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### OFFICIAL GERMAN COLONIZATION

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*“Great Britain may therefore be, not inaptly, described as a fortified outpost of the Anglo-Saxon Race, overlooking the Eastern Continent and resting upon America.”*—BROOK ADAMS, *“America’s Economic Supremacy,”* 1900.

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The German in Kiao Chow—German East Africa—West Indies and United States

UP to the moment of writing, Germany has sent out into the world more colonists than any other country save Great Britain. The notable feature of this movement, however, is that the German, as a colonist, prefers almost any flag to his own.

This is not because the German does not love his Emperor, his language, his customs, and the thousand little things that constitute the Fatherland. It is not wholly true that he expatriates himself in order to escape military service, for that service is not more unpopular than most other personal taxes. But the German loves liberty, and he realizes that, in colonies at least, liberty is essential to progress. The German Government hampers colonial enterprise by a multiplicity of official limitations which weigh upon the pioneer merchant or planter, and that is why, in spite of more than a million square miles of colonial posses-

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sions, the children of the German Empire persist in founding their new homes not in Kiao Chow or Kameruns, but in Australia, Argentine, Sumatra, Canada, and Texas.

In 1898, on a North German Lloyd steamer bound for the China seas, were seventeen German merchants. Kiao Chow had then been one year under the German flag, and German papers which reflect Government opinion had laid so much stress upon the commercial nature of that colony, that a stranger might have thought it fair to assume that some, at least, of these seventeen merchants were bound for this incipient Hamburg of Shantung.

Two of them did go there to look about, but they were so discouraged by the attitude of the officials that they returned home. The rest found more comfort under the Dutch or the British flag. A wealthy German planter who had large plantations in Sumatra got off at Singapore. I took him one day greatly to task for not assisting in the development of German East Africa instead of bringing his capital and intelligence to the advancement of a rival colony. Said my German friend:

“I did try to settle in German East Africa. But I was not made welcome. I was choked by red tape. I was not regarded as an intelligent member of the community, but as one who was to be ordered about by officials—as though I were a peasant recruit.

“No! it is impossible yet to do anything in a German colony—there is too much government. Instead of getting the best man and paying him a high salary, they pay a dozen men shabbily, and get but the com-

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mon run of officials, and you can't ask for anything worse than that, at least in the tropics. Why! the German Government does not pay the governor of a colony as much as I pay an overseer! My manager would not change places with the Governor of East Africa!"

This gentleman is well known in Berlin as a wealthy and public-spirited Christian. He echoes the sentiments of many Germans competent to express an opinion in such a matter.

Among my fellow-passengers were several going to Hong-Kong. When I twitted one of them for not going to Kiao Chow, I got practically the same answer. Said one, "Why should I go to Kiao Chow? I have more political and personal liberty in Hong-Kong under the British flag than under my own. In Hong-Kong I am somebody—in Kiao Chow I am but a 'common civilian.' In Hong-Kong German interests are respected, and Germans have a voice. In the directory of the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank, Germans are represented as well as English. No, sir, I love my country, but my patriotism is not strong enough to carry me to Kiao Chow."

Of course, therefore, I visited Kiao Chow; for I wished to see on the spot whether my German friends of the North German Lloyd had been exaggerating.

My reception on the part of the Governor and officials generally was cordial, and everything was done to make my stay agreeable. I lay stress upon this, for one's views are frequently modified by personal trifles.

To be sure, being merely a civilian, I was not permitted to enter the Governor's palace by the main en-

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trance; but was, by the sentinel, sent around to the side door. At the time I did not know that any invidious distinction was being made, and so I had nothing to worry about. The Governor invited me to his table, and his official aides asked me to dine at their mess. No governor was ever more painstaking or conscientious than this particular one. By this time he has probably died of the fever or been replaced; for in 1898 the colony was so unhealthy that I could scarce hear of anyone who had not suffered from dysentery or malarial fever, or both. This governor was much worried over many things—the walls of his palace were green with mould, the furniture which he had brought out at great cost from Berlin was ungumming itself under the influence of moisture; he was a physical wreck by reason of the unsanitary state of his quarters, and, while shivering with the damp, he pictured in glowing colors Kiao Chow as the great future sanatorium of the Far East! I did not smile—it was too pathetic!

Then he poured into my ears some of his cares of state. I had hoped to hear him discourse on the problems arising from adapting European legal methods to Chinese needs; possibly to frontier disputes, custom-house difficulties, military capacity of the Celestials, a hundred problems of absorbing interest to one in his position, fresh from the atmosphere of Berlin or Kiel!

But no; his official mind was occupied by consideration of how to punish a Chinese scullery-boy who had inadvertently washed the dishes in the bath-tub. I told the Governor that in China there were so many

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worse ways of cleaning dishes that I would leave the matter to a local court, and think no more about it. He was shocked at my superficiality.

And just here let me point out the difference between the official and the normal mind.

To the official mind, perspective or relative importance does not exist. For him every telegram takes its turn, whether it refers to a ship sinking in sight of port, or an accumulation of ashes in the dust-bin. My friend, the Governor, worried more over that scullery episode than Moltke over the capture of Louis Napoleon.

On the occasion of my visit to Kiao Chow I found five merchants as against 1,500 soldiers or officials. This to me was depressing. I should have preferred five soldiers and 1,500 colonists. But the Governor thought otherwise. He could not understand what these merchants meant by bothering him with questions about the place. He did not want them, they only added to his worries. On the occasion of my visit the Government had announced the first sale of land to take place in a few days, and German merchants in other ports of China had shown considerable patriotic desire to invest money for the benefit of the colony. But few knew anything about the place. All were curious to know if there were such a thing as a hotel, whether they might sleep on board a ship in port, whether there would be tents procurable. Nothing seemed to me more reasonable than that. Throughout the civilized world, when one man invites another to come to an inaccessible region and purchase from him—whether horses or land—the law of hospitality, if not

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good policy, demands that no pains should be spared in entertaining the prospective purchaser.

In Kiao Chow, however, this law was reversed, perhaps in deference to Chinese topsy-turvy principles. This governor resented what he was pleased to regard as the insolence of German merchants, who, just think of it! had the audacity to imagine that he, an imperial official, should waste his time in looking after such a thing as commerce! Nobody wanted these merchants any way; they only made trouble!

And this was the beginning of Germany's first colony.

The best sites have been secured for barracks, the officers have installed themselves as in a military cantonment, and if by chance a misguided merchant should venture to settle in the place, he is regarded as an intruder—is not even admitted as a member of the social organizations patronized by the military aristocracy.\*

There was one exception at Kiao Chow. One merchant did belong to the club—but, as has probably

\* From a letter dated Kiao Chow, October 11, 1898, I extract these words, prefacing that the writer is eminently trustworthy :

"The German Government has purchased at a low rate all the land in this vicinity, so that all buyers must secure their lots directly from the government.

"The government therefore has a complete monopoly and withholds or sells as may seem most advantageous.

"The first sale took place on Monday, October 3, 1898, as per programme. There were about forty bidders present, all of whom, with one exception (a Swede), were Germans.

"Outside of this number were also eight or ten Chinese merchants.

"Blocks of land fronting the future Bund (water-front drive) and containing about half an acre each, sold for from \$3,000 to \$6,000 (Mexican) according to location.

"One large block of about 1½ acres in extent was sold to a Chinese merchant for \$6,250 (Mexican)."

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already been guessed, he was a money-lender, and was elected by his creditors.

Much of the misery in Kiao Chow resulted from home-sickness and inexperience, but still more from inexplicable incapacity. For instance, the water was unfit to drink—at least for Europeans. The men were pretty generally suffering from diseases directly connected with tainted water, and yet there were no distilling machines in operation—not even the warships in the harbor were used for this humane purpose. It was natural for me to feel that the German ships of war which I had met in August of 1898 in Philippine waters might have been better employed in distilling water for the suffering soldiers at Kiao Chow. Such work may not appear glorious—but it saves precious lives.

Not more than one hundred miles away, at Wei-hai-Wei, Admiral Seymour had also founded a colony of Englishmen. It was but six months old—half as old as the German—yet the English had wholesome water to drink, and, consequently, there was no unusual amount of disease. While the German Admiral was fretting, the Englishman kept his men cheerful and strong by encouraging outdoor sports.

Kiao Chow is a poor thing, as ports go. It will cost millions of dollars before ships can anchor with safety, let alone discharge cargo in ordinary weather. It is inferior to Wei-hai-Wei, and it is difficult to understand what induced Germany to take such a place for such a purpose.

During my visit, there was not a single vessel in port that was not there on Government account or under

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subsidy of the German Government. I saw an American four-masted schooner from Oregon bump her bottom to pieces, because, in spite of her captain's representations, she was assigned by the Governor's orders to an unsafe anchorage. The approaches to Kiao Chow were so badly charted that the captain of the German mail steamer had to go a hundred miles out of his course on the short run from Shanghai. Physical defects can be readily repaired, money and energy can build harbor-walls, sink artesian wells, and complete charts. But officialism is the vice that to-day affects the growth of Kiao Chow; the inability of the official mind to perceive that a colony must, in order to prosper, be governed in the interest of the colonists, and not merely of the officials.

The seizure of Kiao Chow, like that of South America by Spain, was ostensibly from religious motives. Two Roman Catholics, missionaries, had been murdered by a Chinese mob somewhere in the interior, where missionaries are particularly requested not to penetrate. The German Government did not wait until an explanation or the usual reparation could be offered, but immediately dispatched a squadron to take possession of Kiao Chow. The Chinese commander of the port, when he saw the squadron enter, thought it had come on a friendly visit, and prepared to receive the landing party with sweetmeats and other evidence of kind intentions. But his friendly offices were not accepted, the place was soon occupied by German marines, the Chinese flag hauled down, the German placed in its stead, the peaceful Chinese population dispossessed of their ancestral homes, and the territory



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annexed to that of the German Empire \*—"leased," is the more polite term.

There have been people murdered in other countries besides China—in the United States, for instance. Would it seem right that a country should, because one of her subjects had been murdered in Alaska, bombard Washington or New York or New Orleans without warning? Would not reparation have been demanded in the first instance, and war declared afterward? The seizure of Kiao Chow took place in a time of profound peace, under no adequate provocation. It was an act of war, and, though China could not at the time resent it by force of arms, we may rest assured that it was an act which went far to rouse in her people the resentment that in 1900 sustained the so-called "Boxer" movement.

Germany sends forth her children by the hundreds of thousands to strengthen the white man's dominion over the earth, and the colonies which receive them are grateful for this increase. But official Germany calls them unpatriotic and preaches the duty of colon-

\* The German Emperor will be blessed by generations unborn for having made the first application of Henry George's theory regarding land tenure. In Kiao Chow the Government has distinctly set its face against speculation in land value. Whoever buys a parcel of land is liable to have it repurchased by the Government at the end of a limited term of years, and whatever increase in value it may have acquired is looked upon as the property, not of the man who first purchased it, but of the community through whose industry the unearned increment has come into existence.

Australia has only partially recognized the justice of the Henry George doctrine in this matter. The United States has as yet made no sign that she means to apply it either in the Philippines or Cuba. At present, therefore, the two most advanced colonies in the way of land legislation are New Zealand and Kiao Chow, the one the most advanced of democracies, the other a mere military government.

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izing only under the German flag! The German citizen is called upon to pay heavy tribute for naval and military expenditure, ostensibly to protect German commerce and German colonies. But the practical colonist smiles at these pretexts, they are mainly political humbug. German commerce and German emigration took very good care of itself before ever a colony belonged to Germany. The industrious German, like the Swede, the Norwegian, the Swiss, the Italian, spreads himself over the face of the earth, without a thought as to whether he has a big navy or army at home. He emigrates to-day in order to better himself. If his country offers him a welcome he returns to spend his fortune there; if not, he spends it in some other place. The German who has accumulated a fortune in Milwaukee or Melbourne will spend it in Berlin or New York or London, according to his taste. He will certainly not take his money to Berlin, if there he is confronted with the same species of official and military caste that excludes his fellow-merchants from the club of Kiao Chow.

The history of German colonization is a short one—a thing of yesterday. After the Franco-German War the then Prime Minister, Bismarck, embarked upon a series of domestic measures which in nearly every case were either failures or at least diminished his prestige. Socialism increased immensely under his ungenerous administration, his quarrel with the Pope ended in compromise, his persecution of the Poles made him no friends even in Russia; with the persecution of Danes he had but scant success. Finally, like many another perplexed statesman, he took up foreign ventures, in

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the hopes of drawing away the attention of his fellow-countrymen from the faults he committed at home.

Colonial societies were formed, mainly in inland towns. The official press persistently dwelt upon the glorious future that might be expected if the hundreds of thousands of Germans could be diverted to German colonial soil. Finally, about 1884, the German flag was hoisted over a large number of very hot sand strips, and the German Empire entered upon its career of alleged colonization.

In times past Germans have made colonial efforts, but they have all failed. Charles V. gave a trading license for practically the whole of Venezuela (in 1528) to a German Company, which promised at one time to develop into a species of "Chartered Company." But the privilege was withdrawn in 1550, as the Germans had accomplished nothing to warrant a continuance. The Great Elector of Brandenburg entertained colonial schemes, and Germans under his auspices are said to have founded trading stations in the West Indies and on the West Coast of Africa. For the sake of finding traces of this Brandenburg settlement, which was upon the island of St. Thomas, I sailed entirely around the island, but not only could find no trace of it myself, but could find no one who had ever heard of such a settlement. German colonization in America has never partaken of the pioneer character, like that of the Boers in South Africa, or the English in New England. The misrule of petty German princes drove many families to this country as early as the eighteenth century, but in no case did they do more than settle among people who had already done the preliminary

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work of establishing order in a new land. We cannot determine with exactitude the number of men who deserted from the regiments sold to George III. by German princes during the American War (1776-1783). We know that King George was bound to pay a given sum for all those that were killed, and it was to the obvious advantage of the German princes that as many as possible should remain in America. Desertion from the British ranks was assisted in those days by scattering leaflets, which informed the German mercenaries that if they would leave the ranks and throw in their lot with the colonists they should receive land and be otherwise well treated. There is good reason to suppose that many out of the 40,000 who came to this country as soldiers remained to become American citizens.

The great European revolution of 1848 furnished another contingent of emigrants to this country—notable not merely for numbers, but for the high average of education represented by the political refugees. These, through their connection with the press of Europe, were in a position to furnish accounts of the United States which awakened a yet wider desire to emigrate to the New World. The opening of California with her wealth of precious metals, the enormous expansion of new territory beyond the Mississippi, the opportunities of acquiring farms for the asking—these causes, uniting with the establishment of steam navigation on the Atlantic and a daily cheapening of the cost of transportation, created a stream of German emigration which was pretty constant during the second half of the nineteenth century.

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These emigrants have not been wholly lost to Germany. On the contrary, they have carried with them a love of the old Fatherland, much as that love has been strained by harsh government. When they make a fortune their thoughts turn naturally to Germany, to the land of their ancestors—the home of their Schiller and Goethe, their Bluecher and their Ernst Moritz Arndt.

That to-day German trade is so great as to support the two largest steamship lines in the world is owing largely to the Germans that have settled at the ends of those lines. All the million square miles of colonial Germany are as nothing compared to any one of a dozen American cities—not merely as regards trade, but as regards Germans controlling that trade. Official Germany desires to divert Germans from America, where they are happy, and plant them in official colonies, where they are sure to be wretched. There is nothing new in this, but the time has gone by when colonies can be planted in such a manner. The colony that succeeds to-day is not the one in which are the largest number of soldiers and officials, but the one that gives the colonists the widest opportunities, not merely for earning a living, but for living in liberty while earning. The English colonies offer this attraction to the German; and the Yankee welcomes him cordially. There is scarcely an American town in which Germans do not figure among the leaders of political, social, or commercial activity. At Yale, in my day, I can recall few professors or tutors that had not studied at a German University. German thought, German industry—these have leavened

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America; yet Germany reaps her reward as well, though she seems unconscious of it. It is not a reward in the shape of a German flag flying over the Capitol at Washington, or another slice of map painted in German color. Her triumph is nobler than this. Germany can rejoice in the thought that the thousands whom she has driven beyond her borders for a living have found under the American flag opportunities that were denied at home; her children have been well looked after; they have been allowed to speak their mother tongue and to practise religion after their own fashion. They have secured the same rights as the people among whom they have cast their lot. While official Germany has persecuted Poles, Danes, and Frenchmen for cultivating their own language, the United States has done the reverse, and the result has been that Germans find it agreeable to learn English as quickly as possible.

When in 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers reached Massachusetts, in a ship not bigger than a Gloucester fishing schooner of to-day, they fell on their knees, thanked God for their safety, and then set to work building—first homes, then churches, then schools.

When I happened to be in Kiao Chow, not even the soldiers had barracks fit to keep out the rain; two buildings of mud fit for cow-stables represented the hotel accommodation. There was no wharf for landing general stores, no storehouses for the custom house. There was no water fit to drink, and no means of procuring any. Labor was almost impossible to procure, even for the Government, and I found the head of a great German manufacturing house painting

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the shutters of his hut because he could find no one to do the job for him.

Yet in such an hour official Germany was employing a long train of coolies for the purpose of erecting—what do you suppose? A distilling plant? A recreation ground for the men? A church?

None of these!

These precious coolies were employed in erecting a monument to Admiral Diedrichs, who had seized the place twelve months before!