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• 臺灣商業傳統專號 •

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目 錄

《臺灣史研究》第 28 卷第 2 期

臺灣商業傳統專號

專號論著

- 往返臺灣與馬尼拉的華人與華人物品（1626-1662）：
以西班牙帳簿為討論中心／方真真 1
- Sugar Production and Trade
in Dutch Colonial Taiwan／Hui-wen Koo 45
- Chinese Tea Exports via Taiwan by VOC (1641-1660):
A Prelude to European Tea Consumption
in 18th Century／Wei-chung Cheng 89
- Mobilizing Men and Women to Produce
Taiwanese Tea／Douglas Fix and Stephen Schick 139

研究討論

- 戰後臺灣政治史研究回顧與展望（2018-2019）／林果顯 187

中央研究院臺灣史研究所

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往返臺灣與馬尼拉的華人與華人物品 (1626-1662) : 以西班牙帳簿為討論中心*

方真真**

摘要

從 1626 年西班牙人佔領雞籠起，因北臺灣資源有限，當地的駐軍與人員便需仰賴馬尼拉政府派員載物的援助，而筆者從西班牙印地安斯檔案館 (AGI) 所蒐集到的 Contaduría 檔案，找到這方面的帳簿，內含華人往返兩地的資訊。本文主要運用 1626 至 1662 年間與臺灣有關的帳簿，來探討下面問題：(1) 西班牙人佔領北臺灣期間派往北臺灣的華人、混血華人及其所從事的行業為何？(2) 運往北臺灣的物品，有哪些是跟馬尼拉當地華人所購買？(3) 從北臺灣前往馬尼拉貿易的華商有哪些人？(4) 1642 年以後隨著西班牙人離開北臺灣，往返臺灣與馬尼拉的華商有誰？

本文指出，西班牙人佔領北臺灣期間派往當地的華人有駕駛中式帆船的領航員和船員，以及建造北臺灣要塞的華人石匠、磚瓦工、鋸工和木匠，其中有些人知其姓名。其次，有三位華商被派到北臺灣援助，但真正抵達的只有 Rufu 及其叔父的舢舨。為了與北臺灣的閩南商人溝通，馬尼拉政府派遣混血華人通事 Pablo Pacheco 和 Francisco Hernández 前往當地。從其他西班牙史料得知混血華人通事 Matheo de Vera y Pedro 和華人醫生曾在北臺灣服務。菲島的西班牙政府不僅在北臺灣的征服與基礎建設仰賴華人，在經濟生活上也很仰賴華人，許多運往北臺灣的食品、日常用品是向馬尼拉當地華人購買，而澗內華人長官及某些行業的華人

* 本文曾於 2020 年 9 月 17 日在中央研究院臺灣史研究所主辦，林本源中華文化教育基金會、臺灣制度與經濟史學會協辦的「第三屆臺灣商業傳統：海外連結與臺灣商業」國際學術研討會暨林本源基金會年會宣讀，會中感謝評論人陳宗仁教授提供寶貴意見，以及在場的林玉茹教授、曾品滄教授和陳計堯教授提出之建議，並感謝本文匿名審查人提供重要的修改意見。本文為科技部研究計畫部分成果之一，計畫編號：MOST 106-2410-H-152-010-MY2。

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頭人是貨品的主要提供者。從1630年起約有九位華商從北臺灣前往馬尼拉貿易，但貿易量有限。到了1642年西班牙人退出北臺灣以後，更少見華商往返臺灣與馬尼拉貿易，其路線從雞籠轉到大員，在帳簿僅見1650年代有 Chapsaqua、Quianco 及 Yocsay 三位華商。

關鍵詞：臺灣、馬尼拉、華人、十七世紀、西班牙帳簿

- 一、前言
 - 二、派往北臺灣的華人
 - 三、補給北臺灣的物資與馬尼拉華人
 - 四、從臺灣前往馬尼拉的華商
 - 五、結論
-

一、前言

十六世紀末，征臺的議題已在馬尼拉的西班牙人間被提出，這項提議直到1626年才付諸行動。因1624年荷蘭人佔領南臺灣大員（今臺南安平），攔截前往馬尼拉的中國商船，荷蘭人的行動直接威脅到菲律賓西班牙人的生存，於是征服臺灣已是情勢所需。1626年5月西班牙船隊前往北臺灣，佔領雞籠，建造聖薩爾瓦多（San Salvador），希望吸引更多的閩南海商前往雞籠交易，以期開闢一條連結福州到北臺灣、北臺灣聖薩爾瓦多到馬尼拉3處的貿易航線。不過，僅短短16年（1626-1642）的時間，北臺灣後來也成為荷蘭人的據點。關於這段歷史的史料最早收入在E. H. Blair和J. A. Robertson所編譯的菲律賓群島叢書，¹ 但有系統的整理可見於鮑曉鷗（J. E. Borao Mateo）及李毓中等人所編史料，² 而且目前已累積一些相關的研究成果，尤其是西班牙人對北臺灣的治理、傳教、貿易、原住民等議題。³

¹ E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803* (Cleveland, Ohio: A.H. Clark, 1903-1909).

² José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2001); José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. II: 1642-1682* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2002); 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 I》（南投：國史館臺灣文獻館，2008）；李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 II》（南投：國史館臺灣文獻館，2015）；李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》（南投：國史館臺灣文獻館，2013）。

³ 早期曾運用北臺灣西班牙史料發表相關著作的研究者有中村孝志、廖漢臣、賴永祥、方豪、曹永和等人。之後有陳國棟、鮑曉鷗、翁佳音、陳宗仁、李毓中、李壬癸、詹素娟、吳奇娜、康培德、林偉盛

事實上，早在 1626 年 5 月前往佔領北臺灣的西班牙船隊中，已有華人船員和華工跟隨。西班牙人佔領雞籠後，因北臺灣資源有限，當地的駐軍與人員便需仰賴馬尼拉政府派員載物的援助，這在鮑曉鷗和陳宗仁的著作都已提及，⁴ 此處不再詳述。但馬尼拉會計室（Contaduría）帳簿對這些前往北臺灣援助的船隻、人員姓名、職業及薪資等有更清楚的說明，這些前往的人員及運往的物資也包含華人（sangley/sangleyes）、⁵ 兩位混血華人及向華人購買的物品。我們在西班牙塞維亞（Sevilla）印地安斯檔案館（Archivo General de Indias，簡稱 AGI）的檔案編號 AGI, Contaduría, 1211 至 AGI, Contaduría, 1235 共 25 捆的卷宗中可以找到這方面的文件。筆者曾針對 AGI, Contaduría, 1211 至 AGI, Contaduría, 1219 共 9 捆的卷宗做過分析，⁶ 並已出刊 AGI, Contaduría, 1211 至 AGI, Contaduría, 1215 中與北臺灣有關的文件。⁷ 最近 3 年來筆者在檔案編號 AGI, Contaduría, 1220 至 AGI,

等人，尤其是鮑曉鷗、翁佳音、陳宗仁、李毓中有較多作品討論北臺灣西班牙人的歷史，然因與本議題無直接相關，此處不詳述。

⁴ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Fleets, Relief Ships and Trade: Communication between Manila and Jilong, 1626-1642," in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and about Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003), pp. 307-336; 陳宗仁,《雞籠山與淡水洋：東亞海域與臺灣早期史研究 1400-1700》(臺北：聯經出版事業股份有限公司，2005)，頁 209-212。

⁵ 學界對 sangley (單數) / sangleyes (複數) 詞源有不同的解釋，有稱「常來」、「商旅」或源自「生理」等說法，一般多以「華商」稱之。然到了十七世紀下半葉此詞似乎已轉有多種意涵，有指住在澗內的中國人、閩粵沿海地區、生意人之意，以及從東亞到菲律賓經商且會說閩南語的人。在馬尼拉海關文件中 sangley/sangleyes 不僅指來自閩粵的族群或僑居菲律賓的華人，甚至來自東亞其他不同地區的華人皆稱 sangley/sangleyes，其職業有商人、船員、漁夫、手工業者等，這些人報關時多以閩南語溝通，僅少數人通曉西班牙語。參見方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易（1657-1687）：史料分析與譯註（第一冊）》（新竹：國立清華大學出版社，2012），頁 10。在漢文文獻中對居住在呂宋的中國人則稱呼「華人」、「唐人」或「唐民」，然「華人」出現的頻率較多，諸如《明史》卷三二三〈呂宋傳〉、《東西洋考》卷五〈東洋列國考：呂宋〉及卷一二〈逸事考〉中與呂宋有關的逸事。〔按：《使琉球記》云：「……國人呼中國為唐山、呼華人為唐人也」。參見臺灣銀行經濟研究室編，《清代琉球紀錄集輯（下）》（臺北：該室，臺灣文獻叢刊第 292 種，1971），頁 174。故本文暫以「華人」來稱呼 sangley/sangleyes〕。

⁶ 方真真，〈人員與貨品的流動：西班牙時期福州、北臺灣、馬尼拉及澳門的多邊航線（1626-1642）〉，收於鄭永常主編，《東亞海域網絡與港市社會》（臺北：里仁書局，2015），頁 369-418；Chenchen Fang, "Colonias Españolas en Asia en el Siglo XVII: Relaciones entre Manila y San Salvador (Norte de Taiwán)," in Salvador Bernabéu Albert, Carmen Mena García, and Emilio José Luque Azcona, eds., *Filipinas y el Pacífico: Nuevas Miradas, Nuevas Reflexiones* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2016), pp. 53-74.

⁷ 參見方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》（臺南：國立臺灣歷史博物館，2017），內有西班牙文及中譯對照。關於帳簿的形成、提供者與抄錄者生平說明，可參閱本書導論，在此不擬重複。

Contaduría, 1235 共 16 捆的卷宗中，發掘到更多與臺灣有關的帳簿，這些卷宗多屬 1640 至 1662 年間的文件，其中有更多華人往返臺灣與馬尼拉灣的消息，而且有一些文件記錄從馬尼拉灣運往北臺灣的物資是向華人購買。⁸ 此外，在 1642 年西班牙人退出北臺灣以後，臺灣與馬尼拉之間仍有零星貿易往來，其中華商在兩地扮演重要角色，我們從這批西班牙帳簿也可以得知這些訊息。

故本文主要運用上述 1626 至 1662 年間與臺灣有關的帳簿。透過這批帳簿，筆者試圖討論以下 4 個問題：

- (1) 西班牙人佔領北臺灣期間派往北臺灣的華人有哪些人？這些華人從事何種行業？其次，兩位混血華人又是誰？
- (2) 運往北臺灣的物品中，有哪些是跟馬尼拉當地華人所購買？
- (3) 從北臺灣前往馬尼拉做生意的華商有哪些人？
- (4) 1642 年以後隨著西班牙人離開北臺灣，往返臺灣與馬尼拉的華商是誰？

二、派往北臺灣的華人

從上述 Contaduría 卷宗我們可以歸納出 1626 至 1642 年間派往北臺灣的華人主要有華人船員、華工、華商及混血華人通事 (interprete)。除了混血華人通事是教徒以外，僅見一位名叫 Joan Chinbu 的華人石匠頭人 (cabeza) 是教徒，其他華人船員、華工及華商皆為異教徒。以下針對這些派往北臺灣的華人及混血華人作討論。

(一) 華人船員

1626 年 5 月 5 日前往佔領北臺灣的西班牙船隊中，已有華人異教徒 Onço 領

⁸ 事實上，AGI, Contaduría, 1225A 卷宗雖有與北臺灣有關的帳目，但與華人無關；AGI, Contaduría, 1230 卷宗主要收入 1651 年至 1652 年的帳目、AGI, Contaduría, 1233 卷宗收入 1658 年至 1660 年的帳目、AGI, Contaduría, 1234 卷宗收入 1660 年至 1661 年的帳目、AGI, Contaduría, 1235 卷宗收入 1661 年至 1662 年的帳目，前述這些卷宗皆無與臺灣有關的文件。直到鄭成功驅逐荷蘭人以後，這批帳簿（亦即從 AGI, Contaduría, 1236 起）才出現與臺灣有關的文件。但若非透過一頁頁地翻閱和傳抄這些數以萬頁計的帳目，無法得知詳情。即便僅零星帳目有 1650 年代華人往返臺灣與馬尼拉訊息，但本文仍將研究時間設定在 1626 年至 1662 年間，以期對西班牙殖民北臺灣時期到鄭成功驅逐荷蘭人以前的華人往返臺灣與馬尼拉之情形有整體了解。

航員帶領 13 名華人船員前往，這 14 人在一艘由 Andrés de Carauajal 船長所負責的陸下舢舨 (champan de su Magestad)⁹ 上工作，他們於 1626 年 5 月 15 日至 10 月 24 日共 163 天一起在福爾摩沙島工作，這段期間他們超時工作，故領取的工資比平時多，共領 260 比索 (pesos)¹⁰ 6 多幣 (tomines)，¹¹ 其中預支 189 比索，剩下 71 比索 6 多幣則等他們返回馬尼拉後才支付。¹² 1627 年或 1628 年一艘 Carabajal 的舢舨曾從馬尼拉載運物資前往北臺灣援助，然不幸在臺灣東部 Rarangus 的村社被搶奪，並有 10 個西班牙人被殺害，¹³ 只是此次航行不知有無華人船員。鮑曉鷗認為 Carabajal 指的是 Cristóbal de Carvajal，此人曾出現在 1640 年 5 月 25 日北臺灣長官 Gonzalo Portillo 寫給菲島統治者的信中，信中提到 Cristóbal de Carvajal 少尉當時無支薪擔任大士長官助理，工作忙碌，尤其是所有與石灰相關的事，以及與保衛此堡壘和其他服務陛下的事，他有 15 年服役經驗，其中 13 年確實在這些堡壘曾是 Pedro de Eguíluz 指揮官連隊的長官及淡水堡壘的班長，他後來於 1641 年荷蘭人進攻時喪命。¹⁴ 然前述並無法確定 Cristóbal de Carvajal 曾擁有舢舨，而前述鮑曉鷗所提及的 Pedro de Eguíluz，在這批西班牙帳簿中則記載他於 1635 年前往北臺灣，隔年返回時，所搭船隻聖佛朗西斯哥 (San

⁹ 原文 champan de su Magestad 指的是西班牙國王陛下所屬的舢舨，champan 的船型是雙桅中式帆船，而非單桅帆船，詳細說明及 champan 圖像可參見方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易 (1657-1687)：史料分析與譯註 (第一冊)》，頁 55-57，此處不擬重複。

¹⁰ 單數 peso，複數 pesos，貨幣單位，是一種假想的記帳貨幣，沒有鑄造、本身不存在的錢幣，當時在美洲各鑄幣廠所造的銀幣只有 ¼ 里耳 (real)、½ 里耳、1 里耳、2 里耳、4 里耳及 8 里耳等不同幣值，而 8 里耳就換算為 1 比索 (peso)。那時閩南人將 peso 稱為「幣峙」，將 real 稱為「料釐」，此處的幣峙就是指 8 里耳。關於美洲白銀的製造與傳入菲島和東亞地區的詳細說明可參見方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易 (1657-1687)：史料分析與譯註 (第一冊)》，「第四章 貨幣流通的狀況」，頁 79-90。學界多將西班牙文 peso 譯為「比索」或「披索」，也有譯為「西元」，西班牙文 real 則譯為里耳或里爾。

¹¹ 單數 tomin，複數 tomines。依金幣的價值，tomin 相當於 ¼ Castilla 比索。1 多幣 (tomin) 等於 12 格拉諾 (granos)。其幣值的換算與里耳一樣，1 比索 (peso) 等於 8 里耳 (reales)，也等於 8 tomines。

¹² 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 21-25。

¹³ 此份資訊來自 Jacinto Esquivel 的報告，鮑曉鷗和李毓中所編的史料都來自馬尼拉 Santo Tomas 大學檔案館，編號：AUST, Libros, Tomo 49, ff.306-316v。參見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 163; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》，頁 3-4、32-33。另 Ávila 道明會檔案館 (APSR) 藏有一份 Jacinto Esquivel 的報告原檔，見檔案編號：APSR, Ávila, Sección 33, Formosa, Tomo 1, Doc. 6, fol. 129r。

¹⁴ 鮑曉鷗的推論可見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 163-164 註 5 的說明。

Francisco) 號曾迷航。¹⁵ 十七世紀西班牙手稿的 b 也寫成 u, 筆者以為 Carabajal 的舢舨可能是前述 Andrés de Carauajal 船長的舢舨, 不太可能是 Cristóbal de Carvajal。

另有 14 位華人船員 (含華人領航員 Cuytay) 服務於一艘 Juan de Esquivel 船長的陸下舢舨, 從帳簿只知 Cuytay 和 7 位華人船員從 1627 年 3 月 25 日至 1628 年 3 月 29 日共 12 個月 5 天在北臺灣工作, 這 8 人的總薪資共 255 比索 2 多幣 8 格拉諾 (granos),¹⁶ 另華人船員每人每月可配給 20 升 (gantas)¹⁷ 精米 (arroz limpio)。¹⁸ 其中領航員 Cuytay 完成工作共領 63 比索 5 多幣 11 格拉諾, 而且絕大多數的款項都是返回馬尼拉後所領取。¹⁹ 一般來說, 除非超量工作, 否則華人領航員每月支領 3 比索 4 多幣, 華人船員則領 2 比索 4 多幣。(見附表一)

1629 年 4 月 6 日至 7 日, 馬尼拉方面付給兩艘陸下舢舨的 Rodrigo González 船長和 Francisco Ferreyra 船長, 以及在他們船上工作的 23 位華人領航員和船員, 包含三哥 (Sanco) 和七哥 (Chico) 這兩位領航員, 總共 347 比索 4 多幣的預支薪資, 以便讓他們前往福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘工作, 其中 Rodrigo González 和 Francisco Ferreyra 按兩次給付他們每人 25 比索。²⁰ 1632 年一艘陸下舢舨於聖週 (Semana Santa)²¹ 從福爾摩沙島前往馬尼拉, 船上有 50 人, 含西班牙人、華

¹⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 211v-212r, 534r.

¹⁶ 單數 grano, 複數 granos, 錢幣單位。1 grano 約等於 48 毫克重, 12 granos 等於 1 多幣 (tomín)。參見 Real Academia de Española, ed., *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, Tomo I* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1992), p. 1055. 本文以西班牙語拼音譯為「格拉諾」。

¹⁷ 單數 ganta, 複數 gantas, 容量單位。從 *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu* 雙語辭典第 24 頁中出現的「升: para gantas」、「四升米: quatro gantas de arroz」之西班牙語與漳州語對照, 即可知道「ganta」指的是「升」, 但令人疑惑的是不知為何此辭書的第 33 頁卻出現「升: terceira parte de una ganta」。參見 Melchior de Mançano, *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu* [1620 (萬曆 48 年)], 西班牙巴塞隆納大學圖書館藏, pp. 24, 33. 此外, 按西班牙辭典, ganta 是菲律賓穀物的計算單位, 1 ganta 等於 3 公升 (litros)。參見 Real Academia de Española, ed., *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, Tomo I*, p. 1021. 按前述, 那時期的 ganta 應是指「升」。

¹⁸ 方真真主譯, 《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿: 第一冊 (1626-1633)》, 頁 93-98。

¹⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fol. 496v.

²⁰ 方真真主譯, 《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿: 第一冊 (1626-1633)》, 頁 122、161-162。

²¹ 聖週是用來紀念耶穌的受難, 在復活節的前一週舉行, 是天主教重要節日, 至今西班牙許多城市仍舉行聖週遊行, 每年的時間不一, 通常在 3 月 22 日至 4 月 25 日之間。1632 年的聖週剛好是 3 月 25 日至 4 月 1 日, 參見「Fechas Semana Santa 1632,」「IDEAL」, 下載日期: 2021 年 3 月 25 日, 網址: <https://calendarios.ideal.es/semana-santa/1632>。

人和日本人，這些人在噶瑪蘭（Cabaran）全被原住民殺害。²² 前述舢舨上被殺的華人有可能是之前派去的華人船員。

到了 1636 年，前往新西班牙（指墨西哥）和福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘援助的船隻也有西班牙船員和華人船員。²³ 隔年 3 月 29 日，預支 66 比索給華人 Chajon 和其他 8 位華人籍同伴及 2 位菲律賓原住民見習水手，他們在船長 Alonso Rendon 負責的陸下舢舨上服務，讓他們帶貨品前往卡加揚（Cagaian/Cagayán）²⁴ 省並送到福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘作援助之用。²⁵ 1639 年 8 月 11 日，預支 397 比索 4 多幣給 Antonio Rodríguez Valenciano 和 Manuel González de Palma（這兩人是兩艘陸下舢舨的船長），以及在其舢舨上工作的領航員、船員和見習水手，以便讓他們前往福爾摩沙島堡壘。其中 Antonio Rodríguez Valenciano 船長和 Manuel González de Palma 船長每人 37 比索 4 多幣，分 3 次支付；在 Antonio Rodríguez Valenciano 舢舨上服務的華人領航員 Bueco 及其同伴（即 13 位華人船員和 2 位見習水手），分 3 次支付他們 144 比索 4 多幣；給另一艘舢舨船長 Manuel Gonzáles de Palma 的華人領航員 Liangon 及其同伴（即 16 位華人船員和 3 位見習水手），分 3 次支付他們 178 比索 4 多幣的薪水。²⁶

最後一次航向北臺灣運送物資的華人船員是在 1641 年 4 月 24 日以後，這日財政人員支付 352 比索 4 多幣給一艘陸下舢舨船員兼船長 Phelipe de Sanctiago，以及搭乘此舢舨的船員 Diego Martín Pareja 和 Francisco Martín de Tauera。其中 112 比索 4 多幣付給前述 3 人，分 3 次支付，每人 37 比索 4 多幣；並付 240 比索給在此舢舨服務的華人領航員、華人船員及見習水手，即領航員 Chaico 和 17 名華人船員及 2 名菲律賓原住民見習水手，分 4 次給付，給領航員每次 4 比索，每

²² 此份資訊來自 Jacinto Esquivel 的報告，鮑曉鷗和李毓中所編的史料都來自馬尼拉 Santo Tomas 大學檔案館，編號：AUST, Libros, Tomo 49, ff.306-316v，李毓中所編的史料提到船上人數是 50 人，但鮑曉鷗所編的史料卻誤抄為 80 人。參見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 163；李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》，頁 3、31。在 Ávila 道明會檔案館有一份 Jacinto Esquivel 的 *Memoria de cosas pertenecientes a la ysla Hermosa* 原檔，此原件編號：APSR, Ávila, Sección 33, Formosa, Tomo 1, Doc. 6, fol. 129r。其中也清楚寫出此舢舨人數是 *cinquenta personas*（50 人）。

²³ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 411v-412r.

²⁴ 原文有寫成 Cagaian 或 Cagayán，中文古稱「大港」，位於呂宋島最北部的一省分。

²⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 749r-749v.

²⁶ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 392r-392v.

位華人船員每次 3 比索，每位見習水手 20 里耳。²⁷ 兩日以後（即 26 日），財政人員從王室金庫交給 Phelipe de Sanctiago 3,000 比索，讓他搭乘所負責的舢舨，將這筆金額攜往福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘，轉交給當地擔任會計室官員兼付款員，之後將已轉交給他的收據帶回並作結算。²⁸

附表一除了列出的華人領航員和船員之外，某些舢舨也載有少數西班牙船員和菲律賓原住民船員。其他陛下舢舨只知有西班牙船員，船上是否有華人船員則無法確知，例如：由 Pedro Lorenço 負責，於 1629 年從福爾摩沙島返回馬尼拉的聖克魯斯（Santa Cruz）號陛下舢舨；²⁹ 1631 年前往福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞的兩艘舢舨上為陛下工作的領航員和船員們；³⁰ 1634 年前往福爾摩沙島的 3 艘陛下舢舨船長 Juan Ramos、Juan Bautista de Torres 及 Manuel Fernández，³¹ 同年返回馬尼拉的 Francisco Lorenço 船長的陛下舢舨；³² 1635 年從福爾摩沙島回來的 Juan de Gaçeta y Vrrutia 少尉的舢舨；³³ 1637 年 5 月前往北臺灣的陛下舢舨班長 Mateo Gómez 助理，³⁴ 此人所搭的舢舨於同年 7 月返回馬尼拉，³⁵ 後他又搭此舢舨於 1639 年前往北臺灣援助，途中迷失，曾被北臺灣長官 Cristóbal Márquez 認為已沉沒於海中；³⁶ 而西班牙帳簿記錄 1639 年前往福爾摩沙島援助的陛下舢舨，³⁷ 可能是前述 Mateo Gómez 的舢舨；1640 年各由 Rafael Gonçales 船長和 Diego Pacheco 船長所負責的陛下舢舨，這兩艘舢舨上各載有士兵和人員；³⁸ 1640 年 Manuel Antunes 搭舢舨返回馬尼拉，³⁹ 到了 1641 及 1642 年他以領航員的身分，搭乘 Manuel Fernández 負責的陛下舢舨往返福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞。⁴⁰

²⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 294v-295r.

²⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 331r, 408r-408v.

²⁹ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 108、160、181、187。

³⁰ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 247。

³¹ AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fols. 326v, 510r, 523v.

³² AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fols. 119r-119v.

³³ AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 157r-157v, 157v-158r.

³⁴ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 353.

³⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 71r.

³⁶ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 305, 316.

³⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 1332r.

³⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fols. 209r, 355r-355v, 416r, 422v.

³⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 14v-15r.

⁴⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fol. 14v; AGI, Contaduría, 1222, fols. 223r, 282r-282v.

另在 1641 年 5 月 Juan de Saraus 負責的陛下舢舨前往北臺灣，⁴¹ 同年返回馬尼拉。⁴²

值得注意的是，西班牙殖民菲律賓以後也開始雇用華人船員為西班牙船隻服務，並打造中式帆船以便航行於東亞港灣，而華人船員擅長駕駛中式帆船，故赴北臺灣的華人領航員和船員多服役於舢舨。

（二）華工

許多住在馬尼拉的華人在西班牙人佔領北臺灣期間，被派往當地工作，推動北臺灣的基礎建設。華人的石造技術可追溯於十六世紀末馬尼拉城建成石造城市時，Santiago de Vera（1584-1590）讓（菲律賓）原住民和華人學習製作方石（cantería），並投入馬尼拉城的建造工程。⁴³ 隨著時間，華人一代傳一代已成為專業的石匠。於是西班牙人佔領雞籠初期，為了建造聖薩爾瓦多堡壘和其他要塞，便從馬尼拉派遣許多華人石匠（cantero）、磚瓦工（tejero）、鋸工（aserrador）及木匠（carpintero）前往。被派往北臺灣建造要塞的華工，筆者在之前所發表的文章雖有提及，但此處有較完整與更多的訊息。⁴⁴

1626 年 5 月 5 日，西班牙船隊從呂宋卡加揚出發，沿著臺灣東海岸航行。5 月 10 日抵達三貂角（Santiago，今貢寮鄉），5 月 11 日到雞籠港，並將此港命名為聖三位一體（Santísima Trinidad），5 月 16 日西班牙人在和平島舉行佔領儀式，隨即在島上建一堡壘，稱聖薩爾瓦多，並在此島的小山上建立一稜堡，以協防聖薩爾瓦多。⁴⁵ 在佔領北臺灣的西班牙船隊中也有 3 位華工，一位是木匠 Yaguan，另兩位是鋸工 Pete 和 Sete，Pete 和 Sete 只工作到 1627 年 5 月 4 日，Yaguan 則服務至 1629 年 4 月 30 日。⁴⁶ 不過，此時（指 1626 年 5 月）的聖薩爾瓦多堡壘還

⁴¹ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 330.

⁴² AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fol. 15r; AGI, Contaduría, 1222, fols. 30v, 31r-31v; AGI, Contaduría, 1224, fols. 118r-118v.

⁴³ María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), p. 11.

⁴⁴ 方真真，〈人員與貨品的流動：西班牙時期福州、北臺灣、馬尼拉及澳門的多邊航線（1626-1642）〉，頁 386-387、403-404。

⁴⁵ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 72, 75, 81.

⁴⁶ 方真真主譯，〈十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）〉，頁 51、203。

不是一堅固的防衛要塞。所以同年 9 月西班牙政府派遣更多華工前往北臺灣要塞幫忙，已知的華工有鋸工頭人 Quinion 和 43 位華工，⁴⁷ 另有 15 名不具名的華人石匠和 1 位華人鋸工。⁴⁸ 之後，在 1627 及 1628 年間又陸續派華工前往北臺灣堡壘工作。1627 年從馬尼拉搭同一艘船前往北臺灣堡壘工作的有華人石匠 Tionghuya、Bihuy、Chichican 及 Suysuan。⁴⁹ 按 1627 年 5 月 7 日所開的預支薪資單據時間，華人石匠頭人 Joan Chinbu 及其 16 位華人石匠應該也是搭前述船隻。⁵⁰ 1628 年前往福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘工作的有華人石匠頭人九哥 (Cauco)⁵¹ 及其 12 位華人石匠，以及華人磚瓦工 Huygou。Huygou 於同年 4 月 1 日在機易港 (Cavite) 揚帆啟航；⁵² 按預支薪資時間，九哥及其 12 位華人石匠應該也是搭這艘船。⁵³ 到了 1629 年 3 月 21 日，馬尼拉財政人員讓 4 位磚瓦華工預支 4 次共 90 比索的薪資，以便前往福爾摩沙島要塞工作。⁵⁴ 從附表二可見多數在北臺灣建造要塞的華工都待到 1629 年，某些華工僅知其預支的薪水，但有不少人可知他們在北臺灣工作時間和總共領取的薪資。

就上述這些人的薪資來看，石匠和磚瓦工的薪水一樣，每日可領 1.5 里耳 (即月薪 5 比索 5 多幣)。一般而言，除了鋸工 Pete 和 Sete 的日薪與石匠和磚瓦工一樣以外，其他鋸工的日薪少了 0.5 里耳，而石匠和磚瓦工的月薪比木匠的 5 比索 4 多幣多出了 1 多幣 (等於 1 里耳)。除了薪資，這些華工每月也有一份米的配給，石匠每月可分配到 20 升精米，木匠有 15 升精米，其他磚瓦工和鋸工也可領一份米，只是帳簿沒有註明米的額度。(見附表二)

1626 至 1629 年間西班牙人忙於建造聖薩爾瓦多堡壘，並在其附近另造 3 個小要塞 (指 la Retirada 或稱 San Antón、San Millán、el cubo 或稱 San Luis) 來幫

⁴⁷ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 129-130。

⁴⁸ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 222-223、360。

⁴⁹ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 214-221。其中有 2 位華人石匠，即 Chichican 和 Suysuan，還有另外一個名字 (見附表二)。

⁵⁰ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 26-27。

⁵¹ 按閩南語讀音“co”即“哥”。從 *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu* 雙語辭典中得知西班牙語拼音“cau”即閩南語的“九”。參見 Melchior de Mançano, *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu*, p. 17. 故 Cauco 即九哥。

⁵² 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 131-132。Cavite 港位於馬尼拉灣，在馬尼拉城的南方，漢文文獻有稱「佳逸」、「交逸」、「加溢」，《明史·呂宋傳》則作「機易」。

⁵³ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 71-72、153-154。

⁵⁴ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 134。

忙防衛主堡壘聖薩爾瓦多。除了建築師（alarife）Miguel Ramírez 和堡壘製圖者（traçista）Nicólas Bolen 負責堡壘的工程與設計之外，⁵⁵ 華人不僅供應建材石灰，⁵⁶ 重要的建造工作也派遣前述華人石匠、磚瓦工、鋸工及木匠來做。鮑曉鷗所編的史料僅有 4 則訊息：一是前述任命 Nicólas Bolen 負責堡壘的工程與設計；二是 1632 年 Jacinto Esquivel 神父的報告「石材建築工程，華人比原住民（indios）更適合」；⁵⁷ 三是 1638 年 4 月 20 日付 190 比索給華人石匠 Lanco，以修築 San Sebastián 稜堡 97 搨（brazas）⁵⁸ 的城牆；⁵⁹ 四是最後一任駐臺長官 Gonzalo Portillo 在 1640 年提到當時停留在北臺灣的士兵中有 22 位擔任木匠、採石工、鋸工及石匠的 Pampanga 人。⁶⁰ 陳宗仁從上述引證認為堡壘的建造者，除了西班牙人，亦有菲律賓原住民、雞籠原住民與華工參與築城，雞籠堡壘的建築仍仰賴華人工匠，菲律賓原住民亦是主要的築城工人。⁶¹ 這推論是因為鮑曉鷗所編的史料非常侷限，沒有 1626 至 1629 年間建造堡壘的直接訊息，但陳宗仁的說法也有其道理，不過有些應是西班牙殖民後期堡壘修築的情況，其中 San Sebastián 稜堡不知是指何處。事實上，在會計室帳簿僅出現一位菲律賓原住民石匠 Marcos Baton，此人從 1626 年 5 月 1 日到 1635 年 9 月 12 日以此職在福爾摩沙島要塞為陛下服務了 9 年 135 天，共得 281 比索 1 多幣 4 格拉諾薪資。⁶² 換算 Marcos Baton 所得的日薪約 7 格拉諾多，1 多幣約等於 12 格拉諾，可見他的待遇遠遠不如華人石匠，這也因其建造技術較低之緣故。另有 15 名卡加揚省原住民在 1626 年 5 月 4 日到 1627 年 3 月 16 日間，於福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多從事堡壘工事建材裝卸工作，每人每

⁵⁵ 從會計室帳簿可知建築師 Miguel Ramírez 於 1629 年被派往北臺灣時的年薪有 400 比索，比 1628 年 6 月 23 日被任命為堡壘的工程師和製圖者 Nicólas Bolen 的年薪 250 比索還優渥許多，但之前 Nicólas Bolen 還是砲手時年薪原有 200 比索。參見方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 109-110；José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 126-127.

⁵⁶ 鮑曉鷗（José Eugenio Borao Mateo）著、Nakao Eki 譯，《西班牙人的臺灣體驗（1626-1642）：一項文藝復興時代的志業及其巴洛克的結局》（臺北：南天書局有限公司，2008），頁 407-408。

⁵⁷ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 174.

⁵⁸ 1 搨（braza）約等於 1 至 1.20 米。

⁵⁹ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 283.

⁶⁰ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 324. Pampanga 位於呂宋島，靠近馬尼拉灣北部。

⁶¹ 陳宗仁，〈西班牙統治時期雞籠堡壘的興築與毀棄〉，《臺灣文獻》（南投）54: 3（2003 年 9 月），頁 26-27。

⁶² AGI, Contaduría, 1223, fol. 298r.

月 30 天可領一份米及 1 比索。⁶³ 或許就如前面 Jacinto Esquivel 神父所述，所以較不重要的堡壘工事建材裝卸工則由菲律賓原住民來做。故西班牙佔領北臺灣前期派往當地建造堡壘與要塞的重要工人是這批華人，而非菲律賓原住民。

1629 年 8 月 18 日，荷蘭人到雞籠港偵察時，已見聖薩爾瓦多是一石造方形堡。1631 年荷蘭人已知雞籠有 4 座堡壘，此即 1636 年臺灣駐軍長官 Alonso García Romero 所報告的聖薩爾瓦多、la Retirada（又稱 San Antón）、San Millán 與 San Luis 這 4 座堡壘。⁶⁴ 1637 年起，菲律賓統治者 Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera 對臺政策改變，將多餘的砲和兵力撤回馬尼拉，於是廢棄兩座堡壘，兩座保留，到了 1641-1642 年，為了因應荷蘭人攻擊的威脅，於是又設立了 4 座堡壘⁶⁵（指重新整修已廢棄的堡壘，回復以往的 4 座堡壘）。

（三）華商

1626 年西班牙人剛到雞籠，即有福建商人載米糧和建材，準備賣給西班牙人。⁶⁶ 此乃因北臺灣糧食不足，但不久西班牙人即從馬尼拉載米到北臺灣，有時也派華商用其舢舨運往當地，如下面將提及的 Pintay，以作為派往北臺灣服務的人員每月配給的生活糧食，前述華人船員、石匠、磚瓦工、鋸工及木匠皆有此配給。而華商提供的石灰建材是建造北臺灣堡壘與要塞期間賣給西班牙人的商品。馬尼拉政府於 1632 年 4 月 3 日付給華人異教徒 Pintay 50 比索，命令其舢舨載運 100 籃精米（每籃 15 升）赴北臺灣援助；⁶⁷ 另一位被派往北臺灣援助的是來自中國的華人船長 Rufu，他於 1634 年 5 月 11 日在登記完應繳的商品稅後，菲島行政首長下令可不用付超過一半的稅款，但要前往福爾摩沙島為陛下（指菲力普四世）服務。Rufu 原應繳 170 比索 5 多幣 7 格拉諾的 6% 商品稅，但他前往北臺灣為陛下服務，所以只繳了 85 比索 2 多幣 9 格拉諾。⁶⁸ 這兩位被派往北臺灣援助的華

⁶³ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 138。

⁶⁴ 陳宗仁，《雞籠山與淡水洋：東亞海域與臺灣早期史研究 1400-1700》，頁 214-217。

⁶⁵ 陳宗仁，《西班牙統治時期雞籠堡壘的興築與毀棄》，頁 34-39。

⁶⁶ 陳宗仁，《雞籠山與淡水洋：東亞海域與臺灣早期史研究 1400-1700》，頁 237。

⁶⁷ 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 317、325。

⁶⁸ 原文為「... ochenta y cinco pesos dos tomines y nueve granos que metió en la Real caja, Rufu, sanglei capitán de un navío que vino de China el dicho año por la mitad de ciento y setenta pesos cinco tomines y siete granos que montaron los derechos de almorarifago de seis por ciento de las mercaderías que truxo el

商在筆者之前所發表的文章已提及。⁶⁹

在此可以補述的是，Pintay 在旅途中遺失精米而沒完成任務，並於 1634 年 12 月 23 日繳回 50 比索。⁷⁰ 其次，從另一文件得知 Rufu⁷¹ 的一位叔父（tío）去年（指 1633 年）已派遣一艘船來過，當時福爾摩沙島的班長向他要求派出一艘舢舨到淡水（Tanchuy），他也提供了，而其船載有班長要的必需品。⁷² 可見被派遣到北臺灣援助的華商有 3 人，但真正抵達的只有 Rufu 及其叔父的舢舨。

（四）混血華人通事

在前往海外探險與征服的西班牙船隊中通常會有通事（翻譯員）伴隨，此乃為了與被征服之地的原住民和住民溝通，並教導這些人天主教信仰。此項規定可見於 1526 年 11 月 17 日卡洛斯皇帝（el Emperador D. Carlos）⁷³ 在格拉那達（Granada）⁷⁴ 所頒布的法令，這法令在菲力普四世（Felipe IV，1621-1665）時編入《印地安斯法典彙編（*Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*）》第 1 本第一題項的第 2 條法令：「……命令抵達海外省分的指揮官、官員、發現者、居民及其他人，應透過通事讓原住民和住民瞭解，教導這些人良善的風俗習慣，讓他們拋開惡習與吃人肉，指導他們我們天主信仰，並對其宣教，以拯救他們……」。⁷⁵ 另在《印地

dicho su navío, y por autos del gouernador y capittán general que están con el registro del dicho navío fue mandado no se cobrase del dicho sanglei más de la mitad de los dichos derechos que debió sin embargo de la replica de los offsciales Reales que sobre ello se hizo sin que fuesse consecuencia para otros por el servicio que a su Magestad hico en Ysla Hermosa...」。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fols. 114v-115r.

⁶⁹ 方真真，〈人員與貨品的流動：西班牙時期福州、北臺灣、馬尼拉及澳門的多邊航線（1626-1642）〉，頁 394。

⁷⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 1216, fol. 109v.

⁷¹ 此份原稿寫成 Rufo，但從內容可知與 Rufu 是同一人。

⁷² AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 576r-576v.

⁷³ 卡洛斯生於 1500 年，於 1516 年成為西班牙國王，稱卡洛斯一世（Carlos I，1516-1556），他於 1519 年被推選為神聖羅馬帝國的皇帝，成為我們所熟知的查理五世皇帝（Charles V, Holy Romam Emperor）。之後於 1556 年將王位退讓給他的兒子菲力普二世（Felipe II），過著隱居修士般的儉樸生活，直到 1558 年去世。

⁷⁴ 位於西班牙南部的一座城市。

⁷⁵ 此條文原文如下：「...ordenaron y mandaron á nuestros Capitanes y Oficiales, Descubridores, Pobladores y otras qualesquier personas, que en llegando á aquellas Provincias procurasen luego dar á entender, por medio de los Intérpretes, á los Indios y moradores, como los enviaron á enseñarles buenas costumbres, apartarlos de vicios y comer carne humana, instruirlos en nuestra Santa Fe Católica, y predicársela para su salvación,...」。參見 El Boletín Oficial del Estado, ed., *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*,

安斯法典彙編》第 4 本第一題項的第 9 條法令也命令到海外的發現者須帶通事前往。⁷⁶ 但在派往北臺灣的人員中並不見講馬賽語的通事，反而是前往當地的傳教士與北臺灣原住民學習語言，向其傳播天主教信仰，⁷⁷ 包含在 1632 年寫下北臺灣紀錄的 Jacinto Esquivel，來到雞籠便跟 Taparri 原住民學習語言，⁷⁸ 之後他到淡水也學習當地語言，數月後就撰寫淡水文法及詞彙，讓其他神父可以學習，並將基督教原理譯成淡水語，跟原住民溝通。⁷⁹ 又或者由當地人幫西班牙人翻譯，如 Alance 以前曾擔任西班牙人的翻譯員。⁸⁰ 馬尼拉的西班牙政府比較迫切關心的是，吸引華人前來北臺灣貿易。在佔領雞籠以前，曾擔任菲島行政首長（governador）的 Luis Pérez Dasmariñas 於 1597 年 6 月寫信給現任菲島行政首長 Francisco Tello，⁸¹ 說明征服福爾摩沙島對菲島有利益的證詞，信中建議派遣幾位可靠並知是可信的華人教徒，可以容易地與在那裡、來那裡交易及捕魚的華人溝通，令他們安心並了解我們在那裡對他們是非常有利的。⁸² 可見 Luis Pérez Dasmariñas 熟知派可信的華人通事前往北臺灣與當地華商及華人漁夫溝通的重要性。

Tomo I (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional del Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1998), *Libro I, Título I, Ley ij*, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶ El Boletín Oficial del Estado, ed., *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias, Tomo II* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional del Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1998), *Libro IIII, Título I, Ley viij*, p. 3.

⁷⁷ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 86; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 II》，頁 128、134。

⁷⁸ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 205.

⁷⁹ Jacinto Esquivel 撰寫的淡水語有 *Arte de la lengua de los indios de Tamchui* 和 *Vocabulario de la lengua de los indios de Tamchui*，譯有 *Doctrina Cristiana en la lengua de los indios de Tamchui*。參見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 206.

⁸⁰ 江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第二冊（1641-1648）》（臺南：臺南市政府，2002），頁 35。

⁸¹ Gobernador 在西班牙文中有許多意思，如統治者、地方行政長官、省長、政府代表等，派到北臺灣的 Gobernador 可稱臺灣長官，在菲島的統治者可譯為「行政首長」。文中兩位皆曾擔任過菲島統治者，Luis Pérez Dasmariñas 在 1593 年至 1595 年間擔任菲島行政首長，Francisco Tello 則任職於 1596 至 1602 年間。

⁸² 原文如下：「...me parece ynportará y conbendrá mucho, fueran algunas personas de los sangleyes christianos de más seguridad, y persona de más satisfacción que se supiera y pudiera con façilidad tratar con los sangleyes que allí estuviesen y biniesen a trato y pesquería, que procurase asegurarlos y dalles a entender cómo el estar allí nosotros sería para mayor bien suyo y que allí podrían tener trato, amistad y buen tratamiento y paso seguro para venir a estas yslas, ...」。參見 AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R.6, N. 52, Bloque 2。因鮑曉鷗和李毓中各自編的書中傳抄有出入，筆者重新閱讀這份原件時發現鮑曉鷗的書缺漏及誤抄的現象很多。參見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p.30; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 II》，頁 312。

不過，1626年5月前往佔領北臺灣的船隊並無華人通事，而是一位閩南語說得很好的道明會神父 Bartolomé Martínez。但 Bartolomé Martínez 神父待了一年就返回，之後於 1628 年與雞籠的長官 Antonio Carreño de Valdéz 一同被派往中國，到了 1629 年他再度前往北臺灣，卻不幸於同年 8 月 1 日在荷蘭人攻擊淡水時溺斃。⁸³ 在這種情況下，菲律賓的西班牙政府於是在 1628 年初派混血華人通事 Pablo Pacheco 前往，同年 4 月 1 日他在機易港上船，前往福爾摩沙島要塞，到了 4 月 29 日才正式在北臺灣擔任漢語通事，直到 1630 年 12 月 29 日卸任。其年薪有 150 比索，共賺取了 412 比索 1 多幣 6 格拉諾，⁸⁴ 但西班牙政府未按時支付薪水，而是斷斷續續，直到 1639 年 10 月 14 日才付清給他的薪資。⁸⁵

在 Pablo Pacheco 返回菲律賓以前的 1629 年 8 月 29 日，另一位混血華人 Francisco Hernández 也被派往雞籠擔任漢語通事，他在北臺灣工作到 1635 年 8 月 13 日，總共服務了 5 年 350 日，賺取了 893 比索 6 多幣 8 格拉諾，其中 248 比索 7 多幣 6 格拉諾是他返回馬尼拉後的 1642 年 2 月 24 日，才由其代理人 Gregorio de Lizarralde 指揮官領取，另 497 比索 7 多幣 2 格拉諾樂捐給陛下，並未領取。⁸⁶ 扣除前述金額，可見 Francisco Hernández 親自領取的金額是 147 比索，是他前往雞籠前就已經預支的薪水，而真正獲得的薪資僅剩不到一半。在他卸任前一天（即 1635 年 8 月 12 日）發生了第 3 任駐北臺灣長官 Alonso García Romero 留審案件的訊問，當時剛好由與他同名同姓的第 4 任駐北臺灣長官接手此案，從此訊問文件可知 Francisco Hernández 當時不僅是通事，也身為澗內（Parián）⁸⁷ 華人長官。另有一位名叫 Matheo de Vera y Pedro 混血華人通事也出現在此訊問中，⁸⁸ 但難以知道此人在北臺灣服務時間。按福爾摩沙島要塞付款員 Juan Pérez de Rueda 於

⁸³ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 40, 72; José María Álvarez, *Formosa, Geográfica e Históricamente Considerada, Tomo II* (Barcelona: Librería Católica Internacional, 1930), pp. 35-44, 55-56, 62-63; 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊（1626-1633）》，頁 48-49、101。

⁸⁴ AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 523r-523v.

⁸⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 440v-441r.

⁸⁶ AGI, Contaduría, 1222, fols. 277r-277v.

⁸⁷ Parián 在漢文文獻稱「澗」或「澗內」，指的是華人區，有關 Parián 的解釋請參見方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易（1657-1687）：史料分析與譯註（第一冊）》，頁 6-7，在此不擬重複。此處的 Parián 不知是指位於馬尼拉城外的澗內或雞籠的澗內，筆者認為應指馬尼拉城外的澗內。

⁸⁸ 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》，頁 183-184、188-189。

1640年5月25日的證明書，記載著有一位曾駐守在福爾摩沙島要塞的 Alonso Pacheco 士兵，此人以此職、海員及漢語通事服務陛下，所虧欠他的其他金額帳目直到這日。⁸⁹ 由此可見這人也曾兼任過漢語通事。一般而言，在帳簿裡對華人或混血華人會特別註明，而 Alonso Pacheco 並無特別記錄此人有華人血統。通常有士兵頭銜而沒說明族群者多是西班牙人。北臺灣財政人員曾於 1638 年 5 月 5 日及 6 月 8 日付給 Alonso Pacheco 來自中國米糧 (arroz de China) 的錢，另在 1641 年 11 月付給服役於北臺灣聖薩爾瓦多要塞士兵每月 2 比索的名單，也出現此人，鮑曉鷗認為難以判斷他究竟是商人，還是受託從事商業活動的士兵。⁹⁰ 可以知道的是，此人至少有 4 種身分，即士兵、商人、海員及漢語通事。

在西班牙人統治北臺灣初期，因亟需漢語通事與當地華人或來雞籠交易的華人溝通，⁹¹ 於是透過前述 Pablo Pacheco 和 Francisco Hernández 的轉譯有助於西班牙人與當地華人的接觸。但從 Francisco Hernández 最後所得微薄的薪水看來，時人若略有耳聞，也將不願前往雞籠從事此業。所以 Francisco Hernández 離開北臺灣後，菲律賓的西班牙政府就沒有再派專職的漢語通事前往北臺灣，而是由駐守當地通漢語的士兵來兼任。

三、補給北臺灣的物資與馬尼拉華人

在 1632 年 11 月 24 日 Diego de Aduarte 神父所寫關於福爾摩沙島事務報告中，曾提到運往北臺灣的物資在當地仍不足，這些物資中的食品類有米、醃漬品、母雞肉、醃製牛肉和豬肉、煙草、沙丁魚、酒；衣類有毯子、羊毛墊、呢絨、粗呢；捻縫船隻有木材、椰樹纖維及油；武器有火炮、炮彈、火繩槍、鳥銃、繩索；

⁸⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 227v-228r.

⁹⁰ 史料可見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 284, 336. 鮑曉鷗的看法可見鮑曉鷗 (José Eugenio Borao) 著、Nakao Eki 譯，《西班牙人的臺灣體驗 (1626-1642): 一項文藝復興時代的志業及其巴洛克的結局》，頁 251-252。

⁹¹ 西班牙殖民北臺灣期間在雞籠、淡水皆有華人區 (parián)，此時期華人在北臺灣生活、貿易情形可見翁佳音，〈近代初期北部臺灣的商業交易與原住民〉，收於黃富三、翁佳音主編，《臺灣商業傳統論文集》(臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所籌備處，1999)，頁 61-65，以及陳宗仁，《雞籠山與淡水洋：東亞海域與臺灣早期史研究 1400-1700》，頁 243-253。

另有藥品。⁹² 前述食品、生活用品、武器、醫療物品等也大多可見於 1634 至 1642 年間從馬尼拉運往北臺灣的物品清單，只是項目更為繁多（見附表三），這批清單是由菲島會計官 Simón de Toro 於 1644 年 8 月 29 日所呈遞的登記簿，此人曾於 1635 年 8 月 11 日至 1636 年 8 月 27 日在北臺灣服務，擔任福爾摩沙島要塞會計官兼視察員之職。⁹³ 可惜的是這批清單並不完整，欠缺某些船隻運送物資的資料及 1634 年以前的物品清單，而本文所揭示的這批西班牙帳簿，仍可找到一些 1634 年前後運往北臺灣的物品紀錄。1634 至 1642 年間從馬尼拉運往北臺灣的物品以白銀、米最重要，次有武器彈藥、衣物等。⁹⁴ 但從附表三也可見有不少食品中的油、醋、醃豬肉、醃牛肉、醃漬品、乳酪、糖、煙草，以及生活用品類中的肥皂需求亦多。此外，1638 年運往北臺灣的物品與當時北臺灣長官 Pedro Palomino 所列出的需求不完全一樣。⁹⁵ 從前述華人船員（附表一）可知附表三中 1639 年及 1641 年運物資前往北臺灣的三艘舢舨皆有華人領航員及船員。附表三⁹⁶ 運往北臺灣的物品，特別註明來源地有以下項目：

（一）產自菲律賓當地：主要有白酒、伊洛科斯（Ylocos）⁹⁷ 醋、tuba⁹⁸ 醋、

⁹² José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 194-198; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》，頁 123-127。在十七世紀西班牙史料，Diego de Aduarte 也寫成 Diego Aduarte。

⁹³ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 161v-162r.

⁹⁴ 鮑曉鷗（José Eugenio Borao）著、Nakao Eki 譯，《西班牙人的臺灣體驗（1626-1642）：一項文藝復興時代的志業及其巴洛克的結局》，頁 244-245；陳宗仁，《雞籠山與淡水洋：東亞海域與臺灣早期史研究 1400-1700》，頁 210。

⁹⁵ 林偉盛，〈荷蘭人與西班牙人在臺灣貿易的比較（1624-1642）〉，收於林玉茹主編，《比較視野下的臺灣商業傳統》（臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，2012），頁 76-77。

⁹⁶ 附表三所列 1634 至 1642 年間從馬尼拉運往北臺灣的物品可見於 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. II: 1642-1682*, pp. 344-366，中譯可見李毓中，〈西班牙殖民臺灣時期的史料：聖·薩爾瓦多城的財務報告〉，《臺灣史料研究》（臺北）14（1999 年 12 月），頁 119-146。但前述鮑曉鷗（José Eugenio Borao Mateo）等人所編史料有多處誤抄及缺漏，尤其是書中頁 360 及頁 366 關於 1641 年及 1642 年的貨品缺漏及誤抄最多，中譯亦缺。筆者這些年來赴西班牙 AGI 檔案館曾調閱原稿 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 29r-49r，附表三為筆者按原件重新所做的傳抄與翻譯。

⁹⁷ 原文 Ylocos 也寫成 Ilocos，位於呂宋西北的一省分。

⁹⁸ tuba 源自達加洛語（tagalo）tubû，指的是棕櫚科的汁液，或椰子汁。參見 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Instituto Histórico Nacional, 1991), p. 264; Frank Ringgold Blake, *A Grammar of the Tagalog Language: The Chief Native Idiom of the Philippine Islands* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1925), p. 307. 在 Iloco 語（伊洛科斯語），指棕櫚酒及馬尼拉麻果實所做成的酒。參見 Fr. Andrés Carro, *Vocabulario Iloco-Español: Trabajado por Varios Religiosos del Orden de N.P.S. Agustin* (Manila: Establecimiento Tipo-Litográfico de M. Perez, Hijo, 1888), p. 283. 在 1621 年 Hernando de los Ríos Coronel 寫給西班牙國王的報告書中，曾提到菲島有一種棕櫚科的椰子樹，菲律

糖、乳酪、醃漬品、菲律賓紅花 (cachumba)、⁹⁹ 肥皂、伊洛科斯布、繩索、gamut¹⁰⁰ 纜繩，還有用來裝菜豆 (frijoles)、洋蔥及煙草的 Candaua¹⁰¹ 袋子。

(二)來自中國：有少數的紙、墨、鐵，以及做帽子襯裏的塔夫綢 (tafetán)。

(三)來自葡屬澳門：火繩槍、鳥銃、小鐵塊。

(四)來自新西班牙：墨西哥毯 (fraçada mexicana)、墨西哥銀幣。

(五)遠從西班牙轉運而來：主要有酒、醋、油、紙、寫字用的卡斯提亞羽毛筆 (cañones de Castilla para escribir)、¹⁰² 哥多華 (Cordoba) 木屐、哥多華鞋、哥多華皮夾克和腰帶、杏仁、葡萄乾、鋼 (acero, 指硬鐵)，以及醫藥用的卡斯提亞樹脂 (pes de Castilla) 和油脂 (seba)，還有製作簿子的紙。另有少數的呢絨、粗布 (jergueta)、醃漬品也來自西班牙。

上述物品中的酒、油、醋、糖、醃漬品，含醃豬肉及醃牛肉，主要是以中國甕 (tinaja)、中國瓶 (tibor) 或巴石 (Pasi)¹⁰³ 甕裝，杏仁、葡萄乾、菱形糕點 (marquesotes)、火藥和墨則以中國甕、中國瓶或長瓶 (tuitui)¹⁰⁴ 裝。肥皂以巴石甕裝。前述裝盛杏仁、葡萄乾、豬油、醃漬品、糖、墨、酒、醋、火藥的中國瓶應是安平壺，¹⁰⁵ 民間稱國姓瓶。

賓人將其做成酒及醋，稱之 tuba。參見 E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, Vol. 19*, pp. 283-284.

⁹⁹ cachumba 源自達加洛語 Kasubhã，菲律賓很多，可替代番紅花；在 Pampanga 語也稱此植物可替代番紅花且用於染坊。參見 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 275; Fr. Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), p. 70. cachumba 即菲律賓的紅花。

¹⁰⁰ gamut 在 Pampanga 語中是指草 (yerba)。參見 Fr. Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance*, p. 108. 但 Gamut 也是一地名，是位於 Cayagán 的一小村。參見 Francisco Xavier Baranera, *Handbook of the Philippine Islands, Translated from the Compendio de Geografía of P. Francisco X. Baranera, S. J. with an Historical Sketch by Alexander Laist* (Manila: William Partier, 1899), p. 68.

¹⁰¹ Candaua 即 Candaba，位於 Pampanga 省。參見 E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, Vol. 23*, pp. 226, 263, 288.

¹⁰² 複數 cañones，單數 cañón，指用來寫字的鳥禽類羽毛。參見 Real Academia de Española, ed., *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, Tomo I*, p. 395. 即當時閩南人所稱的「化人筆 (con pluma de español)」。參見 Melchior de Mançano, *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu*, p. 15.

¹⁰³ Pasi 位於靠近馬尼拉的一村落。

¹⁰⁴ tuitui 在 Pampanga 語是指長瓶。參見 Fr. Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance*, p. 262.

¹⁰⁵ 安平壺的功能，學者看法不一，有裝盛火藥說，有裝盛鹽或藥油之說，亦有裝盛液體貿易物質如油類、香料、蜂蜜、醬類、酒等看法。學者們多半同意安平壺具有二次用途改變或回收再利用的現象。參見盧泰康，〈十七世紀臺灣外來陶瓷研究：透過陶瓷探索明末清初的臺灣〉（臺南：國立成功大學

事實上，除了武器以外，我們從 1636 年起的一系列西班牙帳簿內容（附表四）可以得知，多數運往北臺灣的物品是向馬尼拉當地華人購買的，包含食品類、日常用品、醫藥品及整修船隻材料。上述各項物品各年的單價可見附表四，其中有些物品，像豬肉、酒、菲律賓紅花、魚乾的價格逐年下跌，舉例來說：豬肉從 1636 年的 2 磅 2 盎司值 1 里耳，隔年降到 2 磅 7 盎司 1 里耳，1639 年下降為 2 磅 13 盎司 1 里耳，到了 1641 年則跌到 3 磅 1 里耳，而豬肉價格的不斷下滑是否涉及豬隻的大量繁殖，造成供過於求，還有待史料證實。至於皮夾克、鞋子、肩帶及腰帶的價格則逐年上漲，從前面所提及的運往北臺灣物品來源地來看，可知皮件原料主要遠從西班牙轉運而來，這物料的運輸航程遠、時間長，加上從墨西哥阿卡普魯可（Acapulco）到馬尼拉的大帆船有時因延期、載貨有限、沉沒或遇上荷蘭船的攻擊等因素，導致原物料成本上漲。而糖和胡椒的價格時高時低並不穩定，只有豬油和蝦乾的價格維持一樣。

若對照附表三與附表四，我們可以發現 1636 年西班牙政府向華人購買的豬油、糕點（viscocho）、魚乾、蝦乾、活母雞、瀝青、木竿、木材並不在該年運往北臺灣的物品清單中，其他物品如豬肉、酒、菱形糕餅、糖、煙草、瀝青皆可見於清單中。而 1637 年 8 月除了向華人購買的魚乾、蝦乾、活母雞不在那時運往北臺灣的清單中，其他物品皆列入，且洋蔥、肉桂、胡椒、菲律賓紅花、餐具、陶鍋購買與運往的數量一樣。到了 1638 年，西班牙政府向華人購買的物品項目變少，只有豬肉、豬油、帽子、木材，其中木材不在運往北臺灣的清單中。1639 年除了釘子、糕點不在運送清單表，其他物品因無說明細目，無法知曉是否在清單中。1641 年 5 月除了向華人購買的藤（bejuco）、魚乾、大壺（carahayes grandes）、活豬不在運往北臺灣的清單中，糖、陶鍋、醋、豬肉皆列入，而且胡椒、菲律賓紅花、肥皂購買與運往的數量一樣。1641 年 9 月至 11 月間，西班牙政府也曾向華人購買物品，某些物品應該等到隔年 3 月後才送往北臺灣。

從附表四可見華人零售商有兩種人：一是受洗的教徒，有豬肉商 Don Alonso Achon、糕點商 Francisco Chico、華人長官（governador de los sangleyes）Martín

Bengu、¹⁰⁶ 豬肉商 Don Alonso Guachon、鞋匠 Alonso Hincó、鞋匠 Lorenzo Hincó、潤內華人長官 Domingo Chunquív；另一是沒受洗的異教徒，有 Yontin、豬肉商 Tiongui、豬肉商 Tianco、帽商 Limco、木匠頭人 Grisay Grande、鐵匠頭人 Tiongri、糕點商 Guinsay Grande、七哥 (Chico)、牛肉和豬肉供應商 Texen、鑄劍師頭人六哥 (Laco)、鞋匠頭人 Sianco。與前述華人有一次以上交易的有潤內華人長官 Martín Bengu 和 Domingo Chunquív，以及豬肉商 Tianco。其中又以向前後任潤內華人長官 Martín Bengu 和 Domingo Chunquív，以及 Chico 所購買的物品最多樣，且以食品類為多。至於鞋匠頭人 Sianco 原應得 1,458 比索 3 多幣，但因交貨時沒預期的好而被迫降價為 1,008 比索 3 多幣。¹⁰⁷ 我們從附表四華人的身分和所賣的價格來看，菲律賓的西班牙政府採購對象並無宗教因素，華人是否是教徒不是重點，重要的是誰能掌握貨源，很明顯地，潤內華人長官、某些行業的華人頭人和供應商才是貨品的主要提供者。

菲島的西班牙政府除了向上述華人購買物品運往北臺灣以外，其中有些物品存放馬尼拉皇家倉庫供當地使用，有些物品另運往東亞其他要塞，如三寶顏 (Zambanga)、卡加揚、德蕾那第 (Terrenate/Therrenate)、霍洛 (Jolo) 及卡拉棉 (Calamianes)，¹⁰⁸ 有些物品則遠渡新西班牙和母國卡斯提亞 (指西班牙)。(見附表四) 其次，除了向華人購買物品運到北臺灣之外，從附表四可見 1637 年運往北臺灣的醃製牛肉也有部分是向菲律賓原住民購買。在附表五筆者所整理的西班牙帳簿也可以知道當時西班牙官方還曾付錢給西班牙官員、船員、士兵、寡婦、神父，委託他們醃製牛肉，以便運往北臺灣。其中有兩則比較特別：一是 1638 年 8 月 5 日付 804 比索 3 多幣給馬尼拉城寡婦 Doña Magdalena Ruíz de Gaona，她在其牧場將 195 隻牛交給 Marcos de Soto 船員和 Alvaro de Acuña 船員來屠宰及醃製成 250 甕；¹⁰⁹ 另一是 1641 年 5 月 14 日付 362 比索 4 多幣 11 格拉諾給菲島耶穌會總代理人 Magimo Sola 神父，由船員 Juan de Yturriça 經手，在聖彼得 (San

¹⁰⁶ 從其他史料可知 Martín Bengu 是潤內華人長官，也是教徒。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 766r, 769v.

¹⁰⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 322v-323r.

¹⁰⁸ Zambanga 和 Jolo 皆位於菲律賓西南；Terrenate 即 Terenate，屬於摩鹿加群島，位於帝汶島北方的一小島；Calamianes 位於菲律賓明多洛 (Mindoro) 島與巴拉望 (Paragua) 島之間的一小群島。

¹⁰⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fol. 1106v.

Pedro) 牧場由神父們屠宰 42 頭牛分裝 50 個中國甕，運往福爾摩沙島。¹¹⁰ 另西班牙政府也曾在 1628 及 1629 年派人拿錢到伊洛科斯省，命令當地官員 Alonso Díaz 購買巴布耶斯豬 (babuyes)，¹¹¹ 以及 100 個鹹豬肉甕、50 隻有孕的母豬和 2 隻公豬運到福爾摩沙島。¹¹² 還有兩度向糖漬師傅 Juan de Quadros Arellano 買醃漬品，¹¹³ 並委託 Mariveles 島地方官 Luis de Borja 購買藤條，以及委託經辦員 Ynigo de Villarreal 和少尉 Pedro Polosofia 買乳酪，¹¹⁴ 只是不知最後兩人是否是向華人購貨，以運往北臺灣。(見附表五) 不過，對照附表四與附表五，很明顯地，多數運往北臺灣和其他要塞的物資是向馬尼拉當地華人所購買的。

四、從臺灣前往馬尼拉的華商

(一) 西班牙佔領北臺灣期間

西班牙佔領北臺灣後的 1628 年起，開始有西班牙船載運在北臺灣購買的絲綢回到馬尼拉。¹¹⁵ 1630 年起也有華人舢舨從福爾摩沙島前往馬尼拉貿易，這年

¹¹⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 309r-309v.

¹¹¹ 按 1582 年西班牙人 Miguel de Loarca 寫的 *Relación de las Yslas Filipinas*，可知此詞彙應與 Babuyanes 有關：「位於卡加揚河對面的 7 個島嶼稱“Babuyanes”，這些島嶼處在朝向中國的海洋，因為有很多豬運到伊洛科斯省，所以伊洛科斯的原住民稱這些豬為“巴布耶斯 (babuyes)”」。參見 E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, Vol. 5*, p. 112.

¹¹² 方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 135、157。在西班牙人還未到菲島以前，菲律賓原住民早已有養豬。參見陳鴻瑜編著，《菲律賓史：東西文明交會的島國》(臺北：三民書局股份有限公司，2003)，頁 7。文中所述有孕的母豬和公豬應是運往北臺灣繁殖之用，但西班牙殖民北臺灣時期的農業發展情形究竟如何？按 1632 年 Jacinto Esquivel 神父的報告，淡水一帶的原住民不懂畜養家畜，在稻米結實到可以收割前的這段期間，他們必須日夜守護以免被豬偷吃。參見 José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 170; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》，頁 44。從 1639 年 8 月 13 日及 1645 年 7 月 15 日的《熱蘭遮城日誌》可知當時中國人在今臺南地區飼養豬。參見江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第一冊 (1629-1641)》(臺南：臺南市政府，1999)，頁 447; 江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第二冊 (1641-1648)》，頁 434。但不知在北臺灣的華人是否也養豬？所以這些運到北臺灣的活母豬、公豬究竟是誰在畜養，是北臺灣原住民或派駐北臺灣的菲律賓原住民或華人？至今仍欠缺史料來說明。

¹¹³ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 779r-779v; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 373v.

¹¹⁴ AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 777r, 868r, 1134r. Mariveles 位於呂宋島，面對 Corregidor 島，背對著馬尼拉灣，在緯度 14.5 N, 120.5 E 之處。它在當時是一重要停泊港，許多船隻在抵達馬尼拉港或機易港之前，會先停靠此地。

¹¹⁵ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, pp. 126, 135-136; 方真真主譯，

來自福爾摩沙島載貨到馬尼拉的舢舨主人一哥 (Hincob),¹¹⁶ 於 12 月 11 日繳了 352 比索 1 多幣 1 格納諾的 6% 商品稅。¹¹⁷ 此人與隔年 (1631) 12 月從福爾摩沙島運貨到馬尼拉的一哥 (Hinco) 船長似乎是同一人, 他在 1632 年 4 月 26 日繳了 377 比索 7 多幣 4 格納諾的 6% 商品稅。¹¹⁸ 1631 年也有 Chintog/Chinto 船主和 Chinton 船長從福爾摩沙島運來貨品, 這兩個人似乎不是同一人, Chintog/Chinto 船主於 1631 年 2 月 26 日繳了 280 比索 6 多幣 11 格納諾的 6% 商品稅,¹¹⁹ Chinton 船長則在 1631 年 4 月 28 日繳了 365 比索 7 多幣 4 格納諾的 6% 商品稅。¹²⁰ 同年底, Chinton 船長 (可能與前述是同一人) 又從福爾摩沙島運來價值 1,917 比索 2 多幣的貨品, 這批貨是屬於華人教徒 Juan Gouco (五哥) 所有, 因被中國船隻守衛長 Domingo Pérez 檢舉沒申報, 因此 Juan Gouco 被判罰商品稅 6% 的雙倍, 亦即 12%, 他於 11 月 18 日繳了 230 比索 6 格納諾的稅款。¹²¹ Chinton 船長應該是 Juan Gouco 的貿易伙伴。

之後 1632 至 1634 年間並無華商從福爾摩沙島赴馬尼拉貿易的消息, 直到 1635 年 3 月 9 日華人 Quinhuan 的舢舨從福爾摩沙島運來貨品, 並由華人 Martín de Aduna y Gotiones 船長於 1635 年 3 月 16 日繳交 34 比索 3 多幣 4 格納諾的 6% 商品稅。¹²² 同年 3 月 27 日 Hengu Sanco 船長載貨從福爾摩沙島來到馬尼拉城, 此船已登記簽名的有二, 一是 90 疋黑布, 每疋 12 瓦拉 (baras),¹²³ 另一是 85 疋, 全部估價為每疋 10 里耳, 總共 218 比索 6 多幣, 第一個簽名沒錯, 有 112 比索 6 多幣, 第二個簽名出現錯誤, 於 1636 年 3 月 2 日取出結算額, 並於 4 月 5

《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 685。

¹¹⁶ 按閩南語讀音, Hincob 與 Hinco 應是一哥。

¹¹⁷ 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 185。

¹¹⁸ 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 300。

¹¹⁹ 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 239。

¹²⁰ 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 240。

¹²¹ 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 242。

¹²² AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 150v-151r.

¹²³ 複數 baras 即 varas, 1 vara 約等於 835.9 mm。參見 Real Academia de Española, ed., *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, Tomo II* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1992), p. 2061. 或謂 1 vara 長約 33 英吋上下。參見 E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, Vol. 3*, p. 100. vara 通常譯作「碼」, 但 vara 在西班牙不同地區及其殖民地的差別很大。參見 C. R. Boxer, ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century: Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, FR. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., FR. Martin de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), p. 253.

日繳交 6 比索 3 多幣，此乃 106 比索 2 多幣的商品稅。¹²⁴ 依其估價總額，Hengu Sanco 船長總共應繳納 13 比索 1 多幣。

華商斷斷續續從福爾摩沙島赴馬尼拉貿易，接著僅有 Chinuy、Alonso Bentiong 及 Samnu 載貨到馬尼拉。華人船長 Chinuy 於 1638 年 12 月從福爾摩沙島抵達，他在隔年 1 月 19 日繳了 28 比索 1 多幣 3 格納諾，此為 14% 的商品稅。¹²⁵ Alonso Bentiong 也是於 1638 年從福爾摩沙島抵達的一艘舢舨的華人船主，從其名字可知是受洗的教徒，他於 1639 年 1 月 29 日繳交 51 比索，其中 36 比索是此舢舨所登記貨品 6% 的商品稅，15 比索的餘額是 500 担 (picos)¹²⁶ 蘇木棍子 (palo çibucao)，估價為 1 担 1 比索，是此舢舨所登記 3% 商品稅。¹²⁷ Samnu 則是 1641 年來自福爾摩沙島一艘舢舨的華人船長，他於同年 11 月 20 日繳交 95 比索 3 多幣 6 格納諾的 6% 商品稅。¹²⁸

一般而言，華人只須繳納 6% 的商品稅，不像西班牙船入關後還得另繳 8% 的運費，亦即總共 14% 的稅款。此乃因西班牙船並非貨主所有，而是屬於皇室，若船隻破損，其修補的費用全由馬尼拉官方來支付，但從雞籠運回馬尼拉的中國商品則由馬尼拉的西班牙人出資購買，稅款由他們繳納。因此，前述 Chinuy 可能受僱於馬尼拉的西班牙政府，此船應屬於皇室，才會繳納 14% 的商品稅，亦即 6% 的商品稅加上 8% 的運費。比較奇怪的是，Alonso Bentiong 所載運的蘇木僅繳納 3% 的商品稅，而 3% 的商品稅是從 1581 年開始實施，¹²⁹ 但 1606 年 11 月起已提高為 6%。¹³⁰ 從 1632 年 Jacinto Esquivel 神父的報告，可知當時有華商曾將蘇木從菲島直接運到北臺灣販售給其他華商，以非法規避在中國的賦稅，那時蘇木 1 担 (pico) 可賣到 4 兩 (tae)¹³¹ 的價格。¹³² 相較於前述蘇木在馬尼拉的估價，運至

¹²⁴ AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fol. 588v; AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fol. 125r.

¹²⁵ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 71v.

¹²⁶ picos 即 *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu* 雙語辭典中出現的閩南語漢字「担」。參見 Melchior de Mançano, *Arte de la Lengua Chiō-chiu*, p. 28. 1 担 (pico) 約 100 斤 (cates)。

¹²⁷ AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 71v.

¹²⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fol. 15r.

¹²⁹ 陳荊和,《十六世紀之菲律賓華僑》(香港:新亞研究所東南亞研究室,1963),頁 57。

¹³⁰ 吳玉英,〈西班牙統治菲律賓時期的中、菲貿易〉(香港:新亞研究所史學組博士論文,1992),頁 27。

¹³¹ 1 兩等於 10 錢,約等於 10 里耳,故 4 兩約等於 5 比索。

¹³² 李毓中主編、譯註,《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 III》,頁 28-29、57-58。

北臺灣再銷往中國的蘇木獲利極高，Jacinto Esquivel 神父因而鼓吹西班牙人自己經營，所以 Alonso Bentiong 運蘇木到馬尼拉除了減稅，似乎看不出有何好處。¹³³

實際上，西班牙殖民北臺灣期間從北臺灣前往馬尼拉貿易的華商並不多，約有 9 位，而且僅侷限於 1630、1631、1635、1638 及 1641 年。從附表六華商所繳的商品稅，可知 1630 和 1631 年運至馬尼拉的貨品較多，之後輸入數量遽減。

(二) 西班牙人退出北臺灣以後

荷蘭人在海外與西班牙人處於敵對狀態，1624 年荷蘭人佔領南臺灣大員以後，常攔截往返馬尼拉的中國商船，即便西班牙人殖民北臺灣期間，仍無法避免荷蘭人對往返馬尼拉中國船隻的攻擊。¹³⁴ 華人在出航前，會使用划檣的小船來探查是否有荷蘭船在該處等著他們，若有荷蘭人的船隻，華人就會取消出航留在港口，或是選擇出海，但可輕易避開航進福爾摩沙島的視野之內。不過當荷蘭人守在或伺機埋伏菲律賓海岸等待中國船隻時，可就不是這麼容易逃脫了。¹³⁵ 到了 1648 年，西荷雙方在 Munster 簽訂和平條約，條約中第 5 條規定西班牙人不得將其貿易擴張至東印度，荷蘭人得避免去東印度西班牙之地，然實際上荷蘭人試圖與馬尼拉建立貿易關係，於是荷西之間的貿易關係從敵對轉為有默契私下透過第三國人的合作。¹³⁶ 由於荷蘭人不能到馬尼拉貿易，在 1662 年鄭成功將荷蘭人逐出臺灣以前，從大員到馬尼拉貿易只見華人船隻。1656 年 7 月 9 日來到大員的中國人 Teja，帶來了國姓爺書記官的告示文，內容是關於國姓爺要禁止在大員的通

¹³³ 按《東西洋考》：「呂宋、貓里務、蘇祿、沙瑤和吶哩啤皆出產蘇木」，參見張燮，《東西洋考》（臺北：臺灣商務印書館，1971），頁 57-65。可見蘇木主要產地在菲島；另廣東瓊州府亦產蘇木。1662 年 3 月 18 日，一艘將前往廣東王國名為聖尼可拉斯（San Nicolás）號的貨船，Juan Gonçáles de Escouar 船長申報說船上只有一些牛皮、鹿肉、少許稱為蘇木（cibucáo）的棍子及旅途中的必需品，參見方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易（1657-1687）：史料分析與譯註（第一冊）》，頁 152、174。由此可見廣東有菲島蘇木輸入。Alonso Bentiong 所載運的蘇木可能源自廣東或菲島，再由閩南商人帶往北臺灣，之後他運往菲島。

¹³⁴ 江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第一冊（1629-1641）》，頁 47、57、107、208；江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第二冊（1641-1648）》，頁 151、159、257、258、283、304、351、424、432、624。

¹³⁵ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, et al., *Spaniards in Taiwan, Vol. I: 1582-1641*, p. 106; 李毓中主編、譯註，《臺灣與西班牙關係史料彙編 II》，頁 183-184、193-194。

¹³⁶ Ruurdje Laarhoven and Elizabeth Pino Wittermans, "From Blockade to Trade: Early Dutch Relations with Manila, 1600-1750," *Philippine Studies* (Manila) 33: 4 (Fourth Quarter 1985), pp. 496-504.

商等事。此份 1656 年 6 月 27 日要給大員中國人頭家和商人所看的告示文，文中提到國姓爺知道最近有戎克船從大員去馬尼拉交易。¹³⁷ 只是，在西班牙帳簿並無 1656 年 6 月左右從大員前往馬尼拉的船隻紀錄。1642 年西班牙人退出北臺灣以後，少見華商往返臺灣與馬尼拉貿易，在西班牙帳簿僅見 3 人：一是 1652 年來自大員（Tayguan）的華人異教徒 Chapsaqua；二是也來自大員的華人異教徒 Quianco；另一是前往大員的華人異教徒 Yocsay。

Chapsaqua 帶貨抵達馬尼拉灣後，依照 6% 的商品稅，在 1652 年 9 月 25 日繳納了 27 比索 4 多幣 9 格拉諾。¹³⁸ 但因 Chapsaqua 上呈政府的請願書中被發現有不實案情，而被菲島統治者罰款 50 比索的一半，請願書中他提及此船迷航而沒登記且小麥被燒毀之事並非屬實，事實上是其他來自中國的華人的小麥被燒毀，所以他在 1653 年 1 月 28 日繳了 25 比索的罰款。¹³⁹ 至於 Quianco 何時從大員出航，帳簿並無交代，只知他在 1652 年來自柬埔寨王國，其船將返回該王國，他也是位特使，但機易港西班牙人 Lorenço de Orella Vgalde 檢察長檢查停在港口的船時，發現 Quianco 和藏匿在船上無政府許可證的 16 名城澗內華人。因菲島統治者仁慈而原諒他們，故不受體罰，但於 1653 年 3 月 8 日判決這 17 位華人每人得繳交罰款，共 100 比索，其中一半的罰款，即 50 比索則由 Quianco 於同年 3 月 10 日繳交存入王室金庫。¹⁴⁰ Quianco 似乎在大員、柬埔寨及馬尼拉這三地有其貿易版圖。第三位 Yocsay 在 1656 年 8 月 18 日繳交 10 比索的許可證費用，此乃讓他搭乘其舢舨前往大員購買小麥來補給此城的許可證。¹⁴¹

五、結論

西班牙人還未到菲島以前，已有少數華人前往。隨著 1565 年返回美洲航線的發現，以及 1571 年西班牙人征服馬尼拉，帶動了亞洲與美洲的商業活動及貨

¹³⁷ 江樹生譯註，《熱蘭遮城日誌：第四冊（1655-1662）》（臺南：臺南市政府，2011），頁 96-97。

¹³⁸ AGI, Contaduría, 1231, fols. 129v-130r.

¹³⁹ AGI, Contaduría, 1231, fol. 305v.

¹⁴⁰ AGI, Contaduría, 1231, fols. 306r-306v.

¹⁴¹ AGI, Contaduría, 1232, fol. 50r.

物的交流，將美洲白銀運往馬尼拉，吸引大量華人前往貿易與定居。由於華人在馬尼拉人數遽增，菲律賓的西班牙政府開始對華人實施限制及增加稅收，並將沒有改信天主教的華人集中於馬尼拉城外的澗內。華人在澗內開設各種商舖，如成衣舖、糖果舖、藥舖、飲食店、麵包店、裝訂廠等，並從事不同職業，如修鞋匠、麵包商、木匠、蠟燭匠、油漆匠、銀匠、醫生及藥劑師等。在澗內外圍面向海岸及河岸一帶住有華人漁夫、園丁、農夫、獵人、織匠、磚匠、燒石灰匠、木匠及鐵匠等。華人販賣各式各樣的食物和民生用品，普通一個華工可在一年中完成一間房屋，菲島許多家屋、教堂、隱修院、病院及堡壘的迅速建立就是仰賴他們，其工資如非承包，常為 1 里耳。¹⁴² 另也有華人在澗內開菸飯店舖。¹⁴³ 西班牙殖民菲律賓後也開始雇用華人船員為西班牙船隻服務，華人船員甚至從馬尼拉遠渡到墨西哥阿卡普魯可，雖然他們每個月只賺取 4 比索的薪資，但可攜貨到阿卡普魯可販售；有的華人之後抵達西班牙的塞維亞港。¹⁴⁴ 前述不同行業的華人在西班牙殖民北臺灣期間也扮演重要角色。

1626 年 5 月前往佔領北臺灣的西班牙船隊中，也有華人船員和華工隨行。在佔領雞籠初期，為了建造聖薩爾瓦多堡壘和其他要塞，西班牙官方從馬尼拉派遣許多華人石匠、磚瓦工、鋸工及木匠前往，其工資每日多可領 1.5 里耳，多數華工待到 1629 年，這年聖薩爾瓦多堡壘已建造成一石造方形堡。華人船員因擅長駕駛中式帆船，1626 至 1642 年間赴北臺灣的華人領航員和船員多服役於舢舨。這些前往北臺灣的華人船員、石匠、磚瓦工、鋸工及木匠除了領有薪資，每月也配給一份米。其中又以華人船員的薪資較微薄，不知他們是否如遠渡太平洋的華人船員可攜貨販售，來增加收入。除了華人船員和華工前往北臺灣為西班牙工作以外，為了與北臺灣的閩南商人溝通，馬尼拉西班牙官方也派漢語通事前往北臺灣，帳簿所記載的漢語通事有 3 人，即 Pablo Pacheco、Francisco Hernández 及 Alonso Pacheco，除了 Alonso Pacheco 是身兼士兵、商人、海員及漢語通事之職務且無法確認是否是華人之外，前兩位都是全職的混血華人通事。從其他史料得

¹⁴² 陳荊和，《十六世紀之菲律賓華僑》，頁 78-82。

¹⁴³ 方真真著、主譯，《華人與呂宋貿易 (1657-1687): 史料分析與譯註 (第一冊)》，頁 137、172。

¹⁴⁴ Juan Gil, *La India y el Lejano Oriente en la Sevilla del Siglo de Oro* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Instituto de la Cultura y la Artes de Sevilla, 2011), pp. 250-296.

知混血華人通事 Matheo de Vera y Pedro 也曾在北臺灣服務。華人通事的薪水看似優渥，但扣除龐大樂捐數目加上長期積欠而所剩無幾，後來改由駐守當地通漢語的士兵兼任。此外，由於運往北臺灣的物資常有短缺，西班牙官方也曾付錢或以減稅方式派遣 3 位華商用其舢舨載米或必需品前往援助，但真正達成任務的只有 Rufu 及其叔父。前述派往北臺灣的華人，除了混血華人通事是教徒以外，僅見一位名叫 Joan Chinbu 的華人石匠頭人是教徒，其他華人船員、華工及華商皆為異教徒。

菲島的西班牙政府不僅在北臺灣的征服與基礎建設仰賴華人，在經濟生活上也非常仰賴華人，許多運往北臺灣的食品、日常用品是向馬尼拉當地華人購買，尤其是潤內華人長官、某些行業的華人頭人及供應商是貨品重要的提供者。其次，也有部分醃製牛肉是向菲律賓原住民購買，或付錢給西班牙官員、船員、士兵、寡婦、神父，委託他們醃製牛肉，以便運往北臺灣。不過，多數運往北臺灣和東亞其他要塞的物資是向馬尼拉當地華人所購買的，甚至由馬尼拉大帆船運往墨西哥及遠達西班牙的貨品也是向這些華人採購。

以往我們只知西班牙殖民北臺灣期間雞籠到馬尼拉航線是馬尼拉補給船載貨返回，卻不知也有華商從事此條航線貿易。1630年起，約有9位華商從北臺灣前往馬尼拉貿易，但時間斷斷續續，整體而言，貿易量非常有限，以1630和1631年運至馬尼拉的貨品較多。到了1642年西班牙人退出北臺灣以後，更少見華商往返臺灣與馬尼拉貿易，其貿易路線從雞籠轉到南臺灣大員，在西班牙帳簿僅見1650年代有Chapsaqua、Quianco及Yocsay三位華商，其中Yocsay受西班牙政府委託購買小麥，而Quianco不僅是商人，也是特使，在大員、柬埔寨及馬尼拉三地做生意。

往返臺灣與馬尼拉的華人除了這批帳簿所記錄的華人船員、華工、華商、混血華人通事以外，應有華人醫生隨道明會會士前往北臺灣。根據當時雞籠諸聖（Todos los Santos）修道院 Francisco Mola 修士所記載：Mateo de Cobisa 死於正在建造的修道院教堂，他死前曾告訴一位神職人員自己將是第一個在此教堂辦喪禮的死者。1630年12月10日病歿前夕，Francisco Mola 修士和 Angel de S. Antonio 修士幫他舉行臨終聖餐（*estrema vnction*）。臨終聖餐一結束，一名曾多次替他看病的中國醫生（Chino medico）進入看他，給他把脈，沒跟他說什麼，但告訴我們（指 Francisco Mola 修士和 Angel de S. Antonio 修士）他將於那日下午或隔日

上午去世。¹⁴⁵ 按菲島主教 Domingo de Salazar 於 1590 年 6 月 24 日所載：約在一年前（指 1589 年）有一位華人醫生改信，此人是中醫師，後獻身服務於道明會在馬尼拉澗內所設病院，以愛和慈善醫治病人，開藥方給病人，令他的名聲在中國更廣泛傳播。¹⁴⁶ Juan Gil 認為此人可能是 Aduarte 所提及一位名叫 Bartolomé Tamban 的受洗中國教徒，平日幫忙修士處理教義相關事務。¹⁴⁷ Aduarte 提到去年（指 1587 年）Bartolomé Tamban 抵達馬尼拉的第一件事就是詢問這間澗內病院，他在中國聽聞此病院的神父們如何醫治病患，與神父們在那多年，在病院服務 18 年並已結婚，且於 1612 年過世。¹⁴⁸ 從上述文件難以確認 Domingo de Salazar 所提的中醫師是否就是 Bartolomé Tamban，若此中醫師與 Bartolomé Tamban 不是同一人，而是醫治 Mateo de Cobisa 的中醫師，那他在 Mateo de Cobisa 臨終時可能有 60 歲以上。不過，從前述可以理解隨著西班牙佔領北臺灣，道明會在北臺灣也設有醫院，為 Mateo de Cobisa 看病的華人中醫師原應是服務於馬尼拉澗內專收華人病院的受洗教徒，後隨道明會神父前往雞籠服務。

¹⁴⁵ “De la vida y muerte del Padre Fray Matheo de Cobissa,” in Fr. Diego Aduarte, *Relación de varias cosas y casos que han sucedido en los Reynos de Iapon, que se han sabido en estas Islas Philippinas por cartas de los Padres de S. Domingo que están allá; acerca de la persecución contra la Christiandad que ha muchos años començo en ellos, y con el tiempo va a más. Y es desde el fin del año pasado de 1628 hasta el de 30. Va acompañada con otra de la vida, y muerte del Religioso P. F. Matheo de Cobissa, que murió en Isla Hermosa. Amabas sacadas de papeles muy ciertos de ambas partes por el P. Fr. Diego Aduarte de la Provincia del S. Rosario de las dichas Islas* (En Manila en el Colegio de Sancto Thomas por Iacinto Magarulau, 1631), f. 23r. 前述關於 Mateo de Cobisa 的生活與死亡紀錄共有 4 篇文件，是附在 Diego Aduarte 所編的一本在日本傳教的報告小書，此本小書是筆者於 2020 年 1 月在 Ávila 道明會檔案館 (APSR) 所尋得。其中有兩篇是由雞籠諸聖修道院 Francisco Mola 修士和 Angel de S. Antonio 修士於 1630 年 12 月 11 日所合寫；一篇是由 Angel de S. Antonio 修士於 1630 年 12 月 20 日所寫；最後一篇則由 Francisco Mola 修士所寫，但無署明日期，應在前面文件的日期之後。這份紀錄最後說明這本小古籍來自上述原件，並由 Diego Aduarte 於 1631 年 6 月 24 日在馬尼拉簽名。Mateo de Cobisa 是西班牙中部 Talavera de La Reina 人，曾擔任當地 S. Gines 修道院見習修士的老師，於 1629 年 8 月被派往北臺灣，於 9 月 3 日抵達福爾摩沙島，曾預見 Bartolomé Martínez 溺斃，於 1630 年 12 月 10 日死前接受 Francisco Mola 修士和 Angel de S. Antonio 修士的臨終聖事。參見“De la vida y muerte del Padre Fray Matheo de Cobissa,” ff. 15v-24v. 在 Aduarte 於 1627 年 6 月 2 日所寫一份前往菲律賓的神職人員名單中，介紹 Mateo Cobissa 是 Burgo 的 San Pablo 及 Talavera 修道院兩地見習修士的老師，也是 Talavera 人。參見 AGI, Filipinas, 80, N. 125. 從這 4 篇文件可以知道 Mateo de Cobisa 葬在雞籠（今基隆和平島）的諸聖教堂，此地也是近年來西班牙考古團隊挖掘到數具遺骸之處。

¹⁴⁶ E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803, Vol. 7*, p. 237.

¹⁴⁷ Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila (Siglos XVI y XVII)* (Lisboa: CCCM, I.P., 2011), p. 183.

¹⁴⁸ Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Iapon y China, de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores, Tomo I* (Zaragoza: D. Gascon, 1693), pp. 98-99.

附表一 搭乘船隻前往北臺灣的華人船員

陛下舢舨船長	船員姓名及數量	前往北臺時間/ 在北臺服務時間	月薪/次數	備註
Andrés de Carauajal	華人異教徒 Onço 領航員	1626/5/15-1626/10/24， 共 163 日=5 月 10 天	3p 4t	超時工作 260p 6t (189p 預支+71p 6t 返回支付)
	13 名華人船員		2p 4t	
Juan de Esquivel	華人異教徒 Cuytay 領航員	1627/3/25-1628/3/29， 共 12 月 5 日 (Cuytay+7 位船員)	3p 4t	Cuytay+7 位船員 (共 255p 2t 8g，含 Cuytay 的 63p 5t 11g)
	13 名華人船員		2p 4t	
Rodrigo González & Francisco Ferreira	華人領航員 Sanco	1629 前往		347p 4t (50p 給 Rodrigo González 和 Francisco Ferreira，每人 25p)
	華人領航員 Chico			
	21 名華人船員			
	華人&西班牙船員	1636 前往		
Alonso Rendon (25p 薪水)	華人 Chajon	1637/3 以後前往		66p
	8 位華人籍同伴			
	2 位原住民見習水手			
Antonio Rodríguez Valenciano	華人領航員 Bueco	1639 前往		分 3 次付， 共給 144p 4t 薪水
	13 位華人船員			
	2 位見習水手			
Manuel González de Palma	華人領航員 Liangon	1639 前往		分 3 次付， 共給 178p 4t 薪水
	16 位華人船員			
	3 位見習水手			
Pelipe de Santiago (37p 4t 薪水)	Diego Martín Pareja 船員	1641 前往		37p 4t 薪水
	Francisco Martín de Tauera 船員			37p 4t 薪水
	領航員 Chaico			每次 4p
	17 名華人船員			每次 3p
	2 名原住民見習水手			每次 20r

備註：表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso)，t 指的是多幣 (tomín)，r 指的是里耳 (real)，g 指的是格拉諾 (grano)。

1 比索=8 里耳=8 多幣，1 多幣=12 格拉諾。

資料來源：方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 21-25、93-98、122、161-162；AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fol. 496v; AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 411v-412r, 749r-749v; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 392r-392v; AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 294v-295r, 331r, 408r-408v.

附表二 西班牙殖民北臺灣期間前往北臺灣的華工

姓名/數量	職業	月薪/日薪	配給	前往北臺時間/在北臺要塞服務時間	總共薪資/預支薪資
華人異教徒 Yaguan	木匠	月薪 5p 4t	15 升精米	1626/5/3-1629/4/30, 共 35 個月 14 日, 扣除 15 日沒上工	共 230p 3t
華人異教徒 Pete 和 Sete	鋸工	每日 1.5r	米	1626/5/12-1627/5/4, 共 1 年 12 天 (754 工作日)	共 141p 3t/預支 38p
華人異教徒 Quinion	鋸工頭人	每日 1r	米	1626/9/11-1628/10/30, 共 2 年 50 日	共 97p 5t
43 位華人	不同職業				預支 46p 7t
16 位華人	15 名石匠	每日 1.5r		1626/9/9-1629/5/9	共 1,685p 6g
	1 名鋸工	每日 1r			
華人教徒 Joan Chinbu	石匠頭人	每日 1.5r	每月 20 升精米	1627 前往	382p 4t (預支 4 個月), 每人 22p 4t
16 位華人	石匠				
華人 Tionghuya	石匠	每日 1.5r	20 升精米	1627/5/7-6/10 從馬尼拉到北臺灣堡壘共 35 日	共 126p 6t
				1627/5/7-1629/5/10, 共 1 年 277 日	
華人 Bihuy	石匠	每日 1.5r	20 升精米	1627/5/7-6/10 從馬尼拉到北臺灣堡壘共 35 日	共 129p 6t
				1627/5/7-1629/5/10, 共 1 年 292 日	
華人 Chichican, 另一名字是 Aychuan	石匠	每日 1.5r	20 升精米	1627/5/7-6/10 從馬尼拉到北臺灣堡壘共 35 日旅程	共 115p 2t 6g
				1627/5/7-1629/1/11, 共 1 年 215 日	
華人 Suysuan, 另一名字是 Sichuan	石匠	每日 1.5r	20 升精米	1627/5/7-6/10 從馬尼拉到北臺灣堡壘共 35 日	共 122p 2t
				1627/5/7-1629/5/10, 共 1 年 252 日	
華人異教徒 九哥 (Cauco)	石匠頭人	每日 1.5r	每月 20 升精米	1628 前往	預支 292p 4t
12 位華人	石匠				
華人異教徒 Huygou	磚瓦工	每日 1.5r	1 份米	1628/4/1 在機易港揚帆啟航到 1629/2/4 返回, 共 310 日	預支 34p 4t +23p 5t 後付
4 位華人	磚瓦工			1629/3/21 以後前往	預支 4 次薪資 90p

備註: 表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso), t 指的是多幣 (tomín), r 指的是里耳 (real), g 指的是格拉諾 (grano)。

1 比索=8 里耳=8 多幣, 1 多幣=12 格拉諾。

資料來源: 方真真主譯,《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿: 第一冊 (1626-1633)》, 頁 26-27、51、71-72、129-132、134、153-154、203、214-223、360。

附表三 運往北臺灣的物品清單表

	1634 ¹⁴⁹	1635 ¹⁵⁰	1636 ¹⁵¹	1637 ¹⁵²	1638 ¹⁵³	1639 ¹⁵⁴	1640 ¹⁵⁵	1641 ¹⁵⁶	1642
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- ¹⁴⁹ 1634年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻是由大副 Juan Esteban del Garro 負責的聖佛朗西斯哥號，此船於該年8月出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 29r-30r. 於同年12月16日運貨返回機易港，共繳1,525比索3多幣11格拉諾的商品稅和運費。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 148v-149r.
- ¹⁵⁰ 1635年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻是由大副 Juan de Lezcano 負責的聖佛朗西斯哥號，他於該年7月26日搭此船出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 31r-32v. 此人收到12,000比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘王室金庫，以便發薪資，其中2,000比索為購買米糧之用，此船還有 Pedro González 領航員、Diego de la Rea 書記、Francisco Pérez de Castro 副領航員、Julian de Torres 總舖、Andrés Rodríguez 繚工及 Diego Matheo 捻縫工等人搭乘，這船並於同年11月運貨返回，共繳2,358比索2多幣3格拉諾的商品稅和運費。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 28v, 62r, 64r, 66v-67r, 156v-157r, 436r-436v; AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 567v.
- ¹⁵¹ 1636年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻是由大副 Juan de Aguilar Rebolledo 負責的聖佛朗西斯哥號，此船於該年8月出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 33r-34v. 此人收到15,000比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘王室金庫，以支付给在堡壘服役和為其他皇家事物服務的人員，這船還有 Antonio Gonzáles 炮兵、Luiz de Chauz 總舖、Andrés de Orellana 水手長、Cristoual Martín Palomino 繚工、Marcos de Fletes 副領航員及 Cristóval Romera 領航員等人搭乘。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 65v-67r, 340v-341r.
- ¹⁵² 1637年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻有兩艘：一是由 Matheo Gómez 助理負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年5月出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 36r-36v. 於同年7月左右返回。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 71r. 另一艘是 Nicolás de Cortasa 大副負責的 San Nicolás de Tolentina 號，此船於該年8月出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 35r-35v. 此人收到8,000比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘會計官，以支付给在堡壘服役和為其他皇家事物服務的人員，這船於同年11月返回，繳了145比索2多幣7格拉諾的商品稅。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 533v-534r, 867v-868r.
- ¹⁵³ 1638年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻是由大副 Nicolás Corso 負責的 Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion 號貨船，於該年7月收到物品，以便前往北臺灣，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 37r-37v. Nicolás Corso 及其所負責的船來自果阿 (Goa)，他將收到的4,000比索帶去北臺灣，之後於同年底返回。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fol. 1154v; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 71r-71v.
- ¹⁵⁴ 1639年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻有兩艘：一是由 Manuel Gonzalez de Palma 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年8月出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 38r-38v. 船上還有華人領航員及船員等人。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 392r-392v. 另一艘是 Antonio Rodríguez Valenciano 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年8月前往，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 39r-39v. 船上還有華人領航員和船員等人。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 392r-392v. 這兩艘船所搭乘的華人船員筆者在前面已提及。前述兩艘船共有3份貨品文件，除了前面兩份，第3份則補充所運往的糯米與錢幣之數量。參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fol. 40r.
- ¹⁵⁵ 1640年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻有兩艘：一是由 Rafael Gonzáles 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年4月收到物品出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 42r-42v. 此人收到3,000比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞王室金庫的會計官兼經辦員及視察員。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fols. 355r-355v. 另一艘是 Diego Pacheco 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年4月收到物品出航，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 41r-41v. 此人收到2,000比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘會計官兼付款員。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1220, fols. 355v-356r.
- ¹⁵⁶ 1641年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻有兩艘：一是由 Felipe de Santiago 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年4月收到物品，以便前往北臺灣，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 43r-44r, 45r. 此人

										157
錢	白銀	12000 _p	12000 _p	15000 _p	8000 _p	4000 _p	6000 _p	5000 _p	7000 _p	9000 _p
武器	火繩槍	12 枝	12 枝							
	鳥銃	20 枝	20 枝							
	鐵彈			150 顆					110 顆	140 顆
	砲彈									55 顆
	鉛彈				13000 顆	2000 顆			10000 顆	11300 顆
	錫彈					2000 顆				
	鉛塊/棒				20 _a				2 _a	44 _a
	火藥	100 _a	125 _a 17 _l	183 _a 21 _l	59 _a				6 _a 13 _l	12 _a 8 _l +7 瓶
	火藥瓶	28 個	64 個							60 個
	鐵叉		12 個							
	中國鐵								10 _a 18 _l	
	繩索	28 _a	20 _a	25 _a	15 _a +50 _{ca}	30 _a	20 _a	20 _a	12 _a	12 _a
	Castilla 繩索			5 _a 24 _l						
	麻蕉繩								18 _a	33 _a 24 _l
	劍	40 把	40 把	50 把						
	短劍	40 把	40 把							
劍鞘	500 個	500 個							100 個	
肩帶/腰帶 (佩劍)	100 個	50 個		100 個		100 個		30 個	120 個	
食類	米	600 _{ca}	600 _{ca}	1000 _{ca}	1075 _{ca}	1862 _{ca}	1175 _{ca}	850 _p	1016 _{ca}	1181 _{ca}
	Castilla 油	3 _a	3 _a	66 罐						
	椰子油	168.5 _p	120 _{1/2p}	200 _p	101 _p	200 _p	100 _p		193 _{1/2p}	443 _p
	豬油	40 _p	40 _p		39 _{1/2p}	48 _p	24 _p			
	Castilla 醋	9 _a 23 _{ca}	9 _a 8 _{ca}	5 _a 1 _{ca}	8 _a 21 _{ca}	2 _a 5 _{ca}				
	tuba 醋	140 _p	170 _p	200 _p		283 _p			38 _p	68 _p
	Ylocos 醋			1 甕	13 甕 (=207 _p)		6 甕			
	在地醋				3 甕					
	Castilla 酒	9 _a 16 _{ca}	21 _a 8 _{ca}	9 _a 17 _{ca}	2 _a 10 _{ca}		2 _a		4 _a 5 _{ca}	4 _a 18 _{ca} +1 甕
	在地白酒	600 _p			192 _p			355 _p	303 _{1/2p}	809 _{1/2p}
	醃牛肉	40 甕	40 甕 (=160 _a)	65 甕	20 甕	50 甕	30 甕		15 甕	40 甕

收到 3,000 比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多堡壘的會計官，船上還有華人領航員和船員，筆者在前面已提及。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 294v-295r, 331r. 另一艘是 Diego Pacheco 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年 9 月出航，將 416 卡邦 (caban) 精米和 4,000 比索帶去北臺灣。參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fol. 46r.

- ¹⁵⁷ 1642 年運物品往北臺灣援助的船隻有兩艘：一是由 Eteban de Tapie 大副負責的陸下 San Nicolás de Tolentino 號，此船於該年 3 月收到物品出航，途中於伊洛克斯海岸遇難，物品和銀幣幸而取出，交給 Pedro de Ybarra，並轉交給 Valentin de Arechaga 指揮官於同年從卡加揚省帶往北臺灣，參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 48r-49r. 此人收到 3,000 比索，以轉交給福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞王室金庫，Valentin de Arechaga 指揮官所負責的聖尼可拉斯號船上還有 Francisco de los Reyes 正領航員、其他高階官員、20 位船員、2 位炮兵及 15 位原住民見習水手等人。參見 AGI, Contaduría, 1222, fols. 56v, 277v-278r, 351v-352r. 另一艘是 Gerónimo Conzáles de Palma 船長負責的陸下舢舨，此船於該年 5 月出航。參見 AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 47r-47v.

	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642
	牛肉乾						29 _a 20 _l		
	醃豬肉	50 甕	40 甕 (=120 _a)	60 甕	37 甕	40 甕	30 甕		15 甕 40 甕
	醃漬品	36 瓶/箱	12 瓶	10 瓶	7 瓶	10 瓶	4 瓶		4 瓶 12 瓶
	乳酪	170 個		100 個	74 個	200 個	50 個		50 個 100 個
	蠶豆	8 _l	10 _l						
	菜豆	4 _{ea}			12 _{ea}	30 _{ea}	20 _{ea}		25 _{ea} 138 _{ea}
	白豆				8 _{ea}				
	洋蔥				10 _a				
	肉桂				5 _l				
	胡椒				5 _g			2 _g	2 _g
	菲律賓紅 花				20 _g			6 _g	2 _g
	糖	32 _a 12 _l	22 _a 17 _l	26 _a	1 甕	10 _a 18 _l	3 _a		19 _a 41 _a 3 _l
	杏仁	2 _a 15 _l	2 _a	1 _a					
	葡萄乾	1 _a 15 _l	1 _a 7 _l	1 瓶					
	菱形糕餅	12 甕	12 甕	10 甕	4 甕	6 甕		2 甕	4 甕
	碎椴椴 ¹⁵⁸	6 桶	64 桶/盒						
	煙草	20 _a	20 _a	5 捆	5 _a		2100 根	12000 根	50000 葉 30 _a 9 _l
動物	活母雞	100 隻							
衣類	呢絨(paño)	301½ _p	310 _p 10 _o	298½ _p					
	毯子		40 條						
	粗呢(sayal)	300 _p	307 _p						
	Ylocos 布	2 件	2 件	102 件	50 件	2 件	50 件		30 件 215½件
	粗布	701½ _p	808 _p	600 _p					
	墨西哥毯	40 條							11 條
	帽子	150 頂	150 頂	100 頂		100 頂			30 頂 50 頂
	棉襪	200 雙	300 雙	200 雙		400 雙			150 雙
	絲綢鈕釦	12000 個	12000 個						
	皮夾克	100 件	100 件	200 件	50 件	200 件	50 件		25 件 50 件
	木屐	400 雙	200 雙	200 雙		200 雙			
	鞋	1000 雙	1000 雙	1500 雙	1200 雙	1200 雙	300 雙		100 雙
用類	簿子	4 本	5 本	10 本	12 本	2 本	6 本		3 本
	紙	1 令	1 令	1½令	5 令+2 梘	10 刀	4 令		1 令
	戳印紙								650 頁
	羽毛筆	50 枝	50 枝	100 枝	400 枝		200 枝		50 枝
	中國墨				500 塊				
	墨水瓶			2 個					
	肥皂	1000 塊	1000 塊	996 塊	400 塊	500 塊	400 塊		1500 塊 3363 塊
	陶鍋				40 個		40 個		198 個
	木器		1 個		1 個	1 個	2 個		
	陶製餐具			20 個	10 個	10 個			
	罐 (salvadera)			2 個					
	蠟燭								280 個 500 個
醫藥箱	1 個	1 個	1 個	1 個	1 個			1 個 1 個	

¹⁵⁸ 原文是[casco de membrillos]，membrillos 是漆樹科椴椴屬，熱帶地區居民多採未熟果打碎生食或醃漬，西班牙人會做成果醬食用（現在在西班牙亦可見），但臺灣少見椴椴這種樹木果實，意指為打碎的椴椴。

	1634	1635	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640	1641	1642
醫類	麻醉藥			1 箱					
	藥			42 罐/瓶					
	樹脂			3 _a					
	黃銅			1 個					
	油脂 (作膏藥用)	15 _a	10 _a	20 _a +1 箱	15 _a 11 _l +1 個	6 _a			
	鉛製蒸餾器+小便盆			2 個					
	剪刀								1 雙
	折刀								3 把
	刺血針								1 枝
船隻用	椰樹纖維				5 _a +55 _{ch}		40 _a	8 _a	10 _{ch}
	席子						360 個		
	繩子/saula							9 _a 8 _l	
	帆+三角帆桁							1 個	
	前桅+三角帆桁							1 個	
	釘子								7 _l
其他	漏斗	12 個	12 個						
	瀝青				19 簍 (=12 _{ch})			10 _a	8 擔
	鐵鎚								10 _a
	鐵棍								2 _a 18 _l
	鐵鋤頭								15 個
	鋼	4 _a	4 _a						2 _a 23 _l
	鐵塊								21 _a 11 _l
	gamut 纜索 (拖車鐵鍊用)				9 擗				
	gamut 粗纜繩				19 _a 20 _l				
	文法書								1 本
	申報單								1 件
	被迫 flamenco 人								1 名
奴隸								1 名	

備註：表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso)。容量單位的 ca 指的是卡邦 (caban)，g 指的是升 (ganta)，f 指的是 fanega；1 卡邦=24 升，1 fanega=55.5 升=56.3 升。重量單位的 a 指的是阿羅巴 (arroba)，l 指的是磅 (libra)，cu 指的是 cuartillo，ch 指的是 chinanta；1 阿羅巴=25 磅=¼ 擔 (quintal) =11.502 公斤，1 磅=16 盎司 (onza) =460 公克，1 cuartillo=0.504 升，1 chinanta=30 磅。長度單位的 v 指的是瓦拉 (vara)，o 指的是 ochava，此處指½瓦拉，1 瓦拉=835.9 mm，1 擗 (brazo) 約 1 至 1.20 米。紙的單位是 1 炮 (balón) =32 令 (resma) 或 24 令；1 刀 (mano) =25 張，1 令=20 刀=500 張。

資料來源：AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, 409B, fols. 29r-49r.

附表四 購買馬尼拉華人物品運往北臺灣及其他地區

姓名	付款日期	前往時間/地區	物品種類	價格	總價
華人教徒 Don Alonso Achon	1636/5/20	1636/新西班牙、福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞	556 阿羅巴8磅豬肉、138 升豬油	豬肉 2 磅 2 盎司 1r、豬油每升 4r	887p 11g
華人教徒 Francisco Chico	1636/5/30	新西班牙、福爾摩沙島聖薩爾瓦多要塞	中國麵粉所製 510 阿羅巴 3 磅糕點	每担 12p	1,142p 5g
	1636/6/25	卡斯提亞、福爾摩沙島	316 阿羅巴 24 磅糕點、裝在 12 個中國甕的菱形糕餅	糕點每担 12p、雞蛋甜餅每甕 6p 4t	787p 4t 10g
華人異教徒 Yontin	1636/8/8	卡斯提亞、福爾摩沙島	4,920 網普通木竿、6 網細長木竿，清除稻米用；32 小桶普通木竿，清除稻米用；2,300 箱普通木竿	每 20 網普通木竿 4r、每網長竿 2r、每 5 小桶普通木竿 4r、50 箱普通木竿 4r	150p 5t 7g
華人長官 Martín Bengu	1636/7/24	卡斯提亞、福爾摩沙島	89 阿羅巴 17 磅白糖、600 阿羅巴瀝青、450 隻活母雞、9 網船隻用的木材、212 阿羅巴魚乾、86 阿羅巴 23 磅蝦乾、20 阿羅巴煙草葉、40 升兩個 Pasi 甕裝的白酒	糖每担 4p 2t、瀝青每 quintal 9r 6g、每網劈過木材 3p 6t、每阿羅巴魚乾 5r 6g、每阿羅巴蝦乾 10r、每阿羅巴煙草 8r、每 10 升白酒 4r、每個 Pasi 甕 2r	728p 4t 10g
	1637/7/24	福爾摩沙島、卡斯提亞、三寶顏、卡加揚	5 盒止痛藥品		124p
	1637/8/17	皇家倉庫、福爾摩沙島	40.5 卡邦北大年和 Menudos 的菜豆、76 阿羅巴 13 磅魚乾、13 阿羅巴 16 磅蝦乾、10 套餐具、40 個中等 Pasi 陶鍋、6 阿羅巴白糖、5 磅肉桂、5 升胡椒、20 升菲律賓紅花、10 阿羅巴洋蔥、100 隻活母雞、28 個在地普通乳酪	菜豆每 9 升 4r、魚乾每阿羅巴 5r、蝦乾每阿羅巴 10r、餐具和鍋 9r、糖每担 18r、5 磅肉桂 2r、胡椒每升 6r、菲律賓紅花每升 1 突脣、洋蔥每阿羅巴 3r、母雞每隻 3r、乳酪每個 1 突脣	191p 6t
華人豬肉商 Don Alonso Guachon	1637/6/30	皇家倉庫、福爾摩沙島	80 甕豬肉		100p
	1637/7/13		一些甕數豬肉		200p
華人教徒 Alonso Hincó 鞋匠	1637/6/30	福爾摩沙島	50 件皮夾克、600 雙鞋子、100 件佩劍用的皮肩帶		50p
華人教徒 Lorenzo Hincó 鞋匠	1637/8/13	福爾摩沙島、三寶顏	1,600 雙哥多華鞋子、300 件佩劍用的皮肩帶及其腰帶、50 件哥多華皮夾克	鞋子每雙 1.5r、皮夾克每件 5r、雙層皮佩劍用的皮肩帶及其腰帶每件 2r	418p 6t
原住民和華人	1637/7/4	福爾摩沙島堡壘	醃製 120 甕牛肉		50p
	1637/7/30	壘	醃製 120 甕牛肉		40p
華人豬肉商 Tiongui	1637/8/8	三寶顏、福爾摩沙島、德蕾那第	豬肉		200p
	1637/8/17	皇家倉庫、福爾摩沙島、三寶顏、卡斯提亞	830 阿羅巴最新鮮豬肉、92 升豬油	豬肉每 2 磅 7 盎司 1r、豬油每升 4r	310p 9g

華人豬肉商 Tianco	1638/6/8 & 6/21	1638/ 新西班牙、福爾摩沙島	600 阿羅巴豬肉，分裝為 150 甕		400p
	1639/8/2	1639/福爾摩沙島	30 甕豬肉		150p
	1639/9/3	1639/ 新西班牙、福爾摩沙島	539 阿羅巴 9 磅取出內臟的新鮮豬肉、84 升豬油	豬肉 2 磅 13 盎司 1r、豬油 1 升 4r	641p 2t 3g
華人帽商 Limco	1638/7/23	三寶顏、霍洛、福爾摩沙島	芳香味、裝飾過和以塔夫綢及茶字 (chaúl) 加襯的 311 頂帽子	每頂裝飾過和已加襯的帽子 2.5r	97p 1t 6g
華人異教徒 Grisay Grande 木匠頭人	1638/9/1	新西班牙、福爾摩沙島、皇家倉庫	不同木材		295p 3t 8g
華人鐵匠頭人 Tiongri	1639/7/19	福爾摩沙島	鐵製品 (釘子用來整修赴臺灣的舢舨)		100p
潤內華人長官 Domingo Chunquiv	1639/8/29	福爾摩沙島	不同補給品		89p 2t 7g
	1641/9/25	皇家倉庫、新西班牙、福爾摩沙島	19 阿羅巴 7 磅白糖、600 隻活母雞、156 阿羅巴 13 磅魚乾、68 阿羅巴 20 磅蝦乾、127 升土產白酒、4 個 Pasi 甕、1 升胡椒、2 升半菲律賓紅花	白糖每担 4p、活母雞每隻 3r、魚乾每阿羅巴 5t、蝦乾每阿羅巴 10r、土產白酒每突唇 12 升、Pasi 甕每個 2t、1 升胡椒 3r、菲律賓紅花未標示價格	80p 2t
華人 Guinsay Grande	1639/10/17	新西班牙、德蕾那第、福爾摩沙島	160 阿羅巴 7 磅麵粉做的糕點	每担 8p	239p 1t 9g
華人異教徒 Chico	1641/5/15	福爾摩沙島	5,800 個折半的藤；2,900 個整片的藤；29 阿羅巴 11 磅糖；2 升胡椒；6 升菲律賓紅花；2 個大壺；195 個陶鍋；20 阿羅巴魚乾；115 升醋；1,500 塊土產肥皂	折半藤每千片 5r、整片藤每千片 1p、糖每担 3p 4t、胡椒每升 2p 6t、菲律賓紅花每升 1r、大壺每個 6r、陶鍋共 10r、魚乾每阿羅巴 5r、6 升醋 1r、12 塊土產肥皂 1r	65p 2t 1g
此城牛肉和豬肉華人供應商 Texen	1641/5/16	福爾摩沙島、卡拉棉	148 阿羅巴 14 磅取出內臟劈成半的新鮮豬肉、9 隻活豬	3 磅豬肉 1r、每隻活豬 4p 5t	196p 3t
華人鑄劍師頭人 Laco	1641/10/5	德蕾那第、福爾摩沙島	600 件劍鞘加上護頭	每件劍鞘加上護頭 1.5r	112p 4t
華人異教徒兼鞋匠頭人 Sianco	1640 及 1641/11/16	德蕾那第、福爾摩沙島	來自哥多華的 5,600 雙鞋、1,025 件皮夾克、530 件佩劍用的肩帶加鐵片的配腰帶、300 件四弦琴	每百雙鞋 24p、每件皮夾克 7r、每件佩劍用肩帶及其配腰帶 3t、每件四弦琴 0.5r	1,008p 3t (交貨時沒預期的好而被降價)

備註：表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso)，t 指的是多幣 (tomín)，r 指的是里耳 (real)，g 指的是格拉諾 (grano)，突唇即 tostón (錢幣單位，閩南人稱突唇)。1 比索=8 多幣=8 里耳，1 多幣=12 格拉諾，1 突唇 (tostón)=4 里耳；卡邦即 caban，升即 ganta，阿羅巴即 arroba，磅即 libra，盎司即 onza，1 阿羅巴=25 磅=¼ 擔 (quintal) ≃ 11.502 公斤，1 磅 ≃ 16 盎司 ≃ 460 公克；1 担 (pico) = 1 quintal = 100 斤 (cates)。

資料來源：AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 378r-378v, 380v, 384r-384v, 386r, 387r-387v, 776v-777r, 778r-779r, 781r, 781r-782v, 809r, 812r, 1104v-1105r, 1108r, 1144r; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 1332-1333r, 1334v-1335r, 1341r-1341v; AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 319v-320v, 322v-323r, 725v, 726v.

附表五 運往北臺灣的其他醃製品或購買物品

經手者/委託者/賣者/製作者	付款日期	前往時間/地區	物品種類	價格
船員 Joan Gómez→Ylocos 省皇家官員 Alonso Díaz	1628/3/9	福爾摩沙島	巴布耶斯豬 (babuyes)	200p
船員 Manuel Fernández→Ylocos 省皇家官員 Alonso Díaz	1629/2/25	福爾摩沙島	100 個鹹豬肉甕、50 隻有孕母豬、2 隻公豬	450p
士兵 Juan de Retigui	1633	福爾摩沙島	要 Juan de Retigui 在 Vinacaya 河做醃製牛肉	一筆錢
經辦員 Ynigo de Villarreal	1637/6/12	1638/新西班牙、福爾摩沙島	乳酪	550p
少尉 Pedro Polosofia	1637/7/3	皇家倉庫、福爾摩沙島	100 個普通在地乳酪，每個 4r	50p
糖漬師傅 Juan de Quadros Arellano	1637/7/27	三寶顏、福爾摩沙島、德蕾那第	70 瓶醃漬品	280p
Mariveles 島地方官 Luis de Borja	1637/7/29	卡斯提亞、福爾摩沙島、三寶顏、德蕾那第	15 萬枝藤條 (bexucos)，每 1 千枝 6r	112p 4t
本城寡婦 Doña Magdalena Ruiz de Gaona→船員 Marcos de Soto 和船員 Alvaro de Acuña	1638/8/5	1638/新西班牙、福爾摩沙島	195 隻牛醃成 250 甕，每隻 4p 1t 計	804p 3t
Luis Alonso de Roa 司令→船員 Francisco Gonçalves 和船員 Salvador Gonçalves	1639/10/12	福爾摩沙島	42 隻牛醃成 40 甕，每隻加上皮以 4p 3t 計	183p 6t
糖漬師傅 Juan de Quadros Arellano	1639/10/22	皇家倉庫、福爾摩沙島、德蕾那第	228 個中國瓶在地醃漬品	912p
船員 Juan de Yturriça→本島耶穌會總代理人 Magimo Sola 神父→在 San Pedro 牧場由神父們屠宰	1641/5/14	福爾摩沙島	42 頭牛醃製分裝成 50 個中國甕，每頭牲畜不含毛皮，按 3p 7r 計	362p 4t 11g
菲島聖奧古斯丁教會	1641/6/21	福爾摩沙島	1400 籃精米及船具	700p

備註：表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso)，t 指的是多幣 (tomín)，r 指的是里耳 (real)，g 指的是格拉諾 (grano)，1 比索=8 多幣=8 里耳，1 多幣=12 格拉諾。

資料來源：方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 135、157、339；AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fols. 777r, 779r-779v, 868r, 1106v, 1134r; AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fols. 373v, 1338r; AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fols. 309r-309v.

附表六 西班牙殖民北臺灣期間從北臺灣前往馬尼拉的華商

華商姓名	抵達日期	船型/職稱	稅率	商品稅	稅款存入日期
中國異教徒一哥 (Hincob)	1630	舢舨主人	6%	352p 1t 1g	1630/12/11
華人 Chintog/Chinto	1631	舢舨船主	6%	280p 6t 11g.	1631/2/26
中國人 Chinton		船隻船長	6%	365p 7t 4g	1631/4/28
華人教徒 Juan Gouco			12%	230p 6g	1631/11/18
中國異教徒一哥 (Hinco)	1631/12	船隻船長	6%	377p 7t 4g	1632/4/26
華人 Quinhuan	1635/3/9	舢舨	6%	34p 3t 4g	1635/3/16
中國異教徒 Hengu Sanco	1635/3/27	船長	6%	6p 6t	1636/3/2 以前
				6p 3t	1636/4/5
華人 Chinuy 船長	1638/12	船長	14%	28p 1t 3g	1639/1/29
華人 Alonso Bentiong	1638	船主	6%	36p	1639/1/29
			3%	15p (500 担蘇木, 1 担 1p)	
華人 Samnu	1641	船長	6%	95p 3t 6g	1641/11/20

備註：表中的 p 指的是比索 (peso)，t 指的是多幣 (tomín)，g 指的是格拉諾 (grano)。1 比索=8 多幣，1 多幣=12 格拉諾。

資料來源：方真真主譯，《十七世紀北臺灣的西班牙帳簿：第一冊 (1626-1633)》，頁 185、239-240、242、300；AGI, Contaduría, 1217, fols. 150v-151r, 588v；AGI, Contaduría, 1218, fol. 125r；AGI, Contaduría, 1219, fol. 71v；AGI, Contaduría, 1221, fol. 15r。

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Journey of the Sangleys and Their Goods between Taiwan and Manila (1626-1662): A Study of Documents from Spanish Accounting Books

Chen-chen Fang

ABSTRACT

Ever since the Spanish took over Keelung in 1626, the soldiers and officers stationed in northern Taiwan had had to rely on aid from Manila due to limited local resources. On the basis of documents from the accounting office of the General Archive of the Indies of Seville, this paper analyzes records related to Taiwan from 1626 to 1662, which detail people, including the Sangleys (mestizo), and their goods sent by the government of Manila to northern Taiwan. The analyses reveal the following. Firstly, the people sent included Sangley pilots and sailors sailing the junks, as well as stonemasons, bricklayers, sawyers and carpenters for building forts in northern Taiwan. Among the Sangleys with names recorded were Rufu and his uncle who were merchants, Pablo Pacheco and Francisco Hernández who served as interpreters for communicating with Fujian merchants. Secondly, the Spanish government at Manila depended much on the Sangleys during their occupation of northern Taiwan and the supplies sent, such as daily necessities and food, were mostly bought from Sangley traders in Manila, including the Sangley governor of the Parian. Thirdly, after 1630, around nine Sangley merchants went from northern Taiwan to Manila for trade, although their trading volumes were rather limited. Fourthly, after the Spanish withdrew from northern Taiwan in 1642, few Sangley merchants continued trading between Taiwan and Manila. Only three names, Chapsaqua, Quianco and Yocsay, were mentioned in documents of the 1650s. Moreover, the trade route changed from Keelung in northern Taiwan to Tayguan in southern Taiwan.

Keywords: Taiwan, Manila, Sangleys, 17th Century, Spanish Accounting Books

Sugar Production and Trade in Dutch Colonial Taiwan*

Hui-wen Koo**

ABSTRACT

This paper examines Taiwan's sugar industry in the Dutch colonial era. Primary data on the Han population, area of cultivated land, sugar production and exports to markets around the world were extracted from original files of the Dutch East India Company. Analysis reveals that it was the demand from the Netherlands that motivated sugar production in Taiwan. However, following the end of the Brazilian rebellion in 1654, Amsterdam was glutted with sugar from Brazil, and the Dutch lost interest in sugar from the East Indies. Persia, Japan and China then became main markets for Taiwan's sugar. In the early period, the profit margin of Taiwan's sugar exports to the Netherlands exceeded 400%, much larger than that of spices or pepper. On the other hand, natural hazards in Taiwan caused large fluctuations in farmers' income. Even in the best years, a Taiwanese farmer earned less than one third of a Dutch hod carrier, though it far exceeded what their counterparts in China could make.

Keywords: Dutch Colonial Taiwan, Sugar in the Mid-17th Century, Cross-Country Income Comparison

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1. Sugar Production
 2. Chinese Migration and Agriculture Development in Taiwan
 3. Sugar Production and Its Exports
 4. Markets
 5. The Company's Profit and Chinese Farmers' Income
 6. Conclusion
-

Sugar was high-priced in the early 16th century Europe and served as a symbol of power. Lavish *soteltes* (subtleties), sugar sculptures of buildings, animals, and even tablewares, were arranged on the noble's feast table to arouse admiration from his guests. Sugar became affordable to the middle classes by the mid-16th century. Once conquering taste buds, it became a culinary necessity and new recipes for sugary desserts further promoted its popularity. In the mid-17th century, England, France, the Netherland, Portugal and Spain fought in the New World to found or to defend their sugar colonies.¹ It was in this background that the Dutch East India Company (*De Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC) started its rule in Taiwan in 1624.

Aborigines were the main inhabitants then in Taiwan, and they were engaged in hunting and simple farming. So the original object of the VOC to take Taiwan was not to found a sugar colony, but to use it as an entrepot to trade with China. In the beginning, the business fell well off expectation. Only after repeated negotiations with officials in Fukien Province, did Chinese imports take off in 1630, and the important cargo consisted of silk, porcelain and sugar.²

Taiwan Governor, Hans Putmans, expressed in 1635 that continuous purchases of sugar from China had caused a considerable increase in the price. So two years ago, they had fetched sugarcane from China and lent Chinese residents

¹ Eddy Stols, "The Expansion of the Sugar Market in Western Europe," in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 237-288; Elizabeth Abbott, *Sugar: A Bittersweet History* (London and New York: Duckworth Overlook, 2008), pp. 6, 22-23, 37, 46-47.

² J. Leonard Blussé, M. E. van Opstall, Ts'ao Yung-ho, Chiang Shu-sheng, and W. Milde, eds., *De Dagregisters Van Het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662* (abbreviated hence *DZ*), *Deel I: 1629-1641* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1986), pp. 3, 24, 65, 70.

cattle and money to plough the land and to produce sugar in Taiwan. The result of this experiment was satisfactory.³ Because sugar production was labor intensive, to make this experiment into a profitable business, the VOC needed to attract more Chinese farmers to Taiwan. Across the Taiwan Strait, farmers in Fukien were experienced sugar producers who cultivated sugarcane throughout the history in the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and even Hawaii and Cuba.⁴ It was the Company's keen interest to recruit these farmers to Taiwan. A hospital was built to take care of the Chinese who fell sick. And to effectively protect Chinese farmers whose crops had been set on fire by villagers of Mattauw, Putmans himself led a punishing expedition to Mattauw in 1635 and burnt down its whole village.⁵ Prominent overseas Chinese merchants also joined to recruit Fukien farmers to Taiwan. So Bing Kong, the official Chinese head in Batavia relinquished his captaincy and moved to Taiwan in 1636 to become a broker of migrants.⁶

In 1639, seven Chinese leaders in Taiwan received free land from the Dutch who instructed in details how many sugarcanes along with other crops such as rice, tobacco, indigo, ginger should be planted. The complete harvest would be purchased by the Dutch at a price fixed in advance.⁷ Free land, however, did not imply an easy profit. A wealthy Chinese merchant, Hambuan, once complained that in the first two years an enormous amount had been spent on cultivating land and setting up a new sugar mill, and the expenses turned out to be 500-600 reales more than he originally had estimated.⁸

³ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter -- Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, Vol. 1: 1623-1635* (Taipei: Shung-Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999), pp. 227, 230, 267; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662* (Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., 2000), p. 145.

⁴ David Bulbeck, Anthony Reid, Lay Cheng Tan, and Yiqi Wu, compiled, *Southeast Asian Exports since the 14th Century: Cloves, Pepper, Coffee, and Sugar* (Leiden, The Netherlands: KITLV Press; Australia: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU; Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998), pp. 107-109; Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World that Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2006, 2nd edition), p. 10.

⁵ VOC 1114, f.11, (VOC here refers to the VOC archives stored in The National Archive in The Hague and 1114 is the inventory number of the document. The same applies to other references below.) letter from Hans Putmans to Camer Amsterdam, Tayouan, 28 October 1634; *DZ, Deel I: 1629-1641*, pp. 200-201.

⁶ B. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong: Het Eerste Hoofd der Chineezten te Batavia (1619-1636)," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Hague) 73: 3/4 (Jan. 1917), pp. 344-415.

⁷ VOC, 1131, f.744; Pol Heyns, *Economy, Land Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa*, trans., Wei-chung Cheng (Taipei: Appleseed Publishing Co., 2002), pp. 59-60.

⁸ VOC 1120, 264, report from Taiwan Governor, Hans Putman, to Batavia, 7 October, 1636.

How successful was the Company's immigration plan and how did its sugar enterprise turn out in Taiwan? This paper makes use of the rich Dutch sources to address these questions. In the following, after describing briefly the contemporary Chinese sugar production technology, we shall study the Chinese population, farm land area and sugar output in Taiwan. Attention is then turned to markets for Taiwan's sugar, profits so derived and the profit division between the Dutch and the Chinese farmers. The final section concludes.

1. Sugar Production

Only cane sugar was produced in Taiwan. Cane was planted between December and April of the following year and harvested about a year later.⁹ The Dutch sources do not provide information about how sugar was produced, but since this technology was introduced by the Chinese to Taiwan, sugar production depicted by the contemporary Chinese writer, Song Ying-hsing, should provide us with a good idea about the production process. According to Song, a sugar mill driven by cattle consisted of two vertical wooden rollers between which cane was inserted and crushed for juice. Crushing needed to be repeated three times to fully extract juice. Lime was then added to juice to remove its impurities. Finally, with bagasse used as fuels, juice was boiled until it became very sticky. The cooked syrup would be kept in barrels and 65 percent of the total sucrose would crystalize while 35 percent of sucrose remained as molasses.¹⁰

To provide cattle to drive sugar mills, the Dutch bred cattle in Taiwan and according to Taiwan Governor Hans Putmans, with an initial size of 38, in 1635 its population already increased to 360. The Chinese were also encouraged to bring their own cattle from across the Strait to mate with the Company's cattle.¹¹ Chinese became especially enthusiastic to do so after Ming China fell in the hand of Qing, i.e. after 1644. For instance, on 1645.4.20 alone, nine junks carried 61

⁹ VOC 1164, 373v, letter from Overtwater to van der Lijn in Batavia, Tayouan, 24 September, 1647.

¹⁰ Ying-hsing Song, *T'ien-Kung K'ai-Wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century*, English trans., E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1966); J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, Ts'ao Yung-ho, and N. C. Everts, eds., *De Dagregisters Van Het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662* (abbreviated hence *DZ*), *Deel III: 1648-1655* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996), p. 43.

¹¹ VOC 1116, 373r, report from Taiwan Governor, Hans Putman, to Batavia, 19 September, 1635.

cattle to Taiwan.¹²

In the harvest season, it took a lot of labor to reap and help with sugar production. When mills were short of hands, part of cane-field remained unreaped. To avoid such a loss, the Dutch provided loans to sugar producers to hire sufficient labor in the harvest season. In some years, instead of cash, pepper, a popular commodity in China, was loaned to sugar producers.¹³

The Dutch provision was only limited to cattle and loans, and the Chinese needed to import all apparatus for sugar production and packaging. Time and again, in their diaries, the Dutch recorded sugar mills, large sugar-pans, sugar jars, chests and planks for sugar-chests brought by the Chinese junks to Taiwan.¹⁴ Tonio Andrade coins such a division of work between the Dutch and the Chinese as their co-colonization of Taiwan.¹⁵

2. Chinese Migration and Agriculture Development in Taiwan

(1) Population

Severe droughts in the first half of the seventeenth century caused a long-term famine in China. People suffering hunger formed groups of bandits to plunder government barns. The one led by Li Zicheng even occupied the capital and overthrew the Ming Dynasty in 1644.¹⁶ In this turbulent time, for people in Fukien, Taiwan across the Strait, a virgin land recently becoming under the Dutch

¹² J. L. Blussé, W. E. Milde, Ts'ao Yung-ho, and N. C. Everts, eds., *De Dagregisters Van Het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662* (abbreviated hence *DZ*), *Deel II: 1641-1648* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1995), p. 378.

¹³ Hui-wen Koo, "Weather, Harvests, and Taxes: A Chinese Revolt in Colonial Taiwan," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Cambridge) 46: 1 (Summer 2015), pp. 47-49 and sources cited there.

¹⁴ For instance, see *DZ, Deel II: 1641-1648*, pp. 366, 385; *DZ, Deel III: 1648-1655*, p. 145; J. L. Blussé, N. C. Everts, W. E. Milde, and Ts'ao Yung-ho, eds., *De Dagregisters Van Het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan 1629-1662* (abbreviated hence *DZ*), *Deel IV: 1655-1662* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 2000), p. 75.

¹⁵ Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), Ch. 6.

¹⁶ Both scientists and historians start to attribute the ending of Ming Dynasty to the severe weather at the end of the little ice age. See Kenneth J. Hsu, *Climate Made History*, Chinese trans., His-an Kan (Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., 2012), pp. 8-33; Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Geoffrey Parker, "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered," *The American Historical Review* (Oxford) 113: 4 (Oct. 2008), pp. 1053-1079.

rule, offered a prospect of a better life.

The VOC's records give us some idea about the number of the Chinese migrants over time. The pioneering work by Chiang Shu-shen uses poll tax data to infer the Chinese population in Taiwan and his data start in 1640 when the Dutch launched this tax on Chinese migrants.¹⁷ Though sporadic population estimates by the Dutch before 1644 are available, such estimates lack consistency and hence are ignored here.¹⁸ At the beginning, the monthly poll tax rate was 0.25 real per head.¹⁹ By 1654, it was increased by 1/6 times.²⁰ Theoretically, dividing the poll tax revenue by the tax rate of the same year gives us an estimate of the Chinese population. The complication comes in when in August 1653, the Company decided to farm out tax collection each year in an auction to the highest bidder.²¹ Considering the cost to collect tax, the auction winner must have bid less than his expected tax revenue. Hence to calculate the population with the bid, which was part of the tax revenue to turn in, will yield an underestimate. Other factors also contribute to an underestimate. For instance, to promote agricultural expansion, the Dutch would waive Chinese farmers' tax in the remote area.²² To encourage migration of female Chinese to Taiwan, in the early period, the poll tax was waived for the female. Only later in December 1652, when the Dutch needed to finance construction of a new castle, did they start to tax the female.²³

Despite all these difficulties, poll tax data give us a good proxy about the Chinese population. Figure 1 depicts population from 1640 to 1661. A few adjustments are made to Chiang's results. For instance, we consider it not

¹⁷ Shu-shen Chiang, "Population Changes in Dutch Colonial Taiwan," presented in *International Conference on Belief in Matsu* held by Beigan Chao-Tien Temple (1997).

¹⁸ In 1633, Taiwan Governor Hans Putmans estimated 700 to 800 Chinese in Taiwan. (VOC 1113, f.693) In 1638, Governor-General in Batavia reported that about 10,000 to 11,000 Chinese resided in the Company's territory in Taiwan. See W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (abbreviated hence *GM*), *Deel I: 1610-1638* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), p. 708. However, it was realized two years later when poll tax was collected that there were only 3,568 Chinese residents.

¹⁹ Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 212.

²⁰ VOC 1206, f.233r, accounts of Formosa by Nicolaas Verbuch, Batavia, 10 March 1654.

²¹ VOC 1197, f.788v, letter from Cornelis Caesar to Joan Maetsuijcker, Tayouan, 24 October 1653.

²² *DZ, Deel III: 1648-1655*, p. 334.

²³ VOC 1194, ff.148-149, letter from Nicolaas Verbuch to Carel Reniersz., Tayouan, 15 November 1652, indirectly cited from *DZ, Deel III: 1648-1655*, p. 294.

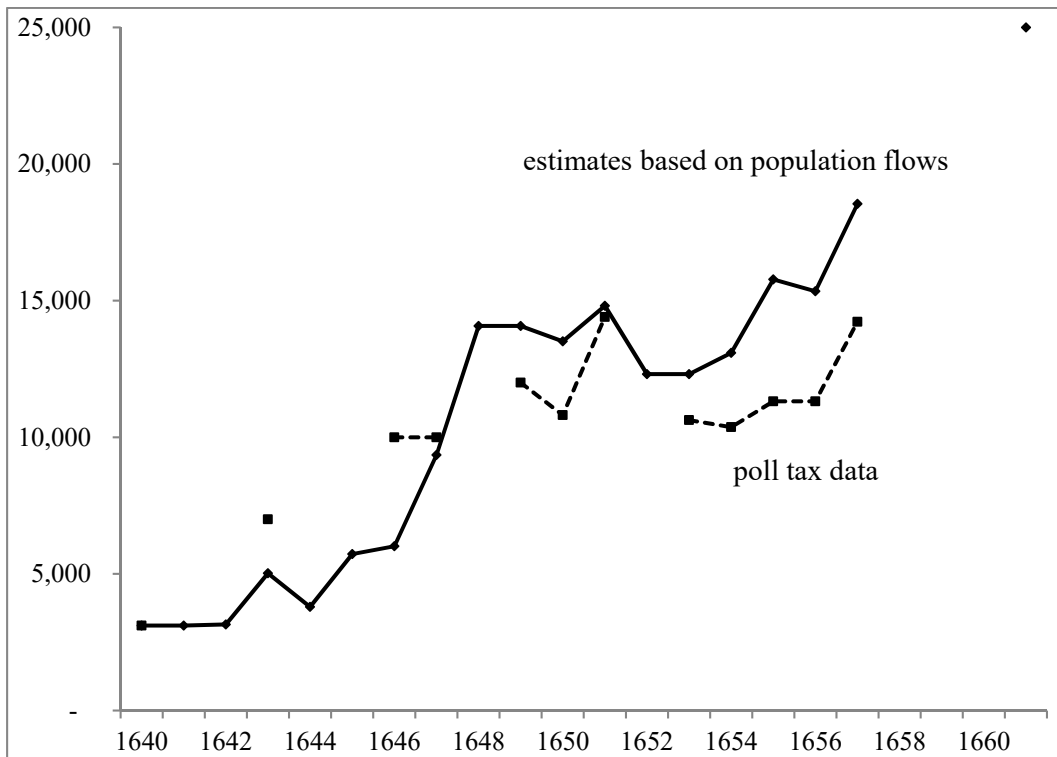


Figure 1. Estimated Chinese Population: 1640-1661

Note: See table 1 in the appendix for data.

to use the winning bid in May 1656 to estimate the population of that year. One month after the auction, Koxinga (a local ruler of Fukien who defeated the Dutch in Taiwan later in 1662) announced he would ban traffic across the Taiwan Strait and ordered residents in Taiwan to return to China in 100 days.²⁴ This caused some Chinese departure. Moreover, in October of the same year, a flood during a typhoon caused Chinese casualties ranging between 800 and 1,000. All these factors made Chinese population much lower than what the auction bidders had originally expected. In fact, in answer to the winning bidder's petition, the Dutch agreed to adjust the winning bid downwards from 3,990 reales to 3,300 reales.²⁵ While Chiang uses the original bid to estimate the population in 1656, we use the adjusted one. For the population in 1657, Chiang changes to use some other

²⁴ *DZ, Deel IV: 1655-1662*, pp. 80-81.

²⁵ VOC 1218, f.468v, letter from Frederick Coyett to Joan Maetsuijcker, Tayouan, 27 December 1656; Shu-shen Chiang, "Population Changes in Dutch Colonial Taiwan," pp. 20-21.

method for estimation. To present the data in a consistent manner, we stick to the winning bid of that year.²⁶

To have a robust check on the above estimation, we adopt a second approach which makes use of the number of Chinese arrivals and departures meticulously recorded in the Dutch diaries. Let N_t , A_t , D_t be the initial population, the number of new arrivals and the number of departures in year t , the population at the beginning of year $t + 1$ could be calculated as follows:

$$N_{t+1} = N_t + A_t - D_t.$$

From the poll tax data, the Chinese population in 1640 was 3,122. With this as an initial value, population in later years could be calculated in a recursive manner by applying the formula above. The result is also presented in figure 1. When the diaries are missing, we assume the net flow to be zero. In this case, population in adjacent years will be shown leveled such as from 1640 to 1642. An exceptional treatment is made for 1652, the diary of which year is completely missing. Because a large revolt took place in September 1652, and around 2,500 Chinese were killed,²⁷ we assume the Chinese population dropped by 2,500 that year. The diaries are missing from March 1658 to February 1661. According to the last Taiwan Governor, Frederic Coyet, a large number of Chinese migrated to Taiwan between 1658 and 1659, and at the end of the Dutch era, the Chinese able-bodied men reached 25,000.²⁸ Apparently the net flows in this period are not zero, so figure 1 does not provide any number for these years and only marks the population in 1661 as Coyet suggested.

As seen in figure 1, results by both approaches suggest a fast population growth between 1644 and 1648 and after 1654. On the other hand, the male population of Fukien Province in 1661 was about 1.46 million. So only 2% of them chose to settle in Taiwan. Even when we restrict our attention to Ch'üan

²⁶ There is another minor difference between this paper and Shu-shen Chiang, "Population Changes in Dutch Colonial Taiwan". While Chiang, Shu-shen considers the tax of 3,890 reales between September 1640 and February 1641 to be a revenue for 6 months, and estimates the population to be 2,593 ($= [3,890/6]/0.25$), we find in J. A. van der Chijs, ed., *Dagh-register Gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant Passerende daer ter Plaetse als over Geheel Nederlandts-India* (abbreviated hence *DB*), 1640-1641 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1887), p. 266 that this is actually a revenue for 5 months. So we recalculate the population in 1640 to be 3,112.

²⁷ Hui-wen Koo, "Weather, Harvests, and Taxes: A Chinese Revolt in Colonial Taiwan," pp. 39-59.

²⁸ Frederik Coyet, *Neglected Formosa* (trans. from *t Verwaerloosde Formosa*), ed., Inez de Beauclair (San Francisco: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1975), pp. 20-21.

Chou Fu and Chang Chou Fu, two prefectures in Fukien that were closest to Taiwan, the population of these two prefectures already reached 183 thousand in 1644 and 241 thousand in 1571, respectively,²⁹ of which migrants to Taiwan accounted for a mere 6%. So migrants to Taiwan were a small minority whose social and economic background could differ largely from the general Fukienese population. We expect that except for a few Chinese migrants' leaders, most migrants came from the poorest bottom 6% whose opportunity cost to move was the lowest. This conjecture is supported by a statement by the Governor-General in Batavia (the VOC's Asian headquarter; nowadays Jakarta), Hendrick Brouwer, who once reported that the migrants to Taiwan were a large number of poor Chinese.³⁰

(2) Farm Land

At the latest in 1644, the Company surveyed the farm land area in Saccam, the most important agricultural area then in Taiwan. The surveyors stayed in Taiwan till the end of the Dutch era, and some of them even helped Koxinga to measure land. Unfortunately, most of the original survey reports are missing, and only the reports of 1647, 1650 and 1654-1656 survived.³¹ To have a full picture of the land development, we complement the survey reports with data found in diaries and the Company's correspondence.³² The result is presented in figure 2.

²⁹ Fu Chien Shêng Ch'ing Tzu Liao K'u [Database of Fukien Province's State of Affairs] at the following website: <http://www.fjsq.gov.cn>, accessed 15 November, 2012.

³⁰ W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (abbreviated hence *GM*), *Deel II: 1639-1655* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), pp. 519-520.

³¹ *DZ, Deel II: 1641-1648*, p. 318; Philippus Daniel Meij van Meijenstein, *The Diary of Philippus Daniel Meij van Meijenstein*, trans., Shu-shen Chiang (Taipei: Echo Publishing, 2003), pp. 50-51; VOC 1164, f.412, land survey report, Tayouan, September 1647; VOC 1176, f.791-792, land survey report; VOC 1207, f.724, land survey report, 1654; VOC 1213, f.553, land survey report, 1655; VOC 1218, f.458, land survey report, 1656; Takashi Nakamura, "Agriculture and Its Promotion in Dutch Colonial Taiwan," in Kaim Ang and Wu Micha, eds., and trans., *Research on Taiwanese History under the Dutch Rule, Vol. 1: Overview and Industry* (Taipei: Daw-Shiang Publishing, 1997), pp. 56-59.

³² For 1648, we only found the taxable rice fields. The area of tax-free rice fields remains unknown. Sources for figure 2 other than land survey reports include J. de Hullu, ed., *Dagh-register Gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant Passerende daer ter Plaetse als over Geheel Nederlandts-India, 1644-1645* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1903), p. 173; VOC 1160, f.162, letter from Francois Caron to Cornelis van der Lijn, Tayouan, 31 January 1646; VOC 1182, f.99, report by Willem Verstegen, Batavia, 20 January 1652; Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, Vol. 2: 1* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), p. 712; Frederik Coyet, ed., Inez de Beauclair, *Neglected Formosa*, p. 25.

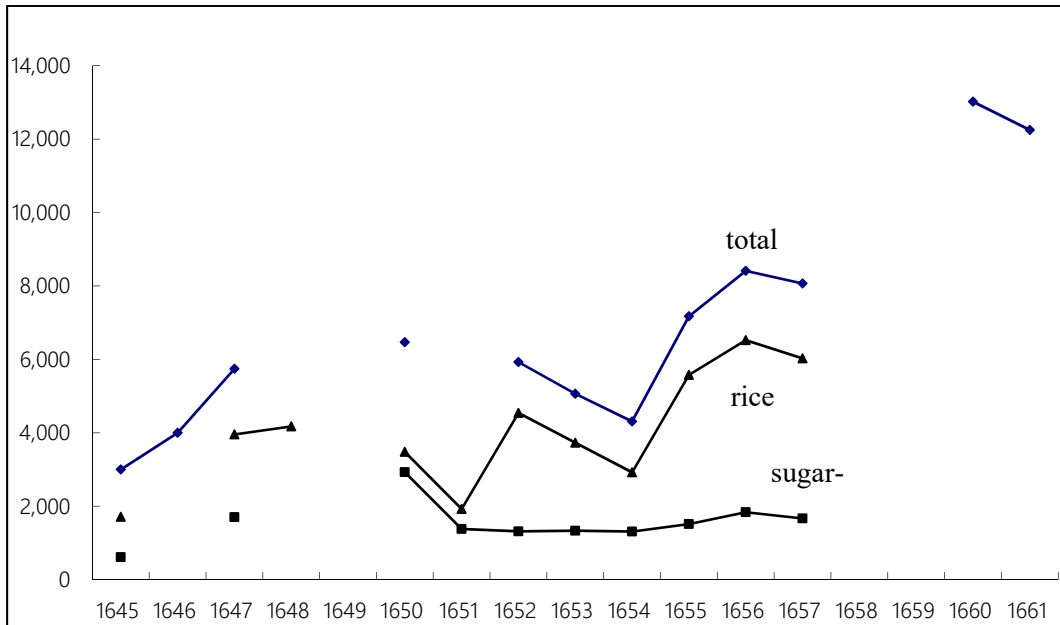


Figure 2. Farm Land (morgen): 1645-1661

Note: See table 2 in the appendix for data.

Rice and sugarcane were the main crops which accounted for 98% of total farm land. Other crops included potato, fruit trees, beans, oilseeds, indigo, hemp etc. To develop a sugar industry in Taiwan, the Company could not afford to ignore rice as a rivalry crop to sugarcane. Considering the good market for rice in 1648, Taiwan Governor, Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater, raised the purchase price of sugar from 3-4.25 reales per picul (=125 pounds; 100 catties) in the previous year to 5.25-5.75 reales per picul.³³ Governor-General in Batavia, Cornelis van der Lijn, suggested to raise the sugar price further to encourage the Chinese to plant sugarcane. He was afraid that the Chinese would switch to more profitable crops like rice or beans, and sugar production in Taiwan would then come to a full stop.³⁴

Between 1650 and 1654, the farm land decreased. It echoes the decrease of

³³ The conversion rate between a picul and a pound varied across places. The weight of one picul ranged from 120 to 125 pounds. Though in most places one picul weighed 125 pounds, in Taiwan and Batavia, it weighed 122 pounds. Since this paper deals with sugar markets world-wide, we choose the most common conversion rate. For details, see Marc Kooijmans and Judith Schoonveld-Oosterling, *VOC-Glossarium: Verklaringen van Termen, Verzameld uit de Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatie die Betrekking Hebben op de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2000), p. 91.

³⁴ Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, pp. 302-303.

population depicted in figure 1. The Dutch reported once in 1651 that many Chinese landlords fell into poverty. Being unable to pay up their debts, some of them fled on ships, and others were arrested and imprisoned. This caused the farm land to decrease significantly.³⁵ The Chinese revolt in 1652 and the resultant casualties must also have affected agriculture adversely. On the other hand, the farm land had a substantial growth from 1654 to 1660 in tandem with the population growth depicted in figure 1.³⁶

3. Sugar Production and Its Exports

The sugar output was regularly reported by the Governor-General to the Company's directors of the board in Amsterdam (or Gentlemen Seventeen), and can be easily compiled from the Governor-General's reports, *Generale Missiven*. On the other hand, we do not find consistent reports of exports, and have to work out a different research strategy for export data. At that time, Taiwan's sugar was exported to the Netherlands, Persia, Japan and China. Because the accounting books (*Negotie Journalen*) in the Japan Factory are well in order, we could use import records kept in Japan to study the export of Taiwan's sugar there.³⁷ For other markets, we consult ship invoices (*facturen*), diaries and correspondence.³⁸

³⁵ VOC 1183, f.853, letter from Willem Versteegen to Carel Reniers, Tayouan, 24 October 1651; *DZ, Deel III: 1648-1655*, pp. 269-270.

³⁶ The significant increase of farm land from 1657 to 1661 should have had nothing to do with a planned expansion of cane cultivation because from figure 3 of this paper, sugar outputs did not have a corresponding increase.

³⁷ Similar attempts are made by Yoko Nagazumi, "Formosan Trade in the Seventeenth Century: With Dutch Sources," trans., Shih-feng Liu, in Shi-yeoun Tang, ed., *Essays in Chinese Maritime Development History, Vol. 7: 1* (Taipei: Sun Yat-Sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 1999), pp. 37-57; Keisuke Yao, "Two Rivals on an Island of Sugar. The Sugar Trade of the VOC and Overseas Chinese in Formosa in the Seventeenth Century," in Leonard Blussé, ed., *Around and about Formosa: Essays in Honor of Professor Ts'ao Yung-ho* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education; SMC publishing Co., 2003), pp. 129-149, but they did not make use of ledgers (*Grote Boeken*). This paper uses ledgers in addition to *Negotie Journalen* to ensure accuracy, and there is some minor difference between our data and theirs.

³⁸ Similar research attempts have been made before. We check through all literature and compare our results with theirs to make sure better and more complete data are presented here. The previous literature includes Seiichi Iwao, "Exports of Sugar and Tea from Taiwan to Persia Three Hundred Years Ago," *Nan Pou Do Ku (Local Customs in the South)* (Taipei) 2: 2 (Apr. 1933), pp. 9-28; Shaogang Cheng, "Chinese Sugar Production and Its Trade in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Chinese Social and*

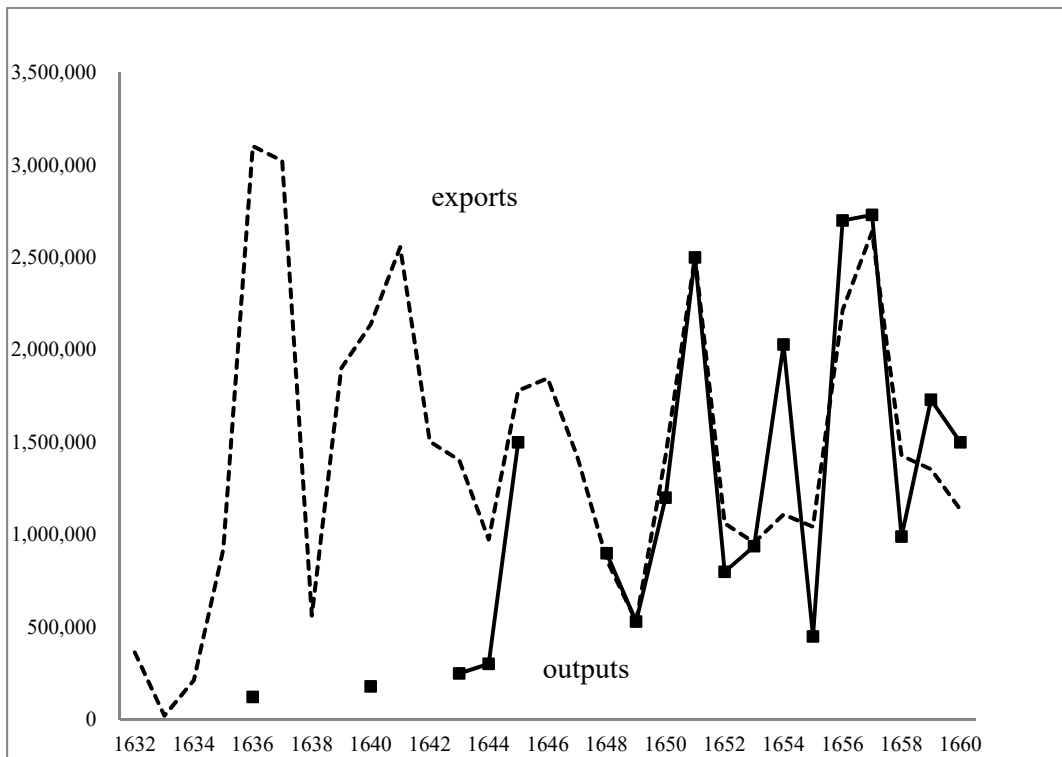


Figure 3. Sugar Outputs and Exports (catties): 1632-1660

Sources: See table 3 in the appendix.

Admittedly, exports compiled in this way may have errors when a shipping invoice is missing and the associated exports are not mentioned in other existing documents. However, since our export data trace closely the output data, the result is to a certain extent reliable.

Figure 3 depicts outputs and exports. The output data show an increasing trend with a lot of zigzags, thanks to natural hazards like droughts, frost and locusts. Reports of locusts were made between 1653 and 1655. The hazard was the most severe in 1654 when locusts covered the sky and it became dark in the daylight. All the tips of cane were eaten up by locusts and both the Dutch and the Chinese offered prize money to catch locusts. This yielded an abnormally low sugar output in 1655.³⁹

Economic History (Xiamen) 1994: 2 (1994), pp. 29-46; Wei-sheng Lin, "Taiwan's Sugar Trade in Dutch Colonial Era," in Su-chuan Chan, Lung-chieh Chang, and Shu-min Chung, eds., *Conference Proceedings: Celebration of Mr. Ts'ao Yung-ho's Eightieth Birthday* (Taipei: Lexis Book, 2001), pp. 7-29.

³⁹ *DZ, Deel IV: 1655-1662*, pp. 341, 354-355.

In the early years, outputs were much smaller than exports. It implies that the Company still relied heavily on the Chinese sugar for a re-export. In 1645, sugar output increased to such a high level that almost satisfied the trading needs of the Dutch. The Chinese merchants were advised not to send in any more sugar futilely because their sugar would be refused and returned.⁴⁰ In the same year, the Chinese started to export cane juice to China, but sugar itself was, for the time being, restricted to be the Company's trading good.

4. Markets

Figure 4 decomposes sugar exports to different markets. Considering the heavy transportation cost in the 17th century, one would imagine that sugar, the bulky good, would not be sent far away. But contrary to our intuition, before the mid-1650s, the export quantity increased with distance. The Netherlands was the

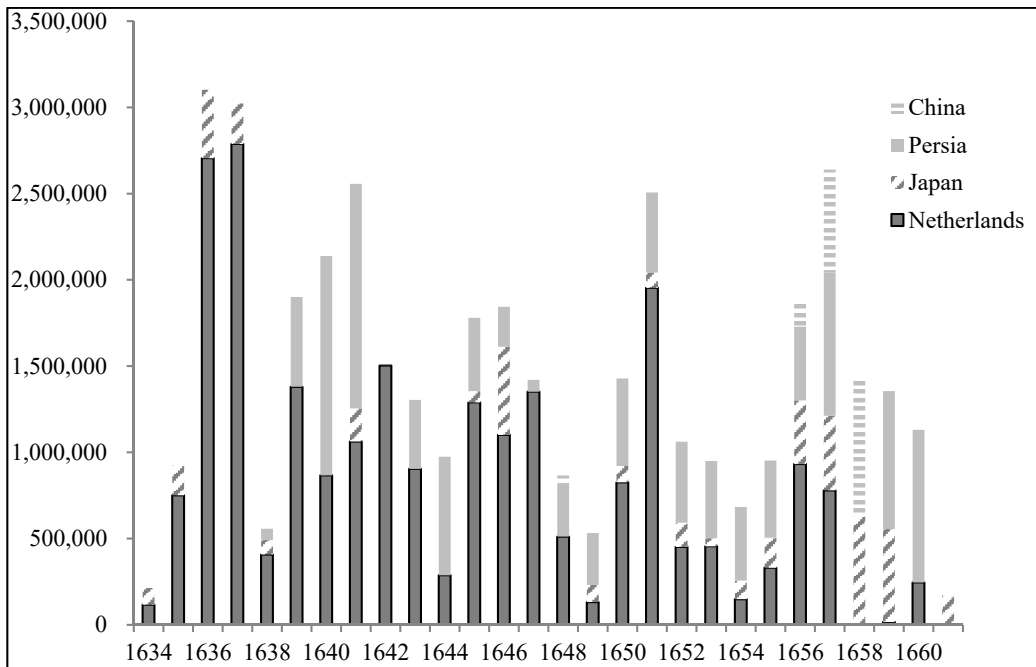


Figure 4. Sugar Exports to Different Markets (cattie)

Sources: See table 3 in the appendix.

⁴⁰ VOC 1149, ff.842-843, letter from Francois Caron to Cornelis van der Lijn, Tayouan, 25 October 1645.

most important market for Taiwan's sugar. Persia came as the second, Japan the third, and from 1656 onwards, after Gentlemen Seventeen lost interest in Taiwan's sugar, a large amount was shipped to China. That is, the sugar trade between Taiwan and China changed directions.

This result pretty much reflects the relative magnitude of demand from different markets. Each year, the VOC's factories, colonies and the headquarter in Amsterdam sent to Batavia lists of goods (*eijzen*) that they demanded from other places. There was a time lag between the time the order was placed and the time the cargo finally arrived. For instance, in August 1648, considering the concurrent market in Europe, Gentlemen Seventeen sent out an order for goods to be shipped home in 1650. Figure 5 depicts such demands for Taiwan's sugar from different markets, and the data for year t refers to the amount to be received in year t . Before the mid-1650s, demand from the Netherlands outweighed all other places, Persia was the second important market to Taiwan, and compared to them, demand from Japan was negligible except in the mid-1630s.

We have to clarify that demand from the Netherlands was meant for sugar from the East Indies in general. However, in most of the time, it simply meant sugar from China and Taiwan. For instance, in September 1637, observing a high price of sugar in Amsterdam, Gentlemen Seventeen asked for unlimited quantities of the best Chinese white candy sugar, loaf-sugar (*broodsuyckeren*) and powder sugar. If the supply from China was sufficient, it was advised that sugar from Bengal and Bantam should not be sent over because their prices were much higher and their quality was lower, and the brown sugar from Siam was asked not be sent at all.⁴¹ Similarly in other years, it was often specified that the demand was meant for sugar from China and Taiwan. The exceptional case was from 1661 to 1663 when white powder sugar from Taiwan and Batavia was both asked for.⁴² So by and large, the Dutch demand for Asian sugar depicted in figure 5 mainly reflects demand for sugar from China and Taiwan.

Figures 4 and 5 do not match perfectly. Sometimes the shipment fell short of the demand. This could be due to insufficient output, or shipping capacity

⁴¹ J. J. Reesse, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam, van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813: een Bijdrage tot de Handelsgeschiedenis des Vaderlands, Hoofdzakelijk uit de Archieven Verzameld en Samengesteld* (Haarlem: J.L.E.I. Kleynenberg, 1908), p. 161.

⁴² The VOC lost Taiwan in 1662, and the demand for Taiwan's sugar afterwards seemed senseless, but when placing the order in September, 1661, Gentlemen Seventeen was not aware of the approaching crisis in the East Indies.

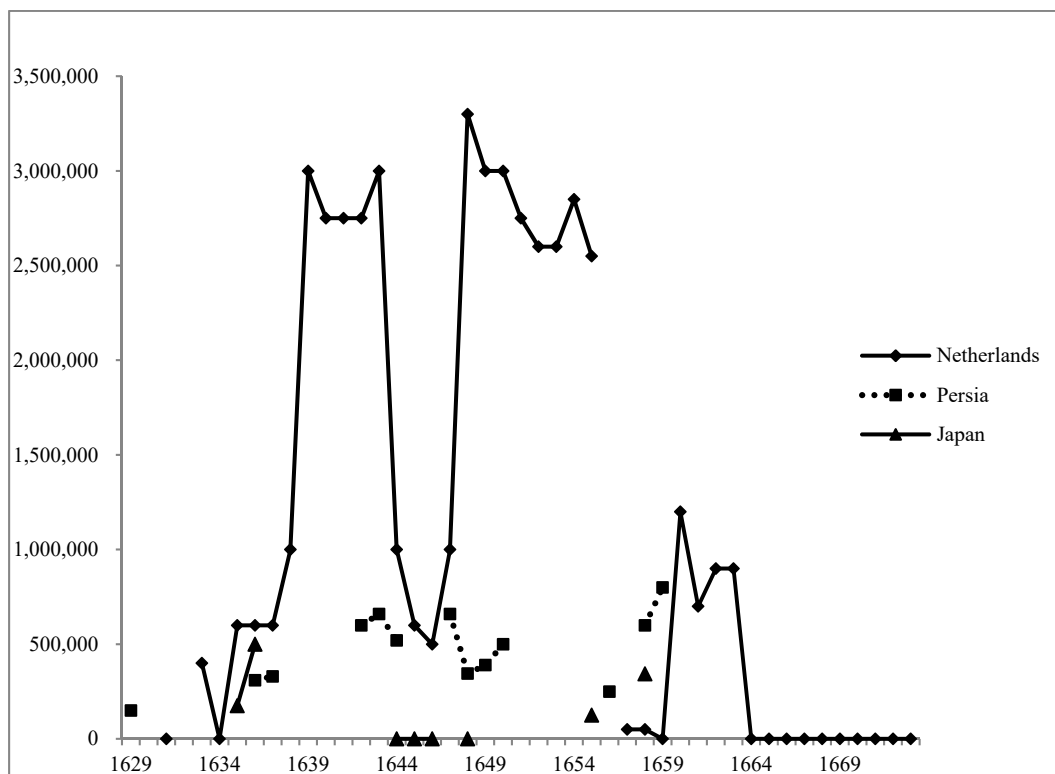


Figure 5. Demand for Sugar from Taiwan and China (pound)

Note: (1) The time lags between the time the order was placed and the time the cargo was expected to arrive differed among these markets. In year t , Persia and the Netherlands would place their demand for goods to arrive in year $t+1$ and $t+2$, respectively. In the figure, the data point for 1648 means sugar expected to receive in 1648. The same applies to other years. (2) For those years when unlimited quantity of powder sugar was asked for, we assume the demand to be 3 million pound, a little higher than the maximum of demand for powder sugar in other years which was 2.75 million pound.

Sources: See table 4 in the appendix.

constraints. For instance, in 1646, sugar exported to Persia was less than half of the amount of the previous year, and it did not fulfill the demand of Persia Factory. According to Taiwan Governor, Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater, the supply was bountiful, but because copper from Japan also needed to be forwarded to Persia, there was not enough cabin room to carry all the sugar. Actually, the Company decided to build a new warehouse that year in Taiwan to store unshipped sugar and deerskins.⁴³ On the other hand, when there was extra sugar, Taiwan Governor

⁴³ VOC 1163, f.297, letter from Pieter Anthonisz. Overtwater to Wolbrandt, Tayouan, 29 November 1646; *DZ, Deel II: 1641-1648*, p. 535.

would attempt to force sales to other factories. For instance, while only 1,000 picul sugar was demanded by the Japan Factory for 1656, Taiwan Governor, Cornelis Caesar, sent 3,688 piculs instead, because he thought that sugar lying vainly in warehouse did not contribute to accumulation of capital.⁴⁴ Such a scheme did not always work out. When the ship *Sperwer* carried 920 picul sugar to Japan in 1653, because it exceeded the requested shipment, the cargo was refused and returned to Taiwan and then sent to Persia and Surat instead.⁴⁵

Despite the discrepancies between figure 4 and figure 5, exports are still related to demands by and large, and we could try to understand sugar trade in different markets based on the demands depicted in figure 5. The trade theory dictates that the larger the difference between trading parties' preferences or production capabilities, the larger benefit will be obtained from the trade. It follows that the place most far away from the sugar production site has the keenest interest in procuring sugar. The theory helps explain the relative strength in demand depicted in figure 5.

The Company did not have a monopoly in any of these markets. Figure 6 depicts the amounts of sugar shipped to Japan by the VOC and the Chinese junks. Apparently, Chinese merchants played a more dominant role in Japan's sugar market. Besides sugar from China, they also imported sugar from Cochin China, Quinam and Siam.⁴⁶ Taiwan's sugar hence had to compete in Japan with sugar from China and Indochina. The Dutch always had to speculate about the supply by the Chinese to predict the sugar price in Japan. The guess sometimes went astray. For instance, in 1656, based on his intelligence report that the sugar price in China went high as 12 tailen per picul,⁴⁷ Taiwan Governor, Cornelis Caesar,

⁴⁴ VOC 1213, f.462, letter from Leonard Winninx to Cornelis Caesar, Nagasaki, 19 October 1655; VOC 1218, f.4, letter from Cornelis Caesar to Joan Maetsuijcker, Tayouan, 20 November 1656.

⁴⁵ VOC 1197, f.783, letter from Cornelis Caesar to Joan Maetsuijcker, Tayouan, 24 October 1653.

⁴⁶ Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, trans. and eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents* (abbreviated hence *DD*), *Vol. XI: 1641-1650* (Leiden: Leiden Centre for the History of European Expansion, 2001), pp. 169, 234; Leonard Blussé and Cynthia Viallé, trans. and eds., *The Deshima Dagregisters: Their Original Tables of Contents* (abbreviated hence *DD*), *Vol. XII: 1650-1660* (Leiden: Centre for the History of European Expansion, 2005), p. 105.

⁴⁷ Before 1666, VOC's employees at Japan factory converted 1 tail to 57 Dutch stuivers (=0.05 guilder). After that, they were instructed to convert 1 tail to 70 stuivers, but at the same time, the Chinese tail was considered to be worth 80 stuivers. See Marc Kooijmans and Judith Schoonveld-Oosterling, *VOC-Glossarium: Verklaringen van Termen, Verzameld uit de Rijks Geschiedkundige Publication die Betrekking Hebben op de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, p. 112.

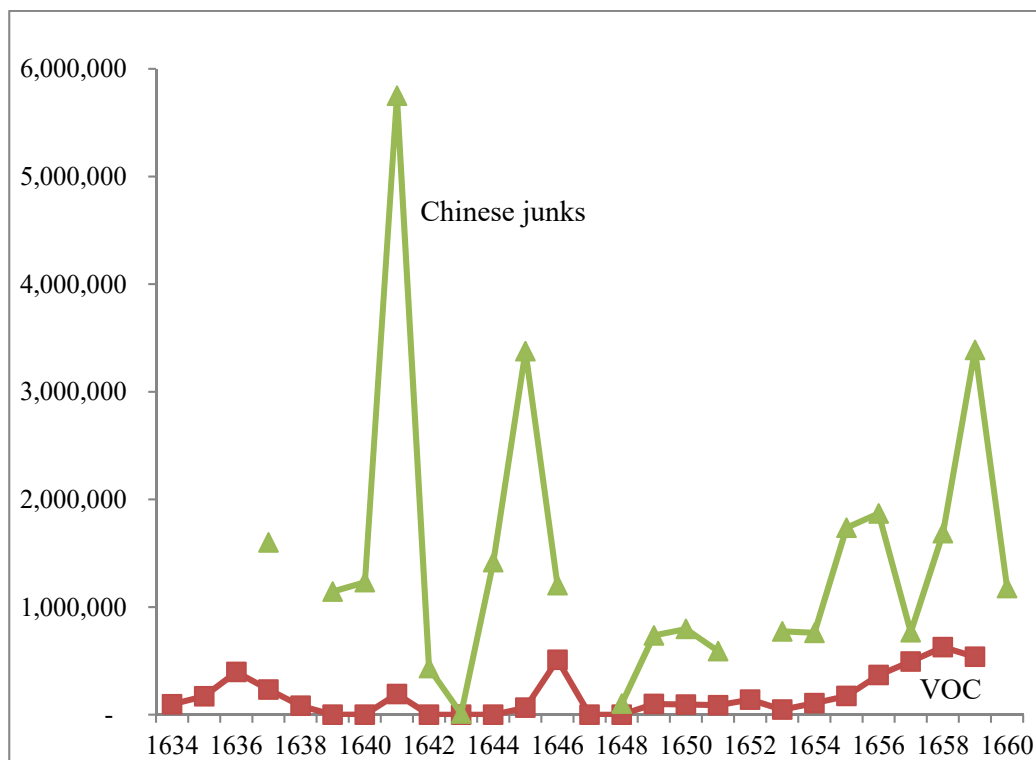


Figure 6. Sugar brought to Japan by the VOC and the Chinese (cattles)

Sources: See table 5 in the Appendix.

concluded that not much of Chinese sugar would be sent to Japan and hence delivered 3,688 picul Taiwan's sugar to Japan with an expectation of a high price there. It turned out that Fukienese merchants dispatched 25 junks carrying 18,000 picul sugar to Japan that year, and the sugar price ended up in the range of 6.71-8.36 tailen per picul instead.⁴⁸

In Persia, the Dutch faced competition from private English merchants as well as from Indian and other Asian traders.⁴⁹ Supplies by other merchants would

⁴⁸ Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 455; VOC 1218, f.110, resolution, Tayouan, 26 June 1656; VOC 1218, ff.370, 380, 383, letters from Cornelis Ceasar to Joan Boucheljon, Tayouan, dated on 8 July, 24 August and 21 October 1656, respectively.

⁴⁹ Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 175; K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 207-208, points out that by the 10th century, many regions of Islam were fully integrated into a structure of distant economic exchange, and Middle Eastern port-towns received a substantial volume of imports from the coastal regions of India.

check the demand for Taiwanese sugar. In 1640 and 1641, sugar exported from Taiwan to Persia amounted to about 13,000 piculs in a year. It dropped suddenly to 10 piculs in 1642, due to a decrease in the demand from Persia. Taiwan Governor, Paulus Traudenius, wrote in 1642 to the Company's employee in Persia, Solbrant Geleijnsz., to complain about the decrease in demand and wished it to increase to the previous level in the future.⁵⁰ The demand did increase, but Taiwan never exported sugar to Persia at the same level of the early 1640s. Aside from competition that the Dutch faced, the Company itself also decided to send Persia sugar from other places than Taiwan. For the period from 1647 to 1649, Persia Factory's demand for Bengal's sugar even exceeded its demand for Taiwan's sugar. In the following, we shall focus on the most important market, the Netherlands, and study how fluctuations of its demand affected sugar production in Taiwan.

Before the Company occupied Taiwan, Gentlemen Seventeen already expressed their interest in sugar in the East Indies. They once ordered in 1616 that ships idle in Asia should return to the Netherlands and carry home sugar or other goods at hand.⁵¹ In 1619, they asked for candy sugar in the East Indies if the price was reasonable. On the other hand, powder sugar was considered as a ballast. If there was good white powder sugar, the ship was suggested to be completely ballasted with sugar (rather than stone). And sugar must be placed at the bottom, otherwise when it melted and dripped, other goods became spoilt.⁵²

Gentlemen Seventeen's interest in sugar from the East Indies was closely related to the sugar price they observed in Amsterdam. For instance, in 1637, when asking for 25,000-30,000 picul Asian sugar, they explained clearly that the large demand was due to an increase in local sugar price of 0.175 guilder per pound. To understand their demand over time, we depict prices of Brazilian white sugar in Amsterdam in figure 7.

The figure shows a surprising result that the sugar price in Amsterdam was high during the period that the Dutch West India Company (*West-Indische*

⁵⁰ VOC 1146, f.758, letter from Paulus Traudenius to Wollebrandt Geleijnszen, Tayouan, 12 November 1642.

⁵¹ J. J. Reese, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam, van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813: een Bijdrage tot de Handelsgeschiedenis des Vaderlands, Hoofdzakelijk uit de Archieven Verzameld en Samengesteld*, p. 160.

⁵² Pieter van Dam, *Beschryving van de Oostindische Compagnie, Vol. 1: 2* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1929), p. 134.

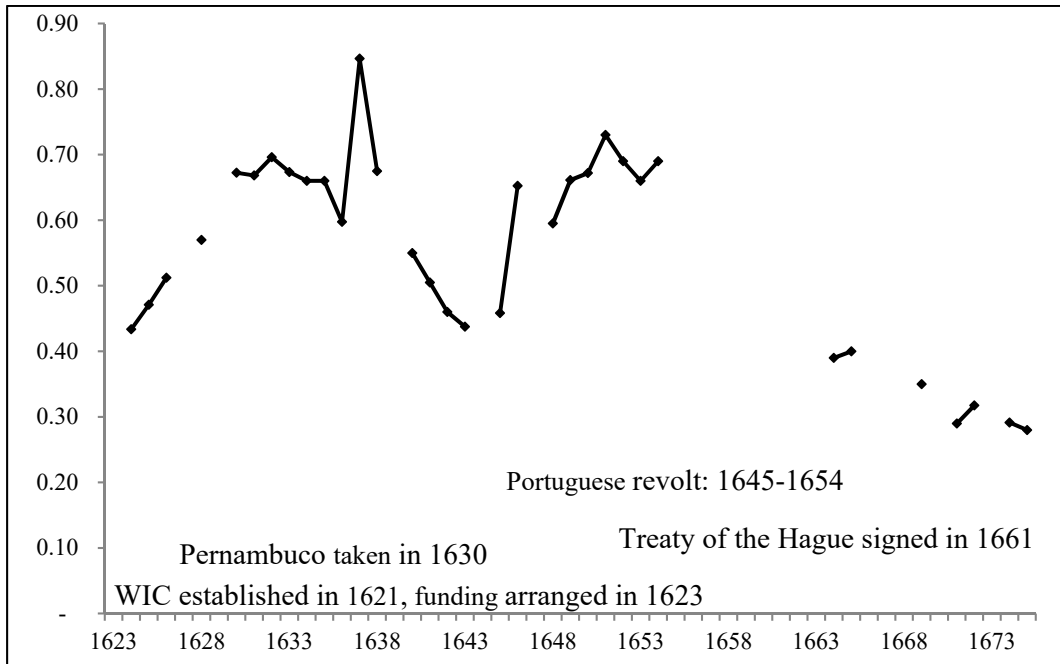


Figure 7. Prices of Brazilian White Sugar in Amsterdam (guilders/pound)

Sources: (1) See table 6 in the appendix for the data. (2) The historical events are cited from Wikipedia (Dutch West India Company and Dutch Brazil) and Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 95.

Compagnie or WIC) occupied Brazil. To fight for its independence, the Netherlands started the eighty-year war with Spain in 1568. A truce for twelve years was signed in 1609. Because Portugal and Spain were allies, during the truce, the Dutch was allowed to trade with the Portuguese Brazil. When the truce ended in 1621, the WIC was established and one of its main objects was to continue obtaining sugar from Brazil. After raising funds in 1623, the WIC sent out a large fleet next year to invade Brazil. In 1630, it successfully took the most important place to produce sugar: Pernambuco, and after a series of successful battles, the Dutch occupied more than half of contemporary Brazil. Following the WIC's plan, after its invasion of Brazil, sugar supply at home should have increased and the sugar price should have decreased. However, invading Brazil did not bring down the sugar price at home. On the contrary, the sugar price started to increase after a series of military successes. In the period from 1624 to 1637, the price of Brazilian sugar doubled in Amsterdam. This is because during the period of the Dutch invasion, the burning of sugarcane field and sugar mills by both invaders and resisters put more

than one third of sugar mills in the region of Pernambuco out of operation.⁵³

Though the sugar price dropped after 1637 when the situation in Brazil stabilized, it increased again when the Portuguese sugar planters in Brazil revolted against the Dutch in 1645. The Dutch surrendered in 1654, and the peace treaty was not signed till 1661 in the Hague when the Netherlands formally ceded Brazil and Portugal paid an indemnity in return.⁵⁴ Ironically, the sugar price dropped after the Dutch surrendered and peace was restored in Brazil.

So, to our surprise, the establishment of the WIC and its invasion of Brazil did not bring a blow to sugar production in the East Indies. On the contrary, it stimulated demand for Taiwan's sugar. However, after the WIC's surrender, in 1655, Gentlemen Seventeen ordered merely 400 picul candy sugar from Batavia. Powder sugar was asked not to send any more unless it could not be sold in the East Indies. They also considered the purchase price of Taiwan's sugar too high, and asked to lower it to no more than 5 reales per picul.⁵⁵ In 1656, Gentlemen Seventeen again asked not to send any more sugar unless necessary. It was because the sugar price at home was very low as the market was full of sugar from Barbado, Caribbean Islands and Brazil.⁵⁶

5. The Company's Profit and Chinese Farmers' Income

(1) Prices

To understand the profitability of Taiwan's sugar, we have to first study both its sale price and its purchase price. The purchase price could be recovered in a systematic manner from the import records in the accounting books kept by

⁵³ Stuart B. Schwartz, "A Commonwealth within Itself: The Early Brazilian Sugar Industry, 1550-1670," in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680*, p. 166.

⁵⁴ Wikipedia: Dutch West India Company and Dutch Brazil.

⁵⁵ VOC 103, f.635, resolution in Amsterdam, 2 November 1655.

⁵⁶ VOC 104, ff.97-98, resolution in Amsterdam, 7 October 1656. For similar discussion, see Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), pp. 157-159; Wei-sheng Lin, "Taiwan's Sugar Trade in Dutch Colonial Era," p. 20. Their source is J. J. Reesse, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam, van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813: een Bijdrage tot de Handelsgeschiedenis des Vaderlands, Hoofdzakelijk uit de Archieven Verzameld en Samengesteld*, p. CXIII.

the Japan Factory. On the other hand, the sales records in these accounting books give us the sale price of Taiwan's sugar in Japan.

Kristof Glamann compiles the sale price of sugar from the East Indies in Amsterdam.⁵⁷ It is the auction price of sugar when the Company sold cargoes in public at the arrival of their ships. For instance, in September 1632, all imported Chinese sugar was sold by the Company to a single buyer, Jan van Hoorn, at the price of 21 groot per pound.⁵⁸ Because Glamann's data are only up to 1637, to understand the sugar market in Amsterdam in the later period, in figure 8, we present the price of Brazilian sugar along with the price of sugar from the East Indies. In most of the overlapping period, Brazilian sugar seemed to fetch a higher price. But that does not imply sugar from the East Indies was cheaper, because the Brazilian sugar price was cited from Posthumus, N.W. who reported the monthly prices at the Amsterdam Produce Exchange,⁵⁹ while the East Indian sugar price was the auction price bid at ships' arrival. We expect that when the above mentioned Jan van Hoorn resold his sugar at the Produce Exchange, he would charge a price higher than his bid at the auction.

The sale price of Taiwan's sugar in Persia could be found in the price currents (*prijis-couranten*) prepared by the Company's local employees. The reports also showed prices of sugar sent by the Company from other places like Bengal, Lahore and Agra. To keep our presentation compact, we only show prices of sugar from Taiwan. There is a significant difference between the price reported at Gamron, a port, and the price reported at the inland capital, Spahan. Because data at Gamron are more complete, we choose to present prices at Gamron.⁶⁰

Figure 8 summarizes prices in all markets. It is clear that Taiwan's sugar fetched the highest price in the Netherlands and the lowest price in Japan. It explains why before the Brazilian revolt was over, the Netherlands was the most important market to Taiwan and Japan was the least important one as demonstrated in figure 4.

⁵⁷ Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, pp. 153-154. His source is VOC 101.

⁵⁸ VOC 7346 (no folio number), resolution in Amsterdam, 28 September 1632. 1 groot = 0.5 stuiver.

⁵⁹ N. W. Posthumus, *Nederlandsche Prijs-geschiedenis, Deel I: Goederenprijzen of de Beurs van Amsterdam, 1585-1914; Wisselkoersen te Amsterdam, 1609-1914* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943).

⁶⁰ The prices in 1624 and 1625 are indirectly cited from Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, Vol. 2: 3* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), p. 344. He did not explicitly state which markets he referred to. Since the VOC established its first factory in Persia in 1623 in Bandar Abbas which was close to Gamron [Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf: An Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 160], we assume van Dam referred to sugar prices in Gamron.

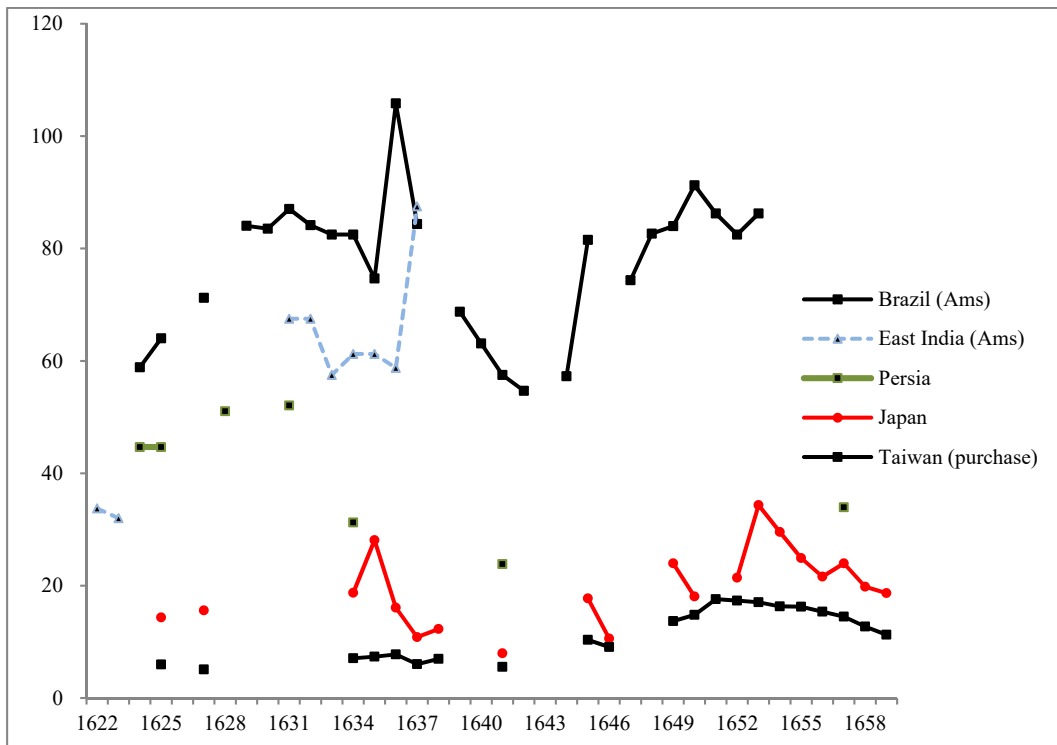


Figure 8. Sugar Prices (guilders/picul)

Note: The Persian prices were expressed in local currencies. We use the following exchange rates to convert them: 1 mamoedijs = 8 stuijver = 0.4 guilder; 1 oury = 10 mamoedijs; 1 larijn = 10 stuijver = 0.5 guilder.

Sources: See table 6 in the appendix.

(2) Profits

The data in figure 8 provide us a basis to assess profits of Taiwan's sugar to the Company. The Company itself calculated a gross margin (*rendement, advance*) in the following simple manner:

$$\text{gross margin} = \frac{S-M}{M}, \quad (1)$$

where S stands for sales revenue and M stands for a commodity's cost as recorded in the invoice (*factur*). The simple formula is criticized for not taking into account the transportation cost, the inventory cost, the operating cost of factories and

depreciation of ships.⁶¹ But to make our calculation comparable to the Company's limited records, we first use this simple formula to calculate the gross margin, and then consider how to estimate other ignored costs to derive a better margin. Suppose that the purchased sugar could be all sold out, and there was no loss of sugar in transportation. Formula (1) could then be expressed as follows:

$$\text{sugar's gross margin} = \frac{P_S * q - P_M * q}{P_M * q} = \frac{P_S - P_M}{P_M} = \frac{P_S}{P_M} - 1, \quad (2)$$

where P_S and P_M stand for sugar's sale price and purchase price, respectively; and q stands for the trading quantity.

After plugging data in figure 8 into formula (2), from 1634 to 1636, the gross margin of sugar from Taiwan in the Netherlands was between 696% and 1,023%.⁶² From 1625 to 1641, the gross margin in Persia was between 323% and 645%.⁶³ From 1625 to 1659, the gross margin in Japan varied wildly between 22% and 281%.

The gross margin in China has to be calculated in a different manner. Because the Company could not directly sell to China, it relied on Chinese merchants as middlemen. The receipts it had from Chinese merchants included sales revenue and export duties. For instance, in November 1656, Taiwan Governor and his Council decided that Chinese merchants could purchase brown sugar from the Company at the price of 5 reales per picul, and had to pay another 0.5 real per picul when exporting. White sugar which was of a better quality was not allowed to be shipped to China.⁶⁴ From the accounting records kept at the Japan Factory, the purchase price of Taiwan's sugar in 1656 ranged from 4.25 to 6.375 reales per picul. If the purchase price of brown sugar was 4.25 reales per picul, then the gross margin of sugar indirectly sold to China in 1656 was 29% (= (5+0.5-4.25)/4.25).

⁶¹ Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, pp. 260-261; Ryuto Shimada, *The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), p. 34.

⁶² We consider a one year time lag between purchase and sale. When calculating the gross margin for 1634, we consider the sugar was purchased in 1634 in Taiwan, and sold later in 1635 in Amsterdam.

⁶³ Theoretically, we should also consider a one year time lag for Persia. However, in our limited data set, there is no pair of Taiwan's purchase price and Persia's sale price that have exactly a one year lag. We are forced to use the purchase price and the sale price of the same year. So long as Taiwan's purchase price did not change drastically in two consecutive years, the error of our estimate is limited.

⁶⁴ VOC 1218, f.112r, resolution in Tayouan, 26 June 1656.

The calculation above certainly yields an overestimate of the profit because it ignores costs other than sugar's purchase prices. Fortunately, the accounting books kept by the Japan Factory shed some light to other costs incurred. Starting in 1649, the accounting books showed the cost of sugar chests (*kisten*) and from 1655 onwards, it included costs other than chests as well (*onkosten*). We assume these other costs refer to operating costs, e.g. personnel cost, associated with transactions of sugar. How to decide a fair transaction cost was always a challenge to accountants. In 1655, the Company took 3% of the sum of sugar's purchase price and costs of sugar chests as *onkosten*. The ratio then decreased to 1.5% in 1656 and 1% in 1658. For those years that the accounting books showed costs of chests and *onkosten*, the average cost of chest per picul sugar was 1.32 guilders and the average *onkosten* per picul sugar was 0.24 guilder. We shall use their sum, 1.56 guilders per picul, as the handling cost.

We do not find any accounting records about the transportation cost. However, in 1636, Gentlemen Seventeen once made an estimate of it. They considered to send a ship to Batavia to bring back 450,000 pound sugar in 20 months. 15% of sugar was estimated to be lost on the way. The crew's fee, provisions, and the ship's depreciation were estimated to amount to 30,000 guilders.⁶⁵ Suppose this was meant for costs of a round trip, then to ship sugar from the East Indies to Amsterdam would cost 4.17 ($= (30,000/450,000) * 125/2$) guilders per picul. We further assume transportation costs increase proportionally in distance. Considering the port to port distance between Taiwan and Nagasaki, Bandar Abbas and Amsterdam (via Batavia),⁶⁶ respectively, we calculate the transportation costs to be 0.31, 1.83 and 4.86 guilders per picul when Taiwan's sugar was shipped to Japan, Persia and the Netherlands. Regarding the loss on the way, for Japan, we simply cite the loss recorded in the accounting book. For the Netherlands, we follow Gentlemen Seventeen's suggestion and assume it to be 15%. We also assume that the loss increased proportionally in distance, and calculate the loss on the way to Persia to be 7%. After considering all these factors, we could calculate the net profit margin. For instance, the formula for the Netherlands is:

⁶⁵ Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, p. 48.

⁶⁶ The port to port distance is cited from <http://www.searates.com/reference/portdistance>, accessed 15 November, 2012. Because Taiwan Port (current Anping) is no more an international port, we cannot find its distance to other international ports from the website. We use Kaohsiung, the international port very close to Anping, as a proxy.

$$\text{sugar's net profit margin} = \frac{85\% * P_s}{P_M + 1.56 + 4.86} - 1. \quad (3)$$

According to formula (3), from 1634 to 1636, the net profit margin in the Netherlands was between 262% and 423%. From 1625 to 1641, the margin in Persia was between 148% and 342%. From 1625 to 1659, the margin in Japan was between -3% and 204%. If Chinese merchants were responsible for the packing of their purchased sugar, the margin to sell to Chinese merchants was 29% as previously calculated.

The profit margins in the Netherlands and in Persia in the early period are quite impressive. Glamann once compiled value of cargoes received from Asia and their sale revenue in the Netherlands from decade to decade.⁶⁷ Between 1639/40 and 1649/50, according to his numbers, the average (gross) profit margin was 176%, and these cargoes mainly consisted of spices and pepper. Compared to these articles, the performance of sugar from Taiwan in the early period was not inferior at all.

Because of our limited data, only margins in the early period could be calculated for Persia and the Netherlands. Figures 5 and 8 hinted that the margins in these two places should become much lower in the 1650s. In the case of the Netherlands, we already know that Gentlemen Seventeen lost interest in Taiwan's sugar when the Brazilian revolt ended. And for Persia, Governor-General in Batavia, Joan Maetsuycker, reported that the gross margin (as calculated by formula (1)) dropped to 96.75% in 1657.⁶⁸ If we consider transportation cost and other costs, the net margin should be 77%. In Japan, from 1654 to 1659, the margin was low between 22% to 30%, almost the same as the margin earned from the sales to Chinese merchants. It explains why after losing the market in the Netherlands, Taiwan's sugar was sent by and large equally to Persia, Japan and China.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, pp. 13-16.

⁶⁸ W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (abbreviated hence *GM*), *Deel III: 1655-1674* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), p. 173.

⁶⁹ From figure 4, Taiwan continued exporting sugar to the Netherlands after 1655, though the quantity was not comparable to the quantity before the Portuguese revolt. Wei-sheng Lin, "Taiwan's Sugar Trade in Dutch Colonial Era," p. 20, also points out that after 1655, Taiwan's sugar was sent to Persia, Japan and China, but he ignores that in some years the Netherlands remained an important market.

(3) A Cane Farmer's Income

Our data also allow us to estimate a Chinese cane farmer's income. For those years that we know both the sugar purchase price and the sugar output, multiplying them yields the product value of Taiwan's sugar which was to be divided between Chinese mill owners and their hired farmers. The returns to mill owners were to compensate their provision of various capital goods including cattle, sugar mills, pots to boil cane juice, etc. In the Qing dynasty Taiwan, on average, a mill owner received half of sugar's product value.⁷⁰ Since the sugar production technology hardly changed from the Dutch era to the Qing dynasty, we assume that mill owners in the Dutch era also received about half of sugar's product value. So long as we know the number of cane farmers in the Dutch era, dividing half of the product value by the number will give us a cane farmer's income. Assuming that the proportion of cane farmers to the Chinese population is the same as the proportion of the cane field area to the total farm area, with our population data and farm land area presented earlier, we obtain an estimate of the population of cane farmers.

In our data set, only in the period from 1650 to 1657, variables mentioned above are all available. In this period, the estimated per capita income of cane farmers ranged from 4.44 reales to 25.15 reales. Since the sugar purchase price only changed from 6.04 reales per picul to 6.90 reales per picul, the huge fluctuations in income mainly resulted from the unstable productivity of sugarcane thanks to natural hazards. The poll tax in this period increased from 3 reales to 3.5 reales per person per year. When compared to the income, the poll tax was like an income tax at the rate from 14% to 79%.

According to Jan De Vries and Ad van der Woude, in the 1650's, among construction workers in the east Netherlands, a hod carrier had the lowest daily wage. It was 13 stuivers in 1650 and 14.4 stuivers in 1655. Suppose a hod carrier worked 307 days in a year, his annual income would be 3,991 stuivers and 4,421 stuivers in these two years. If we use the official exchange rate to convert 1 real to 48 stuivers, a Chinese cane farmer's annual income estimated above ranged from 213 stuivers to 1,207 stuivers, way below the income of a Dutch hod carrier. The food expenses of an orphan in the Dutch orphanage was estimated to

⁷⁰ Provisional Investigation Committee of Taiwan's Old Customs, *About Old Customs in Taiwan Sugar Industry* (Kobe: Provisional Investigation Committee of Taiwan's Old Customs, 1909), pp. 70-71.

be 767 stuivers in this period. So in a year of a bad harvest, a cane farmer's income could not even support the living of a Dutch orphan.⁷¹

It is not our intention to blame the VOC to exploit Chinese farmers to create an outrageous return. After all, unlike African slaves producing sugar in the West Indies, Chinese farmers came to Taiwan out of their own free will. Their choice revealed that if they stayed in Fukien, even less could be made. This conjecture could be backed up by Angus Maddison. According to his estimate, Chinese GDP per capita, expressed by 1990 international dollars, was 600 in both 1600 and 1700. On the other hand, the Dutch GDP per capita was 1,381 in 1600 and 2,130 in 1700,⁷² i.e. 2.30 and 3.55 times the Chinese one, respectively. Recall that Chinese migrants came from the bottom 6% of Fukien Province. Their income in Taiwan when the harvest was good, though still less than a third of a Dutch hod carrier's income, was already very close to the average income in China. That must have meant a significant gain to them.

Note that in our calculation, only farmers' income from sugar is considered. In case they had some sideline work and a supplementary income, their economic conditions surpassed our estimation. If we consider a Chinese coolie's income in Taiwan, we shall have some rough idea about a cane farmer's total income, earnings from his sideline work included. The daily wage of a Chinese coolie was 6 stuivers,⁷³ if he worked for a maximum of 307 days in a year, his annual income would be 1,842 stuivers. However, the VOC only had demand for these coolies on special occasions, for instance, when castles were constructed. So we cannot expect a Chinese coolie to have a steady annual income of 1,842 stuivers. Considering that a cane farmer could switch to be a coolie when the latter's income was higher (and vice versa), a farmer's income should be about the same as a coolie's income. Thus, a cane farmer's income should be more than our estimate, but no more than 1,842 stuivers which were still below the income of a hod carrier in the Netherlands.

⁷¹ After Calvinism prevailed in the Netherlands, in 1574, all holidays except Sunday and five religious holidays were abolished. It established a work year of 307 days. Pay records show labor routinely worked over 300 days in a year. Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 612-613, 616-617, 625.

⁷² Angus Maddison, *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD: Essays in Macro-Economic History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 382.

⁷³ Pol Heyns, *Economy, Land Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa*, p. 145.

Next, we shall consider incomes of other contemporary occupations in Taiwan. The VOC also hired Chinese skilled labor, like carpenters or bricklayers, whose wage doubled that of a coolie.⁷⁴ If they worked a maximum of 307 days, their annual income would be 3,684 stuivers per capita which was still lower than, but comparable to, the lowest income of a construction worker in the Netherlands. A soldier received monthly 9 guilders from the VOC when in Taiwan. This accounted for half of his salary, and he would receive the remaining half when returning to the Netherlands.⁷⁵ Without time discounting, a VOC soldier's annual income would be 4,320 stuivers ($= 9 \times 12 \times 2 \times 20$), higher than a Chinese skilled labor. In sum, a cane farmer probably earned the lowest income in Taiwan: half the income of a Chinese skilled labor and even less than a Dutch soldier.

6. Conclusion

The VOC came to Taiwan when sugar from the West Indies was in a short supply and the Company keenly sought for an alternative supply from Asia. Taiwan became a natural sugar colony since Fukienese farmers across the Strait were experienced sugar producers, and famine and China's civil wars pushed poor farmers to migrate to Taiwan. With encouragement from the VOC, from 1640 to 1661, the Chinese population in Taiwan increased from 3 thousands to 25 thousands, and from 1645 to 1661, the farm land increased from 3 thousand morgen to 12 thousand morgen. While the Chinese worked in the cane-field and sugar mills, the Dutch was responsible for the marketing and transportation of sugar. Our study suggests that Chinese migrants made a significantly better living in Taiwan than in China. However, the VOC was even a bigger winner since their net profit margins reached 300% or even 400%. As the Brazilian revolt ended and Brazilian sugar flooded the European market in the mid-1650s, the Company lost interest in sugar from the East Indies. Persia, Japan and China then became main markets for Taiwan's sugar.

The development of the sugar industry was not a win-win situation for everyone. Aggressive agriculture development by joint efforts of the Dutch and the Chinese encroached habitats of wildlife and in some places native hunters

⁷⁴ Pol Heyns, *Economy, Land Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa*, p. 145.

⁷⁵ Pol Heyns, *Economy, Land Rights and Taxation in Dutch Formosa*, pp. 69-70.

could no more find their prey. When the aborigines complained about their loss of hunting ground, the Company decided to use the tithes collected from Chinese farmers to compensate their loss.⁷⁶ How the welfare of aborigines was affected when the Dutch and the Chinese co-colonized Taiwan awaits future research.

⁷⁶ Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts, and Evelien Frech, eds., *The Formosan Encounter -- Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society: A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources, Vol. 3: 1646-1654* (Taipei: Shung-Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006), pp. 300-303, 307-309, 406, 422-423; Hui-wen Koo, "Deer Hunting and Preserving the Commons in Dutch Colonial Taiwan," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42: 2 (Autumn 2011), pp. 185-203.

Appendix

Table 1. Estimated Chinese Population: 1640-1661

	based on population flow	based on poll tax
1640	3,112	3,112
1641	3,112	
1642	3,151	
1643	5,026	7,000
1644	3,795	
1645	5,728	
1646	6,015	10,000
1647	9,354	10,000
1648	14,073	
1649	14,073	12,000
1650	13,515	10,811
1651	14,810	14,400
1652	12,310	
1653	12,310	10,629
1654	13,093	10,372
1655	15,780	11,315
1656	15,343	11,315
1657	18,544	14,229
.....		
1661	25,000	

Table 2. Farm Land (morgen): 1645-1661

	total	sugar-cane	rice
1645	3,000	612	1,713
1646	4,000		
1647	5,743	1,704	3,957
1648			4,177
1649			
1650	6,470	2,928	3,481
1651		1,380	1,924
1652	5,929	1,315	4,539
1653	5,065	1,334	3,731
1654	4,309	1,310	2,923
1655	7,174	1,516	5,578
1656	8,413	1,837	6,526
1657	8,070	1,668	6,026
...			
1660	13,020		
1661	12,252		

Table 3. Sugar Outputs and Exports (catties): 1632-1660

	output	exports					
		total	Netherlands	Persia	Japan	China	others
1632		364,067					
1633		21,306					
1634		213,840	116,250		97,590		
1635		922,745	750,616		172,129		
1636	122,503	3,102,535	2,705,404		397,131		
1637		3,022,340	2,787,798		234,542		
1638		562,220	407,191	65,625	83,800		5,604
1639		1,900,542	1,379,596	520,946			
1640	180,000	2,138,409	866,070	1,271,339	1,000		
1641		2,556,316	1,062,486	1,301,578	192,252		
1642		1,503,990	1,502,990	1,000			
1643	250,000	1,404,173	904,173	400,000			100,000
1644	301,400	974,174	286,906	687,268			
1645	1,500,000	1,780,094	1,289,210	425,200	65,684		
1646		1,846,202	1,101,120	231,830	510,752		2,500
1647		1,424,585	1,351,285	70,000		2300	1,000
1648	900,000	865,686	511,286	300,000		54400	
1649	530,000	531,572	131,500	300,000	100,072		
1650	1,200,000	1,427,978	825,632	507,450	94,897		
1651	2,500,000	2,506,350	1,953,817	463,557	88,976		
1652	800,000	1,061,818	451,324	469,969	140,525		
1653	938,416	958,127	454,953	446,975	47,475		8,724
1654	2,028,543	1,109,370	148,230	426,593	108,197		426,350
1655	450,000	1,043,485	330,714	446,843	174,548		91,380
1656	2,700,000	2,216,060	932,285	428,953	368,760	133,294	352,768
1657	2,730,000	2,639,140	779,223	828,958	432,989	597,970	
1658	990,000	1,428,134			628,134	800,000	
1659	1,730,000	1,354,775	16,000	800,000	538,775		
1660	1,500,000	1,135,762	245,293	884,759			5,710

Note: Others include exports to Siam, Manila, Tonkin, Coromandel and shipment losses.

Sources: Exports to Japan are from the archive of VOC, Japanese Factory stored in The National Archives, Hague; documents include *Negotie Journalen*, *Grote Boeken* and *Facturen*. Sources of other items are as the follows.

1632: VOC 1105, 239-241; VOC 1109, 198.

1633: VOC 1113, 770.

1634: Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, pp. 145, 154-155.

1635: VOC 1116, ff.378-385; VOC 1120, ff.239-245.

1636: VOC 1123, ff.726-727.

1637: VOC 1123, ff.932-933; VOC 1128, f.378.

1638: VOC 1130, ff.1172-1173, ff.1425-1426, ff.1430-1431, 1435, 1441.

1639: VOC 1132, ff.297-298, 323, 326, 329, 332-333; VOC 1133, ff.170-171, 173-174.

- 1640: VOC 1135, ff.709-710; VOC 1139, ff.664-665; *DZ*, I, pp. 500-507; *DB*, 1640-1641, p. 125.
- 1641: VOC 1140, ff.224-225, 228-229, 231, 243, 255, 260, 274-277; VOC 1160, ff.624-626; *DB*, 1640-1641, p.116.
- 1642: VOC 1140, ff.278-281; VOC 1146, ff.700-702, ff.767-768.
- 1643: VOC 1145, f.200, 264; VOC 1151, f.858; *DB*, 1643, p. 145; *DB*, 1644, p. 146.
- 1644: VOC 1148, f.279; VOC 1149, ff.664-665, 696, 699-701.
- 1645: VOC 1149, ff.867-869; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, pp. 277, 279.
- 1646: VOC 1163, ff.290-291, 307; VOC 1164, f.363; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p.281.
- 1647: VOC f.1164, 391, 414; VOC 1169, f.389, 413, 423.
- 1648: VOC 1170, f.512; *DZ*, III, p. 92; *GM*, II, p. 188; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, pp. 302-303.
- 1649: Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 312.
- 1650: VOC 1183, ff.542-543; VOC 1176, f.955; VOC 1183, f.539.
- 1651: VOC 1183, ff. 448, 580-581, 899; VOC 1194, f.61; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 343.
- 1652: VOC 1194, f.141; VOC 1197, f.769.
- 1653: Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 385; VOC 1197, f.786, 803, 808; VOC 1207, f.641, 649; VOC 1208, f.187.
- 1654: VOC 1206, f.207, 213; VOC 1208, f.526.
- 1655: VOC 1212, f.324, 331, 343; VOC 1216, f.429.
- 1656: VOC 1218, f.14, 69, 72, 313, 467, 470; *DZ*, IV, p. 137; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 454.
- 1657: VOC 1222, f.297, 300; VOC 1228, ff.660-661, 669-670; *DZ*, IV, p.316.
- 1658: Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, pp. 501-502, 507.
- 1659: Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa, 1624-1662*, p. 514.
- 1660: VOC 1237, 167; *DB*, 1661, pp.61-62; *DZ*, IV, p. 323.

Table 4. Demand for Sugar from Taiwan and China (pounds)

	Netherlands	Persia	Japan
1629		150,000	
1630			
1631	0		
1632			
1633	400,000		
1634	0		
1635	600,000		175,000
1636	600,000	310,000	500,000
1637	600,000	330,000	
1638	1,000,000		
1639	3,000,000		
1640	2,750,000		
1641	2,750,000		
1642	2,750,000	600,000	
1643	3,000,000	660,000	
1644	1,000,000	520,000	-
1645	600,000		-
1646	500,000		-
1647	1,000,000	660,000	
1648	3,300,000	345,000	-
1649	3,000,000	390,000	
1650	3,000,000	500,000	
1651	2,750,000		
1652	2,600,000		
1653	2,600,000		
1654	2,850,000		
1655	2,550,000		125,000
1656		250,000	
1657	50,000		
1658	50,000	600,000	343,750
1659	0	800,000	
1660	1,200,000		
1661	700,000		
1662	900,000		
1663	900,000		

Note: (1) Demand from the Netherlands from 1664 to 1673 were all 0s.

Sources: (1) Demand from the Netherlands is mainly cited from the resolutions of Gentlemen Seventeen (VOC, *Resoluties van Heren XVII, 1654-1796* (inventory nos.: 99-210, the Amsterdam Chamber; 7343-7416, the Zeeland Chamber) Hague: The National Archives.) including VOC 101, f.32, 93, 117; VOC 102, f.44, 84, 100, 165, 245; VOC 103, f.25, 149, 357, 635; VOC 104, f.97-98, 231, 394, 577; VOC 105, f.23, 179, 297, 433, 540, 614; VOC 106, f.68 (and some without folio numbers); VOC 107 and VOC 7345-7347 (no folio numbers provided). Besides, data for 1631 is cited from Pieter Van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, 1: 2*, p. 134. Data for 1637 and 1641 are cited from J. J. Reese, *De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam, van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813: een Bijdrage tot de Handelsgeschiedenis des Vaderlands, Hoofdzakelijk uit de Archieven Verzameld en Samengesteld*, pp.161, 163. (2) Demand from Persia is mainly cited from *eijzen* (in VOC, *Algemene Serie: Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de Kamer Amsterdam, 1607-1794* (inventory nos. 1053-3987) Hague: The National Archives.), including VOC 1098, ff.596-597; VOC 1135, f.726; VOC 1139, f.481-483, 718; VOC 1150, f.264; VOC 1162, ff.38-39; VOC 1165, ff.194-195; VOC 1168, ff.765-766; VOC 1170, f.884; VOC 1224, f.415; VOC 1226, f.854. We also consult Hendrik Dunlop, ed., *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Oostindische Compagnie in Perzie* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930), pp. 542, 589; Pieter Van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, 2: 3*, pp. 360-361 and Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720*, p. 174. (3) Demand from Japan is cited from VOC, *Algemene Serie: Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren uit Indië aan de Heren XVII en de Kamer Amsterdam, 1607-1794*, including VOC 1116, f.285; VOC 1123, f.968; VOC 1143, ff.718-723; VOC 1148, ff.401-404; VOC 1161, ff.687-691; VOC 1164, ff.635-644, 665-668; VOC 1223, f.588; VOC 1228, ff.816-818.

Table 5. Sugar brought to Japan by the VOC and the Chinese (catties)

	VOC	Chinese
1634	97,590	
1635	172,129	
1636	397,131	
1637	234,542	1,600,000
1638	83,800	
1639	-	1,144,150
1640	1,000	1,231,107
1641	192,252	5,750,500
1642	-	432,900
1643	-	10,600
1644	-	1,417,550
1645	65,684	3,377,800
1646	510,752	1,203,100
1647	-	
1648	-	103,083
1649	100,072	737,250
1650	94,897	797,110
1651	88,976	591,050
1652	140,525	
1653	47,475	774,220
1654	108,197	760,580
1655	174,548	1,737,480
1656	368,760	1,870,260
1657	494,579	767,110
1658	628,134	1,686,335
1659	538,775	3,389,700
1660	-	1,176,986

Sources: Sugar brought by the VOC is the same as that in figure 4. For sugar brought by the Chinese, see table 3 in Yoko Nagazumi, "Formosan Trade in the Seventeenth Century: with Dutch Sources," p. 46. The data presented here differ from hers in a few years for which our sources are:

1637: VOC 1124, f.29.

1644: *DD*, 1644.11.15.

1651: VOC 1183, ff.424-8.

1655: *DD*, 1655.10.19 & 1655.10.23.

1657: VOC 1223, f.582.

Table 6. Sugar Prices (guilders/picul)

	Brazil (Ams)	East Inida (Ams)	Persia	Japan	Taiwan (purchase)
1622		33.75			
1623		32.03			
1624	58.88		44.67		
1625	64.03		44.67	14.37	6.00
1626					
1627	71.25			15.62	5.10
1628			51.04		
1629	84.06				
1630	83.54				
1631	87.03	67.50	52.08		
1632	84.17	67.50			
1633	82.50	57.50			
1634	82.50	61.25	31.25	18.75	7.09
1635	74.69	61.25		28.12	7.38
1636	105.83	58.75		16.10	7.79
1637	84.38	87.50		10.86	6.05
1638				12.31	6.97
1639	68.75				
1640	63.13				
1641	57.50		23.85	7.98	5.55
1642	54.69				
1643					
1644	57.29				
1645	81.56			17.75	10.37
1646				10.60	9.10
1647	74.38				
1648	82.66				
1649	84.00			24.00	13.72
1650	91.25			18.10	14.82
1651	86.25				17.60
1652	82.50			21.43	17.36
1653	86.25			34.36	17.08
1654				29.57	16.32
1655				24.92	16.26
1656				21.62	15.40
1657			33.96	23.98	14.49
1658				19.83	12.75
1659				18.69	11.28
1660					
1661					
1662					
1663	48.75				
1664	50.00				

1665					
1666					
1667					
1668	43.75				
1669	-				
1670	36.25				
1671	39.69				
1672	-				
1673	36.43				
1674	35.00				
1675	35.00				

Note: The price unit in Amsterdam was guilders/pound. We change it to guilders/picul using the formula that 1 picul = 125 pound.

Sources: (1) Prices of Brazil sugar in Amsterdam are cited from N. W. Posthumus, *Nederlandsche Prijsgeschiedenis, Deel I: Goederenprijzen of de Beurs van Amsterdam, 1585-1914; Wisselkoersen te Amsterdam, 1609-1914*, pp. 122-123.

(2) Prices of East Indian sugar in Amsterdam are cited from Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740*, pp. 153-154.

(3) The purchase prices of Taiwan's sugar and the sale prices in Japan are cited from VOC, *Negotie Journalen* (1633-1660) and VOC, *Facturen* (1633-1662).

(4) Prices of Taiwan's sugar in Persia were cited from *prijscouranten*: VOC 1094, f.69; VOC 1103, f.224; VOC 1109, f.99; VOC 1113, f.115; VOC 1135, ff.628-629, 733, 738-739; VOC 1137, ff.18-19; VOC 1139, f.528, 708; VOC 1144, f.516; VOC 1146, f.797, 968; VOC 1150, f.118; VOC 1151, f.598 and Pieter Van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, 2: 3*, p. 344.

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- VOC 1213, f.462, letter from Leonard Winninx to Cornelis Caesar, Nagasaki, 19 October 1655.
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- VOC 1218, f.112r, resolution in Tayouan, 26 June 1656.
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荷蘭時代臺灣砂糖的生產與貿易

古慧雯

摘要

本文研究荷蘭時代臺灣的砂糖產業，我們利用了荷蘭東印度公司的原始檔案整理當時臺灣的漢人人口、耕地面積、砂糖產出以及其外銷世界各地的數量。資料顯示，起初是荷蘭的需求促動了臺灣的砂糖生產；然而，1654 年巴西叛亂落幕之後，阿姆斯特丹充斥著巴西糖，荷蘭因此對於東印度的糖失去了興趣。此後，波斯、日本與中國便成為臺灣糖的主要市場。早期銷往荷蘭的臺灣糖利潤率曾經超越 400%，勝過香料與胡椒的利潤率。至於臺灣農夫的所得，因受到天然災害之影響，變化頗大；即使在最好的年份裡，漢人農夫的所得尚不及荷蘭挑磚夫所得的三分之一，但這已遠超過他們在中國的所得了。

關鍵詞：荷蘭時代的臺灣、十七世紀中葉的砂糖、跨國所得比較

Chinese Tea Exports via Taiwan by VOC (1641-1660): A Prelude to European Tea Consumption in 18th Century*

Wei-chung Cheng**

ABSTRACT

Tea, an exotic drink from China, was first introduced to the Europeans in the 16th century, but its consumption became more widespread only after mid-18th century. Scholars have attributed the sudden surge in tea consumption to urbanization and rise of the middle class in early-modern Europe. While Dutch, English and Portuguese residents in Asia had become very accustomed to drinking tea throughout the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and English East India Company (EIC) carried it as a profitable commodity and imported regular supplies to the homeland only after the 1680s. In mid-17th century, tea gradually began to appear on cargo manifests of VOC and EIC ships, but it was for sale to India and Persia, especially Surat (west coast of India). Consequent to the downfall of Ming dynasty and rise of Qing rule between 1644 and 1683, which disrupted the tea trade route on China's western borders, Persians who used to purchase tea from Mongolian traders in Central Asia sought alternative supplies by sea route. The VOC, which then occupied Taiwan and built close ties with Chinese traders in Fujian, responded rapidly to this call until it lost Taiwan in 1662.

This article examines the Taiwan-India tea trade from c. 1641 to 1660, in particular the ways tea was prepared and consumed by Chinese, Indians, Persians and Europeans on the maritime tea route, before the sudden upsurge in tea-drinking in Europe. The author argues that their daily engagement in tea-drinking parties on official and private occasions in cross-cultural settlements in Tayouan, Batavia, Bantam, Ayutthaya (central Thailand), and Surat, enabled

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VOC and EIC personnel to develop a tea-drinking habit, especially a taste for sugared tea. Such might have arisen from cross-cultural encounters along the maritime tea route. Although sugared tea was served only on special festive occasions in Fujian, Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, India and Persia were accustomed to taking tea with sweets or preserves. While tea-drinking habit could have spread via diverse channels, Euro-Asian cities, such as Tayouan or Zeelandia town, on the maritime tea route were likely to have contributed to the Dutch adaption to such habit with their roles as tea-provider and cross-cultural middle ground.

Keywords: Tea Drinking Habit, VOC, Taiwan (Tayouan), Zeelandia Town, Surat

1. Introduction
 2. The Maritime Tea Route to India via Taiwan
 3. Sugared Tea Encounter along the Maritime Tea Route
 4. Conclusion
-

1. Introduction

The introduction of caffeine beverages in Europe after 1600s attracts historians' attention because its rapid spread represents the thriving expansion of global exchange in the early modern world.¹ The progress made a sudden leap at the turn of seventeenth and eighteenth century parallel with the rising general standard of living in North-Western Europe and Great Britain.² It is worthwhile looking more closely at the introduction of these stimulants because their spread was so rapid and intense it resembled a pronounced burst of energy at one point in the long history of Europe. To discover the reason for this sudden upsurge in the popularity of these drinks, scholars have turned their attention to the global commodities flows that carried these stimulants away from their original homelands and introduced them to different continents. Although tea is one of the major stimulants, and hence strongly linked to all these historical changes, current studies have barely glanced at the stages before it was introduced to early-eighteenth-century Western Europe and Britain. Nowadays, although it has been widely accepted that the combination of sugar with tea was one of the crucial preconditions that fueled this explosive market expansion, scholars still usually

¹ Rudi Mathee, "Exotic Substances: The Introduction and Global Spread of Tobacco, Coffee, Cocoa, Tea, and Distilled Liquor, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Drugs and Narcotics in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24-51; Ross W. Jamieson, "The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World," *Journal of Social History* (Pittsburgh) 35: 2 (Feb. 2001), pp. 269-294.

² Anne E. C. McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking about Globalization in the Early Modern World," *Journal of World History* (Honolulu) 18: 4 (Dec. 2007), pp. 433-462; Anne E. C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review* (Oxford) 61: S1 (Aug. 2008), pp. 172-200.

skip the emergence of this pattern of consumption.³ In this article, using the historical records of the genesis of the fashion for tea-drinking, I try to seek a possible explanation for it in the context of the tea transportation and consumption on the eve of the era in which Western European (Dutch and England) developed a steady thirst for the beverage. The goal of this article is to investigate the most important tea trade pursued by northwestern Europeans in the seventeenth century: the Dutch East Company (VOC) and its tea trade within Asia.⁴ In my approach, I begin by sketching a general picture of the VOC trans-Asian tea trade. This cast light on the early engagement of Dutch personnel on occasions on which tea was drunk. Local occasions hosted by multi-ethnic Asian, including Muslims on which tea was served and drunk in Taiwan, Siam, Java and India could have formed just the environment in which the Dutch and English Company personnel would have had their first encounter with the rituals associated with this beverage. I argue that these encounters (especially in Taiwan 1642-1660), took place within the compass of the trans-Asian trade, and actually facilitated the genesis of the fashion for the drinking of sugared tea that later became widely accepted. It commenced among Dutch-English clerks and sojourners residing along the maritime tea route before it spread to a wider range of consumers in northwestern Europe.

2. The Maritime Tea Route to India via Taiwan

The Dutch were not the first Europeans to carry on a tea trade with China and Japan. The Portuguese had already established the link between Europe, Goa, Canton and Nagasaki in the sixteenth century. In that period, tea was rarely

³ Woodruff D. Smith, "Complications of the Commonplace: Tea, Sugar, and Imperialism," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (Cambridge, Mass.) 23: 2 (Autumn 1992), pp. 259-278. He tried to explain that this pattern persisted because of an emerging mentality of "respectability" against the background of expanding imports of sugar and tea. It explains more about how this habit persisted rather than its emergence.

⁴ In previous studies on similar subjects not only have scholars examined far lesser data than current one, but also addressed their arguments in different historical contexts. See: Seiichi Iwao, "Sanbyakunen Mae ni Okeru Taiwan Sato to Cha no Perusha Shinshutsu [The Advance of Taiwanese Sugar and Tea into Persia Three Hundred Years Ago]," *Nanpo Dozoku* (Taipei) 2: 2 (Apr. 1933), pp. 9-28; Hsien-yao Hsu, "Helanshidai Taiwan de Chaye: Taiwan Chayeshi Yanjiu zhi Yi [Tea in Taiwan under the Dutch: A Study on the History of Taiwan Tea (I)]," *Taipei Wenxian (zhizi)* (Taipei) 104 (June 1993), pp. 29-43; Hsien-yao Hsu, "Helanshidai zai Taiwan de Chaye Maoyi Bulun [A Complement to a Study on the Tea Trade of Taiwan under the Dutch]," *Taipei wenxian (zhizi)* 115 (Mar. 1996), pp. 91-98.

transported to Europe and it does not seem to have been a popular commodity in Goa. No evidence suggests that at that point tea had been seen as a profitable commodity. One very salient reason for this situation could have been that Chinese tea might still have been supplied to India and places beyond from the hinterland provinces of China via overland routes.

There were at least two routes that could have served this purpose. One commenced in the southwest border of China in the province Sichuan from where it passed through Shaanxi to the north, following the northern edge of the Tibetan plateau to Central Asia. From here the route continued on through Persia, from where North India was easily accessible. The second route also began in Sichuan but, instead of making a detour, it went directly across the Tibetan plateau to Lhasa and from there to the border with North India, from where it was taken to Surat (west coast of India).⁵ Since the seventh century at least, the Chinese had kept up a continuous trade with the nomads on the western fringes of the empire in order to procure the horses that were a highly strategic resource. Tea appears regularly on the lists of exchanges. The Ming court (1368-1644) set up tea-horse exchange markets along the border from the very moment the dynasty was established. In 1435, the court exported no fewer than 1,097,000 catties tea in exchange for 13,000 horses.⁶ Tea represented much more than a daily necessity the Tibetan people required to survive; it was also accepted as a worthy donation to Buddhist temples and their monks.

On the northern route, the tea trade was conducted under the guise of tributary embassies. An entry in the Chinese imperial court records of 1471 reveals that the embassy from the Hami kingdom was instigated by the Oirats' covert mission to beg more tea from the Muslim literati at the Chinese court.⁷ The Tibetan embassies, usually high-ranking monks, were granted the privilege of purchasing tea directly from the court. In 1476, the embassy took 20,700 catties away with them on their return journey.⁸ In 1516, the court decided to ration the amount that could be carried by the embassies of monks. If this step had not been

⁵ Niels Steensgaard, *The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century: The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 22-26.

⁶ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1975), p. 87.

⁷ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, pp. 85-86.

⁸ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, p. 86.

taken, it could have become too great a competitor for the tea-horse trade run by the court and have led to a drop in horse imports.⁹ Adam Olearius, who visited Persia in the 1630s, took note of the local tea-drinking customs.¹⁰ According to his report, tea was called "Tzai" and appeared as a kind of black water generated when some of these herbs were diffused in hot water. Apparently this note refers to black tea.¹¹ He also mentions this herb (tea) was imported into Persia from China by "Uzbek Tartars".¹² Some scholars have inferred that some of the restrictions on the tea-horse exchanges imposed by Ming officials must have been slackened in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when the Mongolian nomads were gradually easing their pressure on the northwestern border of the Ming. However, new threats soon loomed in the northeast. The Uyghurs, Kazaks, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and other Central Asian people were quick to seize upon the benefits of this relaxation and took the route from Bukhara that crossed the Karakum and Dasht-e Kavir Deserts to reach the Persian capital Isfahan.¹³ Unfortunately I have not been able to trace tea imports into North India in the same period. Given the trade between Persia and North India was really booming at this time, I assume the Indian people must have also known about this expansion in the wave of tea imports, whether through Central Asia or via Tibet.¹⁴

Two decades after Olearius' visit, the Ming Empire had fallen apart battered famines, revolts by rebellious warlords and the Manchu invasion. This last-mentioned threat to the empire became the new rulers and established a new empire, the Qing. The Qing court gradually restored order in the provinces Sichuan, Hubei and elsewhere allowing these regions to resume their disrupted tea production. The product was needed because, in their efforts to pacify the last of the rebels and the Ming loyalists, the Qing urgently needed horses. Hence, the

⁹ Henry Serruys, *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming, III: Trade Relations: The Horse Fairs (1400-1600)*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Rudi Mathee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 239.

¹¹ George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 364. The author reaches the same conclusion as I do on this point.

¹² Rudi Mathee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500-1900*, pp. 239-240.

¹³ Victor H. Mair and Erling Hoh, *The True History of Tea* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009), p. 155.

¹⁴ The Indian merchants residing in Iranian cities in the 16th century, see: Scott Levi, "The Indian Merchant Diaspora in Early Modern Central Asia and Iran," *Iranian Studies* (Oxfordshire) 32: 4 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 483-512 at 486-487; George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 426. The author points out other evidence which also support my inference.

new court issued draconian regulations that immediately re-imposed the official monopoly on the tea-horse trade. In 1649, 1650, 1651 and 1652, tea was exported via this channel in amounts totaling 24,042, 296,470, 231,626 and 310,731 catties.¹⁵ As a comparison, the surviving records for 1410, 1435 and 1508 are respectively 278,460, 109,700 and 780,000, therefore they only recovered by between one-third and one-quarter.¹⁶

In the first half of the seventeenth century, not only was the most important tea-exporting area, China, engulfed by social and political chaos, the small kingdoms in the border zone between Persia, China and Russia were also frequently embroiled in wars against each other.¹⁷ The obstacles these conflicts threw up on the land routes on which Chinese tea was carried through Central Asia to India and Persia meant that the maritime routes beckoned as an attractive alternative. Although the Portuguese connections should have filled this gap, their reliability had become suspect in the wake of the escalation of Dutch-Iberian rivalry. In 1642 the Dutch conquered Portuguese Malacca and consequently dominated the most crucial section along this route, the Straits of Malacca. During the siege of Malacca (1641-1642), the VOC had seized the opportunity thrown into its lap to develop the Surat-Taiwan connection to supersede that between Macau and Goa.

Taiwan or Formosa had been used by the VOC as an entrepôt to trade Chinese goods with all the other posts within its network since 1624. Despite the reluctance displayed by the Ming court, after 1634 the Dutch merchants did succeed in building up a substantial commercial partnership with their Chinese counterpart in Amoy: the pirate-turned-militant Zheng clan under Ming. This allowed the Amoy traders to offer the Dutch Chinese tea in both Taiwan and Batavia as a commodity to use themselves and for the overseas Chinese there. This influx of tea was so large it made opened the possibility for the Dutch to export tea to India after 1638. The amounts fluctuated paralleling the ups-and-

¹⁵ Ping Zhang, "Guanfang Maoyi Zhudaoxia Qingdai Xibei Diqushichang Tixi de Xingcheng [The Formation of Northwestern Regions' Market System in Qing Dynasty under the Dominance of Official Trade]," *The Qing History Journal* (Beijing) 2016: 4 (Nov. 2016), pp. 78-89 at 82. Table 1. One catty is about 1.22 of a Dutch pound or 600 grams.

¹⁶ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi [The Continuation and Abolishment of the Official Tea-Horse Trade during the Qing Dynasty]," *China's Borderland History and Geography Studies* (Beijing) 17: 4 (Dec. 2007), pp. 29-40 at 34. Table 2.

¹⁷ Stephan Barisitz, *Central Asia and the Silk Road: Economic Rise and Decline over Several Millennia* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), p. 213.

downs in the friendship between Amoy and Taiwan in the two decades that followed, as will be seen below. The direct shipping began in Taiwan rather than in Batavia and passed Malacca *en route* to the Coromandel Coast or Surat, from where the ships set sail back to Batavia again. As witnessed by the Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus:

“... The ships the Swarte Bul and Windhondt from Tajouan via Masulepatam, the Persian trader and the yacht Vlielandt from Tajouan bound for Zuratta ... Two days ... in the interim letters were received from Malacca dated 31st December 1655 stating that with God’s help there had arrived from Tajouan on the 14th, 15th and 19th the ships Vlielandt, Swarte Bul [and] Arnemuyden.”
 “...The cargo of these vessels generally consists of Japan screens, copper, silver, bars of copper, alum, gold; Chineeze tea; Formozaanze soft sugar and Malacca tin. As these vessels also touch Columbo and the Malabaar coast on their return homewards, they take in there a supply of cinnamon, pepper and cardamoms. These vessels remain abroad for a considerable time; they leave Batavia, in May for Japan and Tajouan and after Japan they reach Malacca in December, thence they bend their course via the Nicobaris Islands to Ceylon and proceed to Malabaar, Zuratta and Persia and back again to Ceylon with Zuratta and Persia cargo in May, when they sail for the Choromandel coast where they take in a further cargo of linen, dyed cloths and other articles of merchandize and then steer direct for Batavia, where they arrive in June or July following.”¹⁸

This all changed when the patron of Amoy, the leader of this costal commercial and military force, the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, alias Coxinga, launched a surprise attack on Taiwan in 1661 and snatched it away from the Dutch hands the following year. The VOC tried to forge an alliance with the Qing forces in the name of annihilating a common enemy. Its reasoning was that working alongside this ally it might be able to cultivate a new trading partnership with Qing China. However, as the Qing officials did not always agree with their plans, especially not those about how business should be conducted, they reluctantly withdrew from the China coast. In 1667, the Qing officials did attempt to parley with them in an effort to encourage them to purchase quite a large amount of tea before they left. In the aftermath, it fell to the private traders among Batavian citizens and the Portuguese citizens in Macau to supply tea, but in far smaller amounts. In 1670s the tea supply received a small boost when the three southern

¹⁸ Phillipus Baldaeus, “A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon by Phillipus Baldaeus,” trans., Pieter Brohier, *The Ceylon Historical Journal* (Ceylon) 8: 1-4 (July 1958 to April 1959), pp. 1-403 at 167-168.

provinces rebelled against the Manchu court (1673-1681). Only after a Qing naval force defeated the Zheng clan in Taiwan in 1683 were the Chinese once again able to import tea into Batavia in large amounts. The Chinese tea imported via Taiwan and Amoy (and a short period from Macau) to India and the Netherlands [the Dutch Republic] during and after this period, up to 1715 can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Unquestionably, before 1696 most of the Chinese tea imported by the VOC was resold in India rather than in the Netherlands. After 1696, no more Chinese tea purchased by the VOC was carried to India and, after this year, the Chinese tea trade of the VOC was totally dominated by tea consumption in Europe. Probably from 1665 or thereabouts, the Portuguese, who occasionally enjoyed the privilege of exporting Chinese goods under the Qing, were permitted to carry Chinese tea from Macau to Goa to fill the vacuum left by the lapse in the earlier Taiwan exports.¹⁹ Therefore it would be a fair assumption to say that the demand for Chinese tea via the sea route had begun to falter, at least for the VOC. The shift in the destination of Chinese tea carried by the VOC must have been decided by its comparative profit margins rather than by its ability to sustain demand. Meanwhile, the curve in the shipments of Chinese tea to Europe shows that the European thirst for tea was steadily mounting after the 1660s. In 1690s demand took a great leap forward, whereas the demand in India remained more or less stable or at least did not expand as rapidly as it did in Europe.

As I have already mentioned, in the late sixteenth century enough tea must have been supplied via the land route and, moreover, the domestic crisis in China in the middle of the seventeenth century could have contributed greatly to the rise in the maritime tea route. Looking closely at Figure 1 above, it reveals that first peak in the Chinese tea exports from Taiwan commenced in 1650s and 1660s, despite an interruption in 1656. The results of a comparison between the amounts ordered and the actual amounts exported are shown in Figure 2 below. According to what has just been said, the round voyage of the Batavian dispatches required the following time scale: if an order were sent from Surat in May, it should have arrived in Batavia in June or July of that same year. Thereafter it would have been forwarded to Taiwan on the vessels bound for that island due to depart before the

¹⁹ Jacobus Anne van der Chijs, ed., *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij; 's Hage: M. Nijhoff, 1894), anno. 1665, p. 7, 14 Jan. 1665; William Harrison Ukers, *All about Tea* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1935), vol. 1, p. 73.

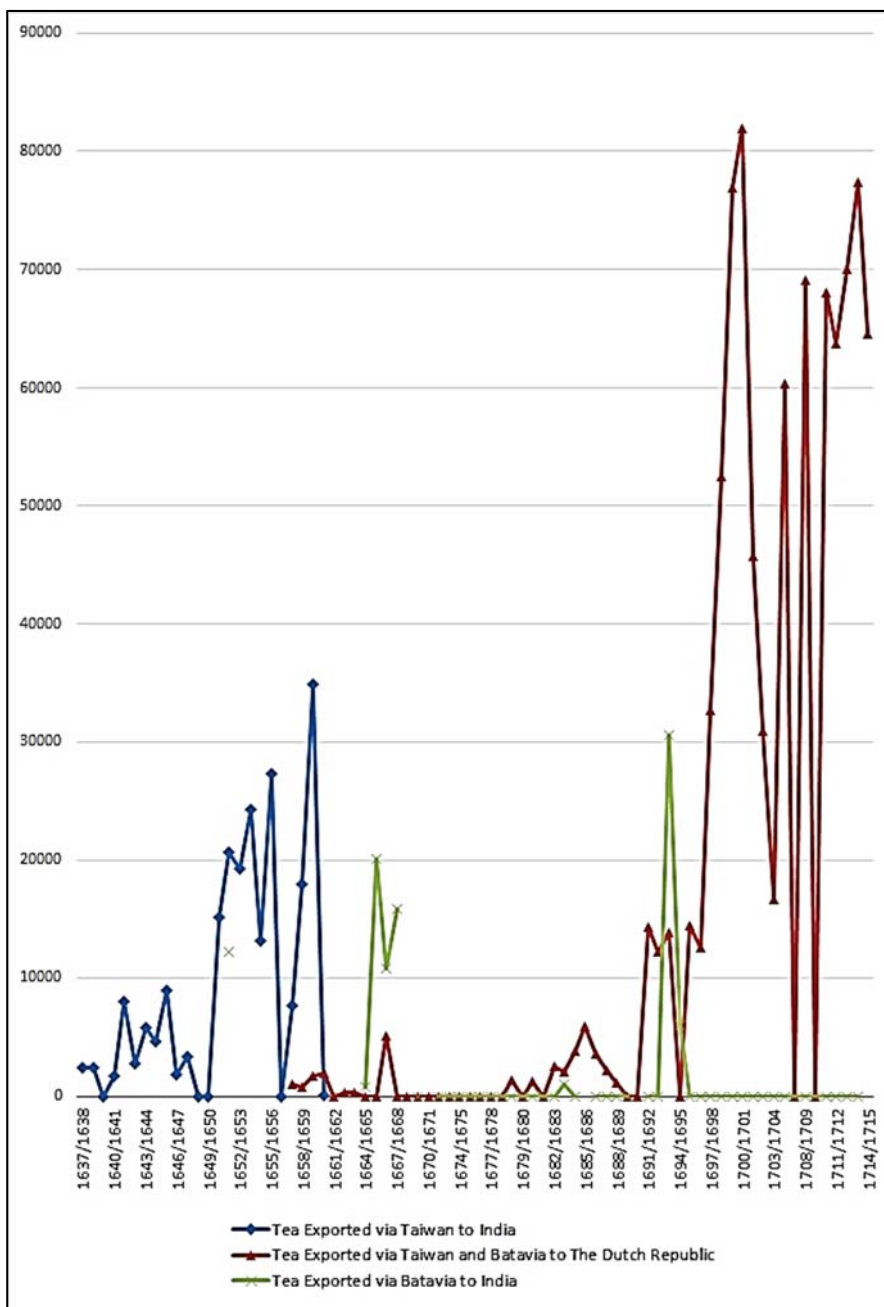


Figure 1 Tea Exported from China via Taiwan (after 1661 via Batavia) to India and The Dutch Republic (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Source: Appendix Table 1.

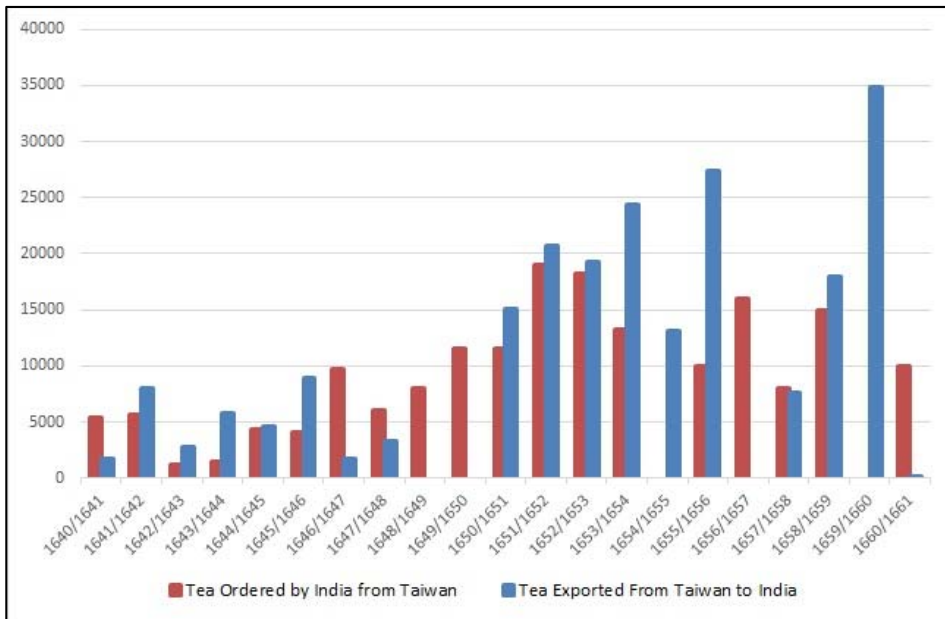


Figure 2 Tea Ordered by India and Supplied by Taiwan to India (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Source: Appendix Table 2.

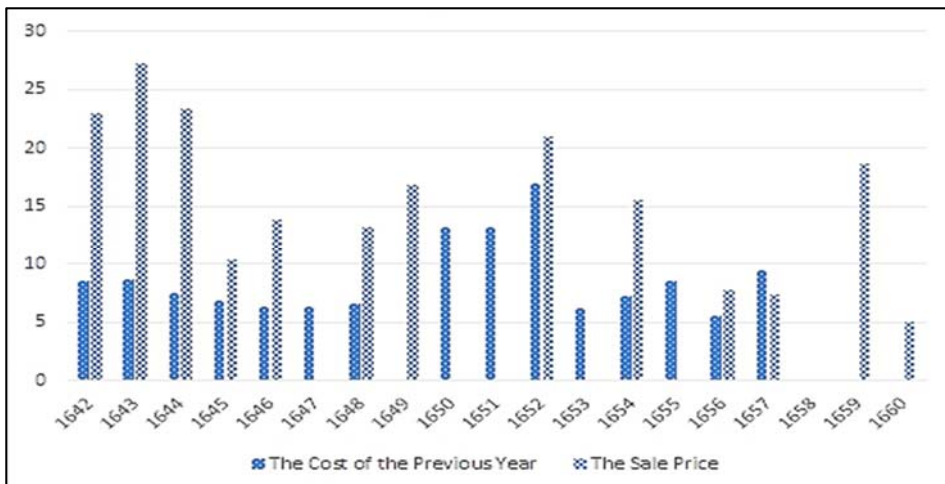


Figure 3 The Sale Prices of Tea in India (including Surat and Perisa), and the Cost in Taiwan of the Previous Year (Stuivers per Dutch Pound)

Source: Appendix Table 3.

end of July. The order given in Surat in May would have been dealt with in Taiwan before the middle of August of the same year. It seems the demand in India was quite stable as the orders remained steady. However, in 1653, 1655 and 1659 the Taiwan authorities overestimated the actual demand on the Indian market, because they shipped excessive amounts of Chinese tea despite the fact that the orders of the Batavian authorities were fairly moderate.

This optimistic viewpoint displayed by the Taiwan authorities can be explained by the price differences between Taiwan (and China) and Surat (including Persia) in this period. Above, Figure 3, an incomplete table of tea prices in Taiwan, Persia and Surat, shows the apparent price differences.

Since the purchasing price of tea was kept under the level of 10 *stuivers* per Dutch pound from the 1640s to the 1660s and the sales price of tea frequently rose above 10 *stuivers* in Surat and Persia, the profitable price differential would offer a likely explanation of why the Taiwan authorities overestimated the demand in Surat and sometimes also in Persia. The tea could be sold for almost 27 *stuivers* in Surat in the year 1643. The profit margin was 210% in 1643 and 113% in 1654. These figures speak for themselves in offering a good explanation of the reason the Taiwan authorities overestimated the market demand after 1654.

In sum, although volume-wise the tea carried by VOC vessels in the 1650s was less than one-third compared to the exports to the Netherlands after 1707, it was still considered a lucrative commodity by Taiwan authorities; one offering plenty of potential profit. As mentioned earlier, the damage caused by the chaos of the turbulent Ming-Qing transition might have immediately reduced the overland Chinese tea supply to the India and Persia. In the years 1644-1646, the bandit Zhang Xianzhong led his rebel army on raids to plunder the people of Sichuan. This province used to be the major supplier of tea for the tea-horse trade on the western border of China. Not to put too fine a point on it, the tea production was seriously devastated. As late as 1660, the tea plantations that had been relied on for most of the supply during the Ming had not yet been able to resume their earlier production. From 1646, the Qing officials, who had taken over running these enterprises, had been forced to collect tea from second-rate tea-growers in provinces that were farther away from the borders and supplied lesser quantities of worse quality.²⁰ Not only did the production fall far below its earlier level, immediately after the Qing officials assumed control of the tea-horse trade,

²⁰ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 32.

smuggling was strictly forbidden and no commodities other than horses could be traded. Consequently, the tea flow suddenly diminished until the number of horses supplied to the Qing officials had risen to a sufficiently high level. During the years 1649, 1650 and in some of the years that followed, the number of horses offered at the Gansu-trading post were few and far between.²¹ This halt in the tea exports via the land routes could explain why the tea price in Surat, and sometimes in Persia, rose to such a high level.

According to the resolution drawn up by the Dutch merchants in the Surat factory, the Chinese tea could earn a profit of 30.7% in 1667.²² However, in the letter sent by the Surat factory to the Gentlemen 17, the Board of the VOC, in the Netherlands in March 1668, the staff there complained that there was surplus of coarse tea in the warehouse and suggested that it should be sold for less than the cost price. By taking this step, they hoped they could cut their losses.²³ They also complained to the Batavian authorities that the buyers who had pre-ordered were reluctant to pay the contracted price (20.8 *stuivers* per Dutch pound) because the tea price had dropped far below that.²⁴ The letter from the Gamron (earlier name of Bandar Abbas) factory in Persia written in 1668 also reports that the tea in its warehouse had been sent to Surat where it might have a chance of earning more.²⁵ These dramatic drops in the price of tea in Gamron and Surat must have also had something to do with the up-and-downs of the tea-horse trade. This large batch of tea was eventually sold at a price less than half that initially asked.²⁶ The Sinologist Gustaaf Schlegel also mentions the amount of tea purchased from Fuzhou in 1666 exceeded the Batavian authorities' expectations and therefore they decided to ship a certain amount to Amsterdam and, in the following year, the VOC Amsterdam Chamber decided to put this item up for public auction.²⁷ In a

²¹ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 32.

²² VOC 1261, Copie resolutie van den directeur Abraham Hartman en raet, Surat (16 May 1667), fo. 758^v.

²³ VOC 1261, Originele missive van den directeur Andries Bogaert en raet aen de seventiene, Surat (14 Mar. 1668), fo. 814^v.

²⁴ VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Andries Bogaert ende den raadt aan haar Eds. tot Batavia geschreven, Surat (1 May 1668), fo. 1312.

²⁵ VOC 1268, Missive door den directeur IJsbrant Goske ende den raadt aan haar Eds. in Batavia, Gamron (26 May 1668), fo. 1361.

²⁶ Willem Philippus Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, Deel III: 1655-1674* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 1968), p. 663.

²⁷ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," *T'oung Pao* (Leiden) Second Series 1: 5 (Jan. 1900), pp. 468-472 at 470. The amount would have been 5,108 Dutch pounds according to Appendix I.

nutshell, the unprecedented auction of the tea might have been an accidental result of excessive amount of Chinese tea that could not be absorbed by the Indian market.

When the Manchus conquered and pacified the whole territory of the Chinese empire in the 1660s, their demand for horses gradually tailed off. Before 1656, the court had prohibited traders from selling the newly plucked tea unless all the old batches had been sold off in exchange for horses, but this policy was altered after the need for these animals was no longer deemed urgent. From 1669 and thereafter, the court allowed officials to export old tea at discount prices. In 1668 the emperor decided to stop appointing new imperial commissioners, whose job was to manage the tea-horse trade. Those commissioners' authority was granted directly by the emperor. This is a sure sign that the court had dropped its concerns about obtaining enough horses.²⁸ Although the institutions of the tea-horse trade were not abolished, the monopoly was broken. Since the damage caused by the wars gradually made a gradual recovery after 1660 and the restrictions on the export tea were eased after about 1668, the overland tea trade must have returned to its earlier scale in the 1670s. Consequently, the tea trade via the maritime route was no longer deemed profitable enough by the VOC. Eventually it pulled out of the business and allowed other carriers to compete for this market.

3. Sugared Tea Encounter along the Maritime Tea Route

There would have been some very small number of wealthy people in the Dutch Republic drinking tea as early as 1637 when the Gentlemen 17 requested their staff in Batavia to send them some tea pots.²⁹ However, it would be about sixty years later before the European market became the VOC's major buyer of this commodity. Thereafter, throughout the eighteenth century tea began to occupy an increasingly important position in the trade of the European companies with China. Although mainstream scholars have pointed out the major causes of this phenomenon were early steps on the road to European urbanization, industrialization and so forth, a certain pattern in the consumption of tea associated with the addition of sugar to it must have made a large contribution to

²⁸ Xiao-yan Wang, "Lun Qingdai Guanying Chama Maoyi de Yanxu Jiqi Feizhi," p. 36.

²⁹ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," pp. 468-469.

European acceptance of this drink. In its places of origin in East Asia, at least in China and Japan, the marriage between tea and sugar has been adopted only recently, perhaps as late as the end of the nineteenth century under the influence of Europeans. Nor historically did Indian people take their tea in this fashion. The Iranians used to drink it with candy on the side, not dissolved it in the tea liquid itself. Below I shall argue that the introduction of the tea-sugar combination could have been a result of multiple cultural interactions not unconnected with the Amoy-Surat tea trade in the middle of the seventeenth century.

According to the annually published pamphlet "*Hollandtse Mercurius*", the earliest record of tea on a cargo manifest of the VOC return-fleet was that of the fleet that sailed from Batavia in November 1653. It lists six small bags of Japanese tea.³⁰ I am not able to decide how much might have been referred to as a small bag. Prof. Schlegel points out that a return fleet that departed at the end of 1650 carried twenty-two catties of Japanese tea and this might be the earliest record.³¹ However, as this amount is equal to only 13.75 kgs, it was a really very small amount. If the consignments of tea are not listed on the cargo manifests of commodities for sale as cited in "*Hollandtse Mercurius*", it might still have been found in the personal cargoes of merchants and crewmembers who intended it for private trade. Leaving aside when the first import of tea to the Netherlands happened, as shown in Figure 1, tea was carried on the return-fleets in 1658, 1659, 1660 and 1661 as well as in the following period. The fluctuations in tea exports to Europe follow the rhythm of tea exports to India. Apparently the extent of this trade was dictated more by the trade with India than that with Europe. The contemporary VOC historian Pieter van Dam mentions that, in 1656, the Batavian authorities ordered 150 or 200 Dutch pounds of tea from Japan and China, of which one-thirds from Japan and two-thirds from China. He also reckons that this was the first time ever the VOC had made the decision to export tea to the Netherlands as an official commodity. Although his record does not tally with the amounts revealed in Figure 1, he correctly points out not many people in the Netherlands were familiar with this strange herb, let alone accustomed to drinking it.³² Van Dam also lists the monthly costs of purchasing tea for the messenger of

³⁰ Pieter Casteleyn, ed., *Hollantze Mercurius, vol.4: Vervaetende Het gepasseerde in Europa, voor-namenlijck den Engels ende Nederlantsen Oorlogh, voorgevallen in 't geheele Jaer 1653* (Haerlem: Gedruckt by Pieter Casteleyn, 1662), p. 97. The "*tasje*" (small bag) is misspelled as "*jasje*" (small jacket).

³¹ Gustaaf Schlegel, "First Introduction of Tea into Holland," p. 471.

³² Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage:

the Council of Justice in Batavia in 1695.³³ From this fact, the last before 1695, I can infer that the lower-ranking Dutch officials in Java must have adopted tea-drinking as one of their the daily customs. Hence it is quite possible, long before this custom was recognized in the 1695 budget table, as said above the Dutch clerks and sojourners had already introduced to it. Van Dam also discloses that the decision made by the Company in 1686 to include tea among the cargoes monopolized by the Company was a calculated move to reap the profits that individuals had earned from it earlier.³⁴ Therefore, a group of consumers must have already have existed in the Netherlands before 1686 and the individual suppliers had been there to furnish quench their thirst. These drinkers remained anonymous, unnamed in the Company's archives. The table also indicates that the spread of the custom of tea-drinking had probably built up during long-term cultural contacts on a daily basis on the grass roots level. In the middle of the seventeenth century, the contacts of the oversea Chinese in Taiwan and Batavia with Dutch sojourners and officials had created an environment that opened the door for the continuation of such daily contacts.³⁵ In the other words, this habit must have initially been passed on to Dutch sojourners and lower-ranking VOC officials by the overseas Chinese and was later carried brought back to the Netherlands when the Dutch sojourners went home.

Some prominent pieces of evidence show that the resident Dutch personnel were familiar with the occasions on which the Chinese drank tea and proposed it be served. For example, a medical doctor, apothecary, physician and supervisor of surgeons, Jacob de Bondt (Jacobus Bontius), who was resident in Batavia from 1627 to 1631, wrote a book about tropical medicine based on his experiences in Asia. His book "*Tropische Geneeskunde*" was published posthumously in 1642. It contains a fictional dialogue on tea:

"Duraeus: I hope you have not forgot[ten] the Chinese drink they call tea. What is your opinion of that?"

Bontius: the leaves of the tea shrub resemble those of the common daisies, and

Martinus Nijhof, 1931), Vol. 2, Part. 1, p. 405.

³³ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1943), Vol. 3, Part. 1, p. 220.

³⁴ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Frederik Willem Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1929), Vol. 1, Part. 2, p. 265.

³⁵ George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 320. The author states "tea [imported from Taiwan] was consumed avidly by the Dutch colonial community [in Batavia in 1643]".

have small notches in the edges. The Chinese method of using them is, to throw a handful of the (dried) leaves into a kettle of boiling water, which is let remain upon the fire a sufficient time. The decoction so made, is of a bitter taste, and is sipped warm. The Chinese regard tea as a sacred drink; with it they welcome strangers, and with it they take leave of their guests; nor do they think they have fulfilled the laws of hospitality without giving it. They esteem it in the same degree as the Mahommedans do their caveah [coffee]. It is of a drying quality, and hinders sleep by sending vapors to the brain; but is of advantage to the asthmatic.”³⁶

This passage contains three noteworthy facts. Firstly, De Bondt notes that the most important occasion on which the Chinese drink tea is when they welcome or farewell a guest. In other words, used as a stimulant, imbibing it could refresh all parties on some social occasions. Secondly, although he mentions the Chinese regard it as sacred beverage, apparently there is no mention of any religious element. It seems to me this phrase “sacred” has more to do with the analogy between Chinese and Muslims, the implication being that Chinese culture is also supported by ethical principles very similar to the way the Quran performs this function for Muslims. Thirdly, as a beverage tea was on a par with coffee because the similarity of the physiological effects it produced. Meanwhile, De Bondt was clearly aware of the fact that coffee was preferred by Muslims because the Quran forbade alcoholic beverages.

In late 1630s, the Dutch in Taiwan were engaged in expanding their influence over the indigenous tribes on the southwestern plain. As part of their strategy, they established an annual meeting they called a “Landdag” with the headmen of the tribes as a precaution to ensure the Company’s will would always prevail. At this formal meeting, the Chinese traders, who were usually already subjects of the Dutch rulers and played the role as middlemen between the Aborigines and the Dutch, joined the post-event gathering to which they brought tea to treat everyone there. As such meetings gradually assumed a more institutionalized, formalized character after 1636, the Dutch authorities issued a special order excluding the Chinese from the official sessions of the meeting with Aborigines. The tea-drinking party was also abolished.³⁷ It can be inferred that, in the earlier meetings at which the Chinese settlers were also welcome, tea must have always been served as a treat. Chinese tea was supplied to Taiwan as a commodity usually by Amoy traders who

³⁶ Jacobus Bontius, *Tropische Geneeskunde/ Bontius on Tropical Medicine*, ed., M.A. van Andel (Amstelodami: Sumptibus Societatis, 1931), p. 91.

³⁷ Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), p. 12.

dominated the scene. All these tea suppliers would have been resident in the town of Zeelandia that had been laid out adjacent to the Dutch Fort Zeelandia. The role of the Chinese citizens was not restricted to that of middle-men between the Dutch and the Formosans, they also had representatives on the Board of Aldermen (*schepenen*) of the town.³⁸ Daily contacts between the Dutch and Chinese citizens must have been commonplace. Sometimes the VOC vessels would also carry Chinese passengers from Taiwan to Batavia.³⁹ Although none of their cargo manifests has survived, the Chinese passengers must have had plenty of opportunities on their southward-bound voyages to introduce the Dutch passengers to tea. Another possible source were the Chinese mariners deliberately employed by the Dutch authorities in the 1640s to man the Chinese junks sailed by a Dutch captain and officers.⁴⁰ As well as having the chance to be thoroughly instructed in Chinese sailing skills, they would probably have also become used to drinking tea as their Chinese shipmates did. The situation in Batavia was similar to that in Taiwan, but there the supply of tea was scarcer than in Taiwan. A Famous French adventurer, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, recorded his experience in the European colonies in South and Southeast Asia. According to his account, “in Goa, in Batavia, and all of the colonial trading posts, there are hardly any Europeans who do not take it (tea) four or five times a day.” He travelled in Asia during 1638-1669 and therefore offers a strong proof that the European sojourners had widely accept this drink by the middle of seventeenth century.⁴¹

As said, in China and Japan, tea-drinking is not really associated with sugar. This is not to insist that there is an orthodox way to drink tea, but rather to state that the mainstream would not have prepared it this way. For example, when Johan Nieuwhof was appointed as a steward of embassy and visited Beijing in 1655-1656,

³⁸ Pol Heyns and Wei-chung Cheng, compl., *Dutch Formosan Placard-book, Marriage, and Baptism Records* (Taipei: Ts'ao Yung-ho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2005), p. 27.

³⁹ VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan (20 Dec. 1650), fol. 560^v; VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan (26 Feb. 1654), fol. 169^r.

⁴⁰ VOC 1130, Missive van gouverneur Jan van der Burch naer Batavia aen gouverneur general Anthonio van Diemen, Taijouan (16 Feb. 1639), fol. 1401-1402.

⁴¹ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer Baron d' Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, pendant l'espace de quarante ans, & par toutes les routes que l'on peut tenir, acompagnez d'observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque país, avec les figures, le poids & la valeur de monnoyes qui ont couru* (Paris: Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1676), pp. 49-50. Recited from: George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*, p. 355.

he witnessed two different forms of tea consumption. At the court of Viceroy, the tea was diluted with milk in a proportion of one (milk) to three-quarters (tea) and a pinch of salt was added in the “Tartar” manner. This is the custom still observed when the nomadic people in Mongolia, Central Asia and the Tibetan plateau drink tea.⁴² In the course of his long journey to Beijing, Nieuhof also noticed that there was another way of preparing tea-water in the south:

“...Thea, which they use instead of Beer, not only at tables, but upon all visits and entertainments, and which is more, whosoever has anything to dispatch in the palaces of the grandees, is presented as soon as he is seated, with a cup of this liquor, which is always drunk, or rather supped off hot, according to the fashion of the ancient Romans, who esteemed more of warm then cold water. If at any time this liquor proves bitter to the taste, they mingle a little sugar with it, and drink it to drive away drowsiness. But such especially find the benefit in drinking thereof, who have over-charged their stomachs with eating, or discomposed their brains with too much strong drink. For it is a very great dryer of gross humours, and dispels vapours, occasioning sleep. It strengthens the memory, but increases gall, if drank in too great a quantity.”⁴³

Therefore, the Chinese sometimes did add sugar to tea, but only a moderate

⁴² H. Garrison Wilkes, “Interesting Beverages of the Eastern Himalayas,” *Economic Botany* (New York) 22: 4 (Oct. 1968), pp. 347-353 at 347-350; Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China: waar in de gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche landschappen, Quantung, Kiangsi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het keizerlijke hof te Peking, sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigste verhandelt worden: befeffens een naukeurige Beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden, godsdiensten, gebouwen, drachten, schepen, bergen, gewassen, dieren, &c. en oorlogen tegen de Tartars: verçiert men over de 150 afbeeltsels, na't leven in Sina getekent* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1665), p. 46; John Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China delivered by their Excellencies, Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his Imperial City of Peking*, trans., John Ogilby (London; Printed by John Macock, 1696), p. 45.

⁴³ Johan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China: waar in de gedenkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die onder het reizen door de Sineesche landschappen, Quantung, Kiangsi, Nanking, Xantung en Peking, en aan het keizerlijke hof te Peking, sedert den jare 1655 tot 1657 zijn voorgevallen, op het bondigste verhandelt worden: befeffens een naukeurige Beschryving der Sineesche steden, dorpen, regeering, wetenschappen, hantwerken, zeden, godsdiensten, gebouwen, drachten, schepen, bergen, gewassen, dieren, &c. en oorlogen tegen de Tartars: verçiert men over de 150 afbeeltsels, na't leven in Sina getekent*, p. 123B; John Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperour of China delivered by their Excellencies, Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his Imperial City of Peking*, pp. 248-249.

amount.⁴⁴ A similar practice was also witnessed in Siam by the French Jesuit Jacques de Bourges in 1669:

“During our stay in Siam our meals ordinarily comprised fish. We took tea, which is drunk very hot with a little sugar. We found it very good, and compared to the effects of wine, those caused by tea when one drinks it in this country, where the stomach is weakened by the heat, and its strength contends with the quality of the food, one cannot doubt which of the two has preference, the more so as this leaf, the use of which is so common in these countries, has excellent properties, the most remarkable of which is that of intoxication. In this it is very different from other beverages which men use, which taken to excess, remove or enfeeble their reason, whereas tea fortifies it and frees it from the vapours which prevent its functioning.”⁴⁵

On both occasions, the tea was taken after a meal to facilitate the digestion and wake people up. As mentioned above, it was treated more as a basic daily item of consumption than a medicine. It seems that, at least in the early seventeenth century, a market for the consumption of tea had already developed in Siam. From 1634 to 1643, when the Portuguese were expelled by the Siamese court, the VOC merchants immediately filled the gap and supplied it with tea and other Chinese goods from Taiwan. This was short-lived as after 1643 the Chinese from Amoy gained the upper hand over the Dutch on this route and forced them to withdraw from this business of tea.⁴⁶ Although it is possible that the Chinese Amoy traders and the oversea Chinese communities contributed to the local enthusiasm for tea, the Chinese population on its own would not have been large enough to support a market on this scale. In “*The Ship of Sulaimān*”, one eye-witness from the Muslim world has recorded that the Persian Muslim communities in Ayutthaya (central Thailand) might have boosted the consumption of Chinese tea. This book was written by an anonymous member of the embassy

⁴⁴ According to the local custom in southern Fujian province, people also offer sugared tea at the Lunar New Year festival and probably on some other exceptional occasions for celebration. However, it is difficult to know since when that custom has been practiced. See: Lien-mao Wang, “Quanzhou de Chuantong Jipin yu Xiangzheng Jiqi Xiandai Bianqian [Traditional Ritual Offerings and Symbols, and Their Modern Transformation in Quanzhou],” in Hsun Chang, ed., *Renshen Gongxin: Zongjiao yu Yangsheng Yinshi* [Sharing Fragrance with People and Deities: Religion and Healthy Diet] (Taipei: Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture, 2009), pp. 141-158 at 145.

⁴⁵ Michael Smithies, “Jacques de Bourges (c. 1630-1714) and Siam,” *The Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok) 81: 2 (Dec. 1993), pp. 113-129 at 119-120.

⁴⁶ George Vinal Smith, *The Dutch in Seventeenth-Century Thailand* (Illinois: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1977), p. 62.

dispatched to Siam from Persia. Its mission lasted from 1685-1688. The author points out that the Siamese king, Narai, was quite accustomed to Persian cuisine because a Persian cook had served him since he was very young. The Persian ambassadors were treated to a Persian banquet in the palace by the king and they were served “tea and coffee” before the banquet began.⁴⁷ Since the King Narai was born in 1633, it can be inferred that the custom of holding a Persian banquet had been introduced to the Siamese court at least as early as the 1650s. When the Jesuit Jacques de Bourges was taking his tea in 1669, the Persian Muslim community in Siam must have already been very familiar with tea-drinking. On the Malabar Coast around 1672, the Dutch minister of religion Philippus Baldaeus, also wrote how tea should be taken. He made a special point of saying that the Chinese did not take tea with candy-sugar, adding that this was to prevent an excessive use of tea.⁴⁸ This record implies that some inhabitants of the Malabar Coast, and perhaps even in Surat, must have drunk tea with sugar dissolved in it.

As mentioned earlier, the VOC shipped Chinese tea to Surat, and occasionally Persia, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The high price of tea in Persia frequently provided the Dutch with incentives to meet the demand. However, the Mogul governor of Surat discovered this lucrative trade and assembled a large convoy to ply the route between Banda Abbas (Persian gulf, Iran) and Surat. Hence, the VOC authorities decided that, only if the estimated profits rose above 40 or 50 percent, would they send their vessels to Banda Abbas.⁴⁹

In 1638, the famous adventurer, Mandelslo, embarked from “Gombroon” (Bandar Abbas) and sailed nineteen days before reaching Surat. During this voyage, he drank tea twice or thrice each day.⁵⁰ On 22 March, 1677, an English traveler, John Fryer, arrived in Bandar Abbas from Surat. He recalls that:

“... we were received in their open places of audience, and entertained with coho, tea, or rose water, boiled with cardamoms, and sweetened with sugar-candy, plates

⁴⁷ Anonymous, *The Ship of Sulaimān*, trans., John O’Kane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 68.

⁴⁸ Philippus Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, der zelve aangrenzende Ryken, en het machtige Eyland Ceylon, nevens een omstandige en grondigh doorzochte ontdekking en wederlegginge van de Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* (’T Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius van Waasberge and Johannes van Someren, 1672), pp. 183-184.

⁴⁹ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed., Federik Willem Stapel (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1939), Vol. 2, Part. 3, p. 27.

⁵⁰ Manekshah Sorabshah Commissariat, ed., *Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 2.

of Persian fruit dried, and sweetmeats.”⁵¹

These first-hand records prove that, both in Surat and Banda Abbas, the established custom of drinking tea to which sugar had been added must have existed throughout the whole of the seventeenth century. This fact has been pointed out by Prof. Matthee in his works discussing the Iranian consumption of stimulants.⁵² In 1689, another traveler to this region John Ovington, not only confirms the local consumption pattern of combining the tea and candy-sugar, but also points out tea, like coffee, was a common drink among the Muslims in Turkey, Persia, India and parts of Arabia, with the exception of the Muslim sects in Muscat.⁵³ After 1668, when the VOC withdrew from the China coast and called a temporary halt to its Sino-India transit trade in tea, Indian Muslim traders continued to dispatch their vessels to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, as confirmed by their thriving business with Ayutthaya.⁵⁴ In some rare instances, the Surat vessels even reached Aceh and Manila.⁵⁵ Even though Chinese tea was not a bulk cargo item, it must have become one of the regular cargoes they took back to Surat. English merchants of the East India Company established a factory in Taiwan in 1672, with the consent of Coxinga's son, Zheng Jing, who had become a self-proclaimed king there. They were one of the channels among the various Asian carriers on this route. Their correspondence reveals some indications of tea consumption:

“Thea, we desire none for England, but that which is cheap though not soe good

⁵¹ John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia: In 8 Letters being 9 Years Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681* (London: Printed by R.R. for Ri. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1698), p. 225.

⁵² Rudi Matthee, “From Coffee to Tea: Shifting Patterns of Consumption in Qajar Iran,” *Journal of World History* 7: 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 199-230 at 219.

⁵³ John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, ed., H. G. Rawlinson (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 181, 249.

⁵⁴ Anthony Farrington and Dhiravat Na Pombejra, comp., *The English Factory in Siam* (London: The British Library, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 508, 512-514. George White at Ayutthaya to Robert Parker and Council at Bantam, 15 Nov. 1679.

⁵⁵ An Armenian, Khwaja Minas, had been engaged in the trade to Manila from Surat around 1665-1668. See: Serafin D. Quiason, *The English “Country Trade” with Manila Prior to 1708* (Manila: Institute of Asian Studies, 1963), p. 69; in 1669, the Surat vessel “Abdell Grossoes’ Vackeele” arrived in Aceh, see: David Kenneth Bassett, “British ‘Country’ Trade and Local Trade Networks in the Thai and Malay States, c. 1680-1770,” *Modern Asian Studies* (Cambridge) 23: 4 (Oct. 1989), pp. 625-643 at 627.

we are told will yield profit at Surrat to be sold to the dyers.”⁵⁶

The author is not able to discover the usage of tea for those dyers. The tea might have been used as a kind of dye itself. More evidence would be required to clarify this observation.⁵⁷

Apart from Ayutthaya, Banten [Bantam] continued to be used as a transit harbor for Chinese goods including tea in 1670s and 1680s, before the VOC threw a spanner in the works of the commercial expansion of this sultanate by waging a war there in 1682-1683. It had assumed the role of Makassar after the VOC signed enforced monopoly treaties with the latter in 1669. In order to build an effective commercial fleet in a short space of time, Sultan Tirayasa of Banten hired English, Danish, Chinese and Gujarati crews to man his vessels.⁵⁸ Such a hybrid environment could have been just the environment in which the habit of tea-drinking could have been passed on from the Chinese to the Europeans (the Gujaratis might have already been used to it). A German physician, Petri Coertemünde, was in Banten in 1672 and he notes that the Chinese inhabitants there drank tea with preserves at festivals.⁵⁹ This was just on the eve of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories (1673-1681), when the Qing court in China lost its control of its coastal areas to the self-proclaimed independent coastal provinces. The Portuguese in Macau [Macao] immediately seized the opportunity to extend their trade with Banten and exported 12,664 Dutch pounds (c. 103 *piculs*) of tea there in 1676 and 1678.⁶⁰ Prof. George Souza has correctly pointed out that these tea exports were intended for the markets in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean.⁶¹ The traveler John Fryer wrote about the trade in Banten factory in his

⁵⁶ Hsiu-Jung Chang, Anthony Farrington, Fu-san Huang, Yung-ho Ts’ao, Mi-tsa Wu, Hsi-fu Cheng, and Ka-im Ang, eds., *The English Factory in Taiwan 1670-1685* (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1995), p. 444.

⁵⁷ Since the middle of 16th century at least, people in China have been widely using the black tea leaf as a natural dye for fabrics. See: Wei-fang Zong, “Yuandai Jinzimo Cha yu Hongcha Qiyuan [The Origin of Black Tea and the Golden Color Powdered Tea in Yuan Dynasty],” *Agricultural Archaeology* (Nanchang) 2017: 5 (Dec. 2017), pp. 208-215 at 211.

⁵⁸ Freek Colombijn, “Foreign Influence on the State of Banten, 1596-1682,” *Indonesia Circle* (Oxford) 18: 50 (Nov. 1989), pp. 19-30 at 25.

⁵⁹ Danish National Library, NKS 388 kvart, *Orientalische Reyse des Königl. Schiffs Oldenburg, beschrieben duch Joan. Petri Coertemünde. 1672-1675*. fo. 96^r.

⁶⁰ George Bryan Souza, *Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 121.

⁶¹ George Bryan Souza, *Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea 1630-1754*, p. 121.

letter quoted below:

“The Presidency of Surat is esteemed superior to all in India, the Agency of Bantam being not long since subordinate to it, but since made independent; the South Sea Trade is still maintained from hence to Bantam with such Cloath as is vendible there, from thence with Dollars to China for Sugar, Tea, Porcelane, Laccared Ware, Quicksilver, Tuthinag and Copper; which with cowreys, little Sea-shels, come from Siam and the Phillipine Islands...

All which, after the Europe Ships have unladen at Surat, they go down to fetch; and bring up time enough before the Caphalas out of the Country come in with their wares.”⁶²

On the basis of the same judgment, it would be safe to say that, since 1670, Banten must have already begun develop into another tea distribution harbor, quite independently of Ayutthaya. The position of Banten in the tea trade to India is very significant because the Surat-Banten route was another relatively long-haul voyage during which the hybrid crews might have passed their own habits to each other. The tea obtained by English India Company in Banten could be shipped directly to England, as one author William H. Ukers mentions:

“It was 1668 before the Company’s first order for importing tea reached the agent at Bantam... The first importation followed in 1669,...This was followed in 1670... Thereafter tea was imported year by year [to England] with the exception of the years 1673-1677, from Bantam, from Surat, from Ganjam and from Madras, until 1689, in which year there is the first record of an importation from Amoy... in general the Company’s factor bought at Bantam from Chinese junks trading there, and at Surat from the Portuguese ships trading from Macao to Goa and Daman. Nearer than this they could not get in reaching out for the China trade.”⁶³

Surat and Banten therefore became two gateways through which the EIC exported Chinese tea from Asia to Europe in this period. Given this situation, it is not surprising that the English agents in the Surat factory gradually learned to drink tea with sugar dissolved in it. (see below) As mentioned earlier, the Dutch personnel had had opportunities to learn to drink tea everywhere along the route from Batavia to India in the 1660s. The English only picked up the tea transport from Banten and Siam to Surat after the 1670s. It would seem quite natural to

⁶² John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia: In 8 Letters being 9 Years Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681*, p. 86. Here “Banten” is spelt differently as “Bantam”.

⁶³ William Harrison Ukers, *All about Tea*, vol. 1, p. 73. Here “Banten” is spelt differently as “Bantam”.

assume that the English also took over the habit of tea-drinking from Indian Muslim traders and passengers on this route. This might explain why the custom of drinking tea with sugar had begun to spread in England in the 1690s. The emergence of this custom is mentioned in Philip Anderson's work. When he writes about the story of an English drifter in Surat around 1686, he reminds his readers to take note that this was the time at which sugar was gradually gaining recognition as an accompaniment to tea, as shown in his quote below:

“We may glean a little here and there regarding the manners of the English in this generation. Their diet appears at present in some respects singular even to their countrymen. Tea was drunk in great quantities. Amongst the Dutch the tea pot, we are told, was seldom off the fire. The English do not seem to have usually taken it with sugar and milk, although sugar candy was occasionally dissolved in it.”⁶⁴

As Prof. Rappaport points out in her thoughtful study on the spread of the tea-drinking habit, in Surat, Hindu, Persian, Arab, Jewish, Dutch, British and other European merchants were all delighting in both tea and coffee in the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, the English merchant John Ovington returned home after his stay in Surat brimming with enthusiasm to champion the use of tea.⁶⁵

4. Conclusion

Above I have investigated the export of Chinese tea via Taiwan during the period 1642-1661, and from there its onward export via Batavia to Europe by the VOC. Throughout most of the seventeenth century, tea was a commodity that circulated around the China Seas and the Indian Ocean rather than in Europe. The sudden expansion of the European tea market in the early eighteenth century must have been a result of the spontaneous and probably unintentional introduction of the tea-drinking habit by VOC and EIC personnel in combination with other incentives such as the fashion for aping the manners of European aristocrats who

⁶⁴ Philip Anderson, *The English in Western India; Being the History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay, and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast. From the Earliest Period until the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. Drawn from Authentic Works and Original Documents* (London: Smith and Taylor, 1854).

⁶⁵ Erika Rappaport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017), pp. 33-34.

cultivated tea-drinking as a new exotic fashion.⁶⁶ As mentioned in this article, the VOC personnel was still becoming accustomed to tea-drinking as late as 1642 when Dr. De Bondt discussed its usage in his publication. This was exactly the time in which the VOC began to export steady amounts Chinese tea to India, especially Surat, via Taijouan (part of Taiwan today). In the two decades that followed, Taijouan became an extremely important entrepôt in tea exports in the wake of the domestic turbulence engendered by the regime change in China and the Dutch blockade of Malacca and its aftermath. The former caused turmoil on the overland tea routes and the latter put the nail in the coffin of the Portuguese tea transportation by sea. Tea was among the commodities purchased by the Dutch merchants in Taiwan from their partners: Chinese citizens living in the Zeelandia town, while the latter served as go-betweens facilitating the formers' access to the Amoy merchants who controlled Fujian tea exports in China. Although direct evidence is lacking, it can be inferred that the daily engagements in cross-cultural encounters in Zeelandia must have encouraged the Dutch personnel's adoption of the tea-drinking habit, in much the same way as they acquired this habit in Surat. For about two decades, the Dutch personnel carried approximately 5,000 kgs of tea to diverse Indian and Persian harbors each year. Chinese tea was sold by Dutch merchants in Masulipatnam (Coromandel coast of India), Surat, Banda Abbas and Isfahan. They also encountered Muslim merchants who drank tea in Banten, Ayutthaya and other commercial towns, mostly accompanied by the addition of some sugar, along the maritime route from Taiwan to India. The new habit of consuming this stimulant can be checked in the many paths opened up in a multitude of documents left by numerous anonymous individuals. However, these are scattered references whose very dispersion makes it very difficult for historians to recover the accurate traces of this acceptance. The greatest acceptance of such a new culinary custom is more likely to happen when a certain group of people are exposed to its consumption while engaging in cross-cultural encounters more frequently and more widely than they had done in earlier periods. (In this case drinking tea with sugar) It is certainly possible to go on listing many more such occasions and encounters in historical records, over and above those mentioned in this article.⁶⁷ Certainly, given this solid evidence of tea exports via

⁶⁶ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans., David Jacobson (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), pp. 15-84. Chapter Two: Coffee and the Protestant Ethic.

⁶⁷ The most recent compilation of such kind of accounts see: George van Driem, *The Tale of Tea: A Comprehensive History of Tea from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*.

Taiwan, the VOC personnel were exposed to tea and its consumption in steadily rising quantities for about two decades. This fact should be taken in to account when studying the introduction of tea and the tea-drinking habit in Europe. On the other hand, it seems that the marriage of tea and sugar, that the Dutch and English people enjoyed since their early espousal of tea drinking, was a custom found in most of the major harbors along the maritime tea route. Evidence shows that in South China, Siam, Banten, and Banda Abbas, drinking sweetened tea was a common practice among Chinese and Muslims. It also carries the implication that the VOC personnel in Taiwan could have acquired this practice from the Chinese citizens there, since their daily interactions were more frequent there than in other places. Apart from its role of the most important tea entrepôt in the middle of the seventeenth century, Taiwan might also have served as the friendliest platform on which the Dutch personnel could engage in cross-cultural interactions with moderate numbers of Chinese people. Their presence in Taiwan or Zeelandia town was certainly not the sole reason the Dutch adopted the tea-drinking habit, but it must have played a significant role in the global interactions that eventually led to the widespread consumption of tea in Europe after the eighteenth century.

Appendix

**Table 1 Tea Exported from China via Taiwan
(Dutch Pounds per Book Year)**

Book Year	Exported to India (via Taiwan)	Exported to The Dutch Republic	Exported to India (via Batavia)
1637/1638	2,440		
1638/1639	2,440		
1639/1640	0		
1640/1641	1,703		
1641/1642	7,997		
1642/1643	2,772		
1643/1644	5,829		
1644/1645	4,636		
1645/1646	8,967		
1646/1647	1,769		
1647/1648	3,308		
1648/1649	0		
1649/1650	0		
1650/1651	15,126		
1651/1652	20,653		
1652/1653	19,321		
1653/1654	24,326		
1654/1655	13,089		12,190
1655/1656	27,328		
1656/1657	0		
1657/1658	7,603	1,024	
1658/1659	17,934	732	
1659/1660	34,862	1,684	
1660/1661	72	1,908	
1661/1662			
1662/1663		329	
1663/1664		355	
1664/1665		0	718
1665/1666		0	20,149
1666/1667		5,108	10,806
1667/1668		0	15,786
1668/1669		0	
1669/1670		0	0
1670/1671		0	
1671/1672		0	0
1672/1673		0	0
1673/1674		0	0
1674/1675		0	0
1675/1676		0	0
1677/1678		0	0
1678/1679		1,370	0

1679/1680		0	0
1680/1681		1,259	0
1681/1682		0	0
1682/1683		2,466	0
1683/1684		2,048	1,056
1684/1685		3,838	0
1685/1686		5,907	
1686/1687		3,510	0
1687/1688		2,215	0
1688/1689		1,068	0
1689/1690		0	0
1690/1691		0	
1691/1692		14,310	0
1692/1693		12,184	0
1693/1694		13,804	30,527
1694/1695		0	5,959
1695/1696		14,387	0
1696/1697		12,479	0
1697/1698		32,660	0
1698/1699		52,445	0
1699/1700		76,910	0
1700/1701		81,956	0
1701/1702		45,715	0
1702/1703		30,883	0
1703/1704		16,592	0
1706/1707		60,374	0
1707/1708		0	0
1708/1709		69,167	0
1709/1710		0	0
1710/1711		68,042	0
1711/1712		63,736	0
1712/1713		70,085	0
1713/1714		77,329	0
1714/1715		64,576	0

Note: The numbers of the tea exported from China (via Taiwan) to India are cited from the Appendix Table 1.1 (see below)

Source: *De Dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia (I)*:504; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662*:180; *Hollandse Mercurius*, 9:125; 10:110; 11:114; 12:100; 14:98; 15:131; 18:162; 21:75; 22:158; 39:150-151; 40:279. Id-JaAN (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1602-1799) 2495:242,247-250,871; 2496:154,157-160,162-164; 2497:1072,1320,1322,1325,1327; 2499:738,955,957-959,961-963; 2502:566; 2503:414; 2505:691; 2506:348; 2509:482; 2512:99; 2513:526-527,634; 2514:113-114; 2515:91,551-552; 2516:713-714; 2517:719-720; 2518:125,502,505,746; 2519:537-538,616-619; 2520:443,447,460,474-475,530; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, anno. 1670:142,151,176-177; 1672:235,237; 1673:273-274; 1674:185; 1675:231; 1676:215; 1677:334; 1678:455,596; 1679:46-49,51-53,428-429; 1680:631; 1681:554,767,769; 1682:1221-1222; online database of "Bookkeeper-General Batavia (after 1701)(Schooneveld-Oosterling et al., 2013), VOC 1130:1403; 1140:231; 1245:349; 1258:2347; 1264:377; 1488:466; 1490:107; 1503:160; 1504:49; 1523:182; 7533:465; *Generale Missiven*, V:467; VI:104; VII:76.

Table 1.1 Tea Exported from Taiwan and Received in Surat, Coromandel and Persia (Dutch Pounds per Book Year)

Book Year	Surat		Coromandel		Persia		Total Tea Export to India (with recovered amounts) (a+b+c)
	Exported to (a)	Received in	Exported to (b)	Received in	Exported to (c)	Received in	
1641-1642	1,043	x	(6,954)	660	x	x	7,997
1642-1643	(1,431)	(1,043)	(0)	6,954	(1,341)	x	2,772
1643-1644	(2,914)	1,431	x	0	2,915	1,341	5,829
1644-1645	(4,636)	2,914	x	x	x	2,389	4,636
1645-1646	(7,930)	4,636	(0)	x	1,037	x	8,967
1646-1647	(0)	7,930	(0)	0	1,769	(1,037)	1,769
1647-1648	3,308	0	(0)	0	(0)	(1,769)	3,308
1648-1649	x	3,363	x	0	x	0	0
1649-1650	x	x	x	(0)	x	x	0
1650-1651	7,542	x	7,584	x	0	x	15,126
1651-1652	8,052	(7,542)	6,257	7,585	6,344	0	20,653
1652-1653	11,025	8,052	8,296	6,257	0	6,344	19,321
1653-1654	9,878	11,025	6,300	8,296	8,148	0	24,326
1654-1655	x	9,878	4,941	x	8,148	8,281	13,089
1655-1656	13,298	12,190*	14,030	4,941	x	(8,148)	27,328
1656-1657	0	13,377	x	14,066	x	0	0
1657-1658	7,603	0	0	0	0	x	7,603
1658-1659	(17,934)	2,030	(0)	0	x	(0)	17,934
1659-1660	(17,979)	17,934	(16,883)	x	x	x	34,862
1660-1661	(0)	17,979	72	16,883	x	0	72
1661-1662	x	0	x	(72)	x	x	x

Note: The numbers in brackets are calculated conversely from the received amount of the following year, vice versa.

“*” This amount was delivered by Batavia, not Taiwan. “x” means the number is not available.

Source: VOC 1135:312; 1138:808^v; 1139:381^v; 1140:231; 1144:452^r,467^r; 1146:834^v,930^v,936^r; 1153:542^v,749^v,836^v; 1162:17^v,35^v,121^r,128^r; 1168:592^v,607^r; 1183:543,556; 1184:286^r; 1185:541^v; 1194:51^v; 1195:435^v,715^v,820^r; 1197:770^v; 1200:273^r; 1206:132-133; 1207:644^v; 1208:193,371,429^r,481^r,481^v; 1209:310; 1210:683,686,687^r,823,839; 1215:546^v,631^r,677^r; 1216:409,414; 1224:261^v; 1227:16^r; 1228:476,551; 1232:677-678; 1233:14^v,131^r; 1234:154^r; 1236:167,226; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, anno. 1641-1642:192; Shaogang Cheng, *De VOC en Formosa 1624-1662*:250,279,293.

Table 2 Comparison between the Amounts of Tea Ordered to Taiwan and Supplied by Taiwan to India (Dutch Pounds and Book Year)

Year	Ordered to Taiwan	Supplied by Taiwan
1640-1641	5,368	1,703
1641-1642	5,610	7,997
1642-1643	1,220	2,772
1643-1644	1,500	5,829
1644-1645	4,392	4,636
1645-1646	4,132	8,967
1646-1647	9,700	1,769
1647-1648	6,000	3,308
1648-1649	8,000	0
1649-1650	11,500	0
1650-1651	11,500	15,126
1651-1652	19,000	20,653
1652-1653	18,200	19,321
1653-1654	13,250	24,326
1654-1655	0	13,089
1655-1656	10,000	27,328
1656-1657	16,000	0
1657-1658	8,024	7,603
1658-1659	15,000	17,934
1659-1660	0	34,862
1660-1661	10,000	72

Source: Appendix Table 1; Appendix Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1 The Amounts of Tea Ordered
by Batavian Authority for Surat, Coromandel and Persia
(Dutch Pounds per Book Year)**

Book Year	Surat	Coromandel	Persia	Total
1640-1641	488	4,880		5,368
1641-1642	610	5,000		5,610
1642-1643		1,220		1,220
1643-1644	0	0	1,500	1,500
1644-1645	4,392			4,392
1645-1646	3,400		732	4,132
1646-1647	7,700	2,000		9,700
1647-1648	4,000	2,000		6,000
1648-1649	6,000	2,000		8,000
1649-1650	7,500	4,000		11,500
1650-1651	7,500	4,000		11,500
1651-1652	8,000	5,000	6,000	19,000
1652-1653	7,200	5,000	6,000	18,200
1653-1654	7,250	0	6,000	13,250
1654-1655	0			0
1655-1656	1,000			10,000
1656-1657	16,000			16,000
1657-1658	8,000	24		8,024
1658-1659	15,000			15,000
1659-1660	0			0
1660-1661	10,000			10,000
1661-1662	X	X	X	
1667-1668	8,400			

Source: VOC 864:324; 865:209; 866:408; 867:537; 868:381; 869:278,412; 870:187-188; 871:309-310; 872:164-165; 873:48; 874:217; 875:225; 876:387-388; 877:261; 878:169; 879:290; 880:261-262; 881:326; 882:224; 883:378; 884:302-303; 1150:264^r; 1268:958^r.

Table 3 The Sale Price of Tea in India (including Persia) and the Cost in Taiwan or China of the Previous Year (Stuivers per Dutch Pound)

Year	Cost in Taiwan(including China)(A) in previous year	Current Year	Sale Price in India (including Persia)(B)in current year	Profit Margin (%) (B-Previous Year Cost A)/A
1641	8.5	1642	23	170
1642	8.7	1643	27.2	212
1643	7.5	1644	23.3	210
1644	6.8	1645	10.3	51
1645	6.3	1646	13.8	119
1646	6.3	1647	X	
1647	6.6*	1648	13.2	98
1648		1649	16.8	
1649	13.2	1650		
1650	13.2	1651	X	
1651	17*	1652	21	22.25
1652	6.2	1653	X	X
1653	7.2*	1654	15.5	113.4
1654	8.5	1655	X	X
1655	5.5	1656	7.7	40
1656	9.45	1657	7.3	
1657	X	1658	X	
1658		1659	18.6	
1659		1660	5	

Source: VOC 1139:528^v; 1144:452^r; 1146:856,924^v,930^v; 1149:664^r; 1153:749^v; 1158:294^v; 1162:14^v,35^v,36^r; 1168:592^v; 1172:492^r; 1185:661^v; 1188:444^v; 1195:733; 1208:187^r,463; 1210:686^r; 1215:551^r; 1224:195,221^v,447^r; 1230:185^r; 1234:154^r; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia, anno. 1644-1645:240.*

*calculated reversely from the sold price and profit margin.

Currency Conversion

(When the conversion rate is mentioned in cited sources at a particular time and place, the author relies on that, rather than the general rates listed below)

1 rial (piece of eight)= 48-60 *stuivers*

1 tael=66 *stuivers* (before 1652)

1 tael=71 *stuivers* (after 1652)

1 guilder (florin)= 20 *stuivers*= 320 *penningen*

1 *ropia*= 28-30 *stuivers*

1 *pagode*= 3-3.5 *ropias*

1 *larijn*= 10 *stuivers*

Weights

1 picul= 100 catties= 122 Dutch pounds

1 Dutch pound= 0.494 kilograms

1 man=24 or 36 -36 1/4 Dutch pounds

References

Danish National Library, NKS 388 kvart, *Orientalische Reyse des Königl. Schiffs Oldenburg, beschrieben duch Joan. Petri Coertemunde. 1672-1675.* fos. 1-140.

“Id-JaAN” refers to the archives in the national archives of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1602-1799).

Id-JaAN 2495, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1683 – 31 Dec. 1683, fos. 1-1176.

Id-JaAN 2496, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1684-12 July 1684, fos. 1-826.

Id-JaAN 2497, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 12 July 1684- 31 Dec. 1684, fos. 827-1940.

Id-JaAN 2499, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 7 Aug. 1685- 31 Dec. 1685, fos. 653-1065.

Id-JaAN 2502, Batavias dach-Register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1687- 31 Dec. 1687, fos. 1-993.

Id-JaAN 2503, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1688- 31 Dec. 1688, fos. 1-592.

Id-JaAN 2505, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 7 July 1689- 31 Dec. 1689, fos. 445-966.

Id-JaAN 2506, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1690- 31 Dec. 1690, fos. 1-618.

Id-JaAN 2509, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 30 June 1692- 31 Dec. 1692, fos. 469-897.

Id-JaAN 2512, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1694- 31 May 1694, fos. 1-408.

Id-JaAN 2513, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in ’t Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 31 May 1694 May – 31 Dec. 1694, fos. 409-949.

Id-JaAN 2514, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1695-31 Dec. 1695, fos. 1-766.

Id-JaAN 2515, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1696-30 June 1696, fos. 1-416.

Id-JaAN 2516, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 30 June 1696- 31 Dec. 1696, fos. 417-1010.

Id-JaAN 2517, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1697- 31 Dec. 1697, fos. 1-968.

Id-JaAN 2518, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1698- 31 Dec. 1698, fos. 1-765.

Id-JaAN 2519, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1699- 31 Dec. 1699, fos. 1-934.

Id-JaAN 2520, Batavias dach-register daarinne vervat en aangehaalt werden alle de aanmerckenswaardige voorvallen en geschiedenissen ter selver Stede in 't Compagnies en gemeene saacken, Batavia, 1 Jan. 1700- 31 Dec. 1700, fos. 1-704.

“VOC” refers to the archives of the Dutch East India Company in the national archives of the Netherlands (Nationaal Archief).

VOC 864, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den president Paulus Traudenius, per de fluyte Rijk geschreven, Batavia, 8 July 1640, fos. 320-330.

VOC 865, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Paulus Traudenius, per de fluyten Gulde Buijs en Castricum geschreven, Batavia, 26 June 1641, fos. 196-221.

VOC 866, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Paulus Traudenius, per de schepen Ackerslooth en Broecoord geschreven, Batavia, 25 June 1642, fos. 402-413.

VOC 867, Missive van Batavia [van Anthonio van Diemen] naer Tayouan aen den president Maximiliaen Le Maire, per 't Vliegend Hert geschreven, Batavia, 1 Aug 1643, fos. 527-540.

VOC 868, Instructie [van Anthonio van Diemen] voor d' heer Francois Caron, raed van India, vetreckende van hier met den schepe de Vreede, de fluyte Beer, 't Quel, d' Hasewint, mitsgaders de nieuwe lootsboot, na 't Eijlant Formosa als vice gouverneur van de castelen en fortressen in Tayouan, Quelangh, Tamsuiw etc. ende directeur van Compagnies traffijcq ende gheelen omslach op 't voornoemde Eijlant, daerna zijn E. sich sal hebben te reguleren, Batavia, 4 July 1644, fos. 360-388.

VOC 869, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den heer Francois Caron, per den Hen, Meermerman en Hillegaersbergh geschreven, Batavia, 19 June 1645, fos. 273-288.

- VOC 869, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen d' heer gouverneur Francois Caron per de fluyt de Salm geschreven, Batavia , 31 July 1645, fos. 410-425.
- VOC 870, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen d' heer gouverneur Francois Caron, per de Zeeerob ende Salm geschreven, Batavia, 18 June 1646, fos 179-191.
- VOC 871, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn]naer Tayouan aen den president Pieter Anthonisz. Overwater en den raet des Eijlants Formosa, Batavia (1647 July 11), fos 287-313.
- VOC 872, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den president [Pieter Anthonissen] Overtwater ende de raedtspersoonen des Eijlants Formosa, per de fluytschepen Maeslandt ende Hillegaersberch, Batavia, 4 July 1648, fos. 162-168.
- VOC 873, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den president [Pieter Anthonissen Overtwater] ende de raatspersoonen des Eijlants Formosa, per fluyt den Reijger geschreven, Batavia, 11 June 1649, fos. 47-50.
- VOC 874, Missive van Batavia [van Cornelis van der Lijn] naer Tayouan aen den E. Nicolaes Verburgh, gouverneur des Eijlandts Formosa, per de fluytscheepen 't Witte Paerdt, de Witte Duijve, de Trouw ende de Potvis geschreven, Batavia, 14 July 1650, fos. 206-221.
- VOC 875, Missive van Batavia [van Carel Reniersz.] naer Tayouan aen den E. commissaris Wilhem Verstegen en den vice gouverneur Nicolaes Verburgh, Batavia, 22 June 1651, fos 223-229.
- VOC 876, Missive van Batavia [van Carel Reniersz.] naer Tayouan aen den E. heer gouverneur Nicolaes Verburch ende sijnen raet, per Delft en fluyt Zandijck geschreven, Batavia, 27 June 1652, fos. 384-398.
- VOC 877, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen gouverneur Cornelis Caesar ende den raet, Batavia, 28 July 1653, fos.252-262.
- VOC 878, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raedt, Batavia, 21 June 1654, fos. 162-171.
- VOC 879, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raet, per 't schip Enckhuijsen, Batavia, 18 June 1655, fos. 282-293.
- VOC 880, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Taijouan aen den gouverneur [Cornelis Caesar] ende den raet, Batavia, 5 July 1656, fos. 259-265.
- VOC 881, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den E. Frederick Coyett ende raedt, Batavia, 25 July 1657, fos 322-330.
- VOC 882, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur Frederick Coyett ende den raet, Batavia, 20 July 1658, fos. 222-228.
- VOC 883, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Frederick Coyett] ende den raedt aldaer, Batavia, 17 June 1659, fos 376-379.
- VOC 884, Missive van Batavia [van Joan Maetsuijcker] naer Tayouan aen den gouverneur [Frederick Coyett] ende den raet aldaar, Batavia, 16 July 1660, fos. 264-313.
- VOC 1130, Missive van gouverneur jan van der Burch naer Batavia aen gouverneur general Anthonio van Diemen, Taijouan, 16 Feb. 1639, fos. 1401-1404.
- VOC 1135, Copie missive van Arent Gardenijs uijt Chormandel aen den gouverneur generaal Anthonio van Diemen ende raden van India, Coromandel, 16 Feb. 1641, fos. 312-316.

- VOC 1138, Missive van Paulus Traudenus naer Choromandel aen de gouverneur Arent Gardenijs, Tayouan, 17 Nov.1641, fos. 808-809.
- VOC 1139, Copie missive van gouverneur Arent Gardenijs uijt Casteel Geldria aen den directeur Paulus Croocq in Suratte, Surat, 17 Mar. 1642, fos. 381-383.
- VOC 1139, Prijscourant van de coopmansschappen soo desen in 1642 in Gamron gedebitteert comen warden, Persia, not dated 1642, fo. 528.
- VOC 1140, Factura vande naervolgend contanten ende coopmanschappen die door ordre van den E. Hr. Paulus Traudenus gouverneur deser plaets gescheept ende gelaaden zijn int oorlochs jacht Reijnsburch gaende van hier onder cognissement van den oppercoopman ende schipper des selfs over Mallacca nae Zuratta geconsigneert aenden E. Hr Paulus Croocq dierecateur ende opperhoofd over de nederlants commertie inde hindoustanse quartieren ofte zijn Es gesubstitueerde aldaer alles geasorteert, gepackt ende costen als volcht, Tayouan, 17 Nov. 1641, fos. 231^{r-v}.
- VOC 1144, Facture vande naervolgende Chineesche Coopmanschappen ter ordre vande E. Hr. gouverneur Paulus Traudenus in Tayouan gelaeden int jacht de Pauw, navigeerende op 12 November passado vandaer door de strate van Mallacca over Cheijlon ende Goas , Bhare nae Souratta geconsigneert aen d. E. Paulus Croocq, welck voorsz jacht den 13en stantij (Godt sij loff) in Souhalijs Chom- salve is aengelanght, ende dato deeses door gemelten E directeur meted hier volgens gespecificeerde goederen onder cognoissement van den schipper Jan Jillissen ende onder coopman H Boudewijn van Lockhorst nae Gamron gesonden ende geadresseert aen d E presidenten Wolbrandt Geleijnsen de Jongh ende Carel Constant, Surat, 23 Mar 1643, fos. 452-453.
- VOC 1144, Copie notitie van den vercoop et cetera der in Suratta anno 1642 en 1643 van diverse quartieren aengebrachte contanten ende goederen, Surat, not dated 1643, fos 464-467.
- VOC 1146, Vercoop ende ontfanck der coopmanschappen desen jare 1643, per verscheijde scheepen van diverse plaets in Gamron aengebracht, Persia, not dated 1643, fos. 829-843.
- VOC 1146, Prijs courant vande volgende coopmanschappen ende goederen soo deselve op dato 16en October anno 1643 alhier in Spahan gevent ende te gelde gemaect connen werden, Persia, 16 Oct.1643, fo. 856.
- VOC 1146, Copia missive van president Carel Constant uijt Gamron aen den gouverneur general [Antonio van Diemen] ende raden van India per de fluijt Utgeest, Persia, 23 Mar. 1644, fos. 918-927.
- VOC 1146, Copia missive van president Carel Constant uijt Gamron aen den gouverneur general Antonio van Diemen ende raden van India per den Waeterhondt., Persia, 24 May 1644, fos.928- 938.
- VOC 1146, Missive van president Maximiliaen Le Maire naer Persia aen den directeur Carel Constant, Tayouan, 25 Nov. 1643, fos 936-937.
- VOC 1149, Factura van 't naarvolgende ongemunt silver ende coopmanschappen gescheept ende geladen door ordre van d' E. heer Francois Caron raad van India gouverneur ende directeur deser plaetse in 't schip dat godt geleijde genaamt de vrede, vertreckende van hier onder cognoissement vanden oppercoopman Leonard Winincx ende schipper Douwen Aukes over Mallacca naar Zuratta geconsigneert aenden S. Cornelis Weijlandt directeur ende opprhoofd over des companies ommeslach in d' Indostance quartieren zijnde alles geassorteert gepact ende genombreert, Tayouan, 30 Nov. 1644, fos 664-665.

- VOC 1150, Notietie wegen den eisch der coopmanschap voor 't comptoir Parsia, ende sullen deselve niet meer der als anno. passato maer eer minder gedebiteert connen worden ten ware minder quantiteit bequamen, Persia, 14 May 1643, fo. 264.
- VOC 1153, Copie missive geschreven in de Nederlandse tent aen Souhalij's strant aen de heren bewinthebbereren ter vergadering van seventhien tot Amsterdam ofte tot Middelburgh, Surat, 10 Jan. 1646, fos.540-569.
- VOC 1153, Copie factura's van diverse coopmanschappen soo voor patria als de suijder quartieren, ende geladen door ordre van den directeur Arent Barentsz. te Souratta in de scheepen Nassouw ende Vogelstruijs anno 1646, Surat, not dated 1646, fos. 748-762.
- VOC 1153, Originele missive van Arent Barentsen te Souratta naer Batavia, Surat, 20 Feb. 1646, fos.836-839.
- VOC 1158, Verbael van Suratte, Persia ende Mocha, bijeengesteld door den oppercoopman seigneur Joan Verpoorten 't sedert 18 Januarij 1645 tot 25 October 1645, Surat, 18 Jan. 1645 to Oct. 25 1645, fos. 284-311.
- VOC 1162, Extract uijt de negotieboecken des comptoirs Souratta nopende de debet ende creditposten van 't comptoir generael welcke sedert primo Junij 1645 tot ultimo Maij 1646 ingeschreven zijn, Surat, 31 May 1646, fos 10-23.
- VOC 1162, Memorie ende aenwijssing van alle coopmanschappen in Persia van diverse quartieren aengebracht 1646, Persia, not dated 1646, fos. 30-37.
- VOC 1162, Originele missive door den directeur Arent Barentsen uijt Suratte aen d'Ed. heeren bewinthebbereren der vereenichde Nederlandtse geotroijeerde Oostindische Compagnie ter vergaderinge van de seventhiene tot Amsterdam ofte tot Middelburgh [in tweevoud], Surat, 26 Jan. 1647, fos 120-174.
- VOC 1168, Specificatie van vercoop, winst en verlies [onder- ende overzicht gesupporteert op de cargasoenen die met verschillende schepen sedert 2 October 1647 tot 23 Maert 1648 in Souratta aengebracht sijn], Surat , 2 Oct. 1647- 23 Mar. 1648, fos. 590-593.
- VOC 1168, Diverse factura's [van de goederen gescheept ende geladen in 't schip Nassouw, 26 April 1648, van de gommelacca in Januarij 1648 van 'T Persisch cargasoen uijt 't schip Maestricht gelicht, van 't gene per 't fluijtschip de Salm dato 17 Februarij 1648 van Gamron in Souratta aengebracht is, van de coopmanschappen op 11 Maert 1648 met 't fluijtschip den Coningh David van Taijouan in Souratta aengebracht, en bestaende uijt acht stux welcke sedert den 4 Januarij 1648 tot den 5 April daeraenvolgende ter laste van 't comptoir generael gebracht sijn, extract uijt 't journael van 't comptoir Souratta op 23 Februarij 1648 en een extract van 14 Maert 1648, extract uijt 't grootboecq van 't comptoir Souratta raeckende de debet en de credit posten van 't comptoir generael welck sedert primo Junij 1647 tot dato 26 April 1648 ingeschreven sijn] en cognossemerten, Surat, 26 April 1648, fos 594-615.
- VOC 1172, Missive door de oppercoopliijden Jacob Junius en J. Assenbergh aan d'Ed. heer Cornelis van der Lijn gouverneur generael en de heren raden van Nederlants India gedateerd Masulipatam, Coromandel (1649 Feb. 27), fos. 492-496.
- VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan, 20 Dec. 1650, fos. 541-550.
- VOC 1183, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen Cornelis van der Lijn, Taijouan, 20 Dec. 1650, fos. 551-561.

- VOC 1184, Copie missive aen hare Edelens in Batavia door de heer president Laurens Pit geschreven in dato 30 Januarij 1651 per het fluijt Overschie, Coromandel, 30 Jan. 1651, fos. 286-299.
- VOC 1185, Copia missive door de directeur Joan van Teijlingen uijt Sualij aen den heeren zeventhiene, Surat, 31 Jan. 1650, fos. 657-687.
- VOC 1185, Copie missiven door den oppercoopman Dircq Sarcerius te Gamron aen den gouverneur generaal Carel Reiniersz. ende raden van India, Persia, 18 May 1651, fos 541-552.
- VOC 1188, Specificatie ofte vercoop van den coopmanschappen in 't jaer 1652 ten nederlants comptoir Gamron gedaen, Persia, not dated 1652, fo. 444.
- VOC 1194, Missive van Nicolaes Verburgh naer Batavia aen Carel Reniersz., Taijouan, 16 Dec.1651, fos.51-56.
- VOC 1195, Copie missiven aen haer Edle gouverneur general Carel Reniersz. ende d' Edle Heren Raden van India te Batavia van den oppercoopman Dircq Schouten, Persia, 22 May 1652 May 22, fos. 818-822.
- VOC 1195, Copie missiven door den directeur Gerardo Pelgrom dato 28en April 1652 per 't fluijt schip d' Patientie aen d' Edele Hr. gouverneur general Carol Reijniersz. Ende d' E. Heeren Raden van India aen Soualij strand naer Batavia, Surat, 28 Apr. 1652, fos.730-738.
- VOC 1195, Missive door den S. directeur Gerardo Pelgrom den 27 Martio uit d' Nederlandts tent aen soulays strand pr 't schip Banda aen d' Edle Hr gouverneur general Carel Reniersz. Ende d' E Heeren Raden van India naer Batavia geschreven, Surat, 27 Mar. 1652, fos. 709-726.
- VOC 1195, Missive door d' E. Hr. president Laurens Pit aen d' Edle Heer gouverneur general ende d' Edelen Raden van India, Coromandel, 27 Jan. 1652, fos. 430-437.
- VOC 1197, Missive van Nicolaes Verburch naer Batavia aen den gouverneur general Carel Reniersz., Taijouan, 29 Dec. 1652, fos.768-777.
- VOC 1200, Copie missive door d'heer gouverneur Laurens Pit mitsgaders desselffs raat pr 't Deense jacht aan haar Edele [gouverneur general Carel Reniersz] tot Batavia, Coromandel, 8 Feb. 1653, fos. 273-274.
- VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 26 Feb. 1654, fos. 140-172.
- VOC 1206, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Batavia aen Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos. 132-139.
- VOC 1207, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen Laurens Pith, gouverneur op de custe van Choromandel, Tayouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos.643-646.
- VOC 1208, Copie missive door d' Hr. directeur Gerardo Pelgrom in dato 18en April anno 1654 uijt Souratta aen d' E. Hr. gouverneur general ende d' E. Hren. Raden van India naer Batavia geschreven, Surat, 18 Apr. 1654, fos 414-439.
- VOC 1208, Copie Missive van Gerado Pelgrom uijt Suratte aen d' Edle Heere gouverneur general Carel Reijniersz ende d' E. Heeren Raden van India, Surat, 29 Apr. 1653, fos. 371-380.
- VOC 1208, Corte facture van d volgende coopmanschappen per 't fluijdt schip d' Trouws en 't jacht d' Griffioen dato 20 junij anno 1654 soo van Battavia, Taijouan, Mallacca, Wingurla, als Souratta alheir ter reede Gamron aengebracht, Persia, 20 June 1654, fo. 187.
- VOC 1208, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Persia aen Dirick Sarcerius, directeur in Persia, Taijouan, 5 Dec. 1653, fos. 193-195.

- VOC 1208, Originele missive van den directeur Gerardo Pelgrom uijt Suratte aen de heeren bewindhebberen ter vergaderinge van zeventhiene tot Amsterdam, Surat, 1 Feb. 1655, fos. 464-485.
- VOC 1208, Specificatie van den vercoop, wins ten verlies, onderwicht, gesupporteert op de cargasoenen die met de scheepen Muijden, Avenhorn, Weesep, Griffion, Trouw, Sluijs, D' Leeuw en Cabeljauw, 't sedert 24en Dezember 1653 tot dato ult-o Majj 1654 soo van Batavia, Ceijlon, Malacca, Taijouan en Gamron in Souratta sijn aengebracht, Surat, 24 Dec. 1653 to 31 May 1654, fos. 463.
- VOC 1209, Copie missiven aen Joan Maetsuijker gouverneur generael en raden van India door gouverneur Laurens Pitt in het Casteel Geldria, Coromandel, 15 Feb. 1655, fos. 309-355.
- VOC 1210, Missive van den gouverneur Laurens Pitt aen de Edle Heeren Bewinthebberen ter vergaderinge vande seventhiene, Choromandel, 3 Feb. 1656, fos. 683^{r-v}.
- VOC 1210, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen Laurens Pith, gouverneur op de custe van Choromandel, Taijouan, 26 Nov. 1655, fos.684-688.
- VOC 1210, Corte facture der naervolgende diversche coopmanschappen welcke door bevel van der Heer directeur Hendricq van Gent in t jacht vlielant geschept ende aande coopluijden Cornelis Majj ende Jan Barra (opperhoofden over s'Comp- is negotie in Bassoura) geconfigneert en verscheven sijn, omme deselve tot soo hoogh prijs (ten voordeele der (generaale comp-e) als doeneelijck sal wesen verhandelt te warden alles bestaet en cost, Basra, not dated 1656, fo. 823.
- VOC 1210, Copie missive door Jacob Willemsz. en raad tot Gamron aen den Ed. heer gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de raden van India tot Batavia in dato 22 April 1656, Persia, 22 Apr. 1656, fos. 839-849.
- VOC 1215, Copie missive door d' Edele Heer directeur Hendrik van Gent aen d' Edele Hr. Joan Maetsuijcker gouverneur general ende d' Edele Heeren Raden van India, per d' jachten Naerden en d' Goudsblom, Surat, 29 Apr. 1656, fos. 545-566.
- VOC 1215, Notie van 't gewichte der onderstaande coopmanschappen welcke desen jaare 1656 per de jachten Naerden, Goutsblom, en Vlielandt van Batavia, Malacca, en Tayouan, hier aengebracht en in Comptoir Souratta ende Pachuijsen berustende sijn waarvan de corrective specificatie hier naar (als d' goederen geleverd sullen wesen), Surat, not dated 1656, fos. 631-632.
- VOC 1215, Copie missive naer patria aen bewinthebberen ter vergaderinghe van de seventhiene door directeur Hendrick van Gent tot Suratte, Surat, 12 Apr. 1656, fos 675-683.
- VOC 1216, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Choromandel aen den gouverneur Laurens Pith, Tayouan, 26 Nov. 1655, fos.408-411.
- VOC 1216, Missive van den gouverneur Cornelis Caesar naer Suratta aen directeur Hendrick van Gendt, Taijouan 26 Nov. 1655, fos. 414-415.
- VOC 1224, Copia spetificatie vanden vercoop winst ende verlesen als onderwichten gevallen op de coopmanschappen, dit mousson anno 1657 van Batavia, Taijouan Malacca ende Persia alhier sijn aengebracht geweest, Surat not dated 1657, fo. 195.
- VOC 1224, Extract uijt het grootboek zeghe journaal des comptoirs Suratta raakende de debet posten van winst en verlies zedert primo Junij 1656 tot ultimo Majj 1657, Surat, 1 June 1656 to 31 May 1657, fos. 221-222.
- VOC 1224, Originele missive van den directeur Leonard Winninx en raet tot Souratte aen de seventiene, Surat, 2 Feb. 1658, fos. 259-268.

- VOC 1224, Copie missive van den directeur Jacob Willemsz. en raet aen de seventiene in dato 15 Meij 1658, Persia 15 May 1658, fos.446-447.
- VOC 1227, Copie missiven door gouverneur Laurens Pit en raad tot Geldria naer Batavia, Coromandel, 13 Mar. 1658, fos 14-25.
- VOC 1228, Missive van Cornelis Caesar naer Souratta aen Hendrijck van Gent, directeur in Souratta, Taijouan, 8 Dec. 1656, fos 476-477.
- VOC 1228, Missive van Frederick Coyett naer Malacca aen gouverneur Joan Thijssen, Taijouan, 8 Dec. 1657, fos. 551-553.
- VOC 1230, Copie missive door den directeur Leonard Winninx en raet aen de seventiene ter camer Amsterdam, Surat, 6 Oct. 1659, fos. 184-193.
- VOC 1232, Specificatie waarbij gesien kan warden hoedanich de onderstaende koopmanschappen desen jare 1661 op 't comptoir gamron sijn verkocht, oock wat onder als overwichten d'selve hebben gegeven, en wat daer op g'advanceert is, Persia, not dated 1661, fos. 677-678.
- VOC 1233, Missive door den heer gouverneur Laurens Pit en de raedt aen gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de heeren raden van Indien tot Batavia geschreven, Coromandel, 24 Mar. 1660, fos 13-23.
- VOC 1233, Missive door den heer directeur Leonard Winninx en raet aen gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en de heeren raden van Indien tot Batavia geschreven, ultimo April 1660, Surat, 30 Apr. 1660, fos. 110-140.
- VOC 1234, Copie missive van den directeur Leonard Winninx en den raedt in Souratte, in dato 28 April 1660 aen de vergaderingh der seventiene geschreven, Surat, 28 Apr. 1660, fos. 154-155.
- VOC 1236, Missive van den gouverneur Frederick Coyett naer Batavia aen den gouverneur general Joan Maetsuijcker, Taijouan, 10 Dec. 1660, fos. 166-168.
- VOC 1236, Missive door den gouverneur Laurens Pit aen d' Edle Heer gouverneur general Joan Maetsuijcker ende d' Edele heeren raden van India tot Batavia, Coromandel, 11 Feb. 1661, fos 225-240.
- VOC 1245, Corte aanwijssinge der rendimenten, winst en verlies op de coopmanschappen anno 1664 in Suratte vercocht, Surat, not dated 1664, fos 349-350.
- VOC 1258, Copie missive door den heer gouverneur Anthonij Paviljoen ende den raedt tot Palliacatta aan haar [Edele Joan Maetsuijcker ende d'Edele Heeren raden van India] tot Batavia in dato 10 Februarij 1666, Coromandel, 10 Feb. 1666, fos 2347-2347.
- VOC 1261, Copie resolutie van den directeur Abraham Hartman en raet, Surat, 16 May 1667, fos. 757-758.
- VOC 1261, Originele missive van den directeur Andries Bogaert en raet aen de seventiene in dato 14 Maert 1668 [zwaar beschadigd en losse stukken], Surat, 14 Mar. 1668, fos. 814-819.
- VOC 1264, Missive door den heer gouverneur Anthonij Paviljoen en raedt aen haer edele heeren gouverneur generael Joan Maetsuijcker en raden van India, 7 Maert 1667, Coromandel, 7 Mar. 1667, fo. 377.
- VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Anthonij Paviljoen ende den raad aan haar [Edele Joan Maetsuijcker ende d' Edele Heeren raden van India] tot Batavia geschreven van dato 13 Februarij 1668, Coromandel, 13 Feb. 1668, fos. 957-969.
- VOC 1268, Missive door de heer Andries Bogaert ende den raedt aan haar Eds. tot Batavia geschreven van dato primo Maj 1668, Surat, 1 May 1668, fos. 1300-1320.

- VOC 1268, Missive door den directeur IJsbrant Goske ende den raadt aan haar Eds. in Batavia, Garmon, 26 May 1668, fos. 1356-1372.
- VOC 1488, Originele missive door den gouverneur generael ende raden van Indien aen de heeren bewinthebberen ter camer Amsterdam geschreven, Batavia, 31 Jan. 1692, fos. 457-471.
- VOC 1490, Originele generale missive door den gouverneur generael en raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 24 Mar. 1692, fos. 11-127.
- VOC 1503, Originele generale missive door den gouverneur generael en de raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 9 Feb. 1693, fos. 8-162.
- VOC 1504, Originele generale missive door den gouverneur generael en raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 14 Mar. 1693, fos. 12-55.
- VOC 1523, Originele missive door den gouverneur generael en de raden van Indien aen de vergaderingh der heeren seventiene geschreven, Batavia, 6 Feb. 1694, fos. 12-190.
- VOC 7533, Originele generale missive van haar Eds. de hooge regering tot Batavia aan de hoog Ed. heeren bewinthebberen ter vergadering van de seventienen tot Middelburgh in Zeelandt, Batavia, 8 Feb. 1696, fos. 23-469.
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荷蘭東印度公司在臺灣經營的 中國茶葉轉口貿易（1641-1660）： 歐洲十八世紀茶葉消費擴張的前奏

鄭維中

摘要

十六世紀後，歐洲人始接觸到由中國引進的異國飲品：茶，但直到十八世紀後，其消費才真正在歐洲大為擴展。學界一般認為飲茶活動突然大量增加的原因多與近代早期歐洲當時社會狀況的變化有關：亦即為都市化的發展與中產階級的躍升所致。雖然十七世紀居於亞洲各地的荷蘭、英國與葡萄牙人已然熟習飲用茶水，卻僅在 1680 年代後，荷蘭東印度公司與英國東印度公司才將之視為可賺取利潤的商品，持續的運回歐洲銷售。在十七世紀中期，在荷蘭與英國東印度公司的商品清單上，不時可見到茶葉，卻多是供給印度及波斯所需，特別是載運到蘇拉特銷售。此一現象應與當時中國經歷發生於 1644 年至 1683 年間，明亡清興的朝代變遷有所關連。明清鼎革之戰亂阻斷了中國西部輸出茶葉到中亞的傳統茶馬交換貿易管道，使得中亞的蒙古商人無法將茶葉轉口，直至波斯。波斯商人轉而向海上渠道尋求進口茶葉。荷蘭東印度公司此時於臺灣設有商館，與福建商人建立緊密貿易關係，而得以將茶葉轉口至印度與波斯，直到 1662 年荷蘭人離開臺灣為止。本文即研究十八世紀歐洲人開始大幅消費茶葉之前，1641 至 1660 年間臺灣轉口中國茶葉到印度的貿易，以及在當時的海上茶路，唐人、印度人、波斯人、歐洲人的飲茶形式。作者認為，在海上茶路的跨文化居住地如大員、巴達維亞、萬丹、阿瑜陀耶、蘇拉特等，種種日常公私場合中，常有喝茶場合，使得英國東印度公司、荷蘭東印度公司人員得以接受飲茶習慣，特別是加糖喝茶的方式。此一飲用甜茶的習慣可能與海上茶路中的跨文化遭遇有關。雖然在福建只有某些節慶時供應甜茶，東南亞各地的穆斯林社群卻均有使用糖果或甜點配飲的習慣。飲茶習慣可能經過許多不同管道傳播。儘管如此，大員或熱蘭遮市鎮作為海上茶路的一處歐亞城市，鑑於其作為茶葉供應處此一不可取代的地位與跨文化中介地的功能，應該對於荷蘭人接受飲茶習慣有相當大的貢獻。

關鍵詞：飲茶習慣、荷蘭東印度公司、大員、熱蘭遮市鎮、蘇拉特

Mobilizing Men and Women to Produce Taiwanese Tea

Douglas Fix* and Stephen Schick**

ABSTRACT

With reference to annual reports of the Customs, annual trade reports of the British consul, early investigations carried out by Japanese colonial officials, photographs and historical materials of various sources, this paper traces the evolution of the labor pool employed for second-stage tea processing by firms in Dadaocheng, Taiwan during the nineteenth century and the early Japanese colonial era. The size of this labor pool was estimated using specific data on tea-processing firms, annual tea export statistics, and firm-based employee figures. This paper also explores the gendered division of labor, working conditions for different tasks, and the brief historical data on wages for laborers involved in this second-stage processing of oolong and baozhong tea in northern Taiwan.

Keywords: Labor Conditions, Nineteenth Century, Taiwan, Tea Industry, Tea Labor

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1. Introduction
 2. Overview of Second-stage Tea Processing in Dadaocheng
 3. The Labor Pool for Processing Tea in Dadaocheng
 4. Estimating the Growth of the Second-stage Tea Processing Labor
 5. Wages: What Little We Know
 6. Mobilizing Labor to Process Tea in Dadaocheng
 7. Conclusions
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1. Introduction

In late September 1871, American readers of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* were given their first visual impression of the tea processing industry in northern Taiwan with an engraving based on sketches Edward Greey had made in Formosa, when he was traveling throughout the island that year. By 1871, Formosan oolong tea was becoming familiar to American consumers who had access to tea imports in major United States cities. Thus, it was not unusual for Greey to include this sketch (Figure 1) of tea sorting in Tamsui with his other images of the island of Formosa:¹

This wood engraving may be the only visual image of the earliest years of tea processing in northern Taiwan. Perhaps afraid that viewers of the engraving would not comprehend the image, Greey added this textual description to guide them:

On the next page we give an illustration of the Method of preparing tea at Tam-sui for the American market. This work is generally done by boys and women, who are, in the picture, engaged in sorting the leaves preparatory to their being roasted. The central male figure in the doorway is the proprietor, A-low, who may further

¹ Greey's other sketches reproduced as wood engravings in this volume of the *Newspaper* include: Saracen's Head at the entrance to Takao harbor, the American consulate in Tamsui, carts transporting sugar cane, the port city of Kelung, and a newly reclaimed tea garden in northern Taiwan. Greey's travelogue was serialized in issues published from 2 September through 23 September 1871. See "Formosa: Nineteenth Century Images," accessed 15 July 2020; available from <https://rdc.reed.edu/c/formosa/home>.

be distinguished by his tight trousers and collared tunic. To his right is a native, who, unlike the Chinese, wears a sort of Malayan turban.²

While Greey gives credit to “women and boys” for their roles in processing the tea that American consumers were now drinking, both his visual and textual images of the industry focus on the merchants and the overseers who enabled this new and growing industry in Formosa. Historiography of the tea industry in nineteenth-century Taiwan shares that same tendency; few are the details regarding the men and women who processed the tea in Dadaocheng (Twatutia 大稻埕) for export.³ And for good reason. Most of the primary materials detailing tea production in the first four decades of the industry focus on exports, prices, tea merchants and their disparate mercantile practices, as well as the gains and losses of each tea season. Textured primary data on tea laborers is difficult to find, and substantive qualitative evidence appeared only when Japanese investigations were carried out after 1895.

In this paper, we hope to shed some light on this Formosa tea labor by analyzing the limited statistical and visual data that relate specifically to laborers employed in the second-stage processing of tea, primarily that conducted in Dadaocheng, in the nineteenth century (though important investigative evidence comes from the first decade of the Japanese colonial period, 1895-1905). In this first attempt to examine these materials, we hope to provide tentative answers to the following questions:

² Edward Greey, “‘Taiwan’: Formosa,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York) 33: 384 (23 September 1871), p. 28.

³ Our knowledge of the historical scholarship on the nineteenth-century tea industry was culled from the following histories: Lin Man-houng, *Cha, tang, zhangnaoye yu Taiwan zhi shehui jingji bianqian, 1860-1895* [Tea, Sugar, and Camphor Industries and the Socioeconomic Development of Taiwan, 1860-1895] (Taipei: Lian Jing, 1997); Kawarabayashi Naoto, *Kindai Ajia to Taiwan: Taiwan chagyō no rekishiteki tenkai* [Modern Asia and Taiwan: The Historical Development of the Tea Industry in Taiwan] (Kyōto: Sekai Shisōsha, 2003); Hsu Hsien-yao, *Taiwan baozhongcha lunji* [Anthology of Articles Concerning Taiwan Baozhong Tea] (Taipei: Lexue Shuju, 2005); Liu Chih-yun, “Qing mo bei Taiwan chaye de maoyi (1865-1895) [Tea Trade in Northern Taiwan during the Late Qing Period (1865-1895)],” (Master's Thesis, National Chi Nan University, 2006); Chiu Hsien-ming, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan chaye gailiang zhi yanjiu [Research on the Improvement of the Tea Industry in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period],” (Master's Thesis, National Central University, 2004); Chen Chih-hao, Chen Guan-fei, and Chen Kai-wen, “107-nian weituo banli Yangmingshan Guojia Gongyuan Rizhi shidai chachanye diaocha yanjiu [Investigation and Research on the Tea Industry in Yangmingshan during the Japanese Occupation, Commissioned in 2018],” Yangmingshan Guojia Gongyuan Guanlichu weituo yanjiu baogao [Research report commissioned by the Yangmingshan National Park Management Office]. We thank Professor Chen Chih-hao for providing a copy of this recent source on the Yangming Shan tea industry during the Japanese period.



Figure 1 Day, “Formosa Island: Preparing Tea for the American Market at Tam-sui, Northern Formosa”

Source: Edward Greey, “‘Taiwan’: Formosa,” p. 29.

1. How many laborers were involved in the second-stage processing of tea in Dadaocheng and how did this labor pool evolve from the earliest years of the industry in the 1860s to the very first years of Japanese colonial rule?
2. Who were these tea-processing laborers? How many were laborers who migrated from Fujian versus workers hired locally? How was this labor force differentiated along gender lines?
3. How was tea processed in Dadaocheng, and under what working conditions? What salaries were paid to men and women involved in this stage of the tea industry?
4. What networks and mechanisms enabled the mobilization of labor, especially for workers who migrated from southern Fujian province?⁴

⁴ We wish to thank Dr. Lin Wen-kai (Institute of Taiwan History) and three anonymous reviewers for their extensive comments at various stages of our research. We attempted to respond to their criticisms and suggestions as our available sources and knowledge of the topic allowed.

In the analysis that follows, we begin with a brief overview of the various tasks undertaken by laborers employed by second-stage tea processing firms in Dadaocheng. Following that, we address the composition of the labor pool, as described in nineteenth-century trade reports and in the earliest investigations carried out by the Japanese colonial government after 1895. All of these sources are then employed in subsequent sections of the article to estimate, in a detailed way, changes in the size, composition and sources of laborers needed for the second-stage processing of oolong and baozhong tea in Dadaocheng. Customs and consular reports have been essential sources for our research, and we have supplemented them with tea industry photographs (taken by George Price in 1893), and the earliest surveys and investigations undertaken by Japanese colonial officials. Finally, we call the reader's attention to two tables in the Appendices: 1) statistics on the "Annual Tea Exports, Northern Taiwan, 1865-1905"; and 2) limited information on "Wages for Various Types of Tea Laborers in Dadaocheng." The tea export statistics were compiled from the annual "Reports on trade" published by the Imperial Maritime Customs Service and the annual "Reports on foreign trade" prepared by British consular officials in Tamsui. While we were unable to find substantive information on laborers' wages in nineteenth-century publications, we have summarized the few references found in early Japanese surveys.

Confronted with the limited scope of primary source data on laborers in the second-stage processing industry, we determined to develop a series of estimates which project the total number of tea laborers in Dadaocheng between 1865 and 1903. These estimates are derived from a combination of consular documents enumerating firms and total tea exports along with Japanese industrial reports providing data on total laborers in certain years. Brought together, these sources allow us to model the total workforce of Dadaocheng's second-stage tea industry through two distinct processes: 1) by workers per firm and 2) by annual productive output in pounds per worker. Each approach carries its own drawbacks, as the firm-based model only functions in certain years while the output-based variant is more sensitive to the distorting effects of changes in available capital and technology. In order to account for differences in source material and provide a spectrum of possible scenarios, we create six overall estimates and two which are specific to tea varieties, oolong and baozhong tea. Despite their limitations, the estimates are effective in illustrating the steady expansion of the tea industry's labor force from a total of 129 approximated workers in 1865 to a height of nearly 17,000 in 1902.

2. Overview of Second-stage Tea Processing in Dadaocheng

If Edward Greey's impressions of tea processing in Tamsui in 1871 were accurate, one would assume that both men and women were hired to sort tea processed in that town, that men outnumbered women by a factor of two, and that a relatively large number of overseers were needed to supervise this work of sorting tea. Although extant primary data for 1871 does not provide sufficient detail to discount Greey's emphasis of male laborers over women in sorting tea leaves, sources from later years claim that sorting tea in Dadaocheng was done by women and girls, not by men. Furthermore, missing from Greey's sketch and visual guidance were the many other steps in second-stage processing of tea, which have important bearing on the source of laborers, the numbers involved and the gendered division of work in Dadaocheng's tea processing firms. We begin to fill in those gaps with an overview of second-stage tea production in Dadaocheng, as described in contemporary sources.

(1) Oolong (wulong 烏龍) tea production

The earliest description of Taiwan oolong tea processing found in official English-language reports was recorded in early May 1873 by E. Colborne Baber, acting British consul stationed in Tamsui. In his description, Baber combined both on-site processing in the tea gardens and second-stage firing in foreign firms, or "hongs":

Preparation of the leaf. -- The process necessary to make 'Oolong' -- in which class Formosan teas are ranked -- is very simple; in fact such tea is the pure article in its most unsophisticated form, and with the least amount of manipulation. The green leaves are plucked from the bushes, and gathered into baskets by women and children; they are then spread on a covered floor for twenty-four hours; then stirred and tossed in a metal pan over a fire until they attain a curled-up, spongy appearance, and possess the proper smell. Finally, they are 'fired' in a wicker-basket shaped like an eggcut,⁵ the waist of which is divided by a sieve, upon which about seven pounds of tea are placed: the basket is set over an open charcoal oven, the fire of which has been previously banked up with lime and ashes, and emits no smoke.

The Oolong, however, when sold to the foreigner, has not been sufficiently fired

⁵ An "eggcut" (or "eggcup" in present day English) is a small cup used to hold a soft boiled egg.

to withstand the trying effect of a long voyage home, and has to re-undergo the latter process in the foreign hong for six to eight hours before it is finally packed into chests for export.⁶

That same year, the naturalist Joseph Steere visited “the tea establishment of Dodd & Co.” in Tamsui, where John Dodd and his assistants were preparing tea for export. Steere reported in his 10 October 1873 letter to the *Ann Arbor Courier* that “agents of the company showed me over the building where all the different processes of firing, boxing, painting, etc., were being carried on, all by Chinese, who have been brought from the tea regions of the mainland, as tea raising is still a new enterprise in this island.”⁷

While Dodd’s processing plant was situated in Tamsui in the early 1870s, most of the second stage processing of Formosan oolong tea was completed in Dadaocheng, a port city further upstream on the Tamsui River. The tasks required, however, were essentially the same, according to James Morrison, who provided a brief description in *The Geographical Magazine* in late 1877:

After the Formosan tea has been bought by the foreign merchant, it is fired under foreign supervision. This is done over holes lined with brickwork and filled with charcoal. After the charcoal has burned down, it is covered with ashes, and remains hot for many days. The tea is placed in baskets over the holes, and remains there three or four hours. The firemen are Chinese, who come over from the mainland for the season. The number who come yearly is not over 2000, and is rapidly increasing...The construction of tea-boxes is an industry of considerable importance. The wood comes from Foochow, ready cut to size, but the boxes are put together, covered with paper, and lined with lead in Twa-ta-tia. In 1875, 300 tons of lead were imported, the whole of which was used for lining tea and camphor-boxes. The tea is packed in chests, half chests, quarter chests, &c. A chest weighs 105 pounds, and contains 90 pounds of tea.⁸

While these early descriptions of the procedures carried out by foreign tea companies were all penned by visitors to the island, in 1885, the tea merchant John Dodd elaborated on the tasks involved while also confirming that second-stage

⁶ E. Colborne Baber, “Report on Foreign Trade at Tamsuy (Including Kelung) for the Year 1872,” in British Foreign Office Compiled and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1873), China. No. 3 (1873), Part II, Commercial Reports from Her Majesty’s Consuls in China, 1872, p. 200.

⁷ Joseph Steere, “First Letter from Formosa,” *Ann Arbor Courier* (Ann Arbor) LXXII (10 Oct. 1873).

⁸ James G. Morrison, “A Description of the Island of Formosa, with Some Remarks on Its Past History, Its Present Condition, and Its Future Prospects,” *The Geographical Magazine* (London) 4 (Nov. 1877), p. 263.

processing of oolong tea in Twatutia had not changed much since the early 1870s. We quote his description in its entirety below, as it captures both the work required and the difficult environment in which it was completed.

Each tea picking hong has a large firing room attached. Small hong's have 50 to 100 fires and large hong's have about 200 to 300 fires and even more. The fire places are simply circular holes, about two feet in diameter, surrounded by brick facings. They are arranged in rows, and are not much more than eighteen inches above the floor of the room. The fire holes are apart about half a foot, and on the top of these circular holes or receptacles for live charcoal are placed the baskets containing tea. The fires are prepared in a simple way; a large pile of charcoal is lighted and allowed to burn till all the combustible matter contained therein has disappeared, and the red hot particles are placed by the firing men in the circular fireplaces. For several hours the fires are allowed to flare up and cast forth a flame and glow that few men can stand for any length of time. If you enter a large firing room at the time the fires are being lighted it is like going into an oven, and the return to the open air reminds you forcibly of the heated atmosphere of Montreal hotels, where inside the temperature is perhaps over 70 deg. and on going out of the front door you suddenly find yourself in an atmosphere several degrees below zero. This is putting it very mildly, for in a room with 300 fires the heat is far more intense. It takes time for the fires to settle down, and the red hot charcoal has to be broken up with iron implements; the red heat has to penetrate to the very core of the charred branches or portions of trunks of trees, and when no smoke whatever issues from the fire holes, the firing men place on top of the embers a thick covering of ashes of paddy husk, which deadens and tempers the heat to such an extent that in the course of 12 or 15 hours from the time the blazing lumps of charcoal were placed in the fire holes it is safe to place the baskets containing tea-leaves over them. The baskets are cylindrical in shape, about 2 feet in diameter and about 3 feet high; they are divided in two by a sieve partition, and on top of this sieve the tea is placed. The teas brought down from the hills and tea districts have undergone the sun-drying and absorbing process, have been fired in an iron pan, have been twisted by hand after passing through the rapid frying process, and on occasions are basket-fired up country.⁹

Alex Hosie's subsequent description of the fires and firing-baskets in the firing room of Twatutia generally replicated Dodd's earlier portrayal, though he situated the firing-baskets further apart and specified the depth of the fire holes at two feet.¹⁰ A photograph of such a firing room (Figure 2), taken by George Price

⁹ John Dodd, *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa: During the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5* (Hongkong: "Daily Press" Office, 1888), pp. 152-153.

¹⁰ Alex Hosie, "Report by Mr. Hosie on the Island of Formosa with Special Reference to Its Resources and



Figure 2 George Uvedale Price, “All through the night the tea simmered on the charcoal fires.”

Source: George Uvedale Price, *Reminiscences of North Formosa* (Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1895), plate 11.

in 1893, indicates that density of fires was preferred, and the size of the firing baskets may have grown larger after their initial appearance in Twatutia in the early 1870s.¹¹

The work of migrant Chinese laborers employed in these firing room was both delicate and continuous. Before the firing of tea leaves could begin, combustible matter in the charcoal had to be consumed, and the smoke from the fire exhausted. “To attain this end men are constantly engaged in breaking up the live charcoal in the holes with long iron instruments.”¹² After the firing baskets filled with tea leaves had been placed over tens or hundreds of the firing stoves, the firemen had to constantly go round the baskets in the firing room and jostle the contents to insure uniform firing of the leaves within.¹³ It was not unusual for

Trade,” in British Foreign Office Compiled and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893), Commercial. No. 11 (1893), pp. 20-21.

¹¹ See George Uvedale Price, *Reminiscences of North Formosa*.

¹² Alex Hosie, “Report by Mr. Hosie on the Island of Formosa with Special Reference to Its Resources and Trade,” p. 20.

¹³ Alex Hosie, “Report by Mr. Hosie on the Island of Formosa with Special Reference to Its Resources and Trade,” p. 20.

firing to continue throughout the night. Writing a decade later than Dodd and Hosie, James Davidson captured the regularity of work by firemen tending the tea leaves in the firing room:

[F]or the first two or three hours [the leaves in the fire-basket are] left practically untouched. By that time it is well heated, and firing-men pass from basket to basket turning over the contents. This is repeated about every hour, thus permitting the heat to diffuse equally throughout the Tea.¹⁴

One important step in the second-stage processing of tea in northern Taiwan is poorly described in nearly all of these early British and American descriptions: the discarding of stems and foreign matter either before or after the tea leaves were fired. According to Alex Hosie, “when this firing is completed, the tea is spread out in flat bamboo baskets, and all pieces of twigs and leaf-stalks removed by hand. This part of the work is performed by women and girls.” This refined tea was then poured back into the firing-baskets, and “after being fired until every particle of moisture has evaporated, it is removed and packed hot in the lead-lined boxes for export.”¹⁵ Davidson, in contrast to his predecessors, gave pride of place to these women and girls in his description of the tea industry, but he indicated that their “picking out by hand the twigs, stalks and bad leaf” occurred *before* any firing had begun.¹⁶ This *pre*-firing removal of stems, broken leaf and foreign matter was confirmed in Japanese investigations undertaken during the same early years of Japanese occupation.

Davidson also provided one of the earliest descriptions of the subsidiary tasks related to packing tea for export, performed beyond the firing rooms. The dexterity of skilled lead artisans is captured in his portrayal of the work:

While hot from the fires the Tea is packed in boxes containing an inner case of thin lead, which when soldered, becomes air-tight and prevents the contents from spoiling... An iron pot and two pieces of tile constitute the whole apparatus required, and the rapidity with which plates of a very good quality are turned out is quite amazing. The labor is generally performed by two men, one of whom looks after the fire and trims the plates, and the other handles the tiles... Commencing operations

¹⁴ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present: History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects-- Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and other Productions* (abbreviated hence *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*) (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1903), pp. 385-386.

¹⁵ Alex Hosie, “Report by Mr. Hosie on the Island of Formosa with Special Reference to Its Resources and Trade,” pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 384.

the Chinese with one hand lifts one side of the top tile up slightly, and with the other hand dips a little of the molten metal out of the pot and with a dexterous movement dashes it in between the two tiles; then, instantly dropping the upper one, and stepping upon it he applies sufficient pressure to force the melted lead to spread over the tiles. The metal hardens in a few seconds; the upper tile is again lifted, the newly made plate thrown out, and the operation continued as before. These plates, after having been trimmed, are soldered together in the shape of a box.¹⁷

As for constructing the tea chests, as Morrison noted in his 1877 description, the wood for these boxes arrived precut from Xiamen or Fuzhou and were put together without much difficulty. Then a paper covering (indicating the export firm) was pasted onto each chest, or they were painted with simple designs by local artists. Price captured both procedures at this stage in the processing of oolong tea in two of his 1893 photographs (see Figure 3 and Figure 4 below).



Figure 3 George Uvedale Price, “Long after the wearied Chaasze had laid down his spoon, could be heard the tap tap of the box maker as he hammered together the cases.”

Source: George Uvedale Price, *Reminiscences of North Formosa*, plate 9.

¹⁷ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 386. The thin sides of these lead linings can be seen in plate 10 of Price's *Reminiscences of North Formosa*.



Figure 4 George Uvedale Price, “The streets were lined with masters of the palette and brush.”

Source: George Uvedale Price, *Reminiscences of North Formosa*, plate 7.

Comparing these various descriptions of second-stage tea processing in Dadaocheng spanning nearly thirty years, it would appear that few changes were made to basic procedures essential to the industry, though scale of operation may have affected costs or efficiency of production. Soon after their occupation of northern Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese began to conduct investigations of local agriculture and industry and this included the survey and compilation of data regarding extant practices related to the tea industry. A comprehensive comparison of these early Japanese investigations with the British and American reports cited above reveals an increase in the detail of descriptions of tasks required for each step in the processing of tea in Dadaocheng, but very little evidence of substantive change to any aspect of second-stage tea production. For example, in the first report published by the Productive Industries Department of the Government-General's Office (臺灣總督府民政局殖產部) in 1896, investigators named all the tools employed in sorting and firing oolong tea in Dadaocheng, and they

recorded in exacting detail the specific modes for using each tool, as well as the time required for every step in the successive processes. Distinctions were also made in firing times according to seasonal differences or the relative quality of tea leaves from the same season.¹⁸ If these investigations suggest an increased attention paid by producers to minute tasks in order to increase the quality of tea they processed, the result may have been reduced productivity per laborer and/or increased labor costs, but not any major change in modes of production compared with earlier decades.

(2) Baozhong (pouchong 包種) tea production

Although Formosan tea leaves had been used in the production of baozhong tea as early as 1873, the scenting with fragrant flowers and the final firing of the tea was accomplished in Fuzhou after partially fired tea had been purchased in Taiwan and shipped across the straits. The earliest production of baozhong tea in northern Taiwan is accredited to Wu Fulao (吳福老), owner of the Yuanlong Tea company (源隆號) in Tong'an County of Quanzhou Prefecture, who migrated to Taiwan in 1880-1881 and started to produce pouchong tea in Dadaocheng.¹⁹

One of the earliest description of the processes by which baozhong tea was produced in Dadaocheng comes from James Davidson's 1903 study of the Taiwan tea industry:

The most common method of manufacture is as follows: -- Tea, the same at this stage, though of a lower quality, as the Oolong exporters might be asked to buy, having been brought in from the country, is spread out on the floor of the building. The sweet smelling blossoms brought from the various gardens, freshly picked, after having been completely sprinkled with water, are now mixed with the Tea, and the mixture is then piled up to a height of 7 or 8 feet, separated by small partitions running out from the side of the room. The stuff is now carefully covered with a cloth to prevent the escape of the flowery odor. After some 7 to 17 hours, according to the kind of flowers used and the season, the scent from the blossoms is found to have thoroughly permeated the Tea leaves, and the mixture is then

¹⁸ Hara Kishiki, "Cha [Tea]," in Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusanbu, ed., *Taiwan sangyō chōsaroku* [Record of Investigation of Taiwan Industries] (Taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusanbu, 1896), pp. 14-20.

¹⁹ Katō Hisae, "Taihokushū shita no kōbana sakumotsu I [Fragrant Flower Materials in Taihoku District I]," *Taiwan Nōjihō* (Taihoku) 207 (Feb. 1924), p. 40; also cited in Xu Yingxiang, ed., *Taiwan Riju shiqi chaye wenxian yiji* [Anthology of Translated Documents Concerning the Taiwan Tea Industry Under Japanese Rule] (Taipei: Taiwansheng Chaye Gailiangchang, 1995), p. 181.

turned over to the Tea picking girls who separate the now withered blossom from the Tea leaf. In the case of the small *Oleacear* flower, however, the separation is usually done by the aid of a sieve. When this is completed, the Tea is put on the fire for seven hours, being subjected to about 180° Fah. of heat, after which the manufacture is considered complete. The Tea is packed in small, gaudily labeled paper bags, and these in turn in half-chests.²⁰

An earlier Japanese source described the same general procedures for processing baozhong tea, but only one-half of the tea leaves were mixed with the fresh flowers, the other half kept in storage till it was added to the previously scented leaves prior to the final firing.²¹ As we were unable to locate descriptions of baozhong tea production in Fuzhou during the 1870s or any substantive references to the procedures employed in Dadaocheng prior to 1896, it is impossible to say whether any innovation or change in the production of baozhong tea had occurred in Dadaocheng during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

3. The Labor Pool for Processing Tea in Dadaocheng

Perhaps the first task in our analysis of the men and women hired to produce tea in northern Taiwan is to examine the number and constituency of the labor pool employed by tea merchants, beginning in the 1860s and expanding in size with the growth of the industry. While detailed sources for the first decades are few and far between, several specific numerical estimates were made by tea merchants and officials who observed the industry at work. You will recall James Morrison's observation in *The Geographical Magazine* from late 1877, that: "The firemen are Chinese, who come over from the mainland for the season. The number who come yearly is not over 2000, and is rapidly increasing."²² Unfortunately, the next specific (and generally reliable) reference to numbers of laborers employed by tea companies in Dadaocheng appears in investigations carried out by the Japanese after 1895. Furthermore, they offer only contemporary statistics and make no attempt to estimate historical development of the labor pool. The first such source emerged from investigations conducted by the Productive

²⁰ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 388.

²¹ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 21-22.

²² James G. Morrison, "A Description of the Island of Formosa, with Some Remarks on Its Past History, Its Present Condition, and Its Future Prospects," p. 263.

Industries Section of the Taihoku District government (臺北縣內務部殖產課) in early 1896, and claimed that 252 companies in Dadaocheng employed a total of 3,612 employees; this did not include women and girls hired to sort tea leaves or to pick out flowers in the processing of baozhong tea.²³ Another early investigation conducted solely on the companies processing baozhong tea in Dadaocheng by investigators for the Government-General's Productive Industries Department in July of 1896 registered a total of 372 employees in sixteen baozhong tea companies.²⁴

In 1896, the Government-General's Department of Productive Industries published its general assessment of the tea industry in Taiwan, and the author attempted to estimate the total number of laborers needed for all operations related to second-stage tea processing in Dadaocheng. According to this report, more than two thousand laborers processed tea in this stage of production, and two hundred other specialists inspected the tea. Another one thousand laborers were employed to construct tea chests, make the lead linings and attach labels to tea chests and paint them. For the first time, the official reports estimated that ten thousand women were needed as tea sorters. If assistants and clerks were added, some twenty thousand people were involved in the second-level processing and packing of teas in Dadaocheng in 1895.²⁵ It is important to note here that this report gave substantively lower figures for the total number of Chinese and Taiwanese companies employing these laborers: 125 firms rather than the 252 that Zeng

²³ See the following early article for a detailed breakdown of the companies, owners, estimated capitalization and total employees: Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye [Tea Industry in Daodaocheng during the Qing Period]," *Taipei Wenwu* (Taipei) 5: 4 (1957), pp. 99-117, citing the original Japanese source: "Taihokuken Naimubu Shokusan ka kenfu kyū Tansuiken Taihokushi chagyō meisaisatsu [Detailed Listing of the Tea Industry in Taihoku City, former Tamsui District, Investigated by the Reproductive Industries Department, Internal Affairs Division, Taihoku Prefecture] (31 Jan. 1896)." We were not able to find the original source for Zeng's data. However, we recalculated the statistics in Zeng's article and found 3,356 total employees, not his suggested number of 3,612. Among these 252 firms, there were three with zero laborers and one with no data.

²⁴ We did not have access to the original report, "Taiwan hōshucha [Taiwan Baozhong Tea]," in Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusanbu, ed., *Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusan hōbun (Nōgo no bu)* [Report on Industry by the Civil Affairs Bureau of the Taiwan Government General (Section on Agricultural Industries)], but the data was summarized in Hsu Hsien-yao, *Taiwan baozhongcha lunji*, p. 240. Fourteen of these companies were also included in Zeng's data, which was apparently collected earlier in 1895. The total employees for those fourteen companies was only 329. Once again, these totals do not include women and girls who sorted tea leaves prior to combining them with the flowers, nor did it include the number of women and girls who picked out the flowers during the production of baozhong tea.

²⁵ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," p. 38.

Naishuo cited from the Productive Industries Department, Taihoku District report. However, all these sources published in 1896 seem to agree that only sixteen companies were involved in processing baozhong tea.

James Davidson, the US consul for Formosa, devoted a large section of his *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* to the tea industry, and among the many observations he made were these claims regarding tea companies and tea laborers in Dadaocheng (Tawatutia):

There are about one hundred and fifty Tea manufacturers big and small in Tawatutia, besides the half dozen foreign establishments. The largest firms employ from one hundred to three hundred Tea picking girls during the busy months; but, if there is much tea on hand and it is desired to rush matters, the number of tea pickers, working in one establishment, may reach, for a few days, four or five hundred. On an average the total number of ["Tea picking girls"] daily employed in Tawatutia exceeds some twelve thousand.²⁶

If Davidson's estimate were accurate, on average each of the 150 tea manufacturers would employ 75-80 women and girls to sort tea leaves. As for the male laborers, who were mostly seasonal migrants from China, Davidson did not provide any estimates, even though he described the firing processes and the construction of tea chests.

When the Provisional Committee to Investigate Old Customs (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會) published its report on the economic conditions of the island in 1905, a reduction in company numbers as well as total laborers had occurred, though it is uncertain whether this was the result of greater accuracy in surveying the industry or whether second-stage tea processing had been restructured by the new regime or by market developments. Though the report was published in 1905, dated content suggests that the quantitative data it reported relate to labor conditions in 1902 or 1903 at the latest. The investigators counted a total of seventy *fanzhuang* (番莊) who employed on average twenty male tea laborers (or 1,400 in total) and altogether hired 6,000-8,000 total female tea sorters to process an annual export of approximately 10,000,000 *jin* (an average of 150,000 *jin* per firm) of oolong tea. However, the baozhong tea share of production in Dadaocheng had apparently grown, for twenty-two *pujia* (舖家) firms now employed the same average number of male tea laborers per firm (thus 440 total

²⁶ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 385. Davidson's figure of "twelve thousand" is strictly the "tea picking girls" and not other laborers.

men), the same average number of female tea sorters as the oolong tea firms, and six hundred women and girls who picked flowers from the tea during that stage of the process. An annual total of 2,200,000 *jin* of baozhong tea was exported each year by these twenty-two *pujia* firms; each company thus produced approximately 100,000 *jin* on average.²⁷ The compilers of the report suggest that *on average* each of these 92 firms employed approximately twenty full-time [male] workers during the seven months of the tea season.²⁸ In addition, twenty-one *xiangzaiguan* (箱仔館) located in Dadaocheng specialized in the production of tea chests for the export market. Approximately four hundred workers were needed to make tea chests; this would include constructing the chests and creating the lead inner liners. In total, the compilers of the report estimated that every year some 2,200 tea laborers migrated from south China to conduct this work of processing tea in Dadaocheng.²⁹

Finally, from a retrospective summary of laborers migrating from China that was published in 1937, we get very specific statistics on the number of Chinese laborers who migrated seasonally to work in the tea industry as tea firemen, lead liner artisans or tea chest carpenters. 1904 is the first year for such specific totals in this report, and the statistics include the following: 882 tea-processing laborers, 15 lead liner artisans, and 23 tea chest carpenters who migrated from south China. This can be compared with a total of 6,549 “native” passengers arriving from Xiamen to Taiwan on steamships in 1904, compiled by customs officials.³⁰

²⁷ The average production per firm is given by the report; it is not our calculation.

²⁸ Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, “Cha sangyō [Tea Industry],” in Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, ed., *Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsakai dai nibu, Chōsa keizai shiryō hōkoku* [Report of the Investigation of the Economy, Second Division of the Provisional Committee for the Investigation of Taiwan Old Customs] (Taihoku: Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, 1905), vol. 1, pp. 97-99.

²⁹ Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, “Cha sangyō [Tea Industry],” pp. 89, 105.

³⁰ Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho* [Taiwan and Chinese Laborers (An Investigative Report Concerning These Laborers)] (Taihoku: Nanshi Nanyō Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1937), p. 92; P.M.G. de Galembert, “Amoy Trade Report, for the Year 1904,” *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports for the Year 1904* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1905), vol. 2, p. 678. For a detailed analysis of migrations between Xiamen and Taiwan, 1870s to 1911, see section IV of Douglas Fix, “Xiamen: Emigrants’ Portal to a Broader World,” (Center for Chinese Studies Working Paper, June 2018).

4. Estimating the Growth of the Second-stage Tea Processing Labor

While accurate time-series data on the growth of the labor pool in Dadaocheng during the latter part of the nineteenth century are not available, we do have useful statistics on total tea exports from northern Taiwan, as well as specific figures on oolong versus baozhong tea exports. Using these statistics together with some references to the growth of total tea-processing companies in Dadaocheng, it is possible to offer estimates of the growth in numbers of laborers involved in processing tea in Dadaocheng.

To begin this work, we first provide a brief listing of the growth in tea companies, culled from the primary sources:

- 1872: five British houses were involved in the tea trade.³¹
- 1876-8: 39 “native establishments” (“nineteen are local ones, five Cantonese, fourteen Amoy and one Swatow”) competed with 5 British firms³²
- 1879: 50 Chinese packing hongts produced tea for export³³
- 1884: 80 “native packing hongts” in Dadaocheng³⁴
- 1885: “small hongts” had 50-100 tea-firing stoves; “large hongts” had 200-300 stoves³⁵
- 1887: nearly 100 “native packing hongts”; 20-30 do a large business³⁶

³¹ William Gregory, Acting consul, Tamsuy, 28 June 1872, “Notes by Acting Consul Gregory on the Tamsuy Report and Returns for 1871,” in British Foreign Office Complied and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1872), China. No. 2 (1872), Commercial Reports from Her Majesty’s Consuls in China, 1871, p. 138.

³² H.E. Hobson, “Tamsui Trade Report, for the Year 1876 (31 Jan. 1877),” *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the Year 1876* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1877), p. 89; B.C. Scott, “Report on the Trade of the Ports of Tamsui and Kelung for the Year 1877 (27 March 1878),” in British Foreign Office Complied and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1878), China. No. 7 (1878), Commercial Reports by Her Majesty’s Consuls in China, 1877, p. 151.

³³ Colin M. Ford, “Report on the Foreign Trade of the Ports of Tamsuy and Kelung During the Year 1879 (26 Feb. 1880),” in British Foreign Office Complied and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1880), China. No. 3 (1880), Commercial Reports from Her Majesty’s Consuls in China, 1879, p. 239.

³⁴ E. Farago, “Tamsui Trade Report for the Year 1884 (24 Jan. 1885),” *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the Year 1884* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1885), p. 258.

³⁵ John Dodd, *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa: During the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5*, p. 152.

³⁶ J.L. Chalmers, “Tamsui (26 Oct. 1887),” *Tea, 1888* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1889), p. 88.

- 1892: 95 total “Chinese tea dealers”; 13 were large “tea hong”³⁷
- 1896/01: 252 *chaguan* (茶館)³⁸
- 1895/07: 6 foreign firms; 125 “Chinese and resident Taiwanese *chazhuang*” (茶莊)³⁹
- 1896: a small-scale tea processing firm processing 300,000 *jin* of oolong tea would require 19 [male] employees (two foremen, 10 firemen, 4 assistants, 1 accountant, and 1 tea inspector & his 1 assistant)⁴⁰
- 1902: 150 large and small “tea manufacturers” plus 6 foreign firms⁴¹
- 1902-3: 70 *fanzhuang* (番莊) manufacturing oolong tea; 22 *pujia* (舖家) manufacturing baozhong tea; 21 *xiangzaiguan* (箱仔館) constructing lead liners and tea chests; also numerous brokers: 71 *chazhan* (茶棧); 942 *chafan* (茶販); and 27 involved in tea-in-chest commerce (箱茶の買賣)⁴²

We have plotted these estimates of total tea manufacturing firms in Dadaocheng against the total number of tea exports, 1865 to 1903, culled from Imperial Maritime Customs Service trade reports and the Tamsui trade reports submitted by British consuls each year. The graph of this comparison can be seen in Figure 5 below, and it indicates a rather close correlation between the number of firms processing tea in Dadaocheng and the total amounts of oolong and baozhong tea exported from the island.

What this comparison does not allow is an estimate of the growth of the labor pool. Lacking the number of workers employed by each firm or even the total number of employees hired by all the companies in each of these seven specified years, one cannot begin to estimate the increase in laborers over time with these figures. However, such estimates can be made using other statistics, and we have attempted to do just that.

In spite of these limitations, the statistics contained in Zeng Naishuo's 1957 article (derived from the registry compiled by the Taihoku District government's Productive Industries Section and published January 31, 1896) provide an opportunity to examine how labor was distributed across tea firms in Dadaocheng.

³⁷ H.B. Morse, “Tamsui Trade Report for the Year 1892 (14 Jan. 1893),” *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the Year 1892* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1893), p. 341.

³⁸ Zeng Naishuo, “Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye,” p. 101. We believe this number is too large as no other source provides so many firms involved in tea processing in Dadaocheng.

³⁹ Hara Kishiki, “Cha,” pp. 37-38.

⁴⁰ Hara Kishiki, “Cha,” pp. 40-41.

⁴¹ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 385.

⁴² Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, “Cha sangyō,” p. 105.

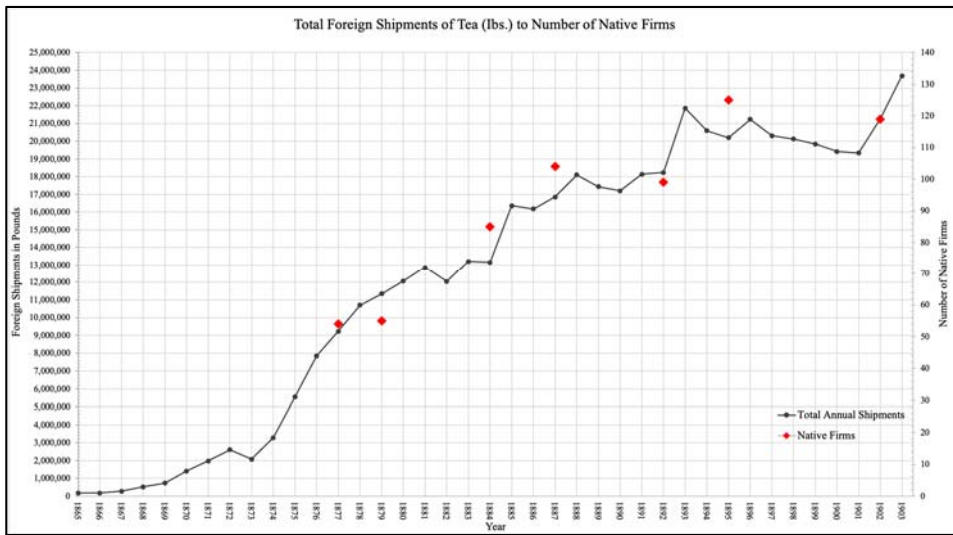


Figure 5 Total Foreign Shipments of Tea (lbs.) to Number of Native Firms, 1865-1903

Sources: Annual Customs Reports, published by the Imperial Maritime Customs Statistical Department; Annual Trade Reports compiled by British consular officials in Tamsui and published in the *British Parliamentary Papers* (see Appendix 1); and sources listed in footnotes 32-34, 36-37, 39, and 42.

Table 1 Number of Employees Hired by Dadaocheng Tea Firms (31 January 1896)

Employees Hired	Number of Firms	Total Employees
70 and above	1	72
50-54	2	102
45-49	1	48
35-39	1	35
30-34	6	195
25-29	9	238
20-24	24	510
15-19	47	774
10-14	90	1045
5-9	39	274
1-4	28	63
0	3	0
No data given	1	0
Total Firms	252	
Total Employees		3356

Source: Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye," pp. 99-117.

From this data, it is possible to disaggregate the 252 firms involved in the tea industry between the latter half of 1895 and early 1896 by the size of their labor forces. The results of that disaggregation are found in Table 1 below, and with a graphic representation in Figure 6 below. While this data shows that the majority of the firms surveyed in early 1896 were comparatively small, their data cannot help us answer questions related to productivity according to the scale of operations because investigators did not compile tea output figures for each firm.

Examining this information more closely, we note that the average number of employees per firm is thirteen (13.5 to be exact), with the highest number of firms (90) falling into the 10-14 employee bracket. The total firms skew towards the smaller scale, with 82.59% of firms having 19 or less employees. Larger firms (i.e., greater than 20 employees) comprise 17.81% of the total number of firms, with larger firms employing 35.92% of the total labor force versus 64.53% employed by smaller firms. Secondly, it is important to note that Zeng's record of the Japanese survey of January 1896 does not include any information regarding the number of tea-sorting women required by each firm. It is also possible that some of these companies (perhaps 20-25) were involved in the construction of tea chests and not tea processing *per se*; Zeng did not make that distinction in his data.

This highlights the possibility that Zeng's figure of 252 is a disproportionately higher number of total firms when compared with the totals given in customs or



Figure 6 Distribution of Firms by Number of Employees in 1895

Source: Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye," pp. 99-117.

trade reports or those provided in the survey conducted by the Productive Industries Department, Government-General's Office. (See Figure 5 and the discussion preceding that figure above). However, it is possible that local Japanese officials who surveyed the tea industry in Dadaocheng in late 1895 were more systematic in their investigations than earlier officials or the foreign participants in the tea industry who provided customs officials and British consuls with their information. However, given the very small number of employees hired by small-scale companies in Zeng's data, it is also possible that many of those firms were not involved in actually processing tea. Thus, the large number of firms cited in Zeng's statistics, from the early 1896 Japanese investigation, would imply that any estimate of total labor based on the number of firms for other years may underrepresent the number of laborers working in the tea industry.

It is also necessary to consider the context of the January 1896 report in the period following the Sino-Japanese War and the occupation of Taiwan. Given the likelihood that this report was derived from data collected within the seven months following the Japanese occupation of Taipei on June 7, 1895, how did the wartime conditions of 1894-1895 affect the report's representation of the industry and its total number of laborers? Our first hint begins with the export figures displayed in Figure 5, with a 5.81% decline in total exports from 1893 to 1894 followed by a further decline of 1.89% from 1894 to 1895.⁴³ While notable, this drop does not represent a significant change in production as over 20 million pounds of tea still departed Dadaocheng in 1895. Shipping figures provided by Consul Morse demonstrate some decline in vessels arriving and departing Tamsui (a drop of 10.43% between 1893 and 1894), but this is not significant enough to support the possibility of a blockade or severely hazardous conditions created by the war.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Morse's June 26, 1895 trade report cites 66 steamers both entering and departing Tamsui harbor, indicating that movement was still possible leading up to the Japanese landing of troops on May 29. James Davidson echoes this relative normalcy for foreign traders following the Japanese occupation of Taipei, stating that "Business, which had been at a complete standstill for several days, revived with a rush the very day the troops arrived."⁴⁵ Finally, passenger

⁴³ See Appendix 1, "Annual Tea Exports, Northern Taiwan, 1865-1905," years 1893-1895.

⁴⁴ H.B. Morse, "Table No. 1, Shipping," "Tamsui Trade Returns for the Year 1894," *Returns of Trade and Trade Reports for the Year 1894* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1895), p. 361.

⁴⁵ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 313.

traffic data collected in Xiamen reflects considerable mobility between the mainland and Taiwan for the duration of the war. Passengers departing Xiamen for Taiwan declined by only 9.7% between 1893 and 1894, and actually increased the following year by 2.92%.⁴⁶ The only major deviation is the decline of passengers arriving in Xiamen from Taiwan in 1894, followed by a near doubling of passengers arriving in 1895. This is unsurprising considering the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, and may also reflect the return of migrant laborers who had remained in Taiwan during the war. The relatively unrestricted movement of people to and from Taiwan further indicates that the flow of migrant laborers which the tea industry relied upon was not significantly constrained by the war. Together with the export and shipping statistics, this evidence supports the use of the January 1896 report as illustrative of Dadaocheng's second-stage processing firms and their employees.

From the data that we have been able to compile from a range of historical sources, there is only one instance in which the specific composition of employees hired by a Dadaocheng tea processing company is given. In order to process 300,000 *jin* of tea during the eight months of the tea processing season, this firm had to hire the following employees:

- a. 2 tea-processing foremen
- b. 10 tea-processers
- c. 4 assistants
- d. 1 accountant
- e. 1 tea inspector
- f. 1 assistant tea inspector

To pay these nineteen employees for the 8-month period, the owner would need 1,200 *yuan* in salary and 800 *yuan* in food. The firm would also need many female tea sorters, but that number was not specified.⁴⁷

This single example raises some concerns, which make it a rather questionable source for obtaining the productive output of a company hiring nineteen employees. It is difficult to assume that a tea processing firm employing thirteen laborers (which is the average we gained from Zeng's data) would produce far less tea than a firm with these nineteen employees. Since we know the total tea export for 1895 was 133,998 *dan* (擔 piculs), if even half of the tea

⁴⁶ Douglas Fix, "Xiamen: Emigrants' Portal to a Broader World," pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 40-41.

companies in Zeng's dataset who hired fewer than 20 employees each produced 300,000 *jin* of second-stage-processed tea, their production alone would exceed the total amount of tea exported that year. Consequently, it is impossible to assume this nineteen-employee firm is exemplary in terms of average output for a Dadaocheng tea company in 1895.

With these various concerns in mind, we use some of the more specific data from Zeng's 1957 article to estimate the total annual labor needed for second-stage processing in Dadaocheng, 1865-1903.

The first of these estimates is a point estimate using the average number of laborers employed at small firms (with less than 20 employees) in 1895 and the average number of laborers employed by large firms (with greater than 20 employees) in 1895. As we know the number of large and small firms for several years, we can get a rough estimate of their total number of employees. Note, however, that this approximation excludes the tea-sorting women, and may exclude the laborers constructing tea chests. It should further be noted that all foreign firms in the sample (which are included in the number of total firms up to and including 1892, whereafter they likely shifted away from second stage processing) are counted as large firms in years with large/small firm breakdowns. To calculate this rough estimate, we divided Dadaocheng's tea processing firms into two segments, large and small firms. With 1,200 employees hired by the large firms in Zeng's data (an average of 27.27 employees per firm) and 2,156 employees for small firms (an average of 10.57 employees per firm), we get a closer estimate of the total number of employees than if we simply used the average of 13.5 obtained by dividing the total number of employees by the total number of companies and projected that on the total number of firms for different years. We then apply this two-part division for years in which we have estimated numbers of large versus small tea processing firms. However, we use 13.5 for those years when we do not have such distinctions. The results of this calculation are plotted for seven specific years in Figure 7 below; look for the black squares, indicating "Firm level estimate." That graph also includes an output-based initial estimate, which is described below.

The second estimate, "Output-based initial estimate," is calculated from the total output of all Dadaocheng tea firms in 1895 (using the tea export statistics) in order to avoid the underestimating bias of the firm level estimate. According to the Cobb-Douglas function, production output is equal to the product of the amount of labor used, the physical capital invested, and the total factor productivity

(or TFP, a measurement of the change in output that is not resultant from a change in inputs, i.e., labor or capital, often used to account for technological changes). As a result, within any given period, presuming there are no changes in either total factor productivity or capital inputs, there is a set ratio between the total production output and the amount of labor used. As we know the total production output in 1895 was 20,201,066 pounds of tea for 3,356 workers (which excludes female tea sorters and potentially the tea chest laborers) in 248 firms, it would be possible to derive a ratio of total output per worker. In this case, this ratio is 6,019.39 pounds of tea in total output per worker in 1895. Using this ratio, we can project a very rough estimate of the total number of employees in all years where we have tea export data by dividing the total tea exports by the ratio of pounds of tea per worker. These results are plotted in Figure 7 with black dot and dash.

As is clear from the production function, this estimate necessitates the assumption that the ratio of capital inputs and TFP relative to the production output remain the same across periods. It is very likely this assumption is not met, as both annual capital inputs for firms and total factor productivity are expected

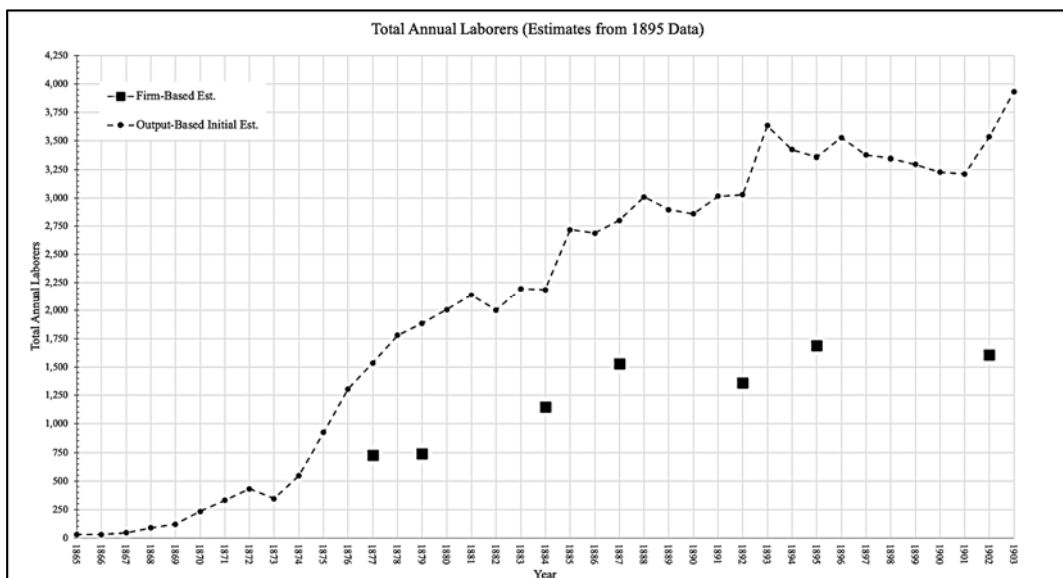


Figure 7 Total Annual Laborers (estimates from 1895, excludes sorters and artisans), 1865-1903

Sources: Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 40-41; Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye," pp. 99-117; sources listed in footnotes 32-34, 36-37, 39, and 42; and Annual Customs Reports and Annual Trade Reports (see Appendix 1).

to change across periods. These changes are likely to have a significant distorting effect on all estimates derived from the ratio of output to labor. However, given the limitations of available data, output-derived estimates provide a necessary glimpse into the labor market in the Qing era, and are better at accounting for changes in demand than firm-based estimates. Whereas firm level estimates are likely to stay constant despite changes in economic conditions, output-based estimates are better able to demonstrate the real changes in labor which likely took place as demand for tea shifted.

The insights offered by output-based estimates can be improved by understanding the distorting effects of potential changes in both capital and total factor productivity. Changes in capital may be attributed to changes in physical capital, such as machinery, or changes in financial assets, which improve a firm's ability to purchase new physical capital and also necessary inputs for the production process. The most relevant form of physical capital in Taiwan's nineteenth-century tea industry is the tea firing stoves used in second-stage processing. According to John Dodd, in 1885 "small hong" possessed between 50-100 tea-firing stoves, and "large hong" had 200-300 stoves and even more.⁴⁸ Therefore, there is likely a marked difference between the productive output of small firms versus large firms. As a result, larger firms with higher capital would likely have a larger total production output for the proportion of laborers they employed. This would mean that the estimate provided here, and other output-based estimates, likely overestimates the number of total employees. As time progresses in our sample, it is possible that the total input of physical capital grew as firms procured more stoves, but as no changes in the efficiency of these stoves seem to have occurred, adding more firing stoves would also require the employment of more laborers as firemen. With an increase in output as a result of an increase in physical capital, one might expect a proportional increase in the amount of labor required as an input to meet the requirements of new physical capital. While we would not expect firms' physical capital to change significantly year to year after an initial start-up period, financial assets are likely to fluctuate both across years and within them. However, the allocation of these assets between necessary production inputs, from tea, to flowers (in baozhong tea), to wages for laborers, is likely to stay at constant ratios and only fluctuate based on the total capital

⁴⁸ John Dodd, *Journal of a Blockaded Resident in North Formosa: During the Franco-Chinese War, 1884-5*, p. 152.

available to the firm and the market-based demand for tea in any given season. Resultantly, we would expect changes in financial assets to change in step with labor's relationship to output, which is accounted for in the output-based estimates.

In the tea industry, the most likely sources of change in total factor production are changes in technology and changes in political administration. Improved manufacturing processes, better infrastructure, and even more efficient business practices may all have increased the total annual tea output relative to the number of workers employed. We lack any indication that the process of manufacturing tea within factories changed significantly during the nineteenth century, so it is unlikely that new manufacturing processes played a major role in changing output. New infrastructure introduced following Japanese colonization may have increased the amount of tea available to second-stage processors, and improved their ability to export tea, thus increasing output. However, as with increases in physical capital we would expect this increase in output to be followed by an increase in hiring workers to match the new levels of tea available to be processed. More efficient administrative practices may have altered the level of foremen and tea inspectors required by the industry, and this could potentially result in an overestimate of total labor, albeit a small one due to the smaller number of these kinds of employees. We would also expect a number of changes resulting from the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. In 1895 and the years immediately following, there may have been a fall in output due to disruptions in all aspects of the production chain.⁴⁹ This fall would likely be accompanied by a corresponding drop in labor demand, and thus laborers employed, due to the reduced amount of tea being processed. As new immigration restrictions from the mainland were introduced by the Japanese, it is possible that industry producers were unable to find adequate labor for more specialized jobs. However, it is unlikely these jobs were eliminated altogether; instead, the positions were probably filled by Taiwanese workers.

Clearly, the cross-firm estimate, and the other estimates based on output, have a number of problems which diminish their accuracy. They likely overestimate the total labor inputs in years other than 1895, especially for the early period of our sample, as firms first establishing themselves likely grew in output at a higher rate relative to the amount of labor input, as a result of physical capital increases. The estimate also does not account for differences between firms, or the ratio of

⁴⁹ A decrease in total exports did occur. See the Appendix for the amount of that decline.

small to large firms. Finally, it does not account for potential changes in total factor productivity (TFP), resulting in an overestimate of total labor in our sample. Finally, this estimate only includes the workers employed by firms and counted in Zeng's 1896 data set, and thus excludes the previously mentioned female tea sorters and perhaps some of the tea chest artisans.

The third estimate derived from the 1895 data, represented by the red squares in Figure 8 below, is the "Firm-based combined estimate." This estimate attempts to capture the total number of workers employed by firms in the industry by adding data on female tea sorters and tea chest artisans to the firm-based estimate's approximation of total laborers. We know from Hara Kishiki (原熙識)'s 1896 Japanese report that approximately 10,000 female tea sorters were employed in the industry in 1895.⁵⁰ The same report describes 125 native second-stage processing firms (and six foreign firms who are likely no longer involved in tea firing), meaning that for every firm approximately 80 female tea sorters were hired per year.⁵¹ We also know from the 1896 report that 1,000 artisans were employed in tea chest construction, thus averaging eight artisans employed per firm. While artisans were likely employed by firms exclusively producing tea chests, the ratio of artisans to other laborers and to female sorters is expected to stay the same, as all producers required tea chests in order to export their product. These new amounts are then multiplied by the number of firms in each year and added to the estimates produced by the original firm-based estimate which dealt exclusively with laborers employed by firms.

The firm-based combined estimate encounters a number of difficulties in attempting to approximate a larger portion of the labor force involved in second-stage tea processing than the original firm-based estimate. The first is the fact that the number of female tea sorters required by each firm likely changed throughout the year, with different firms possibly hiring the same workers at different periods. This could result in a possible overcounting of the number of tea sorters. However,

⁵⁰ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," p. 38.

⁵¹ It should be noted here that while the 252 firm data (Zeng 1957) has been used to obtain the number of laborers in the industry using an average of 13.5 laborers per firm, the Japanese report's 125 firm estimate is used to obtain the ratio of female sorters per firm and the ratio of artisans per firm. This choice was made for two reasons. The first is the 252 firm data's inclusion of numerous small firms which are likely not accounted for in the 1896 Japanese report's estimate of 10,000 female laborers and 1,000 artisans. The second is a comparison with the 1902 data, where the average is 76 female sorters per firm, making the estimate from the 125 firm data appear more reasonable.

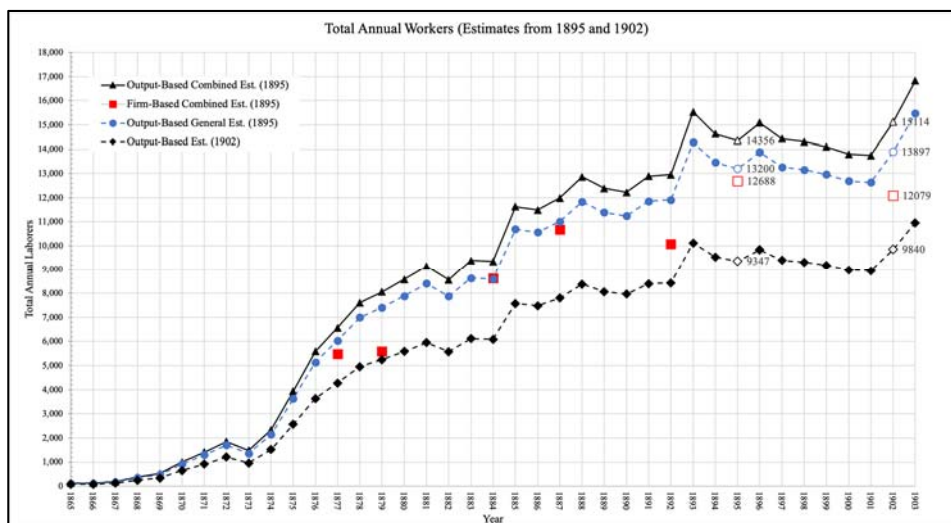


Figure 8 Total Annual Employees (estimates from 1895 and 1902), 1865-1903

Sources: Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 37-38; Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye," pp. 99-117; sources listed in footnotes 32-34, 36-37, 39, 42 and 52; and Annual Customs Reports and Annual Trade Reports (see Appendix 1).

the Japanese estimate appears to account for the total number of female laborers employed across the year, and we would expect this ratio to stay similar across the analyzed period. Secondly, as Zeng's 252 firm data, which was used to produce the average number of laborers (not sorters or artisans) per firm, potentially included the aforementioned tea chest firms, it is possible that, with the addition of the eight tea chest artisans per firm, we are overestimating the total number of artisans.

The fourth estimate, titled the "Output-based general estimate," in Figure 8, uses the 1896 Japanese report's approximations of workers along with output figures to project total laborers in a similar fashion to the output-based initial estimate (in Figure 7). The laborers accounted for in this data include: 2,000 reserved laborers, 1,000 tea chest artisans, 10,000 female tea sorters, 200-plus tea inspectors, and an apparent 6,800 "assistants and clerks," which raise the total number of workers in the industry to 20,000. All of these numbers except for the 6,800 assistants appear reasonable estimates based on both the 1902 data, Zeng's 252 firm data, and the 19-worker firm example. Within the 19-worker firm, only three of the 19 employees are described as assistants, making a ratio of 2,000

laborers to 6,800 assistants incredibly unlikely. For this reason, these workers are excluded from this estimate, resulting in an industry total of 13,200 workers in 1895, and an output-to-worker ratio of 1,530.38 lbs. per worker annually.

The fifth estimate, or the “Output-based combined estimate,” in Figure 8, is derived from the combination of the known employees (likely comprised of foremen, firemen, assistants, inspectors & assistant inspectors, accountants, and potentially some tea chest artisans) from the “Output-based initial estimate” together with the 10,000 female sorters and 1,000 artisans from the 1896 Japanese report. This estimate is intended to provide an intersection between the very precise information provided in the cross-section assessment and the more industry-encompassing enumeration from the general estimate. As we are fairly certain the 3,356 workers enumerated in Zeng’s data include any possible tea inspectors, the 200 tea inspectors from the 1896 data are not included. With 3,356 workers, 10,000 female sorters, and 1,000 artisans, the total workers employed in 1895 are estimated to be 14,356. When that year’s total output (20,201,066 lbs.) is divided by the total workers, we get an output to worker ratio of 1,407.15 lbs. per worker annually.

There are two principal issues with this estimate, excluding those already discussed that apply to all output-based estimates. It is possible, therefore, that by applying the 3,356-worker data, we are actually underestimating the total number of laborers in the 1896 industry. The second is that the 3,356 workers provided in Zeng’s data likely include some tea chest artisans working at tea chest firms, but it is impossible to distinguish them from other laborers and other firms. In order to not risk missing some of these artisans, the 1,000 artisans estimate from the Japanese report is included.

The Japanese report published in 1905 by the Provisional Committee to Investigate Old Customs (which likely reflects the state of the industry in 1902) provides another point from which to estimate the total number of annual workers. According to the report, 70 *fanzhuang* and 22 *pujia* each employed an average of 20 laborers (1,840 workers in total), and all together hired 6,000-8,000 female sorters. The *baozhong* producing firms hired an additional 600 female flower pickers. There were also 400 tea chest artisans active in the industry. From the same report we are given an estimate of 2,200 workers who arrived from the mainland to be employed by the industry. These migrants were likely a mixed group of foremen, laborers, inspectors, and tea chest artisans. While this number

may provide a more accurate estimate of the total laborers employed than the estimate derived from the 20-worker average, it overlaps with the 400 tea chest artisans, who are a composite group of both migrants and local Taiwanese. In order to avoid double counting these artisans, we choose to use the 1,840-worker estimate instead. For comparative purposes, this 1902 output-based estimate is presented both in Figure 8 alongside other overall estimates and in Figure 9 against the baozhong and oolong models. As we know both the number of workers involved in oolong and baozhong production, along with the total output of oolong and baozhong tea produced between 1893 and 1903, we can create separate worker estimates for both industries.⁵²

To begin with oolong production, 70 firms employed a total of 1,400 workers in 1902. We assume that the total number of female sorters falls at the center of the 6,000-8,000 estimate (7,000 sorters), and as we expect these sorters to be employed by both the *fanzhuang* and *pujia* firms, the average number employed per firm is approximately 76 (7,000 sorters divided by 92 firms). Seventy-six sorters in 70 *fanzhuang* firms means a total of 5,320 sorters employed in oolong production. In total, there are 6,720 individuals employed in the oolong industry in 1902, which, gives a total output per worker of 2,767.79 lbs. of oolong tea per worker (18,599,532 lbs. divided by 6,720 workers). This estimate is represented by the dashed line with squares in Figure 9 below.

The process for estimating the baozhong workforce is very similar. With 20 laborers and 76 sorters per firm working at 22 *pujia*, there are 440 laborers and 1,680 female tea sorters total. The *pujia* firms also hire 600 female flower sorters as an industry (to separate flowers from tea leaves before the leaves are fired). With a total of 2,720 employees in the entire baozhong industry, the total annual output per worker in 1902 is 980.72 lbs. of baozhong tea per worker (2,667,558 lbs. divided by 2,720 workers). The total annual laborers in the baozhong industry are represented by the blue dashed line with circles in Figure 9.

Being output-based estimates, these approximations of the laborers in the oolong and baozhong industries suffer from the same distortions as the previously discussed estimates, albeit over a shorter period of time. Another issue with these two estimates is the amount and distribution of female tea-sorter labor. The 6,000 to 8,000 estimate provided in the 1905 Japanese report is much lower than the 10,000 female tea laborers estimated in the 1896 Japanese report. While we cannot

⁵² Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, "Cha sangyō," pp. 89, 97, 99, 105.

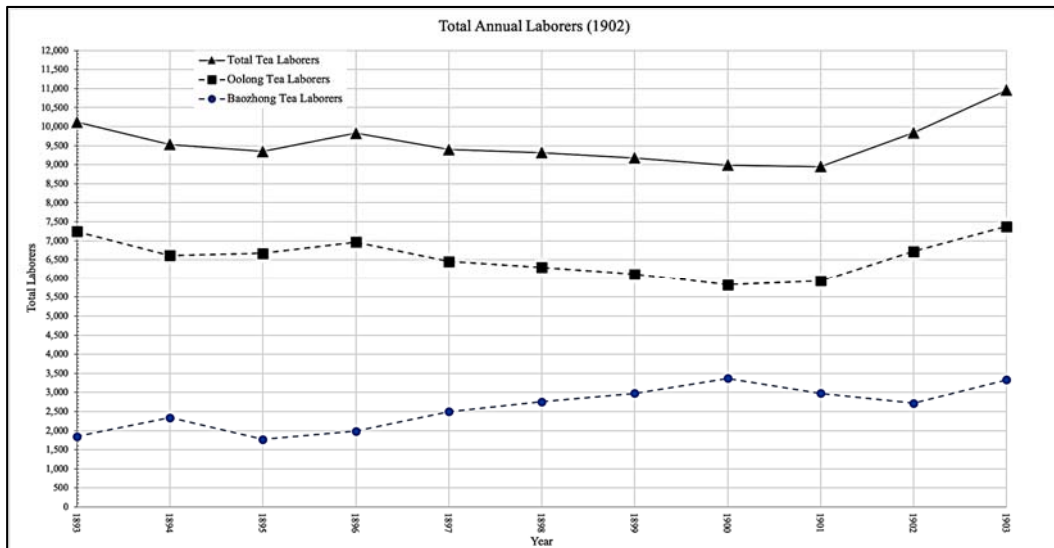


Figure 9 Total Annual Laborers by Tea Type (based on known workers in 1902), 1893-1903

Sources: Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, *Dai Nibu*, “Cha sangyō,” pp. 89, 97, 99, 105; Hsu Hsien-yao, *Taiwan baozhongcha lunji*, pp. 9, 240; “Taiwan hōshucha,” vol 1, Part 1, pp. 13-15; Zeng Naishuo, “Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye,” pp. 99-117.

know which of these reports is a better representation of the actual number of female tea workers, it provides a potential reason to expect the total laborer estimate for 1902 to be lower than the estimate for 1895.

The final 1902 estimate (in Figures 8 and 9) combines the total workers in both the oolong and baozhong industries in 1902 with the tea chest artisans to produce an output-based estimate similar to those obtained from the 1895 data. With 6,720 oolong workers, 2,720 baozhong workers, and 400 tea chest artisans, the total number of workers in the 1902 tea industry was approximately 9,840 workers. With 21,267,090 lbs. of tea produced in 1902 by these workers, we get an annual output to worker ratio of 2,161.29 lbs. per worker. While compensating for the potential differences between the amount of sorter labor used in the separate oolong and baozhong industries, this estimate still suffers from the distortions both of a potential underestimate of sorters by Japanese officials and by the already attributed issues with output-based estimates.

An 1896 investigation of the baozhong tea processing firms, a much smaller number of total companies, will allow one to focus on just one part of the overall

tea industry.⁵³ These statistics on the sixteen firms processing baozhong tea in Dadaocheng in 1896 provide information on tea firm name, owner's name, total capitalization and the number of employees. The results of that investigation are given below in Table 2. To these we have added corresponding information from Zeng Naishuo's figures, which come from a different Japanese investigation, which Zeng dates to 31 January 1896. Names, capital amounts and total employee data given in red font in Table 2 indicate Zeng's disparate information.

As "Taiwan hōshucha" 臺灣包種茶 (1896) provides year-by-year data on the number of firms as well as a new sample with which to approximate the number of laborers in the baozhong industry, we are able to produce a new firm-based estimate of baozhong labor which can then be compared to our projected baozhong estimate from 1902.

Table 2 Companies Producing Baozhong Tea in Daodaocheng (1896)

Company Name (Date Established)	Owner(s)	Capitalization	Workforce
Jin Fang 錦芳 (est. 1886)	Wu Shifen 吳士份, Weng Sheshi 翁瑟士	20,000	72
Jian Tai 建泰 (est. 1886)	Chen Zhenji 陳振記	10,000 (--)	32 (--)
Yong Yu 永裕 (est. 1883)	Wang Yongjin 王永金 (Chen Yulu 陳玉路)	100,000 (10,000)	25
Ying Yuan 英元 (est. 1883)	Li Qing 李卿 (Li Qingyun 李卿雲)	100,000 (10,000)	25
Fujian Chang 福建昌 (est. 1886)	Chen Huixue 陳輝雪	20,000	24
He Xing 合興 (est. 1883)	Wang Anding 王安定	100,000 (10,000)	21 (32)
Yong Mian Li 永綿利 (est. 1886)	Chen Chenchuan 陳辰傳	100,000 (10,000)	21
Fang Cheng 芳成	Huang Yongjin 黃永錦	4,000	21
Zhen Nan 震南 (est. 1886)	Huang Tianding 黃添丁, Huang Shousheng 黃守聲	1,000 (10,000)	21
Yong Shun Long 永順隆	Hong Fuchen 洪輔臣	5,000	19 (16)
Gong Ji 恭記 (est. 1886)	Huang Heti 黃何題	7,000	17
Guang Sheng Long 廣盛隆	Qiu Ji 邱吉	5,000	17
Quan Mei 泉美	Bai Zhukui 白燭奎	1,500	17
Zhen Ji 珍記	Lin Jinshi 林進十 (Lin Jinping 林進平)	1,000	13
Fu Ji Xing 福集興	Fu Fubai 傅浮伯	4,000 (--)	13 (--)
Zhen Chun 珍春	Wang Wenge 王文葛	1,000	8
Total Laborers:			366 (329)

Sources: Hsu Hsien-yao, *Taiwan baozhongcha lunji*, p. 9, 240; Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusanbu, ed., "Taiwan hōshucha," vol 1, Part 1, pp. 13-15; Zeng Naishuo, "Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye," pp. 99-117.

⁵³ As we were not able to access the original Japanese report, "Taiwan hōshucha," our information comes from Hsu Hsien-yao's 2005 summary.

In order to obtain an average number of employees per baozhong firm, it is first necessary to remove the 72-employee outlier from the dataset. This firm is twice as large as the next largest firm, and will be reincorporated on its own into the final firm level estimate in order to not disrupt the average. With this outlier removed, the average number of employees across the remaining 15 firms is 24.4 workers per firm. In addition to the 24.4 workers per firm, we know from the 1902 data that 76 female sorters and 27.27 pickers (600 pickers divided by 22 *pujia*) are required by each firm. In addition to these general estimates, we can also be more specific for the years 1883 and 1886 due to the establishment dates of the firms. For instance, “Taiwan hōshucha” cites three firms established in 1883 that were employing a total of 71 laborers in 1896. While it is likely that these firms had fewer workers in the year they were established, this estimate should still be more representative of the total number of employees than by applying the average to all firms, which is also derived from 1896 data. The same method is applied for the estimates for 1886, with 258 laborers employed by the six firms together.

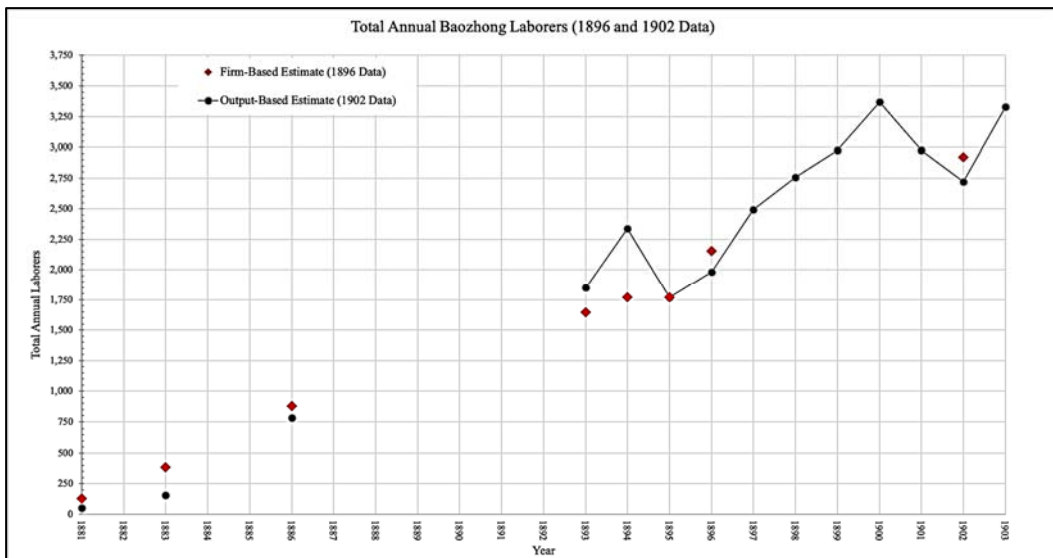


Figure 10 Total Annual Baozhong laborers (1896 and 1902 data), 1881-1903

Sources: Hsu Hsien-yao, *Taiwan baozhong tea lunji*, pp. 9, 240; Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Shokusanbu, ed., “Taiwan hōshucha,” vol. 1, Part 1, pp. 13-15; Zeng Naishuo, “Qingji Dadaocheng zhi chaye,” pp. 99-117; Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, “Cha sangyō,” pp. 89, 97, 99, 105; and Annual Customs Reports and Annual Trade Reports (see Appendix 1).

For the year 1881, the one active firm is determined via the 1896 average, and for all years following 1886 the average is used for firms with unknown values (6 of 12 firms in 1893, 7 of 13 in 1894, and so on). When compared (see Figure 10) with the output-based estimate of baozhong firms derived from the 1902 data, both estimates illustrate a fairly close relationship for the years covered by the firm-based estimate. This grants credence to the use of the output-based estimate as a less accurate but more comprehensive approximation of total laborers.

5. Wages: What Little We Know

In the historical sources on the Taiwan tea industry, neither labor wages nor labor conditions during the nineteenth century are described in any detail. In his trade report for 1880, Walter Lay claimed that men employed in tea-firing earned six dollars a month.⁵⁴ During the next decade, two foreign consuls reported that wages were sufficiently high in Taiwan to draw laborers away from Xiamen and to preclude a shift in local Formosan laborers to the sericulture industry, whethertending silkworms or reeling silk.⁵⁵ To assess these claims would require substantive and accurate data on wages in Xiamen, as well as those for reeling silk or tending silkworms in northern Taiwan -- statistics that we do not have. However, we do know that tea-production wages in Fuzhou at the end of the nineteenth century was reported as being daily meals plus 20 *wen* (文) for men and ten *wen* for women per day.⁵⁶

Somewhat better information on wages for second-stage tea processing emerged in the early Japanese reports, though none of these sources provides complete data nor any wage information for the pre-1895 period. The post-1895 wage data we were able to collect can be found in a table entitled "Wages for Various Types of Tea Laborers in Dadaocheng" given below in the Appendices to this article. Without more information from the historical sources, it is impossible

⁵⁴ Walter Lay, "Tamsui Trade Report for 1880 (22 Feb. 1881)," *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports, for the Year 1880* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General, 1881), p. 192.

⁵⁵ W. Holland, Acting-consul, Tamsui, 10 April 1891, "Report on the Trade of Tamsui and Kelung for 1890," in British Foreign Office Compiled and ed., *British Parliamentary Papers* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1891), Annual Series, No. 920, Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, China, Report for the Year 1890 on the Trade of Tamsui, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Liu Chih-yun, "Qing mo bei Taiwan chaye de maoyi (1865-1895)," p. 11.

to estimate whether these late nineteenth-century wages increased over time or whether salary changes occurred in sync with profits made by tea-processing firms or according to labor market developments.

6. Mobilizing Labor to Process Tea in Dadaocheng

Early observers were convinced that tea laborers for the firing process were all migrants from China, because they were “found to be more regular at their work and reliable than those belonging to the town which is close by.”⁵⁷ However, in the trade and customs reports for the nineteenth century, we could find no references to the actual procurement of migrant (or other) laborers required for this work. In his MA thesis, Liu Zhiyun (劉至耘) suggested that compradors were responsible for hiring the tea master(s) and the skilled tea laborers needed by a foreign firm in Dadaocheng.⁵⁸ This was surely the case in the early years of the industry, and it may have continued to be the means by which laborers were hired for British firms throughout the nineteenth century. Witness the rebuke of Walter Lay, blaming his compatriots for their unwillingness to learn local dialects:

Foreigners on the other hand, from ignorance of the language of this country, are quite unable to carry on negotiations themselves with Chinese merchants; but are obliged to resort to their compradors, and to place themselves entirely in the hands of these men. It says much for Chinese honesty that Foreigners have been so successful as they have been.⁵⁹

However, when southern Fujian tea merchants arrived in northern Taiwan on the heels of the British firms in the 1870s, they probably brought experienced tea laborers from their own towns with them. However, if Hobson’s 1876 Tamsui trade report is accurate, “local” (resident Taiwanese) merchants were already involved in the industry.⁶⁰ Would they have preferred migrant laborers from the

⁵⁷ B.W. Bax, *The Eastern Seas: Being a Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. “Dwarf” in China, Japan, and Formosa* (London: John Murray, 1875), p. 114.

⁵⁸ Liu Chih-yun, “Qing mo bei Taiwan chaye de maoyi (1865-1895),” p. 54.

⁵⁹ Walter Lay, “Tamsui Trade Report, for the Year 1877 (14 March 1878),” *Reports on Trade at the Treaty Ports in China for the Year 1877* (Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1878), p. 164.

⁶⁰ H.E. Hobson, “Tamsui Trade Report, for the Year 1876 (31 Jan. 1877),” p. 89.

Xiamen region or could they have relied on growing local familiarity with first-stage processing, some of which could have been transferred to second-stage production?

Early Japanese surveys of the tea industry in the late 1890s frequently refer to arrangements between Dadaocheng tea firm owners and Chinese tea laborers whereby migrants returning to Xiamen after the end of a tea season would sign a contract with their employer for the next year's employment, thereby receiving travel funds and a partial advance.⁶¹ If new laborers were needed from China, it is more likely that tea-processing firm owners (or their compradors) would rely on established relationships with current employees or extant business connections than with the labor recruitment structures established for unskilled laborers migrating to Taiwan or Southeast Asia.

Major changes to the procurement of Chinese migrant laborers occurred in conjunction with the Japanese takeover of the island. Fear of growing lawlessness caused the Japanese authorities to restrict the arrival of migrants from China in late 1895. However, this caused panic among the tea merchants, Chinese, resident Taiwanese and foreign firms, who petitioned the Japanese government to allow tea laborers to continue to work in northern Taiwan during the tea season. Discontent with these travel restrictions, passed on by the British consul in late December 1895 led to temporary permission for previously hired tea laborers to migrate for the 1896 season, but only with assurances from the British consul that companies would take responsibility for these workers.⁶² Then in October of 1897, the Governor-General promulgated a law that formally exempted properly-certified Chinese tea processing laborers from prohibitions on migration from across the Straits.⁶³ However, tea firm owners had to provide detailed information for each migrant laborer (i.e., name, hometown, specific length of intended labor, residence in Taiwan) and obtain a certificate from the Japanese consul in Xiamen.⁶⁴ Subsequent revisions of the law in 1898 added a photograph and more personal

⁶¹ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 38-39. As these reports are our only source for this arrangement between laborer and tea firm, we don't know when it became a common practice.

⁶² Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho*, pp. 3-6.

⁶³ Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho*, p. 12.

⁶⁴ Wu Wen-hsing, "Riju shiqi lai Tai Huagong zhi tantao [Examination of Chinese Laborers Migrating to Taiwan during the Japanese Period]," in Chang Yen-hsien, ed., *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwenji* [History of Chinese Maritime Development] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Sanminzhuyi Yanjiusuo, 1988), vol. 3, p. 163; Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho*, p. 12.

information for each migrant's certificate, and the formal Government-General regulation (No. 98, 清國人茶工卷規則) in October of that same year incorporated the Tea Merchants Union's involvement in certifying such laborers, while also attaching a fee for processing the "tea laborer's certificate."⁶⁵ With the promulgation of Government-General law No. 74 (清國勞動者取締規則) in July of 1899, a state-certified recruiter was established for all labor recruited from China, and that recruiter had to provide all of the laborer's personal information previously required when obtaining a labor permit, in addition to establishing a process for giving humanitarian aid to injured or ill workers. Recruiters were required to report laborers' changes of address, including return migration to China. There were strict fines for laborers, recruiters and ship captains who did not follow these regulations.⁶⁶ With this series of restrictions and regulations on tea laborers migrating from China, the colonial Japanese government took control away from tea processing firms as well as the laborers themselves.

7. Conclusions

Given the dearth of details on the laborers who worked in the second-stage processing of tea in Dadaocheng in the nineteenth century, we have turned to the annual tea export statistics, trade and customs reports, early Japanese investigations and photographs to get a better understanding of this very important labor pool. While the main focus of our original research was the pre-1895 growth of tea industry labor, the gendered division of labor and the conditions under which that labor was conducted, our reliance on early Japanese investigations allowed us to expand our statistical analyses into the very first years of the Japanese colonial period.

Customs and trade reports provided reliable annual total tea export figures for the forty-year period of 1865-1905 (see Appendix). Tea export grew from 181,815 pounds in 1865 to 20,589,599 pounds in 1894 and to 23,202,133 pounds in 1905.

⁶⁵ Wu Wen-hsing, "Riju shiqi lai Tai Huagong zhi tantao," pp. 164-165; Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho*, pp. 13-15.

⁶⁶ Wu Wen-hsing, "Riju shiqi lai Tai Huagong zhi tantao," p. 166; Matsuo Hiroshi, *Taiwan to Shinajin rōdōsha: Migi ni kansuru hitotsu no chōsa hōkokusho*, p. 19.

Trade and customs reports, supplemented by Japanese investigations published in 1896 and 1905 provided generally reliable figures for the total number of tea-processing firms for seven specific years. If only a handful of foreign firms were involved in the tea industry in the late 1860s and early 1870s, eighty were processing tea in 1884, nearly 100 in 1887, and 125 in 1896. One Japanese survey also claimed that as many as 252 companies located in Dadaocheng were involved in the production, packing and selling of tea.

Using these statistics and additional information from these various reports and investigations, we attempted several estimates of the evolution of the second-stage tea labor, 1865-1903. Plotting total tea processing firms in Dadaocheng against total tea exports produced a rather close correlation between the two (Figure 5). Disaggregating the employee data of Dadaocheng firms from the 31 January 1896 survey (Figure 5), we were able to estimate the total labor employed by tea firms for seven individual years (Figure 7), suggesting a growth from 729-some tea laborers in 1877 to nearly 1,688 in 1895; tea sorters were not included in this estimate. Using the total number of workers (3,356) in the January 1896 survey, together with the total tea export for 1895 (20,201,066 lbs.), we derived a total output to worker ratio and used that to calculate an output-based initial estimate for total annual tea laborers, 1865-1903, again excluding tea sorters and potentially tea chest artisans. This raised the estimate of total annual laborers considerably (Figure 7), from 1,500-plus in 1877 to 3,500-plus in 1902. This estimate did not include tea sorters or tea chest artisans.

Knowing that output-based estimates contain certain disadvantages that diminish their accuracy, especially for the early years of the tea industry, we attempted other estimates, employing information from additional Japanese investigations. Tea sorting laborers and tea chest artisans were added to firm-based data by incorporating information from a Japanese report published in 1896 ("Firm-based combined estimate," Figure 8). Seen from this estimate, the total labor pool grew from 5,481 in 1877 to 12,688 in 1895. With the 1896 report's approximation of total workers (13,200) and the annual tea export for that year (20,201,066 lbs.), we again derived an output per worker ratio and used it to calculate an "Output-based general estimate" of total tea laborers for Dadaocheng firms, 1865-1903 (Figure 8). Seeking an intersection between the precise information in the January 1896 Japanese survey and the more industry-encompassing enumeration from our general estimate (which used data from the 1896 Japanese

report), we derived a slightly lower output to worker ratio (1,407.15 versus 1,530.38) and used that to estimate total tea laborers in Dadaocheng firms, 1865-1903 (“Output-based combined estimate,” Figure 8). This estimate raised the total annual laborers from 6,500 in 1877 to 15,072 in 1896. A third Japanese report produced by the Provisional Committee to Investigate Old Customs, with its 92 total tea processing firms (separated into oolong and baozhong producers) and a smaller number of total tea sorters, gave us one more point from which to estimate total annual workers (“Output-based estimate 1902,” Figure 8). As expected, totals were lower, but perhaps more reliable.

Finally, employing more detailed information on Dadaocheng firms producing baozhong tea from a second 1896 investigation, we calculated estimates of total laborers needed for this segment of the tea industry, 1883-1903 (Figure 9). Comparing these results with the output-based estimate of baozhong firms derived from the 1902 data, shows a fairly close relationship for the years covered by the firm-based estimate (Figure 10), and this grants credence to the use of output-based estimates, while keeping in mind the problems with such estimates, which we have described in detail in the body of the paper.

Assessing wages, working conditions and labor procurement mechanisms for the tea processing industry in nineteenth-century Dadaocheng was much more difficult, as very few contemporary observers or participants provided detailed information. As we expected, female tea sorters received the least amount of pay for their work, although their working conditions were considerably better than male firemen. Tea inspectors were given the highest salary, in keeping with their experience and important role in purchasing, processing and marketing tea. Our limited textual evidence suggests that firemen who attended the stoves in these Dadaocheng firms had the most difficult working conditions and were thus paid a salary much higher than tea sorters. However, one might imagine their work to be far less tedious than sorting tea leaves or picking flowers out of baozhong tea leaves, which was the work reserved for women and girls.

Much future work on this topic needs to be done, and will likely depend on previously undiscovered company reports detailing labor procurement. The major significance of our current research has been summarizing the historical data currently available and attempting to use this data to estimate the evolution of the second-stage tea-processing labor pool in nineteenth-century Dadaocheng.

Appendices

Table 1 Annual Tea Exports, Northern Taiwan, 1865-1905 (in pounds)

Year	Total Tea Exports	Oolong Tea Exports	Baozhong Tea Exports
1865	181,815		
1866	180,824		
1867	270,123		
1868	528,210		
1869	729,234		
1870	1,405,333		
1871	1,982,411		
1872	2,601,801		
1873	2,081,324		
1874	3,281,346		
1875	5,543,140		
1876	7,854,027		
1877	9,230,755		
1878	10,701,524		
1879	11,337,427		
1880	12,063,450		
1881	12,859,467		50,540
1882	12,040,447		
1883	13,206,727		151,620
1884	13,156,581		
1885	16,364,000		
1886	16,171,600		767,410
1887	16,858,933		
1888	18,099,200		
1889	17,432,125		
1890	17,201,666		
1891	18,139,749		
1892	18,228,933		
1893	21,859,867	20,047,200	1,812,667
1894	20,589,599	18,299,333	2,290,266
1895	20,201,066	18,466,250	1,734,816
1896	21,231,301	19,286,281	1,945,020
1897	20,302,590	17,857,438	2,445,152
1898	20,126,816	17,422,631	2,704,185
1899	19,837,331	16,919,054	2,918,277
1900	19,416,138	16,112,641	3,303,497
1901	19,337,269	16,417,041	2,920,228
1902	21,267,090	18,599,532	2,667,558
1903	23,680,185	20,415,662	3,264,523
1904	21,984,369	18,656,161	3,328,208
1905	23,202,133	19,255,156	3,946,977

Sources: Annual Customs Reports, published by the Imperial Maritime Customs Statistical Department, and Annual Trade Reports compiled by British consular officials in Tamsui and published in the *British Parliamentary Papers*; figures in red were calculated from amounts given in *dan* or *jin*.

Table 2 Wages for Various Types of Tea Laborers in Dadaocheng

Laborer Type	Wages & Expenses 1896 ⁶⁷	Wages 1902	Wages 1902-3 ⁶⁸	Wages 1903	Wages 1902-3 ⁶⁹
Tea inspector 茶鑑定者	200-300 <i>yuan</i> 圓; 7-8 mo. each year; housing, meals & travel expenses paid by employer				
Oolong tea master 番莊茶 師 (烏龍茶鑑 定人)					500 <i>yuan</i> 圓 (top), 300 <i>yuan</i> (medium), 200 <i>yuan</i> (lower); 7-8 mo. each year
Baozhong tea master 舖家茶 師 (包種茶鑑 定人)					600 <i>yuan</i> 圓 (top), 400 <i>yuan</i> (medium), 300 <i>yuan</i> (lower); 7-8 mo. each year
Tea packer 製 茶勞動人	40-50 <i>yuan</i> 圓; 7- 8 mo. each year; housing, meals & travel expenses paid by employer		Regular wages 30 <i>yuan</i> 圓; top wages 70 <i>yuan</i> ; 7- 8 mo. each year		60 <i>yuan</i> 圓 (top), 40 <i>yuan</i> (medium), 30 <i>yuan</i> (lower), 7- 8 mo. each year
Tea chest carpenter 箱製 造人	1 <i>yuan</i> 圓 & 10 <i>qian</i> 錢 for building 100 chests; skilled carpenter can craft 40 chests per day; housing, meals & travel expenses paid by employer		Daily wage: 44 <i>qian</i> 錢 (building 40 chests)		
Tea chest liner artisan 鉛葉製 作人	6 <i>yuan</i> 圓 & 60 <i>qian</i> 錢 for making 20 liners; skilled artisan can make 20 liners each day; housing, meals & travel		Daily wage: 1 <i>yuan</i> 圓 & 32 <i>qian</i> 錢 (making 20 liners)		

⁶⁷ Hara Kishiki, "Cha," pp. 38-40.

⁶⁸ Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, "Cha sangyō," pp. 89, 97, 99, 105.

⁶⁹ Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai, Dai Nibu, "Chagyō rōdōsha jōkyō [Tea Industry Labor Conditions]," *Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsakai dai nibu, Chōsa keizai shiryō hōkoku* [Report of the Investigation of the Economy, Second Division of the Provisional Committee for the Investigation of Taiwan Old Customs] (Taihoku: Rinji Taiwan kyūkan chōsakai dai nibu, 1905), vol. 2, pp. 488-489. To reserve a tea-sorting woman's labor for the next year, it was customary for the firm to extend an advance of 20% of the next year's estimated wages to the woman.

	expenses paid by employer				
Tea chest label artisan 箱紙貼付人	1 <i>yuan</i> & 10 <i>qian</i> for labeling 100 chests; capable artisan can label 40 chests per day; housing, meals & travel expenses paid by employer				
Chest design artist 畫手	2 <i>yuan</i> for painting designs on 100 chests; skilled artists can paint 50 chests per day; housing, meals & travel expenses paid by employer				
Tea sorter (women and girls) 揀茶女工	Daily wage: 10 <i>qian</i> 錢; good leaves 1 <i>jin</i> 斤; poor leaves 3-4 <i>jin</i>	Piece work: 5 <i>qian</i> 錢 for sorting 7 <i>jin</i> ⁷⁰	Piece work: 4 <i>qian</i> 錢 for sorting 10 pounds; Daily wage: regular: 10 <i>qian</i> ; nimble hand: 25 <i>qian</i>	Daily wage: from 4-5 <i>qian</i> 錢 to 15-16 <i>qian</i> ⁷¹	Daily wage: 20 <i>qian</i> 錢 (top), 12 <i>qian</i> (medium), 8 <i>qian</i> (lower); normal wage 13-14 <i>qian</i> per day

⁷⁰ James Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present*, p. 385.

⁷¹ Magozō Sakura, "Xuan chafu [Tea-picking Women]," in Taiwan Yinhang Jingji Yanjiushi, ed., *Tai feng zaji* [Miscellany of Taiwan Customs] (Taipei: Taiwan Yinhang Jingji Yanjiushi, 1961, c1903), p. 19.

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動員男女來生產臺灣茶

費德廉、謝政軒

摘 要

本文引用歷年的海關報告、駐淡水港英國領事的貿易報告、早期日本殖民官員所進行的調查以及外國攝影師所照的圖像等資料來研究十九世紀大稻埕第二階段茶葉加工企業的茶館所僱用勞動力的演變。茶館總數、年度茶葉（烏龍茶和包種茶）出口統計以及茶館僱用員工人數都用來估計勞動力所需的演變。同時本文也探討茶葉工作的性別劃分，評估不同勞動任務的工作環境，並總結有關工資的歷史數據。

關鍵詞：十九世紀、茶業勞工、烏龍茶、包種茶、臺灣

戰後臺灣政治史研究回顧與展望 (2018-2019)*

林果顯**

摘要

本文以2018年與2019年臺灣學界有關戰後臺灣政治史的研究為中心，旁及日文的研究成果，就重要與熱門的研究取向，大要地整理回顧。同時參酌歷年回顧與展望的相關文章，簡要地呈現2007年以來戰後臺灣政治史的重要主題。2018年至2019年的戰後臺灣政治史研究，約可分「涉外議題中的臺灣人與東亞脈絡」、「白色恐怖、二二八與其他重大政治事件」、「內政治理與媒體宣傳」與「軍事議題」等四大類，受益於新史料的開發，特別是對美國等外國檔案的運用，許多舊課題得以展現內外交融的新特色。而十三年來此領域的熱門題目，仍以二二八事件與白色恐怖相關研究為首，統治體制與戰後初期政權轉換的斷裂與延續問題是另一大特色，臺灣地位亦始終為外交面向的關切焦點。

展望未來，「中華民國如何可能」與「臺灣如何可能」的提問，或許可增益思考。中華民國如何生存，內政層面特別是省政府層級的作為，國際層面如文化冷戰等領域，仍有待開拓。而在民間、反抗或受難等相對於統治者的概念之外，被大國地緣政治忽略的臺灣住民想法與特殊處境，還有待突顯。融合這兩者，例如臺灣關係法制訂過程中海外臺灣人社群的角色，執政後所謂臺灣人政權的發展，以及國民黨之外各政黨的史料蒐集與歷史撰述，都是戰後臺灣政治史亟待補白的空缺。當然，一部由臺灣學者書寫的戰後臺灣政治史通史，仍是未盡課題。

關鍵詞：政治史、戰後臺灣史、涉外議題、政治事件、冷戰史

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- 一、前言
 - 二、近兩年研究概況
 - 三、日本學界概況
 - 四、十三年來研究概況
 - 五、代小結：未來展望
-

一、前言

本文以 2018 年與 2019 年臺灣學界有關戰後臺灣政治史的研究為中心，旁及日文的研究成果，就重要與熱門的研究取向，大要地整理回顧。同時參酌歷年回顧與展望的相關文章，簡要地呈現 2007 年以來戰後臺灣政治史的重要主題。《臺灣史研究文獻類目 2018 年度》收有 968 筆書目，近代政治史 122 筆，其中戰後（1945 年以後）不含學位論文的期刊/專書論文 42 篇，專書 21 冊；《臺灣史研究文獻類目 2019 年度》收有 1,199 筆，近代政治史 153 筆，戰後的期刊/專書論文 52 篇，專書 19 冊。兩年研究成果的重要主題有「涉外議題中的臺灣人與東亞脈絡」、「白色恐怖、二二八與其他重大政治事件」、「內政治理與媒體宣傳」與「軍事議題」等研究。日本學界的研究成果主要參考日本《史學雜誌》2019 年與 2020 年的 5 月號，彙整前一年度日本史學研究回顧中的〈臺灣〉類別。

本文目的為歸納這兩年度學界的研究趨向，並略為呈現十三年來研究主題的變化，在行文上著重議題開發與史料運用，同時鑒於學力，無法將所有作品包納，謹此聲明。此外，本次《臺灣史研究文獻類目》暫無英文書目，這兩年所出版的系列論文集收錄過去多年的作品，而相關的學位論文改寫為專書出版或單篇文章投稿情形甚多，上述類別皆暫且割愛，不在本文討論範圍。

二、近兩年研究概況

（一）涉外議題中的臺灣人與東亞脈絡

日本學者川島真曾提出「中華民國外交史」與「臺灣外交史」的差異、範圍與起始時間問題，說明外交史研究中臺灣問題的複雜性。¹ 事實上，臺灣學者許雪姬、鍾淑敏、陳翠蓮與林正慧等人也都注意到「臺灣史」與「中華民國史」相異的觀點立場。² 這兩年在相關檔案開放與利用愈趨積極的情況下，有關涉外的研究在戰後臺灣史蔚然成章，其中，最具特色的是有別於官方外交作為的「外交史取徑」，而是從國際情勢夾縫中的「臺灣人」觀點，呈現戰後臺灣人特殊的性格。

其中，陳翠蓮有關臺灣再解放聯盟與美國的研究，便將傳統的「美/中關係」修正為「美/中/臺」關係，突顯臺灣人在冷戰結構下過去較少被注意到的聲音。陳氏指出，臺灣在二戰後的去殖民運動中，相當少見地既反共也反中，在關鍵時刻中臺灣人聲量微弱，在路線上則高度親美、「依賴的去殖民」。³ 以臺灣人為主角，放在冷戰格局中觀察外國與本國政府如何應對臺灣人自主聲音，反映了多元檔案研究下臺灣史課題的改寫可能。

何義麟一系列有關在日臺灣人的研究，也突顯「臺灣人」在政權夾縫中的處境與心境。⁴ 何氏整理了戰後初期一直至 1972 年中華民國與日本斷交近三十年期間，戰前與戰後赴日的臺灣人，在日本對待前殖民地人民政策、ROC (Republic of China) 與 PRC (People's Republic of China) 對華僑的爭取，以及臺灣人自身的政治認同等多方因素的交纏下，造成在日臺灣人在法律上的多重困境。⁵ 本課

¹ 川島真，〈戰後構想和冷戰時期的東亞國際秩序：分裂國家和熱戰的時代〉，「國際漢學碩博士專班課程：近代東亞文明新秩序」（臺北：國立政治大學文學院，2020年11月23日）。

² 許、鍾、陳文見本文第四節「十三年來研究概況」；林正慧，〈遷臺後民國史之定位與思考〉，收於吳淑鳳、薛月順、張世瑛執行編輯，〈近代國家的型塑：中華民國建國一百年國際學術討論會論文集〉（臺北：國史館，2013），下冊，頁1067-1128。

³ 陳翠蓮，〈冷戰與去殖民：美國政府對戰後初期臺灣獨立運動的試探與評估（1947-1950）〉，《臺灣史研究》（臺北）26: 3（2019年9月），頁91-138。

⁴ 例如：何義麟，〈戰後在日臺灣人的處境與認同〉（臺北：五南圖書出版股份有限公司，2015）；何義麟，〈跨越國境線：近代臺灣去殖民化之歷程〉（臺北：稻鄉出版社，2006）。

⁵ 本文原發表於2014年，2019年收入論文集，因具議題上的價值，故亦在此引介。何義麟，〈戰後在日臺灣人的國籍轉換與居留問題〉，收於許雪姬主編，〈來去臺灣〉（臺北：國立臺灣大學出版中心，2019），頁273-296。

題在臺日學界的隱蔽與出現，相當程度地映射出「臺灣」觀點在戰後臺灣政治史上的進展與可能性。

曾士榮關於戰爭協力 (wartime collaboration) 的研究回顧，具有將臺灣經驗放在東亞或世界史脈絡的企圖。曾氏從日治臺灣知識人 (陳旺成與吳新榮) 出發，察覺他們原先具有反殖民政府傾向，但在戰爭後卻逐步成為戰爭協力者，進而從二手研究探討「戰爭與認同」在東亞各地、各地之內的不同階層所呈現的不同情形。⁶ 上述三人的研究，對於戰後臺灣人的心境與處境，均提示了進一步再開展的空間。

回到政府作為，任天豪一系列關於中華民國對冷戰局勢理解 (perception) 的研究，細緻地從官方對不同事件的應對作為，說明中華民國政府如何觀看世界局勢、調整自我定位。在其關於琉球與釣魚台的專書中，強調此問題的東亞脈絡，亦即中國、日本、美國及琉球本身的歷史脈絡，這包含了中國傳統「中華世界」的秩序殘留，日本近代以來對琉球的介入，美國二戰後對琉球的實質支配，以及扶持日本進行反共封鎖的戰略需求，還有琉球對於自己歷史和前途的理解等等。這個案例，既反映了同屬冷戰民主陣營的中華民國和日本，並非全然能由歐美中心的「冷戰」結構理解，還有原先東亞脈絡的糾葛，而且也呈現中華民國政府從爭正統到求生存的感覺。⁷

在相關問題上，任天豪從奄美群島的例子出發，討論中華民國面對琉球問題的濫觴。簡單而言，由於中華民國對於琉球群島的範圍與定位，均選擇依循美國，因此即便中華民國政府曾意識到奄美群島不一定絕對屬於琉球，但並未積極作為。作者認為這不僅埋下日後的釣魚台領土爭議問題，也顯示中華民國在琉球問題上權力退讓的情形。⁸ 另一個案例則是從中華民國政府對在臺創價學會和公明黨的因應切入，認為從琉球而來的日本宗教團體，讓政府因將琉球理解為美國勢力延伸而對其有所忌憚，但創價學會和公明黨在日本提出「中日關係正常化」等主張後，中華民國政府在與 PRC 爭正統為核心價值、並考量日本理應為東亞冷戰盟友的情況下，以「左傾的組織」此種冷戰語彙遂行內戰目的，進行取締。此

⁶ 曾士榮，〈學界關於二次大戰期間東亞的「戰爭協力 (wartime collaboration)」的研究回顧與反思〉，《臺灣學研究》(新北) 23 (2019年2月)，頁31-55。

⁷ 任天豪，〈從正統到生存：東亞冷戰初期中華民國對琉球、釣魚台情勢的因應〉(臺北：國史館，2018)。

⁸ 任天豪，〈奄美「返還」的影響與冷戰初期的中華民國自我定位〉，《國史館館刊》(臺北) 56 (2018年6月)，頁97-123。

案例也為中華民國與日本關係投下陰影，中華民國「化內戰於冷戰」、「以反共包裝反共」並未被東亞盟友接受。⁹

在涉外議題中，有關臺灣地位、聯合國的中國代表權，以及美日中等大國如何應對臺灣問題，仍舊是討論重心。李福鐘利用美國國務院檔案，說明學界熱議已久的聯合國代表權問題，以 1966 年美國試圖「兩個中國」模式的案例，說明美國對中國代表權問題的突破性企圖，以及中華民國政府對此問題的「堅守立場」。李氏認為，蔣介石為首的中華民國政府，並未體察大多數國家不認同以犧牲中華民國為代價，讓 PRC 進入聯合國，以致喪失留在聯合國內的機會。¹⁰ 陳文賢則歷述 1950 年代至 1971 年聯合國討論中國代表權每個階段的關鍵問題與因素，認為回顧此段歷史，蔣介石與中國國民黨無法推卸責任，並提示外交主事人員應有的視野及責任、臺灣加入聯合國應有的國家思維及立場，以及化解美國政府對臺灣加入聯合國的阻力。¹¹

殷燕軍有關中（PRC）日媾和研究，整理二戰以來中國與日本「戰爭與和平」的談判與處理過程，其核心關懷在於中日和平狀態是否可能的問題，也涉及在臺灣的中華民國政府能否代表全中國的問題。殷氏認為，日本在二次大戰從未正式對中國宣戰，其行為等同國家刑事犯罪，戰後關於和平條約，也由其認為無權代表全中國的中華民國政府簽署。在 1972 年中日聯合聲明時，將和平條約擱置，至少兩國至今未針對二戰的戰爭狀態，有一明確的條約終止。此種戰爭未明確終止的狀態，對於雙方關於戰爭賠償、戰後責任歸屬，以及兩國國民情感，造成重大阻礙。¹² 王鍵關於 1945-1995 年美日臺關係的長時期研究，主要說明基於圍堵中國及臺灣戰略地位，冷戰時期美日對臺灣抱有戰略獨占傾向，冷戰後美日臺關係雖然略為鬆散，但既往的戰略規劃並無收斂，反而以隱性手段推行。王氏認為短期來看臺灣問題的主要矛盾在美國，但長期來看則是在日本，因此中（PRC）

⁹ 任天豪，〈由中華民國對在臺創價學會與公明黨的因應看中華民國的東亞冷戰局勢理解〉，《國立政治大學歷史學報》（臺北）49（2018年5月），頁135-167。

¹⁰ 李福鐘，〈1966年美國對臺政策的困局與抉擇〉，《國史館館刊》59（2019年3月），頁77-113。

¹¹ 陳文賢，〈被外交孤立的臺灣：聯合國「中國」代表權22年爭議始末〉（臺北：臺灣新世紀文教基金會，2019）。

¹² 殷燕軍，〈中日媾和研究：戰後中日關係的原點〉（香港：商務印書館，2019）。

美在太平洋上的戰略博奕，本質上應是一個磨合而非絕對衝突的過程。¹³

李戡利用《何世禮日記》等相關人士私人文書，以及英國、日本、美國與臺灣方面的政府檔案，更細緻地討論何世禮與中華民國駐日代表團在「中日和約」簽訂過程的角色。過去有關該條約的研究，臺灣學界偏重美國與中華民國政府高層的態度、蔣介石與外交部長葉公超的行動，西方學界著重美國國務卿杜勒斯（John Foster Dulles），李戡則指出何世禮在堅持「和平條約」一詞上的關鍵作用，也透露出駐日代表團與外交部及駐美大使館的步調不一，有助於解析中華民國政府在冷戰初期的對外關係上，複雜的部門運作實態。¹⁴

同樣關於日本議題有森巧的研究，他在過去日本與中華人民共和國關係的研究基礎上，將視野擺在中華民國政府 1950 年代前期的對日政策。他認為，1950 年代前期中華民國致力於日本的反共化，因此設法敦促日本加入東亞反共同盟，此時的對日關係是以協助反攻大陸的軍事利益為主要考量。相對的，日本則是著重兩個中國或臺灣問題，並採行政經分離政策，乃基於經濟層面，兩國對彼此關係的想像有所差距。¹⁵

沈昌煥作為戰後中華民國任期最長的外交部長，他在冷戰時期的外交作為，亦是了解中華民國外交空間何以變化的重要關鍵。《老成謀國》一書集結沈昌煥在各方面的外交作為，王文隆關於沈昌煥與中（ROC）法斷交的研究，清楚呈現沈氏在美國壓力下如何「堅守中華民國立場」，說明交涉與撤館的詳細過程。¹⁶ 任天豪有關沈氏與體育外交的論文，則主要針對各種重要國際賽事與單項體育協會的會籍資格，說明沈氏如何應對 PRC 體育外交的各種作為。¹⁷ 許峰源、楊善堯

¹³ 王鍵，《戰後美日臺關係關鍵50年1945-1995：一堆歷史的偶然，錯誤與大國的博弈造成臺灣目前的困境》（臺北：崧輝文化事業有限公司，2018）。

¹⁴ 李戡，〈何世禮與《中日和約》的簽訂：中華民國駐日代表團的角色〉，《國立政治大學歷史學報》49（2018年5月），頁93-134。

¹⁵ 森巧，〈1950年前期中華民國對日外交之研究：以遣送旅日華僑的華日交涉為例〉，收於李福鐘、薛化元、若林正文、川島真、洪郁如主編，《跨域青年學者臺灣與東亞近代史研究論集·第三輯》（臺北：國立政治大學臺灣史研究所，2019），頁151-187。

¹⁶ 王文隆，〈沈昌煥與中法斷交（1963-1964）〉，收於中國近代史學會編，《老成謀國：紀念沈昌煥先生逝世20周年研討會實錄》（臺北：秀威資訊科技股份有限公司，2019），頁193-207。

¹⁷ 任天豪，〈沈昌煥與中華民國的「體育外交」〉，收於中國近代史學會編，《老成謀國：紀念沈昌煥先生逝世20周年研討會實錄》，頁175-192。

與陳世局則分別闡述沈昌煥在新加坡、泰國和南越的外交工作。¹⁸

另一本關於臺韓關係的書籍，則針對雙邊各種外交作為進行討論。朴鍾喆與林志豪關於韓國與 PRC 建交情勢下，朝鮮（北韓）與臺灣互相接近的研究，是相當富有開拓性的外交課題。趙文志以結構現實主義分析中華民國與韓國關係，認為美國態度轉變與中華民國失去聯合國代表權導致國際結構改變，中華民國不再具備影響體系的能力，和韓國關係重新調整成為必然，而非韓國背棄傳統友誼。朴成林關於太平洋同盟與亞洲反共聯盟失敗的研究，也說明兩國之間存在著「悲劇性」的國際現實，亦即美國與日本的龐大影響力。河凡植則從建構主義觀點討論臺韓關係。¹⁹

林志龍有關 1950 年代前期中華民國「關閉」政策的研究，是側重英國在東亞勢力衰微的層面。²⁰ 黃惠瑄越南撤僑行動與僑民安置的研究，則將涉外事務延伸置內政領域。²¹

（二）白色恐怖、二二八與其他重大政治事件

在數個政府機構與學術單位的推動下，白色恐怖研究在兩年間累積了相當的成績。蘇瑞鏘回顧了至 2018 年為止此領域的研究情形，指出：相關研究主題漸趨多元，跨領域研究、以官方檔案作為核心史料及博碩士論文都有增加趨勢。在研究對象上側重著名案件與 1950 年代傾共案件，但較欠缺傾共案件人物的評價與其轉變分析。此外，在研究主題上也較少關懷中國時期威權黨國體制、時代變

¹⁸ 許峰源，〈沈昌煥穩固中泰邦誼的努力（1960-1975）〉、楊善堯，〈從沈昌煥與李光耀的互動看中華民國與新加坡的關係〉、陳世局，〈沈昌煥與南越中華理事會館產業之交涉（1960-1962）〉，收於中國近代史學會編，《老成謀國：紀念沈昌煥先生逝世20周年研討會實錄》，頁136-156、70-93、94-135。

¹⁹ 朴鍾喆、林志豪，〈韓中建交與韓臺斷交的複合關係研究：以北韓與臺灣對應策略為中心〉、趙文志，〈臺韓關係的歷史演變與未來展望：結構現實主義的觀點〉、朴成林，〈悲劇性國際現實圍繞的韓臺關係：以1940-50年代太平洋同盟與亞洲反共聯盟成立構想爭論為例〉、河凡植，〈臺韓關係的形成與特徵：以建構主義觀點探討〉，收於河凡植主編，《臺韓關係的發展：過去·現在以及未來》（臺北：翰蘆圖書出版有限公司，2018），頁51-94、9-34、95-110、35-49。

²⁰ 林志龍，〈英國對中華民國關閉領海政策（1949-1954）的因應〉，《成大歷史學報》（臺南）57（2019年12月），頁109-135。

²¹ 黃惠瑄，〈中華民國政府在越戰結束前的撤僑行動與僑民安置（1975年）〉，《檔案半年刊》（新北）18:1（2019年6月），頁36-45。

遷、地域網絡、非政治罪名的政治案件等主題，而二二八事件與白色恐怖的關聯性、集體性研究、政治犯家屬，以及史料的探討，仍有發展空間。²²

蘇文提到的趨勢在這兩年可看到部分端倪。陳進金研究「蘭陽工委會案」與「羅東紙廠案」，除了補充白色恐怖研究過去較少關注的宜蘭外，也提及檔案與口述資料的核心問題。陳氏發現，政治案件當事人的口述資料隨著訪談時間不同而有所差異，透過當事人的官方檔案與其他人的訊問筆錄及口述訪談，對比出檔案與口述的虛與實。²³ 此現象並非白色恐怖研究專屬的問題，但因涉及大規模的政府不當作為與當事者、家屬的艱辛生命歷程，如何更小心翼翼地呈現歷史研究的知與不知，是本文提示的重要工作。吳俊瑩有關蔡懋棠案的研究，除了也和上文一樣，呈現「核覆」制度提高刑度的權力在白色恐怖案件中的重要角色外，也是著手於「聲量」較少的案例，呈現當局在判刑時的各種考量。²⁴

李淑君則是在「白色恐怖受難史」定位為「男性的」，以及「受難家屬經驗史」定位為「女性的」此種二元觀點之外，關注女性政治犯為主體的研究面向。李氏從女性身體的各種「失調姿態」，論述瑣碎的、身體的、女性的、不登大雅之堂的語言，以其創傷、痛苦與身心苦難，形成女性政治受難者的集體恐慌與記憶，重新定義國家暴力的意義。²⁵

謝英從解析臺灣東部地區三所政治犯監獄的沿革與運作方式，討論政治犯的處境。包括臺灣省保安司令部新生訓導處、國防部泰源感訓監獄，以及國防部綠島感訓監獄（綠洲山莊），作者一一陳述其成立緣由，並從關押對象、感訓工作、組織編制和看守兵力，說明最後成立的綠島感訓監獄管理上嚴密許多，政治犯失去更多自由。²⁶

陳昱齊從高雄市警察局檔案，研究白色恐怖時期對政治犯及其家屬的監控機

²² 蘇瑞鏘，〈戰後臺灣白色恐怖研究的回顧與展望〉，《臺灣史研究》26:3（2019年9月），頁139-180。

²³ 陳進金，〈一九五〇年代白色恐怖在宜蘭：以「蘭陽工委會案」及「羅東紙廠案」為中心〉，《臺灣史研究》26:4（2019年12月），頁51-96。

²⁴ 吳俊瑩，〈白色恐怖下的蔡懋棠：以1971年政治犯名單外洩案為中心〉，《臺灣風物》（臺北）69:4（2019年12月），頁95-140。

²⁵ 李淑君，〈「例外狀態」下的「失調姿態」：白色恐怖監獄中的女性政治受難者的失調身體〉，《淡江中文學報》（新北）38（2018年6月），頁113-148。

²⁶ 謝英從，〈戰後臺灣東部地區政治犯監獄成立始末研究〉，《臺灣文獻》（南投）70:4（2019年12月），頁187-258。

制，描繪警備總部核定考管，交付地方政府警局，再由地方分局及派出所員警和「義工」（線民）執行各種監控，並向上呈報監控報告。該文也指出其他縣市的「基層政治檔案」有待蒐集外，往上省級與中央級的警政調查單位相關檔案，以及當時涉及監控的相關人士，相關的整理研究工作與轉型正義關係甚大。²⁷ 陳昱齊另一篇研究政治犯被沒收財產的論文，也具有轉型正義的意義，因為沒收政治犯的財產與政治犯本身的「罪行」並無關連。陳氏釐清政治犯財產遭沒收的法令、沒收財產的概況、處理流程及分配情形。此議題涉及遭沒收財產是否發還或另外補償，而財產調查、查封到執行都須要地方政府及警察局的協力，相關事務與檔案徵集也涉及轉型正義工作。²⁸ 林靜雯由口述訪談對象不願意到願意受訪，談論家屬的生命經驗與白色恐怖記憶，以及訪查者態度、檔案調閱和博物館工作等相關因素，如何促進更多人說出難以言說之事。²⁹ 以上兩人都涉及歷史研究與現實問題，而這也是此議題得以繼續獲得社會關注並深化的重要事項。

就數量而言，二二八事件研究本次成果較少，但也有集大成的研究成果。陳儀深將其近三十年來有關二二八事件各層面的研究集結成冊，從事件原因探討、性質定位、責任分析，最後到紀念二二八與海外臺獨運動的關係，也約略可見臺灣學界有關二二八事件研究的進展。³⁰ 吳俊瑩關於臺東二二八的研究，整理臺東局面穩定之因，說明縣長避免原住民與漢人合流，以及官民溝通順暢為重要原因。事後逮捕關押的情形，也較他地為輕。³¹ 李思儀集中解析雲嘉南地區跨鄉鎮武裝行動的特色，包括飛機場成為攻防所在，以及嘉義市成為談判路線與武裝行動的雙重中心。該文指出事件中展現的分工與應對受益於戰爭時期的動員經驗，但人們表現自主、挺身而出的公共義務，也讓臺灣人再次感受到集體意識。³²

²⁷ 陳昱齊，〈獄外之囚：白色恐怖時期對政治犯及其家屬的監控機制〉，《臺灣文獻》70:3（2019年9月），頁127-163。

²⁸ 陳昱齊，〈戰後臺灣白色恐怖時期政治犯被沒收財產初探〉，《臺灣風物》69:4（2019年12月），頁141-168。

²⁹ 林靜雯，〈「說」難以言說（Saying the unspeakable）的白色恐怖記憶〉，《臺灣口述歷史學會會刊》（臺北）9（2018年12月），頁259-288。

³⁰ 陳儀深，〈拼圖二二八〉（臺北：財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會，2019）。

³¹ 吳俊瑩，〈二二八事件在臺東〉，《臺灣文獻》69:4（2018年12月），頁65-132。

³² 李思儀，〈二二八事件期間雲嘉南地區跨鄉鎮的武裝行動〉，《國史館館刊》62（2019年12月），頁109-164。

其他政治案件研究，仍以陳儀深的著作為多。陳儀深的專書《認同的代價與力量》聚焦於蘇東啟案、彭明敏案、泰源監獄案，以及美麗島事件，探問為何在戒嚴體制下，仍有臺獨案件的發生？該書統整這四大案的特點，尋覓貫穿各案間的反抗精神、受難經驗，以及這些案件的臺獨主張對後來臺灣政治發展的影響。³³ 另外，陳儀深也從美麗島事件的檔案，發掘出重要的偵訊指示公文，重新陳述事件發展的過程與內外因素的影響。該文從調查局的公文發現，當局指示偵訊方向在於落實將人犯分成「共匪」和臺獨兩類，但後續世界各地的關切、美國國會與國際特赦組織的積極介入，影響當局將軍法審判對象縮小為 8 位，而這也影響了日後臺灣解嚴及相關民主運動。³⁴ 周美霞關於臺南美國新聞處爆炸案的討論，將因此受牽連的政治受難者、時任臺北美國新聞處處長唐能理（Neal Donnelly）和警方等三方面的說法相互對照，拼湊此一事件的初步梗概。³⁵

與白色恐怖相關的主題為轉型（期）正義。周婉窈為少年國民寫了一本未帶註釋、但史料詳實的書籍。該書從最基本的轉型正義定義出發，以淺白的文字介紹白色恐怖受難者概況、相關重要法令、審判程序、重要案例、戒嚴下的日常，並說明解嚴前後的自由化與民主化運動、轉型正義的落實，思考該如何面對與處置加害者與共犯集團的問題。³⁶ 該書的出版單位國家人權博物館，希冀讓一般大眾更加了解相關議題，因而包括在解嚴三十的系列演講論文集和資助《泰源風雲》重新出版，皆可見其成績。³⁷ 另外，薛化元從轉型正義的角度重新審視雷震案，除了以雷震日記和相關檔案解析執政當局對雷震及《自由中國》不當的人權侵害，亦由雷震案處置的適法性進行檢討，並探究主要決策者的角色和責任。³⁸

高誠晚關於濟州 4·3 事件與二二八事件的比較，雖然涉及外國，但其關注臺灣在「負的遺產」及轉型正義議題的處理，放在此一類別的最後，亦有意義。

³³ 陳儀深，《認同的代價與力量：戒嚴時期臺獨四大案件探微》（臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，2019）。

³⁴ 陳儀深，〈1979年高雄事件透露民主曙光：從相關檔案解讀當局心態、海外救援與後續影響〉，《高雄文獻》（高雄）9: 2（2019年12月），頁7-31。

³⁵ 周美霞，〈臺南美國新聞處爆炸案之探討〉，《臺灣史料研究》（臺北）53（2019年6月），頁70-90。

³⁶ 周婉窈，《轉型正義之路：島嶼的過去與未來》（新北：國家人權博物館，2019）。

³⁷ 戴寶村主編，《解嚴30·人權落實》（新北：國家人權博物館，2018）；高金郎，《泰源風雲：政治犯監獄革命事件（新版）》（臺北：前衛出版社，2019）。

³⁸ 薛化元，《雷震與1950年代臺灣政治發展：轉型正義的視角》（臺北：國立中正紀念堂管理處，2019）。

高氏認為，韓國對於濟州 4·3 事件的轉型正義程序，重點並不在嚴密詳細地檢視國家暴力的實際情形，而是著眼於是否參與反社會的政治體，或是否積極對抗政府的討伐政策、是否損害國家認同，亦即透過檢視思想的純潔性，進行「犧牲者化」的認定工作。反觀臺灣將「受難者」擴及外國籍，作者認為這顯示轉型正義的工作已經超越了國家的制約，是東亞追求跨國與跨地域歷史清算的典範。³⁹

（三）內政治理與媒體宣傳

內政方面這兩年的研究並未明顯集中在特定主題，約可略見國民黨基層工作、菁英的發聲、整體政治發展的再評價，以及傳媒研究。國民黨來臺後如何厚植基層實力，拉近與臺灣民眾的距離，作為隱藏性區黨部的民眾服務站向來是受到關注的對象。林江臺系統性地整理中國國民黨民眾服務站的各項工作內容，並梳理國民黨內部相關法規，呈現國民黨統合服務工作單位（尚有地方政府的社會服務處與警察機關所設的警民服務處）、同時獨占服務事業（1954 年修正「社會服務設施綱要」，同一地區社會服務設施，以設立 1 個為限）的過程。本文對於民眾服務站的重要面向，例如社會調查、介入選舉以及與政府機關職權衝突的部分雖有提及，然可能受限於史料，較少深入發揮，或有待進一步梳理。⁴⁰

李泰翰從救國團成立前的暑期青年軍中服務運動，呈現 1950 年代初期當局對青年學生的組織動員情形。該文除指出由青聯會及軍人之友社主辦的青年運動，與後來的救國團有所承續關係外，也說明大學與軍中的合作，以及總政治部的角色吃重，奠定後來救國團的基礎。⁴¹

陳儀深選擇四位「外省」菁英，對其臺獨主張的形成過程進行類型分析，目的在豐富臺獨主張的形成脈絡。作者認為雷震與殷海光之所以從反共擁蔣與中華民族主義，轉向主張在臺灣成立新的國號與國家（殷的統獨表態較不清楚，但在相識者的談訪中略為揭露），實與兩位的自由主義內在理路（個人自由優先於國

³⁹ 高誠晚著、傅玉香譯，〈韓國與臺灣轉型正義之比較：以濟州4·3事件的問題點為中心〉，《文史臺灣學報》12（2018年9月），頁7-40。

⁴⁰ 林江臺，〈中國國民黨對基層社會的滲透與監控：以1950年代民眾服務站為中心〉，《臺灣史料研究》52（2018年12月），頁52-81。

⁴¹ 李泰翰，〈中國青年反共救國團成立前的暑期青年軍中服務運動〉，《臺灣學研究》23（2019年2月），頁1-29。

家自由，民主與反民主）相關。外交官楊西崑在 1971 年中國代表權問題上對美國提出「中華臺灣共和國」與公民投票決定臺灣未來地位等主張，則顯現為了政府存續所做的理性決擇。而張忠棟從「生為中國人、死為中國鬼」的外省人，成為加入載有「臺獨黨綱」的民進黨人與臺獨色彩鮮明的臺灣教授協會，作者認為此種轉變是「與時俱進」，也認同其後來對臺獨運動的支持是自由主義式國家認同的「調整」而非徹底轉變。⁴²

相對於上文，蘇瑞鏘則觀察中國民主黨組黨運動中臺籍民選反對菁英的角色，探索日治時期以來民主經驗的「縱向繼承」，補充過去較常談論的中國自由主義「橫向移植」。蘇氏指出該組黨運動與 1957 年的地方選舉有密切關係，不應如過去只集中討論 1960 年 4 月至 9 月。而該組黨運動上承日治政治結社傳統，下啟黨外階段的民主運動，並非孤立的民主運動，為此歷史事件重新評價。⁴³

薛化元關於戒嚴的討論也帶有翻案或再考察的意味。薛氏整理施行於臺灣的數個戒嚴令，確認了 1949 年 5 月 20 日陳誠發布的臨時戒嚴令沒有上級機關核准的證據，同時該戒嚴令的內容關於死刑的內容於法無據，處於違法狀態。而 1949 年 12 月 28 日由代行總統職權的閻錫山頒布的全國戒嚴，將臺灣劃為接戰地域，則其程序合法，但在正當性上，1950 年 6 月美國宣布臺灣海峽中立化，1954 年又簽署「中美共同防禦條約」後，基本上臺灣、澎湖與金馬不同，長期未發生戰事。因此，本文指出臺灣長期戒嚴是政治強人濫用行政裁量的結果。⁴⁴ 薛化元另一篇關於 1950 年代與 1960 年代臺灣政治發展的比較研究，也試圖修正過去認為 1950 年代是國民黨當局壓制性格最強的年代、1960 年代則是威權統治鬆動的圖像。薛氏指出，從 1950 年代走向 1960 年代，不僅不可能組反對黨，也無法在原有憲法規範下完成統治者更迭，反而出現總統進一步擴權、軍人在政治領域發言地位提高與在野力量衰退，在政治發展上其實更為緊縮。⁴⁵

⁴² 陳儀深，〈戰後臺灣「外省」菁英的臺獨主張：從雷震到張忠棟的類型分析〉，《文史臺灣學報》（臺北）12（2018年9月），頁81-104。

⁴³ 蘇瑞鏘，〈1950、60年代臺灣在野菁英對地方選舉弊端的批評與因應〉，《文史臺灣學報》13（2019年10月），頁89-117。

⁴⁴ 薛化元，〈戰後臺灣長期戒嚴合法性與正當性的再考察〉，《臺灣風物》69:3（2019年9月），頁97-124。

⁴⁵ 薛化元，〈戰後臺灣政治發展的再評價：1950年代與1960年代的比較〉，《臺灣風物》68:4（2018年12月），頁167-203。

在憲政體制上，有王郁中對李登輝時代修憲的研究。該文著重中央政府層級的行政與立法關係，包括取消部分行政院長副署權，以及取消立法院對行政院長的同意權等，說明歷次修憲的現實政治考量，以及對日後的憲政影響。⁴⁶

李廣均關於桃園縣列管眷村與外省籍人口的研究，試圖打破「竹籬笆」的隔離模式，亦即竹籬笆內的眷村凝聚團結，對外阻礙了省籍之間的互動與了解。他指出桃園縣的外省籍人口集中於八德、龍潭與中壢，但這裡的列管眷村戶數卻難以容納如此多人口，反而聚集於列管眷村或軍隊營區附近的自力眷村，才是外省籍人口所在之處。這說明所謂眷村文化並不一定會因為列管眷村拆除消失，也可對外省籍族群有更立體、充滿不同社會差異的理解。⁴⁷

有關原住民法律的議題，雖也可歸類於原住民研究，但涉及現行法秩序的根本原理，因而在此介紹。吳豪人有關原住民族土地使用與主流社會私有財產制的討論，從最基本的法律秩序出發，試圖翻轉市民法理論的核心。吳氏認為，個人權利為主題的三大重點：契約自由、意思自由、所有權絕對，最後一項已被資本主義侵奪，真正保護的法益在於財產，而非人權。吳氏由此出發，認為解決臺灣原住民族的轉型正義問題，或可從原住民傳統規範借鑒。⁴⁸

與原住民相關的研究尚有語言問題。陳南君從 1949 年「山地教育方針」、「1951 年山地施政要點」、「臺灣省各縣山地推行國語辦法」到 1950 年代末「臺灣省加強山地教育實施辦法」，透過山地鄉國語推行員小組與《山光周刊》，說明在原住民區域所推行的國語運動，較一般平地地區更加嚴峻。⁴⁹ 總統府原住民族歷史正義與轉型正義委員會語言小組也針對各種國語運動的法令作一初步整理。⁵⁰ 同樣關於語言，卻是針對臺語的研究則是吉田真悟的文章。他從日治與戰後兩種

⁴⁶ 王郁中，〈再造民主：論李登輝時代修憲的原因（1988-1997）〉，《中正歷史學刊》（嘉義）22（2019年12月），頁167-204。

⁴⁷ 李廣均，〈初探桃園縣的列管眷村與外省籍人口（1950-1990）〉，《桃園文獻》（桃園）6（2018年9月），頁71-99。

⁴⁸ 吳豪人，《「野蠻」的復權：臺灣原住民族的轉型正義與現代法秩序的自我救贖》（臺北：春山出版有限公司，2019）。

⁴⁹ 陳南君，〈進入山地，請說國語：概述1950年代臺灣原住民族國語政策〉，《原住民族文獻》（新北）36（2018年10月），頁2-12。

⁵⁰ 總統府原住民族歷史正義與轉型正義委員會語言小組，〈從政府公文書初探「推行國語運動」對原住民族語言使用限制的歷史脈絡〉，《原住民族文獻》36（2018年10月），頁13-30。

國語推行和臺語出發，認為政府的強制性作為不一定是語言慣用的絕對因素，民主化後臺語的振興過程，或許可對文化霸權理論做出修正或發展的貢獻。⁵¹此外，國立臺灣師範大學原住民族發展中心等單位，在原住民基本法實施十週年時召開研討會，針對原住民族主體建構，從法律、運動、部落經驗、知識建構等方向，思考自主型自治的可能，並將討論成果集結成冊，亦可見原住民議題在學術與實務、部落發展與政治資源等層面上，已展現階段性回顧的成果。⁵²

關於媒體與宣傳領域有數篇研究成果。楊秀菁整理中央廣播電臺（中央臺）的歷史發展，交接清冊與內部刊物《中央臺通訊》，以過去較少談論的1980年到1997年為時段，說明在臺灣內外情勢劇烈變動下，對大陸廣播的發展與轉變。作者將1980年後分成「用流行音樂『反攻大陸』」、「中國天空的競爭」與「從敵對到和談」三個階段，揭露了對大陸廣播從肅殺的政令轉向軟性內容的趨勢，也呈現中廣關注中國大陸市場後與央廣之間的競爭過程，同時，因應動員戡亂時期的終止，央廣節目內容也因兩岸局勢和緩而隨之調整。⁵³周馥儀有關民營廣播電臺的研究，則指出在1950年代抑制「匪波」的需求下，使民營電臺有開設可能，但其成立者主要為外省籍，並且與黨國高層有交情、出身特務體系，或為民意代表，與當局關係密切。⁵⁴林佳樺概地描述1950年代國民黨的宣傳體系、宣傳策略以及成效評估，指出國民黨利用各種媒介將政令設法下達基層，並以淺顯易懂及娛樂方式，讓所謂一般人民了解。⁵⁵

陳佳宏對臺灣主流平面媒體關於「美麗島林宅血案」的報導分析，則在成果

⁵¹ 吉田真悟，〈臺灣的語言政策與hegemony（文化霸權）：以兩個國語和臺灣為中心〉，收於李福鐘、薛化元、若林正文、川島真、洪郁如主編，《跨域青年學者臺灣與東亞近代史研究論集·第三輯》，頁79-107。

⁵² 施正鋒、邱凱莉主編，《原運三十年：回顧與前瞻》（花蓮：臺灣原住民族研究學會，2018）。如文章之初所示，本文回顧的範圍係依循《文獻類目》，但對於政治史的範疇為何，以及可能與其他類別重疊的問題，仍有待討論。例如，外省人人口研究，以及原住民族法律、土地與語言問題，確實皆可放在其他類別，但涉及空間資源分配，以及原住民族與國家政權之間的互動關係，仍有政治史意義，因此按《文獻類目》收錄慣例，一併回顧。

⁵³ 楊秀菁，〈政治變革下臺灣對中國大陸廣播的發展、競爭與挑戰（1980-1997）〉，《臺灣風物》68: 2（2018年6月），頁105-160。

⁵⁴ 周馥儀，〈戒嚴時期臺灣民營廣播成立背後的黨國之手〉，《臺灣史料研究》51（2018年6月），頁2-24。

⁵⁵ 林佳樺，〈1950年代國民黨對民眾宣傳臺灣為「復興基地」形象之成效初探〉，《史匯》（桃園）21（2018年11月），頁35-61。

已豐的美麗島事件研究中另闢蹊徑。該文指出一開始輿論將凶手塑造為黨外連結海外臺獨、勾結共匪的理想三合一敵人，但血案被害人在人倫、世代、性別、權力的「弱者」形象，引發社會上的溫情氛圍，緩和了美麗島事件以來輿論對相關人士的攻擊，也使被告們在相對溫和的輿論情勢下，走向大審。⁵⁶

陳明成以《台灣新生報》的圖文報導呈現末代「國民參政員」選舉的過程，利用競選廣告與投票相片說明當時的選舉氣氛，也從過程中各種離奇事情彰顯戰後初期臺灣的選舉，已有黨國力量的高度介入。⁵⁷ 陳明成另一篇以《和平日報》為對象的論文，挖掘出過去較少被提及的「假候選人」事件，亦即楊克煌與謝雪紅在國民參政員及制憲國民大會代表的選舉中，藉由《和平日報》報導戲謔或假消息，以表達對當局控制選舉的抗議。⁵⁸

其他內政相關研究，王泰升對於清代以來的調解制度在現代司法中的存在，指出並非單純的轉譯，而是在不同時代、國家政權不同的考量下而出現的產物。而戰後的調停係源自中國法院內的調解程序，出自對民事紛爭解決的傳統文化觀，以及威權國家在政策上不願投資於司法建設所致。⁵⁹

林慶弧以《山范交接檔案》，亦即臺灣總督府圖書館館長山中樵與省立圖書館第一任館長范壽康的交接清冊等資料，講述戰後初期該館接收與營運情形，呈現配合當時政策下的各種作為。⁶⁰

（四）軍事議題

軍事議題在新觀點和新史料的運用下，收穫頗豐。許進發回顧了臺灣有關八二三砲戰的研究概況，區分為戰史研究與島嶼作戰參考兩大部分。前者項下再分

⁵⁶ 陳佳宏，〈「美麗島林宅血案」輿論情勢之分析：以國內主流平面媒體為中心〉，《師大臺灣史學報》（臺北）11（2018年12月），頁99-144。

⁵⁷ 陳明成，〈末代「國民參政員」選舉（1946.08.16）在臺灣：以《臺灣新生報》的圖文報導為主〉，《臺灣史料研究》52（2018年12月），頁23-51。

⁵⁸ 陳明成，〈《和平日報》的再挖掘與再評價：兼及該報策劃謝雪紅成為民代「候選人」乙事〉，《臺灣史料研究》54（2019年12月），頁2-35。

⁵⁹ 王泰升，〈再訪臺灣的調解制度：對傳統的現代化轉譯〉，《臺灣史研究》25:1（2018年3月），頁101-136。

⁶⁰ 林慶弧，〈戰後初期臺灣省立圖書館的接收與營運：以《山范交接檔案》為例之觀察（1945-1947）〉，《臺灣古文書學會會刊》（南投）23/24（2019年4月），頁69-106。

為人物、整體戰役、陸戰、海戰、空戰、運補作戰、美軍行動、戰後防務與科技，後者則有整體戰役、海戰、空戰與運補作戰四方面。作者認為，研究主題集中於空戰、海戰與運補作戰，對於最重要的砲戰本身則較少研究，而美軍協防僅見第七艦隊的護航行動，未見航空母艦特遣部隊以及美國空軍等在金門以外的整體性軍事部署。而在島嶼作戰參考方面，金門的反砲戰應可為重要軍事案例，但未有專門研究。在資料方面，國防部先制攻擊的「沖天計畫」，以及外島防衛的「太白計畫」中有關美軍接管臺灣空防任務的資料，仍有待詳盡資料開放。作者在最後指出可利用臺灣、中國與美國三方面檔案互相比對，發展出更多新題目。⁶¹ 另一個類似的主题是羅志平有關金門戰地歷史研究的回顧，他除了梳理各大戰役的研究成果，也針對檔案文獻保存、戰役紀念物、影視史學與口述歷史加以檢視。不論哪一類作品，羅氏強調金門在地的觀點，同時也認為利用美國檔案及不同學科的視角，將可使金門史提升至更高層次。⁶²

利用美國檔案的想法，可在杜正宇的研究中略見實現。杜正宇利用美國國家檔案館所藏軍事部門檔案與美國軍方出版品（陸軍軍事史中心、海軍陸戰隊司令部作戰署史政處），探問為何美軍在二戰期間未佔領臺灣的原因。該文詳盡探討美軍原本規劃的登陸臺灣軍事計畫（鋪道行動，Operation Causeway），包括計畫的形塑過程與軍事行動規劃內容，以及最後決定放棄攻臺的決策過程，並反駁諸多解釋計畫中止的既有說法。最後，即便攻臺未曾實施，但為了掩護攻佔呂宋，臺灣於 1944 年 10 月起遭受大規模空襲，躲空襲成為二戰期間臺灣人的集體記憶。⁶³ 無獨有偶，王景弘亦同樣利用美國檔案討論攻臺計畫的決策過程與內容，包括在臺成立軍政府的相關規劃，同時詳盡地重建對臺大轟炸的過程。⁶⁴

沈昱廷呈現戰後初期在臺灣的日本軍隊之角色，亦即從第十方面軍改組而來的「臺灣地區日本官兵善後聯絡部」，說明其轉變過程、善後任務，以及對臺灣社會的影響。沈氏指出該聯絡部延續了戰時指揮體系，穩定軍情，聯絡部部長安藤利

⁶¹ 許進發，〈一九五八年臺灣海峽戰役之研究回顧與展望：以軍事作戰為中心〉，《臺灣史料研究》52（2018年12月），頁82-104。

⁶² 羅志平，〈金門戰地歷史研究的回顧與省思〉，《止善》（臺中）27（2019年12月），頁87-115。

⁶³ 杜正宇，〈太平洋戰爭下美軍攻臺之計畫與轉折〉，《國史館館刊》55（2018年3月），頁51-82。

⁶⁴ 王景弘，《臺灣走過烽火邊緣：1941-1945》（臺北：玉山社出版事業股份有限公司，2018）。

吉反對部分臺灣仕紳與日本軍人推動的獨立運動，維持戰後臺灣安定的局面。⁶⁵ 楊護源則著重在臺日軍的管理與遣返，在基隆與高雄成立運輸司令部與戰俘管理處，高雄則設立第二戰俘管理所，負責集中遣送前的管理。楊氏認為，此工作雖為中美合作進行，但相較於中方，美方對日本抱持善意，成為在留日本人的庇護者。⁶⁶ 此文可說是沈昱廷論文的後續發展。

葉惠芬尋找陳誠在反攻大陸計畫中的身影，為他的所為及限制提出整體性的評價。葉氏指出陳誠協助制定諸多計畫，召開陽明山會談，並主持反攻督導會議，協助擬定反攻作戰準備重要事項。因體認反攻實力不足，而與蔣介石發生「草山爭論」，即便如此，仍勉力籌措財源，赴美溝通，組成備戰小組，向立法院提出國防特別捐案，但也引來美方關切，阻延了反攻時程。⁶⁷ 李展平有關八二三戰役臺籍征屬的文章，則揭露公部門對於同一場戰役的犧牲者照顧，存在著不合理也不平等的制度。⁶⁸ 金智對於 1958 年至 1978 年中華民國海軍的發展，臚列組織、裝備、教育訓練等各項工作，並指出此時期的成果與缺失。⁶⁹

相對於上述偏屬高層的軍事議題，也有研究從都市空間和日常生活切入，呈現戰後特殊的軍事影響。陳啟仁從西子灣隧道及其北側的防空設施，說明貫穿太平洋戰後與冷戰時期的不同戰爭需求，對於西子灣地區的影響，同時擴及西子灣浴場、壽山公園與附近市街興衰，重構都市空間的歷史拼圖。⁷⁰ 管仁健有關戒嚴時期軍人「限婚令」的討論，整理戰後歷次有關軍人婚姻限制的法令與應對情形，同時也指出解嚴後部分人士利用未報准而主張婚姻無效，致使此一戒嚴時期的產物影響至解嚴後。⁷¹

⁶⁵ 沈昱廷，〈戰後初期臺灣地區日本官兵善後聯絡部之成立、運作與社會影響〉，《逢甲人文社會學報》（臺中）36（2018年6月），頁133-157。

⁶⁶ 楊護源，〈戰後在臺日軍的管理與遣返：兼論高雄運輸司令部與第二戰俘管理所〉，《高雄文獻》（高雄）9: 1（2019年6月），頁55-72。

⁶⁷ 葉惠芬，〈陳誠對反攻大陸計畫的參與及影響〉，《國史館館刊》59（2019年3月），頁27-76。

⁶⁸ 李展平，〈誰聞暗夜哭聲？：八二三戰役臺籍征屬血淚〉，《臺灣史料研究》51（2018年6月），頁59-86。

⁶⁹ 金智，〈在臺整軍備戰時期中華民國海軍的建軍發展（1958.8-1978.12）〉，《軍事史評論》（臺北）25（2018年6月），頁105-160。

⁷⁰ 陳啟仁，〈西子灣隧道及防空設施之歷史沿革初探〉，《高雄文獻》8: 2（2018年8月），頁46-73。

⁷¹ 管仁健，〈戒嚴時代的軍人「限婚令」初探〉，《文史臺灣學報》12（2018年9月），頁131-165。

三、日本學界概況

日本《史學雜誌》每年5月號對日本歷史學界過去一年的成果分門別類介紹，以下將〈臺灣〉類簡單翻譯，並補充其他未收錄其中的作品。2018年〈臺灣〉項下的研究包含9本專書，99篇論文，史料集13冊，史料介紹10篇文章。相較2019年，此年戰後臺灣政治史的部分較無鮮明的特色。中村元哉藉由自由主義的系譜，將民國政治史與臺灣政治思想史加以聯繫，在日本學界為跨領域（民國史、臺灣史）的嘗試。⁷² 川島真則討論文化大革命後中華民國政府與蘇聯接近的事例，在重視「反攻大陸」的冷戰思維下，看似在外交上有承認社會主義的空間，但臺灣此時發生民主臺灣聯盟案，卻也顯示內部仍阻絕左派思想。⁷³ 另外，戰後初期臺灣史則有兩篇，分別是駒込武從林獻堂日記討論他在1945年的動向，以及余姿慧討論二二八事件前《民報》與《台灣新生報》的對日觀。⁷⁴

2019年〈臺灣〉項下的研究共15本專書，162篇論文，資料集9冊，研究時段側重日治期時期，並且從長期視野重新檢視既有課題。戰後的研究雖然數目較少，卻被列為2019年日本臺灣研究的重要特色，因為有數本質量厚重的專書從國際關係的視角分析臺灣在二戰後的景況。清水麗詳述中華民國政府「維持現狀」的具體意義，以及中華民國政府不同時期選擇可能性的轉變，為2009年川島真等合著《日台關係史：1945-2008》（該書於2020年新出增補版）以來，具有通史性質的臺灣外交史最新著作。⁷⁵ 許珩則是聚焦於經濟合作的層面，特別注重斷交前後日華兩國關係以及臺灣國際空間爭取的過程。⁷⁶ 深串徹討論中華民國政府如何因應兩國關係，處理日華與日臺的歷史問題。⁷⁷ 鶴園裕基則以盟軍占領初期

⁷² 中村元哉，《中国、香港、台湾におけるリベラリズムの系譜》（東京：有志舎，2018）。

⁷³ 川島真，〈中華民国（台湾）からみた文化大革命：ピクター・ルイスと華ソ接近問題を例として〉，《中国21》（名古屋）48（2018年3月），頁75-94。

⁷⁴ 駒込武，〈林獻堂日記にみる台湾脱植民地化の隘路：あるいは、可能性としての「分散の法」〉，《同志社コリア研究叢書》（京都）3（2017年3月），頁11-51；余姿慧，〈戰後初期台湾における皇民化教育の克服：新聞紙面の対日観に見る脱植民地化への志向〉，《教育史フォーラム》（京都）13（2018年6月），頁13-34。

⁷⁵ 清水麗，《台湾外交の形成：日華断交と中華民国からの転換》（名古屋：名古屋大学出版会，2019）。

⁷⁶ 許珩，《戰後日華經濟外交史：1950-1978》（東京：東京大学出版会，2019）。

⁷⁷ 深串徹，《戰後台湾における対日關係の公的記憶：1945-1970s》（東京：國際書院，2019）。

的在日中國人、在日臺灣人處境為例，描繪「華僑臨時登記」對象的界線，以及（非）登錄者在法律上的地位等問題。⁷⁸ 這些著作皆利用近年來新開放、特別是大量的臺、日雙方史料，並且探問「脫殖民地、脫帝國」的各種問題，以及「日臺、日華二重結構」的國際秩序重組面向，可說重視國際、外交為本年的重要特色。

日本這兩年出現了長期臺灣（史）研究的回顧文章，所提的問題和視角關係到戰後政治史，在此也一併介紹。日本最大的臺灣研究團體「日本臺灣學會」，在2018年召開設立二十週年的紀念研討會，主題之一為「『新世代』的臺灣研究」，分別從歷史學、人類學、文學與政治研究，回顧近十年（2008-2018）日本的臺灣研究，算是接續2008年該學會創立十週年時的「回顧與展望」。在菅野敦志執筆有關十年間日本的臺灣史研究回顧中，他特別反省與強調日本人的臺灣史研究所持有的視野。他指出，許多日本的臺灣研究著眼於「近代日本統治對臺灣近代化/發展帶來什麼影響」，高度關切日本的扮演的角色，但他認為今後的研究應該增加類似臺灣對戰後日本重建的各種影響。同時，他也指出日本研究者應避免將「臺灣圖像固定化」，應該不斷質問類似「親日的臺灣人」這樣的慣常說法。他以若林正文「(TAIWAN) 中華民國的臺灣化」、福田圓「(PRC) 一個中國原則的起源」、佐橋亮「(USA) 兩個中國政策的摸索」及家永真幸「(CHINA & TAIWAN) 的國寶」四本著作，說明這十年來日本關於戰後臺灣政治史的研究中，關照冷戰、民主化與本土化的特性。菅野氏認為，今後臺灣史研究將受到三個I的影響：臺灣人的認同（Identity）、兩岸關係的相互依存（Interdependence），以及民族統一主義（Irredentism）。⁷⁹

菅野氏所提的這四本著作有強烈的國際關係面向，而其中家永真幸的研究展現了跨學科、跨時代與跨域精神，藉由貓熊與故宮文物，梳理清末中國以來「國寶」概念的傳入與轉化，同時伴隨著近代中國國家概念的成立，觀察「國寶」如何在1949年之前與之後成為PRC與ROC的競爭場域。⁸⁰ 筆者於2017年在東京

⁷⁸ 鶴園裕基，〈送還、登録、法的地位：占領期在日中国・台湾人に対する移動管理の始動（1945-1947）〉，《現代台湾研究》（大阪）49（2019年7月），頁38-62。

⁷⁹ 菅野敦志，〈日本における台湾史研究、この10年から考える〉，《日本台湾学会報》（東京）21（2019年7月），頁1-18。

⁸⁰ 家永真幸，〈国宝の政治史：「中国」の故宮とパンダ〉（東京：東京大学出版会，2017）。

適逢該書的「書評會」，與會者從人類學、政治學、外交史等角度熱烈提問，或許也提示了之後日本有關戰後臺灣政治研究的多元與跨域傾向。

春山明哲針對百年來日本的臺灣史學研究，提出「什麼是臺灣史研究？臺灣史應該由誰書寫？怎麼書寫？」的核心問題。春山氏將焦點放置於戰前的日本帝國與戰後日本，以及以日文書寫的研究成果，區分為 1895 年至 1945 年的帝國統治臺灣時期、1945 年前後戰前遺產與戰後的斷裂與延續、1945 年至 1970 年代臺灣留學生的貢獻、1973 年至 1987 年臺灣近現代史研究會的再啟動、1990 年代至今日本臺灣學會創立後的蓬勃發展。春山氏認為伊能嘉矩作為日本臺灣研究的開拓者，將臺灣放在世界中加以定位，在寫史之外其動員的學問與企圖其實更加廣泛。而由後藤新平所推動的舊慣調查為首產出的一系列成果，如岡松參太郎的《臺灣私法》、竹越與三郎的《臺灣統治志》等，呈現知識與權力的緊密關係（學知），矢內原忠雄《帝國主義下的臺灣》則將世界思想與國際政治的觀點帶入觀察臺灣社會，這些未必是以「史學」為出發點的著作，但都豐富了臺灣史的視角。而因日本戰敗而停滯的臺灣研究，在 1970 年代前半出現了一批臺灣留學生多彩的研究成果，包含黃昭堂、戴天昭、許世楷、江丙坤、涂照彥、劉進慶，以及在此前後的王育德與戴國輝，使得日本學界正視臺灣研究的空缺。春山氏也指出，這些留學生的臺灣研究帶有探討「臺灣人是什麼？」、「我是誰？」的核心關懷。⁸¹

如果稍微跳過複雜細瑣的發展，春山氏在此文文末檢討了各家關於「什麼是臺灣史」的主張，包括吳密察、若林正文、岡本真希子、Benedic Anderson、吳叡人、曹永和與陳延媛的想法，這也顯示近年來關於臺灣史研究的範圍、性質與可能性，仍然受到高度的關注。若林正文在 2020 年春天，集合橫跨各年齡層的臺灣史研究者所編著的《臺灣研究入門》，特別引用此文章，並將臺灣研究加以定位，認為日本學界應該從帝國的學知，轉變為互相理解的學知，而對於臺灣，則認為「主體性建構的學知」方興未艾。⁸² 對於來自鄰國的研究社群自我檢討與定位，臺灣研究者今後如何回應與開展，或許是豐富包含戰後臺灣政治史在內的臺灣史研究之未盡課題。

⁸¹ 春山明哲，〈日本における台湾史研究の100年：伊能嘉矩から日本台湾学会まで〉，《アジア経済》（東京）60: 4（2019年12月），頁27-56。

⁸² 若林正文、家永真幸編，《台湾研究入門》（東京：東京大学出版会，2020），頁ix-xi。

四、十三年來研究概況

以下透過中研院臺史所編纂之歷年《臺灣史研究文獻類目》（以下簡稱《文獻類目》），以及「臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」網站，蒐集歷年書目、議程與發表論文，對研究主題略作整理。網頁資訊從 2008 年的議程開始記錄，得以一窺 2007 年以來的研究趨勢。檢視歷年議程，除了 2013 年與 2014 年之外，均有「近現代臺灣政治史」或「戰後臺灣政治史」的研究回顧，而 2014 年許雪姬教授曾撰述 2004 年至 2013 年的梗概式回顧，其中包含政治史。可見政治史此一分類在質量上，難以忽視。

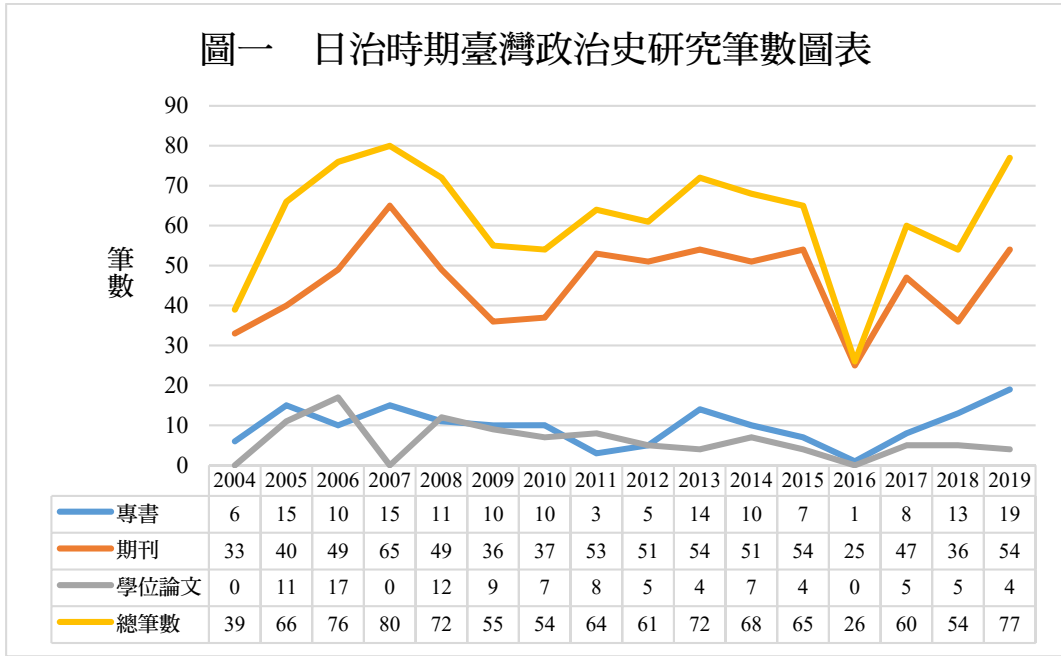
不過，若是單從數量上來看的話，政治史類別的研究成果起伏非常劇烈。從 2004 年至 2019 年的《文獻類目》來看，戰後政治史的變化較大，連帶影響了近代政治史（日治+戰後）的總數。以戰後而言，2004 年至 2019 年的總數（專書+單篇論文+學位論文）曾有低至 71 筆，也有高至 192 筆，其中 2007 年與 2014 年為高峰，2015 年以來雖大致維持破百筆，但緩步下滑。相對來說，日治時期的總數較為穩定，除了 2004 年與 2016 年外，都維持在 50 筆以上，近三年與戰後的差距逐步拉近。⁸³

從出版類別來看，相較於日治時期政治史，戰後政治史在專書、期刊與學位論文方面的產出較為穩定，數量上也較多。專書方面，自 2011 年後戰後部分維持每年 20 本以上，期刊在 2012 年與 2014 年超過 100 篇，學位論文從 2004 年以來，只有一年沒有達二位數。相對而言，日治時期的專書與學位論文多有個位數字，2016 年的學位論文產出甚至為零，但在期刊方面則保持豐沛的能量，近三年來日治時期的專書出版也持續上升。

必須說明的是，這些數字包含了不同語種與國家的研究成果，其收錄範圍也須逐年檢視，要分析前仍得更細致的檢視。參與過回顧的許雪姬、陳翠蓮與薛化元教授對於近代政治史或戰後政治史的數量與問題皆曾提過見解，包括政治史定義與範圍可能影響筆數計算、政府檔案開放情形、重大事件適逢週年、文化史等

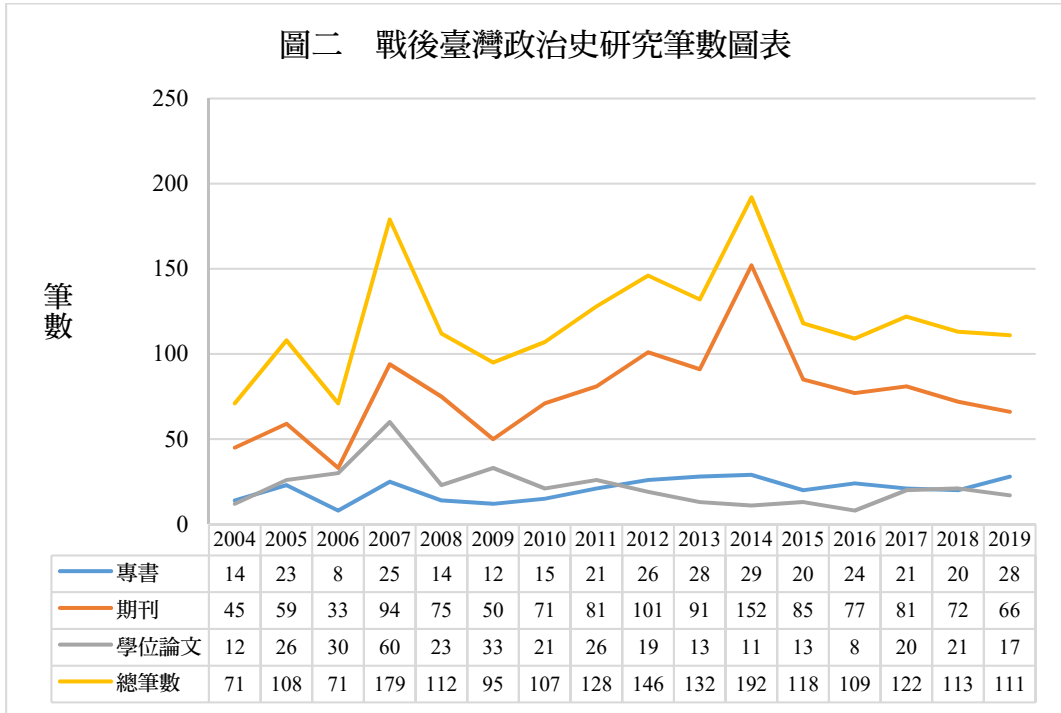
⁸³ 詳見臺灣史研究文獻類目編輯小組編各年度《臺灣史研究文獻類目》2004-2019年度（臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，2004-2019）。

圖一 日治時期臺灣政治史研究筆數圖表



資料來源：臺灣史研究文獻類目編輯小組編，《臺灣史研究文獻類目》2004-2019年度。

圖二 戰後臺灣政治史研究筆數圖表



資料來源：臺灣史研究文獻類目編輯小組編，《臺灣史研究文獻類目》2004-2019年度。

表一 歷年臺灣政治史研究回顧研討會論文表

回顧年度	作者	研討會篇名
2007	鍾淑敏	2007年臺灣政治史的回顧與展望：統治制度與帝國政策
	陳翠蓮	臺灣政治史研究的新趨勢：從抵抗權力到解構權力
	薛化元	2007年臺灣政治史的回顧與展望：外交、臺灣國際法律地位及法律史
2008	李福鐘	2008年臺灣國際外交史暨早期史研究回顧
	陳翠蓮、 鍾淑敏	2008年臺灣政治史的回顧與展望（二）：日治時期之統治與抵抗
	陳佳宏、 蘇瑞鏘	2008年臺灣政治史的回顧與展望（三）：反抗史與臺灣認同
	林果顯	2008年臺灣政治史的回顧與展望（四）：威權體制與蔣經國研究
2009	陳翠蓮	2009臺灣近現代政治史研究的回顧與展望
2010	薛化元	近代臺灣政治史
2011	陳佳宏	近代臺灣政治史
2012	無	
2013	許雪姬	2004-2013年臺灣史研究概況
2014-2015	李福鐘	2014-2015年臺灣戰後政治史研究回顧：二二八事件及國際外交史之新成果
	林果顯	戰後臺灣政治史研究回顧與展望：以內政治理為中心（2014-2015）
2016-2017	陳翠蓮	2016-2017臺灣近代政治史研究成果回顧與展望

資料來源：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，「臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」網站，下載日期：2021年3月7日，網址：<http://thrrp.ith.sinica.edu.tw/index.php>。

途徑更受重視而排擠政治史研究，以及在語言掌握上影響學位論文題目的選擇等等。⁸⁴ 筆者認為，區分國內外研究，以及思考政治史的定義與其他分類重疊問題確實是必要之舉，若能再擴大比較規模，包含與其他分類各年度的比較，或許能更明白其中緣由。

「臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」網站列有2008年以來歷年的研討會議程，以及部分的文章。從題目來看，大部分會以近（現）代政治史涵蓋戰後政治史的回顧，亦不少年度將外交與內政區分。2007年研究的回顧由鍾淑敏、陳翠蓮與薛化元三位教授負責，分別回顧「統治政策與制度」和「抵抗、認同與知識建構」兩大分野，以及「外交、法律與臺灣國際地位」。「統治政策與制度」戰後的部分不多，鍾教授認為政治經濟史切入研究有其可觀之處。⁸⁵ 「抵抗、認同與知識建構」在抵抗與認同的架構下，研究主題集中在從臺灣民眾史出發的集體思維、政治認同與抵抗行

⁸⁴ 詳見後文一一引用。

⁸⁵ 鍾淑敏，〈2007年臺灣政治史研究回顧：統治制度與帝國政策〉，《漢學研究通訊》（臺北）28：4（2009年11月），頁10-18。

動，以及政治權力與知識建構，包括節日與儀典、教育與傳播媒體。另外，二二八研究在新史料與新詮釋上仍是重要主題。該文也指出，研究取向上跨越「統治史 vs. 反抗史」的格局，進一步從「抵抗權力」的研究走向「解構權力」。⁸⁶

2008年與2009年政治史研究的回顧由陳翠蓮教授擔任。2008年適逢蔣經國逝世二十週年，以及2007年二二八事件六十週年，該年召開的會議論文在本年度出版，因此這兩方面的主題呈現在數量上。本年重要主題為國際外交史（中華民國/臺灣與聯合國議題、個別外交事件、兩岸關係），二二八事件與白色恐怖（二二八與校園、區域性研究、外國人眼中的二二八、二二八與傳播媒體、白色恐怖與政治案件），蔣經國與威權統治，官定意識型態與媒體宣傳。⁸⁷

2009年政治類筆數連續兩年大幅下滑，陳翠蓮教授以「怵目驚心」形容，但也提出「政治史」分類的定義可再重新思考。此年也正好是中華民國政府來臺六十週年，同時也有多本二二八事件的論文集出版，因此在主題上，集中於二二八事件、白色恐怖、1949流亡書寫，以及其他課題（臺灣省行政長官公署體制、威權體制與社會控制、文化控制機制）。該文認為政治史定義、政治立場與學術研究的分際、史料與理論等問題仍須思考，而臺灣戰後政治史與中華民國史如何的對話，為歷史學者的重要課題。⁸⁸

2011年陳佳宏教授因撰寫「近現代臺灣政治史」的回顧，將許多議題跨時代整理，以下儘量析出戰後的部分，但仍可看到日治時期的影子。這也是許多先進提醒過的，使用戰後只是為了方便區分時段，許多議題是跨越戰前與戰後，也有複雜的斷裂與延續過程。「戰後臺灣史」該年度的重要主題分別為殖民、去殖民與再殖民（去殖民與再殖民、殖民與認同主體性）、從自治到民主化（自治精神的傳承、黨外運動、女性參政、知識青年與傳媒角色）、政治事（案）件（二二八事件、白色恐怖案件）、國際、涉外關係（二戰結束前後、臺美關係、臺灣國際地位）、政策與制度面向（警務政策制度之更迭、獄政發展、法務、軍務、憲政體制、區

⁸⁶ 陳翠蓮，〈臺灣政治史研究的新趨勢：從抵抗權力到解構權力〉，《漢學研究通訊》28:4（2009年11月），頁1-9。

⁸⁷ 陳翠蓮，〈2008年臺灣史研究的回顧與展望〉，《臺灣史研究》17:2（2010年6月），頁171-211。

⁸⁸ 陳翠蓮，〈2009臺灣近現代政治史研究的回顧與展望〉，發表於國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所、中央研究院臺灣史研究所、國立政治大學臺灣史研究所主辦，「2009臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」學術研討會（臺北：國立臺灣師範大學教育大樓2樓202國際會議廳，2010年12月16-17日）。

域行政發展、政權過渡與接收)。該文指出，臺灣人面對權力的各種反應、民主化運動，以及政治事(案)件為成果較豐碩的主題。⁸⁹

楊秀菁與薛化元也針對 2011 年臺灣史研究做整體回顧，在政治史方面的分類與陳佳宏教授略同，皆別為：統治政策與制度、國家認同的塑造與轉向、政治參與、政治事(案)件、國際與涉外關係，以及傳播研究。⁹⁰

如果查看議程，2012 年與 2013 年的研究回顧沒有包含政治史回顧，但 2014 年有許雪姬教授對 2004-2013 年的整體回顧，可略為反映部分情況。該文將此十年的研究筆數(含學位論文)依五大類別統治，分別是政治、經濟、社會、文化與史料，政治類除了 2007 年超過 30%，其餘平均約 15-17%左右，社會與文化類最多，經濟類最少。至於研究斷代上，該文分為通論、早期、清代、日治與戰後共五項，日治一向多於戰後，清代最少。主題上與戰後相關的部分，戰犯的跨國研究以及地方學是這十年來蓬勃發展的趨勢，而整體發展的隱憂上，受到學術建制、資源分配或政治影響等外部因素，是共同面對的困境。⁹¹

2014-2015 年研究成果的回顧，由李福鐘教授和林果顯分別負責二二八事件及國際外交史，以及內政治理兩部分。李教授指出由於保密局檔案的出現，這兩年有關二二八事件的成果相當豐碩，另外，蔣介石研究與 1950 年代臺灣政治史、日本的臺灣研究，以及關注冷戰高峰期的戰後臺灣外交史，為重要主題。⁹² 林果顯以內政治理為中心，認為在具體議題上，政權轉換時官方與臺灣社會的互動、政府內部與美國因素的介入，以及海外臺灣人的處境成為觀察重點；受惠於資料庫的建置，省議會和地方政治運作的研究增加，另外，白色恐怖的成果亦相當豐碩。同時旁及日本學界關於戰後臺灣政治史的研究，從日本自身的關懷出發，關

⁸⁹ 陳佳宏，〈2011年近現代臺灣政治史研究的回顧與展望〉，發表於國立政治大學臺灣史研究所、國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所、中央研究院臺灣史研究所主辦，「2011臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」學術研討會(臺北：國立政治大學行政大樓7樓第一會議室，2012年12月7日)。

⁹⁰ 楊秀菁、薛化元，〈2011年臺灣史研究的回顧與展望〉，《臺灣史研究》20:2(2013年6月)，頁213-254。

⁹¹ 許雪姬，〈專題演講：2004-2013年臺灣史研究的回顧與展望〉，發表於中央研究院臺灣史研究所、國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所、國立政治大學臺灣史研究所、國立臺灣歷史博物館主辦，國立臺灣師範大學圖書館協辦，「2012-2013臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」學術研討會(臺北：國立臺灣師範大學圖書館地下一樓國際會議廳，2014年12月5-6日)。

⁹² 李福鐘，〈2014-2015年臺灣戰後政治史研究的若干面向〉，《漢學研究通訊》36:3(2017年8月)，頁11-20。

切國際政治角力中的臺灣處境，媒體研究、民主化過程、地方選舉和政黨為內政治理的重要主題。英文著作的作者相對多元，議題偏重國家認同、民主化、政策形成與國防。⁹³

2016年至2017年的研究回顧，陳翠蓮教授指出重要主題為戰後初期（國府接收）、二二八、國族認同轉變。臺灣地位、條約與主權問題亦多所關懷，並且新冷戰史的研究浮現（例如林孝庭與宋怡明的著作）。⁹⁴此外，跨學科與跨時代的政治史書寫亦成為焦點之一。⁹⁵

以上僅針對十三年來有關戰後臺灣政治史的回顧，作一簡單摘要，甚難深入分析，僅可略見梗概。由於書寫者、切入視角及當年度狀況的不同，各年度的分類並非一致，很難立即得出哪些方面的研究精確的消長數字，更由於政治史的定義以及討論國外成果的界定範圍仍在摸索，恐怕難以遽然量化分析。不過，史料開放以及重大歷史事件週年時刻，深刻地影響學術資源的動員，致使特定議題成為某些年度的特色，在代小結中所觀察到幾個較為熱門的主題，或許也反映了這十幾年來學術界與臺灣社會關心所在。

五、代小結：未來展望

綜合上述，這十三年來戰後臺灣政治史中的熱門主題，首先應為二二八事件與白色恐怖的相關研究，不斷開發新史料與切入角度外，近兩年則著重在地域網絡、性別、家屬、基層監控機制，以及轉型正義各種問題。其次，統治體制與戰後初期政權轉換的斷裂與延續問題，是為一大特色，近年關心海外臺灣人、國籍

⁹³ 林果顯，〈戰後臺灣政治史研究回顧與展望：以內政治理為中心（2014-2015）〉，《漢學研究通訊》36:3（2017年8月），頁21-31。

⁹⁴ 林孝庭，《臺海·冷戰·蔣介石：解密檔案中消失的臺灣史1948-1988》（臺北：聯經出版事業股份有限公司，2015）；林孝庭著、校訂，黃中憲譯，《意外的國度：蔣介石、美國、與近代臺灣的形塑》（新北：遠足文化事業股份有限公司，2017）；宋怡明（Michael Szonyi）著，黃煜文、陳湘陽譯，《前線島嶼：冷戰下的金門》（臺北：國立臺灣大學出版中心，2016）。

⁹⁵ 陳翠蓮，〈2016-2017臺灣近代政治史研究成果回顧與展望〉，發表於國立政治大學臺灣史研究所、國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所、中央研究院臺灣史研究所、國立臺灣歷史博物館主辦，「2016-2017臺灣史研究的回顧與展望」學術研討會（臺北：國立政治大學綜合院館3樓演講廳，2018年12月6-7日）。

問題、人群流動與戰犯等「戰後處置」的議題。最後，臺灣地位與大國互動亦始終為外交面向的關切焦點，近年來美日等大國對臺灣內部統治上的影響在研究上逐漸受到矚目。

隨著史料開放程度與研究興趣，有幾個課題是戰後臺灣政治史可能的發展方向。首先，因為大量政府檔案開放而圍繞著「中華民國如何可能」的議題，在國際政治與內政上皆有再深化的條件。如果將中華民國視為近代以來，統治臺灣的數個政權之一，那麼中華民國的生存以及對應內外的作法，就非理所當然，因此，以「中華民國如何可能」而言，在國際政治的面向，幾個關鍵的歷史時刻如果繼續加入美國、英國、日本等大國檔案的運用，不論是傳統軍政部門的相異意見、政府高層和幕僚的決策過程，以及政府間的談判和情報蒐集，或是重視文化影響、意識型態推廣與學術教育滲透的「文化冷戰」議題，將能豐富與發展臺灣的「冷戰史」，而非「冷戰」時期（在臺灣海峽兩岸）的「歷史」。⁹⁶ 以美國檔案的運用為例，除了美援之外，二戰末期戰爭史、戰後初期接收史、二二八事件研究，以及中華民國政府與美國政府關係，這幾年已見開拓。近年臺美人社群對自身歷史開始關注，逐步集結資源與蒐集資料，陸續有包含民間廣播電臺資料、手稿的出版整理，皆可預期拓展研究課題。⁹⁷

另外，官方作為的重要層面還包含內政方面。特別是省級政府層級的作為，以及特定政策在中央與省級行政部門、民意機構與黨機器之間的流轉，亦頗具開拓性。省級政府的課題並非不受關注，但 1949 年前後臺灣省政府權力在何處、以何種方式擴張？1949 年後省政府與中央政府的誰、在何處、與誰合作、以何種方式抵抗、最後如何解決？省政府在整個中華民國政府的施政中，扮演何種角色？由於不同部門的權力範圍與決策流程並不相同，這些問題都有待從特定議題切入，一一梳理。例如，以筆者較為熟悉的外國出版品進口管制來說，戒嚴時期的進口標準由國民黨中央確立，出版品登記為內政部，取締及邊境管制由警備總部擔綱，但實質的審查工作則長期由臺灣省政府新聞處負責。⁹⁸ 又如農村與都市

⁹⁶ 潘光哲，〈「重思東亞脈絡下的冷戰」專號導言〉，《思與言》（臺北）57:4（2019年12月），頁3-4。

⁹⁷ 何義麟、陳世宏、楊允言主編，〈越洋民主呼聲：舊金山灣區臺灣之音手稿解讀〉（臺南：國立臺灣歷史博物館，2020）。

⁹⁸ 林果顯，〈「欲迎還拒」：戰後臺灣日本出版品進口管制體系的建立（1945-1972）〉，《國立政治

土地改革的決策過程，亦有論者從黨、立法院、省級議會、省政府等不同部門的討論，彰顯省級政府與民意機構在內政重大議題上不可忽視的角色。⁹⁹

其次，「臺灣如何可能」的思考面向，如果指涉的是非中華民國政府主導的內外作為，且由海內外臺灣人的處境出發，或以臺灣為主體的各式運動與想像，既有的研究已揭示了諸多嘗試與成果。這裡想強調的是，如同前述有關國籍、戰犯、「美/中/臺」關係的研究，所謂的「臺灣」觀點從民間、反抗或受難等相對於統治者的概念，進一步向前推展為討論內外交融、跨域流動、多國政府、海外臺灣人社群、以及多元認同與抉擇的課題，其目標或可理解成突顯大國地緣政治視野中被忽視的臺灣（人）特殊性。在各方史料繼續大量公開的情況下，上述課題具有持續發展的條件，也更考驗研究者多語言與多檔案的耕耘。¹⁰⁰

必須特別指出的是，上述兩個方向，也就是「中華民國如何可能」與「臺灣如何可能」的思考，並非完全涇渭分明，正是近年來上述兩種思考的研究進展，顯示了些許整合的可能性。舉例而言，與美國斷交後所研擬的「臺灣關係法」，同時涉及(1)中華民國政府與美國政府的談判，(2)臺美人遊說團體與立法部門之間的關係，以及(3)這個法律對中華民國對外關係和對內統治的影響，與臺灣人如何看待和因應，就同時跨越了兩種思考面向。日本學者若林正丈曾提出「七二年體制」的說法，認為中華民國被聯合國取消中國代表權後，1972年之後臺灣的國際地位基本性格大體確立。¹⁰¹ 然而，影響臺灣國際地位最深的美國，其與中華民國的邦交至1979年才斷絕，之後「臺灣關係法」如何安排雙方「民間」的交流層次

大學歷史學報》45(2016年5月)，頁193-250。李進億關於淡水河防洪政策的討論也與省府關係密切，見李進億，〈戰後淡水河防洪政策的規劃與實施：以《省府委員會議檔案》為中心的觀察(1963-1996)〉，《臺北文獻(直字)》(臺北)205(2018年9月)，頁211-262。

⁹⁹ 廖彥豪、瞿宛文，〈兼顧地主的土地改革：臺灣實施耕者有其田的歷史過程〉，《臺灣社會研究季刊》(臺北)98(2015年3月)，頁69-145；廖彥豪，〈「必須保衛市民」：1950年代初期國民黨政權在臺灣推動都市土改的理想與困境〉，發表於國立政治大學臺灣史研究所、教育部、中央研究院臺灣史研究所、財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會、國家人權博物館、財團法人自由思想學術基金會主辦，「2020第五屆臺灣與東亞近代史青年學者學術研討會」(臺北：國立政治大學達賢圖書館7樓羅家倫講堂，2020年11月14日)。

¹⁰⁰ 本文「如何可能」的提問，並未涉及深刻的哲學問題，僅粗淺地以此試探新議題。「中華民國如何可能」意在從傳統的「國史」觀點出發，在加入新史料與新觀點後，側重國家職能的樣貌、層次與其限度。另一方面，「臺灣如何可能」的提問，則是在中華民國或大國的思考之外，尋求較被忽視的臺灣或臺灣住民特殊處境。此「如何可能」的成立條件或提問對象，仍有未盡明白之處，本文僅拋磚引玉。

¹⁰¹ 若林正丈，《台湾の政治：中華民國台湾化の戦後史》(東京：東京大学出版会，2008)，頁367-400。

與範圍，如何協助在國際組織中的名稱與會籍，以及如何影響臺灣內政等等議題，或許較 1972 年更具規範性。換言之，探討「臺灣關係法」的制定過程與相關議題，或許能部分修正補充「七二年體制」，或提出類似「七九年體制」的新解釋模型。從更多層次檢視其他類似的歷史關鍵時刻，並加上如英國、日本等其他較少被利用的大國觀點，或許還可再開拓更多的研究題目。

第三個可以發展的課題是解嚴前後民進黨、國民黨與其他政黨的歷史，不論是街頭或議會的行動，還是成為執政者的各種作為，有必要更加系統性地關注。這個課題主要是受日本學界的刺激，例如該國學術振興會於 2012-2015 年補助「反對黨的誕生」三年計畫，2015-2018 年補助「臺灣政治體制移行期的民主進步黨」三年計畫，包括資料蒐集、口述訪談、工作坊、研討會與國際共同研究，顯示日本學界在此一課題已累積相當基礎。¹⁰² 近年來對於國民黨檔案的徵集與保存多所討論，也已有部分單位進行影音等資料的蒐集，但至少對於後來成為執政黨的民進黨，關切其檔案的留存與開放，擴大相關人士、特別是執政後的口述訪談，以及思索如何解釋建制化後的「臺灣」，同樣需要戰後臺灣政治史領域學者的關注。換言之，過去在野時期的「臺灣人」一躍成為廟堂之上的官員，或具有執政身分的政治團體後，如何解釋其轉變，以及如何定義「中華民國」與「臺灣」的學術內涵，在戰後臺灣政治史研究中將成為無法迴避的問題。

最後，雖然不在本次回顧的範圍，但這兩年以來依臺灣史各主題而企畫的論文集陸續出現，展現了較長時段、具備主題性通史的企圖心。包括臺灣大學出版中心的臺灣史論叢，¹⁰³ 張炎憲教授生前策劃的「典藏臺灣史」，¹⁰⁴ 或是臺灣商務

¹⁰² 若林正文（研究代表者），「台湾政治における反対党の誕生：国際体制・孤立国家・市民社会とナショナリズム」（日本學術振興會 科学研究費助成事業 研究成果報告書 基盤研究(B)，2012-2015）；若林正文（研究代表者），〈台湾政治体制移行期の民主進歩党：「改革型」民主化とナショナリズムの相克〉（日本學術振興會 科学研究費助成事業 研究成果報告書 基盤研究(B)，2015-2018）。

¹⁰³ 包含許雪姬編，《來去臺灣：移民篇》；王泰升編，《多元法律在地匯合：法律篇》；謝國興編，《進香·醮·祭與社會文化變遷：民間信仰篇》；李文良編，《成為臺灣客家人：客家篇》；劉翠溶，《臺灣環境史：環境篇》；吳聰敏編，《制度與經濟成長：經濟篇》；許佩賢編，《帝國的學校·地域的學校：教育篇》；呂紹理編，《如何日常·怎樣生活：社會生活篇》；范燕秋編，《現代醫學在臺灣：醫學公衛篇》；洪郁如編，《性別與權力：女性篇》；張隆志編，《島史的求索：史學篇》。

¹⁰⁴ 此系列書籍由玉山社出版事業股份有限公司出版，包含劉益昌，《（一）：史前人群與文化》；詹素娟，《（二）：臺灣原住民史》；林偉盛，《（三）：大航海時代》；溫振華、戴寶村，《（四）：

印書館的《課綱中的臺灣史》，都可見此趨勢。¹⁰⁵ 回到戰後臺灣政治史，不論是「國民黨一黨獨裁體制」對黨、政、軍、特的全面性描述，「中華民國臺灣化」對戰後臺灣政治體制變化的整合性解釋，甚至是「臺日外交」的長時期發展，均甚為仰賴外國的通史性研究成果。如何在新觀點與新史料的條件下，撰寫臺灣學者新的戰後臺灣政治史，並不是個新的想望，如何按部就班往此目標邁進，或許是回顧了十三年來的研究後，繼續提供大家思考的未盡課題。

漢人社會的形成》；林呈蓉，《（五）：19世紀強權競逐下的臺灣》；何義麟、蔡錦堂，《（六）：臺灣人的日本時代》；李筱峰、薛化元，《（七）：戰後臺灣史》。

¹⁰⁵ 陳鴻圖主編，《課綱中的臺灣史：跟著專家學者探索歷史新視野》（臺北：臺灣商務出版社，2020）。

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Political History Research of Postwar Taiwan 2018-2019: Retrospect and Prospect

Guo-sian Lin

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the political history research of postwar Taiwan during 2018-2019, and discusses the major issues examined. Moreover, this article also traces the changing trend of political history research of postwar Taiwan since 2007. Between 2018 and 2019, there are four domains of intense research, namely Taiwanese in foreign affairs, political events like February 28 incident, internal governance and propaganda, and military affairs. In fact, for more than a decade, white terror and February 28 incident have been the leading research topics, while the governance of the ROC, the change of regime from wartime to postwar era, and the status of Taiwan in the political arena have also been widely studied. Thanks to newly opened archives, recent political history studies on Taiwan can have complementary internal and external perspectives.

Directions for future research will be on “how the ROC evolves” and “what Taiwan should become”. Topics related to internal affairs such as the role of the Taiwan Provincial Government and international issues such as cultural cold war are also worth exploration. Furthermore, beyond the concepts of non-governmental, resistance and oppression, the thoughts and activities of Taiwanese in important foreign affairs still await more attention. In line with the abovementioned would be research on the role of overseas Taiwanese during the formation of the Taiwan Relations Act, the Taiwanese government after the year 2000, and the history and primary data of other political parties in addition to KMT. Last but not the least, a general political history of postwar Taiwan by Taiwanese scholars would be much anticipated.

Keywords: Political History, Postwar Taiwan History, Foreign Affairs, Political Events, Cold War History

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CONTENTS

- Journey of the Sangleys and Their Goods between
Taiwan and Manila (1626-1662):
A Study of Documents from Spanish Accounting Books ... Chen-chen Fang
- Sugar Production and Trade in Dutch Colonial Taiwan Hui-wen Koo
- Chinese Tea Exports via Taiwan by VOC (1641-1660):
A Prelude to European Tea Consumption in 18th Century ... Wei-chung Cheng
- Mobilizing Men and Women to
Produce Taiwanese Tea Douglas Fix and Stephen Schick
- Political History Research of Postwar Taiwan 2018-2019:
Retrospect and Prospect Guo-sian Lin
-

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