

THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE:

Segregation and Communication between the Colonizers and the Locals in the German Water Policy in Qingdao Concession Area, 1898-1914¹

Introduction

Among the several colonial possessions the German Empire acquired, Qingdao stands out because it fulfilled a different role than the Empire's other settlements—especially because of its exemplary planned water policy, which is notable for its technological strength. The National Naval Office (*Reichsmarineamt*), which was in charge of the administration of this planned “harbor colony,” enjoyed a remarkable degree of freedom in implementing this project.² The German Imperial Government of Kiautschou, the German name for the Qingdao/Jiaozhou Bay, invested heavily to develop modern infrastructure in the region.

The German imperial government began to develop Qingdao's infrastructure just as the discourse on public health and western medicine began to gain influence in China proper.³ Among the Western colonies that existed in China Proper, Qingdao stood out especially in its water policy planning and infrastructure development. In particular, water pipes, canals, and drainage provided the city with an invisible support network that, as this paper argues, had two visible consequences. The German colonial infrastructure and regulations visibly segregated the city along lines of class and race, leading to hierarchized standards of public hygiene. This was due in part to the European administrators' reluctance to assist the Chinese, whom they considered inferior due to the poor quality of Qingdao's infrastructure, which made it difficult for them to practice the Western standard of “good” hygiene. However, there had also been many designers and advocates of this colonial infrastructure, who hoped Western sanitary technology to improve everyday life in the crumbling Qing Empire, and the Chinese people correspondingly began to interact with their German co-residents in discussions of waterworks and public hygiene during the process of this “cultural mission”.

This article will accordingly examine this crucial intersection between environmental and social history in the context of German imperial expansion. Although older research has already explored the roles of railroad politics for the importance of land administration through a top-down model,⁴ Qingdao's unique status as a “model colony” was not discussed until the late 20th Century.⁵ The “model colony” concept, addressed by Klaus Mühlhahn,

1 This caption is borrowed from Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-port China*. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014) Chapter 7's title: “Seen and Unseen.” The visible and invisible refer to the seen waterworks in streets and water policies in the gazettes and the unseen ones in the underground, as well as the “obvious” segregation along the racial and class lines and the “silent” communications and contestations between the German and the Chinese.

2 Agnes Kneitz, “German Water Infrastructure In China: Colonial Qingdao 1898–1914.” *Ntm Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Der Wissenschaften, Technik Und Medizin* 24, No. 4 (2016): 421-50. Doi:10.1007/S00048-017-0159-6, 421.

3 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 1-3.

4 Vera Schmidt, *Die deutsche Eisenbahnpolitik in Shantung, 1897-1914. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Imperialismus in China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979); Wilhelm Matzat, *Die Tsingtauer Landordnung des Chinesenkommissars Wilhelm Schrameier* (Bonn: Matzat, 1985).

5 Klaus Mühlhahn, “Deutsche Vorposten im Hinterland: Die infrastrukturelle Durchdringung der Provinz Shandong.” in: Heinz-Martin Hinz and Christoph Lind (eds.). *Qingdao. Ein Kapitel deutscher Kolonialgeschichte in China* (Berlin: Deutsches

brought forward the idea of a distinct German-Chinese colonial rule and its impact on Chinese cultural change through focusing on Qingdao's general political institutions. A new wave of literature prospered in the late 1990s which further explored Qingdao's uniqueness through the "model colony" angle and began exploring new areas of study, including hygiene regulations and labor management. Of the research published during this period, Torsten Warner's PhD dissertation, later published as a book in both German and Chinese, is of particular importance.⁶ Warner investigates Qingdao's planning and development with respect to other foreign settlements (e.g., Shanghai and Hong Kong) and concentrates on the contestations between the "colonizers" and the "colonized" through their political and cultural exchange. He comprehensively delineates the German Imperial Government's plan and implementation of the Qingdao's urban development, including a general summary of the water infrastructure and policy characterizing the interactions between the German and the Chinese as both "segregative" and "communicative."

However, Georg Steinmetz makes a relatively different claim. He approaches the subject through a top-down method, and furthermore emphasizes violent coercion rather than mutual communication. Unlike Warner, Steinmetz foregrounds the violence, either physical or psychological, in German colonial policies against the Chinese. He argues that one of the most striking characteristics about German colonialism in Qingdao is the extremely strict segregative nature of the native policies directed against the Chinese because of their racial "inferiority", which "cohere into a common pattern, guided by an understanding of the Chinese that is strikingly consistent with the discourse of Sinophobia." Thus, his modeling of German colonialism in Qingdao pictures a more unilateral and hierarchical power relation between the colonizers and the colonized, in which contestation would have been suppressed in most of the cases.⁷ Yet none of these studies foreground environmental history, especially in relation to German imperial water policy. Therefore, this article attempts to employ German infrastructure as a denominator for the study of culture and space in Qingdao colony.

Hygienic regulations call for the separation of functions in the urban landscape, creating both visibility and invisibility in the area. In order for a city to be modern above ground, it requires the construction of an underground: a city of pipes, drains, tanks, and gradients that render wastes and water invisible.⁸ Water policy makes an interesting study object through its practical function that directly connects humans. It manifests the new definition of "weisheng" (衛生) in the post-Boxer Uprising era, during which there was increasing foreign presence in the China Proper: the "shared," "public" hygiene which everyone should be aware of and responsible for. Before the Boxer-Uprising, "weisheng" was associated with a variety of means, including "regimens of diet, meditation, and self-medication," that were practiced by the individual in order to guard fragile internal vitalities, as promoted in Daoist canons. In the traditional Daoist definition of "weisheng," the character "wei" means "to guard" and "sheng" means life; the combined words of the two characters literally means

Historisches Museum, 1998).

6 Torsten Warner, *Urban Planning And Construction In Modern Qingdao*, Translated and Edited by Qingdao Municipal Archive (Nanjing: Southeast University Press, 1996). Translated according to Torsten Warner, *Die Planung Und Entwicklung Der Deutschen Stadtgründung Qingdao (Tsingtau) In China: Der Umgang Mit Dem Fremden* (Phd Thesis, University Of Hamburg, 1996).

7 George Steinmetz, "A Pact with the (Foreign) Devil: Qingdao as a Colony" in *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), 443-444. However, he does admit the existence of mutual communication, cultural exchange and even contestation between the German and the Chinese in his introduction and further elaborates this argument in the section about Richard Wilhelm and his "reverend master" Lao Naixuan. This article will analyze this interesting relationship and its potential implication in the later section.

8 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 193.

to “guard one’s life.”⁹ However, since the 19th century, for all the residents in the colonies in China, the quality of water became a new indicator for determining which areas were *weisheng* (sanitary within the standard of public hygiene) and which areas were *bu weisheng* (not sanitary).¹⁰ In spite of modern rhetorical tendencies to state hygienic behavior as a product of inherent characteristics, the borders between *weisheng* and *bu weisheng* required “constant effort and influx of capital and labor,”¹¹ which created inevitable interactions and even contestation between the German residents and their Chinese counterparts.

Accordingly, this paper examines German water policy in Colonial Qingdao as a tool of colonial governance, which worked as a bilateral instead of a top-down means of exhibiting power and superiority, aligning with Rogaski and Warner’s intellectual framework of analyzing colonial hygienic modernity. It investigates the contestation of the local Chinese people mainly through a case study of the *Qingdao Official Gazette*, though it also considers other interactions and communication between the colonizers and the native residents. The water policy, as an important sector in the modernizing project, could be a means of communication between the Chinese and the German residents in Qingdao, as it both visibly “otherized” the Europeans and the Chinese locals with respect to each other, while simultaneously invisibly connected the two sides. Qingdao became a dynamic city in the practice of hygienic modernity as a result of these interactions, while the boundary between the colonizers and the colonized became blurred.

Qingdao as a German Colony

Water infrastructure and policy was an important part of the urban development project planned by the German Imperial Government in Kiautschou. Since the 1860s, the German Reich “had been seeking to obtain a naval base on the China coast.”¹² The empire envisioned the base as a fueling station for German warships as well as an entry point for German businesses to expand into inland China. Through the Jiaozhou Bay Concession in 1898, Germany secured rights in Shandong province to build railways, start mining operations in a corridor along the railway lines and deploy troops into the hinterland. Shandong province became Germany’s primary “sphere of influence” (*Einflußsphäre*) in China, and Qingdao stood out because of its special geographical advantage of direct access to the sea.¹³ Correspondingly, in mid-January 1898, Wilhelm II placed Kiautschou under the jurisdiction of the naval ministry (*Reichsmarineamt*) and the secretary of the naval ministry, Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz.¹⁴ Tirpitz had emphasized the importance of a naval base, such as Qingdao, for Germany and her navy on various occasions. In one of his letters to his family, he wrote:

9 Ibid., 4-5.

10 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 195.

11 Ibid., 223.

12 Klaus Mühlhahn, “Mapping Colonial Space: The Planning and Building of Qingdao by German Colonial Authorities, 1897–1914,” in *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940*, edited by Laura Victoir, and Victor Zatsopine (Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 105.

13 Mühlhahn, “Mapping Colonial Space: The Planning and Building of Qingdao by German Colonial Authorities, 1897–1914,” 105.

14 Documents 42 in Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn, “Die ‘Musterkolonie’ – Die Perzeption des Schutzgebietes Jiaozhou in Deutschland” in: Kuo Heng-yü and Mechthild Leutner (eds.). *Deutschland und China: Beiträge des Zweiten Internationalen Symposiums zur Geschichte deutsch-chinesischer Beziehungen* (München: Minvera, 1994), 181–84.

The accumulation of giant nations like Pan America, Greater Britain, the Slavic race or the Mongolian race under the leadership of Japan will destroy or almost extinguish Germany ... in the course of the next century, if Germany does not become a great power outside the borders of the European continent. The imperative basis for that ... is a fleet.¹⁵

Thus, in Tirpitz's vision, Germany needed a strategic maritime foreign sphere of influence in the high-profile global contest of imperialism, and Qingdao, the coast city assigned to him, was well-suited. It was geographically beneficial for maritime ship traffic, had a small local population that could serve as a workforce, and was close to resources in the hinterland as well as important domestic and international trade routes. It would be one of the most significant colonies, or so-called concessions, attracting both European and Chinese residents in search of a greater market for raw materials and goods through the German method and system of governing the colony, in which water infrastructure and policy played an important role as it could manage the people through directly regulating the human body.¹⁶

Compared to the city of Tianjin, Qingdao was less of what Rogaski calls "hyper colony,"¹⁷ in which different colonial powers competed in all aspects of urban development to showcase their strength of influence, including public hygiene. Qingdao was under the direct rule of the German Imperial Government of Qingdao. Yet, Qingdao was still considered a place to exhibit the strength of the German Empire. And with the advantage of having no other direct colonial competitors, the German Imperial Government planned to manage the urban development project in a more state-oriented way. This type of management was significantly influenced by the German "model" manifested in the national infrastructure project, implemented by the Imperial German government in its own country and completed in 1871. The implementation of such state-driven infrastructure program expanded of the function of the state, including the government's (largely unilateral) control of the construction of waterworks.¹⁸ Therefore, Qingdao may be viewed as a "model" colony under the German method of state-planned urban development. However, as this paper argues, the "German model" was not followed in the exact same manner in Qingdao as it was in Germany, since the waterworks project and related policies were contested during the interactions between the Chinese residents and the Germans.

The Visible Segregation

An 1899 medical report documented the increasing number of bowel infections in Qingdao during the previous summer, where the overall mortality rate was three times higher than the year before. The report concluded that the severity and scale of these outbreaks

15 Quoted in Wilhelm Deist, *Flottenpolitik und Flottenpropaganda. Das Nachrichtenbureau des Reichsmarineamts 1897–1914* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 111. English Translation by Klaus Mühlhahn in "Mapping Colonial Space: The Planning and Building of Qingdao by German Colonial Authorities, 1897–1914," 109.

16 Mühlhahn, "Mapping Colonial Space: The Planning and Building of Qingdao by German Colonial Authorities, 1897–1914," 109

17 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 10.

18 Klaus Mühlhahn, *Zai "mo fan zhi min di" Jiaozhou Wan de tong zhi yu di kang: 1897-1914 nian Zhongguo yu Deguo de xiang hu zuo yong* (Jinan: Shandong University Press, 2005), 168. Translated according to Klaus Mühlhahn, *Herrschaft und Widerstand in der „Musterkolonie“ Kiautschou. Interaktionen zwischen China und Deutschland. 1897-1914 (Rule and Resistance in the "Model Colony" Kiautschou. Interactions between China and Germany. 1897-1914)* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2000).

was the result of “unfavorable sanitary conditions.”¹⁹ Reporters identified the impoverished people, who had been pushed into Qingdao for work and ended up in dirty and overcrowded housing, as the cause of the spread of the disease. Because of their spare use of water and their “pre-modern” sanitary and medical practices, most foreigners considered the local Chinese to be unclean and unhealthy. Such prejudices silently supported related governmental actions, such as demolishing all traditional housing on wet, contagious soil.²⁰

In order to reduce the risk of widespread disease brought by the Chinese “unhealthy,” the German Imperial Government divided Qingdao into three areas: a town for European residents, a Chinese town named Dabaodao, and a village for Chinese workers.²¹ The government positioned the center of the town for European residents south along the lines of the “outer roads” (*Außenrheede*) and north along the “inner roads” (*Innenrheede*) with a harbor access to the sea. Dabaodao was positioned halfway in between, where its water quality would not influence the European town. The workers’ villages, which were deemed pathogenetically most dangerous, were placed northeast and southwest of the city center.²²

The water system was divided into three for each residential area: rainwater, wastewater, and sewage canals. However, for such a centralized and systematically divided system, the city’s geographic partition fostered three almost independent circuits. Thus, water flows in the three divided areas could be directed so waste from each system would not merge, and more importantly so as not to cross contaminate any system. In other words, this arrangement means that there were different water circuits for the Europeans in Qingdao Proper and the Chinese residents in Dabaodao (mostly Chinese merchants), while the remaining Chinese workers would sustain their old practice of *weisheng*, or hygiene, such as the usage of cess-pools and contractors who were paid for water and dirt transportation.²³ Although the full report on the “scientific” water system was promised by the German Imperial Government in Qingdao, the project was not be able to be finished before Germany stepped down from the governance of the city.

Therefore, from a modern perspective, the city’s technological differentiation seems to be motivated along the line of race, and then class. The Chinese residents, especially laborers outside of the designated area of the water system, were exposed to environmental risks and hazards. However, the German Imperial Government implemented modern *weisheng* practices and the corresponding waterworks not merely as a tool to protect the Europeans from the alleged “germs” brought by the Chinese who they believed in were insufficiently hygienic. The water policy and its corresponding engineering project can also be viewed as a segment of a greater transcultural campaign, in which the German colonizers interacted with the local Chinese in the discourse of public hygiene.

19 German Federal Archive, Bundesarchiv: BArch RM3 6796: 268l in Agnes Kneitz, “German Water Infrastructure in China: Colonial Qingdao 1898–1914.” *NTM Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Der Wissenschaften, Technik Und Medizin* 24, no. 4 (2016): 421-50. doi:10.1007/s00048-017-0159-6, 431.

20 BArch RM3 6796: 268r in Agnes Kneitz, “German Water Infrastructure in China: Colonial Qingdao 1898–1914.” *NTM Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Der Wissenschaften, Technik Und Medizin* 24, no. 4 (2016): 421-50. doi:10.1007/s00048-017-0159-6, 431.

21 Year 1 Issue 1 (July.7, 1900) in *Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*/ “Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou” (Frankfurt am Main: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, 2016), 2.

22 Torsten Warner, *Urban Planning and Construction in Modern Qingdao*, 162.

23 Torsten Warner, *Urban Planning and Construction in Modern Qingdao*, 169. This group of people is also mentioned in Rogaski as Dark Drifters, but the people in Qingdao were soon regulated by the local police of German Imperial Government.

Invisible Contestation: A Case Study of the Qingdao Official Gazette

The *Qingdao Official Gazette* was founded in 1900 and published as an official weekly newspaper sponsored by the German colonial authorities. Originally, the gazette was published on Saturdays, but it began to circulate regularly on Fridays since 1908. In February 1911, the newspaper was renamed “Jiao Ao Guan Bao.” It was suspended in 1914 after Germany withdrew from Qingdao. Extant copies of the paper suggest that, there were often 4-8 pages, or sometimes as many as 12 pages in one issue. The contents of each issue are mainly notices, such as various laws and regulations, municipal construction, personnel appointment and dismissal, government affairs activities, ship news, and weather reports. Most of the contributions are in German; only when the notices and regulations were directly relevant to the Chinese residents would the gazette be published in both German and Chinese.²⁴

Among the news available in the gazette, those notices on public hygiene and waterworks (e.g. the sewage system, water pipes and excrement cleaning) frequently appeared as a hybrid text (one column in German and one column in Chinese), although the German column did not necessarily share the same meaning as the Chinese one.²⁵ The problem of translation and transfer of culture looms correspondingly large in such situations. As Lydia Liu has shown, one does not translate through searching direct equivalents; rather, one creates analogies of equivalence in the constantly fluid zone of translation between the host and guest languages, through which exchanges and contestations between different cultures were made possible.²⁶

In the first issue of the *Qingdao Official Gazette*,²⁷ the German Imperial Governor Paul Jaeschke announced thirty-seven regulations “concerning the Chinese order.”²⁸ However, the Chinese title does not make the specific distinction between the Chinese and the European audiences of this order, which does not create the impression of the existence of a “border” or “difference of ruling,”²⁹ although Regulation 10 itself suggests segregation along the lines of race and then class, which was the necessarily required policy condition for the construction of waterworks:

The Qingdao interior realm [is] also [to] be divided into two, and those boundaries follows as below. Starting from the one line [from] West side Fei-Da-Li Street [to]

24 “*Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*”/ “*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou.*” Unfortunately, the author of this article is not able to find out the actual composition of the editorial board and the identity of the translator, but the author suspects that the translation who wrote the Chinese column at least had decent understanding of what Chinese *weisheng* traditionally means and how it works.

25 Klaus Mühlhahn, “Negotiating the Nation: German Colonialism and Chinese nationalism in Qingdao, 1897-1914” in Bryna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman, *Twentieth-century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 37-38.

26 Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity; China, 1900-1937*. (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999), 137.

27 Year 1 Issue 1 (July.7, 1900) in “*Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*”/ “*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou.*” 1.

28 The content inside the quotation is derived from the German translation. All German and Chinese translation of the Official Gazette done by the author of this article.

29 The Chinese Title is “The Plan to Establish the Division of Territory of the German Concession [德屬] into the Inner and Outer Two Territories, Detailed Regulations and Procedures are all as on the Left.”

the East side Hou-Han-Lou-A Street; from here [Hou-Han-Lou-A Street] following the Small East Hill Ridge through the Flag-hanging Hill ridge to the Phoenix Mount Ridge; then from here [Phoenix Mount Ridge] along each hill ridge, until just before the East Hill such that it ends at the shoreline. Within this boundary, it is not permitted to raise and construct dwellings that Chinese [華人 *huaren*] live in, only allowing a limited number of the various people and regular servants [常傭 *changyong*] and others employed by Westerners to stay within the boundary.³⁰

However, this “border-drawing” regulation was challenged from time to time during German occupation in Qingdao. As Steinmetz acknowledges in the concluding paragraph of his article regarding the colonial power dynamics in Qingdao, “native policy in Kiaotschou had become a highly contradictory formation,” since Chinese could still get into spaces which were deemed to be for the “Germans” or “non-Chinese residents,” such as German Clubs.³¹ If this was the case, it is also possible that sharing of public resources between the European residents and the Chinese, including water infrastructure, did happen, which rendered boundary set by the policy and regulations blurry in real life practices.

Later in Regulation 10, following the general division along race and class, the German column standardizes the size of the residential space one Chinese resident should occupy in the districts of Qingdao and Dabaodao. This rule was explained by the Chinese translator as the “western guideline” which suggests that “each person should enjoy some empty air [*kongqi* 空气],” whereas the German text does not use any word related to “air” in either physical or metaphysical way. This in some way resembles the western belief of the connection between smell and sickness exemplified in Edwin Chadwick’s utilitarian ethos, as exhibited in the New Poor Law.³² In such regulation, empty air is something divisible, and one could only enjoy it partially. However, the usage of the Chinese character “*qi*” and its combination with “void [*kong*]” does not initially contextualize individually-enjoyed space. The word “*kongqi*” was first used by Johnston Fryer and his Chinese assistants in science to translate “air” in his book *Huaxue weisheng lun* and usually refers to the floating air around us which is essential to life.³³ In contrast, “*qi*” in traditional Chinese texts may also refer to the key of guarding one’s life (*weisheng*): the inner flow of vital energy. In this sense, “*qi*” is something private, individual and non-shareable, which would be more comparable with the divided “space” in the German column. Therefore, the translator’s choice of “*qi*” and its combination reflects the transformation of western ideas into a locally-adopted, new concept.

Another significant sign of cultural contestation or communication in the translation of the policy announced in issue 1 appears in Regulation 33, in which the Imperial Government instructed the Chinese homeowners how to handle water and waste in their own house, including the physically visible ones and those, again, in the invisible “air space” or “*kongqi*.” The regulation particularly mentions how homeowners should ventilate rooms with a sick person. In the German translation, it was recommended that “the room should be ventilated 2 hours per day with the exception of bad weather and the presence of a sick person,” mostly in order to keep the “sickness” from contaminating the outside world whenever the patient

30 Year 1 Issue 1 (July.7, 1900) in “*Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*”/ “*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou* / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou,” 2.

31 Steinmetz, “A Pact with the (Foreign) Devil: Qingdao as a Colony,” 506.

32 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 86.

33 *Ibid.*, 113-4.

coughs. This policy echoes Chadwickian “scientific” medical theory in the sanitary revolution in the West (beginning in the Great Britain), which argued that contamination of the human body could happen through dirt, stagnant water and bad air, which were conditions that the nation’s government had the obligation to detect and to eliminate.³⁴

The communication between eastern and western medical science is noteworthy when it comes to the Chinese translation of this German order, as the Chinese translation follows a similar rule with the usage of some traditional Chinese words. It reads, “apart from when the weather is not proper [*tianqibuzheng* 天氣不正] or when the room has sick people are not counted, every day at the least also must ventilate [*toufeng* 透風] each room where people sleep for two hours [*liangdianzhong* 兩點鐘] long.”³⁵ On the surface, this translation may seem to merely search for the equivalents of the German text. However, the root of this recognition of the sanitary theory in the German text can be traced back to the traditional Chinese medical theory in medical practitioner Zhang Ji’s (張機, 150—154 to 215—219 C.E.) third-century book *Treatise on Cold Damage* (*Shang han lun* 傷寒論). In the book, Zhang Ji elaborates the effect of Warm Factor and Cold Damage when a person is in an extremely sick condition. Zhang Ji noticed that only when a person came to him with a “hot syndrome” would a “cold-factor” treatment function, and likewise “cold syndrome” had to be treated “warmly.”³⁶ Thus, if the type of illness of the patient has already been determined and thus can be treated accordingly (*Duizhengxiayao* 對症下藥),³⁷ it would not be an optimal solution to ventilate the room and expose him or her to the outside air for such a long time, whereas the air could be cold, warm or even change from time to time. Therefore, the communication between the west and the east in this case could be explained, as the traditional Chinese and early-modern Western medical science theories agreed.

In issue 3 of the *Qingdao Official Gazette*, there is one notice about the order “concerning house connection to the rainwater sewer,” in which Governor Jaeschke explains how each household should connect to the rainwater sewer system on their own under the instruction of the Government. However, in the Chinese text, the translation of the German sentence “this regulation comes into force immediately” is: “it is compulsory for people of any color to follow this order immediately and no disobedience is allowed.”³⁸ The original German order does not specify the distinction between the effect of this regulation on people of different color, whereas the Chinese text claims that residents of “any” color are affected by the regulation, including the Europeans. Both the European and the Chinese residents could be affected by the order and their disobedience of the order, if there was any. Notably, the text does not specify a distinction of punishment. This regulation contrasts with the German Imperial Government’s goal of drawing visible and physical boundary between the Europeans and the Chinese. The translator’s intention is unclear, but this sentence nevertheless blurs the line between the colonizers and the colonized.

The above variations between the German text and the Chinese translation in the

34 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 76.

35 Year 1 Issue 1 (July.7, 1900) in “*Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*”/ “*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou* / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou,” 4.

36 Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 97

37 Ji Zhang, *Shang Han Lun (On Cold Damage)*, translation & commentaries by Zhongjing Zhang, Feng Ye, Nigel Wiseman, Craig Mitchell, Ye Feng (Chicago: Paradigm Press, 2000).

38 Year 3 Issue 5 (February.1, 1902) in “*Qingdao Official Gazette Collection*”/ “*Amtsblatt für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou* / herausgegeben vom Kaiserlichen Gouvernement Kiautschou,” 10-11.

Qingdao Official Gazette illustrates the zone of communication and contestation between western and Chinese ideas and ideologies. The fluid zone of hypothetical equivalence occupied by imagination, which is suggested by Lydia Liu, becomes the very ground for change in meanings, modifications, and negotiations, and may also foster the exchange of concepts and knowledge. Indeed, Steinmetz mentions these interactions in the general aspect of translation by referring to Richard Wilhelm, the German Scholar and Sinologist in Qingdao, and his “reverend master” Lao Naixuan (勞乃宣, 1843-1921). Although Wilhelm did not explicitly attribute credit to Lao in his works, they had indeed cooperated in various translation projects of different books, including those about hygiene, *weisheng* and *yangsheng*.³⁹ The case of the water policy and regulations in the “Qingdao Official Gazette” demonstrates the invisible flow of contact between the Germans and their Chinese counterparts in the realm of hygiene, or *weisheng*.

Other Cultural and Social Interactions and Contestations

In 1902, Yuan Shikai’s (袁世凱, 1859-1916) ally, Shandong Provincial Governor Zhou Fu (周馥, 1837-1921) became the first ever Chinese Higher Official to visit the Qingdao Concession Area. After this visit, he wrote one account to the Emperor stating that:

The Germans are operating the work of civil engineering with thousands of people a day. There are hundreds of foreign-style buildings, and the Germans are...planting trees and digging springs. They also constructed electricity and water factory...They are deep-minded and willing to be extremely ambitious, as if Qingdao is their own land, while we still think it is ours...It is necessary to send one capable official to the area...and re-establish the *baojia* (保甲)⁴⁰ system among the local residents.⁴¹

In this account, Zhou Fu admits that the urban development and water infrastructure was highly effective, and he also expresses concern about the ambition of the German Imperial Government. Agreeing with Yuan Shikai, Zhou Fu believed in officially maintaining a good relationship with the Germans while developing Qingdao and protecting the native residents through the power and effort of Chinese government officials. Indeed, although the German government in Qingdao opposed the interference from the Chinese government several times, the Shandong Provincial Government still sent one official annually to inspect the local situation and ensure the quality of life of the Chinese residents.⁴²

Currently, historians have not found sufficient primary evidence showing how the *baojia* system was actually implemented in Qingdao under the influence of the Chinese gov-

39 Steinmetz, “A Pact with the (Foreign) Devil: Qingdao as a Colony,” 503

40 A system which was an invention of Wang Anshi of the Song dynasty, who created this community-based system of law enforcement and civil control. Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800* (Illustrated ed.). (Harvard University Press, 2003), 918-919.

41 Fu, Zhou, “Cha kan Yantai huashang ji Weihai Jiaoao Ying De liangguo zujie qingxing zhe (Guangxu ershiba nian shiyi yue ershisi ri)” in *Qiupu zhou shangshu (yushan) quanji*, edited by Shen Yunlong (Wenhai Press), 160. Original: 周馥:《察看烟臺華商及威海膠澳英德兩國租界情形摺(光緒二十八年十一月二十四日)》, 載沈雲龍主編《秋浦周尚書(玉山)全集》(《近代中國史料叢刊》第九輯), 文海出版社印行, 第160頁。

42 Klaus Mühlhahn, *Zai “mo fan zhi min di” Jiaozhou Wan de tong zhi yu di kang: 1897-1914 nian Zhongguo yu Deguo de xiang hu zuo yong*, 318.

ernment. However, the *baojia* system was considered to be effective⁴³ and partially fostered the formation of local guilds and gangs in several regions in Qingdao. Gangs such as *zaili pai* (在理派), *taohuayuan pai* (桃花源派) and *nanjing bang* (南京幫) exchanged products or services (often illegal, such as smuggling and prostitution) with the German officers for economic benefits and access to the “European lifestyle,”⁴⁴ which presumably included free clean water supply and beer (which depends heavily on local water infrastructure). In return, the local authorities tended to ignore their existence, and sometimes even chose to cooperate with them. In this case, the activities of the local gangs again challenged the boundary between the colonizers and the colonized and the visible segregation of Chinese and European residents is contested by invisible interactions, contestation and cooperation.⁴⁵

Conclusion

The colonial world of Qingdao was complex and heterogeneous, and the exclusive control pursued by colonial regimes led to social and political communication and contestation. As shown in the above analysis, this paper suggests that the colony became a dynamic social phase filled with tensions that arose between the German colonists and the different groups of Chinese residents, the “colonized” struggled and contested with their German counterparts to protect or improve their life. The German government was foreign and authoritative, but its colonial rule did not exist in a vacuum. It was re-evaluated and changed by the participation of “the colonized.”

Water is one significant aspect in this study on colonial culture and space in Qingdao as well as the participation of the local Chinese in the modernization mission in concession areas. Water keeps people healthy and distinctly connects humans with their environment by supporting important and intimate bodily functions. Visibly removing water and waste while eliminating the human intermediaries became the ultimate symbol of hygienic modernity in the colonial modernization process. However, the colonized people also participated both visibly and invisibly in this modernization project, either in translation, through government support and the *baojia* system, or among the local gangs. Therefore, the means of governance, in this case the German waterworks and water hygiene policy worked in a bilateral instead of a top-down means of exhibiting power and superiority, as the above primary source analysis has suggested. The variations between the German original text and the Chinese translation in the “Qingdao Official Gazette” show the zone of contact between Western and Chinese medical ideas, while the fluid zone of hypothetical equivalence became the ground for modifications, negotiations and contestations. The Chinese officials, people in local *baojia* system, the gangs and the German colonists further contributed to the dynamics in Qingdao, where visible boundaries were confronted with invisible interactions and even illegal cooperation.

43 Klaus Mühlhahn, *Zai “mo fan zhi min di” Jiaozhou Wan de tong zhi yu di kang: 1897-1914 nian Zhongguo yu Deguo de xiang hu zuo yong*, 318.

44 This is discussed briefly in Annette S. Biener, *Das Deutsche Pachtgebiet Tsingtau in Schantung, 1897-1914. Institutioneller Wandel durch Kolonialisierung* (Bonn: Selbstverl. d. Hrsg.Verlag, 2001). However, further primary evidence is yet to be discovered and discussed.

45 This section stops here because, as footnote 41 has already suggested, current evidence and scholarship is still not sufficient for a more comprehensive analysis, but this conclusion is a reasonable deduction from all available primary and secondary sources.

Just as in Shanghai and Tianjin, physical and visible segregation in Qingdao did not function as the colonists had planned. For most, such separation was incomplete or impossible. Human ties created by waste and water linked rich to poor and Chinese to foreigners in Qingdao during the German Concession Period. Steinmetz states that “there was some desegregation, economic life in the colony was increasingly dominated by the Chinese... the schools were promoting cross-cultural exchange, and people like Richard Wilhelm were bridging the gap... If things had continued this way, Kiaochow might have eventually lost its colonial character altogether.”⁴⁶

Currently available primary sources and secondary scholarship on the topic of water in colonial Qingdao still lack width and depth. The *Qingdao Official Gazette* provides us a glimpse of the contestation and communication at least in the field of translation, but evidence about the actual implementation of such translated policies, and the reactions at the grassroots level is still insufficient. Unlike the Tianjin case, the *hunhuner*, sources about the activities of the local Chinese gangs in Qingdao are still waiting to be discovered. However, in general, the example of Qingdao has shown that in the practice of hygienic modernity, the boundary between the colonizers and the colonized was never pre-determined or fixed and inviolable, but rather a fluid contact zone as a result of the interactions in the colonial context.

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