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"이주와 유통으로 본 근대 동아시아 경제사" 의 지향점

原 발제문 : "Reconsidering the "Small Divergence": The Role of Social and Economic Institutions in 19th and 20th Centuries Chinese and Japanese Economic Development", August 3@MIT, WEHC Boston 2018

The partnership of the British and Cantonese Transnational Merchant Diaspora in Modern East Asia and its rivalry with Japanese capital

KANG, Jin-A(강진아,姜珍亞) Hanyang University, SEOUL

Topic

- What?

- The formation and expansion of **the Western merchant network** and **the Cantonese merchant network**

- the change of their partnership before and after the rise of Japanese capitalism.

- How?

- Methodological access : transnational merchant diaspora groups.

- Case study: *Taikoo*, B&S, a British merchant and *Tongshuntai*, a Cantonese merchant in Chosŏn Korea.

- Western Company in China 洋行 : imperialist capital → scot in China
- Western young and adventurous people in Asia, with searching for the opportunity to make fortune and raise social status
- Cantonese capital : comprador capital, the agency of imperialism, the agency of *Yangwu* clique in the late Qing, National capital during the early republican era
→ transnational merchant diaspora
- Overseas Chinese 華僑
- Western Overseas 歐僑?

- The successful win-win policy under the treaty-port system in East Asian trade
- The challenge of Japanese industrial capitalism and *Shōsha* 商社 capital
 - dissolution of the long-lasting partnership
 - a reshuffle of Cantonese capital both in China and the rest of East Asia.

•The Tongshuntai firm(同順泰號)

: a representative Chinese company in Korea(1885?-1937)

: Tongshuntai Loan(同順泰借款) in 1892

: the head office(本號, Seoul) - branches(分號, Incheon, Jeonju and Gunsan)

Correspondent partners(聯號) in Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong, Nagasaki, Kobe and Yokohama.

: Tan Jiesheng譚傑生, ranked as No. 1 in taxpayer lists in Seoul in 1923



Photo of Tan Jiesheng

offered by his grand-grand son, Mr. Frank Tan working in Google, San Jose

Table 1 Purchase Date and Present Circumstances of the Tongshuntai Collection at Seoul National University

Purchase Date	Book-dealer	Commercial Designation	Number of volumes	Price	Registered Title (by the Library)	Number of volumes	Location
December 20th, 1933	Park Bongsu 朴鳳秀	Tongshuntai wangfu wenshu	1 vol.	10 Yen	Tongshuntai wangfu wenshu	35 vols.	SNU, Rare Books & Archival Collections
December 22nd, 1933	Park Bongsu	Tongshuntai wenshu	4 vols.	40 Yen			
December 22nd, 1933	Park Bongsu	Tongshuntai wenshu (Delivery Correspondence)	30 vols.	100 Yen			
August 1934	Park Bongsu	Tongshuntai huowu mulu	11 vols.	26 Yen	Jinkou ge huocang koudan	8 vols.	Kyujanggak Archives
					Jiawunian gebu laihuo zhibendan	2 vols.	
					Yiwei laihuo zhiben	1 vol.	
		Lunchuan gongsi gupiao	1 vol.	6 Yen	Lunchuan gongsi gupiao	1vol.	SNU, Rare Books & Archival Collections
August 13th, 1934	Park Bongsu	Tongshuntai shoushuhan	19 vols.	30 Yen	Tongshuntai laixin	19 vols.	Kyujanggak Archives
July 8th, 1937	Lee Seong'ui 李聖儀	Tongshuntai baohaoji	1 vol.	3 Yen		1 vol.	SNU, Rare Books & Archival Collections
A Total of 67 volumes in 7 Collections							

The Archives of John Swire & Sons, Ltd in SOAS

Mr Chungking Pien-tsin " 11 July 1944.

My dear tonight.

Things are all sea & seven through the river silted & the freshets. The "Hsin-chi" class and the "Poo-shi" are the only boats able to get up, and even they will not get up next trip I think.

Yik-hoo we are going to try an experiment giving extended credit to our sugar buyers with a view to increasing the uptake. It will necessitate increased responsibility on our Comrades' part and I should like to know we are fully secured. I think Rs 100,000. would not be too great an amount for his security. Our transactions in sugar are pretty big.

Yours truly
W. Swire

26
JSSV 1/8 b

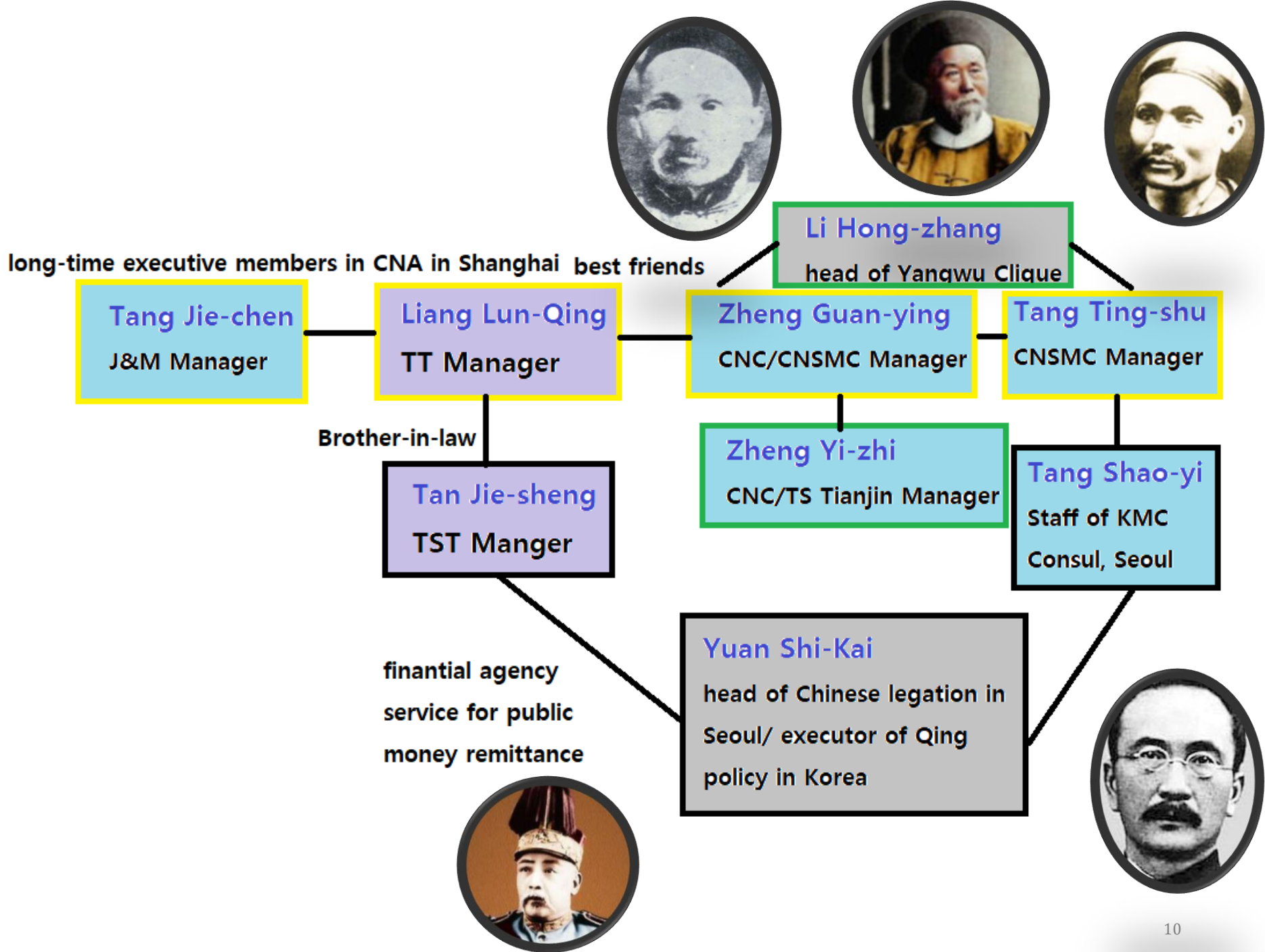
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REPLY GENERAL LETTERS

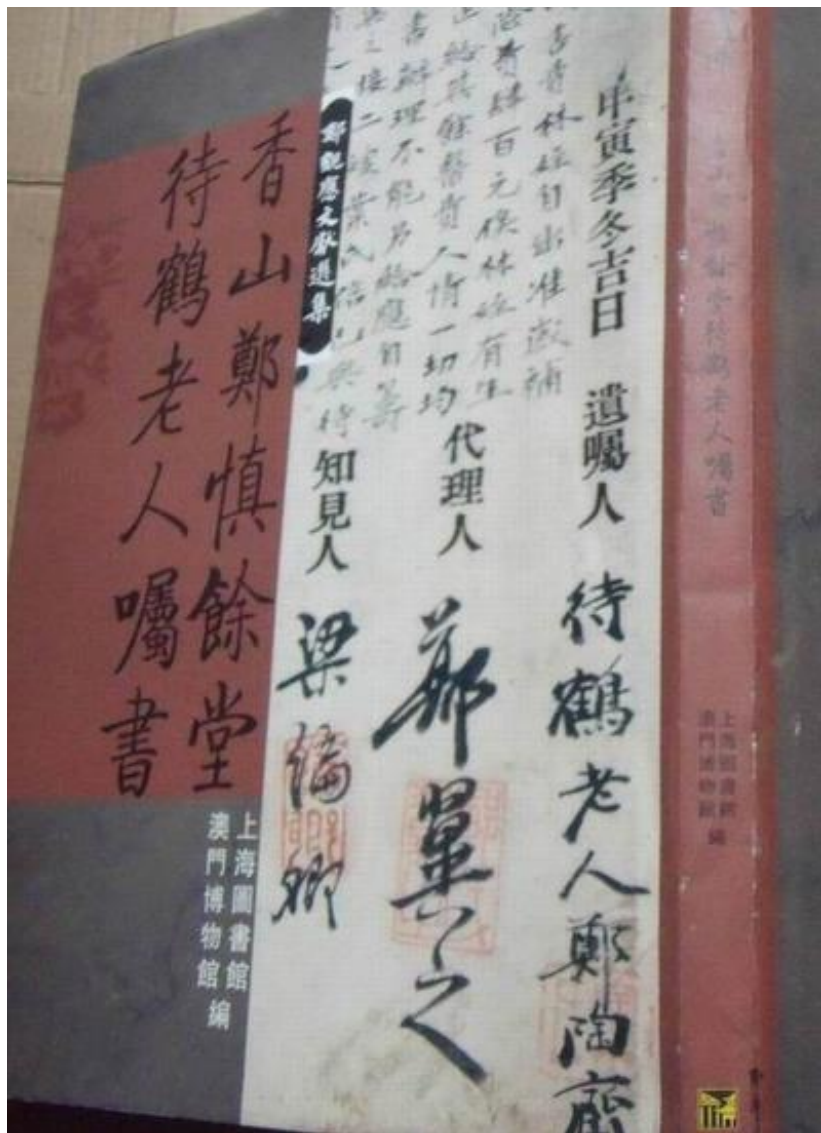
JULY-DEC 1935

1354

Human networks of Tongshuntai and Taikoo



Liang Lunqing and Zheng Yizhi on Zheng Guangying's will



鄭翼之
Zheng Yizhi

鄭翼之 (1859-1916), 名官富, 又名慶麟, 字正揚, 號翼之, 鄭觀應的異母五弟。

Zheng Yizhi (1859-1916) era o quinto irmão de Zheng Guangying. Usou o nome Guanfu; foi-lhe atribuído o nome Zhengyang; usou o pseudónimo Yizhi.

Zheng Yizhi (1859-1916; given name, Guanfu, also Qinglin; courtesy name, Zhengyang; pseudonym, Yizhi) was Zheng Guangying's younger brother and the fifth eldest among the Zheng siblings.

鄭景康
Zheng Jingkang

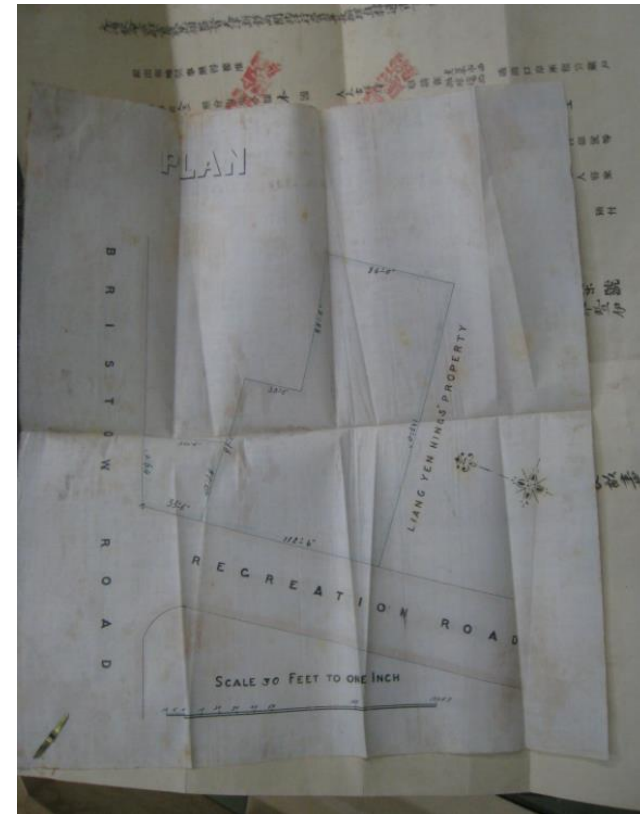
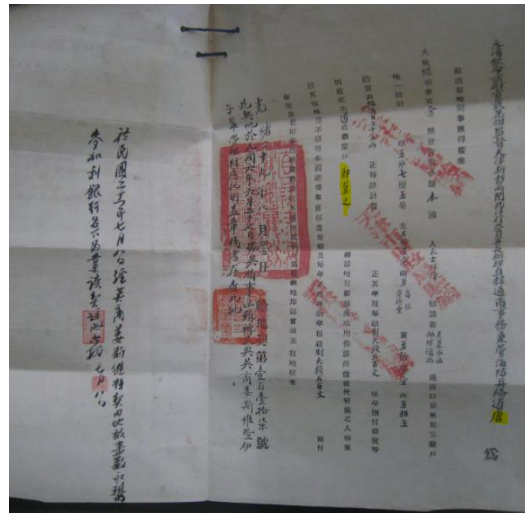
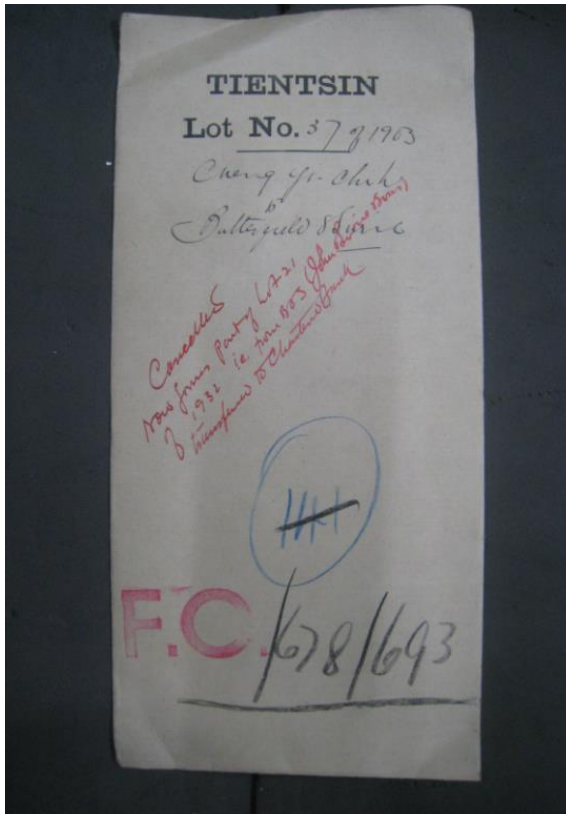
鄭景康 (1894-1978), 名慶春, 號景康, 鄭觀應的第四個兒子。

Zheng Yizhi in the Swire papers called as Yikkee
Tientsin E. F. Mackay. Esqu, → Shanghai, Wright 1901.11.27..
JSS BOX A31 JSS 2 1 15 j

... You will observe I insisted on the
soil being deposited to raise an area 140
feet from the frontage, in view of the
possibility of our building godowns there
D.S.C. already have their godowns, and
you will note provide that they get
their quid progress at the other end,
should the godown suffer on the river side.
Otherwise they naturally want to limit only
Yik Kee's security Yik Kee has no connection
of any kind with Collins & Co, and holds
but a poor opinion of W.W. Dickinson.
Latter is hanging fire about signing the
deed, but with the title deeds and their
last letter to us we are in a fair position.
Other deeds have been used by the Consul
(acting) who certifies their validity, & that we are registered
owners.
Wright
Shanghai
Edw. Mackay

Zheng Yizhi property in Tianjin

Fo 678/693 (National Archives, London) Lot No.37 Title Deed
鄭翼之 → Butterfield & Swire.1903, Butterfield & Swire →
John. Swire Ltd. 1917, John. Swire Ltd. → Chartered Bank,
1932



Tang Shaoyi & Liang Ruhao 唐紹儀 & 梁如浩

- * Xiangshan native(Canton)
- * the third party of **CEM**, 1874(MA, USA)
- * Chinese staff of Korean Maritime Customs(Incheon)
- * diplomat recruited by Yuan Shikai(Seoul)
- * official promotion during New Policy period of Qing(Tianjin)
- * survived in the Republican Government(Peking)

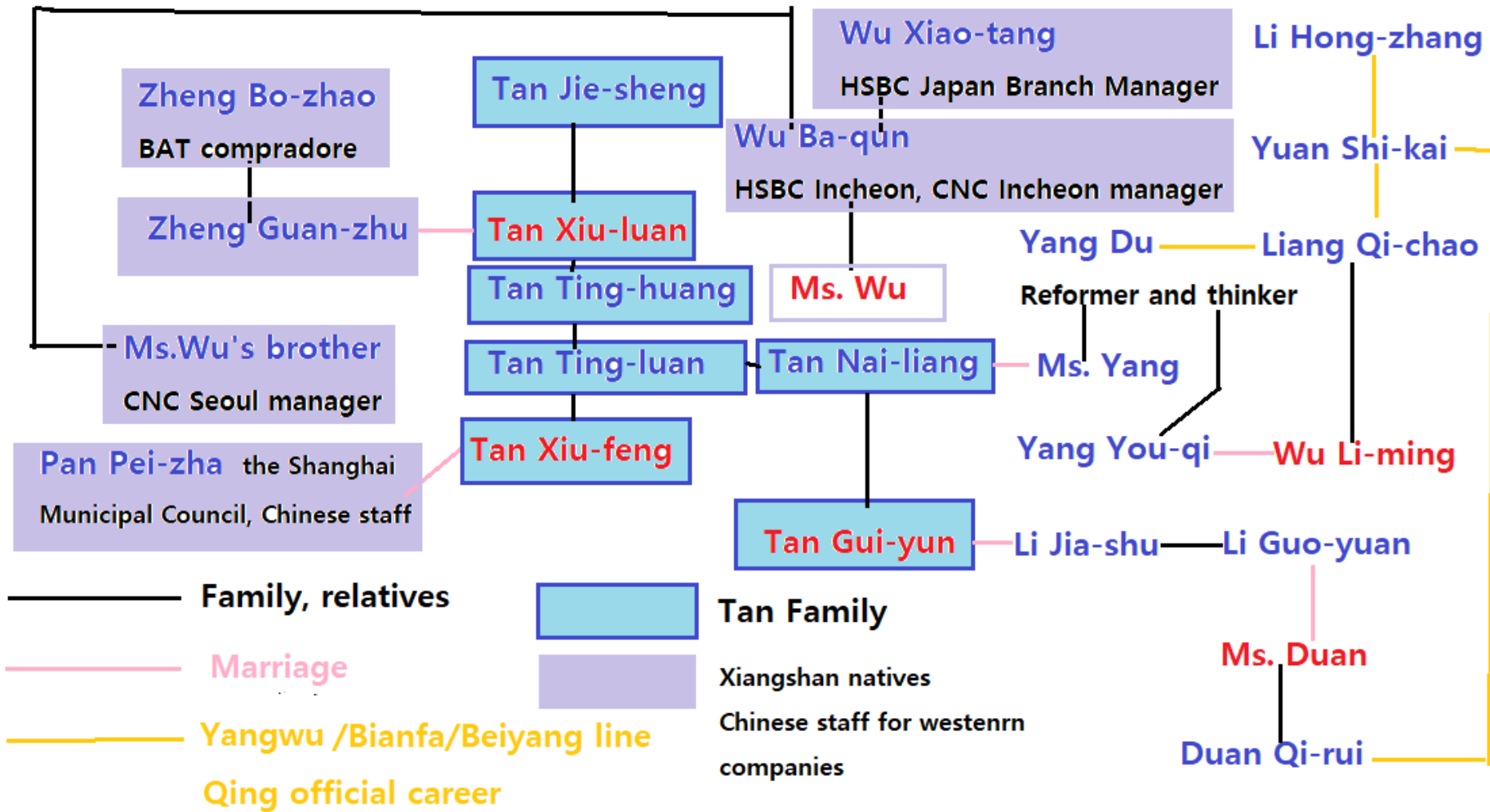


*Dresses worn by students before
departure for the States.*

*Liang Yu Ho
(LIANG)*

Tong Shao Yi

Bai Guo E



- personal network of Tongshuntai was interwoven with Xiangshan compradore group.
- Tongshuntai's marriage relationship has the same feature.
- Human resource : Cantonese in native places, English skill, Compradore career, experience of studying abroad, affiliation with Qing's officialdom in modernization movement

Relationship of Tongshuntai and Taikoo in Business

Main import goods during the treaty port era in East Asia

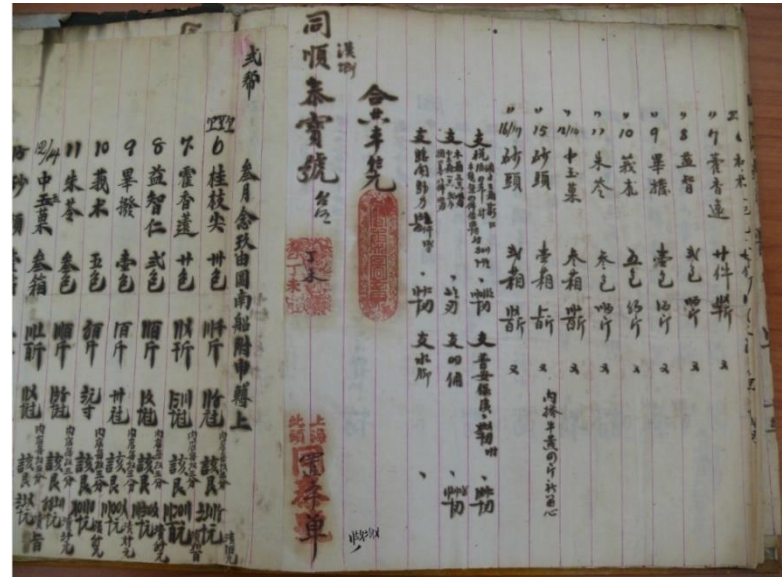
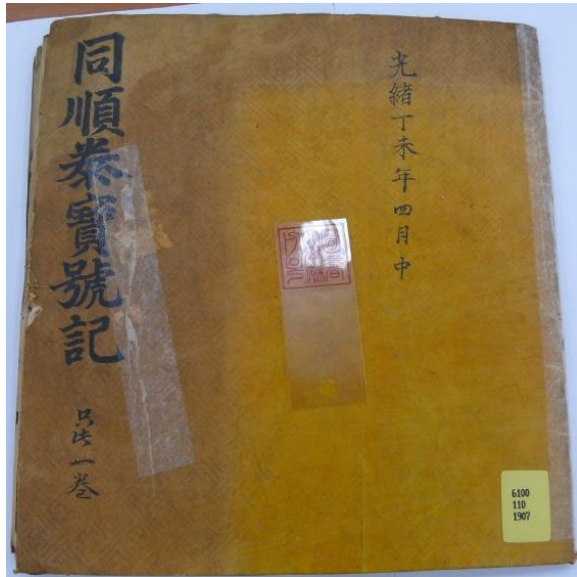
- British Cotton clothes
- Sugar : Chinese and Indian traditional sugar
→ Hong Kong sugar(Yihe and Taikoo)
- How to circulate and distribute those in East Asian Market?
→ via Shanghai, by Cantonese merchants
- Trade : British industrial product, British navigation companies(Yihe and Taikoo), British Banking system(HSBC)

The rise of Japanese industrial capital and Shosha capital

- The 1st Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895)
- Domestic market(import substitution industrialization) 1880s
 - Winning Korean market (1895 -)
 - Advance to Chinese market (1900s)
 - growing share in Chinese and Indian market (1910s, The 1st world war)
 - Counterattack of Yanghang and challenge of Chinese and Indian national capital(Minzuziben, Cantonese investments in Shanghai)(1920s)

Shipping of 1907 from Shanghai in *Tongshuntai Baohaoji*

- Taikoo shipping for consignment toward Korea as many as 11 times out of 20 times in total.
- a lot of cases that Tongshuntai and Tongtai paid fees to Taikoo Ship comprdore(賬房) for carrying goods personally.
→ tax evasion and smuggling.



Trade during 1883-1907

- Tongshuntai documents : account books and business correspondences
- Two kind of cotton clothes : British cotton 洋布 and Chinese traditional cotton clothes 土布
- two kind of sugar-related goods, Chetang(車糖, Kuruma-to in Japanese) and Tangjiang[糖姜, sugared ginger slices, the traditional local products of Chaozhou(潮州)].



Observing overall trend in Tongshuntai's import business

sugar

- the decline of sugar import with peak of 1895.
- larger share of refined sugar in the earlier stage and disappearance in 1907.
- economic factors of fundamental change in East Asia sugar production since 1895.

1880-1890



- Java raw sugar and Hong Kong refined sugar to dominate East Asia market
- The wholesale agents and retailers in treaty ports of East Asia : local Cantonese compradore and Chinese merchants.



Japanese sugar refinery business After the obtain of Taiwan in 1895

- After the obtain of Taiwan in 1895, Meiji government designed the plan to produce raw sugar in Taiwan and refine it in Japan.
- a large amount of subsidy(2.67 million yen during 1902-1911) + heavy protective tariff to imported sugar.
- replace Hong Kong sugar in domestic market and in overseas market, mainly Korea and China.



- Refined sugar imported by Tongshuntai and Cantonese merchants in Korea probably was Hong Kong sugar, mainly Taikoo sugar.
- In short, the cause of disappearance of refined sugar, maybe Taikoo sugar in 1907 import invoices was not in distribution but in production.

Tongshuntai-Baogaoji in 1907 cotton cloth & sugar

- cotton cloth : no more than about 250(257.495) silver *liang*, less than 1% of total import value of Tongshuntai. All was Chinese hand-crafted cotton cloth(土布)
- British cotton cloth disappeared.
- = sugar's case



After the collapse of Sino-British partnership

- British merchants and Cantonese merchants : division of roles between production and distribution
- the growth of Japanese industrial capital and Shosha(商社, Japanese styled trading company) capital → the collapse of Sino-British partnership

Change of main items

- main trade items : British modern commodities → traditional Chinese products, as like silk, linen, Chinese cotton cloth and Tangjiang
- welcomed Chinese traditional products in Korean market until 1920s
- even after 1910, Sino-Korean trade continued to increase more than before.

Hero of National Goods?

- Chinese overseas, in Korea, were praised in Chinese medias as heroes of National Goods(國貨)
- Chinese in home country and Chinese overseas assumed the respective role of production and distribution, even though the items were not so modern and fancy.



New moves of Some Cantonese overseas : Overseas Cantonese investments as Manufacturers

- to return to China and to build the modern industry by themselves like cotton textile factory.
- assume the role of British merchants
- one aspect of the birth of National Capital.
- Guangdong provincial government's Sugar Refinery project since 1933 : *Fengrui* and *Mo* family in Hong Kong (Taikoo sugar compradore) against Japanese sugar



- “The development of sugar mills in Kwangtung and Kwangsi may incommode us eventually, but we scarcely think their output is likely to be a serious menace for some time to come. In the meantime **we are glad you have been in touch with Dr. Feng Rui, as it clearly behoves us to come to terms with the Monopoly,** although we shall be surprised if they succeed in eliminating the independent smugglers altogether.”

Messrs. John Swire & Sons, Ltd. London.→B&S Hong Kong, 1934. 6.15. JSS BOX 25B JSS 5-1-9. Sugar Refinery letters

- Taikoo sold totally 19,000 picul in September, 1935 in China and Manchuria, out of which 8,100 picul was sold to Guangdong provincial government though the mediation of Mo family and Feng Rui.

B&S Hong Kong→Messrs. John Swire & Sons, Ltd. London, 1935.10.11. JSS BOX 26A(2) From Hong Kong, JSS 5-1-10. Sugar Refinery letters

Epilogue

Cantonese: the Tongshuntai

- the general trend with growth of import trade between Korea and China
- Tongshuntai reduced the share of trading business and concentrated investments on real estate and communications.
- Silk and Linen importers and traders was mostly Shandongese merchants.

Cantonese in Korea

- After breaking the Sino-British partnership, rewritten by me as British-Cantonese partnership, Cantonese merchants could not benefit as much as before from comprador status and networks with Hong Kong and Shanghai. Shandong traders' geographical merit that Shandong is close both to Korea and to Japan became more effective.

Thanks for listening!
鸣谢！감사합니다!