Abbreviations in Notes

Archives and works frequently cited have been identified by the following abbreviations:

AH  Academia Historica, Taipei
FO  Foreign Office
ITHA  Institute of Taiwan History Archives, Academia Sinica, Taipei
JACAR  Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan
JFMA  Japan Foreign Ministry, Diplomatic Records Office, Tokyo
JMDA  Japan Ministry of Defense Archives, National Institute for Defense Studies, Tokyo
MTGDZ  MinTai guanxi dang’an ziliao, eds. Fujiansheng dang’an’guan and Xiamenxi dang’an’guan (Xiamen: Luijiang chubanshe, 1993).
MTHZJ  MinTai hanjian zuixing jishi, ed. Di san zhanqu JinXia hanjian anjian chuli weiyuanhui (Xiamen: Jiangsheng wenhua chubanshe, 1947).
NAJ  National Archives of Japan, Tokyo
NARA  National Archives and Records Administration, United States, College Park, MD
NAS  National Archives of Singapore
NAUK  National Archives, United Kingdom, Kew
RG  Record Group
TGGA  Taiwan Government-General Archives, Taipei
TJ  Taiwan Jihō (Taiwan Times), Taipei
TNS  Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō (Taiwan Daily News), Taipei
XMA  Xiamen Municipal Archives

Introduction


2. Tonio Andrade, How Taiwan Became Chinese: Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Xing Hang, Conflict and Commerce in Maritime East Asia: The Zheng Family and the Shaping of the Modern World, c. 1620–1720 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); John R. Shepherd, Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800 (Stanford,


18. Gordon, Confrontation Over Taiwan, 24–37, 55–66.


20. Gordon, Confrontation Over Taiwan, 184–86.


25. Louise Young, Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); O’Dwyer, Significant Soil; Uchida, Brokers of Empire.


30. Leo T. S. Ching, Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Faye Yuan Kleeman, Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003); Robert T. Tierney, Tropics of Savagery the Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Kate McDonald, Placing Empire: Travel and the Social Imagination in Imperial Japan (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017). On Taiwanese identity, see Ming-cheng M. Lo, Doctors within Borders: Profession, Ethnicity, and Modernity in Colonial Taiwan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Shih-jung Tseng, From Hōntō Jin to Bensheng Ren:
The Origin and Development of Taiwanese National Consciousness (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009).


33. My work is indebted to pioneering scholarship by Nakamura Takashi, Liang Huahuang, Kondo Masami, Chung Shu-ming, Adam Schneider, Lin Man-houng, and Gotō Ken’ichi, who were among the first to trace Japanese and Taiwanese networks between Taiwan, China, and Southeast Asia. See notes and bibliography for their references.


35. Gotō, Kindai Nihon no ’Nanshin’ to Okinawa, 21, 76.

36. Hundreds of thousands of Okinawans migrated to other parts of the Japanese metropole, Taiwan, Micronesia, the Philippines, Hawai‘i, and Latin America for better socioeconomic opportunities. Those in Taiwan even enjoyed legal status as Japanese colonists. Matsuda, Liminality of the Japanese Empire; Ronald Y. Nakasone, ed. Okinawan Diaspora (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).


38. On intra-colonial relations between Taiwan and Micronesia, see Yamada Atsushi, “Shokuminchi Taiwan kara i nin tōchi Nan’yō guntō e: nanshin kōzō no kyojitsu,” in Nan’yō Guntō to teikoku, kokusai chitsujo, ed. Asano Toyomi (Jigakusha Shuppan, 2007), 143–63.


40. Peattie, Nan’yō, chap. 8. Because Micronesia was not a formal colony, Micronesian residents never obtained Japanese nationality. Thus unlike the Han Taiwanese, they did not experience overseas mobility or second-class imperialist status until the Asia-Pacific War, when thousands were enlisted as military assistants in Pacific islands taken from the United States. The wartime overseas deployment of Micronesians was more analogous to that of the indigenous Taiwanese. Keith Camacho, Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands (Honolulu:
41. Scholars like Jun Uchida have called colonial Korea a Japanese “gateway” to the Chinese continent. Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, chap. 7.


44. The Taiwan Government-General was monitored by the Home Ministry but the Korea Government-General was only supervised by the Emperor. While the Korean governor-general required the rank of general or admiral, his counterpart in Taiwan could be a lieutenant general or vice-admiral. Korea also had over twice the number of officials as Taiwan (in 1926, for example, there were 28,657 officials in Korea compared to 11,873 in Taiwan, 3,537 in South Manchuria, 969 in Karafuto, and 288 in Micronesia). Chen, “Attempt to Integrate the Empire,” 262–66; Okamoto Makiko, *Shokuminchi kanryō no seijishi: Chōsen, Taiwan sōtokufu to Teikoku Nihon* (Sangensha, 2008), 43, 88–96.

45. O’Dwyer, *Significant Soil*; Esselstrom, *Crossing Empire’s Edge*.


NOTES TO PAGES 13–21


57. Esselstrom, Crossing Empire’s Edge, chaps. 3–4; Seeley, “Liquid Geography,” chap. 3.


1. Opening a Gateway into China


3. Tsurumi, Taiwan jidai, 504.


5. On the Hokkien and Hakka settlement of Taiwan and their relations with the island’s indigenous peoples during the Qing period, see John R. Shepherd, Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600–1800 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993).


7. Lung-chih Chang, “Island Frontier to Imperial Colony: Qing and Japanese Sovereignty Debates and Territorial Projects in Taiwan, 1874–1906” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 26–28; Chen Zhongchun, “Zhang Zhidong yu fan ge Tai yundong
guanxi kaolun,” in *Taiwan lishi shang de yimin yu shehui yanjiu*, ed. Chen Xiaochong (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2011), 126–42.

8. Wu Mi-cha [Wu Micha], *Taiwan jindaishi yanjiu* (Daoxiang, 1990), 8, 33.


11. “Shinkokujin Taiwan jōrikujirai” June 1895, file 7–7; “Shinkokujin Taiwan jōrikujirai jōrei shikō saisoku,” December 1895, file 7–8, TGGA.

12. “Zai Amoi rōjikan ni oite to Tai Shinajin ni shōmeisho shitatsu no ken Gaiku jikan e kaitō,” April 1896, file 28–15, TGGA.


18. “Amoi ryōjikan setchi ringi,” June 1895, file 40–34, TGGA.

19. Japan established separate consulates in Fuzhou and Shantou in 1899 and 1900, respectively.


After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation, ed. Antoinette M. Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 196–214.

23. “Hontō dochakunin ni kaigai ryokōken hakkyūkata,” May 1897, file 132–16, TGGA.


30. Tsurumi, Taiwan jidai, 504–507.


33. “Shinajin Nihon ni kika o kibōsuru no gen’in,” August 1896, file 4514–5, TGGA.

34. “Hontōjin ni shite Amoi ni shōten kaisetsushi fusei no kōrana su mono aru ni tsuki jigo ryoken hakkyū no sai chūkakata chii chōchō e shinsin oyobi Sawamura shokutaku e kaitō,” February 1898, file 4556–6, TGGA.


40. “Report on the Trade of Amoy for 1899,” forwarded to the British Foreign Office (R. S. Mansfield, Amoy consul), May 16, 1900, FO 228/1357, NAUK.


42. Xiamen Consul Segawa Asanoshin to Foreign Minister Hayashi Tadasu, “Amoi zairyū Taiwan sekimin no jikkyō hōkoku sōfu no ken,” September 14, 1907, *Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken*, vol. 1,” file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.


44. Ethnic Chinese with Philippine citizenship, however, were forbidden to migrate to the United States proper because of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, unless they were of the “exempt classes” (merchants, teachers, officials, and travelers). Richard Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s–1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 288.

45. One representative case was that of Mariano Libano, an ethnic Chinese in the Philippines who had naturalized as a Spanish citizen before 1899 and then obtained American Philippines citizenship after 1902. In Xiamen, Libano was striped of his Philippines colonial citizenship by the American consul. Amoy Consul George Anderson to Francis S. Loomis, Amoy, China, “Chinese Coolies in the Philippines,” March 11, 1905, Amoy, China Consular Posts, vol. 14, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.

46. According to a 1910 US consular report, only twenty-eight “Citizens of the Philippines” and twelve of their children had been registered in Xiamen. “Complete List of American Citizens residing in the Consular District of Amoy,” January 1910, Amoy, China Consular Posts, vol. 9, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.

47. Xiamen Consul Segawa Asanoshin to Foreign Minister Hayashi Tadasu, “Amoi zairyū Taiwan sekimin no jikkyō hōkoku sōfu no ken,” September 14, 1907, *Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken*, vol. 1,” file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.


49. “Memorandum on the Return of British Subjects of Chinese descent registered at the H. B. M. Consulate Amoy” (Enclosure No. 2 in Mr. Hausser’s Despatch
No. 11), September 28, 1903, FO 228/1497, NAUK; Murakami, *Umi no kindai Chūgoku*, 440–43.

50. “B. Y. Tours to W. G. Max Muller, Peking, ‘Return of Foreign Residents of Amoy,’” April 27, 1910, Amoy, China Consular Posts, vol. 64, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.

51. Xiamen Consul Segawa Asanoshin to Foreign Minister Hayashi Tadasu, “Amoi zairyū Taiwan sekimin no jikkyō hōkoku sōfu no ken,” September 14, 1907, in *Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibō chōsei ikken*, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.

52. Consular Report from Amoy Consul H. G. Little to British Minister in Peking Claude M. Macdonald, March 31, 1899, FO 228/1320, NAUK.


54. “Taiwan Sōtokufu to Amoi, Fukushū oyobi Shanhai, Honkon chihō teikoku ryōjima no chokusettsu tsūshin no ken,” November 1900, file 532–1, TGGA.

55. “Naikun dai-ichi ichigō Amoi narabi Fukushū chihō e tōsōshin hito taihokata ni tsuki kaku ryōji e kureiseshi mune kaitō oyobi dōjō no ken kensatsu kyokuchō chiji chōchō e naikunsu,” March 1900, file 537–18, TGGA.


69. Kashiwagi, “Taiwan Sōtokufu to Amoi Jiken,” 205.
71. Consular Report from Amoy Consul H. G. Little to British Minister in Peking Claude M. Macdonald, January 5, 1900, FO 228/1320; Consular Report from Amoy Consul R. S. Mansfield to British Minister in Peking Claude M. Macdonald, March 20, 1900, FO 228/1357, NAUK.
73. Weiyuan ordered his sons, Pengshou and Zushou to return to Taiwan by the May 1897 nationality deadline to protect their family property. Hsu, “Banqiao Lin jia,” 88–90.
74. For example, see Hong Buren, “Aiguo aixiang de Lin Erjia,” in *Taiwan ernü zhuangqing: jì Xiamen de Taiwanshengji renshi*, ed. Zeng Xiongzhui (Beijing: Taihai chubanshe, 2000), 138–43.
75. Erjia was director of the Xiamen Chamber of Commerce (served 1904–07) and the sole Chinese councilor in the Gulangyu International Settlement’s Municipal Council (served 1909–22). Xiamenshi dang’anguan, ed., *Xiamen shanghui dang’an shiliao xuanbian* (Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 1993), 33; He Qiying, *Gonggong zuzhi Gulangyu yu jindai Xiamen de fazhan* (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 2007), 42–43.
78. On Douglas Shipping Company’s monopoly over cross-strait shipping routes since the 1880s, see Kokaze Hidemasa, *Teikoku shugika no Nihon kaiun: kokusai kyōsō to taigai jiritsu* (Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1995), 262–63.
81. “Intelligence Report for June Quarter 1902,” forwarded by Amoy Consul P. F. Hausser to British Minister in Peking Ernest Satow, July 21, 1902, FO 228/1452, NAUK.
83. Camphor was a waxy solid obtained from laurel trees for use in plastics and medicine. Other South China enterprises that Sango invested in were the East Asia Academy, Yuansheng Bank, Shantou irrigation, and Fujian railways. Chung Shu-ming [Zhong Shumin], “Shokuminchi kara tairiku e: Taiwan kaikyō o wattata Nihonjin,” in Mosaku suru kindai Nitchū kankei: taiwa to kyōden no jidai, ed. Kishi Toshihiko, Tanigaki Mariko, and Fukamachi Hideo (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2009), 30–36.


86. Nakamura Takashi, “Taiwan Sōtokufu no Kanan tetsudō kōsa: Suwato tetsudō o megutte,” Nanpō Bunka, no. 14 (November 1987): 92–97. Although Sango’s railway continued to reap profits into the 1920s, the company relinquished control of the railway in 1922 due to declining support within Taiwan.


91. Schneider, “Taiwan Government-General,” 168; Yagashiro Hideyoshi, “Nanshinron no shozai to shokuminchi Taiwan: Taiwan Sōtokufu to Gaimushō no ninshiki no sōi o chūshin ni,” Waseda Daigaku Gakuin Ajia Taiheiyō Kenkyūka Ronshū, no. 7 (March 2004): 185.

92. Hideyoshi, “Nanshinron no shozai to shokuminchi Taiwan,” 184.


94. Murakami, Um ni kindai Chūgoku, 349.


100. Park, Two Dreams, 78–81.

101. Japanese consuls in Manchuria often refused to recognize official certificates supporting Korean claims to Chinese or Russian subjecthood. Still, Koreans found ways to evade Japanese jurisdiction by navigating the Kantō region’s multiple sovereignties to their advantage. Park, Sovereignty Experiments, chap. 3.

102. Xiamen Deputy Consul Mori Yasusaburō to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, “Taiwan sekimin no jōtai hōkoku no ken,” March 14, 1910, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.

2. Taiwanese in South China’s Border Zones


4. “Wu Yunfu hoka jūichimei shinshō kōfu no ken,” January 1920, file 3057–13, TGGA.

5. Xiamen Consul Inoue Kōjirō, “Amoi ni okeru Taiwan sekimin mondai,” September 1926, Zai Shina Taiwan sekimin mondai zakken, file 3–8–2–330, JFMA.

6. “Taiwanseki shutoku ni kansuru hanzai no kenkyū no kenkyū kata (Matsui gaimu jikan),” January 1915, file 5896–21, TGGA.

7. “Shinajin ni Nihon kokuseki o shutoku seshimuru no ken,” March 1917, file 2649–1; “Wu Yunfu hoka jūichimei shinshō kōfu no ken,” January 1920, file 3057–13, TGGA.


10. In the 1930s, the associations were renamed “Taiwanese Resident Associations” (J. Taiwan Kyoryūminkai, C. Taiwan juliuminhui).


12. On the regulations and history of the Xiamen Taiwanese Association, see Amoi Taiwan Kyoryūminkaihō sanjū shinnen kinen tokkan (Amoi: Amoi Kyoryūkai, 1936).

13. Xiamen Deputy Consul Mori Yasusaburō to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, “Taiwan sekimin no jōtai hōkoku no ken,” March 14, 1910, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA; “Amoy Intelligence report of 1/2-year ending September 18th, 1924,” FO 228/3281, NAUK.

14. Multiple nationalities were allowed under the Qing nationality law promulgated in 1909 and subsequent Republic of China nationality laws of 1912 and 1929. Huei-Ying Kuo, Networks beyond Empires: Chinese Business and Nationalism in the Hong Kong-Singapore Corridor, 1914–1941 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 57.


16. Xiamen Deputy Consul Mori Yasusaburō to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, “Taiwan sekimin no jōtai hōkoku no ken,” March 14, 1910, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.


18. Xiamen Deputy Consul Mori Yasusaburō to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō, “Taiwan sekimin no jōtai hōkoku no ken,” March 14, 1910, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.


20. Xiamen Deputy Consul Mori Yasusaburō to Foreign Ministry Political Affairs Chief Kurachi Tetsukichi, November 6, 1908, Shinbun zasshi sōji kankei zassan, Zenmin Shininchihō [Quanmin xinribao], file 1–3–1–31, JFMA.


24. “Shinkoku Fukushū Taiwa njin shitei kyōiku no tame Mitsuya kyōyu haken ni kanshi shōfuku no ken (zai Fukushū ryōji),” April 1908, file 5100–15, 86, TGGA.

25. The Chinese teacher, Lin Jianggao, was hired to teach nine Taiwanese students. Xiamen Consul Terashima Hirobumi to Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijūrō, “Taiwan sekimin kankei jikō chōsa no ni kansuru ken,” December 5, 1930, Taiwa njin kankei zakken, zaigai Taiw anjin jikei kankei, file A–5–3–0–3–2, JFMA.

26. “Shinkoku Fukushū Taiwa njin shitei kyōiku no tame Mitsuya kyōyu haken ni kanshi shōfuku no ken (zai Fukushū ryōji),” April 1908, file 5100–15, 87, TGGA.

27. “Shinkoku Fukushū Taiwa njin shitei kyōiku no tame Mitsuya kyōyu haken ni kanshi shōfuku no ken (zai Fukushū ryōji),” 93–95, TGGA; Ts’ai, “Taiwan sekimin gakkō,” 25–27.

28. “Shinkoku Fukushū Taiwa njin shitei kyōiku no tame Mitsuya kyōyu haken ni kanshi shōfuku no ken (zai Fukushū ryōji),” 95, TGGA.


32. As Miriam Kingsberg Kadia has noted, the 1906 Qing opium laws emulated those instituted in 1897 by the Taiwan Government-General for gradual prohibition. Kingsberg, Moral Nation, 25. On Japan’s Hoshi Pharmaceuticals and Taiwan’s opium trade, see Timothy M. Yang, A Medicated Empire: The Pharmaceutical Industry and Modern Japan (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), chap. 5.

33. Taiwanese caught supplying drugs to Japanese civilians or troops were punishable by death. For more on Taiwan’s opium monopoly and laws, see Kingsberg, Moral Nation, 12–24.

34. Xiamen Consul Kikuchi Girō to Foreign Minister Count Uchida Yasuya, December 20, 1912, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwa njin sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 1, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA; “Amoy Intelligence Report December Quarter 1922,” FO 228/1757, NAUK.
35. Xiamen Consul Inoue Kōjirō, “Amoi ni okeru Taiwan sekimin mondai,” September 1926, Zai Shina Taiwan sekimin mondai zakken, file 3–8–2–330, JFMA.
37. Several leaders of the Eighteen Big Brothers such as Wang Changsheng and Lin Gun went on to become leading members of the Xiamen Taiwanese Association. Taiwan Shinminpōsha Chōsabu, Taiwan jinshikan (Taipei: Taiwan Shinminpōsha), 85, 215, 278; Chung, “Taiwanren zai Xiamen,” 431–32.
41. For example, see “Chen Changsheng Li Yongnian no kokuseki sakujo kata ni kantshi shōfuku (zai Fukushū ryōji sono hoka),” March 1913, file 5448–12, TGGA.
43. Up through 1916, Taiwanese prisoners in Xiamen were reportedly detained in the Taiwanese Association headquarters due to a lack of space in the Japanese consulate. Chung, “Taiwanren zai Xiamen,” 442.
44. Xiamen Consul Kikuchi Girō to Foreign Minister Count Isshi Kikujirō, May 19, 1916, Nanbu Shina zairyū Taiwan sekimin meibo chōsei ikken, vol. 2: fu zai Shina sekimin torishimari ni kansuru ken, file 3–8–7–18, JFMA.


53. On the international context of Japan’s Twenty-One Demands, see Frederick R. Dickinson, War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), chap. 3.


55. “Taiwan jimin huoyue,” TNS, September 26, 1919.


58. Xiamen Consul Kikuchi Gifu to Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya, “Nanshin ni okeru ryōjīkan no saiban ni kansuru hōritsuan ni tsuki iken gushin no ken,” February 23, 1912; Shantou Deputy Consul Yano Masao to Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya, “Nanshin ni okeru ryōjīkan no saiban ni kansuru hōritsuan ni tsuki iken gushin no ken,” April 22, 1912, Nanshin ni okeru ryōjī saibanken ni kansuru hōritsu seitai narabi kaisakaku kankei zakken, file D–1–2–0–3, JFMA.


65. In Japan’s South Manchurian Leasehold (1905–31), the opium trade helped fund Japan’s regional Kwantung Army. Kingsberg, Moral Nation, 100–11.

67. Kobayashi Motohiro has made a similar point about prewar Tianjin, where he contends Japanese consular police made “a fairly earnest attempt” to punish Japanese and Korean opium traffickers. By contrast, Miriam Kingsberg Kadia has noted that the Japanese “police virtually ignored the drug traffic” in the South Manchurian Leasehold while the Kwantung Army “protected many traffickers, who paid bribes or kickbacks in exchange for near immunity from legal interference.” Kobayashi Motohiro, “Drug Operations by Resident Japanese in Tianjin,” in *Opium Regimes*, 154, 158; Kingsberg, *Moral Nation*, 119.

68. “Foochow Intelligence Report for December Quarter 1918,” FO 228/3278, NAUK.

69. This was also true of Japan’s South Manchurian Leasehold regarding opium infractions by Japanese nationals. Xiamen Deputty Consul Ichikawa Shinya to Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya, “Nanshi ryōji saiban to Taiwan shihō seido tōitsu ni kansuru ken,” April 1, 1919, *Nanshi ni okeru ryōji saibanken ni kansuru hōitsu seitai narabi kai-shaku kankei zakken*, file D–1–2–0–3, JFMA.


73. See, for example, the portrayal of the Taiwanese and Japanese as the primary drivers of Fujian’s opium trade at the expense of Chinese residents. Zhang Kan, *Hubu liandong*, vol. 1 of *Xiamen yu Taiwan congshu*, ed. Kong Yongsong (Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe, 2004), 245–51.


75. “Foochow Intelligence Report for December Quarter 1918,” FO 228/3278, NAUK.

76. Chung, “Taiwan zongdufu de duī’ān zhengce,” 245.


79. Xiamen Consul Inoue Kōjirō, “Amoi ni okeru Taiwan sekimin mondai,” September 1926, Zai Shina Taiwan sekimin mondai zakken, file 3–8–2–330, JFMA.


81. Peter Thilly has made a similar point about Xiamen’s thriving cocaine trade in the 1920s–30s by calling it a joint Taiwanese-Fujianese operation. Taiwanese and Chinese in Xiamen imported cocaine into Xiamen for re-export to South and Southeast Asia. Thilly, “Fujitsuru Mystery,” 98.

82. Slack, Opium, State, and Society, 66.


89. Esselstrom, Crossing Empire’s Edge, 72–73.


92. Founded in 1899, Taiwan Medical School offered one of the main areas of secondary education besides normal schools (shihan gakkō) for teacher training and later commercial and industrial colleges. The first Taiwanese middle school (Taizhong Middle School) was founded in 1915 by the Government-General after protracted negotiations with anticolonial activists led by Lin Xiantang. Patricia E. Tsurumi, Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 22; Lo, Doctors within Borders, chap. 3.


95. Xiamen Consul Inoue Kōjirō, “Amoi ni okeru Taiwan sekimin mondai,” September 1926, Zai Shina Taiwan sekimin mondai zakken, file 3–8–2–330, JFMA.


103. This was even more the case after the outbreak of the 1937 Sino-Japanese War. See, for example, Taiwanese writer Wu Zhuoliu’s experience in 1940s Nanjing. Pinghui Liao, "Travel in Early-Twentieth-Century Asia: On Wu Zhuoliu’s ‘Nanking Journals’ and His Notion of Taiwan’s Alternative Modernity,” in *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History*, ed. David Der-wei Wang and Carlos Rojas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 285–300.


108. Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, *Taiwan Sōtokufu keisatsu enkakushi*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, 1933), 77–86.


111. Among the sixty-four Taiwanese in Guangzhou targeted by the Japanese police, twenty-three were arrested while forty-one escaped. *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu keisatsu enkakushi*, vol. 2, 122–33, 135–37.

112. The Comintern placed the TCP officially under the auspices of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) because a party needed to have a membership of more than one hundred to be recognized as an independent party, for which the TCP did not

113. Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu keisatsu enkakushi, vol. 2, 662–64, 670, 674.

114. With the disbandment of the TCP, Taiwanese communists who fled to China were absorbed into the CCP. Hsiao and Sullivan, “Taiwanese Communist Party,” 276; Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, Taiwan Sōtokufu keisatsu enkakushi, vol. 2, 737–39.


116. For example, see the arrests in Xiamen of Jiang Wenlai in 1929 and Zhuang Hainan in 1933. Xiamen Consul Terashima Hirobumi to Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijūrō, July 27, 1929; Xiamen Consul Tsukamoto Tsuyoshi to Taiwan Government-General Political Affairs Chief Hiratsuka Hiroyoshi, “Yōchū Taiwanjin Zhuang Hainan ni kansuru ken,” June 25, 1934, file A–5–3–0–3, JFMA.

117. For example, see the cases of two GMD-affiliated Taiwanese filmmakers, Liu Na’ou and He Feiguang, who faced discrimination from the Japanese and Chinese in prewar and wartime China. Misawa Mamie, “Teikoku” to “sokoku” no hazama: shoku-minchiki Taiwan eigajin no kōshō to ekkyō (Iwanami Shoten, 2010), esp. chaps. 2–3.

118. Xie, Guifan, 89, 102–105.

119. Xie Chunmu [Xie Nanguang], Taiwanjin wa kaku miru (Taipei: Taiwan Minpōsha, 1930), 132.

120. Taiwan Government-General Police Bureau Security Section, “Nanshi chihō ni okeru hai-Nichi eikyō chōsa,” January 1932, Manshū Jihen (Shinahei no Mantetsu Ryūjōko bakuha ni yoru Nisshi gun shōtotsu kankei), hai Nichi, hai Ka kankei, vol. 4, file A–1–1–0–21, JFMA, JACAR Ref. B02030303100.

121. During the period of Taiwan’s “civilian rule” (1919–36), the Taiwan Army was separated from the Government-General and placed under the supervision of the army headquarters in Tokyo.

122. On GMD official reports of the Mito Incident, see Riling ji junjianzhang zai Min tiaoxin, Ref. 020–010102–0164, January 1932–December 1935, AH.

123. After further investigation of the Mito murders, the Japanese consular police arrested and deported Li and his three colleagues to Taiwan for court trials. With the Taiwan Army vouching for him, however, Lin was acquitted and went on to work for Japanese intelligence in Manchukuo, Tianjin, and Shanghai. Nakamura, “Fukushū Mito Jiken,” 216–28.

124. Wang, Riben dui Hua nanjin, 135.


3. Taiwanese in Southeast Asia

1. In the 1910s, the Japanese used the terms Nan’yō (“South Seas”), Nanpō (“Southern Regions”), and Nangoku (“Southern Countries”) more or less interchangeably. A malleable concept, Nan’yō at times referred to either present-day South Pacific or Southeast Asia or a combination of the two. For the sake of intelligibility, I use the terms Southeast Asia and South Seas interchangeably as the English translation for Nan’yō. For more on the Japanese term Nan’yō, see Hiroshi Shimizu, “Southeast Asia as a Regional Concept in Modern Japan,” in Locating Southeast Asia: Geographies of Knowledge and Politics of Space, ed. Paul H. Kratoska, Remco Raben, and Henk Schulte Nordholt (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2005), 82–112; Chou Wanyao [Zhou Wanyao], “Cong ‘Nanzhi Nanyang’ diaocha dao Nanfang gongrongquan: yi Taiwan tuozi zhushi huishu zai Fashu Zhongnanbandao de kaifa wei li,” in Taiwan tuozi zhushi huishu dang’an lunwenji, ed. Wang Shih-ching [Wang Shiqing] (Nantou: Taiwan wenxianguan, 2008), 150–58.


11. Uchida Kakichi, Kokumin kaigai hatten sakku (Takushoku Shinpōsha, 1914), 34, 41.

12. Between 1906 and 1911, the Government-General had provided annual subsidies for Japanese trade between Taiwan and South China. Kondō Masami, Sōryōkunen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkō no kenkyū (Tōsui Shobō, 1996), 70.


14. A former member of the East Asia Common Culture Association in Shanghai and economic official in colonial Korea (1905–10), Inoue founded his Southern Asia Company in 1911 to invest in Singapore rubber plantations. Inoue Masaji, “Nan’yō to Taiwan (jō),” Nan’yō Kyōkai Zasshi 7, no. 3 (March 1921): 9–10; Yokoi Kaori, Teikoku Nihon no Ajia ninshiki: tochika Taiwan ni okeru chōsa to jinzai ikusei (Iwata Shoin, 2018), 171–81.


16. For more on the Encyclopedia Bureau, see Yokoi, Teikoku Nihon no Ajia ninshiki, 20–50.
23. In 1925, the school added courses such as “Taiwan Affairs,” “Colonial Law,” “Colonial Policy,” “Ethnology,” and “Tropical Health.” By 1942, the school offered eight different foreign languages and four southern Chinese dialects. Taihoku Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō Gakugeibu, Hōyoku, no. 5 (1926): 278–79; Yokoi, Teikoku Nihon no Ajia ninshiki, 90–109.


33. Matsuoka Masao, “Kinsei shokuminshugi,” Taiwan Geppō 4, no. 12 (1910); Matsuoka Masao, “Zensekai kakushokuminchi,” Taiwan Geppō 5, no. 1 (1911); “Matsuoka shokutaku no Nan’yō-kō,” TNS, Nov. 26, 1912; Taiwan Sōtokufu, Nan’yō shisatsu fukumeisha (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1914).


36. On Tokugawa Japan’s sakoku policies, see Robert I. Hellyer, Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640–1868 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010).


40. History departments in Japanese universities usually offered three area concentrations: Japanese history (Koku-shi, “national history”), East Asian history (Tōyō-shi, focused on China and Korea), and Western History (Seiyō-shi). Taipei Imperial University’s history department replaced Western history with two concentrations in “South Seas History” and “Anthropology and Folk Customs.” On the history departments of Taipei and Seoul imperial universities, see Sakai Tetsuya and Matsuda Toshihiko, ed., Teikoku Nihon to shokuminchi daigaku (Yumani Shobō, 2014). On Kenkoku University in Manchuko, see Yuka Hiruma Kishida, Kenkoku University and the Experience of Pan-Asianism: Education in the Japanese Empire (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).
43. Iwao Seichi’s seminal monograph, A Study of Japantowns in the South Seas (Nan’yō Nihon machi no kenkyū, 1940), received the prestigious Japan Academy Imperial Prize in 1941. For more on how Iwao’s academic and public activities helped legitimate Japanese rule in Taiwan and imperial ambitions in Southeast Asia, see Seiji Shirane, “Iwao Seichi and Japanese Histories of the ‘South Seas’ in Colonial Taiwan,” Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus (forthcoming).
44. Tanaka, Japan’s Orient.
48. This was the case even as Japanese colonial officials were aware of differences in speech groups (Fujianese, Cantonese, Hakka) and native-place groups (those whose ancestors came from Xiamen, Chaozhou, Guangzhou) among the Chinese diasporic population. This was similarly true for Anglophone officials who referred to the Han Taiwanese population interchangeably as “Formosan-Chinese,” “Japanese subjects of the Chinese race,” “Chinese with Japanese nationality,” or “Chinese owing allegiance to Japan.”
51. Inoue Masaji, “Nan’yō to Taiwan (1–8),” TNS, May–June 1914.
52. Yano Tōru, “Nanshin” no keifu, Nihon no Nan’yō shikan (Chikura Shobō, 2009), 38–43.


59. “Jian Ji zaiseki no umu ni kanshi naimuchō kan ni kaitō,” January 1901, file 4644–22, TGGA.


61. “Zai Banko-fu Gao Kuishi naru mono no kokuseki hennyūgan funinka no ken,” May 1907, file 5026–1, 15–16, TGGA.


63. Manila Deputty Vice-Consul Sugimura Tsunezo to Foreign Minister Count Komura Jutarō, “Taiwan sekimin oyobi Chōsenjin no gaikoku ni okeru taigū kaihō no ken,” July 7, 1911, Zaigai Chōsenjin oyobi Taiwan sekimin no taigū furitorishirabe ikken, file 3–8–6–30, JFMA.


67. Tomio Matsuoka to American Consulate, Taihoku, Taiwan, “Declaration of Alien About to Depart for the United States,” March 5, 1918, and Visa Granted (No. 78) to Tomio Matsuoka by American Consulate, Taihoku, Taiwan, May 14, 1919, Formosa Consular Posts, vols. 100, 103. RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.

69. H. B. McCoy, Insular Collector of Customs, to Japanese Consul in Manila, June 21, 1911, Zaigai Chōsenjin oyobi Taiwan sekimin no taigii furitorishirabe ikken, file 3–8–6–30, JFMA.
70. McCoy to Japanese Consul in Manila, June 21, 1911.
71. US Consul James W. Davidson, Tamsui, to Chief of Foreign Section, Formosan Government, “Chinese certificates for Chinese visiting America or Philippines,” May 9, 1900, Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vol. 7, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
73. American Consulate, Taihoku, Taiwan, Japan, “Precis: In the matter of the application of I Hon-si [Yu Fengshi] for the visa of a Chinese ‘Section Six’ Certificate,” Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vol. 114, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
74. See cases in Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vols. 91, 97, 101, 103, 107, 123, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
75. For examples of Taiwanese who failed to establish their status as merchants, see cases in Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vols. 7, 47, 114, 135, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
77. V. Aldanese, Insular Collector of Customs, reply to American Consul Taipei, June 24, 1929, Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vol. 135, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
78. American Consulate, Tamsui, Taiwan, Japan, “Precis: In the matter of the application of Chin Tsu Bung [Zhou Ziwen] for visa of Chinese certificate to go to the Philippines under Section Six,” September 5, 1931, Taipei (Taihoku), Formosa Consular Posts, vol. 91, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, NARA.
79. For a list of prominent Taiwanese individuals in the Philippines, see Kanan Ginkō, Firipin ni okeru Taiwan sekimin ni kansuru chōsa (Taipei: Kanan Ginkō, 1941).
85. “Taiwanjin nyūkoku kyojū ni kansuruken (zai Batabia Someya ryōji hōkoku gaimu jikan yori ichō),” January 1910, file 1733–8, 120–23, TGGA.
86. Takekoshi Yosaburō, Nangokuki (Niyūsha, 1910), 179.
87. Takekoshi, Nangokuki, 179–81.
90. “Hontōjin nishite Ranryō Jaba e tokō suru mono, kaigai ryoken shōmei kata no ken,” June 1901, file 619–3, 1–6, TGGA.
91. “Kokuji dai hyaku yonjū-ichigō Ranryō Indo no tokō suru Taiwanjin no ryōken ni Rankoku ryōji no sashō o yōsezaru ken (Takashokukyoku sono hoka),” November 1910, file 1625–2, 57–62, TGGA.
92. Acting 1st Government Secretary Kindermann to the Japanese Consul in Batavia, “List of Japanese to whom since 1st. April 1912 the admittance in Netherlands India has been refused in Java & Madura,” October 2, 1915, Ranryō Indo ni okeru dōchi kanken Honpōjin toriatsukafūru zakken, fu Taiwan sekimin moto Shinjin toriatsukau narabi ryoken hakkyū ni kansuru ken, file 3–8–6–254, JFMA.
93. “Taiwanjin nyūkoku kyojū ni kansuruken (zai Batabia Someya ryōji hōkoku gaimu jikan yori ichō),” January 1910, file 1733–8, 121–22, TGGA.
94. “Kangai go ni,” January 1914, file 5741–9, 91–100, TGGA.
95. Batavia Consul Ukita Kōji to Foreign Minister Count Makino Nobuaki, “Taiwan sekimin ni kansuru ken,” June 7, 1913, Ranryō Indo ni okeru dōchi kanken Honpōjin toriatsukafūru zakken, fu Taiwan sekimin moto Shinjin toriatsukau narabi ryoken hakkyū ni kansuru ken, file 3–8–6–254, JFMA.
96. Batavia Consul Ukita Kōji to Foreign Minister Count Makino Nobuaki, “Taiwan sekimin ni kansuru ken,” June 7, 1913.
100. Foreign Minister to Batavia Consul Someya Seishō, “Taiwanjin nyūkoku tetsuzuki ni kanshi kaikun no ken,” December 16, 1909, Ranryō Indo ni okeru dōchi kanken Honpōjin toriatsukafūru zakken, fu Taiwan sekimin moto Shinjin toriatsukau narabi ryoken hakkyū ni kansuru ken, file 3–8–6–254, JFMA.

102. Guo Chunyang handled about one-third of all Taiwanese Baozhong tea (a type of flower tea such as jasmine) to Southeast Asia. Kawarabayashi Naoto, Kindai Ajia to Taiwan: Taiwan chagyō no rekishiteki tenkai (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 2003), 20, 69–71, 79–82.


104. Kawarabayashi, Kindai Ajia to Taiwan, 70–72, 83, 120–25; Kuo, Networks beyond Empires, 183.

105. For instance, Tsutsumibayashi lectured at Ōba Jōtarō’s middle school on Java in 1914. Upon graduating in 1917, Ōba and thirteen other classmates went to work for Tsutsumibayashi’s company. Jagatara Tomo no Kai, Jagatara kannwa: Ran’in jidai Hōjin no sokuseki (Jagatara Tomo no Kai, 1978), 64; Yano, “Nanshin” no Keifu, 38–43.


111. Lin Xiongzheng, “Nanhua Nanyang jingji zhuangkuang,” Taiwan no Chagyō, no. 7 (November 1927): 30.

112. Several Bank of Taiwan branches in Southeast Asia also closed during this time. Schneider, “Taiwan Government-General,” 175.

113. Kuo, Networks beyond Empires, 89.

114. On Taiwanese hiding their Japanese nationality and blending in with overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, see Ōta Shūkichi, “Taiwan sekimin no Nan’yō ni okeru katsudō jōkyō,” in Taiwan keizai nenpō (Shōwa 17-nen ban), ed. Taiwan Keizai Nenpō Kankōkai (Kokusa Nihon Kyōkai, 1942), 671–94.


117. Huei-Ying Kuo has noted that anti-Japanese boycotts in Singapore were not completely effective as the Government-General redirected its tea trade routes to Shantou, where tea was repacked as “Chinese tea” before being shipping to Southeast Asia. Many Singaporean Chinese were said to have also participated in the Japanese-Taiwanese trade during the 1930s. Kuo, Networks beyond Empires, 183–84, 227–32.

118. “Cai Tianzhu Chûka Minkoku nanbu chihô narabi Nan’yô ni okeru chagyô chôsa ni kansuru jimu o shokutakusu, hôkyû, kinmu,” July 1932, file 10234–16, TGGA.

119. Chen Tianlai, “Hôshucha no dakaisaku (shin hanro o kaitaku seyo), Taiwan no Chagyô 15, no. 1 (December 1932): 1–2. In the 1920s, Chen succeeded Guo Chunyang as the leading Taiwanese merchant of the Baozhong tea trade. Kawarabayashi, Kindai Ajia to Taiwan, 81.


122. Ide Kiwata, Shina minzoku no Nanpôhattenshi (Tôei Shoin, 1943), 371; Kondô, Sôryokusen, 66.


4. Mobilizing for War


3. Hokushi Jihen o tôshite mitaru hontôjin no kôminka no teidô (September 1937), reprinted in Haruyama Meitetsu, ed., Taiwan Tônai Jôhô, hontôjin no dôkô (Fuji Shuppan, 1990), 111–12.


17. “Minfū sakkō o mezashi daikyōgikai hirakaru: Nakagawa sōtoku rinjō no shita ni netsuretsu na iken toro,” TNS, July 26, 1936.


20. By 1936, less than one-tenth of Taiwanese primary schools even offered literary Chinese. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 111. By contrast, the Korean language was downgraded to an optional course in Korea in 1938 and then removed from the curriculum altogether in 1941. Chou, “Kōminka Movement,” 49.


29. During the same period, the number of Japanese households in Taiwan with licensed radios increased from 31,500 to over 55,000 (though the household percentage declined from 72 percent to 55 percent). Chien-jung Hsu, *The Construction of National Identity in Taiwan’s Media, 1896–2012* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 21–22.


31. Japan's Foreign Ministry provided ¥50 to each Taiwanese family head and an additional ¥10–20 per family member. “Amoi e no fukkihi ni jūichiman yen o kafu: Gaimushō to sesshō no Fu, Chen, ryōshi ki-Tai,” TNS, February 11, 1938.


33. “Shina no bōjō wa Taiwan dewa sōzōgai: Amoi kara no hikiagemindan,” TNS, August 27, 1937; “Okuchī zairyū sekimin no seimei wa sude ni zetsubō ka: Amoi Shinagun no bōgyaku,” TNS, August 28, 1937.


36. “Amoi e no fukkihi ni jūichiman yen o kafu: Gaimushō to sesshō no Fu, Chen, ryōshi ki-Tai,” TNS, February 11, 1938. Subsequent Japanese and Taiwanese testimonies
on the damages to Xiamen Kyokuei Academy were published in Amoi Kyokuei Shoin, *Shina Jihen to Kyokuei Shoin* (Taipei: Amoi Kyokuei Shoin, 1940), 29–34, 62, 108.


38. “Xiamen de Riji langren,” *MTGDZ*, 70.


46. Liang Hua-huang [Liang Huahuang], *Taiwan zongdufu de “duian” zhengce yanjiu: Riju shidai TaiMin guanxi shi* (Daxiand, 2001), 206–07.

47. “Conscription in Formosa” (May 1942), Extract from Postal & Telegraph Censorship, The Far East, Japanese Activities, WO 208/1362, NAUK.


52. See Leo Ching’s comparison of wartime kōminka (which he translates as “imperialization”) and prewar dōka (“assimilation”). Ching, *Becoming “Japanese,”* chap. 3.


55. Takeuchi Kiyoshi, *Jihen to Taiwa*njin (Taipei: Taiwan Shiminpōsha, 1940), 68–70; Shirayanagi Hiroyuki, “Taiwan kokumin gakkōki shūshin kyōkasho kyōzai ‘Kokoro


58. Ching, Becoming “Japanese,” 161–68; Barclay, Outcasts of Empire, 156.

59. Hayashi Eidai, Taiwan no Yamato damashi (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 2000), 166, 171–75.


61. Kikuchi Kazutaka, Nihongun gerira, Taiwan Takasago Giyūtai: Taiwan genjūmin no Taiheiyō Sensō (Heibonsha, 2018), 68.


63. Kondō, Sōryokusen, 353–54; Chatani, Nation-Empire, 172.

64. For example, Warisu Piho (b. 1920, Yonekawa Nobuo, Atayal tribe) recounted that he was ordered by colonial police to sign up for military service. Several indigenous Taiwanese who willingly volunteered were never told in advance by Japanese officials that they would be sent to the war front. Kikuchi, Nihongun gerira, 50–51; Chou Wan-yao [Zhou Wanyao], ed., Taiji Ribenbing zuotanhui jilu bing xiangguan ziliao (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi yanjiusuo choubeichu, 1997), 14–18; Ts’ai Hui-yu [Cai Huiyu] and Wu Ling-ching [Wu Lingqing], ed., Zouguo liangge shidai de ren: Taiji Ribenbing, 2nd ed. (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi yanjiusuo, 2008), 160–161, 292.


67. Hayashi, Taiwan no Yamato damashi, 99, 105.


75. Ts’ai and Wu, *Zouguo liangge shidai*, 481.


82. Chou has cited the following reasons for the lower ratio of “national language speakers” in wartime Korea: a higher illiteracy rate to start with (in 1930, 78 percent of Koreans read neither Korean nor Japanese); it had four times the population of Taiwan; and its colonization by Japan was fifteen years later than Taiwan. Chou, “Kōminka Movement,” 52–54.

5. Colonial Liaisons in Occupied South China


5. On the Nanjing Massacre from December 1937 to January 1938, see Takashi Yo-
shida, The Making of the “Rape of Nanking”: History and Memory in Japan, China, and the
United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
7. Franco David Macri, Clash of Empires in South China: The Allied Nations’ Proxy War
9. Japanese personnel from Manchukuo were brought in to conduct surveys, build
infrastructure, and help govern North and Central China. See, for example, Aaron Step-
hen Moore, Constructing East Asia: Technology, Ideology, and Empire in Japan’s Wartime
Hammond, China’s Muslims and Japan’s Empire: Centering Islam in World War II (Chapel
Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020), 52–53; Timothy Brook, Collaboration:
Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
10. Parks M. Coble, Chinese Capitalists in Japan’s New Order: The Occupied Lower
Yangzi, 1937–1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 45–47, 62; Christian
Henriot and Wen- Hsin Yeh, introduction to In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai
under Japanese Occupation, ed. Christian Henriot and Wen- Hsin Yeh (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
11. Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Shina Jihen Dai Tōa Sensō ni tomonau tai Nanzō shi-
saku jōkyō (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, 1943), 6–7, 13–15; Kondō, Sōryokusen,
112; Justin Adam Schneider, “The Business of Empire: The Taiwan Development Cor-
poration and Japanese Imperialism in Taiwan, 1936–1946” (PhD diss., Harvard Uni-
12. Taiwan Sōtokufu, “Kainantō shori hōshin” (1938), reprinted in Tsunoda Jun,
ed. Nitchū Sensō, vol. 10, bk. 3 of Gendaishi shiryō (Misuzu Shobō, 1963), 453–54; Schnei-
phen R. MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra F. Vogel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University
16. Barbara J. Brooks, Japan’s Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in
18. Taiwan Government-General Foreign Affairs Division Head Katō Saburō to
Foreign Minister Konoe Fumimaro, “Sōmu Chōkan yori Gaimu Jikan e,” October
19. Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro to Army Minister Itagaki Seishirō, “Kōain set-
chi ni tomonai dōin to kankei kakuchosō to no aida ni jimun bunkai no ken,” December 12,


23. After the war, the GMD sentenced Lin to fifteen years in prison as a “traitor of the Han” (C. hannyaian, MTHZJ, 117.


32. Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Shina Jihen Dai Tōa Sensō, 123, 180.

33. The Co-Prosperity Association’s Xiamen branch consisted of 115 Taiwanese and 109 Japanese members. The Association would later extend its branches and language centers to Guangzhou, Shantou, Foshan, Chaozhou, and Haikou. Yang Dicui, Xin Xiamen zhinan (Xiamen: Huanan Xinribaoshe, 1941), 125, 135.

34. Kitahara, Matsuda, Ishii, and Kurasawa, Kō kyōiku kensetsu, 250–66; Xiamen tebieshi jiaoyuyu, Di san jie liu Tai xiaoxue xiaozhang jiaoyuan ganxianglu (Xiamen: Xiamen tebieshi jiaoyuyu, 1944); Zhang, Shinsei Amoi genkyō, 31, 38, 44, 64; Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Nanshi hōmen shihō jimu, 12, 191.

35. Zhang, Shinsei Amoi genkyō, 83.


38. Ishiyama Kenkichi, Kikō Manshū, Taiwan, Kainantō (Nihon Shuppan Haikyū, 1942), 588.


40. Hideshima Tatsuo, Honkon, Kainantō no kensetsu (Matsuyamabō, 1942), 182.


42. Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Shina Jihen Dai Tōa Sensō, 9; Amoi Kyokuei Shoin, Shina Jihen to Kyokuei Shoin, 73; MTHZJ, 72, 112.


44. Amoi Kyokuei Shoin, Shina Jihen to Kyokuei Shoin, 102–104.


47. Starting in 1928, Xu concurrently served as principal of Xiamen Chinese Primary School. Xiamenshi zhengfu jiaoyuju, “Jiayuju zhiyuan lüli (di yi ce),” 2; Riwei Xiamen tebieshi zhengfu ji qi suoshu jiguan quanzong huiji, file A63–1–139, XMA.

48. Xiamenshi zhengfu jiaoyuju, “Jiaoyuju zhiyuan lüli (di yi ce),” 2; MTHZJ, 131; MTGDZ, 182.


52. Takeuchi Kiyoshi, Jihen to Taiwanjin (Taipei: Taiwan Shinminpōsha, 1940), 116.


55. In August 1938, Yamashita was hired by the Taiwan Radio Bureau to administer its Cantonese-language broadcasts. “Kanda Tatsuki Nanshi hōmen shinshutsusha yōsei kōshū kōshū o meisu,” December 1938, file 10259–86; Huang Yibin Shōwa jūyonendo dai ikkai Nanshi hōmen shinshutsusha yōsei kōshū kōshū o meisu,” June 1939, file 10098–40, TGGA.

56. Satō lectured on South China’s history, peoples, customs, and economies, while Gotō covered topics such as “Japan’s Mission in East Asia” and “Sino-Japanese Harmonious Cooperation and Moral Principles in Developing the Empire’s South
China Economy.” Huang Yibin Shōwa jūyōnendo dai ikkai Nanshi hōmen shinshutsusaya kōshūkai kōshi o meisu,” June 1939, file 10098–40, TGGA.


59. Wang Jinxiu and Chen Shaozong, Jitsuyō sokusei Kainango dokuhon (Taipei: Nippon Shōgakukan, 1941); Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, Kainantōgo kaiwa (Sanseidō, 1941).

60. Chou, Taiji Ribenbing, 26, 175–80, 236.

61. Wang Jinxiu and Chen Shaozong, Jitsuyō sokusei Kainango dokuhon (Taipei: Nippon Shōgakukan, 1941); Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, Kainantōgo kaiwa (Sanseidō, 1941).


63. Wang Jinxiu and Chen Shaozong, Jitsuyō sokusei Kainango dokuhon (Taipei: Nippon Shōgakukan, 1941); Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, Kainantōgo kaiwa (Sanseidō, 1941).

64. Chou, Taiji Ribenbing, 26, 175–80, 236.

65. Wang Jinxiu and Chen Shaozong, Jitsuyō sokusei Kainango dokuhon (Taipei: Nippon Shōgakukan, 1941); Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, Kainantōgo kaiwa (Sanseidō, 1941).

66. Chou, Taiji Ribenbing, 26, 175–80, 236.


68. For a list of prominent Taiwanese businessmen and their companies in Xiamen, see Yang, Xin Xiamen zhinan, 60–62.


70. “Xiamen lunxian qijian Ri-Tairen qinzhan Xiamen chanye qingkuang,” North China Herald, March 20, 1941, reprinted in MTGDZ, 150–51; Huang Junling, Kangzhan shiqi Fujian Chonganxian de Taiwan jimin: xintaishi shiyi xia de kaocha (Beijing: Jiuzhou chubanshe, 2010), 88–89.

71. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi Shiten (February 1941), in “Xiamen zhidian (1),” file T0868_02_02075_0654, 97–103, ITHA.

72. By 1941, out of a total of 114 companies in Xiamen, seventy-six were owned by the Taiwanese, twenty-nine by the Japanese, and six by the Chinese. Lin, “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” 181, 194.


75. MTHZJ, 10–11.


77. Xiamenshi dang’anguan, ed., Jindai Xiamen shenhui lueying (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 2000), 39.

78. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (October 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 151, ITHA.
79. MTGDZ, 182, 395. For biographical information on prominent Taiwanese merchants and officials in occupied Xiamen, see Xiamenshi zhengfu caizhengju, “Zuheyuan mingbo,” Riwei Xiamen tebieshi zhengfu ji qi suoshu jiguan quanzong huiji, file A63–1–85, XMA.
85. Takashi Fujitani, Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 42.
86. Zhao Guohui [Zhao Guohui], Xiamen Riji Taimin zhi xisong jiefen (Taipei: Haixia xueshu chubanshe, 2013), 304.
87. Both Shanghai and Gulangyu’s international settlements were dominated by British officials and firms until the Pacific War in December 1941. Isabella Jackson, Shaping Modern Shanghai: Colonialism in China’s Global City (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 16–18, 79–80.
90. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi Jijō (November 1938), in “Xiamen shiqing zi di yi bao zhi di 14 bao (1),” file T0868_02_02079_0737, 28–30; Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (May, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 362–64, ITHA.
91. Yun Xia, Down with Traitors: Justice and Nationalism in Wartime China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017), 53.

93. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (May 29, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 246, ITHA.


95. Five Chinese suspects would eventually confess to killing Hong based on secret orders from the GMD military. “Suspects Confess Death of Amoy Merchant,” North China Herald, June 28, 1939; Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (May 29, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 207, ITHA.

96. Interdepartmental Cypher, “Landing of British, American and French forces at Kulangsu,” May 19, 1939, FO 371/23524, NAUK.


98. Copy telegram from Commander-in-Chief, China, “Question of withdrawal of forces from Kulangsu,” May 31, 1939, FO 371/23524, NAUK.

99. In 1935, the Japanese representative in the municipal council proposed that one Taiwanese serve as a special committee member on the council to represent the 450 Taiwanese residents. However, the proposal was rejected by a vote of eighty Westerners to twenty Japanese. “Ratepayers Meet at Kulangsu: Japanese and Council Employment: Nationality Question Raised,” North China Herald, March 13, 1935.

100. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (August 15, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 48–49, ITHA.

101. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (May 22, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 335, ITHA.

102. “Amoi de Taiwan kyoryūmin jikyoku taikai o hiraku, han- Ei no kiseiō ni agaru,” TNS, July 8, 1939; “Amoi Taiwainjin kekki: sanken o yōkū,” Yomiuri Shinbun, July 8, 1939; Telegram from Amoy Consul to A. Clark-Kerr (Shanghai Embassy), July 17, 1939, FO 371/23525, NAUK; Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (August 15, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 21–23, ITHA.

103. Uchida also postponed negotiations over the appointment of Chinese representatives in the municipal council. “Kulangsu Dispute Settled: Concessions by Both Sides Bring Five-months’ Issue to End; U.S. and Japan Sailors Withdraw,” North China Herald, October 25, 1939.

104. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi jōhō Koronsu mondai (December 18, 1939), in “Xiamen qingbao Gulangyu wenti (1),” file T0868_02_02085_0736, 198, ITHA.


106. On Indian policemen in the Shanghai Municipal Police, see Yin Cao, From Policemen to Revolutionaries: A Sikh Diaspora in Global Shanghai, 1885–1945 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

107. Telegram from Amoy Consul Fitzmaurice to Gulangyu Municipal Council Chairman L. H. Hitchcock, January 20, 1940, FO 371/24663, NAUK.
108. Telegram from Amoy Consul Fitzmaurice to Archibald Clark Kerr (Shanghai Embassy), March 14, 1940, FO 371/24663, NAUK.
109. Taiwan Ginkō Amoi Shiten, Amoi Shiten (January 6, 1941), in “Xiamen zhidian (1),” file T0868_02_02075_0654, 454–55, ITHA.
110. Liu, Xiamen zhiyuanlu, 169–72.
111. On Gulangyu under Japanese military occupation, see He Qiying, Gokuukō Amoi Shiten, (January 6, 1941), in “Xiamen zhidian (1),” file T0868_02_02075_0654, 454–55, ITHA.
112. Liu, Xiamen zhiyuanlu, 169–72.
122. “Nōgyō teishindan o haken: Kainantō no zōsan shidōni,” Kōnan Shinbun, August 9, 1942; Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Taiwan no Nanpō kyōryoku ni tsuite (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, 1943), 73; Schneider, “Business of Empire,” 277–78; Chung, “Shokumin to saishokumin,” 324.
127. Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Dai Tōa Kyōeiken no kakuritsu to Nihon minzoku no nettaitekiyō seikatsu, Kainantō ni okeru Nihon minzoku no nettyō seikatsu chōsa hōkoku (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, 1941), 321.


131. Shimomiya Atsushi, “Yutaka naru Kainantō,” TJ (March 1939): 251. Founded in 1919 as the Taiwan Medical Vocational School (Taiwan Igaku Senmon Gakkō), the school became Taipei Imperial University’s Medical Department (Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku Igakubu) in 1936. The department’s Tropical Medical Research Center (Nettai Igaku Kenkyūjo) focused on malaria research and disease prevention.

132. Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Taiwan no Nanpō kyōryoku, 20, 221–22.


135. Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku Eiseika, Taiwan no eisei (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku Eiseika, 1939), 141; “Kainantō de kinrō hōshi: Taidai, shochū kyōka ni gakusei o haken,” Kōnan Shinbun, May 27, 1941.


140. Hayashi, Taiwan no Yamato damashi, 118.

141. Chou, Taiji Ribenbing, 121, 282.


143. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 422; Hayashi, Taiwan no Yamato damashi, 118–121.

144. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 423.


146. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 555.

147. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 556.

149. For example, see Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai: sumire no hana ga saita koro: Nittai gassaku (Tendensha, 2001); Hong Linxing and Itami Yasuhito, Taiwanjin jügün kango joshu to Nihonjin gun’i: Kanton Dai-ni Rikugun Byōin no kizuna wa imamo: Nittai gassaku (Tendensha, 2006).


151. The total number of comfort women in Japan’s wartime empire remains contested among historians. Yoshimi Yoshiaki has estimated between 40,000 and 200,000 comfort women while Chu Te-lan has estimated over 400,000 comfort women (100,000–200,000 Koreans, 200,000 Chinese, and several thousand Taiwanese). Yoshimi, Comfort Women, 86–92; Chu, Taiwan Sōtokufu to ianfu, 13, 18.

152. Yoshimi and Chu differentiate between prostitutes (J. karyūgyōsha, C. hualiuyezhe) and comfort women, with the latter group officially under Japanese military control. Yoshimi, Comfort Women, 13, 18; Chu, Taiwan Sōtokufu to ianfu, 194–202, 226–34. By contrast, a 1992 report by the Taipei Women’s Rescue Foundation noted that forty-four out of forty-eight comfort women in occupied China, Japanese comfort women typically wore Japanese robes, the Koreans were given Japanese robes or military uniforms, and the lowest-ranking Chinese were not given any clothes. They do not include what Taiwanese comfort women might have worn. Qiu, Su, and Chen, Chinese Comfort Women, 26–35.
former Taiwanese comfort women recalled having been paid in cash. Yoshimi, *Comfort Women*, 143.

160. Yoshimi Yoshiaki indicates that Japanese and Koreans in Japan’s metropole were similarly tricked into thinking they were signing up as hospital assistants, only to be rounded up and taken to Hainan as comfort women. Yoshimi, *Comfort Women*, 103.


166. For example, see Liang Hua-huang [Liang Huahuang], *Taiwan zongdufu de “duian” zhengce yanjü: Riju shidai TaiMin guanxi shi* (Daoxiang, 2001), 203–04.


6. Advancing into the Southern Regions


5. Japanese perceptions of shared ethnolinguistic ties among indigenous peoples in Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific stemmed from studies by the Taipei Imperial University’s Institute of Ethnology (a subfield of the History Department, est. 1928), Japan’s center for ethnohistorical studies on the Southern Regions. Utsurikawa Nenozō (1884–1947), the institute’s director, formed the university’s Southern Regions Ethnology Association (Nanpō Dozoku Gakkai, est. 1929), which published the journal *Southern Regions Ethnology Nanpō Dozoku* from 1931 to 1944. Kokubu Naoto, “Utsurikawa Nenozō: Nanpō minzoku bunka kenkyū no paionia,” in *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, ed. Ayabe Tsuneo (Kyoto: Akademia Shuppankai, 1985), 167–90.

6. Exceptions were the Taiwanese comfort women, who were by no means empowered in military comfort stations in Southeast Asia, as will be analyzed below.


17. “Shin Nanguntō (Minami Shinakai no sangoshō): Taiwan Sōtokufu kankatsuka ni Anri Futsu taishi e tsūkoku,” Yomiuri Shinbun, April 1, 1939.


nado no keihi o rainendo ni keijō,” TNS, June 22, 1939; “Shin Nanguntō e keisatsuken haken,” TNS, June 26, 1939.


29. “Takao Taiwan o chūshin toshite Nanpō keizai seisaku o kakuritsu: Taiwan Sōtoku no kengen o kakudai shi Kaigun no hokushu nanshin saku ni koou,” Manshū Nichinichi Shinbun, May 2, 1936.


33. Kondō Masami, Sōryokusen to Taiwan: Nihon shokuminchi hōkai no kenkyū (Tōsui Shobō, 1996), 121.

34. Masami, Sōryokusen to Taiwan, 28, 121–22.

35. Peattie, Nan’yō, 249–51; Tōmatsu, Nihon Teikoku to inin tōchi, 46.


57. Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, *Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai jigyō jisshi jōkyō hōkokusho* (Taipei: Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, 1939), 18; Yeh Pi-ling [Ye Biling], *Xueshu xianfeng: Taibei dīguo daxue yu Riben nanjin zhengce zhi yanjiu* (Daoxiang, 2010), 137.
58. Yeh, Xueshu xianfeng, 135, 142, 165.
59. Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai, Taiwan Nanpō Kyōkai jigyō, 17–18; “Jikyoku kōen eigakai raijō kangei,” Kōnan Shinbun, February 1, 1941; “Nanpō chishiki fukyū no jikyoku dai kōeinkai,” Kōnan Shinbun, April 22, 1941.
62. Kuwahara Masao, Taiwan to Nanshi Nan’yō no jissai mondai: sonohoka jiji (Taipei: Taiwan Keizai Kenkyūkai, 1941), 14–15; “Futsuin no sangyō to Taiwan hontōjin no shinshutsu ni kōteki,” TNS, August 26, 1941; “Nanpō kaitaku no senpei ni takushi 500 mei o yōsei: chikaku boshū ni chakushu semu,” Kōnan Shinbun, August 30, 1941; “Nanpō kyōryoku ni Taiwan no keiken: Futsuin ni kōma saibai: hontō kara gijutsu to shushi o teikyō,” Kōnan Shinbun, March 4, 1942.
68. Tsuji, Singapore, the Japanese Version, 9–13; Gotō, “Japan’s Southward Advance,” 33. As early as 1928, the Army Aviation Headquarters first proposed that Taiwan serve as a military base for aircraft to bomb the Philippines. Jürgen Melzer, Wings for the Rising Sun: A Transnational History of Japanese Aviation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020), 116.
69. Tsuji, Singapore, the Japanese Version, 32; Kondō, Sōryokusen, 129.
70. On the lead-up to the Asia-Pacific War, see Yellen, Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, chap. 2; Barnhart, Japan Prepares for Total War, chap. 12.
71. On Japan’s occupation of these regions, see Chi Man Kwong and Yiu Lun Tsoi, Eastern Fortress: A Military History of Hong Kong, 1840–1970 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), chaps. 8–9; Paul H. Kratoska, The Japanese Occupation of Malaya: A Social and Economic History (London: Hurst, 1998); Mark, Japan’s Occupation of Java; E. Bruce Reynolds, Thailand and Japan’s Southern Advance, 1940–1945 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994); Lydia N. Yu-Jose, Japan Views the Philippines, 1900–1944 (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), chap. 10; Yellen, Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, chap. 4.
76. The number of deaths continues to be debated among scholars, with estimates as low as 5,000 and as high as 25,000. Hayashi, “The Battle of Singapore,” 1.
78. Wee had arrived in Singapore in 1917 and worked for the Japanese Southern Asia Company (est. 1911), where his job was to manage overseas Chinese laborers. During the occupation, he was an employee of South Seas Warehouse while concurrently serving as a military interpreter. Chung, *Nanyang de Taiwanren*, 318, 343–44.
81. Wee was said to have been killed in Singapore after the war by “anti-Japanese forces.” Mamoru Shinozaki and Lim Yoon Lin, *My Wartime Experiences in Singapore* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1973), 35–37; Shinozaki, *Syonan*, 45–47.
84. Ho Yit Leong, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000383, Reel 4, interview by Tan Beng Luan, July 7, 1984, Oral History Centre, NAS.
86. Ah Chin Teong, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000047, Reel/Disc 4, June 25, 1984, Oral History Centre, NAS.
88. Harris bin Abdul Karim Muhammad, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000070, Reel 4, interview by Jalil Miswardi, June 23, 1984, Oral History Centre, NAS.
89. Ong Chye Hock, Chinese Dialect Groups, Accession Number 000135, Reel 25, interview by Chai Yong Hwa, April 3, 1982, Oral History Centre, NAS.
90. Lee Kim Chuan, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000168, Reel 22, interview by Chua Ser Koon, March 26, 1982; Teong Ah Chin, Japanese
Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000047, Reel 4, interview by Tan Beng Luan, June 25, 1984; Soon Kim Seng, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 000543, Reel 8, interview by Tan Beng Luan, May 3, 1985; Phoon Kim Seng, Chinatown, Accession Number 002253, Reel 10, interview by Jesley Chua Chee Huan, March 30, 2000, Oral History Centre, NAS.

91. Chen Say Jame, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Reel 2, Accession Number 003038, interview by Lim Lai Hwa, March 24, 2006, Oral History Centre, NAS.

92. Lim Kit Long, Transportation in Singapore, Accession Number 002427, Reel/Disc 2, October 11, 2000; Tan Tian Chor, Japanese Occupation of Singapore, Accession Number 001354, Reel/Disc 3, June 25, 1992, Oral History Centre, NAS. Chung Shu-ming has noted that Zhang Haiteng, a prominent Taiwanese doctor in Manila, similarly requested that the Japanese army be lenient toward the overseas Chinese leaders arrested in the Philippines. Chung, Nanyang de Taiwanren, 518.


94. “Futsuin no sangyō to Taiwan hontōjin no shinshutsu ni kōteki,” TNS, August 26, 1941; “Nanpō kyōryoku ni Taiwan no keiken: Futsuin ni kōma saibai, hontō kara gijutsu to shushi o teikyō,” Kōnan Shinbun, March 4, 1942.


96. Amanoya Risuke, “Taiwan nōgyō Nanpō eiku,” TJ (August 1942): 44; Katō Kyōhei, “Nanpō kensetsu to Taitaku no jigyō,” TJ (October 1943): 75; Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, Taiwan no Nanpō kyōryoku ni tsuite (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Gaijibu, 1943), 48–50, 63; Kuwahara, Taiwan to Nanshi Nan'yō, 14–15; Schneider, “Business of Empire,” chap. 5.


100. Yoshizawa, Watashitachi no naka no Ajia no sensō, 140–41.


102. Yoshizawa, Watashitachi no naka no Ajia no sensō, 137.


120. Huang, “Yamatodamashi,” 227.


126. By mid-1942, there were an estimated 125,309 white POWs and 162,226 Asian POWs in Southeast Asia with 64,000 members of the British Commonwealth (including 17,000 Australians and 1,600 Canadians), 24,000 Dutch, 15,000 Americans, 44,000 Chinese, and 185,000 resident Asians (including 100,000 Indonesians). Utsumi, *Nihongun no horyo seisaku*, 180.


131. Li Chan-ping [Li Zhanping], Qianjin Boluozhou: Taiji zhanfu shiyuan (Nantou: Guoshiguan Taiwan wenxianguan, 2005), 72. The Korean Army’s three POW camps were on a smaller scale with around one thousand POWs in 1942 and less than 500 by the end of 1942. Utsumi, Nihongun no horyo seisaku, 221–24; Kovner, Prisoners of the Empire, 123–25.


137. Julian Ryall, “British ex-POW in Japanese camp ‘disgusted’ by guard demands for compensation; Survivor of ‘Death Railway’ says Korean, Taiwanese guards were worst tormentors of Allied prisoners and ‘should be whipped,’” The Telegraph, November 11, 2014.


139. Fukunaga, Kokoro hatsuru made, 44–47; Hayashi Eidai, Taiwan no Yamato damashi (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 2000), 235–37; Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 291.

140. This was similarly the case for Korean guards. Kovner, Prisoners of the Empire, 60–61; Utsumi, Nihongun no horyo seisaku, 174–75.


142. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 296–97.

143. On similar accounts of Korean guards who showed compassion toward Allied POWs, see Kovner, Prisoners of the Empire, 7, 115, 129.

144. Fukunaga, Kokoro hatsuru made, 70–72.

145. Hayashi, Shōgen, 156–60.

146. Hayashi, Shōgen, 69–70.
149. Ts’ai and Wu, Zoguo liangge shidai, 299–303.
150. Ts’ai and Wu, Zoguo liangge shidai, 303–304.
153. Fukunaga, Kokoro hatsuru made, 73–82.
156. Sarak Kovner has noted how the POW experience differed greatly from camp to camp. Kovner, Prisoners of the Empire, 4.
158. Li Zhanping [Li Zhanping], Zhanhuo wenshen de jianshiyuan: Taiji zhanfu beige (Nantou: Guoshiguan Taiwan wenxianguan, 2007), 254.
160. Utsumi, Kimu wa naze sabakareta, 105.
162. Fukunaga, Kokoro hatsuru made, 65; Tanaka, Hidden Horrors, 42.
163. Utsumi, Kimu wa naze sabakareta, 105.
164. Fukunaga, Kokoro hatsuru made, 64–65.
166. Yoshimi, Comfort Women, 86.
167. Chu’s findings reveal that the majority had been either recruited (five) or tricked (fifteen) into thinking that they would work overseas as nurses or restaurant waitresses. Chu, Taiwan Sōtokufu to ianfu, 216–18.
168. Chu, Taiwan Sōtokufu to ianfu, 230–34.
170. Mark, Japan’s Occupation of Java, 211.
175. Hayashi, Shōgen, 75, 85; Kikuchi, Nihongun gerira, 19.
176. Huang, “Yamatodamashi,” 225; Kikuchi, Nihongun gerira, 238.
177. Li, *Zhanhuo wenshen*, 295–304. Han Taiwanese such as Liu Qiutan and Gao Changqin hid in the jungles of the Philippines and lived off wildlife for several years even after the war ended until they were discovered by the Filipino army in 1956. Li, *Fenghuo suiyue*, 65–74.

178. For example, see Taipei Imperial University professor Asai Erin’s 1942 summary of Japanese stereotypes of the “South Seas peoples” (Nan’yōjin) as lazy and unfit for intensive labor due to the tropical climate and abundance of natural resources. “Hontō seinen shinshutsu no aki yōō shinentchi wa maneku: kokorogamae to Nan’yō jijō Asai kyōju ni kiku,” *Kōnan Shinbun*, January 8, 1942.


**Epilogue**


5. In fifty-one locations across the Asia-Pacific region, 2,244 BC-class (“minor”) war crimes trials were carried out against 5,700 Japanese nationals. Among the 4,403 convicted, 984 were sentenced to death (though many of the convictions were later reduced to prison terms). Yuma Totani, *Justice in Asia and the Pacific Region, 1945–1952: Allied War Crimes Prosecutions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9–10.


7. A total of 132 Taiwanese were sentenced as BC war criminals by the Western powers: four by the US, seven by the Netherlands, twenty-six by Britain, and ninety-five by Australia. Jiu-jung Lo, “Trials of the Taiwanese as Hanjian or War Criminals and the Postwar Search for Taiwanese Identity,” in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 293.


16. I have borrowed the term “recolonization” (C. zai zhimin) from Chen Tsui-lian and Evan Dawley. Chen Tsui-lian [Chen Cuilian], *Taiwanren de dikang yu rentong, 1920–1950* (Yuanliu chuban gongsi, 2008), 382; Dawley, *Becoming Taiwanese*, 249.


20. Among the Taiwanese arrested were Gu Zhenpu (son of the prominent entrepreneur Gu Xianrong), Xu Bing, and Lin Xiongxiang. The GMD ultimately sentenced all three as “war criminals,” rather than as “traitors to the Han Chinese,” to prison sentences around two years each. Chung Shu-min [Zhong Shumin], “Erzhan shiqi Taiwanren de zhanzheng fanzui yu zhanhou shenpan,” in *Jindaishi shilun: duoyuan sikao yu tansuo*, ed. Li Ta-chia [Li Dajia], (Donghua shuju, 2017), 414–16.


22. This stood in stark contrast to the extreme hardships experienced by Japanese repatriates from postwar Manchuria. See Watt, *When Empire Comes Home*.


27. On the list of suspected hanjian in postwar Xiamen, see the table of contents for MTHZJ; Lo, “Trials of the Taiwanese,” 289–90. On GMD policies for confiscating Xiamen property from Taiwanese who collaborated with Japan, see Fujian Provincial Government to Xiamen Municipal Government, “Shi zhengfu guanyu chuli Riwei chanye banfa guiding de dan, daidian, xunling,” March 1946, Xiamenshi shengfu caizhengju, file A8–1–85, 128–29; Fujian gaodeng fayuan Xiamen fenyu jianchachu, “Hansong Taimin Yin Xuepu wei mingdan chuan,” May 10, 1948, Xiamenshi shanghui, file A34–1–51, XMA.


29. For the GMD “Regulations for Punishing War Criminals” promulgated in Fall 1946, see Lo, “Trials of the Taiwanese,” 291; Kushner, *Men to Devils*, 93–94, 124.

30. A-class “major” war crimes were defined as “crimes against peace,” while BC-class “minor” war crimes were defined as “conventional war crimes” and “crimes against humanity.” Twenty-eight Japanese were convicted as A-class war criminals in the Tokyo trials of 1946–48. Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008); Totani, *Justice in Asia*, 9.


34. The nine Taiwanese war criminals included the spy Hong Wenzhong, three policemen, and a Bank of Taiwan employee who were sentenced for murder; two policemen for false accusations against Chinese; and a policeman and merchant for trafficking in opium. Chung, “Taiwanren de zhanzheng fanzui,” 391, 397; Chao Yoshio, ed., *BC-kyū senpan Chūgoku, Futsukoku saiban shiryō* (Fuji Shuppan, 1992), 152, 161.


41. Tai Kuo-hui [Dai Guohui], “Nihon no shokuminchi shihai to Taiwan sekimin,” Taiwan Kingendatishi Kenkyū, no. 3 (January 1981): 105–107; Wakabayashi Masahiro, Kaikyō: Taiwan seiji e no shisatsu (Kenbun Shuppan, 1985), 180–207.


44. The South Korean government made similar requests for clemency on behalf of Korean war criminals but to no avail. Aszkielowicz, Australian Pursuit, 114.


46. Among the eighteen Taiwanese executed by the Western powers, eight were by Australia, six by Britain, two by the Netherlands, and one by the United States. Of the 4,403 Japanese nationals ultimately convicted as BC war criminals, 148 were Korean, and 173 Taiwanese. Wilson et al., Japanese War Criminals, 7; Chung Shu-min [Zhong Shumin], “Zhanzheng fanzui yu zhanhou chuli: yi fulu shourongshuo jianshiyuan wei zhongxin,” in Zhanhou Taiwan shehui yu jingji bianqian guoji xueshu yanjiu huiyi lunwen, ed. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi yanjiusuo (Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi yanjiusuo, 2009), 1, 4; Aodaliya luwunbu RiTai zhanfan shenpan jilu (2), May–December 1948, Ref. 020–010117–0049, AH.


49. Lan, “‘Crimes’ of Interpreting,” 203.
53. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 308–309.
58. Taiwanese veteran Zheng Chunhe, for instance, contended in his postwar interview that war crimes against Allied POWs were the responsibility of Japanese commanding officers and not the Taiwanese prison guards. Zheng Chunhe, Taiwanjin moto shiganhei to Dai Tōa Sensō: itohoshiki Nihon e (Tendensha, 1998), 85.
59. Mike Shi-chi Lan has made a similar critique. See Lan, “‘Crimes’ of Interpreting,” 199.
64. Zheng, Taiwanjin moto shiganhei, 389.
65. For example, Liu Yinghui who returned from Borneo to Taiwan in April 1946 could not return to his old post because he could not speak Mandarin. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 446–47.
66. Ke Jingxing states that he was unemployed for several years in postwar Taiwan due to the stigma of his wartime past. Ts’ai and Wu, Zouguo liangge shidai, 308–19.

68. Zakara was one of the few Taiwanese indigenes to be charged as a BC war criminal; he was convicted by Australia’s military court for the murder of Allied POWs. He served his prison sentence in New Guinea before repatriating to Taiwan. Hayashi Ei-dai, *Shōgen: Taiwan Takasago Giyūtai* (Sōfukan, 1998), 153–56, 164–65.

69. For example, Liu Qiutan and Gao Changqin were Taiwanese navy laborers who fled their units in the Philippines in late 1944. After sequestering themselves in the jungle for eleven years, they were captured by the Filipino army and repatriated to Taiwan in 1956. Li Chan-ping [Li Zhanping], *Fenghuo suiyue: Taiwanren de zhanshi jingyan* (Nantou: Guoshiguan Taiwan wenxianguan, 2005), 65–73.


71. In addition to government and public donations, Suniyon’s “condolence money” (chōkin) came from the Association for the Warm Welcome of Nakamura Teruo that had been established by Taiwanese residents in Japan. Igarashi, *Homecomings*, chap. 7; Trefalt, *Japanese Army Stragglers*, chap. 8.


74. For more on postwar compensation activism by Zheng Sheng, pictured center in figure E.3, see Ts’ai and Wu, *Zouguo liangge shidai*, 623–44.

75. In total, the Japanese government paid ¥600 billion to 30,000 individuals in “condolence money” (chōkin), not to be confused with “reparations” (baishō).


77. Huang Tianzhong (chapter 5), Zheng Chunhe (chapter 6), and other veterans voiced such sentiments in postwar oral interviews and memoirs. Ts’ai and Wu, *Zouguo liangge shidai*, 431; Zheng, *Taiwanjin moto shiganhei*, 47, 209.

78. For example, see Cai Xinke, the naval policeman in Hainan (chapter 5). Ts’ai and Wu, *Zouguo liangge shidai*, 513.


81. Exceptions to ROC veteran benefits were Taiwanese who served in the GMD military against the CCP. On Taiwanese soldiers who fought in the Chinese Civil War (1945–49), see Shi-chi Mike Lan, “L’Etranger across the Taiwan Strait: History of the Civil War Taiwanese Kuomintang Soldiers,” in *Becoming Taiwan: from Colonialism to Democracy*, ed. Ann Heylen and Scott Sommers (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 135–46.


83. Shi-chi Mike Lan, “(Re-)writing History of the Second World War: Forgetting and Remembering the ‘Taiwanese-Native Japanese Soldiers in Postwar Taiwan,’” *positions: asia critique* 21, no. 4 (Fall 2013): 806. On political controversies over Taipei’s war memorial in Zhongshan Hall since the 2000s, see Kirk A. Denton, *The Landscape of Historical Memory: The Politics of Museums and Memorial Culture in Post–Martial Law Taiwan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2021), chap. 5.

84. Ts’ai, *Taiwan in Japan’s Empire-Building*, 212; Lan, “(Re-)writing History,” 802–804, 813–14; Yeh, “Quiet Revolution.”

85. Academia Sinica is an ROC-sponsored research institution. Lan, “(Re-)writing History,” 814–22.


87. An estimated 2,000 Taiwanese served as comfort women. Historians have estimated the total number of comfort women across Japan’s empire to be as low as 45,000 and as high as 200,000. Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II*, trans. Suzanne O’Brien (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 3, 7–8, 86–92; Chu Te-lan [Zhu Delan], *Taiwan Sōtokufu to ianfu* (Akashi Shoten, 2005), 13, 18.


90. According to the Asian Women’s Fund, more than one hundred former comfort women accepted Japanese payments. Scholars have noted that most were likely from the Philippines, the Netherlands, and Indonesia who had little hope of receiving aid from their own governments. Thomas Ward notes that a number of Taiwanese and South Korean women also accepted the funds. Yoshimi, *Comfort Women*, 23–24; Ward, “Comfort Women Controversy,” 5.


