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Tribute and Emigration : Japan and the Chinese Administration of Foreign Affairs

メタデータ	言語: eng 出版者: 公開日: 2009-04-28 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 濱下, 武志 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	https://doi.org/10.15021/00003206

Tribute and Emigration: Japan and the Chinese Administration of Foreign Affairs

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In historical research, choosing a historical phenomenon as a focus of study is often significantly more important than the results of the study itself. The choice involves the interaction between the phenomenon's historical context and the modern interests of the researcher, and that interaction determines the value of the results and the insights of the research. In other words, however arbitrary the choice of a research topic may appear, it has meaning for the modern age when one begins to establish its significance in the context of its own historical time. This recognition shapes the development of the methodology of the researcher, who becomes increasingly aware of the crucial role of methodology in historical inquiry. In the modern era, becoming conscious of the past is a process shaped by our consciousness of the past.

Among Japan's historians, the focus of inquiry has generally been on systems and organizations, in research on Japan as well as on foreign countries. The processes of building a modern state since the Meiji Restoration have been directed toward setting up and consolidating national systems and structures, and therefore, not surprisingly, institutional history has dominated historical research. But given this focus, there has not been enough probing into the essence of the times—for example, from the viewpoint of functions and processes through the history of customs and routines.

When institutional history dominates research, it can cast its nets very broadly. Popular history and intellectual history can both be seen from an institutional perspective; even the history of revolutions can focus on the building of new institutions to replace the old regime.

However, when the choice of research topics and methodology is too much centered on institutional history—that is, when the focus is on “hard” research—the “soft” aspects that allow the “hard” to function are too often neglected as a field for research. “Soft” research focuses on interrelationships and tries to illuminate the

inner reality of a phenomenon, the reasons for its existence, and the conditions under which it functions.

From a historical point of view, the theme of administration has been classified as a topic for "hard" research that focused on administrative organization and control structures, exemplified by Max Weber's research on the institutions of control and the legitimacy of governance [WEBER 1956]. However, whatever provides the foundation for social order on which the ruler builds his administrative organization is an equally important subject for research. In Chinese historiography, for example, the overwhelming focus of research has been on the so-called "absolutist" administrative structures of the emperor's court and the bureaucracy. However, despite their apparent integration and unity, in practice there was a very real estrangement between the officials and the people, between the center and the local regions, that can only be illuminated by an approach to the "soft" issue of how the system actually functioned.

This paper addresses the theme of administrative organization through the following topics. First, administration is analyzed in terms of its function, taking an approach that sees governance as a reflection of public order. The integration and system of administration may seem to have its own intrinsic significance; however, much of the energy of the ruler is expended in reflecting the internal public order that inheres in the ruled. Continuity is of course an important element of governance, but if the administrative system does not rest on the internal order of the ruled populace, it cannot sustain itself. In a complex country like China, where the local society is highly organized and self-sufficient, an important aspect of governance was how well the rulers embodied and shared the logic and ideas of local society. To put it somewhat differently, in the relationship between the government and the people, the ruler had to shape his administrative organization and governing ideology in proportion to the extremely strong pull of the populace, and yet in a different (that is, centralizing) direction. The result was the bureaucratic system that constituted the strength of the imperial regime.

A second theme of the following discussion is how the real functions of administration and governance are revealed in the administration that is directed toward foreign peoples. Fundamentally, internal control and order are maintained through certain normative standards (in China, for example, the "Son of Heaven" embodied virtue and benevolence) and through power (including military power). However, administration which is directed abroad, while it is a reflection of the patterns of domestic rule in some respects, is far from being a simple extension of the basic principles of the domestic order. It involves a reciprocal relationship in which inclusion and exclusion, alliance and hostility can change abruptly with the course of diplomatic negotiations. However, the analysis of the administration of foreign relations can provide a more comprehensive view of the actual functions of administrative organization, because while domestic administration shapes the standards for foreign-directed administrative systems, certain aspects of the latter in turn place limitations on domestic administration. An extreme example is that of

the Ch'ing dynasty in its early years, when the rule of the Manchus over the Han Chinese was virtually tantamount to the administration of a foreign people.

The third theme is the financial basis of economic administration. Hitherto the subject of power and authority has been treated primarily in terms of political systems and foreign relations. However, to analyze governance from an economic perspective can illuminate the distinctive traits of the foundations of power and the state. In the premodern era, the state's only involvement in the economy was through taxation; indeed, the major goal of administration was to ensure the financial resources to maintain the regime's power base. In an age when the base of state power was not a citizenry but a body of subjects, the economy of the royal court and the social order of commerce operated autonomously and on very different modes of thought. For example, the basic principle of court financial administration was to "control expenditures according to revenues (量入制出)"; the economic situation of the rulers depended on that of the ruled.

Finally, the paper analyzes the interrelationship between the development and maintenance of tribute and emigration in the framework of China's externally-directed administration. To date, these two phenomena have been seen as belonging to completely different levels in terms of research orientation and focus of concern. There have been no approaches that have identified any direct points of contact between them: tribute and the tributary trade were managed at the center by the court, while emigration was a spontaneous popular phenomenon at the village or community level. Indeed, from the imperial court's viewpoint, emigrants were seen as traitors, since travel abroad was prohibited by imperial law.

Under these circumstances, research on tribute has been focused on the formal systems put into place by the court, whereas research on emigration has focused on social phenomena such as territorial and blood ties among emigrants and assimilation. Nevertheless, tribute meant tributary trade, trade in supplying goods for tribute and in the tribute goods themselves. The tributary states found Chinese merchants indispensable, and trading activities led to the establishment of Chinese commercial bases in various cities throughout Asia, which in turn led to emigration. In China's external administration, particularly vis-a-vis South-East Asia, tribute and emigration were mutually reinforcing, two sides of the same coin. The "soft" aspects of this interaction of tribute and emigration constitute a research theme that has important implications for understanding China's administrative organization.

1. CENTRAL AND LOCAL IN ADMINISTRATION

Research into the internal order of the ruled and its relationship to externally-oriented governance reveals how much the prevailing image of Chinese administrative organization overemphasizes its systemic and centralized nature. The image is of a highly centralized administrative organization structured around the imperial court, the bureaucracy, and the examination system. The relationships

among these three elements—the emperor maintained by the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy maintained by the examination system—have been clearly recognized. However, in practice, the coexistence of officialdom and the populace, of center and locality—perhaps even the predominance of locality—was an essential element of the system as a whole.

Central and Local in Fiscal Administration

In the fiscal administration of the bureaucracy, the top-ranking structure was the Board of Revenue (*Hu Pu* 戶部); various departments were set up under its jurisdiction, forming a centralized structure which extended into the provinces (the *shêng* 省, the *chou* 州, and the *hsien* 縣). The flow of financial resources, however, was decentralized, and provinces (省) had a considerable measure of autonomy. The Board of Revenue received tax payments from each *shêng*, but only after its local government had taken out enough to cover its own expenditures. Moreover, often one *shêng* would provide resources to tide a neighbouring *shêng* over a period of difficulties. Moreover, the various ministries could obtain an Imperial decree to take independently from each *shêng* the resources needed to cover their own expenditures. Under these circumstances, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the only role of the Board of Revenue was to distribute to the various offices whatever tax revenues had been collected.

Obviously the Board of Revenue did not possess a strong centralized power over the administration of public revenues. Indeed, the line of authority over public finances suggests that decentralization would be a more accurate depiction than centralization. The Board of Revenue, which was supposed to serve as the office that supervised financial administration, in fact shared its power with the governors of the provinces (*Tsung-tu* 總督 and *Hsün-fu* 巡撫), who were the officials in charge of actual financial administration. The *Pu Cheng-shih* (布政使 Financial Commissioner), the official who was formally responsible for financial administration in each *shêng*, reported to the governor, not to the Board of Revenue (see Figure 1). Every year, the details of both national and local public revenues and expenditures were carefully recorded, in accordance with rigidly prescribed rules and regulations. However, there are limits to what we can infer about actual financial flows from these records, since they were not concerned with providing an accurate report but with officially balancing the accounts.

Central and Local in the Issuance of Currency

One of the topics that provides a lens for examining the realities of central power is currency: specifically, the jurisdiction exercised by the central authorities over the issue and distribution of currency. In the Chinese currency system, there was very little circulation of gold; the system rested on the two pillars of silver and copper. Copper coins were minted by the central authorities; privately-owned silver smelters produced “horseshoe silver”—a silver ingot circulating according to weight. The initial exchange rate between them was one silver *liang* (兩 tael) to one

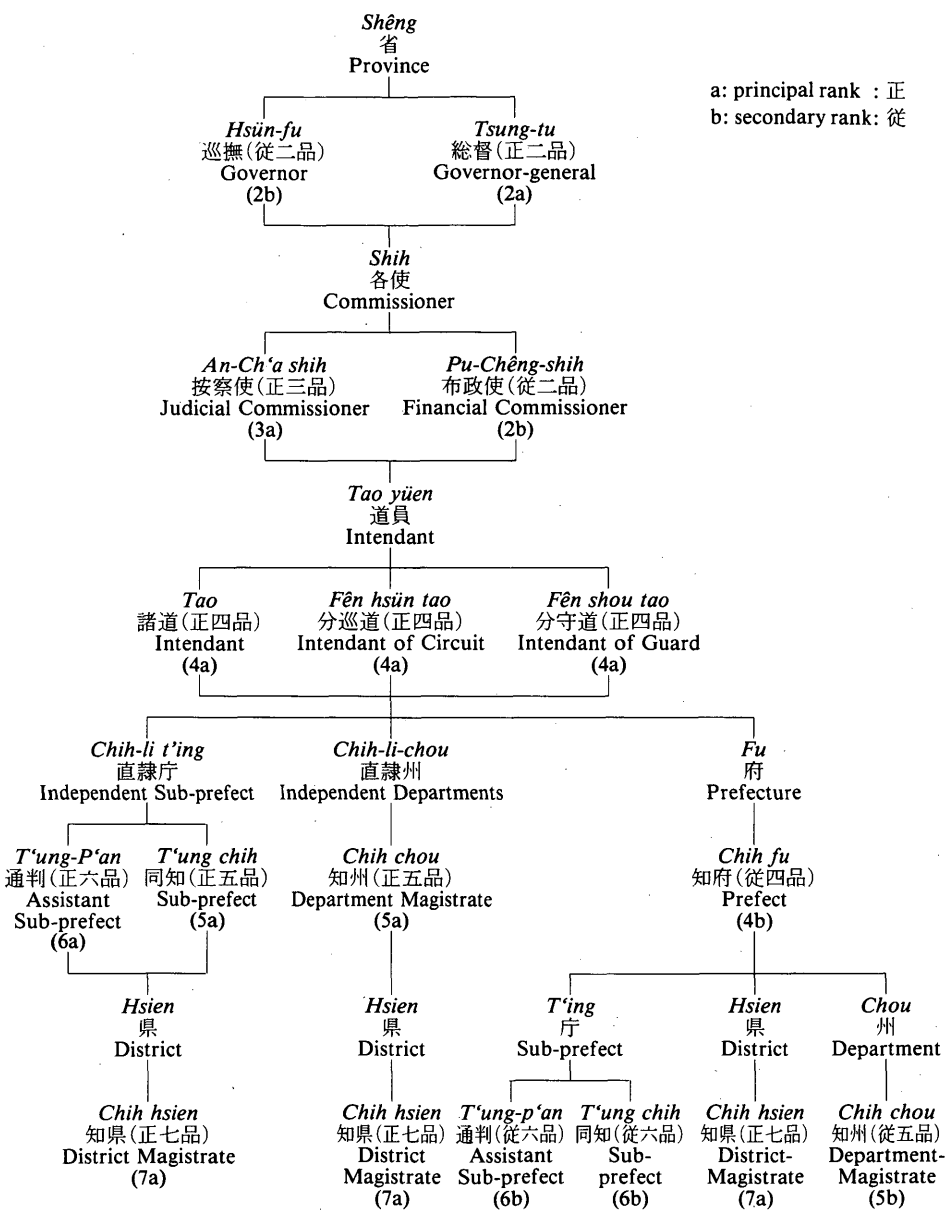


Fig. 1. Organization Chart of the Local Bureaucracy in Ch'ing Dynasty.

thousand copper *wen* (文 cash), but the gap increased over time.

Even though the circulation of silver currency was therefore outside the jurisdiction of the central government, official policy was increasingly to favor taxes paid in silver. In consequence, there was a growing popular dependence on money-changers and on private financial institutions that handled tax remittance. The im-

portance of the private as opposed to the public sector in currency and the handling of public monies therefore increased over time [MIYASHITA 1952].

Separation of Officials and Communities

Officials who were dispatched from the center to serve in local administration were never sent to their own place of birth or residence. This precaution can be seen as a way of preventing direct contact between officials and the village social order in order to maintain the autonomy of the bureaucratic structures. The popular social order was based on clans and on communities. The clan was reinforced by family codes or precepts, usually contained in the family genealogies. The community order was centered on its elders and encapsulated in village codes. Commerce and handicrafts were organized in guilds, which also had sets of formal precepts and regulations, and which maintained a high degree of autonomy.

The bureaucracy did not attempt to interfere in the popular social order based on clans, communities, and guilds. It was content to exert economic control through external means: that is, the imposition of taxes. And as the policy of avoiding appointments of bureaucrats to their home regions indicates, officialdom did not try to penetrate the popular order; indeed, it made every effort to avoid getting drawn into it.

A similar pattern can be found in the administration over the tribal dependencies (*Fan pu* 藩部), in the parallel structure of autonomous local structures and official bureaucratic organizations. In Mongolia, the local offices of the *Ch'i-chang* (旗長) and *Mêng-chang* (盟長) existed side by side with the official posts of the *Tu-t'ung* (都統), the *Chiang-chün* (將軍), and the *Pan shih ta ch'ên* (辦事大臣). Among the Uyghur of Hsing-chang, there were local leaders who held the titles of *Po-k'ê* (伯克 Beg) and *Dzassak* (札薩克 chieftain), and a large number of official bureaucratic posts: the three that were also present in Mongolia, plus *Ts'an-tsan ta ch'ên* (參贊大臣), *Ling tui ta ch'ên* (領隊大臣), and *Hsieh pan ta ch'ên* (協辦大臣). And in Tibet, the autonomous local structure was represented by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, and the central bureaucratic structure by the *Pan shih ta ch'ên* and the *Pang pan ta ch'ên* (幫辦大臣).

The Ch'ing dynasty maintained sovereignty over the tribal dependencies, but restricted its role in internal administration to supervision, leaving the actual operations to the local leaders (hereditary chiefs, Lamas, and so on). The administration of the minority ethnic groups in the southwestern provinces of Ssü-ch'uan, Yün-nan, Kuei-chou, Hsi-k'ang, and Ch'ing-hai followed a similar pattern: the court appointed local leaders as *T'u-ssü* (土司 chieftain) and made them responsible for meeting tribute obligations. This is yet another example of the parallel structure of the administration of the central bureaucracy and the localities.

The greater the separation between the center and the localities in China's internal administrative order, the more the formal appearance of administration became centralized and comprehensive in scope. A similar process was at work in the external administrative order. As unfamiliar elements were brought into the system of

foreign relations, the ethnocentrism, or Sinocentrism, of the center was strengthened. In terms simply of the functions of administration, the relationship between ruler and ruled was less one of command and obedience than one of interdependence.

2. SINOCENTRISM AND THE THEORY OF TRIBUTE

Throughout world history, tribute has been adopted as a means of expressing loyalty to powerful rulers. In Asia, and particularly in China, where the government was grounded on Sinocentrism and political ideology on ceremony, it was deemed necessary for those receiving the protection of the Emperor to express their gratitude in some form. Tribute was essential evidence of the proper functioning of the social order and its institutions and of the mutual recognition of the awareness of that order. As a general rule tribute involved the giving and receiving of articles, those offered as tribute by the foreigners and those conferred on the givers as symbols of recognition and reward by the imperial court.

This exchange of resources was supported by the concept of "ceremony" (礼), which can be seen as a principle that was both economic and political. It is explained in the Chinese records (*Huang ch'ao wên hsien t'ung k'ao*, Kuo yung k'au ti-『皇朝文献通考』国用考第一) as follows: "The scope of the management of a nation's affairs is very broad, and there are three major elements in meeting its requirements: wealth must be generated; the extraction of that wealth must be systematized; and it must be used according to ceremony." "Ceremony" was clearly a basic principle, in the use of financial resources as in other aspects of governing; it was an embodiment of the ideas of politics and social order.

Given that the tribute system was administered by an office called the "Bureau of Ceremony" (礼部), tribute can be seen as a positive form of conducting external relations on the basis of ceremony. The prescribed tributary relationship was one in which the Chinese Emperor conferred a royal title on the head of a tributary state (a practice called *Ts'ê-fêng* 册封), thereby creating a suzerain-subject relationship. Depending on degree of closeness in the relationship between China and the tributary nation, either Chinese representatives were dispatched to the tribute state, or the state sent its own representatives to China to receive official imperial documents and seals. Throughout the Ch'ing period, only Korea, Ryūkyū, and Vietnam were given the privilege of receiving Chinese representatives.

Missions from a tributary state recognized by the Chinese Emperor would visit Peking at prescribed intervals, via prescribed routes (sea routes included Kuangchou, Fouchou, and Ningpo). The number of people in the mission was also clearly prescribed by the Chinese court, the larger missions reaching as many as one thousand, of whom at least some were merchants. The merchants were allowed to engage in trade in specialty goods beyond the tribute trade itself, a trade carried out at the Assembly Hall in Peking. Although the categories and quantities of goods to be traded were also officially prescribed, the volume of private trade gradually in-

creased over time. As a result, the main purpose of the tribute trade came to be the pursuit of profits through the unofficial trade that was ancillary to the official system. The chapter on the Bureau of Ceremonies in the *K'uang-hsü hui tien*『光緒會典』 lists Korea, Ryūkyū, Vietnam, Laos, Sulu, and Burma as neighboring tributary states, and records that other nations also maintained links with China through other modes of trade. Clearly China's trade with other nations in the region was increasing.

What was the Chinese world view through which these activities were interpreted? Did the Chinese perceive the world as a concentric system with China at the center—the “Middle Kingdom”? In the early fifteenth century, Chêng Hê (鄭和) embarked on seven overseas expeditions, thereby expanding dramatically Chinese awareness of the world beyond its borders. A number of books on foreign countries were published over the subsequent years, such as the *Hsi yang ch'ao kêng tien lü*『西洋朝貢典錄』 by Huang Sheng-tsêng 黃省曾, brought out in the early 1520s. Although the title speaks of “the West,” the westernmost areas mentioned in that volume were the important trading points of Hormuz and Aden in the Arabian peninsula, and although Japan, Korea, and Ryūkyū had traditionally been viewed as part of “the East,” Huang included Ryūkyū in his accounts. In the Ming period, a new region was added to the older categories of “East” and “West:” the “South” or “South Seas,” meaning at first the Malay peninsula west of Sumatra. One conceptual grouping not uncommon at the time was the classification of the Indian Ocean as “the West” and everything east of that as “the East.” Arabs regarded the area between India and China as “the South.” Before the Yüan period, this area was sometimes called “South” and sometimes “Southeast.” In modern terminology, the South Seas (南洋) came to refer to the area stretching bounded on the east by Luzon in the Philippines and on the west by the coast of India [FENG 1937].

In the north, a tributary relationship was set up between the Chinese court and several tribes along the coastal area of Heilungchiang, which the Ch'ing dynasty had subjugated earlier. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, Russia began to try to intervene in the area, leading to a war between the two empires which was ended by the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689. This established the boundary between the two countries and guaranteed Russia the right to trade with China [YOSHIDA 1974: 58–108].

All this indicates that there was no specific, fixed geographical orientation to China's world view. The directions of east, west, north, and south were used not to position China from the outside but to position other countries around China. Other nations were classified not only by their physical relation to China but also by their political relation: whether they were a tribute state, simply engaged in routine trade, or without any sustained relationship at all.

China's relationship with Europe was no exception. For example, George III's envoy Lord Macartney was dispatched to the court of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor with the title of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary Extraordinary in 1793. Macartney recorded in his journal, “I pretend not to notice that ‘English Am-

bassador with Tribute to the Chinese Emperor' is written on the ship's flag, and I have not yet complained about it. Given an appropriate opportunity, I shall give them a warning" [BANNO 1975: 42].

When Macartney was given an audience with the Emperor, he wrote: "I forgot to mention earlier that three envoys from Tatze, that is, Pegu (a Burmese city on the southern coast), and six Islamic envoys, who were Kalmucks from the southwestern region also attended this ceremony; they were not very well-dressed" [BANNO 1975: 93-4].

In its relationship with its tributary states, as Macartney's account indicates, everything was wrapped up in Chinese ideas and terms, reducing the other party to third-person status.

What measures were then taken to deal with states which did not follow the model of the tributary relationship? The *Hanshu* of Chang Ch'ien states that "countries west of Ta Yüan (大宛) continue to be arrogant and act selfishly only because they are far away from Han. Since we cannot expect obedience with proper ceremony of them, the rein and the rope are the methods we should adopt." This passage indicates that those who did not appreciate the influence of ceremony were subject to more forceful treatment. The "rein" refers to the reins on a horse, and the "rope" to the rope hooked to a cow's nose, meaning that an "ungrateful" nation was granted freedom within a certain range—within the length of a rope, one end of which was firmly held by China. It is interesting to note in this context the use of a metaphor drawn from the daily life of the nomadic tribes.

This placing of China at the center, instructing the four corners of the world in the power and dignity of ceremony, was the substance of idea of *Chunghua* (中華). But we must note that this concept, from the standpoint of the administration of relationships with the outside world, does not imply simple and exclusivist Sinocentrism. Rather, it has important elements of inclusion, integrating the different and the foreign into itself through relationships like tribal dependencies, tribute, and trade. In the tribute relationship in particular, the Chinese had little concern for the content of the other side's own administrative organization, as long as it maintained the sole condition of observing the ceremonial relationship prescribed by the tribute system. These elements of inclusion and integration have often been overlooked by the established views of the *Chunghua* world-view as absolute, assimilative, and highly centralized—an exclusivist, China-centered ideology [FAIRBANK 1968].

However, one can see elements of the same way of thinking in domestic administration, in the relative autonomy and the parallel structures of center and locality, official and populace, and in the reflection of regional and communal social orders in the central administrative structures. In other words, common elements can be traced in the patterns of administration in domestic and foreign contexts. The concept of China that we can see revealed in its administration of its external relationships is not pure and absolute; its great diversity in practice is an essential element in better understanding the concept of China. Presumably this is also a fac-

tor in understanding how emigration, which was officially banned, developed hand in hand with the tribute system.

3. EMIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF AN EXTENDED ECONOMIC ZONE

"Emigration" simply means leaving one's native land for another country; "colonization" means deliberately moving one's living environment and activities to another location. "Emigration" has the connotation of maintaining a focus on one's country of origin. Chinese history witnessed an outpouring of people, most of whom were emigrants who maintained a strong tie with their home country, although there are examples of genuine colonists. Nevertheless, emigration is a fairly broad term covering a variety of types of movement. The variety stems from such factors as the birthplace of the emigrants, their host country, timing, economic or political motives for emigrating, and the world situation at the time of their emigration.

History of Emigration

Historically, there were three phases in the emigration of the Chinese. The first was seventh and eighth century emigration to P'enghuto and Taiwan. The second was emigration to the "West" (which meant Southeast Asia) in the fifteenth century, epitomized by Chêng Hê's expeditions. And the third was officially approved emigration of "coolies" (emigrant labor) from the mid-nineteenth century. Each phase exhibited differences in the content and nature of emigration.

The first phase emigration was from the coastal areas of the South China Sea. Emigrants from Fouchou, Chüanchou, Hsiamen, Ningpo, Shant'ou, Canton, and Hainan Island arrived in P'ênghuto, where they established commercial centers.

Later, movement to the east began: the Hakka, a minority group, began trading with people living in Kaohsiung, Chilung, and the Tanshui River, laying the foundation for Chinese emigration to Taiwan. The Chinese who had moved to the region began to serve as the nexus for trade between their homeland and the neighboring states. Out of this, three major trade routes developed: the route to what later became British Malacca, the route to the Dutch West Indies, and another route to the Philippines.

The second phase, with a much increased number of emigrants, took place around the time of Chêng Hê's seven expeditions to the "West" in the fifteenth century. His expeditions led to an increase in the number of states that became tributaries of China, and hence to an increase in China's tributary trade with the region. It was also the peak period for the trade carried by the Chinese junks in the Southern Seas. Along with the increase in trade came an increase in emigration, with a variety of settlements in the Malay peninsula, Java (in 1293, the Yüan dynasty had sent expeditions as far as Java), Sumatra, Borneo, the Sulu Islands, and the Philippines [WADA 1979].

The third phase of the expansion of immigration began around 1860, as a result of the treaties of T'ienchin and Peiching that legalized overseas travel by Chinese workers. The treaties were a product of the efforts of Britain, France, and the Netherlands to secure a labor force from China and India for their colonies, efforts made necessary by the international labor shortage that followed on the abolition of the African slave trade. In 1866, Britain and France signed the Chinese Labor Immigration Agreement with China, thus establishing what became known as the coolie trade, the supply of Chinese indentured labor.

The attitude of the Ch'ing court to the treaties was less that of respect for the results of diplomatic negotiations than reluctant concession to satisfy the demands of foreign nations. Emigration had always been prohibited for moral reasons. From this point, however, there was a remarkable increase in the number of emigrants to work on the rubber and sugar plantations and in the tin mines of Southeast Asia. Between the mid-1880s and the mid-1910s, emigration to the Malay peninsula totalled 4.1 million to Singapore (an average of 120,000 a year), and 1.57 million to Penang (an average of 47,000 a year) [CH'EN 1923: 84].

The longstanding moral sanctions against emigration were rooted in the ideal of the family and the community as economic units in agrarian society. It was said that the peasants loved their land and greatly disliked having to move, and that good people liked to live in close proximity with each other, close enough to hear the neighbor's chickens, but without interfering in each other's business. The bonds of Chinese families and clans were extremely strong, and every family member was responsible for playing a role in the economic activities of the household. There were also numerous rites for the dead throughout the year, in connection with traditional ancestor worship. Such rites were additional factors which discouraged departures from one's homeland. The anxiety felt in being away from home is expressed in the proverb, "one *li* away from home, and you are in a completely foreign place."

In 1712, during the reign of the Yung Ch'eng Emperor, an imperial edict banned the return of any Chinese living abroad at that time; violators were to be put to death. What this order indicated was that Chinese did not leave home; those that did so were the anti-social, the exiles, the criminals, and those vanquished in war. The traditional exclusion policy evinced a deep suspicion of other countries; the suspicion of being foreign spies always clung to those who returned from living overseas, and even to their family or clan. Therefore, Chinese living overseas did not themselves necessarily desire to move back to China permanently.

Emigration and Emigration Agencies

In world history, the major flows of migration have been in three directions: from Europe to the New World; from Africa to the New World; and from China and India to the New World, Africa, and Southeast Asia through the coolie trade and through emigration.

These movements were caused by a variety of socio-political, economic, and

cultural factors, including population pressures, poverty, exile, religious conflict, slavery, commerce, and indentured labor. Whatever the motivating forces, the following points must be considered: (1) how the old life style and customs were maintained in the new environment; (2) the level of assimilation, and the processes by which it occurred; (3) how a new structure emerged from the combination of the maintenance of old patterns and the processes of assimilation. To put it differently, in the emigrants' new environment, what was their political status, their economic role specialization, and the modes by which culture was transmitted through education and other means?

In the context of the theme of this symposium, however, the investigation of the relationship between an emigrant's home country and host country must take priority. Generally speaking, the emigration of the Chinese, despite its diversity in destination and era, had the following common traits: (1) the maintenance of blood ties and communal ties with the home country, with considerable traffic between the old and the new country; (2) the maintenance of old social units, customs, and lifestyle in the host country; (3) well-developed social structures for facilitating emigration. With these traits, the Chinese societies of Southeast Asia developed considerable economic power.

Emigration agents played an important role in maintaining a permanent tie between China and the emigrant's new home. The expansion of emigration to the various regions of Southeast Asia was directly related to the development of numerous emigration agents. The agents developed their business as intermediaries, from arranging the initial passage to the emigrants' destinations to handling remittances and communications back to their homes after they had arrived.

There were six different types of these agents. *Chiu k'ê* (旧客) were based in the overseas settlements; they recruited new emigrants and provided the loans needed to pay for travel and initial expenses. *Shui k'ê* (水客) specialized in communications between the South (mainly Singapore) and Huanan (華南); they transported money and letters to China for overseas Chinese, and at the same time recruited new emigrants from their hometowns. *K'ê chan* (客棧) were inns situated in Canton and Fouchien port cities (Hong Kong, Fouchou, Shant'ou, and Hsiamen). They catered to emigrants in transit, handling accommodations and emigration procedures for the emigrants recruited by the *chiu k'ê* and the *shui k'ê*, and were specialized by the home towns of the emigrants. *Ch'uan t'ou hang* (船頭行) were shipping agents in Fouchien and Canton; they sold tickets for the steamship companies, and some even chartered ships on their own account for the transport of emigrants and related business. The shipping companies themselves maintained their own agents to handle the movement of emigrants from the Huanan ports to their southern destinations. In the 1920s, for example, they transported some 600,000 emigrants annually. Since the emigrants provided their own meals during the trip, the companies were able to make large profits from the emigrant traffic.

Finally, the *hsin chü* (信局), dispersed through the South Seas area, specialized

in money exchange and postal communications between emigrants in the region and their home towns. Usually agents specialized in emigrants from their own home towns. They undertook not only to transmit even very small amounts of money but also to write letters for the illiterate or semi-literate workers, so they provided a valued service for the emigrant laborers. *Hsin chü* maintained close ties with money exchangers, the primary financial organs in the large cities in Huanan, who cashed the remittances dispatched by bank transfers. Once the official postal system was established, their numbers decreased somewhat, although their services remained important for the very small-scale transfers of the poorest laborers.

These various kinds of agents were found in considerable numbers among the Chinese emigrants in Southeast Asia. They were the link between the emigrants and their families and home towns.

Causes and Effects of Emigration

A survey conducted in 1935 in and around Shant'ou in Fouchien province revealed a number of reasons for emigration, as shown in Table 1.

According to this survey, most (70%) of the 905 households surveyed gave economic reasons for leaving home. However, we should not overlook the fact that nearly 20% cited a "pull factor" in the form of relatives in the South, and nearly 3% cited a desire to expand their business. Both of these factors indicate the drawing power of the region. Among those who cited economic difficulties as their motive for leaving, we may assume that a knowledge of better conditions in the South constituted something of a "pull" factor as well. Of course, domestic conditions in China certainly provided a stimulus to emigrate, but we must recognize that the longstanding Chinese community in the region and the emigration agents played their part in attracting Chinese to the area.

The interaction of push and pull factors resulted in the creation of an extended zone of economic activity based on the Chinese commercial networks among Fouchien, Canton, and Southeast Asia. It was, first and foremost, the expanded

Table 1. Reasons for Emigration to the South

Reason	Number of Households	%
(1) Economic difficulties	633	69.95
(2) Relatives in the region	176	19.45
(3) Natural disaster	31	3.43
(4) Expansion of business	26	2.87
(5) Fleeing legal penalties	17	1.88
(6) Local instability	7	0.77
(7) Family conflict	7	0.77
(8) Other	8	0.88
Total	905	100.00

foreign relations of Fouchien and Canton, tied to the tributary trade, that laid the base for the expanded economic zone. The expatriate Chinese merchants handled most of the logistics of the trade, and Chinese-owned junks carried the goods. A second factor was the expansion of private trade along with the official tributary trade. Rice imports into south China became essential to the Huanan economy, as the quantity of rice imported fell or rose with the scale of the rice harvests in Huanan. Migrant workers were dispatched from Hainan Island and the coastal areas of Kuanghsi province for the rice harvests in Indo-China. The distribution networks between Huanan and Southeast Asia, established by the Chinese merchants, complemented the tributary trade and further strengthened the relationships between the two areas.

Eventually, foreign capital began to flow into this Huanan-Southeast Asia trade zone. Beginning with the British, American and European interests advanced into the region to explore for minerals and to secure foodstuffs and raw materials for their industries. They followed and further developed the trade routes already established in the region. As a result, more capital was invested in trade in the region, invigorating the regional trade flows.

However, one feature of European involvement in the region's trade was its inability to penetrate its internal markets. The Chinese merchants virtually monopolized the import and export of goods into local Chinese and Southeast Asian markets. However strongly the Westerners exerted their power in China and Southeast Asia, it could not get them into the local markets. For the Chinese, on the other hand, the expansion of East-West trade necessarily meant the expansion of intra-Asian trade, and a consequent expansion of the scale of their own activities. In addition, the growth of the rubber plantations and the development of tin mines in the Malay peninsula and the expansion of the sugar plantations of Indonesia and the Philippines greatly increased the regional demand for labor. Therefore, from the mid-nineteenth century on, the networks of the Huanan-Southeast Asia economic zone became increasingly dense.

Table 2 shows the results of another survey, this one conducted in the mid-1930s on the subject of remittances sent by the emigrants of the South to their

Table 2. Local Income and Remittance Income for Chinese Households
(Average monthly income, October 1934-September 1935)

Income	Number of Households	Remittances from the South	Local Income
20 Yuan or less	17	11.4 Y (75.5%)	15.1 Y (24.5%)
20-49 Yuan	49	25.7 Y (80.6%)	6.2 Y (19.4%)
50-124 Yuan	21	68.1 Y (78.6%)	18.5 Y (21.4%)
125-250 Yuan	13	192.6 Y (84.1%)	36.3 Y (15.9%)
All Households-Average	100	53.9 Y (81.4%)	12.3 Y (18.6%)

[CH'ËN 1923: 324]

hometowns, intended to analyze the interdependence of emigrants and their families in China. The table shows that the remittances accounted for from seventy-five to eighty-five percent of a household's income; in other words, the overseas Chinese were the main source of income.

On a more macro-level, the total amount of the remittances covered the imports that Huanan needed to bring in from Huachung. The remittance issue clearly shows the economic integration between the mainlanders and the overseas Chinese. The remittances themselves also supplied new capital for the financial relationships between Southeast Asia and Huanan. It was used to offset the trade imbalances in the region, and for investment in goods, precious metals, and even foreign exchange, which in turn further enhanced trade. The emergence of Singapore and Hong Kong as major financial centers owes much to their roles as transit points for the remittances from overseas Chinese. Trade relationships were advanced by the expansion of the relationships for settling trading accounts.

4. CONCLUSION: CHINA AND JAPAN

The tributary relationship was built on a suzerain-subject relationship between China and another country, a relationship that placed China firmly in the central position, with lines extending outward to its tribute states. The historical relationship between China and Japan changed considerably between the traditional tributary relationship established in the Ming dynasty and the trade relationships that developed subsequently [KOBATA 1941: 450-464]. The China-Japan trade developed from a relatively simple linkage into an important component of a larger system of multi-country trading relationships that emerged from the tributary networks.

In East Asia, those networks were mediated by Korea and the Ryūkyūs: one sets of networks linked China and Japan through Korea, and another linked them through the Ryūkyūs. After Japan's tributary relationship with China was ended, after the Ch'ing court's insistence on the legitimacy of its central position in Korea and Japan, diplomatic links between Japan and China were carried out through these mediated networks.

The problem posed by the Ch'ing court for the tributary states of the Ming dynasty was considerable. A Korean tributary envoy stated in his travel journal (*Yeol ha il-qi* 『熱河日記』) in the early eighteenth century:

"The Ch'ing dynasty invaded and conquered China, and the ancient system of the ideal ruler has become empty. Only my Korea, east of China, with its several thousand *li* of territory, has set its boundary at the Yalu River to protect him (the Ch'ung Chên Emperor of the Ming); the imperial household of the Ming still exists east of the Yalu River" [PAK 1978: 5].

In this way, Korea maintained that it still supported the legitimacy of *Chunghua*. Japan responded by taking steps virtually to nullify the tributary relationship between China and the Ryūkyūs, demanding that the Ryūkyūs dispatch to Edo "en-

voys of congratulation" to the hereditary accession ceremonies of the Shogun and "envoys of gratitude" at the time of the neohereditary accession of the Ryūkyūan king [MIYAGI 1982: 11-29]. In other words, Japan tried to establish its own relationship with its neighbors by imitating the Chinese model of the tribute system (a use of foreign models that prefigures its modernization processes). However, rather than following the elements of inclusion that were present in the Chinese model, Japan chose a more puristic approach.

A trading relationship with China nevertheless continued through Nagasaki's Dejima. The trade actually expanded to include not only Fouchien, Ch'üanchou, and Hsiamen but also other countries—Siam, Java, the Philippines, and others [YAMAWAKI 1964]. The trade networks that linked Japan, China, and Southeast Asia were further developed with the participation of Britain and the Netherlands. Of course, this multi-country trading network began to serve as a cultural network as well. Just as Japan's emulation of China's administration of external relations can be seen as a background for modernization, so this network served as an important preparation for its later development. If the basic framework of foreign relations that Japan carried into the modern era can be seen in these various relationships, it should be possible to see the prototype of Japan's foreign relations in this era.

Furthermore, it is important to compare the emigration of the Japanese in modern times with that of the Chinese, to elucidate the Japanese version of the "cen-

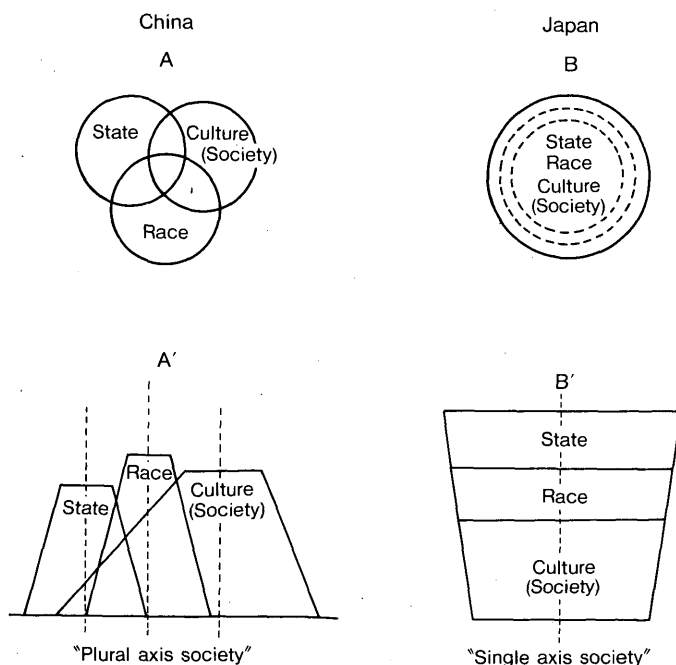


Fig. 2. State, Culture (Society), and Race in China and Japan.

tral nation" concept and to understand the inner reality of the ties formed by the state, race, culture, and society [MAEYAMA 1982]. Tribute and emigration can be a useful lens through which to view critically important political and conceptual issues in administration, as well as the foreign relations for which they are so obviously relevant.

Finally, let us compare the social structures of China and Japan in terms of the interrelationships of state, race, and culture or society. The relationships among them are described in the accompanying diagram (Figure 2).

In the case of China, the three share a nucleus of elements in common, and they therefore overlap, even while each maintains its separate axis. Therefore tribute, although it is a phenomenon belonging to the "state" category, and emigration, which belongs under "society," have elements that cut across all three of these overlapping dimensions, even while they maintain separate "axes."

In Japan, on the other hand, the state, society, and race exist on a single axis, and the overlap among them is virtually complete. Figures A' and B' show the difference between the two societies: in China, a "plural axis society," each area includes only a part of each of the other two, and the range of variation within the overall social structure is much greater than in a "single axis society" like Japan.

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