an adequate reparation for the destruction of the mission house at Moilim." But, the paper added, "There is, unfortunately, no excuse for exacting more than monetary compensation."\(^{16}\)

That incident did in fact galvanize the Kaiser into action, and he prompted Admiral Knorr at the OKM to order Admiral Hoffmann, then at Hakodate:

[Cruisers] Arcona and Cormoran immediately to Swatow—remaining ships to Chefoo and the [other] harbors of Shantung—make preparations to occupy Wei-hai-wei immediately upon telegraphed order.\(^{17}\)

\(^{16}\)Shanghai Mercury new clipping of 8 October 1895, in BA-MA Fach 5168, ADM-B III 1.8.

\(^{17}\)Knorr to Hoffmann, 26 September 1895; BA-MA Fach 7562 ADM-B Kreuzergeschwader G. IIIa. Reference to the Kaiser's Allerhöchsten Befehl in Knorr (OKM) to Hollmann (RMA), 31 October 1895; Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942. Wei-hai-wei, later taken by the British in 1898, had momentarily been substituted for Kiaochow. The Kaiser had mentioned it as a possibility to Chancellor Hohenlohe on 1 September 1895; G.P. 3648. Chefoo had been a treaty port on the Shantung since 1858.
But the ships were scattered from Singapore in Malaya to Hakodate in Hokkaido, and could not gather for several days; and since the missionaries at Swatow had not been personally harmed, there was insufficient excuse for intervention. Nor, apparently, was the Navy happy with Wei-hai-wei. Located on the northern coast of the Shantung, it was isolated from the interior by mountainous terrain, and thus lacked the necessary commercial potential the Navy considered desirable. ¹⁸

Hoffmann's ships had meanwhile been investigating various locations as unobtrusively as possible, and reporting on them. The geographer Richthofen had spoken well of the economic possibilities of Kiaochow, but had not personally visited the bay. The heavy cruiser Irene stopped in but her captain, von Dresky, was not impressed. "Kiaochow useless," he informed Hoffmann. The bay was too large and too shallow, it was too far from the maritime trade routes and inland commercial centers, would cost too much to develop, and was still thought to be iced up in the winter. The relevant reports were sent to the OKM and forwarded to the RMA, although to the latter Knorr noted, ¹⁸

¹⁸RMA memorandum on Wei-hai-wei (37 pages), 25 October 1895; BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942. When the British occupied Wei-hai-wei they did so only because it was strategically located opposite Port Arthur on the Liaotung peninsula, taken by the Russians only shortly before.
"I might add that, concerning Kiaochow Bay, characterized in the preceding two telegrams as useless, I directed a further investigation by Admiral Hoffmann by telegraph today.\textsuperscript{19}

SMS Irene returned to Kiaochow Bay with its small fishing village Tsingtao, and von Dresky confirmed the earlier negative conclusion in a twelve page report. The bay was nine nautical miles by twelve, too large for a sheltered anchorage, and the beach sloped so gradually that a ship of moderate draft would have to lie over three miles from shore. The entrance was two miles wide, open to stormy seas and difficult to block from an enemy. "In my opinion," concluded the captain, "the bay is satisfactory only as an assembly point, and as a temporary stopping place for a fleet; but not as a base for such."\textsuperscript{20}

The search went on through the winter of 1895-96. The Pescadores had gone with Formosa to Japan, Kiaochow was dropped as "useless," other locations were considered but found wanting for various reasons. Hoffmann proposed Samsah, a desolate inlet north of Foochow on the Formosa

\textsuperscript{19}OKM to RMA, 16 October 1895, including cruiser squadron reports from Nagasaki and Chefoo. BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942. Also in Fach 7562 ADM-B Kreuzergeschwader G. IIIa.

\textsuperscript{20}Korvettenkapitän von Dresky of SMS Irene to Hoffmann, forwarded to Knorr (OKM), 20 October 1895; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942.
Strait, Schenck at Peking suggested Quemoy Island across from Formosa. 21

Then Kiaochow unexpectedly came up again—a Russian squadron had received Chinese permission to winter there! Vice Consul Lenz from Chefoo and Military Attache Major Lenne visited the harbor in May of 1896, anxious to determine the extent of the Russian interest there. "According to Major Lenne's view," Schenck reported to Hohenlohe, "the bay is excellently suited for a military harbor. The Russian warships, however, appear to have made no arrangements or precautions which would indicate the intention of returning to Kiaochow the next winter." 22

This was significant, because it was now obvious that waters around Kiaochow did not freeze up during the winter months. Yet indecision still reigned in the Berlin offices, and at the OKM Knorr now favored Chusan and Amoy, while admitting that their status as treaty ports presented "difficulties." 23

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21 The reports and discussion were all exhaustively detailed, and often featured long politico-military treatises on why Germany needed a base in the first place, although no one in the Navy suggested that she did not. See, for example, the 128-page Denkschrift by Kapitän zur See Jaeschke, Chief of Staff to Hoffmann, of 18 June 1896; BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942.

22 Schenck to Chancellor Hohenlohe, 23 May 1896; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942.

23 Knorr to Marschall (Foreign Office), 21 May 1896; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60942.
The Kaiser was increasingly exasperated at the inability of his officials to arrive at a decision and carry it out; but in the spring of 1896 Baron von Heyking left Germany to succeed Schenck as the German envoy to Peking, and Admiral Tirpitz went to the Far East for a tour of duty with the East Asiatic squadron. Before he left, Heyking had an audience with the Kaiser on 25 May. "Now, Heyking," said Wilhelm, "I have chosen you for China. Schenck rode us into the mud, there, as they say in Hessian, after we had occupied first place under Brandt. That must be changed!" The Kaiser then added that "now that he had sent out his best minister and his best admiral, the two should be able to come to some solution."^24

Tirpitz arrived in the Far East in June to succeed Hoffmann. "I took with me from Berlin," he later recalled, "the commission to seek out a place on the Chinese coast where Germany could construct a military and economic base." Three places had been suggested to him: Amoy, Samsah inlet, and the Chusan Islands. Kiaochow, he understood, had been "dropped."^25

^24 Norem, p. 19. Tirpitz had apparently already been chosen to succeed Admiral Hollmann at the RMA; but Hollmann had just received a vote of confidence in the Reichstag, and Hohenlohe hesitated to make the change.

^25 Tirpitz, I, pp. 90, 92.
But Tirpitz visited all three places, and was dissatisfied with them. Amoy was difficult to defend, was a treaty port (including a British concession there), and had poor prospects for trade with the interior. Samsah also lacked commercial possibilities, being surrounded by mountains that could scarcely be crossed by pack mules; navigational difficulties were posed by a narrow entrance with a strong current. Chusan was little better, and was commercially overshadowed by nearby Shanghai. This all confirmed Tirpitz in an opinion he had formed before leaving Europe.

The statements of numerous engineers and merchants, as well as my own reading, led me to the conclusion, even before I had seen them, that all the three places suggested to me were unsuitable and that, apart from treaty ports and Chusan, there was only one place for the German who had once more arrived too late, since the British had searched out the whole coast as far back as the forties, and that was the unset pearl Tsingtao.26

While Tirpitz was at Chefoo on the northern Shantung to meet with the new envoy, Heyking, he pondered the problem of how to examine Kiaochow unobtrusively without sailing his flagship into the bay. He encountered Lieutenant

26Ibid., I, p. 92; Tsingtao was a small fishing village on the inland side of the northern promontory that sheltered Kiaochow Bay. The later German leased territory was called the Kiautschow Protectorate (Schutzgebiet). Tirpitz's various reports are in BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.
Commander Braun of the small steam-sail gunboat Iltis, a personal friend, took him into his confidence. Early the next morning, 23 July, the Iltis weighed anchor, ostensibly for Nagasaki. But while rounding the southeast promontory of the Shantung late that afternoon, she encountered a sudden typhoon. Braun shortened sail and hove-to under storm canvas and engine power. But the wind was too strong, and in the sheets of rain and blinding spray the lights on the shore were invisible. At 11 p.m. that night Iltis struck the coast and was dashed to pieces on the rocks. Braun and 70 of his men went down, only thirteen men reaching shore alive. The tragedy occasioned much criticism of Tirpitz and embarrassing publicity was given to Braun's sailing orders. Only with difficulty was the real mission of the Iltis concealed.

On 6 August Tirpitz and Heyking met at Chefoo. Tirpitz was surprised to learn that Heyking, before leaving Europe, had already committed himself regarding the selection of a base. The Kaiser had asked him if he had any special port in view and he had answered, "Yes, Amoy." Astonished, Tirpitz asked why he had said this, as Heyking admittedly knew nothing about the place. The minister

shrugged. "I could not leave His Majesty without a
definite answer," he said.\(^{28}\) Tirpitz himself argued for
Kiaochow, pointing out the objections to Amoy and the
other locations under consideration. "Kiaochow may soon
find other admirers," he warned.\(^{29}\) Heyking agreed with
that—the Russians had already shown interest in the bay,
and it might be considered as within their orbit. In
fact, as a diplomat he wished to avoid any move that would
antagonize Russia.

Heyking then proceeded to the Chinese capital where
he hoped to learn more about the Russian interest in
Kiaochow. He continued to exchange messages with Tirpitz,
each trying to persuade the other regarding their respec-
tive preferences. When utilizing the British or oriental
telegraph facilities as at Hakodate or Nagasaki, it is
curious to note, a distrustful Tirpitz amused himself by
employing a thinly-disguised jargon code within the regu-
lar code: "Karoline" for Kiaochow, "Chriemhilde" for
Chusan, "Sabine" for Samsah, "Amalie" for Amoy, "Wanda"
for Woosung, and so on. "In order to appreciate the
personal attractions of Fräulein K," he telegraphed, "the

\(^{28}\)Tirpitz, I, 94–95. Heyking to Hohenlohe, Peking,
22 August 1896; G.P. 3664.

\(^{29}\)Tirpitz's version of the Chefoo conversations,
6 August 1896; BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass, N 257/44.
other females must be mentioned." He considered Sabine "good-for-nothing," and felt Chriemhilde was questionable because of "resistance on the part of Grossmama" (Great Britain apparently!). To explain that Amalie (Amoy) was in economic decline posed some difficulties. Tirpitz did admit that a "trousseau" must be purchased for Karoline (facilities must be constructed). Heyking did not bother to reply in kind, and even Tirpitz made slips that compromised his "code."30

On 19 August Heyking discussed the Russian interest in Kiaochow with Cassini, the Russian minister in Peking. "I will speak frankly with you," he reported Cassini as saying. "We do need an ice-free port, and that we do not have in Vladivostok. We have thus far failed to find a satisfactory port on the Korean coast, and I might specifically state that nothing has come of Port Arthur. Chefoo is, as you know, impracticable. Kiaochow Bay is therefore the closest point available to us." He then

30 For example, Tirpitz to Heyking from Hakodate, 1 September 1896; BA-MA, Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/43.

German communications security, it might be added, was not particularly sophisticated at this time. David Kahn, author of The Codebreakers (New York, 1967), characterizes the German codes and ciphers as "primitive" and "archaic." Certainly German messages would not have mystified English cryptanalysts for long, if they bothered to intercept and crack them at all. It is not known to what extent the English were aware of the German objectives in China.
stated that "Kiaochow has been granted to us officially by the Chinese as a wintering station for our fleet." In his report Heyking faithfully related Tirpitz's arguments in favor of Kiaochow. "Also doch!" jotted the Kaiser in the margin when he read the report. "We could have had the bay last summer, but the Navy didn't want it then; I was certainly for it!" It looked, however, as if the Russians were claiming Kiaochow. "That we have nicely trifled away!" 31

Two days later Heyking wrote Tirpitz that "nothing can come of Kiaochow; it has officially been granted to the Russians as a wintering station for their fleet." He noted that German warships would be "welcome" there anytime; "but English ships would not be given space." The bay itself, though, was spoken for. "The Russians are sitting heavily on the Chinese, and that's what these pagoda-heads understand." 32

Tirpitz in the meantime had spent a day and a half at Kiaochow studying the bay and its environs. He doubted


32 Heyking to Tirpitz, 24 August 1896; BA-MA, Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/44. When Chinese Ambassador Extraordinary to St. Petersburg Li Hung-Chang had visited Berlin in June, however, he had told Marschall that "Russia had no rights over Kiaochow Bay, China having merely granted the use of the Bay to the Russian fleet for a few months." Memorandum of Marschall, 19 June 1896; G.P. 3663.
that the place was of any lasting value to the Russians, especially as there was no possibility of a railroad connection with the main Siberian line. But to satisfy himself he weighed anchor for Vladivostok, where he was well received in Russian naval circles. There he gleaned that the acquisition of Kiaochow had been considered, but dropped. Tirpitz felt it necessary, however, to sound out Admiral Alexeiev, the senior Russian naval commander, himself. He got the opportunity at dinner one evening. In casually discussing the need of the German squadron for a base, Tirpitz dismissed the Chusan Islands and Amoy. When Alexeiev mentioned Kiaochow, Tirpitz objected to the reported ice, cost, and the complete lack of trade.33 These objections the Russian admiral dismissed, and advised Tirpitz to look into Kiaochow further.

Tirpitz thus concluded that Cassini had not been kept informed on the matter. The "engagement of Karoline" was only temporary, he wired Heyking in the Chinese capital; he had sent his own long thirty-one page report to Berlin from Hakodate on 5 September.34

33Tirpitz, I, p. 96. Alexeiev was, Tirpitz felt, somewhat of a "Francophile," and he had to tread carefully.

34Tirpitz to Heyking, from Yokohama, 28 September 1896; BA-MA, Tirpitz Nachlass N. 257/44. 5 September 1896 report, Tirpitz to Knorr (OKM), in BA-MA, Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/45, also Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.
After discussing the objections to Chusan, Samsah, and Amoy, Tirpitz then analyzed Kiaochow:

Kiaochow Bay is the only good, natural harbor in China from Shanghai north to Newchwang [in the Gulf of Liaotung]. It lies at the end of a valley which geologically divides Shantung into two parts. Nowhere does this valley rise higher than the plains of Peking and northern China. Kiaochow, in fact, is connected with the north coast of Shantung by water. Chefoo [the treaty port on the north coast] owes its European trade to its artificial creation as a port. Three-quarters of this trade is transported over the high mountains of eastern Shantung by mule. The last quarter of the trade is carried by water. In the opinion of the business world, all the overland trade would immediately be lost to Kiaochow were it opened. Both the export and the import trade of Kiaochow would penetrate deeper into the province of Shantung than is possible from Chefoo, both north along the valley, and west along passable roads to that part of Shantung where German missionaries are active. Businessmen who have invested money in Chefoo, therefore, fear the opening of Kiaochow.

Should a railroad be constructed the sixty nautical miles to Weihsien or the 180 miles to Tsinanfu, the significance of Kiaochow would assume a new character. The coal fields of Shantung would then be tapped and the influence of Kiaochow would penetrate to the much overrated Grand Canal.

While he had not been able to ascertain the quality of the coal, he continued, such a ready supply of fuel for ships would be a tremendous asset.

Tirpitz then analyzed Kiaochow from the maritime and military points of view. The primary disadvantage of the bay according to the Reichsmarineamt (Hollmann), was ice in the winter; this was not true, he said. Thin ice might
form along the shore and soft ice sometimes formed over the deeper parts of the bay, but this posed no problem. The salinity of the water, plus a strong tide (two to three knots ebbing), kept the bay open. (And, of course, the Russian fleet had wintered there.) Regarding the feasibility of docks and installations, the twelve-foot tide which left numerous mud flats exposed did pose a problem. On the east side of the bay, however, soundings indicated a deep channel near Horseshoe Rock, and that at Woman's Island just to the north a pier could be built from the mainland at little expense.

Concerning the defense of Kiaochow, Tirpitz noted that the Chinese had land defenses only, none against a threat from the sea. The garrison consisted of some 1500 soldiers, of poor quality, who could be routed without difficulty by the landing corps of the East Asiatic squadron. While the Germans in turn might fortify one of the islands in the bay, Tirpitz believed that any real threat would come, not from the Chinese, but from the Japanese or one of the European countries, who would arrive with overwhelming naval superiority. Better, he said, to build defenses for the promontory and town of Tsingtao on the mainland itself, with batteries to cover the entrance to the bay. Kiaochow, he concluded, thus
adequately fulfilled the commercial, political, and military requirements for a Far Eastern base.

When the Kaiser read Tirpitz's report, he angrily confronted Senden-Bibran, chief of the Marinekabinett. For two years he had implored the Navy to accept Kiaochow, but the Reichsmarineamt had preferred the Chusan Islands and the Oberkommando der Marine desired Amoy. "Kiaochow was regarded as unsatisfactory by both, but now along comes Tirpitz and states that it is highly desirable. That is always the trouble with you. You never know what you want."35

To Lieutenant Commander Brussatis, departing for the Far East to assume command of SMS Cormoran, the Kaiser said, "Greet Admiral Tirpitz warmly for me, and say that I want to learn soon from him now, what we really want to have on the Chinese coast. Admiral Hoffmann didn't want Kiaochow Bay, but Tirpitz now appears to want it again; for the present it is too late. I want to know this soon, so I know what I can place as demands."36 The decision to seize a Stützpunkt had been taken, a suitable excuse would not be

35Norem, p. 23. The Kaiser himself, of course, bears much responsibility for the Navy's indecision by having denied it a unified command structure with a single head.

36Related by Brussatis to Tirpitz, Hong Kong, 19 November 1896; BA-MA, Tirpitz Nachlass, N 257/45.
found wanting; only the location remained questionable and delayed action. Tirpitz’s report of 5 September persuasively favored Kiaochow, but Heyking and the Navy chiefs in Berlin still had reservations.

At this time a German-born director of the Chinese customs service, Detring, was in Germany on leave of absence. Knorr, of the OKM, conferred with him regarding the Tirpitz memorandum and reported to the Kaiser on 9 November. Detring substantiated Tirpitz’s favorable comments on Kiaochow in every way, and dismissed any lingering fears that the bay was not ice-free. While the Russians might winter at Kiaochow, it had not been ceded to them, he said. And regarding the English, Detring believed German influence in northern China at the expense of the Russians would be welcomed.  

A few days later a report from Prince Radolin, the German Ambassador to Russia, gave added impetus to the Kaiser’s impatience. Kreyer, a councilor at the Chinese legation in St. Petersburg, had urged Radolin that "force is the only language they [the Chinese] understand. Unless Germany seizes without further delay whatever it desires or needs, the Chinese will regard it only as a sign of

37 Memorandum of Knorr, 9 November 1896; G.P. 3665. OKM Chief of Staff Barandon’s version, 5 November 1896, in BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.
weakness, and not as evidence of unselfishness." If Germany acquired nothing, while other nations did, "German prestige in the Far East will decline, and China will not even be thankful for it." Seizing a port as a base would be in the "best interests" of China because it would preserve the balance of power in the Far East.  

Although Kreyer was apparently acting under instructions from the Chinese minister, with whom Radolin was on very good terms, it may be questioned if the specific advice was of Chinese origin. At the time, however, especially in view of Russian and Chinese ambitions, some Chinese officials apparently considered that playing the major powers against each other was the only way to preserve their country's independence. In any case Kreyer's enthusiasm was contagious.

Action! demanded the Kaiser. "We must act now, swiftly and resolutely." Orders were dispatched from the supreme command to Tirpitz to concentrate the East Asiatic squadron off—Amoy! Tirpitz was thunder-struck, and immediately wired Heyking at the Chinese capital for an explanation. "In reply to my astounded inquiry," Tirpitz stated in his memoirs, "Heyking wired back that Berlin had asked

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38 Radolin to Hohenlohe, 19 November 1896, G.P. 3666.
39 Kaiser to Hohenlohe, 27 November 1896; G.P. 3668.
whether an understanding had been reached between him and me; and he replied, 'Yes, Amoy!' Heyking was concerned that Kiaochow was in the Russian sphere of influence and would pose complications, and in this he was evidently supported by the Foreign Office. Amoy, of course, would bother no one. But by now the OKM had been swayed in favor of seizing Kiaochow, and the Foreign Office was cool to any such venture anyway. The Kaiser received no support regarding Amoy, and the orders to Tirpitz were cancelled.

Then Kiaochow it was. But suddenly, on 7 December 1896, the London Times reported that "China is willing to lease temporarily to Russia the port of Kiaochow (Chiao-chou), in the province of Shantung, the period of such lease being limited to 15 years. At the end of this period China shall buy all the barracks, godowns [warehouses], machine shops, and docks built there by Russia (during her occupation of the said port)."

Tirpitz saw the report in the English Hong Kong newspaper and was depressed. "Russia has already seized North China with Kiaochow," he wrote to Berlin. "Whether the

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40Tirpitz, I, p. 97.

41Knorr to Kaiser, 28 November 1896; BA-MA Fach 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

42London Times clipping, 7 December 1896, in BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.
treaty published in the *North China Daily News* is correct or not, is irrelevant." What was important was that Russia, while seeking a Manchurian port, had acquired special rights to Kiaochow. "The seizure of the Kiaochow Bay doubtless means the expansion of the Russian sphere of influence over all of North China to the Yangtze territory." No other port seemed appropriate, and Tirpitz suggested a settlement of colonists in the Yangtze valley or at Wusung near Shanghai. "If we want to accomplish something really great out here, we must get in there, as Your Excellency has already said. . . . In the English colonial area the incoming German immigrants simply disappear into the English national camp; thus a greater economic (and industrial) share for Greater Germany is denied us in this area. This process should at least be slowed down in the Yangtze region if it does not become English politically. It almost seems as if England expects our intervention there. . . ."43

It soon became apparent, however, that the Russo-Chinese agreement regarding Kiaochow only reconfirmed per-

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43 Tirpitz to Knorr, 7 December 1896; BA-MA Fach 5173 ADM-B III.1.13. Copies in Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/45, Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943. Steinberg's translation (p. 103 fn). Steinberg quotes the settlement idea as a positive one; it would appear, however, that Tirpitz mentioned it as a last resort, since no ports appeared appropriate.
mission to winter there. The press articles had greatly exaggerated. The Kaiser was encouraged, and at the end of November he ordered the OKM to draw up a plan for the seizure [Besitzergreifung] of the bay, and this was submitted to him on 15 December 1896 in a carefully detailed twenty-seven page report.44

The Chinese defenses had not been changed since Tirpitz's report of 5 September, and two gun positions remained unoccupied. In this intelligence the Navy was assisted by Friedrich Krupp, whose munitions firm supplied the Chinese with artillery, and supervised their emplacement!45 Four infantry companies and six 90mm or 120mm field guns landing on the Tsingtao village peninsula would suffice, while a show of force by the warships would discourage any resistance. Some fighting would give the troops useful experience, Knorr observed, but there would be little glory, and fighting would only increase diplomatic problems. Logistical requirements—uniforms, field cots, tents, provisions for four weeks—were all calculated.

44Knorr to Kaiser, 15 December 1896; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943. The plan was approved by the Kaiser, 22 December 1896; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc PG 67305.

45 See, for example, Friedrich Krupp to Hollman (RMA), Essen, 18 December 1896, in which the number, caliber, and emplacement of artillery at the formidable Taku forts are thoroughly detailed. BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

The ordnance at Kiaochow consisted of obsolete Krupp field guns from the 1870s. See Diederich's report to the OKM regarding his seizure of Kiaochow, 15 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.
Wagons and horses could be requisitioned from the Chinese. The peninsula would be fortified by earthworks constructed with the help of paid coolie labor, and the base garrisoned by a battalion at war strength and a company of naval artillery. An appropriate proclamation to the populace and flag-raising ceremony would legitimize the seizure. Administration of the area taken should initially be entrusted to a Navy officer picked by the East Asiatic squadron commander, and an experienced civil official from the Shanghai consulate sent to assist him. This was the operations plan that, with only minor change, was put into effect a year later.

Coordination with the Military Affairs department of the RMA was effected in a conference right after the Christmas holidays, chaired by Captain Jaeschke of the OKM staff. What was now needed was the professional advice of a qualified harbor construction engineer, and it was decided to despatch Georg Franzius, harbor engineer at Kiel and a lecturer at the Naval Academy, to report on Kiaochow regarding the technical requirements of the Navy and possible commercial development.46

46 Correspondence and reports between Hollmann (RMA) and Knorr (OKM), 24 and 27 December 1896; BA-MA 2422, RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943. Jaeschke was later appointed the second military governor of Kiaochow after its seizure. Hollmann (RMA) to Knorr (OKM) reference Geheime Marine Baurath Georg Franzius, Ressortdiv. Hafenbau Kiel; 28 December 1896; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.
Franzius departed for the Far East in January 1897 on board the Norddeutscher Lloyd steamer Preussen, arriving at Hong Kong on 13 February. There he was met by Tirpitz and taken on board the admiral's flagship, the old iron-clad frigate SMS Kaiser. After perfunctory stops at Amoy and Samsah inlet, the warship dropped anchor in Kiaochow Bay where Franzius spent several days in taking soundings and soil samples and surveying the harbor. Tirpitz, it appears, was eager to impress upon Franzius the qualities of the place before the engineer should meet with Heyking, and before he himself ended his tour of duty with the cruiser squadron and returned to Germany to succeed Hollmann at the Reichsmarineamt. 47

All of this activity distressed the Foreign Office, which had urged that Franzius confer with Heyking at Peking —

47 On 21 January 1897 Tirpitz had written Senden-Bibran of the Marinekabinett, "In your letter, the statement that I had pleaded so warmly for Kiaochow surprises me. The minister [Heyking] and Herr Detring [the Chinese customs official] seem to have given you this idea more than my report. All I said was that we should not cross Kiaochow off the list and merely wanted to get orders enabling me to carry out further investigations." Senden's letter of 22 November 1896 and Tirpitz's reply in BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/45. This prompted Steinberg (p. 103 fn) to wonder if Tirpitz was in fact as eager to acquire Kiaochow as he claimed in his memoirs. The mass of documents, however, demonstrate that Tirpitz was the driving force (second only to the Kaiser); if he qualified his advice briefly, it was probably due to his depression after learning of the Russo-Chinese agreement, or a desire to support his view with other opinions.
before undertaking his investigations. In addition, snoop­
ing around Kiaochow "may easily arouse suspicions on the
part of the Russians and prove a political danger under the
circumstances."^® Nor was Marschall von Bieberstein
pleased to learn that Customs Director Detring had returned
to China and been in close contact with Franzius. Detring
had personal interests in China, the Foreign Secretary
warned the RMA, and should be considered an "agent of the
Chinese government." He was more explicit in complaining
to the OKM, that Detring had reportedly spoken to Franzius
"concerning the investment of private capital in Kiaochow
Bay," which would produce handsome returns were it opened
commercially by the Germans, and that the naval engineer
would do well to limit himself to his technical investi­
gation.49

At Kiaochow Franzius found the bay being silted up by
sand washed in from various streams, and a barren and
eroded landscape denuded of trees. Most of the bay was
shallow and numerous mud flats appeared at low tide.
Nonetheless he felt the silting could be controlled and

^®Foreign Office to RMA, 16 January 1897; BA-MA
Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

49Foreign Office to RMA (Büchslo was filling the post
vacated by Hollmann until Tirpitz arrived), 20 April 1897;
BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943. Foreign Office to
OKM, 5 May 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.
diverted to make dry land fill, and the hillsides could be reforested. He agreed with Tirpitz that a good channel ran along the shore of the promontory jutting down from the north, sheltering a deep basin that would make an admirable anchorage. The topography inland was also favorable regarding the construction of roads and railroads to develop the port commercially. Franzius then proceeded to Peking where he related his conclusions to Heyking. The German envoy dutifully forwarded the favorable results to Berlin on 5 May 1897, and Franzius' long (170 pages) and detailed report was sent to the Reichsmarineamt when he returned to Kiel, dated 27 August. Franzius' report was conclusive; the selection of Kiaochow as a Far Eastern Stützpunkt had been made.50

But Kiaochow was of only secondary importance to Tirpitz at this time; for his appointment as State Secretary of the Reichsmarineamt was the victorious culmination to a power struggle within the ranks of the Navy that had been continuing for several years.

50Heyking to Hohenlohe, 5 May 1897; G.P. 3674.
Franzius to RMA (Tirpitz), Kiel, 27 August 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943. See also report of Kapitän zur See Zeye (acting commander of the cruiser squadron) to Knorr (OKM), 10 June 1897; ibid.
The interdepartmental conflict within the Navy was based on two factors: political, in that in peacetime the Reichsmarineamt determined the type and number of warships to be constructed, thus determining the strategy, tactics, and disposition of the fleet, rendering the Oberkommando der Marine and the Marinekabinett relatively unimportant; and strategic, whether the Navy should build battleships for a battle fleet in home waters, or build cruisers for a more world-wide strategy of cruiser warfare against enemy commerce operating from overseas bases.51 Admiral von Hollmann, as head of the RMA, incurred the natural jealousy of both von Knorr (OKM) and Senden-Bibran (MK) because of his position; but in addition, he favored the Kreuzerkrieg strategy, while they urged concentration on a main battle fleet. The Kaiser, apparently still unaware of the strategic implications of battleships vis-a-vis cruisers, was only impatient that some kind of a fleet should be created; and Hollmann was patently not the man to do it. Admiral von Hollmann neither believed in a battle fleet nor felt the time was propitious to submit a large-scale and expensive building program to the

51 The pre-eminent role of the RMA was maintained by Tirpitz; but with the outbreak of war in 1914, operational considerations became paramount (under the OKM) and the RMA was reduced to merely maintaining the existing strength of the fleet. Tirpitz had no influence over how the fleet was used in action.
Reichstag, but for the moment the Kaiser supported him as the alternative was no fleet at all.

The estimates Hollmann submitted to the Reichstag for 1897, RM 70 million, were indeed the largest ever requested. The ships to be built were cruisers and torpedo-boats; only one battleship was to be built, and that to replace the aged iron-clad König Wilhelm. But when the Budget Committee of the Reichstag pared RM 12 million from the estimates in March, the Kaiser's annoyance brought the resignation of the exhausted Hollmann. However, Chancellor Hohenlohe and Marschall von Bieberstein and von Holstein of the Foreign Office feared the ambitious and energetic Tirpitz as Hollmann's successor; under their pressure the Kaiser reluctantly refused to accept the resignation. But when the Reichstag passed the Budget Committee's reduced estimates a week later, the Kaiser sent Hollmann on an extended leave of absence and recalled Tirpitz from the Far East to succeed him. Holstein, the eminence grise of the Foreign Office, realized that Tirpitz's ambitions and policies would reduce the influence of the Foreign Office and jeopardize his own policy. "Our doom embodied in Admiral Tirpitz is closing in upon us," he wrote to Bernhard von Bülow, then Ambassador in Rome.52

52Holstein to Bülow, 3 April 1897; BA-K Bülow Nachlass, Mappe 90, F. 286-296, quoted in Steinberg, p. 116. In Yesterday's Deterrent Steinberg admirably
The Kaiser was exasperated at the Reichstag's unsympathetic treatment of his Navy. "Vaterlandslose Gesellen"—unpatriotic rascals—he termed the members in a telegram to his brother, Admiral Prince Heinrich of Prussia, who then had the tactlessness to read the telegram aloud to the officers of his flagship, the König Wilhelm. In the resulting uproar Hohenlohe barely averted the Reichstag's voting to censure the Kaiser by asking for an official denial from Wilhelm; but he had put his political future at stake by angering the Kaiser, and his days were numbered. In May an important bill regarding the organization of political societies, but hedged with additional government police powers, was introduced in the Reichstag. The storm of protest regarding the police restrictions resulted in a Reichstag resolution that was tantamount to a vote of censure. "To govern against both public opinion and the Kaiser is to be firmly planted in mid-air," Hohenlohe sadly concluded, and discusses the political dealings within the Navy as well as the government and the Reichstag that led up to Tirpitz's Navy Bill of 1898.

The argument over Kiaochow apparently played only a minor role in the dismissal of Hollmann. Tirpitz, however, was aware of the Kaiser's eagerness for a Far East Stützpunkt, and advocating the selection of Kiaochow certainly redounded to his political benefit.

53 Steinberg, p. 118.
submitted his resignation on 31 May—which was withdrawn in abject capitulation to the Kaiser shortly thereafter. Foreign Secretary Marschall von Bieberstein left two weeks later, succeeded by Bernhard von Bülow, and four more cabinet changes followed.\textsuperscript{54} The Kaiser's authority was now unchallenged.

Tirpitz arrived in June 1897 to assume his duties as State Secretary of the \textit{Reichsmarineamt} after a leisurely return from the Far East via the United States. Because of his dilatoriness, undoubtedly intentional, he had avoided the political clashes within the Navy and the Reichstag that had destroyed both Hollmann and Hohenlohe, leaving him politically unscarred for the future.

In the meantime Admiral von Knorr had prepared a memorandum on the tasks of the Navy in war and peace at the Kaiser's request; and this memorandum, presented on May 2, dealt the death blow to the idea of cruiser warfare and a strategy based on overseas strong points. In a struggle with France and Russia, the most probable opponents, command of the sea and protection of maritime trade and overseas colonies would best be accomplished by

\textsuperscript{54}Hohenlohe's Diary Entry, 22 May 1897, quoted in Steinberg, p. 343.
concentrating all forces in home waters and decisively defeating the enemy battle fleets. Such a victory would ensure ultimate success abroad. Should a war with England occur, "which we should hardly expect to fight alone, our value as an ally would be greatly increased for other sea powers." 55

A tentative outline for construction of such a fleet, twenty-eight battleships, with escorting cruisers, in squadrons unified for tactical operations in similarity of speed, range, and gun-power, by 1910, was presented to the Kaiser eight days later. In subsequent discussions with the Reichsmarineamt headed temporarily by Rear Admiral Wilhelm Büchsen, the program and its cost were scaled down somewhat. Nonetheless, the ground-work for a powerful German Navy had been laid: the building of a battleship fleet, a strategy of decisive fleet action in home waters, the "alliance value" of such a fleet, calculations of the cost and the phases of construction, and the implementation of a fixed Navy Law by which the annual appropriations would not be subject to change by an unpredictable Reichstag. "There was only one thing lacking;" notes Steinberg, "the firm foundation of political and

55 Vortrag des Oberkommandos der Marine, "Aufgaben der Marine im Krieg und Frieden," und Immediatvortrag des Oberkommandos der Marine, 10 May 1897; BA-MA RMA III.1.5.3., quotes from Steinberg, pp. 120-122.
strategic unity. The fusion of military technology and political objectives was to be the great contribution of Tirpitz."56

On 15 June 1897 Tirpitz himself presented the Kaiser with a top secret memorandum entitled "General Considerations on the Constitution of our Fleet according to Ship Classes and Designs."57 It was far more than a technical treatise. It was a strategic blueprint, for the composition of that fleet would be determined by strategy. As Great Britain was the leading sea power, "For Germany the most dangerous enemy at the present time is England." Commerce-raiding from overseas bases was hopeless in view of English superiority; "our fleet must be so constructed that it can unfold its greatest military potential between Helgoland and the Thames." The construction of cruisers and their employment abroad only detracted from the home fleet. "Only the main theater of war will be decisive." Tirpitz's fleet called for 19 battleships by 1905 as well as other types; but in sharply reducing the number of miscellaneous cruiser types, this fleet could be constructed with the same appropriations that the Reichstag had, in fact, just

56 Steinberg, 123. For the RMA-OKM program see also Hallmann, Schlachtflottenbau, pp. 244 ff.

57 The complete text of this significant document, in BA-MA MK I.f.l., is included in Steinberg, pp. 208-223, as Appendix One.
granted Hollmann. With the Kaiser's approval, a battle fleet in home waters became the goal for which Tirpitz now strove unceasingly.\(^{58}\)

What then of Kiaochow, for which Tirpitz had so persuasively argued? Such a base on the other side of the world would now be strategically irrelevant and a constant drain on funds, men, and materiel, to the detriment of a home battle fleet. Aware, however, of the Kaiser's obvious desire for a Far East Stützpunkt, particularly Kiaochow, did perhaps Tirpitz advocate its seizure only for political advantage? Indeed, he did apparently object to the actual seizure when it occurred several months later, after he was well ensconced in the Reichsmarineamt. This has caused Steinberg, at least, to wonder if Tirpitz were in fact sincere in later maintaining that he always favored Kiaochow.\(^{59}\)

\(^{58}\) Tirpitz's 15 June 1897 memorandum, Steinberg argues, gave direction, logic, and consistency to the creation of a powerful German Navy. The German fleet was initiated, not with the Flottengesetz of 1900 in response to deteriorating Anglo-German relations, but with the Flottengesetz of 1898. Less persuasive is his conclusion that "Tirpitz's memorandum of June 15, 1897, the testimony of Senden and the Kaiser, remove the last shreds of doubt about the resolution and stubborn determination of the three most influential men of the Imperial Navy to wrest from Great Britain her exclusive hegemony over the world's oceans." (Steinberg, p. 201.) Tirpitz is more sympathetically treated by Walter Hubatsch in Die Ära Tirpitz (Frankfurt, 1955).

\(^{59}\) See Tirpitz, I, p. 65.
Certainly the new policy initiated by Tirpitz sounded the death-knell for any lingering thoughts of cruiser warfare based on a network of overseas bases. The Navy, which had never really been enthusiastic about the African colonies, now left them to their own devices. If any cruisers or gunboats were maintained on African station, it would only be to placate certain commercial and political interests. The stream of maritime trade between Europe and the Orient went through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, bypassing Africa south of the Equator. Constructing naval bases in the African colonies would be expensive, commercially unrewarding, and of only minor advantage to the Navy.

The situation in the Far East, however, was significantly different. As long as Imperial Germany were to participate in political decisions there, as long as commercial interests were increasing their trade, the Navy would have to maintain a squadron of warships in the area although they would not have to be of the latest design. Given that political fact, and the technical difficulties of servicing and provisioning that squadron some 10,000 nautical miles from the nearest German naval base, the advantages of a base in the Orient were obvious. Irrespective of interdepartmental rivalries and differences regarding strategic and administrative policies, then, the
leaders of the Navy, Tirpitz included, were all agreed on the need for such a base. That base was to be Kiaochow.

Out in China Envoy Heyking, knowing his man, worried lest Tirpitz, as head of the RMA, might act precipitously. He wrote the Admiral urging that it would be preferable to negotiate an arrangement with China regarding the port, rather than use force, now that it seemed that all elements of the government and the military had made the decision for Kiaochow. He was prompted by the fact that energetic Admiral Otto von Diederichs, who had succeeded Tirpitz in command of the East Asiatic Cruiser Squadron, likewise favored Kiaochow and urged its occupation.

The primary obstacle, however, was Russian interest in the bay. On 22 June 1897 Radolin, Ambassador to Russia, was instructed to find out "in a casual manner and without making our objective known," whether, "according to the observations of [Admiral] Alexeiev, Russia had or would raise any claims with regard to this harbor." Radolin discussed the matter with the Russian Foreign Minister on several occasions. But Muraviev was somewhat evasive,

60 Heyking to Tirpitz, Peking, 12 August 1897; BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass, N 257/44.

61 Political-military report of Diederichs to Knorr (OKM), Yokohama, 21 August 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

62 Rotenhan, Deputy Foreign Secretary, to Radolin, 22 June 1897; G.P. 3675.
telling the German minister that "as far as he knew, the Russian fleet had the right to winter in the bay in the future as in the past." 63

Little progress had been made, and the Kaiser determined to raise the matter himself when he visited the Tsar at Peterhof in August with Chancellor Hohenlohe and Foreign Secretary Bülow. There Muraviev remained non-committal, while the Tsar observed that Russia preferred a more northerly harbor; the Germans were encouraged in interpreting the Russian attitude loosely. On 9 September they informed the Russians that in accordance with the Peterhof talks they were contacting the Chinese regarding anchoring vessels in Kiaochow Bay during the coming winter, and got little reaction. 64 On 1 October Heyking handed the following message to the Chinese government: "We reserve the right during the coming winter to anchor, in case of need, German vessels of war temporarily in Kiaochow Bay." 65 Diederichs himself was prodding Berlin, suggesting that he

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63 Radolin to Hohenlohe, St. Petersburg, 8 July 1897; G.P. 3677.

64 Hohenlohe to Radolin, 9 September 1897, G.P. 3681. See also Bülow to Tirpitz (RMA), 10 September 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

65 Bülow to Heyking, 25 September 1897; G.P. 3683; and Heyking to Foreign Office, 1 October 1897; G.P. 3684. See also Bülow to Tirpitz (RMA), 10 October 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.
"might station one or two ships in Kiaochow Bay for the winter, to accustom the Chinese to our ships staying in the area and to expand our own knowledge of winter conditions there. . . ." 66

Continuing Chinese exasperation at the relentless encroachment of the European powers resulted in incidents of which the German government could take advantage. On 31 October 1897 von Knorr received a message from the small cruiser SMS Bussard up the Yangtze River at Hankow and Wuchang, that officers and men in the launch of SMS Cormoran had been mobbed by Chinese. OKM Chief of Staff von Holtzendorff suggested that "the incident might offer a suitable occasion for more serious negotiations with China and for a new approach to Russia." 67 And from the Far East Diederichs telegraphed:

May Wuchang incident be utilized for the pursuance of our broader goals through high

66 Knorr (OKM) to Bülow (AA—Auswärtiges Amt, Foreign Office), 9 October 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60943.

67 Holtzendorff to Knorr, 31 October 1897; BA-MA Fach 2204 ADM-C I.3-8, PG 65990a, with minute by von Koester on results of an audience on 1 November. See also Knorr (OKM) to Tirpitz (RMA), 2 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60944.

Germany had a minor trading concession at Hankow, since merged with Wuchang as Wuhan, an important inland port city at the junction of the Yangtze and Han Rivers.
demands for satisfaction, or should usual satisfaction be enough?\(^6^8\)

The Kaiser felt the time had come for action and pressed Bülow. But the Foreign Secretary was less than enthusiastic, and the outcome was negative. The Kaiser, Holstein later reported, spoke "very indignantly about the flaccid policy of the Foreign Ministry which had not understood how to exploit the favorable opportunities which had repeatedly presented themselves in recent years (as I said, the chief obstacle to any action was the fact that the Navy had not decided where it was to take place)."\(^6^9\) This, of course, was quite untrue; but the Foreign Ministry was very concerned about Russian reaction and had little sympathy for the Navy's requirements.

Then, scarcely a week later, Berlin was electrified by another telegram from Diederichs:

> Catholic missionaries murdered Shantung. Should satisfaction for this be utilized with Cormoran incident in the sense of my 3d November dispatch? Acknowledge.\(^7^0\)

\(^6^8\)Diederichs to OKM, Wusung, 3 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.

\(^6^9\)Holstein to Hatzfeldt (Ambassador to London), 13 November 1897; Holstein Papers, IV, No. 630, p. 49. Holstein felt that "the chief instigator of action at any price" was Senden-Bibran, Chief of the Marinekabinett.

\(^7^0\)Diederichs to OKM, Wusung, 6 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.
Three years of frustration determined the Kaiser's reaction. Without hesitation he issued orders directly for Diederichs:

> Proceed immediately to Kiaochow with the whole squadron, seize suitable points and villages there, and in such manner as may appear best to you, compel full satisfaction. Greatest energy required. Keep the purpose of your mission secret.

    Wilhelm I.R.

Report departure and telegraph address. Acknowledge.\(^1\)

Diederichs acknowledged enthusiastically:

> Seizing Kiaochow immediately with greatest energy.\(^2\)

The incident to which Diederichs referred occurred on the evening 1 November when German missionary named Father Stenz had had as house guests two other missionaries, Fathers Nies and Henle, in Changkiachwang, a small village in the southern part of the Chinese province of Shantung. They were Steyl Society missionaries of the "Society of the Divine World," an order founded by Catholic priest Arnold Janssen in 1875. The three missionaries had retired early that evening, Stenz taking a small back room

\(^1\) Telegram dated 7 November 1897 in BA-MA Fach 7562 ADM-B (Kreuzergeschwader) G.III.b; also Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8; and Kaiser's code clerk Franceson to AA, 6 November 1897; G.P. 3687.

\(^2\) Diederichs to OKM, 8 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8. Subsequent telegrams were to bear the notation "delayed Chinese land lines," but the decisive messages between Berlin and Diederichs were handled with the utmost dispatch.
usually occupied by a Chinese servant, while his two guests shared the living room. Shortly before midnight a band of twenty to thirty Chinese broke into the house and murdered the two visiting missionaries in their sleep. Stenz however was spared, as the assassins did not think of entering the servant's room.

The assassins were presumed to be members of the secret society known as the Ta Tao Hui or "Society of the Great Knife," a militant organization receiving at least the tacit support of the conservative dowager empress Tzu Hsi. In 1890 the Pope had put the Steyl Mission under German protection at the Mission's request; and whatever Germany's "obligation," the murder of the missionaries provided a convenient justification for military intervention to exact retribution for the crime committed.

Seizing Kiaochow was easier said, however, than done. Of the warships in the squadron, the cruiser Arcona was at Shanghai for her annual overhaul and not available until the 24th of November; and the cruiser Irene was at Hong Kong, replacing worn crankshaft bearings and relining the packing of the propeller shaft casings. Even by working around the clock, she could not depart until the 30th. Cormoran was coming down the Yangtze from Hankow. Only the old iron-clad Kaiser and the cruiser Prinzess Wilhelm were

73 Norem, pp. 5-7.
immediately available at Wusung near Shanghai. Nonetheless Diederichs left with these two ships, with orders for Cormoran to follow, and all three rendezvoused off Kiaochow Bay late on 12 November.  

Meanwhile the Kaiser, immediately after issuing the order to Diederichs, telegraphed the Tsar:

Chinese attacked German missions Shantung, inflicting loss of life and property. I trust you approve according to our conversation Petershof my sending German squadron to Kiaochow, as it is the only port available to operate from as a base against marauders. I am under obligation to Catholic party in Germany to show that their missions are really safe under my protectorate.

The Tsar's reply of condolences came quickly, and continued:

Cannot approve or disapprove your sending German squadron to Kiaotschau on [sic] as have lately learned that this harbour only had been temporarily ours in 1895–1896; am afraid that strong punishing measures may create disturbances and uneasy feelings in the Far East and perhaps may make the precipice between Christians and Chinese still deeper than it was now.

Nicky

More ominous was Muraviev's message:

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74 The details of the seizure of Kiaochow are taken from Diederichs' fourteen-page after-action report to Knorr (OKM), Kiaochow, 15 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60946.

75 Kaiser to Tsar (in English), in Rotenhan to Tschirschky, 8 November 1897, G.P. 3682.

76 Tsar's emphasis, Tsar to Kaiser (in English), 7 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc Pg 67305.
Our Admiral in the Pacific has also been instructed, in case the German fleet should enter Kiaochow, to send a part of our fleet there, as we have had a prior right of anchorage in this port since the year 1895. We hope, further, that this incident will be amicably settled by Germany and China and render intervention by third parties unnecessary.

Followed by:

We believe that the explanations of the Chinese government will satisfy the German government and make unnecessary the sending of a German fleet to Kiaochow. But if such be the case, it is upon condition that our vessels of war enter the bay, not to take part in any hostile action, but to affirm our prior right of anchorage.77

Muraviev later clarified what he meant by "prior right of anchorage"; that Russia had been promised first rights to the bay if China should ever relinquish it to any foreign power.78

Why the unexpected Russian objection? The bay was too far from Russia's sphere of interest in Manchuria to

77 Muraviev to German Foreign Office (in French), 8 and 9 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60944; also Rotenhan to Kaiser, 10 November 1897; G.P. 3693, and Rotenhan to Bülow (in Rome), 9 November 1897; G.P. 3694. The Russian sailing orders were apparently cancelled the day after they were issued.

78 Muraviev to Osten-Sacken, Russian Ambassador in Berlin, 13 November 1897, given to the German Foreign Office. G.P. 3699. Muraviev was apparently basing his point on the secret Li-Lobanov treaty signed in 1896, allowing the Russians to winter at Kiaochow that year, referred to as the "Cassini Convention." (MacMurray, I, p. 79.) Muraviev interpreted the agreement rather loosely.
have any value, as the Russians themselves had as much admitted. It would seem, rather, that Muraviev was laying the basis for Russian claims to later compensation in taking Port Arthur.  

Whatever the reason for the Russian reaction, Berlin was upset. Tirpitz, distressed that the political repercussions might jeopardize his plans for revolutionizing the Navy, sent a telegram to Chancellor Hohenlohe:

Consider the action against China as unfavorable for the Navy Bill, and in the intended form very risky; the result of this sort of action must lead to a serious threat of hostilities. Request by return permission an audience with Your Highness.

The OKM also suddenly demonstrated timidity, protesting to the Kaiser that the ships were not ready, supplies posed a problem, and that the seizure of Kiaochow would be damaging


80 Draft of telegram, Tirpitz to Hohenlohe, 10 November 1897, in BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60944. Steinberg, p. 155 fn, quotes this to indicate Tirpitz's opposition to Kiaochow. But Tirpitz was very sensitive about his Navy Bill, and probably only objected to seizing Kiaochow at this particular time. When the Kaiser opened the fifth and last session of the 9th Reichstag on 30 November, however, demanding "full reparation and security against a recurrence of similar deplorable incidents" (in Shantung), there was "vigorous applause." Reported by the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Evening Edition, 30 November 1897, quoted in Steinberg, p. 161.
"to our image in China." The Kaiser shot back a telegram the same day:

Do not understand inquiry or your argument, since I already ordered immediate action against Kiaochow two days ago by telegraph. Please do not lose costly time with further useless questions, but let my orders be carried out immediately and Kiaochow be occupied without further ado.\(^*\)

Nonetheless the Chancellor and the Foreign Office, as well as the Navy itself, put pressure on the Kaiser to modify the orders to Diederichs. On the 12th Knorr telegraphed the squadron commander:

In modification of the All-Highest Order of the 7th, proclamation and occupation of Chinese territory should be postponed until Chinese answer to demands for satisfaction arrives and sounds unacceptable. In any case, if occupation has already resulted, this is to represent temporary sanctions until receiving atonement [Sühne]. Sovereign rights are not to be exercised. The following for your personal information: Russian government has subsequently asserted prerogatives about Kiaochow, which are still being negotiated.\(^2\)

But Hohenlohe still feared that Diederichs might act recklessly, and urged the OKM to send an additional order appended:

\(^{81}\)From Admiral Koester for Knorr (OKM) to Kaiser; and Kaiser to OKM; 10 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.

\(^{82}\)Knorr to Kaiser, 12 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.
Also, in the case of an unsatisfactory or no Chinese answer, orders are to be received from here [Berlin] before a proclamation.\footnote{Hohenlohe's emphasis. Hohenlohe to Knorr, 14 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.}

It was all to no avail. Diederich's ships were already at sea and--conveniently--out of wire communication with the "nervous Nellies" in Berlin. The Admiral was a man of decisive action; the interminable debate regarding a Far Eastern Stützpunkt would only be settled by a fait accompli, and he was the man to do it.

After conferring with his commanders on board the \textit{Kaiser}, Diederichs ordered the three ships he had into the bay early on 13 November. The commander of the 1200-man garrison was General Chang-Kao-yăn. He had always been obliging to the Germans before, even putting ponies at their disposal when they had visited the bay. Diederichs felt it best to avoid bloodshed by a strong show of force, and gave Chang a 24-hour time limit to evacuate the defenses.\footnote{Details are from Diederichs' after-action report to the OKM, Kiaochow via Tientsin, 15 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168, ADM-B III.1.8.}

At dawn the next morning \textit{Cormoran}, which had a shallow draft, entered the inner harbor off the fishing village of Tsingtao, anchoring where both the Chinese...
encampments and the powder magazine could be raked by gunfire. A landing party put off in boats and came briskly ashore to Prussian marching music. Diederichs now gave the unhappy General Chang three hours to evacuate his troops. They were to leave the artillery, the fourteen obsolete Krupp-built field guns, and munitions stores, but were allowed to keep their rifles as a point of honor. Chang met with Diederichs after conferring with his officers, saying he had orders to hold his position, and must obey them. But resistance was useless, as Diederichs pointed out. A dejected Chang finally agreed, saying that whatever he did would cost him his head.

The Chinese then abandoned the positions, their only action being to cut the telegraph lines at the Yamen, the headquarters building. The Germans raised the flag and the Prinzess Wilhelm boomed out a 21-gun salute, which hastened the departing Chinese on their way. Diederichs then read off a short proclamation announcing the temporary occupation of the Tsingtao peninsula and several militarily significant topographic features around the bay. The next day Diederichs jubilantly wired Berlin:

85Diederichs' proclamation of 14 November 1897 is given in the unpublished Lebenserinnerungen manuscript of Leutnant zur See Friedrich, gen. Fritz Fauth; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/75. That Chang not be punished was, it might be noted, one of the German demands later.
Order of the seventh just carried out—
everything quiet—this dispatch wired from
the Yamen immediately after repair of [tele-
graph] wires—full-length report follows
after return on board.86

The actual occupation had been carried out smoothly
and without bloodshed, which relieved Berlin immensely.
The telegrams modifying the original order all arrived too
late, as Diederichs happily pointed out in his report.
The Admiral had presented Berlin with a fait accompli. To
what advantage this would be turned, however, depended on
the Kaiser and his officials.

On 15 November a crown council was held in Berlin,
with the Kaiser presiding. The three Navy chiefs were
present, Tirpitz, Knorr, and Senden-Bibran, as was
Chancellor Hohenlohe, Adjutant General Plessen, and
Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs Rotenhan
(Bülow being absent in Rome). There it was decided to
continue the occupation of Kiaochow; if no other powers
objected, a force of 1200 men and three additional war-
ships would then be dispatched. Acquisition of the bay
would take the form of a long-term lease, to be negotiated
with China later.87

86Diederichs to Knorr, via Tientsin, 15 November
1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.

87Unsigned memorandum of 15 November 1897, G.P.
3701.
But Russia had raised objections, and Knorr and the Foreign Office were deeply concerned. Even Tirpitz had shown anxiety. The Russians, however, were more interested in Port Arthur on the Liaotung peninsula, and the German action actually made it easier for them to get Chinese "permission" to winter their Pacific fleet there. It was soon recognized by both parties that Russian and German policy were in accord. When Admiral Prince Heinrich of Prussia left for the Far East in December with a second squadron to reinforce Diederichs, the Tsar sent his regards. It was a relieved Kaiser that replied:

Best thanks for kind wishes for Henry. Please accept my congratulations at the arrival of your squadron at Port Arthur. Russia and Germany at the entrance to the Yellow Sea may be taken as represented by St. George and St. Michael shielding the Holy Cross in the Far East and guarding the gates of the Continent of Asia.88

In London Hatzfeld had already raised the question of Kiaochow with Prime Minister Salisbury, who said he saw no reason why Great Britain should entertain any scruples about Germany's acquiring a port on the China coast.89

88 Kaiser to Tsar, 19 December 1897 (in English); G.P. 3739. Ambassador Radolin in St. Petersburg, however, wrote Holstein on 28 December that "Tsar Nicholas will bear a grudge against us for this affair. He feels that he has been taken by surprise and will hold it against us despite all the telegrams and greetings." Holstein Papers, IV, No. 639, p. 60.

89 Hatzfeld to AA, London, 17 November 1897; G.P. 3708, and 20 November 1897; G.P. 3710.
ambitious Japan posed more of a problem, however, and a nervous OKM began work on a war plan should that country intervene militarily. This fear did not materialize. Germany had now acquired a long-desired base in the Far East. The ground-work had been laid by Tirpitz, and his contribution was important; but the Kaiser himself had been the driving force, and the satisfaction was his. Proudly Wilhelm personally saw Prince Heinrich's squadron off, its purpose, as he bombastically put it, "to make clear to the Europeans in China, to the German merchants and above all, to China herself, that the German Michael has planted his shield firmly in the soil."

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91Nor were the other powers told otherwise; as Foreign Secretary von Bülow in Berlin instructed his ambassadors abroad, "The idea of securing the multifarious German interests in East Asia by the acquisition of a Chinese harbor for a territorial Stützpunkt, both for docking the numerous German ships and for facilitating trade with the interior, had already been the subject of thorough examination here, as well as in East Asia, for years." Instructions to ambassadors in London and St. Petersburg from Bülow, 19 December 1897; BA-K Bülow Nachlass, folder 21.

92Townsend, p. 187.
CHAPTER V

THE ADMINISTRATION OF KIAOCHOW

At Kiaochow Bay Admiral Diederichs moved swiftly to consolidate the German position on the Chinese coast. "Speak of occupation," he messaged triumphantly, "not seizure."¹ From Peking Envoy Heyking reported, "The consul at Tschifu wires that the [Chinese] general there has refused to send troops to Kiaochow in order not to denude his own forts. The Chinese cruiser Fuchi is going to Kiaochow."² But no Chinese cruiser ever arrived, and there was virtually no Chinese military reaction to the landing.

If the German landing at Kiaochow Bay were to be disputed, it would be by other nations; and to reinforce Diederichs a second cruiser division was formed for the purpose, consisting of the modernized ironclad Deutschland, and the newer cruisers Kaiserin Augusta and Gefion. Rear Admiral Prince Heinrich, the Kaiser's brother, was recalled

¹Diederichs to OKM, Tsintaufort, 17 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 5168 ADM-B III.1.8.

²Heyking to Foreign Office, Peking, 19 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60944.
from leave in southern Germany to command it. Diederichs' ships now became the first division of the Cruiser Squadron. In addition, the 3d Seebataillon of 1200 naval infantry and 200 naval artilerists was formed and dispatched on two steamers chartered from the Norddeutscher Lloyd.

The excitement of the adventure as the young marines embarked at Kiel was reflected by the Holsteinische-Volkszeitung: "On to China! That's now the password here!"

The geographer Richthofen even interrupted his uncompleted work on the geology of China to write a book on the Shantung Peninsula for popular consumption, and indulged in the ecstasies of the moment. Prince Heinrich himself sailed with the Kaiser's exhortation to use the "mailed fist" if necessary, ringing in his ears.

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4 Mantey, p. 181.

5 Newsclipping of 8 December 1897; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60946. So precipitous was the movement that Knorr complained to Tirpitz that SMS Kaiserin Augusta had departed Wilhelmshaven without even receiving a complete inventory of charts for Asiatic waters. Knorr to Tirpitz, 18 November 1897; BA-MS Fach 2422 RMA XIX 1.1.1. PG 60944.
At Kiaochow Captain Zeye took an expedition into the hills north of the bay to reconnoitre the area for any Chinese military threat. On 2 December Zeye did encounter a Chinese force, under no apparent leadership or direction, plundering the local villages. Through an interpreter Zeye ordered them to drop their loot, punctuating his command with a volley fired over their heads. When this had no effect a second volley was fired at them, putting them to flight, with three dead and four wounded left behind.®

Diederichs had named Zeye as temporary "military governor" of the troops ashore, but was angered by the incident: "The action of Captain Zeye was contrary to the instructions given him and is prejudicial to our purpose; I request Stubenrauch be named governor in the place of Zeye." Knorr agreed, emphasizing the need for avoiding incidents, and also told Diederichs to release General Chang, who the Chinese had complained was being kept a virtual prisoner.® The Germans then turned to organizing their encampment for an extended stay.

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7 Diederichs' cipher telegram sent to Shanghai by steamer as wire communications from Kiaochow were broken, and telegraphed from there 5 December 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA 1.1.1. PG 60944.

® Hsü of the Chinese embassy to Bülow (Foreign Office), 24 November; and Knorr to Bülow, 9 December 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA 1.1.1. PG 60944.
The first Christmas at Kiaochow was a rather bleak one. The landscape around the bay was barren, and a Christmas tree had to be brought in from Japan. The electric lights on the ships glittered across the waters of the harbor, though there were only candles and smoky kerosene lanterns for those ashore. Nonetheless the Spartan existence, far from home, created a common bond for those who shared the experience.9

The voyage out from Germany was also an experience for the young marines now seeing the world, and at Hong Kong they swarmed ashore from the steamer Darmstadt like tourists to explore this fabled British colony. The Hong Kong Telegraph reported them as "adding greatly to the animation of the scene in Queen's Road," and observed that "They are serviceable looking fellows but it must be admitted that they have nothing of the smartness of appearance that distinguishes the British marines." The North China Herald remarked that "They behaved, as German sailors and marines always do, very well, but their appearance was not imposing. . . . No doubt they are good fighting material all the same."10

9 Unpublished Lebenserinnerungen of Ensign Friedrich, gen. Fritz, Fauth, in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/75. Fauth himself actually arrived later, but related the experiences of others.

10 Clippings of 21 January and 7 February 1898 respectively; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947.
On the outward passage via the Suez Canal the troops marvelled at the green trees of Ceylon, the lush vegetation and colorful tropical islands of the Malacca Strait, the bustling activity of Singapore, the sparkling bay of Hong Kong with its myriads of junks and sampans, and finally reached Kiaochow Bay—"and now," wrote one young ensign, Friedrich Fauth, "where we saw a piece of land for the first time that should be held dear by us as Germans, there was only a cold, rugged, wild land, that showed no tree to us, only cliffs and reddish sand." But Ensign Fauth grew philosophical, for it was to develop this area that the troops had come. "We had to be disappointed. It was only natural." The winter months at Kiaochow were bleak and cold, and in the crude barracks the men slept on mattresses brought from the ships, and clustered about the stoves for warmth. There were alarms nearly every night from nervous sentries—on the night of 24 January Seaman Schulze of SMS Kaiser had been murdered while on sentry duty.\footnote{Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger clippings by special reporter Captain (ret.) Dannhauer; BA-MA Fach N 224/47 Truppel Nachlass. The act was apparently that of a young Chinese avenging alleged mistreatment of his father by a German detail. When the Chinese authorities, eager to please the Germans, subjected him to torture, Diederichs urged that he merely be executed; whereupon he was beheaded.}

Rations were the standard corned beef, bread, hot coffee and tea, but were deliciously supplemented when
Chinese ventured in to sell the Europeans eggs at 1 pfennig apiece, chickens for 10-15 pfennigs, and geese for 40-50 pfennigs. Mongolian ponies were purchased at low prices by the officers, and mules were bought for the artillery. A generator was finally hooked up to supply electricity for the Chinese Yamen (government) building itself, now the German headquarters, as the Germans settled in.\footnote{Unpublished memoirs of Ensign Fauth; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/75.}

Prince Heinrich's leisurely voyage out had diplomatic overtones, but any apprehensions regarding England's attitude were erased by the grand ball festivities at the City Hall accorded the Prince when he arrived at Hong Kong. "The building was converted into a magnificent palace of brightness and splendour," related the \textit{Hong Kong Daily Press}; "the excellence of the display equalled if it did not eclipse anything seen in connection with previous similar occasions, and the hundreds of people who were present, consisting of private residents and British and foreign naval and military representatives, will be slow to forget the beauty and gorgeousness of the whole scene." Heinrich was toasted as "the sailor Prince" and the audience then broke out with "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." Heinrich finally arrived at Kiaochow on 5 May.\footnote{Newsclipping of 31 March 1898; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc PG 67305. Heinrich went on to Peking and met with the young Emperor and the Dowager Empress.}
On the 16th of November 1897 Heyking had presented the German demands to the Chinese government:

1. Removal of the governor of the province and his disqualification from reappointment.
2. Completion of the cathedral begun by Bishop Anzer, at the cost of the Chinese state and under imperial sanction.
3. Severe punishment of all guilty parties and complete compensation for damages.
4. Secure guarantees against a repetition of similar incidents.
5. Indemnification of the German Reich for all costs arising from the above.¹⁴

Germany's next move, however, still depended on the reaction of the other powers. Some English men were uneasy regarding German designs, and Ambassador Hatzfeldt in London forwarded a warning in The Spectator: "Germany should not forget that other nations were well in advance of her in the occupation of overseas territory and that the world had already been divided up." "Unfortunately!" scribbled the Kaiser on the margin. "That's why we are trying to catch up with all our might!"¹⁵

The English government itself showed no inclination to intervene, and when it became apparent that Russia had withdrawn all claims to Kiaochow, Heyking proposed to the

¹⁴ Rotenhan (Foreign Office) to RMA (Tirpitz), 16 November 1897; BA-MA Fach 2422 RMA XIX I.1.1. PG 60944.

¹⁵ Hatzfeldt to Hohenlohe, London, 4 December 1897 with Kaiser's marginal comments; BA-MA RMA III.1.5.3. quoted in Steinberg, p. 163.
Chinese that they offer the bay to the Germans. In February 1898 the possibility of Japanese intervention arose again, but the Kaiser was firm in demanding that the garrison troops hold out while the Cruiser Squadron rendezvoused in southern waters where they could unite with reinforcements from Germany. "I had proposed," wrote Knorr to Tirpitz, "that at first the garrison troops should be re-embarked and withdrawn with the squadron. His Majesty would not agree to this." Emphatically, no doubt—for the Kaiser was not about to let his cherished prize slip away.16

Kiaochow Bay, then, was to be compensation for the murdered missionaries, and a guarantee against future incidents. The Chinese stalled as long as possible, hoping that the jealousies of other nations would force German evacuation. Heyking finally cut short Chinese procrastination by appearing at the Tsungli Yamen with his entire legation staff, and read off a long and bombastic statement, delivered in the form of an ultimatum. The details of the arrangement were finally accepted by the Chinese, and Heyking was able to cable Berlin, "Treaty provisions

16Knorr to Tirpitz, 14 February 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60946.
put through without change." The treaty itself was signed on 6 March 1898.17

The terms of the German occupation of the bay were in the form of a 99-year lease, not outright cession, an arrangement intended to allow the Chinese a pretense of their self-respect.18 The German Pachtgebiet (leased territory) included the land around Kiaochow Bay, a body of water some fifteen miles wide by fifteen miles deep, depending on tide conditions, with a narrow entrance two miles wide. The German base was to be located on the peninsula jutting down from the northeast which sheltered an anchorage near the little island of Tsingtao (Green Island). This name was given to the little fishing village of Tsintau on the promontory, the site of the later German settlement, while the island itself was renamed Arcona, in honor of the naval victory over the Danes. In addition the Germans were given certain rights for mining and railroad concessions in a neutral zone extending inland for 31 miles (50 kilometers or 100 Chinese li)


18Norem, p. 41, believed the idea of a lease possibly was Marschall's. Tirpitz himself claimed credit in his Memoirs (vol. 1, p. 88) for working out the details: "While I was in Eastern Asia, I had already worked out the form of the lease, so that it looked as little as possible liked forced intervention, and allowed the Chinese to save their face; I drew up the lease treaty in its final form with Herr von Holstein in Berlin."
around the bay from the high-water line. In an AKO of 27 April the Kaiser declared the Kiaochow territory to be an imperial Schutzgebiet (protectorate).  

At Peking the initial resistance of the Russians had subsided, as their desires directed them to Port Arthur on the Liaotung Peninsula, the naval base controlling the maritime approaches to Peking and its seaport of Tientsin.

"The English, on the other hand," wrote Heyking's wife Elisabeth, "were friendly as long as they hoped we would come into conflict with the Russians, and agitated for it as much as they could; as soon as they saw, however, that this remained wishful thinking, they created every opposition conceivable against us and above all, attempted to incite the Japanese against us." 

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20Letter from Elisabeth Heyking to Kiderlen-Wächter of the Foreign Office, Peking, 12 March 1898; copy in BA-K Richthofen Nachlass/Band 16. (Oswald Freiherr von Richthofen, Foreign Secretary 1900-1906, was at this time in the Kolonial-Abteilung.) Frau Heyking, it might be noted, constantly complained that the Foreign Office kept her husband poorly informed. He had, for example, only known of Prince Heinrich's coming to the Far East from the newspapers. "What has he really done wrong? Or rather, who is working against him?" She concluded it must be
But England was more concerned with Russian ambitions. On 27 March 1898 the Russians acquired a 25-year lease to the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula. On 1 July England acquired a lease to the harbor of Weihaiwei on the Shantung Peninsula opposite the Liaotung, both flanking the entrance to the Gulf of Chihli (Po Hai) and Peking. The lease would run "for as long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia." Although Weihaiwei was on the northern coast of the Shantung, the British hastened to assure the Germans it was not oriented against Kiaochow on the southern. On 20 April the British had informed the German Foreign Office:

England formally declares that, in establishing herself at Wei-hai Wei [sic], she has no intention of injuring or contesting the interests of Germany in the Province of Shantung, or of creating difficulties for her in that province. It is especially understood that England will not construct any railway communication from Wei-hai Wei, and the district leased therewith, into the interior of the province.22

Holstein, that "malevolent, spiteful" man. Heyking was transferred to Mexico City in 1901.

21 The text is in MacMurray, vol. 1, pp. 152-153. The Russian lease was called the Kwantung territory, not to be confused with the Chinese province of Kwangtung with the Canton-Hong Kong complex on the South China Sea. Port Arthur and Dairen have since been combined as the Lü-ta metropolitan area.

22 Norem, p. 133, quoting from British Documents on the Origins of the War, vol. 1, No. 52. In a footnote, Norem continues, the editors state, "It appears that the passage in italics [the last sentence] was added at the German request."
True to their word, the English never did develop Weihaiwei as a commercial rival to Kiaochow; its occupation was purely for strategic reasons, to off-set the Russian presence at Port Arthur and maintain a military balance of power in the area.

On 11 April 1898 France received a 99-year lease to Kwangchow Bay (Chankiang) at the northern approach to the Gulf of Tonkin (the treaty being signed on 16 November), and on 9 June Great Britain acquired a 99-year lease to Kowloon, on the mainland opposite Hong Kong (Victoria), as "compensation" for the French lease. If there was scant justification for the German occupation of Kiaochow, there was even less for the deplorable scramble that ensued on the part of the other powers. Italy alone failed to gain anything in demanding the lease of Sanmen Bay on the Chekiang coast south of Shanghai the following year. The United States sanctimoniously insisted on the "Open Door," while affirming the "Monroe Doctrine" in the Americas, before acquiring her own empire as a result of the Spanish-American War a few months later.

The first question regarding the newly-acquired territory was the responsibility for its administration. The Colonial Department of the Foreign Office of course administered the African and Pacific colonies, but Kiaochow had been occupied at the insistence of the Navy for its own
purposes. Tirpitz's Reichsmarineamt studied the question thoroughly. If Kiaochow were a civilian protectorate, the Navy budget would only have to cover naval installations such as the magazine and dock facilities. Commercial and native affairs would be the responsibility of a civilian governor, problems which the Navy had been glad to avoid in the case of the African colonies.

Kiaochow, however, was different from the other colonies. The latter had been acquired for commercial reasons, and included an extensive territory with an indigenous native population often subordinated to German rule only by force. But Kiaochow had been acquired primarily for military reasons, and the Schutzgebiet was limited in both jurisdiction and territorial extent; the Chinese who entered the area to trade or settle would retain their Chinese citizenship, and would be free to come and go, thus avoiding the problems of a subjected and rebellious native population. While the Navy felt commercial development essential, such commercial enterprises would pursue their activities under Chinese concession, rather than exercise dominion over Chinese soil and populace. If the naval base itself was under the Navy's administration, then a separate civilian administration
would appear unnecessary, and only cause duplication and friction.\textsuperscript{23}

Tirpitz himself had always felt this the only realistic solution. "I insisted on principle that Tsingtao should not be put under the Colonial Office. If the matter was going to prosper it had to be left in the hands of one department. The navy had immediate military interests there, such as a base demands—quarters, dockyard, harbour, etc. It was better to avoid friction with a special colonial administration. As we had assumed responsibility for this Eastern Asiatic base, it was my opinion that we were better suited to push on its economic development."\textsuperscript{24}

The Colonial Department, it would seem, was not eager to take on the additional responsibility anyway, and Foreign Secretary Bülow wrote Tirpitz, "I have no objection from the standpoint of my department." He did qualify his assent, however, by assuming that "the various political and commercial affairs like railroads and mining established outside the leasehold, would remain under the Foreign Office as previously. . . ."\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23}Twenty-page undated, unsigned RMA Denkschrift, presumably January 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60949.

\textsuperscript{24}Tirpitz, vol. 1, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{25}Bülow to Tirpitz, 15 January 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60949.
More difficult to resolve was the problem of which Navy department would administer Kiaochow. By an AKO of 27 January the Kaiser placed the protectorate under the Reichsmarineamt, as Tirpitz had urged. Knorr of the Oberkommando der Marine, however, objected that the OKM had responsibility for all training and operational command. The Cruiser Squadron was under the OKM and it would seem that its only base should be under the same administration, as were the naval squadrons and bases in home waters. But for reasons that are not readily apparent, Tirpitz was adamant that Kiaochow be subordinated directly to the RMA, and in the end he had his way.26

It was generally felt that full responsibility at Kiaochow should be placed in the hands of a naval officer serving as military governor, who should be as independent of Berlin as possible. As Squadron commander Diederichs wrote on 15 February, "He should have the authority to reject regulations which, although they may be legally valid, are not adapted to local circumstances, and thus be able, vigorously and without loss of time, lawfully to

26See, for example, Knorr to the Kaiser, 2 February 1898; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc PG 67305. The organizational responsibilities of the RMA, OKM, and MK are listed in the annual Rangliste volumes. This Knorr-Tirpitz argument may reflect the power struggle within the Navy which ended with the abolition of Knorr's OKM in 1899, with the more restricted ADM (Admiralstab der Marine) being created to take its place.
meet such requirements as the development of the fast growing and quickly changing community may demand. Laws will have to take local conditions into consideration in many matters, and can therefore only be drawn up and deliberated upon here."27

An AKO signed by the Kaiser on 1 March 1898 detailing the responsibilities of the governor and the RMA was along these lines:

Section 1: An officer of the Navy with the title of Governor is at the head of the military and civil administration of Kiaochow. He is the commanding officer of the military garrison stationed at Kiaochow. He is the superior officer of all military persons stationed there as well as of the officials in the military and civil administration.28

In the following sections the governor was granted authority as the chief of a naval station in all matters concerning the administration of justice, discipline, and furloughs over the military garrison and all other military persons stationed at Kiaochow. This was also true of all civil officials appointed from time to time, except the officials in the postal and telegraph service, who were responsible to the Imperial Post Department in Berlin. Sailors from the Cruiser Squadron on shore leave would be

27 Norem, p. 105.

28 AKO of 1 March 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.5. Pg 60949.
subject to the regulations prevailing at Kiaochow, although in the case of joint military operations involving ships of the squadron and troops of the garrison, the senior ranking officer would exercise command. The RMA was responsible for the inspection and maintenance of the base, and budgetary responsibility for it.

To assist the governor in the administration of Kiaochow, there was also a civil commissioner and a special commissioner for Chinese affairs. As advisers he had three members of the German civilian community, each serving for a year: two selected by the land-owners and the business community respectively, and the third chosen by the governor himself. The Chinese community, presumably the business and professional elements, elected a committee of twelve members to work with the commissioner for Chinese affairs. The protectorate was apparently later divided into three and more districts or Kreise, for which there were Bezirksamtmänner (district magistrates). The governor had extensive ordinance power regulating the legal affairs of the Chinese community, although on 30 November 1910 the Supreme Court of Kiaochow decided that the governor did not possess the taxing power. This was the

29 "Das deutsche Schutzgebiet Kiautschou" by Generalleutnant a.D. von Janson in the pamphlet Deutsche Rundschau, edited by Julius Rodenberg (Berlin, February 1904); BA-K R 85/1207 Auswärtiges Amt II U.
prerogative of the RMA Naval Secretary (Tirpitz) as the responsible agent for the exercise of the Schutzgewalt (authority) in Kiaochow.\(^{30}\)

Captain Stubenrauch, commander of the forces landed at Kiaochow, had become temporary governor. He was succeeded in turn on 11 February 1898 by Fregattenkapitän (commander) Oskar Truppel, who came out from Germany to assume command of the small cruiser Prinzess Wilhelm.\(^{31}\) But Truppel's responsibilities as governor were also only temporary, and on 15 April he turned that position over to Captain Rosendahl, who came out from Germany explicitly to be the first permanent governor of Kiaochow. Truppel then turned his attention to his ship; but in 1901, after the second governor Jaeschke suddenly died, he was reappointed governor of Kiaochow and served in that capacity until 1911; and it was during his tour of duty that Kiaochow became the German "pearl of the Orient."

\(^{30}\)Norem, p. 106.

\(^{31}\)In his 15 February 1898 report Diederichs referred to Truppel as a Korvettenkapitän (lieutenant commander) with Oberstleutnant (lieutenant colonel) rank (BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947); but from the Truppel Nachlass (BA-MA N 224/3 it is clear that Truppel was promoted to Fregattenkapitän (commander) on 17 May 1897 (and promoted to Kapitän zur See [Captain] on 22 March 1899). In any case Knorr was concerned that as Stubenrauch out-ranked Truppel, it was awkward to have Truppel succeed him. Knorr to Tirpitz, 2 February 1898; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc PG 67305.
One of the first problems with which the new administrators had to deal was the status of the Chinese. On 21 February 1898 a drunken German corporal of the garrison named Muth murdered a Chinese without provocation. Truppel immediately investigated and had Muth and two other suspects arrested, which did much to calm the alarmed population. He then urged that Muth be transferred to the Cruiser Squadron and removed from Kiaochow as quickly as possible. Tirpitz concurred in this and made the necessary arrangements with the OKM. Tirpitz also gave Truppel full authority to make compensation to the next of kin of the victim, and in Peking formal apology was made by Heyking. If the Chinese had been apprehensive regarding the "conquerors'" conduct, Truppel's quick action did much to reassure them that their rights would be respected.  

Certainly one of the features that distinguished the German Schutzgebiet from other European protectorates was the administration of Justice established by the Kaiser's AKO of 27 April 1898. Two separate systems of courts were created, one for the Chinese and the other for Europeans.

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32 Tirpitz to Kaiser, 24 February 1898; BA-MA Fach 3408 MK XXIIc PG 67305. It is not clear what Muth's punishment was after transfer to the Cruiser Squadron. In a telegram from the OKM to the Kaiser on 4 March, it was noted that under Articles 129 and 133 of the Code of Military Justice Muth's crime merited the death penalty. The Navy's action regarding the incident, in any case, was in sharp contrast to those in the civilian-controlled African colonies.
(The Japanese, curiously enough, were classified as "Europeans" for legal purposes, as Japan and the Western powers had entered into treaties concerning extraterritorial jurisdiction.) An Ordinary Court consisting of three judges exercised original jurisdiction over non-Chinese; and until a Supreme Court was created on 28 September 1907, appeals from the Ordinary Court went to the Consular Court at Shanghai according to the Consular Jurisdiction Law of 10 July 1879. As the German judges were civilian, appointed by Berlin, German civil and criminal law prevailed in civilian cases. This applied to all Westerners, as there was no extraterritoriality as was true of the treaty ports. German military personnel, of course, were under the *Militärstrafgesetzbuch*—Code of Military Justice.

Cases between Chinese and Europeans were likewise to be handled in the German court, for which interpreters were provided, but cases exclusively between Chinese, even though arising within the German protectorate, were to be tried by Chinese judges. Two distinct settlements arose

33 Court organization as established by the AKO of 27 April 1898; BA-MA Fach 2426 RMA 1.1.8. PG 60958. The titles of the judges, as Bülow wrote Tirpitz on 1 June 1901, were: Kaiserliches Gericht von Kiautschou, Kaiserlicher oberrichter, and Kaiserlicher Bezirksrichter; BA-MA Fach 2427 RMA XIX 1.1.8. PG 60960.

34 Schrecker, pp. 62-63, implies that such judicial functions were handled by the German magistrates.
at Tsingtao, the German or European sector, and the Chinese quarter inhabited by Chinese businessmen and laborers who were attracted by the growing economic prosperity of the German port. The decisions, as well as the judicial process, of the Chinese judges, however, were still subject to the Ordinary Court German judge on appeal.

The degrees of punishment for Chinese were later listed as: 1) death penalty; 2) imprisonment; 3) close custody; 4) fine; 5) beating; 6) expulsion, limitation on stay in the protectorate; 7) confiscation of personal items; and 8) loss of voting rights. For persons under 18 years of age, their father or older brother was subject to penalty. Capital punishment was by beheading or shooting, the Navy governor to determine the manner of execution in individual cases. Neither Chinese torture nor the beating of women was permitted.

Regarding the punishment of Chinese domestic servants or laborers by their European employers, the limits were set at a fine of up to one-half a month's wages, 50 blows, or 21 days restriction. Excessive or cruel punishment constituted a lawful grievance for which the European might be taken to court. Official decrees and proclamations,
as well as weather reports, police reports, tide tables, and ship traffic were published weekly in the official gazette—*Amtsblatt für das Deutsche Kiautschou-Gebiet*. The gazette was printed in both Chinese and German for the benefit of the two communities.37

Normal administrative routine was of a more mundane nature. Prostitution was supervised by the police, the females having a control-book for registration and medical purposes stamped periodically to control venereal disease. Truppel later advised the EMA against official prohibition of prostitution, as the publication of such decrees would only lead to undesirable discussion in the press. Opium addiction constituted a more serious problem. A succession of decrees outlawed the cultivation of the poppy plant within the protectorate, and opium could only be imported or exported in its original cases. Prohibition would have encouraged smuggling; but all traffic, by land or sea, had to pass through customs control, and opium was only to be purchased through certain dealers, regulated by the German administration. Such opium houses as were permitted had to close by midnight, and no women or children

37 These publications are included in the BA-MA RMA archives. Important decrees and administrative changes may be found in the quarterly *Verordnungsblatt für das Kiautschougebiet* and the annual *Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebiets* (from October to October). These last are also included in the Reichstag debate appendices.
were allowed. Other decrees regulated the hunting seasons: no shooting or sale of partridges before 1 September, and the same applied to rabbits before 2 November.

The administrative organization for Kiaochow in the Rangliste as of 30 November 1898 listed the military administration as the 3d Naval Infantry Battalion, the Naval Artillery detachment, and the Artillery Administration; the garrison; the military hospital; and the geographic survey team. The civil administration consisted of the civil commissioners, the judiciary and the construction administration. By 1901 the harbor and meteorological-astronomical station and a government pay office had been added.

With the conclusion of the lease treaty of 6 March 1898 and the establishment of an administrative and judicial system at Kiaochow, the military occupation phase came to an end and the phase of development began. While the value of Kiaochow as a naval base alone justified its development, like Gibraltar, Port Arthur, or Pearl Harbor,

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38Various regulations and correspondence in BA-MA Fach 2427 RMA XIX 1.1.8. PG 60961 and PG 60962.

39Decrees in BA-MA Fach 2426 and 2427 RMA XIX 1.1.8. PG 60958 and PG 60961 respectively.

40Rangliste of 30 November 1898 and 8 May 1901 respectively.
the Navy had always felt that economic considerations were paramount. These had been leading criteria in the selection of Kiaochow, and there is no intimation in even the secret documents or private correspondence that the Navy emphasized the economic considerations as a ruse to gain political or mercantile support—nor would the Navy have needed to. When naval officers spoke enthusiastically of Kiaochow being more than just a naval base, that it was an outpost of German civilization in the Far East and a showpiece of German Kultur, they were being neither facetious nor cynical. The Kiaochow they envisaged, and which was created within a decade, was a bustling harbor efficient for shipping and a haven for seamen, and a neat and clean town modelled on European lines with a prosperous citizenry. Gentlemen of all nations might meet there to do business or to enjoy tennis and polo and swimming, or merely sit on a shaded verandah overlooking the ships at anchor in the sparkling waters of the bay. But this vision was far from realization in that spring of 1898. The harbor was uncharted and undredged, there were no docks or landing facilities, the surrounding hills were ugly and barren of vegetation, and the humble shacks of the natives stank from the fishheads and offal that was the refuse of their trade. The task confronting the Navy was a formidable one.
Soundings had already been taken and the charting of the harbor begun, navigational lights were placed and buoys sited to mark channels and obstacles, and breakwaters, quays, wharfs and yard facilities were rapidly developed. On 2 September 1898 the harbor was opened as a "free port" to the trade of all nations. There was no German customs duty; only a harbor fee of 2 1/2 English pence per net register ton was levied. 41 There was a Chinese tariff office established in the leasehold and customs stations at the border crossings for goods bound for the interior, controlled by a German official in the service and pay of the Chinese government. Goods consumed within the leasehold were duty-free. In the year between October 1898 and September 1899, 167 steamers and 9 sailing ships utilized the harbor, including 37 English, 10 Japanese, and 9 Russian. In 1901 some 316 ships traded at the port and the volume of traffic increased steadily. 42

41 While warship tonnage is measured by volume of water displaced (less fuel), merchant ship tonnage is measured by the cubic capacity of all enclosed space at 100 cubic feet to the ton: "gross register" being total cubic capacity, "net register" being cargo or cash-earning space (less engine and fuel space and crew accommodations), on which harbor fees were usually calculated. A steamer of 7,000 tons deadweight displacement might measure 5,000 tons gross register and 3,000 tons net register.

42 Annual Reichsmarineamt reports on Kiaochow in BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/41.
Later harbor regulations defined the limits of the inner and outer harbor, and the authority of the Harbor Captain. Cargo manifests of course had to be submitted for inspection and to receive customs clearance, and the importation and unloading of opium, arms, gunpowder, and explosive materials was only to be done under official control. Petroleum and explosives were to be unloaded at specially designated piers, with a red flag flying at the masthead. A yellow flag denoted persons with a contagious disease on board. Additional regulations concerned the discharge or desertion of foreign seamen, riding lights at anchor, and the dumping of trash overboard.43

One of the most urgent and frustrating problems with which the Navy administrators had to cope was the land question. Knowing Kiaochow's economic potential, both Chinese and European businessmen were eager to indulge in land speculation and development. But an orderly transfer of property was greatly complicated by the fact that in China all landed property was theoretically owned by the Emperor. Therefore there were no property records, but only tax books by family, spread over many towns. In his original proclamation of 14 November 1897, Diederichs had

43Harbor regulations signed by Governor Jaeschke, 23 May 1899, translated into English for foreign ships; BA-MA Fach 2426 RMA 1.1.8. PG 60958.
forbidden the purchase and sale of land without the
governor's approval, and this was re-emphasized.44

Diederichs' dilemma was evident in further reports.

Any kind of land-survey is lacking. There are
official records for neither the size of
particular properties nor for the whole area.
Likewise there are no village boundaries fixed
by maps. The only available sources are tax
records with the names of tax-payers and tax
assessments, and often these do not comprise
the tax-payers of one village, but the tax-
paying members of one and the same large
family, who live and own land strewn through­
out a multitude of villages. In particular,
the lists in the Kiaochow district capital
are arranged by family and not by village.
Population statistics are unknown. From inquiry,
neither the number of inhabitants in a village
nor in a larger district can be determined.
Even statements on the number of villages in
a district, just like the available maps, are
based on sources hundreds of years old, and no
longer correspond to present conditions.45

While impatient business interests marked time, the Navy
methodically surveyed the land and brought order from
administrative chaos. Chinese land claims were settled
and the price standardized at the level before the occupa-
tion, while the Germans laid out land for military de­
fenses, naval installations, and the proposed town of
Tsingtao. Governor Captain Rosendahl industriously pursued
his many tasks, and in this he had the powerful support of

44 See Knorr to Tirpitz, 11 January 1898; BA-MA
Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60949.

45 Undated report of Diederichs, probably early spring
1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947.
Tirpitz from Berlin, who took particular interest in the whole project.

Early in June 1898 an English correspondent from The Standard visited Kiaochow and commented favorably on the German progress there. "I must confess that the place offers innumerable facilities for the development of a great and flourishing port." He noted the impatience of business entrepreneurs regarding the land question, but said Rosendahl was awaiting a government decision regarding fortifications. "I am given to understand that as soon as the Government's plans are received, the place will be thrown open to everyone, irrespective of nationality, people of every nation being heartily welcomed." Commercially, "no trade is being done as yet, but a small retail branch of the Asiatische Bank has been opened. A steamer has been chartered to carry mails weekly to Shanghai." He noted the barren and primitive aspect of the place but said it had been "thoroughly cleansed by the soldiers, and already wears the aspect of a well-kept military camp." In addition, "a site has been selected for a polo and recreation ground," and, he concluded, "Undoubtedly Kiaochau [sic] has great possibilities. There seems to be room for everything--docks, harbor, towns, defenses,
fortifications, and barracks." This attitude was shared by numerous German correspondents as well, and even business circles recognized that the Navy was doing what was necessary to prepare the protectorate for commercial development. "If one takes these difficulties into consideration, it must be acknowledged that the Navy administration has taken up the land question not only without hesitation, but even with a very particular promptness and energy."  

Not all correspondents agreed however. Eugen Wolf, a correspondent for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, toured the protectorate in the late spring of 1898 and found little that pleased him. There were too many restrictions and regulations, from those regarding sanitary conditions and land speculation to bathing place accommodations, and, he complained, "I am finding that conditions here on land are exactly the same as those on board a German warship." The Navy, he continued, was incapable of handling its responsibilities. "On the contrary, poor little junks are bombarded with shells, presumably in order to reduce harbor

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46 *Newsclipping from The Standard*, 6 June 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947.

47 *Hamburgischer Correspondent newsclipping*, 24 June 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947.
traffic. Colonization by such methods should not be allowed."\textsuperscript{48}

Other German papers quoted much of Wolf's vitriolic little article, but added their own comments. "Herr Eugen Wolf certainly has the right to express his opinion as he wishes," said the \textit{Weser-Zeitung} stiffly. "But he has found so little credit with his judgments that this kind of crassness can leave no other impression than that he has had a personal quarrel with the gentlemen in Kiaochow."\textsuperscript{49}

A more liberal civilian society, such as Wolf perhaps represented, could indeed find fault with the rigid discipline and regulation of a military administration; but it is significant that English correspondents, with longer experience in the Far East, were more sympathetic regarding the problems with which the German Navy was faced.

The Navy could well survive critics like Eugen Wolf. Even given the difference between the relatively advanced Chinese at Kiaochow as opposed to the primitive natives

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Berliner Tageblatt} article of 2 July 1898, one of several reports dispatched by Wolf; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60947. As evidence of the shelling of "poor little junks," Wolf later described a hand-drawn postcard he had seen of SMS Irene firing a shell across the bow of a Chinese junk inside the bay. \textit{Berliner Tageblatt} newsclipping, 1 August 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60948.

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{Weser-Zeitung} newsclipping, 5 July 1898; BA-MA Fach 2423 RMA XIX 1.1.4. PG 60948.
in the African colonies, it would seem that an efficient Navy administration prevented the land-grabbing and brutal exploitation of the indigenous population far more successfully than did the civilian colonial administrations. Nor was there the corruption that tinged colonial officials who often viewed their positions as sinecures, if only because naval officers served a specific tour of duty in the Far East. Depth of experience and responsibilities satisfactorily carried out brought promotion; and being stationed at Kiaochow was a means to an end, not an end in itself.

By the autumn of 1898 the land surveys were complete, and on 3 October the land auction began. The land had been purchased from the Chinese by the German government, and was sold through the Land Office at public auction, with a minimum bid established. In addition, a buyer had to satisfy government requirements regarding land use. Ownership was complete; but the government reserved the option of re-purchasing the land should it ever be up for sale again. Within five days 105,390 square meters were sold at $1 per square meter.

Taxes and duties had already been established when Governor Rosendahl announced the opening of the free harbor of Kiaochow on 2 September. Opium was taxed at the Chinese customs office in Tsingtau. The Chinese land tax remained
in force, 32 käsch (6-8 Pfennige) for a mou of 240 kong (614 square meters). For land bought through the German government the tax was 6% of the land value (the price paid). A dog license cost $10 annually and a hunting license cost the same. There were also licenses for vehicles, liquor stores, and hotels. These taxes, it was emphasized, were for regulation, not revenue. "It would be a serious mistake," felt the RMA, "to want to raise revenue by increasing taxes and duties in the first stages of the development of the young colony; this would seriously endanger the influx of trade and business—and permanently weaken the eventual capacity to pay taxes."50 A building code limited construction to two or three stories, and emphasized the intent to preserve the "villa-like" character of a European settlement.

Rosendahl had meanwhile become ill, and was granted a six-weeks leave in Japan. He left for Yokohama on 18 October on board SMS Kaiserin Augusta, leaving Major Dür, commanding the 3d Seebataillon, as acting governor. Rosendahl resumed his duties on 17 December, but he was to

50RMA Denkschrift, end of October 1898; BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/41. It was pointed out that although Hong Kong and Shanghai had no land tax per se, the land-rent tax was higher than at Kiaochow. An English correspondent later commented favorably on this in The London and China Telegraph, 19 November 1900; BA-K R 85/1205 Aus. Amt II U.
be succeeded by Captain Jaeschke in February 1899. There was some press speculation on the reasons behind the transfer, and the Berliner Tageblatt claimed credit for Eugen Wolf's "expose" of the regimentation and corruption of the Rosendahl administration. The governor had also alienated the business community, it said, one of Rosendahl's speeches to newly arriving German tradesmen sounding like the "roll of drums and the blare of trumpets."  

Perhaps because of these pressures, and the embarrassing publicity they caused, Tirpitz felt Rosendahl had to go. As he explained to the Kaiser, the governor was "not able to set his sights . . . on the great goal of the economic development of Kiaochow or to contribute to the furtherance and achievement of this goal."  

Rosendahl met with Jaeschke in Shanghai, and the new governor assumed his duties on 19 February 1899. Rosendahl had been 47 years old and had had little experience in East Asia. Jaeschke, on the other hand, had been in Asia for five years, first as watch officer on the corvette Leipzig, and then in command of the gunboat Wolf and the armored ship Kaiser.

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51 Berliner Tageblatt newsclipping, 13 October 1898; BA-MA Fach 2428 RMA XIX 1.1.11. PG 60967.

52 Tirpitz to the Kaiser, 7 October 1898; MK, quoted in Schrecker, p. 64.
Presumably he had also become well acquainted with the business community and the general state of affairs.\textsuperscript{53}

"The idea abroad is extremely prevalent," wrote a visiting English correspondent somewhat later, "that Kiaochow is over-administered, and that the official element domineers everything." German merchants in particular were unhappy, he continued, though it was perhaps unfair to compare Kiaochow with the long-established Hong Kong or Shanghai. "Generally speaking, however, the hand of Government presses less heavily on the civilian community than I had been led to believe prior to visiting the port. The present Governor, Captain Jaeschke, seems a man well fitted for the post, and is open-minded and honestly endeavouring to do the best by the young colony committed to his care."\textsuperscript{54}

Jaeschke did have to deal with a series of Chinese attacks on European missionaries and engineers in the fall and winter of 1898. On 29 March 1899 he dispatched an expedition southward on the light cruiser Gefion which dropped off two small detachments of marines at Jih-chao and two villages farther down the coast. The two villages were burned and Jih-chao occupied until the Chinese

\textsuperscript{53}Tours of duty in the Rangliste by year.

\textsuperscript{54}The London and China Telegraph newsclipping, 19 November 1900; BA-K R 85/1205 Aus. Amt II U.
government apologized; but Tirpitz was disturbed that real fighting might break out, and discouraged future incursions.  

Life at Kiaochow was not easy for the first few years, for there was much work to be done. Winter could be quite cold and bleak, and the summer monsoon brought a depressing amount of rain.  

There was a typhoid fever epidemic in the summer of 1899 that put 102 servicemen in the hospital, 21 of whom died. Only 3 men, however, caught malaria that season. Fifty-two men had cases of venereal disease—42 had gonorrhea, 6 had developed chancre, and 4 had syphilis. Venereal disease had been contracted at various ports like Hong Kong and Yokohama, with Shanghai being the worst. Policing of prostitution in these teeming cities, unlike at Kiaochow, was practically impossible. To improve health in general, the doctors urged better sanitary and housing conditions. Illness was gradually much reduced and death by disease or accident was later unusual, though venereal disease continued to present "a sorry picture."  

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55Schrecker, pp. 96-101.  

56For example, Captain Müller's Tagebuch entry for 26 June 1899: "Rain, rain, rain,." Müller, later chief of the Marinekabinett (1906-1918), was commanding the cruiser Deutschland at the time. BA-MA Müller Nachlass N 159/3.  

57Medical reports by Dr. Meuser (included in Jaeschke's 16 May 1900 report to the RMA) and by Dr. Mixius, 18 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67308. Later reports
Routine duty on foreign station away from home and family was often monotonous, and drinking was not uncommon. The Kaiser himself had to admonish his officers about the "joys of the cup" and remind them that they had a social and official standing to maintain. This was especially true of service abroad, where they represented their nation in the eyes of foreigners. 58

In January 1901 Jaeschke was stricken with illness, and Commander Rollmann assumed his duties as temporary governor on the 3d. But Jaeschke got progressively worse, and on the 27th he died. Captain Oskar Truppel was hurried out from Germany, with his family following later, to succeed Jaeschke. Truppel was to remain at Kiaochow until 1911, and his name almost came to be synonymous with the Schutzgebiet. 59 But the initial stages of development had been completed: a tariff-free harbor had been established, basic facilities had been constructed, and the basis for a thriving economic community and an important naval base had been created.

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include the suicide of two artillery sergeants who shot themselves for unknown reasons in the winter of 1904, and in August a sailor died after being bitten by a dog with rabies.

58 Kaiser to Kreuzergeschwader, Neues Palais, 31 August 1901; BA-MA Fach 5368 EF 332.

59 Dates regarding Kiaochow may be found in the RMA Marineverordnungsblätter; BA-MA Fach 2520 RMA XIX PG 61361 ff. In 1911 Truppel was succeeded by Meyer-Waldeck, who served until the outbreak of the war in 1914.
CHAPTER VI

THE VAGARIES OF WELTPOLITIK

The Kreuzerkrieg strategy of commerce-raiders operating from a network of overseas coaling stations and naval bases had never really been accepted in the higher echelons of the German Navy, especially after Hollmann's dismissal in 1897. Future development of the fleet was instead embodied in the Navy bill introduced into the Reichstag by RMA chief Alfred Tirpitz, and signed into law on 10 April 1898. This law provided for a battle fleet in home waters of fixed size, with ships being built and replaced periodically after a given number of years without requiring the annual consent of the Reichstag. A cost limitation was indeed imposed; but Tirpitz willingly conceded this to secure the principle of a fixed strength establishment, for he realized that increases in ship size and gun power would eventually force the Reichstag to increase the cost per ship allowed.¹

¹This "annoyance" was eliminated with the much-expanded Navy Law signed 14 June 1900. The passage of the 1898 bill is discussed at length by Hallmann, Schlachtflottenbau, Kehr, and others. Steinberg, Yesterday's Deterrent, is particularly emphatic that in establishing a fixed building rate the 1898 bill was more
If Tirpitz was concerned with the development of Kiaochow as a naval base and commercial port, it was unrelated to the strategic requirements of the fleet he was now building. Kiaochow was to be merely a port for maintaining the warships stationed for political reasons in Asiatic waters, not as a base in a network established for strategic reasons. Tirpitz contemplated a strategy of decisive fleet action in the North Sea—not a world-wide Kreuzerkrieg—and he wanted the fleet strength concentrated in home waters.

Nonetheless a residual interest in further colonial acquisitions, rationalized by the desirability of additional naval coaling stations, continued to influence German policy. Thus, with the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Kaiser ordered Diederichs' Cruiser Squadron to Manila Bay to demonstrate Germany's interest in the fate of the Philippines. The Kaiser's specific goals, however, were not clear; Knorr at the OKM subsequently prepared a memorandum considering a naval base in the Philippines, particularly at Palawan Island, or at least compensation in the form of the Palau Islands, but Foreign Secretary Bülow told Tirpitz that the significant than the 1900 bill, for the passage of which Tirpitz was ennobled in 1901. Nonetheless others, particularly Ernest L. Woodward, Great Britain and the Germany Navy (Oxford, 1935), have already pointed this out.
Kaiser had already decided against a German protectorate over the Philippines themselves.²

Whatever the reasons for the German squadron's presence, Diederichs' warships moved around Manila Bay in apparent disregard of the American blockade, and finally caused Dewey to retort to one German complaint: "Why, I shall stop each vessel whatever may be her colors! And if she does not stop, I shall fire at her! And that means war, do you know, Sir? And I tell you, if Germany wants war, all right, we are ready."³ But Germany did not want war, and the arrival of American reinforcements ended the tension.

It has been suggested that the German presence at Manila Bay was for bargaining purposes: that Germany would support the American annexation of the Philippines in return for the United States supporting German acquisitions in certain South Pacific island groups.⁴ But Diederichs' conduct had the reverse effect of straining

²Knorr's Denkschrift of 13 July 1898; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIh. PG 67346. Bûlow to Tirpitz, 18 May 1898; BA-MA Fach 5085 OKM II.Am.11a.

³Flag Lieutenant Hintze's report for Diederichs (Dewey's words in English) to the OKM (Knorr), Manila, 14 July 1898; BA-MA Fach 5085 OKM II.Am.11a.

⁴Townsend, p. 195. Thomas A. Bailey, "Dewey and the Germans at Manila Bay," American Historical Review, 1939, vol. 45, concludes that Diederichs was to strengthen the German position for acquiring the Philippines should the United States not do so.
German-American relations, and in the end the Germans approached the defeated Spanish themselves. By a final treaty signed on 10 December 1898, Spain agreed to sell all the Carolines, the Palaus, and the Marianas (except Guam, which the United States took), for $4,200,000.\(^5\)

The Pacific islands were of little economic value. They might have had a certain strategic use as coaling and cable stations, especially later with the construction of the Panama Canal (1904-1914); but the German Navy never did show any interest in developing them, and they were scarcely worth the antagonism engendered.\(^6\)

The after effects of the Manila Bay incidents were felt when the Samoan controversy arose again in the late autumn of 1898 with the death of old King Malietoa. The British, who had acquiesced in the seizure of Kiaochow, allied themselves with the United States regarding German designs in the Pacific. The native councils of Samoa chose the high chief Mataafa as king. He had been deported by the Germans; but they now supported him, and he was returned on the small cruiser Bussard. The British, 

\(^5\)Townsend, pp. 195-196.

\(^6\)Truk and Ulithi atolls in the Carolines, sheltered lagoons ringed by a chain of coral islands, were utilized by the Japanese and the Americans respectively as major naval bases during the Second World War.
however, supported young Tanu, Malietoa's son, whose claim was equally valid.

When the Samoan Supreme Court decision of Chief Justice Chambers favored Tanu, the Mataafa party refused to abide by it, and fighting broke out in January 1899. Mataafa occupied Apia on Upolu; but HMS Porpoise and USS Philadelphia shelled the Samoan quarter and a British landing force went ashore to secure the town for the Tanu faction. Then on 1 April a British-American force of marines and blue-jackets and some friendly natives were attacked while working their way through the bush near Apia. Seven were killed; and when their bodies were later recovered, the officers' heads had been cut off as were the enlisted men's ears, "as was Samoan practice," coldly observed the New Zealand Herald.

A council of two members each from the three powers concerned was created to control the situation, and particularly the traders who were ready to fight, and a

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7 SMS Falke (Schönfelder) was also present, but was helpless to act. Mantey, p. 196. There is a photograph in Otto Riedel, Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa, showing a squad of British marines knocking down the picket fence before a German residence, much to German indignation.

8 New Zealand Herald newsclipping of 13 April 1899 in BA-K Solf Nachlass, Bd. 19. English participation in the Samoan imbroglio was primarily in deference to the anxieties of her Australian and New Zealand compatriots. New Zealand in particular desired that Great Britain annex the Samoan Islands.
German, Dr. Wilhelm Solf, was chosen to head it. "Dr. Solf is a German diplomat of good record," noted the New York Herald as Solf passed through America on his way to the Pacific, "and his selection as president of the municipal council of Samoa was warmly seconded by both Great Britain and the United States." That Solf "speaks English perfectly will probably tend to ameliorate the situation at Apia" the paper continued. In June Tanu abdicated as king, leaving Solf in control as president of the council.

Negotiations had meanwhile begun in May regarding an ultimate settlement. Only on 10 October did Foreign Secretary Bülow finally write to both Tirpitz at the RMA and Admiral Bendemann, chief of the new Admiralstab der Marine (ADM), inquiring about the Navy's wishes in this matter. The government, he said, was considering relinquishing its claims to the Samoan and nearby Tonga Islands for compensation elsewhere, particularly in the Solomon Islands and the mouth of the Volta on the West African gold coast, adjacent to German Togoland.

Bendemann replied the next day, arguing that Samoa and the Tongas were the more valuable strategically, and

9 New York Herald newsclipping of 31 March 1899 in BA-K Solf Nachlass, Bd. 21.
should be attained if possible. The ADM chief preferred
the harbor of Pago Pago at Tutuila, though he realized the
United States already virtually possessed it. Neither the
Solomons nor the mouth of the Volta had any naval-military
value, though of course they probably had some economic
worth. As compensation other points, for example, the
Chagos Islands (south of Ceylon) in the Indian Ocean, he
suggested, might be considered.10

Tirpitz also argued against giving up Samoa and the
Tongas. "The possession of the Samoan Islands is already
of great strategic significance today for the German
fleet as an important communications station on the way
from Kiaochow via our possessions in the South Seas to
South America. In the future, control of the Samoan
Islands exercised by Germany would be of even greater
significance, since the Panama Canal will direct world
trade into new paths, and thus new strategic highways will
also arise." In addition, he foresaw a German trans-world
cable via South America, Samoa, New Guinea, and East and
West Africa. He felt the Solomons and the Volta mouth were
useful "neither in a strategic nor a general economic
sense." Only Zanzibar and Walfish Bay might be adequate
compensation. He also emphatically agreed with Bülow

10 Correspondence between Bülow and Bendemann, 10 and
11 October 1899; BA-MA Fach 5166 ADM-B III.1.4b. Samoa.
"that the Samoa question must in no case lead to a military conflict with England."

Tirpitz realized, however, that the United States and England already virtually possessed the best harbors in Samoa and the Tongas, and did not press the point. It was the ADM, as the department concerned with actual operational considerations, that was to remain the most interested of the three Navy departments in acquiring coaling stations and naval bases abroad, if only for convenience and not strategy.

Whatever the wishes of the Navy, they do not appear to have played much of a role in the outcome. The best harbors were at Pago Pago (Pango Pango) in Samoa and Wa-Wau in the Tongas, and Germany got neither of them. By the treaty concluded on 14 November 1899 and signed on 16 March 1900, Germany received the islands of Upolu and Sawai, where her traders had been established. The United States received the eastern Samoan Islands, including Tutuila with Pago Pago. Britain was compensated with the Tongas and Choiseul and Santa Isabela Islands in the

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11 Tirpitz to Bülow, 11 October 1899; G.P. 4107. The Panama canal zone, it might be noted, was only acquired by the United States in 1903 after a Panamanian "revolt" against Columbia and President Theodore Roosevelt's intervention.
Solomons, given up by Germany.\textsuperscript{12}

If German commercial interests were satisfied with the settlement, however, they were soon disillusioned; the San Francisco-Sydney mail steamer and most other Pacific traffic now by-passed German-owned Apia, in favor of the much better American harbor of Pago Pago.

It would seem that it was the German government rather than the Navy, which had deplored German weakness in the affair. "The case of Samoa," Foreign Secretary Bülow had maintained from the first, "is further proof that an overseas policy can only be carried out with sufficient naval strength." To which the Kaiser added: "That's just what I've been preaching to the oxen in the Reichstag every day for the last ten years."\textsuperscript{13}

Germany and England were no sooner in accord over Samoa, than they were estranged again with the outbreak of the Boer War in South Africa. German sympathies were with the Dutch Afrikaaners, and German entrepreneurs were not ready to watch the Boer republics be absorbed by imperial England. Nonetheless the German government, by

\textsuperscript{12}The basic settlement is discussed in Ambassador Hatzfeldt to Prime Minister Salisbury, 27 October 1899; G.P. 4115. Germany also renounced her rights of extra-territoriality in Zanzibar.

\textsuperscript{13}Bülow to the Foreign Office, 1 April 1899, with Kaiser's marginalia; G.P. 4053.
the Anglo-German Treaty of the previous year giving up any claims on Delagoa Bay for possible acquisitions elsewhere in the Portuguese Empire, had tacitly agreed that Great Britain should be the paramount power in South Africa.

Fighting broke out, but a series of British military disasters in December of 1899 led to the despair of "Black Week" in London and the suspicion, born of exasperation, that the Germans were somehow involved. On the 21st Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain warned Embassy Councillor Eckardstein that a temporary occupation of Delagoa Bay might be necessary to cut off "the flow" of munitions to the Boers. This was a serious matter, as even blockading the port, owned by Portugal, a neutral nation, was without precedent.14

Several days later, the British seized the Woermann Line steamer Bundesrath, carrying mail under government contract; and in January 1900 stopped two more German steamers, General and Herzog, on suspicion of carrying contraband. Though the ships were quickly released, German public opinion was thoroughly aroused.15

14Hatzfeldt to the Foreign Office, 21 December 1899; G.P. 4404. The German ambassador did have the impression that the British were sounding out the Germans as to what they might accept as compensation.

15See G.P. documents 4412 ff. See also Bixler, pp. 153 ff.
The German Navy had played no role in the Bundesrath affair, and the impunity with which the British had stopped German ships awakened the German people, as nothing else might have, to their utter helplessness on the high seas. "Now at last," gloated Tirpitz, "and thanks to the English, we are sure of getting the support we need for the Reichstag to pass the new Navy Bill."\textsuperscript{16}

The new bill became law on 14 June 1900 and provided for a battle fleet by 1920 of two fleet flagships, four squadrons of eight battleships each, and numerous armored and small cruisers. Tirpitz's preamble to the Law stated the Navy's purpose:

To protect Germany's sea trade and colonies, in the existing circumstances, there is only one means: Germany must have a battle fleet so strong that, even for the adversary with the greatest sea-power, a war against it would involve such dangers as to imperil his position in the world.\textsuperscript{17}

This was Tirpitz's "risk" theory; that even the strongest navy (Britain's) would lose so heavily in defeating the German fleet that it would fall prey to any other fleet. Tirpitz also expounded the "alliance value" of such a fleet; that a potential foe would rather come to terms


\textsuperscript{17}Archibald Hurd and Henry Castle, \textit{German Sea-Power} (London, 1913), p. 121.
politically than fight it. Strategically, of course, the battle fleet concept re-emphasized the determination to concentrate naval forces in home waters.

Meanwhile Chinese exasperation at European encroachment had broken out in the so-called Boxer Rebellion with the connivance of the Dowager Empress. At Kiaochow the coolies employed by the Germans became increasingly restless and construction work was interrupted. Then a number of missionaries were murdered and the ultra-conservative and patriotic Boxer movement swept over the northern Chinese provinces, threatening the lives of all Europeans there. A small detachment of 50 troops of the III Seebataillon was dispatched under Lieutenant Count Soden via Tientsin to Peking to protect the German embassy. Other nations also sent detachments, at the same time warning the Chinese against hostilities; and then the railroads from Peking were torn up, the roads were blocked, the telegraph lines went dead, and the European community in Peking was besieged by thousands of Boxer insurgents.

Cruiser Squadron chief Admiral Bendemann directed his ships to gather at the roadstead of Taku in the Gulf of Chihli, where the ships of other nations were also

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18. Telegram of Governor Jaeschke in Tirpitz to the Kaiser, 7 February 1900; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67308.
congregating. Meanwhile English squadron chief Vice Admiral Seymour had assumed command of the allied contingents—English, American, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Japanese—gathered at the junction of the Pai Ho (River) and the Grand Canal, as an expeditionary force for the relief of Peking.\(^\text{19}\)

In June 1900 the Seymour force advanced on Peking but was stopped by attacking Boxers and besieged beyond Tientsin. Tientsin itself had to be retaken, and this was only done with the aid of reinforcements brought up the river from Taku, after the forts there had been silenced by warships. News meanwhile arrived of the murder of the German Envoy, Baron von Ketteler, in Peking on 20 June.

If the Europeans besieged in the Chinese capital were to be rescued and the Boxer Rebellion broken, more forces would be needed than were available in the Far East. From Kiaochow Jaeschke warned Berlin that he could not help:

\textit{All troops indispensible; even if there is no immediate danger, every weakening of the garrison can bring this about. Chinese troops at Kaumi have increased. Mood uncertain.}^{20}\]

\(^{19}\)Mantey, p. 198, gives the German contribution as 20 officers, 2 doctors, 487 men and 2 machineguns under Captain Usedom of SMS Hertha.

\(^{20}\)Jaeschke to RMA, Tsingtau, 11 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA Gv. China. Cruiser Squadron chief Bendemann had previously telegraphed pessimistically that, "All the
The major powers dispatched warships to the scene, more with the proudly competitive nationalistic fervor that befitted the dawn of the Twentieth Century than the naval realities of the situation called for. Italy and Austria-Hungary only sent cruisers; but the United States, France, and Japan were each represented by a battleship, England by three, and Russia by five. Not to be outdone, the Kaiser ordered the dispatch of his four latest Brandenburg-class battleships, the first division of the first battle squadron, under Rear Admiral Geissler. Numerous cruisers accompanied the force while others were called in from the African and American stations. Just what Tirpitz thought of this is unfortunately not recorded; but for his cherished battle fleet to be strewn all over the oceans of the world cannot have been a happy thought for him to entertain.

commanders here are convinced that in Peking everything is finished." Report in Abeken (of the ADM) to RMA, 8 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA G.G. China.

\[21\] Warships by nation listed in BA-MA Fach 7541 ADM-B K.T.B. Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm. The Cruiser Squadron included large cruisers Kaiserin Augusta, Hertha, and Hansa, small cruisers Gefion and Irene, and gunboat Iltis. Warships sent to the area included the four battleships, Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm, Brandenburg, Wörth, and Weissenburg, large cruiser Fürst Bismarck, small cruisers Hela, Schwalbe, Geier, Seeadler, and Bussard, gunboats Jaguar, Luchs, and Tiger, river gunboat Tsingtau, schoolship Rhein, torpedoboats S 90, S 91, and S 92, and hospital ships Gera and Köln. Sailing orders, etc., are in BA-MS Fach 4467 RMA China.
Nonetheless the Boxer Rebellion afforded an excuse to demonstrate German naval power, and also to provide a shake-down cruise for the new battleships. Their five-week, 10,000 mile voyage out from Wilhelmshaven, however, once again vividly demonstrated the German dependence on the coaling ports of the British empire: Gibraltar, Port Said, Aden, Colombo, and Singapore. The warships left Wilhelmshaven on 11 July 1900 and proceeded to the east via the Suez Canal averaging 11 knots. The July heat in the Red Sea was stifling, but the ships continued without incident. There was some apprehension regarding the little torpedoboats which departed later, for the stretch from Aden across the Indian Ocean to Colombo was particularly dangerous; and Diederichs at the ADM urged they rendezvous with the larger hospital ship Gera at Malta and travel in company.

The battleships arrived in the Far East in August, but their mission was less than obvious. Vice Admiral Seymour caustically noted, regarding the danger of some Chinese cruisers coming down the Yangtze to attack troop transports, that, "For various reasons, and from my knowledge of the officers of the Chinese Squadron, I have

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22 Reiseplan of the Battleship Squadron in BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA China. The Brandenburgs mounted six 11-inch guns each and had a range of 3430 sm at 11 knots and 2180 sm at 14 knots. Gröner, p. 20.
no apprehension at all of their taking any hostile action of that sort."  

SMS Wörth proceeded on to Taku, while her sister ships dropped anchor at Wusung Roads in the mouth of the Yangtze, and officers and men went ashore to savor the delights of cosmopolitan Shanghai for the next several months.

The relief of Peking would be accomplished by ground troops, not warships; and the initial German contribution was the 2d Seebataillon under Major General Hoepfner, dispatched on board the steamers Frankfurt and Wittekind. The main brigade-strength expeditionary corps under Lieutenant General von Lessel soon followed, personally seen off by the Kaiser with his unfortunate reference to the "Huns" ringing in their ears. The Japanese in particular were taking advantage of the situation to move large forces into China, and Bülow urged the Navy to expedite the embarkation of the troops: "In view of these circumstances I deem it desirable from a political standpoint that the brigade designated for China by His Majesty arrive there as soon as possible."

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23 Seymour to Captain Rollmann of SMS Gefion, 19 August 1900; copy in BA-MA Fach 7541 ADM-B K.T.B. Weissenburg.


25 Bülow to Tirpitz, 12 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA China.
German Army-Navy cooperation was not particularly good during the Boxer Rebellion. Von Hoepfner, after landing at Taku, was to subordinate himself to the senior Russian general present (the Russians having the largest European force) until the arrival of Lieutenant General von Lessel or Count Alfred von Waldsee, the former Chief of the General Staff recently appointed as overall commander. According to the War Ministry's instructions, "To the commander of the East Asiatic Expeditionary Corps are subordinated: the troop detachment of Major General von Hoepfner as well as the remaining troop elements of the naval infantry in the area of the East Asiatic waters, insofar as they are not required as garrison for the harbor of Tsingtau." All fleet personnel employed on land were under his command; and if he had a fleet of transports escorted by warships, "he has the supreme command also over the escort squadron in all things regarding the operational goals of the transports and the execution of the same." Were he to be in the area of Kiaochow, or if military operations were based there, "he will in addition exercise supreme military command over the civilian executive authority and is the superior of the governor." 26

26 AKO (Supreme Cabinet Order) drafted by the Kriegsministerium for the Kaiser's signature, dated 15 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA China.
This evoked an angry reaction from the Navy, particularly from von Diederichs at the ADM. He argued that Kiaochow was the main base of the Cruiser Squadron; should it be put on a war-footing and the governor subordinated to one of the operational commanders, this could only be the squadron commander. A second draft of the AKO on 27 July was more modified, but still subordinated the governor to the army commander if Kiaochow served as a base of operations. Meanwhile the War Ministry had suggested to the Reichsmarineamt that the expedition commander would require a dispatch-boat at his disposal, and von Lessel wrote on the 17th "that a light cruiser would appear to me to be the most satisfactory for this purpose." The request was forwarded to the ADM where Diederichs icily observed that one of the transport steamers would serve the purpose quite well, and von Lessel never did get his cruiser. In any case, Kiaochow was not utilized as the base of operations.

The international expeditionary forces all landed and converged on Peking in August, scattering the Boxers before them, and on the 14th entered the Chinese capital. A victory parade was held; and although the German force

27Diederichs (ADM) to Tirpitz (RMA), 17 July 1900, and AKO of 27 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA China.

28Von Lessel to RMA, 17 July 1900; Diederichs to RMA, 20 July 1900; BA-MA Fach 4467 RMA China.
was small compared to the Russian and Japanese units present, the Germans did have the distinction of providing a commander for the international force. Count Waldersee, sixty-eight years old and ailing, arrived in October, appointed Feldmarschall for the occasion. His tasks were primarily diplomatic, however, as all the fighting was over—which occasioned much delight on the part of German liberals at the "Weltmarschall's" expense. The climate, combined with the strenuous exertions the Chinese expedition entailed, caused his death a few years later.  

The Brandenburg battleships returned to Wilhelmshaven in August 1901, having been abroad for more than a year. The experience yielded valuable information regarding the operational employment of major fleet units on the high seas—and further emphasized the strategic limitations imposed on them by a total dependence on British bases. The Boxer Rebellion resulted in no material gain for Germany, and the forces dispatched were primarily the Kaiser's contribution to the ostentatious display of

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29 In his conclusions regarding the Boxer Rebellion, Waldersee noted that Germany might be faced with the necessity of displaying force at any place, any time. "In such a situation the existence of troops especially organized for this purpose, a sort of colonial army, is urgently required." Such, he hoped, would also have better cooperation from the Navy. His ideas were not put into practice. Denkschrift, probably in 1902, in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/51.
national egotism featured in the center ring of the Peking circus.

Although understrength, Kiaochow itself had experienced only minor skirmishes with the Boxers; but almost all construction had been suspended as the mood of the Chinese was uncertain, and Governor Jaeschke had deplored the uproar as "a heavy blow, which would retard development for many months. . . ."30 One result of the rebellion was the "walling-in" of the town area, five kilometers from water to water, that was later expanded into field fortifications against a land attack. This did facilitate controlled access to the protectorate, and suggested potential security from future unrest to Chinese and Europeans alike.

The outcome of the Spanish-American War in 1898 had provided the final blow to lingering ideas of Kreuzerkrieg and Stützpunktpolitik. A world-wide colonial empire had dramatically changed hands, primarily as a result of decisive fleet action in Manila Bay and the blockade and destruction of Spanish units in Santiago Harbor. The

30 Jaeschke's telegram of 2 July 1900 in Diderichsen writing to the Kaiser for Tirpitz, 20 August 1900; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67308. Of Jaeschke's performance during the crisis, Tirpitz reported that the governor had "demonstrated composure, discretion, circumspection, and energy to an uncommon degree." Tirpitz to Kaiser, 18 September 1900; ibid.
American battle fleet, not overseas cruisers, had brought victory. "The experiences of the recent war," concluded the naval journal *Nauticus*, "confirm that the principles of the German Navy, as laid down as the reason for the [new] Navy Law, are on the correct path for the construction of the fleet." The *jeune école* doctrine was out of date: "Kreuzerkrieg is a utopia!" 31

In July 1898 Admiral Knorr, in his long memorandum on *Stützpunkte*, had felt that bases such as Kiaochow, Dar-es-Salaam, and Lüderitz Bay, would only be a liability, as warships would be bottled up in them. This was especially true should the opponent be the Royal Navy. "The only advantage of *Stützpunkte*, in a war with England, would be that they would attract and hold enemy forces." On the other hand, they would require vast sums of money to develop and maintain, money better spent building ships. "This conclusion, however, should not be taken to oppose the acquisition of overseas territories, if such opportunities offer themselves." Coaling stations would still be convenient, if they could be acquired without

31 "Erfahrungen aus dem Spanisch-amerikanischen Kriege," p. 125, and "Due französische Marine," p. 175, *Nauticus*, 1899. Future articles might discuss colonies in an economic and political sense, but no mention is made of bases for overseas warships. See for example the article "Die deutschen Interessen in Africa," *Nauticus*, 1900, pp. 274-318.
difficulty. This then was to be the rationale behind the Navy's continuing but peripheral interest in various points around the globe; but overseas bases were in no way a requirement of German naval strategy.

A German coaling station in the Caribbean Sea would be advantageous, especially when the Panama Canal should be completed; and with the United States preoccupied with war against Spain, wrote Knorr to the Kaiser in April 1898, the opportunity to acquire such should be taken. Curacao and Aruba in the Dutch West Indies and St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John in the Danish West Indies were mentioned as possibilities. The imperial regime realized there was more involved than maritime requirements, however, and nothing came of it. Similarly, when the Dominican Republic offered to give Germany a naval base (presumably to offset an imperialistically ambitious America), the Kaiser said that he "would not fall into such a trap" nor did he wish to "set himself at odds with the United States."  

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32 Knorr's Denkschrift on Flottenstützpunkte of 13 July 1898; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIh. PG 67346.

33 Knorr to Kaiser, 20 April 1898; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIh. PG 67346.

34 Count von Metternich, adviser accompanying the imperial party, to the Foreign Office, Hanover, 3 September 1898; G.P. 4204.
Albert Ballin, of the Hamburg-America steamship line (HAPAG), however, pursued the idea of a Caribbean coaling station. Apparently Tirpitz and a number of Danish real estate speculators devised a plan by which the HAPAG, which already had installations on St. Thomas, would gradually acquire substantial blocks of land on St. John until the entire island was virtually in its ownership. The German government would then purchase the island from Denmark. Both Chancellor Hohenlohe and Wilhelm were opposed to the idea, however, and it was dropped.  

Gunboats on foreign station still cruised their areas, investigating any potential harbors at their leisure. When no charts were available the officers sketched the profile of the land form and entrance on graph paper, indicating degrees of elevation and deflection from the gradations on the optics of their military binoculars, took soundings, and plotted land configurations by triangulation.  

Off West Africa German warships paid frequent visits to the large island of Fernando Po, investigating its

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35Cecil, p. 153. Various official Navy correspondence relating to the West Indies, though none by Tirpitz, continued into 1899. BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIIh. PG 67346. These Virgin Islands were purchased by the United States in 1917.

36Miscellaneous charts and land-form sketches in BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15.
potential for a coaling station, much to the irritation of the Spanish Governor General there. The innocent-looking German steamer Marie likewise reconnoitered the Farisan Islands in the Red Sea during 1900-1901. SMS Condor also visited the islands, but reported them as hot, barren, and infected with cholera. In any case, the captain noted, the Red Sea would merely be a trap for any German naval units in case of war, as the gulf was bottled up at both ends, by Suez and Aden.

In 1902 England and Germany, endeavoring to collect debts owed their citizens by the government of Venezuela, established a blockade of the Venezuelan coast. When the crew of a British steamer was mobbed in port, Commodore Scheder and the large cruiser Vineta joined HMS Charybdis in shelling the forts at Puerto Cabello on 13 December in retaliation. Other German warships arrived to enforce the blockade, and when the little gunboat Panther was fired on in the harbor of Maracaibo, SMS Vineta appeared

37For example the correspondence between Lieutenant Commander Weber, SMS Wolf, and the ADM, February-April 1900; BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15.

38Correspondence between Tirpitz and the ADM, 1900-1901, regarding the detachment "Steamer Marie"; report of SMS Candor to ADM, February 1901; ibid. On 2 January 1901 Diederichs (ADM) wrote the Kaiser discussing a report from the German ambassador at Constantinople, that the Turks had agreed to the erection of a German coal shed in the Farisan Islands for a nominal rental fee.
and bombarded the coastal fort San Carlos.\textsuperscript{39}

American President Roosevelt was suspicious, particularly of Germany, that this blockade might be a pretext for violating the Monroe Doctrine. The German foreign office was quick to deny any idea of acquiring territory, and assured the Americans that Germany had "no intention whatever of proceeding beyond a warlike blockade." In London the German ambassador told Foreign Secretary Lord Landsdowne that "the United States knows full well that we do not wish to establish ourselves in Venezuela." But the militant American press was not satisfied, and such was the bellicose attitude expressed that the Kaiser noted in exasperation, "Let the British be active, then we can take a back seat... then the English can take the criticisms of America."\textsuperscript{40}

American pressure was instrumental in getting England and Germany to accept arbitration of the quarrel, and on

\textsuperscript{39} An East American Crusier Division under Scheder was formed for the blockade consisting of the large cruiser Vineta, light cruisers Gazelle and Falke, and gunboat Panther. They were joined by small cruiser Sperber and the old schoolships Stosch and Charlotte cruising in the West Indies. Mantey, pp. 194 and 206. Most of Scheder's ships, it might be noted, were less than five years old. (The former ironclad frigates Vineta and Gazelle had since been decommissioned.)

\textsuperscript{40} Ambassador in London Metternich to the Foreign Office, 15 December 1902; G.P. 5123. Kaiser's remarks in Townsend, p. 207. That the German Navy had no ulterior motive in pursuing the blockade is supported by the lack of any evidence to the contrary in the Navy documents.
14 February 1903 the blockade was lifted. The conduct of joint Anglo-German operations had apparently been friendly, and Vice Admiral Douglas was sincere when he wrote Scheder, thanking him for "the hearty and cordial cooperation that has always existed between us, while employed in the blockade service."^41

In January 1904 a number of German settlers in Southwest Africa were murdered in an up-rising of the Herero tribes. The outbreak spread rapidly through the colony and railway and telegraph communications were broken. The only forces immediately on hand to protect the colonists were the marines and sailors of the small cruiser Habicht at Capetown. Lieutenant Commander Gudewill departed as soon as he received notice of the rebellion and arrived at Swakopmund on 18 January. He sent ashore a small landing party which secured the railroad line to Karribib, and from this base the Navy troops put the rail line to Windhoek back into operation with loyal native workers. The presence of the marines did much to reassure the loyal tribes and decide the

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^41 Vice Admiral Douglas' endorsement of Commodore Montgomery's message to Scheder, HMS Ariadne at Trinidad, 18 February 1903; BA-MA Fach 5174 ADM-B III.1.21. Venezuela eventually agreed that 30 per cent of its customs receipts were to pay the valid claims.

^42 Mantey, pp. 206 ff.
uncertain, as well as to encourage the European settlers.

Meanwhile a Navy expeditionary force was organized and dispatched from Wilhelmshaven, and the first contingent of two marine companies under Major von Glasenapp arrived at Karribib on 11 February. Marine and Schutztruppen columns directed by Schutztruppe commander and Governor Colonel Theodor Leutwein pursued the Hereros, but the terrain and climate favored the natives. Leutwein was succeeded eventually by General von Trotha, dispatched with regular army units, and the Hereros were only subdued a year later after an arduous campaign. There had been some friction between the Navy officers and Leutwein, the latter wanting to subordinate the marine troops to his own command, but the Navy insisted on retaining direct control of its personnel.

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43 The military campaigns are covered in Theodor Leutwein's Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. See also the manuscript "Südwestafrikanische Erlebnisse" in the Lindequist Nachlass; BA-K Kl. Erw. 275. Von Lindequist succeeded Leutwein as Governor of Southwest Africa, 1905-07.

44 Tirpitz also opposed Schutztruppe command over Navy forces, though regular army control was less objectionable. See for example Colonel Wyneken, Inspektion der Marineinfanterie, to the Kaiserliche Kommando der Marinestation der Ostsee, Kiel, 10 December 1904; BA-MA Fach 4623 OKM Station der Ostsee III.15.1. Although the Schutztruppe commanders were more experienced in frontier fighting, there was still the normal "professional" prejudice against them.
The Navy also provided the "fire-brigade" force that first faced the more serious Maji-Maji Rebellion which broke out in East Africa during the summer of 1905. After the defeat of the Bushiri Arab revolt in 1889 and the suppression of the brutal slave trade, German expansion into the interior encountered only occasional resistance from the Bantu tribes. The militant Hehe chief Mkwawa of the Rufiji area in the south did initiate guerrilla warfare against the Germans in 1891; and the struggle only ended with Mkwawa's suicide to avoid capture in 1898.

The 1905 Maji-Maji uprising resulted from many factors: the legacy of Mkwawa's heroic exploits, the humbling of proud warrior tribes forced to labor on plantations and roads alongside natives who had formerly paid tribute to them, and the "hut tax" levied as the German administration extended its control. The witch doctors of the Ngoni began a whispering campaign about sacred water called "Maji-Maji" whose powers protected men against black magic. Ultimately the idea developed that the Maji-Maji would turn bullets to water, protecting those who carried it in small containers cut from millet or

45 Listowel, pp. 27-31.

46 See the memorandum of Governor Götz, 26 December 1905, on the causes of the uprising; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.
maize stalks. A general excitement spread as the warrior tribes once again took up arms to drive the alien Europeans from their land. 47

A number of traders and askaris were killed, and in August several Benedictine missionaries were reported murdered. Governor Count von Götzen immediately cabled for reinforcements, and particularly desired at least two cruisers to protect the coastal settlements. 48 The small cruiser Bussard was on hand, anchored in Dar-es-Salaam, and had already assisted the Schutztruppen units by transferring them up and down the coast. A naval detachment with a machinegun under Lieutenant (jg) Paasche was taken by the government steamer Kingani to Mohoro, and there participated in a fight on 5 August. 49

The small cruiser Seeadler was meanwhile called in from Yap Island in the Pacific, as was the light cruiser Thetis, detached from the Cruiser Squadron. In addition

47 Listowel, pp. 35-36. There is a striking similarity of the Maji-Maji to the Ghost Dance fanaticism of the Dakota Sioux who believed bullets would not pierce their ghost shirts, that ended abruptly in the 1890 Wounded Knee fight.

48 Telegram from Götzen to the Foreign Office, Dar-es-Salaam, 17 August 1905; copy sent from the Kolonialabteilung to the ADM, 19 August 1905; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.

49 Mantey, p. 211. See also Paasche's after-action report, Mohoro, 29 August 1905; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.
a naval expeditionary force of 8 officers and 220 troops with 4 machineguns, provisions for six weeks, and tropical equipment including mosquito-nets, was sent from Germany. Thus a force was "made available in the quickest and, for the domestic political situation [for the expense and brutality of colonial warfare was increasingly criticized], the best way, for the suppression of the unrest in our East African Schutzgebiet." 50

Young marines fresh from Germany were hardly prepared for colonial service, however, for sleeping sickness carried by the tsetse fly, malaria carried by the mosquito, and heat prostration from the humidity and the tropical sun, could be devastating. The Navy objected to any attempts to subordinate its personnel to colonial Schutztruppe commanders, and insisted that "the basic idea in sending naval infantry as reinforcement for East Africa was solely to release Schutztruppen for employment in the interior." 51 Thus when Götzen wanted a small detachment of marines sent to Mwanza on Lake Victoria Nyanza to bolster the unreliable native askaris there, his request

50 RMA (Ahlefeld for Tirpitz) to the Foreign Office, probably September 1905; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a. Mantey, p. 211, says that a "force" under Captain von Schlichting arrived on board the Austrian steamer Körber via Trieste.

51 RMA (Ahlefeld for Tirpitz) to the Foreign Office, probably September 1905; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.
had to go through the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office and the Reichsmarineamt in Berlin. He already had the permission of the British East African commissioner to transport 30 marines over the Uganda Railroad from Mombasa via Nairobi to Kisumu on the lake. (The German line from Tanga only ran to Mount Kilimanjaro.) 52

Operations on the colonial frontier were compounded by the problem of communications. Not only did the natives cut down the telegraph lines, but white ants (termites) feasted on the poles, elephants rubbed against them, and giraffes hooked their long necks in the wires, pulling them down. The heliograph, flashing messages by mirror-reflected sunlight, was widely used to control the columns. Except for the aggressive rhinoceros the wild animals avoided the European troops, though hungry lions might devour unwary sentries at night, and crocodiles made river-crossings hazardous. 53 Nonetheless the ferocious Maji-Maji fanatacism was rapidly swept away, especially when it was abruptly realized by the natives that the sacred talismans carried had absolutely no effect on steel-jacketed machine gun bullets. By January 1906 most of the German troops were being withdrawn.

52 Kolonialabteilung Director Stuebel to the RMA, 26 September 1905; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.

53 Campaign conditions were as arduous then as a decade later. See, for example, Brian Gardner, On to Kilimanjaro (New York, 1964).
The colonists, ever exposed to some new outbreak of native violence on the African frontier, were reassured by a trim warship swinging at anchor offshore. "We Germans abroad," said the Usambara Post, "more than our fellow-countrymen at home, value and appreciate what significance the possession of a strong Navy has for the Fatherland and its overseas interests."\footnote{Article of 27 January 1906, Usambara Post, published weekly at Tanga; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.} Several months service in the bush or duty along that torrid coast was enough to dampen the adventurous spirit of the most enthusiastic Heinz Seemann from the Fatherland, however, and the sailors were just as glad to be returning home. This can be gathered from various colonial press clippings which, while admitting that the troops had fought "bravely and well," were nonetheless a little miffed at the eagerness of these same troops to leave their colony.\footnote{See for example the articles in the Deutsch-Ostafrika Zeitung, published weekly in Dar-es-Salaam, 27 January 1906; BA-MA Fach 5194 ADM-B VII.1.5a.}

The expensive and unpopular colonial wars in South-west and East Africa, combined with various reports and rumors of atrocities committed, climaxed a growing disillusionment with the Reich's colonial commitments. The publicized misconduct and trials of colonial officials like Leist and Puttkamer and even the adventuresome Karl
Peters, soured the initial enthusiasm for colonial exploration and settlement. In the article "Colonial Weariness" the Freisinnige Zeitung argued that "The 'holy fire' of the Kolonialverein only manifested itself in the drawing up of long lists of expenses for the colonies out of the pockets of the German tax-payer." Those expenses had gained nothing. "Our power has not been strengthened, respect for us has not been raised, our prosperity has not been increased, in short not a single one of the purposes for which colonial possessions were acquired and maintained has been fulfilled."

The Social Democratic Party, the largest single party in the Reichstag, was more outspoken in its criticism of the government, attacking the colonies on economic, political, and moral grounds. Of the 1904 budget for the colonies, it pointed out, the German tax-payer had to pay 31,291,037 M of the 42,877,570 M total; and the indirect costs, such as maintaining Navy warships on foreign stations, cost even more. Colonies had not attracted emigrants, and had only created friction with other nations politically. Then, too, the SPD attack continued, the activities of the Leists and the Peters' belied the argument of the Reich's "civilizing mission," and frontier

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56 Freisinnige Zeitung newsclipping, 10 February 1904; BA-K Bülow Nachlass Bd. 29.
pacification had only meant the extermination of some of the natives by "fire and sword" and the enslavement of the rest. "It is time the secretary of colonial-doings [Kolonialtreibens] was called to account, high time!"\textsuperscript{57}

The SPD arguments were difficult to refute. The German colonies always did remain an economic liability; to some extent this was explained by the simple economic fact that an initial capital investment had to be made and facilities constructed before a return could be expected, but the real reason was the fact that German business was not pressed for colonial markets and raw materials, and found it more profitable to invest elsewhere.\textsuperscript{58}

The suppression of the 1905 Maji-Maji uprising, immediately following the 1904 Herero Rebellion, thoroughly discredited the German colonial administration—though the national role in world affairs was eventually reaffirmed in the Reichstag elections of 1907. As the first result of the "colonial scandal" the Kolonial-Abteilung (Colonial Department) was separated from the Foreign Office as the Reichskolonialamt (Imperial Colonial Office).

\textsuperscript{57}SPD flyer, Hamburg, 7 November 1904; BA-K Bülow Nachlass Bd. 29. The SPD budget figures are apparently from the official 1904 publication; BA-K R 85/1208.

\textsuperscript{58}In South Africa, for example, the gold mines of the Rand attracted as much German capital in the 1890s as was sunk by private investors into all of Germany's colonies by 1914. William O. Henderson, Studies in German Colonial History (Chicago, 1962), p. 58.
with Dr. Bernhard Dernburg as first Colonial Secretary. He and his successors, Dr. Lindequist and Dr. Solf, proved to be able, enlightened administrators who did much to correct the recognized evils of the German colonial system.
CHAPTER VII

ADMIRAL TRUPPEL'S KIAOCHOW

The storm of controversy that caused a thorough over-hauling of the German colonial administration in 1907, left Kiaochow relatively unaffected. This Navy-administered outpost in the Far East alone, of all the German protectorates, continued to progress as the most promising and, ultimately, the most successful of Germany's enterprises abroad.

There were, of course, marked differences between Kiaochow and the civilian-administered colonies. The Kiaochow Schutzgebiet only encompassed a small geographic area, unlike the large territories acquired in Africa, and consequently did not have an indigenous native population forcibly subordinated to German administration and justice; on the contrary, Chinese nationals consistently attempted to settle within the German zone at Kiaochow for the better wages and more equitable justice they received there.

Climatically Kiaochow, at 36° North Latitude, was a more temperate region, with hot summers and cold winters,
than were the colonies in the tropics. The environmental conditions of necessity affected psychological behavior and occupational endeavor. Then, too, Kiaochow was a bustling port on the main trade-routes of the world, with lively commercial activity and frequent international contacts. Duala, Lome, Swakopmund, and even Dar-es-Salaam, on the other hand, might go for weeks at a time without seeing a foreign vessel, and the infrequent visit of a warship was the occasion for much festivity. Little wonder, then, that the administration of Kiaochow demanded men competent and sophisticated, while positions in the colonial administration of the tropical territories were often considered to be sinecures at best, languishing backwaters in general, and sentences tantamount to exile at worst.

Underlying the progress of the colonies were the motives for which they had been acquired. The African territories had been precipitously staked out in 1884 by Bismarck, for reasons that had not been justified.

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1 According to the temperature regions in Edward B. Espenshade, ed., Goode's World Atlas (Chicago, 1960), pp. 10-11, Kiaochow's normal annual range in temperature compares with the northern United States. The mean temperatures for January (30°F) and July (80°F.) also approximates those of the United States. Germany generally has a milder winter and cooler summer. The British "Kiaochow and Weihaiwei" Handbook, p. 3, states the temperature range as being 90°F. (32.2°C.) to 12°F. (-11.1°C.).
Kiaochow, on the other hand, had been acquired in 1897 after two years of careful searching for a location that was justified by both its economic potential and its military usefulness. The unwanted colonies were administered by an office that was created as an appendage to the Foreign Office, a fourth department. Kiaochow, on the contrary, thrived on the interest and the resources of the Reichsmarineamt itself. Graft and corruption were apparently not the uncommon by-product of relegating colonial officials to obscure outposts in the colonies. But the naval officers stationed at Kiaochow saw their tour of duty in the Far East as only a step in their military career, and satisfactory performance of duty and professional advancement took precedence over material reward and personal aggrandizement; nor, in fact, did departmental separation of responsibilities and budgetary accountability within the service organization allow of such. In all spheres, then, in their origins, their administration, and their potential, did the other colonies differ from the Kiaochow protectorate—and the comparison was not favorable to them.

Kiaochow itself was developing at a rapid pace. Roads were being graded and paved, a system of sewers was being dug, and bridges were being built over streams and mountain gullies. The harbor was steadily improving, with channels being dredged and buoyed and lighthouses
constructed on the large rocks. Of particular interest was the reforestation project to restore the vegetation on the yellow, denuded hills. The hillsides were terraced and walls and shrubs placed to prevent erosion, while Japanese moss was grafted onto rocks and ledges. Visiting dignitaries were invited to plant a tree or two to publicize the undertaking.²

The Navy had no shortage of volunteers seeking enlistment with the 3d Naval Infantry Battalion garrisoning Kiaochow, most answering the romantic call of the mysterious Orient; but only a fifth were considered medically acceptable for the climatic and environmental conditions that might be encountered.³ A 1900 recruiting flyer stated that applicants had to be at least 1.67 meters tall and born before 1 October 1882 (at least 18 years old), the term of enlistment being three years. It was emphasized that: "Building artisans (bricklayers, carpenters, roof-tilers, cabinet-makers, glaziers, potterers, painters, plumbers, etc.) and other craftsmen (shoemakers,

²Duke Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg and his wife, for example, planted two spruce trees during their visit, as reported by the Tsingtau Neueste Nachrichten, 14 June 1910; BA-MA Truppeln Nachlass N224/3.

³Applications to the RMA in BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX.1.1.5. PG 60950-60952. The Infanterie Inspektion reported to the RMA on 10 January 1900 that it had received 1270 applications during the previous year.
tailors, etc.) will have preference for enlistment."

The marines soon discovered that it was indeed the shovel they wielded, not the bayonet. There was, in fact, much sickness among the troops digging drains and doing construction work. Young troops were especially careless about distilling water to drink. One English observer noted that some German officers proposed the novel theory that disease was carried by dogs, and shot them in the nearby Chinese villages. It was at the least a welcome relief, he added, not to have motley swarms of dogs yapping at one's heels.

Kiaochow was, in its early years, more promise than actuality. There was little trade, the principal imports being cement and lumber and other building materials. One visiting correspondent was facetiously told that the primary export "consisted of empty bottles." The English

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4 Naval recruiting fliers dated Kiel, 14 April 1900, and Wilhelmshaven, 20 April 1900; BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX.1.1.5, PG 60952.

5 Charles Denby, "Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment," Forum, vol. 29, March-August 1900, p. 581. Denby, it might be added, was quite enthusiastic about the German progress there. "The noblest burden which the white man can take up is to enter the lists in behalf of the miserable million of Asia in their ceaseless struggle with want. This way the Germans in Shantung, as do the English in Egypt, more than justify their rule," p. 577.

6 Supplement to The London and China Telegraph, 19 November 1900; BA-K R 85/1205 Aus. Amt II U.
in particular observed with sympathetic interest German progress in Shantung. "Such persistent energy in spite of difficulties and discouragements both at home and on the spot, compel our sincere admiration," noted one Shanghai newspaper, and the Earl of Lonsdale congratulated the Kaiser: "Sire, just leaving with regrets. Having received greatest kindness from all, the lovely entrance magnificent, inner harbour well planned, town beautifully laid out, must all be conducive to future of Your Majesty's Chinese colony."

The 1904 budget again reflected the necessary cost of development. The 13,088,300 M total included 7,697,000 M for harbor and building construction, and 5,361,748 M for salaries and maintenance and operating costs. Only 505,300 M of this was covered by income (50,000 M income from sale of land, 81,300 M from direct taxes, and 374,000 M from tariffs and miscellaneous sources); the remaining 12,583,000 M was allocated by the Reichstag. Duties and taxes, however, were kept purposely


8This latter was further broken down as: 984,504 M—civil administration, including Chinese laborer salaries; 2,403,356 M—military administration, half of which was service pay; and 1,973,888 M—general, such as the hospital, school, waterworks and other public utilities. Copy of 1904 budget in BA-K R 85/1208 Aus. Amt II U.
low to encourage commercial activity, initial cost for
development was only natural, and much of the budget went
for maintaining a respectable military presence in the
Far East.

Mere statistics cannot begin to demonstrate the
intangible effects that accrued from the possession of
Kiaochow. That German warships were now not dependent on
foreign ports for maintenance, resupply, repair, and
medical facilities might prove crucial in wartime; the
rapidly increasing volume of trade in the Orient, reflect­
ing confidence in the quality and availability of German
products, also reflected confidence in German vitality,
and Kiaochow was the visible symbol of this; and finally,
the activities of German businessmen, missionaries, and
travellers abroad, were enhanced by the knowledge that an
official German presence was not transitory, and that
Kiaochow offered a haven in time of need, a convenience in
an alien environment for activities in general, and a
tangible example to other Europeans and Orientals of
German energy, prestige, and power.

Directing the activity at Kiaochow during these
years was Kapitän zur See Oskar Truppel, forty-seven years
old when he arrived as governor in 1901. He had been born
on 17 May 1854 at Rudolstadt near Erfurt in Thuringia, and
in 1891 married Anna Müller of Bremen who bore him two sons and a daughter. He entered the Navy as a cadet in 1871, and his subsequent fitness reports, written by Tirpitz, Fischel, Diederichs, Knorr, and other officers all holding—or later to hold—high rank, were uniformly favorable. The only black marks on his record were a "simple reprimand without deposition" for mishandling a subordinate in 1885 while on board SMS Prinz Adalbert as watch officer, and the grounding of SMS Prinzess Wilhelm while under his command in Corregidor Bay on 29 August 1898. Of the latter incident Cruiser Squadron commander Diederichs reported there was no cause for rebuke, and that Truppel had acquitted himself well in refloating the ship without difficulty.

His service career was broad: he gained "diplomatic" experience as First Officer on SMY Hohenzollern (the Kaiser's Yacht) in 1890, administrative experience in Böschel's Militärabteilung of the RMA, technical experience in Tirpitz's Torpedo department of the OKM, and extensive sea experience in home waters and in the Pacific as captain of his own ship.

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9Truppel's personnel folder in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/2. Truppel was promoted to Rear Admiral on 27 January 1905 and full Admiral on 27 January 1911. He was ennobled upon his retirement by an A.K.O. of 19 August 1911, and died 20 August 1931.

10Annual Personalberichte in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224.
As governor, Truppel was faced with the formidable tasks involved in administering a combined naval base, trading colony, and tourist resort area (as Kiaochow was already becoming). Though he accomplished his tasks ably, he felt the job was too much for one man, and persistently urged a division of responsibility. "The multifarious concerns, growing from year to year, demand this ever more strongly and press urgently for a change in the present organization."  

He suggested that the military and civilian administrations should be separated, the latter headed by a colonial secretary as in the English colonies, as much to prevent the "frequent reproaches of militarism" as for organizational efficiency. In most English colonies, he pointed out, an active duty officer was governor, and in Hong Kong the governor was a Major General. "But no one speaks of militarism there (although the military strength of the place is much greater than in Tsingtau), because a separated military and civil administration organization is provided for (a colonial secretary and a general under the governor)." The military commander, he felt, should

11 Truppel to Tirpitz (RMA), Tsingtau, 22 November 1907; BA-MA Fach 2426 RMA 1.1.5. PG 60956. He had mentioned the problem before, for example, in reports dated 13 December 1901 and 21 February 1904. The administrative organization of Kiaochow is detailed in the annual Rangliste.
be free to concentrate on military affairs. But Truppel was unsuccessful in urging a reorganization of the Kiaochow administration, as was his successor, Captain Meyer-Waldeck.\textsuperscript{12}

Truppel did hope to extend German influence deeper into Shantung, however, and his routine responsibilities brought him into frequent contact with Chinese officials. This the Foreign Office resented, and in the autumn of 1901 Consular Representative Lenz arrived to establish a consulate at nearby Tsinanfu. Truppel and Tirpitz felt this needlessly complicated matters. If Shantung were to be opened economically, it was the Navy administration at Kiaochow that was best situated to control that process. "The [Chinese] governor of Shantung," Truppel wrote Envoy Mumm at Peking, "must also be made to serve this work of development, and the surest way to achieve this is through a suitable personal relationship on his part, based either on fear or respect, with the governor of Tsingtao, whom the Chinese must view as the decisive figure in questions involving Shantung."\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12}See Meyer-Waldeck to Tirpitz, Tsingtau, 4 March 1913; BA-MA Fach 2426 RMA 1.1.5. PG 60956.

\textsuperscript{13}Truppel to Mumm, 8 September 1901, quoted in Schrecker, p. 145. Schrecker further relates that in the spring of 1902 Truppel travelled to Shanghai incognito to meet with pro-German Anhwe Governor Wang Chih-ch'un in a scheme to make the latter governor of Shantung. Nothing came of it, partly because German diplomats learned of the affair and Truppel was cautioned by Berlin.
Tirpitz ultimately came to the conclusion that relations with the Chinese in Shantung were better left with the Foreign Office, although the Kiaochow administration only accepted that viewpoint grudgingly. Truppel's relations with the Chinese authorities themselves, however, seem to have been amiable, and on one occasion he secured European spectacles for the Chinese governor and his wife as a personal favor.\(^\text{14}\)

Kiaochow was the home base for the Cruiser Squadron. It was an independent command, its chief, usually of rear- or vice-admiral grade, thus outranking Truppel. Nonetheless the Kiaochow governor exercised authority over Cruiser Squadron personnel ashore and other areas such as the harbor operations and the maintenance facilities. Friction occasionally arose, as in the case of an inane dispute between Vice Admiral Geissler and Governor Truppel regarding the anchoring locations of visiting foreign warships.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^\text{14}\)Letter from Shantung Province Governor Chou Fu to Truppel, thanking him for the glasses and wishing him good luck on his trip to Peking, 4 September 1903; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/33. Most of the correspondence from Chinese officials (handsomely written on large red sheets and presumably translated by a secretary) would appear to be formal, lyrical, and somewhat obsequious.

\(^\text{15}\)Correspondence between Truppel and Geissler, and also Tirpitz to whom the problem was referred, 1903-1904; BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60954.
The operations plan for the Cruiser Squadron in case of war for several years after 1900 were: Case A, war with the United States—seek out and engage or blockade American warships in the Philippines area, and be joined by other cruisers from the Indian and Pacific Oceans; Case B, war with France—bring French forces in Asia to battle; Case C, war with France and Russia—engage French warships before they unite with Russian; otherwise rendezvous in isolated Waworada Bay, Sumbawa, in the Dutch East Indies to the south; Case D, war with Great Britain—cruiser warfare against English shipping; but if Germany has a strong naval ally, British forces should be engaged; Case E, war with Japan—cruiser warfare or engagement; but if the Japanese are too powerful, then rendezvous in Waworada Bay to await reinforcements.16

Kiaochow itself was not, then, to serve as an operational base for the squadron beyond the initiation of wartime operations, at least until it was adequately fortified.17 But in 1904 the Japanese blockade of Port

16 Kreuzergeschwader Operations Plans dated 1900, unchanged in 1902; BA-MA Fach 5170 ADM-B III.1.-9b. Waworada Bay was given as 8°44' S. Lat., 118°47' E. Long. Day and night challenges and recognition signals were provided by the ADM, but broad operational latitude was of necessity given the squadron commander.

17 Substantial fortifications were to be erected by the Kaiser's AKO of 31 May 1905; BA-MA Fach 2425 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60955.
Arthur confirmed what the American blockade of Santiago in 1898 demonstrated—that a fortified naval base might only prove a trap for warships confronting a major naval power. A squadron operating from a Stützpunkt might be successful against a relatively weak naval power like France or Russia, but not against the Royal Navy; and by the latter part of the decade Great Britain was Germany's most dangerous opponent at sea. In 1910 Cruiser Squadron Commander Rear Admiral von Ingenohl wrote Tirpitz, "The type of warfare prescribed for the Cruiser Squadron in all cases requires operations which exclude the utilization of Tsingtao as a repair facility and as a base in general." 18

War was rather a remote possibility, however, and of more immediate concern to the Squadron were the Chinese pirates originating from Kwangtung Province. They preyed in particular upon ships, both Chinese and European, which stranded on the offshore reefs of those poorly-charted waters, and the fate of those who fell into their hands

18 Ingenohl to RMA (Tirpitz), Nagasaki, 23 April 1910; BA-MA Fach 5205 ADM-B VII.1.-8. Ingenohl also pointed out the difficulties in depending upon neutral harbors for damage repairs, and forwarded a subordinate's plan for a wooden underwater repair shaft to be lowered by lifeboat davits and placed alongside a ship's hull for crewmen to repair shell holes made below the waterline. On 8 November 1910 the RMA finally gave him permission and funds to experiment with such a device, but disapproved the use of an automatic cutting apparatus to cut jagged metal edges, because of the danger of explosion.
was not pleasant. In 1902 the German Cruiser Squadron adopted the instructions regarding piracy that the British had had in force for some fifteen years: punishment was a matter for the Chinese authorities (capital punishment being commonplace), and only the doctrine of "hot pursuit" justified entry into the territorial three-mile limit. German ships operating in conjunction with English ships would take captured pirates to the nearest British Vice Admiralty court. The British instructions also stated that no marines were to be landed on Chinese soil to destroy suspected pirate villages, even if the Chinese mandarin (government official) on board requested it; such action would have to be coordinated with the Chinese authorities through the British consul.\(^{19}\)

The garrison itself consisted of the 3d Naval Infantry Battalion, detachments of which were stationed at Tientsin and Peking, and the 3d Naval Artillery Brigade with responsibility for coast defense. Other military personnel served the hospital and engineering facilities. In 1912 a detachment was also stationed at Hankow after the outbreak of the republican revolution, to protect the

\(^{19}\)Geissler to ADM, Tsingtau, 21 April 1902; BA-MA Fach 5232 ADM-B VII.3.-8. The British Instructions are enclosed.
German concession there. It returned in the middle of 1914.  

Routine military training consisted of riflery, drilling, and field exercises, as well as class-room lessons in first-aid and map-reading. After 1908 all troops received swimming lessons three times a week in July, as much for recreation as anything else. In September and October 1908 officers toured the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War in Korea and Manchuria. Mail from home, always the staple of troop morale, was some 17 to 22 days in transit. The usual route from Europe was via the Siberian railroad to Dairen, and thence to Tsingtao by steamer.  

Military life in Kiaochow might best be implied from a pamphlet of suggestions for officers bringing their families with them. Because of the climate, humid in summer and dry in autumn and winter, the bringing of fine furniture was discouraged. Good, inexpensive Chinese furniture was available at Tsingtao or Shanghai. Pianos posed the same problem; but "tropical" pianos could be rented for $12-15 monthly from Sietas, Plambeck & Co. in

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21 Various "Halbjahrsberichte über die Gesamtthätigkeit der Besatzung des Kiautschou-Gebietes," Truppel to RMA; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67309-67310.
Tsingtao. Cleaning European rugs was another problem, and in any case the Oriental rugs were excellent.

Bringing glass and procelain items was strongly advised, as they were expensive. They might then be sold in Tsingtao upon rotation home, as they would bring a good price, and there was always the risk of breakage in sending them back to Germany. Cooking utensils and household items like needles and pins were also very expensive. Most houses in Tsingtao had electric lighting, but bulbs should be brought (noting that the voltage was 110, not the Continental 220). For washing and other household chores Chinese domestic servants could be hired at minimal wages. Clothing for winter, summer, and the tropics was suggested, especially shoes (yellow for summer, black for winter), as they were hard to come by. (And tennis shoes, of course, were a must!)

Cigars and cigarettes were best purchased on the way out, particularly at Port Said. Wines were obtainable at the Officers' Mess, and beer from the local Germania-Brauerei. Saddles, especially donkey saddles for children, should be brought. Victoria carriages might be purchased in Shanghai. With careful planning, there was no reason
why a tour of duty at Kiaochow might not be a very pleasant one.  

Originally a company of Chinese Schutztruppen had been formed to augment the German garrison, but with the Boxer Rebellion, many deserted. The rest were then uniformed as police, and apparently gave good service.  

Shortly before the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, in fact, the budget commission of the Reichstag had debated the employment of German troops to fight in the colonies. The SPD and the Progressives, led by Eugen Richter, opposed this, and wanted to introduce a resolution into the Reichstag saying so. Grüber, of the Center, and others felt that commitment of troops without Reichstag approval was admissible as long as the men were volunteers. The conservatives argued that the Kaiser had the constitutional right to commit troops to action abroad, and in any case the definitions "war" and "peace" in a colonial situation were not precise. In the end a resolution against employing draftees abroad was passed, although it was

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22Undated pamphlets for service personnel and their dependents, issued by the Kommando des III. Seebataillons and the Kommando der Matrosen-Artillerie-Abteilung; BA-MA Fach 4623 Kommando der Marine Station der Ostsee III.15.2.

23Note the correspondence between the RMA and the Oberkommando der Schutztruppen, October 1899, regarding the organization, equipment, and problems of the Southwest African Schutztruppen; BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60951.
qualified in such a way as to neutralize its effect.\textsuperscript{24} Parliamentary restrictions on the employment of troops abroad continued to irritate the military, and Tirpitz for one grumbled that "I can perceive no difference in the obligation of the naval infantry personnel, performing their military service outside Europe, and the obligation of crews on board ships."\textsuperscript{25}

The Russo-Japanese conflict that broke out in 1904 of necessity affected Kiaochow. In January the ADM had alerted Vice Admiral von Prittwitz's Cruiser Squadron: "While preserving strict neutrality, you are to observe the development of events in the north; in the Yangtse, observe the English. Report immediately any alteration in their position."\textsuperscript{26} Civilians evacuated from the war

\textsuperscript{24}Tägliche Rundschau news clipping, 13 March 1900; BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60952. The paper also added that training and employing native soldiers could be a "two-edged sword," as the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny in India had demonstrated.

\textsuperscript{25}Tirpitz (RMA) to the Inspektion Marineinfanterie at Kiel, from Berlin, 9 February 1902; BA-MA Fach 2424 RMA XIX 1.1.5. PG 60953. Ship personnel, of course, had little contact with conditions and native populations on shore, unlike marines. Presumably sailors would not suffer the disease or the casualties of native warfare, nor would they perpetrate the brutalities which liberals abhored.

\textsuperscript{26}ADM to Kreuzergeschwader, 7 January 1904; MK XXIVg., quoted in Jonathan Steinberg, "Germany and the Russo-Japanese War," American Historical Review, vol. 75, No. 7. December 1970, p. 1969. German observers were also at Port Arthur during the siege, and the Japanese in particular were suspicious of German activities.
zone arrived at Kiaochow on both German and other neutral shipping; and in August, after the failure of the Russian Asiatic Squadron to escape from blockaded Port Arthur, several Russian warships sought refuge in the German protectorate. After remaining in a neutral harbor for twenty-four hours, belligerent warships were supposed to depart, or be disarmed and their crews interned. The Russians were unwilling to follow the first course of action, especially with the triumphant Japanese Navy awaiting them, and Governor Truppel was reluctant to take the second alternative. The Japanese protested angrily; and finally the Kaiser himself ordered Truppel to intern the Russians.²⁷ The Russian crews, fortunate to have escaped with their lives, were only too relieved to sit out the war as guests of the German colony. The Russian government was none too happy, however, and the Japanese were left suspicious and disgruntled by the incident.

An even more embarrassing situation arose when it was learned that in June Albert Ballin, of the Hamburg-Amerika Line (HAPAG), without consulting the German foreign ministry, had contracted with a Russian firm to furnish 338,200 tons of coal for the Baltic Fleet of Admiral Rozhdestvenski, sailing for the Far east in

²⁷Kaiser to Truppel, 13 August 1904; ibid., p. 1971.
October. Ballin's colliers were to rendezvous with the Russian warships at points from Denmark around Africa to the Chusan Archipelago south of Shanghai. The German government was in an incredibly awkward predicament: forcing HAPAG to cancel the contract would antagonize Russia, while supplying a belligerent would antagonize Japan.

Fortunately for Germany, Ballin's dealings with the Russians did not lead to further incidents. The coaling went smoothly and without interference by Japanese warships, and enabled Rozhdestvenski's fleet to complete its epic journey to the Far East—where it was promptly destroyed at Tsushima Straits in May 1905. St. Petersburg had already been the scene of the "Bloody Sunday" rioting, and this latest military disaster virtually ended the war.

Central to the importance of Kiaochow was its commercial potential, and in the original lease the Germans had been granted rights to construct two railroad lines in Shantung and to develop mines within 30 li (about 15 miles) of the railroad right-of-ways. One line was to run west from Tsingtao to Tsinan on the Hwang Ho (Yellow River),

Cecil, p. 73. See also Cecil's article, "Coal for the Fleet that Had to Die," American Historical Review, vol. 69, No. 4, July 1964, pp. 990-1005. Almost all of the coal, curiously enough, came from the anthracite mines of Wales.
tapping the coal deposits reported at Weihsien, with a spur line to those at Poshan; the second line was to run southwest to Ichow, then north through Laiwu to Tsinan. (This line was never built).

Two corporations were chartered by the German government on 1 June 1899: the Shantung Railroad Company (SEG—Schantung Eisenbahngesellschaft) to build the railroads, and the Shantung Mining Company (SBG—Schantung Bergbaugesellschaft) to mine the mineral resources. While the Navy played little actual role in the economic development of the Shantung, it was vitally interested in that development; for this was the fulfillment, as the Navy saw it, of this German outpost in Asia that the Navy had established.

On 23 September 1899 Prince Heinrich of Prussia ceremoniously turned the first sod in the construction of the northern railroad line, and work proceeded rapidly. By 1904 the entire line, 256 miles to Tsinan, had been opened, with a 28 mile spur to Poshan completed in 1906. The Shantung railway was eminently successful, with

29 The charters of 1 June 1899 signed by Chancellor Hohenlohe are in BA-K R 85/1234 Aus. Amt II U. The two syndicates represented a powerful group of German financiers and merchants, many of whom held positions in both companies simultaneously. Vizeadmiral z.D. Valois was the only Navy man on the railroad board of directors, at that time on the unattached or reserve list of half-pay (z.D. = zur Disposition).
constantly rising profits and dividends. The Schutzgebiet itself may not have been a successful financial venture, nor was it intended to be; its contribution was to enhance commercial activity, which in turn benefitted the German economy and the German people as a whole.

The Navy also put great hopes on the mining of the Shantung coal deposits, for this was of obvious importance to the operations of the Cruiser Squadron. Otherwise coal had to be imported from Japan, $10 gold per ton, and Japanese coal was not that good. The other alternatives were shipping coal from Australia or Welsh coal from England herself.

The Germans had secured monopoly rights to virtually all mining in the Shantung; to their great chagrin, however, they finally realized that much of the Shantung coal was of low carbon content and of inferior quality. There was a great amount of waste, soot, and smoke which fouled ships' boilers and overheated the funnels. Its thermal value per ton was much lower than Welsh coal, which meant that more coal was burned for a smaller cruising radius. Additionally, "dirty" coal that created clouds of black smoke was detrimental to ships in time of war when

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survival might well depend on avoiding superior enemy forces.\textsuperscript{31} The Shantung Mining Company only opened two pits in the Weihsiien and Poshan fields, declared no dividends, and in 1913 was finally absorbed by the Railroad Company.\textsuperscript{32}

Coal for shipping thus had to be imported and stored at Kiaochow in depots or coal hulks, though even this was more advantageous than being dependent on foreign ports and supplies for the very life-blood of a warship. Commercial coal was expensive, however, and had to be transported great distances. One company quoted the price of Australian South Wellington coal at $8-$8.65 a ton, depending on quality and quantity ordered, while poorer Canadian bunker coal, mined at Victoria, British Columbia, might be had for $4.50 a ton.\textsuperscript{33}

Depending upon coal importation involved uncertainties, as in July 1911 when the chartered Norwegian barque Hjôrdis with coal for Ponape stranded and was lost. A month later the coal laager in Dar-es-Salaam caught fire.

\textsuperscript{31}See conclusions of the RMA (Weber) to Governor of Kiaochow, 22 October 1907; BA-MA Fach 5066 ADM-B I.3.-8.

\textsuperscript{32}Schrecker, pp. 228-229, says the Poshan coal, at least, was of a "uniformly high quality" but that transportation costs made it expensive. The SBG invested in modern, costly equipment, rather than using cheap coolie labor, and never made up its expenses.

\textsuperscript{33}Letter from Jebsen & Ostrander Shipping Co., Seattle, Washington to German Consul in Seattle, 20 July 1909; BA-MA Fach 5066 ADM-B I.3.-8.
and 1200 tons of coal went up in flames. Shipping had to be rerouted and shipping schedules interrupted because of the difficulties posed by such accidents. 34

Another problem confronting both the military and civilians at Kiaochow was dependence on the Chinese telegraph service which was dilatory and error-prone, and liable to be cut off in time of emergency or war. During both the occupation of Kiaochow and the Boxer Rebellion, telegraph service (for obvious reasons) was interrupted. Business interests also pointed out that during the Sino-Japanese War no cipher telegrams had been allowed (merchants used commercial codes in business transactions to cut cable rates). 35 The telegraph line was ultimately built and maintained by the railroad company and the Imperial Postal Department, with the naval administration having priority on matters of military defense or emergency. 36

34 Letter from the Jaluit Gesellschaft to the RMA, Hamburg, 31 July 1911; correspondence between the RMA and the Hamburg firm Hansing & Co. which was to replace the coal supply in East Africa as soon as possible; BA-MA Fach 5066 ADM-B I.3.-8.

35 Petition letter signed by eleven companies to the SEG to construct a telegraph line, Tsingtao, 22 December 1899; BA-K R 85/1223 Aus. Amt II U.

36 Various correspondence between the Reichsmarineamt, the Reichs-Postamt, and the Auswärtiges Amt, 1900-1901; BA-K R 85/1223 and 1224 Aus. Amt II U. Also Reichs-Gesetzblatt Nr. 43 signed by the Kaiser, 16 October 1901, ordering the construction of the telegraph; BA-K R 85/1206 Aus. Amt II U.
When the German Navy opened Kiaochow as a "free port" on 2 September 1898, it took two basic principles into account: first, that the unrestricted transit of goods through a free port would encourage commercial activity and benefit the economies of the trading countries involved; and secondly, that in a system whereby the revenue of the country owning the hinterland (China) was secured, that country would be unlikely to place obstacles in the way of the free transit of goods. By combining these two principles, the German Navy ensured at Kiaochow the measure of freedom necessary for all practical purposes of trade, while China obtained the necessary safeguards for her revenue. Within the boundaries of the German protectorate imports and exports were duty free (harbor fees being levied on ships, not the value or quantity of their cargo). Goods crossing the border into China proper were subject to the treaty tariff, and to collect this a branch of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (IMC) service was opened at Tsingtao in July 1899.

The first tariff commissioner at Tsingtao was one Herr Ohlmer, appointed by China's Inspector General of Customs, Sir Robert Hart. Ohlmer was particularly enthusiastic about the economic potential of Kiaochow, especially about the building of the Shantung railroad: "If anywhere in China, the railway will work wonders here;
and its inauguration will be followed by a development of trade and commerce and increased prosperity to the people surpassing expectation." He foresaw that thousands of Chinese artisans and coolies would be employed, and that their wages in turn would create a market for European goods.

Maritime trade at Kiaochow was initially limited because, noted HAPAG's Albert Ballin in 1901, "the landing facilities are hopelessly inadequate." Exports and imports had to be transshipped at Shanghai, and the first mole was only opened to traffic in March 1904. But Ballin, during his 1901 journey in the Far East, also saw the potential of Kiaochow, and wrote the Kaiser praising his "grosse Politik" and saying that people agreed that the future belonged to Deutschtum. ("God grant it!" happily commented the Kaiser.) Ballin had just founded a coastal steamer line in Hong Kong, connecting Canton, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, with service to Vladivostok to follow in the next year, and he hoped soon to include Kiaochow.

37 Quoted in The London and China Telegraph, 19 November 1900; BA-K R 85/1205 Aus. Amt II U.

38 Henderson, p. 68.

39 Letter from Ballin to the Kaiser, with Kaiser's marginal comment, Shanghai, 1 March 1901; BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIIh. PG 67346. Ballin wrote again from Kobe, 26 March 1901.
Hart's IMC was somewhat unhappy with Kiaochow's status as a free port, because smuggling across the long border between the free territory and the interior was difficult to police. In 1901 the IMC had suggested that the "free zone" be limited to the docks themselves, where cargoes were easier to inspect by customs officials. Chinese merchants who traded with the interior were likewise dissatisfied. It was they who had to pay the tariff at the border on goods purchased from European firms which had imported them duty-free, and in addition, customs inspection at the border was complicated and time-consuming. It would be far simpler, they urged, to have the bulk importer pay the tariff on goods for the interior at the docks, and have that cost added to the price the Chinese merchants would pay. (Transit goods not intended for the interior would still be free.) The Navy ultimately adopted this system and it went into effect on 1 January 1906. 40

The volume of shipping visiting Kiaochow steadily increased, some 432 steamers of 519,292 aggregate tonnage in 1907-1908, and 923 steamers of 1,298,622 tonnage in

40 Schrecker, pp. 205-208. While articles for public or military consumption within the protectorate, as well as capital equipment for industry, remained exempt from duty, other goods consumed paid an import tariff, of which the Navy received 20%. 
1912-1913. In addition there were countless Chinese junks employed in the coastal trade.\textsuperscript{41}

The prosperity of Kiaochow, just as the Navy had foreseen, was due not to exports, but rather the transit trade through the port to and from the interior of Shantung. In effect Kiaochow represented a service rendered, benefitting both European and Chinese commercial interests; it itself was not a commercial enterprise, nor should it have been expected to repay a financial profit. (Nor have naval ships and bases ever been commercial enterprises; their purpose is to protect and further commercial activity, not enter into or benefit for it.)\textsuperscript{42}

By creating a free port, the German Navy intentionally relinquished possible revenue from import and export tariffs (until merchant pressure caused a revision in 1905). The taxes and harbor duties that were imposed were

\textsuperscript{41}British "Kiaochow and Weihaiwei" Handbook, p. 16. Sampans were too numerous to count; and on 22 September 1912 Governor Mayer-Waldeck issued an ordinance restricting their numbers, as too many were being run over by steamers. BA-MA Fach 2428 RMA XIX 4.1.17. PG 60964.

\textsuperscript{42}Tracing the prosperity accruing to the German economy is complicated by the fact that all German joint-stock companies in eastern Asia were registered as British, due to a clause in the company law of the Reich forbidding issuing of shares of less than 1,000 Marks. This clause was abrogated in 1911. British "Kiaochow and Weihaiwei" Handbook, p. 31.
more for regulation than revenue. The revenue derived from the Schutzgebiet was always utterly inadequate to defray the expenses of construction and administration, and had to be supplemented by an annual government subsidy. As trade increased, however, so did the incidental income, so that in 1913, for the first time, revenue exceeded subsidy: 9,410,000 M to 8,900,000 M. Had the First World War not broken out, this trend would probably have continued.

Shantung was one of the most densely populated provinces of China, and there was a large reservoir of native labor. The coolies, however, were largely unskilled, and skilled laborers for the Kiaochow ship-yards were only imported from Shanghai at high wages. The solution was to open a technical school at Tsingtao for Chinese, and this was done right after the protectorate was established.

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43 Some Chinese merchants were disgruntled when dock fees were raised in 1910, and in the Reichstag Erzberger charged that there was a virtual Chinese "boycott" of Kiaochow. Tirpitz replied that complaint never reached such proportions. Reichstags Verhandlungen, XII. Legislaturperiode, II. Session, 52. Sitzung, 9 March 1910, vol. 260, pp. 1903 and 1906 respectively.

44 Norem, p. 119. Figures are from the 1914 budget estimates.

45 A published but undated RMA Denkschrift mentions the Chinesische Schule reporting 50 students in October 1899, but none in 1900 (year of the Boxer Rebellion); BA-MA Tirpitz Nachlass N 257/41.
The students worked and learned for four years at nominal wages, before receiving an apprenticeship certificate. They were then obligated to remain for several additional years in the service of the dockyard. Applicants were to be 15 to 18 years of age, be residents of Shantung, and had to have some knowledge of reading and writing in their own language. During their four years of instruction, the ten-hour day was spent in the shop, with German and Chinese lessons in the morning and evening. The nominal daily pay of 20 to 35 cents apparently compared favorably with regular Chinese wages, especially since room and board were also provided. The trainees lived in wooden barracks, though these quarters were later improved. Applications were encouraged by pamphlets describing entrance requirements, wages and conditions, and job expectancy. Approximately 100 apprentices were graduated a year. There were also a number of mission schools that taught elementary- and secondary-level classes, the most important being the Deutsch-Chinesisches Seminar of the Weimar Mission, with a curriculum in accord with Chinese educational regulations. The Navy itself opened

two grammar schools in 1905, and by 1911 there were twelve schools with 380 pupils.47

A far more ambitious project was born in 1908 when Tirpitz, as State Secretary of the Navy, asked the Reichstag for 300,000 M "for the establishment of an institution for higher learning for Chinese in Tsingtao."48 This was a most momentous proposal. The Chinese had previously opposed such European ventures, primarily because Christian mission schools had such strong religious overtones that the Chinese government was unwilling to pay the price of ethical and social estrangement for western knowledge. No foreign schools had official recognition, and their students were barred from the Chinese civil service.49

The Reichstag hedged on the proposal, the Budget Commission wanting to ascertain Chinese feelings on the matter. Under pressure from the Reichsmarineamt negotiations were carried on with Peking from May until August

47Schrecker, p. 244.


49The Union Medical College in Peking was at that time the only officially recognized institution with a foreign director (Dr. Cochrane), and it was attached to the Peking University. Franke, p. 1331.
1908. The Germans agreed that Chinese instruction (literature and the other humanities) would be a part of the curriculum as coordinated with Chang Chi Tung, Chinese Inspector of Education, and that the German emphasis would be technological. The Chinese government contributed 40,000 M toward buildings, and 40,000 M annually for maintenance and expansion for ten years.50

This Deutsch-chinesische Hochschule was formally opened with much oratory and ceremony on 25 October 1909, with 63 students initially enrolled. The Unterstufe (lower forms) had a six-year course of study (students 14 to 20 years old) including German, history and geography, mathematics, botany, zoology, physics, and chemistry. The Oberstufe (upper forms) offered a two- to three-year course of study (students 20 years of age and older) in one of four departments: political science, medicine, engineering, and forestry and agriculture. The pre-medical program, fully introduced in 1911, required an additional year of internship at the Faber Hospital in Tsingtao. Graduates of the Unterstufe could also enter the Chinese Imperial University in Peking.51

50 Ibid., pp. 1325-1326.

51 The German term Hochschule will be retained as implying an education between the vocational and the university. An RMA Report for 1908-09 notes that health, drawing, music, and gymnastics were part of the curriculum,
Classes began 1 November 1909 in the old barracks of the Field Artillery (which had moved to newer quarters in July), with the officers' quarters for the classrooms and the barracks for the dormitory. Regular buildings were planned for 1910. The director was Professor Georg Keiper, a lecturer (Dozent) in geology for many years at the Imperial University in Peking. The other faculty members, lecturers and instructors, were recruited from active positions in other German and Chinese institutions.

The Hochschule represented a realization of the importance of influencing the rising giant of China by means of German ideas, and of increasing the cultural ties between the two peoples. Tirpitz did not merely promote the institution to mollify anti-military liberals and to provide justification for Reichstag expenditures for a Far East naval base. He did not need to employ a facade of "cultural advancement" for his Navy budgets to be passed, and an academic institution within a military protectorate posed far more potential frictions and embarrassments than plaudits—as was soon to be demonstrated. "The great cultural undertaking that Germany has now begun in the Far

with Chinese language, literature, and philosophy to be added later. Annual tuition was admittedly rather high, 100 M for the Unterstufe, 200 M for the Oberstufe. Franke, p. 1333, says 110 students were present for the opening, while a 1910 RMA Report says the enrollment increased from 79 to 145 that year. RMA Reports in BA-MA Fach 2522 RMA XIX Kiautschou, PG 61388 and PG 61389 respectively.
East," concluded Professor Franke, "is perhaps the most unique and the most difficult enterprise of its kind, to which the Reich has ever put its hand."  

That there was much friction between the civilian community and the military administration in Kiaochow is not surprising, given the impatient, enterprising spirit of the one, and the regard and responsibility for regulation and efficiency of the other. The initiation of the academic experiment unfortunately exacerbated the existing differences; for all was not well in the German "pearl of the Orient."

In December 1909, at a time when Governor Truppel was on leave in Germany, Tirpitz wrote Cruiser Squadron commander Rear Admiral von Ingenohl, then at Hong Kong:

For you personally and very confidentially: Over the last years unfavorable comments have repeatedly reached me from Reichstag circles and from East Asia concerning the objectionable conduct and administrative methods at Tsingtao. This past winter I succeeded in preventing a strong outburst of these sentiments in the Reichstag; but this year is more uncertain.

I am asking you to tell me by telegraph, for my personal and confidential information, what you know from your own observations or from the expression of public opinion.  

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52 Franke, p. 1336.

53 Private letter from Tirpitz to Ingenohl, December 1909, probably the 27th; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.
Three days later Ingenohl replied that Truppel was occasionally a bit blunt and therefore somewhat unpopular, though this unpopularity was also caused by officials like Schrameier, commissioner of Chinese affairs. "The acting governor [Captain Meyer-Waldeck]," he said, "is liked by all." The real difference, he felt arose primarily from the desire of the civilian community for greater influence over the budget and expenses (which Ingenohl felt was premature). Otherwise the governor's accomplishments were widely acknowledge, and, he added, "The retention of the governor is desirable in the interests of the colony."54

Tirpitz had always written well of Truppel in his annual fitness reports, considering him talented, industrious, and energetic, and yet also tactful; but by 1907 doubts had arisen, and Tirpitz's 1 December 1908 report was a qualified one:

Fills his post very well. Has recognition and respect in the colony. Promotes all undertakings in the colony with energy and understanding, although he certainly doesn't always take the financial side into account. He is not free of conceit [Eitelkeit]. His retention as governor is by all means desired. Conceives [the purpose] of an officer corps [as being] to lead.

The 1 December 1909 report further emphasized that "He

54 Ingenohl to Tirpitz, Hong Kong, 30 December 1909; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.
is not free of conceit and therefore treats many questions too subjectively. 

This was probably a reference to the fact that Truppel was discontented about the *Deutsch-Chinesische Hochschule* for reasons not immediately apparent: possibly an awareness of the civil-military frictions that might result, possibly because it represented an area not under the governor's immediate jurisdiction, possibly because Truppel feared some Chinese might be violently opposed to any "Germanization" attempts. In any case, that the school was formally opened in the autumn of 1909 while Truppel was on leave in Germany, did not help matters. Early in 1910 the governor went before the Reichstag Budget Commission to defend the appropriations for Kiaochow, apparently in a manner somewhat abrupt and

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55 Annual Qualifikationsberichte in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3. Fitness reports were written by an officer's immediate superior, initialled or commented on by the department chief, and forwarded to the Marinekabinett (personal) for inclusion in the officer's personal file. The reports were confidential, but presumably read by the MK head and the Kaiser.

56 Truppel's opposition to the Hochschule is discussed by Tirpitz in his Qualifikationsberichte of 1 December 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3. In an unsigned, undated (but presumably early 1911) report the RMA Nachrichtenbüro stated that "From the beginning Truppel has been an opponent of the establishing of the Hochschule" with the cryptic remark later, "on psychological grounds, naturally. . . ." BA-MA Fach 2246 RMA I.2.1.-20. Nachrichtenbüro PG 94053.
overbearing, before returning to the Far East at the end of March. "For a long time the Navy has been spoiled and coddled by the Reichstag," the daily Germania noted angrily; "they have agreed too easily. Now Herr v. Tirpitz cannot accustom himself to times of economy. That he has not done so is demonstrated by the return of Governor Truppel to Kiaochow, who displayed very extraordinary ostentation [Prunksucht]—and an even more extraordinary waste of Reich funds—before the Budget Commission. In all circles people are astounded, that in spite of this, he should return to Kiaochow." 57

The economies apparently made in the Kiaochow budget were not well received by the civilian community in the protectorate, who felt that the best interests of the colony had been poorly represented by the Reichsmarineamt (Tirpitz and Truppel) in the "tragedy," as one newspaper put it, of the recent Reichstag debates. "We are convinced that the RMA would be spared many sorrows if it would

57 Germania newscollipping, 22 March 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3. Truppel was given a six-months' leave of absence to return to Germany in January 1909, apparently leaving around October. He resumed his duties from Meyer-Waldeck (who ultimately succeeded him) on 2 April 1910. Truppel's leave orders in Tirpitz to Müller (MK), 21 January 1909; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310. Resumption of duties in RMA Marineverordnungsblatt Nr. 8, 1 May 1910 (BA-MA).
recognize once and for all, that the colonists have a considerably greater interest in the prosperity of the colony than anybody else.\textsuperscript{58}

In August Tirpitz received a letter from Managing Vice President Holleben of the Colonial Society regarding his impressions of Kiaochow during his recent trip to the Far East. Holleben cautioned that his remarks were confidential and much based on hearsay, and that Truppel had not yet returned from Germany at the time. The gist of opinion, he said, was that Truppel's return was viewed with regret, that his behavior in the Reichstag had prejudiced the fortunes of the Schutzgebiet. Holleben did feel that while more cooperation between the military administration and the civilian community was desirable, nonetheless the Navy was to be congratulated on the success of its undertaking.\textsuperscript{59}

The growing tension between the civilian community and the Navy administration finally exploded regarding—as might have been expected—the Hochschule. The faculty was unhappy with the administration of Director Keiper and

\textsuperscript{58} Tsingtau Neueste Nachrichten newsclipping, 14 June 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.

\textsuperscript{59} Holleben to Tirpitz, 26 August 1910; also copy of Holleben's undated Denkschrift for the Foreign Office forwarded to the RMA; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.
highly critical of Governor Truppel, and resented the Navy's control over the budget and the operations of the school. On 28 June 1910 Keiper forwarded a petition of grievances to the governor, including the threatened resignation of two faculty members, Lessing and Othmer, unless more independence was allowed them.  

Truppel apparently ignored the petition, and on 14 September approved a new school ordinance that reaffirmed the Navy administration's control over the school's functions. The faculty protested on the 30th, to no avail. Only after an inquiry from the RMA did the governor, a month later, establish a commission to investigate and revise the ordinance; and then Truppel departed for Shanghai, Nanking, Tsinanfu, and Peking for the month of November.

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60 Events noted in Tirpitz's later rebuke to Truppel, 6 December 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3. The events of the Hochschule controversy are also summarized in the unsigned, undated (but presumably early 1911) RMA Nachrichtenbüro report. That the report might be taken as objective may be inferred from the fact that Tirpitz wanted to know the real story, and that Governor Truppel was fired over the issue. This has never previously been revealed; officially Truppel retired with honors "for reasons of health." Unfortunately the petition and the later controversial school ordinances are not included, but merely referred to.

61 The Reichstag, it might be added, later discussed the question briefly as being a dispute of the lecturers and instructors concerning their rank; Reichstags Verhandlungen, XII. Legislaturperiode, II. Session, 130. Sitzung, 17 February 1911, v. 264, pp. 4749 ff.
Tirpitz was exasperated with Truppel when he wrote his fitness report of 1 December 1910; that Truppel had caused dissension with the Chinese tariff office, with the German envoy in Peking, with the civilian community in general, and the Hochschule in particular. By obstructing the progress of this last, he continued, Truppel had jeopardized the whole future success of Germany in China. 62

Tirpitz's apprehensions were confirmed by a report from Cruiser Squadron commander Gührer, sent from Shanghai the next day. Gührer said that Truppel had antagonized everyone, and that all expected him to be dismissed; "they will see the governor depart without regret." This discontent was shared by both the military personnel and the civilians. "Especially deplorable to me," he continued, "is the stand the governor has taken against the establishment of the school for the Chinese. Schools are the principal means of attaining some kind of influence over them; I found this everywhere confirmed and obviously demonstrated—and then, to my discomfiture, had to put up with the remarks of our envoy in Peking that Excellency Truppel had been an outspoken opponent and a brake on the

62 Qualifikationsbericht of 1 December 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.
affairs of the school." Everyone, he concluded, expected Meyer-Waldeck to be his successor. Marinekabinett chief Müller replied to Gühler, thanking him for his letter, that "For me and also for the State Secretary [Tirpitz] it was most welcome information from an impartial source, in general a confirmation of a conclusion the State Secretary had been arriving at for a long time."63

In the meantime Truppel and Keiper decided not to renew the contracts of two faculty members, Gutherz and Jerosch. Three other faculty members immediately offered their resignations in protest. "Therefore a regular strike," observed the RMA Nachrichtenbüro report. On the 6th Tirpitz wrote a strong note to Truppel, deploring the recent events. He would support the termination of the five-year contracts, but directed that Gutherz and Jerosch be granted a probationary year. Tirpitz also urged that Truppel's commission come up with revised school regulations as soon as possible.64

Three days later Truppel telegraphed Berlin:

Gutherz, Jerosch refuse probationary year under Keiper's administration and the present school

63 Konteradmiral Gühler to Müller (MK), Shanghai, 2 December 1910, and Müller to Gühler, 22 December 1910; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310. Gühler died of typhus in Hong Kong, 21 January 1911.

64 Tirpitz to Truppel, 6 December 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.
regulations. Othmer, Lessing, Knopp request recall with the same argument, and free passage home. Possibility exists that some students will demonstrate or leave with the teachers. Request decision and instructions by telegraph. Report goes on 14 December.65

Tirpitz urged Truppel to delay until tempers had cooled, requesting written statements by the disaffected faculty members. He also demanded to know if the new school regulations had been introduced, and if they were more conciliatory. To this Truppel replied that Jerosch and his colleagues had presented counter-proposals for a new ordinance which greatly restricted the school director in particular, and was unwilling to issue his own ordinance at this time.

This irritated Tirpitz. "Only a school ordinance drawn up by the government has any value here, not schemes of lecturers. Send it immediately. When did the commission begin deliberations?" On the 22d Truppel answered that the deliberations had not even begun, that any action before a decision was made about the rebellious faculty would only be timorous and sharpen opposition.66

Truppel was deliberately dragging his feet in the affair and Tirpitz was furious. "Cooperation between the

65Truppel to Tirpitz, Tsingtau, 9 December 1910; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.

66Correspondence between Tirpitz and Truppel from BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3 and Fach 2246 RMA I.2.1.-20. Nachrichtenbüro PG 64053.
governor of Kiaochow and the State Secretary of the Reichsmarineamt," confided MK chief Müller to a friend in the RMA, "has by now become so impossible, that a change in personnel—in which position there can be no doubt—must take place. His Majesty the Kaiser is also determined to let Governor Truppel go, but naturally only after the Crown Prince's visit to the colony now set definitely for the beginning of April."^7

The break had come; and on 28 December 1910 von Müller wrote Truppel of his dismissal:

It is my duty to inform you that His Majesty the Kaiser has decided that a change in the position of the governorship is to take place. His Majesty is of the opinion that the official divergence of views between you and the State Secretary of the Reichsmarineamt is not conducive to the continued well being of the colony. That His Majesty, on the other hand, fully recognizes your service in developing the colony, I need scarcely tell you. It is also the desire of His Majesty that under all circumstances you are still to do the honors for the Crown Prince in Tsingtao, before you take your leave. 68

The unhappy affair was handled probably as gracefully as possible under the circumstances. Truppel did not have to

67 Müller (MK) to Kapitän zur See Usslar (Section A.IV-Mobilization in the RMA), 21 December 1910; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310. Müller also asked Usslar to explain the situation to the Crown Prince to avoid any embarrassment.

68 Müller to Truppel, 28 December 1910; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310.
suffer the humiliation of being publicly fired; instead, he was promoted from Vice Admiral to full Admiral on 27 January, in recognition of his services, and was ennobled shortly thereafter. Captain Meyer-Waldeck was to be his successor. Right after New Year's Tirpitz directed that Meyer-Waldeck turn over his duties to Captain Höpfner and return to Germany via Siberia. The Kiaochow budget was in a critical state because of the Hochschule controversy, and Tirpitz wanted the conciliatory Meyer-Waldeck in Berlin for the third reading before the Reichstag.69

Truppel did not leave without the good wishes of many who knew him. "Between China and the Schutzgebiet," wrote Sun Pao Chu, Governor of Shantung province and former ambassador to Berlin, "the best of understanding has always reigned. The Chinese population has always enjoyed a mild and just treatment. This is the general view of the Chinese—not my personal thoughts alone."70

Truppel's departure was delayed for a month when he was prostrated with a serious intestinal disorder, but he

69 Telegram in letter, Tirpitz to Governor, Kiaochow, 6 January 1911; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310. There is no indication, it might be added, that Meyer-Waldeck was eager to unseat Truppel, or did not support his chief as his duties required. The Nachrichtenbüro report, on the contrary, says that Meyer-Waldeck supported Keiper in the question.

70 Sun Pao Chu to Truppel, 9 April 1911, and other well-wishes, in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/11 and /26.
finally sailed on Sunday, 14 May 1911. The Kiautschou-
Post saw him off with a sentimental editorial:

As this issue comes before the eyes of its readers, our governor is preparing for his return home, for the final departure from the place of ten years of successful work. A couple of hours now—and the slim cruiser Gneisenau will take from our midst the man who, for ten years as the representative of the Kaiser at the head of the colony, directed and governed, and labored—labored hard—to the best of his knowledge and ability, gaining all our confidence.\(^7\)

Truppel retired from the service on 28 July 1911, fifty-seventy years old, and was honored with hereditary nobility by the Kaiser on 19 August.\(^7\)

Dr. Keiper remained as director of the Hochschule, and with a new governor, the faculty and the administration of the school and of the colony were reconciled. The school continued to expand, with 212 students enrolled in the autumn of 1911. Plans for the accommodation of some 500 students were made for 1914.\(^7\)

\(^7\) Kiautschou-Post newsclipping, Tsingtau, 14 May 1911; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/11.

\(^7\) Upon von Truppel's death on 20 August 1931, the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger praised his efforts, saying "That the German position in the economic life of China has been successfully rebuilt relatively quickly, is in part due to his far-reaching connections. His performance remains a sharp weapon in our struggle against the lies of colonial guilt." Newsclipping for 21 August 1931 in BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/3.

\(^7\) Enrollment figures in annual RMA reports; BA-MA Fach 2522 RMA XIX Kiautschou PG 61389-61392.
Chinesische Hochschule was a significant attempt to facilitate cultural interchange between two countries of different traditions and heritage. In addition, the school went far to reconcile the Chinese to a German presence in China, and to justify the administration of an overseas protectorate by the German Navy.

The ferment that had been increasing in China—impatience with the tradition-bound and autocratic Manchu dynasty and a realization that Western innovations had to be introduced—finally boiled into rebellion in October 1911. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, elected first president of the Chinese Republic, was a Christian and had been educated in Western universities; and ancient China, forced open by the world beyond, now proceeded to determine her own destiny guided by the institutions and example of those nations with whom she was in intimate contact.
The German Navy still considered it desirable to have localities around the world for commercial coaling stations and submarine telegraph cable stations. This was true even though a naval strategy of cruiser-warfare based on overseas Stützpunkte had long been dismissed as incompatible with the realities of geography and German naval strength. Oceanic cables, at a time when wireless telegraphy was of limited range and reliability, were the only means of rapid communication over long distances, and played a major role in commercial as well as military activity.\(^1\)

But the cable networks of the world were primarily British, and in times of tension, let alone war, coded messages were likely to be banned, and all messages intercepted and censored by the British government. Germany already had several cables to New York, Monrovia in West Africa, and Pernambuco in Brazil, and in the Pacific one was laid from

\(^1\)A wireless station was opened at Tsingtao in December 1912. In a communications test on 7 January 1913 SMS Scharnhorst exchanged signals while at Labuan Island off Borneo, a distance of 1850 sea miles; but this was exceptional, and atmospheric conditions were not always so ideal. RMA (Vollerthun) to ADM, 3 March 1913; BA-MA Fach 5066 ADM-B I.3.-7. Kriegskabel--Asien.

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Tsingtao via Shanghai to Yap Island in the Carolines, with branches to Guam and Menado in the Celebes. A world-wide cable network, as well as more coaling stations, would always be advantageous.

In 1907 the German Foreign Office was still trying to salvage something from the fiasco of the Algeciras conference of the previous year. In the course of determining what would be adequate territorial compensation for French predominance in Morocco, the Foreign Office requested Tirpitz's views. The Reichsmarineamt turned over the request to the Admiralstab, at the same time suggesting a harbor on the Atlantic coast of Morocco or possibly French Somaliland on the east coast opposite British Aden, with its shipping port and railroad terminus Djibouti. (As if the French would ever have surrendered it!) Chief of the Admiralty Staff Büchsel replied in a long memorandum mentioning Dakar on the Atlantic coast as well as Djibouti as being desirable, and adding the French Lesser Antilles (Guadeloupe and Martinique) in the Caribbean and the French Polynesiens (including Tahiti) in the South Pacific, both important in relation to the Panama Canal then under construction, as harbors and coaling and coaling stations.

2 Cable chart in Hurd and Castle, p. 98.

3 Von Tschirschky (Foreign Office) to Tirpitz (RMA), 21 September 1907; BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15.
cable stations. Nothing came of it all; nor did the Navy expect much, and the reply to the Foreign Office request was routine.4

The possibility of establishing a coaling station on the Pacific coast of Mexico had meanwhile arisen. Believing that the United States had received such rights at Magdalena Bay on the Baja California peninsula, German Ambassador Wangenheim raised the question with a Mexican official and received an encouraging reply.5 But Büchsel at the Admiralstab questioned whether the United States did have a formal coaling station there, and further expressed doubts as to American reaction to any German establishment in view of the Monroe Doctrine. And there the matter rested.6

The Admiralty Staff continued to do studies on various possible bases and coaling or cable stations: the Chagos and Maldive Islands in the Indian Ocean, Pulo

4 RMA to ADM, 11 October 1907, and ADM to RMA, 22 October 1907; BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15.

5 Wangenheim to Foreign Office, Mexico City, 19 August 1907; BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15. In forwarding this information to Tirpitz, Pourtales of the Foreign Office referred to an RMA inquiry in July 1907. Pourtales to Tirpitz, 7 September 1907.

6 ADM to RMA, 22 October 1907; BA-MA Fach 5174a ADM-B III.1.15. On 9 November the Foreign Office informed the ADM that the Americans had leased the bay for three years and would station two coal-barges there.
Lankawi in the Strait of Malacca between Malaya and Sumatra on the route to Singapore, and locations like Sumbawa Island in the Dutch East Indies. Such studies were apparently for routine information, rather than indication of any policy. While Tirpitz himself was apparently not averse to acquisitions on principle, they were only of secondary importance. "Apart from Tsingtao," he later wrote, "I had refrained from obtaining any more bases, as the time was not yet ripe and the money for the fleet must not be divided."

In 1910 the Reichsmarineamt approached Ballin's HAPAG line concerning the coaling problems of its overseas warships. With the HAPAG's numerous ships and foreign commercial connections, some arrangements for coaling cruisers abroad in war might be made. But Ballin's ships themselves would be hard-pressed to find safety, and the problems of code-books and changing cipher systems and radio frequencies were formidable. "The result was negative," concluded the RMA.

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7 Undated, unsigned ADM-B study, apparently 1907 or 1908; BA-MA Fach 517a ADM-B III.1.15. As the first two island groups were controlled by Britain, such acquisitions would presumably have been negotiated.

8 Tirpitz, I, p. 200.

9 RMA Denkschrift on Kreuzerkrieg, 24 April 1911; BA-MA Fach 5167 ADM-B III.1.-5a.
As it became increasingly obvious that in a major European war England would probably be a hostile power, the German Navy was more reluctant than ever to become involved in commitments beyond the North Sea. At Dar-es-Salaam in East Africa, for example, a floating dock that could take small cruisers of the Condor class had been put into operation in 1902, with construction expenses shared by the Foreign Office and the RMA.\(^\text{10}\) By 1907 a dock with enlarged capacity was desirable, but the Colonial Department was unable to advance sufficient funds, and the Navy was unwilling to do so. "In case Your Excellency," wrote an irritated Dr. Dernburg to Tirpitz, "on grounds which are unknown to me, should not be in a position to render [financial] assistance, permit me to suggest respectfully, whether it might not be recommended that the Imperial Navy administration take over the dock and yard installations at Dar-es-Salaam."\(^\text{11}\) While the Navy would benefit from improved facilities in East Africa, this would

\(^{10}\) The dock was constructed by the Howaldtswerke of Kiel and transported in sections by freighter. Allgemeine Marine Correspondenz article of 17 August 1900; BA-MA Fach 5122 ADM-B II. Deutschl. 23c. On 29 October 1904 the British newspaper African Standard praised the dock as "the cheapest of all outside Europe" and "an establishment of the best of its kind with an up-to-date organisation." In addition the German workshops did "first class work at low rates."

\(^{11}\) Dernburg (Kolonia Abteilung) to Tirpitz (RMA), 16 April 1907; BA-MA Fach 5122 ADM-B II. Deutschl. 23c.
not apply to more than a few cruisers on foreign station, and the Navy showed no further interest.\textsuperscript{12}

At the Reichskolonialamt (Imperial Colonial Office which replaced the Colonial Department in that same year) Dernburg and his successors gradually realized that the Navy could not be depended on to protect the colonies in time of war. In October 1912 Dr. Solf finally wrote Vice Admiral von Heeringen at the Admiralty Staff asking what preparations the Navy had made to secure important colonial coastal localities against sudden incursions of enemy warships. On 6 December von Heeringen replied, lamely suggesting that the individual governors confer with the ranking naval officer on the respective station. As to the Navy participating in the costs for such defense measures the Colonial Office might devise, he added, this would have to be referred to the RMA.\textsuperscript{13}

While the governors sought the cooperation of the naval commanders, Solf asked Tirpitz how the news "threatening danger of war" would be communicated to the colonies, as the oceanic cables would probably be cut.

\textsuperscript{12}On 2 June 1914 SMS Geier reported the Dar-es-Salaam Schwimmdock as being 64.77 m long and holding ships of 1800 tons, so presumably the new one was never built; BA-MA Fach 5122 ADM-B II. Deutschl. 23c.

\textsuperscript{13}Solf to von Heeringen (ADM), 28 October 1912, and von Heeringen's reply, 6 December 1912; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV.1.1.7.
The ADM replied to Solf's inquiry that F.T. (Funken-telegraph) wireless stations in the colonies might receive notification via the long-distance transmitter at Norddeich, or by signals relayed by steamer or warship.\footnote{Solf to Tirpitz, 25 February 1913, and von Pohl (who had replaced Heeringen at the ADM) to Solf, 3 April 1913; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV.1.1.7. Copies of the naval cipher systems were kept by the governors; but the Navy was understandably uneasy that naval communications security might be compromised by "civilian" oversight or error. When war broke out, it was actually the loss of light cruiser Magdeburg in the Baltic, and the recovery of her code-books by the Allies, that enabled the British "Room 40" cryptanalysts to break the German secret naval messages so successfully.}

The discussions in the spring of 1913 between the colonial governments and the respective naval commanders were not particularly fruitful. The senior officer on the East African station, Axel Walter, drew up proposals for the defense of Dar-es-Salaam (four 15 cm quick-loading guns, a minefield in the harbor of 25 mines, and three 3.7 cm revolver cannon) and Tanga (a battery of 10.5 cm quick-loading guns, 25 mines, and three revolver cannon), but admitted that the question of expense would have to be settled in Berlin.\footnote{Walter to Geheimart Methner, representing Governor Dr. Heinrich Schnee, 13 March 1913, forwarded with a cover letter to the Reichskolonialamt, 19 March 1913; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV.1.1.7.} Walter's proposals were not carried out.
The defense of little Togo was considered hopeless, and in Kamerun Major Fabricius of the Schutztruppe felt that the only chance for the colony was that the less significant the port of Duala seemed, the less an enemy would be willing to pay for it in casualties.\(^{16}\) The Kamerun colonial administrators further hoped that Duala might be spared, as the 1907 Hague Convention forbade bombardment of unfortified places. But as von Rebeur-Paschwitz, senior naval officer on the West African coast, pointed out, the Convention excepted "maintenance shops and installations which could be made useful for the requirements of an enemy fleet." Under that, he added, "more or less everything falls (i.e., floating docks, maintenance shops, barracks, etc.)."\(^{17}\)

For Southwest Africa, Lieutenant Commander Schnabel of SMS Panther informed Governor Seitz that a battery of six 15. cm guns and Schutztruppen with machineguns might be located at Swakopmund and Luderitz Bay to prevent landings, but that minefields would not be effective, and the colony could "in no way be secured." The Kaiser, in

\(^{16}\)Togo Governor Herzog zu Mecklenburg to Reichskolonialamt, Lome, 17 April 1913, and Schutztruppe Major Fabricius to Kamerun Governor Dr. Ebermaier, Soppo, 3 July 1913; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV 1.1.7.

\(^{17}\)Rebeur-Paschwitz to Kamerun government at Buea, from Victoria, 14 January 1914; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV. 1.1.7.
fact, had already released the Navy from a hopeless obligation, and the isolated gunboats were to avoid any enemy forces. "On the basis of the All-Highest order (of 29 April 1913) to the gunboats of the West African station in case of war," Schnabel concluded, "the ships can in no way participate in the defense of the coasts."\(^\text{18}\)

The prospects were equally bleak in the Pacific. For Samoa Lieutenant Commander Zuckschwerdt on the Australian Station could only suggest destroying the wireless station and extinguishing the harbor entrance lights, and entering into negotiations with the enemy commander—and told the governor of New Guinea he was equally helpless.\(^\text{19}\) The naval base at Kiaochow, of course, was garrisoned and fortified; it would hold out as long as possible, in the hope that a European war would be short. The movements of the Cruiser Squadron would depend on the extent of hostilities.

In April 1914 Solf summed up the situation to Chief of the Admiralstab von Pohl, that only Dar-es-Salaam and Duala might be defended against a light-weight attack, and

\(^{18}\)Schnabel's letter reported by Seitz to Solf, Windhuk, 8 November 1913; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV.1.1.7.

\(^{19}\)Samoan Governor Dr. Schultz-Ewerth to Reichskolonialamt, Apia, 9 November 1913, and New Guinea Governor Hahl to RKA, Rabaul, 20 January 1914; BA-MA Fach 4292 RMA XIV.1.1.7.
that against a serious invasion the colonial Schutztruppen could only fight a delaying action until the treasury and official records had been removed to the interior. He again wanted to know what naval action he might depend on from the ADM, and what funds Tirpitz might contribute from the RMA. Pohl informed Tirpitz that the colonial defense measures were "worthless for the purposes of the Imperial Navy."20 Tirpitz concurred in this, and both the colonies and the cruisers and gunboats on foreign station were on their own. Surrendering the coast meant that the colonies could not be supplied or reinforced, and warships would find no haven for re-provisioning and repair; but the basic dilemma, of course, was that Germany could not protect her overseas trade and colonial possessions against a superior foe.

With the outbreak of war shipping on the high seas would immediately seek refuge. In 1912 the transport steamer Königin Louise, outward bound for the annual rotation of the Kiaochow garrison, had war orders to: proceed to an allied or neutral harbor if between Bremerhaven and Port Said (and have the officers and men sent back to Germany, individually or in groups, "in civilian clothing if the situation requires it"); proceed to Dar-es-Salaam...
if between Port Said and Colombo (Ceylon); proceed to either of two secret rendezvous (U-296 and U-284, presumably in the Dutch East Indies or the Philippines) to await contact with the Cruiser Squadron if between Colombo and the northern exit from the Formosa Strait; or proceed to Tsingtao, approaching the entrance under cover of darkness, if between Formosa and Kiaochow. Recognition signals for day (signal flags V over M) and night (three white lights) were also issued.21

Warships were little better off. They would attempt to undertake cruiser warfare, but the logistical situation was discouraging. For coal resupply the light cruiser Bremen, off the west coast of South America in 1910, was to send a telegram addressed to "Herr Baber" in Panama: "Please send ___kg lemon seeds by __," in which "kg" represented tons of coal and "by" was the date for a rendezvous in a place designated by sailing orders (at this time isolated Utria Bay along the Columbian coast, where a steamer would wait up to two weeks). Similar

21The secret South China Sea rendezvous were only to be utilized if England was a hostile nation; otherwise ships would go to a neutral harbor. Secret outward- and homeward-bound instructions for Königin Louise, 24 December 1912; BA-MA Fach 5172 ADM-B 1.9b. Warships on foreign station received instructions that varied as to what alignment of belligerents took place.
arrangements would be made through Valparaiso, Chile, if Bremen were south of the equator.22

Every German ship sent abroad, then, risked a precarious existence should war ever break out, and its chances for survival were not good. During the winter of 1913-1914, two of Germany's latest dreadnoughts, SMS Kaiser and König Albert, were on an extended cruise to Kamerun and Southwest Africa, across the Atlantic to South America, and through the Straits of Magellan to Chile. This the Kaiser had agreed to at Tirpitz's insistence, and against the opposition of both Müller at the MK and Pohl at the ADM; Tirpitz hoped to dramatize in this way how the fleet could better trade relations, for he felt that a modern battleship was "the best possible industrial exhibition on a small scale. . . ."23 Nonetheless when the Liman von Sanders Affair (Russia's objecting to a German's command of Turkish troops at the Black Sea Straits) caused international tension in January 1914, the perilous position of the two dreadnoughts was made

22Instructions for Bremen via Consul Freundlich in Panama, November 1910; BA-MA Fach 5166 ADM-B III.1.4g.

23Tirpitz, I, p. 199.
clear; and after that the battle fleet was kept close to home waters.²⁴

The last colonial conflict in which the Navy participated was the Ponape uprising of 1911. On 25 December 1910 light cruiser Emden, then at Tsingtao for repairs, received orders to rendezvous with SMS Nürnberg from Hong Kong and proceed immediately to the island of Ponape—in the eastern Carolines, where the Bezirksamtmann (district magistrate) had been killed in a native revolt. The two light cruisers, the fastest warships in the Cruiser Squadron, left their harbors on the 28th, with the little steamer Titania to follow later with coal for re-supply.²⁵

Meanwhile Regierungsrat (government councillor) Oswald, dispatched by South Seas Governor Hahl at Rabaul to investigate, interviewed two of the government officials in an attempt to clarify the situation. He attributed the reasons for the revolt to the personality of District Magistrate Boeder, who had arrived in 1907

²⁴The outbreak of war found the battle-cruiser Goeben and light cruiser Breslau in the Mediterranean; but this was turned into a diplomatic coup when their arrival at Constantinople did much to bring Turkey into the war on Germany's side.

²⁵Telegraphed messages from the Kreuzergeschwader at Hong Kong, 25th and 28 December 1910, in Emden's Kriegstagebuch; these and subsequent references are found in BA-MA Fach 5122 ADM-B Deutschl. 23b. See also Mantey, pp. 212-215.
and under whom development had assumed a much more rapid tempo. Boeder demanded that compulsory native labor be performed more energetically and pushed road construction, all of which particularly aroused the proud Jokoi (or Jokoyo) tribe. "His progress," said Hahl, "was a symbol of the suppression of the old freedom."²⁶

On 18 October 1910 Boeder had tried to intervene in a dispute between some native laborers and a white overseer of the Capuchin mission station (the Capuchins being an independent order of the Franciscan Friars), and Boeder and two of his assistants had been killed. Government Doctor Girschner kept the rest of the natives loyal, but the Jokoi tribe under their leader Jomatau holed up on their island of Dschokadsch, separated from the northern part of Ponape itself by a small canal. The rebels were estimated at 200 fighting men, armed with some ninety Winchester and Remington rifles, shotguns, and revolvers, while the majority carried wicked machetes. The little schooner Orion of the Jaluit Company, armed only with a 3.7 cm machine-cannon and a machine-gun, cruised the canal to isolate Jomatau from the mainland. Small steam-sail cruiser Cormoran arrived from the Australian station and

²⁶Regierungsrat Oswald to Reichskolonialamt, Yap Island, 29 December 1910. Oswald also brought some 70 black police-soldiers from New Guinea, which was resented by the Ponapese.
was joined on 2 January 1911 by the survey vessel Planet which began charting the reefs around Dschokadsch.27

On the 10th Emden and Nürnberg arrived, having rendezvoused at Truk and picked up the new district magistrate, Dr. Kersting. They maneuvered close inshore taking up bombardment positions, Emden from the northeast and Nürnberg from the northwest. This would enfilade the Jokoi positions in a cross-fire, while a signal station posted on a hill just south of the canal relayed adjustment of fire corrections by Morse lantern. At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 13th the warships opened fire with their 10.5 cm guns, and simultaneously a landing party under Commander Tägert of the Nürnberg joined by native police-soldiers, went ashore through the mangrove swamps from the west.28

The rebels had fortified themselves on a high plateau that was covered with jungle toward the south, and open, sided by cliffs, to the north. The Jakois were confident they were immune from warships, as previously they had

27Military-political report of Lieutenant Commander Siemens of SMS Cormoran to the Kaiser, Ponape, 20 January 1911.

28Most of the ammunition fired in the hour-and-a-half bombardment was non-exploding training ammunition, which nonetheless made a terrifying noise as it shrieked through the jungle canopy and crashed into the ground. See the gunnery lists in the various war diaries.
been beyond range of Spanish guns; but now suddenly there was no place to hide from the German shells which exploded around them, and when German marines appeared on the summit, having been guided up a jungle trail by a loyal native, some of the terrified Jakois surrendered while the rest fled into the bush.  

Germans columns combed the jungle for the next three days, destroying canoes, huts, and munitions when they stumbled upon them. When it became clear that Jomatau and some of his followers had escaped to the mainland, troops went ashore at Tomara on the western coast to clear the Palikir district. The young German sailors, not used to hiking through the stifling humidity of the jungle, suffered from heat-prostration and fever. They were greatly assisted by the black New Guinea police-soldiers, woolly-headed wraiths gliding through the dark jungle clad only in loin-cloths and necklaces of sharks' teeth around their necks, who were far more proficient with their bolo knives than with the Mauser 88 rifles they carried.

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29 The effects of the bombardment were more psychological than physical. Commander Vollerthun of Emden later reported only three Jakois killed (while one German lieutenant was wounded); Vollerthun's report of 25 January 1911.

30 Numerous photographs were included with reports sent to Berlin which vividly depict the jungle terrain and the natives, both friend and foe. The New Guinea natives also wore a red kerchief around their neck for identification.
Two hundred fifty-four Jokoi captives, including 76 men, were transported by the littler steamer *Titania* to Yap Island where they were interned. They were a sorry-looking lot, a part-Negro and part-Chinese mixture, wearing a variety of wide-brimmed hats, and European shirts above their grass skirts. They were to be returned when the fighting was over.  

Upon receiving information that Jomatau had taken up position at Nankiop village deep in the north central Ponape jungle, two German columns converged on his force. On 26 January they attacked Jomatau's position, consisting of stone fortifications at the base of a cliff, and routed him. With his prestige shattered, Jomatau's followers began deserting him; but he and a band of faithfuls continued at large, necessitating a trying campaign amidst torrential downpours, until the exhausted leader finally surrendered himself. A short trial for Böder's murder and mutilation was held, as a result of which Jomatau and fourteen other ringleaders (and two more on Yap) were condemned to death, and executed by a firing squad of black police troops on 24 February 1911.

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31 Report of Petty Officer Günther of SMS Cormoran, Commander of the Guard, to Emden, Yap, 9 February 1911. Günther had 15 ratings with revolvers to assist him. He had been given seven sacks of rice and three cases of tinned meat to allow the captives two meals a day.
The Emden’s captain, Commander Vollerthun, was disgusted by the whole affair, and wanted no part of the trial of the Jokoi leaders. "Seldom indeed," he later angrily reported to the Kaiser," has a half-civilized native people been handled so without purpose and so illogically as have the Ponapese." Originally a people of childlike innocence, he said, they had been led toward Protestantism by American missionaries since 1820, then toward austere Catholicism when the Spanish seized the island, and finally were thoroughly confused with the arrival of the Germans and their missionaries (and at the mention of the Capuchin Friars the Kaiser exclaimed "Out with the rascals!"). The "crude, insulting methods" of Böder, Vollerthun concluded, made the outbreak inevitable. Vollerthun probably expressed the sentiments of most naval officers, who felt the conflicts on the far frontier were the result of rapacious and callous civilian colonial officials and entrepreneurs.

The suppression of the Ponape uprising was a perturbing affair, and so were other tasks which the Navy was called on to perform. For the Navy was the obedient instrument of the government; and in July 1911 it was called upon

32Commander Vollerthun to the Kaiser, with Kaiser's marginalia, Tsingtau, 14 March 1911. Vollerthun did think highly of Dr. Kersting, from what he had seen of the man. The Kaiser apparently appreciated Vollerthun's bluntness, and at the end scribbled an enthusiastic "Sehr gut!"
again. Foreign Secretary Kiderlen-Wächter was eager to dramatize a pretext against French armed intervention in Morocco, and the result was the sending of the little gunboat Panther to the Atlantic harbor of Agadir.³³

The result was dramatic: the English government spoke ominously about "national honor," and the French, encouraged, threatened to send warships to Agadir. In the final settlement France received a free hand in Morocco, and Germany was compensated with 106,000 square miles of Equatorial African wasteland, infested with sleeping sickness and economically worthless. Tirpitz later dryly observed that the "cold douche" which Kiderlen-Wächter gave the French was not at all "opportune."³⁴ Agadir, of course, was not the Navy's doing. If there was a German naval threat to the peace of the European powers, it lay with the silent grey silhouettes of the battle squadrons

³³Considering the subsequent press excitement about the "Panther's spring," it might be noted that the Panther registered only 1000 tons and mounted two 10.5 cm guns, was smaller than most torpedo-boats, and was not even a warship in a tactical sense.

³⁴Tirpitz, I, p. 218. Neither the RMA nor the MK were involved in the orders to the ADM, which controlled warships operationally. Furthermore, ADM Admiral von Pohl was on leave at the time, and ADM correspondence is signed Rieve, "In Vertretung" (representing); BA-MA Fach 3419 MK XXIIh. PG 67346.
riding at their moorings at Wilhelmshaven, not the scattered cruisers and gunboats carrying out their routine duties on the oceans of the world.

Whatever the tensions that disturbed the peace of Europe, they were seldom reflected in the Far East. "Happily a spirit of good-fellowship," wrote the Hong Kong Morning Post, "mutually animates the British and German communities in Hong Kong and accordingly we dwell in perfect accord with each other, and we dare swear that there is no feeling of animosity whatever between the two races." The British newspaper continued that the "friendly rivalry" between English and German commercial interests set a dignified example of trade competition, and that such competition was mutually beneficial. "By a pretty coincidence," it concluded, "wherever British interests are most flourishing, they will be found to exist side by side with German interests, yet it is only in Europe that any bitterness marks the relations of the two peoples."36

The symbol of the German presence in China, of course, was Kiaochow, continuing to prosper under the guiding hand

35The Morning Post news clipping, 17 December 1910, on learning that Cruiser Squadron commander Gühler had suddenly taken ill (and later died on 21 January in Hong Kong); BA-MA Fach 5205 ADM-B VII. 1. 8.

36Ibid.
now of Governor Meyer-Waldeck. "Tsingtao is practically a European town," noted the English with approval, "with good drainage, clean streets, and careful sanitation. Climatically the place is healthy, and indeed is a favorite summer resort for Europeans in North China."  

Kiaochow was, in fact, known as the "Brighton of China" by the large number of Europeans, particularly Englishmen, who vacationed in the German protectorate to escape the heat and bustle of Shanghai and other European settlements in the Far East. The tourist season lasted from April to November, urged the English-German tourist guide-book, and there were good rail and steamer connections from all important Asiatic cities. Activities included swimming, polo, tennis, golf and hunting. Hiking trips could be made to the nearby Laushan Mountains, and overnight cabins were provided by the Bergverein (Mountain Club) Tsingtau. More leisurely were carriage rides and automobile drives or walks "on shady roads in thick forests, offering a delightful view upon the sea and mountains."  

37 British "Kiaochow and Weihaiwei" Handbook, p. 3.  
38 Undated English-German guide-book; BA-MA Truppel Nachlass N 224/47.  
39 Ibid.
Accommodations included the Hotel Prinz Heinrich, the city hotel having 80 rooms with bath, the beach hotel having 40. One room with bath for two cost $9-16 a day, while a complete suite cost $15-25. The smaller Hotel Fürstenhof and the Central Hotel had rooms with board from $4-6, and there were various pensions and sanitariums with weekly and monthly rates. In addition to the hundreds of annual tourists, the permanent population of Tsingtau itself grew until it was some 60,984 in 1913. This included 53,812 Chinese, 2,360 Chinese "water population," 4,470 Europeans (of whom 2,401 were military personnel), and 342 were Japanese, Korean, and other Asiatics, mostly businessmen.

The spirit of European harmony in Asia was reflected in the international maneuvers held at Tientsin in November 1913, in which 1200 American, 1500 French, 300 German, 1200 Japanese, 900 Russian, and 1700 English troops participated. The maneuvers were conducted by British General Cooper against a similarly multi-national "aggressor force"

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40 Ibid. Branch banks, libraries, vice-consulates, and other conveniences for the visitor were also described. Regulations further reflected the popularity of Tsingtao, as that of 29 January 1911 prohibiting the riding of horses and mules on the beach during the tourist season. BA-MA Fach 2428 RMA XIX. 4.1.17. PG 60964.

41 British "Kiaochow and Weihaiwei" Handbook, p. 4.
under French Major Gauthier. Japanese Major General Sato was chief maneuver umpire.42

In the spring of 1914 Lieutenant Gunther Plüschow arrived at Kiaochow as the first German naval air officer posted to the Far East. He himself came by train across Russia, but as his airplane was coming by steamer and was not due until July, he enjoyed his leisure, renting a villa overlooking the sea and partaking of the amusements of the place. One of the highlights was a soccer match at the Iltis Place between German sailors of the Cruiser Squadron and English sailors from the armored cruiser Good Hope, a game that ended with 1-1 score.43

At the end of June came news of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, but European life in East Asia remained unperturbed. Even the mobilization code words for the detachments at Hankow and Tientsin—"Polo," preparation to leave for Tsingtau, and "Tennis," immediate

42 Newsclipping, apparently from the London Times, 13 November 1913; BA-MA Fach 3409 MK XXIIc PG 67310.

43 Kapitänleutnant Gunther Plüschow, My Escape from Donington Hall (London, 1922), p. 21. HMS Good Hope was destroyed by her soccer opponents only a few months later off Coronel. Plüschow subsequently flew out of besieged Tsingtau and was captured trying to return to Germany via the United States. Incarcerated at Donington Prison in England, he escaped in 1915.
evacuation—somehow reflected the Indian summer of peace that Kiaochow enjoyed. ⁴⁴

In July two rickety Rumpler Taube monoplanes were uncrated at Tsingtau and pulled through the streets with great excitement to an aerodrome improvised from the Iltis Place race-course. The second plane was flown by Lieutenant Müllerskowski of the naval infantry battalion; but on his maiden flight, 31 July, his Taube took off and—at the critical altitude of 50 meters where the runway ended in a steep cliff with a sheer drop to the sea—it sideslipped on one wing and nosed down to crash into the rocks. Müllerskowski's plane was a complete loss, and he was hospitalized. Plüschow was more successful, but crashed his Taube three days later, though his plane was repaired.

Meanwhile the Germans had challenged the English Polo Club at Shanghai to a match at the beginning of August—when suddenly the deteriorating diplomatic events in Europe overtook them and hurled them all into the war that few believed would ever come. ⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Undated mobilization instructions signed by Meyer-Waldeck; BA-MA Fach 2522 RMA Kiautschou No. 3124(?) PG 61399.

⁴⁵ Meyer-Waldeck's "State of Threatening Danger of War" alert was issued on 1 August 1914, and mobilization ordered on the next day; BA-MA Fach 2520 RMA XIX. 29.-2.-2. PG 61398.
When it became clear that England was going to war against her, Germany's naval presence on the high seas soon came to an end. Nonetheless Kiaochow itself might be expected to hold out for a while, particularly as the Allies could not spare the forces to initiate a major campaign. But the Japanese could; and on 15 August Tokyo issued an ultimatum demanding the cession of Kiaochow, and when the deadline of the 23d saw no reply, Japan declared war. The Germans tried to return the protectorate to China, as stipulated in the lease agreement, and tried to cooperate with the United States in declaring foreign areas in China neutral. But Japan was determined on expansion, and these schemes came to naught.46

Not to be trapped at Kiaochow, Cruiser Squadron Commander Vice Admiral Graf von Spee departed the Carolines with armored cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau and light cruiser Nürnberg calling in his scattered warships, and rendezvoused and coaled at Eniwetok Lagoon in the Marshalls. Meanwhile Dresden, off the Brazilian coast, eluded British forces and passed the Magellan Straits, Leipzig came from Magdelen Bay on the Mexican west coast, and on 14 October they joined von Spee at forlorn Easter Island. From there von Spee sailed to disrupt what Allied

46 Schrecker, p. 246.
trade he could, but he was under no illusions about his ultimate fate:

I am quite homeless. I cannot reach Germany. We possess no other secure harbour. I must plough the seas of the world doing as much mischief as I can, until my ammunition is exhausted, or a foe far superior in power succeeds in catching me.47

Light cruiser Karlsruhe in the Caribbean, too distant to join Spee, disrupted Allied shipping there until she was destroyed by an internal explosion off Trinidad in the British West Indies on 4 November. Captain von Müller's Emden had been detached to wage cruiser-warfare, and raised havoc in the Indian Ocean until wrecked by HMAS Sydney at the Cocos-Keeling Islands on the 9th. Spee himself scattered Cradock's British squadron off Coronel, Chile on 1 November and rounded Cape Horn to the Falkland Islands, but there his squadron was destroyed on 8 December by Sturdee's battle cruisers sent to catch him. Dresden alone escaped; but with no hope of re-coaling, she holed up in the desolate Juan Fernandez Islands off Valparaiso and, discovered by British warships on 14 March 1915, was scuttled by her crew.

The smaller ships on foreign station likewise suffered a melancholy fate. Yangtze river-gunboats Otter

47Geoffrey Bennett, Naval Battles of the First World War (New York, 1968), p. 69. This is a good survey of the subject, primarily from the English viewpoint. See Mantey for individual ship movements.
and Vaterland were interned at Nanking, as was Tsingtau at Whampoa. Kiaochow was blocked, and inside gunboats Iltis, Jaguar, Luchs, and Tiger, old steam-sail cruiser Cormoran, torpedoboats S-90 and Taku, and disabled old Austrian cruiser Kaiserin Elisabeth, were all eventually scuttled. Of the Australian Station ships, steam-sail cruiser Geier was interned at Honolulu, survey vessel Planet was scuttled at Yap in the Carolines, and dispatch vessel Comet was captured by an Australian auxiliary off New Guinea. A New Zealand expedition occupied German Samoa without opposition, the Australians took New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, and the Japanese took over the German island groups in the central Pacific.

Kiaochow itself did not last much longer. British and Japanese warships bombarded the Tsingtao fortifications and in September a large Japanese invasion force under General Kamio landed at Lao-shan Bay. There were scarcely 5,000 German troops and reservists against 20,000 Japanese, but they stubbornly fought delaying actions while retreating down the peninsula to the main defense line on the Moltke, Bismarck, and Iltis Mountains behind the Hai-po River. The final assault began on 31 October.

\[^{48}\text{Pläschow flew reconnaissance missions and occasionally dropped some bombs made of Java coffee tins filled with scrap iron and explosives (which did little damage), and even claims (p. 70) to have shot down a Japanese biplane with his Luger pistol. He flew out of Kiaochow on 6 November, and crash-landed in Kiangsu Province.}\]
the Japanese swarming over the last positions; and on 7 November Meyer-Waldeck capitulated, and the Rising Sun banner of Nippon was raised over the German protectorate.\textsuperscript{49}

Just as lack of sea-power cost Germany her Pacific colonies and ocean trade, so did she lose her African possessions. From the West African Station gunboat \textit{Eber} proceeded to Bahia, Brazil, where she was interned in September (and burned in 1917). At Dar-es-Salaam in East Africa, survey vessel \textit{Möwe} was scuttled after all usable equipment had been distributed to the colonial troops and light cruiser \textit{Königsberg}. The light cruiser then undertook commerce-raiding against the Aden shipping lanes, but found only one victim. On 20 September she stormed into Zanzibar harbor and destroyed the old British cruiser \textit{Pegasus}; but despairing of coal supplies, Captain Looff secreted his ship up the disease-infested Rufiji estuary.

Finally discovering the \textit{Königsberg} there, the British only ultimately destroyed her, with two shallow-draft monitors mounting large guns towed out from England by ocean-going tugs. The monitors worked their way up the sandbar-ridden channels and, with a jerry-built seaplane directing their fire over the intervening jungle growth, 

\textsuperscript{49}In his unpublished \textit{Lebenserinnerungen}, Ensign Fritz Fauth, p. 31, says that the German casualties were some 200 killed and 500 wounded; BA-MA N 224/75 Truppel Nachlass.
pounded the Königsberg into wreckage by 11 July 1915.
Nonetheless her ten 4.1" (10.5 cm) guns were salvaged and mounted on improvised gun carriages, and proved a welcome asset to the colonial forces; Königsberg's guns continued to fire until the end of the war.\textsuperscript{50}

In Togo Major von Doering's little force abandoned Lome and the coast, and surrendered to an Anglo-French expedition at Kamina on 26 August 1914 after destroying the powerful wireless station there. Major Zimmermann's Schutztruppen in Kamerun did somewhat better, fighting a skillful jungle war from the interior, until forced to escape into the neutral Spanish territory of Rio Muni in early 1916. In Southwest Africa Governor Dr. Seitz's determination encouraged the Schutztruppen to resist large South African forces, and they even captured Walfish Bay and launched a counter-attack across the Orange River. Delayed by a Boer rebellion, Union of South Africa forces under General Botha only succeeded in conquering the colony in the summer of 1915.\textsuperscript{51}

The campaign in German East Africa was more dramatic, though there too the ultimate outcome was determined by \textsuperscript{50}For a vivid account see Edwin P. Hoyt, The Germans Who Never Lost (New York, 1968).\textsuperscript{51}Henderson gives a brief summary of these campaigns, pp. 98-104.
control of the sea and events in Europe. Governor Schnee felt resistance was useless; but Schutztruppen Commander Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck aggressively took the offensive on the Kilimanjaro front, even raiding the Uganda Railway and threatening Mombasa. On the night of 2/3d November 1914 an expeditionary force of seasick Indian troops landed at Tanga; but Lettow's Askaris came clattering down the Usambara railroad and the Indians, attacked by the Askaris and panicked by angry bees stirred up by the bullets, fled back to their ships. 52

Sailors from the Königsberg and naval reservists from other ships served with Lettow-Vorbeck in his ensuing campaigns, and also manned the steamers on Lake Tanganyika (including the little Kingani, dismantled and carried overland from the coast by rail, as was tugboat Adjutant later). In November 1917, hard-pressed by South African forces converging on him, Lettow-Vorbeck ordered Captain Looff to take his men, mostly sick and wounded, into British captivity. Lettow himself took a hand-picked force into Portuguese East Africa to continue guerrilla warfare, and had just invaded Northern Rhodesia when news of the

52 The East African campaign is covered in many sources, including Hoyt, Listowel, Gardner, and Henderson, as well as Lettow-Vorbeck's own memoirs.
Armistice ended the fighting. Thus in a rather short period of time, Germany's colonial empire was lost.

The Navy contributed little to whatever resistance the various colonial forces had offered to their enemies. The war on the high seas was carried on with diesel-fueled U-boats and specially-constructed auxiliaries (Hilfskreuzer) disguised as commercial steamers; but the light cruisers that initially attempted to conduct commerce-raiding cruiser warfare did so more according to circumstances of their isolated situation at the outbreak of the war than on the basis of a coherent strategy. As Tirpitz had told the Reichstag in 1899, "Overseas conflicts with European nations possessing greater naval strength will be settled in Europe."

The attitude of the Navy toward colonial affairs thus was a rather ambivalent one. A major responsibility

53 Only two blockade-runners had managed to bring supplies to Lettow-Vorbeck, and a gallant attempt to reach him by Zeppelin failed when L. 59 (von Buttar) turned back over Khartoum. Gardner, p. 155.

54 Reichstags Verhandlungen, X. Legislaturperiode, I. Session 1898/1900, 119. Sitzung, 11 December 1899, p. 3295. In realizing that the fate of colonial possessions was decided by the outcome of the struggle between the belligerents themselves, Tirpitz had ample historical precedent. American colonials, for example, had captured the French fortress of Louisburg in Nova Scotia in 1745, only to return it to France as the result of a peace treaty three years later.
of the Navy was to protect overseas trade and colonies, but it could do so only within the limitations of its strength. While the German Navy could defend the colonial possessions under certain circumstances, it could not maintain them against the overwhelming superiority of the Royal Navy, a superiority resulting not only from actual warships, but also from the profusion of bases and maintenance facilities and the military forces available from England's colonial possessions as well.

Caprivi's insignificant Navy had played hardly any role in Bismarck's decision to acquire a colonial empire in 1884. When the Navy later did become interested in overseas bases as coaling stations because of the transition from sail to steam, and as Stützpunkte for a commerce-raiding strategy of cruiser warfare, it found the existing colonial possessions useless for its purposes. In any case a deliberate policy of formulating such a strategy and acquiring the necessary bases was never implemented, primarily because of an internal power struggle within the Navy between Hollmann, who advocated the Kreuzerkrieg strategy, and Tirpitz, who opposed it. With Tirpitz's accession to the Reichsmarineamt in 1897, the Navy began building a battle fleet to be concentrated in home waters, and in Tirpitz's view overseas commitments were a liability and a dissipation of forces. (This was,
however, mitigated somewhat by assigning older ships to foreign stations, like the armored cruisers Scharnhorst and Gneisenau.) Warships did play a role in incidents like the Samoan and Moroccan questions, but were only the instruments, not the initiators, of the Kaiser's Weltpolitik; the motivation for German involvement in such controversies was more often political and economic than military. While naval officers imbibed the same heady wine of nationalism that affected the rest of their countrymen—and indeed was shared by the rest of Europe—they called for colonies only where they seemed useful for strategic reasons.

The significant exception to the Navy's lack of enthusiasm for the colonies was Kiaochow. This might have become a base in a network of overseas Stützpunkte for a cruiser-warfare strategy, but in fact a Far East harbor was needed by the Navy simply as a base for the Cruiser Squadron already on the China Station. Additionally, however, the Navy contemplated a base that would also be a commercial center for the Sino-European trade, and an outpost of German Kultur in the Orient. These considerations were all important in the selection of Kiaochow. Tirpitz apparently played the principal role in advocating the acquisition of Kiaochow, and always remained particularly interested in its development. At first glance the acquisition of Kiaochow would seem to contradict his battle
fleet policy, but the advantages of such a Far East base outweighed the disadvantages.

It must be remembered that Tirpitz was a skillful politician. It is doubtful that any other naval officer could have engineered the passage of the Navy bills through the Reichstag as he did. Thus he was always sensitive to political and mercantile criticism, and more likely to sacrifice a subordinate (like Governor Rosendahl or Truppel) for political expediency than defend him.

There is little comparison between the Navy's protectorate of Kiaochow and the other German colonies. It served as a naval base and a trade center, and was not itself a commercial enterprise. It facilitated—but did not initiate—economic activity in the Shantung Peninsula. In size Kiaochow was limited, and did not include an indigenous native population forcibly subordinated to German rule. Native unrest was a problem posed for the other colonies that the Navy successfully avoided. Regarding the actual administration of the protectorate, it was significant that officers only served a specific tour of duty in the Far East, which was merely one step in the progress of their naval career. This, together with the military system of periodic officer evaluation, encouraged a professional attitude toward the execution of individual responsibilities. The Navy administration was justified by its results.
A far-sighted policy of phased development to facilitate and encourage commercial activity beyond the borders of the protectorate did much to make Kiaochow a successful colonial venture. A particularly unique feature of the Navy's protectorate was the enlightened attitude toward the Chinese, allowing them their own administrative and judicial systems, and establishing educational institutions which benefited Chinese and Germans alike. The Deutsch-Chinesische Hochschule symbolized this attitude, and represented the best of the German Navy's motives in acquiring and administering an overseas protectorate of its own.
APPENDIX I

Organizational Heads of the Imperial Germany Navy

**Marineministerium (1861-1871)**

General von Roon, concurrently Minister of War, 1861-71

**Kaiserliche Admiralität (1971-1889)**

Lieutenant General von Stosch, 1871-83

General von Caprivi, 1883-88

Vice Admiral Graf von Monts, 1889-89 (died)

**RMA (1889-1919)**

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<tr>
<td>Baudissin, 1908-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fischel, 1909-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herringen, 1911-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pohl, 1913-15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bachmann, 1915</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holtzendorff, 1915-18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scheer, 1918</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**ADM (1889-1919)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marineleitung, 1919; later Oberkommando der Marine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capelle, 1916-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behncke, 1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mann, 1918-19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roge, 1919</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auswärtiges Amt</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>State Secretary:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hatzfeld, 1881-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Bismarck, 1885-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bieberstein, 1890-97</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bülow, 1897-1900</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richthofen, 1900-06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tschirschky, 1906-07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schoen, 1907-10</td>
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<td>Kiderlen-Wächter, 1910-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jagow, 1912-16</td>
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<td>Zimmerman, 1916-17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Köhlmann, 1917-18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hintze, 1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solf, 1918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III

Governors of Kiaochow

Rosendahl, 1898-99
Jäschke, 1899-1901 (died)
Truppel, 1901-11
Meyer-Waldeck, 1911-14

Cruiser Squadron Commanders

Deinhard, 1889
Valois, 1890-92
Pawelfs, 1892-93
Hoffmann, 1894-96
Tirpitz, 1896-97
Diederichs, 1897-99
Prince Heinrich, 1899
Bendemann, 1900-01
Geissler, 1902-03
Prittwitz, 1904-05
Breusing, 1905-07
Coerper, 1907-09
Ingenohl, 1909-10
Gühler, 1910-11 (died)
Krosigk, 1911-12
Graf Spee, 1912-14 (killed in action)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Unpublished Archival Materials

**Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (BA-MA).** Freiburg, West Germany

Documents: Admiralität, Marine Ministerium; Reichsmarineamt (RMA), Marinekabinett (MK), and Ober-kommando der Marine (OKM)—after 1899 Admiralstab der Marine (ADM)

Nachlässe (personal papers): Otto Groos (N 165), Georg von Müller (N 159), Alfred Tirpitz (N 257 or 253), Oskar Truppel (N 224)

**Bundesarchiv (BA-K), Koblenz, West Germany**

Documents: R 85 Auswärtiges Amt, Abt. II (Handelspolitische Abteilung), Kl. Erw. 340 (Reichskolonialverwaltung)

Nachlässe (personal papers): Fürst von Bülow, Friedrich von Lindequist (Kl. Erw. 275), Freiherr von Richthofen, Wilhelm Solf

2. Published Archival Materials


291
3. Published Primary Materials


4. Secondary Materials


5. Articles


Cecil, Lamar. "Coal for the Fleet that had to Die." *American Historical Review*, vol. 69 (July 1964), 990-1005.


