

# 科技部補助專題研究計畫成果報告 期末報告

從「南洋」到戰爭：穿梭在帝國之間的台灣人，1895-1950

計畫類別：個別型計畫  
計畫編號：MOST 105-2410-H-004-067-  
執行期間：105年08月01日至106年07月31日  
執行單位：國立政治大學歷史學系

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報告附件：移地研究心得報告  
出席國際學術會議心得報告

中華民國 106 年 10 月 20 日

中文摘要：過去關於日治時期海外臺灣人歷史的研究，多關注由日本官方政策主導或是影響的活動。但是根據對台灣人「海外旅券」（1897-1934）、日記、《臺灣日日新報》等材料所進行的初步分析，本研究發現在同一時期，其實許多臺灣人在東南亞地區的活動不但不是受到日本官方政策的鼓勵或影響，反而有許多是刻意的與日本官方保持距離。

本研究特別關注日治時期臺灣人由民間所主導在東南亞的活動，而以臺灣的士紳階級為主要的研究主體，以他們的1) 商業貿易活動、2) 就職、3) 行醫、以及4) 求學等主要活動為核心，同時延伸分析旅遊、傳教、文化藝術等活動所留下的記錄。根據初步的資料搜集分析，本文將以活動比較密集的1) 香港、2) 新加坡（當時多寫為新嘉坡）、3) 蘭印（爪哇、泗水）等地點為焦點。臺灣人在上述這些海外地點的活動，跨越了帝國的邊界、進而跟英國/荷蘭的亞洲殖民地的經濟、社會、文化活動都有密切的互動和結合。

而由於階級的關係，士紳階級的臺灣人在海外的活動，在臺灣出版的幾種類別的資料中比較留有具名的記錄；本研究將名人錄/工商名鑑、工商活動記錄等作為主要分析的史料，以個別人物為切入點，來勾勒日治時期士紳階級的臺灣人在東南亞的活動、以及在其中所建立的各種跨越帝國邊界的人際網絡。

中文關鍵詞：日治時期、海外台灣人、帝國、亞洲殖民地、「海外旅券」

英文摘要：After becoming subjects of the Japanese Empire in 1895, Taiwanese going to Southeast Asia were facing a rather unique situation. On the one hand, these Taiwanese were themselves colonized people who moved across the boundary of the Japanese Empire; and on the other hand, these Taiwanese moved into the boundary of several European Empires and faced other colonial authorities and other colonized subjects. This experience of “crossing empires” took place in the context of imperial competition/cooperation among the Japanese and European Empires, and its context distinguished the Taiwanese going abroad from other overseas Taiwanese experiences within the Japanese Empire (Japan, Korea, Manchuria) and in mainland China. This project will focus on the Japanese colonial period and delineate the history of “overseas Taiwanese” in the British and Dutch colonies in Asia, namely Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya, Borneo, and the Dutch East Indies (the present-day Indonesia). The “expansion of empires” and the “war between empires” serve as two major contexts in which the history of “overseas Taiwanese” will be analyzed. This project will first look into the knowledge (and “imagination”) of Southeast Asia produced and made available to the Taiwanese during this period through analyzing the dual structure of traditional Chinese

conception of Nanyang ( “South Sea” ) and the modern Japanese conception of nanshin ( “going to the south” ). Then it will utilize materials from Singapore, Hong Kong, and beyond to delineate Taiwanese activities crossing the Japanese and British/Dutch Empire, before, during, and after the Second World War.

英文關鍵詞： Japanese colonial period, overseas Taiwanese, empires, colonies in Asia

## 日治時期在東南亞的臺灣人人際網絡——以在香港的臺灣士紳階級為中心

去關於日治時期海外臺灣人歷史的研究，多關注由日本官方政策主導或是影響的活動，也多仰賴日本官方的資料和記錄。<sup>1</sup> 當然，官方的記錄能夠提供最基本的資料。本文首先將依據日本官方的統計資料，勾勒出日治時期臺灣人在海外發展的輪廓。而更進一步的，本文將聚焦在中國之外的地區，探討臺灣人在這些地區發展的情況；研究臺灣人在中國以外的地區的意義在於，能夠瞭解臺灣人在語言、文化、以及統治者都較為陌生的環境之下，如何進行跨國的流動、以及各項活動。特別是在 20 世紀前半，作為（日本）帝國統治下的被殖民者，臺灣人到亞洲其他同樣被（各西方）帝國殖民統治的地方，要面對的是不同的殖民者、以及被殖民者。這樣跨殖民界線的互動經驗，對瞭解近代日本以及西方帝國發展——既是合作、又是競爭——的歷史，將提供一個新的視角。

### 日本官方統計中的臺灣人海外活動情況，1915-1926

根據日本官方的資料，最早開始明確的記錄臺灣人在海外的人數，是在大正 5 年（1916）6 月的統計。當年登記居住在海外的「內地人」有 400,416 人，朝鮮人有 205,599 人，而「臺灣籍民」則有 2,854 人。<sup>2</sup> 統計資料特別注明，當年在海外的臺灣人人數比前一年（1915）同期增加了 293 人；因此可以推斷 1915 年在海外的臺灣人人數為 2561 人。雖然 1916 年統計的主要目的和內容是海外日本人的工作職業類別和人數，但是在統計當中特別將臺灣人在各地的人數（由日本駐外的各地領事館就其轄區分別統計）與「內地人」和朝鮮人分開記錄。因此，我們得以知道在「臺灣籍民」人數最多的中國（當時稱「支那」，有臺灣人男性 1787 名、女性 917 名，合計 2704）之外，臺灣人（150 名）在海外主要分佈的情況。

在 1916 年，臺灣人在蘭領東印度（Dutch East Indies / Netherlands East Indies，即今日的印尼）的人數最多，有 146 人；在爪哇及其附近有男性 126 名及女性 16 名，另外在蘇門答臘(Sumatra)及附近島嶼有 1 男、婆羅洲及附近島嶼有 1 男、在 Celebes（現在成為 Sulawesi）及附近島嶼有 2 男。另外，在佛領印度支那（法屬中南半島）有 3 男 1 女性。可見當時除了中國以外，臺灣人在海外主要集中在蘭領東印度，少數在佛領印度支那。

根據大正 6 年（1917）6 月的統計，在中國的「臺灣籍民」人數有男性 2782 名，女性 1232 名，合計 4014 人。<sup>3</sup> 與前一年相比，「臺灣籍民」在中國的人數增加了 1310 人，是將近 50% 的成長，幅度相當驚人。但是更值得注意的是，該年臺灣人在海外其他地區的發展地點和人數都有顯著的增長。首先就地點來說，

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<sup>1</sup>大田修吉，〈臺灣籍民南洋於活動狀況〉，臺灣經濟年報刊行會編，《台灣經濟年報》第二輯（臺北：南天書局，1996 年重刊（1942 年刊）），頁 676-681

<sup>2</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 5 年（1916），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>3</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 6 年（1917），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

增加了英領香港，有男性 37 人、女性 7 人；暹羅，在盤古有男性 13 人、在其他地區有男性 2 人；菲律賓，在馬尼拉及其附近有 59 名男性和 1 名女性；以及在大洋洲有 4 人。而人數增加最多的，是在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲；在新加坡（新加坡）有男性 26 人，在其他地區則有 230 名男性。同一年，在蘭領東印度的臺灣人人數略為成長，達 191 名；在佛領印度支那則維持 4 人。總計，在中國之外的海外臺灣人共有 574 名；<sup>4</sup>與前一年相比（150 人），成長幅度更為驚人，將近 3 倍之多。

在英領下的各個殖民地的臺灣人人數在 1917 年突然增加，主要原因之一是 1917 年正是臺灣首次向北婆羅洲—也是首次向海外—進行勞力輸出。根據學者的研究，第一批在臺灣募集的苦力就是在 1917 年 5 月從臺中出發，前往位在斗湖的久原農園工作；6 月份又有一批超過 150 名澎湖人前往北婆羅洲工作。<sup>5</sup> 這些人，應該就是統計中在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲增加的 230 名臺灣人當中的一部分。其次，還有一些是在 1916 年之後，個別前往北婆羅洲工作的臺灣籍專業人士，例如張福忠、游溪連等人。<sup>6</sup> 另外，在英領下的各個殖民地的臺灣人人數在 1917 年突然增加，也有可能是前一年（1916）的統計中，這些臺灣人未受到登記；并不一定代表臺灣人在 1917 年才開始在英領下的各個殖民地發展活動。

大正 7 年（1918）在中國的「臺灣籍民」人數持續的成長，有男性 3137 名，女性 1551 名，合計 4688 人；<sup>7</sup> 但是與前一年相比，成長的幅度僅有約 17%。而在中國以外的地區，臺灣人人數的成長的幅度則比較高。在英領香港，有男性 42 人、女性 13 人；在佛領印度支那，則維持 4 人；在暹羅，盤古有男性 11 人、女性 2 人，在其他地區有男性 2 人。而在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲的人數成長最多；在新加坡（新加坡）有男性 21 人、女性 8 人，在其他地區則有男性 609 人、女性 8 人。另外，在蘭領東印度，有 209 人；菲律賓有 67 人。總計，在中國之外的海外臺灣人共有 995 名（男性 929 人、女性 66 人）；<sup>8</sup> 與前一年相比（574 人），成長幅度將近 1 倍。其中，在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲的總人數和成長幅度都最大。

大正 8 年（1919）在中國的「臺灣籍民」有男性 3850 名，女性 976 名，合計 4826 人；<sup>9</sup> 與前一年（4688 人）相比，成長有限。而在中國以外的地區，在英領香港，有男性 38 人、女性 12 人；在暹羅，有男性 19 人、女性 1 人。而在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲，新加坡（新加坡）有男性 21 人、女性 3 人，在其

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<sup>4</sup> 上表在「南部亞細亞及太平洋洲」總數的計算，將「臺灣籍民」男性為 536 人，但是女性的人數誤植為 138（應該為 38）。

<sup>5</sup> 鍾淑敏，戰前臺灣人英屬北婆羅洲移民史，《臺灣史研究》，第 22 卷第 1 期（2015 年 3 月），頁 44，50-52。

<sup>6</sup> 鍾淑敏，戰前臺灣人英屬北婆羅洲移民史，頁 56，60。

<sup>7</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 7 年（1918），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>8</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 7 年（1918），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>9</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 8 年（1919），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

他地區則有男性 614 人、女性 5 人。在蘭領東印度人數成長比較大，共有 258 人（仍然是在爪哇人數最多）；比前一年（209 人）成長 23%。另外，在菲律賓有 53 人。總計，在中國之外的海外臺灣人共有 1024 名（男性 935 人、女性 89 人）；<sup>10</sup> 與前一年相比（995 人），有微幅的成長。其中，仍然是在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲的總人數最多；但是成長幅度則是在蘭領東印度最大。

大正 9 年（1920）在中國的「臺灣籍民」有男性 3292 名，女性 1883 名，合計 5175 人；<sup>11</sup> 與前一年（4826 人）相比，略微成長；但是值得注意的是，男性人數下降，而女性人數成長幅度將近 1 倍（前一年為 976 人）。而在中國以外的地區，臺灣人人數的成長的幅度則比較高。在英領香港，有男性 36 人、女性 12 人；在暹羅，有男性 25 人、女性 2 人。而在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲，則出現最大的變化；新嘉坡（新加坡）有男性 15 人、女性 3 人，但是在其他地區的人數則降為男性 250 人，比前一年的 614 人減少了一半以上。在蘭領東印度人數共有 252 人，主要在爪哇和泗水(Surabaya)兩地；在菲律賓有 65 人。總計，在「南部亞細亞及太平洋洲」的海外臺灣人共有 660 名（男性 601 人、女性 59 人）；<sup>12</sup> 與前一年相比（1024 人），在統計資料開始（1915 年）之後首次出現明顯的減少，而且是男性和女性的人數都減少。其中，減少最多的是在海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲（新嘉坡除外）；唯一有明顯成長的，則是在菲律賓。這樣的人數變化（減少），符合學者在先前的研究中所指出，自 1917 年開始在北婆羅洲工作的臺灣人苦力，在兩年契約期滿之後多數都選擇離開。<sup>13</sup> 另外值得注意的是，在 1920 年的統計當中首次出現臺灣人在亞洲以外的發展記錄；有 2 名「臺灣籍民」男性在智利。<sup>14</sup>

但是從整體的發展情況來看，即使在臺灣人苦力紛紛回鄉之後的 1920 年，（中國以外的）海外臺灣人的人數（合計 662 人）仍然高過 1917 年臺灣開始向外輸出苦力的人數（574 人），更遠遠高出 1916 年的人數（150 人）。顯示在 1916 到 1920 年之間，在苦力輸出的影響之外，臺灣人到海外的發展仍然經歷了快速而穩定的增長。

大正 10 年（1921）在中國的「臺灣籍民」有男性 3777 名，女性 2164 名，

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<sup>10</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 8 年（1919），收在《編集復刻版－海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年－大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。值得注意的是，該年在佛領印度支那無統計資料。

<sup>11</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 9 年（1920），收在《編集復刻版－海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年－大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>12</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 9 年（1920），收在《編集復刻版－海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年－大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。值得注意的是，該年在佛領印度支那還是無統計資料。

<sup>13</sup> 鍾淑敏，戰前臺灣人英屬北婆羅洲移民史，頁 44，65。

<sup>14</sup> 「第六表南亞米利加」，見外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 9 年（1920），收在《編集復刻版－海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年－大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

合計 5941 人；<sup>15</sup> 與前一年（5175 人）相比，有比較明顯的成長。

而在中國以外的地區，該年的統計則增加了（佛領印度支那）海防和西貢兩地的領事館為轄區，同時將原來的海峽殖民地及英領北婆羅洲（現在都歸在新加坡總領事館之下）等轄區，進一步的劃分為不同的地區來統計，得以更清楚的看到臺灣人的分佈情況。在英領香港，有男性 46 人、女性 15 人；在西貢，有男性 1 人；在盤古，有男性 35 人、女性 6 人。在新加坡總領事館之下，新加坡（新加坡）有男性 31 人、女性 2 人；彼南（Penang，華人稱為檳城）有男性 5 人、女性 1 人；Johor（柔佛州）有男性 41 人、女性 13 人；馬來半島（柔佛州除外）有男性 3 人；英領北婆羅洲及砂勞越（Sarawak）王國有男性 8 人、女性 7 人。在加爾各答（Calcutta）總領事館轄下的地區，則首次出現有臺灣人的記錄：在仰光（Rangoon），有臺灣人男性 10 人、女性 9 人；其他地區則有男性 28 人、女性 30 人。在蘭領東印度，巴達維亞（Batavia，即今天的 Jakarta 雅加達）總領事館轄下有男性 139 人、女性 49 人；泗水（Surabaya）領事館轄下則有臺灣人 103 人。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下，則有臺灣人男性 45 人、女性 2 人。在智利，則仍然有 2 名男性的「臺灣籍民」。<sup>16</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 631 名海外臺灣人，與前一年的人數相仿。

大正 11 年（1922）在英領香港，有男性 48 人、女性 15 人；在西貢，有男性 3 人；在盤古和其他地區，合計有男性 49 人、女性 9 人。在新加坡（新加坡）有男性 11 人；彼南有男性 4 人、女性 2 人；柔佛州有男性 26 人、女性 18 人；馬來半島（柔佛州除外）有男性 2 人；在英領北婆羅洲則有比較明顯的成長，有男性 77 人、女性 5 人。在蘭貢（Rangoon）領事館轄下的地區，蘭貢一地有臺灣人男性 11 人、女性 9 人；在 Magway 地區則有男性 28 人、女性 30 人。在蘭領東印度的人數則出現非常明顯的減少：在巴達維亞總領事館轄下的人數僅有男性 32 人、女性 21 人；泗水（Surabaya）領事館轄下也僅有男性 66 人、女性 2 人；總計在蘭領東印度僅有 121 人，較前一年（291 人）減少了一半以上。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下，則有臺灣人男性 32 人、女性 3 人。<sup>17</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 468 人；與前一年（631 名）比較，則是 1920 年之後再次出現比較明顯的減少。

大正 12 年（1923）在英領香港，有男性 55 人、女性 24 人；在西貢，有男性 6 人；在盤古和其他地區，合計有男性 46 人、女性 6 人。在新加坡（新加坡）人數下降為男性 7 人、女性 1 人；相對的，在彼南則出現比較顯著的成長，有男性 17 人、女性 5 人；柔佛州則是明顯的減少，僅有男性 13 人、女性 7 人；而在英領北婆羅洲則持續的出現成長，有男性 99 人、女性 12 人。在蘭貢（Rangoon）領事館轄下的地區，合計有臺灣人男性 37 人、女性人數則大幅減少為 6 人。在蘭領東印度的人數則出現非常明顯的變化：在巴達維亞總領事館轄下的人數增

<sup>15</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 10 年（1921），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>16</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 10 年（1921），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>17</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 11 年（1922），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

長為男性 146 人、女性 79 人；但是泗水(Surabaya)領事館轄下的人數持續減少，僅有男性 33 人、女性 2 人；一消一長之間，總計在蘭領東印度的人數成長為 260 人，是前一年（121 人）的一倍以上。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下，則有臺灣人男性 31 人、女性 2 人。值得注意的是，該年首次有臺灣人在歐洲的活動記錄；在英吉利（英國）倫敦總領事館轄下有一名男性、在獨逸（德國）漢堡總領事館轄下有一名男性。<sup>18</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 636 人；與前一年（468 人）比較，出現比較明顯的成長（35%），恢復到 1921 年（631 名）和 1920 年（662 人）之間的人數水準。

大正 13 年（1924）在英領香港，有男性 51 人、女性 17 人；在西貢，有男性 9 人；在盤古和其他地區，合計有男性 62 人、女性 6 人。在新嘉坡（新加坡）人數成長為男性 21 人、女性 2 人；在彼南則維持有男性 18 人、女性 9 人；柔佛州也是明顯的成長，有男性 22 人、女性 14 人；馬來半島（柔佛州除外）有男性 2 人；而在英領北婆羅洲則出現比較明顯的減少，僅有男性 65 人、女性 10 人。在蘭貢(Rangoon)領事館轄下的地區則維持有臺灣人男性 36 人、女性 6 人。在蘭領東印度，在巴達維亞總領事館轄下的人數合計為 231 人；泗水(Surabaya)領事館轄下有男性 34 人、女性 8 人。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下有臺灣人男性 28 人、女性則成長為 16 人。<sup>19</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 667 人，維持了前一年（636 人）的人數水準。

自大正 14 年（1925）開始，調查的時間從原來的每年 6 月改為每年的 10 月。<sup>20</sup> 在英領香港，有男性 71 人、女性 14 人；在西貢，有男性 10 人、女性 1 人；在盤古和其他地區，合計有男性 59 人、女性 15 人。在新嘉坡（新加坡）則出現倍數的成長，有男性 64 人、女性 6 人；相對的，在檳城（該年記錄寫作「被南」）則大幅減少為男性 8 人、女性 1 人；柔佛州有男性 34 人、女性 13 人；馬來半島（柔佛州除外）有男性 1 人；而在英領北婆羅洲及砂勞越 (Sarawak) 王國，人數繼續的大幅減少，僅有男性 10 人、女性 9 人。在蘭貢(Rangoon)領事館轄下的地區則維持有臺灣人男性 37 人、女性 6 人。在蘭領東印度，巴達維亞總領事館和泗水領事館合并統計，共有男性 249 人、女性 97 人。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下，有男性 24 人、女性 13 人。該年首次有臺灣人在南洋諸島（由南洋廳管轄）活動的記錄；在 Palau（帛琉）支廳轄下，有男性 2 名。<sup>21</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 744 名海外臺灣人，較前一年（667 人）又再度出現明顯的成長（超過 11%）。

大正 15 年（1926）在中國（滿洲除外）的「臺灣籍民」有男性 5502 名，女

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<sup>18</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 12 年（1923），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>19</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 13 年（1924），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第一卷 明治 40 年—大正 13 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>20</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 14 年（1925），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第二卷 大正 14 年—昭和 4 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>21</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 14 年（1925），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第二卷 大正 14 年—昭和 4 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。



性 3373 名，合計 8875 人。<sup>22</sup> 中國以外的地區，在英領香港有男性 67 人、女性 12 人；在暹羅國，合計有男性 70 人、女性 15 人；在西貢，有男性 9 人。在新加坡（新加坡），有男性 61 人、女性 11 人；在檳城（該年記錄寫作「被南」）有男性 5 人、女性 1 人；柔佛州有男性 32 人、女性 12 人；柔佛州除外的馬來半島各州，有男性 6 人、女性 3 人；而在英領北婆羅洲及砂勞越 (Sarawak) 王國，有男性 14 人、女性 19 人。在蘭貢(Rangoon)領事館轄下的地區則維持有臺灣人男性 39 人、女性 6 人。在蘭領東印度的臺灣人人數則出現些微的成長：在爪哇島人數最多，有男性 263 人、女性 115 人；蘇門答臘島及其附近，有男性 5 人、女性 1 人；在蘭領婆羅洲，有男性 7 人；巴達維亞總領事館和泗水領事館轄下合併統計，共有男性 275 人、女性 116 人。而在馬尼拉總領事館轄下的臺灣人人數也出現些微的成長，有男性 43 人、女性 6 人。該年在歐洲活動的臺灣人人數也增加；英吉利有 4 名男性、在獨逸有 3 名男性、在佛蘭西首次有 1 名男性。<sup>23</sup> 總計，在中國以外的地區有 830 名海外臺灣人，較前一年(744 人)又再度出現明顯的成長(超過 11%)。

在大正年間，除了受到官方政策影響的苦力輸出期間（1917-1919），臺灣人前往東南亞的人數大多維持穩定，在後期（1922-1926）更出現穩定的成長；

大正 5 年（1916）為 150 人

大正 6 年（1917）為 574 人

大正 7 年（1918）為 995 人

大正 8 年（1919）為 1024 人

大正 9 年（1920）為 660 人

大正 10 年（1921）為 629 人

大正 11 年（1922）為 468 人

大正 12 年（1923）為 634 人

大正 13 年（1924）為 667 人

大正 14 年（1925）為 742 人

大正 15 年（1926）為 822 人

若以個別地區來分析，在英領香港的人數一直都相當穩定，沒有大起大落的情況出現：

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<sup>22</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 15 年（1926），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第二卷 大正 14 年—昭和 4 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

<sup>23</sup> 外務省通商局，《海外各地在留本邦人職業別表》，大正 15 年（1926），收在《編集復刻版—海外各地在留本邦人 職業別人口表：第二卷 大正 14 年—昭和 4 年》（東京：不二出版，2002）。

大正 5 年 (1916) 未統計  
大正 6 年 (1917) 爲 44 人  
大正 7 年 (1918) 爲 55 人  
大正 8 年 (1919) 爲 50 人  
大正 9 年 (1920) 爲 48 人  
大正 10 年 (1921) 爲 61 人  
大正 11 年 (1922) 爲 63 人  
大正 12 年 (1923) 爲 79 人  
大正 13 年 (1924) 爲 68 人  
大正 14 年 (1925) 爲 85 人  
大正 15 年 (1926) 爲 79 人

而在中國以外的地區，大多時間都是在蘭印的人數最多：

大正 5 年 (1916) 爲 146 人  
大正 6 年 (1917) 爲 191 人  
大正 7 年 (1918) 爲 209 人  
大正 8 年 (1919) 爲 258 人  
大正 9 年 (1920) 爲 252 人  
大正 10 年 (1921) 爲 291 人  
大正 11 年 (1922) 爲 121 人  
大正 12 年 (1923) 爲 260 人  
大正 13 年 (1924) 爲 273 人  
大正 14 年 (1925) 爲 346 人  
大正 15 年 (1926) 爲 391 人

根據以上的分析，本文將首先選擇在這段期間，臺灣人人數較爲穩定的香港、以及臺灣人人數最多的蘭印，作爲討論的對象。

#### 去香港的臺灣人

在日治時期(及之後)，臺灣對香港的相關討論和記載常與「南支」(或稱「華南」)

連結在一起；其中的原因之一，是地理位置的關係。但是，從治理和發展的角度來看，作為英國殖民地之一的香港，與中國有顯著的差別。因此，就對一個地方的認知而言，香港對臺灣人有著相當特殊、更有別於中國的意義。

根據自明治 30 年（1897）開始的台灣人「海外旅券」的記錄，在日治初期出國的臺灣人，除了前往清國的人數最多，人數次多的就是前往香港。有記錄的第一年 1897 年，1-6 月申請前往香港的就有臺北縣的張占鰲以「肺病療養」為目的，林俊祥、蔣俊、周天祐等人以「商業」為目的；臺中縣則有巫才和黃春帆兩人以「商業」為目的。

1897 年後半年（7-12 月）申請前往香港的臺灣人更多；臺北縣有方發記、陳財元（兩次）、陳延、陳加習、陳耀堂、張福、梁伯美、李謙德、李萬居、林玉田、李鳶飛、李元東、林禮會、李清誥、李通吉、林阿水、王明月、何幹生、何錦棠、葉迺聰、楊夾、譚蔭儀、黃惟垣、洪成、鄭岩、鄭世南、周植豐、<sup>24</sup>馮永順、呂丙、杜廷芬、杜廷安、杜清緒、張干祿、林長錦、林發諒、林坤泉、林東成、李世昌（「商業視察」）、林必呼、王以時、王田、容（者羽）雲、余傳臚、黃（山傲）五、洪東山、傅文興、趙滿朝、蔡春輝、許萬得、許河、邱駿生、周植澄等人以「商業」為目的。值得注意的是，另外有黎鑒泉、林阿花、林阿坤、李少卿等人以「親屬面會」為目的，梁德合以「家族引取」為目的，以及呂欣以「佛參」為目的申請前往香港。

在臺北縣以外的地區，新竹縣申請前往香港的有杜漢淮以「貨物仕入」為目的；陳益富、林敬修、劉少南、高母元、高深等人以「貨物買入」為目的；黃鼎三以「樟腦商況視察」為目的。臺中縣有蘇世珍、吳昌記、黃配、黃枝、蔡燦雲、莊水波以「商業」為目的申請前往香港。臺南縣有陳金池、林金、莊神枝、黃澄湘、張紹德、葉含笑等人以「商業」為目的申請前往香港，陳溪元以「商業并家族呼寄」為目的申請前往香港。鳳山縣則有陳中和以「商業」為目的，和地址相同、年齡為 10 歲的陳啓南以及 6 歲的陳啓峰一起申請前往香港；另外以「商業」為目的申請的還有陳麗生、王雪農、何德修、葉利貞、古翰記。宜蘭廳則有以「商業」為目的申請的鄭平程。臺東廳則有以「商業」為目的申請的黃學軒、黃振聲、謝阿仕、鄧北官。

明治 31 年（1898）開始，隨著人數的增加，台灣人「海外旅券」的記錄也改為每 3 個月統計一次。根據記錄，臺北縣提出申請前往香港的人數依然是臺灣各地區最高的；值得注意的是，臺中縣和鳳山縣的人數都有明顯的增加。臺中縣在 1-3 月有 6 人、4-6 月增為 12 人、7-9 月有 8 人、10-12 月有 13 人，全部是以「商業」為目的申請前往香港。其中出身於霧峰（庄）的有林輯堂、<sup>25</sup>林樹、黃

<sup>24</sup> 周植豐和周植澄兩人在 1906 年都列名為後藤男爵送別會委員、以及（繼任的）民政長官歡迎會的委員，見王學新，從辜顯榮與送迎總督活動談本島人士紳在官方儀式中的角色，《臺灣文獻》，第 62 卷第 4 期（2011 年 12 月 31 日），頁 316、317

<sup>25</sup> 林輯堂（1864—1901）為林文察的第三子，林資彬（1898-1946）之父；他曾被稱為臺中首富，見吳文星，《日據時期臺灣社會領導階層之研究》（臺北：正中書局，1992），頁 25、175。

三才（以上兩位登記為「林輯堂雇人」）、林紹堂、<sup>26</sup>林坤福、林少波、梁成柵。而如同林輯堂一般帶有「雇人」前往香港的，還有住所是藍興堡小北街的劉軒（雇人為林懷和王圳）和住在藍興堡大墩街的黃茂盛（雇人為黃秋水）。而鳳山縣最特殊的是 1898 年在 1-3 月之間，就有 15 人申請前往香港；除了大多以「商業」（或「商用」）為目的申請前往香港之外，另有「修學」、「隨行」、「商店書記」、「商店計算」等目的。

究竟是哪些臺灣人有能力出國？又為什麼選擇香港？香港有哪些吸引臺灣人前去發展的特色？以上的分析顯示，「商業」是臺灣和香港之間最重要的連結。過去已有學者深入分析過，在日治時期臺灣與香港之間的船運和貿易關係。<sup>27</sup>其實在日治時期最重要的臺灣家族，多跟香港有密切的生意往來。以臺中霧峰林家為例，林獻堂的父親林文欽(1854 年生)就是在 1899 年病逝於香港。在世的時候，林文欽曾經掌管樟腦事業「林合公司」之香港分公司。<sup>28</sup> 在 1899 年，他就是「以樟腦事務赴香港，並醫痔疾。十月，卒於旅寓，年四十六」，<sup>29</sup> 隔年才歸葬於大里杙莊。<sup>30</sup> 上述在 1898 年前往香港的林輯堂，其事業之一也是樟腦。<sup>31</sup>可見香港是林家重要的生意對象，頻繁的往來更自清末持續到日治初期。

但是值得注意的是，根據以上對台灣人「海外旅券」記錄的分析，在日治時期台灣人前往香港其實還有「商業」以外的目的。其中最早的一例，就是高雄的陳家。明治 30 年（1897）9 月，當年記錄為 45 歲、住所登記在「鳳山縣大竹里

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<sup>26</sup>林紹堂為林文明次子，林幼春之父，曾被稱為是臺人中的巨富。值得注意的是，旅券記錄他在 1898 年前往香港，同年他出任臺中縣參事；見吳文星，《日據時期臺灣社會領導階層之研究》（臺北：正中書局，1992），頁 68，73，175。明治 30 年 4 月紳章頒授名單中，有林輯堂和林紹堂兩人；見《紳章附與人名》，明治 30 年 5 月 7 日，國史館臺灣文獻館（典藏號 0071010074a003），<http://ds3.th.gov.tw/ds3/app007/list3.php?ID1=0071010074a003>（2017 年 9 月 23 日下載）

<sup>27</sup> 林滿紅，日本殖民時期台灣與香港經濟關係的變化：亞洲與世界關係調動中之一發展，《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》，36 期(2001 年 12 月)，頁 47-115；Man-houng Lin, “Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Pacific, 1895-1945”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 5 (September 2010), pp. 1053-1080

<sup>28</sup> 林獻堂，〈先考文欽公家傳〉，《林氏族譜》，頁 10-11

<sup>29</sup> 《臺灣通史》卷三十三傳五林奠國傳附，頁 850；林獻堂〈先考文欽公家傳〉，《臺灣霧峰林氏族譜》，頁 112；黃富三《霧峰林家的中控》（台北：自立晚報，1992）；以上皆轉引自林偉洲，臺灣歷史人物小傳—明清暨日據時期 國家圖書館 民國 92 年 12 月 頁 232-233；

[http://memory.ncl.edu.tw/tm/cgi/hypage.cgi?HYPAGE=toolbox\\_figure\\_detail.hpg&project\\_id=twpeop&dtd\\_id=15&subject\\_name=%E8%87%BA%E7%81%A3%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2%E4%BA%BA%E7%89%A9%E5%B0%8F%E5%82%B3--%E6%98%8E%E6%B8%85%E6%9A%A8%E6%97%A5%E6%93%9A%E6%99%82%E6%9C%9F&subject\\_url=toolbox\\_figure.hpg&xml\\_id=0000008697&who=%E6%9E%97%E6%96%87%E6%AC%BD](http://memory.ncl.edu.tw/tm/cgi/hypage.cgi?HYPAGE=toolbox_figure_detail.hpg&project_id=twpeop&dtd_id=15&subject_name=%E8%87%BA%E7%81%A3%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2%E4%BA%BA%E7%89%A9%E5%B0%8F%E5%82%B3--%E6%98%8E%E6%B8%85%E6%9A%A8%E6%97%A5%E6%93%9A%E6%99%82%E6%9C%9F&subject_url=toolbox_figure.hpg&xml_id=0000008697&who=%E6%9E%97%E6%96%87%E6%AC%BD)（2016 年 9 月 6 日下載）。

<sup>30</sup>林文龍，林文欽「做城隍」，《國史館臺灣文獻館電子報》，第 98 期，中華民國 101 年 05 月 28 日，<http://www.th.gov.tw/epaper/site/page/98/1342>（2016 年 9 月 6 日下載）

<sup>31</sup> 根據 1901 年的記錄，他在土城（今草屯鎮土城）、南投各有一個腦館，另在集集與林烈堂還合設了一個腦館；見劉澤民，明治 34 年霧峰林家的樟腦事業地圖，《國史館臺灣文獻館電子報》，第 18 期（2008 年 10 月 24 日），<http://www.th.gov.tw/epaper/site/page/18/154>（2017 年 9 月 23 日下載）

苓雅寮」的陳中和以「商業」為目的，和地址相同、年齡為 10 歲的陳啓南以及 6 歲的陳啓峰一起申請取得旅券，目的地為「清國廈門汕頭上海英領香港」。<sup>32</sup> 根據記載，開創臺灣五大家族之一的陳家的陳中和，出身於打狗灣內苓雅寮，生於 1853 年；陳啓峰是他的四子，後來畢業於日本的慶應義塾大學。<sup>33</sup> 另外根據 1923 年的記錄，在由陳中和擔任取締役社長的振興製糖会社，陳啓峰（以及兄弟陳啓貞）出任取締役，而陳啓南（以及兄弟陳啓川）則擔任監查役。<sup>34</sup> 陳啓南和陳啓峰兄弟可能是當年出國到香港，年紀最小的臺灣人。而他們的哥哥陳啓貞（明治 16 年生），<sup>35</sup> 也是陳中和的長子，<sup>36</sup> 則是在次年（明治 31 年，1898）2 月（年齡登記為 16 歲）以「修學」為目的申請取得旅券，成為日治時期最早到香港的臺灣人留學生之一；同時以「修學」為目的申請取得旅券的，還有 15 歲的陳啓瀛（陳中和的次子）、和 16 歲的陳啓亨。<sup>37</sup> 陳中和的六子陳啓川當時尚未出生（明治 32 年生），<sup>38</sup> 但是在多年之後（1921 年）也繼兄長的步伐前往香港求學（後詳）。

如果將時間的範圍再向下延伸的話，則會發現在日治時期前往香港求學的臺灣人，自上述的 1898 年的陳啓貞開始，一直持續到 1930 年代。根據 1930 年日本駐香港總領事館的一份調查報告，居住在香港的臺灣籍民合計 48 人，其中男性 36 人、女性 12 人；按職業類別人數來排列，當時日本官方所掌握的在香港的臺灣人情況如下：<sup>39</sup>

家眷：女 12 人（內有日本人小學學童 2 人）；店員：男，7 人；拔萃學院學生：男，7 人（中學部 6 人、小學部 1 人）；香港大學學生：男，4 人；貿易商：男，4 人；家人：男，3 人；雜貨商：男，2 人；煤炭商：男，1 人；機動船船主：男，1 人；裁縫業：男，1 人；鐵工廠：男，1 人；機械師：男，1 人；香港大學助教授：男，1 人；拔萃學院教授：男，1 人；「棉都丸」船醫：男，1 人；「寶山丸」船醫：男，1 人。

<sup>32</sup> 「鳳山縣旅券下付表」，明治 30 年 7-9 月。陳中和的旅券番號為 95024；陳啓南為 95026；陳啓峰為 95027。

<sup>33</sup> 戴寶村，陳中和家族史，《國史研究通訊》，第二期（2012 年 6 月），頁 37，39。

<sup>34</sup> 製糖事業が台湾に興るまで：三百年からの古い歴史をもち正貨の流失を防ぐため大努力，《中外商業新報》，1923.4.5（大正 12），收在神戸大学経済経営研究所，新聞記事文庫--製糖業（09-130）；

[http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/das/jsp/ja/ContentViewM.jsp?METAID=00221727&TYPE=HTML\\_FILE&POS=1](http://www.lib.kobe-u.ac.jp/das/jsp/ja/ContentViewM.jsp?METAID=00221727&TYPE=HTML_FILE&POS=1)（2017 年 9 月 14 日下載）

<sup>35</sup> 《臺灣人士鑑》（興南新聞），昭和 18 年版，頁 259

<sup>36</sup> 戴寶村，陳中和家族史，《國史研究通訊》，第二期（2012 年 6 月），頁 39。

<sup>37</sup> 「鳳山縣海外行旅券下付表」，明治 31 年自 1-3 月。陳啓貞的旅券番號為 94708；陳啓瀛為 94709；陳啓亨為 94710。

<sup>38</sup> 《臺灣人士鑑》（興南新聞），昭和 18 年版，頁 259

<sup>39</sup> 香港總領事館調查，《臺灣籍民關係事項調查》（1930），收入陳湛頤編，《日本人訪港見聞錄——1898-1941，下卷》，頁 268-269。

合計 36 名臺灣男性當中，有高達 11 人在香港的身份是學生。這項統計顯示，臺灣人到香港的主要目的之一是海外求學，而香港更成爲了一個臺灣人到海外求學的重要目的地。過往關於日治時期臺灣人到外地求學的歷史，多半關注的是到中國或日本這兩地、以及在 1930 年代開始的滿洲國。但是本文將據此，以到香港求學的臺灣人爲切入點，進一步的勾勒出臺灣士紳階級在香港的人際網絡。

### 去香港讀書

日本駐香港總領事館的報告中所提到的「拔萃學院」(或稱「拔萃書院」，即爲今香港最負盛名的中學拔萃男書院 (Diocesan Boys' School，或稱 DBS)。根據該校對學校歷史的介紹，該校是在 1860 年由基督教聖公會創立；傑出的校友包括：Henry Gittins (洪千), Adolph Zimmern (施燦光), Robert Kotewall (羅旭龢) 和 Dr. Sun Yat-sen (孫中山)。該校原來男女學生兼收；但是自 1892 年起成爲男校。<sup>40</sup> 那麼該校有哪些臺灣人校友？

#### ● 張鴻圖 (1892-1973)

該校最早的臺灣人學生之一，是來自臺南的張鴻圖，1911 年畢業於香港拔萃書院商科。<sup>41</sup> 張鴻圖是張金聲的長子；張金聲在明治 38 (1905) 年出任臺南廳安平區的街庄長，明治 43 (1910) 年接任安平區區長、至大正 5 (1916) 年。<sup>42</sup>

張鴻圖在畢業後回臺，先後在安平(砂糖商)怡記洋行(英商 Bain and Co.)、<sup>43</sup> 三達石油會社 (Standard Oil Company，標準石油公司)任職；在日治後期前往臺北，擔任 Standard Vacuum 石油會社 (Standard-Vacuum Oil Company) 台灣分店支配人 (總經理)。<sup>44</sup> 張鴻圖在當時任職的這些公司，不但是臺灣當時少數的西方跨國公司，更是國際上非常重要的企業。

例如標準石油公司，是美國巨富約翰洛克菲勒 (John D. Rockefeller，1839-1937) 在 1863 年所設立的跨國公司。該公司曾經是世界上最大的煉油廠，更因爲規模過大而引發壟斷經濟的爭議；最終美國最高法院在 1911 年引用

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<sup>40</sup> A Brief History of DBS, <http://www.dbs.edu.hk/index.php?section=aboutdbs&sub=history> (2017 年 7 月 29 日下載)

<sup>41</sup> 新民報《台灣人士鑑》頁 228、興南新聞《台灣人士鑑》頁 249

<sup>42</sup> 《臺灣總督府文官職員錄》，1905；1910，頁 335；1911，頁 351；1912，頁 411；1913，頁 258；1914，頁 269；1915，頁 272；1916，頁 284。

<sup>43</sup> 此爲在安平設立的第二家怡記洋行，與先前的 Elles & Co. (1883 年結束營業) 不同，爲後者的元職員 A.W. Bain 設立，沿用中文行名。見李佩蓁，依附抑合作？清末臺灣南部口岸買辦商人的雙重角色 (1860-1895)，《臺灣史研究》，20 卷 2 期 (2013 年 6 月)，頁 38-39

<sup>44</sup> 新民報《台灣人士鑑》頁 228；興南新聞《台灣人士鑑》頁 249

Sherman Antitrust Act (反獨占法)、令其解散。<sup>45</sup> 標準石油公司在解散之後的一個子公司，在 1931 年與 Vacuum Oil Company 合併成爲 Standard-Vacuum Oil Company，或簡稱爲“Standvac”；該公司是戰前美國企業在亞洲最大的單一直接投資 (direct investment)，也是對日本最大的石油供應商。<sup>46</sup>

張鴻圖能夠在這些國際級的跨國公司擔任要職，與他在香港所得到的西式教育和經歷有非常密切的關連。而他的國際企業經驗，也幫助了其他當時臺灣的士紳商人，例如林獻堂。林獻堂的日記中，就多次記載了與張鴻圖的交往。最早的記錄是在 1932 年：

**五時張鴻圖持日瑞會社之電報來復，述土地及建物價格四萬円，但要先交一萬円。乃決定培火往神戶，與之締結契約及買機械。<sup>47</sup>**

這一項交易合作的對象日瑞會社，爲英商在日本成立的公司；由於他擁有在香港的求學經驗、以及在英商怡記洋行的工作經驗，張鴻圖對林獻堂所進行的這項交易能夠帶來一定的幫助。林獻堂後來委由蔡培火和呂靈石，<sup>48</sup>前往日本進行後續的洽談：決定培火往大阪與英商日瑞會社結買賣契約，並使靈石與之同往買印刷機械，並見習。<sup>49</sup>

林獻堂與張鴻圖的交情匪淺；在商業活動之外，更有私人/家庭之間的互動。例如，1934 年 1 月林家林瑞騰的四女兒林雙璧出嫁的時候，林獻堂的夫人楊水心女士在日記中就記錄著：至四時外瑞騰之妻英英〔榮榮〕命阿香來，請我去看

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<sup>45</sup> 參見“Standard Oil Company and Trust”，in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Standard-Oil-Company-and-Trust> (2017 年 7 月 30 日下載)；「洛克菲勒」，《中華百科全書》(1983 年版)，<http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=872> (2017 年 7 月 30 日下載)

<sup>46</sup> Irvine H. Anderson Jr., *The Standard-Vacuum Oil Company and United States East Asian Policy, 1933-1941* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015)

<sup>47</sup> 灌園先生日記，1932 年 1 月 13 日

<sup>48</sup> 呂靈石，一九〇〇年生，臺中神岡人，呂蘊白（林獻堂姊夫）次子。一九一一年起赴日本東京，就讀錦華小學校、開成中學校，一九二六年明治大學法學部畢業。留學中為東京臺灣青年會幹事、新民會理事等。返臺後率領鄉土訪問團到全島各地開演講會，一九二九年為臺灣議會請願委員。一九三〇年後至臺灣新民報社出任諸職，後歷任興南新聞社文書課長、編輯印刷發行人、皇民奉公會中央本部囑託、奉公壯年團臺北州支部幹事等職。一九四三年到廈門，任廈門決戰生活聯盟理事長並任廈門市商會秘書長及廈門重要物資組合囑託。戰後被當地肅奸會逮捕送廈門高等第一分院依法究辦。後經林獻堂等營救而於一九四六年九月回臺。（《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十二年版，頁四七八；《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁四六九；第三戰區金廈漢奸案件處理委員會，《閩臺漢奸罪行紀實》，廈門：江聲文化出版社，一九四七年，頁八五～八六；林獻堂著、許雪姬主編，《灌園先生日記（十八）一九四六年》，頁三八、三七二）；轉引自《臺灣日記知識庫》。

<sup>49</sup> 灌園先生日記，1932 年 1 月 14 日

双碧〔璧〕之嫁粧；<sup>50</sup> 可見此事對林獻堂夫婦的重要性。隔天，陪伴男方來迎娶的親友中，就有張鴻圖（以及甘得中）。<sup>51</sup>

在這段期間，林獻堂與張鴻圖更是屢屢在臺灣士紳階級的社交場合上同席。1934年4月在臺北由羅萬俔（1898年3月22日—1963年5月15日）設宴於江山樓、<sup>52</sup> 1935年10月由翁瑞春設宴於蓬萊閣（林瑞騰也應邀出席），<sup>53</sup> 兩人都受邀出席；兩次都同席的還有羅萬俔和林柏壽。而最值得提及的，是1939年7月林獻堂搭船前往日本；前往送行的有羅萬俔和林瑞騰，而同船的則是張鴻圖。<sup>54</sup> 在搭乘的高砂丸上，林獻堂與張鴻圖又再聚首；其中還特別談到張鴻圖在1938年受日軍徵傭的經過。<sup>55</sup> 船抵下關之後，林獻堂與張鴻圖才彼此告別，分別前往各自的目的地。<sup>56</sup>

林獻堂與張鴻圖的交情一直維持到戰後；在1949年9月23日林獻堂離開臺灣寓居日本之前不久，<sup>57</sup> 他和張鴻圖還在北投的友人家中相聚。<sup>58</sup> 戰後，張鴻圖曾經出任味全公司的董事；另外也致力於教會活動，在臺北市的中山北路成立中

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<sup>50</sup> 楊水心女士日記，1934年1月10日

<sup>51</sup> 甘得中、張鴻圖。。。(等人)來訪，他等伴新郎來親迎瑞騰四女雙璧也；見《灌園先生日記》，1934年1月11日；林瑞騰：一八八〇年生，名資鏞，林朝棟第五子，林季商之弟。和林季商經營合昌商店（腦館），歷任瑞裕拓植株式會社（主要經營土地建物買賣借貸、開拓土地）社長、臺灣製腦取締役、大東信託會社取締役等；轉引自《臺灣日記知識庫》。

<sup>52</sup> 赴萬俔之招待於江山樓。出席者林柏壽、蔡培火、蔡式穀、李崑玉、林履信、林呈祿、張鴻謀、【張鴻】圖、杜聰明、陳煌，計十一人；見灌園先生日記，1934年4月19日。

<sup>53</sup> 六時受翁瑞春之招待於蓬萊閣，出席者五弟、萬俔、柏壽、耀亭、瑞騰、張鴻圖、劉明朝、蔡式穀、郭廷俊，見灌園先生日記，1935年10月11日

<sup>54</sup> 九時十二分猶龍、愛子、博正、成章同余由臺北驛出發，出送者：萬俔、呈祿、朝清、焯、煌、靈石、榮鐘、春金、式穀、明朝等。五弟、瑞騰、靈石送至舟中。。。十一時船出基隆港，同船者有田端殖產局長、古屋貞雄辯護士、張鴻圖、石錫純等，俱不寂寞；見灌園先生日記，1939年7月3日

<sup>55</sup> 早餐後與張鴻圖雜談，他備述去年九月徵傭之事，頗為有趣；見灌園先生日記，1939年7月4日。日軍對臺灣士紳階級的軍事動員，可參見灌園先生日記，1938年10月1日的記載：

成章同余四時餘往山王ホテル會呈祿，他言本朝接萬俔之信，謂軍部令台北州本島人之出征者三、四十名皆為智識階級者，氏名如下：林佛樹、林水國、陳逸松、李瑞漢、顏德修、施江南、黃逢春、陳增全、顏必從、陳全萬、葉猫猫、翁瑞春、姜鼎元、彭永海、吳鴻祺〔麒〕、邱德金、張鴻圖、郭雨新等，林柏壽亦被命，因本人不在未能接受命令也。

<sup>56</sup> 九時半船抵門司。。。余與猶龍、愛子、博正、成章一行五人遂同上陸，張鴻圖、石錫純欲往滿鮮、北平等處視察，在下關碼頭別去；見灌園先生日記，1939年7月5日

<sup>57</sup> 灌園先生日記，1949年9月23日

<sup>58</sup> 林和引在東京留學時曾受補助，數年來經營貿易獲利頗多，在北投新建一別莊，本日舉行落成式，招待余及劍清夫婦、靈石、瑞池午餐。十時到其別莊會李冰、張鴻圖等十餘人；見灌園先生日記，1949年4月3日



華基督教會，也捐獻了一塊土地給安平教會。<sup>59</sup> 張鴻圖對教會的投入和奉獻，與他的夫人周慈玉女士<sup>60</sup>--周步霞牧師的三女<sup>61</sup>--當然有明確的關聯。但是從張鴻圖的生命歷程來看，他晚年對教會的付出，與他早期在香港教會學校求學的經歷有著某種巧合的因緣。

另外值得一提的是，張鴻圖的夫人周慈玉女士、以及他們與教會的這層關係，又間接的與林獻堂的交友圈產生交集。林獻堂夫婦在 1930 年 6 月的日記中，不約而同的都記載了張聰明之妻來訪的事情；張聰明之妻葉月，當時是在為其長子張月澄、與甘得中的女兒甘寶釵的婚事而前往彰化的途中，<sup>62</sup>短暫拜會林獻堂夫婦。<sup>63</sup> 葉月本身其實是在張鴻圖妻周慈玉的影響下，成為基督徒，後來更捐地和張鴻圖夫婦一起在臺北建立了中華基督教公理堂的教堂。<sup>64</sup> 而比張鴻圖年長 8 歲的張聰明，也跟香港有一定的關聯：他在日治時期就跟香港有貿易往來，是活躍於華南沿海與香港之煤炭商人。<sup>65</sup> 根據日記的記錄，自 1930 年代起張聰

<sup>59</sup> 《安平追想曲》(台南：安平教會，1998 年 2 月 15 日)，頁 52-57，

<http://www.laijohn.com/archives/pc/Tiun/Tiun.KSeng/family/Iun,ETiat/Ng,CHeng.htm> (2017 年 7 月 30 日下載)

<sup>60</sup> 周慈玉是周步霞的三女，京都平安女學院畢業，適安平出身實業家張鴻圖。夫婦創設的台北公理堂，就是今台北華基督教會的前身；見史話 353 傳道周步霞的子女，《台灣教會公報》2301 期 1996 年 4 月 7 日

<sup>61</sup> 周步霞 字耀彩，艋舺八甲庄人，生於 1846 年 2 月 7 日，歿於 1923 年 5 月 31 日，享壽 78 歲。他是台灣本地最早期傳道者之一。早於 1873 年 3 月甘為霖牧師 (Rev. William Campbell) 到北部考察，隨行的就是周步霞 (參照《教會史話》244)。當他於 1899 年辭去南部職務到北部，偕叡理牧師就請他牧紅毛港教會。1900 年 11 月申請返南部工作。周步霞退休後就住於嘉義，而嘉義教會於 1908 年選他為長老；所以周步霞本是艋舺人，在府城過年青期，終於嘉義；見史話 352 周步霞的傳道腳蹤，《台灣教會公報》2300 期 1996 年 3 月 31 日

<sup>62</sup> 甘寶釵，一九〇七~一九三三年，彰化人，甘得中長女。彰化高等女學校第一屆畢業後，前往日本東京留學，私立日本女子大學畢業，就學期間曾為網球選手。一九二〇年代主張女子剪髮，參加剪髮會，投入社會服務。一九三〇年八月十日與張月澄結婚，介紹人為杜聰明和蔣渭水夫婦。生有一女 (張超雄)、一子 (張超英)，一九三三年二月在東京生下長子張超英，在坐月子期間，因患甲狀腺腫，至醫院動手術，同年十一月因引發敗血症而過世。(張超英口述、陳柔縉執筆，《宮前町九十番地》，頁七〇~七四)

<sup>63</sup> 六時五十餘分杜聰明、張聰明之妻，蔣渭水之妾來訪，僅二分間則匆匆往乘七時之車往臺中，她等本朝往彰化，為月澄與寶釵訂婚結【式】也；見灌園先生日記，1930 年 6 月 22 日。杜聰明之妻與張聰明之妻、蔣渭水之妾來訪問，僅二分間，匆匆往乘車。資彬亦來招她等，為本早先往於彰化張月澄與寶釵訂婚；見楊水心女士日記，1930 年 6 月 22 日

<sup>64</sup> 張超英口述、陳柔縉執筆，《宮前町九十番地》，頁七四~七六

<sup>65</sup> 張聰明：一八八四年生，新竹人。。。年輕時即投入實業界，活躍於香港、廣東、上海、廈門等地，從事煤輸出貿易，參見章子惠，《臺灣時人誌》，第一集，頁二一二 (《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十二年版，頁二三五；轉引自《臺灣日記知識庫》。

明（夫婦）與林獻堂（夫婦）持續的保持相當密切的來往。<sup>66</sup>

另外，張聰明與黃旺成則是自 1920 年代初期就開始交往；<sup>67</sup> 黃旺成對張聰明的事業經營，也有相當的瞭解（或興趣）。<sup>68</sup>

更特別的是，張鴻圖、張聰明、與林獻堂（家族）的下一代，也都有在香港求學的經歷。根據 1943 年的記載，張鴻圖的長男張文成是「香港大學工科畢業，香港奉職中」。<sup>69</sup> 而林家的林禹承（林垂拱之子，即林烈堂孫子），則是畢業於香港大學醫科。<sup>70</sup> 而張聰明在 1930 年 6 月訂婚的長子張月澄，<sup>71</sup> 則是另外一位香港拔萃學院的臺灣人校友，<sup>72</sup> 也就是張鴻圖的的學弟。

### ● 張月澄（又名張秀哲，1905-1982）

其實早在 1930 年，張月澄就在蔣渭水的介紹下，認識了林獻堂。<sup>73</sup> 而後，由於他與甘得中的女兒訂親，張月澄與林獻堂（夫婦）的交往也更為頻繁。例如 1930 年 7 月，楊水心女士（與林獻堂同訪臺北）在臺北的友人家中，張月澄和甘寶釵（當時兩人訂婚）就前來探訪，而後還一同受蔣渭水邀請共進午餐；<sup>74</sup> 而後林

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<sup>66</sup> 修寄施爾錫、林呈祿、蔡培火、張聰明之信；見灌園先生日記，1932 年 8 月 7 日。抵台北驛，萬俔、天佑、得中、張聰明、姜鼎元等出迎；見灌園先生日記，1932 年 9 月 16 日。三時餘，焯、煌、柏壽、明朝、鴻模、聰明、瑞春、張聰明陸續而至，夜受張鴻模之招待，仍宿於巴旅館；見灌園先生日記，1932 年 9 月 17 日。上陸後永井（柳太郎）乘臨時列車往台北，余等五人又加張聰明、鄭貴松同在依姬館午餐後，乃返到鐵道ホテル會永井，約明夜八時半之二次會；見灌園先生日記，1935 年 11 月 7 日。

<sup>67</sup> 付夜行車北上 葉清耀、張聰明兩氏仝乘；見黃旺成先生日記，1922 年 6 月 5 日

<sup>68</sup> 夜石川氏來訪 談起子瑜所買黃東茂之炭礦七萬五千元 其實無三萬元之價值 大得便宜者為張聰明；見黃旺成先生日記，1923 年 10 月 15 日

<sup>69</sup> 新民報《台灣人士鑑》頁 228

<sup>70</sup> 其妻葉浣嫻亦畢業於香港大學醫科（許雪姬編著，《霧峰林家相關人物訪問紀錄》，頂厝篇，頁十一，〈林垂凱先生訪問紀錄〉）

<sup>71</sup> 張秀哲：字月澄，一九〇六年生，臺北人。初入香港拔萃學院研究英文學，後轉廣州暨南大學法學院外交領事學系畢業，旋入日本東京帝國大學大學院。畢業後曾任新亞造紙廠總經理、興華煤球製造廠總經理。一九二五年在廣州發刊《勿忘臺灣》，並主編《臺灣先鋒》，聯絡臺灣民眾黨，參加臺灣社會運動，遂遭日本政府以違反治安維持法提起公訴。戰後，任臺灣省紡織公司協理兼業務部主任。著有《國民政府の外交及外交行政》、《國民政府重要政治外交年表》、《『勿忘臺灣』落花夢》等書。（章子惠，《臺灣時人誌》，第一集，頁八六）

<sup>72</sup> 根據記載他是在 1920 年代就讀於香港拔萃學院；參見《勿忘臺灣落花夢》（臺北：衛城，2013），頁 211-213

<sup>73</sup> 渭水引張月汀〔澄〕來訪；見灌園先生日記，1930 年 3 月 31 日。值得一提的是，林獻堂在此後的日記中，持續的將張月澄的名字寫為張月汀。

<sup>74</sup> 本早渭水來，後式穀樣、肇嘉、培火來，後我去ヨシコノ宅坐談，適甘寶釵同未婚夫張月澄及阿治來，共坐至十一時半，同ヨシコ去訪問萬俔，到十二時。但我往於大安【醫】院，受渭水

獻堂夫婦從臺北乘火車回霧峰，甘寶釵也同車回彰化，張月澄還在臺北車站送行。<sup>75</sup> 另外一次則是1930年9月，張月澄婚後偕夫人啓程前往中國求學之前，由甘得中帶著他們拜訪林獻堂；事後林獻堂在日記中還特別寫到，他對此後輩關於臺灣議會的想法頗有意見。<sup>76</sup> 張月澄夫婦在中國期間，也持續的與林獻堂保持往來，例如甘寶釵在1932年回臺期間，就特地到林獻堂家中拜訪，談及在中國的情況。<sup>77</sup> 這些交往的記錄顯示，林獻堂與張月澄（夫婦）的關係相當密切；甚至在張月澄的夫人甘寶釵在1933年過世之後，林獻堂都還從甘得中口中聽到張月澄夫婦之間相處的情況。<sup>78</sup> 1934年，林獻堂在東京參加一項由新民會舉辦的宴會，張月澄也以會員的身份同席。<sup>79</sup> 不過在此之後，林獻堂和張月澄的關係就不復以往；1937年林獻堂在東京巧遇張月澄，兩人竟形同陌路。<sup>80</sup>

但是到了二戰結束後，林獻堂和張聰明、張月澄父子則又恢復了來往，曾經參加同一個宴會。<sup>81</sup> 最值得注意的是在1945年8月31日至9月13日之間，林獻堂在中華民國政府尚未正式派員接收臺灣之前，曾經前往上海（和南京）訪問；在上海期間，張月澄扮演了重要的角色。抵達上海的首日，張月澄就開始陪同林獻堂（以及同行的許丙）；<sup>82</sup> 次日，張月澄更是幾乎從早到晚都陪同林獻堂一起進行各項拜會活動：<sup>83</sup>

#### 昨日以電話約會李擇一，余與熊祥、許丙、振甫到其宅，既而張月汀〔澄〕

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請午餐，寶釵與【未】夫婚〔婚夫〕及阿治亦來共午餐；見楊水心女士日記，1930年7月6日  
<sup>75</sup>返霧峰 五時半起床，內子亦起。。。八時之急行車返臺中。。。甘寶釵亦將返彰化，她乘二等車，其未婚夫張月澄亦來送；見灌園先生日記，1930年7月7日

<sup>76</sup> 得中率其女寶釵、女婿張月澄來訪，他兩人將於廿七日之船往南京留學。天成與月澄論自治聯盟，月澄未了解臺灣自治與地方自治之分別，故認街庄協議會與臺灣議會相同，真是出於意外。坐談一時餘，匆匆歸去；見灌園先生日記，1930年9月25日

<sup>77</sup>甘寶釵從其夫張月汀〔澄〕在南京留學，上海戰事起幾及於難，一週前方歸台，今日來訪，備述當日危險之情形，令人可驚；見灌園先生日記，1932年3月8日

<sup>78</sup> 甘得中四時餘來，述其女寶釵夫婦不和、生前死後之經過；見灌園先生日記，1933年12月5日

<sup>79</sup> 灌園先生日記，1934年4月7日

<sup>80</sup> 到銀座松屋，遇根生夫婦，又遇張月澄，交臂而過不作一語；見灌園先生日記，1937年7月9日

<sup>81</sup> 十一時萬俾至，他於昨夜到此，約午後會於高義閣，最後許丙來請午餐，振甫、茂生同余緩步而往受招待之。出席者：熊祥、張園、張聰明、逢源、猶龍、藍國城計九名；見灌園先生日記，1945年8月21日。

<sup>82</sup> 十二時四十五分抵松山飛行場，同行者重永海軍少將、岡田海軍中佐、須田農商局長。一時五分出發，過臺灣海峽，經海門鎮、寧波，四時抵上海，到福田海軍司令長官官邸。許丙以電話喚張月汀〔澄〕來，又一同訪楊肇嘉；見灌園先生日記，1945年8月31日。

<sup>83</sup> 灌園先生日記，1945年9月1日。

亦至。擇一言陳儀不知現在何處，無從與之通消息，軍事委員長代表蔣伯誠現在上海，但身體有病，其秘書長黃伯樵與之有交誼，先託其聯絡。遂導余等四名往會黃伯樵，他頗表示親切之意，許打電往重慶，與之交涉何日來上海。擇一歸去，余等到肇嘉處，陳重光已在是處相待，遂招余等到新都午餐，出席者：肇嘉、賴其昌、王伯鏞〔柏榮〕、周天啟、徐守益、何保儀、張月汀〔澄〕，主人及余等四名，計十二人。宴終又到肇嘉處休憩，夜受湊海軍少將之招待，余等四人及張月汀〔澄〕、肇嘉。宴終，肇嘉導余等往皇后戲園觀劇，十時餘返官邸。

之後，張月澄持續的在許多天都陪同林獻堂參加活動，更在林獻堂返臺前一晚設宴。<sup>84</sup>

● 郭廷芳：

另外一位在日治時期自香港拔萃書院畢業的臺灣人，是彰化人郭廷芳（1916年生）。他的父親郭腦（1889年生）經營年豐商店，並與實田石油株式會社（日本石油株式會社的前身）訂定契約，以年豐商店為其中部特約店，獨佔中部販賣網，營業項目以燈油、揮發油、機械油、蠟油、汽車為主；另外也經營振昌商行，從事石油代理販賣業。<sup>85</sup> 在父親過世之後，郭廷芳自1938年繼承石油商號「年豐棧」的經營權，並成為臺灣石油販賣有限會社、橫濱護謨（橡膠）製造株式會社、古河電氣工業株式會社、東亞化學製煉株式會社、協同油脂販賣株式會社等機構在臺灣中部的特約店，從事販賣石油相關製品、輪胎、電機類產品、塗料及石鹼（肥皂）等。<sup>86</sup>

1935年，郭廷芳可能曾經邀請（或陪同）香港拔萃書院的校長訪問臺灣；期間欲拜訪林獻堂，可惜後者生病無法會面。<sup>87</sup> 郭廷芳與林獻堂之間，更有許多與商業、投資和借貸相關的往來；<sup>88</sup> 林獻堂投入或接觸的資金不少，而且相當信賴

<sup>84</sup> 灌園先生日記，1945年9月2日、4日、5日、12日（夜一同受張月汀〔澄〕之宴於麗都花園）。

<sup>85</sup> 《臺灣官紳年鑑》（臺中）頁213、新民報《台灣人士鑑》頁054。

<sup>86</sup> 曾任臺中州石油組合理事、臺灣ゴムタイヤ協會臺中支部長、皇民奉公會臺中市支會委員。（興南新聞《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁八四）

<sup>87</sup> 午後郭廷芳、謝源河引香港中學校長某英人來遊，余因熱尚未退不能與之面會，乃使攀龍、猶龍出為招呼；見灌園先生日記，1935年2月3日。

<sup>88</sup> 少聰十一時來，許以靈山寺基本金三千元借他，他約代還郭廷芳對大安會社借金六千元；；見灌園先生日記，1944年11月3日。大安會社即大安產業株式會社，一九三〇年成立。目的為解決霧峰林家林澄堂過世後之遺產紛爭，由林獻堂擔任社長，林階堂與林猶龍任董事，林瑞騰與林根生任監事。營業項目有土地建物之買賣承租、土地開墾與造林、現金放款等，主要事業與收入來源仍以土地租佃為基礎，一九四五年結束運作。（許雪姬，〈日治時期霧峰林家產業初探〉，收入於黃富三、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，

郭廷芳。<sup>89</sup> 在 1944 年 3 月，林獻堂家族中出現一件盜用公款的事情，郭廷芳也提供了大筆資金來填補缺口。<sup>90</sup> 彼此之間這樣的商業合作關係，一直持續到戰後。<sup>91</sup>

郭廷芳與林獻堂之間有著這樣密切的關係，與他的妻子林雙碧有絕對的關係。林雙碧是林瑞騰的女兒，<sup>92</sup> 所以郭廷芳是林瑞騰的女婿，<sup>93</sup> 與林獻堂也就有姻親的關係。前述的 1934 年 1 月楊水心女士在日記中記錄著：至四時外瑞騰之妻英英〔榮榮〕命阿香來，請我去看雙碧〔璧〕之嫁粧；<sup>94</sup> 林瑞騰的四女兒林雙璧當時就是出嫁給郭廷芳。而當時陪同郭廷芳來迎娶的，則是另外一位香港拔萃書院的畢業生張鴻圖、以及幾年之前才把自己女兒（甘寶釵）嫁給另外一位香港拔萃書院畢業生（張月澄）的甘得中。<sup>95</sup>

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一九九九年，頁三四〇；張怡敏，〈日治時期臺灣租佃事業經營之研究—以大安產業株式會社（一九三〇～一九四五）為個案〉，收入於國史館臺灣文獻館整理組編輯，《第四屆臺灣總督府檔案學術研討會論文集》，南投：國史館臺灣文獻館，二〇〇六年，頁四七七～四七八、四八六）

<sup>89</sup> 郭廷芳來商買公債，即將額面三萬二千円賣之，千円券及五百円券價格九五，百円券價格九一，合計現金二萬九千九百八十円，即時授受；見灌園先生日記，1944 年 1 月 15 日。余先到垂訓處會其母子，將郭廷芳買債券之事告阿麵，如欲賣可直接與之交涉也；見灌園先生日記，1944 年 1 月 16 日。

<sup>90</sup> 猶龍、戊己、培英來商金生盜用組合之大東預金三萬円，填補之額：少聰六千円、廷芳六千円、其賢五千円、培英千円、俊子九千円，又對余借用千円、大安會社二千円；見灌園先生日記，1944 年 3 月 23 日。

<sup>91</sup> 十時餘到銀行，李建興、郭廷芳來訪；見灌園先生日記，1947 年 7 月 30 日。十時半彰化山林賸耕，希望者四名王友芬、楊阿喜、郭廷芳、林炳煌俱來，乃開一懇談會，金海、繼成、猶龍、泗水及余商量結果，將山林分作四份，使他等經營，阿喜嫌少，意欲全部獨得，遂不能即決；見灌園先生日記，1948 年 3 月 16 日。

<sup>92</sup> 林瑞騰：林季商第五子，名資鑣，生於光緒六年（一八八〇）八月十四日。於昭和元年（一九二六）七月創立瑞裕拓殖株式會社，主要做土地、建物買賣借貸、開拓土地，資本金五十萬圓，實繳十二萬五千圓。（《第八版台灣會社銀行錄》，昭和二年，頁一九九）。林瑞騰一共有六個女兒，四個是與元配莊榮榮生的，即雙娟、雙慶、雙全、雙璧，與一個來自福州的姨太太生雙菱和雙靨。（許雪姬訪問、王美雪紀錄，〈林陳換治女士訪問紀錄〉，民國八十四年十一月七日、八十五年八月七日，於臺中霧峰下厝。林陳換治為林瑞騰長媳）

<sup>93</sup> 瑞騰招余到其宅晚餐，其女婿景山、廷芳亦來，晚餐後雜談至九時方返；見《灌園先生日記》，1939 年 3 月 27 日

<sup>94</sup> 楊水心女士日記，1934 年 1 月 10 日

<sup>95</sup> 甘得中、張鴻圖。。。等人來訪，他等伴新郎來親迎瑞騰四女雙璧也；見《灌園先生日記》，1934 年 1 月 11 日；林瑞騰：一八八〇年生，名資鑣，林朝棟第五子，林季商之弟。和林季商經營合昌商店（腦館），歷任瑞裕拓殖株式會社（主要經營土地建物買賣借貸、開拓土地）社長、臺灣製腦取締役、大東信託會社取締役等；轉引自《臺灣日記知識庫》。

## ● 陳啟川

另外還有一位來自士紳階級的臺灣人，在戰前也曾經在香港大學就讀，是來自高雄的陳啟川，也就是陳中和的六子。<sup>96</sup> 多數關於陳家的研究，都會提到陳中和的幾個兒子在日本讀書求學的經歷；但是關於陳啟川的學習歷程，陳啟川先生文教基金會有著最詳細的介紹：<sup>97</sup>

陳啟川先生自幼在家中接受父親聘請的塾師教導漢文與武術，先後親炙的宿儒先生就有十多位，及齡後進入苓雅寮公學校（今高雄市四維路中華路的苓州國小），十三歲畢業後（一九一二年，日本大正元年），赴日本慶應義塾（慶應大學前身）附設普通科就讀，六年後進入經濟學部（相當於大學經濟系），才唸兩年，一九二〇年，奉母命回台結婚。一九二一年，轉入香港大學商科，學成後奉父命回台，學習並協助管理龐大的家族事業。

由此可見，陳啟川在慶應大學沒有念完大學的學業，而是在婚後前往香港大學，才繼續完成學業。同樣在日治時期畢業於香港大學的臺灣人，還有霧峰林家的林禹承，林垂拱之子，也就是林烈堂的孫子；他畢業於香港大學醫科，妻葉浣嫻亦畢業於香港大學醫科。<sup>98</sup> 雖然陳啟川和林禹承在香港大學的求學時間頗有落差，但是他們兩人都與林獻堂來往頻繁。1934年林禹承自香港回臺，就曾經特別前往探視林獻堂；<sup>99</sup> 而在戰後1945年的12月，林禹承遭到舉報為漢奸、因而遭到當局拘留，林獻堂更是頻頻參與營救他的事宜。<sup>100</sup> 而林垂拱的二子，林禹承同父異母的弟弟林耀華，也曾經在香港讀書。<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> 陳啟川（一八九九～一九九三年），高雄市苓雅寮人，為陳中和第六男。日本慶應義塾大學經濟學部畢業後，入香港大學留學。回臺後任新興製糖取締役，後投身實業界，擔任陳中和物產及烏樹林製鹽兩社的專務取締役，亦為《興南新聞》及《高雄新報》的取締役。一九三一至一九三五年任高雄市協議會員。戰後，連任兩屆高雄市長（一九六〇～一九六八），並捐地創建高雄醫學院，且長年擔任董事長。在商業方面，經營南和興產公司，亦參與彰化銀行、高雄中小企銀、中國化學、臺灣水泥等事業。（《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁二五九；許雪姬總策畫，《臺灣歷史辭典》，頁八四四，戴寶村撰）。另外，根據記載他是在一九二九年慶應大學經濟學部畢業後，曾短期赴香港大學留學，回臺後任新興製糖取締役。（《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁二五九）

<sup>97</sup> 創辦人陳啟川先生傳略—教育成長，陳啟川先生文教基金會，<http://www.frank-chen.org.tw/jiaoyu.asp>（2017年8月1日下載）。

<sup>98</sup> 〈林垂凱先生訪問紀錄〉，收在許雪姬編著，《霧峰林家相關人物訪問紀錄》，頂厝篇，頁11。另外值得一提的是，林禹承跟香港的淵源，其實來自他的母親陳瓊碧。陳瓊碧是曾任廣東道的陳望曾的第六個女兒；而陳望曾（1853-1929）是1874年甲戌科的進士，歷任署廣東雷州府、韶州府、廣東府知府、廣東勸業道，在清亡後隱居於香港。

<sup>99</sup> 禹承歸自香港，近午來訪；《灌園先生日記》，1934-07-31

<sup>100</sup> 《灌園先生日記》，1945-12-20、1945-12-21、1945-12-24、1946-01-08。

<sup>101</sup> 〈林垂凱先生訪問紀錄〉，收在許雪姬編著，《霧峰林家相關人物訪問紀錄》，頂厝篇，頁12-13。

而林禹承的學長陳啟川，也與林獻堂有密切而且長期的交往。陳啟川與林獻堂（家族）的交往，可溯及1930年；<sup>102</sup> 1938年4月林獻堂在東京期間，陳啟川也曾經在楊肇嘉的陪同之下來訪。<sup>103</sup> 事實上自1930年代開始，陳啟川與林獻堂交往的密切程度，絕不亞於另外兩位與林獻堂關係密切的林呈祿和羅萬俤；而這四位（時常加上林獻堂的三子林雲龍，1908-1959）在社交活動中更是時常「同進同出」。例如在1933年，陳啟川就已經積極的參與新民報社的運作。<sup>104</sup> 1935年，陳啟川與林呈祿、羅萬俤同樣都出任新民報社重要的幹部。<sup>105</sup> 1939年1月，時任新民報社專務的羅萬俤推薦林雲龍和陳啟川擔任取締役（董事）；<sup>106</sup> 5月，林獻堂前往參加黃朝清夫人的喪禮；<sup>107</sup> 儀式後，林獻堂又和陳啟川（以及羅萬俤）從下午聚會到晚上。<sup>108</sup> 1941年初，陳啟川、林獻堂、林呈祿和羅萬俤（以及林雲龍）還曾經一同在北投「入浴、飲酒、聞歌、暢談」；<sup>109</sup> 4月羅萬俤在臺北宴請平山泰和荒木三郎，作陪的有林獻堂、陳炘、林呈祿和陳啟川等人。<sup>110</sup>

1943年5月為祝賀臺灣總督長谷川清的生日，陳啟川特地從高雄北上，與林獻堂、林呈祿和羅萬俤（以及林雲龍）等人一起前往拜會總督，又一同參加羅

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<sup>102</sup> 灌園先生日記，1930年10月10日、1935年5月12日

<sup>103</sup> 陳啟川以肇嘉為導十一時餘來訪，午餐後方去；見灌園先生日記，1938年4月7日

<sup>104</sup> 十時在新民報社開相談役會，出席者顏國年、黃純青、陳啟川。。。取締役萬俤、培火、呈祿及余，計十三人；灌園先生日記，1933年4月15日

<sup>105</sup> 新民報社重役會二時四十分開【於】本社，出席者萬俤、柏壽、瑞雲、培火、明電、呈祿及余，監查役陳啟川，書記黃洪炎。萬俤言其不日上京，對廣告之問題有所約束，但對外不得已用專務之名，對內則不負專務之責云云。滿場俱勸其勿辭專務，談論至六時以不解決解決之。七時在二鶴樓晚餐，出席者萬俤、柏壽、培火、呈祿、瑞雲、啟川、清風及余，十時餘方散會；灌園先生日記，1935年5月29日

<sup>106</sup> 雲龍昨夜歸來，述新民報社專務羅萬俤推薦他及陳啟川為取締役；見灌園先生日記，1939年1月31日。

<sup>107</sup> 黃朝清：一八九五～一九五〇年。一九一九年日本東京慈惠醫學專門學校畢業，歸臺後在臺中開設回春醫院，一九三六年得到醫學博士學位。歷任臺中商工協會長、臺中市醫師會顧問、大東信託株式會社取締役、臺灣地方自治聯盟理事、《臺灣新民報》取締役等。戰後參加臺灣光復致敬團，二二八事件時臺中成立「臺中地區時局處理委員會」，時任臺中市參議會議長的黃朝清亦參與其中，後與林獻堂等仕紳，採和平方式，歡迎國軍進入臺中。一九四八年就任南華化學有限公司常務董事。

<sup>108</sup> 三時十分至齋場，方舉式，四十五分式終。五弟、萬俤同往中央ホテル休憩，五弟聞啟川、居〔基〕先在カフエ，遂招余與萬俤同往，五人小飲，至七時乃往醉月樓，靈石、雲龍已先在，陳炘、榮鐘、瑞騰亦繼至，九時半散席；見灌園先生日記，1939年5月21日。

<sup>109</sup> 受新民報專務呈祿之招待（重役會），同萬俤、朝清、文樹往北投八勝園，呈祿、雲龍、吉富、朝日、啟川已先到矣，靈石率藝妓亦繼至，入浴、飲酒、聞歌、暢談至九時餘乃返；見灌園先生日記，1941年1月16日。

<sup>110</sup> 萬俤招待平山泰、荒木三郎，余與炘、朝清、呈祿、式穀、逸松、啟川、吉富、炎亭為陪，十時餘返ホテル；見灌園先生日記，1941年4月18日。

萬俤所設的晚宴。<sup>111</sup> 數日後，由臺灣士紳們做東在北投宴請長谷川總督，陳啟川、林獻堂、林呈祿和羅萬俤都共同出席，還再次一起「入浴」；<sup>112</sup> 宴會隔日，陳啟川與林獻堂又一同從臺北乘火車南下。<sup>113</sup> 次月，林獻堂再次北上接受總督招待；先到興南新聞社與林呈祿和陳啟川會面，之後又一起和羅萬俤到鐵道飯店參加由陳炘做東的午餐，晚上一行人又共同參加了在總督官邸舉辦的晚宴。<sup>114</sup> 隔天，林獻堂、陳啟川、林呈祿和羅萬俤（以及陳炘）一同到總督府拜訪總督，陳啟川還負責幫林獻堂和總督（以及陳炘）拍攝照片。<sup>115</sup> 1944年1月陳啟川與林呈祿、羅萬俤又一同續任興南新聞社的取締役；<sup>116</sup> 3月，陳啟川又和林獻堂、林呈祿和羅萬俤會面，早上先共同出席了興南新聞社的會議，中午再一起（加上陳炘）到總督官邸參加宴會。<sup>117</sup> 1945年1月，林獻堂要由臺北返回臺中，在臺北車站送行的又有陳啟川、林呈祿和羅萬俤等三人。<sup>118</sup> 而在如此頻繁又密切的交往中，陳啟川也將自己的人脈介紹給林獻堂；例如在1944年，<sup>119</sup> 陳啟川就為

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<sup>111</sup> 長谷川總督今日為其六十一歲之誕生日，余與呈祿、陳炘、萬俤、啟川、雲龍八時半同到官邸，啟川夜行車由高雄來也。。。六時半同呈祿、陳炘、啟川、天佑、雲龍受萬俤之招待於蓬萊閣。九時同往游碧蓮處看相，十時返永樂；見灌園先生日記，1943年5月7日

<sup>112</sup> 林熊祥、羅萬俤、林雲龍、林呈祿、陳炘、杜聰明及余同往北投雙葉莊，將宴長谷川總督，陳啟川已先至矣。五時總督及安住秘書官踐約而至，俱換浴衣入浴。六時餘開宴，藝妓五名梅光、梅幸、花駒、政照、梅春，皆善歌舞，賓主盡歡，近十時方散會，萬俤不省人事；見灌園先生日記，1943年5月9日

<sup>113</sup> 余與雲龍、天佑、景山、啟川乘九時半之車南下；見灌園先生日記，1943年5月10日

<sup>114</sup> 到興南新聞社會呈祿，而陳啟川亦至，十二時同到鐵道ホテル受陳炘之招待午餐，萬俤亦至。。。六時廿分熊祥、陳炘、雲龍同乘到總督官邸，呈祿、聰明、萬俤、啟川亦至，長谷川總督現和藹〔藹〕之容以相接，以小澤文書課長、安住秘書官為陪，筵中歡談暢飲，賓主各盡十分之樂；見灌園先生日記，1943年6月29日

<sup>115</sup> 雲龍八時來永樂，與之同乘，並往招陳炘、熊祥到總督府，呈祿、萬俤、啟川亦至，惟聰明有事不能來。七人乃入公室，先會安住秘書官，次會長谷川總督，謝其昨日之招待。啟川在公室撮總督及余、陳炘之寫真；見灌園先生日記，1943年6月30日

<sup>116</sup> 取締役林呈祿、羅萬俤、林伯〔柏〕壽、林資彬、陳啟川、黃朝清、林雲龍七名滿限改選，由議長指名以吉富保之而代黃朝清；見灌園先生日記，1944年1月31日。

<sup>117</sup> 十時餘同萬俤赴《興南》重役會於本社，出席者呈祿、吉富、啟川、雲龍、資彬、萬俤，監查役阮朝日，余為顧問亦參加會議。。。十二時半到官邸，受長谷川總督之招待，出席者余與呈祿、陳炘、杜聰明、熊祥、啟川、萬俤、雲龍及南日本漁業會社副社長前根壽一；見灌園先生日記，1944年3月6日。

<sup>118</sup> 欲乘五時餘之汽車返臺中，呈祿、萬俤、啟川、荷生俱來驛相送，至時始知汽車不發；見灌園先生日記，1945年1月3日

<sup>119</sup> 天佑及太平垂拱同余乘九時半之急行車，陳啟川、辜振甫、黃三木等亦同車將往高雄。啟川為余介紹松本源吉，他為海軍施設協力會總務課長也；見灌園先生日記，1944年8月23日



林獻堂介紹認識了時任海軍施設協力會總務課長的松本源吉。<sup>120</sup>

陳啟川和林獻堂兩人在戰後持續相當密切的交往。例如，在前述的林獻堂結束在上海的訪問行程、飛回臺北的1945年9月13日，當晚夜宿在北投又遇到陳啟川；<sup>121</sup> 兩天後，一早就見面談話、又相約一起從北投乘車回臺北。<sup>122</sup> 10月份，林獻堂拜訪中華民國派來的前進指揮所主任葛敬恩和副主任范誦堯，陳啟川也全程陪同；當晚又同宿於北投。<sup>123</sup> 幾天之後，陳啟川又和林獻堂(以及林呈祿和羅萬俔)共同以主辦方的身份，舉辦了科學振興會的成立宴會。<sup>124</sup> 兩個禮拜之後的10月25日，林獻堂和陳啟川(偕同林雲龍和陳炘)，共同出席了在臺北舉辦的、由陳儀行政長官和安藤總督所進行的中日政權交接儀式。<sup>125</sup> 隔天，多位臺灣士紳們舉辦為組織一政治社團(應該為臺灣建設協進會)的會議；在會上林獻堂獲選為會長，陳啟川(以及林呈祿和羅萬俔)則為幹事。<sup>126</sup> 1946年12月林獻堂到高雄拜會市長黃仲圖、議長黃百祿等市政官員，陳啟川不但出迎、更在

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<sup>120</sup>一九〇九年生，日本兵庫人。一九二三年早稻田大學專門部商科畢業，一九二九年任專賣局書記傭人部主任，歷任文書係主任、調查係主任、秘書係主任，一九四一年起歷任神戶出張所長、高雄支局長、專賣局副參事，而後任海軍施設協力會總務課長。(《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁三七四)

<sup>121</sup> 六時半抵臺灣飛行場，到許丙之宅，熊祥、陳炘、萬俔、呈祿、維〔惟〕梁、振甫皆分散，猶龍在此相迎，遂同宿於北投淇水園，遇林茂生、陳啟川、石錫純、楊承基；見灌園先生日記，1945年9月13日。

<sup>122</sup> 陳啟川、石錫純、楊承基來余室雜談，約同乘十時半之車返臺北；灌園先生日記，1945年9月15日。

<sup>123</sup> 余與五弟、雲龍、資彬、少聰、景山、萬俔同往永樂ホテル，招張邦傑為導，又加啟川、振甫，同到南方資料館，訪葛敬恩秘書長，因他有疾，臥在病床，余與五弟、萬俔、振甫、啟川入為問候，唯作數語而出。前進指揮所副主任范誦堯出與余等相會。。。五時餘坂口、萬俔、啟川、資彬、雲龍及余同往北投，宿淇水園；見灌園先生日記，1945年10月9日。

<sup>124</sup> 科學振興會二時開成立大會於靜修女學校，余亦出席講演。六時招待黃朝琴、王民寧、陳漢平、蘇紹文、張錫祺、張邦傑、李萬居、李佛續、林忠、李純青，主人側萬俔、階堂、資彬、猶龍、雲龍、景山、呈祿、啟川、啟青〔清〕、逢源、陳炘、朝清及余，飲酒暢談各頗盡歡；見灌園先生日記，1945年10月11日

<sup>125</sup> 由沂水園出發，五弟、雲龍同乘，先到高義閣招萬俔、啟川同赴公會堂，陳炘、熊徵亦出席。十時陳儀長官、葛秘書長等一同著席，來賓美國人拾餘名，亦一同著席。後安藤總督、諫山參謀長、海軍武官、須田農商局長入席，對長【官】行禮。長官命柯遠芬持降書，使安藤大將簽〔簽〕字，畢即退場。陳長官說明臺灣收回，然後散會；見灌園先生日記，1945年10月25日

<sup>126</sup> 杜聰明、黃純青、林熊祥發起組織一政治結社，十時開發起人會及總會。先議定款，次選舉余為會長，由會長指名熊徵為副會長，林茂生、林呈祿、陳炘、羅萬俔、杜聰明、劉明朝、黃純青、廖溫義、蘇維〔惟〕梁、顏春和、陳逢源、陳逸松、陳啟川、黃朝清、林熊祥、鄭逢〔鴻〕源，計十六名為幹事，互選以熊祥為常任幹事；見灌園先生日記，1945年10月26日

晚宴後邀請林獻堂到自宅。<sup>127</sup> 1947年2月，臺灣建設協進會改組為臺灣政治研究會，林獻堂出任理事長，陳啟川（以及林呈祿和羅萬俤等人）則獲選為理事。<sup>128</sup> 1947年8月，林獻堂以彰化商業銀行董事長的身份，前往屏東為該地的分行開幕；途徑高雄，自然受到陳啟川的接待，<sup>129</sup> 而且隔日陳啟川還親自陪同前往屏東，回程又到陳啟川家中休息。<sup>130</sup> 開幕後一日，林獻堂搭火車前往虎尾為該地的分行開幕，陳啟川又跟林獻堂同車。<sup>131</sup> 一個多禮拜之後，林獻堂跟陳啟川又一起參加了大公公司的董事會。<sup>132</sup>

另外，在辜振甫、林熊祥和許丙等人因內亂罪被判刑入監服刑期間，林獻堂曾經在1947年10月偕同陳啟川（以及羅萬俤）前往探視；當天早上，林獻堂和陳啟川（另外還有羅萬俤以及林呈祿）又聯袂參加了大公公司的董監事會。<sup>133</sup> 數日後，林獻堂從臺北乘火車回臺中，陳啟川又同車南下。<sup>134</sup> 直到1949年林獻堂離開臺灣之前，兩人都還時常往來，同在臺北時都會見面聚餐。<sup>135</sup> 從1930年代

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<sup>127</sup>次到參議會，對議長黃百祿外十餘名，對寄付募集之推進。。。二時餘往高雄，彭清靠、王天賞、郭國基、吳海水、陳啟川、葉平界等十餘人來迎。先訪市長黃仲圖，遂在參議會開介壽館獻金勸誘之推進。五時餘市長引余等，觀市街被炸壞，至西子灣。六時在貴賓【室】受歡迎會之宴。散會後訪啟川、啟清之宅，次到議長之宅；見灌園先生日記，1946年12月5日

<sup>128</sup> 臺灣建設協進會二時開會員大會於稻江信用組合，出席者：羅萬俤、廖文毅、杜聰明、林呈祿、劉明朝、陳逸松、顏春和、周延壽、呂靈石、林正霖、蘇新、楊景山及余。改會名為「臺灣政治研究會」，審議章程，選理事：余與萬俤、文毅、呈祿、聰明、明朝、逸松、春和、朝清、沈榮、陳啟川十一名，余為理事長；見灌園先生日記，1947年2月11日

<sup>129</sup>午後一時快車，王金海、賴樹森同乘南下，六時餘抵高雄，陳啟川、陳啟清、葉平界外四名來迎，到中央別館旅社。七時在寶美樓以彰化商業銀行董事長之資格，宴從來之有關係顧客；見灌園先生日記，1947年8月10日。

<sup>130</sup>九時到高雄分行，行員一一會見。近十時啟川同余等出發，市長黃仲圖亦來送。十二時舉行開幕典禮。。。三時餘將出發。。。三時四十餘分到高雄陳啟川之宅休息，三十分乃往車站，乘四時半之火車往臺南；見灌園先生日記，1947年8月11日

<sup>131</sup> 游定、劉明哲外三名來送，乘八時餘之火車往虎尾，啟川亦同車；見灌園先生日記，1947年8月12日

<sup>132</sup>大公企業公司董事會，余為顧問，董事長代理黃朝清（因陳炘之死不發表，故作代理）請余，出席者：黃再壽、陳啟川、張煥珪三常務董事；見灌園先生日記，1947年8月25日

<sup>133</sup> 十時半到大公公司參加董、監事會，出席者：董事黃朝清、陳啟川。。。羅萬俤、張清港、陳逢源、林呈祿。。。四時萬俤、明朝、啟川、林忠、徐坤泉同往戰犯拘留所看熊祥、振甫、許丙；見灌園先生日記，1947年10月23日

<sup>134</sup> 林瑞池隨余乘八時半之快車返臺中，攀龍、珠如、劍清、汶河、莊泗川、施克賢、李憲龍等來送，陳啟川亦同車將返高雄；見灌園先生日記，1947年10月28日

<sup>135</sup> 陳啟川來，招之一同午餐於鐵路飯店，一時啟川返高雄；見灌園先生日記，1948年12月19日。次到新中華，受林呈祿之招待，出席者王金海、陳啟川、劉明朝、林劍清、王文禮外五名；見灌園先生日記，1949年4月26日。

一直到 1949 年，林獻堂跟陳啟川兩人共同參與了許多公共事務、更時常交換意見。<sup>136</sup> 而多少受到林獻堂的影響，陳啟川對公共事務的投入和付出也不落林獻堂之後。例如，在 1945 年 10 月，林獻堂在臺北期間有數位的友人來訪，捐獻款項要援助在東京的臺灣學生；林傑卿、<sup>137</sup> 李學樵、<sup>138</sup> 詹國<sup>139</sup> 等人各自捐獻了數百至一千圓不等的金額，陳啟川則一個人捐出了一萬圓。<sup>140</sup>

特別值得注意的是，在戰後林獻堂跟陳啟川兩人還在許多不同的商業活動中也都維持著頻繁而密切的關係。<sup>141</sup> 在林獻堂離開臺灣、寓居日本之後，他跟陳啟川仍然保持著書信往來。<sup>142</sup> 另外，陳啟川跟林獻堂之間還有一層特別的關係，牽涉到林獻堂另外一位長期的朋友蔡培火以及他的長女蔡淑慧。<sup>143</sup> 蔡培火於

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<sup>136</sup> 啟川來銀行，問陳主席欲實施平均地權否，余謂必無此事；見灌園先生日記，1949 年 1 月 18 日。陳啟川來，言聞先生辭省政府委員，陳主席已承諾照辦，實堪恭喜也；見灌園先生日記，1949 年 2 月 18 日

<sup>137</sup> 林傑卿：一八九七年生，臺北人。一九一八年臺灣總督府醫學校第十七回畢業後，至赤十字社附屬病院及醫專附病院見習，一九一九年於臺北開業，為內科小兒科保安堂醫院醫師。（《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和九年版，頁三二八）

<sup>138</sup> 李學樵：字天民，蘆洲樓仔厝人，為臺灣北部的知名文人，擅長吟詩作畫，曾參與北臺灣的大詩社「瀛社」、「鷺洲詩社」等詩社，畫作以螃蟹著稱。日本昭和天皇還是皇太子時期，於一九二三年來臺巡視時，曾經獻上「百蟹圖」，為當時一大盛事，亦曾繪蘭贈送田健治郎總督，《臺灣總督田健治郎日記》，一九二三年七月十七日記載：「李學樵伴通譯來候，贈送予晉京之詩及扇詩畫并素心蘭二瓶，大甲街長宜園主李進興所培養云，乞揮毫於幅額數葉。」

（<http://163.20.83.250/country/country2-1.htm>，二〇〇八／八／二十九；吳文星等主編，《臺灣總督田健治郎日記》，下冊，臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，二〇〇九年，頁四九八）

<sup>139</sup> 詹國：一九〇三年生，員林永靖人。臺灣商工學校畢業後就進入實業界，開設肥皂及醬油工廠，一九二七年創設玉壺製冰公司，被推為代表者，後當選製冰同業組合評議員。一九三六年任員林信用組合理事，並就任專務理事，不久辭職，而在員林車站前經營九交運輸會社，任專務取締役。（《臺灣人士鑑》，昭和十八年版，頁二一三）

<sup>140</sup> 林傑卿、李學樵來訪，寄付東京學生等救護〔援〕金三百圓，詹國一千圓、陳啟川一萬圓；見灌園先生日記，1945 年 10 月 22 日

<sup>141</sup> 午後三時半開董、監事會，出席者董事余及金海、猶龍、繼成、泗水、崇禮、蠡生、啟川、朝清、斌存、劍清；見灌園先生日記，1948 年 4 月 24 日。四時到蓬萊閣，參加林以德所組織之南華化學有限公司之發起人會，出席者林以德、吳敦禮、陳啟川、林根生、黃朝清、劍清，協議募股一億五千萬圓；見灌園先生日記，1948 年 5 月 1 日。五時赴中興實業公司總會於凱歌歸，董事長林忠、總經理莊泗川報告損益。出席萬俵、啟光、啟川、雲龍、德潤、介臣等；見灌園先生日記，1948 年 10 月 6 日。三時廿分開彰銀第二屆〔屆〕股東大會，余為主席。。。次開董、監事會，出席者董事金海、猶龍、繼成、泗水、劍清、啟川、崇禮、蠡生、斌存及余。。。協議種種事項。六時餘開宴會於醉月樓，並招待記者二十名；見灌園先生日記，1949 年 2 月 18 日

<sup>142</sup> 今日又代復陳啟川、羅萬俵。。。等之信；見灌園先生日記，1953 年 1 月 17 日

<sup>143</sup> 蔡淑惠：蔡淑慧，一九一四年生，雲林北港人，蔡培火之長女，小提琴家。一九三〇年四月考入東洋英和女學校四年級，一九三一年四月考入帝國音樂學校就讀，並寄宿於植村環家中。一九三五年四月臺灣中部發生屯子腳大地震，臺灣新民報社於同年七月三日至八月二十一日舉辦三十七場於全臺巡迴的震災義捐音樂會，她擔任小提琴演奏。一九三六年三月自帝國音樂學校畢業，因母病而返回臺灣，協助料理家務，不時會參加音樂會表演小提琴演奏，如在臺南太平洋禮拜堂演奏、參加霧峰林陸龍宅召開的音樂小集、參與美臺團音樂普及會。作有〈壽辰祝歌〉（蔡

1936年舉家赴日；但是在1938年1月，他因故在東京遭到日本警方拘留。<sup>144</sup>當時人也在東京的林獻堂，因為擔心蔡家孩子的生活，曾經詢問過蔡淑慧的經濟狀況。<sup>145</sup>而在該年的10月，蔡淑慧受聘成為陳啟川（在日本）家裏的家庭教師，還特地來向人還在東京的林獻堂告辭；<sup>146</sup>恰巧在前一天，陳啟川來拜訪林獻堂（但未遇）。<sup>147</sup>不過不到一年之後，蔡淑慧就辭掉了這份工作，似乎還引起了父女之間的意見不和。<sup>148</sup>

陳啟川和另外一位臺灣人士紳吳新榮也頗有來往，時常參加同樣的宴會。<sup>149</sup>在1947年二二八事件之後，吳新榮的父親（吳萱草）因故遭到逮捕，吳新榮就特地到高雄拜訪陳啟川、請求協助；但是吳新榮當時對陳啟川的回應頗有微詞。<sup>150</sup>不過在那之後，吳新榮仍然持續的請陳啟川出面幫忙，<sup>151</sup>而陳啟川也似乎直

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培火作詞）。（許雪姬等主編，《流轉年華：臺灣女性檔案百年特展圖錄》，臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，二〇一一年，頁七七；薛宗明，《臺灣音樂辭典》，臺北：臺灣商務印書館，二〇〇三年，頁四〇〇；張漢裕主編，《蔡培火全集》，第一冊：家世生平與交友，臺北：財團法人吳三連臺灣史料基金會，二〇〇〇年，頁一二八～一二九、一六八、一七〇、一九二、三四〇、三五五、三六九～三七一）

<sup>144</sup> 據蔡培火對此事的描述：「一月十八日清早，東京的警察突然叫門，要我交出新書《東亞之子如斯想》，並命我馬上與他們同行到警察局去，日本警察無論在台灣或在東京，因我平素不講武力，對我都很客氣，前三次被捕都沒有扣我亦不打我，我這次在取口供時就不同了，說我寫這本新書，是要消滅他們日本人的戰意，叫我供說是中國國民黨的地下工作員，我不供認就被打被踢得相當厲害。被拷問了四十天，由民眾黨的黨魁安部磯雄（寫序文的人）及出版書店主岩波茂雄出面保證，才不被起訴而釋放。」（《蔡培火全集（一）家世生平與交友》，頁七八，〈台灣光復前之經歷〉）

<sup>145</sup> 淑慧應余之召於九時半至，因其父被留置，未知有無費用，故欲問其情形，而與以補助也。她言尚有郵局之預金，其寄金簿在淑文處，不知確實之數，然費用可以無慮也；見灌園先生日記，1938年1月27日

<sup>146</sup> 淑慧、淑文、淑姪來訪，慧受陳啟川之聘為其家庭教師，將於十五日出東京，特來告辭也。余告之凡處人有妻妾之家庭，言語須要十分謹慎，近十時歸去；見灌園先生日記，1938年10月9日

<sup>147</sup> 午歸寓乃知肇嘉、啟川於十時來訪，適余不在焉；見灌園先生日記，1938年10月8日

<sup>148</sup> 培火近十時來看，被看護婦拒絕，不得面會。後聞其歸去同子女觀月，因問淑慧辭退陳啟川家庭教師之故，淑慧不肯詳言，因是被打，余甚傷其父女之頑固；見灌園先生日記，1939年9月27日

<sup>149</sup> （在臺北）赴新中華大酒家受石錫純君之招待。在這裡遇了王開運、劉明哲、陳啟川諸士紳。筵會後即別他們，又和陳清曉君乘夜行快車歸南；吳新榮日記，1947年1月14日。

<sup>150</sup> 照約我們五人同到前金訪陳啟川氏。目的是照石錫純君的建議，拜託啟川氏盡力父親的釋放。他雖有允準〔准〕，但這位素封家，對這件事，如不大有趣了，這是我素時對權勢者常有的印象；吳新榮日記，1947年7月26日。

<sup>151</sup> 別百祿君後到車站會秋煌君，同他乘快車到番子田。而在車中會陳啟川氏，拜託他前來之事。現在對父親的問題可分為三段設法：第一段待十五日的抗戰勝利紀念日期有大赦，父親若無放回也有減刑。第二段以高齡弱體為理由，拜託陳啟川氏運動釋放；吳新榮日記，1947年8月12日。

接的對吳萱草的事情幫了大忙；<sup>152</sup>吳新榮在父親獲釋前一天的日記中記載著：<sup>153</sup>

本月三日，臺灣全省警備司令彭孟緝批示「吳萱草前判撤銷，改判無罪」一文，可見冤枉到底可能雪白，但是我父的受虧也算做久了。這回最有盡力者也是陳啟川氏，而能動員陳氏出馬者有石賜溫、吳三連、郭秋煌三前輩及黃瑞傳、林耳、黃明富三同學，我們應當感謝他們的恩顧及友情。

陳啟川和吳新榮的交往持續了相當長的時間。十多年之後，陳啟川對吳家又再次伸出援手，這次幫忙的對象是吳新榮的次子吳南河。<sup>154</sup> 爲了當時就讀於高雄醫學院（現爲高雄醫學大學）的吳南河要轉系的問題，吳新榮又找了陳啟川幫忙，也順利解決了問題。<sup>155</sup>

陳啟川和楊基振也頗有交往；<sup>156</sup> 過程中應該也提供了不少的幫助，楊基振才會多次向陳啟川致信或親訪表達謝意。<sup>157</sup>

最後值得一提的是，陳啟川的父親陳中和一共生了十子四女；其中的一個女

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<sup>152</sup> 父親的呈文蓋印大概完畢了，母親具呈一份，友人具呈一份。友人除國民代表陳啟川外，黃百祿、吳丙丁、陳其和、吳近等縣市參議員。。。合計十五名；吳新榮日記，1947年8月19日。昨日，高雄黃明富君打電話來說，陳啟川氏本日要到臺南會同黃百祿兄，所以近午乘公共汽車到臺南相會。郭秋煌君恰好招待他們在新生活餐廳，我也到此交帶〔代〕父親對警備司令部的呈文。啟川氏領收後並說今晨和百祿君訪高等法院孫分院長的結果，始知關係二·二八事變犯人，已皆撤銷原判，而移管於法院再作一回的審判，但期間未得中央的指示，所以尚在五里霧中，但有一最好的辦法，即是直接對司令部請求再審。又聞啟川氏期此二十四日上北，故父親之事，可說已有頭緒了。而且陳漢平亦有寄言說事變犯已有辦法了。若是如此，父親之事，亦可樂觀吧！；吳新榮日記，1947年8月22日。

<sup>153</sup> 吳新榮日記，1947年9月8日；吳萱草在隔日獲釋，見吳新榮日記，1947年9月9日。

<sup>154</sup> 吳南河，第二屆臺灣省諮議員。1937年出生於今臺南市佳里區（祖籍為臺南將軍）。。。其父為臺灣文壇重要領導人同時亦為醫生及臺南縣參議員的吳新榮。臺灣省咨議會，<http://www.tpa.gov.tw/opencms/about/introduction/councilor/councilor00072.html>（2017年8月1日下載）

<sup>155</sup> 差不多二、三日前，半夜睡不去，想到南河為轉系問題，因不能完繳十萬元而不順利，帶行李悄然回來。我雖激勵他說：來年再打天下。但心內依然不高興，也不甘願。不得已起來寫一信給黃明富君，請他給高雄醫學院院長杜聰明及董事長陳啟川看。至二十一日晚，明富君打電話來說：啟川氏連絡好了，且甚同情，並叫我往高雄同他訪聰明老一次。。。我即帶錢乘公路局直達車到高雄。即和黃明富君乘汽車往高雄醫學院訪杜院長，他叫〔說〕可叫南河明日即來上課，同時叫總務處長來手續；吳新榮日記，1958年9月23日

<sup>156</sup> 與啟川、啟琛二兄雜談台灣的政治。午飯到「新高雄酒樓」被啟川兄招待，同席有啟琛兄、葉君、碧蓮，主客一共五人。餐後啟清兄也來，下午三點半請啟川兄帶我們到高雄要塞司令部去。司令、參謀長都沒有，恰好項主任克參〔超〕上校招呼我們；楊基振日記，1947年9月1日

<sup>157</sup> 早晨寫〔信〕謝謝陳啟川；楊基振日記，1947年9月3日。到王青佐、楊金虎、蘇律師、陳啟川、陳啟清公館歷訪道謝去；楊基振日記，1947年12月26日。

兒、也就是陳啟川的姐妹之一的陳聘，<sup>158</sup> 則是嫁給了另外一位曾經就讀於香港拔萃書院的臺灣人，張仲護。

#### ● 張仲護

出生於 1897 的張仲護，與陳啟川同為高雄人。根據記載，他「幼時在香港拔萃書院學習」，大正 5 年（1916）自上海的聖瑟吾（應該為聖約翰）大學畢業；妻子是擔任新興製糖會社取締役的陳聘。<sup>159</sup>

與長他幾歲、也曾經在拔萃書院就讀的張鴻圖一樣，張仲護也有在國際級的跨國公司工作的經驗。大學畢業之後，他先是在神戶一家由英國人經營的貿易商（貿易會社）工作了兩年多；之後，又到菲律賓的馬尼拉在中興銀行工作了二年多。<sup>160</sup> 張仲護的這些在國際企業經驗，與他在香港（以及後來在上海）所得到的西式教育和經歷應該都有的關連。

#### ● 其他

在香港求學的臺灣人還有的藍振德（1900 年生，嘉義人，香港拔萃學院畢業）、<sup>161</sup> 李延綿（1903 年生，台北人，1927 年拔萃書院大學畢；其父為李高盛，祖父是李春生，兄弟則有李延坤和李延猷）、<sup>162</sup> 以及賴子清（嘉義人，香港同文書院專科畢業）。藍振德本人與林獻堂有不少的互動，而李延綿的堂兄李延禧也與林獻堂頗有往來。

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<sup>158</sup> 陳中和 1853－1930，《臺灣歷史人物小傳--明清暨日據時期》（國家圖書館，民國 92 年 12 月），頁 499-501；

[http://memory.ncl.edu.tw/tm/cgi/hypage.cgi?HYPAGE=toolbox\\_figure\\_detail.hpg&xml\\_id=00002953](http://memory.ncl.edu.tw/tm/cgi/hypage.cgi?HYPAGE=toolbox_figure_detail.hpg&xml_id=00002953)  
21（2017 年 8 月 1 日下載）

<sup>159</sup> 《台灣人士鑑》（新民報），頁 235-236

<sup>160</sup> 《台灣人士鑑》（新民報），頁 235。中興銀行是由菲律賓華僑李清泉在 1920 年成立；見李恩涵，《東南亞華人史》，頁 368；僑領李清泉將有紀念館，閩南網（2014/10/28），<https://read01.com/ayyMM.html#.WcTGFbIjGUK>（2017/09/22 下載）

<sup>161</sup> 不著編人，《華北政府職員錄》〔原書不全，藏於中國瀋陽遼寧省圖書館〕，1943 年版，編號 K82-01/097，頁 182

<sup>162</sup> 《台灣人士鑑》（新民報），頁 401。另外根據李宏平牧師著，《李春生長老裔譜》（1993 年），李春生有男三人：李景盛、李高盛、李添盛；孫十三人：李景盛生李延齡、李延禧、[李延緒（夭）]、李延修、李延彬、李延旭；李高盛生李延坤、李延猷、李延綿；李添盛生李延琛、李延榮、李延澤、李延弼、李延濤。

## 105-106 移地研究行程

- 英國

前往倫敦的以下地點搜集研究所需資料：

105/12/12-16: National Archives, UK; British Library

- 香港

前往以下地點搜集研究所需資料：

106/3/11-13 香港中央圖書館、香港大學圖書館

- 新加坡

前往以下地點搜集研究資料：

106/6/25-28 新加坡南洋理工大學：大學圖書館、中華語言文化中心圖書館；新加坡國家圖書館、新加坡國家檔案館



## 105-106 移地研究行程

- 英國

前往倫敦的以下地點搜集研究所需資料：

105/12/12-16: National Archives, UK; British Library

- 香港

前往以下地點搜集研究所需資料：

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## **Left behind “When Empire Comes Home”: Internment and Repatriation of the Taiwanese in postwar Asia-Pacific**

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### **1) Introduction**

When Japan entered the Second World War, it was more than a “wartime empire”; it was also a “colonial empire” that took its colonies—and the colonized people—into the war. As a result, the war—and subsequently the end of the war—affected the people of Japan as much as people under Japan’s colonial rule, such as the Taiwanese and Koreans.

As the War ended in 1945, an estimate 3.2 million Japanese civilians and 3.7 million soldiers were outside of the Japanese home islands. In recent years, scholars have devoted significant efforts in studying the condition and repatriation of overseas Japanese subjects after the end of WWII. However, little attention has been paid to overseas colonial subjects of the Japanese empire—mainly the Taiwanese and Korean—who went overseas before 1945 but were stripped of their Japanese “status” at the end of the war. These former colonial subjects were treated differently from Japanese citizens in the postwar repatriation as their identity—or rather legitimacy as “citizens”—were put into question, debated, and re-defined among the Allied nations, Japan, and the postwar sovereign states to which they eventually belonged to. This paper aims to study the postwar internment and repatriation of overseas Taiwanese, who lost their Japanese status after August 15, 1945 but were not officially given any citizenship until the Republic of China (ROC) government made policy statement in January 1946. Due to the scope of this paper and availability of materials, this paper will focus on those Taiwanese in Hong Kong and Australia at the end of the war.

### ***Internment, Repatriation, and the Postwar Japanese Empire***

When the Second World War ended in Asia in August 1945, the victorious Allied countries and the defeated Japan began the long process of postwar settlement. Among the many issues to be dealt with was the issue of “repatriation”. The issue of “repatriation” was particularly significant, as Lori Watt points out, as “[R]epatriates were defined in the crucible of imperialism, colonialism, and decolonization”.<sup>1</sup> In terms of its scale, the “repatriation” of subjects of the former Japanese Empire was the one issue that dealt with the largest number of people. By the end of the war, 3.2 million Japanese civilians and 3.7 million soldiers were outside of the Japanese home islands. An estimated 2 million Koreans and 35,000 Taiwanese were in Japan.<sup>2</sup> It is important to add that before they were sent back to Japan, many of these repatriates were put into internment by the Allied authorities. Therefore, the issue of “repatriation” was closely connected to the issue of

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<sup>1</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), p.14

<sup>2</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, p.2.

“internment”.

In postwar Japan, the issue of “repatriation” also received a great deal of attention. When those Japanese civilians were repatriated from abroad, they were forced to leave all of their possessions behind, “[W]ith the exception of 1,000 yen per person and the baggage they could carry”. And as soon as they returned to Japan, the “repatriates joined together to lobby the government to compensate them for their materials losses” (p.173).<sup>3</sup> In 1957, the Japanese government implemented the “Repatriate benefits allowance law” (*Hikiagesha kyūfukin to shikyū hō*). It provided a one-time payment of ‘benefit’, with the highest amount equal to an urban family’s monthly expenditures, to people who met the definition of a repatriate as defined by the law”. Specifically, the law of 1957 provided a legal definition of a repatriate: “people repatriated to Japan after August 15, 1945, who maintained their fundamental livelihood overseas (*gaichi*) continuously for more than six months previous to that date, who had no choice except to repatriate because of the conditions produced by the end of the war, the orders of foreign authorities, and the loss of means to earn a livelihood”.<sup>4</sup>

And in 1967, the government offered a more comprehensive compensation package, which was administered by the Prime Minister’s Office. More importantly, the new package was cast in “language that acknowledged the hardship repatriates faced at the end of the war” and re-defined returnees as deserving “some official recognition for his service and his losses”.<sup>5</sup> The second round of compensation, as James Orr points out, allowed the repatriates’ experiences to be constructed as “heroic victimhood” and “incorporated into the national heritage”.<sup>6</sup>

Further efforts were made in commemorating the repatriates as war victims and their suffering. Japan’s Prime Minister’s Office joined efforts by various civil groups “in commemorating repatriates, or more specifically, their hardship (*kurō*), with the establishment in 1988 of the Heiwa kinen jigyō tokubetsu kikin (Public Foundation for Peace and Consolation). The generously funded foundation is devoted to recognizing three groups: repatriates, Siberian detainees, and veterans who had not served long enough to qualify for a military pension.<sup>7</sup> In 2000, with the opening of the Heiwa kinen tenji shiryōkan (Commemorative Peace Museum), a museum dedicated to commemorate the experiences of the three aforementioned groups,<sup>8</sup> (experiences of) the repatriates were firmly established as part of Japan’s wartime suffering. These efforts show that postwar Japan, both its government and society, considered and looked after the repatriates as war victims.

While most scholarly discussion of civilian victims in Asia from the Second

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<sup>3</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, p.173

<sup>4</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, pp.173-174, 177

<sup>5</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, pp.14, 174.

<sup>6</sup> James J. Orr, *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), pp.141, 168.

<sup>7</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, pp.182-183

<sup>8</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan*, p.183

World War have focused on the Allied civilians who were interned under the Japanese military occupation,<sup>9</sup> it is important to note that the Japanese civilians interned by the Allied countries underwent similar experiences and no less suffering during and after the war. Some of the better-known cases of Japanese internment and repatriation are the internment of Japanese- American from 1942 to 1945;<sup>10</sup> the internment of Japanese in Australia between 1942 and 1945—and a “prison-break” in Cowra in 1944;<sup>11</sup> and Japanese children left behind during repatriation from Manchuria and subsequently adopted by Chinese parents. What is hardly mentioned in the discussion of Japanese internment and repatriation are the colonial subjects, namely the Taiwanese and the Koreans, who were living abroad during and after the war.

### *Overseas Taiwanese*

Scholars have found that when the war ended in August 1945, an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 Taiwanese remained overseas, most in China and Southeast Asia;<sup>12</sup> many—if not most—of these overseas Taiwanese were put into internment by the Allied authorities before being repatriated back to Taiwan between 1945 and 1948. These Taiwanese—most of them civilians—went overseas during the Japanese colonial period, and thereby were regarded both by the Japanese Empire and the authorities in the host societies as “Japanese subjects”. And after the war, as Japanese civilians were put into internment, these overseas Taiwanese were also put into internment. It should be pointed out that, since Japan ceased its control of Taiwan at the end of the war, these overseas Taiwanese were—legally—no longer “Japanese subjects”. Nevertheless, the overseas Taiwanese continued to be regarded as “Japanese subjects” in the immediate postwar period by the

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<sup>9</sup> See Bernice Archer, *The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese, 1941-45, A Patchwork of Internment* (London : RoutledgeCurzon, 2004) ; Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack, eds., *Forgotten Captives in Japanese-Occupied Asia* (London : Routledge, 2007) ; Frances B. Cogan, *Captured : The Japanese Internment of American Civilians in the Philippines, 1941-45* (Athens and London : University of Georgia Press, 2000) ; Greg Leck, *Captives of Empire : The Japanese Internment of Allied Civilians in China, 1941-1945* (Bangor, PA : Shandy Press, 2006)..

<sup>10</sup> See Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy : The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2004); Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial : Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2004) ; Peter H. Irons, *Justice at war* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983) ; Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei : the quiet Americans : the Story of a People* (Niwot, Colo. : University Press of Colorado, 1992) ; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered silences : Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1996) ; Mich Weglyn, *Years of infamy : the Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> On August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1944, a group of Japanese internees escaped from the Cowra internment camp, among them 230 were shot by the Australian force, see Steven Bullard, *Blankets on the Wire: the Cowra Outbreak and its Aftermath* (Canberra : Australian War Memorial, 2006)

<sup>12</sup> 湯熙勇，〈集中營、審判及遣返：臺灣人在東南亞（1945-1948）〉，頁 3-5

Allied authorities, and thereby were put into internment.

Existing scholarship has examined the issue of internment and repatriation of overseas Taiwanese, and some archival materials have been made available in recent years.<sup>13</sup> But because the majority of overseas Taiwanese was in China mainland and Japan at the end of the war, most studies have placed the postwar internment and repatriation of overseas Taiwanese in the postwar political and social context of China and Japan.<sup>14</sup> A handful of studies have looked into the Taiwanese situation in and Southeast Asia, but relied mostly on archival materials from the Republic of China (ROC) government.<sup>15</sup> This paper aims to point out that the postwar internment and repatriation of the overseas Taiwanese should be placed and understood in the larger *transnational* context of postwar repatriation that involved Japan and the Allied powers such as the U.S., Great Britain, and Australia. From this perspective, this paper will utilize materials from the location of internment and repatriation, specifically Hong Kong and Australia, to delineate the Taiwanese experiences there from the wartime to the immediate postwar period, and analyze the impact of the Japanese Empire and the war on these Taiwanese, particularly the consequences of their postwar internment and repatriation.

Before going into details, here is a brief account of the postwar internment and repatriation of the Taiwanese in Hong Kong and Australia. In Hong Kong, after the British returned to set up a military administration in September 1945, more than 2,000 Taiwanese were forced into internment; they were kept in separate custody from the

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<sup>13</sup> See 謝培屏編，《戰後遣送旅外華僑回國史料彙編(1)》，德國·土耳其·義大利·日本篇》(臺北：國史館，2007年)；謝培屏編，《戰後遣送旅外華僑回國史料彙編(2)：澳洲·蘇聯·羅馬尼亞·捷克篇》(臺北：國史館，2007年)；謝培屏編，《戰後遣送旅外華僑回國史料彙編(3)，南洋海南島篇》(臺北：國史館，2008年)。

<sup>14</sup> For the situation in China, see 許雪姬，《口述歷史 第五期(日據時期台灣人赴大陸經驗專號之一)》(臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1995年)；許雪姬，《口述歷史 第六期(日據時期台灣人赴大陸經驗專號之二)》(臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1995年)；許雪姬，《日治時期在「滿洲」的臺灣人(再版)》(臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，2004年)；許雪姬，〈1937年至1947年在北京的臺灣人〉，《長庚人文社會學報》，卷1期1(2008年)，頁33-84；許雪姬，〈1937-1947年在上海的臺灣人〉，《臺灣學研究》，期13(2012年)，頁1-32；張建偉，〈田園將蕪胡不歸？—戰後廣州地區台胞處境及返籍問題之研究〉，《臺灣史研究》，卷6期1(2000年9月)，頁133-166。For the situation in Japan, see 何義麟，〈戰後初期臺灣留日學生的左傾言論及其動向〉，《臺灣史研究》，卷19期2(2012年6月)，151-192頁；何義麟，〈戰後在日台灣人之處境與認同：以蔡朝焯先生的經歷為中心〉，《台灣風物》，卷60期4(2010年12月)，頁161-194

<sup>15</sup> 湯熙勇，〈恢復國籍的爭議：戰後旅外臺灣人的復籍問題(1945-1947)〉，《人文及社會科學集刊》，卷17期2(2005年)，頁393-437；湯熙勇，〈脫離困境：戰後初期海南島之臺灣人的返台〉，《臺灣史研究》，卷12期2(2005年)，頁167-208；湯熙勇，〈公平對待與秩序維持之間：日本東京澀谷事件與臺灣人的審判(1946-47)〉，《亞太研究論壇(Asia-Pacific Forum)》，期35(2007年)，頁1-35；湯熙勇，〈烽火後的同鄉情：戰後東亞臺灣同鄉會的成立、轉變與角色(1945-48)〉，《人文及社會科學集刊》，卷19期1(2007年)，頁1-4；張建偉，〈迢迢歸鄉路——戰後港澳地區台胞返籍始末〉，《港澳與近代中國學術研討會論文集》(臺北：國史館，2000年)，頁549-580。

Japanese nationals, and were not released and repatriated to Taiwan (under ROC control) till February 1946. In Australia, the internment of the Taiwanese could be dated back to January 1942, as the Dutch authorities interned the Taiwanese (together with other Japanese nationals) across the Dutch East Indies and then transferred all internees to Australia. These Taiwanese, numbered around 2,000, were kept in several different camps across Australia, and were not freed or repatriated till March 1946.

In order to fully understand the context of postwar internment and repatriation of the Taiwanese in Hong Kong and Australia, in the following sections this paper will first delineate the situation of the Taiwanese in the two areas *before* 1945; then it will examine, explain, and compare the condition of postwar internment and repatriation of the Taiwanese as former colonial subjects when the (Japanese) empire left them behind.

## 2) Taiwanese in Hong Kong

### *Taiwanese in Hong Kong, before the war*

Records showed that many Taiwanese civilians were already living in Hong Kong long before the Second World War. Taiwanese went to work and live in Hong Kong as early as the 1920s. In a report by the Japanese Consulate in Hong Kong in 1930, it found that a total of 48 Taiwanese were living in Hong Kong. The report specifically pointed out:

*All the while, very few Taiwanese seikimin (people registered as Taiwanese) need assistance from this Consulate or had committed crimes; on the contrary, those who are businessmen, school teachers, doctors on ships with high social status, education, and assets are the majority.*<sup>16</sup>

It showed that as early as 1930, many Taiwanese already had successful career and business in Hong Kong. And more notably, the report added that while the Taiwanese were subjects of the Japanese Empire, Taiwanese in Hong Kong seemed to keep themselves away from the Japanese authorities or other Japanese:

*There seems to be almost no contact between those from the mainland (of Japan) and the Taiwanese seikimin...Taiwanese seikimin are rather passive in submitting relevant documents to this Consulate. This naturally is resulted from the fact that Hong Kong is a British territory, no extra-territoriality can be extended (to the Japanese) like in the opposite shore (of China), thereby there is no need to stress one's Japanese nationality. At the same time, Taiwanese seikimin in Hong Kong only need to make connection with the majority local population the Chinese in their relevant profession and business.*<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> (日本)香港總領事館，《台灣籍民關係事項調查》(1930)，收在陳湛頤編，《日本人訪港見聞錄—1898-1941，下卷》(香港：三聯書店，2005)，頁268-269。

<sup>17</sup> (日本)香港總領事館，《台灣籍民關係事項調查》(1930)，頁268。

This passage clearly pointed out that unlike many Taiwanese *seikimin* (and Japanese alike) who were engaged in illegal activities under the protection of extra-territoriality in China, those Taiwanese who were able to establish themselves in Hong Kong relied on their own efforts and abilities—and notably, good relationship with the local population, not the Japanese Empire's power or the Japanese people. Another report by the Japanese officials in 1932 further confirmed the above situation of the Taiwanese living in Hong Kong.<sup>18</sup>

Today, available records of the Taiwanese in Hong Kong are scarce. Fortunately, some Taiwanese who had lived in Hong Kong throughout this period left behind their own personal accounts; one of them is Mr. LIN, Jun-ying, who was born in 1910 in the then Tou-fen street, Zhu-nan county, Xin-zhu state (the present-day Tou-fen township of Miaoli county).<sup>19</sup>

After graduating from the Taipei Engineering School in 1930, Mr. Lin worked in the machinery trading business in Taipei for 4 years. In April 1934, Mr. Lin went to Hong Kong and started working there. He joined a business partner to set up a trading company in March 1935, selling auto parts. Before the war broke out in 1941, Mr. Lin lived at 21 Kennedy Road in the Wanchai/Causeway Bay area.

The first few years of Mr. Lin's experiences in Hong Kong were very consistent with the Japanese official descriptions of Taiwanese living in Hong Kong: 1) most Taiwanese were businessmen; 2) Taiwanese had good social-economic status (Kennedy Road was known as a prime residential area where many well-to-do Westerners stayed); 3) Taiwanese developed their own career and business without relying on the Japanese official support or protection.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July 1937 did make an impact on Mr. Lin's career in Hong Kong, as he temporarily suspended his business in Hong Kong and returned to Taiwan in August. This showed that the war by the Japanese Empire brought rather negative impact on the Taiwanese in Hong Kong. But before long, Mr. Lin returned to Hong Kong in March 1938, took over a Japanese-owned company, and was able to continue his business in auto parts trading there till August 1940. Mr. Lin's business thrived as the tension and conflict between China and Japan escalated and anti-Japanese sentiment rose among the local Chinese population in Hong Kong after 1937. His experiences showed that Taiwanese were able to continue business in Hong Kong, partly because the Taiwanese had kept themselves away from the Japanese authorities and community in Hong Kong. This dis-engagement from the Japanese contact was critical to the Taiwanese continuing success in Hong Kong, as it allowed the Taiwanese, who already enjoyed the language advantage as most of them were able to communicate

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<sup>18</sup> 尾田滿、井手瑞穗，《台灣及華南視察日誌》（1932），收在陳湛頤編，《日本人訪港見聞錄—1898-1941，下卷》（香港：三聯書店，2005），頁 265。

<sup>19</sup> Mr. Lin, Jun-ying (林俊英) was on October 14<sup>th</sup>, 1910, and passed away on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1991. All account of Mr. Lin as quoted in this paper was based on his personal notes (not dated, private collection); I would like to thank Mrs. Lan Lin, Shingjy, the daughter of Mr. Lin, for her generous assistance and support in providing these materials.

in the local dialect, to establish and maintain good relationships with the local population. This situation, first described in the aforementioned Japanese official account in 1930 and then testified by Mr. Lin's experiences, continued throughout the 1930s.

Mr. Lin married a Taiwanese lady in Hong Kong in February 1939. Photos taken during this period showed that the Lins family enjoyed a rather good living in Hong Kong. The earliest photos of Mr. Lin in Hong Kong were taken in 1935; and in every photo taken before he got married in 1939, Mr. Lin wore suits. There were photos taken at the Repulse Bay, a posh resort area for the wealthy in Hong Kong. After he got married, Mr. Lin once hired a Japanese photographer to take family photos at his Kennedy Road residence and the surrounding area; his residence was a 2-story mansion with an arch entrance. These photos showed that Mr. Lin was able to establish himself rather successfully in Hong Kong within a short period of a few years, and enjoyed a standard of living on par with the wealthy Westerners there.

As analyzed in this section, Japanese official accounts and Mr. Lin's personal record showed that in the pre-war era (before 1941), the Japanese Empire was of little, if any, support or assistance to the Taiwanese living and working in Hong Kong; nevertheless, as the Taiwanese were able to rely on their local connection, the Empire was not much of a hindrance either. However, as the following section will show, as the war broke out in 1941 and Hong Kong soon fell to the Japanese military action, the Japanese Empire brought tremendous impact—all negative—to the Taiwanese living in Hong Kong.

### *Taiwanese in Hong Kong, during the war (1941-1945)*

Japanese forces launched attack on Hong Kong on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1941, and the British authorities surrendered on December 25<sup>th</sup>. Till the end of the war, Hong Kong was under Japan's military occupation, or what was later known as "3 years and 8 months of hardship".<sup>20</sup> It was a period in which local population and Westerners in Hong Kong suffered tremendously, and many lost their lives or livelihood as a result of the war and the subsequent occupation.<sup>21</sup>

As Hong Kong fell into battles, some Taiwanese who came to Hong Kong before the war left temporarily. But many, such as the aforementioned Mr. Lin, returned to Hong Kong in a few months and resumed their work and business. However, during the occupation period, the composition of Taiwanese in Hong Kong underwent a significant change. As Japan's war and occupation progressed, Japanese forces recruited and dispatched a good number of Taiwanese to Hong Kong, serving in non-combat capacities such as interpreters. And because most of these newcomers served in the Japanese forces, Taiwanese came to be seen as playing a supporting role to the Japanese Empire, and

<sup>20</sup> 謝永光，《三年零8個月的苦難》（香港：明報出版社，1994）；劉智鵬 周家建著，《吞聲忍語—日治時期香港人的集體記憶》（香港：中華書局，2009），封底。

<sup>21</sup> 謝永光，《戰時日軍在香港的暴行》（香港：明報出版社，1991）；謝永光，《三年零8個月的苦難》（香港：明報出版社，1994）



some even acting on behalf of the Japanese perpetrators, in the eyes of Hong Kong's local population.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, as local population developed a sense of animosity, and even hatred, against the Japan's military action, occupation, and oppression, they also saw the Taiwanese as a whole in a highly negative light.

This sense of animosity against the Taiwanese was found in the recollection of many Hong Kong residents, and the close tie between the Taiwanese and Japan's occupation was repeatedly stressed.<sup>23</sup> In contrast to the pre-war friendly relationships between the Taiwanese and the local population in Hong Kong, as discussed earlier, the relationships turned sour after 1941. As the war progressed, animosity grew stronger and turned into action against the Taiwanese—men, women, and children—soon after the war ended in 1945.

### *Taiwanese in Hong Kong, after the war*

After Japan's surrender, the British returned to take over Hong Kong at the end of August. Admiral Cecil Harcourt, the Military Governor of Colony, established a British Military Administration in Hong Kong. On August 30<sup>th</sup>, he issued an order:<sup>24</sup>

*“all Japanese troops and Japanese nationals were to be evacuated out of the island of Hong Kong to Kowloon by 1600 on the next day, Saturday, 1<sup>st</sup> September”.*

The following day, newspaper reported at the very center of the front page, under the headline of “Into Internment: Japanese Civilians Cross To Kowloon—This Morning Scene”:<sup>25</sup>

*“streams of Japanese civilians, including women and children, were converging on Queen's Pier (on the island of Hong Kong). By 9 a.m. several hundreds of them were congregated with piles of luggage of all descriptions awaiting transport to Kowloon”.*

At this point, the British authorities in Hong Kong had decided to put all Japanese subjects into internment. However, it is worth noting that the report then added, “Only a few Formosans were among them (the Japanese civilians awaiting for internment)”. The report showed that, originally the internment policy was set out to handle the Japanese

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<sup>22</sup> 謝永光，《戰時日軍在香港的暴行》（香港：明報出版社，1991），頁 16，114；謝永光，《三年零八個月的苦難》（香港：明報出版社，1994），頁 235

<sup>23</sup> 李樹芬，《香港外科醫生六十年回憶錄》（香港：李樹芬醫學基金出版，1965），頁 128-131，134

<sup>24</sup> Private Paper of Admiral Cecil Harcourt Relating to the British Military Administration of Hong Kong, 1945-46, Record number: HKRS 951.2504 Har, Hong Kong Public Record Office.

<sup>25</sup> *South China Morning Post and the Hong Kong Telegraph* (Hong Kong) (hereafter as *SCMPHKT*), “Into Internment: Japanese Civilians Cross To Kowloon—This Morning Scene”, September 1, 1945, Evening edition, Page 1.

soldiers and civilians; the Taiwanese were not targeted, and were treated separately from the Japanese nationals. It also indicated that at the initial stage, the British authorities had not decided how to deal with the Taiwanese in Hong Kong.

For the next few days, between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> of September, the status of Taiwanese in Hong Kong was ambivalent if not confusing. Then on September 4<sup>th</sup>, however, the situation took a critical turn. Hong Kong's Chief Justice Sir Atholl MacGregor made a statement, through Chief Censor D.J. Sloss, confirmed the Formosans as "enemy national".<sup>26</sup> When the statement was reported in the newspapers on the very next day, it was provided with a rather interesting explanation that was rather long but worth quoting in full:<sup>27</sup>

*"Japan has been soundly beaten in the field, but we are not yet formally at peace with her. She has surrendered, but in law the war is not yet at an end. In due course the Allies will formally negotiate with Japan a Treaty of Peace, and in that document the status of Formosa will be decided and the Island will once again become part of the Republic of China. Even then the legal status of Formosans born in Formosa during the Japanese tenure of the Island will present difficulties, which doubtless will be settled by the Peace Treaty. Until that day comes the Formosan is still an enemy national".*

This statement demonstrated a few critical factors in the British handling of the Taiwanese in Hong Kong in the immediate postwar period. First, the British authorities in Hong Kong made a clear distinction between the Taiwanese and the Japanese, thereby the statement was made specifically to address the Formosan issue. Secondly, however, the rationale behind the decision to define and treat the Taiwanese as "enemy national" continued to link the Taiwanese to the Japanese Empire's war. Notably, this statement pointed out the unusual if not contradictory postwar (change of) status of Taiwanese, as the title of the report indicated: "Formosans Enemies: Legal Status Explained by Chief Justice: *Interesting Problem*".<sup>28</sup>

On the very next day, the British military administration put its words into practice as it took immediate and systematic action to treat the Taiwanese as enemy subjects and put all of them—men, women, and children—into concentration in Hong Kong. As seen in the newspaper, again at the very center of the front page, a report titled "Enemy Nationals: Formosans and Koreans to Report to Police: Public Responsibility", described the government's policies regarding the Taiwanese.<sup>29</sup> The British authorities in Hong Kong issued two official announcements concerning the Formosans (together with the Koreans); both announcements were made under the title "Police Notice: Formosans and

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<sup>26</sup> *SCMPHKT*, "Formosans Enemies: Legal Status Explained by Chief Justice: Interesting Problem", September 5, 1945, Page 2

<sup>27</sup> *SCMPHKT*, "Formosans Enemies: Legal Status Explained by Chief Justice: Interesting Problem", September 5, 1945, Page 2

<sup>28</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>29</sup> *SCMPHKT*, "Enemy Nationals: Formosans and Koreans to Report to Police: Public Responsibility", September 6, 1945, Page 2

Koreans” and signed by J.P. Pennefather-Evans on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1945.

One of the announcements was addressed to the Formosans (and Koreans), demanding their compliance with the government’s internment policy:

*“All Formosans and Koreans including women and children on Hong Kong Island will report at the Japanese Primary School, Kennedy Road, between noon and 3 p.m. September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, taking with them any arms or ammunition in their possession and will deposit these with the officer in charge there. They will also take with them hand baggage, personal effects, Japanese ration cards and sufficient food for 24 hours. Before vacating their houses they will arrange for a responsible person to take charge of their property and premise”.*<sup>30</sup>

The instruction given to the Taiwanese was rather critical: the Police made the announcement on September 5<sup>th</sup>, and the deadline to report was set at 3 p.m. September 7<sup>th</sup>, which gave the Taiwanese residing in Hong Kong only 2 days to make all necessary arrangement, such as to “arrange for a responsible person to take charge of their property and premise”. The fact that the announcement was not reported in the newspapers till the morning of September 6<sup>th</sup> meant that, many Taiwanese might learn about the internment instruction only one day before the reporting deadline.

Following the compulsory reporting of the Taiwanese on September 7<sup>th</sup>, the paper continued to report on the handling of the Taiwanese as well as public hostility against the Taiwanese. Under the title of “Public Animosity: Formosans and Koreans Concentrated in Kowloon: Weeding Out”,<sup>31</sup> the paper reported about the “dispatch of Koreans and Formosans to Kowloon by ferry” in the afternoon of September 7<sup>th</sup>. As stated in the Police Notice issued on September 5<sup>th</sup>, the reporting time was between 12 noon and 3 p.m on September 7<sup>th</sup>. The newspaper report on September 8 indicated that those Taiwanese who had reported “on time” to the British authorities in Hong Kong island were transported on the same day to Kowloon, most likely immediately after the reporting deadline of 3 p.m.. If the report was entirely correct, it showed that the British authorities were determined and swift in removing the Taiwanese from Hong Kong.

The newspaper further reported, in great details, the process of transport and scenes in which the locals came out to witness the removal of these unwanted persons, with a sense of hatred as the subtitle of the report had indicated. It delineated the route it took to transport these Taiwanese on trucks, from the reporting point the Japanese Primary School, which was located on Kennedy Road near Happy Valley/Causeway Bay, through Des Voeux Road Central to Pedder Street and finally to Blake Pier. The paper reported that along the route, “Chinese” crowd gathered and reacted rather violently toward the procession of the Taiwanese on trucks:

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<sup>30</sup> SCMPHKT, “Enemy Nationals: Formosans and Koreans to Report to Police: Public Responsibility”, September 6, 1945, Page 2

<sup>31</sup> SCMPHKT, “Public Animosity: Formosans and Koreans Concentrated in Kowloon: Weeding Out”, September 8, 1945, Morning edition, Page 1 “

*“the crowd surged forward to meet it and, to the accompaniment of shouting, waving of sticks and hurling of bricks, the vehicles made their way to the entrance of the pier. Even wet red earth from a pile on the roadway nearby the seawall was thrown at the lorries.”*<sup>32</sup>

The crowd’s reaction showed that the hostility toward the Taiwanese was widespread and deeply-rooted among the locals in Hong Kong. And the situation got so violent that “[A]t one stage it was necessary for the Police to draw their revolvers”.

The scene at the embarkation point Blake Pier was equally tense, under a strong presence of the law enforcement, and the display of hostility against the Taiwanese was more than apparent: “[A]mong the crowd, the more youthful members were armed with sticks. Police officers, British marines and sailors kept them well away from where the enemy nationals were assembling on the wharf prior to embarkation”. And furthermore, in a rather cheerful tone, the report described the crowd’s reaction to the departure of these internees: “[T]he small wharf between Blake Pier and Douglas Wharf formed a ringside seat for the onlookers and there were intermittent bursts of cheers and jeers as they watched the Koreans and Formosans boarding the ferry-launch.”<sup>33</sup>

As reported in the newspaper, the local population of Hong Kong clearly expressed a strong sense of animosity, hatred and even violent action toward the Taiwanese.<sup>34</sup> This was surely a shock to those Taiwanese—such as the aforementioned Mr. Lin—who had lived in Hong Kong before the war broke out in 1941, as the postwar attitude of the local population was a stark contrast to the friendly relationships between the local (Chinese in particular) and the Taiwanese in the pre-war years. So what caused the prevailing animosity and hatred among the local population? One of the key factors, as discussed earlier, was the behaviors and image of some Taiwanese during the wartime, particularly the assisting role to the Japanese military occupation. In addition, the postwar British policies and media reports that shaped public opinion further generated hatred toward the Taiwanese.

Two articles in the English newspaper on September 5, 1945 provided the best examples of the official and public attitude toward the Taiwanese. In the “Correspondence” column on the front page, an anonymous “W” raised the question of “Formosan Problem” to the “editor, S.C.M. Post and the Telegraph”).<sup>35</sup> The column, presumably was authored by the newspaper, discussed the status of Formosans in Hong Kong. It started by criticizing the government for its lack of clearly defined policy concerning the Taiwanese, as it asked: “please obtain guidance for citizens who feel they have a public duty concerning Japanese and Formosans.” It then described a conflicting

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<sup>32</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Public Animosity: Formosans and Koreans Concentrated in Kowloon: Weeding Out”, September 8, 1945, Morning edition, Page 1 “

<sup>33</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Public Animosity: Formosans and Koreans Concentrated in Kowloon: Weeding Out”, September 8, 1945, Morning edition, Page 1 “

<sup>34</sup> Other examples can be found in 張建偉，〈迢迢歸鄉路—戰後港澳地區台胞返籍始末〉，《港澳與近代中國學術研討會論文集》（臺北：國史館，2000年），頁 551-552

<sup>35</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Correspondence – Formosan Problem”, September 5, 1945, Morning edition, Page 1

situation: on the one hand, the “Chinese Police Reservists have been ‘combing out Japanese and Formosans’”; yet, on the other hand, the “Chief Censor could not give an opinion when the problem of Formosans would be solved”.

In view of the government’s rather undecided standing concerning the “Formosan Problem”, the column was rather critical and it put pressure on the authorities by asking: “Can Formosans be arrested now merely because they are Formosans?” And in conclusion, the column expressed an unequivocal sense of hostility against the Taiwanese:

*“I would like to reserve to myself the pleasure of bringing about the arrest of a certain Formosan (whose hiding place can be ascertained) and whose face is familiar to many residents. It would be a pity if he slipped through the net”.*

On the very same day, the paper also reported a government statement concerning the “legal status” of Formosans in Hong Kong. The statement, made on the previous day by Chief Justice Sir Atholl MacGregor through Chief Censor D.J. Sloss, confirmed the Formosans as “enemy national”. It explained that while the Formosans “have not had the full rights of Japanese citizens born in the Japanese islands”, they “have been Japanese nationals” since 1895. It pointed out that as Japan went into war against China, Great Britain, and the U.S.A., “she employed large number of Formosans in her armed forces and the towns of Formosa were brought into the war industry in the manufacture of munitions”.<sup>36</sup>

Such description clearly represented the entire people of Formosa as culprits responsible for Japan’s war and, consequently, the Allies’ suffering. And as a way to relate this point to the readers and the general public in Hong Kong, the statement immediately added wartime experiences of the Island: “we in Hong Kong became accustomed to the sight of Formosans, either as members of the Japanese Army or as guards bearing arms at prisoners of war camps and at Stanley”. The statement then concluded, “In every way and to the fullest extent, therefore, Formosans have, during the war, been enemy nationals”. A statement like this not only expressed a strong sense of hostility against the Taiwanese; as an official announcement, it further served to condone—if not legitimize—the rising hostility and ongoing attack by residents of Hong Kong against the Taiwanese.

The statement then discussed the most critical point concerning the postwar “legal status” of Formosans. It pointed out that “in consequence of the Japanese defeat, China has once more occupied the island of Formosa”, and asked: “Does that in any way alter the legal status of the inhabitants?” But it answered in an assertive tone: “The answer to that is No”.

The statement, which confirmed the Formosans as “enemy national”, may appear as a rather swift response to the media pressure seen in the “Correspondence” column on the front page of the same day. But, from the standpoint of the newly established British

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<sup>36</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Formosans Enemies: Legal Status Explained by Chief Justice: Interesting Problem”, September 5, 1945, Page 2

military administration, the “Correspondence” column could also serve as a calculated media tactic to confirm the British official view and raise public awareness of the administration’s newly defined policies concerning the Formosans in Hong Kong.

And more significantly, in view of the government statement, the answer to the central question raised in the “Formosan Problem” column on the front page of September 5’s paper, “Can Formosans be arrested now merely because they are Formosans?”, become more than apparent if not self-evident: Yes. And the most fundamental point raised in both the “Correspondence” column and Chief Justice’s statement was that every Taiwanese, particularly those in Hong Kong, were equally liable and responsible for Japan’s war against the British, Japan’s military occupation of Hong Kong, and the suffering of residents of Hong Kong under the terror of Japanese Empire.

When the British authorities issued the “Police Notice: Formosans and Koreans” on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1945, one of the announcements was addressed to the Formosans (and Koreans), demanding their compliance with the government’s internment policy. The other announcement was addressed to the general public of Hong Kong, asking for (or rather *demanding*) their support and assistance in arresting Formosans:<sup>37</sup>

*“Members of the public in Hong Kong and Kowloon are requested to report to the nearest police station particulars of any Formosans or Koreans who fail to comply with the instructions issued by the Hong Kong Police in the English and Chinese Press requiring them to proceed to concentration point between the hours of noon and 3 p.m. September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945”*

And immediately following this order, the legal authorities of Hong Kong made arrest of and prosecuted Hong Kong residents who allegedly helped any Taiwanese to hide and stay away from internment. One of the arrested was a 24 year-old Hong Kong woman who was arrested on October 6<sup>th</sup>, under the charge of “harboring Taiwanese”;<sup>38</sup> she was put on trial on October 18<sup>th</sup>, and sentenced to 3-week jail term.<sup>39</sup>

At the same time, newspaper helped to advocate and legitimize the government decision to put Taiwanese into internment. In the familiar form of “Correspondence” column, the paper made an appeal to the general public that “Some Chinese and Third National War Criminals” who had committed crimes during the war “Should be Punished”. However, the column started by stating:

*“It is gratifying to note that the authorities are rounding up the Formosans in the Colony, but there are certain Chinese and third nationals who should also be remembered”.*<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> SCMPHKT, “Enemy Nationals: Formosans and Koreans to Report to Police: Public Responsibility”, September 6, 1945, Page 2

<sup>38</sup> 《星島日報》，「梁女 窩藏台人 被拘候審」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）10 月 6 日，第 4 版。

<sup>39</sup> 《星島日報》，「私藏台人 少婦被控」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）10 月 18 日，第 3 版。

<sup>40</sup> SCMPHKT, “Enemy Nationals: Formosans and Koreans to Report to Police: Public Responsibility”, September 8, 1945, Evening edition, Page 1

Statement like this seemed to imply, if not to assume, that the Taiwanese were in the same category as “Chinese and Third National War Criminals”, and thereby deserved to be interned and punished as the authorities had done in the previous day. From this perspective, the column actually served as a media endorsement to, if not propaganda of, the government’s decision to treat, intern, and arrest the Taiwanese as “enemy nationals”. And more importantly, newspaper reports and government policies and action further stirred up hostility against the Taiwanese among the local Hong Kong population. In the eyes of the local government authorities and the general public, the Taiwanese were seen as former enemies who lost their enemy nationality.

### *Internment of the Taiwan: from Hong Kong Island to Kowloon to Stanley*

After reporting to the British authorities on September 7<sup>th</sup>, all Taiwanese in Hong Kong island were transferred to Kowloon and put into internment. According to a newspaper report, there were more than 18,000 Japanese soldiers, civilian, Koreans and Taiwanese interned the Kowloon.<sup>41</sup> They were interned in the Whitefield Barrack (and the surrounding area), which was near Kowloon’s major business district Nathan Road in the Tsim Sha Tsui area.<sup>42</sup> My own personal visit to the area confirms that the internment camp is located in the present-day Kowloon Park, in which the remaining buildings of the Whitefield Barrack are now the Hong Kong Heritage Discovery Centre.<sup>43</sup>

The Whitefield Barrack was once the largest British military compound in Hong Kong, built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in commemoration of Major-General H.W. Whitefield. There were righty-five buildings in the compound, in the early days these buildings were mostly used by the British cavalry and thereby many were used as stable to keep horses.<sup>44</sup> The history of the Whitefield Barrack indicated that the compound was in no way designed or suitable for ordinary people to live in, not to mention families with women and children. Nevertheless, the compound was used to intern thousands of Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese civilians after the war. A Taiwanese internee, Miss Dai, Xiu-mei, recalled the horrible living condition in the compound and her illness:

*The environment in the compound was not good, flies were everywhere, the diet was poor, thereby the immune system became weak, and many people fell sick to typhoid or diarrhea...I remembered there was once I fell sick to diarrhea, sitting on a makeshift toilet made of a water bucket and too weak to stand up.*<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> SCMPHKT, September 11, 1945, Page 2

<sup>42</sup> 鮫島盛隆（龔書森譯），《香港回想記》（香港：基督教文藝出版社，1971），頁 142；謝永光，〈三年零八個月的苦難〉（香港：明報出版社，1994），頁 412。

<sup>43</sup> The Hong Kong Heritage Discovery Centre (香港文物探知館), <http://www.amo.gov.hk/en/hdc.php> (accessed 2015/10/21)

<sup>44</sup> 饒玖才，〈香港的地名與地方歷史（上冊）—港島與九龍〉（香港：天地圖書，2011），頁 220。

<sup>45</sup> 中央研究院近代史研究所「口述歷史」編輯委員會，〈口述歷史〉，第六期：日據時期臺灣人赴大陸經驗（臺北：中央研究院近代史研究所，1995），頁 125。

After more than a month of internment in Kowloon, the British authorities decided to move all internees—including the Taiwanese—to Stanley, located in the southern end of the Hong Kong island, starting from the end of October. Stanley held a rather symbolic position in the mind of many Hong Kong residents, as it was where the Japanese authorities imprisoned most Allied POWs—many were civilians—during the wartime, and thereby became identified with (Western) civilians’ suffering under the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong. After the war ended and the British take-over of Hong Kong, Stanley immediately became one of the focal points of public attention as the fate and livelihood of the remaining Allied POWs drew a great deal of attention in the newspapers. For the first week after the British rule was re-established in Hong Kong, reports concerning Stanley (and the Allied internees) appeared in the paper almost on a daily basis,<sup>46</sup> and public attention continued till all Allied internees were released.<sup>47</sup>

From the perspective of “historical memory”, Taiwanese have been considered as very unique and significant, but rather in a highly negative light, in the history (and historical memory) of Japanese occupation and the subsequent internment of the Allied POWs in Stanley. One of the major facilities used for the internment of the Allied POWs during the Japanese occupation was St. Stephen’s College, which was founded in 1903 and moved to its present-day location in Stanley in 1929. After the war broke out in December 1941, the College suffered tremendously under the Japanese military action; and noticeably the “Taiwanese” have been since identified as the main culprit.

According to the school history, *A Testimony to St. Stephen’s College* (and its Chinese version 聖士提反書院百年回顧), published in 2008 with support from Hong Kong government authorities,<sup>48</sup> it was stated that soon after Hong Kong fell into the Japanese hands, “All enemy civilians were moved to Stanley Internment Camp on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1942. The total population rose to approximately 2,600 including children...The Preparatory School was used for internees for a short time but then became guard barracks”. But more importantly, in the account of the events leading up to the internment, it described how the College was affected:<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Several Hundred Out”, September 1, 1945, Page 2; “Still in Prison: Two Hundred Chinese Left at Stanley: Cruelty of Warders”, September 3, 1945, Page 1; “Stanley Notes: Chinese Cooking Staff Relieves Internees: Newspapers Appreciated”, September 4, 1945, Page 1; “Wanganui List: Hospital Ship to Sail Today: Stanley Internees to be Repatriated”, September 5, 1945, Page 1; “At Stanley Camp: Supply of White Bread Stills Complaint: Ration of Flour Issued”, September 5, 1945, Page 2; “Hospital Ship Plans: Disappointed People Await Transport by Empress of Australia: New List of Repatriates”, September 6, 1945, Page 1; “Life at Stanley: St. Stephen’s College to Resume Work: Camp Entertainment”, September 7, 1945, Page 2

<sup>47</sup> *SCMPHKT*, “Stanley Camp: Last Two Internees Leave on Monday”, October 26, 1945, Page 2:

<sup>48</sup> *A Testimony to St. Stephen’s College* (Hong Kong: St. Stephen’s College, 2008), cover page. “Quality Education Fund” and “Antiquities and Monuments Office” are listed on the cover of the publication as “sponsor” and “supporting organization” respectively; the former organization was founded and funded in 1997 by the initiative of Hong Kong’s Chief Executive, see [http://qef.org.hk/e\\_index.html](http://qef.org.hk/e_index.html), and the latter was established in 1976 and is now under the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region <http://www.amo.gov.hk/en/about.php> (accessed 2016.09.28).

<sup>49</sup> *A Testimony to St. Stephen’s College* (Hong Kong: St. Stephen’s College, 2008), p.9. I would like to acknowledge the guidance and assistance from Professor Uganda Kwan Sze Pui in obtaining this material.



*The entry of the Japanese (actually, they were mainly Taiwanese) into the College initiated 'St. Stephen's College Massacre'. The troops were out of control and acted with the kind of madness and cruelty. About 150-200 troops broke into the hospital (School House). They bayoneted 56 British and Canadian soldiers lying wounded in their beds. Some medical and College staff were also murdered. Among the victims, one of them was Mr. Tam Cheung Huen, the Head of Chinese Studies. He chose to remain and died in defense of 'his boys'.*

How, and whether it was true that, the Taiwanese were identified in the account of the “St. Stephen’s College Massacre” remains unclear; but statement like this clearly showed that in the mind of many Hong Kong residents—as well as in the (government-sponsored) construction of historical memory, the “Taiwanese” have been closely associated with and seen responsible for the cruelty and atrocity under Japanese occupation, even 60 years after the war ended.

Because Stanley was where the Japanese had kept all the Westerners in Hong Kong as internees during the wartime, thereby it was symbolic to the British to re-locate the Japanese internees to Stanley after the war. But transferring thousands of people from Kowloon, across the water to Hong Kong, and to the southern end of the Hong Kong island, was a daunting task. Originally, it was planned to complete the process in 10 days,<sup>50</sup> it eventually took more than one and a half months and the process was not completed till the end of November.<sup>51</sup>

It is worth noting that throughout the relocation process, the Taiwanese were handled separately from the Japanese. Relocation of the Japanese to Stanley started much earlier, from October to the early part of November, and the repatriation of Japanese started as early as November. However, most Taiwanese remained in Kowloon in late November; as reported in the newspaper, the director of the Kowloon camp was quoted saying: “there were around 3,000 Taiwanese and Koreans in the compound, about 1800 of them were Taiwanese, 200 were Koreans, men made up half of it and women and children made up the other half”. If the report was correct, it showed around 1000 Taiwanese women and children were still imprisoned in Kowloon’s internment camp toward the end of November; by then, they had been interned, against their will, for almost 3 months.<sup>52</sup> But even then, none of the interned Taiwanese knew how long this ordeal would continue.

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<sup>50</sup> 《星島日報》，「九龍日台人 移囚赤柱 嚟囉兵房駐屯英兵」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）10 月 17 日，第 3 版報導（有部分文字無法辨識，以「O」標示）：「九龍彌敦道嚟囉兵房 OOOO 改為日本及台灣人之集中營，收容留港之日台籍人，頃悉，當局現決計將該處收回為英兵屯駐之用，現有之日台人，則改移赤柱，日昨已着手移動，日移三數百名，數日間即可移竣云」；《星島日報》，「九龍集中營 日俘私逃」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）10 月 18 日，第 3 版報導，「查該批日人經分批移押赤柱，約需十日方能竣事」

<sup>51</sup> SCMPHKT, “Japanese Prisoners: More Internees Transferred”, November 3, 1945, Page 2；《星島日報》，「嚟囉兵房日俘概遷出 日間來港英軍將進駐」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 28 日，第 3 版報導，「前日上午最後一批九名日人，亦由該嚟囉兵房，移往戰俘醫院」。

<sup>52</sup> 《星島日報》，「集中營臺鮮人 恢復自由不確 現在尚有二千餘名」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 21 日，第 3 版。

At the end of November, while some Japanese were released from internment and repatriated back to Japan, the aforementioned newspaper article on the condition of the Taiwanese in the Kowloon camp reported: “while there is rumor indicating that they would soon be granted freedom, it is entirely false, how to deal with (them), awaits the authorities’ further instruction”.<sup>53</sup> It showed that while the British authorities already started releasing and sending the Japanese back to Japan, they were still undecided and ambiguous about how to deal with the Taiwanese. As a result of this lack of clear policy, the internment of the Taiwanese was prolonged and their release was further delayed. It was not until the period between November 22 and 24 that the British authorities relocated the interned Taiwanese—nearly 3000 of them together with a small number of Koreans—from Kowloon to Stanley.<sup>54</sup>

### *Release and Repatriation of the Taiwanese*

Throughout the month of November, several rounds of repatriation of the Japanese took place.<sup>55</sup> The British authorities continued to make arrangement to release the Japanese and send them back to Japan; by January 1946, as reported in the newspapers, more than 10,000 Japanese soldiers and civilians had left Hong Kong.<sup>56</sup> But the Taiwanese, after being transferred to Stanley, remained in internment.

Things did not change for another two months. And it was in February 1946, the British authorities finally made decision to release and repatriate the Taiwanese. While there were several rounds of repatriation of the Taiwanese, one newspaper report indicated that the British vessel S.S. Suncrest was scheduled to carry 250 Taiwanese civilians and sail from Stanley to Keelung, a port city in northern Taiwan, on February 13<sup>th</sup>.<sup>57</sup> This round of repatriation was confirmed in the newspaper on February 14, under the title of “Formosans Leave”:<sup>58</sup>

*On board the S.S. Suncrest which sailed yesterday were 183 Japanese and Formosan soldiers, and some women and children. They are escorted by*

<sup>53</sup> 《星島日報》，「集中營臺鮮人 恢復自由不確 現在尚有二千餘名」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 21 日，第 3 版。

<sup>54</sup> 《星島日報》，「臺朝虎俚列入戰犯 普通平民移羈赤柱 摩囉山集中營改作兵房」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 23 日，第 3 版

<sup>55</sup> 《星島日報》，「七百日俘 週末返日」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）10 月 31 日，第 3 版報導：「本週末將有英船一艘離港。專任輸送第一批日戰俘七百名返日。查該船係直接駛往日本」；《星島日報》，「留港敵俘移押赤柱 將繼續遣送回日 垂頭喪氣無復當年氣焰」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 4 日，第 3 版報導：「查本港日戰俘約有一千餘人。第一七七名，經于本月二日離港」；《星島日報》，「第二批敵俘 昨遣送返日」，中華民國 34 年（1945 年）11 月 12 日，第 3 版報導：「第二批日俘七百名，內軍人六百名，文員一百名，昨日下午二時。遣送返日。查第一批被遣送返日本之俘虜七百名，已于十一月二日。離港往日」。

<sup>56</sup> 《星島日報》，「三千日俘 今晨歸國」，中華民國 35 年（1946 年）1 月 15 日，第 3 版。

<sup>57</sup> SCMPHKT, “Hong Kong Shipping: Formosan Internees On Board Suncrest”, February 12, 1946, Morning edition, Page 7.

<sup>58</sup> SCMPHKT, “Formosans Leave”, February 14, 1946, Morning edition, Page 4.

*Commandos. A very brisk trade in black market goods at rather high prices was carried on over the side of the ship before she sailed, between sampans and the Japanese and Formosan passengers. Most commodities purchased were rice, sugar, vegetables, cigarettes, etc.*

The aforementioned Mr. Lin, who had been interned with his entire family since early September, wrote in his personal notes:

*February 13<sup>th</sup>, left Hong Kong;*

*February 15<sup>th</sup>, arrived;*

*January 15<sup>th</sup> of the lunar year (February 16th) returned to Zhunan;*

*the morning of (January) 16<sup>th</sup> (of the lunar year) reached Tou-fen.*

Based on his own account, it can be concluded that the Lin family—at the time of 5 members—was among the 183 people on board *S.S. Suncrest*, repatriated from Hong Kong on February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1946. From the date they reported to the British authorities on September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, the season already changed from late summer to mid-winter, and they spent nearly half a year in internment. The date Mr. Lin left Hong Kong with his family, it was nearly 12 years since the date he first went to work in Hong Kong in April 1934. Everything Mr. Lin had strived to earn, with his hard work and talent—his life, career, possession, and relationships—during this 12-year period, the prime of his life, were taken away.

Fortunately, after all the suffering and hardship during the internment, Mr. Lin was able to return and bring his entire family safely to Taiwan. The Lin family returned to its hometown of Tou-fen on February 17<sup>th</sup>, 1946, just 3 days short of the first birthday of the Lins' second daughter, Ms. Lin, Shing-jy, who was born February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1945, imprisoned as a 6-month old baby, and forced to spend a half of the first year of her life in internment camps in Kowloon and Stanley.

### 3) Taiwanese in Australia

#### *From the Dutch East Indies to Australia*

The internment of the Taiwanese in Australia was more complicated than the aforementioned situation in Hong Kong. It started long before the War ended, and started *outside* Australia. A memoir written by a family member of a Taiwanese internee provided a rare insight into the experiences of Taiwanese before and after the internment in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>59</sup> Mr. Ke Dai, father of the author of the memoir, went to Malang, Java, alone in 1927; he cultivated coffee and cotton, and gradually established his business there.<sup>60</sup> But after the War broke out in December 1941, Mr. Ke was arrested by the Dutch Police because he was considered holding “Japanese nationality”, and sent

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<sup>59</sup> 磯村生得（李英茂譯），《失落祖國的人》（臺中市：晨星出版社，1996）。

<sup>60</sup> 磯村生得，《失落祖國的人》，頁 12-13。

to the internment camp in Canberra, Australia; as a result, he lost all his possessions in Malang.<sup>61</sup>

The National Archives of Australia in Canberra holds the most comprehensive record of the wartime (and postwar) internment of “Formosan”. For each of these Formosan (Taiwanese) internees, a record was created, using the “Service and Casualty Form” of the Australian Military Forces. On the form, most Taiwanese were categorically identified as “internee”, instead of “prisoner of war”.

Take Taiwanese businessman Mr. OEI Sioe as an example:<sup>62</sup> according to his record, he was first arrested in Semarang, Java (“place of capture”), and put on board Australian naval ship *S. S. Cremer* on January 27, 1942; at the time, a “Detention Order” was issued for his arrest, under the authorities of Australia’s National Security Regulations, which stated a particular person can be detained “with a view to preventing that person acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the commonwealth”.<sup>63</sup> After his arrival, Mr. OEI was interned as an “enemy alien” and sent to the internment camp in Loveday in South Australia.<sup>64</sup> Another fellow Taiwanese businessman-turned-internee in Australia was Mr. TJIOE Ing See; his record showed that he was arrested in Kertosono, Java, and sent to the Loveday camp on February 11, 1942.<sup>65</sup> Mr. TJIO Tjhong Long, a “biscuit manufacturer” from Taiwan, was arrested on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1941 (“date of capture”) in “Sourabaya”,<sup>66</sup> Dutch East Indies, together with his wife TJIO (Tan) Kioe Nio; they were later sent to the internment camp in Tatura, Victoria, in Australia.<sup>67</sup>

These archival records showed that most Taiwanese had been interned in Australia since January 1942; they were put into internment first *not* by the Australian authorities, but rather by the Dutch authorities in the Dutch East Indies—the present-day Indonesia.

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<sup>61</sup>磯村生得，〈失落祖國的人〉，頁 13

<sup>62</sup> On Australian records, the name of each Taiwanese was listed with given name first and followed by family name; in this paper, following the Taiwanese custom, the name of each Taiwanese will be listed with family name first and family name will be capitalized.

<sup>63</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Oei, Sioe ; Year of birth - 1889 ; Nationality - Japanese formosa, MP1103/1, IJ50204 and MP1103/2, IJ50204.

<sup>64</sup> Loveday camp was the largest internment camps in Australia during the war, with more than 5,000 internees at its peak in May 1943. It consisted of several separate “compounds”, and the Taiwanese (“Chinese from Formosan”) were interned in Camp 14. See “Loveday, South Australia (1941–46)”, National Archives of Australia, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/WWII/loveday.aspx> (accessed 2016/10/7).

<sup>65</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Tjioe, Ing See ; Year of birth - 1894 ; Nationality - Japanese formosa, MP1103/1, IJ50168 and MP1103/2, IJ50168.

<sup>66</sup> It is commonly spelled as “Surabaya”, but it was spelled as “Sourabaya” on the military record.

<sup>67</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tjio, Tjhong Long ; Date of birth – 17 March 1901 ; Nationality – Formosan, MP1103/1, IJ50291 and MP1103/2, IJ50291. Aside from Loveday, Tatura was another camp where many Taiwanese were interned. According to Australia’s official account, in Tatura camp there were “Japanese internees from Australia, Java and New Caledonia. Included among these were Chinese from Formosa (Taiwan)”; see “Tatura – Rushworth, Victoria (1940–47)”, National Archives of Australia, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/WWII/tatura.aspx> (accessed 2016/10/7).

These Taiwanese had been living and working in the Dutch East Indies before the war broke out. Immediately after Japan's declaration of war against the Netherlands, following the attack on Pearl Harbor, in December 1941, the Dutch authorities took swift action to intern all the Taiwanese—together with other Japanese nationals—across the Dutch East Indies. Soon afterwards, the Dutch made arrangement with the Australian authorities and transferred all internees to Australia. These Taiwanese, numbered around 2,000, were kept in several different camps across Australia, and were not freed or repatriated till March 1946.

In Australia, the studies of wartime and postwar internment of “enemy aliens” have drawn a great deal of public and scholarly attention in recent years.<sup>68</sup> It has been widely recognized that during the war, the Australian government put more than 12,000 “enemy aliens” into internment, including Japanese, Germans, and Italians who were considered potential threat to national security after the war broke out in the end of 1941.<sup>69</sup> In addition, it has been pointed out that Australia had received from outside its border thousands of aliens who were interned by its Allies in “Britain, Palestine, Iran, the Strait Settlements, the Netherlands East Indies, New Caledonia, and New Zealand”.<sup>70</sup> It shows that in addition to “local internees”—those “enemy aliens” living in Australia when the war broke out, “overseas internees” constituted a significant portion of Australia's wartime internment.<sup>71</sup> One study further points out that out of the total 15,000 civilians interned in Australia during the War, 8,000 were “detained overseas”.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Outside Australia, only a handful of scholarly works have touched upon this issue, see 後藤乾一，臺灣與東南亞（1930-1945），收在黃富三、古偉瀛、蔡采秀合編，《臺灣史一百年：回顧與研究》（臺北：中央研究院臺灣史研究所，1997），頁 67-83；藍適齊，〈戰後海外臺灣人的集中與遣返〉，收入呂芳上主編《中國抗日戰爭史新編》，第六編—戰後中國，第四章—戰爭的終結，第三節（臺北：國史館，2015年7月），頁 425-465

<sup>69</sup> See Joan Beaumont, Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien and Mathew Trinca, eds., *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia During the Second World War* (Canberra, A.C.T. : National Museum of Australia Press, 2008) ; Klaus Neumann, *In the Interest of National Security: Civilian Internment in Australia During World War II* (Canberra, ACT. : National Archives of Australia, 2006) ; Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens : Japanese Internment in Australia* (University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1996) ; Margaret Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire* (University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Queensland, 1993).

<sup>70</sup> Klaus Neumann, *In the Interest of National Security: Civilian Internment in Australia During World War II* (Canberra, ACT. : National Archives of Australia, 2006), p.13.

<sup>71</sup> Joan Beaumont, Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien and Mathew Trinca, eds., *Under Suspicion: Citizenship and Internment in Australia during the Second World War* (Canberra, A.C.T. : National Museum of Australia Press, 2008), p.3.

<sup>72</sup> Klaus Neumann, *In the Interest of National Security: Civilian Internment in Australia During World War II* (Canberra, ACT. : National Archives of Australia, 2006), pp.2, 7.

The internment of foreign civilians as by the Dutch and the Australian authorities should be understood in the larger context of the handling of “enemy aliens” of the Second World War.<sup>73</sup> During the War, the largest scale of internment was carried out by the United States against the Japanese nationals, many were American-born U.S. citizens of *nissei/sansei* (2nd/3rd generations) Japanese-American; between 1942 and 1945, more than 120,000 Japanese-American were interned.<sup>74</sup> During the same period, more than 5,000 Japanese nationals were interned in camps across Australia.<sup>75</sup>

Because of the isolation of internment, the Australian public was mostly unaware of the existence of the Taiwanese (or the distinction between the Japanese and the “Formosan”) during the war, and no record is available today to understand the Australian public response specifically to the Taiwanese internment. But since the situation of the Taiwanese was consistent with the “overseas internees”, as enemy aliens taken from outside Australia, the internment of the Taiwanese should be understood as a part of the larger and coordinated action taken by Australia and its Allies after the war broke out at the end of 1941 in dealing with civilians from the enemy countries.

### *Profile of the Taiwanese Internees*

Survey of the Australian archival records further finds that the arrest and the subsequent internment of the Taiwanese were carried out without consideration of age or gender; as the war broke out, Taiwanese living in the Dutch East Indies—young and old, men women and children—were detained without distinction, sent to Australia, and interned there until the war ended. At least 16 Taiwanese were at the age of sixty or above, born in

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<sup>73</sup> For studies of Japanese internment of the Allied civilians, see Bernice Archer, *The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese, 1941-45, A Patchwork of Internment* (London : RoutledgeCurzon, 2004) ; Frances B. Cogan, *Captured : The Japanese Internment of American Civilians in the Philippines, 1941-45* (Athens and London : University of Georgia Press, 2000) ; Greg Leck, *Captives of Empire : The Japanese Internment of Allied Civilians in China, 1941-1945* (Bangor, PA : Shandy Press, 2006). For the studies of civilian internment in Southeast Asia under Japan’s occupation, see Kevin Blackburn and Karl Hack, eds., *Forgotten Captives in Japanese-Occupied Asia* (London : Routledge, 2007).

<sup>74</sup> For further studies, see Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy : The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2004); Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial : Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 2004) ; Peter H. Irons, *Justice at war* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1983) ; Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei : the quiet Americans : the Story of a People* (Niwot, Colo. : University Press of Colorado, 1992) ; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Whispered silences : Japanese Americans and World War II* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1996) ; Mich Weglyn, *Years of infamy : the Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1996).

<sup>75</sup> For further studies, see Margaret Bevege, *Behind Barbed Wire* (St. Lucia, Queensland : University of Queensland Press, 1993); Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia* (St. Lucia, Queensland : University of Queensland Press, 1996).

1882 or before, when they were interned in 1942; another 50 were between the age of fifty and fifty-nine (born between 1883 and 1892). One of the eldest Taiwanese internees in Australia was Mr. TAN Tiong Sing, who was born in the city of Tainan in 1862; he was first detained in Djokjakarta,<sup>76</sup> where his son TAN Ting Swie lived.<sup>77</sup> Other senior Taiwanese interned in Australia include OH Po Sing, who was born in Taipei in 1869 and detained in the “Netherland’s East Indies”;<sup>78</sup> CHO Si Rai Djoen, born in Amoy in 1874 and detained in Serang;<sup>79</sup> ANG Shi Chin, a widow born in Tainan in 1874 and detained in Djokjakarta;<sup>80</sup> KWEE Sie Swan, born in Tainan in 1879 and detained in Makassar on the island of Celebes;<sup>81</sup> TEI Ryo Shi Kyo, born in Tainan in 1880 and detained in Djokjakarta;<sup>82</sup> and SHU Sian Kim, born in the city of Takao (the present-day Kaohsiung) in 1881 and detained in Solo.<sup>83</sup> Some of these senior Taiwanese didn’t live to leave the internment; for example, the aforementioned widow ANG Shi Chin was aged sixty-eight when she was sent to the Tatura camp in February 1942, and she died in the camp before the war ended.<sup>84</sup>

It is also worth noting that among the Taiwanese internees, there were a significant number of children. Survey shows that at the time of internment in 1942, at least 55 Taiwanese children were at the age of six or below (born in and after 1936). And between 1942 and 1946, at least 18 Taiwanese were born in internment camps. These numbers indicate that a good number of Taiwanese families with young children were interned in Australia.

Among these interned Taiwanese “families”, the largest was probably the ANG family, which consisted of ten members.<sup>85</sup> The father of the family, ANG, Ie Siong, was born in 1907 in Taipei,<sup>86</sup> and was engaged in sugar trade in Java. Together with his wife,

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<sup>76</sup> “Djokjakarta” is commonly spelled as “Yogyakarta” today.

<sup>77</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : TAN, Tiong Sing ; Date of birth - 12 September 1862 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>78</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Oh, Po Sing ; Date of birth - 9 July 1869 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>79</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Cho, Si Rai Djoen ; Date of birth – 18 January 1874 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>80</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Ang, Shi Chin ; Date of birth - 26 August 1874 ; Nationality – Formosan, MP1103/1, IJF50381 and MP1103/2, IJF50381

<sup>81</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Kwee, Sie Swan ; Date of birth – 28 June 1879 ; Nationality – Formosan . The location of detention was stated as “Makasar Celebes” on the record; Celebes is known as Sulawesi today.

<sup>82</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tei, Ryo Shi Kyo ; Date of birth 26 June 1880- ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>83</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Shu, Sian Kim ; Date of birth - 3 May 1881 ; Nationality – Formosan. Solo is the city of Surakarta in central Java.

<sup>84</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Ang, Shi Chin ; Date of birth - 26 August 1874 ; Nationality – Formosan, MP1103/1, IJF50381 and MP1103/2, IJF50381.

<sup>85</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; ANG, Ie Siong ; Year of birth - 1907 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJ50315 and MP1103/1, IJ50315.

<sup>86</sup> His place of birth was recorded as “Taihacho Taihoku”; it was probably misspelled from “Taihecho”, which was a district in Taipei.

ANG (maiden name LIE) Oen Tong Nio,<sup>87</sup> and their eight children—three boys and five girls, all born in Djokjakarta—had lived in Beskalan No.1 in Djokjakarta. The eldest was a son, ANG Toen Hong, born in 1928,<sup>88</sup> and the youngest was a daughter, ANG Bing Kiem, born in March 1940.<sup>89</sup> On December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1941, the day after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the ANG family was detained by the Dutch authorities, and later was put on board Australian naval ship *S. S. Cremer* on January 27, 1942; on the same day, the Australian military issued a Detention Order to each member of the ANG family, including all children. At the time of the internment, father ANG Ie Siong was at the age of thirty-four, mother was thirty-six, the eldest son ANG Toen Hong just turned thirteen, and the youngest daughter ANG Bing Kiem was less than two. The ANG family reached Melbourne on February 1, 1942, and was transferred the following day to the Tatura No.4 camp.

Another interned Taiwanese family that was worth discussing is the KWEE family. The father of the family, KWEE Thiam Ting, was born in 1905 in Taiwan; he went to Wadjah Malang in the Dutch East Indies and conducted business there;<sup>90</sup> he and his wife, KWEE (maiden name Tio) Bek Gwat, raised five children.<sup>91</sup> On December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1941, the parents and four of their children were detained by the Dutch authorities; and like the ANG family, the KWEE family was put on board Australian naval ship *S. S. Cremer* on January 27, 1942, reached Melbourne on February 1, 1942, and was transferred to the Tatura No.4 camp. At the time, the eldest daughter KWEE Sioe Lan was eight year-old,<sup>92</sup> the second daughter KWEE Kim Ing was seven,<sup>93</sup> and the third daughter KWEE Sioe Tien just turned two,<sup>94</sup> and the youngest son KWEE Tjiauw Kwan was less than one.<sup>95</sup> And during their internment in the Tatura camp, the KWEE family had their fifth child and youngest daughter KWEE Sioe Kim, who was born on December 28, 1942.<sup>96</sup> All seven members of the KWEE family were interned in Australia until March 1946, when they were repatriated via the ship *Yoizuki*, which would be further discussed in the next section.

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<sup>87</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; ANG, Oen Tong Nio ; Year of birth - 1905 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IFJ50316 and MP1103/1, IFJ50316.

<sup>88</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; ANG, Toen Hong ; Year of birth - 1928 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJ50324 and MP1103/1, IJ50324.

<sup>89</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Ang, Bing Kiem ; Year of birth - 1940 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJF50323 and MP1103/1, IJF50323

<sup>90</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Thiam Ting ; Year of birth - 1905 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJ50447 and MP1103/1, IJ50447

<sup>91</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee Tio Bek Gwat ; Year of birth - 1915 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJF50448 and MP1103/1, IJF50448

<sup>92</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Sioe Lan ; Year of birth - 1933 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJF50449 and MP1103/1, IJF50449

<sup>93</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Kim Ing ; Year of birth - 1934 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJF50451 and MP1103/1, IJF50451

<sup>94</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Sioe Tien ; Year of birth - 1939 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJF50452 and MP1103/1, IJF50452

<sup>95</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Tjiauw Kwan ; Year of birth - 1941 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/2, IJ50453 and MP1103/1, IJ50453

<sup>96</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee ; Kwee, Sioe Kim ; Date of birth – 28 December 1942 ; Nationality - Formosan, MP1103/1, IJF50448A



It is interesting to note that by the time their youngest daughter KWEE Sioe Kim was born, the KWEE family had been interned in Tatura for more than 10 months; therefore it was reasonable to say that the mother KWEE Bek Gwat got pregnant in the internment camp. Similar situation, in which the mother was pregnant during the internment, were also found in the cases of TAN Sin Eng<sup>97</sup> and SHU Siok Hwa,<sup>98</sup> both born in Tatura in December 1942; KANG Soei Lian<sup>99</sup> and TAN Poet An, both born in 1943;<sup>100</sup> THE Tsukiko,<sup>101</sup> KWIK Tjiauwan,<sup>102</sup> SHU Chin Seng,<sup>103</sup> and TAN Szi Hsing,<sup>104</sup> all born in 1944; NIO Tjien Bie,<sup>105</sup> SIA Peng Lin,<sup>106</sup> TAN Sien An,<sup>107</sup> all born in 1945; and three others born in internment camps after the war ended: SO Grey Kie (September 14, 1945) ,<sup>108</sup> TAN Tjiauwan Koen ( December 25, 1945 ) ,<sup>109</sup> and LIANG Pai Fung (January 22, 1946).<sup>110</sup> The birth of these Taiwanese internee “babies” demonstrated that some Taiwanese internee families had rather normal family life in the internment camps.

It should also be pointed out that there were Taiwanese internee families in which three generations were all put into internment in Australia. For example, the aforementioned sixty-two year-old KWEE Sie Swan, was an interned widow born in

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<sup>97</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tan, Sin Eng ; Date of birth – 29 December 1942 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>98</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Shu, Siok Hwa ; Date of birth – 17 December 1942 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>99</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Kang, Soei Lian ; Date of birth – 3 May 1943 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>100</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tan, Poet An ; Date of birth – 6 February 1943 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>101</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : The, Tsukiko ; Date of birth - 10 November 1944 ; Nationality – Formosan, MP1103/1, IJF50537A.

<sup>102</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Kwik, Tjiauwan ; Date of birth – 11 April 1944 ; Nationality – Formosan. He was also recorded with a Christian name, Emile Ferdinand

<sup>103</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Shu, Chin Seng ; Date of birth – 21 March 1944 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>104</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tan, Szi Hsing ; Date of birth – 3 November 1944 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>105</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Nio, Tjien Bie ; Date of birth – 31 March 1945 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>106</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Sia, Peng Lin ; Date of birth – 8 March 1945 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>107</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tan, Sien An ; Date of birth – 27 April 1945 ; Nationality – Formosan

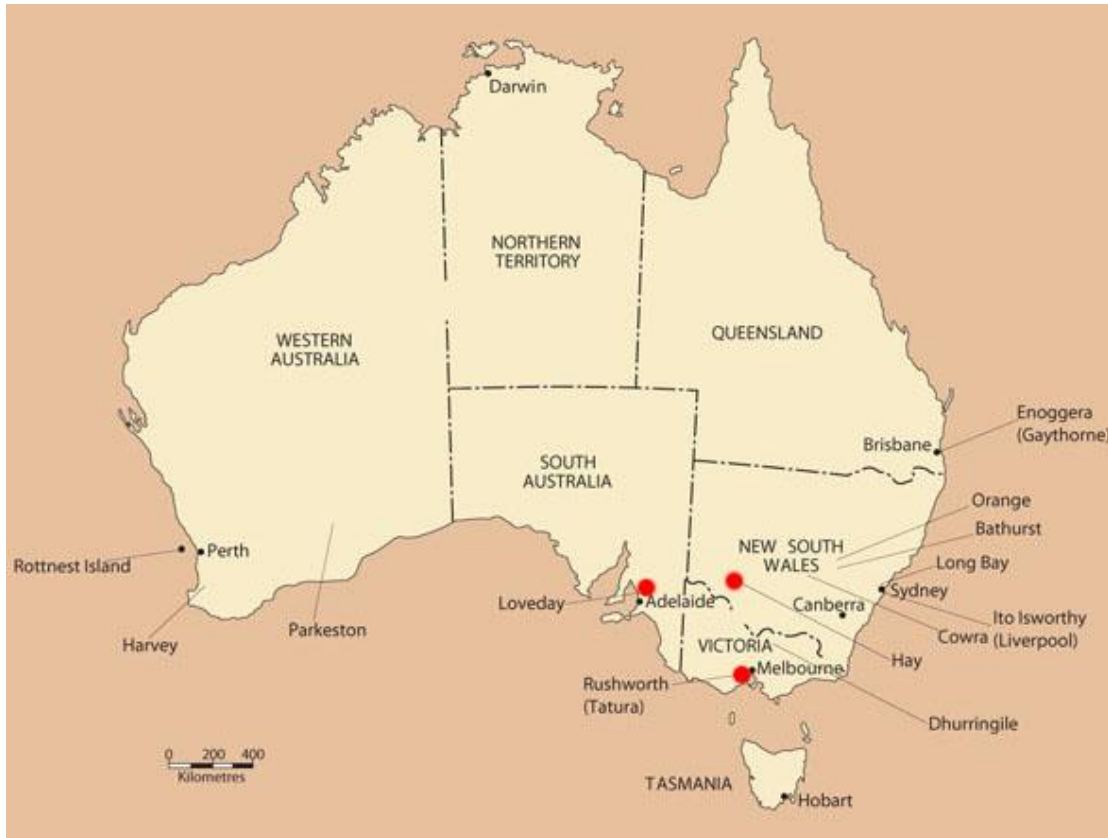
<sup>108</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : So, Grey Kie ; Date of birth – 14 September 1945 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>109</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Tan, Tjiauwan Koen ; Date of birth – 25 December 1945 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>110</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Liang, Pai Fung ; Date of birth – 21 January 1946 ; Nationality – Formosan

Tainan in 1879 and first detained in Makassar on the island of Celebes;<sup>111</sup> her son ONG Tjho Hong, a businessman, was also detained in Makassar,<sup>112</sup> together with her grandson ONG Siong Djien on December 8, 1941 and sent to Tatura in January 1942.<sup>113</sup>

Map 1 Internment Camps in Australia during the Second World War



Source: National Archives of Australia

### ***The End of Internment and the Yoizuki, March 1946***

According to the Australian archival records, after the war ended, most Taiwanese internees continued to be held in camps for more than half a year. It was not until March 1946, the Australian authorities took action to release and repatriate these Taiwanese. However, unexpectedly, the repatriation of Taiwanese internees turned into a major

<sup>111</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Kwee, Sie Swan ; Date of birth – 28 June 1879 ; Nationality – Formosan

<sup>112</sup> On his document, the “place of capture” was recorded as “Makasar Selebes”.

<sup>113</sup> National Archives of Australia, Prisoner of War/Internee : Ong, Tjho Hong ; Date of birth - 29 December 1908 ; Nationality – Formosan, MP1103/1, IJ51037 and MP1103/2, IJ51037.

controversy, or in today's language a "P.R. disaster", to the Australian—as well as the Allied—authorities.

On March 6, 1946, the Australian military put hundreds of Taiwanese—including women and children—on board the ship known as *Yoizuki*, which was prepared to embark from the harbor of Sydney. The ship was originally a destroyer of the Japanese Imperial Navy, and was taken over by the Allied forces after Japan's surrender; it was designated to carry out the mission as the Australian authorities were planning to repatriate these Taiwanese who were interned in Australia during the war, most of them—as one newspaper reported—came from "the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and islands to the north in 1941 after the Japanese came into the war",<sup>114</sup> back to Taiwan.

But what seemed like a routine transport mission, which was part of the "repatriation" of millions of subjects of the former Japanese Empire as detailed in Lori Watt's book *When Empire Comes Home* among others,<sup>115</sup> became headline news in Australia. According to Australian newspaper reports, there were "panic-stricken Formosans protesting vigorously against being driven on board" and "sobbing Formosan, aghast at the thought of boarding the vessel of his masters, dragged screaming towards the gangway by provosts".<sup>116</sup> It was widely reported in local newspapers that when these Taiwanese were "forced abroad", there was "one attempted suicide and an attempted sit-down strike" on the site.<sup>117</sup>

Local newspapers further reported that Army officers had refused to embark hundreds of Taiwanese women and children and claimed that the "conditions on the destroyer were so cramped and that it would be certain death for some of the women and children". It added that these Taiwanese "cannot speak or write Japanese", and "looked at the destroyer and her Jap (Japanese) crew with fear in their eyes".<sup>118</sup>

And most conspicuously, Australian media (and public) attention was drawn to the Taiwanese women and children in the event; and every major newspaper in Australia did extensive reports on the repatriation of Taiwanese via *Yoizuki*. For example, one newspaper reported, with vivid photographs, under the headlines of "Hundreds Herded into Jap Destroyer" and "Children Weep", and described the event as "one hundred Formosan women and 112 of their children, a sobbing wretched procession, were forced aboard the Japanese destroyer *Yoizuki* today".<sup>119</sup> Another report, also with a vivid photograph, showed:<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *The Daily News*, Wednesday, 6 March 1946

<sup>115</sup> Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>116</sup> "Formosan Protest at Ship's Side", *The Mercury*, 8 March, 1946.

<sup>117</sup> *The Daily News*, 6 March, 1946; *The Mercury*, 7 March, 1946; *The Mercury*, 8 March, 1946.

<sup>118</sup> *The Daily News*, 6 March, 1946

<sup>119</sup> *The Mercury*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>120</sup> "Homing", *The Mercury*, 9 March 1946.

*With one infant in her arms and another on her back, this mother was one of the 100 Formosan women compelled to travel in the Japanese 'hell-ship' Yoizuki, which is returning them to their homeland.*

Following these reports, public opinion in Australia quickly took up the issue. On the one hand, it expressed a great sense of sympathy toward the Taiwanese; on the other hand, it strongly criticized the government's handling of the repatriation of the Taiwanese. One newspaper in Sydney reported that, immediately after learning what happened on board *Yoizuki* on 6 March, "many organisations and individuals in Sydney yesterday joined in condemning the crowding of Formosan women and children into the *Yoizuki*" and demanding the Government to "bring the ship back".<sup>121</sup> And according to newspaper report, the criticism was rather strong in wording: the "Sydney University Women Graduates' Association"; which had sent "a telegram of protest to the Prime Minister asking that the Formosan women be transferred to another ship", announced "that for a supposedly Christian country it was an unparalleled disgrace"; Sir Samuel Walder,<sup>122</sup> president of the Australian-Chinese Association, said "It is hard to think that the Government could have been guilty of such an outrage" and "I want to protest with all the vigour I can command".<sup>123</sup> One newspaper headline simply read: "Disgrace Inflicted on Australia".<sup>124</sup>

It is particularly worth noting that amidst the emerging public sympathy toward the Taiwanese and criticism against the Australian authorities, the Australian public began to *re-define* the status of the Taiwanese as Chinese, and no longer as enemy (aliens) or Japanese. As the aforementioned "Sydney University Women Graduates' Association" asserted categorically, "(T)he women are Chinese, not Japanese, and were terrified of the ship's (Japanese) crew"; Mr. E. V. Elliott, general secretary of the Seamen's Union, stressed that: "Every hour aboard endangers these Chinese nationals, particularly the women; and scholarly authority was consulted in the matter, as Professor A. P. Elkins, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Sydney, was quoted saying: "These people were not enemies in the real sense of the term and should not be shipped along with Japanese". Sir Samuel Walder, a businessman, politician, and an active philanthropist, stressed that the Taiwanese should be regarded as Australia's ally and made an unequivocal distinction between the Taiwanese and Japanese; he was quoted saying:<sup>125</sup>

*The treatment is bad enough for any group of nationals, but it is even more distressing for a people who are Australia's allies. The record of the Japanese is well known, and it was a shocking thing that women and children should be herded into inadequate quarters on a ship where they will be wholly under Japanese control.*

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<sup>121</sup> "Authorities Missed Opportunity", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>122</sup> Sir Samuel Robert Walder (1879-1946) had served as the "president of the Allies' and the China days funds". See Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/walder-sir-samuel-robert-1096> (accessed October 15, 2016)

<sup>123</sup> "Authorities Missed Opportunity", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>124</sup> "Disgrace Inflicted On Australia", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>125</sup> "Authorities Missed Opportunity", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

The Taiwanese internees, who had been regarded by the Australian government as “enemy aliens” since the war broke out in the end of 1941, were suddenly considered by the Australian public worthy of sympathy and re-defined as Chinese and friendly subjects of an ally. Furthermore, the ship *Yoizuki*—with its Japanese crew on board—was seen by many in Australia as a “Japanese-manned destroyer”;<sup>126</sup> thereby, the designation of the ship to repatriate the Taiwanese was considered as placing (or forcing) the latter into the hands of the (enemy) Japanese; and this was regarded as unacceptable because now the Taiwanese were re-defined as Chinese (ally).

And among those who voiced out to re-define the Taiwanese, the most notable was the “Chinese Community” in Australia. The Chinese Seamen's Union, acting “on behalf of the Chinese community in New South Wales”, made a rather staunch statement:

*We wish to enter a most strenuous protest against the means adopted, by the Australian Army authorities to repatriate Formosan prisoners of war and internees. We fought this war to free such people from the Japanese yoke, now the Australian Army authorities seek to subject these people further to Japanese domination. Their action is an insult to the Chinese people and to the Chinese nation.*<sup>127</sup>

In response to mounting criticism and public (media) outrage, the Australian government took what should be a routine repatriation (of the Taiwanese) as a serious national matter. Immediate after the incident at Sydney Harbor, in the Legislative Assembly, Premier William McKell of New South Wales<sup>128</sup> “denied any responsibility for conditions under which Formosan women were alleged to have shipped on the *Yoizuki*”; he added that “if Press reports of the conditions were correct they indicated a deplorable state of affairs.”<sup>129</sup> However, members of the Legislative Assembly, from both the ruling Labor party and the Opposition, demanded the government “to make a searching investigation into conditions on the vessel”; one Labor member went as far as declaring that “Australia should stand appalled at the disclosures”.<sup>130</sup>

The matter continued to escalate, and several days later Prime Minister Ben Chifley personally announced that the Australian government had officially appointed and sent four officials to conduct investigation of the *Yoizuki* when the latter made the next port of call at Rabaul; the investigation would be led by Justice Simpson, of the Australian Capital Territory Supreme Court, and Brigadier F. G. Galleghan, deputy director of the

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<sup>126</sup> Quoted from a statement made by Mr. E. V. Elliott, general secretary of the Seamen's Union, see “Authorities Missed Opportunity”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>127</sup> “Authorities Missed Opportunity”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>128</sup> Sir William John McKell (1891-1985), was first elected a member of the Legislative Assembly in 1917; he led the Labor to victory in New South Wales in 1941, and again in 1944; he was appointed governor-general in 1947. See Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mckell-sir-william-john-15293> (accessed October 15, 2016)

<sup>129</sup> “Disgrace Inflicted On Australia”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March, 1946.

<sup>130</sup> “Jap Destroyer Unlikely to Be Recalled”, *The Mercury*, 8 March, 1946

Commonwealth Investigation Branch, N.S.W..<sup>131</sup> A report was presented to the House of Representatives, two weeks after the *Yoizuki* incident occurred at Sydney, which found that 1,005 individuals were on the ship when it left Sydney on March 6, exceeding its capacity limit of 800 persons.<sup>132</sup>

And unexpectedly, the *Yoizuki* incident—as well as repatriation of the Taiwanese—further turned into a confrontation between the Australian government and the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). Shortly after the incident was reported in the media, Australian authorities tried to place the blame on SCAP. Australia’s Minister for the Navy Norman Makin asserted that the Australian Government was simply following “instructions given” by “the Supreme Allied Commander in Japan” to repatriate the Taiwanese, “of whom Australia was only the custodian”.<sup>133</sup>

But on the very next day, SCAP refuted the Australian assertion and placed the blame squarely on the Australian government. Under the headline of “MacArthur disclaims onus for Jap ship scandal”, a radio message by SCAP was reported, which indicated an “outright denial that Allied authorities in Japan were responsible” for the *Yoizuki* incident, and that “local authorities were responsible” for “crowding of women and children” on the ship.<sup>134</sup> While denying SCAP’s responsibilities for the *Yoizuki* incident, the radio message further stated that SCAP was willing to help the Australian authorities to resolve the incident:<sup>135</sup>

*Upon learning of the reported situation, Gen MacArthur immediately requested the Australian military and naval authorities to disembark all women and children with the males of their families at Rabaul or some other port nearer Sydney selected by Australian officials and arranged for the Japanese hospital ship Hikawa Maru, a former 11,000 tons NYK liner, to carry them the rest of their journey”.*

In response, Prime Minister Ben Chifley personally made a statement, insisting that the *Yoizuki* and what happened on the ship should not be regarded as Australia’s responsibilities:<sup>136</sup>

*Information from departments, supported by documentary evidence, appears to indicate clearly that the control of shipping was a subject under die control of the U.S. authorities.*

At this point, the repatriation of Taiwanese internees via the *Yoizuki* had clearly turned from a piece of Australian local news into an international controversy, and possibly a diplomatic crisis with SCAP. However, Australia could not resolve the matter without SCAP’s support. Thereby, Prime Minister Chifley (re-)defined the incident as

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<sup>131</sup> “Yoizuki to be examined at Rabaul”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March, 1946.

<sup>132</sup> “Yoizuki Overcrowded by 205”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 1946.

<sup>133</sup> “Jap Destroyer Unlikely to be Recalled”, *The Mercury*, 8 March, 1946.

<sup>134</sup> “MacArthur Disclaims Onus for Jap Ship Scandal”, *The Mercury*, 9 March, 1946.

<sup>135</sup> “MacArthur Disclaims Onus for Jap Ship Scandal”, *The Mercury*, 9 March, 1946.

<sup>136</sup> “Yoizuki to be Examined at Rabaul”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March, 1946.

"an unfortunate misunderstanding", and tried to find a common ground for cooperation and extend an olive branch to SCAP with the following statement: <sup>137</sup>

*I do not propose to enter into any recriminations with the U.S. Authorities as to how the present misunderstanding arose, because the Supreme Allied Commander, General Douglas MacArthur, has been a, good friend to Australia, and indeed generous in giving help in regard to shipping and many other ways.*

#### 4) Conclusion

In its sheer number, especially compared to the number of Japanese *hikiagesha* (overseas returnees), <sup>138</sup> the internment and repatriation of the Taiwanese was hardly a major event of the Second World War, or for that matter, of the collapse of the Japanese Empire. However, the very unique status of the Taiwanese and their experiences of internment and repatriation helped to shed new light on the postwar reconstruction of East Asia.

The first issue was the conspicuous absence of Japanese authorities in the process. Whether it was in Hong Kong or Australia, when the Taiwanese were interned and subsequently repatriated, the Japanese nationals underwent the same process. While the Taiwanese were interned, whether it was during or after the war, they were detained for the reason of being "Japanese". But, as soon as internment was underway, both the British and Australian authorities took very conscious decision and action to separate the Taiwanese from the Japanese. While the repatriation of the Japanese nationals is beyond the scope of this study, it would be hard to verify and define the role played by the Japanese authorities in that process. But based on the analysis above, in the handling of the Taiwanese internees and the eventual repatriation, there was no trace of any Japanese involvement. Further studies would be needed to confirm this, but preliminary studies show that as former imperial/colonized subject, the Taiwanese were left unnoticed and unattended by any Japanese authorities when the Empire disintegrated.

In contrast, the postwar government in Taiwan, the newly established Republic of China (ROC) authorities, did play a role in the Australian case. Soon after the *Yoizuki* incident, it was reported that the Chinese Legation in Australia held meetings with Prime Minister Chifley and Minister for External Affairs (Herbert Vere) Evatt, then issued a statement confirming that it had "confidence that the Australian Government would induce Gen (General) MacArthur to take action necessary to protect the safety and health of Formosans on the Japanese destroyer *Yoizuki*". <sup>139</sup> Furthermore, a representative from the Chinese Legation, was tasked to fly to Rabaul to "be present as a representative of the Chinese Government"; this person was regarded as "the sole member of the party from Australia able to speak the Formosan dialect" and the only person able to carry out actual

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<sup>137</sup> "Yoizuki to be Examined at Rabaul", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March, 1946.

<sup>138</sup> Statistics showed that more than 3 million Japanese civilians were repatriated from abroad back to Japan after the War, see Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home : Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>139</sup> "Jap Destroyer Unlikely to Be Recalled", *The Mercury*, 8 March, 1946

first-hand interviews” with those Taiwanese on the *Yoizuki*.<sup>140</sup> This conspicuous absence of Japanese authorities and presence of Chinese authorities in the repatriation of the Taiwanese in Australia showed that, in the postwar reconstruction of East Asia, the Chinese (ROC) government was rather active and eager to take opportunities to assert its sovereignty (over the Taiwanese as its newly claimed subjects) and establish itself on the international stage as a lawful and responsible player. This re-positioning of ROC, and simultaneously the recriminations between Australia and SCAP in dealing with the *Yoizuki* incident, should be understood in the larger context of negotiation and (re-)balancing of power in postwar East Asia. What was at stake in the repatriation of the Taiwanese and the *Yoizuki* incident was not the fate of the Taiwanese alone; instead, it was the international legitimacy of several of the Allied Forces,<sup>141</sup> and the denial of Japan’s postwar legitimacy in dealing with former subjects of its Empire.

The second issue was related to the definition and re-definition of Taiwanese identity. The case of Taiwanese in Hong Kong shows that before the war, while the Taiwanese were legally Japanese subjects, some Taiwanese were keeping themselves away from (being identified as) the Japanese. This dis-engagement from the Japanese contact allowed the Taiwanese to maintain good relationships with the local population. However, the outbreak of the war in 1941 and the subsequent Japanese military occupation gradually made (most) people of Hong Kong resentful, if not antagonistic, against all things Japanese. As a result, in the eyes of Hong Kong’s people and the British, the Taiwanese were equally (responsible for the war carried out by the) Japanese; and as the internment of the Taiwanese had demonstrated, this perception against the Taiwanese continued well into the postwar era in Hong Kong.

The Taiwanese in Australia also experienced a process of having their identity re-defined, but with very different result from their counterparts in Hong Kong. During the war, as Taiwanese internees were transferred from the Dutch East Indies to Australia, they were regarded as “enemy aliens” and confined in internment camps across Australia. Immediately after the war, the internment of Taiwanese continued and thereby demonstrated that the Taiwanese continued to be seen as “enemy”, like the Japanese, waiting for repatriation. However, the *Yoizuki* incident in March 1946 re-defined the Taiwanese in the eyes of the Australian public. Before the Taiwanese went on board the vessel on March 6, 1946, they were considered Japanese to be repatriated; but soon after the incident, the Taiwanese were re-defined as subjects worthy of sympathy, Australia’s ally, and simply “Chinese, not Japanese”.

The contrast between Hong Kong and Australia in the postwar handling of Taiwanese internment and repatriation led to the third issue, the effect of wartime experiences, or war memories, in the postwar reconstruction of East Asia. The cases of Hong Kong and Australia showed that wartime experiences of the host society played a fundamental role in shaping the postwar perception of the Taiwanese and determining

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<sup>140</sup> “Yoizuki to be Examined at Rabaul”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March, 1946.

<sup>141</sup> For further discussion of ROC government’s postwar pursuit of international legitimacy, see Barak Kushner, *Men to Devils, Devils to Men: Japanese War Crimes and Chinese Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015)



the fate of the Taiwanese internees. The British authorities as well as the people of Hong Kong, having lived through the defeat and occupation in the hands of the Japanese, clearly held a much stronger and longer-lasting sense of resentment against anything—and anyone—“Japanese”, including the Taiwanese. In comparison, the Australian public was more sympathetic than people of Hong Kong toward the interned Taiwanese, and inclined to see the Taiwanese as citizens of ROC, thereby on “their” side (the Allied).

One major factor contributing to the difference in their postwar attitude toward the Taiwanese between the people of Hong Kong and the people of Australia was that while the former had close contact and conflict with the Taiwanese during the wartime, the latter had no direct contact with the Taiwanese during the wartime because most Taiwanese interned in Australia were not from Australia and were confined to the selected internment camps. While it was clear that the Taiwanese interned in Australia were considered “enemy aliens”, but his lack of direct interaction with the Taiwanese—and thereby lack of conflict or resentment—made it much easier for the people of Australia to overturn and overcome wartime animosity once the war ended.

Another major factor contributing to the different postwar perception of the Taiwanese was the media. In Hong Kong, public opinion as expressed in newspapers endorsed government’s decision to intern the Taiwanese as “enemy nationals”, and further stirred up hostility against the Taiwanese. But in Australia, after the *Yoizuki* incident, the media unanimously criticized the government and expressed sympathy toward the Taiwanese, especially the women and children; this consequently turned the public opinion friendly toward the Taiwanese and re-shaped public’s perception of the Taiwanese.

Finally, the repatriation of the Taiwanese showed that the role and effect of media in the postwar reconstruction of East Asia is another topic deserves further study. The presence of Taiwanese women and children in the media reports of the *Yoizuki* incident was particularly telling. As shown in this study, in the Taiwanese internment in Hong Kong and Australia respectively, there were a significant number of women and children. While media in Hong Kong did recognize the presence of women and children in the internment, the actual faces and experiences of Taiwanese women and children did not draw much attention in Hong Kong. On the contrary, Taiwanese women and children was clearly the focus of Australia’s media reports of the *Yoizuki* incident; and reported with vivid photographs, Australia’s media brought the actual faces and experiences of Taiwanese women and children directly—and emotionally—to the Australian public, as well as to government authorities. The effect of the media was so strong that the Australian government was forced to take immediate action in dealing with the incident and, more importantly, to appease mounting public anger. And unexpectedly, Australian government’s appeasement to the public and response to the media criticism, by stepping aside from responsibilities and placing the blame on SCAP, led to recriminations with the latter and further escalated the *Yoizuki* incident into a diplomatic confrontation. Of course, the media alone did not dictate domestic or international affairs; however, the media did play a critical role in shaping and highlighting the volatile and unpredictable condition of East Asia’s postwar reconstruction.

105年度專題研究計畫成果彙整表

計畫主持人：藍適齊			計畫編號：105-2410-H-004-067-			
計畫名稱：從「南洋」到戰爭：穿梭在帝國之間的台灣人，1895-1950						
成果項目		量化	單位	質化 (說明：各成果項目請附佐證資料或細項說明，如期刊名稱、年份、卷期、起訖頁數、證號...等)		
國內	學術性論文	期刊論文	2	篇	〈在東南亞和太平洋地區的臺籍戰犯〉， 《臺灣學通訊》，100期，頁24-25 (2017年7月)  〈二戰期間從「蘭印」被強制拘留到澳洲的臺灣平民〉， 《臺灣學通訊》，99期，頁24-25 (2017年5月)	
		研討會論文	0			
		專書	0	本		
		專書論文	0	章		
		技術報告	0	篇		
		其他	0	篇		
	智慧財產權及成果	專利權	發明專利	申請中	0	
				已獲得	0	
				新型/設計專利	0	
		商標權	0			
		營業秘密	0	件		
		積體電路電路布局權	0			
		著作權	0			
		品種權	0			
		其他	0			
	技術移轉	件數	0	件		
		收入	0	千元		
國外	學術性論文	期刊論文	1	篇	〈台灣人戰犯と戦後処理をめぐる越境の課題 1945-1956 (臺籍戰犯與戰後處理的跨國議題，1945-1956)〉， 《中國21》(愛知大學現代中國學會會刊)，第45號 (2017年2月)，頁127-148，(*日文期刊論文)	
		研討會論文	1		“Left behind ‘When Empire Comes Home’ : Internment and Repatriation of the Taiwanese in postwar Asia-Pacific”，paper presented at the "Reconstruction of East Asia" conference, University of Cambridge, December 10-11, 2016	

		專書		0	本		
		專書論文		1	章	〈通譯者と戦争：日本軍の台湾人通譯者を事例として〉（與武田珂代子合著），收入武田珂代子編，《翻譯通譯研究の新地平》（京都市，日本：晃洋書房，2017年2月），頁108-132（*日文專書論文）	
		技術報告		0	篇		
		其他		0	篇		
	智慧財產權及成果	專利權	發明專利	申請中	0	件	
				已獲得	0		
			新型/設計專利		0		
		商標權		0			
		營業秘密		0			
		積體電路電路布局權		0			
著作權		0					
品種權		0					
其他		0					
技術移轉	件數		0	件			
	收入		0	千元			
參與計畫人力	本國籍	大專生		0	人次		
		碩士生		2		楊文喬，國立政治大學臺灣史研究所碩士生 連承晞，國立政治大學歷史研究所碩士生	
		博士生		0			
		博士後研究員		0			
		專任助理		0			
	非本國籍	大專生		0			
		碩士生		0			
		博士生		0			
		博士後研究員		0			
		專任助理		0			
其他成果 （無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等，請以文字敘述填列。）							

## 科技部補助專題研究計畫成果自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現（簡要敘述成果是否具有政策應用參考價值及具影響公共利益之重大發現）或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

達成目標

未達成目標（請說明，以100字為限）

實驗失敗

因故實驗中斷

其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形（請於其他欄註明專利及技轉之證號、合約、申請及洽談等詳細資訊）

論文： 已發表  未發表之文稿  撰寫中  無

專利： 已獲得  申請中  無

技轉： 已技轉  洽談中  無

其他：（以200字為限）

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性，以500字為限）

從過去到今日臺灣，與東南亞在社會/經濟各層面都保持著非常密切的互動關係；本計劃對此重要關係提供歷史性的回顧與更完整的認識。在歷史學方面，補充對「海外台灣人」和「日本殖民時期台灣」的瞭解。同時，利用國外的史料來研究這段歷史，一方面擴大臺灣史研究的基礎，另一方面更將臺灣史的研究連結世界史的研究，開創新的研究課題。

4. 主要發現

本研究具有政策應用參考價值： 否  是，建議提供機關

（勾選「是」者，請列舉建議可提供施政參考之業務主管機關）

本研究具影響公共利益之重大發現： 否  是

說明：（以150字為限）