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Title	Notes on Japanese policy in formosa
Sub Title	
Author	McLaren, W. W.
Publisher	三田学会
Publication year	1909
Jtitle	三田学会雑誌 (Keio journal of economics). Vol.1, No.2 (1909. 3) ,p.79- 93
JaLC DOI	10.14991/001.19090301-0079
Abstract	
Notes	論説
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00234610-19090301-0079

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深二似謂之澮。專遂於川と。以て其設計の整然たるを推測するに難からず。

井田の道法。溝洫の廣狹に準じて大小の道路を作る。卽ち遂の上に徑あり、溝の上に畛あり、洫の上に塗あり、澮の上に道あり、川の上に路あり、路は王城に往來する大道にして、徃は我東海道と云ふが如しと。

偖前述の事實に由て是を按ずるに、淸國には平地多きが爲かく壯大なる井田の組も工夫されたるなるべし。去り乍ら實際に於ては、或は地勢の都合により、或は地味の肥瘠により、或は卿以下の受くる五十畝の圭田十六歲以上三十歲未滿の二男三男卽ち除夫の收るべき二十五畝等の配合具合により、地制の統一を缺きし所あるや疑を容れず　（未完）

NOTES ON JAPANESE POLICY IN FORMOSA.

(*W. W. McLaren.*)

Before visting Formosa, the writer of this article had read among other books, Mr. Takekoshi's *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, an obviously semi-official publication, the main purpose of which is to relate the success of Japanese colonial policy as applied in that island. One sentence in that book fastened itself in my mind, a statement credited to Baron Goto, at one time Chief of the Civil Administration, viz.:— "I wish to found Formosa on scientific principles." Still wondering what these words might mean the present writer spent a few weeks in the island during the recent New Yeat holiday.

The traveller in Formosa soon learns, that he is in a *pet colony*. A day of two in Taihoku, the capital, makes a profound impression upon his mind. There, everything is new, the park, the public buildings—schools, hospitals, and residences, the streets, the city waterworks and electric lighting, the

1. Takekoshi, Y. Japanese Rule in Formosa. P. 11.

whole *ensemble* suggests one of the thoroughly foreign parts of Tokyo. The city is made upon "scientific principles", if scientific and western are used as synonymous terms. Taihoku is a foreign city in the making, in ten years time it will be a complete modern capital. In a somewhat lesser degree the same changes are in process in the other cities, Taichu, Tainan and Takow.

Not only does the outward appearance of Taihoku and the other cities suggest *western* as a synonymn for "scientific", but conversation with the official class only deepens that impression. There is a universal desire in officialdom to follow western models directly, not the adaptations of them found in Japan. The heads of departments are sent on tours of inspection through the tropical colonies of other countries, and through Europe and America. Everywhere one hears the island institutions described as "better than in Japan", whether the hotel, the railway, or the new middle school be the subject of conversation.

Thus by degrees the Baron's wholly ambiguous "scientific principles" acquire a definite meaning, and one element of Japanese colonial policy comes to light, viz.:——*to give Formosa a complete outfit of western institutions.* It does not matter what Chinese property is confiscated so long as the streets are widened and straightened, and space is obtained for the new public buildings. The park and the roads will endure, and better still they can be seen, while the noise of injustice done, and even the memory of it soon fades away. The outward signs of the new order are indeed many and impressive. The world is requested to come and see, or at least to read and learn. Listen to Mr. Takekoshi in "a word to my readers", which serves as a prologue to his book: "Western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibility of colonizing the yet unopened portions of the globe, and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilization; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work. Some people, however are inclined to question whether we have the ability requisite for such a task. I felt that these would doubt no longer, could they but read the account of our successes in Formosa."

In these days, when every empire or republic in the first rank of great powers must have colonial possessions, Japan points proudly to Formosa, and Formosa adds lustre to the empire. But it is not enough that the colony brings glory; it must also serve some more tangibly useful purpose,

it must yield gain to the government and to the Japanese investor. This is the second element of Japan's colonial policy. In this connection what do Baron Gato's "scientific principles" imply? Apparently, *Formosa for the Japanese* for beginning with the South, trade , commerce, agriculture, everything has been swept into the Japanese bag; this process has been delayed in the North, but its turn may come.

Formosa became a Japanese possession at the end of the China war. It was part of the price which China paid for its conservatism, and its crooked diplomacy in 1874. Moreover, the island is rich enough to attract the attention of any country looking for colonies. It suited the needs of Japan exceedingly well, for one of its chief products was sugar cane. Geographically, Formosa belonged to Japan quite as much as to China, but climatically, as well as in population, language, and customs, the island is Chinese. In the final settlement in the Orient, the ownership of Formosa will doubtless come up for consideration. For the present Japan owns and is exploiting, not colonising, this rich piece of sub-tropical territory.

Formosa, with its 15,000 square miles and 3,000,000 people, is about the size of Denmark

or Switzerland. At present its population, with the exception of about 100, 000 savages, lives on the western half of the island, on the level plain which faces China. When the savages are exterminated, there will be opened up for settlement an area capable of supporting an additional 3, 000, 000 people. The nationality of this new population is all important. It cannot be Chinese for immigration from China is prohibited. It will scarcely be native Formosán for the natural increase of the natives is very slow. To make it Japanese will be a difficult task, for the climate and the lack of opportunities, act as deterrents to any large immigration of actual settlers from the mother country. For the ultimate ownership of the island the overcoming of the present almost universal sympathy of the natives with China, not Japan, is of the greatest importance. The natives must be made citizens of the Empire, they are too numerous to be exterminated therefore they must be assimilated. The process of assimilation has not yet started. The Japanese colonist, everywhere outside of the capital, is obviously an alien in a foreign land. He does not look happy, he dislikes his dirty neighbors, the thought of inter-marriage with them has never occured to him. If it were not for the ubiquitous official class, so conspicous in their uniforms, for the modern institutions, even more conspicuous by contrast with

Chinese surroundings, the traveller would hardly suspect the fact of Japanese occupation.....

.....The transfer of the island effected on April 17th 1865, did not give Japan actual possession, only a title of ownership. The actual occupation is not yet completed. The rule of the early governors was particularly difficult. They had to face the sullen hostility of the Chinese of the plain, the inveterate hatred of the banditti, which ceased only with their extermination, and the enduring enmity of the hill savages. Moreover, life, when actually possible, was very uncomfortable; the heat was great, the rice was poor, the surroundings were dirty, and there were no women. Under such circumstances, no wonder that methods of administration were crude, and slaughter often indiscriminate, or that loot was taken in any form that offered. Even Mr. Takekoshi does not try to minimise the excesses of this period. "A full set of carpenter's tools, was it is said, found in the luggage of one man who went to Formosa as a policeman. This is only one example of the extremely lax and irregular state of things which then existed. There were also not a few of the higher officials then in Formosa, who looked upon the island as a fine preserve for the purpose of office hunting."[2]

2. Takekoshi. *opus cit.* p. 20.

According to the same author the advent of the late Viscount Kodama, as Governor General in 1898, brought this early period of adventure and misrule to an end, "the Governor General..... effected a sweeping clearance. It is said, that for some weeks about this time, every steamer from Formosa calling at Moji, brought home hundreds of discarded officials."[3] The first years of the new order were occupied by the reorganisation and purification of the administration. With the appointment of Baron Goto to the office of Civil Governor, the transition period came to an end. The present organisation of the government[4] is briefly as follows. The Governor General is the chief executive authority, while the Civil Governor is the real power behind the administration. The Governor General is advised by a Council made up of the principal officials. In the language of the British Colonial Office, Formosa is a "Crown Colony", administered by the central government through an appointed governor and council. The Chinese inhabitants have no voice in the Council, and exercise no control over the Administration. The question of local government lies in abeyance, the colony

3. Takekoshi, *opus cit* p. 21.

4. Ibid, pp. 17-19. For the details of the Administration.

is too dear to Japan at present, to risk any such dangerous experiments as the bestowal of representative institutions. Any decided increase of the Japanese element in the population, outside of the official class, will project the question of local self-government into the region of active discussion and agitation.

It is time to consider the results of the Japanese occupation, not the improvements in the cities, great though they be, which are only of local interest, but those institutions which effect the welfare of the population at large, or at least of a considerable part of it. The results of Japanese policy, which are important, are to be found in the development of the island's resources, and in the opportunities offered to the *natives* to improve their economic status. By these standards the natives will judge the Administration, and upon its success or failure in these respects, will depend the final loyalty or disloyalty of the native population.

The government railway is an unalloyed gain to Formosa. The facilites offered by the railway for cheap and rapid transportation are appreciated by the natives. The trains, especially on the main line, are always crowded, and the movement of freight taxes the present equipment of the road. In the Chinese days there was no system of railway transportation. Some fifty or sixty miles of miserable track were built by Liu Ming-chuan after the Franco-China war, and were in operation from 1887, between Kelung and Shinchiku. In 1898 the Japanese had 60 miles of newly constructed track open for traffic, in 1907 the mileage had increased to 260. Construction had been going on through this period in various districts, North and South, and as fast as a section of the track was laid it was put into operation. But it was not till almost the end of last year, that a through line from Kelung to Takow was opened. The system now includes a main line from Taihoku to Takow, and branch lines from Taihoku to Kelung and Tamsui. In the old days overland travel between North and South was practically unknown, it was both difficult and dangerous. Even in 1907 the trip from Taihoku to Tainan occupied two days, at present it can be made in ten hours. Since 1898 the passenger traffic has increased sevenfold, and the freight tonnage tenfold. The total receipts from traffic were 287,000 yen in 1898-99, and over 2,000,000 yen in the year 1906-07.[5]

The government has also greatly increased the facilities for regular and rapid communication,

5. The statistics throughout this section are taken from the Financial and Economic Annual of Japan, 1908. pp. 186-191.

by the extension of the post-office, and the telegraph and telephone. Every considerable centre of population has its daily mail, and has communication with the rest of the island by wire. Lines of steamships have been subsidised by the island government in order to improve the means of communication between the island and the neighboring countries. A boat from Japan calls at Kelung at least once every three days, and at Takow twice a month. Tamsui and Amping have a weekly boat from Amoy and Hongkong. There are also lines of coasting steamers which ply regularly round the island, and to the Pescadores. Practically all the ships in the Formosan service belong to either the Nippon Yusen or the Osaka Shosen Kwaisha. The sums paid in subsidies amounted in 1897 to 514,500 yen and in 1908 to 783,500 yen. One other item must be added to this list. The government operates three short submarine cables, to Foochow, the Pescadores, and the Loochoo islands, respectively.

The banking system of Formosa was definitely established in 1899 by the chartering of the Taiwan Bank, an institution which occupies a position in the colony analagous to the Bank of Japan in the mother country. The bank enjoys a monopoly of the note issue, and has branches in all the large centres of population. The bank's notes are payable in gold on demand. At first the Chinese were reluctant to use paper money, and when the bank tried to force the circulation of its notes they were discounted at ten percent of their face value. Usage and the acknowledged fact of their convertibility has succeeded in overcoming the Chinese preference for "hard money". The bank has performed a great service in replacing the confused currency of the Chinese era, by the uniform, stable currency now in use, and in offering something like adequate banking facilities to the public.

As in the mother country so in the colony, the government has adopted that obnoxious agency of taxation, the Monopoly Bureau. In Formosa the Bureau controls the sale of tobacco and salt, and the manufacture and sale of opium and camphor. The tobacco monopoly is a device to retail the imported article at prices which range from one to three times the market rate under competitive conditions. The same may be said of the salt monopoly, except that the salt sold is of domestic manufacture. The opium monopoly finds cover under the wing of philanthropy, it purports to be a device for stamping out an evil habit. Its present business is to import pure opium, to adulterate it and sell it at an exhorbitant price. The camphor monopoly has about strangled the life out of itself by the prices asked for its product.

In the general statement of the revenues of the colony, the receipts from the government enterprises amounted in 1901-02 to 8,063, 560 yen and to 17, 984, 794 yen in 1908-09. The expenditures which correspond roughly to these receipts were 8, 221, 098 yen, and 12, 678, 026 yen respectively, for the two years mentioned above. Casting up a rough balance between the advantages and disadvantages of the government's enterprises to the people; under the first heading would be classed the railway, the post office, the telegraph and telephone, the steamship lines and the bank, under the second, the monopolies. The writer does not enter into any discussion of the question of state ownership of public utilities, but simply takes for granted what seems obvious, that without government aid the facilities for transportation and communication within and around the island would not have been supplied at least not on their present scale.

Turning to the private enterprises, what developments have occurred under the Japanese rule? Agriculture is Formosa's great industry; in the North, rice, sweet potatoes, and tea, in the South, cane farming. The output of rice has not greatly increased in the last ten years. The Chinese cultivate all the rice that is grown. They are thrifty industrious farmers, and have been taught nothing by the Japanese. The production of tea has fallen off rapidly since 1902, only some 11, 000, 000 kin were produced in 1906, as compared with 18, 000, 000 kin in 1898. This remarkable decline is said, by local exporters, to be the result of the competition of Ceylon and Indian teas in the American market. The island government has established a tea-factory at Ampingchin, but has been unsuccessful in its attempt to arrest the decline of the industry. An enormous increase of the sweet-potatoe crop has occurred since 1898, from 350, 000, 000 kin in that year to 1, 137, 000, 000 kin in 1906. This root now forms an important part of the food of the masses, it is cheap, and for that reason has been resorted to as other articles of food have risen in price.

In the South the agricultural conditions have entirely changed since 1900. A special reason exists for the development of the staple of this part of the island. Japan produces no cane, hitherto it has been wholly dependent upon foreign countries for its supply. The colony, it was thought, might be made to produce enough raw sugar to supply the refining industry in the mother country. The government concentrated its attention upon sugar. The length and quality of the cane was increased and improved by the importation of better seeds from Hawaii. The production of cane in-

creased by leaps, five times greater in 1902 than it had been in 1898. Attention was then turned to the crushing industry. The Chinese mill owners were required to install new machinery and adopt new methods. The percentage of sugar obtained from the cane was increased from 6 to nearly 10. About 1905 when the Chinese in the sugar districts were just beginning to get their breath again, the island government announced a new policy. Formosa was to have a sugar refining industry, and that industry was to be conducted by the Japanese. This was the end as far as the Chinese were concerned. The cane lands, the crushing mills soon changed hands; where the Chinese resisted the civil authorities applied coercion. Forced sale and confiscation are mild terms to describe the process. The transfer is now complete. The traveller in this district sees nothing but the imposing plants of the various Japanese sugar companies, which were created to receive the government's favors. Yet a tragedy has been enacted in that smiling land, the Chinese farmer has been despoiled of his dearest possession, his land.

The history of the sugar industry since 1906, as far as figures of production and export are concerned, is one of steady growth and prosperity. The methods by which the island government protected the refining industry have been exposed within the last month, and that particular form of dishonesty interdicted by the Imperial Government.

Casting up the balance among the private enterprises of Formosa, it would appear that the North has not been affected, except that increased taxation and the rise in the price of foodstuffs have driven the people to an extensive cultivation and use of the sweet potato. In the South, the product of cane and sugar has been vastly increased. The native Formosan has been completely mulcted of his property in land, and degraded from his position as a free laborer. Judged by what the writer considers a fundamental necessity for the perpetuation of Japanese rule in Formosa, the policy pursued in the sugar country must be considered the gravest of mistakes. When all the arguments in favor of that policy have been exhausted, there will still remain the fact of injustice done, and a population hostile to the administration. The South has been swept into the Japanese bag, and a similar process will occur in the north, whenever the land is needed.