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ABSTRACT

In this essay, I outlay main developments within the administration of German Qingdao (1897–1914) and the resulting consequences for the Germans and Chinese living in this colony. Against this background, I examine how German colonial actors were able to identify Qingdao as a “second” *Heimat*. In particular, I investigate the possibility of a link between the early colonial policies introduced by the German administration and the construction of *Heimat* by German colonizers within everyday life.

During the heyday of European imperial expansion in the late nineteenth century, competing European powers annexed new territories in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific in quick succession. The colonizing powers used their colonies not only to further various economic and political goals, but also to display in concentrated form what they considered their most central characteristics, values, traditions, and achievements. One of imperial Germany’s most ambitious and prestigious colonial projects was in China’s Shandong province: Kiautschou (胶州, now transliterated Jiaozhou), a region surrounding the port city of Qingdao (青岛, transcribed *Tsingtau* under German occupation), experienced seventeen years of German occupation.¹

In this essay, I outlay main developments within the administration of German Qingdao and the resulting consequences for the Germans and Chinese living in this colony. Against this background, I examine how German colonial actors were able to identify Qingdao as a colonial *Heimat*. In particular, I investigate the possibility of a link between the early colonial policies introduced by the German administration and the construction of *Heimat* by German colonizers within everyday life. Celia Applegate has demonstrated the tight links between German nationality and *Heimat* after Bismarck founded imperial Germany: the local *Heimat* grounding the individual

both within a community of manageable size and simultaneously within a much larger “imagined community.”² Especially private narratives and individual perspectives can provide an understanding of how these dynamics were rooted in everyday experiences. Letters, diaries, and memoirs produced by German colonial actors allow insights into the daily practices of this particular place and time.

Official Expectations and Plans

The occupation of Jiaozhou bay by the German Navy on November 14, 1897 surprised both the local Chinese and most European powers. The German government, however, had long wished to join in the “scramble for China” and acquire what Bernhard von Bülow, three weeks after the occupation, memorably called a “place in the sun.”³ This desired port in East Asia would symbolize Germany’s new status as a modern world power and demonstrate the new and ambitious *Weltpolitik*, which was in turn supported and accelerated through this annexation.

The German navy established and maintained a close connection with the new colony in China. Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the secretary of state of the Naval Ministry, played a key role in planning the occupation of Qingdao. He also persuaded the German government to let the Naval Ministry administer the new colony. Qingdao’s administrative status was therefore exceptional since all other German colonies fell under the jurisdiction of the colonial ministry.⁴ German expectations ran high for Qingdao, as a naval port as well as an economic and cultural center. The planners aspired to establish a *Musterkolonie* (model colony) that would showcase new approaches to colonialism in both the national and international arena.⁵ Right from the beginning, naval administrators hoped to make Qingdao “the healthiest place in China” and invested heavily in the city’s infrastructure and port facilities to achieve its ambitions.⁶ Likewise, Qingdao was promoted as “the cleanest city in China” and enjoyed from 1902 onwards some success as a health resort and holiday destination for Europeans living in other parts of China.⁷ But the navy’s ambitions extended far beyond tourism: it was hoped that the military patterns imposed by the German navy would make Qingdao a shining example of a modern, well organized, and efficient colonial city, and furthermore, as Klaus Mühlhahn has pointed out, they also guided the development of the colonial society.⁸

A carefully planned colonial space, Tirpitz hoped, would enable colonial German-ness to flourish. His memoirs emphasize the importance of a German focal point in China. Tirpitz met several Germans in Asia, who, to his dismay, lacked pride in their German origins: in Hong Kong, Tirpitz lamented, one “Herr Schwarzkopf” had “transformed himself into Mr. Blackhead.”⁹ In Qingdao he could again become Schwarzkopf.¹⁰ Tirpitz anticipated that a German colony in China would provide a *Sammelplatz des deutschen Wesens* (reservoir for Germanness).¹¹ Such aims demonstrate the tight links between colonialism and German nationalism in the late nineteenth century,

and also how the German navy saw itself facilitating the development of Germanness within the *Auslandsdeutschtum* (Germans living abroad).¹² Tirpitz was keen to promote Qingdao as a great success and wrote with satisfaction that the colony had “gained from year to year more solid ground.”¹³

The German administration hoped that Qingdao would become a vibrant trading center like Hong Kong, yet also sought to avoid the negative side effects of colonization that characterized other colonial cities in China, such as uncontrollable land speculation, high rents, and poor hygiene standards. Therefore the construction of Qingdao was very carefully considered and the main policies introduced in the first year after occupation directly responded to the situation in Hong Kong and Shanghai. As Tirpitz wrote in his memoirs: “I have experienced the huge disadvantages of uncontrolled land speculation in European settlements there. . . . So, we had to find a solution for Tsingtau right away.”¹⁴ This solution was delivered by Wilhelm Schrameier, the *Chinesenkommissar* (commissar for Chinese Affairs), who developed a *Landordnung* (land policy) for Kiautschou in 1898.¹⁵ The *Landordnung* declared that, initially, only the German government could purchase land from the former Chinese owners to auction it. To avoid land speculation, each block of land had to be developed within three years of purchase and the new owners had to pay a six percent land tax, but more importantly a thirty-three percent tax on increased value.

Tirpitz wanted Qingdao to show that Germans could also be successful colonizers, and to demonstrate, “with a grand gesture within a small scope what Germany is capable of.”¹⁶ In Hong Kong and Shanghai, house fires were common and hygiene standards were seen as low, but Qingdao’s regulations specified that buildings would be solid, fire resistant, and hygienic.¹⁷ Tirpitz believed Germans had an advantage over the British in their ability to work harder, resulting in “such an orderly and solid” outcome.¹⁸ He was therefore hoping that Qingdao would at least match, if not outdo, the colonial standards set by the “Anglo-Saxons.”

Mixed German-Chinese architectural styles were mostly avoided, especially within the European living quarters, which resulted in a cityscape with a distinctively “German” appearance. The building styles echoed popular architecture in Wilhelmine Germany, save that verandas were common in Qingdao, giving the buildings an exotic colonial flair.¹⁹ The unique architectural styles were meant to reflect Germany’s status as a modern colonial power and guarantee a functional and harmonic appearance.

After an initial building boom during the early years of occupation, building activities in Qingdao stagnated for several years, resulting in high rents and a lack of housing for German colonists. Some early critics saw the *Landordnung* as responsible for Qingdao’s delayed development and drew attention to the high running costs and the low return and questioned the rationale of a German colony in China altogether.²⁰

Not only was the colonial space under the tight control of the German administration but also the colonized Chinese. The German authorities avoided

meddling too closely in the administration of the Kiautschou countryside, where Chinese village heads remained in power. Within Qingdao, however, a native policy known as the *Chinesenordnung* was introduced in June 1900.²¹ Only Chinese who had successfully registered with the *Chinesenkommissar* (Civilian Commissioner for Chinese affairs) were permitted to live in the city. Public gatherings or proclamations were only permitted with official approval. Furthermore, Chinese had to carry a lantern while walking the streets after nine o'clock and if questioned, had to give sufficient reason for being outside at this time. Chinese workers nevertheless remained essential for the development of Qingdao. The local circumstances, despite the aforementioned restrictions through the native policy, still encouraged a high number of Chinese to settle in the city. Many Chinese had to seek new sources of income after the German administration bought up their former property and poverty was common in the surrounding villages. By 1913, nearly 200,000 Chinese lived in the Kiautschou region and Qingdao's Chinese population had increased from less than 15,000 in 1902 to 53,312.²² By contrast, the German population never exceeded 4,500, including around 2,000 navy personnel since Kiautschou was never planned as a settlement colony.

Separation between Chinese and European living quarters became the most prominent feature of the *Chinesenordnung*. Qingdao was divided into different zones with the goal of avoiding intermingling between Chinese and Germans, and even between different German civilians and German military staff.²³ Old Chinese villages around Qingdao were destroyed in order to resettle the Chinese inhabitants in the newly constructed areas of *Taidongchen* (Taidongzhen, 台東鎮) and *Taixichen* (Taixizhen, 台西鎮). These new settlements would supposedly improve hygiene standards. A villa district was exclusively reserved for Europeans; Chinese could only live there as house servants, and even then had to live in specially designated areas. Ethnic segregation in Qingdao extended beyond residential housing to include schools, hospitals, beaches, bordellos, graveyards, chambers of commerce, prisons, and was also reflected by the legal system.²⁴ Only one district, *Tapautau* (Dabaodao, 大鮑島), was designed as a shared zone for Europeans and Chinese. *Tapautau* made also more concessions to Chinese culture: for example, buildings were erected in both German and Chinese architectural styles. Yet even in *Tapautau*, Chinese culture and customs were still severely circumscribed. For example, both "screeching pushcarts" and the smell of garlic were prohibited to spare European sensibilities.²⁵ Garlic was also forbidden for Chinese in regular contact with Europeans, such as house servants and rickshaw coolies.²⁶

The *Chinesenordnung* dictated precise daily cleaning routines for the Chinese living quarters. The representation of cleanliness became an often utilized aspect that German colonizers employed to demonstrate their own superiority and influence over the colonized. By the end of the nineteenth century, German officials saw as

“German” both extreme cleanliness and the domestic practices necessary to achieve it. Other European colonists also believed themselves cleaner than the people they colonized, and Nancy Reagin argues that such beliefs played an important role in the construction of the relevant national identities.²⁷ Nevertheless, Germans not only saw themselves as cleaner than their colonial subjects, but as cleaner than other European colonizers as well. While Reagin links the cult of cleanliness to stereotypes of the German *Hausfrau* and her private rituals, the colonial administration in Qingdao suggests that cleanliness, rather than being exclusively rooted in the female gender, became here a powerful signifier for the German approach in general.²⁸ Both, the German administration and Qingdao’s German popular press described the Chinese as “dirty,” an opinion reflected in numerous medical, ethnographical, and literary texts dating from around 1900.²⁹ Colonial racism pervaded travel guides as well, which contrasted the “dirt and chaos” of the Chinese way of life with the “cleanliness and order” in German areas. Consider, for example, how Austrian travel writer Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg described the German settlement just four months after the occupation began: “Of course, this street too has only long stretching, ground level Chinese houses with stone walls, paper windows, and straw roofs, but the fresh paint, the new doors, and especially the great neatness, which is present everywhere, shows that it is impossible that Chinese live here.”³⁰ At the same time, Hesse-Wartegg saw the influx of Germanness in Qingdao as an advanced form of Europeanness that set new standards for all European settlements within China, regardless of size:

During my earlier travels in China, I never saw a city where the houses were numbered; in Tsingtau every house has its own number. . . . Streetlights can normally only be found in bigger cities in China and even then it is never the city’s administration but . . . wealthy citizens of individual streets who agree to provide light and security. Tsingtau already has lamp posts but the lights are still missing—perhaps only because we already had moonlight and everybody knows that thrift is also a German virtue.³¹

Hesse-Wartegg so passionately distinguished things to be “German” that even non-functioning lampposts could demonstrate German efficiency. The transformation of Qingdao from a so-called “little fishing village” to a “modern German city” was a much utilized justification for the German presence. The strong emphasis on cleanliness, order, and thrift as characteristically German became hallmarks of a particular style of colonialism in Qingdao.

During the following seventeen years of occupation, the German administration, increasingly seeking cultural influence within a rapidly changing and modernizing China, invoked these specifically German attributes to distinguish themselves from the other European powers, rather than from the colonized Chinese.³² Nevertheless,

the policies introduced during the first years of occupation sought to establish a dominant and exclusively German monoculture. The *Landordnung* resulted in a German monopoly on the colonial space, and the *Chinesenordnung* in apartheid between the Chinese and German populations. At the same time, the official Chinese-German relations within Kiautschou proved to be very dynamic, not only because of a growing Chinese influence within Qingdao's economy, but also because of ongoing involvement of the Chinese state. Chinese claims increasingly influenced the German administration and its economic and social regulations and by 1905 a less aggressive and more cooperative approach can be noticed.³³ Whether this change within the formal German-Chinese relationship also had an impact on the experiences and perceptions of Qingdao as a colonial Heimat by German inhabitants will be discussed in the following sections.

First-Hand Experiences of German Colonial Actors in Tsingtau

Living abroad might appear to preclude any feeling of "being at home," but Germans in colonial Qingdao sought to transplant "a little piece of Germany" into China in order to create a collective Heimat that reflected their cultural origins. In order to merge the many regional understandings of Heimat that individual Germans brought to Qingdao into one common concept, a sense of self-identification with a broader understanding of being German proved necessary. In practice, colonists agreed upon a series of everyday cultural attributes that marked them as Germans. Their cultural consensus informed their interactions with the local Chinese, and assisted the Heimat-forming process.

The German population in Qingdao consisted mainly of military personnel, government officials, and businessmen with their families, along with smaller numbers of architects, physicians, and missionaries.³⁴ Would-be settlers had to apply to the government of Kiautschou, which only accepted applicants whose skills and circumstances were deemed useful for the colony's development.³⁵ Most of the German population came from the upper-middle or upper class since the working class consisted mainly of Chinese.³⁶ The small number of European servants who did make it to Qingdao sometimes developed a new attitude toward their duties and subaltern status after experiencing the racial and social hierarchy in Qingdao. Consider how Elisabeth von Schoeler complained about her Austrian servant Martha in a letter to her mother: "Martha behaves every day more like a Lady; often she is called 'das Fräulein von Schoelers' which pleases her very much. If I would expect her to mop the floor these days, she probably would believe I am half crazy."³⁷ The colonial context elevated European servants above the ranks of Chinese workers, giving them a status unthinkable in imperial Germany. In Qingdao, European class divisions became subsumed in a community defined through its as "German" identified attributes. As Nancy Reagin observed, "what was bourgeois in Germany, however, was simply 'German' abroad

in foreign settings, the markers that served to differentiate the bourgeoisie at home now symbolized ethnic or even racial identity as a whole.”³⁸

As representatives of German colonial power, the German community was expected to transform Qingdao into both a Deutsch-China and a new or second Heimat. They adopted daily habits similar to those in Germany, save that they generally enjoyed greater social privileges. In a letter to her parents, Lilly Leibbrand spoke for many: “But it is beautiful here in Tsingtau, and when we have our own cozy nest by the end of the month, it will be even more comfortable and beautiful—if this is possible!”³⁹

Germans within Qingdao, especially during the colony’s first years, formed a closely entangled society. As the population grew, however, the German population divided into distinct social circles for businessmen, military personnel, and public servants.⁴⁰ These groups then established their own hierarchies in relationship with each other.⁴¹ While as “German” identified attributes may have unified the group of colonizers from the outside perspective, internally “class” remained a distinguishing characteristic and especially upper-class Germans were keen to uphold class barriers against a sense of being a homogeneous group German colonizer.⁴² The German society nevertheless mixed in a variety of *Vereine* (associations), including the *Kriegsverein*, *Marineverein*, *Bergverein*, *Turnverein*, *Musikverein*, and *Gesangsverein* to name only a few.⁴³ Other typical leisure activities included soccer, tennis, swimming, hiking to the Laoshan Mountains, and horseback riding. The annual social calendar included regular horse races, sailing regattas, and a yearly sport week.⁴⁴ Polo became popular as Germans imitated British colonial society.

Qingdao gave many German residents and visitors the experience of being in Germany itself, rather than China. The villa district echoed German architecture, and German street names, such as Friedrichstrasse or Irenestrasse. Furthermore due to the *Chinesenordnung*, no Chinese apart from house servants lived there. Chinese influence and activities could be observed from a safe distance if one wished, but they did not disturb the German way of life.⁴⁵ German colonists who wanted to experience more cultural diversity had to travel to other Chinese cities. Käthe Saxer, a longtime resident of Qingdao, found the Chinese presence in Beijing striking: “One is here in the middle of China. Everything is truly Chinese”⁴⁶ and “in Tsingtau one was always in Germany.”⁴⁷

Another aspect that made Germans feel right at home in Qingdao was the growing forest that surrounded the city. When Kiautschou was founded, the Chinese government was already in the middle of a reforestation scheme.⁴⁸ The German administration expanded the project, and began importing trees typical in the German landscape.⁴⁹ Forests play a prominent symbolic role in German cultural imagination, and many German residents connected Qingdao’s new forest with traditional German landscapes: trees made China feel more *heimisch* (homey).⁵⁰

And the Germans, far away from home, thirsts for the forest's cool and lovely smells: even the diamonds of the African desert can't replace the forest for long. How our soldiers rejoice when, after a month on board, they are allowed to roam through the nearly homelike mountain forest near Tsingtau!⁵¹

Qingdao's forest also provided a sense of national pride, as Emma Kroebe's memoirs show:

who nowadays comes into Tsingtau will be surprised and can gaze full of pride at the green wooded mountains, which he sees here instead of the desolate and barren coast of China. He will be especially proud of what his countrymen have achieved in such a short time with iron diligence and tough endurance in the field of colonization. Much sweat flowed, much hard work has been done, before Tsingtau could become what it is now—a German city. Decorative houses, beautiful wide streets, all comfort of modern times—in short, an oasis in the middle of the yellow sea of different groups of the East.⁵²

German inhabitants had sense of having successfully created their own little Germany in Qingdao, a city to which they felt an increasing emotional connection. Various affectionate poems and songs reflect a growing sense of ownership and belonging in a city variously personalized as a “proud, German maiden” that deserved the same devotion as “a lovely bride.”⁵³ But not all German travelers and inhabitants found the “orderly” and “neat” city of Qingdao appealing. The travel writer Alfons Paquet wrote of Qingdao that

the city is half a holiday colony, half a big exhibition, where everything is complete, all can be seen in action, everything is new and perfect to the last detail. The only thing missing is the vibrant, active life of at least ten thousand Europeans. . . . The traveler, who is used to the half-civilized and adventurous cities of the East Asian coast, . . . gets from this Tsingtau a strange and nearly unnatural impression, it seems that Tsingtau is like a piece of Germany that fell from the sky.⁵⁴

Another German traveler, Herman von Rotenhan, decided not to visit Qingdao during his 1903–1904 travels through China because it was “a city without inhabitants.”⁵⁵ Rotenhan referred, of course, to the paucity of Germans in comparison to the European population in other Chinese settlements: he ignored the vibrant and much larger Chinese community. Also the journalist Otto Corbach criticized the small number of Europeans living in Qingdao and he specifically blamed the *Landordnung* for the lack of European business.⁵⁶ Strict building codes in Qingdao demanded a high initial investment from prospective entrepreneurs, who therefore preferred to

start their business in Hong Kong or Shanghai.⁵⁷ A series of 1898 letters from railway engineer Luis Weiler further suggests that the colony's teething problems had a lasting impact on the colony's subsequent development.⁵⁸ The colonial administration only made available relatively small blocks of land, so big firms struggled to secure several neighboring blocks. Despite the government's precautions, land prices increased ten to twenty times the original price.⁵⁹ By 1900, many letters from Germans in Qingdao complained about the cost of living generally, and the "unbelievably high rents" in particular. Rigid control over construction might have resulted in a typical German cityscape and lifestyle, which many Germans saw as a foundation for the construction of a new Heimat in Qingdao, but it hindered the development of a vibrant and affordable life for Qingdao's German population.

German-Chinese Relations in Everyday Life

Many Germans in Qingdao experienced regular contact with Chinese only when interacting with house servants. German households typically employed at least three servants: a boy, a cook, and a coolie. These house servants, unlike in Germany, were always male, except for female nurses for small children. Many German families could afford more servants here than in Europe and the *Hausfrauen* could achieve the demanding standards of an ideal "German" household merely by closely supervising daily cooking and cleaning schedules.⁶⁰

But the early native policies, and particularly the general separation of Germans from Chinese, apparently encouraged German behavior patterns that Qingdao planners had not anticipated. Since Germans living in the European district only encountered Chinese as subordinates, many developed what Hans Weicker, a naval priest, described in 1908 as a *Herrengefühl* (sense of superiority).⁶¹ Qingdao's Germans often used harsh language and showed little patience toward their house servants. Even a refined man who would never strike a servant back in Germany, Weicker thought, "was hardly able to control himself here."⁶² Often German children, who copied the abusive behavior of their parents, behaved like "little masters" who treated Chinese servants like "slaves." Weicker feared for their moral development. Qingdao's dominant German monoculture lowered German cultural awareness, and led to a general acceptance of social apartheid. After living two years in Licun, a village within Kiautschou, Elisabeth von Schoeler contrasted the German-Chinese relationship there with the situation in Qingdao: "It becomes more and more obvious that Chinese and Germans can't get along in Tsingtau—in Litsun it was all much more natural."⁶³

The lack of cultural interaction caused misunderstandings between Germans and Chinese. Especially Qingdao's European district developed into a very limited "contact zone."⁶⁴ Few Germans living there saw it necessary to show much interest in Chinese culture, but they expected their Chinese servants to learn enough German

for everyday interactions, cook German cuisine, and understand their daily routines. While Germans often praised Chinese servants for moving silently, quickly disappearing into the background, and learning the customs of their masters, Germans complained about their lack of initiative. Weicker found that: “one should not expect independent thinking on their behalf. If you have told your boy he has to light the fire every morning at 7 o’clock; he will continue to do so, even after the summer has started. There is something automatic and impersonal in their service.”⁶⁵ Emma Kroebel similarly concluded: “one can’t expect an independent thought from these people; they work like automatons.”⁶⁶ Such opinions suggest that Chinese servants did not try to make sense of German orders and demands, some of which may have seemed quite strange. Germans, on the other hand, expected their way of life to be common knowledge. This lack of communication created a wide gap in understanding between both groups, resulting in a parallel life within the same colonial space.

Change came with the Chinese revolution in 1911. Former officials and scholars who had supported the Qing dynasty found in Qingdao a secure haven in turbulent times. Facing the arrival of these upper-class Chinese, the German administration demonstrated its flexibility by lifting its ban on Chinese living in the European district in 1912. Practical considerations, rather than a wish for equality with the Chinese, explained the more accommodating German policy. A letter to the editor, printed in the *Kiautschou Post* in February 1912, welcomed the integration of Chinese: “What we need in this colony is capital and foremost Chinese capital. But this only can become available if Chinese are not treated like second-class citizens.”⁶⁷ Another letter printed in same issue, however, expressed concerns: “To reserve one area of Tsingtau exclusively for Europeans was seen in all East Asia as revolutionary. This was especially because of sanitary reasons very much appreciated; Hong Kong has meanwhile copied our example. After many battles there, the higher areas of Hong Kong are now reserved for Europeans only.”⁶⁸ Critics of the integration policy feared that “German values” would disappear if Chinese entered formerly exclusive areas. Controversies also raged in Qingdao’s German newspapers about combined schooling for Chinese and German children and the common use of beaches and sport clubs.⁶⁹ George Steinmetz noted that the German government in Kiautschou “revealed both the desire to maintain hierarchical difference and countless compromises and infringement on this rule.”⁷⁰ Qingdao’s German society also articulated such concerns in everyday contexts but altogether demonstrated a stronger emphasis on maintaining their exclusive position and lifestyle.

Conclusion

Qingdao was a prestige object in the context of Germany’s new *Weltpolitik*, which, it was hoped, would demonstrate a modern, innovative, and practical approach to colonialism. This ambitious aim led the German naval administration to develop unique

colonial policies that were characterized by a general separation from Chinese living areas, a strong emphasis on planning, cleanliness, and hygiene. These characteristics seemed to have resonated with a common understanding of Germanness by many German inhabitants in Qingdao. Further recognition of Qingdao as a German city was based on the use of German names for streets, buildings, and prominent landmarks, the introduction of familiar architecture, and the development of a forest. On this background, the arriving German colonial actors felt encouraged to reproduce a social lifestyle that resembled their everyday life back in Germany. As a result, many acknowledged Qingdao as new or second Heimat and within the context of colonialism it was seen as a “deutsche Heimat” that was in tight interconnection with the first. But Qingdao as a colonial Heimat was different from the Heimat models within Germany. The most obvious difference was that this Heimat was shared with a large number of Chinese. But even though the Chinese were the actual laborers, who built Qingdao, most Germans saw the outcome as a joined German effort only. Their identification was therefore not only deeply rooted in the resulting place itself but also in the process of constructing Qingdao and their role as colonizers. German residents were automatically positioned in a privileged position over all Chinese residents. This enabled them to express a high level of superiority within their everyday life, which resulted in dominant colonial personalities that could show a low tolerance for the Chinese “other.” What was seen as typical Chinese was often harshly criticized and contrasted against the German counterpart. Similar to the comparison of Germans and Chinese as groups, Qingdao was generally portrayed as a thriving German oasis and contrasted against a surrounding monotone and stagnating Chinese otherness.

In German households, Chinese servants were essential for fulfilling the high level of cleanliness that many Germans saw necessary for the recreation of a Heimat. This seems at first glance ironic, given that Chinese were seen, at the same time, as the very source of the dirty and unhygienic condition that the Germans tried to counteract. The German colonial actors addressed this contradiction by emphasizing their responsibility for extensive control and supervision over their Chinese servants in order to achieve the desired standard of cleanliness.

But while Qingdao became, for many German inhabitants, a second Heimat, some German visitors noted the strange artificial atmosphere, in which nothing seemed naturally developed, but rather dull, weird, sterile, and empty. These visitors seemed not to have expected a Heimat-like city but to rather have missed a sense of adventure and exotic “otherness” that Qingdao was not able to offer. This was not only due to the “missing Europeans,” but also to the limited everyday interactions between Germans and Chinese, who, because of the native policies of the early years, lived mostly separated lives right next to each other. Change came through the growing influence of more wealthy Chinese moving to Qingdao on one hand and the German wish to gain momentum within a modernizing China on the

other. Qingdao, in desperate need of new capital, experienced a second building boom after the Chinese revolution of 1911, which ultimately led to end of segregation of Chinese and German inhabitants. Some Qingdao Germans supported the more open and cooperative approaches of the German government, for which Germanness now became less important for maintaining colonial dominance and more an asset to gain cultural influence in a rapidly changing China. Many colonists, however, were reluctant to give up their superior position within the colonial order. This suggests that their exclusive position and resulting sense of control, which was stronger supported by the earlier policies, was closely interlinked with their feeling of living in a new-found Heimat, which was now challenged.

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Notes

1. This essay uses the German transcription to refer to the colonial leasehold, 1897–1914. Please note: *Jiaozhou* is also the name of a city outside the former German leasehold.
2. See Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). For a further discussion of *Heimat*, see *Heimat. Konturen und Konjunkturen eines umstrittenen Konzept*, ed. Gunther Gebhard, Oliver Geisler, and Steffen Schröter (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005). On the “imagined community” see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), 1–8.
3. Bernhard von Bülow, speech before the German parliament, see Rainer A. Müller, ed., *Deutsche Geschichte in Quellen und Darstellung* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000), 8:268–270. Please note: All used quotations originally in German are translated by the author if not otherwise indicated.
4. Alfred von Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig: Koehler, 1925), 40.
5. On the concept of *Musterkolonie* see Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn, “Die ‘Musterkolonie’—Die Perzeption des Schutzgebietes Jiaozhou in Deutschland,” in *Deutschland und China. Beiträge des Zweiten Internationalen Symposiums zur Geschichte der deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen*, ed. Heng-yü Kuo and Mechthild Leutner (Munich: Minerva, 1994), 399–423.
6. Georg Franzius, *Ein Ausflug nach Kiau-Tschou* (Berlin: Reimer, 1898), 70–100, 79.
7. Moritz Pfeiffer, *Die Welt des fernen Ostens. Erlebnisse eines Deutschen in den asiatischen Ländern des stillen Ozeans* (Dresden: Glaser, 1923), 15.

8. Klaus Mühlhahn, *Herrschaft und Widerstand in der "Musterkolonie" Kiautschou* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), 218–219.
9. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 44.
10. Luis Weiler, letter of August 16, 1898, cited in Rainer Falkenberg, "Luis Weilers Briefe aus China (12.1897–8.1901). Materialien zur Entwicklung in Qingdao und zum Bau der Shandong-Bahn," in *Beiträge zu den deutsch-chinesischen Beziehungen*, ed. Heng-yü Kuo and Mechthild Leutner (Munich: Minerva, 1986), 113–133, 116.
11. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 43.
12. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 43, 45–46.
13. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 49.
14. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 39.
15. The *Chinesenordnung* is available in *Deutsch-Asiatische Warte*, Beilage zu Nr. 1, November 21, 1809.
16. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 39.
17. Christoph Lind, "Heimatliches Idyll und kolonialer Herrschaftsanspruch. Architektur in Tsingtau," in *Tsingtau, ein Kapitel deutscher Kolonialgeschichte in China, 1897–1914*, ed. Hans-Martin Hinz and Christoph Lind (Berlin: Minerva, 1998), 96–105, 104.
18. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 43.
19. Lind, "Heimatliches Idyll und kolonialer Herrschaftsanspruch," 103.
20. See i.e. Otto Corbach, "Fort aus Kiautschau," in *Das Blaubuch. Wochenschrift* 4, no. 6 (1909): 135–145 (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, RM 16/43); Johannes Leonhart, "Kiautschou," in *Fortschritt. Halbmonatsschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Marinefragen* 2, no 24 (1908): 699–702 (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, RM 16/43).
21. The *Chinesenordnung* is available in *Amtsblatt für das Deutsche Kiautschou-Gebiet*, July 7, 1900, 1–4; "Verordnung betr. Chinesenordnung für das Stadtgebiet Tsingtau, June 14, 1900," in Friedrich Wilhelm Mohr, *Handbuch für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou* (Tsingtau: Deutsch-Chinesische Druckerei, 1911), 22–29.
22. Wilhelm Matzat, "Alltagsleben im Schutzgebiet. Zivilisten und Militars, Chinesen und Deutsche," in *Tsingtau, ein Kapitel deutscher Kolonialgeschichte in China, 1897–1914*, ed. Hans-Martin Hinz and Christoph Lind (Berlin: Minerva, 1998), 106.
23. Karl Krüger, *Von Potsdam nach Tsingtau. Erinnerungen an meine Jugendjahre in Uniform 1904–1920* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2001), 113.
24. Georg Crusen, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Chinesen in Kiautschou," *Zeitschrift für Kolonialrecht* 15, no. 2/3 (1913): 4–17, 47–57.
25. George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 443; Mohr, *Handbuch für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou*, 13.
26. Hans Weicker, *Kiautschou. Das deutsche Schutzgebiet in Ostasien* (Berlin: Schall, 1908), 1908, 120–121.
27. Nancy Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation: Domesticity and National Identity in Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. the introduction and 61–71.
28. Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 5.
29. See i.e: Georg Franzius, *Kiautschou. Deutschlands Erwerbung in Ostasien*. (Berlin: Schall & Grund, 1898), 46, 49; Walter Uthemann and Führ, "Tsingtau. Ein kolonialhygienischer Rückblick," *Beihefte zum Archiv für Schiffs- und Tropenhygiene* 15, no. 4 (1911): 5–39, 9.
30. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Schan-tung und Deutsch-China* (Leipzig: Weber, 1897), 7.
31. Hesse-Wartegg, *Schan-tung und Deutsch-China*, 9.
32. Friedrich Behme, "Das deutsche Kiautschougebiet," in *Die deutschen Kolonien*, ed. Kurd Schwabe (Berlin: Weller, 1905), 2:142.
33. See Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting*, 470–494.

34. Matzat, *Alltagsleben im Schutzgebiet*, 110.
35. Tirpitz, letter of 2 June 1898 (Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, RM 2/1836, 237).
36. Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, 46.
37. Elisabeth von Schoeler, letter to her mother, July 28, 1901, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München, Handschriftenabteilung, Neukamp-Sammlung, Ana 517.
38. Nancy Reagin, "German Brigadoon? Domesticity and Metropolitan Perspectives of Auslandsdeutsche in Southwest Africa and Eastern Europe," in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, ed. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 250.
39. Lilli Leibbrand, letter to parents, June 10, 1902, (Private archive: Germany in China, Yixu Lü, University of Sydney).
40. Rudolf Wagner, *Eine Reise durch die deutschen Kolonien. Kiautschou* (Berlin: Kolonialpolitischer Zeitschriften, 1913), 38.
41. Matzat, *Alltagsleben im Schutzgebiet*, 110.
42. Emma Kroebe, *Wie ich an den Koreanischen Kaiserhof kam. Reiseeindrücke und Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Jakobsthal, 1909), 9.
43. For a list of social clubs, see *Adressbuch des Kiautschou-Gebiets* (Qingdao: Otto Rose, issued annually 1905–1913).
44. Annette Biener, "Das deutsche Pachtgebiet Tsingtau in Schantung 1897–1914, Institutioneller Wandel durch Kolonialisierung" (PhD diss., University of Bayreuth, 2001), 319.
45. Friedrich Behme and Michael Krieger, *Führer durch Tsingtau und Umgebung*, (Wolfenbüttel: Heckner, 1904), 97–99.
46. Käthe Saxer, letter, October 25, 1914, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München, Handschriftenabteilung, Neukamp-Sammlung, Ana 517.
47. Käthe Saxer, letter, October 16, 1914, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München, Handschriftenabteilung, Neukamp-Sammlung, Ana 517.
48. Franzius, *Ein Ausflug nach Kiau-Tschou*, 88.
49. See *Denkschrift betreffend die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes in der Zeit von Oktober 1898 bis Oktober 1899* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1899), 28–30 and for October 1900 to October 1901, 39–40.
50. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 75–134.
51. Behme, "Das deutsche Kiautschougebiet," 2:147.
52. Kroebe, *Wie ich an den Koreanischen Kaiserhof kam*, 73.
53. "Ein Tsingtaulied," *Tsingtauer Neuste Nachrichten*, June 5, 1910, cited in Biener, "Das deutsche Pachtgebiet," 318:
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| "Tsingtau, du jugendschön, | Und mich wie Dich umsäumt |
| Du stolze, deutsche Maid. | Des Meeres blauer Grund |
| Zu Deinem Lob ertöne | Wie seine Welle schäumt |
| ein Lied von Lieb und Freud. | Zu küssen Dir den Mund. |
| Du hast mein Herz gewonnen | Auch ich halt' Dich umfängen, |
| Hast mich gesund gemacht | Du Mägdlein, hold und traut, |
| Vom Heimweh, das umspinnen | Gelob' Dir anzuhängen |
| mich hielt bei Tag und Nacht. | Wie einer lieben Braut." |
54. Alfons Paquet, *Li oder Im neuen Osten* (Frankfurt am Main: Rütten und Loening, 1913), 296.
55. Herman Freiherr von Rotenhan, *Letters from China, 1903–1904*, 94. (Private archive: Germany in China, Yixu Lü, University of Sydney).
56. Otto Corbach was from April 1, 1901 until October 4, 1902 editor of Qingdao's weekly journal *Deutsch-Asiatische Warte*. He lost this position because of his too critical views on Qingdao's administration and returned to Germany where he continued to publish on this topic. See Wilhelm

- Matzat, "Neue Materialien zu den Aktivitäten des Chinesenkommissars Wilhelm Schrameier in Tsingtau," *Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte Schantung und Tsingtaus* 4 (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1998), 70.
57. Otto Corbach, "Die Landordnung von Kiautschou, ein verfehltes Experiment," *Koloniale Zeitschrift*, vol. 5 (1904); cited in Matzat, "Neue Materialien zu den Aktivitäten des Chinesenkommissars Wilhelm Schrameier in Tsingtau," 33–36.
 58. Luis Weiler lived in Qingdao from 1898 to 1901, working as an engineer on the Shandong railway. His letters are archived in the Deutsche Museum, Munich.
 59. Luis Weiler, letter, October 5, 1898; cited in Falkenberg, "Luis Weilers Briefe," 116.
 60. On the pressure for colonial German women to "Germanize" their households, see Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 67.
 61. Weicker, *Kiautschou. Das deutsche Schutzgebiet in Ostasien*, 125.
 62. Weicker, *Kiautschou. Das deutsche Schutzgebiet in Ostasien*, 126.
 63. Elisabeth von Schoeler, letter to her mother, July 28, 1901, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek München. Handschriftenabteilung, Neukamp-Sammlung, Ana 517.
 64. Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* 91 (1991): 33–40.
 65. Weicker, *Kiautschou. Das deutsche Schutzgebiet in Ostasien*, 119.
 66. Kroeber, *Wie ich an den Koreanischen Kaiserhof kam*, 75.
 67. *Kiautschou Post*, February 11, 1912; cited in Biener, "Das deutsche Pachtgebiet Tsingtau," 102.
 68. *Kiautschou Post*, February 11, 1912; cited in Biener, "Das deutsche Pachtgebiet Tsingtau," 102.
 69. See Biener, "Das deutsche Pachtgebiet Tsingtau," 293, 323, 364.
 70. Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting*, 443.