
Japan and the Birth of Takao's Fisheries in *Nanyo*, 1895-1945

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Introduction

Taiwan is one of the major distant-water fishing nations in the world. The total annual catch of tuna ranked second among fishing powers in 2005 while that of squid was third. Kaohsiung City, the centre of Taiwan's distant-water fisheries, has contributed significantly to this achievement. Kaohsiung's modern fishing industry became well established during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) as Takao (Kaohsiung's old name) was already the regional centre of distant-water fisheries in *Nanyo* (the Southern Ocean, see figure 1).



Figure 1: Geographic Location of Takao

Source: Courtesy of the author.

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While Japan had a large influence on the development of Takao's fisheries, little has been written in English on this. To fill this gap, in this article I describe and analyse Japan's influence on the rise of Takao's fisheries at three different levels. First, from a macro perspective I will analyse the impact of Japan's "Marching Southwards Policy" [*Nanshin Seisaku*] on Takao's fishing industries. Second, I will examine on the operational level how fishing methods were diffused from Japan to Takao. Third, from a micro perspective I will describe the construction of Takao's fishing port and demonstrate how marketing channels were established. Due to the lack of relevant publications in English, I have heavily relied on literature published in prewar Japan.

The Marching Southwards Policy and Nanyo Fisheries

The idea of "Southward Development" [*Nanshinron*] was first proposed by Japanese intellectuals during the Meiji Restoration. They asserted that since the economies, societies and cultures of Southeast Asia were still underdeveloped, it was Japan's duty to control and civilize the region.¹ But this mission required an outpost, and Taiwan was viewed as the ideal choice. Prior to the formal annexation of the island in 1895, some Japanese scholars had already foreseen the significance of Taiwan's location as an aid to Japan's southward development. Tokutomi Soho, referred to as the "Guide of the Japanese Empire [*Teikoku Nihon no Kyodosha*]," argued in his article "Suggestions Regarding the Occupation of Taiwan" [*Taiwan Senryo Ikensho*] that "Taiwan is situated at the southern doorway of our country (Japan). If we intend to expand the territory of the Japanese Empire southwards, without a doubt, the most important thing we need to do is to control this doorway."² He also declared that Japan would have to defend itself on the northern frontier before initiating its southward expansion. With Taiwan as a southern outpost, Japanese influence would be ideally placed to penetrate into Southeast Asia.³

This expansionist perspective was regarded as the template for the "Theory Respecting Taiwan as a Southward Fortress [*Taiwan Nanshin Kyoden Ron*]," and it soon was adopted by colonial officials in Taiwan. Katsura Taro,

¹Yano Tōru, *Nanshin no Keifu* [*The Genealogy of Southward Development*] (Tokyo, 1997), 53-55. Although most of Southeast Asia had been controlled or colonized by Europeans during the Meiji period, some Japanese scholars still believed that God had entrusted the region to westerners only in the interim and that it would eventually come under Japanese rule.

²Gotō Kenichi, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia* [*Modern Japan and Southeast Asia*] (Tokyo, 2001), 79-80.

³Yano, *Nanshin no Keifu*, 148.

Taiwan's second Governor-General, deemed that Taiwan's geographic position not only enabled Japan to block China's development but also provided an excellent starting point from which to extend Japanese political and commercial influence. Such ideas were implemented gradually after the First World War.⁴ When the conflict prevented Europeans from selling industrial products to their overseas colonies, the markets in Southeast Asia were quickly glutted with Japanese goods. Japanese colonial bureaucrats expected Taiwan, as the southern doorway to the burgeoning empire, to play an active role in this southward economic expansion. At that time, censuses of population and land ownership in Taiwan were completed, and significant advances were made in the production of rice and sugar, which effectively increased the government's revenues. Moreover, Taiwanese military resistance had been suppressed. These conditions enabled the colonial government to implement its southward development plans. This period in Taiwan's history is known as the "Southward Development of the Taisho Period" [*Taisho Nanshinki*].⁵

The colonial government established three shipping lines from Taiwan to Southeast Asia and set up branches of the Bank of Taiwan in Java. In addition, an act entitled the "Special Expenditures for Establishing Facilities in South China and the Nanyo" [*Nanshi Nanyo Shisetsuhi*] was promulgated. Shimomura Horoshi, the Chief Secretary of Civil Affairs [*Minsei Chokan*], expressed an opinion similar to that of Tokutomi in 1915. He also described Taiwan as "a gateway of Japan" and believed that it should become one of the principal outposts of the Japanese Empire because of its strategic location relative to China and East and Southeast Asia.⁶ It is clear that the southward development policy was well underway.

In 1919, a system of civil governorship was adopted, and the tradition of appointing Governor-Generals in Taiwan was abolished. But this important change in the bureaucratic apparatus did not alter the intention to dominate Southeast Asia. The colonial government now turned its attention to investigating the industrial development and economic exploitation of Southeast Asia in order to pave the way for further control over the region.⁷

⁴Gotō, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia*, 81-82.

⁵Nakamura Takashi, "Taiwan to Nanshi Nanyo ["Taiwan, Southern China and the Southern Ocean"]," in N. Takashi (ed.), *Nihon no Nanpō Kanyō to Taiwan* [*Japan's Involvement in the Southern Issues and the Role of Taiwan*] (Nara, 1988), 14-15.

⁶Gotō, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia*, 81-82.

⁷*Ibid.*, 82. The investigation activities included the exploration of marine resources in Southeast Asia. As well, the colonial government ordered the construction of some experimental vessels to exploit new fishing grounds.

The fishing industry was considered an important part of the Japanese economic sector, and it was expected to play a major role in the southward economic expansion. As early as 1914 the Japanese government had recognized the economic and ecological significance of the southward development of the fishing industry. A Japanese fisheries official, Takayama Itaro, pointed out that the migration of fishers to Southeast Asia could solve the problem of overpopulation in Japan's fishing villages. Moreover, the expansion of fishing grounds could boost Japanese prestige in the region and tap the market for marine products in places such as Singapore.⁸ In 1917 the slogan "March Southward! Japanese Fishing Industry!" [*Suisan Nanjin*] was created in Japan.⁹

Several fishing supply bases had been established in Southeast Asia by Japanese fishers even before the start of the economic expansion. Due to its geographic proximity, Manila was the first when in 1901 Yamane Yosabee started to fish in the bay. His excellent catches encouraged other fishers, especially from Hiroshima and Okayama, to migrate to Manila.¹⁰ Besides the Philippines, Japanese fishers started to use ports in the Netherlands East Indies to explore nearby marine resources. In 1915 Tamagusuku Tokushuke used Sumatra's fishing ports as supply bases, and six years later Nakamura Itaro used Sabang. In 1916 Tamakushuku Toku used Manado in the Celebes. By the mid-1920s two Japanese fishing companies, Kyoei Kumi and Daisho Koshi, operated fisheries-related businesses in Batavia.¹¹ Singapore was also used as an important fishing supply base by Japanese fishers and fishing enterprises from the 1910s. As a free-trade port, Singapore provided Japanese fishing companies with a comparatively friendly environment, and by 1936 it had become one of Japan's most important fishing supply bases in Southeast Asia. One estimate suggests that 1038 Japanese fishing migrants lived and fished in Singapore at the time.¹² The remarkable success of Japanese fishers in exploiting overseas marine resources encouraged many others to migrate as well.

⁸Gotō, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia*, 48.

⁹Hu Xinghua, *The Development of the Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [*Tuoyu Taiwan*] (Taipei, 1996), http://www.fa.gov.tw/chn/fish_culture/history/show_article.php?Id=28, accessed 16 March 2005.

¹⁰Kataoka Chikashi, *Nanyo no Nihonjin Gyogyō* [*Japanese Fisheries in Nanyo*] (Tokyo, 1991), 22. In fact, Tagawa Shintaro was the first Japanese fisher in Manila Bay. He arrived at Manila in 1900, but the results of his activities were poor due to his unfamiliarity with the local fishing ground.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 91 and 93.

¹²*Ibid.*, 48-49 and 69.

An aggressive proposal on Japanese fisheries development was put forward in 1934 by Kunishi Kōsuke, an extremely patriotic fisheries expert. He claimed that although the size of the Japanese navy had been strictly limited after the Washington Naval Conference in 1922, the construction of modern distant-water fishing fleets could effectively make up for this deficiency. He noted that since distant-water fishing fleets were equipped with modern telecommunication devices and were suitable for long-distance navigation, the vessels could also be used for military purposes. Moreover, the fishers could serve as a naval reserve force.¹³ The latter was actually adopted by the Japanese navy when the international situation became increasingly tense.

In 1936, Kobayashi Seizo, a Japanese Naval Reserve Admiral, was appointed Taiwan's Governor-General. "The Marching Southwards Policy" soon became one of his most important policy initiatives. The activities of the Japanese navy directly encouraged the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry. The navy expected fishing vessels to collect all sorts of intelligence, and Japanese fishers willingly cooperated.¹⁴

The need to meet Japanese food demands was also an important reason to exploit the Southeast Asian fisheries. By the early 1930s the northern grounds, particularly in the East China Sea, had been gradually depleted, and many believed that they had reached their peak. But demand in Japan continued to rise as tensions in China worsened. The supply problem was exacerbated in the late 1930s when Japan had begun to feel the effects of a rice shortage.¹⁵ To solve the growing food problem, fishers were encouraged by the government to operate in comparatively new fishing grounds, such as the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea. The advantages of this fisheries policy were both economic and military. The exploitation of marine resources would not only make a major contribution to the food crisis but also further the goal of creating an East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere [*Daitoa Kyo-eiken*, see figure 2].¹⁶ Taiwan, and especially Takao, was expected to play a substantial role in this development. Indeed, its position became even more important when Japa-

¹³*Ibid.*, 259-260.

¹⁴Gotō, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia*, 58 and 94.

¹⁵*Taiwan no Suisan* [*The Fishing Industry of Taiwan*] (Taihoku, 1935), 16; and *Suisan Keizai Kenkyū Daiichi Shu: Nanpō Gyogyō Mondai* [*Fisheries Economics Vol. 1: Fisheries Issues in the South*] (Tokyo, 1941), 91-93.

¹⁶Koshiyoshi Yoshinobu, "Taiwan no Suisangyō ["The Fishing Industry of Taiwan]," in T. Ichirō (ed.), *Taiwan Keizai Sōsho*, 6 [*Series on the Economy of Taiwan*, 6] (Taihoku, 1938), 129 and 133-134; and *Suisan Keizai Kenkyū Daiichi Shu: Nanpō Gyogyō Mondai*, 93.

nese fishers were refused supplies at some bases in Southeast Asia because of the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment in the 1930s.

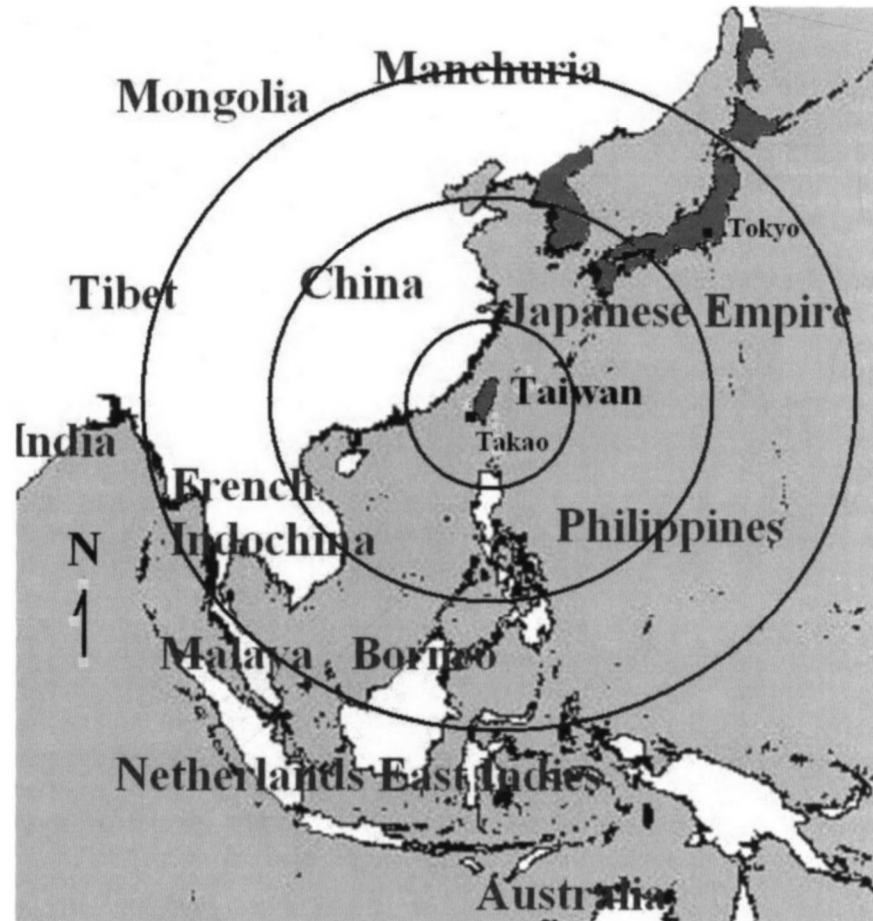


Figure 2: East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

Source: Gotō Kenichi, *Kindai Nihon to Tōnan Ajia* [Modern Japan and Southeast Asia] (Tokyo, 2001), 81-82.

Japan's economic expansion in Southeast Asia also caused concern among the colonial powers in the region. The government of the Dutch East Indies started to take precautions after the Holland-Japan talks in the 1930s. Several strict fisheries-related regulations were issued by Dutch authorities to control Japanese migrants engaged in the fisheries, and in 1937 the govern-

ment formally prohibited foreign vessels from fishing in its territorial waters, a decision which impacted heavily on Japanese distant-water fishers.¹⁷

The offshore fisheries of British Malaya were dominated by Japanese migrants. During the 1930s numerous Japanese fishing boats used Malayan ports, raising British concerns over national security because Malaya hosted one of the most important Royal Navy bases in East Asia. To discourage the Japanese from investing in Malaya's fishing industries, after February 1937 the colonial government began to issue harsh fisheries-related regulations aimed at creating an unfriendly environment for Japanese fishing enterprises. The policy became even tougher after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War.¹⁸

The Commonwealth of the Philippines stopped issuing new fishing licences to foreign fishers in 1933. The deteriorating situation in the late 1930s had a further negative impact on Japanese fishers. The outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and Japan's expansionist policies alarmed the Americans and their Filipino hosts. In 1938 the government amended its fisheries regulations to impose greater restrictions on foreign fishing enterprises. This Japanese considered this an unfriendly act and believed that it was merely a precursor of tougher measures to follow.¹⁹

The environment in *Nanyo* became more difficult in the 1930s, especially after 1937. The Japanese believed that this was a result of the Second Sino-Japanese War. To avoid future harassment, many Japanese distant-water fishing vessels shifted their supply bases from Southeast Asia to Takao.

Japan's Fisheries Policy Goals and Business Interests

The marine environment surrounding Taiwan is exceptionally well suited to the propagation of marine life and the development and operation of various kinds of fishing industries. Two ocean currents flow along the coasts, and their interactions bring abundant marine resources to the island's shores. The Japan Current brings warm water with a high saline content from the equatorial regions (see figure 3). The main current flows along the east coast, while a smaller branch flows through the Taiwan Strait. The two currents meet in the East China Sea and advance towards Japan. This important current brings a stock of migratory fish including mackerel, bonito and tuna. The Littoral Current flows southward along the Chinese coast [*Zhongguo Yanan Liu*], endow-

¹⁷*Suisan Keizai Kenkyu Daiichi Shu: Nanpō Gyogyō Mondai*, 40-41.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 45-46.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 49-52.

ing Taiwan with rich resources, such as pomfret, eel, porgy, yellow croaker and cutlass fish.²⁰



Figure 3: Ocean Currents around Taiwan

Source: Courtesy of the author.

The East China Sea lies north of the Taiwan Strait and covers an area of about 950,000 square kilometres; south of the Strait is the South China Sea, encompassing approximately 206,000 square kilometres. Both are adjacent to Taiwan. Furthermore, the main rivers of China, such as the Yangtze and Pearl, carry a prodigious quantity of organic matter to the South and East

²⁰*The Development of the Fishing Industry* [Yuye Fazhan] (Nantou, 1971), 2; and *A Study of the Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [Taiwan Yuye Zhi Yanjiu] (Taipei, 1974), 66-67.

China seas and form an ideal breeding ground for marine species.²¹ These two seas, combined with the Taiwan Strait, span an area stretching from northern China to the southern tip of Vietnam. At the start of the twentieth century this was considered one of the world's biggest demersal fishing grounds. These marine resources enabled the onshore communities to fish all year, a condition which proved extremely advantageous in the initial stage of the development of Taiwan's fishing industry.

The fishing ports in Taiwan, especially Takao, were considerably closer to this major fishing ground than those in Japan. As a result, vessels sailing from Takao could save considerable time, thus lower operating costs.²² More important, the use of Takao as a supply base by Japanese fishers could avoid the boycotts that were increasing elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The colonial government recognized all this and expected that Taiwan, and especially its southern port city, Takao, would play a significant role in the southward expansion of the fishing grounds. These expectations were frequently expressed in official publications and fisheries magazines throughout the colonial period. "Industries in Taiwan and Their Leading People" [*Taiwan Jigyōkai to Chūsin Jinbutsu*], published in 1919, pointed out that:

Taiwan is located on the southwestern end of our country [Japan]. Her west coast is separated from southern China by a narrow strait, and the shallow water is suitable for the development of offshore fisheries. The Japan Current flows along the east coast throughout the year. Consequently, the oceanic bonito fishery is very abundant. In the future, the distant water fisheries of Taiwan will flourish.²³

This early quotation shows that the commercial advantages of Taiwan's location were well understood and that the Japanese had foreseen that important offshore fisheries could be developed from Taiwan. Takao, as the biggest port in southern Taiwan, was expected to play a major role in all this.²⁴

²¹*The Fishing Industry of Taiwan* [*Taiwan Yuye*] (Nantou, 1953), 1.

²²A *Brief Introduction to the Agricultural Industries, Vol. 10: Fisheries* [*Nongye Yaolan Dishiji Yuyepian*] (Taipei, 1962), 5; and Zhang Baoshu, *Studies in the Establishment of China's Fisheries* [*Zhongguo Yuye Jianshe Yanjiu*] (Taipei, 1952), 20.

²³Kamimura Kendou, *Taiwan Jigyōkai to Chūsin Jinbutsu* [*Industries in Taiwan and Their Leading People*] (Taihoku, 1919), 17.

²⁴During the colonial period the fishing industry in Keelung was stronger than the one based in Kaohsiung. But with respect to the southward development of the Japanese fishing industry, Kaohsiung was always the first port mentioned due to its

A similar, but even more explicit, perspective can be found in "A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao" [*Yakusin Takao no Zenbō*], published in 1940. The authors described Takao as the doorway of southern Taiwan, which also constrained the progress of southern China and Southeast Asia. As the southernmost point of the Japanese Empire, it was given the significant mission of spearheading future economic development. Takao was not only a trading port but also a major supply base for the developing fishing industries in Southeast Asia.²⁵

Just as Taiwan was considered the southern gateway to the empire, Takao was regarded as the southern doorway of Taiwan. As a transport hub and entrepot between East and Southeast Asia, Takao could assist Japan to extend its commercial influence further south. As well, its unique location could be extremely beneficial to the southward expansion of the Japanese fisheries. Taiwan, and especially Takao, was consistently mentioned in official circles whenever this was discussed. Besides government officials and fisheries experts, some leading Japanese fishing companies also realised that Takao and Taiwan could make major contributions to building their offshore industries. Several major fishing companies and branches were established, and a huge amount of capital was invested in Takao by the Japan Fishing Company [*Nihon Suisan Kabushiki Gaisha*], Takao Seaweed Gathering and Marketing Company [*Takao Kaiso Saishu Hanbai Kabushiki Gaisha*], Takuyo Fishing Company [*Takuyo Suisan Kabushiki Gaisha*], Rinken Shop [*Rinken Shouten Shuchoshō*] and Takunan Fishing Company [*Takunan Gyogyo Kabushiki-Gaisha*].²⁶

It is clear that due to its geographic advantages, Taiwan was regarded as the southern gateway to the Japanese Empire, and it was expected to make major economic contributions to the southward expansion. With regards to the development of the fishing industry, Takao was always considered one of the most important supply bases for the exploitation of regional fishing grounds. The use of Takao as a home port from which to exploit the marine resources of Southeast Asia could satisfy both Japan's expansionist goals and civilian business interests. This perspective fostered a consensus among the fisheries authorities and companies. As a result, great efforts were made by the colonial government to develop Takao's fishing industry.

strategic location and economic potential. *Takao Shisei Jū Shunen Ryakushi* [A Brief History of Takao City, Ten-Year Anniversary] (Takao, 1934), 88.

²⁵Nakayama Kaoru and Katayama Kiyoo, *Yakusin Takao no Zenbō* [A Comprehensive Study of the Progress of Takao] (Takao, 1940), 201.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 208-214.

The Diffusion of Fishing Methods from Japan and the Southward Exploitation of Fishing Grounds in Nanyo

Before the advent of the colonial era, fishing vessels in Taiwan were either bamboo rafts or tiny boats with limited range and operational capabilities. But during the colonial period new fishing methods, including the use of single and pair trawls and a long-line fishery for tuna, began to transform the industry.²⁷

Single trawl fishing was introduced by the Taiwan Fishing Co. [*Taiwan Gyogyo Kabushiki-Gaisha*] in 1912. Although the company was not as successful as had been hoped, some contemporaries ignored this and founded the Taiwan Trawling Co. [*Taiwan Tororu Kabushiki-Gaisha*]. By the mid-1920s, both of these pioneering companies had closed due to the economic depression in Taiwan.²⁸

In 1927, Taiwan's trawl fishing industry was resuscitated by the Kyodo Fishing Co. [*Kyodo Gyogyo Kabushiki-Gaisha*]. For the next few years the number of single-trawlers in Taiwan was strictly limited under the direct management of the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MAF) (see table 1). The fishing grounds around Taiwan were divided into two zones. The northern zone included the East China Sea and the Taiwan Strait, while the southern zone comprised the South China Sea. No more than four trawlers were permitted to operate in each area. As a staunch supporter of this fishery, Kyodo was privileged by the government and allowed to monopolize the trawl fishery in Taiwan for several years. In 1936, however, the management of the trawl fishery experienced a major change when the ban on the number of single-trawlers was abolished. Instead, a limitation on total tonnage was imposed. This measure now broke the monopoly, and another firm, the Horai Fishing Co., was soon fishing in the East China Sea and off the coast of South China with the single-trawlers *Tamura-maru*, *Soga-maru*, *Dainichiminato-maru* and *Meiji-maru*. By 1940 eight single-trawlers were based at the Kiryu Fishing Port (Keelung), and two more operated from Takao. In addition, the eleven operating in the South China Sea under licences from the MAF used Takao as a supply base.²⁹

²⁷Koshiyoshi, "Taiwan no Suisangyō," 121-122.

²⁸Lin Jinfa, *Taiwan Hattatsu Shi* [*The History of the Development of Taiwan*] (Taihoku, 1936), 865; and Koshiyoshi, "Taiwan no Suisangyō," 129.

²⁹Lin, *Taiwan Hattatsu Shi*, 865-866; Koshiyoshi Yoshinobu, "Taiwan no Suisangyō II ["The Fishing Industry in Taiwan II"]," *Nanyo Suisan* [*Nanyo Fisheries*], III, No. 9 (1937), 15-17; *Taiwan no Suisan*, 15-16; and *Taiwan Suisan Yōran*, 23.

Table 1
Development of the Single-Trawl Fishery in Taiwan, 1931-1940

	Number of Trawlers	Annual Catch (tons)	Tonnage (per vessel)	Horsepower (per vessel)	Annual Catch (tons per vessel)
1931	4	1,693,784	225.8	574.00	423,441
1932	4	1,581,828	205.0	507.50	370,457
1933	4	2,259,393	205.5	507.50	564,848
1934	4	3,013,056	251.7	553.50	753,264
1935	4	2,962,001	230.8	512.25	740,517
1936	4	3,251,119	230.8	560.25	812,779
1937	5	4,136,154	209.0	572.00	827,230
1938	6.3	6,124,422	267.4	501.90	972,130
1939	7.9	9,181,455	223.3	536.45	1,162,200
1940	8.9	14,930,234	349.1	542.64	1,674,520

Note: Number of trawlers is an annual average. The trawl fishery in colonial Taiwan peaked in 1940 and then declined dramatically due to the Second World War.

Source: Naitō Harukichi and Xu Jiwu, *The History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan [Taiwan Yuyeshi]* (Taipei, 1957), 14.

The pair-trawl fishery began in Taiwan in 1924.³⁰ When it was introduced the colonial government imposed strict management measures to control the numbers in order to protect coastal fishing grounds. At first, only twenty units of pair-trawlers were permitted to operate off Taiwan. Nevertheless, following the rapid growth of the industry the fisheries authority granted more licences. By 1927 there were thirty units, and by 1931 fifty units of pair-trawlers had obtained permission. In 1936, when the fisheries management in Taiwan experienced a major reorganisation, the total tonnage of single- and pair-trawlers was about 10,000 tons (see table 2).³¹

The main fishing grounds for the pair-trawlers were the East China Sea, Taiwan Strait, South China Sea and Gulf of Tonkin. Initially, most single- and pair-trawlers operated from Kiryu, with comparatively few using Takao. But when the fish stocks in the north began to dwindle, the government began to encourage fishers to exploit the southern grounds. To accomplish this, the number of pair-trawlers operating in the north was limited, while no restric-

³⁰According to *Taiwan no Suisan* and *Taiwan Suisan Yōran*, the *Sokobiki ami* fishery was introduced as early as 1919, which is obviously different from Takemoto Ichirō's account.

³¹Koshiyoshi, "Taiwan no Suisangyō," 133-134.

tions were placed on their numbers in the south.³² This measure accelerated the southward expansion of the trawling grounds (see figure 4).

Table 2
Development of the Pair-Trawl Fishery in Taiwan, 1931-1940

	Number of Vessels	Annual Catch (tons)	Tonnage	Horsepower	Annual Catch (tons per unit)
1931	66	9,824,442	57.10	106.96	388,498
1932	64	8,513,468	54.19	104.00	266,045
1933	64	12,811,449	54.19	104.00	400,357
1934	64	15,492,798	53.40	103.00	484,149
1935	58	22,900,217	63.50	115.90	789,662
1936	80	22,251,552	61.25	110.00	556,289
1937	70	25,726,870	71.28	112.00	735,053
1938	66	27,255,727	76.09	132.85	825,931
1939	84	30,217,786	78.25	137.42	719,470
1940	82	42,219,092	79.39	142.11	1,029,730

Note: See table 1.

Source: See table 1.

The long-line tuna fishery was introduced to Taiwan in 1913 and was developed separately in Takao and northern Taiwan. This fishery prospered in northern Taiwan because it was located close to the main market in Japan. But the fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were still too far away from northern Taiwan, so the long-liners continued to work nearby areas. As a result, fishers in northern Taiwan could not compete with their counterpart in Takao, which became the most important port for Taiwan's long-liners. By the end of the colonial period, boats from Takao were catching eighty-one percent of tuna compared to only sixteen percent from Taihoku (Taipei).³³

The tuna long-line, single-trawl and pair-trawl fisheries were all introduced to Takao as early as elsewhere in Taiwan. Takao's single-trawl industry began with only two vessels – a modest investment made by the Japan Fishing Company. Nevertheless, after the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, some trawlers based on the China coast and in Japan

³²*History of the Fishing Industry in Taiwan*, 14-15; *Honpō Kaiyō Gyogyō no Gensei*, 176-177; and Koshiyoshi, "Taiwan no Suisangyō," 133-134.

³³Koshiyoshi, "Taiwan no Suisangyō," 133-134. The tuna long-liners came in a wide range of sizes. The smallest were less than five tons, while the largest were more than 100 tons. The most popular were medium-sized vessels varying from ten to twenty tons.

chose Taiwan as a supply base. Nine trawlers of the Japan Fishing Company, each of about 500 tons, left Hong Kong and began to use Takao as a home port, while two trawlers of the *Rinken Shop*, each of about 600 gross tons, left Shimonoseki for Takao. By 1945, the Japan Fishing Company was building a 1000-ton vessel to be deployed in the Gulf of Thailand, the Indian Ocean and along the coast of Africa.³⁴

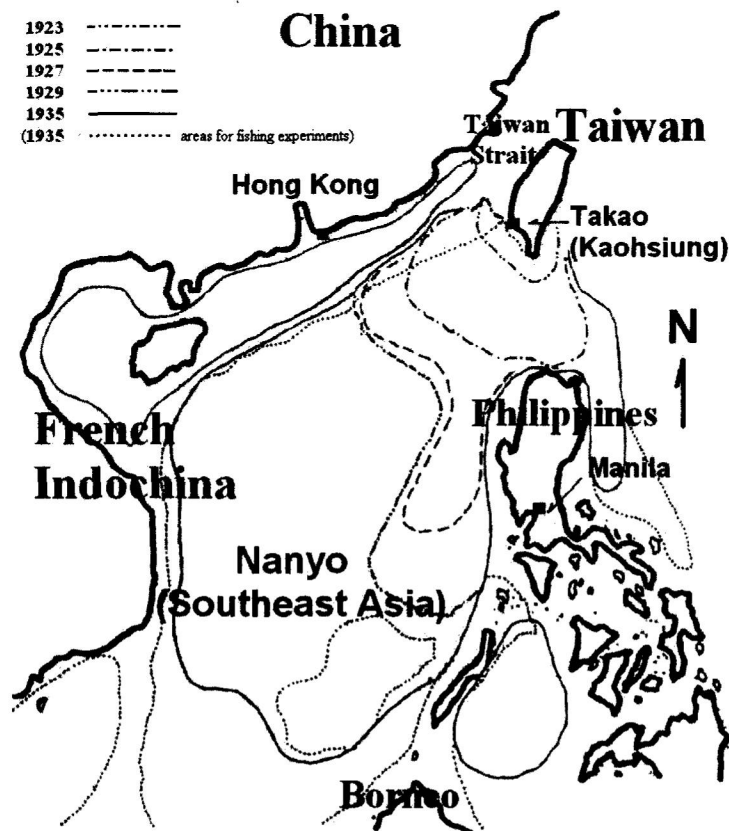


Figure 4: Southward Expansion of Takao's Fishing Industry

Source: *Takao Shū Suisan Yōran* [A Brief Guide to the Fishing Industry of Takao] (Takao, 1940).

³⁴*Takao no Suisan* [The Fishing Industry of Takao] (Takao, 1941), 6-7.

By 1941 some twenty-eight units of pair-trawlers were based in Takao, most of which operated in the Taiwan Strait, off Hong Kong and in the Gulf of Tonkin. From 1936 onwards, the colonial government, in order to expand the fishing grounds southward, used Hainan in China as a supply base for its experimental fishing vessel and obtained excellent results in the waters off Vietnam. In 1941, twenty-three units of pair-trawlers were under construction, and many believed that the pair-trawl fishery would become quite prosperous in the future.³⁵

The tuna long-line fishery was the most important fishing sector in prewar Takao, which is illustrated by the fact that eighty percent of the motorized vessels operating from the port were long-liners. These vessels were classified into three groups based upon their size: large long-liners of 100 gross tons and 200 horsepower; middle-sized long-liners of thirty gross tons and sixty horsepower; and small vessels of twenty gross tons and forty horsepower. The last category comprised seventy percent of Takao's long-liners.³⁶ Table 3 depicts the growth of Takao's fishing industry during the period 1938-1940. The catch value of these industries grew rapidly, especially the tuna long-line and pair-trawl fisheries.³⁷ The fishing industry had without doubt become an important economic sector in Takao.

Table 3
Catch Value of the Tuna Long-line Fishery and the Trawl Fisheries in Takao, 1938-1940 (Yen)

	1938 (Yen)	1939 (Yen)	1940 (Yen)
Tuna Long-line Fishery	2,952,759	4,714,939	8,646,761
Pair-trawl Fishery	807,210	1,693,055	2,253,783
Single-trawl Fishery	453,857	1,289,116	1,139,371
Total	4,213,826	7,697,110	12,039,915

Source: *Takao no Suisan* [*The Fishing Industry of Takao*] (Takao, 1941), 2-3.

Construction of Takao Fishing Port and the Opening of International Markets

In addition to the favourable conditions on the island, there were also local factors that supported the development of the fishing industry in Takao. But

³⁵*Ibid.*, 5; and *Takao Shū Yōran* [*The Guide of Takao*] (Takao, 1941), 112.

³⁶*Takao no Suisan*, 3-4.

³⁷These became two of the most important fishing industries in Kaohsiung. Their dominance could not be challenged even in the postwar period.

how could this port support the development of a distant-water fishery and what kind of modern infrastructure was constructed in Takao before the war? The late nineteenth-century construction of Takao Port was one of the basic keys for the development of the fishing industry, although the original motives for building it were more varied than merely fishing. In the 1890s, the rapid growth of the sugar industry required large-scale imports of machinery and facilities to export raw and manufactured sugar. Despite being one of the major gateways to Taiwan, it was still difficult for the small port to handle all this traffic. To overcome the problem, it was decided in 1904 to expand the port. By 1908, the preliminary stages of the modernization project had been completed. Sugar-producing machines could now be transported by train as soon as they arrived at the quay. The link between ocean-going shipping and land transportation had a positive influence on the development not only of Takao but also of the industries based in southern Taiwan. The latter, of course, included the fishing industry.

In the same year, the main railroads in western Taiwan were also connected. The Takao train station now became the southern departure point and rail head for the main railroads; as a result, the port became the economic gateway of southern Taiwan. Rice, sugar, wood and other exports were stored at Takao. But in a comparatively short period of time the existing infrastructure could no longer handle the traffic, so between 1908 and 1912 the first phase of a major improvement programme was launched. The submerged reefs around the port were removed, two modern harbours were established, more railroad lines were constructed, warehouses and godowns were built and an artificial waterway and boat quay were constructed for fishing vessels and small boats.

The second phase of construction at Takao led to a remarkable increase in the volume of trade. By 1912, it handled more than thirty-seven percent of the entire trade of the island, which almost exceeded the volume of trade at Koryu. Although the second phase was scheduled for completion in 1920, it was not finished until 1937. During this phase the embankment was enlarged, the waterway dredged, the port widened and the number of berths increased.³⁸

While these major construction projects were being completed, a special project for the extension and modernization of fishing ports was proposed in 1924 by the Transportation Bureau [*Kotsukyoku*]. But it was not approved until April 1926, when Governor-General Kamiyama Mitsunoshin inspected Takao. The project included three main aspects: dredging, the construction of

³⁸The material in the preceding three paragraphs is drawn largely from Zhang Shoujhen and Xu Yinan, *The Past and Present of Hamasen* [*Hamasing De Qianshi Jinshen*] (Kaohsiung, 1998), 10-15.

a protecting embankment at Shōsentō Fishing Harbour,³⁹ and the construction of onshore fisheries-related infrastructure (see figure 5). The first two projects enabled larger vessels, like the distant-water fishing boats, to anchor in this safe haven, thus contributing to the southward development of Takao's fishing industry. The last initiative comprised the construction of a larger fish market, godowns and a petroleum facility. Each made separate but related contributions. Access to a modern fuel depot supported the motorization of fishing vessels in Takao, which was a major basis for the development of distant-water fisheries.⁴⁰ The large fish market could handle and distribute most of the fish products arriving from the Taiwan Strait and Southeast Asia without difficulty.

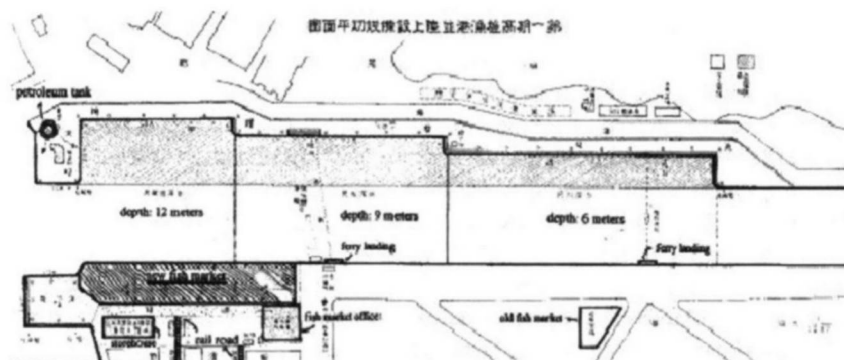


Figure 5: Construction of Takao Fishing Port

Source: Tagame Ichirou, *Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi* [Takao Fishing Port and Its Onshore Facilities] (Takao, 1930).

In addition to the modernization of port infrastructure and the island-wide and international fish markets, the construction of transportation networks also made an invaluable contribution to the development of Takao's fishing industry. The markets for Takao's fish were opened in three phases: the establishment of the Takao Fish Market in 1912; combining the Takao market in an organizational chain with other fish markets across Taiwan in 1918; and finally the opening of international fish markets in 1922.

³⁹Shōsentō was the first harbour in the Takao Fishing Port.

⁴⁰Tagame Ichirou, *Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi* [Takao Fishing Port and its Onshore Facilities] (Takao, 1930), 2-10. As a supply base for the southward fishing industries, the establishment of a modern fuel depot was essential. The tank was made of steel and was equipped with a lightning rod and fireproof gear. To meet any emergency, it was surrounded with a protecting wall. It was located at the entrance to Shōsentō Harbour.

Prior to the establishment of a modern fish market, the fish trade in Takao was carried out by small-scale, itinerant fishmongers, which was disadvantageous to the long-term development of a modern fishing industry. Fortunately, the wholesale and retail trade situation improved significantly after a modern fish market was established in Takao at the end of 1912 by the Taiwan Sea-Land Property Company ([*Taiwan Kairiku Sangyo Kabushiki-Gaisha*], TSPC). Under the management of TSPC, the operation of the fish market became far more efficient, and transactions were more transparent. As a result, Japanese fishing vessels from Yamaguchi, Fukuoka, Kagoshima and Miyazaki began to use Takao as a forward supply base. By 1921, the volume of business in Takao Fish Market had already grown five-fold compared with 1913.⁴¹

Still, the Takao Fish Market alone could not meet the increased demand for fish products from Southeast Asia after the southward growth and expansion of the fishing industry. Hence, the opening of other marketing and distribution channels became one of the most pressing issues confronting the future of Takao's fishing industry.⁴² But this task could not be fulfilled unless a decent transportation network was first built to serve the populous area of the island. In 1895, when Japan formally annexed Taiwan, the railroad system was limited to only the northern part of Taiwan. Therefore, the transport of fish products was traditionally done by sea. In 1899, however, the colonial government began to build railroads in the western part of Taiwan. Lines were developed to Chyoshyū, Taito, Giran and Kaigan, and stations were built one by one. The Takao Train Station had been constructed in 1900, and by 1908 the main railroad system in western Taiwan had been completely connected so that fish from Takao Fishing Port could be transported by train to northern Taiwan. Two years later, railway carriages with refrigeration equipment were introduced, enabling these products to withstand the long journey.⁴³

Besides these main railway networks, the sugar companies built private railway lines deep into the countryside. This was not only necessary for the transportation of sugar and related products but also for the transport of fish. While the general problem of handling and transporting marine products between stations around the island was settled, the problem of moving marine products from the stations to the local fish markets still remained. Fortunately, the system of roads in western Taiwan and the prevalence of trucks for overland transport provided a timely solution to this problem by the end of World

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁴²*Taiwan no Suisan*, 47-49; and Kamimura, *Taiwan Jigyōkai to Chūsin Jinbutsu*, 21-22. It must be noted that in addition to the Takao Fish Market, large fish markets also existed in the other populous areas of Taiwan.

⁴³*Taiwan no Suisan*, 51-53.

War I. The establishment of highways can be traced back to 1895 when the Japanese Army Engineering Corps built roads for military purposes. But with the subsequent support of the colonial and local governments, roads became more common across Taiwan. After 1919, trucks were frequently employed to convey goods over longer distances, and they became the main means to transport fish products from the train stations to the markets.⁴⁴

Because of the continuous growth of Takao's prewar fishing industry, the supply of tuna and sailfish gradually exceeded domestic demand. To stabilize prices, Takao's fishing industry had to look to exports. By the end of 1922 it was proposed that fish products from Takao could be transported to Kiryu by train and then shipped by steamer to Japan. But this plan never came into practice until a direct shipping line from Takao to Yokohama was established in September 1923. Satō Kanjiro, an important fish broker, took advantage of this opportunity to market fish directly to Yokohama. Yet it was difficult to be a pioneer entrepreneur. An unexpected sea disaster on one occasion ruined a shipment of his fish and caused serious financial losses. Moreover, the containers for fish products consumed a great deal of space, so not every shipping company was willing to offer its services. These obstacles were gradually overcome, however, and Kanjiro eventually became one of the most successful fish brokers on the Tokyo Fish Market.⁴⁵ By 1930, fish products from Taiwan were successfully being exported to all the big cities and coastal towns in Japan, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Shimonoseki and Moji. By 1930, the value of the trade in fish products to Japan had reached ¥1,600,000, which accounted for fourteen percent of the annual catch. In addition to Japan, fish from Taiwan could now also be found in the markets of China, Hong Kong and the Japanese colonies of Kantōshū (the southern part of the Liaodong Peninsula in China) and Chosen (Korea).⁴⁶

Conclusion

Japan's influence on the prewar development of Takao's fishing industries can be grouped into three major categories. First, from a macro perspective, Japan's expansionist policies greatly facilitated the growth of Takao's fishing industries. The "Marching Southwards Policy" encouraged distant-water fishing fleets to operate in the waters off Southeast Asia. The outbreak of the Sec-

⁴⁴*Ibid.*; and Chen Wunshang, Han Yaoci and Chen Siaoling, *Haiyang De Jingxiang* [The Ocean in Perspective] (Kaohsiung, 1999), 14.

⁴⁵Tagame, *Takao Gyokō to Sono Rikujō Setsubi*, 18-19.

⁴⁶*Taiwan Suisun Kinyū* [The Finance of Taiwan's Fishing Industry] (Taihoku, 1930), 15-17.

ond Sino-Japanese War in 1937 also drove Japan's distant-water fishing fleets to shift their supply bases from Japan, China, Hong Kong and other places to Takao. As a distant-water supply base on the edge of Southeast Asia, Takao's position became increasingly important, especially when Japan's fishing fleets were boycotted by the Western powers in the region due to the rise of anti-Japanese sentiment.

Second, the introduction of new fisheries modernized Takao's fishing industries. The tuna long-line fishery and the single- and pair-trawl fisheries were promoted by the authorities and civilian fishing companies, and they developed into mainstream industries in the postwar era, generating considerable revenue for Taiwan. Motorized fishing vessels also became increasingly popular. By 1940, there were more than 1200 motorized fishing vessels in Taiwan, and their operations extended from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Tonkin, the Sulu and the Celebes Seas and the waters off the east coast of Luzon.⁴⁷

Finally, the large-scale exploitation of marine resources in Southeast Asian waters during the colonial era laid a solid foundation for the development of fishing in postwar Taiwan. The prewar operations in Southeast Asia had become part of the collective memories and folklore of the Takao fishers. The fishing grounds in Southeast Asia were no longer considered too far away, and Japanese fishers were not afraid to go there in their small boats. This positive psychological factor and sense of place at sea proved advantageous to the re-establishment of the Taiwanese fishing industry in postwar Southeast Asia.

⁴⁷*Taiwan Suisan Yōran*, 109-110.