

1 TRADE, PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND THE FORMATION OF MERCHANT ASSOCIATIONS IN TAIWAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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Scholarship on the institutional frameworks for Chinese merchant activity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has generally focused on organizations such as *huiguan* (*Landsmannschaften*, assembly house),¹ *gongsuo* (public halls, fellow-regional associations) and *shangbang* (commercial groups).² Comparatively little work has been done on the major merchant groupings in Taiwan, known as *jiao* (brokerage cartel).

Fang Hao once noted that *jiao* were the most popular form of merchant organization in southern Fujian and Taiwan in the late Qing era. According to surveys conducted at Chinese ports by Japanese investors in the late nineteenth century, *jiao* were prevalent among merchants operating out of the ports of Taiwan, as well as Xiamen, Quanzhou, Shantou and other port cities associated with the foreign trade networks maintained by merchants based in these locations.³ *Jiao* could be found as far as Japan, Singapore, Manila, Penang and Siam. The merchant associations known as *jiao*, in contrast to the *huiguan*, *gongsuo* and *shangbang* found in other regions, were made up of sea merchants who spoke Fujianese dialects or other related vernaculars, such as the Chaozhou dialect; one example of such an association outside Taiwan is the Xiang-Le-Xian-Shan *jiao* described in Choi Chi-cheung's chapter in this volume.

In Taiwan, *huiguan* came into being mostly because of the 'rotating military service' system and were distinct from Chinese geographical or industrial *huiguan*. Not many industrial *huiguan* existed in Taiwan. By the mid- to late nineteenth century there is evidence of the associations called Quan Jiao and Xia Jiao in Lugang, Tai-Xia Jiao in Penghu, and several *huiguan* established by natives from the same hometown. In other words, Taiwanese merchant associations were mainly called *jiao* and seldom had their own premises or meeting halls. Most scholars of Taiwan history have not noted the distinct characteristics separating *jiao* from *huiguan* and *gongsuo*.⁴

However, *jiao* almost completely controlled the trade outside of Taiwan and built their own commercial networks around East Asia in the Qing dynasty. It is therefore extremely important to figure out what networks of sea power they created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in order to illuminate the characteristics of *jiao* as institutions, as well as of the regional linkages they structured. As Jan Lucassen suggests, the debate surrounding the ‘Great Divergence’ helped the literature break away from Eurocentric conversations about development by stimulating global comparative histories.⁵ By focusing on *jiao*, which were active in Taiwan and Fujian but have been neglected by historians, this chapter attempts to broaden the comparative historical framework in which we analyse merchant associations in early modern East Asia.

Recent Interpretations of *Jiao*

Although *jiao* have been the subject of considerable study in Taiwan, they have been largely ignored in scholarship outside Taiwan. Until recently only two articles written by mainland Chinese scholars in the general literature on late imperial trade mentioned *jiao*. Fu Yiling noted the existence of ten different types of *jiao* (*sbitu jiao*), which he simply described as Chinese firms engaged in foreign trade.⁶ Chen Zhiping – using newly discovered private documents – researched the activities of two *jiao* merchant families in Taiwan and in Quanzhou, Fujian.⁷

In 1972, Fang Hao, using ancient inscriptions and local gazetteers, was the first to study and reconstruct the history of *jiao* in Qing-era Taiwan (1684–1895). Although his research was far from comprehensive, he was indeed the pioneer and initiated the study of *jiao* in the post-war era.⁸ From 1978 to 1990, Zhuo Kehua, on the basis of Fang Hao’s research and newly collected regulations of *jiao*, published several case studies.⁹ According to Zhuo’s study, *jiao* had five functions; economic, religious, cultural, political and social. However, he often mistook individual actions of *jiao* merchants as the collective activities of *jiao* organizations. Both Zhuo and Fang asserted that *jiao* began to disappear during the late Qing period. In fact, as long as there was ongoing trade between Taiwan and mainland China, *jiao* continued to thrive and prosper in the import and export business, especially in the numerous non-treaty ports in the South China Sea. For instance, the camphor *jiao*, which consisted of camphor traders, first emerged in Zhuqian (today’s Hsinchu [Xinzhū]) in the 1890s because the camphor trade was booming.¹⁰ Cai Yuanqie focused on analysing why *jiao* entered local public affairs, and how their participation changed the distribution of local power. He proposed two concepts, ‘unofficial structures’ and ‘unofficial administration’, to illustrate the significance of *jiao* involvement in local politics.¹¹ Compared with the research of Fang and Zhuo, Cai’s study presented a new way of thinking about merchant involvement in local affairs, both as individuals and

as a group. Cai also demonstrated that the scope of such *jiao* participation rarely extended beyond the prefecture and county levels.

Apart from research on the organizational structure and the functions of *jiao*, studies of the sources of their business capital have also been made. Higashi Yoshio and Tu Zhaoyan both emphasized that the Chinese mainland was the chief source of capital for *jiao* merchants. Nevertheless, Tu also noted the possibility of funds coming from Taiwan. In fact, merchants of local *jiao* who relied on local capital rose to eminence in both trade and social circles through their participation in a flourishing export trade in tea and sugar after the opening of treaty ports during the late Qing dynasty.¹² Lin Man-houng noted that *jiao* merchants in central and south Taiwan were also joined by local merchants who drew on local funding. Over time, the mainland identity and origins of *jiao* merchants became less and less distinct. Lin has further refuted the arguments of Fang Hao and Zhuo Kehua, stating that the influence of *jiao* during the late Qing dynasty had not declined.¹³

Australian scholar Christian Daniels, focusing on the sugar industry in southern Taiwan during the Qing dynasty, noted that *jiao* merchants from mainland China used their capital to invest in the businesses of local brokers in southern Taiwan, and extended credit to local sugar-cane farmers to ensure the stability of the sugar market and secure a portion of the annual yield. By these means, *jiao* merchants were able to place themselves as mediators between local sugar-cane farmers and overseas buyers, and thus monopolize the sugar trade in southern Taiwan. However, with the opening of treaty ports during the late Qing dynasty, Western firms formed new financial relationships with the local brokers and farmers, which altered the previous trade structure and ultimately changed the sugar production system.¹⁴ As to the relationship between *jiao* merchants and the land, Kurihara Jun investigated the 'Eight Jiao' in Lugang, and found that *jiao* merchants not only monopolized the grain trade, but also directly operated water utilities and managed conservancy projects.¹⁵

In previous work, I have discussed the formation and operations of local merchant associations in regional markets using Zhuqian in Qing Taiwan as an example. The formation of consignment trade systems between *jiao* merchants in Quanzhou and those in Lugang using firms (*shangbao*) of the Quan Jiao in Lugang illustrate these regional connections. I also studied the reasons for *jiao* merchants' high level of involvement in local public affairs as well as land and water management, and their frequent practice of taking root in the places where their business was located instead of returning to their hometowns.¹⁶ Chiu Peng-sheng's recent work is the first to probe into the similarities and differences between merchant associations in mainland China and those in Taiwan. Chiu has thoroughly demonstrated that the former practice of deeming *jiao* analogous to *huiguan* and *gongsuo* is incorrect.¹⁷

In sum, there has been abundant research on *jiao* in Taiwan. However, no effort has yet been made to elucidate whether *jiao* emerged first in southern Fujian or in Taiwan and how they were formed. The geographical origins of the organization are important to explaining why *jiao* only operated in some places and to describing the role they played in trade and local society.

Cross-Strait Trade and Formation of *Jiao*

In Qing-era Taiwan, there were at least two types of merchant groupings. One type was comprised of informal communities of merchants united by a common location, either the same street or the same town. The 'gongji of Jiucyonglin [Jiucyonglin] firms' in Hsinchu is an example of such a location-based organization. These organizations are represented by their eponymous identifier, the *gongji*, which was an official seal used collectively by merchants belonging to each group in order to sign business documents. The other type of merchant association, known as *jiao*, was made up of import and export merchants, or merchants engaged in the same business.¹⁸ *Jiao* were far more common than their informal counterparts without formal organization.

Why were these merchant associations named *jiao*? In 1848, the explanations offered in *Dongying Shilüe* by Ding Shaoyi are as follows:

Those who do retail in cities are called shops (*dian*). Those who obtain products and then sell them to shops are called *jiao*. Those who trade in Fuzhou, Jiangsu and Zhejiang are called 'Northern Jiao', those in Quanzhou are called 'Quan Jiao', and those in Xiamen are called 'Xia Jiao'. These three combined are called 'the Three Jiao'. 'Jiao' means 'in the outskirts', and also 'transactions'.¹⁹

From this it is clear that *jiao* were originally made up primarily of import and export merchants. Their emergence was fostered by the port policy of the Qing court and the unique mechanisms utilized by migrants and the farming population of Taiwan to engage in maritime trade as a means to obtain daily necessities from mainland China. It is therefore not surprising that groups called *jiao* appeared first in important port cities along the coast.

In 1684, the Qing defeated the regime established by Zheng Chenggong (also known as Koxinga) and won sovereignty over Taiwan. The island became a prefecture of Fujian province and was administered by a Taotai (*daotai*, circuit intendant) until 1885. In order to facilitate governance, only Luermen, located outside Taiwan's prefectural seat (Fucheng, now Tainan), was open to trade, which was conducted with the port of Xiamen across the strait in Fujian. (See Figure 1.1) In accordance with the principle of comparative advantage, there developed a regional division of labour between Taiwan, a developing region, and coastal areas of China, a developed region. Cross-strait trade subsequently prospered with these two ports of Luermen and Xiamen as their most dynamic hubs.²⁰

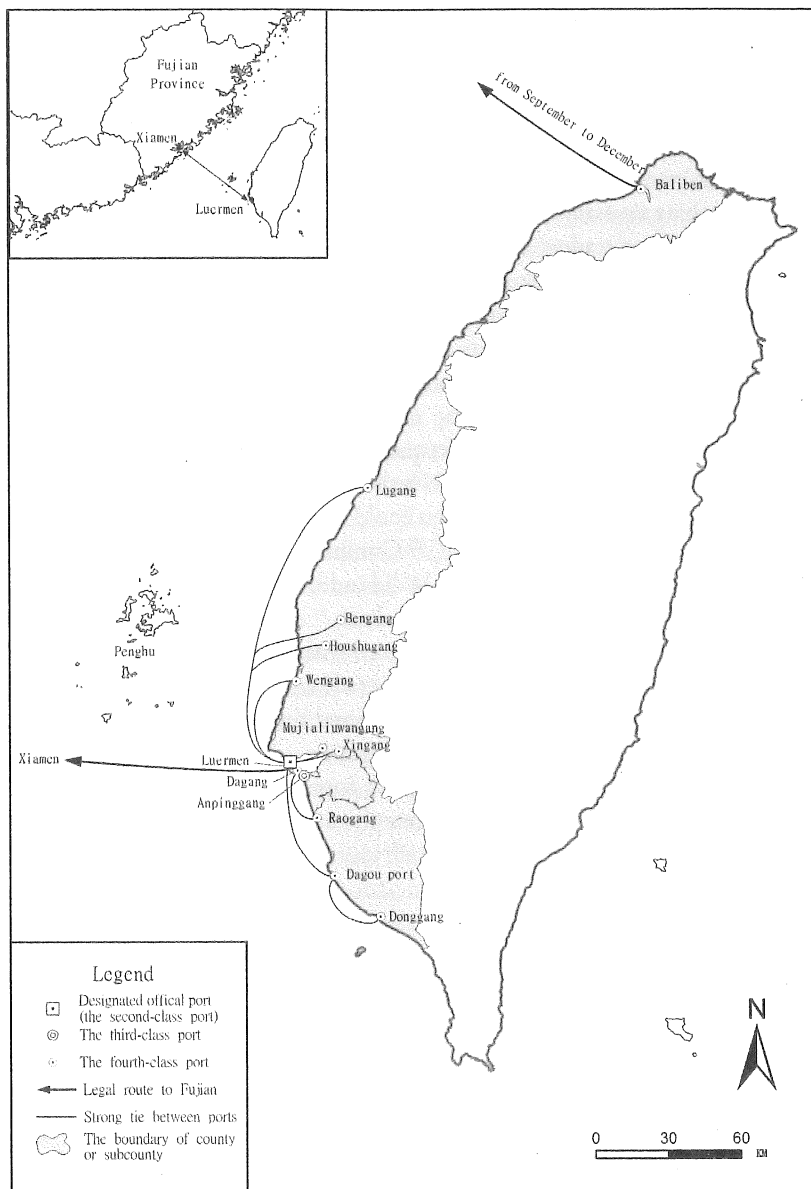


Figure 1.1: The trade pattern of Taiwan ports from 1683 to 1710.

Under the early Qing trade regime, firms (*shanghang*) in Xiamen bought or hired ships to travel to Fucheng,²¹ where they exchanged handicrafts and daily essentials from mainland China for agricultural products brought to Fucheng by firms (*hangdian*) or agents from coastal ports along the Taiwan coast. Probably as a result of cross-strait *jiaoguan* (Fujian dialect, business exchange) or regular *duijiao* (trade transactions) among firms, these firms or agents came to be known by terms such as *jiaohang*, *jiaobu* or *jiaopu*.²² The authors of the *Yuanli Gazetteer* described these traders as individual *jiao* firms engaged independently in trade. No mention was made of any association yet.²³ Moreover, because they were engaged in maritime trade, they were sometimes called water *jiao* (*shuijiao*). In larger port cities, *jiao* merchants gradually began to form associations based on economic, political and religious affiliations.²⁴

When and where did *jiao* in the sense of merchant associations appear? According to Cai Guolin, the most frequently cited scholar on this issue, it was 1725 when the first *jiao*, ‘Suwanli’ – a Northern Jiao – came into existence. Zhuo Kehua has suggested that *jiao* in Penghu could be traced back to the reign period of the Yongzheng emperor (1722–35).²⁵ Comparing extant inscriptions on steles in Taiwan and Fujian reveals that *jiao* did indeed first appear in Taiwan, with the Northern Jiao in Fucheng being the earliest.

The emergence of Suwanli was associated with the trade in sugar, Taiwan’s chief export during the early Qing. Coastal trade from Taiwan to central China inevitably involved a long sea voyage. Collaboration better enabled merchants to seek solutions to problems related to navigation, sales and business, as well as political issues.²⁶ In addition, they made joint contributions to the restoration of temples dedicated to deities shared by members of the association, who joined together to pray for smooth trade and safe journeys. From this perspective, *jiao* originally could be viewed as a trade association of merchants navigating to and trading in the same areas.

During early Qing rule, apart from the districts neighbouring the prefectural capital, most of Taiwan was still developing or even undeveloped. The main exports to central China were sugar and oil, which were abundant in Taiwan County (now Tainan). In fact, since the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644), coastal trade between Taiwan and Fujian had already begun, with Taiwanese sugar being exchanged for cotton and cloth goods shipped across the strait from central China.²⁷ However, under the Qing policy of ‘designated official ports’ (*zhengkou*), which restricted trade to between Luermen in Fucheng and Xiamen in Fujian, merchants coming to Taiwan were mostly from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou because they were near Xiamen. Their trade routes included both long sea voyages across the strait and along the coast to the north based around Xiamen.²⁸ Hence, they pooled financial resources to build *huiguan* in important port cities of central China. During the early Kangxi reign (1661–1722),

commercial groups from Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Xinghua, as well as Taiwan merchants, built two Fujian *huiguan* in Ningbo, called the 'old *huiguan*' and the 'large *huiguan*'.²⁹ In other words, even those traders from Fujian who originally did business in Taiwan and mainland China, who gradually became Taiwanese merchants, and who by the end of seventeenth century joined in the north coastal trade with other traders from Fujian³⁰ still did not found *jiao*. Second, the transition from *huiguan* to *jiao* indicated the changing characteristics of merchant communities and their trade patterns during the early Qing dynasty. From this view, when and why *jiao* emerged are important issues that must be explored in more detail.

By the early eighteenth century, we have evidence of independent *jiao* firms contributing funds to build local bridges or temples in Fucheng and Danshui in Taiwan.³¹ Nevertheless, inscriptions on various donation steles in Taiwan, Xiamen and Quanzhou predominantly contain the names of local officials and individual citizens,³² but not those of merchant organizations. Let us look at evidence from temple construction. *Jiao* firms engaged in maritime trade, and besides venerating Mazu, a goddess associated with the sea, also worshipped the Water God. Temples devoted to the Water God can be found all over Taiwan and were largely built by *jiao*.³³ Among them, the earliest was located in Fucheng and was built in 1715 by merchants from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.³⁴ In 1741, the Sanyitang was constructed.³⁵ On the 'stele of Sanyitang' was inscribed: 'We fellows repair the main hall, sacrificial pavilion, and the first gate in order to defend the port'; the names of individual benefactors were listed but *jiao* as organizations were not mentioned.³⁶ It was only in 1764 that the name of the Northern Jiao Suwanli appeared on the stele.³⁷

Another example is the Anlan Bridge located at the ferry landing outside the west gate of Fucheng. It was first reconstructed by the Fucheng magistrate, Wang Zhen, in 1720.³⁸ In 1754, townsman Hou Zongxing called on firms from Nanhao and Nanshi Streets to rebuild the bridge. In 1774, the Northern Jiao erected the 'stele in commemoration of the reconstruction of Anlan Bridge', on which the names of donors in 1754 were mentioned.³⁹

It is obvious that even though most of the contributors to these reconstruction projects were probably *jiao* merchants, they had not yet formed a merchant organization prior to the 1750s. The first record of *jiao* involvement in such renovation schemes was that of the Northern Jiao Suwanli as a benefactor of the decoration of the interior of the Water God Temple in 1763. In the following year, the Northern Jiao was appointed the executive director coordinating the restoration of De'an Bridge, an important passageway to Jiayi and Zhanghua counties. In 1770, the Southern Jiao Jinyongshun, together with the Northern Jiao, were recorded as contributing to the repair of the police station in Taiwan County. In 1772, the two once again donated jointly to fund the restoration

of the Earth God Temple at Chaitou Port.⁴⁰ Thus we can see that before 1760, public works in Taiwan were funded by local officials or citizens and individual firms; while from 1760 onwards, the Northern Jiao and Southern Jiao began to be involved and gradually came to play a leading role in public and religious projects, including the construction of local temples, bridges and police stations. That is to say, *jiao* appeared formally around the 1760s, or at least not earlier than the 1750s.

After the appearance of *jiao* in Taiwan, the first historical records of *jiao* across the strait appear in Xiamen, the ‘designated official port’ in Fujian province. Even though merchants ferrying between Taiwan and Xiamen for trade contributed resources to build temples in their hometowns to pray for safe sea voyages, the names of *jiao* were not listed among the benefactors. It was in 1791 that the Tai-Xia (Taiwan-Xiamen) Southern Jiao Jinyongshun was first listed among the benefactors contributing to the restoration of the South China Sea Putuo Temple.⁴¹

This last point is significant. First, the Tai-Xia Southern Jiao was an association made up of merchants from Fucheng and Xiamen who had formed a *jiao* because they conducted bilateral trade between Taiwan and Xiamen. Some of these merchant associations from different areas across the strait even had the same name. For example, the Xiamen Jiao located in Lugang and the Lugang Jiao located in Xiamen were both called Jinzhenshun, indicating that they belonged to the same merchant association.⁴² The claims made in the 1840s by Taiwan circuit intendant Yaoying that ‘most *jiao* merchants from Taiwan lived in Xiamen’ and that ‘the majority of *jiao* merchants from Taiwan and Lugang settled down at Xiamen Port’⁴³ were a bit exaggerated for the period before the mid-nineteenth century and neglected the existence of local *jiao* merchants. However, such perspectives did reflect part of the actual situation at that time.

Second, the term *jiao* appeared originally as a result of cross-strait trade and was first used in Taiwan. This is further confirmed by the fact that business donors funding the construction of the Water God Temple in Xiamen in 1802 were divided into trading firms (*yanghang*), firms and small firms; none of them were listed under the name of *jiao*.⁴⁴ Hence, the participation of local merchants in public undertakings in Xiamen in the name of *jiao* most likely began in the nineteenth century.

Differentiation and Activities of *Jiao* during the Late Eighteenth Century

The decade between 1775 and 1784 saw a boom in the rice export trade as a result of the completion of the reclamation of the central and northern plains and full development of paddy fields in Taiwan (see Figure 1.2).

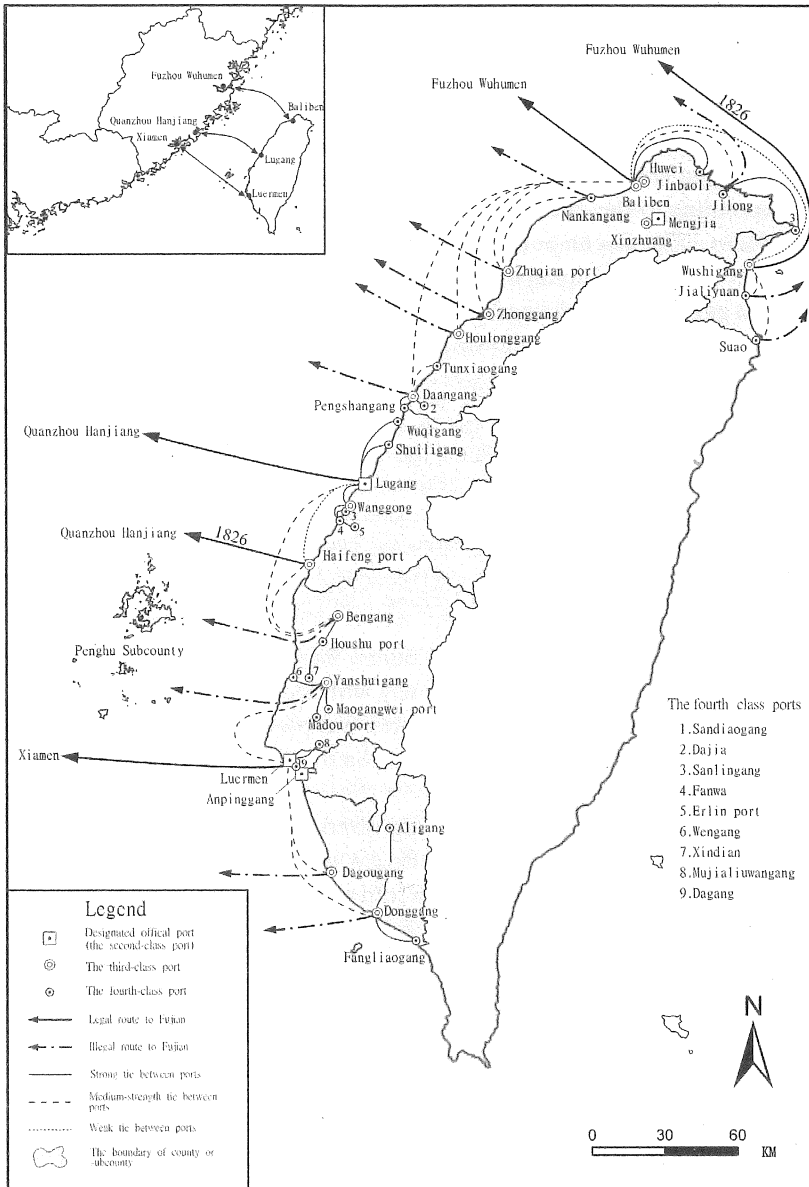


Figure 1.2: The trade pattern of Taiwan ports from 1784 to 1830.

Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in Fujian were the chief export markets for the crops grown in these fields.⁴⁵ *Jiao* merchants trading Taiwan's rice in Xiamen and Quanzhou were very active. In Lugang, Xinzhuang and Mengjia, the Quan Jiao and Xia Jiao were both involved in religious and social welfare undertakings, such as building local temples, offering sacrifices to gods, and setting up and managing 'charitable burial grounds' (*yizhong*) and free ferries.⁴⁶ In particular, responding to the call for contributions from the Taiwan magistrate Jiang Yuanshu in 1778, *jiao* on both sides of the strait or individual *jiao* firms jointly donated to repair the 'capital wall, temples, altars and graves, bridges, and roads, as well as government buildings'.⁴⁷

On donation steles, the following names of *jiao* were recorded:

Northern Jiao 'Suwanli'; shipping firms (*chuanhang*) Chenjingshan ... Quan Northern Jiao 'Wangshunxing'; Quan Thread Jiao 'Quanying'; Chenlin Jiao 'Duluanjin'; Zhang Silk Jiao 'Jianan'; Xia Oil Jiao 'Zhengyuansheng'; Xia Cloth Jiao 'Xie Longsheng'; Fur Jiao 'Songruixing' ... Groceries Jiao ... Southern Jiao 'Jinyongshun'; Sugar Jiao 'Lishengxing'; Anhai Jiao 'Gongmaosheng'; Cast Iron Vessel Jiao 'Gaosuixing' and 'Xiexianxing'; Silks and Satins Jiao 'Huangzhenyuan' and 'Lizhengmao'; Luzai Jiao 'Zhenhe' and 'Shengtao'; Deerskin Shops 'Guoyuzhen' and 'Chenlianxing' ... Jia[yi] Lishengxing; Sugar Jiao in Ben'gang; Cloth Jiao in Ben'gang⁴⁸

Obviously, merchants from Taiwan County, Jiayi County, Fengshan County and Zhanghua County cooperated closely with local government and participated in the fundraising. Although the stele was partly destroyed, those names and descriptions that can still be deciphered on the inscription offer evidence for several conclusions.

First, market expansion and growing diversity of trading products had a strong impact on the development of different kinds of *jiao*. Under the influence of these factors, *jiao* in Fucheng evolved into external *jiao* (*waijiao*). One example of this was the Northern Jiao trading to the north of Xiamen and Southern Jiao trading in Xiamen. Moreover, internal *jiao* (*neijiao*), which were formed by merchants engaged in the same trade, such as the Sugar Jiao, Cooking Tripod (*ding*) Jiao, Fur Jiao, Groceries Jiao, and Deerskin Jiao, also emerged. Except for the Sugar Jiao and Groceries Jiao, most other *jiao* were named after individual firms. They were more like independent *jiao* firms. *Jiao* with structured organizations were probably established only around the early nineteenth century as the market grew in size and complexity.

Second, this inscription was the first and the only time that the Deerskin Jiao and Anhai Jiao were mentioned in Taiwan. The Deerskin Jiao and Anhai Jiao were examples of merchant groups engaged in trade in the same merchandise and along the same route, respectively. While there had been many merchants engaged in the export of deerskins in Fucheng in the 1770s, it is likely that the merchant associations associated with the deerskin trade disappeared because

of a decrease in deerskin production. The emergence of the Anhai Jiao can be attributed to the prosperous trade between Anhai of Fujian and Fucheng of Taiwan during the late eighteenth century. It was listed also among the benefactors contributing to the restoration of Longshan Temple (*Longshan si*) of Anhai in 1879.⁴⁹ However, probably a subsequent decline in business led to the merging of the Anhai Jiao and the Southern Jiao. The rise and fall of *jiao* was closely related to the market situation at that time. Towards the late Qing dynasty, the market situation became more volatile, leading to rapid emergence and decline of *jiao* and more frequent reorganization and mergers.

Third, the presence of the Cloth Jiao and Sugar Jiao in Ben'gang reveal the domestic expansion of *jiao* from Fucheng to the northern ports of Taiwan. It also illustrates the dominant form of exchange at that time, during which cloth was the chief import from mainland China and sugar was the main export from Taiwan. Internal *jiao* appeared before external *jiao* in Ben'gang, indicating that under the policy of 'designated official ports', *jiao* were mainly involved in domestic coastal trade in Fucheng. A Cloth Jiao and Sugar Jiao also appeared in Yanshuigang in 1795. They participated in rebuilding the Mazu Temple in the port city.⁵⁰ As Ben'gang and Yanshuigang had close trading relationships with Fucheng, their market spheres almost overlapped during the Qing dynasty.⁵¹ Hence, the Cloth Jiao and Sugar Jiao in Ben'gang and Yanshuigang can be taken as the local counterparts of the two *jiao* in Fucheng.

Fourth, several of the *jiao* mentioned in the inscription also appeared in mainland China, such as the Oil Jiao and Cloth Jiao in Xiamen, the Northern Jiao and Thread Jiao in Quanzhou, and the Silk Jiao in Zhangzhou. They were mainly internal *jiao*, although a few were external *jiao*. However, they were only listed on steles in Taiwan, along with the names of individual firms. Their traces are rarely seen in other contexts. This might be due to the fact that Fucheng merchants traded only with these three places. Whether there were merchant organizations established in these places requires further verification.

The evolution of the two types of *jiao*, which could be divided into those that operated in the local Taiwan market and those that dealt in external trade, merits further explanation. As mentioned above, *jiao* were originally merchant organizations established as a result of maritime trade. Therefore, external *jiao* were formed first, in the 1760s, and included import and export merchants trading along the same route. By the 1770s internal *jiao*, including the Sugar Jiao, Cooking Tripod Jiao, Fur Jiao, Deerskin Jiao, and Silks and Satins Jiao, appeared. Unlike the external *jiao*, these internal *jiao* were comprised solely of merchants from the same industry. Murakami Tamakichi drew a clear demarcation between these two types of communities: internal *jiao* merchants engaged in trade within the island of Taiwan, whereas external *jiao* merchants engaged in import and export across the strait. At the same time, he argued that internal

jiao traded merchandise imported by external *jiao*.⁵² However, the relationship between internal *jiao* and external *jiao* was not as distinct as Murakami suggests.

As a matter of fact, there were merchants belonging to both internal *jiao* and external *jiao*. Abundant examples can be found in Taiwan and Xiamen. Documents about *jiao* in Puzajiao (present-day Puchi [Puzi] in Jiayi) during the late Qing dynasty showed that there were Southern-Northern (*nanbei*) Jiao, Penghu Jiao and Sugar Jiao in that area. Among them, the Southern-Northern Jiao was comprised of thirteen firms engaged in trade along the Chinese coast while the Sugar Jiao was made up of fifteen firms in the sugar business. Eleven firms belonged to both *jiao*.⁵³ Another example is the Grocery Jiao in Fucheng, which also went directly to Fujian for trading and made donations for reconstructing the Anhai Longshan Temple in 1879. In other words, the same firm could belong to different kinds of *jiao*, reflecting different aspects of its business. *Jiao* merchants actually had to attend different *jiao* to protect their interests. Moreover, merchants belonging to internal *jiao* could also import and export products directly, without going through external *jiao*.

Prior to 1740, donations for various activities, such as local infrastructure, charitable work, and temple building and maintenance all over Taiwan came mainly from local officials, members of elites or commoners within certain regions. Occasionally, there were wealthy and influential landlords from central and northern Taiwan like Wang Shijie and Zhang Shixiang who made donations to causes based in Fucheng in the south. Luermen in Fucheng, as the main site of the import and export trade, was at that time the only window to the outside world. Hence, landlords as well as members of wealthy and influential families from the regions outside Fucheng also participated in activities centered on that city. During the early Qing dynasty, the local authorities in Taiwan relied largely on landlords and influential families in their administration.

However, from the 1760s onwards, *jiao* began to take an active role in political, social welfare and religious activities in addition to their economic undertakings. As mentioned above, they were often major benefactors, not only because they made the largest donations but also because they often took the lead as the initiators or primary donors in fund-raising campaigns. *Jiao* played a very important role in local society in Taiwan and gradually became pillars of the community, with their members acquiring the status of social elites. This was quite different from the profile of their southern Fujian counterparts. The social role of *jiao* in Taiwan conferred legitimacy to their organization and contributed to their greater sense of belonging to local society.⁵⁴ Furthermore, they not only established powerful and good reputations in local society but also obtained respect from local governments prior to the emergence of the gentry in the early nineteenth century.

For merchant associations engaged in maritime trade, safety at sea was of paramount importance, and *jiao* were particularly keen to seek protection by

worshipping deities of the sea. They often contributed to the construction of temples dedicated to the Goddess of the Sea and the Empress of Heaven (*Tianhou*).⁵⁵ At the same time, while *jiao* did not have physical meeting places of their own, they generally conducted their business within the temples with which they had both religious and financial ties.

One manifestation of the association of *jiao* with temples was their adoption of the structure of temple associations as their own organizational model. *Jiao* members were called *luxia* or *lujiao* (sons of the incense keeper), and the members in charge of *jiao* affairs were given the titles *Luzhu* (incense keeper, executive official), *Jushi* (tax collector), *Jiaoshu* (secretary), and *Guanshi* (stewards or general staff). The *Luzhu* was selected annually by members by casting divination blocks at the Feast of Mazu, and oversaw in his one-year term all affairs of the *jiao* and sacrificial worship.⁵⁶ Working under the *Luzhu* were the *Jushi* and *Jiaoshu*. The *Jushi* was in charge of levying export taxes (*choufen*) on ships to maintain a provident fund for the *jiao*,⁵⁷ while the *Jiaoshu* was responsible for external liaisons and paperwork of the *jiao*.⁵⁸ Since many *jiao* merchants were not only merchants, but also landlords and members of the gentry, the *Jiaoshu* or *Jushi* were often selected from among those members of the *jiao* who were part of the gentry and held a relatively high official rank and enjoyed social prestige.⁵⁹ The *Guanshi* looked after general affairs and was responsible for collecting rents on fields and houses owned by the *jiao*.⁶⁰ Because of the similarities between *jiao* organization and temple groups, these merchant associations were sometimes mistaken for religious societies.⁶¹ *Jiao* invested in real estate as a kind of endowment to support the activities of the organization; temple associations, lineages and other institutions also did so. In this respect, *jiao* were adopting a more general model for organizational behavior widespread in China.

Although *jiao* in Taiwan were organized in a similar manner, they differed slightly from each other in terms of scale, structure and naming conventions. For example, both the Three Jiao in Tainan and the Xia Jiao Jintongshun in Dadaocheng (Taipei) had directors in addition to the *Luzhu*. The Xia Jiao had four directors.⁶² Working under the *Luzhu* and directors were *Gaoshu*, who were similar to *Jiaoshu*, and *Qianshou*, who were similar to *Jushi*. The greater complexity of their administrative structures reflected the greater organizational duties that these *jiao* faced.

Jiao affairs were settled through internal discussion and executed by the *Luzhu* and *Jiaoshu*. These two also represented *jiao* in all external liaisons. Issues that concerned all members had to be discussed and resolved at general meetings, rather than decided upon by the *Luzhu* alone. Unlike *huiguang* and *gongsuo* on the Chinese mainland, most *jiao* in Taiwan did not have exclusive venues for holding such meetings and hence they gathered in temples. In fact, these temples did not belong to the *jiao*; they were open to the public and not for the sole use

of *jiao* members, although the *jiao* often managed them. The fact that small-scale *jiao* had no place of their own for meetings shows their relatively loose organization and weaker financial power; and their attachment to temples also reveals the importance of religious worship in fostering solidarity among members.

Another difference between the mainland *huiguan* and *gongsuo* and the Taiwanese *jiao* lies in the erection of monuments or engraving of inscriptions detailing the organization's ownership of properties to prevent encroachment by local governments.⁶³ These were popular and widely found on the mainland. On the contrary, there were no such monuments or inscriptions existing in Taiwan. This illustrates that *jiao* in Taiwan were very influential in local society and consequently had no need to take such elaborate measures to protect their property.

Conclusion

Jiao as merchant associations emerged due to the booming trade between Taiwan and mainland China. They first appeared in Taiwan, and the majority formed in port cities. Coastal trade inevitably involved a long sea voyage; hence, collaboration among merchants meant united efforts in seeking solutions to issues of navigation, sales, business and politics that most likely arose. Therefore, *jiao* were originally trade organizations navigating to the same areas and comprising merchants from both Fujian and Taiwan. Most of them were engaged in bilateral trade between Taiwan and Xiamen, or Taiwan and Quanzhou. As with the *huiguan* and *gongsuo* in mainland China, the *jiao* developed autonomously. In this sense, all these organizations were very different than the *shijön*, the government-patronized merchant communities of Chosön Korea described in Cho Young-Jun and Lee Hun-Chang's chapter in this volume.

Jiao rose and fell in accordance with the market situation and the products traded on the market. In central and northern Taiwan, the rice trade was dominant, so Quan Jiao and Xia Jiao, rice exporters to Fujian, were the most active. In the south, sugar was the main export, in exchange for daily essentials from mainland China; hence, the Northern Jiao, Sugar Jiao and Cloth Jiao ran most of the business and expanded gradually from Fucheng to Ben'gang and Yanshuigang.

From 1680 to 1740, Taiwan under the Qing was a developing region with much infrastructure still in the process of construction. Local public works and temple restoration projects were entrusted to local officials, members of various elites and landlords. Around the 1760s, merchant associations gradually became the backbone of local society, participating in and even leading different local undertakings in the eighteenth century. Hence, merchant associations maintained good relationships with the local governments.

Finally, merchants from Taiwan and Xiamen built the Dragon King Temple (*Longwang miao*) in Xiamen together and in general *jiao* donated much to the

repair and construction of local temples to seek protection from deities associated with the sea for their maritime trade. This was the reason for the formation and growing popularity of *jiao* in ports all over Taiwan. *Jiao* in Taiwan also often used temples to hold meetings and seldom owned premises, which was a primary difference from *huiguan* and *gongsuo* in mainland China.

In sum, this chapter has focused on the formation of *jiao* in the eighteenth century. *Jiao* at this time undertook both social and economic functions to improve market development and raise their status in local society. Towards the nineteenth century, owing to the changing policies of the Qing government, the evolving market and social situations, and the growing presence of Western merchants in the Far East, the *jiao* underwent rapid and frequent reorganization and mergers. From a comparative prospective, the *jiao* show both similarities and differences with *huiguan* and *gongsuo* in China and *shijön* in late Chosön Korea. These differences came from the distinct political and economic environments in which each type of organization formed, as well as the separate cultures of their merchants.

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Glossary

Anhai jiao	安海郊	Luermen	鹿耳門
Anlan	安瀾	Lugang	鹿港
Ben Jiao	笨郊	lujiao	爐腳
Ben'gang	笨港	luxia	爐下
Cai Guolin	蔡國琳	Luzhu	爐主
Cai Yuanqie	蔡淵掇	Mazu	媽祖
Chaitou	柴頭	Mengjia	艋舺
Chen Zhiping	陳支平	Murakami Tamakichi	村上玉吉
Chiu Peng-sheng	邱澎生	nanbei	南北
choufen	抽分	Nanhao	南濠
chuanhang	船行	Nanshi	南勢
Dadaocheng	大稻埕	nejiao	內郊
Daniels, Christian	唐立	Penghu jiao	澎湖郊
Danshui	淡水	Puchi [Puzi]	朴子
De'an	德安	Puzaijiao	樸仔腳
dian	店	Qianshou	籤首
Ding Jiao	鼎郊	Quan Jiao	泉郊
Ding Shaoyi	丁紹儀	Sanyitang	三益堂
<i>Dongying Shilüe</i>	東瀛識略	shangbang	商幫
duijiao	對交	shanghang	商行
Fang Hao	方豪	shanghai	商號
Fengshan	鳳山	shitu jiao	十途郊
Fu Yiling	傅衣凌	shuijiao	水郊
Fucheng	府城	South China Sea Putuo Temple	南海普陀寺
Gaoshu	稿書	Suwanli	蘇萬利
gongji	公記	Tai ping Bridge	太平橋
gongsuo	公所	Tai-Xia Jiao	臺廈郊
Guanshi	管事	Tai-Xia Southern Jiao	臺廈南郊
hangdian	行店	Taotai [daotai]	道臺
hanghu	行戶	Tianhou	天后
Higashi Yoshio	東嘉生	Tu Zhaoyan	涂照彥
Hou Zongxing	侯宗興	waijiao	外郊
Hsinchu [Xinzhu]	新竹	Wang Shijie	王士傑
huiguan	會館	Wang Zhen	王珍
Jiang Yuanshu	蔣元樞	Xia Jiao	廈郊
jiao	郊	Xiang-Lc-Xian-Shan jiao	香叻暹汕郊
jiaoguan	交關	Xinghua	興化
jiaohang	郊行	Xinzhuang	新莊
jiaohu	郊戶	yanghang	洋行
jiaopu	郊鋪	Yanshuigang	鹽水港
Jiaoshu	郊書	Yaoying	姚瑩
Jiayi	嘉義	yizhong	義塚
Jintongshun	金同順	<i>Yuanli Gazetteer</i>	苑裡志
Jinyongshun	金永順	Zhang Shixiang	張士箱
Jinzhenshun	金振順	Zhanghua	彰化
Jiucyonglin	九芎林	Zhangzhou	漳州

Jushi	局師	Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga)	鄭成功
Kurihara Jun	栗原純	zhengkou	正口
Lin Man-houng	林滿紅	Zhuqian	竹塹
Longshan si	龍山寺	Zhuo Kehua	卓克華
Longwang miao	龍王廟	Zongyue	總約