

Historical Introduction.

The many roads to Tianjin. Learned curiosity, political disinterest, and imperialist opportunities: Austria(-Hungary) and China

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A lecture tour through the Habsburg Monarchy in the winter of 1910–11 brought the Austro-Hungarian concession¹ in Tianjin 天津² into the consciousness of a wider public for the first time. These lectures were given by Fritz Ehrenfeld, the (former) police chief of the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin. Ehrenfeld, the Czernowitz/Chernivtsi-born son of a journalist, brought around one hundred photographs to each of these lectures:

The remarks of Mr Ehrenfeld are accompanied by 100 large, very excellent photographs. This presentation of rich illustrative material makes the statements of the speaker, who incidentally has a well-trained speaking voice, particularly impressive. The impression that the listener receives from this intimate and close union of images and words is far clearer and richer than that which, for example, could be gained from reading a more extensive book on Chinese conditions.³

Ehrenfeld, who first lived in Beijing for six years and then in Tianjin for four years, divided his lecture into two parts. In the first part, he dealt with Beijing, in the second part he focused on the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin.⁴ The net proceeds of Ehrenfeld's lectures went to the Austro-Hungarian Aid Association for Northern China [*Oesterreichisch-un-*

garischer Hilfsverein für Nord-China], which had been founded on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Emperor Francis Joseph's accession to the throne (1908).⁵ After Ehrenfeld had given his lecture several times in Vienna at the public educational institute *Urania* and at the Scientific Club [*Wissenschaftlicher Klub*], his tour took him to Graz, Marburg/Maribor, Salzburg, Trieste (March 1911), Klagenfurt and Steyr (April 1911).⁶ The newspapers also briefly reported on what could be seen in the photographs shown by Ehrenfeld:

The photographs accompanying the lecture were clear and clean, you could see cities, pagodas, Europeans and locals, even a Chinese woman cycling, and one Chinese whose love for the colony went so far that he put on our tasteful waiter's clothes and — acquired Hungarian citizenship.⁷

The lively newspaper coverage of Ehrenfeld's lectures contrasted sharply with widespread lack of interest in China in general, and in the area occupied by Austria-Hungary in Tianjin (February 1901) for the establishment of a concession in particular. This lack of interest was also reflected in the fact that even a decade after the "acquisition" of the concession there were hardly any publications about it on the Austro-Hungarian side:

¹ While the term 'concession' was/is used in English (cf. Giles 1912, 1463 (No. 11827): "租界 a term used for the 'Concessions' at various Treaty ports, under which land is leased in perpetuity to foreign nations"), the terms 'Konzession', 'Niederlassung' and 'Settlement' were generally used synonymously in German-language texts of the early twentieth century. Li 2010, 50–88, offers a comprehensive overview of the development of treaty ports and concessions in China. For the return of the foreign concessions to Chinese administration (1917–1946) see *ibid.*, 84 and the map in Wu 2010 [1999], 95.

² In this introduction, Chinese terms will be transcribed according to the Pinyin system. Earlier/other renderings for Tianjin include Tientsin (mostly used in nineteenth and twentieth-century sources), T'ien-tsin (Wade-Giles system), Tyanjin (Yale system), Tiändjin (Lessing-Othmer), and Tiëntsin.

³ *Kärntner Tagblatt*, 31 March 1911, 3.

⁴ *Villacher Zeitung*, 11 April 1911, 4.

⁵ *Der Morgen*, 6 February 1911, 7; *Neue Freie Presse*, 6 February 1911 (A), 9. In quoting from Austrian newspapers the letters attached to the date of publication refer to different editions of newspapers of the same day: (M) for the morning edition, (A) for the afternoon edition and (E) for the evening edition.

⁶ On Ehrenfeld's lecture in Trieste (26 March 1911), cf. the note in: *L'Osservatore Triestino*, 28 March 1911, 2; quoted in Lee 2016, 2.

⁷ *Grazer Tagblatt*, 8 March 1911, 5.

It is a striking — and let us frankly admit it — shameful fact that even the commercially and geographically interested circles of our monarchy are barely informed of the existence of our concession [*Settlement*] in China. [...] It is significant that no publication has been devoted to the concession [*Niederlassung*] [...] since its establishment — apart from a small article in *Das Handelsmuseum*, 1907, No. 2. Even our consular reports from Tientsin did not deliver any information about the settlement until 1911.⁸

Since this state of affairs did not change in the period leading up to China's declaration of war on Austria-Hungary (August 1917) and the subsequent return of the concession to the Chinese authorities, the reasons for this disinterest need to be investigated more closely.

To this end, this introduction will present some of the most striking features of the relations between Austria(-Hungary) and China: the early commercial voyages to East Asia and the beginnings of Chinese studies in Austria; the first steps taken by the Austrian government to establish consular and diplomatic representations, including the *Novara* Expedition; the signing of the first treaty with China in 1869; and the participation of China in the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873. Furthermore, it will shed some light on the entry of some Austrians and Hungarians into the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs and the experiences of Austro-Hungarian travellers and explorers in China, as well as the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries. Finally, this introduction will summarise the somewhat reluctant steps taken by Austria-Hungary to join the 'scramble for China' after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, and the motives behind Austro-Hungarian participation in the international intervention in northern China in the summer of 1900 and its occupation of a piece of land for an Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin.

These many roads to Tianjin are arranged according to the following three phases of nineteenth-century Austro-Chinese relations: the first part ("Trade and curiosity") includes early commercial voyages and Austro-Hungarian travellers to China, the beginnings of Chinese studies in Austria, and the presentation/participation of China in the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873. The second part ("Austria-Hungary as a treaty power") presents the beginnings and

development of the consular and diplomatic service of Austria(-Hungary) in China, the experiences made by Austrians and Hungarians in the service of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, examples of the roles played by Austrian merchants and experts, and the experiences made by Austro-Hungarian missionaries. The third part includes Austria-Hungary's attitude to the 'scramble for China', culminating in its participation in the international intervention of 1900 and the occupation of a territory in Tianjin. The fourth and last part of this introduction deals with the early history of the Austro-Hungarian concession up to the takeover of the administration by the Austro-Hungarian government.

1. Trade and curiosity

1.1. Commercial voyages before and after the 'opening up of China' (1820s to 1840s)

Shortly after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the Austrian authorities received a plan for a commercial expedition whose purpose was to export mercury from the Idria mines to China. This plan was proposed by Edward Watts, who had experience with Asian trade and from 1807 was invested as the Austrian Consul General for the East Indies and China, and was searching for a way to circumvent the East India Company's monopoly in the China trade. For this purpose, the Austrian authorities provided him with a man-of-war, the *Carolina*. Watts should remunerate the expenses. Preparations for the voyage to China were completed by the summer of 1820 (**Fig. 1**). Starting from Trieste in September 1820 and sailing via Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Town, Batavia and Singapore, the *Carolina* finally reached Guangzhou (Canton) in August 1821. During this journey, the spread of cholera after the *Carolina* left Batavia in June 1821 marked a dramatic culmination on board, causing the death of about a quarter of the crew. In Guangzhou, the Austrian commissioner accompanying this expedition soon found out that the deal proposed by Watts could not be concluded in the intended way. The Austrians managed to sell the mercury at a great loss and to buy some return cargo. Shortly after the return to Austria in the summer of 1822, Watts left the Aus-

⁸ Nemeček 1912, 97. See also Nemeček 1915, 76. On the article published in *Das Handelsmuseum* (1907) see the main part of this book.

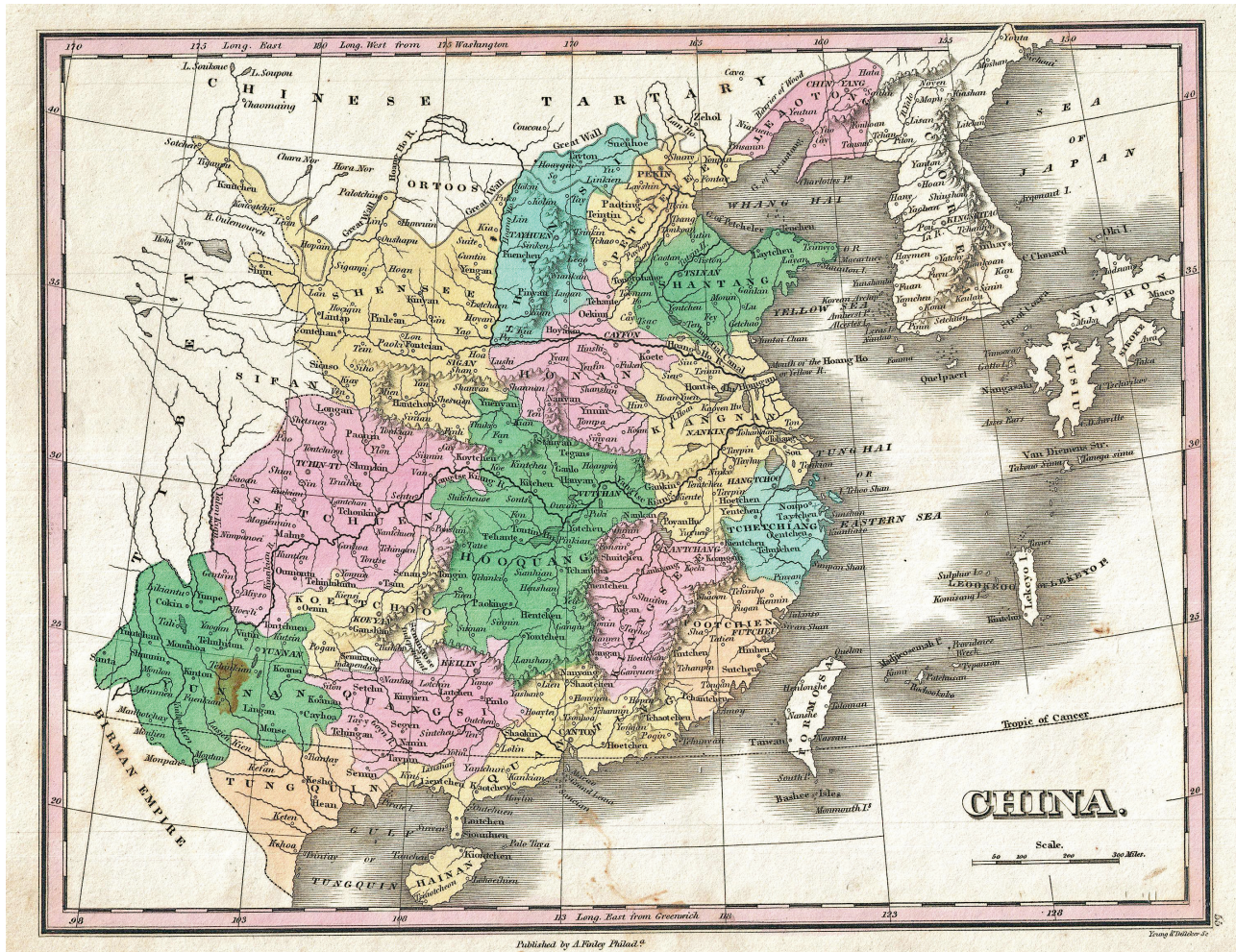


Fig. 1 “China” on a map of 1827. Before the so-called opening up of China, Shanghai 上海 had not been put on the map. As regards northern China, the map provides no entries for the region between Beijing 北京 (“Pekin”) and the Gulf of Zhili 直隸 (“G. of Petchelee”). In the Zhili province (“Petchelee”, i.e. Bei Zhili 北直隸), two cities (“Teintin”? and “Tien”?) have been placed on the map to the south-west and the south-east of “Paoting” (i.e. Baoding 保定), respectively. [Finley 1827]

trian service without paying for the expenses incurred by the expedition.⁹

Two decades later, after the so-called opening up of China had been initiated by the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Nanjing (August 1842), Austrian merchants took an interest in exploring the opportunities of the China trade. The most remarkable initiatives were the ‘East India Mission’ (1843–45) commissioned by the Trieste Stock Exchange and the voyage of the merchant ship *Airone* (1844–46).

The East India Mission was carried out by two merchants, Peter Erichsen and Alexander Conighi. It travelled via Suez, Bombay, and Singapore to China. In China, Erichsen and Conighi visited all five ports

(Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai) ‘opened up’ to foreign trade by the Treaty of Nanjing. The main task of the two men was to explore market opportunities for Austrian companies in India, South East Asia, and China.¹⁰ A review of their report published in the official *Wiener Zeitung* praised Erichsen for telling “the plain truth” [*die ungeschminkte Wahrheit*].¹¹ Erichsen later became the director [*Betriebsdirektor*] of the *Donaudampfschiffahrtsgesellschaft* [lit. First Danube Steamboat Shipping Company] and never returned to Asia. Conighi later was appointed as the “Provisional Consul at Singapore for H.M. the Emperor of Austria”.¹²

⁹ Lehner 1995, 43–60, Lehner 1998.

¹⁰ Lehner 1995, 66–76. For the published report of the Mission, see Erichsen 1846.

¹¹ *Wiener Zeitung*, 19 February 1847, 408.

¹² *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, February 1864, 241.

While Erichsen and Conighi travelled to the East on foreign ships, the Austrian brig *Airone* set sail for an epic journey that led her to North-Western Europe, South East Asia, China, and the United States. Having left Trieste in September 1844, in London the *Airone* loaded some cargo for China in January 1845 and reached Huangpu near Guangzhou (Canton) in July 1845. Having successfully escaped an attack by Chinese pirates and carrying back a load of tea, the *Airone* arrived in New York after a journey of 139 days via Cape Town and St. Helena.¹³ After

travelling for approximately 39,900 nautical miles (i.e. about 73,900 kilometres) and without having lost a single man, the brig finally returned to Trieste on 30 May 1846.¹⁴

1.2. The beginnings of Chinese studies in Austria

In the late 1820s, the newly appointed director of the Imperial Library in Vienna, Moriz Count Dietrichstein (1775–1864), took a vivid interest in expanding

Fig. 2 Section of a map of 1840: “Das südöstliche Asien oder China, Japan und Hinter-Indien mit dem Indischen Archipelagus” [Southeastern Asia, or, China, Japan and India beyond the Ganges including the Indian Archipelago] (Weimar: Geographisches Institut, 1840). Detail showing the eastern part of China from the Great Wall in the north to the Lower Yangzi region. In the metropolitan province of “Petschylly” [i.e. Zhili 直隸], the confluence of the Grand Canal (“Jün-ho”) with the Baihe 白河 (“Pehan-ku”) in Tianjin 天津 (“Thian-thsiu [sic]) can be seen clearly. To the south, the name of “Schang-Hai-Hien” is indicated. [The Library of Congress, Washington D.C., USA]



¹³ “Die österreichische Brigg Airone in New York”, in: Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd, 15 March 1846, 171.

¹⁴ Oesterreichischer Beobachter, 19 June 1846, 668.

the collection by procuring books from all over the world. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chinese books had been presented to the Habsburg Court by Jesuit missionaries.¹⁵ In 1828, the library purchased a set of illustrations offered for sale by the above-mentioned Edward Watts. These illustrations showed “costumes, court ladies, warriors, workmen, music teachers, ships, plants, birds, insects, sea creatures and also methods of torture and of execution.”¹⁶ In the early 1830s, Dietrichstein managed to purchase Chinese books from French collectors through the mediation of the Paris-based German Orientalist Heinrich Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835). The cataloguing of the considerably augmented collection was done by Stephan Ladislaus Endlicher (1804–1849), a botanist and librarian by profession, who developed a keen interest in the Chinese language.¹⁷ As a result of this interest, Endlicher spared no expense to print the catalogue of the collection — including Chinese characters. For this purpose, he even directed the preparation of Chinese printing types.¹⁸ Following the publication of the catalogue (1837), he began editing an atlas of China (Endlicher 1843) and completed the first grammar of Chinese published in German (1845).¹⁹

In the early 1840s (**Fig. 2**), the newly appointed director of the Imperial and Royal Printing Office [*k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei*] in Vienna, Alois Auer (1813–1869, later ennobled as Auer von Welsbach) not only developed a modernisation programme for printing presses and printing types. Relying on a group of linguists (mostly Orientalists), he directed the casting of types for a wealth of non-Latin scripts. For Chinese types, he relied on the philological expertise of August Pfizmaier (1808–1887). After completing his medical studies, Pfizmaier had delved into the study of Oriental languages (ranging from Turkish to Chinese and Japanese) and soon was able to translate Oriental texts. Before becoming a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna (1848), Pfizmaier helped

producing Chinese printing types at the Imperial and Royal Printing Office. These printing types were later mainly used to supply the Chinese characters for Pfizmaier’s own works, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.²⁰

1.3. The making of ‘China’: China’s participation in the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873

The Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, established in 1854, were responsible for organising the participation of China at the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873.²¹ As Robert Bickers put it, “China was being represented through foreign nationals in state employ, certainly, but here nonetheless was an integration of China — of Chinese things and Chinese opportunity — into the global encyclopaedia, on display in Europe [...]”²²

China’s participation in the Vienna Universal Exhibition was initiated in summer 1872 by Heinrich von Calice, the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic representative to East Asia. Because it had been one of the aims of the exhibition “to show the international exchange of products” and to exhibit “samples and specimens of the articles of trade and commerce of all the important harbours and sea-ports”, Calice asked Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector General of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, “for assistance in arrangements to prevent China from remaining unrepresented at the Universal Exhibition”. Hart instructed his staff to prepare collections “to consist of samples from merchandise” to be found in the fourteen Chinese ports that were already open to foreign trade.²³

The preparations for Chinese participation were coordinated by members of the foreign staff of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, who also came to Vienna as “Chinese commissioners”.²⁴

From the beginning, China’s participation in the exhibition was overshadowed by that of Japan. It

¹⁵ For the history of the Sinica collection of the Imperial Library (today’s Austrian National Library) in Vienna, see Lehner 2013a.

¹⁶ Lack 2001, 392. See also Grübl-Steinbauer 2000 and Huber-Frischeis, Knieling & Valenta 2015, 304–306.

¹⁷ See Lehner 2013a. For Chinese books in other parts of the Habsburg Empire, see Lehner 2013b.

¹⁸ For the history of printing Chinese characters in Austria, see Lehner 2004, 151–189.

¹⁹ On these publications, see Führer 2001, 47 f. (catalogue of 1837), 49 f. (atlas), and 50–53 (grammar).

²⁰ On Pfizmaier’s contribution to Chinese studies, see Führer 2001, 59–72; on Pfizmaier’s role in the production of the Chinese types, see Lehner 2004, 167–172.

²¹ On the representation of China at the universal exhibitions of 1851 and 1855, see Girard 2014; on the representation of China at the Paris universal exhibition of 1867, see Martin 2019, 131–134.

²² Bickers 2011, 204.

²³ China. Trade Statistics of the Treaty Ports 1873, 3 sq.

²⁴ *Wr. Weltausstellungs-Zeitung / Int. Ausstellungs-Zeitung*, 11 May 1873, supplement.

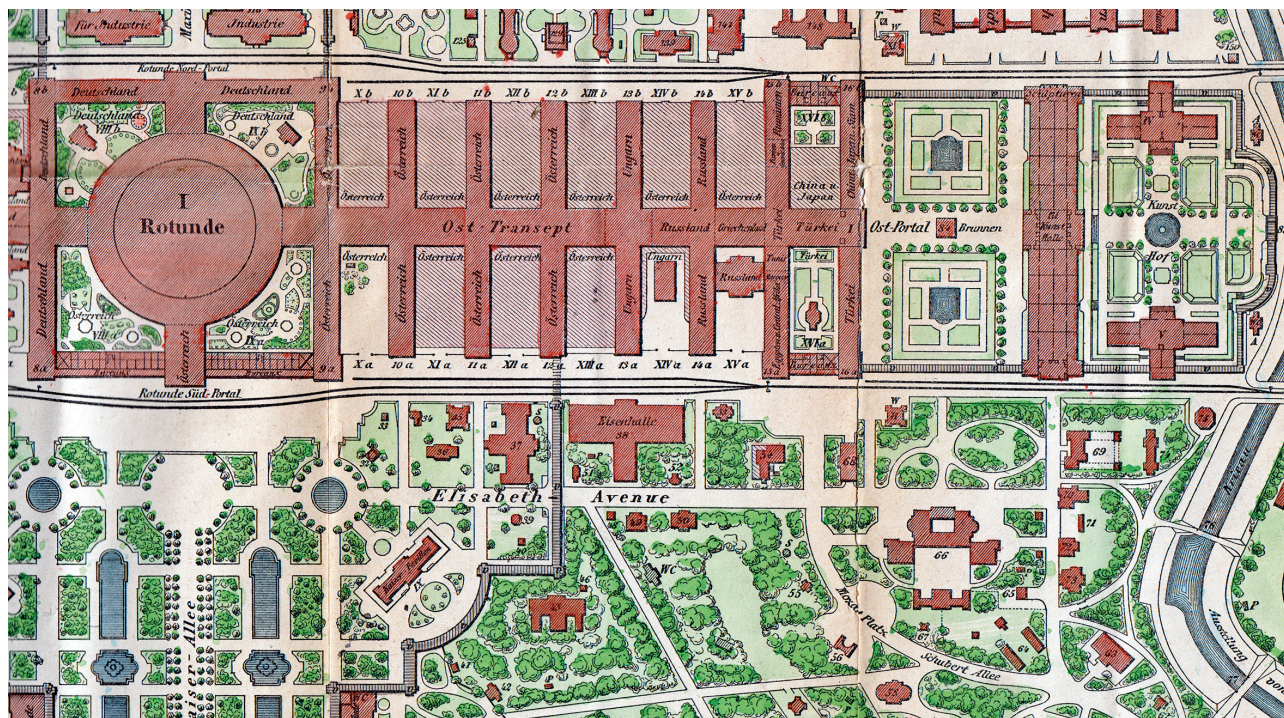


Fig. 3 Map of the 1873 Vienna Universal Exhibition Ground. Detail showing the Rotunde (the central building on the exhibition ground) and the 'Chinese court' to the east of the pavilions of Austria and Hungary. Detail from the *Weltausstellungs-Album* (1873), end of volume. [Private archive, Michael Falser]



Fig. 4 "Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873. Chinese Exhibition." A glimpse into the exhibits collected by Gustav Overbeck, I. & R. Honorary Consul-General in Hong Kong. [Wien Museum]



Fig. 5 Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873. Cercle Oriental of Dr. Hardt [*Cercle Oriental des Dr. Hardt*]. The Chinese teahouse can be seen in the foreground of the picture. [Technisches Museum Wien (Vienna Museum of Science and Technology)]

was only several weeks after the inauguration of the Vienna Universal Exhibition that the Chinese part of the exhibition was completed and finally opened to the public. The ‘Chinese court’ was the last court on the north side (*Nördlicher Hof*) of the industry palace (**Fig. 3**).

Apart from the collections assembled by the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, some collections were prepared by Gustav von Overbeck (**Fig. 4**), a merchant and Austro-Hungarian consul general in Hong Kong (who also used his stay at the World Exhibition in Vienna to present plans for the establishment of a trading base in North Borneo to Austrian government agencies²⁵), and by the staff of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Shanghai, which contained samples of products from all over China provided by Roman Catholic missionaries. The visitors were made aware

[...] that the Chinese exhibition is extremely important from the standpoint of commercial and transportation shipping interests. The exhibition brings everything that China can offer for export to Europe in an exemplary selection; it also includes a complete collection of all natural products of China, a large part of which is still unknown in Europe, even to the men of science, and finally has objects in the field of handicraft production, that in terms of beauty, form and efficiency of technology, are not inferior to the other exemplary achievements of the Orient. [...]²⁶

According to the official catalogue, the three parts of the “Chinese exhibition” comprised the following thematic groups: mining and metallurgy; agriculture and forestry; the chemical industry; food and luxury goods; the textile and clothing industry; the leather and rubber industry; the metal industry; stone, clay and glassware; the haberdashery sector; the paper industry; mechanical engineering and means of trans-

²⁵ Pape 1959, 191 f.

²⁶ “China in der Weltausstellung”, in: *Wt. Weltausstellungs-Zeitung / Int. Ausstellungs-Zeitung*, 15 June 1873, 5.

port; scientific instruments; musical instruments; army; shipping; a bourgeois house with furnishings; a farmhouse with furnishings; religious art; and the applied arts.²⁷

The *Weltausstellungs-Album* [Album of the Universal Exhibition] contained an illustration and a description of the so-called Chinese teahouse (Fig. 5):

[...] a coffee garden, in which there was also a strangely shaped tea pavilion tapering downwards and covered by a curved roof — actually the model of a Chinese fisherman's house, but here called a Chinese teahouse — always found a crowd of admirers who stood amid these oriental splendours at times specifically devoted to Western pleasures — beer.²⁸

To mark the end of the exhibition, the Chinese commissioners planned to host a festive dinner (for a sum of fl.10,000, today approximately €117,000). After some deliberation, they changed their plans and sponsored a 'Chinese concert' to show their appreciation for Vienna and the exhibition. In the run-up to the event, the *Neue Freie Presse* mentioned the great impression made by Japan's participation in the exhibition and drew some comparisons:

And if the gala concert turns out to be brilliant, as is not to be expected otherwise, the procedure of the venerable representatives of the Celestial Empire may be boldly compared with the famous feasts of Cleopatra when she dissolved precious pearls in wine, or the world-famous luxury of that Augsburg patrician, who lit a room fire with promissory notes for the imperial guest. After the exhibition is over, we will talk much more about the concert luxury of our Chinese guests than at the time of the exhibition itself, in which, as is well known, the active Japanese nation was known as the lap child of both Viennese and foreigners.²⁹

The Chinese concert took place in the Golden Hall of the Vienna *Musikverein* on 4 November 1873, starting at 10 p.m. The programme of the Vienna Philharmonic included works by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Mozart, Schubert, Beethoven, Schumann, Lanner, and Johann Strauß father and son.³⁰

One of the more lasting consequences of the Vienna Universal Exhibition was the establishment of the *Orientalisches Museum* [Oriental Museum]. Its main purpose should be "to promote trade relations between Austria-Hungary and the countries of the Orient and East Asia".³¹ The institution was renamed *k. k. Handelsmuseum* [Imperial and Royal Trade Museum] in 1885.³²

1.4. Austr(o-Hungarian) travellers: curiosity, scientific exploration, and language studies

On his extensive travels through Asia, Australia, and the Pacific Ocean (1831–36), Karl Freiherr von Hügel (1795–1870)³³ who, thanks to his inherited wealth could live an independent life, also went to China, visiting Guangzhou in the first days of 1835.³⁴

My next visit was to China, the pedantic, hard-working people who clung to the past, an Asian Germany whose ancient institutions England will overthrow with its advancing system, just as France's ideas did with ours; not within two decades, but unstoppable all the same.³⁵

While in Manila, Hügel learned of the death of the British superintendent in China, Lord Napier, to whom all the letters of recommendation he had for Guangzhou were addressed. Hügel was now confronted with the problem that he did not know anyone in Guangzhou.³⁶ Yet his short stay in Guangzhou sparked his interest in the Chinese language. In 1903 his son Anatole von Hügel remembered:

²⁷ General-Catalog 1873, 757–65.

²⁸ *Weltausstellungs-Album*, 7.

²⁹ *Neue Freie Presse*, 31 October 1873 (M), 5.

³⁰ See: Vienna Philharmonic, concert database: <https://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/en/konzerte/concert-chinese-worlds-fair-commission/6559/> (accessed 26 February 2021).

³¹ *Mittheilungen der kaiserlichen und königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 18 (1875), 21. For the preparatory consultations prior to the establishment of the Museum, in: *Wiener Zeitung*, 5 July 1874, 66; and *Neue Freie Presse*, 24 October 1874 (M), 6. For the Chinese exhibits on display in the museum, in: *Wiener Abendpost*, 8 May 1875, 5.

³² On the history and development of this institution up to 1919, in: *Das Handelsmuseum 1919*.

³³ On Hügel, see Feichtinger & Heiss 2020.

³⁴ *Oesterreichischer Beobachter*, 8 November 1836, 1522.

³⁵ *Oesterreichischer Beobachter*, 8 December 1840, 1756: "China galt mein nächster Besuch, dem pedantischen arbeitsamen, an allem Früherm festhaltenden Volke, dem asiatischen Teutschland, dessen uralte Einrichtungen England mit seinem fortschreitendem [*sic*] System umstürzen wird, wie Frankreichs Ideen es mit den unseren getan haben; nicht in zwei Jahrzehnten, allein dennoch unaufhaltsam." This article had been reprinted from the Berlin Haude & Spensersche Zeitung.

³⁶ Hügel 1860, 155.

I well remember in Brussels — in 1866 or 1867 — seeing him at his table writing in Chinese characters. He told me that since his visit to Canton in 1835, in leisure moments he had continued to practise what he had then learned of Chinese from a Mandarin, with whom he had ever since kept up a friendly correspondence.³⁷

In his four-volume work, *Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek* [*Kashmir and the Realm of the Sikhs*], Karl Freiherr von Hügel reported on an episode of his visit to Guangzhou, which reveals his interest in Asian arts and crafts. In the section “Religion and superstition” [*Religion und Aberglaube*] he remembered his encounter with a Chinese stonemason and presented an example of the use of Pidgin English in Sino-Western encounters:

A strange idea arose in me in Canton about the origins of the lingam and yoni. At a stonemason from whom I wanted to buy the statue of one of the main Chinese idols, I found, to my surprise, a few dozen lingams standing on the yoni. I asked who they were for; he said: ‘For no one, he makes a few hundred randomly every year’. I asked further: ‘Do you call this lingam?’ ‘No,’ was the reply of the Chinese in his English, ‘Hab nam Handmill,’ it is called a hand mill; I did not want to believe this, but he brought me the part that did not stand on it, and I saw that the lower part of a hand mill common in India perfectly resembled the lingam and yoni.³⁸

In the years 1846–1848, Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858) made one of the most remarkable journeys of that time. After raising her two sons as a single mother, she pursued “a natural wish for travel” and began extensive travels. On her first journey around the world, she arrived in southern China in the summer of 1847, not quite five years after the Anglo-Chinese treaty of Nanjing (1842). Although this treaty included the opening up of five ports to foreign trade, she found it rather difficult to travel to Guangzhou (where she stayed for five weeks) and the surrounding area. She repeatedly mentioned the difficulties

encountered by women travelling alone, especially in China (cf. Howe 1999, Hildebrandt 2005):

[...] I learned what risks I, as a woman, had run in traversing the streets of Canton with no escort but a Chinese guide. Such a thing had never occurred before and [...] I might esteem myself as exceedingly fortunate in not having been insulted by the people in the grossest manner, or even stoned.³⁹

In the summer of 1847, there repeatedly circulated rumours in Guangzhou “of the near approach of a revolution, in which all the Europeans were to perish.”⁴⁰ Only about two years after Pfeiffer’s visit, the British forced free access to the city of Guangzhou.

Another interesting but far less documented journey took place in the 1860s. The travel destination was the Jewish community in Kaifeng 開封: “The only [European] Jew who travelled to Kai-fung-fu was a merchant from Vienna, J. L. Liebermann, who went there in 1867 without bringing home anything noteworthy from his trip.”⁴¹

The brothers József (1841–1924) and Ágost Count Zichy (1852–1925) undertook a much better documented journey through Asia.⁴² Having originally planned a world tour, they had to revise their travel plans after a severe storm in the Yellow Sea. The journey to East Asia took them via Constantinople, Suez, Aden, Ceylon, and Singapore to the Dutch East Indies, where they spent several weeks in January and February 1876. After visiting Siam in February and March they continued their journey to Hong Kong, which they reached on 29 March 1876. The first part of their journey in China took them to Macau, Guangzhou, Shantou 汕頭 (Swatow), Zhoushan 舟山, and Shanghai, among other places. After a six-week journey through Japan (12 May–26 June) they continued their travels in China. In northern China they visited Yantai/Zhifu, Tianjin and Beijing. In his travel notes on Tianjin, József Count Zichy, a former Hungarian Minister of Commerce, referred to the most faithful description of the so-called ‘Tianjin Massacre’ (21 June 1870), given by Joseph Alexander Count Hübner.⁴³ After a few days in Beijing, the

³⁷ Hügel 1903, 72, n. 3.

³⁸ Hügel 1840, 368.

³⁹ Pfeiffer 1850, 94.

⁴⁰ Pfeiffer 1850, 103. On the xenophobic mood of the Cantonese, see also the following remark (ibid. 108): “Six young men made this same excursion [as she did] six months later, stopping at one of the villages and mixing with the people. Unhappily, they all fell victims to the fanaticism of the Chinese; they were most barbarously murdered.”

⁴¹ “Über eine versprengte jüdische Kolonie”, in: (Neuigkeits) Welt Blatt, 12 December 1890, 7. Liebermann’s travel to Kaifeng is also briefly mentioned in: Reichspost, 5 August 1900, 9.

⁴² See Slobodník 2013.

⁴³ Zichy 2006 (remark on Hübner’s book, ibid., 166).

brothers continued their journey via Xuanhua 宣化和 Zhangjiakou 張家口. They crossed the Gobi Desert and travelled through Mongolia. In mid-August 1876 they passed the Sino-Russian border at Khiakhta and then continued their journey home through Siberia and European Russia.

Soon after their return to Hungary, Ágost Count Zichy gave a lecture to the Hungarian Geographical Society on their journey from Beijing to Urga through the Mongolian desert.⁴⁴ In 1880, he published a paper on his travel memories from China.⁴⁵

The most remarkable Austro-Hungarian expedition including extensive travelling within China took place in the years 1877 to 1880. From 1874, after the death of his first wife, Béla Count Széchenyi (1837–1918) had developed plans for a scientific expedition to Asia. The main task of this expedition would be to conduct research on the geography and geology of the mountain ranges in the Chinese-Tibetan borderlands. After reaching Hong Kong on 1 April 1878, the expedition team visited Guangzhou (Canton), travelled to Shanghai, made an excursion to Japan, visited Yantai (Chefoo/Zhifu), Tianjin, and Beijing (October 1878), before returning to Shanghai, from where they set out for their scientific work on 8 December 1878. They went up the Yangtze River to Hankou. From Hankou they crossed the Qinling range 秦嶺山 (24 January 1879) and continued via Lanzhou 蘭州 and Suzhou 肅州 to Anxi 安西, before reaching Dunhuang 敦煌, the westernmost point of their travels across China (May 1879). After returning to Lanzhou, they once again crossed the Qinling range and continued via Chengdu and Dajianlu to Batang 巴塘. In Batang they finally had to give up their plan to enter Tibet owing to the repeated threats of the Tibetan authorities (December 1879). They continued their journey via Zhongdian 中甸, Dali 大理 and Tengyue 騰越 (Momein) before leaving the Chinese territory for Burma.⁴⁶ For the first time, Europeans had taken the route from Batang to Zhongdian.⁴⁷ With the permission of Count Széchenyi, Gustav Kreitner (1847–1893), a geographer who took part in the expedition, published a travelogue in 1881; the scientific results of

the journey were published in three volumes (plus an atlas) in the 1890s — the Hungarian edition in 1890–97 and the German edition in 1893–99 (Széchenyi 1893–99).

On his journey around the world (December 1892–October 1893), Archduke Franz Ferdinand only stayed briefly in southern China, where he visited Macau, Hong Kong and Guangzhou. During his stay in Guangzhou (Canton), he was a guest at the house of Customs Commissioner Edward B. Drew:

Not only does Mr Drew speak a little French, he also has a small treasure trove of German words at his disposal [*verfügt auch über einen kleinen Schatz deutscher Worte*] — an achievement that may be credited to his long stay in Vienna, where Mr Drew acted as Chinese Commissioner on the occasion of the exhibition in 1873 and felt so comfortable that he still speaks of that time with satisfaction.⁴⁸

In 1892–93, Dr. Franz Kühnert (1852–1918), astronomer by profession and sinologist by vocation, was the first person sent to China by the Austrian government to improve his language skills. Kühnert went to Nanjing, where he studied the language with the “bonzes of a Buddhist temple” and was trained by one of the Chinese literati. On various excursions, Kühnert visited public buildings and temples to improve his knowledge of Chinese culture. From Nanjing, Kühnert travelled to Zhenjiang 鎮江 (also in the Yangzi valley), the Hubei province, and Beijing. In Beijing, he was taught by the Chinese teacher at the German legation. Visits to the surroundings of Beijing, for instance to the Great Wall and the Ming tombs, rounded off his programme.⁴⁹ Having returned to Austria-Hungary, Kühnert occupied himself with preparing several publications on the Chinese language and continued to teach Chinese at the University of Vienna. From 1897 onwards, he also taught courses on the Chinese language at the Oriental Academy [*Orientalische Akademie*] in Vienna renamed Consular Academy [*Konsularakademie*] in 1898.⁵⁰

In the second half of the 1890s, two Hungarian researchers travelled to China. While Jenő Cholnoky

⁴⁴ Zichy 1877.

⁴⁵ Zichy 1880.

⁴⁶ The description of the route is based on the map in Kreitner 1881. See biographical entries in Henze 2004/2011 and in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon* 14 (2013), 128 f.

⁴⁷ See Kreitner 1881, 839.

⁴⁸ Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este 1895, II:232.

⁴⁹ “Ein österreichischer Sinologe”, in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 6 June 1894 (E), 4.

⁵⁰ See Lehner 2004b. On Kühnert and his sinological work, see Führer 2001, 73–90.

(1870–1950) was interested in the country’s geology, Jenő Count Zichy was eager to collect new sources concerning the origin of the Hungarians. In January 1897, Cholnoky reached Shanghai. In the first weeks he visited the Yangzi delta and then moved on to the Hangzhou region.⁵¹ Afterwards, he travelled to Beijing to apply for funding for research on the Huanghe (Yellow River). While waiting for the authorities to reply, Cholnoky travelled to the northern parts of the Zhili 直隸 province: “[...] drove from Khalgan [Kalgan, i.e. Zhangjiakou 張家口] to the highlands on the route often used by tourists and left it at Dolon-nor or Lama-miao [Lama miao 喇嘛廟], taking [his] way back through the gate at Kuppei-kou [Gubeikou 古北口].”⁵² After the Chinese authorities refused to support his research, he made a boat trip up the Yangtze to Wuhu 蕪湖 and went to Vladivostok, from where he travelled across Manchuria before reaching Beijing in December 1897. After travelling from Beijing to Hankou, Cholnoky returned to Shanghai. He had spent 237 days on the move (about 25.4 km per day), which he almost always covered on foot. On his travels, he made 750 drawings and took 250 photographs.⁵³ Some of these photographs — showing views of Beijing and of a street in the Chinese suburbs of Tianjin — were used to illustrate Cholnoky’s article on Beijing and its environs, published in *Vasárnapi újság* on 1 July 1900.⁵⁴

The “re-acquisition of the documents taken by Batu Khan from Hungary in 1242” had been the main objective of the expedition undertaken by Jenő Count Zichy (1837–1906) in 1898. Zichy arrived in Beijing a few days after the *coup d’état* of September 1898 during which the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧 deposed the Guangxu 光緒 Emperor from power. After three meetings with members of the Zongli Yamen 總理衙門, the latter told him that they would search their archives for related documents; if they found anything related to Hungary, they would transmit these materials to him by way of the Austro-Hungarian legation in Beijing.⁵⁵ After Zichy’s return to Hungary, Freiherr von Czikann, Austro-Hungarian minister to Beijing, informed him

that the Chinese authorities had started searching for the documents in their archives. Zichy telegraphed Czikann that if the search brought these documents to light, he would undertake the journey to Beijing once again.⁵⁶ This, however, would never come to pass.

2. Austria-Hungary as a treaty power

2.1. Early consular and diplomatic representation in China

The origin and development of Austrian/Austro-Hungarian consular and diplomatic representation in China have been described so far almost exclusively on the basis of official correspondence between the Austrian government and the early representatives appointed to consular and diplomatic posts in China.

Having appointed German merchants as consular representatives in southern China and Hong Kong, Austria developed plans to strengthen her commercial relations with East Asia. Moreover, Austria tried to secure a leading role in the German-speaking world. To serve both these purposes, the circumnavigation by the frigate *Novara* also included a visit to Hong Kong and a short visit to Guangzhou (summer 1858).⁵⁷ By signing a treaty with China (1861), Prussia outdid Austria in terms of its consular and diplomatic representation in China. Owing to the Austro-Prussian War (1866), a planned Austrian expedition was then delayed for several years. The first treaty between China and Austria-Hungary could only be signed in September 1869.⁵⁸ While Dong Xun 董恂 (1810–1892), one of the two Chinese plenipotentiaries, signed the treaty in Beijing (2 September 1869), Chonghou 崇厚, the second Chinese plenipotentiary, signed the treaty in Tianjin (8 September 1869).

In his official report of the expedition, Karl von Scherzer included a brief description of the geographical location and economic importance of Tianjin:

⁵¹ Cholnoky 1899, 8.

⁵² Cholnoky 1899, 9.

⁵³ Cholnoky 1899, 13.

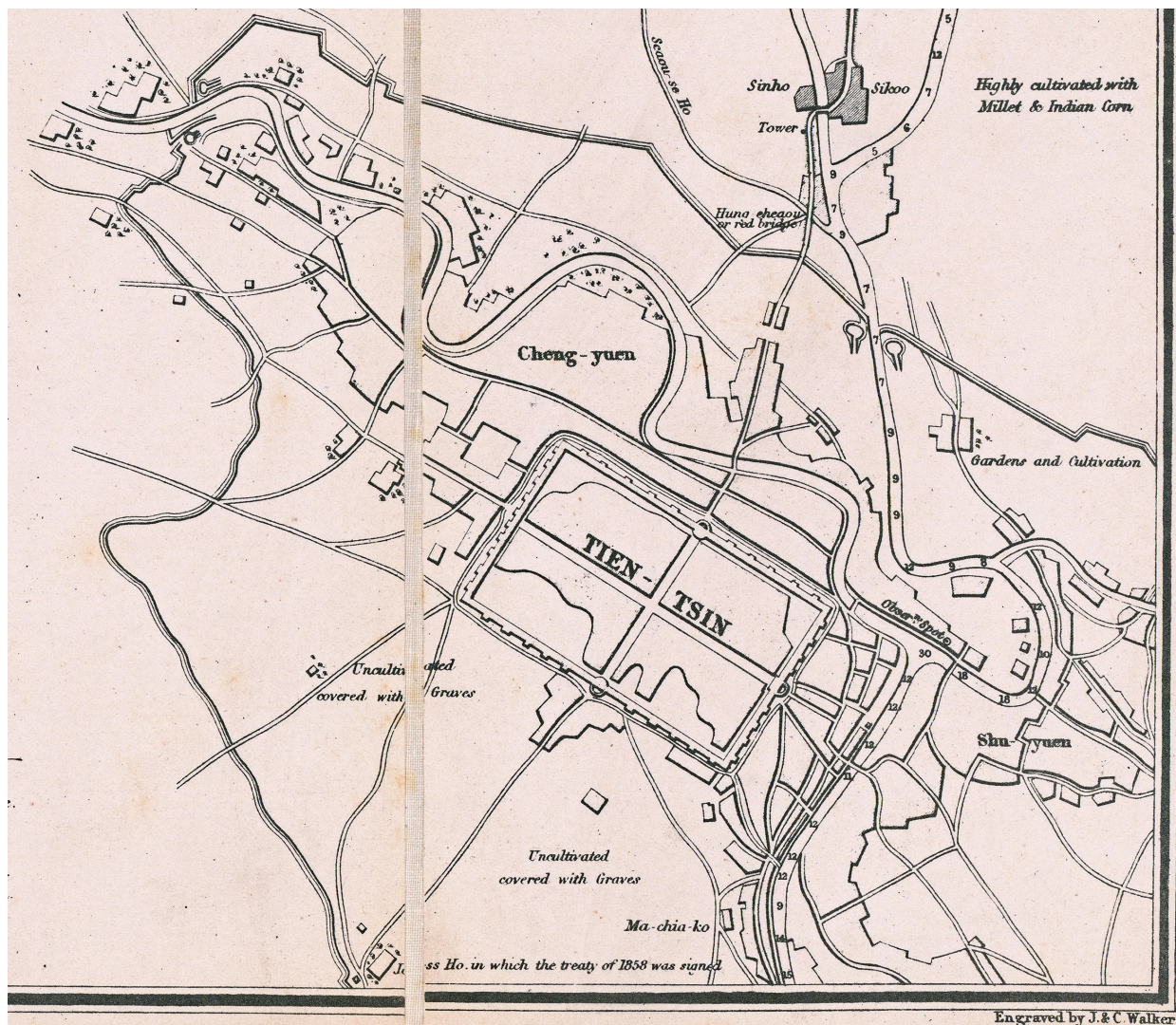
⁵⁴ *Vasárnapi újság*, 1 July 1900, 437.

⁵⁵ Zichy 1905, 296. See also Maracsó 2014, 51.

⁵⁶ *Pester Lloyd*, 2 April 1899, 5.

⁵⁷ *Wiener Zeitung*, 5 October 1858, 1248–1250. See also Lehner 1995, 103–112.

⁵⁸ Lehner 1995, 127–155.



Figs. 6a,b "Tien-tsin", detail of the British Admiralty Chart 1863 – Pei-Ho or Peking River, sheets 2&3. [Wikipedia Commons]

Tientsin [Tianjin], the most important of the northern ports in China, was opened up to foreign trade in 1860. The city is in the north of Tschili [Zhili] province on the outflow of the Grand Canal into the Peiho [Baihe 白河, i.e. ‘White River’], 28 miles from the mouth of the latter river and 60 miles from Peking. Tientsin, which has the provinces of Tschili [Zhili], Shansi [Shanxi] and Shensi [Shaanxi] as sales areas, surpasses all other Chinese ports regarding the import of cotton goods and also shows a considerable importation in the other articles of foreign origin.⁵⁹

Thus, Austria-Hungary was one of those countries that had signed an unequal treaty with China (see **Fig. 6a,b** for the British involvement in the Treaty of 1858). In addition to this participation in asymmetrical relations between ‘the West’ and China, another asymmetry must be considered. Although the Monarchy at that time still saw itself as a major European power, unlike other European powers, it had no political interest in East Asia and hardly any economic ties with China.

After his retirement from diplomatic service, Joseph Alexander von Hübner (1811–1892; Austrian ambassador to Paris 1849–59 and, in this capacity, involved in the negotiations to end the Crimean War; then Austrian ambassador to Rome 1865–68) undertook (and later published) *A Ramble Round the World* (Hübner 1871/1874). For about two months, from 3 October to 6 December 1871, he visited various places in China. From 31 October to 7 November, he stayed in Tianjin:

The town, properly so called, forms a square. Its walls are crenelated and flanked by towers at the four angles. It is in the suburbs that the trade and commerce of the town are centred. The town and suburbs are situated on the southern bank of the Peiho and of the great canal, which here joins that river.⁶⁰

In his German travel report *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt* of 1882 he added several illustrations about his stay in “Tien-Tsin” (**Figs. 7a,b**). Apart from the walled city, Hübner also visited foreign concessions:

As to the English and French concessions, they will be quickly described. In the first, you find, as in all the Chinese and Japanese factories, the *bund* — that is, a quay, lined with some fine and well-built houses. Here — and that alone proves how much everyone in this place must consider his personal safety — all the habitations are surrounded by a strong wall. Everyone has a watchman. Furnished with a rattle, he makes every night the rounds of the house, and does not cease, by the noisy sound of his instrument, to warn thieves of this presence, and to disturb the peaceable sleep of the inhabitants. [...] The French concession is as yet without houses. The small number of residents lived until lately in the Chinese town. The mission in the native city having now been definitively abandoned, they are building a church on French ground.⁶¹

In his travelogue, Hübner explained the motivations that had led Austria to join the other powers in concluding a treaty with China:

In signing, in concert with all the other great powers, a treaty with China, the Austrian government has assured for herself a place in Asia for any future eventualities. She has established a Consulate in the most important port of the Celestial Empire [i.e. Shanghai]; and in order to enable her consul to proceed with an exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, she has conferred upon him a diplomatic character.⁶²

When summarising his impressions of international relations in East Asia in 1871, Alexander von Hübner clearly advised against any active engagement of Austria-Hungary in that region:

Complications on questions foreign to the monarchy may arise on these distant shores. To refuse all concurrence with her allies, as long as she is represented there, would be impossible; to co-operate on a great scale for the defence of interests which are not her own, would appear, from the point of view of a healthy policy, absolutely inadmissible. To limit herself, as Spain does, for instance, to hoisting her flag in the suite of the Anglo-French fleet, would be unworthy of her position as one of the first powers in Europe.⁶³

⁵⁹ Scherzer 1872, 291. For details on the signing of the treaty, see *ibid.* XI (introduction). On the history of nineteenth-century Tianjin, see Bernstein 1991. On the correct name of the White River (Baihe), see Möllendorff 1881, 119 sq., Wong 2006, 807 and the entry in *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian*, 250: “[...] from the confluence of the Baihe and the Grand Canal the river is called Haihe 海河 [...]” See also Couling 1917, 221: “Hai ho 海河, the name by which the Pai-ho is known at Tientsin, below the terminus of the Grand Canal.”

⁶⁰ Hübner 1874, I:300.

⁶¹ Hübner 1874, I:298 sq.

⁶² Hübner 1874, I:456.

⁶³ Hübner 1874, I:457.



Tien-tsin, der Pei-Ho und sein Zusammenfluss.



Zimmer oder Salon eines chinesischen Hauses.

Fig. 7a,b “Tien-tsin, the Pei-Ho and its confluence” with the Grand Canal (above), and a rare view into a “Room or salon of a Chinese house” (below) in Hübner’s *Ein Spaziergang um die Welt* [A Ramble Round the World] of 1882 [Hübner 1882, unnumbered plates]

Hübner's advice to abandon Austrian diplomatic representation in China after the ratification of the treaty went unheard.⁶⁴ Until 1883, Shanghai remained the seat of an Imperial and Royal Resident Minister at the Eastern Asiatic courts. In 1883, the seat of the diplomatic representation of Austria-Hungary in East Asia was moved to Tokyo to stress the importance that Japan had acquired in international relations in East Asia. Shanghai remained the seat of a consulate general.⁶⁵ Joseph Haas, who began his career as a student interpreter, served in China for many years. In July 1896, Haas drowned in a swimming accident; his body was never found.⁶⁶ In his memory, a monument was erected in the cemetery of the French concession in Shanghai. Its unveiling took place on 15 November 1898. It consisted of a marble column crowned by an ashes urn. In spring 1900, two bronze wreaths donated by Haas' widow and the Imperial & Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, respectively, were added.⁶⁷

2.2. Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs

Thanks to the Austro-Chinese treaty, Austrian and Hungarian citizens were eligible to join the multinational Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs. In July 1873, at the time of the Vienna Universal Exhibition, applications by two candidates to join the Customs were invited by the Habsburg monarchy authorities.⁶⁸ Two young men, the Austrian Ludwig von Fries (1852–1904) and the Hungarian Edmund Faragó (1853–1925) left Trieste for China in September 1873. After their arrival in Shanghai, they went to Beijing to begin their Chinese language training.⁶⁹

Fries (Chinese name Fei Lisi 費理司) obtained the rank of Second Assistant B in April 1881.⁷⁰ Fries' brother Sigmund (1855–1893; mentioned as 'Sigmund' in the Service Lists of the Inspectorate General; Fei Ximeng 費習孟) joined the service in November 1876.⁷¹

Faragó passed the compulsory Chinese-language examination in March 1875. As was customary for personnel of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, Faragó moved to various custom houses throughout the Chinese Empire.⁷² In the summer of 1878, while based in Tianjin at the time of the Great Famine, which had hit northern China, he and his Customs colleague Hosea Ballou Morse were chosen "to help distribute famine relief funds, particularly since the relief effort had recently been stigmatized by charges of corruption".⁷³ In March 1881, Faragó was promoted to the rank of commissioner.⁷⁴ After having spent nine years in China, Faragó returned to Austria-Hungary in 1882 for a short visit. On this occasion, the (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt Blatt* (Vienna) published the following information: "His name Farago reads in Chinese: Fa-Lai-Ko [Falaige 法來格] and bears the meaning: 'by legal means one must attain a high rank' [*Auf gesetzlichem Wege muß man einen hohen Rang erreichen*]."⁷⁵ From time to time, Faragó returned to Hungary — on one of these occasions he was received in audience by Emperor Francis Joseph.⁷⁶

The Fries brothers published an "Overview of the culture of tea and the trade with tea in China" (1870) and — with the help of his Chinese teacher, Xu Shensi 徐慎思 — Sigmund published an "Outline of the history of China since its origins" with translated and edited sources (1884).⁷⁷

⁶⁴ For the ratification of the 1869 treaty that took place in November 1871 in Shanghai, in: *Wiener Zeitung*, 26 September 1872, 1080.

⁶⁵ Lehner 1995, 178–180.

⁶⁶ *Wiener Zeitung*, 29 July 1896, 3; *Neue Freie Presse*, 3 September 1896 (E), 1.

⁶⁷ *Neue Freie Presse*, 10 January 1899, 5; *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 27 July 1900, 3 sq.

⁶⁸ *Wiener Zeitung*, 20 July 1873, 257 f.

⁶⁹ *Gr. Becksereker Wochenblatt*, Vol. XXIII, No. 43, 25 October 1873, 571; *Neue Freie Presse*, 16 January 1874, 5.

⁷⁰ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General: *Service List*, 9th ed., 1883, 9.

⁷¹ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General: *Service List*, 16th ed., 1890, 11.

⁷² On his arrival in Hankou, see a letter dated 14 September 1879 and reprinted in: (Linzer) *Tages-Post*, 19 November 1879, 3.

⁷³ Fairbank, Coolidge & Smith 1995, 44.

⁷⁴ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General: *Service List*, 27th ed., 1901, 2.

⁷⁵ (*Neuigkeits*) *Welt-Blatt*, 5 September 1882, 3.

⁷⁶ *Das Vaterland*, 23 October 1896, 13: "[...] Edmund Farago, chinesischer Mandarin zweiter Classe".

⁷⁷ Fries & Fries 1878; Fries 1884.

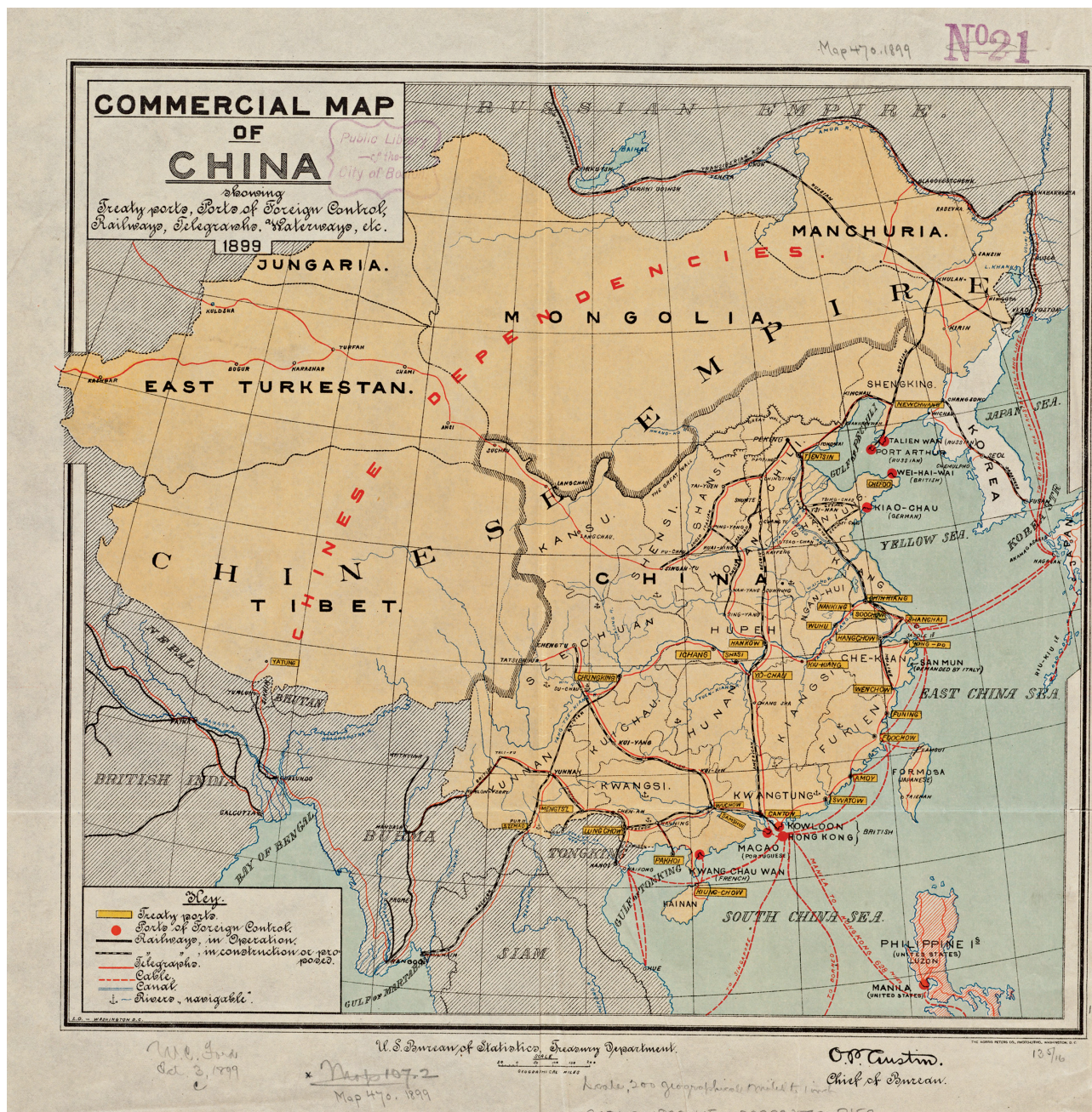


Fig. 8 U.S. Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department: “Commercial map of China showing Treaty ports, Ports of Foreign Control, Railways, Telegraphs, Waterways, etc. 1899.” The postings of the employees of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs from Austria-Hungary who are mentioned in this text can be easily located with the help of this map. [Wikimedia Commons]

The Vienna-born Arthur von Rosthorn (1862–1945),⁷⁸ who joined the Customs in July 1883 (Chinese name according to the Customs List: Luo Shiheng 羅士恆⁷⁹) and left it in 1893, published “On the Tea Cultivation in Western Ssüch’uan” (1895). Rosthorn based his study not only on reports and papers on this subject but also on a form of field research:

In 1891, when I made the journey from Tachienlu [Dajianlu 打箭爐] viâ T’iench’uan [Tianquan 天全] to Yachou [Yazhou 雅州], I had opportunities for observing the more outward and ostensible features of the trade; and, continuing to pursue the subject afterwards, I was able, through exceptional facilities, to bring together sundry details not hitherto commonly known [...].⁸⁰

⁷⁸ On Rosthorn’s sinological work, see Führer 2001, 97–123.

⁷⁹ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General: Service List, 16th ed., 1890, 13.

⁸⁰ Rosthorn 1895, 7.

Travel across various parts of China was necessary for officers of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs to reach their places of duty. According to the editions of the Service List for the years 1876 to 1893, the four Austrian/Hungarian officers worked in custom houses all over China. Owing to new appointments they had to move regularly from one place of employment to another: from Niuzhuang 牛莊 in the north (L. von Fries) to Lappa 拱北 (Faragó) and Qiongzhou 瓊州 (S. von Fries) in the south, and from Yichang 宜昌 on the Yangtze (L. von Fries; Rosthorn) to Tamsui, i.e. Danshui 淡水 (Faragó) and Takow, i.e. Dagou 打狗 (S. von Fries) on the island of Taiwan, not to mention appointments to Shanghai (Rosthorn, Faragó), Tianjin (Faragó), and the headquarters in Beijing (L. von Fries; Rosthorn).⁸¹

According to an article in the *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1899), one Hungarian (Faragó) and four Austrians were employed by the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs (**Fig. 8**).⁸² One of the four Austrians was Erwin Ritter von Zach (1872–1942; Chinese name Sha Ewen 沙諤文; serving from November 1897⁸³), who later joined the Austro-Hungarian consular service and became well known for his translations of Chinese poetry.⁸⁴ According to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs' *Service List*, three Austrians had joined in June–July 1898: Maximilian Franz Hey (1876–1914; Hai Maling 海馬良, stationed in Tianjin in 1901), Fritz Materna (Ma Dena 馬德那, stationed in Beihai 北海/Pakhoi in 1901), and K. J. Andès (An Deshi 安得士, stationed in Wuzhou 梧州 in 1901).⁸⁵

2.3. Wine and weapons: Austrian experts and 'merchants' in China

Grapes are only used as fruit and for more than ten years an Austrian has been the first and only person trying to produce grape wine — without having achieved noteworthy success so far, as he told me.⁸⁶

The Austrian expert mentioned in this remark by Fritz Materna was Maximilian Freiherr von Babo (1862–1933), son of August Wilhelm von Babo (1827–1894), founder of the viticultural college in Klosterneuburg near Vienna.⁸⁷ Max von Babo (as he mostly is called in the sources) took up his post in Yantai 烟臺/Zhifu 芝罘 on the northern shore of the Shandong Peninsula in the summer of 1896.⁸⁸ In the summer of 1900, Babo “in every respect [...] rendered the most grateful services” to the Austro-Hungarian navy.⁸⁹

For more than two decades (until China declared war on Austria-Hungary in 1917), Babo worked for Zhang Yu niangjiu gongsi 張裕釀酒公司 — also known as Chang Yü & Co. or Pioneer Wine Company. This company had been founded some years earlier by the overseas Chinese businessman Zhang Zhenxun 張振勳 (c.1840–1916; also known as Zhang Bishi 張弼士 or Cheong Fatt Tze).⁹⁰ Shortly after Babo had been hired by the firm, Austrian newspapers wrote of an emerging East Asian competition for European wines;⁹¹ about a decade later, a short note in *Scientific American* gave a summary of the whole enterprise:

⁸¹ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General: Service List, 2nd ed., 1876; 3rd ed., 1877; 6th ed. 1880; 9th ed. 1883; 10th ed., 1884; 13th ed., 1887; 14th ed., 1888; 15th ed., 1889; 16th ed., 1890; 19th ed., 1893.

⁸² OMO 1899, 138: “Gegenwärtig sind in der Verwaltung der kaiserlich chinesischen Seezölle (Conceptsbranche) fünf Nationale vertreten, und zwar ein Commissioner, ein Ungar, und vier Assistenten, Oesterreicher.”

⁸³ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General, Service List, 27th ed., 1901, 2.

⁸⁴ See Karl Ritter von Scherzer's remarks in: Neue Freie Presse, 19 July 1900, 14. Apart from Zach, Scherzer mentions the Fries brothers and Arthur von Rosthorn. On Zach's sinological work, see Führer 2001, 157–187, on his later years in China (1901–08), see Lehner 2002b.

⁸⁵ Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General, Service List, 27th ed., 1901, 16.

⁸⁶ Materna 1908, 105.

⁸⁷ Christies (London Kensington), Live auction 5074. The Art of Food And Drink (16 January 2014) Lot 52: “Wine in China” (https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-wine-in-china-changyu-pioneer-wine-5762524/?lid=1&sc_lang=en, accessed 17 Feb 2021).

⁸⁸ See Godley 1986.

⁸⁹ Winterhalder 1902, 90.

⁹⁰ Christies (London Kensington), Live auction 5074 (see footnote 87).

⁹¹ “Wein aus China”, in: Reichspost, 11 September 1896, 11.

[...] The hill-land near Chefoo was bought by a rich Chinaman and grapes from the principal wine-producing countries of Europe were planted under the supervision of a European expert, who still has charge of the vineyards and winery [...] It is reported that some of the wines have been attacked by phylloxera, but most of them seem immune to the pest. The winery is in the environs of Chefoo and the wine is stored in large casks, made in sections in Austria and put together in Chefoo [...].⁹²

About two decades earlier than Babo, the Vienna-born Hermann Mandl had embarked on a career in China. Under the title “A Viennese in Shanghai”, the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* presented some information on Mandl’s career. Mandl’s father was known as ‘Berliner Mandl’, a “well-known personality in the circles of Viennese society.” Having received a business education and training in foreign languages, Mandl had left Vienna after the death of his father and went to Shanghai, where he worked for various companies.⁹³ One of these companies sent him on an inland journey to the headquarters of the famous general, later governor-general, of the provinces of Shaanxi and Gansu, Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812–1885) in Lanzhou. Mandl had to accompany a consignment of European machines reserved for the newly established cloth factory [*Lanzhou zhiniju* 蘭州織呢局] in that city. Mandl attracted Zuo’s attention and was hired by him as an English interpreter. The ‘job interview’ took place at Zuo’s temporary headquarters in Hami 哈密 in August 1880.⁹⁴ Afterwards, Mandl became Krupp’s general agent in China, rose “to honour and fortune” [*zu Ehren und Vermögen*], and was elevated to the rank of Mandarin by the Emperor of China. In 1890, Emperor Francis Joseph awarded Mandl the Order of the Iron Crown.⁹⁵ Mandl donated various objects to Austrian museums. To the

Museum of Trade [*k.k. Österreichisches Handelsmuseum*, in existence until 1925], he donated a “collection of embroidered Chinese state gowns.”⁹⁶ Some years before, Mandl had been awarded the Order of the Double Dragon [*shuanglong baoxing* 雙龍寶星], 5th class.⁹⁷ The Austro-Hungarian consul in Shanghai, Joseph Haas, wrote in a report of 10 February 1891: Hermann Mandl is “a warm-hearted patriot who at any time supports Austro-Hungarian interests in a most honest and most energetic way.”⁹⁸

In March 1892, however, the *Grazer Tagblatt* published a rather biased and antisemitic article on Mandl’s career in China labelling him “an international *parvenu*” and “a strange international personality playing a certain role in European circles within China [*eine internationale Persönlichkeit sonderbarster Art, welche in den europäischen Kreisen Chinas eine gewisse Rolle spielt*].”⁹⁹ The article claimed that after being forced to leave Austria-Hungary “owing to questionable financial dealings”, Mandl went to Shanghai. At first, he had some difficulties to establish himself (amongst other things, he was said to have sold bibles), but later became well-informed about the smuggling of opium and other goods and managed to gain employment with a foreign wholesaler.¹⁰⁰ Thanks to his successful journey to the headquarters of Zuo Zongtang, Mandl had attracted the attention of the leading, largest foreign business firm in Shanghai. As the *Grazer Tagblatt* put it in 1892, “the former Israelite bible vendor now became head of the bribery department of Jardine Matheson & Co. with a monthly salary of 5000 mark.”¹⁰¹ The journal also published a reply by Mandl, who was in Graz at that time. Mandl stated that he was not a Jew, did not have to flee from Austria, and had never defrauded the Chinese Government through ammunitions deals.¹⁰²

⁹² “Wine Making in the Province of Shantung, China”, in: *Scientific American*, 17 April 1909, 294.

⁹³ “Ein Wiener in Shanghai”, in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 14 November 1890, 3 sq. Obituaries of Leopold Joseph Mandl in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 16 May 1877, 2; *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 May 1877 (M), 1 sq. An obituary of Hermann Mandl in: *Neue Freie Presse*, 8 March 1922 (M), 5.

⁹⁴ *Kreitner* 1882, 416. For a map of Mandl’s route, see *ibid.* 417.

⁹⁵ “Ein Wiener in Shanghai”, in: *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 14 November 1890, 4.

⁹⁶ *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 November 1887, 4.

⁹⁷ *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 December 1885, 19. On the Order of the Double Dragon, see *Gritzner* 1893, 60–69 (with illustrations) and *Brunnert & Hagelstrom* 1912, 499 f. (No. 953).

⁹⁸ Quoted in *Lehner* 1995, 263, n. 952.

⁹⁹ “Ein internationaler Emporkömmling”, in: *Grazer Tagblatt*, 16 March 1892, 7. The article reflects discussions in Germany concerning Mandl’s corrupt business practices and obviously refers to some paragraphs in the antisemitic pamphlet of Paasch 1891: part I, 75 sq.

¹⁰⁰ “Ein internationaler Emporkömmling”, in: *Grazer Tagblatt*, 16 March 1892, 7.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Grazer Tagblatt*, 19 March 1892, 2.

According to the *Chronicle and Directory for China* (1894 edition), Mandl also served as a Dutch consul in Tianjin, and the Shanghai branch of the firm H. Mandl & Co. [Xinyi 信義 or Xinyi yanghang 信義洋行] served as an agent for the Donau Insurance Society of Vienna.¹⁰³ When Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, one of the most important statesmen of nineteenth-century China, travelled to Europe and America in 1896, Mandl was part of his entourage:

During the Viceroy's stay in Holland and Belgium, Mr Mandl will take over the position that Mr Detring is now occupying, but at the express request of the Viceroy, to whom he [i.e. Mr Mandl] is able to provide information in Chinese at any time, he has already joined the entourage.¹⁰⁴

In the late 1890s Mandl left China for Paris,¹⁰⁵ and in June 1900 rumour had it that he would settle in Austria.¹⁰⁶ Another Austrian merchant active in China, Gustav Kremsir, also had contacts with Mandl. Kremsir, owner of the firm Gustav Kremsir & Co. [Ka-ming-si; i. e. Kangmingrui 康銘瑞; Shanghai]¹⁰⁷ died in Shanghai in April 1899.¹⁰⁸

2.4. Roman Catholic missionaries

The work and impact of missionaries from the Habsburg monarchy who worked in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have so far remained largely unexplored — with the exception of P. Josef Freinademetz (1852–1908) and P. Georg Froewis (1865–1934), who both worked for the *Societas Verbi Divini* in the Shandong province. Freinademetz went to China in 1879 and started working in Shandong in 1881. After Germany took over the protection of the missions in Shandong (1890) he wrote: “The German imperial eagle has spread his

wings over Jen-I-Zhao-Zi [Yan-Yi-Cao-Ji 兗沂曹濟;¹⁰⁹ i.e. the Catholic mission in Southern Shandong] [...] he took it upon himself to protect the work of the German Catholic missionaries against the outbursts of Chinese fanaticism and pagan frenzy.”¹¹⁰ After Germany had occupied Qingdao 青島 and Jiaozhou 膠州 Bay, Freinademetz undertook a first visit of these places in February 1898. In the summer of 1900, he stayed at his mission station in Poli 坡里 in the interior of the Shandong province.¹¹¹ As for Froewis, he travelled to China in 1894; during the summer of 1900, he went to Qingdao and in the aftermath of the events caused by the ‘Boxers’, he served as an interpreter to the German troops in Shandong for a certain time.¹¹²

In the mid-1880s at least four Franciscan missionaries from Tyrol worked in China: P. Caspar Fuchs (in China from 1876), P. Ansgar Braun (in China until 1895), P. Zeno Möltner (1852–1904), and P. Lorenz Fuchs (1856–1899).¹¹³ Möltner had trained as a printer in Bolzano/Bozen. Emperor Francis Joseph had provided him with a printing press for his missionary work in Jinan and Möltner “[...] printed books and pamphlets in the Chinese language, after the invention of bishop P. Cosi [...] who used to print Chinese texts in Latin script, after having introduced characters for those sounds not existing in our language.”¹¹⁴

Lazarist (Vincentian) missionaries from the Habsburg monarchy had worked in China even earlier, from the early 1860s onwards. The first of these missionaries, Ignaz Erdélyi (1828–1885; Chinese name Ai Shusheng 艾樹聲), arrived in Shanghai in April 1861 and later worked in the Zhili province.¹¹⁵ Ignaz Üрге (1840–1898; Chinese name Wu Najue 吳納爵) went to China in 1880 and worked in the Zhe-

¹⁰³ *Chronicle and Directory for China* 1894, 89 (Dutch consul), 145 (“Donau” insurance society).

¹⁰⁴ *Wiener Zeitung*, 27 June 1896, 5. On his European tour, Li Hongzhang did not visit Austria-Hungary, cf. *Neue Freie Presse*, 22 July 1896, 4: “[...] that the Viceroy [i.e. Li] is not coming to Vienna.”

¹⁰⁵ *Neue Freie Presse*, 27 May 1898 (M), 8: “[...] der aus China nach Paris übersiedelte Oesterreicher Hermann Mandl [...]”

¹⁰⁶ *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 14 June 1900, 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Chronicle and Directory for China* 1894, 128.

¹⁰⁸ *Neue Freie Presse*, 12 April 1899, 5.

¹⁰⁹ The four characters refer to the circuits of Yanzhou 兗州, Yizhou 沂州, Caozhou 曹州 and Jining 濟寧.

¹¹⁰ Freinademetz, n.d., 103.

¹¹¹ On the visit by Freinademetz to Jiaozhou and Qingdao in February 1898, see the letter in *ibid.* 136–142; on his experiences during the summer of 1900, see the letter (dated 20 March 1901) in *ibid.* 125–128.

¹¹² See Lehner & Lehner 2002, 130.

¹¹³ *Das Vaterland*, 4 January 1886, 2. On Braun, see: *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 6 August 1895, 3. Obituary of Lorenz Fuchs in: *Salzburger Chronik für Stadt und Land*, 31 January 1900, 3. On Kaspar Fuchs, in: *Brixener Kirchenblatt*, 6 September 1876, 24.

¹¹⁴ *Reichspost*, 3 May 1904, 3 sq. For the context, see Lehner 2004, 176 f.

¹¹⁵ Van den Brandt 1936, No. 178.

jiang province.¹¹⁶ On a visit to the Habsburg monarchy in 1889–90, Üрге was accompanied by a fifteen-year-old Chinese boy, and both were dressed in Chinese clothes.¹¹⁷ Üрге and his young companion were received in audience by Archduke Karl Ludwig (1833–1895), the younger brother of Emperor Francis Joseph and, at that time, the heir to the throne.¹¹⁸

After the death of Üрге in 1898, another Hungarian-born Lazarist, Josef Wilfinger (1874–1906; Chinese name Lang Kezhi 郎克志), arrived in the Zhejiang province. In April 1900, Wilfinger was wounded in an attack. An investigation into the incident was started but, soon, was overtaken by the events of the summer of 1900 in northern China.¹¹⁹ In that summer, another Lazarist from Austria, Friedrich Sageder (Chinese name Sha Kaitai 沙開泰¹²⁰), working in the Jiangxi province, had to flee an angry crowd on a war junk: “I was hardly in the junk when a hail of stones hit it. [...] From the junk I could see the immense fire of our mission through a small opening.”¹²¹

3. Imperialist opportunities: the ‘scramble for China’ and the Boxer War

3.1. Austria-Hungary and the scramble for China

A few weeks after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, the *Neue Freie Presse* published the summary of a letter in which the unnamed author pointed out the dangers faced by all foreigners in China and mentioned news of anti-foreign assaults

in Beijing. At that time, Austria-Hungary still only had one diplomatic representative for both China and Japan, who resided in Tokyo. While the position of foreigners in Japan did not seem to be in any danger at that time, it would be useful “if the Austro-Hungarian minister were to take up his post in Shanghai or Peking.” Moreover, Austria-Hungary should dispatch “some warships and gunboats to Shanghai and Tientsin [Tianjin] to protect her citizens living in China.”¹²² Although this advice was not heeded, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 was followed with interest in Austro-Hungarian military circles. This is attested by publications on both land and sea war.¹²³

Only after the end of the Sino-Japanese War did Austria-Hungary start to reorganise her diplomatic representation in East Asia. In 1896 it was decided to split the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic representation for China and Japan and establish an Austro-Hungarian legation in Beijing (**Fig. 9**). Mori[t]z Freiherr Czikkann von Wahlborn (1847–1909, see Fig. 3b in the main chapter of this book) was appointed an envoy to China, which he reached in April 1897 travelling aboard H.M.S. *Kaiser Franz Joseph I*. Until the construction of the Austro-Hungarian legation was completed,¹²⁴ Czikkann resided on the premises of the Spanish legation. Moreover, the Austro-Hungarian consular representation in Hong Kong was reorganised. In 1897, the honorary merchant-consuls were replaced by career consuls dispatched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹²⁵

The presence of Austro-Hungarian warships in Chinese waters had developed slowly and hesitantly. Apart from the above-mentioned voyages of the *Carolina* (1820–1822) and *Novara* (1857–1859), the Austro-Hungarian expedition that was organised to

¹¹⁶ Van den Brandt 1936, No. 264.

¹¹⁷ Mährisches Tagblatt, 22 March 1890 (supplement).

¹¹⁸ Znaimer Wochenblatt, 15 February 1890, 10. Apart from diplomatic representatives of China who did not reside in Austria-Hungary and who presented their credentials in Vienna, the imperial family had already received Chinese visitors in the Hofburg once before. See: Die Presse, 14 April 1853, 3: “The day before yesterday the Chinese family of Mr Chung-Atai present here was ordered to the Imperial and Royal Castle [*k.k. Burg*] and had the honour of appearing in the apartments of Her Imperial and Royal Highness Archduchess Sophie before His Majesty the Emperor and the Supreme Court [*vor Sr. Majestät dem Kaiser und dem Allerhöchsten Hofe*].” On the European tour (including visits to London, Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna, Prague and Trieste) of this “Chinese family” see Löwendahl 2008, vol. II, 200 f. (No. 1133).

¹¹⁹ Lehner & Lehner 2002, 57–60. For Wilfinger’s Chinese name, see van den Brandt 1936, No. 394.

¹²⁰ Van den Brandt 1936, No. 392.

¹²¹ Das Vaterland, 28 October 1900, 10. On the fate of missionaries from Austria-Hungary in China in 1900, see Lehner & Lehner 2002, 126–131.

¹²² Neue Freie Presse, 29 September 1894, 4.

¹²³ Lipošćak 1895 and “P.” 1895.

¹²⁴ Lehner 1998c.

¹²⁵ On the reorganisation of the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Hong Kong, see Lehner 1995, 301–304.

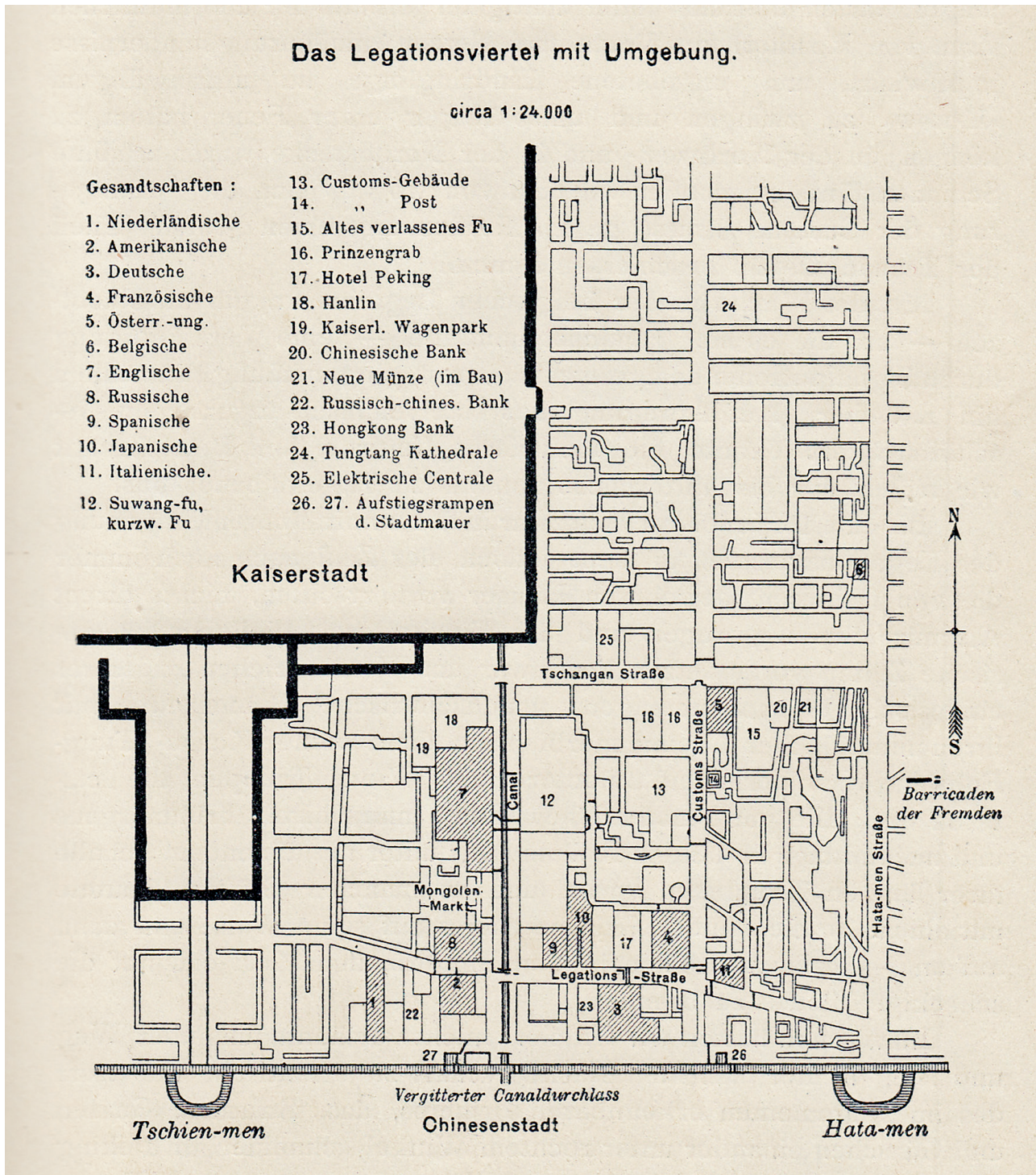


Fig. 9 Map of the legation quarter in Beijing. The Austro-Hungarian legation (No. 5 on the legend) was situated in the north-eastern corner of the legation quarter [Winterhalder 1902, 195]. For the legation building see Figs. 22a,b in the main chapter of this book.

conclude treaties with Siam, China, and Japan (1868–1870) involved two ships. Leaving out the voyages of H.M.S. *Fasana* and H.M.S. *Erzherzog Friedrich* — the latter being a circumnavigation — in the early 1870s, a regular presence of the Aus-

tro-Hungarian navy in East Asian seas only started in the mid-1880s. In the period from 1884–85 to 1893–94, at least eleven ships of the Austro-Hungarian navy visited East Asia — one of them carried Archduke Franz Ferdinand on his above-mentioned

Fig. 10 Map of Zhejiang ('Tscheikiang') and Fujian ('Fo-kien') provinces. Detail from "Ost-China, Korea und Japan", Map No. 66 in Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*, 8th ed. (1891). The six bays mentioned in the text are rendered on the map as follows: "San mun B." = Sanmen, "Lo tsing" = Leqing, "Nam kuan" = Nan-guan, "Sam sah Bai" = San-sha, "Hing Hua Sund" = Xing-hua, "Tsiuan tshou" = Quanzhou. [Stieler 1891, detail of map 62]



journey around the world (1892–93).¹²⁶ These missions also had to report on economic perspectives and on the development of the East Asian line of the Austrian Lloyd (the latter had reached Hong Kong in 1880 and was extended to Shanghai in 1892).¹²⁷ The second half of the 1890s saw a significant increase in

the Austro-Hungarian naval presence in China (Fig. 10). In the years 1896 to 1899 at least five Austro-Hungarian warships visited Chinese harbours.¹²⁸

This increase in numbers corresponded with increased interest in the international politics of East Asia. Owing to a lack of economic prerequisites,

¹²⁶ See the list in Mayer & Winkler 1991, 204, 206.

¹²⁷ See Lee 2007. For the extension to Shanghai, see also Lehner 1995, 258.

¹²⁸ See the list in Mayer & Winkler 1991, 208.

Austria-Hungary did not actively participate in the 'scramble for China', and corresponding plans were never realised. Yet in 1899, the Austro-Hungarian navy explored six bays along the Chinese coast for several weeks. The original intention being to occupy one of them, the Austrians explored and mapped two bays in the Zhejiang province (Sanmen 三門, and Leqing 樂清) and four bays in the Fujian province (Nanguan 南關 close to the border to the Zhejiang province, Sansha 三沙, Xinghua 興化, and Quanzhou 泉州).¹²⁹

Rumours about this secret mission spread across the Austrian press from March 1899, but the plans were abandoned owing to new developments in the international relations of the Chinese Empire. Not only had the Chinese government been forced by Japan to declare that it would not alienate any part of the Fujian province to a third power, but Japan also firmly opposed similar Italian claims to the above-mentioned Sanmen Bay (March 1899).¹³⁰

3.2. China 1900: Austria-Hungary and the Boxer War

In early 1900, Western observers in China repeatedly reported on the activities of the 'Boxers'. These Boxers, originally members of a secret society named *Yihe quan* 義和拳 [lit., Fists of Righteous Harmony], quickly spread across the Shandong province. After being suppressed by the provincial authorities, the supporters of the *Yihe quan* moved to the Zhili province and, thus, to the vicinity of Beijing. After they were legalised by the Qing court, they were renamed *Yihe tuan* 義和團 [Militia of Righteous Harmony]. It was only towards the end of May 1900 that diplomatic representatives in Beijing requested troops from foreign warships lying off the coast in the Gulf of Bohai 渤海 to protect the legations.

Following other nations, German and Austrian troop contingents reached the Beijing legations on 3 June 1900. Shortly thereafter, railway services and the telegraph connection from Beijing to Tianjin were interrupted. Thus, a first attempt to relieve the Beijing legations failed and the relief force of 2000 men (among them 25 Austrians and Hungarians) had

to retreat to Tianjin. Following the foreign capture of the Dagou forts (17 June 1900) and the assassination of the German envoy, von Ketteler (20 June 1900), the siege of the Beijing legations by Boxers began. In the first hours of this siege, the Austro-Hungarian legation was abandoned by its defenders because of its exposed location and the Austrians retreated to the French legation.

The escalation of the situation in Beijing was followed closely by political and military circles as well as newspapers in all European countries. In Austria-Hungary, too, preparations began to reinforce troops in East Asia. In contrast to all other powers, it was decided in Vienna not to send any land troops to China. The Austro-Hungarian navy had to equip three more ships (H.M.S. *Kaiserin und Königin Maria Theresia*, H.M.S. *Kaiserin Elisabeth*, and H.M.S. *Aspern*) which, together with H.M.S. *Zenta*, formed the Imperial and Royal Squadron in East Asia [*k.u.k. Eskader für Ostasien*].¹³¹

Following the foreign occupation of Tianjin on 14 July 1900, the foreign powers decided to establish the Tianjin Provisional Government [*Tianjin dutong yamen* 天津都統衙門: short for *Zhanxing guanli jin jun chengxiang neiwai difang shiwu dutong yamen* 暫行管理津郡城廂內外地方事物都統衙門], which was led by three officers and included representatives of all the powers involved. During the entire existence of this authority, Paul Bauer, a merchant in Tianjin and Imperial and Royal Artillery Lieutenant of the Reserve, acted as the representative of Austria-Hungary.¹³² The establishment of the Tianjin Provisional Government did not prevent foreign atrocities in the city: "[...] foreign soldiers constantly humiliated and harassed the local population, frequently raping the women, especially in the Hedong section (east of the river), which was occupied by Russian and German troops."¹³³

Both before and after Tianjin had been taken by foreign troops in mid-July 1900 (Figs. 11a,b), further foreign reinforcements arrived in northern China. The relief operation to lift the siege of the Beijing legations began on 4 August 1900.

A few days later, the *Neue Freie Presse* published a map showing the Tianjin region (Fig. 12). The map

¹²⁹ Lehner 1992, 48–66.

¹³⁰ Lehner 2002a.

¹³¹ On the Imperial and Royal Squadron in East Asia, see Winterhalder 1902, 459–461; Lehner & Lehner 2002, 133–152.

¹³² Winterhalder 1902, 175 sq.; Lehner & Lehner 2002, 344 sq. For biographical information on Bauer, see Agstner 2006, 37. About Paul Bauer's role to sell the Austro-Hungarian consulate in the former concession of Tientsin, including his signature on the contract of 1923, see the main chapter of this book (cf. Falser, Fig. 71).

¹³³ Cohen 1997, 182.

No. 23 Pilsen, den 9. Juni 1900. Jahrgang II.

Abonnement:
 In Pilsen: ganzjährig 3 fl. 50 kr., halbjährig fl. 1.75
 vierteljährig fl. — 88. Mit
 Postverendung: ganzjährig
 fl. 4.—, halbjährig fl. 2.—
 vierteljährig 1 fl.
 Erscheint jeden Samstag
 Abends.
 Redaction und Admini-
 stration in der Buchdru-
 ckeri von Ignaz Schiebl
 Kopeck-Premenade.

ECHO

aus Pilsen und Westböhmen.

Annoncen-Bureau:
 Prag: Allgemeines Inse-
 raten-Bureau
 Zeitungs-Verkehrs-
 Wien: Sautenlein & Bogler,
 Rudolf Mosse, A. Oppelt, J.
 Danneberg, Heinz Schafel,
 H. Fell.
 Unversiegelte Zeitungs-
 Reklamationen sind
 portofrei.

Die Unruhen in Nordchina.

Zu höchst bedrohlicher Weise hat sich die christen- bzw. fremdenfeindliche Bewegung der Boxer in China zu einem Aufstande entwickelt, der bereits die Hauptstadt des Dimmlischen Reiches bedroht. In der Provinz Jehan sind die Unruhen bereits in die Provinz Santschuan übergegangen. In der Provinz Santschuan sind die Unruhen bereits in die Provinz Santschuan übergegangen. In der Provinz Santschuan sind die Unruhen bereits in die Provinz Santschuan übergegangen.

deutscherseits begonnenen Bahn von Tientsin über Kaifschau und Weifschien nach den Kohlengebieten Schantung's beschäftigten Arbeiter. (Ausschnitt aus dem Atlas von China von Freytag & Berndt.)

Orthe-Verlag, Charlottenburg.

Fig. 11a “Die Unruhen in Nordchina [The riots in northern China]”, in: *Echo aus Pilsen und Westböhmen*, 9 June 1900, 1 [Austrian National Library]

had been provided by the cartographers of Freytag & Berndt and was based on a map produced about two decades earlier by the German Otto Franz von Möllendorff (1848–1903) after extensive travels across northern China (Möllendorff 1881). The new map showed the various ‘parts’ of the city of Tianjin, therefore updating the information displayed on the original Möllendorff map. While Möllendorff only referred to foreign concessions in general [Fremde

Niederlassg.], i.e. foreign concession(s)]¹³⁴, the map published in the *Neue Freie Presse* in August 1900 (Fig. 12) indicated the various parts of the city: apart from the city of “Tientsin” [“Chinesisch”, i.e. Chinese], the Japanese, French, English, and German concessions on the western bank of the Baihe are shown. But, whereas on Möllendorff’s map the Chinese city extends well beyond the eastern bank of the Baihe, the map produced by Freytag & Berndt

¹³⁴ *Neue Freie Presse*, 9 August 1900, 2; Möllendorff 1881, plate VIII (environs of Tianjin [Umgebung von Tientsin] on an inserted map).

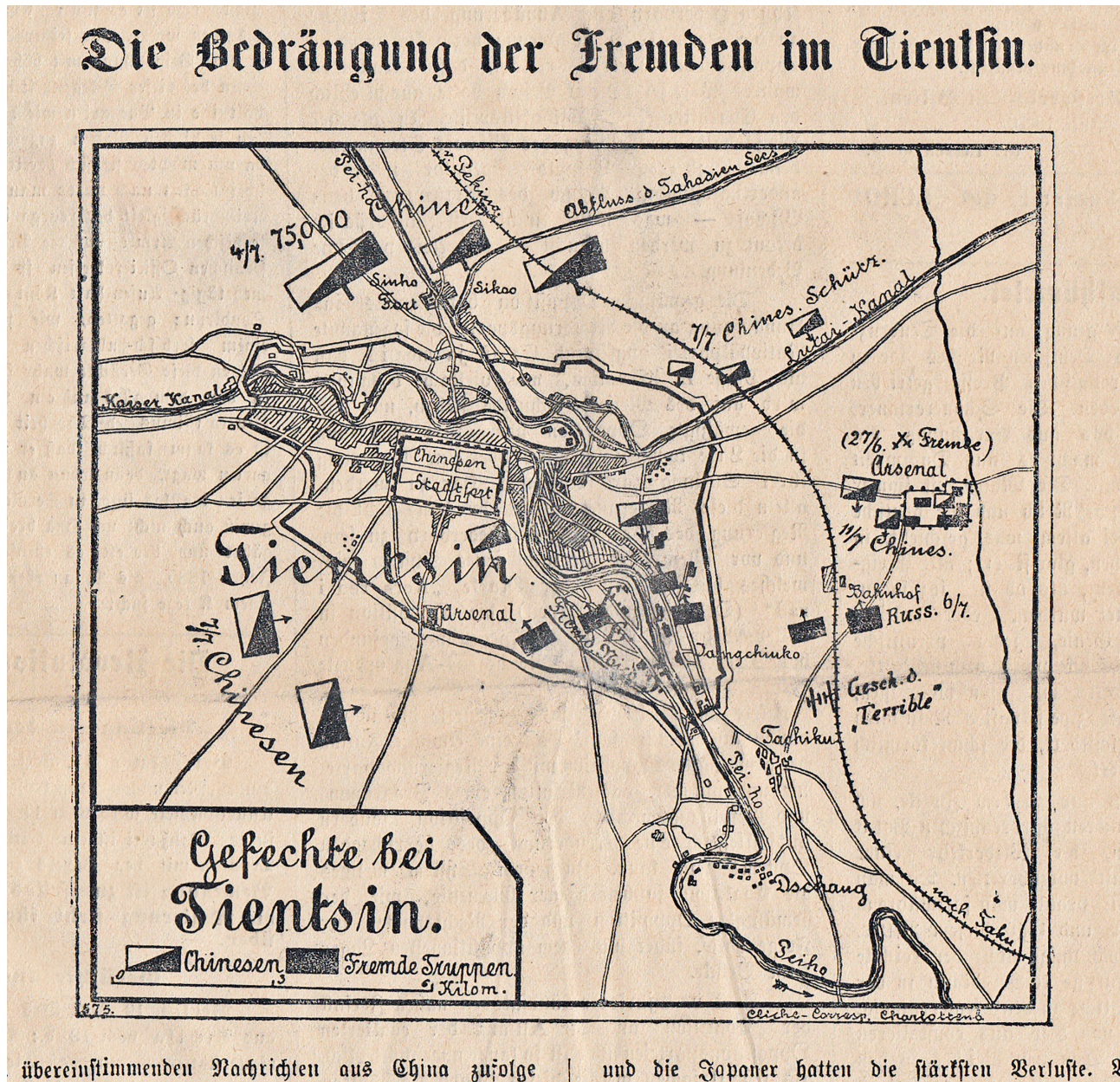


Fig. 11b “Die Bedrängung der Fremden in Tientsin [The harassment of foreigners in Tientsin]”, in: Echo aus Pilsen und Westböhmen, 21 July 1900, 1 [Austrian National Library]

depicts this urban area as undeveloped (compare with a French aerial view on Fig. 13).

Owing to unfamiliar conditions on the theatre of war, the troops of the Eight Power Alliance (so named although no formal agreement had been made) advanced at different speeds. German, Italian, and Austro-Hungarian forces did not reach Beijing until 18 August — four days after British, American, Japanese, and Russian troops had entered the city.¹³⁵

On 28 August, troops of all eight powers (including sixty Austrians and Hungarians) marched through Beijing’s ‘Forbidden City’ (i.e. the semi-urban ensemble of the Imperial Palace).¹³⁶

From September 1900, Austro-Hungarian troops took part in various operations in the Beijing area. These included an expedition to Zhangjiakou (Kalgan) in November, as well as minor operations in the vicinity of Beijing in December 1900 and January

¹³⁵ See the famous book *Kämpfe in China* [Battles in China] by Theodor von Winterhalder of 1902, 416 f.; Lehner & Lehner 2002, 319.

¹³⁶ Winterhalder 1902, 433–436; Lehner & Lehner 2002, 362.

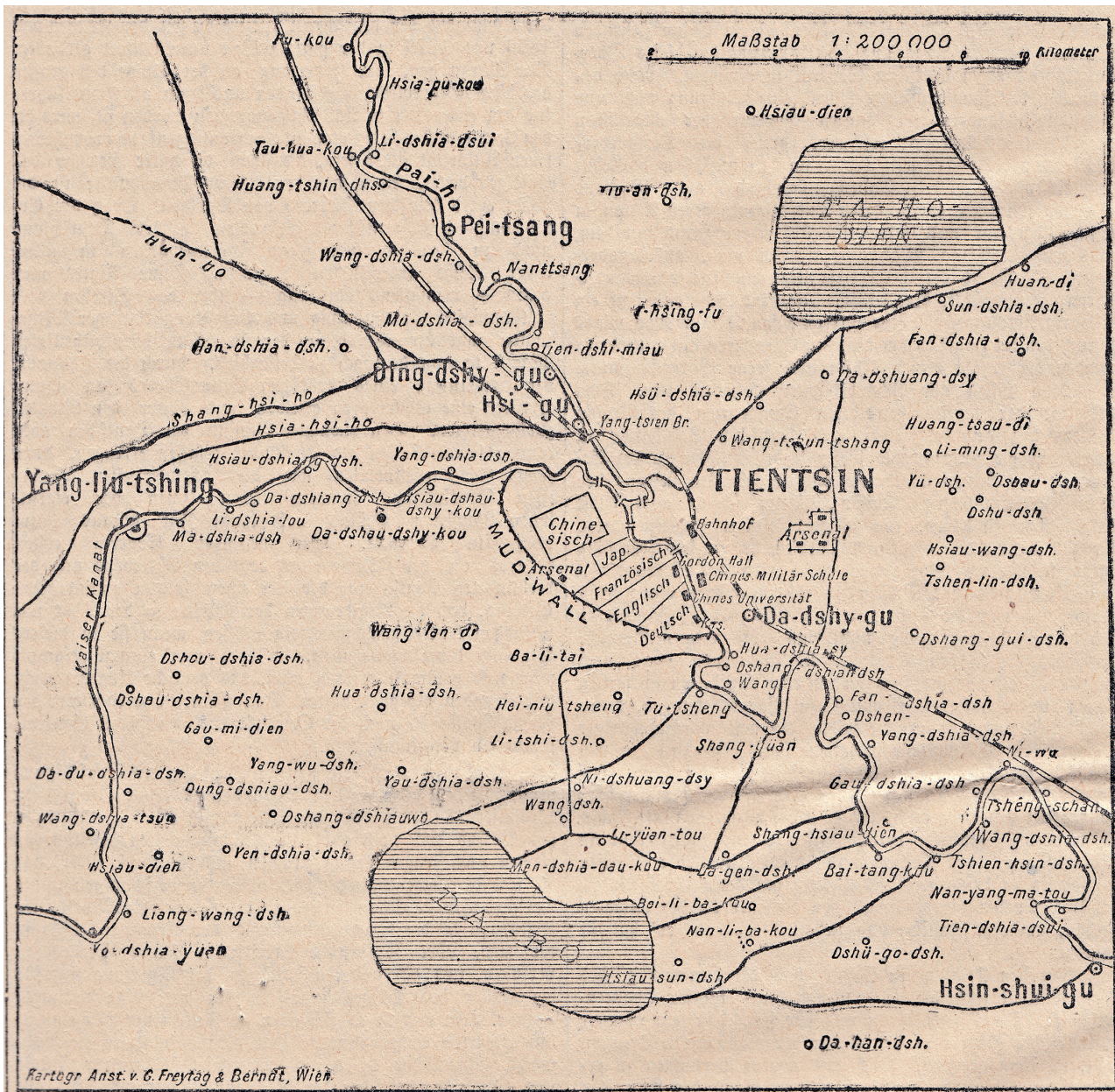


Fig. 12 Untitled map of the region around “Tientsin”, produced by *Kartographische Anstalt v. G. Freytag & Berndt*, Vienna, published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, 9 August 1900, 2. [Austrian National Library]

1901. Like other troop contingents, the Austro-Hungarians were looking for supposed Boxers. Evidence of the guilt of those who were captured and executed during these ‘punitive expeditions’ [*Strafexpeditionen*] has not always been uncovered.¹³⁷

After Belgium and Russia had seized some areas to establish concessions in Tianjin, on 7 February 1901 the Austro-Hungarian minister to Beijing

(Czikann) asked the I. & R. Ministry for Foreign Affairs by telegraph for permission to occupy “a piece of land now that is quite suitable for this on the left bank of the Peiho [Baihe] [...], adjacent to Italian occupied land, fairly close to the station, opposite the Chinese city [...] for Austria-Hungary.”¹³⁸

On 16 February 1901, a few days after the Austro-Hungarian occupation started, the Socialist

¹³⁷ Lehner & Lehner 2002, 406–437. The role of Austria-Hungary in this regard was also documented in text and images by the Czech traveller Enrique Stanko Vráz (1860–1932), see Nakladálová 2021, 15 (images) and 19 (text).

¹³⁸ Lehner & Lehner 2002, 609–613; for this quote, see 609. On foreign concessions in Tianjin, see Liu 1996 as well as the results of the “Tianjin under Nine Flags” project at the University of Bristol, and the maps and bibliography of the main part of this book.

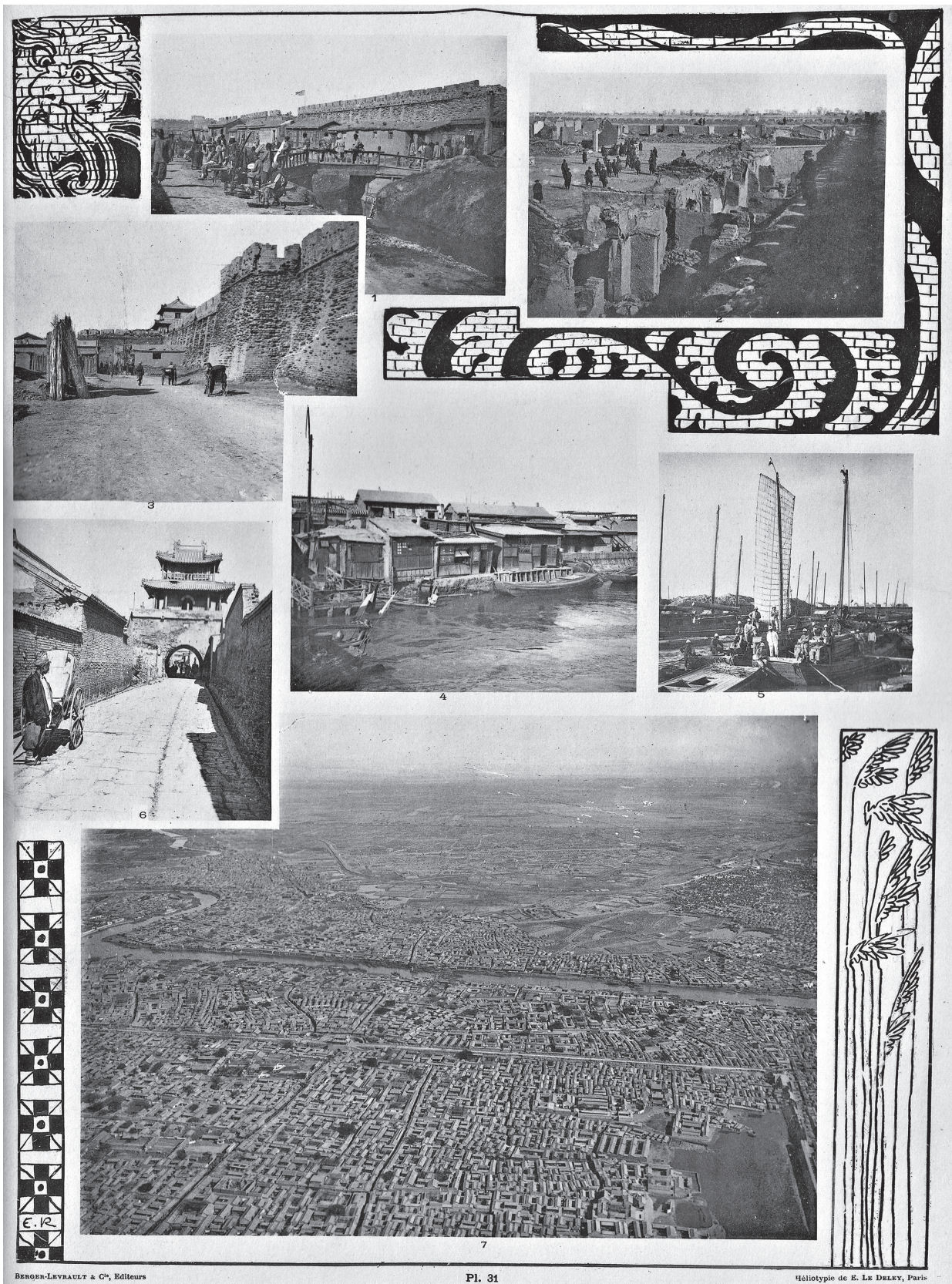


Fig. 13 Illustration No. 7: Aerial view of Tianjin from west to east (1900/01). The Chinese city can be seen in the foreground (the straight line to the left and right of the city gate is the eastern city wall); in the background flows the Haihe (mostly called 'Baihe' by Europeans) and the already densely built-up area of the (future) Austro-Hungarian concession is visible. Published in: *La Chine à terre et en ballon* (c.1901), planche 31.

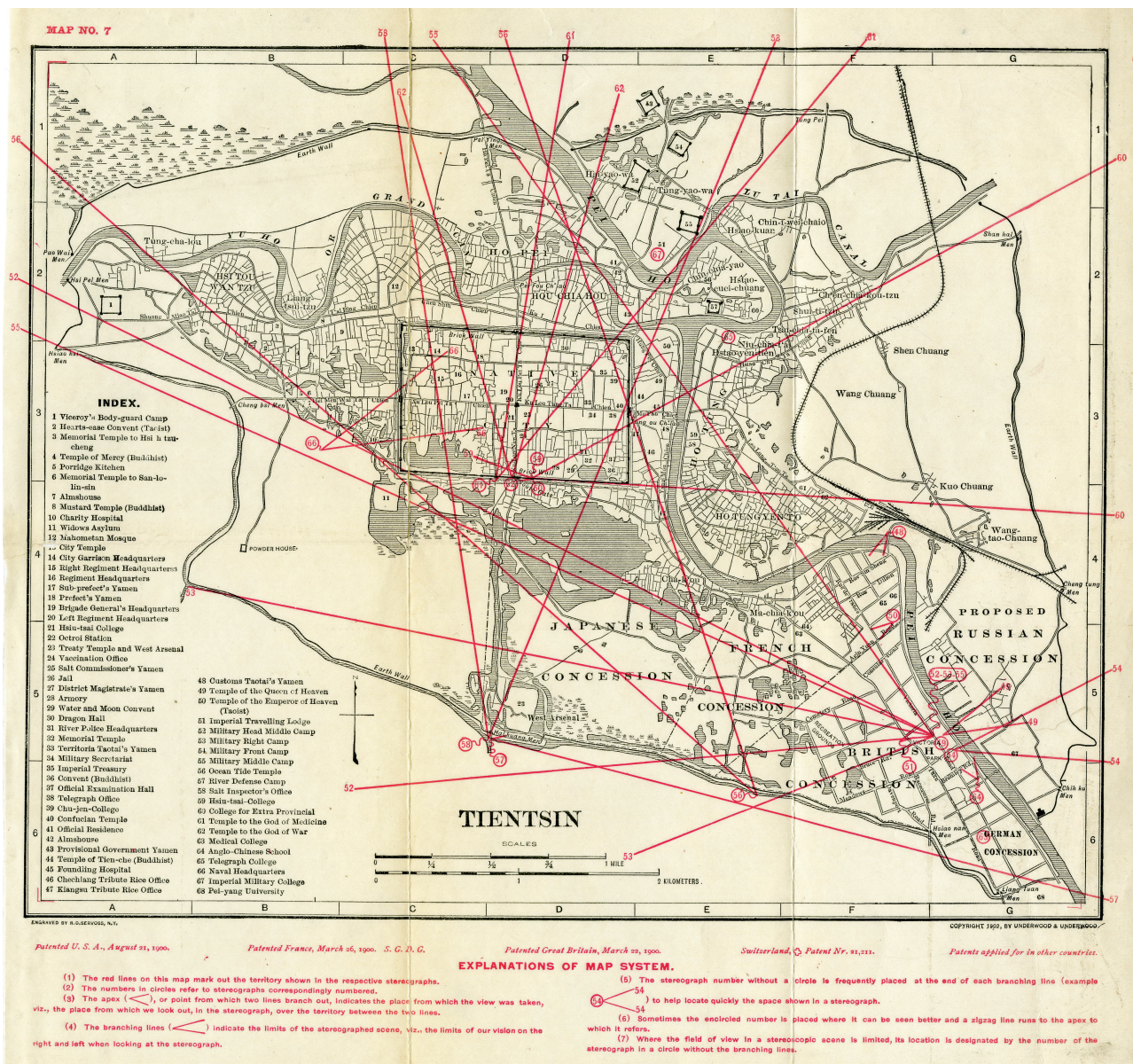


Fig. 14a Map of “Tientsin”, with numbered locations and visual axes of the photographs taken by James Ricalton (detail with “Hohung” [hedong 河東, i.e. east of the river], the site of the later Austro-Hungarian concession) [Ricalton 1900, map 7]

Arbeiter-Zeitung published a critical comment on the topic of Austria in China:

So, Austria now also has a Chinese colony. It is so large that it can be easily circled on foot in twenty minutes, and the government is naturally ashamed to call it a colony. The English term “settlement” is therefore officially used for this area, because the German word *Siedelung* does not sound too elegant. The Austrian colony [...] represents a small area of 0.6 square kilometres, which is foreign to China and whose inmates [*Insassen*] live according to Austrian and Hungarian laws. The consulate

building and a mission house with church and cemetery, are pretty much everything that can be accommodated in this space in terms of buildings.¹³⁹

At the end of the siege of Tianjin in mid-July 1900, the American photographer James Ricalton (1844–1929) took, based on a map (Fig. 14a), several pictures of the city. These photographs clearly show the extent of destruction caused by the fighting.

One of these pictures (Fig. 14b) was taken in the northern part of the future Austro-Hungarian concession and bears the following caption: “Family of the

¹³⁹ Arbeiter-Zeitung, 16 February 1901, 4.



Fig. 14b “Family of the Lower Class ‘Chowing’ in their Home, partially destroyed during the Siege, Tientsin, China”, 1900, China, by James Ricalton, Underwood & Underwood [Ricalton 1901, No. 65]

Lower Class ‘Chowing’ in Their Home, Partially Destroyed during the Siege, Tientsin [Tianjin]”. In his book, *China Through a Stereoscope*, Ricalton provided detailed descriptions for all his photographs. In the introduction to the description of No. 65, he mentioned the consequences of the fighting over several weeks in Tientsin/Tianjin and the new situation experienced by its inhabitants following the foreign occupation of the city and its suburbs:

Here as usual, we find the house partially destroyed; but as the buildings are chiefly of clay and unburned brick, many of them furnished little fuel for the flames and so escaped destruction. The inhabitants are now returning to reoccupy their old haunts when found habitable, and we find this family of the lower class ‘chowing’ after their wonted fashion. Whether afraid of the camera or not, they are now under the Allies and necessity has no choice; they meekly do our bidding.¹⁴⁰

The photographs taken by French balloonists and Ricalton clearly show that the area occupied by Austria-Hungary in February 1901 was not vacant. This is also evident in the “orientation map [*Übersichtsplan*] of Tientsin” published in Winterhalder’s book on the Austro-Hungarian participation in the events of 1900 (Fig. 15).

¹⁴⁰ Ricalton 1901, 241.

¹⁴¹ Winterhalder 1902, 570.

4. From a tent to urban development: the very beginnings of the Austrian administration

In the concluding section of his account of Austria-Hungary’s participation in the Boxer War, Theodor Ritter von Winterhalder (1902) described the end of the Imperial & Royal Squadron’s involvement in East Asia and mentioned that, in the summer of 1901, the Austro-Hungarian detachment in Tianjin was about “to move to a Yamen [i.e. *yamen* 衙門] located in the occupied territory [of the Austro-Hungarian concession]. As an illustration of this relocation, Winterhalder included a photograph showing an Austro-Hungarian marine before a tent on the territory occupied by Austria-Hungary in February 1901 (Fig. 16).¹⁴¹

The territory of the Austro-Hungarian concession was administered by the Provisional Government of Tianjin until 4 August 1902. On that day, the Vice Consul Karl Bernauer took over the administration of the concession on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. As discussed in further detail in the main chapter of this book, Bernauer’s most important tasks after that point included negotiating a formal

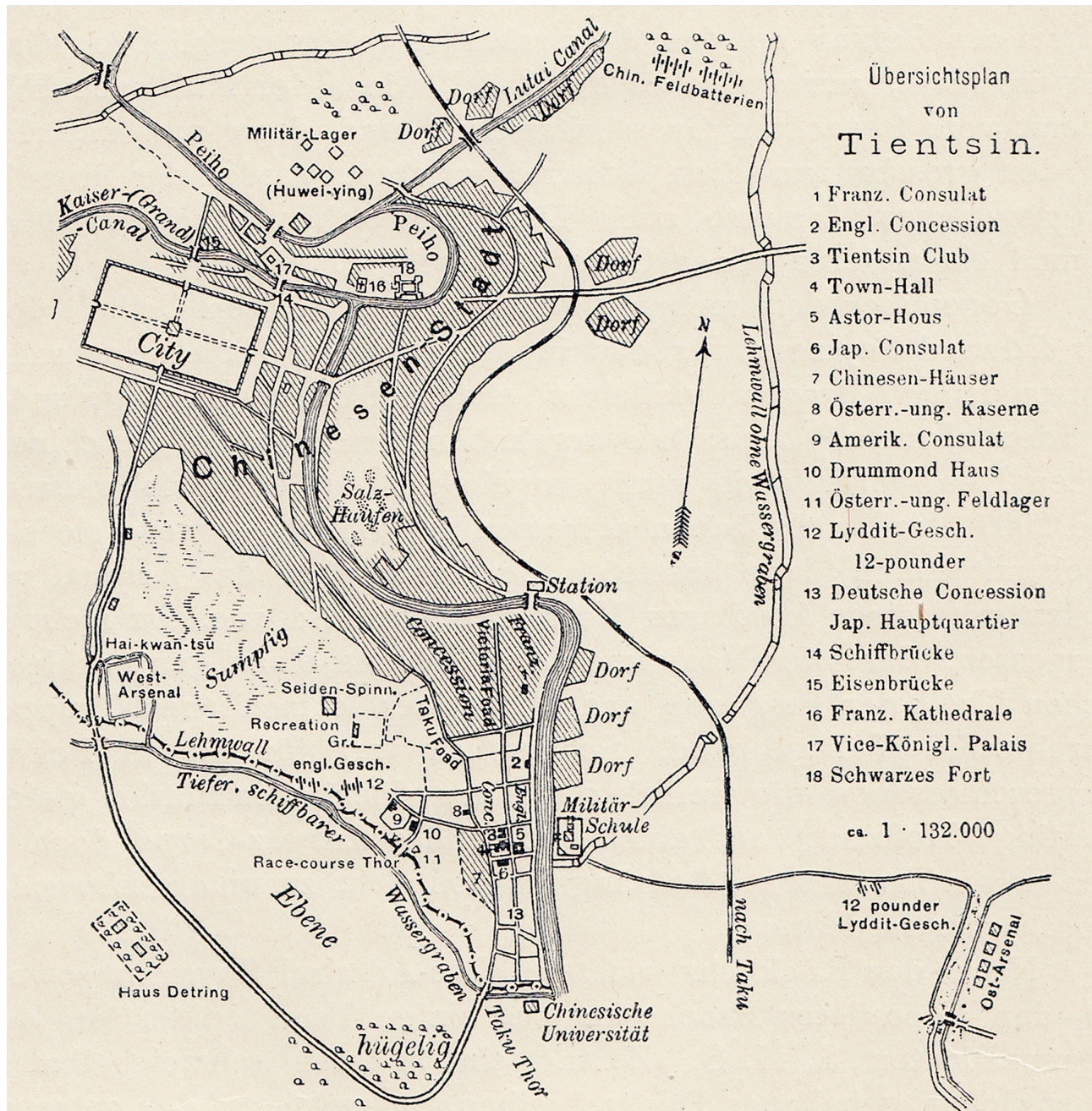
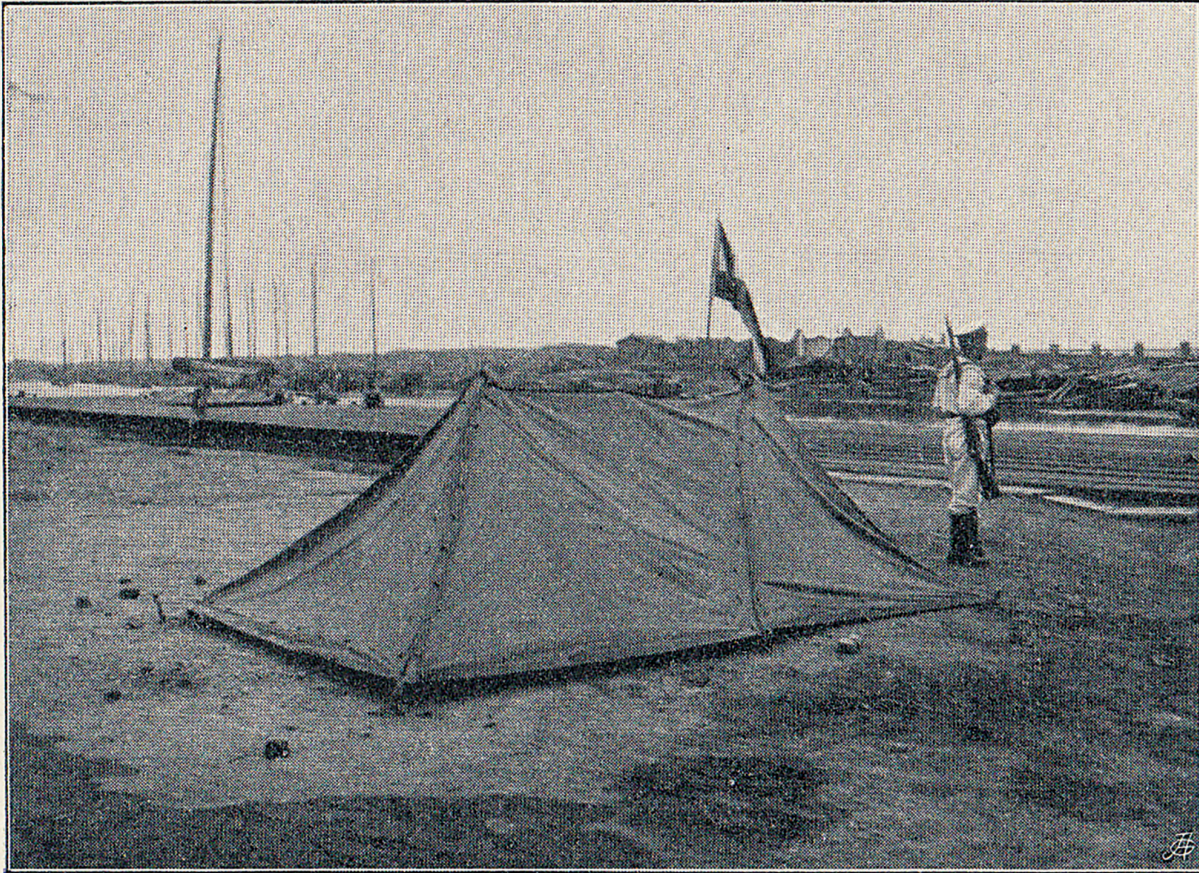


Fig. 15 Sketch map of Tientsin/Tianjin. [Winterhalder 1902, 132]

agreement with the Chinese government and preparing a description of the current state of the Austro-Hungarian concession area. The results of both efforts were noticed in the Austrian press.

The Austro-Hungarian consulate in Tianjin did not begin any negotiations with local authorities on a formal agreement to 'take over' the concession until the summer of 1902 — after Russia, Belgium and Italy had already concluded their own agreements with the Chinese side. After various necessary steps

were arranged with the Tianjin *daotai* (i.e. the circuit intendant) Zhang Lianfen 張蓮芬 and the *houbu dao* 候補道 (expectant circuit intendant) Qian Rong 錢鏞, a formal agreement concerning the concession [*Tianjin Aoguo zujie zhangcheng hetong* 天津奧國租界章程合同; i.e. Tianjin Austrian Concession Charter Contract] was signed on 27 December 1902 by the Tianjin Customs *Daotai* [*Tianjin haiguan dao* 天津海關道] Tang Shaoyi 唐紹儀 and Vice Consul



Strandwache im neuen Settlement zu Tientsin.

Fig. 16 Winterhalder 1902: “Guard on the beach of the new concession in Tientsin”. [Winterhalder 1902, 570]

Bernauer.¹⁴² The Austrian press published a summary of the contract:

[...] succeeded in obtaining the property in question from China without payment. We only had to undertake to compensate the Chinese government for the loss of property tax through an annual lump sum; insignificant costs are also likely to arise from the fact that several owners of grave sites are to be compensated for relocating them. On the other hand, the concession (*Settlement*) will have an income, since taxes are levied there, and administrative costs will be met from this income. [...].¹⁴³

On 29 December 1901 — only two days after the signing of the contract — Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, the governor-general of Zhili, reported to the Waiwubu

外務部 (Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs) that the Austrian concession in Tianjin was to be viewed as a violent occupation and that it would be difficult to fulfil Liu Xiangrong’s 劉向榮 and other injured parties’ demands to obtain other land in compensation (compare Falser Fig. 13).¹⁴⁴

On 31 January 1903, Vice Consul Bernauer completed a detailed report on the Austro-Hungarian concession. Part of this report was published by the *Fremden-Blatt* (Vienna). Other Austrian newspapers quoted shorter or longer excerpts from the report. These excerpts contained information on the geographical location and size of the concession, the number of inhabitants, the number and state of buildings and streets, and taxation issues. In addition, Bernauer outlined the administration (including

¹⁴² Fei 1992, 48 f. For the details about the negotiations and proclamations see the main chapter of this book (compare Falser Fig. 12).

¹⁴³ Report from Shanghai, 9 January 1903, originally published in: *Fremden-Blatt*, quoted after *Salzburger Chronik für Stadt und Land*, 27 February 1903, 2. For the main contents of this contract, see Lehner 1995, 325.

¹⁴⁴ Qingdai Waiwubu Zhong-Ao guanxi dang’an jingxuan 2001, 67–69 (document No. 15).

police and fire brigade¹⁴⁵) and possible steps for its future development (such as road construction or real estate development).¹⁴⁶

Initial considerations on the part of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Tianjin were soon to be followed up by first plans for an economic use of the concession. In May 1903 it was reported that the Fiume Credit Bank [*Fiumaner Kreditbank*], with the support of the Hungarian Credit Bank, was planning to open a branch in the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin to stimulate Hungary's trade with East Asia. For this purpose, the director of the Fiume Credit Bank, Arthur Steinacker, and a representative of the Hungarian Credit Bank, Emil Mauthner, travelled to China. A Budapest-based company (*Ganz'sche Eisen-gießerei und Maschinenfabrik*) sent Géza Szuk, its chief engineer (*Oberingenieur*) and head of the electrotechnical department, to East Asia.¹⁴⁷ After his return to Budapest, Szuk described his travel experiences in a lecture and published at least two articles about his impressions of China and Japan.¹⁴⁸

5. Conclusion

The various strands of development presented in this introduction show that in nineteenth-century Austria(-Hungary) interest in China was highly discontinuous. One reason for this may be that there was no 'critical mass' in Austria(-Hungary) that could have promoted this interest purposefully. Early voyages of Austrian merchant ships to East Asia were just as confined to individual initiatives as early preoccupations with the Chinese language. Owing to political developments in Europe, Austria(-Hungary) was late in joining the ranks of the powers that concluded an unequal treaty with China (1869). The latter's participation in the Vienna Universal Exhibition, although noticed in certain circles, did not manage to generate lasting interest in economic relations.

The number of Austro-Hungarian merchants in China was too small to develop serious lobbying for

imperialist activities. As for missionaries from Austria-Hungary, they either placed themselves under German protection or acted within the framework of their orders.

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, which was particularly important for the restructuring of international relations in East Asia, and the subsequent 'scramble for concessions', only marked a turning point in the history of Austro-Chinese relations on the surface. Reconnaissance missions along the Chinese coast (1899), participation in the international intervention to suppress the Yihetuan movement (1900), and the occupation of a concession in Tianjin (1901) followed the example of powers that dominated international politics in East Asia. However, maintaining its claim to being a great power was far more important for Austria-Hungary than a clear political or economic agenda in China. The events of the summer of 1900 probably brought Tianjin into the consciousness of the Austro-Hungarian public for the first time, but the road to the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin had not yet been taken. The main motive behind Austria-Hungary's claim to an area in Tianjin was the Monarchy's self-image as a major European power. The hesitant steps towards formally taking over the area and developing the Austro-Hungarian concession are evidence of the double asymmetry noted in connection with the establishment of diplomatic relations: on the one hand, Austria-Hungary shared the privileges acquired by leading treaty powers; on the other hand, it still lacked solid economic interests that could make the Tianjin concession more than a purely legal and formal 'Austrian' one.

While this Historical Introduction dealt with the 'intangible' aspects of the relations between Austria(-Hungary) and China during the long nineteenth century, the following main part of this book by Michael Falser focuses on the most visible – and 'tangible' – aspect of Austro-Hungarian presence in China: the urbanistic and architectural development of the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin (1901–1917) and its afterlife until today.

¹⁴⁵ Bernauer's positive assessment of the fire brigade contrasts with a later comment in connection with a major fire that broke out on 11 June 1907 in the Austro-Hungarian concession (cf. *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 July 1907, 9 sq.).

¹⁴⁶ Report dated 31 January 1903, originally published in: *Fremdenblatt*. Extensively reprinted in, and quoted in: Czernowitzer Tagblatt, 25 March 1903, 27 March 1903 and 28 March 1903. For a short summary of the report of 31 January 1903, see Lehner 1995, 427. For a quote from the report, see Agstner 2006, 34 (for a Chinese translation of this quote, see *ibid.*, 35) and for a discussion of Bernauer's report, see the main part of this book.

¹⁴⁷ *Wiener Zeitung*, 29 May 1903, 12.

¹⁴⁸ *Pester Lloyd*, 16 February 1904, 10. See also Szuk's articles in: *Vasárnapi újság*, 1 May 1904, 292–295 (on the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin) and *ibid.*, 3 September 1905 and 10 September 1905 (on Japan). For a detailed quotation of Szuk's descriptions and photographs of the Austro-Hungarian concession in Tianjin, see the main part of this book (cf. Falser Fig. 17a-c).