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Management of and Experiments in a Colonial Industry: Japanese Government-run Fishermen Migration Project in Taiwan during the Late Meiji Period

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明治末年臺灣的官營日本人漁業移民

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Abstract

Between Meiji 41 and Meiji 44 (1908–1911), the Japanese colonial government implemented a fishermen migration project in five prefectures and six ports in Taiwan. This was set up earlier than the Japanese migration project for farmers. The latter was not formally kicked off until Meiji 43 (1910). Comparing these two Japanese government-run migration projects also shows the following differences: First, the fishermen migration project started at the time when detailed surveys and assessments of Japanese colonial migration to Taiwan had not yet been completed. Second, the later farmer migration project, unlike the fishermen migration project, was under the leadership of the Taiwan Sōtokufu (Office of the Governor-General, Taiwan). The fishermen migration project was basically an agenda set up by local prefectures. Third, it aimed at improving Taiwan's coastal fisheries through recruiting Japanese fishermen to migrate to Taiwan. The idea was that these Japanese fishermen would be exemplary fishermen who would generate incentives for Taiwanese to compete with them. Therefore, in contrast to agrarian migrants, fishermen migration was more of an economic colonial project than a political one.

Given that the fishermen migration project in Taiwan was initiated by inexperienced local prefectures while the Taiwan Sōtokufu played only a passive role, its limited

1 The English translation was done by Dr. Huei-ying Kuo, to whom both the author and the editors would like to express their deep gratitude.

achievements are not a surprise. The only successful case was in Donggang (東港), where the geographical location and personal cooperation among local and Japanese fishermen helped it become an ideal place for Japanese fishermen migrants. The migration project failed in all the other five ports. In this paper, I will analyze how the fishermen migration project operated. I will show the different governmental strategies implemented between local prefectures and the colonial government at the time when the implementation of fishing reforms was still in the trial-and-error stage of colonial experiments. At the same time, I will argue that the project failed because of the existence of unfavorable structural factors that worked against the development of the migrant industry. The Taiwan Sōtokufu might have been aware of these unfavorable factors in Taiwan, which did not support the promotion of fishermen migration policies focused on coastal fisheries in Taiwan. Out of concern for colonial rationality, the colonial government had to call off the project. Nonetheless, the Taiwan Sōtokufu then expanded spending on fisheries and related industries, and became active in promoting the fishing industry. The industry thus developed during the Japanese colonial era. (This article is in English.)

Keywords

Government-run fishermen migration - fishery modernization - local government - Choson fishing

摘要

1908-1911年，殖民政府在臺灣的五廳六港推行官營漁業移民事業，早於1910年正式在東臺灣進行的官營農業移民。這次的漁業移民是由地方廳發動，而非像官營農業移民一般，先經過詳細的調查和評估之後，才在臺灣總督府主導下展開。官營漁業移民也以改良臺灣沿岸漁業為目標，亦即引入移民作為示範，使臺灣人產生競爭心理，力圖漁業之發展。因此，其與農業移民不同，經濟殖民意義甚於政治殖民。

然而，明治末年的漁業移民是由地方廳倉促成軍、總督府隨後配合而展開，因此，除了東港移民因該地地利人和而成績較佳之外，其餘五港均繳羽而歸。透過明治末年移民事業的施行過程，不但可以展現從地方廳到殖民政府在面臨漁業改良時殖民治理的重層性，而且也突顯明治政府在帝國經營，特別是產業治理上仍處於殖民摸索的真實狀況，及其不斷嘗試錯誤的殖民統治歷程。另一方面，此次漁業移民失利的因素，事實上存在不利於移民事業發展之結構性因素。總督府或許即意識到臺灣整體環境並不利於推行以沿岸漁業為中心的漁業移民政策，基於殖民治理性而終止該事業。不過，此後總督府則大幅擴編水產相關經費，對於漁業的施策轉趨積極，逐漸發展近海漁業。

關鍵字

官營漁業移民、漁業現代化、地方政府、臺灣漁業

1 Preface

Japanese migration was always an important agenda for Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. There were two kinds of migration: private and officially sponsored. The official migration project, sponsored by the state and managed by ad hoc administrative institutes and technicians, can better manifest the rationales and ideas of colonial governmentality.² In particular, in Meiji 43 (1910), the implementation of government-run agrarian migration programs was inspired by the concern to relieve population pressure in Japan and help Japanese to develop Japanese power in tropical areas. The project thus entailed the purposes of both national defence and assimilation.³ Although the project did not perform well at the beginning, agricultural migration long remained a core policy of the Taiwan Sōtokufu (Office of the Governor-General, Taiwan).⁴

However, even before the Taiwan Sōtokufu launched a large-scale government-run project for agrarian migrants in eastern Taiwan in 1910, local prefectures had initiated a program for Japanese fishermen migration from Meiji 41 (1908). In other words, fishermen migration actually started prior to the

- 2 Lin Yuju 林玉茹, "Zhimin yu chanye gaizao: Rizhi shiqi dong Taiwan de guanying yuye yimin [Colonialism and industrial reforms: Government-run fishermen migration programs in eastern Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period] 殖民與產業改造：日治時期東臺灣的官營漁業移民," *Taiwan shi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究, Vol. 7, no. 2 (June 2001), p. 52.
- 3 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku 臺灣總督府殖產局, *Taiwan Sōtokufu kan'ei imin jig'yō hōkokusho* 臺灣總督府官營移民事業報告書 (unpublished manuscript, 1919), pp. 16–20.
- 4 The scholarly literature on this topic is extensive and rich. Studies on agrarian migrants in Taiwan include the following: Chung Shu-min 鍾淑敏, "Ri ju shiqi de guangying yimin: Yi Jiye Cun wei li [Official migration projects in Japanese colonial Taiwan: The example of Yoshino Village 吉野村] 日據時期的官營移民：以吉野村為例," *Shilian zazhi* 史聯雜誌, Vol. 8 (June 1986), pp. 74–85; Zhang Sufen 張素芬, *Taiwan de Riben nongye yimin: yi guangying yimin wei zhongxin* [Japanese agrarian migrants in Taiwan: A study of official migrants] 臺灣的日本農業移民：以官營移民為中心 (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2001); Chen Hongtu 陳鴻圖, "Nongye huanying yu yimin shiye: Taidong ting xia siying yimincun de bijiao [The agricultural environment and the business of immigration: A comparison between private migrant villages in Taidong prefecture] 農業環境與移民事業：臺東廳下私營移民村的比較," *Liang an fazhanshi yanjiu* 兩岸發展史研究, Vol. 4 (December 2007), pp. 35–80.

agrarian migration. How are we to understand the formation of such a migration policy for Japanese fishermen? Did the fishermen migration project share the same goals as those intended for farmers: stabilization of imperial governance and relief of population pressure in the homeland?⁵ Researching the government-run fishermen migration in the late Meiji period would thus contribute to our understanding of policies on industrial development in the early stage of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan.

Compared with the promotion of agrarian development, the attempt to modernize the fishing industry in Japan started late.⁶ Before the Meiji Restoration, export of fish was not an important industry in Japan. The fishing industry in different areas did not cooperate with each other, and the methods of fishing were quite primitive. The Meiji's "shokusan kōgyō 殖産興業" (literally, colonial development and promotion of industries) agenda of promoting industry to empower and enrich the country was thus a pioneering endeavour.⁷ The new policies were dedicated to the renovation of institutions and primitive industries. But given that the first full-fledged Fishery Bureau was not established until Meiji 10 (1877),⁸ one can see that more emphasis was put on

5 In 1868, immediately after its establishment, the Meiji government launched the first officially-sponsored migration program to Hawaii. This opened the first page of the Japanese overseas migration. In Meiji 27 (1894), in order to overcome the problem of population surplus in Japan, the state listed migration as a national policy 國策. Wakatsuki Yasuo 若槻泰雄 and Suzuki Jōji 鈴木讓二, *Kaigai ijū seisaku shiron* [Essays on the history of overseas migration policies] 海外移住政策史論 (Tōkyō: Fukumura Shuppan, 1975), pp. 53–54; Zhang Sufen, *Taiwan de Riben nongye yimin*, pp. 2–3.

6 The focus of Japanese industrial reforms in the era of the Meiji Restoration was on agriculture. Japan introduced European and American farming methods 農法 and tools 農具 and established agricultural experimental farms. Japan also hired teachers for agricultural schools 農業學校 to teach Western farming theories, and thus changed the nature of rice cultivation in Japan. About agricultural development in Meiji Japan, see Cai Chenghao 蔡承豪, "Tiangong kaifu: Taiwan dao-zuo jishu bianqian zhi yanjiu [*Exploitation of the Works of Nature: Research on the development of rice-farming techniques in Taiwan*] 天工開物：臺灣稻作技術變遷之研究 (Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University, 2009), Ch. 5: first section.

7 On *shokusan kōgyō* and *bunmeikaika* 文明開化 [civilized enlightenment] in Meiji times, see Sugihara Shirō 杉原四郎 et al., *Nihon no keizai shisō yonhyakunen* [Four hundred years of economic thought in Japan] 日本の經濟思想四百年 (Tōkyō: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1990), pp. 232–265.

8 In Meiji 14 (1871), Japan set up the Bureau of Agriculture and Commerce 農商務省, with the Department of Fishery under it. In Meiji 18 (1875), the Department of Fishery became an independent bureau but was defunct by Meiji 23 (1890). Through hard work and negotiations on the part of former fishery bureaucrats and people in the industry, the department was

agriculture than on fishing. After Meiji 6 (1873), bureaucrats involved with fishing attended many world fairs to pick up new knowledge.⁹ They began to learn about the laws, technology, organization and institutions of western fisheries. In particular, in Meiji 31 (1898), in order to deal with British, American and Russian fishing encroachments in Japanese waters, Japan encouraged the development of pelagic fishery, promulgated the Fishery Encouragement Law, and learned how to manufacture western-style shipping vessels.¹⁰ In other words, the first government-run program of fishermen migration in Taiwan, implemented in Meiji 41 (1908), was developed against the backdrop of the introduction of Western-style fisheries in Meiji Japan. How the Taiwan Sōtokufu further transferred the technology and institutions of Japanese fisheries to Taiwan is thus worth studying.

From Meiji 31 (1898), Kodama Gentarō 兒玉源太郎 and Gōto Shimpei 後藤新平 actively advocated biological politics. This emphasized the importance of pilot investigations and research in the stipulation of important Japanese colonial policies.¹¹ This agenda not only transformed the disadvantaged situation of the colonial control of the Japanese empire, but also established a set of scientific and statistical colonial knowledge. Japanese colonial power could thus manifest its political rationality.¹² However, this by no means implies that

restored in Meiji 30. Katayama Fusakichi 片山房吉, *Dai Nihon suisanshi* [History of the fishing industry in Greater Japan] 大日本水産史 (Tōkyō: Ariake Shobō, 1983), pp. 54–56.

- 9 For research on how Japanese leaders realized the political, economic and propaganda functions of exhibitions and how they tried to promote industries and advocate the importance of civilized enlightenment as well as the ideas of colonial-industrialization (shokusan kōgyō 殖産興業), see Lu Shaoli 呂紹理, *Zhanshi Taiwan: quanli, kongjian yu zhimin tongzhi de xingxiang biaoshu* [Displaying Taiwan: Power, space and the representation of colonial governance] 展示臺灣：權力、空間與殖民統治的形象表述 (Taipei: Maitian, 2005), pp. 81–92.
- 10 Katayama Fusakichi, *Dai Nihon suisanshi*, pp. 53–68; Shimo Keisuke 下啟助, *Meiji Taishō suisan kaikoroku* [Records of Fisheries in the Meiji and Taishō periods] 明治大正水産回顧錄 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō suisan Shinbunsha, 1933), pp. 19–24; 109–111. However, Shimo Keisuke argues that Japan did not introduce motorized fishing vessels until the models were presented at the Osaka Exhibition in Meiji 36. That was when the model became popular. Shimo, *Meiji Taishō suisan kaikoroku*, pp. 24–25.
- 11 Chang Lung-chih 張隆志, “Cong ‘jiuguan’ dao ‘minsu’: Riben jindai zhishi shengchan yu zhimindi Taiwan de wenhua zhengzhi [From ‘old customs’ to ‘folklore’: Knowledge production in modern Japan and cultural politics in colonial Taiwan] 從「舊慣」到「民俗」：日本近代知識生產與殖民地臺灣的文化政治,” in *National Taiwan University Studies of Taiwanese Literature* 臺灣文學研究集刊, Vol. 2 (November 2006), p. 40.
- 12 On the issue of how the colonial government set up an idiosyncratic scientific, numeric and statistical system of colonial knowledge, see Yao Ren-duo 姚人多, “Ren shi Taiwan

the colonial governance of the Japanese empire became smooth and needed no revision thereafter.¹³ Revision was still needed, especially regarding industrial policies.

The government-run fisherman migration was not sustained for long, and its achievement was limited. Even official records of the Taiwan Sōtokufu did not document the project in detail. The thesis of “omnipotent colonial governance” is not applicable to this case.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the failure of these early attempts helps us understand why Japan did not launch a large-scale fishermen migration program to Taiwan. The official migration policy of the Taiwan Sōtokufu continued to focus on agrarian migration in eastern Taiwan. Fishermen migration was postponed and was not resumed until Taishō 15 (1926), when Su'ao port was established. However, this attempt also failed to attract fishermen to form a fishing community. The colonial government launched the fishermen migration project in three fishing ports in Taiwan. The early experiences of fishermen migration in the late Meiji period were lessons for later development policies.¹⁵ Therefore, the fishermen migration project in the late Meiji years manifested an oft-neglected issue: the limits of colonial governmentality in the

Zhishi, quanli yu Riben zai Tai zhi zhimin zhibixing [Understanding Taiwan: Knowledge, power, and colonial rationality of the Japanese in Taiwan] 認識臺灣：知識、權力與日本在臺之殖民治理性，” in *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 臺灣社會研究季刊，Vol. 42 (June 2001), pp. 119–182; about colonial governmentality in Taiwan, see Chang Lung-chih, “Guojia yu shehui yanjiu de zai sikao: Yi Taiwan jindai shi weili [Revisiting the state-society relationship: The case of the modern history of Taiwan] 國家與社會研究的再思考：以臺灣近代史為例，” *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica* 近代史研究集刊，Vol. 54 (December 2006), pp. 119–120.

- 13 Namiki Masato 並木真人， “Chaoxian de ‘zhimin di jindai xing’ ‘zhimindi gonggong xing’ he dui Ri xieli: Zhimindi zhengzhi shi, shehui shi yanjiu zhi qianzhixing kaocha [Korea’s “colonial modernity,” “colonial public-ness,” and the collaboration with Japan: A pilot survey of the research on colonial political and social history] 朝鮮的「殖民地近代性」、「殖民地公共性」和對日協力：殖民地政治史、社會史研究之前置性考察，” in Wakabayashi Masahiro 若林正丈 and Wu Micha 吳密察 ed., “Kua jie de Taiwan shi yanjiu: Yu dongya shi de jiao cuo [Inter-disciplinary research on the history of Taiwan: Intersections with East Asian history] 跨界的臺灣史研究：與東亞史的交錯，” (Taipei: Bozhong zhe wenhua, 2004), p. 77.
- 14 For critiques of the “thesis of omnipotent colonial governance,” see Miyajima Hiroshi 宮嶋博史， *Chōsen tochi chōsa jigyōshi no kenkyū* [Research on the history of the land survey agenda in Chōsen] 朝鮮土地調查事業史之研究 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo hōkoku, 1991); Kim Nak Nyeon 金洛年， *Nihon Teikoku shugika no Chōsen keizai* [The Korean economy under Japanese colonial rule] 日本帝國主義下の朝鮮經濟 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2002).
- 15 Lin Yuju, “Zhimin yu chanye gaizao,” p. 55.

early Japanese colonial era in Taiwan,¹⁶ as well as the trial-and-error process of setting up colonial industrial policies in the early Meiji years.

In an earlier article, based on limited archival research, I introduced the government-run fishermen migration project in the late Meiji years, focusing on fishermen migration in Su'ao, Hsingang, and Hualiangang in eastern Taiwan after Taishō 15.¹⁷ In this article, I introduce new data and make necessary revisions. In particular, I draw on archives and surveys of Yilan [Giran] 宜蘭 and Taoyuan [Tōen] 桃園 prefecture from Taiwan Zong Du Fu gong wen lei zuan [Archives of the Taiwan Sōtokufu] 臺灣總督府公文類纂, as well as information from the daily newspaper Taiwan nichinichi shinpō 臺灣日日新報. Both sources provide complete records about the role of local prefectures and the Taiwan Sōtokufu in launching the migration policy, as well as its processes and achievements, shedding light on colonial governmentality in the Japanese imperial state.

In a nutshell, this article employs primary sources that have not been used before. It attempts to reconstruct the background, management and influence of the government-run fishermen migration policies of the late Meiji period from the perspective of the industrial management of early Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. At the same time, through examining the first official migration policy in colonial Taiwan, the paper will elaborate the problems of colonialism and industrial reform.

2 The Encounter between the Modernization of Fishing by the Japanese Empire and Traditional Fishing in Taiwan

Located in both tropical and subtropical areas, the island of Taiwan is surrounded by currents and oceans. The "Kuroshio Current" (Black Stream) passes its eastern coast, and sub-currents run through the oceans southwest of Taiwan. These bring schools of fish which thrive in warm currents into the waters

16 Michel Foucault proposed the concept of governmentality. Focusing on colonies, David Scott further developed this into the idea of colonial governmentality. It emphasizes the political rationality of colonial power. In addition, as Kate Barclay and Charlotte Epstein have pointed out, when discussing the fishing industry in Japan, the best approach is to analyze it using the concept of food security. See David Scott, "Colonial governmentality," *Social Text*, No. 43 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 191–193; Kate Barclay and Charlotte Epstein, "Securing fish for the nation: Food security and governmentality in Japan," *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 218–219.

17 The article used only *Taiwan suisan yōran* 臺灣水產要覽 and *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō* 臺灣總督府事務成績提要. See Lin Yuju "Zhimin yu chanye gaizao," pp. 55, 61–62.

around Taiwan. Every year from September to March or April, when the north-eastern monsoon blows, the Kurile Current from the Yellow Sea brings schools of cold-current fish. Fishing resources are rich.¹⁸ However, in the early Japanese colonial era, when Japan was busy suppressing the military resistance of the Taiwanese, Japan did not have time to deal with Taiwan's rich fishing resources. At the same time, the modernization of the fishing industry in the Japanese empire was still in an embryonic stage. Managerial organization of the fishing industry was not established until Taishō 7 (1918), when agriculture, forestry and mining and other primary industries had all been set up.¹⁹ In Meiji 30 (1897), when Inoue Jintarō 井上甚太郎 visited Taiwan, he pointed out that the oceans surrounding Taiwan constituted a big natural fishing ground. If appropriate fishing technologies were available, the fishing industry in Taiwan could generate lucrative profits. However, its counterpart in the Japanese homeland remained primitive, needless to say that of Taiwan. The use of Western-style motorized fishing vessels in Japan was not popular.²⁰ Inoue's observation pinpointed the situation and limits of the fishing industry at the time.

In the early Meiji period, Japan paid more attention to agriculture than to the fishing industry. Before 1890, fishing in all prefectures in Japan mostly focused on coastal Japan. The only exceptions were fishermen from the two counties of Kagawa 香川 and Shimane 島根. The latter fished in Korean waters. In Meiji 31 (1898), when Japan promulgated the Pelagic Fishery Promotion Rules, different prefectures and counties also came up with award guidelines to encourage fishermen to fish abroad.²¹ In Meiji 33 (1900), a few Japanese fishermen began to fish off the coasts of Taiwan.

- 18 Inoue Jintarō 井上甚太郎, *Sangyō shisatsuroku: Taiwan, Hokkaidō, Okinawa, Kyūshū* [Records of industry inspection: Taiwan, Hokkaido, Okinawa, and Kyushu] 産業視察録: 台湾・北海道・沖縄・九州 (Tōkyō: Ōkura Shoten, 1987), pp. 75–76; Hiromatsu Yoshiomi 廣松良臣, *Teikoku saisho no shokuminchi Taiwan no genkyō: Tsutari nanyō jijō* [The situation of Taiwan, the first imperial colony: A supplement on the southern oceans] 帝國最初の殖民地臺灣の現況: 附南洋事情 (Taihoku: Taiwan Toshō Kankōkai, 1918), p. 125.
- 19 Chen Dezhi 陳德智, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zongdufu zhankai Huanan diaocha chutan [Preliminary research on the Office of the Governor-General, Taiwan, and the surveys of South China during the Japanese colonial era] 日治時期臺灣總督府展開華南調查初探," paper presented at 'Below the Storm: 60 Years of Cross-Strait Connections International Conference,' Institute of Political Science, Academia Sinica, Feb. 6, 2010, pp. 5–6.
- 20 Inoue Jintarō, *Sangyō shisatsuroku*, pp. 75–80.
- 21 Fishermen from Kagawagen and Shimaneken started to fish in Korean areas from Meiji 14 (1881) and Meiji 23 (1890). Takushokukyoku 拓殖局, *Shokuminchi ni okeru naichijin no gyogyō oyobi imin* [Mainlanders' fishing and migration in colonies] 殖民地ニ於ケル内地人ノ漁業及移民 (Tōkyō: Takushokukyoku, 1911), pp. 118–122, 44–62.

The primary goal for the Japanese fishermen was to fish sea bream 鯛魚 and shark 鯊魚 in Kippare (Jinshan 金山), Jilong 基隆. They also went to the Danshui river to catch ayu fish 香魚 (鮎) as well as to Garanbi (Eluanbi 鵝鑾鼻), Hengchun 恒春, to collect great green turbans 夜光貝. The latter could be used for industrial decoration. The number of fishing vessels was no more than 38, involving a mere 146 people, and the haul only about 15 more jin, valued at less than 30,000 dollars.²² Until Meiji 39 (1906), Japanese fishermen focused only on the Jilong, Taipei and Hengchun areas.²³ Most of these fishermen lived in Jilong, because it was close to good fishing waters. It also “controlled Taipei to its south, where the demand for fresh fish is pretty high.”²⁴ Given the convenient transportation, the business could be sustained even with little capital. Most of these fishermen came from Kagoshima 鹿兒島, Kumamoto 熊本, and Nagasaki 長崎. They used the vessels and gear that they customarily used, such as long lines, to catch such fish as sea bream 鯛, mackerel 鯖, tuna 鮪, and amberjack 鰺.²⁵ Between Meiji 40 and 41 (1907–1908), fishermen from Ōita 大分 and Okinawa also came to fish in Taiwan waters. They also based themselves in Jilong, where they maintained a fairly constant presence of about 250.²⁶ In other words, before the development of government-run fishermen migration, the number of Japanese fishermen coming to Taiwan was not large. Most lived close to the fishing grounds of Jilong and Hengchun, and used traditional Japanese fishing methods.

Alongside the consolidation of Japanese control, “shokusan kōgyō 殖産興業” became a principal policy of the Taiwan Sōtokufu. Even the fishing industry, which had long been neglected, was now treated seriously. Local governments, in order to improve their performance, were anxious to develop key industries. One goal was to modernize the traditional fishing industry.

22 Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō Bunsho-ka 臺灣總督府官房文書課, *Taiwan Sōtokufu dai-shi tōkeisho* [Statistics, Office of the Taiwan Governor-General, No. 4] 臺灣總督府第四統計書 (Tōkyō: Kobayashi Kappan-sho, 1902), p. 407.

23 Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō Bunsho-ka 臺灣總督府總督官房文書課, *Dai-hachi tōkeisho shi dai-ju tōkeisho* [Statistics, Office of the Taiwan Governor-General, Nos. 8–10] 第八統計書至第十統計書 (Taihoku: Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpōsha, 1906–1908), pp. 459, 660, 528–529.

24 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 26, 1906, section 4.

25 About the different kinds of fish and their distribution in Taiwan, see the Fish Database of Taiwan of the Academia Sinica (<http://fishdb.sinica.edu.tw/chi/home.php>), accessed on April 10, 2011.

26 Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō Bunsho-ka 臺灣總督府官房文書課, *Taiwan tōchi sōran* [An overview of Taiwan politics] 臺灣統治綜覽 (Tōkyō: Min'yūsha, 1908), p. 317. The primary purpose for Okinawans to come to Jilong was to collect agar (寒天). See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Sept. 19, 1909, the 3rd section.

The traditional fishing industry in Taiwan, under the constraints of coastal geography and currents, focused on the construction of stone tidal weirs 石滬 or other forms of set-net fishing 定置漁業 by the coast.²⁷ In north Taiwan, most fishermen used zeng 罾, junks 艚 and other small wooden fishing boats to catch fish. In the south, most used bamboo rafts, which could not be used out on the ocean. In addition, because of the influence of the monsoon, the number of fishing days is limited. Moreover, profits from agriculture were higher than those from fishing and came with fewer risks; thus, more people engaged in farming than fishing. Coastal and inshore fisheries were not popular.²⁸ Fish farming and oyster farming developed quite early in Taiwan and became more advanced than those industries in Japan. They accounted for more than 40% of the total catch of fish in Taiwan.²⁹ However, the catch of fish in Taiwan could not meet even the demand of local markets. In Qing times, Taiwan imported fish from China and Japan. After the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the higher demand for fish triggered increases in price.³⁰ From the perspective of pursuing local food sustainability in Taiwan,³¹ how to reform traditional fishing and increase the catch became a critical issue for the Japanese colonizers.

From the early colonial period of Taiwan to Meiji 40, colonial bureaucrats, travellers and mass media used different ways to survey and to conduct field research.³² These findings repeatedly concluded that fishing resources were

- 27 Net fishing is to catch fish by trapping them. The fishing gear would be set along the shores, so as to catch the fish swimming into the area. See Liu Ningyan 劉寧顏 ed., "Jingji zhi, yuye pian [Section on economy: The fishing industry] 經濟志. 漁業篇," in *Chongxiu Taiwan sheng tongzhi* 重修臺灣省通志 (Taizhong: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1903), p. 347.
- 28 The fishing seasons in north and south Taiwan are different. In the north, the fishing season is between April and September; in the south, October to March. See Taiwan Sōtokufu Kanbō Bunsho-ka, *Taiwan tōchi sōran*, pp. 317–319; *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, April 29, 1906, section 3.
- 29 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanryō 臺灣總督府殖産局, *Taiwan suisangyō shisatsu fukumeisho* [Report on an inspection tour of the fishing industry in Taiwan] 臺灣水産業視察復命書 (Tōkyō: Min'yūsha Insatsubu, 1910), pp. 1–4.
- 30 Ishizaka Sōsaku 石阪莊作, ed., *Taitō tōsa jikki* [A record of fieldwork in Taiwan] 臺嶋踏查實記 (Taihoku: Taiwan nichinichi shimpō, 1899), pp. 187–188; *Taiwan nichinichi shimpō*, June 9, 1901, section 4.
- 31 About the ways in which Japan secured its supply of fish and its governmentality from the late nineteenth century to the present day, see the discussion in Barclay and Epstein, "Securing Fish for the Nation."
- 32 The most representative case was that, between December 1895 and 1898, the Taiwan Sōtokufu dispatched people to survey the fishing industry in Taiwan. The latter was

rich in Taiwan, but these reports also pointed out the primitive technology used; the small number of professional fishermen; and that the lack of knowledge about fisheries made the Taiwanese fisheries “inferior to [those of] the homeland [Japan].” The fishing equipment used in Taiwan was heavy and lagged far behind the technologies used in Japan. These reports thus drew the following conclusion: were the fishing equipment in Taiwan improved, the colonial government could encourage the fishing industry: “the [potential for] profits to be gained from seaweed, fish, and shells would be quite promising.”³³ In other words, the customs surveys conducted in the late Meiji period constructed the system of colonial knowledge, which reflected the colonizers’ sense of superiority. Accordingly, traditional technology in Taiwan was deemed inefficient, primitive, and backward. Amidst these biases, beginning in Meiji 32 (1899), concomitant to the modernization of the fishing industry in the Japanese homeland, colonial bureaucrats in Taiwan emphasized the importance of setting up fishery training centres and dispatching circuit teachers to educate the Taiwanese fishermen.³⁴ In Meiji 36 (1903), the Taiwan Sōtokufu proclaimed Order 38. It provided a subsidy for “fishery improvement.” Its goal was to encourage the development of fishing.³⁵ Considering the hardships faced by fishermen in the coastal areas, local governments took an active role in two ways: transplanting new institutions set up in Meiji Japan; and directly introducing Japanese fishing skills.³⁶

divided into four districts. The primary goal was to participate in the 2nd Annual Exhibition of the Fishing Industry in Kōbe in September of Meiji 30 (1897). Twenty more reports emerged from the surveys, which were compiled as *Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseibu Shokusan hōbun* 臺灣總督府民政局殖產部報文. See Chen Dezhi, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zongdufu zhankai Huanan diaocha chutan,” pp. 6–11.

- 33 Reports compiled in the early Japanese colonial period in Taiwan emphasized that Taiwanese fishermen lacked the motivation to innovate; did not have a sense of progress, or improving themselves; or lacked courage. They used only small wooden ships and sampans, so they could not really engage in sea fishing. Ishizaka Sōsaku, ed., *Taitō tōsa jikki*, p. 187; Tōien chō [Taoyuan prefecture] 桃園廳 · *Tōien chōshi* [Gazette of Taoyuan prefecture] 桃園廳志 (originally published in 1906; the edition here cited is based on the Chengwen version, no. 235, 1985), p. 156; *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 9, 1901, section 4; Dec. 2, 1908, section 2; Sept. 19, 1909, section 3; October 21, 1910, section 3; Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusan kyoku, *Taiwan suisangyō shisatsu fukumeisho*, pp. 1–6; Murakami Tamakichi 村上玉吉 · *Taiwan kiyō* [Summary account of Taiwan] 臺灣紀要 (Tōkyō: Keigansha, 1899), p. 170.
- 34 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 5, 1899, section 2; June 9, 1899, section 2.
- 35 Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Fupō* 府報 · no. 1308, March 19, Meiji 36.
- 36 For example, the Dongshi port was not suitable for farming because of the high percentage of salt in the coastal soil. Local people tried to fish but could not thus earn a livelihood. “Their condition is like that of poor villages”; the local prefecture was “deeply

First, local governments in Taiwan set up experimental fishing stations to promote the modernization agenda. In Meiji 26 (1893), the first experimental fishing station in Japan had been opened in Aichi prefecture 愛知縣.³⁷ In Meiji 33 (1900), with the aim of "promoting colonial industry" in Taihoku County, experiments in fishery creation and fishing farms became primary purposes. The pioneering work was to set up an experimental field in Jilong so as to experiment with processing dried fish (Katsubushi 鱧節).³⁸ In Meiji 35 (1902), the Taiwan Sōtokufu provided funds for the experiments.³⁹ Between Meiji 36 and Meiji 37 (1903 to 1904), in order to make use of Taiwan's long shoreline and rich fishing resources as well as to overcome the problems of the "old customs of the fishermen," Aho prefecture 阿緱廳 applied for funding from the Taiwan Sōtokufu to set up an experimental fishery field.⁴⁰ This is an example of how local governments adopted new systems to engage in experimental projects and to develop key industries.

Secondly, associations were set up for people working in the fishing industry. In Meiji 18 (1885), Japan's Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce 日本農商務省 issued the principles for fishermen organizations, which mandated that all fishing zones were to organize their own associations.⁴¹ However, even Kagawa prefecture 香川縣, which had long experience in deep-sea fishing, did not set up a fishery organization until Meiji 36 (1903).⁴² In Meiji 38 (1905), under the encouragement of the Bureau of Colonial Industry 殖産局, the Aho prefecture set up the Donggang Fishery Organization 東港水產組合, the first such organization in Taiwan. According to the rules, all members had to be working for fisheries or in fishing-related industries. They also had to pay

concerned," and thus committed to reform the fishing industry. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, November 19, 1907, section 3.

37 Katayama Fusakichi, *Dai Nihon suisanshi* p. 62.

38 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Feb. 24, 1900, section 3; April 21, 1901, section 2.

39 Between Meiji 35 and 42 (1902–1909), the Taiwan Sōtokufu allocated between 1,600 to 5,000 yuan of local funds to launch experiments such as fish processing and aquaculture. The budget was increased to 43,000 yuan until Meiji 43 in order to launch an island-wide survey and experiments. Taiwan Sōtokufu, ed., *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiryō-dai 24 hen* 臺灣總督府事務成績提要 [Summary of the achievements of the Office of the Governor-General, Taiwan-vol. 24] (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1985), no. 24, p. 307; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan jijō, ichi* [Taiwan affairs, one] 臺灣事情, 一 (originally published in 1912; Chengwen version, no. 193), p. 257.

40 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 12, 1908, section 4. In Meiji 37, Jilong prefecture also launched a fishing experiment on Pengjia Islet. *Fupō*, no. 1650, Dec. 9, Meiji 37, p. 27.

41 Katayama Fusakichi, *Dai Nihon suisanshi*, p. 58.

42 Takushokukyoku, *Shokuminchi ni okeru naichijin no gyogyō oyobi imin*, p. 119.

annual fees. The local prefecture would subsidize a technician and a fishing boat to survey local fishing resources and inshore bottom contours.⁴³ Later on, the prefecture used the fishery organization to spearhead reforms of fishing boats, nets and other equipment. The organization would also introduce Japanese fishing skills to fishermen.⁴⁴ From conducting fishery experiments to organizing fishing associations, Ahou prefecture apparently was very active.⁴⁵ It might have been the pioneering local government in Taiwan that promoted fishery reforms.

In the following year (1906), Ahou prefecture further applied for 2,000 yuan from the Taiwan Sōtokufu to set up the Donggang Fishery Manufacturing Centre. The project, however, failed, and the prefectural government then tried to reform fishing methods. In June, the fishing associations decided to hire professional fishermen from Japan to teach local fishermen in Donggang how to fish without traditional Taiwanese fishing nets and other old practices. In December of Meiji 40 (1907), two experienced fishermen from Yamaguchi 山口 prefecture launched surveys of local fishing grounds and reforms of fishing gear.⁴⁶

Moreover, in Meiji 39, in order to prevent fishermen from catching and poisoning fish during the breeding season, all prefectures and counties in Taiwan issued the "regulations for the fishing industry" governing different kinds of fishing in different areas.⁴⁷ As early as Meiji 14 (1883), Western ideas of not exhausting the fish supply and protecting infant fish from Japan had been introduced to Taiwan.⁴⁸

The approach to fishery reforms set up by Ahou prefecture—organization of a fishing association before introducing professional fishermen from Japan to teach local fishermen—became the model that all other prefectures followed. In Meiji 41 (1908), Zhanghua [Shōka] 彰化 prefecture, concerned

43 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 29, 1905, section 2; September 2, section 4.

44 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, December 4, 1907, section 3; February 8, 1908, section 3.

45 Ahou prefecture was particularly active. This was not only because of its being an important base for the fishing industry, but also because of its leadership. Its head, Sasaki Kī, was a native of Tokyo who once worked at the tax offices of Fukuoka 福岡, Tokyo, and Minami-katsushika-gun in Tokyo. He started to work in the Taiwan Sōtokufu in 1900. Between 1902 and 1909, he served as the head of Ahou prefecture. See "Rirekisho," *Taiwan zong du fu gongwen lei zuan*, Vol. 1897, no. 22.

46 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 27, 1906, section 2; Sept. 9, section 4; Dec. 4, 1907, section 3.

47 The prefectures that issued these rules included Jilong [Jilong], Yilan [Giran], Hsin-chu [Shinkō], Fanshuliao [Banshoryō], Ahou [Akoku] and Taizhong [Taitō]. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 8, 1906, section 3.

48 Katayama Fusakichi, *Dai Nihon suisanshi*, pp. 56–57.

about its "poor fishing industry," set up a fishing association in Lugang, and then introduced professional fishermen from Japan and other experienced fishermen to demonstrate new fishing gear, fishing boats, and other manufacturing processes for fishery goods. The goal was to "promote the fishing industry."⁴⁹ In the autumn of Meiji 42 (1909), Xinzhu [Shinchiku] 新竹 prefecture set up the Shinchiku Fishing Association, and hired four fishermen from Hyōgo prefecture 兵庫縣 to teach local fishermen how to fish and how to improve fishing methods.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, hiring Japanese fishermen to teach fishermen in Taiwan how to fish was not effective. The new direction was to induce Japanese fishermen to migrate to Taiwan.

In June of Meiji 41, Taoyuan prefecture decided to entice Japanese fishermen to migrate to Hsu'cuogang 許厝港 to manage the fishing industry and to develop unreclaimed lands.⁵¹ In July, the prefecture applied for funds from the Taiwan Sōtokufu to organize a fishing association, and hired a teacher from Nagasaki to teach Japanese fishing methods. After some attempts, the result was far from satisfactory.⁵² Later, the prefecture had only two fishermen who had migrated from Nagasaki.⁵³ But the prefecture was the first local prefecture to encourage systematically the migration of Japanese fishermen. In other words, the first officially-sponsored migration program was initiated by a local prefecture, unlike officially-sponsored agricultural migration or later fishermen migration movements in eastern Taiwan. At the same time, under the leadership of the Governor of the Taiwan Sōtokufu, Sakuma Samata 佐久間左馬太, launched a five-year project to deal with the aborigines in Taiwan and to develop a large-scale Japanese agricultural migration business.⁵⁴ Fishermen migration became something promoted by local prefectures. This shows the

49 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 18, section 2; March 19, section 4.

50 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Sept. 11, 1909, section 3; April 19, 1910, section 3.

51 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 30, 1906, section 4.

52 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 24, 1909, section 2.

53 "Tōen-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken [Documents on a subsidy for migrant fishermen in Taoyuan prefecture] 桃園廳下ノ移住漁民ニ對シ補助金下付ノ件," *Taiwan zong du fu gongwen lei zuan* 臺灣總督府公文類纂 · Vol. 5329, document no. 9, category number 10, catalogue 3, 1910, p. 201.

54 The governor Sakuma Samata's principal policy was to "suppress the raw aborigines." On November 27 of Meiji 42 (1909), he launched a five-year plan to deal with the aborigines. Government-organized agricultural migration started in Meiji 42, when Sakuma adopted the suggestions of Tōgō Saneharu 東郷實 to create a budget for colonial surveys and research. See Fujii Shizue 藤井志津枝, *Li fan: Riben zhili Taiwan de jice* [Ruling the barbarians: Tactics of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan] 理蕃：日本治理臺灣的計策 (Taipei: Wenying Tang, 1997), Chapter 4; Zhang Sufen, *Taiwan de Riben nongye yimin*, Ch. 2 and Ch. 3.

inconsistency in industrial development agendas set up by the Taiwan Sōtokufu and by local prefectures.

Following the pioneering work of Taoyuan prefecture, Ahou prefecture also began an initiative to encourage Japanese fishermen to migrate to Taiwan. The prefecture started by hiring Japanese fishermen to teach Taiwanese fishermen, but this did little to improve productivity. In August of Meiji 41, Ahou prefecture decided instead to recruit “experienced” and “determined and diligent” Japanese fishermen to “compete with current fishermen” or to “encourage Taiwanese fishermen” to improve their fishing boats and gear. Ahou prefecture thus requested funds from the Taiwan Sōtokufu for this purpose.⁵⁵ Different from the rationale of the Taoyuan prefecture, which was to recruit more people to develop the shore, the intention of Ahou prefecture was to use Japanese fishermen to set up a model for fishing reforms.

Between June and September of Meiji 41, the mass media also advocated such notions as “the best way to enlighten the fishermen in Taiwan is to send Japanese fishermen over there.”⁵⁶ After that juncture, the Taiwan Sōtokufu showed its interest in sponsoring migration by Japanese fishermen. The idea was that the Japanese fishermen could “compete with the fishermen of the island [i.e., Taiwan]” so as to stimulate reform. After Meiji 42, the Taiwan Sōtokufu not only paid for the migration fees but also planned to introduce three migrants into Taoyuan; each of the three prefectures—Miaoli [Byōritsu] 苗栗, Zhanghua and Yilan—would receive five migrants respectively.⁵⁷ This marked the formation of officially-sponsored migration that used a fishery subsidy to encourage Japanese fishermen to settle in Taiwan so as to “stimulate reforms of fishing.”⁵⁸ Through cooperation with local prefectures, Japanese fishermen migration became an island-wide business that the colonial government organized. Nonetheless, the goal of official migration at this moment, in the words of Tachikawa Ren 立川連, the Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry of the Taiwan Sōtokufu, was to “stimulate the development of fishing in Taiwan through encouraging fishermen migration from Japan.”⁵⁹ This suggests that the agenda was more a product of economic colonialism than of political colonialism.

In sum, in the Meiji period, the Taiwan Sōtokufu, like the imperialist government of Japan, emphasized the development of agriculture but overlooked

55 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 1, 1908, section 3; August 12, section 4; August 18, section 3.

56 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, September 11, 1908, section 5.

57 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, December 2, 1908, section 2.

58 *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō*, no. 22 (originally published in 1909; here based on no. 192 of the Chengwen version, published in 1985), p. 404.

59 *Kanbun Taiwan jihō* [Chinese version of *Taiwan Times*] 漢文臺灣時報, no. 12, June 1910, p. 73.

the fishing industry.⁶⁰ Later, alongside the attempt to modernize the fishing industry, bureaucrats of the fishery industry as well as the mass media all blamed "backward" technology as the key problem of Taiwan's fishing industry. The Sōtokufu adopted Gōto Shimpei's principle of biological governance and focused on surveys of fishing resources but no substantial reforms were implemented. Local prefectures, being the first-tier supervisors of fishery development, introduced the agendas of Meiji Japan's fishery modernization to Taiwan. The original goal was to secure the supply of fish. These agendas included fishery experiments, fishing associations, and systems of preventing over-fishing. At the same time, local prefectures also invited Japanese masters of fishing to teach Taiwanese fishermen ways to improve their methods and gear, and the fishing industry overall. In the year of Meiji 41, Taoyuan prefecture and Ahou prefecture pioneered programs to recruit Japanese fishermen to Taiwan. This was at odds with the officially-sponsored agricultural migration and had a divergent goal of improving fishing industry through economic colonialism. On the other hand, compared with the domination of the Taiwan Sōtokufu, which was characterized by detailed surveys and planning in advance, fishing migration in the late Meiji years showed a reckless and insufficiently planned implementation of the policies; but the Taiwan Sōtokufu could only follow what the local government had implemented. This manifested the inconsistency between the Japanese imperialist metropolis and Taiwanese colonial government over the direction of colonial management.

3 Official Fishermen Migration Led by Local Prefectures

After Meiji 41 (1908), when ten Japanese fishermen migrated from Nagasaki and Yamaguchi prefectures to Hsu'cuogang of Taoyuan, as well as to Donggang in Ahou prefecture, the Taiwan Sōtokufu decided to provide funds to support the initiative. In Meiji 42 (1904), the government launched a plan to expand the island's five ports, including Su'ao port in Yilan prefecture, Gongsiliao port in Miaoli prefecture, and Lugang in Zhanghua prefecture (Table 1). With funds from the Taiwan Sōtokufu, each of the prefectures operated individually. Patterns of colonial migration in each prefecture diverged.

60 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* had many reports that commented on the government policy of incentives for cultivating sugar and reforming rice paddy cultivation, but which did not care about the development of the fishing industry. See for example, "Mugenkin [Stringless harp] 無弦琴," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Sept. 12, 1909, section 2.

Hsu'cuogang took the most serious steps for the project. Between February 10 and March 23, Meiji 41, the head of the Taoyuan prefecture Nishi Minami 西美波 visited Nagasaki to recruit official and private migrants. He visited Arakawa Yoshitairō 荒川義太郎, governor of Nagasaki prefecture,⁶¹ and the district headmen of both Minamimatsuura 南松浦 and Kitamatsuura 北松浦. He also introduced them to the agricultural and fishing industries in Taiwan.⁶² Later, in April, eleven members of four families from Kuroshima village 黒島村 of Kitamatsuura migrated to Taiwan.⁶³ After confirming with the Taiwan Sōtokufu about the subsidy, in July of that year, Yilan Prefecture began to form connections with None village in Aki district of Kōchi prefecture 高知縣安藝郡野根村 to advocate migration. The Japanese villager Sugimoto Matsutairō 杉本松太朗 conducted a pilot investigation to ascertain the feasibility of the migration agenda. In November, seven people left None village for Taiwan.⁶⁴ The migration model of Donggang of Ahou prefecture was different. In this case, the Japanese teacher that the Donggang Fishing Association hired to teach local fishermen had lived in Donggang for years. "He had rich experience in fishing, and was very familiar with the seas and fishing grounds in the area." The teacher was sent back to Abu village of Yamaguchi prefecture 山口縣阿武郡 to recruit more migrants.⁶⁵ Therefore, each of the three prefectures had their own distinctive style. The migration agenda was either under the command of the head of the prefecture, organized by local bureaucrats, or facilitated by a Japanese teacher in the fishing association.

- 61 Arakawa Yoshitairō 荒川義太郎 was born in Edo. He served as the governor of Nagasaki-ken between October 25, 1900 and September 10, 1910.
- 62 "Tōen-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken," *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Feb. 13, 1909, section 3.
- 63 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 23, 1909, section 2.
- 64 Sugimoto arrived in Taiwan on July 28 and returned to Japan on August 16. Between July 30 and August 10, he joined local bureaucrats to investigate the fishing grounds, fishing resources and fishing methods in Su'ao and Nanfang'ao. The conclusion of the investigation points out that this area was a fine fishing ground, and the hinterland beside it could be developed into a semi-farming and semi-fishing settlement. The fishing ground was rich in sea bream (鯛), shark (鯊魚), tetra (鰩魚), bonito (鰹), and flying fish (飛魚), among others. There were also many other kinds of fish. The fishing ground was also suitable for the use of fishing gear and vessels with lines, nets, and poles. The original goal was to recruit six people, including five fishermen and one of their wives. "Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken" [Documents on subsidy for migrant fishermen in the Yilan prefecture] 宜蘭廳下ノ移住漁民ニ對シ補助金下付ノ件, *Taiwan zong du fu gongwen lei zuan* Vol. 5329, no. 8, category number 10, catalogue 3, 1910.
- 65 *Kanbun Taiwan jihō*, no. 12, June 1910, p. 73.

TABLE 1 *Summary of Fishermen Migration Agendas in the Five Prefectures and Six Ports of Taiwan in the Late Meiji Period*

Location*	Meiji 41 (1908)	Meiji 42 (1909)	Meiji 43 (1910)	Meiji 44 (1911)
Port of Su'ao in Yilan Prefecture	<p>In July, recruited one migrant from None village, Aki District, Kochi Prefecture, to engage in experiments with inshore fisheries for catching sea bream and sharks. Because of the success of the project, in November, six more migrants were recruited, for a total of seven fishermen. The fishing season it had passed, but they planned to use nets and longline fishing the next spring. Between November and March, the weather was terrible; they could do nothing but remain idle and eat in their small cabins.</p>	<p>In July, recruited one migrant from None village, Aki District, Kochi Prefecture, to engage in experiments with inshore fisheries for catching sea bream and sharks. Because of the success of the project, in November, six more migrants were recruited, for a total of seven fishermen. The fishing season it had passed, but they planned to use nets and longline fishing the next spring. Between November and March, the weather was terrible; they could do nothing but remain idle and eat in their small cabins.</p>	<p>Subsidy of 1,250 yuan provided. They arrived in Taiwan during the rainy season. Migrants had to remain idle in the cottages for several days. Some of them suffered from Beriberi. The number of original migrants was three; later it increased to nine. In addition to angling, they also engaged in netting. Because many of them were sick, and one even died, most went back to Japan, leaving only two people.</p>	<p>In March, three of them returned to Japan because of beriberi, and four were left. In June, one more got sick because with beriberi and returned to Japan, one shifted to do other business, and two were left for fishing. In July, four more arrived. In August, four other migrants came; together with the two fishermen who had arrived earlier, the total number of Japanese migrants was ten. In August, four of them tried to run away, but</p>

TABLE 1 Summary of Fishermen Migration Agendas in the Five Prefectures and Six Ports of Taiwan in the Late Meiji Period (cont.)

Location*	Meiji 41 (1908)	Meiji 42 (1909)	Meiji 43(1910)	Meiji 44(1911)
Hsu'cuogang of Taoyuan prefecture 桃園廳許厝港	Recruited three migrants from Nagasaki. With one fishing boat, they engaged in coastal line-fishing for sea bream.	In February, the two fishermen were fishing for sea beam 鱒 and scorpionfish 赤魚. Fishing was insufficient to support their livelihood. The latter also had to engage in farming.	In October, one of them died of a brain haemorrhage 腦溢血. Many rumors started to spread. Many migrants got malaria or colds. In October, all were sick and none could work. Relatives of the deceased returned to Japan. On November, five of them ran away, leaving only two. Together with two temporary fishermen newly recruited and a Taiwanese, fishing continued.	High tides made it difficult for fishing vessels to enter or to depart from the port. The number of fishing days was limited.
	In October, two fishermen were recruited from Kuroshima village of Kitamatsuura in Nagasaki	In April, four fishermen with farming experience were induced to migrate from Nagasaki.	Subsidy of 1,000 yuan received. Of the three households that migrated here, only one was left. But later, more migrants arrived so there were again three households. These fishermen engaged in fishing for sea bream and shark.	Fishermen also had to be part-time farmers. The difficulty in subsistence caused many migrants to run away. Eventually only

The Taiwan Sōtokufu provided a subsidy of 420 yuan for the fishing industry here. In July, the amount of the subsidy was 200 yuan. A fishing association was organized.

In May, five more fishermen came from Nagasaki. In April, four families, totalling eleven members, moved from Kuroshima village, Kitamatsuura district, Nagasaki prefecture.

Later, because entering and departing from Hsu'cuogang was not convenient for fishing vessels, fishing days were limited. Many fishermen returned Japan or shifted to other businesses. In July, three households, totalling eight people, returned to Japan. Three more households, with six people, came. The number of migrants reached 14. In December, seven households with 16 people came, and also brought in two fishing vessels. Because of the poor weather, only four days in all of November were good for fishing. Income was not sufficient.

In May, five migrants came from the district of Abu in Yamaguchi prefecture. Because they had just arrived, their contribution to the local fishing industry was not clear yet.

Gongsiliao
port of
Miaoli and
Xinzhu
prefectures

TABLE 1 Summary of Fishermen Migration Agendas in the Five Prefectures and Six Ports of Taiwan in the Late Meiji Period (cont.)

Location*	Meiji 41 (1908)	Meiji 42 (1909)	Meiji 43(1910)	Meiji 44(1911)
Lugang of Zhanghua and Taizhong prefectures		In June, some migrants got sick, and many could not get along with each other; three returned to Japan. The remaining two migrants could not fish alone. The project failed entirely. In the middle of Meiji 42, four fishermen migrated from Mureson, Sabakun of Yamaguchi prefecture 山口縣佐波郡牟禮村.	Received a subsidy of 394 yuan. Because they were waiting for the arrival of fishing vessels from the fishing associations, fishing had not started by April. In August, the number of migrants dropped from four to three, then to two. In September, because of the poor progress, the local government terminated the cooperative relationship with the existing fishermen migrants. The fishing associations invited new fishermen to join. But due to the limited budget, they had to apply for another subsidy of 400 yuan.	
Donggang and Xunguang'ao 蟬廣澳 of Ahou prefecture	In December, eight fishermen were recruited from Tamae village, district of Abu of Yamaguchi prefecture 山口縣阿武郡玉江浦村.	In November, fifteen migrants came from Yamaguchi county to engage in the shark-fishing business. The result was quite fruitful. This paved the way for Taiwanese fishermen to follow.	Received 1,000 yuan of subsidy. Progress turned out to be better than in Taoyuan and Yilan prefectures. After January, Japanese fishermen remitted [monies] to Japan. Many of their fellow villagers came. The number had reached	Received a subsidy of 1,600 yuan. In August, because of a typhoon, fishing vessels were lost in Xunguang'ao. Migrants from Hiroshima gradually returned home.

They brought two fishing vessels to engage in angling for shark. The result was quite good. Some migrant families planned to settle down in Taiwan for the long term. Received 2,000 yuan of subsidy	thirteen by the end of the year. 670 yuan was raised to set up a mooring arrangement to keep fishing vessels in front of the dorms. In the same year, the Taiwan Sōtokufu set up another base in Xunguang'ao and recruited migrants from Hiroshima. In December, fifteen migrants came to engage in shark fishing.	Because of floods and broken fishing vessels, the remaining migrants moved to Hsin Street. Migrants in Donggang increased. Achievements were good. In April, there were seventeen households.
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Note: *Because of the adjustment of administrative boundaries, names of some prefectures where the ports were located changed over time. Here I list them according to chronological order. Descriptions based in the records of Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō 臺灣總督府事務成績提要 are underlined. Some of these records are not consistent with other data.

Sources: "Kiran-chō shimo no jū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken 宜蘭廳下/移住漁民ニ對シ補助金下付ノ件," in *Taiwan Zong Du Fu gong wen lei zuan* 臺灣總督府公文類纂, Vol. 5329, Item 8, catalogue 10, no. 3, 1910; "Teen-chō shimo no jū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken 桃園廳下/移住漁民ニ對シ補助金下付ノ件," *Taiwan Zong Du Fu gong wen lei zuan*, Vol. 5329, Item 9, catalogue 10, no. 3, 1910; *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō* 臺灣總督府事務成績提要, no. 20, Chengwen version no. 192 (Meiji 41), p. 445; no. 22 (Meiji 42), p. 404; no. 23 (Meiji 43), p. 312; no. 25 (Meiji 44), pp. 279-280; Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanjyoku 臺灣總督府殖産局, *Sangyō gaikyo* 明治44年(Taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanjyoku, 1913), p. 106; *Nanbu Bussan Kyōshinkai Kyōsankai* 南部物産共進會協贊會, *Minami Taiwan Nanbu 臺灣南部物産共進會協贊會*, pp. 33-34; *Kanbun Taiwan jūhō* [Chinese version of *Taiwan Times*] 漢文臺灣時報, no. 12, June 1910, p. 73; the *Taiwan nichinichi shinbō* 臺灣日日新報, Feb. 13, 1909, section 3; May 1, section 3; June 24, section 2; section 3; April 29, 1910, section 3; June 2, section 3; August 26, section 3; October 15, section 2; October 21, section 3; December 2, section 3; April 26, 1911, section 2; November 27, section 2.

Because of the lack of central coordination and the divergent situations in each of the fishing grounds, the fishermen migration agendas as well as experiences of Japanese migrants in each prefecture were different. The motivation for migrants to Hsu'cuogang was to develop the coastal area, as that area could not support their livelihoods solely by fishing. The villagers from Kuroshima village of Nagasaki Prefecture who moved to Taiwan were both farmers and fishermen. In April of Meiji 42, when the migrants settled, the local Agricultural Association gave each household about half a *jia* of farmland (which was only good for the first harvest rice), farming gear, rice to eat, and unirrigated land for the cultivation of vegetables. By June, these migrants had made some profits. They adopted Japanese fishing methods and consulted the opinions of local fishermen. The teacher of fishing techniques who lived in the Donggang Fishing Association had "appropriate strategies that created great achievements."⁶⁶ In October, because the migrant fishermen were not used to local fishing, the local prefecture planned to invite Japanese fishermen in the Jilong area to demonstrate their methods.⁶⁷ In April of the following year, conflict among the fishermen pushed two of them to move to the Xinglong Industrial Association in Jilong 基隆興隆產業會社. The remaining two fishermen were not enough to continue fishing. They thus shifted to farming nearby fields. The local prefecture, however, still believed that the fishing industry was "very promising" and worth heavy sponsorship. The annual budget listed a subsidy to encourage fishing as one important category.⁶⁸ In July, more than three households and eight people moved from Japan. By December, seven households and sixteen people were involved in the agenda of Japanese fishermen.⁶⁹ They had two fishing boats, and focused on catching shark 鯊魚 and sea bream 鯛魚 (Table 1). In the latter part of the year, because of the strong north-eastern monsoon winds and the silt building up in the harbour, the output was disappointing. Nonetheless, because of the high quality of the red sea bream 赤鯨 caught in Hsu'cuogang, which had a "pretty good reputation and value" in the Taipei markets, and also because of the low cost of living in Hsu'cuogang, the migrants seemed to be "more determined to settle permanently."⁷⁰

66 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Feb. 13, 1909, section 3; June 23, section 2; June 24, section 2.

67 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, October 22, 1909, section 3.

68 *Kanbun Taiwan jihō*, no. 12, June 1910, p. 74; *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, April 29, 1910, section 3.

69 Records of the number of migrants to Hsu'cuogang documented in *Taiwan Sōtokufu jinnu seiseki teiyō* and *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* are not consistent.

70 In November of Meiji 43, only four days were suitable for sea fishing. A big budget was needed to fix the problem of poor infrastructure. In December, the local prefecture spent

However, in Meiji 44 (1911), there was no further development and the subsidy from the Taiwan Sōtokufu stopped. The direction changed. The government began to send Taiwanese members of the fishing associations to learn about new fishing methods from Japanese migrant fishermen.⁷¹ The migration agenda was about to be called off.

In Gongsiliao port and Lugang in central Taiwan, the fishermen migration project developed under the sponsorship of the Taiwan Sōtokufu around October of Meiji 42. It took place at the time that Japan was reworking the administrative boundaries in Taiwan.⁷² Probably because of this change, local prefectures were not that active. The outcome of the migration project was very limited and little record of the initiative was left. Gongsiliao port, which is located on the shore of Miaoli prefecture, was rich in fishing resources such as sea bream 鯛, bonito 鯉, mackerel 鯖 and shark 鱈. The catch was, however, not enough to satisfy local demand. With the subsidy provided by the Taiwan Sōtokufu, the local prefecture started to encourage fishing, purchasing a fishing boat and recruiting fishermen from Yamaguchi prefecture to migrate to the area.⁷³ In June of Meiji 42, five migrants migrated from Abu district to Gongsiliao port, but some became ill during the trip, and the rest could not get along with each other. The project "failed entirely" (Table 1).

Zhanghua prefecture, where Lugang is located, was more active than Miaoli prefecture. In Zhanghua, people working in the fishing industry began to organize a fishing association, and commissioned the Fishery Experimental Field at Ōita Prefecture 大分縣水產試驗場 to manufacture a fishing boat. This showed their determination to modernize the fishing industry. In the middle of Meiji 42, four fishermen from Mureson village, Sabakun, Yamaguchi Prefecture 山口縣佐波郡牟禮村 migrated to Zhanghua. On the one hand, these migrants were preparing to start fishing as soon as the new boat arrived. On the other hand, they supervised members of the local fishing association. In August of Meiji 43 (1910), two of the four migrants left. In September, the

30,000 yuan to dredge and to set up revetments so fishing vessels could sail into the port at ebb tide. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Dec. 4, 1910, section 2; Dec. 18, section 5; Dec. 19, section 3.

71 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Oct. 14, 1911, section 5.

72 In October of Meiji 42, the fifth governor Sakuma Samata re-adjusted the administrative boundaries of Taiwan. He changed the twenty prefectures into twelve; Byōritsu prefecture became Shinchiku (Xinzhu) prefecture, and Shōkachō prefecture became Taichū prefecture. Ide Kiwata, *Taiwan chisekishi* [A record of Taiwan's administrative accomplishments] 臺灣治績志 (Taihoku: Taiwan nichinichi shinpōsha, 1937), p. 421.

73 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 2, 1909, section 3.

local prefecture judged the migration project not effective and decided to terminate it.

The fishing association was the agent that recruited Japanese migrants. Nonetheless, the association was newly established and without a sufficient budget. Financial support from the Taiwan Sōtokufu was important.⁷⁴ Apparently, the Taiwan Sōtokufu did not sponsor the Lugang project, and this ended the fishermen migration agenda in Lugang permanently.

The migration project of Su'ao port in Yilan Prefecture also failed. The failure was documented in the report submitted by its governor Takamura Yoshihisa 小松吉久 to the General Governor of Taiwan, Sakuma Samata.⁷⁵ The report nonetheless shows that the fishermen migration project was well-planned. It started pilot surveys conducted by representatives from None village, accompanied by technicians who knew about the fishing grounds in the area.

After all had been confirmed, unmarried migrants came to Taiwan. They were all professional fishermen, age from 23 to 41, and had experiences in netting 網魚 or fishing. These fishermen brought a fishing boat and their gear included a tuna-long-line 鱈延繩, a bream-long-line 鯛延繩 and a pole for catching sea bream 鯛 一支釣 (一本釣, as well as a Spanish mackerel-troll line 鱈曳釣, among others. These migrant fishermen lived collectively in a cottage in the bay of Su'ao.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, they had arrived after September of Meiji 42, when the fishing season was over. They soon experienced the north-eastern monsoon season in the following November to March. The weather was not good for fishing. They could only stay in the cottage. In March, three of them became ill with beriberi and needed to be treated. They thus returned to Japan. The rest of them got sick one after the other. Even when the weather turned good, they did not have enough people to engage in ocean-going fishing.⁷⁷ Between June and August, many migrants either shifted to other jobs or

74 *Taiwan jihō* 臺灣時報, no. 12, June 1910, p. 74; *Taiwan nichinichi shinbō* 臺灣日日新報, Sept. 11, 1910, section 3.

75 In August of Meiji 42, when the fishermen migration agenda was operating, the prefectural head was Nakada Naoharu 中田直溫.

76 The names and backgrounds of the seven migrants from the Kōchi prefecture were as follows: Sugimoto Matsutarō 杉本松太郎, 39 years old, with fishing experience; Oka Kamekichi 岡龜吉, 50 years old, with experience in netting; Yoshimura Asaji 吉村淺治, 40 years old, with fishing experience; Yoshida Kumayoshi 吉田熊吉, 34 years old, with experience in netting; Iwatani Yoshimatsu 岩谷吉松, 23 years old, with fishing experience; Yamaoka Takatarō (or Yamaoka Kōtarō) 山岡高太郎, 51 years old, with experience in netting; Nakanishi Tametarō 中西為太郎, 44 years old, with experience in fishing. See "Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken."

77 "Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken."

returned home to Japan. Some even attempted to sneak back home. The migrant industry became very unstable. In August, the local prefecture introduced four more migrants. In total, ten Japanese migrants were there.⁷⁸ A dramatic turn occurred when the recent migrant Tamiya Tarōkichi 田宮太郎吉 suddenly suffered a brain haemorrhage and died. Rumors among the migrants made them “have horrible thoughts all the time.” All of them either caught cold or came down with malaria. None of them could work. In November, the rest of the Tamiya family as well as Ibuki Kikuzō and another seven migrants sneaked back to Japan. The only Japanese left were Nakanishi Tametarō 中西為太郎 and Iwadani Kikumatsu 岩穀菊松. These two people remained to show their “strong determination to settle [in Taiwan]”, and they expected the local prefecture to recruit more migrants. On November 15, the local government hired two more Japanese fishermen and one Taiwanese to assist in the management of the fishing industry.⁷⁹

The Su'ao port kept a detailed report, Naichi ijū gyomin jigyo seiseki hōkokusho [Report on the Japanese migrant business]. It documented the migrant business between July of Meiji 43 to December of the same year.⁸⁰ The data allows us to understand the challenges faced by Japanese fishermen migrants. According to the report, in July of Meiji 43, when most of the days were sunny, offshore fishing was more appropriate, and they mostly used night lines and long lines for fishing. In August, Yilan prefecture purchased a Japanese fishing boat and a beach seine 地曳網. Other fishermen used fishing trolls including night lines 夜繩, long lines 延繩, shrimp nets 蝦網, miscellaneous long lines 鯛繩, shark lines 鱧繩, tuna fishing gear 鯷釣具 and trolling line tackle 鱧曳釣具, etc. Because the beach seine required some modifications, it was used only once. Most of the activities centred on tuna fishing. In September, the weather was not good and there were only a few days that they could engage in coastal fishing; most of the fishermen used a beach seine in the inner harbour of Su'ao port. In October, the beach seine continued to be the most heavily used piece of equipment, but because the weather was not good and most of the fishermen were ill, the business stopped. Between November and December, the weather was good,

78 On July 1 of Meiji 43, four more migrants arrived: Tamiya Tarōkichi 田宮太郎吉, Tamiya Yahei 田宮彌平, Takeda Nitarō 武田仁太郎 and Katayama Naoji 片山直次. “Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken.”

79 The Japanese fishermen were Ogawa Matsujirō 小川松次狼 and Nagashima Manzou 長島萬藏; the Taiwanese was Chen Laowang 陳老旺. See “Naichi ijū gyomin jigyo seiseki hōkokusho 內地移住漁民事業成績報告書” in “Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken,” pp. 187–190.

80 “Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken.”

and coastal fishing became the main activity. Between July and December, the number of days off was 87, while that of fishing days was 97. Almost half of the period did not have any fishing. The scope of coastal fishing ranged from Su'ao port, Dong Ao 東澳, Da'nán Ao 大南澳, and Wuyan Jiao 烏岩角 to the area of Houhoubi shore in San Xiantai 三仙台 (Nuwalian). The total catch 漁獲量 was only 7,500 jin and was valued at 271 dollars (Table 2). If we compare this with the returns of the fishermen in Donggang, as what follows will elaborate, we may well argue that the achievement in Su'ao port was limited. Overall, although the mass media at that time appraised the "superior" and "delicate" nature of Japanese-style fishing vessels and gear highly, due to the constraints of weather and most migrants' failure to accommodate to the new society, the management of the fishing industry in Su'ao port was full of challenges. In the end, the migrants had to give up their plans and return to Japan.

Compared with the abovementioned cases, the migrant project in Donggang of Ahou prefecture was an exceptional success. Its success can be seen from the number of migrants and the scope of their settlement, which extended to Hengchun. This project was also the only one that continued to receive funds from the Taiwan Sōtokufu.

In December of Meiji 41, eight fishermen migrated from Tamae village in the district of Abu in Yamaguchi prefecture 山口縣阿武郡玉江埔村 to Ahou prefecture. They used two fishing vessels to catch sharks; "their productivity was pretty good." By February of the following year (1909), they had earned 400 dollars of pure profit. After learning about this successful case, local Taiwanese fishermen "gradually improved their fishing gear and methods, etc."⁸¹ In May, each of the migrants "could earn 2 dollars per day."⁸² Compared with the salary of civil servants and public school teachers at that time, which was about ten dollars more,⁸³ incomes of the Donggang migrants were quite impressive. Unfortunately, on November 15, all the migrants attempted to sail to Lamay Island but got pushed away by the currents. In the end, only four of them returned safely and the other four went missing.⁸⁴ In the same month, fifteen more people moved in. In June of Meiji 43 (1910), the number

81 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Feb. 13, 1909, section 3.

82 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 1, 1909, section 3.

83 In 1912, the monthly salary of Huang Wangcheng 黃旺成, a teacher of the Shinchiku Kogakko, was 17 yuan. See Hsu Hsueh-chi 許雪姬, ed., *Huang Wangcheng riji (yi)* [Diary of Mr. Huang Wangcheng, volume 1] 黃旺成日記 (一) (Taipei: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2008), pp. 243–244.

84 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Nov. 25, 1909, section 5.

TABLE 2 *Fishing conditions in Su'ao port, July-December of Meiji 43*

Month	Days of fishing	Days of rest	Fishing areas	Kinds of fish and seafood 魚介類別	Catch	
					Quantity (jin)	Price (yuan)
7	22 (angling 釣)	9	Su'ao port, Wan'nei 灣內, Dai Nan'ao 大南澳, Dong Ao 東澳	Sea bream 鯛魚 Bottom fish 底棲魚類(磯魚)	425	59.21
8	24 (angling) 1 (seining 曳)	6	Coastal area near Su'ao port and Wan'nei	Common carp 鯉魚 Bottom fish 磯魚 Different kinds of sardine 鯷、鰯 Bream 鯛	5996	94.56
9	2 (angling) 9 (seining)	19	The area near San Xiantai Wan'nei	— Carangidae 鯷 Barracuda 魷 Sardine 鯷	343	31.46
10	1 (angling) 9 (seining)	21	Same as above	Barracuda 魷 Carangidae 鯷	3 114	0.3 11.27
11	12 (angling) 2 (seining)	16	Wu'yan Jiao 烏岩角 San Xiantai Wan'nei	Mackerel 鯖 Miscellaneous fish 雜魚	205 10	22.84 —
12	15 (angling)	16	Wu'yan Jiao and the San Xiantai area	Mackerel 鯖 Carangidae 鯷 Bottom fish 磯魚	454	51.53
合計	97	87			7550	271.17

Note: Angling means the days when fishermen used angling to catch fish, seining means the days they used beach seines to net fish.

Source: "Naichi ijū gyomin jigyō seiseki hōkokusho 内地移住漁民事業成績報告書" in "Yilan-chō ka no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin sōfu no ken 宜蘭庁下の移住漁民に対し補助金下付ノ件," p. 191.

of shipping vessels that Donggang migrants owned reached nine. Two of them were for catching red sea bream (*pagrus major*) 鯛魚, and the other seven were for shark. The yield of the catch was "particularly good." Each day the fishermen could earn at least 40 dollars, and sometimes they could earn up to 70 dollars. "The business was pretty lucrative." Many fishermen even "remitted [money] to the mainland [Japan]." This further motivated people from their hometowns to migrate to Donggang. Thirteen more migrants came by the end of the year. At the same time, Japanese migrants and local Taiwanese interacted with each other in a "quite friendly" manner.⁸⁵ Local fishermen even used second-hand fishing vessels and gear that the Japanese migrants sold, and also imitated Japanese methods of fishing.⁸⁶ The progress of the migration business was thus considered "pretty promising." In August, the Taiwan Sōtokufu decided to set up another base for migration in Xunguang'ao. In December, fifteen migrants from Hiroshima moved to this new base. They mainly focused on catching shark.⁸⁷

In Meiji 44, the Taiwan Sōtokufu stopped providing any funds to the four other prefectures in Taiwan. These projects thus had to be called off. Only Ahou prefecture struggled to continue the migration program, and accepted another thirty Japanese fishermen in May.⁸⁸ However, although the Taiwan Sōtokufu affirmed the large number of migrants in Donggang, and although they were "making profits in fishing" and had a "good record,"⁸⁹ the fishing industry and fishing methods did not expand to a larger scale. The catch was mainly red sea bream and shark.⁹⁰ It seems that the colonial government expected more. In particular, in August, the Hiroshima migrants in Xunguang'ao lost their fishing vessels because of a typhoon. Some of them returned to Japan and some relocated to Xin

85 The amicable relationship between the Japanese migrants and Taiwanese in Dong'gang can be seen in the case of the shipwreck. After this incident, in March of Meiji 43, half of the migrants were still missing. Their relatives decided to return to Japan, but could not afford the travel expenses. Other Japanese migrants started to raise funds for these relatives. The Taiwanese fishermen association donated 100 yuan, and local officials also donated 100 yuan. The support of local Taiwanese was crucial to solve the problem. See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, March 4, 1910, section 5.

86 *Kanbun Taiwan jihō*, no. 12, June 1910, p. 74.

87 According to the book *Minami Taiwan*, seventeen migrants came from Hiroshima. See Nanbu Bussan Kyōshinkai Kyōsankai 南部物産共進會協贊會, *Minami Taiwan* [Southern Taiwan] 南部臺灣 (originally published in Meiji 44; here based on the Chengwen version, no. 33, pp. 33–34).

88 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 20, 1911, section 5.

89 Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan Sōtokufu jūmu seiseki teiyō*, no. 24 (Meiji 44), p. 280.

90 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 5, 1911, section 2.

Street in Hengchun.⁹¹ These setbacks discouraged the operation of the migration business in Ahou Prefecture. In the first year of Taishō (1912), the Taiwan Sōtokufu decided to stop granting any funding for any future project in Donggang.⁹² This was the beginning of the following cancelation of official funding to migration projects in the other five prefectures and six ports.

In addition to surveying the migration business conducted by each prefecture, the attitude of the colonial government and the role it played are also worth examining. As pointed out above, the subsidy from the Taiwan Sōtokufu was crucial to sustain the official migration business. In Meiji 31, after the Taoyuan and Ahou prefectures first launched the fishermen migration projects, the Taiwan Sōtokufu provided funds and other assistance to make them work. In Meiji 42 (1909), these projects were expanded. They were opened to the other five prefectures and five ports in Taiwan. Twenty-four people migrated and the subsidy was 2,935 yuan. Nonetheless, except for Donggang, which “benefitted a lot,” other ports “did not have much progress due to various different reasons.” Nonetheless, in September of that year, Keisuke Shimo 下啟助, the technician from the Agriculture and Commercial Ministry of the core of the empire, pointed out three things that were needed to reform the fishing methods in Taiwan: first, to introduce motorized fishing vessels; second, to improve fishing gear and boats; and third, to recruit Japanese fishermen. Therefore, in Meiji 43 (1910), the Taiwan Sōtokufu had not entirely given up the migration scheme. It decided to introduce more Japanese fishermen and renovate fishing vessels and equipment; the total subsidy reached 3,644 yen.⁹³ In the two years between Meiji 42 and Meiji 43, all levels of the government—from the Taiwan Sōtokufu to local prefectures—actively promoted fishermen migration. The colonial government further provided the required budget.⁹⁴

91 *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō*, no. 25 (Meiji 44), pp. 279–280.

92 In the first year of the Taishō reign, the fishery policies of the Taiwan Sōtokufu focused on the development of fishing and experiments with aquaculture and organization of the fishing industries. The subsidy for fishing industries focused on enterprises, such as Hōko Kaisan Kabushiki Kaisha 澎湖海產株式會社, Giran Suisan Kōshi 宜蘭水產公司 and other manufacturers of canned food or processing of bonito sticks. The subsidy was also used to sponsor seminars on the use of poles and hook and line 一支釣 at Hōko Suisan-kai 澎湖水產會. *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō*, no. 26 (Taishō 1), pp. 263–270.

93 *Taiwan nichinichi shinbō*, September 11, 1909, section 3; October 22, 1910, section 2.

94 In the case of Yilan prefecture, the project was kicked off by the technicians' surveys and reports, followed by proposing budget items and applying for funds from the Taiwan Sōtokufu. Each of the migrants was to receive a subsidy to cover their fishing gear (tools, nets, etc.), a travel allowance of 25 yuan, a food allowance of 5 yuan, and accommodation in the cottage, among other forms of support. The migrants were obliged not to change to

Until August of Meiji 43, the colonial government still believed that in order to develop the fishing industry, "recruiting fishermen from the mainland [Japan] was necessary." However, because "the progress of fishermen migration was not as good as expected," the government decided to make some adjustments:

First, to focus on the migration of a group of fishermen; second, to compare fisheries between Japan and Taiwan, that is, to choose the appropriate kind of fishing industry and focus on the transplantation of that specific experiences; third, if fishermen could migrate with their whole family, they would have stronger motivation to move.⁹⁵

In other words, the new agenda focused on group and family migration. The primary target was those with fishing experiences similar to fishing in Taiwan. However, in Meiji 44, the Taiwan Sōtokufu suddenly lost interest in the migration agenda and eventually gave it up entirely.

In sum, between Meiji 41 and Meiji 44 (1908 and 1911), in the six ports of the five prefectures—including Hsu'cuogang of Taoyuan prefecture, Donggang and Xunguangzui of Ahou prefecture, Gongsiliao of Miaoli prefecture, Lugang of Zhanghua Prefecture, and Su'ao in Yilan prefecture—government-run fishermen migration programs started for the first time. Local governments set up and executed the migration project, while the Taiwan Sōtokufu provided only financial backing. The patterns of migration were thus different in each case. Except for the success in Donggang, the schemes did not work well. In Lugang and Gongsiliao, the project was carried on for only one year and then given up. In Su'ao and Hsu'cuogang, the project survived for two to three years without much result. Even in the successful case of Donggang in Ahou prefecture, where local Taiwanese fishermen were able to learn new fishing methods and where the migration project once expanded to Hengchun, the changing attitude of the Taiwan Sōtokufu, which stopped subsidizing the project, also caused it to end.

4 Re-Evaluation of the Government-Run Fishermen Migration Project

Between Meiji 41 and Meiji 44 (1908 and 1911), about 92 fishermen migrated from Japan to six ports in the five prefectures in Taiwan.⁹⁶ Among them,

other kinds of work and had to follow all kinds of rules. See "Naichi ijū gyomin jigyo seiseki hōkokusho 內地移住漁民事業成績報告書," in "Giran-chō ka no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin sōfu no ken," pp. 187–190.

95 *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō, dai 23-hen*, Meiji 43, p. 312.

96 In my earlier work I quoted a report from the *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō* that shows about 53 migrants in Taiwan, excepting those from Hiroshima. See Lin Yuju, "Zhimin yu

Donggang and Hsu'cuogang respectively received 36 and 17 migrants in these three years. Su'ao port had 16 migrants in two years, and in the year when Gongsiliao and Lugang implemented the migration policy, they received five and four migrants respectively. Xunguangzui received 15 migrants in December of Meiji 43 (Table 1). The migrants came from Yamaguchi, Nagasaki, Kochi and Hiroshima counties, which were concentrated in Shikoku, Kyushu and the Chūgoku area of Honshu. Among them, 45 migrants came from Yamaguchi County, which topped the list, followed by Nagasaki with 17 migrants, and Hiroshima and Kochi with 15 migrants each.

Considering the limited scale—90 migrants in four years, few of whom settled in Taiwan—fishery bureaucrats in the Taiwan Sōtokufu in the years from Taishō to Shōwa concluded that the migration business had failed. They pointed out that the problems came from the difficulty for the migrants to become accustomed to Taiwan, their unfamiliarity with the fishing grounds in Taiwan, the poor facilities in the ports, and disasters such as typhoons and shipwrecks.⁹⁷ However, it is worth noting that, apart from the “total failure” in Gongsiliao and Lugang, many migrants expressed their willingness and determination to “settle permanently.” After the Taiwan Sōtokufu stopped providing any funding, they could settle in Taiwan as free migrants. In particular, in Donggang, with the exception of one unexpected shipwreck, the migration business developed quite smoothly and was fairly lucrative. This met expectations about recruiting migrants to reinvent fishing in Taiwan. In Meiji 39 (1906), Ahou prefecture originally planned to “hire Japanese fishermen to exchange ideas with local fishermen. This should create 100,000 yen of income.”⁹⁸ That is, they intended to have Taiwanese learn from Japanese, so that local fishermen could change their ways of using fishing nets and old fishing boats. This could generate 100,000 dollars in profit. Judging from this view, the migration project of the prefecture was apparently successful. In the late Meiji, Ahou's fishing association expanded from Donggang to Fangliao and Lamay Island.⁹⁹ In Meiji

chanye gaizao,” p. 62. However, if one compares this data with other sources, such as *Taiwan zong du fu gongwen lei zuan* and *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, one can find that the record was not entirely correct (see Table 1). The inconsistency might come from the back-and-forth movement between Taiwan and Japan, as well as the confusion between the number of households and the number of individuals.

97 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusankyoku Suisan-kai 臺灣總督府殖產局水産課, *Taiwan no suisan* [Fishery industry in Taiwan] 臺灣の水産 (Taihoku: Yamashina Shōten Insatsubu, 1930); Sasaki Takeji (or Takeharu) 佐佐木武治, *Taiwan no suisan* [Fishery industry in Taiwan] 臺灣の水産 (Taihoku: Taiwan Suisankai, 1935), p. 107.

98 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 27, 1906, Chinese version, section 2.

99 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, July 2, 1908, section 2.

43 (1910), the yield of the catch reached 120,138 jin, which was valued at about 81,251 dollars.¹⁰⁰ This was very close to the goal of earning 100,000 dollars.

In Meiji 43, a newspaper report commented that the migration project in Donggang was "pretty good and prosperous." It also attributed its success to the following reasons:

First, the correct technical instruction provided by the fishery department of the prefecture; second, the area is rich in sharks, and many of the migrants used to live in Korea where they had similar experiences with fishing; third, the Japanese fishermen hired to teach at the local fishing association were close to the migrants; fourth, the convenience of obtaining bait.¹⁰¹

Accordingly, in addition to the better environment for fishing, the step-by-step approach of reforms in Ahou Prefecture appeared to be a more reasonable strategy; that is, to encourage local Taiwanese fishermen to organize their own fishing associations, followed by hiring professional fishermen from Japan to teach Taiwanese new fishing methods in Donggang. The teachers used this opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of Taiwan's society and fishing grounds. Later, these teachers went back to their hometowns in Japan to recruit more fishermen to migrate to Taiwan. Because of the teachers' own experience living in Taiwan and their familiarity with Taiwan's fishing grounds, they knew the best fishing methods to operate in Taiwan. This helped them to identify Japanese fishermen who could best accommodate the conditions in Taiwan. In terms of the timing of migration, they arranged for the migrants to arrive in winter, which was the height of the fishing season in southern Taiwan. This motivated the new migrants to settle in Taiwan permanently. In contrast, in Su'ao port, the poor timing of arrival hindered the further development of the migration agenda (Table 1). On the other hand, friendship between the Japanese fishermen who taught in Taiwan and the Taiwanese bridged the gap between new migrants and the Taiwanese. Comparing the Ahou example with the migration programs of the other five ports, one can understand why the latter were full of challenges. This also suggests that the above-mentioned reviews by fishery bureaucrats were too superficial. However, other than the poor timing of migration, difficulty integrating into local society, internal conflicts among the migrants, typhoons, shipwrecks and other reasons, the following structural factors also hindered the implementation of the fishermen migration.

First, the focus of the development of Japan's pelagic fisheries was not Taiwan, but Korea. This fundamentally constrained the scale of Japanese

100 Nanbu Bussan Kyōshinkai Kyōsankai, *Minami Taiwan*, pp. 33–34.

101 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 26, 1908, section 3.

fishermen migration to Taiwan. Even in Donggang, the number of migrants was only 36. In contrast, by Meiji 43 (1910), 1,146 households of Japanese fishermen had migrated to coastal Korea.¹⁰² Apparently, Korea was far more attractive to Japanese fishermen than Taiwan. As a matter of fact, after the stipulation of the Nihon-Choson Commercial Treaty 日朝通商條約 in 1876, Japanese fishermen started to fish in Korean waters.¹⁰³ In Meiji 35 (1902), the establishment of the Choson Fishing Association 朝鮮海水產組合 pushed forward the development of Japanese migrant fishermen's villages. Between Meiji 41 and Meiji 44 (1907–1911), against the backdrop of Japan's annexation of Choson Korea, the Japanese imperial government dominated the transition from the "fishing era" in Korea to the "migration era."¹⁰⁴ In April of Meiji 43 (1910), the governor of Taoyuan prefecture, Nishi Minami, pointed out that the subsidy provided by Nagasaki's own budget to the fishery federation in Nagasaki prefecture to encourage members to migrate to Korea "somewhat challenged" the migration program aimed at Taiwan. On the other hand, Nishi also noted that Japanese were scared of moving to Taiwan because of some "misunderstandings" about Taiwan. These included the attacks of the aborigines and some endemic diseases.¹⁰⁵ In Su'ao port, migrants were panicked and eventually ran away after one of them suddenly fell ill and died. This shows the difficulty to become accustomed to a different culture. As for Korea, because of its geographical affinity with Japan, its similar fishing resources, and the promotion of the central authority of the Japanese empire, more Japanese fishermen preferred to migrate to Korea than to Taiwan.

Second, the insufficient infrastructure such as ports, transportation and markets in Taiwan was an issue. Japan colonized Taiwan at a time when it did not have much experience with colonial development. In the Meiji period, the

102 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, May 7, 1910, section 3.

103 Fujii Kenji 藤井賢二, "Nihon tōchiki no Chōsen gyogyō no hyōka o megutte [An assessment of the fishing industry in Korea under the period of Japanese governance] 日本統治期の朝鮮漁業の評価をめぐって," *Tōyō Shihō* 東洋史訪, Vol. 14 (March 2008), p. 100.

104 Fujii Kenji, "Nihon tōchiki no Chōsen gyogyō no hyōka o megutte," p. 100. About the process by which Japanese fishermen migrated to the seas of Korea and eventually controlled its main fishing grounds between the 1860s and 1910s, see Yeu Park Dong 呂博東, "Kindai Kan'nichi kankei to Komundō gyogyō imin [Study on the formation of Japanese fishermen's villages on Komundo Island] 近代韓日關係と巨文島漁業移民," *Momoyama Gakuin Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 桃山學院大學總合研究所紀要, Vol. 18, no. 3 (1993), pp. 31–35.

105 "Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken 宜蘭廳下ノ移住漁民ニ對シ補助金下付ノ件," p. 212.

Japanese colonial model in Taiwan was one of trial-and-error. In the late Meiji, the only modern harbours in Taiwan were Jilong and Gaoxiong 高雄.¹⁰⁶ Hsu'cuogang had accumulated silt in the harbour. The north-eastern monsoon winds further reduced the number of days that fishermen could go fishing. Rich fishing resources could not be fully utilized.¹⁰⁷ The inconvenient transportation and poor marketing system also affected the livelihood of the people. For example, the waters off the Donggang shore were full of sharks and pagrus major. The latter was mainly desired to supply the local Japanese markets, while any additional pagrus fish would ideally be shipped to Ahou, Feng Shan 鳳山 and Takao 打狗. However, because of the poor transportation system, migrants in Donggang focused on fishing for shark.¹⁰⁸ The Taiwan Sōtokufu did not appreciate the narrow focus on sharks and was critical of the lack of other kinds of fish or fishing methods. Su'ao port also faced the problem of selling fresh fish only to the nearby markets in Yilan city, which was too small and could not offer good prices. Many fishermen thus had "very little income." In Hsu'cuogang, roundabouts could carry fish stocks to the markets in Taoyuan and Taipei markets. If the shipping were "facilitated by light rails, it

106 Modernization of the ports of Jilong and Gaoxiong took place in Meiji 32 (1899) and Meiji 41 (1908) respectively. The project in the port of Jilong was completed in Meiji 39 (1906), while the first part of the agenda in Gaoxiong was done in Meiji 44 (1911). About the modernization of ports in Taiwan, see Dai Baocun 戴寶村, "Jindai Taiwan gangkou shizhan zhi fazhan [Development of modern port-cities in Taiwan] 近代臺灣港口市鎮之發展," Ph. D. thesis, Institute of History, National Taiwan Normal University, 1987, Chs. 5, 6, and 7; Hsieh Chun-Tse 謝濬澤, "Guojia yu gangkou fazhan: Gaoxiong Gang de jiagou yu guanli, 1895-1975 [Development of state and port: Construction and management of the port of Gaoxiong, 1895-1975] 國家與港口發展：高雄港的建構與管理, 1895-1975," Master's thesis, National Chi Nan University, 2008, Ch. 2.

107 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, December 18, 1910, section 5.

108 *Kanbun Taiwan jihō*, no. 12, June 1910, p. 74. Under the influence of the idea that "the railway is omnipotent," the Taiwan Sōtokufu prioritized the construction of railways. In Meiji 41 (1908), the North-South Railway had been completed. But road construction did not start until the 1910s, although it was more cogent to local development. About the development of railways and road construction in the early Japanese colonial era, see Cai Longbao 蔡龍保, *Tuidong shidai de julun: Rizhi zhongqi de Taiwan guoyou tielu* [Wheels of the times: State-owned railways in the Japanese colonial era, 1910-1936] 推動時代的巨輪：日治中期的臺灣國有鐵路, 1910-1936 (Taipei: Taiwan Guji, 2004), Chs. 2, 5; Cai Longbao, *Zhimin tongzhi zhi jichu gongcheng: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan daolu shiye zhi yanjiu* [Infrastructure in colonial times: Research into road construction in Japanese colonial Taiwan] 殖民統治之基礎工程：日治時期臺灣道路事業之研究 (Taipei: Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University, 2008), chapters 1 and 2.

could be done in 30 minutes."¹⁰⁹ Moreover, before the completion of basic infrastructure such as railway and highway systems as well as harbour facilities, increases in fishing yields could not turn into the expansion of markets and growth in income to improve the livelihood of the fishermen. Migrant fishermen thus could not settle in Taiwan.

Third, the Japanese approach to the modernization of fishing was biased against the traditional Taiwanese fishery industry. In the Meiji years, Japan was attempting to modernize its fishing industry through learning Western fishery systems, technologies and ideas. Not all fishing boats in Japan were Western motorized boats, and the pelagic fisheries were just at the embryonic stage. Local fishery reforms, spearheaded by local prefectures, focused on coastal fishing. However, the colonizers retained a sense of cultural superiority that looked down upon the industrial technology of the colonial subjects. The Japanese presumed that the traditional fishery industry in Taiwan lagged behind that of Japan. As a matter of fact, the sampans used in north Taiwan and the bamboo rafts in south Taiwan well accommodated the inshore bottom contour. Also, under the influence of monsoon winds and currents, the number of days that fishermen could engage in offshore fishery was limited, so they had to engage in agricultural production as well. This explained why there were few professional fishermen. Moreover, the aquaculture in southern Taiwan, which was more developed than in Japan, compensated the local fishermen for shortages in fishing yields.¹¹⁰ In other words, Japan's negative assessments of traditional fisheries in early colonial Taiwan may not accurately reflect the reality.

On the other hand, judging from the experiences of the fishermen migrants, one can find that the methods and gear that they introduced from Japan to Taiwan were those designed for traditional coastal fishing in Japan. These were not necessarily suitable for fishing grounds in Taiwan. A more crucial problem is that they could not overcome the problem of the limited number of days that they could fish. For migrants in Su'ao port, because of their poor knowledge of local currents and the inappropriate nature of their gear, which led them to have difficulties in catching fish or to their getting lost on the seas, they "gradually became dependent on the government subsidy."¹¹¹ The professional

109 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, October 15, 1910, section 2; December 18, 1910, section 5.

110 Before the Meiji period, aquaculture in Japan included only breeding koi fish and farming oysters, which lagged behind the aquaculture in Taiwan. In Japan, the American style of salmon breeding and releasing was only introduced in Meiji 9 (1876). See Katayama Fusakichi, *Dai Nihon suisanshi*, p. 56; Shimo Keisuke, *Meiji Taishō suisan kaikoroku*, pp. 85–86.

111 "Giran-chō shimo no ijū gyomin ni taishi hojokin kafu no ken," pp. 163–164.

fishermen hired in Hsu'cuogang taught only Japanese fishing styles. They used Japanese equipment without getting to know the inshore bottom contour in Taiwan. In the end, the migration project failed.¹¹² Migrants in Lugang, Hsu'cuogang and Su'ao port all faced the problems of not being to catch fish because of bad weather.

The lack of fit between some of the fishing methods introduced from Japan and the conditions in Taiwan has been outlined above. Due to this unsuitability, Taiwanese fishermen did not entirely accept the colonizers' modern technologies. As a result, Taiwanese traditional fishing methods and fishery industry continued throughout the Taishō era.¹¹³ These Taiwanese methods coexisted with the fishing industry created by the Japanese. Accordingly, although local prefectures tried to accelerate the modernization of fishing in Taiwan, Taiwanese stubbornly held on to their traditional inshore fishing. At the same time, Japanese migrants recklessly introduced their own traditional methods without a full understanding of the fishing grounds in coastal Taiwan. The modernization project thus failed.

The Taiwan Sōtokufu recognized the adverse factors that prevented the implementation of the modernization of the fishermen migration project. The colonial government thus modified its approach to re-configuring industrial policy. Though the migration project did not last long, the government-run fishermen migration in late Meiji was nonetheless a successful experiment in economic migration. Unlike the project of agrarian migration that was carried out later, the fishermen migration project was conducted without much concern for politics. The Taiwan Sōtokufu provided funds to subsidize the migration of Japanese fishermen to Taiwan. The official plan was to encourage them to interact with Taiwanese fishermen "so that they could develop the fishing industry together," or "to enlighten the fishermen in Taiwan to commit

112 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 23, 1909, section 2.

113 Until the end of World War II, most Taiwanese fishermen continued to use traditional fishing methods for coastal fishing 沿岸漁業. These traditional fishing methods varied from region to region, but most fishermen used fish nets as traps 陷阱類的定置漁業 and beach seines 曳網(牽罟). See Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan jijō, ichi*, pp. 275–276; Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseibu Shokusanryoku 臺灣總督府民政部殖產局, *Taiwan daihachi sangyō nenpō, Taishō 1* [Eighth yearbook of industry, Taiwan, Taishō 1] 臺灣第八產業年報, 大正元年 (Taihoku: Taihoku Kappan-sho, 1914), pp. 227–228; Tanaka Kazuji 田中一二, ed., *Taiwan sangyō sōran* [Overview of Taiwan's industries] 臺灣產業總覽 (Taihoku: Taiyō Tsūshinsha Taiwan Shikyoku: Hatsubaimoto Taiwan Toshō Kankōkai, Taishō 8 [1919]), p. 217; Naitō Harukichi 內藤春吉 and Kyo Kibu (Hsu Chi'wu) 許冀武, eds., *Taiwan yu ye shi* [History of the Taiwan fishing industry] 臺灣漁業史 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1957), pp. 43–49.

to the progress of the fishing industry."¹¹⁴ That is, the goal of migration was imagined not in terms of quantity but in terms of quality. The Japanese fishermen migrants provided models for the Taiwanese to imitate, and the goal was to stimulate the reform of fishing boats, gear and laws in Taiwan. In Yilan prefecture, interactions between some Taiwanese fishermen and Japanese fishermen directly or indirectly motivated the former to "become more active" in fishing. In Hsu'cuogang of Taoyuan prefecture, many Japanese migrants passed their fishing methods on to the Taiwanese. They changed the fishing vessels and equipment as well as improving the knowledge of the Taiwanese fishermen. The latter "obtained quite a few benefits."¹¹⁵ The migration business in Donggang pushed forward the Japanization of the fishing industry in Taiwan.¹¹⁶ The colonial project helped Taiwanese fishermen to learn how to use Japanese fishing gear and fishing vessels to catch shark and tuna using long-line methods. Rapid development of Donggang Street thus ensued.¹¹⁷ In addition to Donggang and Hsu'cuogang, the Japanese fishermen from Ōita prefecture in Kirūn and those from Hyōgo in Xinzhou, as well as those Ōita fishermen in the Pescadores Fishery Experimental Ground, all set up exemplary models for the Taiwanese to learn Japanese fishing methods.¹¹⁸ In short, some Taiwanese fishermen began to accept knowledge, methods and Japanese-style vessels from the migrants. The policies of fishermen migration stimulated the sudden growth in the numbers of Taiwanese fishermen. The rise of the so-called "Japanese fishing industry" in Taiwan enriched the development of the local fishing industry.

Let us take the development of Yilan prefecture for instance. In Meiji 43, perhaps driven by the incentives of generating "more profits," five times the usual number of Taiwanese fishermen came to fish than had in Meiji 37. In Taishō 3 (1914), although half of the fishermen left, the number of Japanese

114 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, August 26, 1910, section 3; October 21, 1910, section 3.

115 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku 臺灣總督府殖產局, *Sangyō gaikyo Meiji 44-nen* [Industrial development in Meiji 44: A briefing] 産業概況 明治44年 (Taihoku: Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku, 1913), p. 106.

116 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku, *Sangyō gaikyo Meiji 44-nen*, pp. 107–108.

117 In June 1910, there were 621 Taiwanese households in Donggang, and the number of Taiwanese was 1,506 people. There were 47 Japanese households in the area, totaling 165 people. There were also 4 households listed as Qing subjects and totaling 75 people. Altogether, the area had 672 households and 1,296 people. Most of the Taiwanese residents engaged in the fishing industry. See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, June 15, 1910, section 3. In 1914, the population had increased to 1,800 households and 11,000 residents. See Nanbu Bussan Kyōshinkai Kyōsankai, *Minami Taiwan*, no. 332, p. 156).

118 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, September 11, 1909, section 3.

fishermen increased, and triangular set nets, small lift nets 小敷網 and square nets 角網, as well as motorized fishing vessels, were introduced in the Su'ao and Touwei areas. These contributed to the increase of the catch as well as the prices. The latter were four times the prices in Meiji 43.¹¹⁹

Because of the local prefectures' motivation to improve the fishing industry, the Taiwan Sōtokufu paid more attention as well. Perhaps because of the migrants' lack of experience with Taiwan's fishing grounds, they could not use their gear appropriately. Instead of continuing to support migration, the Taiwan Sōtokufu focused on improving the guidance of the fishing industry and related experiments. In Meiji 43 (1910), the Taiwan Sōtokufu firstly recruited ad hoc fishery technicians and expanded the budget for fishery experiments to eight times its previous amount. The experiment systems under the direct supervision of the Taiwan Sōtokufu were to be organized into three zones for training and lectures about the fishing industry. In order to launch surveys of and experiments for the fishing industry and aquaculture, beginning in Meiji 44 (1911), there was a three-year organization of the fishing industry.¹²⁰ In the same year, the Taiwan Sōtokufu also subsidized the Ji-Xian Fishing Association 基仙漁業組合, organized by fishermen from Jilong Street and Xiandong village, to buy the first gasoline-powered motorized fishing vessels.¹²¹ Moreover, in Taishō 1 (1912), the Taiwan Sōtokufu promulgated Order No. 1, "Rules of the Taiwan Fishing Industry," which detailed plans for Taiwan's rights to a fishing industry, permissions for and constraints on different kinds of fishing, etc.¹²² This set the foundation for a modern fishing institution, and paved the way for the development of coastal fishing to inshore fishing in Taiwan.

On the other hand, the colonial government continued to launch different experiments and surveys so as to "exemplify practices." The government not only built the Ryōkai Maru 凌海丸, but also introduced the use of little set nets 小臺網 from Toyama prefecture to catch bonito, sardine, flying fish, and horse mackerel.

119 In Meiji 43, the number of Taiwanese fishermen in Yilan prefecture was 17,087, which was more than three times the number of 2,809 in Meiji 37. But after the end of the fishermen migration scheme in Taishō 3, the number of Taiwanese fishermen declined to only 7,994, while the number of Japanese fishermen increased from 4 to 17. Giran-chō 宜蘭廳, *Giran chōchi ippan* [A glimpse of the development of Giran prefecture] 宜蘭廳治一斑 (1916; Taipei: Chengwen, 1966; Taishō 5 version; based on the Chengwen version, no. 220), pp. 134–136.

120 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, October 21, 1910, section 3; Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan jijō, ichi*, p. 257.

121 Taiwan Sōtokufu Shokusanakyoku, *Sangyō gaikyo Meiji 44-nen*, p. 110. According to *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimu seiseki teiyō*, no. 23 (Meiji 23), "Subsidized the new motorized fishing vessel Motōki 基興丸, built by the Jilong-Hōko kōsan kaisha 基隆澎湖興產會社, and thus kicked off the business of bonito fishing in Taiwan" (p. 133).

122 Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Fupō*, no. 93, December 5, Taishō 1, pp. 17–33.

At the same time, Taiwanese fishermen learned to use stick-held dip nets 棒受網 to catch sardines along the coast,¹²³ as well as to employ tuna drift nets 鮪流網 from Ibaraki Prefecture to catch tuna and shark. Taiwanese fishermen further learned to use trawl nets 拖網 to help catch bottom fish. In southern Taiwan, Japanese fishing experiments included adopting drift nets to catch Spanish mackerel and bonito. The government also helped recruit professional Japanese fishermen to introduce the flying-fish drift net 飛魚流網 from the seven islands of Izu to help catch the flying fish found off Taiwan's eastern shore.¹²⁴ In other words, compared with the migration agenda that local prefectures had promoted, the Taiwan Sōtokufu basically continued the principle of biological governance that focused on the advocacy of various detailed fishing experiments and surveys before introducing any new fishing method to expand the industry. This further manifested the different approaches in colonial policies on improving industries between the colonial government and local prefectures.

In addition, between Meiji 43 and Taishō 3 (1910–1914), the number of Japanese fishermen in Taiwan increased three to four times.¹²⁵ They not only popularized the use of motorized fishing vessels in Taiwan's fishing grounds, but also introduced many "mainland [Japanese] fishing industries" such as bonito fishing, shark catching, spear-fishing, and coral harvesting. Motorized fishing vessels could be used with troll line fishing 曳繩漁業 and general fishing in the seas around the Pengjia islet 彭佳嶼, even when the north-eastern monsoon winds blew over northern Taiwan.¹²⁶ This overcame the shortage of fishing days in winter that had once troubled fishermen.

123 The stick-held dip net is a kind of torch light net 火誘網.

124 "Gyogyō shōrei shisetsu 漁業獎勵施設," in *Taiwan jihō* no. 22, April 1911, p. 50; *Taiwan Sōtokufu jimū seiseki teiyō*, no. 24 (Meiji 44), p. 280.

125 In 1909, only 275 Japanese fishermen came to Taiwan, but the number rose to 768 in 1910. In 1913, 1,036 Japanese fishermen came to Taiwan, based on the database of the *Taiwan sheng wu-shi-yi nian lai tongji tīyao* [Statistics summary of the province of Taiwan in the past 51 years] 臺灣省五十一年來統計提要資料庫, accessed on April 15, 2011.

126 In Meiji 43, in Jilong and Su'ao, the operation of tuna long line fishing started to employ gasoline-driven motorized vessels and steam fishing vessels. In the summer of the same year, tuna long line fishing began to take place in northern seas off Taiwan. In Meiji 44, the Taihoku prefecture started to use little set nets and small lift nets to fish for sardines. In the winter, troll line operation and fishing started to be conducted. In Taishō 1, Takao became the base for tuna drift net fishing. In the following year, spear fishing (鏢旗魚漁業) was conducted between Takao and Dabanle 大板埕. Fishermen also sailed Japanese fishing vessels in Jilong, Tansui, and Takao for bream long line fishing and other forms of fishing. In Taishō 2, whale hunting and coral and agar collection began in Dabanle. Trawling also began this year. After Taishō 3, motorized vessels were used in long line fishing for sea bream. See Taiwan Sōtokufu, *Taiwan jihō, ichi*, pp. 276–278; Tanaka Kazuji, ed., *Taiwan sangyō sōran*, pp. 218–219.

Overall, just by looking at the percentage of migrants settling in Taiwan, one can conclude that the migration project in the late Meiji period was not successful. But some parts of the project were fruitful, in terms of Taiwanese starting to learn Japanese fishing methods, and the Taiwan Sōtokufu becoming more positive about developing the fishing industry in Taiwan. On the other hand, the difference between local prefectures and the colonial government over the tactics of colonial rule reflected the trial-and-error processes of imperial development. This accounted for the deeper structural factors that constrained the expansion of the fishermen migration project.

5 Conclusion

In the beginning of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan, the Taiwan Sōtokufu was preoccupied with military suppression of anti-Japanese resistance. Like the Meiji government, the colonial government in Taiwan focused more on agriculture than fishing. There was no time to reform local fishing. In Meiji 31 (1898), the establishment of the Kodama Gentarō and Gotō Shimpei regime laid out the importance of the principle of biological governance: to launch scientific surveys and research before setting up any colonial policy. This successfully ended the disadvantages of the early Japanese colonial control in Taiwan. Japan then launched many infrastructure projects, in which the development of colonial industries became the key agenda. In Meiji 35 (1902), the government chose Penghu 澎湖 as the centre for fishing experiments.

The early colonial policies of the Taiwan Sōtokufu focused on surveys of Japanese fishing industries. Against the backdrop of the establishment of a highly rationalized colonial regime under Kodama Gentarō and Gotō Shimpei, these surveys were representations of colonizers' positional superiority. They considered the traditional fishing technologies in Taiwan to be quite "backward," and the fishing industry in the Japanese homeland to be modern and advanced. These ideas formed the backdrop against which reforms of fishing and schemes of fishermen migration to Taiwan were proposed. In particular, the first-tier reformers, the local prefectures, had to deal with problems such as the poverty of the fishermen and the shortage of funds. These were crucial concerns for the development of local industries. Therefore, before the establishment of a complete system of fishing knowledge in the colony, local prefectures in Taiwan had to introduce new institutions from Japan. On the other hand, local prefectures had to hire professional fishermen from Japan to teach Taiwanese new fishing methods and even to launch the program of fishermen migration. In other words, in the Meiji

period, compared with the emphasis on foundation of fishing surveys of the Taiwan Sōtokufu, local prefectures took the initiative to kick off the modern reforms of the fishing industry. This reflected the difference between the Taiwan Sōtokufu and local governments over the policies of colonial governance and their trial-and-error processes.

Between Meiji 41 and 44 (1908–1911), the governor Sakuma Samata focused more on managing the aborigines and large-scale agrarian migration. The surveys of fishing industries based in Penghu prefecture apparently could not meet the real demands of local prefectures. The Taiwan Sōtokufu thus had to allow local prefectures to launch their own fishermen migration programs. In Meiji 41, Hsu'cuogang in Taoyuan prefecture and Donggang in Aho prefecture spearheaded the introduction of migrants from Nagasaki and Yamaguchi prefectures. In the following year, the Taiwan Sōtokufu expanded the project into five prefectures, including the Su'ao port in Yilan prefecture and Gongsiliao in Miaoli prefecture as well as Lugang in Zhanghua prefecture. The two years between Meiji 42 and 43 (1909–1910) were the period in which the fishermen migration project became most active. The way that it was operated was through the independent management of each prefecture, while the Taiwan Sōtokufu only provided the funds. Among the five prefectures, Aho achieved the best record in fishermen migration. It not only added one more migration site in Xunguangzui in Meiji 43, but was the only prefecture that received a subsidy from the Taiwan Sōtokufu in Meiji 44 (1911). Accordingly, the first official fishermen migration scheme was initiated by local prefectures. Different from government-run agrarian migration, which did not start until the Taiwan Sōtokufu conducted detailed surveys and assessments, the government-run fishermen migration was aimed at introducing Japanese fishermen to stimulate the Taiwanese to compete with the migrants. The latter's goal was to boost the development of the fishing industry. Therefore, compared with the agrarian migration, the fishermen migration project had more implications of economic than political colonialism.

Precisely because the local prefectures launched fishermen migration projects without much preparation, and because the Taiwan Sōtokufu played a merely passive role, only the migration project in Donggang was successful. The migration projects in the other five ports all failed. Bureaucrats of the fishery departments in the colonial government from Taishō to Shōwa assessed the migration project as a failure. But as a matter of fact, in Meiji 31 (1898), the Taiwan Sōtokufu emphasized the importance of scientific and biological governance while looking down on local fishing industries in Taiwan. This bias was related to the colonizers' underestimation of the fishermen migration project. It seems that we should not blindly assume the omnipotence of the colonizers, and should not over-emphasize the precision and legitimacy of

colonial knowledge. We should not overlook the immaturity of the colonial government in the years of late Meiji, when it was still in the trial-and-error stage to formulate its own style of colonial governance.

In addition, the failure of the first fishermen migration was also related to structural factors that worked against the development of migration agendas in Taiwan. First and foremost, after Meiji 30, Japanese fishermen were strongly encouraged to migrate to and fish in Korea. As the Japanese underestimated Taiwan's potential, they considered Korea but not Taiwan as the ideal destination for migration. The numbers of Japanese fishermen between these two colonies differed greatly. Second, in late Meiji, construction of infrastructure such as the highway system, harbour facilities and markets had not yet been completed. Even when the catch could be sold to the markets immediately, the income was limited. All these factors made it hard to attract migrants to settle in Taiwan. Third, the Japanese colonial surveys underestimated the value of traditional Taiwanese fishing practices, and the Japanese fishing industry itself was not a priority in Japan's modernization agenda. Japanese migrants could only handle Japanese fishing vessels and gear, which could not overcome the problem of the shortness of the fishing season, which was constrained by monsoon winds and currents in Taiwan. Moreover, modernization of Japanese fishing industries in the various prefectures had little influence on traditional fishing industries in Taiwan. The colonial subjects did not need to accept the Japanized technologies that the colonizers transplanted. These manifested the limits of Japan-led modernization of fishing in Taiwan.

The Taiwan Sōtokufu might have sensed that the overall environment in Taiwan worked against the policies to promote the fishermen migration agenda in coastal fishing. Out of concern for colonial rationality, the Taiwan Sōtokufu terminated the migration project. However, there were some merits of the official fishermen migration project in late Meiji. The Japanese style of fishing methods and reforms of fishing that Japanese professional fishermen and migrants introduced to Taiwan were well received by different local prefectures and even the Taiwan Sōtokufu. Some Taiwanese fishermen also began to learn Japanese technologies and fishing practices. Moreover, following the end of the official fishermen migration project, beginning in Meiji 43 (1910), the Taiwan Sōtokufu started to raise the budget for the fishing industry, and took a more active role to reform it. Near-sea fishing developed step by step. In addition, the earlier experience of fishermen migration paved the way for another wave of fishermen migration projects that took place in eastern Taiwan in the mid-1920s. This later project was quite successful. It extended from Su'ao and Hsin-gang to Hualiangang in just a few years.

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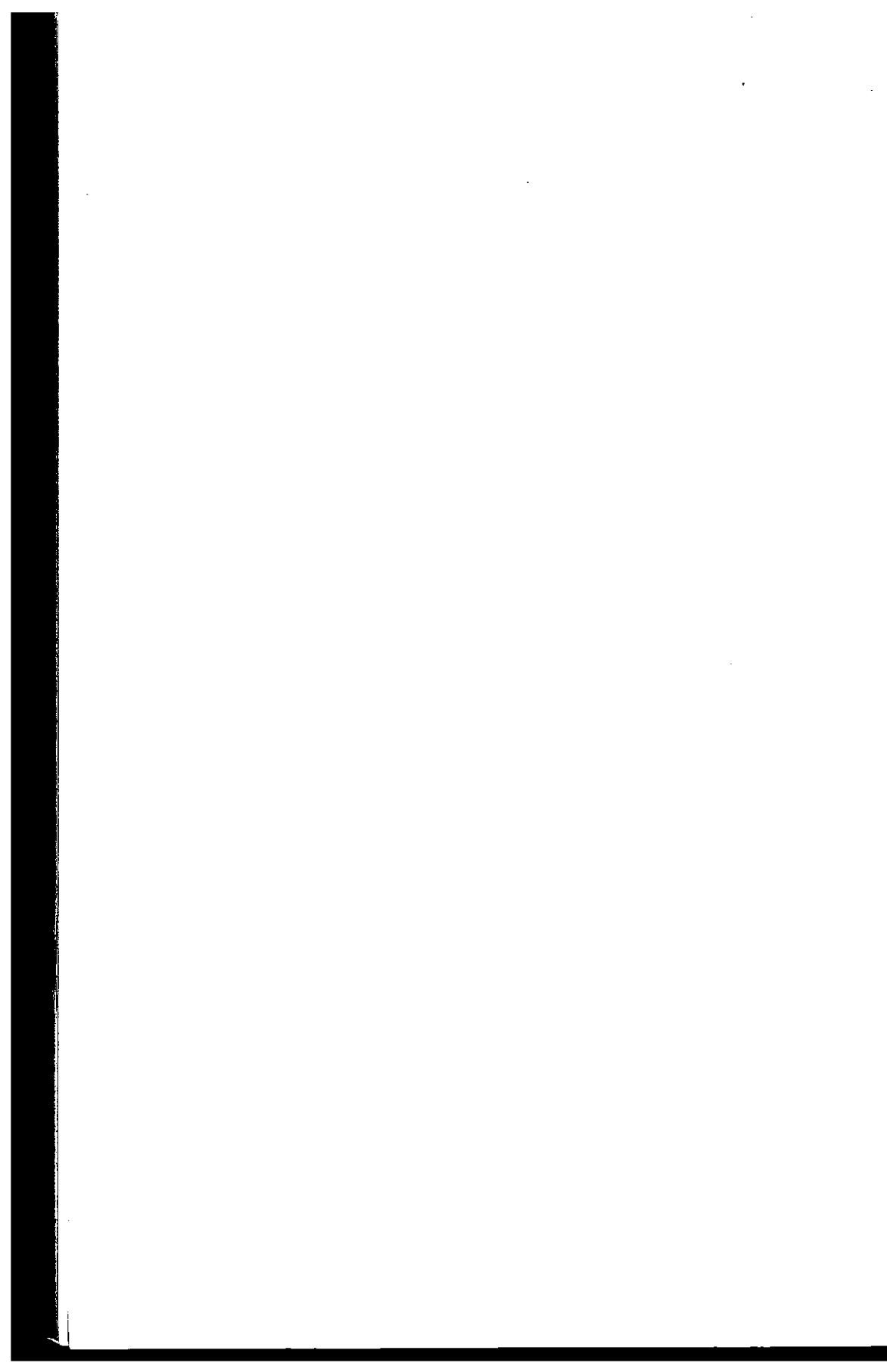
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