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第一次鸦片战争后德国对厦门的影响 1842-1917

**German Involvement in Xiamen After the
First Opium War 1842-1917**

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摘要

英美于第一次鸦片战争后在厦门的历史已有详细而广泛的研究和记载，然而，德国的影响却几乎被忽略。本篇论文将通过德国在“不平等条约”时期对厦门影响的研究来填补这一空白。本文认为，第一次鸦片战争后，德国对厦门的影响在中德于1861年签订的第一份条约之前已经开始，于第一次世界大战前结束。不过当地影响是次要的，德国的利益中心在于航运业。尽管德国人在中国的沿海贸易和船只租赁并不少见，但与厦门有业务往来的不多。由于在厦门的德国人少于50人，当地的德国建筑屈指可数，其中包括两座领事建筑、一个旅馆、少数的贸易公司和几个私人场所。除了厦门的第一所公共图书馆由德国人所建外，当时的社会福利几乎没有德国人的贡献。当时的崇真会本来有一个绝好的机会，可以派遣一名传教士作为德语老师，可是他们错过了这个机会，而是将精力集中于香港。关于商业贸易，德国的贸易公司主要致力于沿岸贸易和苦力运输，当时直接苦力移民到哑鲁（现苏门答腊）就是他们所发起的。德国和厦门的直接贸易只是很小规模的，几乎都是通过香港。出人意料的，从厦门走私到新加坡的吗啡和可卡因的主要供应者居然是德国。然而，克虏伯大炮工厂在当时的贸易和胡里山炮台的装备中起着关键作用。厦门曾是德国人最喜欢的东亚港口，甚至几乎成为德国军舰使用的又一租界地。德国东亚分舰队不但定期到达厦门，而且解决过一个贸易冲突、帮助应对日本对鼓浪屿的潜在入侵等。遗憾的是，鼓浪屿的著名景点风动石同样毁于德国军舰队员之手。对德国人来说在厦门最重要的是其航运业，德国的航运公司大部分经营船舶租赁业务，而非在厦门和其他贸易港口间固定航线航行。德国的船比其他国家的船小，且在很长一段时间主要包括帆船，正因如此，当港口开放后，他们的主导业务是沿岸贸易，但是，他们对厦门的影响也随之不断减少。直到1900年，大多数依赖于帆船和小轮船的中小规模航运公司被定期的班轮公司所取代，特别是被大阪商船株式会社的传取代。德国较大的船舶公司北德意志-劳埃德公司和汉堡-美洲行包航运股份公司就是这时候进入厦门航运业务，他们几乎完全从事于去新加坡的苦力贸易，在一战前并没有取得牢固的立足点。当一战开始时，德国船运只有昔日规模很小的一部分，在厦门的德国人也减少了，仅剩下一个贸易公司，是否将德国领事馆搬回福州的讨论一直被搬上议程。至此，德国对厦门的影响于一战前几乎不复存在。

关键词： 厦门；鼓浪屿；通商口岸；德国船运；中德历史。

Abstract

While American and British life in Xiamen after the First Opium War has been well researched and documented, German influence has widely been ignored. This thesis fills this gap by investigating German spheres of influence in Xiamen during the era of the “Unequal Treaties”. It argues that the German involvement after the First Opium War started before the first treaty between China and Germany in 1861 and also ended before the First World War. While local involvement was minor, German interests centered around shipping. Although the high importance of coast trade and chartering for Germans in China was not unusual, Xiamen could not serve other German interests. With less than 50 Germans in Xiamen the local German establishments were few and comprised two consulate buildings, a hotel, a handful of trading houses, and several private properties. There were almost no German contributions to social welfare, except the first public library in Xiamen which was established by a German. The Basel Mission would have had a golden opportunity to send a missionary as a German teacher, but missed out on the chance and instead concentrated its efforts on Hongkong. Regarding commerce, German trading houses mainly engaged in the coast trade and coolie transport, and even a direct coolie emigration to Deli was initiated by them. Trade between Germany and China only had a small scale, and went indirectly over Hongkong. Surprisingly, Germany was the main supplier of morphine and cocaine which was smuggled from Xiamen to Singapore. Also the Krupp cannon factory played a role in trading and was used to equip Fort Hulishan. Xiamen was Germany’s favorite port in East Asia and stood once on the edge of becoming a concession for German warships. The German East Asia Squad not only regularly anchored in Xiamen but also silenced a trading conflict and helped to counter a potential Japanese invasion of Gulangyu. Regrettably, it was also the crew of a German warship that destroyed the “Rocking Stone”, a sight on Gulangyu. Most important for the Germans was the shipping business in Xiamen. German shipping companies mostly operated as charter companies and not as regular lines, in Xiamen as well as in the other treaty ports. The ships were smaller than of the other nations and primarily consisted of sailing ships for a long time. With them, the Germans dominated coast trade when the port was opened. However, their influence continuously diminished in Xiamen. Until 1900, the numerous small and middle-sized shipping companies which relied on sailing vessels and small steamers were displaced by the regular shipping lines, particularly by the ships of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha. The big German shipping companies North German Lloyd and the Hamburg America line entered the shipping business in Xiamen around this time. They engaged almost exclusively in the coolie trade to Singapore and could not gain a strong foothold before the First World War. When the First World War started, German shipping only had a small fraction of its former scale, the German population had declined, only one trading house was left, and discussions were active whether to relocate the German consulate back to Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian. German influence in Xiamen thus had become almost non-existent before the First World War.

Keywords: Xiamen; Gulangyu; Treaty Port History; German Shipping; Sino-German history.

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Chapter One Introduction

When the British started the Opium Wars and invaded China, other nations such as Germany soon followed to claim spheres of influence on Chinese land. German involvement in the smaller treaty ports such as Xiamen has widely been ignored by scholars. This thesis targets to fill the gap by investigating German involvement in Xiamen in terms of local life, trade, shipping, and concessions. The time period investigated reaches from the British invasion of Xiamen during the First Opium War in 1842 up to the end of the First World War in 1919.

The goal of the thesis is to lay a foundation for the German involvement in Xiamen, for which little is known up-to-date. The thesis thus investigates the extent of German involvement in one of the commercially less important treaty ports. With the application of Gulangyu as a UNESCO World Heritage Site two years ago on the 29. January 2013¹ answering this question became even more important for the recognition of Gulangyu itself. The thesis tries to fill gaps by showing which German establishments were located in Xiamen, how big the population was, and how the Germans interacted with the Chinese and other nations. But the thesis is not only important from a local perspective: It helps to answer questions for Germany such as whether the nation was involved in the drug trade, the extent of German coolie transport, how the shipping companies were handling the coast trade in China, and how German nationals shaped the treaty port landscape.

The thesis was written following a historical methodology and both bases on a quantitative and qualitative approach to explain the German influence in Xiamen. A quantitative approach is used in the discussion of shipping, trade, and the demographic development of the German population in Xiamen. The data facilitated by the quantitative approach stems from the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs entries that provide shipping, trade, and demographic data, and from shipping lists by the German consul in Xiamen. Results were primarily obtained by aggregating or summarizing data, e.g., by investigating the maximum of the German population or the trend of German shipping development over time. The qualitative approach mainly relies on German and English primary and secondary sources as explained in the next chapter, and on the results of the quantitative analysis to assess the German influence in Xiamen.

The thesis investigates the involvement from a standpoint of the actual influence of Xiamen. Thus, the thesis avoids to mention German domestic policies and decision makings, provided that events and development can be explained without them.

The thesis argues that German involvement in Xiamen after the First Opium War already started before the first treaty between Germany and China, which was the Treaty of Tientsin signed in 1861. It shows that the main involvement was related to the shipping business, while local influence was minor. When thus shipping declined in 1900, the German involvement almost diminished. When the First World War broke out in 1914, no more German ships arrived in Xiamen which signified the end of German influence.

The German population in Xiamen was small and never exceeded 50 persons. Besides their professional occupation, Germans often acted in administrative positions

¹National Commission of the People's Republic of China for UNESCO, "Kulangsu" (2013), <<http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5807/>>.

such as consuls, as observers in the consulate court, or in the Municipal Council. Likewise, establishments were few and Germany did not have schools, missionaries, or hospitals in Xiamen. Instead, two buildings associated with the German consul were located in Xiamen, the *New Amoy Hotel* was lead by a German, and also several private properties and trading houses associated with Germans existed. A German founded the first public library in Xiamen. The small local involvement is not surprising, since Germany's ambitions in China started late and then immediately centered around the Shandong area. Before 1897 when Germany seized Qingdao, Xiamen as Germany's favorite port in East Asia stood twice on the verge of becoming a German concession. Also, Germany twice used gunboat policy in Xiamen, to silence a trade conflict and to help to prevent a potential Japanese invasion in 1900.² Apart from that, coexistence on the island was mostly peaceful.

All the interests in Xiamen centered around shipping. The professional consulate was initiated to facilitate commercial shipping and for the German warships. The local trading firms mainly operated in the coast trade since import and export trade between China and Germany were minor. The exact trade volume cannot be assessed, since the trade went indirectly over Hongkong. German import products primarily comprised "sundries". Surprisingly, important import goods also included morphine and cocaine, which were then smuggled from Xiamen to Singapore. Relevant were also the Krupp cannons used to equip Fort Hulishan which have been preserved until today. German merchants and shipping companies also participated in the coolie trade and, e.g., initiated a direct coolie emigration to Deli.

Both small and big shipping companies likewise participated in the coast trade and coolie transport, mostly as charter transports and not as regular lines, as has been noted by other scholars. The thesis investigates the development of shipping more closely and present factors that influenced shipping in Xiamen. Until 1900, German sailing ships and steamers were smaller than ships of other nations, and Germany relied the longest on sailing vessels. Shipping continuously decreased due to regular shipping lines. The business almost vanished when the state subsidized Osaka Shosen Kaisha steamers frequented the harbor. After 1900 only big shipping lines continued to operate in Xiamen but could only make little profit with the coolie transport to Singapore. Before the First World War, German shipping in Xiamen was almost dead.

The thesis refers to Chinese locations via the standardized *Pinyin* system but without using tone marks. The city of Xiamen or Amoy is thus spelled Xiamen since the Pinyin of the city is spelled Xiàmén, removing the tone marks leaving Xiamen. Notable exceptions are cities that have an established English name which is still used today such as Hongkong, Port Arthur, or Tamsui. For consistency, also the place names in direct quotations were normalized using this convention.

Geographical names often appear in different spellings depending on the source. The appendix thus contains a glossary of all Chinese place names referring to a city, province, or region. Besides the Pinyin spelling without tone marks and the Chinese spelling, it also contains alternative English and German names. The glossary was additionally supplemented with names from Wikipedia, so that the glossary is more complete and can serve for further research.

Chinese and German terms were translated into English, even if an established trans-

²The potential Japanese invasion in 1900 is in the further referred to as "Japanese Scare". The term had been coined by Pitcher in "In and About Amoy" (Pitcher 262).

lation did not exist before. Where a clear conclusion from the English name cannot be made, the Chinese or German version is given in brackets following the English term.

The thesis bases mostly on German and English sources. An overview of the most important sources is given in Chapter Two to ease further research, especially for non-German speaking scholars, since the chapter presents the translated title and short summaries.

The time investigated in this thesis starts with the *Unequal Treaties* (不平等条约) which the imperial nations forced through their gunboat policy. While the general significance and history of the treaties has already been researched thoroughly, Chapter Three presents the treaty war with a focus on the German participation.

Chapter Four then investigates the concession time in Xiamen to eventually fix the time frame on which the thesis focuses. The chapter ends the general introduction part on Xiamen, and Germany in context of the treaty era.

Chapter Five continues by examining the German official presence in Xiamen which comprised the German consulate as an important local factor, the East Asia Squadron as part of the German navy that also enforced gunboat policy in Xiamen, and the Imperial Post Steamer used as a German colonial expansion tool. Since Xiamen was the most important German port in Fujian and beyond, a section in the chapter devotes itself to the question why Germany did not take a concession in Xiamen.

The next chapters dive deeper into detail and argue the influence by using demographic, shipping, and economical data.

Chapter Six analyzes the development of the population, professions and local establishments. It sheds light on the extent of local German life, institutions, and events.

Chapter Seven explores the extent of German trade and commerce in China. The chapter both explores the business fields of local companies, as well as import and export goods between China and Germany.

Chapter Eight shows which German shipping companies were involved in Xiamen, what their characteristics were, and how these companies developed towards 1900 when most German shipping declined.

Based on the previous chapters, Chapter Nine argues the total development of German shipping and the factors that played a role in its decline. It gives an explanation to the ups and downs of German shipping during the period investigated in this thesis.

Chapter Ten presents the findings of the thesis and summarizes the points made.

Appendix C contains an acknowledgement of all the people and institutions that contributed to the thesis. Appendix A displays a timeline that spans over the period investigated in the thesis and illustrates important events related to the German influence in Xiamen in a chronological order. Appendix B comprises names referring to Chinese places with alternative German, English, and Chinese spellings.

Chapter Two Sources and Materials

Most sources regarding the German involvement in Xiamen are naturally written in German. This chapter gives an overview of the most important sources to facilitate further research, especially for non German speaking scholars. German sources titles are translated into English and a coarse overview of the material's content is presented. While the thesis uses some Chinese secondary sources no effort was made to investigate materials from Chinese archives, with the Chinese Maritime Custom entries being the only exception. Still, the thesis raises concerns where further research facilitating sources with a Chinese view on the events would be desirable.

The main sources of the thesis consist of two sets: one are the Chinese Maritime Custom entries, and the other one German official communication records.

The Chinese Maritime Custom documents, further also referred to as Custom documents, are yearly volumes with various data about the maritime trade in China after the Opium Wars. They include general statistics about trade and shipping between China and the foreign nations, as well as specific data for every treaty port. Most important for this thesis were the specific statistics about shipping traffic in Xiamen, containing the number of ship declarations, trading statistics, and passenger transport. Additionally, the Maritime Customs also contain yearly reports starting from 1887 (volume 13), and decennial reports between 1882 and 1921 which partly explain the development and shipping of trade, but also the general development in Xiamen and its surroundings. While the yearly and decennial reports are cited in this thesis, the data aggregated in the diagrams is not due to the high number of volumes.

The book "Treaties, conventions, etc, between China and Foreign states" that contains the original treaty documents was also published by the Maritime Customs.

The German official records mainly stem from two archives: The *Federal Archive* in Berlin-Lichterfelde (*Bundesarchiv (BArch)*) and the *Political Archive of the Foreign Office* in Berlin (*Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (PA AA)*). One file regarding a supposed deletion of ships from the ship register of a German company in Xiamen could be found in the *City Archive of the Hanseatic City Lubeck (Stadtarchiv der Hansestadt Lübeck)*.

Although files from the *Military Archive of the Federal Archive (Militärarchiv des Bundesarchivs)* in Freiburg regarding the German navy in Xiamen would have been available they were not used for this thesis. This was due to the high number of materials in the other two archives in Berlin, as well as due to the emphasis of the thesis on local German influence. Since Germany did not have concessions or military establishments in Xiamen, these materials were deemed less important.

From the Federal Archive several files were used. The file R 901/30946 "Foreign Settlements in Amoy" (*Fremdenniederlassungen in Amoy*) describes the establishment of the Municipal Council and also contains some English materials. Files R 901/54146 until 54150 contain the yearly reports of the consulate in Xiamen between 1887 and 1906. The file R 901/5036 contains the yearly trade reports from 1907 to 1913. File R 901/22575 "Establishment of a Marine Establishment in Amoy" (*Errichtung eines Marineetablissements in Amoy*) contains the plans for an establishment of a provision magazine in Xiamen. R 1001/2301 contains materials regarding the "Amoy emigration to the Indian archipelago with a particular reference to the Deli project, 1891" (*Amoy-Auswanderung nach dem Indischen Archipel mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf das Deli-*

Unternehmen, 1891) which describes the coolie trade to Deli that was operated by German merchants in Xiamen.

Also from the Political Archive of the Foreign Office several files were used. 15 files about the administration and employment issues regarding the consulate in Xiamen in R 252844-252854 and R 141823-141826 from 1871 to 1917 that partly also contain additional information such as yearly reports were evaluated. The later yearly reports are stored in the Federal Archive, as mentioned above. The files from the German consulate in Beijing contain files from Xiamen between 1862 and 1914 in R 9208/950 to R 9028/954 which were also analyzed.

An important complementary source were newspaper articles regarding Xiamen from the on-line newspaper platform *NewspaperSG* maintained by the Singaporean Government. Since Xiamen was important for the migration of workers to Singapore, and because of social and economical ties, many articles about the city can be found on the platform.³ The platform contains Singaporean and Malaysian newspaper from 1831 to 2009. The *Mid-day Herald* (digitized 1895-1896), *The Straits Times* (digitized 1845-2009), the *Straits Times Weekly Issue* (digitized 1845-2009) and the *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (digitized 1884-1942) were used in this thesis.⁴

Regarding overview books of Xiamen *A Short History of Koolangsu* by Giles is the first one that had been published after the Opium Wars. The previous book, as noted in it, was the *History of Amoy* published in 1839 that does not contain a reference to foreigners yet.⁵ Hughes writes in *Amoy and the Surrounding Districts: Compiled from Chinese and Other Records* about the history of Xiamen and nearby areas.

A series of books regarding Gulangyu, Xiamen, and Fujian was written by Brown. *Old Gulangyu in Foreigners Eyes* includes many quotations of various sources concerning the history, living, and trade on Gulangyu. *Discover Gulangyu* concentrates on the current state of Gulangyu but also provides historical information and a description of the buildings in Gulangyu. *Magic Xiamen* contains a mixture of recent and historical information regarding Xiamen, including Gulangyu. The books base on records written in English and thus contain only few references to German life in Xiamen.

The Protestant missionaries in Xiamen published books that were used in this thesis. The American missionary Pitcher wrote the book *In and about Amoy* that provides a rich overview of the treaty time in Gulangyu. The British missionary Macgowan describes his impressions about his missionary work in Xiamen in *Christ or Confucius, which?.* No German missionaries were based in Xiamen that could have published a book.

Several books with an overview of treaty ports were deemed useful. One with several references to German establishments in Xiamen is *Twentieth century impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai, and other treaty ports of China: their history, people, commerce, industries, and resources* by Wright and Cartwright. The *Commercial Handbook of China* compiled by American consuls provides general and trading information about Xiamen and the other opened ports.

³Chen mentions many of the ties related to newspapers in *The Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore. 1881-1912.*

⁴The Singapore Free Press and Merchantile Advertiser was one of the earliest newspaper maintained by Europeans in Singapore after the *Singapore Chronicle* that had already appeared in 1824. Together with the Straits Times the newspaper accounted for two out of four English newspapers in the 1960s (Chen 12, 17).

⁵H.A. Giles, *A Short History of Koolangsu* (A.A. Marcal, 1878) 3.

Secondary sources about the German involvement in Gulangyu and Xiamen are scarce. Most scholarly work focuses on the German concessions of Tianjin and Hankou, as well as the lease of Qingdao but neglects the other ports such as Xiamen. Documents about the trade between Germany and China either focus on the period after the First World War or again at the other concessions. Useful material is often only found in marginal notes, whereas the documents focus on other parts than the German involvement in Xiamen. In order to reconstruct the German involvement, the thesis thus relies on a variety of different secondary sources.

The thesis uses some books that describe various aspects of the relationship between China and Germany. The books by Eberstein are the most comprehensive and insightful sources regarding the early exchanges between Germany and China. In the two books *Prussia and China. A History of difficult relationships* (*Preußen und China. Eine Geschichte schwieriger Beziehungen*) and *Hamburg China. History of a Partnership* (*Hamburg China. Geschichte einer Partnerschaft*) Eberstein describes the development of the relationships to China between the two most important German states before the founding of the German empire, and for the Hamburg book beyond that.

Also *Germany and Republican China* by Kirby includes a short introduction about the German involvement in China before 1914, but mainly concentrates on the period afterwards. Kelly investigates in *Tirpitz and the Imperial German Navy* the development of the German navy with a focus on Tirpitz who was relevant for the selection of the concession in Qingdao. Ho presents in *The Foreign Trade of China* the trade between China and foreign countries and also contains a chapter about Germany import and export trade. However, since the German trade volume only became significant after the First World War information about before 1914 is also scarce in the book.

Since shipping was of major importance for the Germans in Xiamen, the thesis also relies on sources regarding shipping companies and the development of shipping. Primarily, the first four out of five volumes about German passenger shipping by Kludas' *The History of German Passenger Shipping Die Geschichte der Deutschen Passagier-Schiffahrt* were used. For smaller shipping lines that mainly operated freight lines, information is more scarce and mainly on-line sources were used.

As an addition, yearly reports of the shipping company NDL starting from 1899 were evaluated.

Several books regarding German companies' histories in China exist which often reference German shipping. Two books by Becker with *Michael Jebsen: Owner of a Shipping Company and Politician. 1835-1899. A Biography.* (*Michael Jebsen: Reeder und Politiker. 1835-1899. Eine Biographie*) and Hänisch with *Jebsen & Co. Hong Kong. China Trade in the Change of Time 1895-1945* (*Jebsen & Co. Hong Kong. China-Handel im Wechsel der Zeit 1895-1945*) regarding the shipping company M. Jebsen were used. Möring writes in *Siemssen & Co., 1846-1996* about the German company Siemssen that also had a branch in Fuzhou.

Regarding Hulishan and the Krupp cannon trade, the thesis mainly relies on an article by Piotr *Coastal Fortifications in Xiamen (Küstenbefestigungen in Xiamen)*.

Travel reports of Germans in Xiamen could also be found and used in this thesis.

Georg Wegener described in *During Wartime in China 1900/1901* (*Zur Kriegszeit in China 1900/1901*) his impressions and experiences from visits to several cities in China during the Boxer rebellion. He started the journey from Sydney after hearing about the stirrings.

Wilhelm Grube was a sinologist and visited Xiamen from where he wrote a letter on the 27. October 1898, contained in *Wilhelm Grube (1855-1908): Live, Works, and Collections of the Linguist, Ethnologist, and Sinologist (Wilhelm Grube (1855-1908): Leben, Werk und Sammlungen des Sprachwissenschaftlers, Ethnologen und Sinologen)*. In it he primarily criticized the British due various reasons but also reported impressions from his visit to Xiamen. Grube was a former classmate of Merz, who was German consul in Xiamen during his visit.

Ernst Grünfield traveled for his book *Treaty Ports and Colonial Conditions in China, Japan, and Korea: a colonial political study (Hafenkolonien und kolonieähnliche Verhältnisse in China, Japan und Korea: eine kolonialpolitische Studie)* between 1910 and 1912 to East Asia. The book describes the history about several treaty ports in East Asia, and he also reported his personal experiences in them, such as for Xiamen.

The citation style of this thesis bases on the MLA footnotes citation style. Where footnotes provide more than a bibliographical reference, the MLA in-text citation style is used. The first time a source is referenced it is fully cited. Further references are abbreviated by only noting the authors and title of the resource. If this is not sufficient to unambiguously identify the resource additional attributes are noted.

Exceptions of the citation style are made for sources of the German Federal Archive, the Political Archive of the Foreign Office, and the Museum Eckernförde, which recommend unambiguous citation styles themselves.

The next chapter starts with the investigation of the German influence in Xiamen. It begins with the analysis of the Sino-German treaties in order to build up a framework for further investigations.

Degree papers are in the "[Xiamen University Electronic Theses and Dissertations Database](#)". Full texts are available in the following ways:

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