
Article 3. Public Relations Exercises of Firma Krupp in Japan at the End of the 19th Century: The Shooting test and Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō- Kōkoku*

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Abstract

This article examines the public relations campaigns in Japan of the German iron-steel company Fried. Krupp at the end of the 19th century, especially focusing on entering an international shooting test and on making and publishing an advertisement in the form of a Japanese-German Industrial Catalogue 『日独工業広告』 in Japan. Both public relations exercises were accomplished through the activities of “representatives” of Krupp in Japan. First, the entry of Krupp in an international shooting test was realized through the negotiatory activities of A. Schinzinger, a military technology representative of Krupp. Second, there was the publication of Krupp advertisements in 『日独工業広告』 published by Max Nößler. These demonstrated the useful qualities and performance of Krupp products. Both public relations exercises, undertaken by Krupp’s “representatives” in Japan, were carried out in order that Krupp could penetrate the Japanese war-materials market, which was dominated by business competitors in England and France at that time, and maintain Krupp’s market-share in Japan. Thereby Krupp succeeded in establishing a favorable reputation in Japan for its war products.

Introduction

From the latter half of the 19th century, European big business implemented various corporate strategies such as advertising to expand into markets in the world. According to Hartmut Berghoff, though there is literature on the market theory of media selection and coordination in advertising¹, big business actually relied on their own experiences rather than general scientific models and gained those experiences in respective business branches². Moreover, in recent years, we can see some studies that focus on individual cases of business activities based on marketing strategies and thereby trace the process of globalization in those activities³.

In tracing the process of the globalization of business activities from military affairs at the turn of the 20th century, the German iron-steel company Firma Fried. Krupp (founded in Essen in 1811, hereafter: Krupp) provides some interesting cases. Annual balance sheets of Krupp from 1813/ 14 to 1914/ 15 show that it began to export various kinds of iron-steel products, including *Kriegsmaterial* (war products) such as rails, wheels, cannons, gun

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1. See: e.g. Kerkhof, Stefanie van de, *Von der Friedens- zur Kriegswirtschaft: Unternehmensstrategien der deutschen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie vom Kaiserreich bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Klartext, Essen, 2006.
 2. Berghoff, Hartmut, “‘This is an Age of Advertisement’: Absatzwerbung und Unternehmenswachstum am Beispiel Hohner, 1900-1914,” *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, Bd. 40., 1995, S. 216-234, hier, S. 216.
 3. Epple, Angelika, *Das Unternehmen Stollwerck: Eine Mikrogeschichte der Globalisierung*, Campus, Frankfurt am Main, New York, 2010.

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barrels, and armor plates, to other countries in Europe from the 1830s. Until the year before the First World War, though Krupp gradually supplied its product gradually more to the domestic market and the German army and navy, 40-45% on average of its total sales came from overseas markets (Figure 1). In the 1870s, Krupp exported these products to more than 20 countries, including the Ottoman Empire, Latin America (particularly Chile and Bolivia), several Asian and African countries, and Australia (Figure 2)⁴.

To analyze some activities of Krupp, which is a big business with many business partners in the world, it is appropriate to focus on its business activities and to examine the process of the globalization of its business. This article aims to highlight one of its successful business activities, in particular public relations in a foreign country carried out by Krupp, at the end of the 19th century: taking part in a shooting test and an advertising campaign in Japan.

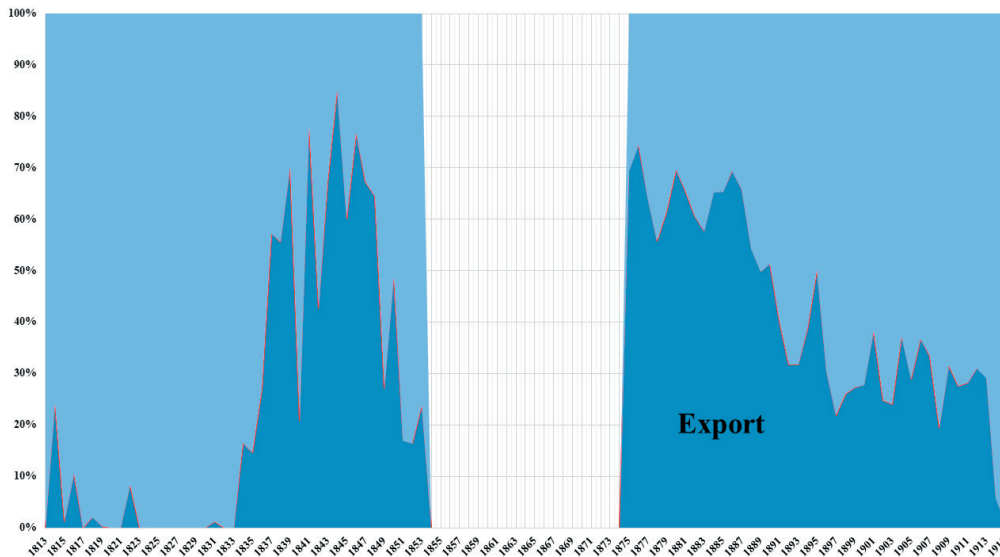


Figure 1: Sales of Export in Total, 1813-1915.

(Bilanz, HAK, WA 4/ 2419-4/ 2431; *Fried. Krupp Gussstahlfabrik. Essen Geschäfts Resultate seit 1848*, HAK, WA 1/ 1423.)

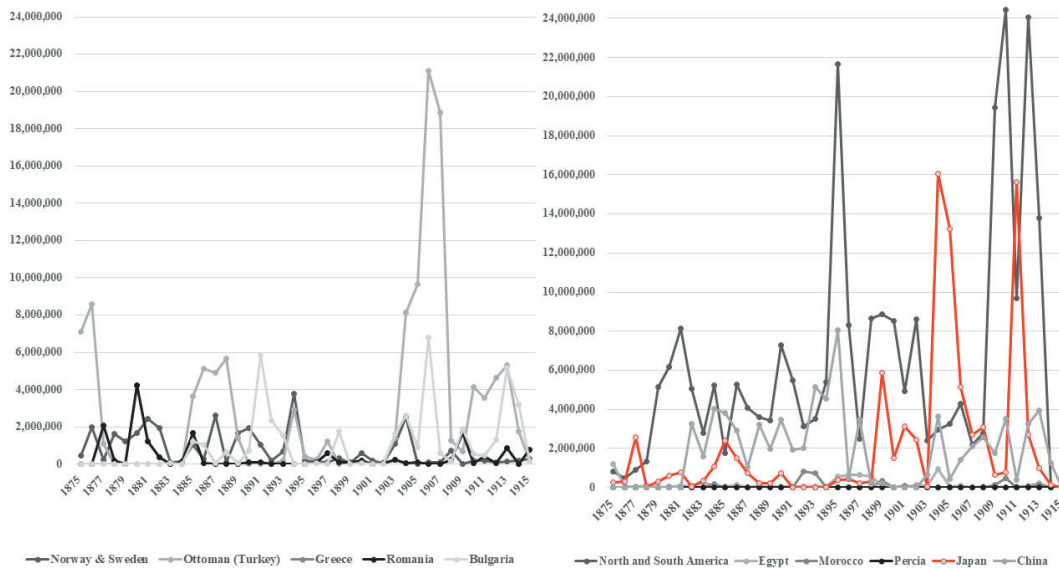


Figure 2: Product sales of Krupp to foreign countries, 1875-1915.

(*Fried. Krupp Gussstahlfabrik. Essen Geschäfts Resultate seit 1848*, HAK, WA 1/ 1423; *Verzeichnis der von der Gußstahlfabrik und von der Grusonwerk von 1847 bis 1912 gefertigten Kanonen*, HAK, S3, WT 1/ 3; Bilanz, HAK, WA4/ 2419-2431.)

4. Bilanz, Histrosches Archiv Krupp, Essen (hereafter: HAK), Werksarchiv (hereafter: WA), WA 4/ 2419-4/ 2431; *Fried. Krupp Gussstahlfabrik. Essen Geschäfts Resultate seit 1848*, HAK, WA 1/ 1423.

1. Business activities of Krupp and its representatives in Japan

1.1. Research on the business activities of Krupp

Regarding Krupp's commercial activities in the late 19th century, its products trade was mostly associated with imperialism and the expansionism of Imperial Germany. From the end of the Second World War to the 1980s, it became conventional to regard the Krupp trade in war products as the activities of a "Merchant of Death".⁵ However, due to the argument made by Epkenhans and Maeda, this model has been reconsidered⁶.

In some previous studies on the exports of Krupp from Imperial Germany, the business was only analyzed through some of its business partners, for example, those in the Ottoman Empire or Latin America⁷. In these studies, the focus was on the contact between military missions and the bureaucracies in countries of business partners, and the use of manipulative tactics such as bribery to obtain contracts. Through these tactics big businesses, especially Krupp or Mauser, which were closely related to the missions, were able to make profits, and then, as a result, the businesses succeeded in dominating that market (in particular, business with the Ottoman Empire)⁸. In the research on the global war-product marketing strategies of big businesses in Europe, few scholars have focused on the detailed activities of big business in the countries of business partners⁹.

1.2. Krupp's business with Japan and its representatives

However, Krupp was a "latecomer"¹⁰ to Japan in the latter half of the 19th century. The first contact of Krupp with Japan was in the year of 1867, when the Japanese mission took a tour of Europe¹¹. From the second half of the 1870s, Krupp began to export its iron and steel products to Japan, an ordinary business partner¹², and by 1914, was able to reach a profit of 8-9 % in total export sales (Figure 2).

In order to "penetrate" the market share in Japan, which was dominated by British and French companies in that period¹³, Krupp sent to Japan some business representatives *kaufmännischer Vertreter*, who "had a good reputa-

5. Owen, Richard, "Military-Industrial Relations: Krupp and Imperial Navy Office," in: Evans, Richard J. (ed.) *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*, Croom Helm, London, New York, 1978, pp. 71-89; ムーレン, N. 『クルップ五代紀——人われを死の商人と呼ぶ』江藤淳訳, 新潮社, 1961年 (Muhlen Norbert, *The Incredible Krupp: The Rise, Fall, and Comeback of Germany's Industrial Family*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1959); 岡倉古志郎 『死の商人』, 岩波書店, 1962年. About the dispute over "Merchant of Death," see: 前田充洋 「ヴィルヘルム二世治世下ドイツにおける海軍とクルップ社の関係——装甲板価格の設定交渉過程の分析から——」 『西洋史学』 第248号, 2012年, 1-18頁, here, 2-5頁.
6. Epkenhans, Michael/ Stremmel, Ralf (Hg.), *Friedrich Alfred Krupp: Ein Unternehmer im Kaiserreich*, C. H. Beck, München, 2010; Epkenhans, Michael, *Die wilhelminische Flottenrüstung 1908-1914: Weltmachtstreben, industrieller Fortschritt, soziale Integration*, C. H. Beck, München, 1991; Epkenhans, Michael, "Krupp and the Imperial German Navy, 1898-1914: A Reassessment," *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 64-2, 2000, pp. 335-369; Maeda, "The Relationship between the German Navy and Krupp in Wilhelmine Era."
7. Türk, Fahri, "Deutsche Waffenlieferungen in Türkei von1871 bis 1914," in: Schönig, Claus/ Çalik, Ramazan/ Bayraktar, Hatice (Hg.), *Türkisch-Deutsche Beziehungen: Perspektiven aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Schwarz Verlag, Berlin, 2012, S. 171-191; Türk, Fahri, *Die deutsche Rüstungsindustrie in ihren Türkeigeschäften zwischen 1871 und 1914: die Firma Krupp, die Waffenfabrik Mauser und die Deutschen Waffen- und Munitionsfabriken*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2007; Yorulmaz, Naci, *Arming the Sultan: German arms trade and Personal Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire before World War I*, I. B. Tauris, London, New York, 2014; Schaefer, Jürgen, *Deutsche Militärhilfe an Südamerika: Militär- und Rüstungsinteressen in Argentinien, Bolivien und Chile vor 1914*, Bertelsmann Univesitätsevrlag, Düsseldorf, 1974.
8. Türk, "Deutsche Waffenlieferungen in Türkei von1871 bis 1914"; Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan*.
9. e. g. Grant, Jonathan A., *Rulers, Guns, and Money: The Global Arms Trade in the Age of Imperialism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 2007.
10. 工藤章, 田嶋信雄編 『日独関係史1890-1945——I. 総説、東アジアにおける邂逅』 東京大学出版会, 2008年.
11. Wippich, Rolf-Harald, "Alfred Krupp und die japanische Europagesandtschaft 1862," *Scripta Mercaturae*, Jahrgang 20, 1986, S. 1-10.
12. Bilanz; *Fried. Krupp Gussstahlfabrik. Essen Geschäfts Resultate seit 1848*.
13. Concerning the role of representatives, see: Stoker, Donald, "The History and Evolution of Foreign Military Advising and Assistance, 1815-2007," in: Stoker, Donald (ed.), *Military Advising and Assistance: From Mercenaries to Privatization, 1815-2007*, Routledge, New York, 2008, pp. 1-10, here, pp.3-4.

tion and are financially secure¹⁴,” and a military-technology representative *militärisch-technischer Vertreter*, who was an ex-officer in Germany or Japan¹⁵. However in previous studies, although there were some investigations into Japanese-German business relationships¹⁶, they paid little attention to negotiatory activities and public relations activities of Krupp’s representatives in Japan. Therefore, this article focuses on negotiatory activities of representatives of Krupp (Chapter 2) and public relations activities (Chapter 3) in Japan at the end of the 19th century.

2. A German Representative in Japan: Albert Schinzinger and the shooting Test

The first step in the business activities of Krupp in Japan from the latter half of the 1880s was to reassess the reputation of its war products in foreign language newspapers published in Japan. From the latter half of the 1880s, many foreign language newspapers and periodicals were published in Japan as a means of exchanging political, economic, and cultural information between Europe and Japan. The directorium of Krupp noticed some articles before 1885 about the quality of its cannons in a French-language newspaper in Japan *Echo du Japon* [sic]:

And this is so true, said Mr. De Bange, that at the time of the siege of Paris all the Krupp cannons were dismantled, and it was decided to replace them with muzzle-loading or transformed bronze cannons...

The latest experiments in Belgrade have confirmed this success, and despite the standing ovation prepared for Krupp, the Bange system triumphed, so much so that the German ambassador present at the trials could not help but congratulate the agent of the company led by the colonel¹⁷.

It is clear that, according to the above-mentioned articles, the quality and performance of Krupp cannons were worse than those of the French (De Bange System). In response to the article, Hans Jencke, a member of the directorium of Krupp, claimed that the consequence of the article was a “bad reputation” and demanded that it be corrected¹⁸, but the contents and the damage to the Krupp reputation were not altered¹⁹.

It was considered more important that no representative who had taken office since 1885 could restore this reputation than whether or not the contents of the article were “correct”. In order to improve the reputation of the Krupp cannons in Japan, Krupp sent Albert Schinzinger, who had previously been a representative of military technology in Chile, and assigned him the task of advertising its products²⁰. In view of the fact that Britain and France

14. Dokument Nazikriegsverbrecher Krupp, 10501: Denkschrift Beckmann: Erfahrungen im Kriegsmaterial-Geschäft mit dem Ausland, Essen, 9. 9. 1937, in: Schaefer, *Deutsche Militärhilfe an Südamerika*, S. 32.

15. When a company begins to do business with foreign countries, generally it applies for permission to export directly to them, or on the other hand, sets up a representative (mission, staff, or company) and exports with its collaboration. Krupp applied the latter to business with Japan.

16. 前田充洋「19-20世紀転換期における対日製品供給をめぐるドイツ企業間の交渉——装甲巡洋艦「八雲」をめぐるドイツ企業間の交渉——」『世界史研究論叢』第8号, 2018年, 1-16頁; 日独交流史編集委員会編『日独交流150年の軌跡』, 雄松堂書店, 2013年; Bähr, Johannes/ Lesczenski, Jörg/ Schmidpott, Katja, *Handel ist Wandel: 150 Jahre C. Illies & Co.*, Piper Verlag, München, Zürich, 2009; Spang, Christian W./ Wippich, Rolf-Harald (eds.), *Japanese-German Relations, 1895-1945: War, Diplomacy and Public Opinion*, Routledge, New York, 2006; ラウック, ミヒヤエル「第一次世界大戦前におけるドイツ企業の対日投資活動」『経済と経済学』第71号, 1992年, 45-57頁; Rauck, Michael, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Japan und Deutschland, 1859-1914: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen*, vorgelegt von Rauck, Michael, München, 1988.

17. *Echo du Japon* am 9. Mai, in cited: “Auswärtiges Amt II 6490: Vortrag der Firma Fried. Krupp in Essen, Kriegsmateriallieferungen an Japan betreffend am 28. 7. 1885,” in: Auswärtiges Amt Abteilung II, *Acten betreffend: die Lieferungen der Firma Krupp für die Japanische Regierung*, Bd. 1., Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 901/ 8467 (hereafter: BArch, R 901).

18. “Auswärtiges Amt II 6490: Vortrag der Firma Fried. Krupp in Essen, Kriegsmateriallieferungen an Japan betreffend am 28. 7. 1885,” in: BArch, R 901/ 8467.

19. Concerning the qualities and performances of Krupp, a Japanese mission Akamatsu Noriyoshi saw some cannons made by Krupp shooting and then breaking in his tour of Europe. So it is likely that the reputation in this article is more accurate. See: 赤松範一編註『赤松則良半生談——幕末オランダ留学の記録』平凡社, 1977年, 182-183頁.

20. About the career of A. Schinzinger, see the biographical study of Wippich: Wippich, Rolf-Harald, “Ein (fast) vergessener Japan-Deutscher:

had been able successfully to demonstrate the qualities and performance of their cannons in a shooting test in Japan, Schinzinger presented a proposal in a report to the German Ambassador that Krupp should enter the shooting tests as follows:

The Japanese were not very pleased with result of the test with the Armstrong cannon and [French: M. M.] Hotchkiss cannon, which was held in autumn. Therefore Schinzinger has given himself up to the hope of possibly achieving a favorable result²¹.

In July 1897, Krupp took part in an international shooting test for field artillery held at the Army Field Artillery School 陸軍野戦砲兵学校 in Yotsukaido (located in Chiba). As a result, Schinzinger successfully demonstrated the higher performance of the Krupp artillery over that of Armstrong and the French. Schinzinger reported the situation of the shooting test as follows:

As far as French ammunition, particularly shrapnel fuses, is concerned, it was simply described as totally unsuitable. The bullet-clamp, barrel-explosion, and unexploded shells were the order of the day. [...] Meanwhile, the Krupp fuses were so distinguished by their constant combustion that the audience had only praise for them²².

Concerning the result, Georg Treutler expected growth in the orders for Krupp cannons after the test as follows:

The International field artillery competition ended with great success for Krupp. It is a prospect that bodes well for orders²³.

According to experts, the results of the shooting test were extraordinarily good, and Japanese officers who had close relationships with the French could not help expressing their appreciation and admiration; The Minister of the Army repeatedly congratulated Schinzinger²⁴.

Because of the presentation by Schinzinger and the result of the shooting test, the reputation of Krupp products might have been restored to some extent. In addition to these activities, Krupp began to engage in advertising campaigns in Japan.

3. *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* and Krupp advertisements

In the 1880s, although many periodicals or newspapers in foreign languages were published in Japan in order to exchange information between Japan and Europe, Rauck has demonstrated that there were few German-language periodicals because of the fact that not many Japanese could understand German²⁵. In this situation, Krupp decided to undertake public relations activities in the Japanese language, for Krupp could find an effective advertising medium: the Japanese-German Industrial Catalogue 『日独工業広告』 *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* (hereafter:

Albert Schinzinger (1856-1926) -Artillerieoffizier, Krupp-Vetreter, japanischer Honorarkonsul und Geschäftsmann,” *OAG-Notizen*, Juni 2014, S. 10-22.

21. We can see the mention of Schinzinger in the report of Legationssekretär Karl Georg von Treutler “Ausw. Amt II 12168: Bericht von Karl Georg von Treutler an an Seine durchlaucht den Herrn Reichskanzler Fürsten Hohenlohe Schillingfürst am 13. 4. 1897,” in: Bd. 3., BArch, R 901/ 8469. About Treutler, see: Auswärtiges Amt (Hg.), *Biographisches Handbuch des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes, 1871-1945: Band 5 T-Z, Nachträge*, Ispording, Bernd/ Keiper, Gerhard/ Kröger, Martin (Bearb.), Paderborn, 2014, hier, S. 65-66.

22. “Anlage zu Bericht B 133 am 8. 7. 1897 von Schinzinger, Milit. techn. Vertreter der Firma Fried. Krupp Hauptmann der Reserve=Feldartillerie,” in: Bd. 3., BArch, R 901/ 8469.

23. “Ausw. Amt II 25883: Telegramm den 5. November 1897,” in: Bd. 3., BArch, R 901/ 8469.

24. “Ausw. Amt II 28634: Bericht von Karl Georg von Treutler am 6. 11. 1897,” in: Bd. 3., BArch, R 901/ 8469.

25. Rauck, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Japan und Deutschland, 1859-1914*, S. 150-155.

Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku). This was published by Max Nößler (Maximilian Nößler) from 1898 (Figure 3).

3.1. Max Nößler and his report

Max Nößler, born in Bremen in 1860, took over his father's business and established a new printing and publishing company there in 1898. Two years before, he had travelled around East Asia for three months²⁶. In Japan, Nößler visited Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, and Osaka in order to survey some foreign-language periodicals, hotels, housing, and “nationalities” in those cities²⁷. Regarding periodicals, Nößler reported on whether newspapers and periodicals were monthly, weekly or daily, the publishers of each of them, and the price of their subscriptions. Although Nößler did not provide a detailed description of the contents in his report, he definitely emphasized the importance of public relations with East Asia in the preface, titled “Parole: Made in Germany!,” in the 4th volume of *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* published in 1897:

In the face of the great effort which British industry had made in the Japanese market, it is urgently necessary to develop a lasting advertising campaign from the German side, for many of Japanese people would like to buy those items which are advertised with so much publicity²⁸.

In addition, Nößler cited a statement made by *Kaiserliche General-Konsulats für Japan in Yokohama* Schmidt Leda in the same article as follows:

To achieve successful results from advertisements with the Japanese public, it is of great importance to develop as much advertising as possible. [...] Regarding the pronounced preference of the Japanese for statistics, it is not without value to include numerical proofs of the sales of the goods advertised within the contents of advertisements²⁹.

In this article, Nößler emphasized the importance of advertising in East Asia to compete against the British and pointed out the need for a continuation of advertising from the German side. In addition, there was a recommendation that statistical information in advertisements would be more effective and lead to more profit, as some Japanese would tend to then purchase the goods advertised. He decided to apply a catalogue-style advertisement based on his own research results in Japan.

Furthermore, Nößler presented *Mitteilungen betr. Japan* (a report about Japan) in December 1896, stating that he established *Ausgabestelle von deutschen Warenkatalogen, Prospekten und Preislisten* (an issuing office for German product catalogues, brochures, and price lists) in Yokohama in order that the Japanese would be able to obtain more information from his catalogue more quickly than from British information³⁰. Nößler willingly undertook these activities and felt strongly about the necessity of promoting German products ahead of British ones. He believed that it was important for German industrial businesses to “penetrate” the Japanese industrial market, previously dominated by companies from Britain and France, and to obtain clients more quickly. These intentions are evident in the following quotation:



Figure 3: Max Nößler
(1860-1923)

(Schwarzwälder, Herbert, *Das Große Bremen-Lexikon: Ergänzungsband von A bis Z*, Edition Temmen, Bremen, 2008, S. 129.)

26. Nößler, Max, *Mitteilungen über einen dreimonatlichen Aufenthalt in Ostasien*, Max Nößlers Druckerei, Bremen, 1897.

27. *Ibid.*, S. 5-7.

28. Nößler, Max, “Parole: Made in Germany!,” 『日独工業広告』 第四號, 1897, in: Die Akte 2-Dd. 11. c. 2. J. 1., Staatsarchiv Bremen.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Nößler, Max, *Mitteilungen betr. Japan am Dezember 1896*, in: Krupp'sche Propaganda in China und Japan, 1898, HAK, WA4/ 1078.

In interest of the company, it seems desirable to publish the advertisements in the shortest possible period, since, if the English competing catalogues are delivered for a longer period, the Japanese customers are going to gradually turn their attention to those catalogues and prefer them to the German advertisements, which, if published about a year later again, will have fallen into oblivion.³¹.

Max Nößler decided to develop advertisements in Japan, thereby providing Japanese clients with a lot of detailed information on German industrial products and industrial companies as quickly as possible, so as to obtain greater German profits.

3.2. The organization of printing in Japan and the contents of *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*

However, the process of publishing the catalogue in Japan was never smooth. It was difficult for some of the German companies to handle the Japanese and Chinese scripts in printing. *Betrieb-Inspektor* Taeschner at the Imperial Printing Works in Berlin, *Reichsdruckerei Berlin*, complained about “how easy the work of a German typesetter seems to be compared to that of his colleagues in Japan and China!³²” Furthermore, it was more difficult to undertake typesetting in Japanese and Chinese characters than in German. Typesetting of the Chinese characters known as *Kanji* took a lot of time to set up in Germany because of the complexity involved in the process: First, dividing *Kanji* into figures, second, counting the number of vertical and horizontal lines, and then third, creating a *Kanji*’s type and typesetting it.

In view of the complaints about the difficulty of working with Japanese and Chinese characters in German printing works, Nößler intended to establish a publishing house for *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* in Japan. Furthermore, he entrusted Kitsuma Yamazaki 山崎喜都眞 with the position of representative of the house. His duties were to maintain contact with companies that requested advertisements in *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*, and to publish this in Japan³³. In addition, Yamazaki learned paper technology in Germany, and he was a former employee of a Japanese prefectural company in Kyoto, Papier Fabrik ノパピール・ファブリク, founded in 1872. Papier Fabrik was sold off to the private sector in 1880, and was divided into the Isono Paper Mill Works 磯野製紙場 and the Umedu Paper Mill Company 梅津製紙会社, which then became the Kyoto Mill Works of the Fuji Paper Company 富士製紙. Although the historical sources unfortunately cannot provide evidence that Nößler entrusted the Fuji Paper Company with printing the advertisements, the name of the company can be seen in the colophon of *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* (Figure 4). Therefore, the Fuji Paper Company may also have been involved in the printing. For the cover printing

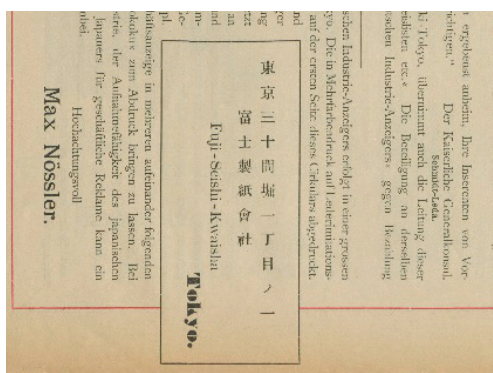


Figure 4: Colophon of *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* (『日独工業広告』第四號, 1897, in: Die Akte 2-Dd. 11. c. 2. J. 1., Staatsarchiv Bremen.)

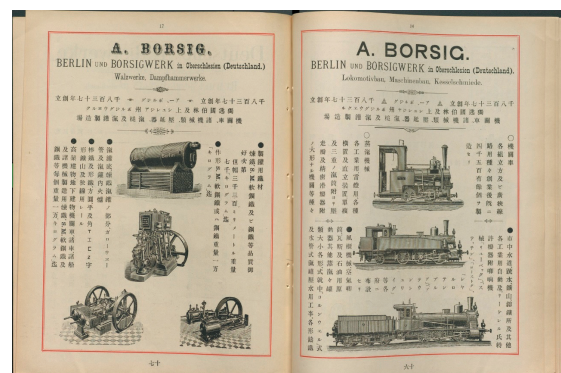


Figure 5 『日独工業広告』第五號, 16-17 頁 (Die Akte 2-Dd. 11. c. 2. J. 1., Staatsarchiv Bremen)

31. Nößler, Max, “Parole: Made in Germany!,” 『日独工業広告』第四號.
 32. “Die Setzerei des Japanisch-Deutschen und Chinesisch-Deutschen Industrie Anzeigers in der Reichsdruckerei,” Krupp’sche Propaganda in China und Japan, 1898, HAK, WA4/ 1078.
 33. Nößler, “Parole: Made in Germany!,” 『日独工業広告』第四號.

and binding, Nöblier entrusted the work to the Japanese publishing company Kokubunsha 国文社 based in Tokyo³⁴.

With the help of those collaborators in Japan, *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* was published in 1897 (Figure 5). It took the form of a quarterly catalogue and the development of German industry was generally emphasized in its contents. For example, figure 5 shows an advertisement for the German machine works A. Borsig, which was founded in Berlin at the beginning of the 19th century. The year of foundation, the location of its headquarters, and the industrial products and their qualities and performance were shown in the advertisement.

In addition to advertisements and articles with a view to defeating British companies in the Japanese industrial market, Nöblier carried a summary of imports to Japan, and an article by the Professor of Engineering in *Staatliches Technikum* in Bremen, Hermann Wilda, “The Rise of Germany as an Industrial Nation³⁵” 「工業國トシテ独逸ノ勃興」 in *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*. Samples of this catalogue were set out at the German consulate in Japan, and for those who wanted to subscribe to the publishing house:

1 When you would like to subscribe to a list of products and prices for German works and companies, [...] apply to Kitsuma Yamazaki.

1 We [Nöblier] asked the works and companies that published advertisements in this catalogue to send their printing samples to Yamazaki, and to distribute them free to those who want to view them. If there were no samples in Japan, those works and companies should be ordered from Germany immediately³⁶.

3.3. Advertising for Krupp in *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*

Krupp had already paid attention to *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* in 1897. The directorium of Krupp planned to reform the company’s public relations in China and Japan. They wanted to capitalize on the success of Schinzinger with the international shooting test (cf. chapter 2). For example, the directorium sent an item of correspondence to Georg Bauer, owner of H. Mandl & Co. and both the business and technical representative of Krupp in China³⁷: “We concluded that the pamphlet in its original version was in no way suitable for distribution, and therefore we would like to order a revised reprint³⁸.”

Krupp also applied revision of information media to its activities in Japan, and originally intended to adapt a German economic paper published in China, *Der Ostasiatische Lloyd*, East Asian Lloyd³⁹. However, it was deemed an unsuitable publication in which to publish its advertisements and promote its own business information in Japan, for, according to the estimate of Rauck, some articles in that paper were seen as against Japan⁴⁰. For this reason, Krupp chose *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*. The process of choosing is unfortunately not evident from the historical documents of the directorium or correspondence by Krupp. The advertisements were printed out in Berlin and published in Japan as a special number of *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* (Table 1⁴¹). Compared with the number of pages of advertisements for other German companies—for example, the German electronics and machine company Sie-

34. Ibid.

35. ハー、ヴェルダ 「工業國トシテ独逸ノ勃興」 『日独工業広告』 第五號, 1897, 41-56頁, in: Die Akte 2-Dd. 11. c. 2. J. 1., Staatsarchiv Bremen.

36. 「日独工業広告第五號目次」 『日独工業広告』 第五號, 1897, 4頁, in: Die Akte 2-Dd. 11. c. 2. J. 1., Staatsarchiv Bremen.

37. About activities of Georg Bauer in China, see: Bauer, Georg, *China um 1900: Aufzeichnungen eines Krupp-Direktors*, herausgegeben und kommentiert von Kaske, Elisabeth, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2005.

38. “Nr. 536: Bericht von das Direktorium Krupps an Regierungsbaumeister Bauer am 10. 06. 1898,” in: Krupp’sche Propaganda in China und Japan, 1898, HAK, WA4/ 1078.

39. Krupp’sche Propaganda in China und Japan, 1898, HAK, WA4/ 1078. About Ostasiatische Lloyd, see: 牛海坤, 『《德文新報》研究 (1886～1917)』 *The Research on Der Ostasiatische Lloyd: 1886-1917*, 上海交通大学出版社, 2012.

40. Rauck, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Japan und Deutschland, 1859-1914*, S. 151.

41. It is not permissible to copy historical sources in the Krupp Historical Archive, so figure 6 is reproduced by the author from the special number.

mens & Halske only had one page that indicated the importance of business with Japan in this era⁴²—the advertisements for Krupp used a great number of pages. In particular, in the section on war products, we can see that Krupp enthusiastically introduced some types of munitions and cannons that could be supplied, and mentioned the performance and utility of its war products and its own department and facilities, such as a proving ground in Meppen.

One of the reasons why Krupp published this concrete information in Japan in the year 1897 was that a revision of a treaty related to commerce would be carried out in 1899. This was clear from the report by Nöbler⁴³. Therefore, Krupp wanted to provide detailed information to Japan before the year 1899 and then capitalize on the growth of profits from sales. In fact, the Krupp annual financial report shows that its profits from exports of war products to Japan rose from 155,240 Marks (1897) to 5,852,890 Marks (1899)⁴⁴. Although it is not clear to what extent the publication of advertisements in *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku* and the result of the shooting test influenced the growth of Krupp profits from exports to Japan, these public relations exercises in Japan might have been a contributing factor to the increase in profits.

Conclusion

This article retraced the business activities of Krupp in Japan at the end of the 19th century, especially its public relations exercises: the international shooting test and the publication of advertisements in the Japanese-German Industrial Catalogue *Nichi-Doku-Kōgyō-Kōkoku*, both of which were carried out by representatives and collaborators—Albert Schinzinger, Max Nöbler, and Kitsuma Yamazaki—in order to penetrate the Japanese market, which had been previously dominated by British and French businesses⁴⁵. Krupp developed public relations activities to promote the utility of its products. As a result, Krupp benefitted from increased profits from business with Japan. This article sheds light on another aspect of the foreign business activities of Krupp, which had a reputation for imperialism and expansionism, based on its activities in the Ottoman Empire and Latin America.

42. 『日独工業広告』第五號, 138頁. Also see: figure 5.

43. Nöbler, *Mitteilungen betr. Japan am Dezember 1896*.

44. Bilanz; *Fried. Krupp Gussstahlfabrik. Essen Geschäfts Resultate seit 1848*. However, the growth of profit was not stable (in 1900: 1,280,905 Mark).

45. When discussing advertising in Japan, Nöbler emphasized that the results were due to the representatives. (Nöbler, “Parole: Made in Germany!”)

<p>p. 1</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Gussstahlfabrik FRIED. KRUPP Essen a.d. Ruhr. フリードリヒ・クルップ鉄鋼ジョウ独逸國ルール河岸エッセン市</p> <p>一、エッセン製鋼場Die Gussstahlfabrik in Essen 一、アンネン製鋼場Das Krupp'sche Stahlwerk vormals F. Asthörer & Co. in Annen (Westfalen) (元アストホエーヴェル會社所有「ヴェストファーレン」州アンネン工場) 一、グルゾンヴェルク Das Grusonwerk in Buchau bei Magdeburg (マゲデブルグ附近「ブッカウ」ニアリ) 一、「ツイスブルグ」、「ノイヴィード」及「ザイン」三鎔鋼爐(第四築造中) 3 Hochofenanlagen bei Duisburg, Neuwied und Sayn (eine vierte ist Bau)* 一、數多鉄鉱 Mehrere Kohlbergwerke. 一、數多鉄鉱 Eine grosse Anzahl Eisensteingruben. 一、メッペン射的場 Ein Schiessplatz bei Meppen 一、其他諸工場アリ</p>
<p>p. 2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Fabrikate der Gussstahl in Essen.</p> <p>一、一八九四年ノ調査ニ依レバ「クルップ」鉄工場在勤役員及職工等ノ惣數式万七千七百五十五人而シテ其家族ヲ合算セバ九萬四千七百五拾式人ナリ丙本場々會在住者式萬五千八百式拾八人 翌千八百九十五年七月ニ至リテハ式千有餘人増シ惣數在勤者ノ數式萬九千零百九拾式人 一、本場ノ數十年來最モ實験ニ富メル鑄工中最モ獨特ノ長所トスルハ坩堝鋼即チ「チーゲルスタール」(Tiegelstahl)製造ナリ其製造ニ就テハ特ニ精選シタツ鉄及鋼ヲ最初坩堝中ニ於テ鑄造シ而テ之ヲ其坩堝中ヨリ取出シ合鑄シタルモノニシテ其最大ナルモノニ至ッテハ一個ノ重量八萬五千「キログラム」アリ又其原料ハ悉皆本場所鎔鑄場ニ於テ精選シタルモノナレバ精ナル一及ビ原料ノ純其製品ノ大小形ヲ論ゼズ其質ノ同一ナルヲ確証ス 一、本場製「チーゲルスタール」ハ砲身、銃身及砲彈其能機関車ノ部分、原動ノ機械、船用機械、轆轤機及鉄板、鋼板製造、用大壓延機等製造用ニ適當ス而シテ其能一部ノ破損ニ於テ既ニ全部使用ニ適サザルモノ例ヘバ瀕関車ノ軸、車輪及ピ金、銀、貨幣壓搾器等ノ如シ 一、本場製マルチン鋼ハ坩堝鋼ト其使用同等ナリト雖ヘド砲身製造ニハ之ヲ用ヒス「マルチン」鋼ハ鉄板、角形板、及甲鉄板等凡テ(ヲ?)造船用其他砲彈、砲架、瀕鐵板、機関車ノ車輪、輪環及彈器等製造ニ適ス</p>
<p>p. 3</p>	<p>一、坩堝鋼及マルチン鋼合鑄鋼ハスタールフォルムグスト稱シ鉄道用材トシテハ「ヘルツスケテック」及ビ「クロイツスケテック」機関車及車輛用車輪等製造ニ又諸機械製造ニ又造船用材トシテハ船首柱及螺旋等製造ニ適ス而シテ其合鑄鋼大形一個ノ重量六十噸余アリ 一、本場製ベッセメル鋼ハ特ニ高架鉄道用材ニ適ス即チ鉄軌接合器及其礎等 一、右各種鋼ノ外尚「ヴォルフラム」、「ニッケル」、「クロム」及「モリブデン」等ヲ以テ合鑄鋼ヲ製造ス 「ニッケル」鋼ハ數年以來使用頻繁ナル機械外部ノ破裂豫防ニ最モ著シキ功アルコトハ既ニ世ノ知ル所也而シテ其功力ノ如何略記セシニ「ニッケル」鋼ハ非常ニ堅固ニシテ彈力ヲ有シ又鋼粘硬ニシテ其質同一ナルヲ以テ各種中最モ優等ナルモノナリ 「ニッケル」鋼ハ其破裂ノ憂更ニナキヲ以テ諸機械製造、造船、機関車輪、諸機械ノ各部、船用軸其他製造ニ使用社非常ニ多シ 一、本場ハ製鋼ノ外特ニ鑄鉄、鍊鉄及青銅等ヲ其使用向キニ隨ヒ製造ス</p>
<p>p. 4</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">—エッセン製鋼場内製造品之部— !!! I. エッセン製鋼場内製造品之部 !!!</p> <p>一、一大砲(明治二十八年年末迄製造高三萬余個) ・各種口径船用砲 一、三十七「ミリメートル」小口径速射砲ヨリ三十半以上大口径搭砲迄 一、四十二瓏迄ノ大口径海岸砲各種 ・攻城砲及要塞砲 ・野戰砲兵及野戰兵用品 速射野戰砲及同山砲 砲車其他附屬品一切 ・砲兵用品其他軍用車一切御注文次第 一、砲彈 ・貫甲砲彈、半甲砲彈、鋼製發火砲彈、爆裂砲彈、鋼製爆裂砲彈、鋼製シュワブネル式爆裂彈、鑄鉄製發火爆裂彈及榴散彈等 一、導火管、袋入火薬及彈薬等 一、銃身 一、軍艦製造用鋼板及甲鉄板等 !!!注意 海岸要塞其他各種要塞用甲鉄等特製砲臺彈丸等ハ「グルゾンヴェルク」工場ニ於テ特別ニ之ヲ製造セシム</p>
<p>p. 5</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">!!! II. エッセン製鋼場内製造品之部 !!!</p> <p>一、鉄道用材ノ部 「ワドステルン」及車輪各種、輪環、車軸、「ワドザツツ」、彈器、彈鋼、瀕鐵板、車架鉄板、壓搾鉄、ホギー其他機関車及車輛用附屬品一切。廣軌及狹軌用鉄軌、轆器及ヘルツスケテック其他原野、山林及工業用易搬鉄道、全車輛及附屬品一切 一、造船用材之部 鉄板、角材鉄、諸形鉄、機械臺、ピストン、チリンデル、連接杆、腕曲軸、スラストブロック、軸、螺旋軸、船首及船尾用材、舵及舵匡其他造船用材一切 一、機械製造用材之部 鋼製及鉄製機械各部(荒仕場及仕揚品共) 一、鋼板及鉄板之部 但厚サ〇、五ミリメートルヨリ幅四メートル迄 一、鋼製ロール之部 但天烈硬及人口硬製共 一、各工業用鋼製器機之部 爐、穿石用鋼器、鋼棒等</p>
<p>p. 6</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Statistisches über die Gussstahlfabrik in Essen.</p> <p>一、坩堝鋼(Tiegelstahl)製造ニ就テハ本場所屬數多ノ鍊鉄場、接鉄及鎔鋼場等アリ又ベッセメル鋼セイゾウニ就テハ二個ノコウジョウ、マーチン鋼製造ニ就テハ大小各種鎔爐附工場四ヶ所ニアリ 一、當場ニ於テ鑄造シタル原料ヨリ前記軍用品及平時用品等ヲ製造スル數多ノ工場アリ即チ 鍛鐵場(最大形鑄重量五十噸) 壓水鍛鐵場(五千噸壓水力機二個及二千噸全機一個) 甲鉄板、鉄板及鉄軌製工場 鉄道用車輪、全輪環及其他鉄道用品製工場 易搬鉄道用品製工場、製鐵場 其他各種製鉄及製鋼場等 一、砲兵用品製造に就テハ又各特別ノ工場アリ即チ大砲製造場、砲架製造場、組立用品製造場、軍用車製造場、彈丸製造場、導火管製造場及諸機械製造場等 一、大砲及砲彈試射場亦三アリ就中メッペン射的場ハ其延長十六、八「キロメートル」(凡我四星)ナリト雖ヘドモ二三「キロメートル」(凡六星)迄試射スルコトヲ得又在「タンゲルヒュッテ」第三射的場ハ「グルゾンヴェルク」製品試射場ノ爲メニ設ク而シテ如何ナル大口径ノ大砲ト雖ヘドモ各場ニ於テ試射スルコトヲ得 一、在「スペイン」國本場所屬鉄鋼ヨリ「ライン」河岸鎔鋼場迄ノ鉄運ニ就テハ本場所屬四隻ノ大瀕船アリ</p>

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Table 1: Sonderdruck aus Heft III um Max Nöbler's *Japanisch-deutsche industrielle Anzeiger*
 (Krupp'sche Propaganda in China und Japan, 1898, HAK, WA4/ 1078.)