

give rise to conflicts with landlords whose interests lay in rents. (2) Funds advanced to a great number of direct producers created a trend towards a permanent division of cane growing and sugarmilling jobs which were previously undertaken by a single person into specialist tasks conducted by separate cane growers and sugarmillers. (3) Although the fund advancing system encouraged the cultivation of sugarcane at the expense of other crops such as indigo, South Taiwan never developed into a true monoculture economy because peasants grew subsistence crops as well as sugarcane thereby providing much of their own food.

To sum up, the main characteristic of the South Taiwan economy in the period 1870-95 was the increase in sugar production by a fund advancing system which was linked to the the international financial network through a foreign bank, the HSBC. This fund advancing system developed by preserving, not by changing the old handicraft relations of production and technology in the sugar industry. The peculiarities of the contemporary economic (financial) situation gave rise to a new group of Taiwan-based merchants who during the Japanese colonial period came to constitute a large part of the local Taiwanese bourgeoisie.

The Historical Character of the Chü-shih 局士
in Ssü-chuan during the late Ch'ing

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After the White Lotus 白蓮教 Rebellion (1796-1805) and the Tien-fei 滇匪 Rebellion (1859-62), about fifteen or sixteen Kung-chü 公局 were established in every sub-prefecture and county 州縣 in Ssü-chuan. Kung-chü can be classified into three groups according to their function. The function of the first group comprised tax collection as in the Chin-chuan chü 津捐局, that of the second, welfare and education as in the Yü-ying chü 育嬰局, and the Hsüeh-t'ien chü 學田局, and that of the third, the maintenance of public order as exhibited in the Tuan-lien chü 團練局.

Local gentry and landlords were appointed by magistrates to manage the Kung-chü. They were called Chü-shih 局士. Every Kung-chü had two or three Chü-shih who carried out administrative work on behalf of the

magistrate. In Ho-chow 合州 county in Chung-ching prefecture 重慶府, all the Chü-shih listed in the biographies between 1830-1900 in the *Ho-Chuan hsien-chih* 合川縣志, were very large local landlords. All of them had become large landlords through the sale of rice, salt, wine, etc. They invested the money that they acquired from commercial activities into the land, thus becoming landlords.

The Chü-shih in Ho-chow were not characterized by a high level of scholarship or a high degree holding rate. Of the twelve samples of Chü-shih in Ho-chow, three held no official nor scholarly degree, three had bought their degrees by donating money, while the other six were all Sheng-yüan 生員. This shows that in Ssü-chuan during the late Ch'ing large landlords could maintain links with the magistrate and participate in local administration, without being degree holders.

The Chü-shih obtained the funds to carry on their administrative work by the introduction of new tax levies. The funds were called Ti-fang kung-kuan 地方公款. The new tax levies constituted additional land taxation An-liang p'ai-chüan 按糧派捐 and consumption duty Li-chin 釐金. The burden of both these taxes ultimately fell on the small tenant's shoulders. The Chü-shih even increased the Ti-fang Kung-kuan by lending money from the Kung-chü to peasants at high rates of interest, and by appropriating temple (*miao* 廟) and association (會) property. In sum the Ti-fang kung-kuan funds were obtained by exploiting the local peasantry.

The large landlords in Ssü-chuan, who were appointed to the post of Chü-shih by magistrates re-organized the landlord-tenant system. Chü-shih could acquire very large profits through the post. After quitting the Chü-shih post, landlords returned to their local villages, and strengthened their control over the local peasantry, by engaging in welfare, educational and public enterprises, that were necessary for peasant reproduction.

The Chü-shih created a new parasitic landlord system, by renting out land owned by the Kung-chü to Kung-t'ien tien-hu 公田佃戶. Many of the Kung-t'ien tien-hu were rich usury merchants, who once appointed to the post of Kung-t'ien tien-hu, lent the land out to poor peasants, and loaned the peasants the money to pay the rent deposit money Ya-tsu 押租, due to them. They exploited the poor peasants, by charging a high interest rate on the money they lent them to pay the rent deposit money, in addition

to the ordinary rent. The interest on these loans was collected in rice and brought great profits to the Kung-t'ien tien-hu.