1. Introduction

Until now many studies on overseas Chinese have dealt with the history of Southeast Asia and North America. Few studies have discussed migration in Northeast Asia. But we can find many episodes of Chinese migration in Northeast Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries.

For example, many merchants and laborers went to the Russian Far East, Korea and Japan. In the same period there were domestic migrants from North China to Northeast China. And under the Japanese occupation of Northeast China, many laborers were forced to migrate into Northeast China ("Manshu-koku") and Japan.

This study examines Chinese migration including both domestic and international migrants in Northeast Asia as a whole and under a macro-political situation. This analysis helps us to reconstruct the image of Northeast Asia. In the past China was seen as a weak nation in contrast to the strong imperialist powers after the Opium war. This study observes, China had a huge economic influence on her surrounding countries, including Russia, Korea and Japan.

Attention is given to the hometown of migrant workers, especially on the Shandong peninsula. Since pre-modern times there was communication between Shandong peninsula and Liaoning peninsula. As a result, Shandong-kuli became synonymous with migration in Northeast Asia. Examining departure of people from Shandong peninsula historically, we can get a historical perspective of Chinese migration.

Focusing on hometowns, we can find a change in the support bases for migrant. Pre-modern emigrants from Shandong moved to Northeast Asia through the connection of neighbors and relatives. People decided to relocate for work through information provided by neighbors and relatives. They were dependent on the people who preceded them.

As for attention on industrialization, we can also find a change in migration patterns. In the early 20th century the number of emigrants was increasing (see Table 1). In the Modernization era, railroad lines and steam ship lines were expanding in Northeast Asia. Emigrants could use these new transport systems. And under industrialization in Northeast China the needs of laborers were increasing. Traveler’s inns categorized as
Kezhan acted as recruiting brokers and were established near ports and stations. These brokers aided people who wanted to work outside of their hometown. Some brokers filled the request for laborers in industrial companies. After the Japanese occupation of Northeast China, especially in the 1940's, Japanese Companies in "Manshu-koku" needed increased numbers of laborers. On recruiting laborers, agents sometimes used fraud and physical violence.

2. Merchant networking system

Now we examine examples of pre-modern migration style.

The earliest case is a silk shop named Tianheli in Mukden. In the Qing Dynasty Kangxi period, the Shan brothers, who were embroidery craftsmen born in Huang prefecture, opened silk goods shop in the provincial capital of Mukden in Northeast China. Until the 1920's their tiny silk shop had developed into a big department store that had around 20 branches all over Northeast China. In addition to Tianheli, there were many silk shops in the capital of Mukden. They called this category Sifang. Their membership was limited to the people born in Shandong province. All their employees came from the same area of Shandong through the connection of neighbors or relatives. They progressed until they operated an import business of commodities. At that time the owners family had established more than 50 branches in 200 years. They had shares of the company but never took part in management. Apprentices were promoted to the position of manager and held the responsibility outside of the family.

Qu Tian-yi was an example of a manager in Tianheli in the 1930's. He was born in Huang prefecture, and employed as an apprentice of Tianheli in 1915. At that time he was less than 18 years old. In 1921 he became clerk, and could receive a salary for his job. In 1929 he entered management level and held share of the company. At last he rose to the position of senior manager in 1933. The above is one of the many cases, however, some clerks went abroad as merchandisers.

Another case occurs in Russia. After developing the Russian Far East in the 19th century, many Chinese Japanese and Koreans went to ports such as Vladivostok and Habarofsk, and worked as laborers in the construction of cities and railways. In addition to laborers, some Asian immigrants became merchants.

The Shuanghesheng is one of these cases. Its one of the top executives Zhang Dingge is one of the famous successful people who came from Shandong Peninsula. He was born

---

in 1875 in Ye prefecture next to Huang prefecture. His family was not very rich, so after his father's death he had to make money. He decided to go to Vladivostok with his elderly relative. At first he worked at a vegetable shop as an apprentice. Hao Shengtang the manager of trader Shuanghesheng, and who was also born in Ye prefecture, took a liking to Zhang Dingge, and recruited Zhang. Since 1898 Zhang Dingge improved the commercial performance of Shuanghesheng. For example, before the outbreak of the Japan-Russian War he got information from the navy about the deteriorating relationship between Japan and Russia, and bought a lot of commodities. He sold them at high prices, caused by the wartime boom of the Japan-Russian war. Then he became senior manager of Shuanghesheng, and became the chairman of the Chinese chamber of commerce in Vladivostoke.

Since 1914 he invested in industries in China, bought a flouring mill that was established by Russians in Harbin, and bought a beer brewery that was established by the Swiss in Beijing. At last, Shuanghesheng became a famous industrial company in Harbin Beijing, and Zhang Dingge was famous as a result. Many young people were attracted to his success, and went to the Russian Far East and Harbin.³

Yang Yuncheng was one of these young people. He was born in 1899 in Ye prefecture. In 1914 He went to Herbin as an apprentice. Before his trip to Northeast China, he had a good impression of Shuanghesheng, and wanted to work at this company. But Shuanghesheng didn't employ freshman at that time, so he worked at another trader, Tianshunyong Tianshunyong sent him to the Vladivostok branch as a clerk. During this time, he learned Russian and he heard the successful episodes of Shuanghesheng and Zhang Dingge. His desire to work at Shuanghesheng was getting stronger. At last, in 1929 his friend introduced him to Shuanghesheng, hired for his Russian abilities.⁴

As above, we can see the relationship between people who came from the same towns. New immigrants decided to leave their hometown because of the success stories of the people who went before them. On the company side, these successful people recruited young men who came from the same towns as managers. This relationship promoted the bond between co-workers. People didn't want to lose their company's confidence, so they introduced credible young men from their own hometowns to the company. As well, these young men, who were engaged in such relationships worked well not to disappoint their forerunners.

3. Laborer recruiting network

I’d like to examine another type of emigrant. The merchant emigrant stream of acquaintance relationships expanded from Northeast China to the Russian Far East along steam ship lines. At the same time, people worked in construction sites, coalmines, and as cargo handling laborers in stations and ports. Especially in the 1920’s, their destinations became focused on Northeast China. It was because of the political uncertainty in the Russian Ear East and the high progress of industrialization in Northeast China.

Now we check the number of emigrants from Shandong to Northeast China in the 20th century (see Fig.1). At a minimum, three million people went to Northeast China every year. At its peak, the number of emigrants to Northeast China increased to ten million. We only have the data of population by occupation in the 1930’s (see Table 2). It shows us that the number of emigrants as merchants did not decrease nor increase. Its fluctuation was irregular. On the other hand, the number of manual laborers including labor in mines, factories, stations and ports was increasing. In the 1930’s labor emigrants became a large part of the Chinese migration in Northeast Asia.

Labor emigrants also have their own society. We take the Hekizanso as an example of labor emigrants society. The Hekizanso was an accommodation for labor in Dalian port. The South Manchurian Railway (SMR)’s subsidiary Hukushou established the Hekizanso in 1911, and managed it. The Hekizanso supplied bed, food and the cargo handing jobs for laborers. The Hekizanso had a capacity of 15,000. During the high season of work, the season of large distribution of the special products, such as soybeans, soy-oil and soy-cakes, 14,000 laborers belonged to the Hekizanso. During the low season, 9,500-11,000 laborers stayed there. The high season of distribution of special products was from December to April. It was the low demand season for other types of manual labor. In winter it was too cold to work in construction fields and agriculture. The labor emigrants wanted to earn more, so they didn’t return to their hometowns. Instead, they stayed and worked at the Hekizanso. Generally emigrants left their hometown after the Chinese New Year, and returned before the New Year. Some of them returned home every year, while others stayed in Northeast China for a few years at a time.

There were leaders called Batou or Kulitou in the laborers society. About 270 leaders worked at the Hekizanso, and each leader controlled 40-50 people. One group had a second leader and a clerk. Leaders got 10% of the wages from subordinates and looked after them. For recruiting leaders lent money for preparation to subordinates. If subordinates ran away in breach of their contract, leaders could not payback the advance money. There were boss and henchmen relationships between leaders and subordinates. Leaders had to pay much money for their reputation, paying bills, lending money, and so on. Leaders were in high repute with subordinates. So the administrators of the Hekizanso thought this relationship was not modern, but leaders played

\[\text{Nakayama, Kyoshuke, Hekizanso, Hukushoukakoukoushi, 1934.}\]
important roles in preventing laborers from striking.

Another important roles of leaders, called Batou or Kulitou, were recruiters and guides of labor emigrants. Leaders of not only the Hekizanso but also other working places played these roles. The leaders took other subordinates from their hometowns. They formed groups, and migrated to Northeast China. During their trips, they stayed at the traveler's inns that were familiar to the leaders.

In terms of laborer recruiting networks, the traveler's inns called Kezhan also had an important role. Kezhan were a type of traditional accommodation in China. Table 3 shows the distribution of Kezhan in North China and Northeast China. They were present in the ports of ship lanes between North China and Northeast China and terminal stations. Kezhan had connections with Kezhan in other place. Some connections were established by chain store-like network. They organized the tickets of ships, trains and beds of Kezhan at the following destinations of their guests. Shipping companies expected Kezhan accumulating passenger. Companies dealt well by Kezhan. For example, Kezhan's guides to following destinations took boats at no charge.

There was difference of recruiting system between ports. There were hometowns of merchant emigrant in north costal area of Shandong peninsula. In this area, the largest number of emigrants worked at shops in Northeast China as apprentices, clerks and manager like the example of above chapter. In Yantai the largest port of north costal area, 61% emigrants were merchants, 30% emigrants were workers in construction sites. Most new emigrants left hometowns for Northeast China, taken by well-traveled emigrants. In Tianjin, labor emigrants in construction sites were majority. The laborers from Tianjin were generally recognized that they had mild personality and were good at group behavior. Contractors dispatched leaders called Batou to Tianjin for recruiting laborers. Leaders ask well-traveled laborer gathering new emigrants. They formed group constructed with leaders, well-traveled emigrants and new emigrants. Group member went and return together. Tianjin was opened at an early time, and had large backlands and a lot of shipping lanes.

In Qingdao the port of south costal area in Shandong, recruiting system was different from Yantai and Tianjin. The Kezhan in Qingdao used hotel runners actively. They dispatched barkers to the hinterlands and the places along the railroad from Jinan for getting new emigrants. On the other hand, in Tianjin, there were many well-traveled emigrants who had specific connections with Kezhan. So they didn’t gather guests like

---


7 Yoshida, Yoshiyuki, ‘Santou Kahoku Dekasegiminn no Hakkouchi Jijyou’, Mantetsukeizaichosakai, Roumujihou(Labor Times), vol.61, 1934, pp.210-211.
Kezhan in Qingdao.

The reason why Qingdao was different from Tianjin, was history of migration. There were less emigrants than north coastal area in pre-modern. After opening the port of Qingdao in 1898, the emigrant started to leave for Northeast China. In the World War I time, France and England recruited laborers who worked in Europe to fill the vacancy for native laborers. Under the war boom of World War I, Bujyun coalmine in Northeast China was developing in production, so they need laborers more and established the hiring office in Qingdao in 1916. The history of emigrants in Qingdao was characterized not by acquaintance but by enterprise recruiting.

In addition to recruiter, laborer also didn’t have history of migration to Northeast China. Most emigrants in Qingdao came from inner area, places along the railroad. The some of these areas prospered as key junctions of trade by the great canal in pre-modern. People near the great canal had earned enough money because of increased commerce caused by the great canal transport. They didn’t have to migrate to Northeast China. But after the expanding of steam ship lines in the yellow sea, the use of the great canal was decreasing. The government did not take care of the canal and in the 20th century mud choked the canal, causing floods. There were water facility problems that were out of control in the canal. So inner land people could not earn enough money and were forced to migrate to make money.8

These emigrants were not so historically, that they could use less networks than the north coastal area. They depended on Kezhan and hiring offices in ports and stations as supporters. Merchant emigrants were recruited through the relationship of neighbor and relative, on the other hand, in this case there were relationships between the recruiter and Kezhan. This relationship often depended on neither neighbors or relatives.9

At that time under industrialization in Northeast China, the needs of laborers was increasing. Expanding railways supplied transport to the people who wanted to migrate, and Kezhan established branch networks between ports and stations. Recruiters assembled the unknown laborers using this network as enterprise-like brokers.10

4. Japanese eye for Chinese labor emigrant

In this chapter, I try to argue about the Japanese report’s eye for emigrant, first. Then

---

8 Tokutake, Saburo, Santosho Nosankeizaichosasyo, Daitoukoushi, 1937.
9 Daitoukoushi, Manshukokuni oyobi Hokushikakuchi niokeru Kyakusangyousyachosasyo, 1937.
I discuss Japanese immigration policy for Chinese labor emigrants. In above chapter, I used the reports of Japanese institutions such as SMR. They published a lot of reports concerning Chinese migration from North China to Northeast China. I classified them by the period.

1. Before the “Manshu-incident”(918 incident) (~1931)
2. After “Manshu-incident” before beginning the entry regulation in 1935 (1931-1934)
3. After the beginning the entry regulation before the five-year plan (1935-1936)
4. After the beginning the five-year (1937-1941) plan period (1937~)

In first period, the reports of emigrants were what SMR mainly count the number of passenger. The contents of reports were the place where Chinese passenger took the train and got off, what season was peak time.

After “Manshu-incident” Japanese power built the puppet country “Manshu-koku”. Japanese power began to be interested in the entry of Chinese people. Because they were labor power in “Manshu-koku”, but at the same time, they were destabilizing factor of “Manshu-koku”. Communists and anti-Japanese activist might slip into emigrants. In addition to security, there were wide variations among reports. Romujihou (Labor Times) was published in 1931 there were many kinds of reports such as forestry agriculture mining and so on. Some reporters had intellectual curiosity.

In 1934 Japan established the Daitoukoushi that dealt with emigration and immigration of “Manshu-koku”. After 1935 Daitoukonushi issued the identification card for emigrants. In addition to affair of emigration, Daitoukonushi conducted a lot of research about Chinese migration, focusing the enterprise-like broker such as Kezhan and Batou. Through the regulation of Chinese emigrants, Japanese reporter got information about emigrants. They were able to analyze the occupation, cost, hometown, network and system of emigration.

In 1937 Manshu laborer association was established, then absorbed Daitoukoushi. Under this reform it regulated migration more actively. In the 1940’s it changed to the agent of compulsory migration of laborers. 1937 was the first year of Manshu industrial developing five-year plan. Under this plan Manshu-koku made a trial calculation of the needs of laborers. The report in 1940 said that because of expansion of labor demand in Manshu-koku, they had to recruit laborer at the place where there were not history of migration for Northeast China. But in 1941 the last year of this plan, the number of labor emigrants didn’t supply the demand for laborers (see Table4). In this period, Japanese side looked Chinese emigrants as the object of control and the things for demands of labor power.

11 Shiro Higuchi, *Hokushiroudouryoku no Taiman Syuryu nitomonau Syomondai nitsuite*, Mantetsu Hokushi Keizaichosacyo, 1940.
In the 1940's the situation of the world warIl got worse. After this five-year plan, the progress of industrial production was declined. But the need of production was increasing. So under the production plan, the companies especially coal mine and the iron foundries had the demand of the laborer, beat up labor emigrant compulsory. That time they used the enterprise-like broker, recruited laborer in the Southwest part of Shandong province. Japanese side made these idea from the reports concerning about Chinese migration. They recognized who were important people of migration, where there were surplus laborer powers. At that time in addition to Northeast China, in Japan growing demands for laborer power, some labor emigrants were took to Japan by Japanese Army.

5. Conclusion

We can say that there were Chinese migration networks in Northeast Asia since pre-modern times. The industrialization in Northeast China and Japanese occupation change their situation. Modern transport system brought the new way of emigration. Some Chinese emigrants could reach the Russian Far East by steam ship. These transportations could carry the numerous labor. At the same time it brought bad economic situation in the area near the great canal and let people relocate. The industrialization in Northeast China was pull factor. As for international political factor, there were competitive development between great powers and the local government in Northeast China behind industrialization. Japanese army caused the 918 incident (the Manshu incident) founded “Manzhou-guo”. The Japan-Manshu bloc economy was established in Northeast Asia. Under War economic of the World WarIl, demand for laborers in Japan and "Manzhou-guo" was increasing. It was supplied by their power.

In this paper, I only examined the change of emigration pattern. Business-wise and influence to surrounding area are the issues in the future.

---

12ibid p24.
Table 1 Population of Han people in Northeast China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>16,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>17,943,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>20,112,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>22,612,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>25,502,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>29,575,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>32,992,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>43,234,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Takaoka Kumao, Uehara Tetsusaburo Hokushi

Imin no Kenkyu, Yuhikaku, 1942, pp.153-56.
### Table 2: Ratio and Real Number of Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Forest</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Mining</th>
<th>Merchant</th>
<th>Civil Engineering</th>
<th>Architecture</th>
<th>Manufacture</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>General Laborer</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>15.16</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>18.05</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>14.63</td>
<td>3.99</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>67,116</td>
<td>5,303</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>7,393</td>
<td>79,888</td>
<td>67,431</td>
<td>56,678</td>
<td>81,465</td>
<td>64,754</td>
<td>17,639</td>
<td>442,667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>13.98</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>11.69</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td>35.86</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>10.46</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>57,218</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>9,580</td>
<td>23,888</td>
<td>42,203</td>
<td>42,203</td>
<td>130,207</td>
<td>22,201</td>
<td>38,069</td>
<td>364,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>15.48</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>9.86</td>
<td>14.88</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>27.62</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>50,103</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>13,802</td>
<td>31,898</td>
<td>48,764</td>
<td>48,164</td>
<td>89,415</td>
<td>16,142</td>
<td>41,651</td>
<td>323,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>12.27</td>
<td>19.01</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>18.37</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real</td>
<td>27,809</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>34,528</td>
<td>60,384</td>
<td>93,609</td>
<td>93,609</td>
<td>118,647</td>
<td>39,570</td>
<td>90,428</td>
<td>492,316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 3: The Number of Kezhan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port &amp; Station</th>
<th>Tianjin</th>
<th>Tanggu</th>
<th>Shanhaiguan</th>
<th>Qingdao</th>
<th>Zhifu</th>
<th>Longkou</th>
<th>Weihaiwei</th>
<th>Gubeikou</th>
<th>Xifengkou</th>
<th>Dalian</th>
<th>Yingkou</th>
<th>Andong</th>
<th>Fengtian</th>
<th>Xining</th>
<th>Harbin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of Kezhan</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Daitoukoushi, Manshukokunai oyobi Hokushikakuchi niokeru Kyakusan Gyousya Chosasyo, 1937, pp.4-4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The number of plan</th>
<th>The number of real</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941 Jan.</td>
<td>17,700</td>
<td>39,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941 Feb.</td>
<td>68,950</td>
<td>94,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941 May</td>
<td>222,250</td>
<td>109,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>308,900</td>
<td>243,315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chang Kia-ngau collection Box4 env.10b (Hoover Institution archives)
Fig. 1 Migration to Northeast China

The number of emigrants

The number of the people who went to Northeast China calculated by Japan

The number of the people who left Northeast China calculated by Japan

The number of the people who went to Northeast China calculated by Lu

The number of the people who left Northeast China calculated by Lu

Data of Japanese side from Takaoka and Uehara.
Data of Lu from Lu Yu