

# philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

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*Philippine Studies* vol. 48, no. 1 (2000): 80–108

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

# Sulu and Germany in the Late Nineteenth Century

*Volker Schult*

In 1864 the German captain Hermann Leopold Schück was on a trading trip from Celebes to Singapore with his three-master "Wilhelmine." On his way back Schück sailed to Jolo, the residence of the Sultan of Sulu, where he sent some of his men ashore for water. They were treated so favorably that Schück himself went ashore and met Sultan Jamal-ul Azam. It is said that during this conversation Schück presented a German Mauser gun as a gift to the Sultan. This proved to be a clever move because the Sultan was very pleased and granted Schück any support necessary. Schück also acted as a diplomat on his own account by conveying to the Sultan the greetings of the German government. Further, he promised to provide the Sultan with more Mauser guns. The Sultan was full of gratitude and gave the captain a letter which would protect him and his crew against pirates operating in the Sulu Sea. A few days later in an encounter with a fleet of pirate boats, the Sultan's letter proved to be effective. Schück and his crew were allowed to pass unmolested. From then on Schück established regular contacts with the Sultan. This was the beginning of a long friendship between a German adventurer and the Sultan of Sulu.

Schück became the most influential adventurer in the Sulu Archipelago and paved the way for Germany's colonial ambitions in this area. This article deals with the question of which factors were responsible for the fact that the rather remote Sulu Archipelago came into the focus of European powers, particularly Germany and Great Britain, in the late nineteenth century? In this context we have to take the decision-makers in the European capitals as well as the various participants on the local level into consideration. Exemplifying this interaction by German colonial interests, it becomes clear that the so-called "men on the spot," the European adventurers and the indig-

enous population, were the decisive factors. All those involved acted out of individual motives. On the one hand, the greed for profit prevailed and, on the other hand, the attempt to remain independent or at least to keep the Sultanate's autonomy. This specific kind of cooperation turned out to be successful at the beginning but proved to be a failure in the long run.

### **The Situation in the Sulu Archipelago**

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the Taosug of Sulu were able to maintain their independence from Spain. Ironically, this changed just as the Spanish colonial glory had gone far beyond her zenith. In 1848 the Spaniards operated with steam gunboats against so-called pirate strongholds in the Sulu Archipelago for the first time. Background to this endeavor was to counteract the regional ambitions of particularly Great Britain. To achieve her aim, it however was absolutely necessary to demonstrate that Spain still had sufficient power to control Sulu.

Since 1846 Great Britain had been in possession of the small island of Labuan off Brunei's northeast coast. To stimulate Labuan's sluggish trade, James Brooke negotiated a "Treaty of Friendship and Commerce" between Great Britain and Sulu. Although London never ratified this treaty, it initiated the reorientation of Sulu's trade to Labuan. Spain, however, could not accept this development because she claimed the trade monopoly in this area. On 28 February 1851 Spanish troops landed at Jolo and burned down the town. Sultan Muhammad Palalun eventually had to recognize Spain's sovereignty in the treaty of 30 April 1851. This at least was what the Spaniards thought. The Taosug, however, interpreted the treaty differently. They argued that they had only accepted a rather mild form of a Spanish protectorate. Thus, they continued trading with Labuan and Singapore at will.<sup>2</sup>

On 2 July 1860 Spain announced that from then on Manila, Sual, Iloilo and Zamboanga were the only ports open to foreign vessels in the Philippines. But neither the foreign traders nor the Taosug cared about this decree. In November 1871 the Spaniards commenced to renew their efforts for the control of Sulu. They blockaded the island and bombarded villages on Tawi-Tawi as well as the town of Jolo in February 1872. Spain once again wanted to demonstrate her ability to

enforce her claim of sovereignty on Sulu. Due to lack of a sufficient number of gunboats, the blockade proved to be ineffective. Thus, the Spaniards altered their strategy. The steam gunboats were ordered to cruise the Sulu Sea and to either seize, ram or simply sink all the native prahu they encountered (Wright 1972, 68–69; Majul 1973, 288–90; Warren 1981, 115–19).

This cruising system turned out to be quite effective. In 1873 the first negative consequences became noticeable and one year later almost no prahu from Palawan or the Sulu Archipelago arrived at Labuan. The Taosug traders preferred to sail to Sandakan on the north-east coast of Borneo for trade because it was nearer and safer. But another problem for the Taosug turned up. The Spanish cruising system endangered the fishing and diving for pearls which was vital to the Taosug. Their prahu were particularly vulnerable near the reefs. Because mother-of-pearl was the major product of barter, it became increasingly difficult and more expensive for the Taosug to import certain products. This resulted in a lack of important goods like cloths, opium and tobacco but also arms and ammunition. These background informations are essential for the understanding of the Sultan's moves and the relations between him and the adventurers (Warren 1981, 118–122).

## Germany Gets Involved

It was not Captain Schück who established the first political contact between the Sultan of Sulu and a German government. In August 1866 Captain Noelke with his Prussian three-master "Vampyr" was on a commercial trip in the Sulu Sea. He was chartered to transport indigeneous products to Hong Kong. During his stay in Jolo, he started up negotiations with the Sultan. The talks centered on the question of how to boost the Sultan's position against his external enemy, Spain, and to consolidate his government internally against the other datu. Sultan Jamal-ul Azam believed that this was best possible by establishing closer contact with a European power. Asked which country would be willing to assume sovereignty rights over the Sultanate, Noelke replied bluntly, "Prussia." According to Noelke's oral statement, the Sultan was also willing to cede northeastern Borneo to Prussia for colonization. The negotiations had developed thus far that Noelke did not only transport the Sultan's letter but also two high

representatives, the second minister and a high-ranking scholar from the Sultan's court, to Hong Kong where they arrived on 17 October 1866.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the same year the Sultan's letter, handwritten and addressed to my "Beloved Brother William King of Prussia," arrived in Berlin. The Sultan reported the Spanish attacks and also that he had asked the British for support but without having received any answer yet. Then he made an urgent request to Prussia for support. He offered a treaty of friendship and asked for the Prussian king's assistance to settle the problems in Sulu.<sup>4</sup>

The Sultan's letter stirred a sensation in Prussia. The Prussian Prime Minister Bismarck received the message that King Wilhelm himself had opened the Sultan's letter and that "His Majesty the King set great store on this matter." For the time being, however, he wanted to wait for a thorough translation.<sup>5</sup> According to von Delbrück, president of the Reich's chancellery, the Sultan's motives for sending this letter were partly his personal interest and partly his consideration "that sooner or later his empire would be annexed by a European power and then perhaps under more unfavorable conditions." The conclusion, however, was drawn that the acceptance of such an offer would be considered an act of partisanship against Spain. Thus, a reply to this letter did not occur (BA BL R 901/11497 Delbrück to Admiralty, 16 Febr. and 11 July 1872).

Nevertheless, the further development of the Sulu Sultanate was followed with interest in Germany. While her commercial interests in the Far East increased constantly, the Prussian-German diplomatic influence in Southeast Asia remained rather unimportant. The consulates were harassed by staff problems and no gunboats were available to support German interests in cases of emergency.

This changed only after the resolution to establish a "permanent East Asia station" had been passed in 1868. Parallel to this decision was the building of a new navy of the North German Confederation under the direction of Prussia took place.<sup>6</sup> Its main task was "to protect and support North Germany's naval trade across the oceans and to extend its rights and relations" (Petter 1975, 166). However, no word was said about the station's infrastructure. There were no plans how or where to establish depots, coaling stations or even naval bases. In case of the East Asia station, Germany still had to rely on British supplies and dock facilities in Singapore and Hong Kong. Due to budget problems, the corvettes "Medusa" and "Hertha" were sent abroad

only on 8 September 1869 and arrived in Singapore only more than five months later. Nonetheless, the establishing of this permanent station was a significant event because from then on Prussian-German men of war were on the spot and could give German merchants encouragement when required. In the years to follow, however, the modesty of the German navy became evident. At times, only one ship was available at the station, which, furthermore, had to cover the complete East Asian-Pacific area.<sup>7</sup>

After the foundation of the German Reich in 1871 the politicians in Berlin began to look for possibilities to enhance Germany's influence in the world. On 16 February 1872 von Delbrück let the Admiralty know that efforts should be undertaken to acquire a naval station in the Far East. In this context the Sultan of Sulu's offer should not be disregarded completely. He explicitly referred to Captain Noelke's report of 1866. Delbrück informed the Admiralty that the offer to the King of Prussia comprised the establishment of a protectorate. Thus, Delbrück suggested that the men of war at the East Asia station should "examine the value of Noelke's statements in a careful way by taking the sensitivity of third powers into consideration and explore the ports he described" (BA BL R 901/11497 Delbrück to Admiralty, Berlin 16 February 1872).

Due to his precarious situation, the Sultan of Sulu, influenced by Schück, wrote a letter to the mighty chancellor of the new German Empire, Bismarck, which Schück forwarded to Berlin via the consulate in Singapore. In this letter the Sultan once again emphasized the friendly relations to Germany, protested against the Spanish blockade and appealed to Germany for help. To enhance its attractiveness, he promised some territorial cessions. Together with the letter, a present of pearls was sent to Berlin as well as some reports about Sulu and its trading prospects written by Schück. Due to Bismarck's European preference however, he did not reply to this letter. Nevertheless, in January 1873 Lieutenant Commander von Blanc received order by the Admiralty to explore with his ship "Nymphé" among others the Southeast Asian island world for possible naval stations. The Admiralty was especially interested in the Sulu Archipelago, not least because of the Sultan's offer.

Blanc consulted with Schomburgk and Schück, who acted as interpreter, about this issue. Then he got into contact with the British governors of Singapore and Labuan. In March 1873 Blanc, who believed to act in strict accord with the Admiralty's order, let the Sultan show

him three potential ports in the area of Marudu, Sandakan and Banggi, which the Sultan was willing to cede to Germany for her support. The Sultan took this action as an acceptance of his request and gave Blanc gifts to take with him to his "Brother" Wilhelm. He let Blanc know that he was waiting for a just treaty and German assistance. Blanc reported immediately to the German Emperor. Blanc's action caused a great stir throughout Berlin. Rumors circulated in Europe that the German Empire intended to occupy the Philippines. Nothing, however, was further from Bismarck's mind at this moment. Thus, he suggested that Emperor Wilhelm should forward a negative reply to the Sultan. He firmly warned that in case of war, the navy was too weak to additionally defend territories abroad. Moreover, an acceptance of the Sultan's offer would arouse the mistrust of the European powers. Then Bismarck emphasized that the captains of the navy had to exercise utmost restraint in political issues. The Emperor himself advised the navy authorities strongly to act in this respect (Petter 1975, 215).

Blanc himself had to convey the Emperor's negative answer to the Sultan in July 1873. The Spaniards reacted to the German activities by bombarding Jolo and intensifying their attempt to interrupt the Sultanate's trading connections. The British government was also concerned. It assumed German plans for colonizing the Sulu Archipelago. Such a plan could threaten the flank of their sea route from Australia to China. Secretary of State von Bülow appeased Britain to the effect that in spite of the huge increase of her trade volume in this area, the German Empire did not wish or intend to acquire any territories in the Sulu Archipelago.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Labuan Trading Company**

As long as arms and provisions could be sent to Sulu secretly, the Spaniards were not able to put an end to the Taosug's defensive war strategy. This was the opportunity for daredevil adventurers to run the Spanish blockade in order to supply the Taosug with such materials. It was a lucrative but at the same time a dangerous business. Their risk, however, was minimized somewhat because they could call upon their nationality in case of emergency and relied on their respective governments to exert diplomatic or military pressure on Spain, such as the dispatch of gunboats. In 1872 the Scottish adventurer William Clarke Cowie joined the German trading house of Carl Schomburgk &

Co. in Singapore. They founded along with Captain John Dill Ross the Labuan Trading Company. The company's sole aim was the running of firearms, ammunition, opium, tobacco and other contrabands to Sulu.

The blockade runners were welcomed by an enthusiastic population and supported by all means. Thus, Cowie could easily win the Sultan's friendship after he had commenced to run the blockade in the latter part of 1872. If Spanish gunboats were in the port of Jolo, the blockade runner would wait outside the three-mile limit until the gunboats had begun to patrol the coast. Then the ship would steam in and discharge her cargo into prahu. Then she would take in her return cargo consisting predominantly of mother-of-pearl shell. When the return of a gunboat was signaled, the discharge of the cargo was stopped and the ship would steam round the opposite side of the island to a hiding-place at Benkawan some forty miles south. This was a narrow creek which opened out into a shallow lagoon. It was hidden from the sea by dense mangroves. There the steamer would wait until darkness and with all lights out sail back to Jolo. Before dawn, the ship would steam out of the danger zone. Such ships, like the "Tony," were only small vessels. For instance, it could transport fourteen tons of cargo which does not seem much. But it could be handled very quickly and the mother-of-pearl shell could be sold at two hundred and fifty pounds per ton at Singapore.<sup>9</sup>

Schück, who also made his voyages for the Labuan Trading Co., had gained the Sultan's lasting confidence. After his first contact with the Sultan in 1864, a flourishing and lucrative trade had developed in the years following. As token of his friendship, the Sultan granted Schück land close to Jolo. As resident merchant, Schück was now permitted to cater opium, cloths, tobacco and firearms directly from Singapore to Tawi-Tawi. There he exchanged them for slaves at the rate of thirty pesos each and transported these slaves with the remaining goods to Jolo where he bartered them for mother-of-pearl shell. The capital necessary for such business was advanced to Schück by cooperation with the commercial house of Schomburgk in Singapore (Warren 1981, 114-15; Rohde-Enslin 1992, 30).

Schück knew how to play to the gallery. His role as interpreter on board the German gunboat "Nympe" enhanced his prestige as a trader tremendously. Sultan Jamal-ul Azam believed that Schück had some influence with the German government. Shortly after the visit of the "Nympe" in Jolo, the Sultan gave Schück a grant of land in Sandakan Bay in the middle of 1873 in order to establish a trading

station. Moreover, Schück secured a monopoly of the rattan trade on the northeast coast of Borneo. This served as a kind of reward for Schück's providing the Sultanate with arms and rice. Cowie also claimed that the Sultan had granted him the right to establish a transshipment station at Sandakan. Whether only Schück or Cowie, was given this right could not be clarified. But soon afterwards, the trading house of Schomburgk & Co. and the Labuan Trading Co. respectively, constructed warehouses and residences. Two steamers flying the German colors were stationed there. The place became known as "Kampong German." Thus we can conclude that it was identified with Schomburgk as the leading agent of the Labuan Trading Co. and Schück as the most influential adventurer in that area.<sup>10</sup>

Kampung German meant to be a severe set-back for British Labuan as the area's central entrepot. The Spaniards, however, had to realize that their claim of sovereignty over Sulu was not only challenged by British merchants but now also by German traders. The ships of the Labuan Trading Co. could run the Spanish blockade much easier from Sandakan. From then on Kampong German began to emerge as the central transshipment place of munitions and other goods destined for Sulu. The small and maneuverable ships commanded by experienced captains were able to run the blockade successfully. Finally, Schomburgk and Schück also came to term with Ross. They agreed that Ross' task was to serve the route Singapore-Labuan with his ship "Cleator" and to transport cheap cloths, opium, ammunition and fire-arms. These goods were transhipped to Schück's "Augusta" in Labuan which then sailed to Sandakan. From Kampong German the small steamers "Tony" and "Far East" headed for Sulu. Half the vessels of the Labuan Trading Co. flew the British flag and half the German colors (Warren 1981, 115-17).

On the other hand, the trading station in Sandakan posed a threat to the Spaniards, too. The Taosug now had a good chance to get out of the tight spot. If Germany was favorably disposed to acquire a station in the archipelago, in spite of her denial, under the pretext of protecting her increasing trade, then it would be impossible for Spain to put her claim of sovereignty on the southern part of the Philippines into effect without a war against Germany. Thus, it was of utmost importance for Spain to catch the blockade runners, confiscate their ships and cargoes and imprison their crews. This would also mean the interruption of communication between the Sultan and the governments in Berlin and London. The blockade runners were the key to the de-

feat of the Taosug and thus the control of the southern Philippines. In 1873 Spain decided to act.

## Colonial Policy

The events described thus far exemplify how colonial policy originated and developed. The captain of trading vessels, in this case Noelke and Schück, believed that they were representatives of their countries and acted as amateur diplomats whether because of patriotism and/or egoism. On presenting themselves as negotiators of their nations, who apparently had some influence on their countries, their importance as merchants increased at the same time. Obviously, they were not authorized by official institutions to act as they did. That becomes apparent from a letter to Bismarck written by Noelke's shipowner Diekelmann. He requested indemnity for his captain because he had started negotiations with the Sultan of Sulu without prior permission by the Prussian government (BA BL R 1001/7154 Diekelmann to Bismarck, Stralsund 14 Dec. 1866). At the same time, these men functioned as communicators and intermediaries between the indigenous rulers and the governments in Europe. Moreover, the latter had only few or even no information at all about this area. Even the local consulates had to rely on the information provided by the adventurers. No German consul based in Manila or Singapore did ever visit the Sulu Archipelago personally. The concrete offers of ceding ports or rights of sovereignty were only given orally by the Sultan and then transmitted by the adventurers. These men on the spot held a monopoly of information and thus had a key position which they took advantage of for their own benefit.

On the other hand, the indigenous rulers, provided with information by the same adventurers, tried to exploit the rivalry of the European powers and play them off against each other. The reaction in Berlin on the Sultan's offer made clear that there was a general interest in Prussia to acquire a permanent station. But this policy was not based on thorough reflection but on coincidence. Opportunities, like the one mentioned, were not taken due to overall political consideration, which included the weakness of the Prussian-German navy. Although Spain's legal claims on the Sulu Archipelago were still internationally considered being open, the European perspective with a possible international conflict was in the fore for Berlin. Nonetheless,

the establishment of the East Asia station in 1870 can be regarded as a kind of break of at least symbolic importance. It coincided with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and the subsequent foundation of the German Empire, which was the basis of Germany's political and economic rise. At the same time, the commercial competition with Great Britain increased in the East Asian and Pacific areas. This competition, however, was less noticeable on the local level. Here, individual profit was more important than national rivalry. On the contrary, merchants and adventurers of both nations cooperated and then were clever enough to take advantage of the increasing British and German presence in this area. Adventurers who were prepared to risk their lives and ships could exploit the aggravating political situation in the Sulu Archipelago for their own benefit.

### The Seizure of German Ships

On 15 August 1873 the Spaniards seized the German brig "Marie Louise" under the command of Captain Hinrichsen off Jolo. The Spaniards accused Hinrichsen of having violated the blockade and of carrying a cargo of firearms and other contrabands destined for Sulu. Only a short while later, on 1 September, the Spaniards seized a second German ship, the "Gazelle" commanded by Captain Möller, under the same reproach. Both vessels came from Hong Kong. Apart from various kinds of commercial goods, the Spaniards detected sixty and forty old muskets respectively. In case of the "Marie Louise" there was also the fact that the ship was cleared officially for Singapore and the captain could not produce the manifest. The Spaniards felt confirmed.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of still pending diplomatic complaints due to the seizure of the vessels "Marie Louise" and "Gazelle," Spanish authorities seized a further blockade runner. This time it struck Schück himself. Meanwhile Schück had become captain and shipowner of the "Minna," a ship of 142 tons. He had a 48/64 share in the ship. His first mate, Friedrich Ferdinand Karstens, born in Meldorf, Holstein, kept the remaining share of 16/64. They made an application to the Singapore consulate for a preliminary permission to fly the German flag. The consulate gave them permission on 4 February 1875. Only one day later they sailed from Singapore to Makassar. From there they began their journey back to Singapore where they arrived with a cargo of

mother-of-pearl shell on 9 August. Schück himself stated that they fished these shells in the seas off New Guinea. On his return journey, however, he must have paid a visit to Sulu because he carried with him a receipt of the Sultan for a gift from the German Emperor Wilhelm.

On 19 August the "Minna" cleared for New Guinea. Because the German consul was aware of Schück's tight relations with the Sultan, he warned him "with utmost insistence" to sail to Sulu. In case something should happen to him in those waters, he could not be provided with protection. Schück assured the consul that it was not his intention to sail to Sulu but instead to New Guinea to fish pearls. After a short stop on Borneo, Schück sailed to the Tawi-Tawi islands in order to hire some divers for New Guinea. But he was not allowed to do so without the Sultan's prior permission. Thus, he sailed to the Sultan at the end of September to get this permission while the "Minna" remained on the high seas. At the beginning of October, however, it approached Siassi to look for a safe anchorage due to fresh winds and a strong current. Finally, thirty divers were to accompany Schück to the Aru islands, when on 23 October his ship was captured and confiscated near Siassi, approximately thirty miles off Sulu. The Spanish papers in Manila, however, reported something else. According to them, the "Minna" was surprised when hiding in the mangroves, unloading and taking in various kinds of goods (BA BL R 901/11501 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 24 Nov. 1875).

Schück reported that the cargo confiscated belonged to the German firm of Asmus, Lind & Co. and partially to himself. The value of the cargo, among other cotton products, tobacco and opium, amounted to some \$ 4,000. But there also were pearls and pearl shell on board worth \$ 15,000, entrusted to Schück by the Sultan himself. With this money Schück was to purchase goods in Singapore on behalf of the Sultan. Consul Ruttmann in Manila confirmed that the Spaniards had not found any firearms or other kinds of contraband on the ship.<sup>12</sup> Due to this fact we can assume that Schück had simply been lucky in this case. The goods he was to buy in Singapore on behalf of the Sultan comprised most probably firearms and the like, which appears plausible in view of the impending Spanish attack on Sulu. The trip during which Schück was arrested served for the procuring of capital necessary for acquiring such goods.<sup>13</sup>

After the Spaniards had conquered Jolo in 1876, they declared the town in November open for trade with the exception of arms and

ammunition. Schück, however, remained suspicious to the Spaniards. Thus, after the ship had been released, they continued observing the "Minna" as it approached Jolo in November. But Schück made it for the moment and escaped into the dense mangroves and discharged his cargo, weapons and ammunition, ashore. After having finished this deal, he had to realize that a further escape was hardly possible. Thus his ship was seized a second time. The Spanish authorities, however, were again not able to prove any contraband against him.<sup>14</sup>

## Background

The Spanish government believed that Germany was still planning secretly the annexation of Sulu (Tarling 1971, 188ff.; 1978, 126ff.). Thus, the Spanish preparations for the final occupation of Sulu ran at full steam in the latter part of 1875. They looked very suspiciously at the dispatch of the gunboat "Hertha" in the first half of the year and the constant blockade run by Schück and other adventurers. Already in September 1873 the German consulate in Singapore had warned Schomburgk to exercise utmost caution for the Spaniards had their eye on Schück's "Augusta."

In May and June 1875 the consul himself warned Schomburgk, if his ship "Tony" continued its journeys with a blockade still in effect, there could be no protection by the German government. Schomburgk replied that he did not regard the blockade as being effective because the "Tony" had already made several trips from Sandakan to Sulu without having been molested. He bluntly denied in the face of the consul that the vessels of his Labuan Trading Co. flew the British colors. Captain Schück, however, reported that Schomburgk had sent orders to Sandakan to remove carefully all external features, for instance the flag on top of the warehouse, which could indicate that this was a British trading station. According to his statement, Schomburgk employed qualified German sailors on board the "Tony," such as the captain and his first mate. Thus, the consul had finally to admit that Schomburgk could hardly be denied the right to fly the German flag. Additionally, because his partner in Sandakan was a British national, he could ask Germany as well as Great Britain for protection in case of emergency.<sup>15</sup> There also was a feeling of uneasiness by the British authorities because the trading company seemed to play a double game. The governor of Labuan, Ussher, said that the trading post of

Schomburgk & Co. in Sandakan aroused suspicion because there existed a certain kind of lawlessness. But without prior permission from the German government, he could not interfere in the company's affairs although it was well-known that also British nationals had a share in the company.

At the end of February 1876 a large Spanish fleet under the command of Governor General Malcampo himself cast anchor off Jolo in order to subdue the Sultanate once and for all. The bombardment of Jolo was followed by a massive infantry attack. The Taosug had to retreat into the island's interior and the Sultan transferred his residence to Maimbun. The Spaniards took up their position in Jolo permanently and commenced constructing fortifications. The Taosug tried to expel the Spaniards from Jolo several times between 1877 and 1878 but in vain. Because the continuation of their fight against Spain did not have the slightest prospect of success any longer, Sultan Jamal-ul Azam and his datu concluded a treaty with Spain on 20 July 1878. They acknowledged a Spanish protectorate over Sulu for autonomy in some fields. Thus, the Spaniards conceded that the Sultan was permitted to collect custom duties from foreign ships bound for places which were not permanently occupied by Spanish troops. In the period following, the Taosug took adroitly advantage of this situation.<sup>16</sup>

A further reason for seizing German ships was the dispute which, in the meantime, had evolved between Schomburgk and Schück. Schück's excellent relations to the Sultan had made him a dangerous competitor of Schomburgk and his trading prospects with the Sulu Islands. The immediate cause for the strife was the German Emperor's reply to the Sultan, who had turned to Wilhelm I. for German support at the end of 1872. Wilhelm let him know that the diplomatic circumstances in Europe made it impossible for him to grant the Sultan any assistance. But he sent a gift that included a bust of the emperor, a crystal vase and a dagger with a silver scabbard. To make himself popular with the Sultan, Schomburgk wanted to present the gift to the Sultan. Schück, however, who controlled the fishing of pearl shell in this area, was at that point of time with the Sultan himself. He claimed the sole right for himself to hand over such an important gift to the Sultan and thus took it away from Schomburgk's captain Sachse.<sup>17</sup>

The rivalry between Schomburgk and Schück in order to gain the Sultan's favor was connected with substantial commercial advantages. According to Schück, the seizure of his ship "Minna" in October 1875

had been caused by the denunciation of Schomburgk. The Spanish authorities in Zamboanga had confirmed this to Schück. The German consul in Singapore thought along the same lines although he admitted that he had no clear evidence in this respect. Strictly in confidence, the Spanish consul in Singapore let his German colleague know that the Spanish authorities in Manila were informed about the running of the blockade by Singapore merchants down to the detail. Quite a few ships escaped their fate only because the Spanish authorities were afraid of diplomatic friction and lengthy negotiations with other nations (BA BL R 901/11501 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 24 Nov. 1875).

### Consequences

From the German point of view it could not be accepted that German interests, even in remote areas, were harmed in such a way. The imperial ambassador to Madrid, von Canitz, was instructed to lodge a complaint with the Spanish government. It was argued that the blockade was declared per decree only on 2 August 1873. Thus, its contents could not be made public in due time. Additionally, the blockade was not enforced effectively. There was no declaration of war which could only justify the blockade or the confiscation of contraband. Moreover, the "Marie Louise" had been off the territorial waters.<sup>18</sup> Because the cargo of the "Marie Louise" was owned by British merchants with one of them on board, the British government also took steps against the Spanish government. Finally, in 1874 both ships were released and one year later compensations were paid.<sup>19</sup>

After the first report about the confiscation of the "Minna" had become known in Berlin in October 1875, the imperial ambassador to Madrid was once again instructed to demand the immediate release of the ship and its cargo. After some negotiations the Spanish government in Madrid telegraphed the order to return the ship to Manila in January 1876. The German ambassador was informed in a note that the governor general of the Philippines had been ordered to pay the captain of the "Minna" or his representatives 2224.53 pesos compensation.<sup>20</sup> After the repeated seizure of the "Minna" at the end of 1876, the German ambassador to Madrid, Count Hatzfeld, on the instruction of the Foreign Office made a strong protest against the Spanish gov-

ernment: Spain was once again forced to return the ship and to pay compensation (BA BL R 901/11502 Foreign Office to Hatzfeldt, Berlin, 16 Nov. 1876).

Due to Spanish encroachments on ships flying the German colors, Germany was strongly committed to take diplomatic steps against Spain. After the occupation of Jolo, Spain had confronted the other European powers with a *fait accompli*. In view of this fact, it was important for Britain to secure the freedom of trade in these waters. At the same time however, London was not unhappy that the rather weak Spanish colonial government had extended her power over the Sulu Archipelago. From a British perspective there did not exist a political vacuum any longer in which, for instance, the German Empire could encroach. Diplomatic negotiations between the three European powers involved, resulted in the Protocol of 11 March 1877. Spain conceded complete liberty of commerce and navigation with Sulu. It was only permitted to levy custom duties in those places which were actually occupied by Spanish troops. That meant that de facto Great Britain and the German Empire acknowledged the occupation of parts of the Sultanate by Spain in exchange for the freedom of trade. Spain also agreed because it believed that it could soon subdue the complete Sultanate and thus control it.<sup>21</sup>

One of the consequences of the First Sulu Protocol was the dissolution of the Labuan Trading Co. in the next few months because without a blockade there were no profits any longer. This also led to the abandonment of the trading post in Sandakan. Meanwhile the Austrian Consul General Baron von Overbeck and the British Alfred Dent had founded the "Dent and Overbeck Co.," which eventually acquired the rights on Northeast Borneo, including Sandakan, from the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu at the turn of the year 1877/78. Before, Overbeck had offered the Labuan Trading Co. to have a share in his new company. This offer had been turned down but resulted in a dispute between Cowie and Schomburgk which accelerated the end of their company.<sup>22</sup>

## **Sulu Archipelago in the Focus of European Powers**

In 1878 Britain had gained a foothold in Northeast Borneo and Spain had extended her rule over the Sulu Archipelago. On the other hand, Germany found herself politically booted out. As a new colonial

power in Africa and in the South Seas, Germany attempted to make the Spanish Caroline and Palau Islands part of her colonial empire in 1885. But Berlin had to acknowledge the Spanish rights of sovereignty for some economic concessions. This so-called "Carolines dispute" caused heated discussions in both countries in the summer and fall of 1885. In this situation blueprints were developed in some diplomatic circles about annexing the Philippines. On 14 September 1885 Consul Kempermann submitted a report on this issue to Bismarck. According to Kempermann one expeditionary corps was sufficient to expel the Spaniards from the Philippines. But at the beginning considerable funds had to be provided to attain this goal. Therefore and because of political reasons it seemed wiser to take a smaller area into consideration.

"No object was more suitable than the island of Mindanao with Paragua and the Sulu Archipelago.<sup>23</sup> Mindanao has been under Spanish rule for 200 years but only on paper. The German Sansibar squadron would arrive from Singapore off Zamboanga within five days and would not have much trouble expelling all garrisons and authorities from the mentioned places without the Spaniards in Manila having any clue. . . . Mindanao with Paragua and the Sulu Archipelago would round off our acquisitions in Oceania and New Guinea in a wonderful way and make them valuable. . . . To master the savages is easy. The Spaniards try it with force and sword thereby achieving nothing at all. The culture and the colonists would make the natives retreat into the interior and finally, hunger would make them emigrate to the southern islands, the Sulu Archipelago and Borneo or subjugate. But I am convinced that when the island is German, the capital would turn to here by the millions" (PA AA R 19462 Kempermann to Bismarck, Manila 14 Sept. 1885).

Nonetheless, the German Empire "remained in the game." This primarily was not due to its own efforts but to a diplomatic dispute between Great Britain and Spain after Overbeck's and Dent's acquisition of North Borneo. Great Britain would in principal agree to acknowledge the Spanish sovereignty over Sulu if Spain in a countermove relinquished its claims on North Borneo. Spain, however, insisted that the German Reich as signatory to the first protocol also had to acknowledge the Spanish sovereignty over Sulu. Germany, on the other hand, demanded that the liberty of commerce had to be extended explicitly over North Borneo so that Germany could at least be economically present in that area. After some hesitation London finally

made up her mind. But then Germany delayed the negotiations and declined to sign the new tripartite agreement due to further German demands. Only after Spain had conceded to grant Germans rights of land ownership in the Sulu Archipelago on the same term as Spaniards, the German government finally signed the Second Sulu Protocol on 7 March 1885.<sup>24</sup>

The Second Sulu Protocol, the Carolines dispute as well as Kempermann's report on colonial acquisitions in the Philippines reflects the ambivalence of German colonial policy focused in the year 1885. Kempermann's quite naive blueprint about the conquest and colonization of the Philippines clearly reveals the new policy which was directed towards the acquisition of colonies. The Carolines dispute, however, demonstrates the limits of such a policy. The results of this dispute, Spain granted freedom of commerce, as well as the previously signed Second Sulu Protocol symbolize the continuation of the old policy which aimed at free trade and economic expansion. In order to secure one's economic position, naval stations but no colonies were to be established. Even the pragmatic expansionist Bismarck was willing to foster German overseas trade by the state. We can conclude that the policy of free trade had even then not completely been abandoned but had only been eclipsed by the new policy directed at the acquisition of colonies. That new policy could not be implemented unrestrictedly for advocates of free trade still had a say (Wehler 1984, 195, 429; W. Mommsen 1993, 56–59).

The ambivalence of the German colonial policy can also be exemplified by the Sulu Archipelago. While Kempermann was pondering over the colonial acquisition of the Philippines, German nationals founded plantations on Sulu. Here Schück played a crucial role. After the end of the blockade, Schück had finally settled down in Jolo. He took advantage of his influence on the Sultan and extended his estates close to Jolo to a plantation which was under the Sultan's protection. While the Spaniards were only safe from the Taosug in their fort in Jolo, Schück was the sole European who could move outside Jolo without any military escort. In 1880 his plantation comprised some 20,000 coffee and 1,000 coconut trees (Rohde-Enslin 1992, 32). But also the German Empire was still interested in this region and could refer to the fact that a German national had his residence on Sulu. Lieutenant Commander Oskar Klaus arrived with his gunboat "Iltis" in the port of Jolo on 4 April 1881. At the same time Sultan Jamal-ul Azam was seriously ill and deceased. His widow sent Klaus a letter for

Emperor Wilhelm promising him "to honor and protect" the Emperor's subjects in the archipelago. That concretely referred to Schück but made also clear that Germany still played a vital role in the calculation of Sulu's ruler.<sup>25</sup>

### **The German Borneo Company**

The German Borneo Company was founded in Hamburg on 23 January 1884. The company acquired some 10,000 acres from the British North Borneo Co. which was not able to cultivate the vast tracts of land under her administration. That was the final opportunity to gain influence in North Borneo. At first the company set up on the island of Banguay (Banggi) and established the plantation "Nicolina." After some trouble with their workers and the British North Borneo Company, the German administrators had to abandon "Nicolina." Thus, at the beginning of 1885 the company purchased a plantation on Sulu.<sup>26</sup> However, it was a rather unfavorable moment for the political situation in Sulu had once again deteriorated. After the death of Sultan Badarud Din II. on 22 February 1884, fighting for his succession broke out. For two years the rivals plunged Sulu headlong into disaster. Then in 1886, a new Sultan was in office, however by the grace of Spain. Thus, the population did not acknowledge him and in the period following heavy unrest plagued the island (Saleeby 1908, 136ff.; Majul 1973, 303-7).

The Hacienda Gomantong of the Borneo Company under the administration of Hermann F. Meyerink got involved in this conflict. Already in May the first trouble commenced with the stealing of an ox. Taosug attacks on the Chinese workers of the plantation followed. Some of them were wounded and even killed. During the night of 14 to 15 August approximately forty Taosug attacked the residence of the hacienda. Then the situation remained calm for some time. But the whole year 1886 theft and attacks with casualties occurred. As there were information on an impending massive attack on the hacienda, the Spanish Governor Arolas eventually moved troops to that place. Due to Spain's strained financial situation and its military engagement in Mindanao, Meyerink was afraid that Spain would not be able to protect the European settlements permanently. The situation proved to be a hindrance for the successful development of this German venture. Moreover, the investment had only been concluded under the prereq-

uisite that the Spanish government would be able to guarantee the security of life and property. Thus, Meyerink requested the dispatch of an imperial gunboat because this would impress the Spanish government as well as the natives.<sup>27</sup>

In the summer of 1887 the "Nautilus" under Lieutenant Commander von Hoven paid a visit to Sulu. In a confidential report to the Chief of the Admiralty, Hollmann, who then submitted it to Bismarck, Hoven first gave some general information on the situation on Sulu. The area around Jolo was still regarded as being insecure and nocturnal attacks on plantations were nothing unusual. Only a total of three plantations existed, the tobacco plantation of the Borneo Company, the cacao and coffee plantation of the former Captain Schück and the ilang-ilang plantation of a certain Hoffmann. All of them were in possession of German nationals. But only the first one was in particular danger. Thus, night by night it was guarded by twenty-seven soldiers. They were sent from the garrison by the Spanish governor, who according to von Hoven was very accommodating to the Germans. The hacienda had wooden watch towers and was put on the alert. Again and again, natives arbitrarily fired shots on the hacienda's residence causing much confusion but hardly any real damage. In contrast, Schück's hacienda was not on the defence alert at all due to his great popularity with the natives and his prestige with the deceased Sultan. He announced his neutrality and thus hoped to be spared from attacks. This policy proved to be successful all in all, apart from some occasional burglaries in stables and barns.<sup>28</sup>

Background to von Hoven's visit however, was an analysis of the defence capabilities of the town in case of an intervention or a conquest of a naval base. Von Hoven had a low opinion of these because a fortification of the port front was lacking as well as coastal artillery. The guns at the land front were outdated and of small caliber. Moreover, it was assumed that the natives of Sulu would cooperate with the possible attacker. Schück became a central figure in this plan. "In order to organize such a rebellion, if this should be the case, the above-mentioned Captain Schück would be the right man" (PA AA R 19475 Hollmann to Bismarck, Berlin 16 July 1887; Report Hoven, 7 June 1887).

The Spaniards were also aware of Schück's importance. On 26 July 1887 the consulate reported about Schück's possible expulsion from Sulu. Möllendorff pretended to be very surprised by the governor general's report on renewed accusations against Schück blaming him

for being an anti-Spanish agitator and trouble-maker. Schück was held responsible for the Taosug's ongoing resistance against the Sultan appointed by Spain. According to Möllendorff, there was absolutely no evidence for such political activities of Schück and it would mean to overestimate his influence by far. Furthermore, the Spaniards accused him of firing shots at night in order to intimidate the administrators of the Borneo Company. He wanted them to give up their plantation so that he himself could take over the management. On the other hand however, Meyerink made a comment to the effect that he appreciated Schück's "calm way," his "industriousness" and "stamina." But indeed, Meyerink considered giving up the hacienda if the attacks continued further. At that time however, Schück was worried about something else. He was caught in a difficult financial situation because his cacao trees had fallen victim to an epidemic. To obtain the necessary capital in order to convert it into a coffee hacienda, he took over the command of a British vessel plying the route Singapore, Sulu and the Moluccas. Furthermore, in 1887 he had a share together with Chinese businessmen in a pearl company. This, however, did not materialize because Schück died in Singapore the same year because of cholera.<sup>29</sup>

In March 1888 Möllendorff reported that the situation of the German nationals had improved because after Schück's death hardly any reason for mistrust existed any longer. The Spanish local authorities lived in amity with the Germans. But there still occurred thefts of cattle and attacks on Chinese day laborers. The elimination of these insecurities was a simple question of survival for the German plantations. Since the outbreak of these hostilities had become known in Singapore, the Borneo Company had severe difficulties to hire Chinese workers because the coolies refused to accept contracts for Sulu (PA AA R 19475 Möllendorff to Bismarck, Manila 20 May 1887 and 23 March 1888).

Furthermore, the hostilities of the Spanish colonial administration in Manila caused the company a lot of trouble. It was reported persistently that the Germans were seeking for colonies. The Germans residing in the Philippines, but particularly those in Sulu, were charged with systematic espionage. It was said that the Germans in Sulu "had informants available deep in the area of the natives" and they do "agitation" which altogether caused suspicion and mistrust. Moreover, a German man of war had "called secretly like a pirate ship at the coasts of Sulu" in order to negotiate with the datu and to supply munitions

(PA AA R 19463 Wallwitz to Bismarck, Madrid 6 Sept. 1889; "Globo", Manila 30 July 1889). Thus, there was a kind of relief on the side of the Spaniards as it became public that at the beginning of the year 1889 the Borneo Company had to be liquidated due to lack of capital.<sup>30</sup>

The years 1887 and 1889 meant an important break for the German interests in the Sulu Archipelago. With Schück's death the most influential German national in that region had also deceased. The bankruptcy of the Borneo Company marked the end for Germany in the competition with the British North Borneo Co. on influence in that region. At the same its bankruptcy characterized the end of the old policy of economic engagement without colonial possessions. This kind of policy could not be further implemented successfully in the age of imperialism. Consequently, the British Crown took over the administration of North Borneo. After Schück's death and the end of the German Borneo Company, Germany lost track of Sulu for the next few years. Only special circumstances made it possible for the German Empire to renew her hopes to acquire a naval base in the Sulu Archipelago.

### **Germany's Search for a Naval Base**

Under Emperor Wilhelm II. Germany pursued the policy of a "new course" which centered around the words "Weltmacht" (world power) and "Weltpolitik" (world politics). To implement this policy, it was necessary to build a strong navy and to obtain bases and new colonies or at least to extend the existing ones. The focus of German interest in Asia was on China and Southeast Asia. The volume of trade with Southeast Asia had not only constantly increased but there also was the colonial power of Spain which quite obviously was less and less able to rule her colonies effectively. Germany already was in possession of some colonies in the South Seas from where a German fleet could operate if necessary and, furthermore, the boundaries of these colonial territories were to be adjusted (Boelcke 1981, 243ff.). Henceforth, the German Empire claimed a right to stay in all developments of world politics, whereas the concrete acquisition of colonial territories actually only ranked second (W. Mommsen 1993, 140-41, 149). This diffuse politics can be illustrated by example of the Philippines.

After the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896, the days of Spanish colonialism were numbered. At first Germany considered in-

interviewing in favor of Spain for compensations. But this plan was dropped and instead it was decided to observe further developments. In the wake of the Spanish-American War, an American squadron under Commodore Dewey surprisingly destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay on 1 May 1898. Only a few days later the German Vice-Admiral von Diederichs was ordered to sail with his East Asia squadron to Manila in order to take over the Philippines if this situation should arise. The government in Berlin was of the opinion that since Consul Kempermann's analysis of 1885, the conditions of politics had not altered in any respect. Thus, it was still believed that the adjustment of the German colonial possessions was the appropriate objective. Mindanao, Sulu and Paragua were the most suitable targets in this context. "In case the acquisition of a greater area proves to be impossible, it is recommended to strive for the possession of Sulu at least" (BA MA RM 2/1834 Knorr to Wilhelm II., Berlin, 1 July 1898). As it became clear that the United States would retain the Philippines, Germany attempted to obtain a naval base in the Sulu Archipelago. To emphasize their claim on Sulu, the Germans falsely asserted with reference to the Sultan's letter of 1866 that a Prussian protectorate over Sulu had existed (PA AA R 2533 Memorandum Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898; Rohde-Enslin 1992, 34).

The geo-strategic location of the Sulu Islands made their acquisition as a center for trade and a naval base desirable although they actually were rather unimportant. Admiral Knorr admitted, "Our commercial interests in the Sulu Archipelago are not even great." But just because of these facts it would not be impossible to get control of the Sulu Islands was the general assumption in Berlin. There, however, existed visions which even ran a lot further. "In regard to the big Dutch colonies it would be favorable to have a naval station right in this place, even if it was such a small one. There can emerge political constellations with Holland which suggest the division of her colonies as it is the case with Spain today."<sup>31</sup>

On 12 August 1898 the German ambassador to Madrid was instructed to find out whether Spain would be willing to sell some of her colonies like the Philippines, the Carolines or any other island in the South Seas. But after the peace protocol between Spain and the United States had been signed, Germany had to make the other nations understand that it was not interested in the Philippines any longer. At the beginning of September, however, Germany arrived at an agreement with Spain to purchase the Carolines and Marianas

which resulted in a provisional treaty on 21 December. Germany then contacted the United States in order to exchange one of these islands as a cable station for a coaling base in the Sulu Archipelago. The United States, however, rejected any such exchange (Schüddekopf 1941, 57ff.).

Nevertheless, Germany secretly cherished hopes for Sulu because the German Eduard Schück, son of the legendary Captain Schück, was the only European residing on the island. In a letter of 20 January 1899 Eduard Schück drew Consul Krüger's attention to the allegedly very favorable opportunity, which would not occur again, to bring the island under German control (BA MA RM 3/2991 E. Schück to Krüger, Jolo, 20 Jan. 1899; E. Schück to Lieut. Com. Dunbar, Jolo, 16 March 1899). Thus, in the spring of 1899 the gunboat "Möwe" was sent to the Sultan. Schück thought that the Sultan would prefer a German protectorate but that he would not resist a British or an American one. That assessment of the situation was more in accordance with reality because the Americans were determined to include also Sulu into their colonial empire. Schück quickly came to turn with the new development. As American soldiers moved into Jolo in May 1899, Schück acted as their informant and interpreter (Tarling 1978, 297–300). While the father still functioned as an intermediary for the German Empire, even though in his own interest, his son did the same for the new American colonial masters. Thus, in the conduct of the Schück family the changing times are reflected and at the same time, the end of the German influence in the Sulu Archipelago is revealed symbolically.

## Conclusion

This article wants to illustrate by example of the German interests in the Sulu Archipelago the interaction between the decision-makers in the capitals and participants on the local level with their diverse individual interests. The attempt of the declining colonial power Spain after more than three hundred years of rule in the Philippines to finally subdue the Sulu Sultanate, led in the age of imperialism to an involvement of other colonial powers, particularly Great Britain and the German Empire. The endangered Sultan of Sulu tried to mobilize these powers against Spain by generously promising them ports as naval bases or even the right to establish a protectorate over Sulu. However, he was only partially successful for it was more favorable

for Britain that an unimportant colonial power was in possession of Sulu than the rising power of Germany.

The German Empire claimed to an increasing degree world-wide recognition but there did not exist a comprehensive political concept. This was true in regard to Prussia prior to 1871 as well as the German Empire under Bismarck and under Emperor Wilhelm II. Sulu serves as an example in this respect. Since 1866 there had been several possibilities under different political constellations to gain a foothold in the Sulu Archipelago. However, again and again they were not seized. At long last Berlin shrank back from impending political conflicts about colonies because it feared corresponding consequences in Europe. Nonetheless, the German Empire time and again got involved in Sulu due to the activities of the men on the spot.

These men on the spot, most of them British and German adventurers as well as the respective Sultan and his people, played the decisive role in the power struggle. First of all, they looked after their individual interests, in the instance of the Europeans primarily the greed for profit. In many cases this aim led to a cooperation for mutual benefit despite their being competitors. On the other hand, the Sultans regarded them as their allies and at the same as intermediaries between the Sultanate and the decision-makers in Europe. These politicians, for their part, considered the adventurers as absolutely necessary informants and intermediaries because they as well as their consuls were almost completely ignorant of this region.

The men on the spot's ambivalent activities, some on the verge or even outside the law, for their own benefit and as representatives of their nations repeatedly dragged their countries into local quarrels. Thus, high-ranking government authorities in Berlin commenced to act as Spain seized vessels flying the German flag resulting in serious diplomatic frictions. The decision-makers, however, never entirely comprehended the actual situation in the Sulu Sea. They only supported "their" adventurers because these people were regarded as agents of their respective countries. The adventurers were aware of this fact and took advantage of the situation.

On the other hand, they could only develop their activities in a power vacuum. After the spheres of interest in Sulu had been delimited between Britain, Spain and the Sulu Sultanate, their influence vanished with the exception of the German Schück who, however, played a special role. But also the attempt of the rising power Germany to be informally on the spot in the North Borneo-Sulu region by

a private company failed badly after a few years due to lack of any comprehensive political concept and misjudgement of the situation in Sulu. The same can be said about the diplomatic efforts to eventually acquire a naval base in Sulu in the wake of the Spanish-American War. Supposed military demonstrations of power, for instance, the dispatch of the German East Asia squadron to Manila Bay, proved to be a sign of weakness instead and only revealed the diffuse concept of "Weltpolitik" The German imperialism of opportunities remained unpredictable and fostered the general mistrust of the German Empire.

### Notes

1. BH-PCL Paper No. 160, Vol. 1, No. 2, Stephenson 1916, 3 and fn.9; Titze 1978, 167-70; Bacareza 1980, 59-65. Titze refers to an interview with a certain Karl Garmsen in Jolo in the 1960s. Garmsen was married to a granddaughter of Schück. Schück's Christian name, which Titze mentioned with reference to Garmsen, is correct as documents show. Also the ship's name "Wilhelmine" seems to be plausible because this was his wife's Christian name, Wilhelmine von Hohenstein. Warren 1981, 114 and Orosa 1923, 115-17, however, give a different name of the ship, "Queen of the Seas".

2. Warren 1981, 105-7; Saleeby 1908, 102ff.; Wright 1972, 67-68; Majul 1973, 284ff. The treaty of 30 April 1851 and the translation of the Sulu text are given in Saleeby (1908, 107-11).

3. BA BL R 1001/7154 Noelke to v. Carlowitz, Hong Kong 26 Oct. 1866; confirmations by the Vice-Consulate of Hong Kong 24 and 30 Oct. 1866.

4. BA BL R 1001/7154 Sultan of Sulu to King Wilhelm, Sept. 1866 (Malayan Original and English and German translations).

5. BA BL R 1001/7154 Geheimer Kabinettsrat Mühler to Bismarck, Berlin 27 Dec. 1866; PA AA R 2533 Memorandum, Legationsrat Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898.

6. Until 1871 Germany was divided into many independent small states. The Austrian-Prussian rivalry for hegemony in Germany ended in 1866 after Austria's defeat. As a first step to national unification, Prussia founded the North German Confederation in 1867. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 the German Empire was established and the Prussian King Wilhelm became the German Emperor.

7. Glade 1966, 40; Petter 1975, 239ff.; Meyer 1977, 41; Boelcke 1981, 20ff., 238ff.; Hildebrand et al. 1981, Vol. 3, 69-71.

8. BA BL R 901/11497 v. Delbrück to Admiralty, Berlin 11 July 1872; Petter 1975, 213-17; Rohde-Enslin 1992, 30-31; Tarling 1971, 188-89.

9. St. John Hart 1906, 347ff.; Rutter 1922, 115-17; Tregonning 1954, 367-68; Tregonning 1958, 10-11; Tate 1977, 199-200.

10. Titze 1978, 169-70; Bacareza 1980, 60; Warren 1981, 114-15; Rohde-Enslin 1992, 30.

11. BA BL R 901/11497 A. Heard & Co., List of "stores" and "cargo", Hong Kong 11 July 1873; Parr to Foreign Office, Manila 4 Oct. 1873; solemn statements by Hinrichsen et al. to Parr, Manila 24 Sept. 1873 and 16 Oct. 1873 in R 901/11498; Consul Cordes to Gov. Kennedy, Hong Kong 1 Oct. 1873; Parr to Cordes, Manila 11 Sept. (must

be October) 1873; Hinrichsen to Cahn, Manila 30 Oct. 1873; R 901/11498, particularly the report of Capt. Möller of 1 and 2 Sept. 1873; List of Goods, Hong Kong 18 Nov. 1873.

12. BA BL R 901/11501 Import & Export List No. 1228, 24 Aug. 1875; Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 9. Dec. 1875; Warren 1981, 122–23.

13. BA BL R 901/11501 v. Bülow to Emperor, Berlin 24 Jan. 1876; Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 26. Jan. 1876.

14. BA BL R 901/11502 Foreign Office to v. Hatzfeldt, Berlin, 16 Nov. 1876; Titze 1978, 170–71.

15. BA BL R 901/11497 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 6 Sept. 1873; R 901/11501 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 10 Nov. 1875; Warren 1981, 115.

16. Saleeby 1908, 119ff.; Majul 1973, 292–93, 299–300; Tarling 1978, 151, 182–84, 189; Warren 1981, 122–24.

17. BA BL R 901/11497 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 6 Sept. 1873; R 901/11501 Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 10. Nov. 1875; Warren 1981, 115.

18. Tarling 1978, 133–36. The facts given in various documents vary between eight and fifteen miles. According to all documents consulted, it is clear that the brig had been off the territorial waters.

19. BA BL R 901/11500 v. Bülow to Emperor, Berlin 29 March 1875. The negotiations for compensations about the Gazelle's cargo, which was owned by Chinese merchants, proved to be difficult. It was only in 1892 that the last financial details were settled. R 901/11502 Möllendorff to v. Caprivi, Manila 29 Jan. 1892.

20. BA BL R 901/11501 v. Bülow to Emperor, Berlin 24 Jan. 1876; Consulate Singapore to Foreign Office, 26 Jan. 1876; Legation Madrid to Foreign Office, Madrid 18 June 1876; Tarling 1978, 145–46.

21. Saleeby 1908, text of the protocol, 239–41; Wright 1972, 68–69; Majul 1973, 294; Bacareza 1980, 63; Hildebrand et al. 1980, Vol 2, 63; Warren 1981, 123–24; Wehler 1984, 209. Warren claimed that the Spanish sovereignty had been accepted. The text of the protocol, however, does not confirm this.

22. Rutter 1923, 117–21; Tregonning 1958, 4–15; Pape 1959, 163ff.; Runciman 1960, 178–82; Tarling 1978, 193–97; Tate 1977, 179–81; Warren 1981, 134–35.

23. Today the island of Palawan.

24. Text of the protocol in: Saleeby 1908, 242–44; Reemtsen 1938, 47–63; Majul 1973, 303–4. For a discussion of land ownership in Sulu and the Philippines between Germany and Spain, see W. Salazar 1997, 135–39.

25. BA BL R 901/51063 Foreign Office to Emperor Wilhelm I., Berlin 20 June 1881; Pangian of Sulu to Emperor Wilhelm I., Maimbun April 1881; PA AA R 2533 Memorandum Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898; Saleeby 1908, 130–31; Hildebrand et al. 1981, Vol. 3, 98; Vol. 4, 69.

26. This explains the German insistence on the granting of rights on land ownership in Sulu before signing the Second Sulu Protocol. StA H Handelsregister B 14912 Acts Nos. 2,3,7,9,12; EXPORT, Vol. 6, No. 8, 1884, 125; Pape 1959, 215.

27. PA AA R 19475 Meyerink to Consulate Manila, Jolo 9 Nov. 1886 and 24 Nov. 1886; v. Möllendorff to Bismarck, Manila, 6 Jan. 1887; Consulate Manila to Bismarck, 4 Dec. 1886.

28. Deutsche Kolonialzeitung, 1887, 71–72; PA AA R 19475 Hollmann to Bismarck, Berlin, 16 July 1887; Report v. Hoven, 7 June 1887.

29. PA AA R 19475 v. Möllendorff to Bismarck, Manila 26 July 1887; R 2533 Memorandum Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898; Enslin-Rohde 1992, 32. The descendants of his five sons, Hermann, Eduard, Carl, Wilhelm and Julius, were married to daughters of respected Taosug families. They lived scattered all over the archipelago. The four first mentioned ones were children of Schück's German wife Wilhelmine. Titze 1978, 171.

30. StA H Act 111-1 CI. VI. No. 6 Vol 1 Generalia betreffend Spanien, Fasc. 21, 1889; Handelsregister B 14912, Act. No. 41, 43, 45, 46; PA AA R 2533 Memorandum Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898.

31. PA AA R 2533 Memorandum Irmer, 9 Oct. 1898; R 19476 Report Irmer and Holstein, 23 Dec. 1898.

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