
Taiwan's Intra-Asian Trade and Migration in the 1930s

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Abstract: Since the start of the 21st Century, trading relations among the East Asian countries have been and need to be strongly reinforced. By reviewing intra-Asian economic relations in the 1930s, we could see assets and load left by history to the present world. In the 1930s, Taiwan was ruled by Japan. By contrast with Hori Kazuo, a professor of Kyoto University to have touched upon the intra-Asian trade of this decade focusing upon Japan, this study depicts the intra-Asian trade and migration of this decade by focusing upon Taiwan. This paper obtains the following findings: 1. In the 1930s, Taiwan's trade with the Northeast Asia had been vividly increased. The increase rate of trade between Taiwan and Manchukuo as well as Korea was greater than that between Taiwan and the Japan proper. Migration between Taiwan and all Asian areas in this period was in general increased, in which that to China increased most. All these increases had been made possible by the rise of Asia-Pacific navigation relative to the Asia-European navigation. 2. In this expansion of intra-Asian trade and migration, the national boundary with all these various areas for Taiwan was clearly observed rather than imagined. For example, following the treaty between Japan and Korea signed in 1910, the relation between Taiwan and Korea turned more and more from being international into being domestic. When Taiwanese products, deemed as Japanese products, were rejected in the Southeast Asia and welcome in Manchukuo and other newly Japanese conquered Chinese mainland, Taiwanese vested interest was more and more intertwined with the Japanese empire which climaxed its war victory in China by conquering Wuchang and Hankou in 1938. By contrast with the mostly labor population among immigrants from other Asian areas to Taiwan, many of the emigrants from Taiwan to these areas were rich merchants.

Keywords: Merits and Demerits of Colonization, Japanese Empire and China, Relations Among Colonies, Asia-Pacific, Peace and War in the 1930s

1. Introduction

From the start of the 21st Century, the trading relations among the East Asian countries have undergone profound change. According to the data of Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), since 2001, the value of Japan's imports from the top nine East Asian countries, headed by the PRC, Korea and the ROC (Taiwan), has exceeded the total of those from the US and Europe. The same applies for exports since 2002. Countries in East Asia also in general have other East Asian countries as well as the US as their main trade partners. [1] By reviewing intra-Asian economic relation in the 1930s, we could see some positive and negative legacies left by history to the present world.

Throughout the 1930s Taiwan was under the rule of Japan. Hori Kazuo showed in his study on the general history of

Japan's intra-Asian trade in the 1930s that, under the influence of the US-originated Great Depression, Japan shifted its focus from tight economic links with the US to expand instead the country's co-operative relations in Asia. In the course of this expansion, the Japanese invasion of China, partly the result of the demand for economic resources and market, also transformed relations between different regions of China and Japan. [2]

While Hori Kazuo has focused on Japan, my research and that of Xu Shirong, a Ph.D. of Taiwan Normal University, working under my supervision and now a professor of National Taichung Educational University, has centered on Taiwan, discussing its role in intra-Asian trade during the Japanese colonial period between 1895 and 1945. [3] Xu has studied trade between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, finding that the 1930s saw a clear decline of trade between both sides; the primary causes of this were mainland boycotts

in response to the Japanese invasion, which included products from Japanese-ruled Taiwan. Between 1940 and 1945, with Japan's expansion of the East Asian war, the coastal regions of China came under the control of the Japanese-backed government, trade between Taiwan and these areas increased. My own research on Taiwan's foreign trade expands to include Taiwan's trade with Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, Manchuria, and Japan proper. Study of Hong Kong has shown that the sharp rise of Pacific trade in the 1930s greatly influenced changing relations among Taiwan, Japan and Europe. Building on my own existing work, I also address the largely merchant-based Taiwanese emigration. Taiwanese traders, with their Chinese cultural background, often acted as middlemen between the Chinese world and Japan when Japanese intra-Asian trade expanded. The Japanese invasion of China, however, also caused these traders to face identity dilemma.

This paper extends to include Taiwanese trade with and emigration to Korea, relying on the Archives of Taiwan General-Government and contemporary survey records with the invitation of the Iwanami Shōten. [4] Additionally, using materials including previously collected trade statistics, publications by the Bank of Taiwan and Taiwan General-Government and distributed among various countries, newspapers and biographies, and materials on Asian history from the National Archives of Japan and the Kōbe Newspaper Clippings Collection, I have added a treatment of Taiwanese trade with Southeast Asia to the previous study on Taiwanese investment in Southeast Asia, and further added to my previous work on Taiwanese migrants across Asia with discussion of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese migrants in Taiwan as well as the establishment of these areas' respective Consulates. From my previous focus on individual relations between Taiwan, Manchukuo, and Southeast Asia, this paper looks more comprehensively at Taiwan's intra-Asian trade and migration links.

2. The Rise of Pacific Trade

In the 1910s, judging by the volume of shipping, Hong Kong was the largest port in East Asia. By the 1930s, however, it had fallen into seventh place in the world, behind Kōbe in third place and Ōsaka in fifth, with New York, London and Rotterdam respectively occupying first, second and fourth place. The Korean and Taiwanese ports of Pusan, Dalian, Jilong and Gaoxiong, engaged in trade with Japan, likewise saw a sharp rise.

Hong Kong's dominance from its founding in 1842 until the 1910s was largely due to the importance of the Atlantic route between Europe and Asia at a time of growing relations between East Asia and Europe and America. Most of Taiwan's Oolong tea bound for New York in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was shipped via Xiamen, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Atlantic, rather than the Pacific. In 1869 work finished on the Suez Canal, and the new route through the Red Sea proved difficult to navigate with sailing ships. British particular

involvement with the Canal opening thereby spurred the development of steamer transport, and Hong Kong, serving as the East Asian coal supply point for British steamers, grew in importance.

British power in East Asian trade, however, began to decline after the Russo-Japanese war. Moreover, 1914 saw the opening of the Panama Canal, largely through US efforts, and with the outbreak of war in Europe the US was able to develop trade in the Pacific, with the result that by the 1930s Kōbe and Ōsaka had surpassed Hong Kong. Taiwanese Oolong tea bound for the US was largely now shipped via the Pacific. [5]

This rise of Pacific trade in the 1930s served as a basis for the intra-Asian movement of Taiwanese goods and people.

With regard to goods, in this period Taiwanese trade with Japan, Manchuria, and Korea expanded, while there was a relative decline in its trade with China and Southeast Asia, and on occasions with Hong Kong and India.

3. Expansion of Trade with Northeast Asia

Korea had seen little trade with Taiwan prior to the Japanese annexation of this kingdom in 1910. From 1910 on Koreans exported ginseng and soy beans and imported salt, canned pineapples, and sugar via Hong Kong, China or Japan. Direct exports of sugar and salt from Taiwan to Korea gradually began. Direct exports of Korean ginseng to Taiwan began in 1914. [6] This trade was conducted in Pusan and Incheon in Korea, and in Gaoxiong, Anping, and Jilong on Taiwan. Until 1927, however, trade relations between Korea and Taiwan remained weak, with little direct trade; two or three products made up the bulk of trade each year. [7]

From 1910 trade statistics for Korean-Taiwanese trade gradually shifted from referring to 'exports and imports' (between countries) to internal trade. Between 1904 and 1909 a table showing 'Value of Imports and Exports For Trade With Taiwanese Ports' accompanied trade statistics between Korea and China, Hong Kong, British-ruled India, the French-ruled Indo-China Peninsula, the Dutch Indies, Russia-ruled Asia, the Philippines, and Thailand. [8] For the years 1910 and 1911 the compilers used a separate table showing 'Value of Trade Between the Ports of Korea and Taiwan'. [9] Even between 1910 and 1920, however, Article Three of the 1910 Declaration of Annexation governed fishing and customs relations between Korea and Taiwan, treating Taiwan as a foreign country. [10] For the ten years following 1910, relations between Japan, Korea, and other colonies continued on an international basis. Thus goods shipped from Korea to Japan and Sakhalin levied importation duties for foreign countries and an equal value of import tax for domestic other areas. Ships from Korea docking at Japanese ports likewise were taxed according to tonnage in the same way as other foreign ships, and similar charges applied to Taiwanese exports to Korea. The regulations restricted shipping between Japan, Taiwan, Sakhalin, and

Faster shipping routes served to transport perishable goods such as bananas. (Table 2)

Table 2. Major shipping routes for bananas (1936).

Shipping route	The Navigation Times in the Banana Season	Time required
Gaoxiong-Tokyo Line	9	6 days
Gaoxiong-Osaka Line	9	6 days
Gaoxiong-Dalian-Tianjin Line	9	7 days
Taiwan-Manchuria-KoreanLine	2	6 days
Gaoxiong-Fuzhou-Shanghai Line	3	7 days
Jilong-Kobe Line	11	4 days

Source: Takaoshu, *Takaoshu Sangyo chosakai Shogyo boekibu shiryō*, p. 150.

Among Japanese-ruled areas trading with Taiwan between 1931 and 1935, Korea occupied the sixth-highest place by trade volume (Table 3).

Table 3. Taiwan's trade with regions of Japan and Korea (1931-1935).

Region	Yearly trade value (thousand Japanese yen) Average over five years	Percentage	Rank
Hokkaidō	7, 982	2.2	7
Keihin (Tōkyō, Kawasaki, Yokohama)	100, 815	27.2	2
Nagoya	21, 683	5.9	4
Hanshin (Ōsaka and Kobe)	148, 546	40.1	1
Hiroshima	4, 182	1.1	8
Kanmon	34, 172	9.2	3
Kyūshū and Okinawa	20, 312	5.5	5
Korea	8, 061	2.2	6
Other areas	24, 477	6.6	
Total	370, 230	100	

Source: Takaoshu, *Takaoshu Sangyo chosakai Shogyo boekibu shiryō*, p. 481

Korea, like all areas of Japan other than Ōsaka and Kobe, experienced a trade deficit (Table 4).

Table 4. Trade balance between Taiwan and Japan proper (1931-1935).

Area	Yearly internal export (thousand Japanese yen) Average over five years	Yearly internal import (thousand Japanese yen) Average over five years	Trade surplus (surplus/export, percentage)
Hokkaidō	5, 014	2, 968	2,046 (40.8)
Keihin (Tōkyō, Kawasaki, Yokohama)	84, 996	15, 819	69,177 (81.4)
Nagoya	17, 241	4, 442	12,799 (74.2)
Hanshin (Ōsaka and Kobe)	66, 993	81, 553	-----
Hiroshima	2, 094	2, 088	16 (0.3)
Kanmon	18, 967	15, 205	3,762 (19.8)
Kyūshū and Okinawa	16, 068	4, 244	11,824 (73.6)
Korea	5, 287	2, 774	2,513 (47.5)
Others	13, 920	10, 557	3,363 (24.2)
Total	230, 580	139, 650	90,930 (39.4)

Unit: thousand Japanese yen

Source: Takaoshu, *Takaoshu Sangyo Chosakai shogyo boekibu shiryō*, p. 481.

As Table 5 shows, between 1933 and 1939 the value of exports from Taiwan to Korea more than quadrupled, an increase around double that of exports to other Japanese-ruled areas. At the same time, imports from Korea increased by around five times, showing a rate of increase between two and three times that of imports from other areas (see Table 6). This import-export ratio thus rose to surpass that of trade with Okinawa and Hokkaido (see Tables 5 and 6). Moreover, in the 1930s the two-to-threefold increase in trade with Japanese proper did not match the huge expansion of total trade with Manchukuo or of imports from there. Following the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, Taiwanese trade with the region saw a sharp increase from 15, 835, 000 yen in 1932 to 45, 519, 000 in 1938. Imports from Manchukuo to Taiwan

increased with particular rapidity, rising almost tenfold from 1, 999, 000 in 1932 to 19, 325, 000. Exports from Taiwan to Manchuria almost doubled in the same period, from 13, 836, 000 to 26, 194, 000. This can be attributed largely to the Manchukuo's Five Year Plan, which called for a great variety of materials. Additionally, there was little commonality between the bean products and modern fertilizers produced in dry, cold Manchuria and the fruits and vegetables grown in Taiwan's warmer and wetter climate. Though in the course of this trade Taiwan generally experienced an import surplus, the fertilizer products which took up much of these imports aided agricultural development. [18]

The increase in trade after the establishment of Manchukuo is particularly clear if we view it as a percentage

of Taiwan's trade with areas other than Japan proper. Between 1906 and 1931 trade with Manchukuo averaged only 2.76% of Taiwan's total foreign trade (foreign trade does not include the trade with Japan proper in the Japanese colonial period); between 1932 and 1939 it averaged 48.35%. [19] Of course, for Manchuria, trade with Taiwan was far less important than with Japan. Between January and October 1933 the volume of trade between Manchuria and Taiwan accounted for only 1.1% of Manchuria's total. [20] In 1939, the year for which we have figures, products from Taiwan took up only 4.4% of the total value of Dalian's imports, compared to 72.8% for Japan, 7.1% for China, 5.3% for the US. It was, however, higher than Europe's 3.4% and Korea's 3%. [21]

Rice, sugar, and tea could be shipped to Japan proper without being charged the export duty imposed when these products were shipped elsewhere, because from 1911 the two areas had both been incorporated within the same customs system, and these commodities turned into Taiwan's major exports there. [22] Between 1930 and 1939 Japan proper accounted for 92.18% and 82.57% of Taiwan's total exports and imports respectively. [23] Prior to the Marco Polo Bridge incident of 1937, the ratio of Taiwan's internal import and export to Taiwan's foreign imports and exports saw little change, with the former remaining on average at 87.7% and the latter at 12.3%. Much of the internal export and import was occupied by Japan proper. Following the outbreak of war, internal import and export saw a relative increase to 90.3% in 1937 and 90.9% in 1938; foreign export and import declined to 9.7% and 9.1%. As exports from Taiwan to Japanese-ruled or influenced areas of China rose sharply in 1939, the proportion of trade with Japan proper fell to 86.63%.

[24] Imports and export trade with states other than Japan in 1937 occupied only one tenth of the total trade, and came to only one-ninth of the value of the trade with Japan proper. Although in 1939 there was some increase in this trade with other countries, it still accounted for only a seventh of Taiwan's total trade or a sixth of internal export and import trade with Japan proper. Where goods produced in Taiwan and were needed in Japan as much as possible would have been shipped there; likewise, Japan was the source for as much as possible of the items needed by the Taiwanese. Imports from other countries to Taiwan were largely items which Japan could not supply, or supplied in insufficient quantities. [25]

The major products for internal export to Japan from Taiwan were rice, sugar, fruit, and hats; the most important internal export market was Kantō, followed by Kansai, Kyūshū, Korea, Hokkaido, and Okinawa. Kansai supplied an overwhelming proportion of Taiwan's internal import, with the most common items being cotton goods and grocery goods from Ōsaka. By the 1930s, however, the significance of Kansai declined while Kantō, Korea, and Kyūshū saw increases. [26] The period between 1923 and 1935 saw Taiwan's economy flourishing, with industrial production and gross national income per capita both more than doubling that prior to the First World War. In this period, at least prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War, Taiwan's income from trade and other relations with Japan proper exceeded its expenses. The majority of this export surplus was used to expand production. [27] Rice exports and fertilizer, textiles, and iron imports in the 1930s saw a significant rise from the 1920s; imports of cigarettes, alcohol, and opium, on the other hand, decreased.

Table 5. Taiwanese exports to Japan proper and Korea.

Destination	Year	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Hokkaidō	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	5,403	5,115	8,069	8,771	6,728	5,894	8,705
	%	2.3	1.8	2.6	2.4	1.6	1.4	1.7
Kantō	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	104,809	127,098	135,688	156,579	172,133	184,846	203,674
	%	45.4	45.5	43.2	43.6	42.0	44.0	40.0
Kansai	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	67,872	82,586	93,934	103,515	126,959	128,936	182,175
	%	29.4	29.6	29.9	28.9	30.9	30.7	35.7
Kyūshū	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	21,991	26,201	30,035	31,748	41,381	37,276	54,798
	%	9.5	9.4	9.6	8.9	9.8	8.9	10.8
Okinawa	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	4,076	6,648	5,661	6,259	7,166	7,231	8,481
	%	1.8	2.4	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
Korea	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	4,363	6,371	9,745	9,576	9,926	11,426	18,351
	%	1.9	2.3	3.1	2.7	2.4	2.7	3.6
Others	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	12,233	25,390	31,070	42,387	46,969	44,496	33,560
	%	9.7	9.0	9.8	11.8	11.6	10.6	6.5

Source: Taiwan keizai nenpō kankōkai (ed.), *Taiwan keizai nenpō* (Taiwan's annual economic report) (Tōkyō: Kokusi Nihon Kyōkai, 1941), p. 604.

Table 6. Taiwanese imports from Japan and Korea.

Destination	Year	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Hokkaidō	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	3,061	3,420	3,934	4,635	4,412	5,380	7,080
	%	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.9	4.6	4.6	2.6
Kantō	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	21,459	30,276	37,255	42,837	46,901	58,491	66,559
	%	14.3	17.1	17.1	17.6	16.9	17.9	18.6
Kansai	Export value (thousand Japanese yen)	91,580	104,669	120,976	131,288	147,539	172,357	188,056
	%	61.1	59.1	55.5	53.9	53.1	52.6	52.6
Kyūshū	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	16,955	19,249	29,866	33,830	41,924	47,374	21,582
	%	11.3	10.9	13.7	13.9	15.1	14.4	14.4
Okinawa	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	276	356	295	303	327	694	687
	%	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2

Destination Year		1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Korea	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	3,832	5,265	7,198	8,788	11,890	15,328	16,873
	%	2.6	3.0	3.3	3.6	4.3	4.7	4.7
Others	Import value (thousand Japanese yen)	12,748	13,755	8,618	22,151	24,861	28,325	26,770
	%	8.5	7.8	8.5	9.0	8.9	8.6	7.5

Source: Taiwan keizai nenpō kankōkai, *Taiwan keizai nenpō* (Tōkyō: Kokusi Nihon Kyōkai, 1941), p. 604-605.

It is clear from Figure 2 that Taiwan's trade with Manchuria was more developed in the 1930s than its trade with northern and southern China and Southeast Asia. At first the trade with southern China was greater, but it fell far behind after Manchukuo's establishment. Between 1932 and 1939 Taiwan's trade with Manchukuo on average accounted for

67.6% of its trade with the different regions of China, while southern China occupied only 11%. Even after the establishment of Manchukuo, Taiwan's trade with central China remained higher than its trade with the north, though this and the still lower volume of trade with Southeast Asia remained far below trade with Manchukuo.

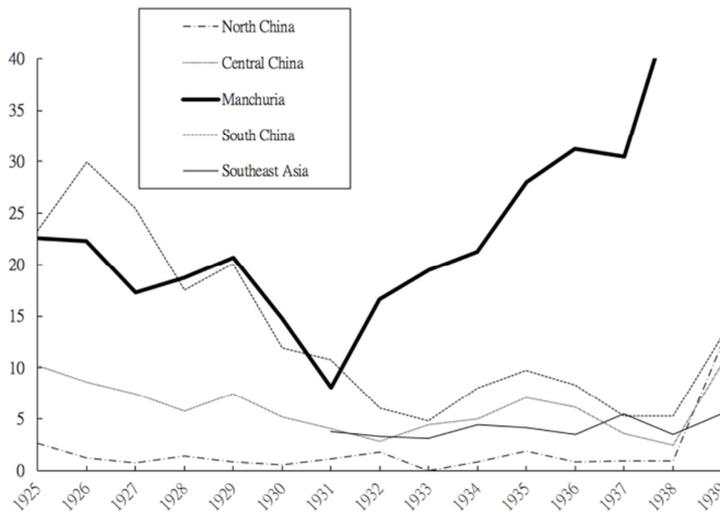


Figure 2. Trade between Taiwan and various areas in China and Southeast Asia.

Source:

- Figures for 1925-1939 from Taiwan Sōtokufu Sōtoku Kanbō Chōsaka, *Shina no jikyoku to shina bōeki no shōchō* (The current situation of China and the growth and decline of Chinese trade), *Minamishina oyobi nan'yō chōsa* (Investigation about the Southern China and the South Seas Area), Taipei: the editor, 1928, no. 143, p. 170.
- Figures for 1927-1936 from Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō Gaijika, *Taiwan to Minami Shina: bōeki* (Taiwan and south China: Trade), *Minamishina oyobi nan'yō chōsa*, Taipei: 1927, no. 236, p. 43.
- Figures for 1935-1939 from Taiwan Sōtokufu Zaimukyoku, *Taiwan tai nanshi nan'yō bōekihyō* (Tables for Taiwanese trade with south China and Southeast Asia (Shōwa 14), with yearly figures for Manchukuo, Guandong leased territory, and north and central China added, p. 1.

Unit: million Japanese yen

Note: data for 1925 and 1926 include Xiamen, Fuzhou, Shantou, Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Haikou, and Beihai in south China.

In contrast with the increase of Taiwanese trade with northeast Asia, trade with China and with Southeast Asia declined in the 1930s due to anti-Japanese movements. This varied across different regions and countries, however. In the early 1930s Taiwan's exports to Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines declined, before rising again for a number of years. Although imports from Taiwan's major good suppliers India and Indonesia were higher overall in the 1920s than in the 1930s, some years in the latter decade saw increases (see Figures 3, 4, and 5). While under Japanese rule Taiwan's predominant export to Southeast Asia was baozhong tea, with other goods including coal, cardboard, cement, and sulphur. At the beginning of the early twentieth century Javan sugar was a major import; with the increase of Taiwanese sugar production, however, this saw a reduction. Other imports included white spirits from the Malaysian peninsula, rice and coal from Vietnam, rice and timber from

Thailand, and leaf tobacco and timber from the Philippines. [28]

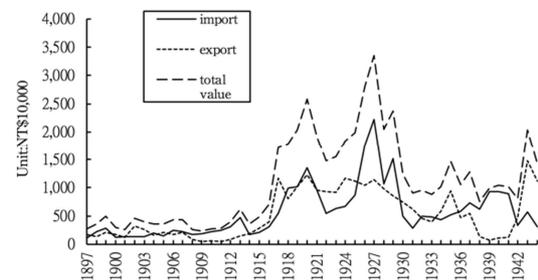


Figure 3. Trade value between Taiwan and Southeast Asia (1896-1944).

Source: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongjishi, *Taiwan sheng 51 nian lai tongji tiyao* (Summary of statistics for Taiwan over the last 51 years) (Taipei: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongjishi, 1946), pp. 962-963, 966-967.

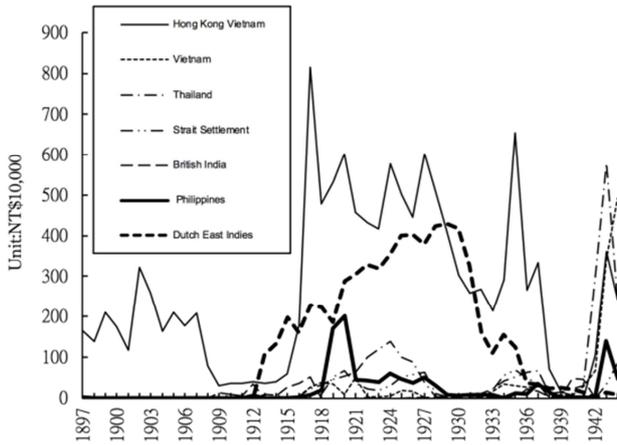


Figure 4. Taiwan's export value to various Southeast Asian countries (1897-1944).

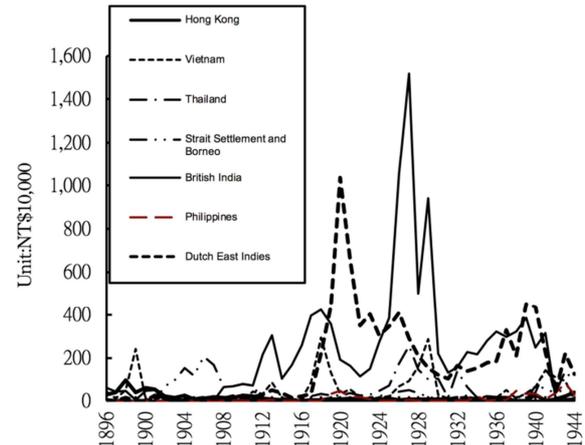


Figure 5. Taiwan's import value from various Southeast Asian countries (1896-1944).

Source: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongjishi, *Taiwan sheng 51 nian lai tongji tiyao* (Summary of statistics for Taiwan over the last 51 years) (Taipei: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongjishi, 1946), pp. 966-967.

Source: Taiwan sheng xingzheng zhangguan gongshu tongjishi, *Taiwan sheng 51 nian lai tongji tiyao*, pp. 962-963.

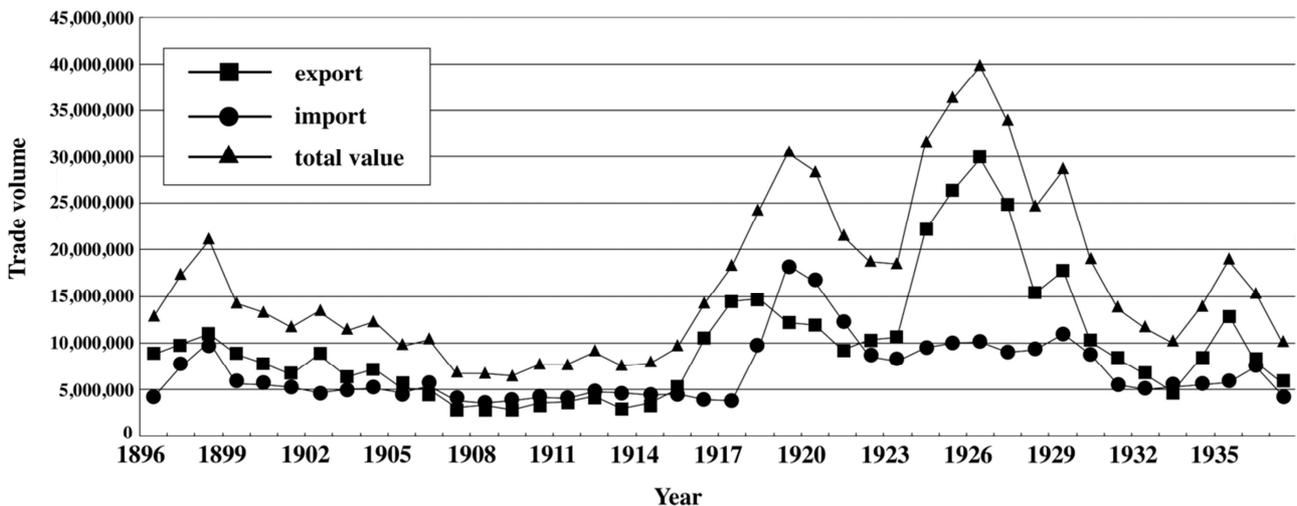


Figure 6. Trade Value between Taiwan and China (1896-1937).

Source: 1896-1935 data from Taiwan bōeki jonjūnen hyō (Tables on the Taiwanese economy over forty years), p. 9, 394, 407-408; Taiwan no bōeki (Taiwan's trade), pp. 35- 38, 41- 42; 1936-1937 data from Taiwan tai nanshi nan'yō bōekihyō (Tables on Taiwanese trade with south China and Southeast Asia) (Shōwa 14), p. 1. Graph from Xu Shirong, 'Guanshui yu liang'an maoyi, 1895-1945,' p. 14.

In its trade with China, Taiwan generally exported more than it imported (See Figure 6), while the reverse was true for trade with Southeast Asia (see Figure 3). Prior to 1931 the volume of Taiwanese trade with China was around half that of its trade with all other countries, sometimes exceeding half; in this period, other than 1910 when China was very slightly behind the US, China consistently accounted for the most trade, making China second only to Japan in trade volume. Manchukuo's establishment in 1932 had an evident impact, lowering Taiwan's trade with China. In the two or three years before 1937 the largest Taiwan's exports to China were fruits, dried fish, salted fish, dried shellfish, and matches, with lamp oil, vegetable oil, coal, and cement also accounting for a significant amount; there was also a small export of iron. Japanese products were also exported to China via Taiwan.

Wheat bran, garni bag, burlap, and medicines were imported in large quantities from China [30]

Although in the 1930s Taiwan's trade with Korea and Manchuria clearly expanded, as did its trade with Japan proper, there was a relative decline in trade with China and Southeast Asia, causing Taiwan's trade to shift all the more toward the Northeast Asia. With regard to population movements, however, general increases can be observed between Taiwan and Northeast and Southeast Asia and China, particularly southern China.

4. Intra-Asian Migration and Taiwan

After 1937, the number of Japanese immigrants on Taiwan rose from at most five percent of the total population to nearly

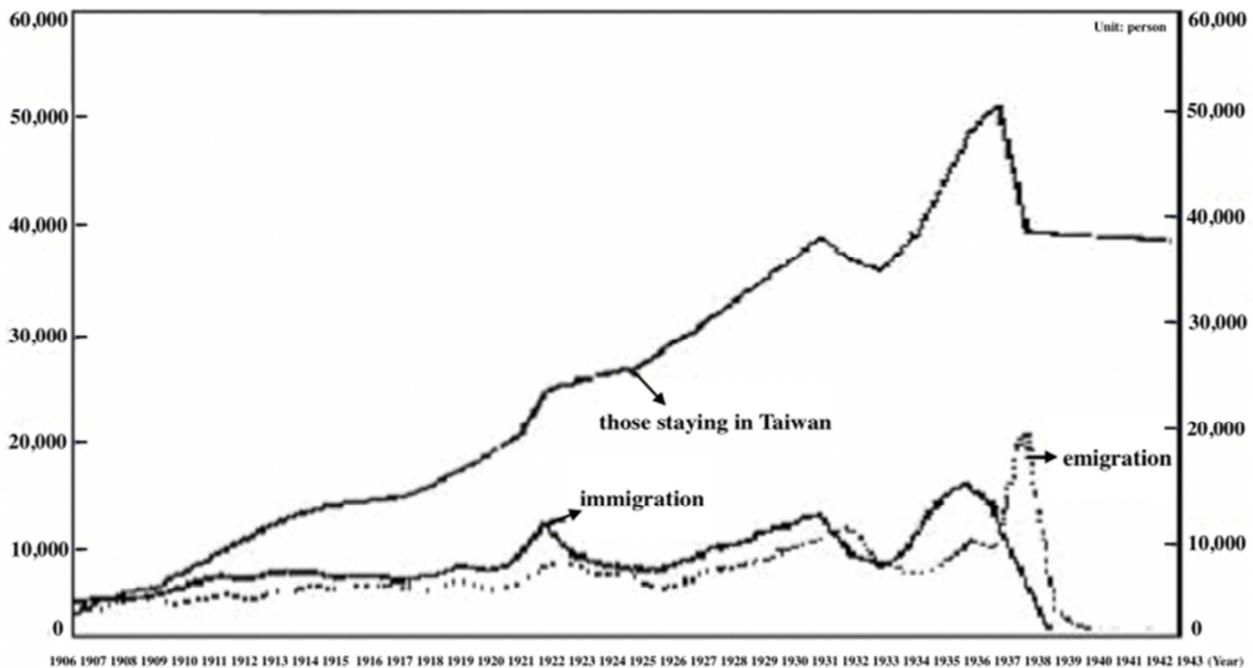
ten percent. The initially low level of migration can be explained by the lack of population pressure within Japan proper. From 1926 on population pressure in Japan proper gradually rose, and the Japanese authorities responded by carrying out military-backed emigration to northeast China. Until the outbreak of the Pacific War Japanese migration to Taiwan remained at the minimum level necessary for the operation of a colony. With the war underway, an active policy of southward expansion resulted in increased migration to Taiwan, especially of people connected to the military. In the previous forty-five years, most of the Japanese immigrants from Japan proper were colonial administrators, industrial advisors and those involved in commerce. Those involved in primary industries accounted for only a very small proportion, with only senior employees and a small number of technical experts working in the mining industry; agricultural workers were also present only in small numbers, initially in Yoshino village near the port of Hualian.

Chinese migration to Taiwan also increased in the 1930s. Figures 7 and 8 show Chinese migration to Japanese-occupied Taiwan from the Chinese mainland. By the 1940s the total number of immigrants was 45, 661, seventy-eight percent of whom were labors. Many of the rest were also poor: while overseas Chinese people in Southeast Asia had capital ranging from millions to tens of millions and hundreds of millions of Japanese *yen*, the richest on Taiwan at most had three hundred thousand, with amounts over fifty thousand being rare. Changes in immigration from China are clear from Figure 7, with an increase in number of people throughout the period of Japanese rule from thousands in the 1900s to forty or fifty thousand in the 1930s and 1940s. As Figure 8 demonstrates, some chose to stay long term on Taiwan while others worked

there only temporarily. Between 1900 and 1920 the most common temporary workers were in the tea trade, with rickshaw pullers second; in the 1930s and 1940s miscellaneous labors were in the majority.

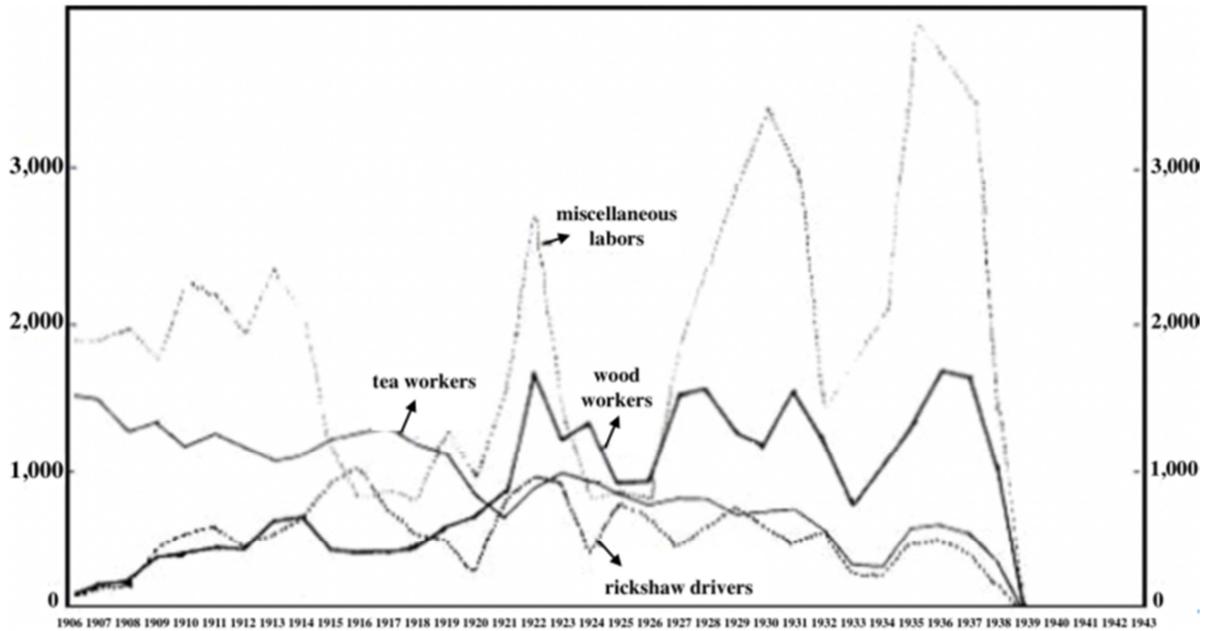
This labor-dominated migration differentiated the period of Japanese rule from the Qing dynasty. In 1902 the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that the *jiao* (Taiwanese trade association) merchants in institutions like the Quanjiao Huiguan at Lugang had in the past monopolized this port's trade across the Taiwan Straits; by 1902 their power had declined, but eight stores (Jincheng, Kuncheng, Yuanfa, Faxiang, Fumei, Hengcheng, Yuancheng and Futonglong) took on the majority of the trade and maintained it, with merchants in their collective trade association having forty to fifty boats. Very few of these merchants were locals. Their boats travelled between Quanzhou, Zhangzhou, and Taiwan, transporting products as part of the trade between Xiamen, Shenhu, Quanzhou, Xinghua, Fuzhou, and Tongzhou along the Chinese coast and Danshui, Jiugang, Donggang, Bengang, Lugang, Anping, Gaoxiang, and Penghu Magong on Taiwan. [29] Thus mainland immigrants to Taiwan in the Qing dynasty included powerful investors. [30]

With the still-increasing numbers of migrants in the 1930s, a Republic of China consulate was established in Taipei on April first, 1931; this closed on February first, 1938. Initially set up in rented offices at the Lin Ben Yuan company premises in Dadaocheng, this consulate moved in 1934 to the Zhang mansion (now 112-114 Zhongshan North Road Section 2) (Figure 9). After 1945, this building had served as the Embassy of Japan in the Republic of China for a while before its being knocked down, with the Yuanshan branch of Huanan Bank occupying its location at present. [31]



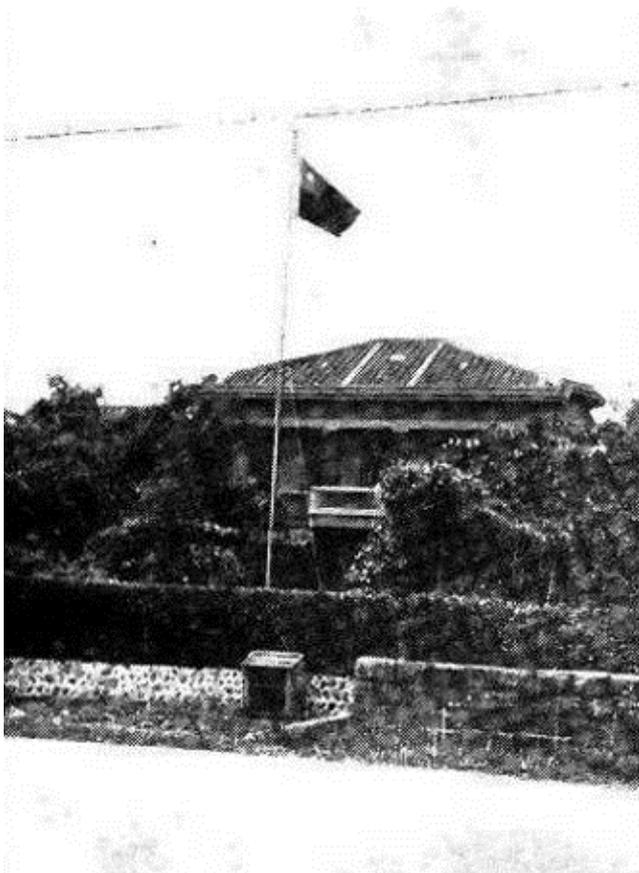
Source: Shibuya Naga'nori, Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan no kakyō* (Overseas Chinese on Taiwan), *Taiwan keizai nenpō*, chapter 6, Shōwa 18 (1943), p. 421.

Figure 7. Chinese Migration across the Taiwan Strait.



Source: Shibuya Naga'nori, Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan no kakyō* (Overseas Chinese on Taiwan), *Taiwan keizai nenpō*, chapter 6, Shōwa 18 (1943), p. 420.

Figure 8. Chinese Migration according to type of labor:



Source: *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 1, Shōwa 6

Figure 9. Republic of China Consulate in Taipei (1931-1938).

In 1943 the total population of Taiwan stood at 6, 585,841. Of this figure, the native population of 6,133,867 accounted for 93.1%, Japanese inhabitants from Japan proper numbered

397,060, or 6%, those from the Republic of China 52,020 (0.8%), and Koreans 2,775 (0.04%). [32] Koreans were thus the most important immigrant group after the Japanese from Japan proper and people from the Republic of China. In the 1930s the number of Koreans on Taiwan increased from less than a thousand to two thousand; throughout this time Korean women outnumbered men (Table 7).

Table 7. Korean population on Taiwan (1932-1943).

Year	Total	Male	Female
1932	959	323	636
1933	1, 191	417	774
1934	1, 316	470	846
1935	1, 604	583	1, 021
1936	1, 694	568	1, 126
1937	1, 985	772	1, 213
1938	1, 903	763	1, 140
1939	2, 260	880	1, 380
1940	2, 299	794	1, 505
1941	2, 539	921	1, 618
1942	2, 692	1, 013	1, 679
1943	2, 775	1, 066	1, 709

Source: Taiwan Sotokufu, *Taiwan jōjū kokō tōkei: Shōwa 18* (Taiwan household registration: Shōwa 18) (Taipei: Taiwan Sotokufu, 1944), p. 108.

Prior to 1928 Korean immigrants were most commonly employed in the aquatic products industry and trade, with public servant or freelancer and household workers also taking up a significant proportion; employment in agriculture was very rare. [33] Between 1936 and 1941 the importance of trade rose relative to the aquatic products industry, but by 1902 public servant or freelancer had replaced the former. Employment in trade and the aquatic products industry showed a clear decline, with the latter in particular reduced to

almost zero. In 1941, 279 Koreans arrived in Taiwan from the Republic of China, Vietnam, the Philippines and other places, of whom 153 were male and 126 female. [34]

In 1944 there were ninety-three residents of Taiwan with citizenship from other countries; of these four were Taiwanese people who had obtained foreign citizenship and one was a Japanese person with foreign citizenship. Clearly, residents from places other than Japan, the Republic of China and Korea were extremely rare. Although in 1934 there had been a plan to set up a Manchukuo embassy in Taipei, [35] by 1945 this embassy had still not been established. [36]

In contrast to the development of trade, in the 1930s Taiwanese migration expanded to northeast Asia, the Republic of China (especially the south of China), and to Southeast Asia; moreover, in the 1930s migrants to China remained the most numerous.

Migrants from Japanese-ruled Taiwan to southern China totaled 335 in 1907; by 1936 this had risen to 12,900. [37] This represents the number registered; adding the unregistered migrants gives a total of 30,000. Around twenty or twenty-one thousands of these moved to Fujian, with Xiamen accounting for eighteen thousand, Fuzhou for two thousand, and several hundred going to Zhangzhou and Quanzhou. [38] Most of the Taiwanese people in Shanghai arrived there from Fujian and Guangdong, with somewhere between six and eight hundred there between 1935 and 1937. There was a slight decline with the outbreak of war in 1937, but the number increased again after Japan took control of Shanghai in 1938. [39] In 1911 there were around sixty Taiwanese people in northeast China, which had risen to five hundred by the 1932 establishment of Manchukuo, and again to six hundred by 1938. [40] By the end of the war in 1945 there were around one thousand Taiwanese people in Manchukuo. [41] By 1926 around 522 Taiwanese people had moved to Southeast Asia, [42] and by 1942 this had risen to around three thousand. [43] In Japan there were 1,703 Taiwanese people in 1920, 4,611 in 1930, and 22,499 by 1940. [44] Whether workers or students, the number of Taiwanese people in Japan did not match that of Koreans.

By contrast with the Chinese and Korean immigrants, many of whom were from the lower levels of society, those migrating from Taiwan often went to open shops, factories, and farms. Statistics from the Fujian provincial government in 1937 show that in Xiamen, the place with the highest number of Taiwanese immigrants, 81.18% were merchants and 4.51% doctors. Other than the 7.85% who were prostitutes, percentages for other trades were all low. In Fuzhou 68.18% were merchants, 8.36% doctors, 7.48% government workers, and 5.28% teachers. [45] In Southeast Asia, most migrants to British-ruled Borneo were farmers, while a large number of those who went to Singapore and Malaysia worked in tin mines or rubber plantations; migrants to other places were largely merchants. In 1935 the Taiwan Development Company was established, with the Taiwanese merchants Gu Xianrong, Lin Xiongzhen, Chen Qifeng, and Yan Guonian invited to become shareholders. Around fifty-five Taiwanese people worked in the Southeast Asia

branch of the company as planners and engineers, among other positions. With the support of the Company and Taiwan General-Government, Taiwanese people also engaged in agriculture in Borneo. The founding of the Tropical Industry Research Committee in 1935 strengthened economic links to Southeast Asia, with funding from Taiwanese people including Lin Xiongzhen, Gu Xianrong, and Liu Mingchao. 1935 also saw a shift from the previous Japanese policy, which since 1915 had only seen Japanese people trained to go to Southeast Asia, with the inclusion of Taiwanese people; the Taihoku College of Commerce in Taipei and Chia-Yi Commercial School in Tainan carried out this training. In 1936, the Taiwan Chamber of Commerce set up with its membership endorsed by the government, and a liaison for Taiwan's merchants, consented to assist Taiwan to serve as a station for Japan's expansion to Southeast Asia in the wartime system. In 1937 Taiwan General-Government supplied Taiwanese residents in Thailand with a subsidy of two-to-three thousand *yen*, forming the most organized Taiwanese trade association in Southeast Asia and using this to strengthen the role of Taiwanese merchants there in selling products for Japanese merchants. [46]

5. Conclusion

The most obvious feature of Taiwanese intra-Asian commerce in the 1930s was the expansion of trade with the Northeast Asia; the growth of trade with Japan itself confirms Hori Kazuo's view that in the 1930s Japan strengthened trading ties with its colonies, but this research has also highlighted the fact that the expansion of Taiwan's trade with Manchukuo and Korea was still greater than that with Japan. Additionally, we have seen that while migration from Korea and Japan to Taiwan, and from Taiwan to Japan and Manchukuo, increased, the numbers moving did not match those migrating to China. Chinese migration to Taiwan also saw an increase, while the movement of Taiwanese people to Southeast Asia received more of the Japanese state support. The rise of Asia-Pacific shipping, in comparison to Euro-Asian shipping, provided an important basis for this movement of goods and people.

In contrast to Hori Kazuo's focus on the relations between the colonizing country and each colony, this paper has discussed the relations between colonies and on the integration of the colonizing country and the colonies. This integration can be seen in the case of Korea: on the 1910 Japanese takeover, customs and the use of harbors were arranged on an international basis, before policy shifted between 1918 and 1920 to treat Korea as part of Japan. Trade statistics from 1931 to 1935 and 1933 and 1939 moreover included Korea in the list of Japanese cities with which Taiwan traded (see Tables 3, 4, and 5). While the building in Figure 9 may resemble present Taipei with its Republican flag, in fact it was the Consulate of the Republic of China. In terms of trade, migration, and consular matters, the dividing line between countries was very clear; it was not a production of political authorities' imaginations as cultural historian

Prasenjit Duara now at Duke University suggest. [47]

A Republic of China Consulate remained in Taiwan from the Japanese 1931 annexation of Manchuria until 1938, while migration between Taiwan and China, and between Taiwan and Southeast Asia, continued to increase; evidently the annexation did not bring about an immediate hostility between China and Japan. Taiwanese business leader Gu Xianrong, who in 1895 welcomed Japanese troops to Taipei and had received a medal from Japan's House of Peers, went to China in 1934 and 1935 to meet Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei and others on a common anti-Communist basis, seeking to ensure the exchange of diplomatic envoys and for Japan to recall *rōnin* in Fujian. Gu again returned to China in February and March 1937, in poor health and just a few months from his death (at the age of seventy-two, in December of the same year). As Chiang Kai-shek was ill, Gu conveyed to Chiang Japan's statement that it wished to maintain the Great Wall as a dividing line and promote peace in East Asia via Minister of Foreign Affairs Zhang Qun, Businessman Du Yuesheng, and Finance Minister and Acting Premier Kong Xiangxi. Japanese infiltration of China, including its aiding of smuggling in the northern China, made reconciliation difficult, however. [48]

Following the invasion of Manchuria, relations between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland increasingly tended toward opposition and even hostility. The loss of Manchuria reduced Chinese exports by a third; as Wang Yeh-chian has argued, this was a major reason for economic crises in China in the 1930s. [49] On the Taiwanese side, however, while there was some reduction of trade with China and Southeast Asia, trade with Japan, Korea, and Manchuria markedly increased. While agricultural products, fish, and minerals remained the mainstay of this commerce, exports to Japan sometimes included industrial products like cement, cardboard, lamp-oil, vegetable oil, and alcohol. In this period Taiwan moreover generally benefited from a trade surplus; even when there was a trade deficit, many of the items imported were materials for production.

The 1971 Taiwan Province Gazetteer claimed that 'under Japanese rule, Japanese zaibatsu and government monopolized Taiwan's foreign trade, and Taiwan's people lacked experience in selling abroad', suggesting discrimination toward the people of Taiwan from the Japanese colonial authorities. [50] In practice, those Japanese living on Taiwan could indeed receive different treatment to migrants from Japan. But outside Taiwan, both received the same treatment. Japanese officials received an additional subsidy of fifty to sixty percent of their salary; thus, though their basic salary might be lower than those working in Japan, they earned much more than Taiwan residents. Lin Yongchang, who worked for the Taiwan Power Company, recalled that 'there was a huge difference in the treatment of graduates from the Taipei School of Industry depending on whether they were Japanese or Taiwanese... when we went out to do measure work, I would not only have to carry the equipment but also have to instruct them in how to do the measurement, while Japanese workers... would get nearly sixty percent

more travel subsidy than me; the discrimination was unbearable'. For this reason, he decided to continue his studies in Manchuria. Due to various subsidies, the income of those abroad was often significantly higher than those on Taiwan. Huang Yongde, a graduate from the department of electricity, who in 1941 went to work for the Fuda company (part of the Taiwan Development Company) in Xiamen, and receive the Gulanshu Power Company recounts that in addition to basic salaries, workers there received war-zone and danger subsidies, as well as overtime pay and travel expenses. Both Japanese and Taiwanese workers travelling abroad received the same subsidies; this motivated not a few Taiwanese people to travel to Manchukuo, central and southern China, Hainan, and Southeast Asian destinations like Vietnam. [51]

Aside from receiving the same level of additional subsidies as Japanese workers, Taiwanese people travelling abroad also benefited from a status equal to that of European expatriates. In 1910 Someya Shigeaki, the first Japanese Consul in Jakarta, successfully achieved that Taiwanese residents be accorded the same legal rights as Japanese citizens. Taiwan, like India, had been colonized; in the Dutch East Indies, however, Indians from both British and French colonial territories received the same level of treatment as Malaysians, while both Japanese and Taiwanese people benefited from equal status with Europeans. This is clear in the case of two brothers, the younger a Chinese and the older a Taiwanese citizen, both with 300,000 *yuan*; tax on the former was twice of that paid by the latter paid. [52] Securing this equal status for Taiwanese expatriates served as a means of facilitating Japan's expansion in East Asia, because Taiwan and China shared a common cultural background and because the cooperation of Taiwanese workers and capital could contribute to Japan's investments in southern China and Southeast Asia, which were restricted to its existing investment in Manchukuo and northern China. [53] For the same reason, during the 1930s when, with the exception of Japanese colonial government workers, most migrants were from the lower levels of society, migrants from Taiwan, especially those bound for China and Southeast Asia, tended to be wealthy merchants.

Though some Taiwanese migrants had extended business beyond Asia, most carried out intra-Asian trade. Xu Wang, for example, who in 1906 had arrived in Kōbe, opened a Paris shop in 1921 for trading various goods between Japan and Britain, Italy, Russia, Spain, Portugal and other countries, then in 1932 went to Dalian to trade in marine products and fruits, and in 1934 returned to Kōbe to export fruits, maritime products, and various foodstuffs to Southeast Asia. [54] By the 1930s the wealthy Banqiao Lin family achieved predominance in currency exchanges between Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Xiamen. There was also Taiwanese success in the tea trade: in the 1890s mainland Chinese merchants had dominated the transport of Taiwanese *baozhong* tea to the Dutch East Indies and other destinations, and by the 1910s overseas Chinese in the Dutch East Indies came to the fore, but by the 1930s the Taiwanese Chen Tianlai's company in Dadaocheng was pre-eminent.

In the wake of the invasion of Manchuria anti-Japanese sentiment in China reached a peak. With the outbreak of full-scale war on July 7, 1937, some Taiwanese people went to China to take part in the war against Japan [55]; others however found themselves in the opposite camp. Taiwanese people were active in the Japanese-controlled regions of China; as noted above, some welcomed the war as a 'holy war' due to the opportunities it provided for financial gain. Figure 10 shows a photograph of a celebration in Zuozhen, a southern Taiwan township, of the Japanese capture of Hankou in October 1938. Following the takeover Zhuang Sichuan, born in Chia-yi in Taiwan, a graduate of the Chinese Literature department of Shanghai University, worked as head of the *Dachu* and *Wuhan* newspapers in Wuhan and printed propaganda for the Japanese army. [56]

In the decade between the Mukden Incident of 1931 and the fall of Wuhan, while markets for Taiwanese trade contracted in China and Southeast Asia, they expanded on Japan and particularly in the newly-formed Manchukuo and Korea, while increasing numbers of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean migrants arrived on Taiwan. At the same time greater numbers of Taiwanese citizens moved to China and Southeast Asia to expand their economic opportunities, and in so doing received Japanese state support. In this process of greater integration between Taiwan and Japan, the Japanese authorities increasingly brought the people of Taiwan into the war with China. An archeology of knowledge, probing this history long neglected, and obscured by complex attitudes toward the war could shed light on the often conflicting attitudes toward China and Japan of longstanding Taiwanese inhabitants and those who came to the island from the Chinese mainland after 1945, and those who remained on the Chinese mainland.



Figure 10. Tainan's celebration for the fall of Hankou in October, 1938.

Source: Yeh Chunjung, *Zuozhen lishi tuxiang* (Historical images of Zuozhen township) (Tainan: Tainan district government, 2003) book cover, with the courtesy of Mr. Yeh Chunjung.

In comparison with Anne Booth of School of Oriental and African Studies in London University and Kent Deng of London School of Economics and who stress on the different degree of Asian colonies' development and different

colonizer's policies in the early twentieth-century, [57] this paper depicts more on the positive and negative sides in the trade and migration relations among China, Japan, Korea, the Southeast Asian countries, and Taiwan. While this paper compares some of the migrant pattern of Korea and Taiwan between these two areas and the Taiwanese migration pattern to the whole Asian region, Kent and Anne paint more on the Korean migration to the whole Asian area.

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